- 1 {York Stenographic Services, Inc.}
- 2 RPTS ALDINGER
- 3 HIF014.030

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- 4 MARKUP ON H.R. 3826, THE ELECTRICITY SECURITY AND
- 5 AFFORDABILITY ACT
- 6 TUESDAY, JANUARY 14, 2014
- 7 House of Representatives,
- 8 Subcommittee on Energy and Power
- 9 Committee on Energy and Commerce
- 10 Washington, D.C.

- 11 The Subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:31 a.m.,
- 12 in Room 2123 of the Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Ed
- 13 Whitfield [Chairman of the Subcommittee] presiding.
- 14 Members present: Representatives Whitfield, Scalise,
- 15 Hall, Shimkus, Pitts, Terry, Burgess, Latta, Cassidy, Olson,
- 16 McKinley, Gardner, Pompeo, Kinzinger, Griffith, Barton, Upton
- 17 (ex officio), McNerney, Tonko, Yarmuth, Engel, Green, Capps,
- 18 Doyle, Barrow, Matsui, Christensen, Castor, and Waxman (ex

- 19 officio).
- 20 Staff present: Nick Abraham, Legislative Clerk; Gary
- 21 Andres, Staff Director; Charlotte Baker, Press Secretary;
- 22 Mike Bloomquist, General Counsel; Sean Bonyun, Communications
- 23 Director; Matt Bravo, Professional Staff Member; Allison
- 24 Busbee, Policy Coordinator, Energy & Power; Patrick Currier,
- 25 Counsel, Energy & Power; Sydne Harwick, Legislative Clerk;
- 26 Tom Hassenboehler, Chief Counsel, Energy & Power; Brittany
- 27 Havens, Legislative Clerk; Peter Kielty, Deputy General
- 28 Counsel; Ben Lieberman, Counsel, Energy & Power; Alexa
- 29 Marrero, Deputy Director; Brandon Mooney, Professional
- 30 Member; Mary Neumayr, Senior Energy Counsel; Chris Sarley,
- 31 Policy Coordinator, Environment & Economy; Charlotte
- 32 Savercool, Legislative Coordinator; Jessica Wilkerson, Staff
- 33 Assistant; Jen Berenholz, Chief Clerk; Greg Dotson, Staff
- 34 Director, Energy & Environment; Caitlin Haberman, Policy
- 35 Analyst; Bruce Ho, Counsel; Elizabeth Letter, Press
- 36 Secretary; and Alexandra Teitz, Senior Counsel, Environment &
- 37 Energy.

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- Mr. {Whitfield.} The subcommittee will come to order.
- 39 And I would like to apologize for those people who were here
- 40 at 10:00, but we had a technical problem and were delayed
- 41 until 10:30.
- 42 Yesterday, this subcommittee convened for opening
- 43 statements, and at my request, with the concurrence of Mr.
- 44 Waxman, it was agreed that the chairman and ranking members
- 45 of the full committee and subcommittee would be recognized to
- 46 give their opening statements this morning before beginning
- 47 consideration of the bill. Therefore, Mr. McNerney, Mr.
- 48 Waxman, Chairman Upton, and I will be recognized for an
- 49 opening statement and then the subcommittee will begin
- 50 official consideration of H.R. 3826, the Electricity Security
- 51 and Affordability Act.
- 52 And so at this time the chair would recognize himself
- 53 for a 5-minute opening statement.
- In January 2008, then-Senator Obama, a candidate for
- 55 President, in an interview with the San Francisco Chronicle
- 56 Editorial Board said in response to a question about his cap-
- 57 and-trade plan, ``If somebody wants to build a coal-fired
- 58 power plant, they can. It is just that it will bankrupt
- 59 them. Under my plan, electricity rates would necessarily
- 60 skyrocket.''

- Now, in 2009, Congress debated regulating carbon dioxide
- 62 emissions from power plants, and during that debate, cap-and-
- 63 trade legislation was passed in the House and was never
- 64 passed in the U.S. Senate. It was controlled, the House, by
- 65 Democrats and the U.S. Senate by Democrats. The President,
- of course, was disappointed that the cap-and-trade
- 67 legislation did not pass.
- 68 A few months later, he gave a speech in Copenhagen at
- 69 the Climate Change Conference where he committed to a 17
- 70 percent reduction in CO2 emissions by 2020 and by more than
- 71 80 percent reduction by 2050.
- 72 Now, in a November 2010 interview, when asked about
- 73 regulating carbon dioxide emissions through some type of
- 74 administrative action, President Obama replied ``cap-and-
- 75 trade is just one way of skinning the cat; it is not the only
- 76 way. It was a means, not an end. And I am going to be
- 77 looking for other means to address this issue.''
- 78 And then on June 25, 2013, Daniel Schrag, a White House
- 79 climate adviser and professor at Harvard, told the New York
- 80 Times, ``The one thing the President really needs to do now
- 81 is to begin the process of shutting down conventional coal
- 82 plants. Politically, the White House is hesitant to say they
- 83 are having a war on coal. On the other hand, a war on coal
- 84 is exactly what is needed.''

- Now, that same day the President delivered a speech at
- 86 Georgetown and issued a memorandum, and in that speech he
- 87 announced his Climate Action Plan and directed EPA to
- 88 complete carbon dioxide emissions standards on new and
- 89 existing power plants. And then on September 20, 2013, the
- 90 President set the date. September 20, 2013, EPA proposed for
- 91 a second time regulations to control greenhouse gas emissions
- 92 from new power plants.
- Now, under EPA's proposal when it becomes final, it will
- 94 be impossible to build a new coal-powered plant in America
- 95 because the technology is not available. Now, EPA testified
- 96 before our subcommittee that the proposal that they had is
- 97 based on four demonstration projects, all of which rely on
- 98 heavy government subsidies, and only one of them in the
- 99 United States is even in the process of being built today.
- 100 But those emissions standards set the guidelines for future
- 101 new coal-powered plants.
- 102 And we sent a letter to EPA. We think that they are in
- 103 direct contradiction of the 2005 Energy Power Act which says
- 104 specifically you cannot under Section 111 set standards based
- 105 on plants that receive government subsidies.
- 106 So today, what our objective is, we have legislation
- 107 that we think restores some common sense to the extreme views
- 108 of the President. And he has been taking unilateral action,

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     with the help of EPA, under the guise of regulation, and
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     regulating greenhouse gas to the extent we cannot build a new
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     coal-powered plant in America. The President is trying to
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    move us down the road that the Europeans went down, and I
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     would remind all of you that most people consider the cap-
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     and-trade system in Europe to have been a failure. Within
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     the last year, they have mothballed 30 gigawatts of new gas-
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    powered electricity plants in Europe because gas prices are
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     so high because they are buying it from Russia. And last
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    year, Europe imported 45 percent of our coal exports as they
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     are building new coal plants in Europe.
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- So our legislation says EPA can regulate. We simply set the guidelines for these new power plants so that in the future if Americans determined that it is in the best interest to build a coal-powered plant, we can do so. So today, we hope to start a national debate, because up to now, this has been unilateral action on the part of the executive branch of government.
- So I welcome the debate that we have today on this bill.

