

Ending the Energy Stalemate – National Energy Policy for the 20st Century

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"The Promise of Energy Independence: Examining national policy and regional action" University of Maine – William S. Cohen Papers Forum October 5, 2005

BOSTON DALLAS DENVER LOS ANGELES MENLO PARK MONTREAL NEW YORK SAN FRANCISCO WASHINGTON

Overview of remarks

Looking at national energy policy through three lenses

- Energy Analyst: What's the context for thinking about energy needs: What are our key national/regional energy issues?
- Commissioner, Nat'l Commission on Energy Policy: Where Do We Need to Go?
- Energy Analyst: National Energy Policy Act: Where Does it Take Us? Does The Act Get Us Where We Need to Go? What's Missing in the Act that's Still Needed?



"....the crux of the energy challenge confronting us revolves around not only recognizing, but reconciling the multiple concerns of environmental quality, economic development and national security."

William Cohen, January 29, 1975





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The U.S. and Regional Energy Context: What are the key energy trends and issues?

"National Energy Policy" A patchwork quilt, no "grand design,"

Energy "policy" is made by countless decision makers:

- In Washington not just Congress & the President
 - Cabinet and regulatory agencies
 - The courts
- In the 50 states:
 - Legislatures, Governors, regulatory agencies, the courts
- In large and small companies
 - Producers, suppliers, utilities, transporters, multinationals
- By consumers
 - Big businesses, government purchasers, soccer moms
- Other forces, e.g.
 - interest rates, the economy, OPEC, Venezuela, terrorists, science and technology, the weather and other "Acts of God"



Shifting and sometimes competing rationales for national energy policy in the 20th Century

Theories of the role of government in energy policy:

- Energy policy as strategic investment
 - E.g., "Atoms for Peace," TVA
- Energy as a lever of social change
 - E.g., rural electrification in the New Deal
- Energy policy as protection against market power
 E.g., breaking up the Trusts, utility regulation
- Policy to address external effects of energy production, use
 - E.g., Clean Air Act, RGGI
- Energy policy as an enabler of markets
 - E.g., natural gas deregulation, electric industry restructuring



Energy politics/politics: highly geopolitical

Globally

Energy prices set in international markets (oil, gas, coal)

- Pressure from growing demand in other countries
- Supplies concentrated in particular regions globally



Crude Oil Prices: Nominal, Real

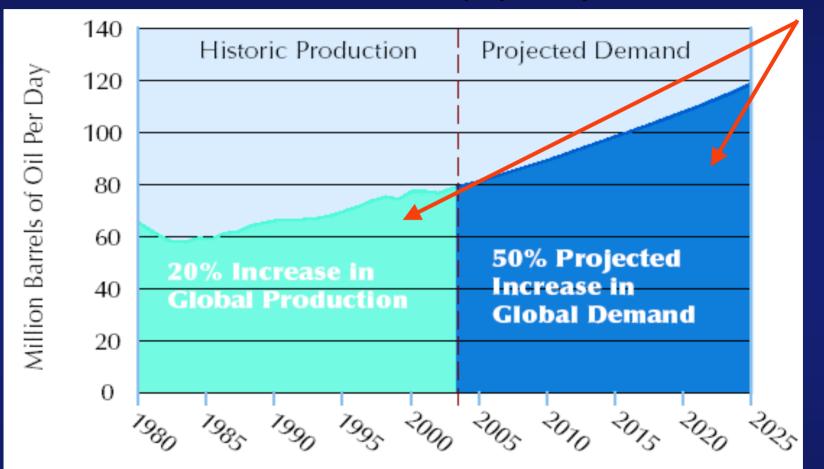




EIA, Short-Term Energy Outlook, September 2005

Rising worldwide demand for oil

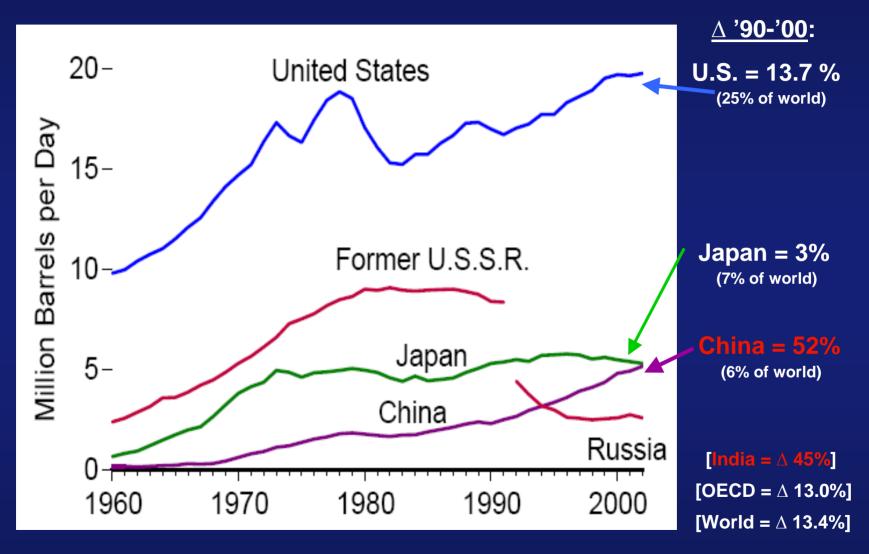
(especially from motor vehicles)



Data Source: Energy Information Administration, 2004



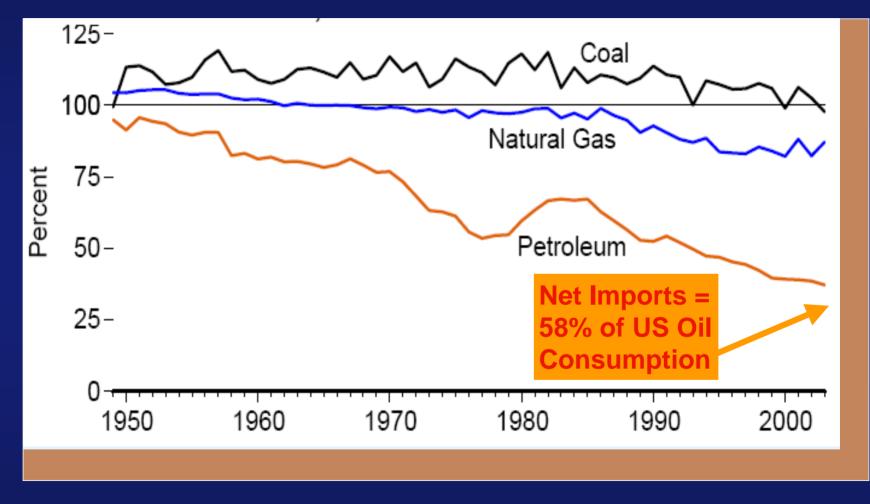
US remains major oil user, with fast-growing demand from China & India





