

Can Trade Policy Mitigate Climate Change?

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Background

Existing Climate Agreements Have Failed to Deliver!



Cause of Failure: *The Free-Riding Problem*



Nordhaus (2015, *AER*)

Notwithstanding this progress, it has up to now proven difficult to induce countries to join in an international agreement with significant reductions in emissions. The fundamental reason is the strong incentives for free-riding in current international climate agreements. *Free-riding* occurs when a party receives the benefits of a public good without contributing to the costs. In the case of the international climate-change policy, countries have an incentive to rely on the emissions reductions of others without taking proportionate domestic abatement. To this is

Two Trade Policy Proposals to Overcome the *Free-Riding* Problem

Proposal #1: Carbon Border Taxes

- Carbon border taxes can serve as a *2nd-best* policy to curb (untaxed) CO₂ emissions in the rest of the world.
- Example: EU's carbon border taxes can cut CO₂ emissions in Asia.

Proposal #2: Climate Club

- Climate-conscious governments can use collective trade penalties to deter free-riding.
- Has the potential to achieve *1st-best* carbon-pricing.

Existing Assessments of Climate-Oriented Trade Policy

- We have a limited understanding of the efficacy of **Proposals #1 & #2**
- Determining the full efficacy of these proposals is practically infeasible without theoretical formulas for optimal trade & carbon taxes:
 - Theories of optimal policy limited to simple models → cannot guide quantitative work
 - Quantitative analyses, thus, rely on *easy-to-implement-but-sub-optimal* policies → cannot uncover the full potential of Proposals #1 and #2.

This Paper: *Roadmap*

1. Develop a rich model of trade with climate externalities
 - general equilibrium + multi-industry + multi-country
 - flexible abatement structure
 - firm relocation + scale economies
2. Derive analytical formulas for optimal *carbon border taxes & climate club penalties*
3. Map model and analytical formulas to data to uncover the full-effectiveness of
 - (Proposals 1) carbon border taxes
 - (Proposals 2) climate club

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Theoretical Framework

- Generalized Krugman (1980) + Copeland & Taylor's abatement model
- Many countries: $i, j, n = 1, \dots, \mathcal{N}$
- Many industries: $k, g = 1, \dots, \mathcal{K}$

Preferences and Demand

Three-tier utility function:

1. *Cross-industry*: Non-parametric
2. *Cross-national*: CES with elasticity σ_k
3. *Sub-national*: CES with elasticity γ_k

Demand facing firm ω from nest ji, k (origin j –destination i –industry k):

$$q_{ji,k}(\omega) = \underbrace{\left(\frac{p_{ji,k}(\omega)}{P_{ji,k}} \right)^{-\gamma_k}}_{\text{sub-national}} \underbrace{\left(\frac{P_{ji,k}}{P_{i,k}} \right)^{-\sigma_k}}_{\text{cross-national}} \underbrace{\mathcal{D}_{i,k}(\mathbf{P}_i, Y_i)}_{\text{cross-industry}}$$

Production and Firms

- Firms compete under monopolistic competition and free entry à la Krugman
- Production combines labor and carbon inputs with elasticity of substitution ς

Equivalent formulation:

- a fraction $a_{i,k}$ of labor inputs are allocated to abatement
- abatement raises marginal cost (c) but lowers CO₂ emissions per unit of output (z)

$$c_{ij,k} = \frac{d_{ij,k} w_i}{\varphi_{i,k}} (1 - a_{i,k})^{-\frac{1}{\varsigma}} ;$$

$$z_{i,k} = \left[\frac{1}{\bar{\kappa}_{i,k}} + \left(1 - \frac{1}{\bar{\kappa}_{i,k}} \right) (1 - a_{i,k})^{-\frac{\varsigma-1}{\varsigma}} \right]^{\frac{\varsigma}{\varsigma-1}}$$

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iceberg cost

wage rate

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firm productivity

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Aggregate Production and CO₂ Emissions

- We can summarize prices and emissions in *origin i–industry k* in terms of total output, $Q_{i,k}$, and abatement, $a_{i,k}$:

[output price index] $P_{ij,k} = d_{ij,k} \bar{p}_{ii,k} w_i (1 - a_{i,k})^{\frac{1}{s\gamma_k} - \frac{1}{s}} Q_{i,k}^{-\frac{1}{\gamma_k}}$

[carbon emissions] $Z_{i,k} = \bar{z}_{i,k} (1 - a_{i,k})^{\frac{1}{s\gamma_k} - 1} Q_{i,k}^{1 - \frac{1}{\gamma_k}}$

- The special case w/ constant-returns to scale: $\frac{1}{\gamma_k} \rightarrow 0$

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Policy Objectives & Free-Riding

Social Welfare and Optimal Carbon Taxes

- Welfare in country i is the sum of indirect utility from consumption and disutility from global CO₂ emissions: optimal policy definition

$$W_i \equiv \underbrace{V_i(Y_i, \tilde{\mathbf{P}}_i)}_{\text{consumption utility}} - \overbrace{\delta_i \sum_{n=1}^N \sum_{k=1}^{\mathcal{K}} Z_{n,k}}^{\text{disutility from CO}_2}$$

- Unilaterally* vs. *Globally* optimal carbon tax

$$\underbrace{\tau_i^* = \tilde{\delta}_i}$$

unilaterally optimal

globally optimal

$$\overbrace{\tau^* = \sum_n \tilde{\delta}_n}$$

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disutility per tonne of CO₂



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CO₂ emissions from origin n -industry k

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The Free-Riding Problem

- Governments have an incentive to lower their carbon tax from the globally optimal rate, $\tau^\star = \sum_n \tilde{\delta}_n$, to the unilaterally optimal rate, $\tau_i^\star = \tilde{\delta}_i \rightarrow$ race to the bottom
- Two remedies for the free-riding problem:
 1. using carbon border taxes as a 2nd-best policy to curb untaxed CO₂ emissions
 2. forging a climate club and using collective trade penalties to deter free-riding
- What is the optimal design of these border policy remedies?

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Unilaterally Optimal Border Policies under Climate Externalities

[import tariff]
$$1 + t_{ji,k}^* = (1 + \omega_{ji,k}) + \frac{\gamma_k - 1}{\gamma_k} \tilde{\delta}_i v_{j,k}$$

[export subsidy]
$$1 + x_{ij,k}^* = \left(1 + \frac{1}{\varepsilon_{ij,k}}\right) \left[1 + \sum_{n \neq i} t_{ni,k}^* \frac{\lambda_{nj,k}}{1 - \lambda_{ij,k}}\right]$$

- Optimal *carbon border tax/subsidies* yield the 2nd-best CO₂ reduction via border measures.
- The sum of carbon & ToT border taxes constitute the optimal trade penalty on free-riders.

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inverse export supply elasticity

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correction for scale effects $\leftarrow$ $\tilde{\delta}_i$ $\leftarrow$ CO₂ per dollar value

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Mapping Theory to Data

Sketch of Optimization-Free Quantitative Strategy

- Our goal is to simulate the counterfactual equilibrium under optimal policy.
- Summary of quantitative strategy:
 1. write **optimal taxes** as a function of the change in equilibrium variables: $\mathbf{T}^\star = f(\hat{\mathbf{x}})$
 2. write the change in equilibrium variables as a function of optimal taxes: $\hat{\mathbf{x}} = g(\mathbf{T}^\star)$
 3. Solve the system of equations
$$\begin{cases} \mathbf{T}^\star = f(\hat{\mathbf{x}}) \\ \hat{\mathbf{x}} = g(\mathbf{T}^\star) \end{cases}$$
- Our quantitative strategy determines the change in *welfare* and *CO₂ emissions* in response to optimal policy as a function of the following *sufficient statistics*:

$$\mathcal{B}_v \equiv \{\lambda_{ni,k}, e_{n,k}, r_{ni,k}, \rho_{i,k}, \alpha_{i,k}, \tilde{\delta}_i, w_n \bar{L}_n, Y_n\}_{ni,k} \quad \mathcal{B}_e = \{\sigma_k, \gamma_k, S\}_k$$

