

# A Sustainable Union

**Adrien Fabre** (CNRS, CIRED)

*April 2025*

# A Fossil-Free Union

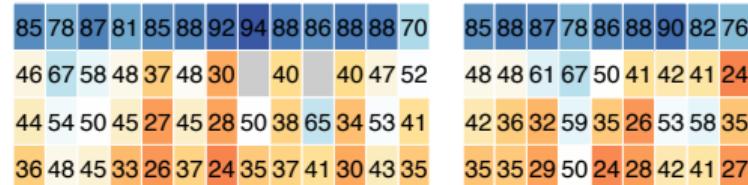
# Global policies are strongly supported by the public.

Share of support (somewhat or strongly) for the main global policies among non-*indifferent*. ▶ Absolute ▶ National



## Level at which climate policies are needed (Multiple choice question)

Global



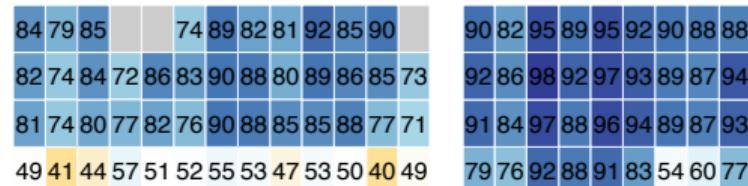
Federal/Continental

State/National

Local

## Global climate policies (5-Likert scale)

Global carbon budget (+2°C) divided in tradable country shares



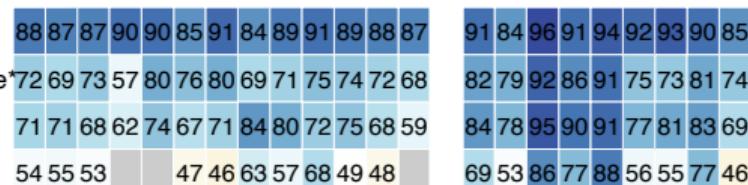
Global tax on millionaires to finance low-income countries

Global democratic assembly on climate change

Global tax on GHG financing a global basic income

## Burden sharing preferences for the global carbon budget (5-Likert)

Emission share should be in proportion to population\*



Countries that have emitted more since 1990 should receive a lower share\*

Countries that will be hurt more by CC should receive a higher share\*

Emission share should be in proportion to current emissions

## A Global Climate Scheme

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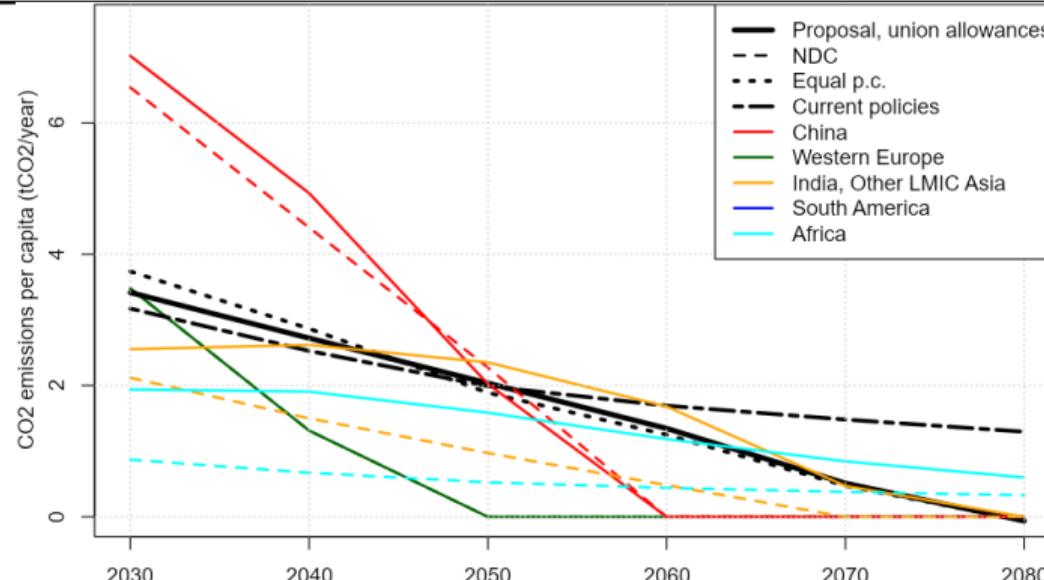
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## The proposed allocation of emissions allowances

Table 1: Carbon budget over 2030–2080 for a 1.8°C trajectory (in GtCO<sub>2</sub>)

	Africa	China	Latin America	India	Europe	Other Asia	Union	World
<b>Equal p.c.</b>	144	134	62	135	49	128	653	754
<b>Proposal</b>	144	154	62	135	23	128	647	748



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A carbon border adjustment would prevent carbon leakage.

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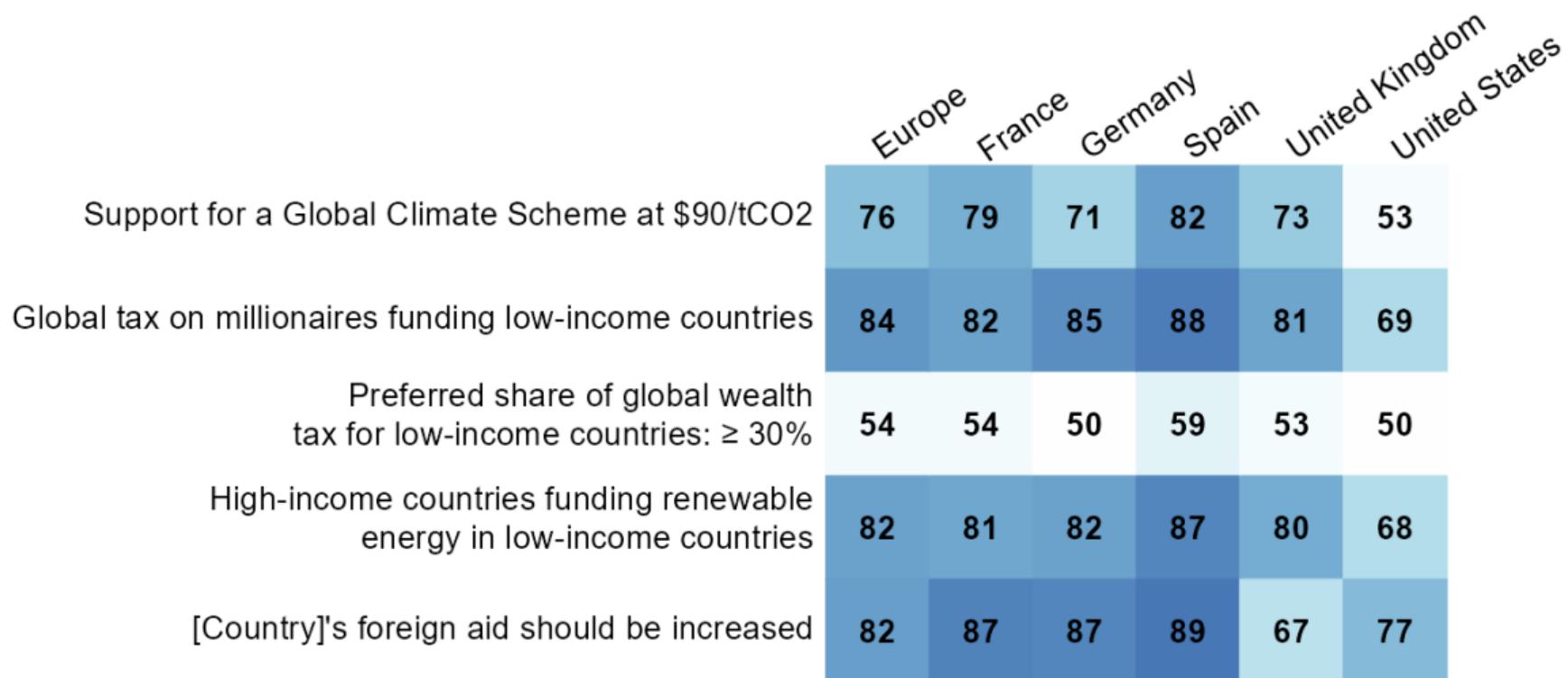
LICs (in particular in **Africa**) **would obtain sizable transfers** by selling allowances.

