CRS Report for Congress

Climate Change: Greenhouse Gas Reduction Bills in the 110th Congress

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Summary

A number of congressional proposals to advance programs that reduce greenhouse gases have been introduced in the 110th Congress. Proposals receiving particular attention would create market-based greenhouse gas reduction programs along the lines of the trading provisions of the current acid rain reduction program established by the 1990 Clean Air Act Amendments. This paper presents a side-by-side comparison of the major provisions of those bills and includes a glossary of common terms.

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Climate Change: Greenhouse Gas Reduction Bills in the 110th Congress

Introduction

Climate change is generally viewed as a global issue, but proposed responses generally require action at the national level. In 1992, the United States ratified the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), which called on industrialized countries to take the lead in reducing the six primary greenhouse gases to 1990 levels by the year 2000. For more than a decade, a variety of voluntary and regulatory actions have been proposed or undertaken in the United States, including monitoring of power plant carbon dioxide emissions, improved appliance efficiency, and incentives for developing renewable energy sources. However, carbon dioxide emissions have continued to increase.

In 2001, President George W. Bush rejected the Kyoto Protocol, which called for legally binding commitments by developed countries to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions.² He also rejected the concept of mandatory emissions reductions. Since then, the Administration has focused U.S. climate change policy on voluntary initiatives to reduce the growth in greenhouse gas emissions. In contrast, in 2005, the Senate passed a Sense of the Senate resolution on climate change declaring that a mandatory, market-based program to slow, stop, and reverse the growth of greenhouse gases should be enacted at a rate and in a manner that "will not significantly harm the United States economy" and "will encourage comparable action" by other nations.³

A number of congressional proposals to advance programs designed to reduce greenhouse gases have been introduced in the 110th Congress. These have generally followed one of three tracks. The first is to improve the monitoring of greenhouse gas emissions to provide a basis for research and development and for any potential future reduction scheme. The second is to enact a market-oriented greenhouse gas reduction program along the lines of the trading provisions of the current acid rain reduction program established by the 1990 Clean Air Act Amendments. The third

 $^{^{1}}$ Under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), those gases are carbon dioxide (CO₂), methane (CH₄), nitrous oxide (N₂O), hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs), perfluorocarbons (PFCs), and sulfur hexafluoride (SF₆). Some greenhouse gases are controlled under the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer, and are not covered under UNFCCC.

² For further information, see CRS Report RL30692, *Global Climate Change: The Kyoto Protocol*, by Susan R. Fletcher.

³ S.Amdt. 866, passed by voice vote after a motion to table failed 43-54, June 22, 2005.

is to enact energy and related programs that would have the added effect of reducing greenhouse gases; an example would be a requirement that electricity producers generate a portion of their electricity from renewable resources (a renewable portfolio standard). This report focuses on the second category of bills.

Proposed Legislation in 110th Congress

In the 110th Congress, four bills have been introduced that would impose controls on emissions of greenhouse gases. A comparison of major provisions is provided in **Appendix 1**.

- S. 280, introduced by Senator Lieberman, would cap emissions of the six greenhouse gases specified in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, at reduced levels, from the electric generation, transportation, industrial, and commercial sectors sectors that account for about 85% of U.S. greenhouse gas emissions. The reductions would be implemented in four phases, with an emissions cap in 2012 based on the affected facilities' 2004 emissions (for an entity that has a single unit that emits more than 10,000 metric tons of carbon dioxide equivalent); the cap steadily declines until it is equal to one-third of the facilities' 2004 levels. The program would be implemented through an expansive allowance trading program to maximize opportunities for cost-effective reductions, and credits obtained from increases in carbon sequestration, reductions from non-covered sources, and acquisition of allowances from foreign sources could be used to comply with 30% of reduction requirements. The bill also contains an extensive new infrastructure to encourage innovation and new technologies.
- S. 309, introduced by Senator Sanders, would cap greenhouse gas emissions on an economy-wide basis beginning in 2010. Beginning in 2020, the country's emissions would be capped at their 1990 levels, and then proceed to decline steadily until they were reduced to 20% of their 1990 levels in the year 2050. The EPA has the discretion to employ a market-based allowance trading program or any combination of cost-effective emission reduction strategies. The bill also includes new mandatory greenhouse gas emission standards for vehicles and new powerplants, along with a new energy efficiency performance standard. The bill would establish a renewable portfolio standard (RPS) and a new low-carbon generation requirement and trading program.
- S. 317, introduced by Senator Feinstein, would cap greenhouse gas emissions from electric generators over 25 megawatts. Beginning in 2011, affected generators would be capped at their 2006 levels, declining to 2001 levels by 2015. After that, the emission cap would decline 1% annually until 2020, when the rate of decline would increase to 1.5%. The allowance trading program includes an allocation scheme that provides for an increasing percentage of all allowances to be auctioned, with 100% auctioning in 2036 and thereafter. The cap-and-trade program allows some of an entity's reduction requirement to be meet with credits obtained from foreign sources and a variety of other activities specified in the bill.

