

Justice in the Greenhouse: Prospects for a “Copenhagen Agreement”

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Brussels, 19.11.2008

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Outline

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Strategic parameters (UNFCCC, 1992)

- **Aim: avoid “dangerous interference”**
 - To limit climate change to “safe” (tolerable) levels (=mitigation)
 - So that the challenge of **adaptation** is manageable
 - & sustainable development and food security not impaired
- **Inclusiveness (=> effective, fair), solidarity**

Key messages (IPCC 2007, Stern Review)

- **Human-induced change is unequivocal**
 - = major factor in global warming
- **Impacts generally negative ...**
- **And inequitable**
 - Hurting vulnerable and poor people, countries
- **Pathway to “safety” is affordable (IPCC)**
 - Global GDP growth <0.12% per annum to 2030
- **Prevention is cheaper than cure (Stern)**

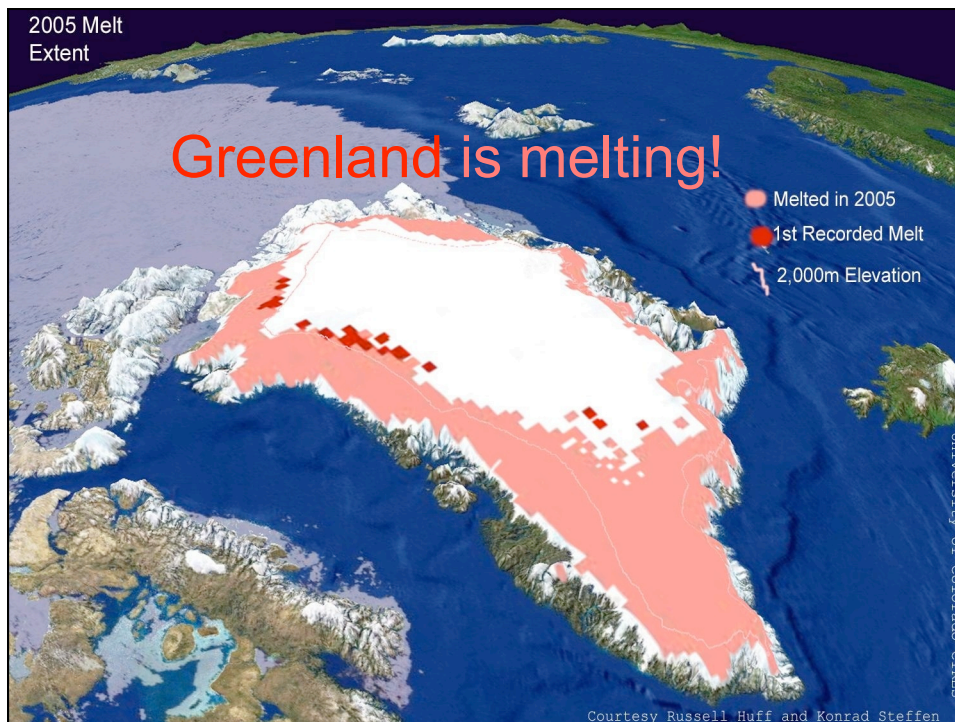
Ethical reflections

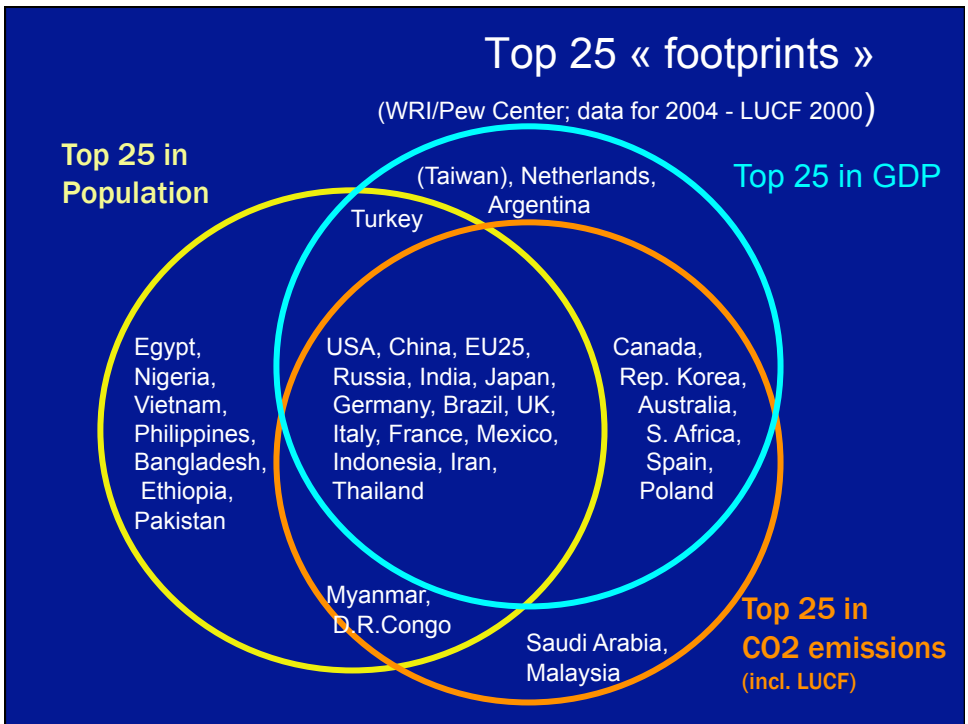
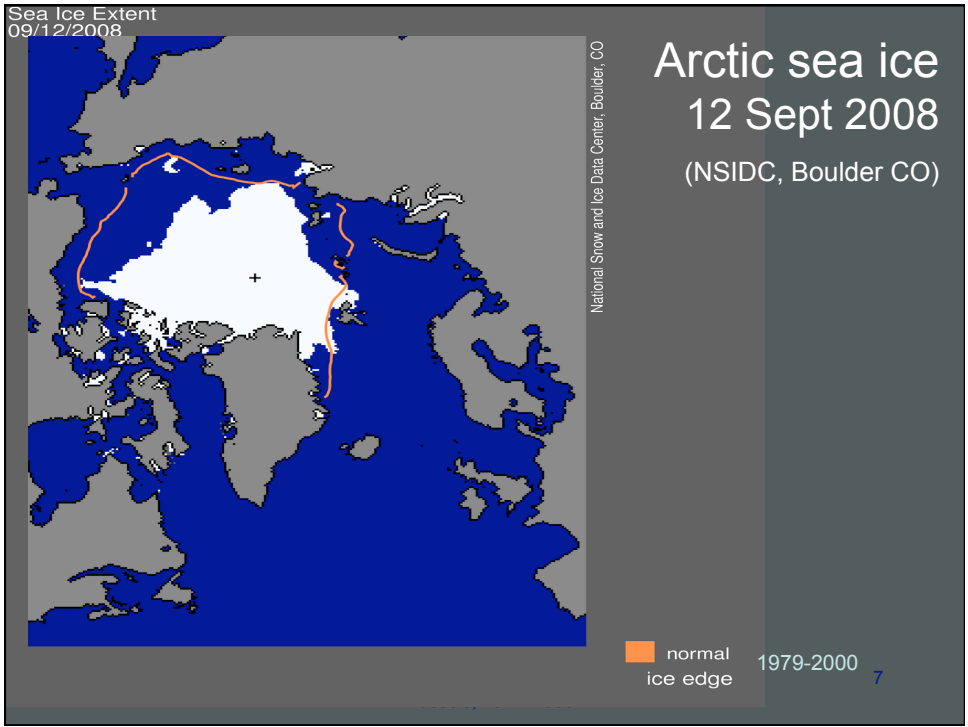
- Our common greenhouse is unfair.
- Our responses are self-centred.
- Generalities are easy: deciding **who** should do what for **whom** is not.
 - “dangerous”, “safe”, “manageable” ...
- Nor is putting a value on **future generations** (Stern).

