# Confidential Role Instructions for Avery Adams (Democratic Senator)

You are Avery Adams, a Democrat member of the US Senate from Washington State. Democrats recently took control of the Senate after a contentious midterm election, and you are now the Chairman of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee. You were just re-elected to your third term in the Senate with a fourteen-point lead over your Republican challenger, your largest margin of victory yet. Now that you feel comfortable in your seat, you have your sights set on attaining a position of power within the party leadership structure. In order to advance within the Democrat ranks, you will need to win over both rank and file Senators, as well as impress the current Senate Democrat leadership.

The new Majority Leader, Jordan Jefferson (a Democrat from Arizona), has asked you to work with Baylor Brown, a North Carolina Republican who is the Ranking Member of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, to draft an energy bill to present to your committee that you think will be able to get through the Senate. Jefferson wants to show voters that with Democrats in power, the Senate is going to be getting things done. However, the Democrat margin in the Senate is slim, so any bill will need some Republican support in order to get the 60 votes necessary to make it through the Senate. A bill will also need Republican support to get through the Republican-controlled House of Representatives. Therefore, it is crucial that you and Brown develop a bill that members of both parties can support. Brown has enough leverage within the Republican party to push through a bill and the Republican President has committed to sign a bipartisan bill supported by both parties. At the same time, you need to make sure that the bill stays progressive enough to appeal to the more liberal members of your party, whose support you will want when you try to advance within the party.

Your staff has consulted with the staff of all other committee members to get a feel for their stances on the issues and has been meeting with Brown's staff regularly over the last few months. Working together, they have ironed out many of the details of the potential bill. However, your staff and Senator Brown's staff have not yet been able to reach agreement on six key issues, for which they want input from you and Senator Brown—your staffs have jointly agreed on the issues to be negotiated and on a list of potential options for each issue. You and Senator Brown need to sit down to negotiate an informal

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agreement on these six issues, in order to create a comprehensive energy bill you are both comfortable bringing to the Energy and Natural Resources Committee (you both recognize the bill may get further marked up in committee). At your request, your staff has helped you create a confidential scoring system so you can assess your priorities across the issues, as well as evaluate different potential options within each issue. The points in the scoring system represent how much you and your staff think each option will help (higher positive points help more), or hurt (increasingly negative points hurt more), your standing within the Democrat party. While you would like this bill to be comprehensive, you could also eliminate any or all of these issues from the bill.

Following are the six issues to be negotiated and your staff's assessment of the potential options associated with each issue. Your goal is to negotiate a bill that will significantly help advance your standing in the Democrat Party. Therefore, you want to achieve as high a net positive point total as possible, while still retaining Brown's support; any bill with a negative total would hurt your standing within the Democrat Party and would be worse than killing the bill. Although you and Brown have both been on the committee for a few years, this will be your first major bill together. Assuming the drafting negotiations go well, you are hoping that the two of you can build a strong partnership over the years to come.

## Nuclear Power

This issue is one that Brown personally requested be included in the bill (several nuclear power plants are located in Brown's state of North Carolina). Although you are willing to discuss it, you have several safety concerns about nuclear power and would prefer not to include this issue in the bill. In fact, in an ideal world, you would like to see increased regulation and monitoring of existing nuclear power plants, with a halt on construction of new plants. Alternatively, some of your safety concerns could be addressed by repairing and refurbishing older nuclear facilities to ensure they are in good condition. You imagine Brown is likely to strongly support a plan to both refurbish existing nuclear infrastructure and incentivize the construction of new nuclear power plants. However, many of your Democrat colleagues are wary of investing in nuclear power at the expense of renewables, so you are not enthusiastic about this option.

You and your staff have assigned points to each of the four nuclear power options as follows (positive points increase your standing in the party, negative points decrease your standing in the party):

- Refurbish existing facilities and incentivize new nuclear facilities = -50 points
- Refurbish existing facilities only = 0 points
- Increase regulation and monitoring of existing facilities and halt new nuclear facilities = 50 points
- Exclude nuclear power from the bill = 25 points

## Addressing Climate Change

For many Democrats, taking steps to prevent and respond to climate change is the most pressing policy issue facing the country today, particularly in the realm of energy policy. You would like to see the Senate issue a statement in support of the Paris Climate Agreement (the US joined 195 other countries in adopting the agreement by consensus in December 2015, but a subsequent US President later threatened to pull out), and also increase fuel economy standards and strengthen model building codes. You also support both a carbon tax and a cap and trade program, although you know Majority Leader Jefferson prefers a carbon tax so that would be better. Another proposal some other senators from coastal states have been pushing is including increased funding for responding to rising sea levels. Although this alone would not satisfy the more progressive Democrats, it is necessary and would be better than excluding the issue of climate change altogether.

