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6 CLEAN POWER PLAN 2.0: EPA'S EFFORT TO JEOPARDIZE

7 RELIABLE AND AFFORDABLE ENERGY FOR STATES

8 TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 2023

9 House of Representatives,

10 Subcommittee on Environment, Manufacturing,

11 and Critical Materials,

12 Committee on Energy and Commerce,

13 Washington, D.C.

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17 The Subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:31 a.m.,
18 Room 2322, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Bill Johnson
19 [Chairman of the Subcommittee], presiding.

20 Present: Representatives Johnson, Carter, Palmer,
21 Crenshaw, Joyce, Weber, Allen, Balderson, Fulcher, Pfluger,
22 Miller-Meeks, Obernolte, Rodgers (ex-officio); Tonko,
23 DeGette, Schakowsky, Sarbanes, Ruiz, Peters, Barragan, and
24 Pallone (ex-officio).

25

26 Staff Present: Kate Arey, Digital Director; Sarah
27 Burke, Deputy Staff Director; David Burns, Professional Staff

28 Member; Nick Crocker, Senior Advisor and Director of
29 Coalitions; Sydney Greene, Director of Operations; Nate
30 Hodson, Staff Director; Tara Hupman, Chief Counsel; Daniel
31 Kelly, Press Assistant; Sean Kelly, Press Secretary; Peter
32 Kielty, General Counsel; Emily King, Member Services
33 Director; Elise Krekorian, Professional Staff Member; Drew
34 Lingle, Professional Staff Member; Mary Martin, Chief
35 Counsel; Brandon Mooney, Deputy Chief Counsel; Kaitlyn
36 Peterson, Clerk; Karli Plucker, Director of Operations
37 (shared staff); Olivia Shields, Communications Director;
38 Peter Spencer, Senior Professional Staff Member; Michael
39 Taggart, Policy Director; Dray Thorne, Director of
40 Information Technology; Tiffany Guarascio, Minority Staff
41 Director; Anthony Gutierrez, Minority Professional Staff
42 Member; Caitlin Haberman, Minority Staff Director,
43 Environment, Manufacturing and Critical Minerals; Kylea
44 Rogers, Minority Policy Analyst; Andrew Souvall, Minority
45 Director of Communications, Outreach, and Member Services,
46 and Rebecca Tomilchik, Minority Junior Professional Staff
47 Member.

48

49 *Mr. Johnson. The subcommittee will come to order.

50 The chair now recognizes himself for five minutes for an
51 opening statement.

52 Today we will continue the subcommittee's review of
53 EPA's proposed greenhouse gas standards for fossil power
54 plants, which -- what we refer to as the Clean Power Plan
55 2.0.

56 The Biden Administration and its allies at agencies like
57 the EPA continue to endanger our energy and national security
58 in their rush-to-green policies and proposals. These
59 proposals include several other EPA rulemakings - along with
60 several other EPA rulemakings, pose a very real threat to the
61 affordability and reliability of our electric grid.

62 We continue to hear from states, utilities, and grid
63 operators that the grid is facing reliability issues. The
64 experts at NERC tell us that reliability crises are looming
65 because of premature retirement of dispatchable resources.
66 In fact, here is a headline from just last week: "Two-thirds
67 of North America Could Face Power Shortages this Winter,"
68 that is according to NERC. And I have this winter report
69 here that we will be entering into the record.

70 The Clean Power Plan 2.0 proposal looks only to make
71 things worse. It directly targets the dispatchable coal and
72 natural gas resources that produce 60 percent of our nation's
73 electricity. These are the resources that reliability

74 experts say that the grid needs more of, not less. Yet less
75 of appears to be the likely outcome of EPA's proposals.

76 In early June we took testimony from stakeholders
77 representing the fossil energy power sector. The witnesses
78 raised troubling questions about feasibility costs --
79 feasibility, costs, and impacts of this proposal. They
80 pointed to the sheer technical and practical infeasibility of
81 these proposed performance standards. This was especially
82 problematic for the existing fleet of coal and gas
83 generators, given the timeframes required.

84 The commercial viability of compliance technologies such
85 as CCS or hydrogen co-firing is optimistic at best. While
86 these nascent technologies could be part of our energy
87 future, none of them has yet been adequately demonstrated in
88 sustained, large, commercial power plant operations. Yet the
89 proposal would direct states to require new and existing
90 power plants to implement carbon capture and sequestration,
91 gas and hydrogen co-firing, or even the replacement of
92 natural gas with hydrogen.

93 There is also not enough pipeline infrastructure in
94 place today that can transport CO2 at the scale envisioned in
95 this proposal. Proposed pipelines continue to have permits
96 rejected by states, and have been delayed and canceled as a
97 result. Very little commercial hydrogen generation exists
98 today. None has been adequately demonstrated in commercial

99 operation or in co-firing at the levels the EPA seeks, nor do
100 we have an extensive hydrogen pipeline network.

101 What is particularly troubling is that the EPA just
102 assumes this expensive, infeasible infrastructure will be
103 built on their timeline. Power plants and states will have
104 to comply within 10 years or less, or shut down fossil
105 generation. It does make me wonder that that may actually be
106 the goal, not an unintended consequence of this proposal.

107 Today we will hear important state perspectives on this
108 issue, and I thank our witnesses, some of which traveled a
109 great distance to be here with us. We will hear from a
110 witness who has been working at ground zero for installing
111 carbon capture, and from an expert on the implementation of
112 Clean Air Act rules, as well as on the impacts on electricity
113 reliability and rates. We will hear about the feasibility of
114 the standards about state authorities and responsibilities
115 under the Clean Air Act, about what happens if the standards
116 can't be met, about the costs and potential impacts to the
117 reliability of our energy systems.

118 Again, thank you to our panel for making the trip. It
119 is really important. Your perspectives will help us better
120 understand the implications of this proposal. So far,
121 evidence has been mounting that the EPA proposed something
122 that it knew or should have known was not able to be
123 implemented and would lead to the shutdown of baseload,

124 dispatchable fossil generation.

125 It is as if the EPA seeks unworkable standards for coal
126 and gas just as a pretense for the real goal, which is to
127 shift the nation's energy mix to the Administration's favored
128 wind and solar technologies. Not only does this violate what
129 Congress directed of the EPA in the Clean Air Act, it
130 undermines the state's own authorities for their electricity
131 resources and rates as recognized under the Federal Power
132 Act. It is even being reported in the news now, as I
133 mentioned.

134 The American people are fearful of the power going out,
135 and rightfully so. If this proposed rule moves forward in
136 anything like its current form, it will take us another step
137 closer to that reality. Today we will advance the record on
138 the potential negative impacts to state energy systems if
139 this Clean Power Plan 2.0 proposal goes forward.

140 [The prepared statement of Mr. Johnson follows:]

141

142 *****COMMITTEE INSERT*****

143

144 *Mr. Johnson. I will now recognize the ranking member
145 of the subcommittee, Mr. Tonko, for his opening remarks.

146 *Mr. Tonko. Thank you, Mr. Chair. Section 111 of the
147 Clean Air Act is an important tool to address major sources
148 of air pollution. And today there are no Federal limits on
149 climate pollution from the power sector.

150 Today's hearing, much like every hearing examining
151 potential regulation of the power sector during my time on
152 this committee, will raise speculative threats of widespread
153 blackouts if the proposed rule is allowed to move forward.
154 We have heard nearly identical recycled talking points from
155 regulated entities and opponents of addressing climate
156 pollution whenever EPA has proposed power plant regulations,
157 and in those previous cases those fears were unfounded.

158 Consider the Obama Administration's Clean Power Plan,
159 which targeted a 32 percent emission reduction from 2005
160 levels by the year 2030. That goal was exceeded a decade
161 early, before the rule would have even taken effect, without
162 causing systematic reliability issues. And that is because
163 the management of our electricity system is dynamic.

164 Industry, states, and grid operators will step up to
165 meet the requirements of this proposal while ensuring
166 reliability is not compromised. And in fact, the added
167 certainty provided to regulated entities through this rule
168 will allow them to make better-informed, long-term plans for

169 how to best manage their assets and make future investment
170 decisions.

171 I should also note that EPA's proposal is extremely
172 targeted. The rule has divided generating units into
173 numerous subcategories, taking into account units' size,
174 retirement plans, and capacity factors. With this approach
175 EPA has sought to cover the largest long-term sources of
176 pollution while ensuring that smaller existing gas units,
177 which may have a role to play in grid balancing, are able to
178 continue to operate.

179 According to the Energy Information Administration,
180 there are some 3,295 existing gas-fired combustion turbines,
181 representing 432 gigawatts of capacity. Under EPA's
182 proposal, units smaller than 300 megawatts will not be
183 covered, meaning 94 percent of existing gas plants will not
184 have to do anything under this rule. They will be able to
185 continue to be part of our increasingly pollution-free
186 electricity mix for many years to come, providing
187 dispatchable, on-demand capacity during times of peak load or
188 unavailability of carbon-free resources.

189 And the notion that we are moving to a cleaner
190 electricity mix is not some fantasy cooked up by EPA
191 employees. It is an accurate reflection of industry trends,
192 which include the impending retirement of many coal-fired
193 generating units, the mass deployment of renewables, and the

194 greater use of grid modernization technologies. These trends
195 were already underway, and will be bolstered by the
196 incentives included in the Inflation Reduction Act, the
197 Bipartisan Infrastructure Law, and state policies. These new
198 Federal incentives will enable the clean energy transition as
199 well as compliance with EPA's proposal to be accomplished
200 much more cost effectively.

201 I am also very proud that this subcommittee, in the IRA,
202 provided EPA with \$5 billion for Climate Pollution Reduction
203 Grants, which are available to states to support the
204 development and the implementation of climate plans. This
205 indeed is a hallmark of the one-two combination of the IRA's
206 incentives and EPA's complementary regulatory strategy, and
207 that is to provide states with the resources and time to find
208 the most effective pathways to reduce pollution, while
209 allowing for flexibility to account for each state's unique
210 circumstances.

211 Finally, we must remember why EPA is pursuing this
212 proposal. Unmitigated climate change poses a tremendous
213 threat to America's health, America's economy, and America's
214 critical infrastructure. Today one of the greatest threats
215 to electricity reliability is from increasingly common and
216 increasingly severe extreme weather events. Extreme weather
217 strains our grid infrastructure, and it is something we
218 should be working to address. But failure to adequately

219 address climate pollution, including from the power plants
220 covered by EPA's proposed rule, will exacerbate the climate
221 crisis, resulting in even more extreme weather and greater
222 costs to Americans.

223 So I do hope we can work together on efforts to harden
224 our grid infrastructure and enhance reliability, for example
225 by requiring more interregional grid connections by building
226 our transmission infrastructure.

227 Mr. Chair, I have the utmost confidence that, once
228 standards have been set, the brilliant minds at our nation's
229 states, grid operators, and utilities will rise to the
230 challenge to achieve those standards while maintaining
231 reliability and allowing Americans to experience the \$85
232 billion of benefits that are estimated to be provided by this
233 important public health proposal.

234 [The prepared statement of Mr. Tonko follows:]

235

236 *****COMMITTEE INSERT*****

237

238 *Mr. Tonko. With that, I thank you and I yield back.

239 *Mr. Johnson. The gentleman yields back. The chair now
240 recognizes the chair of the full committee, Chair Rodgers,
241 for five minutes for her opening statement.

242 *The Chair. Energy is foundational to everything that
243 we do. It powers our economy and our security. It is why
244 America is leading in lifting people out of poverty and
245 raising the standard of living. America's ability to harness
246 energy through innovation and deploy it through
247 entrepreneurship has transformed the human condition.

248 We have achieved this while being a leader in emissions
249 reductions and maintaining some of the highest environmental
250 and labor standards in the world, and we have done this while
251 delivering reliable and affordable energy across every state
252 and community. We should be celebrating our accomplishments
253 with solutions that expand on this country's remarkable
254 legacy of innovation. We have been blessed with an abundance
255 of natural resources that people and businesses rely on every
256 day.

257 Rather than enacting policies that will undermine our
258 essential energy systems and shut down these key resources,
259 we should be taking steps to build on America's energy
260 leadership and legacy. The reality is more and more
261 Americans today face threats of blackouts as a result of
262 rush-to-green policies destabilizing our grid.

263 In California baseload and firm --

264 [Audio malfunction.]

265 *The Chair. There is power. All right, there is power.
266 Did it come back? No. Okay, thank you buddy. You are
267 welcome. All right. Very good.

268 In California, baseload and firm generation sources were
269 driven out or shuttered by the state in exchange for less
270 reliable, weather-dependent electricity. As a result,
271 California has had to import a significant amount of
272 hydroelectric power from Washington State to support its grid
273 when sources like wind and solar can't produce enough energy
274 to meet demand.

275 In Texas, an over-reliance on weather-dependent
276 resources has limited the state's capacity to endure severe
277 weather. Last winter several southern state utilities were
278 unable to get the power resources they needed from
279 neighboring states during a severe cold event, forcing
280 blackouts during the holidays.

281 NERC continues to warn that more than half the nation is
282 at an elevated risk of forced blackouts. At a recent Energy
283 and Commerce hearing, grid operators confirmed this, warning
284 that accelerated retirements of baseload generation without
285 adequate replacements will only increase the threat of these
286 life-threatening blackouts. Rushing to dismantle our
287 nation's electricity generation will harm people's lives and

288 well-being.

289 The EPA's recent proposals like the Clean Power Plan 2.0
290 will force states to change fundamentally how they generate
291 electricity and raise costs across the board. This will
292 cause lasting damage to energy reliability and accessibility.
293 This is a continuation of the Obama Administration's Clean
294 Power Plan, which sought to use obscure provisions in the
295 Clean Air Act to restructure the American power sector by
296 shutting down coal-fired power plants and shifting
297 electricity generation to other, less reliable sources.

298 Furthermore, these policies go well beyond EPA's
299 congressionally-mandated authority, and potentially violate
300 the recent Supreme Court decision in West Virginia versus
301 EPA, where the court ruled EPA's effort to circumvent
302 Congress and restructure the U.S. power sector through the
303 Clean Air Act were unconstitutional. The Supreme Court's
304 ruling made clear that the EPA's actions would transform the
305 nation's electricity system on a scale that only Congress had
306 the authority to direct. Yet this ruling has not stopped the
307 EPA's assault on our grid, and I am concerned about the
308 additional abuses of power by the Administration in an
309 attempt to exceed the authority delegated to the EPA by
310 Congress.

311 We have a lot of questions about how the EPA's Clean
312 Power Plan 2.0 proposal could harm our way of life.

313 In June we heard from the electric sector. Today we
314 hear from the states who will have to implement these rules,
315 limiting their ability to get reliable, affordable energy to
316 ensure families, communities, and businesses thrive. What
317 can they say about the practicality of these rules for their
318 communities and their own authorities over their electric
319 systems and electric generation matters?

320 In order to ensure the American people have access to
321 affordable, reliable energy to keep them safe, fed, and warm,
322 it is vital that we, the committee of jurisdiction,
323 understand and take actions to address EPA's proposals and
324 what they mean for the nation's electricity systems as well
325 as America's energy leadership. That is our goal today.

