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Bob Kahn
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June 9, 1989

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FACT SHEET

CLEAN AIR ACT

Today, President Bush proposed innovative revisions to the Clean Air Act to strengthen the Law's current provisions and to require year-to-year improvements in cleaning up the Nation's air. The Administration's proposal calls for measures to reduce acid rain, urban smog, and air toxics. The President's proposal is a comprehensive approach to break the stalemate which has stalled progress toward clean air for over 10 years.

The President's proposals are grounded in the belief that every American has the right both to clean air and to be protected from the ill effects of toxic pollution. The proposals will also protect forests and lakes in both the Northeast and Canada, which have been impacted by acid rain.

The Clean Air Act, first passed in 1970, has achieved significant reduction in air pollution in the face of strong economic growth. Today, we as a Nation spend about \$35 billion each year to control air pollution. Nevertheless, serious problems persist. Over 100 cities including 150 million people are not attaining the health standards for carbon monoxide and ozone. Acid rain is killing lakes and fish in many parts of the country and may be contributing to loss of vegetation in some areas. We know more about risks associated with certain toxic pollutants.

Further progress in achieving environmental protection, in the face of continued economic growth and greater use of the automobile requires innovative solutions to meet clean air goals.

The President's plan will:

- o By the year 2000, cut in half (by 10 million tons) sulfur dioxide emissions that cause acid rain.
- o Bring all cities currently not meeting the health standards for ozone and carbon monoxide to attainment. Most cities will attain the standard by 1995, with a goal of achieving attainment in all but the most severe cities by the year 2000.
- o Require industrial sources emitting cancer-causing compounds to achieve a 75 to 90 percent reduction of those compounds. Taken together with efforts to reduce cancer-causing emissions from cars and trucks, these efforts will save over three-fourths of the cancer deaths these emissions are suspected of causing

yearly.

Fundamental Principles

Five principles underlie the goals of the President's clean air proposals and the means for accomplishing them.

- o Protection of Public Health. The goal of the legislation is to prevent public exposure to cancer-causing agents and to protect those citizens, especially vulnerable populations, such as the elderly, asthmatics and children, who live in cities which don't attain the health standards.
- o Improved Quality of Life. The proposal will improve the quality of life by exercising responsible stewardship over our environment for future generations.
- o Early Reductions and Steady Progress. The proposal establishes realistic timeframes to meet air quality goals, but requires early reductions and steady progress.
- o Harnessing the Power of the Marketplace. The proposal calls for the use of marketable permits to achieve acid rain reductions and emissions trading to achieve reductions from automobile pollution.
- o Innovative Technologies. The proposal encourages development of clean coal technology, alternative fuel systems for automobiles, and other cost-effective innovations.

ACID RAIN

Highlights

- o Sulfur dioxide reductions of 10 million tons and nitrogen oxide reductions of 2 million tons.
- o Four million tons of reductions in the first phase by 1995.
- o Marketable permits to allow maximum flexibility in achieving reductions.

Background

"Acid rain" occurs when sulfur dioxide (SO₂) and nitrogen oxide (NO_x) emissions undergo a chemical change in the atmosphere and return to the earth.

2000

Building on EPA's existing reduction success credits saved 10's Bill
 Cool out - freeze pollutants

Approximately 20 million tons of SO₂ are emitted annually in the U.S., three-quarters from the burning of fossil fuels by electric utilities; 20 percent from other, more widely dispersed industrial sources; and 5 percent from transportation sources. The source of most SO₂ emissions causing acid rain are old (pre-1971) electric power plants, not subject to the existing Clean Air Act's strict emissions requirements that regulate plants. The country's 50 largest power plants are responsible for about half of all SO₂ emissions. About 20 million tons of NO_x are emitted per year, with transportation sources accounting for half.

Acid rain causes damage to lakes, forests, and buildings, and contributes to reduced visibility.

Since 1970, the U.S. has spent \$225 billion to control SO₂ and NO_x. American industry spends about \$33 billion a year on these controls (\$10 billion by the electric utility industry).

Any acid rain control program will increase electricity rates for affected utilities. Generally speaking, however, proposals with greater flexibility will result in smaller rate increases. Electric rate increases would be most severe in the midwest. Estimates of the increase in the most affected states range from 2 percent to 7 percent. Americans spend over \$160 billion per year on electricity. At the most, any acid rain controls currently proposed here and elsewhere would cost less than 5 percent of that total.

The President's proposal calls for:

- o A reduction of 10 million tons of sulfur dioxide by the year 2000, using a baseline year of 1980 for tons of SO₂ emitted, primarily from coal-fired power plants.
- o An extension to the year 2003 for plants adopting clean coal technologies.
- o A two-phase program with a first phase reduction of 1995 and a second phase reduction by 2000.
- * o A first phase reduction of 4 million tons of SO₂ by 1995 (from 1980 baseline levels), or a reduction of 5 million tons of SO₂.
- * o A first phase program (will target the plants emitting the most sulfur dioxide) (or) (require all affected plants to reduce their emissions by half in the first phase) covering 20 of the Nation's largest utilities, based on a 1.1 pound limit, or 107 plants primarily in the midwest required to meet a 2.5 pound limit.

- o A 2 million ton reduction of NO_x or whatever results from full NO_x/SO_x trading.
- o Maximum flexibility in obtaining reductions through a system of marketable permits to allow utilities to achieve required reductions in the most cost-effective manner. The first phase trading would occur among utilities within a state or within a utility system. Full interstate trading would be allowed in phase II.

Interstate 1st phase
Interstate 2nd phase

o The estimated cost of the President's proposal would be \$3.8 billion annually in the second phase, with first phase costs of (\$0.8 to \$1.3 billion). These costs are close to half as much as proposals mandating the use of specific technology.

URBAN AIR QUALITY

Highlights

- o Sharply cut pollution (primarily smog) in our Nation's cities to bring all of them into compliance with the air quality standards and to set realistic timetables for attaining the standards.
- o Promote alternative fuels to help cars *burn* cleaner. *burn & much sun*
- o Harness the power of the marketplace to get reductions *to improve air quality*

OZONE

Background

Over 100 million people live in 81 cities across the country that exceed the health standard for ozone. In some cities, such as Los Angeles, the situation is persistent and severe (176 days in violation of the health standard in 1988); in other cities the problem is marginal (Lancaster, PA, is listed as non-attainment, but, in fact, has exceeded the Federal standard only 4 hours in the last 3 years).

The Clean Air Act requires attainment of air quality standards (NAAQS) that protect public health with an adequate margin of safety. The Clean Air Act assumes that all cities would have attained the ozone and carbon monoxide standards no later than 1987. EPA has been ordered to promulgate Federal Implementation Plans (FIPs) in some cases where the deadline has been exceeded.

The current ozone standard is 0.12 parts per million (ppm) over a one-hour period. Ozone is suspected of playing a role in the

long-term development of chronic lung diseases, permanent lung structure damage, and in initiating asthma attacks.

In addition to health effects, ozone has ^{adverse} "welfare" effects on vegetation, including crops such as soybeans, wheat and corn; is damaging forests in southern California; and is suspected as a contributing agent in damage to forests in the Southeastern U.S.

Unlike other NAAQS pollutants, ozone -- the major component of urban smog -- is not emitted directly. Instead, it is formed when volatile organic compounds (VOCs) are mixed with nitrogen oxides (NO_x) in the presence of sunlight. Heat speeds up the reaction, and therefore concentrations are usually higher in the summer months. Areas with hotter climates are especially susceptible to ozone problems.

Major sources of VOCs are motor vehicles (40%); small "area sources," e.g., bakeries, dry cleaners, and consumer solvents (40%); large point sources, e.g., petroleum refineries (15%); and gasoline refueling (5%). Many large point sources have already been required to reduce emissions by roughly 80 percent from uncontrolled levels under the Clean Air Act, and tailpipe emissions from new vehicles have been reduced by 90 percent. The smaller "area" sources are largely uncontrolled.

VOC and NO_x emissions have decreased nationally since 1978 -- VOCs by 17 percent and NO_x by 8 percent -- despite growth in population, travel and industrial activity. As a consequence, the trend in ambient ozone concentrations was actually down by 9 percent from 1979 to 1987. Increases did occur in 1987 and 1988.

Over the next decade both EPA and the Federal Highway Administration estimate greater use of the automobile will begin to outpace fleet turnover and VOC emissions will increase after 2000 from a 40 to 60 percent increase in vehicle miles travelled.

The President's Proposal

OPTION I

Control programs under current law, including automobile and truck tailpipe emission standards, inspection and maintenance, volatility controls, and selected stationary source controls will be able to significantly reduce ozone causing emissions, but will leave 70 or more cities out of attainment.

A few areas of the country have severe air quality problems that cannot be remedied without additional innovative approaches.

In an ambitious effort to bring all cities into attainment, the President's proposals call for:

- o Further tightening the volatility requirements for gasoline nationwide during the summer months to reduce

evaporative emissions which cause ozone formation by 8 percent.

- o Reductions in vehicle evaporative emissions caused by automobile running losses.
- o Federal regulations to control damaging emissions from treatment, storage and disposal of hazardous waste.
- o Providing the authority to study and, if necessary, regulate VOC emissions from small sources such as consumer solvents and paints.
- ~~o Proposing an innovative market-based program to reduce both ozone and toxics emissions from fuels.~~
- o Reconciling the automobile and the environment to allow individuals to use cars without Federal restrictions.
- o Promoting alternative fuels, such as clean-burning methanol, natural gas, and ethanol, which substantially reduce ozone and CO and air toxics.
- o Setting performance-based standards for fuels and automobiles to meet the President's commitment to additional emissions reductions from motor vehicles.
- o Meeting performance standards through a variety of automobile controls, including tailpipe controls, on trucks and autos, improved inspection and maintenance, extended useful life (and alternative fuels).
- o Targeting toxic constituents of gasoline, such as benzene, toluene and xylene, and allowing averaging, banking and trading of credits among companies.
- o Providing realistic timetables for attainment, tailored to the seriousness of the non-attainment problem in given areas. (Most areas would be required to attain by 1995. About 20 areas would be given until 2000. A deadline of 2010 would be allowed for the most severe areas (Los Angeles, New York and Houston) if they cannot attain by 2000, but in return, a demonstration of annual progress toward attainment would be required.)
- o Discretionary sanctions would be available to EPA if areas do not show progress toward attaining the standard.

OPTION III

In an ambitious effort, the President's proposal will reduce

urban smog and bring all cities not meeting the clean air standard into attainment by the end of the century. It will:

- o Set deadlines which require less serious areas to attain earlier (1995) but provide longer deadlines for more serious areas (2000).
- o A few severe areas will be allowed a deadline of 2010 in return for continued annual progress.
- o Require reductions in current levels of volatile organic compounds (precursors to ozone) by nearly half of current levels through additional stationary and mobile source controls and cleaner fuels. These controls include volatility controls, tailpipe standards on trucks and autos, capture of evaporative emissions, improved inspection and maintenance, extended useful life, authority to regulate consumer solvents and paints, controls on stationary sources, and an alternative fuels program.

Specifically, the proposal calls for:

- o Further tightening the volatility requirements for gasoline nationwide during the summer months to reduce evaporative emissions which cause ozone formation by 8 percent.
- o Reductions in vehicle evaporative emissions caused by automobile running losses.
- o Tighter tailpipe standards for automobiles to the level to be required on all California vehicles (.41 to .25 gpm).
- o A first time requirement for light duty trucks to meet the same tailpipe standard now required of automobiles (.41).
- o Expanded vehicle inspection and maintenance programs in serious non-attainment areas.
- o Requirements to extend the life of emissions control devices from 50,000 miles to 100,000 miles.
- o Federal regulations to control damaging emissions from treatment, storage and disposal of hazardous waste.
- o Provide the authority to study and, if necessary, regulate VOC emissions from small sources such as consumer solvents and paints for the first time.

- o Provide EPA new authority to issue control technology guidelines to major stationary source emitters (factories and plants). The most cost-effective control guidelines will be issued first.
- o Provide for the use of alternative fuels in the most serious non-attainment areas to reach 1,000,000 cars by the year 1997. The program will provide for ____

The Long-Term Clean Fuels Program

The Administration proposes to replace a portion of the gasoline fleet in certain cities with new vehicles that operate on clean burning fuels. This will be a bold, cost-effective strategy for significantly reducing the automobile's contribution to ozone pollution.

The program will:

- o Foster the production and sale of clean alternative fuels and vehicles beginning in 1995.
- o Achieve the introduction of one million alternative fueled vehicles per year (approximately 8 percent of total vehicle sales), and the general availability of clean fuels in the cities where the vehicles are to be sold and used under the following schedule:
 - 500,000 vehicles in 1995
 - 750,000 vehicles in 1996
 - 1,000,000 vehicles in 1997 and thereafter
- o The initial program will require that a percentage of the motor vehicles sold in the following metropolitan areas beginning in 1995 be capable of operating on alternative clean fuels. These cities have recorded the worst ozone levels: Los Angeles, Houston, New York City, Milwaukee, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Greater Connecticut, San Diego, Chicago.
- o Other cities may be included in the program at their request.

The long Term Clean Fuels Program is designed to reconcile the growing use of the automobile with the desire to protect the environment concerns. The program will achieve significant reductions in the overall emissions of toxic air pollutants from aromatics. The Long Term Clean Fuels Program, in combination with the other motor vehicle emission controls proposed here, will shrink the contribution of vehicles to the ozone problem from the current 40 percent to about 10 percent in the next

century. Adoption of this program could provide an alternative to other, more disruptive emission control measures considered by some states, such as mandatory driving reductions.

CARBON MONOXIDE

Background

There are 52 areas not meeting the standard for carbon monoxide (CO).

Carbon monoxide is a colorless, odorless gas that tends to reduce the oxygen carrying capacity of the blood. It is a particularly serious health threat to individuals who suffer from cardiovascular disease, especially those with angina or heart disease. There is limited information, derived from animal studies, suggesting that CO may adversely affect development of the fetus.

Two-thirds of CO emissions come from mobile sources. If an area exceeds the standard for two or more 8-hour periods, it is classified non-attainment. Fifteen of the 50 carbon monoxide non-attainment areas are moderately out of attainment. An additional 6 are seriously out of attainment.

Emissions of carbon monoxide decreased 25 percent from 1978 to 1987, due largely to reductions in mobile sources emissions. This decrease occurred despite a 24 percent increase in vehicle miles travelled in the last 10 years. Some improvement will continue from fleet turnover. (Cars purchased before 1981 amount to only 38 percent of the vehicles miles traveled (VMT), but they account for over 86 percent of CO emissions.)

This improvement is expected to level off in the 1992, however, because EPA projects continuing sharp increases in vehicle miles travelled (VMT).

- o Require clean burning oxygenated fuels to be blended with gasoline and sold during winter months in serious CO non-attainment areas. Cities specifically targeted would be _____, _____.
- o Require EPA, within 12 months, to issue regulations requiring light duty trucks to meet a 3.4 grams per mile standard by 1992, reducing CO emissions about 2 percent.
- o Require EPA to issue regulations within 12 months for a CO cold temperature standard, reducing CO 7 to 12 percent.

- o Extend useful life provisions from 5 years or 50,000 miles for certification of emissions control devices to 10 years or 100,000 miles, reducing CO up to 10 percent.
- o Require enhanced inspection and maintenance programs for CO non-attainment areas with a population over 200,000 and CO design values about twice as high as allowed by the standard. This would reduce CO emissions 4 or 5 percent.

PARTICULATE MATTER

Background

The particulate matter (PM10) standards were revised in 1987 to address smaller particulate matter particles most likely to penetrate the lungs.

