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- 4 EPA'S PROPOSED 111(d) RULE FOR EXISTING POWER PLANTS, AND
- 5 H.R. , RATEPAYER PROTECTION ACT
- 6 TUESDAY, APRIL 14, 2015
- 7 House of Representatives,
- 8 Subcommittee on Energy and Power
- 9 Committee on Energy and Commerce
- 10 Washington, D.C.

- 11 The Subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:04 a.m.,
- 12 in Room 2123 of the Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Ed
- 13 Whitfield [Chairman of the Subcommittee] presiding.
- 14 Members present: Representatives Whitfield, Olson,
- 15 Barton, Shimkus, Pitts, Latta, Harper, McKinley, Pompeo,
- 16 Kinzinger, Griffith, Johnson, Long, Ellmers, Flores, Mullin,

- 17 Hudson, Upton (ex officio), Rush, McNerney, Engel, Green,
- 18 Capps, Doyle, Castor, Sarbanes, Yarmuth, Loebsack, and
- 19 Pallone (ex officio).
- 20 Staff present: Nick Abraham, Legislative Clerk; Gary
- 21 Andres, Staff Director; Charlotte Baker, Deputy
- 22 Communications Director; Leighton Brown, Press Assistant;
- 23 Allison Busbee, Policy Coordinator, Energy and Power; Tom
- 24 Hassenbochler, Chief Counsel, Energy and Power; Alexa
- 25 Marrero, Deputy Staff Director; Mary Neumayr, Senior Energy
- 26 Counsel; Christine Brennan, Democratic Press Secretary; Jeff
- 27 Carroll, Democratic Staff Director; Michael Goo, Democratic
- 28 Chief Counsel, Energy and Environment; Caitlin Haberman,
- 29 Democratic Professional Staff Member; Rick Kessler,
- 30 Democratic Senior Advisor and Staff Director, Energy and
- 31 Environment; and John Marshall, Democratic Policy
- 32 Coordinator.

33 Mr. {Whitfield.} Good morning. I would like to call 34 this hearing to order. And this morning's hearing is going 35 to begin with a discussion of the Ratepayer Protection Act, a 36 draft bill that would add several commonsense safeguards to 37 the EPA's proposed 111(d) rule for existing power plants, and 38 which is referred to by the agency as the Clean Power Plan. 39 I want to welcome Acting Assistant Administrator McCabe, 40 as well as a diverse group on the second panel representing 41 those impacted by the proposed rule. And I just want to make 42 the comment that we appreciate your being here, Ms. McCabe, 43 very much. As you know, we have fundamental, divisive, 44 really different views on this particular rule, but we do 45 look forward to your testimony. We will have a lot of 46 questions, and appreciate you being here with us. 47 And now I would like to recognize myself for a 5-minute 48 opening statement. 49 I would like to say that in reading Ms. McCabe's 50 testimony, I was struck by the comment that she was not aware 51 of any instance in the last 25 years when Congress has 52 enacted legislation to stop implementation or stay

- 53 implementation of an air rule during a judicial review. 54 do so here she said would be an unprecedented interference with EPA's effort to fulfill its duties under the Clean Air 55 56 Act. Now, I believe the key word in her statement is 57 unprecedented. Anyone familiar with the Clean Air Act should 58 not in any way be surprised that Congress would try to stop, 59 slow down or, as Ms. McCabe said, interfere with efforts to 60 rush implementation of the rule for existing source 61 performance for electric generating units. Why? We think you are overstepping your authority. We think you are now 62 legislating. Experts in the Clean Air Act have described 63 64 this proposed rule as extreme, radical, and power grab. of the best characterizations of the rule was stated by 65 66 Professor Laurence Tribe, the highly regarded liberal scholar 67 of constitutional law at Harvard University. Since this rule 68 is more about changing energy policy than anything else, he 69 said burning the Constitution should not be a part of our 70 national energy policy. 71 Whoever thought EPA would be attempting to become the
- 72 energy tsar for America. Professor Tribe said, at bottom,
 73 the proposed rule hides political choice, and frustrates

74 accountability. It forces states, forces states to adopt policies that will raise energy costs, and proved deeply 75 76 unpopular once the people realized what is happening, while 77 cloaking these policies in the garb of state choice, even 78 though, in fact, the policies are set and compelled by EPA. 79 The EPA thumbs its nose at democratic principles by 80 confusing the chain of decision-making between federal and 81 state regulators to avoid transparency and accountability. 82 Now, when EPA Administrator Gina McCarthy testified 83 before the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee on 84 July 23, 2014, she said, the great thing about the power 85 plant is that it is an investment opportunity. This is not about pollution control. And the regulatory impact analysis 86 87 of the proposed rule states that the impact of reduced 88 climate effects has not been quantified. In other words, EPA 89 does not claim that the proposed rule would affect the 90 climate in a significant way. However, Ms. McCabe, in her 91 testimony today, says we must address climate change. It is 92 common mantra in the Administration, from the President 93 through every political appointee, and yet this unprecedented 94 rule, which will increase electricity rates, affect

95 reliability, cost millions of dollars, make EPA the energy tsar for America, will not have a significant impact on 96 97 climate change. Everyone acknowledges that fact. So that 98 raises the question why is EPA, at the direction of the 99 President, rushing it through? EPA obviously wants this 100 completed before the 2016 elections. Is it being done to 101 create a legacy in the international arena for President 102 Obama? Perhaps someone has decided it is urgent that the 103 electricity business in America be radically changed. 104 Experts familiar with this process have been taken aback by 105 the convoluted arguments that have been developed to 106 legitimize this proposed rule. As far as we know, it is the 107 first time in the history of EPA where the agency lawyers 108 felt compelled to include a separate legal justification for 109 the rule. 104 pages, to be exact. 110 So we find ourselves in a situation where EPA, not 111 Congress, is writing a new law, state Attorneys General are 112 filing suit to stop EPA, state regulators are pleading for help, electric generating companies are facing uncertainty, 113 114 consumers are finding electricity rates going up, and no one 115 knows for sure what the impact will be on reliability or, for

116	that matter, the real reason this regulation is being rushed
117	to market.
118	In the history of the Clean Air Act, EPA has never been
119	this bold. So if actions are not delayed by Congress, or if
120	they are affirmed by the courts, EPA will fundamentally
121	redefine and reshape its regulatory reach for the next
122	generation of rule makers in a way typically reserved for
123	legislative bodies.
124	So with the very utmost respect, people are asking
125	Congress for help in reining in this agency, and that is why
126	we have introduced this legislation, and we look forward to
127	comments about it.
128	[The prepared statement of Mr. Whitfield follows:]
129	********** COMMITTEE INSERT *********

Mr. {Whitfield.} At this time, I would like to 130 131 recognize the distinguished gentleman from Illinois, Mr. Rush, for his opening statement. 132 133 Mr. {Rush.} Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I also 134 want to extend my compliments to Acting Assistant 135 Administrator, Ms. McCabe. I want to welcome your appearance 136 at this committee--subcommittee hearing. 137 Mr. Chairman, I want to also thank you for holding this 138 hearing today on what you have called the Ratepayer 139 Protection Act for 2015. Mr. Chairman, a more appropriate 140 and fitting title for this legislation before us would be the 141 Just Say No to the Clean Power Plan Act, which is a fitting 142 description of what this legislation attempts to do. 143 bill seeks to delay and ultimately get rid of the Clean Power 144 Plan by extending all compliance deadlines to all legal 145 challenges decided by the court. Here we go again. 146 Under this legislation, the time period for all Clean Power Plan compliance and submission deadlines would be 147 148 extended until 60 days after the final rule appears in the 149 Federal Register, and only after, and I quote, ``judgment

150 becomes final and no longer subject to further appeal or 151 review.'' When is that supposed to happen, Mr. Chairman? 152 That is the question. Again, to delay is to deny, and this 153 certainly is the Just Say No bill. Just Say No to the Clean 154 Power Plan Act. 155 Mr. Chairman, at first glance, this bill--the purpose of this bill's language may seem innocuous. In effect, what 156 157 this bill will actually do is unnecessarily stall and delay 158 implementation of the Clean Power Plan, and also it will spur 159 countless and, in most cases, frivolous and meritless 160 challenges to the plan in order to extend the ultimate 161 compliance time. Just Say No. To delay is to deny. 162 Another problem with this legislation is that it will 163 effectively give governors veto power over the federal 164 requirements of the Clean Power Plan if they decide that 165 their states don't want to do this, don't want to cooperate, 166 don't want to comply with the plan, and the plan would have 167 an adverse effect on even the state's ratepayers or the 168 reliability of its electricity system. Unfortunately, Mr. 169 Chairman, allowing governors to join in this attempt to just 170 say no to the Clean Power Plan will fly in the face of

decades of the Clean Air Act's use of cooperative federalism 171 172 which has been so successful in moving our nation forward, 173 and protecting our air and protecting our environment. 174 Additionally, Mr. Chairman, there is no need to provide a 175 safe harbor for states who cannot or will not form plans to 176 bring their states into compliance with the Clean Power Plan, 177 as this bill attempts to do because already under current 178 law, the EPA sets the emission reduction goals under Section 179 111(d), and it is up to the states themselves to decide how 180 to best achieve these reductions. However, Section 111(d) 181 states that if states refuse to present a plan that will 182 reduce carbon emissions from existing power plants, then the 183 EPA--rural EPA will step in with a federal 111(d) plan to ensure that these environmental risks are addressed to the 184 benefit of this nation as a whole. 185 186 Mr. Chairman, it would indeed set a dangerous precedent 187 to most Clean Air Act and to the overall public health if 188 Congress were to enact a law that would allow 50 governors to simply veto federal environmental policy that they did not 189 190 like or that they do not agree with. The Clean Air Act use 191 of cooperative federalism has set a cornerstone in moving our

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     nation forward in its environmental protection policy, and
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     this bill has the potential to be star potential to undo
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     decades worth of progress that we have seen and witnessed in
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     this area. The provisions in this bill will make it too easy
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     for a governor to just say no to reducing harmful emissions
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     from power plants, the number one emitters of carbon dioxide,
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     if they found that these regulations would be too burdensome
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     to enact.
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          Mr. Chairman, I think we should think long and hard,
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     consider what we are doing before we go down this slippery
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     slope to give individual states the power to turn back the
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     clocks to the dark days on what we have been so very
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     successful so far in terms of our environmental protection
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     policy.
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          Mr. Chairman, this is a bill that, frankly, doesn't
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     really deserve our time, because this bill is so
     inappropriate on its face.
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          Thank you, and I yield back the balance of my time.
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          [The prepared statement of Mr. Rush follows:]
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211 ******** COMMITTEE INSERT *********

212 Mr. {Whitfield.} Gentleman doesn't have any time, but 213 thank you for your comments. 214 And at this time, I would like to recognize the chairman 215 of the full committee, Mr. Upton, for 5 minutes. 216 The {Chairman.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank the witnesses, and appreciate their input regarding the 217 218 Administration's controversial Clean Power Plan. No less an 219 expert than Laurence Tribe has testified that this proposed 220 rule exceeds EPA's statutory authority, and raises numerous 221 constitutional issues. In addition, more than half the 222 states have questioned the legality and feasibility of EPA's 223 attempt to micromanage each state's electricity generation, 224 transmission, distribution and use. So if you think of the 225 Clean Power Plan as the Obamacare approach applied to state 226 electricity systems, you would not be very far off the track. Like the health law, the costs of the Clean Power Plan 227 228 ultimately fall on consumers and job creators who are certain 229 to see their electric bills go up, and for many states the 230 rate increases will be, indeed, significant. 231 As highlighted in Mr. Trisko's testimony, Michigan

232 residents can expect rate increases up to 15 percent. 233 would come at the worst possible time as folks are starting to get back on their feet. Rate hikes will impose unwelcome 234 235 hardships on family budgets, inflict damages to businesses 236 both large and small, hamper job growth, and impact certainly 237 the most vulnerable. 238 The Ratepayer Protection Act's reasonable and targeted 239 provisions will greatly reduce the major risks to ratepayers 240 from the Administration's plan. First, the bill extends the 241 compliance deadlines until after judicial review is 242 completed. Given that so many states have raised serious 243 concerns about the legality of EPA's proposed rule and a dozen have already sued, it makes sense to clear things up 244 245 legally before the rule's costly and complex requirements 246 take effect. 247 The Ratepayer Protection Act also provides each state 248 governor with the authority to protect its ratepayers to the 249 extent a state or federal plan under the rule would have a significant adverse effect by contributing to higher 250 251 electricity costs or threatening reliability. States, not 252 the EPA, should have the last word with respect to the

253 affordability and reliability of their electricity systems. 254 On the other hand, those state governors who are supportive 255 of EPA's proposed rulemaking and anticipate no problems with 256 it are free to comply with the agency's demands. Go right 257 ahead. In northern states like Michigan, affordable and 258 259 reliable electricity is absolutely essential to making it 260 through the winter months. And America's manufacturing 261 sector could not survive without electricity rates that allow 262 it to be globally competitive. In fact, the National Association of Manufacturers has warned that higher costs as 263 264 a result of the Clean Power Plan and other recent EPA rules could place domestic manufacturers at a global disadvantage. 265 266 That is real. The commonsense protections in the Ratepayer 267 Protection Act are critical to preserving both our standard 268 of living and our economic future. In making these 269 decisions, governors must consult with their state's energy, 270 economic, health, and environmental authorities. States can 271 and should be a necessary check on EPA's otherwise one-sided 272 authority to change a state's electricity system, and to do 273 so without regard to the consequences.

274	This bill, the Ratepayer Protection Act, is a sensible
275	approach to addressing the very serious problems with the
276	Administration's plan. Washington certainly does not always
277	know best, and I would urge my colleagues to join the effort
278	on behalf of jobs and affordable energy.
279	And I yield back the balance of my time.
280	[The prepared statement of Mr. Upton follows:]
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282 Mr. {Whitfield.} Gentleman yields back. 283 At this time, I would like to recognize the gentleman 284 from New Jersey, the ranking member of the full committee, 285 Mr. Pallone, for 5 minutes. 286 Mr. {Pallone.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Today's 287 hearing on a bill to gut the President's Clean Power Plan is 288 misguided and unfortunate. I do not support this 289 legislation, and urge members to closely examine its harmful 290 effects on our country's progress to combat damaging 291 pollution and catastrophic climate change. 292 First, let me thank the Assistant Administrator McCabe 293 for being here today. I understand that EPA received over 4 294 million comments on the proposed Clean Power Plan, and that 295 you, Administrator McCarthy and the agency's staff are 296 working day and night to review and consider those comments. 297 EPA did an unprecedented amount of outreach to states, 298 industry, and stakeholders when developing the proposal, and 299 the agency has continued its outreach. This includes an 300 ongoing series of listening sessions with the Federal Energy 301 Regulatory Commission, and EPA is also actively working with

302 the states, grid operators, public utility commissions and 303 electricity suppliers of all kinds to finalize a rule that 304 works for everyone, especially ratepayers. 305 Like all proposed rules, the agency is considering the 306 justness of the Clean Power Plan based on comments and 307 stakeholder feedback. For example, the draft bill's 308 implementation timeline won't begin until 2020, but because 309 of feedback EPA is considering modifications to allow 310 additional flexibility to states to help address questions of 311 timing, reliability, and other implementation issues. 312 for that reason, I believe the Clean Power Plan is amenably 313 reasonable and achievable, and EPA is clearly committed to an 314 open dialogue to ensure its success. 315 Meanwhile, the bill before us seeks to undermine all 316 that work. Under the current Clean Air Act and the proposed 317 Clean Power Plan, no state has to submit a state plan, so 318 giving governors the option to opt out of developing a state 319 plan doesn't change anything. However, and this is 320 important, this bill would give governors the option to opt 321 out of a federal plan which EPA must implement if a state 322 fails to act. In that respect, we should view this bill for

323 what it really is; an amendment to the Clean Air Act, which would overturn the principle of cooperative federalism that 324 325 has been in place for more than 40 years. This cooperation 326 is essential to ensure all Americans are protected from 327 environmental harm, even if the actions of their home state 328 fall short. Under this bill, large sources of carbon 329 pollution could be exempt from any meaningful restrictions 330 and, therefore, bad states get a free ride to pollute without 331 any consequences, while every other state foots the bill. 332 Finally, this bill would automatically delay 333 implementation of the Clean Power Plan by extending all 334 deadlines by the amount of time it takes litigation to 335 conclude. That blanket extension gives all--would be given 336 to all polluters regardless of whether their legal arguments 337 turn out to have any merit. 338 As we heard at our last hearing, EPA does, in fact, have 339 authority for the Clean Power Plan that will ultimately be 340 upheld by the courts, but this bill would provide an 341 incentive for polluters to run the clock on litigation so all 342 deadlines will be extended as long as possible, no matter how 343 frivolous the challenge and regardless of the outcome. And

344 this is an incredibly reckless and dangerous precedent to set with regard to any law, in my opinion. 345 346 I think the republicans don't--you know, they refuse to accept the fact that climate change is real, and that 347 348 Congress should be taking action to address it. The effort 349 by republicans on this committee to push states to say no, 350 and refuse to cooperate with EPA is reckless and dangerous. 351 The New York Times referred to it as, and I quote, ``a 352 travesty of responsible leadership.'' Meanwhile, former Bush 353 EPA Administrator and New Jersey republican, and I stress republican, Governor, Christine Todd Whitman, characterized 354 355 this effort as having both the possibility to undermine our 356 nation's entire rule of law. 357 States should begin the careful process of moving to 358 cleaner, cheaper and more reliable electric power systems. 359 The Clean Power Plan is a modest and flexible proposal. If 360 my republican colleagues have a better idea for protecting 361 against the changing climate then please speak up. Just 362 saying no and condemning future generations is not an option. 363 And I want to--I don't know if anybody else wanted to 364 have a minute left on our side. If not, Mr. Chairman, I

365	yield back.
366	[The prepared statement of Mr. Pallone follows:]
367	*********** COMMITTEE INSERT **********

Mr. {Whitfield.} Gentleman yields back, and that

concludes the opening statements.

So at this time, I would like to formally introduce Ms.

Janet McCabe, who is the Acting Assistant Administrator for

the Office of Air and Radiation at the EPA. And once again,

welcome, Ms. McCabe. And I would like to recognize you for 5

minutes for your statement.

^STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE JANET MCCABE, ACTING ASSISTANT 375 376 ADMINISTRATOR, OFFICE OF AIR AND RADIATION, U.S. 377 ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY 378 Ms. {McCabe.} Thank you, Chairman Whitfield, Ranking 379 Member Rush, and members of the subcommittee. I appreciate 380 the opportunity to testify before you today on EPA's proposed 381 111(d) rule for existing power plants, also known as the 382 Clean Power Plan, and the discussion draft of the Ratepayer 383 Protection Act of 2015. 384 The discussion draft and EPA's proposed carbon pollution 385 plan share--reflect a shared concern maintaining the 386 reliability of the electricity grid. Clean Air Act 387 regulations have not caused the lights to go out in the past, 388 and the proposed Clean Power Plan will not cause them to go 389 out in the future. 390 This morning, I will talk about EPA's proposal and how the final rule will address many of our shared concerns, and 391 392 my written testimony provides additional feedback regarding 393 the discussion draft.

394 To summarize, EPA views the draft as premature, because 395 EPA has not yet finalized the Clean Power Plan; unnecessary, because EPA has the tools and, indeed, the obligation to 396 address cost and reliability issues in our final rule; and 397 398 ultimately harmful, because the bill, if enacted, would delay 399 or prevent the climate and air quality benefits of the Clean 400 Power Plan. 401 This summer, EPA will be finalizing a flexible, 402 commonsense program to reduce carbon pollution from the power 403 sector; the largest stationary source of CO2 emissions in the 404 country, while continuing to ensure that all Americans have 405 access to affordable, reliable energy, and a clean and 406 healthy environment. However, EPA's long history developing 407 Clean Air Act pollution standards for the electric power 408 sector, including the proposed Clean Power Plan, the agency 409 has consistently treated electricity system reliability as 410 absolutely essential. We have devoted significant attention 411 to this issue ourselves, and have also made sure that we were 412 working with stakeholders and energy regulators at the 413 federal, state and regional levels to ensure that the 414 important public health and environmental protections

415 Congress has called for are achieves without interfering with 416 the country's reliable and affordable supply of electricity. 417 In crafting the Clean Power Plan proposal, EPA sought to provide a range of flexibilities and a timeline for states, 418 419 tribes and territories, and affected generators that would 420 reduce carbon emissions while maintaining affordable electric 421 power and safeguarding system reliability. EPA's proposed 422 plan gives states the opportunity to choose, and allows 423 electric generators to choose from a wide variety of 424 approaches to cutting emissions, and is intended to provide 425 states, generators and other entities charged with ensuring 426 electric reliability with the time they need to plan for and 427 address any reliability issues they believe may arise. This 428 same wide range of approaches also provides states and 429 utilities with the latitude they need to minimize cost. 430 Thanks to both our extended engagement process and the 431 many substantive comments we received, we know that many 432 states and power companies are urging us to consider changes in order to ensure that the final rule delivers on the 433 434 significant flexibilities we intend to create to protect the 435 system reliability and affordability. This public process

436 has provided a tremendous amount of information and ideas, and I assure you the EPA is taking all of that information 437 438 and those suggestions, the comments I have provided very 439 seriously, and we expect to make changes to the proposal to 440 address many of the suggestions and concerns we have 441 received. Ideas offered by stakeholders range from ensuring 442 that initial compliance expectations and compliance 443 flexibilities provide the states the latitude they need to 444 establish workable glide paths that do not put reliability at 445 risk, to addressing concerns regarding stranded assets, to facilitating workable, regional approaches that are not too 446 447 formal or too complicated to implement easily, and to 448 crafting what many are calling a reliability safety valve as 449 a backstop in case a reliability issue does arise. 450 EPA has taken unprecedented steps to reach out to and 451 engage with all of the states and our stakeholders. One of 452 the key inputs EPA heard before proposal and during the 453 comment period is the need to design the rule in a way that 454 respects both the urgency of dealing with climate change, and the time it takes to plan and invest in the electricity 455 456 sector in ways that ensure both reliability and affordability

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457 going forward. We have paid close attention to those
458 comments, and will finalize a rule that takes them all into
459 account.
460         I look forward to your questions, Mr. Chairman. Thank
461         you very much.
462         [The prepared statement of Ms. McCabe follows:]
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464 Mr. {Whitfield.} Well, thank you very much, and we appreciate that statement. 465 466 And at this time, I would like to recognize myself for 5 467 minutes of questions. 468 Ms. McCabe, I think even you would agree that this is a 469 bold move on the EPA's part, but we all understand 111(d) and 470 the controversy surrounding it in that such a ubiquitous 471 substance as CO2, you all never tried to regulate anything 472 like that under 111(d) before. And I will tell you, as I said in my statement, half of state regulators have been in 473 474 touch with us and they are very much concerned. And you know 475 the lawsuits have filed, so I think you would acknowledge 476 that this is a very bold move on EPA's part. And one of the 477 things that I am concerned about, and I would like to make 478 very clear, I am certainly not an expert in the Clean Air Act 479 but I have read more than I want to, to be truthful about it, 480 but there is a definition in the Clean Air Act about the 481 source, and I don't think that a state has ever been 482 considered a source before. And every time I hear Ms. 483 McCarthy or anyone from the EPA or from the Administration

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     talk about this rule, they go to great lengths talking about
     all the flexibility they are giving to the states, but they--
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     but the states have no flexibility in determining what the
     cap will be on the CO2 emission. Isn't that correct? Do
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     they have any option on what the cap will be?
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          Ms. {McCabe.} EPA will set the target.
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          Mr. {Whitfield.} Yeah, EPA sets the target.
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          Ms. {McCabe.} Um-hum.
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          Mr. {Whitfield.} And how did EPA set the target for
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     each state?
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          Ms. {McCabe.} We looked at a wealth of data about power
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     generation across the country, looking at the kinds of
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     technologies that are already in use to--
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          Mr. {Whitfield.} And how did you decide what the number
     would be for each state?
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          Ms. {McCabe.} We looked at four particular types of
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     approaches that are widely in use across the country, and we
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     applied those in a uniform manner to each state's power
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     inventory.
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          Mr. {Whitfield.} And did you assume that every coal
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plant, for example, would be able to become more efficient?

