

Developing country ministers warn against parachuting of texts

Bonn, 8 June (Indrajit Bose) - Differentiation between developed and developing countries and the lack of transparency dominated discussions at the high level dialogue on the Ad hoc Working Group on Durban Platform for Enhanced Action (ADP) on 6 June 2014 at the ongoing climate talks in Bonn.

The roundtable was held a day after the ADP co-chairs handed a draft text for decision on the “communication of intended nationally determined contributions (INDCs) of Parties in the context of the 2015 agreement”. This had caught many Parties unawares and they made this clear in their interventions at the high level roundtable.

“The co-chairs should not parachute a negotiating text and we don’t want to see the repeat of a Copenhagen scenario,” said Minister Xie Zhenhua, Vice Chairman of the National Development and Reform Commission of China.

(Minister Xie was referring to the Copenhagen Climate Conference in 2009 that ended in disarray because a secretive meeting of leaders of 26 countries convened by the Danish Presidency of the conference was seen as undemocratic by many developing countries, and the Copenhagen Accord arising from that meeting was thus only “noted” and not adopted.)

Dr. Paul Oquist, the Minister for National Policies from Nicaragua also made reference to the co-chairs’ draft text and said that, “we must engage with negotiations so that it doesn’t ambush anybody. Documents shouldn’t rain suddenly from the sky. We need something that is supported by all Parties.”

Venezuelan Environment Minister, Miguel Leonardo Rodriguez, also referred to the Copenhagen meeting of the Conference of

Parties (COP), and reiterated that the past could not be ignored and that he would not sign on to an agreement that was not inclusive. The Minister of Petroleum of Saudi Arabia, Ali bin Ibrahim Al-Naimi, also echoed the same tone when he said that his country was looking for a transparent, Party-driven, comprehensive and balanced agreement in 2015.

The G77 and China said that negotiations under the ADP must be a Party-driven process, and must be fully inclusive and transparent, which builds on inputs provided by the Parties.

Parties agreed that the findings of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) must inform the way ahead on action. But the convergence ended there.

Developing and developed countries were divided on their interpretation of differentiation. While developing countries consistently called for the principles of equity and common but differentiated responsibilities (CBDR) to be the basis of any new agreement, developed countries were of the view that the times have changed, developing countries’ emissions are higher than that of developed countries, and that the Convention offers the “flexibility” to reflect what all Parties must do based on their real circumstance.

Developing countries expressed deep concern about the significant gap in the aggregate mitigation pledges of developed country Parties. Some developing countries, especially the Small Island Developing States (SIDs) and Least Developed Countries (LDCs) wanted more clarity on the INDCs and stressed capacity constraints, in absence of clear agreed rules to that end. They also stressed that loss and damage should be an essential part of the 2015 agreement and that it

should be a balanced agreement, which include the pillars of mitigation, adaptation, finance, technology transfer and capacity building. They also demanded that the Green Climate Fund (GCF) should not remain an empty shell any longer.

Developed country Parties on the other hand said that all countries should go to the UN Secretary General's Climate Summit, scheduled in September in New York, with the intention to declare concrete actions on climate change because that would help build trust and confidence in the negotiations process. Some countries, such as the United States, referred to flexibility of action and respecting national circumstances of Parties. Other developed countries talked about specific areas of possible action such as REDD+ (reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation), short-lived climate pollutants and hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs).

China though made it clear that such actions could not be considered as "replacement" for action under the Convention. At best, these would be considered supplementary actions to reduce emissions.

The roundtable was chaired by the current COP President Marcin Korolec (Poland) and incoming COP 20 President Designate Manuel Pulgar-Vidal (Peru). Over 40 ministers, vice ministers and heads of delegations spoke at the dialogue. The day-long event was mandated through a COP 19 decision last year in Warsaw, to intensify high level engagement at the ADP.

Following are the highlights of interventions made by the Parties.