Particulate matter (PM10) includes acid sulfates, toxic organics and metals, and insoluble dusts that come from traditional stack emissions, wood stoves and open burning, construction, roadways and mobile sources.

PM10 can cause premature death in elderly and ill persons, aggravation of existing respiratory disease, increased respiratory illness and effects from toxic components of particulate matter.

PM10 also contributes to visibility impairment, soiling and nuisance.

The President's program will:

- o Require reasonably available control measures to meet the standard.
- o Attainment deadlines of 1994 and 2001 for moderate and serious areas, respectively.

HAZARDOUS AIR POLLUTANTS

Highlights

- o Reduces vast major toxic pollutants on set schedule.
- o Uses best technology available to get this out.
- o Promises certifiable progress on certifiable schedule.

Background

An additional problem is toxic chemicals and air pollution, which are believed to cause cancer and other health effects in humans.

Since 1970, when the Clean Air Act was first passed, EPA has regulated only seven toxic air pollutants. The statute, inherently unworkable and subject to protracted litigation, needs to be revised.

Estimates submitted to EPA show that 2.7 billion pounds of toxic chemicals are emitted annually. Approximately 280 toxic compounds are emitted in quantities that pose some risk. About 80 are carcinogens and are estimated to cause between 1500 and 3000 additional cancer deaths per year. Toxic chemical emissions are associated also with respiratory disease and birth defects. Motor vehicles and stationary sources each account for about half of those emissions.

A majority of the number of identified carcinogens is emitted by about 30 industrial categories, including steel mills (coke ovens), rubber, pulp and paper, chromium electroplating, electric utility cooling towers, and solvent users. However, almost 75 percent of the total pounds of toxic pollution emitted are volatile organic compounds (VOCs) which are principally emitted from automobiles and smaller area sources such as gasoline stations and dry cleaners.

The current law is unwieldy, fraught with contradictions, and provides such little regulatory discretion that it is impossible to administer. The statutory requirement to "protect the public health with an ample margin of safety" is inherently unworkable for carcinogens. There simply is no identifiable threshold at which carcinogens pose no health risk. Yet a zero emission requirement is tantamount to shutting down many of the largest and most vital U.S. industries.

As a result, since the law was enacted in 1970, EPA has promulgated only seven regulations to control toxic air pollutants.

The President's program will:

- o Reduce about 550 cancer deaths each year through controls of toxics emissions from vehicles and their fuels. This represents a 45 percent reduction from present mobile source toxic levels.
- * o Achieve a 75-90 percent reduction in toxic emissions by requiring major industrial source categories to implement state-of-the-art technological controls

(Maximum Achievable Control Technology (MACT) by date). Major source categories include electroplating, steel mills and chemicals. EPA will, at a minimum, set standards [for 125 source categories]. Within 2 years, EPA will set standards for 10 source categories, followed by standards for a quarter of them within five years and half within seven years.

- o Achieves, through MACT controls, an elimination of up to 400-1200 cancer deaths stemming from these compounds.
- o Encourages voluntary reductions early on and credits those reductions against the 75-90 percent MACT requirement.
- * o Requires the EPA Administrator to assess any remaining risk after reductions from state-of-the-art technology and determine the need for further controls a) up to a further 90 percent reduction or b) based on unreasonable risk.

Annual costs to the economy for this program would be approximately \$2.0 billion, borne largely by the private sector.

FACT SHEET:**PRESIDENT BUSH'S CLEAN AIR PLAN**

Fulfilling a major campaign commitment, President Bush today proposed a comprehensive program to provide clean air for all Americans.

The President's plan calls for the first sweeping revisions to the Clean Air Act since 1977, and represents the first time an Administration has put forward a proposal since that time.

The President's plan is designed to curb three major threats to the nation's environment and to the health of millions of Americans: acid rain, urban air pollution, and toxic air emissions.

De 1777 ["Americans have a right to clean air," the President said in a speech of the East Room of the White House, "and today we are going to work to make sure that they get it."

[The President noted that] while emissions of some pollutants -- such as sulfur dioxide, urban ozone, and carbon monoxide -- have been reduced since passage of the 1977 law, progress has not come quickly enough. The President's plan will dramatically accelerate the pace of pollution reduction and put America on the path toward markedly cleaner air by the end of the century.

The President's plan will:

- o Cut sulfur dioxide emissions virtually in half by the year 2000. The plan calls for a 10 million ton reduction in SO₂, and a 2 million ton cut in nitrogen oxide (NO_x) emissions, for a total reduction of 12 million tons in acid-rain causing emissions.
- o Bring all cities currently not meeting the health standards for ozone and carbon monoxide into attainment. Most cities will attain the standard by 1995, and the plan is designed to ensure attainment in all but the most severely impacted cities by the year 2000. *All cities will be in attainment by the year 2010.*
- o Require factories and plants emitting toxic compounds into the air to employ the best technology currently available in order to achieve in the near term a cut estimated at 75 to 90 percent in pollutants suspected of causing cancer. Taken together with efforts to reduce cancer-causing emissions from cars and trucks, it is estimated that the plan will eliminate in its first phase over three-fourths of the annual cancer deaths that air toxics are suspected of causing.

Fundamental Principles

Five goals underlie the President's clean air proposals and the means for accomplishing them:

- o Protection of Public^{is} Health. The goal of the legislation is to prevent public exposure to cancer-causing agents and to protect those citizens, especially vulnerable populations, such as the elderly, asthmatics and children, who live in cities with dirty air that does not conform to national health standards.
- o Improved^{is} Quality of Life. The proposal will improve the quality of life for all Americans by exercising responsible stewardship over the environment for future generations.
- o Early^{Achieving} Reductions and Steady Progress. The proposal establishes realistic timetables to meet air quality standards, but contains provisions to cut substantial amounts of air pollution in the near term, while requiring steady progress toward reducing emissions that are harder to control.
- o Harnessing the Power of the Marketplace. The proposal calls for the use of marketable permits to achieve acid rain reductions and (emissions trading) to achieve reductions from automobile pollution, so as to clean the air to a certain standard while minimizing the burden on the American economy.
- o Employment^{ing} of Innovative Technologies. The proposal encourages development of clean coal technology, alternative fuel systems for automobiles, and other cost-effective means of using new technology to cut pollution.

considers The President's plan thus allows for both environmental protection and economic growth, two long-standing concerns often ~~seen to be~~ at odds with each other. By incorporating both concerns in his proposal, the President seeks to break the gridlock which has characterized the debate on clean air for the past several years.

ACID RAIN

Highlights

- o Sulfur dioxide reductions of 10 million tons and nitrogen oxide reductions of 2 million tons.
- o ^{FIVE} Four million tons of reductions in the first phase by 1995. (THE FIRST)
- o Marketable permits to allow maximum flexibility for utilities to achieve required reductions in the most efficient and least costly manner.

Background

"Acid rain" occurs when sulfur dioxide (SO₂) and nitrogen oxide (NO_x) emissions undergo a chemical change in the atmosphere and return to the earth in rain, fog, or snow.

Approximately 20 million tons of SO₂ are emitted annually in the U.S., three-quarters from the burning of fossil fuels by electric utilities; 20 percent from other, more widely dispersed industrial sources; and 5 percent from transportation sources. The source of most SO₂ emissions causing acid rain are old (pre-1971) electric power plants, not subject to the existing Clean Air Act's strict emissions requirements on newer plants. Fifty power plants are responsible for about half of all SO₂ emissions. About 20 million tons of NO_x are emitted per year, with transportation sources (cars, trucks, and buses) accounting for APPROXIMATE half.

Acid rain causes damage to lakes, forests, and buildings, contributes to reduced visibility, and is suspected of causing damage to human health. ^{ed}

Since 1970, the U.S. has spent \$225 billion to control air pollution. American industry spends about \$33 billion a year on air pollution controls (\$10 billion by the electric utility industry). Partially as a result, SO₂ emissions have been reduced by almost 20% since 1977, despite a substantial increase in coal consumption during the period since then.

Any acid rain control program will increase electricity rates for affected utilities. Generally speaking, however, proposals with greater flexibility will result in smaller rate increases. Thus, the President's proposal to allow trading among utility companies will ensure that protection from acid rain is achieved in a less costly fashion than many of the more traditional "command and control" proposals that have previously been made.

The President's plan represents a major new innovation in harnessing the power of the marketplace to protect the environment.

The President's proposal calls for:

- o A reduction of 10 million tons of sulfur dioxide by the year 2000, using a baseline year of 1980 for tons of SO₂ emitted, primarily from coal-fired power plants.
- o A two-phase program in order to ^{five} ensure early reductions. A reduction of four million tons by ^{the end of} 1995 is required in the first phase. ^{All dates assume enactment of this legislation by December 31, 1990 or earlier.}
- o A 2 million ton reduction of NO_x. The plan would, however, allow utilities to trade reductions of NO_x for reductions of SO₂, and thus represents a call for a total of 12 million tons in acid rain-causing pollutants. ^{for the end of Phase II.}
- ^{A three year} o An extension of the Phase II deadline ^{reduction} to the year 2003 for plants adopting clean coal technologies, combined with regulatory incentives designed to smooth their transition into the marketplace. This will ~~not~~ only allow the United States to make good on the major investment the President has called for in clean coal; ^{AND} it will also ensure that coal continues to play an important role in America's energy future.
- o Freedom of choice in cutting pollution. The plan requires all plants above a certain size in affected states to meet the same emissions standard, but does not dictate to plant managers how the standard should be met. The plan, which affects the 31 states east of the Rocky Mountains, ~~thus~~ requires the dirtiest plants to make the greatest cuts in pollution. The emissions standard would be set at the rate necessary to achieve ^{five} four million tons in the first phase, and then would be tightened so as to achieve a ten million ton reduction in Phase II.
- o Maximum flexibility in obtaining reductions. The plan would allow utilities to trade required reductions so that they will be achieved in the least costly fashion. In the first phase, trading would be allowed among electric plants within a state or within a utility system. Full interstate trading would be allowed in phase II. ^{for the end of Phase II.}
- o The estimated cost of the President's proposal would be \$3.8 billion annually in the second phase, and approximately \$800 million per year in the first phase. While this represents an increase of over two percent by the year 2000 in the nation's \$160 billion a year electricity bill, the flexibility built into the President's plan reduces, by up to half, the cost of various competing proposals mandating the use of specific technology.

URBAN AIR QUALITY

Highlights:

- o Employs a mix of Federal measures and state initiatives to cut sharply air pollution in our Nation's cities. The Federal measures alone will cut urban ozone -- the primary contributor to urban air pollution -- nearly in half, and help bring all cities into compliance with air quality standards.
- o Sets realistic timetables for attaining the standards but is designed to ensure steady progress toward meeting that goal.
- o Contains new initiatives to promote alternative fuels to reduce pollution from cars, buses, trucks and motor fuels, and to harness the power of the marketplace to ensure cost-effective reductions.

OZONE:

Background:

Based on data measured during the summers of 1985 to 1987, over 100 million people live in 81 urban areas across the country that exceed the health standard for ozone. In some cities, such as Los Angeles, the situation is persistent and severe (176 days in violation of the health standard in 1988); in other cities the problem is marginal (Lancaster, PA, is listed as non-attainment, but, in fact, has exceeded the Federal standard for only 4 hours in the last 3 years). *area*

The President's plan is designed to ensure that over two-thirds of the cities now out of attainment -- all but about 25 cities -- come into attainment by 1995. All but the three most seriously polluted areas (Los Angeles, Houston, and New York) will come into attainment by the year 2000; and these special cases will be given until 2010 -- contingent upon a requirement in the President's plan that they show significant annual progress toward cleaning the air and meeting the health standard. *La*

Ozone is formed when volatile organic compounds (VOCs) are mixed with nitrogen oxides (NOx) in the presence of sunlight. Heat speeds up the reaction, and therefore concentrations are usually higher in the summer months. Exceedances of the ozone standard (.12 parts per million) grew sharply during the especially hot summer of 1988. If a city exceeds the standard for at least one hour on four or more days during a three year period, it is judged to be "out of attainment" with the standard.

Exposure to ozone causes short term effects, such as shortness of breath, coughing, and chest pains, that are particularly acute for asthmatics, children, and senior citizens. Moreover, ozone is suspected of playing a role in the long-term development of chronic lung diseases and permanent lung structure damage. In addition to health effects, ozone has effects on vegetation, including crops such as soybeans, wheat and corn; is damaging forests in California; and is suspected as a contributing agent in damage to forests in the Southeastern U.S.

The major sources of VOCs, the most important ozone pre-cursor, are motor vehicles (40%); small "area sources," e.g., bakeries, dry cleaners, and consumer solvents (40%); large point sources, e.g., petroleum refineries (15%); and gasoline refueling (5%).

Many large point sources have already been required to reduce emissions by roughly 80 percent from uncontrolled levels under the Clean Air Act, and tailpipe emissions from new vehicles have been reduced by 96 percent. The smaller "area" sources are largely uncontrolled.

VOC and NOx emissions have decreased nationally since 1978 -- VOCs by 17 percent and NOx by 8 percent -- despite growth in population, travel and industrial activity. As a consequence, ^{declined} the trend in ambient ozone concentrations was ~~actually down~~ by 9 percent from 1979 to 1987. Increases occurred again, however, in the hot summers of 1987 and 1988.

The deadline for meeting urban ozone standards set back in 1977 under the existing Clean Air Act has already expired. Despite this progress in reducing ozone, the deadlines have not been met. Without new legislation, the EPA will be required by law to impose Federal Implementation Plans (FIPS) on several major American cities. These FIPS could involve draconian controls that will sharply curb economic growth and dramatically alter the lifestyles of local residents. ^{-would} ~~extension~~

Moreover, over the next decade, both EPA and the Federal Highway Administration estimate that growth in automobile use will begin to outstrip ~~any~~ reductions ~~that~~ occur from fleet turnover, so that VOC emissions will increase after 2000.

Thus, additional measures ~~are needed~~ to reduce ozone-causing emissions are needed if Americans are to have air that is clean enough to meet the health standard. The President's plan sets forth these additional clean air measures.

Some measures required under current law will help reduce VOC's. These include:

- o The effect of tightened automobile and truck tailpipe emission standards, which will continue to cut emissions as older cars are replaced with new ones;

- o The implementation of required inspection and maintenance programs by state and local governments;
- o Volatility controls on gasoline. Earlier this year, the Bush Administration required a reduction of gasoline volatility (to a standard of 10.5 pounds per square inch);
- o Selected stationary source controls.

It is estimated that these measures will reduce VOC emissions from baseline levels by 18% by 2005. They will bring 23 cities into attainment by 1995, but without additional controls, increased automobile use will cause many of these to slip back out of attainment, leaving 72 cities out of attainment by 2005.

