Preliminary Transcript

1 Diversified Reporting Services, Inc. 2 RPTS LEWANDOWSKI 3 HIF069020 4 5 HEARING ON THE PATH FORWARD: 6 7 RESTORING THE VITAL MISSION OF EPA 8 WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10, 2021 9 House of Representatives, 10 Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, 11 Committee on Energy and Commerce, 12 Washington, D.C. 13 14 The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, via Webex, Hon. 15 Diana DeGette [chairman of the subcommittee] presiding. 16 Present: Representatives DeGette, Kuster, Rice, 17 Schakowsky, Tonko, Ruiz, Peters, Schrier, Trahan, O'Halleran, 18 Pallone (ex officio); Griffith, Burgess, McKinley, Long, 19 Palmer, Dunn, Joyce, and Rodgers (ex officio). 20 Also Present: Representatives Castor and Fletcher. 21 Staff Present: Joe Banez, Professional Staff Member; 22 Jacquelyn Bolen, Health Counsel; Jeff Carroll, Staff 23 Director; Jacqueline Cohen, Chief Environment Counsel; Jennifer Epperson, Counsel; Elizabeth Ertel, Office Manager; 24

25 Austin Flack, Policy Analyst; Lisa Goldman, Senior Counsel;

26 Waverly Gordon, General Counsel; Tiffany Guarascio, Deputy 27 Staff Director; Perry Hamilton, Deputy Chief Clerk; Alec Hoehn-Saric, Chief Counsel, Communications and Consumer 28 29 Protection; Ed Kaczmarski, Policy Analyst; Zach Kahan, Deputy Director, Outreach and Member Service; Rick Kessler, Senior 30 31 Advisor and Staff Director, Energy and Environment; Mackenzie Kuhl, Press Assistant; Una Lee, Chief Health Counsel; Jerry 32 33 Leverich, Senior Counsel; Jourdan Lewis, Policy Coordinator; 34 Dustin Maghamfar, Air and Climate Counsel; Aisling McDonough, Policy Coordinator; Meghan Mullon, Policy Analyst; Phil 35 36 Murphy, Policy Coordinator; Joe Orlando, Policy Analyst; Lino 37 Pena-Martinez, Policy Analyst; Kaitlyn Peel, Digital Director; Tim Robinson, Chief Counsel; Chloe Rodriguez, 38 Policy Coordinator; Samantha Satchell, Professional Staff 39 40 Member; Sydney Terry, Policy Coordinator; Rebecca Tomilchik, 41 Policy Analyst; Kimberlee Trzeciak, Chief Health Advisor; 42 Rick Van Buren, Health counsel; Anna Yu, Professional Staff 43 Member; Sarah Burke, Minority Deputy Staff Director; Jerry 44 Couri, Minority Deputy Chief Counsel for Environment; Diane 45 Cutler, Minority Detailee, O&I; Theresa Gambo, Minority 46 Financial & Office Administrator; Marissa Gervasi, Minority 47 Counsel, O&I; Brittany Havens, Minority Professional Staff 48 Member, O&I; Nate Hodson, Minority Staff Director; Olivia 49 Hnat, Minority Communications Director; Peter Kielty, 50 Minority General Counsel; Emily King, Minority Member

51 Services Director; Bijan Boohmaraie, Minority Chief Counsel; 52 Tim Kurth, Minority Chief Counsel, CPC; Mary Martin, Minority 53 Chief Counsel, Energy & Environment; Clare Paoletta, Minority 54 Policy Analyst, Health; Alan Slobodin, Minority Chief 55 Investigative Counsel, O&I; Peter Spencer, Minority Senior 56 Professional Staff Member, Energy; Michael Taggart, Minority Policy Director; and Everett Winnick, Minority Director of 57 58 Information Technology.

Ms. DeGette. The Subcommittee on Oversight andInvestigations hearing will now come to order.

Today the subcommittee will hold a hearing entitled, The Path Forward: Restoring the Vital Mission of EPA.'' Today's hearing will address actions needed to restore EPA so that it can fulfill its vital mission of protecting public health and the environment.

Due to the COVID-19 health emergency, of course, today's hearing is being held remotely. All members, witnesses, and staff will be participating in videoconferencing, and as part of our proceeding, microphones will be set on mute for the purposes of eliminating inadvertent background noise. Members and witnesses, you know this already, but please unmute your microphone each time you wish to speak.

And I do want to announce a wonderful new announcement for this subcommittee. Scott Peters from California will be the vice chair of this committee for this Congress. And so if at any time during the hearing I am unable to chair it, the vice chair, Mr. Peters, will serve as chair till I am able to return.

And we may have some votes during the hearing. But Mr. Peters and I have talked, and we will try to stagger our time so that we will continue throughout the votes. Each vote is 45 minutes long, so I do not think that should be any problem. And out of courtesy to our witnesses, we want to

85 make sure that we do not have long breaks in the hearing.

Documents for the record can be sent to Austin Flack at the email address we provided to staff. All documents will be entered into the record at the conclusion of the hearing. And the chair now recognizes herself for the purposes of an opening statement.

91 Today, we continue this subcommittee's long record of 92 oversight of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. Our panel today is very, very distinguished. They have dedicated 93 94 their careers to improving our Nation's air, water, land, and 95 economy, and can provide critical insight on how to restore the 96 vital mission of the EPA. We thank them and for the views that 97 they will share today on how to strengthen this important 98 agency.

99 For fifty years now, we have relied on EPA to take on and 100 mitigate our Nation's most complex environmental threats, and 101 its work is crucial to help protect public health and the 102 environment. For example, EPA develops standards to reduce air 103 pollutants that cause early death and worsen lung and heart 104 disease.

Every day EPA helps ensure the safety of drinking water for millions of Americans. And it oversees the cleanup of hundreds of contaminated Superfund sites across the country, many of which pose enormous environmental risks. So given the importance and scope of EPA's mission, this is an agency that

110 we simply cannot afford to neglect, and today that is more true 111 today than ever.

112 For example, each year climate change is contributing to 113 an extended hurricane and wildfire season, threatening billions 114 of dollars in catastrophic losses to homes and businesses. And 115 every year, we seem to break new climate and weather records 116 throughout the U.S. In my own home State of Colorado, for 117 example, just last year we witnessed the three largest fires 118 ever recorded in the State's history, and all at the same time. 119 And when extreme weather and environmental catastrophes 120 hit, it frankly is often our most vulnerable populations that 121 bear the brunt. We see this in floods and hurricanes. We even 122 saw this last month in Texas, where many people faced crushing 123 power bills and they had to wait in long lines to access food 124 and to access water.

With the environmental pressures facing this country increasing, certain policies have failed to keep up with the threats. To make matters worse, we recently saw a reversal of key environmental efforts designed to make the country cleaner and healthier.

For example, over the last few years, the Trump administration compromised or entirely eliminated dozens of important protections. Examples include the repeal of the Clean Power Plan, the weakening of the mercury and air toxics rule, and the rollback of fuel efficiency standards for 135 automobiles.

136 Also during those years, key EPA functions were put at 137 risk. For instance, pollution inspections fell considerably at 138 times, threatening the agency's ability to hold polluters 139 accountable and to set a level playing field. The application 140 of science, which is traditionally the backbone of EPA's 141 decision-making, was not only sidelined, but sometimes denied. 142 For example, the term "climate change'' disappeared from thousands of federal websites and official communications. 143 144 Panels of independent experts who provided crucial input 145 on air pollution science were suddenly dismissed. Staff 146 departed the agency at alarming rates, sometimes choosing to 147 leave the agency after raising concerns of political 148 interference on the scientific process. 149 So as we look to again empower EPA, we cannot just focus 150 on regulations and policies. We also have to build the 151 institutional capacity, scientific integrity, and in fact the 152 credibility of the agency itself. And we must fully support 153 EPA's career workforce so that it can address the environmental 154 problems of today and the future. 155 While the agency faces significant challenges today, of 156 course we also have opportunities. History has shown that 157 environmental and economic progress are not mutually exclusive, 158 but if done right, they reinforce each other.

159 For example, the benefits of air regulations implemented

by EPA over the last 30 years are estimated to be more than 30 times more the costs. Likewise, efforts to remove lead from gasoline have saved trillions of dollars by substantially curbing childhood lead poisoning. In other words, a strong EPA can go and has gone hand in hand with a strong economy.

Because of the past successes and committed new leadership, I am hopeful for the future. Starting on day one, the Biden administration has shown a desire to get EPA's mission back on track. The President has ordered an immediate review of dozens of rollbacks issued in the last administration and has stressed the importance of a government-wide approach to addressing climate change.

Moreover, the President also stated that EPA will prioritize environmental enforcement in low-income and minority communities. But it is going to take a sustained effort by EPA, stakeholders, and Congress if the agency is to succeed in its mission of protecting public health and the environment. I hope that we can all play our part, and that today's hearing will contribute to that effort.

And so this morning I am looking forward to hearing from the former EPA officials and experts about what they see as the most serious challenges facing us, and how we can address them, because at this critical moment, we just simply have no time to lose.

184 And with that, I am delighted to recognize the ranking

185 member of the subcommittee, Mr. Griffith, for 5 minutes for 186 purposes of an opening statement. Mr. Griffith?

187 *Mr. Griffith. Thank you, Madam Chair. I appreciate 188 you holding this hearing on the path forward for the U.S. 189 Environmental Protection Agency. I want to thank all the 190 witnesses for joining us today, particularly Dr. Deskins, who 191 is originally from Honaker in Russell County, which is part 192 of Virginia's 9th Congressional District, and I understand --193 I just learned this morning -- also a graduate of Emory & 194 Henry College, which also is where I graduated from.

195 However, I am disappointed that the majority rejected 196 our request for two witnesses and limited our side to just 197 one witness on a panel of five witnesses. Last Congress we 198 had three hearings with a six-witness panel, and we had a 199 January 2020 e-cigarette hearing with two witnesses 200 representing Republican governors on a panel if five State 201 government witnesses. So it seems the majority could have 202 allowed our requested witness. I hope we can work in a more 203 congenial way on witness panels going forward.

Today's hearing can help us build on the important work that the Energy and Commerce Committee and the EPA have accomplished to date. Between 2015 and 2018, when Republicans were in the majority, we pushed bipartisan hearings and bipartisan legislative efforts on issues such as reducing carbon emissions, boosting renewable energy options, 210 driving modernization and innovation within industry, pushing 211 Brownfields cleanup and redevelopment, increasing compliance 212 for drinking water infrastructure, and improving compliance 213 with ozone standards, just to name a few.

214 I also want to highlight several of the EPA's key 215 accomplishments over the past 4 years. For example, the 216 agency focused on Brownfields and Superfund contaminated 217 sites, and in so doing delisted 82 sites from the national 218 priority list. In fiscal year 2020 alone, the EPA was able 219 to delete 27 sites from the list, the most in nearly 220 20 years. And since 2017, emissions of the six criteria air 221 pollutants dropped seven percent overall by the end of 2019, 222 and unhealthy days for sensitive groups dropped by 34 223 percent.

224 The EPA took steps to champion recycling and combat marine debris. The EPA invested in America's clean water and 225 226 drinking water infrastructure, updating the Lead and Copper 227 rule, provided a comprehensive approach for reducing lead in 228 drinking water, and implemented the Affordable Clean Energy rule, which will reduce emissions from coal-fired power 229 230 plants. These are just a few examples of the accomplishments 231 achieved by the Federal Government over the past 4 years to 232 help further the mission of the agency.

233 With this foundation, we should examine broad questions 234 on the EPA's future. What should be the mission of the EPA?

If the EPA mission is to be changed, that discussion begins in this committee, and Congress determines that change. Is the EPA effectively carrying out its mission? The committee should make that determination.

239 What are the EPA's most serious and complex challenges? 240 Can the agency's current structure, operations, and culture 241 meet these challenges? When making such determinations and 242 inquiries, we would of course want to hear from former EPA 243 administrators and former senior EPA officials. But the 244 success of EPA's actions do not depend just on agency 245 employees, but on compliance by the regulated sector and the 246 confidence of the public.

EPA regulators should treat most regulated parties as partners in improving the environment. As a former EPA administrator, William Riley, stated, "Respect for those most affected and inconvenienced by EPA rules and regulations is critical to winning the country's trust in the EPA.''

However, in winning public confidence, it is essential that EPA regulators have a realistic and fact-based understanding of the extent that our Nation's power base load is still reliant on fossil fuels. The real world impact of EPA's regulatory decisions should be understood.

257 Section 321 of the Clean Air Act calls for the EPA to 258 evaluate the cumulative employment impacts of Clean Air Act 259 regulations. It is critical that fossil fuel workers and 260 their communities are included in these evaluations.

The EPA, while striving to fulfill its mission, should pay close attention to all aspects of public health, including mental health, because stripping away the generational livelihood from thousands of Americans kills people, it kills families, and it kills communities.

Protecting the environment and promoting an innovative economy are not mutually exclusive ideals. It does not have to be a clean environment or jobs. It can be both.

I hope today's discussion is a step for us to find common ground and ways to ensure that the EPA does not ignore impacts on working men and women. I look forward to our discussion today and to learn more about how the EPA can perform more efficiently, effectively, and meet the

274 challenges ahead.

275 Thank you, Madam Chair, and I yield back.

276 *Ms. DeGette. I thank the gentleman.

The chair now will recognize the chairman of the full committee, Mr. Pallone, for 5 minutes for purposes of an opening statement.

280 *The Chairman. Thank you, Madam Chair. This is a very 281 important hearing. Thank you for holding this. Obviously, 282 we are very concerned about not only the EPA but many other 283 agencies that fall under our jurisdiction that had some major 284 cutbacks and, in my opinion, were not able to function effectively in the last 4 years. But the EPA is probably the worst in that respect because after 4 years of attacks, it is essential that we have a robust and effective and fully resourced EPA.

289 It is not going to be easy. In the last 4 years, the 290 President, President Trump's EPA, undermined key public 291 health protections, including common-sense limits on 292 pollution from power plants, successful automobile efficiency 293 standards and protections that keep American families safe 294 from mercury and other toxic hazards. They let polluters off 295 the hook by weakening the enforcement program. They eroded 296 the essential scientific infrastructure. And they sidelined 297 and silenced the agency's career staff as scandals and 298 investigations captured headlines on an almost-daily basis. 299 So thankfully, it is a new day at the EPA. The Biden 300 Administration has hit the ground running and taken decisive 301 action to get EPA and its mission back on track. On day one, 302 President Biden reasserted our international climate leadership 303 by rejoining the Paris Climate Accord. Shortly thereafter, the 304 President signed a broad range of additional executive actions 305 to reverse the Trump Administration's dangerous rollbacks and 306 address the climate crisis, while also pursuing economic 307 justice and economic revitalization.

308 And as our witnesses today can attest, EPA's record of 309 accomplishments over the years has shown that protecting the

environment and public health is not only good policy, but also good for the economy and jobs. And I want to stress that, and that will be my questions today as well, that it makes sense that the President's early actions on the environment are also an important part of his jobs agenda.

315 So recognizing that environmental injustices have 316 historically been concentrated in poorer communities, President 317 Biden assigned new duties to EPA to strengthen enforcement of 318 protections in environmental justice communities. He also required the agency to improve monitoring and provide real-time 319 320 pollution data to the public. And he established the Justice40 321 initiative, with the goal of delivering 40 percent of overall 322 benefits of federal investments to environmental justice 323 communities.

And these are key steps, but they are not enough on their own. Congress has to act to ensure EPA has the right resources and tools in place to succeed, and that science is always at the heart of public policy. So just last week, the committee introduced the CLEAN Future Act, ambitious legislation to combat the climate crisis this decade and achieve net zero greenhouse gas pollution.

331 It is critical that we act as more and more Americans have 332 been forced to confront the harsh realities of climate change. 333 And I wanted to mention that our former governor from New 334 Jersey, Christie Whitman, is here with us. Thank you for being

335 here, Governor. I always say she is my favorite Republican 336 governor. As you know, she was the EPA administrator.

337 And she worked with me to establish with this committee --338 a long time ago, I should not say -- the Brownfields 339 initiative. Some of you were already talking about that. It 340 was when she was the EPA administrator, and she took the idea 341 from what she did as governor in New Jersey because we had more 342 Brownfields sites than any other State in the country. And 343 this was done with President Bush. It was bipartisan. We had 344 the signing ceremony together. So it is just another example 345 of how we can work on a bipartisan basis, which is what 346 Governor Whitman was always about and still is about.

347 But she also knows the devastating impact of these extreme 348 weather events. You remember, Governor, after Superstorm Sandy 349 in 2012, it took years for the economy, families, and 350 communities to recover from that event, or from any extreme 351 weather event. I am at the shore with a lot of my district, 352 and we see the consequences of these extreme weather events. 353 So our witnesses with us this morning truly know what is 354 at stake. They have served under Democratic and Republican 355 Presidents, both at headquarters and in regional offices. They 356 are uniquely qualified to share their opinions on how to get 357 back on track with the EPA and how Congress can help the EPA 358 tackle the enormous environmental challenges that confront us. 359 So with that, Madam Chair, I yield back. But I cannot

360 stress how important this hearing is, and obviously, that we

361 follow up with whatever we can to recreate a robust

362 Environmental Protection Agency.

363 Thank you, Chairwoman DeGette.

364 *Ms. DeGette. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman.

And the chair will now recognize the ranking member of the full committee, Mrs. McMorris Rodgers, for 5 minutes for the purpose of an opening statement.

368 *Mrs. Rodgers. Thank you. Thank you, Chair DeGette.
369 Thank you, all our panelists, for being here this morning.
370 This is an important hearing. I appreciate you bringing us
371 together.