H.R. 620, introduced by Representative Olver, is a substantially modified version of S. 280. Using the same basic structure as S. 280, the emission caps under H.R. 620 are more stringent. Reductions from affected sectors (electric generation, transportation, industrial, and commercial) would be set at 2004 levels in 2012 and then steadily decline until the cap is equal to about one-fourth of facilities' 2004 levels. Although H.R. 620 permits affected entities to comply with the reduction requirements with credits from foreign sources, sequestration, and reductions from non-covered entities, these sources are limited to 15% of the source's reduction requirement.

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Appendix 1. Comparison of Key Provisions of Greenhouse Gas Reduction Bills

Topic	S. 280 (Lieberman)	S. 309 (Sanders)	S. 317 (Feinstein)	H.R. 620 (Olver)
Emission reduction/ limitation scheme	Absolute cap on total emissions from all covered entities in the electric power, transportation, industry, and commercial sectors.	Absolute cap on total emissions economy-wide.	Absolute cap on total emissions from covered electric generators.	Absolute cap on total emissions from all covered entities in the electric power, transportation, industry, and commercial sectors.
Specific emissions limits	Beginning in 2012, emissions from covered entities are capped at 6.13 billion metric tons, minus 2012 emissions from non-covered entities. Beginning in 2020, emission cap declines to 5.239 billion metric tons, minus 2020 emissions from non-covered entities. Beginning in 2030, emission cap declines to 4.1billion metric tons, minus 2030 emissions from non-covered entities. Beginning in 2050, emission cap further declines to 2.096 billion metric tons, minus annual emissions from non-covered entities.	at 1990 level, with declining emission caps of 26.7% below	from affected electric generators capped at 2006 levels. Beginning in 2015, emissions from affected electric generators capped at their 2001 levels, declining 1% annually until 2020.	Beginning in 2012, emissions from covered entities are capped at 6.15 billion metric tons, minus 2012 emissions from non-covered entities. Beginning in 2020, emission cap declines to 5.232 billion metric tons, minus 2020 emissions from non-covered entities. Beginning in 2030, emission cap declines to 3.858 billion metric tons, minus 2030 emissions from non-covered entities. Beginning in 2050, emission cap further declines to 1.504 billion metric tons, minus annual emissions from non-covered entities.

Topic	S. 280 (Lieberman)	S. 309 (Sanders)	S. 317 (Feinstein)	H.R. 620 (Olver)
Greenhouse gases defined	Carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous oxide (N ₂ O), hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs), perfluorocarbons (PFCs), and sulfur hexafluoride (SF ₆).	Same six gases as S. 280.	Same six gases as S. 280.	Same six gases as S. 280.
Covered entities	In metric tons of carbon dioxide equivalents: any electric power, industrial, or commercial entity that emits over 10,000 metric tons carbon dioxide equivalent annually from any single facility owned by the entity; any refiner or importer of petroleum products for transportation use that, when combusted, will emit over 10,000 metric tons annually; and any importer or producer of HFCs, PFCs, or SF ₆ that, when used, will emit over 10,000 metric tons of carbon dioxide equivalent.	EPA promulgates rule within two years of enactment that applies the most cost-effective reduction options on sources or sectors to achieve reduction goals.	Any fossil fuel-fired electric generating facility that has a capacity of greater than 25 megawatts and generates electricity for sale, including cogeneration and government-owned facilities.	In metric tons of carbon dioxide equivalents: any electric power, industrial, or commercial entity that emits over 10,000 metric tons carbon dioxide equivalent annually from any single facility owned by the entity; any refiner or importer of petroleum products for transportation use that, when combusted, will emit over 10,000 metric tons annually; and any importer or producer of HFCs, PFCs, or SF ₆ that, when used, will emit over 10,000 metric tons of carbon dioxide equivalent.
Responsible agency	Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).	Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).	Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).	Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).

