# The negotiation process, negotiation strategies and coalitions



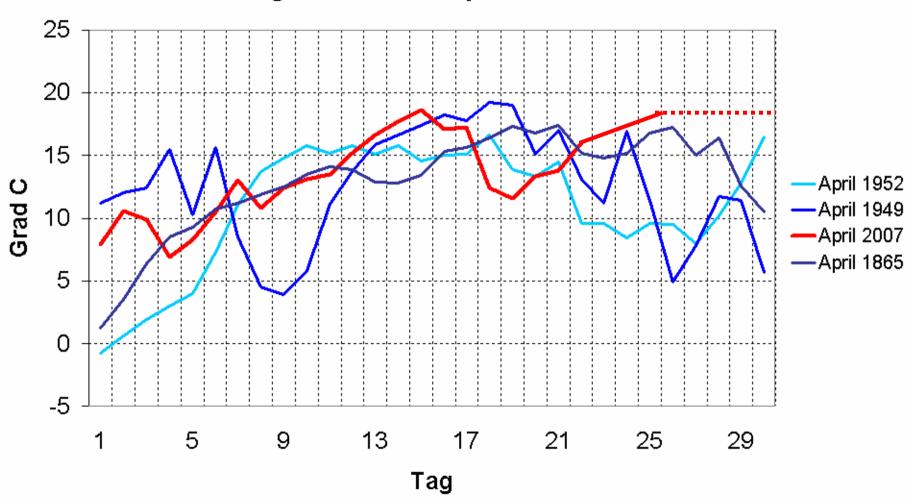
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#### Structure of lecture

- The negotiation process
  - The UNFCCC
  - The Kyoto Protocol
  - The Marrakech Accords
- Negotiation coalitions
  - The Umbrella Group
  - G 77
  - Environmental Integrity Group
  - Group dynamics
  - The role of NGOs

#### Latest meteorological extreme...

#### **Tagesmittel-Temperatur Basel**

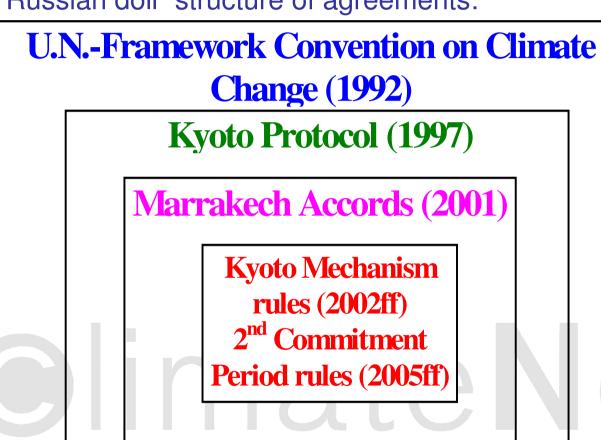


# Mitigation as public good

- Greenhouse gases are global pollutants
- All sectors of the economy emit greenhouse gases
- Free riding on efforts of others is easy
- Benefits of mitigation only accrue in the future
- Discounting over long periods is difficult
- Intergenerational equity issue

#### Steps of international climate policy

"Russian doll" structure of agreements:



# Key steps in negotiation

- 1988: setup of IPCC by WMO and UNEP
  - First Assessment Report published in 1990
- 1991: start of negotiations of UNFCCC
  - Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee
- 1992: agreement on UNFCCC at UNCED
  - Part of convention bundle
  - Framework without binding targets
  - Common but differentiated responsibilities
  - Reporting

# Key steps in negotiation II

- 1994: entry into force of UNFCCC
- 1995: COP 1 at Berlin
  - Berlin Mandate
  - Ad-hoc Working Group
  - IPCC Second Assessment Report
- 1997: COP 3 at Kyoto
  - Agreement on Kyoto Protocol
- 1998: COP 4 at Buenos Aires
  - Buenos Aires workplan to be finalized in 2000

# Key steps in negotiation III

- 2000: COP 6 at The Hague
  - Failure due to clash between US and EU
- March 2001: Bush opposes Kyoto Protocol
- June 2001: Bonn agreement to save the Kyoto Protocol at COP 6 bis
  - EU compromises on many issues
  - IPCC Third Assessment Report
- December 2001: Marrakech Accords with 255 pages of detailed rules at COP 7

# Key steps in negotiation IV

- 2002: COP 8 in Delhi
  - Clash between developing countries and industrialized countries on future commitments
- 2003: COP 9 in Milan
  - Decisions on sinks in the CDM
- November 2004: Russia ratifies, thus Kyoto Protocol can enter into force
- February 2005: Kyoto Protocol enters into force

