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## **Trade Policy as Climate Policy: Payoffs and Tradeoffs**

**Shantayanan Devarajan, Delfin S. Go, Sherman Robinson, and Karen Thierfelder**

*Selected presentation for the International Agricultural Trade Research Consortium's (IATRC's) 2023 Annual Meeting: The Future of (Ag-) Trade and Trade Governance in Times of Economic Sanctions and Declining Multilateralism, December 10-12, 2023, Clearwater Beach, FL.*

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# Trade Policy as Climate Policy: Payoffs and Tradeoffs

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*Paper presented at the International Agricultural Trade Research Consortium (IATRC)  
meets, Clearwater Beach, Florida, 11 December 2023.*

# Tariffs and Climate Mitigation Strategies

- Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM)
  - EU27 taxes carbon
  - Impose tariffs on imports from regions without a carbon tax
    - Tariff rate based on the carbon content in production in the exporting region
      - Direct CO2 emission
      - Direct and indirect CO2 emission
    - Initially for 5 dirty sectors: Fertilizer, Iron & Steel, Aluminum, Cement, and Electricity
    - Offset the production advantage in exporters who do not impose a carbon tax
- Climate Club (Nordhaus, AER 2015)
  - Agree to a tax on carbon
  - Impose punitive tariffs on countries not in the coalition

# Key Findings

- CBAM tariffs offset the unfair competitive advantage of non-compliant countries
  - Little effect on the trade of affected countries (because of trade diversion)
  - Little impact on global CO2 emissions.
- A large climate club works
  - Little opportunity for non-members to divert trade => incentive to join club
  - Reduce global CO2 emissions
- A climate club is complicated
  - Likely holdouts – US or China – integrated with countries in their region
  - Club members strongly linked to holdout may suffer trade losses, possibly threatening the stability of the club

# GLOBE Model - overview

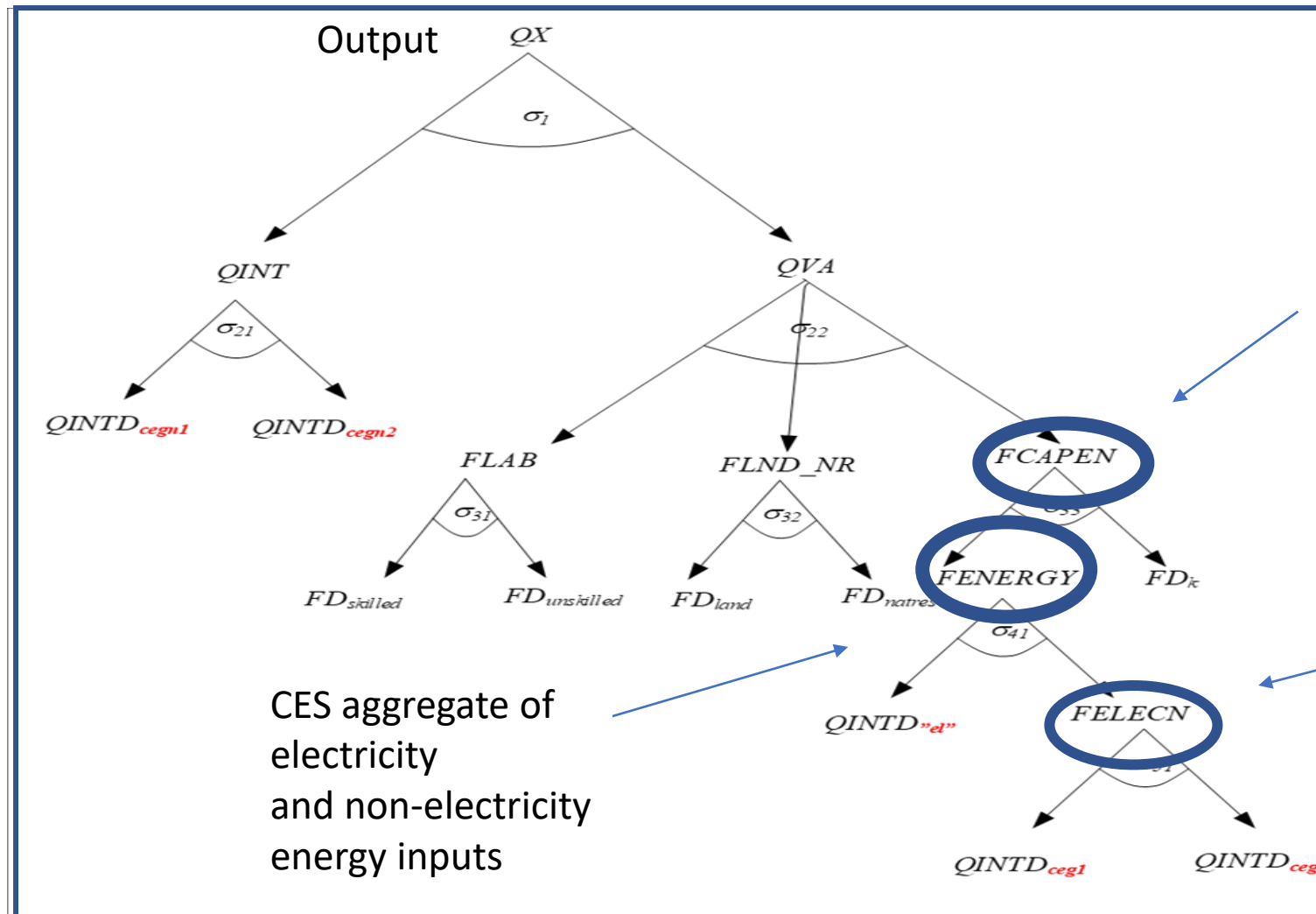
- Multi-sector, multi-region computable general equilibrium (CGE) model
- Product differentiation
  - Sensitivity to trade elasticities
- GTAP v10 data (2014)
  - Social Accounting Matrices for 19 regions
  - Energy sectors
  - CO2 emitted per unit of energy used in production

