

The European International Model United Nations 2018



Group of Twenty
Topic B: Climate Change



Kevin Chen and Dominique Virgil Tuapetel

Welcoming Letter

Dear delegates,

Welcome to The European International MUN 2018!

For 31 years, TEIMUN has been a great platform for everyone to develop skills and enhance knowledge. For six days, we will not only be involved in a series of thought-provoking debates, but also series of socials and excursions. The spirit of multiculturalism will make us understand the world better and the stories that each of us has to build our world. You will experience the balance between continuous learning process and having fun, especially in this council, the G-20.

Within this council, we will be discussing two topics: “Too Big to Fail” and Climate Change. We are hoping that throughout the conference, you will have a more comprehensive understanding about the world and excitement for international affairs. We will work tirelessly to ensure the substantive excellence in this council, as well as fun experience to enjoy multiculturalism and kinship with one another.

If you need any assistance from us in answering your queries, please do not hesitate to contact us, Kevin and Dominique. We look forward to getting to know you in person!

Warm regards,

Kevin Chen and Dominique Virgil Tuapetel

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Introduction

“Climate change is destroying our path to sustainability. Ours is a world of looming challenges and increasingly limited resources.” – Ban Ki-Moon, The 8th Secretary-General of the United Nations.

“No challenge poses a greater threat to future generations than climate change.” – Barack Obama, Former President of the United States

Climate change has been on the top on the priority list of governments. As shown in the quotes above, it doesn't only threaten the life of all human beings in the present generation, but also threaten the life of future generations. Climate change has drained our mother earth and threaten every aspect in our life, hampering the progress of development among nations.

Countries have put so much concerns towards resolving the problem of climate change and adapting with its adverse effects. For years, through many hours of conferences and hundreds of papers, countries have been struggling to create a standard and universal obligation for everyone to pay attention to what's happening in our world. However, although every country has their own commitment, the process to achieve that target is not an easy one. Countries have different conditions in regards to their ability and readiness in coping up with climate change, obstructing the process of achieving our global target.

The need for sustainable and renewable energy in our development process becomes another challenge that needs to be solved, since not every country has the ability to use sustainable and renewable energy for their development process. Financial limitation, lack of experts and technology in transitioning to the usage of renewable energy have also been an issue in the process of achieving our global target in climate change. The need for an accelerated process in regards to climate change adaptation and mitigation efforts are now urgent, as we can't wait for any longer to see our mother earth broken.

Background of the G20

For a brief background of the G20, please refer to the Topic A Background Paper.¹

¹ D. Virgil Tuapel & K. Chen, *'Too Big To Fail'* (2018), The European International Model United Nations.

Overview of International Climate Change Regime

The emergence of climate change as a “common concern of mankind” started back in 1988 and was expressed in the UN General Assembly Resolution 43/53. It was followed by the establishment of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) which launched an assessment report in 1990, stating that human activity increased atmospheric concentration of CO₂ and the temperature. Meanwhile, the idea of forming a framework climate convention began in 1990 Ministerial Declaration of the Second World Climate Conference, which then lead to the forming of Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee (INC).² The negotiation resulted in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) which was adopted in Earth Summit 1992 and came into force in 1994.

Under the UNFCCC, countries were divided into three groups, which are Annex I countries, Annex II countries, and Non-Annex I countries. These groups of countries possess different roles, thus making them subject to different obligations on climate change. The heavier responsibility was placed on developed nations (mainly OECD countries and countries with economies in transition or EITs), which are included in Annex I. These countries have a specific aim to return emissions to 1990 levels by 2000. On the other hand, Annex II countries are comprised of OECD countries which have the obligation to provide financial assistance to developing countries and promote technology transfer. The division of responsibilities between Annex I countries, Annex II countries and non-Annex I countries are governed by *common but differentiated responsibilities* principle, based on historical emissions of the developed countries. It is estimated that 80% of the present greenhouse gas emissions in the atmosphere is contributed by developed countries, especially since Industrial Revolution. Another principle that occurred within the UNFCCC was sustainable development, by bearing in mind the intergenerational and intra-generational equity. However, the treaty itself is non-binding, it also sets no mandatory limits for greenhouse gas concentrations and has no enforcement mechanisms. There are four reasons why UNFCCC plays a central role in climate change regime, ranging from providing a procedural equity among parties; setting out the ground principles for all climate change measures; and its wide and universal membership and mandate. Another underlying reason on why UNFCCC has the sole position in the center of