EIA, Annual Review of Energy, 2003, Figure 62, Leading Petroleum Consumers

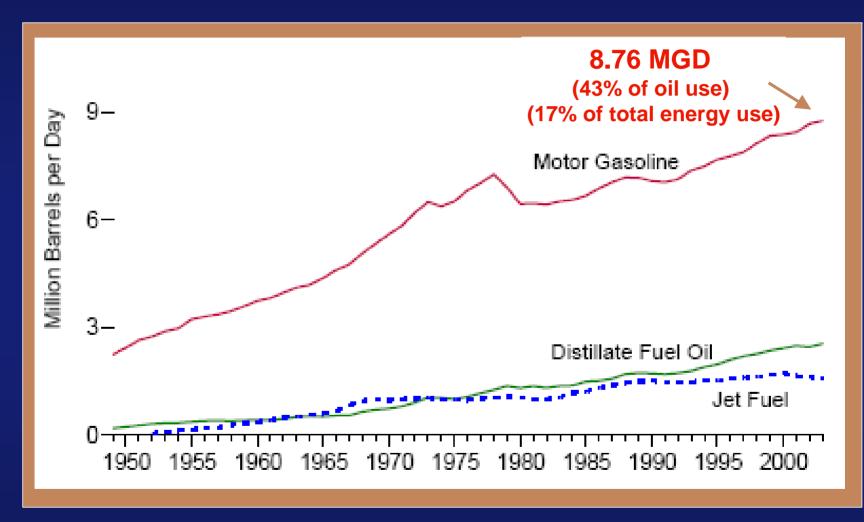
U.S. Production as % of U.S. Consumption for: Coal, Natural Gas, Petroleum



EIA, Annual Review of Energy, 2003, Figure 12. Production as Share of Consumption for Coal, Natural Gas, and Petroleum



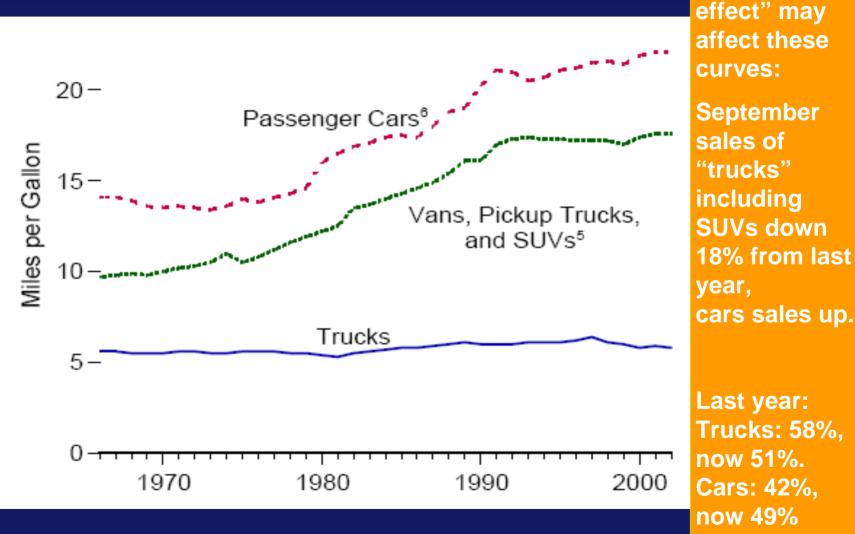
Growing Motor Vehicle Consumption of Oil



EIA, Annual Review of Energy, 2003, Figure 5.13b Estimated Petroleum Consumption by Product by Sector, 1949-2003



Worsening fuel economy in cars



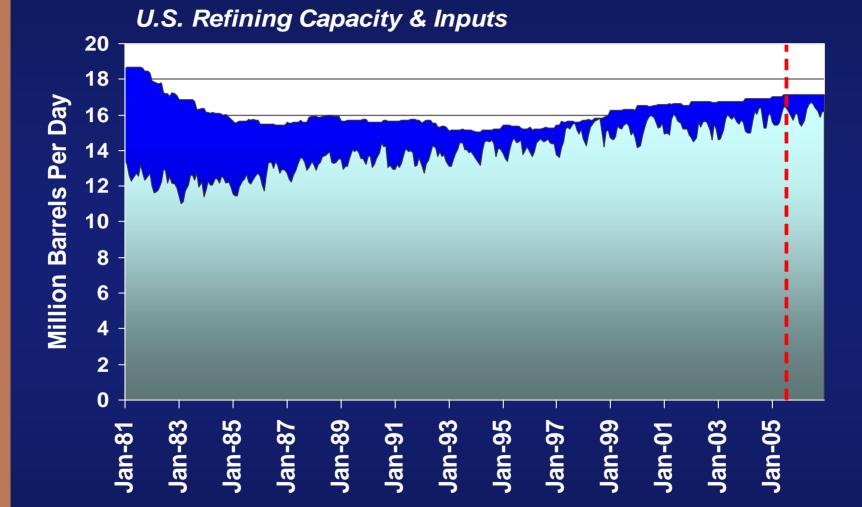
EIA, Annual Energy Review, 2003, Figure 2.8, Motor Vehicle Mileage, Fuel Consumption, and Fuel Rates; USA Today, October 4, 2005, page 2A.

ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL and STRATEGY CONSULTA

Note: The

"Katrina

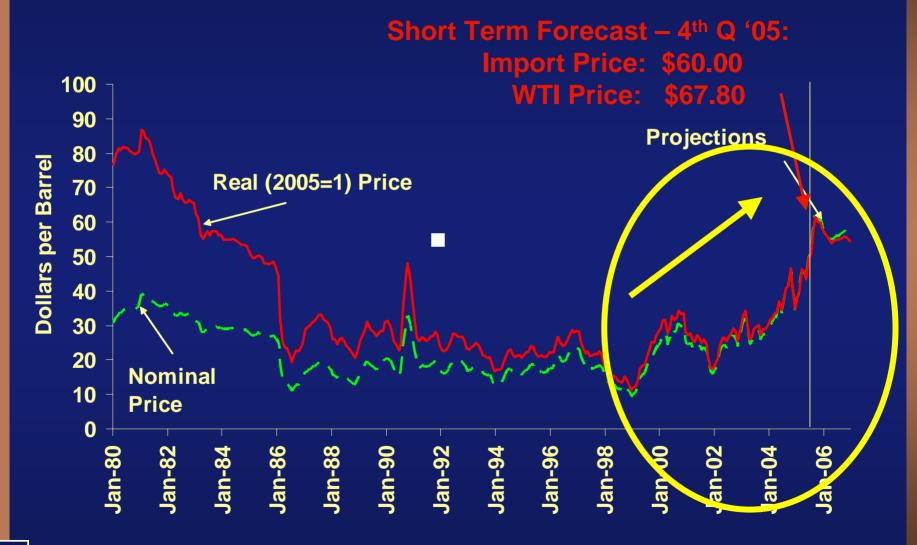
Tightening Domestic Refining Capacity



Sources: History: EIA; Projections: Short-Term Energy Outlook, June 2005. History and Outlook for Gasoline Prices Doug MacIntyre/Michael Burdette, Petroleum Division, U.S. Energy Information Administration, July 6, 2005, Owen J. Roberts High School, Pottstown, PA

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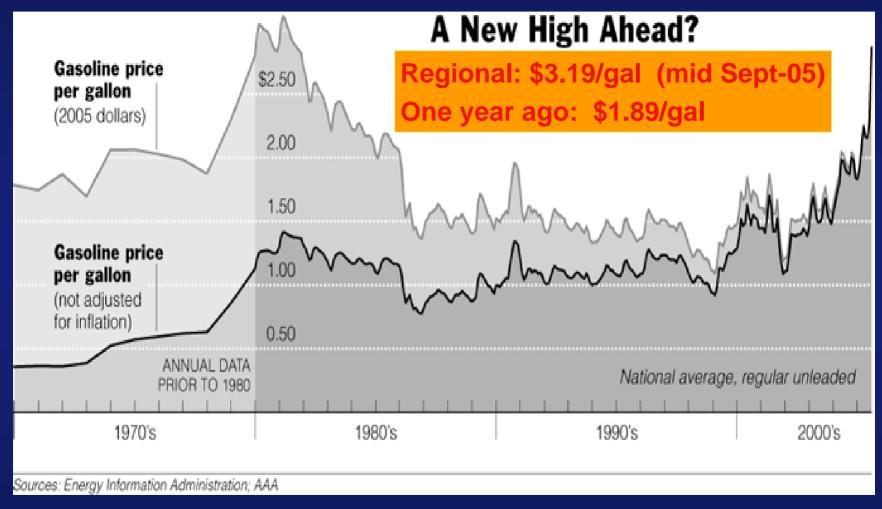
Imported Crude Oil Prices: Nominal, Real





EIA, Short-Term Energy Outlook, September 2005

Rising (Spiking) Gasoline Prices



NY Times, "Katrina's Shock to the System," 9-4-05 http://198.6.95.31/index.asp, and http://198.6.95.31/MAavg.asp



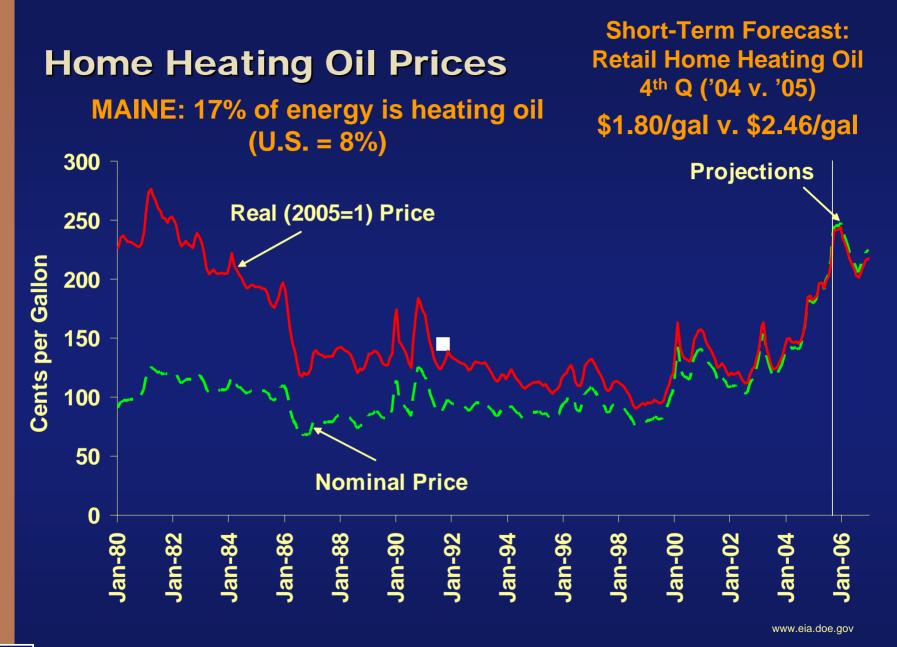
"Imagine 20 More Years of This...."



Cars out of gasoline and traffic stalled leaving Houston ahead of Hurricane Rita. NY Times, 9-25-05

"....America's energy industry - both its oil supplies and refineries - is concentrated along the Gulf of Mexico....[G]as prices will almost always spike each time a hurricane heads for the gulf coast."