# GLOBE Model – Relevant Behavior

- Nested trade structure
  - Represent the integration of production and trade in regions such as NAFTA, Europe and East and Southeast Asia
- Energy inputs in value added nest for production
  - Data on CO<sub>2</sub> per unit of energy input used in production
  - Carbon tax in the first order condition
    - Producers can substitute away from energy inputs in response to increase in input cost due to a carbon tax

# Production: nested CES functions with energy

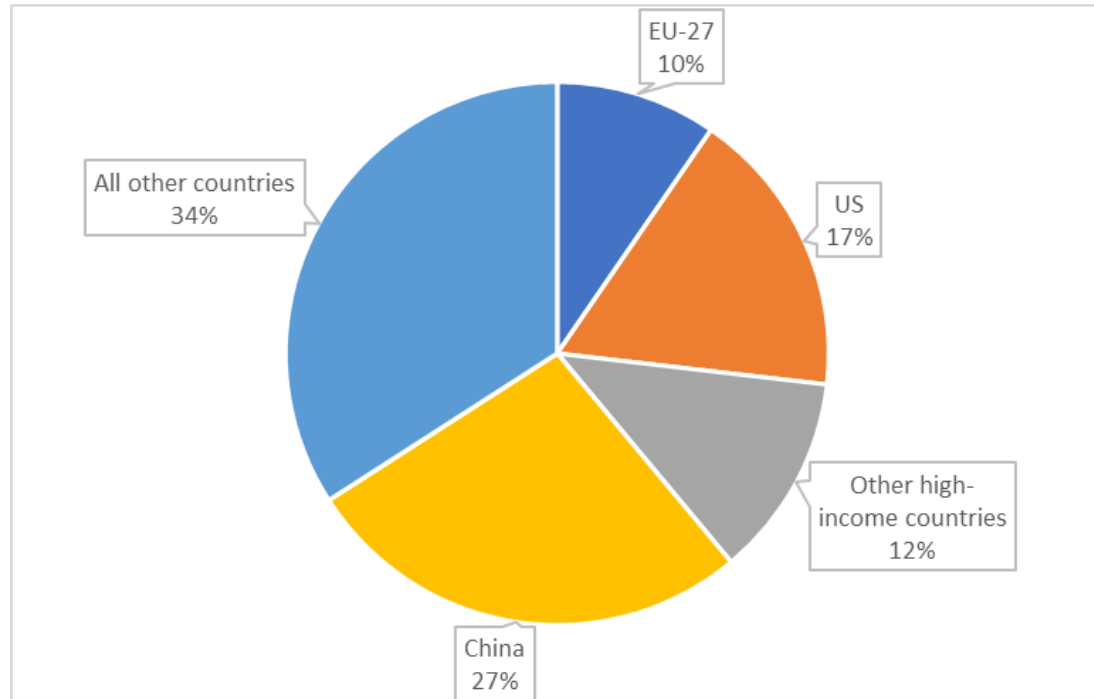
Producers can substitute away from energy inputs when the cost of those inputs increases



