What Really Happened at COP-28 in Dubai

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COP28 in Dubai, United Arab Emirates (December 2023)

- Press hailed COP28 as a great success or a distinct failure, ...
 - ... largely based on one sentence in the closing statement about the future of fossil fuels ...
 - ... endorsing "transitioning away from fossil fuels in energy systems, in a just, orderly and equitable manner"

• Compromise

- Above endorsement (instead of "phasing down" or "phasing out" fossil fuels) was combined with endorsement of "renewables, nuclear, abatement and removal technologies," plus ...
 - > ... endorsement of *tripling* global renewable-energy capacity and *doubling* annual rate of energy-efficiency improvements
- Resulted in broad approval (by oil-producing Middle East countries, industrialized and developing countries)
- A Vacuous Statement about Future Aspirations ... or a "Paradigm Shift?" (COP 28 President Al Jaber)
 - Essentially a non-binding resolution about future ambitions, but statement and its press coverage may have symbolic, signaling value

So, Was COP28 a Success or a Failure?

• Most COPs are neither successes nor failures

- Except when a new agreement is reached (Kyoto Protocol, 1997; Paris Agreement, 2015), the COPs have much in common with the annual World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland
- Both are complex get-togethers, based on bottom-up processes.
 - Corporate CEOs in Davos do not agree to take action, then go home to their Boards of Directors to implement their Davos commitments
 - > Causality runs in the opposite direction
- So too with COPs, the delegations from the 195 "Parties" bring to the COPs their domestic priorities.
 - Each COP's outcome is essentially the aggregation of those
- What really drives action around the world (i.e., cuts in GHG emissions) is largely the combination of market realities and public policies.
 - Policies are largely enacted at the national level, and sometimes the sub-national level
 - Those policies are linked with what happens at the annual COPs, but the direction of causation is fundamentally bottom-up, not top-down.

What was the most important COP28 development?

- Recall: most important development during COP27 occurred 6,000 miles away in Bali, Indonesia.
 - U.S. President Joe Biden and China President Xi Jinping met on sidelines of G20 Summit for a 3-hour meeting, signaled their return to cooperation on climate change (2022)
 - Statement of cooperation trickled down to leaders of two negotiating teams John Kerry and Xie Zhenhua
- Even before COP28, they signaled that China and USA might really resume co-leadership
 - Two weeks before COP28, the most important development for COP-28 (Dubai) took place 8,000 miles away
 - In Sunnylands, California, same two heads of state met and signaled in writing ("Sunnylands Statement")
 renewed cooperation on climate change
 - U.S.-China cooperation is essential for meaningful progress on climate change, ...
 - ... and the Sunnylands Statement jointly signed by the two presidents in November 2023 may ultimately be more important than any individual accomplishment at COP-28 in Dubai.

Reminder about the Evolution of the Annual COPs

- UNFCCC specifies any non-governmental entity, which is *qualified re topics of Convention* can be represented at the Conference of the Parties as an *observer* (UNFCCC 1992, Article 7, paragraph 6)
 - An explicit role for observer organizations from civil society (NGOs, trade associations, universities, etc.)

Evolution over Time

- Gradual changes in relative importance and prominence of core country delegations of negotiators versus observers from civil society
- Sixteen years ago (my first COP), 90-95% of meaningful action was in the negotiations, with 5-10% among the participants from civil society
- By the time of COP28, 10% of meaningful action was within the negotiations, and 90% among the official "Side Events," unofficial presentations and sessions, meetings, and interactions among gov'ts and civil society.
- The COP is, to a large degree, a "trade fair" with entrepreneurs of all kinds promoting their products
- The COP is a circus in which the "main event" is eclipsed with increasing frequency by the "side shows"

• Hence, I christened the festivities in Dubai, "Climate Expo 2023"

- Not cynicism or even skepticism, because like Davos, the Climate Expo plays a role
- Great example of this in Dubai were events targeting a specific non-CO₂ greenhouse gas methane.

The Prominence of Methane at COP28

• Methane received greatly increased attention from civil society (business associations, NGOs)

- Reminder: CH₄ has much greater radiative forcing per unit than CO₂, but much shorter atmospheric lifetime
 - \triangleright Over 100 years, radiative forcing per unit of CH₄ 20 times > CO₂; over 20 years, 80 times > CO₂
 - Methane emissions account for 30% of warming since pre-industrial times, and nearly half this decade
- Included *Harvard Initiative to Reduce Global Methane Emissions* (4 presentations, 20+ meetings)
- Can be in financial interests of O&G companies to reduce emissions

• Multiple Developments

- New U.S. EPA regulations to cut O&G CH₄ emissions by 80%, & \$1 billion pledged help for poor countries
- Global Methane Pledge (to cut global CH₄ emissions by 30% by 2030) expanded to 155 countries with Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, & others joining
- U.S., China, & UAE held a methane summit
- World Bank Global Flaring and Methane Reduction Partnership, Global Methane Hub, Oil and Gas Methane Partnership 2.0 (120 companies in 60 countries covering 35% of production), Oil and Gas Climate Initiative's Satellite Monitoring Campaign
- Will pledges and actions from private industry, NGOs, and governments yield real emissions reductions?

Disappointments and Progress at COP28

• Two Disappointments

- Adaptation received great attention in COP28 Decision, but not Funding
 - ➤ Perhaps because of diverted attention: Loss and Damage Fund contributions reached \$700 million (but less than 1% of likely eventual L&D demand)
- Major Setbacks for Article 6
 - Some countries tried to re-open what had been settled issues regarding nature of Article 6.2 mechanism
 - General politicization of Article 6; steps toward implementation blocked

Path Ahead

- "COP28 was a coming-out party for private-sector climate action" (Nathaniel Keohane, president, C2ES)
 - Hundreds of companies from diverse sectors showcased climate-friendly technologies, management practices, adaptation, and finance
 - ➤ A negative or positive development?
- COP28 completed first 5-year Global Stocktake; countries will submit new NDCs by COP30
- The marathon (*not* sprint) continues to COP29 (Baku, Azerbaijan, 2024) & COP30 (Brazil, 2025)

Thank You!

For More Information

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