



The Status of the UN Process on Climate Change - Looking Back To Move Forward

Presentation at the conference

Building upon Kyoto.

The Long-term Prospects of International Climate Change Policy

organized by

Friends of the Earth Japan and Kiko Network

Tokyo, 20 / 21 February 2004

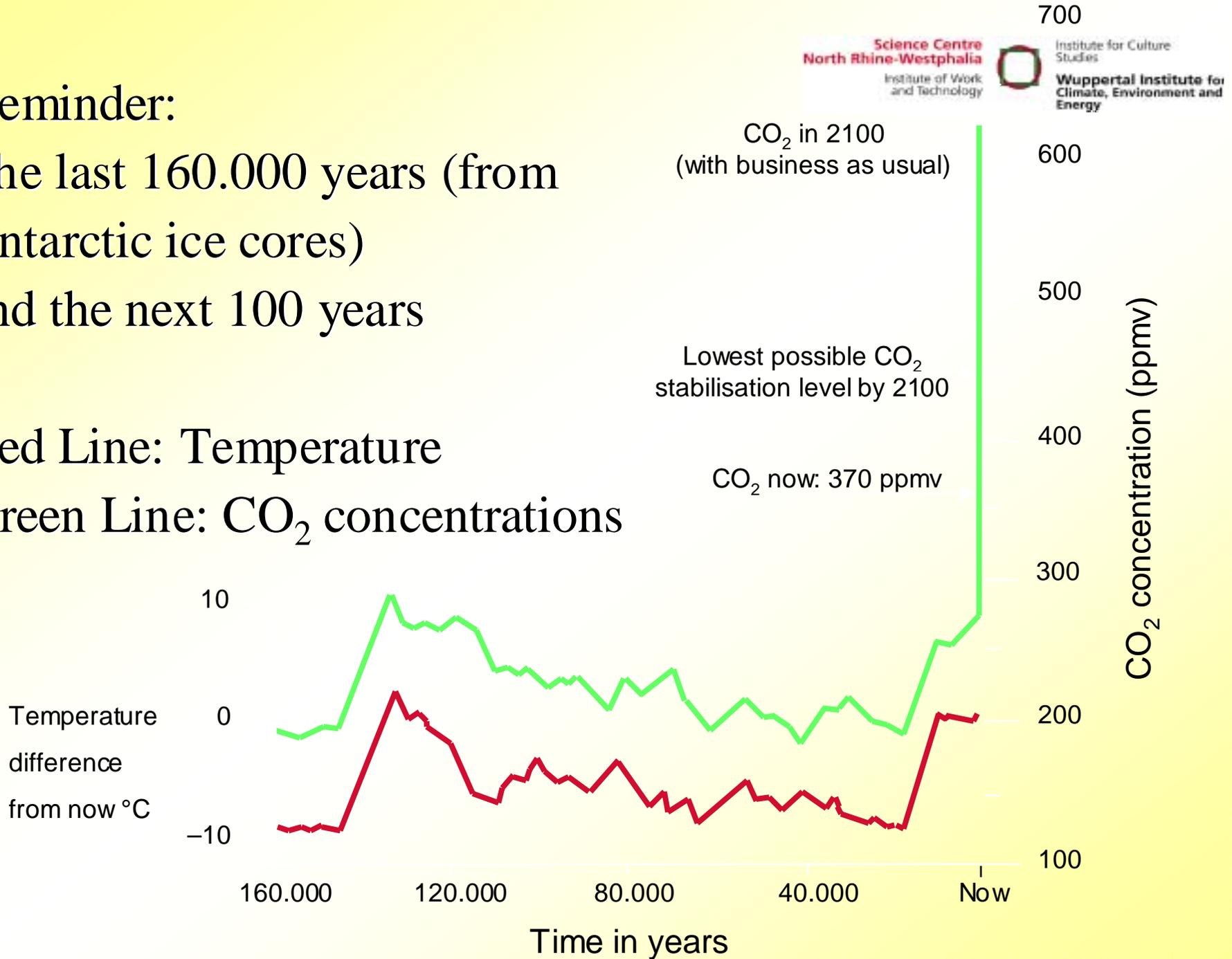
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Reminder:

