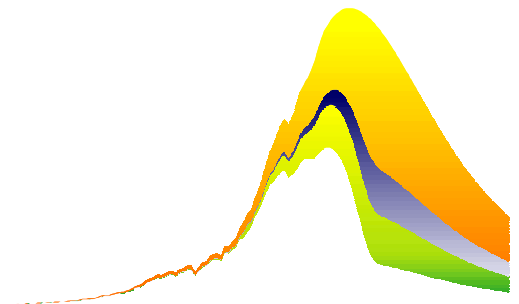


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# GLOBAL EQUITY & CLIMATE CHANGE

A History of the UNFCCC Negotiations  
for a GLOBAL SOLUTION



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## **Climate Change - a "GLOBAL PROBLEM"\***

### ***Atmospheric Greenhouse Gas Concentrations Rise as GHG Emissions Rise***

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) reported for the first time in 1990. IPCC said that greenhouse gas (ghg) concentrations in the global atmosphere were rising as a result of human ghg emissions, principally from fossil fuel burning.

The historic record (440,000 years/ice-core) of ghg concentrations in the atmosphere shows between 200 and 300 per million by volume (ppmv). Since industrialization, the impact of human fossil fuel burning has raised ghg concentration in the atmosphere by 30%. This is *very* dramatically faster and higher than anywhere in the historical record above.

This is clearly a 'global problem'. Because ghg concentrations trap heat (infra-red), more concentrations trap more heat, this puts us on a human-caused trajectory of increasing global warming and climate changes towards potentially disastrous global damages.

### ***GHG Emissions must FALL just to stop Concentrations Rising Further***

There is another dimension to the global problem. While the global dependency on fossil energy for economic growth remains nearly 100% at this time, the IPCC also noted that cuts in ghg emissions in the order of 60 - 80% were required immediately if rising atmospheric ghg concentrations were to be stabilised just at present raised values.

There is another even more difficult dimension to this global problem. The IPCC also noted that stabilisation of atmospheric ghg concentrations at any value was contingent on cuts of this magnitude in some give time frame. Because atmospheric ghg concentrations are a function of accumulated emissions, rising ghg concentrations will only slow in proportion to the rate at which emissions actually fall (negative growth). Causing concentrations to actually fall would require extended zero emissions.

## **"GLOBAL SOLUTIONS?"**

### ***The US version of a "GLOBAL SOLUTION" rejected as inequitable***

When the negotiations began for the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 1991, the US canvassed quite logically for a 'global solution' to this 'global problem'. The language used at the time was 'a comprehensive approach'. IPCC scientists had suggested that global emissions should be reduced by 1 - 2% per annum for the next 50 - 100 years. The US proposed that any modification in emissions would be uniform across the globe. In other words all countries would limit or reduce by the same amount.

This simple central organising principle was rejected. The mistake at that time was to reject the notion of central organising principles altogether just because that particular version of the principle was so obviously globally inequitable.

Developing countries rightly pointed out that the 20% of global population living in the industrial countries had been responsible for over 80% of the accumulated ghg output since the beginning of industrialisation and had grown rich and powerful whilst remaining unaccountable over that impact.

## **The UN GLOBAL SOLUTION - An "Equity Based" Framework Convention**

After two years of negotiation the UNFCCC text was tabled at the Earth Summit in 1992. It defined the global problem and stated that its global objective had to be guided by the principles of precaution and equity (differentiated responsibilities) with a need for efficiency.

Why have the UNFCCC?

Parties to the UNFCCC, "*acknowledge that change in the Earth's climate and its adverse effects are a common concern of humankind.*" They are, "*concerned that human activities have been substantially increasing the atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases, that these increases enhance the natural greenhouse effect, and that this will result on average in an additional warming of the Earth's surface and atmosphere and may adversely affect natural ecosystems and humankind*" (Preamble).

What is the Objective of the Convention? - (ghg emissions CONTRACTION)

The Parties define the ultimate objective of the Climate Convention and any related legal instruments that the Conference of the Parties may adopt as follows. "*It is to achieve, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Convention, stabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system.*" (Article 2)

What is the Principle of Global Equity? - (CONVERGENCE - ALLOCATION)

The Parties adopt the principle that they, "*should protect the climate system for the benefit of present and future generations of humankind, on the basis of equity.*" (Article 3.1). They note that, "*the largest share of historical and current global emissions of greenhouse gases has originated in developed countries and that per capita emissions in developing countries are still relatively low*" (Preamble). They note therefore, "*that in accordance with their common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities the developed country Parties must take the lead in combating climate change and the adverse effects thereof*" (Article 3.1), while, "*the share of global emissions originating in developing countries will grow to meet their social and development needs,*" (Article 3.3)."

What is the Precautionary Principle?

The Parties, "*should take precautionary measures to anticipate, prevent or minimize the causes of climate change and mitigate its adverse effects. Where there are threats of serious or irreversible damage, lack of full scientific certainty should not be used as a reason for postponing such measures . . . .*" (Article 3.3) . . .

What is the Principle of Global Efficiency? - (GLOBAL EMISSIONS TRADE)

. . . *taking into account that policies and measures to deal with climate change should be cost-effective so as to ensure global benefits at lowest possible cost.*" (Article 3.3)

## **COP1 - The "BERLIN MANDATE"**

### **"Flawed Process" seeking Sub-Global Solutions**

Instead of immediately engaging with the task of organising a global solution, the First Conference of the Parties (COP1) to the UNFCCC in April 1995 adopted the Berlin Mandate. This sought to extend the commitments to control greenhouse gas emissions required of the industrial country group (Annex One) in the UNFCCC.

The justification was the moral argument. Under "*differentiated responsibilities*" the industrialised countries had to take the lead and be seen to take the lead before the developing countries would join in.

### **Indian Government essay a "Global Solution" at COP1**

Already recognising the ultimate flaw in the Berlin Mandate, the Indian Government made the following statement at the end of the First Conference of the Parties (COP1).

*"We face the actuality of scarce resources and the increasing potential for conflict with each other over these scarce resources. The social, financial and ecological inter-relationships of equity should guide the route to global ecological recovery. Policy Instruments such as "Tradable Emissions Quotas", "Carbon Taxes" and "Joint Implementation" may well serve to make matters worse unless they are properly referenced to targets and time-tables for equitable emissions reductions overall. This means devising and implementing a programme for convergence at equitable and sustainable per values for consumption on a per capita basis globally."*

### **The AOSIS Protocol**

The 'sub-global' model adopted for the Berlin Mandate however, was the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) Protocol that advocated 20% cuts against 1990 emissions levels by 2005 for developed countries only. This sought to increase their existing commitments of 0% above 1990 by 2000.

A year later at COP2 in June 1996, as most governments declared acceptance of the IPCC Second Assessment Report (SAR) and the reality of the warming problem, the US declared the AOSIS Protocol "*unrealistic and unachievable*" and rejected it out of hand. They also focussed again on the "*fatal flaw*" in the UNFCCC as the 'apartheid' between Annex One and the rest of the countries. It is very significant that the US was again in effect driven to focussing its objections to conditions of 'global apartheid.'

This judgement was significant blow to the lobby in favour of the AOSIS Protocol. The US with 4% of world population is responsible for 25% of any year's ghg output and 33% of accumulated output is the world's biggest ghg emitter. Consequently, many reason that without the US ratifying any of the UNFCCC treaty arrangements, the whole exercise will be a dead letter.

## **COP2 - GLOBAL APARTHEID**

### ***Flawed Sub-Global Ethics get Flawed Sub-Global Solutions***

In seeking to overcome this 'global apartheid', the US dilemma was in seeking to share public responsibility for the impacts causing climate change and the costs of mitigating them, whilst also seeking ways of not having to share the benefit of the private income derived from making these impacts. The dilemma cut hard in two ways. It put the US in a very powerful position to insist on a 'global solution' because they knew that without them there would be no solution at all. However, it also put every one else in an equally powerful position too.

If political will was there, they could define a 'globally equitable solution' in preference to merely demanding a symbolic and tactical victory with a sub-global solution on the basis of an undefined global equity.

### ***Global Ethics for Global Solutions***

It is possible to define a more rigorous solution with the central organising principles of global sustainability and global equity or democracy. Such a solution would see emissions rights becoming proportional to people rather than remaining proportional to accumulated income and environmental impact: - in other words an agreed convergence to per capita equality of emissions rights globally under a sustainable global emissions cap.

Such an approach would be consistent with transcending the sub-global ethics of 'global apartheid' in a practical way. Moreover not only does climate change make this possible, averting human caused climate change actually makes ending global apartheid necessary. Clean energy paths cannot be achieved globally without an organised global solution for sharing resources and information effectively. As the UNFCCC requires, this means sustainably, equitably and efficiently in that order.

This is exactly what the Africa Group would propose a year later in August 1997, surprisingly assisted by the full body of Senators in the US Congress in the so-called Byrd-Hagel Resolution passed in July 1997.

### ***The BYRD HAGEL Global Solution***

In July 1997 US Senators Byrd and Hagel tabled a resolution about the US involvement with the Kyoto Protocol (KP). It rehearsed all their objections to what they felt was the 'flawed' character of the Berlin Mandate and the impending Kyoto Protocol.

