

# Doha Climate Graveyard

A Southern reflection of the climate change negotiations at Doha and beyond



**CDP**  
Promoting Peace & Progress

Coastal Development Partnership

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The 18<sup>th</sup> session of the Conference of the Parties (COP 18) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the eighth session of the Conference of the Parties serving as the Meeting of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol (CMP 8) took place from

**Participation statistics**

	<i>States/Organizations</i>	<i>Registered Participants</i>
Parties	189	4343
Observer States	3	13
<b>Total Parties + observer States</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>4356</b>
United Nations Secretariat units and bodies	24	209
Specialized agencies and related organizations	19	135
Intergovernmental organizations	52	329
Non-governmental organizations	536	3292
<b>Total observer organizations</b>	<b>631</b>	<b>3965</b>
Media	344	683
<b>Total participation</b>		<b>9004</b>

26 November to 8 December 2012 at the Qatar National Convention Centre in Doha, Qatar.

Around 9,000 participants (4,356 government officials, 3,956 representatives of UN bodies and agencies, intergovernmental organizations

and civil society organizations, and 683 members of the media) took part in this conference.

This was the first time the UN climate change negotiations happened in the Gulf region. It is very interesting that the COP 18 was hosted in a country which is the largest per capita emitter of greenhouse gases in the world. My expectations were very low for COP 18 climate negotiations but the demonstration of political will was even far less than my least expectations.

The climate negotiations (COP18) in Doha, Qatar are more focused on keeping the COP process moving rather than addressing the real climate vulnerabilities at the ground. An agreement that is ambitious and fair for all is turning into a development jargon. The sincere political commitment towards the global common and the just sense of determination from the global power players, especially from the United States & among the umbrella group were virtually absent in COP 18 at Doha. Gulf region countries deliberately failed to show their sincere political will for increasing ambition immediately which was one of the key focal areas of the Durban Platform.

**The real Voice of the South**

"I appeal to the whole world; I appeal to leaders from all over the world, to open our eyes to the stark reality that we face. I appeal to ministers. The outcome of our work is not about what our political masters want. It is about what is demanded of us by 7 billion people.....Please let 2012 be remembered as the year the world found the courage to find the will to take responsibility for the future we want. I ask of all of us here, if not us, then who? If not now, then when? If not here, then where?"

*---an emotional plea from a lead negotiator from the Philippines after typhoon Bopha devastated the Philippines during the last week of the summit.*

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## The parties have decided to

- ✓ move forward the Second Commitment Period of the Kyoto Protocol for another eight-year period (2013-2020) although the number of countries are lower than the first KP period
  - ✓ restrict the trading and retirement of units generated from the flexible market mechanisms
  - ✓ to close the Ad-hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action (AWG-LCA)
  - ✓ move forward with the Durban Platform to begin negotiating the legally binding international climate agreement by 2015 and to undertake a one-year work program to think through the application of the principles of the Convention relates to the scope, structure, and design of the new agreement
  - ✓ to consider setting up an “international mechanism for loss and damage’ by COP 19 to deal with the irrecoverable losses and damages from extreme and slow-onset weather events in vulnerable, developing countries
  - ✓ develop the rules of engagement between the COP and the GCF Board in order to allow the COP to guide strategic directions for the Green Climate Fund (GCF) without interfering in its day-to-day operations
  - ✓ help Parties develop National Adaptation Plans (NAPs) as well as to use the existing Least Developed Countries’ Fund (LDCF) to meet the full cost of preparing the NAPs for LDCs
  - ✓ start a three-year work plan of the Adaptation Committee
  - ✓ adopt voluntary domestic MRV guidelines within a year, which will help developing countries meet their reporting requirements both domestically and internationally
  - ✓ release the IPCC’s Fifth Assessment Report
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The Doha Conference created a new package o “Doha Climate Gateway” to adopt a protocol, another legal instrument or an agreed outcome with legal force under the Convention applicable to all Parties at its twenty-first session (2 December to Sunday, 13 December 2015) and started terminating previous UNFCCC negotiation tracks on the evening of December 8.