EPA's core mission is to protect human health and the environment. This mission is bipartisan. We all want clean air, soil, and water. Our oversight of the EPA should be central to ensuring the agency strives to improve people's lives.

Unfortunately, today is not about oversight. It is about politics. If we want real oversight of the EPA, we need to hear from those who can testify about the direct effects of heavy-handed regulation, especially for the American worker.

Our hearing should not be so tilted towards the opinion of political appointees and alumni. We need to hear about what is actually happening today, what the facts are, what 385 the science is. President Biden promised trust and 386 transparency when he took office, yet his EPA priorities 387 remain a secret. The American people deserve answers. 388 Rather than hold a hearing to score political points, we 389 should be hearing from current officials so that we can get 390 those answers.

Mr. Deskins, I am thankful that you are here to lend your expertise on how the left's rush to green will hurt America's energy reliability, affordability, and national and economic security. I am disappointed that the majority prevented us from a more balanced panel.

Congressman Kelly Armstrong's constituent, Mr. Carroll Dewing of North American Coal, was willing to offer a unique, on-the-ground perspective, but he was not allowed to testify. If he were allowed to do so, we would have heard about the real lost jobs and lost wages caused by President Biden's Executive Orders. I am disappointed that the majority decided to silence such an important voice.

For too long, the left has pursued unworkable climate policies that destroy jobs, put our economic growth at risk, and cede our global power to China. In contrast, President Trump demonstrated that you can pursue environmental protection while having economic growth.

408 Under President Trump, we experienced the cleanest air 409 in recorded history. In 2019, the U.S. had the largest

absolute decline of energy-related carbon emissions of any 410 411 country in the world, and it was driven by American 412 innovation, not Green New Deal-style mandates or economy-413 altering solutions offered by our Democratic friends. 414 The Trump administration made great strides in 415 addressing legacy pollution, too. In fact, in the 4 years, 416 the Trump EPA delisted and removed the same number of sites 417 from the National Priorities List as the Obama-Biden administration did in 8. The Trump EPA also assisted 418 419 vulnerable communities with hundreds of millions of dollars 420 for cleanup, job creation, and economic development through 421 Brownfields grants.

Because of Republican leadership, we saw over the last 423 4 years significant efforts to provide Americans with clean 424 air, soil, and water. My sincere hope was that President 425 Biden would not return to the standard top-down, heavy-handed 426 playbook and ignore the science and results that show a clean 427 environment can be compatible with economic growth and job 428 creation.

On his first day in office, President Biden canceled the Keystone XL pipeline. He put thousands of workers out on the street without a job in the middle of a pandemic. As the head of the AFL-CIO put it, "I wish he hadn't done that on the first day because it did and will cost us jobs.'' Building on that disastrous decision, President Biden

435 paused oil and gas drilling on public lands. With just a few 436 strokes of the pen, President Biden's actions weakened our 437 Nation's energy security while doing little to actually 438 reduce greenhouse gas emissions. It is a climate plan that 439 makes America energy-dependent on others and benefits the 440 Chinese Communist Party.

This is not how America leads to win the future. Rather than focus on punitive regulatory actions, we should incentivize American ingenuity and leadership to solve our environmental and energy issues. We can address climate change risk through innovation, conservation, adaptation, and preparation so families have reliable and affordable energy, too.

Let's work together to reduce barriers, to unleash American innovation for new technologies and capabilities to solve not only our environmental challenges of today but of the future.

452 Thank you, and I yield back.

453 *Ms. DeGette. I thank the gentlelady.

The chair now asks unanimous consent that the members' written opening statements be made a part of the record. Without objection, so ordered.

I would now like to introduce our witnesses for today's hearing. First we have the Honorable Christine Todd Whitman, administrator of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency

460 from 2001 to 2003; the Honorable Carol Browner, administrator 461 of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency from 1993 to 462 2001; Gwendolyn Keyes Fleming, former chief of staff and 463 Region 4 regional administrator of the U.S Environmental 464 Protection Agency.; Wendy Cleland-Hamnett, former principal 465 assistant administrator of the Office of Chemical Safety and Pollution Prevention of the U.S. Environmental Protection 466 467 Agency; and now I would like to introduce Mr. McKinley to introduce the Republican witness, Dr. Deskins. Mr. McKinley, 468 469 you need to unmute. You are on mute. You are still on mute. 470 *Mr. McKinley. There. I am technologically challenged, 471 so I am sorry, Madam Chairman. Let me introduce Dr. Deskins. 472 Dr. Deskins is the assistant dean with the university's 473 business school, and is also the director of Western 474 University Bureau of Economics and Economic Research, and the associate professor of economics. Last year -- or, actually, 475 476 each year, Dr. Deskins publishes a West Virginia Economic 477 Outlook Rprt. It is widely distributed. His work has been 478 utilized by business leaders and policy-makers all across 479 America.

Dr. Deskins has previously testified before Congress on the importance of innovative energy-related opportunities to achieve economic growth. And I welcome you back for today's discussion.

484 Thank you, Madam Chairman.

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*Ms. DeGette. I thank the gentleman.

486 Now, I am sure everybody is aware the committee is holding an investigative hearing. And when we do so, we have 487 488 the practice of taking testimony under oath. Does anyone 489 have an objection to testifying under oath today? 490 Let the record reflect the witnesses responded no. 491 The chair then advises you that under the rules of the 492 House and the rules of the committee, you are entitled to be 493 accompanied by counsel. Does any witness request to be 494 accompanied by counsel today? 495 Let the record reflect the witnesses responded no.

496 So if you will, please, raise your right hand so I can 497 swear you in.

498 [Witnesses sworn.]

499 *Ms. DeGette. Let the record reflect the witnesses have 500 responded affirmatively, and you are now under oath and 501 subject to the penalties set forth in Title 18, Section 1001 502 of the United States Code.

The chair will now recognize our witnesses for fiveminute summaries of their written statements. There is a timer on the screen that you can see that will count down your time, and it will turn red when your 5 minutes has come to an end.

508 I am now very pleased to recognize Governor Whitman for 509 5 minutes. Governor?

511 TESTIMONY OF HON. CHRISTINE TODD WHITMAN, ADMINISTRATOR 512 (2001-2003) U.S. ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY; HON. CAROL 513 BROWNER, ADMINISTRATOR (1993-2001) U.S. ENVIRONMENTAL 514 PROTECTION AGENCY; GWENDOLYN KEYES FLEMING, FORMER CHIEF OF 515 STAFF AND REGION 4 REGIONAL ADMINISTRATOR, U.S. ENVIRONMENTAL 516 PROTECTION AGENCY; WENDY CLELAND-HAMNETT, FORMER PRINCIPAL DEPUTY ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR, OFFICE OF CHANNEL SAFETY AND 517 518 POLLUTION PREVENTION, U.S. ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY; 519 AND JOHN DESKINS, PH.D., DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF BUSINESS AND 520 ECONOMIC RESEARCH, WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY

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522 TESTIMONY OF CHRISTINE TODD WHITMAN

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*Ms. Whitman. Thank you. I want to thank the chair and the ranking member for giving me this opportunity to speak today about some of the challenges facing the Environmental Protection Agency in the early years of the Biden administration.

529 Since its founding in 1970, EPA has made an enormous 530 difference in America's quality of life. Our air is cleaner. 531 Our water is purer. Our land is better protected. And our 532 citizens are leading better lives, healthier lives, because 533 of the work of the EPA.

534 In addition, EPA has shown, as many of the spokespersons 535 have already acknowledged, that environmental protection and 536 economic prosperity go hand in hand, and that safeguarding 537 our environment also pays economic dividends through the 538 advancement of technology and the creation of jobs.

In recent years, EPA has suffered under the leadership of people who seemed neither to understand nor appreciate the vital role that the EPA plays in American life. It's an issue that has become a major challenge for all of us. The basic recognition that good science is the foundation of good policy has been eroded. The morale of the EPA's dedicated career service has plummeted.

Important policies have been rolled back or gutted, not because of new scientific findings but, rather, to appease powerful interests. All this has both undermined the work of the EPA and has contributed to the loss of conference by the American people in government in general.

I am encouraged, however, that President Biden's nominee for EPA administrator, Michael Regan, has the experience and the expertise and credibility to restore people's faith in the EPA. Mr. Regan and I discussed at some length the challenges and the opportunities he will face should he be confirmed, and I certainly hope that he will be.

557 The first order of business for the new leadership at 558 the EPA is to reestablish a commitment to sound science as 559 an inaugural and indispensable part of policy-making. 560 Fortunately, I expect that under the new administration,

561 science will again occupy its proper place.

562 Coupled with the return to science as a basis for the 563 policy decisions is the restoration of the morale of the 564 people at EPA. Over the years, the agency has been fortunate 565 to be able to attract some of the finest scientific and 566 policy talent available. Yet recent studies show that 567 between 2016 and 2020, EPA lost 672 scientific experts. That 568 is enormously troubling.

569 EPA must be able to retain the expertise it has while 570 also attracting the best of the rising generation, those who 571 will commit their careers to the agency and its mission. 572 That's the only way that the agency can meet the many 573 environmental challenges that it faces.

The most pressing of these, of course, is climate change. Climate change has become a political football, and that's wrong. After all, the measures we need to address climate change make sense both for the environment and for public health, no matter what one thinks about climate change.

Reducing carbon emissions, moving away from fossil fuels, expanding renewable energy, reducing the emissions of methane and volatile organic compounds, and reviewing and revisiting many of the air rules put in place during previous administrations all make sense, whatever one's position on the threat of climate change.

586 They also make sense not only because they will help 587 reduce the threat of climate change but also because they 588 will help improve the quality of the air we breathe and will 589 improve human health. That is a worthy and urgent pursuit in 590 and of itself.

591 The next thing that we have to address is environmental 592 justice. I was pleased that President Biden is bringing into 593 the White House an effort to advance environmental justice priorities. Leadership from the White House will make a huge 594 595 difference. The health and safety of people who live near 596 polluting generating facilities must be better protected. 597 And working with State and local governments, EPA must do a 598 better job in preventing the location of such new facilities 599 in places that lack the potential, the political or economic clout, to protect their communities and its residents. 600

601 EPA must also continue its efforts to identify emerging 602 chemicals of concern and put in place regulations that 603 safequard the environment and human health. EPA must also 604 tackle the enormous deficiencies in our water infrastructure. 605 America's aging water infrastructure wastes nearly 6 billion 606 gallons of treated drinking water every day through leakage. 607 Another two trillion gallons of drinking water are lost due 608 to water main breaks.

In addition, as many as 6.1 million homes in the UnitedStates are connected by lead service lines to the drinking

611 mains that serve their neighborhoods. Ingesting lead at any 612 level is unsafe, especially for children. This must be 613 eliminated.

Members of the subcommittee, over the past 4 years EPA and its mission have suffered. But EPA is resilient because its people are dedicated and determined to carry out its mission of scientific integrity and unwavering commitment. I'm optimistic that with the help of this committee, EPA will be able to continue its critical role for the future of the health of the United States. Thank you.

621 [The prepared statement of Ms. Whitman follows:]

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625 *Ms. DeGette. Thank you so much, Governor.

I am now pleased to introduce Administrator Browner for5 minutes. Administrator? You need to unmute.

629 TESTIMONY OF CAROL BROWNER

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*Ms. Browner. Sorry about that. Thank you, Madam Chair
and Ranking Member, for the invitation to be here. And
Mr. Chairman, it is wonderful to see you. And I think we
also have -- I know Kathy Castor was here, a fellow Floridian
joining the hearing today. And to all of you who have been
longtime supporters of EPA, it is a pleasure to be with you.
And I join Governor Whitman in encouraging the Senate to

638 move rapidly to confirm Michael Regan. I think he will be a 639 wonderful leader of the agency.

I also want to just thank all of the career staff, the professional staff, at EPA. These are people who have worked year-in and year-out, sometimes under very difficult circumstances, to do their part to protect the air we breathe and the water we drink, and I thank them for their commitment.

646 In December, EPA collaborated its 50th anniversary. 647 This is an agency created by a Republican President, Richard The first head of EPA, William Ruckleshaus, is a 648 Nixon. 649 widely recognized environmental leader, a business leader, 650 ethical, moral, a really wonderful man. Unfortunately, we 651 lost him not too recently. But he really charted a course 652 for the agency, an important course. And I think that continues to be the course we should follow. And 653

654 essentially, there are sort of four parameters I would 655 suggest that a modern EPA should operate under.

656 One, follow the science. Two, the law. Three, 657 enforcement. Four, environmental justice. If those are the 658 cornerstones of how EPA thinks about its work on a day-to-day 659 basis, the n it will be able to serve all Americans. And by 660 all Americans, I mean not just people and communities. I 661 mean the business community, who is essential to doing the 662 work to reduce our pollution. So it means bringing everyone 663 together.

As you heard, I spent 8 years running the Environmental Protection Agency. It makes me the longest-serving administrator. I started the afternoon the President was sworn in, and I left the night before the next President was sworn in. I think it will be a hard record to break, but I am very proud of our record.

And Mr. Chairman Pallone and Governor Whitman, congratulations to you all on Brownfields. We took a nascent idea from a State. We spent a little bit of money while I was at EPA. But you guys made it real. And it proves that States are a good place to find ideas, and I encourage the current EPA to look at States.

We created the drinking water SRF fund. So today, 577 States receive money every year to enhance the drinking water 578 protections. We cleaned up more than 600 Superfund sites, 679 and we set the first-ever fine particle standard, upheld by 680 the Supreme Court 9-0 with Justice Scalia writing the 681 majority opinion.

And finally, we embraced the issue of climate change. The legal memorandum we wrote became the basis for the Massachusetts vs. EPA decision, which is what is relied on today by the agency to regulate greenhouse gases. So there is a lot of authority that is sitting there that can be used by the agency to meet the challenges of today.

688 When EPA started its work, we had rivers on fire. We 689 had cities so polluted you couldn't see from one building to 690 another. Today, as everyone has noted, we have made real 691 progress. Yes, the air is cleaner. The water is safer. The 692 job is not done. But we also face a new challenge and a very 693 severe challenge, and that is the challenge of climate change. And so as this committee and the rest of the 694 695 Congress thinks about the role of EPA, I hope you will think 696 about it in terms of its history but also in terms of the 697 challenges in front of us.

In terms of enforcement, which one of you mentioned, I think -- I apologize, a member mentioned -- I agree. Enforcement is about compliance. It is about getting companies to do the right thing. It is also a fairness. If I comply with the an environmental regulation and my competitor doesn't, that's a basic unfairness. I'm spending

704 money to achieve an environmental endpoint that they're not 705 spending about. So we need to think about enforcement in 706 conjunction with compliance. I agree with what was said. 707 Finally, I want to talk a moment about environmental

708 justice. Communities of color, poor communities, suffer 709 disproportionately the burdens of our modern industrial 710 society. They will suffer disproportionately the impacts of 711 climate change. And I am very, very heartened by all of the 712 work that is being done or has been launched in the Biden 713 administration to address the realities. As we transition 714 our economy to meet the challenge of climate change, we must 715 do so in an environmentally just manner.

The final thing I will say: In my 8 years, we were roundly recognized as being very aggressive in terms of setting public health standards, in terms of enforcing those standards and, I will note, the economy grew. We do not have to choose between a healthy environment and a healthy economy.

722Thank you all so much for the opportunity to be here.723[The prepared statement of Ms. Browner follows:]

724

727 *Ms. DeGette. Thank you so much, Administrator Browner.

728 I am now pleased to recognize Ms. Keyes Fleming for 5 729 minutes. You'll need to unmute.

730 *Ms. Keyes Fleming. Here we go.

731 *Ms. DeGette. Thank you.

733 TESTIMONY OF GWENDOLYN KEYES FLEMING

734

735 *Ms. Keyes Fleming. Good morning. Chairwoman DeGette, 736 Ranking Member Griffith, Chairman Pallone, and distinguished 737 members of the subcommittee, my name is Gwendolyn Keyes 738 Fleming and I appreciate the opportunity to testify today. 739 EPA is an agency that I know well, having spent 5 years 740 there, first as the regional administrator in Region 4, the Southeastern Region, and then as chief of staff. The views 741 742 that I express here today are my own and are based on those 743 experiences.

During my tenure with the agency, I had the great honor and privilege to work alongside thousands of dedicated public servants, both career and political, who worked tirelessly to advance the agency's mission to protect public health and the environment.

749 Today, EPA faces a long list of complex, urgent, and 750 necessary actions, including addressing climate change and 751 environmental justice. Alarmingly, EPA has to meet these threats with fewer real resources than the agency had in the 752 753 The decline happened despite our population 1980s. 754 increasing 44 percent, and total government discretionary 755 spending decreased by 48 percent over that same time. EPA 756 spending, in terms of real dollars, is less than half of what 757 the agency spent nearly 30 years ago.

This steady funding decline has adversely affected EPA's ability to meet its mission and the growing demand for protections in communities around the country. In addition, it is also adversely affecting the agency's State and Tribal partners, who rely on EPA for grants and technical funds to support their operations.

Programs and funding, however, cannot be effectively 764 765 utilized without the agency's greatest asset, the people, its 766 employees. Unfortunately, staffing declines have made the 767 tightened budget situation even worse. Today's staffing 768 levels are at a 30-year low. Not only does EPA need to 769 recruit and hire the next generation of environmental 770 professionals, but the agency needs to do so with an eye 771 towards diversifying its ranks and its leadership.