Their fundamental objection was to the 'global apartheid' in the UNFCCC between the Developed Country Parties of Annex One who were to observe commitments to control their ghg emissions, and all the Developing Country Parties who were not required to observe such commitments.

The Resolution, adopted with a vote of 95 in favour and 0 against, clearly allows "*Contraction and Convergence*".

*"Now, therefore, be it Resolved that: -*

*(1) the United States should not be a signatory to any protocol to, or other agreement regarding, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change of 1992, at negotiations in Kyoto in December 1997, or thereafter, which would mandate new commitments to limit or reduce greenhouse gas emissions for the Annex I Parties, unless the protocol or other agreement also mandates new specific scheduled commitments to limit or reduce greenhouse gas emissions for Developing Country Parties within the same compliance period."*

### **BYRD HAGEL is "Contraction and Convergence"**

The crucial detail in the Byrd Hagel Resolution is in paragraph 1A. Two defining distinctions are maintained. The first is between the Annex One Parties and the Developing Country Parties. The second is between 'limit' ghg emissions and 'reduce' ghg emissions. Limitations of ghg emissions means controlled positive growth of ghg emissions and reductions of ghg emissions means controlled negative growth of emissions;

If we put these concepts together "*within the same compliance period*", the paragraph can only translate into a process of formal "*Contraction and Convergence*". Annex One Parties will reduce (or contract) their ghg emissions while the Developing Country Parties will limit their ghg emissions (so as to converge with Annex One Country Parties). Technically, not just rhetorically, there has to be a 'convergence factor' to do this. It won't happen by accident.

The unavoidable question is "what is this convergence factor?"

[Full statement in Appendix One]

### **Contraction without Convergence to Per Capita Equality Non-Viable**

The essential problem is about sharing carbon entitlements between people globally, equitably and sustainably. In principle there is no other viable convergence factor than convergence on per capita equality of shares by an agreed date inside a finite contraction budget. Anything else is an accident happening by default.

The moment more complex convergence indicators are introduced, the whole process becomes a morass of competing indicators and contradictory assumptions. In practice it means that 180 countries with 180 different arguments about equity will negotiate at COPs for the next 100 years in the hope that some kind of 'invisible hand' will aggregate all of the international rivalry, politicking and cross-talk into a controlled and consensual global ghg contraction agreement. This is obviously not going to happen.

Even implicitly continuing to work to this scenario also continues to cultivate the culture of forgetfulness regarding the increasingly dangerous relationship between ghg emissions and their accumulating concentrations in the atmosphere. Even if we succeed in achieving a gradual global ghg contraction of emissions, concentrations (all other factors remaining stable) will only stabilise at the end of the contraction budget (e.g. 100 years @ +/- 450 ppmv CO<sub>2</sub>). Consequently global temperature and damages will continue rising throughout. The risks of failing to achieve even this degree of control over ghg emissions especially in vulnerable regions such as in SADC are appalling! Significant regional damages in SADC are already apparent just at present raised concentration levels of 360ppmv.



## "Contraction & Convergence"

### **The AFRICA GROUP respond**

Recognising these mounting dangers the Africa Group of Nations took a clear initiative a year later at the August 1997 negotiating session of the Ad Hoc Group of the Berlin Mandate (AGBM7). The group defined and presented the global solution now formally known as "Contraction and Convergence" to the final plenary session.

*"As we negotiate the reduction of GHG, the countries of Africa believe that there should be certain principles that need to be clearly defined.*

- 1. There must be limits on all GHGs if the danger to our climate is to be averted. The IPCC scientific assessment report provides us with the basis for global consensus on such limits.*
- 2. A globally agreed ceiling of GHG emissions can only be achieved by adopting the principle of per capita emissions rights that fully take into account the reality of population growth and the principle of differentiation.*
- 3. Achievement of a safe limit to global GHG emissions can be achieved by reducing the emissions of Annex One while at the same time ensuring that there is controlled growth of future emissions from Non-Annex One countries, reflecting our legitimate right to sustainable economic growth. We strongly believe that this will take us along a path to responsible climate management that allows us to reach our goal of defining a mutually agreed point of convergence and sustainable development. Such a convergence Mr. Chairman must ensure that we maintain a global ceiling on emissions to prevent dangerous interference with the climate system.*
- 4. When we look at time frames, we believe that insufficient commitment by Annex One countries will only result in delaying our influence on the climate system. If this course is maintained, then we will all suffer and the burden will be even greater for humanity in general. The burden for any future mitigation efforts on those of who have not been historically and currently responsible for creating the problem will be greater.*

*Mr. Chairman, we must focus our attention on the most appropriate, reasonable and acceptable time frame for action. There is an over-riding pre-requisite. The time frame can not be too far away into the future if we are to avoid at all costs the dangers that global climate change poses. The current scientific evidence indicates that Africa faces decline in water resources, agricultural production and economic performance. It is therefore for this reason that we wish to register the seriousness with which we view the effective implementation of the Convention and future agreements emanating from it."*

They carried this position right through to the very end-game of COP3 in December that year, with vivid and literally dramatic results in the final session establishing the Kyoto Protocol, seeding the NAM statement in those very moments.

[Full statement in Appendix Two]

### ***The USA: - "It's the only game in town."***

During mid 1997 and at the request of US government personnel, a series of private policy briefings on "*Contraction and Convergence*" took place in Government agencies in Washington comprising the US climate policy community (EPA, AFLCIO, State Dept. and the Energy Dept.). They were fully briefed on the flexibility of the model.

The application of the principle of graduated "Contraction" of the global ghg emissions budget over time to a pre-set goal of atmospheric ghg concentrations, enables any future carbon budget to be computed and subsequently revised to control concentrations.

The application of the principle of "Convergence" to equal per capita shares globally to a pre-set date within the budget and the budget period to a pre-set population year enables any rate of international convergence to be negotiated and revised blending control with consent.

The US were also advised that this flexibility should be read in conjunction with the flexibility sought in respect of the extent to which the resultant ghg allocations would be internationally tradable as emissions permits. Assuming such flexibility from the outset enables the "*Contraction and Convergence*" rates to be negotiated without having to mimic and modify baseline trend emissions as in principle the global ghg emissions budget was convertible for cash.

Senior bureaucrats conceded that if the Chinese could be persuaded to play "*Contraction and Convergence*" the US would have to play. It was the only game in town.

### ***China - "Emissions control standard formulated on a per capita basis"***

During August 1990 Chinese policy makers were given the equivalent briefing and by October 1997 the Chinese appeared to have been persuaded to signal a tentative readiness to play C&C. In doing this they spelled out more specifically their views for the mid-term than had previously occurred. They in effect declared potential pathways for "*Contraction and Convergence*".

Dr Song Jian (the State Councilor with responsibility for Climate Change and Population) made the following statement at the closing ceremony of the China Council for International Co-operation on Environment and Development.

*"When we ask the opinions of people from all circles, many people, in particular the scientists think that the emissions control standard should be formulated on a per capita basis.*

*According to the UN Charter, everybody is born equal, and has inalienable rights to enjoy modern technological civilization. Today the per capita consumption is just one tenth of that of the developed countries, one eighth of that of medium developed countries. It is estimated 30-40 years would be needed for China to catch up with the level of medium developed countries."*

[Full statement in Appendix Three]

## **COP3 - The "Kyoto Protocol"**

### ***(Article 17) - global or sub-global?***

The Kyoto Protocol (KP) was tabled at Third Conference of the Parties (COP3) in Japan in December 1997. It attempted to fulfil the Berlin Mandate for a "sub-global" solution, the main tension over 'globality' unanswered.

Emissions reduction commitments were attached to the industrial country group only. In spite of the Africa Group position many developing countries continued to resist any talk of parallel (voluntary) commitments from them because of the history of deep inequity and mistrust.

However, the flaws in this "sub-global" strategy were revealed. The developing country group was persuaded by the northern environmental lobby to project an aggressively one-sided and unrealistic long-term scenario for global arrangements on emissions restraint. In exchange for nothing, the developing country group would prescribe ever-deeper ghg emissions reductions for the developed country group only for the next fifty years or more. In their growing frustration with the US and the US insistence on 'globality', the NGOs argued that this would be seen as *"developing countries taking the lead"*.

The sub-global strategy also complicated the position of those developing countries that had been taking climate friendly measures including some control of ghg emissions. Their complaint became that these actions were not even being recognised let alone 'credited'. This was true but transactional credit required the finite accounts of globality.

Moreover, as the issue of the international tradability of ghg emissions entitlements progressed, an increasing number of countries recognised the logic of the Africa Group proposals for *"Contraction and Convergence"*. Not only did the principles answer the US demand for a global solution, they did so in a manner that enabled revenues from international emissions trading to accrue to developing countries for sustainable development in potentially significant amounts.

While the US appeared not to have won their insistence on 'globality' they had won their case for tradability. This led directly to what the US called a "near-death experience" at the very end of the negotiations; major G-77 players suddenly turned the tables at the last minute.

### ***Global Equity Dawns at Kyoto's Darkest Hour - G-77 goes global***

At the end of the Kyoto negotiations, the entire debate came to centre on the issues of trade and the assigning of property rights in the future carbon budget. By definition, emissions trading cannot occur until the principle of property rights has been agreed and the entitlements have been assigned and ratified.

