

2 The Municipalities – One of the Main Actors in the Nuclear Waste Issue

2.1 Introduction

Disposal of nuclear waste is an issue that deeply affects the local community. In this chapter, KASAM would like to:

- Direct the Government's attention to the issues that are of particular importance for the municipalities concerned and which are also of importance for the quality of the entire decision-making process, as well as to KASAM's views on these issues.
- Describe how the municipalities concerned – Östhammar, Oskarshamn and Hultsfred – are handling the issues relating to site investigation and consultation for a planned repository and an encapsulation plant for spent nuclear fuel.
- Document the sequence of events in these municipalities. This documentation is a continuation of the report on the municipalities' work during the Swedish Nuclear Fuel and Waste Management Co's (SKB) feasibility studies and which is presented in the reports: "A Site for Final Disposal of Nuclear Waste? – Feasibility Studies in Eight Municipalities" (SOU 2002:46) and "Nuclear Waste – Democracy and Science" (SOU 2004:99), both in Swedish.

2.2 The Nuclear Waste Issue – a Joint Concern for Industry, the State and the Municipalities

In Sweden, issues concerning the disposal of nuclear waste requires co-operation among three main actors: The nuclear industry, the state and the municipalities.

A basic principle of Swedish environmental legislation is that anyone who causes environmental damage is responsible for paying for the measures that are needed to prevent and correct the damage caused (“polluter pays principle”). This is specified in Chapter 2 of the Environmental Code (1998:808). The previous Environmental Protection Act was also based on this principle. According to the same principle, the Act on Nuclear Activities (1984:3) states that the reactor owners are responsible for waste from the activity. *The Swedish Nuclear Fuel and Waste Management Co (SKB)*, which is jointly owned by the reactor owners, fulfils this responsibility in practice.

The state supervises the reactor owners to ensure that they take their responsibility. The state acts through the regulatory authorities (primarily the Swedish Nuclear Power Inspectorate – SKI – and the Swedish Radiation Protection Authority – SSI), and in certain cases, through the Government. The Swedish Riksdag (parliament) has established the laws that apply, for example, with respect to consultation and decision-making processes prior to the construction of nuclear facilities – as is the case with other hazardous activities.

The facilities that are necessary in order to manage the waste will be located in one or more Swedish *municipalities*. The municipal right of self-determination, which applies to the siting of industries and to the use of land in Sweden, means that the opinion of the municipalities is decisive with respect to the siting of the planned nuclear waste facilities. The municipalities, with their democratically elected representatives and their inhabitants, are therefore the third main actor.

The strong position of the municipalities is expressed in Chapter 17 of the Environmental Code. These regulations mean

that a municipality can prevent the Government from allowing the siting of a facility for the interim storage or final disposal of nuclear waste in the municipality (“municipal veto right”. The Government may, under certain circumstances, allow a certain siting of such an activity to take place even if the municipality says no. However, the right to override a municipal veto cannot be used if there is another site within another municipality that can be assumed to accept the repository. Thus, as can be seen, it is hardly practically possible for the other two actors – the industry and the state – to resolve the issue of the final disposal of nuclear waste without the municipality’s permission. Therefore, there are strong reasons for KASAM to follow and take note of how the municipalities concerned act in connection with the site investigations and the different consultations that SKB is now conducting.

2.3 Where Are We in the Siting Process?

With the aim of finding a suitable site for the final disposal of spent nuclear fuel, SKB conducted feasibility studies in the 1990’s in eight municipalities: Storuman, Malå, Älvkarleby, Tierp, Östhammar, Nyköping, Hultsfred and Oskarshamn. These feasibility studies resulted in SKB’s proposal to conduct in-depth site investigations with trial drilling at three sites, namely Forsmark in Östhammar municipality, Simpevarp in Oskarshamn municipality and an area north of the population centre in Tierp municipality. The latter siting alternative also involved Älvkarleby municipality due to the need for transport to Skutskär harbour. SKB also proposed in-depth investigations, without any further trial drilling, with respect to one siting alternative, which has been the subject of previous trial drilling, in Nyköping municipality. (See SKB’s report *Integrated Account of Method, Site Selection and Programme prior to the Site Investigation Phase “RD&D Supplement”*, December 2001.)

In late 2001 and early 2002, a broad majority of the municipal councils in Östhammar and Oskarshamn, responding to a request by SKB, voted “yes” to SKB’s proposal to initiate site investigations. On the other hand, Tierp and Nyköping municipalities were opposed to further investigations. Therefore, of the proposal originally put forward by SKB, only the area in Forsmark in Östhammar municipality and the Simpevarp area in Oskarshamn remained as feasible site investigation areas (maps of the areas concerned are provided in Sections 2.5.2 and 2.6.2).

SKB’s investigations at both of these sites started in 2002. Based on the results from the first trial drilling in the initial site investigation phase, SKB proposed an adjustment of the “Simpevarp” site, including the Simpevarp peninsula. The Simpevarp peninsula, which is now of interest for site investigations (actually “the Simpevarp-Laxemar area”), comprises two areas, namely an area around Simpevarp and the neighbouring Laxemar area. The region around the Simpevarp peninsula comprises an area that was included in the original proposal, namely the Simpevarp peninsula, as well as an area that was not included from the beginning, namely the Ävrö and Hålö islands and some of the sea surrounding these areas. Through a decision in September 2003, the municipal council in Oskarshamn voted “yes” to this adjustment of the site to be investigated.

An initial stage of the site investigations at Forsmark and Simpevarp is expected to have been completed during the first half of 2005. SKB expects that further site investigation in these areas will provide information for an application to be submitted at the end of 2008 to the Government for licensing under the Environmental Code and the Act on Nuclear Activities with respect to a repository for spent nuclear fuel.

SKB is also working on preparing a basis for applications for government licensing in accordance with the Environmental Code and the Act on Nuclear Activities, with respect to an encapsulation plant for spent nuclear fuel. SKB is primarily planning to construct this facility adjacent to CLAB (Central Interim Storage Facility for Spent Nuclear Fuel) in Oskarshamn.

An alternative siting in the Forsmark area is also being studied at the same time. SKB expects to submit the licence applications for the encapsulation plant in 2006.

SKB’s long-term planning is based on the assumption that the Government will make a decision in 2010 concerning the licences that are needed and that an encapsulation plant and a repository for spent nuclear fuel will be taken into operation in 2017. In such a case, all of the spent nuclear fuel from the current nuclear power programme in Sweden would be deposited in the 2050’s and, once this is done, the repository would be closed.

An overall timetable, which also includes the site investigations that are in progress, is provided in *Figure 2.1*.

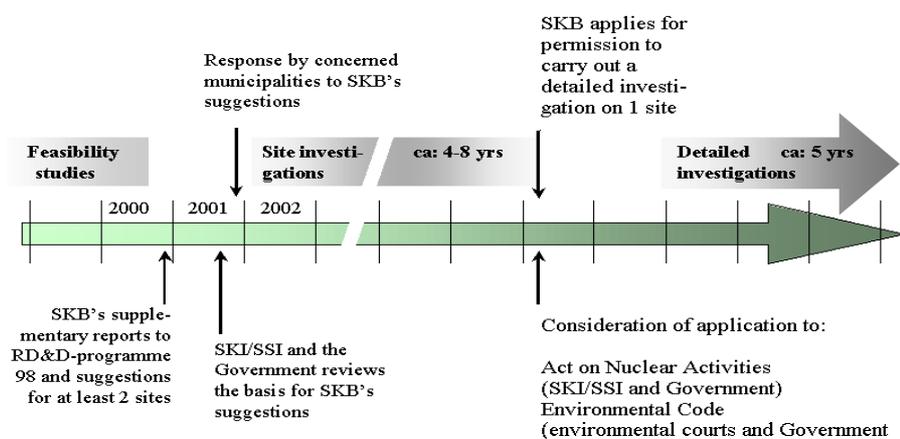


Figure 2.1. Siting: What happens next?

No site investigations are in progress in Hultsfred municipality, one of the six other municipalities where SKB has conducted feasibility studies, and none have been planned. However, neither SKB nor the municipality has completely rejected the possibility of conducting site investigations at a later stage, depending on the results of the site investigations conducted in the Forsmark and Simpevarp areas. Therefore, it is reasonable to consider Hultsfred municipality as a “reserve candidate” for possible site investigations in the future. This is the reason why Hultsfred municipality is also included in this presentation.

2.4 Expectations and Anxieties in the Municipalities Concerned

To obtain the necessary information for drafting this section, representatives from KASAM visited the Östhammar, Oskarshamn and Hultsfred municipalities in November 2003 to conduct interviews with key individuals in each of these municipalities. These interviews were followed up by informal contacts with politicians and municipal officials. Based on experience from these contacts, the section is divided into three themes.

Firstly, the questions surrounding nuclear waste management that the municipal leaders consider to be particularly important for the phase, which has now been initiated, with site investigations and increased consultation in accordance with the Environmental Code. Views held in the municipalities concerning issues relating to the allocation of responsibilities between the municipality and other actors with respect to nuclear waste issues are then presented. Finally, the views of the municipal leaders, with respect to the impact that the work on nuclear waste issues has had on work within other municipal areas of responsibility, are presented.

2.4.1 Important Issues for the Municipal Leaders

The issues that are currently important to municipal leaders differ depending on the municipality – on one hand, Östhammar and Oskarshamn and on the other hand, Hultsfred. However, the pictures that emerge of how the two first-mentioned municipalities are handling the issues are far from identical.

Even if there are certain differences between *the municipalities of Östhammar and Oskarshamn*, it should be emphasised that the two municipal leaderships have in recent years developed a closer co-operation with each other. There is reason to assume that the aim of this co-operation is to strengthen the position of both municipalities in relation to the proponent.

The initial steps of this co-operation were taken in autumn 2003. The following two factors appear to have been decisive.

