

This December, representatives of the 192 countries which are party to the United Nations *Framework Convention on Climate Change* (UNFCCC) will meet at the Bella Centre in Copenhagen. They will be negotiating the elements of an international climate agreement to take effect after the Kyoto Protocol's first commitment period ends in 2012.

The stakes at Copenhagen are high. Lord Nicholas Stern has described the meeting as the most important gathering since the Second World War. Yet despite this, the outcome remains uncertain. Eric Roston, Senior Associate at the Nicholas Institute for Environmental Policy Solutions at Duke University, has stated that the 'expectations for the Copenhagen climate talks continue to drop so low that the conference might end up being declared a success solely on the basis of having enough folding chairs and scratch paper for attendees.'

*Kinesis* has been engaged in the UNFCCC negotiation process since before the Bali conference in 2007. *Kinesis* Director Nick Rowley has had a firsthand view of negotiations in his role as Strategic Director of the Copenhagen Climate Council. *Kinesis* was also involved in proposing and working on the *World Business Summit on Climate Change* which was held in Copenhagen last May. At the conclusion of this event the *Copenhagen Call*, which outlined what business leaders and organisations such as The World Economic Forum, The World Business Council on Sustainable Development and The Climate Group considered to be the key elements of a global deal on climate change, was presented to Lars Lokke Rasmussen, Prime Minister of Denmark and Yvo de Boer, Executive Secretary of the UNFCCC.

The final edition of the *Kinesis Climate Monitor* for 2009 examines some of the key issues to be resolved at Copenhagen this December.



#### WANT TO KNOW MORE?

To read the full text of the *Copenhagen Call* see: [www.copenhagenclimatecouncil.com/get-informed/news/text-of-the-copenhagen-call.html](http://www.copenhagenclimatecouncil.com/get-informed/news/text-of-the-copenhagen-call.html)

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## THE CHALLENGE

The Copenhagen conference is the 15th Conference of the Parties (COP) to the *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change* (UNFCCC). The UNFCCC is an environmental treaty that was established in 1992 at the Rio Earth Summit. The objective of this treaty is to stabilize greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous climate change. It sets no binding restrictions on greenhouse gas emissions. Instead, it provides for the establishment of Protocols to set mandatory emissions targets.

The first of these was the Kyoto Protocol which was agreed in 1997. The Kyoto Protocol has been ratified by all developed nations, with the exception of the US, and by major developing nations including China and India. It sets binding emissions restrictions on developed nations and establishes a mechanism for funding mitigation efforts in the developing world.

The provisions under the Kyoto Protocol expire after 2012. At the COP13 meeting in Bali in 2007, nations adopted the Bali Roadmap which called for a two year process to negotiate a legally binding treaty to come into effect after 2012. The Copenhagen Conference, to be held two years after Bali, is the meeting where the post-2012 treaty arrangements are meant to be determined. Having a comprehensive international agreement on climate change in place for post 2012 will be crucial, as this is the period when the science tells us global emissions need to stabilise and fall.

As negotiations have progressed throughout 2009, it has appeared increasingly unlikely that an ambitious, legally binding agreement can be achieved at Copenhagen. World leaders are beginning to lower expectations and talk about the possibility of a compromise outcome with further negotiations that could extend into 2010. Such a compromise could take the form of a political or operational agreement which outlines a consensus on the need to reduce emissions, but omits legally binding provisions.

Danish Prime Minister Lars Lokke Rasmussen stated at the November APEC Summit in Singapore that 'even if we may not hammer out the last dots of a legally binding instrument, I do believe a politically binding agreement with specific commitment to mitigation and finance provides a strong basis for immediate action in the years to come.'

Given that there are already a number of political statements and agreements on the need to reduce emissions, such as the 2009 G8 declaration on Responsible Leadership for a Sustainable Future, it remains unclear what the benefits of such a compromise agreement would be. To be considered successful, any compromise solution must go beyond existing political agreements and describe a process for how the world will move to a legally binding treaty that is in place after 2012.



#### WANT TO KNOW MORE?


For the latest information on the *Copenhagen Conference* see the official *COP15* website: <http://en.cop15.dk/> For a report on the statements made by world leaders at the APEC Summit see [www.theaustralian.com.au/politics/bid-to-rescue-climate-talks/story-e6frgczf-1225798010060](http://www.theaustralian.com.au/politics/bid-to-rescue-climate-talks/story-e6frgczf-1225798010060) To read the text of the *G8 declaration* see: [www.g8italia2009.it/static/G8\\_Allegato/G8\\_Declaration\\_08\\_07\\_09\\_final,0.pdf](http://www.g8italia2009.it/static/G8_Allegato/G8_Declaration_08_07_09_final,0.pdf)

Will it be the most important  
global gathering since  
World War 2?



