



Climate Change: Bali- Poznan-Copenhagen- Cancun and now Durban

Facts and Politics: A curtain-raiser

Centre for Science and Environment

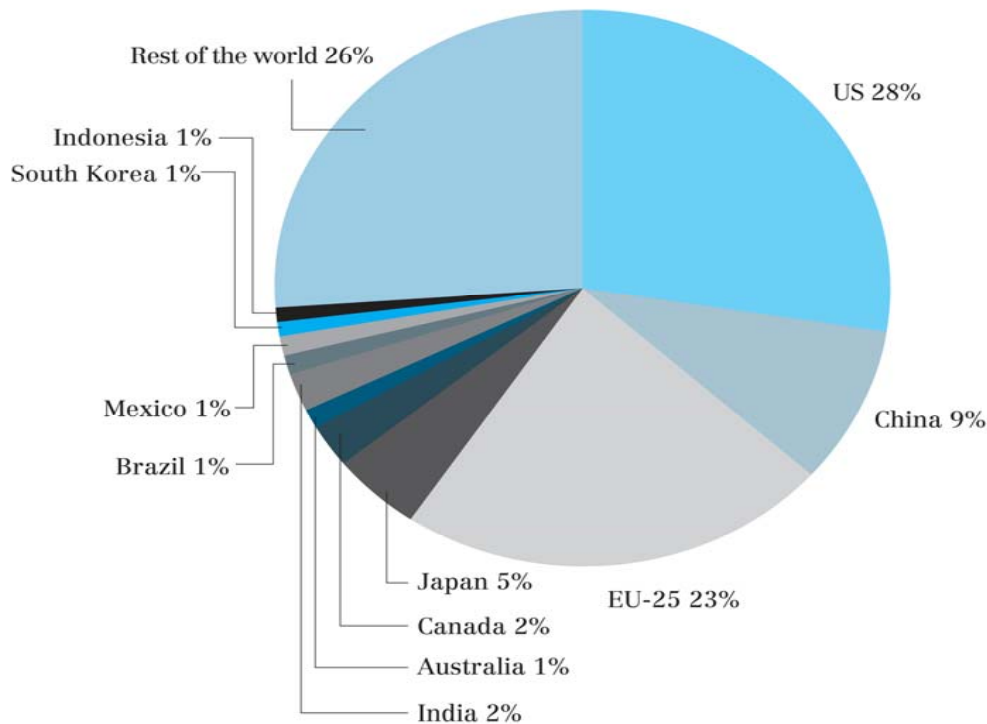
Stuck and yet pushed



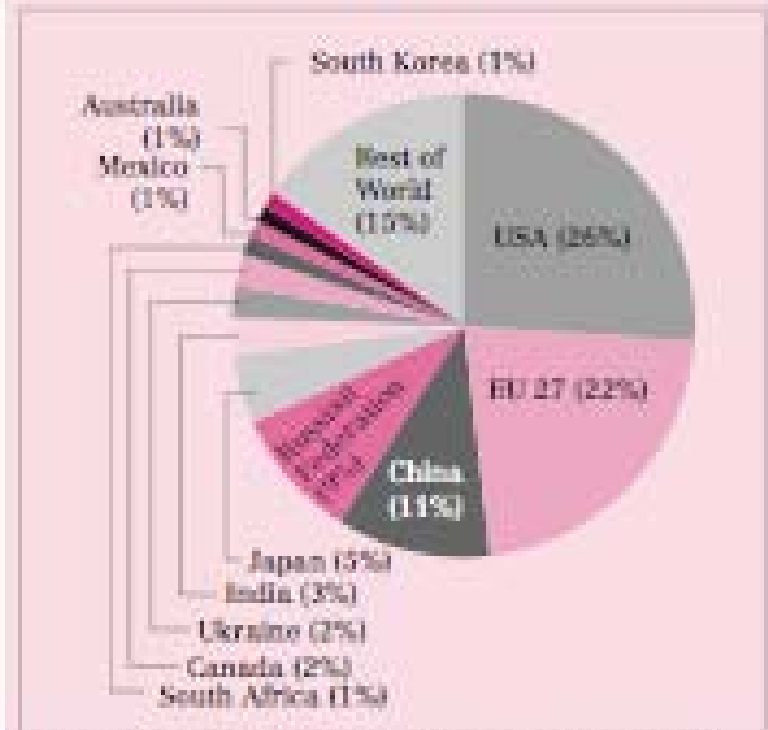
- Pressure from rich world is to do little domestically
- Pressure is get India, China, Brazil etc to take on commitments – a single legal treaty or one list of actions
- Politics is to break the **firewall** – remove distinction between countries that have contributed to the problem and rest

