## Climate Change/Cap & Trade

Presentation to

# Crowley Chamber of Commerce Crowley, LA



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October 9, 2009

## Climate Change/Cap & Trade

## PRESENTATION OUTLINE

- > Introduction
- Climate Legislation Update
- ➤ Potential Impacts of Cap-and-Trade on Louisiana
- Will There be Climate Legislation This Year?
- **▶** Potential EPA Regulation of Greenhouse Gases
- > U.S. Chamber Initiative
- Questions/Discussion



#### Administration

- ➤ Obama and congressional leaders have a goal to pass a new climate law before the Climate Conference in Copenhagen in December.
- On October 5, Obama signed an Executive Order that requires federal agencies to set a GHG emissions target for 2020 within 90 days.

### U.S. House

- Last year the primary climate legislation bill (Lieberman-Warner, S. 2191) failed in the Senate.
- This year climate legislation originated in the House (H.R. 2454, Waxman-Markey, ACESA).
- After considerable arm twisting and horse-trading, ~1500 page Waxman-Markey passed out of the House on a 219-212 vote.

  U.S. Senate
- Boxer and Kerry introduced a climate bill on September 30<sup>th</sup> and reportedly wanted to start hearings during the week of October 5<sup>th</sup>, with a tentative markup the week of October 12<sup>th</sup>. Six Senate committees are expected to contribute to the climate legislation.
- Reid, Senate Majority Leader, indicated recently that the Senate may not act on energy and climate legislation until next year, but now has apparently backtracked to leave the door open for this year.
- Latest count: 32 yes; 13 probably yes; 21 fence sitters; 12 probably no; 22 no (September 25, 2009).

# WAXMAN-MARKEY THE AMERICAN CLEAN ENERGY AND SECURITY ACT OF 2009 (ACESA) SUMMARY

## Title I – Clean Energy

## Renewable Energy (20% RES)

Carbon Capture and Sequestration

Clean Fuels and Vehicles

Smart Grid and Electricity Transmission

Partnering with the States

Federal Purchases of Renewable Electricity

## Title II – Energy Efficiency

**Building Energy Efficiency** 

Manufactured Homes

Appliance Energy Efficiency

**Transportation Efficiency** 

**Utilities Energy Efficiency** 

Industrial Energy Efficiency

Public and Federal Energy Efficiency

## Title III – Reducing Global Warming Pollution

Global Warming Pollution Reduction Program

Supplemental Pollution Reductions

Offsets

Banking and Borrowing

Strategic Reserve

Carbon Market Assurances and Oversight

Additional Greenhouse Gas Standards

Clean Air Exemptions

## Title IV – Transitioning to a Clean Energy Economy

**Ensuring Domestic Competitiveness** 

**Green Jobs and Worker Transition** 

Consumer Assistance

**Exporting Clean Technology** 

Adapting to Global Warming

## Title V – Agriculture and Forestry Related Offsets

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# WAXMAN-MARKEY THE AMERICAN CLEAN ENERGY AND SECURITY ACT OF 2009

Overview of the proposed greenhouse gas (GHG) cap-and-trade program contained in Titles III and V

#### Coverage

Large stationary sources emitting more than 25,000 tons/yr of GHGs, producers and importers of all petroleum fuels, distributers of natural gas to residential, commercial and small industrial users, producers of "F-gases", and other specified sources.

## **Emissions Reduction Targets**

Emission caps that would reduce aggregate GHG emissions for all covered entities from 2005 levels by 3% in 2012; 17% in 2020; 42% in 2030; and 83% in 2050. Bill also establishes economy-wide goals for all sources, including but not limited to those covered by the cap-and-trade program.

#### **Distribution of Allowances**

[See following chart] Approximately 20% of allowances are auctioned in the initial years of the cap-and-trade program. This percentage increases over time to about 70% by 2030 and beyond.

