



ECONOMIC,
SOCIAL
AND ENVIRONMENTAL
COUNCIL
OPINIONS

INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE
NEGOTIATIONS
AND THE DURBAN CONFERENCE

Céline Mesquida

November 2011

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE
LIBERTÉ - ÉGALITÉ - FRATERNITÉ



CONSEIL ÉCONOMIQUE
SOCIAL ET ENVIRONNEMENTAL

CONTENTS

Summary of the opinion	1
The main recommendations	1
Improve climate change governance	1
Set high ambitions for combating climate change.....	2
Start adapting now to the effects of climate change.....	2
Finance the climate challenge effectively and equitably	3
Move towards an economy of husbanding natural resources.....	4
Opinion	5
CHAPTER I 7	
FINDING AND OBJECTIVES.....	7
I - AN EVALUATION OF THE COPENHAGEN SUMMIT	8
A - A SENSE OF MISSED OPPORTUNITIES.....	8
B - A LACK OF POLITICAL VISIBILITY FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION.....	9
C - CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS NEVERTHELESS.....	9
II - THE OBJECTIVES FOR A FAIR AND AMBITIOUS INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK	10
A - SOLIDARITY, DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE.....	10
B - REDUCTION OF ENVIRONMENTAL HARM.....	10
C - SOCIAL JUSTICE.....	10
D - ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.....	11
E - GOVERNANCE, DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENSHIP	11
CHAPTER II 13	
RECOMMENDATIONS.....	13
I - IMPROVE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE GOVERNANCE.....	13
A - VIGOROUSLY SUPPORT THE UN MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATION PROCESS	13
B - RETHINK THE PLACE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS IN CLIMATE NEGOTIATIONS	13
C - ENCOURAGE TERRITORIAL DYNAMICS.....	14
D - STRENGTHEN THE LINKS WITH THE UN CONVENTION ON BIOLOGICAL DIVERSITY.....	15

II - SET HIGH AMBITIONS FOR COMBATING CLIMATE CHANGE.....	15
A - EXTEND THE KYOTO PROTOCOL AND MOVE TOWARDS A GLOBAL AGREEMENT	15
B - MEASURE, REPORT AND VERIFY GREENHOUSE GAS EMISSIONS.....	16
C - CAPITALISE ON EUROPEAN UNION ACHIEVEMENTS.....	17
III - START ADAPTING NOW TO THE EFFECTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE.....	18
A - AGRICULTURE: THE ELEPHANT IN THE ROOM AT THE NEGOTIATIONS	18
B - INTEGRATE ADAPTATION IMPERATIVES INTO DEVELOPMENT POLICIES	19
C - MEET NEW CHALLENGES	20
1. Threats to peace and security	20
2. Climate-driven population movements	20
3. Better integration of the oceans into the climate agenda.....	20
IV - FINANCE THE CLIMATE CHALLENGE EFFECTIVELY AND EQUITABLY.....	21
A - FIND INNOVATIVE SOURCES OF FINANCING	21
1. An international tax on financial transactions	21
2. Mobilisation of international transport (air and sea)	21
3. Use of all or part of European carbon market revenues	21
B - DEFINE THE RIGHT BALANCE OF FINANCING BETWEEN ADAPTATION AND MITIGATION.....	22
C - COMBINE DEVELOPMENT AID AND THE CLIMATE CHALLENGE.....	22
V - MOVE TOWARDS AN ECONOMY OF HUSBANDING NATURAL RESOURCES	23
A - VIGOROUSLY PROMOTE A EUROPEAN INDUSTRIAL POLICY	23
B - MAKE SOCIAL DIALOGUE A MOTOR FOR A FAIR TRANSITION.....	24
C - TURNING AWAY FROM THE SOCIETY OF WASTE	24
ANNEX TO THE OPINION.....	49
VOTING	49

APPENDICES	51
Appendix 1: Global anthropogenic greenhouse gas emissions	53
Appendix 2: Examples of impacts associated with global average temperature change.....	54
Appendix 3: Potential impacts of climate change on the Millennium Development Goals	55
List of contributors.....	56
TABLE OF ACRONYMS	57
BIBLIOGRAPHY	58

Summary of the opinion

The scale and rapidity of global warming are now unequivocal. This being the case, action is urgently needed as climate change is already having an effect and will continue to do so, with the most vulnerable being the first to feel its impact.

In the wake of the powerful mobilisation for the Copenhagen Summit and the impossibility of reaching a global agreement, a strong sense of disillusionment emerged along with the feeling that negotiations on the issue have reached stalemate. As the Durban Conference approaches, however, the ESEC is keen to make the voice of civil society organisations heard on issues of such major importance to the future of the planet and its inhabitants.

The ESEC takes the view that climate change should be considered as an opportunity to rethink our development models, although at a time of economic and social crisis.

The main recommendations

Improve climate change governance

In the run-up to the Durban Conference, the ESEC considers that preserving the UN framework and the mobilisation of civil society actors are essential preliminaries to any real progress in negotiations on climate change.

- The ESEC therefore recommends:
 - ◆ A strengthening of the negotiations process within the UN
 - in view of the global nature of climate change;
 - and calling on other bodies such as the G20 to drive forward decision making at the UN.
 - ◆ A new place for civil society organisations in climate change negotiations
 - at the national level, encouraging dialogue between social partners, non-profit organisations and negotiators in drawing up the mandate for negotiation;
 - at international level, involving civil society organisations more closely in the preparations for decision-making;

- ◆ Recognition of territorial dynamics
 - giving local authorities greater political weight in the negotiations;
 - enabling them to benefit directly from climate funds.
- ◆ Forging stronger links with the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity by
 - ensuring that the recommendations of parties to the Convention on biodiversity are fully taken into account in the negotiations on climate change, particularly as regards the forests mechanism (REDD+);
 - broadly guaranteeing a wider interface between all UN conventions on the environment (climate, biodiversity and desertification).

Set high ambitions for combating climate change

As the first period of the Kyoto Protocol draws to a close in 2012, the Durban Conference will be expected to provide some answers.

- The ESEC is in favour of:
 - ◆ Extending the Kyoto Protocol with a view to the adoption of a global agreement by
 - highlighting voluntary commitments made by certain emerging countries;
 - not postponing decisions until a later date (in particular to the Rio+20 Conference in June 2012).
 - ◆ The ability to measure, report and verify greenhouse gas emissions by
 - increasing the transparency and circulation of information on greenhouse gas emissions, as the first step towards better monitoring of the voluntary commitments made by emerging countries.
 - ◆ Capitalising on European achievements by
 - adopting a long-term investment strategy based on phased targets for reductions in greenhouse gas emissions beyond 2020;
 - relying on IPCC projections to set an initial European target of a 30% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by 2020, backed by strong political will.

Start adapting now to the effects of climate change

For the most vulnerable countries, adapting to climate change is an imperative that must be incorporated into climate negotiations on the same footing as “combating greenhouse gas emissions”.

- The ESEC supports:
 - ◆ Giving more consideration to agriculture in the negotiations by
 - adopting a negotiating chapter dedicated to agriculture, particularly by providing access to dedicated climate financing;
 - highlighting specific adaptation measures to reinforce both the resilience of agricultural models and agriculture's capacity for carbon storage.
 - ◆ Integrating the imperatives of adaptation into development policies by
 - fully including adaptation to climate change in anti-poverty programmes;
 - protecting primary tropical forests by achieving an objective of zero gross deforestation by 2020, whilst allowing for specific situations created by the needs of indigenous populations.

Finance the climate challenge effectively and equitably

The Durban Conference should produce the first implementations of financial promises made in the past, whilst laying the groundwork for an equitable allocation of climate funds, present and future.

- The ESEC recommends:
 - ◆ The introduction of innovative sources of financing by
 - creating an international tax on financial transactions, part of which would be allocated to the climate challenge;
 - the inclusion of international transport (by sea and air);
 - the allocation of all or part of European carbon market revenues to the climate challenge.
 - ◆ Seeking a balance in financing between adaptation and mitigation by
 - putting the Adaptation Committee agreed at the Cancún Conference on an operational footing as soon as possible;
 - increasing the proportion of French ODA funding dedicated to adaptation;
 - ◆ Linking development aid and climate funds
 - based on Nationally Appropriate Mitigation Actions (NAMAs) for a precise evaluation of countries' real needs;
 - by reinforcing the transparency of funds committed to climate issues, and guaranteeing their additionality to official development assistance (ODA).

Move towards an economy of husbanding natural resources

The effectiveness of climate negotiations also depends on the economic and social policies adopted by countries.

- The ESEC therefore recommends:
 - ◆ Promoting a European industrial policy by
 - supporting, until such time as the European carbon market is entirely auction-based, a mechanism of free allocation of carbon permits to those industries most exposed to international competition;
 - promoting R&D investments commensurate with the objectives adopted as part of the Europe 2020 Strategy.

 - ◆ Intensifying social dialogue as a motor for fair transition by
 - applying OECD guidelines and ILO Conventions, and creating new rights in preparation for the changes to come;
 - taking into consideration, for each sector of industry, the quantitative and qualitative effects on employment, and emphasising training programmes and new qualifications.

 - ◆ Turning away from the society of waste by
 - encouraging the labelling of products to show their environmental footprint;
 - incorporating an environmental tax into French and European tax reforms.

Opinion

On 12 April 2011, the Bureau of the Economic, Social and Environmental Council invited its Section for European and International Affairs to prepare a draft opinion on: *International climate negotiations and the Durban Conference*.

The section nominated Ms. Céline Mesquida to serve as rapporteur.

*
* *

CHAPTER I

FINDING AND OBJECTIVES

1992 marked a milestone with the adoption at the Earth Summit of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (the Climate Change Convention), resulting from the massive scientific mobilisation of the 1980s.

The Convention adopts combating climate change as its main objective, but contains very few concrete and operational prescriptions for action; as a result, its implementation relies on an annual process of multilateral negotiations. This difficult yet necessary process paved the way for the adoption in 1997 of the Convention's first binding Protocol on the reduction of greenhouse gases: the Kyoto Protocol.

In the wake of the powerful mobilisation for the Copenhagen Summit in 2009 and the impossibility of reaching a global agreement, it must be said that considerable disillusionment and a sense of stalemate now hang over climate negotiations. Part of the explanation for this phenomenon lies in the great disparity between the challenge of climate change on the one hand and the slow pace and complexity of the negotiations on the other. As the Durban Conference approaches, it is this dual dimension that the ESEC (France's Economic, Social and Environmental Council) intends to address.

In Africa, for example, the scale and increasing frequency of droughts and flooding will seriously increase pressure on water resources and threats to the food security and health of populations.

The populations of overseas regions are also extremely vulnerable to the consequences of climate change since many of the islands they inhabit are prone to violent hurricanes and have fragile ecosystems. Islands in the Caribbean in particular are also among the first already suffering the negative impacts of climate change.

On the southern and eastern Mediterranean rim, agriculture, heavily dependent on rainfall, is suffering the initial effects of climate change.

A few dissenting voices aside, there is broad consensus among the scientific community on human responsibility for the speed and scale of climate change; urgent action is therefore needed. The words of Mr. Jean Jouzel¹, in his contribution to the Section for European and International Affairs, are unambiguous on this point: *“It is a climate totally different from the one we know that we are preparing, not for future generations but for those in school today. We have to bear in mind that we are no longer talking about future generations.”*

Action to combat greenhouse gas emissions is now closely linked to action to adapt to climate change. Sadly, such actions are often perceived as punitive or constraining. This is not our analysis; on the contrary, we believe that climate change should be seen as an opportunity to rethink our development models, although at a time of economic and social crisis.

The climate change negotiations are one way to (re)launch the dynamic of husbanding natural resources and a society more sparing in its use of carbon, but they will still depend on the support of populations and civil society worldwide.

I - AN EVALUATION OF THE COPENHAGEN SUMMIT

Because the Copenhagen Summit of December 2009 marked a turning point in mobilisation against climate change and resulted in revived interest from many actors and citizens, the ESEC offers a critical analysis of the Summit to give greater impetus to renewed collective action.

