

Paper: Press-Telegram (Long Beach, CA)
Title: APOCALYPSE REVISITED
Author: Story by Theo Douglas / Special to the Press-Telegram
Date: July 27, 1995
Section: LIFE/STYLE
Page: D1

Summer mornings come quick and hot to this desert. Coyotes yip and call as the night retreats over the mountains. Daylight brings what soon will be a wall of breathtaking heat.

This is an unfriendly, barren place, miles from any city, but 50 years ago its desolation was perfect for a team of international scientists who exploded the world's first atomic device in semi-secrecy at 5:29:45 a.m. Mountain Time, July 16, 1945. Less than a month later, Japanese troops surrendered, ending World War II, after the United States dropped two atomic bombs on Japan in August 1945. Five decades later, that act is still questioned by concerned citizens around the world.

On July 16, 1995, a crowd estimated at between 1,500 and 3,000 gathered at Trinity Site. They braved the heat, which grew intense by 9 a.m., to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the explosion with prayers and philosophical comments on the date.

Historic moment

The U.S. Army opened the site, part of the White Sands Missile Range, especially for the anniversary. Normally it is open only twice a year, on the first Saturday in April and October.

In many cases, those who flew from around the globe, or drove from Ohio, California, Washington, D.C., and parts of Canada decided almost casually to show up. But behind most of their decisions lay a conviction that something tremendous had happened here.

"It was a defining moment for evolution, and it was mankind's next step in evolution," said Bill Lacinak, who came out on vacation from Cleveland, with his father-in-law Wilson Lacinak. "We still have to learn to use the potential we have at our fingertips."

Today's protesters echoed his words. Ed Grothus of the **Los Alamos Study Group**, a New Mexico anti-nuclear group, worked on his message at the side of the road, lit by the headlights of his Ford truck.

He hammered together a wood frame in the dawn, then hung an American flag on it.

It flapped in the breeze and he and his daughter struggled to tie it down.

"I've been the major nuclear activist in the area for 40 years," Grothus said.

He joined the nuclear program at Los Alamos in 1949 as a machinist.

But his work haunted him, he said, and he decided he had to do something. "I was just doing my job making bombs, feeding bodies into the furnace," Grothus said matter-of-factly.

He turned back to his exhibit, and put up a banner which read, "We Are Sorry About Hiroshima & Nagasaki." Next to it was a painting of a mushroom cloud.

In the darkness, a charter bus and a satellite truck raced past Grothus and a mile of cars parked on the narrow road leading in.

At the information booth, hours later, a media log would list journalists from around the world.

One Japanese crew rented a limousine to sleep in, and arrived as military personnel prepared to open.

Inside the fence at Trinity Site, military police kept a close watch on demonstrators, disrupting their prayers when they tried to encircle the monument at ground zero and refusing to admit a group carrying a banner.

"I think this is a police state," said demonstrator Jose Arguelles. "They dropped a bomb here. The banner doesn't hurt. The bomb does."

Arguelles and his wife, Lloydine, drove from California with more than a dozen people to call for a worldwide nuclear freeze.

They all joined hands and prayed. That did not alleviate the tense atmosphere created by photo-hungry media, throngs of spectators, and wary military police.

Some physicists, awed by the bomb they built, who had hoped a demonstration of the bomb for Japan would make its use unnecessary had met with similar adversity half a century ago. Military leaders won the approval of President Truman to use the bomb and shorten the war.

Yet modern historians point out that the United States was at least partially aware that Japanese leaders were considering some sort of surrender.

Japanese hope

With this knowledge, Japanese citizens might understandably be bitter. But Tsukasa Ejiri, a Washington, D.C.-based reporter for the Japanese daily newspaper Hokaido Shimbun, said Japanese attitudes toward their atomic decimation have changed.

“They think it's a tragedy, but they think it will never happen again,” he said. Ejiri visited Trinity Site and Los Alamos, where the bomb was designed, and wrote an article about the anniversary.

Japanese scientists had their own nuclear program during the war, although it lagged far behind German and American efforts, and Ejiri said some Japanese today appreciate the painstaking preparation that went into the bomb.

That grueling work extended to Trinity Site, which in 1945 was even more isolated than it is to day. To house the bomb, Army personnel swiftly built a 100-foot tower from which to detonate the device, added a paved road, and carved bunkers in the surrounding badlands for scientists to view the results of their work.

Today, all that remains is a monument, two surrounding fences, and an instrumentations bunker immediately to the west. Two miles away, surrounded by sparse yet persistent shrubbery, is a small ranch house, built in 1913, and abandoned in 1942 when the Army began training bombing crews in the region.

Assembly site

Scientists took it over, too, and assembled the core of the bomb in its master bedroom. It has been restored, and like the Trinity Site, is open twice a year.

Berlyn Brxner, the chief cameraman in charge of photographing the 1945 blast, visited Trinity Site for the anniversary, and held court outside the ranch house. He said the blast was impressive, but so was the job he had to do half a century ago.

“The first shock wave came at about 30 seconds. There was a terribly loud bang, and there was a little wind (from the explosion),” he said. “My attention was on my cameras. They said it would be brighter than the sun, so to prepare, I just photographed the sun.”

Author: Story by Theo Douglas / Special to the Press-Telegram

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Paper: Santa Fe New Mexican, The (NM)
Title: ACLU CRITICIZES MUSEUM FOR CUTTING GROUP'S SPACE
Author: Kathleene Parker
Date: July 28, 1995
Section: SANTA FE / REGION
Page: B4

LOS ALAMOS -- The American Civil Liberties Union may be considering entering the fracas between a Santa Fe peace group and Los Alamos National Laboratory's Bradbury Science Museum. "We believe the museum seriously infringes on the protections afforded free expression under both the state and federal constitutions, if it in fact reduces the square footage allotted to dissenting views," Albuquerque ACLU executive director Jennie Lusk wrote in a July 25 letter to museum director John Rhoades.

Lusk criticized the museum's intention to halve the space now used by the **Los Alamos Study Group**.

"Halving the space permitted for alternate perspectives is actually throwing out a political view and substituting for it a view more compatible with the primary view put forward by the museum," she wrote.

Rhoades said he has not seen the letter and cannot comment.

Lusk could not be reached for comment, and ACLU lawyer Phil Davis said he did not know if the ACLU is about to enter the case or if the letter was just a statement of support for the study group's position.

The study group's current display, featuring photos from the Peace Memorial Hall in Hiroshima, Japan, is scheduled to be modified on Monday to allow the Los Alamos Education Group, an organization of veterans and former Manhattan Project workers, space for a display in support of the decision to drop the atomic bombs on Japan.

The study group said it welcomes the veterans' display for the 50th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima on Aug. 6 and through the fall but will not accept the permanent loss of space. LANL earlier said that a California court ruling allows it to divide the space among those with various viewpoints, including those who may share the lab's pro-nuclear viewpoint.

Lusk disagrees.

"The debate and dissent essential to real public exchange of views simply don't exist when all the views originate from one pro-lab perspective," she wrote. "The museum is in fact passing judgment based on content if it cuts in half the only space allotted for anti-nuclear viewpoints."

Author: Kathleene Parker
Section: SANTA FE / REGION
Page: B4

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JN 7/28/95

LANL wall to be shared until end of year

► Veterans' display will dispute argument that Japan was near surrender before atomic bombings.

BY PATRICK ARMIJO
JOURNAL STAFF WRITER

Public display space at the Bradbury Science Museum in Los Alamos will be split down the middle by camps holding opposite views on the morality of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The arrangement will last until the end of the year, but determining who'll control access to the 10-by-15-foot space beyond then may well be a matter for the courts to settle.

Steve Stoddard of the Los Alamos Education Group said a display sponsored by the coalition of veterans groups, including survivors of the Bataan Death March, Navajo Code Talkers and Los Alamos National Laboratory retirees, will be ready for public display at 1 p.m. Monday.

One section of the display, which was produced by Albuquerque's Retail Advertisers, Printing & Mailing Services Inc., will be devoted to combat what the group calls the "revision of history" by anti-nuclear groups who contend that use of the bomb was immoral.

The display will include an account by Bataan Death March survivor Vicente Ojinaga of Santa Fe about being herded into a pit with other prisoners, sprayed with gasoline and set on fire.

Stoddard said another section of the display aims at making "it

abundantly clear that the Japanese were not close to surrendering. The implication of the other group's display that the Japanese were ready to surrender is what is so infuriating to us."

Stoddard said his group has no plans to seek display space beyond the end of the year.

But that's a major fear of the Los Alamos Study Group, a Santa Fe-based anti-nuclear organization.

Cathie Sullivan of the Study Group, which was, until recently, the only organization requesting wall space, said a verbal understanding with the museum and a California court opinion opening up space at a similar museum at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory gives her group the right to control access to the wall.

"The nut of the issue is: Does the wall remain for bona fide, dissident opinion or is it a space for amend-

ing or just slightly divergent views of what the lab is already doing?" she said.

Sullivan said her group will go to court to prevent loss of control of the wall at the end of the year.

Bradbury Director John Rhoades said the museum, which is part of Los Alamos National Laboratory, will serve as the "custodian" of access to the wall and keep it open to all non-lab groups desiring space.

Protocols will be decided to determine how space will be shared should requests exceed display space, Rhoades said.

He added that determining access to the wall based on political content of the message would violate the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, and he said the wall will be open to all non-lab groups at the end of the year.

7-28-95 JN

Santa Fe Sun
Aug. 95

EARTHBEAT

People Kill People

by Suchi Solomon

This year's 50 Anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki threatens to blow the lid off the official mythology of the bomb as our Savior. According to legend, killing hundreds of thousands of civilians ended the war. Although it does look that way, the facts tell another story. No one headed for a mainland invasion of Japan had to die in battle. The reason for ending the war *in a hurry* with an atomic blast was to stop the Russians from entering the war and afterwards claiming a hunk of the pie. Therefore, people who thank bomb makers for saving family members should think about the fact that *our leaders* were willing to sacrifice *all life*—Japanese and American—to achieve their political goals—to maintain their power in postwar Asia.

Every year on August 6th and 9th, the world takes a backward glance and checks its conscience. This year the Los Alamos Study Group has put on display photos and commentaries of the effects of the blasts upon human beings from the Hiroshima Peace Museum—featured on a wall at the Bradbury Science Museum—in the bomb makers hometown. Although the Study Group gained the right to display alternative viewpoints on nuclear weapons only after a long court battle. In California, the thread of freedom which such a display, brings to us may be severed if the will of present Lab managers prevails. These folks already spend 22 million dollars a year on public relations to maintain in your mind the thought that Lab work benefits you rather than threatens you with genocide.

Last month veterans from Los Alamos complained to museum staff that the peaceful viewpoint on the Study Group wall was detracting from their vision of the war as a good deed. They enlisted the support of former Lab Director, Harold Agnew, who fired off a letter to the Bradbury staff demanding that they cooperate with the veterans or be prepared to lose their jobs. Meanwhile the Study Group held meetings with the veterans (whose opinion does not represent all veterans) and through quiet talk evolved a plan for a joint-exhibit which would show how both groups agree and disagree. Mary Riseley, study group staffer, was proud that the two groups were working together, re-enforcing her group's commitment to non-violent conflict resolution—a peaceful ending.

Unfortunately, Lab managers, sensing a power shift, stepped in abruptly to announce that half of the wall would be given over to the veterans. This kind of short-sighted decision-making failed to impress the Study Group who know about our rights under the Constitution. They quickly promised to seek a court injunction to maintain their use of all the wall. While searching for a backdoor leading to a more graceful ending to the confrontation, the group is going ahead with plans for the 50th anniversary.

Although it may seem that the forces of war and peace are once again tugging against each other—the thread of freedom on which we pull is becoming dangerously overstressed from lack of attention. Ironically the folks who were caught up in fighting wars say they did it for preserving our freedom. Now the Study Group challenges them to practice their preachings—to trust that OPEN DISCUSSION about the atomic bomb-

ings will bring us closer together as we reconcile views, listen to each other, absorb their meaning and let go of past hatred. This is an important healing process for our families and our society.

Luckily over the past two years, people from this country and foreign lands have visited the Bradbury Museum and seen the peace wall display are writing their impressions in a Visitor's book. Looking more like a graffitied wall than a book, page after page is filled with deep personal messages: anger, sorrow, confusion, hope, prayers, put-downs, insults, thanks, no-thanks, doodles, drawings and dreams scrawled and neatly penned. I found voices for both war and peace:

"I was one of those spared. Thank you for building the bomb. It saved my father...brother...husband. Without it, I wouldn't have been born." The true-believers pay homage to the destructive force they see as essential for their personal survival. But this theme of the bomb as Savior is also guiding their minds away from second thoughts, criticism and suffering. It's a loud noise which blocks out other questions:

"If Hiroshima was necessary, what was Nagasaki?" "Why destroy our home to make a point or a buck?" "Has it ever occurred to anyone that killing all these innocent people with an atomic bomb made us murderers?" "Japanese people are nice but war turns us into animals. Why do we feel compelled to fight horror with worse horror?"

Comments reveal the human capacity to feel joy, pleasure and the suffering of others: "My career was spawned by bomb blasts and testing. However I say the deaths of so many people was unwarranted." "Seeing charred bodies of children does not give me a feeling of victory. Rather, I am disgusted." "Isn't it ironic that we do such atrocities in the name of bettering our society." "It's a shame that LANL work is primarily aimed against people, instead of for people." "It is hard to realize all the Death."

Finally there is wisdom, pointing toward a way to de-escalate the hatred: "Despite all our efforts, we are not as powerful as we would like to believe. Nature overcomes us all. Lower your ego." "Hiroshima can happen again and again. Beware of being brainwashed: WAR IS PEACE; SLAVERY IS FREEDOM, IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH — George Orwell in 1984." "We should apologize to Japan for using A-Bombs. There is power in an apology. Not saying we are right or wrong but we are sorry." (The Emperor has recently apologized to the US government for bombing Pearl Harbor.) This idea drew alot of negative comments in the book and also the remark: "We have a troubling incapacity to handle criticism." "We need to be forgiving of the past. The Jews need to be forgiving of the Holocaust, the Indians of the Massacres, the Japanese of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the US of Pearl Harbor. It is our minds and motives which control war and peace."

Events scheduled for bombing anniversary: Sunday, August 6th noon to 9 PM. Ashley Pond Park in Los Alamos, a vigil, visit to Bradbury Museum, potluck picnic, and commemorative candle float on the pond at dusk. 7 PM - Channel 6, Public Access TV Special Program.

Wednesday, August 9th: All Day: Children's Peace Statue dedication events at Plaza Resolana, in Santa Fe. Call 982-8539 for information. ★

Public to discuss LANL's future

8/01/95

The New Mexican

Santa Fe city government is sponsoring a workshop and public hearing on the future of the U.S. nuclear weapons complex.

The city intends the meeting, scheduled for Saturday, to give the public an opportunity to comment on a U.S. Department of Energy plan that could turn Los Alamos National Laboratory into a nuclear bomb-making center in the 21st century.

Although the DOE — the par-

ent agency of the Los Alamos lab — has held meetings on the plan in Los Alamos and Albuquerque, it declined Mayor Debbie Jaramillo's request to hold a meeting here.

The agency stated that there is no DOE facility in Santa Fe.

The lab traditionally has been a nuclear weapons research facility.

Production work involves the handling of greater amounts of nuclear materials and therefore poses a greater threat to workers

and the environment.

The meeting will be divided into two parts: a morning session devoted to educating the public about the DOE's plan and an afternoon public comment session.

The meeting will be videotaped and all the comments will be forwarded to the DOE, said Peggy Prince of the Los Alamos Study Group, a Santa Fe citizens organization.

The hearing is scheduled to be held in the City Council Cham-

bers from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.

The afternoon session, from 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. will be broadcast live on Public Education/Government Channel 6 on the local cable television system.

The morning session has been reserved for an informational workshop by DOE officials and the afternoon session will be reserved for public comment.

For more information, contact the Los Alamos Study group at 982-7747 or the Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety at 983-1976.

LA group's view of bombings now on display at Bradbury

By **STEPHEN T. SHANKLAND**
Assistant Managing Editor

The Los Alamos Education Group's view of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki now is on display at the Bradbury Science Museum.

The Education Group exhibit, which opened Monday, takes up half the space formerly occupied by an exhibit by the Los Alamos Study Group, a Santa Fe-based organization that questions the use of the bombs.

The Education Group, a coalition of veteran and retiree organizations, asked for and was granted space to place its own exhibit. Education Group members object to some Study Group historical material.

The Study Group exhibit currently consists of several photographs of the effects of the bombs on Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and their inhabitants. The Education Group exhibit has its own grim photos: emaciated prisoners of war, a Chinese POW being stabbed by a Japanese soldier, the bombing of Pearl Harbor, and

other scenes. Both exhibits have quotations backing up their points of view.

The Education Group exhibit, addressed to "those who were not there and would rewrite history for their own purposes," has several figures and quotations that describe projected casualties and Japanese treatment of POWs.

Study Group members have complained that the Education Group exhibit is a rebuttal to the Study Group exhibit, not to the museum's official exhibits.

But the Education Group has said their perspective on the World War II history and the atomic bombings isn't represented in the museum.

And Los Alamos National Laboratory decided that it's against the First Amendment to judge whether an exhibit agrees or disagrees with the official exhibits.

Until the end of the year, the space will be divided down the middle, unless the two groups come to some other agreement, museum Director John Rhoades said today. The next issue is

the lab's formulation of a long-term protocol to govern the use of the "Alternative Perspectives" wall.

The Study Group has threatened legal action "to protect the essential anti-nuclear character of this anti-nuclear space," a Study Group newsletter said. In addition, "several Study Group members are willing to physically protect the public's right of access to both sides of this important issue."

But most visitors — three quarters of whom are from out of town — won't be aware of these political machinations, Rhoades said. Despite introductory panels explaining the "Alternative Perspectives" wall, Rhoades said he's worried visitors may not understand the purpose of the wall.

"Both are very dense exhibits," Rhoades said. "There is a lot of material here that people have to work through."

But at least a few people digested the exhibit.

(Please see EXHIBIT, Page 8)

LA Monthly
9/1/95
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August 1, 1995

EXHIBIT

(from Page 1)

it and wrote about it in the museum's comment book. Among a few remarks written Monday afternoon:

"Great new exhibit! It is a good rebuttal to the rewriting of history which is becoming too common now (such as by the Los Alamos Study Group)," said James Terrell.

And Alvin Hellestein wrote, "We did not begin World War II, and we have every right to use the two atomic bombs to help bring the war to an end. The Nazis and the Japanese created the terms of war: utter onslaught on peoples, as well as armies; extreme cruelty to subjugated people; complete domination by them as master races. We fought as a people and, by the terms of our enemies, against the people of Germany and the people of Japan."

One particular Study Group assertion the Education Group objects to is that the Japanese were ready to surrender before the bombs were dropped.

The Study Group exhibit says, "By the spring of 1945, the increasingly effective U.S. naval blockade, the devastating and nearly unopposed conventional bombing, together with a national remobilization of men and machines to the Pacific theater, had withered Japan's will to prosecute the war. Japanese civilians were literally starving to death, and Japan was looking for a face-saving way to end the war."

But the Education Group exhibit says the Japanese rejected a surren-

der offer from the allies on June 28, 1945. In addition, the Education Group cites a quotation from Japanese War Minister Gen. Anami, who, after both bombs were dropped, said at an Aug. 9, 1945, meeting of the Japanese Supreme Council, "Our army will not submit to demobilization and they know they are not permitted to surrender. There is really no alternative but to continue the war."

The subsequent decision by the council to continue the war was overturned later that night by the Japanese emperor, the Education Group exhibit says.

The Education Group exhibit is perhaps best summed up in a quotation from President Harry Truman, who made the decision to use the bomb.

On Aug. 10, 1945, Truman said, "Having found the bomb, we have used it. We used it against those who have starved and beaten and executed American prisoners of war, against those who have abandoned all pretext of obeying international laws of warfare. We have used it in order to shorten the agony of the war, in order to save the lives of thousands and thousands of young Americans."

Paper: Santa Fe New Mexican, The (NM)
Title: GROUPS UNVEIL DUELING EXHIBITS
Author: Kathleene Parker
Date: August 1, 1995
Section: MAIN
Page: A1

LOS ALAMOS -- A Santa Fe peace group Monday at least temporarily ceded half its space in the Bradbury Science Museum to local veterans. But attached to the peace group's new, smaller exhibit -- featuring stark, dramatic photos of Hiroshima and Nagasaki after the dropping of the atomic bombs -- was a sign accusing Los Alamos National Laboratory of censorship in the lab-owned, tax-supported museum.

Meanwhile, Rep. Bill Richardson, D-N.M., voiced his support of the peace group in a letter dated July 24 to museum Director John Rhoades.

"I would argue that groups like the **Los Alamos Study Group** should be afforded more space, not less, to present their information," Richardson wrote. "They have proven to be a responsible and serious alternative voice in the community and deserve to be heard."

A copy of Richardson's letter was sent to LANL director Sig Hecker.

"If it is the goal of your museum to present information and allow visitors to come to their own conclusions about important national issues, then many diverse views must be presented . . . (in a manner) consistent with the First Amendment," Richardson wrote.

Nowhere else in the museum is there information showing the consequences of using the bombs, the new study group display said.

"The issue is the public's right to express alternative views, views which counter those of the government," the display said. "Without this right, vested bureaucratic interests can turn government into a propaganda machine, as happens in the totalitarian systems our democracy has always deplored."

As Greg Mello and Cathie Sullivan of the study group put the finishing touches on the revised display, the Los Alamos Education Group arrived late Monday morning to hang its own display in the space just vacated by the study group. That display is sponsored by the Navajo Code-Talkers, VFW, American Legion, Bataan survivors and retired LANL workers.

As both groups worked, bombs identical to Little Boy and Fat Man, the bombs dropped on Japan in August 1945, rested a few feet away, retired from the nation's nuclear weapons arsenal but not from the debate over their use.

The veterans' exhibit was less gruesome than might have been expected from a group that earlier this summer criticized the study group of ignoring Japanese atrocities during the war. The most graphic photos were of emaciated men just freed from a Japanese prisoner of war camp and another of a Japanese soldier stabbing a tied and bound Chinese prisoner with a sword.

"We think that it (the veterans display) tells the real story of what it was like during World War II," Paul Elkins of Los Alamos said. "We feel that it shows that we were justified in using the bomb."

The controversy began earlier this summer when veterans and former Manhattan project workers demanded part of the study group's space for a display of their own. Despite threats of a lawsuit, the museum agreed. The study group later agreed to give half its space temporarily to the veterans but said it will take legal action or launch direct actions and protests if the museum tries to take the space permanently.

Author: Kathleene Parker

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Publication: Jnl Legacy 1995 to July 2005; Date: Aug 1, 1995; Section: Journal North; Page: 37



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SHARING OF DISPLAY SPACE DISPUTED

Patrick Armijo JOURNAL STAFF WRITER

BATTLE FOR WALL SPACE

Museum director says protocols would be written for sharing the 10-foot by 15-foot public wall should demand exceed space.

LOS ALAMOS -- Just as Midway was the turning point of World War II, there seemed to be an air of a new era at the Bradbury Science Museum on Monday.

Two members of the Los Alamos Study Group, a Santa Fe-based peace group, worked to rehang part of their display salvaged after a group of World War II veterans and Los Alamos National Laboratory retirees were given half of the public wall at the Bradbury for their display. The exhibit disputes the Study Group's view of the morality of the atomic bombings.

Before Monday, the Study Group had been the only organization to display on the wall, and it had content control -- a situation the group believed it would enjoy forever.

But Monday, some pictures of victims of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were replaced with photographs that included the beheading of an American flier by a Japanese soldier and pictures of skeletal American prisoners who survived the Bataan death march and imprisonment.

"We want to make it abundantly clear that the portrayal of Japan as some wilting flower ready to surrender at any minute is unequivocally false," said Steve Stoddard of the Los Alamos Education Group, the coalition of veterans and lab retirees.

The Education Group's display, produced by Retail Advertisers, Printing & Mailing Services Inc. of Albuquerque, was born out of the frustrations of the veterans and retirees who, Stoddard said, feared the Study Group's display would be the only political display at the museum on Aug. 6, the 50th anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing, and on Aug. 9, the 50th anniversary of the Nagasaki bombing.