- At this time, both of the municipalities attained a stronger role in the siting and Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) processes by entering as a party in the expanded consultation on EIA, in accordance with Chapter 6 § 5, initiated by SKB at that time, with respect to the repository and encapsulation plant.
- After the 2002 election, new individuals in the position of municipal executive board chairman represented both of these municipalities, as of 2003, even though the party affiliation remained the same, namely social democratic, as the previous representatives. These new executive board chairmen seem to have a common view of the value of co-operation in their situation in order to handle the nuclear waste issue.

The budding co-operation between the two municipal management groups was outwardly manifested for the first time at an international conference on nuclear waste that SKB, in co-operation with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the OECD/NEA (OECD's Nuclear Energy

Agency) arranged in Stockholm in December 2003. In a speech given by the Chairman of the Oskarshamn municipal executive board, who also expressly spoke on behalf of his colleague in Östhammar, the Chairman summarised the issues that the leading politicians in the site investigation municipalities consider to be most important.

The speech emphasised the similarities between both municipalities with respect to geographical position, size, municipal service, industry structure and experience of nuclear activities. The following joint position statement was given for both municipalities with respect to their involvement in the nuclear waste issue (the points have been slightly reformulated compared with the original and, where relevant, direct quotations are marked).

- We are two municipalities with extensive experience of co-operation with the nuclear industry.
- We do not accept the idea that the present interim storage of spent nuclear fuel should take the form of a more permanent solution – we must actively work towards ensuring that a final solution to the nuclear waste issue is found.
- We have participated in initial feasibility studies, conducted extensive work on local democracy and we have the full support of our inhabitants to now participate in site investigations.
- Through our strong position in the decision-making process, we have ensured, and will continue to ensure, that the issues that we raise are investigated and that the basis for decision-making includes a detailed investigation of the local perspective.

As a “good platform” for work over the next few years, six points were formulated:

- Safety is the overshadowing issue – for us as decision-makers and for our inhabitants.

- In order for us to contribute to a solution of the nuclear waste issue, the process must be transparent. All information must be “on the table” throughout the process. It is only if we work in this way that we will be able to build confidence for the actors and for the results that are achieved.
- As municipalities, we must actively take part in and influence this work. Our work cannot be paid for by our taxpayers but must be compensated for – as is now the case – from the Nuclear Waste Fund.
- Our inhabitants and environmental interest groups who are involved in the nuclear waste issue are a resource in our work. We who live in the municipalities best know our own district and know what we want for our future. Our environmental interest groups raise difficult questions that must be answered.
- Our competent authorities, the Swedish Radiation Protection Authority (SSI) and the Swedish Nuclear Power Inspectorate (SKI), are our independent experts. It is the authorities that have to evaluate the industry’s proposals and inform us whether or not the proposals meet the requirements regarding safety.
- Before we know whether the safety requirements have been fulfilled, we cannot speculate regarding compensation or positive effects from the construction of a repository in one of our municipalities. We do not allow such discussions to disturb us in our work of critically evaluating, investigating effects or safeguarding safety. These discussions have to wait until we know the outcome of the industry’s choice and the outcome of the results of the evaluations made by the competent authorities.

Providing that the industry’s timetable is followed, in about five years’ time, we shall have to adopt a position on the final disposal method to be used in Sweden and on where the repository should be located. As municipalities, we see the following “challenges” that lie ahead:

- It is “completely decisive” that the industry should be able to show that a safe repository can be built and that the authorities, through competent review work and their own analyses, also reach the same conclusions.
- Other challenges entail ensuring that:
 - The industry’s ambitions to follow its timetable do not lead to short cuts and data and analyses of a poor quality.
 - The authorities are given the resources that they need and that they can obtain the necessary competence to fully review and evaluate the industry’s licence applications – we are “very concerned” that the Government, in its general drive to cut costs, is not giving the Swedish Nuclear Power Inspectorate (SKI) and the Swedish Radiation Protection Authority (SSI) the funds that they need.
 - We can initiate the investigations and studies necessary to ensure that our inhabitants and we, as decision-makers, have an adequate basis for decision-making.
 - We obtain “full guarantees to ensure that we can never be forced to receive nuclear waste from other countries against our will”.

The following must occur “before we, the municipalities, can accept a repository”:

- We must be convinced that the nuclear waste issue can be resolved in a safe manner – we are very dependent on our regulatory authorities.
- We must prepare a complete and exhaustive basis for decision-making that also contains a municipal perspective for an option to say “yes” or “no”. This basis for decision-making must contain an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), with all of the positive and negative impacts described in detail. This EIS must also contain exhaustive socio-economic and social scientific investigations.
- Negative effects must be limited.

- An “overwhelming majority” of our local inhabitants must support a decision.

In a joint press release in February 2004, both municipal executive board chairmen stated that the final disposal issue has many aspects “that for both municipalities are similar at the same time that there are local differences with respect to political traditions as well as natural conditions.” The press release further showed that the representatives of both municipalities had discussed questions relating to the further content of the consultation process, the decision-making process, the resources of the regulatory authorities and the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). Furthermore, they had planned to arrange joint seminars on “joint knowledge-related issues for the municipalities concerning final disposal”.

2.4.2 View of the Allocation of Responsibilities among the Municipality and Other Actors

In the conversations held with the municipal leaders, they consistently expressed the view that the nuclear waste issue is given far too low priority among politicians operating at the national level. This criticism is generally directed to both ministers and members of parliament. The leaders also consider that there is a lack of interest in this issue among the members of parliament from their own counties. Furthermore, in the view of the leaders, the media, in any case at the national level, gives the issue far too little attention and neighbouring municipalities ought to show greater interest.

The municipal politicians also stated that the general lack of interest in the nuclear waste issue makes it difficult for them to handle these issues in the municipality. The nuclear waste issue is specifically of national importance. Therefore, in the view of the local politicians, it is not acceptable that, in reality, the response-

bility for the handling of the issue should be delegated to the local level.

The municipal leaders further explained that the participation of the local politicians is a necessary condition to gain support for the idea of siting a repository somewhere in Sweden. In order for the local politicians to be able to assume such a responsibility, politicians at the national level also need a visible commitment. The municipal leaders reiterated the municipalities' veto right in connection with forthcoming licensing by the Government. In the view of the councils, the nuclear waste issue must be handled in such a way by industry, the regulatory authorities and politicians at the national level that local opinion is confident in the solutions proposed. The implementation of site investigations is currently considered to be strongly supported by the inhabitants of Oskarshamn and Östhammar municipalities. However, the interviewees pointed out that this current level of support is no guarantee for the state of opinion when the time comes to evaluate a licence application for the construction of a repository at a specific site.

As reported in detail below (Sections 2.5.3 and 2.6.3), *Östhammar* and *Oskarshamn* have organised their work during the site investigation phase in different ways. The organisation that has been selected in Oskarshamn could give the impression that the local government leaders consider that the municipality should assume a particularly large responsibility as an actor in the nuclear waste issue. In Section 2.9.1, similarities and differences between the attitudes in both municipalities are discussed in this respect.

Based on an agreement between SKB and *Hultsfred* municipality concerning a contact programme (see Section 2.7.2), an ambitious programme of seminars on the nuclear waste issue has been conducted since 2003. The seminars target the general public. What expectations does the municipal council in Hultsfred have for the near future?

It can be seen from the above (see Section 2.3) that Hultsfred municipality would not be subjected to a site investigation, in

accordance with the proposal put forward by SKB in the RD&D Programme Supplement. However, in the opinion of the local government leaders, if SKB had proposed a site investigation in Hultsfred municipality, a broad majority of the municipal council would have voted “yes”. Nevertheless, the municipality is satisfied to act as a reserve municipality for the time being, since the view is that there are strong reasons why SKB should more closely investigate the type of bedrock, which occurs in the municipality. However, the leaders emphasise that a possible initiative by SKB in this direction would probably require the municipality to provide extensive information to the inhabitants.

2.4.3 Nuclear Waste Issues and Areas of Municipal Responsibility

In connection with the conversations with the municipal leaders in Östhammar, Oskarshamn and Hultsfred municipalities, the question was raised of the impact that the nuclear waste issue had had on the work in other areas of municipal responsibilities. This question can be further divided into two questions as follows:

- To what extent does one use – or intend to use – the experience from the handling of the nuclear waste issue in the municipality in connection with the handling of other complex issues?
- Have the efforts that the local politicians have put into the nuclear issue since the mid-1990s detracted from the handling of other municipal issues?

The responses to these questions are related to how the nuclear waste issue is perceived. Formulated somewhat provocatively, it could be said that the choice is between considering the nuclear waste issue to be primarily a technically complex waste management issue or an issue that also includes significantly

broader aspects. This second view is characterised by the fact that the issue, in addition to its technical complexity, is of such dimensions that finding a satisfactory solution also requires the types of considerations to be made that usually belong to the realms of ethics, morality and democracy.

The interviews conducted give the impression that, Oskarshamn municipality, more than Östhammar, emphasises that experience from the handling of the nuclear waste issue in the municipality can be applied to increasing the involvement of the local community in the handling of other complex issues in the municipality. The municipal leaders in both municipalities considered that their way of handling the nuclear waste issue had led to increased confidence in politicians and in their will/ability to handle other difficult issues as well. The same view is held in Hultsfred. In all of the three municipalities, it was believed that the involvement in the nuclear waste issue had not led to the neglect of any other important issues. During a separate interview with the former municipal executive board chairman in Oskarshamn, the chairman mentioned that he had been criticised to that effect, especially by party colleagues. However, he did not consider that the criticism was justified.

2.5 Sequence of Events 2002–2004 in Östhammar Municipality

2.5.1 Facts about the Municipality

Östhammar municipality is located in Uppsala County, on the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia/northern part of the Åland Sea, and has almost 22,000 inhabitants. About 4,700 people live in the central district of Östhammar and, in four other population centres, about 8,800. In the 1970's and 1980's, the number of inhabitants increased in connection with the construction of Forsmark nuclear power plant. The nuclear power plant is located on the coast, about 20 kilometres north of the

population centre of Östhammar and about 5 kilometres from the border with Tierp municipality. In recent years, the number of inhabitants has fallen somewhat. In summer, several thousand holiday homeowners and tourists come to the municipality.