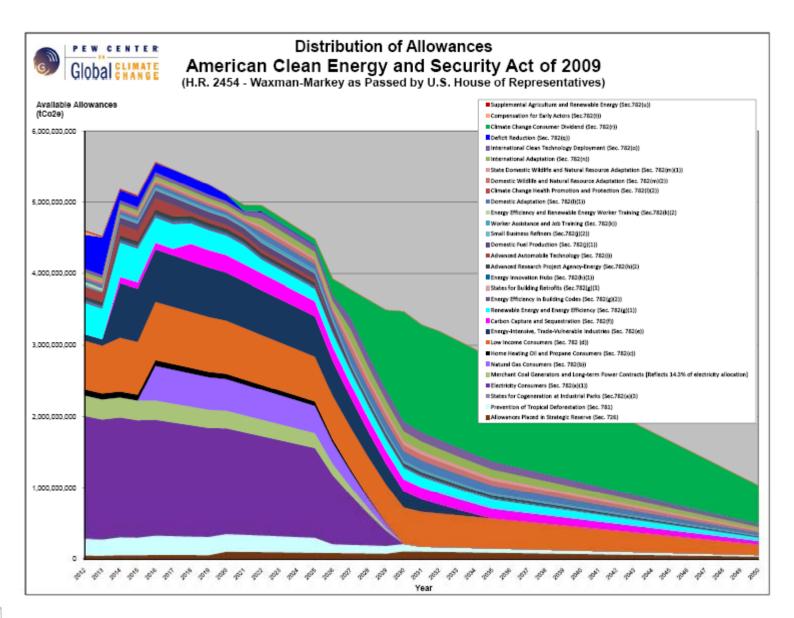
## Offsets and Other Cost Containment Measures

Bill allows up to 2 billion tons of offsets (1 billion from domestic sources, 1 billion from international sources) to be used for compliance system wide.

## Carbon Market Oversight

Bill requires FERC to regulate the cash market in allowances and offsets, and assigns the Commodity Futures Trading Commission the responsibility for regulation and oversight of any derivatives markets (unless the President decides otherwise).





An "allowance" equals 1 metric ton of CO<sub>2</sub> equivalent.

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## Distribution of Allowances Under Waxman-Markey For Selected Industrial Sectors

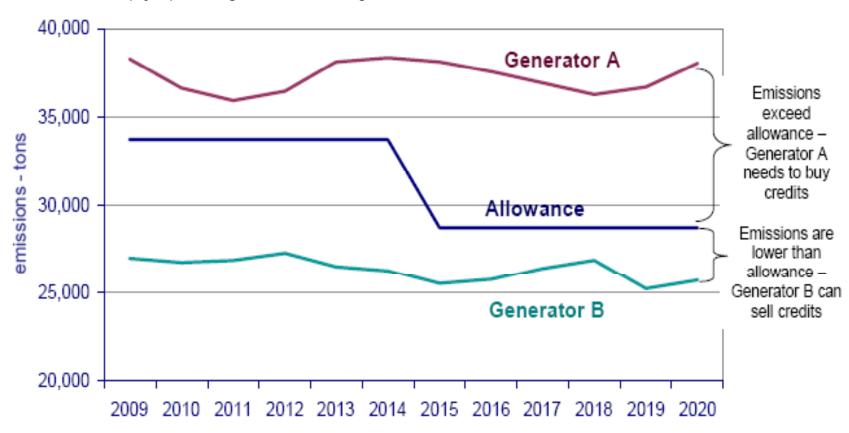
- The electric utility industry would receive 35% of the allowances for free. Of the 35%, state-regulated local electric distribution companies will get 30% of the credits and must use the funds to protect customers from electricity price increases. Merchant coal and long-term power producers will get the remaining 5% of the allowances. All of the utility sector credits will be distributed according to a formula suggested by the industry, split along historic emissions levels and retail sales. Credits will be phased out between 2026 and 2030.
- Local natural gas distribution companies would get 9% of the allowances, and state-regulated firms must use the funds to protect consumers from natural gas price increases. The free allowances will be phased out between 2026 and 2030.
- ➤ Oil refiners will get 2% allowances for free starting in 2014 and ending in 2016. Small business refiners get an additional 0.25% between 2014 and 2026.
- Carbon capture and storage efforts would get 2% of the allowances from 2014 to 2017 and 5% from 2018 and beyond.