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505 Ms. {McCabe.} We used information from across the 506 country to apply an average expectation about efficiency 507 improvement. 508 Mr. {Whitfield.} And what is that average expectation? 509 Ms. {McCabe.} In the proposal, we assumed a 6 percent 510 efficiency--511 Mr. {Whitfield.} And you know what, we are hearing from 512 everyone that, many of these coal plants, there is no way 513 they can get a 6 percent more efficient rating. So--and 514 people are questioning that -- this assumption, how you came up 515 with this 6 percent assumption. But let me just ask you, 516 this legislation has been characterized as unreasonable. 517 When you consider the unique and radical approach that is 518 being utilized with this rule, why would anyone object when 519 we already know many lawsuits have already been filed, once 520 that rule becomes final, there are going to be more lawsuits 521 filed, why would anyone, when it has already been said that 522 this is not going to significantly affect the climate anyway, why would anyone object to giving states an opportunity to do 523 their state implementation plan after the judicial remedies 524 525 have been exhausted?

526 Ms. {McCabe.} Well, I have a couple of responses to that, Mr. Chairman, and I--you won't be surprised to hear 527 528 that I don't exactly agree with some of the words that you 529 have used to characterize the plan. It is not radical. 530 follows the process laid out at--531 Mr. {Whitfield.} Has 111(d) ever been used in this way 532 before? 533 Ms. {McCabe.} 111(d) has been used to establish 534 expectations that states--535 Mr. {Whitfield.} But you have only utilized it four or five times in the history of the Clean Air Act. It has 536 537 always been very focused, small type of arrangements. But 538 anyway, why would you object to giving states an opportunity 539 to exhaust legal remedies before they have to give a state 540 implementation plan? 541 Ms. {McCabe.} Well, there is a system in place for 542 legal concerns, if there are any, about a rule that EPA 543 adopts under the Clean Air Act to test out those legal concerns, and that is the--544 545

Mr. {Whitfield.} Well, okay, but why would you object?

I mean why do you object to giving states this additional

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     time?
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          Ms. {McCabe.} The draft--discussion draft basically
     allows an unlimited time, this could lead to an unlimited
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     delay in the amount of time that would go by before steps
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     would be taken to implement --
          Mr. {Whitfield.} But we--you know, we have been told
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     that normally--that it is not unusual for states to be given
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     3 years for implementation plans, but in this instance, they
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     are getting like 13 months or even less.
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          Ms. {McCabe.} No, that is not correct, Mr. Chairman.
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     The implementation period for this rule goes out to 2013.
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          Mr. {Whitfield.} I am not talking about implementation,
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     I am talking about the plan, submitting the plan.
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          Ms. {McCabe.} Well, that is right. The--
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          Mr. {Whitfield.} And that is a major chore.
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          My time has expired. At this time, I am going to
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     recognize the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. Rush.
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          Mr. {Rush.} I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman, again.
     And, Madam Administrator, one of the foremost beneficiaries
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     of the CPC is low income communities, and I have a special
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and particular interest in the low income communities. And

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are you aware of the NRDC report that just came out?
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          Ms. {McCabe.} Yes, I am.
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          Mr. {Rush.} That report stated that low income
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     Americans, again, would benefit most from receiving payment.
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     Do you have any commentary on that, and what are your
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     thoughts about that?
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          Ms. {McCabe.} Well, the -- we know that the impacts of
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     climate change that we are already experiencing in the
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     country, and that we can expect to experience more, can have
     an especially impactful effect on low income communities who
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     are already at a disadvantage when it comes to the impacts of
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     pollution. We expect and we are seeing that climate change
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     will lead to more heat waves, more air pollution, which will
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     exacerbate asthma, low income communities often have higher
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     rates of asthma, disruption such as from the increased
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     intensity of intense storm events that can have an adverse
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     impact on low income communities that are not in a position
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     to recover as easily as others with more means. So we
     definitely see that low income communities are more at risk
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     of the adverse impacts that we see on public health, welfare
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     and economic wellbeing, and will benefit significantly from
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589 steps that we can take here. 590 Mr. {Rush.} And do you agree that states have a 591 responsibility to promote the general health and welfare or 592 low income communities and low income individuals, that there 593 is a way for the states to both invest in clean--in cleaner, 594 more efficient community provisions, such as the CPP, and 595 also provide help to those most vulnerable communities 596 through energy--and direct bill assistance? 597 Ms. {McCabe.} Well, the Clean Power Plan, and our proposal, would allow states all the latitude they need to 598 599 design a plan that meets the needs of all the communities in 600 their state, and provide protections to low income 601 communities to make sure that the benefits of the program are realized for all citizens across the state. 602 603 Mr. {Rush.} Madam Assistant Secretary, if this bill 604 passes and becomes -- well, the bill under consideration, what 605 will be the result in your estimation, what will be the 606 outcomes, what kind of impact would this bill have on the EPA's stated role that -- of protecting our environment? What 607 608 will be the--

Ms. {McCabe.} Well, it would clearly delay the

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610 reductions that are to be achieved through this program, and 611 that so many people see as necessary. In fact, many, many 612 Americans see as necessary and are asking EPA to take action. 613 It would create additional uncertainty, and one of the things 614 that we always hear from the power sector is that certainty 615 is one of the most important things for them to be able to 616 plan for what--how they are going to manage their resources 617 in the future, knowing that carbon reduction is on the way. 618 And so they want to know and get on with it. And the bill 619 also would create an opportunity, as you have identified, for 620 governors to basically opt out of the program, which is 621 completely inconsistent with the way Congress set up the 622 Clean Air Act, which is that the Federal Government sets the 623 expectations for what a clean and healthy environment should 624 be across the country, and then states use their 625 flexibilities to achieve those goals in the way that works 626 best for them. 627 Mr. {Rush.} And would you agree that if this bill 628 passes, then the Congress would be playing a sort of environmental Russian roulette in the health and welfare of 629 630 our nation and its citizens, particularly as it relates to

- 631 the environment?
- Ms. {McCabe.} Well, it would be a concern for there to
- 633 be a delay in a reasonable and commonsense program to make
- 634 these reductions.
- 635 Mr. {Rush.} Right. One state might get it right, one
- 636 state might get it wrong, the next state might get it in
- 637 between, so we are playing some kind of a hide-and-seek game
- 638 with our citizens and the environment. Would you agree with
- 639 that?
- Ms. {McCabe.} I think you have raised real concerns.
- Mr. {Rush.} Thank you. Mr. Chairman, I yield back.
- Mr. {Whitfield.} Gentleman yields back.
- At this time recognize the gentleman from Texas, Mr.
- 644 Olson, for 5 minutes.
- 645 Mr. {Olson.} I thank the chair. And good morning,
- 646 Administrator McCabe.
- Ms. {McCabe.} Good morning.
- Mr. {Olson.} I would like to start by reading a couple
- 649 of quotes from the Public Utility Commission back home. It
- 650 is called the PUC, and they have one of the largest states in
- 651 America. Texas has almost 10 percent of this country's

652 population, and we have an enormous proportion of America's energy production in its busiest port in Houston. And these 653 654 quotes aren't from a coal lobbyist. They are from a 655 commission that helps keep the lights on and keeps rates fair. I quote, ``Rule 111(d) will create significant 656 electrical liability problems in Texas.'' Another quote, 657 658 ``The carbon emission limits for Texas will result in 659 significantly increased costs for Texas electricity 660 consumers.'' The final quote, it will cost--another quote, 661 ``Increase in energy costs for consumers, up to 20 percent in 662 2020.'' That does include new transmission lines, new power 663 plants. The cost will hit--this is their quote, ``\$10 to \$15 billion in incompliance costs by 2030.'' I know you think 664 665 this rule has plenty of flexibility. Others disagree. Recently, FERC Commissioner Muller has said that the 666 667 rule will mean havoc on the grid if there isn't a reliability 668 safety valve. The operators want an automatic way to react 669 if reliability is threatened, too. My question is can you commit right here to put a relief mechanism to protect 670 reliability or even affordability in the final rule? If no, 671 why not? What is the harm? 672

673 Ms. {McCabe.} Well, you have raised concerns that, as I mentioned in my testimony, we have as well, and we always do. 674 675 We have received many, many comments from across the country, including your state of Texas, raising these issues with a 676 677 lot of good ideas. And as Administrator McCarthy and I have 678 said on many occasions, we do expect to make some changes in 679 the rule that will address a lot of these concerns, including 680 considering a variety of ideas that people have suggested to 681 us for things like a reliability safety valve. So I think when the final rule comes out, you will see that we have been 682 683 very responsive to these concerns. 684 Mr. {Olson.} But a safety valve, yes or no? Yes or no? Ms. {McCabe.} I--you know, the Administrator signs the 685 686 final rule so I can't commit her here, but I will tell you 687 that these are the kinds of things that we are looking at 688 very, very, very closely. 689 Mr. {Olson.} So looks like a sort of sideways, not yes 690 or no. 691 Next question is about small power systems. There are dozens of power systems, cross utilities across the state of 692

Texas run by municipal cities. We have them all across

694 America actually. These communities have come together to build one or two efficient little power plants to keep the 695 696 lights on. For example, back home in Texas, the Texas 697 Municipal Power Authority has one small coal-fired plant that supplies power for four cities, Denton, Bryant, Garland, and 698 699 Greenville, northcentral Texas. They don't have back-up gas 700 plants to take up the slack, or inefficiencies to fix. They 701 told the EPA recently that their best bet to comply might be 702 just to shut power plants down, just close it down. 703 rely on this power for affordable power. The impact to the 704 economy will be severe. There are straight investments made 705 to power directly to these towns. Won't your rule have an 706 impact on small, self-reliant communities like Denton, 707 Bryant, Garland, Greenville, all across America? Will it 708 hurt these communities, ma'am? 709 Ms. {McCabe.} Congressman, we have spent a lot of time 710 with the small municipal providers and rural electrics, and 711 we have heard their concerns. I think comments like that 712 though don't take into account the flexibility that the 713 states will have to design plans that address concerns like 714 that. There is nothing in the rule that requires any single

- 715 plant to do any particular thing, and there are lots of opportunities for the State of Texas and every state across 716 717 the country to design a plan that makes sure that they are 718 paying attention to the particular needs of the particular 719 types of power providers in their state. 720 Mr. {Olson.} But if they review the rules and they say 721 the best bet maybe just to close down. I mean that is a real 722 problem, ma'am. Have you considered they will just close 723 down because of these new rules? It is part of the equation 724 going forward. What are you going to do to fix this problem? 725 Ms. {McCabe.} The decision to close a plant is made on 726 the basis of a lot of considerations that go way beyond 727 environmental regulation, but what I am saying is that the 728 plan does not put any state in the position of having to make 729 that particular choice on behalf of a particular company. 730 There are options that they can build into their plan to avoid those situations if that is in the best interest of 731 732 those companies and the customers that they serve.
- 733 Mr. {Olson.} Well, the folks back home disagree.
- 734 I yield back the balance of my time.
- 735 Mr. {Whitfield.} At this time I will recognize the

gentlelady from California, Mrs. Capps, for 5 minutes. 736 737 Mrs. {Capps.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for holding this 738 hearing, and I thank Ms. McCabe for your testimony. 739 And as we know, the science is clear that increased 740 concentrations of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases 741 are causing our planet's climate to change. Climate change 742 affects our daily lives by increasing health risks, making 743 our oceans more acidic, threatening food and water supplies, 744 exacerbating drought, among many other impacts, and these 745 impacts are predicted to only intensify in the future, 746 negatively impacting our children and grandchildren. And 747 that is why we all have a responsibility to act now to reduce 748 the carbon emissions and other greenhouse gases that are 749 driving climate change. 750 As you know, power generation was responsible for nearly 40 percent of the carbon dioxide emitted last year in the 751 United States. Of this, 76 percent was from the coal-powered 752 753 sector. The simple truth is that we cannot address climate change without reducing these emissions. That is what EPA is 754 755 doing with the Clean Power Plan. The plan is strong yet 756 flexible, allowing each state to determine the best ways to

757 achieve its carbon dioxide targets. And EPA is in the process of reviewing public comments to ensure that the Clean 758 759 Power Plan will meet its goal, minimize cost and reliability 760 concerns, and maximize benefits to human health and the 761 environment. Ms. McCabe, can you elaborate on the flexibility that 762 763 states have, and just tell us what that -- some examples or 764 what that means the states have in meeting the carbon 765 reduction targets, and the process EPA has used to develop 766 this kind of plan. 767 Ms. {McCabe.} I would be happy to, Congresswoman. So 768 there are a number of ways we built flexibility into the 769 plan. First of all, as I have said already, there is no 770 prescribed approach or control technology that states or 771 companies have to use that we identified for, but there are 772 many other ways that companies can go about reducing carbon including really positive community building things like 773 774 investigate renewable energy and energy efficiency. 775 Another flexibility in the plan is the length of the 776 time to implement it. So all the way until 2030, states and

utilities would have to plan. So that builds in a lot of

flexibility right there. Now, this is also not a rule--some 778 779 environmental rules have an hourly emission rate that 780 companies are required to meet. This will not have that. It 781 will have an annual type of approach averaged over the year, 782 which means that if utilities need to have variation in their 783 emission rates over the course of the year, they will be able 784 to do that and still meet this because, for carbon, that 785 makes sense. 786 Another flexibility we built into the rule was allowing 787 states to join together with other states in regional plants, 788 which even opens up the flexibility even more. And we have 789 had a lot of interest from states in that, especially in--and 790 are looking at more informal and less complicated ways that 791 they could join up with one another or with other states. 792 Mrs. {Capps.} Thank you. You know, we have entrusted 793 EPA and this process with promoting and protecting clean air 794 for over 40 years. They have consistently performed well. 795 Since 1970, EPA has cut many dangerous air pollutants by 90 percent or more. I think we lose sight of that amazing fact. 796 797 And our economy, at the same time, has tripled in size. So 798 here is another question. Do you think EPA would have had

799 this much success protecting clean air and public health if states had been allowed to opt out of EPA regulations that 800 801 they didn't like over this long history? 802 Ms. {McCabe.} It has been absolutely essential that the 803 way Congress set up the Clean Air Act has worked for EPA to 804 set those national targets, and then every state to step up 805 and do their part. And as you recognized, air pollution 806 doesn't respect state boundaries. 807 Mrs. {Capps.} Absolutely. Just one--see if we can get this question in. As you know, the discussion draft before 808 809 us would not only allow states to simply opt out of the Clean 810 Power Plan if they don't want to participate, it would also 811 delay implementation of the plan indefinitely until every 812 lawsuit has been litigated. Ms. McCabe, is climate change an urgent problem or one that can wait indefinitely to be 813 814 addressed? 815 Ms. {McCabe.} Climate change, as is being emphasized by 816 scientists almost every day now, is something that we must 817 pay attention to and begin our work on now. 818 Mrs. {Capps.} Thank you, and I have one question. I

will just put it out if you have time to address it. Ms.

820 McCabe, what are some of the benefits that would likely be 821 denied to our constituents if this bill became law? Ms. {McCabe.} Well, this is part of a large effort, a 822 823 global effort, to address climate. This is a very 824 significant part of that. If we don't pay attention to the 825 increasing levels of carbon, we will see increasing weather 826 events, air pollution, droughts, and all of the health and 827 welfare impacts that come along with those sorts of events. 828 Mrs. {Capps.} Thank you very much. 829 Mr. {Whitfield.} At this time, I will recognize the gentleman from West Virginia, Mr. McKinley, for 5 minutes. 830 831 Mr. {McKinley.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And thank 832 you, Ms. McCabe, for appearing here. I have got three 833 questions if I can get to them kind of quickly with this. Representatives of FERC in 2014 made a statement and I was 834 835 just calling up on my computer, my little phone here, to find out what that statement was again. They said--because your 836 837 response earlier was you seemed to discount the reliability 838 by this, is what I heard, was the grid is going to be bombed 839 under this rule. But what he--but they went on to say--FERC 840 said that they worried that the electric grid doesn't have

- 841 the infrastructure to replace the retiring coal and nuclear
- 842 plants, saying some U.S. regions would be subject to rolling
- 843 black-outs due to this deficiency by the year 2017. Do you
- 844 agree with what FERC is concerned about?
- Ms. {McCabe.} I think we are all--we all want to make
- 846 sure that--
- 847 Mr. {McKinley.} That is a yes or a no. I have three I
- 848 am trying to get to.
- Ms. {McCabe.} No, I do not agree with that.
- Mr. {McKinley.} You don't agree with that statement?
- 851 Okay, thank you.
- 852 The second is that Mr. Pallone said that, and I
- 853 appreciate his remark, but he used a term, he said there are
- 854 bad states out there. Maybe West Virginia would be
- 855 considered a bad state in his eyes because 98 percent of the
- 856 power that we generate -- that we consume in West Virginia
- 857 comes from coal. So I am curious on this concept that you
- 858 are coming up with. What is the cap going to be in West
- 859 Virginia, and what is the alternative that we have? If we
- 860 burn coal, what are we supposed to do?
- Ms. {McCabe.} Yeah, so the proposal was designed to

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     accommodate states that burn a lot of coal, and states that
     don't. I come from Indiana. It is also a state that burns
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     predominantly coal, and when--
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          Ms. {McKinley.} Well, it says here you were to change
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     the heat rate. One of your blocks says change the heat rate,
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     but yet there is none--there is no increased funding under
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     the--or other groups to be able to do that research to be
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     able to accomplish it, so I am really concerned it is a
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     dream, an ideological dream, because I don't see how they are
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     going to cut back, but please, if you could, what is the cap,
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     what is the change in West Virginia, do you have a proposed
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     idea what you want to do in the CO2?
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          Ms. {McCabe.} I can't tell you now what change--
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          Mr. {McKinley.} Could you get back to me on that?
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          Ms. {McCabe.} Well, in the final rule, we will reflect
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     all the changes that --
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          Mr. {McKinley.} The final--
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          Ms. {McCabe.} --we will make.
          Mr. {McKinley.} Prior to the final rule, how are people
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     going to respond to that if they don't know what the effect
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it could have on a state like West Virginia?

883 Ms. {McCabe.} Well, states like West Virginia and others have given us lots of input suggesting ways in which 884 885 we ought to adjust their target. 886 Mr. {McKinley.} Okay, so you don't have a plan. 887 me--let's go to the third question. And I was reading the 888 testimony of the next panel, and there are increases in 889 residential electric costs associated with this Act, and will 890 be assessed in the context of the long-term declining trend 891 of real income among American families. And Congressman Rush 892 from Illinois made a good point, and he is concerned about 893 low income families. And--but low income families and 894 households have lost 13 percent of their income between 2001 895 and 2013. Thirteen percent of low income families are going 896 to struggle with this as a result of this. So my concerns 897 are with the--and we are going to spend \$7-1/2\$ to \$8.8898 billion perhaps in -- to be in compliance. It is going to be 899 passed on to the ratepayers. What am I supposed to tell 900 Mildred Schmidt who lives next-door to you or lives next-door to me, how is she going to deal with this issue? 901 902 Ms. {McCabe.} Well, given the reliance--the way the 903 industry is going in terms of employing energy efficiency, we

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     lay out that our proposal will lead to lower energy bills by
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     2030. So energy bills will go down, and that information is-
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907
          Mr. {McKinley.} But--
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          Ms. {McCabe.} --available to--
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          Mr. {McKinley.} --I want to make sure I am hearing--you
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     said energy prices are going to go down?
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          Ms. {McCabe.} Energy bills will go down, Congressman.
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          Mr. {McKinley.} How in the world are they going to go
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     down if we are spending this--
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          Ms. {McCabe.} With energy efficiency, people will be
915
     buying less electricity.
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          Mr. {McKinley.} And you are serious? You really--
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          Ms. {McCabe.} I--
          Mr. {McKinley.} --believe this?
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          Ms. {McCabe.} I do. We are seeing it all across the
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     country. We are seeing it in places like New England that
921
     have been very aggressive on energy efficiency. If we use
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     less energy, out bills can go down. And our carbon emissions
923
     can go down.
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Mr. {McKinley.} So you--so let me make sure I am clear.

- 925 You are saying--your testimony here before us that by the
- 926 time this thing is fully implemented, that the rate pay
- 927 through the--consumers are going to be paying less
- 928 electricity with electric bills as a result of having this
- 929 draconian standard forced upon them.
- 930 Ms. {McCabe.} That is what our analysis shows across
- 931 the country.
- 932 Mr. {McKinley.} Do you believe it yourself that it--
- 933 people--Mildred Schmidt is going to be paying less for her
- 934 electric bill?
- 935 Ms. {McCabe.} I believe that if we get serious about
- 936 energy efficiency and managing the--our use of electricity,
- 937 that that can lead to lower energy costs.
- 938 Mr. {McKinley.} Unbelievable. It just seems
- 939 delusional. Thank you very much.
- 940 Mr. {Whitfield.} I may just make one comment. The
- 941 Energy Information Agency just released a report showing the
- 942 electricity rates for the country between 2014 and 2015 have
- 943 gone up for the entire country.
- 944 At this time, I would like to recognize the gentleman
- 945 from Texas, Mr. Green, for 5 minutes.