The largest employer is the municipality with about 1,800 employees. The dominant industrial company and the next largest employer is Sandvik Coromant in the population centre of Gimo with about 1,600 employees. The only other major industrial company is Forsmark Kraftgrupp AB with about 750 employees. Forsmark nuclear power plant comprises three reactors, of which the last was taken into operation in 1985. SKB's repository for low and intermediate-level waste (SFR) is also located in the Forsmark industrial site. Radioactive waste from all of the Swedish nuclear power plants is disposed of at the repository.

Östhammar municipality suffered from the closure of a number of industrial activities in the 1980's and 1990's. The number of those employed in agriculture, forestry and construction has also decreased considerably. In 2000, about 1,400 people commuted to work in the municipality, while about 2,800 commuted to work in the opposite direction.

The Social Democratic Party has long been the leading political party in the municipality. However, during the 1998 election, the party lost its former majority status but maintained a dominant position. After the 2002 election, a political majority comprising the Social Democratic Party, the Left Party and the Green Party governed the municipality. Since the 2002 election, the distribution of the 49 mandates on the council has been as follows (the distribution of the mandates for the previous period is provided in brackets): Centre Party 9 (8), Liberal Party 3 (2), Christian Democratic Party 2 (2), Green Party 2 (2), Moderate Party 8 (9), Social Democratic Party 21 (22), Left Party 2 (4), a local party called Solidaritet & Samverkan (Solidarity & Co-operation) 2 (-).

2.5.2 Council Decision to Allow SKB to Conduct Site Investigations in Forsmark

In December 2001, the municipal council decided (with a vote of 43-5, one member abstaining from voting) to allow SKB to conduct the site investigation in Forsmark, providing that an agreement could be reached with SKB regarding the conditions for the investigation. The council handled the issue of the content of the agreement in February 2002. The proposed agreement that the council approved (with one reservation) has been published in a report, SOU 2002:46 p. 146 f.).

The site to be investigated is shown on the map in *Figure 2.2*.

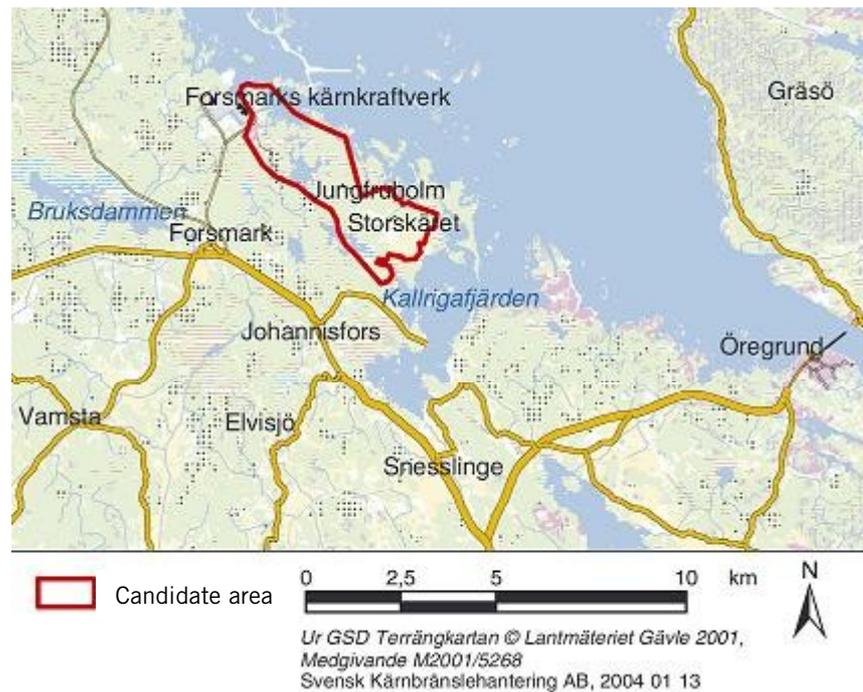


Figure 2.2. Site investigation in the Forsmark area (Swedish Nuclear Fuel and Waste Management Co, SKB).

2.5.3 The Municipality's Organisation for Following the Site Investigation Work

The reference group, which existed in Östhammar during the feasibility study period,¹ decided, in June 2002, to adopt the name, *Reference Group for the Site Investigation in Forsmark (Östhammar)*. During autumn 2002, the municipal leaders discussed a change in the organisation. The discussions resulted in a decision, in January 2003, by the municipal executive board. The board decided to create two groups – a reference group and a preparatory group.

The purpose of the *preparatory group* was to prepare issues to be presented to the municipal executive board for decision-making. The group comprises 7 members (chairman, Social Democratic Party and 1 additional member from the Social Democratic Party as well as 1 member each from the Moderate Party, the Centre Party, the Christian Democratic Party, the Green Party and the Left Party). The political majority in the municipality (Social Democratic Party, Left Party and Green Party) have the majority in the group. In addition, one member has been co-opted to the group from Tierp municipality. The group has both members and alternates. The task of the group is to decide on and implement day-to-day matters.

The preparatory group also has the task of preparing matters for the *reference group* to handle. The reference group is described as “a new interface for the municipal executive board in its contacts with the public and the political organisation” The reference group comprises the members of the preparatory group (7 members and 7 alternates) as well as a representative for each of the parties represented (8 representatives), two representatives for Tierp and Älvkarleby municipalities (4 representatives) as well as currently, 3 representatives from NGOs which are interested in the disposal issue (EFÖ, NSF and

¹ For an account of the work carried out by Östhammar municipality during the feasibility study phase, see the report SOU 2002:46, pp. 133–151.

OSS)². The total number of members is thus currently 29. Both members and alternates have been appointed for Tierp and Älvkarleby municipalities.

In April 2003, the preparatory group reported to the executive board that the group was waiting for “detailed terms of reference and clarification from the executive board with respect to its own and the reference group’s activities.” The report outlined future activities. It was also mentioned that both groups “when necessary will use the available expert resources during the site investigation phase”, and that it could be appropriate to arrange one or two seminars per year, together with for example, KASAM, SKB, SKI, SSI and Oskarshamn municipality, and to continue with the previous information work on targeting the Gimo and Forsmark upper secondary schools as well as to publish a brochure on the site investigation in summer 2003. In August 2003, the municipal executive board decided to adopt and establish the “proposal as the goal for activities during the coming year.”

In September 2003, the executive board also appointed a local *EIA group* for SKB’s site investigation in Forsmark. The task of the group is to capture and pass on to the executive board issues that should be taken up during the expanded consultation that SKB had started to implement at that time. This group included the chairmen and vice-chairmen of the municipal executive board, of the preparatory group, of the municipal environmental committee and of the municipal building committee (a total of 8 people), as well as the municipal officials most directly concerned (5 individuals, namely, the administrative head of the municipality, the environmental co-ordinator, the environmental director, the city architect and the municipality’s project manager for nuclear waste issues).

²The abbreviations mean the following: EFÖ = Energy for Östhammar, SNF = local chapter of the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation, OSS = Opinion Group for Safe Final Disposal – Östhammar.

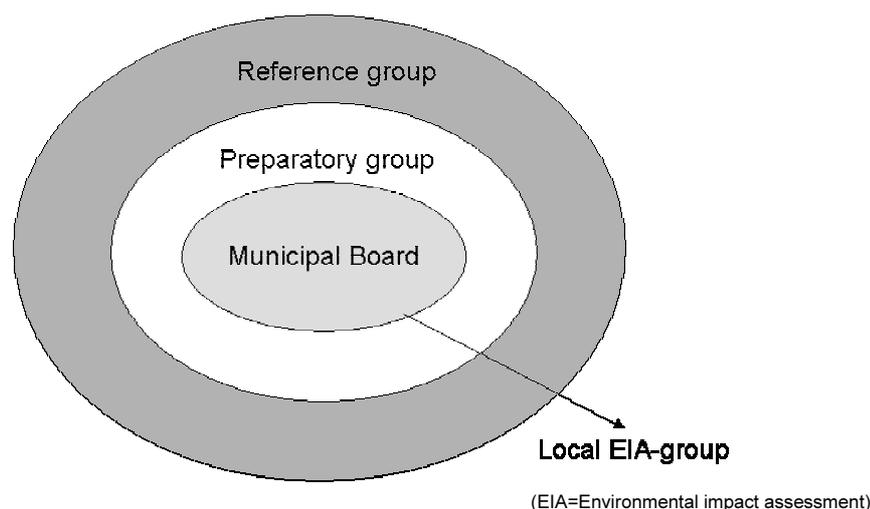


Figure 2.3. Organisation of Östhammar municipality to follow the site investigation and participate in increased consultation (Östhammar municipality).

The current municipal organisation for handling the site investigation and the consultation process is illustrated in *Figure 2.3*.

2.5.4 Examples of Issues relating to the Site Investigation that Have Been Dealt with by the Municipal Organisation of Östhammar

At the beginning of 2003, the municipal executive board of Östhammar had decided how the municipality should be organised in order to follow SKB's site investigation work (cf. Section 2.5.3). A small *preparatory group*, consisting exclusively of "politicians" has the task of preparing questions that should

be put to the executive board for decision-making. The preparatory group also had the task of preparing issues for handling in a *reference group* of about thirty people, comprising “politicians” and representatives from NGOs interested in the disposal issue. During autumn, a special EIA group was appointed.

In 2003, the preparatory group convened on seven occasions and the reference group, on three. So far, the EIA group has not held any meetings.

A recurrent feature of the reference group’s meetings has been information from SKB on the ongoing work. Information has also been provided concerning measures that the preparatory group has adopted or discussed. The members of the reference group have also received information on seminars and other forms of competence-building that have been considered of interest. Copies of documents given to the preparatory group are also regularly sent to reference group members. The extent to which discussions in the reference group have affected the position adopted by the preparatory group is not evident from the minutes.