 And at this time I would like to recognize the gentleman from

 California, Mr. McNerney, for a 5-minute opening statement.
- [The prepared statement of Mr. Whitfield follows:]

Mr. {McNerney.} Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. 132 133 Human-caused climate change is one of the most important 134 issues our Nation faces today. The evidence for climate 135 change is overwhelming, be it super storms, mega-droughts, 136 shifting of biological systems, to the disappearance of 137 historical glaciers, ocean acidification, or the melting of 138 the polar ice cap. This scale of change has resulted, in the 139 agreement of the vast majority of scientists and experts, we 140 should be making every effort to identify the best ways to reduce greenhouse gases instead of finding ways to expand 141 142 their emissions. Climate change will affect our entire 143 economy, our public health, our national security, and the 144 environment. 145 I believe that H.R. 3286 as drafted will be a major step 146 backward in solving the climate change challenge. As we 147 heard at our subcommittee hearing in November, this 148 legislation would have the effect of preventing the Clean Air 149 Act from reducing carbon pollution from power plants. 150 would be deeply irresponsible. Many of my colleagues have 151 noted that the Nation's carbon pollution has declined from 152 the heights of a few years ago but that doesn't mean it is

time to stop our efforts. Our emissions are still far above

where they need to be according to scientists and policy

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- 155 experts. The Energy Information Agency announced last week
- 156 that energy-related carbon dioxide emissions are beginning to
- 157 edge back up largely because of an increase in coal
- 158 consumption in the electric power sector. H.R. 3286 will
- 159 accelerate this trend of increasing carbon emissions.
- 160 Several carbon capture and sequestration commercial-
- 161 scale projects are expected to be operational in the United
- 162 States next year, and other such projects are already
- 163 operational around the world. Rather than rejecting CCS just
- 164 as the technology is emerging, we should follow these
- 165 projects and benefit from their successes. We can monitor
- 166 the EPA's rulemaking as they proceed.
- 167 Creating the proper incentives for technological
- 168 innovation will greatly benefit our nation. We have seen how
- 169 encouraging innovation pollution controls such as scrubbers
- 170 have helped drive pollution reduction despite the chorus of
- 171 naysayers who predicted massive costs. This legislation
- 172 before us today is the wrong approach. It limits new
- 173 technologies before they have had an opportunity to grow and
- 174 mature. We should approach this issue from a science-based
- 175 perspective that believes in technology and innovation.
- 176 Unfortunately, the bill we are considering today does not
- 177 take that approach.
- [The prepared statement of Mr. McNerney follows:]

179 ******** COMMITTEE INSERT **********

180 Mr. {McNerney.} Any Democratic Members wish to add? 181 Mr. Chairman, I yield back. Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentleman yields back his time. 182 183 At this time I recognize the chairman of the full committee, 184 Mr. Upton, for 5 minutes. The {Chairman.} Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I 185 186 know that this hearing was delayed because of the problem with the mikes, and my statement was put into the record 187 188 yesterday so people could recite it with me, but I am not 189 going to ask them to do that. I just want to commend you for 190 a bipartisan approach. I urge my colleagues to support it 191 and yield back the balance of my time.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Upton follows:]

193 ******** COMMITTEE INSERT **********

- Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentleman yields back. At this time I recognize the gentleman from California, Mr. Waxman, for 5 minutes.
- Mr. {Waxman.} Well, Mr. Chairman, this is the first 197 198 time this subcommittee has met for business this year, and it 199 should be a time for new beginnings, new approaches, a time 200 to work together on trying to figure out what to do with our 201 energy and environmental problems in this nation. Instead, 202 the House Republicans are starting in 2014 right where they 203 left off in 2013. They are denying the science of climate 204 change, ignoring the risks, and trying to stop the 205 Environmental Protection Agency from protecting the American 206 people from carbon pollution.
- The bill before us today would amend the Clean Air Act to block any limits on carbon pollution from coal-fired power plants, which happens to be the largest source of carbon pollution in the United States. This is a recipe for disaster in terms of climate.
- Events over the past few weeks have further underscored
 the cost of climate change. We see it, we hear about it
 almost daily. When you disrupt the climate system of the
 planet, heat, droughts, and storms are the impacts that we
 see. In my own State of California, Mr. Chairman, we are

- 217 facing devastating and intensifying drought. Last year was
- 218 the driest year on record in California. Los Angeles
- 219 experienced its driest year since they started keeping
- 220 records in 1877. San Francisco also broke previous records,
- 221 which extend back to 1849. UCLA modeling suggests that these
- 222 rainfall levels may well become the new normal by midcentury.
- 223 Now in our third year of drought, California's reservoirs are
- 224 depleted. The costs are mounting. The water shortage is
- 225 fallowing farmlands, destroying salmon populations, hurting
- 226 ski resorts, and requiring mandatory rationing in some
- 227 cities. These are just some of the things we are seeing by
- 228 way of costs in terms of climate heating up.
- 229 But the costs of climate disruption are going to get
- 230 worse, much worse if we don't act now to cut carbon
- 231 pollution. So when we had our hearing on this bill last
- 232 November, I turned to the Republicans and I said what is your
- 233 plan to deal with climate change? We haven't heard anything.
- 234 They have no alternative. I am still waiting for an answer.
- 235 The House Republicans' solution is nothing. Their approach
- 236 is to deny the problem, try to stop EPA action, to weaken the
- 237 Clean Air Act. The bill before us today will effectively
- 238 repeal EPA's existing legal authority to address carbon
- 239 pollution from power plants under the Clean Air Act.
- We will hear that EPA must be stopped or it will be the

- 241 end of coal. Well, that is absolute nonsense. We use lots
- 242 of coal today and we will continue to use lots of coal for
- 243 some time to come. EPA's rules will require that new coal
- 244 power plants use technology, technology that you can go out
- 245 and buy today to control carbon pollution. I don't think
- 246 that is too much to ask. And EPA hasn't even issued a
- 247 proposal for reducing carbon pollution from existing power
- 248 plants. But before they issue a proposal, our committee
- 249 Republicans -- I hope not unanimously because you all don't
- 250 come from coal areas--would take away the jurisdiction to
- 251 even issue a proposal. Let's just stop them from making any
- 252 proposal. The Agency is currently undertaking an impressive
- 253 outreach effort to gather stakeholder views even before the
- 254 formal notice and comment process. Why don't we see what the
- 255 Agency comes up with before declaring we are going to block
- 256 it?
- 257 My message to my Republican colleagues is simple. If
- 258 you don't like what EPA is doing, tell us what your plan is.
- 259 Last year, the President asked Congress to work with him on a
- 260 legislative solution to climate change, and he also said if
- 261 you don't act, if you have no proposals, step aside. The
- 262 President is going to lead. Denying it or ignoring the
- 263 science is not a responsible way to govern.
- Passing the bill before us today is not a responsible

- 265 way to act. It will only jeopardize the future of our
- 266 children and grandchildren. Don't be so myopic that you look
- 267 only at your coal industry in your district and play to the
- 268 cheap seats and tell them how you are saving them from the
- 269 war on coal. There is no war on coal but there is a problem
- and we have got to solve the problem, not deny it.
- I yield back the balance of my time.
- [The prepared statement of Mr. Waxman follows:]
- 273 ********* COMMITTEE INSERT **********

274 H.R. 3826 275 Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentleman yields back the balance 276 of his time. That concludes today's opening statements, so 277 now the chair would call up H.R. 3826 and ask the clerk to 278 report. 279 The {Clerk.} H.R. 3826, to provide direction to the 280 administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency 281 regarding the establishment of standards for emissions of any 282 greenhouse gas from fossil fuel-fired electric utility 283 generating units and for other purposes. 284 [H.R. 3826 follows:]

285 *********** INSERT 1 **********

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286
          Mr. {Whitfield.} Without objection, the first reading
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     of the bill is dispensed with and the bill would be open for
     amendment at any point. So ordered.
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          In keeping with our rules, I would first ask are there
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     any bipartisan amendments to the bill?
291
          Seeing none, are there any amendments to the bill?
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          The gentleman from California is recognized.
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          Mr. {Waxman.} I have an amendment at the desk.
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          Mr. {Whitfield.} The clerk will report the amendment.
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          The {Clerk.} Amendment to H.R. 3826 offered by Mr.
     Waxman of California.
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297
          [The amendment of Mr. Waxman follows:]
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*********** INSERT 2 *********

299 Mr. {Whitfield.} Without objection, the reading of the 300 amendment is dispensed with and the gentleman from California 301 is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his amendment. 302 Mr. {Waxman.} Mr. Chairman and my colleagues, we have 303 asked the Republicans what is it that you would do for 304 dealing with the climate change if you don't like EPA's 305 approach? And the bill we are considering today is not an 306 answer to that question. Instead, it amounts to a 307 declaration of defeat. In essence, this is we are not going 308 to lift a finger to slow dangerous climate change. It says 309 we refuse to take action now and we only want to make future 310 action impossible. 311 The policy underlying this bill seems to be that coal-312 fired power plants should be able to pollute indefinitely and 313 with impunity. This bill would contain EPA's authority on 314 conditions that will simply never be met, at least not as 315 long as it is cheaper to dump pollution into the air rather 316 than clean it up. 317 Under this bill, EPA could not require new power plants

to control their pollution until six power plants in
different parts of the country voluntarily installed
pollution controls. Well, that is just not what for-profit
enterprises do. And this bill would create a further