**Middle-income countries** (India, Brazil, Indonesia) would **get allowances in line with their needs**, encouraging them to decarbonize with the **guarantee that the rest of the world also decarbonizes**.

# Support for global justice policies

[More results](#)

Share of support (somewhat or strongly) for the main global policies among non-*indifferent*.



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Embrace the consensus on **equal per capita** allocation and negotiate a **common** price or quantity target.

**Break the deadlock of international negotiations** by providing low-income countries with resources.

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⇒ 1% of each country's GNI reallocated in proportion to countries' population.

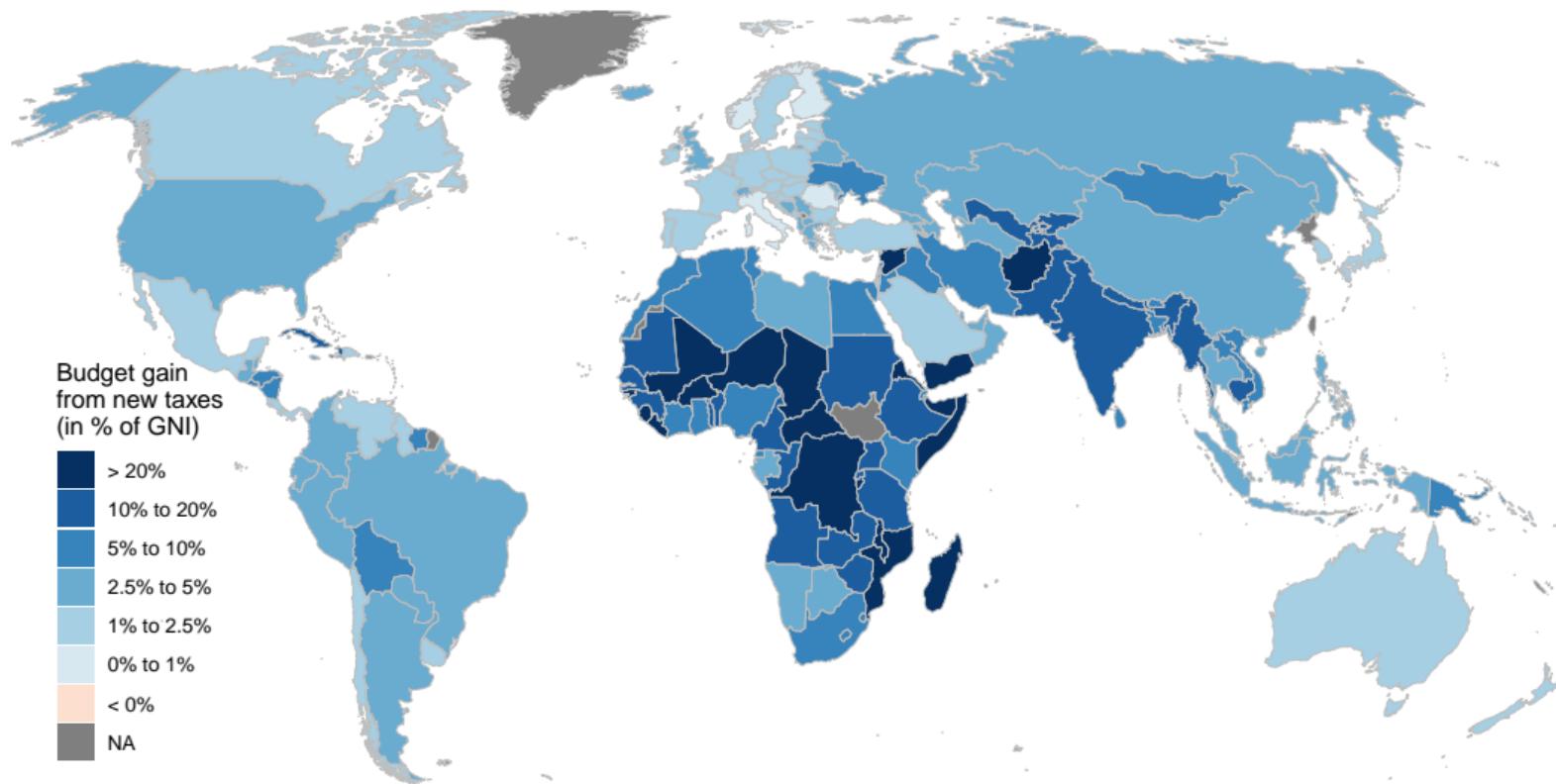
## Towards an international tax system

Estimate of **revenue collected** by new global taxes (**in \$ billion per year**).

Financial Transactions Tax	Carbon price floor (10 \$/tCO <sub>2</sub> )	Maritime fuel levy (100 \$/tCO <sub>2</sub> )	Aviation fuel levy (300 \$/tCO <sub>2</sub> )	Corporate income tax (at 21%)	Tax on ultra-high wealth (3% above \$100M)	National wealth Tax (2% above \$5M)	Total
327	356	104	223	299	765	1,364	<b>3,438</b>

# Towards an international tax system

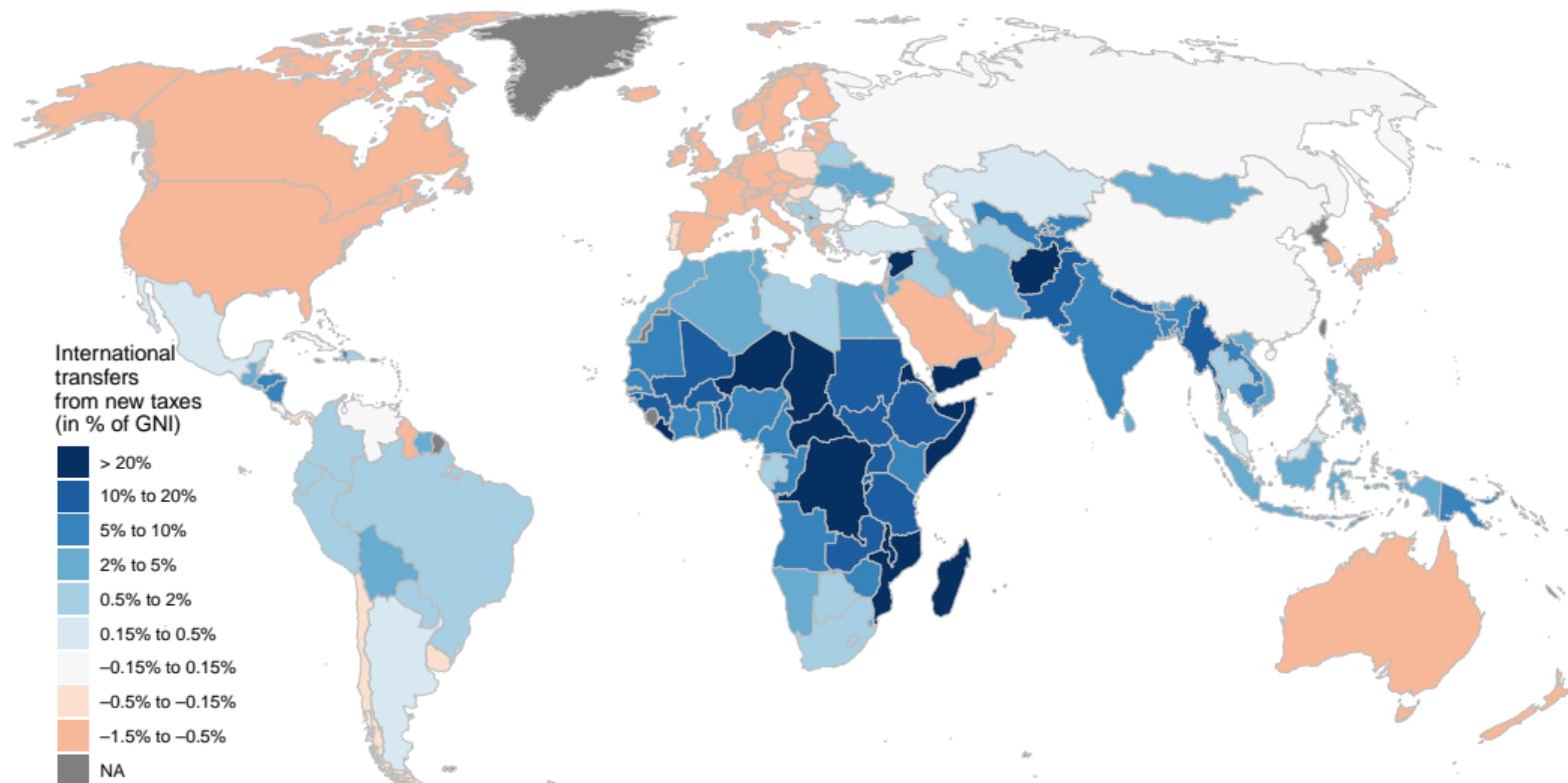
**Net gain for state budgets** from new taxes and transfers (revenue + net transfer): All countries' govt's gain.



