

of A. Monitor
8/16/99

Anti-nuclear activists visit TA-16, TA-55

By SCOTT MILDER and CHARMIAN SCHALLER
Monitor Staff Writers

She was 12 when the bomb fell. She lived, but a good friend died several days later from radiation poisoning.

Seiko Ikeda, a survivor of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima on Aug. 6, 1945, spoke this morning at Technical Area 16 during what the Los Alamos Study Group had billed as a "citizens' inspection" of "the atomic bomb assembly point."

Ikeda was one of perhaps a dozen people who arrived at TA-16 at about 11:30 a.m.

Another of those present was Sueko Motoyama, a survivor of the bombing of Nagasaki.

Both women are members of Gensuikin, the Japan Congress Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs.

Greg Mello of the Los Alamos Study Group introduced members of the delegation, including Pakistani physicist Zia Mian, and activists from England and France.

Ikeda then addressed a crowd that included approximately as many members of the news media as members of the peace group.

Speaking through a translator, she said she was 10 km from the hypocenter of the bomb when it exploded, and

that she was badly scarred.

Her friend, she said, came back after the bombing, and, at first, seemed OK. Her friends and family were happy. But within a month, all of her hair had fallen out and she had died of radiation poisoning.

Ikeda said her own mother survived but was injured. She helped take care of her grandparents and family.

Ikeda and Motoyama scattered about 200,000 sunflower seeds at the site. Mello said each represented a victim of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings. He said the seeds were "symbolic of the anti-nuclear movement."

The demonstrators came to the site about an hour after their announced rally time. They arrived in a van bearing signs that said "Citizen Verification Team" and "Ending Reliance on Weapons of Mass Destruction."

After speaking at TA-16, they moved on to TA-55.

They planned a news conference at 1 p.m. at the Los Alamos Inn.

The rally was the first of two planned in Los Alamos. The second is scheduled at Ashley Pond in Los Alamos on Monday, the 54th anniversary of the bombing of Nagasaki. It will be followed by a march to Los Alamos National Laboratory.



SARAH MEYER/Monitor

Seiko Ikeda of Japan, right, a survivor of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima at the end of World War II, tells her story through an inter-

preter, shown at left. Ikeda lost her best friend as a result of the bombing, which occurred when she was 12.

Aug. 7, 1999
SF New Mexican



Photos by Julie Graber/The New Mexican

Sueko Motoyama, who survived the World War II atomic bombing of Nagasaki, Japan, sprinkles sunflower seeds Friday morning near Manhattan Project buildings at Los Alamos, where the first atomic bombs were assembled. Peace activists said the seeds are a symbol for international efforts to abolish nuclear weapons.

Hiroshima, Nagasaki remembered

By KATHLEENE PARKER
For The New Mexican

LOS ALAMOS — Two survivors of the atomic bombs dropped on Japan 54 years ago Friday visited a site near where the weapons of mass destruction were assembled.

During Hiroshima Day observances, the two women scattered sunflower seeds — which activists said are an international symbol for nuclear disarmament — at Los Alamos National Laboratory's Technical Area 16, near V-site, on the lab's west side.

One of the women, Seiko Ikeda — during what the organizers called a citizens' weapon inspection — described what the Hiroshima bomb did to her and her city and then commented, "Wars make humans into inhumane devils."

She was accompanied by peace activists from the United States, Canada and France, as well as Southeast Asia and Scotland.

The organized protest includ-

ed a press conference at which critics charged that ongoing weapons production is a violation of international law.

The event came on the heels of a two-day disarmament conference in Albuquerque. It will be followed on Monday, the 54th anniversary of the bombing of Nagasaki, by what organizers say will be the largest demonstration in the lab's history. Hundreds are expected.

Actor Martin Sheen and pediatrician and author Helen Caldicott, founder of Physicians for Social Responsibility, are scheduled to join protesters focusing attention on Los Alamos' new plutonium-pit production work. LANL spokesman Jim Danneskiold said the lab would not comment on the Friday protest.

"Although the roads to the lab are DOE (Department of Energy) property, the people are welcome to drive to and observe the sites here," was his only comment.

At the press conference, critics of the lab's environmental



Seiko Ikeda, whose face was burned by the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, tells her story of surviving the destruction of her city 54 years ago.

cleanup efforts put a Geiger counter next to cattails that had been gathered on lab property and — over the clatter of the resulting radiation reading — claimed the plants emitted radia-

tion at 10 times natural levels.

Greg Mello of Santa Fe's Los Alamos Study Group said the radioactivity is evidence of past

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environmental negligence and that the lab can't be trusted to do cleanup. Other types of vegetation show similar contamination, he said.

Lab spokesman James Rickman said he assumed the cattails were gathered near a radioactive liquid-waste discharge site, which meets all federal and state standards.

"The idea of radioactive cattails does make terrific theater, but it is not any sort of affirmation that the lab does not take its responsibilities to the environment seriously," he said.

Rickman said that without seeing the radiation readings he could not comment on what dangers the cattails might pose.

Meanwhile on Friday, Los Alamos resident and longtime lab critic Ed Grothus held a lone peace vigil at Ashley Pond in the downtown area.

Grothus — as he does every year — ignored obscenities, cat-calls and less-than-friendly gestures directed his way by some passersby. The retired LANL employee hung a large U.S. flag from a wooden form, accompanied by a banner nearby reading, "We are sorry about Hiroshima and Nagasaki. We are the new abolitionists."

Asked who "we" referred to, he replied, "Just me and other

anti-nuclear people. I certainly don't speak for Los Alamos."

Near V-site, a complex of small, wooden buildings proposed by the DOE as a museum to the dawning of the Atomic Age, Ikeda, 66, a peace activist with Japan Congress Against A and H Bombs, recalled through an interpreter the blinding flash of light that forever changed her life and Hiroshima at 8:15 a.m. on Aug. 6, 1946.

"A strong flash pierced my eyes, and it turned all black with a roaring sound," said the small woman, who still bears scars on her face from the explosion that left her clothing and skin hanging in tatters.

"There were dead bodies all around when I tried to escape, and there were so many people bleeding and dying all around," and floating in the river, she said.

Ikeda said she experienced disfigurement, underwent many surgeries and fought suicidal tendencies. She fears the radiation she received still might kill her, as it has many of her friends.

She and Sueko Motoyama, a victim of the bombing of Nagasaki, then scattered sunflower seeds — poured from brown bags bearing a Wild Birds Unlimited logo — along a roadway about 300 yards west of, but not visible to, V-site.

Asked to describe how it felt to be so near site where most of the

Museum gift shop pulls A-bomb earrings

By CHRIS ROBERTS
The Associated Press

KIRTLAND AIR FORCE BASE — On the anniversary of the dropping of the first atomic bomb on Japan during World War II, the National Atomic Museum decided to stop selling souvenir earrings shaped like atomic bombs.

Museum director Jim Walther couldn't say the decision was permanent, but said there are no plans to restock the items.

The earrings — shaped like "Little Boy," which was dropped on Hiroshima on Aug. 6, 1945, and "Fat Man," which was dropped on Nagasaki on Aug. 9, 1945 — had drawn protests from Gensuikyo, an anti-nuclear group in Japan.

assembly was done on the atomic bombs, Ikeda — who said she has devoted her life to peace work — grew silent and fought back tears.

"It is difficult to say," she said. "I feel total emotions — I can't express."

A Study Group - organized action

A-Bomb Survivors Visit Lab

Japanese Women Join Nuke Protest

BY LAN HOFFMAN
Journal Staff Writer

Hiroshima's 350,000 citizens knew American bombs would rain on the city, as in Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka and Kobe. None knew to fear an A-bomb 2,000 times more powerful than any other weapon.

This was why 12-year-old Seiko Ikeda and many school girls were making firebreaks at 8:16 a.m., August 6, 1945, the moment Los Alamos' Little Boy created a second sun, then nuclear night over Hiroshima.

"A strong flash pierced my eyes, and everything went black," said Ikeda, now 66. Her makeup hid 15 surgical operations to erase burn scars.

"There were dead bodies all around when I tried to escape. There were so many people bleeding and dying and I had to walk stepping over all those dying people... I cannot forget their faces distorted in agony," Ikeda said. Five of her 40 classmates lived; one wandered home uninjured but died later bleeding from orifices, a victim of acute radiation poisoning.

Ikeda and Sueko Motoyama of Nagasaki made history Thursday as the first hibakushi or Japanese A-bomb survivors to visit Los Alamos Technical Area 16, birthplace of the crucial high-explosive components for the United States' first nuclear device. Reporters thronged around them, as did nuclear-disarmament activists who traveled from France, Japan, Canada, the United Kingdom, California, Texas and New Jersey.

They are the advance guard of the largest no-nukes protest in Los Alamos history: 300 to 600 activists are expected to descend on the nuclear-weapons laboratory Monday after weekend meetings in Albuquerque's Crowne Plaza Hotel.

Among them is actor Martin Sheen and "the cream of the crop of the nuclear-disarmament movement," according to field organizer Bruce Hall of Peace Action, the nation's



HOMAGE TO THE DEAD: Sueko Motoyama, an atomic bomb survivor from Nagasaki, Japan, sprinkles sunflower seeds Friday morning at Los Alamos' Technical Area 16 where Trinity, the world's first atomic device, was assembled. JOSH STEPHENSON/JOURNAL

largest grassroots peace-advocacy group.

"This is a wake-up call," Hall said. "We're here to say the Cold War is over. It's time to stop the nuclear weapons business."

Roughly half Little Boy's energy became a blast front, a hard wind of five times hurricane force at ground zero. Ikeda was a mile away; a wall of 190 mile-per-hour wind flung her onto shattered glass. Flaps of charred skin sagged from her arms and legs, her clothes burnt.

"I was burned on all my face and I got a lot of scars," she said.

Looking in a mirror later, "I almost

lost the courage to live," she said. "I didn't want to be beautiful. I just wanted to have my face back."

Ikeda talked Thursday 300 yards from a decrepit wood building used by Manhattan Project scientists and engineers. The White House proposes to preserve it as a historical treasure. The Energy Department and activists say humankind's first nuclear weapons, Little Boy and Fat Man, were assembled here.

They weren't. Fat Man, dropped Aug. 9 on Nagasaki, was pieced together a few miles away, said Los Alamos lab archivist Roger Meade. Trashcan-shaped Little Boy used a cannon to

blast uranium into critical mass and was such a sure bet for Manhattan Project scientists that it was never tested and not fully assembled until reaching Tinian Island, staging area for the B-29 atomic raids on Japan.

Ikeda and Motoyama drew sharp breaths looking over the wildflowers and pines of Los Alamos' chief explosives research and testing area. They reached into a blue pot and spread thousands of sunflower seeds, symbols of the nuclear-disarmament movement. The seeds were meant as homage to the estimated 300,000 killed

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Alt. Journal N, Aug. 7, 1999

A-Bomb Survivors Visit Los Alamos Lab

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over time by the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings.

"Still now, 54 years later, so many people of the survivors are dying of radiation-related disease," said Ikeda. "I live with fear and uneasiness that I might be the next to die."

U.S. disarmament activists brought Ikeda and Motoyama to Los Alamos to drive the horror of nuclear war home to the American public.

For years, that public has listened half-heartedly.

Americans consistently tell pollsters they favor arms-control agreements and nuclear disarma-

ment. But the go-go years of no-nukes protest in the 1970s and 1980s have faded; media and public attention is elsewhere.

Activists blame political overload, the competing anxieties of crime, global warming, overpopulation, the crisis du jour. But much of the reason lies in the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War: Americans grasped hungrily at the psychological comfort of thinking they were safe from nuclear war.

"It's a sense of relief, of 'Whew! It's over.' It put nuclear weapons to the back of their mind," said Mary Wynne-Ashford, co-president of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. "When I

tell people there are still 35,000 nuclear weapons in the world, most of them on launch-on-warning (alert), they say, 'Go on. That can't be true.'"

This has left peace activists desperate to fire up public sentiment against nuclear arms. As staging ground for this rejuvenated movement, they have chosen New Mexico and Los Alamos National Laboratory.

Los Alamos lies at the heart of a \$4.5 billion-a-year program to keep up the U.S. nuclear arsenal in working order. More important to activists, LANL is gearing up to make plutonium pits, the fission triggers of modern thermonuclear weapons, up to 20 a year by 2007 to

replace pits destroyed as scientists examine them for aging defects. The first "war-reserve" pit is for the W88, the warhead atop the Trident submarine D5 missile. A single sub carries 24 missiles, each armed with up to eight warheads, each of those with an explosive power of 475,000 tons of TNT or roughly 30 times the power of the Hiroshima bomb.

Peace activists are keen to seize on LANL's weapons manufacturing work to show Americans that the U.S. nuclear-arms enterprise is still vibrant.

"We know people agree with us. They just need to hear," said Peace Action's Hall.

Alt. Journal N., Aug. 7, 1989



Paper: Albuquerque Tribune, The (NM)
Title: Japan bomb survivors speak at lab
Date: August 7, 1999

LOS ALAMOS Survivors of the 1945 atomic bombings in Japan spoke at Los Alamos National Laboratory on Friday the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima by the weapon developed at this northern New Mexico lab.

Members of Gensuikin, the Japan Congress Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, spoke at the lab's technical area 16 during what was called a citizens' inspection of the atomic bomb assembly point.

Speaker Seiko Ikeda was 12 years old when the bomb fell. She lived, but a good friend died several days later from radiation poisoning.

Speaking through a translator, Sueko Motoyama, a survivor from Nagasaki, which was hit with an atomic bomb three days after Hiroshima, said she was six miles from where the bomb exploded and was badly scarred. A friend who had been with her seemed unharmed at first, she said, but within a month, all of her hair had fallen out and she died of radiation poisoning.

Ikeda and Motoyama scattered about 200,000 sunflower seeds at the lab site, each representing a victim of the World War II bombings, said Greg Mello of the **Los Alamos Study Group**, a Santa Fe-based environmental organization.

The seeds were "symbolic of the anti-nuclear movement," Mello said.

The rally was the first of two planned in Los Alamos. The second is scheduled at Ashley Pond in Los Alamos on Monday, the 54th anniversary of the bombing of Nagasaki. That rally will be followed by a march to Los Alamos National Laboratory.

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Author: THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
Section: Local News
Page: A3
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Bombs Shortened War, Saved Lives

THIS LETTER IS NOT for the members of the Los Alamos Study Group ... who (may) believe the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were unnecessary. Nothing anyone could say or prove could change their minds regarding this issue. ...

This letter (on the anniversary of the bombing) is for those who have an open mind, would look at the facts involved and try to imagine what life was like during World War II.

The facts are that Japan started the war and the United States ended it. We used two atomic bombs against Japan and that action brought a quick end to the war that went on for five bloody years.

Over 290,000 Americans were killed and over 570,000 Americans were wounded in World War II. In my mind these numbers alone would justify the use of the bombs.

What few Americans knew at that time was that plans to invade Japan were ready. These plans ... would have involved ... over 1.5 million combat troops with millions more in support. (Gen. Douglas) MacArthur's chief of intelligence estimated that over one million American men would have been killed in these invasions.

... They also estimated that we would kill millions of Japanese soldiers and civilians if this operation got under way. It would be inevitable that we would ... devastate the Japanese homeland. If this happened, the Russians (might invade) Japan from the north, ... a disaster for Japan and the free world. ...

I must make another very important point: that Japan was not a victim during World War II. If you think they were victims read about Pearl Harbor, the Bataan Death March, the treatment of Philippine civilians, the practice of torture, beheading, starvation and the high death rate of American prisoners. Read Iris Chang's book "The Rape of Nanking." Read about Japan's wartime human experimentation program.

Talk to any veteran who served in the Pacific during World War II to see how they feel about the use of the bombs. ... Talk to the Americans who had their sons and husbands serving in the Pacific how they feel about the bombs. ...

I was a Marine in the Pacific and was wounded on Iwo Jima. Ending the war by dropping the atomic bombs saved my life. I thank the scientists who made the bombs and thank President Harry Truman for having the moral courage to make the decision to use them.

Bill Hudson
Los Alamos

Alb. Journal News
Aug. 3, 1999

Mello: The story was riddled with errors

Editor:

Your 8/1/99 edition carries an article under the headline "Study Group's Claims Called 'Nonsense,'" by Sarah Meyer. Unfortunately, it is riddled with factual misrepresentations — errors that could have been easily avoided if Ms. Meyer had bothered to talk to anyone besides lab PR or read the report carefully.

Failure to even attempt to interview any of the authors of a report when writing about it is a highly unusual way to do journalism.

If Ms. Meyer had read the report and accompanying press release more carefully she could have paraphrased it accurately. This she did not do.

For example, we did NOT say that the lab is "only spending clean-up money on studies." We said "nearly all" of the money has been spent on studies rather than environmental cleanup, which is true.

