

An Economic Perspective on Climate Change Policy

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Basic Economics and Geopolitics of Climate Change

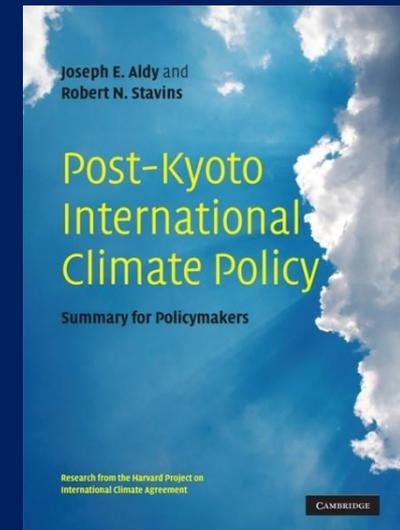
- **Climate change is a global commons problem**
 - Any jurisdiction taking action – a country, province, or city – incurs the costs of its actions
 - But the benefits (averted climate change) are distributed globally
 - Hence, for virtually any jurisdiction, the benefits it reaps from its actions will be *less* than the costs it incurs
 - despite the fact that the global benefits may be *greater* – possibly much greater – than the global costs
- **This presents a classic free-rider problem,**
 - which is why *international*, if not global, cooperation is essential,
 - and this is why the *highest levels* of effective government should be involved, i.e., nations

A View of the International Domain: Placing Climate Negotiations in Perspective

- Cliché about baseball season applies to international climate change policy: it's a marathon, not a sprint
 - Scientifically: stock, not flow environmental problem
 - Economically: cost-effective path is gradual global ramp-up in target severity (to avoid unnecessary capital-stock obsolescence)
 - Economically: technological change is key, hence long-term price signals
 - Administratively: creation of durable international institutions is essential
- International climate negotiations will be an ongoing process – much like trade talks – not a single task with a clear end-point
 - So, sensible goal for climate negotiations is progress on sound foundation for meaningful long-term action, not necessarily an immediate “solution”

Searching for the Path Forward

- The Harvard Project on Climate Agreements
- Mission: To help identify key design elements of a scientifically sound, economically rational, and politically pragmatic international policy architecture for global climate change
- Drawing upon research & ideas from leading thinkers around the world from:
 - Academia (economics, political science, law, international relations)
 - Private industry
 - NGOs
 - Governments
- 50 research initiatives in Argentina, Australia, China, Europe, India, Japan, and the United States



Potential International Climate Policy Architectures

- **Centralized architectures**
 - Kyoto Protocol
 - Formulas for Assigning Targets
 - Portfolio of International Agreements

- **Harmonized national policies**
 - Harmonized National Carbon Taxes
 - Trading Regimes
 - Standards

- **Decentralized architectures and coordinated national policies**
 - Linkage of Regional, National, & Sub-National Cap-and-Trade Systems
 - Linkage of Heterogeneous National Policies
 - Portfolio of Commitments: Pledge & Review

Four lessons have emerged

- 1. Market-based approaches are essential**
- 2. Getting (carbon) prices right is necessary, but *not* sufficient**
 - Because of *public-good nature of R&D*, private sector will under-invest
 - Possible need for *government-funding of private-sector R&D*, such as for CCS
- 3. “Developing county” participation is essential**
 - *Impossible* to address climate change *without* meaningful participation by China & other key emerging economies (*even if* OECD emissions were *zero*)
 - *Central task* in international negotiations is developing means of bringing key emerging economies on board
- 4. Defacto *interim* (or post-2020) policy architecture *may* already be emerging**
 - Direct and indirect linkage of regional, national, and sub-national cap-and-trade *and other policy instruments*

An Additional Lesson – that has emerged from International Negotiations

- Negotiations in Copenhagen (2009) illustrated limitations of process under UN
 - Size: 197 countries, when 20 account for about 90% of global emissions
 - UN culture polarizes factions: industrialized vs developing world
 - UNFCCC (default) voting rule: consensus, interpreted as unanimity
 - Lack of consensus behind Copenhagen Accord due to objections of 5 countries (*not* major emitters), with their accusations of “undemocratic” procedures:
 - Bolivia, Cuba, Nicaragua, Sudan, & Venezuela

Possible Institutional Venues Going Forward

- Major Economies Forum (MEF)– accounts for 90% of global emissions; initiated and led by U.S. (formerly “Major Emitters Meeting” – MEM)
 - Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, *European Union*, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Korea, Mexico, Russia, South Africa, United Kingdom, and United States
- G20 – finance ministers; since 1999; have met on climate change
 - *Argentina*, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Korea, Mexico, Russia, *Saudi Arabia*, South Africa, *Turkey*, United Kingdom, and United States
- Other multilateral (C30); bilateral, including China-U.S.
- UNFCCC – too soon for obituaries
 - Kyoto Protocol continues *at least* through 2020
 - Substantial constituency
 - International “legitimacy”

How did we get here? Where are we going?