Additional Federal Measures Under the President's Proposal:

In an ambitious effort to bring all cities into attainment, the President's proposals call for:

- o Further tightening the volatility requirements for gasoline nationwide during the summer months to reduce evaporative emissions which cause ozone formation, by 8 percent. *AN ESTIMATE*
- o Reductions in vehicle evaporative emissions caused by automobile running losses, which will cut VOC emissions by an estimated 4.2%. *THIS WILL REDUCE VOC EMISSIONS*
- o Federal regulations to control ~~damaging~~ emissions from treatment, storage, and disposal of hazardous wastes, which will cut VOC emissions by 3.2%.
- o Providing EPA with the authority to regulate VOC emissions from small sources and consumer products, such as consumer solvents and paints, which EPA estimates will cut VOC emissions by 2.5%.
- o Tightening hydrocarbon emission tailpipe standards for automobiles by almost 40%. The current standard will be tightened to the level soon to be required on all California vehicles (from .41 to .25 grams per mile). This will cut VOC emissions by 0.4%.
- o A first time requirement for light duty trucks to meet the same tailpipe standard now required of automobiles (.41 gpm). This will cut VOC emissions by 0.2%.
- o Expanded vehicle inspection and maintenance programs in serious non-attainment areas, which will cut VOC emissions by 1.2%.

eliminate

- o Requirements to extend the life of emissions control devices from 50,000 miles to 100,000 miles which will cut VOC emissions by 1%.
- o Provide EPA new authority to issue control technology guidelines (CTGS) to major stationary source emitters (factories and plants). The most cost-effective control guidelines will be issued first. These guidelines are expected to result in a 3.5% reduction in VOC emissions.
- o Provide for the use of alternative fuels -- such as clean burning methanol, natural gas, and ethanol -- in the most serious non-attainment areas. The President's plan is designed to ensure that 1,000,000 clean-fueled vehicles are introduced into America's most polluted cities by the year 1997. The program will not only reduce VOC emissions by an additional 2 to 5%, it will dramatically reduce toxic air emissions such as benzene, toluene, and xylene.

The Long-Term Clean Fuels Program:

The clean fuels program proposed by the President is perhaps the most innovative and far-reaching component of his proposal. It is designed to provide a long-term reconciliation of the environment and the automobile -- so that Americans can continue to enjoy economic growth, freedom in using their motor vehicles, and clean air.

The Administration proposes to replace a portion of the gasoline fleet in certain cities with new vehicles that operate on clean burning fuels. In the 9 major urban areas where current data shows the greatest concentration of ozone, the Administration's plan calls for the phased-in introduction of alternative fuels and clean-fueled vehicles to run on them according to the following schedule:

500,000 vehicles in 1995
750,000 vehicles in 1996
1,000,000 vehicles in 1997 and thereafter

10 yr. sunset

The major metropolitan areas affected by the plan are: Los Angeles, Houston, New York City, Milwaukee, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Greater Connecticut, San Diego, and Chicago. If these areas are able to demonstrate that they can achieve analogous reductions in VOC's and toxic air chemicals through other measures, the plan would allow them to "opt out" of the alternative fuels program. The plan would also allow other cities to be included in the program at their request.

The President's alternative fuels program, combined with other motor vehicle and fuel measures in the plan, will shrink the contribution of vehicles to the ozone problem from the current 40

percent to ten percent. ~~It~~ this represents not only an alternative to some of the more disruptive driving controls currently being considered by some states, but also a bold and innovative means of reconciling continued use of the automobile by a growing society with the ~~desire~~ ^{NEED FOR} ~~and the right~~ to cleaner air.

Effect of the Federal Measures Proposed by the President:

Taken together, ~~all of~~ the Federal measures proposed by the President, combined with the effect of measures being pursued under current law, will cut ozone-causing VOC emissions nearly in half. EPA estimates the program will reduce annual emissions by 46% by the year 2005. In and of themselves, these measures would bring all but about 20 cities into attainment with the ozone standard.

Because of the President's commitment to ensuring clean air in all American cities, however, his plan calls for additional measures to be undertaken by the states in order to meet the standard for healthy air.

State Measures Under the President's Proposal:

Under the President's proposal, the roughly 20 cities with the most serious ozone pollution problems would be required to take steps to cut ozone-causing emissions by 3 percent per year beyond the cuts projected from the Federal program.

This will guarantee that, even as more realistic deadlines for meeting the standard are set, those cities with the most significant air pollution problems will be on a steady path toward cleaner air.

Emissions Trading: Harnessing the Power of the Marketplace to Protect the Environment

The President has also directed the EPA to develop rules and regulations which will provide companies with the maximum flexibility in achieving the pollution reductions called for in his plan.

Specifically, the President's plan would require the Administrator to develop rules which will allow automobile and fuel companies to achieve the emissions reductions called for in his proposal in any way they choose -- as long as they can certify to EPA that the combination of measures they select will allow them to meet the same emissions standards as the program outlined by the President.

This "emissions trading" concept is already being employed by the State of California. It represents a market-based means of achieving pollution control in the most cost-effective way. The EPA would publish these regulations at the same time as it

10

publishes regulations implementing the other control measures in the President's plan. If companies cannot demonstrate alternative means of achieving the same amount of pollution reduction, they would be required to implement the control measures outlined above.

CARBON MONOXIDE:

Background:

Carbon monoxide (Co) is a colorless, odorless gas that tends to reduce the oxygen carrying capacity of the blood. It is a particularly serious health threat to individuals who suffer from cardiovascular disease, especially those with angina or heart disease. Unlike ozone, carbon monoxide problems are worst in cold weather.

Two-thirds of CO emissions come from motor vehicles. Emissions of carbon monoxide decreased 25 percent from 1978 to 1987, despite a 24 percent increase in vehicle miles travelled during that period, largely because of controls already in place on emissions from cars, buses, and trucks. Some improvement from these controls will continue, as older, more heavily polluting cars are gradually replaced on America's roads by newer, cleaner vehicles. Currently, cars purchased before 1981 amount to only 38 percent of the vehicles miles traveled (VMT), but they account for over 86 percent of CO emissions.

As use of the automobile continues to grow, however, it is expected that many American cities will not attain the health-based carbon monoxide standard. That standard is 9 parts per million (ppm), measured over an 8-hour period. If a representative reading of monitors in an area shows that it exceeds the standard for two or more 8-hour periods, it is classified in "non-attainment."

very occasionally
There are currently about 50 American cities not meeting the standard. As with ozone, in some cases, cities exceed the standard only moderately. About 6 urban areas, however, have a carbon monoxide problem classified by EPA as "serious".

EPA estimates that even as vehicle miles travelled (VMT) grow, the effect of fleet turnover will bring almost half of those cities currently violating the standard into attainment. Several of the measures in the President's proposal designed to curb ozone-causing emissions will also help reduce carbon monoxide. These include the measures described above to tighten tailpipe standards for light duty trucks, ~~to extend the useful life of emissions control equipment on automobiles~~, and to improve state and local inspection and maintenance programs.

11

Even with these measures, however, ^{some} ~~several~~ American cities will continue to have a carbon monoxide problem. To bring these cities into compliance with the health-based standard, the President's proposal contains several important measures designed to cut carbon monoxide emissions.

Specifically, the President's plan calls for:

- o A major new program to promote the use of clean-burning oxygenated fuels, which emit dramatically less carbon monoxide. The plan would require those cities with the most serious carbon monoxide problems to use gasoline blended with oxygenated fuels during the winter months. Oxygenated fuels include ethanol, methanol, ETBE, and MTBE.

Blending oxygenates into fuel will not only reduce carbon monoxide, it will also sharply reduce toxic air emissions caused by aromatics in conventional gasoline.

The President's plan would allow cities to "opt out" of the oxygenated fuels requirement, if they could demonstrate to EPA that they would come into attainment of the carbon monoxide standard using other measures.

EPA estimates that requiring oxygenated fuels in areas with serious carbon monoxide problems will reduce carbon monoxide emissions by an additional 18% in these areas.

- o Giving EPA the authority to issue regulations for a carbon monoxide cold temperature standard. Carbon monoxide problems are exaggerated when motor vehicles start in exceptionally cold weather. This standard has the potential to reduce carbon monoxide emissions by 7 to 12 percent.

The President's plan will bring the vast majority of cities into attainment with the carbon monoxide standard by 1995, and will bring all American cities into attainment by the year 2000.

PARTICULATE MATTER:

Background:

Particulate matter (PM10) includes acid sulfates, toxic organics and metals, and insoluble dusts that come from traditional stack emissions, as well as area sources such as wood stoves and open burning. Construction, roadways and mobile sources also contribute to the problem.

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PM10 can cause premature death in elderly and ill persons, aggravation of existing respiratory disease, increased respiratory illness and other effects.

Particulate matter (PM10) standards were revised in 1987 to address smaller particulate matter particles most likely to penetrate the lungs.

The President's program will:

- o Require reasonably available control measures to meet the standard.
- o Ensure that the majority of cities meet the standard by 1994, and that all cities meet PM10 standards by 2001.

TOXIC AIR POLLUTANTS

Highlights:

- o Dramatically accelerates progress in controlling major toxic air pollutants.
- o Uses best technology available to cut air toxics.
- o Promises certifiable progress in regulating sources of toxic air emissions on a set schedule.

Background:

The emission of toxic chemicals into the air is believed to cause cancer and other health effects in humans.

Since 1974, EPA has been required to regulate such emissions in order to provide an "ample margin of safety" to the public. Because this margin has been difficult to define and has been the subject of continued litigation, EPA has had difficulty proceeding with regulation under the law. Since passage of the statute, it has published regulations for only seven toxic air pollutants.

Because the statute has proven unworkable, the President has proposed a major revision of the law in order to guarantee greatly accelerated progress in reducing the damaging effects of toxic air pollution.

Data recently released by the EPA indicate that 2.7 billion pounds of toxic chemicals are emitted into the air each year. EPA estimates that these emissions contribute to approximately 1500-3000 fatal cancers annually. Toxic chemical emissions are associated also with respiratory disease and birth defects.

Motor vehicles and stationary sources each account for approximately half of air toxic emissions. The measures in the President's plan designed to curb VOC emissions and promote alternative fuels will sharply reduce emissions from motor vehicles.

The President's plan also includes a major new initiative to reduce air toxic emissions from stationary sources (factories, plants, and other such sources).

A majority of identified carcinogens are emitted by about 30 industrial categories, including steel mills (coke ovens), rubber, pulp and paper, chromium electroplating, electric utility cooling towers, and solvent users. The President's plan is designed to reduce quickly emissions from these sources.

The President's program will:

- o Establish a set schedule for regulating major sources of toxic air pollution. Under the plan, EPA will publish regulations for controlling ten source categories with two years, 25 percent of source categories by 1995, 50 percent of the source categories by 1997, and all categories of air toxics by 2000.
- o Require emitters of toxic air pollution to use the Maximum Available Control Technology (MACT) to sharply cut pollution. This means that EPA would set a standard based on the best technology currently available. Plants would then be required to meet that standard; with some exceptions for those who have already reduced most air toxics and for very small plants to ~~add flexibility~~.
- o Encourage voluntary reductions early, before standards are even published, by providing credit for those reductions against the MACT requirement.

After 10 years (Phase I) if there is

- o Require the EPA Administrator to assess any remaining risk after reductions from state-of-the-art technology and determine ~~the~~ need for further controls. The Administrator could then require: a) up to a 90 percent further reduction or b) additional controls based on any "unreasonable risk" being posed to the public.

It is estimated that the President's air toxics initiative, will eliminate in the first phase about three-quarters of the cancer deaths caused by toxic air emissions from factories and plants.

The annual costs of the program are difficult to estimate until actual standards are published, but current EPA estimates center at about \$2.0 billion per year.

* * * * *

Based on his assignment, the EPA Administrator would set additional standards based on "unreasonable risk" which would allow considerations of cost and technical feasibility, as well as risks (eg health effects).

SECRET
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Clean Air Act Announcement Schedule

MONDAY, JUNE 12, 1989

*Mark - pick the ones
you want to go to +
give a yell so I can
clean you in.
Thanks,
Pitt*

- 9:30-10:00 -- Theme meeting Sununu's office
- 9:30-10:00 -- Environmental small group briefing *
(Grady/Rosenberg)
Room 180 OEOB
- 9:30-10:00 -- Business small group briefing * (Maloley)
Room 474 OEOB
- 9:30-10:30 -- State Political Leaders briefing * (Pinkerton,
Wray, Carney)
Room 476 OEOB
- ✓ 10:00-10:30 -- Press Briefing (Reilly, Watkins)
Press briefing room
- 10:00-10:30 -- Governors briefing * (Sununu, Porter, Gray)
drop-by by the President (10:00-10:10)
Roosevelt Room
- 10:00-10:45 -- Congressional Staff briefing (Grady,
Maloley, and Rosenberg)
drop-by by the President (10:15-10:20)
OEOB - Room 450
- 10:30-11:00 -- Congressional Leaders briefing * (The President,
Sununu, Reilly, Watkins)
Cabinet Room
- ★ 11:10-11:30 -- CAA announcement (The President)
The President -- 11:10-11:30
East Room
- 11:30 -- Stakeout (Environmental leaders, Business leaders,
Governors)
Portico of West Lobby
- 1:00 -- Intergovernmental Association staff briefing (Grady,
Maloley, Quinn)
OEOB - Room 450
- 1:30 -- Columnists briefing (Reilly)
- For distribution: Radio Actualities
White House Wire
Editorial package
RNC mailing

* Invitees to proceed to East Room for announcement

Humor

Roosevelt

Rhett

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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White House Wire
Editorial package
RNC mailing

* Invitees to proceed to East Room for announcement

(Lange/Wallace)
June 11, 1989
5:30 p.m.
[CLEANAIR.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CLEAN AIR ACT ANNOUNCEMENT
 EAST ROOM
 MONDAY, JUNE 12, 1989
 11:00 A.M.

In this room are ~~members of Congress~~ -- Republicans and Democrats. *Leadership from both sides of the aisle from Congress, Governors,* Executives from some of the most important companies and business organizations in America. ~~Also here are some of this nation's~~ leading conservationists -- people who have devoted their lives to creating a cleaner, safer environment.

I have invited you here today to make a point: With the leadership assembled in this room, we can **break** the stalemate that has hindered the debate on clean air for the past decade. With the minds, the energy, the talent assembled here, we can find a solution.

So let me tell you the purpose of this morning's gathering. First, I would like to lay on the table my proposals to curb acid rain, cut ~~through~~ urban smog, and clean up air toxics. And second, I want to call upon all of you to join me in enacting into law a new Clean Air Act this year.

But first, we should remember how far we've come -- and recognize what works. The 1970 Clean Air Act got us moving in the right direction -- with national air quality standards that were strengthened by amendments in 1977.

Since 1970 -- even though we've got 55 percent more cars, going 50 percent farther -- in spite of ~~more manufacturing productivity~~^{10%}, more utility output, and more industrial production -- we've still made progress. Lead concentrations in the air we breathe are down 98 percent. Sulfur dioxide and carbon monoxide: cut by over a third. Particulate matter: cut 21 percent. Even ozone-causing emissions have been cut by 17 percent.

Still, over the last decade **we have not come far enough**. Too many Americans continue to breathe dirty air -- and further progress against air pollution has been plagued by political paralysis. We have to **break** this logjam, by applying **more** than just federal leverage. We must take advantage of the innovation, energy, and ingenuity of **every** American.

The environmental movement has a long history in this country. It has been a force for good -- for a safer, healthier America -- ~~during times of phenomenal economic expansion~~. As a people, we want ^{and need} ~~that~~ economic growth. But we must now also **expect environmental responsibility** -- and **respect for the** natural world.

This will demand a national sense of commitment. — A new ethic of conservation. I reject the notion that sound ecology and a strong economy are mutually exclusive. So last week I outlined five points of a new environmental philosophy:

One -- to harness the **power of the marketplace**

Two -- to encourage **local initiative**

Three -- to emphasize **prevention**, instead of just clean-up

Four -- foster **international cooperation**, and

Five -- to ensure **strict enforcement**. **Polluters will pay.**

bad sequel
more now
more than last week?
than we did just a few years ago
 We know ~~more now~~. New solutions are close at hand. It is time to put our best minds to work. To turn technology and the power of the marketplace to *the* advantage *of the environment*. To create. To innovate. To tip the scales in favor of recovery, restoration, and renewal.

Every American expects and deserves to breathe clean air. And as President, it is my mission to guarantee it: for this generation, and for generations to come.

the commitment
 If we take ^{the commitment} clean air seriously -- if *we* believe that every American expects and deserves it, and ^{we} act on that belief -- then we will set an example for the rest of the world to follow.