A 7/15/97 Department of Energy audit found, with DOE/AL concurrence, that only 12% of the total expenditures of the ER program had been used for actual environmental cleanup; 9% had been used for D&D, and the rest for studies and overhead. Within the 21%, poor cost accounting and the substitution of 26 easy remediation sites for previously planned and budgeted sites — half the sites — for the purpose of achieving "a numeric quota" made the "remediation" (whatever that word may mean) essentially unauditible. Expenses in one small portion of the program which was auditible (sample validation) were found to be ten times greater than necessary. See <<http://www.hr.doe.gov/ig/IG-0410.txt>>.

Nor do we say that LANL "consistently buries radioactive waste and discharges liquid radioactive waste with little regard for environmental or archeological concerns." This assertion has apparently been made up by Ms. Meyer in whole cloth. Of course, any ruins in the path of disposal site expansion will certainly be destroyed, but nothing was said about anyone's "regard."

On the contrary, I have found lab environmental staff to be skilled and dedicated professionals. Imputing character criticisms to an author that isn't there is particularly unethical.

Our report is essentially a compilation of data and analyses provided by the laboratory, the DOE, and the state environment department. We did no analysis of our own. This puts the lab PR people in the peculiar position of arguing against the lab's own studies and with their own mischaracterizations of what we said, a transparent discrediting technique that most journalists will not print.

Space does not allow a point-by-point refutation of other errors, which could easily be done. The report can be seen at www.lasg.org, so readers can form their own opinion if they wish — an option you could have easily provided to your readers but did not.

Some previous reporters at the Monitor have been fair and accurate. Please try harder.

Sincerely,

*L.A. Monitor
8/8/99*

Greg Mello
204 Alto Lane
Santa Fe

Monitor

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L.A. Monitor

Two

Peace group urges end to nukes

By SARAH MEYER

Monitor Assistant Editor

An international group of anti-nuclear activists visited Los Alamos National Laboratory on Friday in an effort to inspect nuclear facilities.

Members of the Citizen Verification Team held a news conference at the Los Alamos Inn after visiting Technical Area 16 and TA-55. They were not allowed to go "behind the fence," and at least one complained about lab officials following them around.

During the news conference, members of the inspection team said international treaties calling for an end to the production of nuclear weapons are not being respected.

John Burroughs of the Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy said the United States has signed a nuclear nonproliferation treaty. The Citizen Verification Team is attempting to conduct inspections to see if the U.S. is complying with disarmament, he said.

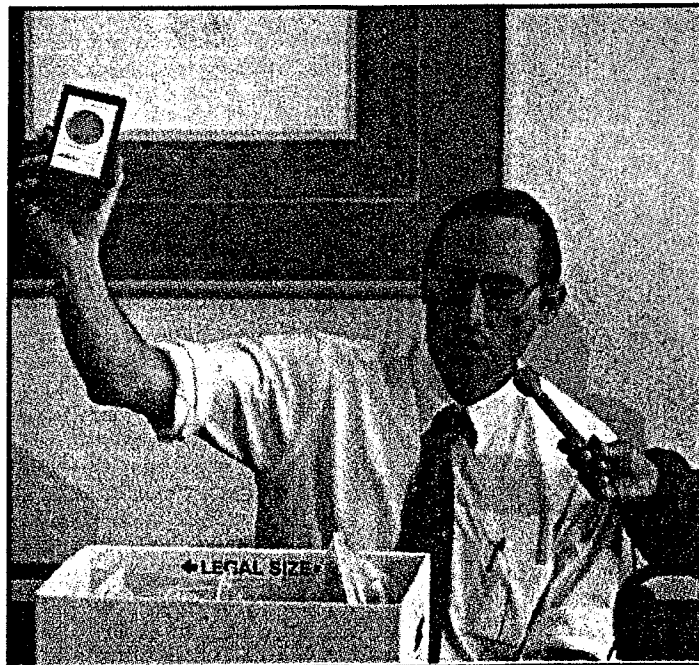
Jane Tallents of Scotland, a member of Trident Ploughshares, said the continued production of nuclear weapons means "crimes are being committed against the law."

Lysiane Alezard with the Movement de la Paix in France said the group came "to see what's being developed," but the lab wouldn't let them.

As the year 2000 approaches, she said, "We really need to take steps toward disarmament."

Andrew Lichterman, a member of the Los Alamos Study Group and of the Western States Legal Foundation in Oakland, Calif., said, "The threat and use of nuclear weapons is unlawful."

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Above, Seiko Ikeda, a survivor of the atomic bombing of Japan in August 1945, plants sunflower seeds in memory of those who died. At left, Greg Mello of the Los Alamos Study Group holds up a Geiger counter during a news conference, contending that some of the plants in Mortandad Canyon are notably radioactive.

Photo at top by SCOTT MILDER/Monitor; photo at left by SHAUN HUDSON/Monitor

ANTI-NUKES

(from Page A-1)

Dr. Mary-Wynne Ashford of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War discussed the "medical concern about the health consequences of nuclear war."

She said people should be concerned about U.S. and Russia "launch on alarm" policies, especially because Russia's technology may not be ready for the year 2000.

She also discussed the health risks in areas where nuclear weapons are developed and disposed. Ashford called these effects "destruction before detonation," and she said the "problems are more urgent approaching the turn of the century."

Zia Mian, a Princeton University physicist from Pakistan, said the Citizens Verification Team is "trying to institutionalize processes where citizens take responsibility for what happens."

"One of the great crimes of our time is the continued production of weapons of mass destruction," he said. And he said some countries, such as Iraq, are punished for producing weapons of mass destruction, while others, such as Israel, are given aid by the U.S.

"If the most powerful state in the world feels it can violate international law, who will hold them accountable?" he asked.

Mian said that while most members of the United Nations vote "for absolution of nuclear weapons," eight "nuclear rogue states" completely refuse "to negotiate getting rid of them."

"The whole world is watching what happens here," he said.

Bruce Hall of the Peace Action Group said one of his group's goals is to "shine light on the continuing and expanding nuclear weapons production."

He also said, "There's a growing movement to abolish nuclear weapons!"

Abha Sur of the Alliance for a Secular and Democratic South Asia said she was struck by the irony of producing nuclear weapons in such a beautiful setting. She said what is going on at the lab undermines

democracy.

"It's not in the consciousness of people working there (at LANL) what they're working with," she said. "We hope we can organize people to stop these weapons before it's too late."

Greg Mello of the Los Alamos Study Group concluded the discussion. He talked about the Study Group's recent study of the environmental consequences of nuclear weapons.

"The laboratory is not doing so well with cleaning up its waste," he said. "The laboratory has an institutional conflict of interest with cleaning up its legacy," he said, adding that cleaning up contamination amounts to an admission that something was wrong.

The situation casts "a cloud on the future," Mello said. "I wish the cleanup was being done by someone who doesn't have a conflict."

To end his talk, Mello displayed a "surprise" he had promised earlier in the day. The surprise was a box full of dried plant material, double-sealed in plastic bags.

Mello used a Geiger counter to show that the plants, which he said had been gathered in Mortandad Canyon, were radioactive. The Geiger counter recorded a background radiation measurement of 22 roentgens per hour, and when placed on the plants, quickly rose to around 200 roentgens.

Mello said the Study Group doesn't know where the contaminated soils are located, and isn't confident that the lab has plans to protect ground water or other aspects of the environment from radioactive contamination.

Mello also said plants in Bayo Canyon are contaminated.

When natural systems are polluted, he said, it can be compared to a mythic system.

"It's like being expelled from the garden," Mello said. "There's more going on here than just a medical model. People are not just pieces of meat."

Mian suggested studying environmental effects "backward," looking at what is happening now and tracing their sources, not only at LANL, but also at other locations.

"I am quite certain that if Robert Oppenheimer were alive today, he would be leading this march." — Actor and activist Martin Sheen

S.F. New Mexican
7/10/99

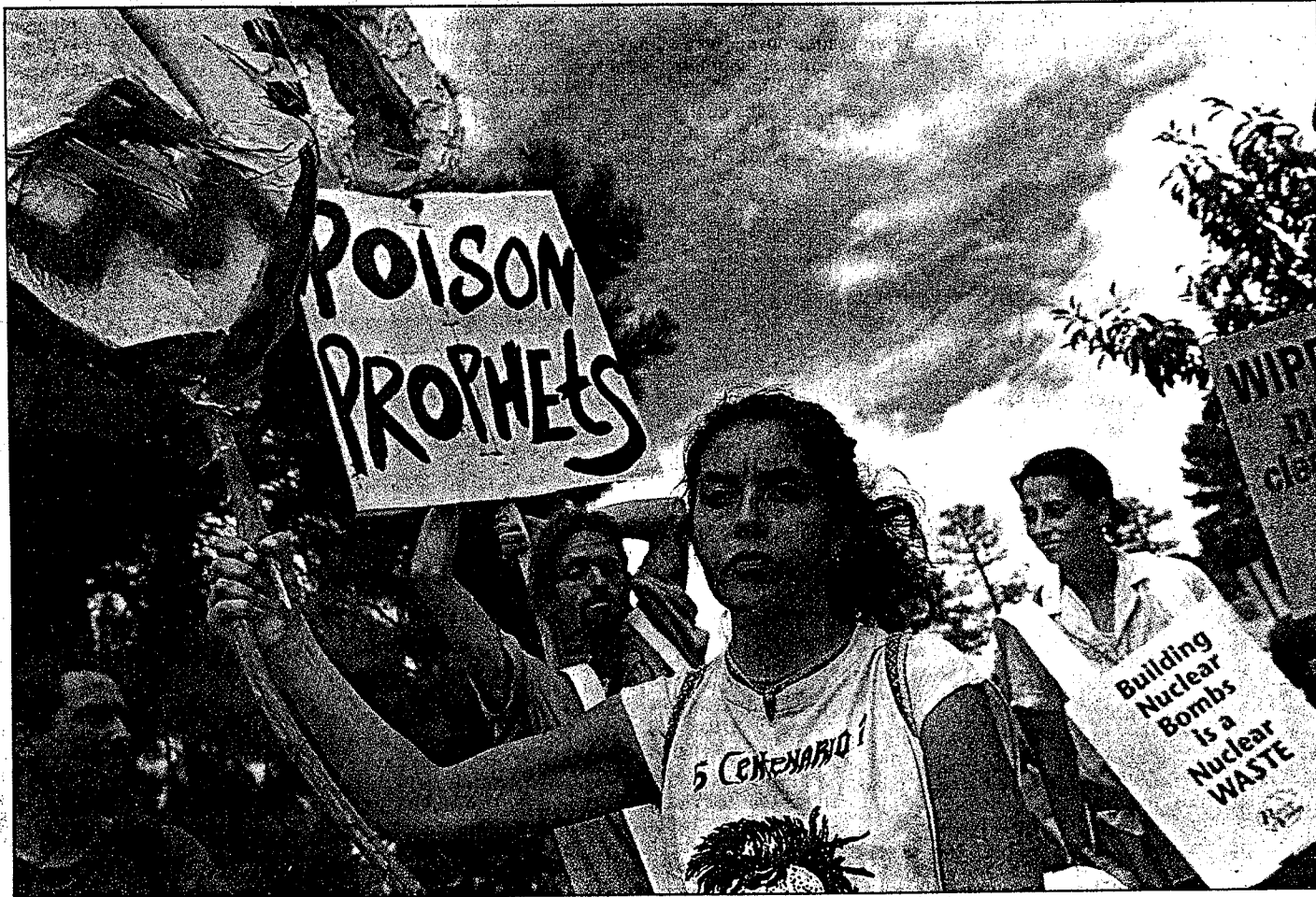
Nuclear activists descend on LANL



Abel Uribe/The New Mexican

Above: Actor Martin Sheen makes a plea against nuclear weapons at Los Alamos National Laboratory, where he was the first person to be detained at Monday's protest.

Right: Cecilia Chávez, center, of Albuquerque and others protest against nuclear weapons outside the lab.



Dorie Hagler
For The New Mexican

300 mark atomic bombing of Nagasaki

By BARBARA FERRY
The New Mexican

LOS ALAMOS — Actor and anti-nuclear activist Martin Sheen knelt at Los Alamos National Laboratory, recited the Lord's Prayer and told waiting security guards, "I'm all yours" before being briefly detained Monday.

The occasion was the 54th anniversary of the bombing of Nagasaki. Sheen was one of about 300 activists who marked the day by remembering the Los Alamos-built bomb dropped on the Japanese city and by protesting the lab's production of plutonium pits, the weapons components that make up the core of nuclear bombs.

The lab plans to produce as many as 20 pits per year by 2007 to replace aging pits in the existing weapons stockpile.

Sheen was one of 66 protesters who stepped over a line drawn in front of the lab administration building dividing what lab officials said was a public area from a restricted one. The detainees were led past cheering supporters and silent, observing lab employees, then placed in plastic hand-



Dorie Hagler/For The New Mexican

Franco Mares, left, of Taos and Marie Waechter of Los Alamos argue. Waechter was angry that protesters opposed the use of atomic bombs during World War II; Mares was upset that Waechter supported the production of nuclear weapons.

cuffs and taken by bus back to the town center, where they were released.

At a rally earlier in the day, Sheen told activists that he was dedicating his act of civil disobedience to J.

Robert Oppenheimer, the Los Alamos bomb inventor who expressed horror at his creation.

"I am quite certain that if Robert Oppenheimer were alive today, he

would be leading this march," Sheen said.

The actor, who recently turned 59, said he has been arrested almost that many times since becoming involved in the peace movement in the mid-1980s.

He said his employment by the NBC network, owned by General Electric, a nuclear-energy producer, makes him understand the position of the lab employees.

"I think I know how the people at the lab feel. I work for NBC," said Sheen, who will play the president of the United States in *West Wing*, a new series on the network that will air in the fall. "But that's what I do for work. This is what I do to live."

Dr. Helen Caldicott, a pediatrician and founder of Physicians for Social Responsibility, had harsher words for those who work on the Hill.

"This place is about pure, unmitigated evil," said Caldicott, who compared the laboratory to Nazi death camps. "Let's not mince words. Let's not be nice."

The protesters included activists from France, Scotland and Microne-

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NUCLEAR

Continued from Page A-1

sia as well as Nagasaki bombing survivor Sueko Motomayo. They had spent the weekend at a disarmament conference in Albuquerque organized by Peace Action, a national group formerly called SANE/FREEZE.

Other protesters included skateboard-toting youths, elderly Quakers from Texas and a llama named Pearl, who in an apparent act of civil disobedience lay down in the middle of the rally and refused to budge, despite being offered a Ben & Jerry's popsicle by her owner.

In a turnabout from the 1960s, when hippie protesters were told to "get a job," Monday's marchers yelled "get a job, get a real job," at lab employees as they entered the lab's administration-building parking lot.

Organizers vowed the demonstration — the first large-scale protest at the lab involving civil disobedience in more than 15 years — would be the beginning of a reinvigorated anti-nuke movement.

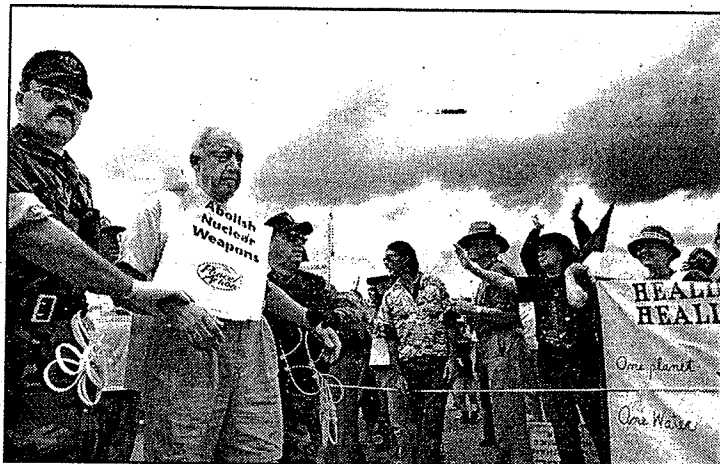
In 1983, about 170 protesters blocked traffic in Los Alamos for several hours, preventing lab employees from getting to work during the morning rush hour. About 150 protesters gathered in Los Alamos in 1989 but did not trespass on lab property.

And in the mid-1990s, Sheen had another occasion to come to Los Alamos for the trial of Catholic activist Vincent Eirene. Eirene ultimately was jailed for three months for trespassing onto the lab's plutonium facility. Sheen, who said his activism stems from his Catholicism, testified as a character witness at the trial.

Monday's protest was the largest in the lab's history, activists said.

"I see it as a watershed event," said Greg Mello, director of Los Alamos Study Group, a disarmament and environmental group in Santa Fe. "I think people will be encouraged and empowered in the movement both here and far away."

• Not everyone was glad to see the protesters. A local group of World War II veterans, called the Los Alamos Education Group, set



Roey Yohai/The New Mexican

Ed Lewinson, second from left, a blind retired professor from Seton Hall University who traveled from Orange, N.J., to join the protest, is arrested at Los Alamos National Laboratory.

up a booth across the street from the rally, distributing handouts crediting the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki for ending World War II and saving lives.

