Diversified Reporting Services, Inc. 1 RPTS SHONERD 2 3 HIF128180 4 5 EPA'S RMP RULE: FAILURES TO PROTECT THE 6 AMERICAN PEOPLE AND AMERICAN MANUFACTURING 7 TUESDAY, MAY 7, 2024 8 House of Representatives, 9 Subcommittee on Environment, Manufacturing, 10 and Critical Materials, 11 Committee on Energy and Commerce, 12 Washington, D.C. 13 14 The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:02 a.m., 15 Room 2123, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Buddy Carter 16 [chairman of the subcommittee], presiding. 17 18 Present: Representatives Carter, Palmer, Joyce, Weber, 19 Allen, Balderson, Fulcher, Pfluger, Miller-Meeks, James, 20 Rodgers (ex-officio); Tonko, DeGette, Schakowsky, Sarbanes, 21

22 Ruiz, Peters, Barragan, and Pallone (ex-officio). 23 24 Staff Present: Kate Arey, Digital Director; Sarah Burke, Deputy Staff Director; Jerry Couri, Deputy Chief 25 Counsel; Sydney Greene, Director of Operations; Nate Hodson, 26 Staff Director; Tara Hupman, Chief Counsel; Patrick Kelly, 27 Staff Assistant; Sean Kelly, Press Secretary; Alex Khlopin, 28 Staff Assistant; Peter Kielty, General Counsel; Emily King, 29 Member Services Director; Drew Lingle, Professional Staff 30 Member; Mary Martin, Chief Counsel, Energy & Environment; 31 Kaitlyn Peterson, Clerk, Energy and Environment; Karli 32 Plucker, Director of Operations (shared staff); Carla Rafael, 33 Senior Staff Assistant; Dray Thorne, Director of Information 34 Technology; Waverly Gordon, Minority Deputy Staff Director 35 and General Counsel; Tiffany Guarascio, Minority Staff 36 Director; Anthony Gutierrez, Minority Professional Staff 37 Member; Caitlin Haberman, Minority Staff Director, 38 Environment, Manufacturing, and Critical Minerals; Emma 39 Roehrig, Minority Staff Assistant; Kylea Rogers, Minority 40 Policy Analyst; and Andrew Souvall, Minority Director of 41 Communications, Outreach, and Member Services. 42

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*Mr. Carter. The subcommittee will come to order. 44 Before I recognize myself for an opening statement I 45 46 want to take the opportunity to welcome a new member to our subcommittee. Representative John James from Michigan is 47 48 with us. We are proud to have you with us. 49 [Applause.] 50 *Mr. James. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is an honor to 51 be here. 52 *Mr. Carter. Good. Thank you. At this time the chair 53 recognizes himself for an opening statement. 54 Ladies and gentlemen, we are here today to discuss and 55 examine the implications of the Environmental Protection 56 Agency's recently-finalized Risk Management Program, RMP, 57 final rule under the Clean Air Act. Thank you to our 58 witnesses for appearing before the Environment Subcommittee 59 today. 60 The RMP rule will affect producers of critical materials 61 necessary for an innovative and prosperous American economy. 62 These include chemical manufacturers, petroleum refiners, 63

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drinking water and wastewater treatment professionals,

agricultural chemical distributors, and other sectors which
both make and provide a reliable supply of items necessary
for improving lives, enhancing safety, and providing an
affordable cost of living.

69 Unfortunately, this RMP rule appears to be another cog 70 in EPA's regulatory blitz, perpetuating inflation while 71 making it harder to produce materials and provide services 72 Americans rely on.

Managing risk is a necessary practice for doing business 73 in heavy industrial sectors. Owners and operators invest 74 millions of dollars into their facilities to ensure they 75 operate safely and at maximum efficiency with proper 76 controls. They have no interest, legally or financially, in 77 becoming the face of industrial malpractice. Despite this 78 inherent incentive, the Biden EPA, fueled by its ideological 79 allies' quest for command and control, has flipped RMP on its 80 head. In taking this step, the Biden EPA is disregarding the 81 purpose of this statute and pursuing a zero-risk program. 82 Owners and operators of industrial facilities already 83

operate under a general duty clause in both the Clean Air Act and under the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

These provisions work to prevent and mitigate the consequences of accidents, as well as to furnish a workplace free from recognized hazards which may cause or are likely to cause death or serious physical harm.

In addition, the Clean Air Act clearly states the administrator shall promulgate reasonable regulations and appropriate guidance to provide, to the greatest extent practicable, for the prevention and detection of accidental releases of regulated substances.

The recent RMP rule, though, goes far beyond what is 95 reasonable and practical for owners and operators of covered 96 facilities. It is not reasonable for facilities to be 97 required to disclose confidential information to anyone 98 living, working, or spending an undefined significant amount 99 of time within a six-mile radius of a covered facility. 100 In fact, it is a serious risk to our country's security. These 101 facilities handle hazardous materials, which can be exploited 102 by those seeking to harm Americans. 103

Nor is it reasonable or practicable for certain chemical facilities and refineries to, in place of better training, be forced to prioritize installing new physical controls or

107 measures on their facilities every five years or justify 108 while they will not do so. And being too expensive is not a 109 justification. Under this new RMP rule, owners and operators 110 of these facilities must prove their safety innocence to an 111 EPA inspector every five years, regardless of the inspector's 112 technical proficiency regarding plant operations.

Risk management is a serious issue. We have a duty to 113 ensure our constituents are protected from negligence and 114 environmental hazards. However, the pursuit of zero risk is 115 not reasonable, nor is it practicable. Risk surrounds us 116 117 every day. We drive cars to work, cross streets to get where we need to go, and take pharmaceuticals that may have 118 potential side effects. Yet we responsibly manage these 119 risks and reap the benefits of the opportunity they provide. 120 The same goes for industrial production. We must responsibly 121 manage risk to reap the benefits of the materials they 122 provide. 123

Today we will explore the RMP rule to learn how it can and _ how it could impair the ability of American businesses to compete in the global marketplace and provide items we all benefit from. We also will hear from witnesses who are

128	experts in the legal grounding of RMP, the field of risk
129	management, and the hurdles businesses face when complying
130	with burdensome regulations.
131	Thank you, and I look forward to this hearing.
132	[The prepared statement of Mr. Carter follows:]
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134	*********COMMITTEE INSERT********
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*Mr. Carter. I now recognize the gentleman from New
York, Representative Tonko, for five minutes for an opening
statement.

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

I appreciate that the 12,000 facilities covered by EPA's 140 Risk Management Program make considerable contributions to 141 our national economy, as well as the local economies of the 142 communities that host these individual sites. But I also 143 know that millions of Americans work at and live near these 144 facilities, and they deserve to be able to go to work and 145 live their lives with an adequate expectation of safety. 146 That is why EPA's program is so important. 147

We know that chemical fires, explosions, and releases 148 can have serious consequences. Since its enactment in 1990, 149 EPA's risk management program has required chemical 150 facilities to implement hazard assessments, prevention 151 programs, and emergency response plans, and the program has 152 been successful. There has been a decline in incidents. 153 But we should not forget that the rare events that still 154 occur can have major impacts. We were reminded of this just 155 over a year ago in former Chair Johnson's district after the 156

157 East Palestine train derailment. And while that event certainly was not covered by EPA's Risk Management Program, 158 159 it is a stark reminder that chemical accidents can be incredibly dangerous and destructive. That is why we need to 160 remain vigilant and remember the important role EPA plays 161 regarding safeguarding the lives, health, and safety of the 162 people working in, living near, and responding to incidents 163 164 at our nation's chemical facilities.

In March of this year EPA finalized a long-overdue rule 165 to strengthen the program's requirements. The Safer 166 Communities by Chemical Accident Prevention Rule makes 167 several important improvements to the program, and I am proud 168 to support it. It requires assessments of threats posed by 169 natural hazards such as floods and hurricanes and wildfires, 170 which can result in damage to a facility and loss of power. 171 As we saw during the aftermath of Hurricane Harvey in Texas, 172 extreme weather can pose a serious threat. And when our 173 understanding of new and emerging threats evolves, it makes 174 perfect sense to update our practices in response. 175

We have no problem doing this for cybersecurity. Why should natural threats be any different? Greater

178 consideration for our changing climate and natural hazards 179 will result in more accurate risk assessments, making 180 facilities more resilient and providing greater protection to 181 workers and surrounding communities.

182 The new rule also enhances coordination with first 183 responders, allows for greater public information sharing, 184 and requires the assessment and adoption of safer 185 technologies at certain high-risk facilities. This program 186 will continue to ensure that workers receive proper training, 187 and critical information is provided to the first responders 188 responsible for responding to an emergency.

I know today we will hear from opponents of the rule who 189 may suggest that EPA and the rule's supporters are somehow 190 out to get chemical companies and oil refineries. I believe 191 the exact opposite is true. The success of these businesses 192 depends on them having a social license to operate, which 193 means, first and foremost, they are good employers with safe 194 working conditions and they are good neighbors to the people 195 that live nearby. When companies begin to cut corners and 196 cease to take the risks posed by their operations seriously, 197 that is when catastrophes can happen. 198

199	EPA plays a critical role in preventing these
200	catastrophes before they occur, and ensuring people are
201	prepared for the worst-case scenario. Luckily, today we will
202	hear from a witness who has firsthand experience being
203	trained to work at an RMP facility.
204	Mr. Savage, thank you for being here on behalf of the
205	thousands of United Steelworkers members that make many of
206	these facilities operate efficiently and safely. I look
207	forward to hearing from someone tasked with representing the
208	people that will benefit most from the protections provided
209	in this EPA new rule.
210	
211	[The prepared statement of Mr. Tonko follows:]
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213	*********COMMITTEE INSERT********
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215 *Mr. Tonko. With that, I thank you, Mr. Chair, and yield back. 216 217 *Mr. Carter. The gentleman yields. I now recognize the chair of the full committee, Chair McMorris Rodgers, for five 218 minutes for an opening statement. 219 *The Chair. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Good morning 220 221 everyone. The United States has long led the world in innovation 222 and entrepreneurship, while continuing to maintain the 223 highest environmental and labor standards in the world. 224 This leadership has not been the result of top-down government-225 knows-best; it has been the result of free market principles 226 and an entrepreneurial spirit that is uniquely American. Our 227 energy resources have enabled America to reduce emissions 228 more than any other nation. This is the legacy we should be 229 proud of and build off. 230 Energy and Commerce Republicans have been working hard 231 232 to do just that by advancing policies that protect and expand American leadership for generations to come. The Biden 233 Administration, on the other hand, has been advancing 234 policies that threaten this legacy. These actions are 235

236 putting America on a dangerous path. They are driving up 237 inflation, killing manufacturing, and handing control of our 238 future to China.

The EPA has been the center of this agenda. At a time when more than half the country is at an elevated risk of forced blackouts, the EPA has been finalizing new power plant rules that will shut down the types of electric generation needed to keep the lights on. Policies like their new PM 2.5 standards will jeopardize manufacturing and jobs across the country.

There are 100 more examples of harmful policies and 246 regulations like these coming out of Biden's EPA. When taken 247 together, these efforts raise prices for Americans and open 248 the door for China to replace American production and further 249 pollute the environment. Today the subcommittee will explore 250 yet another of these harmful regulations, the EPA rule that 251 will massively expand Risk Management Plan, RMP, program 252 requirements. 253

The truth is everyone in this room wants American factories that operate responsibly and ensure communities across the country are safe. We also want those same

257 communities to thrive, and for people to have access to good, reliable jobs. Under the RMP rules we have seen a 258 259 significant decrease in accidents over the past two decades. EPA's own data suggests that there was a 70 percent reduction 260 in annual reported incidences between 2004 and 2020, and 97 261 percent of RMP-regulated facilities reported no accidents at 262 all between 2016 and 2020. But under this new RMP rule from 263 264 the Biden EPA, it will force American manufacturers out of business or force them to move their operations overseas. 265

If the rule itself wasn't bad enough, President Biden's EPA limited the comment period, prevented the public and businesses impacted from being able to weigh in. So today we are going to pull the curtain back and learn more about the risk of this new rule.

The Clean Air Act requires RMP rules to be reasonable. And as we will discuss today, the EPA's new rule fails to meet that simple requirement. Instead, this rule will again raise gas prices for people across the country, which have already increased an average of \$0.57 this year, \$1.25 since President Biden took office, and in my state of Washington, they are even higher. This new rule will only add to the

pain Americans are already feeling at the pump, especially as 278 we head into the peak summer travel season. 279 280 The cost of essential goods and services will also rise a result of the changes to RMP. It will harm refineries, who 281 will be forced to pay hundreds of millions of dollars to 282 comply. These impacted refineries account for 40 percent of 283 existing and operating U.S. refining capacity. Water 284 utilities, manufacturers, agricultural retailers, pulp and 285 paper products, cold storage warehouses all could be forced 286 to spend significant amounts of money to comply or face 287 288 shutdown.

Instead of undermining American economic success, let's work together to build on our remarkable legacy by embracing America's tradition of balancing economic and environmental leadership which helps lower costs for Americans, create jobs, and will prevent us from becoming even more reliant on China.

Thank you to our witnesses for being here today. I look forward to the discussion.

297 [The prepared statement of The Chair follows:] 298

299 ********COMMITTEE INSERT********

301 *The Chair. I yield back.

*Mr. Carter. The gentlelady yields. The chair now recognizes the ranking member of the full committee, the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Pallone, for five minutes for an opening statement.

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

Today we are examining the Environmental Protection 307 Agency's rule to protect America's first responders, our 308 workers, and our frontline communities from the harms of 309 devastating chemical accidents. With its Safer Communities 310 by Chemical Accident Prevention Rule, the Biden EPA is taking 311 action to ensure high-risk chemical facilities are prepared 312 to prevent disasters and mitigate the harm when accidents do 313 314 occur.

Nearly 180 million Americans live, work, and go to school in harm's way of a worst-case scenario chemical disaster from these facilities, including one in every three school children. Americans should not have to live in fear of a chemical explosion devastating their community. But recent examples show that we have to be prepared: just two years ago, a refinery in Oregon, Ohio had an accident release

of flammable chemicals that started a fire killing two workers; a fire and explosion at a chemical manufacturing facility in Crosby, Texas in 2019 caused 1 fatality and injured 28 other workers, and anyone within one mile of the facility was ordered to shelter in place.