- 322 disincentive for such voluntary actions. This bill would
- 323 also bar EPA from requiring existing power plants to control
- 324 their pollution until Congress passes a new law. Well, I
- 325 understand that some don't like EPA's approach but this
- 326 proposal is just not serious.
- For years now, I have said to Chairman Upton that we are
- 328 willing to consider any suggestion that will reduce carbon
- 329 pollution and slow climate change. I proposed the market-
- 330 based cap-and-trade approach. I proposed a carbon tax
- 331 approach. I support regulatory approaches whether market-
- 332 based or performance standards. I strongly support
- 333 international efforts. I support more funding for research,
- demonstration and deployment of clean energy technologies.
- 335 And in fact in the Waxman-Markey bill we dedicated \$60
- 336 billion to deploy carbon capture and sequestration technology
- 337 on new coal plants. I support state actions. I support
- 338 education programs and incentives for voluntary actions by
- 339 individuals and businesses.
- But what Congress can't do is throw itself in the gears
- 341 of progress. If the House Republicans don't want EPA to act
- on climate change, they need to establish a credible
- 343 alternative approach. And that is all my amendment does. It
- 344 does not change how this bill would limit EPA's authority to
- 345 address carbon pollution from coal-fired power plants. This

- 346 amendment simply says that those limits on EPA's authority
- 347 only apply once there is an alternative approach to replace
- 348 the EPA rules that is at least as effective as those rules in
- 349 reducing carbon pollution.
- 350 So my message for my Republican colleagues is if you
- 351 don't like EPA's approach, propose your own plan. Don't just
- 352 say no to everything. Giving up is not the American way.
- 353 Congress can do better and I believe that the American people
- 354 expect us to do better. We can act to slow climate change
- 355 and there is still time to make a difference if we act now.
- 356 And if this Congress is capable of nothing else, at least we
- 357 can avoid making some things worse. We can get out of the
- 358 way and let the Obama Administration get on with the job
- 359 since the Republican House won't do it.
- 360 So this amendment is simply saying to the Republicans
- 361 climate change is real and urgent. I hope you will support
- 362 this amendment to say that we have some other way before we
- 363 are going to let this bill stop EPA from acting on doing
- anything.
- 365 And I proffer that amendment to my colleagues. I would
- 366 look forward to support for it and to vote on this amendment,
- 367 the vote for this bill is to put your head in the sand. This
- 368 is not the way to begin 2014, nor to tell future generations
- 369 that we just don't have any ideas but we are going to let

- 370 climate change continue and that is just unfortunate. But
- 371 future generations, not way in the future, but our kids and
- 372 our grandchildren and ourselves will just bear the brunt and
- 373 we will just continue to allow this carbon pollution to
- 374 increase from the major source, which is coal-burning power
- 375 plants. So I ask for an aye vote on the amendment.
- 376 Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentleman's time is expired. The
- 377 chair will recognize himself in opposition to the amendment.
- We all recognize that climate change is an issue. We
- 379 know that CO2 emissions in America are the lowest that they
- 380 have been in 20 years. There are other issues facing the
- 381 American people today and people throughout the world, and
- 382 that is having a growing economy and creating jobs.
- And certainly this Administration--and I respectfully
- 384 say this--but I think the President's views have been
- 385 extreme. He could not get through a Democrat-controlled
- 386 House and Senate the cap-and-trade legislation and so he said
- 387 that he was going to basically do it unilaterally through
- 388 international agreements, through directing international
- 389 financing institution like the World Bank, others, the
- 390 Export-Import Bank, the U.S., not to provide any funding for
- 391 a coal-powered plant anywhere even though countries like
- 392 Bangladesh and elsewhere are still burning fuel oil, which is
- 393 much dirtier than clean coal technology plans.

- And under the proposed regulation of EPA, you would not
- 395 be able to build a coal plant in America because the
- 396 technology has not been adequately demonstrated, as required
- 397 by the Clean Air Act.
- 398 And so our legislation says--and I think this is
- 399 certainly an issue that the Congress should be involved in--
- 400 we are simply saying we will set some parameters here. You
- 401 can require the cleanest technology available but it has got
- 402 to be adequately demonstrated on the new plants. And we know
- 403 that they have already delayed the effective date for the new
- 404 plant regulation until January of 2015 because they wanted to
- 405 be sure the elections had passed in 2014 before they went
- 406 into effect. And we also know that they are going to be
- 407 proposing the existing plant regulations on June of 2014 and
- 408 be final on June of 2015.
- 409 And so our legislation simply says on the existing
- 410 regulations that will take effect in June of 2015 we want
- 411 Congress to set the effective date for that regulation
- 412 considering the impact on the economy, on jobs, on our
- 413 ability to compete in the global marketplace because America
- 414 does not have to take a backseat to anyone on cleaning up the
- 415 emissions. We certainly don't have to take a backseat to
- 416 China, to India, and other parts of the world.
- 417 And as I said in my opening statement, the President is

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418 trying to push us down the road of following Europe, and
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419 Europe is building more coal plants today than they ever have

- 420 because their regulatory system has not really worked and
- 421 they have to buy high gas prices coming out of Russia.
- So the gentleman's amendment here would basically say
- 423 that EPA can keep doing what it is doing until there is an
- 424 alternative federal program put in place, whenever that may
- 425 happen. Well, from the legislative branch of government, we
- 426 are saying, look, we need a national debate on this issue
- 427 before we move down this road. And that is what this
- 428 legislation is designed to do and that is why we have been
- 429 encouraged that a number of Democratic Senators are working
- 430 with us on this legislation because they think it provides a
- 431 more balanced view. And I understand that we have different
- 432 views on the priorities. I know that all of us agree that we
- 433 want what is best for the American people. And so that is
- 434 what this legislation is all about, and because of that, I
- 435 would respectfully oppose the gentleman's amendment.
- 436 Mr. {Waxman.} Would the gentleman yield for a question?
- 437 Mr. {Whitfield.} Yes, I would be happy to yield.
- 438 Mr. {Waxman.} So as I understand what you are saying,
- 439 you want a debate and you want Congress to pass a law before
- 440 we take action on climate change? Is that correct?
- 441 Mr. {Whitfield.} Well, I think we have taken a lot of

- 442 action on climate change already. That is why our CO2
- 443 emissions are the lowest they have been in 20 years.
- 444 Mr. {Waxman.} Well, I question that, but before we deal
- 445 with coal-burning power plants, which is the largest source
- 446 of these emissions, you want Congress to pass a law? And I
- 447 would submit if you look at the record, Congress doesn't pass
- 448 laws very quickly, and this may take decades, and we could
- 449 get filibusters and we can get committees to block it, and it
- 450 may or may never happen. So we go back to square one, and
- 451 fact, not square one; we go to minus one if we repeal--
- 452 Mr. {Whitfield.} Yes--
- 453 Mr. {Waxman.} --the law that is--
- 454 Mr. {Whitfield.} Well, Mr. Waxman, I mean that the
- 455 reason we want to start on this legislation now is this new
- 456 regulation will take effect in January of next year.
- 457 Mr. {Waxman.} Well, what is your alternative?
- 458 Mr. {Whitfield.} We have an alternative. They are
- 459 going to have to use the best available technology and that
- 460 is what this bill is about. No one expects a new coal-
- 461 powered plant is going to be built immediately because the
- 462 natural gas prices are too low. But if 5 years down the road
- 463 someone decides the technology is there, we have good
- 464 technology for cleaner emissions, and we need it to
- 465 strengthen our economy and create jobs and be more

- 466 competitive in the global marketplace. That is what we are
- 467 trying to do.
- 468 My time is expired so does anyone--the gentlelady from
- 469 California, Ms. Matsui, is recognized for 5 minutes.
- 470 Ms. {Matsui.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- I support Mr. Waxman's amendment. It is just common
- 472 sense. We must do something about climate change. If
- 473 Congress is going to prevent EPA from acting, the
- 474 responsibility to act falls to us, but if Congress can't or
- 475 won't act itself, we shouldn't stop EPA from taking steps to
- 476 protect the American people and the world from the huge harms
- 477 of unabated climate change.
- 478 Across this country we are already seeing the effects of
- 479 climate change: sea level rise, more frequent and more
- 480 intense forest fires, more frequent and more intense
- 481 droughts, more frequent and more intense floods, more extreme
- 482 storm events. People have lost their homes and lost income.
- 483 Lives are at risk. Scientists are confident that these harms
- 484 will rapidly grow worse as carbon pollution continues to
- 485 rise. We no longer have the choice of whether to mitigate
- 486 global warming by reducing carbon pollution or whether to
- 487 adapt to changes it is causing. We waited too long to act.
- 488 Now, we must both mitigate pollution to avert far worse harm
- 489 and adapt to the harm we can no longer avoid.