"We're here to provide an alternative to the viewpoint that gets peddled here every year," said group leader Steve Stoddard.

Some of the vets got into heated exchanges with peace activists who wandered over from their event.

"Why don't you move to Japan, if you're so sympathetic?" veteran Bernard "Bun" Ryan told a young woman wearing a "Stop the Bomb" T-shirt. "Why do you participate in all this un-American activity? You're out to weaken this country so the Commies can take over."

"But there aren't any more Commies trying to take over," replied Cheryl West, a 20-year-old political-science student who had driven from her home in Denton, Texas, for the march.

Other townspeople yelled from their cars as the protesters marched from Ashley Pond to the lab. "Remember Pearl Harbor," one man shouted.

A group of Los Alamos high-school students working summer jobs at the lab were unimpressed by the march.

"It's just a lot of talk," said Daniel Goff, 17, as he stood alongside lab employees watching the protest. "I'm not moved

by it at all."

Lab officials also downplayed the event, saying they had been expecting a greater turnout.

John E. Tucker, the lab's deputy security director — who politely greeted the trespassers as they stepped over the dividing line — commented that the demonstrators were "very peaceful."

Tucker said the white dividing line had been painted by the lab Monday morning.

"We did this for them, really," Tucker said. "It was to create a visible reference point to allow them to be taken into custody and physically demonstrate what they wanted to do."

But Bruce Hall of Peace Action declared the day an "amazing success."

"All these people came out to hear us," he said, pointing to the hundreds of lab employees who stood on the balcony of the lab administration building watching the protesters. "We came to make a point, and we made our point."

Hall said those who trespassed on the lab did not know ahead of time whether they would be arrested or released. After the event, a spokesman for U.S. Attorney John Kelly said the protesters would not be prosecuted.

L.A. Monitor
8/10/99

Little: Activists could spend energy on more important problems

Editor:

It's really sad to see all those anti-nuclear activists waste their time, breath, energy and money on a non-problem.

The fact is that no nuclear weapons have been used on any population in over a half-century. And the chance of the United States using one in the near future is slim to none.

It's sad that they are not spending their energy on solving today's REAL problems. Like our biggest problem, OVERPOPULATION! Almost all of our health and ecological problems are a direct result of overpopulation.

Many organizations (including New Mexico Citizens for Clean Air & Water) seem to talk and write about how to put Band-aids on our health and ecological problems but somehow seem to avoid using the "O" word.

If you don't think this country is overpopulated, you need to see an optometrist! Our cities are overcrowded, our highways are overcrowded, as well as our schools, airports, airways, airwaves, prisons, and now even our National Parks.

We're running short of water and encroaching on the open spaces around our cities driving out the wildlife.

Due to the ever-increasing population (demand for goods and services), the price of everything keeps increasing. Our electrical distribution systems are often strained and the telephone system is running out of area codes. Shall I go on?

Imagine what life will be like 30 years from now with twice as many people (as has been predicted). The entire country would have air like Los Angeles or Mexico City. Not a pretty sight.

Why don't we treat families with three, four or five biological children like we treat smokers?

Those families are the ones responsible for hurting YOU, your children and your grandchildren!

The Surgeon General should have said "Warning! Overpopulation is hazardous to your health!"

R D Little
1670 36th St.
Los Alamos

Van Hecke: Anti-nuke demonstrators should consider history

Dear Anti-Nuke Demonstrators:
Welcome to Los Alamos.

Your presence here speaks volumes in support of our having dropped the atom bomb on Japan and of our continued maintenance of a nuclear stockpile. Had we not used the weapons in Japan, it is possible that you would not have the freedom to be marching and demonstrating here or anywhere else. By demonstrating against nuclear weapons, you are using the freedom that was won and has been preserved by our veterans and the existence and use of the atom bomb.

Had there been no Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, there would have been no American bombing of Hiroshima or Nagasaki.

No one knows how many lives, American and Japanese, would have been lost in an invasion of Japan. Probably many more than were killed in the dropping of the bombs.

The use of the bomb was justified, given the environment at that time. We can appreciate the efforts conducted here at Los Alamos during the Manhattan Project. Those scientists, technicians, secretaries, and military personnel etc., are as much veterans as those in uniform around the world, and they were responsible for our being able to end World War II.

Asking the United States to give up its nuclear weapons is like asking the police to give up their weapons, and then hoping that the criminal element will follow suit. Such an idea does not speak well for the intelligence of those asking us to do such a thing.

It doesn't take any guts to demonstrate against nuclear weapons in the United States. That is just grandstanding to get your name in the paper. If you are really serious about what you are asking, you would be demonstrating in some of those countries that have or are trying to get nuclear weapons and would use them against the United States to further their own agendas.

Having nuclear weapons has kept Americans relatively safe for 54 years. There can be no doubt that our lives would be very different, if the flag that flies over America today was that of a country that had challenged us, and had won.

I pray that because of your actions, someone's final words are not, "I wish Los Alamos National Laboratory was still here to help protect us against these weapons of mass destruction."

James F. Van Hecke, Jr.
460 Oppenheimer Dr.
Los Alamos

Grothus: Scientists are 'teched in the head'

Editor:

A few years ago Tony Price, "The Atomic Artist," presented me with a sculpture made from things that I had gathered from the nuclear scrap pile. Tony called the piece "Teched on a Platter." I think that Tony was thinking that sooner or later, Los Alamos would have my head on a platter.

However, Tony's inscription on the platter was, "To Ed Grothus, the only one to speak out against the nuclear madness of Los Alamos." At the time, I smiled and thought that the word "madness" was a bit harsh, but lately I have had some other thoughts.

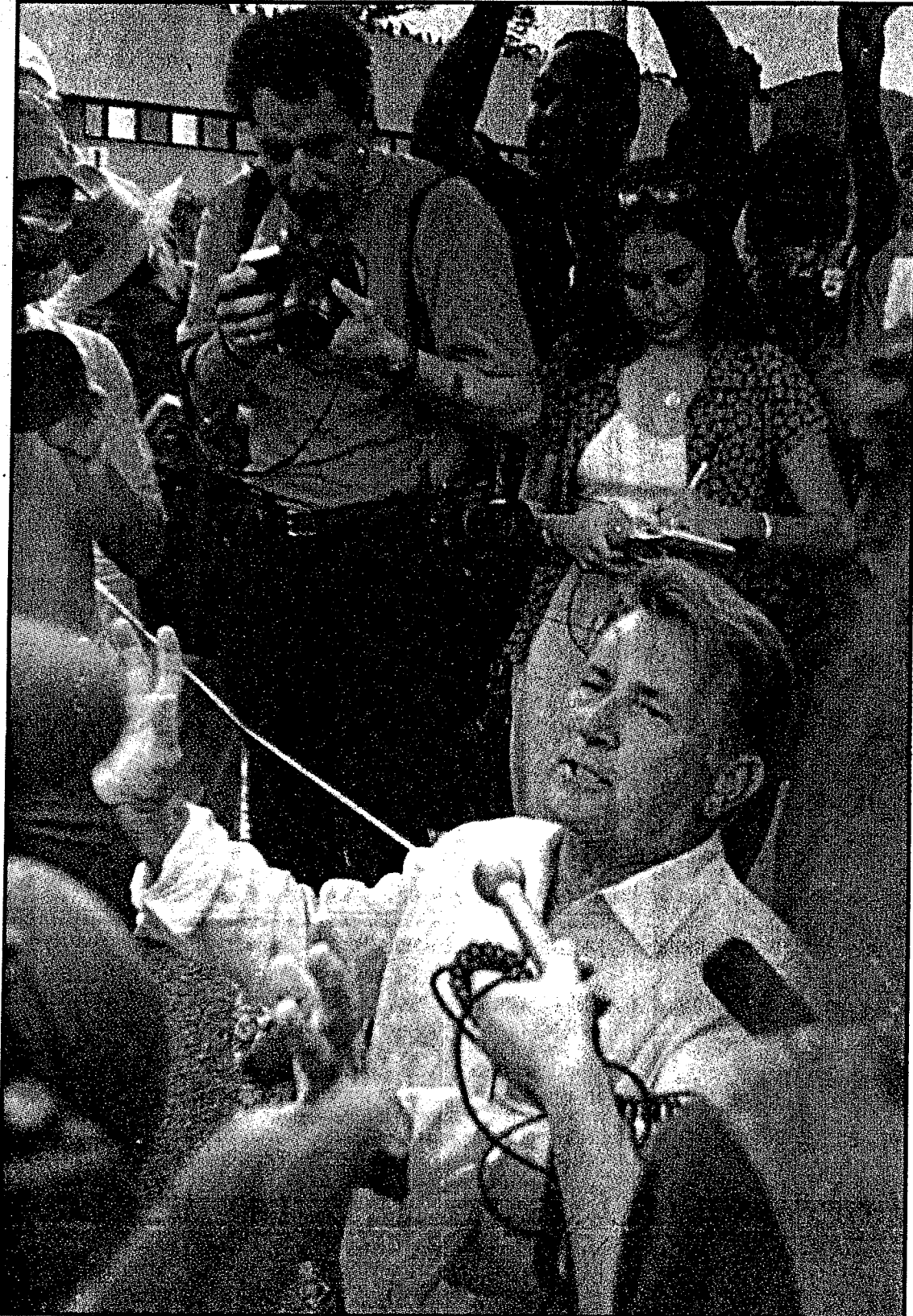
When I was very young, my peers and I spoke of persons who were a bit strange as being "teched in the head." I was surprised to find the word "teched" in the dictionary. It means mentally unbalanced or slightly deranged.

I now think that many scientists are teched in the head. They work to make things that can't be used. They work to guarantee that a future madman of ours will be able to use a madman's device with assurance that it will weak demonstrated, horrific destruction. Such work must come from a mentally unbalanced or slightly deranged scientific Los Alamos.

There is a second example of being "teched in the head." The Bandelier scientists, too, are teched in the head. First they burn off all of the ground cover that formerly acted like a blotter to hold rain in place. These arsonists then took note of fire-caused erosion. The arsonists have an erosion solution: They propose to cut down many of the trees and leave the slash on the ground TO PREVENT EROSION!!! These scientists, too, are "teched in the head." Tony was not too harsh. There is a generally unrecognized madness in the scientific community.

Edward Grothus
P.O. Box 795
Los Alamos

Arrest Me



L.A. Monitor 8/10/99

SCOTT MILDER / Monitor

Actor and anti-nuclear activist Martin Sheen says he's ready to be arrested after crossing a rope barrier Monday at TA-3.

Familiar Faces



SHAUN HUDSON/Monitor

There were familiar faces in the crowd that marched across the Los Alamos Canyon Bridge. The white-haired man at left is Ed Grothus. The man in the white shirt with a backpack is Bruce Hall, organizer of the march. *L.A. Monitor 8/10/99*

Marchers Protest Bomb Lab

Actor Sheen, Others Go Into Custody

By IAN HOFFMAN
Journal Staff Writer

LOS ALAMOS — Calling nuclear weapons "a larceny of the poor," actor Martin Sheen led 75 peace activists into the custody of armed Los Alamos lab security forces as protesters sang "We Shall Overcome."

The protests, staged on the 54th anniversary of the Nagasaki atomic bombing, drew nearly 400 people from 23 states, Scotland, France, India, Pakistan and South Pacific islands — a record-size protest and a uniquely international one in Los Alamos history.

They marched a mile to Los Alamos National Laboratory's nerve center, Technical Area 3, to protest new lab production of plutonium pits, the small A-bomb used to ignite modern thermonuclear weapons.

"Let's not mince words," said longtime disarmament activist Dr. Helen Caldicott. "What they are doing is evil. ... There is no Cold War; there are no enemies and yet they're doing it again."

Activists targeted Los Alamos National Laboratory because it is the focal point of a \$4.5 billion-a-year program to maintain and upgrade the U.S. nuclear arsenal indefinitely. Scientists are peering into weapons physics as never before, feeding new insights into supercomputer simulations in lieu of actual explosive tests. Peace activists denounce the U.S. program as violating the spirit of a global test ban, as well as contributing to the spread of nuclear weapons to other nations.

Gathering infants on a stage, Caldicott said: "We're talking about the future here. What's it going to be like in 50 years if we let this lab stay open. ... This place has to be shut down, or the world's going to end."

At least 200 LANL workers watched as protesters filed into a roped-off parking lot calling for nuclear disarmament and an end to the nuclear-weapons work that makes up nearly 80 percent of LANL's \$1.3 billion-a-year budget. Los Alamos townspeople reacted variously. A handful of teen-agers in a pickup truck hoisted a sign reading: "Who do you think protects the 1st Amendment — LANL."

See MARCHERS on PAGE 3



JOSH STEPHENSON/JOURNAL

ACTOR GOES PEACEFULLY: Above, After a prayer and dedication of his civil disobedience to the late scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer, actor Martin Sheen looks up to lab Deputy Security Director John E. "Gene" Tucker, not pictured, and says, "I'm all yours."



RECORD-SIZE PROTEST: Right, Moments before being detained by Los Alamos National Laboratory security guards, Amalia Steinberg, a pre-med student at the University of New Mexico, sits with other peaceful protesters outside a roped-off area.

*Call. Journal 2/27
8/10/99*

Marchers Protest Bomb Lab

8/10/99

from PAGE 1

And a group of lab retirees and war veterans criticized protesters for "revisionist thinking" in condemning the Hiroshima-Nagasaki bombings.

"A lot of these people probably would never have been here if their fathers and grandfathers had had to invade Japan," said John Mench, 80, a former Army engineer who worked on the Manhattan Project.

Most lab workers declined to answer questions from media.

"They're just having fun over there," said one lab employee gazing at protesters across a security barrier.

"It's interesting to know how they feel," said Daniel Hartman, who works in the lab's Materials Science and Technology Division. "It makes it difficult — not necessarily to work here but how you come to

terms with it."

Summer intern Edward Hoffman figured many lab workers shared protesters' desire for disarmament.

"Everybody on this side of the wire wants peace, too," Hoffman said. "Really our differences and goals are similar. It just depends on how you get there."

Sheen mused along the same lines while marching to the lab.

"These people (at LANL) just make the bombs. I doubt very seriously if you could get anybody in this lab who works on these weapons to actually use them," he said. "We're really on the same side. We just have to get them on another line of work, using their brilliant minds for the good of humanity. ... It's astonishing we would be so stupid as to invest so much of our time and money and talent in these weapons. They're absolutely no good. They can't be used. The waste

is indisposable."

Sheen, a veteran movie actor who will play a U.S. president in a coming TV miniseries "The West Wing," said his protest was "in the spirit" of the late Manhattan Project leader and theoretical physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer. He knelt at the rope boundary of the protest area, said the Lord's Prayer and told lab Deputy Security Director John E. "Gene" Tucker, "I'm all yours."

Two armed security guards in camouflage took Sheen by his arms and escorted him away to the cheers of the crowd. Handfuls of other protesters followed suit. None was formally arrested, but some were detained and some were handcuffed.

"Somebody's got to step up for a change," said Lisa Randall, a Santa Fe landscaper, who volunteered to be arrested as did her parents, Dorothy and Bill Randall of

Winthrop, Maine.

They were asked for identification and their Social Security numbers; some protesters were photographed. They were loaded onto a Los Alamos bus, hauled off the site and released at Ashley Pond, where the protest march began.

Los Alamos officials had threatened the protesters beforehand with prosecution under federal law. But prosecutors and the U.S. Department of Energy ultimately decided against the arrests, which angered protest organizers. More than 2,300 people were detained and released in the same fashion in November outside the School of the Americas at Fort Benning, Ga.

"What they don't want is an arrest," said Peace Action organizing director Van Gosse. "So they're playing with us. Well, we can play with them, too."

Publication: Jnl Legacy 1995 to July 2005; Date: Aug 13, 1999; Section: Final; Page: 39



Section--New Mexico Edition--Final Date--08/13/1999 Page--B3

GLOWING WELCOME

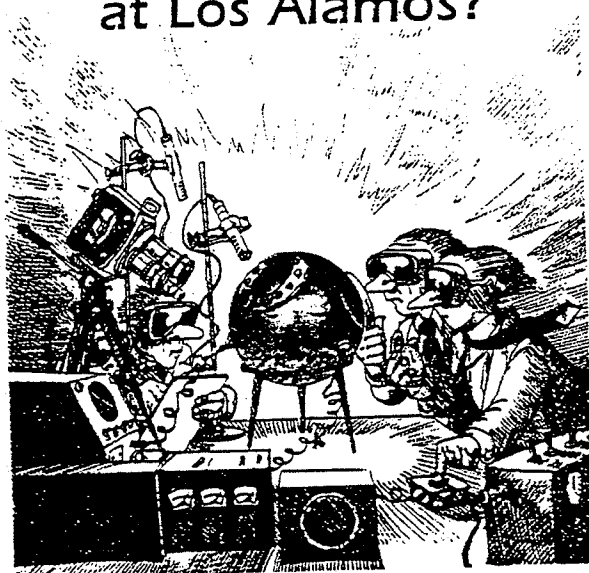
PHOTO CAPTION

PHOTO BY: GREG SORBER/JOURNAL

PHOTO: b/w

This billboard near the Albuquerque International Sunport welcomes visitors to the birthplace of nuclear weapons. The billboard is one of several anti-nuclear signs erected by the Los Alamos Study Group.

