CHEMICAL HERITAGE FOUNDATION

THE TOXIC SUBSTANCES CONTROL ACT: FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF J. CLARENCE DAVIES

Transcript of Interviews Conducted by

Jody A. Roberts and Kavita D. Hardy

at

Resources for the Future Washington, D.C.

on

30 October 2009

(With Subsequent Corrections and Additions)

CHEMICAL HERITAGE FOUNDATION Oral History Program FINAL RELEASE FORM

This document contains my understanding and agreement with the Chemical Heritage Foundation with respect to my participation in the audio- and/or video-recorded interview conducted by Jody Roberts and Kavita Hardy on 30 October 2009. I have read the transcript supplied by the Chemical Heritage Foundation.

- 1. The recordings, transcripts, photographs, research materials, and memorabilia (collectively called the "Work") will be maintained by the Chemical Heritage Foundation and made available in accordance with general policies for research and other scholarly purposes.
- 2. I hereby grant, assign, and transfer to the Chemical Heritage Foundation all right, title, and interest in the Work, including the literary rights and the copyright, except that I shall retain the right to copy, use, and publish the Work in part or in full until my death.
- 3. The manuscript may be read and the recording(s) heard/viewed by scholars approved by the Chemical Heritage Foundation subject to the restrictions listed below. The scholar pledges not to quote from, cite, or reproduce by any means this material except with the written permission of the Chemical Heritage Foundation. Regardless of the restrictions placed on the transcript of the interview, the Chemical Heritage Foundation retains the rights to all materials generated about my oral history interview, including the title page, abstract, table of contents, chronology, index, et cetera (collectively called the "Front Matter and Index"), all of which will be made available on the Chemical Heritage Foundation's website. Should the Chemical Heritage Foundation wish to post to the internet the content of the oral history interview, that is, direct quotations, audio clips, video clips, or other material from the oral history recordings or the transcription of the recordings, the Chemical heritage Foundation will be bound by the restrictions for use placed on the Work as detailed below.
- 4. I wish to place the conditions that I have checked below upon the use of this interview. I understand that the Chemical Heritage Foundation will enforce my wishes until the time of my death, when any restrictions will be removed.

Please check one:

a	No restrictions for access. NOTE: Users citing this interview for purposes of publication are obliged under the terms of the Chemical Heritage Foundation Oral History Program to obtain permission from Chemical Heritage Foundation, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
b	Semi-restricted access. (May view the Work. My permission required to quote, cite, or reproduce.)
c	Restricted access. (My permission required to view the Work, quote, cite, or reproduce.)

This constitutes my entire and complete understanding.

2 (Signature) __________J. Clarence Davies

(Date) 1/29/10

This oral history is designated Free Access.

Please note: Users citing this interview for purposes of publication are obliged under the terms of the Chemical Heritage Foundation (CHF) Oral History Program to credit CHF using the format below:

The Toxic Substances Control Act: from the perspective of J. Clarence Davies, interview by Jody A. Roberts and Kavita D. Hardy at Resources for the Future, Washington, D.C., 30 October 2009 (Philadelphia: Chemical Heritage Foundation, Oral History Transcript # 0640).



Chemical Heritage Foundation Oral History Program 315 Chestnut Street Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19106



The Chemical Heritage Foundation (CHF) serves the community of the chemical and molecular sciences, and the wider public, by treasuring the past, educating the present, and inspiring the future. CHF maintains a world-class collection of materials that document the history and heritage of the chemical and molecular sciences, technologies, and industries; encourages research in CHF collections; and carries out a program of outreach and interpretation in order to advance an understanding of the role of the chemical and molecular sciences, technologies, and industries, and industries in shaping society.