# Key steps in negotiation V

- May 2005: Seminar of government experts opens post-2012 negotiations
- December 2005: COP/MOP 1 at Montreal
  - Formal agreement on Marrakech Accords
  - Key guardrails for post-2012 negotiations
- November 2006: COP/MOP 2 at Nairobi
- Feb.-May 2007: IPCC 4<sup>th</sup> Assessment Report
- December 2007: COP/MOP 3 at Bali
- January 2008: start of First Commitment Period of Kyoto Protocol

## Symbolic policy?

- Have we really seen an emission reduction from business-as-usual?
- UNFCCC: no!
- Kyoto Protocol: yes, at least partially
  - US, Japan, Northern EU
- But the "hot air" in the system may still lead to an overall b.a.u
- Demonstrable progress check was unconvincing

#### **Obfuscation**

- Moving targets far into the future
  - UNFCCC 1992-2000
  - Kyoto 1997-2012
  - Post-2012 2012-2020
- Exceptions
  - Base year choice for countries in transition
  - Australian clause for land use change
  - Iceland exception
  - Belarus Green Investment Scheme

### Strength of institutions

#### Annual COPs

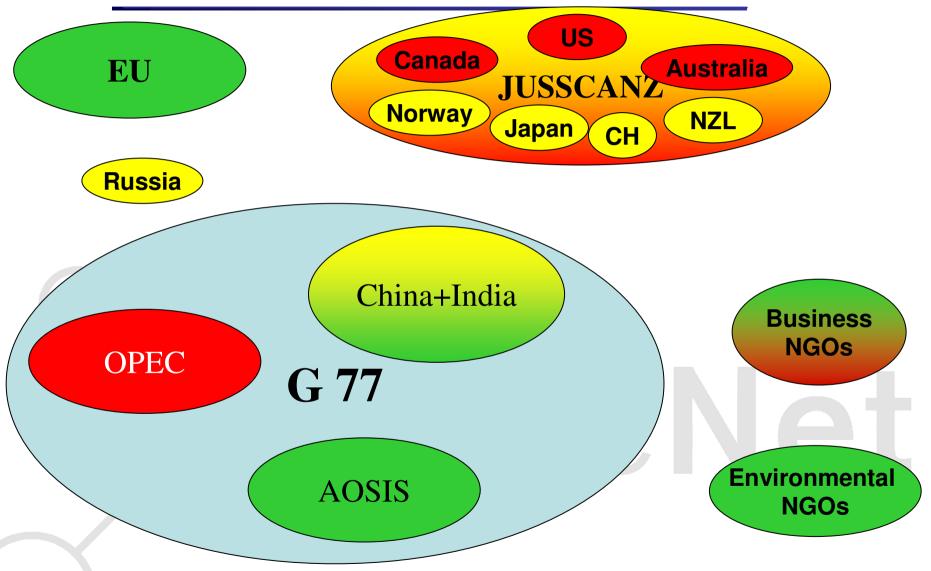
- Make progress likely as nobody wants to see a failure
- Epistemic community

#### UNFCCC Secretariat

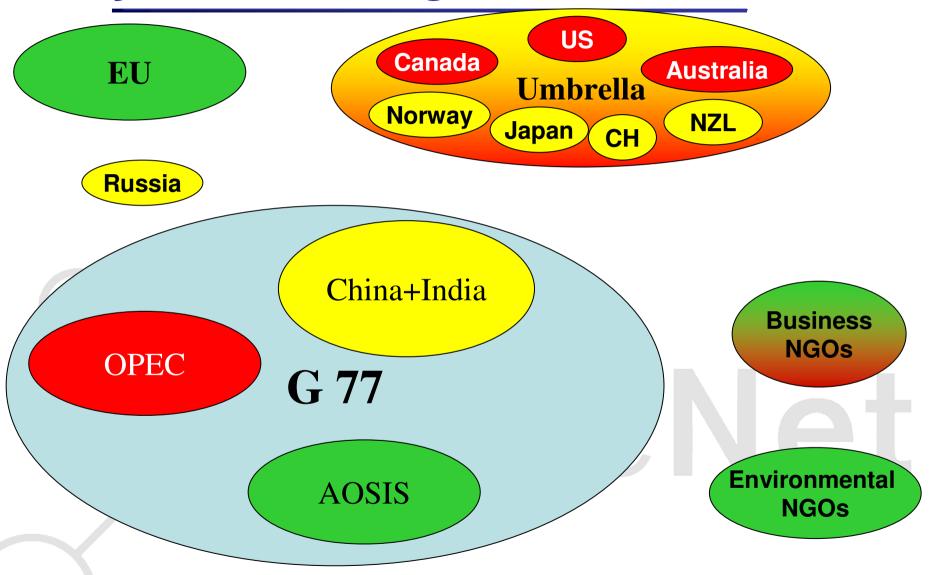
- 100+ people
- Technical expertise grows
- Depends on goodwill of Annex B countries

