

Europe's 2040 climate target: four critical risks and how to manage them

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Executive summary

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THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION has recommended that the European Union should cut greenhouse gas emissions by 90 percent by 2040 compared to 1990. Modelling shows that this target is feasible technically and is in line with social acceptability and global fairness objectives. Achieving it will require massive expansion of renewable electricity generation, drastic reductions in fossil-fuel use, energy efficiency measures and deep electrification of end-use sectors.

TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES and strong policies have already enabled the EU to start this transformation and make substantial progress on parts of it. Most technologies required to achieve the emissions-reduction targets are market-proven, and in many cases are cost-competitive with or cheaper than fossil alternatives. After decades of successful innovation, clean-technology deployment is accelerating, with costs of key clean technologies continuing to drop rapidly.

NEVERTHELESS, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL and political risks threaten ambitious climate policies. The four main risk categories are: geoeconomic instability, technological progress, exacerbated inequality and policy credibility. A global economy with more trade disputes and greater risk of conflict endangers the massive capital investment needed for the transition, while the cost of clean technologies is a primary determinant of the economic viability of decarbonisation. Climate policies will affect people's everyday lives in disruptive ways, meaning that regressive outcomes must be guarded against, balanced with a concrete commitment to the established climate policy pillars.

TO SUCCEED, the 2040 climate and energy policy framework needs to be designed to be resilient to such risks. The EU should put distributional issues at the heart of its climate policy, develop an emissions-reduction strategy that monitors geoeconomic and technological risk factors, and put in place contingency plans to manage the impact of negative outcomes and to maximise the societal, economic and environmental co-benefits of the energy transition.

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Under the 2021 European Climate Law (Regulation (EU) 2021/1119), the European Union is required to establish a binding climate target for 2040 as an intermediate goal between the 2030 target of a 55 percent emissions reduction (compared to 1990) and the goal of net-zero emissions by 2050. In February 2024, the European Commission recommended that the 2040 target should be a 90 percent emissions reduction compared to 1990 levels (Figure 1; European Commission, 2024). This goal is aligned with the recommendations of the European Scientific Advisory Board on Climate Change, which analysed the scientific evidence against criteria including global fairness, technological feasibility and social acceptability, and determined an appropriate range for the 2040 emissions reduction target of between 90-95 percent (ESABCC, 2023).

Figure 1: EU27 emissions reduction target for 2040 compared to 1990 levels

Source: European Commission (2024), ESABCC (2023)

The 2040 target is not yet law, but if it is adopted, it would mean almost full decarbonisation of the EU economy within two decades. This would signal continued commitment to European decarbonisation, focusing the efforts of policymakers, industry, investors and civil society.

Consistent, credible policy targets increase investor trust and can create a foundation for the associated climate and energy policy framework that the European Commission would have to put in place during its next five-year term.

The European Commission's impact assessment demonstrates in principle the technical feasibility of securing a 90 percent emissions reduction by 2040 (European Commission, 2024). The impact assessment also highlights the need for a comprehensive policy framework to support this target.

While our assessment¹ of energy transition feasibility and our categorisation of risks are selective, we offer a structured framework for considering the resilience of energy and climate policy in an evolving and unstable global environment.

Section 2 illustrates that the energy transition is already underway in Europe, providing a foundation for discussion of the future risks. Section 3 covers the essential elements of the EU's projected decarbonisation strategy. As a check on the results of the European Commission's impact assessment on the proposed 2040 target, it uses REMIND, a tool for modelling future economic developments with a focus on energy and implications for the changing climate (see footnote 1). European Commission (2024) and REMIND modelling are broadly in line. Section 4, based on the decarbonisation pathway set out in the previous section, discusses the risks that could hold up deeper emissions cuts. Section 5 concludes with recommendations on pursuing a resilient climate and energy policy framework.

2 The EU's energy transition

The EU is in the early stages of a comprehensive transformation to climate neutrality, driven by European and national policies and substantial investment in renewable energy, energy efficiency and sustainable technologies. Stringent emissions targets, an expanding emissions trading system (ETS), substantial funding for green projects, the adoption of strong policies on energy efficiency and renewable energy expansion, and a shift towards circular-economy principles are all steering the region towards a more sustainable, climate-neutral future.

Policies implemented over the last 15 years, such as the EU ETS, have begun to pay off. Overall emissions in 2022 were 33 percent lower than in 1990², with a substantial further 8 percent drop in CO₂ emissions in 2023, according to initial data (CREA, 2024). In the ETS sectors (mainly power generation and heavy industry), emissions in 2023 were 47 percent lower than in 2005³. The contribution of wind and solar energy to electricity is increasing exponentially, while key clean technologies including electric vehicles and heat pumps are being sold in larger volumes (Figure 2).