² Farhana Yamin & Joanna Depledge, *The International Climate Change Regime: A Guide to Rules, Institutions and Procedures*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 24

climate change regime is because UNFCCC provides legal rules and operational procedures as the basis of all climate change actions.³

Parties of the UNFCCC determine important decisions through Conference of the Parties (COP) as the supreme body of the regime. Notable documents which serve as the benchmark of international climate change regime are the results of COP, such as the Berlin Mandate, Kyoto Protocol, Buenos Aires Plan of Action, Bonn Agreements, Marrakesh Accord, Doha Amendment, and Paris Agreement. The Berlin Mandate highlighted the inadequacy of obligations imposed towards Annex I countries in the UNFCCC, thus initiated the negotiations to provide a more specific protocol to be concluded by COP.⁴ Within the Kyoto Protocol, states are legally bound to the obligation to reduce gas emission, with clearer emission reduction targets. These targets are called *Quantified Emissions Limitation and Reduction Obligations* (QELRO) for Annex-I Parties. The rules in Kyoto Protocol also focus on minimizing impact on developing countries, as well as establish a compliance committee to assess and deal with problems of non-compliance. However, the firm commitments to curb emissions were only from developed countries. It is stated in Article 3.1 of the Kyoto Protocol that overall emissions from Annex-I Parties shall be reduced to at least 5% below 1990 levels within 2008-2012 as the first commitment period.⁵ There are 3 types of mechanisms within the Kyoto Protocol, which are Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) in Article 12, Joint Implementation (JI) in Article 6 and International Emissions Trading (ET) in Article 17.

Buenos Aires Plan of Action and Bonn Agreement focused more on the issues that were not addressed by the Kyoto Protocol, such as financial mechanism, non-compliance mechanism, etc.⁶ Meanwhile, the Marrakesh Accord focused on detailed rules of procedures and technical guidelines, as well as various work programs.

In 2009, the Copenhagen Accord was established, regulating the target of keeping the global temperature to rise no further than 2°C. The Copenhagen Accord also regulated technology mechanisms, REDD+ mechanisms⁷, adaptation, and the Copenhagen Green

³ Remi Moncel & Harro van Asselt, "All Hands on Deck! Mobilizing Climate Change Action beyond the UNFCCC," *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law* no. 21 vol. 3 (2012), p. 171

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27

⁵ Christina Voigt, "The International Climate Change Regime: UNFCCC," https://www.uio.no/studier/emner/jus/jus/JUS5520/h12/undervisningsmateriale/6.and-7.the-international-climate-regime_unfccc-and-kpi.pdf.

⁶ Yamin & Depledge, *The International Climate Change Regime*, p. 28

⁷ REDD (reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation) incentivises a break from historic trends of increasing deforestation rates and greenhouse gases emissions. It is a framework through which developing countries are rewarded financially for any emissions reductions achieved associated with a decrease in the conversion of forests to alternate land uses. Retrieved from <https://theredddesk.org/what-redd>.

Climate Fund, though it was not adopted as a COP decision.⁸ In COP17, in Durban (South Africa), Parties recognized the second commitment period, but delayed the decision on its length and greenhouse gas emission reduction targets to CMP8 in Qatar, 2012. The Durban package also included the establishment of a new body to negotiate a global agreement (Ad Hoc Working Group on the Durban Platform for Enhanced Action) by 2015, the launch of the Green Climate Fund, and most importantly, the agreement on the second commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol.⁹ The 2011 Durban negotiation mandate explicitly stated that parties would develop ‘a protocol, another legal instrument or an agreed outcome with legal force under the Convention applicable to all parties.’¹⁰

As stated previously, the Kyoto Protocol established two commitment periods; the first one ended in 2012, and the second one, through Doha Amendment in 2012, started in 2013 and will end in 2020. The Doha Amendment include the commitment of Parties to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by at least 18 percent below 1990 levels in the eight-year period from 1 January 2013 to 31 December 2020. The list of greenhouse gas emissions that should be reported on by Parties was also revised.¹¹

The 2015 Paris Agreement was a platform for Parties to deal with the challenges of post-2020 climate policy, as 2020 will mark the end of the Kyoto Protocol regime. While the Kyoto Protocol focuses solely on emissions sources and sinks, Paris Agreement addresses emissions sources, greenhouse gases concentration or sinks and direct impacts.¹² The Paris Agreement enhances the importance of adaptation and provides means for supporting developing countries adaptation and mitigation efforts. It also presents a different perspective of *common but differentiated responsibility* principle, which considers not only historical emission and how it contributes to the climate change, but also its contributions and needs for future efforts in mitigation and adaptation. The key provision included in the Paris Agreement is the obligation of all parties to prepare, communicate, and maintain “nationally determined contributions” (NDCs), as a target determined by each party to be achieved through mitigation measures.¹³

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Remi Moncel, “Unconstructive Ambiguity in the Durban Climate Deal of COP 17 / CMP 7,” *Sustainable Development Law and Policy* Vol. 12 Issue 12 (2012), p. 6

¹¹ UNFCCC Official Website, “Kyoto Protocol Introduction,” <https://unfccc.int/process/the-kyoto-protocol>. Accessed on June 8, 2018.