327 So these protections are necessary and long overdue. In 328 fact, many of the requirements of the rule are already 329 considered industry best practices, like assessing safer 330 technology alternatives and preparing for natural disasters.

The Safer Communities Rule would provide more 331 information to communities, first responders, and workers to 332 ensure they can adequately plan for a chemical incident. For 333 far too long communities have been forced to jump through 334 bureaucratic hoops to get basic information about the 335 critical facilities in their own backyards, and with this new 336 rule they will now have access to that basic information on 337 EPA's website, ensuring they can plan and make safety 338 decisions that best suit their household. And this structure 339 simultaneously protects the security of the facility, while 340 giving communities enough information to make the best 341 decisions in moments of crisis. 342

343 Now, the rule also empowers workers at facilities to act to protect the safety of themselves, the facilities, and the 344 345 surrounding communities, and that is important. It is a recognition by EPA that workers are the first line of defense 346 when an incident occurs. The rule gives workers the power to 347 issue a stop work order, and it gives them a seat at the 348 table as processes are developed. And as we will hear today 349 350 from a 20-year veteran of a Risk Management Program, RMP, facility, United Steelworkers are some of the most 351 knowledgeable folks at a facility, and can be a critical 352 resource for protecting overall safety. 353

Finally, EPA's strengthened RMP protections come as climate change and extreme weather worsen and present new dangers for chemical facilities and the people who work and live near them. This rule finally requires facilities to prepare for these new risks and factor the climate crisis into their safety plans.

The requirements of the Safer Communities Rule have been have actually not even gone into effect, and yet committee Republicans are already holding a hearing to attack it. Now, it is just unfortunate, but not unexpected from this

Republican majority which repeatedly puts polluters over people. And I expect today we are going to hear _ we already have _ that we simply can't have safety at and around highrisk chemical facilities without jeopardizing jobs and economic growth. And that is just a false narrative, and I reject it.

The history of environmental protections is proof that strong safeguards and economic growth go hand in hand. EPA has shown that with targeted investments. Agency actions routinely spur greater innovation, which grows our economy, strengthens the middle class, and makes us more competitive while also protecting public health and safety. And this is not this is no different.

Our chemical facilities should be safe, they should be 377 climate resilient and innovative to make sure they are 378 prepared to tackle the challenges of our growing economy for 379 many years to come. So I am dismayed, but not surprised that 380 Republicans want to let polluters off the hook for 381 requirements to make chemical facilities safer. Their 382 unfounded arguments against EPA strengthening the chemical 383 disaster rule endangers the health and safety of workers and 384

385	surrounding communities, and the first responders that,
386	unfortunately, must rush into a facility when an incident
387	occurs.
388	So EPA took a very measured and thoughtful approach on
389	this rule, and I look forward to working with them as it is
390	implemented.
391	[The prepared statement of Mr. Pallone follows:]
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395	*Mr. Pallone. And with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield
396	back.
397	*Mr. Carter. The gentleman yields back.
398	Our witnesses for today are, first of all, the Honorable
399	Gentner Drummond, the attorney general for the State of
400	Oklahoma.
401	Mr. Drummond, thank you for being here.
402	Mr. Jatin Shah, senior principal consultant with
403	BakerRisk.
404	Mr. Richard Erstad, vice president and general counsel
405	of Hawkins, Inc.
406	And Mr. Jim Savage, legislative representative for the
407	United Steelworkers International Union.
408	Thank all of you for being here. We look forward to
409	hearing you.
410	At this time I will recognize Mr. Drummond for your
411	opening statement of five minutes.
412	

413	STATEMENT OF GENTNER DRUMMOND, ATTORNEY GENERAL, STATE OF
414	OKLAHOMA; JATIN SHAH, SENIOR PRINCIPAL CONSULTANT, BAKERRISK;
415	RICHARD ERSTAD, VICE PRESIDENT AND GENERAL COUNSEL, HAWKINS,
416	INC. ON BEHALF OF THE ALLIANCE OF CHEMICAL DISTRIBUTORS; AND
417	JAMES "JIM' ` SAVAGE, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, UNITED
418	STEELWORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
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420	STATEMENT OF GENTNER DRUMMOND
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422	*Mr. Drummond. Chairman Carter, Ranking Member Tonko,
423	Chairman Rodgers, and Ranking Member Pallone, members of the
424	committee, thank you for the kind invitation to be here today
425	to address this very important topic of the Environmental
426	Protection Agency's recent rule submission relating to risk
427	management programs.
428	As Oklahoma's attorney general, I often find myself in
429	the position of challenging rules adopted by Federal
430	agencies. During my 16 months in office I have filed
431	numerous actions against Federal agencies. But one that I
432	have sued more than others is the Environmental Protection
433	Agency. Unfortunately, EPA consistently promotes policies

and adopts rules that are bad for business, harmful to 434 consumers, and outright hostile to America's oil and gas 435 436 industry. The rule under review today is no exception. Adding to the regulatory burden of any private 437 enterprise without providing sufficient corresponding benefit 438 is a recipe for economic drag. The final RMP rule is a new 439 burden that potentially applies to a wide range of businesses 440 and facilities in my state and across the country. 441 The obvious and most concerning entities are petroleum refineries 442 and chemical manufacturers, but the list does not stop there: 443 chemical and petroleum wholesalers, midstream gas plants, 444 agricultural chemical distributors, food manufacturers, and 445 packing plants, and a wide range of other businesses that use 446 substances covered by the new rule. 447

As one who spent my career in private sector building businesses and growing employees, I can tell you that there are _ is a cost to complying with any government regulation. Even regulations that policymakers and bureaucrats may believe has only a minor impact are, in fact, costly to businesses. The new RMP rule is far from minor. EPA estimates that it will cost in excess of \$250 million

455 annually to implement. While some may debate the actual 456 amount of the cost, there is no debate over who ends up 457 paying for this cost: the American consumer.

As one example of how the new rule will likely result in 458 higher consumer costs, I point out our petroleum refineries. 459 Most refineries use hydrofluoric acid to produce higher 460 octane gasoline. These refiners will be subject to the most 461 stringent requirements of the rule. As any business owner 462 can tell you, compliance costs ultimately get passed to the 463 consumer. American drivers ultimately will pay more to fill 464 465 up their tank.

Because the new rule is so far reaching, it will impact 466 Americans of all socioeconomic classes. For instance, using 467 chlorine to disinfect drinking water is a common practice in 468 water treatment facilities. Under the new rule, the chlorine 469 producer and distributor as well as the water treatment 470 facility are subject to the new and costly requirements. 471 Complying with these requirements will generate costs for all 472 involved to Americans who drink water. There would have to 473 be a very substantial benefit to justify these costs, but, 474 unfortunately, the new rule provides none. It is the 475

476 proverbial solution in search of a problem.

By EPA's own data, it estimates that 97 percent of RPMregulated facilities reported no incidents in the most recent reporting period. Further, EPA data shows that RMP incidents across all industries have declined by more than 80 percent between 1996 and 2022.

Finally, I will address the concern that relates 482 directly to my role as chief law officer of Oklahoma. 483 The new rule compromises the security of regulated facilities by 484 forcing disclosure of sensitive information. The aspect of 485 the new rule that is particularly concerning to those of us 486 in law enforcement is that we have the duty to protect the 487 public. The final rule simply hands over sensitive 488 information to nearly anyone who asks. 489

Keep in mind, these facilities often use and store very dangerous chemicals that are identified by the Department of Homeland Security as posing terrorism-related risk. This is the kind of information our Federal Government should guard closely, not disseminate widely. To better protect the public, this type of information should remain in the hands of those who have the skill and training to protect it and

497	share it with their local emergency planning committees.
498	Chairman Carter, Chairwoman Rodgers, and members of the
499	committee, I believe the new RMP rule is bad for business,
500	harmful to consumers, and it poses a security risk to
501	communities across this country. I will do everything I can
502	to prevent this damaging new rule from taking effect, and I
503	hope you will join me. Thank you.
504	[The prepared statement of Mr. Drummond follows:]
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506	********COMMITTEE INSERT********

508 *Mr. Carter. The gentleman yields. The chair now recognizes Mr. Shah for five minutes for his opening 509 510 statement. STATEMENT OF JATIN SHAH 511 512 Thank you, Chairman Carter, Ranking Member 513 *Mr. Shah. Tonko, Chairwoman McMorris Rodgers, Ranking Member Pallone, 514 and members of the subcommittee for inviting me to speak 515 today. My name is Jatin Shah, and I am a senior principal 516

517 with BakerRisk.

For 35 years I have provided risk management services to 518 facilities and transportation workers, including those in the 519 oil, gas, and chemical industries. As a risk consultant I am 520 a neutral external party helping clients identify hazards, 521 evaluate risk, and comply with existing regulations such as 522 EPA's Risk Management Program. In my testimony I highlight a 523 number of concerns with recent changes to the RMP program. 524 Just like everyone present in this room, I strongly 525 believe in the safety of workers, surrounding communities, 526 and the environment should be a top priority. These 527

528 regulated facilities are safer than ever because they have

529 collaborated with agencies like the EPA, OSHA to harmonize 530 regulations with industry-led standards through a public-531 private partnership.

I understand and appreciate that the rule's intent was to improve the RMP program. However, I am concerned about how the new rule has inadvertently undermined this cooperation by creating regulatory confusion, imposing unnecessary requirements and costs, while potentially making little to no improvement in safety.

This rule fundamentally alters how facilities consider 538 safety measures. The new rule requires multiple Safer 539 Technology Alternatives Analysis, or STAAs. The STAA is 540 typically conducted by facilities early in the design stage 541 of the capital project cycle, as this is the most appropriate 542 and practical opportunity to evaluate alternate designs. 543 Repeated STAAs are expensive studies that take time and 544 resources from additional team of engineers and external risk 545 analysts. It is costly and ineffective to conduct this every 546 five years. The result is a very cumbersome burden that is 547 likely to only have marginal impact on risk at best, or at 548 worst it may trade existing risks for unknown risks. 549

550 For certain chemical and refinery facilities this rule 551 assumes all facilities are unsafe by mandating a one-size-552 fits-all mitigation requirement while ignoring any existing 553 safety measures a facility may already have in place.

554 EPA's own data shows that these measures have worked 555 since the RMP's inception. Regulated facilities have reduced 556 incidents by more than 80 percent. Between 2016 and 2020, 97 557 percent of the facilities had 0 reportable incidents.

This implementation requirement also unfairly singles 558 out the 40 percent of the refining capacity that utilizes 559 hydrofluoric acid, or HF, to manufacture gasoline capable of 560 meeting our country's toughest environmental standards and 561 specifications. HF alkylation is a safe process because it 562 has numerous mitigation measures and is carefully managed and 563 audited by highly trained professionals. Facilities have 564 implemented innovative measures such as physical barriers, 565 isolation valves to further mitigate this risk. Since the 566 567 creation of an industry-led standard called API RP 751, there has not been a single major off-site HF-related injury. 568

569 Our team has done the math on how safe HF alkylation is 570 for the general public. The chance of sustaining a fatality

from the use of HF at U.S. refineries are 1 in 52,000,000.
That is 480,000 times less likely than dying in a car wreck,
370 times less likely than getting hit by a lightning and
dying.

575 This rule forces refineries to consider restructuring 576 entire systems to switch to a financially infeasible 577 alternative which would likely trade very low risks for 578 alternatives that may produce equal or greater risk.

Finally, the rule's ramifications may also impact the 579 long term. Safe facilities must submit a justification if 580 they don't implement an infeasible mitigation measure. Many 581 fear EPA will use these submissions to force a facility to 582 adopt a measure or an alternative technology that is so 583 expensive that they will have no option but to shut down. 584 These facilities are critical to U.S. economic and energy 585 security. They cannot operate under an untenable system 586 where they may face costs so great they must close. 587

588 While the agency intended this rule to improve the 589 program, it has inadvertently imposed unnecessary, costly, 590 and time-consuming analysis and requirements. I fear the 591 results of this unfair and unnecessary regulatory burden is

592	that some facilities may be forced to cease operations,
593	eliminating high-paying jobs.
594	Thank you, Chairman Carter, Ranking Member Tonko,
595	Chairwoman Rodgers, and Ranking Member Pallone, and members
596	of the committee for the opportunity to testify today. I am
597	happy to answer any questions you may have.
598	[The prepared statement of Mr. Shah follows:]
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600	********COMMITTEE INSERT********
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602 *Mr. Carter. Good, the gentleman yields. The chair now recognizes Mr. Erstad for five minutes for his opening 603 604 statement. STATEMENT OF RICHARD ERSTAD 605 606 *Mr. Erstad. Good morning, my name is Richard Erstad. 607 I am the vice president, general counsel, and secretary for 608 609 Hawkins, Inc. Hawkins is a specialty chemical and ingredients company 610 that formulates, distributes, blends, and manufactures water 611 treatment and industrial chemicals sold throughout the United 612 States. Hawkins operates in the districts of several members 613 of the subcommittee, and we serve water utility customers 614 that could provide clean water to millions of Americans 615 across the country, including many of your constituents. 616 Hawkins is also a member of the Alliance for Chemical 617 Distribution, or ACD. ACD represents over 440 member 618 companies with locations in every state. ACD members provide 619 essential products to over 750,000 end users across the 620 country. 621 Now, safety is of critical importance to the chemical

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industry. We care deeply about the safety of our employees,
customers, and communities. But ACD members are alarmed by
EPA's recent changes to its Risk Management Program, or RMP.
ACD members have already made significant investments to
develop systems, train employees, and invest in
infrastructure to meet existing RMP requirements.