J. CLARENCE DAVIES

1937	Born in Manhattan, New York on 16 November
	Education
1959 1965	B.A., American Government, Dartmouth College Ph.D., American Government, Columbia University
	Professional Experience
1963-1965	Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine Instructor in Government and Director of the Bureau for Research in Municipal Government
	Bureau for the Budget, Executive Office of the President, Washington, D.C.
1965-1967	Chief Examiner for Environmental and Consumer Protection
1967-1970	Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey Assistant Professor of Politics and Public Affairs
1970-1973	Council on Environmental Quality, Executive Office of the President, Washington, D.C. Senior Staff Member
1973-1976	Resources for the Future, Washington, D.C. Fellow and Assistant Director, Institutions and Public Decisions Division
1976-1989	The Conservation Foundation, Washington, D.C. Executive Vice President
1989-1991	U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Washington, D.C. Assistant Administrator for Policy, Planning, and Evaluation
1991-1992	National Commission on the Environment, Washington, D.C. Executive Director
1992-2000	Resources for the Future, Washington, D.C. Senior Fellow and Director, Center for Risk Management

1992-Present	Senior Fellow, Risk, Resources, and Environmental Management Division
2005-Present	Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C. Senior Advisor
	Honors
1959 2000	Phi Beta Kappa Elected Fellow, American Association for Advancement of Science

ABSTRACT

J. Clarence Davies's interview begins with a discussion of his education, and his uncertainty over whether to become an activist or academic. He settled on becoming a professor of public administration, but realized he wanted to have experience working in government. Davies briefly worked at the Office of Management and Budget as the examiner for the environment, where he found himself continually bombarded by chemical crises. He returned to academia, where he wrote an influential book on pollution and chemical regulation, *The Politics of Pollution*, but was quickly drawn back to government work. Davies soon became involved with the Ash Council, creating the Environmental Protection Agency. Once at the Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ), he was asked to draft a proposal for a chemical regulation policy; the legislation underwent several iterations as it proceeded through the administration and Congress. Although it eventually passed, it ended up severely weakened. After his time at the CEQ, Davies continued to work on the regulation of chemicals at several non-profit organizations and at the EPA.

Throughout the interview Davies discussed the difficulties in implementing the Toxic Substances Control Act. These included: reaching consensus on the definition of unreasonable risk; developing criteria for risk-assessment; the lack of toxicity data the legislation was able to procure; and crafting testing rules. He also emphasized the legal constraints within TSCA that hindered creating an effective chemicals control policy and the long overdue need for TSCA reform. Davies concluded the interview by commenting on the fact that a new European chemicals policy and increased regulatory activity among the States, as well as attention from prominent environmental groups, has driven the current TSCA reform process. According to Davies, the most important elements of TSCA to address in reform will be the burden of proof in TSCA, the way new chemicals are treated and defined, a re-emphasis on the cross-media capabilities of TSCA, and confidential business information.

INTERVIEWERS

Jody A. Roberts is the Associate Director for the Center for Contemporary History and Policy and the Manager of the Environmental History and Policy Program at the Chemical Heritage Foundation. Roberts received his Ph.D. and M.S. in Science and Technology Studies from Virginia Tech and holds a B.S. in Chemistry from Saint Vincent College. His research focuses on the intersections of regulation, innovation, environmental issues, and emerging technologies within the chemical sciences.

Kavita D. Hardy is a research assistant in the Environmental History and Policy Program at the Chemical Heritage Foundation. She received a B.A. in Chemistry and in Economics from Swarthmore College.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Education and Early Career	1
Dilemma of being an activist or academic. Professor of public administration. Desire to have experience in government. Office of Management and Budget. Return to academia. Writes book on pollution.	
Consultant to Ash Council and creation of Environmental Protection Agency.	
Council on Environmental Quality	9
Responsibilities at Council. Drafting a proposal for chemicals legislation. Goals of pre-market clearance and burden of proof on industry.	
Redrafting the Toxic Substances Control Act	10
Debates within administration. Negotiations in Congress. Transformation of law. Lack of public interest. Goal of addressing "chemical of the month syndrome." Enactment.	
Career Post-Council on Environmental Quality	14
Resources for the Future. Conservation Foundation. Environmental Protection Agency. Return to Resources for the Future. Retirement. Project on Emerging Technologies.	
Implementing the Toxic Substances Control Act	21
Substantial risk notifications. State of science. Risk assessment. Lack of data. <i>Corrosion Proof Fittings v. EPA</i> . Unreasonable risk. Testing rule. Legal constraints. Anti-regulatory environment in government.	
Toxic Substances Control Act Reform	23
Lack of initiative. European chemicals policy. Role of state regulations. Burden of proof. Nanotechnology and new chemicals. Public participation. Confidential business information.	

