

Inside Durban: The invisible collapse

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Topics

- * Political dynamics and shifts in Durban
- * Durban outcomes and implications
- * The state of global climate governance



Key political developments

- * “The big breakthrough”: China’s turn toward a global treaty
- * Brazil also more flexible?
- * India most hardline among BASICS
- * ‘Firewall’ under attack: the Russian proposal
- * The EU’s new assertiveness



Debating the Russian proposal



Political dynamics

- * Genuine uncertainty about China's position
- * The European Union's image problem
- * Reducing the number of actors: Delaying tactics
- * Public display of transparency
- * Making the collapse invisible

Options

1) Numbers	QELROs as single numbers in Durban	Targets (%) in Durban, QELROs as single numbers in 2012	Targets (%) in Durban, QELROs as single numbers in 2012
2) Form	Amendments to Annex B + prov. application + open for full ratification;	Ensure continuity by decisions on targets; finalize QELROs in 2012, amendments at CMP-8 open for full ratification	Decision or declaration(s) in Durban, no amendments
3) CP2 rules	decided in Durban	decided in Durban	decided in Durban

Issues

Annex I: Broader context
(Convention, timeline)

non-Annex I: Certainty
(QELROs, timeline)

Durban outcomes

- * Kyoto 2
- * New negotiating mandate
- * Launch of the Green Climate Fund



Kyoto 2

- * Length of period undecided
- * “Takes note of” proposed amendments to Kyoto
- * Voluntary individual targets
 - * “Invites Parties” to submit QELROs
- * US potentially included in revised Annex I
- * Canada, Japan and Russia still out
- * ‘Hot air’ decision postponed

Negotiating mandate

- * End product of negotiations: “a Protocol, another legal instrument OR an agreed outcome with legal force”
- * Deadline 2015
- * Prospective post-2020 agreement

2. *Also decides* to launch a process to develop a protocol, another legal instrument or an agreed outcome with legal force under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change applicable to all Parties, through a subsidiary body under the Convention hereby established and to be known as the Ad Hoc Working Group on the Durban Platform for Enhanced Action;

Green Climate Fund

- * Legal entity: Fully independent Secretariat
- * No 100 billion mentioned
- * Board of 24: half from developing countries
- * Decisionmaking procedure: consensus
- * Interim Committee under both GEF and UNFCCC
... but in Bonn

Ramifications

- * Fundamental disagreement on approach to global climate policy
- * Global treaty delayed with at least 9 years
- * Kyoto 2 seen as a transitional period
- * Common theme: Few expectations for change until 2015

Conclusions

- * Weak prospects for UN Process
- * Steady progress in climate policy at national, subnational and local levels, in public and private sectors
 - * Ninety countries with plans for emission cuts
 - * China's progressive 5-year plan
 - * Australia's new carbon tax
- * Diplomatic failure obscures brighter picture: Multilateral versus multilevel governance

Theoretical propositions

- * Decoy institutions: International institutions as tools for preempting governance (forests, UNFF)
- * Rise of governance without international institutions (climate case)
- * Climate negotiations facilitate social change even while failing to produce formal treaties
- * Process more important than formal output
- * Argumentation and changes in perceived interests

Persuasion in world politics

- * Actors engage in purposeful communication in attempt to change minds and policy preferences
- * A typology of discursive approaches
- * Distinct degrees of effectiveness
- * The winning argument: A Trojan Horse hypothesis

Thank you

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Chair's Proposal
INDABA: THE BIGGER PICTURE

Friday, 9 December 2011 @ 08:00

the Conference of the Parties,

Recognizing the need to meet present and predicted climate change imperatives through full, effective and sustained implementation of the Convention with a view to reducing global greenhouse gas emissions so as to hold the increase in global average temperature below 2 °C above preindustrial levels, and to consider strengthening this goal in relation to a global average temperature rise of 1.5°C

Recognizing also that meeting this goal will require strengthening of current implementation efforts as well as crafting a future multilateral rules-based response under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change after 2020 framework;

1. *Noting* decision 1/CMP.7 [Giving effect to Kyoto amendments/elements/rules in time to avoid the gap];
2. *Also noting* decision 1/CP.17 [Implementation under the Convention, including making the Cancun Agreements operational];
3. *Decides* in order to achieve the full effective and sustained implementation of the Convention to complete the agreed outcome pursuant to decision 1/CP.13 (Bali Action Plan) through a set of decisions to be adopted at the 18th session of the Conference of the Parties, at which time the Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action shall be terminated;
4. *Also decides* to launch a process in order to develop a legal framework applicable to all under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change after 2020, through a subsidiary body under the Convention to be established at the 18th session of the Conference of the Parties and to be known as the Ad Hoc Working Group on [XX];
5. *Decides* that the process shall begin immediately and be conducted as a matter of urgency and that the Ad Hoc Working Group on [XX] shall report to the intervening sessions of the Conference of the Parties on the progress of its work;
6. *Decides* that the sessions of the Ad Hoc Working Group on [XX] shall be scheduled to ensure completion of the work as early as possible but no later than 2015 in order to adopt the legal framework at the 21st session of the Conference of Parties;