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expenditure share

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sales share



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CO₂ input share

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precieved cost of CO₂

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national accounts data

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structural parameters

Trade, Production, and Emissions

- 2009 WORLD INPUT-OUTPUT DATABASE & WIOD ENVIRONMENTAL ACCOUNTS.
- 34 Countries + 19 broadly-defined Industries [country list](#) [industry list](#)

Applied Taxes

- Import Tariffs from UNCTAD-TRAINS
- Environmentally-related Taxes from EUROSTAT & OECD-PINE

Calibration and Estimation of Parameters

Demand Parameters

- γ_k is inferred from firm-level markups (COMPUSTAT) Estimated Values
- σ_k is estimated via **Caliendo & Parro's (2014)** technique (WIOD + TRAINS).

Carbon Input Demand Elasticity (ζ)

- estimate the input demand function w/ national energy reserves as IV ($\zeta = 0.62$)

Disutility from Carbon ($\tilde{\delta}_i$)

- calibrated via governments' revealed preferences
- match environmental taxes in each country *s.t.* $\sum_i \tilde{\delta}_i = SCC$.
- $SCC = 31$ \$/tC (US's INTERAGENCY WORKING GROUP ON SCGG)

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- $SCC = 31$ \$/tC (US's INTERAGENCY WORKING GROUP ON SCGG)

Calibration and Estimation of Parameters

Demand Parameters

- γ_k is inferred from firm-level markups (COMPUSTAT) Estimated Values
- σ_k is estimated via **Caliendo & Parro's (2014)** technique (WIOD + TRAINS).

Carbon Input Demand Elasticity (ζ)

- estimate the input demand function w/ national energy reserves as IV ($\zeta = 0.62$)

Disutility from Carbon ($\tilde{\delta}_i$)

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Quantitative Analysis of Proposals 1-2

Proposal #1: Brief Summary

- **Proposal 1:** governments appeal to carbon border taxes to correct transboundary CO₂ externalities on their residents.
- We simulate a non-cooperative equilibrium where all countries adopt their unilaterally optimal carbon and border taxes
 - governments with little care for climate damage, apply little-to-no carbon border taxes

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Proposal #1: Impact of Non-Cooperative Border Taxes

Country	Non-Cooperative Carbon/Border Taxes			Globally Optimal Carbon Taxes (1st best)		
	ΔCO_2	ΔV	ΔW	ΔCO_2	ΔV	ΔW
EU	0.7%	-1.2%	-1.3%	-9.2%	0.0%	2.0%
BRA	-6.0%	-1.3%	-1.3%	-70.7%	-1.3%	-0.8%
CHN	3.0%	-1.0%	-1.0%	-69.3%	-1.3%	-0.9%
IND	1.1%	-4.4%	-4.4%	-76.0%	-2.6%	-2.1%
JPN	3.4%	-0.9%	-0.9%	-23.1%	-0.2%	1.5%
MEX	-1.6%	-3.2%	-3.2%	-79.5%	-0.6%	-0.4%
USA	1.3%	-1.7%	-1.7%	-48.2%	-0.3%	0.3%
Global	-0.6%	-1.7%	-1.7%	-61.0%	-0.6%	0.4%

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Inefficacy of Carbon Border Taxes: *Intuition*

Why are carbon border taxes ineffective at reducing global CO₂ emissions? robustness

1. border taxes cannot target non-traded but high-carbon goods/services:
 - 2/3 of CO₂ emissions are generated by industries with $\frac{\text{Trade}}{\text{GDP}} < 0.1$
2. border taxes are not granular enough to induce firm-level abatement:
 - carbon border taxes are applied based on *origin*×*industry*-level CO₂ intensity
 - individual firms take *origin*×*industry*-level CO₂ intensity as given → carbon border taxes have limited ability to induce firm-level abatement abroad.

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Proposal #2: Brief Summary

- **Proposal 2:** Climate-conscious governments form a **climate club** and use collective trade penalties to induce global climate cooperation (Nordhaus, 2015).