Topic	S. 280 (Lieberman)	S. 309 (Sanders)	S. 317 (Feinstein)	H.R. 620 (Olver)
General allocating and implementing strategy	allocations based on several economic, equity, and sector-specific criteria, including economic efficiency, competitive effects, and impact on consumers. Allowances are to be allocated upstream to refiners and importers of transportation fuel, along with producers of HFCs, PFCs, and SF ₆ , and downstream to electric generation, industrial, and commercial entities.	emission reduction strategies. EPA shall allocate to various sectors and interests any allowances that are not allocated to affected entities, including households, dislocated workers, energy efficiency and renewable	is established. Allocations to existing sources based on historic electricity output, and includes allowance allocations for incremental nuclear capacity and renewable energy, along with sequestration and early action provisions. From 2011 on, an increasing percentage of all allowances	A tradeable allowance system is established: EPA shall determine allocations based on several economic, equity, and sector-specific criteria, including economic efficiency, competitive effects, and impact on consumers. Allowances are to be allocated upstream to refiners and importers of transportation fuel, along with producers of HFCs, PFCs, and SF ₆ , and downstream to electric generation, industrial, and commercial entities. Allocations to covered entities are provided at no cost.

Topic	S. 280 (Lieberman)	S. 309 (Sanders)	S. 317 (Feinstein)	H.R. 620 (Olver)
Public sale/auction of	EPA shall determine the number of	EPA may choose to provide for	From 2011 on, an increasing	EPA shall determine the number of
allowances	allowances allocated to the Climate	trustees to sell allowances for	percentage of all allowances	allowances allocated to the Climate
	Change Credit Corporation (CCCC)	the benefit of entities eligible	are to be auctioned, with	Change Credit Corporation
	(established by the bill).	to receive assistance under the	100% of allowances	(CCCC) (established by the bill).
		proposal (see above).	auctioned in 2036 and	
	EPA shall allocate to the CCCC		thereafter.	The CCCC may buy and sell
	allowances before 2012 to auction to			allowances, and use the proceeds to
	raise revenue for technology		Revenues from the auction	reduce costs borne by consumers
	deployment and dissemination.		are to be deposited in the	and other purposes. (See "Revenue
			Climate Action Trust Fund	recycling" below.)
	The CCCC may buy and sell		created by the Department of	
	allowances, and use the proceeds to		the Treasury.	
	reduce costs borne by consumers and			
	other purposes. (See "Revenue			
	recycling" below.)			

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Topic	S. 280 (Lieberman)	S. 309 (Sanders)	S. 317 (Feinstein)	H.R. 620 (Olver)
Cost-limiting safety valve	No explicit provision.	No explicit provision.	No explicit provision.	No explicit provision.
		determines a national security emergency exists, the President may temporarily adjust, suspend, or waive any regulation promulgated under this program (subject to judicial review).	However, limited borrowing against future reductions is permitted if EPA determines allowance prices have reached and sustained a level that is or will cause significant harm to the U.S. economy. Also, EPA may increase to 50% the share of international credits that can be used in such cases.	