At 3.00am when the negotiations were already into injury time, the paragraph in the draft Kyoto Protocol relating to trade came up for acceptance. The US re-iterated their insistence on everyone's acceptance of emissions trading. The governments of China and India, contrary to people's expectations, did not rebut the idea.

Instead they responded by saying that acceptance of trade depended on the issue of "equitable allocations" of emissions entitlements on a per capita basis. Moreover the

Africa Group of Nations intervened, re-iterating that this was why they had advocated "Contraction and Convergence". The US replied by saying that they heard the call for "Contraction and Convergence" but suggested this wasn't the moment to try and integrate such a comprehensive structural methodology.

However, that US response underlined the remarks made in Washington in July 1997 and reaffirmed at the GLOBE International workshop in Bonn in October 1997 by US Ambassador Mark Hambley to an international gathering of Parliamentarians, that the idea is being taken seriously in Washington. Like many others since, they have said it is the only game in town. The global equity argument was finally being won on the floor of the COP.

The COP meeting was arrested for half an hour. On resumption, Chairman Estrada read out a prepared text (now known as Article 17). In effect the COP issued instructions to SBI and SBSTA to elucidate during 1998 the rules, principles, modalities etc relating to trade, in time for COP4 in Buenos Aires in November 1998.

These events led directly to the subsequent formation of the NAM Statement on emissions trading supported by the GLOBE International Parliamentarians General Assembly, the newly formed GLOBE Southern Africa Network and subsequently the European Parliament.

## **SUPPORT for C&C SINCE KYOTO**

### ***UK Government***

In May 1998 immediately prior to the G-8 Conference in Birmingham, the UK Minister with responsibility for climate change, the Rt Hon Michael Meacher MP, made a statement in support of "*Contraction and Convergence*" the House of Commons including the following: -

*"As I have said it is our view that the time has come for a serious review under the Convention of the commitments of all countries, that reflects the economic and development needs of developing countries. "Contraction and Convergence" should be clearly one of the ideas on the table in such a review. It has the attraction of equity and logic - but equally raises huge political and practical issues which need to be considered carefully."*

In response to a subsequent enquiry by the President of GLOBE UK, the UK Prime Minister, the Rt Hon Tony Blair, endorsed this view in a personal letter to the GLOBE President.

[Full statement in Appendix Four]

### ***GLOBE International***

A few days before (24-26 August, 1998) the NAM, the GIGA in Cape Cod, adopted a statement on the global management of climate change which embedded "*Contraction and Convergence*" and urged the NAM to persist in calling for equity at COP4 in the following terms: -

*"Support the adoption of a mandate at Buenos Aires to redefine the way in which greenhouse emission cuts are currently shared between countries, following the principle of equity enshrined in the Contraction and Convergence analysis, and urge the summit of the Non-Aligned Movement countries meeting in Durban, RSA, to persist in demanding an equitable approach as a precondition for their participation in COP4 at Buenos Aires."*

It is significant that a number of both Democratic and Republican Senators signed on to this statement.

[Full statement in Appendix Five]

### ***Non-Aligned Movement***

In September 1998 the NAM declared that: -

*"Emission trading for implementation of (ghg reduction/limitation) commitments can only commence after issues relating to the principles, modalities, etc of such trading, including the initial allocations of emissions entitlements on an equitable basis to all countries has been agreed upon by the Parties to the Framework Convention on Climate Change."*

This formulation is intended to resolve the challenge contained in Article 17 of the Kyoto Protocol (KP). It is not as some have portrayed an attempt to block out emissions trading. It seeks to ensure the long-term effectiveness of the emissions trading process. Consequently, it recognises that emissions trading, if it is to achieve the objective of the UNFCCC, can only be an efficient mechanism for that aim if it is structured in the prior recognition of international equity and order in the allocation methodology adopted within the terms of Article 17.

Put the other way around, inequitable allocations are obviously not consistent with getting the full international cooperation needed to achieve the objective of the UNFCCC.

Consequently, the hoped for efficiency of emissions trading will not pass its reality test if emissions trading is set up based on globally inequitable allocations. It will simply be seen as a mechanism for sustaining sub-global inequity with a green veneer of pseudo-sustainability of business-as-usual, in other words sustaining conditions of global apartheid.

In this sense the NAM statement seeks an effective global solution to a global problem exactly as the US has argued, but where global efficiency is legitimate only as a derivative of global equity.

This does not have to prevent emissions trading in the short-term. The point is to ensure that the chaos of the disorderly sub-global and inequitable precedent of the Berlin Mandate/Kyoto Protocol allocation chaos does not become the precedent of default for all future process on ghg emissions allocations. The task must be to ensure that at the appropriate moment the Kyoto Protocol is superceded by global equity based arrangements.

## **Environmental Justice Network Forum (EJNF)**

On the 18<sup>th</sup> of October 1998 EJNF adopted the following resolution.

*"Noting that global warming and climate changes are having growing and adverse impacts on South Africa and her peoples, such as flash flooding, increasing aridity, increasing crop insecurity and spread of tropical diseases such as malaria,*

*and recognising that there has been a history of a profound imbalance within the country and between all the countries of the world in the consumption of the resources which have triggered these global changes,*

*EJNF resolves to promote corrective actions within and between nations that deal both with the unequal consumption and the overconsumption of the resources in question particularly those which lead directly to the release of greenhouse gas (ghg) emissions such as fossil fuels*

*EJNF commits itself to campaign in support of the "Contraction and Convergence" proposals that specifically embody the principles of global equity and sustainability.*

*This means that EJNF will advocate that the apportionment of future international greenhouse gas (ghg) emissions entitlements shall be the result of a deliberate convergence process to a point of equal per capita shares globally by a date to be negotiated by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)."*

## **GLOBE Southern Africa Network**

GSAN with members from nine of the fourteen SADC countries, convened in Cape Town in early September 1998 and affirmed support for the NAM and the "Contraction and Convergence" principles espoused by GLOBE and the Africa Group as follows: -

*We the Members of Parliament and Members of the GLOBE Southern Africa Network; Support the adoption of a mandate at Buenos Aires to redefine the way in which greenhouse emission cuts are shared between countries under the Kyoto Protocol, following instead the principle of global equity enshrined in the Contraction and Convergence analysis,*

- 1. Specifically work to ensure that all future development of the UNFCCC and its related instruments will be consistent with these interdependent principles of global equity and sustainability;*
- 2. And rebut any recourse to "flexibility mechanisms" that are not derived from the interdependent application of these principles of sustainability and global equity;*

[Full statement in Appendix Six]

## **European Parliament**

A few days after the NAM and GLOBE Southern Africa statements were adopted, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on climate change that clearly embedded the global constitutional principles for the long-term management of global climate change using "Contraction and Convergence". The resolution, led by the Environment Committee, was intensely debated and finally adopted with a 90 percent majority in favour.

*". . . . . calls on the Commission and the Member States to take the lead in brokering an agreement on a set of common principles and a negotiating framework beyond Buenos Aires;*

*. . . . . re-iterates and re-emphasises once again its view that a set of common principles will have to be based on, inter alia:*

- 1. agreement to have a worldwide binding limit on global emissions consistent with a maximum atmospheric concentration of 550 ppmv CO2 equivalent,*
- 2. initial distribution of emissions rights according to the Kyoto targets,*
- 3. progressive convergence towards an equitable distribution of emissions rights on a per capita basis by an agreed date in the next century,*
- 4. across-the-board reductions in emissions rights thereafter in order to achieve the reduction recommended by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC),*
- 5. an agreement to have a quantitative ceiling on the use of flexibility mechanisms that will ensure that the majority of emission reductions are met domestically in accordance with the spirit of articles 6, 12 and 17 of the Kyoto protocol; in this context trading must be subject to proper monitoring, reporting and enforcement;*
- 6. an adequately financed mechanism for promoting technology transfer from Annex 1 to non-Annex 1 countries;"*

[Full statement in Appendix Seven]

## **WRONG ROAD, RIGHT ROAD**

### ***Will the US Ratify the Kyoto Protocol?***

There are four answers to this question; - 'yes', 'no', 'maybe' and 'it depends on when you want the answer by.'

If everybody were on board before 2002, with 'maximum flexibility' in the amount of emissions trading that can occur, we would have achieved 'globality' so the answer is 'yes'. If only Annex One is on board with quantitative caps on the amount of emissions trading, the answer is 'no'. (See Byrd Hagel Resolution - it is the US Senate which ratifies International Treaties). If the conditions that gave rise to the answer 'no' were modified to the extent that 'qualitative' caps on trade were applied and major developing countries accepted voluntary commitments, the answer is a tentative maybe. But the key countries listed in the BH resolution shows this is as good as impossible.

The point about the date relates to the next presidential election. The answers above are probably accurate before that election but less so after especially in the event of a Republican victory.

### ***'US Ratification' is the Wrong Question***

'Will the US ratify the KP?' is the wrong question. The US has demanded 'globality' and its ill-defined counterpart 'meaningful participation by key developing countries'.

Looking for the answer 'yes' to this question assumes the power lies in the 'sub-global' US more than it lies in the danger of the global problem and the equity-logic of the global solution. The global argument recognises that the US has so far proposed everything necessary to solve the global climate crisis except international equity.

Expecting the US to resolve the equity question in a one-sided manner is by definition impossible precisely because the US by itself is 'sub-global'. Any such result will inevitably be a one-sided continuation of inequity and therefore non-viable.