490 Unfortunately, this bill would do neither. In fact, it 491 would exacerbate the problems we face. The bill would 492 effectively eliminate EPA's authority under the Clean Air Act 493 to require the largest point source of carbon pollution by 494 far--coal-fired power plants--to clean up their pollution. 495 That is not right. Regulating under existing Clean Air Act 496 authority is not the only way we could address carbon 497 pollution. In fact, Congress could adopt new authority that 498 would be broader, more efficient, and more flexible than 499 existing Clean Air Act authorities. 500 President Obama has made it clear that he prefers 501 Congress to act and House Democrats pass a bill to do so, but 502 the congressional majority have overwhelmingly opposed any 503 positive legislation on climate change. President Obama also 504 made clear that doing nothing isn't an option. He pledged 505 that if Congress won't act to protect Americans from carbon 506 pollution, he would, and he is keeping his word. 507 I am confident that the EPA is taking on this task in a 508 deliberate, reasonable, and balanced way. EPA's proposal would require new coal-fired power plants to use available 509 510 and effective technology to control their carbon pollution. 511 This is a balanced approach. It doesn't require plants to 512 capture all or even most of the carbon pollution. It just 513 requires plants to install technology and use it to capture

- 514 and sequester about 1/3 to 1/2 of their carbon pollution.
- 515 Allowing partial capture rather than the full capture
- 516 substantially lowers costs and gives utilities time to gain
- 517 more experience with the technology before any more rigorous
- 518 standards would be considered.
- For existing coal-fired power plants, EPA is talking to
- 520 stakeholders across the country and gathering recommendations
- 521 even before issuing a proposal. I support this approach but
- 522 I also believe we could replace the EPA regulations with a
- 523 broader, more flexible, economy-wide program to reduce carbon
- 524 pollution, and that is why I support Mr. Waxman's amendment.
- 525 We could choose EPA regulations under current authority or we
- 526 could try to come up with something even better, but taking
- 527 no action on climate change would be a disaster for our
- 528 constituents, all Americans, and people across the world.
- 529 And with that, I yield back.
- 530 Mr. {Waxman.} The gentlelady yields to me for--
- Ms. {Matsui.} Yes, I would yield to you.
- 532 Mr. {Waxman.} I thank you for yielding.
- And I just want to point out the basic underlying reason
- 534 why government gets involved in environmental protection.
- 535 There is a failure in the market. There is no reason why any
- 536 business would want to install anti-pollution equipment that
- 537 costs money if their competitors don't also do the same

- 538 thing. Why do it? It doesn't make business sense. So
- 539 government comes in and establishes a level playing field.
- 540 If there is technology, if there is a way to reduce
- 541 pollution, you have to do it. Either government requires a
- 542 specific way to do it or a certain target that must be
- 543 achieved because the market won't push businesses to do it on
- 544 its own.
- Now, the chairman said in his amendment we don't want
- 546 EPA to require technology until technology is already being
- 547 used. Well, why would any profit-making utility want to
- 548 install pollution that costs money unless they are required
- 549 to do it? That is just against common sense. So if we want
- 550 something to be done and make it fair and make it assured for
- 551 the public comments, we have to require it. And we can talk
- 552 about how to require it, but simply to say, oh, we are not
- 553 going to require anything until it is already done is like we
- 554 are not going to have a chicken before the egg. We are not
- 555 going to have an egg before the chicken.
- 556 Thank you for yielding to me.
- Mr. {Whitfield.} Mr. Waxman, I may make one comment.
- 558 When scrubbers--
- 559 Ms. {Matsui.} It is still my time.
- 560 Mr. {Whitfield.} Well, I will just make it on my time.
- 561 When scrubbers--

- Mr. {Griffith.} Move to strike--
- Mr. {Whitfield.} When scrubbers were required, they had
- been adequately demonstrated.
- 565 Mr. {Griffith.} Mr. Chairman.
- Mr. {Whitfield.} I would recognize the chairman for
- 567 Virginia, Mr. Griffith, for 5 minutes.
- Mr. {Griffith.} Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.
- 569 Common sense, common sense, the marketplace won't make them
- 570 do it. So what does that mean? Let me translate that for
- 571 you. What that means is we will make things cost more in the
- 572 United States by having the government raise the cost. We
- 573 will get a level playing field in the United States but an
- 574 unlevel playing field with all of our competitors across the
- 575 world. Do you think that the Chinese are considering this
- 576 policy, adopting this amendment? No, they are not. Do you
- 577 think that any of the other Asian nations or the emerging
- 578 economies of Africa are going to consider this when they do
- 579 it?
- We know that from NASA's studies--that is right,
- 581 science, science--it takes about 10 days for the air to get
- 582 from the middle of the Gobi desert to the eastern shore of
- 583 Virginia, and when that air comes across without even the
- 584 reasonable regulations that we have now, when you add these
- 585 additional regulations on, you push our jobs to China and

- 586 other places in Asia and they send us back, that is right,
- 587 their mercury, their pollution, their problems. We cannot
- 588 solve as one nation of this world the problems that Mr.
- 589 Waxman has referenced. Whatever the problems are, we cannot
- 590 destroy our economy so that we can say, well, we feel good
- 591 about it.
- My district is a poor district compared with Mr.
- 593 Waxman's and others. It has great people who want to work,
- 594 and many of them have been working in the coal industry for
- 595 generations. And many of them today are the casualties in
- 596 the war on coal. And, ladies and gentlemen, I have to tell
- 597 you, we are not surrendering in that war on coal. And I
- 598 appreciate the chairman, Mr. Whitfield, bringing this bill
- 599 forward because this bill is not a surrender. It is more
- 600 like the demand that was made by the Germans at Bastogne to
- 601 General McAuliffe.
- And this bill Chairman Whitfield is saying to those who
- 603 have the war on coal who don't care about the people of the
- 604 coal regions of this country, who don't care if they are
- 605 unemployed, who don't care if they can't even afford the
- 606 cheap seats, we are saying ``Nuts'' to you. We are going to
- 607 support the American economy, we are going to support jobs,
- 608 and we are not going to adopt this amendment.
- 609 I yield back.