Now, the Study Group is seeking assurance from museum officials that they will not consider the hanging of the Education Group's display as a "precedent" that will lead to loss of control of the wall by the Study Group at the end of September.

Study Group officials have said they will go to court to try to protect their control of the entire wall.

Cathie Sullivan of the Study Group said she was upset with changed wording on the information panel on the public display wall that had stated the wall was for "dissent," but now says the wall is for "responsible debate."

John Rhoades, Bradbury director, said his understanding was that the Study Group agreed the veterans display would be up through the end of the year.

Beyond that, Rhoades said protocols would be written for the sharing of the 10-foot by 15-foot public wall by all non-lab groups should demand exceed space.

Once draft protocols are written, Rhoades said they'd be open for public comment through the lab's Stakeholder Involvement Office.

PHOTOS BY: JANE BERNARD/JOURNAL

PHOTO: Color

Cathie Sullivan, left, and Greg Mello of the Los Alamos Study Group hang an abridged version of their display from the Hiroshima Peace Museum at the Bradbury Science Museum in Los Alamos.

PHOTO: Color

Cathie Sullivan prepares a statement to hang with the Study Group's display, at far left. Lab retirees and veterans later Monday hung their display on the righthand side of the wall.

Publication: Jnl Legacy 1995 to July 2005; Date: Aug 1, 1995; Section: Final; Page: 29



Date--08/01/1995 Edition--Final Page--C3

DIGEST

GROUPS VIE FOR WALL SPACE AT LA MUSEUM

LOS ALAMOS -- Just as Midway was a turning point in World War II, there seemed to be a new era at the Bradbury Science Museum on Monday.

Two members of the Los Alamos Study Group, a Santa Fe-based peace group, worked to re-hang part of their display after a group of World War II veterans and Los Alamos National Laboratory retirees were given half of the public wall at the Bradbury.

Pictures of victims of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were replaced with photographs of a Japanese soldier beheading an American flier and of skeletal survivors of the Bataan Death March.

Steve Stoddard of the Los Alamos Education Group, said the coalition of veterans and lab retirees feared the Study Group's display would be the only political display at the museum during next week's anniversaries of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings.

The Study Group is seeking assurance from museum officials that the Education Group's display won't set a "precedent" and have said they will go to court to try to protect their control of the entire wall.

STATE SEEKS MEDICAID GROSS RECEIPTS SHIRKERS

SANTA FE -- The state Departments of Taxation and Revenue and of Human Services are trying to collect unreported, unpaid gross receipts taxes from Medicaid providers.

The two departments announced Monday that they will investigate about 4,000 Medicaid providers statewide.

The project began when Human Services Secretary Dorothy Danfelter became concerned that some providers were billing Human Services for gross receipts taxes but weren't remitting the taxes to the taxation department.

MINISTER IN RUNNING TO FACE RICHARDSON

SANTA FE -- A minister and program director of a Santa Fe roller rink is seeking the Republican nomination for New Mexico's 3rd Congressional District seat held by Democrat Bill Richardson.

Bill Redmond, 41, who lives in Los Alamos, said he is a "cultural and fiscal conservative" who "strongly opposes most votes historically taken by Congressman Richardson."

Redmond said last week that he would build a campaign "with a resounding call to abandon the socialist welfare government programs of the last 30 years and return to the traditional values of northern new Mexico, values of faith and family."

Redmond, a Chicago native who has lived in New Mexico for eight years, is a minister of the non-denominational Santa Fe Christian Church.

STATE TARGETS MEDICAID PROVIDERS FOR UNPAID TAXES

SANTA FE -- The state Departments of Taxation and Revenue and of Human Services are trying to collect unreported, unpaid gross-receipts taxes from Medicaid providers.

The two departments announced Monday that they will investigate about 4,000 Medicaid providers statewide.

The project began when Human Services Secretary Dorothy Danfelser became concerned that some providers were billing Human Services for gross-receipts taxes but weren't remitting the taxes to the taxation department.

Paper: The Denver Post

Title: Los Alamos displays views on atom bomb Members of anti-nuclear group upset at having to share space

Author: The Associated Press

Date: August 2, 1995

Section: Denver & The West

Page: B-01

LOS ALAMOS, N.M. - Visitors to Los Alamos National Laboratory's Bradbury Museum now have a chance to look at contrasting views on the role of the United States in World War II and the decision to use an atomic bomb against Japan.

The "alternative" wall at the museum has a new display, showing the views of veterans and retired lab workers side by side with those of an anti-nuclear group. The Santa Fe-based anti-nuclear organization **Los Alamos Study Group** agreed to yield half its space temporarily to Los Alamos Education Group, made up of veterans, including Navajo Code Talkers and Bataan Death March survivors, along with the VFW, American Legion and retired lab employees.

"We think that it (the veterans' display) tells the real story of what it was like during World War II," Paul Elkins of Los Alamos said Monday. "We feel that it shows that we were justified in using the bomb."

The alternative wall had been instituted here after a California court ruled such alternative views had to be displayed at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory's museum in California. Both labs are run by the University of California under contract with the U.S. Department of Energy.

During World War II, the Manhattan Project designed and built the world's first atomic weapons at Los Alamos. The bombs were used on Japan 50 years ago this month.

Attached to the peace group's reduced exhibit, showing dramatic aftermath photos of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, was a sign Monday accusing the lab of censorship.

The lab had asked the anti-nuclear group to give up half its space for the education group's display rather than the lab providing additional space - a fact criticized by Rep. Bill Richardson, D-N.M., in a July 24 letter.

"I would argue that groups like the **Los Alamos Study Group** should be afforded more space, not less, to present their information," Richardson wrote. "They have proven to be a responsible and serious alternative voice in the community and deserve to be heard.

"If it is the goal of your museum to present information and allow visitors to come to their own conclusions about important national issues, then many diverse views must be presented ... (in a manner) consistent with the First Amendment," he wrote.

The study group has said it would sue or launch other actions and protests if the museum tried to take its wall space permanently.

Nowhere else in the museum is there information showing the consequences of using the bombs.

"The issue is the public's right to express alternative views, views which counter those of the government," according to study group. "Without this right, vested bureaucratic interests can turn government into a propaganda machine, as happens in the totalitarian systems our democracy has always deplored."

Author: The Associated Press

Section: Denver & The West

Page: B-01 Copyright 1995 The Denver Post Corp.

Day of grief planned for Hiroshima

BY PATRICK ARMIJO
JOURNAL STAFF WRITER

A solemn, contemplative commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima is planned by a Santa Fe anti-nuclear group beginning at noon Sunday at Ashley Pond Park in Los Alamos.

The event could have been much different.

Tom Campbell, executive director of Hermosa Beach, Calif.-based Avocado Productions and the Guacamole Fund, which helps organize rallies and concerts for nonprofit groups, offered to produce a rally with performances by Bonnie Raitt, David Crosby, Graham Nash and Jackson Browne.

But the Los Alamos Study Group decided against such festivity.

"We decided a quiet, contemplative tone was

more appropriate to commemorate an event for which we feel grief," said group co-director Mary Riseley.

Riseley also said the consensus among group members was that all other projects would have been put on hold to organize the rally.

She said it was more important to prepare for public hearings on the role nuclear weapons will play in a post-Cold War world and other hearings on the external regulation of Los Alamos National Laboratory.

In addition, she said, the group worried it might be blamed if the musicians used profanities.

"We wouldn't have any control of anything said from that stage, and if entertainers from New York and California came and started shouting obscenities, we would get the blame. We were worried about the reaction of the peo-

ple of Los Alamos to the event," Riseley said.

Campbell said his rally now will take place in Santa Cruz, Calif., and will include speeches from retired Rear Adm. Eugene Carroll; Ann Harris, a whistle-blower in the U.S. Department of Energy nuclear complex at Oak Ridge, Tenn.; and Shigeko Sasamori, who was brought to the United States for plastic surgery after being disfigured in the Hiroshima blast.

"I won't comment on whether I think the study group's decision was proper or not. We don't do anything without local support," Campbell said.

Instead of a concert, Sunday's commemorative will include silent meditation, origami classes, tours of the Bradbury Science Museum and speeches. At 7 p.m., Morgan Thomas of Santa Fe will perform her work, "Remember Hiroshima."

SF NM 8-3-95

Los Alamos braces for Hiroshima anniversary

By KATHLEENE PARKER
For The New Mexican

LOS ALAMOS — Officials in the home of the atomic bomb say they expect no trouble during Sunday's observances of the 50th anniversary of Hiroshima's bombing but will be prepared if problems develop.

"Certainly there are going to be additional security people on duty," Los Alamos National Laboratory spokesman Jim Danneskiold said. "They already are."

Police Chief Alan Kirk said his department doesn't plan to have additional personnel on duty but may call up extra officers if large crowds form or violence breaks out.

Members of some local peace groups who plan observances say confrontation is not what they have in mind.

"The whole idea is to have it very contemplative and quiet and reflective," said Mary Risely of the Los Alamos Study Group. "We feel that grief is the appropriate feeling and tone for Sunday — and reflection."

Deputy police chief Greg Talley recently urged Los Alamos residents to avoid confrontations with peace activists. While open dialogue and free speech rights will be respected, he said, violence will not be tolerated by demonstrators or residents who may disagree with them.

In mid-July, LANL held an exercise in which lab security personnel confronted a simulated hostage situation, Danneskiold said. In the practice scenario, one of two activists tried to embarrass the lab by pouring radioactive materials on herself. But such exercises are held every year and aren't directly linked to the upcoming Hiroshi-

ma anniversary events, he said.
During a July 16 gathering at Trinity Site on White Sands Missile Range, where Los Alamos scientists set off the first nuclear explosion, one protester splashed a vial of red liquid on a stone marker.

County Council member Morris Pongratz said he doesn't know of any plans for counter demonstrations. The county had considered an official observance, in the form of an hour of silence or church bells ringing beginning at 5:15 p.m. Saturday — the actual, local time when the bomb was dropped — but that idea never jelled, he said.

"The best thing, if you really

Please see **BRACE**, Page A-2

BRACE

8-3-95 NM
Santa Fe New Mexican

Continued from Page A-1

want to promote peace, is just to forget these things," he said. Preoccupation with the past leads to hostilities like those in Bosnia, he said.

Plans announced by the Los Alamos Study Group for observances in Los Alamos on Sunday include silent meditation from noon to 6 p.m. at Ashley Pond Park and will emphasize solidarity with the Hiroshima victims and all victims of all wars, Risely said.

There will be guided walks to the Bradbury Science Museum to view the study group's exhibit from the Hiroshima Peace Museum, which shows the devastation caused by the bomb, and a counter exhibit by the Los Alamos Education Group, a veterans group, which presents information on what led to the

decision to use the weapon.

At 7 p.m. there will be an interactive photographic artwork display at Fuller Lodge, and at twilight, candles will be floated on Ashley Pond, similar to a ritual performed each year in Hiroshima, Risely said.

On Aug. 9, the anniversary of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki, Stanley Goldberg, who resigned from the advisory board of the Smithsonian Institute because of changes made to an exhibit there, will speak at Fuller Lodge, Risely said.

An observance also is planned Sunday in Santa Fe.

Mary Lou Cook and fellow peace activist Ann Dasburg will conduct a 10 a.m. ceremony at a "peace pole" at Santa Fe's downtown public library, Cook said.

"We mustn't forget the past," she said, "but we must forgive it."

Paper: Santa Fe New Mexican, The (NM)
Title: MEETING TO ALLOW INPUT ON DOE PLANS
Author: The New Mexcian
Date: August 3, 1995
Section: SANTA FE / REGION
Page: B4

Rep. Bill Richardson, D-N.M., has joined the city of Santa Fe as a co-sponsor of a meeting Saturday intended to allow public comment on a U.S. Department of Energy plan for the future of the nation's nuclear program. Mayor Debbie Jaramillo this summer called on the DOE to hold a meeting here. It originally planned meetings in Los Alamos and Albuquerque, two cities where the agency has installations.

"The future role of Los Alamos National Laboratories in maintaining the nation's nuclear arsenal will affect not just Los Alamos, but Santa Fe and the rest of the state as well," Richardson said Wednesday. He said it is wise of the DOE to seek out informed public opinion as it charts its future course.

David Coss, the city's public works director, said Wednesday the administration is pleased to have Richardson's office involved. He said the city understands Richardson will send a member of his staff to Saturday's meeting but will not be able to attend personally.

The hearing is scheduled to be held in the City Council Chambers from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. The afternoon session, from 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. will be broadcast live on Public Education/Government Channel 6 on the local cable television system.

The morning session has been reserved for an informational workshop by DOE officials and the afternoon session will be reserved for public comment. For more information, contact the **Los Alamos Study Group** at 982-7747 or the Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety at 983-1976.

Author: The New Mexcian
Section: SANTA FE / REGION
Page: B4

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Publication: Jnl Legacy 1995 to July 2005; Date: Aug 4, 1995; Section: Journal North; Page: 60



Date--08/04/1995 Edition--Journal North Page-- 3

LANL UPS SECURITY FOR ANNIVERSARY

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

LOS ALAMOS -- Authorities don't expect problems during Sunday's events to mark the 50th anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing during World War II.

But they're standing by, just in case.

Los Alamos National Laboratory spokesman Jim Danneskiold said extra security personnel would be on duty. Police Chief Alan Kirk said no additional officers would be on the streets, but some could be called up if large crowds form or violence erupts.

However, a spokeswoman for one peace group said confrontations weren't part of planned activities.

"The whole idea is to have it very contemplative and quiet and reflective," said Mary Risely of the anti-nuclear Los Alamos Study Group. "We feel that grief is the appropriate feeling and tone."

Deputy Police Chief Greg Talley recently urged residents to avoid conflicts with peace activists. He said open dialogue and free speech would be respected but violence wouldn't be tolerated.

Laboratory security personnel held an exercise last month, staging a hostage situation, Danneskiold said. In the scenario, an activist tried to pour radioactive materials on herself.

Such exercises are held every year and aren't directly linked to the Hiroshima anniversary, Danneskiold said.

Publication: Jnl Legacy 1995 to July 2005; Date: Aug 5, 1995; Section: Journal North; Page: 67



Date--08/05/1995 Edition--Journal North Page-- 4

GUIDELINES WILL CLEAR THE AIR

EDITORIALS

Having found grounds for a truce between two dissident groups, Bradbury Science Museum officials now face a new challenge -- drawing up guidelines for public use of a tiny portion of its display space.

The Los Alamos Study Group, a Santa Fe-based peace group, rehung part of its display because they were required to share wall space with a group of World War II veterans and Los Alamos National Laboratory retirees who call themselves the Los Alamos Education Group. The two exhibits will be displayed together for Aug. 6, the 50th anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing, and Aug. 9, the 50th anniversary of the Nagasaki bombing. They'll hang side by side, offering their different perspectives to thousands of museum visitors, until the end of year.

Previously, the Study Group had been the only organization to display on the wall, and it had content control -- a situation the group believed it would enjoy forever.

But, as the peace group learned, few things in life are definite.

The Study Group wants assurance from museum officials that they will not consider the hanging of the Education Group's display as a "precedent" that will lead to loss of control of the wall by the Study Group. Group officials have said they even will go to court to try to protect their control of the entire wall.

But museum director John Rhoades said the museum, which is part of Los Alamos National Laboratory, will serve as the "custodian" of access to the wall and will keep it open to all non-lab groups desiring space. The protocols will be developed to fairly determine how space will be shared should requests exceed the room. Rhoades also stressed that the political content of the message can't be taken into consideration because that would violate the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. The wall will be open to all non-lab groups at the end of the year. Once draft protocols are written, Rhoades said they'd be open for public comment through the lab's Stakeholder Involvement Office.

The Study Group can, of course, take the lab to court over this, but the idea of development guidelines to sharing the space seems more fair than saying, as the peace group would like, that the wall belongs to them. The group should consider itself lucky to have sole use of the museum space for this long.

Publication: Jnl Legacy 1995 to July 2005; Date: Aug 6, 1995; Section: Final; Page: 11



Date--08/06/1995 Edition--Final Page--A6

SCIENTISTS: REDUCE ARSENAL

Patrick Armijo Journal Northern Bureau

TOO MANY WEAPONS' ON 50TH ANNIVERSARY

SANTA FE -- Fifty years after Little Boy's explosion some 1,750 feet above Hiroshima demolished the city and killed about 80,000 residents, three original researchers from the Manhattan Project say the time is ripe to reduce America's nuclear arsenal.

Already, the United States, based on arms treaties and unilateral action in the wake of communism's collapse, plans to drop its nuclear arsenal from a Cold War high of 20,000 to 3,000.

"Now, we have too many weapons," said Raemer Schreiber, who as a young physicist from Purdue University was plucked to work on the Manhattan Project in Los Alamos. "But with the end of the Cold War, you do have weapons in possibly hostile little countries all over Europe and Asia. We have to do something about that in some form of agreement.

"But the arsenal can be reduced below 3,000. I'm not an expert on that business. It will be a vast political debate on how far we can reduce the arsenal."

Schreiber notes the world's shocked realization of the horrible power of the bombs after their use in Japan, and adds, "You just can't conceive of a world that drops 1,000 bombs that are 10 times bigger."

What the country needs, Schreiber said, are just enough nuclear weapons to convince other countries about the futility of the nuclear option. He adds, we need "smart enough people on our end to ensure we won't do anything silly."

Joseph McKibben finds the world a bit safer today than 10 years ago. And he bristles at his claim to fame, a job he considers a minor duty in his work as a physicist in the Manhattan Project: The setting of the electronic timer that ignited the first nuclear explosion at Trinity Site in southern New Mexico.

But he adds that some nuclear weapons will be required for the foreseeable future.

"We have far too many of them on hand following the falling apart of Russia, but we can't reduce them to zero, otherwise we'd be subject to a Pearl Harbor with bombs," he said.

The threat of the massive retaliatory strikes theorized by the superpowers during the Cold War has greatly subsided, McKibben said, but added that the country is more at risk from a single use of the bomb by a renegade country or terrorist group.

However, he notes that even the wildest of renegade countries would be highly unlikely to launch a nuclear attack against the United States.

"A small renegade country using nuclear bombs is likely to realize they are going to see a lot more returning than they'd care to deal with," McKibben said.

John Balagna, a chemist who helped refine the enriched uranium needed for one of the two types of bombs developed by the Manhattan Project team, agrees that the time has come to reduce the number of America's nukes.

But he said he has "no way of knowing" if the planned reduction down to 3,000 nuclear weapons can be

dropped even further.

"I don't know if 3,000 is about right. There's no way to measure something like this," he said.

Whatever the number of nukes in America's future, Balagna, McKibben and Schreiber agree that complete elimination of the weapons from America's defense arsenal is foolhardy.

As much as everyone would like to see the possible use of nuclear weapons eliminated, the three see no practical way to achieve that -- the genie is out of the bottle and there's no putting it back.

"I don't know what the right number in the arsenal might be, but if you save 10, you better be sure something isn't going to come along and you need 12," Balagna said. "It's like a bank account. You'd like to have one with more in it than you'll need for the next month."

Despite agreement that America's nuclear arsenal can be reduced, the three scientists see no validity to the view that Cold War strategies with distasteful names like "mutual assured destruction" that led to the production of tens of thousands of nuclear weapons were immoral or unnecessary.

"All you can say is that we didn't have one (a major war between the United States and the Soviet Union), and we have lots of weapons now. You can say that's mere coincidence, but I don't think so," Schreiber said.

Balagna points to history:

"Look back at the 1920s: There were all these disarmament pacts. Did all this disarmament do any good? Hell no. World War II still occurred.

Hiroshima remembered

Two events are planned in northern New Mexico today to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima:

* From noon to 6 p.m. at Ashley Pond Park in Los Alamos, the Los Alamos Study Group, a Santa Fe-based antinuclear organization, will hold silent meditations, tours of the Bradbury Science Museum, origami classes and speeches. At 7 p.m. Morgan Thomas, a Santa Fe performance artist, will present her work Remember Hiroshima. The museum tours will include stops at a public-display wall. The Los Alamos Study Group is presenting an abridged version of a display developed by the Hiroshima Peace Museum.

* At 10 a.m., longtime peace activists Mary Lou Cook and Ann Dasburg have planned a ceremony around the peace pole at the main branch of the Santa Fe Public Library, 145 Washington Ave. Cook and Dasburg want people to come and share their feelings about the bombings of Hiroshima and the Aug. 9 bombing of Nagasaki.

LA Monitor
8-6-95

Meditation, art scheduled for Hiroshima day

Monitor Staff Report

Today, on the 50th anniversary of the nuclear age, the Los Alamos Study Group will hold a "Vigil for Peace" at Ashley Pond from noon until 6 p.m.

Silent meditation is scheduled for the entire six-hour period. Crane folding and a guided walk to the Bradbury Science Museum also are planned.

The day at the pond will conclude with singing, floating of candles on the pond at dusk, and a potluck supper, said information provided by the Study Group.

"On these anniversary days we grieve for the destructiveness of war for all sides, and renew our pledge of NEVER AGAIN," said the promotional flyer.

In addition, two art activities are planned for Fuller Lodge.

Performance art, featuring Morgan Thomas, will be held in the Pajarito Room at the Lodge from 7 to 8 p.m.

"This performance, a tableaux first created in 1982 in collaboration with Hibakusha (survivors), reflects on our intimate knowledge of

Hiroshima and Nagasaki, then draws on our capacity to recognize ourselves in the humanity and the earth's body that we hold in common with those who died and survived the atomic bombs and the aftermath of their continued production," said information provided by the artist.

A continuously running slide show featuring art by Jack M. Siegel is scheduled from 6 to 9 p.m. in the Pajarito Room at Fuller Lodge.

Siegel worked on the Manhattan Project as a radiochemist at the Clinton Laboratories in Oak Ridge, Tenn., said his resume.

"Sensing that the atom bomb project was nearing a successful conclusion, several of the senior scientists drafted a 'Petition to the President of the United States' expressing our desire that the power of the atom bomb be demonstrated so that it would never have to be used to destroy humanity. I was one of the 67 signers of the petition," he said.

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Los Alamos Monitor

DEMONSTRATION

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He said he had a successful career in biochemical sciences and then turned to art. "Although I have struggled to shed my science background, memories of the 'Manhattan Project' and images of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are an integral part of my psyche," his statement said. "Recently they surfaced in a series of life-size paintings entitled 'Shadows.' The 'Petition' and the scientists who signed the 'Petition' are an integral part of this series."

And, finally, "The painting, 'Shadows XI,' containing multiple

images of me, may be thought of as peace and hope arising from the ashes. It gives expression to the desire of all mankind that the atom bomb may never again be used to destroy humanity, and that only constructive uses will be found for atomic energy. In this way the aspirations of the scientists who helped develop it will be fulfilled," Siegel said.

On Wednesday, Aug. 9, the anniversary of the bombing of Nagasaki, the Study Group will host a talk from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m. at Fuller Lodge on "Documents, Memory and History — Hiroshima

and the Enola Gay Exhibit."

The speaker, Stanley Goldberg, helped to work on the Smithsonian's Enola Gay exhibit and went on to write two papers on the event: "The Smithsonian Suffers Legionnaires Disease" and "The Debacle of the Enola Gay Exhibit."

He plans to talk for about an hour and then to take questions for about two hours.

Mary Riseley of the Los Alamos Study Group encouraged people to turn out for the question-and-answer session. She said it would be lively. The talk is open to the public.

Leaders, public share ideas on lab

By SHARYN OBSATZ
The New Mexican

On the eve of the 50th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, Santa Fe's mayor and city councilor gave speeches Saturday urging Los Alamos National Laboratories not to start building "weapons of destruction" again.

"There are a number of people in this community who do not support jobs that lead to the death of people," City Councilor

Steven Farber said during a press conference. The lab and the federal government should refocus money and employees on cleaning up the environment and promoting the Earth's "well being," he said.

Farber's speech was part of an all-day hearing at City Hall sponsored by the city and U.S. Rep. Bill Richardson as a way to make some local residents' opinions heard by the U.S. Department of Energy.

The department is studying the impact of expanding the Los Alamos

lab's role in testing and rebuilding stockpiled nuclear weapons. The agency held hearings in Albuquerque and Los Alamos but not in Santa Fe.

About 100 people attended Saturday's session, which was led by members of the Los Alamos Study Group, a watchdog group that tracks activities at the lab.