946 Mr. {Green.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and ranking 947 member, for holding the hearing. The EPA's Clean Power Plan has been subject to much debate. The Supreme Court has 948 949 consistently agreed the EPA has the authority to regulate 950 greenhouse gases, so the legal challenges facing the Clean 951 Power Plan are very interesting. I have been in Congress for 952 some time, and since I joined the House, worked extensively 953 on trying to pass commonsense environmental legislation, and 954 unfortunately, we haven't done that in the last few years. 955 We need to work together to address the issues of carbon 956 emissions, and that doesn't mean eliminating certain fuels, 957 and it certainly doesn't mean eliminating the EPA. We need 958 to represent our constituents to find that exception or 959 compromise. I want to thank the EPA because we just learned 960 that the partnership with the input you are getting from 961 Federal Energy Regulatory Commission on the reliability issue. That is one of the concerns we have. Of course, if 962 963 there is a reliability issue it could also impact the prices 964 because some of our markets are competitive. So the EPA, at least from what I saw, understands they don't understand 965 966 reliability but FERC does, and so we want to make sure

967 whatever you do does not cause reliability issues in our 968 communities. 969 Recently, you and Administrator McCarthy indicated 970 willingness to address issues with the interim deadlines of 971 the CPP. I repeatedly supported efforts to implement rule 972 changes with timelines that allow industry time to adjust to 973 protect for reliability. It is important for the sake of our 974 economy, electricity reliability, and workforce that we give 975 ample time to implement the new rules. What types of 976 comments did EPA receive regarding the interim goals that led 977 the agency to make these statements? 978 Ms. {McCabe.} Yeah, that is an issue that we got a lot 979 of comment on, Congressman, and just to make sure everybody 980 knows, the ultimate compliance deadlines for the rule is 981 2030, but the proposal had an interim goal that would operate 982 between 2020 and 2029. And we heard from some states that 983 that posed a very substantial reduction on them early in the 984 process. Our intent was to make sure that progress was being made in this run up to 2030, but in a way that could be 985 986 moderately metered-in, in a way, so that reasonable choices 987 could be made.

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           So we have heard all the way from don't have any interim
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      targets, to other sorts of ideas about how to adjust those,
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     but primarily the issue has been don't have it so that any
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     one state has a significant initial reduction that they have
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     to make as quickly as 2020.
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          Mr. {Green.} Would interim relief provide states enough
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      time to draft state implementation plans and receive guidance
995
      from EPA?
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          Ms. {McCabe.} Certainly. And we are already gearing up
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     to provide states with guidance and information on how to put
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      their plans together.
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          Mr. {Green.} Does EPA believe that concrete monitoring
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      requirements and performance metrics would accomplish the
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      same goals as the Clean Power Plan but allow the states to
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      tailor a path to 2030?
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           Ms. {McCabe.} Well, the plan would allow the states
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      complete latitude to design plans that make sense for them.
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          Mr. {Green.} The--obviously, the large-scale reduction
      is challenging, especially when addressing the last few
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1007
     percentage points. Does EPA's Clean Power Plan include
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      graduation dates that -- to accommodate the states' efforts to
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- 1009 reduce emissions? Do they get credit over a period of 10 1010 years to 2030? 1011 Ms. {McCabe.} Yeah, sure. I mean they work their way 1012 down to that final timeline. And I should note too that as 1013 has always been the case with state implementation plans on 1014 air quality, there are opportunities along the way to make 1015 adjustments if needed. 1016 Mr. {Green.} How does EPA think--what does EPA think 1017 about the reliability safety valve for states requiring 1018 compliance and flexibility to address reliability issues 1019 would have FERC sign off on the nature of the reliability 1020 problem. Do you think that would be workable? 1021 Ms. {McCabe.} We think there are a number of good ideas 1022 about how to manage something like a reliability safety 1023 valve. You know, we employed something like that in the 1024 Mercury and Air Toxics Rule that has turned out to not be 1025 needed by very many people at all, but it was good to have it 1026 there as a backstop. And we are in good discussions with 1027 FERC about the options there.
- 1028 Mr. {Green.} So we are not reinventing the wheel here.

 1029 It has been used before and can be used again here?

1030 Ms. {McCabe.} That kind of approach was used before, 1031 that is right. 1032 Mr. {Green.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back. 1033 Mr. {Whitfield.} At this time recognize the gentleman 1034 from Pennsylvania, Mr. Pitts--no, Mr. Barton from Texas for 5 1035 minutes. 1036 Mr. {Barton.} I am willing to let Mr. Pitts go if he 1037 is--well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Pitts. 1038 Thank you, Ms. McCabe--Honorable McCabe, for being here. 1039 I have a few comments I want to make, then I have a--1040 several questions. 1041 My first comment is that there is absolutely no health 1042 benefit to this proposal. EPA's primary responsibility is to 1043 protect the public health, and the Clean Air Act gives the 1044 EPA wide authority and wide latitude in order to do that. It 1045 is one of the few federal agencies that has the authority to 1046 set a rule without any real consequences being looked at in 1047 terms of a cost benefit if the Administrator thinks that it 1048 is in the public interest, to protect the public health but 1049 this particular rule has no health benefit at all. What it

is is a politically correct social policy.

1051 Now, that may be acceptable, it may not be, but this is 1052 not a health-based rule. It is not a rule based on a real 1053 economic science, nor is it required by any existing federal 1054 There is no federal mandate and statute right now that requires this rule to be set. Again, it is simply the Obama 1055 1056 Administration deciding what is politically correct social 1057 policy, and they are hoisting it on the states to comply. 1058 I don't think it is going to actually be implemented, I 1059 think the courts are going to strike it down, but if it were 1060 to be implemented or attempted in a serious way to be 1061 implemented under the current timelines in the proposed rule, 1062 the only certainty would be that electricity rates would go, 1063 reliability would go down, and there would be routine 1064 blackouts in many parts of the country. Now, as you know, 1065 Madam Administrator, we had a blackout here in Washington, 1066 D.C., not too long ago, a temporary blackout. As you also 1067 know, we had a coal-fired power plant in Virginia that was in 1068 Virginia and was shut down not too many years ago. If that 1069 power plant had still been online, there wouldn't have been a 1070 blackout.

Now, I don't travel much internationally, but I do

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     travel some, and there are parts of the world where it is a
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     given that there is not 100 percent electricity reliability,
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      and people plan for it. Fortunately, we don't have to do
      that here in the United States, but if this rule were to
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     actually be implemented, that would become an occurrence that
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     would not be unusual.
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           Now, my first question to you is, what does the EPA
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     consider to be a -- an acceptable price for electricity for the
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     average retail consumer per kilowatt hours?
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           Ms. {McCabe.} I don't have an answer to that,
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      Congressman. We work--
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           Mr. {Barton.} You don't have an answer?
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           Ms. {McCabe.} We work with the energy regulators.
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     has been a significant issue that is not within EPA's
1086
      jurisdiction. What we do is we look at expected impacts on--
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           Mr. {Barton.} Well, do you accept that if you shut down
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      30 percent approximately of the coal-fired generation's
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      capacity in the United States, that there is going to be an
1090
     adverse price impact because of that?
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           Ms. {McCabe.} Well, I don't believe that our proposal
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predicts anywhere near that kind of impact.

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           Mr. {Barton.} Okay, what does--
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          Ms. {McCabe.} And I--
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           Mr. {Barton.} In your--what do you say--the studies I
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     have shown indicate that, but I am not as aware of all the
1097
     studies. What is the official EPA impact, and what percent
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     of the coal-fired power generation is going to be shut down
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     if this is implemented as the EPA projects it to be?
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          Ms. {McCabe.} Well, let me emphasize again that there
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     are lots of reasons why power plant shut down.
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          Mr. {Barton.} Well, why don't you just answer my
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     question?
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          Ms. {McCabe.} In the--
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           Mr. {Barton.} EPA certainly has some projection about
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     how many--what percentage the coal-fired capacity in the
1107
     United States of electricity generation is going to be down.
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          Ms. {McCabe.} In our--
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           Mr. {Barton.} I am told it is 20 to 30 percent.
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          Ms. {McCabe.} In our regulatory impact analysis, if I
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     remember correctly, and I will confirm this for you, I
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     believe that we projected that about 10 percent--
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          Mr. {Barton.} Ten percent.
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           Ms. {McCabe.} --of coal plants would become
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     uneconomical. Keeping in mind--
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          Mr. {Barton.} Did you--
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          Ms. {McCabe.} --that--
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           Mr. {Barton.} Did you provide that to the committee,
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     because that is about half of the most benign economic study
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      that I have seen. I am not saying you are wrong, I am just
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      saying it seems to be overly benign.
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          Ms. {McCabe.} We will confirm that for you, but that is
1123
     a reflection of the flexibility and the time that is allowed
1124
      in this plan, and the fact that the average age of the coal-
1125
      fired fleet in this country is--
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          Mr. {Barton.} Well, my time has already expired. Let
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     me ask one--do you think it is fair that one state, i.e., my
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     state, the state of Texas, by itself has to have 20 percent
1129
     of reductions for the whole country?
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           Ms. {McCabe.} The state of Texas has significant carbon
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     emissions because of its size and the amount of power that is
1132
     produced there.
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          Mr. {Barton.} So--
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          Ms. {McCabe.} This will--
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1135 Mr. {Barton.} The Obama Administration is just telling 1136 Texas to go jump in the lake, we don't care about your 1137 economy. 1138 Mr. {Whitfield.} Gentleman's time has expired. Ms. {McCabe.} Not at all. 1139 1140 Mr. {Whitfield.} At this time I would like to recognize 1141 the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Doyle, for 5 minutes. 1142 Mr. {Doyle.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And welcome. 1143 Administrator McCabe, a lot of people are speculating about 1144 the impact the rule is going to have on reliability in the 1145 grid, and we know it is a very elaborate, complicated 1146 machine. I am not sure there is any way to actually know the 1147 impact until states all submit and implement their respective 1148 plans, and because the grid is so interconnected and you 1149 expect 50 different state plans. Can you talk about the 1150 Administration's plan to ensure that all of these plans work 1151 together in a way that protects the reliability of the grid, 1152 because we know energy production and consumption isn't 1153 always limited by state lines? 1154 Ms. {McCabe.} Yeah. So there are a couple of good

points that you raise. One is that we don't know what the

1156 state plans will look like, and so a lot of the predictions 1157 about things that will or won't happen are based on people 1158 not knowing what choices states will make. The other is 1159 that, as you pointed out, it is an interconnected system. Ιn 1160 fact, many power companies themselves operate in multiple states. And what we are seeing, which is very positive, is 1161 1162 lots of conversations happening both between the energy 1163 regulators and the environmental regulators, and also between 1164 the power companies and the state governments across state 1165 lines in regions, talking about ways that they can work 1166 together. How the -- how states can set up their plans so that 1167 they can interconnect with each other in ways that make that 1168 sort of either averaging or working together across 1169 companies, across states, very easy to do. And all of those 1170 things will help make sure that power is where it needs to 1171 be, when it needs to be, over this long trajectory of 1172 implementation. 1173 Mr. {Doyle.} Let me ask you about how this proposed 1174 rule treats nuclear power, specifically, existing plants 1175 which we have in Pennsylvania. It is, as you know, our only 1176 source of reliable base-load electricity that is carbon-free,

1177 but my understanding is the proposed rule gives states little 1178 credit for preserving plants in the nuclear fleet, 1179 approximately a 6 percent credit. Is EPA reconsidering how 1180 it treats existing nuclear power plants in its rule? It 1181 seems to me that any nuclear power plant whose operator makes 1182 the significant investment to pursue relicensing during the 1183 compliance period, that should be treated as new capacity. 1184 And I say that because there is no quarantee that the NRC 1185 would grant such a license, and it is far from assured that 1186 plant operators will make the commitment and spend the money 1187 to pursue relicensing when many of these plants are already 1188 financially challenged. So it just seems to me if we start 1189 to lose a large chunk of our nuclear fleet, I don't see how 1190 we are going to meet our greenhouse gas goals. 1191 Ms. {McCabe.} Yeah. 1192 Mr. {Doyle.} So how are you going to treat the 1193 existing--1194 Ms. {McCabe.} That is a very good point, and we did 1195 receive a lot of input on how we proposed to handle nuclear 1196 plants, so we are thinking very hard about that. Our intent 1197 certainly is not to put any barriers in the way of continued

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1198
     use of nuclear power seeking relicensing, upgrading, if that
1199
      is appropriate, plants that are under construction going
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      forward. We also recognize some of the challenges that that
      industry is facing today, and we don't want the Clean Power
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1202
      Plan to interfere with the use of that power. So we are
1203
      looking at all of that, Congressman, and we will be
1204
     addressing--
1205
           Mr. {Doyle.} And are you considering looking at
1206
     relicensing as--
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          Ms. {McCabe.} We are looking hard at that issue and
1208
      considering what our options are there.
1209
          Mr. {Doyle.} I see. Also I want to talk a little bit
1210
      about the concerns people have of the impact on base-load
1211
     power plants. You know, we can argue over the merits of this
1212
      type of power, but for the time being and the foreseeable
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      future, these are the plants that are providing the bulk
1214
     power that we rely on. Are you concerned about the impact
1215
      that closures on the grid, its operation, its ability to
1216
     perform in severe circumstances, has the EPA conducted any
1217
      low-flow analysis to determine the impact on power flows and
1218
     grid stability--
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1219
           Ms. {McCabe.} Well--
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           Mr. {Doyle.} --both on this rule?
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           Ms. {McCabe.} As part of our proposal, we took a look
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      forward and it is not a reliability analysis in that normal
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      sense of the word, but we took a look into the future and we
1224
     are comfortable that what we were putting forward was a
1225
      reasonable approach to -- in order to preserve reliability.
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     Coal would remain about 30 percent of the nation's power
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      supply in 2030, so many of those base-load plants would
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     become efficient and would continue to operate. There are
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      lots of other organizations that are looking at these issues.
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     The Federal Energy Regulatory Commission just held a series
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     of 4 hearings that we attended and were very involved in. So
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     we--this is not EPA's area of expertise, so we know that we
1233
     need to be communicating and working with the agencies whose
1234
      expertise it is to make sure that we are doing this right.
1235
           Mr. {Doyle.} Thank you.
1236
           Mr. Chairman, thank you.
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           Mr. {Whitfield.} Thank you.
1238
           At this time recognize the gentleman from Pennsylvania,
1239
     Mr. Pitts, for 5 minutes. Gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Latta,
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- 1240 for 5 minutes.
- 1241 Mr. {Latta.} Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. And, Madam
- 1242 Administrator, thanks very much for being with today.
- 1243 In the proposed Clean Power Plan, EPA estimates costs of
- 1244 between \$5.5 billion and \$8.8 billion every year for each of
- 1245 the years from 2020 through 2030. Are these costs over and
- 1246 above the costs associated with EPA's Mercury and Air Toxics
- 1247 Rule, which EPA estimates will cost about \$9.6 billion
- 1248 annually in the coming years?
- 1249 Ms. {McCabe.} Those are costs associated with this
- 1250 program.
- 1251 Mr. {Latta.} Let me ask, now, how did you come up with
- 1252 those estimates?
- 1253 Ms. {McCabe.} We used a--standard approaches and guided
- 1254 by quidance from the Office of Management and Budget, working
- 1255 with our economists in EPA to make determinations about the
- 1256 expected costs and the benefits.
- 1257 Mr. {Latta.} Okay. And, you know, just to follow up
- 1258 where Mr. Barton was with his questioning. Has the EPA done
- 1259 an analysis of the accumulated effect on the electricity
- 1260 rates of all its recent major air rules affecting power

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1261
     plants?
           Ms. {McCabe.} No. No, we haven't.
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1263
           Mr. {Latta.} You have not?
           Ms. {McCabe.} I don't believe we have.
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1265
           Mr. {Latta.} Okay. Given the billions of dollars and
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      new costs from these rules that have not yet been reflected
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      in the rates, shouldn't the EPA be producing a clear
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      cumulative assessment for the public to review? And just to,
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      you know, I know the folks in this committee have heard me
1270
      say it before, but I represent a district of about 60,000
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     manufacturing jobs, and a lot of my jobs out there are in
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     plants that use--that are really high users of electricity
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      that keep these people working every day, but is there a
1274
      clear cumulative assessment for the public to review out
1275
      there from the EPA?
1276
           Ms. {McCabe.} Well, it is -- there are many things that --
1277
      of course, as you know, that go into the cost of electricity,
1278
      and so EPA, as we are required to do, for each program we
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      look at the costs associated with that program, and each
1280
     program before it has looked at the costs associated with
1281
      that program.
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Mr. {Latta.} And, you know, on the next panel you might 1282 1283 have already seen who is going to be testifying before us, 1284 but the next panel we have some very powerful testimony about 1285 the impact the higher rates on families with middle or lower 1286 incomes, and what assurances can we give these ratepayers in 1287 31 states reviewed that they don't need to be concerned about 1288 higher electricity rates? 1289 Ms. {McCabe.} Well, I think as we have discussed 1290 already here this morning, there are a number of elements 1291 that go into this proposal and will go into the final rule 1292 that will give states flexibility to make sure that they are 1293 implementing this in a way that can protect especially lower 1294 income ratepayers, which is something that states are very 1295 conscious of, and have tools at their disposal to do. 1296 Mr. {Latta.} Great, I was just talking a bit about what happened in my state, in Ohio, under the EPA--under Ohio 1297 1298 EPA's comments on the proposed Clean Power Plan. It 1299 indicated that compliance with building block 2, and building 1300 block 2 was the use low emitting power sources, using lower 1301 emitting power plants more frequently to meet demands means 1302 less carbon pollution is what it says here in building block

1303 2. Under the Ohio EPA's testimony, they are looking at the 1304 cost to Ohioans of approximately \$2.5 billion more for 1305 electricity rates in 2025 alone. And similarly, the 1306 chairperson of the Wisconsin Public Service Commission 1307 recently testified that the proposed Clean Power Plan would 1308 cost Wisconsin ratepayers between \$3.1 billion and \$13.4 1309 billion, and this is only a production cost increase. It 1310 does not include necessary upgrades to the gas and electric 1311 transmission infrastructure that is also going to add up to 1312 the cost for compliance. Are these types of costs to 1313 implement the Clean Power Plan acceptable to the EPA's 1314 perspective? 1315 Ms. {McCabe.} Well, I--it is hard to assess costs for a 1316 plan that no state has developed yet and so I can't really 1317 speak to that, but I will point out that in the industry, we 1318 are seeing an increased use of gas and less use of coal 1319 because of fuel prices, gas-based generation is quite 1320 economical compared to coal, and so this is the way the 1321 industry is going. That is exactly how the Clean Air Act 1322 tells us to build our rule is to look at the direction that the industry is going and set targets based on that. 1323

1324 Mr. {Latta.} Well, and, you know, like in the State of Ohio we have a lot of plants that are either going to have to 1325 1326 be shutting down or converting. The number is over 40, but 1327 we have to also consider in that number and that cost that 1328 they are either going to have to convert those plants or 1329 build brand new plants. And so just because the cost of a certain energy out there might be lower today, we still have 1330 1331 to have the infrastructure and the plant to be able to 1332 produce that power. And so I think those are things that, 1333 you know, the EPA has to really look at when you are looking 1334 at these numbers. 1335 Mr. Chairman, I see my time has expired and I yield 1336 back. 1337 Mr. {Whitfield.} Gentleman yields back. 1338 At this time recognize gentleman from Kentucky, Mr. 1339 Yarmuth, for 5 minutes. 1340 Mr. {Yarmuth.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Administrator, 1341 thank you for being here today. You know, I haven't been on 1342 the committee for a long time, and already this conversation 1343 is sounding a lot like Groundhog Day, which is okay because I know my lines in this play. One of the things that astounds 1344

me as we talk about environmental issues, and we do week 1345 after week in this subcommittee, is that we get a lot of 1346 1347 alarmist talk and this has been the historical pattern for as 1348 long as the EPA has been in existence, and I recall the same 1349 kind of concerns with acid rain, the same kind of concerns 1350 with mercury, and the same kind of concerns when we passed 1351 Waxman-Markey, at least in the House, in 2009. So just as a-1352 -an analysis that I make, when we were analyzing Waxman-1353 Markey back in 2009, and we had made some significant changes 1354 in the way the original bill was introduced that made it 1355 easier for states like Kentucky, which gets 92 percent of its 1356 energy from coal, to comply without an adverse impact on our 1357 constituents, I started calling on major users of 1358 electricity, UPS, or the global hub of UPS, Ford Motor 1359 Company, General Electric, the Louisville Metro Government, 1360 University of Louisville, all of those users, and without exception they were either for the plan or neutral on the 1361 1362 plan. So they had made an assessment that there was not going to be a significant impact on their utility costs. 1363 1364 this rule has now been circulating -- this proposed rule has 1365 been circulating, I have waited for my constituents to chime

in, and the same reaction I have gotten, we haven't heard 1366 1367 from anybody who is concerned about the long-term 1368 implications of this new rule. And I think the reason is 1369 that early on the EPA did allow flexibility--include flexibility among the states. Our governor and our energy 1370 1371 department came up with a plan that they thought could help 1372 us comply with minimal impact on our consumer rates, and we 1373 have to reduce our emissions by 18 percent between now and 1374 2030 under the rule. That is a little more than 1 percent a 1375 year. So when you actually frame it that way, the idea that 1376 we couldn't come up with 1 percent reduction a year just by 1377 using conservation, changing installation patterns, classes, 1378 so forth, is kind of silly. And I suspect, and with all due 1379 deference to Texas, I don't know Texas' situation, it seems 1380 to me that that is a small price to pay to have a reduction--1381 a significant reduction in carbon emissions. In my district, 1382 carbon emissions not only add to global climate change but 1383 also to respiratory problems. As always, it was a documented 1384 correlation between emission of carbon dioxide and those 1385 problems. We have a huge problem in the immediate proximity to power plants in my district in Louisville. So all of 1386

these things, these doom and gloom scenarios, and I don't 1387 1388 want to use the pun of the sky is falling, but the doom and 1389 gloom scenarios seem to me to not play out in reality. 1390 So one question I would ask you is that under the 1391 proposed terms of the legislation that we are discussing, do 1392 you see any scenario in which opting out of--refusing to do 1393 your own plan or opting out of a federal plan would result in 1394 a safe, low cost, and clean electricity system going forward? 1395 Ms. {McCabe.} I think it would be very disruptive to 1396 have a system where states could opt out of a federally 1397 required plan that other states are doing, and especially 1398 with an interconnected, interstate power system. 1399 Mr. {Yarmuth.} The chairman asked a little while ago, 1400 and the chairman is a good friend, why we were doing this, 1401 the proposed rule, when there are so many--being filed, my 1402 state has joined, and my--full disclosure, and I think we can 1403 probably say the same thing--ask the same question about this 1404 bill. Why would we do this when this bill passed and get 1405 vetoed, and it would never be overridden, but we are getting, 1406 again, to make the same arguments that we made week after 1407 week after week. So I want to thank you for your work.

