An Update Washington Developments on Climate Change





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GLOBAL POLICY GROUP®
Washington

Washington Developments on Climate Change



- 1. Setting the Stage: Climate Change in Washington
- 2. The Climate Debate: Key Think Tanks and Interest Groups
 - Groups first discussed in 2010
 - Other groups
- 3. Outlook for 2013-14



Setting the Stage: Climate Change in Washington



Setting the Stage



- Climate change is not a top issue in Washington
 - Many Democrats favor action, but Republicans have doubts



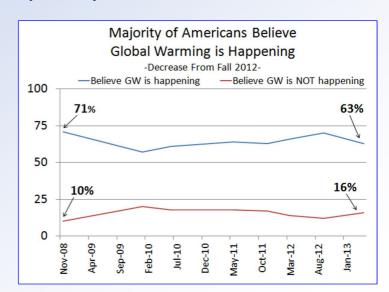
- Congress will not pass climate change legislation
 - Failure of Waxman-Markey bill in 2010 was last real hope for cap-and-trade approach
- Shift to reducing GHG emissions through regulation
 - Efforts by EPA face conservative court challenges
- Little Washington interest in global talks
 - Obama Administration is nonetheless engaged

Setting the Stage

Climate Change Policy in Washington



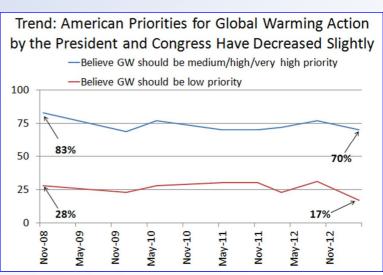
- Climate not a top public priority
 - Once-stronger public support for climate regulation fell in 2009-10 with poor economy and Tea Party attacks
 - Recent droughts and severe weather have helped revive concerns



Setting the Stage



- Little agreement on what should be done to address climate change
 - Job concerns have higher priority
 - Business community more divided than in 2008-09
 - Emergence of wellfunded groups of climate skeptics and climate deniers



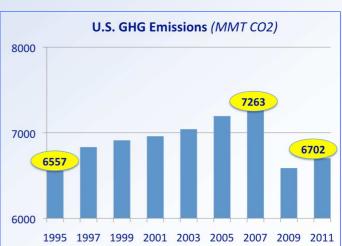
Setting the Stage

Climate Change Policy in Washington



 Recent decline in GHG emissions reduces pressure for Washington to act

- EPA and DOE find U.S.
 GHG emissions are down from peaks
 - Declined 6.5% from 2005 to 2011
- EIA finds declining energy use by U.S. manufacturers
 - Energy-related CO2 emissions in 2012 were lowest since 1994



Setting the Stage



- Climate legislation not on Congress' agenda
 - Almost all Republicans and many Democrats oppose cap-and-trade proposals
 - Carbon taxes are also controversial, though bipartisan discussions are being held
- Support for developing renewable sources
 - Federal government supports R&D, offers tax incentives
- Mixed picture at state level
 - California moving ahead with cap-and-trade plan
 - Other states are backing away from issue
 - Republican governors pull back from climate programs



Setting the Stage

Climate Change Policy in Washington



- Obama Administration relies on Clean Air Act regulations to reduce GHG emissions
 - Aggressive new rules to cut emissions from passenger cars, light trucks, and heavy vehicles
 - New rules for off-road vehicles, ships, and locomotives
 - New power plants subject to permitting rules, but proposal on existing power plants delayed
- Conservative groups use courts to challenge
 - Court decisions thus far have supported EPA
 - Supreme Court hearing possible this year



Setting the Stage



- Obama Administration supports and is engaged in global climate talks
 - New U.S. proposal would let countries determine their "contributions" to a global accord
 - Shift away from enforceable "commitments"
 - U.S. wants all countries to contribute
 - Proposal reflects lack of support in Washington for Kyoto-style accord
 - Congress would never approve
 - Difficult to get support for U.S. funding of international climate programs



The Climate Debate: Key Think Tanks and Interest Groups



The Climate Debate

Groups Active on Climate Change



- Interest in climate change surged at Washington think tanks and interest groups in 2008-10
 - Huge interest in Waxman-Markey bill
 - Interest peaked in late 2009 before Copenhagen conference (COP-15)
 - Continued hope for Senate cap-and-trade bill kept interest high through 2010