¹² Susanne Dröge, “The Paris Agreement 2015: Turning Point for the International Climate Regime,” *SWP Research Paper* (February 2016), p. 8

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 30

In terms of financing the measures to respond to climate change, there has been the role of the World Bank in sponsoring the Prototype Carbon Fund (PCF) in the late 1990s to support the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol's Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) to enhance investment in low-emission technologies in developing countries. Furthermore, the World Bank also gives financial assistance to developing countries through Global Environment Facility (GEF) to implement their obligations under UNFCCC and Kyoto Protocol.¹⁴

The regime complex for managing climate change.



Note: Boxes show the main institutional elements and initiatives that comprise the climate change regime complex. (For a thorough recent description of many elements of the regime complex, see Michonski and Levi 2010). Elements inside the oval represent forums where substantial efforts at rule-making have occurred, focused on one or more of the tasks needed to manage the diversity of cooperation problems that arise with climate change; elements outside are areas where climate rule making is requiring additional, supporting rules.

Figure 2. The regime complex for managing climate change.

Source: Robert O. Keohane & David G. Victor, "The Regime Complex for Climate Change", *Perspective on Politics* Vol. 9 No. 1 (March 2011)

The figure above shows the structure of the regime complex in responding to climate change. The multiple frameworks, documents, various actors involved, and the different functions each actor plays undeniably create an integrated system, making it inevitable not to harmonize the coverage of each actor.

In conclusion, the international regime of climate change has been governed under the UNFCCC, which afterwards established subsequent provisions and regulations regarding international response towards climate change, in accordance with the guiding principles set

¹⁴ Robert O. Keohane & David G. Victor, "The Regime Complex for Climate Change," *Perspective on Politics* Vol. 9 No. 1 (March 2011), p. 11

under the UNFCCC. The most notable legal frameworks that have been established after the UNFCCC are the Kyoto Protocol and Paris Agreement, as it sets out the obligations of Member States as well as their commitments in reducing their carbon emission. These commitments

G-20 and Climate Change

The international regime of climate change is regulated under the UNFCCC, but outside of the UNFCCC, there are smaller groups of countries called “Clubs” who are also taking action in response to the climate change. The G-20 is categorized as one of these “Clubs.”¹⁵ Before the G-20 came into existence, the issue of climate change had been acknowledged by the leaders of G-7, particularly in the Tokyo Summit in 1979. In its conclusion, the leaders stated that there had been an increasing amount of carbon dioxide and Sulphur oxide in the atmosphere, and that alternative sources of energy would help to prevent further pollution.¹⁶

As stated above, the G-20 is comprised of 19 countries (Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Korea, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States) and the European Union which are responsible for over 80% of current greenhouse gas emissions, thus, making them the world’s biggest emitters.¹⁷ The G-20 holds an important role in implementing the commitment set by countries in Paris Agreement which is to prevent the global temperature from rising above 1,5°C.

¹⁵ Lutz Weischer, Jennifer Morgan & Milap Patel, “Climate Clubs: Can Small Groups of Countries Make a Big Difference in Addressing Climate Change?”, *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law* No. 21 Vol 3 (2012), p. 177

¹⁶ *The Global Governance of Climate Change*, p.3

¹⁷ Care Climate, “G20 and Climate Change: Time to Lead for a Safer Future,” https://www.care.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Presse/Publikationen/g20-and-climate-change-report-englisch.pdf. Accessed on June 8, 2018.