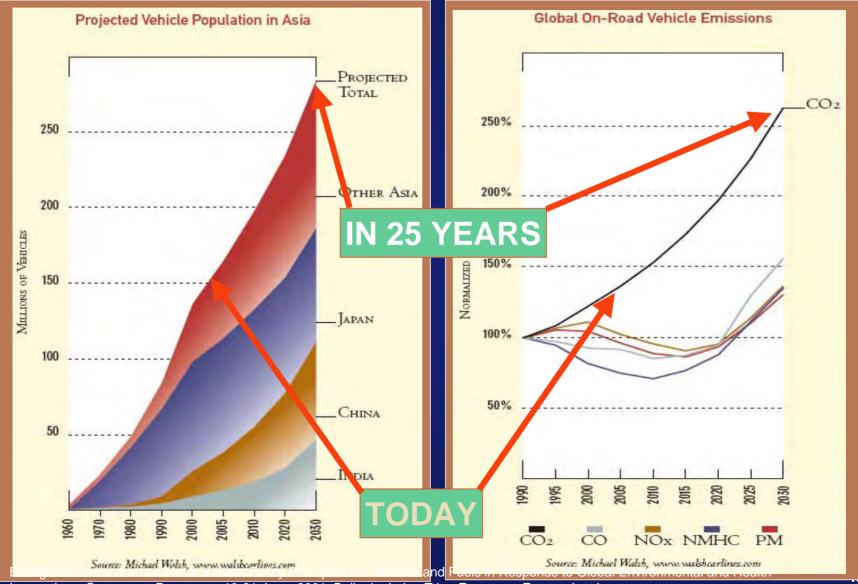




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EIA, Short-Term Energy Outlook, September 2005

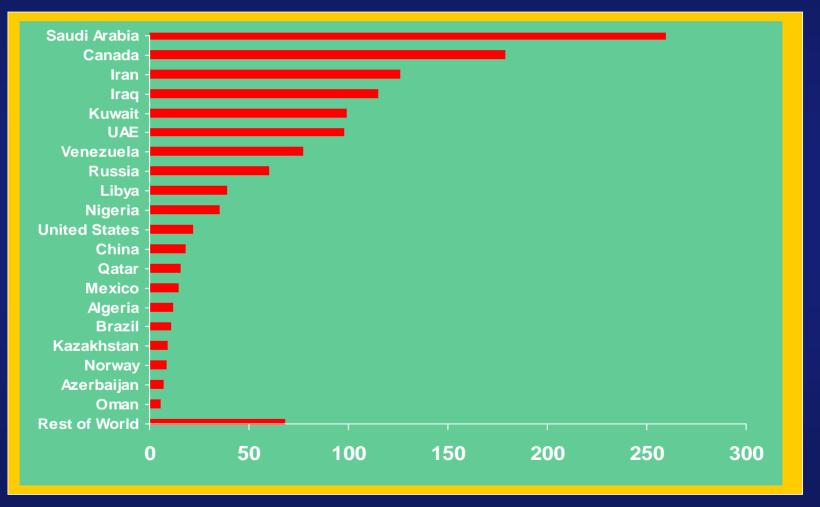
Growing vehicle use in Asia, world (\uparrow oil, \uparrow GHG)



Imperatives: Consensus Document: 19-21 June, 2001, Bellagio, Italy - T h e E n e r g y F o u n d a t i o n

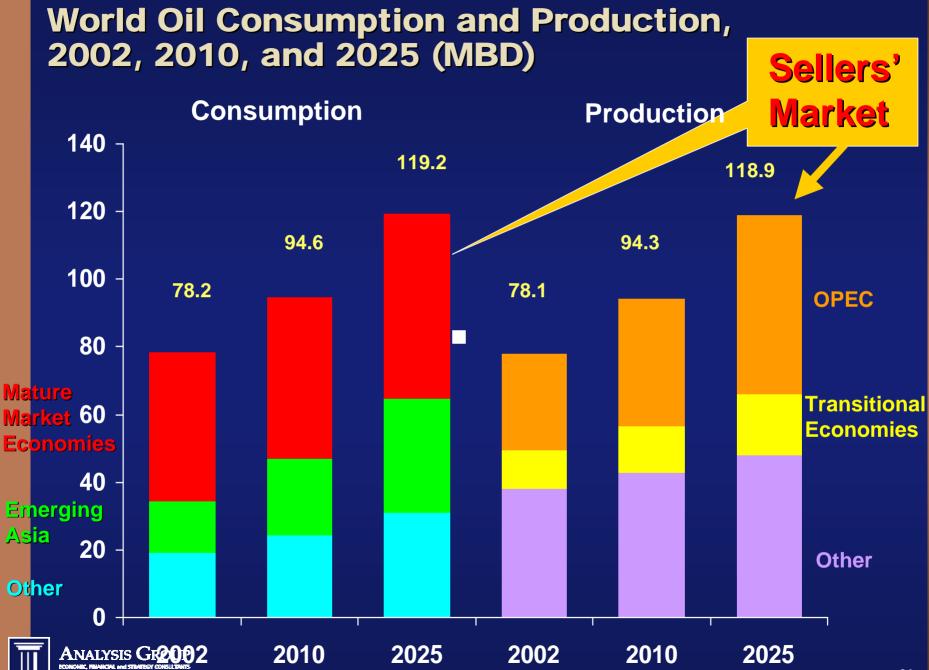
Continuing dependence on Middle East Oil

World Oil Reserves by Country, as of January 1, 2005 (b barrels)



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Dil & Cas Journal, "Worldwide Look at Reserves and Production," Vol. 102, No. 47 (December 20, 2004); International Energy Outlook, 2005; both cited in ²⁰



International Energy Outlook 2005; http://www.eia.doe.gov/neic/speeches/caruso091405.ppt

Energy supply – demand balances:

Oil:

- Worldwide demand/supply ~ 80 MBD
- Huge demand pressure (e.g., U.S., China, India)
- Production & reserves: inc'l supplies in Saudi Arabia
- Refining: extremely tight refining capacity in U.S.