- Failure of cap-and-trade legislation and the 2010
 U.S. elections reduced the focus on climate
 - Clear that Congress would not act
 - Continued stalemate in global talks
 - Greater focus on ongoing economic problems
 - Many groups turned to "green" energy issues

Groups Active on Climate Change





- Most leading Washington think tanks and interest groups continue to work on climate issues
 - Some think tanks include climate within energy/environment

The Climate Debate

Groups Active on Climate Change





- Environmental groups both lobby and conduct research on climate issues
 - Support more aggressive efforts to cut GHG emissions
 - Feel Obama has abandoned campaign pledges

Groups Active on Climate Change



Emergence of conservative "climate skeptics"

 Many industry-funded groups active in legislative, regulatory, and legal arenas



CLIMATE INSTITUTE



WORLD

RESOURCES





Fennamics







Climate Science/ Policy Advocate

The Climate Debate

Update on Groups Identified in GPG-CIGS Project



- GPG was commissioned by Canon IGS in 2010 to identify potential U.S. think tank partners
- Search excluded partisan institutes, groups opposed to climate change regulations, lobbying groups, etc.
 - Key factors: institute reputation, role of climate change in overall research, activities/staff focused on climate change, political orientation (if any), relationship with business community and environmental groups
- GPG developed list of 8 research/public policy groups and 3 academic institutions for CIGS

Update on Groups Identified in **GPG-CIGS Project**



- Eight institutes identified:
 - Brookings Institution
 - Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
 - Center for Strategic and International Studies
 - Peterson Institute for International Economics
 - Pew Center on Global Climate Change (now C2ES)
 - Resources for the Future
 - World Resources Institute
 - Worldwatch Institute
- Academic research centers at Columbia, SAIS, and Stanford less likely to fit as CIGS partners

The Climate Debate

Brookings Institution

- Perhaps best-known U.S. think-tank
- Broad range of expertise includes foreign affairs and domestic policy
- Moderate/left-of-center orientation
- Very well funded with large board and 200+ research fellows
- President Strobe Talbot was deputy secretary of state (Clinton Administration) and foreign correspondent
 - Climate experts include Adele Morris, Charles Ebinger, William Antholis, Timmons Roberts
- Energy/climate is one of four priority focal points



BROOKINGS

INSTITUTION

Brookings Institution



Recent Publications	 Research on carbon taxes, energy and environmental policy, natural disasters, and climate change "The Many Benefits of a Carbon Tax" (February 2013) part of a high-profile joint effort with AEI "A Fair Compromise to Break the Climate Impasse" (April 2013) "Climate Change and Human Mobility" (January 2013)
Partners	Resources for the Future, China Institute for Innovation and Development Strategy (forum on clean energy technologies)
Recent Conferences	• Annual Brookings Doha Energy Forum: "Implications of the Changing Global Gas Market for Middle East and Asia" (April 2013)
and Seminars	 Panel discussion on "Climate Policy Across the Globe: Lessons Learned and Key Challenges" (April 2013)

The Climate Debate

Center for Strategic and International Studies



- Once part of Georgetown University
- Moderate/conservative orientation
- 220+ full-time staff and many affiliated scholars
- Well funded with corporate and foundation support
- President John Harme was deputy secretary of defense
- Deep energy expertise with focus on energy security
 - Guy Caruso (DOE/EIA); David Pumphrey (DOE, IEA, APEC experience); Edward Chow (Chevron 20+ years); Sarah Ladislaw (DOE, Statoil); Jane Nakano (DOE)





Center for Strategic and International Studies



Publications	 Research papers and policy proposals on energy security, nuclear energy, oil and gas developments, climate change and sustainability "A New Climate Narrative: Climate Resilience" (January 2013) "Realizing the Potential of Unconventional U.S. Natural Gas" (February 2013)
Partners	Peterson Institute for International Economics, International Energy Agency
Conferences and Seminars	 "The U.S Canada Energy Relationship" (April 2013) "The Energy-Water Nexus: Balancing Electricity Needs and Environmental Concerns" (April 2013) Energy outlooks for companies like ExxonMobil

The Climate Debate

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

- One of the country's oldest and most prestigious think tanks
- Long history of work on foreign policy and international issues
 - Offices in Beijing, Beirut, Brussels, Moscow



- Well funded; mix of corporate and foundation support
- President Jessica Tuchman Matthews has White House and State Department experience in Democratic Administrations; helped start World Resources Institute
 - David Burwell heads energy/climate program; William Chandler, Deborah Gordon, Taiya Smith are experts