## The Kerry-Boxer Bill

- ➤ Bill introduced September 30, 2009. A 684-page draft submitted early on September 29 was replaced by a 801-page draft later in the day. The added language dealt primarily with incentives for natural gas.
- Legislation rebranded from climate/cap-and-trade to "Clean Energy Jobs and American Power Act".
- Boxer-Kerry generally mirrors Waxman-Markey. Contains the same longer-term emission reduction goals of 42% by 2030 and 83% by 2050, but has a 20% rather than 17% short-term goal.
- Has four titles that take aim at GHG emissions across multiple economic sectors.
- Leaves blank how emissions allowances will be distributed.
- Different carbon market oversight than Waxman-Markey (CFTC versus FERC).
- Removes section in Waxman-Markey restricting EPA's ability to enact climate change regulations.
- Provides incentives for deploying natural gas-fired power plants beyond what Waxman-Markey did.
- Calls for an auction of 25% of the potential hundreds of billions of dollars in emission allocations every year between 2012 and 2050, with proceeds dedicated to reducing the federal deficit.
- ➤ Has a nuclear title emphasizing research and development to expand efforts to prolong the 40-year operating licenses of nuclear power plants.
- New support measures for advanced biofuels.

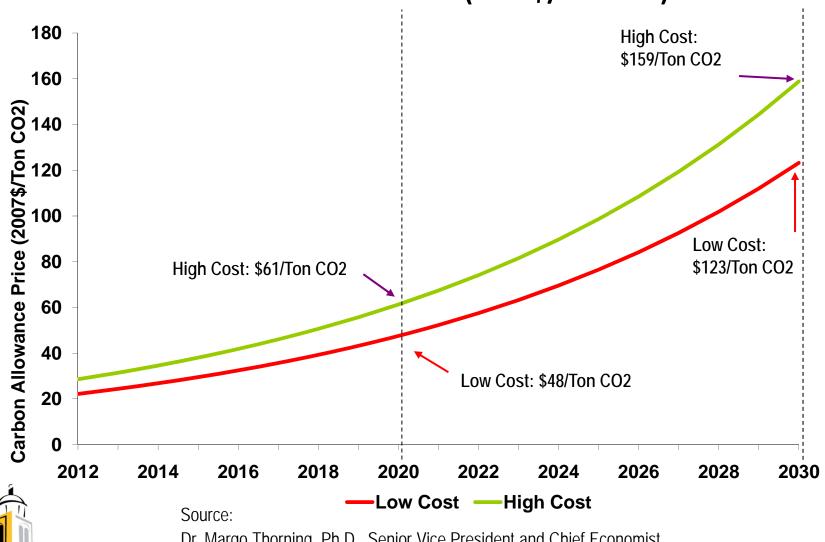
## **How Does Cap-and-Trade Work?**

Simply speaking, sources "long" on credits will trade with those that are "short."





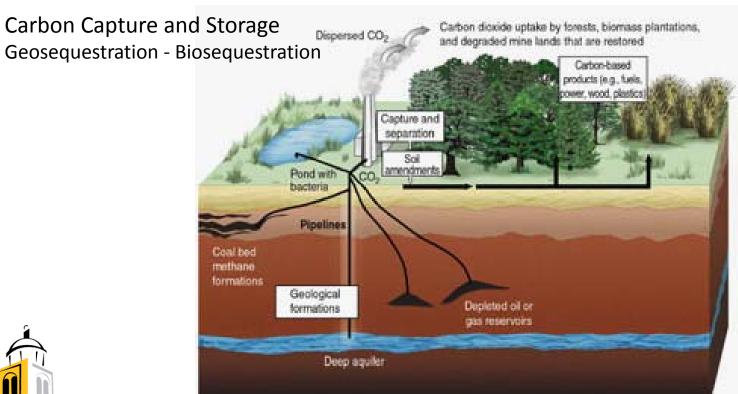
# Macroeconomic Impact of Waxman Markey Bill: Carbon Allowance Price (2007\$/Ton CO2)