The last 160.000 years (from Antarctic ice cores) and the next 100 years

Red Line: Temperature
Green Line: CO₂ concentrations



Source: IPCC (2001), Stott et al, Science

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Pieces of the Climate Puzzle: in the News Last Month

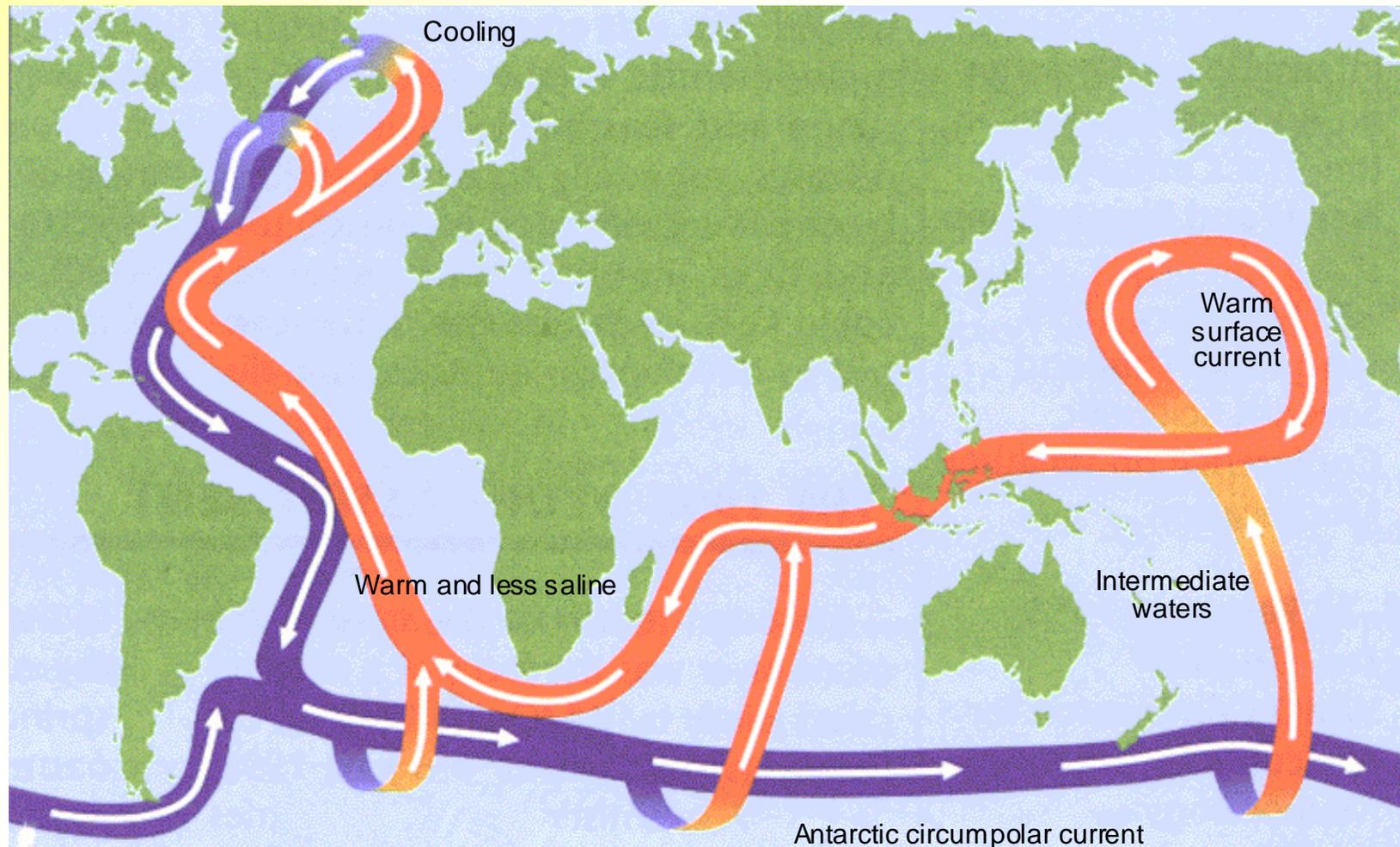
- 7 January 2004: Climate Change could lead to the extinction of a million species until 2050 (15-37% of the species under observation) (University of Leeds, Nature)
- 9. January 2004: David King, Chief Scientific Adviser to Tony Blair: “Climate Change is bigger threat than terrorism” (Nature)
- 12 January 2004: Summers like in 2003 with approx. 20.000 deaths in Europe could happen every two years instead of every 450 years by the end of the century (University of Zurich)
- 16 January 2004: the year 2003 was again the second warmest year ever recorded, the five warmest occurred all since 1997, the ten warmest since 1990