In addition to having sufficient resources to do the job, the agency will be most successful when it remains true to the following five guideposts, some of which my copanelists have mentioned before:

First, follow the science. Science has been and needs to continue to be the foundation of EPA's decision-making and actions going forward. To be well-positioned to address emerging areas of science, EPA needs additional financial resources, staffing, and scientific equipment to ensure that its scientists can connect to the newest and best research, as well as up-to-date information technology, to access some

783 vast data sets relevant to the various complex issues the 784 agency will face.

Second, follow the law. In addition to following and efficient the requirements of the over 20 major environmental laws, EPA must also identify more ways to utilize Title 6 of the 1964 Civil Rights Act as part of its suite of legal pools to provide for redress for discriminatory actions and disparate impacts in the environmental space.

Third, provide transparency in its decision-making. To further build and maintain EPA's trust -- or build trust in EPA's actions, the agency needs to be transparent its decision-making process. This means making its data sets available in ways that can be easily understood by the public.

797 Fourth, engaging all stakeholders. Successful, large-798 scale environmental protection requires engaging EPA's 799 partners and stakeholders. This means having conversations 800 with States, Tribes, local governments, and the regulated 801 community throughout the process and early in the process. 802 Stakeholder engagement is especially critical in meeting the 803 urgent needs of environmental justice communities 804 overburdened by pollution and suffering under the vestiges of 805 environmental racism.

Lastly, synergize resources to maximize impact. To augment protection and services to communities, EPA needs

funding to institutionalize integrated strategies and remove the silos across the program offices. There are several successful projects, including the ReGenesis Project and CUP, that the agency can use as models in this regard.

I want to finish by expressing my deep appreciation to the dedicated public servants at EPA and the work that they're doing to keep our air and water safe and clean. I also want to thank Congress for its attention to these issues, and I look forward to the discussion today. [The prepared statement of Ms. Keyes Fleming follows:]

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*Ms. DeGette. Thank you so much, Ms. Fleming.

I am now pleased to recognize Ms. Cleland-Hamnett for 5 minutes for an opening statement.

825 TESTIMONY OF WENDY CLELAND-HAMNETT

826

*Ms. Cleland-Hamnett. Thank you, Madam Chair, and thanks to the ranking member and the distinguished members of the subcommittee, for providing me with the opportunity to participate in today's hearing on restoring the vital mission of the Environmental Protection Agency. I'm honored to appear with the other very distinguished members of this panel.

I completed a 38-year Civil Service career at the EPA when I retired in 2017. And I had the privilege of serving in seven different administrations, or under seven different administrations, under both parties.

As the chair mentioned, I became the principal deputy assistant administrator for the Office of Chemical Safety and Pollution Prevention in 2016, and I was the acting assistant administrator beginning in January 2017 until I retired September 2nd of that year.

I'm here today to provide the perspective of a career employee and senior program manager at the EPA. As all of the former witnesses and the opening remarks have noted, the EPA has an incredibly important mission, to protect public health and the environment, and accomplishing that mission is difficult and complex.

849 Essential to human health and environmental protection

is the need for the EPA's work to be moved forward apace.
While risks are being analyzed and actions developed,
potential threats remain unaddressed. There is a challenging
balance to be maintained between the desire for thoroughness
and the need to provide public protection. Important actions
which have been stopped or delayed in recent years will need
to be restarted or accelerated.

I also agree with many others who have spoken this morning that the EPA's greatest strength is its career staff. It's my belief that the agency staff have unparalleled expertise in the science, legal, and regulatory frameworks necessary to achieving continued progress in protecting human health and the environment.

863 That said, I am very concerned that this key strength of 864 the EPA, its career workforce, has been eroded. When the legal and scientific views of career staff are dismissed, or 865 866 if career staff are cut out of policy and technical 867 discussions at the political level, a great resource is lost 868 and the agency's credibility suffers as a result. Their lack 869 of participation also raises concerns about political 870 interference and the undue influence of special interests. 871 And although there remain very many very dedicated and 872 qualified staff at the EPA, a concerted effort at hiring is

874 years to retirement and other departures, and to ensure

needed to replace staff members who have been lost in recent

873

875 adequate staffing in priority areas and new and emerging 876 areas that the agency will need to address.

And to do their jobs as they should, staff must have the appropriate resources, data, and infrastructure to support them. Sound, credible, and transparent science is vital to the agency's credibility and effectiveness. Scientific peer review is a cornerstone of credibility for EPA science, and for that matter, scientific work in general.

Those most qualified and knowledgeable in the scientific issues of interest should be recruited to participate in transparent and balanced peer review panels. Political interference to omit or include certain peer review participants erodes the credibility of the process.

Likewise, the dismissal of pertinent and vetted scientific information in decision-making in order to support a particular policy outcome is inappropriate and shreds the credibility of those policy decisions. When policies for the use of data are developed with the participation of scientists and the public, and are applied transparently by decision-makers, credibility is greatly enhanced.

My last job at the EPA was to help steer my program and the agency through another change of administration. I quickly learned, however, that my advice was not wanted and that the process for making policy decisions was not open to career staff, and an effort began to stop programs and

900 drastically reduce resources.

901	I was angry and saddened by this and felt that I could
902	not continue to be a part of what was going on, and I
903	retired. Although I am no longer at the agency, I have to
904	believe that the atmosphere over the last several years has
905	been corrosive. It is my sincere hope that the agency and
906	its mission can be rebuilt and revived.
907	I commend the subcommittee for its interest in
908	rebuilding the mission of the EPA, and I thank you again for
909	the opportunity to participate in this hearing.
910	[The prepared statement of Ms. Cleland-Hamnett follows:]
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914 *Ms. DeGette. Thank you so much. We appreciate your 915 perspective.

916 Dr. Deskins, I am now very pleased to recognize you for 917 5 minutes for your opening statement.

919 TESTIMONY OF JOHN DESKINS, PH.D.

920

921 *Mr. Deskins. Chairwoman DeGette, Chairman Pallone, 922 Ranking Members Griffith and Rodgers, and members of the 923 committee, thank you so much for inviting me to appear before 924 you today to discuss the future and mission of the EPA. 925 I begin by acknowledging that I have never worked for 926 the EPA and I have no insight into the agency's inner workings. Rather, I am here to speak to the importance of 927 928 ensuring that the future EPA fully studies any potential 929 economic impact associated with policies under consideration. 930 It's imperative to fully weigh the cost of any policies 931 that might affect fossil fuel usage against the policy's 932 benefits. And for policies that are ultimately deemed to 933 move forward despite generating an adverse impact on 934 communities reliant on coal and gas, those costs should be 935 fully highlighted. This acknowledgment will help promote 936 investments in those areas to help the affected people and 937 communities survive an economic shock and ultimately thrive. The point that I stress isn't new by any means. For 938 939 instance, Section 321 of the Clean Air Act requires that the 940 EPA conduct employment impact analyses as part of its policy 941 analysis program.

942 I want to illustrate the economic hardship that many 943 coal-producing communities have endured over the past decade

944 or so. I come here from West Virginia, a State which by any 945 obvious measure is an energy State. For example, energy 946 accounts for 14 percent of economic output in the State, 947 making it the State's largest industrial supersector.

Energy jobs are among the highest-paying jobs in the State, often by far. Coal and natural gas are two of our key export commodities. And severance tax revenue from coal and gas is important to our State too fund local governments --State and local governments and public schools and many other public services.

954 Indeed, declining coal production in recent years, 955 combined with a lack of industrial diversification, has had 956 an devastating effect on our State's economy. Coal 957 production has fallen by about one-half from its 2008 high. 958 This has led to a loss of about 15,000 coal jobs, and a 959 direct loss of \$3.5 billion in economic output in our State. 960 These losses ignite a vicious cycle where we see outmigration of primarily our younger men and women. 961 Then we 962 see an aging population. Then we see drug abuse pop up, and 963 This makes it even more challenging to attract new so on. 964 business to our affected areas, thus perpetuating this 965 vicious cycle.

966 Some may read the numbers associated with the declining 967 coal output and imagine that the losses are spread across the 968 entire coal-product region of our Nation. We have seen a

969 national drop in the demand for coal, but the effect of 970 those -- the effect of that drop in demand has been felt most 971 strongly in Central Appalachia, including Southern West 972 Virginia and Southwestern Virginia.

973 The concentration of these job losses created a great 974 depression in six Southern West Virginia counties. At one 975 point over the past decade, payrolls contracted at rates 976 between 25 and 33 percent in each of these six counties. In 977 addition, despite the observed bounce back in coal between 978 2017 and 2019, employment levels have increased only slightly 979 for many of these struggling areas.

980 Consider Boone County, for example, which had been the 981 State's largest coal-producing county for many years. Their 982 coal production and employment stand at around 20 percent of its level a decade ago. Statistics show as well that or job 983 984 losses in the county are occurring as less money is flowing 985 to local businesses like restaurants, entertainment venues, 986 et cetera. Losses in coal severance tax revenue in these 987 counties have led to severe public school layoffs.

988 The industrial mix in these counties also lends to the 989 crisis. In Boone County, for example, in 2010, coal 990 accounted for 55 percent of all the jobs in the county, 991 making it difficult if not impossible for many laid-off coal 992 miners to just go out and find other jobs locally. My point 993 is the heavy concentration of losses in coal output and

994 employment make it far worse than would have been the case if 995 the loses were widely dispersed.

996 The current situation, honestly, gives rise to the 997 question of whether many of these affected communities are 998 even sustainable in the long run. Are these communities 999 altogether sustainable, given the suffering that we've seen? 1000 Many call for industrial diversification as the solution 1001 to West Virginia's economic crisis. I myself make this call 1002 routinely in speeches across the State, weekly, practically. 1003 It's crucial for West Virginia to cultivate strength in other 1004 industries like manufacturing and tourism. But industrial 1005 diversification is a long-term and multifaceted proposition. 1006 A more viable path for West Virginia in the short term 1007 is through maintaining our State's energy sector. While many 1008 factors affecting energy in West Virginia and similar areas 1009 are outside of the reach of policy-makers, I hope that the

1010 information provided today can help make for a policy to move 1011 West Virginian similar communities forward.

Again, I urge you, finally, to ensure that a future EPA fully considers statistics like these that describe how coal communities in West Virginia and other parts of rural America are affected when fossil fuel jobs disappear.

1016 Thank you so much.

1017

1018

1019 [The prepared statement of Dr. Deskins follows:]

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1023 *Ms. DeGette. Thank you so much, Dr. Deskins.

1024 It is now time for the members to ask questions, and the 1025 chair will recognize herself for 5 minutes.

1026 Ms. Cleland-Hamnett, you said you worked at the EPA over 1027 seven administrations. Is that right?

1028 *Ms. Cleland-Hamnett. Yes. That's correct.

1029 *Ms. DeGette. And so you worked under both of the

1030 former administrators who are sitting here today. Is that

1031 right?

1032 *Ms. Cleland-Hamnett. Yes. That's right.

1033 *Ms. DeGette. And I have got to say, I worked with both 1034 of those administrators, too, in my many years in Congress, 1035 and always with the goal of protecting Americans' health and 1036 protecting our environment.

1037 I'm really struck by what someone like you says because 1038 you were there so long under Democratic and Republican 1039 administrations, really doing the work of the agency. And 1040 several times you said that you -- that one of the things you 1041 think needs to happen is that political influence needs to be 1042 taken out of the agency.

1043 Is political influence a problem that you have seen 1044 throughout your tenure, your long tenure at the EPA, or just 1045 in the last years of your time there?

1046 *Ms. Cleland-Hamnett. Well, first, if I could, let me 1047 just clarify that I think it's inappropriate political 1048 interference to which I was referring. I think it's totally 1049 appropriate that there's political influence. That's why we 1050 have political appointees, presidential appointees, and

1051 others that help carry out the President's mission.

1052 *Ms. DeGette. Right.

1053 *Ms. Cleland-Hamnett. Yes.

1054 *Ms. DeGette. What is inappropriate? What would you 1055 say is inappropriate political influence?

*Ms. Cleland-Hamnett. Well, I think it is when 1056 1057 processes for producing sound science, credible science, 1058 transparent science, are either ignored altogether or changed 1059 in a way that lessens their credibility or their 1060 effectiveness. I think it's when legal arguments about how 1061 best to interpret statutes and responsibilities of the agency 1062 are essentially ignored, or career staff just aren't given 1063 the chance to present that kind of information and it's not 1064 given due consideration.

1065 *Ms. DeGette. Thank you. Now, Governor Whitman, one 1066 of the things that really struck me both in your written testimony and what you said today, is the importance of 1067 1068 relying on science. Do you think if we get back to a 1069 reliance on science, that can help us with the morale at the 1070 agency and how best to recruit some new, fresh faces there? 1071 *Ms. Whitman. I think without question, the fact that 1072 so many times the science was stifled, not for policy reasons

so much as political, has been -- really eroded the 1073 1074 confidence. And there's a lot that Congress can do, 1075 actually, to help with ensuring the transparency, ensure that 1076 there's some guidelines that are laid down -- in all the 1077 agencies that have to do with science -- as to what is 1078 appropriate political interaction, keeping track of that, and 1079 letting people know what's going on because there's always 1080 policy, and politics is part of policy. But science should be the underpinning for any of at the policy decisions. They 1081 1082 shouldn't at the end of the day be purely political 1083 decisions.

1084 *Ms. DeGette. Now, Administrator Browner, you were at 1085 the agency longer than anybody else. Would you agree with 1086 that assessment?

1087 *Ms. Browner. Yes. Science is at the base of 1088 everything that EPA does. I mean, it really -- I used to say 1089 the science made me do it. The agency, whether the career 1090 staff or the political appointees, is not free to do 1091 whatever.

But having said that, it's important to remember that science is a process. And science keeps asking questions. And so the policies -- the Clean Air Act directs EPA to make decisions on the best available science every 5 years. Right? Because Congress rightfully recognized that science will keep going. 1098 If we hadn't made the decision -- if our predecessors at 1099 EPA hadn't made the decision to ban lead in gasoline, which 1100 protecting children, it wouldn't be banned today because 1101 guess what? Science is still studying that, but what the 1102 agency was ability to do was say there was adequate evidence, 1103 there was the weight of the evidence, and make a scientific 1104 determination. So --

1105 *Ms. DeGette. Thank you so much. Thank you. So it 1106 seems to me -- I was sitting here -- obviously, if you had good science, you could take away inadequate political 1107 1108 influence. Also, you need an adequate budget. I was looking 1109 at the statistic that half of -- that EPA has less in real dollars than it did in 1980. So that also seems to be a pace 1110 where Congress could really step in, help recruit more 1111 1112 science-based individuals, but also increase the budget 1113 appropriately.

1114 Would you agree with that, Administrator Browner?

1115 *Ms. Browner. Absolutely. Absolutely.

Ms. DeGette. Okay. Thank you very much. My time is expired. I am now delighted to recognize the ranking member, Mr. Griffith, for 5 minutes.

1119 *Mr. Griffith. Thank you so much, and I appreciate the 1120 time.

1121 Ms. Cleland-Hamnett, I understand you are a lawyer, and 1122 I appreciate your comments about following the law. I think

1123 that is very important. Chairwoman DeGette and I talk about 1124 that on a fairly regular basis, coming from a legal 1125 background.

But I have to say under the Obama administration, I believe the EPA exceeded its statutory authority to justify several regulations, such as regulating emissions from truck trailers that don't have engines, claiming authority under the section of the Clean Air Act that deals with selfpropelled motor vehicles.

All the while they are going so far down that way to try to accomplish what they wanted, that some -- and I note some -- in the EPA, or some in the administration, ignore warnings of high lead levels in drinking water from an EPA water scientist out in the field in Flint, Michigan.

1137 So I think we need to make sure that we are following 1138 the law and not following our wishes, whether it be a 1139 Republican administration or a Democrat administration. And 1140 I know that you would agree with me. And I would give you a 1141 chance to answer, but I am running out of time and I have got 1142 to get to Dr. Deskins.

Dr. Deskins, it is so good to have you with us today. Obviously, we share a lot in the region that I come from and the Region you come from, originally having grown up in Honaker. And if you were here, we would have talked ahead of time; I have got a great Honaker story. Call me some time

1148 and I will tell you about it.

1149	But in your experience with the coal industry and in
1150	coal communities, are communities opposed to working out
1151	creative solutions to improve the environment that also allow
1152	for robust economic activity and affordable energy?
1153	*Mr. Deskins. First and foremost, I'm always happy to
1154	get a question from a fellow Emory & Henry alumnus.
1155	*Mr. Griffith. There you go.
1156	*Mr. Deskins. But no. I don't think coal communities
1157	are opposed to this. But, I mean, people just have to
1158	understand, these coal communities are faced with many
1159	challenges. Many of these areas are very remote, very rural.
1160	The terrain's very rugged. They face tremendous challenges
1161	around human capital, around education, training, health,
1162	drug abuse.
1163	And they're not opposed to working out alternative

And they're not opposed to working out alternative solutions, but in many cases they need help from places like the Federal Government to help enable these changes to happen. And they don't need just cursory help, they need real, significant help because their challenges are significant.

Mr. Griffith. Things like the Coalfields Expressway, which would open up parts of West Virginia and Southern West Virginia and Southwest Virginia, and connect a bunch of our interstates together. That would be very helpful. Wouldn't

1173 you agree?

1174 *Mr. Deskins. Yeah. No, infrastructure is one of the 1175 key areas in which help is needed. Absolutely.