Today I am proposing to Congress a new Clean Air Act -- offering a new opportunity, -- ^{the Congress for its} ~~and asking the members to~~ ^{support.} ~~cooperate.~~ We've seen **enough** of this stalemate. **It's time to clear the air.**

And you know, I think we will. We touched a lot of bases as we prepared this bill. We've had the benefit of some good thinking on the Hill. ^{We've} ~~I've~~ met with business leaders, who see environmental protection as ^{essential} ~~a~~ prerequisite to long-term economic growth. ^{We've} ~~Talked~~ with environmentalists, who know that cost-effective solutions help build public support for conservation. ^{We've} ~~Worked~~ with academics and innovative thinkers from every quarter, who have laid the groundwork for this ^{approach} ~~consensus~~. [[And just this morning I spoke at length with Prime Minister Mulroney.]]

I have no pride of authorship: Let me commend Project '88, and groups like the Environmental Defense Fund, for bringing creative solutions to long-standing problems -- for **not only breaking the mold, but helping to build a new one.**

We have had to make some tough choices. Some may think we've gone too far -- and others, not far enough. But we all care about clean air. ^{To the} ~~Today~~, millions of Americans ^{who still} breathe unhealthy air, ^{let me tell you} I'm concerned about vulnerable groups -- like the elderly, asthmatics, and children. Concerned about **every**

American's quality of life. And ^{I'm} committed to see that coming generations receive the natural legacy they deserve.

~~So~~ ^{We} seek reforms that make major pollution reductions, where we most need them, first. Our approach has reasonable deadlines for those who must comply, ~~It~~ ^{It} has compelling sanctions for those who don't. It accounts for continued economic growth and expansion. ^{It} Offers incentives, choice, and flexibility for industry to find the best solutions. And ^{It} taps the power of the marketplace and local initiative **better than any previous piece of environmental legislation.**

This legislation will be comprehensive -- and cost-effective -- but above all, it will ^{work} be effective. We will make the 1990s the era for clean air.

Redundant

We have three clear goals -- and three clear deadlines.

First, we will cut the sulfur dioxide emissions that cause acid rain by almost half -- by ten million tons -- and we will cut nitrogen oxide emissions by two million tons -- by the year 2000. We have set absolute goals for reductions -- and have emphasized early gains. That means five million tons will be cut by 1995 -- and acid rain will be stopped by the end of this century.

We've set an ambitious reduction target -- and applying market forces will be the fastest, most cost-effective way to achieve it. So we're allowing utilities to trade credits among themselves for reductions they make, to let them decide how to bring aggregate emissions down as cost-effectively as possible. Cleaner fuels, better technologies, energy conservation, improved efficiency -- in any combination.

There is a wisdom to handing work to those most qualified to do it. Four hundred years ago, Montaigne wrote, "Let us permit nature to have her way. She understands her business better than we do." It's true. Acid rain must be stopped. That's what we all care about.

But it's also true that business understands its business better than we do. So we're going to put that understanding to work, on behalf of clean air and a sound environment. We've provided the goals -- but we won't micro-manage them. We will allow flexibility in how industry achieves these goals -- but we stand firm on what must be achieved.

Second, this federal proposal will cut the emissions that cause urban ozone -- smog -- virtually in half. This will put the states well on the road to meeting the standard. Twenty years ago, we started the job. If Congress will act on the Clean

Air reforms I'm offering today, twenty years from now, every American, in every city in America, will breathe clean air.

Right now 81 cities don't meet Federal air quality standards. This legislation will bring clean air to all but about 20 cities by 1995 -- and within 20 years, even L.A., Houston, and New York will be expected to make it.

In the nine urban areas with the greatest smog problems, we propose bold new initiatives to reconcile the automobile to the environment -- ensuring continued economic growth, without disruptive driving controls -- through alternative fuels and clean-fueled vehicles. We propose to put a million clean-fueled vehicles a year on the road by 1997.

Our program incorporates a mix of cost-effective measures to cut emissions from cars, fuels, factories, and other sources. But I am asking the EPA to develop rules, like those we are employing on acid rain, to allow auto and fuel companies to trade required reductions in order to meet the standard in the most cost-effective way. Our challenge is to develop an emissions trading plan to meet the standards -- ~~but they will meet the~~ standards. *This challenge is to*

The third leg of our proposal is designed to cut all categories of airborne toxic chemicals by three-quarters -- within

this decade. Our best minds will apply the most advanced industrial technology available, to **control** these airborne poisons. The very best control technology we have will be on those plants.

Until now, because of an unworkable law, the EPA has been able to regulate only 7 of the 280 known air toxics. The bill I'm proposing today will set a schedule for regulating sources of air toxics by dates certain. In addition, it will give the dedicated people of the EPA the right tools for the job. It will make state-of-the-art technology an everyday fact of doing business. **If this country has methods in hand to curb air toxics, we have an obligation to use them.**

And that's the way it should be

In its first phase, this initiative should eliminate about **three-quarters** of the needless deaths from cancer that have been caused by toxic industrial air emissions. **People who live near industrial facilities should not have to live in fear.** *for their health*

For ten years we have struggled to engage a united effort on behalf of clean air. We are now on the edge of real change.

1989 could be recorded as the year when business leaders and environmental advocates began to work ^{together} toward **complementary**, and not just competing interests -- and environmental issues moved out of the courts, and onto the national agenda. This could be known as the year we mobilized leadership, both public and

*beyond conflict + ^{into a new} era of cooperation
towards consensus*

private, to make environmental protection a growth industry -- and keep our ecology safe for diversity.

The wounded winds of North, South, East and West can be purified and cleansed -- and the integrity of nature can be made whole again. Ours is a rare opportunity, to reverse the errors of this generation, in the service of the next. We cannot, must not fail. We must prevail.

Thank you. God Bless you. And God Bless the United States of America.

#

**REMARKS: CLEAN AIR ACT ANNOUNCEMENT
 EAST ROOM
 MONDAY, JUNE 12, 1989
 11:00 A.M.**

**IN THIS ROOM ARE REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS.
LEADERS FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE AISLE IN CONGRESS.
GOVERNORS. EXECUTIVES FROM SOME OF THE MOST IMPORTANT
COMPANIES AND BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS IN AMERICA.
LEADING CONSERVATIONISTS -- PEOPLE WHO HAVE DEVOTED
THEIR LIVES TO CREATING A CLEANER, SAFER ENVIRONMENT.**

- 2 -

I HAVE INVITED YOU HERE TODAY TO MAKE A POINT:
WITH THE LEADERSHIP ASSEMBLED IN THIS ROOM, WE CAN
BREAK THE STALEMATE THAT HAS HINDERED PROGRESS ON CLEAN
AIR FOR THE PAST DECADE. WITH THE MINDS, THE ENERGY,
THE TALENT ASSEMBLED HERE, WE CAN FIND A SOLUTION.

SO LET ME TELL YOU THE PURPOSE OF THIS MORNING'S
GATHERING. FIRST, I WOULD LIKE TO LAY ON THE TABLE MY
PROPOSALS TO CURB ACID RAIN, CUT URBAN SMOG, AND CLEAN
UP AIR TOXICS.

- 3 -

AND SECOND, I WANT TO CALL UPON ALL OF YOU TO JOIN ME
IN ENACTING INTO LAW A NEW CLEAN AIR ACT THIS YEAR.

BUT FIRST, WE SHOULD REMEMBER HOW FAR WE'VE COME --
AND RECOGNIZE WHAT WORKS. THE 1970 CLEAN AIR ACT GOT
US MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION -- WITH NATIONAL AIR
QUALITY STANDARDS THAT WERE STRENGTHENED BY AMENDMENTS
IN 1977.

- 4 -

SINCE 1970 -- EVEN THOUGH WE HAVE 55 PERCENT MORE CARS, GOING 50 PERCENT FARTHER -- IN SPITE OF MORE UTILITY OUTPUT, AND MORE INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION -- WE'VE STILL MADE PROGRESS. LEAD CONCENTRATIONS IN THE AIR WE BREATHE ARE DOWN 98 PERCENT. SULFUR DIOXIDE AND CARBON MONOXIDE: CUT BY OVER A THIRD. PARTICULATE MATTER: CUT 21 PERCENT. EVEN OZONE-CAUSING EMISSIONS HAVE BEEN CUT BY 17 PERCENT.

- 5 -

STILL, OVER THE LAST DECADE WE HAVE NOT COME FAR ENOUGH. TOO MANY AMERICANS CONTINUE TO BREATHE DIRTY AIR -- AND POLITICAL PARALYSIS HAS PLAGUED FURTHER PROGRESS AGAINST AIR POLLUTION. WE HAVE TO BREAK THIS LOGJAM, BY APPLYING MORE THAN JUST FEDERAL LEVERAGE. WE MUST TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE INNOVATION, ENERGY, AND INGENUITY OF EVERY AMERICAN.

- 6 -

THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT HAS A LONG HISTORY IN THIS COUNTRY. IT HAS BEEN A FORCE FOR GOOD -- FOR A SAFER, HEALTHIER AMERICA. AS A PEOPLE, WE WANT AND NEED THAT ECONOMIC GROWTH. BUT NOW, WE MUST ALSO EXPECT ENVIRONMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY -- AND RESPECT THE NATURAL WORLD.

- 7 -

THIS WILL DEMAND A NATIONAL SENSE OF COMMITMENT. A
NEW ETHIC OF CONSERVATION. I REJECT THE NOTION THAT
SOUND ECOLOGY AND A STRONG ECONOMY ARE MUTUALLY
EXCLUSIVE. SO LAST WEEK I OUTLINED FIVE POINTS OF A
NEW ENVIRONMENTAL PHILOSOPHY:

ONE -- TO HARNESS THE POWER OF THE MARKETPLACE

TWO -- TO ENCOURAGE LOCAL INITIATIVE

THREE -- TO EMPHASIZE PREVENTION, INSTEAD OF JUST
CLEAN-UP

- 8 -

FOUR -- FOSTER INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION,

FIVE -- TO ENSURE STRICT ENFORCEMENT. POLLUTERS
WILL PAY.

WE KNOW MORE NOW THAN WE DID JUST A FEW YEARS AGO.
NEW SOLUTIONS ARE CLOSE AT HAND. IT IS TIME TO PUT OUR
BEST MINDS TO WORK. TO TURN TECHNOLOGY AND THE POWER
OF THE MARKETPLACE TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE ENVIRONMENT.
TO CREATE. TO INNOVATE. TO TIP THE SCALES IN FAVOR OF
RECOVERY, RESTORATION, AND RENEWAL.

- 9 -

EVERY AMERICAN EXPECTS AND DESERVES TO BREATHE
CLEAN AIR. AND AS PRESIDENT, IT IS MY MISSION TO
GUARANTEE IT: FOR THIS GENERATION, AND FOR GENERATIONS
TO COME.

IF WE TAKE THIS COMMITMENT SERIOUSLY -- IF WE
BELIEVE THAT EVERY AMERICAN EXPECTS AND DESERVES CLEAN
AIR, AND WE ACT ON THAT BELIEF -- THEN WE WILL SET AN
EXAMPLE FOR THE REST OF THE WORLD TO FOLLOW.

- 10 -

TODAY I AM PROPOSING TO CONGRESS A NEW CLEAN AIR ACT -- AND OFFERING A NEW OPPORTUNITY. WE'VE SEEN ENOUGH OF THIS STALEMATE. IT'S TIME TO CLEAR THE AIR.

AND YOU KNOW, I THINK WE WILL. WE TOUCHED A LOT OF BASES AS WE PREPARED THIS BILL. WE'VE HAD THE BENEFIT OF SOME GOOD THINKING ON THE HILL. WE'VE MET WITH BUSINESS LEADERS, WHO SEE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AS ESSENTIAL TO LONG-TERM ECONOMIC GROWTH.

- 11 -

**WE'VE TALKED WITH ENVIRONMENTALISTS, WHO KNOW THAT
COST-EFFECTIVE SOLUTIONS HELP BUILD PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR
CONSERVATION. WE'VE WORKED WITH ACADEMICS AND
INNOVATIVE THINKERS FROM EVERY QUARTER, WHO HAVE LAID
THE GROUNDWORK FOR THIS APPROACH. [[AND JUST THIS
MORNING I SPOKE AT LENGTH WITH PRIME MINISTER
MULRONEY.]]**

- 12 -

I HAVE NO PRIDE OF AUTHORSHIP: LET ME COMMEND PROJECT '88, AND GROUPS LIKE THE ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENSE FUND, FOR BRINGING CREATIVE SOLUTIONS TO LONG-STANDING PROBLEMS -- FOR NOT ONLY BREAKING THE MOLD, BUT HELPING TO BUILD A NEW ONE.

WE HAVE HAD TO MAKE SOME TOUGH CHOICES. SOME MAY THINK WE'VE GONE TOO FAR -- AND OTHERS, NOT FAR ENOUGH. BUT WE ALL CARE ABOUT CLEAN AIR.

- 13 -

TO THE MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WHO STILL BREATHE UNHEALTHY AIR, LET ME TELL YOU, I'M CONCERNED. I'M CONCERNED ABOUT VULNERABLE GROUPS -- LIKE THE ELDERLY, ASTHMATICS, AND CHILDREN. CONCERNED ABOUT EVERY AMERICAN'S QUALITY OF LIFE. AND I'M COMMITTED TO SEE THAT COMING GENERATIONS RECEIVE THE NATURAL LEGACY THEY DESERVE.

- 15 -

THIS LEGISLATION WILL BE COMPREHENSIVE -- AND COST
EFFECTIVE -- BUT ABOVE ALL, IT WILL WORK. WE WILL MAKE
THE 1990s THE ERA FOR CLEAN AIR.

WE HAVE THREE CLEAR GOALS -- AND THREE CLEAR
DEADLINES.

- 14 -

WE SEEK REFORMS THAT MAKE MAJOR POLLUTION
REDUCTIONS, WHERE WE MOST NEED THEM, FIRST. OUR
APPROACH HAS REASONABLE DEADLINES FOR THOSE WHO MUST
MEET SANCTIONS FOR THOSE WHO
DO NOT AND

- 16 -

WE HAVE SET ABSOLUTE GOALS FOR REDUCTIONS -- AND HAVE EMPHASIZED EARLY GAINS. THAT MEANS FIVE MILLION TONS WILL BE CUT BY 1995 -- AND THE DEGRADATION CAUSED BY ACID RAIN WILL STOP BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY.

TO MAKE SURE THAT COAL CONTINUES TO PLAY A VITAL ROLE IN OUR ENERGY FUTURE, WE'VE PROVIDED AN EXTENSION OF THREE YEARS AND REGULATORY INCENTIVES FOR THE USE OF INNOVATIVE CLEAN COAL TECHNOLOGY.

- 17 -

WE'VE SET AN AMBITIOUS REDUCTION TARGET -- AND APPLYING MARKET FORCES WILL BE THE FASTEST, MOST COST-EFFECTIVE WAY TO ACHIEVE IT. SO WE'RE ALLOWING UTILITIES TO TRADE CREDITS AMONG THEMSELVES FOR REDUCTIONS THEY MAKE, TO LET THEM DECIDE HOW TO BRING AGGREGATE EMISSIONS DOWN AS COST-EFFECTIVELY AS POSSIBLE. CLEANER FUELS, BETTER TECHNOLOGIES, ENERGY CONSERVATION, IMPROVED EFFICIENCY -- IN ANY COMBINATION -- AS LONG AS IT WORKS.