- 610 Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentleman yields back.
- Does anyone seek recognition to speak on the gentleman's
- amendment?
- 613 Mr. {Tonko.} Mr. Chair, I--
- Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentleman from New York is
- 615 recognized for 5 minutes.
- 616 Mr. {Tonko.} Thank you.
- I support the amendment by Mr. Waxman. Our House
- 618 Republican colleagues keep mentioning that United States
- 619 greenhouse gas emissions are falling. They suggest that the
- 620 United States doesn't need to do anything more about climate
- 621 change, and I think nothing could be further from the truth.
- 622 The United States' greenhouse gas emissions did fall in 2008
- 623 and 2009, and that was explained primarily by the economic
- 624 recession. That is an understandable statement. But since
- 625 that time, our overall emissions have grown.
- 626 Cumulatively, the United States emissions have grown,
- 627 not fallen, in 2010 and 2011, the 2 most recent years for
- 628 which data are available. Claims that emissions are falling
- 629 are looking only at the energy sector where fuel switching
- 630 from coal to natural gas and electricity generation has
- 631 helped control emissions somewhat. And even those claims are
- 632 no longer accurate. Just yesterday, the Energy Information
- 633 Administration, the EIA, reported that energy-related carbon

- 634 dioxide emissions last year grew by 2 percent as a result of
- 635 fuel switching in the other direction, going from natural gas
- 636 back to coal. So I think that that needs to be stated
- 637 clearly as we review this legislation and the amendment.
- And with that, Mr. Chair, I yield back.
- 639 Mr. {Whitfield.} Did the gentleman yield back?
- The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 5 minutes.
- Mr. {Barton.} And I will yield to Mr. Shimkus after I
- 642 make a brief statement.
- I notice that we are now talking about climate change
- 644 instead of global warming. So when you talk about climate
- 645 change if it is hot in the summer, it is because of CO2 I
- 646 suppose, and if it is cold in the winter, it is because of
- 647 CO2 I suppose. So whichever way it goes, it is because of
- 648 this dreaded CO2. That is a pretty good argument if you can
- 649 sustain it, which, whatever the reality is, it is because of
- 650 the demon CO2.
- 651 Well, the truth is the climate has been changing as far
- 652 as we know as long as there has been an Earth, and it is only
- 653 since about the 1870s or 1880s that we have had manmade CO2
- 654 emissions significant enough that they could even plausibly
- 655 have any kind of an impact. And of course in that brief time
- 656 it has gone up and it has gone down. I mean the temperature
- 657 has gone up and the temperature has gone down.

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          So now that our friends who oppose Mr. Whitfield's bill
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    have the moral high ground of climate change as opposed to
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     global warming, it really doesn't matter what the facts are.
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    They can be against Mr. Whitfield because they know the
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     climate is going to change no matter what. Well, you know,
     let's bring this thing back to economic reality.
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664
          The current EPA proposal or standard would make it
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     impossible to ever build another coal-fired power plant, a
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    new one, because that technology does exist but it is so
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     expensive that the cost of the technology doubles the cost of
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     generating the power. Now, in a scarce market, I guess it is
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    possible that one could economically justify through your
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     stockholders building a power plant that doubles the price of
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    power generation, but we are not in a scarce market.
     in a market where we have more natural gas coming online
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673
     every day and natural gas has a double advantage. It is less
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     expensive than coal, which is a good thing, and it has half
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     the emissions.
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          So what Mr. Whitfield is doing is saying, look, the
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    market is moving away from coal because of economic reasons
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     and environmental reasons, but let's at least give coal a
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     chance. Let's say the standard that can actually meet the
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    marketplace, that you can develop a technology that can
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     actually be competitive in the marketplace, that the
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- 682 utilities can build a coal-fired power plant and actually
- 683 generate power at approximately the same equivalent cost as
- 684 perhaps natural gas. That is all he is saying. I don't
- 685 think that is a bad idea. It gives coal a chance, doesn't
- 686 really change market economics, and maybe our friends out
- 687 there in the research industry can come up with a way through
- 688 sequestration or carbon capture or something that really
- 689 makes some economic sense. But under the current EPA rule,
- 690 you are just, you know, stabbing coal in the back and saying
- 691 we are never going to give you a chance. And Mr. Whitfield's
- 692 bill at least says give coal a chance.
- And with that I yield the remainder of my time to Mr.
- 694 Shimkus.
- 695 Mr. {Shimkus.} Thank you and I will try to be brief.
- Mr. Dingell knows and Mr. Waxman knows that when the
- 697 Clean Air Act was passed, scrubber technology was available.
- 698 And carbon capture and sequestration technology is not
- 699 commercially available at this time, and the Kemper plant is
- 700 a perfect example. It is \$5 billion in overrun with hundreds
- 701 of millions of dollars of investment by the Federal
- 702 Government, and the Southern Company, who is building the
- 703 Kemper plant, said this plant ``cannot be consistently
- 704 replicated on a national level and should not serve as a
- 705 primary basis for new emissions standards impacting all new

- 706 coal-fired power plants.''
- 707 So the point of our debate is the EPA is required, if
- 708 they are going to put new standards on, to have commercially
- 709 available technology to do that. It is not available today,
- 710 and because it is not available today, the EPA should not
- 711 place these standards on. Otherwise, we will fall into what
- 712 Mr. Barton said and Mr. Griffith said, is that you will price
- 713 this power so far out of the market that it won't even be
- 714 viable anymore, which is part of the reason why the war on
- 715 coal is, is to price the cost of electric power through coal,
- 716 which is the cheapest power that you can have today. We just
- 717 want to make sure it is technologically available, and that
- 718 is really the basis, and that is why I ask for people to vote
- 719 against the amendment.
- 720 I yield back Mr. Barton's time.
- 721 Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentleman's time is expired.
- 722 Is there further discussion on the amendment?
- 723 The gentleman from Kentucky is recognized for 5 minutes.
- 724 Mr. {Yarmuth.} Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- I won't take anywhere near the 5 minutes, but so far,
- 726 the entire discussion of this amendment and this bill has
- 727 been related to money and economic factors, and I represent a
- 728 very urban district in which we have two major coal-fired
- 729 power plants and we have schoolchildren living in the

- 730 vicinity of those plants who have elevated incidence of
- 731 asthma and respiratory diseases. We have an elevated rate of
- 732 cancer in the areas immediately surrounding those plants. So
- 733 I think we can talk about climate change and global warming
- 734 and dollars, but there is a human aspect to the impact of
- 735 coal-fired energy, and we feel it in my district and that is
- 736 the case in a number of other districts. So I think we can't
- 737 lose sight of the human impact of these technologies as well.
- 738 Mr. {Waxman.} Does the gentleman yield?
- 739 Mr. {Yarmuth.} I yield to the ranking member.
- 740 Mr. {Waxman.} I thank you for yielding.
- 741 What you are saying is that there is an impact from
- 742 burning coal, an impact from these pollutants. And in the
- 743 urban areas, you see more diseases, more asthma, more health
- 744 problems. Well, who pays for those health problems? Well,
- 745 the patients pay, their insurance companies pay, the
- 746 government pays. That is a form of subsidy to the coal
- 747 industry because they don't pay the full price. They don't
- 748 internalize the cost of the consequences of their business.
- We are also not just seeing the problem from pollution
- 750 localized. We are seeing it universalized in the climate
- 751 change. Climate change is whether it is changing to hot or
- 752 cold, it doesn't make any difference because the pollution
- 753 from carbon and other greenhouse gases is making an impact on

- 754 our country and all around the world. So since we know these
- 755 pollutants are causing these problems, the only prudent thing
- 756 to do is to start reducing the amount of these greenhouse gas
- 757 pollutants.
- And my Republican friends say why should we do it?
- 759 Let's do it internationally. Why should we bear that cost?
- 760 Well, that sounds very noble except then if you look at their
- 761 budget, they want to defund the State Department from being
- 762 able to negotiate international agreements. They want the
- 763 U.S. to pull out of the international climate change program.
- 764 They have a rider saying that we shouldn't require other
- 765 countries, when they build their coal-burning power plants,
- 766 to install technology. They shouldn't have to do it because
- 767 we are not going to do it. If they don't do it and we don't
- 768 do it, what are the consequences to our children and
- 769 grandchildren even in Virginia, even in West Virginia, even
- in Kentucky?
- 771 Now, the history of the Clean Air Act and environmental
- 772 laws is not to take advantage of technology that is there--
- 773 often, that is helpful--but it develops new technology. Is
- 774 this pie-in-the-sky? Well, no. We wanted to reduce the
- 775 emissions from automobiles and therefore the catalytic
- 776 converter was developed. We put a requirement in to reduce
- 777 these pollutants, and therefore, the technology followed it.