326 I thank the witnesses for being here. I look forward to
327 an important discussion.

328 [The prepared statement of The Chair follows:]

329

330 *****COMMITTEE INSERT*****

331

332 *The Chair. I now yield to Representative Armstrong
333 from North Dakota to introduce one of our witnesses.

334 *Mr. Armstrong. Thank you, Madam Chair.

335 Dave Glatt has more than 35 years experience in
336 environmental protection, including his work implementing the
337 Safe Drinking Water Act and acting as the state manager of
338 the EPA Superfund project. But it really was his role as the
339 chief environmental health section of the North Dakota
340 Department of Health during the Bakken shale boom that put
341 him on the front lines of a massive energy development in the
342 state of North Dakota. In fact, he was so good at it we
343 created an entire new agency called the Department of
344 Environmental Quality, of which Governor Burgum appointed him
345 director of in 2019.

346 Nobody knows more about energy production and the
347 state's roles than Dave Glatt. And there are a lot of people
348 in government that like to take credit for a lot of things,
349 particularly when you have had the successes we have had in
350 North Dakota. He has never sought recognition or sought
351 credit. He has, however, the biggest reasons and one of the
352 biggest reasons in government why North Dakota has been a
353 success story for the last 10 years. So I appreciate the
354 opportunity to introduce him.

355 *Mr. Johnson. I thank the gentleman for yielding back.
356 Does the gentlelady yield? The gentlelady is finished?

357 *The Chair. I yield back.

358 *Mr. Johnson. Okay, the gentlelady yields back. The
359 chair now recognizes the ranking member of the full
360 committee, Mr. Pallone, for five minutes for an opening
361 statement.

362 *Mr. Pallone. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

363 Today we are once again discussing the EPA's recently
364 proposed carbon pollution standards for fossil fuel power
365 plants. At the first hearing on this topic on June -- or in
366 June, I made it clear that this long-overdue proposal is
367 critical to protecting the health of our communities from
368 dangerous air pollution, fighting the worsening climate
369 crisis, and delivering clean, affordable, and reliable energy
370 to American families.

371 The EPA's proposal is in line with the statutory
372 requirements of the Clean Air Act, and builds on the historic
373 climate investment Democrats delivered last year with the
374 Inflation Reduction Act. The EPA action is necessary. The
375 past 12 months have been the hottest ever recorded, and the
376 findings from the fifth National Climate Assessment, which
377 were released today, underscore the need for urgent action to
378 combat the threat of climate change. The action is needed to
379 protect our communities from the devastating impacts of the
380 climate crisis, while also growing our economy as we fight to
381 lead the way in the clean energy transition.

382 The power sector is the second-largest source of climate
383 pollution in the United States, yet power plants are
384 currently allowed to emit unlimited carbon pollution into the
385 atmosphere. This poses extreme risk to public health and the
386 environment, especially for already overburdened communities.
387 Congress explicitly gave EPA the authority to protect
388 Americans from this harmful pollution, and it is meeting that
389 obligation with this action.

390 The EPA's proposal will finally set necessary mission
391 limits and guidelines for carbon pollution from new and
392 existing fossil fuel power plants, and the rule would avoid
393 up to 617 million metric tons of carbon dioxide through 2042,
394 roughly equivalent to the annual emissions of half of the
395 cars on our nation's roadways. And communities are projected
396 to see up to \$85 billion in net climate and health-related
397 benefits.

398 Unfortunately, committee Republicans choose to ignore
399 these significant benefits. They simply do not fit into
400 their polluters-over-people agenda. They have made it clear
401 that they will oppose any attempt by the EPA to control
402 dangerous pollution from power plants, and will be pushing
403 old and tired claims that are simply not true.

404 And while it -- when it comes to reliability, the last
405 few years have shown us that a widespread over-reliance on
406 fossil fuels has left the power grid vulnerable, not common-

407 sense EPA rules. In reality, extreme weather events driven
408 by the climate crisis, coupled with unreliable fossil fuel
409 infrastructure, have left communities in the dark, doubting
410 -- I mean I should say doubling down on unchecked fossil
411 fueled power plants will only make the situation worse.

412 And cleaning up existing power sources, as proposed by
413 the EPA's rule, and deploying clean energy solutions will
414 help boost flexibility and resiliency of the electricity
415 system. We don't have to choose between ensuring reliability
416 and cutting pollution. We can and must do both, and EPA's
417 proposal gives states broad flexibility to make the best
418 choices for their unique circumstances to comply with the
419 standards.

420 It is also important to recognize that EPA's proposal
421 doesn't exist in a vacuum. The Bipartisan Infrastructure Law
422 and the Inflation Reduction Act included critical investments
423 to upgrade our nation's power infrastructure, strengthen the
424 grid, and cut power sector pollution with clean energy tax
425 credits.

426 The truth is the market, bolstered by these key Federal
427 investments, is already driving changes in the power sector
428 that states and utilities must plan for. And EPA's proposed
429 proposal merely builds on this existing momentum.

430 And some states are doing their part, as well. I am
431 pleased Maryland's Secretary of the Environment, Serena

432 McIlwain, is here to explain how states like Maryland are
433 cutting climate pollution from the power sector, while
434 ensuring reliability and affordability for their communities.

435 [The prepared statement of Mr. Pallone follows:]

436

437 *****COMMITTEE INSERT*****

438

439 *Mr. Johnson. And speaking of Maryland, I wanted to say
440 to my colleagues this is our first hearing since
441 Representative Sarbanes announced that he will be retiring at
442 the end of this Congress. I am not happy with that, but what
443 can I do?

444 He has been a long-time friend of mine and a long-time
445 champion for the people of Maryland on this committee. So it
446 is fitting that we are going to be hearing a lot about
447 Maryland today, because for 17 years in Congress John has
448 been fighting to protect the environment and to clean up the
449 Chesapeake Bay. He has also fought for more affordable,
450 higher-quality health care not only for the people of
451 Maryland, but for all Americans. John was also our
452 Democratic leader on the For the People Act to bring more
453 accountability and transparency to government. So his voice
454 will be missed here, but he is going to be here for another
455 year, so I don't want to act like he is already gone.

456 But I would like to yield -- I wanted to yield to him
457 if, I could. I know there is only 30 seconds left.

458 *Mr. Sarbanes. Well, thank you very much for your kind
459 words, Representative Pallone.

460 I really just want to welcome Serena McIlwain, who is
461 the secretary of the environment for the State of Maryland.
462 We will be hearing from her shortly as a witness, but we are
463 so pleased that she has come back to the Maryland area to

464 serve with our new governor, Wes Moore. She has been a
465 senior executive for numerous agencies in the executive
466 branch such as the EPA, the Department of Energy. She is
467 doing a terrific job leading the Maryland Department of the
468 Environment, looking out for the Chesapeake Bay.

469 So we wanted to welcome her here today, and I look very
470 much to her -- forward to her testimony, we get that
471 opportunity.

472 I yield back, thank you.

473 *Mr. Pallone. And I yield back as well, Mr. Chairman.

474 *Mr. Johnson. Thank you. The gentlemen yield back.

475 Votes have been called. I apologize to our witnesses.
476 We will reconvene the committee. We will stand in recess.
477 We will reconvene 10 minutes after the last vote is called.

478 [Recess.]

479 *Mr. Johnson. The subcommittee will return to order.

480 I thank our witnesses for your indulgence -- thank you
481 -- while we went to vote.

482 Our witnesses for today, Mr. David Glatt, the director
483 for North Dakota's Department of Environmental Quality; Ms.
484 Michelle Walker Owenby, director for the Division of Air
485 Pollution Control at the Tennessee Department of Environment
486 and Conservation; secretary of the environment for the State
487 of Maryland and -- Secretary Serena McIlwain.

488 I saw an "and'" there, I thought you had another title

489 as well.

490 And Mr. Chris Parker, director for the Division of
491 Public Utilities at the Utah Department of Commerce.

492 Panelists, witnesses, thank you so very much for being
493 here.

494 Mr. Glatt, you are now recognized for five minutes for
495 your statement.

496

497 STATEMENT OF L. DAVID GLATT, DIRECTOR, NORTH DAKOTA
498 DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY; MICHELLE WALKER OWENBY,
499 DIRECTOR, DIVISION OF AIR POLLUTION CONTROL, TENNESSEE
500 DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENT AND CONSERVATION; SERENA MCILWAIN,
501 SECRETARY OF THE ENVIRONMENT, STATE OF MARYLAND; AND CHRIS
502 PARKER, DIRECTOR, UTAH DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE DIVISION OF
503 PUBLIC UTILITIES

504

505 STATEMENT OF L. DAVID GLATT

506

507 *Mr. Glatt. Well, thank you, Chairman Johnson and
508 Ranking Member Tonko and members of the subcommittee. Thank
509 you for the opportunity to testify here today. My name is
510 Dave Glatt. I am the director of the North Dakota Department
511 of Environmental Quality. The department is the primary
512 environmental protection agency in North Dakota.

513 The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's proposed
514 rules to limit greenhouse gas emissions from new and existing
515 generating units require stringent and unproven carbon
516 dioxide emissions controls at coal-fired electric-generating
517 units to be implemented in unrealistic timeframes.

518 The proposed Clean Power Plan, if finalized, would usurp
519 the authority and discretion of North Dakota and its
520 respective agencies responsible for implementing
521 environmental and energy policy to maintain and enhance the

522 economic and general welfare of North Dakota.

523 As a little background, the department has primacy for
524 upholding the Clean Air Act, Clean Water Act, Safe Drinking
525 Water Act, and RCRA programs at the state level. Through the
526 department's consistent implementation of applicable science
527 and the law, North Dakota citizens enjoy some of the cleanest
528 air, water, and land in the nation. Historically, North
529 Dakota has actively and financially supported the development
530 and demonstration of clean coal technologies, including
531 carbon capture and sequestration. North Dakota also has a
532 unique geology ideal for safe and permanent geologic storage
533 of CO₂. North Dakota was the first state to receive primacy
534 under the Safe Drinking Water Act for the class 6 injection
535 wells, which are necessary for long-term storage of CO₂
536 captured from industrial and energy-related sources.

537 It should be no secret that North Dakota is among the
538 leaders in CCS technology development, not only in policy but
539 also in practice.

540 Concerns with the EPA's proposed Clean Power Plan.

541 First of all, we start out with state engagement. As a
542 knowledge leader in CCS, EPA did not engage the department in
543 a collaborative and cooperative process to gather accurate
544 information during the rule development process. EPA's
545 approach has ignored its publicly-stated goals of meaningful
546 engagement with states working through the construct of

547 cooperative federalism. EPA and the Clean Power Plan 2.0
548 proposal is promoting yet another circumvention of the state-
549 Federal cooperative federalism partnership that Congress
550 called for in the Clean Air Act.

551 In relation to the technology, there is tremendous
552 promise for CCS resulting from North Dakota's significant
553 state-private investments in developing and implementing
554 technologies aimed at successfully capturing and geologically
555 storing carbon emissions. The department is in the final
556 stages of the air quality permitting process, proposing to
557 build one of the world's largest full-scale CCS facilities at
558 a coal-fired EGU to be -- EGU to be located in North Dakota.
559 Given that this is the first potential CCS project of such
560 significant magnitude and has yet to be constructed, CCS has
561 not yet been adequately demonstrated, contrary to EPA claims.

562 This reality is further confirmed by the U.S. Department
563 of Energy, which is currently considering EGU CCS as a
564 demonstration project. With this evidence we again state
565 that current CCS technology does not yet meet the statutory
566 requirements of the Clean Air Act's section 111(a) for
567 technology that has been adequately demonstrated, and is
568 therefore not ready for widespread application.

569 As it relates to infrastructure, industry-wide CCS
570 implementation will also require establishing ancillary
571 infrastructure such as pipelines and underground storage

572 capacity, which have long timeframes to develop for proper
573 geologic CO2 transport and sequestration. The accelerated
574 compliance timeline of five years proposed by EPA is
575 unrealistic and cannot be met. A more realistic timeframe
576 for CCS deployment and related infrastructure and equipment
577 has been demonstrated to be more than 10 years. That is
578 assuming that the technology has been adequately
579 demonstrated.

580 In addition, infrastructure, which includes pipeline
581 siding, environmental impact evaluations, local approval,
582 permitting, and construction may take more than 15 years to
583 complete.

584 Social impacts. We are concerned that the proposed
585 Clean Power Plan will increase costs, disproportionately
586 impacting low-income citizens, directly contradicting the
587 Biden Administration's environmental justice priorities.
588 Given the rural nature of North Dakota and the region,
589 pricing low-income citizens out of an affordable and reliable
590 energy supply could create a social justice issue with
591 devastating impacts.

592 The Federal enforceable retirement dates proposed by EPA
593 dictate and arbitrarily set the remaining useful life of
594 North Dakota EGUs without consideration of each of the EGU's
595 unique characteristics. This is in direct contrast to the
596 Clean Air Act 111(d), which specifies a process that

597 considers the remaining useful life, given each physical --
598 unit's physical characteristics.

599 In conclusion, North Dakota is in a unique position as a
600 leader among the states for demonstration and ongoing
601 development of CCS not only in policy, but also in practice,
602 while protecting the environment. Due to its many faults,
603 lack of a complete impact evaluation, and unknown adverse
604 consequences not easily reversed if implemented, EPA must
605 withdraw the proposed Clean Power Plan and evaluate a further
606 path forward by first engaging directly with states,
607 including North Dakota and the regulated sources, to gather
608 appropriate data and develop potential practical alternatives
609 with a sound legal and scientific foundation.

610 The department is confident that this process would
611 result in a regulation based on science and the law,
612 achievable, and protects the environment while maintaining
613 reliable and affordable electricity and gas services.

614 Thank you again for the opportunity to provide comment.

615 [The prepared statement of Mr. Glatt follows:]

616

617 *****COMMITTEE INSERT*****

618

619 *Mr. Johnson. Thank you, Mr. Glatt.

620 Ms. Owenby, you are now recognized for five minutes.

621

622 STATEMENT OF MICHELLE WALKER OWENBY

623

624 *Ms. Owenby. Good morning, Chairman Johnson, Ranking
625 Member Tonko, and members of the committee. I am Michelle
626 Owenby, director of the division of air pollution control for
627 the Tennessee Department of Environment and Conservation.
628 Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you to discuss
629 EPA's most recent proposal seeking to regulate greenhouse gas
630 emissions from fossil fuel-fired electric generating units.

631 EPA's proposal essentially requires new and large
632 existing fossil fuel stationary combustion turbines, as well
633 as modified and existing coal-fired boilers, to adopt or
634 convert their fuel sources to 96 percent low-GHG hydrogen, or
635 to implement carbon capture and storage CCS with a 90 percent
636 capture efficiency. The compliance dates for affected units
637 is as early as 2030 for some coal-fired EGUs, but ranges
638 predominantly between 2032 and 2038.

639 Section 111 requires NSPS emission guidelines to reflect
640 the application of technology that has been adequately
641 demonstrated. EPA's best system of emission reduction, known
642 as BSER, must be based on technology that exists not in
643 theory, but in fact. While reasonable extrapolation may be
644 acceptable, EPA may not disregard the lack of current
645 availability. Courts have cautioned that EPA cannot base its
646 determination upon mere speculation or conjecture. EPA's

647 proposed application of low-GHG hydrogen has not been
648 adequately demonstrated, nor does it represent a reasonable
649 extrapolation of what would be needed and available when
650 necessary for compliance.