- 18 -

THERE IS A WISDOM TO HANDING WORK TO THOSE MOST QUALIFIED TO DO IT. FOUR HUNDRED YEARS AGO, MONTAIGNE WROTE, "LET US PERMIT NATURE TO HAVE HER WAY. SHE UNDERSTANDS HER BUSINESS BETTER THAN WE DO." IT'S TRUE. ACID RAIN MUST BE STOPPED. THAT'S WHAT WE ALL CARE ABOUT.

- 19 -

BUT IT'S ALSO TRUE THAT BUSINESS UNDERSTANDS ITS BUSINESS BETTER THAN WE DO. SO WE'RE GOING TO PUT THAT UNDERSTANDING TO WORK, ON BEHALF OF CLEAN AIR AND A SOUND ENVIRONMENT. WE'VE PROVIDED THE GOALS -- BUT WE WON'T MICRO-MANAGE THEM. WE WILL ALLOW FLEXIBILITY IN HOW INDUSTRY ACHIEVES THESE GOALS -- BUT WE STAND FIRM ON WHAT MUST BE ACHIEVED.

- 20 -

SECOND, THIS FEDERAL PROPOSAL WILL CUT THE
EMISSIONS THAT CAUSE URBAN OZONE -- SMOG -- VIRTUALLY
IN HALF. THIS WILL PUT THE STATES WELL ON THE ROAD TO
MEETING THE STANDARD. TWENTY YEARS AGO, WE STARTED THE
JOB. IF CONGRESS WILL ACT ON THE CLEAN AIR REFORMS I'M
OFFERING TODAY, TWENTY YEARS FROM NOW, EVERY AMERICAN,
IN EVERY CITY IN AMERICA, WILL BREATHE CLEAN AIR.

- 21 -

TODAY 81 CITIES DON'T MEET FEDERAL AIR QUALITY STANDARDS. THIS LEGISLATION WILL BRING CLEAN AIR TO ALL BUT ABOUT 20 CITIES BY 1995 -- AND WITHIN 20 YEARS, EVEN L.A., HOUSTON, AND NEW YORK WILL BE EXPECTED TO MAKE IT.

IN THE NINE URBAN AREAS WITH THE GREATEST SMOG PROBLEMS, WE PROPOSE BOLD NEW INITIATIVES TO RECONCILE THE AUTOMOBILE TO THE ENVIRONMENT -- ENSURING CONTINUED ECONOMIC GROWTH, WITHOUT DISRUPTIVE DRIVING CONTROLS.

- 22 -

WE'LL ACCOMPLISH THIS THROUGH ALTERNATIVE FUELS AND CLEAN-FUELED VEHICLES. WE PROPOSE TO PUT UP TO A MILLION CLEAN-FUELED VEHICLES A YEAR ON THE ROAD BY 1997. BUT WE ARE ALSO PROPOSING FLEXIBILITY ON THE MEANS, EVEN AS WE REMAIN FIRM ON THE GOALS. A CITY CAN EITHER REQUEST INCLUSION IN THE PROGRAM -- OR, IF THEY SHOW THEY CAN ACHIEVE THESE AMBITIOUS REDUCTIONS THROUGH OTHER MEASURES, WE WILL SCALE BACK THE CLEAN FUEL VEHICLE REQUIREMENTS ACCORDINGLY.

- 23 -

ALSO, WE ARE SENSITIVE TO THE PROBLEMS OF SMALLER CITIES WHOSE OZONE PROBLEMS ARE DUE LARGELY TO POLLUTANTS GENERATED IN OTHER CITIES OR REGIONS -- THEY WILL NOT BE PENALIZED FOR POLLUTION PROBLEMS OUTSIDE THEIR CONTROL.

OUR PROGRAM INCORPORATES A MIX OF COST-EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO CUT EMISSIONS FROM CARS, FUELS, FACTORIES, AND OTHER SOURCES.

- 24 -

BUT I AM ASKING THE EPA TO DEVELOP RULES, LIKE THOSE WE ARE EMPLOYING ON ACID RAIN, TO ALLOW AUTO AND FUEL COMPANIES TO TRADE REQUIRED REDUCTIONS IN ORDER TO MEET THE STANDARD IN THE MOST COST-EFFECTIVE WAY. OUR CHALLENGE IS TO DEVELOP AN EMISSIONS TRADING PLAN. THEIR CHALLENGE IS TO MEET THE STANDARDS.

THE THIRD LEG OF OUR PROPOSAL IS DESIGNED TO CUT ALL CATEGORIES OF AIRBORNE TOXIC CHEMICALS BY THREE-QUARTERS -- WITHIN THIS DECADE.

- 25 -

OUR BEST MINDS WILL APPLY THE MOST ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL TECHNOLOGY AVAILABLE, TO CONTROL THESE AIRBORNE POISONS. THE VERY BEST CONTROL TECHNOLOGY WE HAVE WILL DETERMINE THE STANDARD WE SET FOR THOSE PLANTS.

UNTIL NOW, BECAUSE OF AN UNWORKABLE LAW, THE EPA HAS BEEN ABLE TO REGULATE ONLY 7 OF THE 280 KNOWN AIR TOXICS. THE BILL I'M PROPOSING TODAY WILL SET A SCHEDULE FOR REGULATING SOURCES OF AIR TOXICS BY DATES CERTAIN.

- 26 -

IN ADDITION, IT WILL GIVE THE DEDICATED PEOPLE OF THE EPA THE RIGHT TOOLS FOR THE JOB. IT WILL MAKE STATE-OF-THE-ART TECHNOLOGY AN EVERYDAY FACT OF DOING BUSINESS. AND THAT'S THE WAY IT SHOULD BE.

IN ITS FIRST PHASE, THIS INITIATIVE SHOULD ELIMINATE ABOUT THREE-QUARTERS OF THE NEEDLESS DEATHS FROM CANCER THAT HAVE BEEN CAUSED BY TOXIC INDUSTRIAL AIR EMISSIONS. AND WE PLAN A SECOND PHASE TO GO AFTER ANY REMAINING UNREASONABLE RISK.

- 27 -

**PEOPLE WHO LIVE NEAR INDUSTRIAL FACILITIES SHOULD NOT
HAVE TO FEAR FOR THEIR HEALTH.**

**FOR TEN YEARS WE HAVE STRUGGLED TO ENGAGE A UNITED
EFFORT ON BEHALF OF CLEAN AIR. WE ARE NOW ON THE EDGE
OF REAL CHANGE.**

**1989 COULD BE RECORDED AS THE YEAR WHEN BUSINESS
LEADERS AND ENVIRONMENTAL ADVOCATES BEGAN TO WORK
TOGETHER.**

- 28 -

**WHEN ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES MOVED OUT OF THE COURTS,
BEYOND CONFLICT, INTO A NEW ERA OF COOPERATION.**

**THIS CAN BE KNOWN AS THE YEAR WE MOBILIZED
LEADERSHIP, BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, TO MAKE
ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION A GROWTH INDUSTRY -- AND KEEP
OUR ECOLOGY SAFE FOR DIVERSITY.**

**THE WOUNDED WINDS OF NORTH, SOUTH, EAST AND WEST
CAN BE PURIFIED AND CLEANSED -- AND THE INTEGRITY OF
NATURE CAN BE MADE WHOLE AGAIN.**

- 29 -

OURS IS A RARE OPPORTUNITY, TO REVERSE THE ERRORS OF
THIS GENERATION, IN THE SERVICE OF THE NEXT. WE
CANNOT, MUST NOT FAIL. WE MUST PREVAIL.

THANK YOU. GOD BLESS YOU. AND GOD BLESS THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

#

FACT CHECK COPY

(Lange/Wallace)
June 11, 1989
12:00 p.m.
[CLEANAIR.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS:

CLEAN AIR ACT ANNOUNCEMENT
EAST ROOM
MONDAY, JUNE 12, 1989
11:00 A.M.

[Welcome]

You've heard the stories. Or written them. Or lived them.

Acadia (207) 298-3338 Time
Up in the mountains of Acadia National Park in Maine -- where the sun first touches the United States -- rangers have recorded ozone levels that would trigger a smog alert in Los Angeles. In L.A., before that sun sets, the fog in nearby areas can get as acidic as lemon juice.

*air Quality office - Denver
Ron Hansen (FTS) 329-2092 Time*

And all over North America, our lakes and streams are in danger. Trees are being ravaged by acid rain. The Germans call it Waldsterben -- forest death. *Ozone*

State-619-2155 - German Desk

In a few weeks, all you'll have to do is look out the window. Or turn on the radio. You'll hear that older people shouldn't venture out. That kids shouldn't go outside to play. From this year forward -- with enough support from Congress -- all of that will begin to change.

But we should remember how far we've come -- and recognize what works. The 1970 Clean Air Act got us moving in the right direction -- with national air quality standards, and tighter tailpipe emissions. Amendments in 1977 set even stronger emissions standards.

Don Zingales. EPA. 382-7649 So since 1970 -- even though we've got 55 percent more cars, going 50 percent farther -- in spite of more manufacturing productivity, more utility output, and more industrial production -- we've still made progress. Lead concentrations in the air we breathe are down 98 percent. Sulfur dioxide and carbon monoxide: cut by over a third. Particulate matter: cut 21 percent.

up from 88 according to Reilly

EPA History

Still, over the last decade our progress against air pollution has been plagued by political paralysis. We have to **break** this logjam, by applying **more** than just federal leverage. We must take advantage of the innovation, energy, and ingenuity of **every** American.

The environmental movement has a long history in this country. It has been a force for good -- for a safer, healthier America -- during times of phenomenal economic growth. As a people, we have come to expect economic progress. We must now also **expect environmental responsibility** -- and **respect for the natural world**.

This will demand a national sense of commitment. A new ethic of conservation. I reject the notion that sound ecology and a strong economy are an either-or proposition. So last week I outlined five points of a new environmental philosophy:

- Ducks Unlimited* {
- One -- to harness the **power of the marketplace**
 - Two -- to encourage **local initiative**
 - Three -- to emphasize **prevention**, instead of just clean-up
 - Four -- foster **international cooperation**, and
 - Five -- to ensure **strict enforcement**. **Polluters will pay.**

We know more now. New solutions are close at hand. It is time to put our best minds to work. To turn technology and the power of the marketplace to advantage. To create. To innovate. To tip the scales in favor of recovery, restoration, and renewal.

Every American has the right to breathe clean air. And as President, it is my mission to guarantee that right: for this generation, and for generations to come.

If we take this mission seriously -- if we believe that every American has the right to breathe clean air, and **act** on that belief -- then we, together with our neighbors north and south, will set an example for the rest of the world to follow.

Today I am proposing to Congress a new Clean Air Act -- offering a new opportunity -- and asking the members to cooperate. **Enough** of this poisonous atmosphere. **It's time to clear the air.**

And you know, I think we will. We've had the benefit of some good thinking on the Hill. Senators Chafee, Burdick, Baucus, Lautenberg, Mitchell, Simpson, Heinz, and Wirth -- Representatives Waxman, Lent, Madigan, Boehlert, and Dingell. We've gained the counsel of groups like Project 88, the Environmental Defense Fund, Harvard's Kennedy School, the business and industrial leaders of the Clean Air Working Group -- and many others. And just this morning I spoke at length with Prime Minister Mulroney.

I have heard, and heard clearly, the many voices who have a stake in this issue. Considered all of the options. Thought long and hard about the costs. It's true, people tend to paint these issues in stark contrasts -- United States versus Canada, Northeast vs. Midwest, high sulfur coal regions vs. low, environmental goals vs. jobs. And where workers are affected, I've directed the Secretaries of Labor, Commerce, and the Small Business Administration to provide assistance and retraining.

We have had to make some tough choices. Some may think we've gone too far -- and others, not far enough. But we all

care about clean air. Today, ^{Millions more than} ~~one~~ ^{million} hundred million Americans ^{Time} breathe unhealthy air. I'm concerned about vulnerable groups -- like the elderly, asthmatics, and children. Concerned about every American's quality of life. And committed to the natural legacy we pass on to coming generations.

~~So~~ we seek reforms that make major pollution reductions, where we most need them, first. Our approach has reasonable deadlines for those who must comply. It has compelling sanctions for those who don't. It accounts for continued economic growth and expansion. Offers incentives, choice, and flexibility for industry to find the best solutions. And taps the power of the marketplace and local initiative better than any previous piece of environmental legislation.

This legislation will be comprehensive -- and cost effective -- but above all, it will be effective. We will make the 1990s the era for clean air.

We have three clear goals -- and three clear deadlines.

^{Fact Sheet} First, we will cut ^{in half} the sulfur dioxide emissions that cause acid rain ~~in half~~, by ten million tons -- and cut nitrogen oxide levels by two million tons -- by the end of this century. We have set absolute goals for reductions -- and have emphasized early gains.

Once a standard is set, applying market forces is the fastest, most cost-effective way to achieve it. So we're allowing companies -- coal-burning utilities, automobile manufacturers, fuel refiners -- to trade credits among themselves for reductions they make, so that they can decide how to bring aggregate emissions down as cost-effectively as possible.

This is a new idea. But you know, four hundred years ago, Montaigne wrote, "Let us permit nature to have her way. She understands her business better than we do." It's true. And so the air that nourishes our lakes, streams and forests must be restored.

But it's also true that business understands its business better than we do. So we're going to put that understanding to work, on behalf of clean air and a sound environment. **We stand firm on what must be achieved -- but will allow flexibility in how industry achieves it.**

To the cost of electricity, this acid rain control program will add just over a penny on the dollar over the 1990s -- and about two and a half cents on the dollar after the year 2000.

Second, we will cut urban ozone -- smog -- virtually in half. Twenty years ago, we started the job. If Congress will

act on the Clean Air reforms I'm offering today, twenty years from now, every American, in every city in America, will breathe clean air.

Right now 81 cities don't meet Federal air quality standards. This legislation will bring clean air to all but 25 cities by 1995 -- and within 20 years, even L.A., Houston, and New York will make it.

In the nine urban areas with the greatest smog problems, we will reconcile the automobile to the environment -- ensuring continued economic growth, without disruptive driving controls -- through alternative fuels and clean-fueled vehicles. We call for the phased-in introduction of half a million clean-fueled vehicles in 1995, building up to a million in 1997 and every year that follows.

As with our acid rain proposal, we will allow automobile and fuel companies to trade reduction credits among themselves. They will be able to meet the standards in any way they choose -- but they will meet the standards. This "emissions trading" concept has already proved to be an effective way to tap the power of the market in the state of California. We're going to put it to work nation-wide.

The third leg of our proposal will cut all categories of airborne toxic chemicals by 75 to 90 percent, by the year 2000.

Our best minds will apply the most advanced industrial technology available, to **control** these airborne poisons. The very best control technology we have will be on those plants.

Until now, because of an unworkable law, the EPA has been able to regulate only 7 of the 280 known air toxics. The reforms we're proposing today will give the dedicated people of that agency the right tools for the job -- and will make state-of-the-art technology an everyday fact of doing business.

In its first phase, this initiative ^{should} ~~will~~ eliminate about **three-quarters** of the needless deaths from cancer that have been caused by toxic industrial air emissions. **People who live near industrial facilities should not have to live in fear.**

For ten years we have struggled to engage a united effort on behalf of clean air. We are now on the edge of real change. 1989 could be recorded as the year when business leaders and environmental advocates began to work toward **complementary**, and not just competing interests -- and environmental issues moved out of the courts, and onto the national agenda. This could be known as the year we mobilized leadership, both public and private, to **make environmental protection a growth industry** -- and **keep our ecology safe for diversity.**

The wounded winds of North, South, East and West can be purified and cleansed -- and the integrity of nature can be made whole again. Ours is a rare opportunity, to reverse the errors of this generation, in the service of the next. We cannot, must not fail. We must prevail.