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778 That was true of the ACI, the activated carbon injector for
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779 mercury. It was true of a lot of the scrubbers. And we have

- 780 talked about scrubbers and required some of them, there are
- 781 only three units around, the efforts to deal with NOx.
- So the technology is driven forward if we require that
- 783 all of these companies that produce pollution have to reduce
- 784 the pollution. But what this bill, which would amend the
- 785 Clean Air Act wants to have us do is nothing. Don't require
- 786 the coal-burning power plants to do anything. Continue to
- 787 pollute. We are not going to require you to reduce the
- 788 pollution. And it was described as giving coal a break.
- 789 Well, we give coal a break. We don't require them to pay the
- 790 costs of their doing business, the external costs, the
- 791 externalities, as economists would say, for what they do in
- 792 their business. And in fact, we subsidize them. I don't
- 793 know what kind of tax breaks they get, but anything their
- 794 legislators can accomplish to get in law, they have it. And
- 795 this is another bonus to them. It is the children and the
- 796 grandchildren of people all over the world that will suffer
- 797 if we just keep on saying we are not going to do anything and
- 798 that is it.
- 799 Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentleman's time is expired.
- 800 Mr. {Scalise.} Strike the last word.
- 801 Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentleman from Louisiana is

- 802 recognized for 5 minutes.
- 803 Mr. {Scalise.} I thank the chairman for yielding and
- 804 especially for bringing this legislation that I am proud to
- 805 be a cosponsor of.
- If you look at air quality, it is improving right now.
- 807 According to the EPA, total emissions of toxic air pollutants
- 808 have decreased by approximately 42 percent between 1990 and
- 809 2005. So air quality is improving. This Administration
- 810 wants to actually go and do things that will actually not
- 811 only harm the economy but harm people--and we were just
- 812 talking about health; the gentleman from California was
- 813 talking about health--who are going to be the people that
- 814 suffer the most from the kinds of regulations that we are
- 815 seeing being proposed by the Obama Administration through
- 816 EPA? It is poor people, poor people who want to be able to
- 817 afford heat in these winters. They don't want to talk about
- 818 global warming anymore because we had record freezing last
- 819 week. And the people that are hurt by that the most are poor
- 820 people who won't be able to afford those increases in prices.
- These things they are proposing aren't free. They are
- 822 actually incredibly costly, unproven, and will actually hurt
- 823 poor people, make it harder for them to warm themselves when
- 824 it is freezing. Again, they don't want to talk about global
- 825 warming. Do you know how cold it was last week? It was so

- 826 cold that it was reported that in Chicago the polar bears
- 827 couldn't even go outside because it was too cold. It was too
- 828 cold for polar bears last week. And they want to actually
- 829 make it harder for poor people to heat their homes.
- 830 We have got commonsense legislation that says if you can
- 831 prove scientifically that this ought to be done and can be
- 832 done, then just go through the normal legislative process.
- 833 You know, when I took civics, Congress was the one that
- 834 supposedly made laws. The executive branch carried out the
- 835 laws. We have got an executive branch--
- Mr. {Waxman.} Will the gentleman yield? We have a law-
- 837 -
- 838 Mr. {Scalise.} --that thinks he can write laws.
- 839 Mr. {Waxman.} --that you want to stop.
- 840 Mr. {Scalise.} We have an executive who thinks--
- Mr. {Waxman.} We have a law--
- Mr. {Scalise.} --that he writes the law.
- Mr. {Waxman.} --that you want to repeal.
- Mr. {Scalise.} As it relates to the healthcare law, he
- 845 wants to go write laws. If he has a problem that his laws
- 846 create, then he will just change the law himself. Who needs
- 847 Congress? There is a legislative branch and that the
- 848 Constitution says is the body you go to, the people who were
- 849 elected to make policy. And we debate that policy, and if it

850 is so important that the law needs to be changed and the 851 standards need to be changed, even as EPA is saying air 852 quality has improved by 42 percent, if they think there is a 853 problem, come before Congress and state your case. 854 But in the meantime, we deal with the real impacts, as Mr. Griffith said, when this Administration makes changes 855 856 unilaterally that cost jobs, that run jobs off to foreign countries. It is not like it all happens in a vacuum. 857 858 jobs that will then be shifted to China, the higher 859 electricity costs that will be imposed on poor people are going to hurt them directly, but then the jobs that hurt our 860 861 economy go to places like China where they don't have the 862 environmental standards we have. They don't have that 42 863 percent improvement in air quality that we have. 864 We have good standards because of the policy debates 865 here, not because some President says I want to act 866 unilaterally. Congress tried to pass cap-and-trade under a 867 Democratic-controlled House and Senate and they couldn't do 868 So this is the legislative body. This is how it is supposed to be handled. But just remember that as this 869 870 Administration wants to do other things outside of the realm 871 of what Congress intended, they have devastating impacts on poor people and on our economy, and then those jobs that are 872

shifted, the carbon leakage that occurs when these jobs go to

- 874 Brazil and when they go to China and when they go to India,
- 875 those countries don't have our standards, yet all of that
- 876 carbon goes up in the same atmosphere.
- 877 So just think about the damage you are doing if you are
- 878 opposing this legislation that says commonsense standards
- 879 should apply, and if changes need to happen, go through
- 880 Congress. Come to the elected body of the people and state
- 881 your case in a transparent and open fashion. This is an
- 882 administration that promised to be the most transparent ever,
- 883 and yet they want to do things more and more behind closed
- 884 doors administratively where they don't even have the legal
- 885 authority. So let's get back to a regular order where the
- 886 legislative process is respected again, where the will of the
- 887 people of this country is respected again, and where the
- 888 impact of these devastating policies on the very most
- 889 vulnerable, the poor people, are considered with all of the
- 890 other impacts and respecting the fact that even according to
- 891 the EPA, we have a 42 percent improvement in air quality. We
- 892 don't want to hurt that progress by taking a step backwards.
- 893 So I thank again the gentleman for bringing this bill and I
- 894 yield back the balance of my time.
- 895 Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentleman yields back.
- 896 Is there further discussion on the Waxman amendment?
- The gentleman from California is recognized for 5

- 898 minutes.
- Mr. {McNerney.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 900 And I want to say I sympathize with my colleague, one
- 901 from Virginia whose folks are going to lose their jobs or if
- 902 they claim they are going to lose their jobs. My district
- 903 has very high unemployment, at least twice the national
- 904 average, so I understand the pain. But I submit that the EPA
- 905 rules will benefit the coal industry by making it more viable
- 906 in the future. If we allow the coal industry to continue to
- 907 burn and pollute, ultimately, there is going to be an outcry
- 908 and the coal industry is going to be shut down, and we don't
- 909 want to see that. We want to see all forms of power, of
- 910 energy use.
- 911 So if we provide incentives for innovation, then the
- 912 industry will take up those incentives and it will improve.
- 913 We will see pollution reduction and we will see cost
- 914 reduction and there would be a viable industry long into the
- 915 future. And I think that is an important consideration, but
- 916 also what about the people that were devastated by super
- 917 storm Sandy and the \$60 billion cost to the United States
- 918 Government? These weather events are going to be more
- 919 costly, they are going to be more devastating, they are going
- 920 to hurt more and more people. We can't ignore that.
- 921 And finally, I would like to address the provision that

- 922 requires six demonstrated units that haven't benefited from
- 923 any public assistance. I mean that could include local
- 924 taxation. Basically, what that provision does is it
- 925 eliminates the ability of the EPA to require new innovation
- 926 because, as Mr. Waxman pointed out, it requires that they
- 927 demonstrate, but they can't demonstrate economically when
- 928 they are in a competitive field. If you install technology
- 929 and your competitors aren't required to do so, you are going
- 930 to have a higher price and you are going to see a reduction
- 931 in competition. We have to raise the standard across the
- 932 board. We will see technology improve, we will see coal have
- 933 a long life in this country, and for those reasons, I support
- 934 Mr. Waxman's amendment.
- 935 And I yield to Mr. Waxman.
- 936 Mr. {Waxman.} I just want to say that I have been here
- 937 for decades in Congress and I was here when people came
- 938 forward and said we have got pollution problems. Congress,
- 939 we want you to pass a law to deal with it. We don't want the
- 940 Congress to set the standards or dictate the ways of
- 941 reduction for pollutants, but we want to have a law called
- 942 the Clean Air Act where the Environmental Protection Agency
- 943 develops the expertise. They have to look at all the
- 944 scientific information and make a determination. And then
- 945 when they set standards, the standards are to protect public