Under the auspices of the preparatory group, a seminar was organised, in May 2003, on the following theme: “A Municipal Matter of National Concern in an International Perspective”. Furthermore, a school project was completed, where pupils from Forsmark school prepared information material on the disposal issue for distribution to other pupils at the school. The preparatory group also commissioned an up-to-date version of a brochure that had been previously prepared and that had been distributed to the municipality’s permanent inhabitants and holiday homeowners. The plan of activity that was established for 2004 states that the intention is to provide information to the public in the municipality’s population centres with the participation of environmental NGOs, SKB, SKI and SSI as well as to organise study circles. Specific information will be provided to certain schools. The group also expects to participate in the seminars and conferences arranged during the year by various

actors as well as in the expanded consultation that SKB intends to conduct. At the end of 2003, the preparatory group made a decision regarding applications for grants for activities that two local groups (the Opinion Group for Safe Final Disposal, OSS and Energy for Östhammar, EFÖ) intend to conduct in 2004.

The minutes from the preparatory group's meetings give the impression that, so far it has not been relevant to discuss, within the group, whether the municipality needs to react to the information that SKB has provided about the site investigation. However, it can be noted that the preparatory group has taken the initiative to arrange a training day on EIA-related issues at the beginning of 2004.

In the light of discussions held between the chairmen of the municipal executive boards in Östhammar and Oskarshamn municipalities at the end of 2003 (cf. Section 2.4.1), the members of the preparatory group met with representatives for the site investigation organisation in Oskarshamn municipality. The meeting considered co-operation during the site investigation phase. As has been described above, the meeting resulted in a joint press release. One concrete result was the decision to arrange joint seminars. The first seminar took place in Oskarshamn in April 2004 and dealt with alternatives to the KBS-3 method. A seminar is being planned for autumn in Östhammar on the topic of SKB's community development programme.

2.6 Sequence of Events 2002-2004 in Oskarshamn Municipality

2.6.1 Facts about the Municipality

Oskarshamn municipality is located in Kalmar County on the Baltic Sea coast parallel to northern Öland and has just over 26,000 inhabitants. 18,500 of these inhabitants live in the town of Oskarshamn. In the 1970's the population increased

somewhat in connection with the establishment of nuclear power on the Simpevarp peninsula, about 30 kilometres north of the town of Oskarshamn. Since 1994, the number of inhabitants has decreased by 100-200 people every year, depending on reduced employment in the industrial sector.

The largest employer is the municipality with about 2,400 employees. The dominant company and next largest employer is Scania with about 2,100 employees. The second largest industrial company, with about 900 employees, is OKG AB. The company owns Oskarshamn nuclear power plant, which has three reactors, of which the last was taken into operation in 1985. SKB's Central Interim Storage Facility for Spent Nuclear Fuel (CLAB), where spent fuel from all of the Swedish nuclear power plants is stored, is also located on the industrial site.

In 2001, about 2,350 people commuted to work in the municipality, while about 1,350 commuted to work in the opposite direction.

The Social Democratic Party has been the leading political party in the municipality for a long time. However, in the 1998 election, the party lost its earlier majority status but maintained a dominant position. Since the 2002 election, a political majority comprising the Social Democratic Party and the Left Party has led the municipality. Since the 2002 election, the distribution of the 49 mandates on the Council (there were 51 mandates in the previous period), has been as follows: Centre Party 3 (2), Liberal Party 3 (1), Christian Democratic Party 6 (6), Green Party 1 (1), Moderate Party 7 (9), Social Democratic Party 23 (22), Left Party 8 (10).

2.6.2 Council Decision to Allow SKB to Start Site Investigations on Simpevarp

In March 2002, a practically unanimous municipal council in Oskarshamn³ to allow SKB to start investigations at the site that SKB had indicated which comprised the Simpevarp peninsula and an area west of that area. The decision carried thirteen stipulations and clarifications (see SOU 2002:46, p. 232 ff). As described in a previous section (Section 2.3), in September 2003, the council voted “yes” to a minor adjustment to the boundaries of the site.

The site for investigation is shown on the map in *Figure 2.4*.

2.6.3 The Municipality’s Organisation for Following the Site Investigation Work

The municipality’s work on following the site investigation⁴ is being conducted within the framework of the *LKO Local Competence Development in Oskarshamn – Nuclear Waste Project*, which was originally started in 1994. The municipal executive board acts as a steering committee for the *LKO Project*, while the *municipal council* acts as the “client” of the project and has the task of making decisions on issues of major importance.

The current organisation is based on the situation during the feasibility study phase, where the focus was on a number of working groups, which were attached to the LKO Project. Prior to the site investigation phase, the municipality considered that the organisation that had applied during the feasibility study phase needed to be adapted to the new conditions. In November 2002, the council adopted the current organisation.

³ One member moved to have the matter reviewed once more, but when that motion was rejected by the council, no other motions were put forward.

⁴ An account of the municipal organisation in Oskarshamn during the feasibility study is provided in the report, SOU 2002:46, pp. 209-237.



Figure 2.4. Site investigation in the Simpevarp area (Swedish Nuclear Fuel and Waste Management Co, SKB).

The purpose of the LKO Project is to provide an adequate basis so that the council can make a decision in the event that an application is submitted for permission to construct a repository/encapsulation plant. The aim is for all issues of importance to be thoroughly investigated in the information that is provided. This means that the LKO Project should:

- Continuously follow the safety issues and SKB's site investigation in Oskarshamn.
- Ensure that SKB, the authorities and the Government comply with the council's site investigation stipulations.
- Initiate investigations into issues that arise during the site investigation phase.
- Enhance the competence of citizens within the nuclear waste area.
- Elicit questions and viewpoints from the municipality's inhabitants and neighbours.
- Maintain international contacts in order to follow developments within the nuclear waste programmes in other countries, with an emphasis on local participation.

The work is mainly being conducted "within the framework of a developed EIA". In this process, SKB is responsible for promoting the consultation and for conducting investigations, taking into account the fact that the municipality is one of the most important parties in the consultation. In its description of this work, Oskarshamn municipality states that the co-operation with Östhammar municipality needs to be developed in order to co-ordinate parts of the EIA process, for example, with respect to the description of alternatives.

One official is employed full-time within the LKO Project as project manager. In addition, an official works part-time on supporting the Misterhult group (see below) with a local development programme. Three experts also assist the project on a consultancy basis. Additional experts are hired when necessary.

Within the framework of the LKO Project, there is a *development group* and *four working groups* (see below). The task of the development group is to develop the project work and the “Oskarshamn model”, to co-ordinate activities in the project, to prepare matters to be handled by the municipal executive board etc. The group comprises the chairman and vice-chairman of the municipal executive board, the four chairmen of the working groups, the former chairman of the executive board as well as experts and officials who are connected to the project – a total of 12 people. Therefore, in practice, the work is conducted in close co-operation with the municipal executive board. The chairman of the executive board represents the municipality in the consultation process with concerned parties that SKB must conduct, under the Environmental Code, and which is conducted within the framework of the *EIA Forum for Studies of Final Disposal Systems for Spent Nuclear Fuel in Oskarshamn Municipality* (see below).

Work in the LKO Project is mainly conducted through the four working groups. The task of each group is to follow three or more of the stipulations in the council decision from March 2002 (Section 2.6.2). Other important tasks of the groups as well as the designations of the groups are presented below.

Safety Group

- Responsibility for issues concerning safety and radiation protection in connection with encapsulation, transport and final disposal.

Misterhult Group

- Responsible for ensuring that the Misterhult local programme is defined and also participates in the implementation and follow-up of the programme.
- Follows local environmental issues in the EIA.

Municipality Group

- Responsible for issues relating to physical planning, infrastructure and socioeconomic investigations.
- The group has a responsibility for co-ordinating the EIA.

Community Group

- Responsible for social scientific issues.
- Responsible for co-operation with neighbouring municipalities.
- Responsible for ensuring that regional issues are investigated in the site investigation programme.
- Follows the results of surveys and conducts its own surveys when necessary.
- Follows up the national issues.

The municipal executive board appoints all of the members of the groups. The development group proposes members, with the exception of individuals who are “politicians”. Such individuals are directly appointed by the executive board. However, the composition of members of the four working groups is different. The chairman and three members of the *safety group* represent political parties. The other members are from the Döderhult chapter of the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation, the municipal rescue services and the environmental and health care administration. The *Misterhult group* focuses on the inhabitants living closest to the investigation site. Members were recruited to the group when the LKO Project advertised a meeting and individuals who were interested in joining the group. The group now comprises about 15 people who are attached to various NGOs and societies in the area that comprises old Misterhult parish. The group has itself proposed its chairman (one of the inhabitants living close to the investigation site). Two of the members represent political parties. The task of the *municipality group* is to ensure that the municipality’s officials have a good insight into and understanding of the issues. The administrative

director of the municipality has been appointed as chairman. The group primarily comprises officials from different municipal administrations. Three members represent political parties. The chairman and two other members of the *community group* represent political parties. The other members are from the child and youth welfare department, arts and cultural amenities department, Nova higher technical education centre, the Döderhult chapter of the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation and the Regional Council in Kalmar county.

In 2003, the working groups convened a total of just over 30 times. A large number of meetings have also been planned for 2004.

The current organisation for handling the site investigation and consultation process can be illustrated as shown in *Figure 2.5*.



Figure 2.5. Municipal organisation for following the site investigation and participating in expanded consultation in Oskarshamn (Oskarshamn municipality).

2.6.4 Examples of Site Investigation-related Issues that Have Been Discussed in the Framework of the Municipal Organisation in Oskarshamn

The way of working with final disposal issues that has been developed in Oskarshamn municipality means that the issues that, according to Section 2.8.3, have been brought to light in the EIA forum have almost without exception been discussed beforehand in one of the four working groups. The groups prepared work plans for 2004, which also include general descriptions of activities in 2003. Examples of issues that are of concern in the different groups are provided below. It should be added that the work in the LKO Project is reported to the municipal council twice every year.