Military Study: Abrupt Climate Changes Could Lead to a Geopolitical Turmoil

- Midrange scenario for the US Defense Department (year 2020+):
- Average temperature down five degrees Fahrenheit in some regions of US and Asia and up to six degrees in parts of Europe

Global Circulation of the Oceans (simplified)





Military Study: Abrupt Climate Changes Could Lead to a Geopolitical Turmoil

- Midrange scenario for the US Defense Department (year 2020+):
- Average temperature down five degrees Fahrenheit in some regions of US and Asia and up to six degrees in parts of Europe
- Average annual rainfall drops 30% in Northern Europe, climate more like Siberia's, massive draughts in the US
- Food shortages around the World, Europe and US shut borders
- China vulnerable, hit by unpredictable monsoon rains, which cause devastating floods
- Nuclear-armed Pakistan, India, and China struggling at their borders over refugees, access to shared rivers, and arable land



...and what does the study say about Japan?

- The good news: Japan is able to draw on its social cohesion to cope - its government is able to induce population-wide behaviour changes to conserve resources
- The bad news: North Korea, Iran and Egypt develop nuclear-weapons capabilities, as do South Korea, Japan, and Germany...
- Japan may want to get hold of nearby Russian oil and gas reserves to power desalination plants and energy-intensive farming



If climate change is such
a big threat, what have
we got to fight it?



**UNITED
NATIONS**



**Framework Convention
on Climate Change**

Distr.
LIMITED

FCCC/CP/1997/L.7/Add.1
10 December 1997

Subject to technical revision

Original: ENGLISH

CONFERENCE OF THE PARTIES
Third session
Kyoto, 1-10 December 1997
Agenda item 5

**KYOTO PROTOCOL TO THE
UNITED NATIONS FRAMEWORK CONVENTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE**

The Parties to this Protocol,

*Being Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change,
hereinafter referred to as “the Convention”,*

In pursuit of the ultimate objective of the Convention as stated in its Article 2,

Recalling the provisions of the Convention,

Being guided by Article 3 of the Convention,

*Pursuant to the Berlin Mandate adopted by decision 1/CP.1 of the
Conference of the Parties to the Convention at its first session,*

Have agreed as follows:

Article 1

Hermann E. Ott

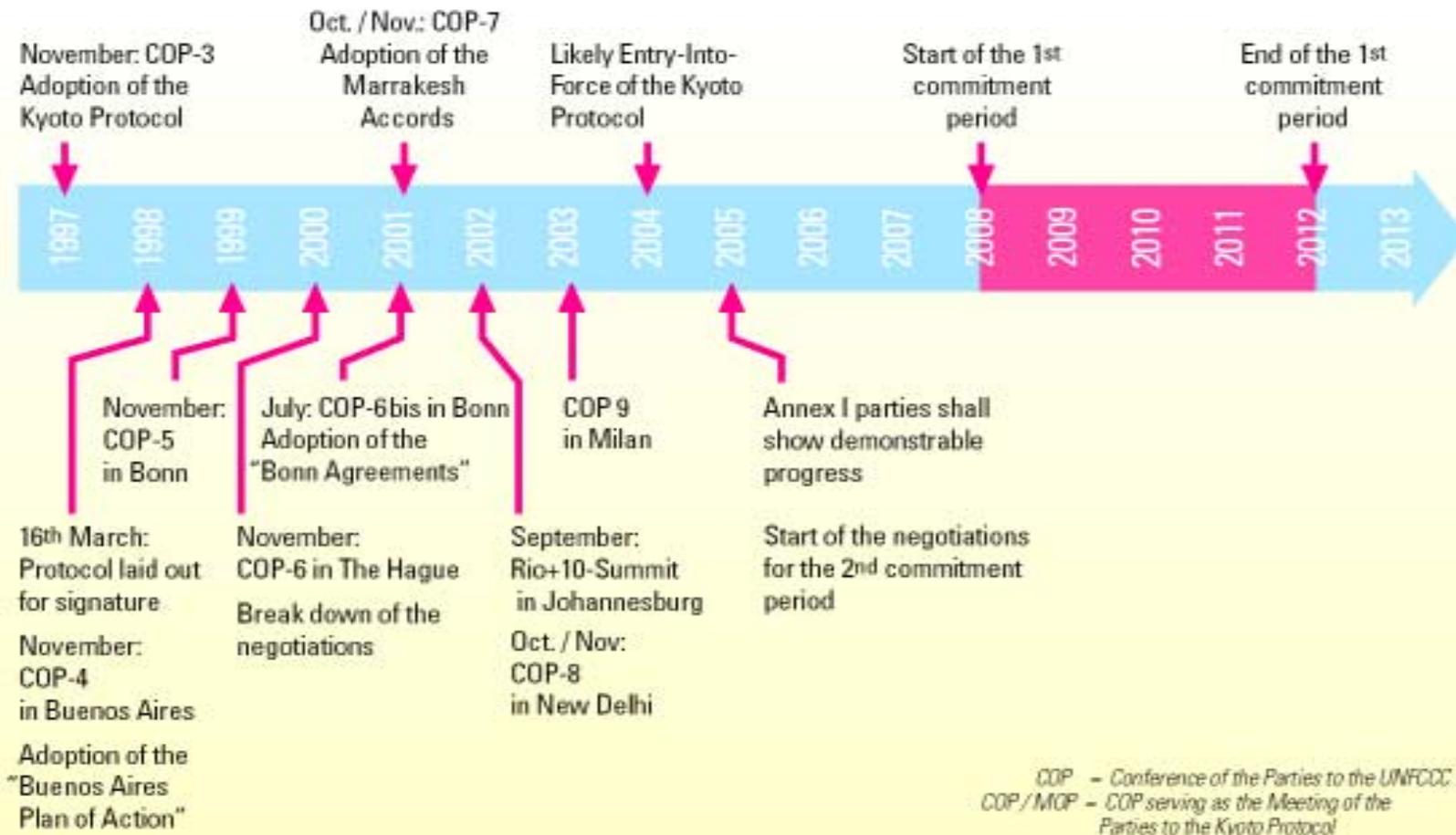


The Climate Regime:

- step-by-step approach:
 - 1992: Earth Summit in Rio adopts umbrella convention: United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)
 - 1997: COP 3 adopts Protocol with quantified targets: Kyoto Protocol to the UNFCCC,
 - 2001: COP 7 adopts Marrakesh Accords
 - 2003: COP 9 in Milan - Kyoto Protocol complete
- almost universal regime
 - UNFCCC: 187 ratifications
 - Kyoto Protocol: 120 ratifications



International Climate Policy: The Kyoto Process





...more on the Kyoto Protocol:

- differentiated obligations for industrialized countries (5.17 % globally)
- modified by Bonn Agreement / Marrakesh Accords:
 - reduced to 2.2 % by additional LULUCF activities (Article 3.4)
- negotiations on further commitment periods scheduled to start in 2005



...and even more on the Kyoto Protocol:

- “Kyoto Mechanisms”: Emissions Trading, Joint Implementation, Clean Development Mechanism
 - economic instruments that will lower the cost of climate protection
- reporting and monitoring: at least we know how much countries emit, soon also developing countries
- basis for compliance regime in Kyoto Protocol, elaborated in the Marrakesh Accords
 - strongest enforcement procedure in environmental law



All this is not enough, but
nevertheless quite
impressive!



...and the political situation???



Condition for the entry into force of the Kyoto Protocol: more than 55% of industrialized country emissions in 1990

Countries (or groups of...)	Share of CO ₂ -emissions of Annex I-countries in 1990 (%)
EU (ratified)	24.2
CEITs (without Russia) (rat.)	7.4
Japan (ratified)	8.5
Canada (ratified)	3.3
others	1.8
<u>total today:</u>	<u>44.2</u>
Australia	2.1
Russia	17.4
USA	36.1
Russia + EU + Japan + CEITs + Canada and others	61.6



Russian Ratification: if and when?