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace



Publications	 Reports and analyses on issues concerning energy technology, environmental science, economic policy "The Carbon Contained in Global Oils" (December 2012) "Policy Priorities for Advancing U.S. Electric Vehicle Market" (September 2012)
Conferences and Seminars	 "Transportation Beyond Oil" (focus on multi-modal transportation) (March 2013) "Transatlantic Dialogue on Sustainable Urban Transport" January 2013)

The Climate Debate

Peterson Institute for International Economics



- Staff of 50 heavy with economists and political scientists
- Centrist political orientation
- Well funded but not as large as Brookings, CSIS, etc.
 - President is Adam Posen; founder is C. Fred Bergsten, former Treasury and White House official
 - Treavor Houser (also with Rhodium Group) directs Energy and Climate program
- Little recent climate work other than May 2013 paper with World Bank: "Four Changes to Trade Rules to Facilitate Climate Change Action"





Center for Climate and Energy Solutions



- Pew Center on Global Climate Change set up by Pew Charitable Trust in 1998
 - Trust funded by family money from Sun Oil
 - Climate unit operated independently
- C2ES spun off in November 2011
 - To allow increased collaboration with corporate supporters like GE, Entergy, Shell
- Smaller than many other think tanks
- President/founder Eileen Claussen worked on climate in Clinton White House and State Department
 - Climate experts include Dan Huber, Doug Vine, Michael **Tubman**

The Climate Debate

Center for Climate and Energy Solutions



Publications	 Numerous initiatives and reports on energy policy, vehicle technologies, climate change, and clean energy "Domestic Policies to Reduce the Near-Term Risks of Climate Change" (March 2013) "Federal Action on Climate Change and Clean Energy" (February 2013)
Partners	International Carbon Action Partnership, Electric Power Research Institute, various corporate supporters
Conferences/ Seminars/Initi atives	The National Enhanced Oil Recovery Initiative, Plug-in Electric Vehicle Dialogue Group, Business Environmental Leadership Council



Resources for the Future



 One of the first think tanks focused exclusively on environment and natural resources



- Economic thrust to analysis
 - Center for Energy Economics and Policy
- President Phil Sharp is former Democratic Congressman
 - Was professor at Harvard; serves on National Academy of Sciences climate panel
- Academic/research focus of many on climate staff; do not take positions on legislation/regulation
 - Over 30 researchers working on climate issues and as part of Center for Climate and Electricity Policy

The Climate Debate

Resources for the Future



Publications	 Research on air quality, climate change, ecosystems, energy resources, electricity, transportation "Progressing to a Fair Carbon Tax: Policy Design Options and Impacts to Households" (April 2013) "The New CAFE Standards: Are They Enough on Their Own?" (May 2013)
Partners	National Socio-Environmental Synthesis Center (University of Maryland), CSIS, National Renewable Energy Laboratories (DOE)
Conferences	• "A North American Approach to Climate Change: Linking Quebec and California" (May 2013)
and Seminars	• "The Role of Border Measures in the Design of Unilateral Climate Policy" (September 2012)

World Resources Institute



- Founded with MacArthur Foundation support
- Very active in projects in developing countries



- Well funded, in part with government grants
- Public-private partnerships are pursued
- President Andrew Steer joined in May 2012
 - Was World Bank Special Envoy for Climate Change
- Key staff include Jennifer Morgan (European NGO experience); Pankaj Bhatia (Tata Energy); Rob Bradley (British NGO and consulting background)

The Climate Debate

World Resources Institute



Publications	Research focuses on climate, energy, transportation, and impact on socio-economic development "Clearing the Air: Reducing Upstream GHG Emissions from U.S. Natural Gas Systems" (March 2013) "A Critical Decade for Climate Policy: Tools and Initiatives to Track Our Progress" (March 2013)
Partners	Investor Watch (Carbon Tracker Initiative on carbon markets), Mary Robinson Foundation – Climate Justice (Ireland), Center for Global Development
Conferences and Seminars	 Ongoing "Climate Justice Dialogue" "Too Hot, Too Wet: Building Resilient Agroecosystems" (March 2013) "Greenprint: A New Approach to Cooperation on Climate Change" (March 2013)

Worldwatch Institute



- Active global network of partners and web presence
- Reports in over 20 languages
- Climate/Energy is one of three main programs



