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    UNLEASHING AMERICAN ENERGY, LOWERING ENERGY COSTS,
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    AND STRENGTHENING SUPPLY CHAINS
    TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 2023
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    House of Representatives,
    Subcommittee on Energy, Climate, and Grid Security,
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    joint with the
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    Subcommittee on Environment, Manufacturing, and Critical
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    Materials,
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    Committee on Energy and Commerce,
    Washington, D.C.
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          The subcommittees met, pursuant to call, at 10:00 a.m.
    in the John D. Dingell Room, 2123 Rayburn House Office
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    Building, Hon. Jeff Duncan [chairman of the Subcommittee on
21
    Energy, Climate, and Grid Security], presiding.
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| 23 | Present from the Subcommittee on Energy, Climate, and       |
|----|---|
| 24 | Grid Security: Representatives Duncan, Burgess, Latta,      |
| 25 | Guthrie, Griffith, Bucshon, Walberg, Palmer, Curtis, Lesko, |
| 26 | Pence, Armstrong, Weber, Balderson, Pfluger, Rodgers (ex    |
| 27 | officio); DeGette, Peters, Fletcher, Matsui, Tonko, Kuster, |
| 28 | Schrier, Castor, Sarbanes, Cardenas, Blunt Rochester, and   |
| 29 | Pallone (ex officio).                                       |
| 30 | Present from the Subcommittee on Environment,               |
| 31 | Manufacturing, and Critical Materials: Representatives      |
| 32 | Johnson, Carter, Crenshaw, Joyce, Allen, Fulcher, Miller-   |
| 33 | Meeks, Obernolte, Rodgers (ex officio); Tonko, Schakowsky,  |
| 34 | Clarke, Ruiz, Barragan, and Pallone (ex officio).           |
|    |   |

Staff Present: Sarah Burke, Deputy Staff Director; 36 Michael Cameron, Professional Staff Member, CPC; Jerry Couri, 37 Deputy Chief Counsel for Environment; Lauren Eriksen, Clerk, 38 39 O&I; Nate Hodson, Staff Director; Tara Hupman, Chief Counsel; Emily King, Member Services Director; Elise Krekorian, 40 Professional Staff Member, Energy; Mary Martin, Chief 41 Counsel, Energy & Environment; Jacob McCurdy, Professional 42 Staff Member, Energy; Brandon Mooney, Deputy Chief Counsel 43 for Energy; Kaitlyn Peterson, Clerk, Energy & Environment; 44 Carla Rafael, Staff Assistant; Peter Spencer, Senior 45 Professional Staff Member, Energy; Michael Taggart, Policy 46 Director; Timia Crisp, Minority Professional Staff Member; 47 Waverly Gordon, Minority Deputy Staff Director and General 48 Counsel; Tiffany Guarascio, Minority Staff Director; Anthony 49 Gutierrez, Minority Professional Staff Member; Caitlin 50 Haberman, Minority Staff Director, Environment, 51 Manufacturing, and Critical Minerals; Mackenzie Kuhl, 52 Minority Digital Manager; Kris Pittard, Minority Professional 53 54 Staff Member; Kylea Rogers, Minority Policy Analyst; Andrew Souvall, Minority Director of Communications, Outreach, and 55 Member Services; Medha Surampudy, Minority Professional Staff 56 Member; Tuley Wright, Minority Staff Director, Energy, 57

58 Climate, and Grid Security; Isaac Velez, Minority Intern.

\*Mr. Duncan. The Subcommittee on Energy, Climate, and 60 Grid Security and the Subcommittee on Environment, 61 Manufacturing, and Critical Minerals [sic] will now come to 62 63 order. The chair now recognizes himself for five minutes for an 64 65 opening statement. First of all, I want to thank you all for being here. 66 And I thank all of our witnesses for being here, as well. I 67 preemptively want to say that we all appreciate your 68 patience, as this might be a long day. 69 I am excited that we are holding our first legislative 70 hearing, a joint hearing with Energy, Climate, and Grid 71 Security Subcommittee and the Environment, Manufacturing, and 72 Critical Minerals [sic] Subcommittee. Our goal is to enact 73 policy that delivers affordable, reliable, and clean energy 74 to all Americans, a goal I believe we all share on this 75 committee, regardless of party. 76 77 In our hearing on restoring American energy dominance 78 last week we heard how the Biden Administration's energy policies are making energy unaffordable and less reliable for 79 American consumers. The aggressive rush to green agenda is 80 compromising our security by creating vulnerabilities in our 81

energy supply chain, making us more reliant on our 82 83 adversaries for energy and critical minerals. I believe in unleashing all sources of American energy, 84 85 from nuclear, oil and gas, to hydropower, renewables, hydrogen: a truly all-of-the-above approach. We also 86 believe in unleashing innovation by creating a regulatory 87 structure that encouraging -- encourages investment and 88 growth in the private sector. 89 90 We have said it before: American energy production and reducing emissions are not mutually exclusive. We produce 91 energy cleaner than anywhere in the world. 92 Unfortunately, many of our energy policies coming out of 93 the Biden Administration prioritize climate goals over 94 reliable and affordable energy. They compromise the ability 95 for Americans to afford their power bills and keep on the 96 They also fail to address the significant permitting 97 lights. barriers to bringing more clean energy online. 98 The bills we are reviewing today offer solutions. 99 They 100 will bring down the cost of energy, reduce emissions, strengthen our energy supply chains, and pave the way for 101 restoring American energy dominance. We did invite the FERC 102 commissioners, Secretary of Energy, and the EPA 103

Administrator, all who, unfortunately, were unable to attend. I am hopeful that we can have them in front of this committee soon to give the administrative -- Administration's perspective.

I am, however, pleased we are moving this legislation through regular order, with a full committee hearing last week to inform us of the state of American energy. The legislation in front of us today will address some of the issues, and propel the United States into American energy dominance.

For example, my bill protects American energy production by prohibiting the President from declaring a moratorium on hydraulic fracturing. This is necessary because President Biden has repeatedly stated that he would end fossil fuel production in the United States.

119 Representative Pfluger's bill repeals the costly natural 120 gas tax created in the Inflation Reduction Act. The 121 Promoting Cross-border Energy Infrastructure Act encourages 122 the construction of energy infrastructure across the borders 123 of the U.S., Canada, and Mexico, helping us secure Western 124 hemispheric energy security.

125 Several bills also address the importance of American

energy exports in the global markets. The world is safer when America is energy dominant, and Representative Johnson's bill to unlock our domestic LNG would make it easier for FERC to approve export terminals to deliver clean energy to our friends and allies.

We also will be taking up a resolution that expresses support for the free trade and export of crude oil and petroleum products. This is necessary because President Biden and the Democrats on this committee have advocated for reinstating the crude oil export ban. Lifting the export ban in 2015 has lowered prices, while also increasing our leverage globally. It would be shortsighted to reverse this.

We will also focus on securing our nuclear supply chain with a bill to wean off reliance on Russian uranium. Our grid and energy infrastructure increasingly have come under attack. The critical Electric Infrastructure Cybersecurity Incident Reporting Act will increase transparency between critical electric infrastructure owners and the Department of Energy to strengthen our systems.

Just over 2 years ago, America was energy dominant for the first time since 1952. We were the largest energy producer in the world, while also leading the world in

| 148 | emissions reductions. We can and should be a world leader,   |
|-----|--|
| 149 | and these bills will help get us there. It is time to stop   |
| 150 | handing over leverage to the CCP, Iran, and the OPEC cartel. |
| 151 | Not only leverage, but American dollars.                     |
| 152 | Every American should have access to reliable energy.        |
| 153 | The most recent blizzards underscore the need for resilient  |
| 154 | energy infrastructure and a diversified generation mix       |
| 155 | capable of responding to storms. It is time to flip the      |
| 156 | switch, unleash American energy production. These bills are  |
| 157 | the first step in achieving energy dominance.                |
| 158 | I look forward to hearing from our witnesses on these        |
| 159 | bills.   |
| 160 | [The prepared statement of Mr. Duncan follows:]              |
| 161 |  |
| 162 | *********COMMITTEE INSERT********                            |
| 163 |  |

164 \*Mr. Duncan. And I now recognize Ranking Member165 DeGette.

\*Ms. DeGette. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman. I am happy to be here today, and I would humbly suggest if we want to reduce our reliance on OPEC and other bad actors internationally, we should reduce our reliance on oil, since it is an international market.

And when I looked at these bills, they don't just 171 172 unleash America's energy potential. They tether us more fully to a global commodity that strains our budgets and also 173 causes real harm to our environment. They expand oil and gas 174 drilling throughout the country, and they undo many of the 175 bedrock environmental laws that we have put in place to 176 ensure every American has access to the clean air, clean 177 water, and a clean environment. 178

The bills that we are considering today bolster an industry that is already reporting record profits. Last year the United States produced an average of 11.9 million barrels of crude oil a day. Now, that is the second highest level in U.S. history. And the oil and gas industry is on track to produce even more in the years to come. According to the Energy Information Administration, the U.S. is on pace to

produce 12.4 million barrels a day this year, which is an all-time record, and up to 12.8 million barrels a day in 2024.

So I am not really sure why the majority thinks we need to give even more incentives for big oil to produce more oil. So if -- and the title of this hearing, "Unleashing American Energy,' ' it really means -- is giving big oil unfettered access to do as they please, well, I guess that is what these bills do.

But again, they do nothing to unleash our nation's true energy potential. They don't do anything to protect the American people from the volatility of the global oil market and the skyrocketing prices we saw last summer. They don't do anything to combat the climate crisis or deliver environmental justice to some of the most vulnerable communities across this country.

202 So if we really, really want to unleash America's energy 203 potential and drive down the cost of energy, then we need to 204 break our addiction to oil, and we need an orderly transition 205 to cleaner, renewable energy sources. Not only will doing so 206 help continue to reduce the harmful emissions that are 207 driving the climate crisis, but it reduces our dependance on

208 the global oil market, and it will reduce energy bills that 209 many Americans are struggling to afford.

Clean energy is now one of the cheapest sources of 210 211 energy, and it is why countries around the world are already making the transition to expand the use of new technologies 212 that will serve as a foundation for them to continue to grow 213 their economies into the future. And we cannot fall behind 214 in that effort. We can either be the leaders of a global 215 216 clean energy transition or our adversaries will, because they understand the risk as much as we do. 217

So instead of furthering our dependance on oil, we 218 should actually be fueling the innovation of new technologies 219 that can provide clean, renewable energy that is both 220 reliable and affordable, and also by increasing our grid 221 security. We need to build the foundation and we need to 222 invest in training for the energy workforce so they can take 223 on the jobs of the future. This is how we unleash America's 224 energy potential. 225

226 So, Mr. Chairman, I want to say this again, because I 227 think there is some confusion. People seem to think that if 228 we produce more oil and gas domestically, even though we are 229 producing record amounts, this is going to make us

independent from international energy levels or from OPEC 230 231 price increases. That is simply not the case, because it is an international market. And we saw that last year when oil 232 233 and gas prices went up so much, even though there was the ability to have increased domestic production. 234 So I think that, by working together, we could find 235 bipartisan solutions. We all have the same goal: a solid 236 energy source, transition to renewable energy, and combating 237 238 the climate crisis, and building the foundation to make sure that can happen. 239 I don't think these bills are the solution, so I think 240 we should go back to the drawing board and get that right. 241 [The prepared statement of Ms. DeGette follows:] 242 243 244 245

246 \*Ms. DeGette. And with that, I yield back.

\*Mr. Duncan. The chair now recognizes the chair of the Subcommittee on Environment, Manufacturing, and Critical Minerals [sic], Mr. Johnson, for five minutes for an opening statement.

251 \*Mr. Johnson. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman, and good 252 morning, everyone. I, too, want to thank our panelists for 253 being with us this morning.

You know, my constituents back at home in Ohio know firsthand the importance of affordable American energy, and that abundant, affordable energy is vital to economic growth, and it is a key factor in ensuring our national security. Last week we heard about some of the domestic problems we face in meeting these challenges.

Today we will discuss thoughtfully removing some of the 260 red tape and delays that can prevent constructing new 261 critical energy projects, keep capital on the sidelines, and 262 -- that are killing innovation dead in its tracks. I am 263 264 eager to get going on proposals to streamline the process for building essential energy projects in America. Producing 265 more American energy will help reduce global emissions, 266 improve energy reliability, and lower costs for American 267

268 consumers.

President Biden's war on affordable and reliable energy and the problems that war creates is not limited to killing the use of oil, natural gas, and coal. His Administration's policies are blocking progress on the President's own stated goal to develop domestic resources essential for the very energy alternatives he prefers, such as wind, solar, and batteries.

For example, the supply of minerals necessary to build these alternative energy sources is insufficient to meet some of this Administration's climate goals, including a "carbon free power sector' by 2035, and ensuring widespread use of "zero emission vehicles.'

In addition, many of these critical minerals and the refining and processing capacity for them is controlled by adversaries like China and Russia. We cannot stake our future on certain technologies that then rely upon our enemies for the minerals and mineral processing needs to develop them.

This Administration must stop promising Utopia, while prohibiting our own mineral production, like canceling leases for new nickel and copper mines in Minnesota, blocking new

290 lithium mines in Nevada, and rescinding a land swap necessary 291 for a copper mine in Arizona.

Fortunately, the legislation we are considering today would reorient the law to reestablish America's energy dominance without weakening America's global leadership in advancing our higher environmental and labor standards.

So today we will consider a bill amending the Toxic 296 Substances Control Act to require EPA to review and make 297 298 timely decisions on the manufacturing of a new chemical or a new use of an existing chemical that is a critical energy 299 This bill still emphasizes risk protection, but resource. 300 will prevent the marketplace from waiting an excessive amount 301 of time for critical materials needed to meet our emissions, 302 303 climate, and energy expectations.

We will also review legislation directing the EPA administrator to allow more regulatory flexibility in enforcing air quality permits for critical energy resource facilities like processing and refining facilities.

Another measure amends the Solid Waste Disposal Act to allow for critical energy resources engaged in mineral processing to receive interim permit status for the treatment, storage, or disposal of their waste, a permit that

312 the EPA must still review.

There is also a bill which authorizes EPA only during national security and energy security emergencies to waive certain regulations necessary for processing or refining of critical energy resources.

Additionally, we will look at legislation preventing EPA from imposing expensive design analysis requirements on already-constructed gasoline refineries, which would elevate the EPA's view of what makes sense above what industry experts and best practices prove makes sense.

Staying on refineries, we will examine a bill to have 322 the Department of Energy and the National Petroleum Council 323 assess and report on the importance of petrochemical 324 refineries in the United States, including a review of 325 opportunities to expand capacity such -- of such facilities, 326 risk of such facilities, and an assessment of federal and 327 state regulations or policies that have contributed to a 328 decline in the capacity of such facilities. 329

Finally, we will review a bill repealing the wasteful Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund, which was established in the Inflation Reduction Act.

333

So, as you can see, a lot of work needs to be done to

| 334 | establish an energy strategy that encourages innovation, that |
|-----|---|
| 335 | drives investment, and benefits our economic and national     |
| 336 | security while we remain good stewards of our environment.    |
| 337 | I want to also note that we are moving these in regular       |
| 338 | order. It is really good to be back to legislating through    |
| 339 | regular order.  |
| 340 | I believe the new Republican majority on the Energy and       |
| 341 | Commerce Committee is leading with solutions to our nation's  |
| 342 | energy and critical resource challenges, and I look forward   |
| 343 | to hearing from each of you as we talk today.                 |
| 344 |   |
| 345 |   |
| 346 | [The prepared statement of Mr. Johnson follows:]              |
| 347 |   |
| 348 | *********COMMITTEE INSERT********                             |
| 349 |   |

\*Mr. Johnson. And I yield back the balance of my time.
\*Mr. Duncan. I thank the gentleman. I will now
recognize the ranking member of the Subcommittee on
Environment, Manufacturing, and Critical Materials, Mr.
Tonko, for five minutes.

\*Mr. Tonko. Thank you, Mr. Chair. I strongly support this committee's efforts to examine and legislate ways to enhance our long-term energy security, affordability, and sustainability for the American people.

But unfortunately, nearly all of the bills before us today continue to look backwards toward the energy needs of our past, rather than embracing the energy opportunities of the future. And those opportunities are overwhelmingly about positioning the United States to become the global leader in the clean energy technologies and supply chains that will dominate the energy system over the next several decades.

We need our national energy policy to have vision, and that vision cannot solely be how to further enrich oil and gas companies which are raking in record profits. That is why we should be celebrating the Inflation Reduction Act's nearly \$370 billion in clean energy and climate investments, which are already beginning to support the deployment of new

372 clean energy resources, commitments in domestic

373 manufacturing, and a significant reduction in climate

374 pollution.

375 But sadly, two of the bills being considered today would repeal critical sections of the IRA, which were developed and 376 enacted by the Democrats of this committee in the 117th 377 Congress. The Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund is going to 378 facilitate historic investments to decarbonize our grid, our 379 380 transportation system, and buildings by supporting well-paying jobs and guaranteeing benefits in disadvantaged 381 communities. And the Methane Emissions Reduction Program 382 provides industry with significant funding to adopt emission-383 reducing technologies before using a market-based approach to 384 incentivize pollution reductions. This is a sensible program 385 that provides certainty for industry, while incentivizing the 386 reduction of super pollutants from the oil and gas sector. 387

I am also concerned that several of the bills under consideration would create new loopholes and -- in important environmental laws, allowing a broad and inadequately defined group of polluting industries to get fast-tracked for approval with little consideration for the potential harms they may pose to Americans' air, water, and safety. This is

394 not the way to achieve our shared goals of a more secure, 395 affordable, and cleaner energy system.

But there are steps that we could take together that 396 397 would. We could have focused hearings to wrestle with complex energy issues. How should hydrogen pipelines be 398 regulated? What reforms are needed to the hydropower 399 licensing processes? How can we build more interstate and 400 inter-regional transmission lines to improve the reliability 401 402 and affordability of our electricity system, while enabling greater deployment of cost-effective, clean energy resources? 403

I suspect these questions may interest members on both sides of the aisle, and each of those topics could be the subject of a narrow, largely bipartisan hearing. This approach would certainly require work and negotiations, but that is surely true of any serious effort to enact bipartisan energy legislation.

Unfortunately, the approach being offered today will not achieve this goal. We are considering 17 Republican bills covering a wide range of topics and amending numerous statutes. Several of these draft bills were seen for the first time just a little over a week ago.

During the Democrats time in the majority, we often

416 tried to give our minority counterparts an opportunity to 417 contribute to legislative hearings' agendas. As far as I am 418 aware, that -- there were not discussions of potentially 419 Democratic-sponsored bills that could have fit this hearing's 420 theme.

I also expect we will hear criticisms of the Administration for failing to attend today. I agree with my Republican colleagues that we should seek and expect to hear from the agencies at legislative hearings, but we should also make efforts to accommodate their participation, including by providing legislative texts well in advance, and being flexible with the hearing calendar.

When the Republicans were last in the majority during 428 the Trump Administration, EPA did not testify at any 429 legislative hearings in 2017, and only twice in 2018. We 430 should be consistent both in our expectations that the 431 Administration provide witnesses and technical assistance on 432 legislation, and that we need to be flexible to accommodate 433 434 schedules to ensure that their participation is well informed and instructive to the development of legislation. 435

436 So while I am disappointed in the process that has led 437 us here today, I still believe there are bipartisan policies

| 438 | that we can and should work on together to achieve the goals |
|-----|--|
| 439 | of this hearing's title. And with that said, I look forward  |
| 440 | to the discussion on the 17 bills before us today.           |
| 441 | [The prepared statement of Mr. Tonko follows:]               |
| 442 |  |
| 443 | ********COMMITTEE INSERT********                             |
| 444 |  |

\*Mr. Tonko. And with that, Mr. Chair, I yield back. 445 \*Mr. Duncan. I thank the gentleman. It is now my honor 446 to recognize the chair of the full committee, Mrs. McMorris 447 448 Rodgers, for five minutes for an opening statement. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Chairman Duncan, \*The Chair. 449 Chairman Johnson. It is great to be kicking off our 450 legislative agenda with you. 451 Our goal on Energy and Commerce is to ensure reliable, 452 453 secure, and affordable energy, and that it is available to power homes and businesses across this country. 454 America has been blessed with abundant natural 455 resources. We should be looking toward developing a 456 predictable regulatory landscape across the board that 457 inspires innovation, entrepreneurship, and technological 458 leadership. Hydropower, nuclear, fossil energies, wind, 459

460 solar, and batteries: we need all of them in order to secure 461 a stronger, more prosperous America, reduce costs and 462 emissions, address climate issues, and create more robust and 463 resilient communities.

Rush-to-green energy policies, both at the state and Federal level, have curtailed reliable energy and infrastructure, resulting in everything from blackouts to

467 spiking prices. We have seen the devastating impact these 468 policies have had on people in Europe, where forced 469 government transition away from reliable energy sources 470 resulted in more dependance upon Russia. These policies are 471 unsustainable, and lead to greater reliance on countries like 472 Russia or, in our case, China.

If we cede our energy leadership to countries like 473 Russia and China, they will always leverage that influence to 474 475 advance their own authoritarian agenda. This is not the future that any of us want. The best way to address future 476 risks, whether they be climate change or global price shocks, 477 is with a strong economy and a more secure, abundant energy 478 supply here at home. We need to put energy security back at 479 480 the center of energy policy.

The solutions we are discussing today reflect key steps 481 to return from the path of shortages and high prices to a 482 path of prosperity. We have several bills that will help 483 unlock American natural gas and its delivery systems. To 484 485 provide reliable, affordable, and clean natural gas is essential for heating our homes and businesses, and 486 strengthening America's global standing, all while continuing 487 to lead the world in reducing carbon emissions. 488

These solutions build on the lessons of the shale revolution, which proved energy expansion can be unprecedented and bring energy security, while also helping drive down American emissions.

We also need to restore America's leadership in clean 493 nuclear energy. I am leading a bill that aims to eliminate 494 our reliance, which is currently 24 percent, on Russian 495 nuclear fuels for our nuclear reactors. Expanding our 496 497 leadership and developing and expanding nuclear energy is going to be one of the top priorities of this Congress. And 498 addressing our reliance on Russian fuel is just the 499 beginning. 500

To unleash American energy, we also need a regulatory 501 environment that doesn't hamper industry. Several measures 502 improve regulatory flexibility to assist with the reshoring 503 of industries that manufacture and process critical energy 504 materials. These bills strengthen existing regulations, and 505 provide new authorities to enable the EPA and states, working 506 507 together, to permit new and expand existing manufacturing, manufacturing that is key for strengthening our energy 508 security, national security, and ending our reliance on 509 China. It is also a necessary step as we incorporate 510

511 technologies like electric vehicles and renewables into our 512 energy mix.

Additionally, we will consider bills that make sure the EPA focuses on its core mission, which does not include forcing a transition to more expensive, less reliable energy sources and systems.

517 Many of these issues have been bipartisan in the past, 518 and I do hope and expect us to come together. This hearing 519 is an opportunity to provide feedback as we work through 520 regular order.

And I should note that it is disappointing representatives from the Department of Energy, the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, the Environmental Protection Agency declined to appear. Appearing before this committee is an important part of their obligation to Congress, and we expect them to fulfill it.

In closing, I look forward to our discussion today on how this committee can improve American energy leadership, security, and people's lives. It is time to get to work. [The prepared statement of The Chair follows:]

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532 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*COMMITTEE INSERT\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

533

\*The Chair. And with that, I yield back, Mr. Chairman.
\*Mr. Duncan. I thank the chairwoman.

I want to pause and just say that Congress's thoughts and prayers are with the folks in Syria and Turkey after the devastating earthquake.

539 And I now recognize the ranking member of the full 540 committee, Mr. Pallone, for five minutes.

541 \*Mr. Pallone. Thank you, Chairman Duncan.

542 Committee Republicans are showing today that their top 543 energy and environmental priorities are to do the bidding of 544 Big Oil, and to undermine our nation's bedrock environmental 545 laws. And these are not the same priorities of committee 546 Democrats.

547 Over the last two years, Democrats delivered historic wins for the American people. We enacted laws that are 548 already creating good-paying jobs, cutting costs for working 549 families, and advancing homegrown clean energy, all while 550 tackling the worsening climate crisis. And while we want to 551 552 build upon these successes for the American people, House Republicans are stuck in the past, and failing to address the 553 energy challenges and opportunities we face today. 554

I would like to start by highlighting my serious

556 concerns with some of the fossil-focused bills that we are 557 discussing today. The cross-border energy infrastructure 558 bill is nothing more than a shadow approval of the Keystone 559 Pipeline masquerading as legislation. It establishes that 560 every single cross-border energy project is in the public 561 interest, a radically higher bar than exists now. And this 562 is not serious legislation.

Representative Burgess's bill would put the Federal 563 564 Energy Regulatory Commission in charge of permitting reviews that it doesn't have the expertise or the time to lead, and 565 the Unlocking our Domestic LNG Potential Act would eliminate 566 the requirement that the Department of Energy determine that 567 exporting natural gas from a U.S. facility is in the national 568 interest. This legislation would effectively greenlight 569 sending unrestricted amounts of LNG to adversaries like 570 China. It is just more proof that committee Republicans are 571 more interested in doing the bidding of their fossil fuel 572 friends than actually protecting our energy security. 573

And I am also deeply disappointed with the legislative proposals being considered in the Environment Subcommittee's jurisdiction. Two of the bills would revoke programs enacted as part of the Inflation Reduction Act that are projected to

578 cut climate pollution, reduce the deficit, and leverage 579 private-sector investment in clean energy projects across the 580 nation.

581 H.R. 484 targets the Methane Emission Reduction Program, 582 which establishes a suite of incentives to drive down excess 583 methane pollution and remediate the effects of the pollution 584 that does occur. This program fundamentally ensures 585 polluters pay for wasted methane, and not customers.

Republicans also target the Greenhouse Gas Reduction Program, which invests \$27 billion in non-state and local climate finance institutions that support the rapid deployment of low and zero-emission technologies. My Republican colleagues claim to support all-of-the-above policies, yet they oppose a program that invests in clean energy projects.

We are also considering bills that allow so-called critical energy sources to bypass common-sense environmental protections. One bill would circumvent consideration of safer technologies to avoid chemical disasters under the risk management program, while another bill would undercut protective health policies that were developed and passed on a bipartisan basis by this committee in the Frank Lautenberg

Act. And we should not be putting polluters over people by waiving critical public health and environmental protections that keep American communities safe.

Now, if Republicans really want to unleash American energy, I invite them to stop trying to tear down critical climate and environmental programs, and work with us to build a better future for all by investing in clean energy and bolstering our environmental safeguards.

608 I can't find much value in the legislation before us today, which is unfortunate, since many members are 609 interested in working on clean energy permitting. 610 And instead, my majority colleagues scheduled a hearing on 17 611 Republican bills or discussion drafts without even asking 612 Democrats if we have any bills that would address the 613 underlying topic. If they truly want to enact legislation 614 that addresses energy security and affordability, this is not 615 the path. The American people deserve better. 616

Finally, I must set the record straight about why the Administration could not testify at today's hearing. The majority claims they gave the Administration two weeks' notice, and that the Administration said this was not enough time to secure witnesses.

| 622 | What they left out is that the two weeks' notice came in      |
|-----|---|
| 623 | an email right before midnight on January 24th. It did not    |
| 624 | contain the list of bills for the hearing, the legislative    |
| 625 | text of the bills, or any information about other invited     |
| 626 | witnesses. How were the agencies supposed to prepare for a    |
| 627 | hearing when they have not been told what bills they are      |
| 628 | supposed to be commenting on?                                 |
| 629 | And to be clear, only 2 of the 17 bills had been              |
| 630 | introduced when this hearing was noticed 1 week ago. If the   |
| 631 | bills were not ready to share with the Administration or with |
| 632 | Democratic members, then this hearing should have been        |
| 633 | postponed until a later date.                                 |
| 634 | [The prepared statement of Mr. Pallone follows:]              |
| 635 |   |
| 636 | ********COMMITTEE INSERT*******                               |
| 637 |   |

\*Mr. Pallone. And with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield 638 639 back. \*Mr. Duncan. I thank the gentleman. This now concludes 640 641 with member opening statements. The Chair would like to remind members that, pursuant to 642 committee rules, all members' opening statements will be made 643 part of the record. 644 I want to thank all the witnesses for being here today 645 646 and taking time to testify before the subcommittees. Each witness will have the opportunity to give a five-647 minutes opening statement, followed by a round of questions 648 from members. 649 There are some lights in front of you. Green means go. 650 Yellow means you have got one minute, a one-minute warning, 651 and red means you need to wrap up. 652 Our witnesses today are the Honorable Mark Menezes; Mr. 653 Jeffrey Eshelman; Mr. Raul Garcia; Ms. Katie Sweeney; Mr. 654 Tyson Slocum; and the Honorable Bernard McNamee. 655 656 We appreciate you being here today. I will now recognize Mr. Menezes for five minutes to give an opening 657 statement. 658

659

| 660 | STATEMENT OF THE HON. MARK MENEZES, FORMER UNITED STATES     |
|-----|--|
| 661 | DEPUTY SECRETARY OF ENERGY, FORMER CHIEF COUNSEL, ENERGY AND |
| 662 | ENVIRONMENT, COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND COMMERCE; JEFFREY       |
| 663 | ESHELMAN, II, PRESIDENT AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER,         |
| 664 | INDEPENDENT PETROLEUM ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA; RAUL GARCIA,   |
| 665 | LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR FOR HEALTHY COMMUNITIES, EARTHJUSTICE;  |
| 666 | KATIE SWEENEY, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT AND CHIEF OPERATING  |
| 667 | OFFICER, NATIONAL MINING ASSOCIATION; TYSON SLOCUM, DIRECTOR |
| 668 | OF THE ENERGY PROGRAM, PUBLIC CITIZEN; AND THE HON. BERNARD  |
| 669 | MCNAMEE, FORMER COMMISSIONER OF THE FEDERAL ENERGY           |
|     |  |

- 670 REGULATORY COMMISSION
- 671

#### 672 STATEMENT OF MARK MENEZES

673

\*Mr. Menezes. Good morning. Madam Chair McMorris 674 Rodgers, Ranking Member Pallone, Subcommittee Chairmen Duncan 675 and Johnson, Ranking Members DeGette and Tonko, and members 676 677 of the Subcommittee, thank you for the invitation to testify on legislative solutions designed to promote U.S. energy 678 production, lower energy costs, and to strengthen our supply 679 chains of critical minerals and energy resources. Today's 680 hearing features bills designed to achieve these important 681

682 goals.

Now, in order to unleash American energy, it is 683 important that Congress ensures the legislative will of the 684 685 people is carried out by the President and the executive branch. Frequently, the executive branch is at odds with the 686 laws of Congress, and takes actions without clear 687 congressional authority. Several of the bills under 688 consideration today make congressional intent clear to the 689 690 executive branch.

The Protecting American Energy Production Act clarifies 691 that states have primacy regulating hydraulic fracturing. 692 Congress made this clear in the overwhelmingly bipartisan 693 Energy Policy Act of 2005. Our global friends and allies are 694 grateful for our production and export, and have come to rely 695 on U.S.-produced oil and natural gas as a reliable source of 696 energy and an alternative to Russian supply. This bill 697 prohibits the President from issuing any moratoria on 698 hydraulic fracturing, thus preserving states' rights. 699

Similarly, the sense of Congress resolution opposes the executive branch placing restrictions on the export of oil and petroleum products. This makes clear the congressional intent that the President and all Federal agencies follow the

104 law as written when a bipartisan Congress lifted the oil

705 export ban in 2015.

The Unlocking our Domestic LNG Potential Act removes redundant reviews and the need for multiple Federal permission slips to produce and liquefy LNG for export. The bill makes clear that it is FERC and not the Department of Energy which has the exclusive authority to approve or deny requests to export natural gas to a foreign country.

The Promoting Cross-border Energy Infrastructure Act makes clear that it is the DoE and FERC, the Federal agencies with expertise in energy, that have the authority to grant or deny the interconnections and modifications of cross-border electricity lines and pipelines without the need for a presidential permit.

Turning now to lowering energy costs, it is important that the members appreciate that, with the shale revolution, the U.S. now has an abundance of cheap natural gas which is replacing baseload coal, complementing the increased deployment of wind and solar, and is the primary reason why the U.S. leads in actual emission reductions.

The Promoting Interagency Coordination for Review of Natural Gas Pipelines Act ensures increased access and

delivery of supply to lower natural gas costs by authorizing FERC to be the lead agency to coordinate other agencies, establish reasonable timelines, and keep track of progress of the permitting and environmental reviews required under NEPA and other laws.

Reducing costs of government can save taxpayers dollars 731 to offset the cost of energy. The repeal of the Greenhouse 732 Gas Reduction Fund repeals the \$27 billion appropriated to 733 734 EPA to provide grants and financial assistance to states, municipalities, tribal governments, and non-profits for zero-735 emission technologies. While laudable and generous, there is 736 little oversight of EPA required by Congress to administer 737 this fund. Remember, EPA's requested budget in 2022 was only 738 739 \$11.4 billion.