A - A SENSE OF MISSED OPPORTUNITIES

When States adopted the Bali Road Map in 2007, the aim was to agree on ways of following through on the Kyoto Protocol and, better still, of reaching a global agreement binding upon all parties to the Convention. From the beginning of 2009 onwards, environmental protection groups, international solidarity organisations, trade unions and youth organisations and even the corporate world joined forces on a large scale in support of this objective.

¹ CEA Director of Research, Vice-President of the IPCC Scientific Council, member of the ESEC.

Their mobilisation was widely reported in the media, which often gave the impression that failure to reach an agreement would signal an irreversible end to the fight against climate change. At the same time, the level of ambition appeared to be pitched too high in view of divergences in political interests between countries. Under the circumstances, the heads of State and of government so eagerly awaited on the final day were unable to reach an agreement.

B - A LACK OF POLITICAL VISIBILITY FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION

At the negotiating table, the European Union unfortunately lacked the unity of action required and failed to make its message audible, visible and convincing, despite the fact that its position on climate change appeared in principle to be solid. It was in the absence of any strong, unified European position that certain member States, France among them, were keen to underscore their individual commitment and determination.

In this respect, the separate press conferences held by Germany, France and the European Union at the close of the Summit were striking. One might well wonder whether the absence of any real margin for manoeuvre within the negotiating mandate given to the Commission by the Council did not in fact work against European interests by barring the way to essential adjustments during the course of the discussions.

C - CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS NEVERTHELESS

In the end, the sense of failure and disappointment was directly proportional to the initial level of mobilisation and expectations. So strong was this sense that many citizens might have been left with the impression that further action was pointless. Yet the Copenhagen Summit did achieve some progress. States agreed to:

- collectively limit the increase in average global temperature to 2°C, in accordance with the analysis of the IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change);
- evaluate the situation by 2015, in the light of new scientific data, to envisage reinforcing the long-term objective;
- find new and additional sources of financing for the developing countries.

The Cancún Conference a year later, in addition to formally adopting the Copenhagen agreement, also served to relaunch the UN multilateral process whilst at the same time revealing the growing importance of the emerging nations.

II - THE OBJECTIVES FOR A FAIR AND AMBITIOUS INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK

A - SOLIDARITY, DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE

Combating the effects of climate change and combating poverty are inseparable and interactive. Climate change closely affects every effort made to eradicate poverty. Furthermore, it threatens or even negates all the painful progress made to date, often adding to existing economic and social difficulties.

The ESEC considers that the developed countries, which are responsible for the massive accumulation of greenhouse gases since the beginning of the industrial era, owe an absolute debt of solidarity to the most vulnerable populations and to future generations. This principle results from the Rio Declaration of 1992 and is restated in the Climate Change Convention: responsibility is common yet differentiated. The ESEC considers it no less necessary, however, that there should be greater involvement of the large emerging nations that currently represent a by no means negligible proportion of greenhouse gas emissions.

B - REDUCTION OF ENVIRONMENTAL HARM

The IPCC has already identified a number of environmental challenges: increased frequency of extreme weather events, pressure on water resources, rising sea levels, etc. For these reasons, it has stressed that if the increase in global temperature is to be limited to 2°C, the developed countries should reduce their greenhouse gas emissions by 25% to 40% by 2020, and by 80% to 95% by 2050.

Biodiversity is already suffering under the impact of climate change. The state of the oceans, which absorb a large proportion of greenhouse gas emissions, is cause for serious concern². Marine biodiversity could be severely affected by ocean acidification caused by excessive absorption of greenhouse gases.

C - SOCIAL JUSTICE

Eight out of ten workers in today's world lead precarious existences, and the situation risks deteriorating as further damage is done to the environment, widening the gap of social inequalities still further.

² IPSO (International Programme on the State of the Ocean), *International earth system expert workshop on ocean impacts and stresses*, June 2011 - <http://www.stateoftheocean.org/ipso-2011-workshop-summary.cfm>.

It is therefore essential to set ambitious goals for decent, quality jobs and a common foundation for universal social protection. Compliance with the founding conventions of the ILO (International Labour Organisation) and the reinforcement of social dialogue represent a major advantage in support of a fair transition.

D - ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In 2006, economist Nicholas Stern evaluated the annual cost of inaction on climate change at between 5% and 20% of world GDP (Gross Domestic Product). Since the start of the industrial revolutions, economic growth has been achieved on the back of cheap, abundant energy, in a world where access to natural resources seemed infinite. That era is over; energy will henceforth be expensive and scarce, and the growing pressure on natural resources could become unsustainable.

For the ESEC, international climate commitments must trigger changes of a nature to guarantee the viability of economies that serve human wellbeing as measured by indicators other than GDP alone, as described in the Stiglitz report³. Environmental protection cannot be achieved at the expense of human social and professional life. Furthermore, these climate commitments must also encourage an essential dynamic of investment and innovation.

E - GOVERNANCE, DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENSHIP

It is difficult to identify triggers for mobilisation that will be effective at the level of both UN international conferences and the individual citizen. From trade unions to professional and interprofessional organisations, networks of chambers of commerce, businesses, non-profit organisations or local authorities, however, each component of society is an essential link in mobilising energies in support of collective commitments and changes in behaviour.

Climate change and the ecological crisis in general pose another major challenge to our societies: the challenge of democracy. The greenhouse gas emissions of today will have little effect on the climate of the next decade. But reductions today will certainly have a major effect on climate change by the year 2050. Instead of political decisions too often dictated by short-term logic, what is needed is a vision and policies for the longer term. Involving populations and citizens more closely in decision-making processes is therefore essential.

³ Prof. Joseph E. Stiglitz, Prof. Amartya Sen, Prof. Jean-Paul Fitoussi, *Rapport de la Commission sur la mesure des performances économiques et du progrès social*, 2009.

CHAPTER II

RECOMMENDATIONS

I - IMPROVE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE GOVERNANCE

For the ESEC, closer involvement of civil society actors and in-depth reform of international decision-making processes are key conditions for more successful climate negotiations.

A - VIGOROUSLY SUPPORT THE UN MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATION PROCESS

The difficulty of reaching an overall agreement through the UN has repeatedly undermined this multilateral framework for action. Certain proposals tend towards an approach based on bilateral or regional agreements or agreements between a limited number of countries. **The ESEC believes that climate change is a challenge that concerns the entire population of the planet and that multilateral negotiations within the UN should therefore be preferred.**

The ESEC considers, however, that bodies such as the G8/G20 can also play a major role in driving their decisions forward on a larger scale at the UN. It was in the course of a G7 Summit in 1989, for example, that heads of State and of government called for the urgent adoption of a framework convention on climate change.

B - RETHINK THE PLACE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS IN CLIMATE NEGOTIATIONS

At the Copenhagen Summit, the organisations present encountered increasing difficulties in accessing the negotiation areas. In Cancún, the Conference Chair opted to involve them more closely, by holding preliminary meetings. The ESEC supports this approach, which should be continued by the South African Chair.

The ESEC feels, however, that other more enduring avenues should be explored for linking organised civil society more closely to climate negotiations.

At the national level, the ESEC points out that it is essential to allow real dialogue between the social partners and non-profit organisations on the one hand, and government negotiators on the other. The period when the

negotiating mandate is being prepared is the ideal time to ensure that stakeholders are fully engaged with international commitments. **National ESCs and similar institutions also have a similar role to play in this respect.**

At the international level, the Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters (commonly known as the Aarhus Convention) offers a lead the ESEC would wish to see followed. Under its provisions, non-profit, trade union and employers' organisations are entitled to monitor negotiations, as observers, at every stage in the decision-making process. At the latest Conference of the Parties (COP) in July 2011, businesses and environmental groups became stakeholders in the preparation of the negotiating documents, put forward amendments and engaged in direct discussions with the States attending.

Finally, we would stress that the issue of international governance of sustainable development will be on the agenda of the next UN Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20), to be held in June 2012.

The ESEC therefore argues for:

- merging the Sustainable Development Commission with the UN Economic and Social Council in order to take the environmental dimension fully into account, and the **creation of a UN Economic, Social and Environmental Council;**
- **the creation of a World Environment Organisation, to bring about greater consistency, effectiveness and coordination within a single legal framework, for action to promote environmental standards.**

C - ENCOURAGE TERRITORIAL DYNAMICS

Local and regional authorities are in the front line, with direct powers of action in strategic sectors such as transport, housing and urban development. They are consolidating their presence in the international concert of negotiations and demonstrating a real determination to make their mark as lynchpins in the combat against climate change.

The ESEC believes that reinforcing the political weight of local authorities in climate negotiations would exert positive pressure on the States attending. The concrete actions of local authorities, their best practices and their successes bring a more tangible element to negotiations often far removed from achievements on the ground. **It is therefore essential that local authorities should, for example, be able to benefit from international climate funding, a decision adopted by the Cancún Conference that should be supported by the Durban Conference.**

D - STRENGTHEN THE LINKS WITH THE UN CONVENTION ON BIOLOGICAL DIVERSITY

Climate change and biodiversity are closely linked. The linkage between the two UN Conventions, on the other hand, is far from evident and the ESEC deplores the fact. The treatment of forests is a good example. As both carbon sinks and reservoirs of biodiversity, the planet's forests are the focus of all concerns. Yet, at the same time, 13 million hectares of tropical forest are destroyed every year, even though some 800 million people depend on them directly for their livelihood.

Forests have been an integral part of climate negotiations for several years, and there is even a specific mechanism in place for reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+). The aim of the scheme is to provide financial aid for campaigns to combat the deforestation of primary tropical forest. The ESEC has certain concerns, however, as to the discussions under way to establish concrete methods of implementing forest preservation projects.

As matters stand, the current definition of a forest, as adopted during earlier negotiations, could result in climate financing going to plantations whose environmental impacts (on climate and biodiversity) risk being as harmful as their social ramifications.

At the last Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity, held in Nagoya in 2010, the States attending drew attention to the need to adopt safeguards on biodiversity for future REDD+ projects. **The ESEC regrets that the Climate Convention Secretariat does not take sufficient account of the Climate Convention's observations** and, more generally, that there is little interface between the three main UN Conventions (climate, biodiversity and desertification).

II - SET HIGH AMBITIONS FOR COMBATING CLIMATE CHANGE

Voluntary national undertakings on the reduction of greenhouse gases given by the parties to the Convention in early 2010 fall well short of an adequate response to the climate change emergency, even though the Copenhagen agreement recognised the urgency of the issue.

A - EXTEND THE KYOTO PROTOCOL AND MOVE TOWARDS A GLOBAL AGREEMENT

As the end of the first commitment period (2008-2012) approaches, the Annex I parties that have ratified the Kyoto Protocol now account for a smaller proportion of global greenhouse gas emissions than when the treaty came into force in 2005 (55%). The United States, the world's second biggest emitter, has never ratified the Protocol.

The ESEC is concerned by this situation while fully aware of the difficulty the Durban Conference will have in obtaining an extension of the Kyoto Protocol beyond 2012. **Between pursuit of a binding treaty that covers only a steadily diminishing proportion of global emissions, the persistent reluctance of the world's biggest emitters to engage with the issue on the international stage and the low profile adopted by numerous signatory countries, the ESEC vigorously supports a strong European position: a second period of commitment to the Protocol and the pursuit of a determined climate policy at home.** This is all the more necessary in that the extension of the Flexibility Mechanisms defined under the Kyoto Protocol (the Clean Development Mechanism and Joint Implementation) is highly desirable, particularly as part of the European carbon market.

In any event, the ESEC would like to see a more global agreement, involving greater accountability on the part of the international community, adopted at the earliest opportunity. It deplores the current fragmentation of negotiations and would wish to see a single tool serving as a framework for action for all countries, in the interests of equity between developed and emerging countries.

The distinctions inherited from 1992 between the industrialised countries and the rest fail to reflect the growing economic and political influence that many countries now exert. In this context, the scope of voluntary commitments given by certain emerging countries, and which may in fact prove to be effective, should be properly appreciated.