As a consequence of dedicated support policies and technological advancements, the EU has seen a significant upscaling of renewables. Wind and solar power have become economically viable and are now the preferred choice for new energy investments. In terms of electricity produced, they now cost far less than new fossil-fuel or nuclear generation, while providing energy security and health benefits (Figure 3). As a consequence, EU power-sector emissions reduced by a record amount in 2023, nearly halving since their peak in 2007 (Ember, 2024).

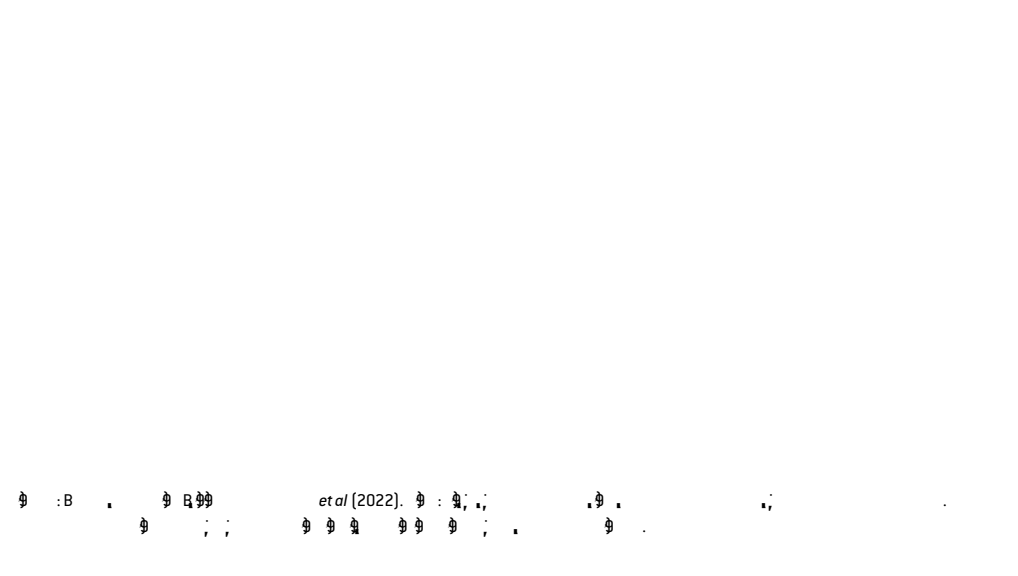
¹ This Policy Brief builds on work done as part of PRISMA and ECEME, projects funded under the EU Horizon Europe and Horizon 2020 programmes to develop computer models (called integrated assessment models) to better support climate and energy policymaking. This paper also relies on modelling scenarios produced by

Figure 2: Total CO₂ emissions from electricity generation in the EU



Source: Eurostat (2023). Total CO₂ emissions from electricity generation in the EU. Data from 2000 to 2023. A significant dip is observed in 2022, followed by a recovery in 2023.

Figure 3: Wind power capacity in the EU



Other economic sectors are also starting to transform. The 2022 gas price spike resulting from Russia's curtailment of gas exports to the EU has given heat pump sales and investments in heat pump factories a substantial boost (although heat pump sales declined in 2023⁴). Similarly, the adoption of CO₂ emission standards for passenger cars helped the share of battery-electric vehicles in car sales increase markedly (8.9% in 2022, up from 7.3% in 2021) (European Commission, 2023).

Many brands now aim for almost full battery-electric sales in Europe in the early 2030s⁵. The EU has also at least partially caught up with China in the manufacturing and deployment of batteries. The EU currently has substantial cell-manufacturing capacity relative to annual demand, and planned projects should ensure that Europe continues to retain the capacity to meet most of its annual electric vehicle battery demand (Tagliapietra *et al*, 2024). The EU is not a leader in this field but still manages to capture a small share of the battery manufacturing market. However, the EU lacks production capacity for earlier stages of the battery value chain, such as lithium refining, and planned projects remain surrounded by a large degree of uncertainty. China remains the global leader in these markets.

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The energy system transformation pathway up to 2040 foreseen by the European Commission (2024) would involve a huge scale-up of wind and solar generation to provide clean electricity, and deep electrification of energy services including heating and transport to make use of the clean power for consumer needs. This would lead to a rapid phase-down of fossil-fuel usage, reducing greenhouse gas emissions⁶.

The most important result from the European energy transition will be drastically reduced fossil-fuel consumption. To achieve 90 percent emissions reductions by 2040, European Commission modelling shows a 75 percent reduction in fossil fuels in primary energy compared to 2019 (Figure 4). For comparison purposes, Figure 4 and subsequent figures also show results of modelling using REMIND (see footnote 1).

Figure 4: Scenario 4a (REMIND) and Scenario 4a (Emissions) (2019-2040)

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Source: European Commission (2024). Scenario 4a (Emissions) (2019-2040). Figure 4 shows results of modelling using REMIND (see footnote 1).