Another bill to lower energy costs is the Natural Gas 740 Tax Repeal Act, which repeals the methane waste fee and 741 statutory methane regulations included in the non-bipartisan 742 Inflation Reduction Act. EPA has proposed a supplemental 743 744 rule to regulate methane emissions open for public comment now, which essentially does the same thing without the 745 methane waste fee, but with Clean Air Act penalties. 746 Turning now to strengthening our supply chains, we know 747

the U.S. relies on imports for 31 of 35 of our critical 748 749 minerals necessary for the U.S. defense and our clean economy, 14 of which we are totally dependent on imports. To 750 751 ensure critical energy resources, Congress should designate DoE with the responsibility to do this. That is what 752 Securing America's Critical Mineral Supply Act does. 753 Ιt amends the DoE Organization Act to give DoE the 754 responsibility of securing our supply of critical energy 755 756 resources.

Congress should ensure our critical energy facilities produce our critical energy resources during emergencies and threats to our energy security. Several of the bills under consideration here today do just that.

The National and Energy Security Waiver bill authorizes the EPA administrator, in consultation with DoE and the governor, to waive certain requirements, sanctions, or fees during times of threats to our national or energy security to maintain an adequate supply of gasoline and diesel and other critical refined resources.

Another bill addresses EPA's backlog of pending
 applications to complete risk assessments of chemical
 substances necessary today to produce our critical energy

| 770 | resources. EPA's backlog is so great that U.S. companies are  |
|-----|---|
| 771 | hesitant to make capital investments to produce critical      |
| 772 | battery components necessary for the deployment of EVs. This  |
| 773 | inexplicable delay is a problem China and our global          |
| 774 | competitors simply do not have.                               |
| 775 | Likewise, the interim permit bill for safe storage and        |
| 776 | disposal of critical energy resources allows temporary onsite |
| 777 | storage and disposal similar to past practices and, like      |
| 778 | other bills, a common-sense approach to accelerate U.S.       |
| 779 | development of critical mass                                  |
| 780 | *Mr. Duncan. I am going to ask the gentleman to wrap up       |
| 781 | his opening.  |
| 782 | *Mr. Menezes our transition to battery                        |
| 783 | technologies, EV use, and grid scale battery storage.         |
| 784 | I will. I am in the course of wrapping up.                    |
| 785 | Since 2009, EPA has had the use of its flexible air           |
| 786 | permitting rule. EPA limits its use, and so we have a bill    |
| 787 | to allow that.  |
| 788 | Congress also needs to ensure that interstate electric        |
| 789 | transmission infrastructure                                   |
| 790 | *Mr. Duncan. I am sure a lot of this will be covered in       |
| 791 | the question-and-answering, so I am going to ask you to wrap  |
|     | 39  |

792 up. 793 \*Mr. Menezes. It is. Well, with that, I will, in fact, thank you for the opportunity to testify today. 794 I ask that my written statement be included in the 795 record, and I look forward to your questions. 796 [The prepared statement of Mr. Menezes follows:] 797 798 799 800

801 \*Mr. Duncan. Thank you for that, and I apologize, but 802 we do have a broad panel. So the chair will go to Mr. 803 Eshelman. 804

805 STATEMENT OF JEFFREY ESHELMAN

806

\*Mr. Eshelman. Good morning, and thank you for having me here today. It is a pleasure to be here. I am Jeff Eshelman, President and CEO of the Independent Petroleum Association of America.

I would like to thank Chairman Duncan and Chairman Johnson for gathering this hearing today. We really appreciate being a part of it.

As you know, the American natural gas and oil industry is very diverse, and consists of many sectors. My organization, IPAA, represents the exploration and production part of the industry. The independent companies who don't have refineries or gasoline stations, these companies specifically search for and produce the nation's gas and oil wells.

There are about 6,000 independent producers exploring and producing for the nation's energy supply each day. They are spread across 33 states. And here is the kicker that a lot of people don't recognize: Collectively, these small businesses, the 6,000 of them, are responsible for developing 91 percent of the nation's natural gas and oil wells,

827 accounting for 83 percent of America's oil supply and 90
828 percent of our domestic natural gas supply.

Through good times and bad, our companies invest billions in new projects, searching for America's energy. So the characterization that this industry is Big Oil is actually a big myth. It is the independent, smaller companies that are drilling most of the wells and providing for most of the energy in this country.

Through the effort of independent producers, today America is a world leader in natural gas and oil production. And we are doing it responsibly. In this time of continuing uncertainty, one thing is certain: A healthy oil and natural gas industry is good for America. It is good for our economic and national security, as well as for our allies across the globe.

Let me take a few minutes to address some of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats that we see at IPAA.

845 Strengths. Natural gas is actually good for the 846 environment. Today the nation has its cleanest air in 20 847 years. In fact, total greenhouse gas emissions continue to 848 decline, despite production and consumption of natural gas

849 increasing.

850 Our industry is committed to reducing leaks and improving pipeline infrastructure. American producers are 851 852 taking the right, responsible approach to these issues. Other strengths of our industry include that we have 853 America's vast natural gas supply right under this ground, 854 about 100 years' worth. Oil and gas will remain America's 855 largest fuel source through 2050. And coupled with wind, 856 857 solar, hydro, nuclear, coal, batteries, America has a strong, reliable energy portfolio. 858

The weaknesses we see, inflation, which affects all Americans. Our industry is not just producing energy, but it is also consuming it. A weak economy results in a weakened industry.

Labor and service costs -- for example, purchasing tubular goods -- have driven up the costs of drilling and completing wells by 30 percent year over year. It is often difficult for us to find a new workforce, to even find trucks.

And the need for a takeaway capacity through pipelines and gas storage are essential.

But there are some good opportunities to keep in mind.

871 America's natural gas and oil production are vital here at 872 home.

On the legislation being discussed today, IPAA strongly supports H.R. 150, the Protecting American Production Act, sponsored by Congressman Duncan. This legislation prohibits the President from declaring a moratorium on the use of hydraulic fracturing, unless Congress authorizes such a prohibition.

IPAA also supports H.R. 484, the Natural Gas Tax Repeal Act, sponsored by Congressman Pfluger. This legislation would strike language designed to establish a tax on natural gas imposed on America's independent oil and natural gas producers.

IPAA recognize that the importance of managing our emissions of methane and other volatile organic compounds, and we are committed to working diligently to comply with state and Federal agencies.

Now the threats. And mostly it is about uncertainty in our industry. Uncertainty breeds inaction, and that is not an option for us. So what are the threats that create uncertainty for our businesses?

892 Well, we have lawsuits; we have new permitting

| 893                      | infrastructure regulation threats; we have proposed threats  |
|--------------------------|--|
| 894                      | of new regulations with the Endangered Species Act and   |
| 895                      | increases increased taxes on methane; we have the  |
| 896                      | Securities and Exchange Commission looking at climate plans;   |
| 897                      | we have bans and setbacks; we have electrification proposals,  |
| 898                      | like for natural gas stoves that we have seen so much about  |
| 899                      | in the news; and there is delayed lease sales in onshore and   |
| 900                      | offshore. And there is so much more.   |
| 901                      | But I want to work with this committee or IPAA wants   |
| J01                      | But I want to work with this committee of IFAA wants   |
| 902                      | to work with this committee to make sure that we can address   |
|                          |  |
| 902                      | to work with this committee to make sure that we can address   |
| 902<br>903               | to work with this committee to make sure that we can address these threats, strengths, weaknesses, and opportunities.                                      |
| 902<br>903<br>904        | to work with this committee to make sure that we can address<br>these threats, strengths, weaknesses, and opportunities.<br>Thank you for the opportunity. |
| 902<br>903<br>904<br>905 | to work with this committee to make sure that we can address<br>these threats, strengths, weaknesses, and opportunities.<br>Thank you for the opportunity. |

909 \*Mr. Duncan. I thank the gentleman. The chair will now 910 recognize Mr. Garcia for five minutes.

912 STATEMENT OF RAUL GARCIA

913

\*Mr. Garcia. Thank you, Chairman. Thank you, all the ranking members, for the invitation to speak. My name is Raul Garcia. I am the legislative director for Healthy Communities at Earthjustice.

In giving an opinion about the 17 bills that we are considering today, I can't -- I don't have enough time to go one by one. But there are some narratives that the bills overall establish for us.

Overall, there are litany of exemptions, a litany of goarounds, and a litany of ways that big industries get to go around laws that we have in the books already that were put in the books by Congress in bipartisan support in order to protect the communities that this very Congress represents.

And so, when we talk about already having industries that act responsibly, one has to beg the question: If they are acting responsibly, why do they want to waive the laws that hold them accountable to acting responsibly? And we have not gotten an answer on that front.

But we also have to remember that what is at stake here is broader than the simple choice that the proponents of

934 these bills give us. So they give us a false choice between 935 having healthy communities, a healthy environment, and energy 936 security. And that is simply not true. We can have both. 937 But it is a clever twist.

I mean, it is a clever ploy, even if it is a cruel one. 938 Because on the one hand, some of these bills actually repeal 939 parts of the laws they have made -- that have made it into 940 the books that would speed up a transition to clean energy, 941 942 that would give us energy security in a clean and healthy way, like the -- like parts of the IRA, particularly the 943 Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund. Now, that would speed up 944 distributed solar energy so that people can have energy at 945 their own homes so that grids going down are not a problem 946 947 for an entire state. But we want to take that away in these bills. 948

And then, on the back end, we actually want to give industry loopholes that they can use in order to not comply with the Clean Air Act, with the Toxic Substances Control Act. These laws were established by this Congress in bipartisan fashion to protect the air that we breathe, and the toxics that are in our environment, the water that we drink, the makeup that we put on our faces, everything that

goes into our stomachs. And we want to peel that away. 956 957 Now, we hear a lot about energy security and this phrase of critical minerals, critical energy sources. So let's talk 958 959 about critical energy sources. Few bills of the 17 that we have here today actually establish a definition for critical 960 energy sources. What they actually say is, let's leave that 961 definition up to the Secretary of Energy. That is a Trojan 962 That means everything can suddenly become a critical 963 horse. 964 energy source.

And so what are we talking about when we are talking about these sources? We are talking about making sure that we have a responsible way to get to clean energy that establishes safe protections for our communities. And these bills, frankly, do exactly the opposite.

And so, when we talk about the Toxic Substances Control Act, for example, one of the bills would have us consider the economic impacts, the economic costs of -- when determining whether a substance is toxic or not. So that would mean that, if we put poison in three cups of water, we are going to drink them all and figure out what the economic cost is going to do to us.

977 So the -- another question that I have for the

| 978 | proponents of the bill is, what is the cost of a human life?  |
|-----|---|
| 979 | What is the cost that that poison is going to inflict on a    |
| 980 | human being? Because it is good to talk about everything      |
| 981 | that is on paper and laws and exemptions and procedures. How  |
| 982 | do we explain the emissions coming out of the fossil fuel     |
| 983 | industry or the mining industry to our communities who are    |
| 984 | suffering from cancers, from asthma, from cardiac conditions? |
| 985 | But we haven't talked about that here yet.                    |
| 986 | And so I believe that that is what we need to focus on,       |
| 987 | and that is what we need to do. And so these bills, by and    |
| 988 | large, fail, flat-out fail to address what communities across |
| 989 | the country are dealing with.                                 |
| 990 | [The prepared statement of Mr. Garcia follows:]               |
| 991 |   |
| 992 | ********COMMITTEE INSERT********                              |
| 993 |   |

994 \*Mr. Garcia. Thank you.
995 \*Mr. Duncan. Thank you. I now recognize Ms. Sweeney
996 for five minutes.
997

998 STATEMENT OF KATIE SWEENEY

999

Ms. Sweeney. Thank you. Good morning, members of the subcommittee. I appreciate being here on behalf of the National Mining Association's mineral and hardrock mining companies to talk about the need to strengthen our mineral supply chains to unleash American energy and lower energy cost.

Domestic mining, conducted under world-leading environmental safety and labor standards, is critical to securing virtually every key supply chain, especially energy. But the right policies are needed to unlock our full potential.

1011 Minerals are an integral part of all current forms of 1012 energy, and for those we hope to rely on more in the future. 1013 From copper, nickel, and silver, and renewables to cobalt, 1014 and lithium, and EVs to barite, and molybdenum that keep oil 1015 and gas moving, to uranium and coal, which produced over 40 1016 percent of our electricity, minerals security makes energy 1017 security.

1018 As we enter the most mineral-intensive era in human 1019 history, the International Energy Agency estimates demand for

some minerals required for energy generation transitions could grow by more than 40 times by 2040. Urgent action is needed to secure these essential supply chains. But recent U.S. Geological Survey information shows our country is headed in the wrong direction.

Despite the rhetoric around securing our mineral supply chains, we are at a crisis point. In 2022, the U.S. reached its highest recorded mineral import reliance. Imports made up more than one-half of U.S. apparent consumption for 51 non-fuel mineral commodities, up from 2021, when only 47 commodities met that metric.

1031 We are more dependent than ever before on China and 1032 others for minerals essential to modern life. And each new 1033 announcement of a blocked mine, such as Twin Mines -- Twin 1034 Metals Project in Minnesota or foreign sourcing agreements 1035 with countries with documented problematic labor practices, 1036 locks in our position of competitive weakness.

1037 The U.S. must focus on supplying these minerals at home, 1038 as well as restoring domestic smelting, refining, and 1039 processing capabilities. In a 2019 hearing, Benchmark 1040 Minerals talked about growing mineral demand for EV batteries 1041 and lack of domestic production, cautioning that those who

1042 control these critical raw materials and those who possess 1043 the manufacturing and processing know-how will hold the 1044 balance of industrial power in the 21st century auto and 1045 energy storage industries.

Automakers understand that that truth, and worry that the coming battery minerals shortfall will decimate the EV revolution. Ford's President and CEO recently highlighted the need to focus on domestic supply chains all the way to the mines to reduce our reliance on minerals sourced from countries with documented child labor practices and corruption.

Without permitting reform, the U.S. will be watching the 1053 global competition for energy dominance from the sidelines. 1054 1055 Providing additional funds or incentives for projects that will never be approved does nothing. As the IEA concluded in 1056 a recent report, governments must leverage private investment 1057 in sustainable mining, but also ensure clear and rapid 1058 permitting procedures to avoid potential supply bottlenecks. 1059 1060 Opening or expanding a U.S. mine typically involves multiple agencies and tens or even hundreds of permitting 1061

1063 arise from duplication among agencies, absences of firm

1062

55

processes at the local, state, and Federal levels. Delays

timelines, and failures in agency coordination. Necessary authorizations take an average of 7 to 10 years, one of the world's longest permitting processes. Valid environmental concerns should be fully addressed, but permitting processes should not serve as an excuse to trap mining projects in a limbo of duplicative, unpredictable, endless, and costly review.

We can build on important work done by this committee to 1071 1072 support new domestic production and processing. Chair McMorris Rodgers and Natural Resource Chair Westerman's 1073 Securing American Mineral Supply Chains Act offers common-1074 sense solutions to reestablish a domestic mineral supply 1075 1076 The act prioritizes responsible development; and chain. 1077 would provide certainty to mining companies, investors, and manufacturers; establish lead agencies; and improve 1078 permitting timeliness; maintain access to mineralized Federal 1079 lands unless withdrawn by Congress, and unless the USGS can 1080 assure that the withdrawal does not threaten supply chains; 1081 1082 support research, development, and demonstration funding; and workforce development and training. 1083

1084 It is time for the United States to walk the talk on 1085 mineral security. As our minerals needs skyrocket for

| 1086 | everything from EVs to advanced energy technologies, the U.S. |
|------|---|
| 1087 | is stumbling when it comes to our supply chains.              |
| 1088 | NMA appreciates this committee's prioritization of these      |
| 1089 | issues, and is eager to help craft solutions. Thank you.      |
| 1090 | [The prepared statement of Ms. Sweeney follows:]              |
| 1091 |   |
| 1092 | ********COMMITTEE INSERT********                              |
| 1093 |   |
|      |   |

1094 \*Mr. Duncan. Thank you for that. The chair will now 1095 recognize Mr. Slocum for five minutes.

1097 STATEMENT OF TYSON SLOCUM

1098

Mr. Slocum. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, members of the committee. It is my pleasure to be here today. I am Tyson Slocum, and for the last two decades I have been the director of the energy program with Public Citizen here, in Washington, D.C.

So liquefied natural gas exports are the disruptive 1104 event that is radically upending domestic energy markets. 1105 For the first time in history, American natural gas 1106 consumers, whether they be households, operators of power 1107 plants, are forced to compete with their counterparts in 1108 Berlin and Beijing on price. That is why, coast to coast, 1109 1110 Americans are now paying significantly higher prices for electricity and to heat their homes. 1111

1112 There have been periods in the last two months where 1113 prices on the U.S. West Coast and in New England have been 1114 more expensive for natural gas than in Ukraine. That is 1115 because we are now -- because, prior to LNG exports, our 1116 domestic markets were insulated from global calamities. War 1117 could break out in Europe, and there would be no bump in 1118 price. Now our domestic benchmarks are directly linked with

1119 global events like the same that has been the way with oil 1120 and gasoline markets for more than a generation.

1121 So this is not a crisis of inadequate natural gas 1122 production. We are breaking records on natural gas 1123 production in the U.S. every month, according to the Energy 1124 Information Administration. Twenty percent of U.S. natural 1125 gas production is exported out of the United States, and that 1126 is what is driving the imbalance.

But on the production side, we are far and away the largest producer on the planet. The number two and number three global producers of gas, Russia and Iran, combined don't produce as much as the United States every day. So we are not going to produce our way to lower prices as long as the export spigot remains open.

1133 So, of course, a focus of policy on energy efficiency 1134 and promoting zero emission alternatives to gas has to be 1135 part of the solution. But in the meantime, we need stronger 1136 regulation over LNG exports, not less. And so I am just 1137 going to briefly cover 4 of the 17 bills.

So H.R. 647 would eliminate the requirement that natural gas exports be consistent with the public interest. That is a standard that has been in place for 85 years, and we

believe that it is crucial that all natural gas exports 1141 continue to be subject to that public interest standard. 1142 The Cross-border Energy Infrastructure Act would require 1143 1144 FERC to approve any natural gas export pipeline within 30 days of receiving the application. So that is a de facto 1145 approval. We are a party in a case at FERC right now 1146 involving a natural -- a proposed natural gas cross-border 1147 pipeline, a 155-mile pipeline that would connect the Permian 1148 1149 Basin at the Waha Hub to Mexico, and then directly send that U.S.-produced gas through Mexico to new LNG export terminals 1150 on Mexico's Pacific coast. 1151

1152 Thankfully, there is a public interest review, and we 1153 are an intervener in that FERC proceeding, where we are going 1154 to raise concerns about the threat to the public interest of 1155 exporting Permian gas directly to China. And removing that 1156 review would not be advisable.

H.R. 484 would eliminate the methane fee in the recently-enacted Inflation Reduction Act. What is wild about this is the Inflation Reduction Act bends over backwards to accommodate the oil and gas sector. Congress appropriates a billion-and-a-half dollars in grants to the oil and gas sector to help them invest in facilities to reduce their

methane emissions. I don't see the oil and gas industry complaining about a billion-and-a-half dollars in taxpayer grants to help their business. And in addition, the fee is waived if you successfully comply with EPA regulations on methane emissions. So that makes the industry a partner with effective regulation. And so I don't think that that legislation is advisable.

And last, I just want to touch on the bill that would 1170 1171 prevent the EPA from requiring oil refineries using hydrofluoric acid alkylation to explore less hazardous 1172 alternatives. It is important to note that, in October of 1173 2022, the U.S. Chemical Safety and Hazard Investigation 1174 Board, in response to a series of tragic accidents with a 1175 1176 hydrofluoric acid alkylation, recommended and urges the EPA to subject these facilities to hazard reviews. So I think it 1177 would be imprudent to remove that opportunity. 1178

1179Thank you so much. I look forward to your questions.1180[The prepared statement of Mr. Slocum follows:]

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1182 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*COMMITTEE INSERT\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

1183

- 1184 \*Mr. Duncan. I thank the gentleman. The chair will now 1185 recognize Mr. McNamee for five minutes.
- 1186

1187 STATEMENT OF BERNARD MCNAMEE

1188

\*Mr. McNamee. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Chairman Duncan, Ranking Member DeGette, Chair Johnson, Ranking Member Tonko, Chair Rodgers, and Ranking Member Pallone, members of the committee, thank you for inviting me to participate in this hearing. I am Bernie McNamee, and I am here and want to make it clear that I am only expressing my own views, and they are not of my employer or any of its clients.

Today we are facing a new energy crisis. The people of the -- the American people are facing a new energy crisis. Americans are now faced with energy scarcity; artificial shortages of natural gas and oil, despite massive reserves in the United States; and an electric grid that is less reliable.

1202 Nor can all this be blamed on Putin's war in Ukraine. 1203 Misguided government policies, as well as the politicization 1204 of capital, are causing much of the current energy crisis in 1205 this country. The energy challenges are wide ranging.

We have the means to reinvigorate our energy priorities for the benefit of the American people. Many of the bills here today will help do that. But recognizing the limited

time for these opening comments, I will focus on three major issues: permitting reform, the importance of natural gas to energy security, and restoring reliability to our electric grid.

Permitting reform. Over the years we have seen a number 1213 of initiatives to speed up environmental reviews, including 1214 permitting reform. And the problem is not just agencies 1215 reviewing projects. The substantive aspects of various 1216 1217 environmental laws contribute to the rejection, delay, and cost of energy projects. Therefore, attempts to make the 1218 bureaucracy work more efficiency [sic] may not result in more 1219 projects being approved or constructed. 1220

To address permitting challenges, Congress should look at the substantive requirements in various laws and agency regulations that they are implementing, so as to ensure that they properly protect the environment, but also do not create artificial barriers.

But there is another problem, and it is related to NEPA litigation. As enacted by Congress, NEPA does not provide for a private cause of action. But the courts have allowed agency actions on NEPA decisions to be challenged in court through the Administrative Procedures Act. The result is

that agencies now spend an inordinate amount of time and effort trying to address every minor comment and issue raised in environmental reviews. And no matter how good an agency's review is, the agency's action can still be challenged in court, which can then hold up a project for years. Such delays can end up killing a project, or making it more expensive.

Congress should consider reforming NEPA and the EPA to limit how legal challenges can be made against agency actions. But of course, this is a two-edged sword. We want agencies to be accountable, so Congress will have to engage in a careful balancing of its authorities.

Next, natural gas energy security. American energy security and affordability is vitally dependent on access to domestically-produced natural gas. Natural gas is important for home heating, manufacturing, but also provides about 38 percent of our electric generation. Unleashing natural gas production should be a priority, and natural gas pipelines are very important to get end product to users.

1250 Furthermore, Federal and state policymakers need to 1251 recognize the interdependence of the electric grid and 1252 natural gas, especially natural gas pipelines. This means

ensuring that pipelines are also safe from cyber and physical 1253 1254 threats, which I also know is being considered by this committee. 1255

1256 Finally, restoring the reliability of the electric grid. Electric reliability is decreasing in many parts of the 1257 country. And we have seen this in California, Texas, and 1258 part of the East Coast this past December. And these 1259 failures have not been the usual causes for power outages, 1260 1261 which are usually downed power lines. What we have been 1262 seeing is a lack of enough generation on the grid, dispatchable generation to keep the power going. 1263 This is the result of policy choices, in particular the 1264 convergence of subsidized renewables and regional 1265 1266 transmission organizations. Though described as electric 1267 markets, RTOs are actually complex regulatory constructs. And unlike traditional utilities, generators and RTOs have no 1268 obligation to serve customers. Furthermore, RTOs and 1269 generators are not passing the full economic benefits of no-1270 1271 fuel and subsidized renewables to customers. The end result has been higher prices for customers, less reliability, and 1272 little accountability. 1273

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1274
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This can be contrasted with traditional utilities which

| 1275 | engage in an integrated resource planning to provide         |
|------|--|
| 1276 | reliability, have the rate set in a manner that is           |
| 1277 | provides the economic benefits of fuel diversity to          |
| 1278 | customers, and is accountable to state public utility        |
| 1279 | commissions and legislators.                                 |
| 1280 | As you look at the various issues about reliability,         |
| 1281 | particularly the interaction between natural gas and         |
| 1282 | electric, you may want to consider reforms to the Federal    |
| 1283 | Power Act, FERC oversight, and enhancing the role of the     |
| 1284 | states. Reliable, affordable, and abundant energy is         |
| 1285 | essential for the American people and the nation.            |
| 1286 | I am grateful for the committee's work. Thank you for        |
| 1287 | having me here. And I ask that my written comments be put in |
| 1288 | the record.  |
| 1289 | [The prepared statement of Mr. McNamee follows:]             |
| 1290 |  |
| 1291 | *********COMMITTEE INSERT********                            |
| 1000 |  |

\*Mr. Duncan. Well, let me thank you all for your 1293 testimony, and we will now move into the question and 1294 answering portion of the hearing, and I will begin the 1295 1296 questioning, and I will recognize myself for five minutes. Seeing Ranking Member DeGette's coffee this morning, I 1297 am reminded that America runs on Dunkin. 1298 [Laughter.] 1299 I spell it a little differently. 1300 \*Mr. Duncan. 1301 The truth of the matter is, America runs on energy. For example, my bill, Protecting American Energy Production Act, 1302 clarifies congressional intent and states that -- have 1303 primacy regarding hydraulic fracturing. It also prohibits 1304 the President from issuing any moratorium on hydraulic 1305 1306 fracturing. Two years ago, America was energy dominant for the first 1307 time since 1952. We went from the largest net importer to 1308 the -- to a net exporter. We became number one in -- oil and 1309 gas producer of the world. We became a global price setter, 1310 1311 undercutting the leverage of OPEC. Finally, we achieved the -- President Jimmy Carter's mission for the DoE: We were no 1312 longer reliant on foreign adversaries for our energy 1313 security. 1314

We have now seen a reverse of this. The Democrats' 1315 energy policies have made us weaker and more reliant on other 1316 nations for energy and our supply chains. The Biden 1317 1318 Administration and congressional Democrats have taken over 100 actions to make it more difficult to produce oil and gas 1319 here in the United States. This may be why -- that the 1320 Administration didn't want to testify today. They know they 1321 have taken all executive action possible to undercut American 1322 1323 energy production.

President Biden has then blamed energy companies for not producing enough, while pushing a rush to green energy agenda that would make us overwhelmingly dependent on China, Russia, and our adversaries for energy.

The bottom line is we have the resources here in America to meet all of our energy needs and help those around the globe, abundant natural resources.

The goal of the legislation we are reviewing today is reverse of this, to make American energy and its supply chains more secure, while driving down consumer costs and emissions. So, Mr. Eshelman, I appreciate your comments on the shale revolution. We are going to talk about the hydraulic fracturing and the moratorium today.

| 1337 | The innovation and entrepreneurial spirit helped make         |
|------|---|
| 1338 | America energy dominant and a global leader in emissions      |
| 1339 | reductions. This didn't happen in countries with price and    |
| 1340 | supply controls. What would happen if this Administration     |
| 1341 | sought to curtail the use of hydraulic fracturing?            |
| 1342 | *Mr. Eshelman. Well, it would                                 |
| 1343 | *Mr. Duncan. Mr. Menezes.                                     |
| 1344 | *Mr. Eshelman. It would be                                    |
| 1345 | *Mr. Duncan. Or Mr. Eshelman, I am sorry.                     |
| 1346 | *Mr. Eshelman. Yes, so it would be devastating. I             |
| 1347 | remember back in 1994, when I worked at IPAA, we issued a     |
| 1348 | request to the Commerce Department called a Section 232,      |
| 1349 | because we were so dependent on foreign oil that we wanted a  |
| 1350 | national security, basically, ranking for America, that it is |
| 1351 | a threat to the United States, all this foreign oil coming    |
| 1352 | into America.   |
| 1353 | But now, if we look back 20 years later, 30 years later,      |
| 1354 | America has become energy independent, basically. We produce  |
| 1355 | 12 million barrels of oil a day. We have imports about        |
| 1356 | seven million, so it is not even half, because we also export |
| 1357 | about three to four million. So it has made us a global       |
| 1358 | leader. It has created jobs. It has brought down prices.      |

1359 It has taken down the trade deficit, it has helped local

1360 communities.

I know, Mr. Joyce, I am from Pennsylvania, Dr. Joyce, And we are the number-two natural gas producers. It has made our counties rich.

And so we operate in every community across the country, pretty much. We live in the communities. We are not headquartered all the time in Houston, or wherever you might think Big Oil is. So jobs, deficit reduction, helping local communities, it has done so much.

1369 \*Mr. Duncan. Thank you for that. Yes, I meet with gas1370 producers and pipeline managers all the time, owners.

And Mr. Slocum, you mentioned our natural gas 1371 1372 production. I would argue that we have so much natural gas in this country we can't truly measure how much. You talked 1373 about, I think, 20 percent that we are exporting. Producers 1374 and pipelines tell me that they could provide more natural 1375 gas to the nation if they had somewhere to put it. They just 1376 1377 don't have anywhere for the gas to go. They are at capacity on the pipelines, what is produced in the Marcellus. 1378 Thev could produce more, they just don't have anywhere to send it. 1379 My communities need it. My state needs it. The rest of 1380

1381 the nation needs it. Natural gas is what got us here in our 1382 emissions goals.

The goal of these bills today is to counter misquided 1383 1384 energy policies that will offshore investment, make us reliant on countries that don't share our values. If they 1385 had their way, we would be relying on critical minerals 1386 primarily produced in countries with no regard for human 1387 rights or emission reduction goals, countries like China. 1388 1389 These bills would reflect that the U.S. is serious about building out all forms of energy here, a true all-of-the-1390 above approach. 1391

1392 What happens, Mr. Menezes, if we recede from the world 1393 on the energy production, would it be cleaner?

\*Mr. Menezes. Well, we need to maintain our ability to produce because our global allies and partners have really become -- to depend on U.S.-produced LNG. They prefer to do business with LNG. After Putin's invasion, Europe came to us asking us to increase production. So they have -- really have come to rely on us.

1400 Plus, with the agreement with the Biden Administration 1401 to -- that our U.S. LNG providers were going to produce more 1402 and provide Europe over this winter and next winter, also

came the realization that natural gas helped Europe meet its 1403 net zero goals. 1404 \*Mr. Duncan. Yes. 1405 1406 \*Mr. Menezes. And indeed, so countries are looking to U.S. for LNG to help meet net zero goals, which, you know, 1407 the U.S. is proud to be a leader in that. 1408 \*Mr. Duncan. Yes. My time is expired, but lessen their 1409 dependance on Vladimir Putin and others for their energy 1410 1411 sources. And I will go to the ranking member, Ms. DeGette, for 1412 five minutes. 1413 \*Ms. DeGette. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman. 1414 The first thing I want to start with, Mr. Chairman, so we get 1415 1416 this subcommittee off on the right foot, is I know the Administration would love to come and testify on these bills. 1417 And so, first of all, I think we should have another 1418 hearing with the Administration on these bills. Secondly, if 1419 you expect the Administration to come, then we would expect 1420 1421 that you give them the same comity that we did when Mr. Trump was in the White House, and give them advance notice. But in 1422 addition, you have got 17 bills up today, and they only had 1423 notice of what 2 of those bills were. So if you really want 1424

fulsome testimony, you need to give them the bills. 1425 The second thing I want to point out is that I have good 1426 news for you, Mr. Eshelman and everybody else and you, Mr. 1427 1428 Chairman, which is, you know, we have a lot of fracking in my state of Colorado, too. And I have been dealing with it for 1429 some time. And as you know, fracking occurs a lot in places 1430 where traditional drilling did not. And so it is really 1431 important -- so I don't think anybody is seriously saying we 1432 1433 should eliminate fracking. 1434 But what I am saying and what many are saying is we should have adequate environmental and security legislation 1435 to make sure that it is safe for the communities around it. 1436 And I don't think you could disagree with that. 1437 Is that 1438 right, Mr. Eshelman? \*Mr. Eshelman. I believe you are correct, that the 1439 states --1440 \*Ms. DeGette. Thank you. 1441 \*Mr. Eshelman. -- and local communities are doing their 1442 1443 part. 1444 \*Ms. DeGette. Right. \*Mr. Eshelman. But I don't think the Federal Government 1445 can put --1446

\*Ms. DeGette. Okay, thanks. 1447 \*Mr. Eshelman. -- a one-size-fits-all on --1448 \*Ms. DeGette. I have only got five minutes, 1449 1450 unfortunately. So I would like to talk to you, Mr. Slocum, for a minute about this notion of increasing oil and gas 1451 production in the United States, whether it is traditional 1452 drilling or fracking, and this concept that that will somehow 1453 make us independent from foreign oil. And the Chairman was 1454 1455 talking to you about that.