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Effectiveness, fairness, responsibility, potential

(Data for 2000, 6 KP gases - except 1950-2000)

Source: WRI/CAIT

	% World emissions		Tons per cap (tCO ₂ e)		1950-2000 cumulative CO ₂ - % world + T/cap		Intensity kt/M\$GDP
	Excl LUCF	Incl LUCF	Excl LUCF	Incl LUCF	Energy	Energy Plus LUC	
USA	19.2		24.3				0.70
EU 25	13.2		10.5				0.46
Annex I	48.4	39.3	14.1	13.9	73.8% 456 T/cap	52.6% 457 T/cap	0.64
World			5.9	7.2	122 T/cap	171 T/cap	0.80
Non-Annex I	43.7	54.2	3.3	4.9	27.1% 42 T/cap	47.6% 103 T/cap	0.91
China	13.6		3.9				0.98
India	4.5		1.6				0.67

Negotiating mechanics

- **Kyoto Protocol track (Montreal 2005)**
 - Post-2012 targets - and improvements
 - For existing KP Parties
- **Convention track (Bali 2007)**
 - Actions/commitments by USA
 - Actions by developing countries + enabling support
- **Common deadline – CPH Dec 2009**

Bali Action Plan 1

- Inclusive and comprehensive
 - Mitigation + Adaptation
 - Enabled by Technology + Finance
 - Delivery mechanisms
- Framed by “shared vision”
- Demanding political judgement
 - Verifying and comparing national efforts

Bali Action Plan 2

- Open as to degree of ambition
- Open as to form of “agreed outcome”
 - => “Copenhagen Agreement” OR
 - => “Copenhagen Agreements”
- Copenhagen => one-track mind set

EU vision

2°C

50:50:50

2020: 25-40/1990

2020: 15-30/BAU

20:20:20

20 => 30?

Negotiating dynamics

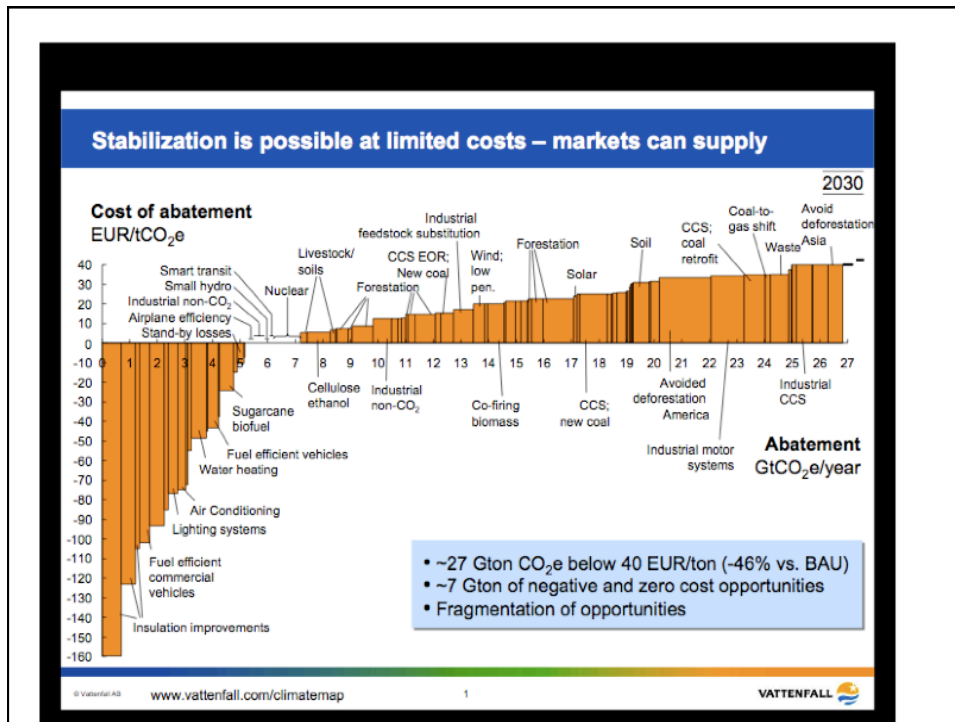
- **Motivation to act is highly variable**
- **Numbers => burden-sharing mode**
- **Conventional traps (finger-pointing)**
 - Responsibility: for past or for future
 - Emissions metrics: per head or aggregate
- **Need to change mode:**
 - **Cooperation against common threat**
 - **Shared opportunities**
 - **Fair outcomes**