Most opposed the idea of the lab taking over much of the stewardship and maintenance of the country's nuclear arsenal, which could also allow the lab to build new weapons. They argued that

the expansion would result in more environmental risks, including the shipping of radioactive material through Northern New Mexico.

"Congress is making all these decisions right now. They're going straight ahead as fast as possible," Greg Mello of the Los Alamos Study Group said.

A videotape of comments from the hearing will be sent to the Department of Energy.

Protesters speaking against the plan are trying to "give the Department (of Energy) the

backbone it needs to stand up to the Pentagon," Mello said.

But George Chandler, one of several lab employees who support the plan, argued that Saturday's hearing wasn't a fair public hearing because the Los Alamos Study Group decided Santa Feans would speak first, skipping over people from Los Alamos who wanted to argue in support of the plan.

"We are not outlaws," said Chandler, a physicist in the lab's

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LAB

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weapon testing division. "We are doing a job that is mandated by the federal government."

He said the government will transfer the nuclear stockpile program somewhere, so it's better to have it at LANL, where it will create a more stable job situation at a laboratory that faces job cutbacks and uncertainty.

More than 2,000 people in Santa Fe County work for the lab and its contractors, earning more than \$90 million per year, he said.

But Santa Fe mayor Debbie Jaramillo argued that "economic development is not a numbers game."

"It's about the quality of jobs,"

Jaramillo said during a break in the hearing.

She said in her speech that the lab will stay "culturally isolated" if it focuses only on designing and building bombs. The lab should shift to research on environmental restoration, arms control and technology transfer, she said.

It also should employ more Hispanics and people of color in management positions, Jaramillo said.

"I'd like to see Los Alamos become not an island of paranoia and privilege," she said, "but a place of hope and opportunity for people of Northern New Mexico, for their children and for the world."

SECTION B



Mayor Debbie Jaramillo

Politics: The other war

Several reasons behind dropping of bomb

8/6/95

By **BOB QUICK**
The New Mexican

The reasons the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were enormously complex, says science historian Stanley Goldberg, and among the factors were political and economic pressures that President Harry Truman could not resist.

"It was not just about saving lives," said Goldberg, author of a forthcoming book on Gen. Leslie Groves, military director of the Manhattan Project, which developed the bomb at Los Alamos. Groves, he said, "was worried to death they'd spent \$2 billion without Congress knowing it."

A Congressional watchdog committee was spoiling to investigate the prospect of wasteful spending. Such an investigation, Goldberg said, could have had huge political consequences for

the new president.

Goldberg is scheduled to speak at Fuller Lodge in Los Alamos at 7 p.m. Wednesday, the anniversary of the Nagasaki bombing.

The historian resigned from the advisory board of the Smithsonian Institute because of changes made to an exhibit there dealing with the atomic bombing of Japan. He will be the guest of the Los Alamos Study Group, which has had its own battles over an exhibit it installed in Los Alamos National Laboratory's Bradbury Science Museum that shows the devastation caused by the bombings.

Goldberg discussed his views about the making of the bomb and its use against Japan in a telephone interview from his home in Washington, D.C.

"I personally don't think Japan would have fought on," even if the bombs had not been dropped, Goldberg said. "The Japanese were as sick of the war as we

were by August of 1945. But I can count seven different reasons why the bomb was used."

Truman came into office after Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945, and had not aware of the enormous amount of money and personnel that were involved in the Manhattan Project, Goldberg said.

When Truman took over the presidency, the historian said, "He didn't even know about Los Alamos."

The momentum to use the bomb and the political consequences of not using it were such that the new president could not stop the process, Goldberg said, even if he had wanted to.

"Harry Truman didn't know about the plan to bomb Nagasaki until it was over," he said. "His only role was to say 'no,' and he didn't do that until after Nagasaki."

Sunday, August 6, 1995 THE NEW MEXICAN A-5



Why was the bomb dropped?

In April 1945, the Allies were preparing a controversial plan for a two-phase invasion of Japan. Use of the atomic bomb and Japan's subsequent surrender in Aug. 1945 prevented the invasion from taking place.

President Harry Truman had four alternatives for ending the war

TWO WERE MILITARY OPTIONS

1 Use atomic bomb

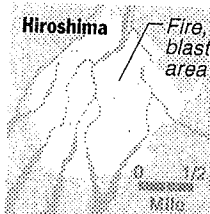
Total dead in both cities (after 5 years): **340,000**

► **HIROSHIMA:**
Aug. 6, 1945

Killed instantly:
80,000

Deaths by end of 1945:
140,000

Deaths by 1950:
200,000

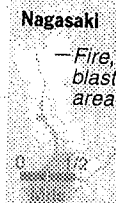


► **NAGASAKI:**
Aug. 9, 1945

Killed instantly:
40,000

Deaths by end of 1945:
70,000

Deaths by 1950:
140,000



2 Invade Japan (two-phase operation)

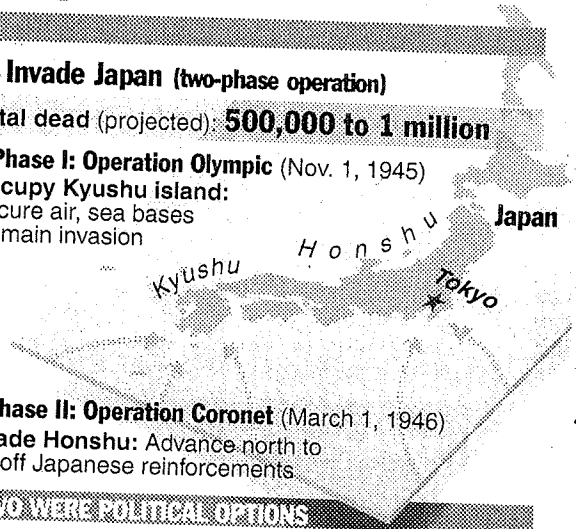
Total dead (projected): **500,000 to 1 million**

► **Phase I: Operation Olympic** (Nov. 1, 1945)

Occupy Kyushu island:
Secure air, sea bases for main invasion

► **Phase II: Operation Coronet** (March 1, 1946)

Invade Honshu: Advance north to cut off Japanese reinforcements



Truman's rationale for dropping bomb

1. End war quickly
2. Save U.S. lives lost during invasion
3. Contain expansionist U.S.S.R.

TWO WERE POLITICAL OPTIONS

3 Maintain blockade, conventional bombings

4 Negotiate peaceful settlement

SOURCES: "Japan Subdued," Herbert Feis, "Marshall Cavendish Illustrated Encyclopedia of World War II," "The Making of the Atomic Bomb," Richard Rhodes, "Rand McNally Encyclopedia of World War II," "Ruin From the Air," Thomas and Wits, World Book; research by BRENNIA SINK

Santa Fe mayor calls Los Alamos 'island of paranoia and privilege'

LA Monitor

8/7/95

By STEPHEN T. SHANKLAND
Assistant Managing Editor

SANTA FE — Santa Fe Mayor Debbie Jaramillo called upon Los Alamos National Laboratory Saturday to redirect its mission away from nuclear weapons work and toward cleanup.

Jaramillo, calling the lab "an island of paranoia and privilege," said if LANL doesn't change its mission, it "will continue to be culturally and economically isolated" from the rest of northern New Mexico. This "cultural threat" is just as bad as the environmental threat posed by LANL "seeking the primary role" in the future nuclear weapons production complex, she said.

With the Cold War over, LANL is at a crossroads, she said. It should choose good work for the future:

technology transfer, environmental technology, arms control and non-proliferation, and cleanup of the "environmental catastrophe" left from the last five decades of lab activity. Jaramillo spoke at a Santa Fe meeting to gather public comment on the Programmatic Environmental Impact Statement (PEIS) for Stockpile Stewardship and Management, a document that addresses the environmental effects of the future Department of Energy nuclear weapons complex. Under the plan, LANL could get responsibility for building and recycling pits, the plutonium core of nuclear weapons, as well as several other nuclear weapon parts. In addition to these production duties, the lab could get facilities to assure scien-

(Please see MAYOR, Page A-2

MAYOR

(from Page A-1)

tifically the safety and readiness of the nuclear stockpile.

DOE held scoping meetings on the PEIS in Albuquerque and Los Alamos, but declined a request for a Santa Fe meeting. DOE said it would hold a public meeting in Santa Fe further along in the PEIS process. However, the Santa Fe City Council, along with Rep. Bill Richardson, D-N.M., took matters into their own hands and sponsored a Santa Fe meeting that was organized by the Los Alamos Study Group and other activists. Comments from the Santa Fe meeting will be submitted to DOE. Santa Fe residents weren't given the opportunity to give their opinions on the future of LANL, Jaramillo said at a news conference that preceded a public comment period. But "DOE's non-interest in holding a hearing here doesn't surprise me," she said.

The Santa Fe City Council on July 12 passed a resolution calling on DOE to hold a Santa Fe meeting.

The resolution stated that LANL "has been generally isolated (a) culturally, with to-date limited opportunities for the advancement of minorities into senior management positions; (b) economically, with lit-

tle evidence of major economic development in the region centered on laboratory activities and without the benefit of gross receipts taxes paid to the state of New Mexico; and (c) in environmental compliance, with an institutional record of chronic non-compliance with major environmental laws." The resolution also called for a "comprehensive national programmatic review of the future nuclear weapons complex in which LANL will inevitably be a central facility."

At the public hearing that took place Saturday afternoon, some Los Alamos residents at the meeting objected to the meeting protocol. Los Alamos Municipal Judge George Chandler, a LANL physicist, accused meeting organizers of being "a bunch of damned hypocrites" when they said non-Santa Feans would have to wait until Santa Fe speakers had spoken. Los Alamos residents already had an opportunity at the Los Alamos meeting, said Peggy Prince of the Santa Fe-based Los Alamos Study Group, which organized the meeting.

Chandler said that the activists complain they are shut out of the process, but when they have control of a meeting, "The first thing you do is shut down opposing voices."

Several Los Alamos residents in the audience applauded his remarks. Chandler also asked if Richardson endorsed the policy. But the organizers held firm, and the meeting went on. Jaramillo wasn't the only Santa Fe city government representative to speak at the event.

"We need to stop nuclear weapons production," said Santa Fe City Councilor Steven Farber at the news conference. "We need to redirect the government money spent in the nuclear weapons cycle to environmental issues." Also at the news

conference, Dr. Dan Kerlinsky, president of the New Mexico chapter of Physicians for Social Responsibility, said that DOE's Science-Based Stockpile Stewardship Program will bring improved weapons design skills to the nuclear weapons complex. "Each facility makes it easier for scientists to design a new nuclear weapon," he said. Fifty years of the nuclear arms race is enough, Kerlinsky said. "It's time to put these weapons away and shut down the enterprise for keeping these weapons around," he said. In the future, he said, humanity shouldn't have to ask itself, "Why didn't we stop the arms race when we had a chance?"

Half-Day Vigil Marks Anniversary In N.M.

from PAGE A1

"My feeling is that the Japanese were not victims of American aggression, but victims of their own government," Younger said. "A government cannot function without the consent of the governed."

Most people at the commemoration read Younger's sign then quietly walk away.

Just to the right of Younger's sign was another, with an American flag hung backwards, that was more in touch with the crowd's sentiments. "We're sorry for Hiroshima and Nagasaki. We are the new abolitionists," it read.

The peace vigil, sponsored by the Santa Fe-based Los Alamos Study Group, drew a curious Akhiro Kurimasa, who has been a LANL employee since April.

Akhiro, who works in the lab's Life Sciences Division, and his wife, Ko, said the prevailing attitude of the bombings in Japan is one of sadness instead of anger.

Akhiro said he didn't think it ironic that he works at the laboratory that created the weapons that caused his homeland so much agony.

But he admits that the more hard-line American attitudes toward the bombing puzzle him.

"So many American people want to think (the bombing) is a positive thing, but I think there was no reason to kill so many people at that time," Akhiro said, adding:

"They were women and children. They weren't the army. There is no positive to kill such people."

Half-Day N.M. Vigil Marks Anniversary

BY PATRICK ARMILJO
Journal Northern Bureau

LOS ALAMOS — There was no pouring of red paint at the gates to the sealed-off section of Los Alamos National Laboratory on Sunday.

There were no placards or rhythmic chants of protest.

But about 30 people peacefully assembled around noon at Ashley Pond Park and began a half-day vigil commemorating the 50th anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan.

Some meditated while others broke off in groups and talked about the events that marked the opening of a new era in weaponry.

"I understand people have different opinions about the bombing. But I don't think it's an either-or proposition," said Karin Salzman, a Santa Fean who came to join others in reflecting on

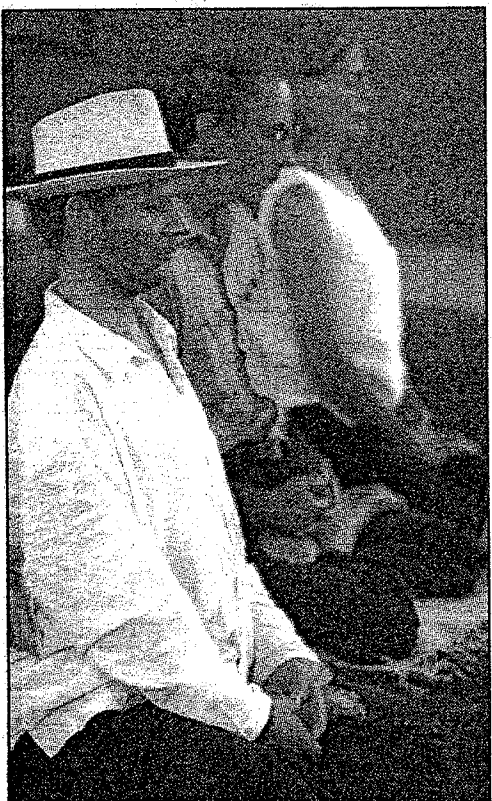
Hiroshima. "I know many people feel their lives were saved by the bomb. I know Japan also committed atrocities, but I also think the bomb was an atrocity."

Salzman said she hoped there was more reflection across the country today about the events of 50 years ago, and said she was surprised that more people weren't gathered at the pond.

Joel Younger, a 17-year-old high-school student, was in a definite minority among the crowd largely made up of Santa Fe peace activists.

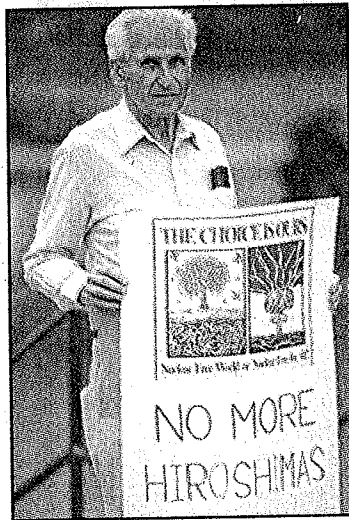
Younger had strung a banner across the "Winged Spirit" statue in the park. It read, "How many died before the A-bomb guaranteed our freedom: China 2,200,000 million & 8 million civilians, Britain 300,000 and 65,000 civilians, U.S. 292,000 and 6,000 civilians."

See **HALF-DAY** on **PAGE A3**



NUCLEAR MEDITATION: Members of the Los Alamos Study Group, from left, Willem Malten, John Connell and Mary Riseley, sit in meditation on Sunday.

ALB JOURNAL
8/7/95



Comment book cathartic for visitors

8-7-95

By **KATHLEENE PARKER**
For The New Mexican

LOS ALAMOS — As the world debates the use of the atomic bombs dropped on Japan, so, too, do visitors to Los Alamos National Laboratory's Bradbury Science Museum.

In a comment book a few feet from bomb replicas identical to those dropped on Japan, people from all over the world write opinions in response to a Santa Fe peace group's display critical of the bombings.

Recently, as the anniversary approached, comments in the book grew more emotional and more polarized.

"Thank God for your display," says one unsigned comment. "It is the only reason I leave this museum remotely assured that I am a citizen of a moral nation."

"Thanks for the bomb. It saved many, many lives," writes Elaine Rapcross of Midland, Mich.

The book — actually one of several filled since the Los Alamos Study Group display opened in 1992 — is compelling because it gives visitors a chance to recognize and express deeply felt emotions, museum Director John Rhoades said. The result is often a written debate, he said.

"While some people have kind of a bumper-

Please see **CATHARTIC**, Page A-3

CATHARTIC

Continued from Page A-1

sticker approach, other people are being very thoughtful and actually responding to each other," he said.

Predictably, opinions are often sharply polarized.

"What a bunch of buffalo chips!" says one comment, signed only as being by a former LANL worker. "They started it. We finished it. 'Nuff said."

Responds another, "The truth hurts. Without this alternative exhibit this museum would be a disgrace." The signature was not legible.

Comments are sometimes poignant, as was one reflecting anguish over involvement in the building of the bombs.

"This is my first visit since working on these instruments (bombs) many years ago. I refused to look for a long time ... Jesus said we were to love our enemies ..." signed, "A Chaplain — who cares what happened."

Contrasted by, "It is a shame we did not have a person like Harry Truman in the 1960s, who would have been willing to use the A-bomb on North Vietnam," said K.H. Smith, Santa Fe.

Many visitors praise the museum for allowing the controversial display, Rhoades said. But others criticize the museum.

"This is an extremely interesting display that balances the one-sided, self-satisfied, all-positive and self-serving Bradbury Museum's official presentation ..." writes the Baugarter family of Switzerland.

But others are less sure in judging the museum or the bombs.

"All my adult life, I have been pulled here. I've traveled 1,500 miles, and I'm both sickened and enthralled. It is a soul-shocking place to stand. I wonder, are these heroes (now) in heaven or hell?" signed simply, "New York."

Paper: Fort Worth Star-Telegram
Title: Groups dispute bomb's necessity - Exhibits' visitors deal with complex issue
Author: BARRY SHLACHTER
Date: August 7, 1995
Section: NEWS
Page: 1

LOS ALAMOS, N.M. - Call it the battle of the wall.

While the world marked the 50th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, an uneasy truce reigned yesterday over how the event should be remembered in the town that built the revolutionary weapon. The wall in question stands in the Bradbury Science Museum of the Los Alamos National Laboratory.

Dueling views of the bombing have pitted a feisty, Santa Fe-based peace group against an equally determined coalition of retired lab employees and World War II veterans, including Navajo "code" speakers whose radio messages were unintelligible to the enemy.

The flap, to some eyes, is a mirror image of the controversy that led to the scaling down of a major Smithsonian exhibition of the Enola Gay, the B-29 that bombed Hiroshima.

In a very real sense, Los Alamos, about 35 miles northwest of Santa Fe, succeeded where Washington failed.

The dispute says as much about the communities -

counterculture-heavy Santa Fe, and Los Alamos, a "company" town of 18,000, full of pro-nuclear researchers - as it does about conflicting views of Hiroshima.

After being threatened with a lawsuit, the government-owned museum allowed the peace activists, known as the **Los Alamos Study Group**, to use a 10-foot-by-15-foot wall for an alternative exhibit to the museum's version of how and why the atomic bomb was developed.

For two years, the activists had complete control of their wall until the ex-lab employees and vets suddenly demanded equal time.

Museum director John Rhoades brought about a temporary truce with a Solomonic decision splitting the wall equally between opposing groups, but not satisfying everybody.

As a half dozen people meditated before the start of a daylong peace vigil yesterday, hundreds filed through the museum. They took in the peace group's exhibit, showing the victims of the attack and arguing that it wasn't necessary. Then they saw one mounted by the vets right next to it, showing Japanese atrocities and contending that the atomic bombing did indeed end the war.

Many visitors said both rounded out the museum's offering.

"I think they're necessary," Alice Tinkle, 50, of Santa Fe, said of the "dueling wall," as the museum's director calls it. "It puts

humanity into it."

Robert Wojahn, 71, a World War II veteran, turned to his wife, Mary, after examining photos of charred Japanese victims of the bombing. "There's the sad part," he said.

She responded: "But look at all the hundreds of thousands of our boys who got killed."

Rhoades said many leave grasping the complexity of the issue. "The atomic bomb shortened the war and possibly saved more lives. The Japanese did horrifying things to Asians and Americans. You can have that thought and at the same time you can retain in your head that women and children died in a new and horrifying way."

Whatever the benefits of the dueling exhibits, the issue is not dead and the Santa Fe group is threatening legal action in September.

Rhoades said the activists are demanding control over what gets placed on the wall, a sort of "gatekeeper" role. Steve Stoddard, a former Republican state senator who heads the veterans group, calls it undemocratic.

From the peace group's perspective, "space for dissent has been halved," said Mary Riseley, its co-director. "We don't think it's necessary for a pro-lab group to have a display because the whole museum is a pro-lab display.

Author: BARRY SHLACHTER

Section: NEWS

Page: 1

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Council hits back at SF mayor

By **CHARMIAN SCHALLER**
Monitor Managing Editor

Chris Chandler of the Responsible Environmental Action League came to the County Council Monday to protest the handling of a meeting and news conference in Santa Fe Saturday — a meeting at which Santa Fe Mayor Debbie Jaramillo called Los Alamos an “island of paranoia and privilege.”

The meeting, sponsored by the Santa Fe City Council and Rep. Bill Richardson, D-N.M., was arranged because the Department of Energy declined to hold a scoping meeting in Santa Fe on the Stockpile Stewardship and Management Programmatic Environmental Impact Statement for the future nuclear weapons complex.

Meetings had been conducted by the DOE in June in Los Alamos and Albuquerque.

Reporting on the Santa Fe meeting during the “public comment” portion of the Los Alamos County

Council meeting Monday, Chandler said, “There was supposed to be a public meeting there,” and Richardson’s office said people would get equal time.

But, she said, Los Alamos people were forced to wait until the very end of the meeting and to speak last. They confronted a “stacked deck,” she said.

The moderator of the meeting was Greg Mello of the Los Alamos Study Group (a Santa Fe anti-nuclear group), she said. Jay Coughlin of the Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety (another anti-nuclear group) and representatives of the Physicians for Social Responsibility in Albuquerque were deeply involved as well.

Chandler has written a letter of protest to Richardson. She said she doesn’t think he understood just who was organizing the meeting and how it would be run.

(Please see COUNCIL, Page 8)

COUNCIL

(from Page 1)

She also has written letters to the Santa Fe New Mexican and Journal North.

She said when she protested, Mello and Mary Riseley of the Study Group said, “We HAD our meeting.” But, Chandler noted, the meeting in Los Alamos was run by the DOE, and everyone had an equal opportunity to speak.

Chandler suggested that it would be appropriate for the Los Alamos County Council as well as her group to write to Richardson.

She said many people from Los Alamos left before they had they had an opportunity to speak in Santa Fe. Those who stayed, she said, had to sit through a series of choreographed “anti-nuclear harangues” by people organized and invited by LASG and CCNS.

The Los Alamos County Council indicated strong support for Chandler.

Council Chairman Lawry Mann said the council already has tried unsuccessfully to get Richardson and will keep trying — notably through its two Democratic members, Vice Chairwoman Ginger Welch and Councilor Denise Smith. He said the council is “developing a counter attack.”

Welch commented that she recently attended a technology transfer meeting at which four people from Santa Fe virtually dominated discussion, insisting that Los Alamos National Laboratory devote more attention to technology for Santa Fe. Now, she said, it appears that Richardson has signed a CCNS-written resolution sharply critical of LANL and a resolution supportive of the LASG position on sharing of a public opinion wall at the Bradbury Science Museum.

Smith thanked Chandler for attending the Santa Fe meeting. She said she understands how frustrating it is to be denied the opportunity to speak, and she said it is interesting to see that these groups are so manipulative when they are running a meeting. Such an approach, she said, is the “antithesis of democracy.”

Speaking in the context of Jaramillo’s remarks about Los Alamos, Smith said, “We as a community have worked very, very hard to bring together the communities of Northern New Mexico,” especially Española, Taos and the pueblos. We have “looked for common ground,” she said.

It is “unfortunate,” she said, that the mayor of Santa Fe doesn’t share the vision of a northern New Mexico that works together for mutual benefit.

It appears, she said, that it is Santa Fe that has become “elitist,” declining to reach out or share its wealth with other communities.

Councilor Morris Pongratz also thanked Chandler for her efforts “to set the record straight,” commenting, “That’s very hard to do.”

