## 111TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

## S. 1189

To require the Secretary of Energy to conduct a study of the impact of energy and climate policy on the competitiveness of energy-intensive manufacturing and measures to mitigate those effects.

## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

June 4, 2009

Mr. Bayh (for himself and Mr. Brown) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources

## A BILL

- To require the Secretary of Energy to conduct a study of the impact of energy and climate policy on the competitiveness of energy-intensive manufacturing and measures to mitigate those effects.
  - 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
  - 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
  - 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.
  - 4 This Act may be cited as the "Carbon Leakage Miti-
  - 5 gation Study Act of 2009".
  - 6 SEC. 2. DEFINITIONS.
  - 7 In this Act:

| 1  | (1) CAP-AND-TRADE PROGRAM.—The term                  |
|----|--|
| 2  | "cap-and-trade program" means an economy-wide        |
| 3  | program enacted by Congress under which green-       |
| 4  | house gas emission allowances are distributed or     |
| 5  | auctioned to control those emissions under the Clear |
| 6  | Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7401 et seq.).                    |
| 7  | (2) CARBON LEAKAGE.—The term "carbon                 |
| 8  | leakage" means any substantial increase (as deter-   |
| 9  | mined by the Secretary) in greenhouse gas emis-      |
| 10 | sions—   |
| 11 | (A) by a manufacturing facility located in           |
| 12 | a country without a greenhouse gas emission          |
| 13 | regulation commensurate to a cap-and-trade           |
| 14 | program; or  |
| 15 | (B) that is caused by an incremental cost            |
| 16 | of production increase in the United States as       |
| 17 | a result of a domestic cap-and-trade program         |
| 18 | (3) Compensatory measure.—                           |
| 19 | (A) In General.—The term "compen-                    |
| 20 | satory measure" means any provision of a cap-        |
| 21 | and-trade program intended to mitigate the risk      |
| 22 | of carbon leakage.                                   |
| 23 | (B) Inclusions.—The term "compen-                    |
| 24 | satory measure" includes a provision described       |
| 25 | in subparagraph (A) relating to—                     |

| 1  | (i) emission allowance allocation; or  |
|--|--|
| 2  | (ii) a border tax adjustment.  |
| 3  | (4) Greenhouse gas.—The term "greenhouse   |
| 4  | gas" means any gas designated as a greenhouse gas  |
| 5  | under a cap-and-trade program.   |
| 6  | (5) Output.—The term "output" means the  |
| 7  | total tonnage or other standard unit of production   |
| 8  | (as determined by the Secretary) produced by a   |
| 9  | manufacturing facility.  |
| 10   | (6) Secretary.—The term "Secretary" means  |
| 11   | the Secretary of Energy.   |
| 12   | SEC. 3. INDUSTRY PRODUCTIVITY AND CARBON LEAKAGE   |
| 12   |  |
| 13   | STUDY.   |
|  |  |
| 13   | STUDY.   |
| 13<br>14   | STUDY.  (a) In General.—Not later than 120 days after the  |
| 13<br>14<br>15<br>16                               | STUDY.  (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 120 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary, in consulta-   |
| 13<br>14<br>15<br>16<br>17                         | study.  (a) In General.—Not later than 120 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary, in consultation with the Secretary of Commerce, the Administrator  |
| 13<br>14<br>15<br>16<br>17                         | study.  (a) In General.—Not later than 120 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary, in consultation with the Secretary of Commerce, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, and the heads  |
| 13<br>14<br>15<br>16<br>17                         | study.  (a) In General.—Not later than 120 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary, in consultation with the Secretary of Commerce, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, and the heads of other appropriate Federal departments and agencies,   |
| 13<br>14<br>15<br>16<br>17<br>18                   | (a) In General.—Not later than 120 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary, in consultation with the Secretary of Commerce, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, and the heads of other appropriate Federal departments and agencies, shall conduct a study—  |
| 13<br>14<br>15<br>16<br>17<br>18<br>19<br>20       | (a) In General.—Not later than 120 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary, in consultation with the Secretary of Commerce, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, and the heads of other appropriate Federal departments and agencies, shall conduct a study—  (1) to characterize the relative risk of carbon   |
| 13<br>14<br>15<br>16<br>17<br>18<br>19<br>20<br>21 | (a) In General.—Not later than 120 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary, in consultation with the Secretary of Commerce, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, and the heads of other appropriate Federal departments and agencies, shall conduct a study—  (1) to characterize the relative risk of carbon leakage and changes in output and investment in |

| 1  | mensurate greenhouse gas emission regulations in      |
|----|---|
| 2  | other countries; and                                  |
| 3  | (2) to estimate the change in output in indus-        |
| 4  | trial sectors and subsectors of the United States     |
| 5  | that are determined to be at risk of significant car- |
| 6  | bon leakage.  |
| 7  | (b) Inclusions.—The study under subsection (a)        |
| 8  | shall include an assessment of—                       |
| 9  | (1) expected United States industrial produc-         |
| 10 | tion, imports, and exports, absent a cap-and-trade    |
| 11 | program;  |
| 12 | (2) the direct and indirect energy intensity and      |
| 13 | greenhouse gas intensity of United States industries  |
| 14 | in relation to gross value-added, cost of production, |
| 15 | and total shipment values;                            |
| 16 | (3) the price elasticity of United States indus-      |
| 17 | tries;  |
| 18 | (4) the trade elasticity of United States indus-      |
| 19 | tries;  |
| 20 | (5) the trade intensity (calculated as imports        |
| 21 | plus exports, relative to domestic consumption) of    |
| 22 | United States industries;                             |
| 23 | (6) other qualitative indicators of the ability of    |
| 24 | United States industries to pass on cost increases to |
| 25 | consumers, such as—                                   |