Proposal #2: The Climate Club Game

- Core members commit to rules of membership. Other countries play strategically:

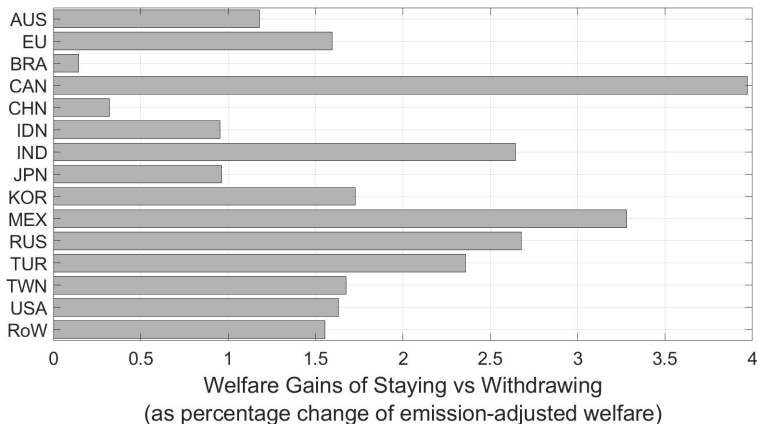
	Trade taxes set by	
	<i>Members</i>	<i>Non-members</i>
<i>Against Members</i>	zero	unilaterally optimal
<i>Against Non-members</i>	unilaterally optimal	status quo (i.e., applied tariffs)

	Carbon taxes set by	
	<i>Members</i>	<i>Non-members</i>
<i>Members</i>	globally optimal	status quo (i.e., unilaterally optimal)

- By joining the club, a country
 - ... incurs a production loss by adopting a higher carbon tax,
 - ... but, it escapes the climate club's trade penalties.

Proposal #2: The Club of All Nations is a Nash Equilibrium

- The **club-of-all-nations** is a Nash equilibrium, no matter who core members are.
- Why? Because abandoning the club-of-all-nations is too costly.



Proposal #2: Determining all Nash Equilibria is Challenging

Characterizing all Nash equilibria faces two major challenges:

1. Computing optimal trade penalties is strenuous w/ numerical optimization
 - Our **analytical formulas** for optimal trade penalties help us overcome this challenge.
2. Nash outcomes must be identified over 2^N possible outcomes.¹
 - To overcome the *curse of dimensionality*, we note that net benefits from joining the climate club rise with the number of existing members.
 - We use **iterative elimination of dominated strategies** to shrink the outcome space

¹ N denotes the number of countries that are not core members.

Proposal #2: The Efficacy of the Climate Club

- The makeup of core members is pivotal to the efficacy of the climate club.
- If EU is the only core member → the club-of-only-EU is also a Nash eq.
- If EU + USA are core members → the club-of-all-nations is the unique Nash eq.
 - Core members: EU, USA
 - 2nd round: CAN, ROW
 - 3rd round: AUS, IND, JPN, KOR, MEX, RUS, TUR, TWN
 - 4th & 5th round: CHN & BRA, IDN
- CO₂ reduction under a US-EU climate club:

$$\% \Delta \text{CO}_2_{\text{global}} = \underbrace{-8.3\%}_{\text{EU \& US}} + \underbrace{-52.7\%}_{\text{Other members}} = -61.0\%$$

