

ABBY JOHNSON'S

INTERVIEW WITH BOB LOUX

EUREKA COUNTY, NEVADA

YUCCA MOUNTAIN LESSONS LEARNED PROJECT

held in

CARSON CITY, NEVADA

August 31, 2011

1 (8:57 a.m. - Begin Tape A.)

2 MS. CLANCY: It is August 31, 2011, and we are in Carson
3 City for this video project, and doing the interview today is
4 Abby Johnson.

5 MS. JOHNSON: My name is Abby Johnson. I'm the
6 Nuclear Waste Advisor for Eureka County, Nevada. And, this
7 is part of the Lessons Learned Video Project for our Yucca
8 Mountain work. Today, we're interviewing Bob Loux, the
9 former executive director of the State's Agency for Nuclear
10 Projects. And, our setting today is the old Supreme Court
11 Chambers in the Capitol Building.

12 (8:58 a.m. - End Tape A.)

13 (9:00 a.m. - Begin Tape A-1.)

14 MS. JOHNSON: Bob, could you tell us how you came
15 to Nevada, what your background is, and how you came to
16 become the executive director of the Agency for Nuclear
17 Projects?

18 MR. LOUX: Well, it's a long story, but I'll try to
19 be brief as I can. We moved, my family, my dad, and parents
20 moved to Boulder City in 1962 from Albuquerque where my dad
21 worked at Sandia National Laboratories. And, he was a DOE
22 employee at that point in time, it wasn't called DOE then, it
23 was ERGA, or AEC, I guess at the time. And, we moved, he
24 began working in Las Vegas in connection with the Nevada Test
25 Site, and, so, we moved to Boulder City, and that's where I

1 grew up and went to high school, graduated. Then, I came to
2 UNR and actually played football on a scholarship there for a
3 couple of years.

4 But, eventually, I got a degree, and one of the
5 first jobs I got was working for the Community Services
6 Agency of Washoe County, which was a poverty program. And,
7 my job was principally involved with weatherizing senior
8 citizen, low income people's homes. We built also solar
9 greenhouses. And, through that, kind of got involved in
10 energy policy a little bit, including the federal funding for
11 all these activities.

12 And, in the mid seventies, the Nevada Legislature
13 created the Nevada Department of Energy, a state agency, and
14 I was one of the first three people they hired to run and
15 manage and set up conservation programs, alternative energy
16 programs, all again with mostly federal money.

17 Well, the Agency closed down in 1981 because of the
18 principally the Reagan budget cuts really cut off a lot of
19 funding for all of these activities we were involved with,
20 and the Legislature then eliminated the Agency. But, during
21 that period of time, I was working for the director, Noel
22 Clark. Noel had been serving as the governor's sort of
23 Nuclear Policy Advisor since the early seventies, including
24 such issues as the Beatty Low Level Waste Dump, some of the
25 Nevada Test Site issues, and some of the more devious DOE

1 proposals to site kind of various kinds of nuclear waste
2 storage facilities at the Nevada Test Site. And, so, I had
3 done all of the sort of staff work with Noel. I flew with
4 him and went on trips together, and I did most of the
5 analysis.

6 He retired and went to work in 1979 for the Federal
7 Energy, the Regulatory Commission. Let me back up. It was
8 the Interstate Commerce Commission. And, at that point in
9 time, then Governor List began asking about some of these
10 issues related to Beatty and closure of the Beatty facility
11 for low level waste, and since I was the only one that had
12 any historical or any knowledge about this whatsoever, they
13 began to rely on me and ask me more and more to get involved
14 in these things.

15 And, during that same period of time, Congress,
16 beginning in '78 or '79, began debating and contemplating
17 putting together what eventually became the Nuclear Waste
18 Policy Act of '82, and I spent a great deal of time lobbying
19 on the issue for the State of Nevada, talking to our
20 representatives and others in Congress.

21 In 1981 and '82, Governor List was defeated by Dick
22 Bryan, the attorney general, and one of my first meetings
23 with the Governor Elect was in this office, and he had asked
24 me what was going on with the Nuclear Waste Policy Act, and I
25 explained that we were a prime target, that there was money

1 available to set up oversight offices, and he told me,
2 essentially directed me, to go ahead and pursue all of those
3 things, and to begin thinking about creating an office in the
4 State to begin monitoring, collecting the money, and
5 beginning all the oversight activities and other things that
6 are well established in the Act, which we did.

7 And, so, that was in place. I worked as a
8 contractor to the Governor's office for a couple years. And,
9 then, he created, through an executive order, an office
10 within his office, it was the Nuclear Waste Project Office,
11 which was later codified by the Nevada Legislature in 1985,
12 which named it the Agency for Nuclear Projects, and created a
13 Commission to oversee the office.

14 It was well known that Dick Bryan was fairly
15 opposed to the whole concept, and one of the things that the
16 Legislature did to try to keep essentially the office and him
17 under control was to create this Commission. But, they made
18 the formula such that the Governor had many more picks than
19 the Legislature, and Jim Gibson at the time was the Majority
20 Leader of the Nevada Senate, was concerned that this was
21 going to become an anti-nuclear kind of thing, and since his
22 company was doing a lot of work at the Nevada Test Site,
23 Pacific Engineering, he sought to sort of try to limit
24 control of what the agency did via this Commission, but it
25 actually didn't work out that way. They gave the governor

1 three outright picks, plus the cities and the counties and
2 the Legislature then got two additional picks to make it up
3 seven. And, it really wasn't then the kind of Commission
4 that I think he and some of the other members of the Nevada
5 Senate wanted it to be at that point in time.

6 So, that's essentially--and, then, I was appointed
7 Executive Director in 1985 by Dick Bryan.

8 MS. JOHNSON: And, when did you leave that
9 position?

10 MR. LOUX: When did I leave it?

11 MS. JOHNSON: Yes.

12 MR. LOUX: I left it in January of 2009.

13 MS. JOHNSON: Wow, that's a long time.

14 MR. LOUX: Yes, I had been working essentially on
15 the project since '78 or '79 anyway, so, yes.

16 MS. JOHNSON: A follow-up question. Were you
17 involved in 1975 when the Federal Government approached the
18 Nevada Legislature about starting to look at Yucca Mountain
19 as a potential site?

20 MR. LOUX: I didn't really begin working for the
21 State until 1976. I was aware of that, and I had several
22 conversations with Dick Bryan about that vote. It was AJR-
23 15, as I recall. Which was viewed by many as an invitation
24 for them to look at Nevada for a possible repository site.

25 The sub-text to all that that really didn't get any

1 play was it was all, we were doing that as an inducement to
2 sort of try to get the Solar Energy Research Institute that
3 eventually went to Golden, Colorado. And, so, the resolution
4 was designed to say if we would consider this, you will site,
5 to the Department of Energy and the Federal Government, you
6 will site the Solar Energy Research facility in Nevada, which
7 of course they never did, and it went to Golden, Colorado.
8 But, the tenor of the resolution is often bantered around by
9 pro-nuclear people as seeing that the State originally
10 invited DOE and the Federal Government in to look at Nevada.

11 MS. JOHNSON: I didn't know that, and that's
12 fascinating because here we are a generation and a half or
13 two generations later, and we're kind of in the same position
14 with trying to attract functional solar to the State.

15 MR. LOUX: Well, it's part of, you know, it's part
16 of the fabric of the Nevada story, as I like to call it, that
17 there has been this sort of continual exploitation, if you
18 would, of Nevada for various Federal Government purposes,
19 depending on what they are, and each time, Nevada, meaning
20 the leaders of the State, sort of began to accept the
21 inevitability of these things happening, and, therefore,
22 let's try to minimize the damage or get something out of it.
23 But, in every instance, of course, the Nevada was thwarted in
24 almost all of those things.

25 And, one of the, I think the lessons of the whole

1 nuclear Yucca Mountain Project, in my mind, is that you don't
2 have to take what the Federal Government wants to dish out.
3 You can stand up and fight city hall, if you will. And, even
4 if you don't necessarily win, you and the public, citizens in
5 general, I think acquire and garner much more respect and
6 self-respect, maybe even if you don't win. But, it's
7 possible to win, as I think the Yucca Mountain saga
8 demonstrates pretty aptly.

9 MS. JOHNSON: Let's move on to the next question.

10 (9:09 a.m. - End Tape A-1.)

11 (9:00 a.m. - Begin Tape A-2.)