These existing RMP requirements have worked as designed 629 to greatly improve safety. In fact, from 2016 to 2020, 97 630 percent of RMP-regulated facilities did not have a single 631 reportable incident. There is no evidence of any need to 632 change this established program, and the finalized revisions 633 to the rules require a massive undertaking for facilities, 634 even when they have never had an incident and diligently 635 followed all regulations. These obligations include a 636 requirement that some facilities undergo a safer technology 637 alternatives analysis. This requirement is flawed. 638

So first, when deciding whether alternatives are practical, facilities are not permitted to take into account costs or impacts to profitability, and must be done even if the facility has had no incidents. Many of these facilities produce critical chemicals used for things like water

644 purification, meaning this requirement can ultimately force facilities to decide between operating at a loss or 645 646 shuttering, a process necessary for public health. Also, because the safer technology alternatives are 647 often newer technologies or strategies, they can be a 648 departure from Recognized and Generally Accepted Good 649 Engineering Practices, or RAGAGEP. This is concerning, as 650 facilities will be required to adopt newer alternatives in 651 place of RAGAGEP processes that have been established and 652 verified. 653 Another alarming aspect is the extensive new 654

information-sharing requirements. The regulation now 655 requires facilities to supply individuals who live, work, or 656 spend significant time within a six-mile radius with 657 information related to the facility's chemicals and 658 processes. In conjunction with this requirement, the EPA has 659 created a risk management public data tool, a public website 660 661 that displays sensitive information on all RMP facilities to anyone around the world with computer access. This creates 662 immense security concerns for chemical facilities, as this 663 information is sensitive, and puts them at risk for being 664

665 targeted by malicious actors, especially in the light of the expiration of CFATS. 666 667 But the website does not fulfill the requirements of the RMP rule. For example, in some cases facilities must also 668 supply information in at least two other commonly-spoken 669 languages. One Hawkins facility is located in Blackhawk, 670 South Dakota, where there is a large Lakota population. 671 Translating the nuanced technical jargon of these documents 672 into Lakota would be a difficult and costly endeavor. 673 Lastly, the EPA establishes broad, third-party audit 674 requirements in this rule, applying it to many more 675 facilities, greatly restricting who can serve as auditors. 676 These auditors must be external and have certain credentials, 677 adding additional burdens on facilities because it can be 678 difficult to find technically qualified individuals who 679 understand the complexity of the processes. The EPA does not 680 consider that process-specific expertise is often critical. 681 682 The credentials required in this rule are broad, allowing auditors to evaluate systems they may not have any experience 683 with. 684

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It is also important to consider that these changes come

as the EPA is implementing other regulations, such as a Clean 686 Water Act Hazardous Substance Facility Response Plans, 687 688 several new regulatory rules under the Toxic Substances Control Act, new air emissions reporting and control 689 measures. And this places a significant cumulative impact on 690 facilities, driving up costs and making it more difficult to 691 provide the necessary chemicals on which communities and 692 citizens across the country rely. 693

The new revisions to the RMP program are not necessary 694 and establish new, onerous burdens on facilities when the 695 vast majority do not have incidents and have extensive 696 procedures in place to prevent incidents from occurring. 697 Instead, the EPA should focus on enforcing the current 698 regulations, providing guidance to assist facilities, and 699 punishing bad actors who do not meet their regulatory 700 obligations. 701

I appreciate the opportunity to represent ACD's views, and I am happy to answer any questions. Thank you.

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705 [The prepared statement of Mr. Erstad follows:]
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707 ********COMMITTEE INSERT********

709 *Mr. Carter. The gentleman yields. The chair now recognizes Mr. Savage for five minutes for his opening 710 711 statement. STATEMENT OF JAMES "JIM' ' SAVAGE 712 713 Thank you, Chairman Carter, Ranking Member 714 *Mr. Savage. Tonko, members of the committee. Good morning, and thank you 715 716 for the opportunity to testify today. My name is Jim Savage, and I am a legislative 717 representative for the United Steelworkers International 718 Union. We are the largest industrial union in the United 719 States. We represent the majority of organized workers in 720 the petrochemical industry. I doubt there is another union 721 that represents more workers impacted by the risk management 722 program than USW. 723 Safety regulations are not written in ink on paper. 724

They are written in the blood of the workers who have been killed and maimed in preventable accidents on the job. My own background is in the refining industry. I worked in the South Philadelphia Energy Solutions refinery for 27 years. The saddest but most important part of testifying about this

730 issue is that we must discuss and learn from past disasters. On June 21, 2019 I was finishing up a 12-hour night 731 732 shift, looking forward to having the coming weekend off. At 4:00 a.m. an emergency response alert went out over the 733 radio. It was a report of a leak on our hydrofluoric acid 734 alkylation unit, HF. Any loss of primary containment in an 735 oil refinery has a potential for catastrophic consequences, 736 737 but none more than the HF acid. Within seconds, we felt the concussion of the first explosion. We ran to the door of the 738 blockhouse to see what we were dealing with, and when I 739 opened the door my entire field of vision was consumed by a 740 massive ball of fire. This was quickly followed by a second 741 explosion, and we immediately went to work securing our own 742 unit when about 15 minutes later the third massive explosion 743 happened. 744

We were certain there would be multiple fatalities. I gathered my crew and told them the unthinkable, that they should call their wives, because I knew if we had a major release of HF we were unlikely to survive. You can't outrun a vapor cloud. Some period of time passed before an announcement was made that, unbelievably but thankfully, all

751 the workers were accounted for.

Make no mistake about it. The immediate and heroic response by the operators on that unit saved our lives, and likely thousands of lives in the surrounding community. The fires raged for over a day before being classified as under control. Within days PES declared bankruptcy and announced that the refinery would be shut down.

758 I would refer you to my written testimony for some other 759 examples.

Recently EPA issued the Safer Communities by Chemical Accident Prevention Final Rule after more than a year-and-ahalf of stakeholder engagement and input. Everybody had an opportunity to have their say. Lasting and meaningful reform of the Risk Management Program has been a priority for our union for nearly two decades.

The critical importance of the rule in protecting workers and communities cannot be overstated. It plays a pivotal role in preventing chemical disasters.

Some elements of the rule that we support include
identification and prevention of hazards. One prevention
effort is the inclusion of stop work authority. Without this

772 provision, workers are faced with the choice of risking their life or their livelihood when confronted with dangerous work. 773 774 While many companies say their employees have the authority to stop performing unsafe work, the ability and authority to 775 shut down a process operating in unsafe conditions, as 776 opposed to stopping an unsafe job task, is often met with 777 fierce opposition and threats of being fired. I would refer 778 you again to my written testimony for some of my own personal 779 experience with stop work authority. 780

We also support the emergency preparedness and response provisions of the public transparency and accountability positions, and I expand on these also in my written testimony.

In conclusion, the Risk Management Program is not merely a bureaucratic requirement. It is a _ it is literally a lifeline for workers, families, and their communities. Safe facilities save jobs, safe facilities save lives, safe facilities save communities. In fact, USW believes that, while this rule is an improvement over what was existing, it still has plenty of room for more improvement.

792 Thank you for the opportunity to testify, and I look

793	forward to answering any questions you may have.
794	[The prepared statement of Mr. Savage follows:]
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796	*********COMMITTEE INSERT********
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*Mr. Carter. The gentleman yields. I thank all of you for your opening statements. We will now begin questioning, and I recognize myself for five minutes.

Mr. Drummond, in my opening statement I discussed how 801 the EPA's Risk Management Program's final rule exceeds 802 statutory authority and goes beyond what is considered what I 803 would consider to be reasonable and practical. Some would 804 argue that the heavy mandates and the use of vague terms in 805 the Federal regulations issued by this Administration, as 806 well as their enforcement, are designed to create a punishing 807 environment for disfavored industries, rather than even-808 handedly enforcing our laws. 809

810 Mr. Drummond, from what you have seen in Oklahoma, would 811 you agree or disagree with this statement, and why?

*Mr. Drummond. I would certainly agree with your
statement, Mr. Chairman.

It is hard enough for a business in any industry to comply with the clearest and simplest of government mandates. And I know that industry leaders subject to the rule will want to comply, and they will do everything that they can to comply with the current rules. However, the rule as proposed

819 is both vague and it is preventative in its terms. We will 820 see that certain businesses and industries are exposed to 821 enforcement action, even though they were made _ have made 822 every effort to comply.

Another problem I would point out is the vagueness, and that it is bound to increase costs. And those who wish to play by the rules inevitably will do more and spend more to comply. As I said previously, these costs ultimately will be passed on to consumers.

*Mr. Carter. Good. I am also concerned that these abuses of the statute are an attempt to co-opt RMP into a zero-risk program, something that it was not created to be. Mr. Shah, in your opinion, is a zero risk a feasible regulatory pursuit?

833 Microphone.

*Mr. Shah. Thank you, Congressman Carter.

Achieving zero risk is not a practical option from a regulatory perspective or from any perspective, because the only way you get to zero risk is by not performing the activity.

*Mr. Carter. Well, if we kind of expand upon that, why

can you explain the importance of consequence and 840 probability in properly assessing risk? 841 842 *Mr. Shah. Yes, so let me use the example of crossing the street. We all cross streets, and the consequence of 843 crossing a street is potentially getting hit by a vehicle and 844 The probability of that happening depends upon what 845 dying. where we cross that street and what is happening on that 846 847 street, right? So if I am crossing a residential street and I cross in 848 the middle of the street, I have a higher probability of 849 getting hit than if I cross at a crosswalk at the corner. 850 If I cross at a crosswalk that has a light that tells me when to 851 cross that crosswalk, to walk or do not walk, then my 852 probability of getting hit drops even further. If I build a 853 pedestrian bridge across that street to cross, my probability 854 of getting hit by a car drops to zero. 855 But my risk hasn't completely gone away. Even with the 856 pedestrian bridge, I have transferred that risk to something 857 else which is that pedestrian bridge could collapse and the 858 person driving underneath that bridge, if that collapses on 859

46

them, they could die from that accident. So I have not

861 eliminated risk to zero in that situation either. *Mr. Carter. And I have to agree with you. And I am 862 863 not trying to mix apples and oranges here. But I am a pharmacist, and I was a consultant pharmacist in a nursing 864 home. And one of the questions we always ask about 865 medications is would the benefit outweigh the risk. 866 And often the benefit does outweigh the risk. So I couldn't 867 agree with you more, and I appreciate that. 868 We all know, Mr. Erstad, that RMP rules must be 869 reasonable, and we all have a different definition of 870 reasonable, I understand that. But in practice, do you think 871 as a regulated entity, do you think the regulation is 872 reasonable? 873

*Mr. Erstad. I mean, I think, you know, from a business perspective, we look too at that cost benefit analysis. And obviously, we want to be in compliance, and safety is critical. We definitely want that.

But I think, in light of these rules, we have a hard time seeing the benefit that comes from them. And there is certainly a cost associated with them, and I think it would be helpful if we understood the true benefit coming out of

882 them. *Mr. Carter. Can you cite any in particular to give us 883 884 an example? *Mr. Erstad. Well, I think the you know, we have I 885 talked a little bit about this safer technological 886 alternatives analysis that we have to go through that you 887 know, we are already doing RAGAGEP, we are already doing what 888 we believe are industry standard practices, and that is what 889 we want to do. We don't want to add, I think as Mr. Shah 890 said, you know, additional risks that are not otherwise 891 892 anticipated. *Mr. Carter. Okay. Thank you all again for being here, 893 and I will now recognize the ranking member, Representative 894 Tonko, for five minutes of questioning. 895 *Mr. Tonko. Thank you, Mr. Chair. 896 Mr. Savage, I want to thank you again for being here. 897 You provide important insights as someone who worked at an 898 RMP facility for many years, and you lived through a pretty 899 harrowing experience. Can you share with members a little 900 more about what that was like? How was it to tell your 901 fellow coworkers, as you indicate, to call their loved ones 902

903 because there was a chance the worst could happen? *Mr. Savage. Thank you, Mr. Tonko. 904 905 I have worked I worked in the refinery for 27 years, and you don't work in a facility like this for 27 years 906 without running into some hairy situations now and then 907 throughout your career. But there is nothing that could ever 908 prepare you for what we experienced in Philadelphia at 4:00 909 910 a.m. on June 21 of 2019. It was equivalent of, like, a nuclear bomb, and it was about 300 or 400 yards from us. 911 We felt the heat. The concussion knocked us back. My coworker, 912 the color drained from his face and he was getting ready to 913 sort of pass out, and I grabbed him and sat him down, got him 914 some water. 915

But, you know, telling your coworkers I was the head 916 operator on the crew. Like, we had to secure our unit 917 because when one unit has a problem in a refinery there is 918 upstream and downstream effects. So we are running around, 919 trying to get that, and I was just I gathered everybody, I 920 thought we are just we are not going home this morning. 921 So, like, "Guys, might want to call your wife, 4:00 in the 922 morning, wake her up, tell her you love her because I don't 923

924 think we are getting out of here.' `

As it turned out, ironically, the force of the explosion 925 926 itself had consumed so much of the HF that was released that we were able to go home, thankfully. But it was it is a 927 life-changing experience. And over 1,000 direct jobs gone, 928 very good, well-paying jobs, family-sustaining jobs, another 929 18,000 indirect jobs impacted, tax base of the City of 930 Philadelphia impacted, small businesses that relied on our 931 refinery impacted. 932

933 So, you know, it just that is my answer.

*Mr. Tonko. Yes, well, I thank you for sharing that
because I can imagine it is most difficult.

I understand these jobs inherently have some risks, but those risks can be mitigated through a variety of methods, including having well-trained employees. That is why this program is so important. It helps ensure that employers are taking steps that make it more likely that people get to go home safely at the end of their shifts.

942 One of the ways this new rule helps protect and empower 943 workers is through its stop work authority so people can take 944 control if they see an incident about to occur. Mr. Savage,

945 can you explain the new stop work authority that EPA has given workers in the final RMP rule? 946 947 *Mr. Savage. Yes, thank you. As I said in my remarks, you know, I have had it has been our experience as a union, 948 every employer will say, "Our employees have the right to 949 stop unsafe work, ' ' but there is a difference in how that is 950 handled in the real world, whether it is actually stopping 951 just an unsafe job task like getting the proper sling to pull 952 a pump or something like that, and shutting down a process 953 that is operating in an unsafe condition. 954 I had a situation one time about 10 years ago. We had 955 heater piping that was leaking, and the portion of piping 956 that was leaking was under insulation so we couldn't 957 determine the severity of the leak. I was the head operator 958 on the unit, as I said, and I informed the operations 959 manager, "We are going to have to pull the feed on this unit 960 and shut it down so we can figure out what we are dealing 961

962 with here so we don't have a catastrophic release.' '

And immediately my job was threatened. He looked me right in the eye, and he said, "You do that, you know what happens next.'`

And it took over an hour of pretty spirited debate and continuous threats to my job before eventually a responsible engineer stepped up to the plate and said, "I think we need to pull the feed and shut this unit down.'`

But I was a local union president of a local union with a pretty well-earned reputation for aggressive health and safety advocacy, and I was under a tremendous amount of pressure during that situation. Imagine what somebody in a facility without the protections of a collective bargaining agreement would go through. I doubt that they would be able to stand their ground.