Topic	S. 280 (Lieberman)	S. 309 (Sanders)	S. 317 (Feinstein)	H.R. 620 (Olver)
system features	Up to 30% of required reductions may be achieved through credits obtained through pre-certified international emissions trading programs, approved reduction projects in developing countries, domestic carbon sequestration, and reductions from non-covered entities. Borrowing against future reductions is permitted.	Market trading systems incorporated into Renewable Portfolio Standard and new low-carbon generation requirement.	EPA-approved foreign government programs developed under United Nations Framework	Up to 15% of required reductions may be achieved through credits obtained through pre-certified international emissions trading programs, approved reduction projects in developing countries, domestic carbon sequestration, and reductions from non-covered entities. Borrowing against future reductions is permitted.
	Banking of allowances is permitted; allowances may be saved for use in future years.	No specific prohibition on banking.	Banking of allowances is permitted; allowances may be saved for use in future years.	Banking of allowances is permitted; allowances may be saved for use in future years.

Topic	S. 280 (Lieberman)	S. 309 (Sanders)	S. 317 (Feinstein)	H.R. 620 (Olver)
Early reduction	Entities with registered emission	Reductions previously	Entities with reductions	Entities with registered emission
credits and bonus	reductions achieved before 2012 may	achieved under state programs	achieved from 2000 through	reductions achieved before 2012
credits	receive allowances for them,	that are at least as stringent as a	2010 shall receive credits	may receive allowances for them.
	including reductions achieved under	federal trading program may be	under specific criteria,	
	more stringent mandatory state	recognized by the federal	including EPA rules that	For the time period 2012-2017,
	programs.	program.	ensure reductions are real,	entities that have entered into an
			additional, verifiable,	agreement with EPA to reduce
	1 /		enforceable, and permanent,	emissions to 1990 levels by 2012
	entities that have entered into an		and that they were reported	are entitled to additional
			under either 1605(b) of the	allowances to cover their additional
		verifiable as reductions under a		reductions and are allowed to
		federal trading program may be		achieve 35% of their reduction
	cover their additional reductions and		regional registry. Quantity	requirement (as opposed to 15%;
	are allowed to achieve 40% of their	program.	of credits given is limited to	see above) through international
	reduction requirement (as opposed to		10% of the 2011 allowance	emissions trading and projects,
	30%; see above) through		allocation.	sequestration, or reductions by
	international emissions trading and			non-covered entities.
	projects, sequestration, or reductions			
	by non-covered entities.			

Topic	S. 280 (Lieberman)	S. 309 (Sanders)	S. 317 (Feinstein)	H.R. 620 (Olver)
Revenue recycling	Revenues generated by allowance	Allowances may be allocated	Revenues generated from the	Revenues generated by allowance
	auctions and trading proceeds are	by EPA to households,	auction are to be deposited in	auctions and trading proceeds are
	received by a new Climate Change	dislocated workers, energy	the Climate Action Trust	received by a new Climate Change
	Credit Corporation (CCCC).	efficiency and renewable	Fund created by the	Credit Corporation (CCCC).
	Activities to be funded include	energy activities, sequestration	Department of the Treasury.	Activities to be funded include
	mechanisms to reduce consumer	activities, and ecosystem	Activities to be funded	mechanisms to reduce consumer
	costs and to assist dislocated	protection activities.	include an Innovative Low-	costs and to assist dislocated
	workers, low-income persons, and		and Zero-emitting Carbon	workers and affected communities,
	affected communities, along with		Technologies Program, a	along with programs to encourage
	programs to encourage deployment		Clean Coal Technologies	deployment of new technology and
	of new technology and wildlife		Program, and an Energy	wildlife restoration.
	restoration. Allocations to the CCCC		Efficiency Technology	
	are to be determined by EPA based		Program, along with research	
	on the funding needs of the advanced		and development.	
	technologies demonstration and		-	
	deployment programs. Further, at		Adaption and mitigation	
	least 50% of revenue received must		activities to be funded	
	be used for technology deployment.		include affected workers and	
			communities, and fish and	
			wildlife habitat.	

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Topic	S. 280 (Lieberman)	S. 309 (Sanders)	S. 317 (Feinstein)	H.R. 620 (Olver)
Penalty for	Excess emission penalties are equal	Existing enforcement	\$100 per excess ton indexed	Excess emission penalties are equal
non-compliance	to three times the market price for	provisions of Section 113 of	to inflation plus a 1.3 to 1	to three times the market price for
	allowances on the last day of the year	the Clean Air Act are extended	offset from future emissions	allowances on the last day of the
	at issue.	to program.	allowances. If the market	year at issue.
			price for an allowance	
			exceeds \$60, the penalty is	
			\$200 per excess ton, adjusted	
			for inflation.	