12 MS. JOHNSON: --Nuclear Waste Office. How did the
13 State develop its position and maintain that position over
14 time? Can you talk about that, please?

15 MR. LOUX: Yes. The development was somewhat
16 evolutionary. I mean, there was sort of a natural feeling of
17 opposition to these kinds of proposals from the Federal
18 Government, and particularly this one, because of the
19 potential far reaching impacts it would have on tourism, on
20 gaming perhaps, and other parts of the State's economy.

21 Governor Bryan was opposed to the facility. He
22 often reflected about his marches out as a school kid out to
23 the Test Site to witness the bombs and the lying and
24 misrepresentation by the government officials then about the
25 harmful effects of radiation, and of fall-out, and all of

1 those kinds of things naturally led him to be very skeptical
2 of the Federal Government, and also of things nuclear. But,
3 many other State legislators and others in Southern Nevada
4 felt the same way. The Hayes, Karen Hayes, and some of the
5 early other leaders in the Nevada Senate and Assembly mostly
6 were from Las Vegas, and had the same experience, and
7 naturally, some of their families were workers at the Test
8 Site and were exposed and died. Some of them were just in
9 the area and suffered ill health effects. So, there was a
10 natural feeling of being opposed to any of these sorts of
11 things nuclear.

12 Keep in mind that after 1979, the whole nation
13 changed their attitude about things nuclear as a result of
14 Three Mile Island, and further then reinforced later by the
15 Chernoble experience. So, there was a movement away from the
16 seventies, early seventies when nuclear power was
17 flourishing, and the last power plant was '74, as I recall,
18 to beginning to be very skeptical and doubtful. And, of
19 course, as I mentioned, those other events really cauterized
20 it.

21 But, it became clear in the beginning, the
22 implementation of the Act, even though the governor and a lot
23 of people were opposed, there was a feeling of let's kind of
24 see where this is going to go first, even though it was clear
25 to many people, including me and others, that Nevada was

1 front and center in this war, and to see how they were going
2 to actually implement the law. And, as Governor Bryan often
3 said, you know, a governor would be hard to oppose something
4 if in fact you had this regular, very transparent, scientific
5 process where your state was compared fairly against
6 everybody else, and in the end, you were the guy, I mean, I'd
7 still be opposed, but, you know, what are you going to do.

8 But, I think that the way that the Department of
9 Energy implemented the law, and the way they designed first
10 of all the siting guideline regulations, that regulations
11 dictate how sites would be evaluated, and then the very
12 evaluation process itself, how they narrowed the sites down,
13 what criteria they used, I think led everyone to believe that
14 this was a very rigged process at this point in time. There
15 were several meetings in Las Vegas, the Nevada Commission on
16 Nuclear Projects chaired by Grant Sawyer brought in, for
17 example, the director of the program, Ben Rushi (phonetic) at
18 the time, who misrepresented what they were doing, which
19 deliberately did not tell the truth to them, and, you know,
20 shortly, weeks after the meeting was over, it all came out
21 that he actually was lying to them at the time. So, it was
22 all this, and many in Congress were feeling the same.

23 As you might recall, there was a big move in
24 Congress in '85, '86 from many states to, well, we need to
25 really start this process over because DOE had screwed it up,

1 and in Congressional hearings, DOE kept claiming they lost
2 the data that would show how they arrived at certain
3 scientific decisions. And, of course, all of this ultimately
4 led to the Nuclear Waste Policy Amendment Act in 1987.

5 And, so, through '85 to '87, I think more and more
6 citizens and more and more leaders in Nevada were getting
7 more and more concerned and opposed. But, when the Nuclear
8 Waste Policy Amendments Act passed, commonly known and dubbed
9 so by Dick Bryan, the "Screw Nevada" bill, just outright
10 selected Nevada without any scientific criteria, without any
11 other things, the gloves were off at that point. Everyone
12 knew the game, and at that point, it was clear what the
13 Federal Government wanted to do.

14 Dick Bryan, just prior to that, had basically kind
15 of called me in and we talked for quite a while about the
16 need that if this goes forward, and it was appearing it was
17 going to, that he wanted me to take the oversight money and
18 essentially do everything and anything that was possible to
19 defeat this and oppose it in no uncertain terms.

20 And, as you know also, during that period of time
21 the Nevada Legislature, through resolution after resolution,
22 made it clear that number one, that Nevada was adamantly
23 opposed to this, and they went so far in 1989, of course, to
24 pass a law that made it illegal to dispose of this waste in
25 Nevada. So, the policy was really set by the governor and

1 the legislature, and the citizens of the State, were
2 increasing numbers of public meetings that DOE had were very
3 loud and very rambunctious and very adamant about what they
4 wanted done, or not done, as the case may be.

5 So, the direction to me, and to the folks we work
6 with, was fairly clear, just do what you can to stop this.
7 And, we developed a very comprehensive and I think
8 sophisticated strategy that involved not only trying to
9 acquire and defeat DOE in the scientific arena, but also in
10 the public relations arena, also in the political arena on
11 Capitol Hill, as well as in Nevada, and also legal strategy,
12 and we were determined, as directed by the governor, to be as
13 aggressive as possible in all those areas, and we developed a
14 real four pronged strategy at that point in time to implement
15 all of those. We knew DOE had much more money, much more
16 power behind them, and we knew that we could leave no stone
17 unturned. We couldn't afford to make a mistake, and we had
18 to use every bit of the resources we had to counter them.

19 One of the deliberate strategies we had was to try
20 and get out in front of them on the issue, to try and develop
21 issues associated with some of the science issues at Yucca
22 Mountain, and force DOE to respond to us, so that we'd take a
23 bunch of their time away from them developing their own plans
24 and their own methods to have to try to deal with us and
25 counter us. And, I think we did that reasonably well. We

1 sued the Department of Energy some, over the years, probably
2 20 or 30 times at least. We invoked public relations
3 strategies, both in the State and outside the State. We even
4 took some of our federal oversight money and began providing
5 funds to other states along certain corridors, transportation
6 corridors leading to Nevada, to try and enlist their
7 population and their elected leaders in the same fight that
8 Nevada was engaged in.

9 So, we were very deliberate, very conscious of the
10 kind of strategy we needed to do. We know that we really, in
11 a sense, could leave no stone unturned, and that we needed to
12 be aggressive and essentially give them no quarter, take no
13 persons, and challenged every possible thing that they were
14 doing to the best of our ability.

15 MS. JOHNSON: And, one of the four prongs was the
16 legal strategy.

17 MR. LOUX: Yes.

18 MS. JOHNSON: Can you talk a little bit about that
19 effort, and involving the AG and also the licensing process
20 ultimately?

21 MR. LOUX: Ultimately. The strategy we put
22 together was done in concern, not only with the Governor, the
23 Legislature, but certainly the Attorney General. And, the
24 Attorney General's office realized fairly early that they
25 didn't have anyone on board who had the kind of expertise

1 that we needed to have in this particular arena, that knew a
2 lot about some of the federal regulations, that knew--were
3 fairly adept at interpreting the Nuclear Waste Policy Act,
4 and we early on, hired a team of contract lawyers out of
5 Olympia, Washington who guided us in many instances about how
6 far could we push the envelope in the use of money, for
7 example. Even though the plain language of the law was "X"
8 could we do "Y" and what would be the legal justification.
9 And, so, we used them in that regard.

10 As you might recall also, DOE at that point in time
11 was very interested in having what they called consultation
12 and cooperation agreements with Nevada, and some of the other
13 states. And, we began looking at the terms of those things,
14 and we realized that if DOE wouldn't even follow the Nuclear
15 Waste Policy Act legally, then how we could expect that they
16 would honor any sort of an agreement that we made with them.
17 Plus, there's been a history of DOE having agreements with,
18 say, 14 or 15 other primarily western states about the clean-
19 ups of the nuclear facilities that DOE had in those states,
20 and DOE violated every one of those agreements with every
21 state, Idaho and many, Washington and many others. And, so,
22 we early on determined, and the Governor concurred, that it
23 made no sense to try and reach any sort of accommodation with
24 them in any sort of agreement, that they would never honor
25 it, especially since they wouldn't even honor the plain

1 language of the law.