- Problem: US will not ratify Kyoto and the expected \$ 20 billion from selling “hot air” are not realistic anymore
 - Japan could co-operate with Russia
- But: there is a great majority for Kyoto ratification in the Duma (Russian parliament) and industry is in favour
- Remember: climate change is much bigger than just the environment - it is about economics and power
 - progress needs involvement of highest levels (think of Kyoto 1997, rescue after failure in The Hague 2000)
 - EU will link Kyoto with WTO accession and other highly political issues



What could be done until entry into force?

1. Talk to Russians at all levels and at all occasions
2. Act as if the Kyoto Protocol had entered into force
3. Continue implementation
 - EU emissions trading scheme (ETS) will go ahead independent from Kyoto Protocol
 - Japan might seek linkage to ETS
4. The 120 “Kyoto Parties” could meet and consult among themselves (Friends of Kyoto Meeting)
 - potentially big effect on President Putin - he does not like to be left out



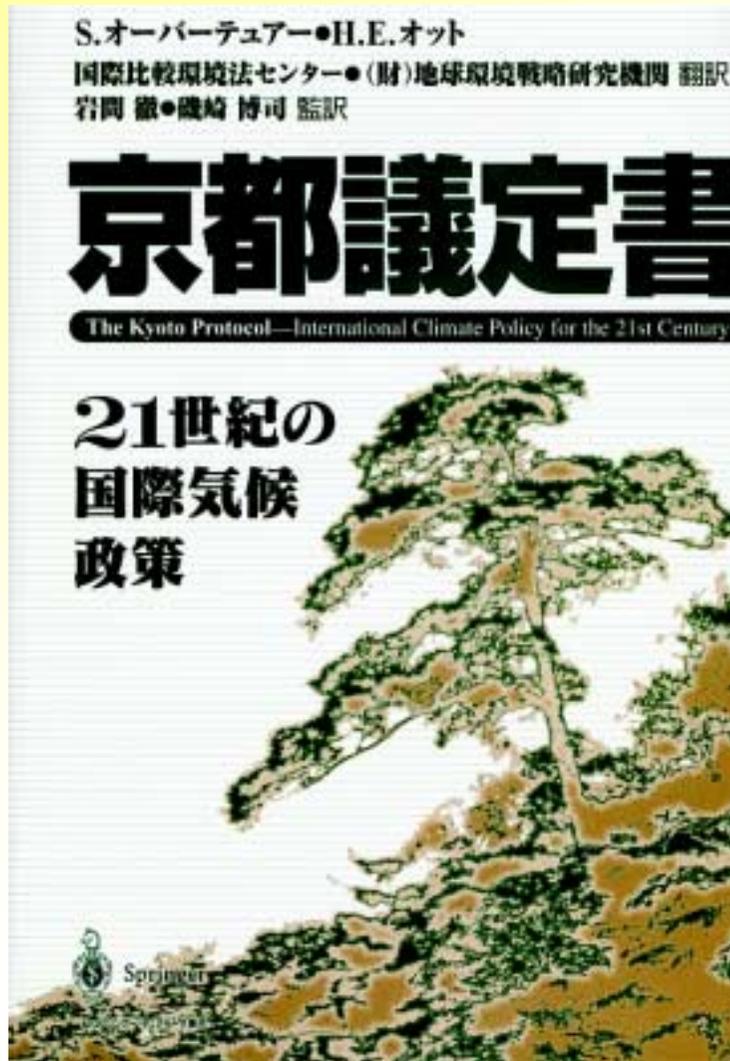
...and what about the US?

- the US will not participate in first commitment period, even if Bush loses the elections in November 2004
- however, severe climate impacts will change views of parliament and government (and the military!)
- ROW (“Rest of the World”) cannot wait until this happens and should move ahead
 - alliance of EU/Japan/Canada is powerful enough
- leave the door open for US to join international effort
- engage US government, sub-federal entities and business at many levels



Lessons Learned?

- Climate politics is about the survival of civilization
- Climate politics is always difficult and always in a crisis
- Climate politics have always moved on
- Climate politics will succeed - because nature does not wait
- Climate politics need involvement of highest political level
- Climate politics need strong pusher: EU / Japan
- Climate politics must build on a multitude of motivations - ethical, economical, geopolitical and military.