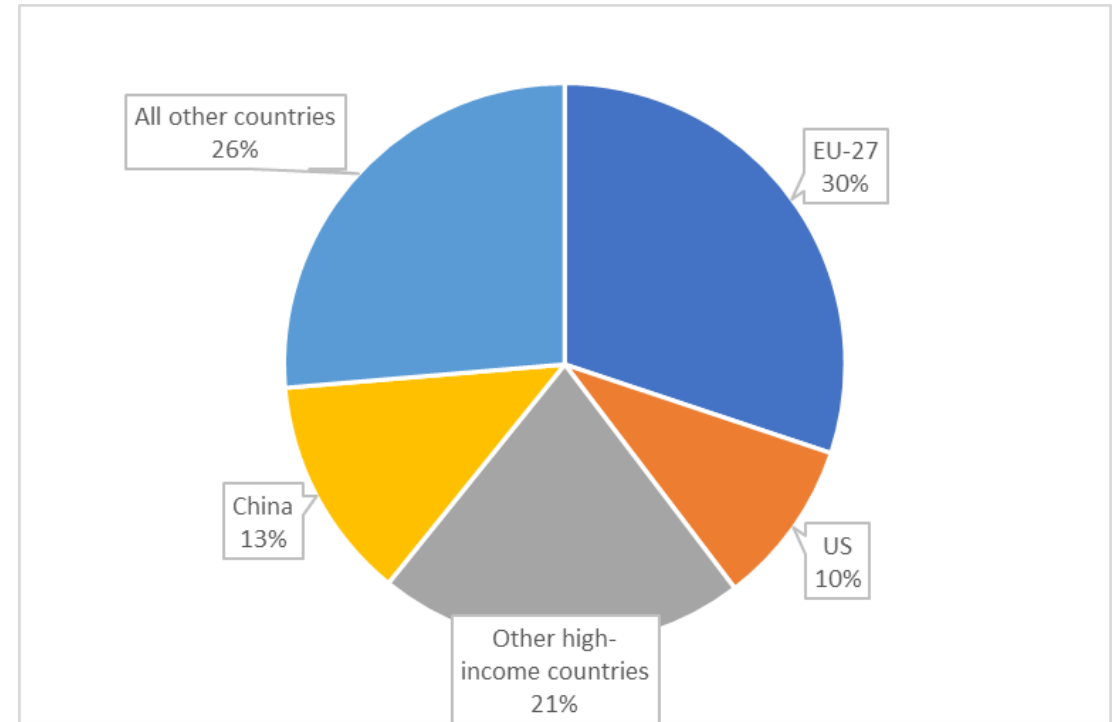


# Background

## Global CO2 Emissions



## Global Trade



The share of global CO2 emissions is higher than the share of global trade for the US and China (source: GTAP v10, 2014 data)

# Millions of tons of CO2 emissions per billion dollar of intermediate input use

		Production of:				
		Fertilizer	Iron & Steel	Aluminum	Cement	Electricity
US	Coal	26.6	27.1	31.5	26.6	26.6
	Oil	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.6
	Gas	3.6	11.6	5.8	11.8	9.4
	Petroleum	0.2	2.6	0.6	2.5	1.4
	Gas distribution	8.9	13.4	13.2	13.5	12.8
EU-27	Coal	19.6	18.3	25.6	19.1	21.3
	Oil	2.3	0.0	0.0	5.4	5.3
	Gas	2.5	4.6	4.7	4.5	4.5
	Petroleum	0.4	2.8	2.0	2.7	2.4
	Gas distribution	1.8	5.4	5.3	5.8	5.0
China	Coal	31.8	31.6	32.1	32.5	32.4
	Oil	0.2	0.0	0.0	343.9	5.1
	Gas	8.7	18.3	16.1	17.3	12.7
	Petroleum	1.4	3.5	3.4	2.9	2.3
	Gas distribution	17.6	33.0	27.8	31.6	24.5



