

Global Concerns

Environment

- Discuss the evolution of environment as a concern of intⁿ politics
- What are the guiding principles at environmental negotiations?
- Discuss North-South debate on environment.
- Explain India's negotiating strategy & stand at climate change.
- Discuss politics of Climate Change negotiations.
- What the major coalitions in climate change negotiations & what are their positions.
- Positions of USA, China, EU.

Environment & its evolution

- Environment has not been a concern of intⁿ relations until 70s. Concern for environment & bringing environmental issues at the level of UN has been the work of Civil Society groups
- Modern environmental movement in latest started in 60s with publication of Rachel Carson's "Silent Spring", which highlighted negative impact of pesticides on human health.
- First UN Conference on environment took place in Stockholm in 1972.

Significance of 1972 UN Conference.

- led to the basic principles of environmental negotiations.

- India played active role in evolution of these principles.
- Stockholm principles are pro-South.

Fundamental Principles

- Acknowledgement of relationship betn environment & development.
for any effort to stop environmental degradation, poverty & underdevelopment has to be addressed.
- Protection of environment is a collective responsibility, but the responsibilities of North & South differ.
 - Priority of South is development because
 - Responsibility of North is to support South in addressing poverty and underdevelopment.
 - Without support of North, it is not possible for South to take any meaningful action towards environment.

Thus, the concept of differentiated and historical responsibility and the principle of equity became the guiding principles in such negotiations. These 2 principles continue to be India's approach in all such negotiations, whereas developed countries want dilution of these principles.

In Stockholm, UNEP (UN Environment Programme). the first UN body dealing with environment with HQs outside North (Nairobi) had come into existence.

UNEP

- Highest UN body to coordinate UN led activities in environment
- In 1992 at Rio Summit, it has been made implementing agency for global environment facility created at World Bank.
- At Rio +20 Summit in 2012, some structural changes have happened
 - Now all UN members are in its governing body.
 - Provision is made for stable, secure & enhanced budget for this body out of regular UN budget

Next
2nd

development on environment

- In 1983, UN Commission on Environment & Development was established which is popularly known as 'Brundtland Commission' as a followup measure of Stockholm Conference.
- This Commission published report titled "Our Common Future".

Highlights of OCF Report.

- Development is a priority of South
- South does not have a liberty or option to pursue the same model of development which North has pursued upto now.

In this context emerged the idea of sustainable development.

what is sustainable development?

Development that does not compromise the ability of future generation to develop.

- Developing countries do not have knowledge

& resources and in this context North has historical responsibility.

3rd major development: Rio Summit officially 'UN Summit on Environment & Development' popularly known as 'Earth Summit'.

Purpose:

- To take up followup actions on the basis of recommendations of Brundtland Commission.

Outcome of Rio Summit

- Rio principles

- Precautionary principle

Even in the absence of universally acceptable & verifiable scientific evidence, effort of intⁿ Community shouldn't be postponed.

USA wants
dilution
of both
principles

- Polluters Pay principle.

- Agenda 21

It is a set of strategies based on following philosophy

- Interlinkage betⁿ development & democracy.

- Grassroot participation

- Multi stakeholders approach has to be

adopted, govt. Corporate sector, civil society have to work together.

bottom up approach in planning sustainable development.

- Conventions

4 conventions have emerged.

- UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)

- UN Convention on Biodiversity
- Convention on desertification
- Forest Principles.

4th development: Johannesburg Summit (Rio + 5) 10). 2002

This is an implementation summit

Next dev. Rio + 20 in 2012

It has resulted into ^{report} declaration titled "Future We Want".

Outcome

- Agreement to establish high powered Committee to define new sustainable development goals which will replace Millennium Development Goals after 2015.
- Greater powers to UNEP
- Enumeration of common but differentiated responsibility principle.

Mitigation North
adaptation South
North to help South in adaptation

In short there was no concrete achievement.

- A frustrating event because intⁿ community had lot of expectations after deadlock at Climate Change negotiations.

Climate Change negotiations

UNFCCC

- In 1988, UNEP & WMO (World Meteorological Organization) had established Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC).

= IPCC has produced its first assessment report suggesting that manmade changes are impacting natural environment.

- After 1st Assessment report, UNGA launched negotiations which led to emergence of UNFCCC, which was adopted at Rio in 1992.

Features of the Convention (UNFCCC)

- Overall Objective

To stabilise concentration of greenhouse gases at a level that would prevent dangerous human interference in Climate system.

It is to be noted that steps to be taken without threatening food security and ensuring that economic development takes place in sustainable manner.

- UNFCCC is a non binding convention.