2 As we moved down the road, we continued to use some
3 of our attorneys, but it became pretty clear late in the
4 process, when it began looking like DOE might attempt to
5 submit a license to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission for a
6 license to build Yucca Mountain, that we really needed a team
7 of lawyers, number one, that were very familiar with the
8 Nuclear Regulatory Commission itself, the rules, regulations,
9 archaic sorts of things that they did, but also experts in
10 the NEPA, National Environmental Policy Act implications of
11 the project, and we hired, we sent out a solicitation for law
12 firms to consider working for Nevada, and we had a number of
13 them apply, big firms, large firms, some medium firms, and
14 some smaller firms.

15 And, we evaluated the criteria and qualifications
16 of that, and ultimately, I was the one responsible for the
17 decision, and I picked Joe Eagan (phonetic), who had
18 submitted an application and put together a team, sort of a
19 boutique, if you would, of various people, including Marty
20 Mulch (phonetic), who had been former general counsel of the
21 Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and Joe and his partner,
22 Charlie Kilpatrick, had been involved in license of nuclear
23 facilities in Texas and other places.

24 And, so, I selected Joe Eagan and his firm to come
25 on board, and they were--they're still on board with the

1 State as of today, and they helped us with a great deal of
2 the legal strategy in particular, but other strategies,
3 including some of the public relations things that we're
4 involved with. And, I can tell you that they were
5 invaluable, that they were probably the best suited that we
6 could find for the task, and I think everyone would agree at
7 this point in time that they really were worth their weight
8 in gold in terms of the services they provided to the State.

9 MS. JOHNSON: You mentioned the consultation and
10 cooperation agreements--I'm not sure I'm saying that right.

11 MR. LOUX: Uh-huh.

12 MS. JOHNSON: Is that the same thing as implied
13 consent?

14 MR. LOUX: Well, it's part of the whole equation,
15 if you would. A lot of the pro-nuclear people, some of which
16 were in Nevada, small pockets of business guys in the north
17 principally, but the nuclear industry came into Nevada, as
18 well as other states, and set up little groups of--organizing
19 people of pro-nuclear persuasion, and they called themselves
20 like the Study Committee. And, then, in turn, tried to make
21 it seem as if there was a pocket of people that were involved
22 scientifically and others that really thought this was a good
23 deal. And, one of their principal strategies was try to
24 convince Nevadans that in fact the project was inevitable,
25 there was nothing you could do about it, and that the only

1 way that Nevada could gain any face here was by signing some
2 sort of agreement with the Federal Government in exchange for
3 so-called benefits, which some of that talk even continues
4 today.

5 In 1988, I asked the Attorney General's office for
6 an opinion of what would be the implication if the State for
7 its opposition, its legal work, its scientific work, all of
8 those kinds of things, if in fact Nevada began to entertain
9 the idea of signing some sort of agreement with the Federal
10 Government. And, in September 1988, the Attorney General's
11 office produced a legal opinion, which indicated and stated
12 pretty blatantly that in fact by negotiating, the act of
13 negotiation, the act of showing a willingness to negotiate,
14 was legally implying your consent for the project, that once
15 you had done that, then it put in jeopardy your ability to
16 enforce health and safety regulations, to carry out
17 meaningful oversight, could in fact defeat any sort of legal
18 challenge you had in the courts.

19 And we were instructed by what we saw in the State
20 of New Mexico, which as a matter of background, they were
21 selected in the early seventies for what was called the Waste
22 Isolation Pilot Project, a disposal facility for intermediate
23 level waste. And early on, the Department of Energy promised
24 the State just about anything they wanted, that the project
25 would generate millions of dollars for the State, that all

1 the shipments to the facility would be via rail, that the
2 State would have hundreds of millions of dollars a year in
3 highway money, they could turn off the project whenever they
4 wanted, an absolute veto over it. And, the State of New
5 Mexico agreed and signed up to it.

6 But, some months later, as DOE violated some of the
7 terms of the agreement, the State went to court and tried to
8 get this enforced, and the courts had said that, State, you
9 implied your consent for the project by, in essence,
10 negotiating and agreeing to these things, and the fact that
11 the Federal Government doesn't live up to it doesn't
12 alleviate your responsibility, that you've implied your
13 consent for the project.

14 And, so, it didn't take a genius to see that what
15 was going to happen here, that if you even thought about or
16 even negotiated in any sense of the word, that you in fact
17 implied your consent for the project and you were basically
18 screwed, you couldn't even enforce health and safety
19 regulations, or other things. So, early on, this opinion was
20 the basis of many discussions with legislators, with business
21 leaders, and others who tried to, in fact, say that the
22 opinion was not credible, but there was certainly a lot of
23 legal basis for it, and the State adhered to that notion and
24 still does today.

25 MS. JOHNSON: Let's move on to the next question.

1 MR. LOUX: Very good.

2 (9:16 a.m. - End Tape A-2.)

3 (9:00 a.m. - Begin Tape A-3.)

4 (Nothing on this tape.)

5 (9:00 a.m. - End Tape A-3.)

6 (9:01 a.m. - Begin Tape A-4.)

7 MS. JOHNSON: Bob, over the length of the Yucca
8 Mountain project, the rules of the game changed a lot, didn't
9 they? Can you talk about that, and why they changed, and how
10 that worked at the federal level?

11 MR. LOUX: Yes. I mean, the regulations, the
12 federal regulations involved with trying to site a
13 repository, even at Yucca Mountain or anywhere, were sort of
14 complex and intertwined among three or four federal agencies.
15 You know, the Department of Energy had their own regulations
16 about how you would site a facility, and some of the things
17 that would disqualify a site from moving on in the process.
18 The EPA was in charge of setting forth health and safety
19 regulations that a site would have to meet, and the NRC had
20 their own regulations about how they would go about reviewing
21 and possibly licensing a repository. All three of them
22 worked hand and glove together. These were not done as
23 independent as you might think. For example, you've got an
24 applicant who's doing "X" and then you have a regulatory body
25 that's evaluating it. They were all doing this together.

1 And, as many of them told us many times, this is the Federal
2 Government working as one unit against the State of Nevada.
3 That's what's going on here.

4 And, so, DOE had, for example, siting regulations
5 that we knew in several instances the Yucca Mountain site
6 could never meet and would be disqualified. And, we
7 continued to demonstrate that the DOE, in letter after letter
8 from the Governor with large packages of technical
9 information, that showed it wouldn't meet a certain
10 qualifying or disqualifying condition.

11 And, to cut to the chase, so to speak, the
12 Department of Energy changed these regulations during the
13 course of the Yucca Mountain process, at least three
14 different times, to eliminate certain disqualifying aspects
15 that would kick Yucca Mountain out of the process. And, they
16 eliminated each one of those systematically. And, of course,
17 the last one had to do with ground water travel time at the
18 site, that basically DOE threw all that out and said really,
19 we don't really need any specific disqualifying conditions.
20 We'll just proceed.

21 EPA had four different sets of regulations that
22 were continually thrown out by the courts. They developed
23 some in 1978 that were thrown out by the court in 1981 as
24 violating the Safe Drinking Water Act. Then in 1986 and '87,
25 the State of Nevada proved--demonstrated pretty aptly that in

1 fact the site would not meet EPA's radiation release
2 standards. These are standards that said here's all the
3 radioactive elements of nuclear waste, and we set a limit on
4 how much of that could be released into the environment over
5 the life of the project, and we proved, for example, that
6 Carbon 14, radioactive gas, would be produced in large
7 quantities, and violate the standard by many, many fold. In
8 fact, the EPA staff agreed that it would lead to ten or more
9 thousand premature cancer deaths worldwide.

10 And, so, Congress stepped in at that point and
11 directed EPA to write a new release standard, or a new
12 standard that specifically didn't contain any of these
13 release limits for individual elements, but told them if you
14 can demonstrate through modeling, computer modeling that the
15 overall site would meet certain regulations, then that would
16 be good. And, EPA developed those, and the court, once
17 again, threw them out in the early nineties as not being
18 consistent with other federal law.

19 Then, they hired the National Academy of Sciences
20 to guide them on a new set of standards. And, so, the
21 Academy guided them. EPA put a draft forward, but it wasn't
22 consistent with the Academy recommendations one more time,
23 and they were thrown out of court.

24 So, then, they developed the four sets of standards
25 that had to do with certain amount of exposure to individuals

1 over time, and those standards included some of the more
2 bizarre aspects of measuring radiation doses in high
3 altitudes that demonstrated that in fact if you lived in
4 Denver, Colorado it would be the same as living at the site
5 at Yucca Mountain and, therefore, it should be qualified.
6 All of those things were eventually thrown out by the courts.