Dr. Margo Thorning, Ph.D. ,Senior Vice President and Chief Economist American Council for Capital Formation

## To Comply with GHG Emissions Reduction Requirements, Affected Sources Can:

- 1. Reduce emissions
- 2. Purchase allowances
- 3. Produce or purchase offset credits





Source: www.123eng.com/projects/carbon.doc

# POTENTIAL IMPACTS OF WAXMAN-MARKEY CAP-AND-TRADE

- CBO The recent (May 7, 2009) CBO analysis updates research of previous cap-and-trade proposals and estimates that a 15% reduction in greenhouse gases (GHG) would *cost American families between \$700 and \$2,200 a year* in increased energy and consumer goods prices. On June 19<sup>th</sup>, CBO estimated that the net annual economywide cost of the cap-and-trade program in 2020 would be \$22 billion or about \$175 per household.
- EPA The cap-and-trade policy has a *relatively modest impact on U.S. consumers assuming* the bulk of the revenues from the program are returned to households.
- CRA International By 2030, *net U.S. job losses could hit 3.2 million*, while *household purchasing power would shrink by more than \$2,100*.
- Duke Energy Barack Obama's plan to raise revenue from an emissions trading system would increase electricity bills by as much as 40% in some U.S. states.
- ► Moody's U.S. *electricity prices are likely to rise 15 to 30 percent* if a national cap on carbon dioxide is instituted.
- The Heritage Foundation Higher energy costs kick in as soon as bill's provisions take effect in 2012. For a household of four, energy costs go up \$436 that year, and they eventually reach \$1,241 in 2035. Electricity costs go up 90% by 2035, gasoline by 58%, and natural gas by 55%. The cumulative higher energy costs for a family of four by then will be nearly \$20,000.

# POTENTIAL IMPACTS OF WAXMAN-MARKEY CAP-AND-TRADE (Continued)

- ▶ Dr. Arthur Laffer because fossil fuels (oil, coal, and natural gas) provide 86 percent of current U.S. energy needs and it is not currently feasible to substitute contribution of alternative energy sources in the near-term, "a GHG cap could effectively become an energy production cap -- or an energy supply shock."
- Douglas Elmendorf, Director, Congressional Budget Office Under a cap-and-trade program, consumers would ultimately bear most of the costs of emissions reductions. Firms that used emission allowances for CO<sub>2</sub> would generally pass along to consumers the cost of using those allowances in the form of higher prices for their products regardless of whether the government sold emission allowances or gave them away.
- ➤ OpEd, Washington Examiner President Obama wants to prevent "runaway global warming," by slashing U.S. carbon dioxide emissions to 83% below 2005 levels by 2050. According to Oak Ridge National Laboratory data, *this would return the country to emission levels last seen in 1905.*
- Sharon Begley, Newsweek We Can't Get There from Here. *Political will and a price on CO<sub>2</sub> won't be enough to bring about low-carbon energy sources*. (to attain 2050 goals we will need Nobel-caliber discoveries).
- Berkshire Hathaway CEO Charlie Munger An artificial market in government-mandated carbon credits would be "monstrously stupid to do right now".
- Pete du Pont, Wall Street Journal (July 26th) Waxman-Markey Deserves to Die

# How the Waxman-Markey Climate Change Bill Would Affect Louisiana

- ➤ **Higher prices**: The bill will touch every Louisiana family and business directly through increased energy costs (electricity, fuel) and indirectly through increased costs of goods and services caused by increased energy costs.
- Less disposable income: An average family could pay an additional \$1200 a year for energy. That's 3.8 percent of Louisiana's per capita disposable income.
- Fewer jobs and lower wages: One analysis projects that nationally up to 2.7 million net jobs would be lost annually. Another analysis projects an annual job destruction total related to the legislation of more than 2.0 million jobs nationwide by 2011. For Louisiana, this could mean a loss of 27,000 jobs just a few years from now.
- Less wealth: One analysis projects the bill would reduce aggregate gross domestic product by \$9.4 trillion over the next 26 years. For Louisiana this could mean a reduction of as much as \$124 billion in the state's gross state product.