Plutonium explosions
at Los Alamos?



www.lasg.org

Paid for by: Los Alamos Study Group

CHECK IT OUT

S. F. New Mexican
8/13/99

Publication: Jnl Legacy 1995 to July 2005; Date: Aug 20, 1999; Section: Final; Page: 2



Edition--Final Date--08/20/1999 Page--A1

Weapons Projects May Move

John Fleck and Ian Hoffman Journal Staff Writers

Plan Balances Load At Los Alamos, Other Labs

The Department of Energy wants to shift key pieces of its nuclear weapons workload from Los Alamos National Laboratory to bolster a sister lab in California.

The proposal moves some work from Los Alamos to Nevada, shifts a large amount of plutonium and weapons maintenance now done at Los Alamos to Lawrence Livermore in California, and calls for a big new research complex at Sandia National Laboratories outside Albuquerque.

The moves, collectively called the "Mega Strategy," are aimed at balancing the workload at the department's major research and testing sites to ensure the right mix of skills is available in the future to maintain the nuclear stockpile, said Energy Department Deputy Assistant Secretary Gil Weigand, who is in charge of weapons research and development.

The Livermore moves are aimed at giving scientists there hands-on responsibility for nuclear weapons, rather than simply weapons-related basic research, Weigand said in an interview Thursday.

"You need a challenging workload where they are really touching the bomb," he said.

Weigand says the move is necessary to bolster the number of experienced U.S. weapons workers.

Nuclear-disarmament advocates see the changes as a worrisome retrenchment of U.S. nuclear-weapons work. The proposal seeks a dramatic increase in explosive testing with plutonium and plutonium-like metals.

"It's clearly a huge expansion of stockpile stewardship and beyond any scenario of what might be needed to keep the arsenal in a safe condition," said Jackie Cabasso, executive director of the Western States Legal Foundation in Oakland, Calif.

"For Los Alamos, this will mean more explosive tests with plutonium and more secret work at the plutonium facility," said Jay Coghlan, program director for Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety, a watchdog group in Santa Fe.

The critics also say other nations will read this spreading around of weapons work as the latest sign that the United States wants to keep its weapons indefinitely, rather than moving toward a smaller arsenal.

"For other countries, expanding activities at the Nevada Test Site is really offensive. It really flies in the face of what a test ban is all about," said John Burroughs, executive director of the Lawyers

Committee on Nuclear Policy in New York.

With no change from the current path, Lawrence Livermore's dwindling hands-on work on nuclear devices jeopardizes its role in the nuclear weapons complex, said Bob Peurifoy, a retired Sandia National Laboratories nuclear weapons designer.

"If you go down that road, you're going to close Lawrence Livermore as a device lab," said Peurifoy, who frequently works as an adviser to the Energy Department and who has been briefed on the proposed changes. "They've got to have something to put their hands on."

Details of the proposal have leaked out of the department in pieces over the last month. But Weigand's interview Thursday marks the first public acknowledgement by the department of the details and scope of the plan.

Weigand said the plan, being developed as part of the Department of Energy's Fiscal Year 2001 budget proposal, would ensure the labs are able to do needed refurbishment and modification of U.S. nuclear warheads after the turn of the century.

Few if any people would be moved when the work is moved, Weigand said.

The Nevada Test Site would be the new home of Atlas, a \$48.3 million machine under assembly at Los Alamos that would smash soda can-sized targets with massive jolts of electricity, yielding enormous pressures and temperatures needed to study how nuclear weapons work.

Weigand said moving Atlas to Nevada would free up Los Alamos to focus on hydrodynamic radiography, a crucial technique used by nuclear weapons designers. Scientists fire X-rays into exploding shells of high explosive and plutonium-like metals. That lets scientists check and refine the operation of "primaries," the initial A-bomb triggers for thermonuclear weapons. Weigand wants a more aggressive schedule of the tests at Los Alamos.

Part of the tests involve a top-secret project, code-named Appaloosa. They employ an exotic metal, plutonium-242, that can be imploded in bomb shapes without undergoing an explosive nuclear chain reaction. This gives scientists X-ray movies of full-scale weapons tests that never go "nuclear."

Moving plutonium work to Livermore will give Los Alamos more space at its plutonium facility for the Appaloosa work.

At the same time, Los Alamos would build one of the world's 10 most powerful proton accelerators to test out a new kind of hydrodynamic radiography. Scientists want more and higher quality pictures at more angles of exploding triggers. For a future machine, the Advanced Hydrotest Facility, they think the answer might be to surround triggers in multiple proton beams and X-rays, all delivering split-second pictures. Weapons designers can use these pictures as they do today, to verify the accuracy of weapons codes that simulate an exploding nuclear weapon.

But critics inside and outside of the weapons labs wonder about the prudence and the cost of transferring work away from those most experienced at it.

"Moving Los Alamos work to Nevada doesn't make any sense from cost or technical standpoint," said Greg Mello of the Los Alamos Study Group, a disarmament organization in Santa Fe. "It's creating a new lab in the desert."

Weigand would not say how much the moves would cost, but said the amount was "not significant." And he argues that weapons designers at Los Alamos are being stretched thin by their responsibility for maintaining weapons.

Department of Energy policy calls for the lab that designed a weapon system to be responsible for regularly taking a few out of the stockpile and tearing them apart, looking for signs of deterioration.

Los Alamos is responsible for five nuclear warhead types, while Livermore is responsible for three.

Weigand said the workload was "exhausting" the Los Alamos weapons designers. As a result, he's proposing shifting responsibility for one of the weapons, the W80 cruise missile warhead, to Livermore.

Sandia National Laboratories benefits from the proposal.

No major programs are leaving the Albuquerque lab, which is responsible for the electronic systems and other non-nuclear components in nuclear weapons.

But Sandia will get a \$300 million complex of buildings to centralize research into computer circuits and microscopic machines.

DOE proposal

The Department of Energy's proposal to shift workload among its nuclear weapons research and testing sites:

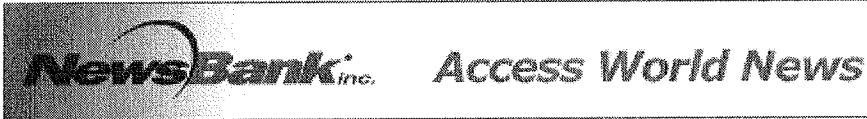
- * Gives an unknown portion of Los Alamos' job inspecting plutonium pits to its sister lab, Lawrence Livermore in Livermore, Calif. This \$7.9 million-a-year job, called pit surveillance, is a linchpin of maintaining aging U.S. nuclear weapons. Pits are hollow, egg-shaped shells of radioactive plutonium the size of a grapefruit. When crushed by high explosives, they become tiny A-bombs that touch off the hydrogen fuel in thermonuclear weapons. Scientists fear plutonium and its high-explosive shell is vulnerable to aging. DOE wants to send pit surveillance to Livermore to give that lab more "hands-on" work with plutonium components. At Los Alamos, about 30 people inspect about 15 pits a year.

- * Sends two Los Alamos research machines to Nevada. The prize is Atlas, a \$48.5 million machine that uses electrical power equivalent to 100,000 lightning bolts to crush a soda can-size "target." Los Alamos has spent \$2 million so far on Atlas, mostly refurbishing a building. Under the proposal, Atlas' 80-foot ring of capacitors would have to be disassembled at Los Alamos, reassembled and tested at the Nevada Test Site at unknown additional cost. Atlas targets typically lead, tungsten and copper are stand-ins for plutonium and uranium in weapons.

- * Makes Los Alamos the nation's center for hydrodynamic radiography. It's a technique for nuclear weapons designers to refine and check the operation of nuclear weapons by detonating mock weapons, with inert materials substituted for their explosive plutonium. X-rays of the blasts allow scientists to study the results.

- * Builds one of the world's 10 most powerful proton accelerators at Los Alamos to try out a new technique in weapons testing. The new accelerator at Los Alamos would operate at 50 Giga electron volts, about 60 times the power of the lab's current accelerator. Scientists want to try shooting the proton beam through exploding nuclear primaries from multiple angles in a future machine called the Advanced Hydrotest Facility.

- * Builds a \$300 million microelectronics complex at Sandia to develop components for refurbishing aging U.S. nuclear weapons.



Paper: Albuquerque Tribune, The (NM)

Title: Energy Department might shift workload from Los Alamos

Date: August 20, 1999

LOS ALAMOS The Department of Energy has proposed moving some of its nuclear weapons projects from Los Alamos National Laboratory to other nuclear labs and test sites around the nation. One element in the proposal would create a new \$300 million computer research complex at Albuquerque's Sandia National Laboratories.

The proposed moves are necessary because the workload at Los Alamos was "exhausting" weapons designers responsible for maintaining the nation's nuclear stockpile, said Energy Department Deputy Assistant Secretary Gil Weigand, who is in charge of weapons research and development.

The proposal, dubbed "Mega Strategy," would balance the workload at the department's major research and testing sites and increase the number of experienced U.S. weapons workers, Weigand said.

The plan moves some work from Los Alamos to the Nevada Test Site, shifts a large amount of plutonium and weapons maintenance to Lawrence Livermore in California, and creates a new research facility at Sandia.

Critics of the proposal are questioning the prudence and cost of transferring nuclear research away from those most experienced at it.

"Moving Los Alamos work to Nevada doesn't make any sense from cost or technical standpoint," said Greg Mello of the **Los Alamos Study Group**, a disarmament organization in Santa Fe. "It's creating a new lab in the desert."

The Nevada Test Site would be the new home of Atlas, a \$48.3 million machine being developed at Los Alamos that yields enormous pressures and temperatures needed to study how nuclear weapons work.

Transferring Atlas to Nevada would allow Los Alamos to focus on hydrodynamic radiography, a crucial technique used by nuclear weapons designers.

Moving plutonium work to Livermore will give Los Alamos more space at its plutonium facility for a top-secret project code-named Appaloosa. The project will allow scientists to simulate nuclear explosions.

Sandia will get a \$300 million complex of buildings to centralize research into computer circuits and microscopic machines.

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Author: THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Section: Local News

Page: A2

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Paper: Albuquerque Tribune, The (NM)
Title: Espionage case against Wen Ho Lee looking empty, some say
Date: August 24, 1999

Some former employees at Los Alamos National Laboratory say they believe the momentum in the investigation of suspected Chinese espionage at the lab may be shifting from government prosecutors to the chief suspect.

"Frankly, I don't think they can afford to indict him," said Chris Mechels, a retired Los Alamos computer security employee and lab critic.

Mechels, of Tesuque, is among China spy-case observers who are beginning to think Wen Ho Lee, the fired Los Alamos nuclear weapons computer scientist and chief suspect in the alleged theft of nuclear secrets by China, actually may be in better position than some originally believed.

"It's a dead deal," said Mechels.

Mechels said Monday that the government appears to have no evidence of espionage, will lose any case it tries to make against Lee on grounds that he broke internal lab security rules, and risks further exposing its own security problems at Los Alamos in a protracted court case.

Lee is under investigation by a federal grand jury in Albuquerque, but has not been charged with any crime in what investigators say is an espionage tale that appears to be more than a decade old.

Lee, a native of Taiwan and a naturalized American citizen, denies he did anything wrong.

Lab critic Jay Coghlan of Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety in Santa Fe said he believes that if the government actually had "a shred of evidence" against Lee, he would already be in jail.

A spokesman for U.S. Attorney John J. Kelly in Albuquerque declined Monday to comment on a news report that said the Department of Justice Internal Security Chief John Dion has urged his superiors not to proceed against Lee.

"We just wouldn't comment on internal deliberations here," said Myron Marlin, a spokesman for Attorney General Janet Reno. He said he did not know if Reno herself is or will be involved in any prosecution decisions in the Lee case.

He also declined to address any of the specific criticisms of a government case against Lee.

The core problem for the government, according to unidentified sources in an article in Newsweek, is that investigators don't have the evidence needed to charge Lee as a spy, and they fear that charging him with lab security infractions could require exposing the very secrets in court that Lee is suspected of pedaling to China.

Newsweek quotes John Martin, Dion's predecessor at Justice, as warning, "You don't make a lesser offense an obscure lesser offense the centerpiece of a prosecution in a major espionage case.

"It would be outrageous to follow a botched investigation with a botched prosecution," he told the magazine.

The government's own reports and congressional inquiries suggest the case has been bungled by the country's top intelligence agencies.

But some critics wonder whether the case isn't part of a lingering Cold War fever.

"Around here, its known as the artificially generated Wen Ho Lee case," said Greg Mello of the **Los Alamos Study Group**, a Santa Fe-based lab watchdog group concerned with the proliferation of nuclear weapons research at Los Alamos.

A former Los Alamos scientist says the case is brutally familiar and illustrates what he says are arbitrary, selective and abusive uses of security by Los Alamos and DOE.

"This guy Lee may be lucky, not like me," says Leo Mascheroni, a former Los Alamos fusion physicist who was fired by the lab in the last decade amid an investigation into security infractions that were ultimately determined to be false by DOE's own investigator.

Mascheroni said he believes taxpayers ultimately could get soaked in a countersuit by Lee for the failure of Los Alamos and the government to make their case before they took action against him.

Los Alamos Director John Browne fired Lee on the recommendation of Secretary of Energy Bill Richardson in March, and both Browne and Richardson have said the action was appropriate.

On Aug. 13 Richardson further asked Browne to discipline three existing and former Los Alamos employees:

Browne's predecessor, former lab director Sig Hecker, who returned to doing science at the lab; Robert Vrooman, the retired former lab chief of counterintelligence; and Terry Craig, a former lab counterintelligence team leader.

Mechels and Mascheroni both consider the reason for firing Lee that he transferred secret files from classified computers to his personal office work station to be bogus.

"We do not know what he had on that computer," said Mascheroni, "but that alone is not enough. Many people were doing that in X division (where both Lee and Mascheroni had worked). Everybody was doing that."

Mechels, who said DOE security rules were routinely violated at Los Alamos when he worked there, added that if Lee is to be charged with moving classified documents to an unclassified computer then his attorney certainly "will be calling everybody in X division to testify (that they did too)."

Mechels also suggested that Lee's attorney can be counted on to call for testimony from Vrooman, who last week charged that the case against Lee "was built on thin air" and that Lee was targeted because he fit the espionage profile as a Chinese-American.

Mascheroni said that because his own case occurred at the same time that China is alleged to have stolen Los Alamos nuclear secrets, he wants Richardson to reopen his case.

Mascheroni said, and an independent followup DOE security investigation concluded, that that security charges against him were "trumped-up" to discredit his science.

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Stockpile stewardship

Ray E. Kidder

Issues in Science and Technology 16.1 (Fall 1999): p20.

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"The Stockpile Stewardship Charade" by Greg Mello, Andrew Lichterman, and William Weida (*Issues*, Spring 1999) correctly asserts that "It is time to separate the programs required for genuine stewardship from those directed toward other ends." They characterize genuine stewardship as "curatorship of the existing stockpile coupled with limited remanufacturing to solve any problems that might be discovered." The "other ends" referred to appear in the criteria for evaluating stockpile components set forth in the influential 1994 JASON report to the Department of Energy (DOE) titled *Science-based Stockpile Stewardship*.

The JASON criteria are (italics added by me): "A component's contribution to (1) maintaining U.S. confidence in the safety and reliability of our nuclear stockpile without nuclear testing through improved understanding of weapons physics and diagnostics. (2) Maintaining and renewing the technical skill base and overall level of scientific competence in the U.S. defense program and the weapons labs, and to the nation's broader scientific and engineering strength. (3) Important scientific and technical understanding, including in particular as related to national goals."

Criteria 1 and 2, without the italic text, are sufficient to evaluate the components of the stewardship program. The italics identify additional criteria that are not strictly necessary to the evaluation of stockpile stewardship but provide a basis for support of the National Ignition Facility (NIF), the Sandia Z-Pinch Facility, and the Accelerated Strategic Computing Initiative (ASCI), in particular. Mello et al. consider these to be "programmatic and budgetary excesses" directed toward ends other than genuine stewardship.

The DOE stewardship program has consisted of two distinct parts from the beginning: A manufacturing component and a science-based component. The JASONS characterize the manufacturing component as a "narrowly defined, sharply focused engineering and manufacturing curatorship program" and the science-based component as engaging in "(unclassified) research in areas that are akin to those that are associated with specific issues in (classified) weapons technology."