7 One of the meetings, though, that I remember
8 distinctly is going into EPA and saying why don't you just
9 extend, for example, the same standard that you had early on
10 in the process, because they wanted a bifurcated standard,
11 saying that early on in the process, the standard should be
12 "X," but later on after it's been built and begins to decay,
13 the standard should be "Y." And, you would think that early
14 on in the process, you would have a more lenient standard
15 because there really were no releases, and later on, you
16 would have a more stringent standard when the most harm to
17 the public would be, but, no, EPA had the more stringent
18 standard up front to qualify the site, and then tried to make
19 it more lenient later on as the site decayed and ground water
20 was released from the site that had radiation in it, the
21 standard was much lower.

22 And, we asked them why they didn't just have the
23 lower standard throughout, and they just said listen, that
24 would disqualify Yucca Mountain, and we've been directed by
25 the Administration to produce no standard that would have any

1 chance of eliminating Yucca Mountain.

2 And, the NRC, the same way. They had three sets of
3 regulations. Two of them were thrown out by the courts.
4 One, they changed themselves at the eleventh hour to make
5 sure Yucca Mountain would qualify to be recommended to the
6 President. And, so, you had this changing regulatory
7 environment. It's like the football game with the kickers
8 kick the ball, and the other team is moving the goal post
9 back and forth to try and make sure it goes through no matter
10 where the ball goes. And, that's what's going on in Yucca
11 Mountain, and led to this wholesale lack of confidence in the
12 process, this wholesale opposition that the State of Nevada
13 had, because it was a continuation of this, the game is
14 rigged, they want to do anything and everything possible to
15 make it happen. And, obviously, they don't even have--they
16 don't even put a pretense of trying to be objective any
17 longer.

18 And, of course, that was really justified, a lot of
19 it, the State's action was well, if they don't have any
20 pretense about it, then we're not going to have any pretense
21 about it, and we were again very vocal and adamant in our
22 opposition without any hesitation whatsoever. But, the
23 changing regulatory environment I think in the end was too
24 much for many in Congress, many in other places to swallow,
25 because it became very transparent then what the game was,

1 that they didn't care about the health and safety of Nevadans
2 whatsoever. They were willing to gamble that away simply to
3 do the bidding of the nuclear industry, and get this waste
4 away from their sites.

5 MS. JOHNSON: One of the things that's come up
6 recently with the Blue Ribbon Commission on America's nuclear
7 future is the fact that there's a proposed different standard
8 for Yucca Mountain than for the Waste Isolation Pilot Project
9 in New Mexico, and from a just logical explain it to the
10 public standpoint, that's very difficult to do, why there
11 would be two different standards for facilities that are very
12 similar.

13 MR. LOUX: It's inconsistency in all of this that's
14 really thwarted the project in the final analysis, their
15 strive to try and justify the very, very uniquely bad
16 scientific conditions at Yucca Mountain, trying to justify
17 those in the context of these regulations, and suggesting it
18 wasn't really as bad as it seemed, but the same time holding
19 up other sites and other projects to a higher standard than
20 Yucca Mountain would have to meet, when the long-term effects
21 and the longevity of the Yucca Mountain project surpassed any
22 of these other projects by millions of years, it just made no
23 sense logically, or otherwise. Of course, those are some of
24 the issues that Nevada sued the Federal Agencies over.

25 MS. JOHNSON: We've heard from other people we've

1 talked to about problems with the site, but I want to ask you
2 the same question. Basically, what's wrong with Yucca
3 Mountain?

4 MR. LOUX: Well, the principal thing that's wrong
5 with Yucca Mountain is water. Although it appears dry, the
6 rocks inside Yucca Mountain over years have accumulated
7 massive quantities of water in their pores and fractures.
8 There's a highly fractured, porous environment underground.
9 The rocks absorb all this. And, the Department of Energy
10 readily acknowledges that nuclear waste inside Yucca
11 Mountain, the principal way it would get out is by water in
12 the mountain dissolving waste and waste packages, and getting
13 in the ground water system and getting out to where people
14 live very quickly.

15 DOE agreed with the State that once nuclear waste
16 left the canisters, it would show up in drinking water wells
17 some 20 miles away in 50 years or less. So, how do you keep
18 the nuclear waste in the canisters?

19 Well, DOE and the State did studies on the
20 corrosive aspects of the water in Yucca Mountain, and whether
21 or not that water would corrode these canisters, and then the
22 waste, and get out. The State's experts concluded that
23 because of the high mineral content, fluoride, arsenic,
24 mercury, lead that were all in the Yucca Mountain water, that
25 it would dissolve these containers very quickly. Ultimately,

1 DOE agreed, it said it would dissolve them in probably 100
2 years or less. And, we know once it got out, then it gets
3 out the accessible environment in 50 years. Well, that's not
4 a very good performance record for any sort of repository.

5 So, now, the Department of Energy was how do we
6 keep water away from the containers? Well, they wanted to
7 build and install this whole series of titanium tents over
8 all the nuclear waste containers inside the mountain,
9 thinking that the tents would stop the dripping of water on
10 the containers. And, of course, when the heat comes out of
11 the nuclear waste, it decays it, puts out a lot of heat, and
12 even concentrates more of the water on where the heat is, and
13 redirects it there. So, they had this elaborate scheme of \$8
14 billion plus of titanium tents they want to install in there.
15 But, DOE said categorically they didn't want to install them
16 from the get-go, they would install them some 300 or 400
17 years in the future. And, when asked why, they said well,
18 because it's too expensive, no one is going to agree to an \$8
19 to \$10 billion add-on to a project that's already probably in
20 excess of \$100 billion.

21 Well, the State scientists once again, because of
22 the fluoride in the water, showed, and the NRC staff has
23 agreed on occasion, that the titanium tents would be very
24 susceptible to fluoride and probably dissolve within 60 years
25 in Yucca Mountain.

1 DOE still tried to maintain it that that wouldn't
2 occur through a whole series of tests that they thought were
3 credible, which we didn't think they were, and many others
4 didn't either.

5 So, it's water is the principal problem at Yucca
6 Mountain. It's a uniquely bad environment because it sits
7 above the water table. Every other country in the world has
8 their repository plan where you immerse the containers in the
9 water table. And, when you're in the water table and in the
10 water, it's virtually free of oxygen and will not promote
11 rust and corrosion. But, if you're above the water table
12 where you have water, a highly humid environment, 100 percent
13 humidity, and temperatures in hundreds of degrees, you set up
14 little factories of rust and corrosion. I mean, you have all
15 the oxygen getting to it with the water, and it promotes
16 corrosion almost immediately. No other country in the world
17 has proposed building it above the water table but us.

18 But, that's the principal scientific problem with
19 Yucca Mountain is it's a poor site because of that. It's
20 also a poor site because of the seismic earthquake activity,
21 not that it will necessarily disrupt the containers, although
22 possible, but it will change the hydrologic environment,
23 change where water flows within Yucca Mountain and make it
24 very unpredictable to figure out where the water would go,
25 how it would impact the canisters, and then how it would get

1 out.

2 But, I think everyone agrees that once material
3 left the containers, it would show up in drinking water wells
4 very soon, and the question is how long the containers would
5 last, and I think the State has effectively demonstrated that
6 the whole series of these sophisticated engineering fixes
7 really do nothing to slow down the rate of corrosion and
8 leaching of the material in the environment, although DOE
9 apparently still tries to stick to the story.

10 But, that's the primary issue with Yucca Mountain,
11 that it will get out. It's only a matter of time. None of
12 these facilities are designed that they're intact forever.
13 They're all designed to slow leak facilities. Yucca Mountain
14 just happens to be a very fast leak facility.

15 MS. JOHNSON: Let's move on to the next question.

16 MR. LOUX: Very good.

17 (9:14 a.m. - End Tape A-4.)

18 (9:02 a.m. - Begin Tape A-5.)

19 MS. JOHNSON: Bob, we're doing this interview in
20 the old Nevada Supreme Court Chambers. It's a very
21 impressive room. I know you were here for cabinet meetings
22 and it's been used for a lot of serious occasions, which
23 makes me think about the State relationship with local
24 governments. The State is the boss, but not all the time the
25 counties have followed along with the State's direction.