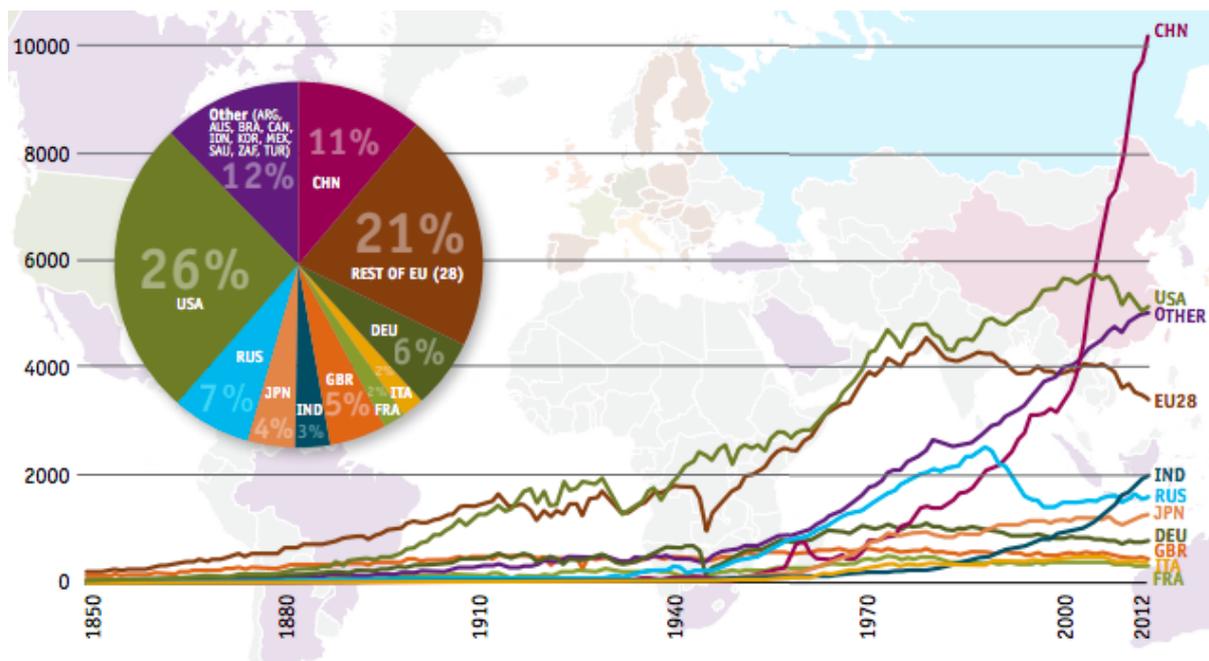


Figure 3. Historical emissions of CO₂ from G-20 countries from 1850-2013.
 Source: CARE Climate Change, “G20 and Climate Change: Time to Lead for a Safer Future,”
https://www.care.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Presse/Publikationen/g20-and-climate-change-report-englisch.pdf.

Country/region	Annex I	Annual emissions (million tons of CO ₂ e)	Population (millions)	Per capita emissions (tons of CO ₂ e per person)
Argentina	No	349.5	38.7	9.0
Australia	Yes	559.0	20.4	27.4
Brazil	No	2,841.9	186.8	15.2
Canada	Yes	803.8	32.3	24.9
China	No	7,187.0	1,304.5	5.5
European Union	Yes	5,049.2	490.0	10.3
France	Yes	548.6	61.4	8.9
Germany	Yes	975.2	82.4	11.8
Italy	Yes	562.4	58.9	9.5
United Kingdom	Yes	645.3	60.6	10.6
India	No	1,866.1	1,094.6	1.7
Indonesia	No	2,041.9	220.6	9.3
Japan	Yes	1,356.2	127.8	10.6
Korea	No	568.7	48.3	11.8
Mexico	No	683.4	103.1	6.6
Russia	Yes	2,005.4	143.2	14.0
Saudi Arabia	No	376.6	23.1	16.3
South Africa	No	422.8	46.9	9.0
Turkey	No	424.6	72.1	5.9
United States	Yes	6,814.3	296.5	23.0
G-20 total		36,081.9	4,512.1	8.0
Global total		43,189.8	6,538.2	6.6

Note: Emissions include land-use change.

Figure 4. The G-20’s carbon footprint, 2005

Source: Trevor Houser, “A Role for the G-20 in Addressing Climate Change”

As shown in the figure above, USA and EU are the biggest emitters. While India and China also contributed to the accumulation of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, the US and Canada have 10 times higher emission rates per capita than India.¹⁸ Thus, the G20 countries are able and responsible to lead the world in mitigating climate change, based on the principle contained in the UNFCCC.