But all not equal contributors: differentiation important

Graph 2: Cumulative emissions 1950-2000 (CO₂ emissions without land use):



Graph 2: Cumulative CO₂ emissions, 1950-2007, without land use



Source: Climate Analysis Indicators Tool (CAIT) Version 8.0 (Washington, DC: World Resources Institute, 2011)

Difference is law



- Enacted into international law
- UN Framework Convention on Climate Change 1992 based on the principle that a group of countries (Annex 1) created problem; have to reduce emissions first; create space for the rest to grow
- **Common but differentiated Responsibilities**

Kyoto Protocol: based on principle of differentiation



- Kyoto Protocol accepts that Annex 1 countries have to cut emissions
- Sets legally binding emission reduction targets for each country: roughly 5.8% over 1990 levels by 2008-2012
- Rest of the world will take steps to avoid growth of emissions. For this money and technology will be provided

Firewall is the principle and the politics



- Principle of rights to the global common enshrined;
- Principle of historical responsibility of some enshrined;
- Principle of right to development and responsibilities of rest accepted

The removal of this firewall – differentiation – is driving negotiations now

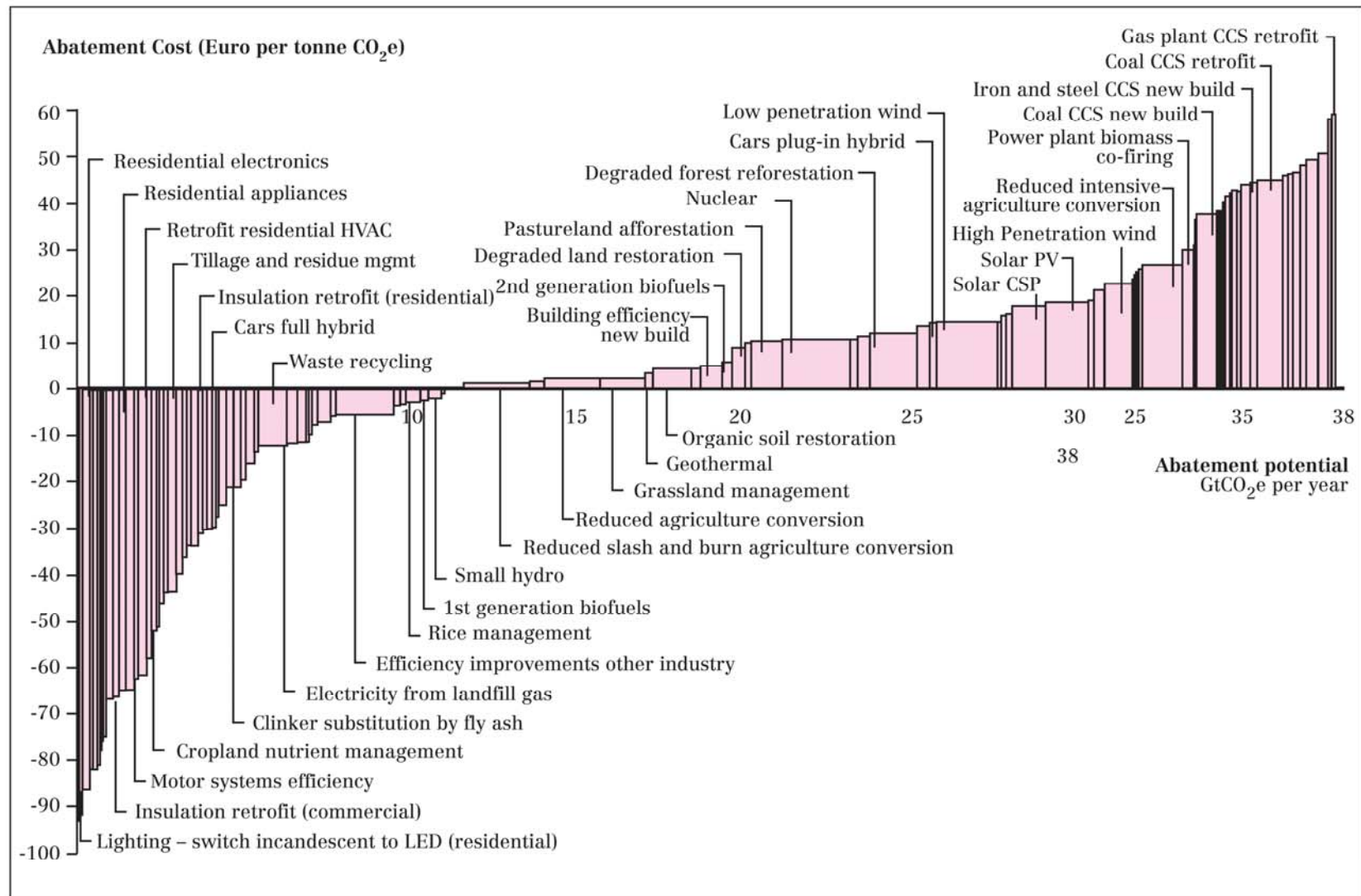
Why important for rich countries?