Mello et al. call for just such a manufacturing component but only support those elements of the science-based component that are plainly necessary to maintain a safe and reliable stockpile. NIF, Z-Pinch, and ASCI would not be part of their stewardship program and would need to stand or fall on their own scientific merits.

The JASONS concede that the exceptional size and scope of the science-based program "may be perceived by other nations as part of an attempt by the U.S. to continue the development of ever more sophisticated nuclear weapons," and therefore that "it is important that the science-based program be managed with restraint and openness including international collaboration where appropriate," in order not to adversely effect arms control negotiations.

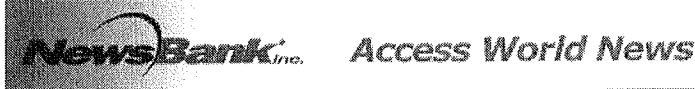
The openness requirement of the DOE/JASON version of stockpile stewardship runs counter to the currently perceived need for substantially increased security of nuclear weapons information. Arms control, security, and weapons-competence considerations favor a restrained, efficient stewardship program that is more closely focused on the primary task of maintaining the U.S. nuclear deterrent. I believe that the diversionary, research-oriented stewardship program adopted by DOE is badly off course. The criticism of the DOE program by Mello et al. deserves serious consideration.

RAY E. KIDDER

Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (retired)

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Paper: Contra Costa Times (Walnut Creek, CA)
Title: SPY SCARE MAY HURT AREA LABS' PROGRESS
Date: September 13, 1999

Scientists say crackdowns being urged in Congress after an espionage scare at the nation's weapons laboratories could freeze the flow of information and trigger a scientific Cold War.

They fear that some of the best minds in the country may be driven out of government labs, hampering science and, ironically, damaging the very thing Congress says it wants to protect - national security.

Recent allegations that the Chinese stole U.S. nuclear secrets at Los Alamos (N.M.) National Laboratory have rattled nerves in Washington and sparked demands for tighter security.

"The hair on the back of my neck stood up, because it's scary," Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, R-Miss., said earlier this year.

Congress is now considering recommendations that include tightening technology export controls, strengthening security at nuclear labs and reorganizing the Department of Energy, which oversees them.

The Energy Department's most recent efforts to tighten security include requiring thousands of scientists to take polygraph tests and ordering employees with security clearances to report "close and continuing contacts" including romantic liaisons with anyone from 25 "sensitive" countries such as China, Russia and Israel.

Some members of the House and Senate have called for a moratorium on allowing scientists from sensitive nations to visit American nuclear research labs.

Scientists say such restrictions are unrealistic.

"What Congress is asking the labs to do is to conduct a highly funded, broad-ranging research program into all aspects of the fundamental science of nuclear weapons and do it secretly," said Greg Mello, an engineer and director of the **Los Alamos Study Group**, a watchdog organization that researches nuclear issues at that lab.

"That's impossible. Too many parts of the science are unclassified. Too many areas overlap into commercial spinoffs. Some of the work is being done collaboratively with other weapons countries.

"Suddenly Congress is upset because they realize they can't keep all this secret," Mello said. "You just can't control something that big for that long."

Spying is nothing new

"Espionage is part of the world we live in," said Sidney Drell, professor emeritus at the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center who served on a presidential panel investigating security within government labs. "We do it. They do it."

And it's nothing new. During the early 1940s, American security agents went so far as to eavesdrop on conversations among Manhattan Project scientists during after-hours drinks at what is now Los Alamos National Laboratory, created to develop the atomic bomb.

But the meticulous counterintelligence could not prevent the greatest rupture in American nuclear security: Scientists Klaus Fuchs and Ted Hall copied bomb diagrams and gave them to the Soviet Union.

The spies greatly assisted the Soviet nuclear program, said Edward Teller, a former Manhattan Project scientist known as the father of the hydrogen bomb. But the Russians would eventually have accomplished the same on their own, he says.

A half-century later, the United States its military and economic might setting it apart from the rest of the world has become an even bigger target for spies, experts say.

The latest controversy was triggered by an FBI investigation into whether China pilfered secrets from Los Alamos lab and used them to make miniature warheads. China denies spying.

After months of investigations, federal officials said they lacked evidence to charge espionage against Wen Ho Lee, an American scientist, who was fired for moving classified information to an unclassified computer. Lee denies passing information to China.

John Deutch, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, also improperly stored classified material on an unsecured computer. His security clearance was suspended in August.

Edward Curran, director of counterintelligence at the Department of Energy, describes his agency's security system as one with "absolutely no discipline" but capable of reforming itself. Recently, the department began implementing new security measures, including limiting visits to the labs, having tighter computer security and moving to administer disputed polygraph tests for about 5,000 scientists working in classified areas, including Livermore. Energy Secretary Bill Richardson also appointed retired Air Force Gen. Eugene Habiger as "security czar."

The goal is to train scientists to be alert in all encounters with foreign scientists, who may be working with sophisticated spies, Curran says. "You get too personal, you're out there having dinner, meeting their family, and the next thing you know you are making a bomb for them."

Scientists agree some changes may be in order, such as a better definition of what is and isn't classified information and solid background checks.

"There has been an unfortunate tendency to have a fuzzy area: It's not classified, but you aren't supposed to talk about it," said Michael May, Livermore lab's director from 1965 to 1975.

By and large, scientists consider the security clampdown Draconian.

For example, Pief Panofsky, former director of the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center, called requiring a polygraph test "demoralizing."

Curran, though, sees the test as a critical counterintelligence tool: "Having a security clearance is not a right. It's a privilege the government gives you."

Distrust of foreigners

The furor over lab security could have serious implications for U.S. interests, experts say.

Distrust of foreigners could reverse a trend in which numerous foreign students who earn doctorates in science and engineering in the United States stay here.

"If there is a backlash, then the brain drain on the plus side for the United States will reverse," said Livermore lab scientist Joel Wong.

If such concerns about foreign-born scientists had existed in the 1940s, said Hungarian-born Teller, a former director of Livermore lab, "I would not have worked on the Manhattan Project. A very great percentage of the people who performed so wonderfully in the 1940s (to create nuclear weapons) came from Europe."

Officials worry that a perceived suspicion of foreign nationals could reduce job applications.

"Los Alamos is competing with the Microsofts of the world for the top scientific graduates," said Jim Danneskiold, spokesman for Los Alamos. "Foreign nationals are the majority of the graduates of the top science and engineering graduate programs in the United States. We haven't seen a real fall-off in recruitment yet. But it's not far off, given the current climate."

Too much security, researchers say, could also harm the nation by delaying breakthroughs. Science builds on itself, they explain. It requires a vigorous interchange among researchers, both American and foreign, whose expertise has always played a role in this nation's discoveries.

"The present debate is strongly influenced by a huge misunderstanding," said Teller. There is a myth that dramatic new findings can happen only in America. While security is a serious matter to attend to, it would be a mistake, he says, to allow the fear of spying to overshadow efforts to break new scientific ground.

The Chinese are capable of developing sophisticated nuclear weapons, said Harold Agnew, director of Los Alamos during the 1970s. "They invented gunpowder, the rocket and spaghetti. Who's stealing from whom?"

The number of internationally co-written science papers soared 200 percent from 1981 to 1995, while the overall paper output increased only 20 percent, according to the National Science Foundation. In 1993, a quarter of all doctoral scientists and engineers in the United States were foreign-born.

"With less than 2 percent of the world's research and development being conducted at DOE national laboratories, many of the scientific advances that we adapt and apply to specific national security problems are made elsewhere," Livermore lab Director Bruce Tarter told a Senate committee in July.

"There is no evidence of leaks resulting in contacts with foreign nationals," said John Holdren, a Harvard University professor who leads the National Academy of Sciences panel on International Security and Arms Control.

"We need to be attentive to threats of loss of nuclear secrets." But, he added, "There is a certain danger in clamping down where the problem isn't. Foreign nationals are allowed in labs where nonclassified work is conducted. It is something of a scientific gray area, where research can be indirectly applied to military uses benefiting the United States as well as other countries. Scientists may be working on a laser to help astronomers clarify images of the stars. The same technology, though, can guide bombs, Mello says.

"We are collaborating with the Russians to pump them for knowledge we don't have," he says.

In the end, scientists hope cooler heads will prevail.

Panofsky believes Congress and the White House have not critically analyzed the issues. What is needed, he says, is a balance between having security and creating an environment in which science can flourish.

"I'm very worried about the situation," Panofsky said. "On even days, I think this will all go away. On odd days, I think this is a wave of new McCarthyism."

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Section: News

Page: A01

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GOP Sinking Nuclear

Domenici Opposed; Vote Delay Pushed

BY IAN HOFFMAN
Journal Staff Writer

10/6/97
A treaty to outlaw nuclear tests worldwide was headed Tuesday for years of delay if not outright demise as Sen. Pete Domenici and other key Republican leaders said they would vote against it.

The move leaves intact a seven-year moratorium on U.S. nuclear testing. Yet it doused the hopes of arms control advocates who regard the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty as their most sought-after prize in 40 years.

And it deepened political uncertainties for a \$4.5 billion-a-year program to preserve and upgrade the nation's nuclear arsenal without testing.

Domenici, R-N.M., voiced doubts Tuesday about the long-term success of the stockpile-stewardship program, which employs

thousands of nuclear-weapons workers at Sandia and Los Alamos labs in New Mexico alone.

"I'm not for this treaty," Domenici said. "I have gotten very informed on it twice. ... Part of it's doubts about stockpile stewardship and doubts about (treaty) verification and setting up the new nuclear agency in the Department of Energy."

Senate leaders were poised Tuesday to postpone the treaty ratification vote scheduled for Tuesday — but only if the Clinton administration asserted it was seeking the

Test Ban Treaty

delay. Majority Leader Trent Lott, R-Miss., also said he would not agree to any plan under which the treaty could be called up again before 2001.

"If we're going to vote on this issue in this Congress, it's going to be next Tuesday or Wednesday," Lott told reporters Tuesday night. The White House continued to proceed as if the planned vote would occur. It appeared that neither Republicans nor the administration wanted to be blamed for shelving the treaty.

"As far as we're concerned, as far as we

know, there is a vote scheduled for Tuesday, and we intend to make every effort to succeed," National Security Adviser Sandy Berger said. However, he said there was a recognition by some senators that a mere week of debate was not a lot of time and "a cause for concern to some."

Both Lott and Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle took to the Senate floor late Tuesday to say they were trying to work out a compromise, but none had jelled yet.

Domenici and Sen. Jeff Bingaman, D-

See **GOP** on **PAGE 3**

GOP Sinking Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

from PAGE 1

N.M., both urged their respective party leaders to postpone the vote. Congress voted overwhelmingly in September 1992 to end U.S. nuclear testing and pursue a global test-ban treaty. Clinton signed the treaty in 1996, but since 1997 the accord had sat untouched in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee chaired by Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C. Lott and Helms agreed to bring the treaty to a quick vote when they found enough votes to defeat it.

"Everywhere you look, it's not going to pass," Domenici said late Tuesday. "I said the best thing for our country would be that we not vote on it, and I have a whole lot of quick support for that proposition. ... I cannot tell you it will get done."

But New Mexico's two senators part company sharply on the treaty itself.

"I think it's a very important treaty," said Bingaman, long a staunch supporter of the test ban. "It's been recognized for at least four decades now as an essential part of limiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons."

At the same time, Bingaman pointed out, "We are far, far ahead of any other nuclear power or potential nuclear power to verify the reliability of our nuclear weapons without testing."

Domenici has said he was leaning toward ratification. But he announced his opposition clearly Tuesday for the first time.

"There are a lot of things going on right now where I'm not comfortable with this treaty," he said. Domenici said he had misgivings

about securing continued funding for key stockpile-stewardship facilities and experiments.

"I have talked to some nuclear scientists," he said, "They, too, think it would be better to put (the treaty) on the shelf for a while and see what happens" to relations with former Soviet Union states and U.S.-Russian arms-reduction talks.

"If I am not sure we're there, then clearly I'm not in favor of this treaty," Domenici said. He said he would seek to amend the treaty if ratification were delayed.

Sen. Joseph Biden of Delaware, the senior Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, predicted that the Republican leadership would "pull down the vote" within 24 hours.

The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty has been signed by 154 nations but ratified by only two of the seven acknowledged nuclear powers, Britain and France.

Biden said it looked as if the treaty battle were degenerating into an almost straight party-line vote. Assuming all 45 Senate Democrats voted for the treaty, the president still would need 22 Republicans to gain the necessary 67 votes for ratification, and GOP support was disappearing.

"Republicans have vanished into the ether," Biden said.

A defeat of the treaty would be a humiliating loss for Clinton, who had argued that it was vital for America's national security interests and a deterrent to the spread of nuclear weapons.

"I think for the Senate to reject it would send a terrible message," the president said at the White House. "It would say to the whole world, 'Look, America's not going to test, but if you want to test, go

right ahead. We're not interested in leading the world toward non-proliferation anymore.'"

The already slim prospects for ratification of the treaty declined further late Tuesday when Biden said he had told Clinton the votes were not there.

Clinton complained that Republicans were rushing consideration of the treaty. Further, he said, Republicans were "under enormous pressure" not to side with the administration.

Republicans who often agree with the administration on international issues, including Domenici and Sens. Richard Lugar of Indiana and John Warner of Virginia, all have signaled their opposition to the treaty. Colleagues rely heavily on their expertise as chairmen of key committees, making them pivotal players in the ratification debate.

Arms-control advocates predicted that Domenici's opposition to the treaty risks undermining the political base for the stockpile stewardship program, for which Domenici has secured more than \$21 billion since 1995.

"The stockpile stewardship program, which is large and expensive, will become vulnerable not only among the arms control community but from good-government advocates and budget cutters," said Daryl Kimball, director of the Coalition to Reduce Nuclear Dangers, a treaty advocacy group.

"The longer Pete Domenici puts off finalization of the (nontesting) policy," Kimball said, "the greater the possibility that support for that program will erode."

Domenici had a key role in brokering a deal with the Clinton administration to secure higher

funding levels for the nuclear weapons labs in exchange for support of the test ban, said Greg Mello, head of the Santa Fe-based Los Alamos Study Group.

"He's been involved with this treaty from the ground floor," Mello said. "It would be a shame if partisan politics took over and snatched away his opportunity to be a statesman. ... But if this treaty goes down with Sen. Domenici on the wrong side, we will know who to blame when some nation sets off a nuclear weapon in the future or some nation tests but we can't conduct an onsite inspection."

Many prominent Republicans — including GOP presidential hopeful George W. Bush — say the treaty is not verifiable and would not stop the nuclear ambitions of North Korea and Iran. Further, they argue it would harm efforts to maintain the safety and reliability of the U.S. nuclear arsenal.

Clinton said the United States stopped testing in 1992 and has no intention of resuming.

Kimball said his organization still wanted to see a vote.

"The consequences of delay would be tremendous, but the responsibility for that would lie at the feet of those who vote against it," he said.

The Armed Services Committee held a closed-door hearing on whether the nation's nuclear stockpiles could be maintained in the absence of testing. Participants later said there was lively discussion on whether, if the treaty were voted down, pressure would increase to resume testing.

Material from The Associated Press was used in this report.



Paper: Albuquerque Tribune, The (NM)

Title: Lab budgets should be slashed if test ban fails, anti-nuclear activist says

Date: October 12, 1999

If the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is defeated, New Mexico weapons labs should have their budgets savaged, an activist with an anti-nuclear organization said.

The treaty was scheduled to go to a vote before the Senate today, although New Mexico Sen. Pete Domenici, an Albuquerque Republican, said he would urge for a postponement of the vote.

Domenici has said he could not support the treaty as it is currently crafted. Still, in a statement today, Domenici said he would ask for the postponement because "we risk complete collapse of ongoing disarmament initiatives by prematurely rejecting this treaty."

"That's a substantial risk with unknowable consequences," he said.

Greg Mello, a policy analyst for the **Los Alamos Study Group** in Santa Fe, said the labs shouldn't be able to have their cake and eat it, too: In the Stockpile Stewardship Program, American nuclear-weapons scientists and engineers are building and using expensive simulators, accelerators and computers as experimental test substitutes for actually detonating nuclear bombs.

If testing of the bombs is allowed to resume, Mello says, the billion-dollar simulators should not be necessary.

The labs have argued these costly devices are needed if they are not allowed to actually blow up bombs.

Mello says the entire premise for the Stockpile Stewardship Program is the test-ban treaty.

Mello said President Clinton could immediately halt construction of multimillion-dollar nuclear-bomb-blast simulators at Los Alamos and Livermore laboratories and stop experiments on others, arguing they are no longer necessary in a world without a nuclear test-ban treaty.

For example, Clinton would need very little excuse, Mello said, to stop California Livermore's construction of its troubled, \$1.2 billion National Ignition Facility a nuclear-fusion laser whose mission is to create the equivalent of tiny nuclear-bomb blasts in the laboratory.