(Thank you. God Bless you. And God Bless the United States of America.

#

Jokes --

[[utilities -- A clarification, here. When I say "utilities," I'm talking about power plants, not infielders. This legislation should not raise the cost of a seat at Wrigley Field...]]

[[after NOx -- Hey, wait a minute -- did I make any decisions about nitrous oxide [[laughing gas]] reductions? [PAUSE] Maybe I should have...]]

A [[long term commitment... it hasn't happened overnight. But it has happened. It's like that woman in the shampoo ad, who tells you not to hate her because she's beautiful...]]

B [[Negativists say we want to have our cake and eat it too. The fact is, we're finding new ways to bake the cake.]]

C [[emissions. You remember that scene where Eddie Murphy puts the banana in the car's tailpipe, and it stalls? Well, we're going to put the banana in the tailpipe -- and keep the car running.]]

over a period when manufacturing productivity increased by a third; utility output increased by a fourth; and industrial output rose 28 percent -- we've still made progress...

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20210

FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

TO: Dave Demarest
FROM: Rod DeArment
DATE: 6-8-89
TIME: 5:15 pm
RECEIVER TELECOPIER # 456-2883
TRANSMITTER TELECOPIER # 202/523-9072
PAGES TO FOLLOW 2

*Mark Lange
for Monday
CFAA speech*

DEPUTY SECRETARY OF LABOR
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20210

June 8, 1989

TO: Bob Grady
Dave Demarest
FROM: Rod DeArment
RE: Acid Rain

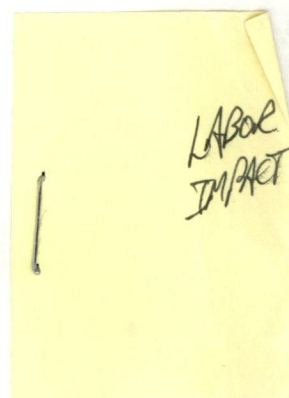
Please call me regarding the attached. We would like this language included in the President's statement on acid rain if it's not already.

I can be reached at 523-6151.

Thank you.

I recognize, and am concerned about, the impact these actions will have on coal miners; other affected workers; and their communities. Therefore, I have directed the Secretaries of the Departments of Labor and Commerce and the Administrator of the Small Business Administration to set up a Task Force to work with State and local public officials, the private sector, as well as other appropriate Federal agencies, to utilize existing programs to alleviate the impact of these actions on both the workers and their communities.

The Department of Labor, through the Job Training Partnership Act, is prepared to provide immediate assistance to workers dislocated as a result of these necessary decisions.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

CABINET AFFAIRS STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: May 12, 1989 **Number:** 490,800 **Due By:** _____

Subject: Domestic Policy Council Meeting on Monday, May 15, 1989 at 2:00 PM
in the Roosevelt Room Re. Acid Rain and Air Toxics

ALL CABINET MEMBERS	Action	FYI		Action	FYI
Vice President	☒	☐	CEA	☒	☐
State	☒	☐	CEQ	☒	☐
Treasury	☒	☐	OSTP	☒	☐
Defense	☒	☒		☐	☐
Justice	☒	☐		☐	☐
Interior	☒	☐		☐	☐
Agriculture	☒	☐		☐	☐
Commerce	☒	☐		☐	☐
Labor	☒	☐		☐	☐
HHS	☒	☐	Scowcroft	☒	☐
HUD	☒	☐	Porter	☒	☐
Transportation	☒	☐	Breedon	☒	☐
Energy	☒	☐	Cicconi (For WH Staffing)	☒	☐
Education	☒	☐	BATES	☒	☐
Veterans	☒	☐		☐	☐
OMB	☒	☐		☐	☐
USTR	☒	☐		☐	☐
Chief of Staff	☒	☐		☐	☐
UN	☐	☐	Executive Secretary for:	☐	☐
CIA	☐	☐	DPC	☐	☐
National Drug Policy	☐	☐	EPC	☐	☒
EPA	☒	☐		☐	☐
GSA	☐	☐		☐	☐
NASA	☐	☐		☐	☐
OPM	☐	☐		☐	☐
SBA	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS: Attached is the paper for the DPC meeting on Monday May 15 at 2:00 in the Roosevelt Room. Please note that this is a CLOSE HOLD DOCUMENT AND NO COPIES SHOULD BE MADE.

RETURN TO:

☐ David Q. Bates
Cabinet Secretary
456-2174
(1st Floor, West Wing)

☐ Associate Director
Office of Cabinet Affairs
456-2800
(Room 235, OE0B)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 12, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DOMESTIC POLICY COUNCIL

The Secretary of State
The Secretary of Defense
The Secretary of Agriculture
The Secretary of Commerce
The Secretary of Labor
The Secretary of Transportation

FROM: KEN YALE. *KY*
Executive Secretary

SUBJECT: May 15 Domestic Policy Council Meeting

There will be a meeting of the Domestic Policy Council on Monday May 15, at 2:00 PM in the Roosevelt Room.

Attached are close hold documents for discussion at the meeting. The materials incorporate comments and suggestions of Council members. PLEASE REFRAIN FROM MAKING COPIES OF THE ATTACHED DOCUMENTS.

The meeting will be used to prepare for future Council meetings with the President.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01a. Report	"Toxic Air Pollution Control." (4 pp.)	05/12/89	~~P5~~	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Clean Air Act Announcement 6/8/89 [1]

Open on Expiration of PRA
(Document Follows)
By SN (NLGB) on 4/5/2005

Date Closed: 9/30/2004	OA/ID Number: 06264
FOIA/SYS Case #:	
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	
MR Case #:	Appeal Case #:
MR Disposition:	Appeal Disposition:
Disposition Date:	Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

May 12, 1989

Toxic Air Pollution Control

Background

Since 1974, EPA has been required to set health-based emission standards for hazardous air pollutants. Section 112 of the Clean Air Act requires EPA to protect public health and the environment "with an ample margin of safety" to ensure protection of the most vulnerable class of individuals (e.g., elderly, children) or species.

Estimates submitted to EPA show that 2.7 billion pounds of toxic chemicals are emitted annually. Approximately 280 toxic compounds were identified that are emitted in quantities that pose some risks. About 45 are carcinogens and are estimated to cause between 1500 and 3000 additional cancer deaths per year, of which 25 percent are caused by large stationary sources, 25 percent by small area wide sources and 50 percent by mobile sources. Non-cancer effects have not been quantified but would include reproductive and birth defects and neurotoxicity. High quality data exists for only 60-80 chemicals which would most likely be the basis for an initial regulatory program under revised legislation.

A majority of the number of identified carcinogens is emitted by about 30 industrial categories, including steel mills (coke ovens), rubber, pulp and paper, chromium electroplating, electric utility cooling towers, and solvent users. Illustrative lists of chemicals, emitting sources, and their cancer incidences are Attachments A - C. However, almost 75 percent of the total pounds of toxic pollution emitted are volatile organic compounds (VOCs) which are principally emitted from automobiles and smaller area sources such as gasoline stations and dry cleaners.

The desirability of an international convention to control VOC emissions is currently under consideration in the Economic Commission for Europe, in which the U.S. is an active participant. An Administration policy on air toxics would provide a sound basis for a U.S. position on VOC controls in any future negotiations.

Current Legislative Status

Two proposed bills to control stationary sources have been introduced by this Congress. H.R. 4 (Dingell) reintroduces a bill drafted by EPA last year. It did not represent the Reagan Administration position. S. 816 (Baucus) is far more stringent than the regulatory scheme in H.R. 4. But both bills are conceptually based on regulating a specific list of chemicals with regulatory priority based on toxicity, volume and the number of chemicals emitted by an industrial category. Both

bills also require the regulation of specific industrial categories through deployment of technology-based standards, requiring maximum controls subject to economic and technical feasibility. Future follow-up actions would be required if the technologies prescribed do not reduce risk sufficiently within the allowed time frames. Exceptions to (or less stringent) regulations can be promulgated or permitted on an individual basis if the industrial sources can demonstrate negligible risk. Additional details of the above elements are in Attachment D and a comparison of the House and Senate bills is Attachment E.

The Current Program Will Not Work

The current law is unwieldy, fraught with contradictions, and provides such little regulatory discretion that it is impossible to administer. The statutory requirement to "protect the public health with an ample margin of safety" is inherently unworkable for carcinogens. There simply is no identifiable threshold at which carcinogens pose no health risk. Yet a zero emission requirement is tantamount to shutting down many of the largest and most vital U.S. industries.

As a result, over the past 15 years since enactment of Section 112 of the Act, EPA has promulgated only seven regulations controlling toxic air pollutants. Further, attempts by EPA to balance risk reductions with economic and even technical feasibility were undermined by a recent (1987) D.C. Appeals Court decision. The Court ruled that a safe level must be met without regard to costs or technical feasibility of the controls required. Meeting the test would obviously shut down or severely disrupt many industries. Under current law, plants must comply within 90 days of promulgation and can receive a one-time extension for only two years if it is technically (as opposed to economically) infeasible to comply.

Maximizing regulatory control under other Clean Air Act sections and other applicable statutes instead of regulation under Section 112 is also not viable -- even though a significant percentage of the problem (VOC's) is being addressed under other statutory authorities. Many toxic pollutants and sources would remain uncontrolled, since not all toxic pollutants can be addressed by other authorities. Second, EPA has already been subject to suits by NRDC to push forward under Section 112. Ultimately, without an active EPA program, the courts will only substitute their regulatory policies for that of the Executive Branch. Last, but not least, EPA would be in the impossible situation of justifying why it chose not to pursue controls over identified carcinogens.

In summary, the zero tolerance level mandated under current law is suboptimal and if continued would be extremely costly, politically difficult and would threaten the shut-down of many plants in several industries from court mandates.

Reductions of health risk occurring under other current programs and proposed legislation

There are several control measures already in existence and several others which could be accelerated, strengthened or initiated under current laws that would greatly reduce the health threat from toxic pollutants. Furthermore, much of the VOC emission problem will be addressed as part of the ozone non-attainment program -- at least in those areas that are in non-attainment. Nearly 50 percent of VOC emissions occur in non-attainment areas which will be subject to additional controls through the Administration's proposed legislation.

of particular importance is the control of mobile sources, which will, alone, reduce 700 cancer deaths per year by 1995.

- (1) Control of diesel particulates - EPA estimates that particulate emissions from diesel engines are responsible for 520 cancers per year. By 1995, these standards already in place will reduce air toxics risks from diesel bus and truck emissions by 185 cancers per year and by roughly 400 cancers per year by 2005.
- (2) Control of hydrocarbon emissions - EPA estimates that emissions from gasoline-fueled vehicles are responsible for 700 deaths per year. By 1995, the replacement of older (1970 or earlier) cars in the fleet with new cars meeting the current tailpipe standards will reduce air toxics risks by 214 cancers per year. In addition, options to require oxygenated fuels and a neat fuels program to address non-attainment problems could yield a further reduction of 75 cancers per year.

Attachment F shows that toxic emissions from major stationary sources rank in the third tier of overall risks facing Americans today. Emissions from cars and trucks pose a far greater risk, and implementation of those programs will result in the greatest risk reduction.

Another group of control measures that can be implemented (in addition to options presented below) are those controllable under other current authorities, e.g., RCRA controls for hazardous waste treatment, storage, and disposal facilities. EPA estimates that its current rulemaking to limit air toxic emissions from these hazardous waste facilities would reduce the risks by 120 cancer deaths per year.

A listing of other EPA authorities, and the reduced health threat associated with their implementation, is Attachment G.

LEGISLATIVE REFORM PROPOSALS:

The remaining health risk that cannot be addressed under current laws or proposed legislation to control ozone is concentrated in large, stationary sources and a large number of small "area-wide" emitters. In developing new legislation to address these sources, there are five principal objectives that have guided the development of options.

Legislative Principles

1. To achieve reductions in toxic pollutants as soon as possible. As a nation we have reduced pollutants posing far less risk to a far greater extent. The early reduction of these significant risks should be a top priority.
2. To provide sufficient flexibility that risk reduction can be balanced against economic and technical feasibility considerations. Flexibility should also be maintained to ensure that neither over- or under-control is the ultimate result of the regulatory strategy adopted.
3. To set in place a comprehensive long-term strategy that could lead to additional reductions in risks as new pollutant compounds are identified, or technical and economic feasibilities are improved sufficiently to reduce existing risk further.
4. Encourage industries to make reductions on their own by crediting early non-mandated reductions against total reductions subsequently required in Federal regulation.

Program Reform Options

Adherence to the above principles presents a general framework for legislation. The short-term and long-term control objectives can be met by having two phases -- an initial phase that will lead to early but not complete reductions in risk and a second phase to deal with the admittedly far more difficult "residual risk" that could not be captured in the initial round of reductions.

Phase I

For the major industrial dischargers of toxic air pollution, early reduction and flexibility in control strategies can be achieved through one of three basic regulatory strategies.

1987 Air Toxics Inventory
Top 25 Toxic Pollutants By Pounds Emitted Per Year

	Pollutant	M Lbs./Yr Emitted	Percent of Total	Cumulative Percent
*	1. Toluene	236	9.8%	9.8%
	2. Ammonia	233	9.7%	19.6%
	3. Acetone	186	7.8%	27.3%
	4. Methanol	183	7.6%	35.0%
	5. Carbon Disulfide	137	5.7%	40.7%
	6. Trichloroethane	131	5.5%	46.1%
	7. Methyl Ethyl Ketone	125	5.2%	51.4%
*	8. Xylene	120	5.0%	56.4%
**	9. Dichloromethane	112	4.7%	61.0%
	10. Chlorine	103	4.3%	65.3%
	11. Aluminum Oxide	73	3.0%	68.4%
	12. Ethylene	54	2.3%	70.6%
	13. Hydrochloric Acid	50	2.1%	72.7%
	14. Freon 113	49	2.0%	74.8%
*	15. Trichloroethylene	47	2.0%	76.7%
	16. Propylene	37	1.5%	78.3%
	17. Glycol Ethers	32	1.3%	79.6%
	18. Tetrachloroethylene	28	1.2%	80.8%
	19. M-Butyl Alcohol	27	1.1%	81.9%
	20. Methyl Isobutyl Keto	25	1.0%	82.9%
**	21. Benzene	25	1.0%	84.0%
	22. Styrene	25	1.0%	85.0%
**	23. Chloroform	24	1.0%	86.0%
	24. Chloromethane	21	0.9%	86.9%
	25. Carbonyl Sulfide	20	0.8%	87.7%

* Denotes known neurotoxin.