- Much smaller budget than many other institutes
- Robert Engleman became president in 2011
 - Was at Population Action International and Yale
- Alexander Ochs (academic, NGO, German government experience) directs Climate/Energy program

The Climate Debate

Worldwatch Institute



Publications	 Research focuses on climate change, resource degradation, population growth and sustainability "Sustainable Energy Roadmaps: Guiding the Global Shift to Domestic Renewables" (March 2012) "Renewable Global Status Report" (June 2012)
Partners	Institute for Policy Studies, Brookings Institution, Renewable Energy Policy Network for the 21st Century, American Council of Renewable Energy
Conferences and Seminars	 "Climate and Energy Risks: A Transatlantic Comparison" (April 2013) "A Prosperous Future for All: Gender, Climate and Biodiversity in a Globalized World" (February 2013) "Climate.Culture.Change," a film series with the Heinrich Böll Foundation and the Goethe Institut

Other Think Tanks and Advocacy Groups on Climate Policy



- Climate deniers and skeptics:
 - Heartland Institute
 - Competitive
 Enterprise Institute
 - Reason Foundation
 - George Marshall Institute
 - American Enterprise Institute

- Promote polices to address climate change:
 - Center for Climate and Security
 - Environmental Defense Fund
 - Natural Resources Defense Council
 - Climate Institute
 - Sierra Club
 - Friends of the Earth
 - Greenpeace
 - Climate Reality Project

The

The Climate Debate Heartland Institute



- Supports research and educational projects

Chicago-based conservative group

- Global warming is one of seven major research areas
- Funded by over 1,600 individuals and organizations
- Most notable donor is Charles Koch Foundation
- Launched ClimateWiki for "balancing" scientific views on climate change
- Director of Environmental Policy Fred Singer was at the U.S. Department of Transportation

Heartland Institute



Publications	 Commentaries and papers critical of mainstream scientific views on climate change "Climate Change Beliefs, Concerns, and Attitudes among Corn Belt Farmers" (April 2013)
Partners	Cooler Heads Coalition, Heritage Foundation, Cato Institute, John Locke Foundation, Competitive Enterprise Institute
Conferences and Seminars	 "Annual International Conference on Climate Change," co-hosted by 60 think tanks and business groups from several countries (May 2012) Ongoing "Heartland Author Series" "Dealing with Climate Catastrophes: Could Onshore Reserving Make a Difference?" (March 2012)

The Climate Debate

Competitive Enterprise Institute



- Libertarian/conservative group conducts research on environmental and energy policy
 - Favors small government and free markets



- Outspoken skeptics on climate issues and EPA regulation
 - Key climate experts include Center for Energy and Environment Director Myron Ebell and Christopher Horner
- Funded by contributions from conservative foundations (Scaife, Earhart, Koch, etc.) and oil, gas, automotive, pharmaceutical, and tobacco companies
- Energy/environment/climate is largest program area
 - Few recent studies of climate issues

Reason Foundation

- Libertarian think tank
 - Based in Los Angeles
 - 60+ staff
- Climate change is one of 10 policy research areas
 - Critic of EPA regulatory policies
- Proponent of "free-market environmentalism"
 - Free markets and property rights are seen as the best way to preserve the environment
- Funded by foundations (Koch, Scaife), corporations, and sales of *Reason* magazine and other publications



The Climate Debate

George Marshall Institute

- Conservative group named after legendary military leader and statesman
 - Founded by Frederick Seitz, a climate skeptic and former National Academy of Sciences president
- One focus is security risks of climate change
- Funded by such conservative groups as the Earhart,
 Koch, Scaife, and Olin foundations and by Exxon-Mobil
- Aims to "promote scientific literacy" by challenging mainstream scientific thought on climate change
 - Associated with Science and Environmental Policy Project





American Enterprise Institute



- Respected center-right think tank
 - More than 50 resident scholars/fellows
- Big donors include many leading foundations and corporations



- Climate is a recent policy interest
 - Energy focus includes oil and gas, alternative energy, and natural resources
- Somewhat skeptical views of climate change
 - Often focuses on cost of regulation, market-based approaches to reducing pollution, etc.
 - Scholars involved in recent carbon tax discussions

