

CSE PRE-COP 30 MEDIA BRIEFING

NOVEMBER 6, 2025





The Amazonian COP in Belem

UNFCCC

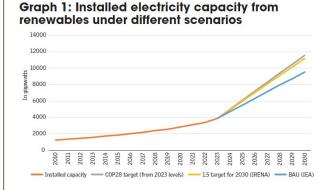
- UNFCCC process under scrutiny, budget strain
- COP 29 outcome was another wedge in the fragile façade of multilateralism
- · US exited the Paris Agreement in 2025 again
- No clear headline issue for COP 30 at Belem, but some negotiated (adaptation and just transition) and non-negotiated (finance) big ticket discussions expected
- New NDCs submitted by China, EU (upcoming), UK, Australia and other represent commitment to climate multilateralism
- US threats at IMO pose a new layer of anxiety for climate ambitious partners

External factors

- Fragile multilateralism, increasing insularity and protectionism by North, militarism
- Disrupted trade regime rules set and broken by Global North
- Inadequate financing retreat of international cooperation (ODA, NCQG), debt crisis, unaccountable private finance-forward solutions being peddled
- Worsening climate impacts
- · Changing role of China and developing countries

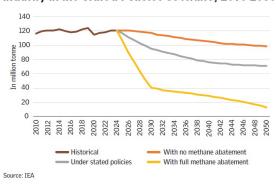


Are the Dubai targets on track?



Source: IRENA IEA

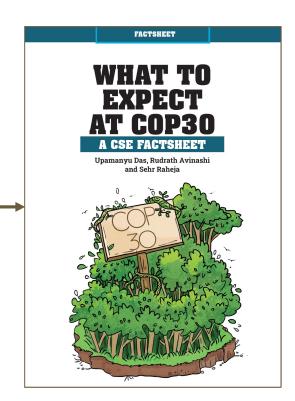
Graph 3: Methane emissions from fossil fuel industry in the Stated Policies Scenario, 2010-2050



Adopted at COP28, the Global Stocktake (GST) is a mechanism to assess the collective progress being made towards the long-term goals of the Agreement. To achieve this, paragraph 28 of the GST decision provided a series of mitigationrelated indicators in order to close the gap between current efforts and the pathways consistent with limiting warming to 1.5°C. But two vears since the GST, is the world on track?

Graph 2: Global electricity generation from coal over the past 25 years





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The Year of NDCs 3.0

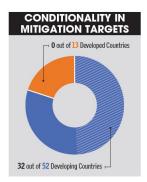
According to the UNFCCC's 2025 NDC Synthesis Report, the 64 submitted pledges till September 30, 2025 would cut emissions by 17% below 2019 levels through unconditional actions, and up to 24% when conditional targets are included.

Our review of 65 new NDCs submitted between November 6, 2024 and October 2, 2025 representing over 30% of global emissions, shows that 52 developing countries and 13 developed countries have submitted new

Over US \$1 trillion of climate finance demanded in conditional targets

Developing countries have framed their mitigation targets as conditional on international support, stressing on the obligations of developed countries to provide resources for climate action.

 32 out of 65 countries highlight conditionalities as part of their emissions reduction targets.



Renewable energy targets specified by 28 developing countries and only two developed countries



- 30 countries 28 developing, two developed include quantified renewable energy targets measured either as a percentage share of the energy mix or as a capacity target.
- The renewable energy generation targets range from 25 per cent to 100 per cent of the electricity generated by 2035.
- Three developed countries (US, Canada, UK) emphasise broader "clean energy" transitions without mentioning renewable energy targets.

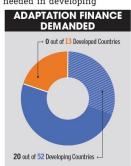
pledges.

Over US \$500 billion of adaptation finance needs specified

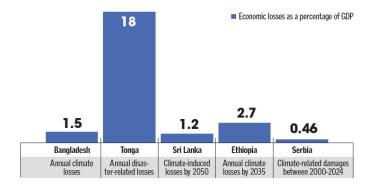
Countries have provided costing for adaptation actions alongside loss and damage finance estimates. The Adaptation Gap Report 2025 states that the adaptation finance needed in developing

countries will reach US \$310 billion annually in 2035.

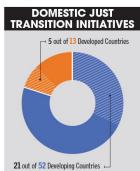
20 developing countries provide quantified figures for their adaptation needs, with the total needs reaching approximately US \$533 billion* till 2035. Further, 12 countries specify US \$41.54 billion as conditional adaptation finance needs till 2035 to be sourced externally. *Bangladesh provides an adaptation finance figure of US \$12-14 billion annually by 2035. The



5 countries detail their economic losses from loss and damage



Just transition emerging as a core principle



- 26 countries highlight their work on establishing a national legislative framework, programme or initiative around their domestic just transition.
- 15 countries provide domestic or international financial strategies aimed at enabling their domestic just transition. The proposals include sourcing international finance from multilateral development banks, global climate funds, green investment vehicles and carbon markets.



What to expect at Belem: Inside the Negotiations



Adaptation

- The Global Goal on Adaptation, established under Article 7 of the Paris Agreement, aims to provide a clear framework and set of targets for measuring progress on adaptation. Following the adoption of the UAE Framework for Global Climate Resilience at COP28, the UAE–Belém Work Programme (2024–2025) is now refining about 100 indicators to track adaptation progress.
- At COP30, Parties are expected to **finalise the indicator set**, while differences remain over their nature, structure, and number.
- Adaptation finance: The Glasgow Climate Pact called for doubling adaptation finance by 2025 (to around USD 40 billion), but UNEP estimates the adaptation finance gap to be several times higher; COP30 will revisit the need to increase adaptation finance.
- Countries are also expected to submit or update their National Adaptation Plans (NAPs) this year.