1456 Is that correct, that if we have increased oil and gas 1457 production here, that that will make us independent from 1458 international oil? And if not, why not?

<sup>1459</sup> \*Mr. Slocum. Yes. No, that is not correct, because, as <sup>1460</sup> you noted, oil and gasoline markets are globally priced, and <sup>1461</sup> they have been since the futures exchange opened in 1982 in <sup>1462</sup> New York.

And so that is why, whenever during the first Gulf War in 1990, we saw significant price spikes here in the United States, even though there were no domestic impediments to that. It was because the commodity is a globally priced commodity. And prior to the export boom of natural gas, natural gas was insulated. And now that we have got LNG

exports, Americans are now exposed to global natural gas 1469 1470 price shifts. \*Ms. DeGette. So what would the best way to become 1471 1472 independent from these -- this foreign market? \*Mr. Slocum. To get our economy off of volatilely 1473 priced, globally priced fossil fuels like oil and natural 1474 qas --1475 \*Ms. DeGette. And move more into renewable fuels that 1476 1477 were domestically developed? \*Mr. Slocum. Correct. 1478 \*Ms. DeGette. Okay. Now I want to ask you one more 1479 thing about H.R. 484, because one of the focal points I have 1480 been working on for some years is reducing methane emissions. 1481 And so H.R. 484 rolls back the Obama-era methane rule that 1482 1483 had bipartisan support and industry support, including BP and Shell. 1484 So I want to ask you why section 60113 of the Inflation 1485 Reduction Act is so important. 1486 1487 \*Mr. Slocum. It is so important because methane is an incredibly powerful greenhouse gas, far more destructive than 1488 It is shorter-lived in the atmosphere, but capturing CO2. 1489 those methane emissions from the oil and gas sector is 1490

critical if we are going to successfully address the climate 1491 1492 crisis. And so that is why I thought that the methane provisions 1493 1494 in the IRA were extremely fair. They provide --\*Ms. DeGette. And it gives the --1495 They accommodate industry --1496 \*Mr. Slocum. \*Ms. DeGette. Yes. 1497 \*Mr. Slocum. -- to help industry achieve those emission 1498 reduction --1499 \*Ms. DeGette. They actually give funding to the 1500 industry to help them comply with the bill, right? 1501 \*Mr. Slocum. Correct. 1502 \*Ms. DeGette. And finally, Mr. Garcia, I want to thank 1503 1504 you for your testimony. But I would particularly ask the committee to look at your written testimony, where you 1505 analyze every one of these 17 bills and talk about the 1506 fundamental problems. I don't have time in five minutes, 1507 like you didn't have time in your testimony, but it is really 1508 1509 helpful analysis. And I think we should really try to work together to move this discussion forward, rather than just 1510 rehashing tired debates that we have had over all the many 1511 years I have been on this committee. 1512

1513 With that, I yield back. And welcome to the new 1514 chairman.

Mr. Johnson. [Presiding] The gentlelady yields back, and the chair now recognizes himself for five minutes for the purpose of asking questions.

And let me -- I want to touch on my legislation, the Unlocking our Domestic LPG Potential Act. And I mentioned last week how unleashing U.S. LNG exports strengthens America's geopolitical posture on the world stage, but it can also bring considerable benefits here at home.

Mr. Menezes, thank you for you -- thank you for mentioning my legislation, and for saying how America can lead the way in providing the world's energy. Can you explain how increasing U.S. LNG exports can have a positive effect on increasing production here at home, bringing with it the jobs and economic growth in places like my district in Ohio that sits atop the Utica and Marcellus Shale?

\*Mr. Menezes. Thank you very much for the question. Indeed, you know, throughout the world, many of our friends and allies are coming to the United States and asking us to try to produce as much LNG for the purpose of export. They are aware that, when we produce natural gas, it is used,

obviously, to drive our very powerful economy. But they have come to look to us, really, as part of the solution. They do not want to go to any of the monarchies if they have to. They do not want to go to Iran. And they certainly now have announced that they are no longer going to rely on Russia. So they have looked to the U.S. to replace this supply.

We need to look at a future where Russia will no longer be a reliable provider. Now, Russia will likely do deals with the monarchies and perhaps China, but it is important for our friends and allies to know they can depend on the United States.

1546 And so with that demand for export, increases domestic 1547 production, it lowest prices.

1548 \*Mr. Johnson. Thank you, Mr. Menezes. Now let's shift 1549 gears a bit.

We have an impressive slate of bills from our members on the Environment, Manufacturing, and Critical Materials Subcommittee that would address some of the major challenges that we are facing. Ms. Sweeney, please allow me to start with you, because you mentioned in your testimony that some critical materials needed for future industries and technologies like lithium and cobalt will skyrocket some 30

1557 or even 40 times beyond current demand right now. Frankly, 1558 this increase is hard to even comprehend.

The bottom line is we need a lot more mining and a lot more mines, and it is going to have to be done somewhere. So, Ms. Sweeney, wouldn't we want to do more of this right here in America?

1563 Can you tell us how, if we had the right permitting 1564 reforms and regulations in place, our domestic mining 1565 industry would be able to extract the minerals and metals we 1566 need in a safer and more environmentally responsible way than 1567 in other countries?

Ms. Sweeney. Thank you so much for that question. And yes, we have about 6.2 trillion of value of minerals known in the U.S. today. And there is further mapping all the time. So there are more minerals that will be found, and we can mine here under the best standards -- environmental, labor, and safety standards -- in the world.

But we do need the right policies in place to really unlock that potential. And permitting is one of the impediments. We need more efficiencies. We are not asking for environmental shortcuts. We are asking for a more efficient process, similar to the processes that are

similarly stringent in Canada and Australia, but they do more 1579 to focus on coordinating amongst the various agencies. They 1580 have firm timelines in place. 1581 1582 \*Mr. Johnson. Okay. All right. Well, thank you. And back to you, Mr. Menezes, very quickly. We are 1583 considering multiple bills today to allow America to protect 1584 its "critical energy resources' ' when America is under 1585 threat. Would you agree that, in addition to, say, oil and 1586 1587 gas, this definition could also include critical minerals and rare earths? 1588 \*Mr. Menezes. Absolutely. They are going to be 1589 necessary for our transition to a cleaner --1590 \*Mr. Johnson. Okay. Would you agree this is a broad 1591 1592 definition? Could it also include things like battery and solar components, perhaps electrical, steel? 1593 \*Mr. Menezes. Yes, it can include all of those 1594 necessary for our energy production and use. 1595 \*Mr. Johnson. Okay. Well, thank you, because it is 1596 1597 essential that we protect all of these components and their manufacturing supply chain. 1598 I do want, in my remaining time, I want to go back. 1599 Ι

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heard, Mr. Garcia, you mentioned that these bills are replete

| 1601 | with exemptions and go-arounds. These bills are actually the |
|------|--|
| 1602 | removal of burdensome regulatory barriers that are to        |
| 1603 | advancing a true, all-of-the-above, market-driven energy     |
| 1604 | strategy, the kind that the President actually wants.        |
| 1605 | But yet these barriers for permitting, for mining, for       |
| 1606 | exporting clean natural gas, you name it, those are things   |
| 1607 | that would promote the President's agenda. But this          |
| 1608 | Administration doesn't want that. And that is what we are    |
| 1609 | trying to break down today. Because good, solid energy       |
| 1610 | policy is also good climate policy. And we believe           |
| 1611 | Republicans are offering those up today.                     |
| 1612 | And with that, I would yield back. And now I recognize       |
| 1613 | our colleague, the ranking member on the Environment, and    |
| 1614 | Manufacturing, and Critical Materials Subcommittee, Mr.      |
| 1615 | Tonko, for five minutes.                                     |
| 1616 | *Mr. Tonko. Thank you, Mr. Chair.                            |
| 1617 | Mr. Garcia, thank you for your testimony. I am grateful      |
| 1618 | to you and the Earthjustice organization for the partnership |
| 1619 | with frontline communities seeking protection from           |
| 1620 | environmental and health threats.                            |
| 1621 | Yesterday, members received a letter from Earthjustice       |

1622 and seven other environmental organizations expressing

opposition to five bills under consideration today. While I understand you have several concerns with each of these bills, the broad definition of "critical energy resource' seems to be a common issue. What is your understanding of what could be included in these bills' definition of "critical energy resources,' and what risks might this pose to the communities with which you partner?

\*Mr. Garcia. Yes, absolutely. As I mentioned, the bills themselves don't actually give us a definition of what critical, whether it be critical minerals or critical energy sources, actually are. And so it really defers to the secretary of energy in any given administration to determine what these are. And so that means that virtually anything can become a "critical energy resource.''

And so, you know, the idea here is that we have to make sure that the energy that we produce is clean, but the manufacturing that goes into the creation of that clean energy also has to be clean, and it has to protect communities themselves.

And so, when we are talking about broad outlines, right, and broad schemes that do go around the laws, it is going to be particularly problematic because, again, we are talking

about laws and regulations. And we certainly heard about red 1645 tape, but few people actually mentioned that it is not red 1646 tape, it is actually protections that people rely on. NEPA, 1647 1648 the National Environmental Policy Act, is at times the only law that communities have on the ground to actually know what 1649 is going to happen in their backyards, and then to be able to 1650 comment on what is going to happen, say, on a mining project, 1651 or on a drilling project, or an energy project. 1652

And so we have to really think about how expansive this definition can really get, because, you know, when we are talking about the -- for example, the TSCA bill, it says that for critical energy sources you have to study the economic costs to see if the substance is safe, which is backwards. A substance is either safe or not. It is either poisoning or it is not. And you can't figure that out afterwards.

It also puts these chemicals on the market before the determination of whether they are safe or not is actually made. And so you can imagine that, right? Like, you -- hey, you got three cups in front of you. Go ahead and drink them all. We will find out later if one of them is poisoned. It is backwards logic. And that is what we are doing to our -that is what we would be doing to our communities day in and

1667 day out, if we allowed this to move forward.

1668 \*Mr. Tonko. Thank you.

Ms. Sweeney, your testimony highlighted the increasing international demand for critical minerals and the strategies developed by several foreign governments, including the UK and Canada, to address these growing demands. A common thread highlighted in these strategies is the importance of bringing greater transparency to supply chains.

1675 I know that the National Mining Association has said that the Inflation Reduction Act's clean vehicle tax credit, 1676 coupled with other provisions in the IRA, can help U.S. 1677 energy security and supply chain resilience. As you know, a 1678 key component of this tax credit is verifying material 1679 sourcing, and I want to hone in on that verification effort. 1680 What do you see as the need for increased supply chain 1681 transparency and tracking in helping verify and promote 1682 compliance with the domestic sourcing requirements in the 1683 recently-enacted battery incentives? 1684

1685 \*Ms. Sweeney. Thank you very much for that question.1686 That is a great question, and transparency is needed.

1687 I mean, there is information that we do get from the 1688 U.S. Geological Survey about where minerals come from, but it

can be quite complicated to trace them back to the source, 1689 1690 and additional resources are probably needed to be able to do that. 1691 1692 \*Mr. Tonko. So what --\*Ms. Sweeney. Of course, if we get them here, we 1693 wouldn't have to trace too far. 1694 \*Mr. Tonko. Right. But what specifically should we do 1695 to improve that tracing, tracking opportunity? 1696 1697 \*Ms. Sweeney. You know, I have not spent a lot of time thinking about that. I would love to get back to you with an 1698 answer. 1699 \*Mr. Tonko. Sure. Thank you. And I also believe 1700 Congress should consider other methods for meeting our 1701 1702 critical mineral demands, including investing in R&D to develop alternative battery chemistries that are less reliant 1703 on critical minerals, and putting a greater emphasis on the 1704 recycling of critical minerals already in commerce. 1705 Mr. Garcia, do you believe more can be done to achieve 1706 1707 more sustainable sourcing through recycling and reuse of critical minerals, provided this is done using safe and 1708 environmentally sound processes? 1709 \*Mr. Garcia. Yes, absolutely. And the laws that are in 1710

| 1711 | the books, far from being obstacles, are actually guides.     |
|------|---|
| 1712 | They guide us in order to make sure that, while we are doing  |
| 1713 | more recycling of these minerals, and while we are figuring   |
| 1714 | out what we want to do in terms of the next innovation, that  |
| 1715 | we are doing it in a way that it is safe. And so, far from    |
| 1716 | obstacles, these are guideposts that we need to make sure     |
| 1717 | that we are keeping in mind as we move forward in innovation. |
| 1718 | *Mr. Tonko. Thank you very much.                              |
| 1719 | With that I yield back, Mr. Chair.                            |
| 1720 | *Mr. Johnson. The gentleman yields back. The chair now        |
| 1721 | recognizes the chairlady of the total committee, Energy and   |
| 1722 | Commerce, Mrs. McMorris Rodgers, for five minutes.            |
| 1723 | *The Chair. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Our goal is to           |
| 1724 | put security back at the center of our energy policy. That    |
| 1725 | is what this, the package before us today each of these       |
| 1726 | bills is central to our energy work.                          |
| 1727 | And flipping the switch for more American energy and          |
| 1728 | energy-related industrial activity, it is key, while          |
| 1729 | maintaining America's highest labor environmental safety      |
| 1730 | standards. There is nothing in any of the bills before us     |
| 1731 | that would undermine those high standards.                    |
| 1732 | And I and, you know, Russia's invasion of Ukraine, it         |

didn't cause the energy crisis. It just exposed what was going on in weakening American energy security. The risks extend way beyond oil and gas supplies to vulnerabilities in the civilian nuclear sector.

The sad fact is our domestic fuel infrastructure, from uranium mining and conversion to enrichment services, has eroded. Upwards to 24 percent of America's fuel this year -this year -- will be Russian sourced, which places our fuel supplies at greater risk of disruption.

Mr. Menezes, during your time as Deputy Secretary of Energy, DoE highlighted the importance of restoring American nuclear leadership in the world. Would you speak briefly as to why a strong nuclear industrial base, from fuels to technological development, is critical to domestic nuclear development, quality energy supplies, and to our national security?

1749 \*Mr. Menezes. Well, thank you very much. I mean, we 1750 have always been aware of the need for the U.S. to maintain 1751 its global leadership in nuclear technology, but it became 1752 more apparent as I began to travel overseas and to see the 1753 role that Russia and China is playing, doing deals with our 1754 friends and allies across the world, trying to bring their

1755 nuclear technology to them.

Now, one might say, well, you know, that is not a big deal, but it is a big deal, because what we are doing is we are ceding the leadership, the technological leadership, the institutional knowledge, and the 50 to 100-year relationships with China and Russia -- with our friends and allies. They are turning away from the U.S. So that is an important thing: We are losing the global leadership.

We have 123 requirements in our law. China and Russia do not. And so we should all be concerned about maintaining that. Regardless of how you feel about nuclear energy, we need to maintain that leadership. It is very real, and it is very threatening.

And then our own history is that we really have -- we need to improve our mining, our milling, our conversion, our fuel fabrication, and, of course, enrichment. And so I really -- I ask this committee to please look seriously at it.

We released a report in 2020, where we tried to look at it in a very broad view, and I would like to submit that in the record, as well, with my testimony. Thank you.

1776 \*The Chair. Thank you very much.

Ms. Sweeney, just to build on this a little bit, my legislation is designed to send a clear signal to industry that a date certain America's nuclear industry can no longer rely on Russian-sourced, low-enriched uranium. What do you believe this signal would mean for building out our domestic fuel industry?

Ms. Sweeney. It is a lifeline. Frankly, you know, talking about insecure supply chains, our reliance on foreign sources of uranium, over 97 percent is foreign. It is just crazy when you think about that. And that industry is on the precipice of extinction. They need that lifeline.

1788 \*The Chair. So this week we are all talking about a 1789 Chinese spy balloon that made its way across America, 1790 underscored the importance of Americans and -- having safe 1791 and secure systems, supply chains. It is real. The threat 1792 from China is real. It is active.

1793 So Ms. Sweeney, what do you believe this event says 1794 about the urgency for us building out our mineral, metal, and 1795 energy materials supply chains?

1796 \*Ms. Sweeney. It is such an important topic. You know, 1797 we need to be able to rely on ourselves for as much as we 1798 can, and we have so much here that we can be using. We have

| 1799 | the great workforce, we have great transportation            |
|------|--|
| 1800 | infrastructure. We can and should be doing it here, and that |
| 1801 | will protect us, you know, in energy crisis, in military     |
| 1802 | crisis, in economic crisis.                                  |
| 1803 | *The Chair. So would you speak to where do we get the        |
| 1804 | minerals and the metals that we need right now? Where do     |
| 1805 | they come from?  |
| 1806 | *Ms. Sweeney. Could you repeat that?                         |
| 1807 | *The Chair. The minerals, the metals that we need in         |
| 1808 | energy, in   |
| 1809 | *Ms. Sweeney. Oh, oh   |
| 1810 | *The Chair. Yes, yes.  |
| 1811 | *Ms. Sweeney. China, mostly China, right? And the            |
| 1812 | processing, as well.   |
| 1813 | I mean we are 80 percent reliant on rare earths that         |
| 1814 | come from China. Processing, they do about 90 percent of the |
| 1815 | rare earths processing there.                                |
| 1816 | *The Chair. And what has been happening recently in          |
| 1817 | America, as far as making more of this available in America? |
| 1818 | *Ms. Sweeney. Well, we have gotten a lot of funding for      |
| 1819 | new projects in the U.S., but what we are lacking is the     |
| 1820 | permitting reforms to accompany that. So what we are         |

seeing money going to projects, but we are not seeing 1821 approvals happening. So it is really delaying our ability to 1822 unleash our full potential. 1823 1824 \*The Chair. Yes, you can't build without permitting reform. 1825 I yield back, Mr. Chairman. 1826 \*Mr. Johnson. The gentlelady yields back. The chair 1827 now recognizes the ranking member of the Energy and Commerce 1828 1829 Committee, Mr. Pallone, for five minutes. 1830 \*Mr. Pallone. Thank you, Chairman. I am going to try to get in some questions for Mr. Slocum and Mr. Garcia. 1831 So, Mr. Slocum, in your testimony you talked about how 1832 increased LNG exports have increasingly tied American natural 1833 gas markets with global markets, meaning that American 1834 consumers are now sharing in the volatility that global 1835 markets are experiencing due to Russia's invasion of Ukraine. 1836 And American natural gas markets are currently reflecting 1837 that volatility. 1838 1839 Last year, American natural gas futures fluctuated

1840 wildly from a low of just under \$4 per unit to nearly 10. I 1841 don't know how families in New Jersey is supposed to budget 1842 for gas to heat their homes when it could double in price on

1843 them with no warning whatsoever.

1844 So first question, Mr. Slocum, can you talk about how 1845 increased LNG exports have increased home energy costs for 1846 Americans?

\*Mr. Slocum. Yes. So the Department of Energy has authority to review export applications, and it has approved every one. And so, as a result, we went from zero LNG exports in 2016 to now we are the largest LNG exporter in the world. And what that has done is it has forced consumers in New Jersey and Texas and elsewhere to compete with our foreign counterparts for that gas.

And obviously, we want to help our allies in need after the Russian invasion, but I think that there needs to be a balanced assessment because when there are physical shortages in New England and extremely high prices on the West Coast, it is clear that the level of export is creating detrimental impacts for energy affordability at a time when families are already stretched thin with high energy prices.

1861 \*Mr. Pallone. Well, thank you.

Now, I wanted to enter into the record -- if I ask unanimous consent to enter into the record -- a CNBC article from last June detailing the decrease in U.S. natural gas

1872 \*Mr. Pallone. Thank you.

So if -- my understanding is that, you know, because 1873 that Freeport terminal export was closed, that we had more 1874 1875 natural gas here, and prices went down. Accurate? That is 100 percent correct. So on June \*Mr. Slocum. 1876 8th, 2022 there was a massive explosion at the Freeport LNG 1877 facility, which alone accounts for 20 percent of all of U.S. 1878 LNG exports, so it is a very large facility. And the futures 1879 1880 market immediately reacted to the fact that that 20 percent export capacity was going to be offline for some time by 1881 sending domestic prices significantly lower, a recognition of 1882 the direct impact that exports have on domestic pricing. 1883

\*Mr. Pallone. All right. Let me just focus on Mr.
Johnson's bill, Mr. Slocum. Then I have to get to Mr.
Garcia.

1887 Can you talk about how removing the requirement for DoE 1888 to find that LNG exports are in the public interest would 1889 worsen the problem of expensive natural gas?

\*Mr. Slocum. Correct. Right now, the -- under the standard established in 1938, Congress dictated that no exports are allowed to occur unless they are found to be consistent with the public interest. And right now the

1894 Department of Energy performs that test.

We banded together with a number of other organizations in October, noting some methodology flaws in the way that the Department of Energy currently does that. But the statutory requirement is very important to ensure that exports are consistent with the public interest. And I think removing that public interest standard would not be advisable.

1901 \*Mr. Pallone. All right. Let me go to Mr. Garcia about 1902 methane.

1903 Consumers are also paying for market failures that make it cheaper for the industry to waste methane than to install 1904 or upgrade equipment to prevent leaks. And this leaked or 1905 intentionally wasted gas never makes it to consumers, but 1906 1907 they are nevertheless stuck with the bill. So that is why we enacted the Methane Emission Reduction Program to ensure 1908 consumers stop paying for wasted energy or the harm its 1909 emissions cause. Cleaning up legacy damage and preventing 1910 future pollution from the oil and gas industry were also 1911 1912 reasons for the program.

1913 So Mr. Garcia, you have got less than a minute. Could 1914 you speak to how frontline communities would benefit from 1915 holding the oil and gas industry accountable for its methane

1916 pollution?

Mr. Garcia. I mean, throughout we see, whether it be oil and gas production or petrochemical facilities across the country, do some of the worst damage to communities across the country. And we can almost pinpoint the communities, the Ironbound community out in out in New Jersey, the Cancer Alley between Baton Rouge and Louisiana -- sorry, and New Orleans in Louisiana.

All you have to do is really go -- and I really encourage everybody on this committee -- go and take a -what they call the toxic tour of these communities to truly understand what they are dealing with left and right, day in and day out.

And people say, well, it is their choice to live there. 1930 They were there before. They were there before. And 1931 industry has come in, and they have utterly ravaged the 1932 health of these communities throughout.

And they will tell you about the cancer clusters. They will tell you about all of the concerns that they have about the respiratory health, cardiac health. And I honestly can't do it justice here.

1937 But it is imperative that the protections that we have

| 1938 | stay in the books. And what really needs to be the focus of   |
|------|---|
| 1939 | this Congress is how do we strengthen protections so that not |
| 1940 | only are we addressing the energy needs, which we have heard  |
| 1941 | a lot about here today and what we haven't heard many         |
| 1942 | things in fact, anything about are the health                 |
| 1943 | protections that need to be in place for communities to       |
| 1944 | actually thrive in the face of oil and gas, mining, and other |
| 1945 | dirty industries.   |
| 1946 | *Mr. Pallone. Thank you.                                      |
| 1947 | Thank you, Mr. Chairman.                                      |
| 1948 | *Mr. Johnson. The gentleman yields back. The chair now        |
| 1949 | recognizes the gentleman from Texas, Dr. Burgess, for five    |
| 1950 | minutes.  |
| 1951 | *Mr. Burgess. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.                        |
| 1952 | Deputy Secretary Menezes, let me just ask you a               |
| 1953 | question, if I could. The statement was made that natural     |
| 1954 | gas prices fell in June after the unfortunate accident at the |
| 1955 | Freeport facility.  |
| 1956 | Do you know what has happened since then, as far as the       |
| 1957 | futures on natural gas?                                       |
| 1958 | *Mr. Menezes. Well, I think today, you know, they are         |
| 1959 | back at their normal historic lows since the shale            |
|      | 99  |

1960 revolution. So that has been the constant thing. There was 1961 indeed a blip of the prices, as mentioned. But you have to 1962 look at the long-term view.

And so DoE has done, like, five studies using EIA and other experts in the field to look at if, in fact, all of the facilities that are pending there were actually permitted and built and exported. The studies have all been -- the projections have been clear: modest increases in prices. And this is going out to 2040.

Mr. Burgess. Yes. According to Bloomberg, the price did drop in late June and early July. It then immediately came back up for the balance of the summer, dropped again a little bit in September, when perhaps energy demands -- air conditioning and electricity demands -- fell off, and currently stands at two-and-a-half dollars per million BTU, I mean, which is in line with its historical precedent.

So -- but there is probably another reason why they are paying higher prices in Boston. Can you help us with that? \*Mr. Menezes. So on the price of natural gas, there are several reasons for that. It should not surprise anyone that, due to limited capacity on the West Coast and the East Coast, that those prices are going to be high. Those areas

of the country have taken the position to restrict natural gas going in there. So their constituents should be prepared to pay higher prices.

On pricing with respect to electricity, that is something actually different. So the pricing there is done, you know, at different points within the bid based markets. And so those are -- it is locational marginal pricing, and it really depends on the price of natural gas, really, to set the electricity.

But to be sure, when you restrict access to natural gas, and our economy is growing on the use of natural gas, you will have higher electricity prices at the points where you can't get natural gas. And more and more of our generation is replacing coal and ramping renewables. So it is a good thing that it is growing, but you have got to be careful about how you characterize pricing.

And with respect to the jump in LNG going down, remember that was in -- the prices went up for the unanticipated Putin invasion of Ukraine. That is what set the prices up. So when it came down because of the Freeport accident, it could only come down, to be frank about it, because the Putin invasion caused the global prices to go so high.

\*Mr. Burgess. So what is the principal source for 2004 2005 natural gas in Boston? \*Mr. Menezes. I don't know if there is a principal 2006 2007 source. I do know that New England has, you know, the ability to import natural gas from Yamal and other places. 2008 Our Jones Act restricts, you know, our ability to get natural 2009 gas from the Gulf of Mexico up to New England. So that is --2010 \*Mr. Burgess. So let me just ask Mr. Eshelman. 2011 2012 Are those are your independent producers that are 2013 selling in Boston? \*Mr. Eshelman. No, we are not up in Boston. 2014 I was going to say probably the biggest source of methane in New 2015 England is dairy farms. 2016 2017 \*Mr. Burgess. Is what? \*Mr. Eshelman. Dairy farms. 2018 \*Mr. Burgess. Well, look. And Mr. -- or Secretary 2019 Menezes, I appreciate your thoughts on this, and the 2020 restriction of natural gas. One of the bills we have under 2021 2022 discussion is to help get product that is stranded in the Permian Basin, and get it into the stream of commerce. 2023 So I appreciate your comments on that. 2024 \*Mr. Menezes. Just on a point on that, so, I mean, the 2025

President was taking the credit for increasing exports so 2026 2027 they could get to Europe. You know where the exports were coming from? The exports were coming from the Permian Basin 2028 2029 in --\*Mr. Burgess. Correct. 2030 \*Mr. Menezes. -- Texas to the export facilities there 2031 with -- beyond Federal overreach. That is the source. 2032 The President didn't make that point when he was taking credit 2033 2034 for increasing production to help our European --\*Mr. Burgess. Well, maybe you could help him with that 2035 line in the State of the Union tonight. He likes to take 2036 credit for stuff. 2037 But, look, I really appreciate your efforts on helping 2038 2039 us with the bill to get the siting and the permitting for natural gas pipelines. 2040 Yes, I get the concern that you don't -- in the 2041 production of natural gas you don't want flaring and venting. 2042 The problem with stranded gas in the Permian Basin is you 2043 2044 can't get it -- sometimes you can't get it to market. So this is an effort to do that. And I appreciate you pointing 2045 out how we are helping the President in the process. 2046 So thank you all for being here today, and I appreciate 2047

2048 the lively discussion.

2049 And I will yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Johnson. The gentleman yields back. The chair now recognizes the gentlelady, Ms. Schakowsky, for five minutes.
Ms. Schakowsky. Thank you to our witnesses.

Drill, baby, drill is what Big Oil and Big Gas wants right now. And it seems as if, from the list of bills that are being considered today, that that is what my Republican colleagues want, as well. It is really a wish list, I think, and a laundry list of policies on the Big Oil agenda.

2058 So, Mr. Slocum, I want to ask you, consumers have been 2059 on a natural gas roller coaster, with prices reaching the --2060 their highest level since 2008. Do the bills that we have --2061 or that we are considering today do anything to combat the 2062 high gas prices that consumers have suffered for this last 2063 year?

\*Mr. Slocum. I am unable to find any consumer
protections in these proposed bills. In fact, I think that
the expansion of exports would likely hurt consumers.

2067 What is striking to me is the lack of any energy 2068 efficiency or demand reduction initiatives in this 2069 legislation. It is not always about supply, it is also about

2070 demand.

2071 And how do we get more tools in the hands of consumers 2072 to help them avoid these high costs? More incentives. More 2073 funding for building efficiency, for building 2074 electrification, if municipalities and states want to go that 2075 direction. Weatherization. All of these types of tools can 2076 empower consumers to avoid their exposure to increasingly 2077 volatilely-priced fossil fuels for energy.

\*Ms. Schakowsky. So I want to ask you this. So in that 2079 case, what can -- tell us what we can do to encourage the 2080 utility companies to transition away from fossil fuels, while 2081 at the same time, of course, lower home energy costs and 2082 promote energy efficiency.

2083 \*Mr. Slocum. Right. I think --

2084 \*Ms. Schakowsky. I mean, we want to hear your ideas of 2085 what we can do going forward.

Mr. Slocum. Well, I think, you know, Congress already has directed a lot of financial incentives through the Inflation Reduction Act to try to spur the deployment of a number of different clean energy and energy efficiency technologies. And I think anything else that Congress can do to assist states with ensuring that utilities are making

2092 those investments in energy efficiency.

2093 There are a number of states that have recognized that prodding their utilities to invest more in their consumers to 2094 2095 increase energy efficiency is the best path forward. And so providing more regulatory incentives and financial incentives 2096 for utilities, for building owners, for landlords, and for 2097 homeowners to deploy and adopt energy efficiency technologies 2098 and clean energy technologies, that is only going to help 2099 2100 reduce customers' bills and their exposure to volatilely-2101 priced fossil fuel energy.

2102 \*Ms. Schakowsky. Can you give us some examples of 2103 things that are happening around the country that are 2104 delivering that kind of good outcome?

2105 \*Mr. Slocum. Sure. So I live in Maryland, which has very proactive -- it is called Empower Maryland, where the 2106 Public Service Commission, backed by the legislature, 2107 requires utilities to invest not necessarily in building new 2108 power plants to meet demand, but investing in consumers to 2109 2110 help obtain energy efficiency initiatives. So, you know, I live in a house built in 1900 that needed a whole lot of 2111 weatherization renovation. And that was helped in part 2112 because of incentives through the utility. 2113

| 2114 | And so I think looking at energy providers not as just        |
|------|---|
| 2115 | providing energy, but assisting customers in avoiding energy  |
| 2116 | use through improvements in energy efficiency, has to be a    |
| 2117 | central component. And all investments in energy efficiency   |
| 2118 | are typically far more cost effective, meaning the bang for   |
| 2119 | your buck for investing in energy efficiency is always better |
| 2120 | than building new energy resources.                           |
| 2121 | *Ms. Schakowsky. I thank you so much for your                 |
| 2122 | comments  |
| 2123 | *Mr. Slocum. Thank you.                                       |
| 2124 | *Ms. Schakowsky and I yield back.                             |
| 2125 | *Mr. Johnson. The gentlelady yields back. The chair           |
| 2126 | now recognizes the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Latta, for five   |
| 2127 | minutes.  |
| 2128 | *Mr. Latta. Well, thanks, Mr. Chairman, and thanks for        |
| 2129 | our witnesses for being here today. I really appreciate it.   |
| 2130 | And one key area that is holding the United States back       |
| 2131 | from reaching its full potential for energy production is     |
| 2132 | refining capacity. Last year the Energy Information           |
| 2133 | Administration estimated that North America lost over one     |
| 2134 | million barrels of fuel per day in refining capacity in a     |
| 2135 | three-year period.  |

Where refining capacity has decreased, demand for energy 2136 2137 has gone in the opposite direction. Our remaining refineries struggling to keep up with this demand are running at close 2138 2139 to 95 percent of total capacity. Any economist will tell you that the situation -- resulting in higher prices for the 2140 consumer. And my legislation, the Researching Efficient 2141 Federal Improvements for Necessary Energy Refining and 2142 Refinery Act, would address this. 2143

If I could start with you, Secretary Menezes, how important is it for the Federal Government to drive the conversation towards increasing refining capacity in this country?

Mr. Menezes. We do need a robust refining capacity here, simply so we don't have to import from any other country, and we can provide our consumers with what we need. But the fact is that there hasn't been another major -- a new, major refinery built -- green field -- since 1977. We have built some small refineries, but we have been closing more of --

2155 \*Mr. Latta. Sorry, would you repeat that again? What 2156 was the date, again, for our major refinery?