# Towards an international tax system

**International transfers** to be financed by new global taxes.

The instruments proposed entail **North-South transfers of \$766 billion** per year.



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Net contribution of a HIC reduced if other HICs do not participate.

A country can enter the ETS but be exempted from taxes and transfers, if accepted by a majority.

A country can condition its participation to the participation of sufficiently many others.

# **Thank you for attention!**

For further information:

[Fossil-Free Union - 2-pager](#)

[A shared vision towards global climate justice](#)

(longer version, by a worldwide group of scholars and diplomats)

[The Sustainable Union – Draft Treaty](#)

[Majority Support for Global Climate and Redistributive Policies](#)

(*Nature Human Behaviour*; Fabre, Douenne & Mattauch; 2025)

Book: [bit.ly/bookGCP](https://bit.ly/bookGCP)

(free, preface by Gabriel Zucman)

A GLOBAL PLAN  
TO  
END CLIMATE CHANGE  
AND EXTREME POVERTY

@adrien\_fabre

# Support for global justice policies

# International surveys with a focus on the West

[» Go back](#)

**Global survey** (02/2021–02/2022) by [Dechezleprêtre et al. \(2022\)](#), *American Economic Review*

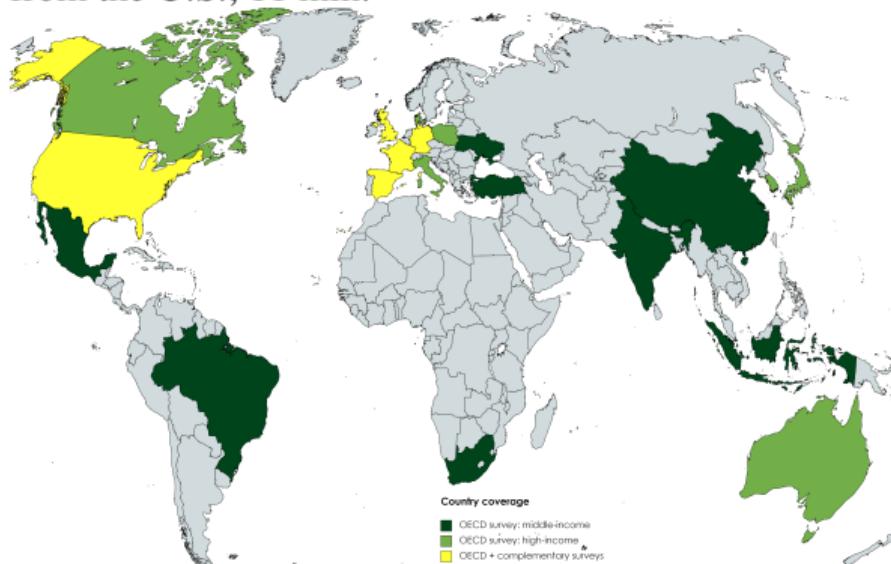
20 countries; 2,000 respondents per country; median duration: 28 min.

**Complementary surveys** (01–04/2023) by [Fabre, Douenne & Mattauch \(2023\)](#) – [bit.ly/Fabre2023](https://bit.ly/Fabre2023)

Eu: 3,000 respondents from France, Germany, Spain, UK; 20 min.

US1: 3,000 respondents from the U.S.; 14 min.

US2: 2,000 respondents from the U.S.; 11 min.



## The Global Climate Scheme (GCS) [» Go back](#)

Our main policy of interest is the GCS, a **global emissions trading system funding a global basic income:**

At the Paris agreement in 2015, all countries have agreed to contain global warming “well below +2 °C”. To limit global warming to this level, **there is a maximum amount of greenhouse gases we can emit globally.**

To meet the climate target, a limited number of permits to emit greenhouse gases can be created globally. Polluting firms would be required to buy permits to cover their emissions. Such a policy would **make fossil fuel companies pay** for their emissions and progressively raise the price of fossil fuels. **Higher prices would encourage people and companies to use less fossil fuels, reducing greenhouse gas emissions.**

In accordance with the principle that each human has an equal right to pollute, the revenues generated by the sale of permits could finance a global basic income. **Each adult in the world would receive \$30/month**, thereby lifting out of extreme poverty the 700 million people who earn less than \$2/day.

**The typical [American] would lose out financially [\$85] per month** (as he or she would face [\$115] per month in price increases, which is higher than the \$30 they would receive).

The policy could be put in place as soon as countries totaling more than 60% of global emissions agree on it. Countries that would refuse to take part in the policy could face sanctions (like tariffs) from the rest of the World and would be excluded from the basic income.

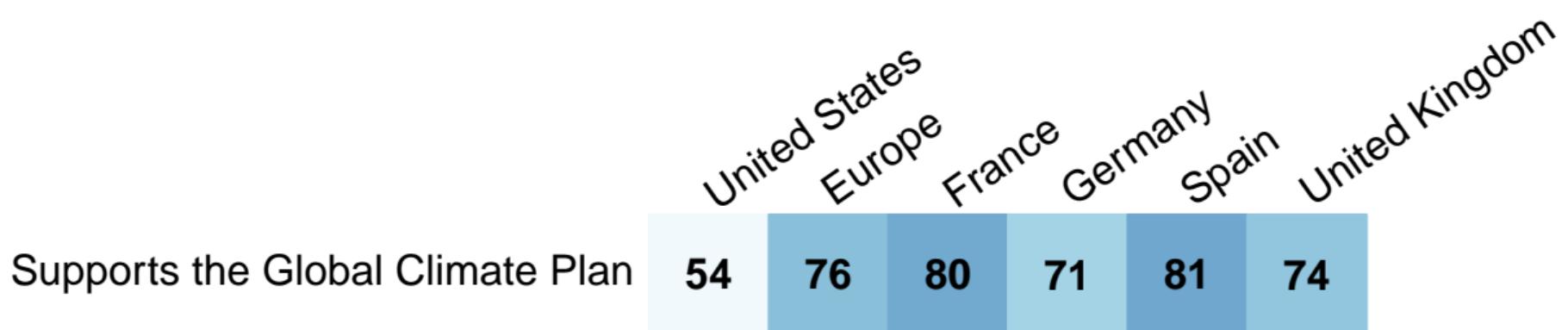
## Support for the Global Climate Plan

[» Go back](#)

Global Climate Plan: a global emissions trading system that would finance an equal cash transfer of \$30 per month to every human.