1 Could you talk about that for a little bit?

2 MR. LOUX: Yes. I mean, I think the Nuclear Waste
3 Policy Act, and especially the Amendments Act that set up a
4 program of oversight for other counties in Nevada and
5 elsewhere to be involved, is one that has a basis in history.
6 The State early on when it began getting money in 1982 almost
7 immediately began making some of its oversight money
8 available to Clark County, Nye County, and Lincoln County.

9 There was two reasons for doing that. Number one
10 is that these counties were the ones that potentially could
11 be the most affected vis-à-vis transportation, socioeconomic
12 issues, and of course Nye County, the site itself. Once
13 again, the State looked to the State of New Mexico, and
14 examined how the WIPP project really came to be in the State,
15 when the State was adamantly opposed to the project. And, as
16 it turns out, the State attempted to run roughshod over some
17 of those Southern New Mexico counties, and in doing so, many
18 of those counties, in particular Carlsbad area, began their
19 own independent negotiations and discussions, not only with
20 the Department of Energy, but also with certain members of
21 Congress to suggest that the State ought to stay out of this,
22 that the local governments, albeit very economically
23 depressed in many instances, wanted these projects as a
24 matter of jobs and other sorts of interest.

25 The State, my office in particular, felt it was

1 important to involve these counties from the get-go, not only
2 as I mentioned because they're affected, but because we also
3 didn't want to see them all of a sudden because we're
4 ignoring them and shutting them out and having to go to the
5 Department of Energy and seek their own redress.

6 And, we had a very good working relationship with
7 those counties in particular up until 1987 or so, and the
8 ballgame in many ways changed at that point in time. The law
9 was lobbied by many Nevada counties to set up their own
10 oversight program, as I mentioned, which they did receive
11 money to do, but it also set up a dynamic between the State
12 and local governments of some conflict, which I suspect we
13 all knew was inevitable at some point in time, but by
14 providing counties money early on, that we would avoid that
15 for some period of time. And, I think that we did.

16 It wasn't that we didn't want the counties doing
17 their own thing per se, but under the Nuclear Waste Policy
18 Act, for example, it's only the Governor and/or possibly the
19 Legislature who has the authority under the Nuclear Waste
20 Policy Act to be able to interact, to sign agreements,
21 negotiate with the Federal Government, and the fact that the
22 State wouldn't do that irked many of the local governments.
23 But, ultimately, it's really the State, in most states like
24 Nevada, the counties in particular are legally political
25 subdivisions of the State, and, therefore, they really are

1 not capable overtly of securing deals or making arrangements
2 of DOE that in fact the State didn't want to happen, not
3 legally binding in any way. But, nonetheless, many of the
4 counties in Nevada, three or four in particular, really
5 worked hard to use their oversight money to accommodate DOE's
6 interests. They hired ex-DOE employees as contractors, and
7 they set about trying to set the stage for some negotiation,
8 and used their funds for economic development purposes as
9 opposed to looking at the impacts the project might have per
10 se on the county.

11 Now, I think they would argue, and perhaps rightly
12 so, that economic development was part of the impact. We
13 would view the impacts as a negative thing. They would view
14 the impact could be positive if they played it right. And,
15 ultimately, many of the--some political leaders in Nevada
16 cited, and more recently though, with some of these counties,
17 and again suggesting that the only way out of this was to
18 sign some written agreement for benefits for Yucca Mountain
19 occurring.

20 And, as you might recall, in 1991, the nuclear
21 industry employed, through contract, a couple public
22 relations firms in Las Vegas, in addition to a guy who was a
23 lobbyist for the Nevada university system at Allison to
24 produce a document called The Nevada Initiative. And, it was
25 a very militaristic sounding document about neutralizing the

1 opposition, mainly me and Dick Bryan, the Las Vegas Sun, and
2 establishing each heads of support. But, their primary
3 thrust was we need to create the sense that the project is
4 inevitable because if the State doesn't cave, doesn't sign an
5 agreement, it will never go forward. The opposition is too
6 great. The State has too many legal tools. There's too many
7 other things the State can do. So, we need to get the State
8 to acquiesce.

9 And, many of the counties bought onto this whole
10 notion of inevitability, and through ex-DOE employees,
11 nuclear industry representatives, and others who were
12 throughout Nevada at the time, they began to promote this
13 idea of inevitability and, therefore, you can't do anything
14 about it.

15 But, the undercurrent of that is if you don't
16 negotiate, they don't have a project. But, many people
17 didn't see beyond that. They only saw the inevitability
18 part. And, I think the exposure of that document which led--
19 excuse me--the document led to an eight or nine month public
20 relations effort that the industry spent \$8 or \$9 million in
21 Nevada, with TV ads about how safe it was, everything else,
22 actually backfired, that in fact through their measurements
23 and our measurements, the public was more opposed after
24 seeing these ads than they were not. And, the reason was is
25 that why are they doing these ads and all this stuff to tell

1 us how safe it is? There must be something wrong with it. I
2 mean, what are they hiding?

3 And, it was clear that then the industry--and
4 together with some of the counties, were realizing that in
5 fact people were more opposed after this initiative and
6 seeing all these ads than they were beforehand. And, it's
7 not only just Nevada, it's happened in other places where the
8 nuclear industry wanted to gain a foothold and try to create
9 new projects, reactors and the other, and they tried to
10 create this sense of inevitability. And, it's that kind of
11 philosophy that many of the local governments bought into, in
12 particular Nye County and Lincoln County, that it's
13 inevitable, so we must sue for peace and get what we can out
14 of it. And, of course, that led to many strained
15 relationships between the State and some of these counties
16 over time.

17 MS. JOHNSON: Let's move on to the next question.

18 MR. LOUX: Very good.

19 (9:10 a.m. - End Tape A-5.)

20 (9:52 a.m. - Begin Tape A-6.)

21 MS. JOHNSON: Bob, the Yucca Mountain Project went
22 on for many, many years. You must have had to work with many
23 people at the Congressional level, at the Federal level, and
24 even at the State level who were new to the topic, and needed
25 to understand the State's position and what the State's

1 concerns were. Can you talk about that experience?

2 MR. LOUX: Yes. That was primarily my role in all
3 of this, is, you know, I hired and employed people that would
4 do their specific jobs, science or whatever, legal whatever,
5 and my job was essentially to run the political interference
6 so they could do their jobs. I wasn't a scientist, as many
7 know, and so I didn't pretend to be per se. But, my job was
8 to make sure that we could continue to do all of these
9 things, and part of that process was keeping not only the
10 Congressional delegation, but new State leaders continually
11 informed as to what was going on on the project to continue
12 to keep them on board, so to speak.

13 And, so, you're right, we had a change, we had six
14 governors that over time had been involved in Yucca Mountain,
15 and each one, and each in a unique different way, I spent
16 time bringing them up to speed and informing them of what was
17 going on, and many of them kind of had some tangential
18 knowledge. It's been in the media a lot. They see and hear
19 about it, but they really didn't know what was really going
20 on per se. So, I spent a great deal of time in particular
21 with governors. I remember when Dick Bryan was going to run
22 for the Senate mid-term of his term, and Bob Miller was the
23 Lieutenant Governor that I spent many hours with Bob Miller
24 kind of bringing him up to speed, and the pitfalls to watch
25 out for from various parties, whether it was Senator Johnson

1 sending his staff in to try and convince him that everything
2 we were saying was nonsense, stuff like that that we kind of
3 tried to pave the way. We did that with many, many
4 Legislators.

5 But, I went to Washington probably at least four
6 times a year with no other goal in mind than sitting down
7 with each member of the delegating, bringing them up to date
8 on what was going on, and especially with the newer ones,
9 explaining the history of the project and what went on. And,
10 so, that was some of my ongoing responsibility, was to go to
11 meet with them pretty continually, not only to find out what
12 we were doing, but to learn from them what initiatives the
13 nuclear industry or various members of Congress are
14 attempting to make about the project. So, it was really a
15 very valuable exercise for me, and I think for them as well,
16 to make sure that new people came, and it was important to
17 keep everyone on board. We really wanted to have this look
18 and in actuality be a unified approach to the whole thing.

19 And, they were, I must say, that every governor and
20 all the members of Congress were more than courteous to me.
21 They were very respectful. They treated me very, very well.
22 I was very fortunate to have those relationships, and I
23 valued them. I think back on some of them, that they were
24 all very productive. But, it was part of the ongoing process
25 of not only educating them about where we are, but providing

1 the history and making some forecasts about the thing in the
2 future to be looking out for.

