Oppose H.R. 4776 (Rep. Westerman), "Standardizing Permitting and Expediting Economic Development Act" (The "SPEED Act")

Dear Representative,

On behalf of the over 150 undersigned organizations and our millions of supporters and members, we write to express our firm opposition to Chair Westerman's "Standardizing Permitting and Expediting Economic Development Act" (The "SPEED Act"). The legislation that received a hearing in September would enact sweeping, severe changes to the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) and prioritize private profit over the public interest, reduce government accountability, and disregard the voices and welfare of communities impacted by federal decisions. Prior to the markup of the SPEED Act in November, the Chairman released a revised version of the legislation that was significantly more severe, more sweeping, and more aggressive in its rolling back of meaningful public input, environmental review, and judicial accountability of federal decisions. Then, during the markup, the legislation was made even worse by the adoption of a so-called "certainty" amendment that would not help the clean energy projects canceled or stonewalled by the Trump administration and would effectively lock-in all permitting authorizations by the Trump Administration while also essentially prohibiting any meaningful legal challenge. We strongly oppose this proposal and urge you to OPPOSE the SPEED Act.

Better transportation systems, more affordable housing, semiconductor fabrication facilities, transmission lines, renewable energy, and more are critical to meeting the needs of the public and addressing the climate crisis with the speed and scale required. The urgency many feel to accelerate this buildout is well founded, but the SPEED Act takes exactly the wrong approach. We cannot simply deregulate our way to a smarter, more efficient permitting system. Stripping away safeguards does not create better processes or stronger projects. It only invites more mistakes, conflict, and harmful development. Real progress comes from resourcing agencies, improving coordination, and giving communities a voice in the process so projects can move forward quickly and durably. We urge the committee to focus on these real solutions rather than false shortcuts. This administration and this Congress, however, are reversing progress that was being made to improve permitting of critical infrastructure.

In passing the One Big Beautiful Bill Act this summer, Congress rescinded long-overdue funding to key agencies to provide essential staff and resources for permitting under NEPA. In the months since, this administration has decimated agency staffing, blocked clean energy development, established permitting hurdles for renewables, rubber stamped fossil fuels under a sham "energy emergency" declaration, and, shattered regulatory certainty by revoking the NEPA regulations and forcing over 80 agencies in the federal government to issue their own competing and patchwork NEPA implementing procedures.

NEPA has long been an indispensable tool to ensure that taxpayer dollars and public lands and resources are managed for the public interest and to uphold our national commitment to a healthy environment for current and future generations. The promise of the NEPA process is simple and is at the heart of democracy – the government will consider the environmental and health impacts of its decisions, it will disclose those impacts to those affected, and it will ensure the public has a meaningful opportunity to weigh in on those decisions, and when government fails to meet these responsibilities, it will be subject to judicial review.

We have long supported legislative and administrative efforts that are responsive to known causes of permitting delay and bottlenecks. For over a decade, many of our organizations have called for better management and oversight of the permitting process generally and NEPA specifically. It has long been known that agencies suffer from chronic lack of resources, staff, and training needed to review and permit

projects efficiently. We have likewise called for and supported legislation that modernizes the NEPA process by leveraging technology to allow agencies to improve agency coordination, accelerate information-sharing, and strengthen public engagement.

Congress has already made major changes to update permitting over the past ten years. Any serious conversations around ways to improve NEPA implementation must begin with an acknowledgement of what has already been done and what problems remain. The legislative changes enacted over the last four years are especially significant: the permanent reauthorization of FAST-41 in the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act of 2021, which created a Permitting Council to implement a streamlined NEPA process for any infrastructure project requiring over \$200 million in investment; the inclusion of over \$1 billion for NEPA implementation in the Inflation Reduction Act of 2022; and well the first statutory changes to NEPA in over 50 years in the Fiscal Responsibility Act of 2023, which included enforceable timelines on reviews.

Despite these changes, current discussions around NEPA "permitting reform" completely ignore these recent updates and instead rely on outdated permitting timelines from a very different regulatory and legal landscape. Many of these reforms, both legislative and administrative, have led to significant reductions in timelines. For example, in January of this year, the White House Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ) issued a factsheet and an updated report on environmental review timelines documenting these changes across federal agencies. Overall, the data shows that agencies have been completing more reviews significantly faster in recent years – in the case of the Department of Energy, timelines for Environmental Impact Statements were cut in half in the previous administration. CEQ attributed this to the alignment of new legislative resources, community engagement improvements, and stronger senior-level management and oversight of permitting.