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1408 Again, I think thanking you for providing the states the
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- 1409 flexibility to tailor their plans, and if we go forward and
- 1410 this is the final action, Kentucky will have a very workable
- 1411 plan to meet the obligations of the Act, and with minimal
- 1412 impact on our consumers. So thank you for that.
- 1413 And I yield back.
- 1414 Mr. {Whitfield.} At this time recognize the gentleman
- 1415 from Kansas, Mr. Pompeo, for 5 minutes.
- 1416 Mr. {Pompeo.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And thank you
- 1417 for being here today Ms. McCabe.
- 1418 I saw a recent trade report that said there were roughly
- 1419 640-plus state implementation plans that were backlogged. Is
- 1420 that report correct or roughly correct?
- 1421 Ms. {McCabe.} That sounds about right. That refers to
- 1422 a number of different submissions that states would have
- 1423 made, some of them very minor.
- Mr. {Pompeo.} Could you provide us a list of all those
- 1425 650-plus backlog--
- Ms. {McCabe.} I don't think--
- 1427 Mr. {Pompeo.} --SIPs?
- 1428 Ms. {McCabe.} I don't think we have a list of them all

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1429
     because these are handled by our regional offices.
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          Mr. {Pompeo.} Could you not put them all together? I
1431
     mean--
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          Ms. {McCabe.} Well, I will take that back--
1433
          Mr. {Pompeo.} That same--
1434
          Ms. {McCabe.} I will take that back, Congressman.
1435
          Mr. {Pompeo.} Wow, can't put together a list from the
1436
      regions, that is something. Does that not indicate that when
1437
      these states put together these plans, these are very short
1438
     timelines for approvals, they didn't--implementation plans,
1439
     that there is some risk that the Clean Power Plan might not
1440
     be able to work, you just don't have the resources to do that
1441
     and approve these plans in a timely fashion?
1442
          Ms. {McCabe.} No, I expect that the agency would make
1443
     sure that we--
1444
          Mr. {Pompeo.} So you get to these and you put these
1445
     other 655 in the back of the queue?
1446
           Ms. {McCabe.} Well, Congressman, if I could take a
1447
     minute and explain. The--
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          Mr. {Pompeo.} You can take about 10 seconds.
1449
          Ms. {McCabe.} We work with the states to prioritize the
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1450
     plans that they submit to us that make the most different for
1451
     public health and welfare in the states, and some are less
1452
     critical, and so they -- we don't get to them as guickly.
1453
           Mr. {Pompeo.} You said a minute ago that you thought
1454
      that the cost for consumers would be reduced, as a result, at
1455
     the end of 2030 ratepayers would have a lower burden, is that
1456
     correct?
1457
           Ms. {McCabe.} That is what our regulatory impact
1458
     analysis says.
1459
           Mr. {Pompeo.} Why on earth are you worried about a
1460
      state opting out if this is so great? You seem very
1461
     concerned that a state might opt--I can't imagine some
1462
      governor opting out when it is going to save his ratepayers
1463
     money. I am interested in why you are concerned about that.
1464
           Ms. {McCabe.} Well, I think we are hearing from a
1465
     number of states that they don't agree with this program, and
      so it seems like there might well be states that would--
1466
1467
           Mr. {Pompeo.} Why do you think--
1468
           Ms. {McCabe.} --opt--
1469
           Mr. {Pompeo.} --you know more than they do--
1470
          Ms. {McCabe.} Well--
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1471
          Mr. {Pompeo.} --about what it is going to cost the
1472
      ratepayers? I mean if this is such genius and such glory,
1473
     and such an enormous cost savings, why aren't--you said the
1474
     northeast was doing it already, right? Didn't you say the
1475
     northeast was already doing efficiency gains?
1476
          Ms. {McCabe.} Yes.
1477
           Mr. {Pompeo.} Why do we need this rule? It is--this is
1478
     beautiful, this is lower cost and lower CO2, this is magic.
1479
           Ms. {McCabe.} Well, this is an urgent environmental
1480
     public health and economic problem that we are faced with--
1481
          Mr. {Pompeo.} And you assume the governors care about
1482
      that too, right? These aren't bad--these governors aren't up
1483
      to hurt the people in their state, correct?
1484
          Ms. {McCabe.} The states are moving in different
1485
     directions--
1486
          Mr. {Pompeo.} No, answer my question. Yes or no, are
1487
      governors trying to harm the health of their constituents?
1488
          Ms. {McCabe.} I assume the governors are not trying to
1489
     harm the--
1490
          Mr. {Pompeo.} Right, and they would like to reduce the
1491
     rates for their constituents too, is that right?
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1492
          Ms. {McCabe.} I would--
1493
          Mr. {Pompeo.} So why--tell me why this is--why your
1494
     rule is needed if this is such an uninhibited good.
1495
          Ms. {McCabe.} Under the Clean Air Act, we have an
1496
      obligation to address air pollution that is harming the
1497
     public wealth and-health and welfare. Carbon has been
1498
      identified and confirmed now by the Supreme Court that it is
1499
     doing that. We are moving forward with--
1500
          Mr. {Pompeo.} Let's get to health. You talked about
1501
     asthma. How many fewer asthma cases as a result of the Clean
1502
     Power Plan?
1503
          Ms. {McCabe.} We predicted there would be thousands of
1504
      fewer exacerbated asthma--
1505
          Mr. {Pompeo.} How many? Where is the report, where is
      the study that shows exactly how many fewer asthma--
1506
1507
          Ms. {McCabe.} Those predictions are laid out in our
1508
     regulatory impact analysis.
1509
          Mr. {Pompeo.} How much more increased snowpack as the
1510
     result of the Clean Power Plan?
1511
          Ms. {McCabe.} That is not something that we predicted,
     and that is not something that you could predict from--
1512
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1513
          Mr. {Pompeo.} These are your indicators. These are
1514
     EPA's indicators of climate change. They are on your Web
1515
     site. I am staring at it right now.
1516
          Ms. {McCabe.} Yes.
1517
           Mr. {Pompeo.} I assume there will be a benefit to the
1518
      snowpack, so how much more snowpack as a result of the Clean
1519
     Power Plan?
1520
          Ms. {McCabe.} Climate change is affected by many things
1521
     and needs to be looked at over a long--
1522
          Mr. {Pompeo.} You can't--yes or no, will there be more
1523
      snowpack as a result of this rule or less?
1524
          Ms. {McCabe.} That is not something you can predict.
1525
          Mr. {Pompeo.} So you don't know. The answer is you
1526
     don't know.
1527
          Ms. {McCabe.} That is not something that is predictable
1528
     bv--
1529
          Mr. {Pompeo.} How many fewer heat-related deaths as a
1530
     result of the Clean Power Plan?
1531
          Ms. {McCabe.} The--I don't know. I will--
1532
          Mr. {Pompeo.} You don't know? How much sea-level rise
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will be diminished as a result of the Clean Power Plan?

1534 Ms. {McCabe.} This is one step, Congressman. It takes 1535 many, many steps. 1536 Mr. {Pompeo.} Right. The answer is you don't know, correct? You don't know the answer to the question. You 1537 1538 don't know. These are your indicators, this is your science, 1539 this is your assertion, it is in deep disagreement with lots 1540 of other folks who have a different view of this, and yet you 1541 won't put forward the health-related benefits that are 1542 associated with this in a scientific way. Instead, you come 1543 before us today and make assertions unsupported by data, 1544 unsupported by science, and you list a series of indicators 1545 and you say, gosh, we are going to put this enormous cost--1546 your own data says in the billions of dollars, but we don't 1547 know what health impact this will have on America. Mr. McKinley said earlier this is delusional. It is worse than 1548 1549 that; it is unfounded in science. And for that reason alone, 1550 we need to move forward with this legislation. 1551 And, Mr. Chairman, I thank you for having this hearing 1552 today. 1553 Mr. {Whitfield.} At this time recognize the gentleman

from New York, Mr. Engel, for 5 minutes.

1555 Mr. {Engel.} Thank you. I would like to first give 1556 Administrator McCabe a chance to answer some of these 1557 questions because I don't understand why some governors have 1558 an ideological -- they seem to do things that would pollute the 1559 air and not be very beneficial to their constituents. Would 1560 you care to elaborate any more because you didn't have very 1561 much chance to expand on your thoughts? 1562 Ms. {McCabe.} Well, people have different views, and 1563 states take different approaches to things. What I was 1564 trying to say, Congressman, and I appreciate you giving me 1565 the opportunity, is that Congress, in setting up the Clean 1566 Air Act, set up a system where the Federal Government would 1567 set expectations for protecting public health and welfare 1568 across the country, recognizing that states make different 1569 choices, but also recognizing that a child in Washington 1570 State and a child in Florida should have just as clean an 1571 environment, regardless of individual choices that their 1572 states might make. 1573 Mr. {Engel.} Yes, I couldn't agree with you more. 1574 let me remind my colleagues that the Clean Air Act was enacted by an overwhelming bipartisan majority, was signed 1575

1576 into law by President Nixon, and it stands as one of the most 1577 successful public health laws in our nation's history. 1578 Today's discussion draft would definitely delay 1579 implementation of the Clean Power Plan, and allow governors 1580 to essentially opt out if they and they alone determine that 1581 their compliance would adversely impact ratepayers or 1582 electric reliability. It is a fact, is it not, that the 1583 United States emits more carbon pollution than any other 1584 nation except China, and existing power plants are the 1585 country's largest single source of carbon pollution? Is that 1586 a fact? 1587 Ms. {McCabe.} That is correct. 1588 Mr. {Engel.} So it is obvious that these emissions have 1589 significant health impacts that threaten the lives and 1590 wellbeing of people all over America. But since 1970, we 1591 have cut many dangerous air pollutants by 90 percent or more, 1592 and while our economy has tripled in size, and I believe that 1593 means millions of lives have been saved and illnesses 1594 avoided, and let me quote an EPA analysis which estimates 1595 that in the year 2010 alone, the Clean Air Act has prevented over 160,000 premature deaths, 130,000 cases of heart 1596

1597 disease, 1.7 million asthma attacks, 86,000 hospital 1598 admissions, and billions of respiratory illnesses. The 1599 monetary value saving Americans from those harms is projected 1600 to reach \$2 trillion in the year 2020 alone, and from 1990 1601 through 2020, the monetary value to Americans is projected to 1602 exceed the cost by a factor of more than 30 to 1. 1603 I am particularly interested in, Madam Administrator, 1604 because my district has some of the highest rates of asthma 1605 in the United States, rates of death of asthma in the Bronx 1606 where I am from are about three times higher than the 1607 national average, hospitalization rates are about five times 1608 higher, and it seems to me that today's discussion draft 1609 would endanger lives and jeopardize health are dramatically 1610 weakening and delaying Clean Air Act safeguards. 1611 So let me ask you, Madam Administrator, will you please 1612 talk about how air pollution impacts the health of our 1613 communities, and explain how this discussion draft would 1614 delay or prevent the air quality benefits of the Clean Power 1615 Plan? 1616 Ms. {McCabe.} Well, it is very clear that air pollution

does affect the health of people in our communities, and

especially people who--low income and communities of color 1618 1619 that already are suffering from a variety of pressures on 1620 their health and on their healthcare. Higher levels of 1621 particulates and nitrogen oxides and sulfur dioxide lead to 1622 asthma, as well as heart attacks, other sorts of respiratory 1623 illnesses, and in some cases premature death. And all of 1624 that information is very well established and very well laid 1625 out. So the Clean Air Act has been incredibly helpful to the 1626 public health of this country, saving much suffering, much 1627 cost to those families' lives and to the economy from the 1628 healthcare costs avoided. 1629 Mr. {Elmer.} Can you elaborate on the state 1630 flexibility, because there is flexibility, of the Clean Power 1631 Plan in terms of state implementation? 1632 Ms. {McCabe.} Yes. There is a long trajectory in time 1633 for states to design plans that work for them. There is no 1634 prescribed approach for any state to follow, so they can be 1635 very respectful of their particular power sources and the needs of their communities. There is the ability for states 1636 1637 to cooperate with other states, either near or far, in small 1638 or large groups, to widen the pool of cost-effective

- 1639 approaches. So this system which Congress set up to allow
- 1640 states to do these sorts of plans is very well designed to
- 1641 afford lots of flexibility.
- Mr. {Elmer.} Well, thank you. And thank you very much,
- 1643 and I am very pleased that you are raising these issues today
- 1644 because the health of our constituents depend on it. Thank
- 1645 you so much.
- 1646 Ms. {McCabe.} Thank you.
- 1647 Mr. {Whitfield.} At this time recognize the gentleman
- 1648 from Illinois, Mr. Kinzinger, for 5 minutes.
- 1649 Mr. {Kinzinger.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 1650 Administrator, thank you for being here with us. Appreciate
- 1651 your service and to be willing to come in front of the
- 1652 committee.
- 1653 In the proposed rule, your agency sets out--states
- 1654 specific goals for reducing carbon dioxide in the power
- 1655 generation section. More specifically, the rule says that
- 1656 once final goals have been promulgated, a state will no
- 1657 longer have an opportunity to request that the EPA adjust CO2
- 1658 goals. I just want to delve into that a little bit just so
- 1659 that I know. In the final rule, will the carbon dioxide

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goals set for each state be fixed, or will they be fixed in
1660
1661
     number?
1662
           Ms. {McCabe.} That is what we proposed, and so we are
      looking at the comments that we received on that,
1663
1664
      Congressman, but that is -- so we are looking at that, but --
1665
           Mr. {Kinzinger.} Okay.
1666
           Ms. {McCabe.} The idea is that states should be able,
1667
      once the rule is final, to go forward and develop and
1668
      implement their plan.
1669
           Mr. {Kinzinger.} So let me delve into that a little
1670
      further. You know, I have seen a number of studies come out
1671
      recently concerning the price, we have talked about that a
1672
      lot, the price increase with these rules potentially. Will
1673
      there be an opportunity for a state to request that the EPA
1674
      adjust those goals if the state administrators find that
1675
      those goals will cause electricity prices to substantially
1676
      increase?
1677
           Ms. {McCabe.} That is not what we propose. We believe
      that the plan allows enough flexibility that states should be
1678
1679
      able to implement these plans in a way that is reasonable--
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Mr. {Kinzinger.} Well--

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1681
           Ms. {McCabe.} -- and will protect--
1682
           Mr. {Kinzinger.} What kind of flexibility--I mean if
1683
      you have a number that is set and when the state basically
1684
      comes back and says, hey, look, we have information that says
1685
      this is going to skyrocket prices on our customers, what is
1686
      the flexibility that we can adjust that besides actually
1687
      adjusting that if that number stays fixed?
1688
           Ms. {McCabe.} Well, if--I would say that if a state
1689
      found some sort of extraordinary problem with the plan that
1690
      it had developed, there is always the ability to come back
1691
     and talk to EPA about making adjustments, but it is important
1692
     that--
1693
           Mr. {Kinzinger.} You just said it is fixed though, it
1694
      is a fixed number.
1695
           Ms. {McCabe.} But it is important that the goals be
1696
     clear and it is important that the goals be fairly set across
1697
     the country from--
1698
           Mr. {Kinzinger.} Well, yeah, and I get the clear thing,
     and if this works out, I would imagine a state would want to
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1700
      stick with it if, as you say, this drives down prices and it
1701
      is amazing, but if they find out that this isn't, you know,
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1702 quite what it is sold to be, I mean I would think that there 1703 would be an opportunity to address that beyond extraordinary 1704 measures, something that would be--doesn't even have to be 1705 extraordinary, just taking measures to adjust something that 1706 doesn't seem to be working out. 1707 Ms. {McCabe.} I think we need to remember that these 1708 plans will be implemented in the context of the changes that 1709 are happening in the energy system now. So--1710 Mr. {Kinzinger.} So the same is for the assigned goals 1711 in terms of reliability should there be an opportunity if 1712 reliability, not just pricing, you know, pricing we can get, 1713 but reliability is the real national security issue, would 1714 there be an opportunity for states to make an adjustment if 1715 that situation became--1716 Ms. {McCabe.} Right. So as I have said already this 1717 morning, we are looking at talking with organizations like 1718 FERC and others who are expert in these issues to make sure 1719 that our final rule will protect reliability. 1720 Mr. {Kinzinger.} Well, I would hope so, and I just want

to add that, you know, look, pricing increases to me is very

important and it is very detrimental, but I think even above

1721

1723 that is, you know, power reliability issues, and there ought 1724 to be a real off-ramp. And I would also add, you know, and I 1725 think I would probably get the same result from you, but when 1726 it comes to like issues of job loss, if it is proven that 1727 this could create job loss, there ought to be an opportunity 1728 for states to make adjustment. Would there be any other 1729 federal agency or state agency that would have a role in 1730 deciding whether to change the goal at this point if you were 1731 setting out goals for states, any agency besides yours that 1732 would have any input in that? 1733 Ms. {McCabe.} Well, it is really EPA's responsibility 1734 under the Clean Air Act to make those decisions. 1735 Mr. {Kinzinger.} Okay. And I just--I already talked 1736 about, you know, the issue of an off-ramp if you have 1737 reliability and you are going to want to put in a good word 1738 for that because I think that will be extremely important, 1739 and you have probably seen that in a lot of your comments. 1740 So, you know, with all the regulations coming down from EPA, 1741 and the discussion of this, are we locking states into 1742 economic hardship in regards to these mandates coming down from the Federal Government as a result of these duly 1743

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1744
     proposed rules?
1745
           Ms. {McCabe.} I would say that we are not, Congressman.
1746
      I know there is a lot of debate about those issues, but I
1747
     would encourage people to think about the flexibility that is
1748
     here, the opportunities that people are seeing, there is a
1749
      lot of positive conversation going on around the country.
1750
           Mr. {Kinzinger.} I agree, and I would love to see
1751
     positive conversation and flexibility when it comes to your
1752
      role in this because I think, you know, listening to the
1753
      states on the ground that have a real interest in this that,
1754
      you know, live this day-by-day, you know, I fly airplanes, I
1755
      am not a manufacturer so I listen to a lot of manufacturers
1756
      about what works with that. It has become an -- so I would
1757
     hope you would listen to states in this process and
1758
     understand what situations may come along.
1759
           With that, I will yield back.
           Mr. {Whitfield.} Gentleman yields back.
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1761
           At this time recognize the gentlelady from Florida, Ms.
1762
      Castor, for 5 minutes.
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           Ms. {Castor.} Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. And
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1764

welcome, Administrator McCabe.

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           As--under current laws, EPA begins down the road with
      the Clean Power Plan, you--EPA will set the overall carbon
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1767
     emission reduction goals under Section 111(d) of the Clean
1768
     Air Act, and then it is up to states to determine how best to
     achieve the reductions. And as states begin to set the goals
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1770
     and establish plans for carbon reduction, it is clear that
1771
     consumers' pocketbooks will be better off when states plan
1772
     ahead, and when they use many different and varied tools to
1773
     reduce carbon emission. You mentioned a few here today.
1774
     Conservation plans for states, are they going to be--
1775
     consumers going to be better off if a state has a robust
1776
     conservation plan?
1777
          Ms. {McCabe.} Yes, they will.
          Ms. {Castor.} And energy efficiency?
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1779
          Ms. {McCabe.} Yes, absolutely.
1780
          Ms. {Castor.} So what do you say to states that are
1781
     moving backwards on that today?
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          Ms. {McCabe.} Well, it seems that there are
1783
     opportunities out there that we would think every state would
1784
     want to take advantage of, and some states are further ahead
1785
     than others and that is what the Clean Power Plan
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1786 anticipates, is that those kinds of measures will indeed be 1787 implemented. 1788 Ms. {Castor.} Wouldn't that raise a red flag for 1789 consumers if they know, okay, we have to have -- we have to 1790 reduce carbon pollution but then leadership at the state 1791 level says, well, we are--our idea of doing that is to 1792 eliminate conservation goals, shouldn't that raise a red flag 1793 for consumers and their pocketbooks? 1794 Ms. {McCabe.} Well, a lot of Americans across the 1795 country are very smart about these issues, and we are hearing 1796 that they are in favor of moving forward with this kind of 1797 plan for both the economic and the public health benefits 1798 that it will provide. 1799 Ms. {Castor.} Now, what is the starting line on this? 1800 What--for states, what is the--what do you tell them is the 1801 baseline, because you have to establish a place in time where 1802 all states have to start, and then measure their plans and 1803 their goals for reduction. 1804 Ms. {McCabe.} Right. So we started with 2012. 1805 a rule that requires us, as I have mentioned this morning, to

look around and see the effective measures that are being

1807 used, and have an expectation that those will be increasingly 1808 used all across the country. So that is what we did, but we 1809 looked at states where they were in 2012 and projected 1810 forward. 1811 Ms. {Castor.} So if they have reduced their carbon 1812 emissions from 2012, they will get some credit towards that--1813 their state goals. 1814 Ms. {McCabe.} Well, their carbon emissions are down. 1815 They have already taken steps to implement energy 1816 efficiencies, invest in renewables, their carbon emissions 1817 are already going down so they are that much closer to their 1818 goal. 1819 Ms. {Castor.} Is there any way for a state to get 1820 credit for reduction prior to that date of 2012? 1821 Ms. {McCabe.} Well, this is a good issue, and a lot of 1822 people have raised it to us and given us different ideas 1823 about it. The key issue is any reduction made early is a 1824 reduction that doesn't need to be made later. So that is a very good thing for people to do, and as you have noted, 1825 1826 planning, having a robust planning process is going to make

it the most cost-effective, affordable, and reliable as the

1828 states implement their plans. 1829 Ms. {Castor.} Now, one of the problems I see in--1830 especially in my home State of Florida where the costs of the 1831 changing climate are so severe in the years is the problem 1832 the state utility framework and how--and the costs that they 1833 can consider because, typically, in the Public Service 1834 Commission framework and utility regulations, they don't 1835 consider costs of flood insurance, because the -- of sea level 1836 rise, they don't consider cost of property insurance 1837 increases on consumers, they don't have to take into account 1838 increases to property taxes when a local government has to 1839 address flooding from storm water. Can the EPA provide any 1840 guidance to states on this, or you say you have all the 1841 flexibility in the world, states, and you need to consider 1842 those costs broadly? 1843 Ms. {McCabe.} Well, we do give--the Clean Air Act gives 1844 the states the flexibility to do that. I will note that we 1845 predict in our regulatory impact analysis a significant debt economic benefits from this rule on the order of 30 to \$49 1846 1847 billion, and that is taking into account the expected 1848 benefits to constituents like yours in Florida that are

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1849
      seeing the impacts of climate change today.
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           Ms. {Castor.} I am sorry, I have ran out of time.
1851
      Thank you.
1852
           Mr. {Whitfield.} At this time recognize the gentleman
1853
      from Virginia, Mr. Griffith, for 5 minutes.
1854
           Mr. {Griffith.} Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.
1855
           In response to your answers to several people, including
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     Representatives McKinley and Pompeo, I would just have to
1857
     point out that the Virginia State Corporation Commission does
1858
     not agree with you that this is going to somehow make the
1859
     price of electricity go down, and I quote, ``To achieve the
1860
     carbon emission reductions required by the proposed
1861
      regulations, customers in Virginia will likely pay
1862
      significantly more for their electricity. The incremental
1863
      cost of compliance from one utility alone, Dominion Virginia
1864
      Power, which only serves 2 of the 29 jurisdictions I
1865
      represent, would likely be between $5.5 and $6 billion on a
1866
     net present value basis in addition to new investment,
     Virginia residences and businesses will also be responsible
1867
1868
      for paying remaining costs for useful existing facilities
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forced to retire prematurely under the proposed regulation.