# How the Waxman-Markey Climate Change Bill Would Affect Louisiana

## The Waxman-Markey Effect

For the state of Louisiana, over the 2012–2035 timeframe, on average the Waxman–Markey bill would:



- Lower gross state product by \$4,945 million,
- Reduce personal income by \$1,564 million,
- Destroy 15,438 jobs,
- Raise electricity prices by \$759.58 per household,
- Raise gasoline prices by \$0.62 per gallon.

Source: Heritage Foundation calculations based on the IHS/Global Insight U.S. Macroeconomic and Energy models.

Table I • WM 2585-LA 🖀 heritage.org



## Potential Impacts of Cap-and-Trade on Louisiana

# How the Waxman-Markey Climate Change Bill Would Affect Louisiana by Congressional District

		Gross State Product		Personal Income		Non-Farm Jobs	
					Average		Average
			Average	Personal	Personal		Non-Farm
		GSP Loss	GSP loss	Income Loss	Income Loss	Non-Farm Job	Job Loss
Congressional		in 2012	2012-2035	in 2012	2012-2035	Loss in 2012	2012-2035
District	Representative	(\$million)	(\$million)	(\$million)	(\$million)		
1	Scalise	-462.69	-921.18	-505.67	-292.87	-3,904	-2,761
2	Cao	-457.49	-910.84	-423.72	-245.41	-3,398	-2,403
3	Melancon	-187.57	-373.44	-239.69	-138.82	-2,030	-1,435
4	Fleming	-319.11	-635.33	-378.71	-219.33	-2,818	-1,992
5	Alexander	-340.24	-677.39	-366.55	-212.30	-3,005	-2,125
6	Cassidy	-304.12	-605.47	-358.88	-207.85	-2,941	-2,080
7	Boustany	-412.78	-821.82	-463.47	-268.43	-3,736	-2,642



Data source: The Heritage Foundation, June 25, 2009.

## Macroeconomic Impact of Waxman Markey Bill: Changes in Louisiana Economy Compared to Baseline Forecast

	20	20	2030		
	Low Cost Case	High Cost Case	Low Cost Case	High Cost Case	
Loss in GSP (million 2007\$)	-\$483	-\$830	-\$5,089	\$6,943	
Loss in Jobs	150	-1,069	-26,066	-35,500	
Loss in Household Income (2007\$)	-\$68	-\$171	-\$485	-\$874	

Source:

Dr. Margo Thorning, Ph.D., Senior Vice President and Chief Economist American Council for Capital Formation



## Macroeconomic Impact of Waxman-Markey Bill: Change in Energy Prices in Louisiana Compared to Baseline Forecast

	20	025	2030		
	Low Cost Case	High Cost Case	Low Cost Case	High Cost Case	
Rise in Gasoline Prices	12%	16%	20%	26%	
Rise in Residential Electricity Prices	2%	12%	31%	54%	
Rise in Residential Natural Gas Prices	5%	11%	58%	77%	

Source:

Dr. Margo Thorning, Ph.D., Senior Vice President and Chief Economist American Council for Capital Formation



## Will There Be Federal Climate Legislation This Year?

## **Favoring Factors:**

## **Obama Administration**

- Addressing global warming was among the priorities of President Obama's campaign.
- Obama's originally proposed FY2010 budget included a greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions reduction program.
- Obama's energy and environment team (Lisa Jackson-EPA; Steven Chu-DOE; Nancy Sutley-CEQ; Ken Salazar-DOI; and Carol Browner-Assistant to the President on Energy and Climate Change) all seem dedicated to confronting global warming.
- The State Department has appointed Todd Stern as its Climate Envoy to work with other nations on global warming issues.