1176 *Mr. Griffith. Because everybody says we have got to 1177 reinvent the economy. But when you have mountains and you 1178 don't have a lot of flat land and you don't have good roads, 1179 it's very difficult to do. I know you would agree with that. 1180 I want you to explain the coal severance or the coal and 1181 natural gas severance tax because that provides millions of 1182 dollars for things like education. And I'm not sure 1183 everybody on the committee understands that. And you 1184 mentioned it in your testimony. Could you elaborate a little 1185 bit and explain how that works?

Mr. Deskins. Well, I mean, West Virginia and I'm sure similar States across the country that rely on energy have been levying a severance tax on coal and natural gas and other items that are extracted from the ground for decades. I mean, in West Virginia, we have been heavily reliant on severance tax revenues for a long, long time.

This funds State Government in part, and it does fund a lot of local government active in our State. And when severance tax revenue falls, it has a real impact on local communities. As I mentioned, when severance tax revenue falls, it presents a challenge for our public schools, for example, because they have less revenue to fund the services

1198 that we need.

Mr. Griffith. And that's a real problem in Southwestern Virginia as well as West Virginia. And in fact, many people are surprised as we talk about social justice and economic justice that the district I represent, while not heavy in minorities, is 422nd in household income based on the latest data that we have available out of 435 congressional districts.

1206 That doesn't surprise you a bit, does it?

*Mr. Deskins. Oh, no, no, no, no. Of course not. I mean, I can go on all day about the poverty that exists in Central Appalachia even today. It's not as bad as it was in the 1960s when the Johnson administration was working. But there's still tremendous poverty in West Virginia.

As I said, we had some counties in Southern West Virginia that have been in a great depression because of just economic devastation. And there's a lot of poverty there, and I'm not going to -- my mission is to plead to try to find ways to get it addressed.

Mr. Griffith. And so if we're talking about economic, environmental, and social justice, we need to make sure we don't leave out the communities of Central Appalachia as we go forward. You would not disagree with that, either, would you?

1222 *Mr. Deskins. There's nothing in the world that I could

1223 agree with more. I mean, I completely agree with that.

*Mr. Griffith. Well, last but not least, I think we've touched on a lot of it, and you and I could go on forever. But I will mention what a great opportunity I had to go to Emory & Henry. You obviously feel the same way. And it's a great little school that makes a difference in a lot of lives, and ends up with professors talking to congressmen in the halls of Congress. And it's a great thing from

1231 Southwestern Virginia.

1232 Thank you much, and I yield back.

1233 *Mr. Deskins. Thank you.

1234 *Ms. DeGette. I thank the gentleman.

1235 The chair now recognizes the chairman of the full

1236 committee, Mr. Pallone, for 5 minutes.

1237 *The Chairman. Thank you, Chairwoman DeGette.

I wanted to start with Governor Whitman, if I could. In your testimony, you state that environmental protection and economic prosperity go hand in hand, and you have further stated, and I quote, that "safeguarding our environment also pays economic dividends through the advancement of technology and the creation of jobs.''

I know that you also talked about the return to science and retaining the scientists at the EPA. But then you also said that you were concerned that climate change can become a political football, but you suggest it does not have to be. So I just wanted to, if you could, tell us how developing solutions to address the climate crisis and also help support the economy, create jobs because we often hear from those who do not want to address climate change that somehow this is going to be a net job loser, which I do not agree.

1254 So if you would comment on that, Governor, I would 1255 appreciate it.

Ms. Whitman. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I certainly do agree with you that it is not going to be a net loser. There are new technologies that will be developed. There are new energy sources that will be developed. But just let's think of the history for a second.

1261 Between -- in 40 years, almost 40 years, between 1980 1262 and 2017, we saw our population grow by 4 percent. Our 1263 energy consumption grew by 25 percent. We drove 110 percent 1264 more miles, which emitted more pollutants. And yet we -- and 1265 our GDP grew 167 percent. And yet we reduced our overall six 1266 criteria of pollution by 65 percent. I mean, that's more 1267 people creating more pollution, but reduced it, and they were 1268 growing the economy at an extraordinary rate.

1269 That's what can happen when we talk about addressing 1270 things like climate change because you're talking about some 1271 of the very basic elements that are negative as far as their 1272 impact on human health. When you talk about the emissions

1273 that drive climate change, when you're talking about carbon, 1274 you're talking about mercury, these things are having a real 1275 impact.

1276 And if you look also at the other side of it, which is 1277 the cost of climate change, as you well know, from your shore 1278 communities, how devastated they become when we have these 1279 major storms that are now occurring -- you always used to 1280 talk about the 100-year flood. It now occurs every 5 years, 1281 or 4 years. And every time you have that intrusion of salt 1282 water, you change the ecosystem so the next time the storm 1283 comes in even further.

And we have paid a huge price, not to mention the storms in California that we had last year, the fires, the devastation of the fires because of droughts. So we pay a huge price by ignoring this issue of climate change.

1288 There are things we can do to harden ourselves against 1289 it. It means stopping growth. It does not mean stopping the 1290 economy. It's finding better ways to grow and to address 1291 this issue.

*The Chairman. Well, thank you. And Administrator Browner, basically the question is along the same lines. If you would explain how a healthy economy and a healthy environment go hand in hand. I'm optimistic about all of this, and I know you are as well. I think you have to unmute.

Ms. Browner. Mr. Chairman, I join you in being optimistic. I don't believe we will be the first generation to pass on to another a problem they can't solve. It's not without its challenges.

1302 But I'd like to call attention to the private sector and 1303 how they're stepping up with new solutions and making large-1304 scale investments, and how they can partner with the 1305 government to sort of drive the technology. What we see 1306 out -- I mean, every day, and I'm sure this is true for other people, I get calls from people who invented something, and 1307 1308 it's been proven. It's a proven technology. They need to 1309 commercialize it.

1310 And so what we need is the private sector to start 1311 buying these new technologies, whether it's cement-eating 1312 carbon, better lighting systems, better batteries for the 1313 grid, et cetera, et cetera. There's just so many 1314 opportunities out there. And I think if we all continue to 1315 put our mind together, we can both, as President Biden has 1316 called for, create a whole new generation of clean energy 1317 jobs.

And I want to say to the professor who joins us here today, I take very seriously the realities for people in West Virginia and Kentucky and in Appalachia. But let's create a new generation of clean energy jobs, and with that, a new generation of solutions that will allow us to drive down the 1323 impacts of climate change while we grow the economy.

1324 *The Chairman. And I agree with you. And let me say, 1325 too, I know that our ranking member, Mrs. Rodgers, constantly 1326 talks about China. And I appreciate that because I do think 1327 that China's a threat and I do appreciate HR constantly 1328 mentioning China.

But I also think this is a global competition, and China is investing in the new technology and making a lot of money with solar panels and others. So that's why we can't be left behind. We've got to meet that challenge as well from China, and this is the way to do it, by moving on climate action.

1334 Thank you so much. Thank you, Madam Chair.

1335 *Ms. DeGette. I thank the gentleman.

And speaking of the ranking member, I'm now pleased to recognize Mrs. Rodgers for 5 minutes.

*Mrs. Rodgers. Thank you, Madam Chair. And Mr. Chairman, I appreciate those comments. I think my concern is that the approach that's being promoted right now by the majority and many Democrats is going to make us dangerously dependent upon China, when you consider that 90 percent of the solar panels, 80 percent of the windmills, they control 90 percent of the rare earth minerals.

1345 So that's where we need to make sure that we're not 1346 moving forward on policy that's only going to make us more 1347 dependent upon China. We need to celebrate that America's

leading right now in bringing down carbon emissions, and 1348 1349 we've done more than the next 12 countries combined. We need 1350 to be promoting new innovation. And we also need to make 1351 sure that as we are looking at all of these issues, that we 1352 are considering the job loss. And that's part of why I am really pleased that Dr. Deskins is with us today, can really 1353 1354 talk about the real world impact of some of these policies. 1355 Thank you for your testimony, Dr. Deskins. You've 1356 spoken about the economic damage in Boone County due to 1357 aggressive environmental D.C. dictates. And Boone County used to be West Virginia's largest coal-producing county, and 1358 1359 now coal production and employment stands at less than one-1360 fourth, a quarter, of 2010 levels.

As places such as Boone County lose jobs, we're told that there are ways for these unemployed workers to transition without being left behind. So I'd like to ask you, where have the unemployed coal miners gone, and what are the new jobs that they are getting?

Mr. Deskins. Thank you for that question. I really appreciate that question because it's so easy to say, oh, let's transition the laid-off coal miners to new jobs. It's a lot easier said than done.

1370 That does happen to some extent. But to a large extent, 1371 it's very, very difficult for these people to make a 1372 transition. Imagine a laid-off coal miner who's 50 years old

who's worked in the coal mines for 25 or 30 years, who only 1373 1374 has a high school diploma or maybe even less. It's very --1375 it's not easy to transition this person into a new position. 1376 Some people say something trivial like, oh, let's have 1377 the person start coding software. Things like that are not 1378 realistic. I mean, to make real opportunities to transition 1379 these people into new work requires real investment, like we 1380 said before, with infrastructure, with human capital, with 1381 fighting the vicious cycle that we have in place.

Honestly, a lot of the people who are laid-off coal miners haven't transitioned anywhere. They're just, to use -- I don't know if I should use this word or not, but they're just floundering, and the area is in -- is seeing a lot of economic hardship because that transition is so hard and so difficult, much easier said than done.

1388 *Mrs. Rodgers. Thank you. As a follow-up, through the 1389 years I have heard from many people in Eastern Washington and 1390 across our State, actually, about the concerns over a lack of 1391 clarity of EPA regulations. One example is the Washington 1392 Farm Bureau has stated that the clarity is critical in the 1393 Waters of the USA Rules. Right? And when that rule was in 1394 front of us, the Waters of the USA, it was difficult to 1395 understand what was covered, what is not.

I wanted to ask if you would speak to the concerns and what you have seen around regulatory uncertainty, especially

1398 when it comes to conducting an adequate full job impact 1399 analysis.

1400 *Mr. Deskins. I'm afraid my answer is going to be 1401 pretty short. I mean, unless you have clarity and fully 1402 understand the implications of a given policy, it's 1403 impossible to estimate the economic impact associated with 1404 that policy. And that's all I have to say on that. 1405 I mean, I do economic impact analyses literally all the 1406 time. My office produces them constantly. And clarity in 1407 terms of fully understanding the policy in question is a step 1408 one necessity.

1409 *Mrs. Rodgers. Yes. So would you speak to what you 1410 believe the EPA should be doing, then, to conduct that 1411 adequate economic impact analysis under Section 3212 of the 1412 Clean Air Act to examine the effects of Clean Air Act 1413 regulations on jobs?

1414 *Mr. Deskins. Well, I mean, cost/benefit analysis and 1415 economic impact analysis are well-established methodological approaches in economics. I don't have any new techniques or 1416 1417 any approaches. I mean, I would just urge for a full, 1418 holistic consideration of the potential economic impacts, and 1419 then transparency on what those impacts are after the fact. 1420 I know some of the earlier speakers spoke to the issue of transparency, and I would completely agree. Even when we 1421 move forward with a policy where the benefits exceed the 1422

1423 costs, we still should be as transparent as possible about

1424 those costs that will, if nothing else, help foster

1425 investment to promote transition over the long run.

1426 But holistic analysis and transparency, that's all I can 1427 ask for.

1428 *Mrs. Rodgers. Yes. Certainly that is very important.
1429 I appreciate you being with us. I will yield back my
1430 time. Thank you.

1431 *Ms. DeGette. Dr. Deskins, you would be surprised at 1432 how many agreement you would get on that on both sides of the 1433 aisle here in this hearing.

1434 The chair now is really pleased to recognize Ms. Kuster 1435 for 5 minutes.

1436 *Ms. Kuster. Great. Thank you very much, Madam Chair.1437 And thank you again to our panel and their insights.

I should note that I started my Washington, D.C. career as an intern at the EPA back in 1976. So I am dating myself. The EPA was new, and I was new to all of it.

One area where we know the EPA must take quick action is addressing PFAS and other forever chemicals. And in my State of New Hampshire, nearly half the population gets their well water from private wells. And if PFAS chemical emissions seep into the ground and penetrate your well, families are at serious risk for exposure of this toxic chemical. We have increased levels of child cancer and other health impacts.

In the southern part of New Hampshire's Merrimack 1448 1449 Valley, several communities have had to deal with the 1450 aftermath of PFAS exposure. And some residents have had to 1451 rely on bottled water for drinking and cooking for years, and 1452 must shower and bathe in water that they know contains PFAS. 1453 And on top of all this, the value of their homes 1454 declines dramatically until they are ultimately connected to 1455 utility water systems. This is no way for Americans to be living in the 21st century. And we need bold leadership at 1456 1457 the EPA to clean up these contaminated sites and safeguard 1458 the American people.

1459 So last year the House passed the PFAS Action Act, 1460 including my bill to turn off the tap on PFAS chemicals. For 1461 years, I have pushed the EPA to use its authority to protect 1462 families and hold contaminators accountable. And that is why 1463 I was so pleased to see the EPA issue two rules last month to 1464 put us on track to have PFAS drinking water regulations 1465 nationwide. This is so important. With more than 4,700 PFAS 1466 chemicals in commerce, it's abundantly clear we need to 1467 address this important issue.

So Administrator Browner, let me start with you. In your testimony you said, "Strong public health protections are even more essential than ever.'' Can you elaborate on the need for public health protections and how PFAS fits into that goal?

1473 *Ms. Browner. Thank you, and I appreciate the question. 1474 The role of EPA is to protect all Americans. And what 1475 that frequently means is to protect the most vulnerable. And 1476 frequently that is children, that may be pregnant women, that 1477 may be indigenous people, but that we need to really ensure 1478 that everyone is protected, not just some of the population.

1480 protections, what I'm talking about is just that, that we set 1481 our standards based on the most at-risk because we know if we 1482 protect the most at-risk, we're protecting everybody.

And so when I talk about strong public health

1483 *Ms. Kuster. Great. Thank you.

1479

And Ms. Cleland-Hamnett, I know you were deeply involved in efforts to reform the Toxic Substances Control Act. Does the EPA have the right authorities under this act, or any other tools, to effectively protect the public from PFAS contamination?

1489 *Ms. Cleland-Hamnett. Yes. I think that the amendments 1490 to the Toxic Substances Control Act that were signed into law 1491 in 2016, if properly implemented and resourced and moved 1492 along at the right pace, could very much contribute to the 1493 agency's efforts to address PFAS chemicals.

I think there's some very important authorities there to require further testing and monitoring of chemicals, to look at whether certain uses of chemicals and releases of chemicals from those uses and manufacturing are presenting

1498 significant risks, and for my former part of the agency that 1499 implements TSCA to also work with the drinking water program 1500 and other programs and with the regional offices and the 1501 States to help provide the science and the information to 1502 make it possible to get these nationwide standards in place, 1503 and where it's appropriate, to turn off the tap for some of 1504 these chemicals that are already in commerce but that could 1505 be replaced by something less problematic, and to keep some 1506 of the newer ones, even -- we've known about the problems of 1507 PFAS chemicals for a long time, but new ones have continued 1508 to come onto the market. So I think we need to look at that 1509 preventive aspect of it as well.

1510 *Ms. Kuster. Well, I will certainly be bringing the1511 bill back on turning off the tap.

Just wondering -- actually, my time is up. So I will is yield back. So thank you again for all your good work. Look forward to working with the EPA again.

1515 Thanks. Madam Chair, I yield back.

1516 *Ms. Cleland-Hamnett. Thanks very much.

1517 *Ms. DeGette. I thank the gentlelady.

1518 The chair now recognizes Mr. Burgess for 5 minutes.

1519 *Mr. Burgess. I thank the chair.

Dr. Deskins, I noted in both your oral and your written testimony where you referenced problems that can occur in communities where the source of income is rapidly reduced, 1523 and you in fact mentioned drug abuse as one of the problems. 1524 As you know, this committee focused a great deal of attention 1525 on that a couple of years ago; now, unfortunately, with the 1526 pandemic, kind of taken our collective eye off that ball. 1527 But you bringing it back to us reminds me of just how 1528 important that is and how important the work that this 1529 subcommittee and the full committee did on the Support Act 1530 back in 2017 and 2018. In fact, Madam Chair, I'd like to as 1531 unanimous consent to place into the record a Washington Post article from May of 2016 called, "The Fentanyl Failure,'' 1532 1533 where lack of attention to the growing fentanyl challenge 1534 resulted, obviously, in many, many deaths. And again, this committee did a great deal of work on that. 1535

And Dr. Deskins, I just -- I thank you for bringing it back to our attention. That is a very real social cost in the communities that are affected by the economic devastation of losing their primary source of income. Have you studied that to any great extent?

Mr. Deskins. I've studied it to some extent, not to a great extent. But I can just say that West Virginia has been hard-hit by the opioid crisis and by other problems associated with drug abuse. And it is a real, real tragedy that has affected our State and so many parts of the country. But one thing that's clear is that the drug abuse problem is very multifaceted. There's not just one issue.

1548 But lack of economic opportunity is highly correlated with 1549 drug abuse. And we see in our counties where the economic 1550 opportunity is just diminishing and fading away, that's where 1551 the drug abuse crisis is the most severe.

1552 *Mr. Burgess. So let me ask you your opinion, and I 1553 recognize I am asking for an opinion. But is it possible to 1554 achieve economic security and environmental progress without 1555 resorting to burdensome regulations?

*Mr. Deskins. Well, I mean, it's possible. I mean, 1557 it's hard to say in the generic sense. I mean, regulations 1558 just have to be -- they have to be promoted with the best 1559 possible information, the richest possible information, to 1560 form, to underpin, the decision-making. And they just have 1561 to be designed in an appropriate way.