# Bilateral trade with US and China (% of total)

	<i>Exports fob to:</i>		<i>Imports cif from:</i>	
	China	US	China	US
USA	10.0	0.5	19.2	0.4
Canada	5.7	65.5	12.2	50.3
Mexico	2.9	69.9	18.8	51.4
EU 27	5.2	7.4	7.4	6.7
Other Europe	7.7	9.3	7.9	8.6
China	3.3	18.1	4.0	9.2
Japan	26.7	15.4	22.8	10.0
Other High-income Asia	29.5	9.4	18.5	11.5
Indonesia	12.9	10.3	20.7	5.3
Other Southeast Asia	19.5	12.1	26.2	6.0
India	7.3	13.5	14.4	5.4
Othr_S_Asia	6.0	17.4	25.4	4.0
Russian Federation	7.2	4.5	17.2	7.6
West Asia	12.5	9.3	15.4	7.4
Middle East	13.8	9.1	12.9	11.3
SACU	14.1	7.4	15.0	6.0
Other Africa	13.0	7.2	17.3	8.2
Brazil	19.1	12.8	15.4	16.1
Other America	11.1	21.5	15.9	24.8

# Bilateral Trade

(as a percent of total trade)

	NAFTA	Europe	ESE Asia	Other	Total
NAFTA	5.4	2.9	2.9	2.4	13.6
Europe	3.4	21.1	4.5	6.6	35.6
ESE Asia	5.4	4.9	13.5	5.9	29.7
Other	2.7	6.2	6.2	6.1	21.1
Total	16.9	35.1	27.0	21.0	

Source: GTAP v10, 2014

# Exports Among Integrated Regions

(percent of each region's total exports)

	NAFTA	Europe	ESE Asia	Other	Total
NAFTA	40.0	21.1	21.2	17.7	100.0
Europe	9.5	59.3	12.6	18.6	100.0
ESEAsia	18.2	16.6	45.3	20.0	100.0
Other	12.6	29.3	29.3	28.8	100.0

Exports are from row region to column region.