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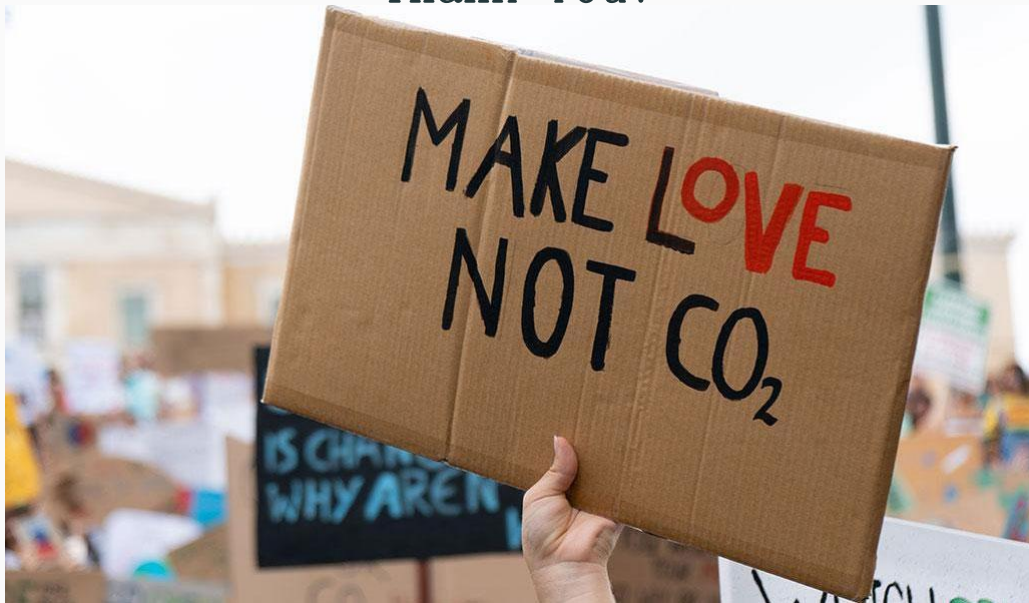
Summary of Findings

- Carbon border taxes have limited efficacy at curbing CO₂ emissions, because
 - most high-carbon goods/services never cross international borders
 - border taxes have a limited influence on firm-level abatement.
- The climate club can be highly effective at curbing CO₂ emissions, but its efficacy hinges critically on the make-up of core members.

Summary of Findings

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Thank You.



Related Literature

Optimal climate/environmental policy in open economies

- 2×2 or partial equilibrium: Markusen (1975), Copeland (1996), Hoel (1996)
- Kortum and Weisbach (2021): DFS with carbon externalities and energy markets

Quantitative general equilibrium models of climate/environmental policy

- Babiker (2005), Elliott et al. (2010), Nordhaus (2015,2021), Bohringer et al. (2016), Larch and Wanner (2017), Cherniwchan et al. (2017), Shapiro and Walker (2018), Shapiro (2020)

Optimal policy in quantitative trade models

- Costinot et al. (2015), Costinot et al. (2016), Lashkaripour and Lugovskyy (2021), Bartelme et al. (2019), Lashkaripour (2021); Beshkar and Lashkaripour (2020), Caliendo and Parro (2021)

Linkage in international cooperation

- Barrett (1997), Maggi (2016), Nordhaus (2015, 2021), Barrett and Dannenberg (2022)

Definitions of Unilaterally vs. Globally Optimal Policy

- *Unilaterally* optimal border, production, and carbon taxes solve

$$\max W_i \quad s.t. \quad \text{equilibrium constraints}$$

- *Globally* optimal border, production, and carbon taxes solve

$$\max \sum_n W_n \quad s.t. \quad \text{equilibrium constraints}$$

Country i 's Unilaterally Optimal Policy Schedule

[carbon tax] $\tau_{i,k}^* = \tilde{\delta}_i$

[industrial subsidy] $1 + s_{i,k}^* = \frac{\gamma_k}{\gamma_k - 1}$

[import tariff] $1 + t_{ji,k}^* = 1 + \omega_{ji,k} + \frac{\gamma_k - 1}{\gamma_k} \tilde{\delta}_i v_{j,k}$

[export subsidy] $1 + x_{ij,k}^* = \left(1 + \frac{1}{\varepsilon_{ij,k}}\right) \left[1 + \sum_{n \neq i} \left[t_{ni,k}^* \frac{\lambda_{nj,k}}{1 - \lambda_{ij,k}}\right]\right]$

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uniform~industry-blind

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Theorem: *Country i's Unilaterally Optimal Policy*

Special Case: Small Open Economy

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Cooperative *2nd-Best* Carbon Border Taxes