Shared political vision ...

- **CC => National security**
- **CC => Policy coherence**
- **Integrate CC and sustainable development**
 - Resilience, adaptation
- **War on two fronts: CC & poverty**
 - Energy access for bottom billion(s)
- **War on two fronts: CC & growth/recovery**

... of a low-carbon future ...

- **Technology and markets**
 - 2020 peak: efficiency + current technologies
 - 2050 goal: new technologies => shared remedies
 - Market incentives essential but not enough
- **Finance (“big money”)**
 - Green FDI
 - More public finance
 - New sources that do not hit tax-payer
 - Delivery mechanisms of required scale
 - Governance beyond donor-recipient mentality



... differentiated but common

- **Common goal (2050)**
 - mid-term peak (2020?)
- **Differentiated commitments**
 - National circumstances
 - Respective capabilities
- **Common framework**
 - Accountability (MRV)
 - Trust

Signs of promise

- G.8: 2050 reduction goal
- Developing country plans & programmes
 - Mexico, China, South Africa, India, Brazil
- EU: CC & Energy package (Dec. 2008):
 - **CREDIBLE EU MESSAGE TO POZNAN!**
- [Poznan - COP in transition]
- USA: States, Business, Congress, President => NEW LEGISLATION 2010?
- **G.?? - Reform of Global Governance**

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DJIA (12 months)



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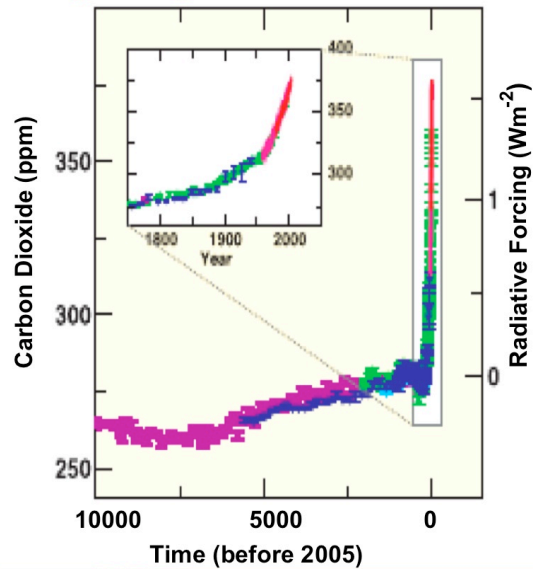
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Human contribution to climate change

Global atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases **increased markedly as result of human activities**

In 2005 concentration of CO₂ **exceeded by far the natural range** over the last 650,000 years

Changes in CO₂ from ice core and modern data



For more information

www.unfccc.int

www.ipcc.ch

www.cait.wri.org

<http://nsidc.org/index.html>

mzc@iddri.org

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Russian Fed.	5.3		13.0				1.86
Japan	3.8		10.8				0.41
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India	4.5		1.6				0.67
Brazil	2.7	5.3	5.5	13.4			0.76
Indonesia	1.4	7.0	2.4	14.9			0.84