SOGE, But Not Wimpy
The Path Forward for Post-2012 Negotiations

The Seminar of Government Experts (SOGE) and SB22 must lay the foundation for a formal process for post-2012 negotiations, to be agreed upon at COP/MOP1 later this year – we need a Montreal Map.

A post-2012 global agreement is a matter of urgency. The Kyoto Protocol’s binding emission reductions for developed countries has been a landmark step in dealing with global warming. However, with scientific understanding of the problem increasing as fast as global emissions, it is clear that international cooperation must grow progressively stronger and develop additional elements to include more countries. Continuity between the first commitment period and a post-2012 agreement is also important to ensure that emissions markets and domestic policies do not falter.

A clear process for negotiating the post-2012 regime should be agreed upon and launched at COP/MOP1. The negotiation process takes time and therefore we cannot wait another year to think some more. The Map should have a timeframe, a clear description of key elements, and an institutional home.

We believe that the Kyoto Protocol is the best institutional home for moving forward, not the FCCC. The Protocol is the product of over a decade of negotiations and should not be put aside. We understand the strong desire to re-engage the US (and Australia), that global warming cannot be controlled without the US doing its share, and the resulting argument that negotiations must proceed under the more inclusive FCCC. However, it is delusional to think that productive negotiations can be conducted with the US at this point. Delegates must recall the US opposition to the SOGE at Buenos Aires, along with the previous four years of intransigence. A negotiating mandate under the FCCC risks allowing the US to block, delay, or water down any post-2012 agreement.

Realism must overcome wishful thinking or desperation. A Kyoto Protocol approach is most likely to make headway until the US administration adopts a different posture.

The Montreal Map’s institutional home under the Kyoto Protocol does not mean that the United States will not be in the second commitment period.

Brazilian musings for Montreal maps, mandates and the benefit to Mankind

While ECO was scanning the pages of the O Estado de São Paulo newspaper one afternoon, we came across a rather interesting article from some quite famous authors that we thought would interest those participating in the SOGE meeting. Brazilians José Goldemberg and Luiz Gylvan Meira Filho have spent some time thinking about how to move forward and begin discussing the post-2012 regime. While ECO does not support all the elements of this article, we thought it would be a useful input to the SOGE and provide some inspiration for delegates who may be thinking about not tabling anything inspiring. While it is clear to ECO that the types of commitments outlined below would be appropriate for developing countries, it is also clear that Annex I countries should not get the wrong idea – deeper absolute mandatory caps are the only way forward.

Due to its length, the entire article is not included below, but rather key aspects. The full article can be furnished upon request to the authors.

“One of the great victories of the environmental movement in the last 20 years, and of the Brazilian diplomacy in particular, was the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol in 1997, that established limits to the emissions of gases responsible for the warming of planet Earth.

….It was decided in Kyoto that industrialized countries would reduce their emissions by approximately 5 percent (below their 1990 emissions) by the year 2012. Continued on page 2.
the future regime could improve upon the present regime, by reducing the complexity and the costs of the present system.

There are several options: sectoral targets that do not include the entire economy; if Brazil decides to double its Alcohol Program by 2015, it will be contributing to reduce global carbon emissions by 10 million tons a year; with the PROINFA, a renewable energy program for electricity generation, an additional 3 million tons of reduction per year will be achieved. If deforestation in Amazonia were to be reduced by 10 percent, 20 million tons of carbon per year will cease to be emitted. This could be the object of a World Bank structural project that would contribute to the sustainability of the development in Amazonia. The commitments would be voluntary, but they would result from a negotiation in which the other main actors - including the U.S. - would also put on the table their contributions to the reduction of emissions, which by the way are happening in several U.S. states, such as in California. China is also making serious progress in the generation of electricity from the burning of coal, resulting in emission reductions without affecting their economic growth.

There is an excellent opportunity to put these discussions in the international agenda is the G-8 meeting in the U.K. in July, for which Brasil, China, India, South Africa and Mexico have been invited.

The President of the Republic, who will represent Brazil in the meeting, could propose a new regime to combat global warming after 2012, which would lead to a negotiation process by the Conference of the Parties to the Climate Change Convention to take place from its next session in Montreal in November this year. What is at stake in these negotiations are not only the interests of individual countries, but the interests of all Mankind.

* José Goldemberg is the Secretary of Environment of the State of São Paulo.
** Luiz Gylvan Meira Filho is a Visiting Professor of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the University of São Paulo

EU leaders – we need a global regime keeping climate change below 2°C now!

The 25 heads of state or government of the European Union recently concluded at their European Spring Council that they were determined to reinvigorate the international negotiations. They stressed that global joint efforts are needed in the coming decades. They see that in line with the common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities industrialised countries have to take the lead and significantly enhance their aggregate reduction efforts, and they need to do this soon. The European Commission has also taken heed of recent scientific studies that show that there is only a one in six chance of staying below 2°C global warming if greenhouse gas concentrations were allowed to reach 550 ppm (CO₂ equivalents) and that significant global cuts in emissions are needed. It is clear that these cuts can only be achieved with absolute reduction targets as already implemented in the Kyoto Protocol for the developed countries.