1870 The proposed regulation places a risk several billions of 1871 dollars of recent investments in existing coal-fired 1872 facilities. Contrary to the claim that rates will go up but 1873 bills will go down, experience and costs in Virginia make it 1874 extremely unlikely that either electric rates or bills in Virginia will go down as a result of the proposed 1875 1876 regulation.'' Now, I assume that you are aware that the 1877 Virginia State Corporation Commission is not some private 1878 body of electric generators, that is the regulatory agency 1879 that sets the electric rates in Virginia, that says what the 1880 companies can charge, and they say, just to one company, it 1881 is going to cost 5 to \$6 billion. When you add in all the 1882 other companies, it is going to be billions, and that it is 1883 highly unlikely that the rates will go up but the bills will 1884 go down, they said extremely unlikely, let me get it correct. 1885 I said highly, they said extremely unlikely that either 1886 electric rates or bills in Virginia will go down as a result 1887 of the proposed regulation. So I just point that out to you 1888 so when others say please listen to these folks, they have 1889 decades of experience in figuring out what the rate is 1890 supposed to be so that the electric companies don't charge

too much, but get a return for their heavy investment. 1891 1892 Now, that being said, you also indicated that folks were 1893 moving to gas-based generation because it is more affordable. 1894 That is true today, although even last year for a number of 1895 months, the rate was over--the cost of natural gas was higher 1896 than that which it cost to create the same number of BTUs 1897 with coal, that fluctuates, but further, you have to build 1898 pipelines. Now, right now in my district, there is a big 1899 pipeline being proposed to be built, and in the non-coal-1900 producing areas of my district, people are opposed to that 1901 pipeline because they are not sure that at that size it is 1902 going to be safe. So I submit to you that we may not be 1903 ready in 2020. And further, I would ask, don't you all work 1904 with the DOE, because they are working on clean coal 1905 technologies and they have indicated to us that it will be 1906 probably about 2025 before those new technologies are 1907 onboard. But according to your plan, at least as we have 1908 heard about it up to this point, you keeping out it is not 1909 final yet. The states are supposed to come up with their 1910 plan 13 months after the final rule, so this is 2015, some time in 2016, Virginia is going to have to come up with a 1911

1912 plan. They can't wait until 2025 when the new technologies 1913 will be viable, and there are 5 or 6 clean coal technologies 1914 looking really promising. How much greater benefit are we 1915 going to get as a society in that 5 or 6 or 7-year period 1916 that we are going to put lots of people out of business, 1917 raise the cost of electricity, and yet the technologies are 1918 almost there? I would submit the plan is flawed and that is 1919 why we need this bill. I would also say to you, and I don't have to ask this 1920 1921 from any legal standpoint, if one state were able to pull out 1922 of your plan under a legal theory, would that destroy your 1923 plan, yes or no? 1924 Ms. {McCabe.} It would be inconsistent with the way the 1925 Clean Air Act works, and it would be disruptive. 1926 Mr. {Griffith.} But you understand that Laurence Tribe, 1927 when he was here to testify, I asked him about collateral 1928 stopple on the cast that I asked you about last time, where 1929 the EPA lawyers conceded that you didn't have the power under 1930 111(d) to do this regulation, he said collateral stopple 1931 would only work, or res judicata would only work for the state of New Jersey if they chose to use it. You could lose 1932

1933 on that point. Now, I don't think you are right on 111(d) 1934 anyway. I don't think you have that authority. It is 1935 interesting though that this bill would say that all of these 1936 cases would have to go forward, but this Thursday, you are 1937 arguing in front of the Circuit Court of Appeals that it is 1938 premature to bring the court case that says you don't have 1939 the underlying authority. Wouldn't it be great to go ahead 1940 and get the Supreme Court to decide whether any of this 1941 regulation, final or otherwise, whether you had the authority 1942 to regulate at all under 111(d) in the existing power 1943 facilities and the electric generation units, wouldn't that 1944 be great to go ahead and get that out of the way? And why 1945 would you all want to stall that, and wouldn't this bill, if 1946 passed, encourage you all for judicial efficiency to go ahead 1947 and let's find out whether or not you have the power to do 1948 what you say you do. I don't think you do. You think you 1949 do. The Supreme Court has yet to rule. The more you delay 1950 makes this bill more practical. Your arguments on Thursday 1951 make me want to carry this bill. 1952 Thank you very much, and I yield back.

Mr. {Whitfield.} At this time recognize the gentleman

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from California, Mr. McNerney, for 5 minutes.
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1955
           Mr. {McNerney.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
1956
           Ms. McCabe, I--in light of the fact that human-caused
1957
     climate change is advancing, and that the impacts are going
1958
     to be more and more severe over time, I have suggested to my
1959
     colleagues that have coal-fired interests that they embrace
1960
     carbon sequestration, carbon capture sequestration sort of to
1961
     protect their local industries. How would the implementation
1962
     of CCS impact coal-fired power plants under the Clean Air
1963
     Plan?
1964
          Ms. {McCabe.} CCS would be a technology the state could
1965
     choose to build into its plan as a way of reducing carbon
1966
     emissions from their coal fleet.
1967
          Mr. {McNerney.} So in a sense, it would protect their
1968
     coal-fired power plants, and coal miners and go on down the
1969
     line.
1970
          Ms. {McCabe.} That is correct.
1971
           Mr. {McNerney.} Thank you. Have you studied the
1972
     discussion draft?
1973
          Ms. {McCabe.} Yes, I have.
1974
          Mr. {McNerney.} Do you think that carbon emissions
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would be reduced under the Clean Air Plan if this bill is
1975
1976
     adopted?
1977
          Ms. {McCabe.} I don't think it would be. I think it
1978
     would all be delayed.
           Mr. {McNerney.} Delayed? More than delayed, do you
1979
1980
     think it would be disrupted?
1981
          Ms. {McCabe.} Perhaps, yes.
1982
          Mr. {McNerney.} Have the states worked well with the
1983
     EPA to develop the Clean Power--you know, under the Clean Air
1984
     Act, and have they worked together well with--under the Clean
1985
     Air Act?
1986
          Ms. {McCabe.} Absolutely. There has been tremendous
1987
     discussion from states all across the country. We continue
1988
     to have those discussions.
1989
          Mr. {McNerney.} Well, my region is the central valley
1990
     of California, the northern part of that central valley. If
1991
      this bill is adopted, how do you think that would affect the
1992
     air quality in that region?
1993
          Ms. {McCabe.} Well, it would mean that states would
1994
     delay, in the first instance, putting their plans together,
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not just California but all states would, and as states

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1996
     having the option to opt out of the plan altogether could
1997
     certainly impact California.
1998
          Mr. {McNerney.} Thank you. FERC recently had a
1999
     listening session on the Clean Power Plan. What was your
2000
     takeaway from those hearings?
2001
           Ms. {McCabe.} Those were very interesting
2002
     conversations. We very much appreciated being a part of
2003
     them. I think we heard a lot of the things that we have been
2004
     hearing from people in their public comments to us, which
2005
     makes sense. A lot of good questions, a lot of good
2006
     discussion, interest by FERC in making sure that they
2007
     understand how they can be helpful to EPA as we go forward
2008
     and do our job under the Clean Air Act. So I think it has
2009
      served as another opportunity for people to raise their
2010
     concerns, and also as a basis for ongoing conversation.
2011
          Mr. {McNerney.} So in your opinion, it was a positive
2012
     conversation.
2013
          Ms. {McCabe.} Absolutely.
2014
          Mr. {McNerney.} Are you having those types of
2015
      conversations in states about the Clean Power Plan?
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Ms. {McCabe.} Certainly, yes.

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2017
           Mr. {McNerney.} And a lot of those are productive.
2018
          Ms. {McCabe.} They are. They are.
2019
          Mr. {McNerney.} Are there many that aren't productive?
2020
          Ms. {McCabe.} Well, I think when states come and sit
2021
      down with us, they have questions about how to go forward
2022
     with this, and we are working with them on the kinds of
2023
      resources that they will need, technical resources, training
2024
     that they will need. There is great interest. And I
2025
      recognize that there is controversy as well, but when we sit
2026
     down with the environmental regulators, they are focusing in
2027
     on how to make this work.
2028
          Mr. {McNerney.} Do they share the kind of concern about
2029
      economic impact we are finding here today?
2030
          Ms. {McCabe.} I think everybody wants to make sure that
2031
     we can implement this program just as we have implemented so
     many under the Clean Air Act in a way that preserves
2032
2033
      affordable and reliable electricity for this country, but
2034
      also delivers the billions of dollars of benefits to the
2035
     public health and welfare and to the economy of this country
2036
      that, over the years through the Clean Air Act, has delivered
2037
      for the American people.
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Mr. {McNerney.} So would you say that the effort to
2038
2039
      reduce sulfur dioxide emissions had a positive impact on the
2040
     economy?
2041
          Ms. {McCabe.} Absolutely, I would, yes.
2042
           Mr. {McNerney.} And your opinion that this Clean Air
      Plan could be similar in its results?
2043
2044
           Ms. {McCabe.} And it is absolutely essential, given the
2045
      threat to or country that climate change poses.
2046
          Mr. {McNerney.} Thank you. I yield back.
2047
          Mr. {Whitfield.} At this time recognize the gentleman
2048
      from Ohio, Mr. Johnson, for 5 minutes.
2049
          Mr. {Johnson of Ohio.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
2050
     Ms. McCabe, thank you for being here with us today.
2051
           I--you know, I am in favor of both gas-fired and coal-
2052
      fired power to heat and cool our homes and run our
2053
     businesses. I think we need both, and I think that is very
2054
     clear. I see a dichotomy though, a conflict, between
2055
     building block 2 and building block 1 of the proposal.
                                                               Ιn
     building block 2, the EPA assumes that gas plants will run
2056
2057
      far more, at a 70 percent capacity factor, in order to run
     coal-fired plants, far less. This will reduce the heat rate
2058
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2059 efficiency of coal-fired plants because running any plant 2060 less, and on an intermittent basis, always reduces 2061 efficiency. Anybody that understands the science and 2062 technology of coal-fired power understands that. So what 2063 this says to me is that building block 2, which calls for 2064 running coal plants less, is at odds with the goals of 2065 building block 1, which calls for improving the heat rate of 2066 coal-fired plants. You can't run coal-fired plants less, 2067 while running gas plants more, and then turn around and argue 2068 that the heat rate of coal plants should be improved. To me, 2069 this seems an obvious example of using big government--2070 implementing rules that are practically impossible for an 2071 industry to meet; in this case, the coal-fired industry. 2072 So my question to you is, did the EPA consider that the 2073 amount of switching to natural gas effectively required by this rule would require coal-fired plants to operate less, 2074 2075 thus driving up heat rates substantially, while eliminating 2076 the heat rate at the coal units? Help me understand this 2077 conflict. 2078 Ms. {McCabe.} Well, so one thing, it is important to note that the building blocks we used were not a prescriptive 2079

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2080
      formula for every state, or for any state. It was a way of
2081
      characterizing the kinds of approaches that are used that
2082
      reduce carbon. And we do predict that there will continue to
2083
     be base load coal-fired power plants providing power.
           Mr. {Johnson of Ohio.} Okay, so I can to my other
2084
2085
      questions, let's--let me stay focused here.
2086
           Ms. {McCabe.} Yes.
2087
           Mr. {Johnson of Ohio.} Would you agree--I understand
2088
      that, so it was not a prescriptive formula--
2089
           Ms. {McCabe.} Yeah.
2090
           Mr. {Johnson of Ohio.} --but would you agree that
2091
      requiring coal plant to run less in one section, and then
2092
     mandating that it improve its heat rate efficiency in another
2093
      section, that that is a dichotomy, that is -- those are -- those
2094
      2 things are in conflict?
2095
           Ms. {McCabe.} Well, I understand that when--
2096
           Mr. {Johnson of Ohio.} I mean that is a--that--I mean
2097
      you understand the technology, that is a yes or no question.
2098
           Ms. {McCabe.} I do understand the technology, and it
2099
      can be harder to run as efficiently when you are running
2100
      less, but there--
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2101 Mr. {Johnson of Ohio.} Okay, I will take that as the 2102 answer. I personally feel that this demonstrates an extreme 2103 shortcoming of the proposal, Ms. McCabe, because what may be 2104 called flexibility is really the closure of a significant 2105 percentage of the plants that power America. Even before 2106 111(d) takes effect, we will have huge numbers of retirements 2107 of coal-fired plants because of that intermittent, on and off 2108 again, running less situation. 2109 It is also clear, turning back to some of the questions 2110 for the areas that some of my colleagues have addressed, that 2111 at the same time states would be developing the plans, there 2112 will be serious legal questions about the Clean Power Plan 2113 regulatory scheme. And I heard one of my colleagues ask the 2114 question earlier that the EPA, by its own track record, is 2115 unlikely to be providing timely guidance and assistance to 2116 the states, and the agency appears not to want to consider 2117 slowing down the process time. Whatever the confident 2118 assurances of the agency are, this is going to be a very 2119 messy process, and I think that everyone understands it. 2120 So why would you not want to resolve the legal issues 2121 before you and your agency go through the work, and you put

2122 the states and the industry through all this problem? 2123 would you not support wanting to let the legal issues work themselves out? What is the rush to judgment on this that is 2124 2125 in our interest before we answer the legal questions about 2126 whether or not you guys should be able to do this or not? 2127 Ms. {McCabe.} Well, first, Congressman, there is no way 2128 that the Administrator would sign a rule that she did not 2129 believe was fully within her authority. So we--2130 Mr. {Johnson of Ohio.} So can you tell me that you 2131 think that there are not going to be legal challenges to 2132 this? I mean and have you guys not listened to--or have you 2133 not heard the many voices that are decrying the EPA's 2134 authority to do this? 2135 Ms. {McCabe.} We have heard many of those--2136 Mr. {Johnson of Ohio.} Why wouldn't you want the courts 2137 to make that determination before--I mean you have seen your 2138 budget drop 20 percent over the last 5 years. Your staffing 2139 levels continue to come down, and you complain that you don't 2140 have enough money to do what you are supposed to do, or 2141 enough people to do what you are supposed to do. Why would you want to take on something that you might have to turn 2142

- 2143 around and throw away if the courts decide you didn't have
- 2144 the authority to do this?
- Ms. {McCabe.} Because--
- 2146 Mr. {Johnson of Ohio.} I am out of time, Ms. McCabe. I
- 2147 am sorry. I wish I could give you time to answer that
- 2148 question, but that just seems like a flawed approach, and not
- 2149 in the best interests of hard-working Americans to spend
- 2150 their money this frivolously on something that we know the
- 2151 courts have major questions about.
- 2152 Mr. Chairman, I yield back.
- 2153 Mr. {Whitfield.} Yeah, the gentleman's time has
- 2154 expired.
- 2155 At this time recognize the gentlelady from North
- 2156 Carolina, Mrs. Ellmers, for 5 minutes.
- 2157 Mrs. {Ellmers.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And thank
- 2158 you, Ms. McCabe, for being with us today.
- 2159 You know, I have listened to so much of the testimony
- 2160 and the questions, and I think this is a very well-rounded
- 2161 discussion that we are having. And again, you know, for me
- 2162 and my constituents back in North Carolina, this is obviously
- 2163 going to negatively impact the consumers and their utility

2164 bills. It is going to increase the cost. And I understand 2165 the issues. You know, certainly, we all want clean air, we 2166 want to do everything we can to achieve that, but I do have 2167 some specific questions. When we are talking about the 2168 litigation moving forward and, you know, you had mentioned in 2169 the budget proposal that the EPA expects a great deal of 2170 litigation, and this kind of comes up again after Mr. 2171 Johnson's testimony, you know, one, what type of litigation 2172 are you anticipating, and how long do you expect the judicial 2173 review of the initial legal challenges to take? 2174 Ms. {McCabe.} So we do expect legal challenges. EPA 2175 gets challenged on many of its rules, as you know, and it can 2176 take several years. If it goes all the way to the Supreme 2177 Court, that can add time to it. And then even after that, it 2178 could go back--if it goes to the Supreme Court, it could go 2179 back to a lower court for further proceedings. 2180 Mrs. {Ellmers.} Given that fact and, you know, 2181 obviously, we are looking at an incredible amount of time, 2182 years, in fact, you know, we are still looking at the 2183 situation and we are, you know, we are hearing from our states, and I certainly am hearing from North Carolina, how 2184

2185 this is going to be very, very difficult as they are trying 2186 to go through the rule and address the issues. You know, 2187 there is a 1-year extension that is proposed in the rule, but 2188 that obviously is not adequate in the timeline that we are 2189 talking about. So given the fact that we know that this 2190 could, you know, litigation could move forward for years, how does the EPA plan on dealing with this issue? Will they 2191 2192 demand that the states be required to submit their state 2193 plans, or are they going to hold back on that issue, allowing 2194 the states to see what the courts are going to do? 2195 Ms. {McCabe.} Well, Congresswoman, the judicial system 2196 already has a way of dealing with this. So as I have said, 2197 EPA gets challenged on many rules. In this Administration, 2198 most of our rules have been found to be lawful, and work has 2199 gone ahead on them. If a court finds that our legal basis is 2200 so questionable that they think that we are not likely to 2201 succeed on the merits, they can in response to a request put 2202 a judicial stay in place that would then toll the 2203 requirements, and that has happened on occasion. We don't 2204 believe that a court will find a substantial likelihood that 2205 we will not succeed.

2206 Mrs. {Ellmers.} And there again, you know, to that 2207 point, and thank you, you know, that would certainly help the 2208 situation, but it is -- it also doesn't alleviate the cost that 2209 the state--that our states are incurring. This will be an 2210 incredible cost to North Carolina, as it will all of my 2211 colleagues and the states that they represent. You know, 2212 according to the Unfunded Mandate Reform Act, the EPA is 2213 required to estimate the burden on states to develop state 2214 plans. So considering this and considering the length of 2215 time we are looking at, what does the EPA estimate will be 2216 the cost to states to prepare state plans? 2217 Ms. {McCabe.} I believe we estimated that. I don't 2218 have those numbers with me, Congresswoman, but we can get 2219 them. 2220 Mrs. {Ellmers.} Okay, if you could provide that to the 2221 committee and also to my office, I would appreciate that. 2222 Thank you. And in light of the comments that have been made 2223 regarding the proposed Clean Power Act, is the EPA going to 2224 reevaluate these estimates, so moving forward, as the 2225 comments are being made, is there a process to reformulate 2226 the plan, or are we sticking to the plan until the process is

2227 through? Will you adjust and be flexible to the comments 2228 that you are receiving? 2229 Ms. {McCabe.} Absolutely, and you will see that in the 2230 final rule that we will have been responsive to many of those 2231 comments. 2232 Mrs. {Ellmers.} In my last 40 seconds that I have, I do 2233 want to go back to a question that my colleague from Illinois 2234 asked, Mr. Kinzinger. He was asking if the EPA is the only 2235 agency, and then you had also commented to one of my other 2236 colleagues that you were working with FERC, and that there 2237 were hearings with FERC. If FERC comes forward and tells 2238 you, in fact, again, going off of Mr. Kinzinger, that there 2239 is a reliability issue, that there is a national security 2240 issue with this, will the EPA take that recommendation and 2241 use that moving forward? 2242 Ms. {McCabe.} Well--2243 Mrs. {Ellmers.} Are you required to do so? 2244 Ms. {McCabe.} We are so far away from states developing plans that anybody could make a sound judgment on reliability 2245 2246 about. So we will do our job under the Clean Air Act. We

will take into consideration any input that we get from

2247

- 2248 anybody. We certainly will listen very seriously to any
- 2249 input that FERC wants to give us, but we are just not at a
- 2250 point where anybody could make that pronouncement at this
- 2251 point.
- 2252 Mrs. {Ellmers.} Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I
- 2253 went over my time a little bit.
- 2254 Mr. {Whitfield.} At this time I recognize the gentleman
- 2255 from Oklahoma, Mr. Mullin, for 5 minutes.
- 2256 Mr. {Mullin.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 2257 Ma'am, I really almost feel for you because the way that
- 2258 you are sitting here having to take these questions I can
- 2259 tell you are just having, you know, a blast doing it. And I
- 2260 am meaning that a little cynical there, but you are here and
- 2261 I really do appreciate that.
- 2262 However, I do question the direction that the EPA is
- 2263 going with this. I have heard you talk about that many, many
- 2264 Americans believe with you and there are with you on this,
- 2265 but yet all the reports we keep hearing back over and over
- 2266 again isn't true. I mean the only many, many Americans I
- 2267 assume you are talking about is Sierra Club and some of our
- 2268 minimalists who live in the city and they don't ever live in

- 2269 the country, which I find quite hilarious sometimes because
- 2270 if you are an environmentalist, you would think you would
- 2271 want to live in the environment.
- 2272 But besides that, you go into the fact that you are
- 2273 saying that you are not going to reduce the amount of energy
- 2274 being generated, is that right? You don't find a concern
- 2275 with the amount of energy being generated?
- 2276 Ms. {McCabe.} Well, we think there are many
- 2277 opportunities to employ energy efficiency that--
- 2278 Mr. {Mullin.} What are those opportunities because just
- 2279 in Oklahoma alone just in my district we are going to lose
- 2280 3,000 gigawatts, which is about 70 percent of our coal-fired
- 2281 power plants. Southwestern Power, who represents that region
- 2282 there, they are saying they are going to lose 13,900
- 2283 megawatts. What is going to replace that?
- Ms. {McCabe.} Well, I am not sure exactly what the SPP
- 2285 is basing all those predictions on.
- 2286 Mr. {Mullin.} Ma'am, these are the figures that are
- 2287 coming from the individuals that are providing my
- 2288 constituents and providing my region with power.
- 2289 Ms. {McCabe.} Right.

