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**EU Energy Taxation System & State
Aid Control Critical Analysis from
Competitiveness and Environmental
Protection Objectives**

**Jerónimo Maíllo
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EU energy taxation system & State aid control. Critical analysis from competitiveness and environmental protection objectives

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This document has been subjected to peer review. The scientific committee is composed of academic doctors from European universities and tax expert members of the Institute of Fiscal Studies (Spain).

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Table of contents

1. INTRODUCTION	5
2. THE STATE AID CONTROL INSTRUMENTS. THE BALANCE BETWEEN COMPETITIVENESS, COMPETITION AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION	6
2.1. Environmental protection.	6
2.2. Competition, trade and competitiveness. Impact on regulatory asymmetries	7
2.3. The balancing exercise. A right balance? Coordination with other instruments	9
2.4. Concluding remarks and policy recommendations	11
3. THE ENERGY TAX DIRECTIVE	13
3.1. Balance between competitiveness and environmental protection	13
3.2. Coordination with the other instruments	14
3.2.1. Absence of clear coordination between the ETD and the EU ETS	14
3.2.2. De facto coordination with BTAs	15
3.2.3. Explicit reference to state aids.	15
3.3. Regulatory asymmetries intra-EU and extra-EU.	15
4. THE EMISSION TRADE SYSTEM	16
4.1. Introduction.	16
4.2. Impact on competitiveness related to electricity prices.	17
4.3. Impact on competitiveness of energy-intensive industrial sectors	17
4.4. “Energy efficiency” and “Environmental Innovation”: A balance for competitiveness and environmental protection.	18
4.5. Coordination with other environmental instruments: EU ETS as an element of an environmental tax system.	19
4.6. Regulatory asymmetries intra-EU and extra-EU: “carbon leakage”.	19
4.7. Concluding remarks and recommendations	20
5. ENVIRONMENTAL BORDER TAX ADJUSTMENTS (EBTASS)	20
5.1. Between competitiveness and environmental protection.	20
5.2. EBTA and their coordination with other fiscal instruments	23
5.3. Regulatory asymmetries intra-EU and extra-EU	24
5.4. Conclusions & Policy recommendations.	24
6. BIBLIOGRAPHY	25

1. Introduction

This research inquires on the balance between two goals, competitiveness and environmental protection, and identify the contributions of the different legal instruments under examination to this balance, in particular, State aid instruments (GBER and Environmental Guidelines) in Section 2, the Energy Tax Directive (ETD) in Section 3, the Emissions Trade System (ETS) in Section 4 and Environmental Border Tax Adjustments (EBTAs) in Section 5.

Although certain flexibility has been given to the co-authors, this study mainly focuses on the following points:

(1) Balance between competitiveness and environmental protection in the different instruments under examination.

How these goals are defined? Which criteria are used for the balance? Is it a right balance? Should it be changed? Could it be improved? How? All in all, we intend to identify which is the contribution of each instrument to the achievement of these goals, assess how the balance is done and suggest and explain improvement proposals.

(2) Coordination with the other instruments

Which is the role of each instrument in the overall framework? Are there specific provisions or mechanisms to coordinate the different instruments? How are they designed? Which criteria and rules govern the interaction between the different instruments? Are they missing? Should they be included or reformed? How? Is there a good and harmonic mix of regulatory instruments? All in all we intend to understand the role and interaction between the different instruments in our topic, detect lack of coordination, and suggest improvements.

(3) Regulatory asymmetries intra-EU and extra-EU

To what extent the analysis reveals or allows regulatory asymmetries -e.g. discrimination- between different energy sources depending on their green character or between States regulation? Which are the limits to those asymmetries (limits to regulatory competition)? Which criteria are used to determine these limits?

Is there and adequate control of those asymmetries? Any improvement proposals?

2. The State Aid control instruments. The Balance between competitiveness, competition and environmental protection

State aid control of environmental tax reliefs requires a balance between different goals and values among which the most important ones may be competition and trade, environmental protection and, in an indirect way, competitiveness of national and European industry. Here below these concepts will be explained in the context of the EU State Aid system before moving to the analysis of how the balance is made between them. Attention will also be given to detecting possible regulatory asymmetries and referring to coordination with other instruments.

2.1. Environmental protection

According to Article 107.1 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (hereinafter TFEU), State aids are prohibited unless an exception of Article 107, paragraphs 2 or 3 can be applied. In the latter paragraph, letter “c”, it is stated that the Commission may consider compatible with the Common Market State aids that facilitate the development of certain economic activities in the EU provided that certain conditions are fulfilled. Among these activities, the Commission has included aids related to environmental protection and energy. In addition to individual decisions, the Commission has adopted two general acts that directly tackled this issue and are very relevant for our research: the General Block Exemption Regulation (hereinafter GBER), in particular Section 7 devoted to Aids for environmental protection¹, and the Guidelines on State aids regarding environmental protection and energy 2014-2020 (hereinafter EEAG)².

In both texts, there is a common definition of “environmental protection”, in particular in article 2, paragraph 101 of the GBER and paragraph 19 (1) of the EEAG. Although the definitions are not exactly the same, their slight differences do not affect substance. Environmental protection is defined as “any action designed to remedy or prevent damage to physical surroundings or natural resources by a beneficiary's own activities, to reduce risk of such damage or to lead to a more efficient use of natural resources, including energy-saving measures and the use of renewable sources of energy”. This is a very broad definition including measures addressed to, among others, the fight against climate change, sustainable and efficient use of energy and promotion of renewable energy sources. Furthermore, nowadays the term “environmental protection” should be considered into the context of the 2020 European Agenda and the goals in energy and climate contained in the so called 2030 Framework³.

This research project mainly focuses on tax reliefs of an environmental tax⁴ which is defined in Article 2, para. 119 of the GBER, as a “tax with a specific tax base that has a clear negative effect on the environment or which

¹ See Enabling Regulation, Council Regulation (EC) No 1588/2015 of 13 July 2015 on the application of Articles 107 and 108 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union to certain categories of horizontal State aid, OJ L 248, 24.9.2015, p. 1, article 1 (1), a, iii). (environmental protection); and Commission Regulation (EU) N°651/2014 of 17 June 2014 declaring certain categories of aid compatible with the internal market in application of Articles 107 and 108 of the Treaty (GBER), OJ L 187, 26.6.2014, p. 1 ,

² Communication from the Commission — Guidelines on State aid for environmental protection and energy 2014-2020, OJ C 200, 28.6.2014, p. 1.

³ See EEAG, paras. 2 and 3.

⁴ For a detailed studied of this type of aid, see M. Kleis and P. Nicolaidis, *Fiscal State Aid and Environmental Protection: Analysis of a Conceptual and Practical Problem*, TijdschriftvoorStaatssteun, 2008. For a more general study on tax incentives see, among others, C. Micheau, *State Aid, Subsidy and Tax Incentives under EU and WTO Law*, Kluwer Law International 2014.

seeks to tax certain activities, goods or services so that the environmental costs may be included in their price and/or so that producers and consumers are oriented towards activities which better respect the environment". The interpretation, problems and difficulties arising from this definition had already been dealt in another paper and discussed in a previous seminar of this research project⁵. Without a need to insist on that issue, I will focus on the contribution of a tax relief to environmental protection.

A tax relief or exemption of an environmental tax may contribute to an increase in the protection of the environment where the beneficiaries would otherwise be placed at such a competitive disadvantage that it would not be feasible to introduce the environmental tax in the first place⁶ or where granting a more favourable tax treatment to some undertakings may facilitate a higher general level of environmental taxes⁷. Therefore, in order to prove the potential contribution of a tax reduction to a higher degree of environmental protection, we have to be convinced of:

- first, the need for State intervention, implying that a market failure is identified;
- second, appropriateness: the aid, as designed and proposed, is an appropriate policy instrument to increase environmental protection. Appropriateness comprises the existence of an incentive effect, that is to say that the aid changes the behaviour of the undertaking(s) concerned in such a way that it engages in additional activity which it would not carry out without the aid or which it would carry out in a restricted or different manner.