Pongratz said some people in Santa Fe are “using Brown Shirt (Nazi) tactics” in an effort to control public opinion. But, he said, it is important to remember that, “There are a lot of good people in Santa Fe.”

Councilor Jim Greenwood thanked Chris, commenting that he saw the announcement of the meeting and thought, “My God. I just can’t stand another one of these beat ‘em up meetings.”

He said Santa Fe reaps millions of dollars from the laboratory, an impact that rivals tourism in the Santa Fe economy. And, he said, tourism pays low wages compared to LANL, the employer of many people who live in Santa Fe or shop there.

He said he doesn’t understand why Jaramillo and others are ignoring LANL’s impact. He said their approach shows “ignorance” and “arrogance.”

THE SANTA FE NEW MEX

Veterans visit bomb's birthplace



Photos by Clyde Mueller/The New Mexican

Members and relatives of the 509th Composite Group examine a replica of the Little Boy atomic bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima, Japan.

Los Alamos welcomes bomb unit

By **BOB QUICK**
The New Mexican

LOS ALAMOS — Several hundred members of the 509th Composite Group, the Army Air Corps unit that 50 years ago dropped the atomic bombs on Japan at the end of World War II, visited the Bradbury Museum on Tuesday.

The veterans, holding their 50th anniversary reunion in Albuquerque this week, were guests of Los Alamos National Laboratory, which runs the museum. Exhibits there are dedicated mainly to the creation of the atomic bomb.

As they entered the Bradbury, the old soldiers were greeted by former Republican state Sen. Steve Stoddard, his wife, Barbara, and Peichen Sgro, a lab employee who left China as a baby during the Japanese occupation, all holding signs of welcome and gratitude.

Bill Long was among the former crew members who took in the museum. Long said he and his crew on Tinian were responsible for moving the two atomic bombs from the Quonset huts where they were stored to the aircraft that dropped them on Japan.

Long said he has closely followed the recent controversy surrounding the dropping of the bombs on Japan.

*"We followed orders.
We did what we had
to do to bring the war
to a close."*

ADOLPH GASSER
509th photographer

He also had a look at the museum display critical of the bombings that was installed by the Los Alamos Study Group, a Santa Fe peace group.

"I feel that those people don't know what the facts were," he said. "We saved as many Japanese lives as American lives by dropping the bombs."

Joe Ross, a pilot with the 509th, also looked at the critical display, as well as one next to it, supportive of the bombing, put together by the Los Alamos Education Group, a coalition of veterans' groups.

"I think both exhibits are important to see," he said. "Let thinking and reasonable people draw their own conclusions."

Ross added, "The important issue is that we had the national will to win the



Navigator Jack Widowsky of Union, N.J., stands with Los Alamos resident Peichen Sgro, who escaped China with her parents during the war.

Please see **VISIT**, Page A-3

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Please see **VISIT**. Page A-3

VISIT

Continued from Page A-1

war. I was proud to have been part of it."

Adolph Gasser was a photographer with the 509th who took both photos and motion pictures of the B-29s Enola Gay and Bock's Car when they left Tinian to bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Gasser said his unit's cameras also took the photos of the bombings of both cities.

He said the 509th has received a "tremendous reception" at its reunions both last year in Chicago and in Albuquerque.

"The reaction has been positive about our role in history," he said, acknowledging that some historians and others have criticized the bombings.

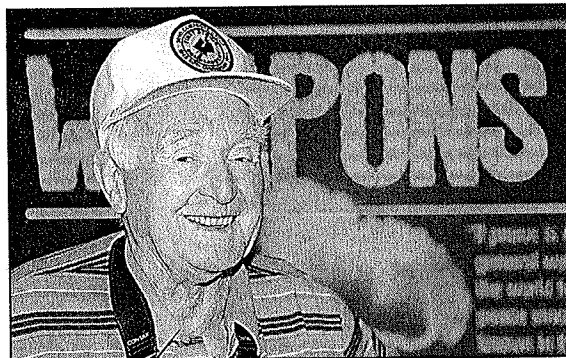
"We followed orders," he said. "We did what we had to do to bring the war to a close."

Also visiting the museum Tuesday was Jack Widowsky, the navigator of Top Secret, the weather plane that accompanied Bock's Car on its mission to drop an atomic bomb on Nagasaki.

Widowsky recalled that Kokura, not Nagasaki, was the primary target, but clouds forced Maj. Charles Sweeney to divert to Nagasaki and drop the bomb there.

Nagasaki burned for more than 24 hours, and the death toll was more than 70,000 by the end of 1945. Less than a week after the Nagasaki bomb, Japan surrendered.

As the veterans entered the museum, they were met by the



Clyde Mueller/The New Mexican

Adolf Gasser was with the photographic unit that mounted cameras on the airplanes that took photographs of the dropping of the two atomic bombs over Japan.

Stoddards, whose welcome had actually started on the roads leading into town. That's where the couple and some of their friends stood to wave their placards at the 509th as they rode into Los Alamos on buses.

"We wanted to show what this community feels about them," Barbara Stoddard said.

Sgro stood in the lobby with a sign saying, "Welcome 509th. Thanks for saving my life."

She recalled how China suffered under Japanese occupation and said she would not have survived had the war not ended when it did.

Her mother was from Nanking, a city whose people were treated particularly brutally by the Japanese, a city the

Japanese occupied in 1937, raping women and killing their children, she said.

The 509th members also were greeted by four of Gretta Christensen's children, all asking for their autographs.

Bradbury Museum director Jon Rhoades also was on hand to welcome the veterans and answer their questions. In remarks made during a short interview, Rhoades said it was unfortunate that members of the 509th have been drawn into the controversy surrounding the 50th anniversary of the dropping of the bombs.

"The vets have become the scapegoats," he said. "They were on the delivery end of policy that started in Washington."

SFNM

Aug. 9, 1995

Santa Fe, LANL

I am writing to respond to remarks made by Mr. and Mrs. Chandler, both employees of and activists for the Los Alamos National Lab (LANL) regarding the City of Santa Fe-sponsored public hearing on the scope of the Stockpile Stewardship and Management Programmatic Environmental Impact Statement that was held in Santa Fe City Council Chambers Aug. 5.

I facilitated that hearing, am a native of Northern New Mexico and an organizer for the Los Alamos Study Group.

First of all, the hearing was not at all one-sided as a *New Mexican* headline claimed. All opinions were heard, and no censorship whatsoever occurred. How could there be censorship, as facilitator, I had no idea what would be said by whom. I simply read the names in order. To set the record straight, everyone from outside Santa Fe who signed up to speak were called on well before the end of the hearing. There were, however, two Santa Feans who could not speak because time was up. But, they were invited to make written comments to the DOE. The meeting was not an anti-nuclear harangue, as has been alleged, there were many pro-nuclear opinions expressed. The hearing was not orchestrated or censored in any way.

Santa Fe is downwind and downwater from the lab and we need to be involved in every decision that LANL and the DOE makes that affects us and our children's futures. We need more opportunities for public discussion, not fewer. This public hearing was open, fair, free, and the least that Santa Fe deserves.

Peggy Prince
Santa Fe

New Mexican @ 8-9-95

OPINIONS

4 Wednesday, August 9, 1995

Los Alamos Monitor

It dares
hurt it
that few
ial critic
7-1986)

Guest Column

Addressing the Santa Fe resolution

• Following is a response to the resolution passed by the Santa Fe City Council: "Supporting Programmatic Review of the Future Nuclear Weapons Complex

The response was written by Chris and George Chandler of Los Alamos and was forwarded to the Department of Energy.

.....

We have no quarrel with a sincere desire on the part of the City Council and the people of Santa Fe to have a PEIS public comment meeting in Santa Fe. We encourage the DOE to hold such a meeting, and would be happy to attend ourselves, as we enjoy visiting Santa Fe and discussing the Laboratory and its mission and accomplishments. We are alarmed, however, at the tone of the resolution that was passed by the City Council; we believe we know the genesis of the language in the resolution, and we hope that it does not express the genuine feelings of the people of Santa Fe.

There was public testimony at a DOE meeting in Santa Fe on Thursday July 27 by a member of the Los Alamos Study Group (LASG), that the resolution was written by a member of the closely allied Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety (CCNS), Jay Coghlin. Newspaper reports stated it was introduced at a Council meeting by Mayor Debbie Jaramillo, and passed two weeks later. The points made in the resolution about LANL and Los Alamos are typical of the CCNS and LASG, and of Mr. Coghlin: exaggerations, misrepresentations, and raising false fears to exploit public responses in furtherance of a private agenda. We wish to challenge several statements in the resolution.

"Whereas LANL has been generally isolated (a) culturally, with to-date limited opportunities for the advancement of minorities into senior management positions..."

The LANL is easily the least culturally isolated component of Northern New Mexico. LANL scientists are on the road continually engaging in discourse with other scientists in nations the world over on the entire spectrum of scientific activity, and are engaged in national and international political activity as well. LANL scientists are involved in negotiations on the nuclear weapons treaties, and in advising government agencies, the Congress, the United Nations, and the President on all science policy, not just nuclear weapons. LANL scientists also do much research in New Mexico in environmental monitoring, geology, and alternate energy.

LANL draws students at all levels, of all races, from all over the nation to Los Alamos to do research, to study, and to contribute to a cosmopolitan atmosphere in Los Alamos and Santa Fe. LANL supports legions of college students from Northern New Mexico with summer and holiday employment. LANL has outreach programs that puts scientists into New Mexico high schools and colleges, and that brings New Mexico science

8/9/95

teachers into Los Alamos on sabbatical.

The citizens of Los Alamos support with their time and money the great cultural institutions of Northern New Mexico including the Santa Fe Opera, the Santa Fe Symphony, the Spanish and Indian arts and crafts markets, and our population includes a large number of artists who supply and enlarge those markets. We are active as volunteers in charitable and social service work in many areas of Northern New Mexico.

The Laboratory has an aggressive minority recruitment and affirmative action program that has withstood court challenges and scrutiny by state and federal agencies. Minorities are represented in all levels of LANL to at least the levels of their statistical representation in the eligible technical population, and usually above that. This statement authored by CCNS is meant to create hostility to Los Alamos by drawing a negative image based on a false stereotype.

"... (b) economically, with little evidence of major economic development in the region centered on laboratory activities and without the benefit of gross receipts taxes paid to the state of New Mexico..." **LANL with its contractors is the second largest employer in Santa Fe County, with over 2,000 employees.** The salaries paid to Santa Fe residents are estimated at around **\$90 million a year.** Los Alamos has been a major driver in economic development planning for Northern New Mexico, through the Community Council and as a major player in TRADE, the Santa Fe - Los Alamos - Espanola cooperative economic-development effort. LANL's tech transfer and spin-off programs have contributed to or created many businesses in New Mexico. LANL does not pay gross receipts tax because of state and federal laws. LANL's employees pay income and property taxes in the millions of dollars, and LANL's contractors pay millions of dollars in gross receipts taxes in Los Alamos, Santa Fe, and Albuquerque.

"... (c) in environmental compliance, with an institutional record of chronic non-compliance with major environmental laws..." LANL's record of protecting its neighborhood from contamination is outstanding. LANL has at times been technically out of compliance with environmental laws. In some instances this has been the result of disputes with the regulating agency over the interpretation of the laws or the means to monitor compliance; LANL scientists are technologically often ahead of the regulators and prefer to use better means than are available to general industry. In some cases technology or politics (WIPP) hasn't caught up with the regulations, or regulations change suddenly, and compliance is simply not possible, and LANL sometimes pays fines, especially to the state. The Tiger Team visit in 1991 after an exhaustive and critical survey found no environmental deficiencies that could be considered an immediate danger to worker or public health and safety. The

Laboratory has an extensive monitoring and control program to guarantee that this condition continues.

The closest areas to LANL, the first stops downstream and downwind, are neighborhoods in Los Alamos, inhabited by the families of the scientists, engineers, and technicians who operate the Laboratory. The demand for real estate downstream and downwind of the laboratory continues at unprecedented high levels.

"Whereas, the future benefits to Northern New Mexico are uncertain..." "It may be true that the future of the LANL is uncertain, but the goal of the CCNS and LASG is to hasten the demise. This argument is meant to frighten and recruit Santa Fe into contributing to the demise. A more enlightened policy would be to encourage the continuation of a clean, high-paying, high-tech industry in Northern New Mexico by asking the DOE to consolidate as much of the nuclear weapons complex as possible in Los Alamos, ensuring a stable laboratory and employment base for as long as nuclear weapons are a part of international politics, which will likely be a **very long time.** Consider the enormous effort the City of Santa Fe put forth to bring Nambe Mills to Santa Fe, to create, as we recall, fewer than 200 jobs that probably averaged around \$10 an hour. It would take 15 or 20 plants of that size to replace the employment income that LANL brings to Santa Fe.

To further illustrate the private agenda that the Santa Fe City Council has adopted, look at Sections 2 & 3 of the body of the resolution: "...calls on the DOE to delay decisions regarding future production activities ... & ... formally subordinate decisions to be made in on-going LANL site-wide and project specific reviews to programmatic review..." This is the LASG and CCNS anti-nuclear agenda: to create as much delay in the DARHT (the "project-specific review") EIS, Programmatic EIS, and site-wide EIS processes as possible. Why would Santa Fe care about that? I wonder if anybody on the City Council really understood what they were voting on here, or did they just succumb to pressure from political supporters?

In conclusion, let us express our sorrow at the breach that has been created between the people of Santa Fe and the people of Los Alamos by this action. We believe it was caused by the fanaticism of those well-meaning activists at LASG and CCNS who seem to care nothing for the relations between neighbors in Northern New Mexico, who apparently believe that their "noble purpose" justifies any tactic: in the single-minded pursuit of "peace," the truth and neighborly relations are unfortunate victims. We sincerely believe that the people of Santa Fe will not indulge these naive stereotypes and ugly misrepresentations about Los Alamos, and we hope their representatives on the City Council will look more closely the next time the LASG and CCNS drop an innocent-looking resolution on their political doorstep.

New Mexican 8-9-95

Lab employees say hearing on LANL one-sided

By KATHLEENE PARKER
For The New Mexican

LOS ALAMOS — Two Los Alamos residents are criticizing a public hearing — held in Santa Fe — on the impact of Los Alamos lab's role in testing and rebuilding nuclear weapons.

The two, both employees of Los Alamos National Laboratory, earlier announced they were forming a group, the Responsible Environmental Action League, to counter anti-lab bias.

The Santa Fe hearing was convened, in part by Rep. Bill Richardson, in response to criticism by Santa Feans, including Mayor Debbie Jaramillo, of the Department of Energy for holding hearings in Los Alamos and Albuquerque but not Santa Fe.

In a letter sent to Richardson and released to the news media, Christine and George Chandler criticized the Aug. 5 hearing at City Hall as being too closely aligned with and controlled by Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety and the Los Alamos Study Group, known for their anti-nuclear stance.

The Chandlers equated the format of the hearing with censorship, saying that Los Alamos residents were forced to wait until after Santa Fe residents for a chance to speak, in some cases a wait of six hours.

"The long delay and hostile environment drove many Los Alamos people from the meeting," the Chandlers wrote. "Everyone in the room with differing views

felt the bias of those moderating and suffered under the chilling effect of those in control who were hostile to their positions." George Chandler, a physicist in the lab's weapons-testing division, voiced similar concerns during the hearing.

But Mary Risely of the study group said the Chandlers' claims are nonsense.

"The fact is that every person who signed up from Los Alamos got a chance to speak and that meant two people from Santa Fe did not ... because there wasn't time," she said. The purpose of the meeting was to hear from Santa Fe residents — Los Alamos had already had its own hearings, she said.

In a phone interview, Richardson said if he had known what the format would be he would not have sponsored the meeting. He shares concerns about a lack of balance, he said.

"I feel both the city (of Santa Fe) and my office should have been more cognizant of the need for balance," he said. "But on the other hand, I think Los Alamos needs to justify its existence. I think they should take the heat like anyone else."

The Chandlers criticized Richardson.

"It appears to us that you have decided to involve yourself in propagating divisive stereotypes about Los Alamos by allying yourself with the anti-nuclear efforts to slander Los Alamos and close the laboratory," they wrote.

Publication: Jnl Legacy 1995 to July 2005; Date: Aug 9, 1995; Section: Journal North; Page: 59



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BRIEFS

FROM JOURNAL REPORTS

2 MEN WITH KNIFE ROB MCDONALD'S EATERY

Two men armed with a knife held up McDonald's restaurant at 3299 Cerrillos Road early Wednesday, Santa Fe police report.

Detective Tim Gallegos said the robbers entered the restaurant after closing time, shortly after midnight, as an employee was leaving the store.

The two men told the employees in the store to get down on the floor, he said.

One robber had a knife and the other hit employees with his hands and feet, a report said.

Both men are between 5 feet 7 inches and 5 feet 9 inches tall and weigh about 160 pounds each.

They took off with an undetermined amount of cash.

EX-ADVISER TO SPEAK ON ENOLA GAY EXHIBIT

Stanley Goldberg, who resigned from the Smithsonian's Enola Gay Exhibit Advisory Board to protest the decision to expunge parts of the exhibit, will speak at Fuller Lodge in Los Alamos at 7 tonight.

The talk is sponsored by the Los Alamos Study Group, which has an exhibit at Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory's Bradbury Science Museum criticizing the use of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the end of World War II.

Earlier this year, the U.S. National Air and Space Museum canceled most of an exhibit that was to accompany the display of the fuselage of the Enola Gay, the plane that dropped the "Little Boy" bomb on Hiroshima. Veterans and others said the proposed exhibit was not balanced.

Goldberg is a retired history of science professor who has taught at Antioch and Hampshire colleges, Johns Hopkins and the University of Maryland. He is writing a biography of Gen. Leslie Groves, the military director of the Manhattan Project.

Goldberg says the decision to drop atomic bombs on Japan was influenced by the United States' desire to deter Soviet expansion into Asia and to justify the expense of the Manhattan Project.

His Los Alamos talk, "Documents, Memory & History: Hiroshima and the Enola Gay Exhibit," including slides and a question-and-answer period, is free and open to the public.

For more information, call 982-7747.

BLM OFFICE IN TAOS GETTING NEW HOME

TAOS -- The U.S. Bureau of Land Management's Taos Area Office will move to 226 Cruz Alta Road next week.

The new office, directly east of its current office, should open Aug. 21, a news release said.

Acting Taos Resource Area Manager Steve Henke said the new office will include "a user-friendly public room" and an expanded reception area.

The telephone number for the office will remain 758-8851.

Office hours are 7:45 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. Monday through Friday.

"Although our office will remain open during the week of Aug. 14, we will be able to provide better service to our customers if they can wait until Aug. 21 to contact or visit us," Henke said in a news release.

8-16-95 ABC J Nowell



JAIME DISPENZA/JOURNAL

Stanley Goldberg, who served on the Advisory Board Committee for the Smithsonian Institute's Enola Gay exhibit, says domestic politics influenced the decision to use atomic bombs on Japan.

Historian: war show was gutted

► "The display that went up isn't neutral," a former adviser for the Enola Gay exhibit says. "It's neutered."

8/10/95

BY PATRICK ARMIJO
JOURNAL STAFF WRITER

Stanley Goldberg, a historian who resigned in protest from a review committee for the Smithsonian Institution's Enola Gay exhibit that was gutted under political pressure, said the display could have been saved if Smithsonian officials had shown a little spine.

"There's a display across the mall in the National Museum of American History on the 200th anniversary of the Constitution," he said in an interview Wednesday. "The topic is when the Constitution didn't work — during the internment of the Japanese in World War II.

"It received a lot of criticisms. But the museum director was very firm. He didn't cancel it and he didn't allow it to be tampered with. Criticism is welcomed. I think pretty much the same thing would have happened if the same actions were taken with the display on the use of atomic weapons."

Bowing to criticism largely from the American Legion and Air Force retirees, the National Air and Space Museum gutted its original exhibit before the 50th anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing.

The original exhibit planned to analyze the use of A-bombs. Instead, the museum chose to display a portion of the fuselage of the Enola Gay with dates and names, but without historical analysis.

See **HISTORIAN** ► PAGE 3

Historian: Enola show was gutted

From **PAGE 1**

"The display that went up isn't neutral. It's neutered," said Goldberg, who the Los Alamos Study Group brought to speak at Los Alamos.

He said the abridged display is what the Air Force Association wanted. He said he suspects the whole event was orchestrated by the Air Force retirees to fire the former director of the National Air and Space Museum, Martin Harwit, who later resigned.

The association's members "deny this to me, but I'm sure they were interested in using this to undermine the director and hire the next director who would be more to their liking," he said. "They're halfway

there. Harwit is gone, and now they need to find a new director."

Goldberg said the motives for bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which caused an estimated 200,000 deaths, were complex.

The main reason was the momentum of the effort and the fury of emotions after four years of war, he said.

Another reason was domestic politics, Goldberg said. He said Manhattan Project officials wanted to justify the \$2 billion they had spent.

Other reasons, he said, included keeping the Soviet Union out of the Pacific, collecting data on the bombs' capabilities, fulfilling the personal ambitions of those involved and ending World War II as quickly as possible.

Letters

Bid goodbye to a bloody, bloody century

Editor:

Future historians may characterize the 20th Century by the two wars that occurred in the first half of the century. World War I killed over 10 million soldiers, principally by artillery bombardment, but the cities and their populations were relatively unscathed. However, near the end of that conflict and immediately following, over 20 million war-weary people died from the flu. World War II saw the introduction of aerial bombardment of cities. Over 55 million people were killed and most of the cities of Europe and Japan were devastated. World War II was terminated by two nuclear weapons.

The Los Alamos Study Group of Santa Fe has a display in the Bradbury Science Museum showing the horror and the destruction that occurred at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They ignore the terrible consequences of most of the aerial bombardments, especially in the cities that were ravaged by fire storms.

Fire storms are a naturally occurring phenomena that have been observed in large forest fires. They generate incredible heat and may spawn small tornados with winds of 100 to 200 mph. Fire storms also consume all the oxygen in the immediate vicinity, which had fatal consequences at Dresden. The following table shows data for some of the cities that suffered fire storms in WWII.

| | Hamburg | Dresden | Tokyo | Hiroshima | Nagasaki |
|----------------------------|---------|---------|--------|----------------|----------------|
| Date | 7/43 | 2/45 | 3/45 | 8/6/45 | 8/9/45 |
| No. Bombers | ~8,000 | 111,300 | 334 | 1 | 1 |
| Explosives Released (tons) | 7,931 | 3,907 | 2,382 | 13,000 (equiv) | 20,000 (equiv) |
| No. Killed* | 42,6000 | 135,000 | 83,793 | 71,379 | ~35,000 |

* These estimates change over the years.

As we memorialize the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, it is also fitting to remember the tens of thousands of victims who died in the fire storm raids.

The Hamburg raid was important because it produced the first fire storm in history, from aerial bombardment, and it proved that a city prepared for bombing raids was not immune to fire storms. Hamburg's 80,000 bomb shelters were connected by tunnels and well stocked with water and a supply of win-

ter fuel, coal and coke. Unfortunately during the fire storm, this fuel ignited from the intense heat and doomed the occupants. Weeks later, when rescue teams cleared their way into the hermetically sealed bunkers and shelters, they discovered pots, pans and kitchen utensils melted into globs. A "soft undulating layer of grey ash" was the only remains of the 250 to 300 occupants of one bunker.

It was a clear night in Dresden and the population, greatly expanded by refugees from the approaching Russian army, was celebrating Shove Tuesday. Many victims were found in their Mardi Gras costumes. At 10:15 the Pathfinder Bombers dropped their bright flares to assist the six Mosquito Marker Leaders to mark the target area. The Master Bomber, also in a Mosquito bomber, remained above the city to direct traffic. The first wave of heavy bombers dropped mostly concussion explosives to blow out windows and doors. They were followed by planes carrying incendiaries and delayed explosives, which started many fires. Three hours later, to allow time for the arrival of fire fighting crews and equipment from the surrounding communities, the second wave of bombers arrived, with their Master Bomber to control the carnage. They succeeded in starting a fire storm. The next day, Ash Wednesday, the first day of Lent, the American Eighth Air Force B17s arrived to drop 771 tons of bombs on the burning city.