Thank you!

more information:

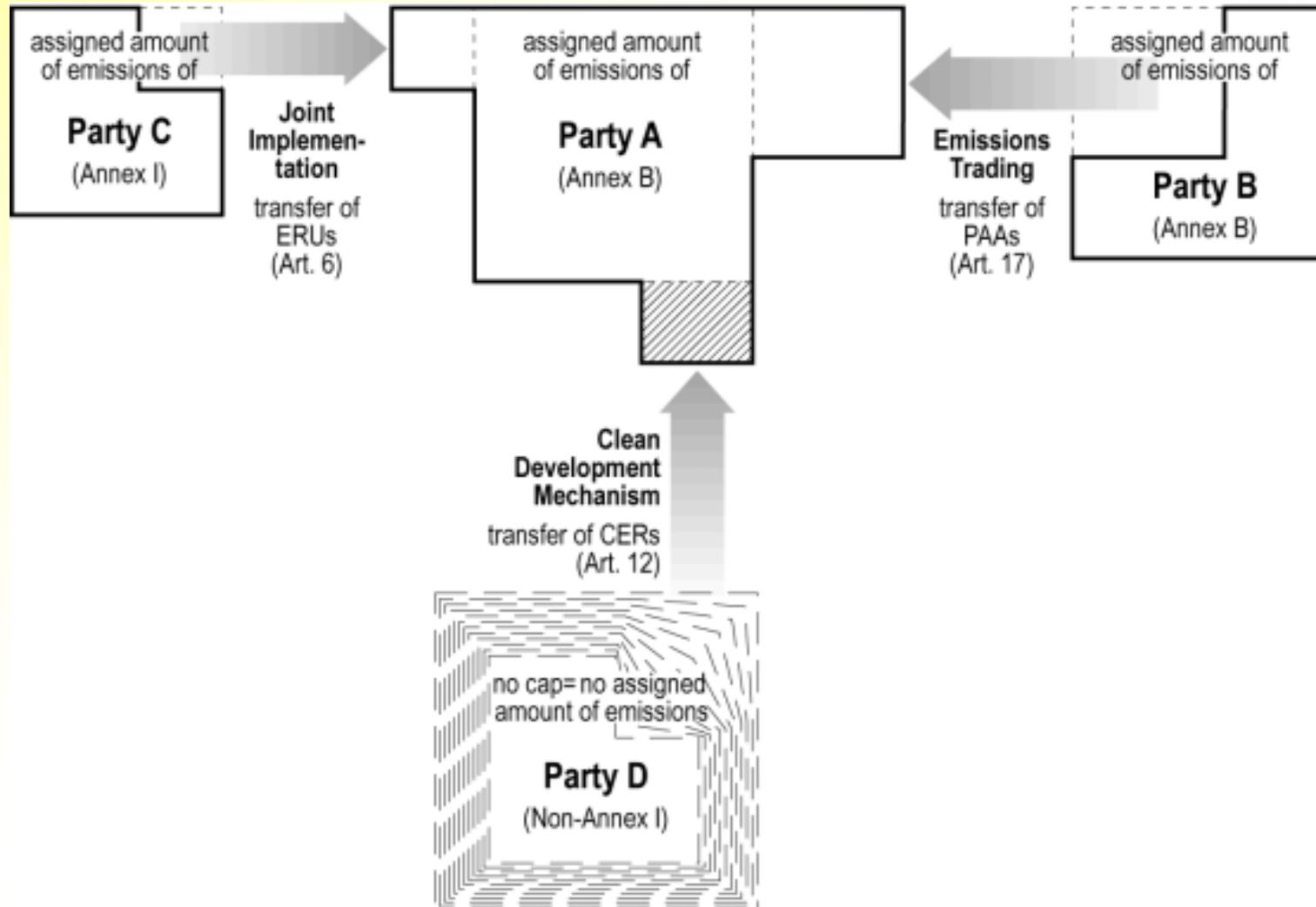
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or:

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<http://www.kyotoprotocol.de>

The Kyoto Mechanisms



Consequences of Sea-level Rise for Bangladesh



Quelle: IPCC (2001)



...and Developing Countries?

- very important for medium and long term emissions
- indispensable for alliance building EU / Japan
 - saved Kyoto Protocol 1995 and 2001
- wait for leadership by industrialised countries
- need economic development
- expect help to adapt to climate change - financially and technologically
- would have to accept differentiated commitments