** Denotes known carcinogen.

**WISNAPS STUDY: PRELIMINARY APPROXIMATION OF ANNUAL INCIDENCE
AND MAXIMUM LIFETIME RISK**

Pollutants Having Some Evidence of Carcinogenicity*	Preliminary Estimate of Maximum Individual Lifetime Risk**	Preliminary Estimate of Annual Incidence**
Acrylamide	7.4×10^{-5}	0.01
Acrylonitrile	3.8×10^{-3}	0.42
Allylchloride	1.3×10^{-6}	<0.01
Arsenic	6.8×10^{-3}	4.70
Benzene	8.0×10^{-3}	32.30
Benzylchloride	3.0×10^{-5}	<0.01
Beryllium	1.0×10^{-4}	1.20
1,3 Butadiene	9.7×10^{-6}	0.01
Cadmium	7.8×10^{-4}	16.30
Carbon Tetrachloride	8.8×10^{-4}	14.00
Chloroform	3.0×10^{-3}	0.27
Chromium	1.6×10^{-1}	330.0
Coke Oven Emissions	2.0×10^{-2}	8.60
Diethanolamine	2.0×10^{-7}	<0.01
Diethyl phthalate	9.8×10^{-6}	<0.01
Epichlorohydrin	1.9×10^{-6}	<0.01
Ethyl acrylate	4.7×10^{-5}	<0.01
Ethylene dibromide	1.6×10^{-4}	26.70
Ethylene dichloride	2.9×10^{-4}	44.00
Ethylene oxide	6.8×10^{-3}	47.80
Formaldehyde	6.1×10^{-4}	1.60
Methyl chloride	1.2×10^{-5}	<0.01
Methylene chloride	9.0×10^{-6}	1.0
4,4 Methylene dianiline	1.8×10^{-3}	0.02
Nickel	1.6×10^{-3}	80.00
Nitrobenzene	1.2×10^{-6}	<0.01
Nitrosodimethylamine	6.0×10^{-9}	<0.01
Pentachlorophenol	1.7×10^{-5}	0.12
Perchloroethylene	4.6×10^{-4}	2.90
PCBs	3.0×10^{-4}	0.21
Propylene dichloride	2.1×10^{-6}	<0.01
Propylene oxide	3.0×10^{-2}	0.97
Styrene	3.3×10^{-5}	<0.01
Terephthalic acid	1.8×10^{-5}	<0.01
Trichloroethylene	1.0×10^{-4}	9.70
Vinyl chloride	3.0×10^{-3}	11.70
Vinylidene chloride	4.2×10^{-3}	0.04
Total		634.7

- * The weight of evidence of carcinogenicity for the compounds listed varies greatly, from very limited to very substantial. Further, the extent of evaluation and health review performed varies considerably among compounds. However, for the purposes of this report, a conservative scenario (i.e., that all compounds examined could be human carcinogens) has been assumed.
- ** Because of the uncertainties in the data used to make these estimates, they should be regarded as rough approximations of total incidence and maximum lifetime individual risk. Estimates of incidence for individual compounds are much less certain. These incidence and maximum risk estimates have been performed to provide a rough idea of the possible total magnitude of the air toxics problem, and will be used only for priority-setting and to provide policy guidance.
- Risk estimates assume that all species of chromium and nickel are carcinogenic, although only certain species have evidence of carcinogenicity. Current data do not allow differentiation among species.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01b. Report	"Regulatory Activities to BE Undertaken in the Short Term Under a Modified Section 112." (1 pp.)	n.d.	~~P-5~~	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
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WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Clean Air Act Announcement 6/8/89 [1]

Open on Expiration of PRA
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By SN (NLGB) on 4/5/2005

Date Closed: 9/30/2004	OA/ID Number: 06264
FOIA/SYS Case #:	
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	
MR Case #:	Appeal Case #:
MR Disposition:	Appeal Disposition:
Disposition Date:	Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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**Regulatory Activities To Be Undertaken
in the Short Term Under a Modified Section 112**

<u>Pollutant/Source Category</u>	<u>Baseline Cancer Incidence</u>
<u>Benzene</u> Coke By-Products	3
<u>13-Butadiene</u> S-B Rubber	10
<u>Chloroform</u> Pulp and Paper	2
<u>Chromium</u> Chrome Electroplating Cooling Towers	120 55
<u>Coke Oven Emissions</u> Coke Ovens	7
<u>Ethylene Oxide</u> Sterilization	4
<u>Methylene Chloride</u> Solvent Use	4
<u>Perchloroethylene</u> Dry Cleaning Solvent Use	3 5
<u>Trichloroethylene</u> Solvent Use	6
<u>Multi-Pollutant Source Category (HON)</u>	
Sources of 13-Butadiene, Carbon Tetrachloride Chloroform, Ethylene Dichloride, Ethylene Oxide, Methylene chloride, Perchloroethylene, and Trichloroethylene	21

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01c. Report	Attachment D, re: Elements / Chiminal List. (1 pp.)	n.d.	~~P-5~~	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
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Date Closed: 9/30/2004 FOIA/SYS Case #: Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	OA/ID Number: 06264
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Elements

1. Chemical list
2. Source Categories List
3. Technology-based standard
4. Residual Risk follow-up
5. Negligible-risk variance and other correction factors
6. Permit system/permit fees

1. Chemical List

- o Used to identify and prioritize source categories for regulation; not for chemical-by-chemical regulation.
- o Cover credible amount of toxic air releases reported under Toxic Release Inventory (SARA 313).

2. Source Categories List

- o Identified as sources of chemicals on list.
- o Prioritized: Sources of most toxic chemicals released in largest amounts in urban areas are ranked at the top of the scale.

3. Technology-based standards

- o Based on cost and feasibility.
- o Apply to major sources (emit 10 tons per year of one listed chemical, or 25 tons of a mixture).
- o Achieve a good level of control for toxics emissions generally.
- o Findings not risk-based, corrections for high-risk under-control or low-risk, over-controls are separately applied.

4. Residual Risk follow-up

- o Check risk after technology-based controls are in place.
- o Further regulate as needed.

5. Negligible-risk variances and other corrections

- o Sources demonstrate negligible risk to obtain variance from regulation.
- o EPA discretion to drop source categories causing negligible risk.

6. Permits System/Permit Fees

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01d. Report	Attachment F, re: "Comparison of H.R. 4 and S. 816." (3 pp.)	n.d.	~~P-5~~	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
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Comparison of H.R. 4 and S. 816

Number of Categories Regulated

H.R. 4 (EPA)

- o First 50% of initial list to be regulated.
- o Second 50% of initial list to be discretionary with EPA.
- o EPA may drop any category presenting negligible risk.

Senate bill

- o 100% of initial list to be regulated.

Technology Standard

H.R. 4 (EPA)

- o Maximum achievable reduction considering cost and feasibility.
- o New sources: Most stringent achieved in practice by a source in the category or subcategory, considering cost and feasibility.
- o Existing Sources: may be less stringently controlled than new sources.
- o Variance from compliance when source presents negligible risk.
- o Enforced under operating permit.

Additional

EPA recommendations:

- o Variance for source achieving voluntary 90% reduction in emissions of listed pollutants in previous 5 years. (Particulates control credit may be based more appropriately on a different percent).
- o Modified sources should be under existing-source standards not new source standards.

This will limit new source stringency to those sources that are newly built (or more than half rebuilt) where industry says it designs state-of-the-art for business reasons.

Most of the industry concerns about the new source provision have had to do with modified, not newly-built sources. This would allay those concerns.

Senate bill

- o Maximum achievable reduction considering cost and feasibility.
- o New sources more stringently controlled than existing sources as under H.R. 4, but existing source benchmark of expected reduction is 90% reduction from uncontrolled emissions.
- o No variance for negligible risk.
- o Enforcement under operating permit.

Alternative

- o EPA would provide informational guidance on Best Practicable Control Technology (BPCT). BPCT would describe control technologies, their costs and what emission reductions they yield. The states would use BPCT information in writing permits for sources.

Residual Risk

H.R. 4 (EPA)

- o After-control "significant risk of serious or widespread adverse effects on health" would prompt further control (A high risk threshold).
- o Added control - up to 90% further reduction in emissions -- whatever percent protects from significant risk of serious or widespread effects.
- o Compliance period is 5 years.

Senate Bill

- o After-control risk of 10^{-4} or above prompts further control.
- o Added control to get below 10^{-4} .

- o Immediate compliance, but may obtain "extraordinary economic hardship" extension up to 5 years.

Alternative

- o EPA guidance on assessing residual risk.
- o States conduct source by assessment and decide on further control.
(Neighborhood epidemiology studies are not feasible)

Variances

H.R. 4 (EPA)

- o Variance from any added control for sources at negligible risk.
- o Grace period of 5 years from time any controls are installed for purposes of other Clean Air Act programs.

EPA recommended

- o Variance from relevant MACT requirements for sources achieving 90% reduction in emissions of listed pollutants in the 5 years.

Senate bill

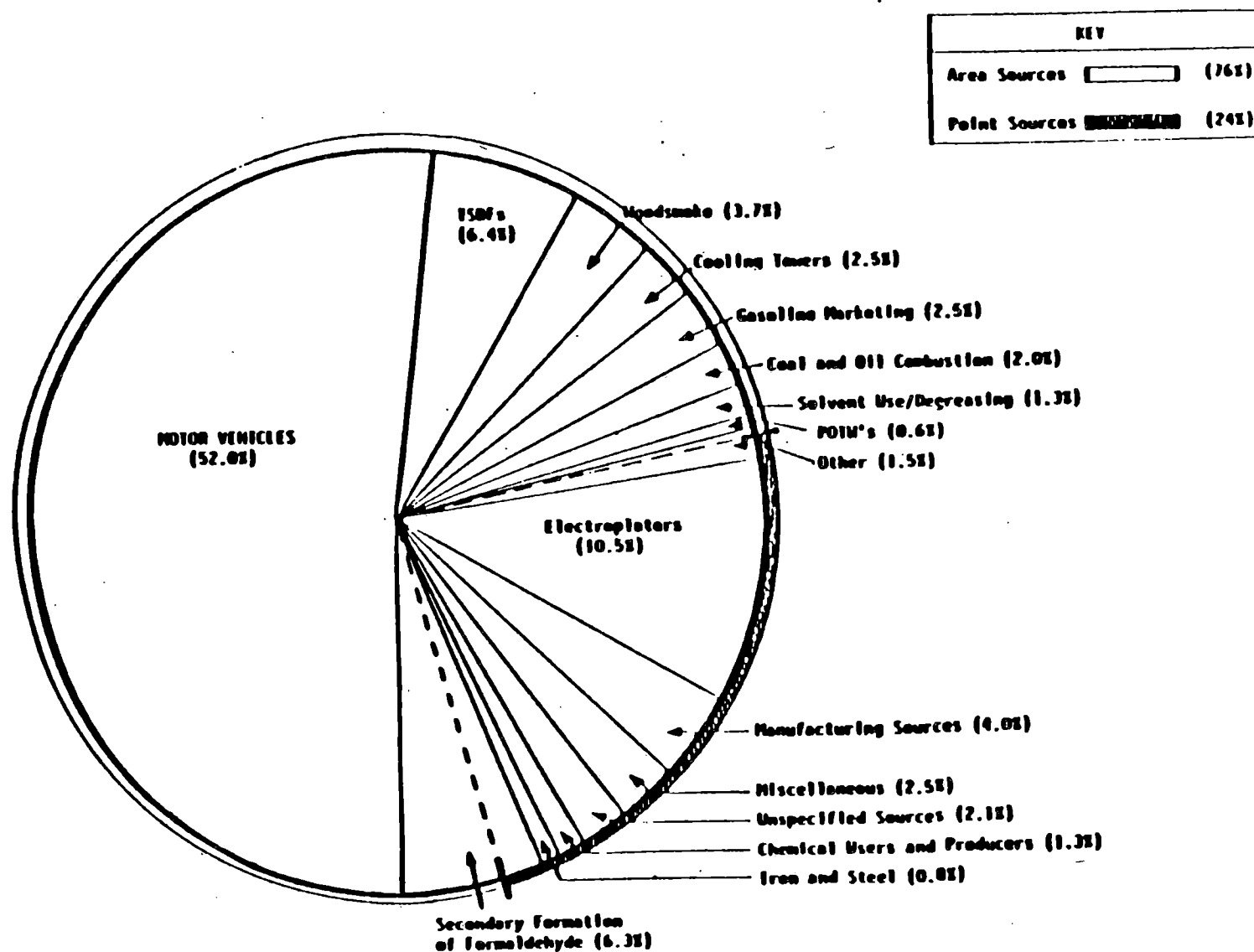
- o No variance from MACT for negligible risk.
- o Source undergoes review, feasible added control(s) and public hearings every 5th year as long as they are causing greater than 1 in a million risk to anyone (10^{-6}).
- o Variance from relevant MACT requirements for sources achieving 90% reduction in emissions of listed pollutants between 1987 and 1993.

ANNUAL RISK OF DEATH FROM CERTAIN ACTIVITIES AND CAUSES
Actual U.S. Deaths in 1983

Cause	Annual Deaths
Heart Disease	733,235
Malignant Neoplasms (Cancer)	403,395
Smoking	337,000
Cerebrovascular Disease (Stroke)	169,488
Motor Vehicle Accidents	53,524
Drowning	6,872
Fires	5,991
Construction Work	2,100
Agricultural Work	1,800
Emissions from Cars & Trucks	1,220
Boating	1,178
Major Stationary Sources	750
Appendicitis	682
Electrocution	500
Weather (tornadoes, floods, lightning)	440
Hunting	290
Snowmobiling	60
Bee Stings	40
Water Skiing	32
Hang Gliding	13
Football	9
Measles	6
Amusement Park Rides	6
Baseball	5
Ingestion of Toothpicks	1

**Air Toxics Regulatory Activities To Be Undertaken
Under Other Sections of the Clean Air Act or Other Statutes**

<u>statute/Activity</u>	<u>Baseline Incidence (from existing sources)</u>	<u>Reduction from Control</u>
<u>Clean Air Act</u>		
Motor Vehicles	792 to 1,499	
Diesel Particulate Standards		185
Refueling and On-Board Controls		
HC Emissions for Light Duty Trucks		
Methanol Emission Standards		
Municipal Waste Incinerators	2 to 40	1 to 20
NSPA and 111 (d)		
<u>Resource Conservation and Recovery Act</u>		
TSDF Rule	140	120
<u>Clean Water Act</u>		
Sewage Sludge Incineraton	12	3-9



Relative Contribution of Source Categories to Total Nationwide Annual Incidence

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02a. Report	"The Current Law is Unworkable." (1 pp.)	n.d.	~~P-5~~	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
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WHORM Cat.:
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THE CURRENT LAW IS UNWORKABLE

- o Section 112 of the Clean Air Act requires standards for hazardous air pollutants that protect the public health with an "ample margin of safety."**
- o The "Vinyl Chloride Decision" brought the program to a standstill since it required that "safe levels" be set without regard to cost.**
- o To implement the decision, EPA must either:**
 - establish a "safe level" of toxics exposure at zero risk that would shut down vital industries**
----- or -----
 - establish a "safe level" that avoids shutdowns but will be overturned by the courts.**
- o EPA's air toxics program has set only seven standards thus far.**

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02b. Report	"Legislative Principles." (1 pp.)	n.d.	~~P-5~~	

Collection:

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LEGISLATIVE PRINCIPLES

- o Achieve reductions in toxic emissions (and health risks) as soon as possible.**
- o Provide maximum flexibility to balance emission (and health risk) reductions and economic/technological feasibility.**
- o Adopt a strategy that continues to reduce risk over the long run as conditions merit.**
- o Encourage industries to make emission reductions on their own.**

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02c. Report	"Much Is Already Being Done to Reduce Emissions and Health Risks." (1 pp.)	n.d.	~~P-5~~	

Collection:

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P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

