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Al's Floor Speech in Favor of Gore-Lautenberg Amendment

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**FLOOR SPEECH IN FAVOR OF LAUTENBERG AMENDMENT ON TOXIC
EMISSIONS FROM MOTOR VEHICLES**

Mr. President, I rise in support of the amendment offered by my distinguished colleague from New Jersey to assure that toxic, cancer-causing emissions from vehicles will be controlled. This amendment is needed to rectify one of the most important weakening changes made by the substitute bill now under consideration.

The heart of the matter is this: When President Bush announced his Clean Air Act proposals last June, he stated that toxic air pollutants are causing as many as 3000 cancer cases each year. The President said it was his goal to reduce this horrifying toll by 75%. This was, and remains, a worthy objective. But this goal cannot be achieved unless toxic emissions from motor vehicles are also controlled.

Adopting the President's goal, the original legislation from the Environment and Public Works Committee provided that EPA should develop and implement a program to reduce the number of cancer cases from air toxics in urban areas by 75% over the next decade. This was to be done by controlling toxic emissions from "area sources" -- those sources smaller than the major industrial facilities addressed in the

bill. "Area sources" were defined to include smaller stationery air toxic sources -- and motor vehicles.

Why include motor vehicles? First, because motor vehicles are part of the EPA definition of "area sources." Second, and more important, because the undisputed fact is that cancer-causing emissions from motor vehicles account for more than half of all cancer cases from toxic air pollution. 56 percent, according to the Environmental Protection Agency's most recent studies.

I ask my colleagues to look at the figure, taken from the EPA study of September, 1989 called "Cancer Risk from Outdoor Exposure to Air Toxics that my distinguished colleague from New Jersey has introduced. The figure shows two categories of sources: "area sources" and "point sources." Point sources are major industrial facilities like chemical plants, steel facilities, utilities, etc. According to this study, they account for about 20 percent of the overall toll of cancer cases, as well as the highest cancer risk to exposed persons.

Note that "area sources" are defined by the EPA itself to include both motor vehicles and smaller stationery sources. And note also that about 80 percent of all air toxics-related cancer cases come from area sources. And 56 percent of the total comes from our

exposure to motor vehicle exhaust! They are a toxic cloud hovering over our urban areas.

In short, if the President -- and the Congress -- intend to reduce the toll of air toxics cancer deaths by at least 75%, it cannot be done without controlling cancer-causing emissions from motor vehicles.

Yet in the negotiations that produced the substitute bill, the Administration's negotiators insisted that motor vehicle toxic emissions be removed from the definition of "area sources." As a result, the substitute bill cannot accomplish the President's and the Committee's objective of cutting cancer cases from air toxics by 75 percent. Even if the cancer-causing emissions from stationery sources were totally eliminated, more than half of the cancer-causing emissions would remain.

Clearly, if the President wants to meet his own goal of reducing the cancer toll from air toxics by 75% or more, then he must support the inclusion of cancer-causing motor vehicle emissions in area source controls. But if the President now opposes such controls, then he has abandoned his own goal.

We cannot let this happen. It ill behooves this body to allow 1,500 Americans to contract cancer each year from these uncontrolled toxic motor vehicle emissions.

We must also bear in mind that the effect of insulating motor vehicles' toxic emissions from control is to increase the burden on the smaller stationery sources in our states. Every firm using carcinogenic solvents or paints, every gas station, every dry cleaner, every owner of a woodstove will have to shoulder a greater burden to make up for letting toxic emissions from motor vehicles off the hook.

What reason did the Administration's negotiators give for insulating motor vehicle toxic emissions from control? It seems that the White House decided that the Committee's original proposal to control motor vehicle toxic emissions would cost \$1.5 billion per year more than the Administration bill. By knocking motor vehicles out of the "area source" definition, the White House negotiators could claim that they had reduced the cost of the Senate's bill by this amount. No thought of the lives lost. No thought of the President's goals. Just a "green eye-shade's" cost-cutting mentality.