- Climate change is related to economic growth as the world knows it today
- Carbon dioxide emissions related to growth
- Most countries (Europe, Japan) have reached technology-emission barrier
- Will need to invest substantially in domestic industry and transport systems

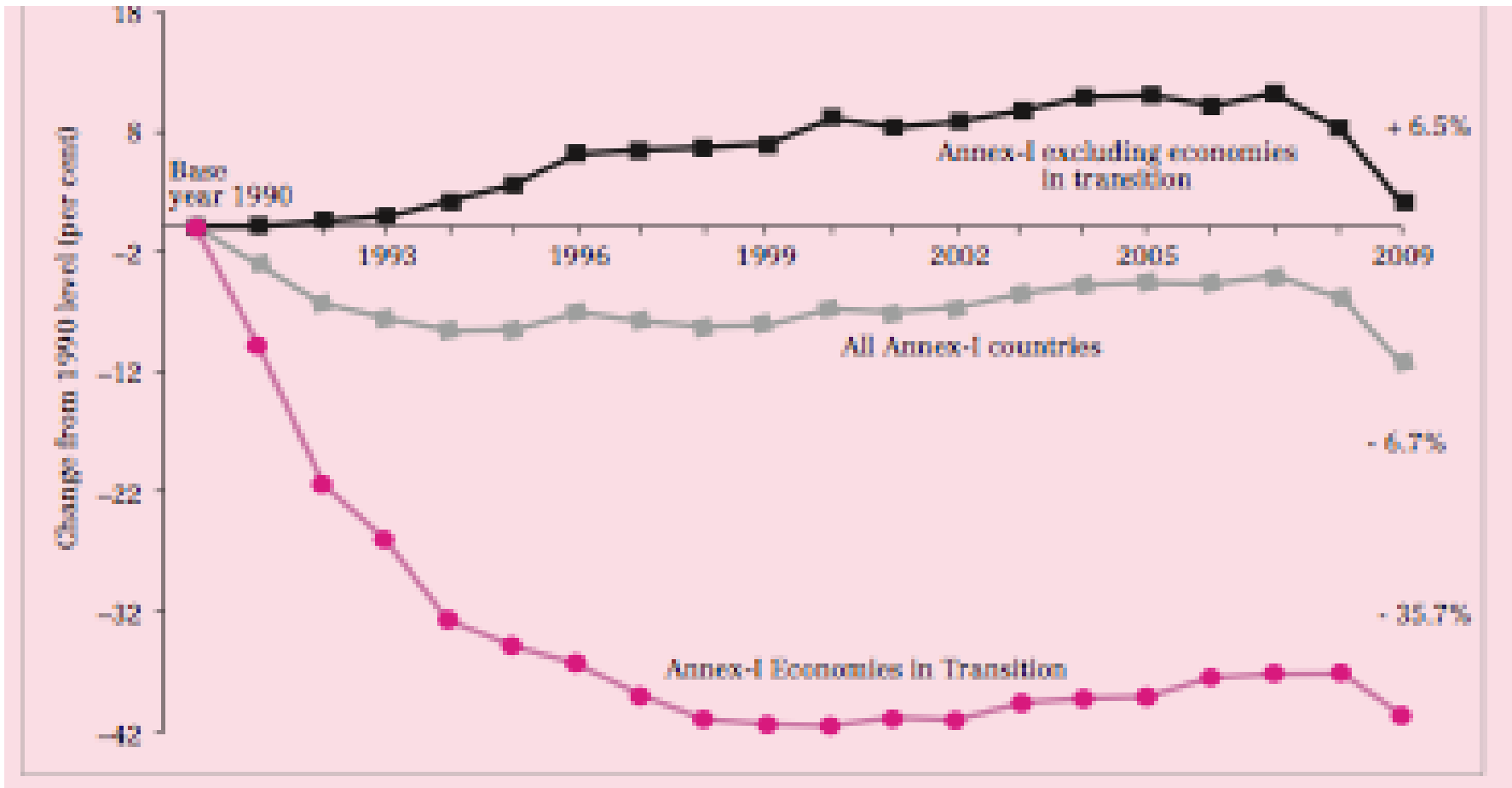
Transition to clean economies: not so easy options