## <u>Congress</u>

- ➤ Both Speaker Pelosi in the House and Majority Leader Harry Reid in Senate are pushing for climate legislation.
- H.R. 2454, the American Clean Energy and Security Act of 2009 (Waxman-Markey) has passed out of the House.
- Kerry-Boxer Clean Energy Jobs and American Power Act introduced in the Senate on September 30.

## **Vested Interests**

Alternative energy interests, environmental organizations, financial institutions (carbon markets), green businesses, law firms, research scientists, etc.



## Will There Be Federal Climate Legislation This Year?

## **Impeding Factors:**

- The severe recession has pushed global warming aside as a major public concern and has focused attention on the cost of GHG regulation.
- Anthropogenic global warming (AGW) is an important issue, but it is not an immediate crisis.
- Climate science has now caught up with global warming alarmism.
- There are large numbers of well respected scientists who question various aspects of the AGW hypothesis and, after years of being marginalized and vilified as "skeptics" or "deniers", have found their voice (outside mainstream media).
- After years of global warming alarmism, hyperbole, and catastrophic predictions about global warming, polls show that a growing percentage of the American public believes the threat of global warming is being exaggerated.
- Mother Nature is not cooperating with the climate modelers who have predicted increasing global temperatures with increasing atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> levels.

## Will There Be Federal Climate Legislation This Year?

## **Public Opinion**

- The O'Leary Report Zogby poll conducted April 24-27 found only 30% support cap-and-trade.
- According to Gallup's 2009 Environmental Survey, more Americans say the (global warming) problem is exaggerated rather than underestimated.
- In a recent poll conducted by the Pew Research Center, global warming ranked last among 20 concerns preselected for the poll by Pew.
- A Bloomberg poll conducted September 10-14, 2009 provided a list of issues and asked, "which of the following do you see as the most important issue facing the country right now?" Only 2 percent chose climate change.
- A recent national poll conducted by Lauer Johnson Research on behalf of the National Rural Electric Cooperatives Association found 58% of Americans are opposed to paying any more than they currently pay in their electricity bills to combat climate change, a 23% increase in those unwilling to pay more since 2007. Not one of 807 poll respondents indicated a willingness to pay over 20% more on their monthly electricity bill to combat climate change.
- A poll of likely voters conducted in late July for NPR asked what concerns the President and Congress should be giving most attention around 1% said climate change.

## Will There Be Federal Climate Legislation This Year?

## **Mother Nature Not Cooperating**

- Mother Nature is not cooperating with the climate modelers who have predicted increasing global temperature with increasing atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> levels.
- Even though CO<sub>2</sub> levels continue to climb, global temperature data reported by NASA satellite-based temperature measurements show a decade-long trend of declining global temperatures.
- The year 2008 was significantly cooler than 2007 and well below the average global temperatures over the past 30 years.
- An international weather service recently reported that the North Atlantic and North Pacific Oceans are now both cooler than normal for the first time in 15 years.
- Global sea-ice extent has been recovering from recent lows.
- There have recently been a number of scientific studies pointing to continued climate cooling over the next 15-20 years. One of the world's top climate modelers says we could be in for one or two decades during which temperatures cool.
- NASA reports we are entering a very deep solar minimum the quietest the sun's been in over a century. In 2008, the sun set a number of records: a 50-year low in solar wind pressure; a 12-year low in solar irradiance, and a 55-year low in solar radio emissions. A number of scientists suggests that a quiet sun leads to a cooling climate.



# CLIMATE LEGISLATION UPDATE Will There Be Federal Climate Legislation This Year?

- There is still strong political pressure to produce climate legislation this year, although the probability for success seems to have fallen recently (especially the cap-and-trade element).
- Interest in healthcare reform legislation seems to have eclipsed interest in climate legislation at this time.
- For Growing public concern about Federal spending and the Federal deficit has cooled interest in major new federal intiatives.
- Anxiety about increased costs in fuel, electricity, and goods predicted for the capand-trade program is exacerbated during this prolonged recession.
- What happens between now and the December Copenhagen Conference in December will be telling..