2.2. Competition, trade and competitiveness. Impact on regulatory asymmetries

Competition and competitiveness are two different although related concepts. In the economic field, competition refers to a rivalry scenario between firms (or other actors) to get the consumers' favour, whereas competitiveness refers to the ability of a firm (or another actor) to offer products or services at adequate prices and conditions as to obtain reasonable profits.

As it is well known, within the EU State aid control system, the focus of the balancing exercise is between, on the one hand, distortions of competition and trade and, on the other hand, other legitimate interests, among which environmental protection.

Competitiveness of national and/or European industry might also be an 'indirect legitimate interest' (one may say that, as a general rule, it is more an expected outcome than a justification for the restriction). It is legitimate where it is achieved by more competition and by fostering a more dynamic economic environment and not through protectionist measures which will be detrimental to and very distortive of competition and trade. The logic behind is, and should be, that, as a point of departure, a competitive market is the best scenario for promoting the competitiveness of national and European operators and to prepare them to European and worldwide competition in the medium-long term.

⁵ M. Villar & P. Wegener, Energy taxation and key legal concepts in the EU State aid context: looking for a common understanding, Documentos de trabajo, Serie Política de la Competencia No 50/2015 (CEU Ediciones 2015).

⁶ EEAG, para. 167.

⁷ Ibidem, para. 168.

⁸ A regulatory asymmetry was recognised by the European Commission in the draft proposal for a reform of the ETD when it stated that one of the problems of the current ETD is that Member States can compensate differences in production costs by applying favourable tax treatment according to article 16 of the ETD. See OJ C 80/17, 7 March 2015.

However, as we have already explained above, competitiveness could be the reason why a reduction of an environmental tax contributes to an increase in environmental protection (making feasible the tax itself or facilitating a higher general taxation). Indeed the EU rules foresee that certain specific-sectors or industries which are energy-intensive (i.e. manufacturing of chemicals, paper, ceramics or metals) and where non-EU or worldwide competition is strong, are fields where a tax relief of an environmental tax maybe adequate and compatible with the Common Market because otherwise the Member States would not establish an environmental tax or would fix it at a much lower rate, a scenario which may be much worse for environmental protection. This logic may also be applicable to a more limited extent to intra-EU scenarios (inter Member States)⁸. In both cases, a distortion of competition and trade is likely but may be justifiable on the ultimate goal of environmental protection (and the instrumental or intermediate goal of competitiveness). Therefore, in these cases, there is a close link between environmental protection and competitiveness. If an increase (or maintenance) of the competitiveness of national or European industry is admissible is subject to the condition that otherwise environmental protection will be damaged. Caution should be taken to check that this link is true and exists in the cases under examination. Otherwise, we will be distorting competitive markets without due justification and therefore we will be going against the public interest⁹. Besides, it is important to remember that international and EU trade rules have to be respected and that the distortion needs to be balanced.

Moreover, a different but interesting issue is whether an aid (i.e. and environmental State aid) can be more beneficial in practice to more technological or environmentally-friendly techniques and operators than to traditional ones and could thus indirectly increase their competitiveness with regard to other operators who provide competing products or services from a consumers' perspective. Provided the level playing field is respected and conditions are objectively designed (and applied), there should be no objections to the system.

Regarding the notion of competition and trade and the corresponding concepts of distortions of competition and trade within the EU State aid system, it has to be reminded that the latter are necessary for an aid to exist.

A distortion of competition is assumed as soon as the State grants a financial advantage to an undertaking in a liberalized sector where there is, or could be, competition¹⁰. This is so because the aid (tax exemption or tax relief) improves the competitive position of the recipient compared to other undertakings with which it competes¹¹ by relieving it of expenses (e.g. taxation) it would otherwise have had to bear¹². Furthermore, as the effect does not need to be significant, even a low amount may be sufficient to create (or risk to create) a distortion of competition. Thus, the likelihood of fulfilling this requirement is very high¹³.

Similarly, an effect on trade is also defined in very broad terms. Again any advantage granted to an undertaking in a market that is open to competition will normally affect trade, even if the recipient is not directly involved in cross border trade as the aid may make more difficult for operators in other markets to enter or to operate in that market¹⁴. It is true that for some activities with a purely local impact, a trade effect has been sometimes set aside but these cases are the exceptions that confirm the general rule¹⁵.

⁹ Nicolaidis argues that the justification for this exemption is often based on weak reasoning. See P. Nicolaidis, *In search on economically rational environmental State aid: the case of exemption from environmental taxes*, European Competition Journal 2014, p. 164.

¹⁰ Joined Cases T-298/07, T-312/97 & others *Alzetta* [2000] ECR II-2325, paras. 141 to 147; Case C-280/00 *AltmarkTrans* [2003] ECR I-7747.

¹¹ Case 730/79 *Phillip Morris* [1980] ECR 267, paragraph 11. Joined Cases T-298/07, T-312/97 & others, *Alzetta*[2000] ECR II-2325, para. 80.

¹² Case C-172/03 *Heiser*[2005] ECR I-1627, para.55.

¹³ Case T-55/99 *CETL* [2000] ECR II-3207, para. 89. Case C-280/00 *Altmark Trans* [2003] ECR I- 7747, para. 81.

¹⁴ Case C-280/00 *Altmark Trans* [2003] ECR I-7747, para. 78.

¹⁵ For some examples of purely local impact aids and their common features, see Draft Notice, paras. 196-197.

It is also important to consider that while at the beginning the focus of EU State aid control was on avoiding discrimination against foreign producers and distortions of trade between Member States¹⁶, the focus has progressively moved to detect unequal treatment between companies operating in the same Member State (more intra-State than inter-State situations). Nevertheless, the State aid law discipline maintains a hybrid nature, in between internal market and competition¹⁷.

2.3. The balancing exercise. A right balance? Coordination with other instruments

Once we have defined and clarified the concepts of environmental protection and distortion of competition and trade, the next step of the analysis is to determine how to balance the negative effects of a State aid - distortion of competition and trade- with its positive aspects –increase in environmental protection-?

A distinction has to be made between tax reliefs covered by the GBER and those that have to be individually examined.

Regarding those covered by the block exemption, there is no need to do an individual balancing exercise -it is sufficient to check that the conditions therein established are fulfilled- It is presumed that the outcome of the balance is positive and therefore that the aid is compatible with the Common Market. However, it would be possible to critically examine the GBER, assessing whether it has taken the right option and therefore whether the presumption is well designed.

Article 44 of the GBER applies to aid in the form of reductions in environmental taxes under Directive 2003/96/EC (hereinafter ETD) and establishes that they should be exempted and deemed to be compatible with the Treaty provided the beneficiaries are selected on the basis of transparent and objective criteria and they pay at least the respective minimum level of taxation set by the ETD. According to Recital 64 of the GBER, this means that the aid should be granted in the same way for all competitors found to be in a similar factual situation. Moreover, the duration of the exemption is limited to the period of application of the GBER. There is therefore a coordination mechanism between the two set of rules: the ETD and the State aid rules.

Criticisms and *de lege ferenda* proposals are threefold:

First, we would like to remind that the notion of environmental tax has been said to be problematic (at least unless it is broadly interpreted). We refer to prior discussions within this research project¹⁸.