Our organizations continue to be committed to the development of a permitting system that is efficient, fair and, critically, responsive to the climate crisis. It is well documented that we need both clean energy and the transmission infrastructure to unleash the terawatts of renewable power waiting in the queue. Many of our organizations released a set of solutions outlining policy and legislative reforms needed to achieve those goals. Furthermore, it is absolutely essential for this committee to double down on the solutions we know are driving success – adequate staff, funding, and resources for agencies; improved management and oversight of critical infrastructure projects; and regulatory certainty. At a minimum, Congress should extend and expand - rather than rescind - the agency funding to improve NEPA implementation which was included in the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) and which has led to documented positive results.

As drafted, the SPEED Act would radically limit the scope of reviews by federal agencies and essentially eliminate government accountability when agencies fail to adequately consider the health, environmental, or economic impacts of their decisions. If passed, this legislation would fundamentally undermine the purpose of NEPA, codify climate denial, and effectively silence the voices of frontline communities and local governments.

As this committee marks up the SPEED Act, it is worth noting that the persistent myth that NEPA reviews are the primary cause of permitting delay is demonstrably false. This theory has been comprehensively examined and thoroughly debunked by administrations of both parties through numerous studies, including those conducted by the Congressional Research Service (CRS), the Government Accountability Office (GAO), the U.S. Department of Treasury, and other federal agencies and academia. [1] CRS has repeatedly concluded that NEPA is not a primary or major cause of delay in project development. Instead, CRS identified causes outside the NEPA process, such as lack of project funding, changes in project design, and other factors.

This is not to say NEPA implementation cannot be improved. Subsequent studies have confirmed that where delays occur, the causes lie in lack of staff and funding – a problem that Congress began addressing in the IRA by including historic investments (now rescinded in significant part) for environmental review. Building a more robust federal environmental review workforce is an essential reform needed to ensure the timely permitting of projects. The IRA only added funds for a few agencies and now with those amounts rescinded, many of those agencies still lack sufficient staff capacity. Instead of weakening environmental protections that ensure responsible permitting, we urge this Committee to advance legislation to help agencies better recruit, retain, and pay the staff needed to meet growing demands for environmental reviews.

Concerningly, this bill would also essentially eliminate meaningful judicial review. The ability to challenge violations under NEPA and obtain an injunction before a project impacting the health, economy, and environment of frontline communities and the broader public is implemented is essential to accountability and the underlying purpose of requiring environmental review. An environmental review process without meaningful judicial review would strip communities of their ability to hold agencies accountable, allowing agencies to ignore public input with impunity. Meanwhile, legal challenges to NEPA decisions are rare. Agency data and a review of court filings demonstrate that less than 0.25% of actions subject to NEPA result in litigation. The vast majority of actions subject to NEPA proceed without challenge.

Despite these facts, this proposed legislation would make sweeping changes to NEPA that overwhelmingly tip the scales in favor of project approval above informed decision-making, putting private profits above the public interest. The list of problems with this bill is extensive, but several merit particular attention. The proposed legislation:

- Dramatically Narrows Application of NEPA and Limits the Scope of Reviews The bill would radically limit the application of NEPA by redefining when NEPA applies and threshold considerations of what is a "major federal action" for the purposes of NEPA. Section 2(b) codifies the so-called "functional equivalence" doctrine, which courts created as an extraordinarily narrow exception principally for EPA because of its underlying environmental mission and rarely applied. The SPEED Act broadens this beyond any reasonable application without any sideboards to ensure the purposes and policies of NEPA are fulfilled. Further, Section 2(f) excludes federal loans, loan guarantees, and other forms of financial assistance from NEPA, which could allow projects such as coal-fired generating facilities and concentrated animal feeding operations to evade any review or public scrutiny.
- Severely Restricts Science and Integrity of Information Section 2(b) adds language stating agencies are not required to undertake new scientific or technical research after receipt of an application for a proposed agency action. This runs against the history, purpose, and policies of NEPA and would turn NEPA on its head the statute was designed to ensure government decisions were informed by the best available science. For reviews that do occur, it relieves agencies of any responsibility to undertake any new research necessary for informed decision-making and potentially prevents the consideration of upstream and downstream impacts of decisions. In addition, this section would bar agencies from even correcting known errors, which could impact water quality, air quality, or species survival unless forced to do so by a court.
- Shifts Agency Responsibility From Deciding on the Basis of the Public Interest in Favor of Private Profit Section 2(c)(3) outrageously demands that the purpose and need of an agency action "shall meet the goals of the applicant." This fundamentally upends federal agency decisionmaking generally and undermines the goals congress outlined in NEPA. Over fifty years ago, Congress decided there was a national interest in a federal agency making a decision in the public's interest. The public interest is what the agency needs to be considering when conducting a NEPA analysis, not the goals of the applicant. To statutorily prioritize private profits over the