Source: GTAP v10, 2014

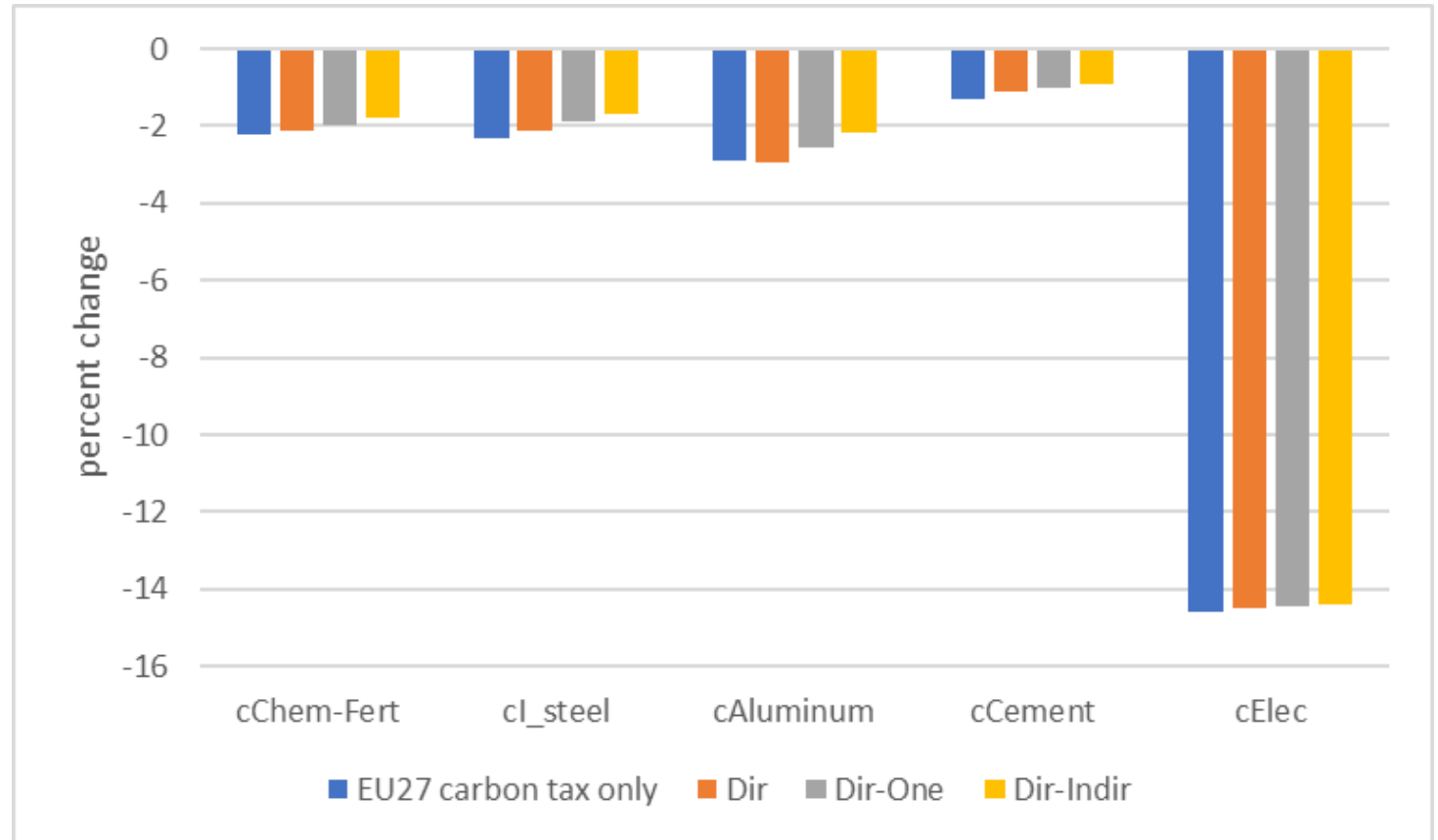
# Scenarios

- CBAM
  - EU27 has a carbon tax of \$75 per ton of CO2
  - Tariffs on imports of Fertilizer, Iron & Steel, Aluminum, Cement, and Electricity
    - Direct CO2 emissions
    - Direct and Indirect CO2 emissions
- Climate Club
  - Club members impose a carbon tax of \$75 per ton of CO2
  - Punitive tariff against non-club members of additional 30% on all goods
  - Membership includes all regions except one holdout
    - US
    - China

# CBAM: Real output EU-27

**With CBAM tariffs,  
in addition to a tax  
on carbon, real  
output declines less**

**No impact of CBAM  
tariffs on global  
carbon emissions**



# Exports of CBAM Commodities to EU-27

Countries that depend on EU-27 for 5 CBAM commodities can diversify exports.

Compare exports to EU-27 to total exports for India and SACU



	Percent change in exports to	
	EU-27	Total
USA	-1.85	-0.47
Canada	-2.69	-0.06
Mexico	-3.07	-0.08
EU 27	-1.68	-2.40
Other Europe	-0.72	-0.73
China	-6.37	-0.52
Japan	-3.36	-0.04
Other High-income Asia	-3.93	-0.10
Indonesia	-4.54	-0.25
Other Southeast Asia	-5.81	-0.27
India	-11.33	-1.37
Other South Asia	-5.19	-0.71
Russian Federation	0.51	5.22
West Asia	-7.59	-0.80
Middle East	-2.04	1.27
SACU	-10.49	-1.15
Other Africa	-0.51	1.56
Brazil	-0.94	-0.16
Other America	-2.39	0.40



# Payoff Matrix: Climate Club, US holdout

Results are given for an aggregate of all club members and for individual NAFTA countries in the club		US	
		Holdout	Join Club
<p>AO All other countries</p> <p><b>NOTES:</b> Payoff = percent change in real absorption <b>Percent change in Global CO2 emissions</b></p>	<p><b>Holdout:</b> No tax on carbon and no additional tariffs</p>	<p>US: 0 <b>(0.0)</b></p> <p>AO: 0 Mexico: 0 Canada: 0</p>	<p>US: 0.73 <b>(-7 %)</b></p> <p>AO: -0.47 Mexico: -3.23 Canada: -3.24</p>
	<p><b>Join Club:</b> Tax on carbon = \$75 and punitive tariffs (30 percentage points) on all trade with non-club members</p>	<p>US -1.82 <b>(-33%)</b></p> <p>AO -0.35 Mexico: 1.55 Canada: 1.29</p>	<p>US: -.44 <b>(-38 %)</b></p> <p>AO: -0.81 Mexico: -1.01 Canada: -1.50</p>