Gas:

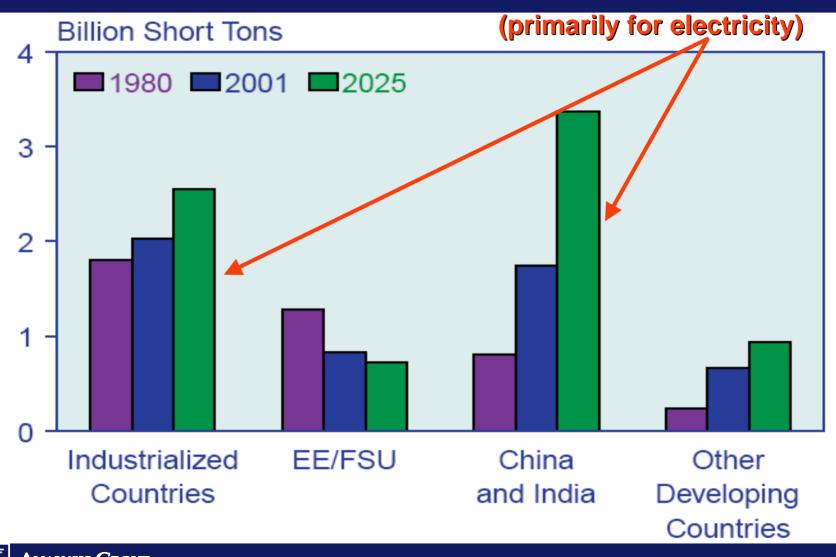
- North American demand pressure (esp. electric power)
- Declining North American production
- Improving economics of LNG
- Pressure for new import/delivery/storage capacity

Coal:

- Largest domestic fuel resource
- Rising demand (esp. China, India)
- Rising costs
- Significant environmental impacts especially carbon

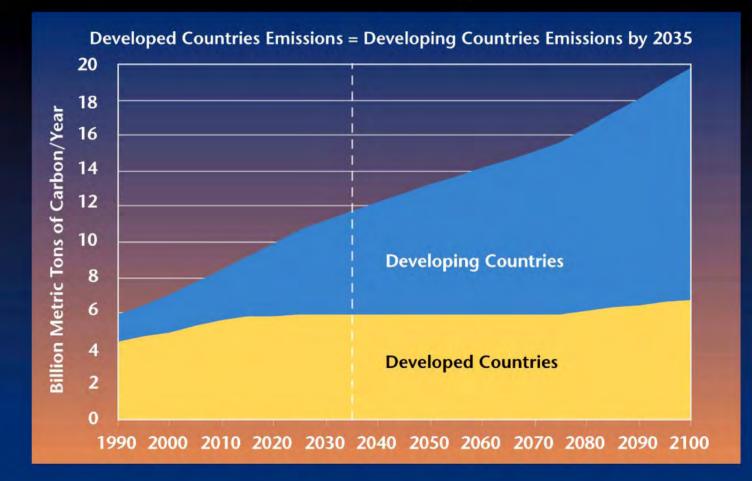


Growing coal use expected worldwide



U.S. Energy Information Administration, International Energy Outlook (2004).

Worldwide CO2 emissions: 1990-2100





CO2 Emissions by Country: Total emissions since 1950 (b tons)



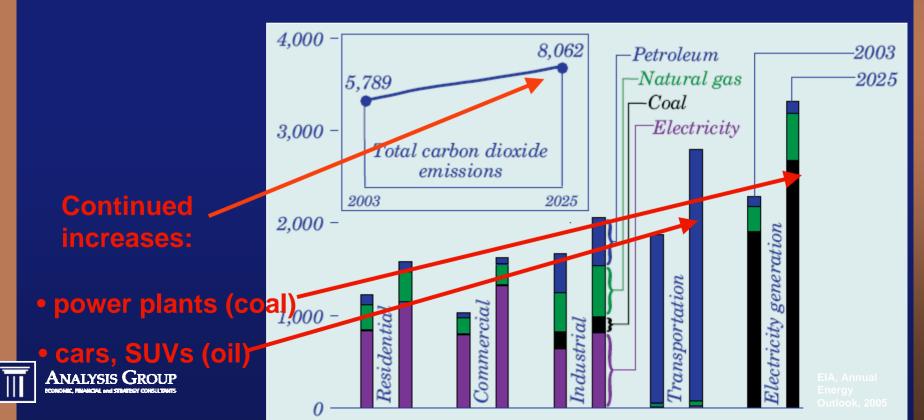


OUP Graphic from: Michael Glantz, "What Makes Good Climates Go Bad? ... and ... "Why Care?" USAEE/IAEE Meeting, 9-19-05.

Official U.S. position on Climate Change

The biggest GHG emitter is outside the international treaty

- Washington not willing to join Kyoto Protocol
- Continued resistance to mandatory action
- Support voluntary initiatives, R&D, data, analysis



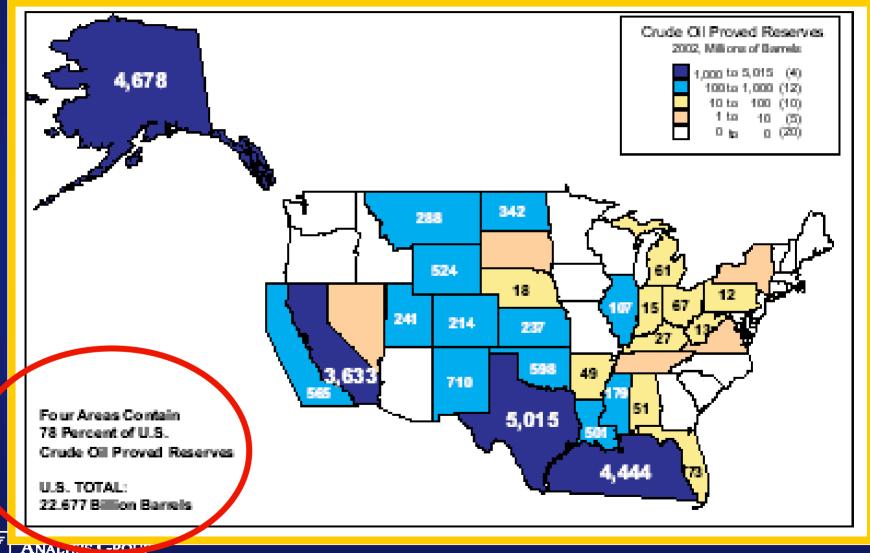
Energy politics/politics: highly geopolitical