The G20 holds a very important role in the negotiations on climate change regulations, though possesses a different role with related organizations. Its role in facilitating a high-level dialogue on climate change has enhanced its members’ political commitments in these issues. Its ability to address a different set of issues related to climate change, such as financing, fossil fuel subsidies and a broader engagement with stakeholders contribute to more solutions in tackling climate change.¹⁹ Several G-20 members also play key roles in an evolving international climate regime. Mexico, the Republic of Korea and Chile, for example, are categorized as countries with emerging economies; making them able to represent the interests of both developing and industrialized countries. These countries are also Kyoto non-Annex I party and members of OECD. Turkey is another key player, as a member of G-20 it plays a role as a bridge between industrialized and developing countries.²⁰

As G-20 members account for most global greenhouse gas emissions, any action by these countries would keep the rise of global temperature below 2°C for several decades.²¹ The G-20 also has capacity and expertise in terms of climate finance, being the source of financial aid and foreign direct investment to developing countries. In addition, the climate change issues need the attention of the leaders, thus, making G-20 – as the premier forum which gather the leaders frequently – an instrumental part in this process.²²

¹⁸ Johannes Friedrich, Mengpin Ge & Andrew Pickens, “This Interactive Chart Explains World’s Top 10 Emitters, and How They’ve Changed,” *World Resources Institute*, April 11, 2017, <http://www.wri.org/blog/2017/04/interactive-chart-explains-worlds-top-10-emitters-and-how-theyve-changed>. Accessed on June 8, 2018.

¹⁹ Joy Aeree Kim & Suh-Yong Chung, “The Role of the G20 in Governing the Climate Change Regime,” *Springer Science + Business Media* (April 2012), p. 8

²⁰ The Harvard Project on Climate Agreements, “Institution for International Climate Governance: Policy Brief,” *Harvard Kennedy School of Government* (November 2010), p.8. <https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/legacy/files/HPCA-Policy-Brief-2010-01-Final.pdf>.

²¹ G20 members account for 85% of the global economy, 75% of world trade and two-thirds of the global population. The energy mix in G20 economies varies strongly but most countries rely on a high share of fossil fuels in total energy supply. At the same time, together, G20 economies account for 81% of global renewable power capacity, 82% of global energy-related CO₂ emissions and 77% of global energy consumption. Taken from <http://www.iea.org/topics/engagementworldwide/subtopics/co-operationwithkeyinternationalfora/g20/>

²² Trevor Houser, “A Role for the G-20 in Addressing Climate Change?”, *Peterson Institute for International Economics*, (October 2010), p. 6

The discussion on man-made climate change first occurred at the 1985 Bonn Summit of the Group of Seven (G-7), which also recognized the link between economic development and environmental protection. A Bonn communique presented one exclusive section for the environment, stating that new approaches and strengthened international cooperation are essential to anticipate and prevent damage to the environment. The name “climate change” has since been used, replacing the more narrow category of pollution caused only by carbon dioxide or Sulphur dioxide in the atmosphere.²³ The consensus reached in the Bonn Summit regarding climate change was also triggered by the establishment of the Vienna Convention on the Protection of the Ozone Layer in March 1985, as well as the phenomenon of acid rain in Canada and Germany.²⁴ The issue of climate change was also brought up in the 1986 Tokyo Summit, though it wasn’t as explicit as 1985 Bonn Summit. It was regarded as a failure in climate change negotiation process since it left the issue of climate change to bilateral relations between countries. Another remarkable point which became the benchmark of climate change negotiation is 1988 Toronto Summit, contributing to the creation of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), planning process of an international conference on environment, as well as the agenda for environmental protection and sustainable development principle.²⁵ The subsequent development of the international climate change regime was then pioneered by reports and assessments done by IPCC, driving the creation of the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in 1992, especially since the outcome of the 1988 Toronto Summit consisted of recommendations to create a legal regime through an umbrella or framework convention that would lay down international standards for the protection of the earth’s atmosphere.²⁶ Continuing the success of the previous summits, the 1989 Paris Summit also echoed the concern on environmental issues, devoting one third of the final communique to a broad range of environmental issues, though the specific qualitative targets on greenhouse gas emissions failed to be reached.²⁷

After the establishment of the UNFCCC and Kyoto Protocol, the Group of Eight (G-8) focused more on implementing the commitment put within the conventions rather than attempting to shape new regime on climate change. From 1998 to 2004, the outcome of G-8 meetings have proven the commitment of Member States to implement measures contained in

²³ John J. Kirton & Ella Kokotsis, *Global Environmental Governance of Climate Change: G7, G20, and UN Leadership*, (England: Ashgate Publishing, 2015), p. 53

