



THE INCOMPLETE IDIOTS' GUIDE TO COP15

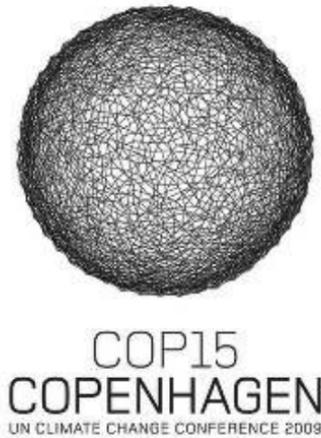


THE INCOMPLETE IDIOTS' GUIDE TO COP15

PAIRVI 2009

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INTRODUCTION TO COP15

At the 15th Conference of the Parties in Copenhagen, the key issues which will be under discussion will include:

- The baseline year that specified reduction targets will be measured against and the duration of the second commitment period.
- The proposed greenhouse gas reduction targets for both the second commitment period and beyond.
- Whether the agreement will be expanded to include greenhouse gases that are currently excluded from the Kyoto Protocol.
- Whether a new agreement will be expanded to include Greenhouse gas emissions from the international maritime industry and Greenhouse gas emissions from the international aviation industry, both of which are currently omitted from the Kyoto Protocol.
- Whether the rules governing the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) will be tightened to ensure the environmental integrity and avoidance of greenhouse gas emissions or whether they will be relaxed.
- Whether the CDM will include the as yet unproved Carbon Capture and Storage technology being promoted as a way of allowing coal-fired power stations to continue operating and new ones to be built.
- Whether the agreement will include measures to curb the rate of deforestation, especially of tropical rainforests in developing countries – otherwise known as Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD).



POSSIBLE OUTCOMES OF THE COP15 ARE:

- No agreement: in this case, talks will be expected to resume in 2010 (at a “COP15-bis”)
- A decision or set of decisions: the weakest agreed outcome, but it could be combined with one of the following stronger solutions
- A political “implementing agreement”: not legally binding, it would allow each State to set its own goals and decide how to reach them according to domestic laws. At the moment, this is the most probable outcome of the Conference, and is preferred by the US
- A single new legally binding agreement (Copenhagen Protocol): it would replace the Kyoto Protocol and include additional issues such as adaptation. It could include mitigation commitments for the US, as well as actions for major developing countries. This solution is endorsed mainly by the EU.
- Two protocols: an amended Kyoto Protocol that improves what has already been negotiated, plus a new legally binding agreement to address new issues. Most developing countries want this (since it would preserve the principle of “common but differentiated responsibilities” and therefore the distinction between Annex-I countries and the rest).



WHERE DO COUNTRIES STAND ON COP15

Annex-I countries

USA

President Obama will attend the COP15 negotiations, but only during the first days (where no agreement will be struck). He has already stated that the USA oppose the creation of a new Kyoto-like treaty containing legal binding agreements, also because their federal climate bill is still being debated in the Senate. Obama will propose instead a limited deal which should set a framework for a post-2012 treaty to be signed at the Hawaii COP meeting of 2011.

The USA have agreed to cut their emissions to 17% below 2005 levels by 2020, around 4% less than 1990 levels. This target is far below the commitments of other developed countries and the goals set by the Kyoto Protocol, but it's still considered a step forward, given the traditional conservative stance of the US.

In order to meet the goal of an 83% reduction in 2050, the path would imply reductions by 30% in 2025 and by 42% in 2030 (below 2005 levels).

Finally, the US insist that in a new treaty big emitters among developing countries (China, India, Brazil, South Africa above all) should also take some form of commitment, like slowing the growth of their emissions.



European Union

The European Commission has released a position paper in January 2009 setting the objectives of the Union for the COP15: setting targets and actions, financing of low-carbon development and adaptation, and creating a global carbon market.

The EU has committed to implement a legally binding legislation even without a deal at COP15, and proposes a revised Emission Trading Scheme for the post-Kyoto period. The European Council also has agreed to give financial assistance to developing countries, beginning with a 'fast-start' phase where fund flows should be considerably scaled up, but in October it failed to



reach an agreement on the size of the aid (which should be between 7 and 22 billions Euros per year). Like the US, also the EU wants developing countries to slow emissions growth (lowering projected emission increase by 15-30% by 2020), but on the other hand it is in favour of a global and comprehensive legally binding agreement, that should have ambitious targets (a maximum 1.2°C increase in global temperature by 2050) and reflect the scientific consensus reached in the 4th Assessment Report by the IPCC. CDM and JI should be still part of the new agreement, but should be reformed to increase their effectiveness.