Safety Group

The group is to specifically monitor eight of the 13 stipulations that the council formulated in its decision of March 2002 to allow the site investigation to be conducted. In 2003, when the group convened on eight occasions, special attention was devoted to SKB's wishes concerning a certain expansion of the area for the site investigations to also include areas adjacent to the Simpevarp peninsula. This issue led to the group arranging a special, official hearing, in September 2003, of SKB and the authorities with respect to these plans. Other issues dealt with in the hearing included

- the future responsibility for a repository after closure,
- the sealing of boreholes near a repository and their importance for the safety assessment,
- the decision-making process – establishing how the requirements of the Environmental Code and the Act on Nuclear Facilities are interlinked,
- the meaning of the concepts “best site” and “sufficiently safe site”,
- retrievability,

- the need for the authorities to have adequate resources to satisfy the requirements on competence for regulatory review.

On the group's initiative, a seminar was conducted in April 2004 together with Östhammar municipality, where the question of alternatives to the KBS-3 method was discussed.

Misterhult Group

In 2003, during which time the group met on 13 occasions, work started on a local development programme for the Misterhult area. The responsibility for conducting this development programme rests with SKB, although the work of the programme is based on a broad participation and commitment from those living close to the investigation site, NGOs and organisations. In autumn 2003, the group arranged a seminar for the inhabitants of old Misterhult parish in order to elicit proposals for developing the community centre.

Municipality Group

The group convened on eight different occasions in 2003. The main focus of work was preparations for increasing information to municipal employees on the nuclear waste issue. Measures included a survey, which was conducted among municipal employees to investigate the need for information.

Community Group

The group has had six meetings in 2003. Work focused on contributing to obtaining a basis for discussion for the social science studies that SKB is planning to undertake. The group's tasks include specially monitoring the decision-making process and, for this reason, an environmental lawyer has been attached to the group. Before 2004, the group expects to develop the co-

operation with lower and upper secondary school pupils, to prepare information material about the LKO Project which is specially adapted to young people as well as to develop contacts with other municipalities in the region.

As reported in Section 2.5.4, a close co-operation has started between the LKO Project in Oskarshamn and the corresponding organisation in Östhammar municipality.

2.7 Sequence of Events, 2002-2004 in Hultsfred Municipality

2.7.1 Facts about the Municipality

Hultsfred municipality (Kalmar county) is located in the interior of Småland, on the border of Oskarshamn municipality to the east and has about 14,700 inhabitants. About 5,400 people live in the population centre of Hultsfred. Since 1994, the number of inhabitants has decreased with just over 2,000 people, due to reduced employment in the industrial sector and to the migration of young people to other areas where higher education is available.

The municipality is the largest employer with about 1,500 employees. The dominant company and next largest employer is OKG with about 360 employees. Apart from these two, only small-scale employers are located in the municipality. The economy of the municipality is strained.

In 2001, about 1,000 people commuted to the municipality while about 1,150 commuted to work in the opposite direction.

Since 1994, the Social Democratic Party has formed a majority, together with the Left Party. Since the 2002 election, the distribution of the 49 mandates on the municipal council has been as follows (the distribution of the mandates for the previous period is provided in brackets): Centre Party 9 (8), Liberal Party 2 (1), Christian Democratic Party 6 (7), Green Party – (-), Moderate Party 4 (5), Social Democratic Party 21

(19), Left Party 5 (7), a local party called Medborgarpartiet, skola, vård och omsorg (Citizens' Party, school, health care and welfare) 2 (2).

2.7.2 The Municipality and the Final Disposal Issue

The proposal presented by SKB at the end of 2000 concerning which sites would be included in the site investigations did not include a site in Hultsfred municipality. As has been reported elsewhere⁵, the company's attitude meant that both the local government leaders and the municipal feasibility study organisation expressed disappointment that SKB had adopted a position on the matter without awaiting the outcome of the municipality's handling of the preliminary feasibility study report. In spring 2001, an agreement was signed between the company and the municipality concerning some concluding activities. The agreement stated that if Hultsfred municipality were considered for site investigations in the future, SKB would submit a new request for permission to the municipality and a new political process would then be started.

In June 2001, the municipal executive board approved a plan for the municipality's further work on the nuclear waste issue in 2001. In a document to the municipality in December 2001, SKB emphasised that "there is no overriding reason to write off any siting alternatives, such as Hultsfred, at present" and stated that, in 2002, the company intended to conduct certain geohydrological investigations in the municipality as well as continue with certain information work.

In January 2002, the executive board's working committee decided on a plan of activities, budget and organisation for the municipality's information work on the final disposal issue during the next year. Representatives from the municipality have since participated in various activities that KASAM, SKI, SSI,

⁵ A detailed account of the sequence of events in Hultsfred municipality during the feasibility study phase is provided in the report, SOU 2002:46, pp. 239-254.

other municipalities as well as SKB arranged on the nuclear waste issues.

In December 2002, SKB presented a “contact programme” for Hultsfred municipality. The programme was based on an agreement with the local government leaders. In the contact programme, SKB emphasised again that there were no important reasons to write off any of the alternatives that were not prioritised for site investigations and continued: “It is important to ensure that SKB continues to have freedom of action if unforeseen events should occur during the site investigation phase. Therefore, SKB would like Hultsfred municipality to remain in the programme even if there are currently no plans to conduct site investigations in the municipality.” The programme meant that SKB would continue to have a local office in the municipality, although with limited opening hours.

Since December 2002 and during 2003, meetings have been arranged regularly (about once a month) under the auspices of the municipality, on different topics relating to the nuclear waste issue. In November 2003, the municipality was the host of an “exchange of opinion between authorities, the company, municipalities and citizens about the society-related process for the deep disposal issue.”

During the feasibility study phase, the municipality created an organisation focussing on a number of working groups, comprising individuals representing political parties as well as private individuals who had voluntarily expressed their interest in the issues. The number and areas of responsibility of the groups gradually changed in 2001-2002. In February 2003, a *contact group*, in accordance with a decision by the municipal executive board, replaced them. Half of the members (seven people) represent all of the parties that have members on the council. The remaining seven members are people who have shown a particular interest in the issues and have participated in the previous working groups.

At the same time, the municipal executive board established the following guidelines for the activities of the contact group:

- The individual members should be able to act as an interface with the citizens.
- Information work would have a social and democratic focus.
- The municipal work would be characterised by knowledge, insight and participation.
- The municipality would choose suitable supplementary training and information in order to develop comprehensive knowledge when alternatives to the information provided by industry and the authorities are required.
- Local information should be adequately distributed. The citizens and their elected representatives would be mentally well prepared and informed of the content and consequences of a possible siting of a deep repository in the neighbouring municipality (Oskarshamn) and of a possible site investigation in Hultsfred municipality.
- The environmental NGOs and other local NGOs should be given the opportunity to participate in the municipal process.

2.8 Consultation under the Environmental Code

2.8.1 Requirements on Consultation

The final disposal and encapsulation of spent nuclear fuel requires government licensing under both the Environmental Code and the Act on Nuclear Activities. The requirements on consultation prior to this licensing are presented in the regulations on EIS and other assessments used as a basis for decision making in Chapter 6 of the Environmental Code. The Environmental Code also places requirements on consultation prior to the site investigations. SKB must take the initiative for consultation as described below.

2.8.1.1 Consultation Prior to Site Investigations

Consultation prior to the site investigations must be held with the county administrative board in accordance with Chapter 12 § 6 of the Environmental Code. This consultation concerns activities or measures that can essential effect the natural environment. Issues relating to the impact on the cultural environment are also to be dealt with in this context.

The purpose of the site investigations is to ensure that SKB obtains the necessary information in order to submit an application to the Government for permission to establish a repository for spent nuclear fuel at a certain site.

2.8.1.2 Consultation Prior to the Preparation of Licence Applications and EIS

SKB is now conducting investigations at the Forsmark and at Simpevarp sites (see also Sections 2.8.2.2 and 2.8.3.2). In connection with this, the project planning has reached such a degree of detail that SKB has started the consultation in accordance with Chapter 6 of the Environmental Code.

Consultation prior to the preparation of applications for a government licence to construct a repository or an encapsulation plant, along with the required EIS, should be conducted in accordance with Chapter 6 of the Environmental Code. The consultation should be held at an early stage with the competent regulatory authorities, municipalities, the public and organisations. The consultation should be conducted in two phases.

These regulations mean that SKB, as the proponent, must take the initiative to and conduct these consultations with those parties who are in different ways concerned. Therefore, it is SKB that formally “owns” the issue and has the role of providing an impetus for the work within the framework of the existing regulations. The role of the county administrative board is to

provide advice to SKB prior to various consultations with the ultimate aim of ensuring that the consultation is conducted in the spirit of the regulations. At the same time, the county administrative board's task is to make the decisions that are necessary to enable SKB's work.

In the first consultation phase – “early consultation” – SKB must consult with the county administrative board and individuals who it can be assumed are specifically concerned, namely, people living in the vicinity and landowners. Prior to the consultation, SKB must submit information on the siting, scope and design of the planned activity as well as on the anticipated environmental impact.

After this early consultation, and as a result of the compulsory decision of the county administrative board that the activity can be expected to result in a “significant environmental impact”, SKB must hold “an expanded consultation with EIA”. SKB must consult with the other government authorities, the municipalities, general public and organisations that are assumed to be concerned. Furthermore, in addition to the siting, scope, design and environmental impact of the planned activity, the consultation must also include the content and form of the EIS.

In December 2003, SKB invited twenty government authorities to an information meeting on SKB's planning reports “Scope, Boundaries and Investigations for Environmental Impact Statements (EIS) for an Encapsulation Plant and Repository for Spent Nuclear Fuel. Version 0 – Basis for Expanded Consultation” concerning the repository in Forsmark and Simpevarp (see Sections 2.8.2.4 and 2.8.3.4). The authorities were also invited to comment on the reports.

2.8.2 Consultation in Uppsala County

2.8.2.1 Preparatory Consultation in Uppsala County

In connection with SKB starting feasibility studies in Östhammar municipality, an organisation had been created for consultation and exchange of information between the county administrative board, SKB, municipalities concerned and government authorities etc. under the auspices of the county administrative board in Uppsala county. These consultations were based on a government decision in May 1995 where the county administrative boards concerned were given the responsibility of co-ordinating contacts with municipalities and government authorities that were necessary for SKB to be able to prepare a basis for an EIS. They were also given the responsibility of ensuring that the municipalities concerned by the site selection process could follow SKB's site selection studies etc. closely. The organisation for consultation was called *The County Administrative Board's Reference Group on Issues concerning a Possible Siting of a Repository for Spent Nuclear Fuel in Uppsala County*. Up to and including 2002, the reference group convened about twice a year, for regional consultation on the final disposal of spent nuclear fuel⁶.