651 The critical issue with EPA's BSER is that it relies on
652 the projected availability of low-GHG hydrogen that does not
653 currently exist. The simple fact is there is no production
654 of low-GHG hydrogen in the United States today. EPA's
655 production projections are for a type of hydrogen that is not
656 equivalent to its standard for low-GHG hydrogen. EPA uses
657 the Department of Energy estimate for clean hydrogen of 4
658 kilograms of CO2 equivalent per kilogram of hydrogen, and
659 concedes that DoE estimates are not based on production of
660 low-GHG hydrogen, which is less than 0.45 kilograms of CO2
661 equivalent per kilogram of hydrogen. EPA does not project
662 how much low-GHG hydrogen will be available in the future.

663 EPA's BSER is also flawed because EPA's estimate of the
664 power sector's hydrogen needs is understated. EPA's
665 projected hydrogen use -- based on its modeling of what the
666 power sector would look like in 2030 and 2040. EPA did not
667 consider the power sector as it currently exists. Tennessee
668 estimates that future hydrogen needs could be over three
669 times as much as DoE's mass base estimate to cover the source
670 population today. While utilities including the Tennessee
671 Valley Authority have announced intentions to retire coal

672 units and gas turbines may retire, utilities are facing
673 projections of low demand growth, not flat demand, and
674 certainly not decline.

675 While utilities are diversifying their generation mix
676 with non-fossil generation sources, doing so on the time
677 constraints proposed at the same time electricity demand is
678 rising because of the return to and growth in U.S.
679 manufacturing, electrification of the transportation sector
680 and in some areas population growth seems particularly
681 aggressive and risky.

682 To support the application of CCS, the proposal offers
683 examples of carbon capture systems, but none have met EPA's
684 requirements. The only CCS system currently in use at a
685 coal-fired utility never exceeded 65 percent CO2 capture, and
686 often had poor control efficiency ranging from 0 to 25
687 percent. Tennessee is not aware of any work in carbon
688 capture for simple cycle or combined cycle plant -- natural
689 gas plants.

690 Today's transport and storage of CO2 is limited in
691 scale, and the expansion of that system to a national,
692 industry-wide scale is orders of magnitude more difficult.
693 Transport of CO2 will require unprecedented expansion of the
694 pipeline system over the next 20 years. EPA assumes that
695 states, utilities, and pipeline owners can achieve the
696 required expansion, but the reality of pipeline construction

697 is likely to be far more challenging. Siting issues,
698 landowner rights, impacts on disadvantaged communities, and
699 eminent domain are already controversial issues with respect
700 to pipelines, but the siting of CO2 pipelines is not
701 currently regulated by any Federal agency, and there is no
702 Federal eminent domain for CO2 pipelines.

703 Finally, EPA's assertions around the availability of
704 storage is likely overstated. Our initial assessment
705 indicates Tennessee's viable sequestration potential is
706 limited to one type of geologic storage unit, deep saline
707 formations, and is confined to one area of the state, middle
708 Tennessee. And the state is projected to have only 8 years
709 of storage capacity based on 2010 emission rates.

710 Also, confirmation and characterization of sequestration
711 sites is likely to require several years of work, time that
712 is not included in EPA's compliance timeframe.

713 I appreciate the opportunity to appear before the
714 committee. Thank you for the interest you have shown in this
715 topic, and I look forward to answering your questions.

716 [The prepared statement of Ms. Owenby follows:]

717

718 *****COMMITTEE INSERT*****

719

720 *Mr. Duncan. [Presiding] The chair will now recognize
721 Secretary McIlwain for five minutes.
722

723 STATEMENT OF SERENA MCILWAIN

724

725 *Ms. McIlwain. Thank you. Good morning, Chair Johnson,
726 Ranking Member Tonko, and Representative Sarbanes, and
727 members of the committee.

728 My name is Serena McIlwain, and I am the secretary of
729 the Maryland department of the environment. We call it MDE
730 also. Thank you for inviting me here today to discuss this
731 really important proposed rule by the Environmental
732 Protection Agency.

733 We are all working so very hard to tackle this critical
734 issue of climate change, and timing couldn't be better right
735 now, it is really critical. Federal limits on power plants
736 across the country are much needed as Maryland, and like many
737 other states in the country, we are experiencing worsening
738 impacts every single day.

739 And I would just like to start by saying that I think it
740 is apparent that EPA really took its time this time with the
741 new proposed rule. It is easy to see that it differs
742 significantly from its predecessors, which was the Clean
743 Power Plan, which, as we all know, faced rejection from the
744 Supreme Court, and the Affordable Clean Energy Rule. The
745 current proposal is definitely a step in the right direction.

746 The reason I feel that this new rule is important and an
747 improvement is because it now features the much-needed

748 flexibility for power plants so that both oil and gas plants
749 have options. There is built-in consideration for retirement
750 and the leeway needed for those who are planning to construct
751 new facilities, as well.

752 The new rule has a well-balanced combination of
753 regulations, and is reflective of an effort to address the
754 shortcomings of the previous proposed rule. We know that
755 this is an extremely complex issue. We really need to make
756 sure that states can implement the regulations in a way that
757 maintains grid reliability and utilizes different strategies,
758 technologies, and measures that work best for their
759 particular region. It is so important that we do not default
760 to a one size fits all.

761 Maryland is a unique state. We need the opportunity to
762 adjust as needed, and ensure that we can implement the rule
763 in a way that works for Maryland. With the proposed the
764 proposed changes to the rule, we are able to implement it
765 based on our particular state's situation and the number of
766 power plants, the units that are in Maryland, which is -- I
767 am sure all states would like to have that flexibility, as
768 well. So I am really happy to see the changes that have been
769 made. I believe we are now on the right track, but like I
770 said, Maryland is a special state.

771 We participate in the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative
772 that is also referred to as RGGI, and we are already capping

773 coal. We urge -- we did urge EPA to build in flexibility
774 into the proposed rule that considers that kind of a program,
775 cap and invest program. RGGI is a central component of
776 Maryland's greenhouse gas reduction strategy. Maryland and
777 the other member states have reduced our power plant carbon
778 pollution faster, really, than the rest of the country, while
779 growing our economies and raising billions of dollars for
780 clean energy investments.

781 Having clear regulations requiring carbon pollution
782 reduction at power plants provides regulatory certainty and a
783 goal for everyone to plan for the future. We have had RGGI
784 for about 15 years, and EPA's proposal is not structured as a
785 carbon cap the way our program is, but it would expand those
786 similar benefits nationwide. The RGGI states have prepared
787 our collective comments to U.S. EPA, and we have submitted
788 them respectfully. And our comments do emphasize that our
789 interest is in utilizing the existing program that we have
790 within our state implementation plan.

791 So again, thank you for the opportunity to testify. I
792 appreciate the attention to detail and the effort to make
793 sure that refining this rule is a collaborative effort. We
794 have to work together in order to make sure that this rule
795 benefits all states, and this updated rule is a major step in
796 the right direction for achieving a reasonable approach for
797 addressing to CO2 pollution while we still are maintaining

798 grid reliability and affordable electricity.

799 I look forward to the rest of the conversation. Thank
800 you.

801 [The prepared statement of Ms. McIlwain follows:]

802

803 *****COMMITTEE INSERT*****

804

805 *Mr. Duncan. I thank the gentlelady, and I now
806 recognize Mr. Parker for five minutes.
807

808 STATEMENT OF CHRIS PARKER

809

810 *Mr. Parker. Thank you, Chair, Ranking member Mr.
811 Tonko. My name is Chris Parker. I am the director of the
812 Utah Division of Public Utilities, which advocates the public
813 interest in utility regulation.

814 While environmental regulators like these beside me can
815 provide more sophisticated testimony about EPA's proposal, I
816 hope providing a utility regulator's perspective can give the
817 subcommittee a fuller picture of the challenges the EPA's
818 proposal would place on an already strained electrical grid.

819 For electrical utilities and regulators, our current
820 moment calls for great care. In utility regulation we speak
821 often of prudence, and a utility has an ongoing duty to act
822 prudently. Given warnings about our resource adequacy
823 challenges that our grid faces, regulators like the EPA must
824 consider how to apply the prudent standard to themselves.

825 The North American Electric Reliability Corporation and
826 the Western Electricity Coordinating Council have both
827 recently identified increasing risks of unreliability due to
828 the increase of variable resources and early retirements of
829 large resources that provide firm, high-quality power. Into
830 this period of increased risk the EPA's proposed greenhouse
831 gas rule would inject additional cost and uncertainty.

832 While Federal reliability monitors urge caution in

833 retiring existing generation, the Federal environmental
834 regulator proposes a policy that will shutter many of those
835 needed plants. This proposal does this by assuming the
836 availability and affordability of unproven technologies, and
837 judging against -- existing facilities against those
838 standards. If the rules are adopted, consumers will pay more
839 for a less reliable system.

840 Given increasing signs of trouble in the grid,
841 regulators should help stabilize the system, not exacerbate
842 its problems. As noted, reliability organizations have
843 recognized this. About the Western Interconnect WEC has said
844 resource adequacy risks increase over the next decade. After
845 2025 each subregion shows an increase in demand at risk due
846 to retirements throughout the next decade.

847 In addition, the planning reserve margin indicator
848 continues to increase. This is primarily due to increasing
849 variability from the addition of large amounts of variable
850 energy resources and increasing demand variability with
851 record levels of peak demand. WEC is warning that a system
852 risk -- that system risk is increasing because of large
853 generator retirements driven by policy and increased amounts
854 of variable resources. We are a hopeful people, but we
855 should heed these warnings. Instead, the EPA has chosen to
856 adopt a best system of emission reduction based on subsidized
857 technologies that have not -- that have been deployed only at

858 experimental scales. Contrary to law, this establishes a
859 standard that has not been adequately demonstrated.

860 One of the key hurdles to the reliability of the bulk
861 electrical system is the inability of entities to construct
862 additional resources on reasonable timelines and at
863 reasonable costs. While the Federal EPA makes aggressive
864 demands, other agencies' processes results make satisfying
865 the EPA virtually impossible. We see this when NEPA and
866 other processes result in decade-plus lead times for
867 transmission assets across Federal land, which predominates
868 in Utah. We see this in Nuclear Regulatory Commission
869 processes that barely move faster than the radioactive
870 material decays.

871 The EPA's proposal requires time -- compliance on
872 timelines that cannot be met. Supply chains remain strained
873 for many commodities and electrical -- that the electrical
874 utilities rely on. Substation equipment lead times have
875 become years long in many instances. Uncertainty about
876 international supplies of critical minerals also calls into
877 question the ability to construct enough resources fast
878 enough to maintain a reliable system.

879 Replacing a 500 megawatt coal or gas plant will require
880 far more than 500 megawatts of wind, solar, or battery power
881 because of their capacity differences. Furthermore, it will
882 not be enough merely to build new transmission lines to serve

883 the scattered wind and solar projects. Additional facilities
884 will be needed for supporting voltage frequency -- or voltage
885 and frequency regulation in order to maintain a stable grid.
886 These resources are easily provided by large spinning
887 resources and generators.

888 Even if it can all be built in time, rate increases
889 would be punishing for consumers. As this committee knows,
890 reasonable energy prices allow efficient economies that help
891 maximize the public good. While being asked to build large
892 amounts of new resources or spend billions upgrading existing
893 facilities, ratepayers will also be left with years of
894 undepreciated plant balances to pay for. The more remaining
895 life and existing plant has, the more expensive it will be to
896 close.

897 No matter how well intentioned the EPA may be, its
898 proposed rules are imprudent and jeopardize bulk electrical
899 system reliability.

900 Thank you, Mr. Chair.

901 [The prepared statement of Mr. Parker follows:]

902

903 *****COMMITTEE INSERT*****

904

905 *Mr. Johnson. [Presiding] The gentleman yields back.
906 We will now begin our questioning, and I recognize myself for
907 five minutes.

908 You know, I was encouraged that, as many of you know,
909 FERC held its reliability conference last week. This has
910 been a topic of a few of our hearings this year, in this
911 subcommittee and Chairman Duncan's Energy Subcommittee. But
912 it was encouraging that at least some of the major
913 stakeholders and regulators were finally in the same room.
914 That is a start. But still, we saw some troubling testimony.

915 For example, MISO and PJM said that retirements of
916 dispatchable generation are happening so quickly now that
917 they are worried about the system having enough generation
918 resources to provide reliable electricity. And oh, by the
919 way, winter is here.

920 And the EPA Deputy Assistant Administrator Joe Goffman
921 was asked how much of an effect this rule, this Clean Power
922 Plan 2.0 we are discussing today, will have on retirements.
923 His response was, "modest."

924 Mr. Glatt, as North Dakota's state environment director,
925 you are responsible for implementing EPA standards. It is my
926 understanding that some in North Dakota have been trying to
927 implement carbon capture and storage for many years, with
928 minimal success. But with these new EPA rules, if power
929 plants can't comply with this proposal, they must shut down.

930 Do you agree with the statement I just mentioned, that the
931 proposal, as it stands according to senior officials in the
932 EPA, will have "modest" impacts on retirements?

933 *Mr. Glatt. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee,
934 first of all, North Dakota is a regional energy export. If
935 you want to take a pizza, slice it into seven equal parts, we
936 take one of those for the state, the rest of it goes out of
937 the state.

938 By shutting down the power plants -- and this plan would
939 do that if they don't have alternatives such as carbon
940 capture -- the plants would have no alternative but to shut
941 down. I am concerned about the widespread impacts this would
942 have, especially in a state like North Dakota and the region,
943 which is at times kind of cold in the winter. And without
944 adequate electricity, affordable electricity, this would have
945 -- it would have devastating impacts.

946 *Mr. Johnson. Okay. If you have to implement these
947 standards, if this rule were to be to become final and
948 published, about how much of your state's electric power
949 generation would be at risk of retiring, and would this
950 threaten reliability?

951 *Mr. Glatt. It would be the vast majority of the
952 state's generation capacity, and most of that comes from coal
953 right now, and it would devastate the reliability in North
954 Dakota.

955 *Mr. Johnson. Okay. Mr. Parker, as you have described,
956 the Utah Division of Public Utilities advocates for the
957 public interest. One consideration of this proposal that I
958 think gets forgotten is the cost to ratepayers, the Americans
959 who have to pay their electric bills each and every month.
960 Compliance with this proposal will require new equipment, new
961 resources, and keeping reliable resources at lower output
962 levels. Can you talk about the impact this rule would have
963 on rates and ratepayers?

964 *Mr. Parker. Yes. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

965 You know, for -- we closed a coal plant for a variety of
966 reasons in Utah in the mid-teens. It was closed about three
967 or four years early, and there were many millions of dollars
968 in undepreciated plant balances yet to be paid. Those had to
969 be amortized on ratepayer bills and continuing rates, even
970 after the facility stopped providing power.

971 *Mr. Johnson. So it is not just the increase in
972 electric cost that will result from taking this dispatchable
973 energy offline. There is a -- the cost of shutting those
974 down that hasn't been paid for yet, right?

975 *Mr. Parker. Sure.