The EU has announced its will to cut its emissions by 20% by 2020 (on 2005 levels), but it's ready to cut up to 30% if the other developed countries do the same, in order to reach an 80-95% cut by 2050. The target is to make total cumulated GHG emissions peak in 2020, halving them by 2050 and continuing the decline afterwards.

The EU also stressed the need of creating incentives to slow (or stop) deforestation, halving it by 2020 and halting the loss of forest areas by 2050. Specific sectoral cuts have been identified in aviation (10%) and maritime (20%) transport services. According to the EU, an agreement at the COP15 should entail provisions for R&D, deployment and diffusion of green technologies, with a focus on transfers to developing countries; on its own, the Union has foreseen an investment of 50 billion Euros for research in new technologies.



Japan

Japan will cut emissions to 25% below 1990 levels by 2020, if other countries show a similar ambition. This amounts to a cut of 30% in 10 years, which is opposed by the national industry.

The "Hatoyama initiative" will increase financial and technical assistance to developing countries, but Japan also asks for binding commitments by developing countries to cut their emissions.

Australia

Australia, whose emissions have increased by more than 40% since 1990, has committed to reduce them by 25% by 2020 (on 2000 levels), but only if there is a 'fair' contribution by other major emitters, since today this target would mean reducing average emissions of every Australian by 50%. Without an agreement, the reductions would be only between 5-15%. The



country is at the forefront on efforts to replace the Kyoto Protocol with a deal that would absolve rich countries from responsibility for the past emissions.

The Australian Government is in favour of introducing a cap-and-trade mechanism on the ETS basis, but the proposal is fiercely debated by the opposition.

UK

The UK has announced its will to cut GHG emissions by 34% by 2020 (below 1990 levels), while at the same time achieving a 40% of electricity production through renewable sources, regardless of the outcomes of negotiations. It also aims to reduce emissions from cars by 40%.



Denmark

The host country of the COP15 has tried to make the Parties commit to a new binding deal, but recently it had to concede that Copenhagen will probably not produce another agreement like the Kyoto Protocol.

In a recent speech, the Prime Minister Rasmussen has stated that the outcome of the negotiations will most likely be a 'pledge and review' agreement signed by the most powerful countries, implying that each nation will set its own binding goals.

There have been rumors that Denmark has prepared an alternative deal, in anticipation of the failure to agree on a new Protocol, that would eliminate the distinction between Annex-I Parties and the rest of the world.

Non-Annex-I countries

China

China wants developed countries to set a binding goal of 40% reduction in GHG emissions by 2020 (below 1990 levels), while it will not accept any legal imposition on developing countries. On the other hand, it has spontaneously decided to cut carbon intensity by 40-45% by 2020 (on 2005): this means that emissions will still increase, but at a much slower pace than without the intervention. Although being the biggest GHG producer of the world (its 3 biggest power plants emit a quantity of CO2 equal to the entire United Kingdom), China refuses



to lower emissions because of the costs implied: for example, letting GHG rise by just 10% by 2030 would correspond to an investment of over 200 billion dollars every year for the next 20 years.



China highlights the principle of “common but differentiated responsibilities” of the Kyoto Protocol, and wants to keep it in a possible new agreement. It stresses the importance of financial aid and technology transfers by developed countries to help the rest of the world to cut their emissions and grow in an environmentally sustainable manner: the West should allocate around 1% of its GDP for the task, and provide low-carbon technologies to developing countries.

India

Like China, India agrees to limit the growth of its GHG emissions, but will not set binding targets. It stresses out the huge difference in per-capita emissions between developed and developing countries, stating that only the former should have legally binding limits, and asks for deep cuts in rich country emissions, firm funding pledges and technology transfers. Despite its opposition to targets for developing countries, India has approved a National Action Plan for Climate Change to start the transition towards a clean development.

G-77

The Group of 77 consists of 130 developing countries, and partly overlaps with other groups like the AOSIS and the African Union.