2.8.2.2 SKB's Consultation Prior to the Site Investigation in Forsmark

In December 2001, SKB submitted to the county administrative board in Uppsala County an application for a consultation prior to the initial site investigations. This consultation primarily concerned the impact that the site investigation work could have on the natural environment and did not concern issues relating to the risk of environmental impact in connection with the

⁶ An overview of the work conducted in this reference group and in a *working group* attached to this group, is presented in the report, SOU 2002:46, pp. 269-271.

construction of a repository at the site. In its decision of February 14, 2002, the county administrative board found that SKB's application contained sufficient information for a consultation on the initial site investigations but not sufficient information for a complete site investigation. The decision meant that SKB was able to start initial site investigations on condition that certain measures were taken.

2.8.2.3 Early Consultation Prior to an Application and Environmental Impact Statement for a Repository and Encapsulation Plant in Forsmark

In 2002, SKB held an *early consultation in accordance with Chapter 6 § 4 of the Environmental Code* with the county administrative board of Uppsala County and individuals who were assumed to be specifically concerned by a repository in the Forsmark area. A consultation report was prepared by SKB and submitted to the county administrative board in July 2002. Based on this report – as well as statements of opinion on the report from the Swedish Nuclear Power Inspectorate, the Swedish Radiation Protection Authority, the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, the municipal executive board and the environment and health board in Östhammar municipality – the county administrative board decided in December 2002 that a deep repository in the Forsmark area could be “expected to result in a significant environmental impact”.

In autumn 2003, SKB had also conducted an early consultation concerning a possible encapsulation plant for spent nuclear fuel in Forsmark. Based on the consultation report prepared by SKB, the county administrative board decided in January 2004 – after statements had been issued by the Swedish Nuclear Power Inspectorate, the Swedish Radiation Protection Authority, the National Board of Forestry in Mälardalen, the local safety committee at the nuclear facilities in Forsmark and the environment and health board in Östhammar municipality –

that also such a facility could be “expected to result in a significant environmental impact”.

Both of the decisions by the county administrative board in Uppsala meant that SKB would continue to follow the regulations concerning expanded consultation with EIA in accordance with Chapter 6 § 5 of the Environmental Code.

2.8.2.4 Expanded Consultation Prior to Submitting an Application with EIS for a Repository and Encapsulation Plant in Forsmark

SKB currently conducts *expanded consultations on EIS in accordance with Chapter 6 § 5 of the Environmental Code*, for a repository and an encapsulation plant for spent nuclear fuel with siting in the Forsmark area and in the Simpevarp area.

At the last meeting in November 2002 with the county administrative board’s *reference group concerning a possible siting of a repository for spent nuclear fuel in Uppsala county*, a working group was given the task of presenting a proposal for work procedures for the continued regional consultation work. The working group comprised representatives for SKB, Östhammar municipality, the Swedish Nuclear Power Inspectorate, the Swedish Radiation Protection Authority and the county administrative board. Based on the group’s proposals, a first meeting was arranged in September 2003 with a body called *Forsmark consultation and EIA group*. On this occasion, the group decided on work procedures to conduct its activities.

The document regulating the forms of work states that the group “was formed on the basis of the responsibilities of the county administrative board, the most closely concerned central authorities and the municipalities” (primarily in accordance with the Environmental Code and the government decision of May 1995) as well as “SKB’s responsibility in accordance with the regulations in Chapter 6 of the Environmental Code.” The

subject of the negotiations is *an encapsulation plant and repository for spent nuclear fuel in Forsmark, Östhammar municipality*.

Representatives from SKB, Östhammar municipality, the Swedish Nuclear Power Inspectorate, the Swedish Radiation Protection Authority and the county administrative board in Uppsala are members of the consultation and EIA group for Forsmark, in accordance with the work procedures and in the same way as with the previous reference group. Representatives from other parties can be co-opted when necessary. The county administrative board in Uppsala is responsible for chairing the group's meetings and for the final minutes. Joint meetings with the corresponding organisation in Kalmar County can be arranged. The document on the group's forms of work also states that it is SKB (the proponent) that is responsible for preparing an EIS. The document also states that the group:

- Consults “on information and consultation issues prior to the construction of a repository for spent nuclear fuel as well as on the scope, design, site adaptation and environmental impact of the planned activity as well as on the content and structure of the EIS to be attached to the licence for the construction and operation of the repository. The consultation should also, in a corresponding manner, deal with the siting of an encapsulation plant at Forsmark.”
- Is only an advisory body. The participants in the group are not bound to make decisions in accordance with the consultation group's views. The issues that are dealt with are raised the participants themselves.
- Must work to ensure that the basis for the EIS for the repository and for the encapsulation facility is adequate in terms of reliability, comprehensibility and relevance.
- Usually convenes in Uppsala. Some meetings can be public and should take place in Östhammar municipality. What occurs in the meeting should be reported in minutes along with the conclusions reached and justifications that the group has found. The minutes are administered by the

county administrative board and adjusted by all of the organisations that have participated in the meeting. Agenda proposals are prepared by SKB, although the participants in the consultation notify SKB of topics to put on the agenda.

In September 2003, SKB presented a preliminary version of a report with the title, “Scope, Boundaries and Investigations for Environmental Impact Statements (EIS) for an Encapsulation Plant and Repository for Spent Nuclear Fuel. Version 0 – Basis for Expanded Consultation.” At the same time, a corresponding report concerning the consultation in Oskarshamn was presented, see Section 2.8.3.4. SKB has asked for views on the content of both documents from a number of authorities, organisations etc., that are assumed to be concerned.

The Forsmark consultation and EIA group has so far convened twice. January 2004 was the most recent meeting. During the first meeting in September 2003, a number of status reports were dealt with, in addition to the issue of work procedures. Furthermore, a working group was set up with the task of presenting a work programme for further work.

During the second meeting with the Forsmark consultation and EIA group, SKB provided information on the ongoing investigations in Östhammar and in Oskarshamn as well as on the planning of forthcoming consultations. Other participants presented status reports on various issues.

2.8.3 Consultation in Kalmar County

2.8.3.1 Preparatory Consultation in Kalmar County

On the initiative of Oskarshamn municipality, a body was created in 1994 for consultation between the municipality, county administrative board in Kalmar county, SKB, the Swedish Nuclear Power Inspectorate and the Swedish Radiation Protection Authority concerning the plans for an expansion of the

Central Interim Storage Facility for Spent Nuclear Fuel (CLAB), located next to Oskarshamn nuclear power plant's facilities on the Simpevarp peninsula. In 1996, the consultation also included issues relating to a repository in Oskarshamn municipality. From 1997, this consultative body was called *The EIA Forum for Studies of Final Disposal Systems for Spent Nuclear Fuel in Oskarshamn Municipality (commonly referred to as the EIA forum in Kalmar county)*⁷. The work in the EIA forum has been characterised by the fact that the municipality has seen this body as a forum where the municipality puts questions concerning the plans for the final disposal of nuclear waste to SKB and to the regulatory authorities and where the municipality demands answers to its questions. The objective of the work within the LKO Project has been to obtain a basis for action within the framework of the EIA forum.

2.8.3.2 SKB's Consultation Prior to the Site Investigation in Simpevarp

In April 2002, an application was submitted to the county administrative board in Kalmar County. In the decision of June 19, 2002, the county administrative board stated that it did not have any objections to SKB conducting initial site investigations on the Simpevarp peninsula. The county administrative board added that the information in the application did not provide a sufficient basis for consultation on a possible complete site investigation and that "a continued process with consultation must be conducted as the site investigation continues in other parts of the candidate site." This decision also meant that SKB could start the initial site investigations under certain conditions.

⁷ For an overview of the work conducted in the EIA forum in Oskarshamn, see the report, SOU 2002:46, pp. 271-272.

2.8.3.3 Early Consultation Prior to an Application and EIS for a Repository and Encapsulation Plant in Simpevarp

The early consultation for a possible repository in the Simpevarp area started somewhat differently than that for the Forsmark area. At the request of Oskarshamn municipality, SKB started, as early as in January 2002 – before the municipality in March 2002 decided to “allow” the proposed site investigation – an initial consultation meeting with specifically concerned parties and the county administrative board. A consultation report was prepared by SKB after the meeting and submitted to the county administrative board in Kalmar County. When the municipality, the Swedish Nuclear Power Inspectorate and the Swedish Radiation Protection Authority had submitted statements of opinion on the report, the county administrative board decided, in January 2003, that a deep repository for spent nuclear fuel at the proposed site on Simpevarp could be expected to result in a significant environmental impact.

Early in 2003, SKB also conducted an early consultation with specifically concerned parties and the county administrative board in Kalmar County concerning a possible encapsulation plant for spent nuclear fuel. The intention is to site the encapsulation plant adjacent to CLAB. On the basis of SKB’s consultation report and on the basis of statements of opinion on the report submitted by Oskarshamn municipality, the Swedish Nuclear Power Inspectorate and the Swedish Radiation Protection Authority, the county administrative board decided, in September 2003, that such a facility could also “be expected to result in a significant environmental impact.”

Both decisions of the county administrative board in Kalmar County mean, in the same way as corresponding decisions in Uppsala County that, also with respect a siting in Oskarshamn municipality, SKB will have to follow, in the future, the regulations for expanded consultation with EIA, in accordance with Chapter 6 § 5 of the Environmental Code.

2.8.3.4 Expanded Consultation Prior to an Application and EIS for a Repository and Encapsulation Plant on Simpevarp

SKB is currently conducting *an expanded consultation with EIA in accordance with Chapter 6 § 5 of the Environmental Code*, for a repository and an encapsulation plant for spent nuclear fuel to be sited in the Forsmark area and in the Simpevarp area.