976 *Mr. Johnson. Yes.

977 *Mr. Parker. A utility that has amortized plant lives
978 over, say, 40 years and has to shut a plant down after 30 has
979 10 years worth of investment still to recover from

980 ratepayers. If you have to add a bunch of different types of
981 resources and additional transmission assets in order to
982 serve those facilities, you are going to be paying for high
983 capital costs, new resources, and the old resources. You
984 will get some low marginal cost energy that comes from it,
985 and that has value, but it will cost a lot.

986 *Mr. Johnson. Okay. Mr. Glatt, this morning our full
987 committee Chair Rodgers, Oversight Subcommittee Chair
988 Griffith, and I sent a letter to the EPA highlighting our
989 concerns with the speculative assumptions and clear
990 inaccuracies about carbon capture and carbon pipelines, more
991 specifically. We are going to examine how the EPA put this
992 proposal together and whether EPA did all the necessary work
993 to put forward a workable proposal.

994 But just real quickly in yes or no, if you could -- and
995 we might come back to you again later for a deeper dive --
996 but Mr. Glatt and Ms. Owenby, based on what you have seen, do
997 you think the EPA did sufficient analysis before putting this
998 rule forward?

999 *Mr. Glatt. Mr. Chairman, no.

1000 *Mr. Johnson. Okay. Ms. Owenby?

1001 *Ms. Owenby. No.

1002 *Mr. Johnson. Okay, thank you. With that I yield back,
1003 and the chair now goes to ranking Member Tonko for five
1004 minutes.

1005 *Mr. Tonko. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

1006 Secretary McIlwain, I was pleased that you mentioned
1007 RGGI in your testimony. I was personally involved with RGGI
1008 as it was being established during my time in my home state
1009 of New York, working with state government. And if every
1010 state had a carbon management program like RGGI, then there
1011 would be less of a need for Federal regulations. But as I
1012 said before, the overwhelming majority of major sources of
1013 power plant pollution have no limit on carbon emissions.

1014 So Secretary McIlwain, can you share a little more about
1015 whether RGGI has been a success for Maryland and other states
1016 cooperating in that program, and perhaps cite the results in
1017 terms of emissions reductions?

1018 *Ms. McIlwain. Yes, thank you. RGGI has been --

1019 *Mr. Johnson. Could you -- yes -- turn your microphone
1020 on? Thank you.

1021 *Ms. McIlwain. Thank you. RGGI has been extremely
1022 successful in Maryland, as I mentioned. We have raised with
1023 RGGI, total from all states, \$7 billion for investments
1024 across, really, across the region. Maryland was able -- I
1025 think we got about \$1.3 billion that we used to invest in
1026 Maryland. So it has been very successful.

1027 We have reduced carbon pollution by 56 percent since the
1028 program started, and that is way more than the nation,
1029 really, when you think about the combined time that we have

1030 been a part of RGGI.

1031 *Mr. Tonko. We thank you for that. And do you have any
1032 major concerns about reliability as the electricity mix has
1033 changed in your state, in Maryland, and other RGGI states in
1034 response to RGGI's requirements?

1035 *Ms. McIlwain. I don't have any issues with reliability
1036 at all because there is flexibility that is built into the
1037 program. So we are able to look at it from a global
1038 perspective, and make sure that we have the right mix of
1039 power, electricity. So we haven't had any problems with
1040 that.

1041 *Mr. Tonko. And how has Maryland been encouraged to
1042 build on the success of RGGI and pursue even more ambitious
1043 emissions reduction targets?

1044 *Ms. McIlwain. Maryland is a very aggressive state. We
1045 have the new Climate Solutions Now Act, and in that Act we
1046 have a goal to reduce greenhouse emissions by 60 percent by
1047 2031. That is aggressive. So that pushes us even more to
1048 make sure that we are doing everything we can to continue to
1049 be bold and ensure that we are reducing pollution.

1050 *Mr. Tonko. And how has Maryland been encouraged to
1051 build on the success of RGGI and pursue even more ambitious
1052 emissions reduction targets?

1053 *Ms. McIlwain. Yes. Well, our governor, Governor Wes
1054 Moore, he is -- he has a goal, a big, bold goal, as well,

1055 which is 100 percent clean energy by 2035. So we are being
1056 pushed even more to do things like RGGI and other technology
1057 -- using other technologies and other programs so that we
1058 continue to be the leader in reducing pollution.

1059 *Mr. Tonko. Sure, I thank you for that, and I also want
1060 to mention the revenues raised by RGGI. Can you discuss how
1061 those revenues have been used to benefit Marylanders?

1062 You mentioned quite a few, you know, billions of dollars
1063 that have been realized. And how have they been used to
1064 benefit Marylanders?

1065 *Ms. McIlwain. Yes, a lot of the money we use from RGGI
1066 is used for low-income households and families. I think 50
1067 -- I think we have had -- maybe 35 percent is used for low-
1068 income Marylanders, and we use that money to offset their
1069 utility costs. A lot of the money is used for energy
1070 efficiency to upgrade appliances and things of that nature,
1071 and we also use a portion of the money for renewables like
1072 solar energy and other renewable-type programs.

1073 *Mr. Tonko. So those investments then are able to
1074 support low-income households and improve reliability by
1075 supporting those new clean energy resources and energy
1076 efficiency programs.

1077 *Ms. McIlwain. Yes.

1078 *Mr. Tonko. And on the Federal level EPA and DoE and
1079 Treasury and other agencies have significant incentives

1080 available to states and utilities to support clean energy
1081 deployment and grid management.

1082 So Secretary, just like -- just how does RGGI - do the
1083 RGGI revenues being reinvested help support cost-effective
1084 compliance and reduce reliability pressures?

1085 Can you speculate on whether states and regulated
1086 entities could tap into those IRA and Bipartisan
1087 Infrastructure Law resources to support the regulatory
1088 requirements established by EPA?

1089 *Ms. McIlwain. Yes, I will say that the IRA is changing
1090 the game. There is so much money that is available for the
1091 clean energy transition, and it is making clean energy much
1092 less expensive. So we -- before the IRA some of these things
1093 that we are doing was not -- didn't seem like it was
1094 possible. But because of the funding, energy is, like I
1095 said, less expensive, it is more affordable, and the Federal
1096 dollars matched with state dollars just makes the whole
1097 transition able to -- you know, to really be a reality.

1098 *Mr. Tonko. Well, I appreciate your responses.

1099 And with that, Mr. Chair, I yield back.

1100 *Mr. Johnson. The gentleman yields back. The chair now
1101 recognizes the chair of the full committee, Mrs. Rodgers, for
1102 five minutes.

1103 *The Chair. The reliable, affordable delivery of
1104 electric power is vital for public health and safety, and

1105 that is why Congress has been careful to preserve state
1106 rights under the Federal Power Act so that control over
1107 electricity generation resides with the states. And it is
1108 why EPA is not and should not be in control of the nation's
1109 electricity systems.

1110 Unfortunately, we continue to see a push for the closure
1111 of electric generation that is essential for people to have
1112 power when they need it most. The Obama Administration tried
1113 to use the Clean Air Act to circumvent Congress and force
1114 retirements and transform generation. Notably, these
1115 proposed standards did not withstand legal challenge. Now it
1116 looks like the Biden Administration is attempting the same
1117 thing. It is trying to use the Clean Air Act to force
1118 certain and unreliable types of generation on the grid, and
1119 at a pace that is dangerous to the public.

1120 Mrs. Owenby, as Tennessee's state air director you are
1121 responsible for implementing EPA's standards. From your
1122 analysis, EPA's compliance strategies have not been
1123 adequately demonstrated and wouldn't work for Tennessee. You
1124 say that none of this meets the requirements of the Clean Air
1125 Act. Is that right?

1126 *Ms. Owenby. Yes, thank you for the question. Yes. I
1127 don't believe, and based on our analysis, you know, the
1128 technologies that EPA has utilized for BSER in this
1129 particular proposal are just not adequately demonstrated, and

1130 that is a hallmark of a requirement of the Clean Air Act for
1131 this section.

1132 *The Chair. Thank you. If you had to implement these
1133 standards, what would the risk be to existing reliable
1134 generation in your state?

1135 *Ms. Owenby. So I think -- I am not a reliability
1136 expert, I am an air regulator, but we work closely with the
1137 Tennessee Valley Authority, and they operate the largest
1138 public power system in the country. They submitted comments
1139 on this rule, and I think they essentially get at the point
1140 when they talk about reliability.

1141 They say, you know, you are going to have a choice. And
1142 if you -- you either have to choose. Are we going to invest
1143 -- for these facilities that are large, that are greater than
1144 300 megawatts, are we going to invest in unreliable
1145 technology that we don't think has been adequately
1146 demonstrated, or are we going to limit our units and their
1147 capacity factors?

1148 And I think TVA's point is you are going to see a
1149 significant and very damaging limitation in capacity factors
1150 for units that are needed. They are needed for peak time
1151 periods and other critical time periods on the grid.

1152 *The Chair. Thank you.

1153 Mr. Parker, would you speak from Utah's perspective?
1154 What would the risk be to existing reliable generation in

1155 your state?

1156 *Mr. Parker. Yes, thank you. You know, one answer to
1157 that question is it is really hard to know.

1158 The EPA has been very unpredictable in approving state
1159 plans and what they will accept and what they won't accept.
1160 But I can imagine that a significant portion of our large
1161 coal plants would retire or be forced to retire or
1162 significantly throttle down capacity factors. And some of
1163 our gas plants may also be subject to it.

1164 Our state, our utility, PacifiCorp that predominantly
1165 serves Utah, just yesterday sued the EPA for inaction on its
1166 regional haze plan. The state submitted its plan well over a
1167 year ago and under law it is supposed to have been acted
1168 upon. It still has not been acted upon by the EPA. So it is
1169 a little hard to know.

1170 *The Chair. Okay, thank you.

1171 Ms. Owenby and Mr. Glatt, you both suggest the proposals
1172 undermine the role of states implementing the Clean Air Act.
1173 Did EPA meaningfully consult with you with -- when they were
1174 developing the standards?

1175 Ms. Owenby?

1176 *Ms. Owenby. EPA, on this particular proposal, they
1177 made an attempt. They did do some outreach with states
1178 through our national air associations that we have, and they
1179 did put forth a power strategy.

1180 I think our issue with EPA's engagement is that states
1181 were treated like stakeholders, any stakeholder. And we
1182 consider ourselves co-Federal -- or co-regulators under the
1183 Federal act. And so I think we are looking for a deeper
1184 level of engagement that can get at some of these concerns
1185 that we are testifying about.

1186 *The Chair. Okay, thank you.

1187 Mr. Glatt?

1188 *Mr. Glatt. No, EPA did not. They have reached out -

1189 *Mr. Johnson. Mr. Glatt, I hate to interrupt. Would
1190 you pull your microphone up and point it directly at your --
1191 there you go, thank you.

1192 *Mr. Glatt. I will use my outdoor voice, my farmyard
1193 voice.

1194 [Laughter.]

1195 *Mr. Glatt. No, they did not. And what -- they did
1196 just recently reach out after they proposed the rules. And
1197 now they are asking for how can they make it better. I
1198 really think they should have did that before they proposed
1199 the rules.

1200 *The Chair. Do you want to talk about the -- Mr.
1201 Parker, would you just talk in the time left on the impact of
1202 trying to deploy nuclear?

1203 *Mr. Parker. Yes. You know, we had an announcement
1204 just last week in Utah. Our municipal providers had been

1205 pursuing a nuclear project in partnership with Idaho National
1206 Lab. That has been canceled as the expense and timelines
1207 have grown for it. Our major utility, Rocky Mountain Power,
1208 which is a PacifiCorp affiliate, is exploring nuclear. It is
1209 also uncertain when they will have the fuel or the time to
1210 get it done.

1211 *The Chair. Okay. Thank you. Thank you all for being
1212 here.

1213 I yield back.

1214 *Mr. Johnson. The gentlelady yields back. The chair
1215 now recognizes the gentlelady from Illinois, Ms. Schakowsky,
1216 for five minutes.

1217 *Ms. Schakowsky. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. You know,
1218 the title of this hearing today says that the -- that access
1219 to power and the cost is going to be going up because of the
1220 Biden Administration's green gas emission program. But the
1221 reality is that between 2012 and 2022 coal power production
1222 has actually decreased by half. And over the same period we
1223 really haven't seen a great increase in electric costs.

1224 And thanks to great leaders that that we have, like
1225 Secretary McIlwain - yes, I got that right -- what we are
1226 seeing is that clean -- in addition to the clean energy tax
1227 decrease that was because of the Inflation Reduction Act, we
1228 are actually seeing opportunities to make sure that we are
1229 providing the service and at a even more reasonable cost.

1230 So if I could ask you, Madam Secretary, how has your
1231 plan -- planning made Maryland and -- so successful in being
1232 able to not only reduce emissions, but also to lower the
1233 consumer costs?

1234 *Ms. McIlwain. Thank you for that. I would say that
1235 RGGI has provided regulatory consistency. And when you have
1236 that kind of consistency around clean energy, it does give
1237 the grid managers a clear path so that they can use that to
1238 inform in their planning. And that is why it is really
1239 important that you have a program that is set up like RGGI is
1240 set up. It gives them, you know, time to do what they can to
1241 ensure that there is a reliable grid, that the electricity is
1242 reliable, because, again, all those flexibilities are
1243 necessary.

1244 And so that is how we have been able to use RGGI to make
1245 sure that we are balancing across the board.

1246 *Ms. Schakowsky. So let me ask you this. What about
1247 your power plant? What about your power plants have you
1248 found to be the most successful in cutting costs for
1249 consumers?

1250 *Ms. McIlwain. I am sorry, can you repeat that?

1251 *Ms. Schakowsky. What are the most important things
1252 that you have done in your plan to reduce the cost for
1253 consumers?

1254 *Ms. McIlwain. Well, what we have done, we -- with RGGI

1255 we are -- we get a lot of money from RGGI, as I said before,
1256 \$1.3 billion of it has come to Maryland. We use a lot of the
1257 funding to offset the utility costs for low-income
1258 Marylanders. So that is one way. We make sure we have a
1259 large portion of the money supporting those communities and
1260 families.

1261 We also use the funding to help drive investments in
1262 renewable energy. So that is -- those are just some of the
1263 examples.

1264 *Ms. Schakowsky. I also just wanted to highlight -- and
1265 you may want to say anything -- some things more about that
1266 -- we are worried about vulnerable communities. And it
1267 sounds like -- have you been able to do it through the State
1268 of Maryland in order to assure that these communities are
1269 getting the power that they need, and -- or has it all been
1270 from Federal support?

1271 *Ms. McIlwain. Well, the money has come from the RGGI
1272 money, which is the invest part of the cap and invest
1273 program. So it is -- we do get some Federal funding, but for
1274 the most part Maryland is investing in Marylanders. So we
1275 are taking the money from RGGI to ensure that the
1276 environmental justice communities are not left behind, so we
1277 have control and ensuring that we are pushing enough funding
1278 there in that area.

1279 *Ms. Schakowsky. Thank you.

1280 And I yield back.

1281 *Mr. Johnson. The gentlelady yields back. The chair
1282 now recognizes the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. Carter, for
1283 five minutes.