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The required investment for the energy transition is already being deployed and the theoretical overall decarbonisation pathway to net-zero emissions is clear. However, the techno-economic modelling and the initial phases of clean technology deployment do not take account of four main categories of risk that face the energy transition: geoeconomic, techno-



needed for the energy transition, and for many essential technologies – most notably solar PV and batteries. Reduced imports from China of these products, because of competitiveness concerns or economic security, imply the risk of both slowing down the energy transition and increasing its cost (Fragkos *et al*, 2024). In other words, economic de-risking may increase climate risk. While tariffs on imported technologies are possibly justifiable on fair competition grounds, trade interventions should also be commensurate to the climate and environmental impacts, to avoid causing delays in the uptake of clean technologies.

A less stable geoeconomic environment could lead to an increased frequency of shocks to the European economy, for instance through trade wars affecting the price and availability of energy and other essential commodities, or through financial instability caused by geoeconomic uncertainty. Such shocks could undermine macroeconomic stability through inflationary pressures, driving up interest rates, and shifting spending priorities away from the energy transition.

The cost of capital will play a more significant role in the overall cost of the clean-energy economy compared to a fossil-fuel based economy, because the total cost of many of the essential technologies, including wind, solar, and batteries, is dominated by the initial capital expenditure. Therefore, interest rates have a direct and substantial effect on the overall cost of the energy transition (Schmidt *et al*, 2019). While the costs of many of these key clean technologies have fallen steeply in recent years (Figure 3), rising interest rates have the potential to slow these gains, or even reverse them temporarily.

Figure 7 shows the potential contribution of interest rates to the cost of wind and solar electricity generation, measured by the levelised cost of energy (LCOE: the lifetime cost divided by the total output). It shows that plausible scenarios of tighter monetary policy (with 'at', 'moderate' or 'extreme' interest rates) would significantly affect the overall cost of essential clean technologies. Any such increases in clean technology costs are likely to be short-lived as new innovations continue to feed through to lower production costs, yet uncertainty about capital costs could be damaging, both in terms of actual and perceived progress.



Source: B... et al (2019). ... 2018, ... (0.49 ...), ... 2023, ... 2.15 ... 4.29 ... 2023.

Fiscal constraints could also limit European countries' public spending on climate and energy investments. The EU suspended its borrowing rules in the early parts of the COVID-19 pandemic and during the energy crisis to help protect citizens and finance economic recovery. However, new fiscal rules have since been agreed, which, in light of the debt accumulated to manage the public health and energy shocks, may limit countries' capacities for green investment (Darvas *et al*, 2024). Moreover, Europe's heightened security concerns highlight another risk emerging from geoeconomic instability: policymakers may be forced to consider new trade-offs between spending requirements. Green spending may face increasing competition from areas such as defence.

Geoeconomic instability is mostly an external threat European policymaking must deal with. Several measures could be implemented in a timely and coordinated manner to reduce the impacts. Kremer *et al* (2024) compared the policy response to the energy price shock that resulted from the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine with a counterfactual scenario in which there were no policy interventions. Results suggest that without policy intervention, such a shock would have led to substantial macroeconomic losses, characterised by a sharp decline in GDP (up to 8 percent) as well as a pronounced uptick in defaults on loans to firms (Figure 8). Kremer *et al* (2024) demonstrated that policy intervention based on transfers to households and a targeted firms is highly effective at mitigating the negative effects of the shock on macroeconomic outcomes. Their modelling also suggested that the inflationary effects of

On the other hand, certain technology costs may fall faster than anticipated. Way *et al* (2022) estimated that cost projections in many major energy system models have often been overestimated for key green technologies, and a probabilistic forecasting method suggests that the costs of solar, wind and batteries could further reduce by an order of magnitude in the next decades. While an eventual floor for clean tech costs is likely, it is difficult to say how low they may be; solar PV, wind and batteries have steadily beaten all major predictions so far.

trading are used to reduce government debt (Figure 11). If carbon revenues were used to reduce government debt rather than to make payments to citizens, virtually all households would be worse-off in the short term because of higher prices, among other factors.

Note that by the end of the century, the choice between recycling carbon revenues to citizens versus reducing government debt would no longer have a significant effect, while the impact of prevented climate damages would become very large: 90 percent of the EU population is expected to be better-off if global warming is kept well below 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels, compared to a baseline scenario without additional climate policies in which global mean temperatures increase by 3°C. The risk is that without appropriate compensation mechanisms, rising inequality could erode support for the energy transition, leading to weaker ambition and diluted policies.