Moreover, expecting to solve the global climate crisis with a 'one sided anything' is doomed to be ineffective, which ironically has been the US point all along. The irony for the US is realizing too slowly that what they were arguing for all along was by definition 'global equity'.

### ***Right Answers are Global Principles for Global Practice***

The principles are Global Precaution and Sustainability and Global Equity and Democracy.

The practice is using these principles for the process of "*Contraction, Convergence, Allocation and Trade*." (C-CAT). This will manage global climate change effectively on the basis of equity through the efficiency of making the available permits internationally tradable.

### ***Principles, no Practice - useless. Practice, no Principles - dangerous.***

Article 17 of the Kyoto Protocol is all about, putting principles before practice.

*"The Conference of the Parties shall define the relevant principles, modalities, rules and guidelines, in particular for verification, reporting and accountability for emissions trading. The Parties included in Annex B may participate in emissions trading for the purposes of fulfilling their commitments under Article 3. Any such trading shall be supplemental to domestic actions for the purpose of meeting quantified emission limitation and reduction commitments under that Article."*

The emissions trading is not intended to occur for its own sake. It is intended to achieve the objective of the UNFCCC more efficiently than if emissions trading did not occur.

Moreover, although practice is sequential, principles are perennial and exist in parallel. This crucial distinction relates to the Millenium Paradigm shift now occurring. This is the 'Third Way' where the global equity principle covers third parties (the environment and all its stakeholders) by definition and efficiency is the derivative of that interdependent combination.



## **COP4 - The "BUENOS AIRES MANDATE"**

### ***Beginning the end of Global Apartheid'***

The right answer is a multi-lateral agreement for Global Sustainability and Global Equity that by definition will begin the ending of Global Apartheid. Global Sustainability depends on Global Equity; - we all get global sustainability when the US gets the global efficiency of emissions trading and globality in exchange for global equity and democracy.

### ***Principles for Seven Generations: World Leader's Historic Opportunity at COP4***

The US cannot unilaterally propose this globally equitable solution. Nor will it emerge by accident. World leaders must come together at the highest levels of international diplomacy to advocate openly and urgently the establishment of its principles at COP4.

As is clear from the Africa Group Statement, the Resolution of the European Parliament and the GLOBE campaign, it has been designed. As is clear from the NAM statement, there is now the call for it to be delivered just as South Africa assumes the presidency of the NAM.

As is clear both from the logic of the situation and the predicament of ineffectual sub-global politics, there is both a need and an opportunity for this to be done in Buenos Aires.

The strategy would not be to displace or disparage the bureaucratic struggle underway at the level of existing debates about details relating to the Kyoto Protocol. Rather, it would be to rescue the Kyoto Protocol by confirming the obvious parallel need for a process to begin now to address the 'big-picture', the long-term global solution rigorously guided by the principles of global justice and sustainability.

The initiative would specifically establish a long-term mandate from Buenos Aires to carry future negotiation forward in these terms. This combination is in preference to continuing only with acrimonious and self-defeating short-term mandates for mayhem at the COPs.

Without such a mandate, disintegration will be the increasingly visionless future where many people will perish. "*Contraction, Convergence, Allocation and Trade*" structures the principles of global precaution and sustainability, in the social and environmental efficiency of global equity and democracy. This interdependence achieves global desegregation and enables a degree of control. It captures the two themes of global equity and efficiency within a context of controlled rates of using resources linking democracy and the markets to global sustainability through prosperity by other means.

Without this there seems little prospect of avoiding a climate tragedy and ensuring the future for those from whom we have borrowed it. Time was when it was normal to plan for seven generations. The next seven need champions for this purpose now.

## Appendices

### **One - The BYRD HAGEL Resolution**

- *"Expressing the sense of the Senate regarding the conditions for the United States becoming a signatory to any international agreement on greenhouse gas emissions under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)*
- *Whereas the UNFCCC (in this resolution referred to as the `Convention'), adopted in May 1992, entered into force in 1994 and is not yet fully implemented;*
- *Whereas the Convention, intended to address climate change on a global basis, identifies the former Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe and the Organization For Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), including the United States, as `Annex I Parties', and the remaining 129 countries, including China, Mexico, India, Brazil, and South Korea, as `Developing Country Parties';*
- *Whereas in April 1995, the Convention's `Conference of the Parties' adopted the so-called `Berlin Mandate';*
- *Whereas the `Berlin Mandate' calls for the adoption, as soon as December 1997, in Kyoto, Japan, of a protocol or another legal instrument that strengthens commitments to limit greenhouse gas emissions by Annex I Parties for the post-2000 period and establishes a negotiation process called the `Ad Hoc Group on the Berlin Mandate';*
- *Whereas the `Berlin Mandate' specifically exempts all Developing Country Parties from any new commitments in such negotiation process for the post-2000 period;*
- *Whereas although the Convention, approved by the United States Senate, called on all signatory parties to adopt policies and programs aimed at limiting their greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, in July 1996 the Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs called for the first time for `legally binding' emission limitation targets and timetables for Annex I Parties, a position reiterated by the Secretary of State in testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate on January 8, 1997;*
- *Whereas greenhouse gas emissions of Developing Country Parties are rapidly increasing and are expected to surpass emissions of the United States and other OECD countries as early as 2015;*
- *Whereas the Department of State has declared that it is critical for the Parties to the Convention to include Developing Country Parties in the next steps for global action and, therefore, has proposed that consideration of additional steps to include limitations on Developing Country Parties' greenhouse gas emissions would not begin until after a protocol or other legal instrument is adopted in Kyoto , Japan in December 1997;*
- *Whereas the exemption for Developing Country Parties is inconsistent with the need for global action on climate change and is environmentally flawed; and Whereas the Senate strongly believes that the proposals under negotiation, because of the disparity of treatment between Annex I Parties and Developing Countries and the level of*

*required emission reductions, could result in serious harm to the United States economy, including significant job loss, trade disadvantages, increased energy and consumer costs, or any combination thereof:*

*Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that -*

- (1) the United States should not be a signatory to any protocol to, or other agreement regarding, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change of 1992, at negotiations in Kyoto in December 1997, or thereafter, which would -*
  - A. mandate new commitments to limit or reduce greenhouse gas emissions for the Annex I Parties, unless the protocol or other agreement also mandates new specific scheduled commitments to limit or reduce greenhouse gas emissions for Developing Country Parties within the same compliance period, or*
  - B. would result in serious harm to the economy of the United States; and*
- (2) any such protocol or other agreement which would require the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification should be accompanied by a detailed explanation of any legislation or regulatory actions that may be required to implement the protocol or other agreement and should also be accompanied by an analysis of the detailed financial costs and other impacts on the economy of the United States which would be incurred by the implementation of the protocol or other agreement."*

## **Two - the AFRICA GROUP Statement at AGBM7**

*"Mr. Chairman - Let me begin by adding the Africa Group support for the statement made by the Chairman of the Group of G-77 speaking on behalf of the G-77 and China. Speaking on behalf of the Africa Group, I wish to commend you on the manner in which you have presided over the negotiations in the AGBM process. This has been an extremely difficult session of meetings. However, what is crucial is to try to evaluate whether or not the Parties have made any real headway in trying to strengthen the commitments under Article 4.2 (a) and (b) and advance the implementation of Article 4.1 as was mandated to us by the Berlin Mandate.*

*We shall pack our bags and return home with a sense of concern about the pace of progress that has been made. Unfavourable climatic conditions will continue to plague our economies, our crops will continue to fail, national external debts will remain a problem to us and our basic social infrastructure will continue to suffer as a result of the impacts of climate change. Yet the Annex One Parties - in particular those parties that have chosen to refrain from giving us their numbers - will go home smiling, celebrating their success in holding back the negotiation process.*

*We are grateful to those Parties who have given us their proposals and we look forward to evaluating these proposals in order to assess the impacts they will have on our socio-economic infrastructures. Some of our countries are already in the process of implementing activities to address the problem of greenhouse gas emissions (GHG) emissions. We wait in anticipation for Annex One countries to show the necessary commitment. As we negotiate the reduction of GHG, the countries of Africa believe that there should be certain principles that need to be clearly defined.*

*First: There must be limits on all GHGs if the danger to our climate is to be averted. The IPCC scientific assessment report provides us with the basis for global consensus on such limits. The contrary view therefore does not enjoy much emotional, political or indeed scientific support.*

*Second: A globally agreed ceiling of GHG emissions can only be achieved by adopting the principle of per capita emissions rights that fully take into account the reality of population growth and the principle of differentiation.*

*Third: Achievement of a safe limit to global GHG emissions can be achieved by reducing the emissions of Annex One while at the same time ensuring that there is controlled growth of future emissions from Non-Annex One countries, reflecting our legitimate right to sustainable economic growth. We strongly believe that this will take us along a path to responsible climate management that allows us to reach our goal of defining a mutually agreed point of convergence and sustainable development. Such a convergence Mr. Chairman must ensure that we maintain a global ceiling on emissions to prevent dangerous interference with the climate system.*

*Fourth: When we look at time frames, we believe that insufficient commitment by Annex One countries will only result in delaying our influence on the climate system. If this course is maintained, then we will all suffer and the burden will be even greater for humanity in general. The burden for any future mitigation efforts on those of who have not been historically and currently responsible for creating the problem will be greater.*