There is no avoiding the fact that certain parties attending the Durban Conference might be tempted to prolong the current *status quo* in view of the forthcoming UN Conference on Sustainable Development in June 2012 (Rio+20), marking the 20th anniversary of the Earth Summit. The ESEC believes that such an approach would be prejudicial and **would not wish to see the prospect of Rio+20 used as a pretext for delaying or suspending decisions.**

B - MEASURE, REPORT AND VERIFY GREENHOUSE GAS EMISSIONS

In 2000, the emerging countries accounted for almost 45% of greenhouse gas emissions. Before any mention is made of quantified targets for reducing their greenhouse gas emissions, priority must be given to measuring, reporting and verifying those emissions.

There is undoubtedly room for improvement, as a visit to the Climate Convention website will instantly confirm: the last emissions figures available for China date from 1994. **The ESEC supports a negotiating line aiming at greater transparency in the information on greenhouse gas emissions for all parties to the Convention. The ESEC would wish to see the Durban Conference adopt operational measures to this end.**

It is also important to make progress on the measurement, accounting and verification of greenhouse gas emissions in the industrialised countries in order to take better account of carbon storage, particularly for the agriculture and forest sectors.

C - CAPITALISE ON EUROPEAN UNION ACHIEVEMENTS

With the adoption of the Climate and Energy Package in 2008, the European Union gave a commitment to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions by 20% by 2020 (based on 1990 levels) and to increase that commitment to 30% if a global climate agreement were reached. **The Copenhagen Summit deferred this possibility, leaving economic and social actors and non-profit organisations confused. For the ESEC, this situation gives rise to uncertainty and instability for the economic world.**

The ESEC would emphasise that investment lead-times in many strategic sectors, transport and construction to name but two, stretch well beyond 2020. A longer-term view is therefore required, setting stable objectives based on staged trajectories and backed by a policy of technological innovation that will ensure the competitiveness of the European businesses concerned.

Using IPCC projections, the ESEC notes that a European target of a 30% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by 2020 would be a first step. It should be emphasised, however, that it will require considerable political will to achieve this objective, in view of the social and economic transformations that such a reduction would entail, particularly as regards modes of production and consumption.

The ESEC also believes that the EU can strengthen its position in international negotiations through determined involvement within its own purview. **The discussion on quantified objectives needs to be stabilised as soon as possible, especially at a time of economic crisis. It is on the evidence of the resources committed to achieving concrete results that the EU will be able to convince other world regions of the pertinence of high ambitions for combating climate change.**

The recent decision by Germany to abandon nuclear energy by 2022 raised many questions and legitimate concerns as to sharing the effort of reducing greenhouse gas emissions within the EU. Beyond this, however, lies the more fundamental question of the EU's ability to engage in a common approach to energy that will require the support of its people.

III - START ADAPTING NOW TO THE EFFECTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE

For the ESEC, adaptation to climate change must occupy as important a place in the conduct of negotiations as efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Adaptation needs will depend on context, however. The poorest countries are also the most vulnerable to the immediate effects of climate change.

UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) definition of adaptation:

“Adaptation is a process through which societies make themselves better able to cope with an uncertain future. Adaptation to climate change entails taking the right measures to reduce the negative effects of climate change (or exploit the positive ones) by making the appropriate adjustments and changes.”

A - AGRICULTURE: THE ELEPHANT IN THE ROOM AT THE NEGOTIATIONS

In its opinion of 6 September 2011⁴, the ESEC expressed its satisfaction that issues relating to agriculture and food security were to appear on the agenda of the Heads of State and Government Summit. The G20 is a pertinent forum in which to address such crosscutting issues. Agricultural activities are very much concerned by climate change. Some attempts have been made in recent years, albeit with little success, to make agriculture a chapter of the negotiations in its own rights. **The ESEC strongly deplores the lack of success, and believes that the time has come for the parties to the Climate Convention to adopt a specific programme of action on agriculture, in particular to enable agriculture to benefit from dedicated funding.**

It is important to note that agriculture, while it contributes to greenhouse gas emissions, is also a source of solutions - in particular carbon sequestration in soil and forests – that would benefit from being highlighted by the introduction of voluntary mechanisms. Increased water stress, soil erosion, the loss of biodiversity and the increasing frequency of extreme weather events all pose serious threats to the food security and sovereignty and the health of many populations. In certain African countries, for example, rainwater-based agriculture could shrink by 50% by 2020.

⁴ *Au cœur du G20 : une nouvelle dynamique pour le progrès économique, social et environnemental.*

The ESEC would therefore be in favour of the climate negotiations emphasising concrete measures in favour of adaptation to the effects of climate change, and recommends:

- **the orientation of agriculture towards the most resilient production systems possible** (diversified and complementary production, maintaining the broadest possible animal and plant biodiversity);
- **the definition of agricultural policies and research avenues conducive to the introduction of climate-driven production systems and the increased use of rainwater, as well as water management policies conducive to the optimal use of river and reservoir water;**
- **the introduction of food stockpiling policies for forward management of extreme weather event risks;**
- the due consideration for the primordial role of pastureland in carbon storage, and the introduction of legumes into crop rotations;
- the reinforcement of exchanges and cooperation in the field of agricultural expertise.

B - INTEGRATE ADAPTATION IMPERATIVES INTO DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

The vulnerability of developing countries needs no further demonstration. **The agriculture and fishing sectors that have traditionally guaranteed the subsistence of their populations are seriously exposed in certain regions, in particular in coastal, tropical and subtropical zones.**

In the circumstances, it is therefore essential that adaptation to climate change should now be an integral part of programmes to combat poverty. In the view of the ESEC, which only recently highlighted the delays that have built up in achieving the Millennium Development Goals, it is imperative to update these goals to include the specific issue of adaptation. For the ESEC, adapting to climate change is crucial to achieving the Millennium Development Goals. To help bring this about, transfers of technology to the most vulnerable countries should be encouraged.

Also essential is proper management of environmental resources, in particular forests and wet zones. These act as buffers to absorb excess rainfall, as well as offering an important means of subsistence for local communities. The REDD+ mechanism should therefore provide economic incentives for countries and local populations to preserve their primary tropical forests.

A first step in this direction would be an objective of zero gross deforestation of primary tropical forest by 2020. The objective would, however, need to be flexible enough to allow for specific situations created by the needs of indigenous populations. The long-term aim here should be sustainable forest management. **As one of the few northern hemisphere countries with primary tropical forest on its territory (in French Guiana), France is particularly qualified to support this aim on the international stage.**

C - MEET NEW CHALLENGES

1. Threats to peace and security

In many African countries, increasingly scarce water resources are accentuating tensions that often already exist between countries dependent on the same water source. The increasingly fragile security conditions in many regions created difficulties when it came to putting the issue of the links between climate, peace and security on the agenda for the UN Security Council meeting in July 2011. **The ESEC is in favour of the UN Security Council playing a growing role in the prevention of climate-related crises.**

2. Climate-driven population movements

By 2050, over 200 million people may be forced out of their native land by rising sea levels, floods and droughts. **Climate-driven population movements could rapidly pose a major challenge to the international community as a whole and should constitute a chapter in its own right of international negotiations on adaptation.** The ESEC will be watchful for any progress in this direction.

3. Better integration of the oceans into the climate agenda

Very little is still known about ocean plankton ecosystems. Current global warming, as well as many other human activities, is certainly having an impact on these fragile ecosystems. France, which represents the world's second largest maritime zone, must convey a specific message on this matter. For the ESEC, the issue of the oceans must be given greater consideration in the international climate agenda. This will call for greater support for research to provide greater knowledge of and ability to predict the impact of climate change on the oceans.

IV - FINANCE THE CLIMATE CHALLENGE EFFECTIVELY AND EQUITABLY

As debt crises worsen, the question of financial solidarity with the most vulnerable countries remains one of the thorny issues of the current climate negotiations. The creation of a Green Climate Fund at last year's Cancún Conference, with an undertaking from the developed countries to mobilise funding of €100 billion a year from 2020, offers an answer to this concern.

A - FIND INNOVATIVE SOURCES OF FINANCING

While well aware of budget constraints yet resolutely in favour of promoting climate solidarity, **the ESEC reiterates its support for the principle of introducing innovative sources of financing for the Green Climate Fund. The necessary preliminary to this, however, is to continue consolidating the volume of Official Development Assistance (ODA).** The extent of the needs is such that new and additional resources need to be targeted, however.

The ESEC therefore calls for:

1. An international tax on financial transactions

The challenges of development and climate demonstrably justify the introduction of such a tax. According to UN evaluations, the revenue generated could be as much as \$60 billion a year, depending on the tax base and rate. Taking the joint Franco-German position as a starting-point, the ESEC thus calls for a determined European stance on the international stage.

2. Mobilisation of international transport (air and sea)

International greenhouse gas emissions arising from sea and air transport are constantly increasing, but as yet are not accounted for under the terms of the Kyoto Protocol. As from 2012, the European carbon market will, however, include the air transport sector. **The ESEC supports the principle of accounting for the emissions globally, as the first step towards financial contributions from the two sectors.**

In fairness, however, since the financial effects could have negative consequences for some countries, allowances would have to be made for any special economic and social circumstances.

3. Use of all or part of European carbon market revenues

As from 2013, half of the carbon permits under Europe's Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS) will be auctioned rather than allocated free of charge. The ESEC supports the possibility of allocating all or part of this

revenue to financing European and international action on climate change, subject to the necessary guarantees of transparency and regulation. The revenue generated by auctioning 100% of Europe's carbon allowances would be substantial: some €150 billion to €190 billion by 2020.

B - DEFINE THE RIGHT BALANCE OF FINANCING BETWEEN ADAPTATION AND MITIGATION

While the international community seems to be in agreement on making adaptation central to climate negotiation, it is clear that the proportion of financing set aside for this purpose is woefully inadequate. Sadly, France is by no means an exception: according to the French development agency AFD, of the €2.8 billion of climate funds committed in 2010 only €400 million related directly to adaptation projects.

The ESEC deplores this situation and calls for the rapid and operational introduction of the Adaptation Committee agreed upon at the Cancún Conference, to launch a policy to redress the balance. This is also an issue of economic efficiency: as global warming intensifies, it will take longer to put investments in place and the cost of adaptation will be all the higher as a result.

On this point, the ESEC notes that France's main provider of ODA, the AFD, operates mainly through concessional or "soft" loans, often at below market rates. Concessional loans to fund adaptation in the most vulnerable countries would require the introduction not only of financing mechanisms correlated with the countries' ability to repay, but also of economic and social development policies destined to ensure better incomes for their inhabitants.

Subsidies, on the other hand, represented less than 3% of ODA financing in 2009. When it comes to financing adaptation campaigns, particularly in vulnerable countries, it is clearly extremely difficult to bank on a return on investment and repayment of the loan. The ESEC would be in favour of climate funds channelled through French ODA increasingly taking the form of subsidies from 2012 onwards, while insisting nevertheless that the subsidies should be directed towards projects clearly identified as contributing to adaptation, and subject to strict controls on their proper application.

C - COMBINE DEVELOPMENT AID AND THE CLIMATE CHALLENGE

The ESEC considers that the effectiveness of public funding will be inseparable from the mobilisation of private resources, whilst ensuring that any new market instruments (including carbon markets) do not constitute speculative bubbles. In this context, the Nationally Appropriate Mitigation Actions (NAMAs) launched at the Copenhagen Summit, setting out national objectives and needs as regards climate change, should help in adopting a pragmatic

approach to aiding southern hemisphere countries, by identifying expectations and necessary operations more concretely.

Furthermore, the ESEC has questions regarding the linkage between ODA and climate funds. In today's environment of budget constraints, the ESEC has concerns regarding the temptation to recycle existing French ODA at the expense of the principle of financial additionality of such funds. Although a development project may well have climate co-benefits, the ESEC stresses the need for greater transparency, at both European and international level, the better to identify the funds really allocated to climate. In the case of France, the ESEC is in favour of strict monitoring and evaluation of budgeting for the funds devoted to this purpose.