I mean, I think it is possible to achieve good environmental outcomes and good economic outcomes at the same time. It just depends on the nature of the regulations. They have to consider all the issues, and they certainly have to consider the economic suffering that I'm here to speak to. It just depends on the nature of the regulations.

1568 *Mr. Burgess. So I really don't think there's any 1569 argument that bad actors should be held to account. But is 1570 it important to have anything other than just punitive 1571 measures in the toolbox? Are there educational measures and 1572 educational responsibilities that the EPA should undertake?

Mr. Deskins. Well, I think so. And I think it's a question. I mean, there's ways to include measures to help transition effective communities and help affected communities move away from -- maybe in some cases from fossil fuels to alternative energy sources. Cooperative action is very important and vital, and it needs to be -- it needs to be undertaken.

But, I mean, we're not going to undertake cooperative action unless we really fully understand what's happened to the affected communities, which is one reason why I'm kind of preaching about the suffering that has plagued some places like in West Virginia.

*Mr. Burgess. And you are right. And of course, then, the public's reaction in those areas affected, when they see wholly punitive measures, which have extracted a significant social toll on those communities, understandably they are reticent to embrace other activities of the agency because they see firsthand how their communities have been hurt.

1591 *Mr. Deskins. I agree.

Mr. Burgess. All right. Well, let me ask you this --Mr. Deskins. I apologize if there was -- if I missed a question, I apologize. But I agree with your sentiment there. Absolutely.

1596 *Mr. Burgess. Well, if -- recognizing environmental 1597 health is a priority, so if it is, given that, does it really

1598 matter how compliance standards are met? Is it okay for the 1599 agency to be as punitive as possible because it is just of 1600 such a burning importance that these environmental controls 1601 and environmental health be placed at such a priority? 1602 *Mr. Deskins. Honestly, I don't know a whole lot about 1603 how the EPA has acted in the past in terms of taking 1604 cooperative measures or punitive measures. I would just kind 1605 of prefer for cooperative measures as a first option, as a 1606 first approach. But I can't really speak to the past, where 1607 the policies have taken one approach or the other. But I 1608 certainly prefer cooperation.

1609 *Mr. Burgess. So as someone who has spent a lot of 1610 years doing things as service, I will just tell you, it is 1611 the punitive ones that get the public's attention.

1612 I thank the chair, and I will yield back.

1613 *Ms. DeGette. I thank the gentleman.

1614 The chair now recognizes Miss Rice for 5 minutes for 1615 questions.

Miss Rice. Thank you so much, Chairwoman DeGette.
Before I came to Congress, I spent my life as a
prosecutor. So in addition to having an enormous respect for
the law, I have an even greater regard for those -- how
important it is to enforce the law, how incredibly important
that is. I think it is especially true at the EPA in order
for the EPA to fully realize its mission.

1623 The protections cannot just be on the books. They have 1624 to be enforced. And that enforcement is not just about 1625 ensuring compliance and holding polluters accountable. It is 1626 also going to have the impact of protecting the health of our 1627 communities, families, and the environment.

Governor Whitman, I would just like to ask you about the task force that you recently co-led on the rule of law, which documented the importance of having an unbiased and fair administration of the law. The task force specifically observed that: "The awesome power of prosecution must be wielded without consideration of individuals' political or financial status or their personal relationships.''

1635 Can you just elaborate on why it's so important for the 1636 EPA to fairly and equitably apply the law, what obstacles 1637 there are for them doing that, and especially, ignoring the 1638 status of any alleged violator and the potential impact that 1639 that may have on --

*Ms. Whitman. Well, thank you, Congresswoman. 1640 That's a 1641 critical area. Obviously, if you don't have enforcement behind the regulations, they become meaningless. And so the 1642 1643 agency has got to be able to do that. A lot of the discussion up to now has been around positive versus negative 1644 1645 and carrot versus stick and how punitive they should be. 1646 The agency has to have the ability to enforce. Enforcement is critical to its mission. And as we said in 1647

1648 the report, there are a number of steps that Congress can 1649 take to help ensure a transparency of when there is -- when 1650 there is an effort to try to stifle the enforcement.

1651 But the other side of it is when we were there, when I 1652 was there, we put in place a green and gold track. And for 1653 those companies that were doing better than environmental 1654 regulation or laws required, we helped them. We made things 1655 easier for them. We might not have investigated them every year and done it every other year because every time you go 1656 1657 in for inspections, that costs them money and time. And you 1658 recognize that.

So there is this ability to strike a balance, and that's what the agency can do and has been good at doing, until you get sometimes political interference that says you either have to -- can't do any enforcement, or that's all you have to do.

1664 *Miss Rice. Well, we would be well served to take your 1665 recommendations, as a legislative body, that you make. 1666 So Administrator Browner, your testimony, you quoted "engaged, efficacious, and timely enforcement of EPA's 1667 1668 regulations is essential to public health, environmental 1669 justice, and environmental and public health protection." 1670 Focusing on environmental justice, can you just expound 1671 more on that and why it's so important, and the role that the EPA can play in that, essentially if they have a robust and 1672

1673 consistent enforcement program? You need to unmute.

1674 *Ms. Browner. Every American deserves equal protection 1675 under the environmental laws. Unfortunately, not every 1676 community and not every American is getting equal protection 1677 under the environmental laws. And one of the witnesses 1678 already spoke about using the Civil Rights Act, other tools 1679 that may be available to guarantee this.

But enforcement is a piece of it. And it's not -enforcement is not about a "got you.'' It is about working with the company to bring them into compliance. And just like Governor Whitman mentioned, we had programs to do just that. We said, if you think you're in violation, please come into the agency. We will work in partnership with you to solve your problem.

You get better compliance when you do that. When you're out there having to figure out if someone's out of compliance sticking a probe in a smokestack, it's just a lengthy process, and it's complicated for everybody. I believe that the vast majority of companies want to comply, just like all of us stop at stop signs.

But inevitably, there are those who don't stop at stop signs, and there are those who don't comply. And the enforcement there is important to ensure a level playing field and to ensure equal protection for communities. *Miss Rice. Very quickly, Ms. Keyes Fleming, based on

1698 your experience, what resources and actions are necessary to 1699 ensure a strong and effective EPA enforcement program? You 1700 need to unmute.

1701 *Ms. Keyes Fleming. First and foremost, making sure you 1702 have sufficient staff around the country and in the region to 1703 be able to do the inspections to identify where the 1704 challenges are. Those inspectors and staff need to you type 1705 of mobile equipment that has the latest innovations so they 1706 can have good, credible data upon which to make some of their 1707 decisions.

And then obviously, being able to post that information so it's transparently available to communities so they then can be informed and know how to advocate on their behalf. *Miss Rice. Thank you. Thank you, Madam Chair.

1712 *Ms. DeGette. I thank the gentlelady.

The chair now recognizes Mr. McKinley for 5 minutes. Mr. McKinley. Thank you, Madam Chairman, and I appreciate the fact and an encouraged that this -- the committee today is going to be addressing the EPA's mission because over the years, I think we have experienced mission creep that became a consuming force within the EPA.

Quite frankly, the Trump administration -- in fact, it was demonstrated during the Obama administration that it was all stick and no carrot. The Trump administration was -concurs with your statement and trying to get it back to the 1723 basic mission. They spent the last 4 years trying to get

1724 back to the basics. What was the law?

I had conversations with Scott Pruitt. Same thing with Andrew Wheeler: Get back to the basics. What do we have to do? And they were successful with that. We have already heard over the litany of successes, whether the Superfund site, updated the Lead and Copper Rule, finalized air quality standards, created a funding mechanism so that we provided \$100 million in grants.

1732 So without objection, Madam Chair, I would like to enter 1733 into the record the EPA's 2020 Year In Review, and a document 1734 from Administrator Wheeler highlighting their net

1735 accomplishments.

1736 *Ms. DeGette. Mr. McKinley, as stated, we will enter 1737 all of the exhibits at the end of the hearing.

1738 *Mr. McKinley. Thank you. Thank you.

1739 *Ms. DeGette. Your staff can provide it to committee 1740 staff.

Mr. McKinley. Thank you. So the question to Governor Whitman: The Trump administration finalized a new Lead and Copper Rule for the first time in over 30 years. When you were at the EPA, did you try to update that regulation? Ms. Whitman? My time is running. Apparently --*Ms. Whitman. Is the question addressed to me? It was

1747 cutting out badly. I couldn't hear. I apologize. I

1748 couldn't hear the question.

1749 *Mr. McKinley. I'm sorry. I lost time on that. What 1750 we were saying was they were the new Lead and Copper Rule was 1751 put in place for the first time in over 30 years. So my 1752 question: When you were at the EPA, did you try to update 1753 that regulation?

Ms. Whitman. Congressman, I don't even actually remember that. But yes, I -- but I don't know. I honestly can't say whether we did or not.

1757 *Mr. McKinley. Okay. Thank you. Do you know that 1758 your -- in the Obama administration, worked on a lead rule 1759 for 8 years, but never proposed one? Under Trump, they did. 1760 They took care of that. So --

1761 *Ms. Whitman. Well, that's good. We've been needing 1762 that.

Mr. McKinley. And then continuing this, in the Flint, Michigan water crisis that happened under the Trump administration -- did it happen under the Trump administration or was it Gina McCarthy and the Obama-Biden administration that it took place, that the water was so contaminated there? Do you know?

1769 *Ms. Whitman. That was going on for a long time. I 1770 think there were several administrations that missed that 1771 one.

1772 *Mr. McKinley. Well, it happened under a lot of EPAs

1773 that ignored it. But it finally came to pass, and it was 1774 corrected with it.

Do you know, back in 2015, the Gold King Mine outburst in Colorado, did that occur under the Trump administration to fix it, or was it the Obama administration?

1778 *Ms. Whitman. I presume, by the way you're asking the 1779 questions, it was under the Trump administration that that 1780 was addressed. I mean --

1781 *Mr. McKinley. Okay. So --

1782 *Ms. Whitman. -- every administration has had their 1783 crises assigned addressed them.

1784 *Mr. McKinley. Oh, yes, they have. I have --

1785 *Ms. Whitman. So it's good. I mean, we need that.
1786 Nobody is all bad, and that's the good thing.

1787 *Mr. McKinley. Governor -- now let me turn to Carol 1788 Browner.

1789 On page two of your testimony, you discuss the need to 1790 strengthen the environmental enforcement. But starting in 1791 2011, there was a downward trend in all criminal enforcement 1792 statistics. It wasn't reversed until under the Trump 1793 administration. So were you aware of that, that it was 1794 declining, not increasing or not flat? 1795 *Ms. Browner. With all due respect, it is important to 1796 distinguish between civil enforcement and criminal

1797 enforcement.

1798 *Mr. McKinley. Okay. You're not --

1799 *Ms. Browner. And I think that you need both of the 1800 numbers.

1801 *Mr. McKinley. I reclaim my time. Do you realize that 1802 the administration of the Trump administration actually 1803 collected twice as much in civil and criminal penalties than 1804 the Obama-Biden administration dd? Were you aware of that? 1805 *Ms. Browner. I think the question is: What were the 1806 levels of compliance? What we all care about is the clean 1807 air and clean water, not the penalties.

1808 *Mr. McKinley. It was a yes or no on that. So if I --1809 *Ms. Browner. Sir, not the penalties --

1810 *Mr. McKinley. I'm going to reclaim my time to go to 1811 John Deskins because time is running out.

John, Professor, the Democrats seem to be returning to the Obama mission again, overwhelmingly focused on this war on coal as it relates to -- and they want to decarbonize this power sector by 2035. And without carbon capture, this would ultimately eliminate coal and natural gas for domestic energy production. And some -- you have already talked about what is going to happen with it.

1819 Can you discuss the potential impacts that eliminating 1820 that, the fossil fuel production, would have on budgets like 1821 in West Virginia or in Alaska, Wyoming, North Dakota, or 1822 Alabama, all the States that are involved with fossil fuels? 1823 *Mr. Deskins. Do you mean if we just completely

1824 eliminated fossil fuels? Completely?

1825 *Mr. McKinley. That is what they are doing. That is 1826 the plan, to do away with it, because they are not -- they 1827 are not funding carbon capture. So there's no way for us to 1828 get to net zero by 2035 unless we eliminate it.

*Mr. Deskins. Well, I certainly haven't analyzed the complete elimination. But that would be devastating for much of West Virginia. I mean, that would devastate our employment base. It would devastate our tax revenue base. If that happened, just hypothetically if we had to complete the elimination over the next year, West Virginia would be devastated.

1836 *Mr. McKinley. Just in closing -- and I know I am 1837 running -- but by 2030, they want to have zero -- or 1838 80 percent emission reduction of carbon recovery. Are we 1839 going to be able to achieve that in West Virginia, 80 percent 1840 in the next -- by 2030?

1841 *Mr. Deskins. No. I don't think we can achieve it in 1842 that short --

1843 *Mr. McKinley. I hope the rest of the panel heard that, 1844 and we can go from that. Thank you very much. Appreciate 1845 your time.

1846 *Ms. DeGette. I thank the gentleman.

1847 The chair now recognizes Ms. Schakowsky for 5 minutes.

1848 *Ms. Schakowsky. I thank the chair. Can you hear me? 1849 I just want to thank both of our former EPA 1850 administrators. I think it is really great that you're here, 1851 and I think that we can learn and have been learning a lot 1852 from you.

I have been very close to the workers and the union that works for the EPA in Chicago, and I want to tell you, these are people who love their jobs, but have been really demoralized in the last -- under the last administration by the loss of so many people and also the ability to conduct some very vital public health initiatives that they needed to do, including enforcement.

Of course, the COVID virus has interfered enormously. 1860 1861 But I think that the greatest asset that we have, actually, 1862 and the greatest strength of the EPA is the talent and 1863 deduction of these career staff. So I wanted to ask: 1864 Governor Whitman, in your testimony, you stated that, "In 1865 recent years the EPA has suffered under the leadership of 1866 people who seem neither to understand nor appreciate the 1867 vital role that the EPA plays in Americans' lives.'' And you 1868 went further to say, "The morale at the EPA is -- among the 1869 career civil servants has plummeted.''

1870 And so I wondered if you could answer: Why do you think 1871 that the morale has dropped so low?

1872 *Ms. Whitman. Well, I think a lot of it has been due to

1873 the attitude of the previous administration toward the 1874 environment in general and to science specifically because 1875 EPA is a regulatory agency, and those regulations are based 1876 on science. And when they are told and restricted in what 1877 science they can look at and what they can discuss where they 1878 think, for instance, as has been mentioned in previous 1879 testimony, climate change is an enormous issue but under the 1880 previous administration they were not allowed to discuss it, 1881 not allowed to go to conferences where it might have been 1882 discussed. In fact, the words were taken down off the 1883 websites. And that made scientists feel as if they were 1884 being totally ignored, and restricted to a point where they 1885 were getting the message that science really wasn't 1886 important.

1887 And there was also -- there were no clear parameters. 1888 It's a place where Congress can be enormously helpful to the 1889 agency in ensuring that it develops rules, and this is true 1890 throughout government, where you have a clear transparency on 1891 where political interference is acceptable or not. And when 1892 you protect scientists who might come to conclusions that are 1893 not what the administration wants to hear necessarily, and 1894 then they get moved to someplace else.

1895 That's not what should happen. I mean, obviously the 1896 administration takes that knowledge and does with it feels is 1897 appropriate for policy reasons. But --

1898 *Ms. Schakowsky. Let me -- let me -- right.

1899 *Ms. Whitman. -- they shouldn't punish the scientists.

1900 *Ms. Schakowsky. Let me move on an old friend, Carol 1901 Browner. And it is great to see her.

1902 I wanted to ask you: What are the elements that make 1903 morale so important to the EPA? I am thinking about things 1904 like recruitment and retention. And I wonder if you could 1905 speak to that.

1906 *Ms. Browner. Both recruitment and retention are hugely 1907 important. And part of how you achieve that is by making 1908 sure the agency is allowed to do its job, that it has a 1909 reputation for recognizing the professional experiences that 1910 people bring to the work.

1911 I think if there's -- and the governor just mentioned 1912 it. But in terms of the past administration, the disregard 1913 for people's professional skills was, I think, significant. 1914 And that needs to be reinforced, and I know it will be under 1915 the next -- under the new administration.

But I think people come to EPA because they want to do a particular type of work. They want to do a particular type of science. The politicals ultimately make a decision with that science; but allow the career professional staff to do their job, and it will be a great place for people to work, as it has been historically.

1922 *Ms. Schakowsky. Thank you. My time has quickly

1923 expired, and I yield back.

1924 *Ms. DeGette. I thank the gentlelady.

1925 The chair now recognizes Mr. Long for 5 minutes.

1926 *Mr. Long. Thank you, Madam Chairwoman, and thank you 1927 all for being here today.

1928 I would like to join my colleagues in acknowledging the 1929 tremendous work accomplished under the Trump administration's 1930 EPA. In particular, I want to highlight the progress made in 1931 reinvigorating the Superfund program, which handles cleanup 1932 of America's most contaminated sites.

During the Obama administration, the EPA's neglect of this program resulted in 80 sites being added to the National Priorities List. By comparison, the Trump administration's EPA, which had half the amount of time in office, removed 82 sites from the National Priorities List, a historic

1938 achievement for this program.

For the Americans who live and work near these sites, they were left unattended for the last 20 to 30 years. The Trump administration sent a clear message with their health and -- that their health and environment matter, and that somehow, power wanted to lift the economic stigma surrounding Superfund sites.

