

COP24

Key facts



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Dear Readers,

On December 3, another round of global climate negotiations begins – the 24th United Nations Climate Change Conference, or *Conference of the Parties* (COP). This is key meeting of representatives of both developed and developing countries with diverse profiles – those that are dependent on fossil fuels, those keen to harness the benefits of their use in the future and those that support green technology and are concerned with climate change.

This meeting is yet another attempt to establish a common position on global warming. But the conference is also an opportunity to devise actionable solutions against average temperature growth on Earth. This is the third time that COP is taking place in Poland, and from the standpoint of climate, the venue is more symbolic than ever. The host city of COP24, Katowice, is bidding a complicated yet inevitable farewell to coal. The city is struggling to imagine the future of development without fossil fuels to propel growth.

The negotiations will take place in no less a symbolic place. The International Congress Centre stands in a revitalized area that was formerly occupied by the Katowice coal mine. Could there be any better visual metaphor for climate talks? PI Climate will be reporting on the climate negotiations, as well as the intricacies of climate policy and their impact on national economies. While reporting on many different countries, we shall also tackle the issues of Polish climate policy and why its uniform and polished appearances are misleading. We intend to report clearly and concisely, and we sincerely hope you join us on this fascinating climate-themed journey.

PI Climate Team



All you need to know about COP24

The climate conference in December will not increase global ambitions for emission reductions. It could, however, endorse a mechanism that will facilitate it in near future.

KEY POINTS

What is COP? Global climate summits have been organized since 1992, pursuant to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Its goal is to keep global temperature at a safe level. The highest authority of the Convention is the *Conference of the Parties*, or COP. It is responsible for regular revisions of implementation of the UNFCCC decisions. Its sessions, or UN climate summits, have been convened annually for 23 years. Poland presided three summits so far: Bonn 1999 (COP5), Poznań 2008 (COP14) and Warsaw 2013 (COP19).

What is the goal of the conference? The Katowice climate summit in December is supposed to endorse the so-called *Paris Rulebook*, i.e. the legal framework for implementation of the 2015 Paris Agreement. It binds the states to keep global temperature growth below 2°C until 2100 and, if possible, below 1.5°C in comparison to pre-industrial levels (1850-1900). However, this is but a political declaration. COP24 should translate it into legalese. This is a monumental task – the goal of the agreement (to curb the temperature growth) is a global one, but its implementation depends on good faith of each respective country. The Paris Agreement did not foresee any sanctions in case of its violation. Also, the final agreement must be unanimously adopted by all UN and EU countries.

On what depends the success of Katowice? The summit should meet two main objectives. The first one is to adopt the Paris Rulebook, also known as the *Paris Agreement Work Programme*, or PAWP. These are several technical decisions, divided into five principal areas of the agreement, i.e. the mitigation of climate change by curbing the emissions, adaptation to climate change, funding, technology transfer and building of institutional potential. The second one is to sum up the Talanoa Dialogue* – a process of sharing the countries' experience in climate protection, initiated in January 2018. The result of the Talanoa Dialogue will be the cornerstone of the debate on new climate goals post-2020.

Will COP24 enhance climate goals? In Katowice, the states will not announce any new goals for reducing the emissions. As for deciding on the pace of reduction, the Paris Agreement does not include any concrete goals either. Each nation, however, should adopt a plan for global warming prevention. These are the *Nationally Determined Contributions*, or NDCs. The plans are to be announced every five years, beginning in 2020. Each subsequent revision should raise the bar of reductions. The gravity of the Katowice confe-

rence is that it will decide the shape of such regular revisions, or global stocktakes in COP lingo. Should the current NDCs not be regularly updated, in 2100 the average temperature on Earth will rise by 3.7°C and the consequences will be dire.

Could the negotiations fail? The funding of activities aimed at reducing the emissions and adapting to climate change is still up for debate. At the 2009 Copenhagen summit, it was agreed that until 2020 the developed countries should allocate USD 100 billion annually for climate relief in developing countries. This promise locked in the support for the 2015 agreement of all UN members. However, in June 2017 president Donald Trump announced his intention to withdraw the United States from the Paris Agreement. The US are the largest contributor to the UN. This hampered the negotiations. Out of the USD 100 bln planned for 2016 only 70 bln were contributed. COP24 will tell whether the amount of USD 100 bln remains realistic, and also whether a new objective can be established post-2020.

What will be the role of Poland? In Katowice, Poland's role will be threefold. It is a party to the climate convention; an EU member; and a country presiding the COP24. Formally, Polish presidency will commence on December 2 and last until the next climate summit. The main task before the presidency is to ensure smooth organization and broker a compromise among the parties. The presidency must remain impartial and ensure the atmosphere for the talks remains favorable. To omit any negotiation group or country willing to voice its concerns during the talks is to risk a failure in adopting the summit's final declaration. The largest responsibility rests on the president of COP. Michał Kurtyka, supported by the UNFCCC Secretariat, must remain in touch with all COP24 participants and solve swiftly all disputes.

*In Fijian, "Talanoa" means good cooperation in local community. Fiji presides the COP23, now coming to its end.

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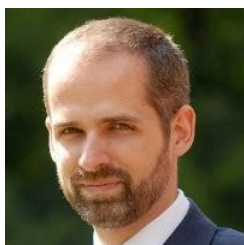


Who is responsible for COP24

These are the key officials responsible for the preparations and success of the climate conference in Katowice.