It was several days before the fires were controlled and rescue efforts became effective. Allied prisoners were brought in to assist and they were enthusiastic in developing methods to locate survivors. Hundreds of people were found sitting calmly in their shelters, they were uninjured except they were tinted blue from the lack of oxygen, and they were all dead. The first victims were buried in the local cemeteries, but the magnitude soon overwhelmed these facilities. In addition, refugees continued to flow into the city and the authorities became concerned with the threat of typhus. They finally turned to desperate measures to dispose of the thousands of bodies. The center of the city was declared off limits and girders were torn from the destroyed buildings and used to construct several huge grilles. Flammable material was placed below and bodies were stacked on the grilles and doused with gasoline. After cremation, the ashes were reverently collected into lorries and taken to the cemeteries for final interment in huge pits. The Germans were concerned with identifying the victims. They developed a complex system, but it was overwhelmed. Finally, they collected between 10,000 and 20,000 wedding rings, worn by both sexes and usually engraved with the name of the wearer. The rings were stored in several buckets at police headquarters. They disappeared after the Russians occupied Dresden.

There was some debate in the Air Force about the best way to destroy the Japanese cities. High altitude, precision daylight raids were not effective, and although logical, incendiary raids were not tried until early 1945. The Tokyo raid was a demonstration project with new tactics. It was a night raid using radar at low altitudes, 5,000 to 9,000 feet. The three-mile by four-mile target area was densely populated by 100,000 people per square mile. The Pathfinders had no trouble locating the target and soon the whole area was in flames and the fires were so intense that they burned themselves out by mid morning. Many bodies were found on bridges, roads and in canals, where people tried desperately to escape the inferno. It was 25 days before all the dead were removed from the ruins.

It is interesting that on the anniversary of this great tragedy, there has been no hue and cry by the Japanese or from the passionate antinukes in the United States, but recently the Japanese Emperor and his Queen were shown on TV commemorating the victims of this last great fire raid of the war.

The all-uranium Hiroshima bomb exploded at about 3,000 feet, and was so deadly because the terrain was flat, there was no place to hide. The Nagasaki bomb used plutonium and it also exploded at about 3,000 feet, but the terrain was hilly. Although it was more powerful, the hills cast shadows that saved many lives. The day after the Nagasaki bomb, the Japanese opened negotiations for peace.

Herman Roser was a native New Mexican and a long-time resident of Los Alamos, where he became the manager of the AEC Los Alamos Area Office. He went on to Washington and became an Assistant Secretary of the AEC. One evening in the early '80s (as I recall), he returned to give the commencement address to our graduating Los Alamos High School seniors. In his address he made a statement that was making the rounds in Washington at the time. He said, "Let us not abandon our nuclear deterrent, only to make the world safe for conventional warfare."

We soon will exit this bloody century and enter a pristine new century and a new millennium. It would behoove us to remember that admonition.

E.L. Kemp
730 44th St.

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L.A. Monitor 8-20-95

Distressing hyperbole

Editor:

I've read with despair the hyperbolic letters about Santa Fe activists. Might we not sort them out?

Our mayor is feisty; I think I would enjoy her outspokenness even if I were the brunt of it, but I understand those who might not enjoy it.

CCNS is, as I understand it, an organization mainly dedicated to environmental and health issues that result from nuclear work.

The Los Alamos Study Group is opposed to the manufacture and threatened use of nuclear weapons, just as most of the world opposes chemical and biological weapons. Nuclear weapons seem to me the worst of the lot because they inevitably devastate large civilian populations (including, possibly, innocent neighboring populations), and because they afflict the environment (including the environment of Los Alamos itself). The group's leadership, and much of its membership, are Buddhists and Quakers — peaceful persuasions. The style of the Study Group is intended, as Quakers say, "to speak truth to power." The Group — and I suppose all of Santa Fe — certainly does not "hate" Los Alamos, and in point of fact is not even in favor of the elimination of the lab: we desperately need our best scientific minds here working on, for example, new methods of environmental restoration. LASG supports a green lab and tech transfer. We also support increasing the lab's involvement in tracking, securing and safeguarding fissile materials worldwide. We look to you for visions of a peaceful and productive future.

These are vital issues of our time. We need to be thinking and talking about them. What an unutterable waste of time, paper and talent have been letters that are — it seems to me — resistances to substantive dialogue.

Karin Salzmann
1800 Camino Corrales
Santa Fe, N.M. 87505

Gee, could we think for ourselves?

Editor:

It's been a while since I've been sufficiently outraged to write but I feel myself "slip sliding away" as Paul Simon says. The recent set of back-and-forth editorial blasts by the Los Alamos Study Group and the Chandler Action Committee have me feeling ill about freedom. This is not good and I wonder if others are feeling the same.

My mother tried to tell my siblings and me that most things were better done in moderation than in excess. She had in mind *vicès* I think. Surely she did not mean to suggest that pursuit of freedom, for example, should be a moderate goal of one's existence.

Yet the very fact of freedom requires moderation thus the thread of law becomes closely woven with the threads of freedom to form a patchwork which we call Democracy in this country. Democracy is not just naked wild-eyed freedom sprouting out of the air everywhere. Democracy is the realization of freedom as restricted by law. Who is it that makes the laws restricting freedom? Well, in some remote sense it's you and me and the Chandlers and the Los Alamos Study Group and any other set of half-

informed American lunatics that manage to get the public's attention.

And this is the problem.

I don't think I want most of these people helping with the abridgment of freedom. I certainly do not want the Anti-Nuclear Anything League (A.N.A.L.) helping our elected representatives decide what to do with the nation's nuclear programs by scaring the daylights out of an uneducated and ill-informed electorate and I don't feel all that warm and fuzzy about the Chandlers either. I want my neighbors and their children and their children's children to do these things. I want our schools to educate us so well that the difficult issues facing us today and tomorrow will be addressed by a public that can think for themselves. What a novel idea, not needing the Los Alamos Study Group or the Chandlers or the DOE or whoever to tell us poor morons what to think.

Golly, Beave, we might just be able to get along all by ourselves.

Gee, Wally, do you think?

Yes, I do, Beave, and it feels really good you should try it, too!

And what about this bunch called "The

Physicians For Social Responsibility?" Are these folks serious? If they really want to do something that might be considered socially responsible why don't they cut their fees in half? This would have an immediate and long-lasting effect on the nation's health. Furthermore, unlike most of the issues these folks like to blather on about, cutting fees is something they can just . . . do. Finally, there are some real problems facing us. In addition to issues relating to nuclear weapons and refined plutonium and their long-term care we have AIDS, homelessness, flooding, hurricanes, tornadoes, cancer, a rapidly growing aged population, health care, unemployment, huge government debt, the imminent failure of antibiotics, finite fossil fuel reserves, the depletion of the rain forests, the vanishing of the ozone layer, global warming, the pesticide dilemma, the Code Of Federal Regulations, and Barney to name a few. One hopes that all these deep thinkers like Peggy Prince and the Chandlers are worrying about some of these other issues as well. I know that I'll sleep a lot easier if they are.

Ron Rabie

121 Monte Vista

L.A. Monitor

8-24-95

Publication: Jnl Legacy 1995 to July 2005; Date: Aug 26, 1995; Section: Journal North; Page: 66

Date--08/26/1995 Edition--Journal North Page-- 4

LETTERS

PATRIOTIC JINGOISM

HIDES TRUTH OF BOMBING

FOR WEEKS NOW, the print media have been running stories about those who proudly attest to their efforts in developing the atomic bomb. They usually conclude with comments to the effect that dropping the bomb on Japan was justified because "these actions saved thousands (millions?) of American lives."

Well maybe so and maybe not, who can really say? And to claim that we were justified in killing 80,000 innocent citizens of Hiroshima because of the atrocities committed by the Japanese warlords is like calling for the bombing of the citizens of Chicago because of the marauding of Al Capone.

But these folks cling to the fiction that any thing so stated to the contrary is "revisionist history" and therefore an "outright lie." They overlook the fact that history is not an absolute: rather history lies in the eyes of the teller as well as those of the reader; as such it is affected by their experiences.

As a case in point, I cite my own experience which undoubtedly leads me to believe that dropping the bomb was not only unjustified morally but militarily as well. In August 1945, I was a young lieutenant assigned to a Seabee unit on Iwo Jima (95th NCB), having arrived there in March. We had been assigned the task of building the base hospital.

As soon as Japan surrendered, all of our gear and equipment was loaded aboard the U.S.S. Lauderdale (APA 179) and we embarked on a sea journey to Japan, moving up the Inland Sea to dock at Matsuyama then Gunchu. These cities were far from the industrial centers of Japan which had been bombed "back into the stone age" according Gen. Curtis LeMay. ...

But here we were in the "heartland," an important agriculture producing center and it, too, was in total ruins. Ashore here and further along the coast, I observed that, if this was typical of the countryside, then Japanese citizens were close to not being able to feed themselves beyond starvation rations. Her battle fleet lay in ruins at the bottom of the sea after the Battle of Leyte Gulf and other disastrous maritime defeats.

So it seemed to this young observer that with their industry and agriculture destroyed and lacking the means, a navy and a merchant marine fleet, to replenish their war-making capabilities, this island nation was ready to surrender. Some of her leaders had so indicated earlier that summer.

Even a cursory examination of the archives or a reading of numerous books and treatises on the subject reveals that this observation could be a correct one. Further, it raises the credible possibility that dropping the bomb, without regard to the military situation, had long been on the U.S. agenda. ...

My point is that one should not deny the possibility that such a scenario could be a true one simply through some misguided sense of patriotic jingoism.

Robert Schneider

Santa Fe

LANL HELPS NEIGHBORS,

LISTENS TO COMMUNITY

I WAS CERTAINLY disappointed with Santa Fe Mayor Debbie Jaramillo's recent criticism of Los Alamos and Los Alamos National Laboratory.

LANL has been making very positive strides to educating the public relative to their mission and making attempts at obtaining public input.

The small village of Jemez Springs has had very quantifiable results in being associated with LANL. They have provided some essential technical assistance to us that we otherwise could not have afforded. We have a cooperative agreement with LANL in terms of search and rescue as well as fire department support. Several of our residents work in Los Alamos.

As a member of the Northern New Mexico Citizen's Advisory Board to the Department of Energy/Los Alamos National Laboratory, I hope that all northern New Mexico communities get an opportunity to visit with this advisory group and perhaps see how LANL is reaching out in an attempt to establish a positive and cooperative working relationship.

David N. Sanchez

Mayor, Village of Jemez Springs

RICHARDSON MAKES

EFFORT TO SUPPORT LAB

WE THANK Congressman Bill Richardson for his phone call to us and his letters to the newspapers expressing his disapproval of the format of the informal Stockpile Stewardship Programmatic Environmental Impact Statement meeting held in Santa Fe on Aug. 5. We believe Richardson would have advocated a more balanced format if he would have been aware of the intentions of the organizers, the Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety and the Los Alamos Study Group.

We also appreciate his expression of support for the Los Alamos National Laboratory and his acknowledgement of the contributions of the laboratory to northern New Mexico. We believe his support will help the laboratory to more easily accept leadership of the Science-based Stockpile Stewardship Program that was recently re-emphasized by the president when he announced the permanent ban on underground nuclear testing.

Christine

and George Chandler

Los Alamos

GRADY USES CONTEMPT

TO MASK INEXPERIENCE

AFTER 11 MONTHS of hearing or reading about all the remarks and statements attributed to Santa Fe Police Chief Don Grady II, I can no longer remain silent about the matter.

Having begun a career in law enforcement when Grady was approximately 5 years old and served in every capacity from patrolman, criminal investigation, narcotics agent, sergeant, lieutenant, captain and chief for 37 years, I think I am qualified to comment about Grady's capabilities to serve as chief of the Santa Fe Police Department.

Grady probably has less experience than any sergeant, and a lot of the patrolmen, on the Santa Fe Police Department. But, as I see it, to compensate for his lack of knowledge and experience, he tries to manage and rule through trepidation and a demeaning manner. Policemen, although perhaps not schooled in psychology, with all their daily contact with so many different personalities, develop the ability to see through a facade. ... Grady is a classic example of the old adage, "If you don't know the answers, dazzle them with b.s." In this respect he is an expert.

I have had the honor to have worked with officers of the Santa Fe Police Department off and on for the past 20 years, and I have found them to be true professionals in every sense of the word. I also have observed that the department has become even more professional each year since my first interaction with police department members in 1974. The citizens of Santa Fe need not worry that because of the existing conflict, the officers will not do their jobs. They are true professionals and they will do their jobs, not because of Grady, but in spite of him and his lack of leadership.

Citizens who think all police officers do is drive around and drink coffee or park and talk, or worse, pick on all the innocent drivers could not be more wrong. Each time an officer responds to a call for assistance, he may be required to put his life on the line for people who only prefer to criticize him or her rather than say thank you. ...

I cannot believe (City Manager Ike Pino) as a professional, would refer to the Police Officers Association as a "sleazy organization." I strongly feel he should publicly apologize for such an unprofessional remark. Like other city managers across the country have found, he should know that his police department can make you or break you.

Harold Byford past president,

N.M. Police Chief's Association

Santa Fe

Feature

Stockpile Stewardship:

BY GREG MELLO AND
MARYLIA KELLEY

Science-Based or Science Debased?

After what seemed like a fresh start under Secretary Hazel O'Leary, the future of the Department of Energy (DOE) weapons labs is now beginning to look a lot like the bleak past, only more so. While the nation sleepwalks its way further into global warming, an ever-greater importation of fossil fuels and the near-complete neglect of conservation and renewable energy, bureaucratic inertia and right-wing ideology seem to be winning out over science applied to genuine national needs.

At this point in post-Cold War time, the only conversion happening at the weapons labs is linguistic. Their flagship program, now called "Science-Based Stewardship" (SBSS), has inherited all the functions of the former nuclear weapons research, development, and testing (RD&T) program save one: underground nuclear explosive testing. The loss of underground testing is being parlayed into an extravagant set of new nuclear weapons facilities at the labs and an overall funding increase in their nuclear weapons programs, dashing hopes that these institutions could or would convert to more socially useful, and less culturally corrosive, research.

Even within the scope of the labs' current overall mission ("reducing the nuclear danger"), the vast bulk of resources continue to be applied to maintaining and improving US nuclear weapons. The underlying assumptions of SBSS are that the US arsenal is permanent, that it remains large and diverse, and that a permanent technological and production-capacity "hedge" is needed to reconstitute an even bigger arsenal in a short period of time. All these US policy assumptions run directly counter to any widely-shared definition of security, to any genuine defense needs, and — not least — to Article VI of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), in which the world's nuclear powers agreed to dismantle their arsenals in return for a promise of nonproliferation from the rest of the world. Even if these assumptions are granted, most of the SBSS program is still not needed.

How Much Does Stockpile Stewardship Cost?

SBSS, née RD&T, is the core program at the three DOE nuclear weapons laboratories, where most SBSS funds are spent. Out of a fiscal year (FY) 1995 DOE weapons program appropriation of \$4.5 billion, the SBSS program comprises \$1.5 billion. Neither of these amounts include the substantial costs of managing the wastes being created by DOE nuclear weapons activities, or of cleaning up contaminated sites, including the weapons labs.

The budget for stockpile stewardship is rising. The FY 1996 DOE budget request for SBSS is \$1.6 billion, and it is likely that Congress will award DOE at least this much. Amazingly, the weapons laboratories are now receiving substantially more funds for nuclear weapons science and technology than they did during most of the Cold War.

The weapons labs want even more. In addition to high levels of SBSS program funds, the labs want a \$3 billion panoply of new facilities to simulate various aspects of nuclear weapon explosions. This extravagant and provocative construction program is aimed at circumventing a nuclear test ban to the greatest extent technically possible. If constructed, these facilities will define the research agenda of the labs, and make their conversion to more useful work almost impossible for the next decade.

What Exactly Is the SBSS Program?

To understand the stockpile stewardship program, it is first necessary to understand what it is not. It is not the program that stewards our stockpile of nuclear warheads and bombs or provides for the surveillance, repair, and replacement of nuclear weapons. The program which does these jobs is called "stockpile management," a related but separate DOE program, funded at \$1.8 billion in FY 1995.

Instead, so called "science-based" stockpile stewardship is aimed at providing a sort of science—nuclear weapons science—for the stewards of the stockpile, or some of them anyway. To put it another way, it doesn't really maintain warheads so much as it maintains physicists. As DOE Assistant Secretary Victor Reis put it to Congress in 1994: "The stewards really are more important than the equipment...the purpose of the Stockpile Stewardship program is in fact to maintain the stewards, and the right type of experiments."

The basic idea behind SBSS is described in the FY 1994 Defense Authorization Act, which says that the purpose of "stewardship" is to preserve the "core intellectual competencies" of the US "in nuclear weapons, including weapons design...and certification." The Act provides funding for "advanced computational capabilities to enhance the simulation and modeling capabilities of the

Stockpile Stewardship doesn't really maintain warheads so much as it maintains physicists.

United States with respect to detonation of nuclear weapons...[and for] above-ground experimental programs, such as hydrotesting, high-energy lasers, inertial confinement fusion, plasma physics and materials research." Further, the Act provides "support for new facilities construction projects" for these programs. This is exactly what the old RD&T program used to do, with advanced non-nuclear testing replacing to the extent possible the role of nuclear testing in the certification process.

In addition, the labs, through their growing central role in the stockpile management program, will be the place where much of the component production for new or replacement nuclear weapons takes place. At present, both stockpile stewardship and management present impossible barriers for conversion of the weapons labs.

A Simpler, Cheaper, and Less Provocative Program to Maintain US Weapons of Mass Destruction

Barring imminent orders for new weapons, science-based stockpile stewardship is essentially a blank check. Being primarily oriented toward maintaining the existing workforce, there is no definite product and therefore no real accountability in the program.

A more rational approach would begin by carefully delineating goals for the program that enjoy a consensus, such as: assurance of the safety and security of nuclear weapons; compliance with US treaty obligations; support for nonproliferation; and compatibility with anticipated future treaties and further stockpile reductions.

In addition, a large majority of federal officials would support a goal of ensuring that a given weapon remains reliable until that weapon is retired, and providing for its replacement as needed until that time. We believe it is likely, however, that maintaining an enormous nuclear deterrent will be increasingly seen as conflicting with US

nonproliferation goals, as some senior military officers and defense officials have already warned.

To fulfill all these goals, including maintaining the reliability of our weapons of mass destruction and providing for their replacement, a "science-based" stockpile stewardship is unnecessary. A much simpler, problem-focused stockpile management program would suffice and would cost a great deal less. Since there are not now any important safety, security, or reliability issues in the arsenal, and none are foreseen for the immediate future, this program could initially be largely a matter of surveillance, pending future arms reductions. And if a posture of nuclear deterrence, *i.e.* threatened annihilation, is to be maintained, any problems which may arise can be solved by the remanufacture and replacement of specific parts.

Over the longer term, a small-scale remanufacturing capability will be required to maintain a nuclear deterrent. But the scale of this capability will depend upon the anticipated scale of the arsenal, which has been declining and should continue to do so.

The US and the other declared nuclear powers have promised, however, in Article VI of the NPT, to eventually dismantle all their nuclear weapons, not rebuild them. So there is a proliferation cost, however difficult it may be to measure or predict, as well as a very real economic and environmental cost, to rebuilding weapons.

The Cold War level design establishment should be collapsed down to a much smaller and more narrowly-focused "curatorship" program, whose size would depend upon the complexity of the possible problems that could be encountered. In the case of the nuclear "physics packages" (warheads), which contain only about 5 percent of the parts in the weapons, that program could and should be rather small. It will be less expensive, in many cases, to simply replace some parts than to understand in detail everything that could, some decades hence, go

(Continued on p. 13)

US Department of Energy's National Laboratories At a Glance

| Lab | Contractor | Annual Budget (FY '95) | Military related work | # of Empl. | Est. Cost of Environ. Cleanup |
|---|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------|-------------------------------|
| Lawrence Livermore (Livermore, CA) nuclear weapons R&D and testing; research on nonproliferation, arms control, and treaty verification technology | University of California | \$983 million | 49% | 7,310 | \$1.5 billion |
| Los Alamos (Los Alamos, NM) nuclear weapons R&D and testing; research on nonproliferation, arms control, and treaty verification technology; waste management & environmental restoration | University of California | \$1.1 billion | 61% | 6865 | \$3.3 billion |
| Sandia (four sites in NM, CA, NV & HI) R&D and testing of all non-nuclear components of nuclear weapons; transportation, storage and safety assessment of nuclear weapons; training military personnel in assembly and maintenance of nuclear weapons. | Lockheed Martin | \$1.1 billion | 74% | 8500 | \$890 million |

Sources: Los Alamos Study Group, Military Toxics Project, US DOE, US Nuclear Weapons Cost Study Project

CHART BY SARAH ALLEN

THE OAKLAND TRIBUNE

■ (510) 208-6477

No date - September 1995?

**Burrowing nuclear warhead
will take out the atomic trash**By Jonathan Weisman
STAFF WRITER

One of the country's nuclear bombs is to be remodeled so it can burrow more deeply underground to blow up buried bunkers and stockpiles of atomic and chemical weapons.

Although the United States is currently observing a unilateral ban on new nuclear weapons development, government officials say their modifications of the B61 bomb does not violate that policy.

The warhead replacement would be among the first changes to the

U.S. arsenal since the country stopped nuclear testing in 1992.

Analysts say it represents a shift away from the military strategy of the Cold War — when the threat was a single nuclear superpower — to a new era of regional threats from smaller countries such as Iraq and North Korea.

"It raises important questions about U.S. military strategy," said Daryl Kimball, a nuclear weapons analyst at Physicians for Social Responsibility in Washington.

"It has a definite Third World

Please see **Bomb**, A-11

Bomb: Warhead to be used as bunker buster

Continued from A-1

spin to it," agreed Christopher Paine, a defense analyst at the Natural Resources Defense Council.

Energy Department scientists plan to replace the powerful but aging B53 hydrogen bomb with a modified version of an existing warhead called the D81. The new warhead will have safety features lacking in the B53, features designed to prevent a catastrophic, accidental detonation.

Because the changes to the B61 do not involve the warhead's nuclear element, officials said the resulting replacement warhead could not be considered a new weapon. That contention is hotly contested by some anti-nuclear groups who say any addition to the arsenal that enhances military capabilities should be considered a new weapon.

"It's totally and well within policy commitments the president has made," said Roger Fisher, deputy assistant energy secretary for research and development.

Fisher acknowledged the B53, which is an older bomb, would be replaced by the newer B61. But he would not say whether the B61's modified warhead would be transformed into a "bunker buster," or earth-penetrating warhead.

Other officials acknowledged it would be.

John Crawford, deputy director of Sandia National Laboratories in New Mexico, said Thursday federal scientists plan to harden the external metal casing of the nuclear bomb. That would allow it to sink deeper before detonating.

Development of the modified warhead will take two years, largely conducted by Sandia scientists, said Los Alamos National Laboratory spokesman Jim Darneskiold.

The warhead redesign has been approved for development but not deployment, added Kent Johnson, the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory's assistant associate director for defense and nuclear technologies.

In view of U.S. efforts to curb the nuclear arms race, Paine said it was hypocritical to be improving the nation's nuclear warhead capabilities.

"Are we going to establish a regime where there are norms of behavior for everybody, or is the United States going to be the big exception?" Paine asked.

"If we have a hedge, why can't everyone else have a hedge? I'm sure India would love to have an Earth penetrator to take care of its uncertainties with Pakistan. Where does it stop?"

Nuclear weapons scientists acknowledged a bunker-busting weapon will be controversial, simply because it would be so useful militarily.

Story based on our research

Paper: Santa Fe New Mexican, The (NM)
Title: SANTA FE / REGION
Author: KEITH EASTHOUSE
Date: September 8, 1995
Section: SANTA FE / REGION
Page: B-1

Most explosive tests at a controversial nuclear weapons testing facility at Los Alamos National Laboratory would be conducted inside steel containment vessels, rather than in the open air as has been done in the past, under a U.S. Department of Energy proposal. The proposal is contained in a massive, two-volume study of the environmental and health impacts of the Dual Axis Radiographic Hydrotest Facility. The recently released study, called an environmental impact statement, proposes that contained tests be phased in over a 10-year period.

DARHT, a \$124 million giant X-ray machine, is capable of peering inside nuclear weapons components precisely when they are being subjected to non-nuclear explosive tests.