946 health. And in order to achieve these standards, they 947 require that reductions in pollution that threatens public 948 health must be reduced. And if it is a localized matter, 949 they leave it to the States to figure out their own 950 strategies. Sometimes it is a problem between different 951 States if there is pollution going from one State to another. 952 So to tell my friend from Louisiana this is the 953 Congress, we should have a debate and then pass a law, we had 954 that debate and we passed a law. We passed a law that was 955 originally signed by President Nixon. We had a law that was 956 last signed after an overwhelming bipartisan vote of the 957 Congress by President George H.W. Bush. And that law is the 958 law that this bill before us would stop from being 959 implemented when it comes to the carbon pollution. 960 Now, you could say, oh, wait a second. We didn't hear 961 anything about carbon pollution in 1990. Well, some of us 962 did, but it wasn't spelled out specifically. But what was in 963 the law was that when pollutants cause harm to public health 964 and safety, the law required EPA to make a finding on that 965 regard and then to regulate. And who decided that? Well, 966 the Supreme Court of the United States. You might not like 967 their decision. You know what, I don't like a lot of their 968 decisions either, but we are a nation of laws. And what this

committee majority seems to want to do is to repeal the law

- 970 and to change its impact when it comes to coal-burning power
- 971 plants. EPA, you can no longer regulate it unless there is a
- 972 technology that can achieve the reductions that is already
- 973 being used. Well, why would we have anybody who runs a
- 974 business put in the technology if their competitors aren't
- 975 going to do it, if it costs them money, if it is going to
- 976 detract from their business, which is to reward their
- 977 shareholders?
- 978 So I just want to say a law is in effect. I complement
- 979 the gentleman from Louisiana. I am always amazed at his
- 980 skill in debate. I often felt that if I ever killed
- 981 somebody, I would ask him to represent me and he would
- 982 probably convince me I didn't do it. But that doesn't change
- 983 the world, and the world is we have a law that has been
- 984 passed and this bill would repeal it. Thank you.
- 985 Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentleman's time is expired.
- 986 At this time I recognize the gentleman from West
- 987 Virginia, Mr. McKinley, for 5 minutes.
- 988 Mr. {McKinley.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 989 I really hadn't intended to speak. I thought this was
- 990 going to be something your bill would pass through relatively
- 991 quickly with that. But I have listened to the debate on a
- 992 couple of the issues that have been raised. One of us talked
- 993 about asthma and health standards. If someone would just pay

- 994 a little bit more attention to--EPA's own reports are
- 995 indicating that indoor air quality is far more dangerous than
- 996 outdoor air, as much as 100 times worse, and when people
- 997 spend 90 percent of their time indoors, we have not been able
- 998 to demonstrate that disease or the health risks that they are
- 999 addressing or facing have been caused by outdoor air or
- 1000 indoor air. So you can walk through a park a mile away from
- 1001 a powerhouse and be 100 times safer than breathing air in
- 1002 your own home or in your office, but yet we keep attacking
- 1003 our coal-fired powerhouses across America because it is easy
- 1004 to blame them.
- To really address our indoor air quality, California,
- 1006 surely the gentleman from California has read their law.
- 1007 They are much more aggressive in California trying to address
- 1008 it because they understand it is not coal-fired powerhouses.
- 1009 It is much more dangerous on our indoor air quality.
- 1010 Well, let's go to some of the other matters that were
- 1011 also talked about, about what answer do we have? I think
- 1012 what we are trying to do--
- 1013 Mr. {Whitfield.} David, excuse me for interrupting.
- 1014 Would you speak into your microphone? I have been told that
- 1015 on the TV they are not picking up your voice.
- 1016 Mr. {McKinley.} The issue of trying to address the
- 1017 climate change, I think we are doing it in a bill that is

going to be on this omnibus bill where we are reversing a

1019 decision from this Administration not to fund coal-fired

1020 powerhouses in Africa because what is happening in Africa has

1021 been the fact--and Al Gore and others have been talking about

1022 that the burning of the tropical rainforests in Africa and

1023 South America and elsewhere is six times worse than our CO2

emissions into the world, six times worse.

1024

1025 And all they want, the people in Africa who want to 1026 build a powerhouse so that they can cook with electricity, 1027 they can heat their homes, and we are saying because of World 1028 Bank and the Export-Import Bank and the Treasury are saying 1029 we are not going to loan you any money. I think you are 1030 going to see a change. The fact that under the omnibus bill 1031 we are going to allow them to go back and refinance so that 1032 they can build coal-fired powerhouses there. And we are 1033 going to reduce the CO2 emissions in the world by what we are 1034 doing by addressing the poverty in this situation.

If we want the nations of the world to emerge from poverty, you have got to give them electricity. And when they have to tear down their tropical rainforests to burn their wood so that they have heat for their homes where they can cook, we are impoverished a whole section of our world. That is not right. And they are contributing so much unfortunately to CO2 emissions.

1042 So what are we doing under this administration? He said 1043 he wants to maintain them at a status quo, and what we are 1044 saying is we are trying--instead of that, if it is 2/10 of 1 1045 percent emissions of our coal-fired powerhouses in America--1046 2/10 of 1 percent of the CO2 emissions of the world come from 1047 our coal-fired powerhouses -- we are going to put at risk 1048 hundreds of thousands if not millions of jobs in America when 1049 we know this isn't the problem. It is easy to pick on from 1050 the other side. But the science doesn't back it up. 1051 And I get so frustrated sitting here listening to the 1052 debate about picking on coal-fired powerhouses when the 1053 gentleman from Virginia talks about we can accomplish all 1054 this, we are just going to add to the cost of adding product. 1055 We are going to hurt our middle class. We are going to cause 1056 even a greater division between the rich and the poor when we 1057 start raising utility bills. We are going to drive more jobs 1058 offshore. This is serious business, and this idea of pushing 1059 an ideology only crushes an industry here in America and puts 1060 at risk jobs all across--it is not just coalmining jobs; it 1061 is the railroad workers, it is the truck drivers, it is the 1062 timber industry. All that is affected by our fossil fuels, 1063 our coal. Let's be careful about it instead of playing an 1064 ideological fight. Let's find out where the real fight is 1065 and that is to get our people with jobs again.

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1066 I yield back the balance of my time.
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1067 Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentleman yields back the balance

1068 of his time.

1069 Is there further discussion on the Waxman amendment?

1070 If there is no further discussion, the vote would occur

1071 on the Waxman amendment. All those in favor shall signify by

1072 saying aye.

1073 All those opposed, no.

1074 In the opinion of the chair, the nays have it.

1075 Mr. {Waxman.} Roll call vote.

1076 Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentleman requests a recorded

1077 vote. The clerk will call the roll.

1078 The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise?

1079 Mr. {Scalise.} No.

1080 The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise votes no.

1081 Mr. Hall?

1082 Mr. {Hall.} No.

The {Clerk.} Mr. Hall votes no.

1084 Mr. Shimkus?

1085 Mr. {Shimkus.} No.

1086 The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus votes no.

1087 Mr. Pitts?

1088 Mr. {Pitts.} No.

The {Clerk.} Mr. Pitts votes no.