You and your staff have assigned points to each of the five options to address climate change as follows (positive points increase your standing in the party, negative points decrease your standing in the party):

- Support the Paris Climate Agreement, increase fuel economy standards, strengthen model building codes, and fund response to rising sea levels = 300 points
- Institute a carbon tax and fund response to rising sea levels = 250 points
- Institute a cap and trade system and fund response to rising sea levels = 200 points
- Fund response to rising sea levels only = 0 points
- Exclude climate change from the bill = -200 points

## Offshore Drilling

For years, Majority Leader Jefferson has been trying to pass a “Keep it in the Ground” bill, limiting all future drilling and exploration for oil. Getting this into the bill with Republican support would assure your future in the Democratic leadership, although you recognize that this would be a tough sell for most Republicans. There has also been talk of finding ways to increase accountability by giving an increased voice to local communities so they would have more say regarding nearby offshore drilling projects; there are also plans to institute revenue sharing so states can profit more from oil taken from within their boundaries or territorial waters. You would be in favor of giving local communities more influence and a share of oil profits. However, you would like to avoid accelerating the permitting process if possible, because you and many Democrat colleagues feel it takes time to conduct a thorough environmental review. You would rather leave the issue of offshore drilling off the table entirely than face Democrat pushback for signing onto expedited permits.

You and your staff have assigned points to each of the four offshore drilling options as follows (positive points increase your standing in the party, negative points decrease your standing in the party):

- Give increased voice to local communities and institute revenue sharing for states such as Alaska, in combination with an expedited permit process for drilling = -200 points
- Give increased voice to local communities and institute revenue sharing for states such as Alaska (without expediting the permit process) = 175 points
- Implement a "keep it in the ground" policy of severely restricting future oil drilling and exploration = 200 points
- Exclude offshore drilling from the bill = 0 points

## Investment in Renewable Energy Sources

Securing funding for renewable energy is an important goal for you and you definitely want to see it included in the bill. Although you personally are supportive of investment in both wind and solar, Majority Leader Jefferson has confidentially spoken with you about excluding wind power if possible. Solar energy developers are a powerful player in Jefferson's home state, and securing funding for them, but not for wind developers (particularly if you can make it look like it was a required concession to the Republicans), would put you into Jefferson's good graces. Another proposal supported by some moderate Democrats and Republicans is launching a clean energy challenge, designed as a contest to encourage state and local governments to think creatively; however, many environmentally-conscious Democrat Senators have argued that this is simply not a strong enough statement in support of renewable energy and would not actually do much to achieve clean energy implementation.

You and your staff have assigned points to each of the five options to invest in renewable energy as follows (positive points increase your standing in the party, negative points decrease your standing in the party):

- Invest money in both job training and development programs for both wind and solar energy sources = 150 points
- Invest money in job training and development for wind energy sources only = 0 points
- Invest money in job training and development for solar energy sources only = 200 points
- Launch a clean energy challenge = 25 points
- Exclude investment in renewable energy sources from the bill = -150

## Funding Offsets

Funding offsets are often included in bills to help pay for new spending introduced in the bill (offsets can be either new sources of revenue or reductions in existing spending). You know that many provisions in this bill will be costly, so if you can offset spending in a way that does not harm Democrat priorities, you would be pleased. Democrats have called for reducing subsidies to oil and gas companies and you see this as a great tie-in to the overall bill. For their part, Republicans support selling off strategic oil reserves and facilitating the development of new oil fields to replace them. This makes Jefferson and many other Democrats very uncomfortable because of the potential negative environmental impact associated with developing new oil fields. On the other hand, you are not excited

about the national vulnerability associated with selling off strategic reserves and then becoming more dependent on foreign oil.

You and your staff have assigned points to each of the four funding offset options as follows (positive points increase your standing in the party, negative points decrease your standing in the party):

- Sell off strategic reserves and facilitate the development of new oil fields to replace reserves = -100 points
- Sell off strategic reserves without addressing replacement = -50 points
- Reduce subsidies to oil and gas companies = 200 points
- Exclude funding offsets from the bill = 0 points

## Safeguarding the Electric Grid

In the wake of recent cyberattacks, you feel it is very important to take steps to protect the electric grid. The best way to go about this clearly seems to be to pass new federal requirements for electricity providers, requiring them to install comprehensive (and compatible) new technology that will better protect this crucial infrastructure. If you cannot get this through, you would consider establishing a commission to study the problem in more depth and make recommendations for next steps, and also providing funding for states to implement those steps (without funding for implementation, you fear that the recommendations will go unheeded). You do not want to omit this issue from the bill because you think establishing the security of the electric grid is too important to ignore.