## AGITATING FOR AN AMBITIOUS OUTCOME

There are many groups attempting to influence decision makers at Copenhagen and demanding an effective outcome. Here is a summary of what some of these groups are calling for.

 **TCKTCKTCK** Calls for developed nations to reduce emissions by at least 40% by 2020 and for concentrations of CO<sub>2</sub> to be stabilised in the atmosphere at less than 350 ppm.  
[www.tcktcktk.org/about/the-deal-we-need](http://www.tcktcktk.org/about/the-deal-we-need)

 **SEAL THE DEAL** This is the UN's own campaign to mobilise support for a climate treaty, calling for a climate agreement that is definitive, equitable and effective and sets binding targets to cut emissions by 2020.  
[www.sealthedeal2009.org/the-climate-petition](http://www.sealthedeal2009.org/the-climate-petition)

 **ALLIANCE OF SMALL ISLAND STATES**  
Their climate change declaration calls for developed nations to reduce emissions by at least 45% below 1990 levels by 2020.  
[www.sidsnet.org/aosis/documents/AOSIS%20Summit%20Declaration%20Sept%202011%20FINAL.pdf](http://www.sidsnet.org/aosis/documents/AOSIS%20Summit%20Declaration%20Sept%202011%20FINAL.pdf)

 **WWF** Calls for all industrialised countries to reduce emissions by at least 40% from 1990 levels by 2020 and for major developing nations to reduce emissions by 30% below BAU levels by 2020. [http://assets.panda.org/downloads/wwf\\_climate\\_deal\\_1.pdf](http://assets.panda.org/downloads/wwf_climate_deal_1.pdf)

 **350** Calls for an ambitious, fair, and binding global climate deal and for world leaders to pass climate policies grounded in the latest science and strong enough to get us back to 350 ppm.  
[www.350.org](http://www.350.org)

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## MEASURES OF SUCCESS

Even though an ambitious outcome at Copenhagen appears remote, it is important to consider what the components of a successful outcome might entail. Although many interests will have their views on what this might look like, analysis from those with experience in international treaty negotiations centres on the need to achieve clarity in the following six areas:

**Recognition of what we need to achieve:** To avoid dangerous climate change, the climate science tells us that global warming must be limited to 2°C. The G8 has already issued a statement supporting this target. The IPCC 4th Assessment Report argues that inertia in the climate system means that warming of 1.4°C above pre-industrial levels is inevitable. To restrict warming to between 2–2.4°C the IPCC argues that atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gasses will need to be restricted to between 445–490 ppm of CO<sub>2</sub> equivalent.


**Legally binding commitments from developed nations:** The IPCC argues that to restrict atmospheric concentrations of CO<sub>2</sub>-e to 450 ppm, developed nations will need to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions by between 25–40% by 2020 and by 80–90% by 2050.

**Commitments by major developing nations:** Although major developing economies are unlikely to agree to binding emissions caps at Copenhagen, it is important that emissions reduction actions undertaken by developing nations are recognised under an international climate change agreement.

**Adequate finance:** Developed countries should give their strong backing to climate change policies through financial support. Lord Nicholas Stern has argued for funding of US\$100 billion per year for mitigation and US\$100 billion per year for adaptation to be made available by 2020.

**Forest protection:** According to the IPCC deforestation contributes 17.4% of global greenhouse emissions. Despite this, serious measures to protect forests were not included in the Kyoto Protocol. New incentives are therefore needed to protect the world's forests from deforestation.

**Adaptation measures:** Even under an ambitious emissions reduction strategy, some climate change will still occur. Measures to support adaptation actions will therefore need to be a part of any international agreement on climate change. To support developing countries, adaptation assistance needs to be integrated into development spending to deliver development goals in a climate resilient manner.

 **WANT TO KNOW MORE?** Lord Nicholas Stern outlines the key elements of an effective deal on climate change: [http://www.occ.gov.uk/activities/stern\\_papers/Key%20Elements%20of%20a%20Global%20Deal%20-Final01may.pdf](http://www.occ.gov.uk/activities/stern_papers/Key%20Elements%20of%20a%20Global%20Deal%20-Final01may.pdf) The **Center for American Progress** has also outlined some elements of what an effective international response would be: <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2009/10/pdf/UNclimateissues.pdf> The **IPCC 4th Assessment Report** is available at: [http://www.ipcc.ch/publications\\_and\\_data/publications\\_and\\_data\\_reports.htm#1](http://www.ipcc.ch/publications_and_data/publications_and_data_reports.htm#1)

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