Adaptation was a sideline issue at Doha. In a three paragraph decision, the COP committed to continuing their work to enhance action on adaptation under the Cancun Adaptation Framework. The idea of an annual adaptation forum was also suggested but not decided upon by the COP. A pathway has been established towards concrete institutional arrangements to provide the most vulnerable populations with better protection against loss and damage caused by slow onset events such as rising sea levels. However, this outcome is categorized as the adaptation outcome.

At the negotiation table, Least Developed Countries (LDCs) called for greater representation of women in the UNFCCC process. The first ever official gender day has been observed at COP18.

The COP had failed to come to any conclusion on accounting and clarification of pledges as expected from the Cancun and Durban decisions. The absence of a target for climate finance to be provided by rich nations for 2013-2015 is a major downside of the COP 18.

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### **Doha Extended Work programme on long-term finance: The Great Joke of the COP 18**

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The decision on the “Work programme on long-term finance” is very amusing to the southern activists. *“The COP decides to extend the work programme on long-term finance for one year to the end of 2013, with the aim of informing developed country Parties in their efforts to identify pathways for mobilizing the scaling up of climate finance to USD 100 billion per year by 2020 from public, private and alternative sources in the context of meaningful mitigation actions and transparency on implementation, and informing Parties in enhancing their enabling environments and policy frameworks to facilitate the mobilization and effective deployment of climate finance in developing countries.”*

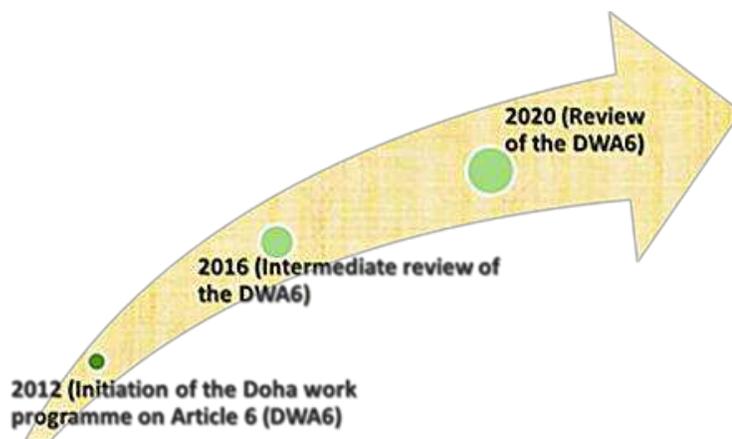
Please be noted that this decision is just to inform developed country Parties to identify pathways for mobilizing the scaling up of climate finance for meaningful mitigation actions.

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In a nutshell, COP 18 was more focused on saving the COP process rather than ambitious outcome.

### **Doha work programme on Article 6: The most underpublicized work programme**

It is very ironic that the importance of education for preparing children, youth, women, persons with disabilities and grass-root communities to adapt to the impacts of climate change had not received the attention it deserves, especially from the civil society at the COP 18. Based on the decade long work experience on climate change adaption in Bangladesh, Coastal Development Partnership (CDP) firmly believes that technical skills and knowledge provide an opportunity to adequately address and respond to climate change issues. CDP is one of the few organizations at the Asia-Pacific region that has been promoting Article 6 activities at the international regional and national levels.



One of the key positive outcomes of the COP 18 is the adoption of the eight-year Doha work programme on Article 6 of the Convention which is based on the principles of sustainable development. The work programme will focus on building capacity through climate change education and training, create public awareness and enable the public to participate in climate change decision-making using gender and an intergenerational approach. Gender is a cross-cutting issue in all six elements of Article 6 of the Convention.

Doha work programme on Article 6 also recognized the importance of taking a long-term, strategic and country-driven approach to education, training and skills development at the local, national, subregional, regional and international levels, including strengthening of relevant institutional and sectoral capacities. It also recognized that ensuring the availability of sufficient financial and technical resources continues to be a challenge for the implementation of Article 6 of the Convention for all Parties, in particular African countries, the least developed countries and small island developing States.