*Mr. Tonko. Thank you. Well, workers are on the front lines at chemical facilities and are the experts in how these facilities operate. So reducing risk at these facilities should mean empowering workers to make those safety decisions without any fear of retaliation. So I appreciate your comments here this morning.

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

984 *Mr. Carter. The gentleman yields. The chair now 985 recognizes the gentleman from Texas, Mr. Weber, for five 986 minutes of questioning.

987 *Mr. Weber. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Attorney General, I am going to come to you. I am the 988 989 upper Gulf Coast of Texas, 14th district, 7 ports, more than any other Member of Congress. We produce 65 percent of the 990 nation's jet fuel, 80 percent of the nation's military-grade 991 fuel. So we are huge, huge, huge on energy. LNG plants, two 992 already on the ground, one up and running, and one over in 993 994 that other foreign country, Cheniere Energy over in Louisiana. 995

So I assume you have a law degree. Okay, good. Good to know. We understand that the EPA has been seeking waivers from the Department of Justice to exceed the cap in civil penalties demanded for violations. I want to make a couple of points, and then I have a question for you.

In your opinion, doesn't that circumvent _ shouldn't Congress have the purview and have some say-so in this, that the EPA should not just be allowed to run amok in this situation?

Mr. Drummond. Certainly. Article I vests this body the ability to write laws and amend laws, and Article II provides the executive branch to implement those laws. In

this instance, the EPA is pretending to be the Congress. 1008 *Mr. Weber. And I appreciate that insight. 1009 So normally, this waiver only happens for the largest 1010 and most capitalized firms, but the EPA is now seeking it to 1011 go after medium and small-sized businesses. Are you have 1012 you experienced I know you said you have been there 18 1013 months, but I am sure you grew up and you are paying 1014 attention. Are you aware if such a waiver has been sought 1015 from medium or small-sized operators in Oklahoma? 1016 *Mr. Drummond. As of this date, none in Oklahoma yet. 1017 1018 *Mr. Weber. None yet? Keep your fingers crossed. *Mr. Drummond. Right. We anticipate it. 1019 *Mr. Weber. Yes, I hear you. So considering this 1020 Administration and its political allies are trying their best 1021 to eliminate fossil fuels and the Risk Management Program 1022 known as RMP and the oil and gas sector are two targets of 1023 that is there anything you all think there in Oklahoma you 1024 can do to help these entities from over-the-top, non-1025 commensurate prosecution by the EPA again, which exceeds 1026 Congress which is trying to usurp Congress's authority? 1027 Anything you all can do for that? 1028

1029 *Mr. Drummond. You know, the oil and gas industry will 1030 affect everyone in this room and those that can hear this 1031 testimony for the rest of our lives. It is not going to be 1032 replaced in any short order. And it is a shame that this 1033 industry is a target.

As I mentioned in my testimony, my office has joined several comment letters and lawsuits about rules targeting the oil and gas industry, and I think that it is important to have fair rules and consistent enforcement. Anything beyond that is abusive, and I will do everything in my power to push back.

*Mr. Weber. Well, thank you for that. I spent four years in the Texas house before I got demoted to Congress, and I was on the environmental reg committee. And when an explosion happened in one of the plants, one of our friends across the aisle, a Democrat, said, "Well, that is _ they just don't care about safety. They don't care about their employees.''

1047And I said to her, I said, "Listen, that is not true.1048Those people work together. Those people'`_

1049 She said, "All they do is care about the bottom line.' `

1050 And I said, "Think about what you are saying,' ' because when they have an explosion like that and now you are going 1051 1052 to bring in OSHA, you are going to bring in the authorities, you are going to maybe penalties and fines, everything 1053 stops. These people live and work in that area. Their kids 1054 go to school together. They play tee ball together. 1055 They want a safe environment. They do everything they can to make 1056 this environment safe. 1057

I am concerned about the sensitive information about these facilities that anybody can get. Are you following what we call the debacle of the Biden Administration?

Because the open border is _ and we know that there are terrorists in this country from four nations that hate us, and I can go down the list, Syria, Iraq, Iran, all the way down the list, Yemen. Are we _ should we be concerned about the risk that some of those would get this information and use it to their advantage against us?

Mr. Drummond. Certainly. As the chief law officer of Oklahoma, my greatest concern about this rule is that it exposes this sensitive information to, clearly, the residents and the businesses, but also tourists and terrorists. There

1071 is just _ the rule is too vague to protect sensitive 1072 information, and it exposes us to terrorist activity in our 1073 homeland.

*Mr. Weber. And, counselor, you are making the point 1074 that we, Congress, should be having this debate, this 1075 discussion, how we view this, how we want to proceed, what 1076 1077 safequards may be in place, what risks there are, not some bureaucrat division and I shouldn't say this, but by 1078 people who, many of them, have never really had a job in the 1079 real world. They grew up maybe going to colleges and 1080 1081 thinking they want to protect Mother Earth, which I call the new religion. 1082

1083 And so you all are going to be on top of that in 1084 Oklahoma. I am glad to hear that.

And Mr. Shah, with about 20 seconds, you stated that you in your testimony _ that the facilities are already implementing extensive analyses. Give us examples in about 1088 10 seconds.

1089 *Mr. Shah. These facilities are already doing audits, 1090 risk management analysis, risk assessments, and mitigation 1091 systems. They all have those in place to comply with the

1092 existing requirements of RMP and PSM.

1093 *Mr. Weber. And it is your experience they do that to

protect people and their bottom line concurrently.

1095 *Mr. Shah. Yes.

1096 *Mr. Weber. Absolutely.

1097 Thank you, Mr. Chair, I yield back.

1098*Mr. Carter. The gentleman yields back. The chair now1099recognizes the ranking member of the full committee, Mr.

1100 Pallone from New Jersey, for five minutes of questioning.

1101 *Mr. Pallone. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1102 Facilities covered by EPA's Risk Management Program use or store large amounts of highly toxic or flammable chemicals 1103 that pose a risk to Americans. And the purpose of the 1104 program is to reduce chemical risk in the event of an 1105 accidental release, especially for those living and working 1106 in and around chemical facilities. Unfortunately, the 1107 threats to these facilities are increasing as climate change 1108 makes extreme weather more common. And RMP facilities have 1109 been impacted by hurricanes, floods, and wildfires, putting 1110 us all at risk. 1111

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So to that end, the Safer Communities by Chemical

Accident Prevention Rule added a new requirement for facilities to consider and plan for extreme weather and climate change in the Risk Management Plans. And the recent flooding across Texas, a state with a high concentration of RMP facilities, drives home the importance of this new requirement.

1119 So I wanted to ask Mr. Savage, if you will, how has 1120 extreme weather increased the vulnerability of chemical 1121 facilities, if you will?

1122 *Mr. Savage. Thank you for your question.

I think that the main thing that I have observed in the Philadelphia refinery even was the lack of infrastructure for stormwater removal and things like that. And the more extreme and severe weather events that we would have, the refinery would flood.

I would refer you back to Hurricane Harvey, as was mentioned, the Arkema facility in Crosby, Texas, which was inundated and, you know, was a complete disaster. So I think that it needs to be recognized, it needs to be taken into account, and facilities need to prepare as best as they can to deal with it.

Mr. Pallone. So you would agree that requiring chemical facilities to assess the risks posed by climate change is important? You agree with that? Mr. Savage. I would say if they are not assessing that risk, they are not responsible enough to operate the facility.

Mr. Pallone. Well thank you. So I agree. And as we experience 100, 200-year flood events more often, facilities need to plan for worst-case scenarios to make sure their infrastructure can hold up.

But another topic I want to discuss is the DHS's 1144 companion program to EPA's Risk Management Program, and that 1145 is the Chemical Facilities Anti-Terrorism Standards, also 1146 known as CFATS, within the Department of Homeland Security. 1147 And while the House was able to pass a bipartisan extension 1148 last year, unfortunately the program lapsed in July. And for 1149 over nine months Senate Republicans have held up a clean 1150 reauthorization of the Department of Homeland Security 1151 oversight program. So right now EPA is the only agency 1152 urging chemical facilities to engage in safer practices and 1153 conducting any oversight. 1154

1155 So let me go back to Mr. Savage. I know you are a 20-1156 year veteran of the chemical facility. How important is 1157 EPA's RMP program to managing risk at large-scale chemical 1158 facilities, particularly in the absence of a program like 1159 CFATS?

Thank you. It is important. And all the 1160 *Mr. Savage. other regulations that are mentioned, you know, OSHA process, 1161 safety management, whatever, you know, when I got hired into 1162 the oil refinery in the early 1990s, OSHA had just 1163 implemented the process safety management standard, and 1164 1165 industry people were, like, apoplectic that this was going to shut down facilities and, you know, the compliance costs were 1166 going to be not worth the benefit, and all that. 1167

I don't think you could find any serious person today that would say that we shouldn't have the process safety management standard, you know. Like, this is kind of the same old arguments that get recycled every time a requirement to run facility safe is proposed.

*Mr. Pallone. I mean, just _ you can just say yes or no, if you want. I mean, because we don't have the CFATS program, does that mean that the EPA's RMP program is even

1176	more important?
1177	*Mr. Savage. Yes, I agree, and the Steelworkers
1178	supported a reauthorization of CFATS.
1179	*Mr. Pallone. All right. Thank you so much.
1180	I yield back.
1181	*Mr. Carter. The gentleman yields back. The chair now
1182	recognizes the vice chair of the committee from Pennsylvania,
1183	Dr. Joyce, for five minutes of questioning.
1184	*Mr. Joyce. First, I want to thank Chairman Carter for
1185	holding today's important hearing on the new proposed role
1186	for EPA's Risk Management Program.
1187	It should go without saying that safety is a bipartisan
1188	issue. Members on both sides of the aisle in this committee
1189	believe in protecting workers and communities from dangerous
1190	chemical exposures. That is why we need to start by
1191	recognizing how successful our industries have become at
1192	minimizing the risk of accidental releases.
1193	American industry is the safest and the cleanest in the
1194	world, and it continues to invest in new technology to make
1195	things better each and every year. Despite the good
1196	intentions of this latest EPA action, I have serious concerns
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about the effects that this rule would have on our economy and on our constituents.

First, we cannot afford to cripple our refining industry. Hydrofluoric alkylation refining units make up half of America's refining capacity. Forcing them offline would quickly lead to higher prices at the pump, which Americans can't afford.

Second, the overbearing regulatory burden that this puts on chemical manufacturers will stifle an industry that is critical for the United States to compete in 21st century manufacturing.

Lastly, I am worried that this rule makes safety the enemy of security. While there are times when it is important to publish what chemicals that facilities manufacture and store, the reporting requirements in this rule make it far too easy for bad actors to have access to the sensitive information they so desperately want.

1214 There is a reason Congress created the Chemical Facility 1215 Anti-Terrorism Standards Program, CFATS, in DHS, and EPA's 1216 Risk Management Program is no replacement for the CFATS 1217 program.

My first question is for you, Attorney General Drummond. As you and Chair Rodgers mentioned earlier, your state has specific concerns about chemicals, given its history. As your state's top law enforcement officer, does this make your job more difficult?

Mr. Drummond. It certainly will. We have identified Chinese syndicated crime organizations inside the state, Sinaloan cartels. It would take very little effort for these organized bad actors to have access to chemicals that would then create terroristic threats on our homeland, and we can't stand for that.

*Mr. Joyce. Mr. Erstad, your members supply everyone from pharmaceutical companies to farmers. In this role, how has the EPA increased the vulnerability of your members? And can you give specific examples?

¹²³³ *Mr. Erstad. Well, I cited one of the ones that ¹²³⁴ concerned us, the industry, a lot was when we saw the website ¹²³⁵ that now gives the GPS coordinates of every facility in the ¹²³⁶ country that has chlorine gas, for example. And that is ¹²³⁷ something that is accessible to anybody around the world. ¹²³⁸ You know, I think that there is a whole the whole

people living, working, or spending significant time within six miles issue is a real nebulous issue for us to understand, because how are we supposed to prove that? I have seen things where the EPA suggested that we are supposed to look at pay stubs or something else to see if they are actually legitimate questions.

You know, after 9/11 we took a different approach with 1245 this information, and that was something that was available 1246 in the reading room here. It is available to the public. 1247 You would have to show your ID, but it was controlled. And I 1248 1249 think that the concern from the industry perspective is this information, now being more widely disseminated, the industry 1250 is going to have to decide who should have access to this and 1251 1252 who shouldn't. We are going to have to be the ones deciding this. And if we decide wrong, we are going to get in trouble 1253 for doing that. So we struggle with that portion of the 1254 rule. 1255

*Mr. Joyce. Mr. Erstad, based on witness testimony and information regulated stakeholders have sent to our committee, it seems clear to me that there are serious concerns about the increased costs, the compliance

1260 uncertainty, the lack of auditors, and the major paperwork requirements. What redundancies with other requirements were 1261 1262 created with this new RMP rule? *Mr. Erstad. Well, I think that there are a lot of 1263 things that are already covered. I think the RMP rules, even 1264 when we talk about some of the issues with looking at worst-1265 case scenario planning, we tried to do that before, you know. 1266 We were looking at natural disasters. We were looking at 1267 backup power because that is something you should be thinking 1268 about with a facility if you are running it responsibly. 1269 And I think that a lot of this is a blanket approach 1270 that doesn't take into account companies that have been doing 1271 a good job doing the best practices to begin with. And now 1272 we are adding additional layers of regulation and complexity 1273 when, you know, industries and basically punishing 1274 industries that are already doing a good job. 1275 *Mr. Joyce. I think this blanket approach could 1276 potentially be smothering. 1277

1278 Mr. Erstad, in the name of increased safety, what risk 1279 trade-offs are being made concerning our domestic supply 1280 chain?