And it's not even an honest green eye-shade analysis. In a masterpiece of understatement, the Congressional Research Service called it "misleading." CRS stated:

"H.R. 3030 [the Administration bill] as amended in the House would also require a mobile source air toxics program, which EPA estimates would cost \$1.5 billion per year. In addition, California already requires producers of gasoline to reduce benzene, and the Agency has announced that it will soon issue an 'advance notice of proposed rulemaking' on reducing air toxics from mobile sources. Consequently, suggesting that controlling mobile air toxics is a cost attributable to S.1630 but not to the Administration bill may be misleading."/1

And even if this cost really were additional to the Administration's bill, how does it compare to the health costs of not controlling toxic motor vehicle emissions. According to EPA's own cost-benefit guidelines, a life saved is worth up to \$8 million. Assuming only half of the 1,500 cancer cases caused by motor vehicles each year result in death (and forgetting about the survivors' treatment costs and pain and suffering), it would be worth \$3 billion per year to prevent this tragic toll.

Thus, the Committee's original "area source" control program clearly survives even the crassest of cost-benefit tests.

Mr. President, we must restore this provision of the Committee bill. It is essential to carry out the President's own goal, announced last June, to reduce the air toxics cancer toll by at least 75%. It will save thousands of lives. It will treat all toxic emission sources proportionately and fairly. It will cost no more than the motor vehicle toxics provision added to the Administration's bill in the subcommittee of the other body by unanimous, bi-partisan vote.

I urge support for the amendment.

**Relative Contribution by Source Categories to Total Estimated
Nationwide Cancer Cases Per Year**

(from EPA, Office of Air Quality Planning and Standards,
"Cancer Risk from Outdoor Exposure to Air Toxics," External
Review Draft, (September, 1989), Figure ES-2, Page ES-11)

Area Sources (80%)

MOTOR VEHICLES.....	56%
TSDFs [hazardous waste treatment, storage, and disposal facilities].....	5%
Woodsmoke.....	4%
Asbestos, demolition.....	4%
Solvent use/degreasing.....	1%
Unspecified.....	1%
Other.....	1%
Secondary formaldehyde, area.....	5%

Point Sources (20%)

Secondary formaldehyde, point.....	2%
Other.....	3%
Coal and oil combustion (nonresidential).....	1%
Iron and steel.....	1%
Chemical users/producers.....	2%
Cooling towers.....	3%
Unspecified.....	3%
Electroplating.....	6%

toxic air emissions → goes to committee rep'd in O₃ areas

FLOOR SPEECH IN FAVOR OF LAUTENBERG-GORE AMENDMENT
ON TOXIC EMISSIONS FROM MOTOR VEHICLES

Mr. President, I rise in support of the amendment offered by my colleague from New Jersey to assure that toxic, cancer-causing emissions from motor vehicles will be controlled. This amendment is needed to rectify one of the most important weakening changes made by the substitute bill now under consideration.

The heart of the matter is this: When President Bush announced his Clean Air Act proposals last June, he stated that toxic air pollutants are causing as many as 3000 cancer cases each year. The President said it was his goal to reduce this horrifying toll by at least 75%. This was, and remains, a worthy objective. But this goal cannot be achieved unless toxic emissions from motor vehicle emissions are also controlled.

Adopting the President's goal, the original legislation from the Environment and Public Works Committee provided that EPA should develop and implement a program to reduce the number of cancer cases from air toxics in urban areas by 75% over the next decade. This was to be done by controlling toxic emissions from "area sources" -- those toxics sources smaller than the major industrial facilities addressed in other parts of the bill. "Area sources" were defined to include smaller stationary air toxics sources -- and motor vehicles.

Why include motor vehicles? First, because motor vehicles are part of the EPA definition of "area sources." Second, and more important, because the undisputed fact is that cancer-causing emissions from motor vehicles account for more than half of all cancer cases from toxic air pollution. 56 percent,

according to the Environmental Protection Agency's most recent studies.

I ask my colleagues to look at this figure, taken from the EPA study of September 1989 called "Cancer Risk from Outdoor Exposure to Air Toxics." (I ask that a table representing the information in this figure be reproduced in the Record with this statement.) The figure shows two categories of sources: "area sources" and "point sources." Point sources are major industrial facilities like chemical plants, steel facilities, utilities, etc. According to this study, they account for about 20 percent of the overall toll of cancer cases, as well as the highest cancer risk to the most exposed persons.

Note that "areas sources" are defined by EPA itself to include both motor vehicles and smaller stationary sources. And note also that about 80 percent of all air toxics-related cancer cases come from area sources. And 56 percent of the total comes from our exposure to motor vehicle exhaust! They are a toxic cloud hovering over our urban areas.