- public interest betrays the role of government in determining how taxpayer dollars and public resources are managed.
- Essentially Eliminates Government Accountability in the Courts Section 113(a) of the bill would change the standard of review for actions subject to NEPA from arbitrary and capricious to the extraordinarily deferential abuse of discretion standard. Not only does this force a new standard of review, it also requires plaintiffs to positively demonstrate that the agency decision would have come out differently, which is essentially impossible. Worse yet, even in cases where these unreasonable standards are met, Section 113(c) states that erroneous agency actions will "remain in effect" on remand, thus allowing a flawed, and potentially dangerous agency decision in place. The challenge for impacted communities to hold the government accountable does not end there Section 113(d) creates an absurd exhaustion requirement. As federal agencies in the Trump administration announce new NEPA procedures that potentially eliminate public comments on draft and final environmental reviews, this legislation requires substantive, sufficiently detailed, and "unique" comments related to the subject matter of the claim as a predicate to challenging a government decision. Requiring comment where no opportunity is provided is patently absurd.
- Locks in Permit Authorizations of the Trump Administration An amendment offered and adopted at the markup of the SPEED Act recklessly locks in virtually every permit authorization by the Trump Administration by prohibiting any revocation, suspension, amendment, or alteration to authorizations absent the most narrow of circumstances. Notably, this amendment would not lower the barriers the current administration has created to approval of wind and solar energy nor restore any of the clean energy permits this administration has revoked. The amendment even carves out a loophole for further revocations by creating an exception in cases of "national security," which in light of this administration's abuse of so-called "emergency authorities" is an invitation to continued abuse. This new language virtually ensures that oil and gas drilling in the arctic refuge or offshore oil and gas development off the coasts of California, Florida, and around the country can proceed with little to zero recourse by impacted states and communities.
- Bars Challenging the Establishment of a Categorical Exclusion One of the more insidious provisions in the bill, Section 113(d) prohibits any legal challenge to the establishment of categorical exclusions. Categorical exclusions are by far the most common type of review under NEPA, generally accounting for 95% of actions subject to the law. They are intended for actions which an agency has demonstrated will not individually or cumulatively have a significant impact on the human environment. However, simply stating an action will not have a significant impact, does not make it so the justification for such an exclusion should be substantiated by science and agency experience. It is worth noting that Deepwater Horizon was approved via a categorical exclusion. Under this bill, the categorical exclusion leading to the Deepwater Horizon tragedy could never be challenged. Barring challenge to the most common type of review under NEPA is a sweeping exemption and an invitation to further disasters impacting public health and safety.

This legislation would tilt the courts in favor of project sponsors, restricting meaningful review of federal actions while limiting public oversight. The net effect of this proposal is to ensure the environmental review process benefits project sponsors to the detriment of communities and, further, directs courts to ensure this bias persists. This legislation would dramatically transform NEPA from its original intent of requiring agencies to consider the impacts of their decisions with public input into a system where communities must first prove harm in court before agencies are even required to consider the impact of their actions. Instead of advancing legislation that increases government accountability and ensures projects are permitted efficiently and in the public interest, this legislation would require the public to shoulder the burden of conducting their own environmental reviews or suffer the consequences.

This legislation will only erode public trust, and result in worse environmental and public health outcomes for all Americans. Our organizations are eager to see a swift and equitable buildout of the critical infrastructure necessary to transition to a clean energy economy. However, the legislation under consideration by this Committee would make such a transition harder, slower, and less just. This bill is an extreme attack on government accountability, meaningful public input, and review under NEPA. There are meaningful permitting reform proposals before Congress that would protect communities and speed the clean energy transition. For instance, we would urge the Committee to instead consider legislation such as the "Clean Electricity and Transmission Acceleration Act" or the "A. Donald McEachin Environmental Justice For All Act," which ensures a transition to a just and equitable clean energy economy future.

Sincerely,

198 methods

350 Bay Area Action

350 New Orleans

350 Triangle

350 Wisconsin

350 Hawaii

350 NYC

7 Directions of Service

Accountable.US/Accountable.NOW

Alaska Community Action on Toxics

Alaska Wilderness League Action

Allegheny-Blue Ridge Alliance

Amigos Bravos

Animal Welfare Institute

Appalachian Citizens' Law Center

Archaeology Southwest

Berks Gas Truth

Better Path Coalition

Beyond Extreme Energy

Bold Alliance

California Environmental Voters

Californians for Western Wilderness

Cascade Forest Conservancy

Center for Biological Diversity

Center for Coalfield Justice

Center for Earth Energy and Democracy (CEED)

Center for Oil and Gas Organizing

Chesapeake Climate Action Network (CCAN) Action Fund

Citizens Caring for the Future

Citizens Coal Council

Clean Air Council

Climate Action Campaign

Climate Hawks Vote

Climate Intervention Environmental Impact Fund

Climate Justice Alliance

Columbia Riverkeeper

Concerned Citizens of Wagon Mound and Mora County

Concerned Health Professionals of Pennsylvania

Conservation Voters New Mexico

Creation Justice Ministries

Dakota Resource Council

Dayenu: A Jewish Call to Climate Action

Deep South Center for Environmental Justice

Defenders of Wildlife

Delaware Riverkeeper Network

Earth Ethics, Inc.