Second, it has to be considered that certain tax reliefs may be granted to pursue other legitimate interests (i.e. social reasons). In those cases, the same limits should not be applicable, in particular the payment of at least the minimum level of taxation set by the ETD to benefit from the GBER privileged treatment.

¹⁶ See, for instance, Joined cases 6/69 and 11/69 *Commission v. France* [1969] ECR 709.

¹⁷ For supporters of maintaining State aid as an essential part of the internal market (free movement rationale), see J.L. Buendía & B. Smulders, “Time for some realism in EC State aid law”, in *Liber Amicorum Francisco Santaolalla*, Kluwer, 2008; A. Biondi, “The rationale of State aid control: A return to orthodoxy”, in *Cambridge Yearbook of European Legal Studies* [2011] 35.

¹⁸ M. Villar & P. Wegener, *Energy taxation and key legal concepts in the EU State aid context: looking for a common understanding*, Documentos de trabajo, Serie Política de la Competencia No 50/2015 (CEU Ediciones 2015).

Third, the tax relief is deemed compatible if the two simple conditions are fulfilled regardless of the characteristics of the market, the amount of the fiscal aid and without the need to respect any maximum threshold or cap of the aid. As the appropriateness of the aid and the incentive effect are automatically presumed, and the distortions of competition and trade might be very significant in some cases, it could be reasonable to subject the privileged treatment of the GBER to the respect of a specific maximum cap of aid or at least to require additional evidence and arguments on the expected intensity of the distortion and the incentive effect before granting the GBER coverage (sort of simplified notification)¹⁹.

Regarding those tax reliefs which are not covered by the GBER, an individual assessment is normally necessary. In particular, this would be the case for, first, non-harmonized taxes and, second, for harmonized taxes whose payment is below the minimum level set by the ETD)²⁰.

The general criteria are common to those used to assess other State aids. In addition to the identification of a market failure, the appropriateness of the aid and its incentive effect²¹, already mentioned above, the following criteria have to be followed:

- a. The aid must be proportionate, in that there are not less restrictive means to achieve the same incentive effect and the amount of aid per beneficiary is limited to the “minimum needed” to achieve the objective. As a general rule, aid will be considered “limited to the minimum necessary” if the aid corresponds to the net extra costs incurred to meet the objective compared with the costs of the project the company would have carried out in the absence of any State benefit.
- b. The aid must not adversely affect competition and trade between EU Member States. Any negative effect of the aid measure on competition between Member States must be limited and outweighed by its positive contribution towards a competitive, sustainable and secure energy system.
- c. The aid must be transparent in that there must be easy access to all relevant acts and pertinent information about the awarded aid.

More specific criteria are given in the EAG to assess the necessity and proportionality in the case of tax reductions or exemption of environmental taxes.

Necessity requires complying with the following cumulative conditions:

- a) The choice of beneficiaries is based on objective and transparent criteria, and the aid is granted, in principle, in the same way for all competitors where they are in a similar factual situation;
- b) A regular environmental tax, without reduction, must lead to a substantial increase in production costs for each sector or category of individual beneficiaries;

¹⁹ See J. Englisch, Energytax incentives and the GBER regime, Documentos de trabajo Serie Política de la Competencia No 51/2015 (CEU Ediciones 2015).

²⁰ See paras. 175-180 EEAG, specially para. 175.

²¹ It is necessary that the aid encourages the company to change its behavior. It needs to be demonstrated that, without the aid, the company might not have done so, or it might have done so in a more restrictive or different way. However, the aid should not subsidise the costs of an activity that a company would incur in any event and should not compensate for the normal business risks of an economic activity.

c) The substantial increase in production costs cannot be passed on to customers without leading to important sales reductions.

On the other hand, proportionality requires that one of the following conditions is met:

a) Aid beneficiaries pay at least 20% of the national environmental tax; or

b) The tax reduction is conditional on the conclusion of agreements between the Member State and the beneficiaries or associations of beneficiaries whereby the beneficiaries or associations of beneficiaries commit themselves to achieve environmental protection objectives which have the same effect as specified on a) or if the circumstances established for Community harmonized taxes are met, if the Union minimum tax level were applied. Such agreements or commitments may relate, among other things, to a reduction in energy consumption, a reduction in emissions or any other environmental measure and must satisfy the following cumulative conditions:

- i) The substance of the agreements must be negotiated by the Member State and must specify in particular the targets and fix a time schedule for reaching the targets;
- ii) The Member State must ensure independent and timely monitoring of the commitments concluded in these agreements; and
- iii) These agreements are revised periodically in the light of technological and other developments and stipulate effective penalty arrangements applicable if the commitments are not met²².

Critiques may be focused on whether these specific conditions, which according to the EEAG seem to be sufficient to deem the aid compatible with the Treaty, guarantee the increase in environmental protection and the incentive effect.

The design of the necessity conditions does not seem to have a close relationship and causal link with these needed guarantees. Furthermore, the design of the proportionality condition leaves a large leeway to the Member States by establishing only a maximum reduction (80% of the regular environmental tax) regardless of the level of increase of environmental protection and incentive effect. Moreover, the EEAG uses some general concepts (i.e. “substantial increase in production costs” or “important sales reductions”, “cost that cannot be passed to the consumers” “significant competitive disadvantage”, “unsustainable financing of renewal support”) without further elaboration or clarification and without establishing criteria -or even a need- to measure them. As Nicolaides argues, all this might mean that the aid –or that magnitude of aid- is not necessary or proportionate²³.

2.4. Concluding remarks and policy recommendations

First, environmental protection has been defined in very broad terms in the State aid control instruments. A tax relief or exemption of an environmental tax may contribute to an increase in the protection of the

²² See paras. 177-178 EEAG.

²³ See P. Nicolaides, *Critical analysis of reductions from Environmental taxes in the new guidelines on State aid for environmental protection and Energy, 2014-2020*, *Energy & Environment* · Vol. 26, No. 4, 2015, pp. 573-596, and P. Nicolaides and M. Kleis, *A Critical Analysis of Environmental Tax Reductions and Generation Adequacy Provisions in the EEAG 2014-2020*, *13 European State Aid Law Quarterly* 4 (2014), pp. 636-649.

environment where the beneficiaries would otherwise be placed at such a competitive disadvantage that it would not be feasible to introduce the environmental tax in the first place or where granting a more favourable tax treatment to some undertakings may facilitate a higher general level of environmental taxes. Evidence of this link includes the need to prove a market failure, appropriateness of the aid to remedy by the creation of an incentive to opt for a more environmental-friendly behavior. This evidence is not easy to prove and the reasoning on it is not always as strong and thorough full as it should be.

Second, competition and competitiveness are two different although related concepts. In State aid control of this type, the balance is made between, on the one hand, competition and trade and, on the other hand, environmental protection. However, competitiveness may also play a very important role. Competitiveness could be the reason why a reduction of an environmental tax contributes to an increase in environmental protection (making feasible the tax itself or facilitating a higher general taxation). Indeed the EU rules foresee that certain specific-sectors or industries which are energy-intensive (i.e. manufacturing of chemicals, paper, ceramics or metals) and where non-EU or worldwide competition is strong, are fields where a tax relief of an environmental tax maybe adequate and compatible with the Common Market because otherwise the Member States would not establish an environmental tax or would fix it at a much lower rate, a scenario which may be much worse for environmental protection. This logic may also be applicable to a more limited extent to intra-EU scenarios (inter Member States). In both cases, a distortion of competition and trade is likely but may be justifiable on the ultimate goal of environmental protection (and the instrumental or intermediate goal of competitiveness).