In short, if the President -- and the Congress -- intend to reduce the toll of air toxics cancer deaths by at least 75%, it cannot be done without controlling cancer-causing emissions from motor vehicles.

Yet in the negotiations that produced the substitute bill, the Administration's negotiators insisted that motor vehicle toxic emissions be removed from the definition of "area sources." As a result, the substitute bill cannot accomplish the

President's and the Committee's objective of cutting cancer cases from air toxics by 75 percent. Even if the cancer-causing emissions from stationary sources were totally eliminated, more than half of the cancer-causing emissions would remain.

President Bush and his supporters in this body cannot have this both ways. If the President wanted to meet his own goal of reducing the cancer toll from air toxics by 75% or more, then he had to support including cancer-causing motor vehicle emissions in area source controls. But if the President now opposes such controls, then he has abandoned his own goal.

We cannot let this happen. I do not believe we can abandon 1,500 Americans to contract cancer each year from these uncontrolled toxic motor vehicle emissions.

We must also bear in mind that the effect of insulating motor vehicles' toxic emissions from control is to increase the burden on the smaller stationary sources in our states. Every firm using carcinogenic solvents or paints, every gas station, every dry cleaner, every owner of a woodstove will have to shoulder a greater burden to make up for letting toxic emissions from motor vehicles off the hook. How will the owners of these sources react when they learn we have amended the bill to hit them harder while letting motor vehicles off, once again, scot-free? What sense does this make?

What reason did the Administration's negotiators give for insulating motor vehicle toxic emissions from control? They

offered one of the strangest, most cynical arguments heard from White House officials in a long time.

It seems that the White House decided that the Committee's original proposal to control motor vehicle toxic emissions would cost \$1.5 billion per year more than the Administration bill. By knocking motor vehicles out of the "area source" definition, the White House negotiators could claim that they had reduced the cost of the Senate bill by this amount. No thought of the lives lost. No thought of the President's goals. Just a "green eye-shade's" cost-cutting mentality.

And it's not even an honest green eye-shade analysis. In a masterpiece of understatement, the Congressional Research Service called it "misleading." CRS stated:

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[The source of this quotation is: Memorandum from J. McCarthy, Congressional Research Service, "Clean Air Act Amendments: Comments on EPA Cost Estimates for Controlling Hazardous Air

Pollutants" (31 January 1990), pages 8-9 (note omitted, underlining added).]

And even if this cost really were additional to the Administration's bill, how does it compare to the health costs of not controlling toxic motor vehicle emissions. According to EPA's own cost-benefit guidelines, a life saved is worth up to \$8 million. Assuming only half the 1,500 cancer cases caused by motor vehicles each year result in death (and forgetting about the survivors' treatment costs and pain and suffering), it would be worth \$3 billion per year to prevent this tragic toll.

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Mr. President, we must restore this provision of the Committee bill. It is essential to carry out the President's own goal, announced last June, to reduce the air toxics cancer toll by at least 75%. It will save thousands of lives. It will treat all toxic emission sources proportionately and fairly. It will cost no more than the motor vehicle toxics provision added to the Administration bill in the subcommittee of the other body by unanimous, bi-partisan vote. It passes even the Administration's own cost-benefit tests.

I urge support for the amendment.

Relative Contribution by Source Categories to Total
Estimated Nationwide Cancer Cases Per Year

from Figure ES-2, EPA, Office of Air Quality Planning
and Standards, "Cancer Risk from Outdoor Exposure
to Air Toxics," External Review Draft, Sept. 1989

Area Sources (80%)

Motor vehicles.....	56%
TSDFs [hazardous waste treatment, storage, and disposal facilities.....	5%
Woodsmoke.....	4%
Asbestos, demolition.....	4%
Gasoline marketing.....	3%
Solvent use/degreasing.....	1%
Unspecified.....	1%
Other.....	1%
Secondary formaldehyde, area.....	5%

Point Sources (20%)

Secondary formaldehyde, point.....	2%
Other.....	3%
Coal and oil combustion (nonresidential).....	1%
Iron and steel.....	1%
Chemical users/producers.....	2%
Cooling towers.....	3%
Unspecified.....	3%
Electroplating.....	6%

NOTE: Values in this figure are not absolute predictions of cancer occurrence and are intended to be used in a relative sense only. The dose-response relationships and exposure assumptions have a conservative bias, but omissions due to uncharacterized pollutants (either directly emitted or secondarily formed) and emission sources, and the lack of knowledge of total risk from multipollutant exposures will offset this bias to an unknown extent.