### Climate negotiations: The future directions?

If Doha is the graveyard of old climate regime, then COP 18 is the gala funeral. The Durban Platform predicted the birth of a new climate change regime by 2015. The next



three years are very crucial for the global climate policy regime to



bring all nations into account for reducing their carbon emissions. Doha Climate Gateway had already terminated 1<sup>st</sup> commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol and established the second commitment period. It has also initiated the termination process for the Long-term Cooperative Action (LCA).

Since COP 13 I have been observing an interesting dimension. Each COP, developed nations swings a carrot and the vulnerable countries runs for that carrot until the extended period of COP. Finally at the last moment they feel happy if they manage to smell the carrot and leave the COP premise with the hope that they will get that carrot in the next COP. But in the next they run for a new carrot and the old carrot remains in the sideline.

The UNFCCC negotiation is the classic example of carrot and stick negotiation practice. In a carrot-and-stick negotiation process, the winner is not the one whose arguments make the most sense, but the one who is seen as the "strongest". I feel hopeless seeing that the old school of negotiation approach which means "negotiation is about winning" is dominant in the COP premises. Delegates forgot that they are negotiating for the present and future of the world, not just their individual country. They have to understand that climate change process has no respect

for political boundary of the any country. The loss and damage was the carrot of the negotiations during the COP 18.

It seems that global leaders are so much addicted with the carbon dioxide that the extreme weather event (Philippines typhoon) which happened during the negotiations had no effect on them. Russia, Ukraine and Belarus attempted to block the adoption of the AWG-KP outcome during the CMP closing plenary. Japan, Canada, New Zealand and the Russian Federation also refused to take on commitments in the second commitment period. The heavily carbon intoxicated Russia even banged their country nameplate to show their frustration against the decision to prohibit transfer of surplus carbon credits to the second commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol.

In the current negotiation process, consensus is misused as the right of one party to block the negotiation progress and consensus is not even the official rule of the COP; it is simply an informal default procedure. The COP has been operating for two decades without any formal rules of procedure. One rule (15.3) that is preserved in the UNFCCC is that amendments to the Convention itself can be made through a three quarters majority vote.

The issue of 'equity' & “common but differentiated responsibilities” will remain as the key sticks to maintain the divergence between developed and developing countries. It is clear that USA will be the big obstacle for any future climate regimes to be operated under the principles of equity and common but differentiated responsibility. On the other hand, developing countries will not agree if future climate regimes are not based on the principles of the Convention. However, at Doha USA for the first time has expressed their willingness to discuss the fair sharing of emission reductions.

Argentina, Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador, India and China, seems firmly committed to uphold the Convention’s principles of common but differentiated responsibilities and equity, along with developed countries’ historical responsibility for climate change. In fact, the term “principles of the Convention” were integrated to the Durban Platform to mask equity and common but differentiated responsibility.

Colombia, Peru, Costa Rica, Chile, Guatemala and Panama, formally spoke in Doha as AILAC (Association of Independent Latin American and Caribbean states). In next COP, there is also a possibility that Most Vulnerable Countries could also speak as MVC.

Warsaw Guidelines 2013??

Venezuela /Peru Consensus 2014??

Paris Protocol 2015??

In Doha, the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon announced he would convene world leaders in

### Lord Monckton stunt at Doha

The former advisor to ex-British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Ukip Party's former deputy leader Lord Monckton was permanently banned after impersonating a delegate from Burma during a plenary session on December 6.

2014 to mobilize the political will to help ensure the 2015 deadline is met. We should be more focused on how we can stay below the internationally agreed maximum two degrees Celsius temperature rise. If not us, then at least our next generation must. A review of the long-term temperature goal will start in 2013 and expected to conclude by 2015. The 2013 & 2014 are expected to be the very busy years with many meetings and workshops for preparing the draft negotiating text

before May 2015. Mexico and Papua New Guinea have made a proposal to introduce majority voting into the COP which has been discussed in Doha and will be an agenda of COP19 (2013).

One thing that at Doha has strikes me which is, too much attention of the UNFCCC and Developed countries along with international financial institutions to promote “public-private partnerships as innovative financing solutions to address climate change” through various side events. The Green Growth Action Alliance, which includes more than 50 of the world’s largest energy companies, international financial institutions and development finance banks would be the key actor to promote public-private partnership.