| 1  | (A) market structure and concentration;             |
|----|---|
| 2  | (B) level of product differentiation;               |
| 3  | (C) the availability of close substitutes for       |
| 4  | customers; and                                      |
| 5  | (D) factors that constrain the response of          |
| 6  | foreign producers to an increase in United          |
| 7  | States production costs;                            |
| 8  | (7) the overall risk of carbon leakage, expressed   |
| 9  | in list form by sector and subsector of the United  |
| 10 | States economy, resulting from a cap-and-trade pro- |
| 11 | gram;   |
| 12 | (8) the impacts on the production, profitability,   |
| 13 | greenhouse gas emissions, and level of employment   |
| 14 | of industries at risk of carbon leakage, expressed— |
| 15 | (A) by sector and subsector, separately and         |
| 16 | in aggregate, as a percentage of gross domestic     |
| 17 | product;  |
| 18 | (B) in relation to national production,             |
| 19 | trade, and employment projections under a po-       |
| 20 | tential cap-and-trade program; and                  |
| 21 | (C) as compared to baseline projections ab-         |
| 22 | sent a cap-and-trade program;                       |
| 23 | (9) the manner in which the economic impacts        |
| 24 | of climate change policies compare to changes over  |

| 1                                      | time in other factors affecting production and invest-  |
|--|---|
| 2                                      | ment by industries, such as—  |
| 3                                      | (A) changes in production costs;  |
| 4                                      | (B) currency exchange rates;  |
| 5                                      | (C) consumer preference; and  |
| 6                                      | (D) other relevant factors; and   |
| 7                                      | (10) the highest-priority trading partners of the   |
| 8                                      | industries at risk of carbon leakage, listed in order   |
| 9                                      | of priority.  |
| 10                                     | (c) Report.—On completion of the study under this   |
| 11                                     | section, the Secretary shall submit to Congress a report  |
| 12                                     | describing the results of the study, including recommenda-  |
| 13                                     | tions regarding data collection activities and subsequent   |
| 14                                     | studies by the Secretary, if any.   |
| 15                                     | CEC 4 COUDY OF MEACURES TO MUNICAME CARRON LEAV   |
|  | SEC. 4. STUDY OF MEASURES TO MITIGATE CARBON LEAK-  |
| 16                                     | AGE.  |
|  |   |
| 16<br>17                               | AGE.  |
| 16<br>17<br>18                         | AGE.  (a) In General.—Not later than 180 days after the   |
| 16<br>17<br>18<br>19                   | AGE.  (a) In General.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, but not earlier than the   |
| 16<br>17<br>18<br>19<br>20             | AGE.  (a) In General.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, but not earlier than the date of submission to Congress of the report regarding  |
| 16<br>17<br>18<br>19<br>20             | AGE.  (a) In General.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, but not earlier than the date of submission to Congress of the report regarding the competitiveness study under section 3(c), the Sec-   |
| 16<br>17<br>18<br>19<br>20<br>21<br>22 | AGE.  (a) In General.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, but not earlier than the date of submission to Congress of the report regarding the competitiveness study under section 3(c), the Secretary, in consultation with the Secretary of Commerce, |

| 1  | impact of potential compensatory measures to prevent car- |
|----|---|
| 2  | bon leakage resulting from a cap-and-trade program.       |
| 3  | (b) Inclusions.—The study under subsection (a)            |
| 4  | shall include an assessment of—                           |
| 5  | (1) compensatory measures used by other juris-            |
| 6  | dictions to prevent carbon leakage under regional,        |
| 7  | national, or multinational climate policies;              |
| 8  | (2) the projected risk of carbon leakage from             |
| 9  | United States industries under potential prices on        |
| 10 | greenhouse gas emissions and realistic scenarios for      |
| 11 | international climate policy, with compensatory           |
| 12 | measures, including—                                      |
| 13 | (A) the production, profitability, and level              |
| 14 | of employment of the industries at risk of car-           |
| 15 | bon leakage, expressed separately and in aggre-           |
| 16 | gate;   |
| 17 | (B) expected changes in the domestic mar-                 |
| 18 | ket shares of products produced in the United             |
| 19 | States, as compared to products imported into             |
| 20 | the United States; and                                    |
| 21 | (C) expected changes in the foreign market                |
| 22 | shares of products produced in the United                 |
| 23 | States, as compared to products produced by               |
| 24 | other countries; and                                      |

- (3) the consistency of compensatory measures
   with international trade commitments (including
   principles of the World Trade Organization).
- 4 (c) Report.—On completion of the study under this
- 5 section, the Secretary shall submit to Congress a report
- 6 describing the results of the study, including recommenda-
- 7 tions of the Secretary, if any.

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