Figure 1: McKinsey's global GHG abatement cost curve



Source: Pathway to a low carbon economy, version 2 of the GHG abatement cost curve, McKinsey & Company

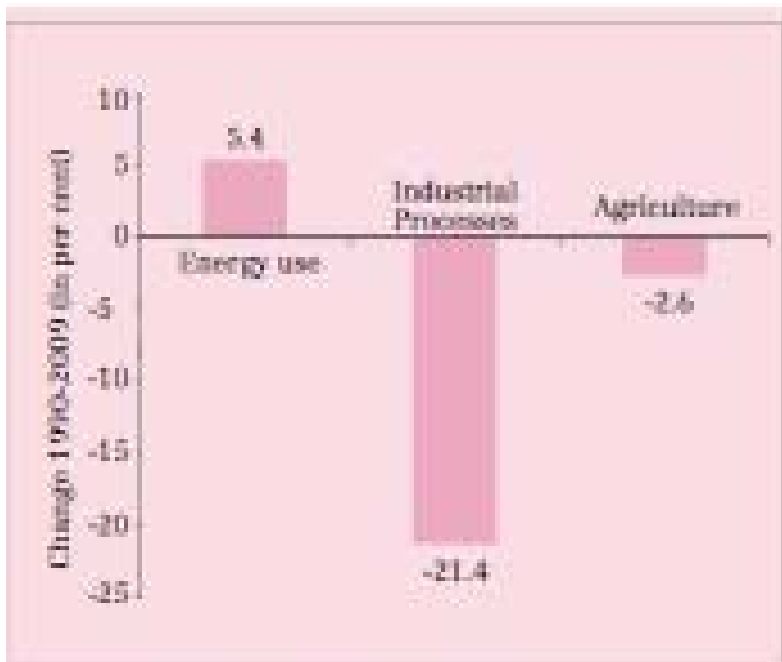
Rich countries: not meeting Kyoto target