#### CDM EB

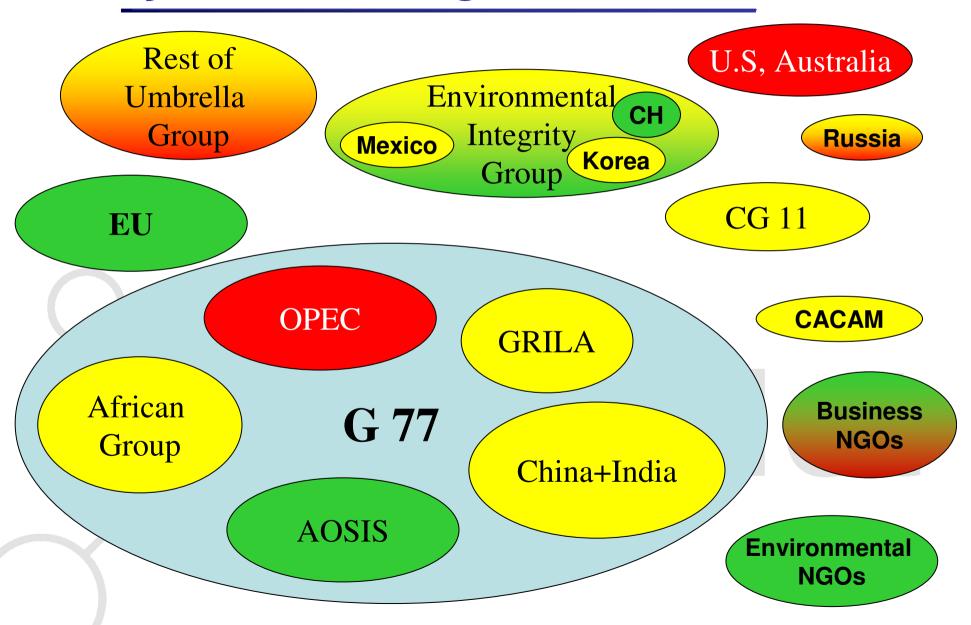
## Players in the negotiations pre-1997



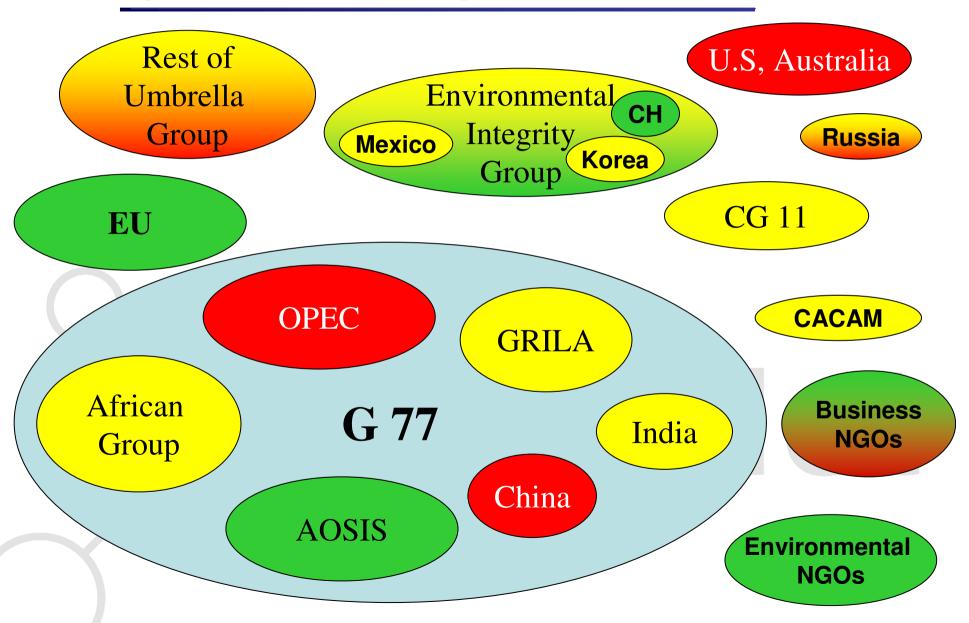
## Players in the negotiations 1997-2001