1281 *Mr. Erstad. Well, any time you add cost, you could drive people out of the out of business, and that could 1282 1283 reduce the availability of the product. So *Mr. Joyce. Thank you. My time is expired. 1284 Mr. Chairman, I yield back. 1285 *Mr. Carter. The gentleman yields. The chair now 1286 recognizes the gentlelady from Colorado, Ms. DeGette, for 1287 five minutes of questioning. 1288 *Ms. DeGette. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 1289 Well, I have long been an advocate for the EPA to issue 1290 1291 strict safety measures at chemical plants because of the proximity of residents who live right there on the fence line 1292 and, of course, the workers who work in these plants. 1293 1294 In my district we have an area, Globeville, Elyria=Swansea in north Denver, which is bordered by a huge 1295 refinery, the Suncor refinery. And it emits harmful toxins 1296 into the surrounding community. So I have been working for 1297 many years with the EPA to try to implement inherently safer 1298 technologies to mitigate or even eliminate the risk hazardous 1299 chemicals pose to these communities. 1300

1301 In the EPA's final rule for RMP they included a version

1302 of inherently safe technologies called Safer Technology Alternatives Assessments. While it is less than in the 1303 1304 original proposal that would have included all RMP facilities, the EPA decided to prioritize high-risk 1305 facilities which constitute 10 percent of the overall RMP 1306 facilities that are covered. So these facilities, these 10 1307 percent, are going to have to look at their covered chemicals 1308 and processes and identify at least one passive way to make 1309 the processes safer. 1310

So unfortunately, the witnesses who are here today say that the cost of this safety measure does not justify the benefit. I disagree, and I think the safety and lives of workers, first responders, and environmental justice communities account for a large benefit. So I want to ask you a couple of questions about this, Mr. Savage.

Does the safety of your fellow workers and the surrounding community demonstrate a significant benefit to you versus the cost of assessing technologies?

1320 *Mr. Savage. Thank you. Of course.

1321 *Ms. DeGette. Yes.

1322 *Mr. Savage. Of course. I think that it is overlooked

that and I would say that this doesn't necessarily apply to 1323 all of our employers. Some of them are very responsible. 1324 1325 *Ms. DeGette. Of course. *Mr. Savage. But the ones that aren't, you know, they 1326 are creating problems in the community. It is going to cost 1327 us our jobs. Once the I think somebody mentioned earlier 1328 about the social license of operating these facilities. If 1329 once you lose a community, that is it. 1330 *Ms. DeGette. Right. 1331 1332 *Mr. Savage. You are not going to be able to operate 1333 that facility. *Ms. DeGette. That is right. Now, how can the shifts 1334 and the amounts of chemicals on a site or a change to the 1335 safety processes at a plant really make the job at chemical 1336 facilities much safer for those on the job? 1337 *Mr. Savage. I am sorry? 1338 1339 *Ms. DeGette. How can companies make the safety at a plant safer by simply changing the amount of chemicals or 1340 changing the safety processes that they use? 1341 *Mr. Savage. I think that I mean, it depends on the 1342 facility and what 1343

1344 *Ms. DeGette. Yes.

*Mr. Savage. _ what substances and processes they are using, but I think that they should be constantly evaluating on how to do things safer, how to do _ how to keep the workforce safe, how to keep the community safe.

*Ms. DeGette. So one of the things that your colleagues 1349 here have been talking about all day, they are really 1350 worried, they say, about more disclosure of chemicals. But 1351 we have seen emergency after emergency happening around the 1352 country. We have had some also in Colorado, where we have 1353 1354 extreme weather, climate change, aging infrastructure, et cetera, where we have a chemical release, and the first 1355 responders and the others going in, they don't know what 1356 chemicals are at that facility. And that is why we are 1357 1358 trying to have more robust disclosure.

Do you think that that is an important goal that we should strive for, Mr. _

*Mr. Savage. Yes, ma'am. I would say that when it comes to _____ members of the community have an absolute right to know what dangerous substances and processes are being operated near their homes. And when communities feel safe,

1365 they are less likely to oppose new facilities, new processes, new jobs, right? So it is a win-win. 1366 1367 *Ms. DeGette. It is like if they don't want to disclose what is there, it makes people paranoid about what is there, 1368 1369 right? *Mr. Savage. That is correct. 1370 1371 *Ms. DeGette. Yes, okay. I yield back. Thanks. 1372 *Mr. Carter. The gentlelady yields back. The chair now 1373 recognizes the gentleman from Michigan, Representative James, 1374 1375 for five minutes of questioning. *Mr. James. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Honorable members 1376 of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, Subcommittee on 1377 Environment, Manufacturing, and Critical Minerals, and 1378 esteemed witnesses, I appreciate the opportunity to speak as 1379 we convene to address the vitality of our manufacturing 1380 1381 sector. This rule, published on March 10, 2024, marks a 1382 significant juncture in our nation's approach to chemical 1383 facility safety and emergency preparedness. The EPA's 1384

1385 amended RMP regulations, while aiming to enhance process

1386 safety and public awareness of chemical hazards, could 1387 inadvertently burden Detroit's auto painting and plating 1388 industry with additional compliance costs. These changes may 1389 impede the industry's ability to operate efficiently and 1390 competitively, potentially impacting jobs and economic growth 1391 in the region.

The voices of industry stakeholders like those in 1392 Detroit's auto paint and metal plating sectors who are 1393 affected by this rule must be heard and considered in shaping 1394 policies that promote safety while fostering economic growth. 1395 1396 Let's engage in a constructive dialogue and collaborative efforts to address the challenges ahead, ensuring that the 1397 interests of the American people and our manufacturing 1398 industries are safeguarded. 1399

I don't believe it does us any good to insinuate the other side either does not care about economics or does not care about people. In fact, I believe it detracts from the conversation. As we scrutinize the final rule promulgated by the EPA we must ask ourselves, does the rule adequately fulfill our obligation to protect the American people and support American manufacturing?

I, representing Michigan's 10th congressional district, the number-one manufacturing district in the entire nation _ this is critical to the people who sent me here. So let's start with Mr. Shah.

The refining industry accounts for less than one percent 1411 of the total hydrofluoric acid releases, yet this rule seems 1412 to target, to focus on imposing burdensome regulations 1413 specifically hitting this industry. In your role as a risk 1414 analyst, how does the risk, in your opinion, at HF refineries 1415 compare to those other risks we take each day by, as you 1416 1417 mentioned, stepping outside for a walk, handling knives, or driving a vehicle? 1418

*Mr. Shah. Thank you, Congressman. As I had said in my 1419 testimony, the chance of dying from an HF release at the U.S. 1420 refinery is one in 52 million. That is 800 times lower than 1421 a bee sting, dying from a bee sting. It is 1,700 times lower 1422 than dying from a sharp object like a knife, or 13,000 times 1423 less likely than dying from a bicycle accident. And I 1424 already said 480,000 times less likely than dying in a car 1425 accident. It is an unbelievably low risk already. And the 1426 reason for that, the reason for it being that low is because 1427

1428 of the layers of mitigation measures that have already been 1429 taken into account by these industries to protect and make 1430 sure that that HF unit operates safely.

1431 *Mr. James. Thank you, Mr. Shah. We know how potent 1432 appeals to emotion and scare tactics are, but we have an 1433 obligation to balance impact with probability. Thank you for 1434 your opinion-sharing here.

Oklahoma Attorney General Drummond, today we have heard 1435 how the RMP rule treats well-operated plants the same as 1436 poorly-run plants, requiring them to upgrade their facilities 1437 1438 every five years, regardless of cost or performance. We see this all the time with over-regulation, a one-size-fits-all 1439 approach. Assuming these businesses want to continue to 1440 legally operate, I am guessing the rationale business 1441 1442 response is to pass these costs along.

1443 What are your concerns, from a consumer protection 1444 standpoint, that this rule will bring to your constituents in 1445 Oklahoma?

And also, what do you believe is the natural second and third-order effects of not being able to do this safely in the United States?

Mr. Drummond. Right, so I think that the existing rule has illustrated that in the last reporting period 97 percent of the RMP-regulated facilities did not report an incident. So we already have a rule that is establishing that. And now, the _ to increase that regulatory burden will drive costs up.

1455 It will also have a natural consequence of increasing 1456 citizen suits against industries that are already performing 1457 well, therefore distracting energy and resources to defend 1458 these suits without any reasonable likelihood of the citizen 1459 suit prevailing.

1460 So I think in every measure of the word, this proposed 1461 rule adds burden to the American consumer with no defined 1462 benefit.

1463 *Mr. James. Thank you, General Drummond.

Mr. Chairman, I am from the Great Lakes State. We deeply, deeply care about clean air and clean water. And we deeply, deeply care about working men and women and our first responders. We must do our best to take a balanced approach to serve all Americans. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield. *Mr. Carter. The gentleman yields. The chair now

1470 recognizes the gentleman from California, Dr. Ruiz, for five 1471 minutes of questioning.

1472 *Mr. Ruiz. Thank you.

I proudly represent California's 25th congressional district, a community where summer temperatures frequently surpass 100 degrees Fahrenheit. In July 2023, a year that marked a historic peak in temperatures, the Coachella Valley and Southern California endured 19 days where temperatures exceeded 112 degrees Fahrenheit.

And similar to many regions across the nation, the 1479 1480 communities I represent witnessed the effects of climate change firsthand. We endure more intense and frequent 1481 scorching heat waves and devastating wildfires, serving as 1482 undeniable indicators of a shifting climate. Rising 1483 temperatures, intensified storms, and unpredictable weather 1484 patterns are endangering our infrastructure, particularly our 1485 chemical plants and refineries, and these facilities are 1486 1487 vulnerable to flooding, extreme heat, and storm surges which can result in accidents, toxic releases, and spills. 1488 The ramifications extend well beyond the perimeters of these 1489 industrial sites, endangering the health and safety of 1490

1491 workers, neighboring communities, and our ecosystems. Mr. Savage, based on your experience, when an incident 1492 1493 occurs does it remain contained within the confines of the facility, or does it extend into the surrounding community? 1494 *Mr. Savage. Thank you. Yes, we don't work under a 1495 dome. So a fence doesn't keep vapor clouds contained inside 1496 of a facility. So, yes, it has community impact. 1497 *Mr. Ruiz. So these chemical disasters not only impact 1498 families and communities, but also exacerbate air quality. 1499 1500 They release hazardous chemicals into the atmosphere, resulting in immediate and long-term consequences, including 1501 respiratory ailments, cardiovascular diseases, and ecological 1502 harm. 1503 1504 Mr. Savage, in your experience, does the community usually have hours and of time to prepare ahead of an 1505 incident so they can get their kids out of school, pack up, 1506

1507 and leave the area before it happens?

1508 *Mr. Savage. No, they have seconds.

1509 *Mr. Ruiz. They have seconds. And how is the community 1510 informed, usually?

1511 *Mr. Savage. In Philadelphia we had a community alert

1512 system. We had a siren that would go off, and we had some _ 1513 there was some sort of community alert system set up. But if 1514 I recall correctly, on the morning of June 21, 2019 the 1515 company never informed the community of anything. They were 1516 informed of the explosion when they were knocked out of their 1517 beds by the force of it.

1518 *Mr. Ruiz. And do you _ how long did it take the 1519 community to start mobilizing after that?

*Mr. Savage. There was press conferences that morning 1520 while my coworkers were still fighting the raging fires, 1521 1522 demanding that the refinery be shut down. There was people had reported respiratory issues. In fact, there is, I think, 1523 56 zip codes in the City of Philadelphia, and the highest per 1524 capita rate of childhood asthma was the zip code that 1525 contained our refinery. So I don't necessarily know that the 1526 owner of our refinery was a good neighbor to begin with, but 1527 that explosion was the end of any chance of that. 1528

1529 *Mr. Ruiz. And so what do you think about the shelter-1530 in-place orders after these spills? Do they _ could they be 1531 more harmful for the residents to be _ and the workers to be 1532 sheltered in place?

1533 *Mr. Savage. I think that would depend on the circumstances of the particular incident. In some cases it 1534 1535 may be appropriate. In some cases it could be more harmful. What you hope is that there is good emergency response 1536 plans, and this has all been thought of beforehand so that 1537 when these things happen, people can people have a way that 1538 they know how to handle it. 1539 *Mr. Ruiz. And so that is what the EPA rules do. 1540 Τn fact, they force the facilities to come up with plans 1541 beforehand and to coordinate with the community, correct? 1542 1543 *Mr. Savage. That is correct. *Mr. Ruiz. And that would be helpful in order to have a 1544 more streamlined response in case there is a spill, correct? 1545 *Mr. Savage. We support that, yes. 1546 *Mr. Ruiz. And, you know, the whole idea here is that 1547 to actually make improvements so that accidents don't 1548 happen with upgrades and technology and hazard mitigation 1549 efforts in the high-risk facilities. Correct? 1550 *Mr. Savage. Yes, I agree. 1551

1552 *Mr. Ruiz. Okay, well, I agree with those sentiments
1553 for the sake of our workers and the surrounding communities.

1554 And with that I yield back.

Mr. Carter. The gentleman yields. The chair now recognizes the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Balderson, for five minutes of questioning.

*Mr. Balderson. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you all
for being here today. My first question is for Mr. Erstad.
Mr. Erstad, first of all, thank you for the great work
that you do and the jobs that you provide in the great State
of Ohio and, more importantly, at the Galena facility which
is in the 12th congressional district. So thank you very
much.

Power demand is estimated to increase substantially in 1565 the coming decades. In fact, the North American Electric 1566 Reliability Corporation's most recent long-term reliability 1567 assessment shows that power demand in North America is 1568 growing at the fastest rate in over 30 years. Meanwhile, the 1569 EPA just finalized rules that will place unachievable 1570 regulatory mandates on power providers and drive existing, 1571 reliable generation off the grid and into early retirement. 1572 Mr. Erstad, since we are discussing safety and risk with 1573 the RPM [sic]-covered facilities, I am curious. Would your 1574

1575 risk at Hawkins facilities be increased with rolling 1576 brownouts and unanticipated electricity outages? 1577 *Mr. Erstad. Well, obviously, unintended _ 1578 unanticipated events are something we need to mitigate and 1579 work to, you know, limit the effects of. We believe we 1580 already do.