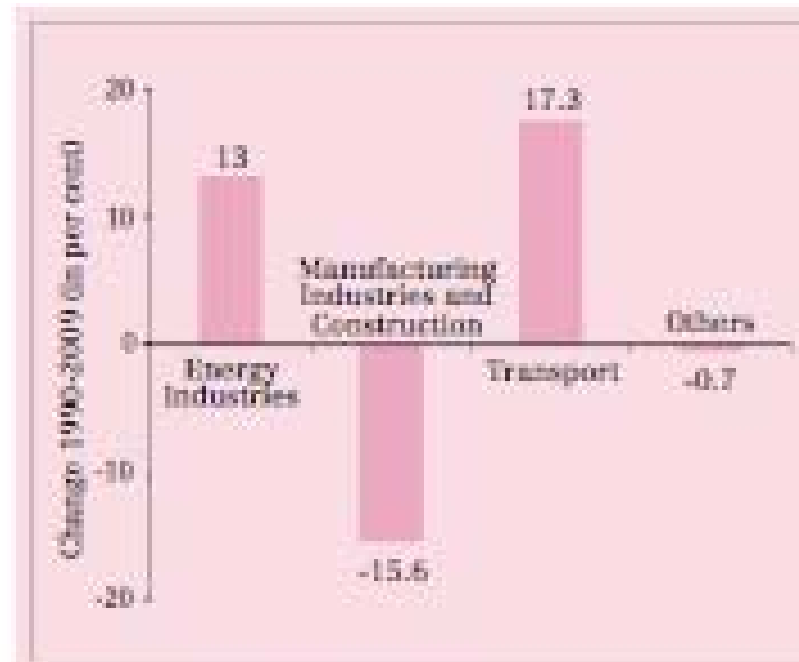
1990-2009: no transition in energy use



Energy emissions **up**; within energy, industry and transport **up**



Note: Excludes land use change and forestry
Source: GHG data from United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, 2011



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Politics in emission data

- Recent report
- Emissions up: 5.8 per cent in 2010 compared to 2009.
- China and India responsible for increase
- Rich countries remain on target to meet Kyoto commitments
- Preparation for Durban?