V - MOVE TOWARDS AN ECONOMY OF HUSBANDING NATURAL RESOURCES

During his contribution to the Section for European and International Affairs, Mr. Paul Watkinson⁵ stated: *“UN negotiations are the scene of a great deal of contention and rhetoric, sometimes wholly disconnected from reality”*. **International climate negotiations do frequently create an image of slow progress. Combating climate change does, however, have concrete implications. Strengthening the effectiveness of UN processes therefore supposes a different attitude towards our economic and social policies.**

A - VIGOROUSLY PROMOTE A EUROPEAN INDUSTRIAL POLICY

France's large trade deficit is due in considerable part to massive imports of manufactured goods whose greenhouse gas emissions are not accounted for in the country's national energy balance. These could potentially be estimated at an additional 35% of emissions in 2005. The ESEC refuses to resign itself to the gradual disappearance of the industrial fabric of France and Europe, all the more so on the pretext of climate policies supposed to justify the outsourcing or offshoring of certain activities. **The economies proving most successful in resisting the current crisis, the ESEC would point out, are those based on a reasonable balance between industries and services.**

The risks of “carbon leakage” triggered by stronger environmental legislation are very real for certain clearly identified sectors, to which greater consideration should be given. When it is so difficult to arrive at a universal legal framework to combat climate change, exporting pollution becomes possible. **Until such time as the European carbon market (EU ETS) is entirely auction-based, therefore, the ESEC can only support a**

⁵ Head of the climate negotiation team at the European and International Affairs Division of the French Ministry of Ecology, Sustainable Development, Transport and Housing.

mechanism of free allocation of carbon permits to those industries most exposed to international competition.

The ESEC nevertheless considers that European ambition may bring about an improvement in environmental performance that will ultimately prove beneficial to business competitiveness. This will require commensurate investment in R&D, investment that the ESEC continues to call for in the light of the ambitious objectives of the Europe 2020 Strategy. **It cannot have escaped notice that the US and China are already investing massively (on a far greater scale than the EU) in the innovation of tomorrow.**

B - MAKE SOCIAL DIALOGUE A MOTOR FOR A FAIR TRANSITION

When it comes to discussions on the issues of climate, whether at European or national level, **the social partners are only too often excluded from the debate.** The ESEC nevertheless believes that social dialogue is an essential condition for the successful implementation of climate policies. The transition towards an economy that consumes fewer natural resources will not be made without businesses and their employees. **This implies not merely adopting the OECD guidelines⁶ and ILO conventions, but also creating new rights in the field of employee information, consultation and involvement. This is particularly true when preparing the economy of tomorrow for far-reaching change.**

Rather than supinely waiting for ecological and social crises to arise, it is possible to foresee them and make our economies more resilient to the impacts of climate change. The consequences of these changes will not be identical for all EU countries or for all professional sectors. **A fair transition must allow for reducing inequalities and take into account the quantitative and qualitative effects on employment.** Training programmes, new qualifications and education are therefore keys to success. **So, too, is forward planning of jobs and skills. These options should be considered sector by sector.**

Corporate social and environmental responsibility could also help to redefine, within companies, how employees can be involved and mobilised to reduce consumption, primarily of energy but also of resources overall, possibly by introducing agreements.

C - TURNING AWAY FROM THE SOCIETY OF WASTE

In its opinion of 4 November 2010 on “the Communication of the European Commission on International climate policy post-Copenhagen: Acting now to reinvigorate global action”, the European Economic and Social

⁶ OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises on *Responsible business conduct in a global context*.

Committee concluded: *“To back up its diplomatic endeavours, the European Union should also mobilise organised civil society in order to make public opinion aware of the need for our society to waste fewer natural resources and use more renewable ones, and for us all as individuals to adopt a more public-spirited outlook”*. The ESEC fully shares in this view.

Pursuing this idea, **the labelling of products to display their environmental footprint, from design to recycling, could help to inform public opinion and encourage changes in individual behaviour.**

Taxation is also an effective tool for encouraging and supporting economic and social changes. Only a few months after the Copenhagen Summit, in the light of reservations expressed by the Constitutional Council, **the French government decided to abandon the introduction of a climate tax. The demotivation that followed the Copenhagen Summit undoubtedly played an important part in this decision. For the ESEC, “green” taxation should be fully integrated into French and European tax reforms.**

Lastly, it is important to encourage education on the environment and sustainable development at the earliest possible age and hence to mobilise all those concerned (national education system, non-profit organisations, local and regional authorities, business, etc.)

STATEMENTS BY THE GROUPS

Agriculture group

For the agricultural sector, the challenges posed by climate change are enormous. Farmers have one eye constantly on the skies, and unpredictable weather is part of our daily lot. An increase in that unpredictability is, for us, a major concern. Managing climate risk is an essential part of farm management. We would also like to mention the issue of water management, which we see as inseparable from the subject under discussion.

Since 1992, agriculture professionals have been following international and European discussions on the issue with a great deal of interest.

We would like to underscore two of the recommendations presented here.

The first relates to the promotion of a European industrial policy. The Agriculture group fully supports this stance in favour of maintaining local production capacity. Support for economic momentum is essential. If it is to withstand the effects of climate change, we must at all costs strengthen research and development policies. Encouraging innovation is absolutely crucial.

The second point relates to the agricultural sector. For agriculture to form an integral part of the climate negotiations, two conditions must be met:

- firstly, the contributions made by the agricultural sector must be recognised. Some are directly noticeable, others have indirect effects that must be taken into consideration (carbon storage, alternative energy generation, production of biodegradable materials, for example);
- secondly, it is essential to recognise the constraints that new climate norms might have on agricultural production methods and hence on the fragile economic equilibrium of farms.

The industry will maintain its constant vigilance as to the economic impact of proposals to ensure that there is no threat to farm competitiveness and production capacity and to seek out potential opportunities. We would also like to see attention paid to the necessary consistency between policies adopted at the different levels and the rules already in place.

The Agriculture group voted in favour of the opinion.

Cottage Industry group

This ESEC opinion is once again highly topical, with the approach of the Durban Conference that will play such an important role in preparing the future of the Kyoto Protocol.

The opinion proposes a series of objectives to revitalise the global momentum to mitigate the scale and consequences of climate change.

In the view of the Cottage Industry group, the first imperative in Durban is to put on record the need for a second commitment period under the Kyoto Protocol. The scope and conditions of involvement will need to be updated, however, since the global economic landscape has altered considerably since the first international agreement was signed. Countries like China, India and Brazil will also have to play their part in the global effort and their commitments will need to be subject to a transparent CO₂ emissions measurement and verification system. On a more general note, the question of common responsibility and shared involvement at global level will need to be resolved, even if the efforts required must depend on States' respective capacities.

In the case of the southern countries, greater synergy will need to be found between aid funding and "*climate funding*". Sector-based projects should also be encouraged, to help in identifying the programmes to be adopted and in obtaining support from private financing.

At the European level, despite a difficult and unstable economic situation, climate issues represent an opportunity in terms of innovation and investment, requiring long-term planning in strategic sectors such as construction, transport or renewable energies; they also represent an opportunity in terms of conversion and the creation of new activities.

As the opinion emphasises, Europe's level of ambition can serve as a driver and an example to other regions of the world. The Cottage Industry group believes, however, that this must necessarily be linked to the aim of European economic competitiveness. Businesses will need clear yet attainable objectives and stable rules to enable them to embark on the necessary investments, whether material or human, and particularly as regards training.

The fight against climate change should not cause us to overlook the need for concrete and urgent action in adapting to the consequences of climate change already at work. The developing countries will, of course, need help in developing these adaptation measures - as the opinion reiterates - but the role of local actors and authorities and of professional branches and businesses must also be recognised and encouraged in every country. The Cottage Industry group sees these actors as essential, by virtue of their in-depth knowledge of their specific environment. Many craft professions have launched awareness

The Cottage Industry group fully approves the proposals made in the opinion to involve organised civil society more closely in climate negotiations, both in preparing France's mandate and in monitoring international negotiations. Furthermore, such a move seems likely to strengthen support from all citizens for actions designed to mitigate the scale and consequences of global warming and prepare society for the foreseeable impacts of the climate change already under way.

The Cottage Industry group voted in favour of the opinion.

Associations group

Two years after Copenhagen, what can we expect from Durban? The opinion presented by Céline Mesquida offers signposts towards concrete solutions for an ambitious international policy to combat climate change.

Beyond these proposals, however, the rapporteur notes that the relative failure of the Copenhagen Summit created a certain sense of disillusion in civil society as to the ability of States to take determined measures on the climate issue. Civil societies seem, in fact, to have a stronger awareness than governments of the urgent need for action. Just how far have we come? In 2003, in an opinion on the environment and sustainable development, our predecessors in this organisation reviewed the slow and difficult appropriation by economic and social actors of environmental issues in general and climate issues in particular. Today, civil society has manifestly advanced by leaps and bounds. The change is due in large part to the mobilisation of our organisations, of non-profit organisations in the first instance but also of businesses and unions, that has encouraged citizens as a whole to take these issues on board.

This gap between civil society and government commitments prompts us to emphasise the proposals set out in the opinion as regards international climate governance. The Associations group is keen for there to be open, transparent and regular civil dialogue between civil society and the authorities. At the national level, this civil dialogue should take the form, as indicated in the opinion, of constructive exchanges between the associations and social partners on the one hand and government negotiators on the other. There is a shared general interest, in particular on climate issues that call for a long-term commitment. The Associations group therefore vigorously supports proposals seeking to "*rethink the place of civil society organisations in climate negotiations*" and regarding the creation of a UN environmental agency.

This deeper governance must make it possible to initiate the economic and social transformations that will necessarily accompany States' commitments to mitigation of and adaptation to climate change. The opinion emphasises the fact that, in the wake of Copenhagen, voluntary national commitments have proved wholly inadequate. For this reason, our group subscribes fully to the recommendation to extend the Kyoto Protocol and move towards a global

agreement. In Durban, the States will also need to agree on funding mechanisms that will make climate change adaptation measures possible at the international level. On this point, the last G20 meeting was disappointing, since it proved impossible to translate the proposal for a tax on financial transactions into concrete measures. For many non-profit organisations, France should live up to its responsibilities and work towards the introduction of such a tax in the euro zone as an initial step. This “*innovative*” financing method must pursue two complementary objectives: working to eradicate poverty and enabling the implementation of policies to combat climate change.

Lastly, the Associations group would wish to stress the major role the European Union has to play in combating climate change. The lack of European Union unity in Copenhagen and the extremely narrow mandate imposed on the Commission by the heads of State and of government hampered Europe’s ability to take the negotiations forward and upward. Yet our continent could be in the forefront of a battle that no longer concerns only “*future generations*”, as our colleague Jean Jouzel so rightly pointed out, but that concerns every one of us and for which our generation will bear resounding responsibility.

The Associations group voted in favour of the opinion.

CFDT group

In addressing itself to the preparations for the Durban negotiations, the ESEC is aware that the challenge of climate change affects every continent, every country, and the entire population of each country, irrespective of levels of development or social and economic categories. It recognises, however, the historic responsibility of the developed countries.

The actions of some will have consequences for all; the inaction of others, and in particular of the United States, the world’s biggest economy, will also have consequences for all. We all bear a share of the responsibility for a change of direction negotiated within a multilateral framework.

For the ESEC, climate change must offer an opportunity to rethink our development models, even in a period of economic and social crisis.

It is a matter of not only rethinking the future but also of starting now to adapt to the effects of climate change.

The CFDT subscribes fully to this view, and sees in it an element for growth and a way forward out of the current crisis.

For the CFDT, the involvement of all actors, including local and regional authorities, is just as essential as government legislation and incentives in bringing about these important changes.

Dialog between authorities, social partners, non-profit organisations and negotiators prior to the international negotiations is a prerequisite for acceptability. Making social dialogue the motor for adaptation is a precondition of success in order to arrive at a fair transition.

High ambitions are needed to meet the IPCC recommendations. In order, therefore, to develop a green economy and retain its leadership in the field, Europe should, in the interests of the climate and for its own sake, maintain high ambitions for gradually achieving a reduction of 80% by 2050.

Measuring, reporting and verifying greenhouse gas emissions is of the highest importance for all objectives, whether imposed or voluntary. For the CFDT, this method of assessment should be extended to all multilateral agreements.

Without substantial funding, mainly through a global carbon market, it will be difficult to achieve the goal of limiting the global temperature increase to 2°. It is vain to seek to finance all the major challenges ahead of us through a tax on financial transactions, a tax still to be created and yet already largely spoken for.

The CFDT group voted in favour of the opinion.