International climate negotiations

- **The Rio Earth Summit (1992)**

- United Nations Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) – principle of “*common but differentiated responsibilities*” (CBDR)

- **First Conference of the Parties (COP-1, Berlin, 1995)**

- Berlin Mandate – interpretation of CBDR: *Annex I (OECD+/-) countries will commit to targets for emission reductions, but no commitments for other countries*

- **Kyoto Protocol (1997)**

- KP *fulfilled* Berlin Mandate with quantitative targets for *Annex I countries only*

- **The Problem**

- Annex I countries alone cannot reduce global emissions

- Fifty non-Annex I countries have greater per capita income than poorest of Annex I

- Dichotomous distinction makes progress impossible

International Climate Negotiations

- **Copenhagen Accord (COP-15, 2009) & Cancun Agreements (COP-16, 2010)**
 - Began to *blur* – while still maintaining – the Annex I/non-Annex I distinction (in a non-binding pledge & review system)
- **Durban Negotiations (COP-17, 2011)**
 - COP-17 extended Kyoto Protocol for a second commitment period (2013-20)
 - *Durban Platform for Enhanced Action* – mandate to adopt by 2015 a new legal framework to include *all (key) countries* for implementation in 2020
 - This *broke* with the Berlin Mandate, and set the negotiations on a *new path*
 - This *won't* satisfy 350.org crowd, and may *annoy* opponents of climate policy action,
 - but in the *real world* of international climate negotiations, this is what *success* looks like.

International Climate Negotiations

- **Doha Negotiations (COP-18, 2012) – the “Doha Gateway”**
 - Kyoto Protocol second commitment period, 2013-2020
 - Only EU and Australia participating, covers 14% of global emissions
 - Durban Platform for Enhanced Action
 - No progress, but did no harm
 - Loss and Damage – agreed to discuss mechanism for compensating vulnerable communities for loss and damage due to climate change
 - *Resisted by developed countries (particularly the U.S.) – fears of unlimited liability*
 - *Could be source of heated debate*
- The climate negotiations are a long relay race, with each negotiation being one leg of the race. In Doha, the baton was passed ...
- ... to Warsaw (November 2013),
- ... Lima (2014), and Paris (2015).



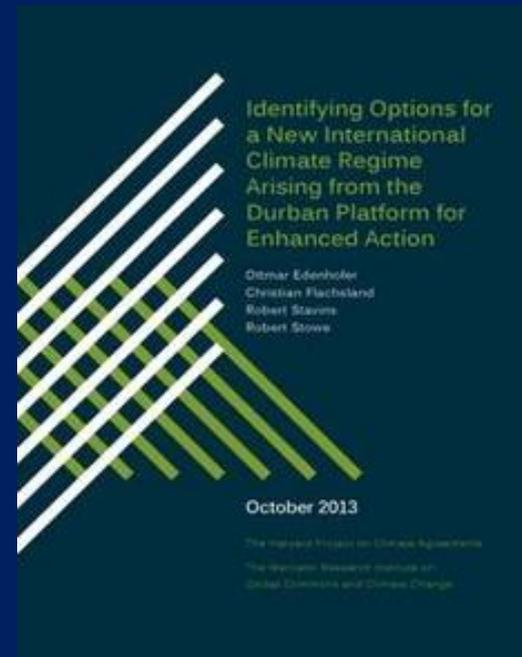
Path Ahead: Options for a New International Climate Regime Arising from the Durban Platform for Enhanced Action

■ A Hybrid International Climate Policy Architecture

- Bottom-up: National targets and actions that arise from – or are at least consistent with – national policies and goals.
- Top-down: Centralized oversight, guidance, and coordination.

■ Key Questions

- Can such an agreement be *anchored* in domestic political realities,
- While *adequately* recognizing the imperatives to address emissions and climate impacts?
- Are there ways to enable and facilitate *increased ambition* over time?



For More Information

Harvard Project on Climate Agreements

www.belfercenter.org/climate

Harvard Environmental Economics Program

www.hks.harvard.edu/m-rcbg/heap/

www.stavins.com