We specify the net costs (e.g. \$85 per month in the U.S., € per month in Germany).

Do you support...? Yes/No (Percentage of Yes) [» Perceptions](#) [» Complementary policies](#) [» By vote](#) [» National policies](#)



## Sincerity of the support for the GCS

## List experiment

[» Go back](#)

We ask *Among the policies below, how many do you support?*, randomly varying the list of policies. The difference in mean number of supported policies for lists with and without the GCS should equal the support for GCS. If the tacit support is lower, it may indicate a social desirability bias.

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	Number of supported policies		
	All	U.S.	Europe
List contains: GCS	0.624*** (0.028)	0.524*** (0.041)	0.724*** (0.036)
<i>Support for GCS</i>	0.65	0.542	0.757
<i>Social desirability bias</i>	-0.026	-0.019	-0.033
<i>80% C.I. for the bias</i>	[-0.06; 0.01]	[-0.07; 0.04]	[-0.08; 0.01]
Constant	1.317	1.147	1.486
Observations	6,000	3,000	3,000
R <sup>2</sup>	0.089	0.065	0.125

Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

⇒ No (significant) social desirability bias.

# Conjoint analyses: influence on electoral prospects

[Go back](#)

## Choice between a conservative platform and a progressive platform with/without the GCS.

Imagine if the two favorite candidates in your constituency in the next general election campaigned with the following policies in their party's platforms.

Which of these candidates would you vote for?

Candidate A	Candidate B
Windfall tax on oil companies	Cut the burden of tax on business
Ban the sale of new combustion-engine cars by 2030	£100 billion for infrastructures like road and rail
£150 billion to upgrade schools, hospitals, care homes and council houses	Tougher sentencing for the worst offenders and 10,000 more prison places
National redistribution scheme	Strict enforcement of immigration and border legislation
Global climate scheme	

Candidate A

Candidate B

None of them

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None of them

## Conjoint analyses: influence on electoral prospects [» Go back](#)

**Table 1:** Imagine if the [Democratic and Republican presidential candidates in 2024] campaigned with the following policies in their platforms. [Credible Progressive and Conservative platforms]

Which of these candidates would you vote for? *A; B; None of them*

[FR: second round of presidential; DE, ES, UK: two favorite candidates in one's constituency]

	Prefers the Progressive platform					
	All	United States	France	Germany	UK	Spain
CS in Progressive platform	0.028* (0.014)	0.029 (0.022)	0.112*** (0.041)	0.015 (0.033)	0.008 (0.040)	-0.015 (0.038)
Constant	0.623	0.604	0.55	0.7	0.551	0.775
Observations	5,202	2,619	605	813	661	504
$R^2$	0.001	0.001	0.013	0.0003	0.0001	0.0003

*Note:* The 14% of *None* answers have been excluded from the regression samples. GCS has no significant influence on them.

A progressive candidate would not lose votes by endorsing the GCS, and could even gain 11 p.p.\*\*\*

# Conjoint analyses: influence on preferred platform (UK) [» Go back](#)

Imagine that the Labour wins the next elections. Here are two possible platforms on which it may campaign (the policies in each platform are randomly drawn from a pool of credible Labour policies).  
(...) which of these platforms do you prefer?

## Climate policy:

Ban of most polluting vehicles in city centers (low-emission zones)

Thermal insulation plan

Ban the sale of new combustion-engine cars by 2030

## Economic issues:

£150 billion to upgrade schools, hospitals, care homes and council houses

Real Living Wage of £11 per hour for all workers aged 16 and over

Reduce the average full-time weekly working hours to 32

Re-establish neighbourhood policing and recruit 2,000 more frontline officers

## Foreign policy:

Global climate scheme

Global tax on millionaires

Global democratic assembly on climate change

Doubling foreign aid

## Societal issues:

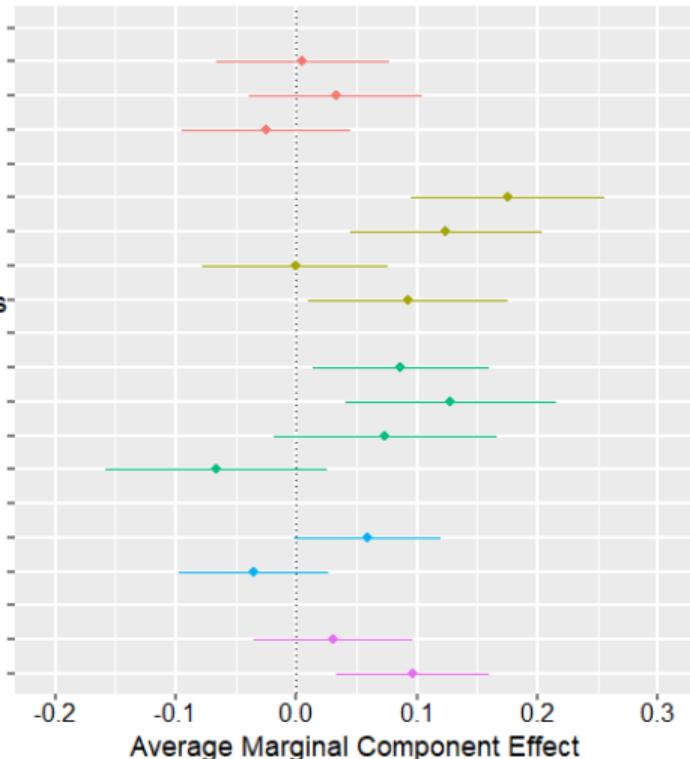
Strict enforcement of immigration and border legislation

Legalization of cannabis

## Tax system:

National redistribution scheme

Wealth tax



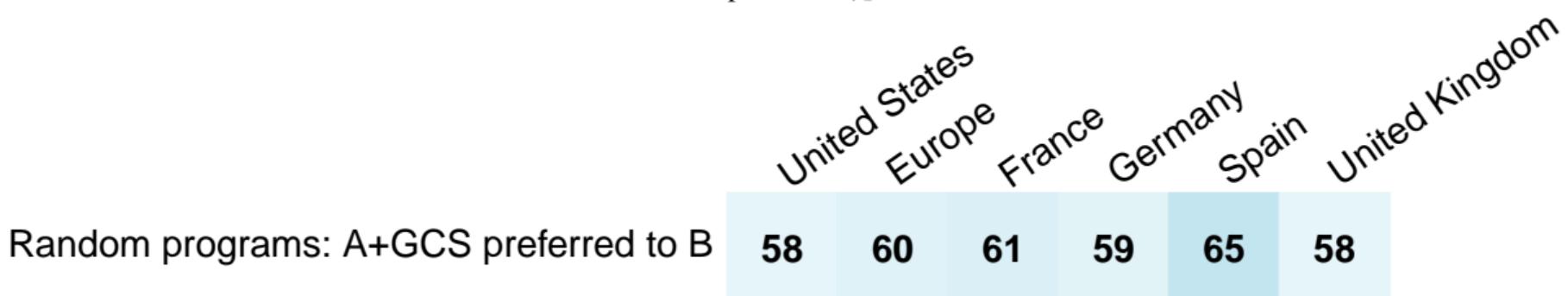
## Conjoint analyses: influence on preferred platform

We ask the preference between two progressive platforms, where each measure is taken at random. The GCS is included in one of the platforms.

Imagine that a [Left or Center-left coalition wins the next elections]. Here are two possible platforms on which [the coalition] may campaign (the policies in each platform are randomly drawn from a pool of credible [Left/Center-left] policies).

Even if you do not support the Left, which of these platforms do you prefer?