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1090
           Mr. Terry?
1091
           Mr. {Terry.} No.
1092
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Terry votes no.
1093
           Mr. Burgess?
1094
           Dr. {Burgess.} No.
1095
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Burgess votes no.
1096
           Mr. Latta?
1097
           Mr. {Latta.} No.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Latta votes no.
1098
1099
           Mr. Cassidy?
           Dr. {Cassidy.} No.
1100
1101
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Cassidy votes no.
1102
           Mr. Olson?
1103
           Mr. {Olson.} No.
1104
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Olson votes no.
1105
          Mr. McKinley?
1106
           Mr. {McKinley.} No.
1107
           The {Clerk.} Mr. McKinley votes no.
           Mr. Gardner?
1108
1109
           Mr. {Gardner.} No.
1110
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Gardner votes no.
1111
           Mr. Pompeo?
          Mr. {Pompeo.} No.
1112
1113
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pompeo votes no.
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1114
          Mr. Kinzinger?
1115
          Mr. {Kinzinger.} No.
1116
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Kinzinger votes no.
1117
          Mr. Griffith?
1118
          Mr. {Griffith.} No.
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Griffith votes no.
1119
          Mr. Barton?
1120
1121
          Mr. {Barton.} No.
1122
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Barton votes no.
          Mr. Upton?
1123
1124
          The {Chairman.} No.
1125
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Upton votes no.
1126
          Mr. Rush?
1127
          [No response.]
1128
          The {Clerk.} Mr. McNerney?
          Mr. {McNerney.} Votes aye.
1129
1130
          The {Clerk.} Mr. McNerney votes aye.
          Mr. Tonko?
1131
1132
          Mr. {Tonko.} Aye.
1133
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Tonko votes aye.
1134
          Mr. Yarmuth?
1135
          Mr. {Yarmuth.} Aye.
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Yarmuth votes aye.
1136
1137
          Mr. Engel?
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1138
           [No response.]
1139
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Green?
1140
           Mr. {Green.} No.
1141
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Green votes no.
1142
           Mrs. Capps?
           Mrs. {Capps.} Aye.
1143
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Capps votes aye.
1144
1145
           Mr. Doyle?
1146
           Mr. {Doyle.} Aye.
1147
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Doyle votes aye.
1148
           Mr. Barrow?
1149
           Mr. {Barrow.} No.
1150
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Barrow votes no.
1151
           Ms. Matsui?
1152
           Ms. {Matsui.} Aye.
1153
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Matsui votes aye.
1154
           Ms. Christensen?
           Dr. {Christensen.} Aye.
1155
1156
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Christensen votes aye.
          Ms. Castor?
1157
1158
           Ms. {Castor.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor votes aye.
1159
1160
          Mr. Waxman?
1161
           Mr. {Waxman.} Aye.
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- The {Clerk.} Mr. Waxman votes aye.
- 1163 Chairman Whitfield?
- 1164 Mr. {Whitfield.} No.
- The {Clerk.} Chairman Whitfield votes no.
- 1166 Mr. {Whitfield.} Are all Members recorded?
- The gentleman from New York, Mr. Engel.
- 1168 Mr. {Engel.} Votes aye.
- The {Clerk.} Mr. Engel votes aye.
- 1170 Mr. {Whitfield.} Does anyone seek recognition to be
- 1171 recorded?
- Okay. The clerk will report the result.
- 1173 The {Clerk.} Mr. Chairman, on that vote there were 10
- 1174 ayes and 19 noes.
- 1175 Mr. {Whitfield.} 10 ayes, 19 noes, the amendment is not
- 1176 agreed to.
- 1177 At this time does anyone seek recognition to offer
- 1178 another amendment to the bill?
- 1179 Seeing no one seeking recognition, the question would
- 1180 now occur on forwarding H.R. 3826 to the full committee.
- 1181 All those in favor of the legislation, signify by saying
- 1182 aye.
- 1183 All those opposed, no.
- In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it.
- 1185 Mr. {Waxman.} Roll call vote, Mr. Chairman.

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Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentleman asks for a roll call
1186
1187
     vote. The clerk will call the roll.
1188
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise?
1189
          Mr. {Scalise.} Aye.
1190
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise votes aye.
          Mr. Hall?
1191
          Mr. {Hall.} Aye.
1192
1193
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Hall votes aye.
1194
          Mr. Shimkus?
1195
          Mr. {Shimkus.} Aye.
1196
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus votes aye.
1197
          Mr. Pitts?
          Mr. {Pitts.} Aye.
1198
1199
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pitts votes aye.
1200
          Mr. Terry?
1201
          Mr. {Terry.} Aye.
1202
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Terry votes aye.
          Mr. Burgess?
1203
          Dr. {Burgess.} Aye.
1204
1205
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Burgess votes aye.
1206
          Mr. Latta?
          Mr. {Latta.} Aye.
1207
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Latta votes aye.
1208
1209
          Mr. Cassidy?
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1210
          Dr. {Cassidy.} Aye.
1211
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Cassidy votes aye.
1212
           Mr. Olson?
1213
          Mr. {Olson.} Aye.
1214
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Olson votes aye.
          Mr. McKinley?
1215
          Mr. {McKinley.} Aye.
1216
1217
           The {Clerk.} Mr. McKinley votes aye.
1218
          Mr. Gardner?
1219
          Mr. {Gardner.} Aye.
1220
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Gardner votes aye.
1221
          Mr. Pompeo?
1222
          Mr. {Pompeo.} Aye.
1223
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pompeo votes aye.
1224
          Mr. Kinzinger?
1225
          Mr. {Kinzinger.} Aye.
1226
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Kinzinger votes aye.
1227
          Mr. Griffith?
          Mr. {Griffith.} Aye.
1228
1229
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Griffith votes aye.
1230
          Mr. Barton?
1231
          Mr. {Barton.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Barton votes aye.
1232
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1233

Mr. Upton?

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1234
           The {Chairman.} Aye.
1235
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Upton votes aye.
1236
           Mr. Rush?
1237
           [No response.]
1238
           The {Clerk.} Mr. McNerney?
          Mr. {McNerney.} Votes no.
1239
           The {Clerk.} Mr. McNerney votes no.
1240
1241
          Mr. Tonko?
1242
           Mr. {Tonko.} No.
1243
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Tonko votes no.
1244
          Mr. Yarmuth?
1245
          Mr. {Yarmuth.} No.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Yarmuth votes no.
1246
1247
          Mr. Engel?
1248
          Mr. {Engel.} No.
1249
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Engel votes no.
1250
          Mr. Green?
          Mr. {Green.} No.
1251
1252
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Green votes no.
1253
          Mrs. Capps?
1254
          Mrs. {Capps.} No.
          The {Clerk.} Mrs. Capps votes no.
1255
1256
          Mr. Doyle?
1257
          Mr. {Doyle.} No.
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1258
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Doyle votes no.
1259
          Mr. Barrow?
1260
          Mr. {Barrow.} Aye.
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Barrow votes aye.
1261
1262
          Ms. Matsui?
1263
          Ms. {Matsui.} No.
          The {Clerk.} Ms. Matsui votes no.
1264
1265
          Ms. Christensen?
1266
          Dr. {Christensen.} No.
1267
          The {Clerk.} Ms. Christensen votes no.
1268
          Ms. Castor?
1269
          Ms. {Castor.} No.
1270
          The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor votes no.
1271
          Mr. Waxman?
1272
          Mr. {Waxman.} No.
1273
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Waxman votes no.
1274
         Chairman Whitfield?
          Mr. {Whitfield.} Aye.
1275
          The {Clerk.} Chairman Whitfield votes aye.
1276
1277
          Mr. {Whitfield.} Does anyone seek recognition to record
1278
     their vote?
          Will the clerk please report the result?
1279
1280
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Chairman, on that vote there were 18
     ayes and 11 noes.
1281
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- 1282 Mr. {Whitfield.} The legislation is agreed to, 18 ayes,
- 1283 11 nays, so the ayes have it and the bill is agreed to.
- 1284 Without objection, staff is authorized to make technical
- 1285 and conforming changes to the legislation approved by the
- 1286 Subcommittee today. So ordered.
- 1287 And pursuant to a discussion with Mr. McNerney, we have
- 1288 letters from organizations and labor unions in support of
- 1289 this legislation, and we have letters from groups opposed to
- 1290 the legislation. Those letters will be placed into the
- 1291 record.
- 1292 [The information follows:]
- 1293 ******** COMMITTEE INSERT **********

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1294 Mr. {Whitfield.} And without objection, the
1295 Subcommittee now stands adjourned.
1296 [Whereupon, at 11:40 a.m., the Subcommittee was
1297 adjourned.]
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