Ambassador Rene Orellana of Bolivia, speaking for the **G77 and China**, said that the fifth assessment report of the IPCC has confirmed that the warming of the climate system is unequivocal, and since the 1950s, many of the observed changes are unprecedented over decades to millennia. Referring to the 2015 Paris agreement, he reminded parties that there is very little time left for them to complete the task at hand. Work under the contact group on implementation of all the elements of the Durban decision must reflect balanced progress, between workstreams 2 (post-2020) and 2 (pre-2020). He said the Group has been of the view that work under the ADP must be under the Convention and should be based on its principles and

provisions related to commitments and responsibilities with regard to mitigation, adaptation and means of implementation. He underlined that the process under the ADP must not lead to a reinterpretation or a rewriting of the Convention, and stressed that the negotiations under the ADP must be a Party-driven process, and must be fully inclusive and transparent, which builds on inputs provided by the Parties. He also said that G77 and China are looking for an outcome that is balanced, ambitious, fair and equitable.

Orellana reminded developed country Parties that developing countries would require adequate support for their domestic preparations of their INDCs and for submitting information, as well as for the implementation of their enhanced action. He also called for the immediate capitalization of the GCF with new, additional, adequate, sustained, accessible, and predictable funding.

He said further that workstream 2 was crucial to the ADP and therefore they should discuss the lack of Annex I ambition in the pre-2020 period, including Kyoto Protocol (KP) commitments and compliance with them. He reminded Parties that the premise of negotiations is that Annex I Parties take the lead in addressing climate change and it is therefore important that they raise their level of mitigation ambition and revisit the level of ambition of QELROs (Quantified Emissions Limitation and Reduction Objectives) under the KP's Second Commitment Period (CP2).

Uganda, speaking on behalf of the LDCs, said it is of utmost importance to strengthen vision, objectives and activities for enhancing mitigation ambition pre-2020 and necessary to limit temperature rise to 2°C. It iterated that pledges could hardly be implemented without financial support and unfortunately the developing world had seen little financial support. Most LDCs have made mitigation pledges for the pre-2020 period and many of them want a low carbon future, with renewable energy and energy efficiency measures in place. But for them to put a system of energy security in place, they need access to technology.

Reminding Parties of the IPCC report, Uganda said that to stabilize temperature increase below 1.5°C would require great emissions reduction. He said action is imperative for the survival of people. He also said the post-2020 agreement needs to give certainty and not be based on shallow pledges. It should be a balanced package including all elements such as mitigation,

adaptation, loss and damage, technology transfer and capacity building. The agreement should also recognize the special circumstance of Parties, taking into account equity and CBDR. In effect, the new agreement should provide the LDCs with support so that they can rebuild themselves after droughts, floods, extreme events; should ensure risk transfer and an effective loss and damage mechanism. He called on “all the major GHG emitting countries” to sign an agreement to save the Earth.

Speaking for the **African Group, Tanzania Minister of Union Affairs Samia Hasan** called for the initial capitalization of the GCF with at least USD 10 billion and to reach USD 100 billion by 2020. He said the Group would not accept a climate regime that does not prioritise clearly the obligation for adaptation support and that providing support for adaptation should be legally binding. He said that African governments were considering undertaking domestic consultations on INDCs. He also said that developed countries needed to turn their pledges into commitment and show leadership as it would serve as incentive for a political decision in most vulnerable countries. The Group also called for a science based *ex ante* assessment of the INDCs.

Minister Xie Zhenhua, Vice Chairman of the National Development and Reform Commission of China, said that the Lima COP (at the end of the year) is an important link in the multilateral process and extremely important for the agreement to be reached at the Paris COP next year. He outlined that to promote success at the ADP, they would have to build mutual political trust and that could happen if all Parties follow the provisions of the Convention with respect to 2020 ambition, honour KP commitments and honour the Bali roadmap. He said developed countries should draw up a detailed time table and roadmap on financing, with public financing playing a key role in upscaling progressively from USD 40 billion in 2014, USD 50 billion in 2015 up to USD 100 billion in 2020.

Xie clarified that those arrangements outside of the Convention could be supplementary to the Convention but that the ADP should not focus too much on the action outside the Convention. Such actions cannot be treated as replacement for action under the Convention, but should be treated as supplementary action at best. Since all Parties support the CBDR principle, they must

regard the principle as the political basis for the negotiations under the ADP and should treat mitigation, adaptation, finance and technology transfer consistent with CBDR.