Article 6

- The Article 6 **rulebook was finalized and adopted at COP29** in Baku, pausing formal negotiations on Articles 6.2 and 6.4 until 2028.
- Attention has shifted to the **implementation and operationalization** of the mechanisms.
- At COP 30, discussions will take place mainly through the **Article 6.2 Ambition Dialogue** (informal exchanges among Party and non-Party stakeholders), reporting by the secretariat on the **Technical Expert Reviews**, and the **Supervisory Body** will report to the CMA on work done this year.
- A contentious issue could be the standard on "addressing non-permanence / reversal" adopted by the SB.



Mitigation Work Programme

Sharm el-Sheikh mitigation ambition and implementation work programme

- The Mitigation Work Programme (MWP) was launched at COP26 to scale up ambition and implementation of mitigation efforts. At COP27, it was decided that the MWP would hold two global dialogues each year on specific mitigation themes.
- Over the years, discussions have been fraught developed countries pushing for higher ambition, while
 developing countries stress equity and means of implementation and the need for developed countries to take
 up more ambition.
- At SB62, Talks focused on keeping the MWP a "safe space", disagreements over elements of draft decision, and debating a digital platform to share information on mitigation action.
- At COP30, Parties will consider adoption of the draft decision, the role of global dialogues in guiding outcomes, the future of the MWP beyond 2026, and review findings from the forest and waste sector annual dialogues.



Finance

Baku to Belem Roadmap

- The Baku to Belem Roadmap, jointly advocated by Azerbaijan and Brazil is the "aspirational" USD 1.3 trillion goal by 2035.
- It is **not a negotiated decision** but remains a political priority for both presidencies.
- A report consolidating existing solutions for scaling primarily mobilizing climate finance was published by the Presidency-constituted Circle of Finance Ministers. It carves out "5 Rs" for reaching \$1.3 trillion by 2035:
 - > Replenishing (grants, concessional and low-cost capital)
 - Rebalancing (fiscal space and debt relief)
 - > Rechanneling (transformative private finance, lower capital cost)
 - Revamping (capacity and coordination for scaled portfolios)
 - > Reshaping (financial-system reforms for equitable flows).

Article 2.1c

- Sharm el-Sheikh Dialogue on Article 2.1(c) concluded in Rome at its second 2025 workshop
- Broad alignment on continuing work toward "Paris-aligned" finance flows but divergence on scope
- The Co-Chairs Report: Proposes to **create a permanent, annual 2.1(c) Dialogue** between Parties and non-Party actors (governments, MDBs, IMF, NGFS, private-finance networks); a high-level forum at each COP to tackle "systemic issues" such as investment gaps, debt sustainability, and climate-risk management.



Finance

Article 9.1

Article 9.1 has become a point of contention. At the Bonn conference in June 2025, the Like-Minded Developing Countries (LMDC) bloc
proposed a stand-alone agenda item on Article 9.1 to hold developed countries to the obligation of providing finance that is additional,
predictable, concessional and transparent. Article 9.1 is still on the provisional agenda for COP30 in Belem; may spark an agenda
disagreement at the opening plenary.

Other tracks

• Finance likely to surface across **Adaptation (Article 7 GGA), Loss and Damage Fund governance**, each potentially re-opening the question of "who pays, and how much."

Tropical Forest Forever Facility (TFFF)

- The Brazilian Presidency is launching the Tropical Forest Forever Facility (TFFF), an initiative to **finance forest conservation** in tropical forest countries
- The **market-based financial mechanism** remains fraught with uncertainties, particularly in its exploitation of credit ratings and higher borrowing costs



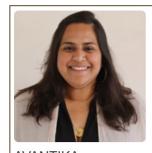
Just Transition

Just Transition Work Programme

- •Just transition has increasingly **gained momentum** in multilateral climate diplomacy since the start of this year although its **scope remains contested**
- •An outcome on a **new institutional arrangement** that would support the implementation of the JTWP is advocated by the developing countries and civil society groups at COP30
- •The contentious issue of **unilateral trade measures** could be an obstacle as the developing and developed countries are divided over its framing.
- •Just Transitions is being viewed as a **litmus test to restore trust in multilateralism** amidst geopolitical tension.



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CSE and Down to Earth will be in Belem from November 9 to November 23, 2025

Follow our updates at https://www.cseindia.org/page/cop30 and https://www.downtoearth.org.in/

Our experts are available for media comments and interviews.

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Join us tomorrow





Faced with a race by the Global North and China to control minerals and green technologies of the future, a trade regime under strain, and fragmented multilateralism, the Global South is facing a deep crisis today. It cannot be left behind in the global competition to build a new, green

In 1992, CSE's publication Towards a Green World examined the governance of environment through the lens of global aid, trade and debt barriers, highlighting how developing countries were thrown into a dillemma: choose between stringent global environmental norms and development. Thirty years later, the dillemma extends to decarbonisation.

Today the Global South needs to reinvent its narrative on climate action, centering economic resilience alongside decarbonisation.

In our new three-part discussion paper Towards a New, Green World, we bring together the decarbonisation and economic resilience questions. Through three briefs -- agriculture and forest commodities, critical minerals, and clean technology manufacturing -- we ask how developing countries can participate and stay affoot in the new, green economy.

Join us for the discussion and the online release of this paper series.

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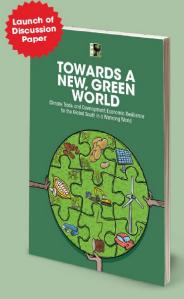
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Thank you!