The controversial cornerstone of the nation's Stockpile Stewardship Program, the NIF recently was reported to be nearly two years behind schedule and \$300 million over budget.

Mello said the United States, with no major global nuclear adversary, is spending more today on nuclear weapons than it did at the height of the Cold War.

In the last five years, he said, the nuclear-weapons budget has ballooned from \$3.24 billion in 1995 to \$4.53 billion for fiscal year 2000. Most of the extra spending, he said, is to finance machines and programs designed to replace nuclear testing.

Dr. Dan Kerlinsky, president of the New Mexico Chapter of Physicians for Social Responsibility, called today's Senate showdown the potential for "a grave public health emergency."

His organization opposes nuclear weapons on medical and humane grounds but had made concessions to the stewardship program in order to win approval of the test-ban treaty.

He said that the United States is at far greater risk of a nuclear attack without the test-ban treaty than if it is ratified and enforced around the globe.

Without the treaty, he said, "there is a very real risk of this (Senate rejection) turning into a global arms race . . . with the real potential for nuclear catastrophe. We, the United States, have to show nuclear leadership, just like we do in trying to settle international conflicts."

Kerlinsky's group Monday conducted a small demonstration outside Domenici's Downtown Albuquerque office and slid a letter under the senator's office door. Domenici's office was closed for Columbus Day.

Domenici today on the Senate floor, in an advance statement issued by his staff, was to urge postponement on

the vote in part because "Stockpile Stewardship is as yet unproven."

"We should maintain the moratorium on testing and postpone the vote on this matter," he said, expressing concern over "the negative impact of this treaty's possible defeat and the annual budgetary struggles for Stockpile Stewardship in combination with the scientific community's own doubts about the Stockpile Stewardship Program."

The group's letter told Domenici it "was shocked" by his stand against the treaty, after persuading Congress through his leadership of the Senate Budget Committee to spend more and more money on Stockpile Stewardship to ensure American warheads are safe and reliable without nuclear testing.

At Los Alamos, lab spokesman Bill Heimback said the nuclear labs have not conducted a nuclear test since 1992 and they assume that, regardless of what happens in the Senate today, the testing moratorium will continue.

"As long as the policy-makers in Washington see a nuclear deterrent as the key to our national security, then Stockpile Stewardship is needed to ensure the safety and reliability of the nuclear weapons without nuclear testing," Heimback said.

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Treaty Backers Appeal

N.M. Republican Favors Vote Delay

BY IAN HOFFMAN
Journal Staff Writer

10/12/99

Arms-control advocates made 11th-hour appeals Monday to Sen. Pete Domenici and other Republicans to drop opposition to a treaty that would outlaw nuclear testing worldwide.

"To vote against something you know is

right for our country is not in keeping with your record," the New Mexico chapter of Physicians for Social Responsibility wrote to Domenici on Monday. "This is not the Domenici legacy you want to leave behind."

The pleas came even as President Clinton — relenting to Senate leaders' demands — formally requested postponement of a vote scheduled today on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

"I firmly believe the treaty is in the national interest," Clinton wrote Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, R-Miss, on Monday. "However, I recognize that there

Clinton letter

President asks Senate in writing to put off vote on test-ban treaty **A4**

are a significant number of senators who have honest disagreements. I believe that proceeding to a vote under these circumstances would severely harm the national security of the United States (and) damage our relationship with our allies."

to Domenici

Clinton's letter fell shy of promising not to bring the test-ban treaty up again next year, a promise demanded by Lott and Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., and leading treaty opponents.

Helms called Clinton's letter "a step in the right direction" but insufficient. "It must be made clear that this (treaty) is dead and that the next president will not be bound by its terms," he said in a statement.

A showdown over the test-ban treaty is set for this morning as senators return from a holiday weekend and renew debate. The treaty is likely to fail if it proceeds to a vote.

Ratification requires a two-thirds Senate majority. Only two Republicans have voiced public support for the treaty, leaving treaty supporters at least 15 votes short of the 67 needed for ratification.

Domenici, R-N.M., favors delaying the vote. But he says he will vote against the treaty in part because he doubts the ability of weapons scientists in New Mexico and California to keep the U.S. nuclear arsenal operational without testing.

Paradoxically, Domenici has lead the

See **TREATY** on **PAGE 3**

Treaty Backers Appeal to Domenici

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charge to fund their work at more than \$21 billion since 1994. The scientists' endeavor, called stockpile stewardship, models nuclear weapon detonations on the world's fastest supercomputers and double-checks those models against microscopic inspections of warheads and bombs, plus weapons tests on powerful physics machines and 1,030 past nuclear tests.

"Obviously, the labs and Sen. Domenici figure they can have the freedom to conduct nuclear tests and build huge facilities to substitute for nuclear tests at the same time," said Greg Mello, a disarmament advocate who leads the Los Alamos Study Group in Santa Fe.

"It's a calculation they're willing to make about the gullibility of the American public," Mello said. "They want it all."

Directors of the nation's three

nuclear-weapons labs — including Los Alamos' John Browne and Sandia's C. Paul Robinson — conceded in Senate testimony last week that stockpile stewardship has no guarantee of working.

Nonetheless, they said, "we are confident that a fully supported and sustained stockpile stewardship program will enable us to maintain America's nuclear deterrent without nuclear testing."

In the event they fail, the test-ban treaty allows the president to withdraw the United States from the treaty and conduct nuclear tests.

The test-ban treaty is designed to slow the modernization and spread of nuclear weapons. Its logic is straightforward: Few if any military leaders will be willing to use an untested weapon.

But treaty opponents say extremely small nuclear explosions cannot be detected and so the test

ban is unverifiable. Leading geologists and seismologists challenged that notion last week, saying the treaty was easily verifiable by existing sensors and would be more so under an expanded monitoring network called for in the treaty.

Rejection or postponement of the treaty could have dire consequences for the United States and its role in arms control, treaty supporters say.

American leaders would have trouble persuading other nations to adhere to an earlier treaty. In the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, the United States and other declared nuclear powers promised to work toward complete disarmament. Non-nuclear nations promised not to seek nuclear arsenals.

"They will note with great despair that Russia and the United States have made no progress on arms control and China is preparing to

deploy new strategic weapons," said Daryl Kimball, head of the Washington, D.C.-based Coalition to Reduce Nuclear Dangers, a treaty-advocacy group.

"That's likely to prod some countries to prepare or maintain 'the nuclear option.' It really puts us in a dangerous position for the next century," Kimball said.

The treaty would impose a blanket international ban on all nuclear test explosions. The pact has been signed by 154 nations, including the United States, but ratified by only 51. It will not go into effect if the United States fails to ratify it.

Clinton sent the signed treaty to the Republican-led Senate two years ago, but leaders refused to move on it before now. The only hearing on it was held last week by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The Associated Press contributed to this report.

Test ban treaty rejected in Senate

10/14/99 New Mexican

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — The Senate rejected a landmark treaty to ban nuclear testing Wednesday, handing President Clinton a humiliating foreign policy defeat.

The vote was 48 to 51, far short of the 67 votes — or two-thirds of the Senate — needed for ratification. As expected, the final vote closely followed party lines, with only four Republicans voting for it and Sen. Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., voting present.

The showdown followed a bruising partisan battle. Democrats vowed to make the rejection a prime 2000 campaign issue, claiming polls show most Americans favor such a ban — first proposed by President Dwight Eisenhower in 1958.

Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, R-Miss., called the pact “fatally flawed.”

The vote was President Clinton’s biggest foreign policy defeat on Capitol Hill and represented another collapse of bipartisanship in a Congress characterized by a high degree of strife and paralysis. It also could have far-reaching international reper-

*“Sen. Domenici
could have
assured the
passage of this
treaty if he had
come out for it
early and strong.”*

GREG MELLO

Los Alamos Study Group

cussions. Major U.S. allies including Britain, Germany and France have warned that rejection of the test ban treaty would raise serious doubts about America’s commitment to reducing the nuclear arms threat.

Declaring that “the fight is far from over,” Clinton Wednesday night denounced the treaty’s rejection as “reckless” and “partisan.”

“For now the Senate has said no, but I am sending a different message. We want to limit the nuclear threat. We want to bring

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TREATY

Continued from Page A-1

the test ban treaty into force," Clinton said on the White House lawn.

The clock ran out after three days of debate and futile negotiations for a postponement among Senate Democrats, the White House and Republican Senate leaders.

Republicans who voted for the treaty were Sens. John Chafee of Rhode Island, James Jeffords of Vermont, Gordon Smith of Oregon and Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania.

Sen. Pete Domenici, R-N.M., voted against the treaty. In a statement, Domenici said he opposed the treaty in part because a stewardship program being conducted at Los Alamos National Laboratory and other labs to replace nuclear testings which has replaced nuclear testing haven't yet been proved successful.

The treaty has been signed by 154 nations, but must be ratified by all 44 of the world's nuclear-capable countries to take effect. Thus, the Senate vote was an enormous blow.

Supporters warned the price of outright rejection would be certain international condemnation — and could even increase pressure on emerging nuclear powers like Pakistan and India to conduct more tests.

"With this vote tonight, the world becomes a more dangerous place," declared Sen. Carl Levin, D-Mich.

Specter pointed to the military coup in Pakistan as one more reason why treaty is important. "The events of the past 24 hours in Pakistan show the undesirability of having Pakistan test," he said.

America's top European allies — Britain, France and Germany — had called on the Senate late last week not to reject the pact. And China earlier this week said U.S. ratification would lead other countries to follow suit.

But opponents claimed the compliance with the treaty could not be verified and argued that it would do little to stop terrorist organizations or dictators from developing nuclear weapons.

"It cannot accomplish its highly exaggerated stated goal of halting the spread of nuclear weapons," said Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms, R-N.C. He also said the would undermine confidence in the U.S. nuclear arsenal.

Clinton had made ratification a top second-term priority and was the first world leader to sign the pact in September 1996.

Domenici said that Clinton called him shortly before the final Senate debate on the treaty to seek his help in delaying the vote.

"The vote by the Senate today to reject this treaty was ill-timed and this poor timing could have adverse consequences in the world," Domenici said. "No need exists now for a vote: after all, the United States is not now testing and has no plans in the immediate future to do so."

Domenici said he may vote for the treaty sometime in the future.

However, the head of a Santa Fe disarmament group accused Domenici of being more concerned with protecting funding for the lab than with stopping nuclear proliferation.

"Most of his concerns are pork-barrel concerns — that's what they boil down to," charged Greg Mello, head of the Los Alamos Study Group.

"Sen. Domenici could have assured the passage of this treaty if he had come out for it early and strong but he was hedging because of either partisan loyalties or concerns about stability of funding" at LANL, Mello said.

Of the 44 nuclear-capable countries, 26 had signed the treaty as of today. But of the world's seven declared nuclear powers, only Britain and France have done so.

Although many Republicans favored a delay, a small band of conservatives, including Helms, blocked every overture made by either Clinton or Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle, D-S.C..

Helms had bottled up the treaty in his Foreign Relations Committee for a full two years before Senate GOP leaders, knowing they had the votes to kill the pact, suddenly brought it up for a vote.

Sens. John Warner, R-Va., and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., said more than half of the Senate had signed a bipartisan letter supporting a delay in principle. Warner opposed the pact and Moynihan favored it.

But under Senate rules, unanimous consent would have been required to move easily away from the scheduled vote and Democrats and Republicans seeking a delay could find no face-saving way to achieve such a postponement.

Daschle said neither he nor Clinton were willing to make any further concessions to Senate conservatives in exchange for a delay. "There's a limit to what I can do and I've reached that limit," he said.

Clinton had met one GOP demand by requesting a delay in writing. And Daschle had tried to meet a second one, a promise not to seek to bring it up until 2001 short of "extraordinary circumstances."

But conservatives rejected that overture, as well.

In a last-ditch effort, Democrats tried to block a move by Lott to move towards a final vote. They lost on a straight 55-45 party-line vote, with all Republicans supporting Lott's prerogative to decide calendar issues.

Lott blamed the administration for waiting too long before beginning a big push for the postponement. "I think they just thought they would bluff us. They kept poking and poking, saying they wanted to have the vote," he told reporters.

He said that Clinton had never talked to him directly about the issue, nor had Secretary of State Madeleine Albright or Defense Secretary William Cohen.

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Judge Orders Release Of LANL Information

Ian Hoffman Journal Staff Writer

Disarmament Group Prevails Against DOE

For the third time in two years, the U.S. Department of Energy has lost its campaign to stall release of public information about its work at Los Alamos National Laboratory.

U.S. Magistrate Judge Don J. Svet ruled last week that the U.S. nuclear weapons agency must comply with deadlines in the federal Freedom of Information Act, just as other federal agencies.

The ruling is the third victory for the Los Alamos Study Group, a Santa Fe-based disarmament group that is the most aggressive seeker of public records from the federal nuclear weapons lab in Los Alamos.

"We've seen defense after defense after defense raised by the Department of Energy to shield itself from the obligation to provide information to the public," said Steve Sugarman, the study group's attorney. "Judge Svet has shot down those defenses one by one every time that they've been raised."

DOE attorneys argued their agency needed more than the mandatory 20 days to respond to requests for public records. DOE said its job of protecting weapons-related secrets takes more time than the Freedom of Information Act allows for reviewing requested documents. As a result, DOE said, it should not be held to the same deadlines as other agencies.

Svet disagreed. He found that Congress knew the DOE and its predecessor, the Atomic Energy Commission, had a legal duty under the 1954 Atomic Energy Act to protect secrets. Yet lawmakers carved no special exceptions for DOE when they passed the Freedom of Information Act more than a decade later.

The Los Alamos Study Group filed its latest lawsuit against the DOE after failing to get responses for document requests dating back to October 1997. The documents cover such topics as explosive testing of nuclear-weapons parts at Los Alamos and safety analyses for a lab nuclear facility. Svet found the DOE largely failed to respond to those requests.

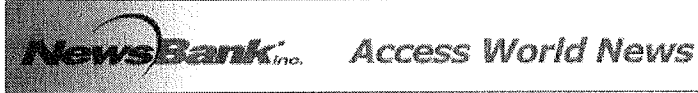
DOE attorneys said their agency's heavy Freedom of Information Act workload roughly 300 requests a year at its Albuquerque office alone qualified as an "exceptional circumstance."

But Svet found the Energy Department failed to prove it deserves the exception. He ordered the department to provide full responses to the study group's requests within 20 days.

Sugarman called the ruling "a wake-up call to the Department of Energy that it is not above the

law."

"The public has an absolute right to know exactly what the Department of Energy is up to, and hopefully the DOE is hearing that lesson loud and clear," he said.



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LANL conducting tests near Los Alamos park where officials found higher-than-expected contamination

Los Alamos National Laboratory is conducting a new study of a public park near downtown Los Alamos where state officials have found plutonium contamination at levels the laboratory previously said did not exist there.

Plutonium and other radioactive contaminants were discovered in soil samples taken by the New Mexico Environment Department in August and September from the banks of a dry stream bed which leads into Acid Canyon, near downtown Los Alamos. Since the 1960s the land has been owned by Los Alamos County. The sampled sites are in an area crossed by walking trails which now goes by the name Kinnikinnik Park.

The soil samples taken from the banks of the channel turned up levels of radioactive plutonium 239 ranging from 2.25 picocuries per gram of soil to 1,880 picocuries per gram. The highest level was found in soil between 1 and 3 feet deep in an area about 20 yards from a walking trail.

Plutonium 239 has a half-life of 24,000 years. It can cause cancer when inhaled into the lungs even in extremely minute quantities.

By comparison, Lawrence Livermore Laboratory in California has agreed to clean up plutonium contamination in recreational and residential areas above 2.5 picocuries per gram, a U.S. Environmental Protection Agency official said.

"Eighteen hundred and eighty picocuries is a very high number," said Steve M. Dean, a radiation expert with U.S. EPA's California office who monitors Superfund sites polluted areas that are on a federal priority list for cleanup. "With 1,880 picocuries, what you've got is a site that's way beyond what any Superfund guidelines would find acceptable."

"If I found a number like that, I would be concerned and would want to know more," Dean added "It would say to me that you've got a site that needs more cleanup."

State, DOE and laboratory officials said they want to know more about the site, too, but said the new findings don't necessarily mean that the area needs further cleanup.

"It could turn out that the risk assessment we have now remains in place," said Joe Vozella, assistant manager for environment at DOE's office in Los Alamos. However, Vozella said that "as a good neighbor" the lab may choose to clean up "hot spots" voluntarily even if it determines it doesn't need to do so.

John Parker, head of environment department division that oversees LANL, said, "We don't have enough data to say what the nature and extent of contamination there is. It does say that there is a possibility that the contamination there is greater than what was perceived previously." Parker said the state, DOE and the lab are cooperating on the new study of the site.

Vozella said the three agencies have agreed that the plutonium contamination the state tests found poses no immediate health risk.

Los Alamos County's administrator said the county has no immediate plans to post signs in the area warning of potential contamination.