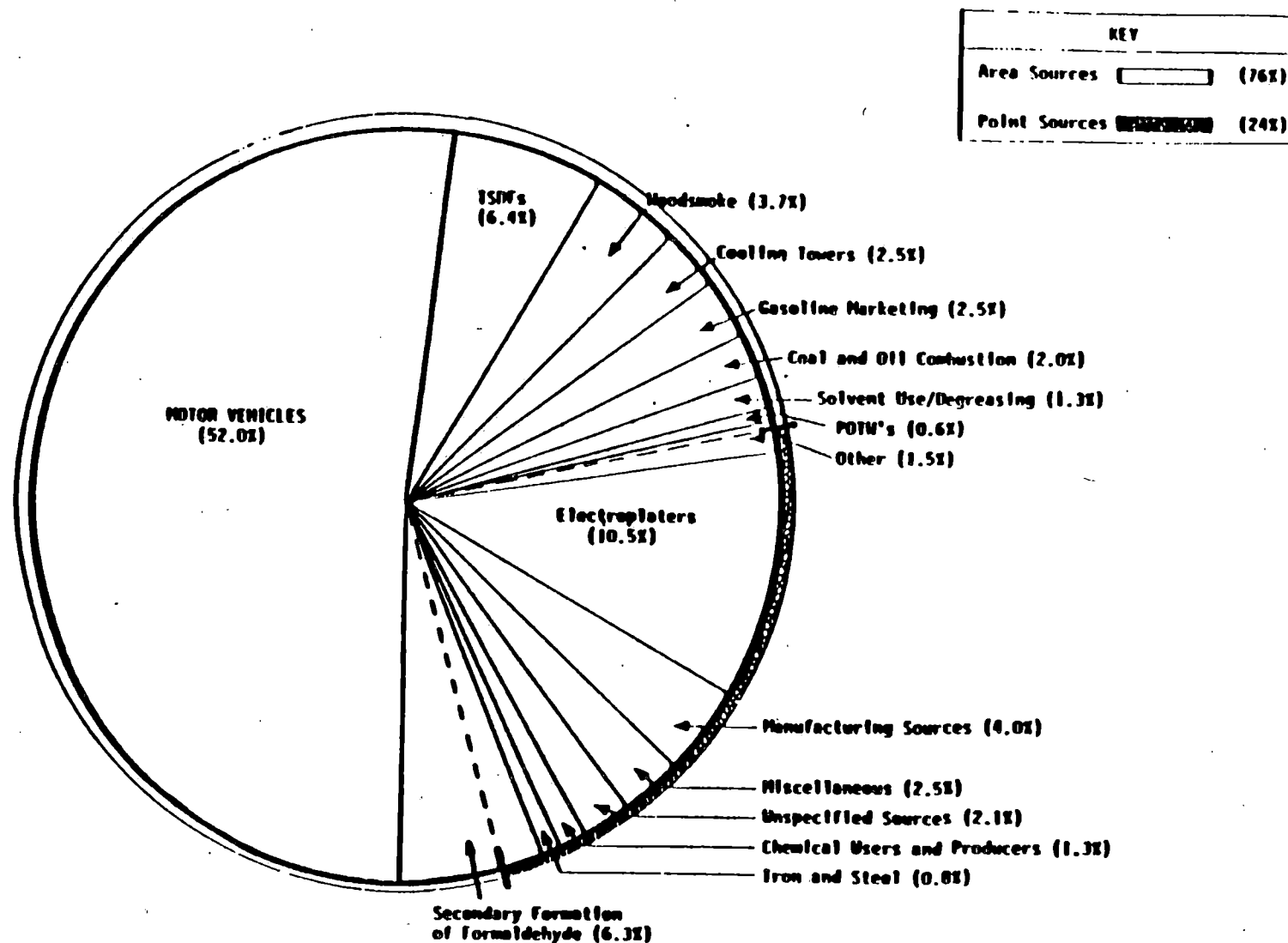
C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

MUCH IS ALREADY BEING DONE TO REDUCE EMISSIONS AND HEALTH RISKS

- o Half the emissions of air toxics are from mobile sources, which are already subject to controls under the Clean Air Act. These controls could avoid 700 cancer deaths:**
 - Diesel particulate controls**
 - Hydrocarbon emission controls**
 - Oxygenated and neat fuels programs in ozone and carbon monoxide nonattainment areas if included in Clean Air legislation.**
- o Hazardous waste site emissions will be regulated.**
- o The biggest remaining stationary source problem is largely due to one industry -- electroplating.**
- o Many States have already moved to reduce toxic pollutants imposing unacceptable risks.**



**Relative Contribution by Source Categories to Total
Nationwide Annual Incidence**

DRAFT: May 15, 1989

CLEAN AIR ACT OPTIONS PAPER: ACID RAIN

I. BACKGROUND

"Acid rain" is the common name for a phenomenon which occurs when sulfur dioxide (SO₂) and nitrogen oxide (NO_x) emissions undergo a chemical transformation in the atmosphere and return to the earth as acidic rain, fog, or particles.

There is continuing debate over the nature and extent of damage caused by acid rain.

The Science: NAPAP

The National Acid Precipitation Assessment Program (NAPAP) is an interagency scientific committee established by Congress in 1980, with a 10-year mission to study the causes and effects of acid rain. NAPAP recently (1989) reported that:

"The only benefits generally agreed to be expected from new acid rain controls will be improvements in acidic and sensitive lakes and streams..."

and that:

"There is no evidence of widespread forest damage from acid rain, with the possible exception of mountain-top exposures to acidic clouds."

With respect to health risks, NAPAP stated:

"Possible health risks associated with the acid rain pollutants are currently being evaluated."

NAPAP will have spent about \$500 million to study acid rain by the time its final report is released in 1990.

Competing views:

On the other hand, the World Resources Institute (1988) has reported that:

"acid deposition and ozone are important contributors to the decline of several tree species in the East."

and the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) reported in 1984 that:

"Acid deposition may be adversely affecting a significant fraction of Eastern U.S. forests, ... [and] ... Fine particles such as sulfates reduce visibility and have been linked to increased human mortality in regions with elevated levels of air pollution."

Sources of Acid Rain-Causing Emissions:

About 20 million tons of SO₂ are emitted annually in the U.S. This represents a reduction of 25% since peak emissions in 1973, despite a near doubling of coal consumption during that period.

Roughly three quarters of these emissions result from the burning of fossil fuels by electric utilities. Another 20% comes from various, more widely dispersed (and thus more difficult to regulate) industrial sources, and 5% comes from transportation sources.

New sources of SO₂ emissions were regulated by the Clean Air Act, first passed in 1971 and strengthened in 1977. Because of this, the source of most emissions -- and thus the focus of most legislative proposals -- is a relatively small number of old plants (pre-1971) not subject to the Act's "new source performance standards." For example, the 50 largest emitting plants are responsible for 50% of the SO₂ emissions in the country.

NO_x emissions are also about 20 million tons per year -- with transportation sources accounting for about half. The level has been fairly steady in recent years (only a 2 million ton increase since 1980), but without further controls, NO_x emissions will begin to increase in the mid-1990s.

Commitments by the President

During the campaign, then Vice President Bush said:

"On the question of acid rain, the time for study alone has passed. We know enough now to begin taking steps to limit future damage ... As President, I will ask for a program to cut millions of tons of sulfur dioxide emissions by the year 2000, and to reduce significantly nitrogen oxide emissions as well."

He followed up on that with the following statement in his February 9th statement to the Joint Session of Congress:

"I will send to you shortly legislation for a new, more effective Clean Air Act. It will include a plan to reduce, by date certain, the emissions which cause acid rain -- because the time for study alone has passed, and the time for action is now."

The book, Building a Better America, said:

"The Administration's program will include market-based approaches, supplementing and modifying the traditional command-and-control approaches. The goal is to get the Federal government out of the detailed regulation of industry decisions and reduce the need for elaborate EPA-approved, State-prepared emission reduction plans ... The legislation will provide flexibility to states and industry to adopt least cost compliance strategies (and) incentives for the early deployment of innovative emission reduction techniques."

Costs of Controlling Acid Rain:

Since 1970, the U.S. has spent over \$225 billion to control emissions of sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides. Current estimates are that American industry spends about \$33 billion per year on air pollution control -- and EPA estimates that the electric utility industry now spends about \$10 billion a year for such controls under the existing Clean Air Act.

On the other hand, Americans spend over \$160 billion per year on electricity -- and any of the legislative approaches currently under consideration would cost less than 5 percent of that.

According to EPA, a "least cost" strategy for reducing SO₂ emissions from utilities by 7 million tons from 1980 levels and NO_x emis-

sions by 2 million tons from current levels would be between \$2.0 and 2.4 billion per year (in 1988 dollars). Raising the required SO₂ emission reduction to 9 million tons raises the cost to between \$3.6 and 4.0 billion annually.

For discussion purposes, these two alternatives translate into bills which would reduce SO₂ emissions by 8 and 10 million tons respectively, because smelters and other industrial sources have already reduced emissions by 1 million tons since the commonly-used 1980 baseline date. At the same time, electricity demand is expected to grow, causing additional emissions which will have to be offset with further reductions. The exact amount of projected growth is open to some question, with EPA projecting 1.2 million additional tons of SO₂ emissions, and others projecting less.

To the extent that utilities are allowed to decide freely how to achieve the required reductions, or trade "emissions credits" with other utilities or industrial emitters, the cost goes down. Further, to the extent that clean coal technologies prove to be lower cost alternatives to utilities' generation needs, the costs of SO₂ reductions go down.

Contentious issues:

Historically, two major issues of contention have caused a stalemate on acid rain control legislation.

First is the impact such legislation might have on high-sulfur coal producers and coal mining employment. To the extent that utilities choose to switch to other fuels (natural gas, low-sulfur coal), high-sulfur coal mining jobs will be lost -- although ICF estimated that under a full freedom of choice bill introduced in the last session the impact would be 16,800 high-sulfur coal mining jobs lost. It should be noted that these losses would be offset by job gains in low-sulfur coal mining (plus 18,000 jobs under the same ICF estimate). It should be noted that some of the job gains would be in the same states -- albeit in different regions -- as the job losses. Northern West Virginia, for example, could be expected to lose 1,200 high-sulfur coal mining jobs, but southern West Virginia could gain 4,000 low-sulfur coal mining jobs.

EPA feels that under a full freedom of choice bill which requires a 10 million ton SO₂ reduction, the total high sulfur coal mining job loss (including non-coal mining jobs in high sulfur coal mining com-

munities) could be between 20,000 and 50,000 jobs. These would, as noted, be at least partially offset by gains elsewhere.

In any event, options which are designed to increase the use of scrubbers or encourage the deployment of clean coal technology will mitigate the effect of reductions on these high-sulfur coal mining communities. Scrubber technology, however, is quite costly.

The second oft-discussed issue is the impact that any acid rain control program will have on electricity rates in affected states. In general, most Congressional proposals to date would raise national average electricity rates by about 2% after the year 2000. For the legislative proposal which mandated the most costly approach, scrubbers on specifically named plants, the rate increases in the two most severely impacted states (Indiana and Ohio) would be about 7% -- although without trading it would be higher for individual utilities.

What follows is a brief discussion of the major decisions to be made in crafting an acid rain reduction bill, with options presented to resolve each choice. To the extent possible, the costs associated with choosing these options -- as measured from the two base cases discussed above -- are identified. Because there is significant variability in possible true future costs, the cost estimates listed will be the mid-point of the range provided by EPA estimates.

Greenberg et al.

John Doe White House

Again - 1st time any other. For Forest Dept.
in 1980, document it } then for study for Forest.

P.R. - more action

Filling a company policy
on the commitment

A NEW DEFENSE

right to show are

Keep Biology safe diversity

even our movement
accelerating today

a well being
of understanding the bridge

Look out the windows. Take the summer,
on radio you hear the morning.
little bit about the to play in.
By 1992, and by yr 2000, we want
for office in N.C. for office in L.A.

by '75, all cities would reach attainment
by '77 - reassessed
new goal '82 - tried again.
missed '87 again.

We did do a lot--
but growth outpaced us

WE HAVE ALREADY DONE A LOT.

but
{ We've got to re-load. }

Localities made plans. If failed, Fed cut off Hwy #.
Not serious. Too many violations

Congress enacted laws impossible to enforce.
Back in 1970, had no idea. → had no idea L.A. would have to
Now, we realize how tough it is. cut out drive-thru
banks & rest areas.
N.Y. would have to levy
\$10/day/car.

Now we take growth into account.

now Economic growth AND Environmental preserve.

CONCENTRATIONS ON
ACID RAIN - coal & oil. And power plants

CONCENTRATIONS ON
OZONE - everybody -- individuals
will affect
people's pers. lives.

CARS
IN NY
drive-thru
dry cleaners
A laundry list of things BBAs

IN NON-ATTAINMENT - a big piece
of the choices will be left to the state - flexibility

The TOXICS
- industry, cigarette, govt. - are but 4-5%

2. Above - 1st technological control on most significant sources of pollution
Chemical plants, factories
Clean. Manuf. already agree the time for some

govt: measures by (date certain)
Time of air testing

CRA for
* set standards for
Pollutants in 19 years. [in 10 yrs.]
[even that part]

[we have nearly 200,000
Pollutants of concern]

2.7 billion pounds/year.

Play (CRA) need legal - we can do better
Current law for great delay & litigation
need legislation

Time to AE - 10 to 20 years
a new generation of

And then - natural resources
worthwhile to look out your window
Mt. Snow - the 100 million - look out your window
Air for - cones, health risks
[

Cost-benefit
of clean air
7
Important to assign value to clean air.

society out of control
look out the window & it looks like shit
Biker

~~WILLIAM~~ Gifford } { TRC
Finch } {
speech on opening
Grand Canyon.

→ Tradition - a continuation
breaking new ground on congress.

The Rise of Teddy Roosevelt

TRs ~~NATURAL~~ NATURAL

0201E 2010

Kid born today will breathe clean air
before s/he graduates from U.S.

HOLD CONGRESS' FEET TO THE FIRE
[LIKE TAX REFORM.]

~~Talking about one than
overworked [window
wasn't going the way
of the Play by Reference]~~

Part of the Literature
of the Am. Wilderness
Series.

Her # B: 965-5311

competitive effect the first be awarded
 Feb 1977. Attempts to award unsuccessful
 left uncertainty to industry, people
 the Cong & admin will work together.

In last decade & early 1970s we have made tremendous
 states
 significant reduction of particulate pollution
 ② also from clean air act. in part
 their learned from local exp. parts of the
 has great working (air forces)

8 years ago (acid rain, ozone)
 reasonable studies

[Alaska Survey]
 according by 1992 reduce emission by $\frac{1}{3}$ in A.C.
 to EPA "2000 reduce about 50% - clean air

Acid Rain (contaminants - 1/2 from ground water)
 Air Pollution (various vehicles - factories)
 Alaska (non-attainment of 3rd standard - ozone)
 (Hazard)
 particulate)

DON'T TALK OUT OF THE CORNERS,
 AND GIVE THE APPROPRIATE
 REASON FOR IT. (MAYBE IETS FROM BEZARER)
 ...certainly something that causes...
 at the time.

ACID ADRI

10 million feet = 10000

Pressure: has as if it's only applied to some plant (> 71)
 as we've been creating down stable on mass
 plant, while old plant continue mostly
 as an incentive to create to support
 plant economy

incentive to investment in clean coal technology
 - we're finding the research.

cost \$3.5 billion
 only

power plant way ahead have not...
 the whole thing.

a number of services...
 cars, batteries, dry cleaners, etc.

NON-ATTACHMENT

80 not allowing the 0200

50 to 100

COSTLY

8-13 billion

further technology on cars,
 etc. etc. - many small
 places

some styling

so far: auto

a car that can...
 the way they did...
 control

Capital...
 ...
 ...

M

{ More looking for...
 ...

There are ~~several~~ ^{several} days in Washington last year
by the end of my admin., cut it to —
before the end of this century, D.C. (2500)
By 2050, F.A. Chan

GEA
Clean the Act for ^{protection} ~~protection~~ ^{protection}
50, down 22%
(50, down 22% ^{protection} ~~protection~~ ^{protection})
Clean the Act (most completely state on the
(Take survey + wisdom to prepare a plan)
Take - more
divine more in
protection)
Took the initiative. Took the program
Coverage. No help take off on

* ARE TOXICS
 current has no feature
 low cost appl. only 7 of 2800
 → kill 1500-1500 people (current)
 - of us "single morning supply"
 - much like old but certain cost.