1945 This is not a knock on the EPA's career officials in the 1946 Superfund office, but it is a clear example of how the Obama 1947 administration was too preoccupied with pursuing their big 1948 government/climate change agenda, while forgetting about the 1949 individuals protected by environmental policy.

Dr. Deskins, your testimony mentions how West Virginia has particularly been impacted by the environmental policy aimed at transitioning away from coal. Can you expand on what you see when these workers lose their jobs without receiving retraining for a new career?

1955 *Mr. Deskins. Well, thank you for that question. The 1956 fact of the matter is it's very hard for many of these men 1957 and women to transition. Some people have to just move 1958 because, as I said before, these communities are often very 1959 rural, very small communities that are spread out here and 1960 there in a rugged, mountainous landscape.

1961 It's not easy just to attract new businesses, especially 1962 not in the short term, to these areas. So many men and women 1963 have to move away. And for the ones who are there, honestly, 1964 many of them struggle over the long term to find a 1965 transition. I think ultimately to make that transition 1966 happen, we need to have much more robust investment from the Federal Government to help support things like we've 1967 1968 mentioned before, like human capital investment and 1969 infrastructure investment.

1970 *Mr. Long. Okay. And I'm going to stick with you, 1971 Dr. Deskins. Much has been said about the need to replace 1972 higher paying fossil fuel jobs with clean and green jobs. Do

1973 solar and wind jobs provide the same level of income and 1974 benefits as the fossil fuel jobs that they are meant to 1975 replace?

1976 *Mr. Deskins. Honestly, I don't have all the 1977 information about solar and wind jobs. But I can say that 1978 coal jobs and natural gas jobs are very unusually high-paying 1979 based on the fact that they only require, generally, a high 1980 school diploma. You can have a high school diploma and go into coal or gas and make \$80,000. It's almost impossible to 1981 1982 find that kind of income, at least in West Virginia, with 1983 that level of education and training.

1984 So I'm not for sure about the solar and wind side. But 1985 coal and gas jobs are unusually high-paying.

1986 *Mr. Long. What are the long-term economic impacts on 1987 communities, including the societal cost, in communities 1988 where high-wage jobs are replaced with lower-wage jobs? 1989 *Mr. Deskins. Like I said in my opening remarks, 1990 briefly, there's a very severe negative economic impact for 1991 many West Virginia communities. And what we have is a vicious cycle that has been ignited in many of our 1992 1993 communities, where jobs leave.

And so people have to out-migrate. The people who outmigrate are younger, healthier, better job-prepared. When out-migration occurs, it makes the community less attractive to potential businesses. You throw drug abuse into the mix,

1998 which is very real, and we have this vicious cycle that is 1999 created.

Tax revenues fall. That makes it harder for the communities to invest in infrastructure and public education and other public services. Honestly, we have some communities in West Virginia where it's not clear those communities will survive because of this vicious cycle and the devastating effect that it has.

Mr. Long. I just returned a week or 10 days ago from Salt Lake City, a climate conference that several of us attended out there. And at the last day, we went up to Park City, Utah and visited with the mayor there, where they're doing all they can. And they have converted all their city buses over to 100 percent electric.

2012 And the mayor said that they're going to be carbon-2013 neutral by 2030, 9 years from now. And I posed the question 2014 to him, I said, well, where do you get your power now? 2015 What's it look like now? What was it 5 years ago? Ten? 2016 Because that's an admirable goal that's admitted. I mean, if 2017 you can be carbon-neutral in 9 years -- and he kind of looked 2018 down at the floor and looked back up and he said, well, he 2019 said, right now our power company's 85 to 90 percent fossil 2020 fuel.

2021 So everyone wants clean air, clean water, clean soil. 2022 But we have to be realistic, I think, in our approach, and

2023 thinking that you could be carbon-neutral when you're 85,

2024 90 percent fossil fuel right now in 9 years may be a little 2025 bit out of the realm of possibility.

2026 But again, thank you all for your time today. Thank you 2027 for being on the panel. And Madam Chairwoman, I yield back. 2028 *Ms. DeGette. Thank you so much.

2029 The chair now recognizes Mr. Tonko for 5 minutes.

2030 *Mr. Tonko. Thank you, Madam Chair, and thank you for 2031 organizing this important hearing. Thank you to the 2032 witnesses for their crucial testimony. Your experiences at 2033 EPA are critical to understanding how we can bring the agency 2034 back on track to address the immense environmental and public 2035 health challenges facing our Nation.

As we have heard today, science is vital to EPA's mission. In order for EPA to exercise strong environmental leadership, EPA must act with unquestionable scientific integrity. Sadly, over the past 4 years, there were unprecedented attacks on EPA's scientific infrastructure, and we saw ideology drive environmental policy.

I am indeed pleased that President Biden has hit the ground running with several actions to restore scientific integrity across the Federal Government, including at EPA. I would like to hear recommendations from our witnesses today on how the new leadership at EPA can restore science at the agency. 2048 Ms. Fleming, what steps could EPA and its partners take 2049 to strengthen science in decision-making, and recommit to 2050 scientific integrity?

Ms. Keyes Fleming. Thank you for the question. I think there are a lot of things that can be done, particularly ensuring that the scientists have access to the newest and latest data sets and information as they are making the important decisions that will undergird the agency's actions going forward.

This also means being able to have the facts in-house to be able to analyze that new science, and the technology to be able to make it transparent and available. But one of the tools that EPA could use is its Title 42 authority to hire some of the best and brightest minds from academia, from industry, from other parts of the government, and bring them into the EPA's fold.

This will not only expand EPA's capabilities, but also build the synergies and relationships that'll have that whole government cross-cutting approach that this administration has focused on.

2068 *Mr. Tonko. Thank you so much.

And Administrator Browner, it's good to see you again. And you state in your testimony that, I quote, "wellconducted science'' is the foundation for EPA and its partners. Again, what can -- what steps can EPA take to 2073 advance scientific integrity? Because it seems to be the 2074 foundation of the work that needs to be done.

*Ms. Browner. So what EPA has to do, I believe, is respect the scientific process. Science asks the questions, it undertakes research, and then it makes a conclusion. And that conclusion is then subjected to peer review. Peer review is a very important part of the scientific process, and it's something that EPA has engaged in and should continue to engage in.

2082 But I'll go to the prior witness's answer. You have to 2083 make the investment in the scientist. You have to bring into 2084 the agency the best people. And I'll just say when you guys 2085 look at the budget of EPA, it looks like it may be a big 2086 number to you, but the actual amount of money inside of that 2087 budget -- a lot of the money goes out to States; it goes to 2088 other things -- the actual amount of money to hire the 2089 quality people is not that high.

And so investing in the people, making sure the best scientists want to come to EPA -- historically, they did. If you were an environmental scientist, EPA was the place to be. And we need to rebuild that again.

2094 *Mr. Tonko. Thank you so much.

2095 Governor Whitman, welcome. In your testimony, you state 2096 that, and I quote, "Good science is the foundation of good 2097 policy.'' So based on where EPA is today, Governor, what can

2098 agency leaders do to safeguard scientific integrity and 2099 ensure EPA actions are guided by good science?

*Ms. Whitman. Well, I think one of the most important 2100 2101 things they can do, besides everything that's been mentioned 2102 in the previous two responses to your questions, is to 2103 protect the scientist, to ensure that the science is allowed 2104 to -- the scientists are allowed to go where the science 2105 takes them, not where a political desire forces them to go. 2106 It is where the science takes them, and they should be 2107 allowed to express that and to report that and not fear that 2108 they are going to be stifled or moved somewhere because it's 2109 not the outcome that the administration wanted politically. 2110 And that's a very important part, and added to what you've 2111 heard before from the other responders.

Mr. Tonko. Thank you. And Ms. Cleland-Hamnett, you were at EPA for nearly 4 decades as a career civil servant, working under seven different administrations of both parties. Based on your time at EPA, why is it important that EPA policies be based on credible and transparent science, not ideology or a particular policy outcome?

2118 *Ms. DeGette. Please unmute.

Ms. Cleland-Hamnett. Sorry. Very good question.
Several reasons come to my mind. One is that in order to
best protect the American public, public health, and the
environment, you need to have the best science to understand

2123 what the problems are, to figure out how to reduce [audio 2124 breaks up] to public health and the environment, and to carry 2125 those things out.

It also needs to be good science and credible science for the American public to believe that they are being protected, for the industry to feel that they are being fairly treated, for communities to feel that they can understand what's going on, and that they're being represented in decisions.

2132 So I think it has to do with both the effectiveness and 2133 the credibility of the work that the agency does.

2134 *Mr. Tonko. Thank you so much. Madam Chair, I yield 2135 back.

2136 *Ms. DeGette. I thank the gentleman.

2137 Mr. Dunn, you are now recognized for 5 minutes.

2138 *Mr. Dunn. Thank you, Chairwoman DeGette. We all value 2139 the mission of the Environmental Protection Agency in 2140 ensuring we have clean air and water for our generation and 2141 future generations. However, burdensome over-regulation 2142 often does more harm than god in this effort. This is 2143 particularly true for the rural communities with large 2144 agricultural commodities, like the one I represent in 2145 Florida's 2nd congressional district.

I am grateful for some of the work done during the Trump administration on development and implementation of the

Navigable Waters Protection Rule, as well as revival of the 2148 2149 farm, ranch, and rural communities agency. The Navigable 2150 Waters Protection Rule is clear, transparent, and informs and 2151 guides farmers, ranchers, and foresters without fear of 2152 burdensome or oppressive regulation, all while ensuring the preservation of clean water. The rule significantly improves 2153 2154 upon previous attempts by clarifying what types of wetlands 2155 are jurisdictional, and explicitly those which are not, 2156 thereby preventing confusion and overreach by the Federal 2157 Government. I believe this policy is a good model for what 2158 future administrative action from the EPA should look like.

So with that, let me turn to Governor Whitman. It's abundantly clear that the EPA makes decisions that impacts farmers, ranchers, and timber producers. Considering your professional background with the EPA, how can the agency continue to prioritize the valuable insights and input of our agricultural producers in the policy-making process as well as partner with them to make sensible solutions?

Ms. Whitman. Well, I do not think it is had to do at all, frankly. I worked very closely with the Secretary of Agriculture while I was there. In fact, we used to meet, the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Interior, as well as Labor. We met on a regular basis to talk about areas and issues that overlapped and where we could work together to try to clarify things work better for everyone.

2173 And that included protecting the public and protecting 2174 those who made their living on the land.

Mr. Dunn. So I actually noticed that while you were the EPA administrator, you did collaborate with USDA on controlling waste runoff in agricultural feeding operations. And the USDA actually held your effort as unprecedented in that it would result in stopping billions, billions of pounds of pollutants from entering America's water.

And I would say that that kind of collaboration can lead to creative ways to solve environmental problems. Are there hurdles to the EPA working with other agencies now, something that they can recreate your effects?

Ms. Whitman. There shouldn't be any hurdles. I mean, it's a question of the desire to do it and the willingness to listen to one another and talk to one another on a regular basis. I mean, what you're talking about is the Nutrient Trading Program, I believe, that we instituted, and that worked well.

It protected the public and it made it easier on the farmers and the ranchers to meet the criteria. It saved them money, and it saved the water purveyors money. So it was one of those things that worked for everyone, and that has happened under previous administrations. It will happen -it will happen in the future. There is no reason not to be able to do that again.

2198

*Mr. Dunn. And do you see it happening now?

2199 *Ms. Whitman. I see the potential for it happening now.
2200 I think it's --

2201 *Mr. Dunn. Yeah. Potential. I agree. I'm not sure it 2202 happens as much as it did when you were the administrator. 2203 *Ms. Whitman. Well, I can't speak to that. I mean, the 2204 administration's pretty new, so I don't know what their track 2205 record is yet on that.

2206 *Mr. Dunn. Okay. Fair enough. I also noticed that 2207 your Whitman Strategy Group offers regulatory and permitting 2208 services to help your clients, and this is a quote from your 2209 website, "understand the ever-changing regulatory and 2210 permitting landscape.'' Well, I know it is ever-changing. I 2211 have tried to build things on occasion. And I am concerned 2212 about the processes that are so cumbersome that they become 2213 deterrent to new projects.

Can you speak to the concerns that businesses have with the permitting processes, the red tape, if you will, and how those --

2217 *Ms. Whitman. Well, I mean, that's --

2218 *Mr. Dunn. -- threaten new development?

*Ms. Whitman. Well, I mean, there certainly is a burden when you have -- the regulatory process requires you to do certain things that cost time and money. There's no question about it. And I am a firm believer that we should be 2223 reviewing, on a regular basis, our regulations and the

various new ones that are put in place to see whether -- have we found better technologies or better ways to do it? Do we still need to regulate something? Have we solved that problem or not? And be willing to address those.

2228 For instance, we did that the Hudson River cleanup. We 2229 found that what worked in the lab and looked good, I said 2230 after 6 months I wanted to review what the actual impact was 2231 on the rivers. We found that in fact we were releasing more 2232 pollutants than we were taking out during the dredging 2233 process and the way it was being handled. And so we changed 2234 it. And now both sides are working well together. 2235 Environmental and the business community that was required to

2236 clean up the river are working well together That's 2237 something, I think, that's -- there's no problem --

2238 *Mr. Dunn. That's a great example of what I was talking 2239 about. I thank you, Governor Whitman. We are over time. 2240 *Ms. DeGette. Thank you.

2241 The chair now recognizes Mr. Ruiz for 5 minutes.

2242 *Mr. Ruiz. Thank you, Chair DeGette for having this 2243 very important hearing.

2244 Communities of color and fenceline communities have 2245 borne a disproportionate burden from polluters for far too 2246 long. The COVID-19 pandemic has only further illuminated 2247 these injustices. While data is still emerging, a September

2248 2020 study published in the Journal of Environmental Letters 2249 found that someone living in a county with high levels of 2250 hazardous air pollution was 9 percent more likely to die from 2251 COVID-19 than those who live with less pollution.

2252 In my district, air pollution and particulate matter put 2253 many of my constituents at high risk for underlying 2254 conditions like asthma and COPD. To make matters worse, many 2255 of these communities are also medically underserved. This 2256 combination of poor air quality and lack of access to 2257 healthcare puts communities like those in the Coachella 2258 Valley at a higher risk of severe COVID-19 disease and death 2259 should they become infected. This is why I have dedicated my 2260 time to working with farmworkers in other fenceline 2261 communities to promote COVID-19 vaccination and other 2262 preventive measures.

Even outside of COVID-19, the EPA has an essential mission to reduce pollution and ensure that every community has access to clear air and clean water. Ms. Keyes Fleming, in your testimony, you gave several interesting examples of how EPA can "catalyze the revitalization of communities burdened by pollution.''

2269 So based on your experience as an EPA regional 2270 administrator, what can EPA do going forward to improve both 2271 environmental and economic conditions in disadvantaged 2272 communities? 2273 *Ms. Keyes Fleming. Thank you for the question. I 2274 think there are a lot of opportunities And the example with 2275 the ReGenesis Project in Spartanburg, South Carolina speaks 2276 to the issues. They had similar concerns and they were able 2277 to capitalize a \$20,000 EJ Small Grant into \$270 million of 2278 Federal investments, including building out a very robust 2279 healthcare center to make sure -- series of healthcare 2280 centers -- to make sure that their constituents' health 2281 concerns were taken care of.

2282 So that's an example of where EPA, one, can not only 2283 provide the seed money, but also work collaboratively within 2284 its ranks, whether it's air, water, soil remediation, but 2285 then also with the larger Federal family. And in Region 4, 2286 we started a regional IWG that mirrored the Environmental 2287 Justice IWG at the Federal leave. And that's something I'd 2288 offer.

2289 *Mr. Ruiz. Thank you very much. Administrator Browner, 2290 you have been a strong advocate for environmental justice 2291 throughout your career. You led the EPA in 1994 when the 2292 agency helped develop and implement the first-ever Executive 2293 Order addressing environmental justice. In fact, my 2294 legislation, the Environmental Justice Act, builds on your 2295 work by codifying and expanding the 1994 Executive Order on 2296 environmental justice.

2297 In your testimony today, you state, "EPA should take

2298 bold actions that protect the health and safety of

environmental justice communities that bear the burden of our Nation's historical and current reliance on dirty fuels and toxic substances.''

Administrator Browner, in your opinion, how should today's EPA renew its commitment to environmental justice and take action to achieve meaningful results for vulnerable communities?

*Ms. Browner. Well, first let me thank you for your 2306 2307 leadership on this issue. And let me thank you for 2308 introducing legislation to codify. I also think the White 2309 House has announced that it will be revisiting that Executive 2310 Order and determining whether or not it can be updated, which 2311 I think would be hugely important. I also want to applaud 2312 the President for appointing Cecelia Martinez, a known EJ 2313 leader, to a role in the White House to coordinate the EJ 2314 efforts.

2315 But at the end of the day, EPA has regulatory authority. 2316 And by setting public health standards that promote the most 2317 at-risk, we can see real benefits. You talked about the 2318 relationship with COVID. So, for example, strengthening the 2319 fuel efficiency in cars, something that Mr. Trump undid, 2320 making sure that the greenhouse gas standards that cars and 2321 trucks and buses have to meet based again on the science --2322 all of those can bring very real relief.

2323 *Mr. Ruiz. Thank you. I only have 30 seconds left, so 2324 I want to ask Governor Whitman: In your testimony, you state, "The health and safety of people who live near 2325 pollution-generating facilities must be better protected, and 2326 2327 working with State and local governments, EPA must do a 2328 better job in preventing the location of such new facilities 2329 in places that lack the political or economic clout to 2330 protect their communities and their residents.''