- Suppose governments are cooperative but cannot raise their carbon tax beyond its unilaterally optimal level, $\tau_{i,k} = \tilde{\delta}_i$.
- **Cooperative carbon border taxes** that maximize global welfare, in that case, are

$$1 + t_{ji,k}^* = \left(1 + \tilde{\delta}_{-j} \nu_{j,k}\right) \frac{1 + (\sigma_k - 1) \lambda_{ii,k}}{1 + \left[1 + \tilde{\delta}_{-i} \nu_{i,k}\right] (\sigma_k - 1) \lambda_{ii,k}}$$

Cooperative carbon border taxes have two components:

1. 1st component taxes origin j 's total CO₂ externality on RoW: $\tilde{\delta}_{-j} = \sum_{n \neq j} \tilde{\delta}_n$
2. 2nd component corrects for cross-substitution effects [Return](#)

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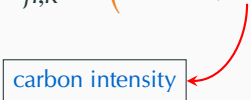
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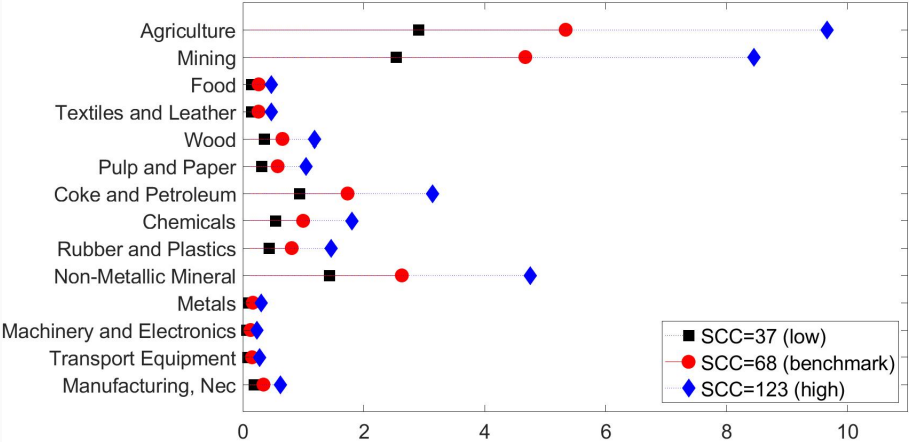
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Country	Share of World GDP	Share of World CO2	Carbon Intensity ($\bar{v}_i$)	Emission Tax Rate ($\bar{\tau}_i$)	CO2 Disutility ($\tilde{\phi}_i$)	Normalized $\tilde{\phi}_i$
AUS	1.7%	1.4%	100.00	32.51	0.49	40.43
EU	27.2%	12.1%	53.57	80.41	19.12	100.00
BRA	2.4%	2.4%	121.33	13.43	0.28	16.70
CAN	2.0%	1.7%	102.68	20.83	0.37	25.90
CHN	13.6%	23.1%	204.31	6.93	0.82	8.61
IDN	1.0%	1.8%	218.95	8.43	0.07	10.48
IND	2.2%	6.5%	359.48	5.25	0.10	6.53
JPN	8.4%	2.9%	40.99	69.13	5.08	85.97
KOR	1.9%	1.6%	99.68	26.80	0.44	33.33
MEX	1.2%	1.4%	137.31	3.76	0.04	4.67
RUS	2.0%	5.8%	344.11	3.69	0.07	4.59
TUR	1.0%	0.9%	116.09	48.45	0.41	60.25
TWN	0.7%	0.8%	139.84	13.69	0.09	17.03
USA	21.1%	15.3%	87.32	18.18	3.35	22.61
RoW	13.5%	22.1%	197.23	2.21	0.26	2.75