Third, when applying State aid control nowadays, it is important to consider that while at the beginning the focus was on avoiding discrimination against foreign producers and distortions of trade between Member States, the focus has progressively moved to detect unequal treatment between companies operating in the same Member State (more intra-State than inter-State situations). Nevertheless, the State aid law discipline maintains a hybrid nature, in between internal market and competition.

Fourth, regarding the GBER and tax reliefs of environmental taxes, although progress in the latter years is acknowledged, the following critiques and *de lege ferenda* proposals are put forward:

- First, I would like to remind that the notion of environmental tax has been said to be problematic (at least unless it is broadly interpreted). I refer to prior discussions within this research project.
- Second, it has to be considered that certain tax reliefs may be granted to pursue other legitimate interests (i.e. social reasons). In those cases, the same limits should not be applicable, in particular the payment of at least the minimum level of taxation set by the ETD to benefit from the GBER privileged treatment.
- Third, the tax relief is deemed compatible if the two simple conditions are fulfilled regardless of the characteristics of the market, the amount of the fiscal aid and without the need to respect any maximum threshold or cap of the aid. As the appropriateness of the aid and the incentive effect are automatically presumed, and the distortions of competition and trade might be very significant in some cases, it could be reasonable to subject the privileged treatment of the GBER to the respect of a specific maximum cap of aid or at least to require additional evidence and arguments on the expected intensity of the distortion and the incentive effect before granting the GBER coverage (sort of simplified notification).

Fifth, regarding the treatment established in the EEAG for individual assessment of cases not covered by the GBER, critiques may be focused on whether the specific conditions which according to the EEAG seem to be

sufficient to deem the aid compatible with the Treaty, guarantee the increase in environmental protection and the incentive effect.

The design of the necessity conditions in para. 177 of the EEAG does not seem to have a close relationship and causal link with these needed guarantees. Furthermore, the design of the proportionality condition in para. 178 of the EEAG leaves a large leeway to the Member States by establishing only a maximum reduction (80% of the regular environmental tax) regardless of the level of increase of environmental protection and incentive effect. Moreover, the EEAG uses some general concepts (i.e. “substantial increase in production costs” or “important sales reductions”, “cost that cannot be passed to the consumers”, “significant competitive disadvantage”, “unsustainable financing of renewal support”); without further elaboration or clarification and without establishing criteria -or even a need- to measure them.

3. The Energy Tax Directive

3.1. Balance between competitiveness and environmental protection

As such, the primary objective of the ETD was not to pursue environmental goals.

The original and main purpose of the directive was to drive harmonisation in the field of excise duties on energy products²⁴. When, in 1997, the Commission proposed to restructure energy taxation in the EU, harmonisation was considered necessary to reinforce the “unity of the single market and the liberalisation of the energy markets, in particular in the fields of natural gas and electricity”²⁵. Moreover, the Commission considered that “the non-harmonisation of national rates for the taxation of energy products (...) leads to distortions due to excessive tax competition”²⁶. In other words, the ETD aimed to avoid tax competition between Member States but also related effects on employment, firms’ location and consumption patterns.

The Commission also explicitly refers to the need to preserve the “competitiveness of European firms vis-à-vis third countries”²⁷.

The Commission nevertheless recognised that Member States should be given “sufficient freedom” to adopt CO₂/energy taxes:

“It proposes for example that the Member States may differentiate, without prior authorisation if they comply with the Community minimum levels, the rates of taxation applicable to a product on the basis of environmental standards, or that the Member States be authorised to apply reduced rates or exemptions from tax to certain products or uses (...)”²⁸.

²⁴ This can be derived from the proposal of the Commission (Commission of the European Communities, Proposal for a Council Directive restructuring the Community framework for the taxation of energy products, Brussels, 12 March 1997, COM(97)30 final, 97/0111(CNS).

²⁵ *Ibid.*,3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*,7-8. See, article 17, para 1(a) of Directive 2003/96/EC (concerning tax reductions in favour of “energy-intensive business”).

²⁸ *Ibid.*,3-4 & 7. See also the references to “the competitiveness of Community businesses in the international framework” and “the risks of a loss of international competitiveness” in recitals 8 & 28 of Directive 2003/96/EC.

Consequently, the ETD directive contains explicit references to “environmental considerations”²⁹.

Despite these explicit references, the ETD does not consistently help pursuing environmental (and, in particular, climate) objectives. Minimum tax rates, exemption cases, exceptions specific to Member States do not always consistently follow an ‘environmental’ logic. For example, minimum rates are not defined by taking into account the emissions intensity of energy products. Consequently, higher taxes may be imposed – counterintuitively - on renewable energy sources than on fossil fuels³⁰.

The proposal of revised directive aimed to reinforce the environmental character of the directive³¹. For example, the Commission proposed to introduce an “additional uniform CO₂-related tax” on energy products falling under the ETD³². The proposition of revision has unfortunately been withdrawn in 2015³³.

The ‘light’ environmental character of the ETD directive may, nevertheless, slightly be reinforced by Directive 2012/27/EU on energy efficiency³⁴. This directive imposes Member states to set up energy efficiency obligation scheme. Under these scheme, “energy savings from taxation measures” should only be considered for energy savings “exceeding the minimum levels of taxation applicable to fuels as required in Council Directive 2003/96/EC”³⁵.

3.2. Coordination with the other instruments

3.2.1. Absence of clear coordination between the ETD and the EU ETS

An opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee from 2012 makes clear that the proposal to revise the ETD aimed to correct the “inadequate coordination between the ETD and the EU ETS on CO₂ emissions [that] results in double taxation or absence of taxation, depending on the sectors”³⁶. The proposal of revised directive – which, as already mentioned, has been abandoned - provided for a better coordination between the ETD and the EU ETS. For example, large plants falling under the EU ETS using electricity would be exempted from the ETD (no CO₂ would apply on these electricity producers). Similarly, energy products used by sectors falling under the EU ETS would be exempted under the ETD³⁷.

²⁹ See recitals 6, 11, 12, 25, 28, 29 of Directive 2003/96/EC. See also the references in articles 15 && 17 of Directive 2003/96/EC.

³⁰ European Commission, Proposal for a Council Directive amending Directive 2003/96/EC restructuring the Community framework for the taxation of energy products and electricity, Brussels, 13 April 2011? COM(2011) 169 final, 2011/0092 (CNS), p. 3.

³¹ European Commission, Proposal for a Council Directive amending Directive 2003/96/EC restructuring the Community framework for the taxation of energy products and electricity, Brussels, 13 April 2011? COM(2011) 169 final, 2011/0092 (CNS).

³² *Ibid.*,5.

³³ Withdrawal of Commission proposals, 2015/C 80/08, O.J.E.U., 7 March 2015, C 80/17.

³⁴ Directive 2012/27/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2012 on energy efficiency, amending Directives 2009/125/EC and 2010/30/EU and repealing Directives 2004/8/EC and 2006/32/EC, O.J.E.U., 14 November 2012, L 315.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Annex V, point 3 (a).

³⁶ Opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee on the ‘Proposal for a Council directive amending Directive 2003/96/EC restructuring the Community framework for the taxation of energy products and electricity’ COM(2011)169 final – 2011/0092 (CNS) and the ‘Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council and the European Economic and Social Committee on Smarter energy taxation for the EU : proposal for a revision of the Energy Taxation Directive’ COM(2011) 168 final, J.O.U.E., 28 January 2011, C 24, point 3.3.

³⁷ Opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee, *op. cit.*, points 4.1.8, 4.1.9, 5.1.2.

