

**POLICY ANALYSIS TO INFORM NEGOTIATIONS UNDER THE FRAMEWORK
CONVENTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE**

A. THE CONTEXT

The time is December 2004. In the months following its presidential elections in spring 2004, Russia has ratified the Kyoto Protocol. The MOP is in the process of being organized, and the nations that have ratified the Protocol are working on putting it into force. It is generally agreed among nations, however, that the fragmentation of the international regime, with key Annex B parties remaining outside the agreement, needs to be overcome. The lack of coherence is adding to international tension and retarding development of an effective long-term response to the climate threat. The number of people in the US who share this view has grown, so that, following the November 2004 US elections, the newly elected or re-elected administration has declared its intent to reconsider the US position regarding participation in an international climate agreement. However, it is generally understood that the US Senate will not in any event ratify the Kyoto Protocol as it stands.

Under the Kyoto Protocol the negotiation of a second commitment period must begin in 2005. Because of the current fragmentation, however, these negotiations will have to deal with possible changes in the Protocol structure (perhaps through amendment) as well as any targets that may be agreed for the period following 2012. While the MOP is working out the details of Kyoto implementation, it has been decided that the new negotiations will be carried out in meetings of the COP as a whole. The US Administration has supported this plan, because it views the COP process, and the decisions regarding a second commitment period, as one key venue for discussing an acceptable architecture for subsequent stages in the FCCC regime. Discussions may also be initiated in other venues as well.

As a backdrop for these negotiations, a number of nations have supported a EU proposal that the FCCC Article 2 goal be defined as limiting the temperature change attributable to anthropogenic emissions (CO₂, CH₄, N₂O and aerosol precursors) to 2.0°C over the period 2000 to 2100. It is expected that any negotiating stance will be subject to a test of “adequacy” in terms of this target or some proposed revision, and that these judgments will play a major role in the negotiations.

You are divided into five teams with the task of preparing for these negotiations. The exercise is in two parts.

B1. COUNTRY TEAMS

You are citizens of one of the following nations or regional groups participating in negotiations under the Framework Convention on Climate Change: the US¹, the EU, Japan, Russia, and China. Your team constitutes an Inter-Agency (or Inter-Ministry) Task-Force which has been assigned the task of proposing a negotiating position to be

¹ If needed, the US team may make its own assumption about which party wins the presidential election, but it should be assumed that the overall makeup of the Senate does not change.

carried into an upcoming negotiations. The proposal will be presented to the official(s) identified below, and used in internal government deliberation in deciding an approach and, as appropriate, for public information.

Your Task in Part 1. Prepare a brief note (2 to 3 pages) summarizing the following aspects of your country or multi-national group, as they relate to climate negotiations.

- A. Identify the key government officials (their titles, not their individual names), who likely will be involved in the negotiations themselves, and in the political decisions leading up to them, and for whom an analysis of the global negotiations and the national (or EU-wide) position will be useful? (Take care in this choice. This is the client for whom you are preparing in Part 2).
- B. Summarize the key internal interests that have to be considered in the formulation of a national (or EU-wide) position in the negotiations, and the main tensions that likely will arise.
- C. Identify the main areas of policy formulation, other than climate change, that are likely to be relevant to the internal decisions, and the external negotiating position of your country or group.

Provide a rough estimate of the level of emissions, below (or above) the baseline forecast, that your country/region is likely to realize in the 2008-2012 period.

You are expected to base your answer to Part 1 mainly on the knowledge that already exists within your team about your country or multi-national group. This note is due in class on Wednesday, April 21.

Your Task in Part 2. You are to propose a negotiating position for your country/group, for the upcoming negotiations described in Part 1. The proposal should recommend ways that subsequent national commitments might be defined; the appropriate duration of any commitments; and the levels of emissions reduction that your negotiators should be willing to accept in the period after 2012, and that should be sought from other parties. Issues of particular importance include the following:

- What target (or path) should your country/group accept for the period following 2012 (which can be represented by the year 2015), and what should be the minimum agreement by others parties to justify the effort you recommend? This recommendation should take account of *some* Article 2 target, and the fact that any emissions reduction commitment will be reconsidered later, say in 2025.
- What form should the post-2012 agreement take, as regards the way national commitments are defined?

It is reasonable to assume, for simplicity of analysis, that the rest of Non-Annex B will follow the lead of China, and that the OOE will follow the EU's lead. Russia can be represented by the FSU. It also can be assumed that EET will follow the lead of the EU. (The changing regional mix because of possible Eastern European accession to the EU can be ignored.)

Factors that may figure in your analysis and recommendations include the following:

- Uncertainties in the economics and science, and in the valuation of climate change impacts,
- Domestic interests and political pressures within your own nation or region, and
- Pressures for equitable sharing of burdens among nations.

B2. FCCC SECRETARIAT TEAM

Your team is made up of staff members of the FCCC Secretariat. You have been assigned the task of preparing a Chairman's Draft of a possible agreement in a set of forthcoming negotiations.

Your Task in Part 1. Prepare a brief note (2 to 3 pages) summarizing the following aspects of the coming negotiations, as preliminary step to preparing the Chairman's draft.

- D. Identify the half-dozen or so key nations, regional groups, or coherent interest groups whose agreement will be essential to success in negotiating a new agreement, and tell briefly why they are important.
- E. Summarize those aspects of the forthcoming negotiations that are likely to prove the most troublesome barriers to a new agreement.
- F. Identify the main overlapping issues that are likely to be relevant to national positions in these negotiations.

You are expected to base your answer to Part 1 mainly on the knowledge that already exists within your team about country and group stakes in the climate issue. This note is due in class on Wednesday, April 21.

Your Task in Part 2. The task of the Chairman's Draft is to facilitate agreement by starting the negotiations at a point as close as possible to the likely final outcome. The proposal should recommend ways that subsequent national commitments might be defined; the appropriate duration of any commitments; and the levels of emissions reduction that your negotiators should be willing to accept in the period after 2012, and that should be sought from other parties. Factors that may figure in your analysis include the following:

- Tradeoffs between the costs of emissions reduction and the potential impacts of climate change,
- Uncertainties in the economics and science, and in the valuation of climate change impacts,
- Domestic interests and political pressures within the various nations or regions,
- The need for equitable sharing of burdens among nations.
- Non-climate interests and political pressures that will be brought to bear in the negotiations.

C. YOUR FINAL REPORTS

Each Task-Force is to produce a (1 page) memo to the appropriate government (or FCCC) official(s) clearly outlining the national/regional negotiating position (or the

FCCC recommendation) and the justification for it, along with a report (approximately 10 pages) presenting the analysis that underlies the recommendation. A meeting of appropriate government officials has been scheduled for May 10, at which time you will have 15 minutes to present your recommendations. You will submit your report at this time. Discussion will continue on May 12.

Remember, your recommendations must be understandable to your non-expert audience, and should clearly address the concerns of the client you identified in Part 1.

D. RESOURCES AT YOUR DISPOSAL

The Toy MIT Integrated Global System Model can be used to assess possible costs and climate change impacts from various levels of commitment. The course readings and lecture notes/handouts provide a source of information. Also, you may consider information about the international and domestic circumstance of your nation or nation group, or any other material you find relevant.