*Mr. Chairman we recognise that per capita emissions rights, as a form of differentiation is not an easy goal. It calls for deliberate actions to attain reduction targets over time by Annex One Parties and sustainable growth in the Non-Annex One Parties. To do this Africa would need predictable financial resources, technology transfer, education, training and public awareness, systematic observation and research. We look forward to renewed co-operation with other Parties in implementing our commitments under Article 4.1.*

*Mr. Chairman, we must focus our attention on the most appropriate, reasonable and acceptable time frame for action. There is an over-riding pre-requisite. The time frame can not be too far away into the future if we are to avoid at all costs the dangers that global climate change poses. The current scientific evidence indicates that Africa faces decline in water resources, agricultural production and economic performance. It is therefore for this reason that we wish to register the seriousness with which we view the effective implementation of the Convention and future agreements emanating from it.*

*Finally Mr. Chairman, we would request that the Secretariat take note of the views expressed in this statement on behalf of the African Group of Nations and Parties to the Convention. We look forward to meaningful targets and timeframes for consideration at the next session of the AGBM."*

### **Three - China Statement pre-COP3**

*"We fully understand the worldwide campaign to battle the climate change spearheaded by the European Union and Nordic Countries. The voice of small island states also brooks no ignorance. According to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Berlin Mandate, China bears no responsibility for reducing greenhouse gas emissions. When we ask the opinions of people from all circles, many people, in particular the scientists think that the emissions control standard should be formulated on a per capita basis.*

*According to the UN Charter, everybody is born equal, and has inalienable rights to enjoy modern technological civilization. Today the per capita consumption is just one tenth of that of the developed countries, one eighth of that of medium developed countries. It is estimated 30-40 years would be needed for China to catch up with the level of medium developed countries. No one is entitled to prohibit families from using refrigerators or those who live or work in such a high temperature of 40 degrees Celsius from enjoying air-conditioning. However the Chinese people and government do have realized their due responsibilities for the global climate change and committed to make efforts to lower down the increase rate of greenhouse gas emissions in the following way: -*

- 1. To control the growth of population and stop China's population from growing within thirty years. This is the decisive guarantee of protecting climate and the environment.*
- 2. To put the exploitation of hydroelectric power resources on the top priority, and to explore other renewable energy sources, develop clean coal technologies and reduce the emissions of unit energy consumption.*
- 3. To continue the campaign of afforestations, plant more trees, attend pasture lands, develop ecological agriculture, protect ecological environment and preserve and strengthen the ability of sinks for absorbing carbon dioxide from the atmosphere. The forest coverage is planned to be doubled to exceed thirty percent of the total territory of the country in the 30-40 years to come.*
- 4. To raise extensively the efficiency of energy utilisation, develop new and less energy-consuming industries and reduce the consumption for per unit of GDP.*

*In all these fields, the scientific and industrial communities of China shall try the best to make their own contributions, and at the same time, we need international co-operation. I hope that all the members and the experts of the working groups could put forward opinions and creative suggestions."*

#### **Four - Speech by the Rt. Hon. Michael Meacher MP**

*"Mr. Chairman I am pleased to be able to address this launch and take the opportunity to set out the Government's position. I am only sorry that I cannot stay to listen to all your speakers. Despite the long and grueling negotiations, Kyoto was a huge success - an historic turning point in the fight against climate change. It is, however, only the first step in the process, for several reasons:*

*first, much greater reductions in greenhouse gas (ghg) emissions will be necessary in the longer term, if we are to stabilise the increase in average global temperature; second, Kyoto left a lot of unfinished business such as establishing the rules and procedures for the flexible mechanisms within the Protocol, for example on emissions trading; and third the issue of future commitments for developing countries is crucial to the implementation of the Protocol, and one which must be addressed.*

*The latter of these two are major issues which will take up much of the time of the Convention over the next few years, starting at the next Conference of the Parties in Buenos Aires in November. As John Prescott said at Kyoto, we now have "a window of credibility" between Kyoto and ratification to allow progress to be made on these crucial issues. As EU President, I have been steering through the discussions regarding the EU position on these issues. They also feature in the current round of the G8 discussions, both at the Leeds Castle meeting of the Environment Ministers at this weekend's Heads of Government meeting.*

*I want now to talk in more detail about the first of these major issues - the flexible mechanisms. Make no mistake the EU favours the use of these flexible mechanisms, but we do have two big concerns:*

*first, domestic actions MUST be the main means of achieving the emissions reductions. There are two reasons for this - domestic action allows us to our own economies that are necessary to tackle climate change in the longer term - and it demonstrates to developing countries our clear commitment to taking action, hopefully helping to persuade them to eventually take on similar commitment. That is why the EU will propose in Bonn, a limit to the amount of emissions reductions that can be achieved through flexible mechanisms.*

*second, there is the issue of the so-called "hot-air". This is where some countries under the Protocol have targets significantly less demanding than their business-as-usual projections - I don't think I need to mention names here. If these countries sell this "surplus" (or "hot-air"), there is an overall environmental loss since the two countries involved (the buyer and the seller) do not take any actions to reduce actual emissions. There is a real concern here - that "hot-air" would set an unwelcome precedent for developing countries, many would invariably end up with less than challenging targets which would undermine both the overall aim of the Protocol, and the system of trading in emissions permits.*

*This brings me to the second of the major issues I identified earlier - that of developing countries. There is little doubt that if we are to limit climate change to acceptable levels, and the EU has suggested a maximum temperature rise of 2 degrees Celsius and a CO2 concentration of no more than 550 per million by volume (ppmv) or double the pre-industrial level - not only will the developed country emissions need to be reduced*

*substantially but developing country emissions will also need to be controlled perhaps allowing for some growth initially. It does mean that global emissions will eventually need to be reduced by 60 to 70 percent to reach stabilisation. This broad concept has been ably pressed by Aubrey Meyer over the past few years and I congratulate him on his dedication and his powers of persuasion.*

*In the shorter term we need to consider ways for engaging developing countries in the process. Two are being discussed. The first of these is allowing developing countries to take on voluntary reduction targets. In fact several have already taken action to limit their greenhouse gas (ghg) emissions. Although this wasn't part of the final agreement at Kyoto, it is possible that it may yet be revived. We would have no difficulty with such a proposal, apart from the concerns which I have already mentioned, over the issue of "hot-air".*

*The second way of engaging developing countries would be for a review, under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), of the commitments of ALL Parties to it. Such a review would need to consider what extra commitments would be necessary in the longer term. It is this method of engaging developing countries that the EU favours. The review would need to be wide-ranging. It would need to recognise the legitimate needs and aspirations for economic growth in the developing countries, the eradication of poverty as well as their common but differentiated responsibilities towards climate change. At the same time it would need to recognise the global objective of stabilising greenhouse gas (ghg) concentrations at a level which avoids dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system which is in the interests of all humanity.*

*The concept of "Contraction and Convergence" is one that would be considered in such a review of commitments. But there will probably be others such as the pre-Kyoto Brazilian proposal for an eventual extension of targets to developing countries. The long-term development of the Convention and the Protocol in terms of further targets and the involvement of developing countries is essential. But we believe that we must necessarily tread cautiously if we are to make progress. There are big political issues at stake. We need to build confidence with developing countries, demonstrate that the developed world clearly takes its Kyoto commitments seriously and is willing to pass on experience and expertise. If we move too hard and too fast, we risk complete failure.*

*At Kyoto, we the developed world made commitments to reduce our emissions. This is as it should be since we are the main cause of the problem to date. But everyone recognises that climate change will be a problem for us all and will affect developing countries more than developed countries. The problem can only be solved if we all take action. As I have said it is our view that the time has come for a serious review under the Convention of the commitments of all countries, that reflects the economic and development needs of developing countries. "Contraction and Convergence" should be clearly one of the ideas on the table in such a review. It has the attraction of equity and logic - but equally raises huge political and practical issues which need to be considered carefully.*

*The Global Commons Institute and GLOBE are to be congratulated for raising awareness of this concept as it can only help to stimulate the debate which must now take place about how we solve a global issue."*

## **Five - GLOBE International CLIMATE CHANGE ACTION AGENDA**

*"Global Response to Climate Change*

- *Recalling the action agenda adopted at the XIIth General Assembly of GLOBE International in 1997;*
- *Recognizing the threat of climate change and its possible consequences for all the world's countries, and in particular for the world's poorest countries;*
- *Recognizing that a first step was taken in Kyoto, Japan, at the third Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change in response to this threat;*
- *Aware that the Kyoto Protocol leaves some issues unresolved, and that specific rules will have to be agreed to in the course of the forthcoming negotiations*
- *Recognising that changes in climate have serious adverse effects on ecosystem, and thus on human health and well being, and recognising that preservation and restoration of ecosystems is one effective way of slowing down climate change;*
- *Aware that our countries together have a responsibility to lead in the climate negotiations, and determined to continue to drive the process forward;*
- *Recognising the need to identify gaps and overlaps among the Rio instruments in order to create synergy and identify ways in which linkages between climate change and conservation of biological diversity can be used to slow climate change;*
- *Recognising the work by IPCC outlining marine and terrestrial biotic responses to environmental change and feedback to climate;*
- *Aware of the evidence showing that considerable reductions in greenhouse gas emissions can be achieved in most industrialised countries at little or no net cost, especially by reducing the waste of energy;*
- *Committed to working in close cooperation with each other, as well as with colleagues from developing countries, to find a way forward which is agreeable to us all;*
- *Reaffirming our commitment to the objective of the UNFCCC as stated in Article 2, that the ultimate objective is "the stabilisation of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system" and that "such a level should be achieved within a time-frame sufficient to allow ecosystems to adapt naturally to climate change to ensure that food production is not threatened and to enable economic development to proceed in a sustainable manner.*