\*Mr. Menezes. In 1977, the last major green field oil

2158 production, I believe it was the marathon refinery.

Now, there have been some small refineries that have been built, typically on brownfield sites, but we have been – - our industry has been ratcheting out the inefficiencies back from the 1970s. And so we have been closing, we have been doing with what we can.

But the permitting process, essentially, is too difficult to overcome. I believe we have a North Dakota plant and a Utah plant that, I think, have basically stalled out because of lack of permits.

So we are doing -- we are making improvements with what we have had for many years, and that -- it operates at the 95 percent efficiency that you say -- does not leave much wiggle room for when the President wants us to increase refining. For example, we simply, A, don't have the facilities or it would be too costly for us to suddenly begin to take them out of mothball and then try to get them going again.

2175 So that is why we should look at this comprehensively to 2176 see what we can do to help, you know, get a robust, clean, 2177 environmentally compliant refinery.

2178 \*Mr. Latta. And just to follow up, what is the benefit 2179 going to be to the consumer? What is the benefit to the

consumer? 2180 2181 \*Mr. Menezes. Well, you would have a ready supply of refined products. 2182 2183 \*Mr. Latta. Thank you very much. You know, we have talked a little bit earlier today in 2184 regards to having a strong nuclear fuel security program, and 2185 I totally support it. And I also fully support our chair's 2186 legislation that would ban the importation of Russian 2187 2188 uranium. And, Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to place into the record two letters of support in favor of this bill, 2189 one from the Uranium Producers of America and the other from 2190 the organization Clearpath. 2191 \*Mr. Johnson. Without objection, so ordered. 2192 2193 [The information follows:] 2194 2195 2196

2197 \*Mr. Latta. Thank you very much.

Ms. Sweeney, if I could switch gears real quickly and 2198 talk about your testimony, because, interestingly enough, you 2199 2200 know, just by chance -- everybody saw the second page of The Wall Street Journal today. It is all about what? 2201 It is all about our -- what we are going to do about EVs and our 2202 batteries in this country. And it is a very interesting 2203 article, and I thought right -- apropos for where we are 2204 2205 today.

But, you know, in your -- this testimony that you talked -- that you presented today, you know, you have that the lithium band is going to -- demand is going to increase by more than 40 times by 2040, followed by graphite, cobalt, nickel at 20 to 25 percent in that timeframe. Our automakers are warning that the coming battery shortage could stop the EV revolution in its tracks.

2213 And also in your testimony you state that, with over \$6 2214 trillion worth of mineral resources that we have right here 2215 in this country, you know, it is right in our own backyard. 2216 But it goes right to -- a question, then, is on the 2217 permitting and the delays out there, because also in your 2218 testimony you have your chart that shows that, you know, we

could be looking at anywhere from 7 to 10 years to get a 2219 production site up. And I have been to the only lithium 2220 facility that we have in this country, out in Nevada. 2221 2222 But you also state that unexpected permitting delays could reduce that -- mining projects by more than a third. 2223 But do you also -- when you think about all of these 2224 things, you know, what are we going to do in this country, 2225 especially when we look to our friends to the north in 2226 2227 Canada, that their permitting is taking 2 to 3 years, and here in this country it is taking 7 to 10? What can we do? 2228 \*Ms. Sweeney. You know, they have some efficiencies in 2229 Canada and Australia, you know, which have very similar NEPA 2230 regulations and statute in place that do allow the permitting 2231 2232 process to move a little bit faster.

2233 One of those is actually allowing the project proponent 2234 to prepare the environmental impact statement. The 2235 government then does a thorough review, and makes sure that, 2236 you know, that meets all the standards, and they allow the 2237 opportunity for the public to comment on the NEPA project --2238 or the analysis, just like we do here.

2239 But the project proponent is -- has the best 2240 information. They are on the ground right there. They know

| 2241 | what is happening on the ground. They have got the data in  |
|------|---|
| 2242 | front of them, and they have the incentive to move more     |
| 2243 | quickly. And they are only focusing on one project at a     |
| 2244 | time. When the government has to do it, they are looking at |
| 2245 | a lot of different projects, and it is just a matter of     |
| 2246 | getting the resources to the project. That is part of the   |
| 2247 | delays.   |
| 2248 | Another process that works better                           |
| 2249 | *Mr. Latta. Oh, excuse me. I am afraid my time has          |
| 2250 | expired, but I would ask, if you could put that in writing, |
| 2251 | and I will address that to you then.                        |
| 2252 | [The information follows:]                                  |
| 2253 |   |
| 2254 | ********COMMITTEE INSERT********                            |
| 2255 |   |

2256 \*Mr. Latta. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

\*Ms. Sweeney. Sure.

\*Mr. Johnson. I thank the gentleman for yielding. The chair now recognizes the gentlelady from California, Ms. Matsui, for five minutes.

2261 \*Ms. Matsui. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for 2262 the witnesses for being here today.

Recent research from the Energy Innovation shows it is now cheaper to replace almost every coal plant in this country with new, renewable generation, rather than pay to keep those old coal plants running.

In my community, our utility, the Sacramento Municipal Utility District, affectionately called SMUD, is on track to be zero carbon by 2030. At the same time, our electricity rates are among the cheapest of any competitors.

2271 Mr. Slocum, fast-forward to 2030. Based on current 2272 modeling, will the clean energy transition save consumers 2273 money?

\*Mr. Slocum. Yes.

\*Ms. Matsui. Okay. Again, Mr. Slocum, given the expected costs of climate change, will the clean energy transition save our government money?

2278 \*Mr. Slocum. Yes.

\*Ms. Matsui. Okay. I want to follow up on what you said about what utilities can do. Are utilities doing all those kinds of things, and making sure that -- they are making sure that their customers have good investments so that we can transition?

As I mentioned, our municipal utility in Sacramento is on track to be zero carbon by 2030, 5 years ahead of the President's goal for decarbonizing the U.S. power sector.

The clean energy transition is achievable, it is cost effective, and the potential benefits are enormous.

2289 Mr. Garcia, if every utility in this country were zero 2290 carbon by 2030, what kind of benefits would we see among the 2291 low-income and minority communities living adjacent to fossil 2292 fuel facilities?

2293 \*Mr. Garcia. Well, it is going to be a huge impact, and 2294 that is why the investments coming out of the IRA are so 2295 important, because we are basically reducing the process that 2296 is poisoning the communities across the country, right? And 2297 so, the less they have to rely on those dirty fuels, the less 2298 poisoned air they have to breathe.

2299 \*Ms. Matsui. And for those focused on economic impacts

above all else, what are the potential economic benefits of 2300 2301 improved health in those frontline communities? \*Mr. Garcia. Well, throughout the -- you know, 2302 2303 throughout all of the economic impacts, they would be quite substantial. 2304 One, because, you know, I mean, you can think about, in 2305 very concrete terms, how much does an inhaler cost for -- you 2306 know, for a child per se? And that is a saving. The trips 2307 2308 to the emergency room, the hospital bills. On top of that, it also makes electricity way easier for 2309 them to get, and not as expensive as it used --2310 \*Ms. Matsui. Okay. Nature-based solutions are among 2311 2312 the most cost effective and under-appreciated tools in our 2313 toolbox when it comes to mitigating and adapting to climate change. And I am very concerned to see a number of bills 2314 here today that would roll back important environmental 2315 protections, and threaten fragile ecosystems. 2316 Mr. Garcia, what would be the cumulative impact of those 2317 2318 bills on our ecosystems, natural lands, and biodiversity 2319 across America? \*Mr. Garcia. It would be extremely destructive, not 2320 only because of the -- I mean, one is the climate emissions 2321 116

that they would -- that they bring about, and all of the way that they are going to make -- the storms, the droughts, all of that is going to get worse.

2325 But in addition to that, a lot of these projects are happening without any regard to nature, and I think that 2326 often times we talk about nature as some distant place where 2327 we don't actually go. But we have to recognize that air 2328 knows no borders. It travels all across our states, and so 2329 2330 does water. And so when we are polluting the water, when we are polluting the air, when the wildlife can't adapt quick 2331 enough, when we are throwing away grasslands that would 2332 protect our communities, say, from hurricanes or bigger 2333 storms that way, we are all going to end up suffering. 2334

And unfortunately, communities of color and low income are at the front lines of that suffering.

\*Ms. Matsui. Certainly, they are the most exposed, especially to nature's wrath and those dependent on the resources provided by the natural ecosystems.

How could we work better with low-income, minority, and frontline communities to protect these ecosystems and improve the potential of these ecosystems to help mitigate and adapt to climate change?

2344 Many of these are in low-income neighborhoods, and it is 2345 very difficult to figure out how to work with them. 2346 \*Mr. Garcia. Absolutely. And, you know, the way that 2347 we work with them is by following the guideposts that laws 2348 like NEPA set in place, because NEPA is really about engaging 2349 the public, engaging frontline communities.

And so making sure that it is not industry's alternative 2350 that gets put front and center all the time, making sure that 2351 2352 communities on the ground are actually being able to say, "That is actually a conflict of interest, ' ' making sure that 2353 communities on the ground are able to say, "That is actually 2354 going to affect my water, so you shouldn't do that,' ' and, 2355 frankly, all of those protections that, again, many people 2356 2357 here keep calling obstacles and red tape are those guideposts in order to engage those communities in a way that is going 2358 to be helpful to them and helpful to the project's sponsor 2359 themselves --2360

2361 \*Ms. Matsui. Okay.

\*Mr. Garcia. -- to create better projects.

Ms. Matsui. Well, thank you very much, Mr. Garcia, and thank you for the witnesses for being here today. Thank you.
Mr. Johnson. The gentlelady yields back. The chair

now recognizes the gentleman from Kentucky, Mr. Guthrie, for 2366 2367 five --\*Mr. Guthrie. Thank you --2368 2369 \*Mr. Johnson. -- minutes. \*Mr. Guthrie. -- Mr. Chair. I appreciate the 2370 2371 recognition. And there is a cost. First of all, I will bring up 2372 Paradise, Kentucky in Muhlenberg County. It is -- TVA shut 2373 2374 down its coal-fired power plant. It devastated that community, it devastated the people that live in that 2375 community, but it also devastated everybody in the TVA power 2376 2377 area. December 23rd, 24th, it was a cold day, it was unusually 2378 2379 cold. But TVA wasn't prepared for it. They will give you about 10 different reasons because their board wants them to 2380

get out of fossil fuels. But I will tell you, people are suffering because of it. We had rolling blackouts, which is hard to believe in America during this time and this day.

The rising cost of gas, the rising cost of energy affects people at the low-income level at the most. I hate paying when we were paying \$5 -- almost \$5 a gallon worth of gas. I hate paying it. But I know people that had to change

2388 their lifestyle because they couldn't afford to pay it. And 2389 so this is serious stuff.

I mean, we don't need technology deniers. We need to understand that we have to have a system where people have access to affordable, reliable, and sustainable energy.

And for instance, you know, Germany tried it. We export 2393 coal, the price of coal has increased because the German 2394 economy decided they cannot continue down the path they were 2395 2396 If we didn't export coal, then we wouldn't have the on. increased price of coal. Therefore, we wouldn't -- they 2397 wouldn't have opened mines. And so now it has brought more 2398 coal into production because of the decisions that is 2399 happening in Europe. 2400

You know, thank goodness Germany has had a mild winter. You know, I was praying for a mild winter for Germany because of some of the decisions they made. You are talking about people affected? People could have died from the cold weather if it had moved forward.

2406 So it is important that we are part of this global 2407 economy. And for instance, I was in -- I think Ms.

2408 Schakowsky has left -- I was in her neighborhood, dropping my 2409 daughter off for college, when I heard that Iran had bombed a

Saudi Arabian oil production facility. And being a child of the 1970s, my first thought is I better top my car off -because I can get home on one tank of gas if it is all the way to the full -- expecting disruptions in the gas supply. But because of energy independence, we didn't have any. And I think it went up maybe a dime for a half a day, or a day or so.

So the point is we have got to do all the -- and I grew up -- I went to college on the Hudson River, about 45 miles from New York City. You couldn't swim in it when I was there. We don't want that, absolutely don't want that. Now, it is -- fortunately, it has rejuvenated itself. We put in protections in place.

And so we need communities that are safe, we need communities that people can live in and enjoy the beauty of the Hudson Valley, which they can now, because of laws that Congress put into place, and efforts that people moved forward.

So we are not selling that, but we want people to have access to affordable, reliable, and sustainable energy. And one way to do it -- I want to talk, Mr. Menezes and Mr. Eshelman, on -- I have a bill in this, or a resolution with -

- that says we don't want export bans on petroleum and natural gas. And the reason is that it actually produces lower prices for everybody when producers can engage in the world marketplace. It allows expansion of supply. So that is why, even though the expansion of demand allows expansion of supply at the price that is sustainable, you may get some short-term lower prices, but not in the long term.

Also, do we want our friends and our neighbors and our allies to be dependent on dictators? If you are dependent on dictators, you are vulnerable to them. So when we choose to say we are going to keep it all here, we are going to say to our European friends, "You are going to have to buy from Putin, you are going to have to buy from Iran, you are going to have to buy from Venezuela.''

And so, if the two of you would, kind of talk to why it doesn't make sense to ban exports of petroleum, natural gas, Mr. Eshelman and Mr. Menezes.

2449 \*Mr. Eshelman. Well, Congressman, there are a few 2450 reasons.

One is if we continue to produce oil here at home, those are jobs that remain. If we would stop exporting the oil, those jobs would disappear. So it actually helps when we are

2454 producing more here at home and exporting to keep those wells 2455 pumping.

The other thing I mentioned before is the trade deficit. It has come down tremendously because of the export of oil and natural gas to other countries. About 68 percent of our LNG exports go to Europe. So it helps our allies, and it helps our own national security. It makes sure that we are on the world stage, and being a player.

2462 And so those are the big themes that I would hit. 2463 \*Mr. Menezes. And I look at it, really, from a separation of powers, you know, viewpoint, because having 2464 worked for Congress for many years -- and I got, you know, 2465 accustomed to the fact that, unless Congress says it, you 2466 2467 know, others can't do it, and we set the law of the land, and then you go over to the executive branch, and the first 2468 question you ask is, well, if Congress doesn't prohibit me 2469 from doing something, then I have all the authority I need to 2470 do something. 2471

And it becomes relevant when emergencies occur, and the President wants to take action to solve a problem. What emergency authorities, you know, do I have? What can I do? What do I have in the Constitution? What is -- what has

2476 Congress said I can and cannot do?

2477 And with respect to bans of oil, Congress has been -has set a process in place. The President can actually take 2478 2479 decisions to limit exports, but he has to do it following a process that Congress clearly put in the bill when they 2480 decided to lift the export ban. So he can't simply 2481 unilaterally declare an emergency and take such action. 2482 And this is what you do: You make him follow the law 2483 2484 that Congress enacted. So that is my view of this, and why I think it is important for Congress to express the clear 2485 intention to the executive branch to read the law and follow 2486 the law. 2487

2488 \*Mr. Johnson. The gentleman yields back. The chair now 2489 recognizes the gentleman from Maryland, Mr. Sarbanes, for 2490 five minutes.

2491 \*Mr. Sarbanes. Thanks very much, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you all for your testimony today. As we know, we are considering several bills that would, according to our colleagues on the other side of the aisle, unleash American energy.

But, no surprise, a lot of these bills that are on the docket here are more of the same. They are really unleashing

more profit-making by the big oil companies, and doing that 2498 at the expense of the American people, in my view. And it is 2499 beyond me why our colleagues, with these pieces of 2500 2501 legislation, would seek to erode what are bedrock environmental laws for the sake of unleashing American 2502 energy, as if we need to choose between health and safety of 2503 communities on the one hand, and promoting energy on the 2504 other hand. 2505

One of the bills we have talked about -- but I want to 2506 come back to it -- that we are being -- that we are 2507 considering today would create this new regulatory pathway 2508 for "critical energy sources' ' under TSCA, and it would 2509 circumvent what were bipartisan reforms that Congress passed 2510 2511 in 2016. It would require EPA to consider non-risk factors when determining the risks associated with a substance, which 2512 is very backwards thinking, you would think, in this day and 2513 2514 age.

2515 Congress deliberately and explicitly prohibited EPA from 2516 considering such factors when determining whether a chemical 2517 presents unreasonable risk. These factors are, however,

2518 considered in the risk management stage.

2519 The bill would also provide a pathway for a, again,

| 2520 | critical energy source to enter the market without regulation |
|------|---|
| 2521 | if EPA does not act in the review period, thereby potentially |
| 2522 | exposing communities and workers to toxic chemicals.          |
| 2523 | Mr. Chairman, without objection, I would like to enter        |
| 2524 | into the record a letter that we received from the Natural    |
| 2525 | Resources Defense Council and nine other environmental groups |
| 2526 | opposing this particular legislation.                         |
| 2527 | *Mr. Johnson. Without objection, so ordered.                  |
| 2528 |   |
| 2529 |   |
| 2530 |   |
| 2531 | [The information follows:]                                    |
| 2532 |   |
| 2533 | ********COMMITTEE INSERT********                              |
| 2534 |   |

\*Mr. Sarbanes. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 2535 2536 Mr. Garcia, getting back to the broader frame here -and you have spoken to it, but I would like you to do it 2537 2538 again, if you would -- is it necessary to roll these environmental protections back in order to secure our 2539 nation's energy independence? 2540 I mean, do we need to choose, make this choice between 2541 our environmental laws and energy, or can we do both? 2542 2543 \*Mr. Garcia. Absolutely not. We don't have to choose.

We can absolutely do both. We have the technology. And in fact, some of the legislation presented today would actually curtail that technology, which is sad to see.

\*Mr. Sarbanes. Arguably, if you look historically, when 2547 2548 we have leaned in with more -- a more of an enlightened perspective on what we need to do with the environment, not 2549 only has that not compromised our economy, it ends up driving 2550 new economies that benefit. The pie grows from that. And I 2551 think the same can happen here. And if we go in the other 2552 2553 direction, as is being suggested by these bills, we could undermine that kind of opportunity. 2554

2555 So I definitely agree with you, and it is one of the 2556 reasons that we passed in the last Congress the Inflation

2557 Reduction Act, which would put our nation on track to reduce 2558 greenhouse gas emissions, accelerate the development of 2559 reliable and clean energy.

Unfortunately, again, our colleagues here seem unwilling to commit to a more sustainable future, as evidenced by their eagerness to get in there and start repealing all these things -- again, many of them that came to pass and are on the books because of a bipartisan consensus and understanding that this is the right thing to do for our environment, and for our economy, and for our energy future.

2567 So, Mr. Garcia, let me ask you one last thing while I 2568 have the time. What would erosion of our environmental laws 2569 mean for particularly disadvantaged and under-served 2570 communities, which, as you know, are already overburdened? 2571 If you could, speak to that.

Mr. Garcia. Yes, absolutely. You know, I don't know if I caught that right, but where -- when Mr. Menezes mentioned, you know, we are not creating refineries and the old refineries that we had are going out, I am not sure if I caught that right, but I heard they were brownfield sites now.

Now, think about that. Brownfield sites, which are

hugely contaminated sites that have not been cleaned up, that 2579 2580 were contaminated by industry are in that place now, and we want more of these things throughout the country? Right? 2581 2582 That is what is compromising communities everywhere. And so, unfortunately -- and I have to say this very 2583 explicitly -- these facilities are not in upper-class White 2584 portions of cities. These facilities exist primarily in 2585 neighborhoods of color, people -- where people of low income 2586 2587 live. And so that means that they are the ones absorbing this pollution, first and foremost. 2588

And even though our laws are not perfect, they offer protection. We are now to weaken them further with these loopholes left and right, whether it is the Clean Air Act, clean-up laws, and planning laws, permitting laws that would avoid us having to clean up because we are planning correctly -- that seems like it would multiply the damage.

2595 \*Mr. Sarbanes. I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Johnson. The gentleman yields back. The chair now recognizes the gentleman from Virginia, Mr. Griffith, for five minutes.

2599 \*Mr. Griffith. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.
2600 I am so glad to have another Virginian here today, my

old friend -- I hope that doesn't hurt your reputation any -I know we have known each other at least 20 years, probably more than that, Bernie McNamee. Mr. McNamee, it is good to have you with us as an energy expert and somebody who teaches law at the Appalachian School of Law in Grundy, Virginia, in Buckhannon County.

Now, I mention that because I recently had an interesting tour, which is right on your way as you drive there, as you get to that turn where 460 and 19 separate, and you turn west heading towards Grundy in Russell County -- or excuse me, in Tazewell County, headed towards Richlands, just off on your left behind the Food City is a CONSOL office, and they are doing some fascinating new work.

2614 They have got a new technique to more efficiently and cleanly capture coal bed methane, and they are using it right 2615 now at Buckhannon No. 1. As you know, Buckhannon No. 1 is a 2616 huge underground mine for metallurgical coal. That means we 2617 make steel out of it, for those who don't know. 2618 The 2619 footprint underground right now is about the size of Washington, D.C., and they are getting ready to open up a new 2620 section in the next couple of years. And so they are 2621 capturing, in a very clean and efficient manner, the coal bed 2622

2623 methane out of that mine.

But what people may not realize is they also can use 2624 this technique to capture this from existing mines or mines 2625 2626 that -- or areas that have coal that may not have ever been mined, but because they may be close to the surface or 2627 whatever, they have escaping methane gas. We can use it on 2628 that, too, but they don't get any credit for having a clean, 2629 efficient way, because it is the dreaded fossil fuel. 2630 It is 2631 natural gas. Oh, my gosh, egads, it must be bad. But here is a way that American technology is helping us. 2632

Do you think that is a good way that we should go, and that if we are going to do something with credits, that we ought to be looking at things that make it so that smaller steps forward can be made with existing fuel sources and

2637 baseload like natural gas, et cetera?

2638 Turn your mike on.

2639 \*Mr. McNamee. Congressman Griffith, it is great to be 2640 back in front of you once again. And I think you are correct 2641 -- is that the innovation -- the American people have been 2642 the ones that have solved most of our energy crisis and 2643 energy challenges.

2644 You think about the fracking revolution with George

Mitchell in Texas, the innovation that CONSOL is doing, these resources -- and what is neat about natural gas, what is great about the methane that is being produced is that it is something that can be dispatched and used to keep the grid growing. And these are very important things that we need to be focused on, as a country.

It is great to talk about, you know, we think we can go 2651 100 percent renewables, but the reality is, with technology 2652 2653 we have today, we have to have dispatchable energy, and that 2654 is going to come from natural gas, from the methane that is captured at the coal seam, and these are things that we 2655 should not look negatively about. They have made our 2656 economy, people's lives, and the quality of life for all 2657 American people much better. And it is something we should 2658 embrace. 2659

2660 \*Mr. Griffith. Yes, I appreciate that.

Mr. Menezes, you agree that we probably ought to be using this technology and rewarding it, instead of excluding it from being able to receive money from, you know, the Greenhouse Gas Reduction Program? Because it is a fossil fuel, I don't think they are eligible.

2666 \*Mr. Menezes. To be sure. I mean, there are a lot of

| 2667 | technologies that we can be deploying right now to help       |
|------|---|
| 2668 | reduce emissions. Remember, our quest here is not to choose   |
| 2669 | one type of energy over another; our quest here to solve the  |
| 2670 | climate problem is to reduce emissions.                       |
| 2671 | *Mr. Griffith. Yes, and I appreciate that.                    |
| 2672 | *Mr. Menezes. So anything we can do to reduce                 |
| 2673 | emissions, it doesn't make any difference whether you are     |
| 2674 | using coal or fossil, you have technologies to deploy, and    |
| 2675 | the IRA actually encourages it in some in some ways to do     |
| 2676 | that. So it is reducing emissions, not saying something       |
| 2677 | should be anti-fossil or, you know, or renewables. That is    |
| 2678 | the   |
| 2679 | *Mr. Griffith. Yes.   |
| 2680 | *Mr. Menezes false narrative. It is reducing                  |
| 2681 | emissions.  |
| 2682 | *Mr. Griffith. And I appreciate that.                         |
| 2683 | Back to you, Mr. McNamee. You know, it is interesting         |
| 2684 | that that Buckhannon No. 1 mine, it is expanding. A lot of    |
| 2685 | times people want to talk about, oh, we are going to have new |
| 2686 | sectors, and we are going to hire all these people in the     |
| 2687 | renewables area. And while the CEOs may make good money, the  |
| 2688 | frontline people don't make nearly what the miners in Buck 1  |
|      | 133   |

2689 make. The new section, they estimate, is going to be about 2690 an average of \$103,000 a year for people with sometimes not 2691 even a high school education. They are able to get in there, 2692 and they are able to learn a trade, and go forward, and that 2693 is very exciting.

Also, as a former FERC representative, I would like to see us move forward on our pipeline reforms, including possibly even having collocation. But my time is out, so we will have to talk about that privately another time.

2698 \*Mr. Menezes. I would be happy to.

2699 \*Mr. Griffith. I appreciate. Always good to see you.
2700 Thank you for being here today, and for spending your time
2701 with us.

2702 I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

\*Mr. Duncan. [Presiding] The gentleman's time is
expired. We will now go to Mr. Cardenas for five minutes.
\*Mr. Cardenas. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and also
ranking member, for holding this committee today.

As Members of Congress, we have been entrusted with the duty to protect and improve constituents' quality of life, their health, and overall well-being. And as members of this committee, we have a unique opportunity to examine and put

forth real solutions that advance our nation's energy independence, while ensuring a healthier future for our children and grandchildren.

Today we have convened to discuss 17 bills, all of which are partisan, none of which Energy and Commerce Committee Democrats were consulted about. Welcome to the Republican rodeo, ladies and gentlemen. And this ain't my first rodeo. I have been in the minority in the House of Representatives once before, and here we go again.

The bills being discussed today are an attack on the environmental and public interest laws that are most essential to ensuring that our constituents can breathe clean air and drink clean water. These bills will not serve the American people. They are intended to serve fossil fuel companies who continue to see record-shattering profits, while everyday Americans pay higher prices at home.

Today's hearing is an -- is indicative of my Republican colleagues' misplaced priorities, and their willingness to sacrifice the health, the safety of the American people, starting with frontline communities like the one that I represent.

2732

My district and too many communities across our nation

know all too well the challenges of environmental injustices. 2733 2734 In 2020 my district was impacted by a methane gas leak, a leak we later found out had been occurring for over three 2735 2736 years before the actual community found out that it was going on right in their midst. In my district, residents already 2737 breathe some of California's most polluted air, and a 2738 chemical disaster can be a death sentence to vulnerable 2739 communities like the one that I represent. 2740

There are far too many communities across the country that we were sent here to help protect, and to make sure that their quality of life is secured. But yet, with some of these bills, they are really focused mostly on what industry prefers, rather than what the American people truly do deserve.

2747 My first question is for Mr. Garcia. Can you elaborate 2748 on the implications of proposals that hinder efforts from the 2749 EPA's risk management program, and what would happen if they 2750 became law?

2751 \*Mr. Garcia. Absolutely. So EPA's risk management 2752 program essentially calls on refineries to be able to present 2753 safer alternatives, or to try to study safer alternatives to 2754 their methods of production. And so it is a huge problem,

because the bill that we are seeing today would essentially exempt -- again, a loophole -- from the Clean Air Act to refineries using hydrofluoric acid, which is incredibly dangerous for communities that live near the refineries and that really depend on the air around the refineries themselves.

And so this is something that it is very much common 2761 In fact, much of the industry is already doing it. 2762 sense. 2763 The fact that we are talking about a bill that would that would eliminate this is sort of puzzling, because large 2764 refineries are doing it. And again, it is common sense. 2765 Ιt is the idea that you should study to see if there are safer 2766 2767 and effective ways to go about the business that you are already been doing for guite some time. 2768

2769 \*Mr. Cardenas. Thank you. And what would 2770 accountability look like for communities facing chemical 2771 disasters, particularly those that are low-income communities 2772 across the country?

\*Mr. Garcia. Well, you know, on the foremost, we have to make sure that -- we have seen disasters before. I mean, a couple of years ago, the plant in Philadelphia exploded and was a national disaster because of this same kind of lax

2777 enforcement of laws.

2778 So what we really need to focus on is making sure that it doesn't repeat itself. And particularly for communities 2779 2780 of color and low income, and those that live near those refineries, We need to make sure that the planning is done 2781 right and that it is reoccurring. We can't just pretend that 2782 a facility that is there and that is exempted from the Clean 2783 Air Act is suddenly going to be responsible enough to do its 2784 2785 job. It has to be held in check, and that is why those laws 2786 exist.

Mr. Cardenas. One of the reasons why I ran for office many years ago was to make sure that I am a voice for the community that I grew up in, and I grew up in one of the most impacted communities in all of Los Angeles or Southern California, with more dumpsites and plants around my home than most people would ever want to have to deal with.

In your testimony you explained that, under the bill that amends the Solid Waste Disposal Act, facilities could operate before securing a permit?

2796 \*Mr. Garcia. That is right. That is right. It
2797 essentially allows industry to roll out the red carpet, march
2798 in, do everything that it wants to do before we even know

| 2799 | whether the practice is going to be safe, whether the         |
|------|---|
| 2800 | appropriate precautions are being taken, whether the          |
| 2801 | community's the community alternatives, those projects        |
| 2802 | that the community is actually bringing forward to accomplish |
| 2803 | the same goal, are being considered. All of that gets done    |
| 2804 | through those laws, and somehow it is not going to matter.    |
| 2805 | And then it is like this, right? And then, once it is         |
| 2806 | operational, we get the excuse that, well, it is already      |
| 2807 | there, so we can't draw it back. It is like                   |
| 2808 | *Mr. Cardenas. So   |
| 2809 | *Mr. Garcia. It is like pouring, like, food coloring in       |
| 2810 | a cup of water.   |
| 2811 | *Mr. Cardenas. Thank you.                                     |
| 2812 | *Mr. Garcia. Good luck getting that out.                      |
| 2813 | *Mr. Cardenas. Thank you.                                     |
| 2814 | Mr. Chairman, I just want to note that I think the clock      |
| 2815 | was backwards on my   |
| 2816 | *Mr. Duncan. It was.  |
| 2817 | *Mr. Cardenas. So did it actually start at                    |
| 2818 | *Mr. Duncan. Yes. You got 5 minutes and 44 seconds as         |
| 2819 | of right now.   |
| 2820 | *Mr. Cardenas. Okay. But I noticed that it was going          |
|      | 139   |

2821 up, in -- rather than going down then.

2822 \*Mr. Duncan. That is correct.

\*Mr. Cardenas. Okay, thank you.

2824 \*Mr. Duncan. They didn't reset it, but you weren't 2825 shorted on time.

\*Mr. Cardenas. Okay, thank you so much.

2827 \*Mr. Duncan. We apologize. They are going to make sure 2828 to reset it.

2829 \*Mr. Cardenas. No, no --

2830 \*Mr. Duncan. And I will go to the crossroads of 2831 America, the gentleman from Indiana, Dr. Bucshon.

2832 \*Mr. Bucshon. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Today I am 2833 speaking in support of the Securing America's Critical 2834 Minerals Act, a bill that our former colleague, Mr. Upton, 2835 introduced last Congress, and I am introducing this Congress, 2836 and I am looking for Democrat cosponsors, if anyone is 2837 interested.

I do find it fascinating that some of the same groups that support total conversion to electric vehicles are also the same groups that are working to block the mining of minerals such as cobalt and lithium that are required for the batteries, block it here in the United States.

Just to mention, you know, that China is a major supplier of the lithium. And as far as the Cobalt goes, I don't know if anybody has seen the video of the mines in Africa, but, essentially, slave labor in Africa to get the cobalt. And I would encourage everybody to look at the YouTube videos of those mines with little children digging through the dirt, trying to find cobalt.

2850 So over the last few years we have discussed in these 2851 subcommittees the importance of critical minerals and other 2852 energy resources necessary to providing for our energy needs, 2853 as well as the potential vulnerabilities that exist in the 2854 supply chain and domestic production and capacity 2855 limitations.

2856 This bill would ensure that the Secretary of Energy is engaged productively in addressing the issue. It would 2857 require the Secretary to conduct an assessment of our 2858 nation's energy supply, identify resources that are critical 2859 to our economy, and vulnerabilities in the supply chains of 2860 2861 critical energy resources, and determine the extent to which critical energy resources play a role in developing new 2862 energy technologies. 2863

2864 The bill defines critical energy resources as those that

are "essential to the energy sector and energy systems of the United States,' ' and the supply chain of which is vulnerable to disruption.

The bill would also direct the Secretary of Energy to diversify energy sourcing and increase domestic production, refining, and processing of these resources.

As a supporter of an all-of-the-above energy approach, I appreciate our need for a diverse energy portfolio. We must take steps to ensure we safeguard our supply chains, as well as prevent our adversaries from weaponizing potential vulnerabilities in these supply chains, and critical minerals

is a large part of our vulnerability -- I can't get that out today for some reason. As a country, we need more production here.