CFE-CGC group

The CFE-CGC would like to thank the rapporteur and the President of the Section for European and International Affairs for the excellent quality of the report.

The CFE-CGC supports the opinion.

The CFE-CGC believes it is fundamental to take measures to:

- improve international climate governance;
- combat climate change;
- adapt to the effects of climate change;
- finance the climate challenge;
- move towards an economy of husbanding natural resources,

by associating civil society at an early stage in preparations for decision-making.

Against a background of an unprecedented global financial, economic and social crisis, this issue must not be pushed to one side but must become central in rethinking our relationship to the world we live in and, consequently, to consumption.

It is our duty to protect the environment that was handed down to us and that we hold in trust for our children and grandchildren and for future generations in general. It is a treasure that does not belong to us. We must take

the necessary steps to protect it, not only in France or Europe alone, but also at the global level. Hence the importance of the climate negotiations in Durban.

The CFE-CGC group therefore:

- supports the creation of a World Environment Organisation within the UN;
- advocates a European industrial policy focusing on research and innovation;
- encourages a policy of innovative financing, particularly to promote research and the introduction of new manufacturing, transformation and heating processes. Research and innovation should lead us towards and focus on new and less energy-intensive ideas.

Our whole economy now needs to become less wasteful and more economical with natural resources that it is our duty to preserve.

For the CFE-CGC, the absolute necessity of protecting the environment is an opportunity for rethinking our financial economic and social models and creating sustainable local jobs.

For these reasons, the CFE-CGC supports the opinion. As we see it, this is an investment that is vital for future generations.

The CFE-CGC group voted in favour of the opinion.

CFTC group

The work that has culminated in the opinion put before us has highlighted realities that cannot be ignored; whether or not one shares the IPCC's conclusions, climate change is indisputable, and CO₂ generation is much higher than nature can absorb. This cannot but affect the environment. If the per capita consumption of emerging countries starts to approach that of the rich countries, our planet will be even less able to support the burden, in terms of both demand for resources and harm to the environment.

The CFTC group therefore approves the proposals put forward in the opinion, whether it be as regards adapting to climate change or reducing greenhouse gas emissions. We would be wholly in favour of the proposal to introduce a global tax on financial transactions, but subject to certain questions. Would we be able to arrive at an international consensus to guarantee the minimum level of transparency such a tax would imply? Would countries that earn much of their income through these transactions, such as the United Kingdom, agree to its being levied? Lastly, since the measure has also been suggested as a means of financing other needs (health, employment), could the tax be set at a realistic level in the light of climate needs? Fortunately, the opinion suggests other means of financing, such as the allocation of all or part of carbon market revenues. It is only logical for the CFTC to support these alternative means, but are they realistic?

The opinion suggests moving towards an economy of husbanding natural resources, a suggestion that the CFTC can only approve. We are confronted, however, with a major question that the opinion also raises: how to turn away from the society of waste in a world condemned to the headlong pursuit of growth? The answer lies in “consuming better”, but it is impossible to ignore the difficulty of reducing consumption, were it only in France, at a time when deindustrialisation is leading to massive job losses, or in the poorer countries with high demographic growth, which have a desperate need for income to feed their population.

All these questions, while they deserve further specific study, do not call into question the central proposals made in the opinion, however, or the quality of the opinion. The CFTC group voted in favour of the opinion.

CGT group

The CGT, which advocates sustainable human development, shares most of the findings reached by the opinion presented today, and in particular the need to grapple with the constraints associated with climate change in order to rethink our economic model in the light of the systemic crisis it is currently undergoing. In common with the *Stiglitz* report, the opinion also stresses the need to take into account indicators other than GDP, and to renounce a short-termist view of the economy. Changing the bases on which the economy is founded remains essential in order to contain climate change, to enable the most vulnerable countries to adapt and to guarantee the necessary funding. The very means and ends of production are at issue.

The transition to a fair economy cannot be made without businesses that are socially and environmentally responsible. This requires a review of corporate governance, with the introduction of new employee rights of information, intervention and oversight. Employees’ views on job redeployment, training and recognition of qualifications must be taken into account to ensure a fair transition to a low-carbon economy. It would be unthinkable for the constraints imposed by reducing greenhouse gas emissions to be used as a pretext for outsourcing or even offshoring industrial production, at a time when industrial relocation is a major issue. Lastly, the role of the authorities (national government, regional and local government) in preparing for a fair transition should not be forgotten. This role is fundamental, in terms of incentives and regulation as well as in terms of education and training.

The CGT shares the recommendations put forward in the opinion on improving international climate governance, and the concern for civil society to be more closely involved in decision-making, but regrets that no mention was made of how the conventions of a future World Environment Organisation could be made binding. It is not enough to create a new institution intended to bring together the various existing international conventions under a single umbrella;

such an institution must also be given the means to act. If they are to meet the conditions of effective global climate governance, the international frameworks must be stringent, legally binding and subject to control.

Lastly, the CGT shares the recommendation made in the opinion on the need to create new sources of funding for the Green Climate Fund created in Cancun, in particular the introduction of a tax on financial transactions. As regards the links between green funds and official development assistance, at a time of budget austerity there is a great temptation to recycle France's existing environmental ODA. In the view of the CGT, it is imperative that climate funds continue to be additional to assistance already in place. The opinion emphasises the necessary transparency required in this area. In the view of the CGT, such transparency cannot be envisaged without a democratic system of monitoring and oversight.

The CGT group voted in favour of the opinion.

CGT-FO group

Throughout its existence, the union movement has founded its action on improving the wellbeing of workers. The CGT-FO reaffirmed this aim in a general resolution at its last conference, linking this aim of social progress to that of protecting and improving the environment at both the local and global level. The FO group believes that the situation is now so serious that immediate action is imperative. Around the world, hundreds of millions workers and their families live in insecurity and great poverty, all too often suffering from hunger, and excluded from access to healthcare, to safe drinking water or to minimum standards of health and safety. Immediate measures must be taken in view of the urgent need for a response to climate change and for the necessary adaptation to the now inevitable effects of that process.

For these reasons, the FO group supports the conclusions and recommendations of the opinion on international climate negotiations, and would like to pay tribute to the remarkable work done by the section, and by its very young rapporteur, on such a complex subject.

The serious crisis currently affecting populations across the world only reinforces the need to pursue social justice, which must be the priority. Quite rightly, the opinion incorporates this objective as a condition for the effectiveness of climate policies.

For FO, protecting and improving the environment, including climate issues, for the benefit of all calls for ambitious policies in terms of research and of technical and industrial development. Such policies will undoubtedly prove a source of economic growth, creating productive jobs. Once again, this means that investment on behalf of the wellbeing of populations – categorised as a cost by the owners of capital – must radically outweigh the interests of financial markets. This will undoubtedly need to be accompanied by a rebalancing of

economic exchanges to comply with social and environmental standards, otherwise the inequalities behind the current crisis risk being created anew between those with the means to enjoy plentiful energy sources and high environmental standards and those whom budget constraints confine to austerity and insecurity.

As well as respecting the roles and missions of each stakeholder, the opinion recommends funding the climate challenge effectively and equitably. Without this proviso, FO fears that, as is the case in France, environmental protection made concrete in the form of regulatory and legislative measures may be compromised by a lack of resources, manpower and public funding. FO also stresses the need for independent assessment of actions undertaken, to discourage profiteering through social and environmental dumping.

The opinion quite rightly supports the reinforcement of the negotiation process within the UN, driven by bodies such as the G20, and backed by the creation of a World Environment Organisation providing a legal framework to guarantee the consistency, effectiveness and coordination of actions to promote environmental standards.

The CGT-FO group voted in favour of the opinion.

Cooperation group

The opinion proposes a fair balance between the need to pursue the aim of reducing greenhouse gas emissions within a framework of international cooperation, but also to reduce the vulnerability of societies and ecosystems to climate change; a fair balance, then, between mitigation of and adaptation to climate change.

The opinion also advances the need for greater consideration to be given to agriculture and forests in order to meet the climate change challenge, and the Cooperation group shares this view. The agricultural sector and the forests are key elements in confronting this challenge.

The forests provide an interesting example of how adaptation and mitigation can be complementary. The goal should be that of reasoned management of forests, not solely conservation, because the forests are not a sanctuary. This approach must be compatible with protecting biodiversity and improving populations of forest species. Systems for the certification of sustainable forest management must be developed, to contain the excesses of deforestation in certain parts of the world. In the view of the Cooperation group, commercial forestry operations should be authorised solely as part of a framework of certified management accompanied by a development plan.

Over the past 20 years, French farming has reduced its greenhouse gas emissions by 10% thanks to reasoned use of fertilisers; it is still a net emitter, but has identified sound levers for action. The progress made is real, but the Cooperation group is convinced of the need to go further. We need a

technological breakthrough if we are to halve emissions by 2050, while increasing yields sufficiently to feed a global population of nine billion.

Intensive ecological agriculture may make this possible. In essence, this consists of “producing more with less”: less in the way of pesticides, fertiliser, water, energy, etc. It is based on new production methods making sparing use of chemicals and based instead on natural capital: using organic matter from livestock farming as soil amendments; promoting simplified crop-growing techniques to increase organic matter; developing agroforestry as a way of combining carbon storage and food production.

We are only at the beginning of this revolution, and ways must be found to encourage economic actors to take the plunge.

For this to happen, carbon needs to have economic value as part of a market that is organised and, of course, regulated to avoid speculation and fraud. Experiments are already under way in France. The savings on fossil fuel energy used to dry alfalfa achieved by Coop de France, the advice on reasoned use of fertilisers issued by Invivo and the reduction in methane emissions achieved by feeding livestock a diet rich in linseed have all earned carbon credits as part of a partnership with the Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations (French Deposits and Consignments Fund). The enormous advantage of carbon market mechanisms is that they reward “tailor-made” approaches that are truly relevant in that they are developed by actors on the ground and then approved by the authorities: hence the need to encourage local and regional initiatives emphasised in the report.

Whatever the outcome of the negotiations on Kyoto III, the priority for us is the extension, at the European level, of the flexibility mechanisms that emerged from the Kyoto Protocol.

Finally, the problem of global warming lays the groundwork for a complex and fundamental question: how to organise the management of global public goods and take future generations into account, at a time of shortening political and economic horizons, deep financial crisis and the emergence of new countries determined to participate fully in the global economy?

For the Cooperation group, even in these difficult circumstances Europe and France must hold to their course in order to meet the challenge of climate change. We must seize this opportunity to take a long-term view, to commit to a low-carbon economy by investing and innovating, and in so doing to invent a new development model that will generate competitiveness for our businesses and the sustainable growth for the benefit of all that is so badly needed.

The Cooperation Group voted in favour of the opinion.

Enterprises group

Our reflections come at a time of great economic and financial turmoil affecting the whole world, and we might be forgiven for wondering whether the subjects we are addressing here can make themselves heard in the present circumstances.

And yet, as the French President said at the Johannesburg summit in 2002: *“Our house is burning down and we are looking the other way!”*

Yes, it is absolutely necessary to grasp that we must find a new way of thinking as regards our development. We must learn to give greater consideration to nature, its power and its logic, and to the scarcity of natural resources.

Business is well aware of this new given, and is seeking to grasp the resulting changes both proactively and positively.

We believe, as the text before us today emphasises, that international climate negotiations are essential and that the difficulties now facing many States must not be allowed to compromise negotiations whose long-term impact is extremely important.

We consider it desirable for civil society to be more closely associated with the work, and in particular with that of the preparatory working groups, as a step that will create greater mobilisation of all actors concerned.

The Enterprises group shares in most of the recommendations that were very clearly identified, and would like to stress certain points:

- the objectives set must be ambitious, given the challenges, but must also be realistic. We note that, as the IPCC stated and the opinion repeats, an objective of a 30% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by 2020 would require strong political will. This is only one aspect of the subject, however, and we believe that it is necessary, in parallel and sector by sector, to adopt pragmatic approaches taking into account the technical and economic realities of each context in a spirit of dialogue and progress;
- the measures recommended must apply globally. It is certainly important for Europe and, within Europe, France to set an example, but we cannot constantly be the only ones to apply constraints without these distorting competitiveness and handicapping our country and, through its businesses, its citizens;
- we would also emphasise the need for dialog between all the actors throughout the processes involved. It is important that the inevitable changes in economic, social and societal systems should take place in the greatest transparency, taking into account all the issues. Businesses are, for their part, willing to undertake to offset their

actions in the most pertinent manner possible. Many, indeed, are already doing so. This requires economic operators to monitor advances in science and our knowledge of these subjects. In the case of sustainable forest management, for example, a subject raised in the opinion, this is a complex area in which leading experts need to share ideas and exchange views on scientific advances and on the best practices and techniques available in order to make the right decisions.