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2290
           Mr. {Mullin.} Now, if the EPA is doing their due
2291
     diligence by understanding the research that they are putting
2292
     out there and before you come in front of Congress and you
2293
      start relaying these facts that you don't believe it is going
2294
      to reduce power, what do you think about talking to the
2295
      stakeholders? I mean these are the individuals that are
2296
      responsible for providing reliability to us that when we go
     and we flip our switch on, it is going to work.
2297
2298
          Ms. {McCabe.} We certainly are talking with all of
2299
      these entities, including--
2300
          Mr. {Mullin.} So what is going to replace this?
2301
          Ms. {McCabe.} It will be different kinds of generation.
2302
      I can't speak to all of them--
2303
          Mr. {Mullin.} What kind of generation are you going to
2304
      replace it with because not all regions are the same?
2305
      don't have the same flexibility as everybody else.
2306
           Ms. {McCabe.} That is right.
2307
           Mr. {Mullin.} The infrastructure isn't in place yet.
2308
     The EPA is moving on with this rule. I mean you are talking
2309
      about saying it is not going to reduce reliability, but
2310
     ma'am, the fact is it will reduce it. If we are taking that
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2311
     much off online, wouldn't the EPA have some type of study out
2312
     there to back up what you are saying that it is not going to
2313
     shut down or reduce reliability? Wouldn't you think there
2314
     would be something out there that you could back up what you
2315
     are bringing facts as I am assuming the rest of America is
2316
     going to believe you are backing your statements up with
2317
      facts, aren't you?
2318
          Ms. {McCabe.} Absolutely. And--
2319
          Mr. {Mullin.} So what are those facts?
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          Ms. {McCabe.} We have analysis; the Department of
2321
     Energy has done various kinds of analysis.
2322
          Mr. {Mullin.} What is it that you are talking about
2323
      specifically? What is going to replace it?
2324
           Ms. {McCabe.} Well, as you have said, every state is
     different. Their needs and their flexibilities are
2325
2326
     different. There is--
2327
          Mr. {Mullin.} But you are treating all states the same.
2328
          Ms. {McCabe.} No, we are not treating all states the
2329
     same.
2330
          Mr. {Mullin.} Really?
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2331

Ms. {McCabe.} No.

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2332
           Mr. {Mullin.} Well, you are making them all combined.
2333
          Ms. {McCabe.} We are setting targets for them that are
2334
     based on a uniform approach across--
2335
          Mr. {Mullin.} Which is a one-size-fits-all approach
2336
     which is--
2337
          Ms. {McCabe.} It is--
2338
          Mr. {Mullin.} You said a uniform approach.
2339
          Ms. {McCabe.} No, no, it is not one-size-fits-all.
2340
          Mr. {Mullin.} Well, uniform is everybody looks the
2341
      same. That is the purpose of a uniform.
2342
          Ms. {McCabe.} Okay. Well, then I will change my word.
2343
     This is not one-size-fits-all. This is an approach that
2344
      takes into account the energy needs and the energy resources
2345
     of every single state.
2346
           Mr. {Mullin.} Okay. Ma'am, we are going to agree to
2347
      disagree on that one because the fact is you are talking in
2348
      circles.
2349
           Now, let's go back to the thing, and as you said, that
      it is not going to cost the individual, the ratepayer, it is
2350
2351
     not going to raise their cost. Isn't that what you said?
2352
          Ms. {McCabe.} That is what our national analysis shows.
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2353
           Mr. {Mullin.} Where are you getting that statement
2354
     because Southwestern Power says it is going to cost them $2.9
2355
     billion per year to comply. $2.9 billion per year. Now, if
2356
     you understand business at all, you understand that that has
2357
     to be passed through to somebody. So if it is going to cost
2358
     Southwestern Power $2.9 billion per year, who is going to pay
2359
      for that?
2360
          Ms. {McCabe.} There are investments that everybody is
2361
     making that they look at over time. Remember, we have a long
2362
     period of time to implement this.
2363
          Mr. {Mullin.} Who is going to pay the $2.9 billion a
2364
      year? It is not just investments. It has got to be passed
2365
     on to somebody. Is the EPA going to pay that out of your
2366
     budget?
2367
          Ms. {McCabe.} What our analysis shows and what other
2368
     people look at is--
2369
           Mr. {Mullin.} The analysis, ma'am, we have already
2370
     proved that your analysis isn't lining up. It is an
2371
     assumption. You keep calling it an analysis; it is an
2372
      assumption that you are calling an analysis. The truth is
2373
     the $2.9 billion, the cost has to be passed on to somebody,
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2374
      and ultimately, it is going to be all of our constituents
2375
     that are going to be paying for it. And it looks like to me
2376
     that the EPA's analogy is, well, we know best. Just shut up
2377
     and follow us. You weren't elected, we were, and we were
2378
     elected to represent our constituents.
2379
           Thank you.
2380
           Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentleman's time is expired.
2381
     Mr. Flores around? Does anyone know?
2382
           Okay. Well, I guess that concludes the guestions for
2383
     Ms. McCabe.
2384
          Mr. {Rush.} Mr. Chairman?
2385
          Mr. {Whitfield.} Yes.
2386
          Mr. {Rush.} Mr. Chairman, I just heard a number of
2387
     members have questions about the EPA's analysis and somebody
2388
      is suggesting that EPA didn't even have enough analysis. And
2389
      I just wanted to inform the chair and the other members that
2390
     here I have in my possession I have about--this is about 10
2391
      to 12 pounds of analysis from the EPA and the regulatory
2392
      impact analysis for the proposed carbon pollution guidelines
2393
      for assisting power plants and emissions standards for
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modified and reconstructed power plants. I would be happy to

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move that this be included in the record. So in order to be
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2396
      said again and again that the EPA does not have an
2397
     analysis and here it is. This is about 10 pounds of it and
2398
      so I don't know. I would be happy if the chairman wants or
2399
      desires I would be happy to move that this get included into
2400
      the record so that we can just put to rest the fact that EPA
2401
     does not have an analysis.
2402
          Mr. {Whitfield.} Well, let me just say we understand
2403
      the EPA has a lot of analyses and we have a lot of
2404
      industries, utility companies, local communities that have
2405
      analyses as well and they don't agree. So that is where we
2406
     are.
2407
          Mr. {Rush.} Well, Mr. Chairman, I just want to say it
2408
     has been stated here so many times it is almost hurtful and
2409
     harmful to keep hearing that the EPA doesn't have an
2410
      analysis. Here it is, 10 to 12 pounds.
2411
          Mr. {Whitfield.} So are you moving that we put it in
2412
      the record?
2413
          Mr. {Rush.} I don't know, Mr. Chairman. It will take
2414
     up too much--
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2415

Mr. {Whitfield.} Yes.

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2416
          Mr. {Rush.} --probably take up too much paper and too
2417
     much--
          Mr. {Whitfield.} Well, thank you so much for bringing
2418
2419
     it to our attention.
2420
          Mr. {Rush.} I want you to know that there is your
2421
     analysis.
          Mr. {Whitfield.} We appreciate that.
2422
2423
          Mr. {Rush.} Here it is right here.
2424
          Mr. {Whitfield.} Ms. McCabe, thank you for being with
2425
     us today. We are to continue to engage you and EPA on this
2426
      issue as we move forward.
2427
          At this time I would like to call up the second panel.
2428
     And on the second panel, we appreciate your patience this
2429
     morning. We have Mr. Eugene Trisko. I tell you what I am
2430
      going to do. I want all of you to just come on up and I am
2431
      going to introduce you right before you give your 5-minute
2432
      opening statement.
2433
           So if you all would have a seat and then we will begin
     on the left with Mr. Trisko and then we will let each one of
2434
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you give your 5-minute opening statement.

So our first witness this morning is Mr. Eugene Trisko,

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2436

- 2437 who is the energy economist and attorney on behalf of the
- 2438 American Coalition for Clean Coal Electricity.
- 2439 And once again, thank all of you for being here. Thanks
- 2440 for your patience. We do value your comments and thoughts on
- 2441 this important issue.
- So, Mr. Trisko, I am going to recognize you for 5
- 2443 minutes, and you will note that there is a little box on the
- 2444 table, two of them. They have colors, and when it gets red,
- 2445 that means the 5 minutes is up. So just be aware of that.
- 2446 And also be sure and turn the microphone on so that all of us
- 2447 can hear.
- 2448 And, Mr. Trisko, you are recognized for 5 minutes.
- 2449 [Audio malfunction in hearing room.]
- 2450 Excuse me, Mr. Trisko, would you just move the
- 2451 microphone a little bit closer because some of our members
- 2452 were having a little bit of an issue. Thank you. Is your
- 2453 microphone on?

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2454
      ^STATEMENTS OF EUGENE M. TRISKO, ENERGY ECONOMIST AND
2455
     ATTORNEY, ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN COALITION FOR CLEAN COAL
2456
     ELECTRICITY; LISA D. JOHNSON, CEO AND GENERAL MANAGER,
2457
     SEMINOLE ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE, INC., ON BEHALF OF NATIONAL
2458
     RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION; SUSAN F. TIERNEY,
2459
     SENIOR ADVISOR, ANALYSIS GROUP; MELISSA A. HOFFER, CHIEF,
2460
     ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT BUREAU, OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY
2461
     GENERAL, COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS; KEVIN SUNDAY,
2462
     MANAGER, GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS, PENNSYLVANIA CHAMBER OF BUSINESS
2463
     AND INDUSTRY; AND PAUL CICIO, PRESIDENT, INDUSTRIAL ENERGY
2464
     CONSUMERS OF AMERICA.
2465
      ^STATEMENT OF EUGENE M. TRISKO
          Mr. {Trisko.} Will this help? Should I go back to the
2466
2467
     top? We started at good morning.
2468
           Mr. Chairman, we have analyzed consumer energy costs for
      31 geographically diverse states, and these states are
2469
2470
     expected to be states that will be heavily impacted by EPA's
2471
     Clean Power Plan.
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2472 The 31 state reports analyzed the pattern of energy 2473 expenditures among three categories, a pretax and after-tax 2474 household income. The studies rely on actual state 2475 residential energy expenditures in 2014 from the U.S. 2476 Department of Energy's EIA and government surveys of 2477 residential and transportation energy consumption per 2478 household income groups. The household income data are based 2479 upon U.S. Bureau of the Census data for 2013, the most recent 2480 data available. Energy expenditures as a percentage of 2481 after-tax income are estimated for the effects of federal and 2482 state income taxes and federal social insurance payments 2483 using CBO tax rates and individual state income tax data. 2484 The key findings of these studies are: first, one-half 2485 of the households in these 31 states have average pretax annual incomes below \$50,000. The median after-tax income of 2486 2487 these 38 million households is \$23,317, equivalent to a take-2488 home income of less than \$2,000 per month. The 50 percent of 2489 households in these 31 states with pretax incomes of \$50,000 2490 or less spend 14 to 19 percent of their after-tax income on 2491 residential and transportation energy with median expenditures of 17 percent. 2492

2493 Low-income families, those with pretax annual incomes of 2494 less than \$30,000, represent 30 percent of the households in 2495 these 31 states. Their median after-tax income is 15,464. 2496 These households spend an estimated 18 percent to 25 percent 2497 of their after-tax income on residential and transportation 2498 energy with a median expenditure of 22 percent. 2499 Recent consumer savings at the gas pump are being eroded 2500 by steady increases in electricity prices. Residential 2501 electricity represents 76 percent of total residential energy 2502 expenditures in the 31 states on a household weighted average 2503 basis. From 2005 to 2014 residential electricity prices in 2504 the 31 states increased overall by a weighted average of 38 2505 percent in current dollars and by 13 percent in constant 2014 2506 dollars. 2507 Large electric pricing increases will result with the 2508 implementation of EPA's proposed Clean Power Plan. A recent 2509 analysis by National Economic Research Associates estimates 2510 that the carbon rule will increase delivered electricity 2511 prices in the 31 states by 15 percent on average during the 2512 period 2017 to 2031. These average price increases mean that 2513 electricity prices for consumers will be 15 percent higher on

2514 average each year under the Clean Power Plan than they would 2515 be without the Clean Power Plan. 2516 Peak year electric price increases during this period 2517 average 22 percent for the 31 states. These estimates are conservative because NERA did not consider any additional 2518 2519 natural gas infrastructure or electric transmission 2520 investments needed to comply with EPA's proposed rule. 2521 The U.S. Census Bureau reports that the real pretax 2522 incomes of American households have declined across all five 2523 income quintiles since 2001 measured in constant 2013 2524 dollars. The largest percentage losses of income are in the 2525 two lowest income quintiles. 2526 The loss of annual income among all American households 2527 averages \$3,947 per household since 2001. In comparison, DOE's current estimate of annual gasoline savings for 2528 2529 American consumers due to lower oil prices is \$700 per 2530 household. 2531 Declining real incomes increase the vulnerability of 2532 lower income households to energy price increases such as 2533 rising utility bills. Lower income families are more 2534 vulnerable to energy costs than higher income families

2535	because energy represents a larger portion of their household
2536	budgets. Energy costs reduce the amount of income that can
2537	be spent on food, housing, healthcare, and other basic
2538	necessities. The data presented in the 31-state report show
2539	that minorities and senior citizens are disproportionately
2540	represented among these lower income households.
2541	Thank you for the opportunity.
2542	[The prepared statement of Mr. Trisko follows:]

2543 ************* INSERT 2 **********

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           Mr. {Whitfield.} Mr. Trisko, thank you.
2545
           And our next witness is Ms. Lisa Johnson, who is the CEO
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     and general manager of the Seminole Electric Cooperative on
2547
     Behalf of the National Rural Electric Cooperative
2548
     Association. And your headquarters is in where?
2549
           Ms. {Johnson.} Tampa, Florida.
2550
          Mr. {Whitfield.} In Tampa, okay.
2551
           You are recognized for 5 minutes and just be sure the
2552
     microphone is on.
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2553 ^STATEMENT OF LISA D. JOHNSON 2554 Ms. {Johnson.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member 2555 Rush, and members of the committee. I appreciate the 2556 invitation to address the challenges facing electric 2557 cooperatives as we work to comply with EPA regulations. 2558 My name is Lisa Johnson. I am the CEO of Seminole 2559 Electric Cooperative, and I am also testifying on behalf of 2560 the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. 2561 I applaud this committee's willingness to examine 2562 complex issues such as 111(d) regulations and work toward an 2563 equitable solution. While everyone can agree on the 2564 importance of environmental stewardship, regulations that 2565 would eliminate whole industries, drastically raise electric 2566 rates, and call into question the reliability of our nation's 2567 transmission grid are excessive and unnecessary. 2568 I am here today to express support for Chairman Whitfield's discussion draft, the Ratepayer Protection Act. 2569 2570 This act would delay the Clean Power Plan to ensure that it survives legal challenge before taking effect and provide 2571

states like Florida with an important safety valve for 2572 2573 consumers and for the reliability of the grid. 2574 Seminole Electric Cooperative, through our nine-member, 2575 not-for-profit, consumer-owned electric cooperatives, serves 2576 more than 1.4 million individuals and businesses in 42 of Florida's 67 counties. The residential customers our members 2577 2578 serve are predominantly rural. Approximately one-third have 2579 household incomes below the poverty level and more than 75 2580 percent have household incomes less than \$75,000. 2581 Seminole employs more than 500 individuals at three 2582 locations in Florida: our headquarters in Tampa; the Seminole 2583 Generating Station or SGS, a 1,300 megawatt coal-fired power 2584 plant located in northeast Florida; and the Midulla 2585 Generating Station, or MGS, an 810 megawatt natural gas-fired 2586 power plant located in south central Florida. 2587 SGS employs more than 300 individuals and provides more 2588 than 50 percent of the energy used by our members. Under the 2589 proposed Clean Power Plan SGS would close by 2020 despite 2590 being one of the cleanest coal plants in the country, despite 2591 Seminole's environmental investments of more than \$530 million, and despite having a professionally rated useful 2592

2593 life that carries into 2045. 2594 Worse, the financing structure for SGS carries through 2595 2042. If the plant closes in 2020 our members will continue 2596 to pay for it in addition to paying for replacement 2597 generation. 2598 SGS is the bedrock of rural Putnam County. In addition 2599 to our hardworking employees, there often hundreds of 2600 contractors on-site. On March 11 there were 732 contractors 2601 at SGS addressing work during our spring maintenance outage. 2602 These contractors stay in local hotels, eat at local 2603 restaurants and shop at local retailers. 2604 Seminole is also the largest taxpayer in Putnam County 2605 paying more than \$5 million in property taxes in both 2013 2606 and 2014. Rural Putnam County and the city of Palatka cannot 2607 afford to lose SGS or any of the associated jobs, especially 2608 by 2020. Closing SGS prematurely would call into question 2609 our ability to generate and transmit electricity to our 2610 members. In 2014 more than 50 percent of our members' energy 2611 requirements were served via SGS. Seminole does not have 2612 sufficient natural gas facilities to serve this load adequately without our coal units. 2613

2614 And Seminole will not be the only utility in need of new 2615 sources of electricity. EPA's own model calls for the closure of more than 90 percent of Florida's coal-fired 2616 2617 units. Florida's existing transmission constraints both in 2618 and out of state and EPA's short compliance timeline will 2619 prevent us from purchasing or building this power 2620 economically if it is feasible at all. 2621 The only viable option to replace SGS is natural gas. 2622 Florida is already 65 percent dependent on natural gas for 2623 generation and the likely effect of the Clean Power Plan is that this percentage will soar 85 percent. This overreliance 2624 2625 on one fuel source exposes us to the price fluctuations and 2626 volatility common in the gas markets. 2627 The new gas-fired-generating facilities, transmission 2628 infrastructure, and pipelines needed to replace the output of 2629 just SGS cannot be permitted and completed by 2020 even if we 2630 started today. If the Clean Power Plan takes effect before 2631 the construction of sufficient generation or transmission infrastructure, significant power deficiencies may occur, 2632 2633 harming reliability.

The Clean Power Plan has failed to recognize the

2634

2635 economic impacts it would have on Seminole, our employees, 2636 our member cooperatives, and the communities we support. It 2637 is also failed to present a proposal that would maintain 2638 reliable electric service for our members and for Florida in 2639 general. As such, Seminole supports the Ratepayer Protection 2640 Act and urges this committee to continue its work to protect 2641 consumers. 2642 The best result for Seminole is for EPA to withdraw its 2643 proposal. In the absence of that, this legislation will 2644 protect Florida and Seminole by ensuring we do not have to 2645 comply with regulations that may be unlawful or may seriously 2646 harm consumers. 2647 A lot of us take it for granted that when we flip a 2648 switch, the lights come on. The Clean Power Plan as proposed 2649 will call that into question. 2650 Thank you. 2651 [The prepared statement of Ms. Johnson follows:]

********** TNSERT 3 ********

2652

2653 Mr. {Whitfield.} Thank you, Ms. Johnson.

2654 At this time I would like to recognize Susan Tierney,

2655 who is the senior advisor with the Analysis Group. And

2656 thanks for being with us and you are recognized for 5

2657 minutes.

2658 ^STATEMENT OF SUSAN F. TIERNEY 2659 Ms. {Tierney.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 2660 Chairman, Ranking Member Rush, and members of the 2661 subcommittee, my name is Susan Tierney. I practice economics 2662 in the electric and natural gas industries. I am a former 2663 state utility regulator, a former state environmental 2664 official, and formerly the assistant secretary for policy at 2665 the United States. 2666 One out of every 15 tons of carbon emission anywhere in the entire world comes from the U.S. power sector. Taking 2667 2668 action in the U.S. power sector will make a difference on the 2669 costly impacts of climate change. 2670 I want to talk about two reports that I have recently co-authored in which we found, first, that many observers 2671 2672 have raised concerns about EPA's proposals and their effects 2673 on electric system reliability. Such warnings are entirely 2674 normal whenever there is a major change in the electric 2675 industry, and these warnings play an important role in focusing the attention of the industry on taking steps to 2676

ensure reliable electric service to Americans. 2677 2678 Second, natural gas is putting pressure on coal and has already led to retirements of coal unrelated to environmental 2679 2680 regulations. Given the significant shifts already underway 2681 in the electric system, the industry is already needing to 2682 adjust its operational and planning practices to accommodate 2683 changes even if EPA had not proposed this regulation. 2684 reliability practices in the industry have been used for 2685 decades and they provide a strong foundation from which any 2686 reliability concerns about EPA's regulations will be 2687 addressed. 2688 Third, the Clean Power Plan provides states with a wide 2689 range of compliance options and operational discretion that 2690 can prevent reliability issues while also enabling reduction 2691 of carbon pollution. Experience has shown that such 2692 approaches provide seamless reliable implementation of 2693 emissions reductions targets. By contrast, stakeholders 2694 concerns about the Clean Power Plan presume that there will be inflexible implementation. They are based on worst-case 2695 2696 scenarios and assume that policymakers, regulators, and importantly, the market will standby on the side until it is 2697

2698 too late, and there is no historical basis for this. 2699 lights have not gone out when we have had industry changes. 2700 Fourth, the industry, its regulators, and the states are 2701 responsible for ensuring electric system reliability while 2702 reducing carbon pollution from power plants, as required by 2703 These responsibilities need not be in tension as long 2704 as all parties act in a timely way and use the many 2705 reliability tools at their disposal. These issues will be 2706 solved by the dynamic interplay of actions by regulators, 2707 entities responsible for reliability, market participants, as 2708 they always are with many solutions proceeding in parallel. 2709 This one reason why a recent survey of 400 utility 2710 executives found that more than 60 percent felt optimistic 2711 about the Clean Power Plan and either supported the emissions 2712 reductions target or make them more stringent. The markets 2713 tend to respond to clarity and precision and rules rather 2714 than uncertainty of the sort that would be introduced by this 2715 bill. 2716 Fifth, PJM, the grid operator for the Nation's largest 2717 competitive wholesale market and serving customers in 13 2718 states and the District of Columbia, is already adapting to

2719 changes underway in the electric industry. PJM's own 2720 analyses demonstrate that regional market-based approaches 2721 can meet clean power goals at lower cost with retirements 2722 spread out over a period of time. These results indicate 2723 that energy efficiency and renewable energy will in fact 2724 lower the cost of compliance and lower the exposure to coal 2725 plants associated with retirements. 2726 Based on our analyses and experience, we conclude that 2727 the impacts on electricity rates from well-designed pollution 2728 control programs will be modest in the near term and can be 2729 accommodated by long-term benefits, in other words, lower 2730 electricity bills and positive economic value to states' 2731 economies. 2732 States have a long track record of using various 2733 regulatory tools to encourage programs and investments that 2734 minimize the cost of electricity service consistent with all 2735 sorts of public policies ranging from taxes, zoning issues, 2736 environmental programs, reliability issues, labor 2737 requirements, and states figure out how to do that in a least 2738 cost way. Although states differ in many ways, every single state 2739

2740	has programs, policies, and practices that will enable them
2741	to sit in the driver's seat to figure out how to best
2742	accommodate changes being introduced by this important carbon
2743	control requirement. Market-based mechanisms in particular
2744	offer unique opportunities to minimize cost while reducing
2745	carbon pollution.
2746	And finally, states have a very long track record of
2747	taking steps necessary to protect low-income customers from
2748	the hardship associated with electricity rates.
2749	Thank you very much.
2750	[The prepared statement of Ms. Tierney follows:]

2751 ************* INSERT 4 **********

2752 Mr. {Whitfield.} Thank you.

2753 Our next witness is Melissa Hoffer, who is the chief of

2754 the Energy and Environment Bureau, Office of the Attorney

2755 General for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. So you are

2756 recognized for 5 minutes, Ms. Hoffer.