In response to a request from Oskarshamn municipality, SKB arranged, already in January 2002 – before the municipality decided to “allow” the proposed site investigation in March 2002 – an initial consultation meeting with specifically concerned parties and the county administrative board. In different contexts, Oskarshamn had emphasised its intention to also continue to work actively on the nuclear waste issues and emphasised the sound experience that had been gained through the work within the framework of “the EIA forum.”

At a meeting with the EIA forum in May 2002, the parties had decided to conduct a review of activities. An evaluation and a proposal for changes in the forms of activity were presented and discussed in a total of three meetings during the period from October 2002 to March 2003. The end product comprised two documents: a “rules of procedure” and a “basic document”.

According to the rules of procedure, representatives from SKB, Oskarshamn municipality, the Swedish Nuclear Power Inspectorate, the Swedish Radiation Protection Authority and the county administrative board in Kalmar county participate in the *EIA Forum on Questions Relating to the Final Disposal System for Spent Nuclear Fuel in Oskarshamn Municipality* (“EIA forum in Oskarshamn”). When necessary, additional representatives from authorities, organisations and neighbouring municipalities can be co-opted. Initially, it is established that SKB is responsible for preparing the EIS, which must be attached to an application to construct facilities. The rules of procedure also state that SKB “is to prepare a separate consultation report which provides possible answers to questions asked and possible

measures that SKB is adopting and that the consultation has occasioned.” Otherwise, the rules of procedure mainly state that the EIA forum:

- Consults on the EIS (documents) for the facilities and on the EIA (the process that results in these documents).
- Is consultative and none of SKB, the municipality or the government authorities is bound to make decisions in accordance with the recommendations of the EIA forum. The participants themselves raise the issues that are dealt with, and they have the right to put forward requests with respect to studies and investigations.
- Through its composition, is to work towards ensuring that the basis for decision-making for each facility is adequate with respect to reliability, comprehensiveness and relevance.
- Usually convenes in Oskarshamn. Certain meetings should be open to the public. Initiatives should be taken, at relevant intervals, to arrange a joint meeting with a corresponding organisation in northern Uppland. Minutes should report what has been discussed at the meeting and the conclusions and justifications that the EIA forum has reached. The county administrative board administers the minutes, although SKB “provides secretarial assistance”. The minutes are adjusted by each organisation that is represented. Prior to each consultation occasion, “SKB is to ensure that the representatives submit matters for the agenda.”

The *basic document*, which is dated May 16, 2003, is a document which, according to the preface, “aims to provide a holistic view of the different consultations that will be held between SKB and different actors, to describe how consultations within the framework of the EIA forum in Oskarshamn municipality will be conducted and co-ordinated with other consultations as well as to provide a view of how the consultations in the EIA forum are linked to Oskarshamn municipality’s activities on the nuclear waste issue”. Furthermore, it is stated that the intention is to

prepare a *scoping report*. The scoping report presents “the investigations that the parties request so that the EIS will provide the basis for decision-making that each individual party will need. The scoping report will, therefore, provide SKB with advice on the contents of the EIS...” In September 2003, SKB presented a preliminary version of a “scoping report” entitled “Scope, Boundaries and Investigations for Environmental Impact Statements (EIS) for an Encapsulation Plant and Repository for Spent Nuclear Fuel. Version 0 – Basis for Expanded Consultation in Oskarshamn”). A corresponding report concerning consultation in Forsmark was presented at the same time, see Section 2.8.2.4. SKB has requested viewpoints on the content of both documents from a large number of authorities, organisations etc. that are assumed to be concerned.

The information given in the basic document is provided under the following headings:

- Repository project
- Licensing process for nuclear facilities
- Consultation
- Municipality’s activities
- EIA forum in Oskarshamn

The document also contains three appendices. These provide an account of SKB’s consultation process, the meaning of “good EIA practice” as well as an account of the development of Oskarshamn’s LKO Project.

In practice, the EIA forum in Oskarshamn was conducted in accordance with the intentions of the rules of procedure from the beginning of 2003. Up to and including March 2004, five meetings had been held in accordance with the new rules of procedure (March, May, September and December 2003 as well as March 2004). At all of these meetings, SKB and other participants had provided detailed information on current issues. Discussions have also been conducted concerning preliminary versions of the scoping report. In addition, Oskarshamn

municipality put detailed questions to SKB and to the authorities. The matters or questions that the municipality initiated at these three meetings are reported below. The choice of topic is a good illustration of how the municipality uses the EIA forum to obtain clarification on various issues.

March 20, 2003

1. Status report from the municipality
2. County administrative board's decision on expanded consultation
3. The forum's rules of procedure and basic document
4. Public hearing on the choice of the P2 area in Misterhult
5. SKI and SSI's information project
6. Earlier question on investigation into health consequences, response from SKB?
7. Planning of the EIA forum meetings, annual plan with different topics
8. Question concerning Claes Thegerström's (President of SKB) participation in the county administrative board's board

May 26, 2003

1. International solutions to the nuclear waste issue
2. Is the timetable for the encapsulation plant realistic?
3. Results from the well inventories
4. Traffic on the Laxemar-Kråkelund road
5. Information: municipality - SKB

September 30, 2003

No list of questions from the municipality is included in the minutes. However, from the municipality's status report it can be seen that further explanations were required from SKB regarding the question of expanding the investigation area and that the municipality wished to include some municipality-specific questions in the survey questionnaire directed to municipality inhabitants that SKB conducts each year.

December 11, 2003

1. Siting work for canister fabrication
2. SR-can – request for report in Swedish

3. Expanded consultation – How does SKB intend to give insight into the expanded consultation?
4. EIA forum meetings – are all meetings open?
5. Consultation reports for previous meetings in the EIA forum. When will they be published?
6. Question to the county administrative board: the municipality's report with a request for limiting the speed limit at the junction between the Kråkelund road and the coastal road. How much progress has been made in the handling of the matter?
7. Question to SSI: Request for a report on the results from the work on general recommendations, feedback from the focus groups etc.

March 24, 2004

No questions from the municipality at this time.

2.9 KASAM's Comments

The previous sections show how the municipalities deal with questions in connection with SKB's site investigations and consultation on the final disposal issue. Site investigations are being conducted in the Forsmark area (Östhammar municipality) and in the Simpevarp area ("the Simpevarp-Laxemar area") (Oskarshamn municipality).

In this section, KASAM comments on what has occurred in the contacts with representatives from Östhammar, Oskarshamn and Hultsfred municipalities. Finally, some conclusions that KASAM believes should be drawn from these comments are presented.

2.9.1 Östhammar and Oskarshamn – Different but Similar?

In Östhammar and Oskarshamn, different organisational models have been developed for how each municipality participates in the expanded consultation and for how each municipality follows SKB's site investigations. In both cases, these models are

based on how each municipality had organised its work to follow SKB's feasibility studies. The question is whether these different organisational solutions reflect differences in terms of each municipality's view of how active it should be as an actor in the final disposal issue. KASAM's perceptions are presented below.

Up to autumn 2003, the municipal politicians in *Östhammar*, to a greater extent than in *Oskarshamn*, seemed to have put their trust in the assumption that the site selection process and allocation of roles among important actors (SKB, central and regional authorities and the municipality) would function well. The municipality's representatives acted on the basis of the assumption that it was SKB that "owned" the issue and, therefore, there was no reason for the municipality to become more active until the company presented different proposals. There was – and there still is – basic confidence in SKB among the majority of the municipal politicians. These politicians mean that the company listens closely and takes into account the views that the municipality's representatives present in different contexts. The municipal politicians consider that the inhabitants have a good understanding of the issues and that the citizens of the municipality have considerable confidence in SKB. Furthermore, in their opinion, a large majority of the inhabitants also have confidence in their elected representatives. Taken as a whole, this has resulted in the view that the municipality should act in a "reactive" manner.

During the feasibility study phase in *Oskarshamn*, the prevailing approach towards SKB was more "proactive". This was not due to a lack of basic confidence in SKB. However, the view held – and still held – by the municipal leaders is that the municipality is in a unique situation with respect to the disposal issue. The unique aspect is that spent nuclear fuel from all of the nuclear power plants since 1985 is successively being transported to the *Central Interim Storage Facility for Spent Nuclear Fuel* (CLAB), which is located next to *Oskarshamn* nuclear power plant. The municipality has been positive to the establishment of this facility for interim storage for a limited period of time,

about 40 years. However, at the same time, the very establishment of CLAB means that the municipality has the problem inside its boundaries. When SKB, in the early 1990's raised the question of expanding CLAB and of constructing an encapsulation plant next to CLAB, the municipal leaders reached the conclusion that they could not settle for allowing other actors to have the responsibility of reaching a satisfactory solution to the final disposal question.

From the mid-1990's, the municipal leaders placed the question of feasibility studies high on the agenda and gave impetus to the work of establishing forms for consultation between the important actors. On the initiative of the municipality, "the EIA Forum for Studies of Final Disposal Systems for Spent Nuclear Fuel in Oskarshamn Municipality" was created. The discussions in this forum were based on the ideas behind the regulations on consultation concerning the preparation of EIS, which were successively introduced in the 1990's. However, it was only when the Environmental Code was introduced in 1999 that a well-thought out system was created for consultation and for the preparation of EIS prior to major industrial facility siting projects.

The municipality developed its own extensive project organisation and sought to bring about the broad participation in this organisation by both elected politicians and representatives for various interest groups in the municipality. The costs were covered by funds that the Government made available from the Nuclear Waste Fund. The purpose of this project organisation was to ensure, at an early stage in the process, that different aspects of the project would actually be investigated satisfactorily. Another purpose of the project organisation was to promote and pursue different issues in the "EIA forum". Thus, the consultations in the framework of this forum did not occur as a result of formal requirements in accordance with the regulations of the Environmental Code, not even when the Code had entered into force. However, the municipality considered that the idea behind consultation on EIS provided an

opportunity to be an active actor. The expression “EIA – our platform” eventually came to be one of the mottos used by the municipal representatives when describing their activities.