The purpose of such tests is to determine how the components behave under various conditions. DARHT, as it's known, is part of an array of imaging and testing devices under development at Los Alamos and elsewhere in the DOE weapons complex. They are intended to replace full-scale nuclear tests, which have been banned in the United States since 1992.

DARHT was about 30 percent done when construction was halted by a federal judge in Albuquerque last December. The project was shut down because DOE had failed to perform an impact statement before beginning construction.

Now that it has done so, federal Judge Edwin Mechem will evaluate the extent to which the study is valid -- a key determination if Mechem is to allow construction of DARHT to resume.

The lawsuit that led to the shutdown was filed by two Santa Fe watchdog organizations: Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety and the **Los Alamos Study Group**.

Greg Mello of the group said DOE's proposal for contained tests includes "vague promises and doesn't go to the heart of the matter, which is whether DARHT is needed at all."

Mello and other activists say test results from DARHT can be used to help design new nuclear weapons systems -- something activists believe are unnecessary and probably dangerous in a post-Cold War world.

Author: KEITH EASTHOUSE
Section: SANTA FE / REGION
Page: B-1

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ABQ

DOE wants contained explosive tests at DARHT

STAFF AND WIRE REPORTS

LOS ALAMOS — The U.S. Department of Energy wants to conduct explosive tests at a controversial nuclear weapons testing facility at Los Alamos National Laboratory. An environmental impact statement for the Dual Axis Radiographic Hydrodynamic Test Facility, DARHT, proposes tests be done inside steel containment vessels, rather than in the open air as in the past.

The DOE just released a two-volume

study of the environmental and health impacts of DARHT, proposing that the contained tests be phased in over 10 years.

DARHT, a \$124 million giant X-ray machine, is capable of peering inside nuclear weapons components precisely when they are being subjected to non-nuclear explosive tests to see how the components perform under various conditions.

The facility is part of an array of imaging and testing devices under development at Los Alamos and

elsewhere in the DOE's weapons complex. They would replace full-scale nuclear tests, which the United States suspended in 1992.

Two Santa Fe environmental groups — Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety and the Los Alamos Study Group — sued over the facility's environmental impact last year.

A federal judge in Albuquerque halted its construction last December, ruling the DOE failed to do an impact statement before beginning construction.

U.S. District Judge Edwin Mechem now will evaluate the study, a key determination in whether he allows construction to resume.

Greg Mello of the Los Alamos Study Group said the DOE's proposal for contained tests includes "vague promises and doesn't go to the heart of the matter — which is whether DARHT is needed at all."

"The document never goes to the programmatic relationship of the facility in relationship to other test

sites," Mello said. "There are four hydrodynamic test facilities in the complex and three are either being built or are being upgraded. We're not sure of the need for DARHT. There seems to be a lot of redundancy in the system."

Mello and other activists say test results from DARHT could be used to help design new nuclear weapons systems, which they believe are unnecessary.

A potential ace in the hole for anti-nuclear groups fighting to stop com-

pletion of the partially built DARHT facility is the presence of the Mexican spotted owl.

LANL biologists in July confirmed that two spotted owls successfully nested and hatched two fledglings less than half a mile from the test facility's construction site.

The environmental impact statements proposes several measures to minimize harmful impacts on owl habitat caused by construction of the facility.

Former weapons designer now believes in abolition of nukes

By STEPHEN T. SHANKLAND
Assistant Managing Editor

Ted Taylor, a former nuclear weapons designer who now believes nuclear weapons should be abolished, knows there have "twists and turns" in his life.

Taylor, who spoke at a Los Alamos Study Group-sponsored talk Wednesday night, said he began his career opposing nuclear weapons and finished his career opposing nuclear weapons. But in the middle, he was captured by the excitement of designing the weapons and the addiction of big — very big — explosions.

The early 1950s really were the golden age of nuclear weapons, Taylor said. The excitement, the financial support, the helpfulness of colleagues, "the wonderful people who really knew what they were doing," all combined to make for an atmosphere that he hasn't seen since then. "I don't remember anyone having to write a proposal for anything," he said.

And the feeling of watching a nuclear explosion to which he con-

tributed was incomparable.

If Taylor had key involvement in the bomb, "It became my bomb. And when it exploded in this awesome way, it was like a high."

"It's something that is sort of you extended, going POW! and releasing energy that is clearly off the human scale," Taylor said.

It was an immense sense of power, of "being an important part of doing things that had global effects," he said.

In those early years, the lab suggested to the Pentagon what nuclear weapons work to do, not vice-versa. And the Pentagon agreed, he said.

The Pentagon's goal could be summed up in the equation " $Y=0; m=0$," meaning that the Pentagon wanted a bomb with an infinitely large explosive yield and no mass.

But later on, Taylor's graduate school opposition to nuclear weapons resurfaced. While a graduate student at the University of California-Berkeley, Taylor had co-authored a paper that suggested all nuclear scientists go on strike until nuclear weapons knowledge faded away.

But after "flunking out" of Berkeley while supporting a young family, Taylor decided to accept a position at Los Alamos National Laboratory set up by his Berkeley mentor, physicist Robert Serber, and his future LANL boss, Carson Mark of Theoretical Division.

His work at the lab, including such tasks as calculating the biggest and smallest possible fission bombs, was clearly intellectually stimulating. He grew so attached to the work that, he said, he became disappointed one night when a calculated blast radius, inscribed as a circle centered on the Kremlin, didn't include all of Moscow.

But there was a tension in his life, he said. His mother asked him, "Why are you working on those things, the purpose of which is to kill as many people as possible?"

Taylor felt his response was a rationalization. "We are making war impossible by having reduced it to the absurd," he told her. The bigger and more numerous the bombs, the less likely the war.

Later career changes brought

him to the Pentagon.

It was there that Taylor changed his mind. "I bottomed out in the middle of the bowels of the Pentagon," Taylor said. "I realized I had this addictive disease," Taylor said. "The only treatment is abstinence. Total abstinence."

Within a few months, he had uprooted and moved to Vienna, where he worked with the International Atomic Energy Agency, a United Nations organization.

This work brought Taylor to his current belief: All nuclear weapons and nuclear power plants should be abolished.

And those who break agreements involving weapons of mass destruction — anything "off the scale in terms of human killing capacity" — must be punished. Breaking such agreements should be the "most heinous" crime.

Solar energy should replace nuclear and fossil fuels, he said. He also called for a massive, open, international effort to research the use of solar power to extract hydrogen from water.



AL CABRAL/Monitor

Ted Taylor, a former nuclear weapons designer who had a change of heart, spoke Wednesday at Fuller Lodge. The banner behind him, hung

by Ed Grothus, reads, "We are the new abolitionists." The talk was sponsored by the Santa Fe-based Los Alamos Study Group.

LA Monitor
9-21-95

Nukes: Scientists say bunker-busting bomb controversial

Continued from A-1

ardless of the technical changes required.

And nuclear weapons scientists acknowledged a bunker-busting weapon will be controversial, simply because it would be so militarily useful.

Earth penetrators would "blur the lines" between nuclear war and conventional war, because they would be more than just a weapon of terror, said David Dearborn, a senior weapons physicist at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory.

Such a weapon could be used to rout deeply buried factories and storehouses for nuclear, chemical and biological weapons or underground command-and-control

bunkers.

Earth-penetrating warheads that use conventional explosives may be powerless to destroy buried enemy warheads.

Those warheads, if designed for a missile, would already be fashioned to survive an explosive launch and a searing atmospheric re-entry, said lab senior weapons scientist Tom Thomson.

The radiation from nuclear explosions would be particularly useful for destroying chemical and biological weapons, Dearborn added.

"Even if you knew where there was a biological (warfare) factory, you couldn't do anything about it," Thomson said. "There

just isn't anything in the stockpile built to do that."

That is not the official line.

Danneskiold cautioned that the mission of all warheads are classified.

Nevertheless, he said, the modified warhead "has always been inherently capable of limited earth penetration."

"Any changes to the B61-7 are minor," he said. "There is no new mission."

But in a radio interview in July, Don Wolkenstorfer, Los Alamos's program manager for above-ground experiments, directly linked the B53 replacement with the earth penetrator.

The armed services "are looking at rede-

veloping an existing weapon in such an earth-penetrator warhead (configuration) to address hardened targets," Wolkenstorfer said.

"We're going to replace the high-yield B53, which is not as safe as modern weapons."

According to National Resources Defense Council's Nuclear Notebook, B53 was first produced in 1962, with a yield equal to 9 million tons of TNT, nearly 700 times as strong as the atomic bomb that flattened Hiroshima.

The Air Force holds about 50 such bombs, which do not contain some of the safety features of more modern warheads,

like high-explosive detonators that are insensitive to shocks.

Danneskiold stressed that is the main reason for the bomb's replacement.

The B61's yield is flexible, ranging from 10,000 tons of TNT to 300,000 tons.

Sid Drell, deputy director of the Stanford Linear Accelerator and a Clinton arms control adviser, said concerns over new warhead development should be weighed against these safety considerations.

If there are no changes in the nuclear package of the warhead, it should not be considered a new weapon, he said.

And besides, "I will be thankful to have the B53 retired," he said.

Old nuclear warheads get new life

Controversial DOE plan will improve safety, effectiveness

By Jonathan Weisman
STAFF WRITER

The Department of Energy plans to replace an aging nuclear bomb with a warhead that will be modified to bolster its safety features and improve U.S. capabilities to blast away buried enemy bunkers.

The development program would be among the first modifications of the U.S. arsenal in the post-nuclear testing era. Energy Department scientists plan to replace the powerful but aging B60 hydrogen bomb with a modified version of another existing warhead called the B61-7.

Because the changes to the B61-7 do not involve the warhead's nuclear-explosive package, officials said the resulting replacement warhead could not be considered a new weapon. That contention is hotly contested by anti-nuclear groups.

The United States is currently observing a unilateral ban on new nuclear weapons development, imposed in 1992 by then-President George Bush.

It's locally and well-within policy commitments the president

has made," said Roger Fisher, deputy assistant energy secretary, for research and development. "I realize the B61 and B53 are two different pieces of hardware, but the B61 is certainly a well-established piece of hardware in the inventory."

Fisher would not say whether the modified warhead would be encased as a "bunker buster" — or earth-penetrator warhead. But other officials acknowledged it would be.

The development of the modified warhead will take two years, and will be largely conducted by scientists at Sandia National Laboratories, said Los Alamos National Laboratory spokesman Jim Danneskiold. The warhead redesign has been approved for development but not yet for deployment, added Kent Johnson, Livermore's assistant associate director for defense and nuclear technologies.

Anti-nuclear groups argue any addition to the arsenal that enhances military capabilities should be considered a new weapon, re-

Please see Nukes, A-9

Story based on our research. There were many stories about the B61-11.

Activists accuse LANL of creating new nuclear bomb

► Lab spokesman :
Work is modification
of a current weapon

9/22/95

By NANCY PLEVIN
The New Mexican

A planned modification of the B61-7 nuclear bomb, which will be overseen by Los Alamos National Laboratory, creates a new weapon and violates the United States' ban on nuclear weapons development, anti-nuclear activists said Thursday.

But lab spokesman Jim Danneskiold said the work, expected to take two years, is simply a means for the U.S. Department of Energy to retire the outdated B53 bomb and

replace it with the modified warheads.

"The actual modifications are mostly minor, are mostly mechanical, and this modification involves no change to the nuclear package," Danneskiold said.

It doesn't appear that any of the B61-7 bombs will have to be moved to make the modifications, Danneskiold said.

The locations of the bombs are classified but Danneskiold said some of the testing, including physics experiments, hydrodynamics tests and non-nuclear explosions, would take place at Los Alamos, which designed the B61. No nuclear tests would be performed, Danneskiold said.

Opponents of the planned

Please see WEAPONS, Page A-3

Continued from Page A-1

modification, which received final authorization last month, contend it replaces the B53 with an Earth-penetrating warhead, which will be dubbed the B61-11.

"It would be able to attack deeply buried and hardened bunkers, in a way that the 9-megaton B53 could not," said Greg Mello of the Los Alamos Study Group, a lab watchdog group. "It's a weapon for Teheran, not Moscow."

Jay Coghlan, research analyst

for Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety in Santa Fe, said, "All the world is engaged in a process of drawing down the global arsenals — and to essentially create a new weapons system sends the wrong message to the world. This calls into question whether we are honestly engaging in the arms reduction process.

"The distinguishing point is whether or not new military characteristics are created," Coghlan said. "If a system has new military characteristics, it

is essentially a new weapons system."

But Danneskiold said there are many existing versions of B61s, and all have "inherent capability of limited Earth penetration." He said the modification is part of the United States' commitment to maintain its reduced nuclear stockpile.

The modification was requested by the Defense and Energy departments' Nuclear Weapons Council and was approved by appropriate congressional committees, he said.

"The labs are confronted with trying to maintain security, safety, and reliability of vastly reduced numbers of weapons in stockpile, without any testing," Danneskiold said. "So there are going to be modifications, and an important modification is getting rid of this weapon, the B53."

The B53 is the oldest weapon in the stockpile and does not meet modern safety design criteria, a lab statement said.

"Modifications like this go on all the time. There will be many other modifications down the

road," Danneskiold said.

Sandia National Laboratories in Albuquerque also will be involved in the modification.

Publication: Jnl Legacy 1995 to July 2005; Date: Sep 22, 1995; Section: Final; Page: 4



Date--09/22/1995 Edition--Final Page--A1

SANDIA REDESIGNS N-BOMB

John Fleck Journal Staff Writer

OFFICIALS SAY NEW WEAPON IS NEEDED

Sandia National Laboratories engineers are redesigning a U.S. nuclear bomb to turn it into the newest weapon in the nation's nuclear arsenal.

Department of Energy officials say the redesigned bomb is needed to replace an older weapon that doesn't meet modern safety standards.

But a shroud of secrecy surrounding key technical details of the weapon's modifications has led at least one arms-control activist to contend that the United States wants to field an entirely new type of nuclear weapon, contradicting an international trend away from such weapons.

They say the modifications will make the weapon an "earth penetrator," a type of bomb designed to slam into the ground, using its momentum to drive it beneath the surface before it explodes, giving it the capability to destroy buried targets, such as Russian military command centers.

U.S. weapons designers worked on the development of earth-penetrating warheads in the early 1990s, but the plans were abandoned when the United States in 1992 halted all new nuclear weapon development.

At a time when the United States is pursuing an international nuclear weapons test ban and other measures to reverse the arms race, the project raises questions about the U.S. government's sincerity, said Greg Mello, one of the leaders of the Los Alamos Study Group, a Santa Fe peace group.

"It completely undercuts the purpose of the test ban," said Mello, whose group discovered the project this week and has been instrumental in drawing attention to it.

Energy Department and laboratory officials say the project isn't a "new weapon," as Mello alleges. But they won't say whether the modifications they are making to the bomb will improve its ability to penetrate the earth before blowing up.

And that is the key, Mello argues, to deciding whether it is an entirely new type of weapon.

The project arises out of problems with the B53, a plane-dropped nuclear bomb now in the U.S. arsenal that reportedly is assigned the job of destroying deeply buried Russian command centers.

The problem, DOE and laboratory officials say, is that the B53, designed in the early 1960s, isn't equipped with modern safety features designed to prevent accidental detonations.

Another bomb in the arsenal, the B61, does have such safety features, so the Energy Department plans to modify a number of B61s to replace the aging B53, according to a footnote in a newly released Energy Department report on the U.S. nuclear stockpile.

The B61, originally designed by Los Alamos and Sandia national laboratories in the mid-1960s, has been a mainstay of the U.S. nuclear arsenal, with a number of redesigns during the years updating its capabilities.

The B53 accomplished its mission of blowing up underground bunkers by brute force -- a blast the equivalent of 9 million tons of TNT, according to "U.S. Nuclear Weapons, the Secret History," by independent nuclear weapons researcher Chuck Hansen.

The B61 that will be modified to replace it packs 1/30th the blast, according to the Natural Resources Defense Council's Nuclear Notebook project.

Despite its smaller blast, it will be expected to carry out the same mission the older B53 did, according to the Energy Department.

In an interview on Santa Fe radio station KSFR in July, Don Wolkerstorfer, Los Alamos National Laboratory nuclear weapons scientist, said officials were looking at deploying an existing weapon in an earth-penetrating configuration to replace the B53.

Mello and others are using Wolkerstorfer's comments as evidence that the B61 will be turned into an earth-penetrator, the only way, with its smaller yield, that it could destroy the deeply buried bunkers for which the B53 was intended, they believe.

Wolkerstorfer, in a telephone interview Thursday afternoon, wouldn't comment on plans to replace the B53, except to point out that his comments made on the radio referred only to studies of possible replacements for the bomb, not to actions being taken.

Los Alamos National Laboratory spokesman Jim Danneskiold said the B61 "has always been inherently capable of limited earth penetration."

Whether the modifications now being done to the bomb will increase that capability is something neither Danneskiold nor officials at Sandia and the Department of Energy would comment on.

The numbers of weapons in the U.S. stockpile are classified, but the Natural Resources Defense Council's Nuclear Notebook says 50 B53s are in the U.S. arsenal now.

PHOTO: COURTESY DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

PHOTO: Color

BOMB BEING REDESIGNED: Many of the 6,000 parts contained in a B61 bomb are shown in this 1992 photo. Sandia National Laboratories scientists are said to be working on modifying the B61 to destroy underground targets in Russia.

Paper: Santa Fe New Mexican, The (NM)
Title: SANTA FE / REGION
Author: Keith Easthouse
Date: September 28, 1995
Section: SANTA FE / REGION
Page: B-1

The Department of Energy is trying to deny two Santa Fe citizens groups access to classified information about environmental and health impacts of a nuclear weapons test facility at Los Alamos National Laboratory. In August, U.S. District Judge Edwin Mechem gave the DOE permission to file a supplement to an environmental impact statement on the \$124 million Dual Axis Radiographic Hydrotest Facility. The supplement contains classified information -- meaning the government believes the contents could compromise national security if made public.

When lawyers for the **Los Alamos Study Group** and Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety requested permission to have their own expert, with a security clearance, review the supplement, the DOE cried foul.

"Public participation must be limited to the extent required to protect classified information," Department of Justice lawyers representing DOE said in a legal brief.

Lawyers with the Western Environmental Law Center, a Taos legal firm representing the citizens groups, said they understand the need to protect sensitive information related to DARHT -- a giant X-ray machine capable of peering inside nuclear weapons parts precisely when they are being subjected to non-nuclear explosive tests.

Consequently, they said they are not seeking disclosure of the information to themselves or their clients, only to their security-cleared expert.

"Plaintiffs clearly and consistently have stated that they seek release of the classified supplement only to a person with security clearance, not disclosure to themselves or the public," wrote Eric Ames, one of the attorneys, in a brief.

Ames said that if the citizens groups are not allowed to have their own expert, their ability to challenge the adequacy of the impact statement -- a detailed study of the potential environmental and health effects of the project -- will be hampered.

Additionally, Ames wrote that the expert representing the citizen groups could evaluate whether any of the information that the DOE has deemed off-limits to the public has been misclassified.

The citizen groups suspect some of the data might have to do with health risks from plutonium exposure. Some of the tests at DARHT will involve explosions of small amounts of plutonium in a contained vessel.

Mechem has not decided whether to grant CCNS and the study group the right to have an expert review the classified material.

DARHT was about 30 percent built when Mechem ordered a halt to the project last December because the DOE had failed to prepare an impact statement before it began construction.

The judge's order, the result of a lawsuit filed by CCNS and the study group, sent shock waves through the DOE because DARHT is the flagship of an array of nuclear weapons testing devices designed as alternatives to full-scale underground nuclear tests.

Those tests have been banned in the United States since 1992.

The groups suspect some data might concern health risks from plutonium exposure.

Author: Keith Easthouse

Section: SANTA FE / REGION

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Anti-nuke groups fight secrecy

BY PATRICK ARMIJO
JOURNAL STAFF WRITER

Two Santa Fe anti-nuclear groups are fighting to see a secret nuclear-weapons report the government plans to use in a court battle over completion of a nuclear weapons testing facility in Los Alamos.

The Los Alamos Study Group and Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety in January won an injunction to halt construction of the Dual Axis Radiographic Hydrodynamic Test Facility at Los Alamos National Laboratory until the Department of Energy completes its environmental review of the project.

The test facility, which provides X-ray photographs of nuclear-weapon components under the stress of a non-nuclear explosion, would cost \$187 million if built to the specifications of the current DOE recommendation.

In granting the injunction, U.S. District Court Judge E.L. Mechem agreed with the groups' argument that an environmental impact study should have been done before construction had begun.

Mechem, in August, allowed the DOE to introduce a classified supplement for review by only three of his staff members and him. The staff members are in the process of getting security clearance to look at the documents.

Now, attorneys for the Study Group and Concerned Citizens are asking Mechem to allow

"one or more" of their own security-cleared experts to see the supplement.

"Apparently, there's information in this (secret document) that the DOE deems relevant, and the DOE deems it should be classified," said Eric Ames, an attorney with the Western Environmental Law Center in Taos, which is representing the anti-nuclear groups. "We don't know if we agree with it or not because we haven't seen it."

Brian Ferrell, lead attorney for the Justice Department, said the request to exclude the government's opponents from seeing the secret document is unusual but not unheard of.

"Classified material has been submitted in camera (in private) before, and the documents have been protected from the view of the other side," Ferrell said in a telephone interview Wednesday.

A filing by the Study Group and Concerned Citizens said they may need to examine the classified supplement to check the government's study of "cumulative effects of numerous actions connected" to the test facility.

But Ferrell said representatives of the activist groups had no legal right to view a secret document.

Ames, however, said, "The court said it wanted a comprehensive EIS (Environmental Impact Statement). The question becomes: How can we participate in this litigation if we don't have access to the classified supplement, and the DOE

relies on it?"

Ferrell said the document does not deal with health risks for things like cancer from the facility, which would test nuclear-weapons components under non-nuclear explosive situations.

"We are talking about nuclear information. Information that deals with nuclear weapons, and it is of national-security interest," Ferrell said.

He said assessment of health risks was exhaustive in the unclassified Environmental Impact Statement.

"The public document sets forth, in excruciating detail, all the environmental consequences of this project that have been examined and need to be examined under NEPA (National Environmental Policy Act)," Ferrell said.

Ames said the groups aren't asking for public disclosure — only for access to the document by their own security-cleared experts.

"They (the DOE) are assuming we want to read this for our own benefit or to disclose it, which is absurd. We are American citizens who wish to uphold the law. There is no threat in disclosing it to our security-cleared experts," Ames said.

By Oct. 10, the DOE is expected to select one of several alternatives to follow in building the facility. Ferrell said once the decision is announced, the government will ask Mechem to dissolve his injunction blocking further construction.

LETTERS

BEHEADING PHOTO DOES NOT APPEAR AT MUSEUM

CONCERNING THE recent Journal North article, "Sharing of display disputed," by Patrick Armijo, I quote: "Before Monday, the **(Los Alamos) Study Group** had been the only organization to display on the wall, and it had content control -- a situation the group believed it would enjoy forever. But Monday, some pictures of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were replaced with photographs that included the beheading of an American flier by a Japanese soldier."

The description of wall space in the article is that of the display at the Bradbury Science Museum of the Los Alamos Education Group (LAEG). There never has been a picture of a Japanese soldier beheading an American flier in the LAEG display.

Why did the reporter state that the picture was in the LAEG display when it was not?

Robb Minor

Los Alamos

Editor's note: The incorrect information about the photograph was provided to the reporter by the group.

Paper: Santa Fe New Mexican, The (NM)
Title: SANTA FE / REGION
Author: Keith Easthouse
Date: October 13, 1995
Section: SANTA FE / REGION
Page: B1

The Department of Energy is asking Albuquerque federal Judge Edwin Mechem to lift a 9-month-old order banning Los Alamos National Laboratory from completing construction of a controversial nuclear weapons test facility. In legal papers filed earlier this week, the DOE says because it has completed an environmental study on the \$124 million Dual Axis Radiographic Hydrotest Facility, a lawsuit against the facility filed by two Santa Fe citizens' groups is "moot."

"It is appropriate to dissolve the injunction and allow the completion of the DARHT facility," the DOE said in one of the documents.

Jay Coghlan of Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety called the impact statement "grossly deficient."

He said that the portion of the study that is accessible to the public doesn't discuss DARHT's potential role as a facility involved in remanufacturing weapons components.