Domestically

- Regional disparities in natural resources, energy demand, environmental attitudes, labor attitudes, etc.
- Differences often reflected in energy politics e.g.,
 - Producer states v. consumer states
 - Low-cost v. high-cost states, "Green states" v. "brown states"
- With organized interests: energy policy shaped by benefits and burdens
 - Concentrated proponents v. broadly dispersed burdens
 - Concentrated opponents v. faceless future beneficiaries



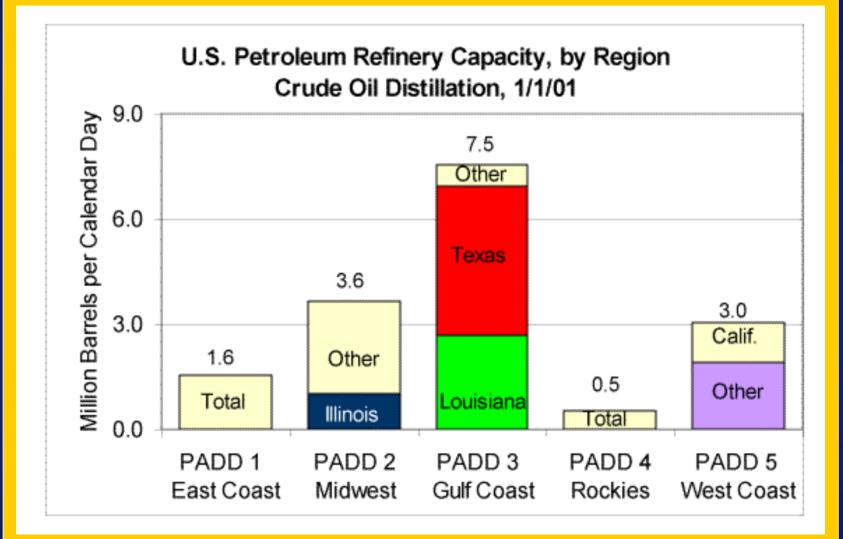
³/₄ of U.S. Oil Reserves in Four Areas (2002)



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EIA, US Crude Oil, Natural Gas, and Natural Gas Liquid Reserves, December 2003

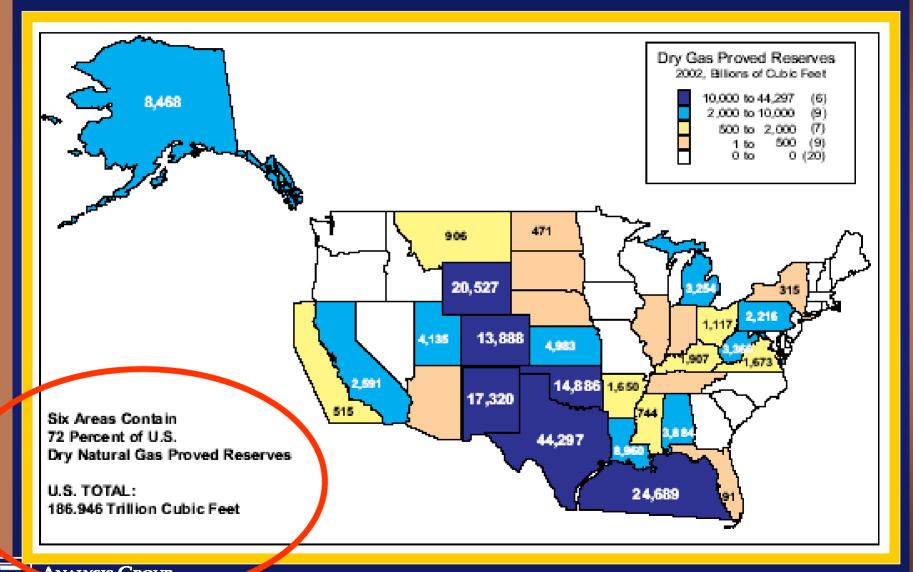
U.S. Refining Capacity: Regional Concentration



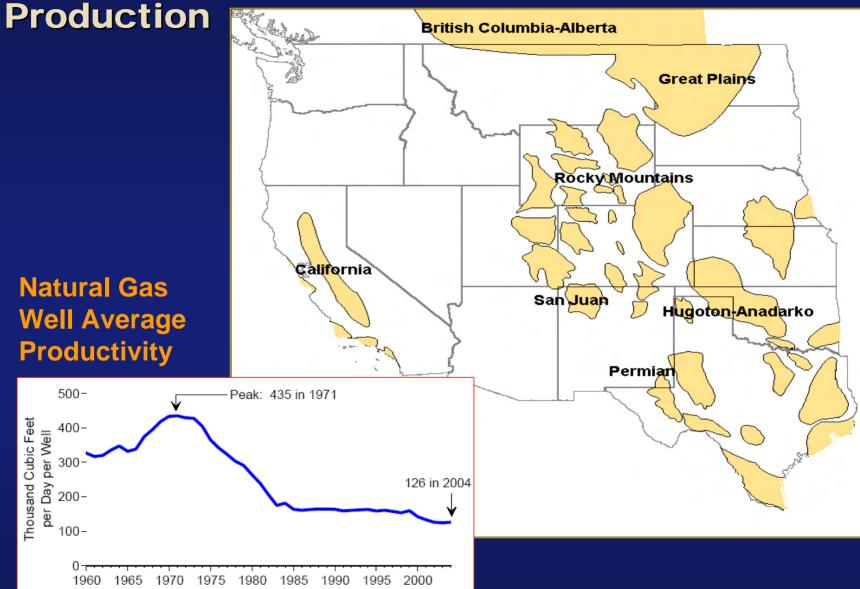


ANALYSIS GROUP. -/www.eia.doe.gov/pub/oil_gas/petroleum/analysis_publications/oil_market_basics/Ref_image_USregl_cap.htm; -/www.eia.doe.gov/pub/oil_gas/petroleum/data_publications/petroleum_supply_annual/psa_volume1/current/pdf/volume1_appendix_a.pdf