Numbers are politics

2009-2010% increase

□ China +10.37 %

□ India +8.98%

But

□ USA +4%

□ EU-15 +2.84%; Germany and UK +4%

These countries have legal commitment to reduce, not increase

Compare India and US



2009

India = 1.6 billion tonnes of CO₂

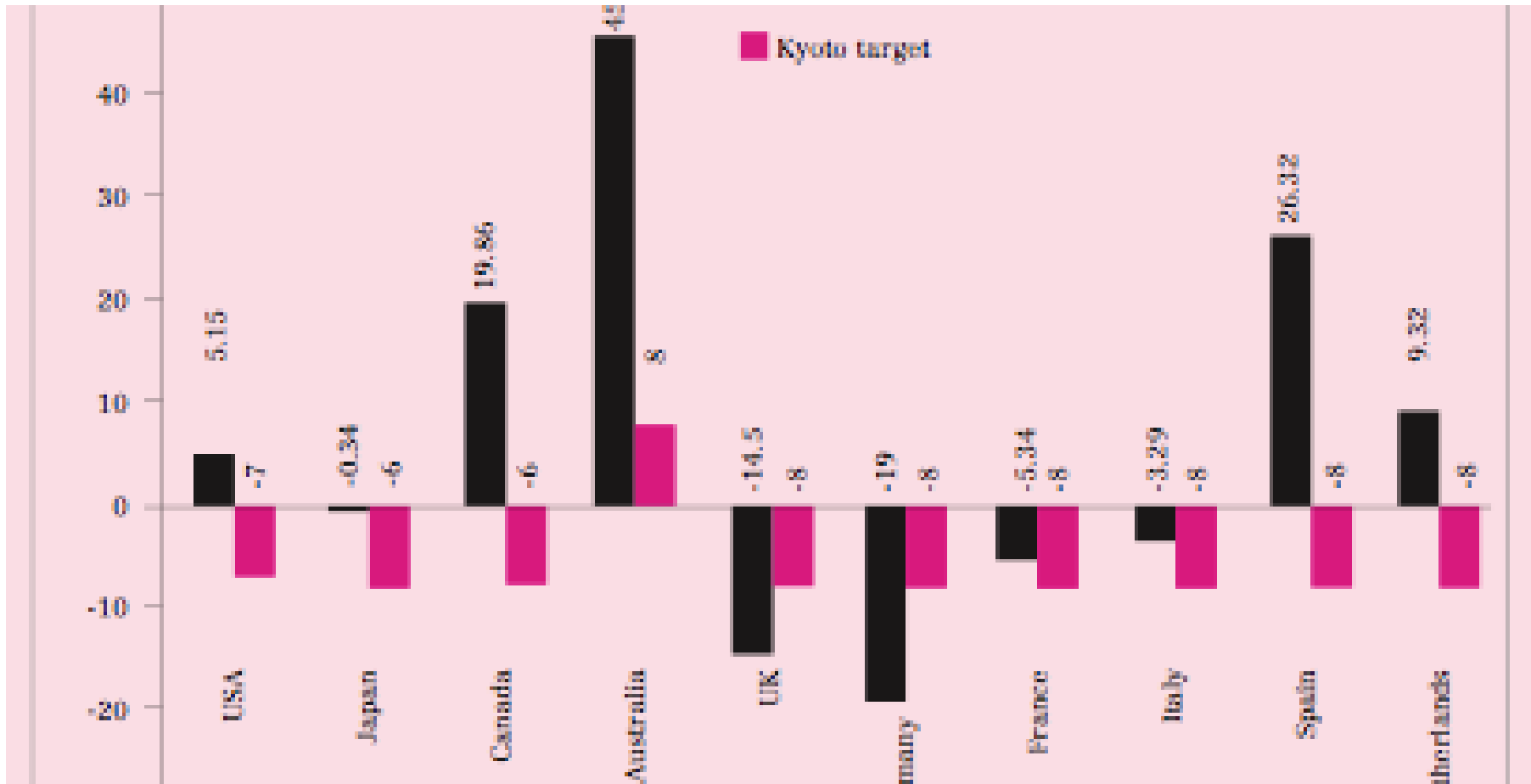
US = 5.04 billion tonnes of CO₂

2010

India increased by 9 per cent = **0.15** billion tonnes in 2010 over 2009.

US increased by 4 per cent = **0.2** billion tonnes more in 2010 over 2009.

Rich countries not in compliance: 1990-2010



Negotiations: Bali-Cancun

Change the nature of game



- **Bali 2007:** US action would not be legally binding; Emerging countries would take national actions, enabled by technology and funding
 - Agreed world needed to cut urgently – rich 20% by 2020
- 2008** Obama elected; In India pressure grew; need for **flexibility** became mantra

Copenhagen-Cancun: game changer for whom?



- **Copenhagen 2009**: New deal floated
- No legally binding agreement on rich; **All countries** would take domestic action; all actions **of all** would be measured, reported and verified (MRV). This action would not be 'enabled' by money or technology
- **Terms of agreement changed**

Terms of agreement changed



- **Distinction** between Annex 1 and rest removed – all would take action
- **No legal commitment** – but as actions would be internationally verified, it would be a commitment (backhand approach)
- **Principle of historical emissions and equity** removed – actions would be based not on contribution to problem but willingness to act

Cancun deal and beyond



- Cancun 2010: deal sealed
- India became deal maker
- But what is the deal?
- US agreed to cut (*sic*) emissions by 17% over 2005 levels (0 per cent over 1990 levels)
- But then walked out of this as well – emissions increasing

Deal? Whose and where does it stand?



- Rich countries agreed to provide fast track funds to meet needs of most vulnerable countries – US\$ 30 billion start up; US\$100 billion by 2020
- But no money on the table – juggling with other development assistance to call it new and additional
- Now say recession hit. Cannot pay

Not in compliance; cannot pay



- Have reneged on legal commitment
- But weak compliance mechanism to hold the rich responsible
- Cannot pay for transition in rest of world
- Want responsibility removed
- Politics in **Durban** will be more of the same



Durban: what's at play

Final act to kill Kyoto Protocol

Proposals;

- a. One legally binding treaty for all (AOSIS and EU);
- b. One schedule for all (Australia)
- c. New protocol (Japan)
- d. Amend article 4.1/4.2 of convention; article 3.7 of KP so that list of Annex 1 is changed with new list