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2757
     ^STATEMENT OF MELISSA A. HOFFER
2758
          Ms. {Hoffer.} Thank you, Chairman Whitfield.
2759
          Mr. {Whitfield.} Is the microphone on? And move it
2760
     close.
           Ms. {Hoffer.} Is that better?
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2762
           Thank you, Chairman Whitfield, Ranking Member Rush, and
2763
     members of the committee. Our office really appreciates the
2764
     opportunity to be here today to provide testimony on EPA's
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     Clean Power Plan and the proposed Ratepayer Protection Act.
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           Section 111(d) authorizes EPA to establish standards for
2767
     any emissions from existing sources that endanger public
2768
     health and welfare but are not regulated under the National
2769
     Ambient Air Quality Standards program or the NAAOS program,
2770
     or the Hazardous Air Pollutant program, the HAP program.
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      1970 Clean Air Act legislative history confirms that Congress
2772
      intended that these three programs together would ensure no
2773
     gaps in regulation of stationary source emissions that pose
2774
     danger to public health or welfare. Courts have therefore
     held that these provisions collectively establish a
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comprehensive program for controlling and improving the 2776 2777 Nation's air quality. 2778 Let's be clear. Those who challenge EPA's authority are 2779 taking the position that simply because EPA is on the one 2780 hand regulating emissions of hazardous pollutants from power 2781 plants, it may not also regulate emissions of carbon dioxide, 2782 which is a different type of pollutant not regulated under 2783 the Hazardous Air Pollutant program. The Clean Power Plan 2784 imposes no double regulation of the same pollutant. Rather, 2785 it proposes to do exactly what Congress intended, use Section 2786 111(d) to regulate a pollutant that is not regulated under 2787 either the NAAQS or the HAP programs. 2788 It makes no sense that EPA's opponents would exclude the 2789 largest sources of carbon dioxide, which are power plants, 2790 from regulation under Section 111(d) simply because they also 2791 happen to be huge sources of different toxic air pollutants. 2792 That interpretation is not supported by the text of the 2793 statute or the legislative history of the 1990 amendments. 2794 The more reasonable interpretation is that Congress 2795 intended for EPA to do both. There is no evidence that Congress intended with the 1990 amendments to make a sweeping 2796

2797 substantive change to Section 111(d). In fact, to the 2798 contrary, Congress specifically provided that EPA's 2799 regulation of emissions under Section 112 must not diminish 2800 Section 111(d) requirements. Accordingly, EPA has long 2801 regulated source categories under both 111(d) and Section 112 2802 and I have provided some examples and materials attached to 2803 my testimony. 2804 In the four presidential administrations since the 1990 2805 amendments, EPA has consistently interpreted Section 111(d) 2806 to require regulation of any air pollutant not regulated 2807 under the NAAQS program on the one hand or the HAP program on 2808 the other. Opponents interpretation would effectively gut 2809 Section 111(d) undermining its function as recognized by the 2810 Supreme Court of the United States in AEP v. Connecticut, 2811 which is to ``provide a means''--and this is a direct quote 2812 from the decision-- `to seek limits on emissions of carbon 2813 dioxide from domestic power plants.'' They ignore the Senate 2814 amendment and the fact that the House amendment itself is 2815 subject to multiple readings. 2816 Consistent with the D.C. Circuit's ruling, EPA has 2817 correctly attempted to harmonize the House and Senate

2818 amendments to the extent they appear inconsistent. The 2819 discussion drafts compliance extension provisions are not 2820 necessary. The D.C. Circuit may stay any EPA final rule if 2821 it finds the party seeking a stay has demonstrated that it is 2822 likely to prevail on the merits, without the relief it would 2823 be irreparably harmed, the issuance of the stay would not 2824 substantially harm other parties interested in the 2825 proceedings, or on balance a stay would favor the public 2826 interest. 2827 The discussion draft would jettison this careful balancing, which has been a part of judicial tests for over 2828 2829 50 years, in favor of what is effectively an automatic stay 2830 rule that would halt Clean Power Plan implementation for 2831 years during the pendency of any litigation without regard to the merits of the claims, the impacts to other interested 2832 2833 parties, or the consequences for the public interest. It 2834 would also create an unprecedented escape hatch for states 2835 wholly to opt out of urgently needed carbon dioxide pollution control requirements solely on the basis of unverified claims 2836 2837 regarding cost or purported reliability concerns. 2838 With the passage of the 1970 Clean Air Act Congress

2839 establish national air pollution control requirements and it 2840 employed a cooperative federalism model to implement those 2841 requirements. The discussion draft's opt-out provision would 2842 break the promise backed act by the Federal Government of the 2843 Clean Air Act that states the EPA will work together to 2844 protect public health. 2845 The Clean Power Plan's flexible approach leverages 2846 states' innovation and expertise to achieve cost-effective 2847 reductions of dangerous global warming pollution. For 2848 example, Massachusetts is part of the multistate Regional 2849 Greenhouse Gas Initiative, or RGGI, which instituted a 2850 mandatory power sector cap-and-trade program since 2009. 2851 When RGGI went into effect, the RGGI states have reduced 2852 power sector carbon dioxide emissions 40 percent below 2005 levels by encouraging shifts to less carbon-intensive fossil 2853 2854 fuel generation, increasing reliance on renewables and 2855 reducing energy demands through efficiency. 2856 Regionally, in the first 3 years of the RGGI program, RGGI added \$1.6 billion to the regional economy and created 2857 2858 thousands of new jobs in the process. As a result of RGGI, electricity consumers, including households and businesses, 2859

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2860
     enjoy a gain of over $1 billion as their overall electricity
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     bills drop over time.
2862
           The Clean Power Plan with Massachusetts to rely on what
2863
     we know works, including RGGI, to achieve the required carbon
2864
     dioxide reductions, and that is good for our economy. Due in
2865
     large part to our innovative energy environmental policy,
2866
     clean energy is now a multibillion-dollar sector in
2867
     Massachusetts supporting double digit job growth--
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           Mr. {Whitfield.} Ms. Hoffer, I have let you go over 1
2869
     minute and 20 seconds.
2870
           Ms. {Hoffer.} --in 2013 to 2014. Thank you.
2871
           [The prepared statement of Ms. Hoffer follows:]
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********** INSERT 5 ********

2872

Mr. {Whitfield.} At this time I would like to recognize the gentleman, Mr. Sunday, who is the manager of government affairs, Pennsylvania Chamber of Business and Industry, for 5 minutes.

2877 ^STATEMENT OF KEVIN SUNDAY 2878 Mr. {Sunday.} Thank you. Chairman Whitfield, Ranking 2879 Member Rush, members of this committee, my name is Kevin 2880 Sunday, manager of government affairs for the Pennsylvania 2881 Chamber of Business and Industry. It is an honor to appear 2882 before you today to express our concerns regarding EPA's 2883 Clean Power Plan proposal and also to support Representative 2884 Whitfield with ratepayer protection legislation. 2885 As background, the Pennsylvania Chamber of Business and 2886 Industry is the largest broad-based business advocacy 2887 association in Pennsylvania and our members are of all sizes 2888 and industrial sectors. All our members need energy to 2889 survive and compete, and so do Pennsylvania citizens. 2890 Our unemployment rate in Pennsylvania is below the 2891 national average and we have made substantial and documented 2892 reductions in air pollution over the past decade. We are the 2893 second-leading state in total electricity, natural gas, and 2894 nuclear power generation, and we are fifth in coal 2895 production.

2896 Our manufacturing sector is the eighth-largest in the 2897 Nation employing almost 600,000 people. To cite but one 2898 example about how our manufacturers need power, one of our 2899 member companies involved in processing natural gas worked 2900 with the local utility to install a dedicated local 2901 substation to give them the voltage they need to operate. 2902 Their facility, I would add, requires hundreds of local 2903 workers, many of them union tradesmen. Further, that same 2904 utility is investing in tens of millions of dollars in 2905 infrastructure in the Marcellus Shale pipe, also using union 2906 labor, to deliver the power that other drillers and 2907 manufacturers will need. 2908 But unfortunately, EPA's proposal threatens 2909 Pennsylvania's biggest competitive advantage, which is low 2910 energy prices. The significant cost of this rule by EPA's 2911 own estimation will result in relatively small reductions in 2912 global emissions of less than half of 1 percent likely soon 2913 to be eclipsed by development abroad. 2914 We have a number of questions about EPA's Clean Power 2915 Plan which I have included in greater length in my written 2916 testimony but generally here are the three key ones: Are

2917 building blocks 1 and 2 truly realistic in a restructure 2918 generation market like Pennsylvania's? Why is 71 percent of 2919 Pennsylvania's goal based on an expectation that we mandate 2920 incredibly high amounts of renewable generation and energy 2921 efficiency requirements? And why is Pennsylvania being 2922 punished for being an early adopter of renewable generation 2923 and energy efficiency? 2924 In the Clean Power Plan Pennsylvania's renewable goal is 2925 the second-highest in the Nation, an almost 800 percent 2926 increase over current levels, and we are expected to deploy 2927 it at a faster rate than any other state. Senator Bob Casey, 2928 Jr., made a great point in his comment letter to EPA that 2929 Pennsylvania is ``second-to-last in terms of technical 2930 potential for meeting the overall needs of its own energy 2931 sector through renewable generation.'' To get to EPA's goal 2932 of 30,000 more gigawatt hours, ratepayers are going to have 2933 to fund extremely expensive solar, geothermal, or other 2934 renewable projects, something they unfortunately know all too 2935 much about. 2936 In 2004, almost a decade before EPA's 2012 baseline 2937 year, Pennsylvania passed the Alternative Energy Portfolio

2938 Standards Act. To highlight one of the problems with this 2939 act, between 2008 and 2013, the AEPS mandates doubled from 2940 about 5.7 percent to 10.2 percent of electricity sales but 2941 the annual cost of compliance increased 54-fold. By the time 2942 we get to the peak mandate under existing law of 18 percent 2943 in 2021, the cost of electricity statewide could increase by 2944 as much as \$3.2 billion. 2945 Also ignored in the Clean Power Plan's 2012 baseline is 2946 our energy efficiency law which was passed in 2008 and to 2947 date has cost consumers \$1.7 billion to reduce their 2948 electricity consumption by 4.5 percent. Utilities and 2949 ratepayers are also expected to spend another \$735 million 2950 over the next 3 years for additional energy efficiency 2951 mandates, and all told, Pennsylvania spent the fifth-highest 2952 amount annually of any state to comply with energy efficiency 2953 mandates. 2954 I want to now highlight our experience with the 2955 Chesapeake Bay TMDL, another multibillion-dollar federal 2956 mandate that we believe is instructive in this conversation. 2957 Originally, EPA pledged flexibility but then the agency settled with environmental groups and gave Pennsylvania 2958

2959 regulators just 6 months to develop a federally enforceable 2960 compliance plan. Now, reminiscent of a 111(d) FIP, EPA has 2961 said that if the target reductions are not met, EPA will 2962 sanction the state and permitted facilities. There also 2963 remains the continual threat of citizen suits to ratchet up 2964 enforceability in compliance time frames. 2965 And just one final point to crystallize this at a local 2966 level, the City of Lancaster spent \$150 million in sewage 2967 improvements and millions more in green infrastructure as 2968 part of their Bay TMDL mandate. EPA hailed them as ``leading 2969 the way, a national example.'' Flash forward to this past 2970 winter, EPA is pressuring city officials to sign a new 2971 consent decree to get additional reductions at an additional 2972 cost to taxpayers for as much \$400 million. 2973 Again, thank you for your time this morning and 2974 afternoon and I look forward to answering any questions you 2975 may have. 2976 [The statement of Mr. Sunday follows:]

*********** TNSERT 6 ********

2977

Mr. {Whitfield.} Well, thank you, Mr. Sunday.

And our last witness is Mr. Paul Cicio, who is the

president of the Industrial Energy Consumers of America. And

you are recognized for 5 minutes. And be sure and turn it

on.

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2983
     ^STATEMENT OF PAUL CICIO
2984
     Mr. {Cicio.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member
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     Rush.
2986
           The Industrial Energy Consumers of America represents
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      energy-intensive trade-exposed companies. These companies
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     consume 73 percent of all of the electricity in the
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     manufacturing sector and 75 percent of the natural gas. As a
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     result, small changes to the price of energy have relatively
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      large impacts to our global competitiveness.
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          As a sector, we use 40 quads of energy, and this has
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     basically not changed in 40 years. In that same time period,
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     the value-added output of the industrial sector has increased
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      761 percent, a tremendous success story. The industrial
2996
      sector is the only sector of the economy whose greenhouse gas
2997
     emissions are 22 percent below 1973 levels. These industries
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     are very energy efficient.
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           IECA supports action to reduce greenhouse gas emissions
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     so long as it will not impair our competitiveness. We must
3001
     have a level playing field with global competitors. Several
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3002 countries that we compete with control electric and natural 3003 gas prices to their industrials and provide subsidies and/or 3004 practices to give them a competitive advantage. If we were 3005 the military, one would say that we are engaged in hand-to-3006 hand combat. 3007 As proposed, the Clean Power Plan would impose 3008 significant electricity and natural gas costs and accomplish 3009 too little to reduce the threat of climate change. All costs 3010 of this unilateral action will be passed on to us the 3011 consumer and will directly impact competitiveness and jobs. 3012 The EPA cannot look at the Clean Power Plan in isolation 3013 from the significant cumulative cost that it will impose on 3014 the industrial sector either directly or indirectly through a 3015 number of recent rulemakings. Since 2000, the manufacturing 3016 sector is down 4.9 million jobs. Since 2010, manufacturing 3017 employment has increased 525,000. We are in the early stages 3018 of recovery and fear that the Clean Power Plan could threaten 3019 this recovery. 3020 In contrast, for example, China, a primary competitor 3021 has increased industrial employment by 31 percent since 2000. And U.S. manufacturing trade deficit since 2002 has grown to 3022

3023 \$524 billion, of which 70 percent is with China. China's 3024 industrial greenhouse gas emissions have risen over 17 3025 percent just since 2008. China produces 29 percent more 3026 manufactured goods than we do in the United States but emits 3027 317 percent more than the U.S. manufacturing sector. 3028 over three times as much. 3029 But despite our low greenhouse gas levels, the EPA will 3030 increase our costs and make it easier for China's carbon-3031 intensive product to be imported, which means the Clean Power 3032 Plan would be directly responsible for increasing global 3033 greenhouse gas emissions. 3034 There are consequences to increasing energy costs on the 3035 industry sector and it is called greenhouse gas leakage. And 3036 the EPA so far has failed to address its impact and has thus 3037 underestimated the cost. For example, when a state's 3038 electricity costs rise due to the Clean Power Plan, these 3039 industries with multiple manufacturing locations will shift 3040 production and shift their jobs to low-cost electricity 3041 states, along with the greenhouse gas emissions, creating 3042 state winners and losers. When they do, it will increase the 3043 price of electricity to the remaining ratepayers in that

3044 state. 3045 If these industries still cannot be competitive, they 3046 move offshore, moving jobs and greenhouse gas emissions, 3047 accomplishing nothing environmentally. One needs to only 3048 look towards California that has high electricity costs since 3049 AB 32. To our knowledge there is not a single energy-3050 intensive trade-exposed company that has built a new facility 3051 there. Instead, California is importing manufacturing 3052 product, they are forfeiting jobs, increasing global 3053 greenhouse gas emissions. And the same is true for the EU 3054 ETS. It is for this reason that we urge policymakers to hold 3055 offshore manufacturing competitors to the same carbon 3056 standard as domestic manufacturers. 3057 Thank you. 3058 [The prepared statement of Mr. Cicio follows:] *********** INSERT 7 ********* 3059

3060 Mr. {Whitfield.} Thank you, Mr. Cicio. And thank all 3061 of you again for your comments. 3062 And I would like to recognize myself for 5 minutes of 3063 questions. 3064 These hearings are always so interesting because when 3065 you listen to the testimony, it raises so many questions in 3066 your mind, and sometimes you even question your sanity in 3067 some ways. 3068 But I was listening to Ms. Hoffer and she was so 3069 emphatic in her legal defense of the 111(d) regulation, for 3070 example, and I know, Mr. Trisko, that you are an accomplished 3071 Clean Air Act lawyer as well. And in my opening comments I 3072 talked a little bit about--I am not an expert in the Clean 3073 Air Act but, as far as I know, in this proposed rule they 3074 basically view a state as a source because there is a number, 3075 a cap for that source, and so to comply with the regulation, 3076 as they say, to get states the flexibility to go outside the 3077 fence to address it. Would you agree with me that this is an 3078 unusual interpretation and legal analysis by EPA to decide 3079 that it gives them the authority to do this regulation?

3080 Mr. {Trisko.} Absolutely, Mr. Chairman. Now, Professor 3081 Tribe has discussed these issues at some length both in his 3082 testimony and in his written commentary on the rule. 3083 There is another aspect of 111(d) relating to the term 3084 ``standard of performance'' that I believe is extremely 3085 problematic for EPA's attempt to bring in energy efficiency 3086 outside-the-fence measures and renewable energy requirements 3087 also outside the fence that call into question the basic 3088 legal soundness of the EPA's approach. 3089 When you look at the fundamental architecture of the 3090 Clean Air Act with its scheme of regulation for criteria 3091 pollutants on the one hand, regulated largely under Titles I, 3092 II, and IV, and hazardous air pollutants such as mercury on 3093 the other hand, I think it makes perfect sense that in this 3094 instance sources that already are subject to a MACT 3095 requirement under Section 112 be exempt from Section 111(d) 3096 requirements because exposing them to 111(d) would in effect 3097 create a form of double regulation. 3098 Moreover, had Congress intended the last time it visited 3099 the Clean Air Act in 1990 to include CO2 regulation as a 3100 possibility under Section 111(d), I would note that CO2 was

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     addressed explicitly in the context of regulation of
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     automotive tailpipe emissions in an amendment proposed in the
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      Senate by Senators Worth and Heinz. The Senate rejected that
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      amendment indicating that CO2 emissions--
           Mr. {Whitfield.} Absolutely.
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3106
          Mr. {Trisko.} --should not be regulated--
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           Mr. {Whitfield.} --you are exactly right and I
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      appreciate your making that comment.
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           I might say also, Ms. Hoffer was talking about great
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     progress that is being made in Massachusetts, and I
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     understand how--and by the way, it exemplifies why some
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     states get so upset about what is going on here. In your
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     view, Massachusetts has been progressive and have really
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     tried to address the issue. And one of the consequences of
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     that is that Massachusetts has the third-highest electricity
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     rates in the country per kilowatt hour, and between 2014,
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     2015 went up about $3 per kilowatt hour. And that is a
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     decision that they have made. But other states have decided
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     that they don't want to pursue that right now.
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           And the impact of this is on those people you talked
     about this, Mr. Trisko, that one-half of the household in the
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31 states that you all looked at, 38 million households,
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      their median income is $23,000. And so when you talk about
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     upping electricity rates on these people who have no other
      choice, it is a dramatic impact on them.
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           And I didn't have an opportunity to get go into it, Ms.
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     Johnson, but I read your article. Here you have got one of
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      the cleanest coal plants in America operating, you have spent
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      $500 million on it, it has a useful life up through 2045 and
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     you are probably going to be forced to close it down.
3131
     that correct?
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           Ms. {Johnson.} That is correct, Mr. Chairman.
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           Mr. {Whitfield.} I mean it is unbelievable.
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           My time is expired.
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           Mr. Rush, you are recognized for 5 minutes of questions.
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           Mr. {Rush.} Yes, Ms. Hoffer, you have been the target
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      of some pretty stringent remarks by the chairman and I just
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     want to give you an opportunity to respond. So what is your
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      reaction to some of the remarks concerning your fine state
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     and what you are doing in Massachusetts and the cost of
3141
      energy or electricity in your state? Do you want to respond?
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Ms. {Hoffer.} I will briefly respond to Mr. Trisko's

