COP31

WHAT'S ON THE NEGOTIATING TABLE?

Agenda for today

- Political Backdrop: Geopolitics
- Political Backdrop: Climate politics
- COP31 Global Climate Action Agenda
- Negotiation tracks: Key Updates and Priorities
- Expected Outcomes and CSE Priorities
- CSE Presence at COP 31

Political backdrop: Geopolitics

Political backdrop: Geopolitics

- **Unprecedented energy supply disruption**; Precipitated by conflict in West Asia; Hormuz chokepoint through which ~20% of global oil supply passes. However the threat and scale of the crisis has been lower than expected – attributed to China's large domestic reserves, electrification and declining oil demand
- For many developing countries however, **energy, food and fertilizer impacts** will cascade for years; opportunity for clean energy and low-carbon alternatives to ramp up and play bigger role
- **ODA continued to decline**; Total ODA from OECD-DAC members in 2025 was USD 174.3 Bn – 23.4% decrease from 2024 levels; "largest annual contraction on record and a second consecutive year of decline" (OECD)
- **Rearrangement of energy majors**; China dominates clean tech production and supplies cheap green goods to the world; China's scale has driven dramatic cost reductions and accelerated deployment worldwide
- **US retreat from multilateral commitments**; Formally exited the Paris Agreement for the second time, initiated exit from UNFCCC (the world continues to rally together for climate); Pressured World Bank to drop its '45% of total' climate target
- **Anti-incumbency currents**; Mass protests driven by various reasons from a cost of living crisis to corruption being felt across the world
- **Developing countries progressing with transition** despite limited climate finance, limited access to technology, and subordinate role in global trade regime; BRICS produce 51% of global solar power; India installed 45GW of RE capacity last year
- **BRICS reaffirm commitment to multilateralism;** look to diversify trade and currency dependence on unreliable industrialised partners

Political backdrop: Geopolitics

In a backdrop of energy supply insecurity, wars and militarism, retreating aid, developing countries are being looked to, to scale up mitigation ambition and deliver implementation of their climate targets.

Political backdrop: Climate politics

Political backdrop: Climate politics

- **Science and IPCC**
  - Longstanding impasse in the IPCC around the timeline of the reports of the Seventh Assessment cycle (AR7, specifically around the extent to which it should align with the Second GST
  - Led to narratives that pit science against equity at Bonn, with several developing countries being framed as blockers of science
  - The issue did not get resolved at IPCC's October meeting and could be a prominent narrative once again at COP
- **“1.5°C is dead”**
  - UNEP ‘Limiting Overshoot’ report - ‘unavoidable’ 1.5°C global warming overshoot central backdrop to the talks
  - UNEP Emissions Gap Report - carbon budget associated with 1.5°C on the verge of being exhausted; global greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions need to be reduced by 18% by 2030, 45% by 2035 and 69% by 2040 (all relative to 2025 levels)
  - Implications for the use of geoengineering and carbon removal technologies
- **Presidency**
  - Double presidency COP: Australia leading on formal negotiations, with Turkiye hosting the summit and leading on the Action Agenda
  - Presidencies have been searching for clearly defined (and achievable) “wins” while navigating political dynamics, have expressed support for a cover decision

COP31 Global Climate Action Agenda

Global Climate Action Agenda

Presidency-led, non-negotiated voluntary targets and commitments

- 10 Priority themes identified such as zero waste, oceans and seas, food safety, and more
- Key new targets announced include:
  - **Headline Target on Electrification**: Raise share of final energy demand met by electricity from just over 20% today to **35% by 2035**
  - **Waste**: **Halve** growth in global waste by 2035
  - **Resilient Cities**: Reduce energy consumption intensity in the building sector by at least **25% by 2035**
  - **Circularity**: increasing the global circular material use rate to **at least 15%**

Global Climate Action Agenda

CSE point of view: The global electrification target

- **Electrification is a much needed end goal -** Countries worldwide see it as a necessary solution, and the "35 by 35" proposed target shows the shift is already underway, **even if starting points differ**.
- **The Global South has a "leapfrog" opportunity -** A differentiated approach is needed, but the transition can happen faster than expected.
- **Meeting targets demands major infrastructure, capital and investment:** Energy infrastructure and green industrialisation converge here, creating new investment demand. Capital is costly for developing countries and the DISCOMs and utilities that deliver electrification are distressed. Domestic preparedness and reforms, such as fiscal de-risking, are also needed.
- **Global systems must enable the transition:** Developing countries require financial and economic systems to provide the support and affordable finance that can make this possible
- **Countries like India want to move:** However, the barriers are complex, and enabling systems are what we need COP31 to deliver.