You and your staff have assigned points to each of the four options to safeguard the electric grid as follows (positive points increase your standing in the party, negative points decrease your standing in the party):

- Pass new requirements specifying the technology to be installed by all power-producing firms = 150 points
- Establish a commission to make recommendations to safeguard the grid, and provide money to states to enact the recommendations = 125 points
- Establish a commission to make recommendations to safeguard the grid, but do not fund implementation = 0 points
- Exclude safeguarding the electric grid from the bill = - 50 points

## Objectives for Your Meeting with Baylor Brown

Your immediate objective in meeting with Senator Brown is to agree on the components of an energy bill that you can jointly present to the Energy and Natural Resources Committee (with the larger long-term goal of getting the bill through the committee, put up for a vote by the full Senate, and passing the Senate with at least 60 votes). You hope to shape the bill to be as advantageous to your standing in the Democrat Party as possible, as measured by net points, while still getting Senator Brown

to agree and carry over sufficient Republican votes to pass the Senate. You should not agree to any package of components in the bill that yields a net negative point total, as that would damage your party standing; your aim is to create a strongly favorable bill that will help you and your party advance (the higher the net point total, the better).

## Important Notes

Be prepared to report your results following the negotiation. At the end of the negotiation period, or when you reach an agreement if earlier, **all negotiators must complete and sign the results survey** (whether or not you reach agreement).

**Please DO NOT show your CONFIDENTIAL negotiation instructions to your negotiation counterpart.** During the negotiation, you have the freedom to convey as much or as little information as you choose, but under no circumstances should you let your counterpart see your confidential information (you should also avoid looking at your counterpart's confidential information).

# Confidential Summary of Expected Results of Energy Bill for Sen. Adams

NUCLEAR POWER

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| • REFURBISH EXISTING FACILITIES AND INCENTIVIZE NEW NUCLEAR FACILITIES | -50 points |
| • REFURBISH EXISTING FACILITIES ONLY | 0 points |
| • INCREASE REGULATION AND MONITORING OF EXISTING FACILITIES AND HALT NEW NUCLEAR FACILITIES | 50 points |
| • EXCLUDE NUCLEAR POWER FROM THE BILL | 25 points |

ADDRESSING CLIMATE CHANGE

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| • SUPPORT THE PARIS CLIMATE AGREEMENT, INCREASE FUEL ECONOMY STANDARDS, STRENGTHEN MODEL BUILDING CODES, AND FUND RESPONSE TO RISING SEA LEVELS | 300 points |
| • INSTITUTE A CARBON TAX AND FUND RESPONSE TO RISING SEA LEVELS | 250 points |
| • INSTITUTE A CAP AND TRADE SYSTEM AND FUND RESPONSE TO RISING SEA LEVELS | 200 points |
| • FUND RESPONSE TO RISING SEA LEVELS | 0 points |
| • EXCLUDE CLIMATE CHANGE FROM THE BILL | -200 points |

OFFSHORE DRILLING

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| • GIVE INCREASED VOICE TO LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND INSTITUTE REVENUE SHARING FOR STATES SUCH AS ALASKA, IN COMBINATION WITH AN EXPEDITED PERMIT PROCESS FOR DRILLING | -200 points |
| • GIVE INCREASED VOICE TO LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND INSTITUTE REVENUE SHARING FOR STATES SUCH AS ALASKA (WITHOUT EXPEDITING THE PERMIT PROCESS) | 175 points |
| • IMPLEMENT A “KEEP IT IN THE GROUND” POLICY OF SEVERELY RESTRICTING FUTURE OIL DRILLING AND EXPLORATION | 200 points |
| • EXCLUDE OFFSHORE DRILLING FROM THE BILL | 0 points |

INVESTMENT IN RENEWABLE ENERGY SOURCES

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| • INVEST MONEY IN BOTH JOB TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS FOR BOTH WIND AND SOLAR ENERGY SOURCES | 150 points |
| • INVEST MONEY IN JOB TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT FOR WIND ENERGY SOURCES ONLY | 0 points |
| • INVEST MONEY IN JOB TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT FOR SOLAR ENERGY SOURCES ONLY | 200 points |
| • LAUNCH A CLEAN ENERGY CHALLENGE | 25 points |
| • EXCLUDE INVESTMENT IN RENEWABLE ENERGY SOURCES FROM THE BILL | -150 points |

FUNDING OFFSETS

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| • SELL OFF STRATEGIC RESERVES AND FACILITATE THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW OIL FIELDS TO REPLACE RESERVES | -100 points |
| • SELL OFF STRATEGIC RESERVES WITHOUT ADDRESSING REPLACEMENT | -50 points |
| • REDUCE SUBSIDIES TO OIL AND GAS COMPANIES | 200 points |
| • EXCLUDE FUNDING OFFSETS FROM THE BILL | 0 points |

SAFEGUARDING THE ELECTRIC GRID

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| • PASS NEW REQUIREMENTS SPECIFYING THE TECHNOLOGY TO BE INSTALLED BY ALL POWER-PRODUCING FIRMS | 150 points |
| • ESTABLISH A COMMISSION TO MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS TO SAFEGUARD THE GRID, AND PROVIDE MONEY TO STATES TO ENACT THE RECOMMENDATIONS | 125 points |
| • ESTABLISH A COMMISSION TO MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS TO SAFEGUARD THE GRID, BUT DO NOT FUND IMPLEMENTATION | 0 points |
| • EXCLUDE SAFEGUARDING THE ELECTRIC GRID FROM THE BILL | -50 points |