Index

INDEX

A

activism, 1, 31, 32 Alm, Alvin L., 6, 9, 12 asbestos, 21 Ash Council, 6, 7 Ash, Roy L., 6

B

Bernstein, Marver H., 4
Bowdoin College, 1, 14
Brunswick, Maine, 1
Bureau of the Budget. *See* Office of Management and Budget (OMB)
Bush, George H. W., 15

С

Capitol Hill. See Congress CBI. See Toxic Substances Control Act (TSCA): confidential business information CEQ. See Council on Environmental Quality Clean Air Act, 3, 28, 29 Clean Water Act, 28, 29 Clinton, William J., 16 Columbia University, 1 Congress, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 22, 24, 29 Connally, John B., 7 Conservation Foundation, 15, 16, 22 Cook, Kenneth A., 23 Corrosion Proof Fittings v. EPA, 21, 22 Costle, Douglas M., 7, 8, 12 Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ), 9, 13, 14, 15, 17

D

Dartmouth College, 1 Dow Chemical Company, 9, 22

Е

EDF. *See* Environmental Defense Fund Environmental Defense Fund, 23 Environmental Working Group, 23 EPA. *See* U.S. Environmental Protection Agency

F

FDA. See U.S. Food and Drug Administration
Federal Advisory Committee Act, 30
Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, 10
Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act (FIFRA), 10
FIFRA. See Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act
Fisher, Joseph L., 14

H

Hyde, Jr., James F. C., 11

J

Jellinek, Steven D., 17 Johnson, Lyndon B., 3

L

Lettow, Charles F., 9 Lewis, Irving J., 3, 4 Lynn, James T., 11

Μ

Manhattan, New York, 1 Moore, Julia A., 16 Muir, Warren R., 18 Muskie, Edmund S., 6

Ν

nanotechnology, 16, 17, 20, 21, 26, 27, 28, 29

National Coal Policy Conference, 4 National Commission on the Environment, 16 National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), 9 National Resources Defense Council, 23 NEPA. *See* National Environmental Policy Act Nixon, Richard M., 6, 8, 12, 13 NRDC. *See* National Resources Defense Council

0

Office of Management and Budget (OMB), 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11

Р

PBDE. *See* polybrominated diphenyl ethers polybrominated diphenyl ethers, 32 Princeton University, 4, 6, 7 Princeton, New Jersey, 6, 7, 9 Project on Emerging Nanotechnologies, 16 public participation, 29, 30, 31

R

REACH. See Registration, Evaluation, Authorisation and Restriction of Chemicals
Registration, Evaluation, Authorisation and Restriction of Chemicals (REACH), 24, 25, 26
Reilly, William K., 15
Resources for the Future, 1, 14, 15, 19
Rivlin, Alice M., 16

S

Sarah Lawrence College, 1 Sixth Amendment to the Dangerous Substances Directive. *See* Registration, Evaluation, Authorisation and Restriction of Chemicals (REACH) Solid Waste Disposal Act, 14, 28 Speth, James Gustave, 16 Steinzor, Rena I., 30

Т

Toxic Substances Control Act (TSCA), 1, 3, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32 burden of proof, 10, 11, 25 confidential business information, 32, 33 cross-media orientation, 13, 28, 29 definition of chemical, 26, 27 existing chemicals, 6, 21, 23, 25, 26 new chemicals, 5, 6, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25 premanufacture notification, 20 risk assessment, 19, 20 Section 8(e), 23 substantial evidence in the record, 11, 12 testing rule, 22 unreasonable risk, 17 Train, Russell E., 9, 14, 15, 16 TSCA. See Toxic Substances Control Act

U

U.S. Department of Commerce, 10, 11
U.S. Department of Energy, 3
U.S. Department of Natural Resources, 7, 8
U.S. Department of the Interior, 5, 6, 7
U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 22, 23, 28, 32
U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA), 2

U.S. Public Health Service, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8

W

Washington, D.C., 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 10, 16, 17, 19, 22, 27, 31