Durban: buy self out of mess



- **CDM**: invest in ‘cleaner’ technology in south; get credits for additional
- Now want this continued even without Kyoto – proposing CDM extension; bilateral crediting of national action
- **REDD and REDD+**: invest in forest conservation and afforestation – get credits

Table 1: Comparison of Selected Annex I Nation reductions through offsets

Country	Proposed Reductions		Maximum per cent of reductions allowed through offsets
	By 2020	By 2050	
EU	20-30% from 1990 levels	80-95% from 1990 levels	66%
Australia	5-25% from 2000 levels	60% from 2000 levels	In discussion ²
Canada	20% from 2006 levels	60-70% below 2006 levels	10% ¹
New Zealand	10-20% below 1990 levels	50% below 1990 levels	Not disclosed
US (under Waxman-Markey or ACESA)	14-20% from 2005 levels	83% from 2005 levels	75%

Notes:

¹ The framework for the domestic offset credit component of the federal government's proposed emissions trading system is outlined in, "Turning the Corner: Canada's Offset System for Greenhouse Gases", released in March, 2008. The offset system is to include projects in as many domestic sectors as is practical, including landfill gas, renewable electricity, bio-digesters, soil carbon sequestration, and forests. In addition to domestic offsets, credits earned by participating in Kyoto Clean Development Mechanism projects can be used by emitters to meet as much as 10% of their emission reductions.; https://wiki.usask.ca/kis/index.php/Section_3:_Emissions_Trading/Offset_Credits_%E2%80%93_A_Market_Based_Instrument

² The Australian government is currently in a consultation period on the regulation of Carbon Offsets. The standard will provide guidance on what constitutes a genuine, additional voluntary offset credit, set requirements for the verification and retirement of such credits, and provide principles for calculating the emissions of an organisation, product or service which could be offset.; http://www.climatechange.gov.au/nav/carbon_offset.html



Durban: levers and twists

- Use trade to get compliance
- Do not strengthen compliance mechanism of KP as it would hurt rich
- Use public opinion (India is the problem; will get isolated..)
- Use despair (Republicans will come; You will suffer; islands will drown...)
- **Shameful politics**

Climate change: Real



- Climate change is **real**; it is already dangerous; heading towards catastrophe
- Emission reductions needed urgently and **drastically**
- **South Asia is most vulnerable**
- The poor are victims of emissions of rich

Impacts: certain but difficult to predict and identify



1. Impacts need long term data to corroborate future trends, but this does not exist
2. There are compounding reasons for impact – heavy rainfall in a region could be part of the trend of climate, but floods are also due to mismanagement of floodplain

Impacts: latest reports



□ MoEF: Climate change in India: 4x4 assessment

Temperature: higher annual mean by 2030 – between 1.7°-2°C. Maximum increase in coastal areas

Rainfall: more rain – 5-10 days in all regions. Risk of floods. Storm surges

Agriculture: higher temperature, CO₂ concentration and precipitation will impact production