Topic	S. 280 (Lieberman)	S. 309 (Sanders)	S. 317 (Feinstein)	H.R. 620 (Olver)
Other key provisions	Provisions include studies of research on abrupt climate change and impact of climate change on the world's poor, among others, and creation of a national greenhouse gas database. A new Innovation Infrastructure is created, along with program initiatives to promote less carbonintensive technology, adaption, sequestration, and related activities.	Provisions include mandatory greenhouse gas emission standards for vehicles by 2010, for new electric powerplants that begin operation after December 31, 2011, and a new energy efficiency performance standard. Establishes a Renewable Portfolio Standard and credit program. Establishes a new low-carbon generation requirement and trading program. Requires periodic review of target adequacy by the	Establishes program to encourage offsets from the agricultural sector. Offset credits available for agricultural, forestry, grazing, and wetlands management, sequestration projects, or practices that meet specific criteria in the proposal.	Provisions include studies of the impact of climate change on coastal ecosystems and communities, and the world's poor, among others; assessment of adaptation technologies; and creation of a national greenhouse gas database. Requires periodic review of target adequacy by the Under Secretary of Commerce for Oceans and Atmosphere.
		ivational Academy of Sciences.	recommendations of a newly established Climate Science Advisory Panel.	

Appendix 2. Common Terms

Allocation schemes (upstream and downstream). Regulatory approaches to allocating allowances (as opposed to auction schemes) can choose different points and participants along the production process to assign allowances and the resulting compliance responsibility. Upstream allocation schemes establish emission caps and assign allowances at a production, importation, or distribution point of products that will eventually produce greenhouse emissions further down the production process. For example, in the natural gas sector, emission caps could be established and allowances assigned at processing facilities where facilities and participants shrink from about 400,000 wells and 8,000 companies to 500 plants and 200 companies. In contrast, downstream allocation schemes establish emission caps and assign allowances at the point in the process where the emissions are emitted. In the case of the natural gas industry, to achieve the same coverage as the upstream scheme, this would involve assigning allowances to natural gas-fired electric generators, industry, and even residential users. Thus, some downstream proposals choose either to exempt certain sectors (such as residential use) from a cap-and-trade program or to employ a hybrid allocation scheme where some of the allowances are allocated upstream and others downstream (such as the electric generators).

Allowance. An allowance is generally defined as a limited authorization by the government to emit 1 ton of pollutant. In the case of greenhouse gases, an allowance generally refers to a metric ton of carbon dioxide equivalent. Although used generically, an *allowance* is technically different from a *credit*. A credit represents a ton of pollutant that an entity has reduced in excess of its legal requirement. However, the terms tend to be used interchangeably, along with others, such as *permits*.

Auctions. Auctions can be used in market-based pollution control schemes in several different ways. For example, Title IV of the 1990 Clean Air Act Amendments uses an annual auction to ensure the liquidity of the credit trading program. For this purpose, a small percentage of the credits permitted under the program are auctioned annually, with the proceeds returned to the entities that would have otherwise received them. Private parties are also allowed to participate. A second possibility is to use an auction to raise revenues for a related (or unrelated) program. For example, the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative (RGGI) is exploring an auction to implement its public benefit program to assist consumers or pursue strategic energy purposes. A third possibility is to use auctions as a means of allocating some, or all, of the credits mandated under a GHG control program. Obviously, the impact that an auction would have on cost would depend on how extensively it was used in any GHG control program, and to what purpose the revenues were expended.

Banking. Although allowances are generally allocated on an annual basis, most cap-and-trade programs do not require participants to either use the allowance that year or else lose it. Under many proposals, allowances can be banked by the receiving participant (or traded to another participant who can use or bank it) to be used or traded in a future year. Banking reduces the absolute cost of compliance by making annual emission caps flexible over time. The limited ability to shift the

reduction requirement across time allows affected entities to better accommodate corporate planning for capital turnover, allow for technological progress, control equipment construction schedules, and respond to transient events such as weather and economic shocks.