2331 So how can EPA better work with State and local 2332 governments to ensure protections for communities that lack 2333 political or economic influence?

2334 *Ms. Whitman. Well, I have to be proactive. When there 2335 is a need to work to ensure that when there is a potential 2336 for the location of a facility that is going to produce 2337 pollutants, that they ensure that it is not located in a 2338 community of color simply because there isn't the political clout there to keep it out. And I have to look at the 2339 2340 overall impact of what's happening in that area and the air 2341 quality in that area, and ensure that when you put a site, it 2342 has the best available technologies as well as where its 2343 actually location is.

*Mr. Ruiz. Thank you. I think we ran out of time, and the key is the communal impact measurement, which is also in my environmental justice bill, is very important.

And with that, I yield back to the chair.

2348 *Ms. DeGette. The chair now recognizes Mr. Joyce for 5 2349 minutes.

2350 *Mr. Joyce. Good afternoon. I would like to thank 2351 Chairwoman DeGette, Ranking Member Griffith, Chairman 2352 Pallone, Ranking Member Mrs. Rodgers, for this hearing, as 2353 well as for the witnesses appearing with us today. In 2019 I started hearing concerns about a recent change 2354 2355 to stormwater management regulations, which in my district 2356 treated smaller municipalities in the same fashion that 2357 larger municipalities were treated. This ultimately meant 2358 that although many areas of my district lack the tax base or 2359 the revenue streams to update their systems and 2360 infrastructure, they would be out of compliance with the new 2361 standards.

2362 The program in question was implemented by the 2363 Pennsylvania Department of Environmental Protection on behalf 2364 of the EPA. So I immediately reached out to Regional 2365 Administrator Cosmo Servidio and requested a call. Not only was the regional administrator responsive to our concerns, 2366 but offered to join me for a roundtable discussion with all 2367 2368 principals in my district. We had an extremely productive 2369 conversation, which included EPA and DEP representatives and 2370 local leaders. And we ultimately left with, so importantly, 2371 a plan of action that everyone was comfortable with. Today we've heard a wide range of views on the Trump EPA 2372

2373 policies. But when it really mattered to my constituents, 2374 they showed up. The regional administrator himself came to 2375 my district. He listened, and he offered reasonable 2376 solutions. That is what leadership at the EPA actually 2377 looks like.

2378 Chairwoman DeGette, before I ask my questions, I would 2379 like to offer an article for the record titled, "One Trump 2380 Era Notion Biden May Want to Embrace: Independent Regulators 2381 Should Analyze the Cost and Benefits of New Rules like 2382 Executive Agencies Do,'' for the record.

*Ms. DeGette. The gentleman shall submit his article to 2384 staff and then we will admit them all at the end of the 2385 hearing.

2386 *Mr. Joyce. Thank you, Chair DeGette.

2387 During the Trump administration, the Justice Department 2388 released a memorandum to the White House that clears a path 2389 for improved decision-making by independent regulatory 2390 commissions. The opinion concludes that Presidents may 2391 direct independent agencies to comply with Executive Order 12866, an Executive Order issued by President Clinton in 2392 2393 1993, and reaffirmed subsequently by both Republican and Democrat Presidents since. 2394

It requires agencies to perform cost-benefit analysis on all economically significant regulations, and to submit them for review by the Office of Information and Regulatory

Affairs in the Office of Management and Budget before their publication. According to President Obama, and I quote, "The purposes of such review have been to ensure consistency with presidential priorities, to coordinate regulatory policy, and to offer a dispassionate and analytic second opinion on agency actions.''

2404 My questions, then, are first to Dr. Deskins. Do you 2405 agree that prior to economically significant regulation 2406 becoming final, a cost-benefit analysis is necessarily a step 2407 to be achieved?

2408 *Mr. Deskins. Absolutely. I could not agree more. Ι 2409 mean, cost-benefit analysis is a foundational cornerstone of 2410 economics and public policy analysis. It's imperative that 2411 we fully understand all the benefits and all the costs of the 2412 policy before we move forward, not to -- well, it's hard for 2413 me to even speak to that because it's so fundamental. I 2414 mean, I've literally taught even undergraduate-level public 2415 policy analysis and we devote an entire section off the 2416 course to cost-benefit analysis to ensure that we have fully 2417 informed decision-making. Absolutely.

2418 *Mr. Joyce. Dr. Deskins, is regulatory transparency 2419 important for all interested policies and markets to be 2420 informed whether the most effort ways to achieve the 2421 objective are being pursued?

2422 *Mr. Deskins. Absolutely. I think transparency is of

2423 vital importance in government, in policy analysis, all

2424 across the specimen.

2425 *Mr. Joyce. Thank you. I see my time is closing out, 2426 and I yield the balance.

2427 *Ms. DeGette. I thank the gentleman.

The chair is now pleased to recognize the vice chair of the subcommittee, Mr. Peters, for 5 minutes.

*Mr. Peters. Thank you, Madam Chair. I want to thank our witnesses and you for having the hearing. I just want to note that I believe I am the only former employee of the EPA headquarters who serves in Congress. My first job out of college was in the Office of Toxic Substances, where I worked on cost-benefit analysis.

2436 I agree with the testimony we just heard. You just have 2437 to acknowledge that there's a social cost of carbon that you 2438 need to factor in when you do cost-benefit analysis, which 2439 was an issue we had with the previous administration. I am 2440 personally interested in helping EPA become effective, 2441 responsive, and science-driven, and I think that will 2442 certainly help morale, which in turn will help performance. 2443 The world is at a critical juncture in our fight against 2444 climate change. The devastating effects of global warming 2445 are being seen not just in deadly California wildfires and 2446 Texas ice storms, but in countless instances of flood, 2447 famine, and extreme weather across the globe. And United

2448 States leadership internationally on climate has never been 2449 more important.

Yet last year, despite opposition from industry in general, we saw the Trump administration roll back the firstever rule on methane emissions for the oil and gas industry. Methane is 80 times more potent than other greenhouse gases, and manmade methane accounts for at least 25 percent of today's global warming.

2456 I would like to ask Administrator Browner: Your 2457 testimony states that the intergovernmental panel on climate 2458 change's 2018 report and the climate fuel disasters piling on 2459 year after year make it clear we have to act now to reduce 2460 greenhouse gases or carbon pollution that are causing 2461 devastating heat, drought, wildfires, storms, et cetera. 2462 Can you speak to the importance, Administrator, of the 2463 United States leadership internationally on climate change 2464 and what actions like the methane rollback signal to other countries about whether we're even serious about this issue? 2465 *Ms. Browner. Thank you. And thank you for mentioning 2466 2467 the social cost of carbon, which I believe, I think as you 2468 do, is essential to any effective cost-benefit analysis or 2469 any meaningful cost-benefit.

The way the global effort works on climate change is each country is to develop their sort of action plan. And under President Obama, we took our action plan to Paris. It

2473 was well-received. Rolling back those efforts simply takes 2474 the United States out of the important global conversations 2475 that are going on.

2476 This is a tricky situation, right, because pollution anywhere can affect us all. And so we do have to work with 2477 2478 the rest of the world. And I will say I am very, very 2479 heartened by the appointment of former Secretary John Kerry, 2480 former Senator John Kerry, to lead the U.S. global efforts on 2481 climate change. But he will need a strong domestic agenda 2482 when he starts to meet with his counterparts so that he can 2483 then encourage them to take stronger steps.

2484 *Mr. Peters. Right. I agree with that.

And Governor Whitman, I think you have mentioned that reducing carbon emissions, expanding renewable energy, all of these things make sense, whatever your position is on climate change. Fortunately, the Biden administration has instructed EPA to immediately review the methane rollbacks as well as many other climate-related rollbacks undertaken by the prior administration.

In addition to these steps, Governor Whitman, and the reentry into the climate accord in Paris, from Paris, what actions can EPA take to reestablish itself as an

2495 international leader on climate change? You have to unmute, 2496 I think.

2497 *Ms. Whitman. Sorry. I'm trying to unmute. I know.

2498 It's not unmuting.

2499 *Mr. Peters. No. I can hear you.

2500 *Ms. DeGette. Okay. You're good.

Ms. Whitman. Okay. Now I'm unmuted. Sorry, it wasn't unmuting right away. I agree with what Administrator Browner said. What we need to do is we have to show action here in the United States in order to be taken seriously internationally. And methane is a bad pollutant. We recognize that. We know it's something that we can improve

2507 human health if we start to take action on it.

And this is in a very -- a critical area for the agency and for the United States, for people in general. It's not just for the agency. It's for the health of us, of all of us, of each one of us, and particularly our children. And we need to engage with the international community on an equal basis.

But they're not going to take us seriously if they don't see us taking some actions domestically. We just don't have the credibility if we don't -- if we don't show that we're willing to take some steps ourselves.

2518 *Mr. Peters. Yeah. I don't think there's any credible 2519 international leadership that can be do as I say, not do as I 2520 do. And I think we have to start here. Even as we talk, I 2521 think, as our colleagues often talk about India and China, 2522 entirely appropriately, they are part of the climate

2523 solution. We have to set our own example, and we have to be 2524 leaders in showing other countries what a developed country 2525 can do.

2526 So I appreciate your testimony. Completely agree. And 2527 Madam Chair, I yield back.

2528 *Ms. DeGette. I thank the gentleman.

2529 The chair now recognizes Mr. Palmer for 5 minutes.

2530 *Mr. Palmer. Thank you, Madam Chairman. And I want do 2531 want to acknowledge the good work that the EPA has done over 2532 the years. As I can't remember if it was former

Administrator Browner or Whitman that cited the improvements in air quality and the reductions in the pollutants that the EPA tracks. It sounded like they were reading from one of my texts.

2537 I would point out too, though, and this is particularly important in the context of discussions about how we address 2538 2539 climate change, the role that China plays. And it felt as 2540 that we are to have, addressing this -- the EPA estimates 2541 that on certain days, nearly 25 percent of the particulate 2542 matter in the skies above Los Angeles can be traced to China. 2543 And there are some experts that think that at some point 2544 China could account for a third of all of California's air 2545 pollution. So I think we have got to take that into account. 2546 I also want to comment on the discussion about reliable 2547 science and transparency. I served on the Science, Space

2548 Committee, and there was an issue raised during the Obama 2549 administration about the transparency of EPA science and 2550 making that science available for peer review. And the EPA 2551 has a long practice of not allowing that science to be 2552 reviewed.

I just wonder what, Administrator Browner Whitman, what your position is on that, given that apparently you both support transparency in the sci.

Ms. Browner. My understanding, sir, of the issue that you're referencing has to do with databases that are held at private institutions that scientists in industry, scientists at universities, scientists at EPA, rely on in their work. And there was a proposal to make those databases -- not the science but the databases -- public.

And the concern that was raised is those are human health studies, and individuals participate in them for 20, 30, 40 years. And if their personal health information is made available, you will have a very difficult time getting subjects to participate going forward. So yes, any of the science --

2568 *Mr. Palmer. That is not entirely accurate, though. 2569 *Ms. Browner. Well, that's understanding --

2570 *Mr. Palmer. And that science is paid for by taxpayer 2571 dollars, Administrator Browner.

2572 *Ms. Browner. In some instances it is, and not all

2573 instances is it paid for by taxpayers' dollars. Different
2574 institutions --

2575 *Mr. Palmer. Do you agree that the publicly funded -2576 *Ms. Browner. I do not believe that personal healthcare
2577 information should be made available. I believe that when
2578 EPA does science, it should absolutely be public and be
2579 subject to peer review. I am not saying anything different
2580 than I think anybody else has been saying.

2581 *Mr. Palmer. That would violate HIPAA laws. I agree 2582 with that.

2583 *Ms. Browner. The individuals agree to participate in a 2584 scientific study.

2585 *Mr. Palmer. If I may continue -- if I may continue 2586 with my points. This is publicly funded science. We can 2587 do -- we can take appropriate measures to protect 2588 individuals' health data, particularly, I think, it is 2589 supposed to be protected anyway under the HIPAA laws.

But I think that is a real problem with some of the decisions the EPA makes, is that there are questions about the reliability of the science, whether it is real science or more politics. And I think that we need to do a much better job in terms of transparency.

2595 You also mentioned an increase in the budget. And one 2596 of the things -- I introduced legislation several years in a 2597 row that would reduce the amount of the EPA budget that is 2598 spent on its armed agents. There was a report that came out 2599 that talked about resources the EPA used to buy ammunition, 2600 though, 75mm to 125mm ammunition. Those are tank rounds, 2601 anti-tank rounds, which makes no sense.

2602 I asked what was the purpose of that, and I was told it 2603 was to protect the environment. And my immediate thought 2604 was, to protect it from who? I mean, are you expecting to be 2605 invaded by China so that they can come over and pollute? I 2606 mean, that makes no sense. And we've had multiple examples 2607 over the years of EPA agents showing up in full body armor 2608 with automatic weapons at private businesses, even, or a 2609 municipal water works.

That makes no sense. So my contention is that the EPA wants to have the public trust. When you'd have transparency in science normally, to focus a little more on continuing to improve the quality of our air and water and the toxic releases and those type things, and not become a threat that people fear.

2616 And Madam Chair, I yield back.

2617 *Ms. DeGette. I thank the gentleman.

2618 The chair now recognizes Ms. Schrier for 5 minutes.

2619 *Ms. Schrier. Thank you, Madam Chair. And thank you to 2620 our excellent witnesses today. I am really enjoying this

2621 discussion.

As mentioned, public health, including children's health

2623 and environmental protection, are at the core of EPA's

2624 mission. Now, I have been a vocal supporter and advocate for 2625 the Mercury and Air Toxic Standards. Finalized in 2012, EPA 2626 recognized the significant public health benefits of MATS, 2627 Mercury and Air Toxic Standards.

And then the EPA estimated that MATS would yield up to \$90 billion in public health benefits each year. In fact, it has been shown to be lifesaving, preventing more than 11,000 premature deaths every year and preventing 130,000 asthma attacks each year.

2633 Now, pregnant women and children are especially 2634 vulnerable to heavy metal exposure because of their profound 2635 impacts on central nervous system development. But during 2636 the last administration, we saw numerous attempts to attack 2637 and undermine MATS, this despite the power industry already 2638 having spent billions of dollars to comply and major power 2639 sector and labor groups requesting that the std should be 2640 left in place.

So I am grateful that President Biden recognizes the importance of MATS, and his Executive Order from earlier this year will lead to an immediate review of the prior administration's actions regarding MATS because protecting developing brains should not be a partisan issue. Now, Administrator Browner, as you note in your

2647 testimony that the Trump administration did take a number of

2648 actions that weakened public health protections, including 2649 MATS, could you just briefly describe what happened to the

2650 Mercury and Air Toxic Standards during the last

2651 administration?

Ms. Browner. Well, I think you said it. They were weakened, and unnecessarily so, one, because they were based on good science, they were based on the law, they had been subject to public review, and industry had embraced them in many instances.

2657 So it sort of -- there were several of these rollbacks 2658 by the Trump administration that were just befuddling because 2659 you had industry support for them. You had industry saying, 2660 look, these regulations are giving us certainty and 2661 predictability, and we're making the investments to meet the 2662 standards. Why are you changing them on us? And we do need 2663 certainty and predictability in our regulatory [audio drop]. 2664 *Ms. Schrier. Similar to what we saw in the automobile 2665 industry. Just really quickly, before I get into my next 2666 question, given where we are today, what steps can the EPA 2667 take to protect the vulnerable populations, including 2668 children?

2669 *Ms. Browner. From mercury?

2670 *Ms. Schrier. From mercury, lead, other pollution? 2671 *Ms. Browner. So they have the authority. They'll need 2672 to go through the notice and comment rulemaking, which is a 2673 transparent process. They'll have to dot all their I's and 2674 cross all their T's. It will take time, and that is 2675 unfortunate, that we have lost time. And mercury is a 2676 neurotoxin. I mean, this is simple. This is about our 2677 children's brains.

*Ms. Schrier. That's right. And you are talking to a pediatrician. Okay. I have another question for you. I'm keeping you on the spot today, Administrator Browner. This is a question about a new issue that is really important in Washington State.

Last year, scientists finally determined that the chemical 6PPD, which is added nearly universally to tires as a preservative, was the cause of these mass die-offs of salmon. What we found was that during big storms, runoff in urban areas would just decimate an entire coho population migrating through urban areas.

And so my question is: What role do you see the EPA 2690 playing in addressing this issue? How would you work with 2691 public industry? What could we do, maybe, to develop safe 2692 alternatives? And how could we help?

Ms. Browner. So obviously, EPA may have some authority on safe alternatives. But more importantly, perhaps, in the near term is EPA, under the Clean Water Act, gives States money for stormwater, and so designing stormwater systems that can actually suck that pollutant out before that 2698 stormwater enters our rivers, lakes, or streams. There are 2699 many, many systems now, using natural vegetation, for 2700 example.

And so I think I would want to look at both paths forward, which is: How do I clean up the stormwater so it doesn't affect my salmon? And then how do I look at the materials being used, and work in cooperation with the industry to see if you can't find a solution.

2706 *Ms. Schrier. I love your thinking. It is really, 2707 really hard because these could be teeny streams that just 2708 are -- they are everywhere. We have water everywhere in 2709 Washington State. So thank you for your attention to that. 2710 Last quick question: Could you just comment about the 2711 rise of pseudoscience? Because I have had conversations with 2712 some of my colleagues, and they say that they are founding 2713 their conversations in science. And I'm looking at EPA 2714 science. And then EPA was undermined by the last 2715 administration.