He said that the public portion of the study also does not discuss the potential health and environmental risks associated with tests at DARHT involving plutonium, a hazardous radioactive metal.

Coghlan noted that Mechem's court has not yet appointed experts with security clearances to review a supplement to the study that has been classified for national security reasons. Mechem has also not yet ruled on whether CCNS and the **Los Alamos Study Group** can have their own experts with security clearances review the classified portion of the study.

"This is premature," Coghlan said, referring to DOE's dismissal request.

DOE has requested a hearing before Mechem next month on its request. Whether Mechem will grant the hearing and how he will rule on the agency's dismissal motion is unclear.

Coghlan said construction of DARHT should at least be delayed until the DOE has completed a study of the environmental and health impacts of its entire "stockpile stewardship and management" program.

The study, which was begun in 1990 and has proceeded in fits and starts, is expected to be finished sometime next year.

The stewardship program, which includes DARHT, involves an array of non-nuclear testing and imaging devices intended to evaluate the condition of weapons components in the existing nuclear arsenal. The program is designed to take the place of underground nuclear tests, which have been banned in the U.S. since 1992.

DARHT, the flagship of the program, is a giant X-ray machine capable of peering inside nuclear weapons parts precisely when they are being subjected to non-nuclear explosive tests.

Author: Keith Easthouse
Section: SANTA FE / REGION
Page: B1

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Publication: Jnl Legacy 1995 to July 2005; Date: Oct 13, 1995; Section: Final; Page: 46



Date--10/13/1995 Edition--Final Page--D3

FEDS PUSH FOR LANL NUKE LAB

Patrick Armijo Journal Northern Bureau

DOE WANTS TO RESUME WORK ON ARMS TEST SITE

SANTA FE -- The U.S. Department of Energy is moving full speed ahead to finish a \$187 million facility at Los Alamos National Laboratory to test components of nuclear weapons under the stress of non-nuclear explosions.

Earlier this week, the DOE issued its official recommendation to build the most expensive option of eight alternatives considered in a court-ordered environmental impact statement of the Dual Axis Radiographic Hydrodynamic Test facility, or DARHT.

Construction of DARHT was halted in January by U.S. District Court Judge E.L. Mechem.

The halt came after the Los Alamos Study Group and Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety, two Santa Fe-based anti-nuclear groups, successfully argued that an environmental study should have been completed before work began on the project.

In conjunction with the DOE decision on design, the U.S. Department of Justice asked Mechem to dissolve his injunction blocking further work on the facility.

Under the DOE-chosen "phased containment option," the test facility would be built over 10 years.

Justice Department attorneys also asked for a Nov. 9 hearing to dissolve the injunction based on the final environmental analysis, completed in August, and the official recommendation of the DOE, which was announced Tuesday.

In September 1992, President Bush declared a moratorium on all nuclear testing by the United States. President Clinton extended the moratorium.

Later Clinton said the United States would seek a "zero yield" Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty with Russia and other countries and added that American acceptance of a "zero-yield" treaty depends on having non-nuclear testing facilities like the one partially built at Los Alamos.

According to Tuesday's Record of Decision published in the Federal Register, "As soon as possible, the DOE will resume construction of the firing site facility, complete both of the two accelerator halls (dual axes), and will resume procurement, testing and installation of equipment required for operating the DARHT firing site facility with the first X-ray machine."

Jay Coghlan, a research analyst with Concerned Citizens, said the environmental impact statement, which the Justice Department relies on to dissolve the injunction, "is fatally flawed."

He said an assessment of all related testing of nuclear weapons in hydrodynamic facilities across the country is needed before construction can resume at the dual-axis facility at Los Alamos.

In addition, he said, "The environmental, the health impacts and the accident scenarios related to plutonium experimentation are hidden in the classified supplement."

The DOE's classified supplement on the project has become a matter of dispute between DOE and the two groups in court.

The DOE has introduced the document for review by the judge and his staff but has asked that the judge block access to the document to others.

The two Santa Fe anti-nuclear groups have asked Mechem to allow their own security-cleared experts to examine the classified supplement.

Publication: Jnl Legacy 1995 to July 2005; Date: Oct 13, 1995; Section: Journal North; Page: 51

Date--10/13/1995 Edition--Journal North Page-- 1

DOE PUSHES WEAPONS FACILITY

Patrick Armijo JOURNAL STAFF WRITER

American acceptance of nuclear test ban treaty is contingent on a facility like the one recommended for Los Alamos.

The U.S. Department of Energy is moving full speed ahead to finish a \$187-million facility at Los Alamos National Laboratory to test components of nuclear weapons under the stress of non-nuclear explosions.

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BRIEFS

ANTI-NUCLEAR GROUPS SEEK HEARING DELAY

Two anti-nuclear groups have asked a federal judge to delay a request for a quick hearing on a proposed nuclear weapons testing facility at Los Alamos National Laboratory.

The Department of Energy filed the request earlier this month, seeking to proceed with construction of the \$187-million Dual Axis Radiographic Hydrodynamic Test facility or DARHT.

The DOE asked U.S. District Judge E.L. Mechem to dissolve an injunction he issued in January halting construction of DARHT until the lab completes an environmental study.

The Los Alamos Study Group and Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety said in their court filing, made Friday, that the DOE based its recommendation on a classified supplement to an environmental impact statement prepared on DARHT.

Concerned Citizens said in a news release that no one from the two groups or from the court have received the necessary security clearances to review the classified section of the report.

The anti-nuclear groups contend that the "DOE's intent is to limit (their) ability to respond fully to the motion to dissolve the injunction," according to the statement made Monday by Concerned Citizens.

DARHT is a giant X-ray machine that would enable scientists to test nuclear weapons with non-nuclear explosions. It would be able to peer inside weapons components when they are exploded to test their performance under various conditions.

Publication: Jnl Legacy 1995 to July 2005; Date: Oct 26, 1995; Section: Final; Page: 36



Date--10/26/1995 Edition--Final Page--C3

JUDGE: DOCUMENT OFF-LIMITS TO NUCLEAR FOES

Patrick Armijo Journal Northern Bureau

A federal judge says two Santa Fe anti-nuclear groups have no right to see a secret document that's part of a court battle over a \$187 million nuclear weapons test facility under way at Los Alamos National Laboratory.

In addition, U.S. District Court Judge E.L. Mechem said in a ruling received by lawyers Wednesday that he will grant a request by the U.S. Department of Energy to expedite hearings to examine removing an injunction that blocks work on the Dual Axis Radiographic Hydrodynamic Test Facility, or DARHT.

"We're pleased," said Brian Ferrell, the U.S. Department of Justice attorney handling the case for the government. "This allows the case to move forward, and it shows the information provided in the publicly available final EIS (environmental impact statement) is adequate for the plaintiffs (the two anti-nuclear groups) to make their case."

Jay Coghlan of Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety, one of the Santa Fe groups seeking to stop construction, said examining the classified document would have helped assess health impacts of the plutonium testing to be done at DARHT.

"We're not seeking to disclose classified information, but we feel the experimentation that leads to health impacts could be better defined so there is a more solid basis for analysis," Coghlan said.

Concerned Citizens and Los Alamos Study Group won the injunction in January 1994 halting construction until the judge approved an environmental study of the facility.

That study was completed in August, and now the two groups and the DOE are arguing the merits of the study before Mechem.

Greg Mello of the Study Group said, "We noticed that the judge does not believe the classified information the DOE submitted to the court is that important, and we concur that the DOE's unclassified record alone is adequate to condemn the haste with which this project is being put forward."

DARHT is designed to photograph nuclear-weapons components under the stress of non-nuclear explosions. The DOE said it is needed to ensure the safety and reliability of the country's aging nuclear warheads.

Paper: Santa Fe New Mexican, The (NM)

Title: MAIN

Author: Staff and wire reports

Date: October 30, 1995

Section: MAIN

Page: A-4

`Die-in' planned to protest testing

Santa Feans will hold a ``Die-In" demonstration on the Plaza at noon today to protest France's latest nuclear weapon test at Mururoa Atoll in French Polynesia last Friday. Environmental groups worldwide have condemned France's nuclear testing.

``People will demonstrate their outrage over renewed testing by wearing black clothing, skeleton masks and `dying' on the Plaza," according to a news release issued Sunday by the **Los Alamos Study Group**.

Locals have also sent letters to French President Jacques Chirac and are boycotting French products in local stores, according to the news release.

Study Group member Peggy Prince said France's nuclear testing violates a 1992 moratorium agreement with the United States and might be aimed at developing new weapons.

Author: Staff and wire reports

Section: MAIN

Page: A-4

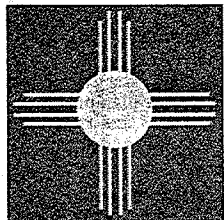
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An example of a behind-the-scenes news story we ~~di~~ generated, using information obtained from Western States Legal Foundation

146th YEAR

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1995

50 CENTS



THE SANTA FE NEW MEXICAN

LANL to conduct 'subcritical' nuclear tests

By KEITH EASTHOUSE
The New Mexican

In the Cold War era, experimental nuclear weapons designed by Los Alamos National Laboratory were regularly detonated under the Nevada desert.

Now that full-scale tests are banned, the lab has taken the lead in designing what amounts to a partial replacement for those tests: "subcritical experiments," in which a nuclear material — plutonium — is subjected to the impact of a non-nuclear explosion.

The experiments are "subcritical" because while plutonium would be deformed, it would not be compressed

to the point that it would go "critical" and ignite a sustained nuclear reaction.

The first such experiment, called "Rebound," will take place 980 feet under the desert on June 18. Designed by Los Alamos scientists, it will be the first subcritical test at the Nevada Test Site in support of the Department of Energy's "stockpile stewardship" program, an effort to ensure that the country's aging nuclear arsenal remains safe and reliable.

A second test, designed by Los Alamos' sister laboratory in Livermore, Calif., is scheduled for next September.

Four more subcritical tests are planned for 1997. Two of those will be conducted by Los Alamos.

The tests, announced late last week by the Department of Energy, have already generated controversy.

Don McCoy, program manager for weapons physics and evaluation at Los Alamos, defended the experiments Monday, saying they are supported by President Clinton, who also supports a comprehensive test ban.

But Frank Von Hippel, a former nuclear arms control expert with the Clinton administration, said the tests could undermine confidence in the test-ban treaty that is being negotiated by the United States, Russia and other nuclear states.

Von Hippel said other countries might have difficulty distinguishing subcriti-

cal tests from tests that have small nuclear yields that would presumably be banned under a test ban.

"It's an unwise precedent because it will look like a small yield from space," Von Hippel said.

If the DOE goes ahead with the plan, the United States "won't have a basis to complain" if other countries start doing their own subcritical tests underground, Von Hippel warned.

Von Hippel said one solution might be to conduct subcritical tests above ground, such as at Los Alamos' PHERMEX or DARHT nuclear weapons testing facilities.

Lab spokesman Jim Danneskiold said neither facility is set up for subcritical

experiments.

The DOE plans to have weapons experts review the design of the experiments ahead of time to ensure they don't produce any nuclear yields, according to a DOE statement.

McCoy said the Rebound test calls for detonating 60 to 100 pounds of high explosives next to an undisclosed amount of plutonium. The purpose is to learn more about the dynamic properties of aging nuclear materials, he said.

Such knowledge is considered important because the United States plans to rely on its existing nuclear arsenal for the foreseeable future. In the past, older weapons were retired as new nuclear weapons systems came on line.

DARHT delay backed

▶ Retired chief of LANL's
Theoretical Division questions
value of DARHT in assuring safety
and reliability of nuclear weapons

BY DOUG MCCLELLAN
JOURNAL STAFF WRITER

A former nuclear weapons designer supported claims by anti-nuclear groups that are seeking to delay construction of a \$187 million nuclear weapons test project at Los Alamos National Laboratory.

In a court filing Thursday, J. Carson Mark, retired head of the lab's Theoretical Division, said the project would be of "little use" in ensuring the safety and reliability of nuclear weapons — a key justification for the project.

Nor would a one-year delay in construction harm the safety and reliability of the U.S. nuclear weapons stockpile, Mark said. The Theoretical Division, which Mark headed from 1947 to 1973, designed the first atomic bomb and subsequent nuclear weapons.

Mark's statement and those of two other experts were filed in U.S. District Court by the Los Alamos Study Group and Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety.

The anti-nuclear groups are seeking to delay construction of the Dual Axis Radiographic Hydrodynamic Test facility, or DARHT, which is designed to test nuclear weapons components in simulated nuclear explosions.

DARHT is a giant X-ray machine capable of peering inside components during mock nuclear explosions. The tests would allow scientists to see how the components behave when subjected to these intense explosions, without conducting actual nuclear tests. The United States has had a moratorium on nuclear testing

See **EXPERTS** ▶ PAGE 3

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1995 JOURNAL NORTH 3

Experts support DARHT delay

From **PAGE 1**

since 1992.

In October, the Department of Energy asked senior U.S. District Judge E.L. Mechem to lift his January injunction halting construction of DARHT. Mechem had ordered the agency to stop construction until it completed an environmental impact statement. The agency completed the impact statement last month.

In their filing, the anti-nuclear groups contend that the impact statement falls short of federal requirements because it does not consider other programs to which DARHT is "inextricably linked," including the Stockpile Stewardship

and Management Program.

The filing included a statement from Frank von Hippel, a physicist who formerly worked for the White House on science and technology issues, who took issue with portions of a classified appendix to the environmental statement. The appendix includes calculations of the potential consequences of hypothetical accidents involving plutonium releases from DARHT.

Von Hippel said the U.S. Department of Energy classified far more information than required and did not subject the calculations to independent review. He said the agency could have discussed publicly some of its assumptions about the potential release of plutonium without identifying the amount of plutonium

used in the actual device.

"There is no justification for classifying the other details of the calculations. Not making them accessible to independent review makes a joke out of the (environmental impact statement) process," von Hippel said.

A third expert, Arjun Makhijani of the Institute for Energy and Environmental Research, said the impact statement does not discuss the potential for land and water contamination that could result from an accident at DARHT that releases quantities of plutonium.

The agency said such catastrophic accidents are "unlikely or extremely unlikely" and cited unidentified DOE safety studies as

support, Makhijani said.

"The failure to further identify or disclose these references makes it impossible to verify the (impact statement's) statement that these events are 'unlikely or extremely unlikely,'" Makhijani said. "In consequence, it is not possible ... to assess the risk of harm and its likelihood of occurrence."

The DOE redesigned DARHT so that tests would be done inside steel containment vessels instead of the open air as originally proposed.

In earlier comments, the government's lead lawyer in the case said that the environmental impact statement reviewed "in excruciating detail" all potential health risks of DARHT in the unclassified portion.

Publication: Jnl Legacy 1995 to July 2005; Date: Nov 3, 1995; Section: Final; Page: 25

Date--11/03/1995 Edition--Final Page--C3

EX-LANL BIGWIG KNOCKS N-TEST PROJECT

Doug McClellan Journal Northern Bureau

EXPERTS SIDE WITH ANTI-NUKE GROUPS

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Paper: Santa Fe New Mexican, The (NM)
Title: SANTA FE / REGION
Author: Keith Easthouse
Date: November 3, 1995
Section: SANTA FE / REGION
Page: B1

The Department of Energy has failed to evaluate adequately environmental impacts of a \$124 million nuclear weapons test facility at Los Alamos National Laboratory, including the possibility an accident might release dangerous amounts of plutonium into the environment, independent nuclear experts and two Santa Fe citizen groups said Thursday. In papers filed with U.S. District Court in Albuquerque, the **Los Alamos Study Group** and Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety argue that DOE's bid for permission to resume construction of the Dual-Axis Radiographic Hydrotest Facility is premature.

In a 21-page legal brief, the groups say construction at DARHT should remain suspended at least until the DOE has completed a study of the possible environmental and health impacts of all existing and planned facilities in the DOE "stockpile stewardship" program, an effort to ensure that the country's nuclear arsenal remains accident-proof and performance-ready.

Such a study is scheduled to be completed next year.

DARHT, a giant X-ray machine capable of peering inside nuclear weapons components at the moment they are subjected to non-nuclear explosions, is the flagship of the stewardship program.

Construction at DARHT was 30 percent complete when it was halted in January by federal Judge Edwin Mechem, who ordered DOE to do an environmental impact statement on the facility.

That study was completed in September. Last month DOE asked Mechem to lift the construction ban. The judge has yet to make a decision.

The two citizens' groups, represented by the Western Environmental Law Center, a Taos firm, filed a host of supporting documents with the court Friday:

--A five-page statement by Maryland nuclear expert Arjun Makhijani castigating DOE for downplaying possible effects of an accident at DARHT in which plutonium would be released into the environment.

Makhijani said radiation exposures from such an accident could be high enough to require the evacuation of nearby communities.

--A two-page statement by J. Carson Mark, head of Los Alamos' Theoretical Division from 1947 to 1973.

Mark said delaying DARHT for a year or less until a broader environmental impact study is done "would not be important to the safety and reliability of the U.S. nuclear weapons stockpile."

Mark, in contrast to claims by DOE officials, said DARHT experiments would provide data "useful in the design of nuclear weapons, but of little use in assuring the safety and reliability of weapons."

Author: Keith Easthouse
Section: SANTA FE / REGION
Page: B1

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Paper: Santa Fe New Mexican, The (NM)
Title: MAIN
Author: Kathleen Parker
Date: November 7, 1995
Section: MAIN
Page: A-1

LOS ALAMOS -- After a hearing that lasted only minutes, the Los Alamos County Council gave unanimous approval Monday night to a plaque honoring Manhattan Project workers.

The decision stood in stark contrast to an earlier controversy during which the council debated -- for three years -- the fate of a statue that children from 50 states and 53 countries wanted to erect here to commemorate peace.

That request was denied finally in February -- amid an international flurry of publicity -- because the council feared the peace memorial would focus undue criticism on Los Alamos and because of vocal and emotional opposition from the community.

The children's statue was dedicated in August at the Albuquerque Museum, its new home.

Council Member Jim Greenwood, an outspoken critic of the earlier peace statue proposal, said Monday of the plaque, "This is the kind of memorial I would like to see in our community, not a peace statue brought to us by children under the influence of well-meaning but misguided adults."

Greenwood did not vote on the plaque proposal because he is out of town and phoned his comments to the council.

The Manhattan Project plaque, to be placed at Ashley Pond -- within a stone's throw of where the first atomic bomb was developed -- will read that it is to honor the people of Los Alamos and surrounding communities who worked on the Manhattan Project and later "helped develop the nuclear forces that deterred global conflict for the past 50 years."

The plaque, to be dedicated Dec. 7, was proposed by the Los Alamos Education Group, formed last spring to force changes in a display at the Los Alamos National Laboratory-owned Bradbury Science Museum. The display was sponsored by the **Los Alamos Study Group**, a Santa Fe peace group.

The Education Group, made up of 80 to 90 veterans and retired LANL workers, last summer successfully pressured the museum into turning half the Study Group space over to the Education Group. They erected a display to balance what they saw as a distortion by the Study Group of the history of World War II and why the atomic bombs were dropped.

Four members of the Education Group, including former state Sen. Steve Stoddard, spoke to the council Monday night in support of the plaque proposal. But the council needed little persuasion.

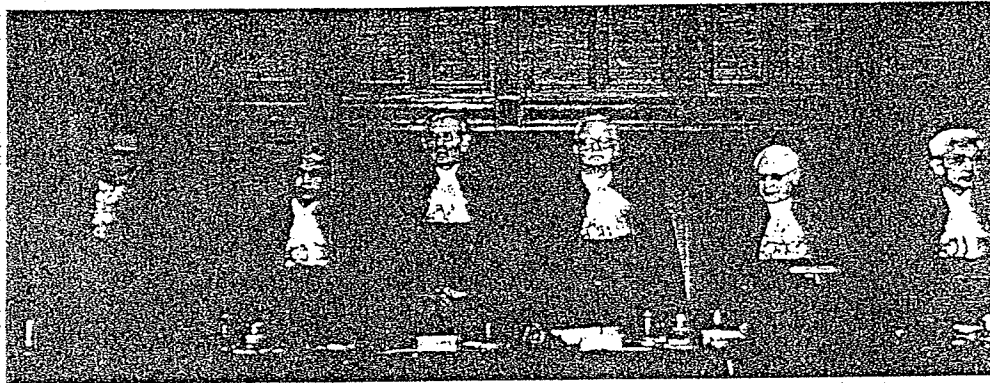
Council agenda documentation stated the plaque was spurred by "the controversy over the so-called peace statue initiative of 1994 and 1995 (that) highlighted the misunderstanding of the role of Los Alamos in ending World War II and in preventing a worldwide conflagration."

That documentation, submitted by Council Chairman Lawry Mann, said, "We strongly endorse a monument that makes it clear that what is being commemorated is the contribution of this community toward world peace."

Author: Kathleen Parker
Section: MAIN
Page: A-1
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Are the progeny of Los Alamos legal?
The World Court is going to rule.

Nuclear Weapons On Trial



**"When the
elephants
fight, it is
the grass
that suffers!"**

SWAHILI PROVERB

BY MARY RISELEY AND KARIN SALZMANN

THE HAGUE, Netherlands — A small man dressed in black with a silver chain across his chest stands properly beside a closed paneled door. "La cour," he announces. The door opens, we rise, and 13 men and one woman, robed in black, file into the great hall and line up behind a long table, facing us. *La cour* is the International Court of Justice. Its 14 judges are about to consider, for the very first time, the fundamental question: are nuclear weapons illegal?

The question has been brought to the court by the World Health Organization and United Nations General Assembly in two parts:

Would the use of nuclear weapons in war violate international law in view of their health and environmental effects?

And is the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons in any circumstances permitted under international law?

The court will consider both parts together. The judgment, though not binding, could posit to the world a profound moral imperative.

Nuclear nations contend that the court should not even consider the illegality of nuclear weapons, because the question is, these countries argue, "abstract, political and hypothetical." A record number of governments — 43 in all — have made written submissions. The World Health Organization and 21 states are slated to give oral testimony.

It is early November as we arrive in The Hague, just as the hearings are about start. Our work with the Los Alamos Study Group connects us with the World Court Project, an international coalition that worked for

years to bring the question of nuclear weapons before the court. Begun in 1986 in New Zealand, this work has been sponsored since 1993 by the International Peace Bureau, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War — both Nobel laureate organizations — and the International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms.

The project office, across a narrow street from the great Peace Palace that houses the court, is a buzzing hive of lawyers and activists from every part of the world. The lawyers draft model briefs and responses, working with anti-nuclear countries' delegations. The daily routine includes attending hearings at the court, preparing press releases (with lunch) and a longer report e-mailed to the abolition network (about 300 anti-nuclear groups worldwide). Almost everyone speaks at least some English, but the fax machine tells you it's *keizen*, and the computer suddenly asks you, *op te vragen dokument?*

The Peace Palace in which the World Court sits was built with \$1.5 million (we wonder what astronomical sum that would be today!) donated in 1903 by Scottish-American philanthropist Andrew Carnegie. Carnegie also gave municipal libraries to hundreds of small American cities like Las Vegas and Roswell in New Mexico. It is an imposing Victorian fairytale palace, with marble floors, paneled walls, stained glass windows, statues and paintings of *Peace, Truth and Justice* (all women); the chandeliers in the great hall of justice are about 20 feet long.

Judges are elected by the UN General Assembly and the Security Council for re-

newable terms of nine years. By custom, judges from the five permanent members of the Security Council make up one-third of the court. These countries — Britain, China, France, Russia and the U.S. — happen also to be the five declared nuclear-weapon states, making the court vulnerable to accusations of bias.

The court is empowered to issue two kinds of rulings: *binding opinions* that settle disputes between countries, and *advisory opinions*, which may be requested by the UN General Assembly, Security Council or any of the UN's administrative branches such as the World Health Organization. Advisory opinions are not binding, but they carry the moral force of international law. The court has given 46 advisory opinions in its history, and has never refused a request for one.

The atmosphere in the Great Hall is electric as the president of the court introduces Claude Vignes, the legal counsel from the World Health Organization. Vignes recalls the disastrous nuclear explosion at the Soviet waste site at Kyshtym, the fires at Rocky Flats and the partial meltdown at Chernobyl, the American bombing of Japan, and nearly 50 years of nuclear testing, all as sources of the serious health consequences of the nuclear age. He talks about environmental repercussions — effects on forests, food crops and cattle, and the marine ecosystem.