Bubble. A bubble is a regulatory device that permits two or more sources of pollutants to be treated as one for the purposes of emission compliance.

Cap-and-trade program. A cap-and-trade program is based on two premises. First, a set amount of pollutant emitted by human activities can be assimilated by the ecological system without undue harm. Thus, the goal of the cap-and-trade program is to impose a ceiling (i.e., an emissions cap) on the total emissions of that pollutant at a level below the assimilative capacity. Second, a market in pollution licenses (i.e., allowances) between polluters is the most cost-effective means of reducing emissions to the level of the cap. This market in allowances is designed so that owners of allowances can trade those allowances with other emitters who need them or retain (bank) them for future use or sale. In the case of the sulfur dioxide program contained in the 1990 Clean Air Act Amendments, most allowances were allocated free by the federal government to utilities according to statutory formulas related to a given facility's historic fuel use and emissions; other allowances have been reserved by the government for periodic auctions to ensure market liquidity.

Carbon tax. A carbon tax is generally conceived as a levy on natural gas, petroleum, and coal according to their carbon content, in the approximate ratio of 0.6 to 0.8 to 1, respectively. However, proposals have been made to impose the tax downstream of the production process when the carbon dioxide is actually released to the atmosphere. In contrast to a cap-and-trade program, in which the quantity of emissions is limited and the price is determined by an allowance marketplace, with a carbon tax, the price is limited and the quantity of emissions is determined by the participants based on the cost of control versus the cost of the tax.

Coverage. Coverage is the breadth of economic sectors covered by a particular greenhouse gas reduction program.

Emissions cap. A mandated limit on how much pollutant (or greenhouse gases) an affected entity can release to the atmosphere. Caps can be either an *absolute cap*, where the amount is specified in terms of tons of emissions on an annual basis, or a *rate-based cap*, where the amount of emissions produced per unit of output (such as electricity) is specified but not the absolute amount released. Caps may be imposed on an entity, sector, or economy-wide basis.

Generation performance standard (GPS). Also called an *output-based allocation*, allowances are allocated gratis to entities in proportion to their relative share of total electricity generation in a recent year.

Grandfathering. Grandfathering generally refers an allocation scheme in which allowances are distributed to affected entities on the basis of historic emissions. These allowances are generally distributed free-of-charge by the government to the affected entities. Grandfathering can also refer to entities that

because of age or because they have met an earlier standard, or other factors, are exempted from a new regulatory requirement.

Greenhouse gases. The six gases recognized under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change are carbon dioxide (CO_2) , methane (CH_4) nitrous oxide (N_2O) , sulfur hexafluoride (SF_6) , hydrofluorocarbons (HFC), and perfluorocarbons (PFC).

"No regrets" policy. A "no regrets" policy is one of establishing programs for other purposes that would have concomitant greenhouse gas reductions. Therefore, only those policies that reduce greenhouse gas emissions at no cost are considered.

Offsets. Offsets generally refer to emission credits achieved by activities not directly related to the emissions of an affected source. Examples of offsets would include forestry and agricultural activities that absorb carbon dioxide, and reduction achieved by entities that are not regulated by a greenhouse gas reduction program.

Revenue recycling. Some greenhouse gas reduction programs create revenues through auctions, compliance penalties, or imposition of a carbon tax. Revenue recycling refers to how a program disposes of those revenues. How a program handles revenues received can have a significant effect on the overall cost of the program to the economy.

Safety valve. Devices designed to prevent or to respond to unacceptably high compliance costs for greenhouse gas reductions. Generally triggered by prices in the allowance markets, safety valve approaches can include (1) a set price alternative to making reductions or buying allowances at the market price, (2) a slowdown in tightening the emissions cap, and (3) lengthening of the time allowed for compliance. Depending on the interplay between the emissions cap and safety valve and actual compliance costs, a safety valve can affect the integrity of the emissions cap.

Sequestration. Sequestration is the process of capturing carbon dioxide from emission streams or from the atmosphere and then storing it in such a way as to prevent its release to the atmosphere.