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3143 point. Since 1977, in fact EPA has regulated the same 3144 sources under both 111(d) and 112 I just want to quickly give 3145 you the examples of those. So there is the regulation of landfills under Section 111(d) for methane and non-methane 3146 3147 organic compounds and under Section 12 for vinyl chloride 3148 ethylbenzene, toluene, and benzene. Then there is also 3149 regulating fluorides from phosphate fertilizer plants under 3150 Section 111(d) and regulating hydrogen fluoride and other 3151 pollutants under Section 112. So this is a, you know, long-3152 standing practice of EPA. 3153 And on the cost point, there is a couple things I would 3154 like to add. So with the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative, 3155 or RGGI, most of the states had to pass implementing 3156 legislation to put the RGGI program into work, and many of 3157 the participating states decided to take the allowance auction proceeds so the amount of money that is paid for an 3158 3159 allowance to emit one ton of carbon dioxide and use that to 3160 promote energy efficiency. 3161 So Massachusetts has been ranked in, you know, first or 3162 among the first states for energy efficiency in the country 3163 for the past couple of years because we have been able

3164 effectively to take that money and invest it back into energy 3165 efficiency in our state, which over time has had the effect 3166 of lower electric bills. And we had this exchange earlier 3167 today about electricity rates versus electricity bills, and 3168 for those of you who live in states where the electricity 3169 markets have been deregulated, you know when you get your 3170 energy bill there is a couple different charges on it. There 3171 is the charge for the electricity itself, there is often a 3172 distribution charge, which is for your local wires and the, 3173 you know, ability of the distribution companies to deliver 3174 service to you, and then there is a transmission charge. And 3175 what you see over time with efficiency improvements is that 3176 the total bill comes down. 3177 And that is what you really want to focus on with this. And I think we can hear more from other witnesses on the 3178 3179 panel today as well, but huge beneficiaries of the energy 3180 efficiency under RGGI have been the industrial ratepayers, 3181 and that has been a real plus for Massachusetts. 3182 Mr. {Rush.} I want to thank you. 3183 Dr. Tierney, according to the National Climate

Assessment, if we do not seriously invest in addressing

3184

3185 climate change impacts now, we can expect to see more 3186 expensive and costly future damages affecting almost every 3187 facet of our society from negative health impacts to stress 3188 on our infrastructure and water systems to harming our 3189 national security up to and including hurting our overall 3190 economic growth. In your professional opinion, do you 3191 believe that the proposed CPP is both flexible and provides 3192 states with feasible deadlines so as to not drastically 3193 impact reliability and/or costs for consumers? And also why 3194 is it so vital that we act now rather than down the road? 3195 Ms. {Tierney.} Thank you very much for that question. 3196 As a co-lead author of the Energy Production and Use chapter 3197 of the National Climate Assessment, we took a survey of the 3198 literature on the costly impacts already being faced by 3199 Americans associated with the effects of climate change. 3200 Florida, for example, faces tremendous costs of a variety of 3201 sorts, and California, I think of California and the well-3202 known costly drought conditions are extraordinary in terms of 3203 their cost on consumers. 3204 One of the things that is valuable to think about as we think about this Clean Power Plan, right now, we have the 3205

- 3206 ability for people who are using fossil fuels to produce 3207 electricity are polluting for free with regard to carbon. 3208 wonder it is cheap to do that because you are really dumping 3209 some kind of cost on somebody else. And as a result of that, 3210 the Clean Power Plan provides a lot of flexibility for states 3211 to figure out how to address that problem quite creatively. I think of a state like Florida which indeed hangs as a 3212 3213 separate part of the electric system. Florida has the 3214 ability to establish some kind of mutual assistance program 3215 with other states, enabling the two states to have more 3216 affordable compliance programs for both of them. 3217 Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentleman's time is expired. 3218 At this time I recognize the gentleman from Texas, Mr. 3219 Olson, for 5 minutes. 3220 Mr. {Olson.} I thank the chairman. 3221 Welcome, Mr. Trisko, Ms. Johnson, Ms. Tierney, Ms. 3222 Hoffer, Mr. Sunday, Mr. Cicio. Long day, I know that, but 3223 thank you for coming this afternoon. 3224 My first question would be for Mr. Trisko and Ms.
- Johnson. And in your testimony, sir, you talked about how our seniors may be hit the hardest by increases in

3227 electricity prices. And you also say they may have the 3228 lowest ability to absorb these costs with their energy 3229 demands. And my mother-in-law, my kids call her Mamie, is 3230 case in point. She moved from cool, dry, Southern California 3231 to hot, humid southeast Texas 3 years ago. She is on a fixed 3232 income. Energy is one of her biggest expenses, air-3233 conditioning. If she has some increase in prices because of 3234 this rule, she might not have the quality of life she has 3235 currently because her prices will go up. She might not be 3236 able to keep that air-conditioner where she wants it and I 3237 don't want that to happen to her. So could you elaborate on 3238 the issues seniors face across America, sir? 3239 Mr. {Trisko.} I am happy to, Congressman. I think it 3240 is important to bear in mind when looking at the electricity price increases that I cite in my testimony to bear in mind 3241 3242 that the NERA analysis, and I have used the most conservative 3243 NERA numbers in this report, including all four EPA building 3244 blocks, but the NERA analysis included in its baseline the 3245 rate increases associated with the EPA mercury rule, the MATS 3246 rule, and that compliance is beginning now and will continue 3247 over the next several years. There will be significant

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3248
      increases in electricity prices as a consequence of the
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     compliance with the MATS rule. So these numbers are additive
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     on top of an increasing trend.
           The impact on fixed-income seniors is fairly obvious
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3252
     because most of the fixed-income seniors fall into the lower-
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      income categories either below 50,000 or in many cases below
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      $30,000 a year. You are basically looking at Social Security
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      recipients receiving at best COLA increases, which barely
3256
      keep pace with the rate of inflation.
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           So if your electric bill goes up by let's say 15 to 20
     percent in real terms compared to what it is today as a
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3259
     consequence of--
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           Mr. {Olson.} Like my Mamie, like my mother-in-law, yes,
3261
      sir.
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           Mr. {Trisko.} Well, as a consequence to these
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      regulations, you are for those individuals really creating a
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      question of heating versus eating, and there is survey
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      evidence that bears that out.
           Mr. {Olson.} Ms. Johnson with Florida, large senior
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     population, how does that impact your seniors back home in
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Florida?

3269 Ms. {Johnson.} Very similar situation, Congressman. 3270 Thank you for the question. As I mentioned, a third of our 3271 population that we serve have incomes below the poverty 3272 level, and over 75 percent of them have incomes below 75,000, 3273 although that is not poverty-level income. That is in the lower to mid-bracket of incomes. And as Mr. Trisko mentioned 3274 and I agree, those lower-income households spend more money 3275 3276 on their electricity service per month. If you increase 3277 their bills, if you increase the rate that they pay, even if 3278 you are trying to work with them to decrease the amount of 3279 electricity that they use, they will disproportionately be 3280 impacted negatively by an increase. 3281 Mr. {Olson.} And this is number two because seniors 3282 feel heat more than normal people. They want the air colder. 3283 My mother-in-law keeps it really cold because that is what 3284 she is used to and her body has told her that she can't take 3285 that extreme heat. So thank you for your respects. 3286 My final question is for you, Mr. Sunday. You mentioned in your testimony that Pennsylvania has a competitive 3287 3288 advantage because of low energy prices. I mean it sounds 3289 like jobs are coming to Pennsylvania, not flocking there.

3290 And as you know, the steel industry went away to Asia about a 3291 decade ago, so how will these increased prices from this rule 3292 impact your ability to recover and thrive in Pennsylvania? 3293 Mr. {Sunday.} We are on the verge of a manufacturing 3294 renaissance and frankly we cannot afford higher energy 3295 prices. I mentioned the energy efficiency laws. To the 3296 point of steel, the Industrial Energy Consumers of 3297 Pennsylvania gave us some data that the state's standing 3298 energy efficiency laws in some utility jurisdictions add 3299 \$40,000 a month to their bills. That is quite a few 3300 employees that they can hire a year. 3301 We stand on the precipice of turning things around in 3302 Pennsylvania but, you know, we don't want to turn back now. 3303 Mr. {Olson.} Mr. Cicio, you mentioned jobs coming back 3304 to America. How about jobs leaving if this rule goes into 3305 effect? How many jobs will fly overseas again? 3306 Mr. {Cicio.} Well, we don't know exactly how many jobs 3307 because we won't know that until we find out what the final 3308 rule is. 3309 But let's talk practical terms here. Let's just look at

two industries that use a lot of electricity: steel and

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3311 aluminum. The percent of electricity of operating costs of 3312 aluminum is about 30 percent of the cost. Relatively small 3313 changes has a huge impact on whether they produce here or 3314 produce somewhere in the world. Steel is about 20 to 25 3315 percent. So you can see that high operating cost has a huge 3316 sensitivity to price change. 3317 Mr. {Olson.} Thank you. I yield back. 3318 Mr. {Whitfield.} Thank you. At this time I recognize 3319 the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Pallone, for 5 minutes. 3320 Mr. {Pallone.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 3321 I know everyone is concerned about rates and 3322 reliability, so, Ms. Tierney, I wanted to ask you a little 3323 bit about rates. It appears to me that the EPA analysis 3324 shows some increases of electricity rates but it also shows 3325 that by the end of the compliance period electricity bills 3326 are expected to be lower. So, first, why bills would be 3327 lower at the end of the program, and second, for the 3328 projected rate increases, how do they compare to rate 3329 increases that we have already seen over time? 3330 Ms. {Tierney.} Thank you, Congressman Pallone. 3331 One of the reasons why EPA projects that there will be

3332 lower electricity bills is the point that has been described 3333 previously. If you are using less electricity because of 3334 energy efficiency, you are buying fewer units of electricity. 3335 Even though the unit price of electricity might rise in a 3336 small percentage, your total bill in terms of the quantity 3337 you use and the price, that is going to lead to a lower cost 3338 impact. 3339 My colleague here from Massachusetts has just reported 3340 that one of the things we have observed in the Northeast and 3341 mid-Atlantic states is those strong investments in energy 3342 efficiency get you two bangs for bucks. It means that there 3343 are a lot of jobs locally in the local economy to put on 3344 insulation in a variety of things. The consumer ends up 3345 using electricity and then over time you don't have to run 3346 the most expensive power plants on the system to produce 3347 electricity, and it is a virtuous cycle in that regard. So 3348 that is the reason why the EPA's logic there is there will be 3349 lowered bills over time. 3350 Mr. {Pallone.} Can I ask you, are there larger forces 3351 in the Clean Power Plan at work with regard to increased 3352 rates? Is the power system already undergoing change for

3353 reasons unrelated to the Clean Power Plan? 3354 Ms. {Tierney.} Absolutely. Since the shale gas 3355 revolution began to lower the price of a domestic fossil 3356 fuel, that has put pressure on existing aged inefficient 3357 coal-fired power plants. We have seen reductions in those 3358 coal-fired power plants in terms of their operations. We 3359 have seen no reliability problems associated with that. And 3360 in fact, we see today the announced retirements of coal 3361 plants around the country are being flanked on the other side 3362 with an equal amount of proposals for new gas-fired power 3363 plants, new renewable infrastructure, new transmission, new 3364 gas pipeline infrastructure. As a result of that, we are 3365 seeing the market respond very favorably to the signals about 3366 lowering supply. 3367 Mr. {Pallone.} Well, in the same vein that you recently took a look at the impact of the Clean Power Plan on electric 3368 3369 systems reliability. Do these doomsday claims have any 3370 merit? 3371 Ms. {Tierney.} They don't in my opinion. The doomsday 3372 scenario is helpful to all of us because here we are talking 3373 about it. It does not suggest that everybody will stand by.

3374 I have never seen the mission-oriented electric industry 3375 stand by when it has to face a new reliability issue. They 3376 will do that now. States are very responsible for this so I 3377 think that the worst-case scenario, gloomy outlook is one 3378 that we won't see happen. 3379 Mr. {Pallone.} Thank you. 3380 Ms. Hoffer, Massachusetts has come out in support of the 3381 EPA's proposed Clean Power Plan and it is clear from your 3382 testimony that EPA has the legal authority for the plan. 3383 Could you briefly comment on the logic of legal challenges to 3384 a proposed rule? How about legislation that seeks to halt, 3385 alter, or undermine a proposed rule? I would say that 3386 challenging a proposed rule either in the course of this 3387 legislation is a bit premature but what do you think? 3388 Ms. {Hoffer.} It is absolutely premature and there is no need for it. And in fact, as Administrator McCabe said 3389 3390 earlier, it would be extremely disruptive. Climate change is 3391 an existential threat to humanity, and there is a significant 3392 cost associated to that, which affects all sectors of the 3393 economy. So one way to think about it is it isn't the status quo compared to doing the Clean Power Plan, but increasingly 3394

3395 expensive climate response costs compared to doing something 3396 now, which is already a bit late to reduce and abate the 3397 threat. 3398 EPA has estimated that climate and weather disasters 3399 have affected the American economy to the tune of over \$100 3400 million since 2012 alone, so we need to be doing things as 3401 quickly as possible and there is already a rational legal 3402 limitation. If, for example, as I explained earlier, a 3403 moving party came into the court and wanted to challenge the 3404 final rule and was able to make out a case that the rule 3405 should be stayed during the pendency of that challenge based 3406 on the traditional standards that courts typically apply for 3407 a stay, a stay would be granted. So we already have a way 3408 and a legal mechanism that is well recognized that could be 3409 applied in this instance so it is not necessary. 3410 Mr. {Pallone.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 3411 Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentleman's time is expired. 3412 We have two votes on the House Floor. I believe we are 3413 going to be able to finish our questions before we go, so at 3414 this time I would recognize the gentleman from West Virginia, Mr. McKinley, for 5 minutes. 3415

3416 Mr. {McKinley.} Thank you. I will try to be brief, 3417 very quick on this. 3418 The statements earlier today by Ms. McCabe that the 3419 increased cost of about \$8.5 billion is going to lead to 3420 lower utility bills I found fairly incredible. And it is 3421 just further manifestation I think of this disturbing trend 3422 coming from the administration over the years and calls into 3423 question I think their credibility. 3424 Look back on some of the statements that we have dealt 3425 with. Al Oaeda is on the run in 2012. 2014 we heard Yemen 3426 is a counterterrorism success story and we found that to be 3427 false as well. We heard over the years that the more EPA 3428 regulations create jobs. For every million dollars in 3429 regulations, it creates 1-1/2 jobs. We are hearing about 3430 this proposed Iranian deal is good for Israel but the Prime 3431 Minister says absolutely that is false. Now I am hearing 3432 this is going to save money for the consumer. 3433 So, Mr. Trisko, can you respond to that? I just thought 3434 that was an outrageous statement and really called into 3435 question a lot of the credibility.

Mr. {Trisko.} Congressman, yes, thank you. The reason

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3437 that EPA has presented such a low estimate of the annual 3438 compliance costs with the Clean Power Plan is that it has 3439 netted out from those costs the assumed savings from energy 3440 efficiency initiatives. Now, NERA's analysis using the four 3441 building blocks of the EPA rule, and this is the cost to 3442 consumers of investments in energy efficiency to meet EPA 3443 targets, indicates a cost to consumers, and this is in net 3444 present value terms, of \$560 billion. That means Americans 3445 will be asked by this rule, American consumers will be asked 3446 to spend \$560 billion in investments in energy efficiency. 3447 Congressman, I believe that estimate of that extent of 3448 energy efficiency investment is simply fatuous. As of just a 3449 few years ago the most recent data -- and these don't change 3450 very quickly--the average American house is owned for a period of 7 to 8 years. You cannot recover a major 3451 3452 investment such as in replacing sliding glass doors or an 3453 HVAC, a heat pump system, you cannot recover those costs in 3454 the space of 7 to 8 years. You can do relatively simple 3455 things like attic insulation and weather-stripping and that 3456 sort of thing, but those don't get you close to the targets that EPA is advocating for states in this rule. 3457

3458 So if you are going to have energy efficiency to the 3459 extent that EPA is advocating it, consumers ought to be able to shell out on the order of a half a trillion dollars to pay 3460 for it. 3461 3462 Mr. {Pallone.} I yield back the balance of my time to 3463 help out. 3464 Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentleman yields back. 3465 At this time I recognize the gentleman from Virginia, 3466 Mr. Griffith, for 5 minutes. 3467 Mr. {Griffith.} Thank you very much. 3468 Ms. Hoffer, we are just going to disagree on the law. 3469 Mr. Trisko, you and I are going to agree on the law as to 3470 whether or not the EPA has authority under 111(d). But I 3471 would submit to both of you that in this case on Thursday of this week the EPA is going to argue in front of the U.S. 3472 3473 Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit that it is premature to 3474 take the question up as to whether or not they have authority 3475 under 111(d). 3476 Now, there are some other arguments as well, but at the 3477 very least it would seem to me in the matter of efficiency settling this issue more quickly as to whether or not there 3478

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      is even authority to go forward with the regulations would be
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      in the interest of the American public. Mr. Trisko, would
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      you not agree with that, that the EPA ought to say, okay, at
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      least asked to whether or not we have authority since we are
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      already regulated under 112, can the court rule on that so we
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     can move forward to the Supreme Court? Because we all know
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      that issue is going to end up in the Supreme Court, wouldn't
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     you agree?
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          Mr. {Trisko.} Congressman, I would agree. And let me
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      cite another precedent that is occurring in the here and now.
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      The Supreme Court will hear arguments and render a decision
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      in the challenge to EPA's mercury rule. There are power
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     plants that are being retired, basically being put into
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      stranded asset category today, this month, this year, tens of
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      thousands of megawatts of capacity. The Supreme Court could
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     vacate the EPA mercury rule. In that event, wouldn't it have
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     made sense before those plants were retired and rendered
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      stranded assets--
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          Mr. {Griffith.} And those jobs lost.
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          Mr. {Trisko.} --to have the answer?
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          Mr. {Griffith.} Yes, sir.
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           Mr. {Trisko.} To have the answer.
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          Mr. {Griffith.} And that screams out for this proposed
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      draft to be passed, wouldn't you agree?
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          Mr. {Trisko.} Yes, sir.
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           Mr. {Griffith.} All right. And, Ms. Johnson, likewise,
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      you would feel that you are about to have some stranded
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     cross. Wouldn't you like to know in advance that the EPA at
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     least has the authority to promulgate these regulations? You
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     might still be opposed to them, but wouldn't you like to know
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     whether they have the authority before you are forced to shut
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     down that facility?
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          Ms. {Johnson.} I certainly would, Congressman.
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           Mr. {Griffith.} And that screams for this piece of
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      legislation, this draft legislation to be passed, wouldn't
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     you agree?
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          Ms. {Johnson.} Yes, I agree.
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           Mr. {Griffith.} And you would agree then with the State
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     Corporation Commission of Virginia when they said that
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     because of stranded costs in part but contrary to the claim
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     that rates will go up but bills will go down, experience of
     cost in Virginia make it extremely unlikely that either
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     electric rates or bills in Virginia will go down as a result
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     of the proposed regulation. You certainly have no reason to
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      disagree in Virginia and for the people that you serve in
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      your area would that also be true?
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           Ms. {Johnson.} I believe that is true. I don't know
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     how you could retire a plant prematurely when there is
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     valuable life left in it and have to replace new generation
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     to take that up and pay for it twice and not have the costs
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     go up.
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           Mr. {Griffith.} Yes, ma'am.
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           And, Mr. Cicio, one of the things I wanted to ask you
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      about if I heard your testimony correctly, the Chinese
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     produce how much more product today than we do
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     percentagewise?
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           Mr. {Cicio.} I believe it is 23 percent.
           Mr. {Griffith.} About 20 some percent and yet their
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     carbon footprint is how much more for that production?
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           Mr. {Cicio.} Three hundred percent more.
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           Mr. {Griffith.} So when we make it difficult for
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     businesses like Mr. Sunday's businesses to do business in
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Virginia, United States, Pennsylvania for Mr. Sunday's case,

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we send some of those jobs--not all them but some of them 3542 3543 will go to places like China or India, isn't that correct? 3544 Mr. {Cicio.} That is correct. Turn it around. Look at 3545 it this way. If you create jobs in the United States and you 3546 don't import from China, you are reducing global emissions. 3547 Mr. {Griffith.} So this may actually have a contrary 3548 effect on the environment where everybody is claiming that 3549 this will help the environment by pushing jobs to places like 3550 China, Vietnam, India, wherever--3551 Mr. {Cicio.} That is correct. 3552 Mr. {Griffith.} --we could be making the environment 3553 worse. And I note that India has said they are not planning 3554 on cutting back on carbon. They are going to use more 3555 carbon, they are going to use more coal because it is 3556 affordable to produce the energy, to produce jobs and they 3557 want to catch up with the U.S. and China, isn't that correct? 3558 Mr. {Cicio.} That is correct. And even Japan just last 3559 week announced they will build 40 coal-fired power plants so 3560 it is not just developing countries. 3561 Mr. {Griffith.} And the Germans as well are building some more coal plants. And of course one of the things that 3562

people often forget because they will say that we are the--I 3563 3564 think somebody earlier tonight said we are, you know, second only to China in carbon footprint. We are the world's third 3565 3566 largest or most populous country, we are the world's largest 3567 economy, and we are currently producing the second-most 3568 products, so that accounts for some of this and we have 3569 benefited the rest of the world with our innovations. We can 3570 benefit them now with our innovations without the force of 3571 government regulation, particularly this particular 3572 regulation we are discussing today, the Clean Power Plan, by 3573 moving forward to make us better and more efficient in the 3574 factories as opposed to debilitating folks like in my 3575 district who don't have the money to spend on these increased 3576 electricity. 3577 Thank you so much. I yield back. 3578 Mr. {Whitfield.} Thank you. Mr. Rush? Mr. {Rush.} Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to 3579 3580 enter a number of letters into the record from various 3581 organizations, public health organizations, environmental 3582 public interests, environmental justice organizations, and consumer groups. So I ask unanimous consent that these 3583

3584	letters be entered into the record.
3585	Mr. {Whitfield.} Without objection.
3586	[The information follows:]
3587	********* COMMITTEE INSERT *********

3588 Mr. {Whitfield.} And then I would like to submit for 3589 the record by unanimous consent the comments that were 3590 submitted to EPA regarding its proposed 111(d) rule by the 3591 National Black Chamber of Commerce, the United States 3592 Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, and National Association of 3593 Realtors, and would also like to submit a statement in support of the Ratepayer Protection Act by the National 3594 3595 Association of Homebuilders. 3596 [The information follows:] 3597 ******* COMMITTEE INSERT ********

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          Mr. {Whitfield.} So that concludes our hearing. You
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     all were very patient. Thank you very much for taking time
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     to focus on this important issue. We look forward to working
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     with all of you as we move forward. We will keep the record
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     open for 10 days.
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          And that will conclude today's hearing. Thank you very
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     much.
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           [Whereupon, at 1:20 p.m., the Subcommittee was
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     adjourned.]
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