[FR: Left or center-left; DE: rot-rot-grüne; ES: PSOE; UK: Labour; US: Democratic primary (*not asked to Republican*)]



Random programs: A+GCS preferred to B

58    60    61    59    65    58

⇒ Majorities prefer platforms that include the GCS.

# Support for other global policies

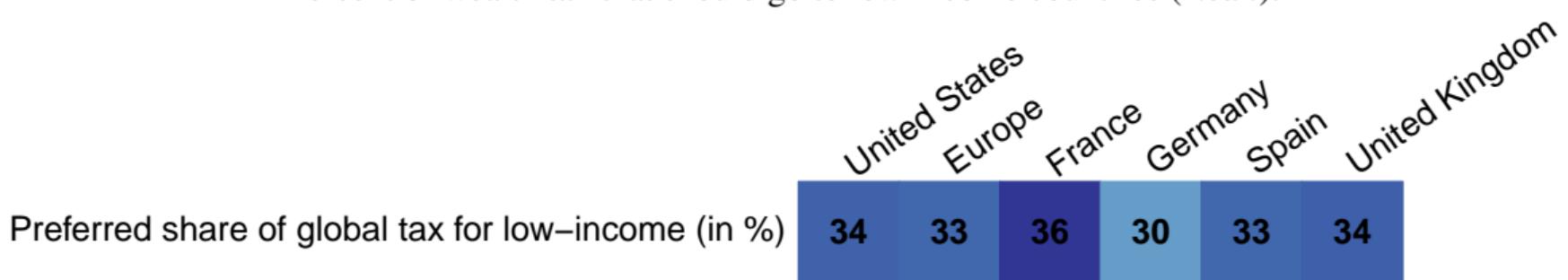
[Go back](#)

Do you support or oppose...? 5-Likert scale (Percentage of Support among non-Indifferent)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Payments from high-income countries to compensate low-income countries for climate damages	55	71	72	70	79	70
High-income countries funding renewable energy in low-income countries	68	82	82	82	85	81
High-income countries contributing \$100 billion per year to help low-income countries adapt to climate change	60	76	77	79	79	71
Cancellation of low-income countries' public debt	46	53	53	43	62	61
Democratise international institutions (UN, IMF) by making a country's voting right proportional to its population	58	71	69	69	78	72
Removing tariffs on imports from low-income countries	62	73	58	73	80	83
A minimum wage in all countries at 50% of local median wage	63	80	80	78	81	83
Fight tax evasion by creating a global financial register to record ownership of all assets	62	87	90	86	91	87
A maximum wealth limit of \$10 billion (US) / €100 million (Eu) for each human	46	62	58	62	65	67
National tax on millionaires funding public services	73	85	81	87	89	88
Global tax on millionaires funding low-income countries	69	84	84	84	87	83

We describe a global tax on wealth in excess of \$/€/£ 5 million who should get the revenues

Percent of wealth tax that should go to low-income countries (*mean*):



Preferred share of global tax for low-income countries (in %)

# Support for increased foreign aid

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Actual, perceived and preferred amount of foreign aid, with random info (or not) on actual amount. (*Mean*)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Actual foreign aid (in % of public spending)	0.4	1.1	0.8	1.3	0.5	1.7
Belief about foreign aid	4.7	2.9	2.7	2.9	2.8	3.5
Preferred foreign aid (with info)	1.8	2.7	3.4	2.9	2.1	2.5
Preferred foreign aid (no info)	4	3.9	4.7	4.4	3.1	3.4

# Support for increased foreign aid

[» Go back](#)

Actual, perceived and preferred amount of foreign aid, with random info (or not) on actual amount. (*Mean*)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Actual foreign aid (in % of public spending)	0.4	1.1	0.8	1.3	0.5	1.7
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Preferred foreign aid (no info)	4	3.9	4.7	4.4	3.1	3.4

Support for increased foreign aid: from previous question, and directly asked (with info).

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Preferred foreign aid is at least as high as current	70	75	91	76	77	57
Preferred foreign aid is at least as high as perceived	57	74	83	79	77	58
Supports increasing foreign aid (incl. with conditions)	60	64	63	68	69	56

Actual foreign aid is overestimated.

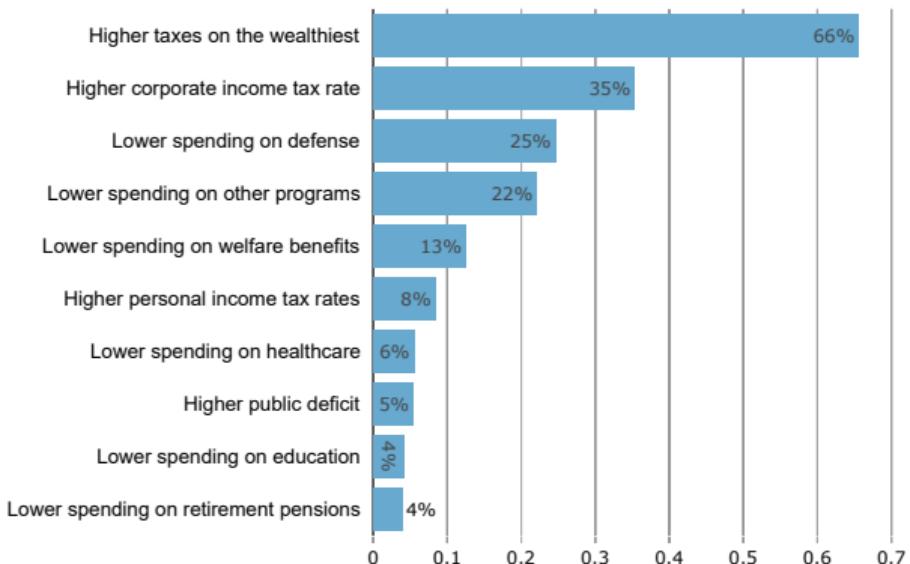
Majorities support more foreign aid.

# Preferences over public spending

[Go back](#)

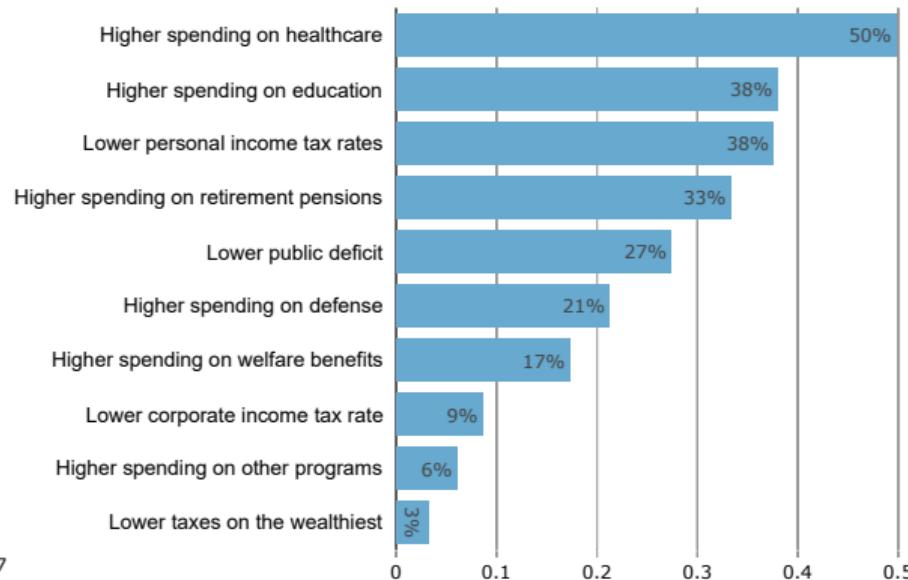
Your previous answer shows that you would like to increase [UK] foreign aid.

How would you like to finance such increase in foreign aid? (Multiple answers possible)



Your previous answer shows that you would like to reduce [UK] foreign aid.