2879 So, Ms. Sweeney, how potentially could securing 2880 America's Critical Mineral Supply Act help our country and 2881 the energy sector reduce this reliance on China and other 2882 foreign sources of these critical mineral needs?

2883 \*Ms. Sweeney. Thank you so much for the question, and 2884 that is a really important question.

I think that one area that the act really is important is having the Energy Information Agency actually look at that

connection between minerals and energy. As I said in my testimony here earlier, there isn't any form of energy that doesn't rely on minerals as the -- you know, as the base of that energy. So it is very important to focus on where these come from, where we are getting them.

And in particular, you know, you mentioned the processing and smelting and refining. You know, that is an area where we need to focus attention, as well. It is not just the mines themselves, but the processing also needs to take place here in the U.S.

2897 \*Mr. Bucshon. Mr. Menezes, do you have any comments on 2898 that?

\*Mr. Menezes. Well, I think the bill is especially important, because there are other agencies that also would like to get resources to look at critical minerals, and it is important to have the Department of Energy, in its organizational act, have the statutory authority to be the experts throughout the interagency process. Those agencies compete at -- for Congress dollars.

And so when you can point to legislation that says we need this to do our jobs, it is important, really, and we hope that this would be a strong bipartisan bill to declare

the Department of Energy -- the Department of Energy has 2909 2910 those national laboratories. I mean, they are better equipped than any other agency. But at the end of the day, 2911 2912 it is resources. And so this act is really important for that. Put that 2913 expertise at the Department. It will protect this 2914 committee's interest throughout that interagency process that 2915 can get pretty tough. 2916 2917 \*Mr. Bucshon. Thank you. I do also want to emphasize what my colleague, Mr. Guthrie, mentioned. 2918 We now have an example of what happens when you take an 2919 energy approach that this Administration appears to be 2920 taking, and that is Europe, and that is countries like 2921 2922 Germany. They are now building coal-fired power plants, importing coal from in the United States also, and it is 2923 probably going to set their clean energy agenda back decades 2924 by getting too far ahead of themselves and trying to restrict 2925 certain forms of energy, rather than taking an all-of-the-2926 2927 above approach and advancing innovation and technology in every area of energy production. 2928 I yield. 2929

144

2930

\*Mr. Duncan. I thank the gentleman. Now we will go to

2931 California, Mr. Peters, for five minutes.

2932 \*Mr. Peters. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Last week I encouraged Republicans and Democrats on this committee to 2933 2934 engage in a constructive bipartisan process to enact sensible permitting reforms to deliver energy security and 2935 environmental protection for the American people. 2936 I spoke about the need to reduce excessive process requirements 2937 necessary to build clean energy projects, and reform 2938 2939 environmental laws from the 1970s to meet the challenges of today. I talked about the dismal state of our electric grid, 2940 and how we must build 200,000 miles of new transmission lines 2941 by the 2030s to keep the lights on, lower costs for 2942 Americans, and build clean energy projects like solar, wind, 2943 2944 hydropower, and nuclear.

And my Republican colleagues have said publicly they are 2945 committed to advancing permitting reform, and that they are 2946 focused on an all-of-the-above energy agenda to secure our 2947 energy future, and that is why I am a little bit disappointed 2948 2949 about the hearing today. We are discussing 17 bills, and almost all of them are focused on solely natural gas and oil. 2950 And doubling down on oil and gas will lead to more price 2951 uncertainty and financial pain for Americans. 2952

Speaking of all of the above, the Energy Information 2953 2954 Administration says that a very small amount of the planned projects on the ground today are going to be natural gas, and 2955 2956 that 86 percent are zero-emission projects. That is what we are trying to build. But we don't really address that today. 2957 There is no focus today on key energy technologies like 2958 solar, wind, transmission, energy storage, advanced nuclear, 2959 hydropower, or hydrogen. And for a party that claims it 2960 2961 doesn't want to pick winners and losers, Republicans are seeming to pick oil and gas every single time. 2962

2963 So I am not going to give up hope. But if we are going 2964 to pass permitting reform in this Congress, it has to be 2965 bipartisan. Today we are using our time to discuss partisan 2966 bills that I really don't think will be going anywhere, re-2967 litigating a pipeline that was terminated more than two years 2968 ago by the company developing it. I think we could do 2969 better.

I am a proud Democrat. I am a former environmental attorney. I am a climate hawk ready to have hard conversations about permitting reform. And we can compromise on NEPA, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, hydropower relicensing, critical minerals, interstate electric

2975 transmission, and more, but I really want to get about that 2976 business.

Let me ask a couple of questions of the witnesses today, and thank you for being here.

2979 Mr. Menezes, you helped negotiate the Energy Policy Act 2980 of 2005, which included language intended to streamline the 2981 construction of electric transmission lines. Can you 2982 elaborate on why we need to build these lines faster, and the 2983 importance of advancing bipartisan legislation to permit 2984 these projects faster?

\*Mr. Menezes. Well, even today, as it was back then, I mean, there are probably more difficult things to build and site -- interstate transmission line, but it is hard for me to come up with what they are.

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2989 *Mr. Peters. Yes.
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2990 \*Mr. Menezes. Really, it has opposition almost 2991 everywhere you turn. And although the goal of modernizing 2992 our grid, to make it green, et cetera, and to embrace the 2993 energy transition, it is one of the most difficult things to 2994 overcome: an interstate transmission line crossing states of 2995 low populations, et cetera.

2996 So I know Congress has been looking at this. There are

ways to go about trying to do this. We tried it with 2997 2998 backstop authority. Two courts told us we didn't quite get it right. 2999 3000 \*Mr. Peters. Right. There has been some proposals over in the 3001 \*Mr. Menezes. Senate to look at that. And so I think that this is 3002 something that certainly is within this committee's 3003 jurisdiction to take another look at. 3004 3005 \*Mr. Peters. I drafted the POWER ON Act, which was put in by the Senate into the infrastructure bill to provide 3006 backstop authority. That is certainly helpful. But when we 3007 have a project that takes 10 years, and 7 of those years are 3008 permitting and processing, we will not be able to build the 3009 3010 grid that we need to electrify this economy. And I think we are going to lose a lot of the benefit of the IRA if we do --3011 if we don't. 3012 Mr. Slocum, methane is a super-pollutant responsible for 3013 about 25 percent of human-made warming. Today we hear claims 3014 3015 that we produce the cleanest energy in the world. I am not sure, if you consider methane, that that is true. But isn't 3016 it essential that oil and gas producers significantly reduce 3017

148

methane leaks to be the cleanest in the world?

3019 \*Mr. Slocum. Yes.

3020 \*Mr. Peters. The IRA included billions of dollars of new funding to help large and small oil and gas companies 3021 3022 reduce their methane emissions. The EPA is finalizing a new rule to reduce those emissions from oil and gas operations. 3023 Will the oil and gas industry significantly reduce 3024 methane emissions in the absence of that regulation and 3025 strong funding? 3026 3027 \*Mr. Slocum. I don't think so. I think you need to have that regulatory structure and -- in order for the 3028 industry to make those investments. 3029 \*Mr. Peters. I agree. And on this too I would 3030 reiterate my willingness to work in a bipartisan way. 3031 3032 One of the things I think we can offer to the small producers who are concerned about these costs is that the IRA 3033 provides funds to help those companies comply. 3034

I also don't pretend that oil and gas is going away tomorrow. It is going to be around for a while. While it is around, we need to make it cleaner, and I am willing to work on that, as well.

3039 Mr. Chairman, my time is expired. I yield back.

3040 \*Mr. Duncan. I thank the gentleman. Now we will go to

3041 the vice chair of the Energy, Climate, and Grid Security

3042 Subcommittee, Mr. Curtis, for five minutes.

Mr. Curtis. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I -- like many of you, view PFAS as a four-letter word. And I think on this committee it has been demonized frequently, and in some cases rightly so. But it might surprise all of us and my colleagues to know that a number of products needed for transformation and energy production require PFAS.

3049 As a matter of fact, semiconductors, green hydrogen membranes needed for electrolyzers, hydrogen used in fuel 3050 cells, and lithium batteries all require fluoropolymers, 3051 especially plastics. Critical PFAS is used in EV charging 3052 3053 infrastructures, batteries, powertrains. I have a list here 3054 of 21 uses in the semiconductor industry of PFAS. So frequently, when we quick rush to judgment and lump all of 3055 these together, it is probably a mistake. 3056

I have a bill, one of the 17 that has been discussed today, that would make sure that these chemicals are approved in a timely manner. There is nothing about this bill that asks the agency to approve anything that is not safe, that is not healthy, simply to do it in a timely manner.

3062 In short, chemicals are all around us and necessary for

every industry, but especially to achieve decarbonization of our economy in the world. If we want a clean future, we need to approve chemicals more effectively and responsibly. My bill would help deploy clean energy technology more quickly, and puts the following three conditions on there.

Hard deadlines on EPA's ability to make a decision on the risk presented by the critical energy resource. I believe, if we give them 180 days, it will take 280. If we give them 280, it will take 380. They need to stick to the guidelines that we have given them.

3073 It prevents the EPA from telling an applicant to suspend 3074 their application unless EPA has reviewed the notice -- it 3075 sounds reasonable -- and make a determination.

And it requires EPA to consider cost and other non-risk factors in determining if an unreasonable risk is present. We heard earlier from Mr. Garcia that that was akin to killing people, and I adamantly disagree with that. It does not say that they should make an unwise decision, simply that they should take that into consideration, and that seemed pretty melodramatic to me.

3083 Mr. Menezes, you have experience as a former deputy 3084 secretary of energy. Can you speak to the importance of

3085 chemicals in the energy sector?

\*Mr. Menezes. Without critical -- one of the two -- I learned two lessons when I visited the labs. To achieve breakthrough technologies, we need two things: one, highperforming computing to do modeling and continue to do modeling -- and it is modeling that is important; and another thing is we need to create chemicals and products that do not exist today. They do not exist, and we need to do that.

And to make that point, they actually gave me a new product that they had made. This was at Argonne, and this is cesium aluminate. It didn't exist before 2017. It is going to be a key product that is going to be used in our green energy future. And to even make the point, they used the same product to make me a 3D printed replica of our Capitol building.

3100 So this is what the future looks like. The problem is 3101 that these chemicals are bollocksed up at EPA. EPA reads 3102 risk as almost any risk is unreasonable, and so they can't 3103 seem to make decisions.

And so all the companies are asking, particularly those driving toward the EV technologies, et cetera, is, "Please tell us what the rules are, tell us what we need to do,' ' and

3107 we need to do that.

But China is going to maintain the dominance in the 3108 electric vehicle space, okay? They are beating us. We need 3109 3110 to get our act together, please. Just --\*Mr. Curtis. So, first of all --3111 \*Mr. Menezes. -- what we need to do. 3112 \*Mr. Curtis. -- everybody is not going to believe that 3113 this wasn't a setup, you came prepared with your props for my 3114 3115 question. So you and I didn't rehearse this. \*Mr. Menezes. We did not rehearse it. In fact, as I 3116

3117 was reading the bill, it dawned on me that this made a big 3118 impression on me. It was on my desk when I was preparing for 3119 this hearing. This was not set up.

Mr. Curtis. So before we run out of time, my friends on the Democratic side often emphasize the importance of decarbonizing quickly, and I agree with them. But then they call bills like mine undermining environmental laws. Do you think it is possible to move in a reasonable speed and protect ourselves, as well?

\*Mr. Menezes. Of course. We are trying to figure out
ways to get the laws that are on the books to actually
produce results. Please do your job. Stop with the delays.

| 3129 | The applicants go in and they are told and they are -         |
|------|---|
| 3130 | - the bureaucrats are aware of the 90-day rule. So they will  |
| 3131 | get you to withdraw and resubmit, because they can't meet the |
| 3132 | statutory deadlines. So they are sort of trying to do their   |
| 3133 | job, but we have reached the point where the backlog now is   |
| 3134 | so significant that those that want to take advantage of the  |
| 3135 | IRA provisions can't do it because                            |
| 3136 | *Mr. Curtis. I am going to run out of time, but               |
| 3137 | *Mr. Menezes they can't get the                               |
| 3138 | *Mr. Curtis so I just want to make two                        |
| 3139 | *Mr. Menezes can't get their permits.                         |
| 3140 | *Mr. Curtis two quick points. There is a lot of               |
| 3141 | parallel here with permitting reform.                         |
| 3142 | Just tell us what the rules are, and then let us do it        |
| 3143 | and make it timely and predictable. That is what people are   |
| 3144 | asking for.   |
| 3145 | And Mr. Chairman, regrettably, I am out of time. I            |
| 3146 | yield the balance of my time.                                 |
| 3147 | *Mr. Duncan. I thank the gentleman. The chair will now        |
| 3148 | go to the gentlelady from an energy-producing area of the     |
| 3149 | State of Texas, Mrs. Fletcher, for five minutes.              |
| 3150 | *Mrs. Fletcher. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman.              |

Thanks for holding this hearing. Thanks to you and, of course, Ranking Member DeGette, as well as our chairman -chairwoman, and ranking member, and others.

And I have listened to the testimony today and to the questions. I appreciate all of your time in being here. I think there has been a lot of really important information conveyed, as well, in your written testimony. And I am a little bit concerned about some of the things that I have heard this morning, specifically some of the bills that have been introduced for this hearing.

And I would, of course, like to note that we are considering 17 bills, many of them aimed at repealing some of, I think, the very good work that we did in the last Congress to try to address the complexities of the policy that we are trying to do here.

And so, you know, I would request, hopefully, that we will get a little more notice in the future in time to review these bills, because I think that, you know, we all know -and everyone on this committee should know and understand -that energy policy is complex. And we have had no better example than what we have seen happen over the last year, and the importance of all of us really having a depth of

understanding on this committee as we work to make policy. 3173 3174 Certainly, what we have seen happening in Europe with Russia's unjustified and unconscionable invasion of Ukraine, 3175 3176 what we have seen happen to our friends and allies in Europe, what we have seen happen here in the United States as a 3177 result of the market demands, and some of the things that we 3178 have talked about today -- I disagree with some of our 3179 witnesses about the importance of, for example, exporting 3180 3181 natural gas and being able to help our allies reduce their dependance on Russian oil and gas at this critical moment. 3182

3183 What we know is this is domestic policy, it is foreign 3184 policy. It has real consequences in our communities. People 3185 who are living, especially in my hometown of Houston, people 3186 who are living near the largest petrochemical complex, 3187 arguably, in the world, there are real-world health impacts. 3188 There are real-world economic impacts. These are also our 3189 jobs.

3190 So coming together and building consensus around what we 3191 can do, I think, is incredibly important for this committee. 3192 And I heard a few things today that I just -- I want to take 3193 up.

3194 Most important, I think, Mr. Menezes, you said -- and I

agree with you -- that the issue here is that we want to reduce emissions. That is what we are trying to do, and that is what the good legislation that we passed in the last Congress really does. And so, you know, I think that what we did in the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act and, importantly, the Inflation Reduction Act is really important to accomplishing those goals.

And I am going to disagree with and I am disappointed to see the bill 484 that has been introduced by my friend from Texas, Mr. Pfluger, because I think it undoes the important work that we did on this committee just last year in trying to address the impacts of methane, and deal with that in a way that is reasonable and workable for industry.

3208 And we spent a lot of time on this committee, and got a lot of criticism for what we have, a billion-and-a-half 3209 dollars, to help small operators employ the technology, this 3210 grant program. And so I want to kind of direct my question 3211 there, because I think, Mr. Eshelman, I saw you shaking your 3212 3213 head during Mr. Slocum's testimony about the IRA and the methane fee. But there is funding there to help smaller 3214 operators in particular, because that was a real concern that 3215 we heard about, the ability to implement the technology to 3216

3217 reduce methane emissions, which should be the goal of 3218 everybody here. And I think on both sides of the aisle we 3219 keep saying that is what we want to do.

3220 So, you know, I would like to see if there are real concerns still about the implementation and the ability to 3221 implement that, something that we can do that doesn't involve 3222 repealing what many people in the industry have said is a 3223 very smart solution to try to address the complications, but 3224 also address methane emissions. And so that is a concern 3225 that I have. And, you know, the question I have for you is 3226 does this mean -- I mean, it sounds like you don't support 3227 this, you want to see it repealed. 3228

Are your members not going to take the grant money that we provided to try to assist them? What do you think should be happening with that?

Mr. Eshelman. As we speak with our members, it has been a very contentious relationship with EPA, especially the enforcement office. So we are mostly concerned that this grant money will come out of EPA. We think it should better come out of DoE, and maybe the Petroleum Technology Transfer Council. So we are just mostly concerned that it is EPA that is making these regulations.

| 3239 | *Mrs. Fletcher. And so what I am hearing you say is the      |
|------|--|
| 3240 | idea of the program, the idea of reducing emissions and      |
| 3241 | having some coming   |
| 3242 | *Mr. Eshelman. Right.  |
| 3243 | *Mrs. Fletcher. Through this legislation, it is              |
| 3244 | designed to work in tandem with EPA, so that there can       |
| 3245 | *Mr. Eshelman. Our   |
| 3246 | *Mrs. Fletcher. The concern you are expressing is the        |
| 3247 | funding source, versus the idea of what we tried to do with  |
| 3248 | this legislation. So it sounds like we                       |
| 3249 | *Mr. Eshelman. That would be one                             |
| 3250 | *Mrs. Fletcher don't necessarily need to repeal it.          |
| 3251 | *Mr. Eshelman. That would be one of our concerns, yes.       |
| 3252 | *Mrs. Fletcher. Okay. Well, I am going to run out of         |
| 3253 | time. I have a ton of questions. We are going to cover them  |
| 3254 | on this hearing. I hope I can work with Mr. Pfluger and my   |
| 3255 | friends on both sides of the aisle to really work on         |
| 3256 | understanding the depths of this incredibly complicated work |
| 3257 | we have in front of us, and working together to achieve all  |
| 3258 | of our shared objectives.                                    |
| 3259 | So thank you so much, Mr. Chairman, for the time, and I      |

159

3260 yield back.

\*Mr. Duncan. Agreed, and I look forward to working with 3261 3262 you. The chair will now go to Michigan, Mr. Walberg, for five 3263 3264 minutes. \*Mr. Walberg. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thanks to 3265 the panel today for being with us. It is an important 3266 hearing. 3267 Threats to our critical energy infrastructure have 3268 3269 increased year after year. In 2022 attacks on United States power grids rose to an all-time high. More apparently needs 3270 to be done to protect our critical energy infrastructure, 3271 which is why I plan to introduce the Critical Electric 3272 Infrastructure Cybersecurity Incident Reporting Act. 3273 3274 Mr. Menezes, electric utilities and other energy infrastructure owners and operators are required to report 3275 critical infrastructure cyber incidents to DoE and FERC. 3276 Last Congress a law was passed that also required some of 3277 these entities to submit incidents to CISA. The FAST Act 3278 3279 clearly establishes DoE as the sector-specific agency for energy cybersecurity, and granted them authority to address 3280 grid security emergencies. As such, DoE has the expertise to 3281 best address some of these threats. 3282

3283 Mr. Menezes, do you agree that it makes the most sense 3284 for energy sector stakeholders to submit threat incidents to 3285 DoE, and then have DoE share that information as necessary 3286 with CISA?

And secondly, how can Congress clarify DoE's role in the process?

Thank you very much. It is very 3289 \*Mr. Menezes. important that you clarify DoE's role that it is the agency 3290 3291 that private sector and other government agencies need to report cyber incidents to. Because when Congress passed 3292 CISA, it created confusion as to where reports needed to go. 3293 When we were there, we knew the importance of cybersecurity. 3294 3295 Of course, Congress had mandated cybersecurity standards. We created the Office of CESER, which remains today: the 3296 Cybersecurity, Energy Security, and Emergency Response. 3297

But within the interagency -- you are hearing this a lot from me today, I am bringing the experience that I gained in the executive branch -- is that we need to designate DoE to have -- to be the agency that all cyber incident reports on the bulk power system -- this is electricity, it is not oil and natural gas, but it is electricity -- to go to DoE. And that is important because we have all the expertise there, we

have the information sharing there, we have some of the modeling that the labs develop to look for anomalies on data pools, et cetera.

3308 So this is an important piece of legislation. It seems 3309 as though, you know, it is a simple thing to do. But we are 3310 going to need all support to get this through. And it is an 3311 important piece of legislation to give DoE clarity.

\*Mr. Walberg. And I would hope that it would make more efficiency in the process for Members of Congress to understand what is going on and get information and more transparency, as well.

3316 \*Mr. Menezes. Absolutely.

3317 \*Mr. Walberg. Mr. McNamee, as a former FERC
3318 commissioner, how will increased sharing and coordination of
3319 cyber incidents improve the safety and reliability of our

3320 electric infrastructure?

Mr. McNamee. I think it is very important that anything that can be done to make the sharing information on the bulk power system and threats to it be done. The threats are real. As you mentioned in your comments, they are happening all the time, both cyber and physical securities. And one of the things that frightens me the most is what

happens with the limited natural gas pipeline capacity up to 3327 the northeast. If there is a physical attack on the 3328 pipelines up there, you are going to lose a lot of power. 3329 3330 Then the problems that you have on the bulk power system in relation to transformers or the SCADA systems, these things 3331 The utilities are being pinged every 3332 are real threats. single day by foreign actors trying to get into the systems 3333 to be able to flip the switch off when we need it the most, 3334 3335 on the coldest days of the year.

3336 So I think legislation like yours makes sure that there 3337 is focus, and that is, as Secretary Menezes said, that there 3338 is one source in the government that is absolutely 3339 responsible. Of course, FERC has responsibility for 3340 establishing, along with NERC, reliability standards, SIP 3341 standards, but I think it is important that reporting go 3342 through DoE.

\*Mr. Walberg. Thank you. Being from Michigan, I am extremely concerned about the current backlog at EPA of hundreds of TSCA section 5 applications, and the impact it has had on our auto supply chain. Last year my Michigan colleagues and I sent a letter to Administrator Regan, imploring him for the bare minimum of timely review of two

| 3349 | pre-manufacturing notice applications that were essential to |
|------|--|
| 3350 | the launch of an EV battery plant in the state.              |
| 3351 | Mr. Chairman, I would like to, if you would allow, to        |
| 3352 | include that letter for the record.                          |
| 3353 | *Mr. Duncan. Without objection.                              |
| 3354 | [The information follows:]                                   |
| 3355 |  |
| 3356 | *********COMMITTEE INSERT********                            |
| 3357 |  |

\*Mr. Walberg. Mr. Menezes, the Biden Administration is forcing a transition to electric vehicles, yet it took almost a year for the EPA to approve this project that would supply the needed batteries. How will Representative Curtis's draft legislation improve the efficiency and timeliness of the TSCA review process, so that auto supply chains remain in the United States?

3365 \*Mr. Menezes. Well, thank you, and we talked a little 3366 bit about that before.

It basically -- it says that, look, not any risk is an 3367 unreasonable risk. Two, it stops them from forcing 3368 applicants to withdraw and resubmit so that they can reset 3369 the statutory deadline there. And basically, it allows them 3370 3371 to be able to go forward after a certain time period that has elapsed while they were pending review. This will allow us 3372 to accelerate our move to the -- through the energy 3373 transition, you know, to more EV use. 3374

The letter that you mentioned, you know, expressed the frustrations clearly, and I think that is why Mr. Curtis's bill will go a long way to helping streamline the process, not remove any environmental protection.

3379 \*Mr. Duncan. The gentleman's time is expired.

\*Mr. Walberg. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.
\*Mr. Duncan. Thank you. Now we will go to New York,
Mr. Clarke, for five minutes.

3383 \*Ms. Clarke. Thank you, Chairman Duncan, Chairs Duncan and Johnson, and Ranking Members DeGette and Tonko for 3384 holding this hearing today. I would also like to thank our 3385 witnesses, as well, for being here to testify on these bills. 3386 There are real challenges in America's power sector as 3387 3388 our nation begins an economy-wide transition to clean energy in the midst of the climate crisis. But I reject the premise 3389 presented today that the only way we can unleash American 3390 energy is through creating loopholes in our bedrock 3391 environmental laws and/or sacrificing the health of our 3392 3393 communities. Many of the bills considered today would not only weaken our economic and national security, but also turn 3394 the clock backwards on the progress that we have made 3395 combating climate change and protecting public health. 3396

3397 My first question is to Mr. Garcia.

3398 In your testimony you state that many of these bills 3399 would circumvent bedrock environmental laws like the Clean 3400 Air Act, TSCA so polluters can profit at the expense of 3401 frontline communities. Could you elaborate on the connection

3402 between frontline communities and what waiving the Clean Air 3403 Act and Solid Waste Disposal Act would mean for communities 3404 sited near these facilities?

\*Mr. Garcia. Yes, absolutely. I mean, when we are talking about the Clean Air Act, one of the -- again, what they are seeking to waive with the bill that waives -- that addresses the Clean Air Act is a common-sense practice that many industries already take on, which is simply to study how can we achieve the same goals that we already have in a safer way.

And we are dealing with hydrofluoric acid. And it 3412 exempts any refinery that uses hydrofluoric acid from that 3413 requirement to study if there is a safer way to do this. 3414 Ιt is problematic, because hydrofluoric acid is extremely 3415 dangerous to the human body. It is -- it can explode. And 3416 not only that, but there are already recorded alternatives 3417 that many across the industry already use in order to do the 3418 same thing in a safer way. And so there is really no other 3419 3420 way to characterize this. It is something that industry absolutely doesn't need. And yet we are still seeing this 3421 bill being pushed through. 3422

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3423 So, you know, unfortunately, the brunt of this comes
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down on those communities that live near these facilities and the workers that work in these facilities. Unfortunately, we have seen facilities like these blow up. And when that happens, it hurts the people who are there, first and foremost.

And so I think that, you know, Vice Chair Curtis said I was being melodramatic when I was talking about life and death. But it really is. It is really hard to not get dramatic when you are talking to the families of those that get devastated by the deaths of their loved ones. And so that is what is really at stake here, and that is why we have -- what we have to keep front and center.

3436 \*Ms. Clarke. Thank you. My next question is for you3437 again, Mr. Garcia, and Mr. Slocum.

3438 So much of the discussion today has been focused on how 3439 burdensome regulations are. Can you tell us why it is so 3440 important to center community voices, especially those who 3441 have been historically marginalized, like communities of 3442 color and indigenous populations, when it comes to permitting 3443 decisions in the energy industry?

3444 \*Mr. Slocum. It is absolutely essential that frontline 3445 communities that are being asked to host all of the hazards

3446 play a prominent role in the siting process.

We are working with an African American community in the Florida Panhandle that is opposed to a liquefied natural gas export terminal that -- we learned about it through a FERC regulatory process. Nobody in the local governments there had told these folks that this was the plan.

And this is a common, unfortunate occurrence that we see 3452 throughout the country, where the local community does not 3453 3454 have involvement or consent. And it is crucially important that, as part of any sort of regulatory review, that those 3455 frontline communities play a prominent role in being able to 3456 have a say in the development within their own communities. 3457 Thank you. Well, my time is winding down \*Ms. Clarke. 3458 3459 pretty quickly.

Let me just say that studies have continued to find that race, more than any other demographic, is the primary indicator for living near an energy facility emitting toxic pollutants. In fact, more than half of the individuals live -- living life close to any hazardous waste site are people of color.

3466 With that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

3467 \*Mr. Duncan. I thank the gentlelady. The chair will

3468 now go to Mr. Carter from Georgia.

3469 \*Mr. Carter. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank all of 3470 you for being here.

3471 Mr. Chairman, thank you for continuing on this theme that we have started with in the Energy and Commerce 3472 Committee this year, and that is about unleashing American 3473 This is extremely important. We have all seen and 3474 energy. witnessed what happens when we neglect American energy 3475 3476 dominance and our own independence. It is to our own detriment. We -- it results in high energy prices and 3477 diminished supply chains. And that is why I am really happy 3478 that we continue to focus on this. 3479

And we know about supply chains, but there is perhaps nothing more important in supply chains when we talk about them than critical minerals. That has to be perhaps one of, if not the most, glaring weaknesses that we have. All of you have mentioned our dependance on China for critical minerals, and how that needs to end. And we all recognize that. And we have got legislation in this package to fix that.

And I want to talk about some of that, because I am eager to talk about a bill that I am introducing, and it has to do with the Solid Waste Disposal Act, and it has to do

with mining. As I understand it, when you get a mining 3490 permit, you get the first permit, then you have to -- if you 3491 are going to keep the hazardous waste for longer than 90 3492 3493 days, you have to get a second permit. But while you are waiting on that second permit, what my legislation -- what 3494 this legislation will do will be to give you an interim 3495 permit, if you will, until you can go through the process to 3496 get the second permit. 3497

3498 So I think it makes a lot of sense. It helps us with 3499 our supply chain for critical minerals, and it needs to be 3500 done now, because there is no time to waste. We have got to 3501 address this issue right now. No, it is not a silver bullet, 3502 but I think it is a fix that will help us tremendously.

3503 Ms. Sweeney, I want to go to you, and I want to ask you, because it is interesting. You say in your written testimony 3504 -- and I quote -- an average of 7 to 10 years to secure -- it 3505 takes an average of 7 to 10 years to secure -- one of the 3506 longest permitting processes in the world for mining projects 3507 3508 -- to receive necessary permits to even begin to build the mine project. And then you compare this to Canada and 3509 Australia, who have kind of similar environmental regulations 3510 as we have, and there it only takes them a few years, two to 3511

3512 three years, to complete.

How can -- how have they been able to maintain comparable environmental standards to the U.S., and complete the permitting process for new mines in a fraction of the time that we do?

3517 \*Ms. Sweeney. They have a lot more coordination up 3518 front of the various agencies involved, whether they be 3519 provincial, territorial, or the overarching Canadian 3520 Government. They are seeking to do, like, one-stop 3521 permitting shopping.

They also allow the project proponent to prepare the environmental impact statement, which really involves a lot of efficiencies because you are not waiting for the agencies to have to do that. But the federal -- but the government does oversee that to make sure that the rigorous rules are --\*Mr. Carter. So there are a lot of lessons we could learn from them, and a lot of good takeaways from them.

3529 \*Ms. Sweeney. Absolutely.

3530 \*Mr. Carter. What would be one of the most immediate 3531 that could help us?

3532 \*Ms. Sweeney. Up-fronting litigation. I think that is 3533 something in Canada that they are focused on, and getting

that done, so you are not at the end of your 10-year process, 3534 3535 just entering into the litigation that could add another 10 years before you can actually start operations. 3536 3537 \*Mr. Carter. Good, good. Okay, I want to go to Mr. McNamee. 3538 And when we talk about unleashing American energy, part 3539 of that is the structure of the market that the energy goes 3540 into. Can you help me out? Restructured electricity markets 3541 3542 like regional transmission organizations, RTOs, do they lead to lower rates? Do they lead to greater reliability? 3543 I mean, tell me what the advantage, if there is any, of 3544 3545 these are.

3546 \*Mr. McNamee. They don't. And the RTOs were originally 3547 structured on the idea to use market forces to get 3548 efficiencies.

But the problem is that there are seven RTOs in the country, six of them regulated by FERC. The problem is that they use marginal pricing to set power prices, so you get bids in by each of the generators into -- to bid to meet every five minutes of what the energy needed.

And the problem is usually natural gas does set the clearing price on that, but every other resource is getting

3556 paid that natural gas price. So if you are a subsidized 3557 renewable, you have no fuel costs, you have tax credits, yet 3558 you are getting paid the natural gas price. So the economic 3559 benefits of renewables are not passing through to customers. 3560 Hence the reason energy prices keep going up, despite adding 3561 all these renewables.

And then secondly, you have got a reliability problem 3562 because none of these generators are like your utility. None 3563 3564 of them have an obligation to serve. And so they bid in, and if they are picked, they run. If they don't -- but then you 3565 have problems like you had in Texas, which you have seen also 3566 in this past winter, where there is no incentive to winterize 3567 your unit because you are, like, well, why should I do it if 3568 3569 it is going to make it more expensive?

3570 What you want is a system that allows -- that is 3571 designed to serve the people, and you need reliability as the 3572 number-one thing.

3573 \*Mr. Carter. Good. Well, thank you all.

And again, this permitting process is crushing us. We have got to do something about it.

3576 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

3577 \*Mr. Duncan. The gentleman -- the chair will now

3578 recognize Ms. Barragan for five minutes.

3579 \*Ms. Barragan. Thank you, Mr. Chair. I am especially concerned about legislation under consideration today which 3580 3581 says that no hazard assessment is required on the use of hydrofluoric acid at a refinery to understand the risk of an 3582 accidental release. This chemical is deadly. It is toxic. 3583 It is deadly toxic to people, and it is extremely corrosive. 3584 A hazard assessment is a common, safe safety measure the 3585 3586 Environmental Protection Agency has proposed.

3587 We also know there are safer alternatives available that 3588 many refineries already use.

The refineries in and near my district that still use hydrofluoric acid -- and it is a safety -- a serious safety concern. In 2015 there was a near miss at a refinery near my district in Torrance, California. An explosion at the refinery launched debris that landed close to two tanks containing hydrofluoric acid. People could have been killed.