Earthjustice Action

Earthworks

East Yard Communities for Environmental Justice

Eastern PA Coalition for Abandoned Mine Reclamation (EPCAMR)

Environment America

Environmental Law & Policy Center

Flow Water Advocates

Food & Water Watch

For a Better Bayou

Freshwater Future

Friends of the Boundary Waters Wilderness

Friends of the Earth

Generation Green

Global Alliance for Incinerator Alternatives (GAIA)

Green America

GreenLatinos

Habitat Recovery Project

Heartwood

Hip Hop Caucus

Idaho Conservation League

Idaho Rivers United

Indigenous Environmental Network

John Muir Project

Kahtoola, Inc.

Kentucky Resources Council

Kentucky Waterways Alliance

Lake Erie Waterkeeper

League of Conservation Voters

Liveable Arlington Living Rivers Lobos of the Southwest Long Beach Alliance for Clean Energy Los Jardines Institute Los Padres ForestWatch Mi Familia en Acción Mi Familia Vota Micah Six Eight Mission Minnesota Division Izaak Walton League of America Mothers Out Front Natural Resources Defense Council New Mexico & El Paso Interfaith Power and Light New Mexico Sustainable Business New Mexico Wild New York Public Interest Research Group (NYPIRG) Next 100 Coalition North Dakota Native Vote Northeastern Minnesotans for Wilderness Ocean Conservation Research Ocean Defense Initiative Oceana Oil Change International Oilfield Witness Oregon Wild Our Revolution

Our Sacred Earth

Partnership for Earth Spirituality New Mexico

Patriots From The Oil & Gas Shales

Physicians for Social Responsibility

Physicians for Social Responsibility Pennsylvania

Physicians for Social Responsibility, Maine

Physicians for Social Responsibility, San Francisco Bay Area

Physicians for Social Responsibility, Texas

Plastic Pollution Coalition

Plug In America

Property Rights and Pipeline Center

Prosperity Works

Protect Penn-Trafford (PT)

Public Citizen

RISE St. James Louisiana

Rise to Thrive

Rocky Mountain Wild

Save Our wild Salmon Coalition

Save RGV

Seven Circles Foundation

Shawnee Park and Climate Alliance

Sierra Club

Silvix Resources

Sisters of Saint Francis, Rochester MN

South Texas Environmental Justice Network

Southern Environmental Law Center

Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance

Sovereign Energy

Standing Trees Surfrider Foundation The Alaska Center The Alliance for Appalachia The Greater New Orleans Interfaith Climate Coalition The Ocean Project The Wilderness Society Third Act New Jersey This Act Union Turtle Island Restoration Network U.S. Climate Action Network U.S. PIRG Union of Concerned Scientists Uranium Watch Waterkeeper Alliance Waterkeepers Chesapeake WE ACT for Environmental Justice West Virginia Highlands Conservancy Western Environmental Law Center Western Watersheds Project Wild Cumberland Wild Montana

Wilderness Watch

Zero Hour

Wilderness Workshop

Womxn From The Mountain

[1]See, Linda Luther, The National Environmental Policy Act: Streamlining NEPA, Congressional Research Service, RL33152, 26 (2011) (citing study indicating "factors 'outside the NEPA process" the NEPA process were identified as the cause of delay the majority of time); Bureau of Land Management Operations report available at https://www.blm.gov/sites/blm.gov/files/docs/2021-03/Table12_TimetoCompleteAPD_2020.pdf indicating that the agency spends more time waiting for information from operators than it spends reviewing oil well drilling permit applications; U.S. Government Accounting Office, GAO-09-611, Federal Land Management: BLM and the Forest Service Have Improved Oversight of the Land Exchange Process, But Additional Actions are Needed 15 (2009), indicating lack of qualified staff and shifts in agency priorities caused delay in the BLM review process; Toni Horst, et al., 40 Proposed U.S. Transportation and Water Infrastructure Projects of Major Economic Significance. AECOM, (2016) (finding that "a lack of funds is by far the most common challenge to completing" major infrastructure projects).

[2] John C. Ruple and Kayla M. Race, Measuring the Litigation Burden: A Review of 1,499 Federal Court Cases, Environmental Law Vol 50 486, 500 (2020).