- It mentions the principle of common but differentiated responsibility (CBDR) historical responsibility.

- Under CBDR, countries have been categorised into ^{annex} ~~A~~ 'countries' and 'non-annex countries'.

Annex countries:

They are countries of North or developed countries.

Their responsibility is mitigation. They have to go for emission reduction. ^{emission reduction}

There is further differentiation among annex countries.

Annex 1 : All ^{industrialised} countries of North.

All have to take mitigation action.

Annex 2 : They are rich countries of North

(OECD) (OECD countries) ^{organisation for economic cooperation and development}
~~org. for cooperation & economic development~~

These countries have to take the responsibility of assisting South, i.e., Capacity building of South to go for adaptation by transfer of fund and technology.

It has almost universal membership. USA also joined it. It is purely voluntary in nature.

Outcome of -

- There is no achievement of this treaty towards mitigation.
- No transfer of funds & technology and there is slight drop in greenhouse gas emissions which was purely coincidental because of halt in industrial output of former Communist countries.

Kyoto Protocol (1997)

Reason:

UNFCCC has not resulted into any advancement because of its purely voluntary nature. Hence it was necessary to go for binding commitments. Since then USA has not been party to any commitments for developed countries. Since then USA is trying to reverse the principles of climate negotiations agreed so far.

Features of Kyoto Protocol

- Binding commitment for Annex I countries.
- Target: Reduce emission by 5.2% below the level of emission in 1990.

deep ecology
shallow ecology environment an end in itself.

Commitment Period : 2005 - 2012

- Kyoto ^{Protocol} has introduced market mechanism, the so called Carbon trading.
- Clean development mechanism, where a country can earn carbon credit by sponsoring adaptation programme in the countries of South.
- Joint implementation: earning carbon credit by going for a project in another developed country.

Negotiations since Kyoto Protocol / Present negotiations

- Kyoto Protocol has been the last, successful, multilateral initiative to take any effective action in case of climate change.

Since then it has not been possible for countries to produce successor of Kyoto protocol.

Present negotiations aim at producing successor of Kyoto Protocol. Kyoto Protocol (2005-12)

~~By~~ By 2012 successor should have ^{had} emerged.

In 2011 Dec at Durban, countries agreed that they will evolve a successor agreement by 2015 which will be implemented by 2020.

- for intermediate period, Kyoto Protocol has been extended. However Japan, Australia & Russia have come out of Kyoto Protocol.

Bali Summit (2007)

- First major conference to find successor of Kyoto Protocol.

Immediate Context

Publication of 4th Assessment Report of IPCC.

Stern review

Outcome of Bali Summit

- Publication of 'Stern Review' which held that until and unless largest emitters USA, India & China are not included, no relevant action can be taken.

Outcome of Bali Summit

- Bali Roadmap

Bali Roadmap is to have 2 track process.

- 1st track: adhoc working group on Kyoto Protocol (nonbinding action)
- 2nd track: adhoc working group on long term cooperative action. | development & death.
- 4 blocks: mitigation, adaptation, funds & technology.

10/11/14

Basic principles of environmental negotiations upto Bali Summit

- Common Responsibility
- Historical Responsibility
- Differentiated Responsibility
- Relationship between environment & development
- Polluters Pay Principle
- Precautionary Principle
- Equity Principle
- Top Down Approach. (India's) Intⁿ community will decide countries will implement

Views of USA

Since Kyoto Protocol USA has been in disagreement with above principles.

- Common Responsibility.
 - USA agrees. However, USA does not believe in differentiated responsibilities.
- USA does not believe in historical responsibility. It talks about present emissions.
- Once historical responsibility goes polluters pay principle also go.
- USA does not believe in precautionary principle rather wants correct, exact, verifiable information.
- USA believes in Bottom-up approach. i.e., each country ~~with~~ should make voluntary pledges.
- USA is not willing to give technology as an aid rather is willing to give as trade.

- Situation in 1990s are very different from present. Since 1990s onwards, China and India have become the leading polluters.

Climate Change talks since Copenhagen Summit ²⁰⁰⁹ (Dec 09)

Purpose of Copenhagen Summit

- To find the successor of Kyoto Protocol
- The then PM had launched National Action Plan on Climate Change in June 2008 giving an indication that India is willing to go for higher commitments.
- On 28th Nov. 2009, BASIC group was formed representing emerging economies of developing countries (Brazil, S. Africa, India, China).
- In 2008, global financial crisis also occurred and trillions of dollars were given to banks as a bailout package. USA alone gave \$7 trillion.