3 MS. JOHNSON: Well, over time, our Congressional
4 delegation went from being three or four members of the
5 Congressional delegation total to more members and more
6 power. Did that contribute to the--well, obviously, it has
7 contributed to where we are with Yucca Mountain now, but it
8 sounds like your efforts to keep the delegation informed
9 helped that, too.

10 MR. LOUX: Well, we used a variety of techniques.
11 Not only was I briefing them on an ongoing basis about these
12 things, but we provided them with public opinion polling to
13 make sure they knew how the citizens and the State felt about
14 these things, that they were aware of what we were finding
15 vis-à-vis social and economic impacts, and that they knew
16 some, at least, of the science, what was wrong with Yucca
17 Mountain, kind of side, but clearly, I mean, and you've hit
18 the nail on the head with Senator Reid, the Senate seat of
19 the majority leader of the United States Senate, a place
20 that, you know, it's been a long time since Nevadan had that
21 level of seniority, I mean, contributed greatly to being able
22 to keep these things going and keep the Congress at bay. He
23 and Dick Bryan ultimately did a wonderful job in doing that.

24 Early on, there was a couple strays in the
25 delegation that wanted to entertain the idea and, you know,

1 would talk to the Legislature, for example, in the late
2 eighties and indicate that maybe we ought to consider doing
3 it. But, all of a sudden, the public started sending them
4 letters and was, you know, outraged at their behavior, and
5 most all of them kind of turned around and got on board.
6 But, early on, there was a few that thought well, maybe this
7 isn't so bad and maybe we could get something out of it.
8 But, by the nineties, and certainly in the two thousands,
9 none of that occurred anymore. I mean, people realized what
10 the game was, and realized how devious the Federal Government
11 really was and how untrustworthy they were and they really
12 couldn't be counted on to make good on any of these things,
13 plus, the public, and really more than anything else, it was
14 the public of this State, the citizens who every measure
15 possible, through every avenue possible, made clear to the
16 elected leaders and my office of what they really felt about
17 the project and what they wanted done. I mean, they were
18 very adamant that they wanted anything and everything done to
19 make sure this didn't happen.

20 And, so, the elected leaders, and by implication,
21 our office was instructed in that regard by what they really
22 wanted. But, the delegation felt that as well, certainly.

23 MS. JOHNSON: The media certainly contributed to,
24 there's a sort of a symbiotic relationship between the media
25 and their concern about the issue, and the public being upset

1 about the issue. How did you work with the media? Talk a
2 little bit about some of the successes that you had in
3 getting the message across by using the media.

4 MR. LOUX: Well, I think it's important to realize
5 that in the mid to late eighties, through most of the
6 nineties, most media people ranked Yucca Mountain as the
7 number one story in Nevada year after year, ahead of
8 education, taxes and the like, and so it was the product of
9 not only the Department of Energy activities vis-à-vis public
10 meetings and the like, but also, you know, this was, at least
11 at one point in time, probably the most important issue to
12 the State of Nevada.

13 We enjoyed a very cordial, for the most part,
14 relationship with the media. The media, by and large, was
15 very skeptical of the Federal Government, very skeptical of
16 the kinds of things DOE is saying and doing. DOE probably
17 was its worst enemy in this regard. They had a very poor
18 strategy in dealing with media and the public in general. I
19 mean, they had this attitude that permeated even from back
20 from the AEC days that listen, we're the Federal Government,
21 we're the nuclear experts, we know better, don't bother your
22 pretty little heads with all this information, you don't
23 really need to know that. All you need to know is you can
24 trust us and we'll do the right thing.

25 And, time and time again, they set themselves up to

1 be the all knowing experts at everything, and when it
2 appeared that they didn't know, it made them even look worse
3 in the public's mind. And, if they would have come across as
4 saying hey, we're going to work on this together, let's try
5 to figure some of these problems out together, we don't have
6 all the answers, they would have been better served.

7 But, they, in turn, viewed that as being well, it's
8 weakness, it shows we don't know, they're not going to trust
9 us, and just the opposite is true. And, I think the media
10 picks up on all of that kind of nuance about how they have
11 this disregard for the public, and disregard for even my
12 office and other people within the State, of just being
13 trouble makers, and that kind of thing. So, the media often
14 turned to us to interpret essentially what DOE was trying to
15 say or communicate. But, we enjoyed a great deal of comity
16 with them.

17 We also used paid media. We, at one time or
18 another, spent 8, \$9 million on very large national public
19 relation initiatives to try and persuade the public and other
20 states and Congress about what was going on in this regard.
21 So, we used a combination of paid media and free media,
22 meaning press releases and the like, but more often than not
23 it was the media who came to us that wanted to know what was
24 really going on. So, we viewed ourselves, and I think they
25 did too, as the source of information to kind of cut through

1 a lot of the bureaucratic and other technical nonsense and
2 give them the straight scoop. And, I don't think that we
3 ever really--ever misled deliberately or otherwise the media,
4 or anyone else. We realized right away that they were an
5 effective part of our strategy in trying to communicate with
6 the public, and keep other people informed about what was
7 going on.

8 MS. JOHNSON: Let's move on to the next question.

9 (10:01 a.m. - End of Tape A-6.)

10 (9:07 a.m. - Begin Tape B.)

11 MS. CLANCY: Starting Tape 2 of this interview, and
12 rolling.

13 MS. JOHNSON: Bob, the resources of the Federal
14 Government to push the Yucca Mountain project vastly exceeded
15 those of the State of Nevada, including obtaining a lot of
16 scientists to work on the project. Can you talk about how
17 the State was able to get its own scientific team together,
18 and the challenges that that presented?

19 MR. LOUX: Well, yes, I'd be happy to. One of the
20 first persons I hired was a scientist, a geologist who had
21 worked previously for private industry on nuclear power
22 projects in Southern California, and other places. And,
23 together with him and some people we were consulting with at
24 the University of Nevada Reno and Las Vegas, we kind of put
25 together a program of scientific inquiry with the necessary

1 quality assurance elements with it as well.

2 And, originally, we were thinking about simply
3 reviewing DOE's data and making certain conclusions about it.
4 But, we realized early on that we really wanted to do our own
5 independent work. DOE first thwarted us with funding and
6 suggested that we were not, under the law, capable of doing
7 our own independent scientific work, that if DOE would give
8 us a rock in the field, we could analyze it, but we couldn't
9 pick up our own rock and analyze it ourselves. And, we sued
10 DOE over that, and actually won. The court that's tantamount
11 to the fox watching the chicken coop. So, we won that right.

12 Early on, though, we were working with a variety of
13 scientists, primarily in the University of Nevada system.
14 They were here locally. Many of them were familiar with the
15 Nevada geology and other aspects of the Southern Nevada
16 environment. And, that went along fine for a while, and with
17 some agreement with DOE, this was when they had the first
18 director, Don Veech (phonetic), we had at least an informal
19 arrangement that the University of Nevada system would be
20 essentially a resource to the State of Nevada, and that the
21 Department of Energy had the rest of the universe to deal
22 with.

23 When Carl Groots (phonetic) came into office, one
24 of the things he did early on was offer the University system
25 much more money to do some more work for them than for us.

1 And, let me just tell you the gist of this is is that why you
2 can't have the same scientists, let alone the same
3 institution per se work on both sides of the issue that we
4 all envisioned later on there would be expert witnesses'
5 testimony before the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and if
6 your guy was giving witness testimony and he had also worked
7 for DOE, then it would impugn his credibility, and DOE knew
8 that. But, they started now offering the university system
9 more money, and we had to look a lot harder at various areas
10 of the country for scientific expertise, simply because we
11 couldn't use them any longer because they were now working
12 for DOE, not wholesale, but a great many of them.

13 And, in fact, DOE used funding to universities as
14 much of a public relations mechanism to generate enthusiasm
15 for the project among the university system by their--there
16 by other people in the community. So, we had to look long
17 and hard, and actually found very credible people not only in
18 the United States doing work on corrosion, for example, other
19 kinds of things, but we actually went outside the country.
20 We employed scientists from China. We employed scientists
21 from the UK, and other European countries, who weren't under
22 the influence of the Department of Energy and the nuclear
23 industry, as well as the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, to do
24 a lot of our work, simply because we were forced to go there,
25 there was not a lot of other expertise that was not already

1 purchased or bought.