Once again, commitment, pragmatism and dialogue are the keys to success.

The Enterprises Group voted in favour of the opinion.

Environment and Nature group

While all political concerns are concentrated on the current economic and social crisis, it is essential not to lose sight of the fact that the climate will not wait; nothing should overshadow the urgency of the situation and the need to find shared solutions to remedy it.

In this respect, the forthcoming Durban summit is crucial, and it is extremely positive that the ESEC has taken up the subject. The proposed opinion is concrete and pertinent, and the Environment and Nature group pays tribute to the work of the rapporteur and of the section that have produced this consensual and ambitious text.

The climate challenge should be envisaged as an opportunity to rethink our development models, especially at a time of serious economic and social crisis. The Environment and Nature group believes that, in the circumstances, the following avenues are essential:

- The Durban Summit must lay the foundations for a new global agreement on climate that is ambitious, equitable and legally binding. To achieve this, it is essential to confirm the legitimacy of the United Nation to steer the debate, to ensure the legal form of a future post-2012 agreement and to approve a second commitment period to the Kyoto Protocol.
- The climate negotiations need to get their second wind through an improvement in climate change negotiation governance, with a revised and reinforced role for civil society. Real progress on climate negotiations will not be achieved without strengthening the environmental pillar of the UN, through the creation of a World Environment Organisation and the mobilisation of civil society organisations, a mobilisation in which the ESEC should have a growing role to play.
- The European Union can move matters forward by setting itself high ambitions and objectives in combating climate change, in line with

scientific recommendations. Based on IPCC projections, the ESEC supports Europe's target of a 30% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by 2020 as an initial course. The Environment and Nature group subscribes fully to this objective, and is aware of the political determination required.

- In the matter of deforestation, the group supports the clearly stated target of zero deforestation by 2020, but taking into consideration the specific circumstances of indigenous populations.
- The role of adaptation in climate negotiations must be reinforced, with France taking a strong position on the international stage.
- Effective and equitable funding for climate solidarity must be found, with greater transparency in official development assistance and enhanced funding for adaptation. The Environment and Nature group supports the recommendation to create innovative additional funding coupled with appropriate governance, and the possibility of eventually including international transport. The group would wish to stress the fact that climate solidarity has a cost that must be funded but is beyond price.

The Environment and Nature group voted in favour of the opinion, which reiterates the need to act urgently without discouragement, and will closely monitor the progress of the negotiations in Durban.

Mutual Insurance group

The universal and crosscutting nature of the consequences of climate change call for the involvement of all at every level, i.e. international, community, national and local.

The future risks created by climate change are ecological (extreme weather events, droughts, flooding, etc.), economic and social (cost of adaptation, population migrations, etc.) and health-related. This list, which is by no means exhaustive, perfectly illustrates the fact that the impact of climate change extends well beyond the scope of individual technical measures and demands changes that pose an overall challenge to our ways of life.

As regards the health risks in particular, Professor François Rodhain of the Institut Pasteur stressed that "*in view of the risks that climate change represents in terms of infectious diseases,*" it is essential to "*prepare for the unexpected*", giving priority to "*setting up permanent, reliable and sensitive epidemiological monitoring at a very early stage to detect any unusual phenomenon*" coordinated with "*early warning systems*". In order to achieve this objective, the Mutual Insurance group believes it is a matter of urgency to introduce campaigns to raise public awareness and opinion.

Adaptation to climate change is imperative, particularly for the planet's poorest populations who will be the first victims of the ensuing catastrophes that will further widen the inequalities between countries. The Mutual Insurance group is sensitive to this point and wonders about the balance of solutions for reducing greenhouse gas emissions between developed and developing countries when just one quarter of the planet's population is responsible for consuming three quarters of its resources.

Working on behalf of the climate will have economic, social and environmental impacts that will make it possible to ensure quality of life, solidarity between generations and social cohesion. As we reiterated regarding the opinion on competitiveness, it is essential to prepare for a new growth model, and adaptation to climate change offers a real opportunity for economic development leading towards an ecological change. The measures to be taken are not utopian, whether in the fields of energy, agriculture or changing behaviour: the aim is to consume better through an economy geared towards the husbanding of natural resources. These measures rely on political choices and choices made by society that call for strong and coordinated involvement by States with one another and with their citizens, through real and immediate investment in education and research. The question of acceptance by citizens is all the more pressing in that different surveys (in particular the sustainable mobility index produced by MACIF) show the French to have little inclination to change their habits and do not consider environmental issues as a priority. They must be made aware of the potential scope of their actions and not adopt a defeatist attitude as to their impact.

To achieve these objectives, global governance to bring concrete and rapid results is what we need. The objective is not beyond our reach, but the political will must be there, supported by the determination of civil society and of citizens. The decisions taken at the Durban conference will be crucial to our future.

The opinion not only offers a lesson but also proposes ways of improving decision-making processes, measures for the adaptation of our production and consumption models and an effective and lasting use of funding for the benefit of humanity. The Mutual Insurance group voted unhesitatingly in favour of the opinion.

Student Organisations and Youth Movements group

The aim of the ESEC in addressing this subject was to "*contribute to better knowledge of the problems and greater involvement by citizens*". As the current economic and financial crisis relegates combating climate change to the rank of "secondary priorities", the issue of awareness and information is, in our view, more crucial than ever.

Article 6 of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change is, quite rightly, devoted to the education and training of citizens. We firmly believe that there is a link between citizen investment, their grasp of climate issues and progress towards a more binding and hence more effective international system.

Our group is particularly sensitive to the connection made in the opinion between the ecological crisis and the democratic challenge, and therefore lends its voice to the call for greater participation by populations in decision-making processes. With this end in view, education – both formal and informal – on environmental issues should be widely encouraged.

Combating climate change is a challenge that, by its very nature, calls for a global and coordinated response. Just as climate change will affect nations unequally across the planet, so the necessary transition towards less polluting economies will not have the same impact on populations everywhere, particularly as regards changes in employment. It is important, therefore, that the transition should be as fair and as equitable as possible. Support will be needed to ensure that the most vulnerable populations are not the worst affected, and the proposals on funding made in the opinion tend in this direction.

Over and above the objectives for the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, the opinion clearly shows that it is now a question of responding to the challenges of adaptation, challenges that are as much technical as they are social. Climate change brings in its wake inequality and major crises, and we therefore fully support including the integration of adaptation imperatives into development policies.

The Student Organisations and Youth Movements group therefore voted in favour of the opinion.

Overseas Territories group

As the Durban conference approaches, the public seems to have lost confidence in the UN process. This opinion offers ways of remedying the lack of effectiveness in the process. The Overseas Territories group congratulates the rapporteur on the quality of the work and on the reception afforded to group observations during the work of the sections.

Renewing confidence in this process is especially necessary because the actions taken by our generation to combat climate change will be decisive, and our responsibility is therefore all the greater. In the overseas regions, it is young people who will bear the brunt of climate change impacts. In addition to the threats to the fragile balance of overseas ecosystems (80% of France's national biomass), climatologists repeatedly stress the possible impact of climate change on cyclone activity. The fear is that overseas territories will be hit by more powerful, more frequent and more destructive cyclones that will affect their development.

In the light of these facts, overseas territories should therefore be more closely involved in the negotiations. As the opinion pertinently suggests, strengthening the role of local authorities in climate change negotiations should be encouraged. The great institutional diversity of overseas communities also makes such an approach necessary. Some have very extensive powers and are well equipped to participate in the formulation and implementation of policies to combat global warming. Strengthening regional cooperation by overseas local and regional authorities within their region through closer involvement in regional organisations and greater government support should *“bring a more tangible element to negotiations often far removed from achievements on the ground”*.

The Overseas group also wishes to reiterate that no measure to promote biodiversity or combat global warming should be taken without giving due consideration to certain circumstances or difficulties specific to the overseas territories. The group notes with satisfaction the reminder given in the opinion that the objective of zero deforestation does not conflict with the principle of sustainable forest management essential to the endogenous development of the overseas territories. The ecological drama currently unfolding in Réunion reminds us that the island was recently awarded UNESCO World Heritage site status. The group proposes that urgent thought be given to drawing up a charter for the preservation of overseas ecosystems: scientific research into the use of biomass to generate energy or silviculture are just two examples of sustainable management of the forests of French Guiana.

The Regional Councils of French Guiana, Guadeloupe and Martinique, meeting in Saint Lucia, recently expressed support for a project put forward by the forestry commission of French Guiana (ONF Guyane) as part of the REDD+ (Reducing Emissions from Deforestations and Forest Degradation) mechanism under the ERDF Interreg on interregional cooperation.

It is important to remember that the demands of sustainable development should never be set against social and economic interests. Policies to combat climate change can only be effective with the full cooperation of the populations concerned and the involvement of their direct representatives.

The Overseas Territories group voted in favour of the opinion.

Qualified Leading Figures group

Mrs. Dominique Meyer: “Even if there are still some uncertainties as to the scale of the phenomenon in different parts of the world, global climate change is inevitable for present and future generations. In particular, we are seeing an acceleration in certain climate events, whether regional (melting ice in the Arctic) or extreme (floods, droughts). Existing commitments are far from adequate to the urgency of the situation and the whole world must now not only reduce its greenhouse gas emissions but also, and simultaneously, start adapting

to unavoidable climate change. This draft opinion has the merit of addressing both priorities equally, including their financial aspects, in the light of the forthcoming Durban negotiations, and I give my overall support to its recommendations.

It is obvious that adaptation to global climate change will take very different forms in different countries. I would therefore stress that each State, each region, should examine in timely fashion and seek to quantify: 1) the impacts of climate change on the territories concerned; 2) their own vulnerability to these impacts; and 3) the degree of resilience of their infrastructure and population. This analysis should then be used to determine a clearly thought-out strategy for adapting to an uncertain future.

Certain countries that have already begun to feel the impacts of climate change have started drawing up adaptation programmes. The United Kingdom, for example, is already on its second version: the “*Adaptation Sub-Committee to the Committee on Climate Change*” was established in 2008. It has so far published two reports, one in 2010 and the second in 2011 (“*How well prepared is the UK for climate change?*”).

In France, the impacts of climate change are currently less serious than elsewhere in the world, but it is essential to take a long-term view now and to assess the potential risks. To that end, the Ministry of Ecology published a national plan for adaptation to global climate change on 20 July 2011.

On the basis of an assessment of the impacts and vulnerabilities affecting France, the priority objectives of adaptation should be: 1) fresh water in all its aspects; 2) soil distribution (and thus agriculture); and 3) the scaling and conservation of national and regional infrastructure. Naturally, these objectives will be conceivable only with a reinforcement of research, education and training in all of these sectors.

In an apparent paradox, global climate change is not just a challenge but also an opportunity to rethink our development models with the aim of improving life for all, and I am in agreement with the draft opinion. In the current climate of overlapping crises, however, in which the developed countries are also involved, the longer it takes to put the necessary measures into effect, the greater the cost of adaptation will be, especially for the most fragile economic actors and individuals.

I will vote in favour of the opinion.”

Liberal Professions group

Environmental issues affect and concern all self-employed professionals in their daily activities. They are already aware, through the exercise of their profession, of the importance of environmental protection and climate, and mobilised to play their part as healthcare, legal, technical, lifestyle or other professionals.

Every day, healthcare professionals diagnose illnesses linked to various forms of pollution and find that certain infectious diseases emerging are linked to loss of biodiversity.

Lifestyle professionals, whether architects, engineers, town planners or landscape artists are well aware of natural disasters (droughts, floods, storms). They, along with the rest of the construction world, have already embarked on high environmental quality projects with the aim of adapting to climate change. We deplore the lack of resources available to attain the objectives set, however.