³/₄ of U.S. Natural Gas Reserves in 6 Areas (2002)



Western Natural Gas Basins - Declining

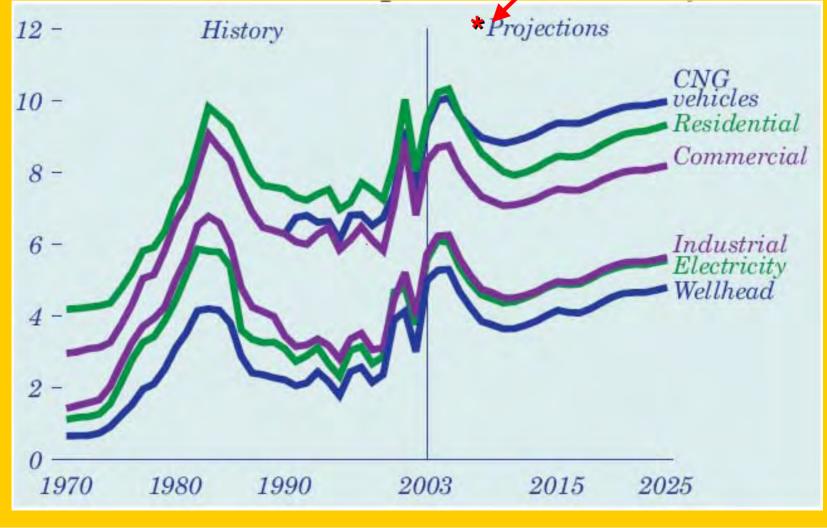




Source: "Western Infrastructure Assessment, Prepared by the Division of Market Development, October 24, 2001 (including data from California Energy Commission, California Energy Outlook, Staff Draft, Sep 2001); Annual Review of Energy, 2004, Figure 35.

Gas Prices Roaring Upward

Latest Spot Prices: — Actual Sept '05: ~\$14.00 , Forecast Jan '06: ~ \$12.00



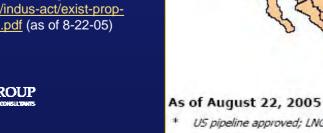
EIA, Annual Energy Outlook, 2005, Page 97; EIA, Medium Recovery case, Short-Term Energy Outlook, 9-7-05

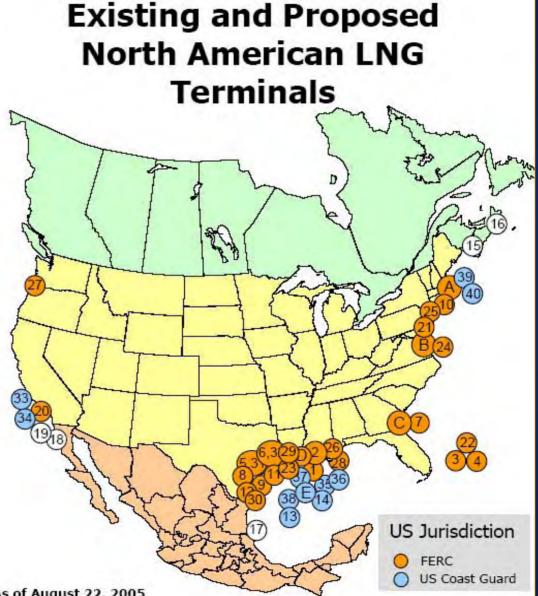
Many proposed new LNG terminals

FERC **Coast Guard**

> http://www.ferc.gov/industrie s/Ing/indus-act/exist-prop-Ing.pdf (as of 8-22-05)