Negotiation tracks: Key Updates and Priorities

Adaptation

What happened in Bonn and Leading Up to Antalya

- "Rule 16" applied for the Global Goal on Adaptation
- Only a procedural outcome on the Adaptation Fund
- G77 + China: Posed a united call on tripling adaptation finance
- Bad faith negotiation tactics from developed countries
- Lack of proper facilitation by co-facilitators

Adaptation

What is expected at Antalya

- Agree on a delivery plan for implementing the $120bn/year commitment well ahead of 2035.
- Commit to identifying a process to urgently address a robust needs-based adaptation finance commitment with a view to meeting the scale required
- Baku Adaptation Roadmap is not limited to mandated workshops and lead to concrete negotiation outcomes.
- Transition of Adaptation fund to serve to Paris Agreement.
- Composition of the Technical Task force (Experts + Policy oversight) and include representative from right based constituencies and define what is policy alignment.
- Composition of the Technical Task force (Experts + Policy oversight)

Mitigation

What happened in Bonn and Leading Up to Antalya

- Discussions at SB64 in Bonn ended without consensus on the future of the Mitigation Work Programme which ends this year
- COP30 Brazil Presidency Roadmap for Transitioning Away from Fossil Fuels in Energy Systems - outline presented in Bonn at a consultation; formal launch of report today today
- National TAFF Roadmaps produced by Germany, France, Netherlands, Colombia
- 8th MWP Global dialogue and Investment-focused event in Sydney in September focused on mitigation ambition and implementation in industries, drawing on national and regional experiences

Mitigation

What is expected at Antalya

- Decision on whether MWP continues with priorities aligned with developing country asks of scaling up means of implementation
- India co-leads the mitigation track with Germany this year
- Uncertainty around where the TAFF process lands
- Global electrification agenda may be included in cover decision; will then be up for negotiation

Trade

What happened in Bonn and Leading Up to Antalya

- Calls for an agenda item at COP 30 were not successful, instead established a 3-year Trade and Climate Dialogue to be held annually in Bonn SBs
- First Dialogue held over 6 hours in Bonn for a day; interventions from UNCTAD, ITC, WTO, and Parties; Dialogue viewed by many as a platform for countries to voice their concerns and positions on the trade and climate intersection; viewed by some as a depoliticization of the trade agenda under UNFCCC to reduce tensions
- Developing-country blocs (G77+China, AGN, Arab Group, BASIC, LMDC, LDCs, AOSIS, AILAC) broadly criticized unilateral trade measures like CBAM as inequitable, costly to green industrialisation, and misaligned with CBDR-RC and Paris principles, with the Arab Group citing a $141bn versus $161bn developed/developing gain-loss split as the sharpest example.
- Developed blocs (EU, Umbrella/EIG) framed trade and climate as mutually reinforcing and pushed for open, interoperable standards, while cautioning against singling out specific policies or reopening the COP30 mandate beyond a single 2028 report.

Trade

What is expected at Antalya

- Disagreement over capturing of outcomes from Dialogue; Parties will be seeking a formal hook
- Chairs will prepare an informal note - no legal status, under their own authority, capturing the discussions - and hand it to the incoming SB Chairs for the next two dialogues.
- Next dialogues: SB66 (June 2027) and SB68 (June 2028) - with a live push (China) for longer sessions, no time limits and real Q&A formats.
- African Group has tabled an agenda item request on trade, will look to G77 and China for support
- Brazil's effort to institute a separate forum IFCCT (Integrated Forum on Climate Change and Trade) has seen limited success with limited countries buying in to participate formally in the forum
- Trade likely to come up in Just Transition discussions

Finance

Key priorities

- Restore trust in climate multilateralism for finance post NCQG outcome; scrutiny of existing finance commitments and securing delivery
- Advance new commitments to UNFCCC Funds
- Ensure Article 2.1c ("Paris alignment of finance flows") does not substitute Article 9 (climate finance provision by developed countries)

What happened in Bonn and Leading Up to Antalya

- Bonn (SB64) - the first CFWP session on Article 9 and the Veredas Dialogue on Article 2.1c ended similarly, with multi-stakeholder workshops and case studies/best practices. The talks closed with a dispute over the CFWP's place on the Antalya provisional agenda, which Brazil, as Presidency, championed.
- Bangkok - the Xingu finance talks on Article 2.1c, held alongside the World Bank-IMF Annual Meetings, brought concrete discussions among Parties, IFIs and civil society on cost of capital and expanding fiscal space. Clarity on practical follow-through remains lacking.
- Fiji (Pacific Pre-COP) - highlighted the need for better access and accountability.

Finance

What is expected at Antalya

- CFWP is on the provisional agenda, but pushback from developed countries expected.
- Article 2.1c co-chairs' summary reports go to Parties for deliberation.
- Spillover - Finance is expected to become a sticking point in other tracks (GGA, JTWP).