"The last report we got from LANL said that the area was safe and that there were no measurable areas of contamination," said Los Alamos County administrator Joe King. "We have the new data, but we don't understand what it means."

King said he is waiting for the lab to explain the significance of the new test results. He said in the meantime posting signs would "unduly alarm people."

But one hiker, who walks the area daily on her lunch hour, said she would rather officials informed her of potential problems before they make a final determination of the site's safety.

"I don't want to hear 10 years from now that the park is contaminated and they're closing it, and meanwhile I've been walking there for the past 10 years," said Kathy Nussdorf, a Santa Fe resident who was walking in the park Wednesday.

"This is a park, a place which invites the public in. I want as much information as possible so I can make my own decision about whether I want to go in there," Nussdorf said.

"I think parents who are concerned about radioactivity have a right to know whether they want to let their kids play there," she added.

The laboratory dumped untreated liquid radioactive waste into Acid Canyon during the Manhattan Project. In 1951 the lab built a liquid-waste treatment plant on the lip of the canyon. Effluent from the treatment plant was dumped into the canyon until the plant was closed in 1964, according to lab documents.

The canyon was cleaned up twice once in the 1960s before it was given to Los Alamos County, and again in 1982. After the second cleanup, the lab said residual plutonium was below 100 picocuries per gram of soil.

In the early 1990s the canyon came under renewed public scrutiny after Tyler Mercier, a Los Alamos sculptor,

suggested there was a cluster of brain cancers in Los Alamos. Mercier pointed to Acid Canyon which was used as play area for children in the 1940s while untreated waste was being dumped there as a possible cause. A brain-cancer cluster was never proven.

After a review of its data and more sampling, LANL and Department of Energy officials determined that the area posed no health risks. The laboratory proposed to the state the site be taken off a list of sites that had been contaminated by the lab.

But in the mid-1990s the laboratory developed a new soil-sampling method allowing researchers to zero in on areas more likely to be contaminated. With the new approach, researchers take samples near physical barriers such as trees and old tires that prevent sediments from washing away.

"Using this method we try to target the areas where we expect to find the highest levels of contamination," said Parker. "So that is what you're seeing now."

The lab plans to do geological mapping of the site and to take 15 more soil samples of the area before the end of November, Vozella said. The new data will be used to recalculate the risk assessment which the lab previously used to determine that the area was safe. The lab expects to have its new study of the site completed by the spring, he said.

Lab spokesman Kevin Roark said that despite that fact that the lab had proposed that Acid Canyon be scratched off the list of contaminated sites, the lab had already been planning to do these additional studies. "But because of the concern and reports in the media, the schedule has been accelerated slightly," Roark said.

In September, after the state said it had preliminary test results showing plutonium at higher than previously detected levels, a lab spokesman said that "Acid Canyon has been researched and researched again and again and everything we know shows it does not present a health risk."

The environment department's oversight bureau monitors cleanup at LANL, but does not regulate radioactive contaminants such as plutonium. Two federal officials disagreed Wednesday whether the lab was bound by any federal standards for cleanup of radioactive materials in soil.

Environmental advocates said that such contaminants on federal sites often fall into a regulatory black hole. "DOE is self-regulating, and that's the problem," said Jay Coghlan of Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety.

Greg Mello, director of the **Los Alamos Study Group** in Santa Fe, said that state residents should be thankful that the state is collecting its own samples. "The state caught something that might have slipped through the cracks otherwise," Mello said. "They deserve a lot of credit."

But while the state environment department oversees DOE, its oversight bureau's entire \$2 million a year budget is made up of DOE funds, putting it in a precarious position, said Ken Silver, a public-health researcher in Santa Fe.

"Public health depends upon inspectors carrying a big stick when they go up against LANL and DOE," said Silver. "But under the current system the state environment department has to go to DOE hat in hand."

The head of an environmental group near Lawrence Livermore Laboratory that has pushed that lab to clean up plutonium in a nearby park said the public should be brought into the process in Los Alamos.

"What makes sense to me is that DOE and Los Alamos lab hold a public meeting and get input from the community," said Marylia Kelley, director of Tri-Valley Cares. "In the interim, the lab has an absolute moral responsibility to post clear signs to allow residents to decide they wish to come into contact with this site."

"Eighteen hundred and eighty picocuries is extremely high," Kelley said. "That's a big number."

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Author: BARBARA FERRY, photos by Clyde Mueller
Section: Main
Page: A-1
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by Bill Mesler **PETE DOMENICI IS A MAN ON A** crusade. The senior senator from New Mexico wants to change the way Americans think. For far too long, Domenici preaches, we have let our beliefs about nuclear energy be governed by fear rather than a recognition of all the good that it brings to the world. So the powerful six-term legislator, chairman of both the Budget Committee and the Appropriations Subcommittee on Energy and Water Development, is wielding his considerable clout for the promotion of all things nuclear.

In frequent public appearances at colleges, industry gatherings, and international forums, Domenici can't seem to find enough good to say about nuclear energy. He has praised food irradiation while questioning the dangers of low-level exposure. He has attacked Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) guidelines as "having a questionable impact on safety" while "their impact on the price of nuclear energy is far more obvious." He has called for publicly funded education initiatives to counter "misleading slogans from the antinuclear groups." He has described the Kyoto Protocol restricting greenhouse gas emissions as a virtual mandate for nuclear power. Last November he even told an audience at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) that he was "surprised no environmental group has championed nuclear energy" and that it should be "viewed as an environmentally preferred electricity source."

Domenici delivers the gospel of nuclear power with such evangelical single-mindedness that last year he went to Russia to give a July 4 address to the almost surreally named Youth and the Global Political Challenges of Plutonium conference and—without ever mentioning the name Chernobyl—claimed that nuclear energy helps in the "protection of vital freedoms."

In the words of his chief of staff, Steve Bell, the senator is dedicated to "rekindling a national debate on nuclear power." Domenici and his staff have a term for the philosophy they try to promote every day. They call it the "new nuclear paradigm."

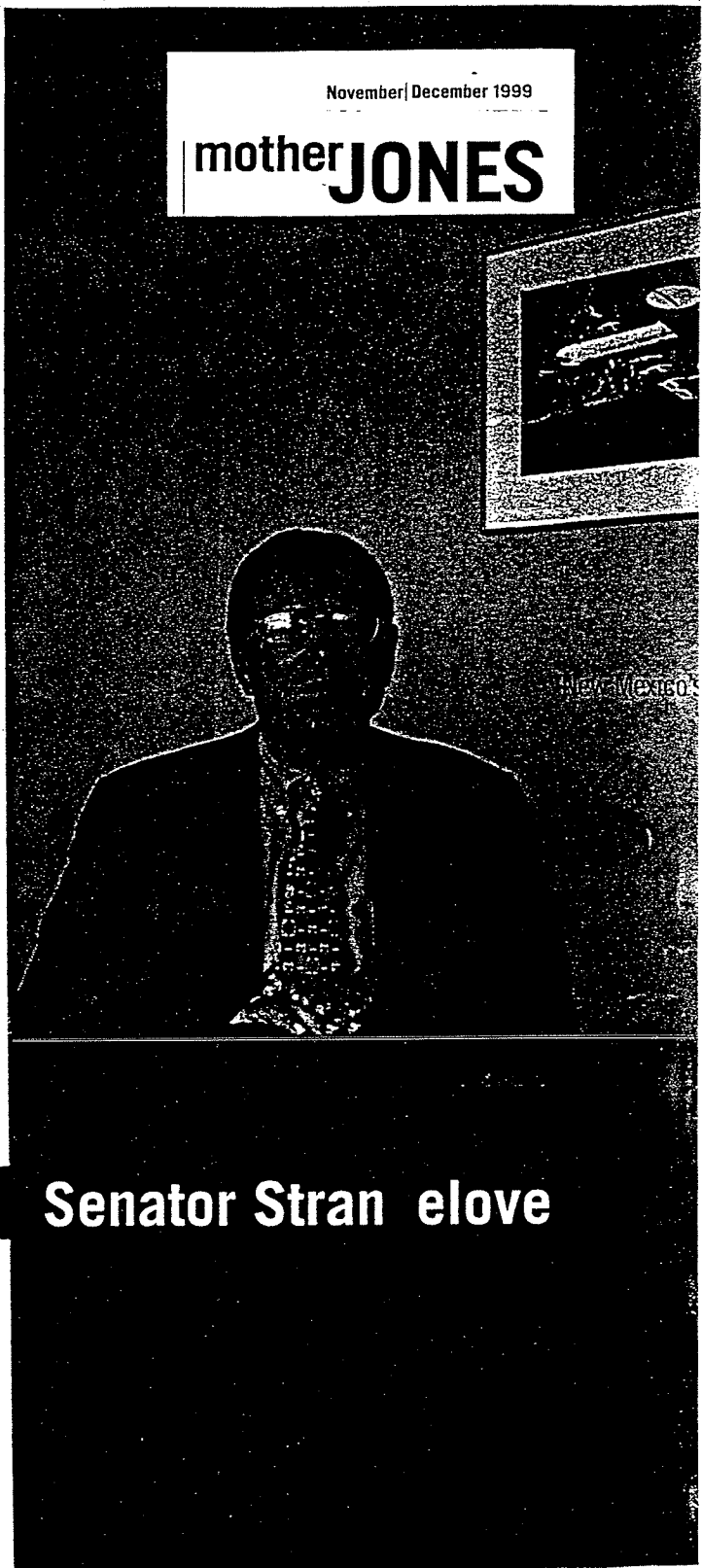
"What the new nuclear paradigm means is this," explains Bell. "If you are going to be in a world in which the use of nuclear energy is severely constrained, what new things do you think government ought to encourage and science ought to do to make a world in which nuclear weapons and nuclear waste are acceptable? We have done an extraordinary amount of work to make that happen."

Bell isn't exaggerating. In 1998, concerned that the NRC's regulations were too stringent in general, Sen. Domenici threatened to cut the commission's budget by \$90 million. This year, he was instrumental in securing more than \$27 million to reevaluate the health effects of low-level radiation and to research a plan to reduce the half-life of plutonium waste (a byproduct of nuclear weapons development) by bombarding it with high-energy proton beams in a linear accelerator at Los Alamos, New Mexico. An independent audit of the plan by MIT noted that while it would cost at least \$40 billion, the effect on the nation's nuclear waste problem would be minimal—if the plan even worked.

"He has anointed himself the savior of the U.S. nuclear industry," says physicist Ed Lyman, scientific director of the Washington, D.C.-based Nuclear Control Institute, a nonprofit

Photographs by Norman Mauskopf

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Senator Stran elove

research center focused on the problem of nuclear proliferation. "He has this notion that if he can funnel enough money into various projects he can rekindle the moribund nuclear industry."

Nothing better demonstrates Domenici's effectiveness in promoting his new nuclear paradigm than his salvation of the nation's weapons labs. Two of the Department of Energy's three weapons labs—Los Alamos National Laboratory and Sandia National Laboratories—are in New Mexico and are crucial to its economy, providing high-paying jobs in a state otherwise dependent on agriculture and mining. According to census figures, only Arkansas and West Virginia have lower median incomes. Revered as "Saint Pete" at the labs, Domenici has been able to safely navigate America's nuclear weapons program through the fall of the Soviet Union as a superpower, the pressure in Washington to balance the budget, and the election of a cost-cutting, supposedly small-government-oriented, Republican Congress in 1994.

In spite of all these factors, Domenici hasn't just preserved funding for the weapons labs; he has actually managed to secure significantly more money for them. During the Cold War, the Department of Energy (DOE) spent an average of \$3.7 billion annually (adjusted for inflation) on nuclear weapons research and development, testing, and production. Today, the annual cost of the Stockpile Stewardship Program (SSP), which replaces those Cold War efforts, stands at \$4.5 billion. "Would there be a Stockpile Stewardship Program today if it wasn't for Pete Domenici?" Bell asks rhetorically. "The answer is no."

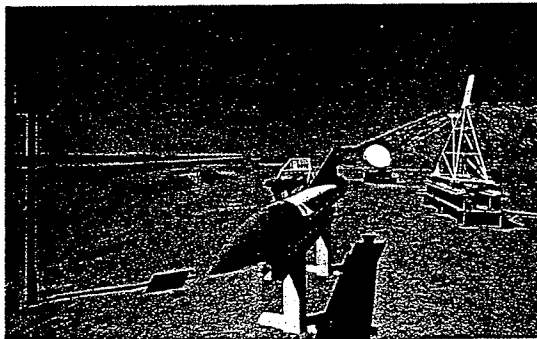
IN A SENSE THERE ARE TWO PETE DOMENICIS. THE FIRST is the fiscally conservative chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, who has earned praise from both sides of the political aisle for his pragmatic approach to policymaking. This is the public man, the one Democrats are attracted to: the man who so incensed Ronald Reagan in 1983 by his criticism of then-Budget Director David Stockman's "voodoo economics" that the normally mild-mannered Gipper smashed a telephone into a wall. This is the senator known for backing mental-health initiatives, education spending, and the rights of immigrants.

Then there is the other Pete Domenici: the consummate pork-barrel politician who "brings home the bacon," as the *New Mexico Business Journal* put it when it named him the state's most influential man in 1995. This is the staunch defender of New Mexico who has made his state, proportionately, the No. 1 recipient of federal largesse in the nation, largely by assuming the role of gatekeeper of America's nuclear weapons program. For every dollar that New Mexico sends to Washington, it gets back about two in federal funding, an average of \$7,200 per resident. Bell, who has worked for congressional heavyweights Howard Baker and Bob Dole, boasts that his current boss will be remembered as "the single most effective legislator in the last quarter of the 20th century."

Domenici's power in Congress helped him raise nearly \$3.5 million for his most recent reelection campaign (1996), although he perennially wins his seat by a landslide. More than \$425,000 of that came from political action committees and individuals tied to energy and defense-related companies, including Lockheed Martin, which manages Sandia, and General Electric, a leading developer of nuclear technology.

The weapons labs and their subcontractors have also been generous participants in those election efforts; from 1991 through 1996, individuals and PACs tied to the labs and their defense work put more than \$165,000 into the senator's campaign coffers.

The labs also provide Domenici with a full-time "science adviser," Peter Lyons, a physicist at Los Alamos whose \$159,000 annual salary is paid by the labs. Many of those who have dealt



Rocket relics on the grounds of Sandia National Laboratories; Domenici (in center) receives a plaque from the CEO of General Atomics (holding plaque) and the director of Sandia.

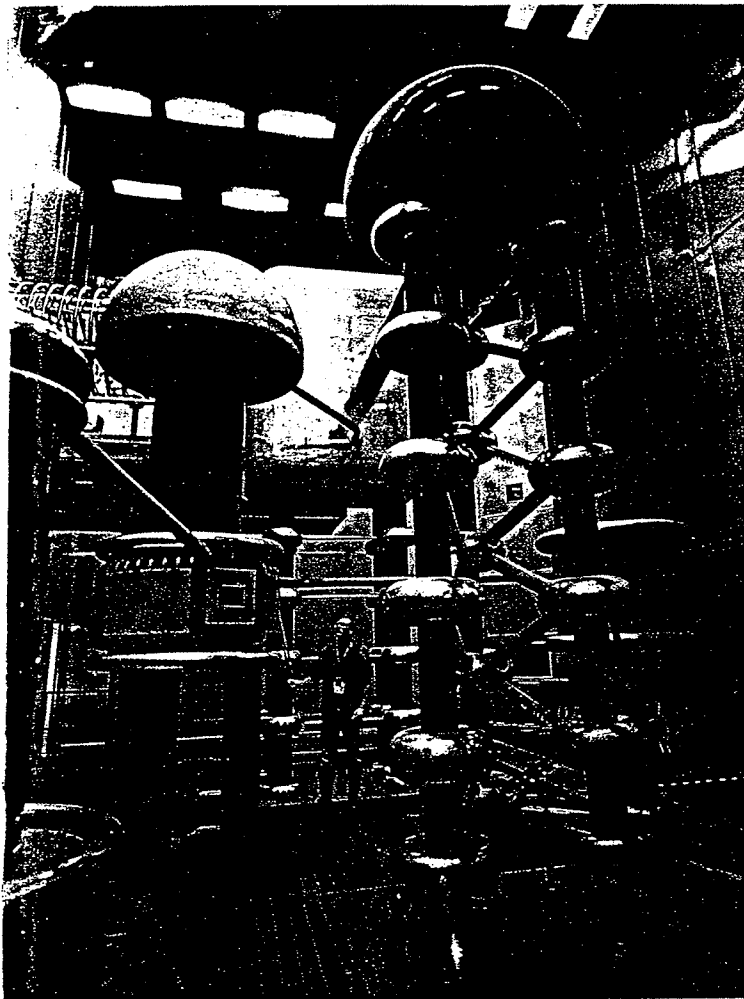


with Lyons believe him to be a member of Domenici's staff—a public servant—not a paid employee of the labs. The American Gas Association's guide to congressional staff even lists him as an "energy legislative assistant" to Domenici. "It is unfair to the taxpayer that you have a person like Pete Lyons in that position," says one Los Alamos physicist, who asked not to be identified, adding that Lyons is there to "protect the interests of the University of California," which manages Los Alamos.