3595 Mr. Garcia, what safer technologies are available for 3596 oil refineries to replace hydrofluoric acid, and should the 3597 oil industry have to consider them?

3598 \*Mr. Garcia. Yes. I mean, there are quantities of 3599 alternatives. And that is the saddest part about this bill,

is that there are quantities. One of them is sulfuric acid. But the idea is that that is what the analysis should tell you, right? That is what the analysis that industry should have to do. That is the one that tells you, yes, there are better alternatives to do this and still accomplish the goal that we need to accomplish.

And so when we hear about it, just this piece of the Clean Air Act being completely dismantled, it is really puzzling because you have everything -- industry has everything that it could want in order to keep this in the books, and that -- actually, compliance is relatively easy. So it is puzzling to see this.

3612 \*Ms. Barragan. Thank you.

Mr. Chair, I would like to enter into the record a 3613 letter I led with Senator Booker to EPA on the proposed risk 3614 management plan rule signed by 47 Members and Senators. 3615 The letter asks EPA to finalize a rule that requires refineries 3616 to transition to safer chemicals and processes. This letter 3617 3618 was supported by environmental groups and labor, including the United Steelworkers and United Auto Workers. 3619

I will hand you that letter at the end of the questioning.

3622 \*Mr. Duncan. Without objection. 3623 [The information follows:] 3624 3625 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*COMMITTEE INSERT\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* 3626

\*Ms. Barragan. Mr. Slocum, I am concerned about the 3627 Unlocking our Domestic LNG Potential Act, which eliminates 3628 the requirement that our Department of Energy find imports 3629 3630 and exports to be consistent with the public interest. What could the consequences of this bill be on domestic 3631 energy prices and our climate? 3632 \*Mr. Slocum. Well, the public interest should be 3633 comprehensive. It should look at environmental justice 3634 3635 considerations. It should look at climate and clean energy considerations. So it should be requiring the Department of 3636 Energy to perform those assessments, to require applicants to 3637 document how LNG exports -- whether or not they are 3638 displacing dirtier forms of energy abroad, or whether or not 3639 3640 they are displacing renewables by bolstering existing gas

3641 infrastructure.

Right now, the Department of Energy is not performing that assessment. To eliminate that assessment all together, which has been in place for 85 years, would be a huge disservice to communities, especially in the Gulf, that are being asked to host these massive facilities.

3647 \*Ms. Barragan. Well, thank you for that, and thank you3648 for raising the issue of environmental justice issues.

I share the climate concerns, and I want to underscore 3649 3650 the impact of energy prices because my constituents have been hit hard by this -- by rising natural gas prices. And this 3651 3652 shows how volatile fossil fuel prices are, and why we need the Department of Energy to be a check on the fossil fuel 3653 industry's proposals to have countries like China competing 3654 with American consumers to buy gas. This is why the 3655 Industrial Energy Consumers of America, a coalition of 3656 3657 manufacturing companies, has opposed this bill. I think it is bad for the U.S. manufacturing. 3658

Mr. Garcia, legislation under consideration proposes to repeal the Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund that was passed by Democrats in the Inflation Reduction Act. This fund would provide low-income communities with grants and loans to reduce greenhouse gas emissions with zero emissions technologies. Can this fund help low-income residents to reduce their energy bills?

\*Mr. Garcia. Absolutely. I mean -- and we saw that --3667 that fund is really meant to make sure that we don't make the 3668 mistakes that have happened in previous energy revolutions, 3669 where often people of color and low income get left out. And 3670 so this fund is specifically meant to make sure that low-

| 3671 | income and people of color have access to those funds.       |
|------|--|
| 3672 | *Ms. Barragan. And can the fund help create clean jobs,      |
| 3673 | energy jobs, in low economic communities                     |
| 3674 | *Ms. Garcia. Absolutely.                                     |
| 3675 | *Ms. Barragan low-income communities?                        |
| 3676 | *Mr. Garcia. Absolutely.                                     |
| 3677 | *Ms. Barragan. Well, thank you for that. It is               |
| 3678 | unfortunate, the Republican talk about lowering energy costs |
| 3679 | and creating jobs. They talk about it, but they want to      |
| 3680 | repeal programs that empower communities to do just that.    |
| 3681 | With that, Mr. Chair, I yield back.                          |
| 3682 | *Mr. Duncan. The gentlelady yields back, and the chair       |
| 3683 | will now go to the gentlelady from Arizona, Mrs. Lesko, for  |
| 3684 | five minutes.  |
| 3685 | Before I do that, there are going to be votes called         |
| 3686 | around 1:30. Apparently, there is two votes. We are going    |
| 3687 | to plow through and get as far as we can, but we will recess |
| 3688 | and come back, and finish the hearing. Members are           |
| 3689 | encouraged to come back right after the second vote is       |
| 3690 | called. And vote, come back, and we will get back on it,     |
| 3691 | because there is another hearing following this.             |
| 3692 | Mrs. Lesko, you are recognized for five minutes.             |

3693 \*Mrs. Lesko. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. I love 3694 this committee, because we are talking about energy, critical 3695 minerals on the environment. What could be more important 3696 than that?

Mr. Chairman, I am proud to sponsor the House concurrent 3697 resolution expressing disapproval of the revocation by 3698 President Biden of the presidential permit for the Keystone 3699 XL pipeline. This is a simple resolution, and I hope my 3700 3701 colleagues will support it. Many of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle have said they disapprove of the 3702 cancellation of the Keystone XL pipeline, and this resolution 3703 gives them and the entire House of Representatives the 3704 3705 opportunity to show our disapproval.

On day one of his Administration, President Biden canceled the Keystone pipeline. Soon after he canceled the Keystone, he removed sanctions on the Nord Stream II pipeline. This paved the way for Russia to hold the EU hostage to Russia's energy, and not allow cleaner, U.S.provided LNG.

Canceling the Keystone pipeline did not stop the drilling or exporting of the sand oils, as the extreme environmentalists thought. The 830,000 barrels per day of

crude oil from Alberta, Canada is still being produced, and 3715 being shipped via rail or other pipelines. Canada's oil 3716 sands producers were able to export a record amount of crude 3717 3718 in 2022 to overseas markets, including China and India. So instead of providing well-paying jobs for Americans, the 3719 Biden Administration prefers those jobs to go elsewhere. 3720 The cancellation of the pipeline also did little to stop 3721 emissions. CO2 emissions will increase, since much of the 3722 3723 oil is now transported by the railroads, a much dirtier method of transit, instead of the pipeline. Rail transport 3724

3725 also increases the risk of derailment and ensuring

3726 environmental damage of spilled oil.

Mr. Menezes, thank you for pointing out in your written 3727 testimony another shortcoming of President Biden canceling 3728 the Keystone pipeline: the fact that the U.S. and its allies 3729 would have had access to Canadian oil to lessen the import 3730 and use of Russian oil. Canceling the pipeline was a 3731 horrible financial decision, in my opinion. Developers of 3732 3733 Keystone XL are seeking to recoup more than \$15 billion in damages connected to President Biden's decision. 3734

3735 Mr. Menezes, what other financial losses can you comment 3736 on, due to the cancellation of the XL Pipeline?

Mr. Menezes. Well, I was going to add that, you know, we import about 700,000 barrels per day from Russia. So the Keystone Pipeline could have also been used to offset that amount as we, along with all other NATO countries and our allies, have said no to Russia resources. So it is very significant, as we have been talking about all morning.

The fact is that, if you can increase supply, you are going to have downward pressure on prices, you know, for our -- you know, for your constituents and for the American people. And I know, you know, people want to have it both ways, right? They would like to stop -- to have refineries operate, but they want their constituents to have cheap gas. You can't have it both ways.

3750 \*Mrs. Lesko. Thank you.

3751 \*Mr. Menezes. We can have environmentally compliant 3752 refineries in operation and making rational decisions to 3753 remove the bottlenecks. But that is just common-sense 3754 approaches, really, is everything we are considering today. 3755 \*Mrs. Lesko. Thank you. My next question is for Ms. 3756 Sweeney.

3757 Ms. Sweeney, copper is not listed as a critical mineral, 3758 although it is -- I think it uses four times as much copper

in an electrical vehicle as in a standard vehicle and other 3759 3760 things. Why do you think that copper isn't listed as a critical mineral, and do you think it should be? 3761 3762 \*Ms. Sweeney. I definitely think that it should be. I think that it actually does meet the U.S. Geological Survey 3763 criteria. But when they were doing the latest list, they 3764 didn't have the most recent data in front of them. I think, 3765 using the data today, that copper would definitely make that 3766 3767 list.

However, you know, in National Mining Association's viewpoint, anything that you need and can't get really should be critical. So maybe those kinds of criticality lists don't just make the most sense because, as technologies change, something that is critical today may not be critical tomorrow.

You know, people were talking about substitutions. Well, then you are creating a new critical mineral, because something that maybe we use now to substitute becomes the next big thing that everybody is going to need. So if we just had efficient permitting, criticality doesn't matter so much.

3780 \*Mrs. Lesko. Well, good. And I hope that copper is

added to the critical mineral list, because I am from Arizona, we produce lots of copper, and it is unfortunate that the Resolution Copper Mine has been put on hold. The final impact -- environmental impact statement was approved under the former Administration, and now has been put on hold, plus a lawsuit.

3787 So I yield back. Thank you.

3788 \*Mr. Duncan. I thank the gentlelady. The chair will 3789 now go to Dr. Ruiz for five minutes.

3790 \*Mr. Ruiz. I would like to inform the gentlewoman from 3791 Arizona that I am very familiar with the copper mines in 3792 Arizona. My family actually worked in those copper mines in 3793 years past. I believe it is the Bisbee Queen's Copper Mines 3794 is one of those big, big areas.

But thank you, Chairman. I would like to address a recurring theme that I have seen in multiple pieces of legislation before this committee today. In these pieces of legislation I see bills that are sacrificing key provisions of landmark legislation that help protect people's health, like the Clean Air Act, to -- in order to increase critical mineral extraction. And that is the wrong approach.

3802 Frontline communities already bear too much of the

burden of the environmental injustice. To name an example, people living near fossil fuel drilling sites are at greater risk for pre-term birth, cancer, asthma, and other respiratory diseases. I mean, it is a direct link to real people's health, childhood asthma, COPD, all these other things.

As a doctor, the health of my constituents is my top concern, and I have seen firsthand that we must do more to protect vulnerable communities from pollution and other environmental dangers.

I do want to be clear that I am not against critical mineral production. I have been unequivocal that we need to build our domestic supply chains. And as a prime example of this is right in my own district, in the Imperial Valley or the Imperial County.

In the Imperial Valley, the Salton Sea has a massive supply of lithium. In fact, it is the fifth largest lithium deposit in the whole world. It has the potential to supply the lithium needed for electrical vehicle batteries and our clean energy future. We import the vast majority of our batteries and our lithium from other countries that are not aligned with our world views. We call the area Lithium

3825 Valley back home to emphasize the potential that this lithium 3826 has to transform the region.

And beyond powering our country towards its clean energy 3827 3828 future, I believe that Lithium Valley can also provide a model for how we can both protect our community's health and 3829 get the critical minerals we need. And how do we do that? 3830 So instead of hardrock mining or salt flat evaporation, 3831 breaking up the earth, putting more dust in the air, et 3832 3833 cetera, in Imperial County the lithium is extracted from geothermal production. So it is in a closed loop cycle, and 3834 the brine that goes through this closed loop as they 3835 naturally produce geothermal energy -- which is a good thing 3836 -- they filter that brine out to extract the lithium. And so 3837 it is better for the environment and better for our 3838 communities. This shows that we don't have to sacrifice 3839 health and the environment. We can have a win-win for the 3840 environment, for our public health, and for places like the 3841 Imperial Valley. 3842

Mr. Raul Garcia -- I like your first name, by the way. We share that. In Spanish we would call each other tocayos. In your testimony you note that our country doesn't have to make this false choice between energy creation and protecting

the health and safety of our vulnerable communities. 3847 Tell me more about that, and as it applies to the 3848 critical mineral production, as well. 3849 3850 \*Mr. Garcia. Well, I think that when we are talking about critical mineral production, we want to make sure that 3851 we are using the resources that are available to us that are 3852 the safest ways to use the critical minerals. And that --3853 when that requires mining, it has to follow the law. 3854 Ιt 3855 shouldn't -- we shouldn't be seeking exceptions to the law in order to make sure that this happens safely. We actually 3856 need to make sure that it applies. 3857

We also need to make sure that we, as you mentioned, have a circular economy on critical minerals. So making sure that they are being recycled, and that when they are being recycled they are being -- the recycling is being done responsibly and in a clean way, the -- whether it is extraction or recycling of it. And again, those laws, those bedrock laws are in place.

Now, we have talked a lot about permitting in some places and how long it takes. But I like to point out that a lot of the delays that happen on permitting are actually not done because of the requirements of the permitting structures

3869 themselves. They are done because the agencies are being 3870 starved from actual funding in order to carry out the 3871 permitting.

And so, if we want to speed up permitting, when we are talking about -- whether it is a mine or whether it is something else, you actually need to fund the agency in order to make sure that the experts are going to do so, are going to get out the permits in a way that is going to protect communities on the ground.

\*Mr. Ruiz. Catch-22, right? Chipping away government in order to make it as ineffective as possible, and then complaining that they can't do their job and it is too slow. So the only result is going to be to eliminate government at all, and eliminate these rules that protect the health. And that is not necessarily feasible or the right thing to do for the American people.

3885 But with that my time is over, and I yield back.

3886 \*Mr. Duncan. I appreciate the gentleman. The chair 3887 will now go to another gentleman from the crossroads of 3888 America, Mr. Pence, for five minutes.

3889 \*Mr. Pence. I thank you, Chairmen Duncan and Johnson, 3890 and Ranking Members DeGette and Tonko for holding this

hearing. And thank you to the witnesses for appearing today.
The bills before us begin to shore up our national
energy strategy, lower energy prices for Hoosiers, and put
our nation back on track towards energy dominance.

The Biden Administration's electrification-or-nothing 3895 approach is only deepening our reliance on China and leaving 3896 our country vulnerable in the event of a national emergency. 3897 Despite what the Biden Administration is telling us, demand 3898 3899 for oil and natural gas will only increase around the world. Petroleum products are the lifeblood of the American 3900 economy, fueling businesses to bring good-paying jobs and 3901 lowering energy costs for families. 3902

Over the past two years, the Biden Administration has failed to put forth a coherent energy strategy. Hoosiers in southern Indiana deserve answers on why this Administration has made it more expensive for families to heat their homes, and for business and families to keep their lights on at the old prices. And I hope we hear a little bit of that tonight.

3909 My legislation being considered today would provide 3910 waivers for critical energy resources in the event of a 3911 national security emergency. And I quote, "If the 3912 administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, in

3913 consultation with the Secretary of Energy, determines that 3914 the processing and refining of a critical energy resource at 3915 a critical energy resource facility is important to the 3916 national security or energy security of the United States, 3917 then the administrator may waive application of any 3918 requirement, sanction, or fee under the Clean Air Act.''

And by the way, I am one of the few -- I am old enough, I actually read the Clean Air Act when it came back -- came out many, many years ago.

This bill would ensure that the Federal Government can act swiftly to preserve access to energy supplies. And I look forward to hearing constructive feedback on how to improve this legislation and provide the Federal Government with tools to respond in the event of a crisis.

Mr. Menezes, I am going to direct my question and my 3927 comments to you at this point. Back in 2005 I went in with 3928 then-Governor Mitch Daniels when he became governor in the 3929 State of Indiana, and I was the chief deputy commissioner of 3930 3931 the Indiana Department of Environmental Management. And the biggest problem in the State of Indiana was over-regulation 3932 by the EPA and IDEM. It was inhibiting business growth. 3933 Ιt was holding farmers down. It was costing too much money. 3934

The regulations were just crushing the State of Indiana. And that got changed. At that point the State of Indiana was \$2 billion in the hole, and today there are \$6 billion to the good.

My question to you: In the event of a national security 3939 emergency that threatens access to critical energy resources, 3940 what sort of emergency authority tools exist to address 3941 severe supply disruptions for different types of energy? 3942 3943 \*Mr. Menezes. Right. Well, there -- that is where the confusion lies here, because we face emergencies regularly. 3944 You go into the executive branch, you know, as a public 3945 official. So the president and his team typically says, what 3946 do -- what can we do at this point? And it is can -- does 3947 3948 the Constitution prohibit it? Has Congress prohibited such action? Has Congress authorized? 3949

And with respect to waivers, Clean Air Act, Jones Act waivers, these kinds of things, Stafford Act, declarations of emergencies, what waiver authority is there, we have a body of law that kind of -- the executive branch runs fairly well. Where it gets diffused and confused is anything thereafter that.

And so, you can look at all of these different laws, and

you don't see anything with respect to, really, energy, 3957 critical energy resources, in there. And so, as a 3958 consequence, being at the department, you are kind of brought 3959 3960 in at the last minute. In fact, the Department of Defense has a lot of clear, you know, emergency -- they weigh in, 3961 they can do things. Commerce, even Transportation. MARAD 3962 under the Jones Act. The Department of Energy is just like 3963 sort of forgotten about. So you are in there, trying to 3964 3965 focus on the importance of energy.

Puerto Rico. I mean, the governor would tell us -- they would come to Energy and say, "We can't do anything without energy. Our water doesn't work, our hospitals can't run. We can't do anything without energy. What are you doing for energy?' You don't have those authorities, those clear authorities on the books to be able to have Energy play a key role in solving crises during these emergencies.

3973 \*Mr. Pence. So would you agree, as a former deputy 3974 secretary, that this bill would add a little clarity to that? 3975 \*Mr. Menezes. Add clarity --

3976 \*Mr. Pence. And help everybody out, both --

3977 \*Mr. Menezes. Office of Legal Counsel, believe me, it 3978 would --

3979 \*Mr. Pence. All right.

3980 \*Mr. Menezes. -- help tremendously.

3981 \*Mr. Pence. Thank you. I yield back.

3982 \*Mr. Duncan. Okay, the chair now goes to Ms. Blunt 3983 Rochester for five minutes.

3984 \*Ms. Blunt Rochester. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and 3985 thank you to all of our witnesses today.

Across the country we are already seeing the impacts of the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act and the Inflation Reduction Act. We are seeing a commitment to a cleaner economy and cleaner planet, and a commitment to our American manufacturers and workers.

Just in the six months since the Inflation Reduction Act became law, companies have announced over 100,000 new domestic clean energy jobs, and billions of dollars in new manufacturing investments. This historic law -- or both of these laws have actually created a path to a stronger, more resilient domestic energy system, all while combating the ongoing climate crisis.

But unfortunately, the bills and resolutions that we see before us today would force us off that path. They neglect to address the global shift toward clean, renewable energy,

4001 and focus instead on expanding the fossil fuel industry by 4002 creating loopholes for important environmental and public 4003 health protections. We need legislation that not only 4004 protects our domestic energy interests, but also protects the 4005 environment and health of all Americans.

My questions are for Mr. Garcia. One of the bills being 4006 heard today relates to EPA's risk management program rule, 4007 also known as the Chemical Disaster Prevention Rule. 4008 The 4009 proposed legislation would amend the Clean Air Act to exempt refineries that use extremely dangerous hydrofluoric acid 4010 from assessing whether they could potentially use safer 4011 technologies. I am concerned about any legislation that 4012 weakens the Clean Air Act, but I am particularly concerned 4013 about a bill that guts a common-sense practice that would 4014 save lives and prevent disasters. 4015

Mr. Garcia, can you speak to how clients that your organization represents use foundational laws like the Clean Air Act to protect themselves from dangerous polluters in courts, and how creating exemptions for them using the vaguely defined "critical energy resource' would gut those legal protections?

4022 \*Mr. Garcia. Yes, absolutely. So what we see is that

the way that permitting should work, and the way that --4023 4024 whether it is the Clean Air Act or anything else -- it should work in a way that industry, along with the communities, are 4025 4026 equal partners in a way that identifies the best science in order to follow through on whatever the permit would allow, 4027 with the health and safety of the communities most impacted. 4028 And that is exactly what the what the RNP does, right? 4029 Ιt is, in fact, a study. And why would we ever want to stymie 4030 innovation in this process? 4031

I believe that, from a lot of folks here today, we keep 4032 talking -- we keep hearing about the next chemical, and the 4033 next metal, and the next thing that we are going to see. Why 4034 aren't we applying the same level of innovation to the 4035 4036 standards that would protect our communities in the process? And so that -- I think that is a question that has to be 4037 answered. But that is what the process is. And the fact 4038 that the bill seeks to exempt it from exploring that 4039 innovation is very problematic in all sorts of ways. 4040 4041 \*Ms. Blunt Rochester. Another bill that we heard about

4042 today authorizes the use of flexible air permitting with 4043 respect to certain critical energy resource facilities. In 4044 your written testimony you stated that using flexible air

4045 permitting in this manner would take the science out of air 4046 permitting decisions. Can you elaborate on that statement, 4047 and discuss the risks associated with this use of flexible 4048 air permitting?

4049 \*Mr. Garcia. Yes, absolutely. We have -- when we are 4050 talking about permitting, there are certain standards that 4051 industry or whoever wants the permit needs to comply with. 4052 In flexible air permitting, as we have it in the bill, 4053 essentially, the administration gets to pick winners or 4054 losers, never mind the actual standards.

And so, when you have an administration that is really 4055 not looking after the health and safety of the people on the 4056 ground, that is really looking for corporate profits and 4057 things like that, it really just allows them to pick 4058 favorites. And unfortunately, there is a long history of 4059 which industries they pick to be favorites in that process. 4060 \*Ms. Blunt Rochester. And just as a follow-up, can you 4061 talk about the public health and environmental implications 4062 4063 of that?

4064 \*Mr. Garcia. Yes, absolutely. I mean, the idea is that 4065 you are leaving out the science, and at the same time you are 4066 ramming the most dangerous alternatives out there down

4067 communities' throats. Right?

And so they are the ones that would have to live with, God forbid, any explosion that happens, the workers themselves. They are the ones who have to deal with the consequences.

4072 \*Ms. Blunt Rochester. Thank you so much, and I yield 4073 back.

4074 \*Mr. Duncan. The chair will go now to Dr. Joyce for 4075 five minutes.

4076 \*Mr. Joyce. I want to thank the chairman for holding 4077 this critical hearing today.

As we begin the 118th Congress, we continue to hear from our constituents at home that the high costs at the pump and in their electric bills are kitchen table issues that they deal with every day.

The fact is, the only way to bring down prices is to increase supply. We have been blessed in this country to have plentiful reserves of natural resources. In my home state of Pennsylvania, we have significant deposits of coal and natural gas. In the last 20 years alone, new drilling techniques have led to the shale gas revolution, and Pennsylvania is now the second largest net supplier of energy

to all other states. In my conversations with energy 4089 producers, they make it clear that the Commonwealth of 4090 Pennsylvania has much more that it can give. 4091 4092 What is standing in the way of unleashing the resources under the feet of my constituents? It is the Biden 4093 Administration's war on American energy. 4094 At every step, this Administration has held up and 4095 hindered the production of American coal, oil, and natural 4096 4097 gas. From creating restrictive and burdensome regulations to 4098 attempts to scare away capital investment from fossil fuels, the Biden Administration has stifled supply and caused prices 4099

4101 Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to submit for the 4102 record a report by the National Fire Protection Association, 4103 published in July of 2020, which I will submit at the end of 4104 my questioning.

to rise.

4100

Just last month, an Administration official raised the possibility of banning gas stoves due to safety concerns. Well, let's look at the science, a report by the NFPA. These claims of unsafe natural gas stoves are incorrect. Gas stoves are incredibly safe to use. In fact, electric ranges are over 200 percent more likely to cause a fire, and over

4111 300 percent more likely to cause a deadly fire, and close to 4112 500 percent more likely to cause fire-related injury than gas 4113 ranges.

This misguided attempt to ban gas stoves shows yet another step that the Biden Administration is attempting to move the market away from American energy products like natural gas. It is time to stop playing political games and do what is best for our constituents.

No producer single-handedly affects the price, but by giving businesses regulatory certainty and providing confidence to capital markets assures that the domestic production of energy is here to stay. We can lower prices and reclaim American energy dominance.

4124 My first question is for Mr. Eshelman.

4125 How do aggressive and targeted attempts to discourage 4126 investment in natural gas affect production?

4127 \*Mr. Eshelman. Well, first off, to hit on your point 4128 about the natural gas stoves, I think this is a real personal 4129 intrusion, that the government is trying to tell consumers 4130 what kind of choices they can make. So it is what kind of --4131 how you can cook, what kind of cars you can drive, how you 4132 can heat your home. So that is a very important point to

4133 bring up. I think consumer choice is at risk here with this 4134 Administration.

4135 Second, business thrives where there is a predictable 4136 landscape. So we need state and local governments and the 4137 Federal Government all work together to streamline their 4138 processes so we can get some permitting done, as well as 4139 exploration and production, and particularly in Pennsylvania. 4140 \*Mr. Joyce. Thank you. My next question is for Mr. 4141 Menezes.

I mentioned the need for regulatory certainty in my 4142 earlier remarks. I have a draft bill that would enable 4143 critical mineral facilities to work with the EPA in advance 4144 of the permitting process so that they can react to surges in 4145 the market without needing to restart the permitting process. 4146 Currently, how do regulated critical materials entities 4147 deal with large increases in market demand, and what relief 4148 would this bill give them? 4149

4150 \*Mr. Menezes. You know, currently I believe there are 4151 some 300 backlogged applications pending at EPA for the 4152 permits that you have requested, and that number is only 4153 growing, really, to take advantage of a lot of the provisions 4154 that were in the IRA. Capital wants to be expended. This

new investment will involve new chemicals, et cetera. 4155 They want to get their permits. 4156 A lot of the funding is based on you have to have the 4157 4158 permits first. And so frustration is mounting that we can't seem to figure out how to get EPA to really just follow the 4159 law, implement the law, get the permits out, and let's try to 4160 embrace the new future with these new chemicals and our 4161 4162 energy --4163 \*Mr. Joyce. Thank you for addressing this critical 4164 issue. My time is expiring. Thank you, and I yield. 4165 \*Mr. Duncan. Okay. The chair is going to go to Ms. 4166 Schrier next. And when she finishes her five minutes, we are 4167 going to take a recess for members to go vote. 4168 Members are reminded we are going to meet again right 4169 after the second vote opens. Vote, come on back. We are 4170 going to go to Kelly Armstrong first up when we come back. 4171

4172 So Ms. Schrier is recognized for five minutes.

4173 \*Ms. Schrier. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. And 4174 thank you to our witnesses. This has been a really 4175 interesting discussion.

4176 You know, last week one of my Republican colleagues

4177 acknowledged that there is actually a lot of common ground,
4178 that there is bipartisan agreement that we all want to be
4179 good stewards of the earth, that careful use of resources is
4180 important, and decreasing greenhouse gas emissions is one
4181 element of how we can be good stewards of this earth.
4182 So I was so inspired by these prospects of

4183 bipartisanship that the very next day I met with Democratic 4184 and Republican House and Senate members at a breakfast 4185 discussion about the real practicalities. Like, let's just 4186 get down to nuts and bolts about how we are really going to 4187 get the changes we need made with clean energy in a timely 4188 fashion to actually make the difference that we need to make.

And one important practicality had to do with how delays 4189 4190 in permitting and years of litigation could thwart our very best efforts to make the changes that we need to achieve our 4191 clean energy goals. And just to be clear on where I stand, I 4192 am not suggesting in any way that we gut our bedrock 4193 environmental protection laws, but we need to make some 4194 4195 pragmatic, necessary reforms, like faster timelines, in order to have a realistic shot of meeting these clean energy and 4196 emissions goals. 4197

4198

So I am looking for areas where bipartisanship is

4199 possible, and I think we have some opportunity for common 4200 ground here.

I also believe and know that our production of renewable 4201 4202 energy is only as good as the electric grid that we have. And the broader system and our Federal permitting laws were 4203 primarily written for the fossil fuel era. And so it is time 4204 to kind of rethink how we can streamline, and it requires 4205 some very practical conversations, not trying to speed every 4206 4207 answer to yes, but at least getting to a yes or a no quickly 4208 so we can move on.

So, Mr. McNamee, I appreciated your testimony. 4209 You noted that Congress should consider reforming NEPA and the 4210 APA to limit how legal challenges can be made against agency 4211 actions. Of course, this is a, as you refer to it, a two-4212 edged sword, and that we want agencies to be accountable, we 4213 need public input. And so Congress has to do this balancing 4214 act. I was wondering if you could talk a little bit about 4215 4216 this.

4217 And I am confining the way I think about this to the 4218 speeding of clean energy projects.

4219 \*Mr. McNamee. Thank you for the question. The -- one 4220 of the key problems is that the way NEPA litigation -- when

Congress passed NEPA, there was no cause of action. 4221 They 4222 thought they just wanted agencies to look at the environmental impacts, and make sure they consider it. 4223 4224 The Administrative Procedure Act allows parties to challenge an agency action for being arbitrary and 4225 capricious. And so then they say, well, if the agency didn't 4226 make the decision properly on NEPA, that is arbitrary and 4227 capricious, and so that can be pulled back. An example, FERC 4228 4229 in the last few months had a -- I think it was the D.C. 4230 Circuit sent back an approval that they made because, even though they addressed the issue, they forgot to cite -- make 4231 a citation to a req. And so they had to send it back. 4232 That just seems to me to be things that don't need to happen. 4233 So 4234 there can be ways to streamline that.

In terms of the clean energy, the thing that I find somewhat kind of amusing is that the -- that often the same people who didn't like underground natural pipelines suddenly say, "We need to fix permitting for, you know, 400 miles of lattice towers for transmission lines to get wind from the Midwest to the coasts,' going through, you know, farms, ranches, et cetera.

And what I think it is, we have to look at what are the

real problems. Because I think what the renewable developers 4243 4244 have realized is there is a NEPA problem. There is a problem. And so we need to come up with a solution that fits 4245 4246 one size for fitting all, not just picking --\*Ms. Schrier. And I will give you just some feedback on 4247 that. One of those things pollutes, one doesn't. One, in 4248 many cases, lines are already there. But we -- that is a 4249 discussion for another day. 4250 4251 I wanted to just turn at the end to just a really

pragmatic example: hydropower. I come from Washington 4252 State. Hydropower makes up a third of the renewable energy 4253 in the United States. It makes up about half of the 4254 electricity we use in Washington State. And with the looming 4255 climate crisis, hydropower is going to be critical. You 4256 know, it provides baseload, just like nuclear and like 4257 natural gas, that wind and solar just can't provide. And so 4258 hydropower is critical. 4259

And right now it turns out that just about three percent of dams in this country generate hydropower. And this is an area where the chairwoman of this committee and I really agree, that this is exactly the kind of project where, if you consider the net environmental benefit, you consider the

| 4265 | economics, you consider the energy benefits, that this sort   |
|------|---|
| 4266 | of project might be ideal for having a speedier pathway to a  |
| 4267 | yes or a no.  |
| 4268 | So I want to thank you, and I yield back my time.             |
| 4269 | *Mr. Duncan. The gentlelady yields back.                      |
| 4270 | So members are reminded that we are going to come back        |
| 4271 | right after the second vote opens. So vote and come back,     |
| 4272 | and I am going to take them in order. Kelly Armstrong is up   |
| 4273 | next.   |
| 4274 | Witnesses are asked to remain. If you need to get up,         |
| 4275 | stretch your legs, bathrooms are down the hall. Apparently,   |
| 4276 | there is a lot of people in the lobby out here, so you may    |
| 4277 | not want to go that way.                                      |
| 4278 | And we will stand in recess until we get back.                |
| 4279 | [Recess.]   |
| 4280 | *Mr. Duncan. All right. We are going to go ahead and          |
| 4281 | get started. So I will call the subcommittee back in order.   |
| 4282 | And I will now go to Mr. Armstrong from North Dakota for      |
| 4283 | five minutes.   |
| 4284 | *Mr. Armstrong. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. In 2017, when        |
| 4285 | this committee held a hearing on the Promoting Cross-border   |
| 4286 | Energy Infrastructure Act, Ranking Member Pallone remarked at |

4287 the time, "With President Trump already approving the 4288 Keystone XL Pipeline, it is unclear to me why Republicans 4289 feel it is necessary to strip the President of his authority. 4290 Do my colleagues on the other side of the aisle honestly not 4291 have confidence in President Trump?' '

It is not that Republicans didn't have confidence in 4292 President Trump, it is that Republicans didn't have 4293 confidence in future administrations to make rational 4294 4295 decisions regarding energy's infrastructure. We only had to wait a matter of hours after President Trump left office and 4296 President Biden -- for President Biden to revoke the cross-4297 border permit for the Keystone XL Pipeline, and prove the 4298 4299 exact reason why we need this bill.