Copenhagen Accord

Illegal Status

- It does not have a legal status because it was not adopted by Conference of parties technically. Parties only agreed to "take note of" Copenhagen Accord.

Feature

- 1. ~~It~~ It has not resulted into demarcation of binding commitments for any country.
- 2. It only resulted into a vague target.

i.e., global warming can't be allowed beyond 2°C of preindustrial level. However it is not clear how this target is going to be met.

Implication

- Dilution of Kyoto Protocol which puts binding obligation on industrialised countries to restrain the growth of Carbon emission.
- Developing countries will also take up commitments to reduce global emissions.
- Developing countries have to report their plan to curb greenhouse gas emission to UN latest by 31/1/2010.
(Kyoto Protocol had no such requirement from developing countries)
- All countries will provide domestic targets for emission reduction, Thus changing the architecture of Kyoto Protocol from Top-Down approach to Bottom-Up approach.
It is a step in a backward direction as it was realised that voluntary commitments will make no impact.
UNFCCC, as agreed at Rio was a voluntary arrangement & hence it was not ~~negative~~ effective.
- Developed Countries agreed to create 'green climate fund'. They committed to contribute \$30 billion betⁿ 2010 and 2012.
- They will further contribute \$100 billion by 2020.

- However it is not clear, who will contribute & how much contribution. Developed countries' view is mobilization of resources, basically through pvt sector. Whereas developing countries expected that it should be contributed by govt to avoid uncertainty.
- They agreed to step up technology transfer but it was not clear that technology will be transferred on what terms and conditions.

Analysis of Copenhagen Accord

- Can be treated as success of USA & defeat of developing countries. USA wanted either developing countries like China & India accept similar obligations like developed countries or developed countries get similar flexibility at par with developing countries. & it was able to secure both the objectives.
- Developing countries could not maintain their solidarity. EU proposed ambitious emission reduction targets but tied it to USA accepting these targets. USA linked it to China & India accepting the targets. EU was successful in communicating to small island states that the position of BASIC countries is not in their interest. EU was managing developing countries specially LDCs and US was dealing with BASIC countries. China, S. Africa & Brazil.

before committing
India

could have
bargained for
funds & tech
logy transfer

although not
needed, could
have used veto

changed their stand and showed willingness to take binding commitments. India was isolated. India also came under pressure.

(Mexico) Cancun Agreement (Dec. 2010)

- Since Conference of Parties did not technically adopt Copenhagen Accord, Cancun Conference was organised for technical adoption of Copenhagen Accord. Developing countries in general opposed Copenhagen Accord but at Cancun they have given their consent.

Durban Climate Change Conference, Dec 2011

- Urgent requirement was to have an agreement on successor of Kyoto Protocol as it was expiring in 2012.
- It further diluted the framework of Kyoto Protocol and UNFCCC.
- Instead of 2 track process agreed at Bali, single track process was adopted. The 2 adhoc working groups were replaced by "adhoc working group on Durban platform for enhanced action".
- It is called as Durban platform because after failure at Copenhagen & Cancun new countries agreed that till the time final agreement on Climate Change emerges Kyoto Protocol will be extended.
- Biggest achievement was the agreement

Like Minded Developing Countries (LMDC)
Cuba, Bolivia, Iran, Venezuela.

that they will finalise the new agreement by 2015 which will be implemented latest by 2020.

- There was a disagreement between India & EU over the nature of the agreement that will emerge in 2015.
- Govt. of India criticised back home changed its approach at Durban.
- Govt. of India not ready to take any legally binding commitment.

EU expressed that it will take more ambitious targets bringing emissions down by 40% from 1990 level subject to condition other countries also take commitments and it is a legal instrument.

Ultimately India proposed a new term, "Outcome with legal force". Now both of these terms are adopted.

document is
binding but
not

- A new coalition of developing countries known as Like Minded Developing Countries also came into existence. India & China is a part of this grouping.

Doha Climate Change Summit, Dec 2012

Outcome is known as Doha Climate Gateway. The gateway symbolize country's commitment to take concrete action to continue efforts for climate change agreement in 2015.

- Kyoto Protocol has been extended from 1/1/13 till Dec 2020.
- Only 37 countries signed Kyoto Protocol

Japan, Russia, Canada, New Zealand did not sign Kyoto Protocol's extension. They are under no obligation.

- Australia have ^{committed to} reduced its ~~amb~~ emission to 5% below of 2000 level by 2020.
- EU agreed to reduce emissions by 20% from 1990 level, but 2013 & 2020
- The commitment made by BASIC countries has been in excess of the total commitment made by developed countries.

Developed countries committed cut of 2.1 Gt (GigaTonnes) CO₂ emissions.