2716 So it's really hard to have a conversation based on 2717 facts when there seem to be two sets of facts. Could you 2718 just comment?

2719 *Ms. Browner. Well, science is a process. It's a 2720 really important process. It asks a question. It undertakes 2721 an investigation. It brings forward an answer. It peer 2722 reviews that answer. And so when we talk about good 2723 science, we should be mindful of a process that we are

2724 talking about. And what emerges from it, then, are facts, 2725 are scientific findings. What we do with those is a policy 2726 discussion.

2727 And we can have a debate about what you want to do about 2728 climate change. But the science is very, very clear. Right? 2729 And so rather than acting like kind of that the science isn't 2730 clear, when you have 2500 of the world's leading climate 2731 scientists all agreeing, and you have 20 years of evidence, let's talk about what we're going to do. And I for one think 2732 2733 we should do a lot. Others may think less. But let's talk 2734 about how we do it in a fair and just manner. Science is a process, and that's what you want to protect, is the process. 2735

2736 *Ms. Schrier. Thank you.

2737 *Ms. DeGette. The gentlelady's time is expired.

2738 Congresswoman Trahan, you are now recognized for 5 2739 minutes.

2740 *Mrs. Trahan. Thank you so much, Madam Chair. Before I 2741 get into some of the issues that are confronting my district 2742 in Massachusetts, I wanted to give Ms. Browner specifically 2743 just the time and the space to clarify.

In his testimony and in responding to questions today, Dr. Deskins has discussed the importance of studying the economic impacts of proposed environmental regulations. Ms. Browner, as someone closely involved in developing 2748 environmental regulations at the EPA as administrator, can 2749 you please elaborate on how the EPA takes into account both 2750 the costs and the benefits of its actions?

And I know this is a complicated topic that does not lend itself to being cut off. So please take your time so that we can --

Ms. Browner. Well, thank you. And EPA does a lot of cost-benefit analysis. They have done that under Democrats. They have done that under Republican leadership. They look at what will it cost industry to reduce its pollution? What are the benefits to society?

2759 When Congress passes a law and tells EPA to go protect 2760 the air that we breathe, sometimes it says, decide what 2761 standard to set based on a cost-benefit analysis. Sometimes 2762 it says, decide what standard to set based on public health 2763 protections. So Congress makes a decision and it directs EPA 2764 how to do its work.

2765 When I set the first-ever fine particle standard, we 2766 were using a provision in the law that says, protect the 2767 public's health. We did a cost-benefit analysis. We made 2768 that publicly available. We litigated that all the way to 2769 the Supreme Court, where they said, you're right, 2770 Administrator Browner. It's a public health decision. You did this, but it's a public health decision. So I think it's 2771 2772 always important to go back to the science and the law.

The second thing I just want to say about cost-benefit, we did a 20-year review when I was at EPA, looking at what were the actual costs -- what we projected to be the costs, what we projected to be the benefits when the regulation was proposed, and then what actually happened once the regulation was on the books and companies started to meet it. What did we find out?

American innovation and ingenuity drove down the costs of compliance. There was a competitive market. There was a market opportunity. We created a better widget, a better scrubber. And the benefits went up. So the history is very, very compelling that the regulatory schemes -- yes, look at the costs and the benefits. But those are not going to be absolutely perfect.

2787 You have to go back and look at them a second time to 2788 really understand. And what we found under the Clean Air Act 2789 is that costs were less than originally anticipated and the 2790 benefits greater.

2791 *Mrs. Trahan. Terrific. Thank you so much. I know we 2792 all benefit from that knowledge.

2793 So one other thing that I -- your testimony speaks not 2794 only to the financial assistance that the EPA provides to 2795 State, local, and Tribal communities, but also the 2796 foundational technical support. In Massachusetts, our 2797 Department of Environmental Protection has begun regulating 2798 PFAS.

The commonwealth had to take this step to protect public health because, frankly, the EPA has not really been as aggressive as it needed to be despite the fact that more and more of our communities, quite a few in my district, are discovering these chemicals in their water.

Our towns are not equipped to handle all of these cleanups on their own, and our States should not be put in a position of doing the EPA's job. The EPA has the resources and the technical expertise and should take a greater leadership role.

Administrator Browner, other than financial assistance, what are the ways that EPA supports State and local governments? And what does the EPA need to continue those vital efforts so that our decision-making is not being delayed?

2814 *Ms. Browner. So two things, I think, are important 2815 here. I come out of State government. I ran a large State 2816 agency because I got to EPA. So I understand sort of who can 2817 do what. EPA has the scientists, it has the capabilities, to 2818 sort of do the large-scale studies that then can tell you 2819 what are the actions that need to be taken. And so that's 2820 hugely important, and the States need to look to EPA for 2821 that.

2822 Having said that, however, if a State feels like it

2823 should set a tougher standard when it comes to their water 2824 bodies, the case you give, they should be allowed to do that. 2825 I do not believe that EPA standards should preempt individual 2826 So for example, in Florida, where I come from, the States. 2827 Florida Everglades is a very different ecosystem than the 2828 Chesapeake Bay, than perhaps the bays in Massachusetts. 2829 And so we want to preserve the ability for States to 2830 build on what EPA is doing, particularly when it comes to 2831 protecting our watersheds.

2832 *Mrs. Trahan. Sure. I think the issue that we have is 2833 that there's varying levels of what constitutes

2834 contamination. And so that just breeds a lack of confidence 2835 when you're going from State to State. So I appreciate all 2836 of that.

2837 Thank you so much. I yield back.

Ms. DeGette. Thank you. I thank the gentlelady.
All of the members of the subcommittee have now
questioned, and it is the practice of the committee to allow
members who are not on the subcommittee but the full
committee of Energy and Commerce to question. And we are

2843 delegate to have several of our members joining us.

First of all, Congresswoman Castor. And so I would like to recognize you and welcome you for 5 minutes.

2846 *Ms. Castor. Well, thank you, Madam Chair. I really 2847 appreciate you letting me weigh along today because I really 2848 care about the EPA, and the witnesses have just been

terrific. Thank you, each one of you, for underscoring how a strong and effective EPA is critical to avoiding the growing costs and impacts of the climate crisis, and to meeting our moral obligation that we have to our kids and future generations.

2854 Administrator Browner, it is great to see you. Thank 2855 you for your longtime service, and to the State of Florida. 2856 You highlight an urgent priority for the Biden-Harris 2857 administration in tackling climate; its escalating cost is 2858 something we don't talk about often enough; the growing 2859 impacts on the air that we breathe; and doing it within an eye towards environmental justice, those communities that 2860 2861 often bear the burdens associated with exposure to multiple 2862 cumulative sources of pollution, as Dr. Ruiz brought up 2863 before.

2864 In our Climate Crisis Action Plan that House Democrats 2865 developed last year, we had a number of recommendations when 2866 it comes to EPA and environmental justice to consider 2867 cumulative impacts; to enforce -- to use the enforcement 2868 power and double the budget there; identify 100 communities 2869 of the most overburdened by industrial pollution, target for 2870 an enforcement surge; and prioritize environmental justice 2871 communities for new Federal investments; and then build the 2872 conspiracy of those groups across the country so they truly

2873 can weigh in when it comes to those investments and the 2874 cumulative impact.

2875 What do you -- what would you highlight to us on these 2876 kind of science-based strategies? Where should the EPA pick 2877 up on our recommendations, and where should Congress be 2878 placing its emphasis going forward?

2879 *Ms. Browner. Thank you, and thank you for your 2880 leadership on climate change. It has been wonderful to 2881 watch.

2882 Two things. You mentioned cumulative impact. This is 2883 very, very important, and it is tricky under the current law. 2884 And we heard from one of the other witnesses discussions 2885 about perhaps civil rights laws. But you have -- every 2886 facility in in an area might be meeting its permit 2887 conditions. But the people who live there are being exposed 2888 to six facilities, so that cumulative impact -- and so I 2889 think we need to look at what are the tools EPA will need to 2890 address cumulative impact? Are there tools on the books? 2891 But I think cumulative impact for these fenceline 2892 communities, for these environmental justice communities, I 2893 think are hugely important.

The second thing I would say is they need a seat at the 2895 table. And this is really important. They need to be at the 2896 table. Look, I work in the environmental community. I chair 2897 an environmental board. We've got lots of national groups

2898 out there who are doing really important work. But we also 2899 need to hear from the people in Tampa, from the people in 2900 Saint Pete, from the people who are on those frontline 2901 communities.

I did a deal when I was at EPA with Entel, and we brought in fenceline community. And that deal radically changed once we listened to the community. And it turned out to be good for the community and good for Entel. So there is a way to do this, but we need to give them a seat at the table.

*Ms. Castor. And Ms. Keyes Fleming, you also have a great deal of experience. And thank you for your service, \$especially in the Southeast Region. What do you recommend here? You gave Dr. Ruiz a good example before. But how do we ensure that folks do truly have a seat at the table? And what do you think about the idea of really reaching out to the overburdened communities and starting there?

2915 *Ms. Keyes Fleming. I think that's our number one 2916 priority. And again, I'd recommend that we listen first. Obviously, EPA has a tremendous amount of science and 2917 2918 technology it can rely upon. The temptation is to come up 2919 with ideas and suggestions. But that may be premature until 2920 you actually hear from the community and understand what 2921 their real concerns are, what they're looking for, and then with that knowledge use the technology to help identify 2922

2923 solutions that will meet their needs.

*Ms. Castor. And Governor Whitman, what can you point 2925 to? we think about how we empower these communities and ramp 2926 up EPA enforcement at the same time to make sure that we're 2927 truly getting at the impact, these multiplier impacts, of 2928 climate change?

2929 *Ms. Whitman. I'm sorry. Was that directed at me? I'm 2930 having a terrible time with transmission.

2931 *Ms. Castor. That's the next hearing we are going to 2932 have, is on -- we are going to --

2933 *Ms. Whitman. Yes. The transmission --

2934 *Ms. Castor. Part of the Select Committee's

2935 recommendations is better broadband across the country, too, 2936 so we can empower communities and farmers to do these kinds 2937 of things.

2938 So thank you very much, Madam Chair. I yield back.
2939 *Ms. DeGette. No, go ahead, Administrator Whitman. You
2940 can answer.

Do you want to reask your question, Ms. Castor? Ms. Castor. Yeah. Again, it was your perspective on reaching out to environmental justice communities, helping to ramp up EPA enforcement but making sure we are making the investments in communities that are on the front lines. What would you have the Congress prioritize?

2947 *Ms. Whitman. I think it's absolutely essential to work

in as close conjunction with the affects communities as you possibly can, and particularly with the environmental justice communities because they have been, unfortunately, the subject of too much pollution. Ignorance, really. People have ignored them, ignored their place at the table.

2953 And so EPA really has a responsibility to take that upon 2954 themselves, to reach out and to ensure -- to work with the 2955 communities and see what it is they want, what they say their 2956 biggest issues are. It may be different than what EPA thinks 2957 it is. We had a facility down in Camden where you could not 2958 walk down the streets of that community without smelling the stink from the sewage plant. I mean, that was what their 2959 2960 reality was, and that is what needed to be dealt with.

It might have been different -- others may have said, well, really, it's overall air pollution. It was the smell. You'd start there and make their quality of life better. But you have to be talking to the people involved to do that, at all levels. It's not just with those communities. It's with all of them.

2967 *Ms. DeGette. I thank the gentlelady.

2968 *Ms. Castor. Thank you.

Ms. DeGette. And waiting patiently has been one of the newest members of our full committee and we are delighted to have her joining us today. Ms. Fletcher, you are recognized for 5 minutes. 2973 *Mrs. Fletcher. Thank you so much, Chairwoman DeGette, 2974 for holding this important hearing and for allowing me to 2975 waive on and participate today.

2976 In my home town of Houston and in the State of Texas, we 2977 are all too familiar with the challenges of extreme weather 2978 events brought on by climate change. And at this very 2979 moment, Texans are recovering from yet another extreme 2980 weather event, this time a winter storm brought by 2981 disruptions to the polar vortex that resulted in some of the coldest temperatures on record. That storm and the resulting 2982 2983 loss of power and water devastated our State. Texans froze 2984 to death in their own beds just a few weeks ago.

2985 The scientists tell us that these extreme weather events 2986 will increase, and we must do everything possible to 2987 understand, prepare for, and respond to these extreme weather 2988 events. And it is with that in mind that I want to follow up 2989 on something that you said earlier, Ms. Keyes Fleming, in 2990 response to a request from Miss Rice, that we need to have 2991 sufficient staff around the country for enforcement in that 2992 context, presumably for other purposes.

And as of now, EPA's Region 6 Houston Laboratory, which is an important and full-service analytical lab that serves Arizona, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas, is slated to be relocated to Ada, Oklahoma. We have heard from employees that this lab -- at the lab that they are extremely 2998 concerned about the relocation. Many of them simply cannot 2999 uproot their families and make them move.

3000 I am concerned, and I think this touches on 3001 Ms. Schakowsky's question that this could further shrink the 3002 size of the EPA's workforce, undermine recruitment efforts, and undermine its mission. I am also concerned that we need 3003 3004 a robust EPA lab presence that can address the most urgent 3005 environmental concerns, especially during these extreme 3006 weather events in places like Houston, which has a high 3007 concentration of chemical plants and refineries.

Madam Chair, I would like to ask that two letters I sent during the last Congress questioning the relocation of this facility be entered into the record. One is dated July 12, 2019 to former Acting Administrator Andrew Wheeler, and one is dated December 19, 2019 to Acting Inspector General Charles Sheeban.

3014 *Ms. DeGette. And all of the documents will be 3015 submitted at the end of the hearing.

3016 *Mrs. Fletcher. Thank you, Madam Chair.

3017 So Ms. Keyes Fleming, based on your experience leading 3018 EPA Region 4 and as EPA's chief of staff, can you explain how 3019 the agency's lab network and its dedicated public servants 3020 are central to the mission of EPA, and how the relocation of 3021 labs can lead to a shrinking of this dedicated workforce, and 3022 any other issues you see here?

3023 *Ms. Keyes Fleming. Sure. Certainly. Thank you for 3024 the question. And I think it raised something that we 3025 haven't yet discussed today, and that is EPA's ability to 3026 respond to disasters, whether it is the hurricanes, whether 3027 it is the wildfires. And I have it on good authority that 3028 with the situation in Texas, there were three mobile labs hat 3029 deployed to Texas, two from Atlanta, and one from Kentucky. 3030 So that gives you the sense of the regional footprint and how 3031 it's an all-hands-on-deck response.

But in order to respond, you need those hands. And so But in order to respond, you need those hands. And so EPA's lab system is headed, obviously, by the Office of Research and Development in headquarters. But there are different labs around the country. Each region has a science advisor or science liaison. The administrator has a science liaison.

But the key, to your point, Congresswoman, is to make sure that all of that science, all of that technology, those analysts, are available in the communities that need them, whether it is disaster response, whether it is air pollution, whether it is environmental justice concerns. The network needs to be bolstered so that the people who need the help most have the fastest access to it.

3045 *Mrs. Fletcher. Thank you so much. So I take it you 3046 would agree with me that it is important to support and 3047 retain EPA's staff and build its scientific conspiracy rather 3048 than dismantle it with these kinds of actions?

3049 *Ms. Keyes Fleming. Absolutely. I was a public servant 3050 for 24 years before going into the private sector. It is an 3051 honorable profession, and I think we need to encourage more 3052 people to join it.

3053 *Mrs. Fletcher. Well, thank you so much for that. And 3054 thanks to all of you for your insights today. I have another 3055 question, but with limited time, I will just submit for the 3056 record. If anyone else wants to weigh in on this question of 3057 why it is so essential that we have a strong, effective, 3058 well-resourced, and well-located EPA to mitigate and adapt 3059 from these impacts of climate change, these extreme weather 3060 events and other things that we are seeing across the 3061 country.

3062 So thank you so much for your time today, and thank you, 3063 Madam Chair, for including me in this important hearing. 3064 *Ms. DeGette. Thank you so much, Congresswoman. And I 3065 want to add my thanks to every single one of our witnesses 3066 for their participation in today's hearing. We dodged the 3067 bullet. They did not call votes on the floor. So I thought 3068 it was a very robust and excellent conversation.

I would like to remind members that pursuant to the committee rules, they have 10 business days to submit additional questions for the record to be answered by the witnesses. And I would ask the witnesses to agree to respond

3073 promptly to such questions, if you receive any.

We have had some documents that have been requested by unanimous consent, and they will be inserted. Let me list them.

3077 A letter from six former EPA administrators dated3078 August 12, 2020 from me.

3079 A letter from Representative Fletcher to EPA's Acting3080 Inspector General dated December 19, 2019.

A letter from Representative Green and others to EPA's Acting Administrator dated July 12, 2019, submitted by -both of those submitted by Ms. Fletcher.

3084 An op-ed from the Wall Street Journal dated January 3, 3085 2021 by Mr. Joyce.

3086 A fact sheet from the EPA on "Key Accomplishments Under 3087 Administrator Wheeler,'' from Mr. McKinley.

3088 A report from the EPA reviewing the agency's decisions 3089 or actions in 2020 from Mr. McKinley.

3090 And an Article from the Washington Post on fentanyl

3091 dated March 13, 2019 by Mr. Burgess.

3092 Without objection, so ordered.

3093 [The documents listed above follow:]

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3095 ********COMMITTEE INSERT********

3097 *Ms. DeGette. With that, thanks again to everybody, and 3098 the subcommittee is adjourned.

3099 [Whereupon, at 1:15 p.m., the subcommittee was

3100 adjourned.]