# Key Findings

- NASH equilibrium: US join, all others holdout (US single member club)
  - Punitive tariff strategy does not work!
  - Real absorption losses for oil-exporters when there is a tax on carbon
  - Reduction in global carbon emission is not in the welfare function
  - Looks a lot like classic trade war in trade theory
    - Terms of trade gains for the country imposing a tariff
- If welfare measure were to include benefit from lower global carbon emissions (Nordhaus) – expect all to join the club
  - Big reduction in global CO2 emissions, 38% vs. 7%
- When the US is not in the club, linked countries (Mexico and Canada)
  - Terms of trade gains with punitive tariffs against the US
  - Dramatic decline in trade

# Club Membership and CO<sub>2</sub> Reduction

	Club Membership				
	All	US Only	China Only	All except US	All except China
USA	-37.6	-38.6	0.6	-6.5	-37.7
Canada	-27.7	-10.0	-0.2	-26.0	-27.7
Mexico	-26.5	-12.1	0.2	-26.7	-25.3
EU 27	-19.4	-0.9	2.7	-19.3	-20.3
Other Europe	-20.7	-0.6	1.6	-20.7	-21.4
China	-58.3	0.3	-60.0	-58.6	-7.5
Japan	-13.8	1.2	0.9	-14.1	-14.6
Other High-income Asia	-29.5	0.5	-0.5	-29.4	-31.0
Indonesia	-33.8	0.5	-2.2	-34.2	-33.0
Other Southeast Asia	-35.9	0.5	-4.4	-36.3	-34.4
India	-41.8	0.2	1.6	-42.1	-41.7
Other South Asia	-23.3	1.6	1.5	-24.3	-21.7
Russian Federation	-29.8	-0.1	-0.5	-29.8	-29.6
West Asia	-30.9	-1.5	-0.5	-30.5	-30.6
Middle East	-30.1	-0.3	-0.2	-29.8	-29.9
SACU	-60.0	0.9	0.6	-60.3	-60.1
Other Africa	-24.6	-0.8	0.0	-24.7	-24.2
Brazil	-18.6	-1.5	0.1	-18.5	-18.7
Other America	-24.0	-2.8	-0.2	-24.6	-23.9
Total	-38.0	-7.1	-15.9	-32.7	-24.3

# Payoff Matrix: Climate Club, China holdout

Results are given for an aggregate of all club members and for individual East and Southeast Asia countries in the club		China (CHN)	
		Holdout	Join Club
<p style="text-align: center;">AO All other countries</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Holdout:</b> No tax on carbon and no additional tariffs</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">CHN: 0 <b>(0.0)</b></p> <p>AO: 0 Japan: 0 Other H-Asia: 0 Indonesia: 0 Other ESE Asia: 0</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">CHN: 2.13 <b>(-16 %)</b></p> <p>AO: -0.77 Japan: -0.98 Other H-Asia: -2.03 Indonesia: -2.13 Other ESE Asia: -3.61</p>
	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Join Club:</b> Tax on carbon = \$75 and punitive tariffs (30 percentage points) on all trade with non-club members</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">CHN: -4.67 <b>(-24%)</b></p> <p>AO : 0.02 Japan: 1.29 Other H-Asia: 0.71 Indonesia: -0.60 Other ESE Asia: 3.79</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">CHN: -0.71 <b>(-38%)</b></p> <p>AO: -0.72 Japan: 0.57 Other H-Asia: -0.03 Indonesia: -2.22 Other ESE Asia: -0.40</p>

**NOTES:**

Payoff = percent change in real absorption

**Percent change in Global CO2 emissions**

# Conclusion

- CBAM tariffs
  - Offset the production advantage in countries that do not have a carbon tax
  - **Do not reduce global CO2 emissions**
- Climate Club and punitive tariffs
  - If the club is large (we consider the extreme of only one holdout, all other regions in the club) – **tariff policy can reduce global emissions**
    - No trade diversion for holdout
    - **Inflict enough damage to induce the holdout to join the club**
  - In a more realistic model with product differentiation, many sectors, and integrated regions, **a MUCH higher punitive tariff is needed than suggested by Nordhaus**