How would you like to use the freed budget? (Multiple answers possible)

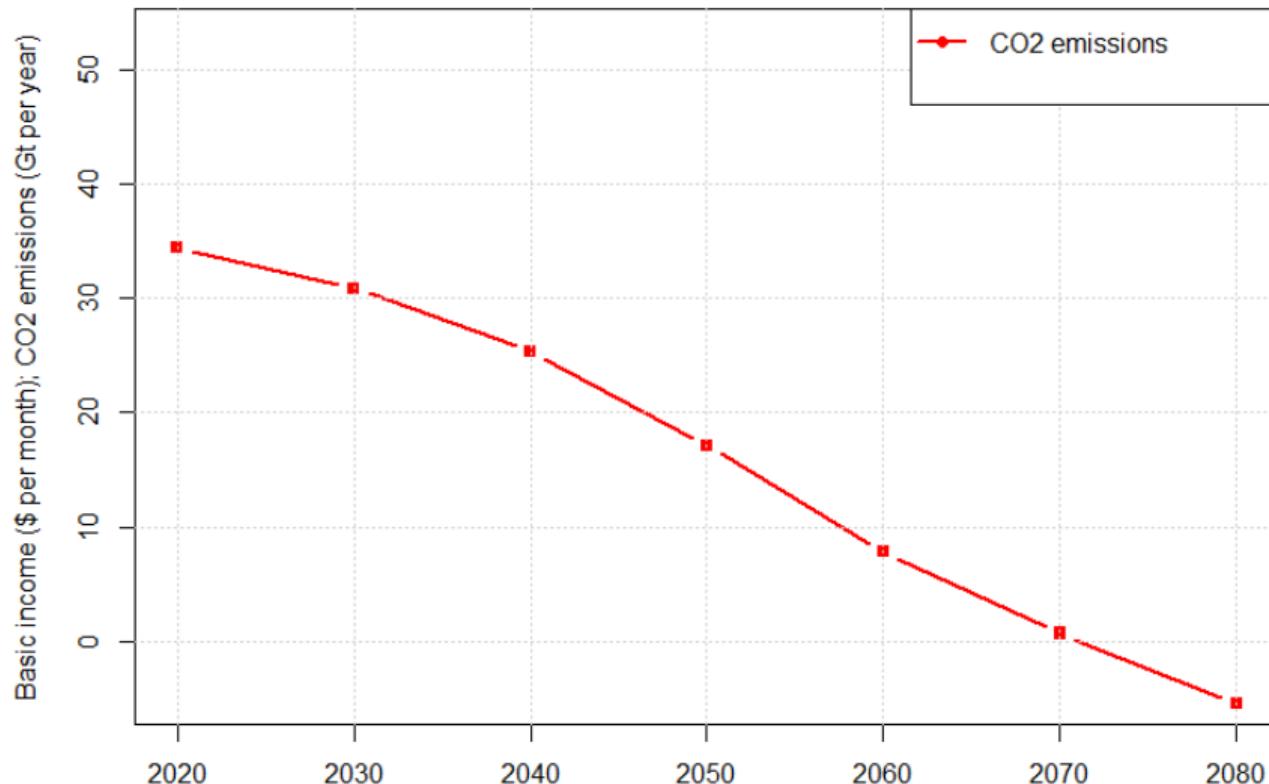


People want better public services and higher taxes on the wealthiest.

# The Global Climate Plan

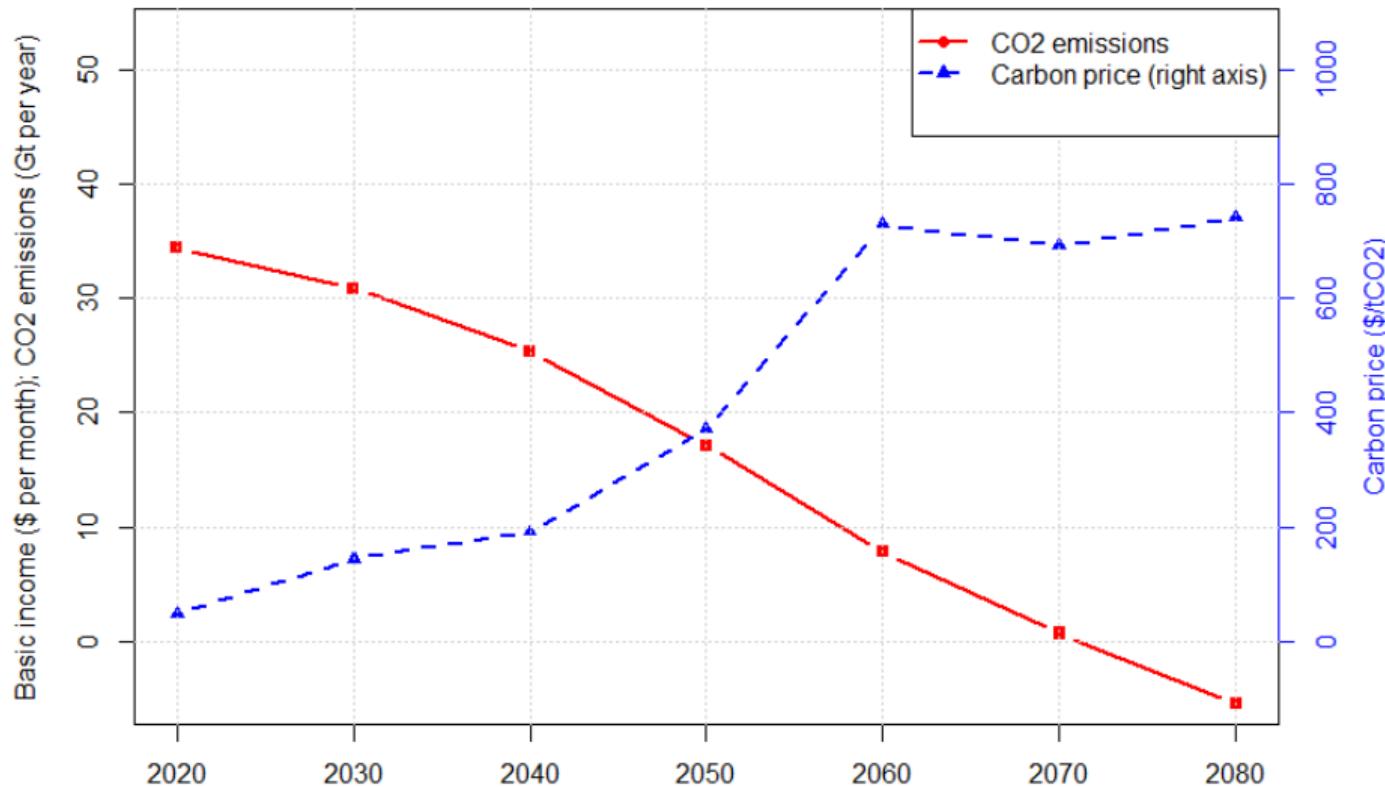
# The trajectories

Global trajectories estimated for the Global Climate Plan (GCP)