EU leaders believe that developed countries should take the lead and explore emission reductions of 15 to 30% by 2020 compared to 1990. Only steep reductions on that scale will allow the world to avoid catastrophic climate change and keep global warming below 2°C, a long standing target of the EU.

This firmly rejects the weak voluntary and research wait and see approach pursued by the US. These simply cannot get the job done. The use of an intensity target by the United States has been a disingenuous attempt to shuffle the cards. What matters is the total amount of greenhouse gases emitted and that this total number needs to come down rapidly. A system based on intensity targets is a non starter as it would complicate emission trading, given that ongoing climate efforts under the Kyoto Protocol and the European emissions trading system are based on absolute targets. Intensity targets therefore have no role in the future climate regime, especially as the compliance effort needed is harder to predict.

We now eagerly wait to see the European Union seizing this opportunity to start developing a roadmap with other parties towards Montreal and real discussions on the future regime.
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Rather, this approach means that post-2012 talks can start now, allowing for US reengagement at a later stage. CAN calls on the US to take on its responsibility as the largest emitter in the world, and to take on absolute reductions as soon as possible.

The negotiating map must outline the likely key elements of a post-2012 regime, and begin to outline for which countries they are applicable. It is clear that for Annex I countries mandatory absolute national emission caps are the core of the Kyoto Protocol and the key to effective domestic policies. These commitments must be strengthened in the post-2012 system and applied for all Annex I Parties, and therefore must be a part of negotiations.

It is also clear that while they continue to develop, some non-Annex I countries will need to do more to curb CO2 emissions. Especially the more rapidly developing countries need to follow development paths that are more sustainable, de-linking emissions growth from economic development. A wide range of other approaches have been discussed informally, including well as voluntary commitments for developing countries. The Map should provide for adequate analysis of these options and clear and transparent understanding of what the implications would be for different countries. Developed countries may have a role to play in these other types of agreements - notably in providing financial and technology transfers - but they are in no way an acceptable alternative to mandatory emission reductions for Annex I Parties.

It is also clear that these types of commitments are not expected of the least developed countries. For these countries an Adaptation Track should be the main focus, with adequate support for dealing with the impacts already occurring. The Map should include this element as well.

The SOGE must discuss realistic ways to structure the post-2012 negotiations to allow for the range of approaches, and country circumstances, to be taken into account while making rapid progress. Now is not the time to be wimpy, we need a clear plan coming out of Montreal!
Daily Intelligence Briefing:

Mr. President,

We have received intelligence from closest ally Great Britain of a threat greater than International terrorism!

Despite our continuous effort together with our proxies we are fighting a losing battle. Our present situation carries many similarities to the war in Iraq. Your administration has so far conducted an ideologically driven policy against their advice of our own experts in government and scientific agencies and increasingly we are facing out right defiance and whistle blowers among our own ranks. Our strategy of interference and delaying action citing lack of scientific knowledge is no longer credible as our ties to certain interest groups are exposed. US is isolated in the International community, recently 141 countries took legal action against our expressed will and US standing in the world is seriously deteriorating because of our lack of action. But most serious, our position is untenable as domestic support for it is rapidly eroding, not among the population at large where a majority has been against our position for some time but among your core constituencies: Coal utilities; large corporations; leading Republican Senators and Governors; even among the evangelicals! As your advisors we strongly encourage you to take immediate action and reverse our policy position, we have here a number of intelligence intercepts to indicate the weakness of the current position:

- Senator Byrd (introducing his international climate technology bill):
  “The Byrd-Hagel Resolution was intended to guide our nation’s role in international negotiations, not kill that effort. It was meant to strengthen the hand of any administration as it sat at the international negotiating table, but this White House has used the Senate’s vote as an excuse to totally abandon the negotiations and offer, instead, only hollow alternatives,”

- Senator Hagel (discussing his climate technology bills):
  "[Climate change is] one of the most important challenges of our time," and,
  "[the Bush Administration’s disengagement internationally is] dangerous and irresponsible."

- Washington state adopted California’s GHG auto standards, with the governor calling it “the most important environmental legislation so far this decade.” Oregon has also begun look into adopting this standard.

- Jeffrey Immelt, CEO of General Electric (GE), announcing a plan to profit from climate technologies and reduce company-wide emissions:
  "[T]here is going to be a day when we have standards of some kind pertaining to carbon. I think most business people are planning for that implicitly, even without anything that's overt."

- Bill Ford, CEO Ford Motor Company:
  "We have long identified climate change as a serious environmental issue... It's time for a broader, more inclusive public dialogue on the complex and important challenge of climate change."

- JPMorgan Chase, the third largest bank in the U.S., committed to establish a policy dialogue to advocate for adoption of a market-based national policy on greenhouse gas emissions.

- Jim Hansen, Director, NASA Goddard Institute for Space Studies, discussing rising ocean temperatures:
  “This energy imbalance is the ‘smoking gun’ that we have been looking for... There can no longer be substantial doubt that human-made gases are the cause of most observed warming.”

- Rev. Rich Cizik, vice president of the National Association of Evangelicals:
  "I don't think God is going to ask us how he created the earth, but he will ask us what we did with what he created."