4300 Well, it is clear that the FERC and DoE processes are not immune from political influence, which I will get to in a 4301 They must follow statutory and regulatory 4302 second. guidelines, as opposed to the impulsive decision-making 4303 process used by one president. Opponents of carbon energy 4304 4305 have routinely exploited the uncertainty of the cross-border process to starve projects of capital investment because they 4306 understand that these projects can take decades to complete, 4307 and are not a short-term investment. 4308

We know that those who are antagonistic to carbon energy 4309 oppose every pipeline project. It has nothing to do with the 4310 merits or the environmental analysis surrounding a particular 4311 4312 piece of infrastructure. To quote a leader of the Keep It In the Ground campaign, the Keystone XL Pipeline was never about 4313 any single pipeline. It was about establishing a litmus 4314 test. Well, the opponents of carbon energy have established 4315 that test, and they know that they can rely on domestic --4316 4317 Democratic administrations to undermine our energy 4318 infrastructure. Deputy Secretary Menezes, before we go any further, it 4319 is important, I think, to talk about what the Promoting 4320

4321 Cross-border Energy Infrastructure Act does not -- what it 4322 does not do, and we need to be perfectly clear. This bill 4323 will have zero effect on NEPA or shortcut environmental

4324 reviews. Is that your understanding?

4325 \*Mr. Menezes. That is my understanding.

4326 \*Mr. Armstrong. Thanks. And I am going to switch over 4327 to domestic pipelines for a second.

4328 Mr. McNamee, are political considerations playing an 4329 outsized role in FERC's permitting decisions?

4330 \*Mr. McNamee. I am concerned that FERC has not always

4331 been focused on the limits of the Natural Gas Act in making 4332 its determinations.

4333 \*Mr. Armstrong. Have there been any policy changes in 4334 the last two years, or is it simply that the regime has 4335 changed?

\*Mr. McNamee. Two things have happened. One, the 4336 regime had changed from majority Republican to majority 4337 Democrat members. And second, there were proposals for new 4338 4339 policy statements that would have allowed the Commission to deny natural gas pipelines based on the upstream and 4340 downstream natural gas combustion, which, in my opinion, when 4341 I was on FERC, FERC did not have the authority to make those 4342 decisions under the Natural Gas Act. 4343

4344 \*Mr. Armstrong. Well, what do you think the practical 4345 impact of that would be if they -- if prior to putting a 4346 pipeline in the ground, a company had to mitigate both the 4347 oil well and the SUV?

4348 \*Mr. McNamee. Well, they may not even have an 4349 opportunity to mitigate it. The FERC, if those policies were 4350 enacted, the pipeline might not be approved at all because it 4351 would be declared too harmful. And so, even though it is in 4352 the public interest, it would provide service to customers,

4353 and it could lower prices for customers that may not be 4354 approved at all.

\*Mr. Armstrong. As somebody who grew up in western 4355 4356 North Dakota, I would say an oil well is like a five-star steak restaurant and a pipelines is like McDonald's. 4357 Thev both make money, but they make it in very different ways. 4358 Back to Mr. Menezes. In addition to raising costs and 4359 limiting growth, roadblocks that delay or prevent the 4360 4361 development of energy infrastructure, particularly oil and gas, threaten the overall resilience of our electric grid, as 4362 well. Can you touch on why that is important, to support 4363 efficient deployment of midstream infrastructure? 4364

4365 \*Mr. Menezes. As we have been talking about today, we 4366 need to increase supply, but we also need to increase 4367 infrastructure to make sure that supply gets delivered to the 4368 American people. That will bring downward prices onto the 4369 commodity that they are purchasing.

4370 \*Mr. Armstrong. And there is also global ramifications 4371 to an efficient cross-border process in North America. I 4372 mean, we import a ton of oil from Canada. They are our 4373 closest ally and our neighbor. Maybe I am a little biased, 4374 because they are my neighbor directly to the north.

4375 \*Mr. Menezes. Well, I don't --

\*Mr. Armstrong. What are the ramifications -\*Mr. Menezes. I mean, we have about eight refineries
that are designed and built to take heavy crude, heavy crude
from Canada. It was also for heavy crude from Venezuela
until the shale revolution. So we have refineries that are
designed to take that oil. It is from Canada, you know, our
largest trading partner. So it only makes sense.

Plus, we talked about earlier that would have been -- we import about 700,000 barrels per day from Russia. That 830,000 from Keystone would have certainly offset that.

\*Mr. Armstrong. I always used to say anybody who has ever looked at the process to drill a well in Canada would understand it is significantly more stringent than potentially even drilling on our Federal land. When I would talk to my friends and allies on this issue, I would say, "What can we do to make -- change people's minds?'

They would say, "Call it something other than tar sands oil, because it just sounds dirty.' It doesn't matter that it is sour crude that we need for marine diesel. I love my Bakken sweet crude, but it doesn't work for everything.

4396 So thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I yield back.

4397 \*Mr. Duncan. I thank the gentleman. So I am assuming I 4398 am going to Ms. Kuster for five minutes.

4399 \*Ms. Kuster. Great. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Let me 4400 get straight to the point. Most of the legislation before us 4401 in committee today is merely a handout to the fossil fuel 4402 industry, poorly described as an attempt to strengthen our 4403 nation's energy security.

So let me be clear. Furthering our nation's independence -- dependance on fossil fuels instead of diversifying our energy sources not only weakens our energy security, but it also harms American families by leaving them vulnerable to global energy price shocks.

In the first legislative hearing of this subcommittee, 4409 the Republican majority has put forward partisan legislation 4410 which stands no chance of being enacted into law, rather than 4411 focus our time on meaningful bipartisan efforts to further 4412 American energy independence. These bills simply miss the 4413 While I disapprove of these misguided proposals, I 4414 mark. 4415 remain committed to working with my Republican colleagues to find opportunities to actually deliver affordable, reliable, 4416 and domestically produced energy to the American people. 4417 One of those opportunities is bolstering our baseload 4418

energy resources, such as hydropower and nuclear. 4419 In New 4420 Hampshire, the Seabrook Nuclear Power Plant provides low-cost baseload energy by operating at full capacity nearly year-4421 4422 round. This past weekend you may have heard about recordbreaking cold on top of Mount Washington in my district. 4423 Under some of this winter's coldest temperatures, Seabrook 4424 continued to deliver reliable baseload energy to the grid. 4425 To protect nuclear energy as a baseload energy resource 4426 nationwide, we must also secure the uranium these plants rely 4427 4428 upon to operate.

4429 Mr. Menezes -- Menezes? Thank you.

One of these legislative items before us today would prohibit the import of low-grade uranium produced in Russia. At a time when Putin's regime is using profits from energy exports to fund a gruesome war in Ukraine, I would say cutting off Russian imports is a sound policy. Can you speak to the importance of reducing our dependance on Russian uranium, from an energy security perspective?

4437 \*Mr. Menezes. Well, your question touched on the key 4438 points. Russia simply is no longer a reliable partner for 4439 any critical energy infrastructure resources at all, 4440 including the enriched uranium which our civilian nuclear

fleet has become dependent on, because it can be cheaply produced in Russia and they export it at cheap prices to ensure that our civilian nuclear fleet that competes in these RTO markets that we talked about, they can't bear any cost increase on the cost of fuel.

The bill not only prohibits it, but it phases it out, and it does provide for some waivers. So it is not as though we are going to be without the fuel. That should give us enough time, because there have been some other provisions of the bill to develop our own abilities for fuel fabrication and, you know, enrichment.

It is not the easiest thing to do, but we need to 4452 reclaim our leadership and our own ability, frankly, to not 4453 only mine and mill, convert, but also for fuel fabrication. 4454 And it is important because, remember, nuclear is our 4455 cleanest emission-free source of energy in the United States. 4456 \*Ms. Kuster. Thank you. Like many Americans, I remain 4457 concerned by the record profits that oil companies continue 4458 4459 to rake in, while households across the country are struggling to pay their energy bills. 4460

4461 Mr. Slocum, in your testimony you suggested that 4462 Congress should press FERC, which is responsible for

regulating natural gas markets, to protect American consumers 4463 from price manipulation that could increase natural gas 4464 prices and America's energy bills. What steps can FERC take 4465 4466 to improve price transparency in natural gas markets? \*Mr. Slocum. Yes. So FERC has jurisdiction over spot 4467 natural gas markets if there is evidence of market 4468 manipulation. But in the 2005 Energy Policy Act, because of 4469 widespread manipulation of the price indices, FERC requested 4470 4471 and Congress inserted into the Natural Gas Act a provision 4472 that allows FERC to establish its own price transparency natural gas reporting system. 4473

And so, in comments in a rulemaking last year at FERC, I urged the Commission to undertake this never-used statutory authority, and what it would do would shine some badly needed transparency into pricing in natural gas spot markets.

4478 \*Ms. Kuster. Thank you. Many of my constituents in New 4479 Hampshire rely on natural gas for electricity and home 4480 heating, and I am committed to ensuring that Congress and the 4481 Administration evaluate all available tools to ensure the 4482 prices consumers pay are just and reasonable.

4483 To my Republican colleagues across the aisle, please 4484 take seriously my offer to work together on common-sense

4485 energy legislation, and put people over politics.

Thank you, and I yield back.

4487 \*Mr. Duncan. The gentlelady yields back, and the chair 4488 will now go to the gentleman from an energy-producing area --4489 well, actually, nuclear energy -- that would be Mr. Allen 4490 from Georgia.

4491 \*Mr. Allen. Thank you, Chairman Duncan and Chairman 4492 Johnson, for holding this joint subcommittee hearing today to 4493 discuss the importance of unleashing our domestic energy 4494 production, securing our electric infrastructure and domestic 4495 supply chains. This is critical in delivering lower energy 4496 costs to Americans and becoming energy dominant.

I can't stress enough the importance of having an allof-the-above energy strategy, which we have talked about over and over again here today, and ensuring our supply chains here are secure.

Yesterday I hosted my first telephone town hall with thousands of constituents on the line for the 118th Congress. The most questions I got were about, "What are you going to do about energy, and the cost of energy? How can we become energy dominant again? I remember those days when we actually set the price of a barrel of oil. That was real

4507 power, Mr. Congressman.' `

My constituents and Americans across the nation are spending money they don't have on energy, should it be at the pump, or trying to heat and cool their homes. The key to affordability and reliability is a diverse energy portfolio and removing regulatory barriers that hinder access to our natural resources right here in the United States. The free market is key in setting the price for energy.

4515 Mr. McNamee, you mentioned in your testimony how subsidized renewables are distorting price formation and 4516 regional transmission organizations, which is having a 4517 negative impact on important energy sectors like nuclear and 4518 coal, and, in turn, the reliability of the grid. Commercial 4519 4520 nuclear energy is critical to my district, as it is home to Plant Vogtle, and currently under construction are units 3 4521 and 4, which are scheduled to come online later this year. 4522 Nuclear energy is reliable, and affordable, and emission 4523 4524 free.

Are there ways we can ensure subsidized renewables are not undermining the market so that the coal and nuclear business do not become obsolete?

4528 And how does this degrade reliability?

Thank you, Congressman. The primary 4529 \*Mr. McNamee. challenge in the so-called RTOs, which are in seven parts of 4530 the country, is that they tried to use market forces in order 4531 4532 to achieve the cheapest energy resource for electricity. The problem is, once you have subsidized resources like 4533 renewables that have no fuel costs, that show up 4534 intermittently, they have tax credits, they undermine the way 4535 price formation works. And the price formation is for every, 4536 4537 basically, five minutes of the day during the load curve, generators bid in to see if they can meet the load. And the 4538 last generator that is picked sets the price that everybody 4539 is paid. So that means if you are wind or solar, you are 4540 4541 paid the same price as the natural gas producer or the 4542 nuclear producer.

And what has happened is, when you have these 4543 intermittent resources coming on and off, they are taking up 4544 market share, they are driving a little bit of the marginal 4545 price of energy down, but they are undermining the ability of 4546 4547 baseload, like, nuclear to be able to make the money to stay operating. And this has become a big crisis in a lot of 4548 parts of the country, where you see electricity prices 4549 spiking, but reliability going down. 4550

In Georgia, one of the things is it still has the traditional vertically regulated, and you mentioned that -planning the resources. That is exactly what utilities do. They do integrated resource plannings, they decide what units are needed to meet the power 24/7, 365 days a year, whether it is cold or whether it is hot.

And they also -- the price of energy is averaged. So customers are getting the economic benefits of all the resources.

4560 \*Mr. Allen. Right. And that might explain why we are -4561 - have two battery plants that are scheduled to come online, 4562 as well in Georgia, one just announced, and one is under 4563 construction for batteries for the electric vehicles that are 4564 going to power the future, because we have the most 4565 efficient, most abundant supply of electricity in the 4566 country. Thank you for the answer to that question.

Nuclear energy, as I said, is critical to our national security. So I would like to now enter into the record two letters, one from the Nuclear Energy Institute and another from the United States Nuclear Industry Council, which both expressed support for the committee's work to establish a secure nuclear energy fuel supply chain.

| 4573 | *Mr. I     | Duncan. W  | Vithout  | objection, | SO | ordered. |
|------|------------|------------|----------|------------|----|----------|
| 4574 |            |            |          |            |    |          |
| 4575 |            |            |          |            |    |          |
| 4576 |            |            |          |            |    |          |
| 4577 | [The i     | informatic | on follo | ows:]      |    |          |
| 4578 |            |            |          |            |    |          |
| 4579 | ********** | COMMITTEE  | INSERT*  | *****      |    |          |
| 4580 |            |            |          |            |    |          |

| *Mr. Allen. And now, Ms. Sweeney and we are not               |
|---|
| we are going to run out of time, but we have talked about the |
| permitting problem in the mineral supply chains. Can you      |
| submit in writing to me?                                      |
| [The information follows:]                                    |
|   |
| ********COMMITTEE INSERT********                              |
|   |
|   |

| 4589 | *Mr. Allen. What I am hearing is workforce problems.          |
|------|---|
| 4590 | And maybe you can comment on another question later about the |
| 4591 | workforce problems we are having throughout the energy        |
| 4592 | sector.   |
| 4593 | Thank you, and I yield back.                                  |
| 4594 | *Mr. Duncan. The gentleman yields back. The chair will        |
| 4595 | now go to Ms. Castor for five minutes.                        |
| 4596 | *Ms. Castor. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.                         |
| 4597 | Fossil fuel prices and energy costs were the primary          |
| 4598 | drivers of inflation last year, and higher gas prices after   |
| 4599 | Putin's unprovoked invasion of Ukraine. And we had the Big    |
| 4600 | Oil CEOs here at the committee to talk to them about price    |
| 4601 | gouging. And we asked each one of them, were they interested  |
| 4602 | in lowering costs, lowering prices at the pump? We are going  |
| 4603 | through a crisis of a war with an ally. Inflation was         |
| 4604 | hitting consumers hard. And they all said no.                 |
| 4605 | Now, just last week the profits became clear. Mr.             |
| 4606 | Slocum, did you see the profits reported by the Big Oil       |
| 4607 | companies?  |
| 4608 | *Mr. Slocum. Yes, ma'am.                                      |
| 4609 | *Ms. Castor. How would you characterize them?                 |
| 4610 | *Mr. Slocum. Extremely large. And that doesn't even           |
|      | 223   |

reflect all of their profitability, because they have been 4611 plowing billions into share buybacks. Chevron, for example, 4612 committing to \$75 billion. 4613 4614 \*Ms. Castor. But wait, they could have used that to lower the price at the pump, right? 4615 \*Mr. Slocum. Correct. 4616 \*Ms. Castor. Shell Oil made more in profit than they 4617 Exxon and Chevron, their \$90 billion in 4618 ever have before. 4619 profit was called epic. So this is what profiteering looks 4620 like, doesn't it? \*Mr. Slocum. The proof is in the numbers. Yes, ma'am. 4621 So I think they have everything they need. 4622 \*Ms. Castor. Why would we be bending over backwards to provide a wish list 4623 for the Big Oil companies, when they are making -- they are 4624 banking the biggest profits ever, and then they are not 4625 passing along these savings, they are doing stock buybacks? 4626 Is there anything in this wish list that is on this 4627 agenda today that lowers the cost for consumers? 4628 4629 \*Mr. Slocum. I don't see anything in these various bills that are going to reduce cost to consumers or protect 4630 consumers from the kind of price gouging that is going on. 4631 \*Ms. Castor. Mr. Garcia, do you see anything? 4632

You have helped shine the light on the litany of this 4633 wish list for polluters in Big Oil today. Is there anything 4634 in this package that would lower costs for consumers? 4635 4636 \*Mr. Garcia. I can't identify a single thing. \*Ms. Castor. In fact, you have helped us go through 4637 some of these bills today. It is like the 1970s have called, 4638 and they want their energy policies back. This is 2023, and 4639 clean energy is cheaper energy. We, with the help of the 4640 Inflation Reduction Act and the Infrastructure Investment and 4641 Jobs Act and the CHIPS and Science Act, we are unleashing 4642 American innovation to lower costs for consumers, to create 4643 jobs, to build healthier, more resilient communities. 4644 Mr. Garcia, is there any reason that you think we should 4645 go backwards to the costly policies of the past, and --4646 rather than go forward? 4647 \*Mr. Garcia. None. I mean, quite the opposite, right? 4648 I mean, if we do that, there is going to be a lot of 4649 damage done, both at a climate level for everything that we 4650 4651 are going to face as a country, as a planet, but also in small frontline communities next to these facilities that, 4652 unfortunately, bear the burdens of these -- largely would 4653

4654 bear the burdens of these largely unregulated practices if

4655 these loopholes go through.

4656 \*Ms. Castor. I mean, that is one thing that we never 4657 really talk about when we have this wish list for polluters 4658 in Big Oil, the cost of the climate crisis.

Back home in Florida, because our monopoly electric utilities have kept us -- we are the so-called Sunshine State, right? But we are reliant about 75 percent on fracked gas for our electricity. So people are paying higher electric bills as we have warmer days. That is not smart. That is not consumer friendly. We are paying higher property insurance.

There was another story out this morning about displacement because of extreme events. There is a huge pull on the Federal budget because we are outlaying more and more to tackle droughts and floods and these extreme events. And then there is the long-lasting burden of pollution that you highlight.

Again, isn't the future in clean energy? It is cheaper energy. It will help us lower costs across the board.

4674 \*Mr. Garcia. Absolutely. I mean, what we are seeing is 4675 the attempt by dirty fuels and dirty industries to circumvent 4676 laws in order to stay afloat longer, when what we really need

to do is make sure that our investments are going to -- as 4677 you said, the future, making sure that those investments are 4678 happening quickly and directly into renewable industries that 4679 4680 are also clean industries for our communities. \*Ms. Castor. Thank you very much. I yield back. 4681 I thank gentlelady. The chair will now go 4682 \*Mr. Duncan. to Mr. Balderson from Ohio. 4683 \*Mr. Balderson. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you all 4684 4685 for being here today. My first question is for Mr. Eshelman. 4686 Thank you for being here, Mr. Eshelman. In your testimony you note that IPAA's member companies are the 4687 innovative leaders that broke the code to usher in the shale 4688 oil and natural gas revolution in the United States. 4689 Chairman Johnson and I can certainly attest to this massive 4690 impact the shale revolution had in the Appalachia Ohio 4691 region, and the economic benefits we have seen in our 4692 communities. 4693 As you know, the shale revolution and fracking turned 4694

the U.S. into an energy superpower, and greatly enhanced our national security. But we must look forward. Natural gas and oil will continue to be essential to our energy portfolio for the foreseeable future.

In addition to prohibiting the president from unilaterally banning fracking, Chairman Duncan's Protecting American Energy Production Act also expresses the sense of Congress that states should maintain primacy for the regulation of fracking for oil and natural gas production on state and private lands.

4705 Mr. Eshelman, why was this aspect of energy policy key 4706 to the shale revolution?

4707 \*Mr. Eshelman. Well, hydraulic fracturing is a technology that has been around for a long time, but 4708 perfected over the past 10 years, which unleashed the shale 4709 revolution in the Utica, the Marcellus, and the Permian all 4710 around the country, and provided jobs and oil and gas to 4711 consumers. So it is a very important technology that, if we 4712 didn't use it, we would probably lose half of our oil and gas 4713 supply tomorrow. 4714

One of the other things I would mention is that there have been efforts in Congress to ban hydraulic fracturing, or have it regulated at the Federal level. That doesn't work. A one-size-fits-all regulation does not work for different parts of the country. So the states are doing it well. They are working with communities, and it should remain that way.

4721 \*Mr. Balderson. Thank you. I will follow up with you, 4722 sir. You said it best. The IRA's methane tax will 4723 jeopardize the operations of many oil and natural gas 4724 producers, and divert their attention from what they do best: 4725 producing the cleanest and safest oil and natural gas in the 4726 world.

As you noted, this tax was included in the Inflation Reduction Act, despite not being considered at a hearing, not receiving expert testimony, and without an economic analysis. If this isn't repealed, producers will start paying this tax next year.

How will the natural gas tax impact rural producers, 4732 rural communities, and, ultimately, how will the tax impact 4733 our constituents who rely on natural gas each and every day? 4734 \*Mr. Eshelman. Well, I think you hit on it. There was 4735 no congressional hearing on this tax. There was no testimony 4736 taken on it, no analysis done on it. So we really don't know 4737 the answer to that question. That is the problem with this 4738 4739 tax.

4740 \*Mr. Balderson. A follow-up for Mr. Menezes and Mr.
4741 McNamee: Do you think this tax will ultimately hurt rural
4742 communities?

4743 \*Mr. McNamee. Yes.

4744 \*Mr. Menezes. We have to keep in mind that those that are benefiting from fracking, they are the small producers. 4745 4746 The majors do not frack, okay? They are mom-and-pop operators here. These are the true patriots. These are the 4747 They have produced the oil to where, for the 4748 true Americans. first time in history, OPEC is forced to negotiate with the 4749 United States. That has never before happened since OPEC was 4750 4751 in existence.

And so, when you are looking at those provisions, the methane regs, those fees, it is going to be the small producers. The majors, they are not going to be impacted. Again, but they don't have the small producing that the IPAA folks have on the methane.

And remember, the methane we talk about is a pollutant. 4757 It certainly, in great concentrations, can do great harm. 4758 However, it is a product. And so, with the improvement in 4759 all the detection devices, what we have seen already is the 4760 4761 industry moving to detect, take action, and it is a product. And so, by making the investments, it is more product to 4762 actually sell. And so, talk about a circular economy, that 4763 is one, and they are taking advantage of it now. 4764

Also, EPA has a supplemental pending rule open for 4765 4766 public comment now on methane regulations, which essentially does the same thing without the fee, but you have the full 4767 4768 backing of all the penalties in the Clean Air Act if you violate those regulations once they become final. 4769 \*Mr. Balderson. Okay. Thank you very much. 4770 We are down to 30 seconds. I want to ask one last question. Please 4771 be conscious of the time. 4772 4773 Mr. McNamee and Mr. Menezes again, Chairman Johnson's Unlocking Our Domestic LNG Potential Act would streamline the 4774 approval process for American companies to export liquefied 4775 natural gas. 4776 Do you think -- during last week's hearing Under 4777 Secretary Paul Dabarr regarding the global environment 4778 benefits of the exporting U.S. natural gas to developing 4779 nations, many of which are reliant on coal from China [sic]. 4780 If you all would respond with just written answers, I 4781

4782 would appreciate it.

4783 [The information follows:]

4784

4786

\*Mr. Balderson. I yield back, Mr. Chairman. 4787 \*Mr. McNamee. Exporting natural gas helps both people 4788 in foreign countries and domestically. 4789 \*Mr. Balderson. Thank you. 4790 \*Mr. Duncan. All right. I thank the gentleman. 4791 The chair will now go to Ms. Miller-Meeks for five minutes. 4792 \*Mrs. Miller-Meeks. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. 4793 I thank all of our witnesses for having stamina to last 4794 4795 through this hearing. Iowa is a little-known energy state. We have 50 percent 4796 of our energies from renewables. Over 50 percent of our 4797 electricity is from wind. And we are an exporter, a net 4798 exporter of energy that both reduces greenhouse gas emissions 4799 and cleaner burning engines as part of our liquid fuel 4800 portfolio. And it should be part of a liquid fuel portfolio 4801 in all of our energy needs. It offers, you know, affordable 4802 energy to allow us, as a country, to compete globally on an 4803 affordable level. 4804 Imagine when I went to COP 26 and COP 27 that I found 4805

4806 out that energy demand is increasing. It is not decreasing. 4807 And I agree with the witness that we need increased 4808 electrification, but energy efficiency is only going to be

4809 able to give us so much, and it is a very small amount. And 4810 to increase electrification we need electricity, which means 4811 we need more energy sources, and to build new energy sources 4812 and resources, not less.

In Europe, as we have seen over the past year -- and I saw when I went to both COP 26 and COP 27 -- demand is going up. Energy efficiency, as tried in Germany and UK, has been reliant upon wind and solar as renewables, and have much higher electricity prices than we have in the United States. So it is not bringing down electricity prices.

In Iowa, not only are we a source of energy, we also 4819 have the Ames National Laboratory located at Iowa State 4820 University just outside of my district, and it currently 4821 leads the Critical Materials Institute. CMI is an energy 4822 innovation hub of the U.S. Department of Energy. Its focus 4823 is innovation to assure supply chains for materials critical 4824 to clean energy technologies. CMI carries out scientific and 4825 engineering research that facilitates more diverse primary 4826 4827 supply chains in addition to mining, which we wholeheartedly agree we need in this country, more efficient manufacturing, 4828 re-use and recycling, and development of new materials. 4829 Mr. Menezes, can you speak to the national significance 4830

of diversifying supply, developing substitutes, and driving 4831 re-use and recovery of critical minerals with respect to 4832 securing our nation's global competitiveness? 4833 4834 \*Mr. Menezes. Well, we have talked about the critical minerals, you know, throughout the day. It is important that 4835 we figure out a way for us to have our own access to our 4836 critical minerals, you know, as we are dependent on 31 of 35, 4837 we import 14. So I think that is a -- that is one of the 4838 4839 lessons learned.

And it was really emphasized after COVID. So Congress, in 2020, did take action, you know, to do R&D for critical minerals. And so they were doing it. But after COVID we realized we really cannot depend even on other countries. While we have been talking about China, you know, other countries provide us other critical minerals. So the focus now is really to do this.

And the Biden Administration likewise, you know, underscored that. And -- but we need to do more. And so that is why today's bill is so important, that we really need to make sure that the Department of Energy has the expertise to do it.

4852 You mentioned Ames. It is great. Ames is the place

4853 where you go, where you get to see the actual elements that 4854 are on the elemental chart, except for the radioactive ones, 4855 of course. But you can just see, and they are all there in 4856 these little vials. And it is just an absolute great place 4857 to go and visit.

4858 \*Mrs. Miller-Meeks. I wholeheartedly agree. And as you know, in December of 2022 the U.S. Department of Commerce 4859 found Chinese solar panel makers had circumvented the U.S. 4860 4861 tariffs by doing minor processing in Southeast Asia -- and I think that was mentioned earlier -- including Cambodia, 4862 Malaysia, Thailand, and Vietnam before exporting to the U.S. 4863 New tariffs on U.S. imports from these countries, which 4864 account for about 80 percent of U.S. panel supplies, do not 4865 take effect until June of 2024 because of a 2-year waiver 4866 from President Biden. 4867

I have concerns about China taking advantage of the waivers for renewable technologies meant for other countries, especially when the alternative is American-made products. There is a similar issue with Chinese companies operating production facilities for the EV batteries, which we had talked about through the credits with the Inflation Reduction Act.

Can you please speak to the risk that the waivers for 4875 4876 critical minerals and renewable technologies in other countries pose to the U.S. national and economic security? 4877 4878 \*Mr. Menezes. Right. For the first time, then, if this bill is enacted, the Energy Department will actually have a 4879 role in advising the president and other agencies as to what 4880 emergency actions can take place to ensure that we can 4881 protect those vital sources. And that is why this is needed. 4882 4883 Otherwise, the Department of Energy and its expertise will lose out to other agencies, who will have other equities 4884 to argue about and for. And so you want the Energy 4885 Department to be at that table to inform the president as to 4886 4887 why certain actions need to be taken to protect our critical 4888 minerals and resources.

4889 \*Mrs. Miller-Meeks. Thank you so much. I wish I could 4890 go through all of the witnesses, but I don't have time. I 4891 have some other questions which I will submit to the 4892 committee, and then ask you to respond in writing. Thank you 4893 very much.

4894 I yield back.

4895 \*Mr. Duncan. I thank the gentlelady, and the chair will 4896 now go to the gentleman from the Republic of Texas, Mr.

4897 Pfluger, for five minutes.

4898 \*Mr. Pfluger. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and I appreciate 4899 the opportunity in this hearing. I would like to thank all 4900 the witnesses.

You know, I would hope that what has been said by my colleagues on the other side of the aisle is actually true, that we can work together. I am worried about not having electricity.

There is a narrative here that Big Oil is making big profits. Does -- Mr. Slocum, I don't know if you know the price of oil on April 20th, 2020. I don't know if anybody on this panel can tell me what that was. I bet there is one or two. Negative 37.63. Do we remember that? And do we have hearings about the profits that we were not making at that time?

Energy security is so important. It is important to our economy. It is important to our livelihoods. It is important to our military. You know, when we look at the concept of making sure we have affordable, reliable energy --Mr. Garcia, can you tell me what the reduction in methane emissions has been over the last 10 to 15 years here in the United States?

| 4919 | *Mr. Garcia. I don't have that data in front of me, but       |
|------|---|
| 4920 | I am happy to provide   |
| 4921 | *Mr. Pfluger. Yes, it is 14 percent, 14 percent.              |
| 4922 | Mr. Slocum, any idea where that ranks in the world?           |
| 4923 | *Mr. Slocum. I don't know, but I don't know about that        |
| 4924 | figure. There is  |
| 4925 | *Mr. Pfluger. That is from                                    |
| 4926 | *Mr. Slocum. It depends upon how it is being measured.        |
| 4927 | *Mr. Pfluger. That is from DoE.                               |
| 4928 | *Mr. Slocum. Right. Because there has been                    |
| 4929 | discrepancies between actual emissions and recorded           |
| 4930 | *Mr. Pfluger. Okay.   |
| 4931 | *Mr. Slocum methane emissions.                                |
| 4932 | *Mr. Pfluger. The point that I would like to get to           |
| 4933 | here is we lead the world in reduction of emissions, harmful  |
| 4934 | emissions. We have producers that are doing this because it   |
| 4935 | is not only efficient, but it makes sense in a market-based   |
| 4936 | place. And we do leave this Earth better.                     |
| 4937 | And I would invite you to come to my district to see the      |
| 4938 | wind and the solar and the problems that they actually have   |
| 4939 | for the environment, since you have spoken so eloquently on   |
| 4940 | environment, and see the ranchers and the farmers who operate |

this land for generations -- seven in my case, my family --4941 4942 who leave the land better, and use the resources, and put back into it. 4943 Mr. Eshelman, you mentioned -- what percentage, can you 4944 remind us? What percentage of energy comes from small 4945 producers, from independent producers, not from "Big Oil' '? 4946 \*Mr. Eshelman. That is 91 percent of the wells. 4947 \*Mr. Pfluger. Ninety-one percent. And 4948 disproportionately, how is the methane, the natural gas tax, 4949 how does it affect those people that don't have economies of 4950 scale, that are independent producers, that -- one or two 4951 people in their businesses? 4952 4953 \*Mr. Eshelman. That is what we are trying to 4954 understand. As I mentioned before, there has never been a hearing on this. There has never been a study on this. 4955 There has never been testimony on this tax. So we really 4956 don't know. 4957 But we are concerned with giving EPA more authority. 4958 4959 And once you give an agency authority, they kind of grow with So that is --4960 it. \*Mr. Pfluger. You know, I figured out very quickly when 4961

4962 the wind energy folks came to see me and they said, "Mr.

| 4963 | Pfluger, we have a problem with the EPA. We can't get a      |
|------|--|
| 4964 | permit to build a windmill in your district.' `              |
| 4965 | I said, "Oh, well, welcome to the club.' `                   |
| 4966 | We have more wind energy, by the way, Mr. Garcia, in my      |
| 4967 | district than the entire State of California. But they can't |
| 4968 | get a permit to do that.                                     |
| 4969 | Mr. Slocum, is wind and solar do they provide                |
| 4970 | baseload capacity?   |
| 4971 | *Mr. Slocum. They do not. But the question is whether        |
| 4972 | or not baseload capacity is always a requirement.            |
| 4973 | *Mr. Pfluger. Yes.   |
| 4974 | *Mr. Slocum. Especially you can balance off                  |
| 4975 | intermittence with   |
| 4976 | *Mr. Pfluger. That is fine, thank you. I think the           |
| 4977 | fact is it doesn't, and it is not required in states like    |
| 4978 | California, where they have intermittent electricity, which  |
| 4979 | is unreliable. However, in most of the United States we want |
| 4980 | reliable electricity.  |
| 4981 | We have these balls in the air. One of them is cost,         |
| 4982 | one of them is reliability, one of them is geopolitical      |
| 4983 | security. And the climate is certainly always going to be    |
| 4984 | right there. We do it cheaper, more efficiently, and also    |
|      |  |

| 4985 | more environmentally friendly.                               |
|------|--|
| 4986 | Mr. Garcia, you mentioned that I don't have the exact        |
| 4987 | note, but that there is no boundary on air pollution. Is     |
| 4988 | that does that summarize a previous comment?                 |
| 4989 | *Mr. Garcia. For the specific provisions that these          |
| 4990 | and loopholes that these bills would bring about, yes, there |
| 4991 | would be no  |
| 4992 | *Mr. Pfluger. No, you said air knows no borders. I           |
| 4993 | found my note. Air knows no borders. I just quoted you       |
| 4994 | on   |
| 4995 | *Mr. Garcia. Air, yes, the air                               |
| 4996 | *Mr. Pfluger. Is that true?                                  |
| 4997 | *Mr. Garcia. Absolutely, air doesn't know borders.           |
| 4998 | *Mr. Pfluger. Okay, so what are the Chinese doing to         |
| 4999 | curb? Do they have taxes on natural gas in China?            |
| 5000 | *Mr. Garcia. My understanding is that the jurisdiction       |
| 5001 | of this committee is about what the United States can do.    |
| 5002 | *Mr. Pfluger. So my understanding of what you said is        |
| 5003 | that air knows no borders. And I want to make the point      |
| 5004 | that, if that is true, then the people in my district are    |
| 5005 | being affected by Chinese air, just like they are in your    |
| 5006 | home, just like they are everywhere throughout the United    |
|      |  |

States or throughout the rest of the world. 5007 5008 So the competitive advantage that we are giving them, giving away, the most important resource we have at our 5009 5010 fingertips, is also causing the actual harming of our climate. And it is coming from China. And we have to take 5011 actions here to compete and to continue to do it better. 5012 I have 15 more minutes of comments. However, the chair 5013 will not let me use that time, and I yield back. 5014 5015 \*Mr. Duncan. I thank the gentleman, and now we will go to Mr. Obernolte from California. 5016 5017 [Pause.] \*Mr. Duncan. Is your mike not on? Can you slide over 5018 5019 one? 5020 \*Mr. Obernolte. There we go. I swear I pushed the 5021 button. Mr. McNamee, in your testimony you were discussing the 5022 need to enhance cybersecurity in our natural gas pipelines. 5023 And that really resonated with me because we all lived 5024 5025 through the cybersecurity hack of the Colonial Oil pipeline a year-and-a-half ago, which, as I am sure everyone in this 5026 room knows, disrupted the supply of gasoline to the entire 5027 southeast United States. 5028

5029So what can be done? What needs to be done to put those5030protections in place for natural gas pipelines?5031\*Mr. McNamee. Well, the industry has generally been5032working to try and -- to harden their systems, including5033their electronic systems, but also there is the challenge of

5034 physical attacks.