3.2.2. De facto coordination with BTAs

The ETD is a practical example of ‘direct’ BTAs: both ‘domestic’ and ‘imported’ energy products are subject to the tax. However, the directive does not provide for more complex BTAs. For example, the directive does not impose taxes on ‘imported products for which a large quantity of energy has been used in the production processes’ (such taxes could be imposed in proportion to the quantity of energy that has been used in the production). Instead, in order to guarantee the competitiveness of European producers, the directive provides for the possibility to “apply tax reductions on the consumption of energy products in favour of energy-intensive business³⁸”.

3.2.3. Explicit reference to state aids

The ETD explicitly mentions the case where the tax system of a Member State related to the ETD would constitute state aid. Article 26, para. 2 states as follows:

“Measures such as tax exemptions, tax reductions, tax differentiation and tax refunds within the meaning of this Directive might constitute State aid and in those cases have to be notified to the Commission pursuant to Article 88(3) of the Treaty [now 108, para 3 of the TFEU]. Information provided to the Commission on the basis of this Directive does not free Member States from the notification obligation pursuant to Article 88(3) of the Treaty”³⁹.

In its 2014 Communication on state aid for environmental protection and energy, the Commission also explicitly refers to the ETD⁴⁰. It states as follows:

“When environmental taxes are harmonized, the Commission can apply a simplified approach to assess the necessity and proportionality of the aid. In the context of Directive 2003/96/EC (‘ETD’), the Commission can apply a simplified approach for tax reductions respecting the Union minimum tax level. For all other environmental taxes, an in depth assessment of the necessity and proportionality of the aid is needed”⁴¹.

3.3. Regulatory asymmetries intra-EU and extra-EU

The principle of excise duties is that excises apply indistinctively to ‘imported’ and ‘domestic’ energy sources. From this perspective, Member States cannot distinguish between energy sources according to the country from which they are being imported.

The ETD sets tax minima, which Member States should respect. Aside these requirements, Member States are free to distinguish between different energy sources. For example, some Member States have adopted additional carbon taxes up to their excise taxes on the energy sources mentioned in the ETD.

Harmonization at the EU level could benefit all EU Member States by setting up general guidelines as to how differentiated taxes should be imposed on energy sources based on environmental considerations.

³⁸ Article 17 of Directive 2003/96/EC.

³⁹ Article 26 Directive 2003/96/EC.

⁴⁰ Commission of the European Union, Communication – Guidelines on State aid for environmental protection and energy 2014-2020, J.O.U.E., 28 June 2014, C 200, p. 1-55.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, para 172.

4. The Emission Trade System

4.1. Introduction

The impact of the European Union Emission Trading System (EU ETS) on competitiveness is a worrying issue for industrial sectors in Europe. When it was established in 2005 it was said that the price for carbon emissions created by the ETS could affect cost structure, and therefore competitiveness with foreign imports. The main concern was that it could produce emissions leakage and delocalization of industries, with the corresponding impact on jobs and domestic production.

In order to corroborate these initial threats it is necessary to size the real impact of the EU ETS. Altogether the EU ETS covers around 45% of total greenhouse gas emissions from the 28 EU countries. The focus of the EU ETS is on emissions which can be measured, reported and verified with a high level of accuracy. The system covers emissions of carbon dioxide (CO₂) from power plants, a wide range of energy-intensive industry sectors (including oil refineries, steel works and production of iron, aluminum, metals, cement, lime, glass, ceramics, pulp, paper, cardboard, acids and bulk organic chemicals) and commercial airlines (only for intra-EU flights). Road Transport (25% of emissions) is not included in the EU ETS⁴².

Consequently, we can identify two main impacts on the competitiveness of the EU economy. On the one hand, a general impact on electricity prices which, depending on the configuration of the electricity mix and the pass-through effect, could be distributed among all the economic actors. Secondly, a more concentrated impact on certain energy-intensive industry sectors included in the EU ETS.

However there is another important aspect to be taken into account for measuring the impact on competitiveness. The EU ETS included an initial allocation of permits which, of course, reduced its impact. In phases I and II countries were called upon to draw up National Allocation Plans that both fixed the national cap and determined the sectoral allocation. Free allowances were granted to new entrants whereas the allowances of existing facilities were revoked and cancelled. Nevertheless, for trading phase III, beginning in 2013, Directive 2009/29/EC relegates the allocation of free emission allowances from national governments to Brussels and stipulates a harmonized allocation scheme to reduce competitive distortions (benchmarking system)⁴³. This will increase the negative effect on EU competitiveness or, at least, it will reduce the possibilities of mitigating the impact at national level.

Finally, pass-through effect, which means that carbon prices on production could be transmitted to consumers, having a general impact on the competitiveness of the whole economy⁴⁴. Pass-through could be

⁴² According to the European Commission, road transport sector is responsible of 25% of CO₂ emissions. They are not covered by ETS but there are mandatory emission performance standards for new passenger cars and new light commercial vehicles introduced by Regulations 443/2009 and 510/2011. See Regulation (EC) No 443/2009 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 April 2009 setting emission performance standards for new passenger cars as part of the Community's integrated approach to reduce CO₂ emissions from light-duty vehicles. OJ L 140, 5.6.2009, p. 1–15; Regulation (EU) No 510/2011 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 May 2011 setting emission performance standards for new light commercial vehicles as part of the Union's integrated approach to reduce CO₂ emissions from light-duty vehicles. OJ L 145, 31.5.2011, p. 1–18. There are, however, initiatives in order to include road transport sector in the EU ETS. See Achtnicht, M., von Graevenitz, K., Koesler, S., Löschel, A., Schoeman, B., Reaños, T., & Angel, M. "Including Road Transport in the EU-ETS—An alternative for the future". *Centre for European Economic Research (ZEW) Report*, 2015.

⁴³ Commission Decision 2011/87/EU of 27 April 2011 determining transitional Union-wide rules for harmonised free allocation of emission allowances pursuant to Article 10a of Directive 2003/87/EC of the Parliament and of the Council. This decision stipulates that free allocation be based on product benchmarks to the extent possible. A product benchmark is defined as the average greenhouse gas emission performance of the 10% best performing installations in the EU producing that product, measured in tons of CO₂ equivalent per unit of output.

⁴⁴ Ekins P., and S. Speck, "Impact on competitiveness: what do we know from modelling?", in Milne, J.E. and M. S. Andersen (eds.) *Handbook of Research on Environmental Taxation*, Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, Cheltenham/Massachusetts, 2012.

essential not only to measure the impact on competitiveness but also to analyze the wish of companies to move forward greener technologies, which is one of the goals of the EU ETS system.

4.2. Impact on competitiveness related to electricity prices

The impact of the EU ETS into the European economy might differ depending on the possibility to pass-through carbon prices to consumers. While the manufacturing sector is typically relatively open to international trade and thus exposed to international competition, the power market is highly concentrated and less exposed to international competition since it is selling mostly to local markets⁴⁵. In Spain the average pass-through in electricity market is above 80% (100% on high-demand hours)⁴⁶. Due to the lack of real EU electricity market, the effect is similar in other EU countries⁴⁷.

However, dynamic effects of carbon prices may cause firms to discover and implement cost-effective energy efficiency measures to move them closer to the efficiency frontier. Since innovation could take some time, it is necessary to distinguish between long and short term impact.

Of course, that electricity intensive consumers are more affected than those using less electricity, however when the impact rises and it becomes harmful for the competitiveness of the company, they normally change the source of energy switching from electricity to gas⁴⁸. Some studies have tried to determine an average competitiveness impact of the increase of energy prices, which could be fixed in 0.1 to 0.2% of import augmentation for each 1% of energy prices growth⁴⁹.

4.3. Impact on competitiveness of energy-intensive industrial sectors

According to Johanna Arlinghaus⁵⁰, who has made a literature review to estimate a causal relation between carbon prices, emission reductions and competitiveness effects on energy-intensive industrial sectors after introduction of the EU ETS, it is not possible to find a causal relation between carbon pricing and competitiveness.