Sea level rise: predicted to continue at rate of 1.3mm/year



Impacts: uncertain but clear

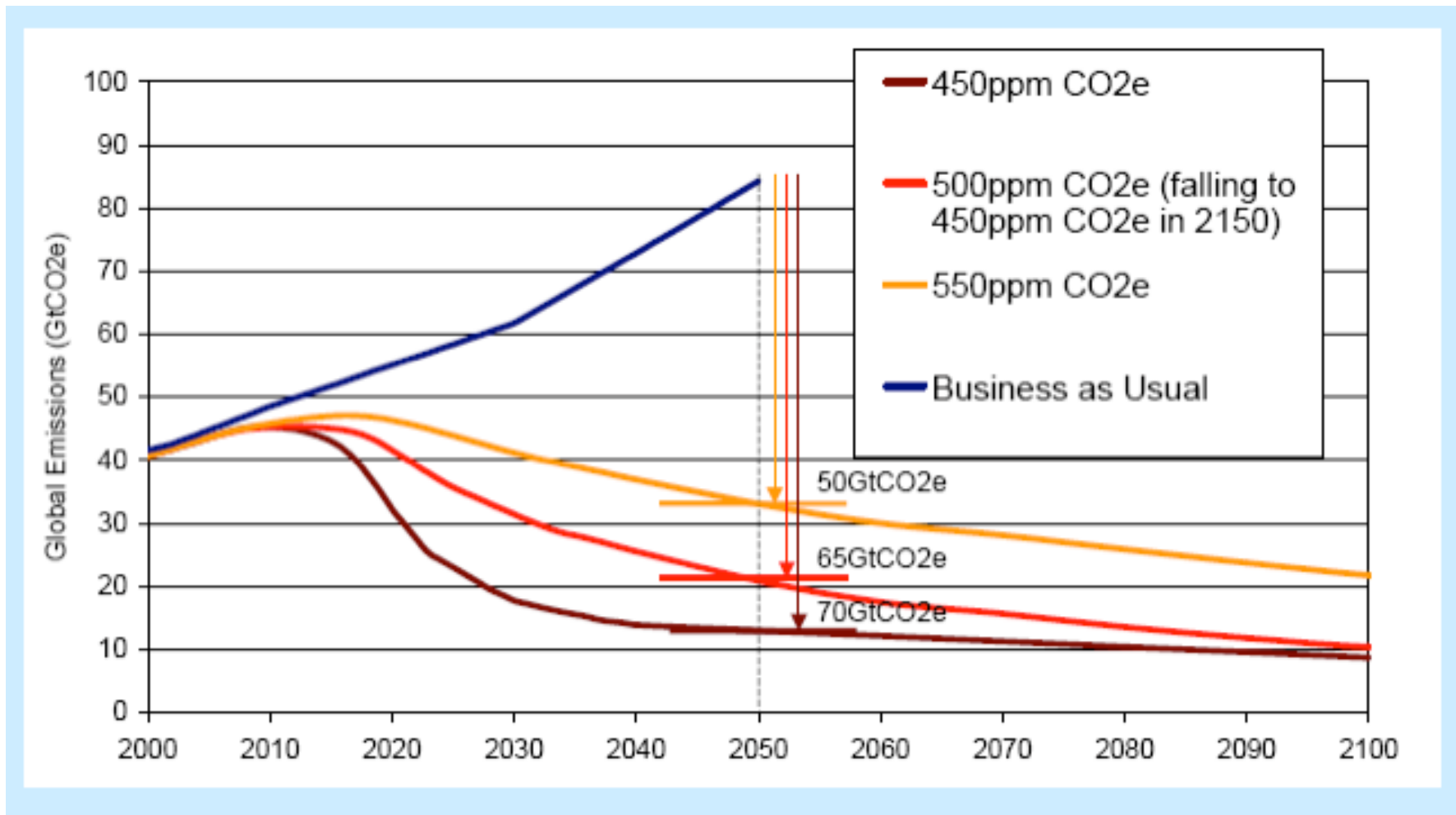
- **Changes are afoot**
- Beginning to see **extreme rainfall events**: more rain, less rainy days, cloud bursts, unseasonal, variable extreme rain
- Beginning to see *some* trend in **mean temperatures**, impacting crops
- Beginning to see some **intensification of tropical cyclones/sea surges** because of warmer temperatures
- **All in all: bad news ahead**

The challenge: 2 °C



- At business as usual: greenhouse gas levels 550 ppm by 2050 = temperature increase of 3-5°C
- Deadly for world
- Target is to keep below **2°C**
- Emissions need to be capped **450 ppm (already above 350 ppm)**
- **Have to cut drastically to meet objective**

Drastic reduction needed: For 450 ppm (2°C) reduce 85% by 2050





Climate change: hard facts

1. South Asia will be (is) a victim of climate change impacts
2. North wants to shift the burden of mitigation – cutting emissions on us
3. India must (**and is**) reducing emissions emission in its interest
4. **In negotiations we should not compromise position. We must work to prevent catastrophic climate change**

Agenda in Durban



1. Emission reduction targets of rich countries
2. Reassert principle of equity (Indian submission/October 2011)
3. Reassert need for funding and technology transfer
4. Establish principle of loss and damage and operationalise adaptation fund