China, S. Africa & India committed reduction of total 3.7 Gt for same period (by 2020).

Two above targets, Brazil & India took additional target of further reducing emission 1.5 Gt additional which they would reduce by Forest-Based Emission reductions.

Analysis

- Greater burden for mitigation has already shifted towards South without any clear commitment for adaptation from North.

- For the satisfaction of South, Doha Conference adopted that new talks will be under UNFCCC framework.

~~UNF not bind~~

- LMDCs wanted mentioning of equity principle, CBDR and historical responsibility but it was not adopted because of US opposition.

UNFCCC

Warsaw Climate Change Summit, Dec. 2013

- Countries agreed that they will announce their plan before the end of 1st quarter of 2015 as to how & how much ^{reduction} emission target they will be taking for the time period from 2020.
- Warsaw Damage Control Mechanism came into existence.

For long small Island states have been demanding a mechanism for compensation to be paid by developed countries for the loss & damage suffered by them because of extreme events. It was finally accepted at Warsaw. But, it doesn't give details about the compensation.

- REDD+ Mechanism

(Reduced Emission from Deforestation & Degradation)

Under REDD Mechanism, only steps to contain deforestation were included & funding was through UN. Now various activities like forest conservation, sustainable management of forest are also included and pvt. sector, civil society as well as UN will be making contribution.

Next Climate Change Conference will be in Lima, Peru in Dec. 2014.

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UN Climate Summit New York Sept. 2014

Purpose

To galvanise action for 2014. In different countries have expressed their position.

- China

It will take greater efforts & ensure that its CO₂ emissions ~~peak~~ peak as early as possible. Earlier China had committed that it will reduce the intensity of CO₂ emission by 40 - 45% of 2005 level by 2020.

USA

USA has expressed its pleasure that China is ^{aggressively} ~~aggressing~~ to take greater efforts & USA may reduce its emission by 17% by 2020.

India

India's Minister of Environment put forward following position

- Primacy for right to grow
- India will go for common but differentiated responsibility.
- suggested that Green Climate fund to be used to purchase a clean energy technology, IPR rights from developed countries.
- Developing countries' commitment will be in accordance to conditions & circumstances of developing countries.
- India supports fair contribution not equal contribution.
- Action of developing countries will also depend on support of developed countries

i.e., actions taken by them for capacity building of developing countries.

Countries in group of like-minded Developing Countries
India, China, Cuba, Bolivia, Iran, Venezuela, Iraq,
Malaysia, Philippines, Saudi Arabia.

India & Climate Change negotiations.

- India has been an active participant in Climate Change negotiations.
- India speaks from perspective of developing countries.
- India is one of the most vulnerable countries from Climate Change. Around half of population is engaged in climate sensitive production activities. ~~76%~~ 76% of the population live on less than \$2/day as per World Bank. As per UNDP estimate of 2010, poverty level in 8 states is as acute as 26 poorest African countries.
- India has emerged as 3rd largest emitter since 1990, Carbon emissions have increased by 3-times.
- Per capita emission is still quite low. India represents 17% of world population & per capita emission of 1 tonne/year. USA represents 5% of world population & per capita emission is 17 tonnes/year.
- In 2007, PM constituted the committee to formulate 8 national missions for energy security.

- Before Copenhagen Summit, India voluntarily offered to reduce emission intensity of its GDP by 20-25% by 2020. to 2005 level.
- At Cancun Summit, the then Minister of Environment expressed that all countries must take binding commitments for which he was criticised at home.
- The new environment minister Jayant Narayan at Durban Summit clearly stated that there is no question of India signing legally binding commitment at present stage of development.
- Present Minister of Environment has also expressed that development is a priority & Indian commitments will depend on actions of developed countries.

Th

There are twists & turns in India's stand.

Major turn at Copenhagen & then at Cancun but since then it is trying to go back to its original position.

Initially India had support of all developing countries but presently it has support among limited no. of developing countries.

Status of North & South dialogue in Climate Change

Since Stockholm conference, countries have been differentiated into North & South.

This differentiation continued in Kyoto Protocol & upto Bali Summit. Even at present, the impression is Climate change dialogue is betⁿ North & South

but in practice both these categories have
got internally differentiated. At Copenhagen
Summit we saw North getting divided
into US, EU & JUSCANS group (Jap, Aus, N.Z., Canada) ^(then) US.
Countries of South were differentiated into
BASIC countries ^{AOSIS} ~~AOSIS~~ (Aso of Island & small states),
LDCs. Later on another group, i.e., like minded
Developing Countries have emerged.