The legal professions are in a position to measure the value of environmental protection in the light of court rulings on reparations for damage caused to the environment.

The financial professions are concerned by “green” taxation.

Both professionals and their patients or clients are all affected and concerned by climate issues. The subject is extremely sensitive, but still difficult for many of us to access. The rapporteur has provided some valuable lessons. The opinion, with its simple exposition and accurate historical background, has enabled all of us, from expert to layman, to grasp the importance of climate issues.

The opinion is also an opportunity for civil society to make its voice heard – civil society that is, regrettably, all too often excluded from the different negotiations.

The subject of the environment and climate is still all too often relegated to a position of secondary importance to the economic and social policies pursued by our political leaders and relayed by the media. We deplore the fact. It is also a subject difficult to measure on the politician’s timescale, and one that arouses considerable controversy and debate. Yet the facts are clear and the figures beyond dispute. The scientific data demands an immediate response.

The recommendations set out in the opinion are ambitious, but it is essential to establish clearly the framework within which we wish to see the negotiations unfold in Durban. In a difficult and troubled international context, each of the recommendations is at risk of being undermined by any one of the stakeholders, public or private, with divergent interests. As the rapporteur so tellingly reminds us, we must rethink our social and economic model and our development models.

It is just as important to find new funding resources, but nothing can be done without strong European will and without the active support of all the actors. For this reason, the European Union should be allowed to put all its weight behind these climate negotiations and, at the same time, international climate governance should be improved.

Our responsibility is to look to the future and foresee the difficulties likely to affect us and to affect future generations. The Liberal Professions group voted in the favour of the opinion on the grounds that it is essential, fair and ambitious.

UNAF group

The main challenge at the Durban negotiations will be the extension of the Kyoto Protocol, the only binding legal instrument that currently requires the industrialised countries to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions.

Through this opinion, civil society invites itself to the negotiation table ahead of the conference, with a detailed road map offering a wealth of proposals.

This opinion sets a high level of requirements since it recommends seeking a global agreement and the assessment and measurement of greenhouse gases.

The UNAF group pays tribute to the balance achieved between the two levers for action in combating climate change:

- on the one hand, reducing greenhouse gas emissions;
- on the other, adaptation by society to forestall the human, environmental, material and financial risks entailed in global warming.

The UNAF group subscribes in large part to the recommendations, and would like to draw particular attention to three of them in view of their close link to families.

In its finding, the opinion is careful to assert that the climate negotiations are one way of launching or relaunching the dynamic of reducing waste as long as populations and civil society around the world are mobilised. The group that represents families is already engaged in the combat against global warming and acts as a responsible partner in the implementation of policies to reduce waste and develop sustainable habitat, for example. Informing our fellow citizens must concern us all.

The UNAF group strongly echoes the recommendation on turning away from the society of waste via concrete steps such as labelling products with their environmental footprint. The group is keen to highlight the “*Familles à énergie positive: engagées pour le climat*” (families with positive energy: committed to the climate) competition. Families are in the front line and campaigns by the French environment and energy management agency ADEME should be encouraged.

The attention of the UNAF group was also drawn to the local and regional development approach. The proposals to reinforce the role of local authorities in negotiations and the possibility for local authorities to benefit directly from climate funds are avenues to be encouraged. The diversity of France's regions must be taken into account, with a balance to be respected between urban and rural areas, since the approaches in terms of transport and housing are not similar or comparable across the country.

The UNAF group voted in favour of the opinion.

UNSA group

The only global treaty seeking to limit greenhouse gas emissions is the Kyoto Protocol. With the passage of time, it can be said to have played a considerable role despite limited success and effectiveness. It is due to expire in 2012, however.

Hence the importance of the negotiations that will open in Durban at the end of this year.

The exceptional floods currently sweeping Thailand are a striking demonstration that combating climate change calls for commitment from every country. The forthcoming negotiations will need to set out the principles of a new global agreement and devise effective tools. In addition to bilateral meetings between governments or meetings of the G8, the UN must also be a driving force to ensure that this coordination is real and energetic.

The UNSA would like to see an important role given to the ILO, by means of a mandate recognising the organisation as a UN agency specialising in questions relating to work and employment. A social pillar and strong employment must be added to climate and energy policies.

The industrialised countries must make a greater effort. They are responsible for around three quarters of the greenhouse gases emitted last century. While accounting for around half of today's greenhouse gas emissions, they represent only 20% of the world's population. Any resolution of the climate crisis will necessarily require the definition of a new form of climate solidarity.

It is essential that the G20 finance ministers give concrete undertakings on providing the €200 billion of public funds to support the adaptation of developing countries for the 2013-2017 period and provide adequate financing in the industrialised countries through investment in promoting green jobs. It is equally essential to adopt a "*fair transition*" designed to protect workers during the shift towards a "*green economy*". In so doing, the G20 finance ministers can open the way for an ambitious agreement, including binding targets for the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions in the industrialised countries as well as similar measures or the introduction of tighter controls in developing countries.

The UNSA sees the European Union as playing a crucial role in international climate negotiations, by virtue of its political and economic weight. With many of the industrialised countries dragging their feet, the EU should show the way. The UNSA supports the positions adopted on 20 October 2011 by the ETUC, which remains firmly attached to the idea of reaching a fair, binding and ambitious global agreement.

If no global agreement can be reached, at the very least a second commitment period to the Kyoto Protocol will be needed, and should be based on strong and ambitious objectives for emissions reductions, greater transparency and a clear monitoring, reporting and verification system. The Durban conference must also produce a road map designed to lead to such a global agreement as swiftly as possible: it could also provide for a review of the situation in 2015 in order to take new scientific information into account in due time.

The ESEC recommendations argue for an agreement leading directly on from the Kyoto Protocol and the UNSA considers this to be a highly pragmatic solution to respond to the challenge of halving greenhouse gas emissions by 2050 thanks to global climate governance based on majority voting and with effective economic instruments and truly “*additional*” international financing for the countries with fewest resources.

The UNSA group voted in favour of the opinion.

ANNEX TO THE OPINION

VOTING

Voting on the full text of the draft opinion

Number voting 175

Votes in favour 174

Abstentions 1

The Economic, Social and Environmental Council adopted the opinion.

Votes in favour: 174

Agriculture group - Mr. Bailhache, Mr. Bastian, Mrs. Beliard, Mrs. Bernard, Mrs. Bocquet, Mrs. Bonneau, Mr. Giroud, Mr. Gremillet, Mrs. Henry, Mrs. Lambert, Mr. Lefebvre, Mr. Lemétayer, Mr. Roustan, Mrs. Serres, Mrs. Sinay, Mr. Vasseur.

Cottage Industry Group - Mrs. Amoros-Schwartz, Mrs. Foucher, Mrs. Gaultier, Mr. Lardin, Mr. Martin, Mrs. Sassano.

Associations Group - Mr. Charhon, Mr. Da Costa, Mrs. Gratacos, Mr. Leclercq, Mr. Pascal, Mr. Roirant.

CFDT group - Mr. Blanc, Mrs. Boutrand, Mr. Briand, Mr. Duchemin, Mrs. Hénon, Mr. Honoré, Mrs. Houbairi, Mr. Jamme, Mr. Le Clézio, Mr. Legrain, Mr. Malterre, Mrs. Nathan, Mr. Nau, Mrs. Pichenot, Mr. Vérollet.

CFE-CGC group - Mr. Artero, Mrs. Couturier, Mr. Delage, Mr. Dos Santos, Mr. Lamy.

CFTC group - Mr. Coquillion, Mr. Ibal, Mr. Louis, Mrs. Parle, Mrs. Simon.

CGT - Mrs. Crosemarie, Mrs. Cru, Mr. Delmas, Mrs. Doneddu, Mr. Durand, Mrs. Geng, Mrs. Hacquemand, Mr. Michel, Mr. Minder, Mr. Rozet, Mr. Teskouk.

CGT-FO group - Mrs. Baltazar, Mr. Bellanca, Mrs. Boutaric, Mrs. Fauvel, Mr. Lardy, Mrs. Medeuf-Andrieu, Mrs. Millan, Mr. Nedzynski, Mrs. Nicoletta, Mr. Peres, Mr. Porte, Mrs. Thomas, Mr. Veyrier.

Cooperation group - Mrs. de L'Estoile, Mr. Lenancker, Ms. Rafael, Mrs. Roudil, Mr. Verdier.

Enterprises Group - Mrs. Bel, Mr. Bernardin, Mrs. Castera, Mrs. Colloc'h, Mrs. Duhamel, Mrs. Frisch, Mrs. Ingelaere, Mr. Jamet, Mr. Lebrun, Mr. Lejeune, Mr. Marcon, Mr. Mariotti, Mr. Mongereau, Mr. Placet, Mr. Pottier, Mrs. Prévot-Madère, Mr. Ridoret, Mr. Roger-Vasselin, Mrs. Roy, Mrs. Tissot-Colle, Mrs. Vilain.

Environment and Nature group - Mr. Beall, Mr. Bougrain Dubourg, Mrs. de Bethencourt, Mrs. Denier-Pasquier, Mrs. Ducroux, Mr. Genest, Mr. Genty, Mr. Guerin, Mrs. de Thiersant, Mrs. Laplante, Mr. Louchard, Ms. Mesquida, Mrs. Vincent-Sweet.

Mutual Insurance Group - Mr. Beaudet, Mr. Davant, Mrs. Vion.

Student Organisations and Youth Movements group - Mr. Dulin, Ms. Guichet, Mr. Prévost, Mrs. Trelu-Kane.

Overseas Territories Group - Mr. Arnell, Mr. Budoc, Mr. Galenon, Mr. Grignon, Mr. Omarjee, Mr. Paul, Mrs. Romouli Zouhair, Mrs. Tjibaou.

Qualified Leading Figures Group - Mr. Aschieri, Mrs. Ballaloud, Mr. Baudin, Mr. Bernasconi, Mrs. Brunet, Mrs. Cayet, Mrs. Chabaud, Mr. Corne, Mrs. Dussaussois, Mrs. El Okki, Mr. Etienne, Mrs. Flessel-Colovic, Mrs. Fontenoy, Mr. Gall, Mr. Geveaux, Mrs. Grard, Mrs. Graz, Mr. Hochart, Mr. Jouzel, Mrs. de Kerviler, Mr. Khalfa, Mr. Le Bris, Mrs. Levoux, Mr. Martin, Mrs. de Menthon, Mrs. Meyer, Mr. Obadia, Mrs. d'Ormesson, Mrs. Ricard, Mr. Richard, Mr. Soubie, Mr. Terzian, Mr. Urieta.

Liberal Professions Group - Mr. Capdeville, Mrs. Gondard-Argenti, Mrs. Riquier-Sauvage.

UNAF group - Mrs. Basset, Mr. Damien, Mr. Farriol, Mr. Joyeux, Mrs. Koné, Mrs. Therry.

UNSA group - Mr. Rougier.