	Industry	CO2 Emissions (% of total)	$\frac{\text{Trade}}{\text{GDP}}$	Carbon Intensity (ν)	Carbon Input Share (α)	Trade Elasticity ($\sigma - 1$)	Markup ($\frac{\gamma}{\gamma-1}$)
1	Agriculture	19.9%	6.8%	100.0	0.020	2.05	1.46
2	Mining	8.0%	27.6%	40.4	0.019	1.80	1.53
3	Food	1.1%	9.0%	4.2	0.004	1.36	1.70
4	Textiles and Leather	0.4%	27.1%	4.2	0.005	0.86	2.11
5	Wood	0.2%	8.4%	5.4	0.010	3.42	1.28
6	Pulp and Paper	0.6%	8.9%	6.8	0.004	3.21	1.30
7	Coke and Petroleum	2.7%	17.9%	23.2	0.006	3.31	1.18
8	Chemicals	3.4%	24.6%	19.5	0.017	0.89	2.06
9	Rubber and Plastics	1.0%	14.0%	15.2	0.006	1.55	1.27
10	Non-Metallic Mineral	9.6%	13.1%	31.5	0.006	1.95	1.49
11	Metals	0.3%	25.9%	2.1	0.001	3.97	1.24
12	Machinery and Electronics	0.4%	37.1%	1.8	0.004	1.90	1.50
13	Transport Equipment	0.3%	23.3%	1.6	0.002	0.59	1.21
14	Manufacturing, Nec	0.4%	32.8%	10.1	0.005	0.59	1.91
15	Electricity, Gas and Water	32.0%	1.0%	205.5	0.018	7.14	1.12
16	Construction	0.9%	0.3%	2.1	0.008	7.14	1.10
17	Retail and Wholesale	1.8%	3.7%	2.6	0.009	6.93	1.14
18	Transportation	8.1%	10.9%	30.2	0.033	7.14	1.01
19	Other Services	9.0%	2.6%	4.1	0.007	1.59	1.60

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EU's Optimal Carbon Border Taxes



Inefficacy of Carbon Border Taxes: *Alternative Specifications*

	ΔCO_2	ΔCO_2 as % of 1st-best	ΔV
Main specification ($\text{SCC} = 31 \text{ \$/tC}$, $\varsigma = 0.62$)	-0.62%	1.02%	-1.71%
$\text{SCC} = 68 \text{ \$/tC}$	-0.71%	1.01%	-1.72%
$\varsigma = 1$ (Cobb-Douglas)	-2.07%	2.85%	-1.64%
CRS ($\gamma \rightarrow \infty$)	-1.29%	2.16%	-1.63%
CRS with $\text{SCC} = 68 \text{ \$/tC}$	-1.42%	2.04%	-1.64%
CRS with $\varsigma = 1$	-2.70%	3.74%	-1.64%
No ToT border taxes (base: zero tariffs)	-0.87%	1.42%	-0.01%
No ToT border taxes (base: applied tariffs)	-0.31%	0.51%	0.01%
Cooperative border taxes	-0.34%	0.56%	0.03%

Climate Club: Constant>Returns to Scale

CRS: $\gamma_k \rightarrow \infty$

<i>Core Members</i>
EU, USA

<i>1st Round</i>
CAN, MEX, ROW

<i>2nd Round</i>
AUS, BRA, IND, JPN, KOR, RUS, TUR, TWN

<i>3rd Round</i>
CHN, IDN

Return

Climate Club: Alternative Carbon Demand Elasticities

$$SCC = 31, \quad \varsigma = 0.25$$

Core Members	1st Round	2nd Round	3rd Round	Remain Outside of the Club
EU, USA	CAN, ROW	AUS, JPN, KOR, RUS, TUR, TWN	MEX	BRA, IND, CHN, IDN

$$SCC = 31, \quad \varsigma = 0.99$$

Core Members	1st Round	2nd Round	3rd Round
EU, USA	CAN, ROW	AUS, IND, JPN, KOR, MEX, RUS, TUR, TWN	BRA, CHN, IDN

Climate Club: Higher Global Carbon Tax Target

$$SCC = 68, \quad \varsigma = 0.63$$

Core Members

EU, USA

1st Round

CAN, ROW

2nd Round

AUS, JPN, TWN

3rd-5th Round

KOR, MEX, RUS, TUR

Remain Outside of the Club

BRA, IND, CHN, IDN

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