1284 *Mr. Carter. Well, thank you very much, Mr. Chairman,
1285 and thank all of you for being here. Obviously, a very
1286 important hearing, something that we are very interested in
1287 in this committee.

1288 You know, as we have discussed many times before in this
1289 committee, this administration's EPA is doing everything it
1290 can to force through a premature energy transition. Nearly
1291 60 percent of our nation's energy comes from natural gas and
1292 coal, yet EPA's proposed Clean Power Plan 2.0 rule will
1293 require this generation source to use carbon capture and
1294 hydrogen technologies that not only simply are not economical
1295 or operational yet, but increase the cost to provide power to
1296 customers. This is something we are very concerned with.
1297 This is something I am very concerned with in my district and
1298 in my state, in my home state of Georgia.

1299 You know, I had the opportunity to travel to Europe with
1300 the Conservative Climate Caucus. And one of the things that
1301 I discovered in Europe is that they have made the error of
1302 allowing their policies to come before their innovation, and
1303 that is something we need to learn as a very important
1304 lesson. We need to learn here in America that we can't let

1305 that happen. Yet we are seeing it happen, primarily through
1306 the rulings of the EPA. If we do that, we allow our -- or we
1307 sacrifice, I should say, our energy security and our
1308 reliability.

1309 Ms. Owenby, I want to ask you. According to FERC
1310 Commissioner Mark Christie, the U.S. is already not building
1311 enough pipelines to transport sufficient amounts of gas to
1312 maintain steady and reliable supply of electricity without
1313 the additional regulatory burden on power plants. With the
1314 CCUS requirements of this rule, what is going to happen to
1315 the cost and reliability of energy in states like Tennessee
1316 or Georgia that don't have the associated infrastructure to
1317 pump out CO2?

1318 *Ms. Owenby. Thank you for the question. I think
1319 Tennessee's issue will be twofold.

1320 One, we have got units that are in places where we don't
1321 necessarily have appropriate storage for carbon capture and
1322 sequestration. So we will have a storage issue, which means
1323 then we have a transport issue, right? We have got to get
1324 that that CO2 somewhere.

1325 And as I said in my comments, there is just not a
1326 pipeline that is adequate, and there is not an infrastructure
1327 for that pipeline. You know, when we look at our natural gas
1328 pipeline, it is regulated by FERC, there has been a lot of
1329 congressional actions that have allowed those pipelines, as

1330 hard as they are to build, to have somewhat of a
1331 streamlining, if you may. That reality doesn't exist in the
1332 CO2 world. You don't have a Federal agency that is in charge
1333 of siting those pipelines, and you don't have Federal eminent
1334 domain.

1335 *Mr. Carter. Well, let me ask you this. In the
1336 scenario in which you described, what is going to be the
1337 impact on cost, and what is going to be the impact on -- to
1338 the customer, and what is going to be the impact on
1339 reliability?

1340 *Ms. Owenby. So I think in the reality where you are
1341 looking at either investing in those technologies that will
1342 be incredibly expensive and trying to put in that
1343 infrastructure, if that is what the utilities choose to do,
1344 or you look at limiting the capacity factor, you know, either
1345 way you are looking at raising costs to energy -- to our
1346 consumers.

1347 And in Tennessee we have got 8 distressed counties and
1348 27 at-risk counties. EPA's CEJST tool, which helps us
1349 identify disadvantaged communities, shows that we have 46
1350 percent census tracks -- 46 percent of our census tracks are
1351 disadvantaged communities.

1352 *Mr. Carter. Right.

1353 *Ms. Owenby. And so for us, we -- you know, we have our
1354 large metro areas, but we have a big rural state.

1355 *Mr. Carter. Sure, sure. Same thing in Georgia. I say
1356 it all the time. There are two Georgias, there is Atlanta
1357 and everywhere else.

1358 *Ms. Owenby. Exactly.

1359 *Mr. Carter. And everywhere else is going to suffer, I
1360 am going to tell you.

1361 *Ms. Owenby. Exactly.

1362 *Mr. Carter. Well, Mr. Glatt, let me ask you. Do you
1363 think the proposed carbon rule is harmful or helpful to the
1364 deployment of CCS?

1365 *Mr. Glatt. It would be harmful because it would limit
1366 innovation. Why would any industry invest in innovation
1367 moving forward if they don't have a future?

1368 *Mr. Carter. So if they are not going to invest in
1369 that, where do you think they are going to invest?

1370 *Mr. Glatt. Good question.

1371 *Mr. Carter. Yes, exactly. And where are we going to
1372 get power from?

1373 Well, let me ask you this, Mr. Glatt, how would the
1374 U.S.'s ability to be competitive and power our economy, how
1375 is it going to impact that?

1376 *Mr. Glatt. In many ways. You know, energy is not only
1377 used for residential, but it is used in our state for
1378 agriculture. And so, by having unreliable energy, expensive
1379 energy, it is going to impact everything across the board

1380 throughout the economy.

1381 *Mr. Carter. Absolutely, and it is going to impact the
1382 ability to attract businesses, as well. You know, for 11
1383 years in a row the State of Georgia has been the number-one
1384 state in the nation to do business. One of the reasons why
1385 is because of our low energy costs and our availability of
1386 energy. If that goes away, then we are not going to be able
1387 to attract businesses like we have been.

1388 So thank you all again for being here, I appreciate it.
1389 And I yield back.

1390 *Mr. Johnson. The gentleman yields back. The chair now
1391 recognizes the ranking member of the full committee, Mr.
1392 Pallone, for five minutes of questions.

1393 *Mr. Pallone. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1394 EPA's proposed power plant rule is long overdue, and I
1395 believe it is critical to protecting the health of our
1396 communities from dangerous air pollution, fighting the
1397 worsening climate crisis, and delivering clean, affordable,
1398 and reliable energy. But while EPA's proposal is undoubtedly
1399 important, the power sector is already shifting to cleaner
1400 generation, thanks to economic factors and targeted
1401 investments. The reality is that, even without a power plant
1402 rule, states and the power industry have to prepare for a
1403 rapidly decarbonizing grid.

1404 So I wanted to ask the Secretary McIlwain, how has the

1405 shift to a cleaner power sector materialized in Maryland, if
1406 you will?

1407 *Ms. McIlwain. The shift has been incredible in
1408 Maryland. I have spoken to you many times before about RGGI,
1409 but it is really important to just continue to emphasize that
1410 when we are -- when we have a program like we have in RGGI,
1411 and we are capping pollution, and at the same time we are
1412 using funding from that program to invest in Maryland, invest
1413 in clean energy, invest in residents who have been left
1414 behind for far too long, the program works, and it has been
1415 instrumental in Maryland.

1416 *Mr. Pallone. All right. Now, the State of Maryland is
1417 taking climate change seriously by following the science and
1418 setting the most ambitious climate goals of any state,
1419 frankly. Meaningful climate action and the transition to
1420 clean power is already underway in your state.

1421 So listening to my Republican colleagues, one would have
1422 to assume that Maryland is faced with frequent blackouts
1423 because of your climate policies. Is that the case?

1424 *Ms. McIlwain. That is not the case at all. We are not
1425 faced with frequent blackouts. We have a very solid program
1426 with RGGI. We have reduced carbon pollution faster than any
1427 other -- really, all the states combined through RGGI. So
1428 no, the program has been successful, and we have not had
1429 those problems, even though we do have a cap program in terms

1430 of capping the power plants and pollution.

1431 *Mr. Pallone. All right. Based on your experience, do
1432 you agree that states can reduce pollution from the power
1433 sector while maintaining reliability and keeping energy costs
1434 down?

1435 *Ms. McIlwain. Absolutely.

1436 *Mr. Pallone. Well, contrary to the rhetoric from my
1437 Republican colleagues, we don't have to choose, in my
1438 opinion, between cutting pollution from the power sector and
1439 maintaining reliability and affordability. I think that is a
1440 false choice.

1441 So states like Maryland -- and I would add my own state
1442 of New Jersey, too -- have rejected this narrative and are
1443 moving forward with efforts to clean up the power sector
1444 while keeping the lights on and cost down. And I think that
1445 EPA's proposed power plant rule complements these efforts by
1446 Maryland, New Jersey, and, you know, other states that have
1447 been so progressive.

1448 So I just wanted to thank you for joining us today to
1449 share your state's perspective on EPA's proposal and
1450 demonstrating that we can deliver a clean future without
1451 sacrificing reliability or affordability. Thank you.

1452 *Mr. Johnson. The gentleman yields back. The chair now
1453 recognizes the gentleman from Texas, Mr. Crenshaw, for five
1454 minutes.

1455 Sorry about that. Mr. Allen for five minutes.

1456 *Mr. Allen. Okay, thank you, Mr. Chairman, and it is an
1457 important hearing, and we are hearing a lot of information
1458 about, you know, where each state is dealing with these
1459 issues.

1460 As Mr. Carter said, he and I both are from Georgia. It
1461 seems that Georgia is growing rapidly. The business
1462 community is moving to Georgia rapidly because of our
1463 abundant supply of energy and the fact that it is efficient,
1464 and it will be there because of Southern Company and Georgia
1465 Power, and all of our EMCs working together to make sure that
1466 this happens.

1467 As I mentioned in the June hearing, my district is
1468 predominantly rural, and these rural communities rely on
1469 affordable and reliable energy. I have been increasingly
1470 concerned with proposals coming out of EPA aimed at shutting
1471 down reliable generation, and proposing unworkable standards
1472 for states to comply with. During our first hearing on Clean
1473 Power Plant 2.0 proposal, I mentioned that though some of
1474 EPA's proposals will never be implemented, these proposals
1475 will send a signal that future costs will rise due to
1476 increased compliance cost.

1477 In other words, I come from the business world. Any
1478 time you introduce uncertainty, you also introduce
1479 uncertainty on capital requirements, investment. Now,

1480 understanding that, you know, the ratepayers are the ones
1481 that are obviously investing in RGGI and those things, but
1482 again, the businesses are all moving to Georgia.

1483 So Mr. Glatt, Mr. Parker, and Ms. Owenby, can you all
1484 discuss the burden of states to deal with these compliance
1485 requirements across the -- across all the rules that the EPA
1486 has presented, and what it is going to do to our power
1487 producers?

1488 We will start with you, Mr. Glatt.

1489 *Mr. Glatt. Well, there is numerous proposed rules that
1490 are directed at power generation, and our concern is we spend
1491 an inordinate amount of time reviewing those rules. EPA has
1492 not evaluated how each of those interact, and how they are
1493 additive or subtractive. And so that is extremely taking --
1494 difficult and taking a lot of our time.

1495 I will say that without the regulation we find a lot
1496 more innovation. So innovation over regulation. If the
1497 Federal Government is picking winners and losers, that is
1498 wrong. They should be more of a partner with us, and how do
1499 we move innovation forward. And I would like to see them
1500 back off on some of these regulations, because right now the
1501 only ones that are winning from that are the attorneys.

1502 *Mr. Allen. Okay. Ms. Owenby?

1503 *Ms. Owenby. Thank you. I couldn't have said it
1504 better. I think Mr. Glatt is right. I think the

1505 intersection of how these rules interplay when they apply at
1506 the same facilities is really critically important. And that
1507 is what we do at the state level after rules get finalized,
1508 is we have to figure out how do these things overlap, and how
1509 do we write plans that make sense and that the regulated
1510 entities can comply with.

1511 In this particular scenario, you know, we are struggling
1512 to see how to write a plan that can be complied with without
1513 the potential for impact. And so that is where we are
1514 struggling.

1515 Tennessee is also booming for business.

1516 *Mr. Allen. Right.

1517 *Ms. Owenby. And has been on a significant growth
1518 trajectory. And it is a frequent conversation when we work
1519 with our economic and community development department of
1520 where will the power be, and will the power be there when we
1521 talk to new companies.

1522 *Mr. Allen. Right.

1523 *Ms. Owenby. So I think that is at top of mind when we
1524 think about how we are going to put a plan together. Will it
1525 not only comply with EPA's rules, but also preserve the right
1526 for Tennessee to grow?

1527 *Mr. Allen. Yes, that is not a bad problem to have, by
1528 the way.

1529 Mr. Parker, how about you?

1530 *Mr. Parker. Sure. Since I don't do environmental
1531 regulation, I will speak to the utility planning side of that
1532 question.

1533 And our utilities file what is called an integrated
1534 resource plan. And one of the jobs of that plan is to
1535 evaluate all proven technologies, essentially, and see what
1536 makes the lowest cost portfolio. In that planning process
1537 these days our largest utility includes a carbon cost,
1538 despite the fact we have no carbon tax or other regulation in
1539 the state that impairs carbon.

1540 So their planning process is assuming a cost of
1541 regulation, and they model it at different levels to see its
1542 sensitivity. But that cost impairs all of those plants and
1543 makes it look like a market decision when it is really a
1544 regulatory decision.

1545 *Mr. Allen. Right. In other words, those costs, those
1546 carbon costs, are going to be passed along to your
1547 ratepayers.

1548 *Mr. Parker. Sure, you bet.

1549 *Mr. Allen. The ratepayers. And, of course, we know
1550 the situation currently in the country with inflation and
1551 folks, I mean, living paycheck to paycheck. How are they
1552 going to pay their utility bills when you add this carbon tax
1553 to it?

1554 I am out of time. I yield back. Thank you.

1555 *Mr. Johnson. The gentleman yields back. The chair now
1556 recognizes the gentleman from Maryland, Mr. Sarbanes, for
1557 five minutes.

1558 *Mr. Sarbanes. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.
1559 Thanks to the panel for your testimony today. I want to
1560 again thank Secretary McIlwain for her being here today, for
1561 the great work she is doing for Maryland as leader of our
1562 environmental efforts.

1563 And I am also proud that you live in my district, the
1564 3rd district, which is terrific. So just again, thank you
1565 for your work on behalf of our environment, the health of all
1566 Marylanders, and the good work that we are trying to do.

1567 Like MDE's statewide mission, EPA's mission, as you
1568 know, is to protect human health and the environment at the
1569 national scale. And this proposed power plant standards rule
1570 would do just that, as we have been hearing, by setting
1571 reasonable pollution limits on power plants to protect the
1572 well-being of communities across the country.

1573 The move to cleaner while still reliable and affordable
1574 energy is one that has been underway in states like Maryland
1575 for many years already. I mean, we have been working at this
1576 for a long time. And under Maryland's Climate Solutions Now
1577 Act, our state is committed to reaching the goal of net zero
1578 greenhouse gas emissions, as you have indicated, by 2045,
1579 which, by the way, is one of the strongest commitments to

1580 reduce air pollution in the nation. And so we like to think
1581 Maryland's work is a barometer that we can learn from and
1582 apply broadly as we consider national goals and guidelines.
1583 It is a good laboratory.

1584 I was curious if you could speak to -- when you look at
1585 the things that are happening in Maryland, the initiatives
1586 that you think are particularly critical, which of these
1587 stand out maybe as ones that can be applicable for other
1588 states that you view as models that can be broadly applied?

1589 *Ms. McIlwain. Yes. So as I -- I have to just always
1590 continue to go back to the RGGI program, the cap and invest
1591 program that we have in Maryland. It works. It has been
1592 extremely successful.