Figure 11: EU per-capita benefits and costs of carbon revenue recycling schemes



Source: European Commission (2024). *Carbon Revenue Recycling: A Guide for Member States*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

Carbon dividend distribution schemes should be designed to explicitly favour the poorest segments of society, which are most adversely affected by energy price rises. Remaining fiscal revenues can then be invested in green infrastructure and other projects that catalyse the support of the median voter. Eastern Europe is especially dependent on fossil fuels for home

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political disputes about climate policy. Incipient trade wars, security concerns and persistent inflation might push climate policy down the priority list, while weak technological progress could increase the cost of the transition. Climate policies that lead to regressive distributional outcomes would face even stronger pushback.

Tensions in the run up to the European elections in June 2024 related to policy measures including the phase-out of internal combustion engines, the Nature Restoration Law (Regulation (EU) 2024/1991) and gas boiler sales bans in Germany¹³, emphasised the fraught nature of implementing policies that more directly impact households, businesses and the agricultural sector. While difficult political debates about the rate of green transformation are unfolding, hundreds of billions in clean technology investment is still needed each year to meet the 2030 goals (Calipel *et al*, 2024).

Figure 13: Carbon prices in the EU ETS

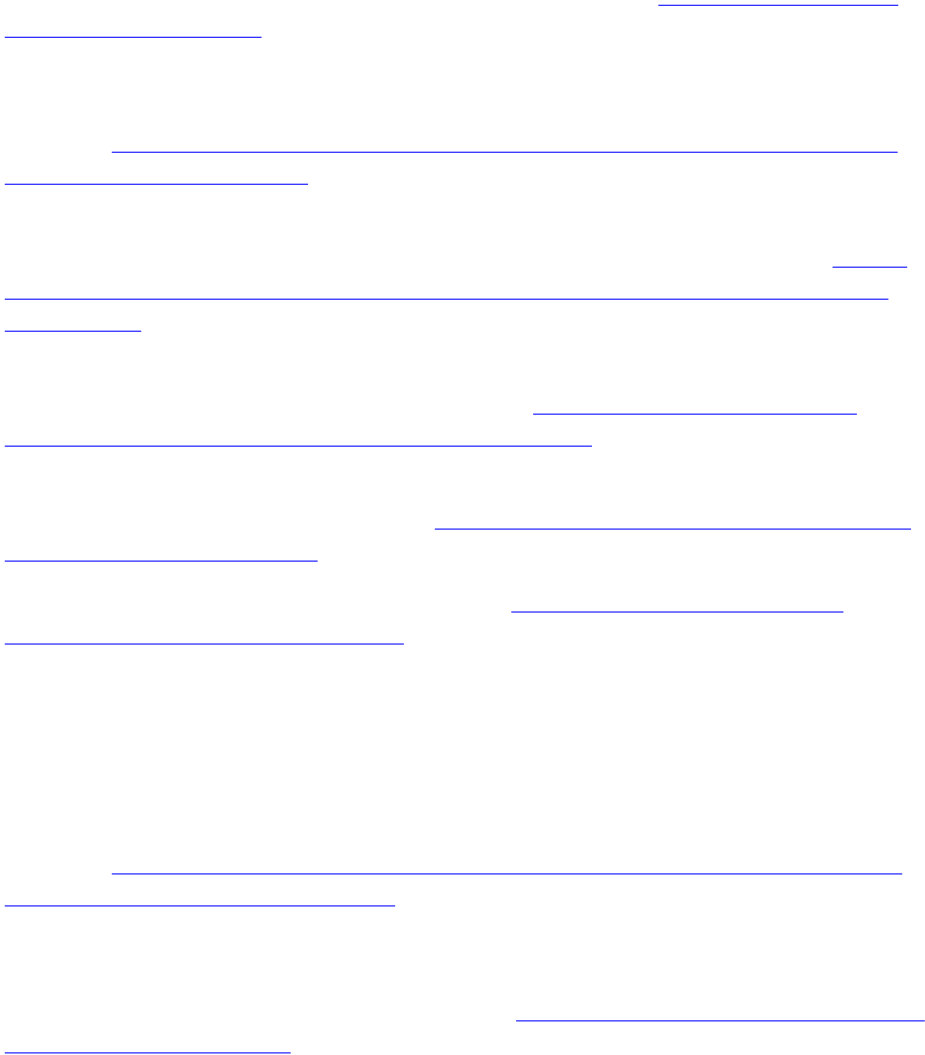
Source: BloombergNEF, Sitarz *et al* (2024). Carbon prices in the EU ETS, 2018-2024. The chart shows a significant decline in carbon prices from approximately 25 €/t in early 2022 to around 40 €/t by late 2023, with a subsequent recovery to about 60 €/t by early 2024.

Strong policy credibility can reinforce the expectations of market participants, leading to carbon prices sustained at the level needed to drive decarbonisation of Europe's electricity and energy-intensive industrial sectors (Sitarz *et al*, 2024). The corollary is that weak policy credibility can lead to reduced investor confidence, indicated by falling carbon prices (Figure 13).



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