So I think the primary thing that needs to be done is to -- I like the reporting issues that want to be done for the bulk power system, but also for natural gas. And I think that, you know, we need to encourage natural gas pipelines, oil pipelines, the electric grid to all be focused on trying to find out what is the next thing that is going to happen and harden it.

Because one of the problems with regulations is it tends to look backward at what has happened, and, of course, you need to harden for that. But the bad guys are way ahead, and so they kind of -- constantly be working for what is the next thing. And being aware of what the next thing is going to be helpful, and that is part of what I think that bill will help do.

5049 \*Mr. Obernolte. Sure. Well, you know, I think that we 5050 are having to transition from seeing cybersecurity of

5051 privately-held companies as a business issue to seeing it as 5052 a national security issue, whereas traditionally we just 5053 thought of national security being applicable to the 5054 Department of Defense and agencies of the government.

5055 Mr. Slocum, first of all, let me thank you very much for 5056 not reading your statement. You know, I think that hearings 5057 -- we communicate with each other a lot better when we are 5058 not just reading at each other. And I just want you to know 5059 that we noticed, that we appreciate it, and, you know, I 5060 think that is something we should do some more of.

5061 So you were talking in your testimony about objecting to 5062 removing the required finding of being in the national 5063 interest before liquid natural gas can be exported. And, you 5064 know, just -- we heard some other testimony from various 5065 witnesses, including Mr. McNamee, about the way that 5066 government action can create distortions in the markets for 5067 energy.

And I am wondering why that wouldn't be the case here, because every time the government tries to put their finger on the scale to try and protect energy markets and manipulate energy prices, it seems like things can go awry, and particularly in this case, when you are creating, you know,

by the restriction of natural gas, of liquefied natural gas 5073 5074 exports, you are creating an economic island that then can be vulnerable to things like arbitrage by people with just a 5075 5076 profit incentive, and the consumer ends up losing anyway. So what -- why would that not create economic 5077 distortions that we need to avoid? 5078 \*Mr. Slocum. Well, I think because natural gas has 5079 historically been a regulated commodity. 5080 5081 So when it was enacted in 1938, this provision, it was recognized that natural gas was providing essential services 5082 to homes and businesses. And so, as a result, if you were 5083 going to export it or import it, there had to be public 5084 interest determinations on it because of its essential 5085 5086 utility --\*Mr. Obernolte. But should it be is the question. I 5087 mean, I think that is the question that the bill that we are 5088 we are debating is asking, is should it be. Does that 5089 actually have the intended effect? 5090 5091 Because many times, as you know, governmental action 5092 does not.

5093 \*Mr. Slocum. Well, I mean, right now, as I pointed out 5094 in my written testimony, the Department of Energy is not

really performing a meaningful public interest determination. 5095 5096 There has never been a rejected application to export natural gas by the Department of Energy, right? So that -- so it 5097 5098 seems like the legislation is proposing a solution in search of a problem, right, that the Department of Energy is not --5099 there is no backlog of applications. It takes sometimes just 5100 months between the submission of the application of the 5101 Department of Energy and its approval. 5102

5103 \*Mr. Obernolte. Okay, that is an interesting different 5104 kind of line of argument than the one in your testimony. I 5105 think both are interesting. I would love to continue this 5106 discussion. I only have a few seconds left here.

Mr. Garcia, I was going to ask you about this. 5107 5108 Unfortunately, it is going to be a statement, and not an opportunity for you to respond, and I apologize for that. 5109 But, you know, we have been talking about this economic 5110 valuation between trying to value human prosperity and 5111 ranking that against protecting the environment. And I think 5112 5113 everyone here on the dais would agree that we need to do both. But, you know, the problem is that we all represent 5114 constituents who are suffering. 5115

5116 In California we pay twice as much for residential

| 5117 | electricity than neighboring states, three times for         |
|------|--|
| 5118 | industrial, four times as much for commercial. My            |
| 5119 | constituents pay twice as much for a gallon of gas to put in |
| 5120 | their car to commute to work. They don't have a choice to do |
| 5121 | that. And this is the problem. You know, we have to make     |
| 5122 | those economic judgments. And I think that there is a way to |
| 5123 | effect a win-win.  |
| 5124 | But I want to thank you all for your testimony. I found      |
| 5125 | it a very interesting hearing.                               |
| 5126 | I yield back, Mr. Chair.                                     |
| 5127 | *Mr. Duncan. I thank the gentleman. The chair will now       |
| 5128 | go to Mr. Weber from Texas.                                  |
| 5129 | *Mr. Weber. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am going to           |
| 5130 | make a couple of comments.                                   |
| 5131 | First, the one of the comments on the panel was              |
| 5132 | earlier, before we went to vote was that bang for energy     |
| 5133 | efficiency you get more bang for your buck than you do       |
| 5134 | more power plants.   |
| 5135 | And I would submit this for the record and for the panel     |
| 5136 | that, you know, power plants, I don't know, 100 years ago    |
| 5137 | there was X number. But American population has doubled,     |
| 5138 | tripled, increased. And so we are getting more and more      |

people, and especially with an open border -- thank you, 5139 5140 President Biden -- we are going to have a lot more people, and we are going to need a lot more power. 5141 5142 Now, some of you all know I am from Texas, and we talked about Winter Storm Uri, where we went through that two 5143 Februaries ago, and Texas saw record cold. I am born and 5144 raised on the Gulf Coast of Texas, 20-mile radius, 69 years. 5145 I have never seen it be 18 degrees on the Galveston Island. 5146 5147 So we lost some power. It was a perfect storm. Some of the industries that normally -- plants that normally shut 5148

down in the wintertime weren't necessarily ready for that kind of cold. The waterlines freeze. South Texas nuclear plant down in Matagorda County was one of them. I represented them as a Texas state rep. And so we lost -wind energy failed us. Wind turbines, they froze up, blades got iced up.

5155 So we are number one in wind energy. We are number two 5156 in solar panels. And you find out very quickly that, in an 5157 incident like that, you get a lot of cloudy skies. You don't 5158 have as much sun. Solar panels ice up. They got snow on 5159 them. And here is the bad news about solar panels. You know 5160 the sun goes down at night, and so they are not constantly

5161 producing electricity.

5162 We actually met with ERCoT and PUC -- the ERCoT, Electric Reliability Council of Texas, and the PUC there in 5163 5164 Texas, and they talked about their plan. There is a website called PowertoChoose.org, where you can choose your provider. 5165 A lot of the providers -- some of the providers advertise 100 5166 percent green energy. And what that was saying is only solar 5167 and wind power. They were able to provide -- because of the 5168 5169 subsidies and whatnot -- cheaper rates from those who used 5170 natural gas, and some coal, and even nuclear.

And so the PUC told us -- four of us Members of Congress 5171 met in Austin with them -- that they were going to put a rule 5172 into place that, if you are a power provider on that website, 5173 a retail electric provider -- we call them REPs, R-E-Ps --5174 they had to increase -- they had to include, rather, a part 5175 of a base load that included some reliable, dependable, 5176 affordable -- and as your discussion with Mr. Pfluger was --5177 that is natural gas. 5178

5179 We have a lot of wind energy in Texas. I didn't know it 5180 was -- most of it was in his district, but I am mighty proud 5181 for that. A lot of gas pipelines, oil pipelines in his 5182 district, too.

5183 So I want to go back to Obernolte's discussion about the 5184 Colonial Pipeline system. The Keystone Pipeline comes into 5185 my district in Texas. It is the safest way to move product, 5186 period. Not truck, not rail or barge. It is the safest way. 5187 The President shut it down.

Colonial Pipeline system, about two or three months 5188 after Winter Storm Uri, was hacked into and was shut down 5189 four or five days. The Colonial Pipeline system feeds the 5190 5191 southeastern part of the United States. It carries 3.1 million barrels of product today: gasoline, diesel, and jet 5192 fuel. The Keystone pipeline carries 830,000 barrels of 5193 product a day. It is literally one fourth -- more than one 5194 fourth the output of the entire -- the Colonial Pipeline 5195 5196 system that feeds the entire southeastern part of the United States with a leg that goes north. 5197

5198 So it is extremely important that we have a solid 5199 baseline -- baseload system that is going to be fossil fuels. 5200 Renewables are great. We like renewables. Make no mistake 5201 about that. I am tired of our friends across the aisle 5202 saying somehow we are in the oil companies' back pockets. 5203 That is just a mischaracterization. But what else do you 5204 expect? Did I say that out loud?

At any rate, renewables can -- they can -- it can be the supporting actor in this movie. It cannot be the leading actor in this movie. And what we are trying to do today is to make sure that we are building that up.

5209 Mr. Menezes, in your written testimony you outline H.R. 5210 150, Protecting American Energy Production Act, which I am an 5211 original cosponsor of, which would prohibit the president 5212 from declaring a moratorium on fracking, which has started in 5213 my district. You got 29 seconds. Tell us how good it is, 5214 fracking.

5215 \*Mr. Menezes. What are we talking about, the virtues of 5216 hydraulic fracturing?

5217 I mean, certainly for domestic supply, for export to 5218 help our friends and allies all over the world get off of 5219 Russia, natural gas -- they have come to us asking.

You will look at what is going on in the private sector. This is without government interaction. In fact, it is beyond the reach of the Federal Government. Contracts are being entered into by European off-takers and Asian offtakers, our friends and allies, for good old U.S. LNG. If the President thinks that he can declare an emergency and somehow put a moratorium on fracking, he is going to upset

5227 the entire geopolitical energy markets.

5228 \*Mr. Weber. I will say thank you for that.

5229 And Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

5230 \*Mr. Johnson. [Presiding] Thank you. The gentleman 5231 yields back. The chair now recognizes the gentleman from 5232 Alabama, Mr. Palmer, for five minutes.

\*Mr. Palmer. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to talk a little bit about where some of your funding comes from, where -- how it is used, and particularly about the \$27 billion slush fund that was put into the Inflation Reduction Act. You stuck in \$27 billion that basically is going to go to Wall Street firms to set up a climate bank. But it doesn't help the American people with their utility bills.

It is about 20 million households that are behind on 5240 their utility bills. That is about one in six households. 5241 It is forcing people in some places to literally choose 5242 between keeping their homes adequately warmed and still be 5243 able to afford their groceries and their medicine. I think, 5244 5245 if Europe is any indication, we are going to find out that there are several thousand people that will be classified as 5246 excess winter deaths. We have seen this in the United 5247 Kingdom, we have seen it in Europe. It has basically become 5248

a conduit for seed money for this new climate bank. And 5249 because there was no clarity in it, you have got climate 5250 groups fighting over the money. 5251 5252 I am just -- Secretary Menezes, will this \$27 billion slush fund lower the cost of heating for these American 5253 families? 5254 \*Mr. Menezes. No, the provision is clear. It is to go 5255 to develop zero-emission technologies for states and 5256 5257 municipalities --5258 \*Mr. Palmer. Will this slush fund provide natural gas for a town like Pembroke Township in Illinois that -- 85 5259 percent African American? They don't have any means to grow 5260 their economy, they are heating their homes with propane and 5261 and wood. Will it help them? 5262 5263 \*Mr. Menezes. Zero-emission technologies, non-profits, municipalities, and states. 5264 \*Mr. Palmer. Will it do anything for the people in the 5265 northeastern part of the United States that are not using 5266 5267 natural gas, they are using heating oil, and the cost has almost doubled in the last couple of years -- \$5 and 5268 something a gallon. Will it help them? 5269 \*Mr. Menezes. Not that I am aware of. 5270 253

5271 \*Mr. Palmer. Yes, and it has nothing to do with natural 5272 gas in that area. It is all about heating oil.

Will it help people who have been -- who bought into 5273 5274 this stuff like Dharnai, India, where in 2014 Greenpeace went in and convinced them that they could supply power for the 5275 village through 100 percent renewables, and six years later 5276 it is basically an animal shed because they couldn't afford 5277 it, they couldn't -- it wouldn't power appliances like a 5278 5279 refrigerator that most of us take for granted. They couldn't maintain the batteries. So now they are getting their power 5280 from fossil fuel. It wouldn't help in a situation like that, 5281 would it? 5282

5283 \*Mr. Menezes. I was not aware of that, but I would hope 5284 that is not the consequence of this fund.

5285 \*Mr. Palmer. Yes, there is a really good paper on this 5286 from the Institute for Energy Research.

5287 My concern is, looking at China's influence and funding 5288 various groups that are pushing renewables, that in many 5289 respects -- and I mean this seriously -- it undermines our 5290 national security, this mad dash to renewables.

5291 I keep hearing some of my colleagues across the aisle 5292 talk about we don't need to be dependent on foreign sources

5293 for oil and natural gas. Well, I got news for them. We 5294 don't have to be. The only reason that we might be is 5295 because we refuse to access what we have.

I hear them basically ignore the fact that natural gas is largely responsible for the tremendous reduction in greenhouse emissions that we have already enjoyed. They ignore the technological advances, yet they want us to be dependent on China for the -- for wind turbines and for solar panels. Does that make sense?

5302 \*Mr. Menezes. Not to me.

\*Mr. Palmer. It doesn't to me, either. It does concern me, though, because it becomes a national security issue at that point. China is already, in some critical minerals, holding back on shipping those, and some of those are critical for our national defense, not just our national energy grid.

But having worked for two international companies, having a little bit of an understanding about this -- and there is another report from the Electric Power Research Institute -- we are not going to be at net zero by 2050. We don't -- the engineering doesn't support it. The technology doesn't support it.

We could be a lot more on the renewable side, but if we 5315 were really smart about it, we would go to next-gen nuclear 5316 and power the world. We would be working in sub-Saharan 5317 5318 Africa, South America, Latin America, and the Caribbean, building natural gas facilities so that those people could 5319 enjoy the same economic benefits that we do, rather than 5320 sitting back and watching China. They have already built 14 5321 coal-fired power plants outside of China, and they built, 5322 5323 what, maybe one every two weeks now in China.

5324 So I just -- Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity 5325 to raise these issues about the slush fund that I think was 5326 put in that Inflation Reduction Act, and I yield back.

5327 \*Mr. Johnson. The gentleman yields back. The chair now 5328 recognizes the gentleman from Idaho, Mr. Fulcher, for five 5329 minutes.

\*Mr. Fulcher. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And coming up
on the tail end of this, a lot of the subject has been
covered already, so I am going to go -- I think I will
address this to Mr. Menezes. It has to do with hydro.
In our state, hydropower, 51 percent of our total

5335 in-state electricity usage, and it is great, at least for us. 5336 It is baseload, it is cheap, it is renewable. Comments on

5337 hydro as a source, and if you agree that it is effective and 5338 efficient. How do we ensure that that is an ongoing 5339 predominant baseload source?

\*Mr. Menezes. Excellent question. Well, we should be allowed to continue to use the dams that are in operation to provide the hydropower, first of all. There is a big movement, of course, of dam removal, right? So a lot of communities are facing that. And so that is a real threat to the hydropower that we have today.

The other thing is it is going to be impossible to build any sizable -- a new dam. So you are looking at incremental gain, incremental hydro. And so that is to make improvements in the existing hydro, perhaps some expansion. And on existing dams, perhaps you can put some electricity generating turbines there. But that is really the future on hydro that way.

We do have other potential great technologies. I mean, we have tidal, we have run of river, we have a variety of other technologies in the using of hydropower. So I think the future is still bright on that, but it is going to be very difficult to maintain, the baseload that we have now. The other thing, of course, is pump storage hydro.

\*Mr. Fulcher. Okay. 5359 \*Mr. Menezes. That is another good use of hydro power, 5360 that --5361 5362 \*Mr. Fulcher. I have heard it said that the greatest battery in the world is water behind a dam, storage. 5363 \*Mr. Menezes. Yes. 5364 \*Mr. Fulcher. I am going to shift to Mr. McNamee, if I 5365 5366 may, please. 5367 Another asset we have in my state of Idaho is Idaho National Lab. And a lot of research is being done, a lot of 5368 work with small modular reactors is being done there. 5369 Talk about that a little bit. I hear various experts talk about 5370 the benefit of -- the greatest benefit being able to 5371 5372 decentralize the grid, for example. Of course, the no carbon emission is another factor. Others say it is great for 5373 redundant backup. 5374 What is -- in your view, what is the most appropriate 5375 use, the most appropriate role for small modular reactors as 5376 5377 those come online? \*Mr. McNamee. Well, the ones that you have mentioned 5378 are absolutely important. 5379 And another one is reliability. SMRs are really, I 5380

think, going to transform the way we do the electric grid. 5381 5382 And what is interesting is, because, you know, they are between 5 to 300 megawatts, you can build them in a 5383 5384 manufacturing facility, you can put them on a rail or on a truck, and put them to where they need to be. The price is 5385 going to come down for nuclear. They can run 24/7. They are 5386 designed to be much safer than -- not that current nuclear 5387 isn't, but they are going to be safer, the way they operate. 5388

5389 But what is really going to be amazing is, where we were talking earlier about having to build long transmission lines 5390 to get wind, let's say, from the Midwest to the coast, 5391 whatever, you can put SMRs on old coal plants and use the 5392 transmission. You are going to save billions of dollars in 5393 transmission. So SMR technology, it is -- we are about to be 5394 able to embrace it, and it is going to be a big change. 5395 \*Mr. Fulcher. Great, thank you. Very helpful for me. 5396 Ms. Sweeney, you are not off the hook. I got a question 5397 for you. In your written testimony you talk about, I think, 5398 5399 it is 80 percent, nearly 90 percent of global rare earth elements from China. 5400

5401 \*Ms. Sweeney. Yes.

5402 \*Mr. Fulcher. Is that mainly because that is where

5403 those earths are, or is that for other reasons?

5404 \*Ms. Sweeney. No, the U.S. was the leading rare earths producer throughout, I think, the early 1970s. It is really 5405 5406 because China focused on rare earth development, and they started, you know, printing money, and cornering the market, 5407 and then they were able to bring over anybody who wanted to 5408 be an end user of those products. They brought all the 5409 processing into China, and they were able to pretty much 5410 5411 control that market, and still do.

\*Mr. Fulcher. And here we are. Right, thank you. That is what I suspected. But one last question for you, and I only have 40 seconds left, but -- and you did touch on this, but I would like you to touch on it again, please.

5416 Once again, in your written testimony you talked about the permitting process for mining projects. With the current 5417 Administration that we have got, what are some of the things 5418 that that Administration could do to make that permitting 5419 process better without going through the statutory process? 5420 5421 \*Ms. Sweeney. There are a lot of common-sense solutions out there. I mean, really, it is looking at how to use NEPA 5422 the way it was intended to be used. 5423

5424 So essentially, there are -- agencies are supposed to

- try to avoid duplication. They are supposed to tier off of 5425 5426 each other's environmental assessments, use the same information. There are a lot of common-sense solutions that 5427 5428 don't need any changes statutorily. \*Mr. Fulcher. Thank you very much. 5429 Mr. Chairman, I yield back. 5430 \*Mr. Johnson. The gentleman yields back. The chair is 5431 -- now recognizes the gentlelady from Michigan, Mrs. Dingell, 5432 5433 for -- oh, I am sorry, Mrs. Dingell. Sorry about that. I got it out of order. I now recognize the gentleman from 5434 Texas, Mr. Crenshaw, for five minutes. 5435 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you all 5436 5437 for being here. 5438 I want to quote the great Thomas Sowell that the first lesson of economics is scarcity. There is never enough of 5439 anything for all the people who want it. And the first 5440 lesson of politics is to ignore the first lesson of 5441 economics. And that seems to be the rule that I think 5442 5443 radical environmentalism plays when it comes to understanding basic supply and demand, and how that affects prices. 5444 Now, we can engage in wishful thinking, and we can wish 5445 for a reality that is different than the one we live in, 5446
  - 261

where supply and demand aren't real forces, and that we can just make them up and demand the prices that we feel like having, and expect the supply to then be there when we need it. Of course, that is not reality. We can we can go write fiction novels about it, I suppose, if we would like. That might be fun.

5453 So I want to talk about supply and demand on something 5454 very specific, and that is our refineries, because this EPA 5455 rule has gotten a lot of attention, and our bill, in response 5456 to that EPA rule, has gotten a lot of attention today.

It is worth noting, first, that eight refineries have shut down in the last five years. It is one of the great reasons for the bottlenecks in refinery production and, of course, the reason for prices going up and staying up. When demand post COVID shot up and recovered, the supply could not recover accordingly. Just the basics here.

Now the EPA wants to make that supply harder. The EPA wants to target hydrofluoric acid using refineries. That would affect 41 of our 130 refineries. That is 50 percent of all the product refined.

5467 Mr. Garcia, you talked about this today. I mean, what 5468 is really the intent behind this? And you have said it, so I

am going to paraphrase you, which -- the intent is to get 5469 5470 them to change to a sulfuric acid-type refinery. Is that correct? 5471 5472 \*Mr. Garcia. No, the intent is for them to actually take the time to explore alternatives that are going to make 5473 it safer. 5474 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Well, there is only one alternative. 5475 So you want them to change, though, right? I mean, you want 5476 5477 them to use the different ingredient for the refineries, is 5478 that correct? We have talked about innovation. \*Mr. Garcia. 5479 And so the analysis actually leads to innovation. And so the idea 5480 is that, while there might be one today, there could be more 5481 5482 in the future. But you have to do the analysis in order to discover what that innovation is going to look like. 5483 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Would a risk analysis discover 5484 innovation? I have never heard of an innovation, a new 5485 technology, discovered by a risk analysis. 5486 \*Mr. Garcia. 5487 If you are taking into account -- if you are exploring what alternatives are out there, then yes, it 5488 will. 5489

5490 \*Mr. Crenshaw. How?

\*Mr. Garcia. Again, if you are exploring --5491 5492 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Like, you are a --\*Mr. Garcia. If you are looking at new science --5493 5494 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Is there any idea? \*Mr. Garcia. You are looking at new science. I mean, 5495 you are looking at new science, new developments in 5496 technology that come about. And so, as those new 5497 developments in technology come about --5498 5499 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Okay, so we can write a fiction novel 5500 about it. \*Mr. Garcia. -- into which you can actually implement 5501 them, into the refinery --5502 \*Mr. Crenshaw. I understand, I understand. There is no 5503 5504 answer. 5505 \*Mr. Garcia. -- that is how you get progress. \*Mr. Crenshaw. There is no answer. Again, we could 5506 write a fiction novel about it. That would be fun. 5507 But this is reality. So in reality, there is one other alternative, 5508 5509 which is the sulfuric acid use of -- type of refinery. Now, if we shut down the 41 refineries to transition to 5510 that, which I suppose is deemed safer for some reason, that 5511 would take 50 percent of our refining capacity offline. 5512

5513 Mr. Menezes, what would that do to our economy and our 5514 gas prices?

5515 \*Mr. Menezes. Fifty percent of our refined products 5516 offline? Well, we have a demand of about 20 million, 17 5517 million barrels per day, you know, for refined products. If 5518 we lost half of that, I can only imagine what it would do on 5519 all the economies that depend on trucks, on, you know, 5520 transportation, your constituents that need to drive.

I am not even sure our national energy modeling system 5522 at DoE can model a 50 percent reduction --

\*Mr. Crenshaw. And we have gotten some numbers on this. It would take two to three years for each facility to change. It would take a minimum of \$200 million, or potentially \$800 million, depending on the size. So we are talking billions and tens of billions of dollars in costs. For what benefit? I don't even know.

And a guaranteed increase in prices. I mean, we are fighting for the disenfranchised here, for people who can't afford to fill up their tanks, and yet all but guaranteeing that they can't do so for almost no benefit. And that is the theme, that is the general theme of radical environmentalism. Great cost for almost no benefit. That is a problem.

And so our bill that has been chastised quite a bit in this hearing is simply in response to that, and says, look, if the plant already exists, if the refining plant already exists or is in construction, it is exempt from this new rule. If it is being planned, then by all means, take into account this particular rule and risk assessment. That is just -- that is common sense environmentalism.

And I urge this committee -- because we all want clean energy. Anybody who follows me knows that I am constantly battling for it. But we have to do so in a way that doesn't hurt people more than we want to help them.

5546 And I yield back.

\*Mr. Johnson. The gentleman yields back. And now the chair is honored to once again recognize the gentlelady from Michigan, Mrs. Dingell, for five minutes.

5550 \*Mrs. Dingell. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you 5551 to all the witnesses who have to be ready to end this.

And I do have to say I am worried about the number of pieces of this legislation, because I care deeply about making sure that we are taking care of everybody, and that they can afford the energy of the future. And yet it is many of our children that are suffering from asthma and many other

5557 things, and that what we are talking about here is going to 5558 give handouts to oil and gas, and undermine our nation's 5559 environmental laws, and actually rescind programs that are 5560 doing something about greenhouse gas.

But I want to get to two very specific issues today. I want to start with the draft legislation to repeal the Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund and close by focusing on our critical minerals supply.

5565 The Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund, which was established in the Inflation Reduction Act and based on original 5566 legislation I authored -- so yes, I care about it -- will 5567 invest \$27 billion to develop clean energy projects aimed at 5568 reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Over 40 percent of the 5569 5570 funding will also target disadvantaged communities, communities that for far too long have carried the brunt of 5571 environmental pollution. 5572

5573 For years I have been a champion of a clean energy 5574 accelerator similar to this fund, because of its potential to 5575 accelerate the clean energy transition. Therefore, I am 5576 disappointed to see my colleagues on the other side propose 5577 repealing this historic program, which the EPA has yet to 5578 even fully implement, and the benefits which have yet to be

5579 fulfilled.

I am going to start with Mr. Garcia. My first question is simple.

5582 How will repealing the Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund 5583 affect our ability to meet our climate goals?

\*Mr. Garcia. Well, in a lot of the calculations that we are talking about in terms of economic investment across the country for energy production, no one is accounting the actual harm that is coming our way because we keep investing in dirty fuels.

And so that is one thing that I have noticed about the proponents of these bills, and it is a larger narrative, is that they want to sweep all of these consequences under the table.

5593 You know, if you have hydrofluoric acid in a refinery, 5594 yes, it can blow up. I think that might hurt the economy, 5595 right?

5596 So the same thing happens when we are talking about 5597 investment. It is making sure that we are making investments 5598 for the right long-term outcomes. And so that is what the 5599 Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund really does.

5600 Now, it is not a slush fund. People keep calling it a

slush fund. It is really not. Fifty-five percent of the overall program funding will be dedicated to projects in lowincome and disadvantaged communities; 8 billion of the 20 billion is earmarked for low-income and disadvantaged communities, plus a separate 7 billion program. And so that is something that we have to keep in mind.

For -- since the last industrial revolution, communities 5607 of color and low income have bore the burden that all of 5608 5609 these industries put on their shoulders. And so this is the least that we could do at this point, and it is something 5610 that we need to see fulfilled, and we need -- and it is 5611 something that won't cure the sins of the past, but will 5612 5613 certainly help get us to better consequences in the long 5614 term.

5615 \*Mrs. Dingell. Thank you. I had a couple more 5616 questions, but I am down to almost a minute.

5617 So this fund is specifically designed to provide funding 5618 for projects where investment is lacking, effectively filling 5619 in a funding gap, rather than duplicating Federal programs. 5620 Mr. Chairman, I am going to ask if I can submit some 5621 further questions on this, because I think it is really going

5622 to hurt frontline communities.

5623 [The information follows:]
5624
5625 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*COMMITTEE INSERT\*\*\*\*\*\*\*
5626

| 5627 | *Mrs. Dingell. And I would also like to request              |
|------|--|
| 5628 | unanimous consent to submit a letter for the record from the |
| 5629 | environmental community expressing strong opposition to the  |
| 5630 | legislation repealing the                                    |
| 5631 | *Mr. Johnson. Without objection, so ordered.                 |
| 5632 | [The information follows:]                                   |
| 5633 |  |
| 5634 | *********COMMITTEE INSERT********                            |
| 5635 |  |

5636 \*Mrs. Dingell. Thank you. My remaining time is on 5637 critical minerals.

5638 Strengthening supply chains for electric vehicles and 5639 batteries is a top priority for me. We cannot and will not 5640 be dependent on China. And I want to keep my own state of 5641 Michigan as a leader in this sector.

The Bipartisan Infrastructure Law made historic investments in battery manufacturing and recycling facilities, battery reprocessing, and critical minerals mining, and recycling research. These investments are a critical downpayment, but we all know that more work needs to be done to meet the demand for these critical minerals.

5648 Mr. Garcia, what policies should this committee be 5649 exploring to develop and strengthen our critical mineral 5650 supply chains in an equitable, sustainable way?

And you may need to provide more on that for the record. \*Mr. Garcia. Absolutely. I will say quickly that it has to look to strengthen and enforce the laws that are in the books right now in order to make sure that that extraction and that recycling happens in a way that protects communities first, but still yields the adequate production that is needed in order to get new kinds of transportation

| 5658 | methods, clean types of transportation methods on the roads.  |
|------|---|
| 5659 | *Mrs. Dingell. Thank you.                                     |
| 5660 | Mr. Chairman, I will yield back, and I do want to work        |
| 5661 | with you in a bipartisan way, but I have some real concerns.  |
| 5662 | Thank you.  |
| 5663 | *Mr. Johnson. The gentlelady yields back. And now,            |
| 5664 | seeing there are no further members wishing to ask questions, |
| 5665 | I would like to thank all of our witnesses once again for     |
| 5666 | being here with us today.                                     |
| 5667 | I ask unanimous consent to insert in the record the           |
| 5668 | documents included on the staff hearing documents list.       |
| 5669 | Without objection, that will be the order.                    |
| 5670 | [The information follows:]                                    |
| 5671 |   |
| 5672 | ********COMMITTEE INSERT********                              |
| 5673 |   |

\*Mr. Johnson. And pursuant to committee rules, I remind
members that they have 10 business days to submit additional
questions for the record, and I ask that witnesses submit
their response within 10 business days upon receipt of those
questions.
Without objection, the subcommittee stands adjourned.
[Whereupon, at 3:18 p.m., the subcommittees were

5681 adjourned.]