He said further that post-2020, developed countries should continue to undertake economy wide absolute reduction targets and honour their commitment to provide finance, technology transfer and capacity building to developing countries. Developing countries on the other hand should enhance their action with support from developed countries. With this premise, the Paris COP (in 2015) should focus on the common enhanced action to be taken by developed and developing countries and differentiated enhanced actions taken by them.

Stressing on transparency, Xie said it is the imperative to gain international confidence in the process. He mentioned his visits to SIDs and LDCs and said the lack of capacity is telling, and it is therefore crucial the developed countries provide support to their developing country counterparts.

On the legal form, he said that the Durban decision had put forth three options for legal form – internationally legally binding, domestically legally binding or a combination of the two. He said that the developed countries’ obligation to provide finance and technology should also be legally binding, while adding that even though China is open to the legal form of the future agreement, it is important to determine the content, which will determine the form.

Xie expressed hope that the ADP co-chairs would strictly follow the principle of transparency and ensure the process leading up to an agreement would be Party-driven and reflect the concerns of all the Parties. He reiterated that any negotiating text be established based on consultation of all the Parties as it would create an atmosphere of trust and reflect balance and inclusiveness. This, he said, is important to ensure the smooth progress of the negotiations. He added that the co-chairs should not parachute a negotiating text and that he didn’t want to see a repeat of the Copenhagen scenario. If the co-chairs produce a text that does not reflect the concerns of all, an outcome from such a text would be difficult to implement even if accepted. The success of the multilateral process was dependent on an outcome ensuring the full participation and interest of all the Parties. He hoped the co-chairs have taken note of China’s

concern, which other developing countries also shared.

Xie further outlined the efforts that China is taking to reduce emissions: China had put forth a target to reduce by 2020 per capita GDP intensity by 40-45 per cent and will aim for the upper limit of 45 per cent; its carbon intensity reduced by 28.5 per cent compared to 2005 levels in 2013; and the country is taking steps on energy conservation and increasing energy efficiency in sectors such as industry, buildings and transport. China is prepared to put forward its contributions and should be able to put its action target by early next year.

Dr. Paul Oquist, the Minister for National Policies of Nicaragua, said that while the proportion of climate deniers is a minority, the proportion of people who do not believe that the international community can tackle the problem of climate change is growing. “We cannot continue like this. Developing countries cannot assume obligations without the capacity, technology and financial assistance to implement the obligations,” Oquist said. Capping temperature increase to below 2°C seems to be a lost cause and the world is headed to a 3.7-4.8°C temperature rise. If the world did not change its ways, the adaptation cost would be far more costly. He added that meeting adaptation costs of a 0.85°C increase would be equivalent to the country’s year-long financial budget. “We have human settlements for people who have been displaced through climate change and that is the reason we and all developing countries are engaged in adaptation. That is also the reason implementation assumes so much importance, and financial support is directly linked to implementation,” Oquist said. The country wants to see loss and damage as a financial mechanism.

He also said that the negotiations should respect the principles and objective of the Convention and that adhering to historical responsibility, shared with differentiated responsibilities was the only way to ensure nobody is ambushed. Referring to the co-chairs draft decision text, he said that documents shouldn’t suddenly rain from the sky stressing that “We need something that is supported by all the Parties.”

Ali bin Ibrahim Al-Naimi, Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources of Saudi Arabia, called for a transparent, Party-driven, comprehensive and balanced agreement by 2015. The agreement needs to be in line with, and

contribute to, the sustainable development goals. It should build on national development programmes, and take into account national circumstances.

The agreement should adhere to the Durban mandate and be balanced in terms of addressing all elements of the mandate including adaptation and mitigation as well as all greenhouse gases and sectors. Al-Naimi stressed that the process should address the gaps in implementation and “not redistribute the burden of the past 20 years to other Parties”.

The minister reiterated that universality does not mean uniformity, and it needs to be interpreted in a manner consistent with the Convention’s principals and provisions, in particular the principle of CBDR.

He said that Saudi Arabia is taking practical steps to implement actions in pursuit of adaptation and economic diversification that have co-benefits in the form of emission reductions. Their efforts in addressing climate change mitigation and adaptation would include action in the areas of energy efficiency, solar and wind energy, carbon capture and storage utilization, particularly enhanced oil recovery, switching from liquid fuels to gas and focus on clean energy.