2 Many scientists told us that they signed contracts
3 with DOE and never performed an ounce of work, that DOE
4 signed the contracts with them, paid them a minimal amount,
5 simply to keep them from being available to the State of
6 Nevada. So, it was an ongoing struggle, part of the whirl
7 with DOE, if you would, about acquiring scientists.

8 And, then, of course, as we employed some of these
9 scientists, DOE went out of their way to find other people
10 that would critique them, criticize them. We got criticism
11 from pulling people outside the country, that somehow that
12 was un-American or something of that nature. But, by and
13 large, I think the scientists that Nevada hired, both locally
14 and internationally, proved to be a great asset, and really
15 did the State tremendous service, and developed a very strong
16 scientific program against Yucca Mountain that I think is
17 intact today.

18 MS. JOHNSON: Let's move on to the next question.

19 (9:12 a.m. - End Tape B.)

20 (9:11 a.m. - Begin Tape B-1.)

21 MS. JOHNSON: Bob, I know you must have gone to
22 take the tour at Yucca Mountain many times, and because of
23 your overall responsibilities with the Agency for Nuclear
24 Projects, you're familiar with the Nevada Test Site as well.
25 I'm looking at a front page of the Las Vegas New Times from

1 August 10, 1995, which has cartoon illustration of the view
2 platform at Sedan Crater. And, of course, that brings up the
3 whole memory of nuclear testing in Nevada, and the
4 connections between what went on at the Test Site for nuclear
5 testing and Yucca Mountain. So, could you tell us about your
6 experiences and observations from taking the Yucca Mountain
7 tour, from observing what goes on at the Nevada Test Site,
8 especially the evidence of testing, and any conclusions that
9 you can draw or connections that you make between those?

10 MR. LOUX: Well, you know, I'm looking, there's a
11 connection vis-à-vis the same federal agency is involved in
12 both of these activities. And, I think that the Federal
13 Government initially tried to weave the Test Site activities
14 and the large support initially that the Southern Nevada
15 community gave to the Test Site activities vis-à-vis
16 employment. At one point in time, the Test Site workers were
17 like 25 percent of the Southern Nevada work force. Tried to
18 parlay that in essentially support for Yucca Mountain, these
19 same kinds of things.

20 And, early on, I think it was effective that a lot
21 of, as we talked earlier, some of the delegation members were
22 hugely supportive of what was going on at the Nevada Test
23 Site, most of them still are, and then were trying to make,
24 well, it's just the same guys doing this. But, as things
25 went on, Yucca Mountain became much more controversial, and

1 the Department of Energy itself made great strides to
2 separate the Nevada Test Site activities, the other things
3 they do out there, from Yucca Mountain, that many of the guys
4 working the Nevada Operations Office for the Nevada Test Site
5 would say those Yucca Mountain guys are giving us a bad name
6 because they're impinging our credibility, and everything
7 else. So, they did make an effort to sever them, and
8 somewhat successfully because later on, I think the State and
9 other people viewed them as separately as well.

10 I was on tours with governors where we would tour
11 some of the ignition facilities underground--this was long
12 after the weapons testing was over, and some of the other
13 things that they were doing on the assembly facility,
14 dismantling weapons, and putting them back together, and
15 things. But, the test site itself early on proved it to be
16 at least somewhat of an impact on the project from the trust
17 perspective because we all know, we've talked about earlier
18 of all the shots going off and people in Southern Nevada
19 being told this is not to worry, you can just get a broom and
20 sweep these pesky particles off of you, and there will be no
21 harm to anybody. But, we all found out later they, for
22 example, would send some of their families to Southern
23 California during the days of the shots, so obviously, they
24 were worries, and we know later, that these pesky particles
25 created huge, huge health impacts for hundreds of thousands

1 of not only workers, but individuals not only in the west,
2 but throughout the country. So, it was a real credibility
3 problem itself.

4 But, the tours themselves, DOE wanted to set the
5 tours up as a public relations tour primarily, a tactic.
6 They would invite even school kids, first, second, third
7 graders and march them at the Yucca Mountain, to tour the
8 cave, talk to the scientists, blah, blah, blah, to try and
9 again in support for the project all the way along. And, of
10 course, the media they would invite out, and the nuclear
11 industry would use the site itself, they would conduct their
12 own tours out there, take members of Congress, members from
13 their own states to show what a fantastic job they were doing
14 out there, and all of this stuff that was going on. Keep in
15 mind at most, Yucca Mountain at this point in time, and even
16 for the last ten years, has been nothing but a five mile loop
17 tunnel through a mountain with various alcoves for tests.

18 Many people like to tell you Yucca Mountain is
19 built already. We should just--you know, none of that is
20 true. But, the tours were instructive in the sense that DOE
21 put out their best scientists out there to try and convince
22 people that they really had it all covered, everything was
23 going on, and you could tell that people were on the tour
24 with you were one of two persuasions. And, this included
25 media people. That either they've really got it together,

1 they really know everything that's going on, or
2 alternatively, they're going so far overboard to make it seem
3 like they have it wired, that in fact they don't and it's
4 really a bad project.

5 And, so, the reactions from people going out there
6 was interesting in the sense that when I was with them,
7 people from the media were particularly skeptical. And, in
8 fact, the DOE would talk about all these phenomenal things
9 going on, and you could see from their eyes that they weren't
10 really buying it. However, members of the public, in
11 particular, would be very fascinated with all of this stuff,
12 and DOE would capitalize on that by trying to make things
13 like we have it all wired, you don't have to worry,
14 everything is fine. And, so, there was a real dichotomy,
15 depending on the type of people that were out there, and what
16 they actually believed that DOE was saying, or that they
17 didn't.

18 But, the tours became a big promotional tour for--a
19 tactic for DOE in the industry, and they used the site in
20 that regard a lot, until later on when funding began to get
21 cut and they no longer had it. But, DOE still likes to
22 promote this idea that they have it all wired out there, and
23 we would have many of our people, Judy and Steve Frishman in
24 particular, go along on a lot of these tours, we insert them
25 and ask like the National Conference of State Legislators

1 couldn't our guys go along, and DOE was much more careful
2 when our guys were on this tour, and they would try to say
3 things that weren't true, and Steve, or other people would,
4 in essence, counter them and demonstrate what they were
5 saying wasn't true.

6 And, so, later on, the tours probably didn't have
7 quite the impact that they used to have. But, it was a
8 tremendous resource for DOE, both the Test Site and the Yucca
9 Mountain site, and it's a huge area and a lot of activities
10 going on out there, and I think the State leaders made a
11 distinction between Yucca Mountain and the rest of the Test
12 Site, what was going on out there.

13 This is all after, of course, above ground weapons
14 testing occurred, and even much later than when below ground
15 testing, but there were other fascinating activities at the
16 Nevada Test Site that many people thought were very
17 interesting.

18 MS. JOHNSON: Did you think that by seeing what was
19 going on in the tunnel, that it was possible to draw
20 conclusions about how safe the repository would be?

21 MR. LOUX: Well, I think DOE was certainly trying
22 to use the tunnel and some of these scientific experiments as
23 the tool to do that. Part of their effort was curtailed when
24 they brought in heaters to simulate the heat out and put
25 nuclear waste in some of these tunnels. And, in one

1 instance, they brought in this waste and had a long-term
2 heater test. And, of course, they had all the rocks and
3 everything else situated with monitoring and other scientific
4 equipment. And, after about six months, or so, all the
5 equipment stopped working and they went back in the tunnel to
6 find out what was wrong, and lo and behold, there's six or
7 eight inches of water standing on the floor in the tunnel in
8 there, and it had happened just as State and other scientists
9 had said, is the heat will actually draw the water in from
10 all of these rocks and pores that it contains, concentrate
11 water in there.

12 DOE tried to make it seem as if it was just
13 accumulation from normal activities, but the scientific
14 analysis that the water itself shows it came from the rocks,
15 had the chemical signature of what the rocks were doing. But
16 after that, it was kind of--DOE was a little less promotional
17 in some of these things because it really wasn't working out
18 for them. The tests basically didn't work, and actually ran
19 contrary to the objectives they wanted to use the tours for.

20 MS. JOHNSON: You touched on this a little bit in
21 your last response, but I get this question a lot. People
22 from other places who say well, if your Congressional
23 delegation supports the Nevada Test Site, why are you against
24 Yucca Mountain? Can you give the answer to that?