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 69

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 75

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83

the UNFCCC and Kyoto Protocol, such as the 1998 Birmingham Summit, 1999 Cologne Summit, 2000 Okinawa Summit, 2001 Genoa Summit, 2002 Kananaskis Summit, 2003 Evian Summit and 2004 Sea Island Summit.²⁸ During 2005 – 2007, G-8 Summits perceived climate change as “one of the major challenges for mankind” and an “urgent challenge” to be addressed. The leadership of G-8 had obtained its influence towards international efforts against climate change, increased by the growing power of Russia and Canada as countries which maintained their commitment under Kyoto Protocol and fiscal surpluses to finance sustainable development.²⁹

The intensity of climate change negotiation in G-7 and G-8 summits – being the predecessors of G-20 – have shown the interests of countries in tackling the adverse effects of climate change, while also contributing a lot to the development of international climate change regulations. However, the first G-20 summit in 2008, focused more on fostering financial stability rather than climate change, following the collapse of Lehman Brothers on September 15 which caused global economic crisis. The attention of G-20 towards climate change was driven back on the second G-20 summit in London on April 1-2, 2009. The leaders affirmed the principles of intergenerational equity and sustainability, while also pledged to build an inclusive, green, and sustainable recovery, included in the last article of the communique.³⁰ The leaders also stated their commitment to ‘address the threat of irreversible climate change, based on the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and to reach agreement at the UN Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen in 2009’.³¹

In regards to the commitment of financing developing countries, which also includes ‘Green Climate Fund’ initiated in the Cancun meeting, the finance ministers of the G20 met in St. Andrews, USA in November 2009 to discuss the financing options for climate change. The 2009 communique focused on several issues which became the ground for the negotiations at the Copenhagen meeting. These issues are the importance of national policy frameworks and the level of emissions reductions needed to increase the scope of carbon markets and assurance of coordinated support for country-led plans and reporting mechanisms across all financing channels. Furthermore, the ministers also set up the G20 Climate Finance Experts Group which was assigned to assess the required scale of international public financing to address climate

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 172

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 182

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 229

³¹ Kim & Chung, “The Role of the G20 in Governing the Climate Change Regime,” p. 9

change, outline public sector contributions and how financial resources can be allocated, and address how to measure climate finance.³²

In 2009, through Pittsburgh Summit Declaration, G20 called for the reduction of fossil fuel subsidies as a means to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in the atmosphere.³³ This commitment echoed the agreement of Member States in existing international climate change regulations, especially the Kyoto Protocol. G20 leaders have committed to phasing out inefficient fossil fuel subsidies over the medium term, which would encourage the conservation of energy, improve their energy security, reduce economically inefficient burdens on budgets, and provide a down payment on their commitment to reduce GHG emissions, which are adopted in the Pittsburgh Summit.³⁴ It was then reaffirmed by the leaders in Toronto, followed by the statement that they would review progress toward that goal at future summits.³⁵ Moreover, the commitment to reduce fossil fuel was also followed by the commitment to eliminate fossil fuel subsidies. Based on the calculation made by the IEA and OECD, eliminating fossil fuel subsidies would reduce 10 percent of global greenhouse gas emissions by 2050.³⁶ However, the leaders did little to extend the definition or move the actual implementation of their commitment to phase out inefficient fossil fuel subsidies, meaning that in the communiqués and the subsequent meetings of G-20, there has been no significant implementation plans.

In 2010, the next G-20 summit was held in Seoul, South Korea, resulting in eight climate change commitments made with 14 energy commitments. After the Seoul Summit, the COP was held in Cancun which then resulted in the creation of The Green Climate Fund to support mitigation and adaptation in developing countries. Other than the Summit, there was also a Seoul Business Summit Meeting which discussed strong, sustainable, and balanced growth. Green growth was one of its top four priorities, highlighting energy productivity, sustainable use of renewable energy sources, and the creation of green jobs in the context of green growth.³⁷ In 2011, the G-20 summit was held in Cannes, France, putting aside climate change from the discussion. It focused more on the Greek debt crisis, however, in their final communique, there is significant amount of attention towards climate change, such as energy

³² *Ibid.*, p. 10

³³ Moncel & van Asselt, "All Hands on Deck! Mobilizing Climate Change Action beyond the UNFCCC," p. 169

³⁴ Kim & Chung, "The Role of the G20 in Governing the Climate Change Regime," p. 10

³⁵ Thijs Van de Graaf & Kirsten Westphal, "The G8 and G20 as Global Steering Committees for Energy: Opportunities and Constraints," *Global Policy Volume 2* (September 2011), hlm. 27