I think that the effects of power outages are going to 1581 affect deliveries to consumers, you know, to our customers, 1582 and potentially a supply chain. But we believe, under the 1583 existing our existing processes and our existing review 1584 under RMP that we are controlling the risk to the general 1585 public. But there certainly is a risk to the supply chain. 1586 *Mr. Balderson. Okay. Thank you. I will follow up to 1587 you again. In your testimony you raise concerns about the 1588 third-party audit criteria. You make the point that under 1589 this rule the auditor who lacks specific technical expertise 1590 could ultimately make processes less safe. Could you 1591 1592 elaborate on this and provide an example, if possible? *Mr. Erstad. Well, you know, there is a lot of 1593 different chemicals and processes. Our primary processes and 1594 primary chemicals we handle are chlorine. We take chlorine 1595

in, it comes in by railcar, and we make bleach out of it, largely. In some cases we repackage it into cylinders that we then haul to water treatment facilities across the country to purify the drinking water.

If you have somebody you know, there are certain 1600 chemical compatibilities, certain types of steel, certain 1601 the gaskets that are used in the piping, different things 1602 that are very technical to that chlorine system. Whereas, an 1603 ammonia system is very different, different types of 1604 construction, different types you know, so the exact 1605 1606 knowledge is really critical to make sure that they are really able to assess that and to add value. 1607

*Mr. Balderson. Okay. Thank you. Also in your 1608 testimony you also raised concerns with the rule's Safer 1609 Technology Alternatives Analysis requirements. The rule 1610 requires a facility to conduct a STAA if it is within 1 mile 1611 of another facility with a 324 or 325 code. Do you believe 1612 this requirement does anything to improve safety? 1613 *Mr. Erstad. We struggled to figure that one out, 1614 frankly. We have a hard time knowing what the other NAICS 1615 codes are of our adjacent facilities. I don't believe that 1616

there has been any rationale delivered for why that location 1617 matters. You know, if there is something, we would be glad 1618 1619 to hear that. *Mr. Balderson. Okay. Mr. Shah and Mr. Drummond, would 1620 1621 you agree with that assessment? Mr. Shah, you can go first. Thank you. 1622 *Mr. Shah. Yes, I would. It is difficult to know, when 1623 we do our assessments, to know what is surrounding that 1624 facility as far as commercial and industrial collocators 1625 within any radius of the facility that we are looking at 1626 1627 because of secrecy and proprietary information that many of these sites contain. 1628 *Mr. Balderson. Okay. Mr. Drummond? 1629 *Mr. Drummond. I would add simply that the STAA 1630 requirement does not illustrate any ability to reduce any 1631 risk, nor does it illustrate an ability to improve safety. 1632 It just simply adds a burden to the operator. 1633 1634 *Mr. Balderson. Okay. Thank you all very much. Mr. Chairman, I yield back. 1635 *Mr. Carter. The gentleman yields. The chair now 1636 recognizes the gentleman from California, Mr. Peters, for 1637 83

1638 five minutes of questioning.

1639 *Mr. Peters. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am a former environmental lawyer, no stranger to mitigating risk at sensitive sites while working to make sure that regulations are workable and complied with. And I appreciate the sensitivity around this topic, and can understand that balancing the needs of each individual site while maintaining public health and safety are critical and not necessarily easy.

My main beef here is with this committee. I just want 1647 1648 to just remind people where we are. This rule is final. Ιt is already the law. We didn't take it up any time before it 1649 came up. This is supposed to be the great legislative 1650 committee of the House of Representatives, and we are now 1651 talking about something that has already happened. We didn't 1652 take this up when the notice of proposed rulemaking came out, 1653 which probably was a year or two ago, to even get our 1654 comments into the record. This has already happened. 1655 And that annoys me, because I was an environmental lawyer. 1656 Now I am a legislator. 1657

1658

I fought to get on this committee and on this

1659 subcommittee because I thought I had something to offer. But we waited until the rule was final to even take it up. So I 1660 1661 apologize to you all for taking your time, because we are now literally in a sideshow. It is like this is like TV 1662 commentators sitting around talking about what already 1663 happened, and probably one of the TV shows that would have 1664 the worst ratings ever. But, you know, this is a very 1665 1666 technical thing.

I think that we should be legislating, I think we should be doing it in a bipartisan way. And I just would observe that this is another one of those rules that, if the administration changes, it is going to be thrown out. And whatever good is in this rule we will have lost. So here is my take on the issues, just for what it is worth, even though the rule is final, okay?

I take what you say about risk, Mr. Shah, I understand that, what you are arguing and Mr. Drummond arguing, that generally under current law we have a pretty good record, and that the risks are very small. I think that is a serious, serious point. I take it.

1679 I think one place where I agree with you, I would agree

with you is the security concern. I think in many cases it might be more dangerous to have people know what is in there than to have them not know what is in there _ as long as the first responders have access to that information, which I believe under current law they do.

We have something in California called Prop 65, which is 1685 a ridiculous it turned out to be ridiculous in practice. 1686 It requires the disclosure of when chemicals are at a site. 1687 So every restaurant you go into now, there is a little thing 1688 that says, "We have chemicals on site that are known to cause 1689 cancer and damage to human health.' ' They have cleaning 1690 solvents, right, because they have to clean up the kitchen. 1691 And by the way, don't drink alcohol if you are pregnant. 1692 Ιt is dangerous. That does not affect anyone's behavior 1693 anymore. We walk by those things, they are up there. If you 1694 don't have them up there, by the way, it is \$2,500 a day for 1695 as many days as you miss it. 1696

But it is absolutely useless to affect the behavior of people, and I am concerned _ I feel also I am a suspicious that letting people know these chemical compounds are in their neighborhood doesn't really do them any good. It

1701 doesn't affect their behavior. I am sympathetic on that. Here is where I think we may need updates. One is I 1702 1703 want to know about the ability to stop work. I think, you know, I think Mr. Savage makes a good point. If he is in a 1704 point where he knows the process, he can't stop the work, he 1705 feels intimidated, I think that is worth following up on. 1706 I want to know whether current law requires you to think 1707 about extreme weather, because I think weather has changed, 1708 and I think we should probably look at these rules and look 1709 at the law and make sure that it covers that. 1710

1711 And I also want to know whether the remedies under current law are sufficient to provide the incentives for your 1712 folks to comply. What Mr. Savage said was that after this 1713 horrific thing that happened to him happened, they declared 1714 bankruptcy. And presumably I mean, it is not good for the 1715 business, but, you know, maybe there is some remedies that 1716 would provide a better incentive against this kind of thing. 1717 I would like to take all those things up in a 1718 legislative hearing. I think we should probably do something 1719

1721 the boat go by us, and we are talking about something that

1720

87

legislative on this, Mr. Chairman. I can't believe we let

already happened, but that is where we are, and that is where we are in Congress too often.

1724 This is supposed to be where we have witnesses come in, testify about these things before we enact some regime of law 1725 or regulation that affects the American public. 1726 This is our job. And I am disappointed that the majority didn't bring 1727 this to us sooner, because I think that the witnesses you 1728 brought in here raised some serious points, and I would love 1729 to have been part of deciding. That is why I ran for 1730 That is why I brought an environmental law 1731 Congress. background here. I thought it would be useful. 1732

I am sorry that this is behind us now, this has come 1733 when this law is already final. So now I assume it is in the 1734 courts, but I will just offer to my colleagues and to the 1735 witnesses that, if there is ways we can improve this regime, 1736 that is why I am here. And like I said, I am sympathetic on 1737 the security issues, but I am also I think that there are 1738 some real issues that are raised by the rule that I think are 1739 worthy. It is just unfortunate that this committee is not 1740 the one making the law. 1741

1742 And I yield back.

1743 *Mr. Carter. The gentleman yields. The chair now 1744 recognizes the gentlelady from Iowa, Dr. Miller-Meeks, for 1745 five minutes of questioning.

1746 *Mrs. Miller-Meeks. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and I want to 1747 thank our witnesses for testifying before the committee 1748 today.

1749 I also want to thank Representative Peters for his comments. Far too often we find regulation that doesn't have 1750 its intended purpose, gets ignored, and I had the same 1751 thought that how many people move into an area and do not 1752 1753 know that there is a water treatment facility or another facility using chemicals nearby. I think just as people are 1754 smart enough to look at what the school system is next to 1755 them, if there are electric lines overhead next to them, they 1756 1757 are smart enough to know the businesses that are adjacent to their area. 1758

From providing essential materials for infrastructure and manufacturing to developing cutting-edge technologies that improve health care _ my area _ transportation, communication, chemicals play an incredibly vital role in everything we use daily. In Iowa the chemicals industry is

the second-largest manufacturing industry in the state, and generates over 5,000 jobs in my district alone. And I can't remember in 40 years that I have been in Iowa when there was the last chemical spill or accident, which are tragic when they happen, and we certainly want to both mitigate and prevent those.

The final Risk Management Programs rule put forth by the 1770 EPA puts unreasonable mandates on numerous industries for 1771 solutions. And as stated by the EPA on their website and 1772 this is most important only should benefit nearby 1773 communities. They actually don't even know why they updated 1774 or made the rule. I mean, that is very apparent in their 1775 comments. And I am sorry to be so forthright in my 1776 1777 criticism.

Among other onerous mandates, this rule would require that some facilities conduct a Safer Technology and Alternative Assessment, STAA, analysis. This analysis would be required as part of a Process Hazard Analysis, PHA. The PHA is intended to identify, evaluate, and control the hazards involved in the process, and requires owners and operators to use a team of experienced professionals to

1785 assess the hazards and possible outcomes.

And let me just say, as a former military veteran and as a director of the Department of Public Health, we do these kind of trainings and exercises in communities all the time. Whether they are natural disasters, whether they are chemical disasters, whether they are train derailments, we do training. That is part of what you do with your EMA, Emergency Management Associations.

1793 So Mr. Erstad, in your experience conducting risk 1794 analyses, do you feel that the STAA analysis provides 1795 valuable information to a facility, or do they typically 1796 identify risk mitigation measures that are already captured 1797 by other existing processes?

*Mr. Erstad. Well, we believe that we are doing a good 1798 job of controlling the risk through the current process. So, 1799 you know, they are adding that level of that additional 1800 analysis. That is again, we are not sure we see that the 1801 benefit there, because if things are in the chlorine 1802 industry there is well-established protocols, there are 1803 industry trade groups that come up with the right processes 1804 and procedures and vet things. And there is a concern that 1805

1806	if we are going to be out there trying new, untried, and
1807	unproven new things we are doing in a plant, we are
1808	introducing new risks. And that concerns me.
1809	*Mrs. Miller-Meeks. And certainly, if you weren't
1810	mitigating risk now and trying to prevent things from
1811	occurring, would you have favorable location in a community
1812	next to residences?
1813	*Mr. Erstad. Well _
1814	*Mrs. Miller-Meeks. Would there not be protesters,
1815	perhaps?
1816	*Mr. Erstad. Well, we try to locate in places where we
1817	don't have that because we want to mitigate any potential
1818	effects _
1819	*Mrs. Miller-Meeks. So _
1820	*Mr. Erstad from our operations.
1821	*Mrs. Miller-Meeks to mitigate risk, you are careful
1822	about location.
1823	*Mr. Erstad. We _
1824	*Mrs. Miller-Meeks. You are also careful about working
1825	within the community to be able to prevent and mitigate
1826	risks, should they occur.
	92

*Mr. Erstad. Yes, we want good relations with local first responders. We want people to be able to, you know, come in to our sites if there ever were an incident. And we want good relations with neighbors.

1831 *Mrs. Miller-Meeks. And do you have an estimate on how 1832 much it would cost your company to hire outside expertise to 1833 conduct a STAA?

*Mr. Erstad. You know, we _ the rule is new enough we haven't gone through all the way of getting quotes. I talked to one of our consultants who has helped us in some cases. He estimated would take two to three times as long to do that with the safer technology assessment. So I can only imagine this is going to be

1840 *Mrs. Miller-Meeks. And would that cost be passed on to 1841 customers and consumers nearby?

1842 *Mr. Erstad. We are in the business to, you know, make1843 money. So yes, that would eventually be passed on.

*Mrs. Miller-Meeks. And I can tell you, in rural areas such as southeast Iowa that I represent and our senior citizens on fixed income, they cannot afford to have increased prices in their water and septic.

1848	So with that I have a last question that I am going to
1849	introduce for the record, and ask you to respond after the
1850	hearing.
1851	[The information follows:]
1852	
1853	*********COMMITTEE INSERT********
1854	

*Mrs. Miller-Meeks. And I yield back. Thank you.
*Mr. Carter. The gentlelady yields. The chair now
recognizes the gentlelady from California, Representative
Barragan, for five minutes of questioning.

1859 *Ms. Barragan. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The EPA's Final Risk Management Program Rule improves 1860 protections for workers, first responders, and communities 1861 that live near the 12,000 chemical facilities regulated by 1862 this rule. I am proud to have advocated for this rule in a 1863 letter with Senator Cory Booker and 47 of my colleagues. 1864 1865 The new safequards are an important step for the safety of communities, especially in my district in Carson and 1866 Wilmington, California they have refineries and for San 1867 Pedro, which has a liquefied propane gas storage facility 1868 that residents have been concerned about for decades. 1869

1870 Mr. Savage, my question is for you. The new EPA rule 1871 requires an analysis of safer technologies and alternatives 1872 at refineries that use hydrofluoric acid and the possible 1873 implementation of safeguard measures. Your testimony

1874 highlights how important this analysis can be.

1875 Thank goodness nobody was killed in the explosion at the

Philadelphia refinery you worked at. Can you describe how important this requirement had _ can you describe how important this required safer alternatives analysis is for the safety of workers and communities at refineries? *Mr. Savage. Yes, thank you. And yes, thank goodness nobody was killed. But thank goodness nobody was killed. It is not a safety program.