Miguel Leonardo Rodriguez, Minister for the Environment of Venezuela said the world must respect developing countries in their approach on negotiations. Calling it trial by fire, he said that it is a matter of life and death. The principles of justice and equity are part of the architecture. The first commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol gave rise to great frustration, but it lay down the foundation, which is key to achieving substantive impact.

Rodriguez said that ethical questions related to “hegemony of the groups” must be raised on the market mechanisms that are being put forth. “Is this what the multilateral process has to offer to the world?” he asked. He told developed countries strongly that the developing countries were footing the bill for the “irresponsible consumption” of very few countries. It’s the developing countries that made great emissions reduction, and it is unfair to ignore history. He expressed doubts on the will to move forward and gave the following examples: countries refuse to sign on the CP2; only one developed country has ratified CP2; GCF remains a hollow shell; the US, one of the highest emitters in the world,

refused to participate in the KP and yet claims to be a “leader”. Rodriguez insisted that the past cannot continue to be ignored and that it would never sign an agreement that is not inclusive or an agreement set up by presidents. “We won’t accept another Copenhagen,” said Venezuela. “We need an agreement based on justice.”

Bolivia was strictly against the emphasis on markets and selling the world to capitalism. The world must promote the rights of Mother Earth, Bolivia said, and developed countries must take the lead in reducing emissions simply because a small population responsible for 75 per cent of the emissions must assume responsibility for their action and provide support to those who did not cause the problem of climate change. This meant the world could not follow a bottom up approach. Bolivia said there was no need to reinterpret the Convention, which some developed countries were doing to “shirk their responsibility”.

Kuwait called for the immediate ratification of CP2 and increasing the mitigation objectives of Annex I Parties who are not members of KP. It said that the concept of equity is the cornerstone and had to be the foundation of the agreement to combat climate change. It called for increased support to the developing countries and added that universality did not mean uniformity.

Brazil outlined it had started nationwide consultation to prepare INDCs and said that the process should include mitigation, but not be limited to it. Transparency in the process is crucial. It stressed that action should be based on the principles of equity and differentiation, and the developing countries could not be asked to do more while allowing developed countries to backtrack on their commitments. Brazil said that they would closely track the process of financial mobilization to the GCF and increased mitigation action on the part of the developed countries. It expressed hope that the ADP would allow those with historical responsibility to demonstrate their commitment to the Convention and their action to combat climate change.

South Africa said that the global community is suffering due to the glaring gap in implementation. On INDCs, it said that they must be multilaterally agreed and applied rather than each Party choosing its own INDC. Lima must decide the clarity, transparency and understanding of contributions, South Africa said. It pressed for *ex ante* contributions and

added that such a peer review process would build trust, and that the process must provide for an *ex post* review. The agreement should be based on equity and no backsliding on existing commitments would be allowed, it said.

Secretary Mary Anne Lucille Sering of the Philippines stressed that time is of essence and if the IPCC report does not act as an alarm, the message that would go out to the world would be that the world is complacent. “What else do we need to know? What is it that gives us the impression that actions, real actions, can still wait?” she asked. She reminded Parties of the typhoon Haiyan, but added that the Philippines refuses to be defined by how much suffering the people of her country endure. She said the world must simplify the goals and not be trapped by agendas that tilt the balance of fairness, which tramples the principles of the Convention. Despite the Philippines not being a major emitter, the country has embarked on a low emission development strategy by passing renewable energy laws to encourage clean investments. She urged countries to prove that international cooperation can help enable and accelerate domestic efforts, and to lessen uncertainties and vagueness on what the 2015 agreement should look like. She expressed firmly that pledges and ambition should not remain the way they are now and conditionalities must be avoided. She reiterated that those who have less should be supported by those who have more, and added, “not in the context of beggars but as equal Parties in the United Nations”.

Supporting G77 and China, **Thailand** highlighted the importance of transparency and trust in the process of negotiations. It said that for the negotiations to be a Party-driven process, it must build on inputs from Parties and any outputs of the process should reflect inputs from Parties.