#### POTENTIAL EPA REGULATION OF GREENHOUSE GASES

- In July, 2008, EPA released a *draft rule for carbon sequestration*. The rule spells out requirements for the location, construction, testing, and monitoring of wells used for underground injection. It also prescribes rules for the eventual closing and sealing of these underground sites. Another goal is to create a new series of injection wells under the Safe Drinking Water Act's underground injection control program.
- On March 10, 2009 *EPA proposed federal GHG reporting requirements* that will require data from an estimated 13,000 sources. In general, EPA proposes that suppliers of fossil fuels or industrial greenhouse gases, manufacturers of vehicles and engines, and facilities that emit 25,000 metric tons or more per year of GHG emissions submit annual reports to EPA. The gases covered by the proposed rule are carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>), methane (CH<sub>4</sub>), nitrous oxide (N<sub>2</sub>O), hydrofluorocarbons (HFC), perfluorocarbons (PFC), sulfur hexafluoride (SF<sub>6</sub>), and other fluorinated gases including nitrogen trifluoride (NF<sub>3</sub>) and hydrofluorinated ethers (HFE). *On September 22<sup>nd</sup>, EPA finalized the rules. Monitoring to begin in 2010.*
- In April, EPA issued its *proposed Endangerment Finding* In response to a 2007 court order (Mass. v. EPA) the Administrator is proposing to find that the current and projected concentrations of the mix of six key greenhouse gases—carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>), methane (CH<sub>4</sub>), nitrous oxide (N<sub>2</sub>O), hydrofluorocarbons (HFC), perfluorocarbons (PFC), and sulfur hexafluoride (SF<sub>6</sub>)—in the atmosphere threaten the public health and welfare of current and future generations. If this is successful, it paves the way for EPA regulation of GHG.
- On September 15<sup>th</sup>, EPA and DOT announced a *proposed national program to improve fuel economy for and reduce greenhouse gases from automobiles.*
- On September 30<sup>th</sup>, EPA proposed GHG controls for large stationary sources (over 25,000 tpy).

# POTENTIAL EPA REGULATION OF GREENHOUSE GASES (Continued)

Dow Jones Newswires, 12 May 2009. OMB Memo: Serious Economic Impact Likely From EPA CO<sub>2</sub> Rules

WASHINGTON (Dow Jones)--U.S. regulation of greenhouse gases such as carbon dioxide "is likely to have serious economic consequences" for businesses small and large across the economy, a White House memo warned the Environmental Protection Agency earlier this year.

The nine-page document also undermines the EPA's reasoning for a proposed finding that greenhouse gases are a danger to public health and welfare, a trigger for new rules.

The memo, an amalgamation of government agencies' comments sent from the Office of Management and Budget to the EPA, is in stark contrast to the official position presented by President Barack Obama and his Cabinet officials.



## Take Away Points and Conclusions

## Cap-and-Trade Climate Legislation Will Result in:

- Significant increases in the cost (price) of all forms of energy.
- Significant redistribution of wealth between sectors, income classes, and even various regions and countries around the world.
- High near and intermediate term reliance on natural gas particularly for power generation.
- Very large increases in the price of electricity.
- Policies are outpacing technological and institutional capabilities.
- Ability of policy capability to meet goals is questionable.
- Full implementation of Waxman-Markey would have negligible impact on global CO<sub>2</sub> levels.

<u>US Chamber of commerce wants trial on global warming issue. Reader poll inside</u>

<u>24 08 2009 Excerpts from The LA Times story:</u>

## **U.S. Chamber of Commerce seeks trial on global warming**

By Jim Tankersley
August 25, 2009
Reporting from Washington



The nation's largest business lobby wants to put the science of global warming on trial. The <u>U.S. Chamber of Commerce</u>, trying to ward off potentially sweeping federal emissions regulations, is pushing the Environmental Protection Agency to hold a rare public hearing on the scientific evidence for man-made climate change.

Chamber officials say it would be "the Scopes monkey trial of the 21st century" — complete with witnesses, cross-examinations and a judge who would rule, essentially, on whether humans are warming the planet to dangerous effect.

## **Questions**