One of the reasons for explaining this phenomenon are the exemptions, reductions and rebates that member states have introduced in order to maintain competitiveness. However, last studies⁵¹ conclude that reduced rates and exemptions are not always necessary to maintain the competitiveness of firms affected by the policy.

⁴⁵ Veith, S., J.R. Werner and J. Zimmermann, "Capital market response to emission rights returns: Evidence from the European power sector", *Energy Economics*, 31 (2009) 605-613.

⁴⁶ Fabra, N. and M. Reguant, "Pass-through of emissions costs in electricity markets", *NBER Working Paper 19613*, National Bureau of Economic Research, Massachusetts, 2013.

⁴⁷ Mokinski, F. and N. Woelfing, "The effect of regulatory scrutiny: Asymmetric cost pass-through in power wholesale and its end", *Journal of Regulatory Economics* 45 (2014) 175 – 193. Kirat, D. and I. Ahamada, "The impact of the European Union emission trading scheme on the electricity-generation sector", *Energy Economics* 22 (2011) 995-1003.

⁴⁸ Flues F. and B.J. Lutz. "Competitiveness Impacts of the German Electricity Tax." *OECD Environment Working Papers* No. 88, 2015.

⁴⁹ Sato, M. and A. Dechezleprêtre, "Asymmetric industrial energy prices and international trade", *Working Paper*, Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment, London School of Economics and Political Science, 2013.

⁵⁰ Arlinghaus, J. "Impacts of Carbon Prices on Indicators of Competitiveness." *OECD Environment Working Papers* No. 87, 2015.

⁵¹ Martin, R., L. dePreux and U. Wagner "The impacts of a carbon tax on manufacturing: Evidence from microdata", *Journal of Public Economics* 117 (2014), 1-14.

Pass-through also happens in manufactory sectors, but in a different scale rather than in electricity. In those sectors with high market concentration of the market like iron, steel and refineries pass-through could achieve 100%⁵², however for chemicals (50%), glass (25%) and ceramics (30%) it is much lower⁵³.

Even if it could occur, the reduction of competitiveness in one particular sector cannot reduce the competitiveness of the economy as a whole. The competitiveness of a whole economy depends on a range of structural factors including the macroeconomic environment, commercial framework, openness to trade and investment, labor skills, ability to innovate and labor market regulation⁵⁴. The ability to innovate (Porter hypothesis) could play a key role in the compensation of EU ETS costs and the increase of competitiveness of European economy. Last studies show that ETS sectors are more likely to innovate than non-ETS sectors⁵⁵.

4.4. “Energy efficiency” and “Environmental Innovation”: A balance for competitiveness and environmental protection

Environmental regulation is an important driving force together with technology push, market pull and firm-specific factors⁵⁶. Analyzing the Italian Community Innovation Survey, Borghesi *et al.* have concluded that there is a high correlation between the EU-ETS and environmental innovation⁵⁷.

Innovation impact could differ depending on the sector. The high pass-through in the electricity sector has reduced the innovation effect of the EU-ETS as it has demonstrated Hoffman analyzing the German power plant sector⁵⁸. According to Rogge and Hoffmann the EU-ETS only has discouraged the new implementation of large-sized coal-based power generation plants⁵⁹.

However large sample and cross-sector studies say that firms subject to the EU ETS have been more innovative than unregulated firms⁶⁰. Nevertheless, this impulse have not been enough to foster a technological change, according to environment related patents production⁶¹.

Regarding energy efficiency, Martin *et al.*⁶² evaluating the UK Climate Change Levy have found little effects on competitiveness but high impact on energy efficiency. According to this study, the companies included have reduced electricity use by 22.6%, which translates to a decrease in carbon emissions by between 8.4% and 22.4%.

⁵² De Bruyn, S., *et al.*, “Does the energy intensive industry obtain windfall profits through the EU ETS? An econometric analysis for products from the refineries, iron and steel and chemical sectors”, CE Delft, Delft, 2010.

⁵³ Oberndorfer, U., V. Alexeeva-Talebi and A. Loeschel, “Understanding the competitiveness implications of future phases of EU ETS on the industrial sectors”, *ZEW Discussion Papers* No. 10- 044, ZEW, Mannheim, 2010.

⁵⁴ Adams, J., “Environmental Policy and Competitiveness in a Globalised Economy: Conceptual Issues and a Review of the Empirical Evidence”, in *OECD Globalisation and Environment – Preliminary Perspectives*, OECD Proceedings, OECD, Paris, 1997.

⁵⁵ Borghesi S., G. Cainelli and M. Mazzanti “Linking emission trading to environmental innovation: evidence from the Italian manufacturing industry” *Sustainability Environmental Economics and Dynamics Studies*, Working Paper Series 27/2014.

⁵⁶ Rennings, K., Rexhauser, S., “Long-Term Impacts of Environmental Policy and Eco-Innovative Activities of Firms”, *International Journal of Technology, Policy and Management*, 11 (3/4), 2011, pp. 274-290.

⁵⁷ Borghesi, S., Cainelli, G., & Mazzanti, M. “Linking emission trading to environmental innovation: evidence from the Italian manufacturing industry”. *Research Policy*, 44(3), 2015, pp. 669-683.

⁵⁸ Hoffmann, V.H., “EU ETS and Investment Decisions: The Case of the German Electricity Industry”. *European Management Journal* 25 (6), 2007, pp. 464-474.

⁵⁹ Rogge K., Hoffmann V., “The impact of the EU Emission trading system on the sectoral innovation system of power generation technologies: findings for Germany”, *Energy Policy*, 38, 2010, pp. 7639-52.

⁶⁰ Calel R., Dechezleprete A., “Environmental policy and directed technological change: evidence from the European carbon market”, Working Paper FEEM, Milan, n. 22 2012.

⁶¹ Borghesi, S., Cainelli, G., and Mazzanti, M. “Linking emission trading to environmental innovation: evidence from the Italian manufacturing industry”. *Research Policy*, 44(3), 2015, pp. 669-683.

⁶² Martin, R., L. dePreux and U. Wagner “The impacts of a carbon tax on manufacturing: Evidence from microdata”, *Journal of Public Economics* 117 (2014), 1-14.

4.5. Coordination with other environmental instruments: EU ETS as an element of an environmental tax system

It must be said that the price signal of the EU ETS could not be defined as a tax. Taxes are compulsory and unrequited revenue-raising fiscal policy instruments⁶³. On the contrary, the purchase of an emissions certificate is linked to a “right to pollute” which could be a cost or revenue depending on the behavior of the company. Moreover ETS rights have a volatile price, being then more difficult to predict rather than a carbon tax. However, taking into account the practice and effects in the competitiveness of companies, both instruments could be taken as environmental costs and, consequently, they should be coordinated.

The positive effects of ETS on carbon reduction are not discussed. Emissions reductions were estimated close to 3% (210 million tons of CO₂) higher for firms participating in the EU ETS than for firms which did not participate⁶⁴. On the other hand, sometime it is difficult to articulate the ETS with other tax instruments for avoiding overlapping and negative effects on competitiveness. In case that carbon and energy taxes are introduced as part of a comprehensive environmental tax package, the impact on competitiveness could be neutral. However in that case, depending on which other taxes are reduced in order to compensate the increase of carbon taxes, the effects could differ among sector. For example, if it is decided to reduce social security contributions, labour-intensive firms could be in a better position than energy-intensive ones.