THE DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY DESCRIBES THE SSP as necessary to maintain the "safety and reliability" of the nation's nuclear arsenal without compiling data through actual test explosions. Critics say that kind of language is little more than a smoke screen to mask the program's real purpose: to maintain the status quo of nuclear weapons design and testing through the use of supercomputers, subcritical nuclear testing, and other sophisticated simulations.

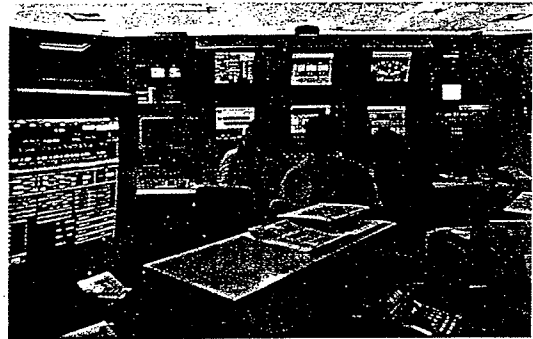
From the beginning, the SSP has been tied to the prospect of getting Senate support for the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), which President Clinton signed in 1996. It would take a two-thirds Senate vote to approve the treaty, a proposition that has become increasingly remote. If the Senate does not approve it, the United States' efforts to rally international support for the treaty will ring hollow. And without Domenici to coax reluctant Republicans, approval will almost certainly not happen.

"If we were going to sign on to the CTBT, both the executive and the Senate would have had to be satisfied that [guaranteeing



and end the arms race," says Lowell Ungar, an aide to Rep. Ed Markey (D-Mass.), one of the most vocal SSP critics in Congress. "In its present form the program appears to be continuing it. It is damaging to tell others not to develop nuclear weapons when your own program continues."

Outsiders see the U.S. program as ongoing because we continue to conduct controversial subcritical nuclear tests. Carried out at the Nevada Test Site, which Lockheed Martin co-manages, these tests are nearly identical to normal nuclear weapons tests. High explosives are used to generate a controlled nuclear reaction, which is suppressed before reaching the full, critical stage of a



An energy injector at the Los Alamos accelerator (left) and the accelerator control room

a reliable arsenal] was achievable," explains Charles Curtis, who, as former deputy secretary of energy, helped draw up plans for the SSP. "The SSP was that means." Domenici, in turn, would ensure that funding for the program was kept high. "This program emerged at a time when we were facing very significant fiscal disciplines," says Curtis. "Domenici played an essential, pivotal role in providing the fiscal funds on an annual basis."

Christopher Paine, a senior analyst at the Natural Resources Defense Council, helped craft early versions of legislation to ban nuclear testing when he was an aide to Sen. Ted Kennedy in the late '80s. He says that when the CTBT was being formulated by the Clinton administration, he "observed firsthand how when Pete Domenici whistled, everybody jumped."

"The administration was trying to craft a bipartisan compromise on testing," says Paine. "They did that by giving Domenici everything he wanted on the SSP." It turned out to be a dream come true for the laboratories.

Critics point out two fundamental problems with the SSP. The first is that it pushes the limits of allowable testing under the CTBT. "We have signed treaties that are intended to slow down

development of advanced new types of nuclear weapons." Indeed, when India staged its nuclear test last year, it issued a press release saying it would only sign a "truly comprehensive international arrangement which would prohibit underground nuclear testing of all weapons as well as related experiments described as 'subcritical.'" The European Parliament has similarly voiced its disapproval of subcritical tests.

The second criticism of the SSP is that it is simply a waste of money. Today it boasts such projects as the Accelerated Strategic Computing Initiative, a supercomputer-development plan, which, according to the General Accounting Office, may eventually cost more than \$5 billion (and which Chris Mechels, a former Los Alamos computer systems manager, describes as likely to "be obsolete before it is even created"). Another project is the Dual-Axis Radiographic Hydrodynamics Test (DARHT) facility, a pair of high-intensity-X-ray machines used to simulate the effects of nuclear explosions. Originally slated to cost \$110 million and be ready earlier this year, DARHT will have ballooned to about \$260 million and will be only partially complete by year's end. "Their budgets," says Mechels, "are just (Continued on page 92)

SENATOR STRANGELOVE

(Continued from page 59) an exercise in wishful thinking. Los Alamos is notorious for never bringing in anything on budget and on time." Construction costs alone for planned SSP facilities at the Los Alamos lab will total about \$1.2 billion over the next few years.

Some say the emphasis on fancy gadgets for virtual testing is counter to the program's goal of maintaining a reliable nuclear arsenal. "The main thing you have to be able to do is refabricate nuclear weapons," says Frank von Hippel, who was assistant director for national security in the White House's Office of Science and Technology Policy when plans for the SSP were drawn up. "You don't need to design new nuclear weapons. We are doing things we don't need to do as part of a political deal to get the laboratories to accept a comprehensive test ban."

Von Hippel, now a professor of public and international affairs at Princeton University, also criticizes the agreement to keep annual funding set at an artificial \$4.5 billion. "In effect, there was a deal made and it was enforced at the National Security Council without any focus on what the money was going to be spent for," von Hippel says. "The overall total was seen as a political number. That is not the way ordinary programs are reviewed. Programs are supposed to be justified on what they are supposed to accomplish."

But critics admit that prospects for curbing the SSP are slim. Few legislators have the political capital to challenge Domenici. And the administration remains beholden to him as long as ratification of the test ban is pending. Domenici, meanwhile, remains noncommittal on whether he will support the CTBT, although he has said in no uncertain terms that he will not support the treaty without vigorous funding of the SSP.

NOWHERE IS DOMENICI'S BLIND support for New Mexico's labs more evident than in his efforts to keep alive a giant accelerator project at Los Alamos. The lab's first experience with giant accelerators was during the Reagan administration's failed Star Wars program. And while using accelerators to destroy missiles is an idea few think will come again, Domenici finds ways to keep the project going. "Any nuclear waste bill that is moving through Congress in this day and age, Domenici

looks at and asks, 'Will this be the train that will pull along the accelerator project?'" says Greg Mello, executive director of the Los Alamos Study Group, a disarmament-advocacy group based in Santa Fe.

One plan was to convert the accelerator project into a tool to produce tritium, a radioactive gas essential to the trigger mechanism of a nuclear bomb. Because of decay, the tritium in each weapon must be replaced every 12 years. This year, however, the DOE found a cheaper solution: It would use a specialized reactor that could produce tritium for a fraction of the cost of using the giant accelerator. But Domenici has still managed to keep the accelerator funded at \$10 million per year for at least the next several years—as a backup option.*

The latest scheme is the Accelerator-Driven Transmutation of Waste (ATW), in which the giant accelerator would be used to bombard plutonium with X-rays, making it more radioactive but reducing its half-life. MIT's analysis of the project notes that even with full funding over 40 years, only a tiny portion of America's plutonium could possibly be transmuted. "This really is a way for some pronuclear fanatics to revive failed and dangerous breeder technology," says Anna Aurelio, a staff scientist at the U.S. Public Interest Research Group. "It would cost an enormous amount of money and divert scarce taxpayer funds away from programs that could be good for the environment."

But to Los Alamos, it would mean an extra \$40 billion in funding over 60 years. So despite MIT's damaging evaluation, Domenici managed to secure \$15 million in this year's Energy and Water Development Appropriations Bill to continue ATW research.

The senator's quest to forge a nuclear-friendly world will no doubt continue until, in Steve Bell's words, "nuclear energy will be an absolutely important element whenever people talk about clean air and clean water." So while the rest of the world protests on Hiroshima Day and worries about the next Chernobyl, Pete Domenici works to bring about a new—presumably safer and cleaner—nuclear future. It all sounds disturbingly like those carefree days of the 1950s, when the nation had high hopes for nuclear energy—the days when Eisenhower was president, the Nevada Test Site buzzed with activity, and the atom was still king. ■

* 88 million in FY 2000, 61 million in FY 2001. Project total over time 660 million. Source: FY 2000 Congressional Budget.

The labs are in the crosshairs

Larry Spohn.

New Mexico Business Journal 23.10 (Dec 1999): p69.

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With the defeat of the nuclear test-ban treaty, is the stewardship program in jeopardy?

For most of this decade, the nation's three nuclear weapons laboratories--including two in New Mexico--have been carving out a mission that could give them new life in a changed world, a world where increasingly their main products, bigger and better nuclear weapons, are rejected.

Among the most powerful scientific places in the world, these labs have spent most of their existence perfecting the most deadly and accurate weapons of mass destruction essentially to keep the peace. Give them credit. They have.

And along the way, they also did a number of other things for which they seldom got credit, including helping NASA explore the outer planers of the solar system; inventing the clean-room technology that made today's advanced computer industry possible; and helping to unravel the complexities of the human genome, that which makes us human. But with the demise of the Evil Empire, the nuclear weapons houses needed to re-establish their reason of being. With almost no public debate and little Congressional comprehension, the labs struck a bargain with Washington: buy into the emerging world disarmament mentality, including a bomb-testing ban, in exchange for money to pay for advanced technologies and supercomputers, which could simulate nuclear explosions, and continue to attract the best and brightest scientists and engineers.

These labs and their caretaker, the Department of Energy, settled early in the decade on this sprawling and convoluted technical defense, which is known as the Science-Based Stockpile Stewardship and Management Program.

Last fall that arrangement looked as if it might unravel, threatening a decade of lab growth that has taken place during a time when most Americans might figure these institutions ought to be shrinking, not booming. All it took was the defeat in the U. S. Senate of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, which logically should have been a shoo-in, for the world's only remaining superpower had nothing to lose and everything to gain from it. The treaty, which bans all nuclear testing, is the logical heart and soul of Stockpile Stewardship.

Critics lay a large measure of the blame for the treaty flameout on shoulders of the three lab directors. Treaty proponents say that in testimony to Congress and, through the statements of subordinates behind closed doors, the labs undermined the treaty by tugging at the threads of confidence that they had woven over the years about the labs' collective abilities to maintain safe and reliable nuclear weapons without any further testing, assuming frill funding for Stockpile Stewardship.

The threads are continuing to unravel. One nuclear weapons critic, Dr. Daniel Kerlinsky, warns, if it goes any further it's the labs, like the emperor, that will have no clothes. Kerlinsky thinks the labs and the New Mexico Congressional delegation have played fast and loose, and now are vulnerable as knowledgeable nuclear scientists, even weaponeers, come forward to expose the sham that they say is at the heart of the bargain, Science-Based Stockpile Stewardship.

Domenici argued during the Senate floor debate on the treaty that the labs Stockpile Stewardship programs remain underfunded by Congress and that one positive of the debate is that fellow senators are beginning to get an appreciation for the importance of Stockpile Stewardship and the need to fully fund its programs.

But a former Sandia vice president, Bob Peurifoy, who helped design and safety-engineer 14 nuclear bombs and warheads during a 39-year career, says flatly that Stockpile Stewardship is a lot of frosting piled atop an already rich and excellent cake. In fact, he says that all the fancy scientific toys being cited by the labs as critical to maintaining the nuclear arsenal actually are irrelevant to the fundamental post-Cold War labs' mission of ensuring the safety and reliability of the weapons.

The reality, says Peurifoy, is that the stockpile is robust, benefiting from 50 years of design, modernization and more than 1,000 weapons test detonations. He says that the stockpile has been routinely evaluated, improved and maintained since 1958 with some 14,000 individual assessments.

All told, the government is spending \$4.53 billion this year on nuclear weapons. That, says nuclear lab critic Greg Mello, of the Santa Fe-based Los Alamos Study Group, is about a billion dollars more per year than was being spent on average during the height of the Cold War "Why is that?" asks Mello, who adds, "mind you, I strongly support strong nuclear weapon labs. But really, how is it our costs are higher today? Why do we need more money to do less?"

Mello is among critics who suggest that in light of the treaty's defeat and the policy deceptions practiced by the labs, all the money being spent on the Stockpile Stewardship programs at Sandia and Los Alamos, and at Lawrence Livermore in California, should be summarily cut. In those crosshairs are thousands of lab jobs and hundreds of millions of dollars.

National nuclear watchdogs, like the Natural Resources Defense Council in Washington, also are expected to put pressure on Congress and the White House to reassess the Stockpile Stewardship program.

Their top target: Livermore's \$1.2 billion National Ignition Facility, a fusion energy laser and nuclear simulator that recently was revealed to be 18 months behind schedule and \$300 million over budget.

If unraveling threads threaten to undo Livermore's NIF, they also may threaten the lab itself. Over the last decade critics have asked, amid competition for the so-called "peace dividend," whether the nation really needs three nuclear weapon labs. Each has a labor force of 6,000 employees or more and an annual budget of about \$1 billion. And, in New Mexico at least where

some estimates put the federal dollar inflow at 30 to 35 percent of the state's gross product, the labs play a critical role in an otherwise lackluster state economy.

LARRY SPOHN REPORTS ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY FOR THE ALBUQUERQUE TRIBUNE, HE WRITES THIS COLUMN FOR THE NEW MEXICO BUSINESS JOURNAL.

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Lab official says alleged violations don't present an immediate risk

The state Environment Department is proposing to fine Los Alamos National Laboratory nearly \$1.2 million for alleged violations of the state Hazardous Waste Act and waste-management regulations.

All of the infractions were repeat violations, meaning the same type of problems were found during previous inspections, according to a fact summary sheet provided by the lab.

The 29 violations were discovered by the Environment Department's Hazardous and Radioactive Materials Bureau during inspections between July and December 1997.

The inspections were "wall-to-wall," meaning inspectors investigated every technical area at the lab. It was the first such inspection of its kind by the Hazardous and Radioactive Materials Bureau.

The state expected to find some violations, and for the most part "we weren't terribly alarmed," said Greg Lewis, director of the Environment Department's water and waste management division.

But Lewis acknowledged that "there were a couple we thought were significant violations."

Of the 29 violations, 12 were for a failure to determine if waste was hazardous.

"We don't think they were going to blow up at any moment," Lewis said. "But you wouldn't want to just go handle this stuff in a cavalier way without knowing what it was."

The 29 violations ranged from failing to do required work to characterize what is in lab waste and failing to keep adequate control of waste to having no eyewash station at a facility that handles hazardous waste.

Other violations included improperly marking waste-containment vessels; failure to keep proper paperwork; failing to close a waste container; failure to provide annual refresher training for some employees. There also was one violation for illegal storage of waste past 90 days.

The lab's scientific and technical work generates, treats and stores hazardous wastes and wastes mixed both with radioactive and hazardous substances.

The violations are listed in a compliance order from the Environment Department against the U.S. Department of Energy, which owns the lab, and the University of California regents. The university operates the lab for the Energy Department.

"None of the alleged violations posed an immediate risk to the health and safety of the public," Dennis Erickson, director of the lab's Environment, Safety and Health Division, said in a statement. "We continue to work to ensure that all concerns surrounding these alleged violations are addressed."

One lab critic called Erickson's contention that no immediate health or safety risk existed "a disclaimer without content."

"That's like a tape you can turn on," said Greg Mello, director of the **Los Alamos Study Group**, a disarmament and environmental watchdog group in Santa Fe.

With the lab comprising dozens of technical areas on 43 square miles of land, "it would have to be practically an explosion to pose an immediate threat the public," said Mello, a former hazardous-waste inspector for the Environment Department.

The lab has had hazardous-waste compliance problems since the mid-1980s when inspections began, Mello said.

The lab's attitude continues to be one of "we know best; don't bother us with rules that were invented elsewhere," Mello said. "They're not as interested in the letter of compliance as practically all industry," Mello said.

What's unusual about the compliance order are not the violations that were found, Mello said, but "the fact that the state is acting."

"The state has been very lax in issuing enforcement actions at Los Alamos for hazardous-waste violations," Mello said. "It's great that the Environment Department is seeing its way clear to enforce against the lab."

Los Alamos officials will meet with Environment Department officials to respond to the allegations.

Lewis said the \$1.16 million fine is "negotiable." That means that, depending on what steps the lab has taken to

remedy the problems and other factors, the lab ``may not have to pay that exact dollar amount," Lewis said.

``There are any number of things that could affect the final amount they pay," Lewis said. ``Our intent is to get the problem fixed, not to assess a penalty."

Lewis said a compliance order for 1998 is due out in several weeks. He declined to discuss that order until it is released but said the lab is ``doing better each year."

``We're going to anticipate a lot fewer (violations) in the next year in terms of the annual inspection," Lewis said.

Mello said the latest compliance order and proposed fine ``is a place to start, but the public is not getting its money's worth on cleaning up that place."

``These are not the only violations going on up there," Mello said.

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