Zambia reiterated that in the pre-2020 period, Annex I countries need to scale up ambition and provide leadership. Provision of support on finance, technology and capacity would determine the way ahead for any action at the national level. Zambia sought more clarity on the INDCs process. On the 2015 agreement, Zambia said that it must have the modalities to facilitate transparency with an emphasis on compliance along with mitigation and adaptation and financial and technological support.

The Marshall Islands outlined that there are two tasks at hand: to close the ambition gap and bend the emissions trajectory to below 1.5°C or 2°C; and build a new agreement to fully decarbonize the world economy by mid century. To keep the Marshall Islands above water the world needs to take strong and effective action and those with most responsibility and capacity must “commit to commit” to mitigation ambition. It said that the world must learn from the Marshall Islands because even though their emissions are next to nothing, they are transitioning to renewable energy and would table their INDCs next year, not because they have to but they want to because of collective interest. It urged leaders to keep this collective task in mind and champion bold new actions and work on pre-2020 ambition. It also reiterated that the post-2020 agreement must support local and national efforts in adaptation and the need for public financing to flow quickly and directly to countries. Loss and damage was an important issue they would be closely tracking.

Roland Bhola, Minister for Agriculture, Lands, Forestry, Fisheries and the Environment of Grenada said that the INDC issue is not clear. Each Party would need to address the problem of climate change. Different countries would make different contributions, but Grenada is not clear if countries were expected to put forth energy intensity targets or economy wide targets. The country emphasized that adaptation must be part of the 2015 agreement and should be addressed separately from the INDCs.

Bhola also stressed that ambition must be consistent with the demands of science and the world should aim at zero emissions by mid-century. He added that even though the SIDs contribute little to the problem of climate change they were thinking of developing joint regional contributions and that the world needs to agree on a minimum set of indicators, without which there would be just talks but no action. He added that they must receive technical guidance and support in the preparation of INDCs. Setting the context clear, he said that they are not at war with the developed countries, but they wanted a fair and equitable opportunity and a natural ecosystem to survive, which was being increasingly threatened due to climate change.

Lesotho called on the major emitters to take action and stressed on the need for adequate,

accessible and predictable finance with a firm commitment to technology transfer. It outlined that efforts must be based on CBDR and respective capabilities and that science must inform the 2015 agreement, while stressing that the agreement should be legally binding.

Maldives urged partners to increase commitments in workstream 2 and said that developed country Parties must assist their developing country counterparts. The IPCC report, Maldives said, was a “clarion call” for low-lying island states such as theirs.

Indonesia said the world requires a change in paradigm on how human activities should be managed within the context of sustainable development. “To achieve this, a close cooperation between developed and developing countries is an imperative necessity, based on a common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, to achieve an innovative, comprehensive 2015 agreement,” it said. To secure such a change, the agreement should contain important elements such as a global target based on science, legally binding, involving every possible action in a balanced manner, as well as ensuring transparency to gain trust among Parties. It emphasized that charting the 2015 agreement did not mean reinventing the wheel. The agreement should be a continuation and enhancement of the existing regime currently in place and therefore there must be a clear link between the 2013-2020 climate actions and the post-2020 legal framework. The agreement should duly recognise the diverse nature of every Party of the UNFCCC, including in terms of their development status and challenges. Referring to finance as the instrumental part of the 2015 agreement and the key to implement all actions, Indonesia called for immediate capitalization of the GCF. It also announced its voluntary contribution to GCF amounting to US\$250,000 under the framework of South-South Cooperation.

Colombia, speaking for the Independent Association for Latin America and the Caribbean (AILAC), said it was time to engage in substantive discussions on the legal form. AILAC preferred the legally binding option and said the scope and nature and the differentiation issue should be included in the agreement. It said the landscape of issues and the draft text drawn up by the co-chairs were a remarkable effort to deliver upfront information on the INDCs. The

INDCs should be comprehensive and reflect each country's context, responsibility, and should also keep national circumstance in mind. It was in favour of including adaptation in the INDCs since action on adaptation has local, regional and global co-benefits and these must get factored in, in the new agreement. Colombia also said that support must be given to countries that need it most and those willing to go beyond their capacity.