1593 As I stated earlier, we have been able to reduce
1594 pollution by 56 percent because of the program. I can't
1595 imagine if we didn't have it. So for all these years, we --
1596 pollution is going down, and we are able to use the funding
1597 that we are getting from RGGI to fund communities who need it
1598 most. We have been able to ensure that not only the low-
1599 income families are receiving money to offset their bills,
1600 but just the entire energy mix is a -- has been really
1601 instrumental in how we are managing pollution in Maryland.

1602 So I don't know about other states who are not -- who
1603 are using cap programs or not, but I will say it is a program
1604 to be modeled behind. It works.

1605 *Mr. Sarbanes. Terrific.

1606 *Ms. McIlwain. And it doesn't -- and there is a balance
1607 to it. So you don't have to have one without the other. So
1608 capping pollution doesn't mean you have an unstable grid. It
1609 provides reliability.

1610 *Mr. Sarbanes. Well, I certainly feel in Maryland that
1611 we have that reliability covered. And so I think what you
1612 are pointing to with RGGI, that is a model that ought to be
1613 considered other places. It is proven, it is tested. It is
1614 achieving, as you say, in a balanced way, all the goals that
1615 we want to see, and protecting the interests that we want to
1616 protect, for sure.

1617 *Ms. McIlwain. It is -- for sure. And the IRA funding
1618 makes it even better. I mean, with that kind of historic
1619 investment in the clean transition, now is the time to start
1620 thinking about programs like that, and I feel that this rule
1621 pushes the nation toward that -- the kind of program that I
1622 am speaking about.

1623 *Mr. Sarbanes. And does it, as you emphasized, with the
1624 kind of flexibility that can accommodate people that are
1625 different points along this very important trajectory that we
1626 are trying to encourage out there to get through this clean,
1627 green transition that we aspire to.

1628 I just want to come back to something you sort of
1629 mentioned, but could you speak to how the efforts in

1630 Maryland, these benefits that -- cleaner air, lower
1631 greenhouse gas emissions, and so forth -- are providing
1632 benefits to some of the low-income and communities of color
1633 that have historically, as we know, dealt with the worst
1634 impacts of such pollution -- so what does that look like in
1635 Maryland?

1636 *Ms. McIlwain. Yes, so RGGI has been well studied for
1637 years. There has been independent studies that has estimated
1638 that RGGI has created billions -- I mean billions -- of
1639 dollars in improved health and economic benefits, as well.

1640 So again, the program really works, and the benefits are
1641 enormous, and that is for the entire region who are in the
1642 RGGI community.

1643 So yes, so this proposal likewise could create more
1644 benefits for public health, meaning the EPA rule. So it is
1645 just putting it on steroids is how I like to --

1646 *Mr. Sarbanes. And it would reach every community.

1647 *Ms. McIlwain. It would.

1648 *Mr. Sarbanes. Thank you very much for your testimony.

1649 *Ms. McIlwain. Thank you.

1650 *Mr. Johnson. The gentleman yields back. The chair now
1651 recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania, the vice chair of
1652 our subcommittee, Dr. Joyce, for five minutes.

1653 *Mr. Joyce. First I want to thank Chairman Johnson for
1654 holding today's hearing and for the witnesses for testifying

1655 on a critical issue that has a potential to adversely affect
1656 all Americans' access to energy.

1657 In October, in the Energy Subcommittee, we had witnesses
1658 from the regional transmission organizations, including PJM,
1659 which covers my constituents in Pennsylvania. They shared
1660 with us their concerns about how this rule could have serious
1661 consequences for grid reliability.

1662 For example, PJM released a report earlier this year
1663 that contained dire warnings that nearly 40 gigawatts, 20
1664 percent of the entire installed capacity of the region, is at
1665 risk of retirement by 2030. The PJM analysis states that
1666 more than half of those closures are due to -- and I am
1667 quoting -- "policy-driven retirements.'" Nearly all of these
1668 retirements are baseload resources -- coal, natural gas, and
1669 nuclear -- with almost all, 94 percent, of the proposed
1670 replacements coming in the form of renewables.

1671 The North American Reliability Corporation, or NERC,
1672 raised similar concerns in its 2023 Risk Analysis Report,
1673 identifying energy policy as one of the top five threats to
1674 grid reliability, right alongside extreme weather and cyber
1675 and physical attacks from malign actors.

1676 The Biden Administration's rush to retire fossil
1677 generation, especially in PJM in the coming years, is deeply
1678 worrying, given the lack of a firm 24/7 resource in line to
1679 replace them. Last year, right before Christmas, when an

1680 Arctic storm hit the northeast, temperatures in my district
1681 fell below 0 degrees Fahrenheit on Christmas Eve. Water
1682 pipes froze across the state, including in my wife's medical
1683 practice, and the grid in our region became dangerously close
1684 to being overburdened. It is times like these when we need
1685 the dispatchable power capacity that fossil fuel provides.

1686 To put it bluntly, we are not building natural gas power
1687 plants fast enough to replace the closing coal power plants,
1688 and I am gravely concerned about what just one severe winter
1689 could do to my constituents in Pennsylvania.

1690 I was not surprised when all the RTO and ISO witnesses
1691 from our October hearings agreed that natural gas will remain
1692 an indispensable part of our nation's energy mix for decades
1693 to come. In fact, one witness called it the only practical
1694 solution. I was extremely disappointed, though, to learn in
1695 the same testimony that the EPA did not consult with these
1696 organizations in any meaningful way on the reliability impact
1697 of their 111 rule before it was released.

1698 As the officials overseeing energy reliability and
1699 affordability in each of your states, did the EPA consult
1700 with you on the potential impact that it might have in your
1701 state?

1702 Mr. Glatt?

1703 *Mr. Glatt. No, it did not.

1704 *Mr. Joyce. Mr. Parker?

1705 *Mr. Parker. I can't speak to what they may have done
1706 with our department of environmental quality, but they didn't
1707 speak with us.

1708 *Mr. Joyce. Ms. Owenby?

1709 *Ms. Owenby. Yes. As I said to an earlier question,
1710 they did consult through our national air associations with
1711 state air agencies.

1712 *Mr. Joyce. So Ms. Owenby, EPA's actions in proposing
1713 the CO2 and 111 rule will only serve to exacerbate current
1714 grid reliability challenges by essentially forcing the
1715 retirement of dispatchable resources and increasing our
1716 reliance on intermittent resources. Unfortunately, EPA's
1717 actions have come with little or no consultation with the
1718 FERC, the various RTOs, ISOs, and, as we have heard from
1719 several of you today, certainly not with state air
1720 regulators.

1721 Can you speak of the need for robust dialogue between
1722 the Federal Government and your agencies in developing and
1723 implementing rulemaking, moving forward?

1724 *Ms. Owenby. Thank you for the question. And yes, I
1725 think it has been a constant -- both of our national air
1726 associations and many state air directors have vocalized to
1727 EPA that -- not just on this particular rule, but on all of
1728 their rules that impact regulated sources within the states
1729 -- we want to see, particularly with a rule as critical as

1730 this, really robust, pre-rule, you know, coordination, you
1731 know, in -- air directors that have been around longer than I
1732 have kind of refer to it as EPA used to workshop these ideas,
1733 they used to think through with states and with co-regulators
1734 how do we make something happen, and how do we do this in a
1735 positive way that we don't wait until we get to the rule
1736 proposal before we start really hashing it out?

1737 So we would love --

1738 *Mr. Joyce. I think your message is resonating here
1739 that robust collaboration pre-rule needs to occur.

1740 Thank you again, Mr. Chairman, and I thank the witnesses
1741 for appearing today, and I yield.

1742 *Mr. Johnson. The gentleman yields back. The chair now
1743 recognizes the gentleman from Alabama, Mr. Palmer, for five
1744 minutes.

1745 *Mr. Palmer. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1746 It really concerns me, the direction the EPA is going
1747 here. They are overstepping their jurisdictional bounds,
1748 legislating through administrative order without, I think, a
1749 real regard for the impact it is going to have on the
1750 American people. This mad rush to renewables, first of all,
1751 just from pure physics, is not going to work. We cannot
1752 replace the amount of power distribution displaced by
1753 shutting down these hydrocarbon facilities with renewables.

1754 I have a report here from the American Experiments, a

1755 think tank in Minneapolis, where they are looking at the
1756 Midcontinent Independent System Operator. And what it is
1757 showing is that it -- that if we go this route, and all of
1758 these regulations are put in place, the Midcontinent
1759 Independent Systems Operator cannot meet resource adequacy
1760 and reliability. Now, translated, that means there will be
1761 blackouts in one of the colder parts of the country.

1762 Now, what we just saw in Europe last winter was -- and
1763 this has been widely reported -- that 68,000 people died from
1764 cold-related illnesses because they could not afford to keep
1765 their homes adequately heated, 68,000. Now, some of my
1766 Democrat colleagues might consider that collateral damage in
1767 their war on climate and their -- this concern about climate
1768 change. But that is more people than died from COVID in the
1769 same time period.

1770 Do you have any concerns in that regard, Mr. Glatt?

1771 *Mr. Glatt. Yes I do. Yes, the statement was made that
1772 it got down to zero degrees. It warms up to zero degrees in
1773 North Dakota sometimes, and that would be the high for the
1774 day. So without reliable energy, not being able to afford it
1775 even if it was there, there is concerns about the health
1776 impact and the safety impact for our residents.

1777 *Mr. Palmer. Well, we know that according to The
1778 Lancet, the British medical journal, that 70 times more
1779 people die from cold-related illnesses than from heat.

1780

1781 So it is an even bigger problem.

1782 And then some of the data that I am hearing from some of
1783 my colleagues about our lack of effort, or the lack of effort
1784 on cleaning up our air, it flies in the face of what EPA's
1785 data shows. I mean, we have made enormous reductions in
1786 emissions.

1787 The other thing, though, about this report, Mr. Chairman
1788 -- I would like to enter this into the record -- is that it
1789 will cost the ratepayers just in the Midcontinent Independent
1790 System about \$246 billion. That is about 7.7 billion per
1791 year. That is more than the projected benefit that the EPA
1792 says nationwide of 5.9 billion. That is 7.7 billion just for
1793 that group of states.

1794 How do you respond to that, Mr. Glatt?

1795 *Mr. Glatt. Tough to respond to that, you know. Is
1796 that the -- the cost, I think, is incalculable at times, just
1797 what the impacts are going to be. And that is my concern
1798 with rules like this, is that they have not looked at what is
1799 the impact, and the widespread impact.

1800 *Mr. Palmer. Well, Mr. Parker, I made this comment that
1801 the physics don't work, and it is just a matter of fact that
1802 when you are talking about renewables you are talking about
1803 intermittent power. You don't have the ability to meet
1804 baseload without some redundant system to back it up. And

1805 that adds to the cost.

1806 I am just very, very concerned that we are heading down
1807 a really bad path in terms of how it is not only going to
1808 impact individuals, but also our economy, and even our
1809 national security at some point, because we have become 100
1810 percent reliant on China for the materials that we need to
1811 operate these renewable systems. And it is -- to me, it is
1812 indefensible, what they are trying to do. How would you
1813 respond to that?

1814 *Mr. Parker. Yes, Representative, thank you for the
1815 question. I think there are a lot of issues embedded in
1816 there. There is the bottom line resource adequacy question
1817 of keeping the lights on. There is also a power quality
1818 issue.

1819 You know, we have in the Salt Lake City area a few
1820 refineries. A little spike in the power, a flaw in the
1821 frequency can damage their processes. It can create PM 2.5
1822 emissions that make them violate their air quality permits
1823 just because they are getting poor quality power.

1824 We have got irrigators in rural areas of the state who
1825 have already seen damage to equipment from variable sources,
1826 kind of fluctuating frequency on their system. That is in
1827 addition to any cost increases.

1828 The power plant I mentioned earlier that we retired in
1829 the mid-teens, it required a number of significant

1830 transmission system upgrades in the location where that plant
1831 was taken offline in order to maintain voltage and frequency
1832 on the transmission system across that area.

1833 *Mr. Palmer. Mr. Chairman, in his -- regard to his
1834 quality of power, there are certain businesses that cannot
1835 operate because in a -- in an area that doesn't have the
1836 quality of power required to operate the businesses, and that
1837 could even include things like semiconductor production.

1838 I would like to enter into the record this report from
1839 American Experiment.

1840 *Mr. Johnson. Without objection, so ordered.

1841 [The information follows:]

1842

1843 *****COMMITTEE INSERT*****

1844

1845 *Mr. Johnson. And the gentleman's time has expired.
1846 The chair now recognizes the gentleman from California, Mr.
1847 Ruiz, for five minutes.

1848 *Mr. Ruiz. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1849 My home state of California has made serious efforts to
1850 move away from reliance on fossil fuels as we look towards
1851 the future. And the Inflation Reduction Act and the
1852 Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act have made much-needed
1853 investments in renewable energy development. This funding is
1854 essential to advancing renewable energy here at home to take
1855 steps forward to a cleaner future. However, if we do it at
1856 the expense of vulnerable communities, we will take steps
1857 backwards to a dirtier past. We cannot invest in production
1858 without enforcement of the Clean Air Act standard for healthy
1859 air. And to do this we must expand our energy grid and keep
1860 our air quality safe to breathe.

1861 So EPA's proposal is fundamentally about protecting
1862 Americans from dangerous climate change driving pollution
1863 that endangers human health and the environment. And we know
1864 that the worst effects of climate change are
1865 disproportionately shouldered by low-income and minority
1866 communities, rural communities.

1867 So, Secretary McIlwain, you, as secretary of environment
1868 for Maryland, your state has set the most ambitious net zero
1869 goals of all 50 states. Simultaneously, your state has also

1870 put in place strong environmental justice standards. So how
1871 will these two concepts work hand in hand as you continue to
1872 clean up your power sector?

1873 *Ms. McIlwain. Thank you.

1874 So my priority is to help and ensure that Maryland -- we
1875 meet our climate goals. And as you said, they are the most
1876 aggressive in the country. And we plan to meet those goals.
1877 But we are going to do it by ensuring that we leave no
1878 Marylander behind. So there is not one without the other, as
1879 far as we are governing in Maryland.

1880 So the proposed rule that we are talking about, it helps
1881 to reduce the greenhouse gas emissions and it improves air
1882 quality. Well, that is exactly what we need to ensure that
1883 the environmental justice communities are no longer
1884 continuing in this cycle of burdening, being overburdened by
1885 air pollution. So I think we are moving in the right
1886 direction.

1887 And there is no -- there shouldn't be a if you do this
1888 then you can't do the other. We can do both.

1889 *Mr. Ruiz. You know, the American Lung Association has
1890 -- have given all three of the counties in my district a
1891 failing grade for air particle pollution. We have the I-10
1892 that runs from pretty much LA all the way to Phoenix across
1893 our country in eastern Riverside County. And so you see
1894 semis after semis after semis, and it has serious impacts on

1895 the health of my constituents. I know, because I treated
1896 them in the emergency department for years. And that is why
1897 I am particularly passionate about supporting EPA's
1898 congressionally-granted authority to protect public health
1899 and the environment, including through pollution standards
1900 like the one we are discussing today.