WHO is followed by Australia, which first argues, in effect, "don't rule unless you can rule that nuclear weapons are illegal in all circumstances." Foreign Minister Gareth Evans, in gown and wig, speaks with passion.

MEMBERS OF THE COURT: Justices of the World Court hear testimony about nuclear weapons. They are under oath to act impartially, and not in the political interest of their own countries.

PHOTO BY JACQUE CARASSO

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"Nuclear weapons are by their nature illegal under customary international law, by virtue of fundamental general principles of humanity," he says. "It is therefore illegal not only to use or threaten use of nuclear weapons, but to acquire, develop, test, or possess them..."

"The existence of nuclear weapons as a class of weapons threatens the whole of civilization. This is not the case with respect to any class or classes of conventional weapons... The threat of global annihilation engendered by the existence of such weapons, and the fear that this has engendered amongst the entire post-war generation, is itself an evil, as much as nuclear war itself. If not always at the forefront of

our everyday thinking, the shadow of the mushroom cloud remains in all our minds. It has pervaded our thoughts about the future, about our children, about human nature. And it has pervaded the thoughts of our children themselves, who are deeply anxious about their future in a world where nuclear weapons remain."

Evans quotes retired American Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Gen. Colin Powell as having doubts in 1986 that no matter how small nuclear weapons might be, their use would be crossing a line: "I began rethinking the practicality of these small nuclear weapons." Evans quotes Henry Kissinger complaining that the European allies are asking for strategic assurances "that we cannot possibly mean or, if we do mean, we should not execute, because if we execute we risk the destruction of civilization." Lord Louis Mountbatten, Field

Marshal Lord Carver, German leader Helmut Schmidt, American former defense secretary Melvin Laird — all are cited renouncing the use of nuclear weapons.

For those who are watchers of U.S. nuclear weapons labs and their "stockpile stewardship" plans, the most interesting part of Evans' speech is his description of the temporary but "stable" deterrence that would be required during the elimination of all countries' nuclear weapons. During this time, no new nuclear weapons could be introduced, and no testing of any kind would be permitted, "... even testing for the purpose of maintaining existing stockpiles would be inconsistent with the obligation, since such conduct is aimed at extending the period in which the status quo can be maintained."

The U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) and its counterparts in Britain and France

plan to build billions of dollars' worth of new weapons-testing facilities, such as the Dual Axis Radiographic Hydrotest or DARHT at LANL, in order to perpetuate our nuclear arsenals. According to Evans, these all would be illegal under an advisory opinion from the World Court.

Back at the World Court Project office, Peter Weiss, eminent civil and human rights lawyer from New York, extracts the most salient legal points of the Australian statement. Weiss is best known for a case in which torturers from a South American dictatorship were apprehended and prosecuted in New York state. Winning the case established the principle in U.S. law that violating a UN General Assembly Resolution is grounds for criminal charges.

A few days later, over lunch, Peter tells

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us that it was his undergraduate years at St. John's College in Annapolis that led him into the law. "What do you do at St. John's?" he asks rhetorically. "You take a text and do battle with it. And most of what you read there is about ideas of justice and what it takes to make a decent society. I learned a certain kind of hard-headed thinking there." He's recently finished a term on the St. John's board of directors.

We go home to Ak's apartment. Ak Malten is the brother of Willem, owner of Cloud Cliff Bakery in Santa Fe. Willem arranged our stay. Ak has become the one indispensable person at the World Court Project. He speaks Dutch and very good English; he knows the town, where to buy things and where not; he drives, picking people up at the station, at the airport. He speaks the language of the computers and can fix anything. He is loved by all.

The next day the sun breaks through the light grey clouds that dwell over Holland. Its rays catch the yellow leaves as they fall and pick up the masses of late-blooming roses in the palace garden, where black swans and storks can be seen through the wavy window panes in the Great Hall. But no one is looking out the window. Brilliant and renowned Egyptian international law professor Georges Abi-Saab has the complete attention of the judges.

Conventions exist that ban chemical and biological weapons. Nuclear nations argue that since nuclear weapons are not prohibited specifically in any treaty or convention, they must be legal. Abi-Saab politely points out that nuclear weapons are illegal because of their effects, not because



CRANE: Alyn Ware, from New Zealand-Aotearoa, demonstrates for Dutch schoolchildren the story of Sadako, who died of leukemia as a result of the bombing of Hiroshima.

PHOTO BY ANNE VAN DER WERDEN

of their name. He also mocks the euphemistic new adjectives contrived by the nuclear states — "clean, low-yield, surgical" — saying that these terms "invite conjecture bordering on science fiction."

He gives us a Swahili proverb: "When the elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers." The nuclear grass is the General Assembly — saying that these terms "invite conjecture bordering on science fiction." He gives us a Swahili proverb: "When the elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers." The nuclear grass is the General Assembly — the overwhelming majority of the membership of the UN — seeking "clarification from the court as to the legal limits of the freedom of the elephants."

Again citing retired Gen. Powell, Abi-Saab sums up, "... the use of nuclear weapons, in whatever shape, size or circumstance, constitutes an apocalyptic threshold for warfare, for the law of war and

for humanity at large. And this is why their use or threatened use is, and has to remain, prohibited under the wise rules of international humanitarian law, reflecting the dictates of the public conscience of mankind."

The French follow. Their strategy is to impugn the right of WHO to pose its question, and to blur distinctions between nuclear and other weapons. "All weapons kill and wound," says Prof. Alain Pellet of the University of Paris. He tells us that the only legitimate task of WHO is "after the event ... to succor the victims."

But in fact, WHO has a constitutional mandate to promote health and well-being through prevention — tuberculosis and

smallpox immunization, nutrition and sanitation, for example — a point made by Zimbabwe at the hearing's conclusion.

France claims that the nuclear umbrella over many countries is a protection. The "contribution that the policy of deterrence makes to the maintenance of world peace" is praised.

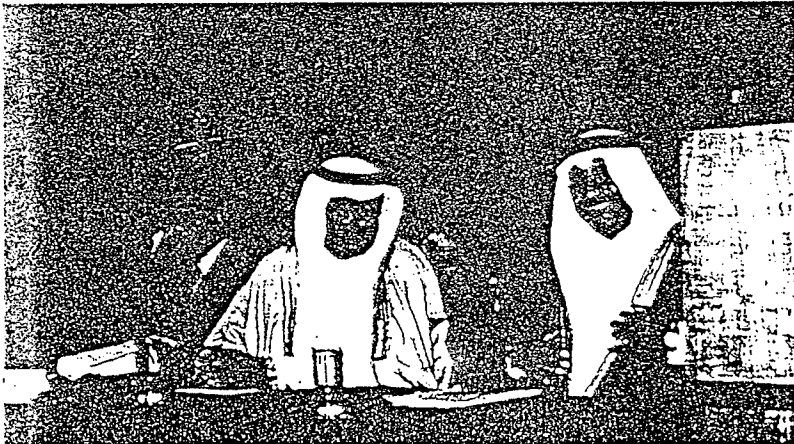
Stabbing his finger in the air, red taffeta robes rustling and powdered wig bobbing, Pellet declares that national sovereignty permits the choice of any weapon for self-defense, and that nuclear weapons serve to defend France's "vital interests."

He warns that an opinion by the court might disrupt delicate ongoing disarmament negotiations. Some listeners regard this as a kind of argument by extortion, as who would do the disrupting but the nuclear weapons states (themselves? He repeats that the two questions before the court are too hypothetical, too abstract, too speculative — refrains we'll hear from the Russian Federation, the U.S. and U.K. as well. (China is not participating.)

It is as if Nuremberg had never happened, nor Hiroshima. As if environmental law were aspirational, not binding. There is no reference to weapons of mass destruction, no reference to the indiscriminate and uncontrollable effects of nuclear weapons.

Now we have heard both sides. The remaining days will bring only embellishments on the basic arguments. We notice that the former Axis powers, Germany and Italy, are the only two non-nuclear countries supporting the nuclear weapons states' line. All other submissions argue for illegality.

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WITNESSES: Sami Abushattha and His Excellency Najeeb bin Mohammed Al-Naumi of Qatar before taking the podium in the Great Hall of Justice.

PHOTO BY JACQUE CARASSO

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Walking, walking, walking — to and from embassies, office supply shops, restaurants and the postoffice — we notice there are dog droppings everywhere. There are many pet shops, and we often see people "walking" their dogs by bicycle. We learn to mind where we put our feet. We pass the RaboBank — pronounced "Roo a bank!"

There are lots of families of mixed races, and white parents of dark-skinned children. Ak tells us that there are now a great number of third-generation black and brown Dutch. Taxes are high here, 38 percent for the middle-income person and going up to 72 percent for the rich, but this is a very progressive society.

For budgetary reasons, Ak lost his job as a caretaker of the mentally handicapped, and he is entitled to two and a half years of unemployment at 70 percent of his former salary. Private education is subsidized; private schools have a sliding scale, based on parent income. Cars are all small and sturdy, and get at least 40 mpg. Bicycles abound. Medical care is free. And the educational system has levels of challenge built into it, so that everyone can succeed, yet no one is "tracked" into trade school or academia.

We decide that if *enchiladas* and bright blue skies existed here, we would have to move to Holland.

The Russian foreign affairs lawyer, A.G. Kodhakov, is icy. He dismisses human rights law as taking place "in a different dimension." Risk and effects assessments are of the "political and emo-

tional" realms; Kodhakov will deal only with law.

Malaysia's representative is UN Ambassador Razali Ismail. He cites a study listing 25 instances involving U.S. nuclear brinkmanship between 1946 and 1980. He reminds us that the Southern Hemisphere is "custodian of natural resources and biodiversity crucial to the continued survival of people and the planet, threatened by the destructiveness of nuclear weapons..."

"Five countries cannot arrogate to themselves forever the exclusive privilege of having their finger on the nuclear trigger," Ismail warns. (In their later oral arguments, Iran and Mexico actually hint they might drop out of the Non-Proliferation Treaty if the nuclear weapons states don't come up with a time-line for weapons elimination soon.)

New Zealand's delegate quotes a fore-

sighted U.S. president, James Madison, in 1792 argued, "Each generation should bear the burden of its own wars, instead of carrying them on at the expense of other generations."

In the shade of the U.S. nuclear umbrella, Japan has been constrained from using the word "illegal." But the words of Takekazu Kawamura, director-general for arms control and scientific affairs in Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, are so powerful that it scarcely matters. He says that "the use of nuclear weapons is clearly contrary to the spirit of humanity that gives international law its philosophical foundation." Japan's delegates present more than three million Declarations of Public Conscience. And they present the mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Hiroshima Mayor Takashi Hiraoka ad-
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mits Japan's past aggression and cruelty, but adds, "history is written by the victors. Thus, the heinous massacre that was Hiroshima has been handed down to us as a perfectly justified act of war. As a result, for 50 years we have never directly confronted the full implications of this horrifying act for the future of the human race."

Photographs taken shortly after the bombing are projected on a screen before the judges. "... Beneath the atomic bomb's monstrous mushroom cloud, human skin was burned raw. Crying for water, human beings died in desperate agony. With thoughts of these victims as the starting point, it is incumbent upon us to think about the nuclear age and the relationship between human beings and nuclear weapons," Hiraoka says.

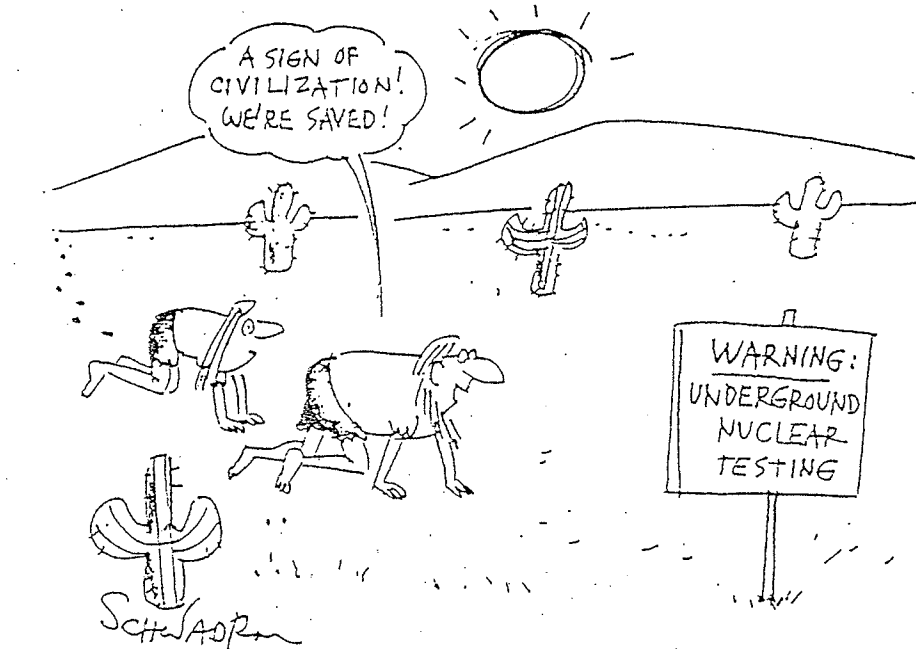
We take away terrible images, and all our work days have been long. On our first free day we pile into the car and head out of town with Ak and Japanese artist Mayumi Oda. We are bound for the Kroller-Müller Museum.

In the car we talk about the vision of developing countries: a new political order based on social justice, protection of the environment, respect for diversity and a more democratic United Nations, rather than on nuclear weapons power. Probably Australia and New Zealand share this vision, too, despite their close ties to European industrialism.

We wonder if political (and spiritual) leadership will move South in the new millennium. The first step in this change may be rumored reform of the Security Council's permanent membership system.

We drive past the flat, green farmland of Holland. At the museum gate we park and help ourselves to the famous ownerless Dutch white bicycles. Through a misty forest, we pedal the 10 km to the museum. Wide lawns and trees and a trail of sculpture draw us into the glass-walled treasure house. It's like a steamy bath on a cold day; we steep ourselves in Van Gogh's and contemporary art (two works by New Mexico's Bruce Naumann). We wander in the surrounding forest where sculptures suddenly loom up in the soft, misty drizzle. After Chinese take-out at Ak's father's apartment, we return refreshed.

The official languages of the court are French and English. Spanish is spoken for the first time in the court's history, as Mexico makes its first appearance before the court. Dismissing arguments that the court should not rule on the issue, Ambassador Sergio Gonzalez Galvez says, "To postpone giving a legal opinion on the threat or



use of nuclear weapons until an actual case occurs is like substituting medicine with an autopsy."

Representing tiny San Marino, a democracy for a thousand years (their last war was 400 years ago), Dr. Federica Bigi asks, "In a world where millions of human beings are still suffering from underdevelopment and poverty, dying of hunger and diseases which could be treated, it is not immoral to invest enormous financial resources in nuclear arsenals?"

Samoa, the Marshall and Solomon Islands collaborate on their presentation. Alongside legal experts from Cambridge, Brussels and Rutgers stands a beautiful brown-skinned woman, hair wrapped with flowers. Lijon Ekunlang is from the Marshall Islands, where eight "jelly babies" have been born — no arms, no legs, no head, somehow "living" in the womb for nine or 10 months. There are babies born with no bones and transparent skin. Their brains and hearts can be seen until they die after a day or two. She herself has had seven miscarriages, including one of four months' gestation who was severely deformed, with only one eye.

The U.S. did 67 atmospheric nuclear tests over the Marshalls between 1946 and 1958. Ekunlang recalls the Bravo test, the largest nuclear detonation of all time, 1,000 times more powerful than the Hiroshima weapon. Her island, Rongelap, is 150 kilometers from

Bikini and 470 from Eniwetok, the two atolls used for U.S. testing. First there was a huge, brilliant light. Not long afterward, it began to snow. The people had heard about snow from missionaries; they played in it and with it, not realizing that it was radioactive fallout. Their bodies blistered and grew sores. Many people lost their hair, but they remained on Rongelap for two and a half days after Bravo.

They then were evacuated from Rongelap without their belongings, not knowing they would be kept away for three years. By then, some of their food crops, such as arrowroot, had completely disappeared. The taro plants had stopped bearing fruit. "What we did eat gave us blisters on our lips and in our mouths and we suffered terrible stomach problems and nausea," she says. Even people who came to Rongelap after 1954 experienced the same illnesses. When they complained to the doctors, the doctors blamed their food preparation or poisoned fish. Unconvinced, Ekunlang's people evacuated themselves in 1985 and have been living in exile ever since.

"Allow our experience, now, to save others such sadness and pain," Ekunlang urges the court:

The pro-nuclear arguments of the United States and the United Kingdom will be heard in the morning. We learn that

Zimbabwe — the first country to sponsor the WHO resolution — has asked to appear before the court tomorrow. Because presentations are alphabetical by country, the pro-nuke lawyers will not have the last word.

The U.S. and the U.K. fill the last morning session. Britain is represented by Sir Nicholas Lyell (presently under investigation for possible involvement in illegal arms sales to Iraq). "To call into question the system of deterrence... could have a profoundly destabilizing effect," Lyell says. He says that not every use of nuclear weapons will violate humanitarian law, with precise targeting a balance can be struck between military advantage and collateral damage. It is "dangerous nonsense" to propose that environmental treaties might apply to nuclear weapons.

The United States, represented by John H. McNeill, senior deputy general counsel from the Department of Defense, elaborates. "... we believe the policy of nuclear deterrence has saved many millions of lives from the scourge of war during the past 50 years. In this special sense, nuclear weapons have been 'used' defensively, every day for over half a century — to preserve the peace."

McNeill continues, "... it has also been argued that nuclear weapons categorically cause unnecessary suffering or superfluous injury and therefore violate the law

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of armed conflict. Whether the use of a particular weapon causes unnecessary suffering depends . . . on whether its use and resultant effects are required to accomplish a legitimate military objective, is a question which cannot be answered in the abstract." Behind him sits Claudia Peterson from Utah, a down-winder of the Nevada Test Site. Her 6-year-old daughter died of leukemia, her uranium-miner father-in-law of lung cancer, her own father of a brain tumor. She is crying.

Zimbabwe has the last word. Answering many of the nuclear weapons states' points, Zimbabwean diplomat Jonathan Wutawunashe reminds the court that all of the nuclear weapons states

have been involved in wars since 1945. "Nuclear weapons do not provide for peace and security. On the contrary, they threaten peace and security."

"If nuclear weapons are necessary for self-defense, then why is proliferation opposed? Wutawunashe quotes retired American Air Force Gen. Charles Horner, former commander of the air war in the Persian Gulf, as saying that "nuclear weapons are obsolete." Horner last year called for elimination.

"There are many better ways to prevent war besides threatening to destroy an enemy, including recourse to this court," Wutawunashe concludes.

Almost no one in the world really wants nuclear weapons. More than three million declarations of public conscience have been collected from citizens around the world; they still are being received. Opin-

ion polls in the U.S., France and England all have shown that strong majorities of people wanting to be rid of nuclear weapons. The Italian Parliament asked its government to argue for illegality at the World Court—but was ignored. Senior political, scientific and even military leaders have spoken out for abolition. The UN General Assembly has just passed a resolution condemning continued nuclear weapons testing; the vote was 96 to 12, with even the U.S. abstaining.

In Britain, a key anti-nuclear expert is Rob Greene, a retired Royal Navy pilot who had handled nuclear weapons in both carrier-borne nuclear strike aircraft and in anti-submarine helicopters equipped with nuclear depth-bombs. He predicts, "The military hold the key to realizing the implementation of a court decision. The difference between a soldier and a terrorist is

a fine line, and that line is respect for law."

But what will that decision be? Where will the fine line between soldiering and terror fall?

The court's decision is expected by March 1996. No one knows what it will be. For those who brought the case, there may not be a downside, even with a decision that nuclear weapons are not illegal in all circumstances. In case law, Peter Weiss notes, "today's dissents are tomorrow's decisions." ■

Mary Riseley and Karin Salzman, both Santa Fe residents, are members of the Los Alamos Study Group.

Energy Officials Back Storage Plan for Radioactive Devices

Journal Staff Report

12/5/85

Los Alamos National Laboratory soon may become a warehouse for outdated radioactive devices used by private industry, university researchers and government agencies.

The Department of Energy has released an environmental assess-

ment for the proposed "radioactive source recovery program" at the lab.

Officials said the lab is well-suited to handling the devices, which typically include small amounts of plutonium or americium isotopes.

The devices, called neutron sources, are typically tiny, steel-sheathed cylinders used for such

purposes as checking compaction of roads under construction and measuring rock densities for boring well holes.

Users now have no way to dispose of the devices.

A frequent critic of the lab, Greg Mello of the Los Alamos Study Group, said the program could be useful.

"The lab's expertise in nuclear materials can and should be applied to corralling the dangers out there," Mello said.

Mello said the devices, which are widely used in industry, are safer at the lab than "scattered all over the country" in places where they may be stored improperly or are vulnerable to accidents or damage.

According to the environmental assessment, the recovery program would collect about 2.2 pounds of plutonium and 6.6 pounds of americium over 15 years.

Special processing equipment at the lab would transform the materials into safer, less radioactive forms that take up a fraction of the space.

The material then would be held in storage at the lab.

The Department of Energy is asking that any public comments on the environmental assessment be received by mid-December.

For more information call Elizabeth Withers at the agency's Los Alamos office, 667-8690.

Nuclear treaty proceeds by fits and starts

12/26/95

By **STEPHEN T. SHANKLAND**
Assistant Managing Editor

Following the progress of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty II (START II) has been full of ups and downs for members of a Los Alamos arms control group.

"It's been disappointing again," said Bill Beyer, treasurer of the Los Alamos Committee on Arms Control and International Security and a retired Los Alamos National Laboratory mathematician. "It looks like we can't see where it's going to end."

START II, signed in January 1993 by Presidents George Bush and Boris Yeltsin, still must be ratified by the U.S. Senate and the Russian Duma (parliament). START II would reduce the number of deployed nuclear warheads from 6,000 — the level allowed in START I — to 3,500.

Committee members who support the treaty have been following its progress through the Senate closely.

In part because of a filibuster by Sen. Jeff Bingaman, D-N.M., the treaty was broken loose from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where Chairman Jesse Helms, R-N.C., had been holding it as a bargaining chip in negotiations on

three State Department agencies. Once the treaty was on the agenda, the Foreign Relations Committee approved it unanimously.

Members of the Los Alamos arms control committee hoped they'd see the treaty ratified by Christmas.

But when the treaty came up for debate in the full Senate on Friday, it met with further opposition, Beyer said.

"There are hard-line senators who apparently don't like the START II treaty and want a lot of time to debate it on the floor," Beyer said.

Now Beyer hopes for ratification in early January.

A handful of senators, including Jon Kyl, R-Ariz., and Robert Smith, R-N.H., spoke against the treaty, Beyer said. One reason: With fewer U.S. nuclear weapons, it would be easier for nations without a nuclear weapons to acquire a stockpile that's significant.

Beyer doesn't agree with the argument.

"I think 3,500 weapons on each side is still an enormous number of weapons," Beyer said. He believes the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty

(Please see START II, Page 10)

START II

(from Page 1)

(NPT) is an adequate mechanism for keeping the spread nuclear weapons in check.

Greg Mello, a member of the Santa Fe-based Los Alamos Study Group and an opponent of nuclear weapons, agrees that the treaty should be ratified.

"There are more than 90 votes in favor of the treaty. It's not a complex piece of legislation with a lot of dissent," Mello said.

In addition, Mello said, "START II has virtual-

ly unanimous support in the Pentagon."

Another hurdle during the Senate debate was that some senators said other, more pressing issues should come first.

Beyer finds more basis to this argument, he said. However, although resolving the federal budget crisis may be more important than ratifying START II, he believes other issues, such as legislation on frivolous lawsuits, can wait.

U.S. ratification is a necessary step for Russian ratification, Beyer said.

"We don't see when it's going to be ratified by the U.S. Senate, and it looks like the new Russian Duma will be very similar to the old Russian Duma," he said.

Mello said the lack of Senate ratification, particularly because it could provoke the Russians, doesn't speak well for the Senate.

Mello suggested that Sen. Pete Domenici, R-N.M., put his weight behind the ratification process. "Sen. Domenici, I believe, would be able to bring a vote if he wanted," Mello said.