25 MR. LOUX: Well, it's kind of a long answer, but as

1 I think I touched on earlier, there's a long history in
2 Southern Nevada from 1951 on when the Test Site was created
3 of being an area of fascination, of scientific exploration.
4 I think many Nevadans during the cold war and thereafter
5 viewed that they were doing their patriotic duty in defending
6 the nation against the Soviet Union, or wherever the culprit
7 happened to be, and, therefore, and during some of these
8 tests and during some fallout and some of those things was
9 part of the program.

10 I mean, I think even some of the people that worked
11 out there viewed themselves as being much more important when
12 they had security clearances and couldn't talk about what
13 they were doing out there to their neighbors and friends, and
14 it enhanced their stature in the community as being an
15 important scientist and the like, and I think Nevadans by and
16 large were happy to do their duty for the county, even at
17 some cost and expense, but being sort of luckiest for the
18 nuclear industry, which Yucca Mountain was all about, was a
19 whole different picture to them. It had a whole different
20 flavor. It was not national defense. It wasn't protecting
21 our country. It was trying to help out an industry that many
22 viewed were poisoning Americans all over the country. So, I
23 think it was viewed differently from that perspective, if not
24 others.

25 MS. JOHNSON: Thank you. Let's move on to the next

1 question.

2 (9:21 a.m. - End Tape B-1.)

3 (No Tape B-2.)

4 (9:14 a.m. - Begin Tape B-3.)

5 MS. JOHNSON: Bob, there's a New York Times
6 magazine article that was done in 1994 by Kye Erickson called
7 "Out of Sight, Out of Our Minds" that argued that rushing to
8 bury nuclear waste doesn't take the problem off future
9 Americans' hands, because it would still be a problem. And,
10 that leads to some of the work that the Blue Ribbon
11 Commission on America's Nuclear Future has been doing, the
12 Commission that was commissioned by Secretary Chu and
13 President Obama to take a hard look at where do we go from
14 here if Yucca Mountain isn't the answer.

15 And, one of the things that the Blue Ribbon
16 Commission has been focusing on and hearing from in public
17 testimony is the trust issue. It seems like that when you
18 come right down to it, there's scientific issues and
19 technical issues and management issues, but then there is
20 this huge issue of trust, how can we trust the Federal
21 Government to do the right thing. How do we believe anybody
22 upon this?

23 So, I would like your reflections on how the trust
24 issue is connected to Yucca Mountain, and also where do we go
25 from here?

1 MR. LOUX: Well, good questions. The trust issue
2 and public confidence in the process has been one of the
3 biggest issues that the whole effort to find a disposal
4 facility has been predicated on. Indeed, in the Nuclear
5 Waste Policy Act in 1982, if you look at the Preamble on the
6 front of that, it basically says the public trust and
7 confidence is critical, or else this project will never go
8 forward, despite scientific information, despite all of that,
9 if the public isn't buying it, then it's not going to work no
10 matter what.

11 And, over the years, all of these efforts to site
12 Yucca Mountain, as we've talked about, to misrepresenting
13 scientific information, to continually changing the
14 regulations, all of these things have eroded the public trust
15 all the way along. And, I think the framers of the Act
16 originally put that in there because they knew that the
17 public in fact could turn to their local governments, local
18 governments and state governments just have too many tools at
19 their disposal to thwart a Federal effort like this, assuming
20 that they want to, whether it be lawsuits, whether it be
21 other activities, to either defeat it or delay it to the
22 point where it's no longer viable.

23 And, Yucca Mountain, the whole Yucca Mountain
24 experience is the poster child for lack of trust and
25 confidence, from every activity they had done from the get-

1 go, all the way through to where we are now, and it has been
2 the primary reason why the project has never gone forward
3 because of this trust, and it's never been accomplished by
4 the Department of Energy whatsoever.

5 Now, there have been attempts, for example, to find
6 through a nuclear waste negotiator, other locations, Indian
7 tribes, disadvantaged people who the Federal Government seems
8 to want to exploit, economically disadvantaged communities
9 with these kinds of projects in the hopes of jobs and other
10 things, regardless of the possible health consequences to the
11 population. So, I think the Board and the Commission is
12 right to focus on these issues, because without the public
13 trust, without the public confidence, no project is ever
14 going to go forward, no matter what they do.

15 And, I think from my own mind, that leads to the
16 notion that the only way you're going to proceed, and indeed
17 every other country in the world is proceeding in this way,
18 no other country but the United States is trying to force a
19 facility on a community that doesn't want it. Nobody is
20 doing that. Every other country in the world has recognized
21 that the public and local governments, state governments,
22 have to be on board for the process to begin with, and if
23 that requires making concessions, if that requires making
24 adjustments, if that requires giving them an absolute veto
25 that they can opt out of the project at any time, I think

1 that's what it takes.

2 And, that's what the Kye Erickson article is a
3 little bit about, is why are we rushing to do this. And,
4 these processes of trying to find not necessarily a volunteer
5 per se, but a cooperative state, local government, community
6 is the only way these facilities are ever going to be built
7 in the future. And, the Federal Government and the nuclear
8 industry are so authoritarian and so driven from authority
9 that they believe the only way you can do these things is
10 force someone to do it. Even Bennett Johnson, the architect
11 of the "Screw Nevada" bill has most recently admitted that
12 was the biggest mistake the country ever made. If the
13 process had been followed where you had multiple sites, they
14 had compared and contrasted and the best one emerged, then at
15 least you'd begin to develop confidence in a process.

16 But, when you go through the process that Yucca
17 Mountain has done, where you try to force feed this site on
18 one state, you manipulate the data, you manipulate the
19 regulations, it's a recipe for disaster. And, I believe in
20 this country, there are going to have to be many generations
21 go by before people forget, or don't quite remember exactly
22 what transpired here before any effort in this country is
23 going to be successful, because the whole process has been so
24 distasteful and so uncomfortable and so lacking in public
25 trust and confidence that it will permeate any effort to site

1 a repository, any facilities in the future. Can you imagine
2 communities across the country saying look what they tried to
3 do to Nevada, we're not going for that. I mean, no one is
4 going to buy this stuff.

5 But, only through a long-term process of
6 cooperation, with volunteers, people who are willing to say
7 let's look at it, but we can opt out at any time without the
8 heavy handed authoritarian process that's been followed, I
9 think is the only way, if we're ever going to be successful
10 in dealing with this, and it may be that it never happens.
11 And, I would think that's a big deal because I think that
12 waste can be stored at nuclear power plants in dry storage
13 for 2, 3, 400 years as safe as a repository. The NRC has
14 said that, in dry storage. There is no reason to look for
15 any central facility at this point in time.

16 The only reason we'd do it would be for the nuclear
17 industry itself, who believes that they cannot build another
18 nuclear reactor in this country until the waste problem is
19 "solved," and by solve, they mean a repository. And, if
20 they're holding that hope that they will never build a plant
21 again until there's a repository, then I would venture a
22 guess there's not going to be a plant in this country for
23 many, many, many, many decades, although recent events in
24 Japan and other places I think have doomed the nuclear
25 industry for the next 20 to 30, 40 years anyway. But,

1 there's not going to be a problem with waste, because waste
2 can be stored safely at the reactor sites. And if people say
3 well, it's not safe there, let's have another place, well,
4 waste has to be stored at reactor sites when it comes out of
5 the reactor for a minimum of ten years anyway, so we're
6 always going to have waste as long as these reactors operate,
7 and you're always going to have waste at the site, even if
8 you had another facility, or not.

9 So, I think it's important in this country to take
10 the time and effort to try and do what they can to get this
11 episode at least off the table, but not forget about it
12 because it has important lessons for the future about how we
13 might site facilities that we might need down the road. And,
14 certainly public confidence and public trust and confidence
15 is the paramount piece to this, and Yucca Mountain again is
16 the poster child of what not to do in this regard.

17 MS. JOHNSON: Thank you very much.

18 MR. LOUX: Thank you.

19 MS. JOHNSON: Let me just ask a question from off
20 the camera here. It's not officially part of the interview.
21 But, we'll be using this material for its entirety on DVDs
22 for researchers, the public, in oral history, that kind of
23 thing, but also to extract some clips for the web. So, would
24 that be okay with you?

25 MR. LOUX: Sure. Absolutely.

1 MS. JOHNSON: Okay, thank you.

2 MR. LOUX: Use it any way you like.

3 (9:22 - End Tape B-3.)

4 (Whereupon, the interview was concluded.)

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