The Climate Debate

American Enterprise Institute



Publications	 Research papers, books, and articles on climate change, energy, and environmental regulation "Solar Radiation Management: An Evolving Climate Policy Option" (May 2013) "Using Marginal Damages in Environmental Policy: A Study of Air Pollution in the United States" (January 2013)
	Hudson Institute, Center for American Progress, Institute
Partners	for Energy Research, Brookings Institution
	• "America's Natural Gas: Should Exports be Restricted?" (May 2013)
Conferences and	• "How to Think Seriously about the Planet: The Case for an Environmental Conservatism" (July 2012)
Seminars	• "The Economics of Carbon Taxes" (November 2012), part of a high-profile series with the Brookings Institution
	Recent panel discussion of geo-engineering

Center for Climate and Security



 Focus on climate change and its impact on U.S. and global energy/military security



- Small staff of scientific and academic researchers
- Board includes retired military leaders, academics
- Recent climate-related reports highlight linkage of climate change and security issues
 - "The Arab Spring and Climate Change"
 - "A Marshall Plan to Combat Climate Change in the Asia-Pacific"
 - "Syria: Climate Change, Drought and Social Unrest"

The Climate Debate

Environmental Defense Fund



- New York-based group with staff of 400+ researchers and scholars nationwide
- Global warming and energy advocacy and research projects



- Funded by Environmental Defense Action Fund
 - Corporate partners include FedEx, Walmart, and McDonalds
- Respected voice within environmental community
 - Chief Scientist Steve Hamburg previously was a lead author for the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
 - EDF lawyers active using courts to protect environment

Environmental Defense Fund



Publications	 Research on climate change science, policy, regulation "The EU Emissions Trading System: Results and Lessons Learned" (2012) "A Blind Spot in Climate Change Vulnerability Assessments" (March 2013)
Partners	Natural Resources Defense Council, Environmental Health Coalition, Global Green USA, EarthShare
Conferences/ Seminars/Initi atives	 "Innovations in Energy Efficiency and Distributed Generation Finance Conference," co-organized with Citigroup (February 2013) Initiatives on: Implementing California's <i>Global Warming Solutions Act</i> (AB 32); defending EPA climate change regulations; supporting the EU Aviation Directive; reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation

The Climate Debate

Natural Resources Defense Council



- International environmental advocacy group
 - Headquartered in New York
 - 1.4 million members
- Washington staff of 50+ experts on varied environmental issues



- President Francis Beinecke serves on the boards of numerous other environmental groups
- NRDC experts testify in Congress and speak to conferences
- Supported in lobbying and finance by NRDC Action Fund
- Funded by Pew Charitable Trusts, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Cafritz Foundation, MacArthur Foundation, etc.

Climate Institute



- Relatively small but longstanding activist and research group
 - Staff of less than 20
- Funded by memberships, private and corporate contributions



- Works with community, business, and government groups to generate support for low-carbon policies
 - Washington conference on climate change in 1987 was first major U.S. conference on the issue
 - Worked with Japan Environment Agency to organize the First Asia Pacific Seminar on Climate Change (1991)
 - Works with NGOs in developed countries on climate issues

The Climate Debate

The Sierra Club



- Oldest and largest grassroots environmental organization
 - 1.3 million members; 65+ local chapters



- Clean energy is a major focus of grassroots efforts
- Supported by charitable donations through the Sierra Club Foundation
 - Over \$100 million in assets
- Initiatives include "Beyond Coal," "Beyond Oil," and "Beyond Natural Gas" clean energy campaigns
- Runs "green" jobs conferences



Friends of the Earth



- International activist/research network with 2 million members in 74 countries
 - Climate change and clean energy among four focus areas



- Founded in 1969 by David Browe, Sierra Club co-founder
- Funded by government subsidies, donor grants, membership dues, sales and donations
- Opposes nuclear energy, corn-based ethanol, tar-sands oil, Keystone XL pipeline
- Supports strong global climate accord
 - Recent publications on private finance and the Green Climate Fund and on forest carbon markets

The Climate Debate

Greenpeace

- International advocacy group headquartered in Amsterdam
 - Famous for direct action worldwide
- Global warming among seven environmental focus areas



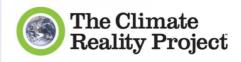
- Funded by 2.9 million individuals and foundation grants
 - 250,000 U.S. members
 - U.S. head is Phil Radford, previously worked on solar energy grassroots campaigns
- Focus on conservative groups' "climate denial funding"
- Active on BP Deepwater Horizon Gulf Oil Spill