Other Parties that intervened included **Dominican Republic, Egypt, Bangladesh, Papua New Guinea, Guyana, the Czech Republic, Algeria, Senegal, Argentina and Bhutan.**

EU Climate Commissioner Connie Hedegaard repeated how the EU had overachieved its emissions reduction targets and listed its emission reduction measures. On workstream 2, the EU said it had identified options for closing the mitigation gap with initiatives that generate co-benefits such as growth in income and increased job and food security. She said when world leaders convene in September for the climate summit in New York, they must send a strong signal to the world for action. On workstream 2, Hedegaard said that urgent action meant a legally binding agreement for all. She said that not just the major and emerging economies, but all the Parties must come forth with their contributions. She also said the EU would ideally prefer if information on contributions was on the table now, but that it should be turned in latest by the Lima COP. National contributions must be accompanied with information on why a Party considers it as fair mitigation effort.

In line with the EU statement, **Germany** said that all major emitters must take emissions reduction targets and that it would make a significant financial contribution to the GCF. **The Netherlands** stressed that the level of ambition required must be informed by science for the global agreement and must include new insights and broad range of participation. **Malta** added that the EU is a leader and that the world should not be complacent in Lima. **Denmark** called on countries to do their "homework" with respect to INDCs and asked countries to go prepared and announce at the UN Summit in September what actions they will take to combat climate change. **France** too said that the UN Summit should have something to show that

leaders are ready for an agreement in Paris, and outlined that the future agreement should have long-term solutions as well.

Norway's Minister of Climate and Energy, Tine Sundtoft, said that the world must complete what it decided in Cancun (COP 16 in 2010), and deliver action along with an ambitious agreement. Norway called on countries to set climate targets for 2020, increase efforts towards renewable energy and energy efficiency, phasing out HFCs and focusing on REDD+. Norway added that for an ambitious agreement, every country must be on board and to be fair, countries must contribute based on differentiation. "Flexible mechanisms are an important tool to achieve higher ambition," said Sundtoft, and added that Norway would develop a carbon budget type of a commitment.

Switzerland said that the INDCs had been developed for mitigation and it was concerned that using it for adaptation would not help and it would weaken mitigation. It also reiterated that times have changed and the developing countries today emit more than developed countries. Claiming the aggregate historical responsibility of the developed countries to be 41 per cent, Switzerland said that everyone must come on board and engage in the road ahead.

Japan spoke of measures it is taking in its country for a low carbon society. It said that mitigation should be central to each Party's INDC and that all Parties should submit their INDCs in a manner that could be compared and evaluated by each Party and also against aggregated emissions reduction.

The US said it was taking a lot of action in various sectors with the aim of reducing by 17 per cent by 2020 relative to 2005 levels. Internationally, the US is working to phase down HCFs, deciding to stop investments in coal plants without carbon capture and storage, and supporting low emission strategy effort in 25 countries to develop clean energy pathways. The US said it would like to have a dialogue on the new agreement taking on issues from the Cancun COP and beyond. It said at the UN Climate Summit in September, all heads of states must commit to submit information on their contributions. The US said it would submit its contributions by the first quarter of 2015. On differentiation that the US said was an enduring principle, it believes that the Convention offers the flexibility to reflect what all Parties must do

based on their real circumstance. It also said that mitigation is embodied in the nationally determined contribution and that the US fully understood the diversity of countries. The US further said that it attached great importance to climate support and was taking “huge effort” to scale up climate finance.

As an Arctic nation, **Canada** said it understood the climate change challenge and that it could not be solved by one country alone. Canada said that constructive action also takes place outside of the UNFCCC, and referred to the Climate and Clean Air Coalition adding that such initiatives were critical to achieve success.

(In 2012 Canada, with Bangladesh, Ghana, Mexico, Sweden, the US, and the United Nations

Environment Programme, launched the Climate and Clean Air Coalition, a voluntary initiative aimed at reducing short-lived climate pollutants.)

New Zealand noted that every country needed to take the role to combat climate change and said it was committed to maximum effort to build a durable agreement – one that has broadest participation and which secured environmental integrity.

Australia said that it was looking at a rule-based architecture where all countries would have to commit and present “clear upfront information” on their actions. Claiming rigid approaches would not attract participation, it said, adding that the ambition gap must be closed keeping in mind national priorities.