*We, Members of GLOBE International:*



1. *Believe that the Kyoto Protocol is a sound basis for further work in response to climate change, and call for early ratification of the Protocol in order to ensure achievement of the agreed reductions.*
2. *Are committed to ensuring that the Kyoto Protocol delivers real reductions in greenhouse gas emissions from industrialised countries by 2008-2012;*
3. *Will work to ensure that the COP agrees to unambiguous, clear and fair rules to regulate Joint Implementation, the Clean Development Mechanisms and Emissions Trading;*
4. *Will support ways of ensuring that the political will is developed to implement domestic action as required by the protocol.*
5. *Will support ways of ensuring that flexibility mechanisms are "supplementary to domestic action", as required by the Protocol; and call upon the European Union, the United States and other interested parties to agree upon the interpretation of this phrase at the earliest possible date.*
6. *Will work to ensure that the various flexibility mechanisms are designed to support the preservation and extension of biologically diverse forests.*
7. *Support the adoption of a mandate at Buenos Aires to redefine the way in which greenhouse emission cuts are currently shared between countries, following the principle of equity enshrined in the Contraction and Convergence analysis, and urge the summit of the Non-Aligned Movement countries meeting in Durban, RSA, to persist in demanding an equitable approach as a precondition for their participation in COP4 at Buenos Aires.*
8. *Work for the creation of a synergistic framework linking the Rio instruments which will eliminate redundancies and fill the gaps among them to create a system to effectively address climate change, and endorse the idea of a Convention Watch to enable parliamentarians to identify discrepancies between existing international conventions.*
9. *In the light of the above, we will undertake actions such as holding a debate in our parliament to review our countries' strategy for Buenos Aires regarding how our country will fulfill the commitments we have signed up to in Kyoto.*
10. *We call upon our parliamentary colleagues from all parties and from all countries to work with us in seeking to achieve the objectives of this Action Agenda."*

### **Six THE GLOBE Southern Africa Network**

*"Action Agenda Response to Climate Change*

- *Recalling that all 14 members states of the SADC are Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC);*

- *Reaffirming our commitment to the objective of the UNFCCC as stated in Article 2, that the ultimate objective is “the stabilisation of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system” and that “such a level should be achieved within a time-frame sufficient to allow ecosystems to adapt naturally to climate change to ensure that food production is not threatened and to enable economic development to proceed in a sustainable manner.”*
- *Recognizing the threat of climate change and its consequences for all the world's countries, and in particular for the most vulnerable countries such as in the SADC region;*
- *Acknowledging that the Kyoto Protocol adopted at the Third Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC in Japan in December 1997 was the first attempt to create legally-binding reduction commitments on the nations most responsible for this threat;*
- *Aware however, that the reductions prescribed by the Kyoto Protocol are woefully inadequate in relation to the scientific work of the IPCC which indicates the need for greenhouse gas (ghg) emissions reductions in the order of a minimum of 60% globally against 1990 levels merely to stabilise rising atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse house gases at some new higher value;*
- *Aware that initial communications from the Developed Country Parties indicate that reductions in greenhouse gas emissions in these countries and that resource flows and technology transfer from these to developing countries have been negligible;*
- *Also aware that the Kyoto Protocol leaves major issues unresolved, and that specific principles, rules and methodologies will have to be agreed to in the course of the forthcoming negotiations with regard to the adoption of the Clean Development Mechanism, Emissions Trading internationally and Joint Implementation regimes;*
- *Further aware of the leadership taken at AGBM7 in August 1997 by the delegations from the Africa Group of nations in tabling principles for global equity and sustainability and;*
- *Especially aware of the declaration of the 113 Heads of Government at the Aug/Sept 1998 Summit of the Non Aligned Movement on climate change which states inter alia that: “. . . Emission trading for implementation of such commitments can only commence after issues relating to the principles, modalities, etc of such trading, including the initial allocations of emissions entitlements on an equitable basis to all countries has been agreed upon by the Parties to the Framework Convention on Climate Change . . . .”*
- *And noting the clarification this provides with respect to the fact that UNFCCC acknowledges that all countries have common but differentiated responsibilities to respond to climate change;*
- *Further aware that the critical need for a breakthrough to be achieved in the climate negotiations, will only occur when the principles, rules and modalities establishing the*

*global equity framework enabling a fully integrated and effective international response to climate change, are realised;*

- *We the Members of Parliament and Members of the GLOBE Southern Africa Network;*
- 3. *Support the adoption of a mandate at Buenos Aires to redefine the way in which greenhouse emission cuts are shared between countries under the Kyoto Protocol, following instead the principle of global equity enshrined in the Contraction and Convergence analysis,*
- 4. *Specifically work to ensure that all future development of the UNFCCC and its related instruments will be consistent with these interdependent principles of global equity and sustainability;*
- 5. *And rebut any recourse to "flexibility mechanisms" that are not derived from the interdependent application of these principles of sustainability and global equity;*
- 6. *In the light of the above, we will undertake actions such as: -*
  - *holding debates in our parliament to review our countries' strategy for Buenos Aires regarding how our country will fulfill the commitments we have signed up to in Kyoto;*
  - *strengthen the capacity of the SADC Environmental Land Management System (ELMS) to integrate the Objective of the UNFCCC into national and regional natural resource management policies; urge Ministers in the region to develop a regional consensus position with regard to climate change for tabling at or before the Fourth Conference of the Parties (COP4);*
  - *press to have GLOBE Parliamentarians as members of our various countries' delegations to the Fourth and subsequent Conferences of the Parties (COP4) to the UNFCCC;*
  - *Call upon our parliamentary colleagues from all parties and from all countries to work with us and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), in striving to achieve the objectives of this Action Agenda."*

### **Seven - The European Parliament Resolution**

- *"having regard to its resolution of 2 March 1995 on a Strategy for Climatic Protection in the EU( ),*
- *having regard to its resolution of 14 March 1997 on the Communication from the Commission on a Common Platform :*
- *Guidelines for European Union Preparation for the United Nations General Assembly Special Session to be held in*

- *New York in June 1997 to review Agenda 21 and related outcomes of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992( ),*
- *having regard to the resolution adopted by the ACP-EU Joint Assembly on 30 October 1997 in Lomé (Togo) on ACP/EU cooperation on climate change and the third Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change,*
- *having regard to its resolution of 30 January 1997 on the Commission Green Paper "Towards policy options for internalizing the external costs of transport in the European Union"( )*
- *and its opinion of 17 July 1997 on the proposal for a Council Directive on the charging of heavy good vehicles for the use of certain infrastructures( ),*
- *having regard to the Communication from the Commission on Climate Change - The EU Approach for Kyoto (COM(97)0481) and to the Communication from the Commission on the Energy Dimension of Climate Change (COM(97)0196),*
- *having regard to the Protocol of the 36 AOSIS countries (Alliance of Small Island States) on a 20 percent reduction in CO2 emissions in developed countries by the year 2005,*
- *having regard to its resolution of 19 November 1997 on the Kyoto Conference on Climate Change( ),*
- *having regard to the Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention of Climate Change of 10 December 1997,*
- *having regard to the statement made by the Environment Commissioner to Parliament on 18 December 1997,*
- *having regard to its resolution of 19 February 1998 on environmental policy and climate change following the Kyoto Summit( ),*
- *having regard to the statements by the Council and the Environment Commissioner on 17 February 1998,*
- *having regard to the Commission Communication "Climate Change - Towards an EU Post-Kyoto Strategy" (COM(98) 0353),*
- *having regard to the Conclusions of the Environment Council at its meetings of 23 March and 16 June 1998,*
- *having regard to the declaration of the non-aligned movement Heads of State Summit held in South Africa from 29 August to 4 September 1998, on allocations of emissions entitlements on an equitable basis,*