The position of the G77 is that rich countries should accept their historical responsibility for climate change, and therefore greatly reduce their emissions, while allowing poor countries to develop without GHG limits (or with less stringent ones). The Group asks for 40% cuts by 2020 (on 1990 levels), and will sign no agreement that has a less ambitious target. It also advocates the need of financial and technical aid for adaptation to climate change (money, technology, training) that should be provided by developed countries. G77 countries claim they should make no cuts until they reach a certain level of development, since the West has practically benefited from a “subsidy” by freely polluting in the past without paying any penalty.



During the pre-COP meeting in Barcelona in November, reminding that the UNFCCC is the sole legitimate forum for negotiations of climate change, the G77 group expressed concerns over the slow progress of the Bali Road Map, and asked for a strong and ambitious agreement in Copenhagen, since weak solutions would mean a danger for many of their countries (famine, drought, submersion etc.). It supports a two-track negotiation, in order to avoid the replacement of the Kyoto Protocol by an agreement that could commit developing countries to emission cuts or weaken the obligation of developed nations.



The G77 will firmly insist on keeping the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, and will also ask for a shift towards adaptation solutions (since they are the most hit by climate change) rather than mitigation (biased towards developed countries).

AOSIS

The Alliance of Small Island States, a bloc of 42 island and coastal states mostly in the Pacific and Caribbean, represents some of the most vulnerable countries with respect to climate change. They are highly concerned that the COP15 will fail to produce a legally binding agreement, and point out that such a failure, or a weak agreement will have catastrophic consequences on their territories. They ask for a 45% reduction in GHG emissions by 2020, and not just by 14-20% as for the pledges of developed countries, since only such a reduction would avoid a temperature increase that would threaten the existence of their islands because of rising sea levels. They also criticized the proposed concentration goal of 450ppm of CO₂, since this would not avoid catastrophic outcomes: they claim that the scientific upper limit in the long run is 350ppm, implying a reduction from the actual 380.



AOSIS is also concerned over funding: it welcomes the 'fast-start' proposal for helping developing countries, but also stresses the need for a long-term, predictable and grant-based (not loan-based) financing.

Finally, the Alliance, contrary to the G77, also asks big emitters among developing countries, China and India above all, to commit to a binding agreement to cut their emissions.



African Union

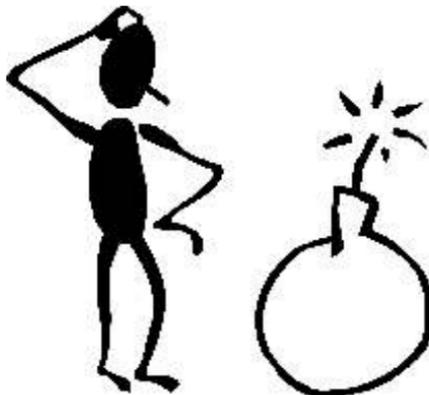
The African Union is a grouping of 52 African states. Like China, it wants rich countries to legally bind to cut emissions by 40% below 1990 level by 2020, and describes 20 to 30% cuts as "unacceptable" since they would mean a serious threat for the populations of their continent.

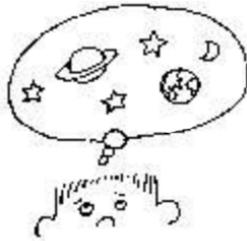
The AU asked rich countries to pay 0.5% of GDP to help developing countries tackle climate change, and claims \$67 billions per year for adaptation measures in Africa. If these demands are not met, the AU has threatened to walk out of the negotiations. Like the AOSIS, also the African Union asks big developing countries to reduce their emissions.

OPEC

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries seeks financial aid for oil-producers if the new agreement requires cuts of fossil fuels, which are the main source of their incomes. The Gulf States are keen on a deal that would advance the use of carbon capture and storage.

In 2007 OPEC members pledged \$750m to fund climate change research, and Qatar and Abu Dhabi are investing heavily in clean energy technologies.