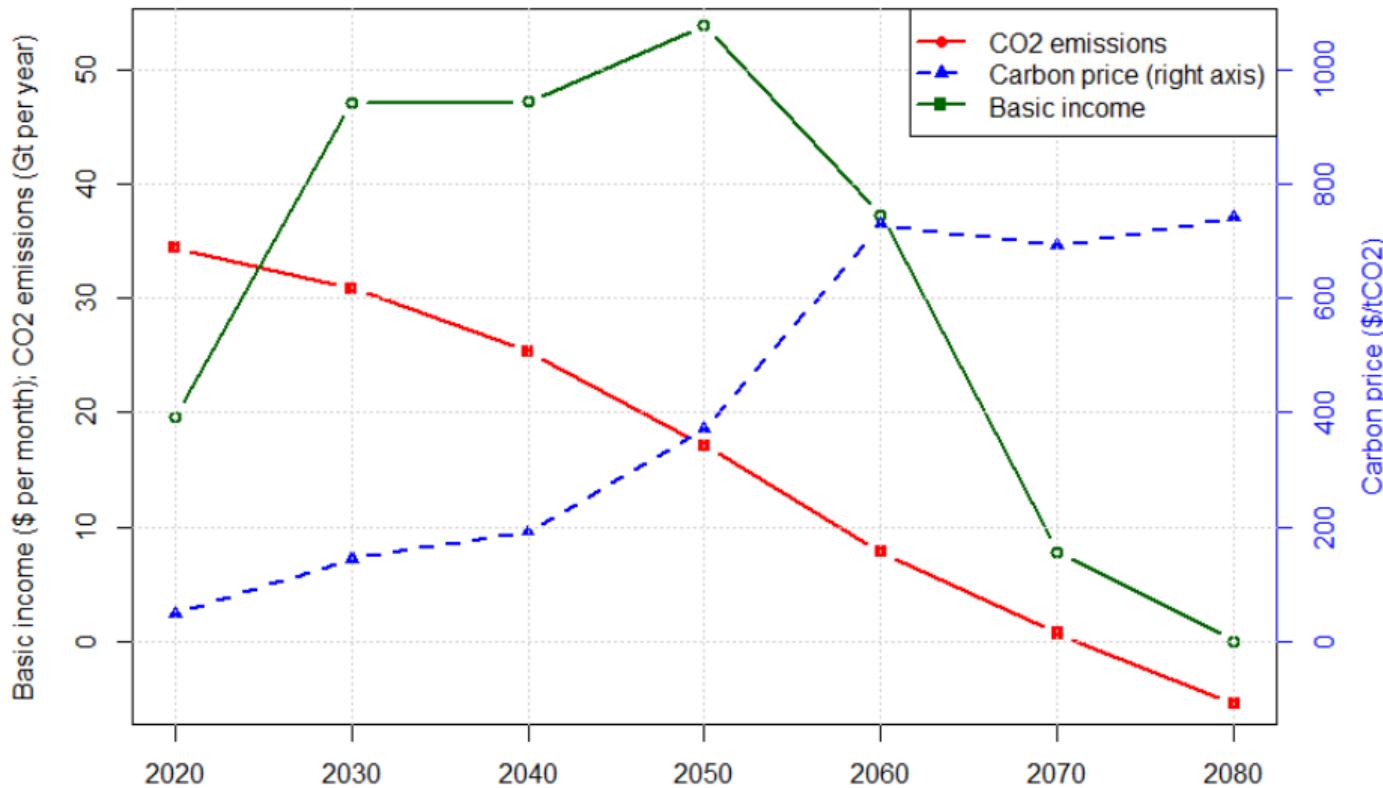
# The trajectories

Global trajectories estimated for the Global Climate Plan (GCP)



# The trajectories

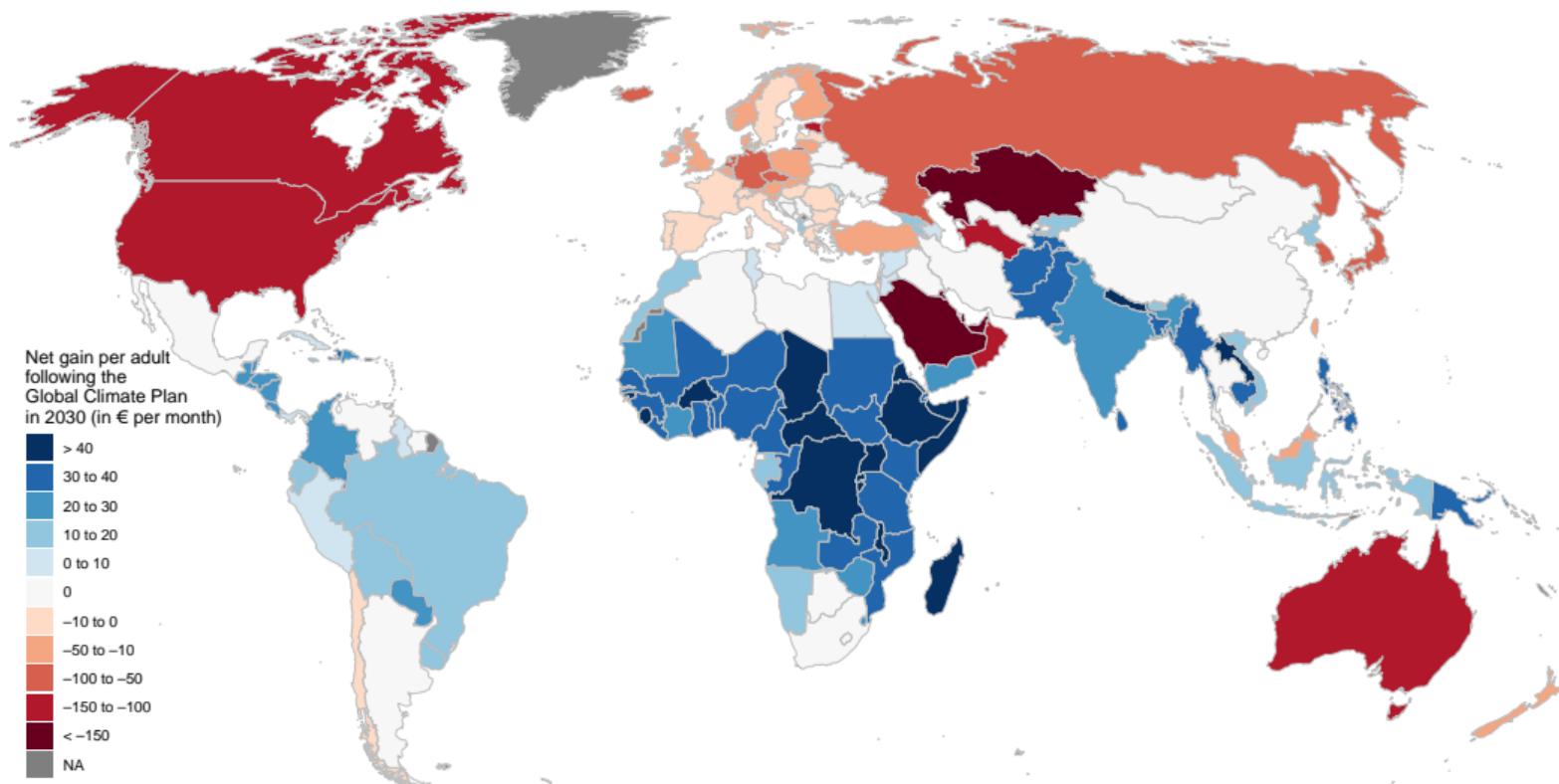
Global trajectories estimated for the Global Climate Plan (GCP)