When SKB initiated site investigations in Forsmark and Simpevarp, the planning of the project reached such a level of implementation that the regulations of the Environmental Code on different types of consultation could be applied. An agreement has been reached with respect to new forms of consultation, co-ordinated by the two counties, to replace the previous consultation bodies at county level. These agreements show that SKB has the responsibility to conduct an expanded consultation in accordance with the Environmental Code and to obtain a basis for the EIS. Each county administrative board concerned is responsible for chairing the consultation. In the regional consultation forums participate, along with SKB, the county administrative board and the municipality, the Swedish Nuclear Power Inspectorate and the Swedish Radiation Protection Authority. There is a desire, primarily from both county administrative boards, for the discussions in both of these to be conducted somewhat in parallel and to result in similar approaches, if possible.

In Oskarshamn municipality, the type of project organisation that was established during the feasibility study phase has been kept, although it has been adapted to the issues that are now of interest (cf Section 2.6.3). Questions and proposals are directed to SKB to a significant degree. A number of working groups work intensively to penetrate different issues. The viewpoints of the groups then provide a basis for the municipality’s stance in the discussions that are continuously conducted with SKB within the framework of the “EIA forum in Oskarshamn”, which was created in 2003. Requirements are placed on SKB to conduct investigations on different issues. The work is resulting in an extensive documentation which is also made available to citizens via the municipality’s website. The fact that SKB formally “owns” the issue during the consultation phase does

not mean that the municipality has in any way renounced its ambitions to exercise a major influence over SKB's work.

In Östhammar municipality, less extensive preparations were initially made, compared with Oskarshamn, prior to the meetings with "the Forsmark consultation and EIA group", which was created in 2003. Nevertheless, the municipal leaders and other elected politicians in Östhammar have shown considerable commitment to the regional consultation. However, the approach is different from Oskarshamn's, which is something that may perhaps lie behind the wording of a previously mentioned joint press release from both municipalities in February 2004 (Section 2.4.1), where "differences ... in political traditions" are mentioned.

The co-operation and common approach shared by Oskarshamn and Östhammar municipalities gives the overall impression that the similarities between both municipalities now outweigh the differences. The differences that exist are more a matter of form than content.

2.9.2 Site Selection in Certain Possible Scenarios

The strategy behind the site investigations now being conducted by SKB seems to be that the results should lead to the conclusion that one of the sites is more suitable than the other and that the company will propose the more suitable site as a site for the repository, while the other will be regarded as an alternative. Representatives from SKB have expressed the view, on different occasions, that the company will propose two sites in any event, although it will also state a preference for one of the two sites. SKB has promised that two *complete* site investigations will be conducted.

However, KASAM lacks – a view which has also been put forward during conversations with the municipal leaders concerned – an in-depth discussion, on SKB's part, regarding how the company should act if the results of the ongoing site

investigation show that one of the two areas currently being investigated does not appear to be suitable. Questions can be raised on the basis of a number of scenarios.

Scenario 1

The Forsmark site proves not to be suitable. Should SKB then primarily conduct a site investigation within a suitable site in Östhammar municipality, possibly within the Hargshamn area, which has been identified by SKB in its study as a potential site for investigation? Or should SKB look for new site to conduct site investigations, outside the boundaries of the municipality? Perhaps in Hultsfred, where at least one site was identified during the feasibility study? Or in another part of Oskarshamn than the current site investigation (the feasibility study identified three candidate sites in Oskarshamn for investigation)? Or in another municipality with different geological conditions (cf KASAM's statement of June 2001 on the desirability of greater geological breadth in connection with site selection for site investigations⁸)?

Scenario 2

Investigations in the Simpevarp area ("Simpevarp-Laxemar site") show that this site is not suitable. Should SKB then, primarily focus on conducting a site investigation further west in Oskarshamn municipality, within the two other sites in the municipality identified in the feasibility study or should SKB go outside the municipality boundaries? Perhaps to Hultsfred? Or to the Hargshamn site in Östhammar municipality? Or to some other municipality with other geological conditions?

⁸ See pp. 14-16 of KASAM's statement to the Government on June 14, 2001 on SKB's Supplement to RD&D Programme 1998 – Integrated Account of Method, Site Selection and Programme Prior to the Site Investigation Phase (RD&D Supplement).

Scenario 3

None of the two ongoing site investigations results in the conclusion that a repository should be constructed at these sites. Should SKB, under such circumstances, primarily attempt to conduct site investigations at other sites identified in the feasibility studies in the three municipalities, Östhammar, Oskarshamn and Hultsfred? Or should some other municipality with other geological conditions be investigated?

2.9.3 Availability of the Necessary Competence at the Regulatory Authorities

One of the issues that often recurred during the conversations with the municipal representatives was the concern that the government authorities are not being given adequate resources to fulfil their task in terms of a competent regulatory review of SKB's proposals. The municipalities take the view that they are dependent, and must be dependent, on the expertise of the regulatory authorities. Using their own expertise to review and evaluate SKB's proposals is not possible – the municipalities and their citizens are quite simply entitled to depend on the regulatory authorities conducting a competent review and evaluation of the proposals submitted by the nuclear industry.

The concern for the availability of competence in the future does not only apply to the authorities. The municipalities also make demands on the Government, the cabinet office and ministries. The municipalities' representatives expect that the members of the Government, to a greater extent than has been the case so far, will allocate time to be briefed on the issues before they are forced to make decisions with far-reaching consequences. As far as the cabinet office and ministries are concerned, there is considerable concern over the relatively large turnover of the few officials that handle issues relating to the final disposal of nuclear waste.

The review of the application for a licence to construct a repository for spent nuclear fuel and the review of the attached EIS is an important step in the decision-making process. The review aims to show that the repository can be considered to comply with the requirements on safety, that the EIS complies with the requirements of the Environmental Code and that the basis for decision-making is credible and adequate. The necessary foundation for a qualitatively adequate basis for decision-making is laid through the consultation and investigation process that SKB is now leading. Past Swedish, Nordic and international experience of decision-making processes and EIAs with respect to major and technically advanced projects indicates that there is a very great need for a quality assessment of the basis for decision-making as a whole and that this quality assessment is an important part of the decision-making process.

2.9.4 Competition between the Municipalities?

An interesting question is whether there is any type of competition between the two municipalities where the site investigations are currently underway. Does either of the municipal leaderships see the establishment of a repository for spent nuclear fuel within the municipality as something desirable – providing that they can be convinced that the safety issue has been resolved?

The chairmen of the municipal executive boards have emphasised, on different occasions, that there is no competition in the relationship between the two municipalities. However, as an outside observer, it is difficult to completely shake off the impression that there are, or could be, aspects of competition. Each of the municipal leaderships seems to be of the opinion that SKB should select a new site for investigation, primarily within their own respective municipalities, if it should be found that the sites currently under investigation are unsuitable. However, at the same time, the management groups of both

municipalities seem firmly determined to act in such a way that SKB cannot play one municipality off against the other. According to the municipalities' representatives, it is the requirements of principle regarding the selection of a site, in accordance with Chapter 2 of the Environmental Code, which is the determining factor.

2.9.5 Consultation under the Environmental Code

KASAM has the impression that SKB has a high level of ambition for the expanded consultation. The company is demonstrating considerable openness and will to receive and thoroughly consider the viewpoints that other consultation participants put forward. Such an attitude is probably also a prerequisite for the general public and the representatives of the municipalities concerned to have the necessary confidence in the activity. Otherwise, it would probably not be possible to realise "the nuclear waste project" within a reasonable period of time.

However, in KASAM's view, it must be emphasised that the EIA and consultation processes are time-consuming. It is important for the high level of ambition to be sustained, even if the process takes a long time. KASAM assumes that the county administrative boards concerned feel responsible for assisting SKB – although the responsibility for an adequate consultation ultimately rests with the company. If the company, at suitable time intervals, allows an independent party to assess the quality of and to evaluate the ongoing consultation process, the possibility of sustaining the current high level of ambition will probably increase. Achieving an independent review and evaluation is also in the interests of the two site investigation municipalities.

2.9.6 Conclusions

The comments from the municipalities concerned, which have been reported in Sections 2.9.1-2.9.5, have led KASAM to draw the following conclusions:

- The Government should, in good time, ensure that the competent authorities (SKI, SSI, county administrative boards etc.) have adequate resources prior to the further consultations and reviews of SKB's applications for a repository and an encapsulation plant for spent nuclear fuel. The municipalities do not have the necessary resources to evaluate the type of comprehensive and advanced applications that are expected to be submitted on this issue. The municipalities and the Government will be completely dependent on the competence that SKB and that the regulatory authorities, primarily SKI, SSI and the county administrative boards have on this matter (Section 2.9.3).
- There is cause for SKB to conduct a more in-depth discussion on how it should act if the results of the ongoing site investigations are not favourable, in one or both site investigation municipalities (Section 2.9.2).
- The consultation process is a decisive factor for the EIS instrument to fulfil its purpose, both from the standpoint of the environment and democracy. The purpose of the consultations is to decide what the EIA will cover and to provide a basis for the evaluation of forthcoming licences along with EIS, safety assessments etc. In order to sustain the current high level of ambition in the expanded consultation, SKB can allow an independent party to assess the quality of and to evaluate the ongoing consultation process (Section 2.9.5).
- In order to be successful, the ongoing consultation process, in accordance with Chapter 6 of the Environmental Code assumes a strong commitment of the municipalities involved. An active participation in the site investigation process will

contribute to developing this commitment. Such a commitment currently exists among the municipality's elected representatives and among the inhabitants that choose to concern themselves with these issues (Section 2.9.1).

- A repository and an encapsulation plant will contribute to increasing employment, which is naturally of interest to the municipalities. The establishment of the nuclear power plants in Forsmark and Simpevarp between the 1960's and 1980's is a clear example of what the establishment of major industries can mean for the development of the municipality concerned. Therefore, it cannot be excluded that some sort of competition could arise between the municipal leaderships of Östhammar and Oskarshamn, even if they are firmly determined to act in such a way that SKB cannot play one off against the other (Section 2.9.4).

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