- *having regard to the communication from the Commission, 'Implementing the Community Strategy to Reduce CO2 Emissions from Cars: An Environmental Agreement with the European Automobile Industry' (COM(98)0495),*
  - *having regard to the Solemn Declaration of Stuttgart of 19 June 1983 as regards the involvement of the European Parliament in the conclusion of significant international agreements,*
- A. *whereas the G8 Summit held in Birmingham (England) in May 1998 failed to exercise leadership on this issue,*
  - B. *whereas at its meeting in June 1998 the Subsidiary Body for Scientific and Technological Advice (SUBSTA) failed to make any progress on the issues due to be resolved at COP 4 in Buenos Aires,*
  - C. *whereas climate change was a prominent issue during the visits to China by President Clinton and UK Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott in his capacity as President-in-Office of the Council in June/July 1998,*
  - D. *having regard to the seriousness of the forest fires in 1998 in Indonesia, Brazil, the USA and elsewhere,*
  - E. *whereas the commitments entered into by Annex 1 countries in the Kyoto Protocol constitute the first tangible and visible evidence for non-Annex 1 countries that the developed countries are serious about undertaking their proper share of the "common but differentiated" responsibilities for containing and controlling climate change,*
  - F. *whereas global carbon dioxide concentrations increased by 30% to 385 ppmv in 1995 from the pre-industrial level of about 280 ppmv and are growing at a rate of 1.5 ppmv per year (0.4% per year),*
  - G. *whereas global methane concentrations were about 1720 ppbv, some 2.5 times the pre-industrial concentration of around 700 ppbv, and are currently growing by 8 ppbv per year (0.46% per year),*
  - H. *whereas in 1995 global nitrous oxide concentrations in the atmosphere were estimated to be about 312 ppbv, about 15% above the pre-industrial level, and are growing by 0.5 ppbv per year (0.16% per year),*
  - I. *whereas 1997 was the hottest year this century, having been 0.43°C warmer than the mean temperature for 1960-1990,*
  - J. *whereas, according to the European Environmental Agency in its recent study "Europe's Environment: The Second Assessment", the old EU promise to stabilise carbon dioxide emissions at 1990 levels by the year 2000 is unlikely to be kept,*
  - K. *whereas the absence of an agreement between the 15 EU governments to introduce an EU-wide energy/carbon tax along the lines proposed by the European Commission in 1995 makes it very difficult for the EU to fulfil its Kyoto commitment of an 8% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by around 2010,*

- L. *whereas, according to the European Environmental Agency in its recent study "Europe's Environment: The Second Assessment", ensuring that future temperature increases are no greater than 0.1°C per decade and that sea levels rise by no more than 2 cm per decade (provisional limits assumed for sustainability) >requires the industrialised countries (Annex 1 countries) to reduce their emissions of greenhouse gases by at least 30% (or even 55%) by 2010 compared with 1990 levels,*
- M. *whereas the Kyoto Protocol would be rendered a meaningless gesture were it not to be ratified; whereas, to enter into force, the Protocol requires ratification by no fewer than 55 Parties to the UNFCCC, including Parties included in Annex 1 which accounted in total for at least 55 per cent of the total carbon dioxide emissions for 1990 of the Parties included in Annex 1,*
- N. *whereas, while there are signs that the US Administration is working towards achieving ratification, as evidenced in recent speeches by VP Gore, and that public opinion may be shifting in the same direction, opinion in the US Congress remains overwhelmingly unenthusiastic about the Kyoto Protocol given that it fails to meet the criteria of the Byrd Resolution, requiring a global solution to a global problem,*
- O. *whereas, therefore, the principal task for negotiators in the run-up to COP 4 at Buenos Aires is to seek agreement on a set of common principles and a negotiating framework post-Buenos Aires on the basis of which the Kyoto Protocol can be ratified by all Annex 1 countries, and whereby all non-Annex 1 countries can progressively undertake to introduce emissions limits,*
1. *Regrets the limitations of the Commission's Strategy Paper and calls on the Commission and the Member States to take the lead in brokering an agreement on a set of common principles and a negotiating framework beyond Buenos Aires;*
  2. *Re-iterates and re-emphasises once again its view that a set of common principles will have to be based on, inter alia:*
    - *agreement to have a worldwide binding limit on global emissions consistent with a maximum atmospheric concentration of 550 ppmv CO<sub>2</sub> equivalent,*
    - *initial distribution of emissions rights according to the Kyoto targets,*
    - *progressive convergence towards an equitable distribution of emissions rights on a per capita basis by an agreed date in the next century,*
    - *across-the-board reductions in emissions rights thereafter in order to achieve the reduction recommended by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change,*
    - *an agreement to have a quantitative ceiling on the use of flexibility mechanisms that will ensure that the majority of emission reductions are met domestically in accordance with the spirit of articles 6, 12 and 17 of the Kyoto protocol; in this context trading must be subject to proper monitoring, reporting and enforcement;*
    - *an adequately financed mechanism for promoting technology transfer from Annex 1 to non-Annex 1 countries;*
  3. *Pending agreement to such a set of common principles, calls on the Commission and the Council to proceed with the adoption in Europe of all the proposals set out*

*in its "Elements for a Climate Change Strategy" of October 1997; invites the Commission and the Member States to bring forward as a matter of urgency the policies and measures that the European Union must undertake in order to meet its Kyoto commitments;*

4. *Believes that the Kyoto Protocol is a sound basis for further work in response to climate change, and calls for early ratification of the Protocol in order to ensure achievement of the agreed reductions;*
5. *Is committed to ensuring that the Kyoto Protocol secures real reductions in greenhouse gas emissions from industrialised countries by 2008-2012;*
6. *Will work to ensure that the COP agrees to unambiguous, clear and fair rules to regulate Joint Implementation, the Clean Development Mechanisms and Emissions Trading;*
7. *Emphasises in particular the urgency with which the Commission should bring forward a Green Paper on the application of economic and fiscal instruments targeted specifically at reversing climate change and the removal of counterproductive subsidies;*
8. *Calls on all parties involved in the decision-making process, and on the Council in particular, to expedite the adoption of a directive introducing a tax on energy and carbon dioxide emissions and a directive restructuring the Community framework for the taxation of energy products;*
9. *Calls on the European Union to support proposals for a ministerial meeting in Japan in September 1998 and a Friends of the Chair meeting in Canada in October 1998 to establish the political momentum which will be necessary to make Buenos Aires (COP 4) a success;*
10. *Calls on the United States to take the necessary steps to achieve early ratification of the Kyoto Protocol;*
11. *Makes the following observations concerning Commission communication OM(98)0495:*
  - (a) *notes that the Commission communication and the commitment entered into by the European Automobile Manufacturers' Association (ACEA) with regard to reducing carbon dioxide emissions from passenger cars (COM(98)0495) do not provide any satisfactory answer to a number of urgent questions which are vital for successful implementation:*
    - *there are no arrangements for the continuation of the commitment should one or more of the assumptions on which ACEA and the Commission have based it not hold true,*
    - *the 'estimated target range' of 165-170 g CO<sub>2</sub>/km for 2003 referred to in the ACEA commitment is too imprecise a criterion, and could be too weak as the sole indicator for the possible need for a revision,*

- *the Commission's communication does not describe the procedure for a possible revision in 2003; the reference to a future exchange of letters between the Commission and ACEA cannot be regarded as adequate,*
  - *the procedure involving a joint monitoring system to be operated by ACEA and the Commission, whose implementation is not to be expected in the near future, remains imprecise; here too, the reference to future arrangements to be agreed through an exchange of letters between the Commission and ACEA cannot be regarded as adequate,*
  - *no provision has been made for the eventuality that manufacturers who are members of ACEA may fail to comply with their commitments under the Agreement,*
  - *the proposed procedure for reducing carbon dioxide emissions from cars could become at all worthwhile from the point of view of environmental and economic policy only if the Commission were simultaneously to conclude largely identical agreements with manufacturers who import vehicles into the European Community,*
- (b) *stresses that the proposed commitment by ACEA cannot dispel the fundamental doubts as to the effectiveness of voluntary commitments which Parliament has expressed on numerous occasions,*
- (c) *shares the Commission's view that the proposed commitment by ACEA requires notification under Article 85 of the EC Treaty,*
- (d) *recalls that Parliament and the Council have jointly formulated an objective of 120 g/km (5 l/100 km for petrol engines and 4.5 l/100 km for diesel engines) as a mean value for carbon oxide emissions in 2005; this objective can be attained only if taken in conjunction with instruments to provide tax incentives and provisions concerning uniform description of the mean consumption of new vehicles,*
- (e) *can accept the procedure announced by the Commission in its communication only on condition that the above open questions are satisfactorily resolved in the negotiations with ACEA and the other associations;*

12. *Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the Council, the governments and parliaments of the Member States and the Secretariat of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, with the request that it be circulated to all non-EU contracting parties."*



## How does Contraction and Convergence work?

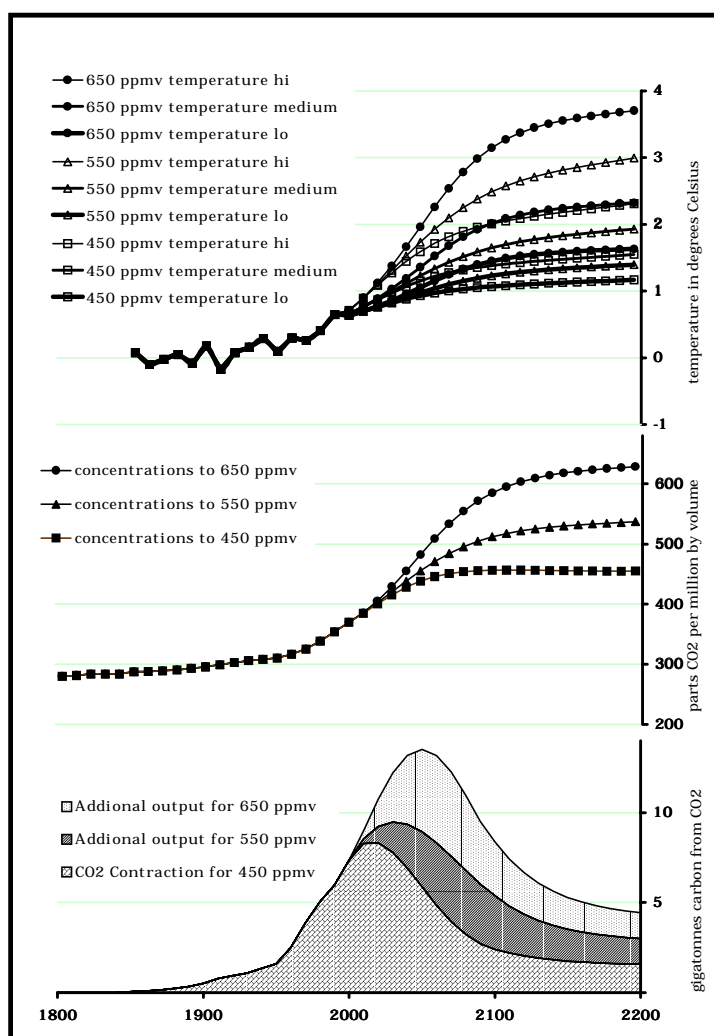
### CONTRACTION

If we are to achieve the objective of the UNFCCC to avoid dangerous climate changes, rising ghg concentrations in the atmosphere must be stabilised as quickly as possible. Damages are a function of rising global mean temperature. Rising global temperature is a function of rising atmospheric ghg concentration. Rising atmospheric ghg concentration is a function of accumulating ghg emissions.