# The distributive effects

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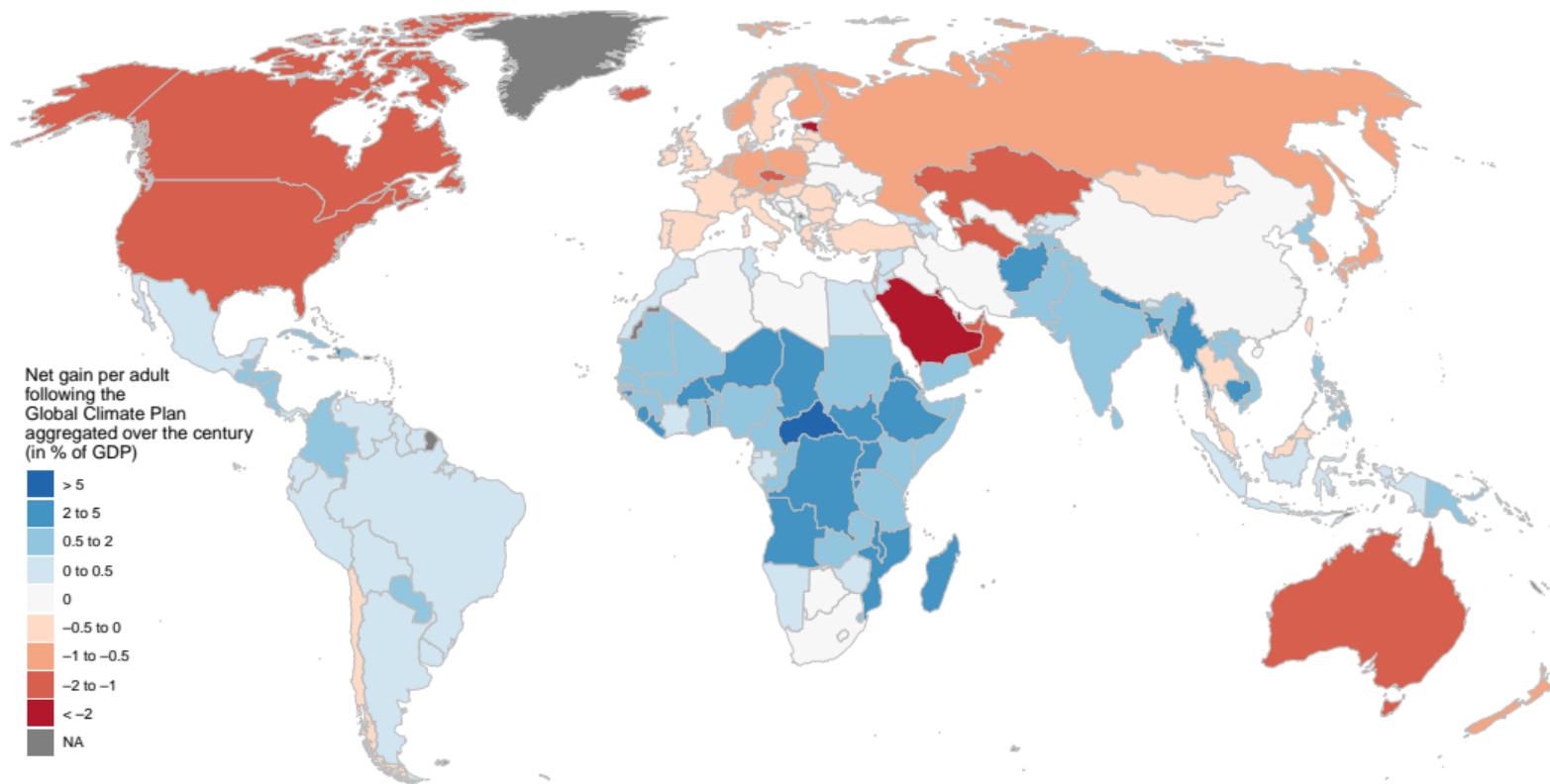
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2030. [More maps](#)



# The distributive effects

[Go back](#)

Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan throughout the century. [More maps](#)



## Scenarios with non-universal participation

[► Go back](#)

Table 2: Main features of different scenarios of climate union.

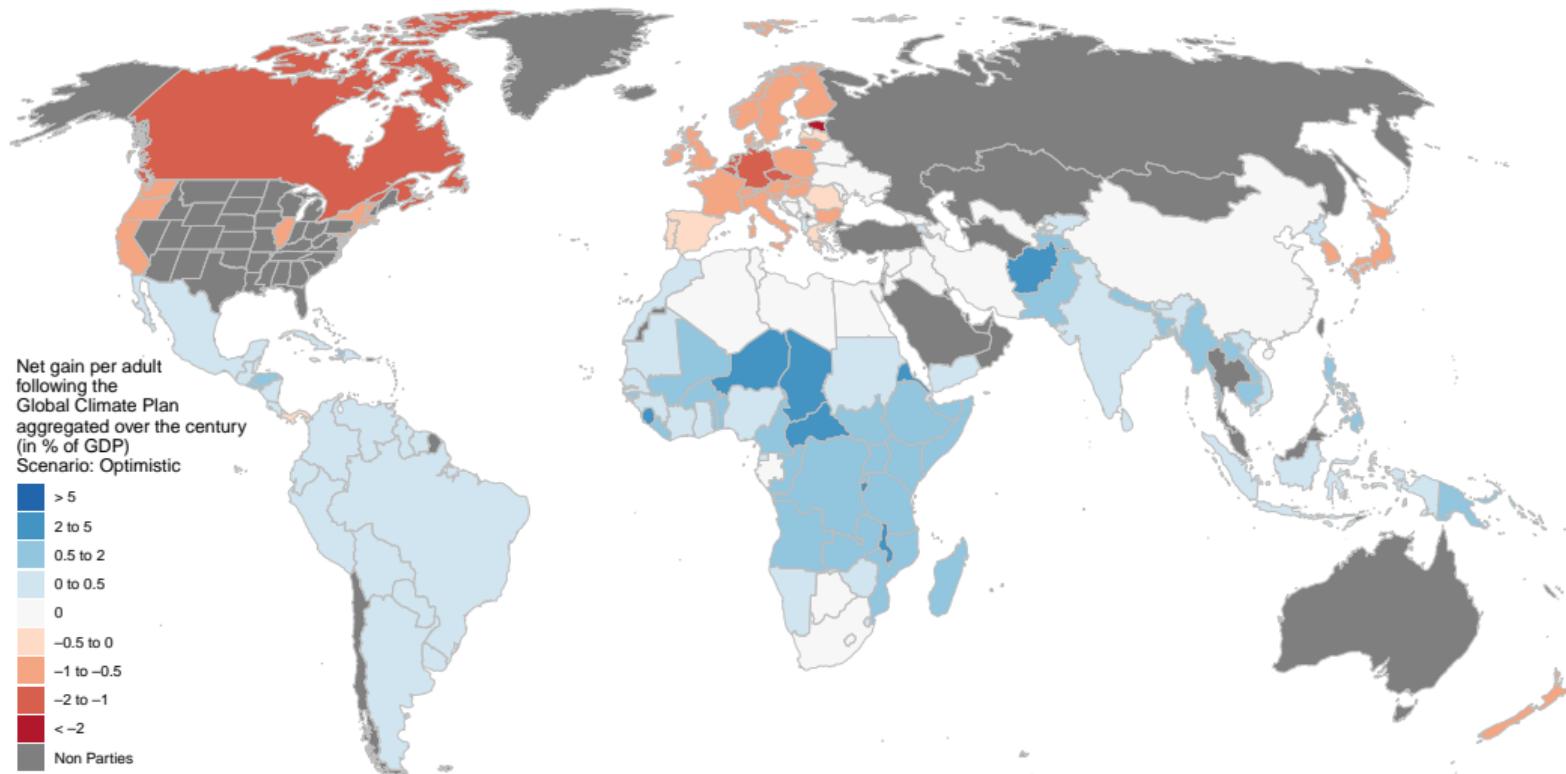
Union scenario	Emissions covered	Population covered	Basic income in 2040 (/month)	EU loss in 2040 (share of its GDP)	Temperature increase in 2100 (in °C)
All countries	100%	100%	44	0.6%	1.8
All but OPEC	90%	97%	39	0.6%	1.9
Optimistic	74%	91%	28	0.8%	2.0
Central	67%	88%	23	0.9%	2.0
Prudent	63%	85%	20	0.9%	2.1
Africa EU	12%	23%	26	0.8%	2.5

# Scenarios with non-universal participation

[▶ Go back](#)

Optimistic scenario.

Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan throughout the century.



# Scenarios with non-universal participation

[► Go back](#)

Prudent scenario.

Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan throughout the century.