1901 And as a doctor, you know, I have seen the connection
1902 between a person's health and the environment where they
1903 live, and the very real effects of environmental injustices.
1904 And, you know, environmental justice is basically the notion
1905 that certain communities don't have a say in decisions where
1906 certain factories or certain Interstate 10s run through. And
1907 usually those high-polluting factories and interstates are
1908 placed in the middle of disenfranchised, rural, poor
1909 communities. And so the whole environmental justice movement
1910 is to understand that there is certain characteristics of
1911 populations that have been exposed to these types of
1912 pollutions, and now we are seeing that those that live near a
1913 high-polluted area have 10 years less of life expectancy, on
1914 average, than those that do not.

1915 Secretary, why is it important to include environmental
1916 justice communities in plans to decarbonize the power sector?

1917 *Ms. McIlwain. Yes, we have to listen to the voices of
1918 the communities that are affected the most. It is so
1919 important. And that is why one of the first things I did

1920 when I started as secretary is I instituted listening tours
1921 for all the environmental justice communities. And I didn't
1922 just listen. We are taking those concerns, and we are using
1923 them to inform as we are regulating the industry. So it is
1924 important.

1925 And again, I said it before, but there is no one without
1926 the other. Environmental justice is critical, and it is one
1927 of my top priorities.

1928 *Mr. Ruiz. Thank you, I think that is very important.
1929 We often times dismiss history and all the recorded times
1930 where high-polluted substances are put in reservations, or
1931 they are put in rural poor communities, or put in communities
1932 that historically have been set aside. So thank you for
1933 that.

1934 I yield back.

1935 *Mr. Johnson. The gentleman yields back. The chair now
1936 recognizes the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Balderson, for five
1937 minutes.

1938 *Mr. Balderson. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you,
1939 panel, for all being here today. My first question is for
1940 Mr. Parker.

1941 In your testimony you note, "We are a hopeful people,
1942 but we should heed these warnings.'" In response to concerns
1943 raised in NERC's long-term reliability assessment, something
1944 my colleague, Dr. Joyce, talked about, the PJM report, we

1945 have talked about the issues this proposal will have on
1946 reliability, resource adequacy, and driving existing reliable
1947 generation off grid. And when you pair this proposal with
1948 the administration's efforts to push electrification across
1949 industries and corresponding increased demand on the grid,
1950 the consequences could be disastrous.

1951 Can you discuss what these issues could actually mean to
1952 our constituents, and what are the repercussions if the EPA
1953 doesn't heed these warnings?

1954 *Mr. Parker. Sure. Thank you, Representative.

1955 You know, in Utah, as I have said, we are served
1956 primarily by PacifiCorp's Rocky Mountain Power affiliate,
1957 which does retail business in six states, Washington, Oregon,
1958 California, Idaho, Wyoming, and Utah. And we are already
1959 seeing through there -- in my testimony, the written
1960 testimony, there are a number of items from a WEC reliability
1961 assessment report that identifies shortcomings in the grid
1962 beginning as early as 2025, if things don't change.

1963 To that, we can add, as you note, significant increases
1964 in demand due to a lot of data centers, onshoring of
1965 manufacturing processes that have been offshore. There is a
1966 lot of pressure -- electrification of the transportation
1967 sector that is increasing demand at the time WEC is warning
1968 that we are at risk. Those risk analyses are statistical
1969 exercises that identify what happens when you take one more

1970 facility offline.

1971 And we saw in 2022 in the West a very close call. And
1972 if we had lost one more significant facility on that day I
1973 think the West would have had blackouts that year. That
1974 would have affected businesses throughout the region, it
1975 would have cost folks a lot of money, and impacted health.

1976 As I noted, the refineries in the Salt Lake area, when
1977 they have emissions because of power quality issues, that has
1978 a more direct and relevant effect on health than the carbon
1979 emissions that this rule is designed to regulate.

1980 *Mr. Balderson. Okay, thank you very much. My next
1981 question is for Ms. Owenby and Mr. Glatt.

1982 So, Ms. Owenby, I will -- ladies first. My
1983 understanding is Congress gave states a central role in
1984 implementing state statutory source standards like those
1985 being discussed today. A state knows its residents, its
1986 geographic, socioeconomic infrastructure, and other
1987 circumstances better than the Federal Government, and
1988 certainly better than the EPA. Can you speak to the central
1989 role states should play when implementing standards?

1990 *Ms. Owenby. Sure, thank you. I think particularly
1991 with regard to the emission guidelines, where we have to put
1992 together plans, you know, we take that into consideration
1993 with all regulations that are applicable over that particular
1994 facility or the group of facilities. And we work with the

1995 facilities, we do public engagement, and we try and
1996 understand how do we put together a plan that someone -- that
1997 the regulated entities can comply with within the time
1998 constraints that EPA has provided in the guidelines.

1999 And I think in this particular rule there is a couple of
2000 things that are just really -- in addition to not adequately
2001 demonstrated technology, you are looking at they have given
2002 states the ability to look at remaining useful life. And
2003 they have said you can do trading programs and you can do
2004 averaging, but then if you look at remaining useful life for
2005 a facility, it can't be in the averaging and trading
2006 flexibility.

2007 And so the give-and-take of what EPA has done, both
2008 under this rule and under the general revisions they did to
2009 subpart B which covers this particular -- these particular
2010 type of plans, it is just continuing to ratchet down the
2011 flexibility that states have when we do those plans and put
2012 those plans in place.

2013 *Mr. Balderson. Okay. Mr. Glatt?

2014 *Mr. Glatt. I will just kind of add on to that. You
2015 know, it is a big country, and there is a lot of different
2016 environments, culture, economies, all those type of things.
2017 States are in the best position to identify, working with the
2018 industries and their citizens, what is the best path forward.

2019 I do think what is happening now is that states are

2020 getting less and less input into the process, quite frankly.
2021 If we agree with everything EPA says, we are looked at as
2022 cooperative. If we object to it because it doesn't fit our
2023 paradigm in our state, we are not being part of the EPA team.
2024 And so the states play a lead role in how to implement these,
2025 and the states have shown that they can do it, and very well.

2026 *Mr. Balderson. Agreed. Okay, I want to be conscious
2027 of my time.

2028 I yield back, Mr. Chairman. Thank you all.

2029 *Mr. Johnson. The gentleman yields back. The chair now
2030 recognizes the gentleman from Texas, Mr. Crenshaw, for five
2031 minutes.

2032 *Mr. Crenshaw. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2033 You know, I remind -- I have to remind my voters
2034 constantly that there is a lot of distractions ongoing right
2035 now around the world and things that they are worried about.
2036 But the EPA, whether it is trying to ban certain plastics
2037 that are commonly used by our constituents or trying to
2038 effectively ban half of America's refineries or effectively
2039 put offline a good portion of our baseload power sources, the
2040 EPA, more than any other agency under this administration, is
2041 going to affect your life negatively. People don't realize
2042 that.

2043 You know, some might accuse bureaucrats of being lazy,
2044 but I don't think that is the case at EPA. They are not

2045 lazy. They are activists. They are constantly thinking of
2046 new ways to screw with our energy system. And here we are
2047 again. And so I always start with a -- just some basic
2048 comments about cost versus benefit. You know, that is a key
2049 component philosophical underpinning of what the EPA is
2050 supposed to do: assess costs, assess benefits, and impose
2051 regulations accordingly that achieve the goal we all want to
2052 achieve, which is protecting our environment.

2053 You know, it should be noted I have personally put forth
2054 and passed legislation like the LEADING Act, like our New
2055 Energy Frontiers, which prioritizes research and development
2056 into carbon capture technology. I mean, I am all about it.
2057 I am all about new nuclear plants and clean energy. But I am
2058 also all about my constituents having affordable energy so
2059 that they can survive, whether it is in the heat or in the
2060 cold. That has to be first and foremost in our minds because
2061 we look at the dangers of climate change.

2062 People act like there is going to be tidal waves
2063 crashing over them like in the movies. Of course, that is
2064 not the case. And we can read the IPCC data, we can actually
2065 read the UN reports. We know what the risks are, and those
2066 risks are worth mitigating, but not at the cost of destroying
2067 ourselves in the process. That is always what these
2068 conversations are about.

2069 You know, I mean, we look at benefits. If we went net

2070 zero by 2050, do you know we would reduce global CO2
2071 concentration by 2.2 percent? There is another piece of data
2072 out there that shows if we just stopped emitting carbon
2073 emissions completely in America right now, it might reduce
2074 the temperature temperature in 2100 by 0.8 degrees
2075 Fahrenheit. I mean, does that seem like a huge benefit to
2076 anybody? Does that seem like we are saving a bunch of -- of
2077 course not. And at what cost?

2078 And we have real questions to answer to our constituents
2079 about whether their lights are going to turn on or not.
2080 These are real questions. We can't just blow past them with
2081 some hopeful assumptions that the EPA is making about what
2082 technologies might exist in just a few years. And so I
2083 suppose we should ask some of those questions.

2084 Ms. -- sorry, I can't see the last name -- from
2085 Tennessee, could you speak for a minute about the feasibility
2086 of what -- of these technologies? Have you ever seen any of
2087 these technologies used effectively and efficiently and at
2088 scale that the EPA would require you to use?

2089 *Ms. Owenby. No, no, I think EPA gave a couple of good
2090 examples in their proposal that demonstrate that they -- we
2091 haven't seen something that meets their standard. And they
2092 did not include the example out of Mississippi, which is a
2093 carbon capture system that was abandoned after a number of
2094 years of cost overruns and just being too expensive.

2095 And so I think the reality is that, as Mr. Glatt said,
2096 carbon capture has potential, but there are a lot of
2097 questions, and it still is, in my opinion, in the
2098 demonstration phase.

2099 *Mr. Crenshaw. I appreciate that. I will go to Ms.
2100 McIlwain from Maryland.

2101 And because you seem more optimistic that these
2102 standards are easily achievable. So I would like to
2103 understand how. So 13 percent of -- I think that was right,
2104 maybe you could correct me, but I believe, from our data, 13
2105 percent of Maryland's energy mix is from coal. And so you
2106 think within five years we can actually put technology on
2107 these coal plants that take 90 percent of the carbon out of
2108 the air? And where are we going to buy that technology?

2109 *Ms. McIlwain. Well, it is all about the utility mix.
2110 Carbon is a piece of it. And yes, with careful planning,
2111 which is what we are doing in Maryland, we have to ensure
2112 that as the coal plants are retiring we have a plan,
2113 hopefully with clean energy. And that is where -

2114 *Mr. Crenshaw. Okay, but the plan is to just retire
2115 them, even though you are going to -- you are absolutely
2116 going to have an increase in energy demand in Maryland,
2117 right? Your energy demand isn't going down over the next 10
2118 years.

2119 *Ms. McIlwain. No, but you have to have a different

2120 source to take up for that lost energy. And in Maryland we
2121 are looking at clean energy like solar and wind. So we are
2122 looking at those things, and we are carefully planning those
2123 things so it doesn't just disappear and we are left without
2124 energy. That is not how it works.

2125 *Mr. Crenshaw. That would be nice if it did work that
2126 way. Solar and wind in Maryland? We have all -- okay. I am
2127 out of time. We could talk about this all day.

2128 Thank you, Chairman.

2129 *Mr. Johnson. The gentleman yields back. The chair now
2130 recognizes the gentlelady from Iowa, Dr. Miller-Meeks, for
2131 five minutes.

2132 *Mrs. Miller-Meeks. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and I thank
2133 our witnesses for being here, as well.

2134 The Biden Administration's rush-to-green energy
2135 regulatory framework, and a refusal to acknowledge an any-of-
2136 the-above energy strategy that focuses on reducing emissions
2137 agnostic of source will ultimately lead to higher cost, no
2138 alternative market choices, and an unsustainable electric
2139 grid.

2140 Look no further than the proposed greenhouse gas rules
2141 for carbon-based electric generating units. These rules
2142 remove the state's flexibility to keep electric generation
2143 facilities available as needed, and significantly impact the
2144 reliability of the nation's bulk electric grid. Not only

2145 have state utility boards expressed concerns in comments
2146 regarding the impact of these rules, but in August the grid
2147 operators ERCOT, MISO, PJM, and SPP jointly filed comments
2148 indicating that their systems will need to rely even more on
2149 generation from critical reliability factors as more
2150 intermittent resources come online.

2151 Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to insert into the
2152 record comments filed by the Iowa Utilities Board on how
2153 harmful these proposals would be to the state.

2154 *Mr. Johnson. Without objection, so ordered.

2155 [The information follows:]

2156

2157 *****COMMITTEE INSERT*****

2158

2159 *Mrs. Miller-Meeks. And what is remarkable about the
2160 Iowa Utility Board putting these forth and their negative
2161 comments is that Iowa is a net exporter of energy. Fifty
2162 percent of our energy is from renewables. Over 60 percent of
2163 our electricity is from wind.

2164 The FERC commissioner Mark Christie said, "We are
2165 heading for a reliability sector crisis.'" EPA Administrator
2166 Regan, however, stated that, with the announcement of these
2167 proposals, a reliable electric power system is essential to
2168 our national security, continued economic growth, and the
2169 protection of public health. I did just want to read one
2170 segment from this letter, which states "It defies belief that
2171 in a mere two months between the EPA announcing its agreement
2172 to work with the DoE and the publication of the proposed
2173 rules, that the EPA duly consulted and considered the
2174 significant impact on the essential services of literally
2175 keeping the lights on.'" Maybe the EPA doesn't know what an
2176 essential service is.

2177 The proposed rules are rushed. The record does not
2178 meaningful -- consider the impact of this truly essential
2179 service, and the EPA myopically pursues a narrow goal at the
2180 expense of jobs, life, and heat. More than five million
2181 people die every year globally due to the exposure of
2182 excessively hot or cold temperatures. Heat death is
2183 responsible for 1 percent of global fatalities, approximately

2184 600,000, but cold kills 8 times as many people: 4.5 million
2185 annually.

2186 A 2019 study from the National Bureau of Economic
2187 Research indicates -- estimates that the fracking revolution,
2188 by driving down natural gas prices, prevented or saved more
2189 than 11,000 American deaths in the winter per year from 2005
2190 to 2011. And I greatly appreciate my colleagues on the other
2191 side of the aisle pointing that out, that during the Obama
2192 Administration, when coal-fired plants were taken off, we
2193 still had electricity. Why? Because we had natural gas
2194 substitutes. There is no magic source of electricity
2195 generation in the near future over the next five years.

2196 Mr. Glatt, contrary to Administrator Regan's statement,
2197 can you discuss how these rules reduce reliability and harm
2198 public health of Americans?

2199 *Mr. Glatt. Certainly. In North Dakota at any given
2200 time, over 50 percent of the energy generated is coal-fired
2201 power plants. Without that, there is a vacuum of energy to
2202 be provided. I don't know where that is coming from. And so
2203 that is a major concern for us. And in a short 5 years, when
2204 we are looking at 15, 20-year plans going out into the
2205 future, this is just not attainable.

2206 *Mrs. Miller-Meeks. Ms. Owenby, are states provided
2207 enough flexibility to implement the proposal to meet the
2208 electric needs of their residents?

2209 *Ms. Owenby. No.

2210 *Mrs. Miller-Meeks. Thank you for your candor.