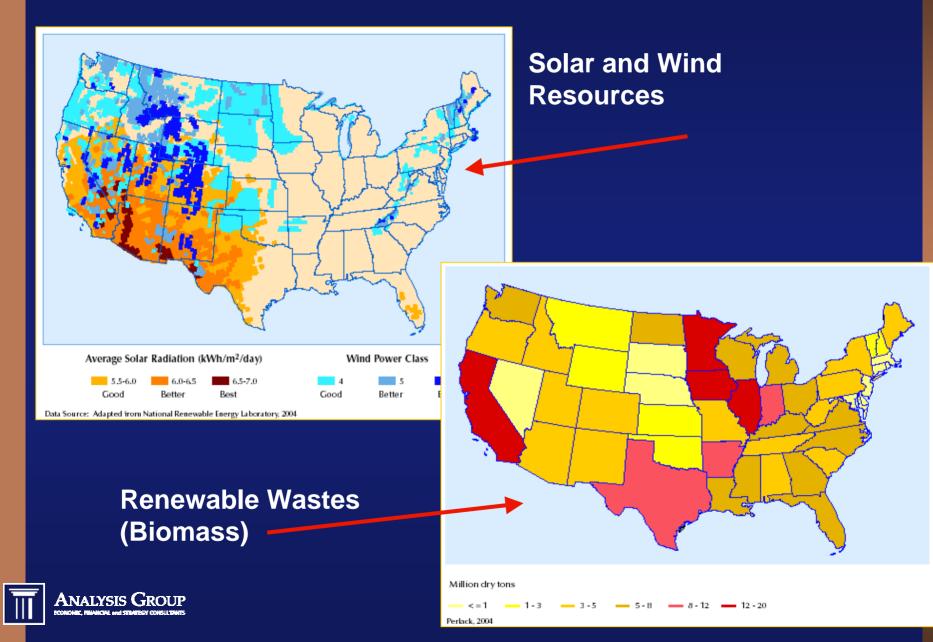




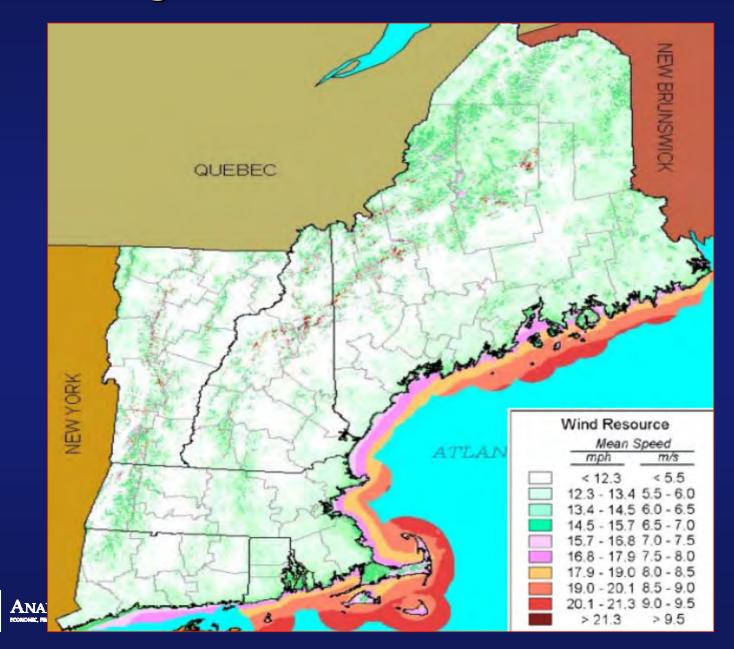


US pipeline approved; LNG terminal pending in Bahamas

Domestic renewable resources also abundant

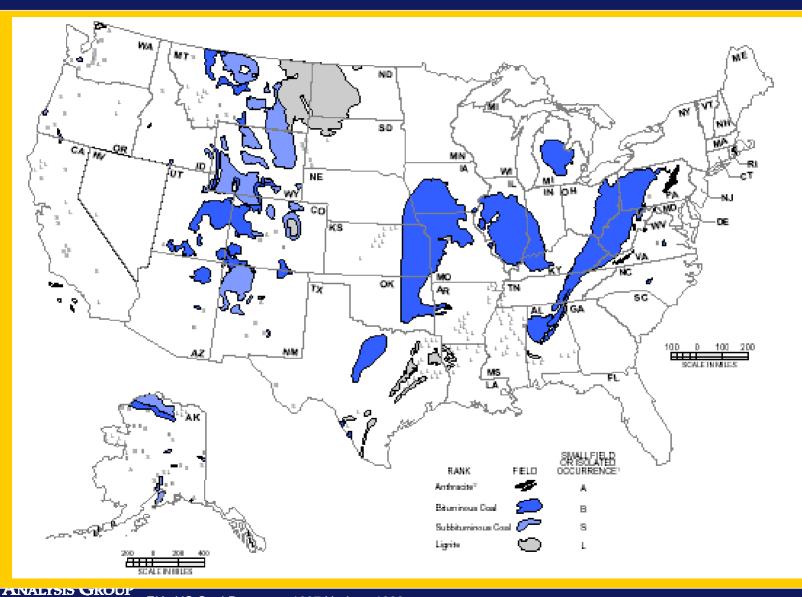


New England wind resources



ISO-NE, RSP05 Appendices

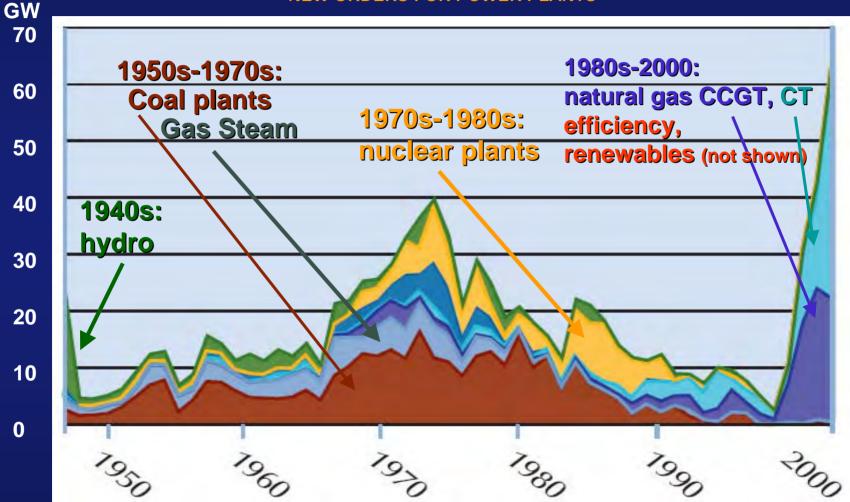
U.S. – Largest Coal Resource Among Nations





Typical energy trend: "Fuel of the Decade"

E.G.: Fuels going in and out of favor for power generation = f (economics, technology, public policy) NEW ORDERS FOR POWER PLANTS





National Commission on Energy Policy, 2004. Ending the Energy Stalemate: A Bipartisan Strategy to Meet America's Energy Challenges, page 44, citing Energy and Environmental Analysis, Inc., 2004.

Current N.E. Power Plants by Vintage & Type

	In-Service Date Prior to 1950		In-Service Date 1951 to 1970		In-Service Date 1971 to 1990		In-Service Date 1991 and After		GAS _{Total}		
Fuel Type	# of Units		# of Units		# of Units		# of Units	MW	MW	Percent	
Gas	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	6,378	6,378	20.6%	
Dual fuel ^(b)	3	63	4	354	9	336	27	4,805	5,558	18.0%	
Oil	7	26	63	2,486	22	4,966	7	08	7,538	24.4%	
Nuclear	0	0	0	0	5	4,387	0	0	4,387	14.2%	
Coal	0	0	14	2,592	2	256	0	0	2,848	9.2%	
Pumped storage	1	29	0	0	3	1,643	0	0	1,672	5.4%	
Hydro	65	877	8	316	15	411	49	58	1,663	5.4%	
Miscellaneous ^(C)	0	U	0	0	31	656	33	240	896	2.9%	
Totals ^(d)	75	996	89	5,748	238	12,655	140	11,540	30,940	100.0%	
Percent of Total MW		3.2%		18.6%		41.2%		37.6%			
COAL, OIL, HYDRO				NUCLEAR and OIL					DSM: +1552 MW		



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ISO-NE, RSP 05, Table 1.1(as of Summer 2005); ISO-NE, CELT Report, 2005