WHERE DOES THE CIVIL SOCIETY STAND

WWF

The WWF has released a document consisting of 10 points which they consider crucial for tackling climate change and necessary for a successful agreement at COP15:

- Legally Binding Framework: the WWF pushes for a “Copenhagen Protocol” which should be binding for everyone and pave the way for a low-carbon economy
- Peak carbon emission before 2017: important for avoiding an average temperature rise over 2 degrees
- Emissions 40% below 1990 levels by 2020 for industrialized nations: it is the requirement individuated by scientists for stopping global warming
- Emissions 30% below business-as-usual by 2020 for developing nations: big emitters should agree to consistently slow their emissions growth
- Zero Net Emissions from deforestation: a theme that is also linked with the rights of indigenous people and local communities
- Immediate adaptation action: a framework for insurance, compensation and other adaptation measures should be designed
- \$160 billion annually for developing countries for climate mitigation: since the developed countries bear responsibility for climate change, they should pay reparations to developing ones, in form of grants (not loans)
- Strengthen & facilitate technology transfer: clean technologies have to be spread around the world as quickly as possible, finding a reasonable solutions for patents
- Transparent oversight of compliance and funding: the aid-chain through which grants are given must be monitored through a new oversight institution of the UNFCCC
- Transparent & comparable standards for Carbon Markets: develop comparable ways of accounting for emissions, mitigation efforts, carbon markets and all other relevant elements.



La Via Campesina

The worldwide network of small farmers will join the mobilizations in Copenhagen. Sustainable farming and local food production are the key elements of their position, since they both are having a counter-effect on global warming, cooling down the Earth. Peasant agriculture allows carbon to be sequestered in soils and uses less fossil fuel-based machines and chemical inputs. Consumption of local goods saves enormous amounts of energy used for transporting around the planet. Therefore, a conversion from industrial monocultures to small-scale sustainable agriculture, along with the development of local markets, would allow a massive reduction of GHGs.

La Via Campesina is going to stress this points in Copenhagen, bringing many testimonies from different countries.

The NGO also opposes to carbon trade policies, since they claim that such schemes allow companies to get credits to develop monoculture plantations at the expense of the livelihoods of evicted farmers.

IUCN

The International Union for Conservation of Nature wishes to see the inclusion of Ecosystem-based Adaptation (EbA) in the framework of the post-2012 climate change agreement. EbA is the use of ecosystem management activities to support societal adaptation, identifying and implementing a range of strategies for the administration, conservation and restoration of ecosystems to provide services that enable people to adapt to the impacts of climate change.

IUCN also wishes to see an equitable and sustainable Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD) mechanism in developing countries in the agreement, since sustainable forest management is a mitigation measure that can act as a bridging mechanism in the transition to a low-carbon economy as well as protecting biodiversity in forestall environments.

Greenpeace

The requests of Greenpeace for a successful agreement are basically 3: a commitment by rich countries to make big cuts in emissions, the constitution of a fund to save the forests, and the creation of a fund to help developing countries. Greenpeace also asks the world leaders to attend the COP15 personally, to increase the chances of a responsible deal.



The NGO has created a checklist by which the success of the negotiations can be measured:

- Commitment to make emissions peak in 2015 and decrease as rapidly as possible towards zero after that
- Developed countries must make cuts of 40% in their 1990 emissions by 2020
- Developing countries must slow the growth of their emissions by 15-30% by 2020, with the support of the rich countries
- Protection of tropical forests with a special funding mechanism
- Replacement of fossil fuel energy with renewable sources, and measures for enhanced energy efficiency
- Rejection of 'false' solutions like nuclear energy

Klimaforum

The Klimaforum09 is considered to be the civil society counterpart of the COP15, taking place on the same days: one of the central outcomes of the meeting will be a global climate declaration expressing the ideas and visions of citizens groups and social movements from all around the world.

The fear of the participants is that the Copenhagen conference will be focused on technological fixes and biased towards the interests of the corporate lobbies and the rich nations. Therefore, the declaration will put forth a vision of a more socially just world society, emphasizing the need to create substantial changes in the social and economic structures in order to meet the challenges of global warming and food sovereignty. The declaration will be finalized during the first 4 days of the meeting, thus giving the participants a possibility to influence the outcomes of the COP15 (for which the last days will be crucial). The declaration will be handed over to the political leaders at COP15, and will be another milestone in building a planetary movement for climate justice.