### This is an example of adaptation



The European Commissioner for Climate Action Connie Hedegaard expressed that “We are crossing the bridge from the old climate system to the new system. Now we are on our way to the 2015 global deal.” The question is “how could we be able to seal a new global deal using the old system of negotiations?”



Two youth members of the IndyAct (a regional advocacy group on climate change policy) Libyan Raied Gheblawi, 22, and Algerian Mohamed Anis Amirouche, 19, had been thrown out of the convention center and deported because they made a severe crime by holding up a banner "Qatar, why host not lead?" in the conference hall's central meeting point. Thank you Doha for starting the funeral of youth activism in the new climate regime!!

## Coastal Development Partnership (CDP) in the COP 18

### IISD Coverage of Selected Side Events at the Doha Climate Change Conference

Daily Report | Wednesday, 28 November 2012

<http://www.iisd.ca/climate/cop18/enbots/27nov.html>

#### *Climate Adaptation – Learning the Lessons from Communities*

Presented by Coastal Development Partnership and Practical Action

In this event moderated by Nicholas Milton, Practical Action, two speakers from Bangladesh presented community experiences with adaptation.

Nazmul Chowdhury, Practical Action, Bangladesh, presented innovative means of promoting economic empowerment and climate resilience among poor households, including: sandbar cropping (farming on silted sand plains left behind by floods); floating garden cultivation (farming on floating gardens of water hyacinth); cage aquaculture (raising fingerlings in cages); duck farming; and building “cluster villages” for displaced communities following disasters. Chowdhury stressed the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) process should prioritize adaptation and allocate half the funds available for climate change to adaptation. He also called on developed countries to honor their pledges to the Green Climate Fund, and for the Government of Bangladesh to ensure that communities and stakeholders have better access to funding.

Syed Jahangir Hasan Masum, Executive Director, Coastal Development Partnership, described lessons learned from his organization’s facilitation of community-driven climate change adaptation actions in different ecosystems in Bangladesh, particularly through the People’s Empowerment for Addressing Climate Justice and Environmental Justice (PEACE) programme. He described PEACE as a comprehensive, bottom-up adaptation planning process starting from the village level, directly guided by the most vulnerable groups including the extreme poor and marginalized.

Among the key lessons learned from the PEACE programme, Masum listed the importance of: respecting ecosystem approaches; cooperating and sharing of resources and lessons among communities; engaging in holistic community development by including elements such as education and health; integrating and mainstreaming adaptation into other programmes and initiatives to improve efficiency and effectiveness; and using community mechanisms to cope with disasters. Among the challenges, he listed capacity building for non-governmental and community-based organizations, and promoting the understanding of adaptation as a community development issue.



Panel (L-R): **Syed Jahangir Hasan Masum**, Executive Director, Coastal Development Partnership; **Nazmul Chowdhury**, Practical Action, Bangladesh; and **Nicholas Milton**, Practical Action.

Masum said the PEACE communities call on the UNFCCC negotiations to work together to: find a solution while avoiding hostility; follow a community-driven approach even in the global negotiations; respect the polluter pays principle and the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities; and address climate change resilient agriculture and loss and damage. In the discussion that followed, participants discussed: whether microcredit promotes or discourages community-driven approaches; markets for farm produce to maximize benefits for the producers; and the importance of direct access to finance by communities, for community-driven approaches.



CDP delivered following community messages to the UNFCCC through side events, informal exchange with different party delegates at exhibition stall and in between sessions.

- ✓ *Keep the hostile attitude away between the developing and industrialized countries in policy issues and financing mechanisms.*
- ✓ *Respect the principle of CBDR (Common but Differentiated Responsibility).*
- ✓ *Apply Polluters pay if needed.*
- ✓ *Sustain ecological, climate-resilient agriculture within the UNFCCC Adaptation Framework.*
- ✓ *Share the loss & damage the way we do in everyday*
- ✓ *only together we can successfully meet the human challenge of climate change*