I struggle a little bit with the opposition to the safer 1883 technologies assessment, especially when it comes to 1884 hydrofluoric acid. I just it is the most dangerous 1885 substance used in the refining industry. It is the most 1886 dangerous process used in the refining industry. And if you 1887 are not constantly looking to see if you can do things safer 1888 or better, I just I don't understand it. I don't 1889 understand the opposition to it. 1890

1891 *Ms. Barragan. And can you talk about how the workers 1892 feel about having to work with this dangerous chemical? 1893 *Mr. Savage. I think that nobody's afraid of it, they 1894 respect it. They are well-trained. They are proud of the 1895 work they do. I think that they would like to go home at 1896 night, though.

1897 *Ms. Barragan. Yes. Well, thank you, Mr. Savage. Last year Republicans passed legislation in this 1898 1899 committee that exempted refineries that use hydrofluoric acid from being required to do a hazard assessment or an 1900 assessment of safer technology options. One argument that 1901 they made is that there were not any safer alternatives to 1902 hydrofluoric acid. What is your response to that? 1903 *Mr. Savage. I think that and I remember that 1904 legislation, and the Steelworkers vigorously opposed that 1905 legislation. I think that there may not be. There may not 1906 be, other than sulfuric acid, which is safer. 1907

But there are technology advances. And right now there is a refinery in Salt Lake City, I think, that is testing out another solid type of acid, and I think it is _ I don't know that it is on a large-enough scale to know if it is viable or not, but we would like to see the industry transition away from hydrofluoric acid when there is a reasonable alternative that is safer and commercially viable.

1915 *Ms. Barragan. Well, thank you. We know that 1916 hydrofluoric acid is an extremely dangerous chemical. It is 1917 used by refineries, including in Torrance, California, near

1918 my district. In 2015 there was a near disaster at a refinery 1919 in Torrance in my district, where debris from an explosion 1920 almost hit tanks with this dangerous chemical. And this 1921 could have been catastrophic for the community.

And we know there are alternatives because in California there is only a couple refineries still left using it. So we know there are alternatives, and there has to be a way to make sure that we are doing everything we can to protect not just the workers, but the community. So I thank you for being here today and for your work on this.

1928 And with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Mr. Carter. The gentlelady yields. The chair now recognizes the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. Allen, for five minutes of questioning.

Mr. Allen. Thank you, Chair Carter, for holding this important hearing to discuss the Environmental Protection Agency's rule on the risk management program. I also want to thank the witnesses for being here to testify on the implications of this rule.

During this Administration we have seen aggressive rules coming out of the EPA that continue to hamstring several

industries, especially those that deliver critical products for modern-day life. The Biden Administration is yet again pushing a rule with onerous requirements for critical industries here in the U.S. I believe safety is paramount, but this rule does not consider what the covered industries under RMP are doing to ensure safety and mitigate risk.

I come from the business world. I am far too familiar with burdensome regulations that have high compliance costs which will ultimately be passed on to the consumer _ makes us not competitive globally.

This rule also has serious national security issues with the information-sharing requirement which I will get into. Additionally, in my district there is a Hawkins water treatment facility that would be subject to this rule, and I am glad to have Mr. Erstad here to discuss what this would do not only to this facility, but facilities across the industry.

Mr. Erstad, in your opinion, how could the enhanced information disclosure be counterproductive to safety, especially at facilities such as agricultural retailers that only have three to five employees?

1960 *Mr. Erstad. Well, I think that the information we kind of talked about some of the challenges with knowing who 1961 1962 to give the information to. I don't know a lot about the smaller ag retail facilities, but I did grow up in a small 1963 town in South Dakota, 380 people. I know people who are in 1964 that industry, and I know folks who, you know, they are, 1965 well, well meaning, but there isn't exactly a staff to 1966 1967 implement PSM projects.

1968 *Mr. Allen. Are EPA tools and guidelines for 1969 implementing this enhanced information disclosure sufficient 1970 to guide regulated facilities in its implementation?

1971 *Mr. Erstad. No, I think that there _ you know, for 1972 example, the spending significant time within six miles of 1973 the facility is not defined. What does that mean? How are 1974 we supposed to prove it?

You know, we have certainly seen bad actors out there trying to get access to information about our facilities. And if we are the ones that are the gate on this, and if we fail, that would be bad for the country and, frankly, puts the neighbors at risk, as well.

1980 *Mr. Allen. In your testimony you raise valid concerns

about the security implications and administrative burdens that the rule's public information-sharing requirements would place on regulated facilities, including yours. In your opinion, how could EPA have addressed this issue differently, making sure that communities have the information they need without creating massive administrative burdens and security yulnerabilities?

Mr. Erstad. Well, I guess I go back to I think that we have already had good relationships with our local first responders, who are really the folks who need to know. We already have reporting obligations. We are reporting to the EPA the products that are on site. Information is certainly shared by the folks who we think need to know.

There is information out there that is available to the public. I think that the concern is when you are getting into details about what processes we have, what we have implemented and what we have not implemented, and why, that that is putting a lot of information potentially in the hands of people who could use it against this country.

2000 *Mr. Allen. In addition to these obvious security 2001 concerns with the rule's information-sharing requirements, do

2002 you anticipate other unintended consequences? *Mr. Erstad. Well, I think any time you are putting a 2003 2004 burden on an industry that is already burdened and I talk a little bit from the chlorine perspective. The chlorine 2005 supply chain is has been stressed lately. There have been 2006 shortages. I know when COVID hit we had calls from public 2007 2008 health officials across the country wanting to make sure they were going to have a supply of chlorine to be able to treat 2009 the water. You know, we were able to get through that. 2010 There have been other shortages of the product. And, you 2011 2012 know, there have been companies that have gotten out of that business. And if you get enough businesses out of that 2013 business, the supply will go down or be affected. That is a 2014 public health issue. And obviously, any regulatory costs do 2015 get costs passed on to consumers to our customers and, 2016 eventually, on to the consumers. 2017 2018 *Mr. Allen. So there would be severe consequences and

2019 health risks.

2020 *Mr. Erstad. Yes

2021 *Mr. Allen. Do you think there is a cost benefit 2022 analysis being done here?

2023 *Mr. Erstad. We don't necessarily see that, no. *Mr. Allen. Okay, great. Well, thank you so much for 2024 2025 being with us today. And with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back. 2026 *Mr. Carter. The gentleman yields. 2027 The chair now recognizes the gentlelady from Illinois, Ms. Schakowski, for 2028 five minutes of questioning. 2029 *Ms. Schakowsky. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 2030 I wanted to talk to you, Mr. Savage. I am a union 2031 member myself, and we heard a lot about, you know, cost 2032 2033 benefit and, you know, the harm that it is going to be doing to companies and somehow to the economy. I don't understand 2034 that. And I want to talk to you about that, because about a 2035 year ago, just outside of my district, there was a chemical 2036 accident and one of the workers was hospitalized. He had 2037 burns on his hands and on his on his head. Fortunately, he 2038 this was not a fatal accident of this company in the 2039 district. But I really don't understand why we aren't 2040 arguing that we need more safety not only for workers, but 2041 for communities, and that we don't embrace the idea of 2042 greater protections. And so that is really what I wanted to 2043

2044 talk to you about.

And it seems to me that we could actually help companies, and it would be better for companies if there were fewer accidents. I can't see that it is a good thing for those companies who experience because of toxic chemicals that are in the workplace. Wouldn't there be an advantage, economically, for companies to diminish the number of accidents that occur?

*Mr. Savage. Yes. Thank you. I am not aware of any 2052 incident or any reports ever of a refinery or a petrochemical 2053 2054 facility shutting down because it was operating too safely. Healthy workers, uninjured workers are more productive 2055 workers. It is across the board. There is we hear cost 2056 benefit, cost benefit. How about benefit? How about value? 2057 How about we value our employees? How about we value the 2058 communities that we work in? How about we care enough to 2059 secure their jobs and their lives while they are at work? 2060 2061 *Ms. Schakowsky. So what are the obligations of companies right now to, if any, to protect the workers? Are 2062 there is there anything in law right now that says that 2063 there are 2064

2065 *Mr. Savage. I mean, there is OSHA regulations, there 2066 is process safety management standard that I spoke about 2067 earlier.

2068 Certainly, I would never work in one of these plants 2069 without the protection of a collective bargaining agreement, 2070 though, because I don't feel like the laws go far enough, and 2071 it is a lot harder to enforce them when you don't have a 2072 union.

*Ms. Schakowsky. I also want to mention the impact on communities, as well as workers. And we know that it falls most heavily, actually, on Black communities, which are more likely to be in communities where there are toxic spills or there are problems in the community. I just wondered if you wanted to comment not only on what happens to workers, but what happens to communities.

Mr. Savage. Sure. You know, the aftermath of the explosions in Philadelphia left _ you know, there was bankruptcies, divorces? A couple of my former coworkers, unfortunately, have died from suicide. And we had a traumatized community that still sort of isn't over it, right? And the fact that some of these facilities negatively

2086 impact already marginalized communities more than others 2087 should be looked at and discussed.

Ms. Schakowsky. Thank you. I agree. So I certainly think that we need more safety standards, that we need more training, and that we definitely need _ can do better. And that is all that this rule would do. I think that is a good thing for all of us.

2093 And with that I yield back.

Mr. Carter. The gentlelady yields back. The chair now recognizes the chair of the full committee, the gentlelady from Washington, Mrs. Rodgers, for five minutes of

2097 questioning.

*The Chair. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As I mentioned in 2098 my opening statement, Americans are suffering from a record 2099 amount of regulations from this Administration. Unelected, 2100 unaccountable agencies, boards, commissions last year 2101 finalized 236 major regulations. We are on track this year 2102 2103 for an additional 365 regulations which, if adopted, add hundreds of billions of dollars in new costs to Americans and 2104 manufacturers and utilities and warehouses and anyone trying 2105 to do anything in America. According to the American Action 2106

2107 Forum, as of April 19, 2024, the Biden Administration has finalized 851 851 major regulations costing 1.3 trillion, 2108 2109 and they estimate 267 million new paperwork hours. And I just want to underscore this is without any input 2110 or oversight by the elected representatives of the people. 2111 EPA has never been authorized by Congress. It needs to 2112 happen. Today we are looking at just one of those 2113 regulations. 2114 So Mr. Shah, I wanted to start with you. The final RMP 2115 rule uses the word "ensure' ' 107 times, including the changes 2116 2117 to regulatory texts and descriptions of intent. The D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals interprets the word "ensure' ' to 2118 mean to make sure or certain. If you are trying to prevent 2119 an accidental release, how much can you really ensure? 2120 *Mr. Shah. You can't. 2121 *The Chair. Okay. So is it possible? Is it possible 2122 to eliminate all human error at an RMP facility? 2123 *Mr. Shah. Human error, we are all designed to fail. 2124 That is what our makers did, right? Our maker made us in a 2125 way that we all fail. There is a natural failure rate for 2126

107

humans, about 1 in 100,000 chances of failing in the simple

exercise of just eating your food, biting and chewing.
During that time, about once every 100,000 operations, you
bite your tongue.

2131 So what we do is we try to build in systems to help 2132 recover from that human error, through mitigation measures 2133 and so on, provide layers of recovery from that. But you 2134 cannot eliminate human error.

2135 *The Chair. Okay, thank you.

Attorney General Drummond, one part of the final RMP rule that your state and others have vigorously objected to is the information-sharing provisions. Almost 20 years ago your state sadly learned the dangers of people having easy access to bomb-making materials. What are the security risks in requiring public disclosure across the routes to chemicals kept on site at RMP facilities?

2143 And what are the security risks in disclosing to 2144 perpetrators how a facility will try to mitigate nefarious 2145 actions?

Mr. Drummond. Thank you. Twenty-nine years ago last month we did suffer a devastating terrorist attack in Oklahoma, and it has put us on high alert ever since then.

2149 These rules offer a multitude of security risks requiring increased disclosure. And it is not clear that this will 2150 2151 provide any additional benefit that offsets this risk. As I said in my opening statement, you know, we have 2152 very few reportable incidents in the United States. And if 2153 this is accurate then you would have to ask, why would it be 2154 important for anyone to have access to all of the sensitive 2155 2156 information? There are sensitive and sufficient plans in place 2157 already with local emergency planning committees. To expose 2158 our communities to the risk of a future terrorism attack is 2159 just untenable. 2160 *The Chair. Thank you. Thank you. 2161 Mr. Erstad, in addition to the RMP rule, you have other 2162 regulatory requirements, new and existing, that your company 2163 must address in the near future. I just wanted you to, in 2164

the time remaining, discuss the impact of all these new

2166 regulations, including the Clean Water Act, Hazardous

2167 Substance Facility Response Plan which you have on your

2168 company and industry.

2169 *Mr. Erstad. Yes, the workload has certainly increased,

and, you know, I think we are still digesting this rule. 2170 The Clean Water Act Hazardous Substance Facility Response Plan, 2171 2172 aside from being a mouthful in itself, is going to be a lot for us to undertake, a lot of work again to go through. 2173 Again, the industry wants things to be safe. It doesn't 2174 do us any good to have injuries, to have, you know, 2175 disruptions to supply chain. Those are all bad things, and 2176 we do everything we can to avoid, and we go above and beyond 2177 what the law requires in most cases. I think we talked 2178 before about this blanket approach being part of the problem. 2179 The good actors are going to be public, going to have to do 2180 almost more than what the bad actors are at this point. 2181 *The Chair. Thank you. Thank you for being here. 2182 I yield back. 2183 *Mr. Carter. The gentlelady yields back. The chair now 2184 recognizes the gentleman from Maryland, Mr. Sarbanes, for 2185

2186 five minutes of questioning.

2187 *Mr. Sarbanes. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you all 2188 for being here.

I am, frankly, baffled at this line of questioning around the notion that because we can't eliminate 100 percent

of human risk, that we shouldn't take these serious measures to mitigate risk, particularly in the circumstances that have been described today by Mr. Graves _ Mr. Savage, rather. And so I am disappointed.