Klimaforum09 wishes to promote solutions that:

- Prioritise energy saving and energy effectiveness
- Promote the use of safe, clean, renewable energy
- Reduce greenhouse gas emissions and as such do not promote or cement the use of fossil fuels
- Are built on agricultural methods that fix carbon in the soil and reduce the use of fertilizers, and which do not create a threat towards ecosystems, climate and biodiversity
- Secure sustainable use of Earth's resources, as well as an equal and just access to them
- Remain critical to the focus on consumption which dominates the global society today.



The organizers of Klimaforum are also skeptical towards Emission Trading Schemes, pointing out that they are not effective in reducing emissions, and have not benefited organic farmers where they have been applied. They also claim that no significant change will be possible if the standards of living in western societies are not put into discussion.

The demands to the world leaders are summarized as follows:

- A clear strategy for dismantling the fossil fuel era within next 30 years
- An equally clear strategy for compensating the poor for the climate and broader environmental debt created by the rich
- Strong opposition against market-oriented and technology-centered solutions put forward by the world's corporations, since these fixes (nuclear energy, biofuels, carbon capture and storage, genetically "climate-readied" crops...) only produce new types of environmental threats. Emission trading schemes are refused since they establish property rights on the atmosphere, which is a common resource, and have not been proven effective
- Proposal of a political commitment to reintegrate economies into natural local ecosystems, re-powering local communities, re-vitalizing democratic participation and re-installing a truly sustainable relation between man and nature
- Reorganization of the societies towards meeting basic social goals with an awareness of planetary limits
- Disempowering of institutions like WTO, World Bank, Transnational Corporations etc. in favor of local and national sovereignty over resources and assets

Centre for Science and Environment

The CSE, one of India's leading green groups, is concerned that the developed countries want to dismantle the Kyoto Protocol, especially after the inconclusive meetings of the Ad-Hoc Working Group on the Kyoto Protocol in Bangkok.

The CSE opposes a mere 'pledge and review' agreement, which would not distinguish between historical polluters and the rest of the world, and allow developed countries to set less ambitious goals compared to the Protocol.

It instead advocated strong emission cuts for the developed world (30-40% by 2020 over 1990 levels), national mitigation actions in developing countries, dismissal of the inefficient CDM replacing it with a carbon tax on rich countries or a carbon trade scheme with equal per-capita entitlements. A fund for adaptation should also be set up, but not based on charity, but instead on the right to development of the poor.

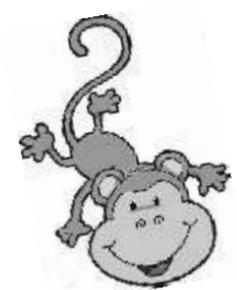




PAIRVI: PAIRVI is a non-profit advocacy Support Organization, which seeks to facilitate and strengthen social advocacy in North and central India. PAIRVI goal is to promote peoples agenda by creating a supportive climate for advocacy efforts across the region. PAIRVI believes in facilitating positive social change through non-violent means, informing both the public and those who frame public policy. It is committed to enhance capacity of grassroots organization in human rights practice and advocacy with the objective of strengthening human rights infrastructure.



CECEOEDECON: Centre for Community Economics and Development Consultants Society (CECEOEDECON) is a non-profit and non-governmental organization, engaged in a variety of development, research and advocacy activities. Its mission is to facilitate the processes of empowerment of partner communities-dalits, indigenous people, the landless, small and marginal farmers, deprived women and children- through both direct and indirect interventions, so that they are able to take action independently and effectively to secure their long-term well being.



From the Publishers



The guide has been prepared for basic understanding of simple fallible creatures that we men and women are. This guide can never be a complete guide because the publishers themselves do not know which terminology or formulae will be pop up from the fantasy of which developed country. We do not either take the responsibility of authenticity of definitions, terms, concepts or positions (of countries) provided in the guide as they keep changing and may change any moment. Many of the countries themselves are not in the position to take responsibility of what they have said or done. The whole idea of this guide is to impress upon the common men and climate victims that all of us are idiots in the climate change discourse and the people who are responsible for brining the crises are still bent upon living the most lavish, flamboyant and high carbon footprint lifestyles. The publishers have taken worst possible care to omit inadequacies and mistakes and will not be responsible for any of them...All of us are doing that all the time..Who cares for who pays the price.....wishing you a happy reading of this guide.

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