## Players in the negotiations 2001-2006



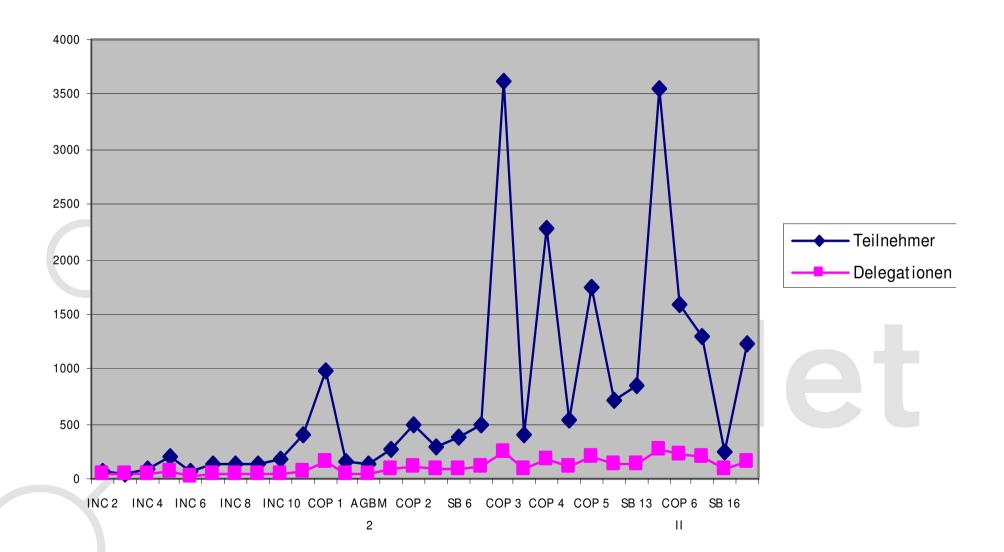
## Players in the negotiations 2007ff?



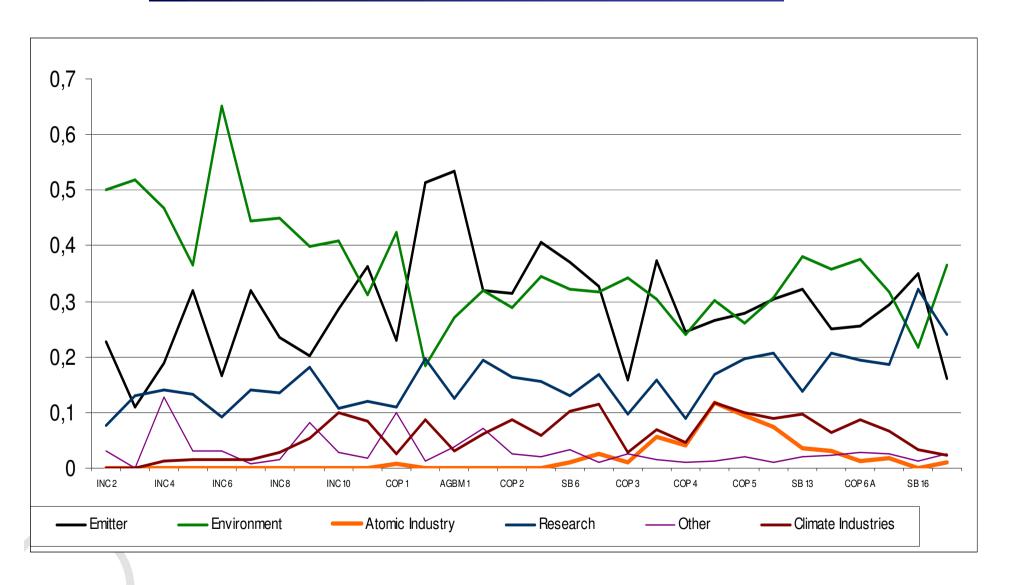
## **NGOs** in negotiations

- NGOs can get accreditation as observers
- NGOs are responsible for the majority of participants at COPs
- Many different types of NGOs
  - Environmental NGOs
  - Business NGOs
  - Research NGOs
  - Municipalities and indigenous people

# **NGO** participation



# **Types of NGOs**



#### **Environmental NGO structures**