I am not surprised, frankly, by the premise of the 2195 hearing, and I want to push back right away against the 2196 notion that this rule, the RMP rule, isn't necessary to 2197 prevent and respond to chemical accidents. It absolutely is 2198 necessary. It went through there was a whole process of 2199 2200 gathering up perspective and comment and input into it that 2201 led to the final rule, and it is there to protect people. It is the government's job in this case, it is the 2202 EPA's job to mitigate potential risks that comes with 2203 manufacturing and protect both people and the environment 2204 2205 from the often disastrous consequences when these chemical accidents do occur. One way for EPA to do that is to share 2206 basic information about the facilities and their risks with 2207 plant workers, the people that are actually there, first 2208 responders who are going to have to come in in the case of an 2209 accident, the communities within the incident zone of a 2210 facility so that they can be better prepared in the event of 2211

2212 a disaster.

And while the majority contends the revised RMP rule puts sensitive information at risk, the truth is that the disclosures it requires like the chemicals stored on site, the accident history, the safety measures adopted relate to information already publicly available to anyone with an ID and the means to get to an EPA reading room.

2219 Mr. Savage, just tell me _ you have done it a number of 2220 times _ but in what ways does having more information 2221 provided about a facility help to promote better safety 2222 decisions, either for workers in the plant or members of a 2223 nearby community?

*Mr. Savage. Thank you. I think we have talked about 2224 this a little bit already, but obviously, to have appropriate 2225 response to incidents, you need to the more information you 2226 have, the more you can plan for your response. Certainly, 2227 for workers to have the right to understand what they are 2228 working with, and members of the community absolutely have a 2229 right to understand what risks are in their communities, you 2230 know, near their homes. I just it is difficult for me to 2231 understand how people think otherwise. 2232

2233 *Mr. Sarbanes. It is difficult for me to understand that, too, because a better informed community, by 2234 2235 definition, is going to be one where catastrophic events are less likely to occur in the first place, and one where the 2236 risk of harm will be reduced if an incident should arise. 2237 I worry that without this revised RMP rule and again, 2238 going back to Mr. Peter's point it is there, it is done. I 2239 don't quite understand the premise of this hearing unless, 2240 frankly, it is to showcase an alarming insensitivity to 2241 communities and workers and so forth when it comes to the 2242 risks associated with these kinds of hazardous conditions. 2243 But what I worry about is that, if you don't have this 2244 rule, if it is absent, this kind of risk mitigation is 2245 absent, that the facilities wouldn't volunteer to engage in 2246 coordinated information-sharing with first responders, 2247 workers, communities, or even undertake training activities 2248 2249 to prepare people in the event of a disaster. I understand that. You are a business, you are operating, it doesn't mean 2250 you are callous to the risk and safety. But you have got a 2251 set of priorities about operating the business and, yes, 2252 attending to the bottom line that may create blind spots for 2253

2254 you as an organization when it comes to doing what is safe. That is why we have the EPA to come along and say, yes, 2255 2256 as you are pursuing your business enterprise, these are things that we are going to make you focus on. We are going 2257 to eliminate blind spots when it comes to safety, because it 2258 is in everybody's interest to do that. And you are going to 2259 have to figure out how to make it work. And in the long run, 2260 that is going to be better for everybody, for the company, 2261 for the workers, and for the surrounding communities. So I 2262 very much support the rule. 2263

Mr. Savage, I want to thank you for your very compelling testimony.

2266 And with that I yield back.

*Mr. Carter. The gentleman yields. The chair now recognizes the gentleman from Texas, Mr. Pfluger, for five minutes of questioning.

*Mr. Pfluger. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and just a quick response. I agree with what my colleague has said, that there is a reasonable way to move forward. But the fact is the reason _ let me just try to put a bow on this hearing _ the reason we are having it is because we don't trust the

2275 EPA. We don't trust the decisions they are making to be reasonable in a way that actually solves the problem. 2276 So I am just going to start out here I am trying to 2277 bite my tonque, Mr. Shah, as well, with my comments. But let 2278 me just start out and ask all four of you. I have got a lot 2279 of questions, but is there a problem? Was there a problem 2280 that needed to be addressed that this final rule addressed? 2281 *Mr. Drummond. I would begin. The rules that preceded 2282 this illustrate that the process was working. 2283

I take exception with what Mr. Sarbanes characterized as a company is tone deaf to the protection of its employees and the surrounding society. It already was happening. The likelihood of an event is very small. And to remove all risk, then we need to all move to a middle of a cattle ranch in Oklahoma or Texas, where we can drink water out of a well and ride our horse.

2291 *Mr. Pfluger. Mr. Shah, was there a problem? Does this 2292 final rule address said problem?

Mr. Shah. Thank you for that question. No, I don't think this problem _ rule is fixing any problem that the previous rules and the industry standards are already

2296 addressing. *Mr. Pfluger. Mr. Erstad? 2297 *Mr. Erstad. I agree. I think we believe, based on 2298 you know, the engineering practices the industries have 2299 adopted in the prior rule covered the bulk of what we have 2300 been talking about today. 2301 *Mr. Pfluger. Mr. Savage? 2302 *Mr. Savage. I think that I don't know about a specific 2303 problem, but I would say that we should always strive for 2304 continuous improvement. 2305 2306 And not everybody that operates facilities in these industries are as responsible as I am sure these folks are. 2307 You put competitive pressure on responsible employers by 2308 letting irresponsible employers get away with things, right? 2309 *Mr. Pfluger. Yes. 2310 *Mr. Savage. So we always support continuous 2311 2312 improvement. *Mr. Pfluger. Yes, I think that is the point, is that 2313

in a reasonable manner. This is yet another example _ and, you know, you all are testifying here, but this is 1 of 100 examples that we are going through with the EPA, where it

2317	seems like it is unreasonable, and there is overreach, and
2318	they are not listening to industry.
2319	Mr. Shah, when $_$ in your experience, do you believe $_$
2320	and I agree with Mr. Peter's comments, we should have had
2321	this hearing, you know, before the rule was made $_$ but do you
2322	believe that industry was actually listened to, that their
2323	comments were taken into account?
2324	*Mr. Shah. Probably not. I am sure they were listened
2325	to, but I don't _ the second part _
2326	*Mr. Pfluger. Was action taken to _
2327	*Mr. Shah to take action for it, I don't know if
2328	they actually followed through with what they heard.
2329	The example of the STAA requirement, to have to conduct
2330	that every five years, STAAs are conducted by facilities.
2331	When they first look at building a plant or a facility, you
2332	look at all the different alternatives at that time because
2333	that is the most practical time to look at it, before you
2334	build something, to see if there is anything that is safer.
2335	So it is very hard to retroactively implement something that
2336	is completely different, very expensive, and very time
2337	consuming.

*Mr. Pfluger. What would you say, Mr. Erstad, is the trust level between industry, whether it is you know, steel, whether it is refineries, anywhere, and the EPA as a result of this final rule?

*Mr. Erstad. Well, I think that you kind of asked the 2342 question about whether the EPA listened to industry, and I 2343 think there were some smaller things in the rule that were 2344 adjusted. But then I think there were a number of things 2345 that surprised us, that came out of the blue, and they are 2346 the things we are actually talking about. So I think that 2347 2348 there is a concern about the EPA, whether they are listening 2349 to us or not.

2350 *Mr. Pfluger. Thank you all for being here.

In my previous career I flew airplanes, which is 2351 inherently unsafe, and we did it in a manner in which we 2352 employed them in combat, which is even more unsafe. And from 2353 the years 2008 to 2016, under the Obama era, the regulations 2354 stacked up to over 6 feet tall. Heather Wilson, who was a 2355 former congresswoman, got to be the Secretary of the Air 2356 Force. She stacked them up, double sided, six feet tall, and 2357 she told the four-stars, "Cut them in half,' ' because we were 2358

operating in a way that not only was no safer than it was in 2360 2004 or 2005, 2006, and 2007, prior to the Obama era, but it 2361 was also extremely cumbersome, onerous, and less effective. 2362 I believe that this is another example, this rule, of doing 2363 something that may seem on paper to be good, but it actually 2364 isn't reflecting a safer work environment.

2365 Mr. Savage, I agree with you, continuous improvement is 2366 definitely needed. However, I think we have gone past some 2367 of the reasonable examples.

I have gone over my time and I yield back.

2369 *Mr. Carter. The gentleman yields. The chair now 2370 recognizes the gentleman from Alabama, Mr. Palmer, for five 2371 minutes of questioning.

2372 *Mr. Palmer. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2373 Mr. Erstad, in your written testimony you mentioned 2374 concerns about the EPA information-sharing requirement. You 2375 said that you were concerned that sharing information could 2376 put facilities at risk of being targeted by bad actors.

2377 Could you elaborate on that a little bit?

2378 *Mr. Erstad. Well, I think that, you know, first of

2379 all, you know, as I mentioned, the EPA has a website up where

2380 they have got the GPS coordinates you can download of all of 2381 the facilities, which is a great concern for us. And, you 2382 know, especially in light of the lapse of the chemical 2383 facilities anti-terrorism standards, we think the facilities 2384 are especially vulnerable right now, and that is something _ 2385 those standards are things that the industry vigorously 2386 supported, and it is unfortunate they are not there.

So I think, when you couple that _ and then you also get into where we need to disclose all of this information about things that we haven't implemented, you are again exposing ourselves to people who could use that information for bad purposes.

*Mr. Palmer. It should be of particular concern to us, 2392 considering that the Biden Administration has let millions of 2393 people in across our borders, probably 1.6 million of whom 2394 are gotaways and another half a million or more that we don't 2395 even know about. And considering some of the nationalities, 2396 the connections to known or suspected terrorist 2397 organizations, that should be very troubling to the American 2398 people, that we are putting out information that could be 2399 used against us. 2400

2401 *Mr. Erstad. That is correct.

*Mr. Palmer. I have got another question for you. 2402 You 2403 also mentioned the EPA expansion of audit requirements. And specifically, you know that the EPA requires external 2404 auditors to have certain credentials that place an 2405 extraordinary burden on the facilities. And yet the EPA's 2406 updates don't consider the necessity of process-specific 2407 expertise. 2408

Prior to coming to Congress, and prior to running a 2409 think tank for almost 25 years, I worked for 2 international 2410 2411 engineering companies, and we built some pretty sophisticated facilities. I have worked in environmental systems. 2412 I have worked everything from refuse to energy to aerospace, and as 2413 someone who has worked in that environment now, not as a 2414 discipline engineer but more of an overview of from the 2415 company perspective, I do understand how complicated these 2416 processes can be. Can you elaborate on how the EPA's changes 2417 to the auditing requirements affect your industry? 2418

2419 *Mr. Erstad. Well, again, if we have auditors who don't 2420 know the specifics of the materials' compatibility, you know, 2421 the various issues, and keeping up with the current standards

2422	_ because I agree that continuous improvement is critical,
2423	and that is part of this review that we undertake already
2424	under the existing RMP process.
2425	*Mr. Palmer. And it is also in the best interest of the
2426	company to _
2427	*Mr. Erstad. Absolutely.
2428	*Mr. Palmer continue these _
2429	*Mr. Erstad. Absolutely.
2430	*Mr. Palmer because you are not in the business to
2431	hurt people.
2432	*Mr. Erstad. No, no, absolutely not. I mean, we want
2433	to send our employees home in the same condition they came to
2434	work every day, and we want them to have a good job and a
2435	good life. And we want our _
2436	*Mr. Palmer. And you have made investments in the
2437	training of these people.
2438	*Mr. Erstad. Absolutely.
2439	*Mr. Palmer. And again, having worked in that
2440	environment _
2441	*Mr. Erstad. Absolutely.
2442	*Mr. Palmer you don't just walk through the door one
	122

2443 day and you are able to do this kind of work.

2444 *Mr. Erstad. That is right.

*Mr. Palmer. You make big investments, and particularly in the craft area where _ so you are in the business not only to make a profit, but to maintain a business for the long term.

2449 *Mr. Erstad. That is right. That is right. It is not 2450 in our shareholders' best interest to have an incident 2451 happen.

*Mr. Palmer. I am also, Mr. Shah, interested in how 2452 2453 industrial facilities are designed and how subsequent regulations may not align with the perimeters of a facility's 2454 design. The RPM rule requires that covered facilities 2455 implement at least one practicable passive measure or more 2456 similarly protective active measure, procedural measure on a 2457 five-year cycle. Does the rule undermine the design of 2458 covered facilities and push, really, costly or impractical 2459 mitigation, rather than addressing safety and decreasing 2460 risks? 2461

2462 *Mr. Shah. So the facilities already have implemented 2463 many mitigation measures and procedural steps, training

2464	requirements in order to operate them safely, and that is why
2465	their safety record is so good to date.
2466	When you start looking at additional mitigation options
2467	_ and these are always _ you know, we are _ they are doing
2468	that on a periodic basis normally. But to have to document
2469	why you didn't implement a mitigation measure that wasn't
2470	practical, that is where _
2471	*Mr. Palmer. Let me ask it this way.
2472	*Mr. Shah. That could cause a chilling effect.
2473	*Mr. Palmer. Who knows better how to mitigate risk, the
2474	design engineer or the EPA?
2475	*Mr. Shah. The design engineers and the $_$ yes, they $_$
2476	versus the EPA, yes, the design engineers.
2477	*Mr. Palmer. And we have already established that a
2478	business is in business to stay in business. And so they
2479	have a built-in incentive to make sure that their designs
2480	mitigate risk and maximize safety.
2481	*Mr. Shah. Absolutely. Nobody wants anyone to get
2482	hurt, not their employees, not the community. And they want
2483	to send their people home safely every day.
2484	*Mr. Palmer. Mr. Chairman, I yield back.
	124

2485	*Mr. Carter. The gentleman yields.
2486	I ask unanimous consent to insert in the record the
2487	documents included on the staff hearing documents list.
2488	Without objection, that will be the order.
2489	[The information follows:]
2490	
2491	*********COMMITTEE INSERT********
2492	

2493 *Mr. Carter. Gentlemen, thank you for being here today. 2494 I will remind members that they have 10 business days to 2495 submit questions for the record, and I ask the witnesses to 2496 respond to the questions promptly.

- 2497 Without objection, the subcommittee is adjourned.
- 2498 [Whereupon, at 12:16 p.m., the subcommittee was
- adjourned.]