³⁶ *Ibid.*, hlm. 27

³⁷ Kim & Chung, "The Role of the G20 in Governing the Climate Change Regime"

markets, efficiency and sustainability promotion, promises of the leaders to phase out inefficient fossil fuel subsidies for all G-20 members, and support the Green Climate Fund. However, the Cannes communique didn't include any specific agreement to reduce emissions to a specific target, leaving Durban without any specific groundwork.³⁸

Starting from 2012 until 2014, it is argued that the leadership of global governance on climate change was centralized on G-8 and G-20. It started in 2012, on the Los Cabos Summit under the presidency of Mexico. Out of 95 commitments from this summit, 11 commitments were dedicated for green growth strategies or climate change, and it is the highest number of commitments that G-20 have dedicated for climate change to date.³⁹ This summit also established a G-20 Study Group on Climate Finance, aiming to find ways to mobilize resources effectively. Reaffirmation of the mandate made in 2009 Pittsburgh Summit to phase out inefficient fossil fuel subsidies in the medium term was followed by the request for finance ministers to report on progress at the next summit, through a voluntary peer review process for G-20 members. 16 Member States of G-20 declared their commitment to adhere to the COP-17 decisions.⁴⁰ In the 2013 St. Petersburg Summit, the leaders agreed to support the full implementation of the UNFCCC's outcomes and committed to adopt the Post-Kyoto Protocol by 2015, as well as operationalization of the Green Climate Fund along with the consideration of the G-20 Climate Finance Study Group. In the 2014 Brisbane Summit, the parties agreed to adopt the outcome of Paris 2015 and it established the Action Plan on Voluntary Collaboration on Energy Efficiency.⁴¹

The G20 also established an Energy Efficiency Leading Programme in its 2016 Summit in China, focusing on energy efficiency and how G20 can lead other countries to improve global energy efficiency. It recognized the contribution of energy efficiency in reducing greenhouse gas emissions since it reduces annual energy consumption. It is also stated that according to the IEA, energy efficiency can contribute up to 49% of the energy related CO₂ emission reductions that are needed to limit global temperature increases to less than 2°C by 2050.⁴²

The initiation of 2017 G20 Summit in Hamburg was triggered by the occurrence of so many adverse effects of climate change, such as dramatic heatwaves in June 2017 causing

³⁸ Kirton & Kokotsis, *Global Environmental Governance on Climate Change*, p. 259

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 267

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 272

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 288

⁴² G20 China 2016, "G20 Energy Efficiency Leading Programme Final Version," <https://ec.europa.eu/energy/sites/ener/files/documents/G20%20Energy%20Efficiency%20Leading%20Programme.pdf>.

deadly forest fires in Portugal and Spain; extreme temperatures felt by France, the UK, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland.⁴³ The communique resulted from the Summit showed the recognition of G20 members on the importance of reducing greenhouse gas emissions, through clean and efficient energy systems. It was also based on the commitment set within the Paris Agreement of 2015, by specifically stating that the Paris Agreement was irreversible.⁴⁴ However, this commitment was not heeded by the United States, since President Trump decided to withdraw the US from the Paris Agreement, mirroring its reluctance to ratify Kyoto Protocol in COP3, 1997.⁴⁵ Several points were also made within the communique, such as the mitigation efforts of greenhouse gas emissions through innovation on sustainable and clean energies and energy efficiency; climate finance for developing countries in reducing greenhouse gas emissions as well as adapting to the adverse effects of climate change; and the huge potential of sustainable growth and job creation once the investment on sustainable energy sources is initiated.⁴⁶

As shown, there is a lot of development in the approach to climate change on a global scale and more specifically within the G20. However, clashing political views and national reluctance remain a challenge.

Possible Solutions

One of the solutions towards the issue of climate change has been to develop a form of ‘minilateralism’, which views that the smallest possible number of countries is needed to have the largest possible impact on solving this problem, instead of involving as many countries as possible. As aforementioned, the G20 incorporates 90 per cent of all global economic activity and two thirds of the world’s population, meaning that they also contribute the most to CO2 output that has been accumulated in the atmosphere.⁴⁷ The main idea of this minilateralism in the efforts to respond to climate change is forming coalitions between like-minded ‘climate-friendly’ countries. It also includes the idea of smaller institutions, containing members with

⁴³ European Commission of the European Union Official Website, “G20 Summit Confirms That The Paris Agreement is Irreversible,” https://ec.europa.eu/clima/news/g20-summit-confirms-paris-agreement-irreversible_en. Accessed on June 8, 2018.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Saleemul Huq, “G20 Becomes G19 on Climate Change,” *Inter Press Service News Agency*, July 12, 2017, <http://www.ipsnews.net/2017/07/g20-becomes-g19-climate-change/>. Accessed on June 8, 2018.