4.6. Regulatory asymmetries intra-EU and extra-EU: “carbon leakage”

Without trade, carbon pricing produces incentives for efficiency improvements and innovation towards lower carbon economy. However, in an open economy, carbon prices could lead to delocalization of carbon-intensive production to less-regulated countries⁶⁵. Climate change policies may not reduce pollution but just redistribute it (“carbon leakage”)

Carbon leakage is an important issue in the literature, but it is difficult to achieve general conclusions about it since, depending on market structures and level of competition, some openness could be positive for the functioning of the EU-ETS system. In an oligopolistic market (like petrol or electricity) some international competition could reduce pass-through of carbon prices which could be compensated by other ways, for example efficiency or environmental innovation. It's true that in mature manufacture sectors where competition is very high, regulatory asymmetries could represent a challenge for the industry. On the contrary, current studies have not demonstrated a direct relation between carbon pricing and delocalization⁶⁶, probably because current prices are not very high in comparison with other regulatory factors like labour/social security costs or general taxes.

Moreover, contrary to its initial plan, in 2009 the European Commission decided to extend free permit allocation for industries having a risk of carbon leakage (giving a 100% reduction) because they were carbon intensive or very trade exposed⁶⁷. There is no empirical evidence that these exemption criteria are related to

⁶³ OECD “Glossary of statistical terms – Environmentally related taxes”, 2004 <https://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=6270>.

⁶⁴ See Martin, Ralf and Muûls, Mirabelle and Wagner, Ulrich J., “The Impact of the EU ETS on Regulated Firms: What is the Evidence after Nine Years?” November 21, 2014. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2344376> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2344376>

⁶⁵ Condon, M. and A. Ignaciuk “Border Carbon Adjustment and International Trade: A Literature Review”, *OECD Trade and Environment Working Papers*, 2013/06, OECD Publishing, 2013.

⁶⁶ Martin, R., L. dePreux and U. Wagner “The impacts of a carbon tax on manufacturing: Evidence from microdata”, *Journal of Public Economics* 117 (2014), 1-14.

⁶⁷ Commission Decision 2010/2/EU determining, pursuant to Directive 2003/87/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council, a list of sectors and subsectors which are deemed to be exposed to a significant risk of carbon leakage (2010) OJ L 1/10.

actual relocation or downsizing risk⁶⁸. In fact there is substantial variation in the reported vulnerability between sectors as well as individual firms which indicates that the EU's approach of exempting entire industries may not be efficient⁶⁹.

4.7. Concluding remarks and recommendations

- A) It is not clear that the EU ETS has had a negative effect on the European competitiveness. However the current design includes too many exceptions, particularly in energy intensive sectors, which prevent on negative effects on competitiveness but also reduce the impact on the main goals of the system (reduction of CO2 emissions).
- B) In order to resolve this problem, we recommend changing the current strategy of general sectoral exceptions to a case by case one. In this individual analysis it would be necessary to take into account not only the risk of delocalization and the loss of jobs, but also other factors like the structure of the market and the openness of the sector to international competition.
- C) There should not be exceptions to sectors with little competition since they normally pass-through implementation costs to consumers and do not invest in innovation. Power plants sector is a clear example of this malfunction of the EU ETS.
- D) It is also important to include EU ETS into a general strategy environmental tax system. According to the literature there is some overlapping between the exceptions on EU ETS and other kind of environmental tax benefits. In fact, since some EU ETS exceptions are related to competitiveness (mainly for protecting economic activities and jobs), it should be advisable to analyze the opportunity of them, always in an individual assessment, taking into account all tax and social benefits and any other state aid that the company is enjoying.

5. Environmental Border Tax Adjustments (EBTASs)

5.1. Between competitiveness and environmental protection

- EBTAs are supposed to achieve three main objectives.

Authors usually consider that EBTAs may play a threefold role⁷⁰. First, EBTAs are supposed to help limiting the risks to competitiveness related to the adoption of unilateral environmental policies. Second, EBTAs are supposed to play an environmental role by limiting the risks of 'pollution haven'. If EBTAs serve to limit the

⁶⁸ Martin, Ralf, et al. "Industry compensation under relocation risk: A firm-level analysis of the EU emissions trading scheme" National Bureau of Economic Research No. w19097, 2013.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁰ See e.g. Aaron Cosbey, Susanne Droege, Carolyn Fischer, Julia Reinaud, John Stephenson, Lutz Weischer & Peter Wooders, "A Guide for the Concerned: Guidance on the elaboration and implementation of border carbon adjustment" (2012) 03 Entwined Policy report, 8.

risks that national (polluting) enterprises relocate in countries without environmental protection policies, the positive effect on environmental protection would be guaranteed. Third, EBTA's are supposed to be a diplomatic tool in order to put pressure on non-participating countries. From this perspective, if EBTA's truly help encouraging third countries to participate in global environmental agreements, EBTA's will also play a positive role in the protection of the environment. At the same time, the more countries will be involved in the fight against global environmental challenges, the smaller the risks for competitiveness.

The objectives related to competitiveness and 'pollution haven' are based on economic assumptions on which no consensus exists in the economic literature. In other words, economists disagree on the economic relevance to adopt or not EBTA's.

- The balance between the objectives of environmental protection and competitiveness is achieved by the specific design of BTAs.

BTAs are defined as follows:

“any fiscal measures which put into effect, in whole or in part, the destination principle (i.e. which enable exported products to be relieved of some or all of the tax charged in the exporting country in respect of similar domestic products sold to consumers on the home market and which enable imported products sold to consumers to be charged with some or all of the tax charged in the importing country in respect of similar domestic products)”⁷¹.

In other words, BTAs on imported products are supposed to reflect the domestic environmental taxes imposed on domestically produced goods. WTO law provisions surrounding BTAs on imports – namely articles II:2(a) and III:2 of the GATT - translate the same idea. BTAs' design should guarantee that these taxes are not used to impose heavier taxes on imported products than the ones imposed on domestic products. **In other words, the so-called objective of competitiveness should not be transformed in protectionism.**

In political calls in favour of EBTA's, this design based on WTO law provisions surrounding BTAs is often disregarded. Indeed, proposals in favour of EBTA's sometimes seem to aim at equalizing the differences in level of environmental protection between countries. Such objective cannot be achieved through EBTA's. EBTA's only allow a country to impose (environmental) taxes both on domestic and imported products. The objective is to level the playing field between domestic and imported products in light of the taxes imposed on domestic products (and not in light of the fact that imported products have not been subject to taxes in the exporting country).

As such, BTAs do not aim at achieving environmental objectives. Although WTO law does not forbid that BTAs are used to foster environmental goals, countries have no obligation to take into account principles of environmental law – such as the polluter-pays-principle - in the design of their BTAs. For example, in the *Superfund* case, the Panel stated as follows:

“(…) if a contracting party wishes to tax the sale of certain domestic products (because their production pollutes the domestic environment) and to impose a lower tax or no tax at all on like imported products (because their consumption or use causes fewer or no environmental problems), it is in principle free to do so. The General Agreement's rules on tax adjustment thus give the contracting party in such a case the possibility to follow the Polluter-Pays Principle, but they do not oblige it to do so”⁷².

⁷¹ OECD, *Border Tax Adjustments and Tax Structures in OECD Member Countries*, 1968, 16, para. 6.

⁷² GATT, Panel Report, *United States – Taxes on Petroleum and Certain Imported Substances*, 17 June 1987, para.5.2.5.

Consequently, when EBTA on imports are based on BTAs' traditional legal grounds (namely articles II:2(a) and III:2 of the GATT), WTO law does not put strict limits on how the environmental goals should be defined. The requirements of GATT article II:2(a) and III:2 of the GATT only concern the relationship between the tax imposed on domestic and imported products. *De facto*, these requirements may have an impact on the freedom of countries to adopt differentiated taxes based on environmental considerations. Indeed, controversies exist as to the interpretation of WTO law with regard to the possibility of country for imposing different taxes on products based on environmental considerations. In particular, it is not clear whether a country may impose a heavier tax on a product because this product has been produced in a polluting way⁷³.