Just Transition

Key Priorities

- Establishing the Just Transition Mechanism- The Belem-Antalya Mechanism (BAM)
  - Decision to establish the mechanism was taken at COP30 in Belem, conversion of this decision into actual establishment to follow at COP31
  - This will determine what the mechanism will look like and what it will do, principles with strong equity and rights-based language adopted in Belem
- The Just Transition Work Programme (JTWP) review
  - COP28 in Dubai mandated the review of the effectiveness and efficiency of the JTWP and consider its continuation at COP31 in Antalya
  - ToR adopted at SB64 in Bonn

Just Transition

What happened in Bonn?

Just Transition Mechanism

- Must be established at COP31
- Scope, purpose and functions, and mandate to deliver on Just Transition decisions and principles
- Key governance aspects, incl. the spaces/institutional arrangements and how mechanism will connect with ground realities
- Role in providing technical and financial support for the delivery of JT strategies
- Clear timelines and process for the full operationalisation of the mechanism
- Hard negotiations at SB64, informal note produced by co-chairs which will form the basis for negotiations and operational establishment of the BAM at COP31

Just Transition

What happened in Bonn?

JTWP Review

- Agreed at COP30 to develop ToR for the review at SB64 in accordance with objectives of the JTWP
- Impasse over language around mapping existing processes
- Agreement in final moments following a bridging proposal by the co-chairs to include the mapping of relevant UN instruments, initiatives and processes as an input for the review
- ToR agreed for review incl. its mandate, objective, scope, sources of inputs and modalities
- Decision at COP31 on effectiveness and efficiency of the WP and ways to improve

Just Transition

What is expected at Antalya?

- JT and the mechanism has been prioritised by G77 - been largely organised and united
- Clear apprehension and resistance from developed countries to progress, especially around technical and financial support, and resource mobilisation functions of the mechanism
- Potential impasse over a range of issues including overlaps/interactions between the JTWP review (and mapping exercise) and the establishment of the mechanism, connection between the JTWP and BAM
- In the context of the 1.5C overshoot reports, the raising of mitigation as the urgent issue for attention and potential for interfering in progress on Just Transition

Expected Outcomes and CSE Priorities

Expected Outcomes

- Presidency-led Cover Decision expected (this is not negotiated line by line but authored by Presidencies, e.g. the Mutirao Text at COP30 in Belem)
- Cover Decision text may include (inter alia):
  - 35x35 electrification target, and "implementation bridge" proposal on finance could go from the Action Agenda to the Decision Text
  - Highly likely to reflect the 'unavoidable overshoot' findings from the UNEP report
- COP31 is also expected to launch the second Global Stocktake cycle ending 2028
- Adaptation outcomes likely to be a key test of true "implementation" success for COP31 following tense negotiations in Bonn
- As "Paris Rulebook" is completed, 'implementation' will have to translate to consensus-driven frameworks and processes across negotiation tracks
- Set the ground for COP32 in Ethiopia, where adaptation, climate-resilient agriculture and food security are expected to take centre-stage

CSE Priorities

- We need to scrutinize delivery of **existing finance commitments**; larger goals have been set, but quality, concessionality, predictability and access are yet to be secured. Issues such as high cost of capital must be highlighted in Article 9, and related spaces such as GST2.
- The **mitigation agenda** must be reframed for and by the Global South – India co-leading the Ministerial pairing with Germany is an opportunity for a major developing country to champion an equitable mitigation agenda that accounts for energy access, reducing energy poverty, scaling up green industrialisation and improving low-carbon prosperity. India's progress in renewable energy, low-carbon mobility and industrial decarbonisation provides a strong foundation for this leadership.
- **Electrification** is a positive agenda which provides energy security and decarbonisation; any target must be differentiated according to historical responsibility, and enabling conditions must be on the table
- The **trade and climate agenda** will only scale up in importance – developing countries must continue vocally highlighting the impacts of climate-related trade measures; discussions should also identify pathways for strengthening international cooperation to decarbonise developing countries' manufacturing sectors through targeted, sector-specific finance and support, including technology development and diffusion.

CSE Presence at COP 31

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CSE Presence at COP 31

Join our official side event

Co-hosted with the Africa Policy Research Institute (APRI), E+ Energy Transition Institute, Tufts University

CSE will co-host a side event at COP 31 with speakers from the Africa Policy Research Institute gUG (APRI), the E+ Energy Transition Institute (E+ Institute), Tufts University, UNIDO and UNCTAD

November 17th, 18:30–20:00 (local time)

Side Event Room 2 – DALYAN



Thank you

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