⁴⁶ UNFCCC Official Website, “G20 Leaders Says Paris Agreement is Irreversible,” July 10, 2017, <https://unfccc.int/news/g20-leaders-says-paris-agreement-is-irreversible>. Accessed on June 8, 2018.

⁴⁷ Slaughter S., “The G20 and Climate Change: The Transnational Contribution of Global Summitry,” *Global Policy* 8, no. 3 (2017), 285-293.

the same objectives.⁴⁸ One of the milestones achieved by G-20 include the establishment of the Global Partnership on Clean Energy Technologies.⁴⁹

In the 2017 Hamburg Summit communique, it is stated that G-20 members would implement Nationally Determined Contributions (NDC) which had been regulated in the Paris Agreement, as well as increase cooperation with non-G-20 countries, to “facilitate mutual learning, good practice sharing, capacity-building, including through existing fora, inter alia, such as the NDC Partnership.”⁵⁰ Within the communique, it is also stated that G-20 members would enhance long-term low greenhouse gas emission development strategies, as well as energy sector transition, energy efficiency, and sustainable energy.⁵¹

Conclusion

Based on the previous summits, it can be seen that the common goal of greenhouse gas emission reduction is not followed by focused method, instead, it offers solutions or measures that cover a lot of aspects, such as finance, technology, etc. The acknowledgement of the G20 on existing international climate change regulations (like 2017 Summit in Hamburg, Germany) did not appear in the previous summits. The effectiveness of proposed measures by G20 leaders is also questioned since the outcome documents of the summits do not have binding power, thus, the mechanism to measure its compliance – towards the existing obligations under international climate change regulations and their commitments under G20 communiqués – should also be harmonized. The diverging interests of G-20 members as well as political views on the importance of climate change had also been a main barrier to an effective and comprehensive negotiation process on climate change, as well as hindering full implementation of the G-20 communiqués. In this context, the delegates are expected to solve the issue on how the interests of countries shouldn't hinder the negotiation process of climate change, as well as how the implementation process of various commitments and obligations contained in international climate change regulations should be harmonized.

In conclusion, the international climate change regime is not solely governed by the UNFCCC and its subsequent legal frameworks, but also specific commitments set by group of countries as supplementary measures towards the obligations in multilateral climate change

⁴⁸ Moncel & van Asselt, “All Hands on Deck! Mobilizing Climate Change Action beyond the UNFCCC,” p. 175

⁴⁹ “The Global Climate Change Regime,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, June 19, 2013, <https://www.cfr.org/report/global-climate-change-regime>.

⁵⁰ UNFCCC Conference of the Parties 23rd Session in Bonn, 6-17 November 2017, Note by The President. <https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/docs/2017/cop23/eng/08.pdf>. Accessed on June 8, 2018.

⁵¹ G20 Hamburg Climate and Energy Action Plan for Growth, 2017

agreements, especially G-20. Although the members of G-20 have already put their attention towards climate change, the wide scope of commitments in responding to the adverse effects of climate change tend to be unfocused and need to be harmonized. The historical contribution of G-20 members towards the accumulated emission in the atmosphere, as well as its current amount of emission put G-20 as a leader of global responses towards climate change. This position pushes G-20 to further systemize its negotiation process on climate change without abandoning its initial aim, which is to discuss global financial issues. Thus, the G-20 should be able to balance its strategic position for both mitigating and adapting to climate change as well as resolving the emerging global financial issues.

QARMAs

1. How is climate change perceived as a challenge to international economic and financial market that should be addressed by G-20?
2. What are the loopholes of previous proceedings in G-20 regarding climate change? What should be done to improve the influence of G-20 in addressing the problem of climate change while also fostering international economic development?
3. To what extent should G-20 address the problem of climate change? What should be done to avoid unnecessary redundancy with the existing efforts to mitigate climate change and adapt to the adverse effect of climate change?
4. How can G-20 develop a mechanism of monitoring implementation and compliance of its member states on existing international climate change regulations, harmonizing it with the existing compliance mechanism in those regulations?
5. How should G-20 enhance its response to climate change without abandoning its core purpose, which is to maintain international financial stability?

Suggested Readings

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