- The balance between environmental objectives and competitiveness-related objectives is intrinsically based on political considerations.

David Ricardo is usually considered the historical father of BTAs. Ricardo considered that such 'tax adjustments' were needed in order to guarantee that trade takes place according to the theory of the comparative advantage. Roughly speaking, if domestic products are taxed, then exported products should be exempted from taxation and imported products should be taxed. Domestic taxes should not influence the way international trade takes place between countries. From this perspective, EBTA are always (primarily) grounded on an economic rationale.

Depending on their design, BTAs may more or less foster environmental objectives in addition to their economic rationale. For example, BTAs fully based on an economic rationale would a priori require that BTAs be applied both on imports (with the adoption of taxes on imported products) and on exports (with the adoption of exceptions for exported products). In the hypothesis where the environmental objective would prevail, BTAs should better be limited on the import side: the exemption of exported products would less easily be justified, taking into account that such exemption would make it impossible to internalise environmental costs as far as exported products are concerned. The exemption of exports could however be justified by reference to the need to limit the risk of creation of pollution haven.

As mentioned *supra*, it should be noted that BTAs are not an appropriate legal instrument in order to sanction countries that do not participate in environmental agreements.

- Proposals in favour of EBTA should take into account the balance between economic and environmental objectives imposed by the design of and the legal framework surrounding BTAs.

If EBTA are not a satisfactory legal instrument to pursue the hoped-for political objectives, other trade-related measures should be considered. Indeed, instruments such as tariffs, countervailing duties, bilateral trade agreements, etc. could better fit the political objectives of sanctioning non-participating countries or compensating for differences in environmental policies between countries.

⁷³ In the literature, reference is made to "Process-and-Production Methods" (PPMs).

5.2. EBTA and their coordination with other fiscal instruments

- BTAs are seen as one option in order to reduce the risks that could derive from the unilateral adoption of (stricter) environmental policies.

The role of EBTA is to be explained by countries' fears for the negative consequences that could derive from the adoption of unilateral environmental policies. For this reason, countries are not encouraged to adopt unilateral (more) protective environmental policies without taking into account these potential negative effects. EBTA are part of the instruments used to mitigate these effects. Other instruments include exemption regimes, subsidies and preferential measures (such as the free allocation of emissions allowances under the EU ETS).

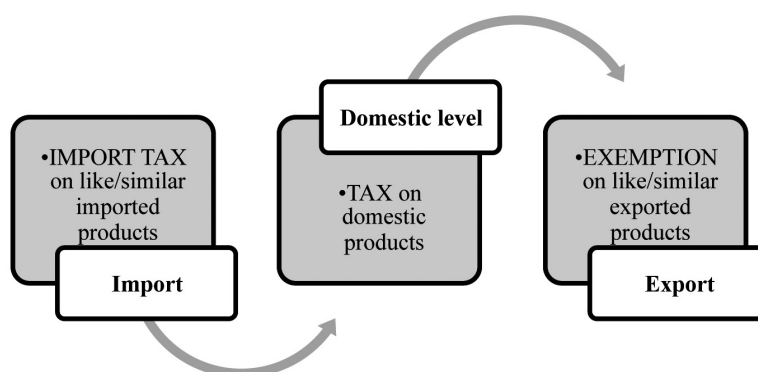
- BTAs' legal framework indirectly regulates the adoption of BTAs in relation to other (fiscal) instruments.

WTO law only permits the adoption of BTAs in respect of domestic taxes on 'like' or 'directly competitive or substitutable' products (GATT articles II:2(a) and III:2; Note ad Article III:2). In other words, in the case where risks related to competitiveness or 'pollution havens' are solved through the adoption of tax exemptions or preferential regimes, which remove the tax burden on domestic products, WTO law does not allow for the adoption of BTAs on 'like' or 'directly competitive or substitutable' imported products.

The EU ETS directive also indirectly refers to the relationship between adjustments mechanisms and other (fiscal) instruments aimed at limiting the risks to competitiveness and 'carbon leakage'. Article 10b of Directive 2003/97/EC lists, among the "measures to support certain energy-intensive industries in the event of carbon leakage", the "adjustment of the proportion of allowances received free of charge by those sectors or subsectors under Article 10a" and the "inclusion in the Community scheme of importers of products which are produced by the sectors or subsectors determined in accordance with Article 10a"⁷⁴.

- BTAs are designed in light of domestic taxes imposed on domestically produced goods ('mirror effect')

BTAs' legal framework indirectly defines BTAs' design. BTAs' design can be explained by the scheme below:



The import tax and the exemption should be designed taking into account how 'like' and 'directly competitive or substitutable' products are taxed at the domestic level.

⁷⁴ At the EU level, see also the reference to "border carbon tax adjustments" in the Opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee on The Paris Protocol – A blueprint for tackling global climate change beyond 2020, Brussels, 2 July 2015, COM(2015) 81 final, para. 5.14-5.15.

5.3. Regulatory asymmetries intra-EU and extra-EU

- The possibility to distinguish between ‘similar’ products is subject to much discussion under international trade law.

Under WTO law: The orthodox views are that WTO law only permits to differentiate between products, taking into account their “physical characteristics and end-uses”, “consumer tastes and preferences”, and “tariff classifications”. In other words, it is usually considered that WTO law forbids distinguishing between products on the basis of policy-based considerations, in particular on the basis of how a product has been processed/produced (the so-called differentiations based on PPMs by reference to ‘process and production methods’). Few authors have expressed their disagreements against this common interpretation of WTO law⁷⁵. The interpretation of WTO law as prohibiting any type of regulatory distinction based on PPMs is a problem as far as environmental taxes are concerned. Indeed, it makes sense, from an environmental viewpoint, to distinguish between products based on how they are produced. For example, it would be relevant to impose higher taxes on products for which a great amount of CO₂ emissions has been released during the production process.

Under EU law: It is generally considered to be ‘easier’ to differentiate between products. For example, in the case *Outokumpu Oy*, the legal issue did not directly relate as to whether electricity could be differentiated on the basis of how it had been produced but focused on the fact that the differentiation was discriminatory against imported electricity⁷⁶.

5.4. Conclusions & Policy recommendations

The main recommendations to policy-makers are the following:

- (a) Assessing the (economic & political) need and goals for EBTA before proposing such measures;
- (b) Assessing whether other legal instruments would not better meet the goals supposed to be pursued by EBTA;
- (c) Defining the design of EBTA in detail (which taxes, on which (domestic & imported) products, on the basis of which environmental factors, etc.);
- (d) On the basis of EBTA’s design, determining the risks of incompatibility with WTO/EU law.

⁷⁵ See e.g. Robert Howse & Donald Regan, “The Product/Process Distinction – An Illusory Basis for Disciplining ‘Unilateralism’ in Trade Policy” (2000) 11(2) *European Journal of International Law* 249.

⁷⁶ CJEU, *Outokumpu Oy*, 2 April 1998, C-213/96.

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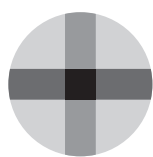
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Abstract: This research inquires on the balance between two goals, competitiveness and environmental protection, and identify the contributions of the different legal instruments under examination to this balance, in particular, State aid instruments (GBER and Environmental Guidelines), the Energy Tax Directive (ETD), the Emissions Trade System (ETS) and Environmental Border Tax Adjustments (EBTAs).

Keywords: *Energy taxation, State aids, Competitiveness.*

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