All climate models demonstrate this relationship between accumulated ghg missions and rising concentrations. In other words global ghg emissions must be caused to 'contract' as quickly as possible in the order of 60 - 80% less than present output values simply to stabilise future ghg concentrations at some new higher value.

This means that *by definition* humanity is already working to a finite and progressively shrinking future global budget of ghg emissions, if future generations and humanity as we know it are to arrest otherwise unstoppable temperature rise and global climatic changes.

The attached graphic shows the past relationship between rising global ghg emissions, concentrations and temperature. It also models future 'contraction scenarios' to stabilise CO<sub>2</sub> concentrations only<sup>1</sup> at 450, 550 and 650 parts per million by volume (ppmv) [70, 100 and 130% above pre-industrial levels] with the 60 - 80% cut achieved over a one to two hundred year time frame. The purpose of the graphic is to point out that stabilisation of atmospheric ghg concentrations requires a contraction budget, *no matter which outcome ghg concentration value is chosen.*



<sup>1</sup> CO<sub>2</sub> is the major human source ghg. It is responsible for approximately 70% net anthropogenic aggravated global warming.

## CONVERGENCE

Convergence in the "*Contraction and Convergence*" model means a specific method of organising the future international shares of the agreed contraction budget in a manner that is both globally equitable and also globally tradable. The full title is "*Contraction, Convergence, Allocation and Trade*" (C-CAT). It is a calculus for the progressive international redistribution of the contraction budget prior to emissions-trading. It has a specific point of arrival that is an agreed date in the next century by and after which shares of the global contraction budget become and then stay equal on a per capita basis globally.

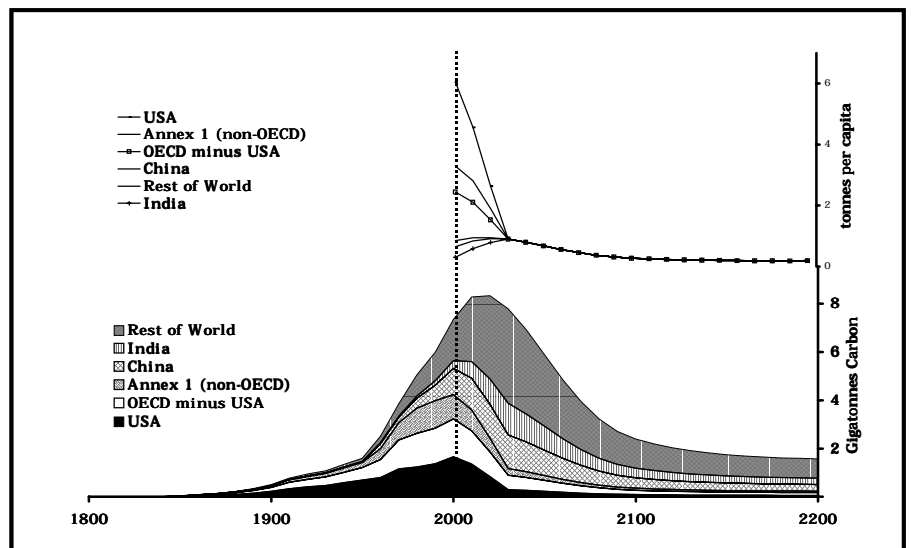
A simple example of "*Contraction and Convergence*" appears in the graphic below with the world divided into six regions.

- The Annex One group (the industrial country group) divided into three; -  
The USA; the OECD group minus the USA; countries of the former Soviet Union.
- The remainder (the industrialising countries) are divided into three; -  
China; India; the rest of the world.

The history of international ghg emissions shown [1860-1996] is derived from CDIAC<sup>2</sup> data. From 2000 until 2200 this particular "*Contraction*" example would lead to stable atmospheric concentration of CO<sub>2</sub> at 450 ppmv by 2100. In other words the global 60% cut in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions against 1990 values is achieved by 2100 with an accumulated total emissions (the integral) between 2000 and 2100 coming to 640 billion tonnes of carbon from the CO<sub>2</sub>.

The international shares of the "*Contraction*" budget in this example are calculated in a progressive "*Convergence*" pattern to equal per capita shares globally by 2030.

The international shares contract pro rate thereafter. The per capita convergence pattern is shown in the graphic on top. The resultant six-region allocation is shown in the graphic underneath. It is intended that the allocations be regarded as internationally equitable and tradable emissions entitlements, enabling the efficient realisation of the objective of the UNFCCC.



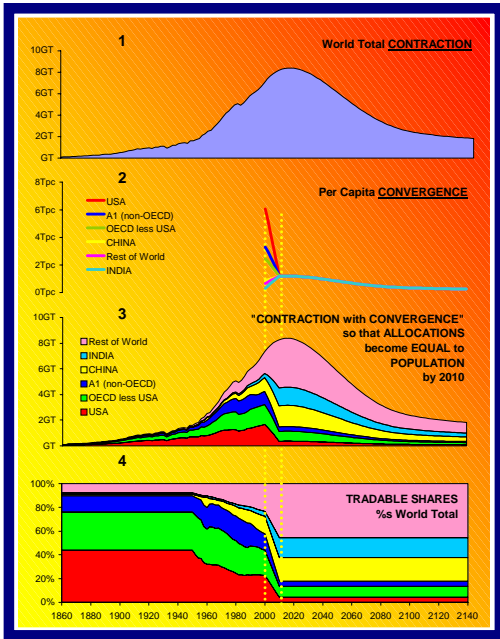
As can be seen the entitlements of the high per capita consumers such as the USA start to contract immediately whereas those of the low per capita consumers such as in India start to contract only after convergence.

<sup>2</sup> Carbon Dioxide Information Analysis Centre, Oakridge, Tennessee. US Department of Energy.

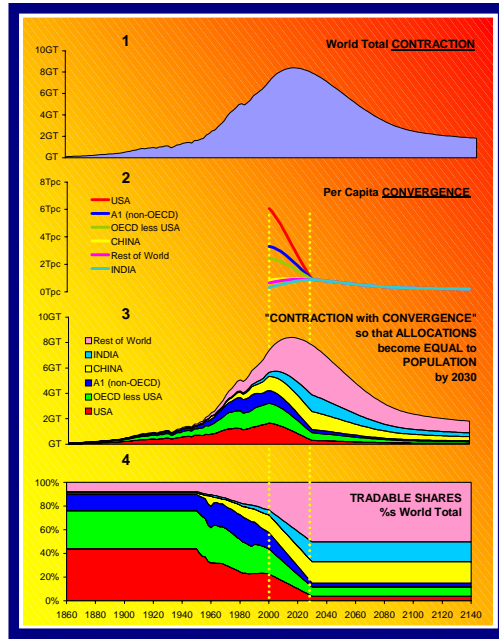
# "Contraction, Convergence, Allocation and Trade." (C-CAT)

GHG emissions **CONTRACTION** for 450 ppmv concentrations by 2100

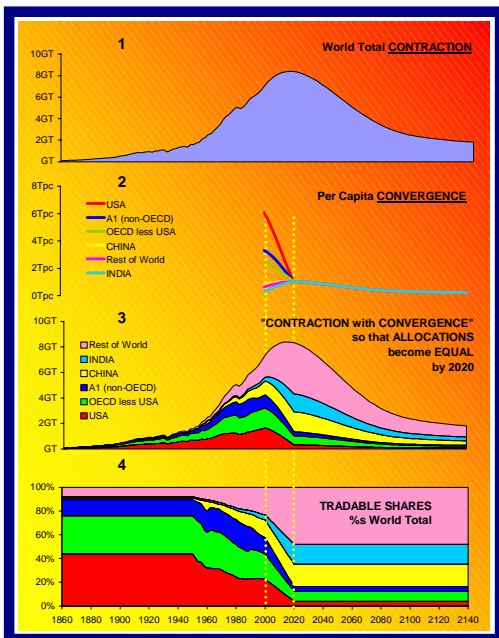
CONVERGENCE BY 2010



CONVERGENCE BY 2030



CONVERGENCE BY 2020



NO CONVERGENCE