Abstentions: 1

Qualified Leading Figures Group - Mr. Lucas.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Global anthropogenic greenhouse gas emissions

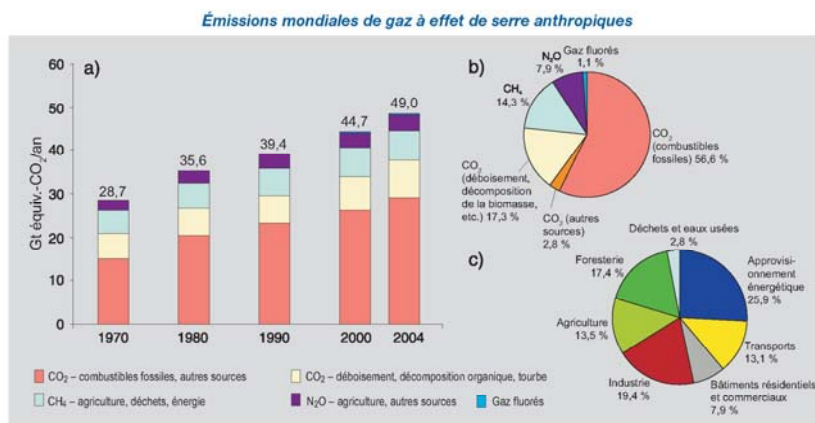
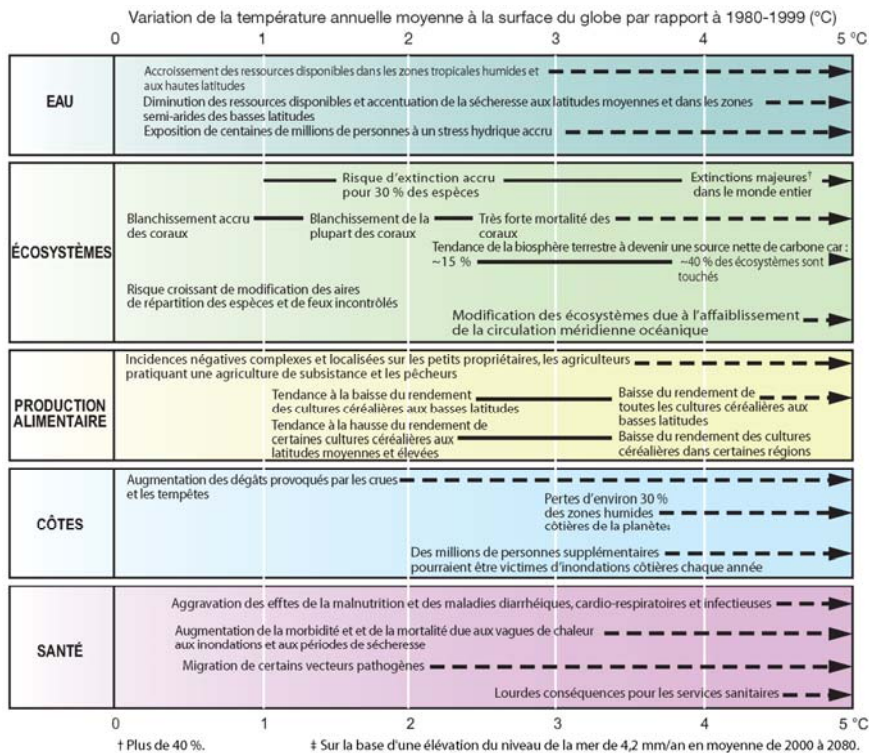


Figure RID.3. a) Émissions annuelles de GES anthropiques dans le monde, 1970-2004^a. b) Parts respectives des différents GES anthropiques dans les émissions totales de 2004, en équivalent-CO₂. c) Contribution des différents secteurs aux émissions totales de GES anthropiques en 2004, en équivalent-CO₂ (La foresterie inclut le déboisement). [Figure 2.1]

Source : *Changements climatiques 2007 Rapport de synthèse*, Groupe d'experts intergouvernemental sur l'évolution du climat.

Appendix 2: Examples of impacts associated with global average temperature change

Impacts will vary by extent of adaptation, rate of temperature change and socio-economic pathway.



Source : *Changements climatiques 2007 Rapport de synthèse*, Groupe d'experts intergouvernemental sur l'évolution du climat.

Appendix 3: Potential impacts of climate change on the Millennium Development Goals

Tableau 2 Incidences possibles des changements climatiques sur les objectifs du millénaire pour le développement	
Objectifs du millénaire pour le développement: la question transversale des changements climatiques	
Objectif du millénaire pour le développement	Exemples de liens avec les changements climatiques
Réduire l'extrême pauvreté et la faim (objectif 1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Les changements climatiques devraient entraîner la dégradation ou la destruction d'une partie des actifs qui sont à la base des moyens d'existence des populations pauvres: santé, accès à l'eau potable, logements, infrastructures, etc. ● Les changements climatiques devraient freiner la trajectoire et le rythme de croissance économique en raison des modifications des ressources et des systèmes naturels, des dommages aux infrastructures et de la baisse de la productivité du travail. Tout ralentissement de la croissance se traduit directement par une diminution des possibilités de revenus pour les populations pauvres. ● Les changements climatiques menaceront la sécurité alimentaire à l'échelle régionale. En Afrique en particulier, l'insécurité alimentaire devrait s'aggraver.
Santé <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Réduire la mortalité infantile ● Améliorer la santé maternelle ● Combattre les principales maladies (objectifs 4, 5 et 6) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Parmi les effets directs des changements climatiques figurent l'augmentation de la mortalité et des maladies liées à la chaleur (éventuellement compensée, dans certaines régions, par une baisse de la mortalité liée au froid). ● Les changements climatiques pourraient augmenter la prévalence de certaines maladies à transmission vectorielle (par exemple, le paludisme et la dengue) ainsi que la vulnérabilité aux maladies hydriques, alimentaires ou à transmission interhumaine (par exemple, le choléra et la dysenterie). ● Les enfants et les femmes enceintes sont particulièrement sensibles aux maladies d'origine hydrique ou à transmission vectorielle. L'anémie provoquée par le paludisme est responsable du quart de la mortalité maternelle. ● Les changements climatiques devraient entraîner une diminution quantitative et qualitative d'un élément aussi indispensable à la santé que l'eau potable, ainsi qu'une aggravation de la malnutrition – cause importante de mauvaise santé chez les enfants – par la baisse de la productivité des ressources naturelles et une insécurité alimentaire accrue, notamment en Afrique subsaharienne.
Assurer une éducation primaire pour tous (objectif 2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Les liens avec les changements climatiques sont moins directs, mais la perte d'actifs ou de moyens d'existence (capital social, naturel, physique, humain ou financier) peut réduire de multiples façons les possibilités d'éducation à temps plein. En situation de catastrophe naturelle ou de sécheresse, les enfants sont mis à contribution pour accomplir des tâches ménagères ou autres, ce qui empiète sur le temps qu'ils pourraient consacrer à leur scolarité; de même, les déplacements ou les migrations entravent souvent l'accès aux possibilités éducatives.
Promouvoir l'égalité des sexes et l'autonomisation des femmes (objectif 3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Les changements climatiques devraient creuser les inégalités entre hommes et femmes. La santé des femmes pourrait se ressentir encore davantage de l'épuisement des ressources naturelles et du déclin de la productivité agricole. Elles risquent d'avoir encore moins de temps pour participer aux processus décisionnels et à des activités génératrices de revenus. ● On a constaté que les ménages dirigés par des femmes sont plus durement touchés par les catastrophes d'ordre climatique, surtout lorsqu'ils disposent de peu d'actifs au départ.
Assurer un environnement durable (objectif 7)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Les changements climatiques altéreront la qualité et la productivité des ressources naturelles et des écosystèmes, dont certains pourraient subir des dommages irréversibles. Ces changements risquent d'accélérer la perte de biodiversité et d'amplifier le processus actuel de dégradation de l'environnement.
Mettre en place un partenariat mondial pour le développement (objectif 8)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Les changements climatiques planétaires sont un problème mondial, et la réponse exige une coopération à l'échelle mondiale, en particulier pour aider les pays en développement à s'adapter aux effets néfastes de l'évolution du climat.

Source : *Pauvreté et changements climatiques Réduire la vulnérabilité des populations par l'adaptation*, Programme des Nations Unies pour l'environnement.

List of contributors

In its pursuit of information, the Section successively heard contributions from:

- Mr. Paul Watkinson
Head of the climate negotiation team at the European and International Affairs Division of the French Ministry of Ecology, Sustainable Development, Transport and Housing
- Mr. Serge Lepeltier
Ambassador in charge of climate change negotiations at the French Ministry of Ecology, Sustainable Development, Transport and Housing
- Mr. Emmanuel Guérin
Director of the Climate Programme of the French Institute for Sustainable Development and International Relations (IDDRI)
- Mr. Pierre Forestier
Head of the Climate Change Unit at the AFD
- Mr. Alain Capmas
Chair of the Climate Change Committee of the French employers' federation MEDEF
- Mr. Jean Jouzel
CEA (Atomic Energy and Alternative Energies Commission) Director of Research, Vice-President of the IPCC Scientific Council
- Mrs. Judith Kirton-Darling
Confederal Secretary of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), responsible for sustainable development
- Mr. Sébastien Blavier
Head of the International unit of climate action network Réseau Action Climat (RAC) France

The rapporteur would like to thank Messrs. Jean Jouzel and Olivier Louchard, as well as the Chair and members of the ESEC Section for Environment, for their contribution to the preparation of this opinion.

Table of acronyms

AFD	French development agency
ESEC	French Economic, Social and Environmental Council
ESC	Economic and Social Council
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
NAMAs	Nationally Appropriate Mitigation Actions
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
R&D	Research & Development
UN	United Nations
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Assemblée Nationale, *Les négociations climatiques internationales relatives à la lutte contre le changement climatique*, rapport d'information n° 2979 de la Commission des affaires européennes, novembre 2010.

Assemblée Nationale, *Préparation de la Conférence de Copenhague*, rapport d'information n° 2124 de la Commission des affaires européennes, décembre 2009.

Assemblée Nationale, *Paquet Énergie-Climat*, rapport d'information n° 1260 de la Commission des affaires européennes, novembre 2008.

Bressol Elyane, *Les enjeux de l'après Kyoto*, avis et rapports du Conseil économique et social, brochure n° 7, 3 mai 2006.

Buffetaut Stéphane, *Politique internationale en matière de climat après Copenhague: agir maintenant pour redynamiser l'action mondiale contre le changement climatique*, avis du Comité économique et social européen, ESEC 1372/2010, NAT/470, 21 octobre 2010.

Caisse des dépôts et consignations, *Que retenir de Cancún ?*, Point Climat, janvier 2011.

Centre d'analyse stratégique, *De Kyoto à Durban, l'invention d'une nouvelle coopération climatique*, note d'analyse n° 213, février 2011.

Centre d'analyse stratégique, *Un enjeu de Cancún*, note d'analyse n° 203, décembre 2010.

Centre d'analyse stratégique, *Les négociations sur le changement climatique: vers une nouvelle donne internationale*, rapport, janvier 2010.

Centre d'analyse stratégique, *Analyse: Copenhague ou la nouvelle donne climatique internationale ?*, note de veille n° 162, janvier 2010.

Centre d'analyse stratégique, *Triple parution « spécial Copenhague »*, note de veille n° 139/140/141, juin 2009.

Centre d'analyse stratégique, *Analyse: Régulation climatique globale: quels mécanismes d'inclusion des importateurs de carbone en Europe ?*, note de veille n° 104, juin 2008.

Conseil économique pour le développement durable, *Prix du quota de CO2 et taxe carbone, quelques éléments de cadrage*, n° 12, 2010.

Courrier de la planète, *Changements climatiques, s'adapter maintenant ?* janvier-juin 2009.

Futuribles, *Perspectives énergétiques et changement climatique*, n° 373, avril 2011.

IPCC, *Fourth Assessment Report – Synthesis report*, 2007.

Godart Olivier et Ponssard Jean-Pierre (sous la direction), *Économie du climat, pistes pour l'après-Kyoto*, les Éditions de L'École polytechnique, février 2011.

Guérin Emmanuel, *La coopération internationale sur le climat après Copenhague*, Études, 2010/4 Tome 412, p. 473-484.

Laurent Eloi, *Social-écologie*, Flammarion, 2011.

Maljean-Dubois Sandrine et Wemaëre Mathieu, *La diplomatie climatique*, Éditions A Pedone, 2010.

Ministère de l'écologie, du développement durable, des transports et du logement, *Plan national d'adaptation au changement climatique*, 2011.

Orsenna Erik et Petit Michel (présenté par), *Climat, une planète et des hommes*, Éditions Le Cherche Midi, 2011.

Pichenot Évelyne, *Le commerce international et le changement climatique*, avis du Comité économique et social européen, ESEC 769/2010, REX/267, 26 mai 2010.

UNEP, *Poverty and climate change, reducing the vulnerability of the poor through adaptation*, 2003.

Le Prestre Philippe, *Protection de l'environnement et relations internationales*, Éditions Armand Colin, 2005.

Réseau Action Climat France et Oxfam France, *Quai des brumes: suivi des engagements de la France en matière de financements pour le changement climatique*, 2010.

Moïse Tsayem Demaze, *Éviter ou réduire la déforestation pour atténuer le changement climatique: le pari de la REDD*, annales de Géographie, Éditions Armand Colin, 2010.