Climate Reality Project



- Founded and chaired by former
 Vice President Al Gore
- Liberal climate change activist and outreach group



- Small staff but 5 million members and supporters
- CEO Maggie Fox is former leader at Sierra Club
 - Board members from financial sector, academia, foundations
- Outreach campaigns promote "An Inconvenient Truth" and "24 Hours of Reality: The Dirty Weather Report"
 - Highlight oil and gas industry funding of climate "deniers"

U.S. Climate Policy: Outlook for 2013-14



Energy, not Climate, Was 2012 Campaign Issue



- Obama cited reduced imports, growing alternatives, wanted to end tax breaks for big oil
- Republicans decried EPA rules, slow permitting, stall on Keystone pipeline, limited offshore drilling, impact on coal, etc.
- Both presidential hopefuls ignored climate change
- Obama did highlight climate change in State of the Union





Outlook for Climate Policy Obama 2.0 Key Policymakers





Secretary of State John Kerry

- Former senator from Massachusetts and 2004
 Democratic nominee for president
- Long-time advocate of strong climate policies



Secretary of Energy Ernest Monitz

- Former professor of physics at MIT
- Supports natural gas and nuclear
- Clean energy and climate change are priorities



Gina McCarthy, EPA Administrator (nominee)

- Worked with Republican governors at state level
- Ran EPA clean air office for the past four years

Obama 2.0 Energy Policy



- Obama may increase fracking oversight but does not want to slow development
 - Recent approvals of LNG exports
 - Decision soon on federal fracking rules
- Keystone XL may be approved
- Coal faces bleak future due to EPA rules
- Continued support for nuclear, but waste issue needs to be resolved
- Support for renewables
 - Budget pressures cut federal aid







Outlook for Climate Policy

Obama 2.0 Environmental Policy



- EPA has broad clean air agenda
 - Facing several court-ordered deadlines on non-GHG emissions rules
 - No longer under political pressure to delay rules
- Tier 3 rules proposed for vehicle emissions and lowsulfur fuels
 - Possible heavy vehicle fuel consumption rules
- EPA has window of freedom to act
 - At least until mid-term campaigns
 - Economic recovery would ease cost pressure
 - Budget cuts cause major problems

Obama 2.0 Climate Policy



- U.S. to remain focused on domestic climate efforts, though still engaged in global talks
- With no hope of Congress acting, Obama will use regulation and incentives to cut GHG emissions
- EPA expected to finalize GHG rules for new power plants and new heavy-truck rules
- Possible EPA rule-making on existing power plant emissions
 - Rules will face court challenges from states and industry
 - Intense pressure from House Republicans



Outlook for Climate Policy

Obama 2.0 Climate Policy



- Some new interest in carbon taxes
 - Seen as a fiscal and environmental option
- Energy efficiency can be key area for progress
 - Bipartisan Congressional action is developing
 - Potential for easy and substantial GHG reductions
- "Green" energy and energy efficiency tax incentives and financial support
 - Budget cuts pose a challenge
 - Weakening support for renewable initiatives in Republican-controlled states

Obama 2.0 Global Climate Talks



- Obama showed early commitment to global talks and attended COP-15 in Copenhagen
- Level of interest has since faded
 - Can John Kerry revive U.S. role?
- UNFCCC says that the U.S. is on a "pretty good track" to meet that "completely insufficient" target
 - U.S. CO2 reduction commitment (2005-2020): 17%
 - Actual U.S. CO2 reduction (2005-2012): 12%
- U.S. interest in alternatives to UNFCCC process

Outlook for Climate Policy

Obama 2.0 Global Climate Talks



- U.S. favors "flexible" and "dynamic" rather than "binding" rules
- U.S. proposal in Bonn that individual countries make their own commitments to reduce emissions
 - Commitments not subject to negotiation by COP as a whole (unlike Kyoto)
 - Commitments released 6 months prior to Paris COP in 2015
 - All major emitters must be involved
- Post-2020 will be primary focus of June meetings

Key Issues to Watch

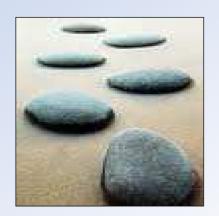
- EPA uses regulations to address climate change
- Carbon taxes and emissions pricing?
- Severe weather and drought
- Natural gas revolution
- New approach to international cooperation?
- Climate change and security
 Topics discussed less often:
 - Cap-and-trade
 - Carbon trading











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