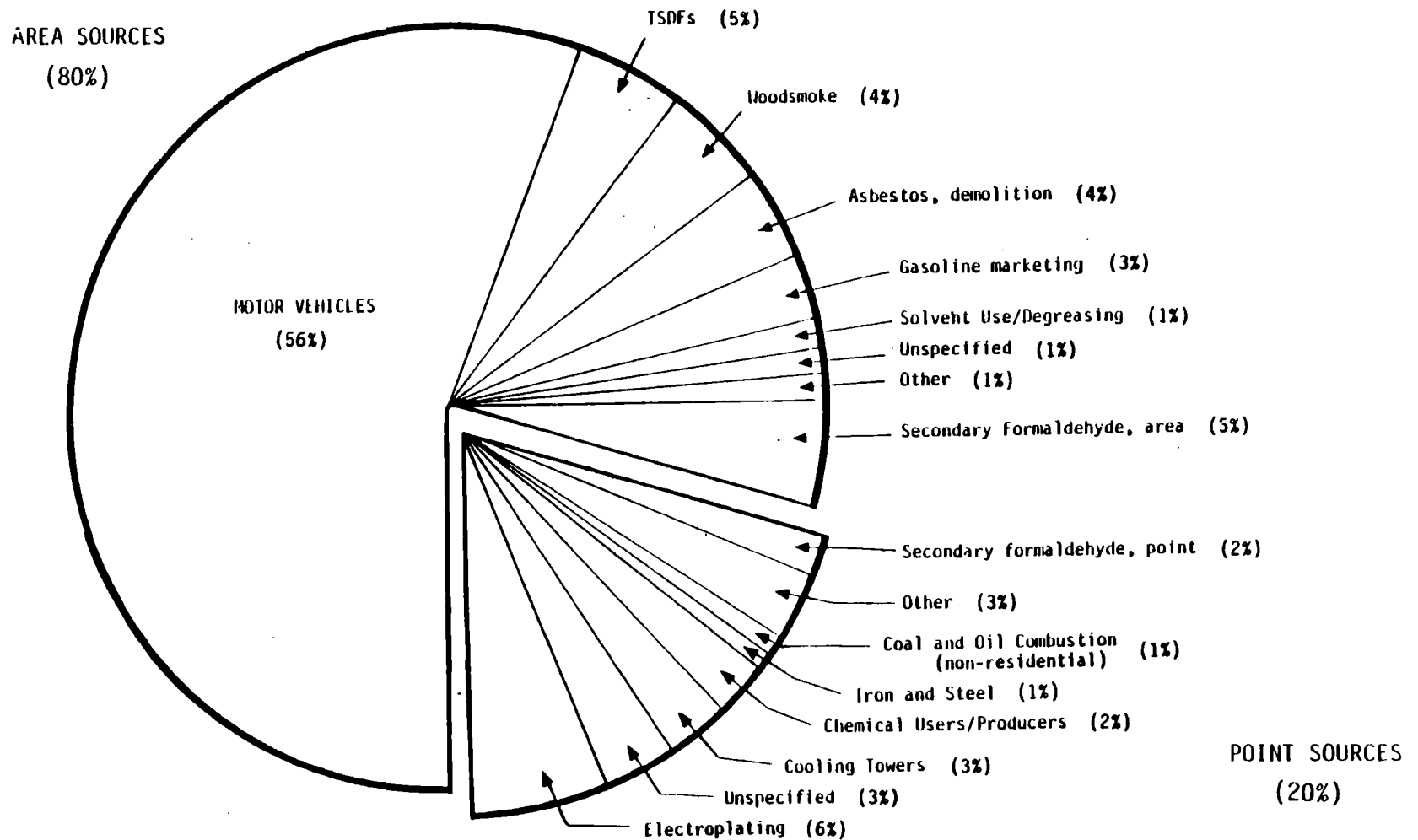


Figure ES-2. Relative Contribution by Source Categories to Total Estimated Nationwide Cancer Cases Per Year