2211 Mr. Parker, did the EPA engage with your state on the
2212 impacts these rules would have?

2213 *Mr. Parker. As I said earlier, I am not sure of the
2214 level of their involvement with our department of
2215 environmental quality. I am sure it also participated in
2216 some of the association comments, but I am quite certain its
2217 suggestions were not adopted.

2218 *Mrs. Miller-Meeks. Mr. Glatt?

2219 *Mr. Glatt. Not adequately, no.

2220 *Mrs. Miller-Meeks. Thank you very much.

2221 It seems that the public health emergency will be the
2222 deaths that we experience when electricity prices go up and
2223 people can't afford to heat their homes in the winter time,
2224 and they don't have the money to move down south to warmer
2225 climates. So it is a public health crisis that we are
2226 engaging upon by not having affordable, reliable, secure
2227 energy. So people may die before they ever have a chance to
2228 get asthma.

2229 Thank you so much. I yield back my time.

2230 *Mr. Johnson. The gentlelady yields back. The chair
2231 now recognizes the gentlelady from California, Ms. Barragan,
2232 for five minutes.

2233 *Ms. Barragan. Thank you, Chairman Johnson.

2234 The EPA's new carbon pollution standards for power
2235 plants is important for U.S. efforts to fight the climate
2236 crisis and reduce air pollution. Many of the largest
2237 polluters in our communities are power plants that burn coal
2238 or gas, and they are disproportionately in low-income
2239 communities and communities of color.

2240 Secretary McIlwain, thank you for joining us today and
2241 for your leadership previously at California EPA. As
2242 Maryland's grid becomes less reliant on decades old coal
2243 plants that will soon retire, a clean energy transition is
2244 underway. How is Maryland planning for these retirements,
2245 and how does the state plan to address grid reliability to
2246 keep power affordable and available for residents?

2247 *Ms. McIlwain. Yes, so by -- I will say quickly by
2248 careful planning. So we are working with partner agencies
2249 like the Maryland Energy Administration, the Public Service
2250 Commission. We work together to make sure that we have a
2251 plan.

2252 And so we realize that some sectors will come off the
2253 grid, will no longer provide electricity. In particular, the
2254 power plants, eventually. But we have a plan. We are making
2255 sure that, you know, we are modeling and seeing how we can
2256 start using renewable energy to be a part of that mix. So
2257 yes, we are definitely prepared, and we are making sure that
2258 we are planning for those retirements.

2259 *Ms. Barragan. Thank you, Secretary. Maryland has
2260 several policies that complement the EPA power plant rule,
2261 including the renewable energy standard of 50 percent
2262 renewable energy sources by 2030. California has a similar
2263 target of 60 percent renewable energy by 2030. How do
2264 renewable energy standards help states to meet climate goals
2265 and the pollution reduction requirements of the EPA power
2266 plant rule?

2267 *Ms. McIlwain. So they will be a part of helping
2268 Maryland reach our goal of 100 percent green energy by 2035.
2269 So we are -- renewable energy, it really does help to
2270 incentivize and guide the investments in clean energy. So it
2271 is all a part of a larger plan in Maryland. So that is how
2272 we plan to make sure we have that balance that is necessary.

2273 *Ms. Barragan. Okay. There is a cost to inaction,
2274 Madam Secretary. And today the U.S. released its fifth
2275 national climate assessment, which finds that the effects of
2276 a rapidly warming climate are being felt across our
2277 communities through stronger floods, extreme heat, drought,
2278 and wildfires. How does the climate crisis, driven in part
2279 by power plant pollution, threaten Maryland's grid
2280 reliability and the quality of life for low-income
2281 communities and communities of color?

2282 *Ms. McIlwain. Well, I think -- so the bottom line is
2283 when you have clean air, you have a better chance of not

2284 having asthma and other respiratory issues that we find so
2285 prevalent in the environmental justice communities.

2286 And so this clean energy transition is really critical,
2287 and that is why we are working really hard with communities,
2288 and we are making sure that everything we do takes into
2289 consideration the health benefits that we can -- that we are
2290 sure to realize as we are going through this transition.

2291 *Ms. Barragan. Well, thank you. And I know that, you
2292 know, Democrats and President Biden have made record
2293 investments in clean energy through Inflation Reduction Act.
2294 And I think these are Federal investments that can help
2295 states like Maryland to meet their clean power targets, and
2296 also the requirements of the EPA power plant rule.

2297 Given my time is running short here, I think that, you
2298 know, state governments are not powerless. They can lead the
2299 way, and they can set an example. And I want to thank you
2300 for doing that in Maryland. I am proud of California's
2301 leadership to address the climate crisis. And we are not
2302 sitting idle as the planet heats up or, worse, trying to
2303 block action. It is awesome to have another leader on the
2304 East Coast in Maryland to set up -- step up and to show that
2305 it can be done and we can have a cleaner grid, keep the
2306 lights on, and protect the health of our communities. Thank
2307 you.

2308 And with that, I yield back.

2309 *Mr. Johnson. The gentlelady yields back. The chair
2310 now recognizes the gentleman from Idaho, Mr. Fulcher, for
2311 five minutes.

2312 *Mr. Fulcher. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you to
2313 the panel for your participation and for -- you probably
2314 already figured this out, but some of us had dueling
2315 committees. So it is not a rudeness when we jump in and out,
2316 okay? But thank you for your participation. And I have had
2317 a chance to go through your testimonies.

2318 I want to start with a question for both Mr. Glatt and
2319 Ms. Owenby, and I will set it up this way. Hydro liquid
2320 natural gas, along with geothermal, make up a big portion of
2321 energy in my state. In fact, hydro alone is over half of the
2322 in-state usage. Liquid natural gas just got a pretty good
2323 boost in Idaho because the GTN Express pipeline was finally
2324 approved for an upgrade, and so we are looking forward to
2325 that. But LNG has lower emissions. It is a clean-burning
2326 fuel. Unlike solar and wind, these traditional sources of
2327 energy are the baseload. And that is the baseload reliable.

2328 And I just want to ask both of you -- and I have a hint
2329 where Ms. Owenby is going to go with her response to Mrs.
2330 Miller-Meeks, but on a similar line I will start with Mr.
2331 Glatt.

2332 Have you got sufficient flexibility under the EPA
2333 proposal to implement the rule in a way that would be

2334 appropriate to your particular energy sources and your energy
2335 energy needs?

2336 *Mr. Glatt. Generally speaking, no. I think it puts
2337 constraints on where we can move ahead. I will tell you that
2338 each of our co-ops that supply energy to their membership,
2339 they are looking at ways to diversify as much as possible.
2340 But this regulation would put constraints on how they could
2341 move forward.

2342 *Mr. Fulcher. Thank you.

2343 Ms. Owenby?

2344 *Ms. Owenby. I would agree. I would say TVA, by the
2345 end of 2023, will have retired 35 of its 59 coal units since
2346 2012, and plans to retire 24 remaining units at 4 coal plants
2347 by 2035. And I think their staggered approach and how they
2348 have done it over time has demonstrated that you can
2349 absolutely retire coal units and still maintain reliability,
2350 but they have done that by bringing on a lot of natural gas,
2351 and so they have replaced that power with power that is still
2352 providing them the capability to run the grid as they
2353 continue to bring on more intermittent sources like solar.

2354 So we also have hydro in Tennessee, as well. But I
2355 think when we are looking for flexibility, I want to really
2356 focus on the timeline. You know, the timeline doesn't
2357 provide for flexibility. And I think when you think about
2358 the lead time -- and there have been so many good comments in

2359 the docket that talk about the lead time -- for just thinking
2360 about what it takes to put some of these projects online if
2361 they were to even think about investing in some of these
2362 technologies at these plants, that those -- the time
2363 constraints provided by the rule eliminate a significant
2364 amount of flexibility.

2365 *Mr. Fulcher. That is what it looks like to me, too,
2366 frankly. And I want to go to Mr. Parker.

2367 I understand you are from Utah. Is that right?

2368 *Mr. Parker. Yes, sir.

2369 *Mr. Fulcher. So, Idaho, right next door. And I don't
2370 know which of us has grown the fastest, but I think it is
2371 fair to say that both of our states are exploding in terms of
2372 growth and population. And the demand with energy is only
2373 going to go one way, and it is going that way right now.

2374 Your PUC, you are responsible -- have got
2375 responsibilities there. What happens to baseload reliability
2376 during this transition from our current mix of energy sources
2377 to the mandated picture under that EPA proposed rule?

2378 *Mr. Parker. This is the big concern. And, you know,
2379 the EPA rule creates some strange incentives. We have a
2380 relatively inefficient gas peaker plant that is really old
2381 that can probably still run. We have pretty new natural gas
2382 generators that are pretty efficient that will struggle to
2383 comply with the rule. As those baseload sources come off, we

2384 are going to be increasingly subject, if it is available, to
2385 market purchases during periods of high pricing. If it is
2386 not available, obviously, there is shortages on the system
2387 and we can't buy it.

2388 We are exploring geothermal technology. We are studying
2389 that. It remains expensive. We are exploring nuclear. It
2390 remains expensive and lengthy to permit. By the timelines
2391 EPA proposes, the answer is I don't know. We have outages if
2392 these things have to close when they look like they may under
2393 EPA's rules.

2394 *Mr. Fulcher. Yes, thank you. It is concerning to me,
2395 too. I am going to -- I have got just a little bit of time
2396 left here, so I need a quick response from Mr. Glatt and Ms.
2397 Owenby again.

2398 But the greenhouse gas emission rules, to me, are very
2399 clear. They discriminate against liquid natural gas. They
2400 discriminate against coal. They are very biased towards
2401 solar and wind. With a brief response, in your view, Mr.
2402 Glatt, first, what is the risk to baseload reliability
2403 looking forward with this rule in place?

2404 *Mr. Glatt. Very significant. Can't rely on wind and
2405 solar to fill in that vacuum.

2406 *Mr. Fulcher. Ms. Owenby?

2407 *Ms. Owenby. Well said. I think that when you were
2408 looking at what we think most likely will happen, you will be

2409 looking at baseload and intermediate sources that will be
2410 taking significant capacity cuts, and that --

2411 *Mr. Fulcher. Okay.

2412 *Ms. Owenby. We don't know how to run the grid that
2413 way.

2414 *Mr. Fulcher. Thank you. Thank you to the panel.
2415 Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

2416 *Mr. Johnson. The gentleman yields back. The chair now
2417 recognizes the gentlelady from Florida, Ms. Castor, for five
2418 minutes.

2419 *Ms. Castor. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you to the
2420 witnesses.

2421 This morning the administration released the fifth
2422 National Climate Assessment. This is the report that the
2423 Congress required decades ago -- it comes out about every
2424 five years -- where they ask all of the top scientists across
2425 the country and experts to help us understand the impacts of
2426 the warming planet, help us understand the economics, what is
2427 -- why costs are going up, the health impacts of burning
2428 fossil fuels. And what it says -- I have had one eye to it
2429 this morning -- we are -- we can anticipate due to burning
2430 greenhouse gases, or greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, an
2431 increase in oppressive hot days which will hurt farmers and
2432 our water supply; higher costs driven by health impacts of --
2433 higher costs because dirty fossil fuels now are so volatile.

2434 Now we are spending about \$150 billion a year just to
2435 respond to climate-fueled catastrophes, and they anticipate
2436 that that cost is going to go up. And they said, as the
2437 planet warms from using fossil fuels, the cost and risk will
2438 grow. And it -- so it is up to us right now, at this moment
2439 in time, to make certain decisions about whether or not we
2440 can stand those rising costs and impacts on everyone, and
2441 that is why it is so important that the EPA move now to kind
2442 of help reduce carbon pollution from power plants. As of
2443 right now there is no limitation on the -- on carbon
2444 pollution from power plants.

2445 And I have watched over the past 14 years or so as the
2446 EPA has worked with states and stakeholders to develop
2447 solutions, and now they are offering an updated rule to cut
2448 pollution and to really put -- give states all the
2449 flexibility that they need to determine -- because, as
2450 Secretary McIlwain said, the states are different. The way
2451 we generate electricity is different, and the flexibility
2452 afforded by the rules is critical to the reliability and
2453 security as -- especially as we ramp up cleaner, cheaper
2454 sources of energy.

2455 For example, the proposed rules create subcategories for
2456 plants based on capacity factor and retirement date to ensure
2457 that the power plants are reliable and can serve their
2458 communities.

2459 It is important to note, too, that states are provided
2460 with significant flexibility to determine the right
2461 compliance pathways and invest in the technologies that work
2462 best for their individual needs.

2463 Secretary McIlwain, what technologies is Maryland
2464 investing in to replace the reliability provided by coal and
2465 other fossil fuels?

2466 *Ms. McIlwain. So we are investing in a lot of
2467 technologies in Maryland. And again, we use a lot of -- we
2468 use the funding from, in some ways, from the Regional
2469 Greenhouse Gas Initiative, the RGGI. We are investing in
2470 solar. So most of the technologies that we are investing in
2471 is for renewable energies. So solar technology we are
2472 investing in, and there is just -- there is a lot more. But
2473 what comes to mind mostly for me is the solar energy. That
2474 is where --

2475 *Ms. Castor. Yes, solar and wind -

2476 *Ms. McIlwain. -- replacing -

2477 *Ms. Castor. -- is so much cheaper now.

2478 *Ms. McIlwain. It is now. It is getting cheaper
2479 because of the IRA and the funding that is available.

2480 Again, and I have said it before, the historic amounts
2481 of funding that is now poured into the communities and into
2482 the industry is making this transition -

2483 *Ms. Castor. And I will give you an example. In the

2484 Sunshine State you would think we are really ramping up
2485 solar, but we have remained really tied to gas, and that has
2486 really socked it to consumers. Our electric bills from TECO,
2487 Tampa Electric, are up about \$500 or more for family over --
2488 just in the past year because gas has been so volatile.

2489 But there is good news here. You know, we -- from the
2490 time that the Clean Power Plan was introduced years ago by
2491 President Obama, the power sector, even without the rule
2492 coming into effect, the power sector already exceeded the
2493 goals of the original Clean Power Plan. So now think about
2494 what will happen with lower-cost solar, wind, more focus on
2495 energy efficiency, gas replacing -- coal was responsible for
2496 a lot of those incremental reductions, but now we really have
2497 to jump much farther and faster to lower costs, to lower the
2498 impacts of the warming planet.

2499 And I hope you all will dive into the fifth Climate
2500 Assessment, because it is the first assessment that not only
2501 talks about the impacts and the costs, but talks about the
2502 tools we are using to make this transition and do it in a
2503 secure way, in a reliable way that is fueled by American
2504 innovation.

2505 So thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I will yield back.

2506 *Mr. Johnson. The gentlelady yields back. Seeing no
2507 further members seeking to ask questions, I ask unanimous
2508 consent to insert into the record the documents included on

2509 the staff hearing documents list.

2510 Without objection, that will be the order.

2511 [The information follows:]

2512

2513 *****COMMITTEE INSERT*****

2514

2515 *Mr. Johnson. I remind members that they have 10
2516 business days to submit questions for the record, and I ask
2517 the witnesses to respond to the questions promptly.

2518 Without objection, the subcommittee stands adjourned.

2519 [Whereupon, at 1:07 p.m., the subcommittee was
2520 adjourned.]