Michał Kurtyka, candidate for the president of COP24. He is a physicist and economist, having graduated from the École Polytechnique in Paris and the Warsaw School of Economics, respectively. He has served as deputy minister for energy since 2016 and is responsible for Warsaw-Brussels relations, electromobility, gas policy and the supervision of petrol companies. In April 2018, he was nominated as the candidate for the president of COP24 (he formally assumes his role on the first day of the conference). Kurtyka replaced Jan Szyszko, the former minister of environment who was responsible for leading COP24 before being relieved of his duties earlier this year. Both at home and abroad, Kurtyka is praised for his professional attitude and diplomatic skills. The responsibility of the success of COP24 rests on him. His closest aide is Paweł Leszczyński, a former advisor at MinEner and since July 2018, the head of the COP24 presidency office at MinEner.



Adam Guilbourgé-Czetwertyński, head negotiator of the presidency. He is a historian and financier, a graduate of the University of Warsaw and HEC Paris, respectively. During COP19 in Warsaw, he was a member of the Polish negotiation team responsible for climate action funding. Since 2014, he has headed the environment section at the Permanent Representation of Poland to the EU in Brussels. He is a seasoned negotiator and a key figure of the Polish presidency, well versed in the entire negotiation process. In Katowice, he will support Polish negotiators and work closely with Grzegorz Grobicki, a lawyer and former COP19 negotiator, who currently serves as the head of the climate policy department at MinEnv.



Artur Lorkowski, special envoy of the MFA for climate. He is an economist, a graduate of the Warsaw School of Economics and a career diplomat. From 2001-2009, he worked at the Office of the Committee for European Integration, negotiating the energy chapters of the Treaty of Lisbon as well as the climate and energy package. He served as the ambassador of Poland to Austria between 2013 and 2017. He is one of Kurtyka's closest colleagues and supports him in establishing rapport with delegations. He has the reputation of an expert and an agent for special purposes; during the preparations for COP24 he would be often be sent to countries that could potentially disrupt the agreement.



Tomasz Chruszczow, COP24 Climate Action Champion. He has dealt with climate matters for the last 30 years. He was a former head of the Polish delegation to climate negotiations and head of the UNFCCC Subsidiary Body for Implementation. While he was the Polish head negotiator during COP19 in Warsaw, in Katowice his role will be rather modest. As Climate Action Champion, Chruszczow is to help in the drafting and development of emission reduction initiatives, as well as those fostering cooperation among the negotiation parties, NGOs, cities and businesses. As for climate matters, he is a conservative and an industry man, often criticized by ecologists. He is also an outsider within the Polish presidency, having been appointed by the former minister of environment, Jan Szyszko.

Remaining experts of the presidency. The Polish COP24 team is 37 people strong. The majority are staffers of the National Centre for Emissions Management (KOBiZE) and state ministries (Environment, Finance, Foreign Affairs). As for the MFA, one key person is **Monika Antosik**, an expert on adaptation to climate change. During COP19, she was responsible for negotiating the Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage. Another key person is **Paulina Błachnio**, an expert on climate and energy policy who oversees contacts with third countries. **Tomasz Karpiński**, the head expert of KOBiZE, also plays an important role. He specializes in emission estimates. Recently, the presidency has welcomed **Katarzyna Snyder** on board, the former head negotiator during COP20.

Polish delegation. Minister of environment **Henryk Kowalczyk** is overseeing all preparations for the climate summit in Katowice, including the MinEnvr offices for COP24 organization and the COP24 presidency. However, the Polish delegation is headed by the deputy minister **Sławomir Mazurek**, who also oversees those departments of the MinEnv that deal with climate matters. Our sources suggest this could be due to the minister's rather modest command of English. The minister's plenipotentiary for COP24 organization is **Rafał Bochenek**, a lawyer and former spokesman (from 2016-2017) of the cabinet of Beata Szydło when she served as Prime Minister. He is currently a plenipotentiary of the MinEnv for organisation of COP24 and is in charge of the summit's organization and logistics.

Les éminences grises of COP24. Former minister of environment **Jan Szyszko** was until April a candidate for the president of COP24. However, PM Mateusz Morawiecki decided to replace him with Michał Kurtyka. Some off-the-record opinions are that Szyszko has tried and failed to contest this decision on the UN forum and is now trying to regain influence at the conference. This could explain the "Social PRE_COP24" conference, held under Szyszko's auspices; most speakers there were skeptical about the negative impacts of climate change. **Paweł Sałek** is an ally of Szyszko's and a former deputy minister of environment in the 2015-2018 period. He currently serves as president Andrzej Duda's advisor on environmental protection and COP24 matters.

Michał Kurtyka is praised for his professional attitude and diplomatic skills. The responsibility of the success of COP24 rests on him.



What will be relevant at COP24

COP24 kicks off this Sunday, December 2. Take a look at the events that are not to be missed.

THE BEGINNING OF THE CONFERENCE

December 2, 2018

UN climate conferences usually begin on Mondays. In Katowice things will be different. The summit starts on Sunday in order to leave more time for the adoption of the *Paris Rulebook*. On December 2, all of the highest decision-making bodies of the conference will open their plenaries: COP (Conference of the Parties of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change), CMP (meeting of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol) and CMA (meeting of the Parties to the Paris Agreement). Then these bodies will adopt the agenda of negotiations and elect Michał Kurtyka president. This is a formality; however, it requires a unanimous decision.

SUMMIT OF THE LEADERS

December 3, 2018

On December 3, heads of state and government will adopt the *Solidarity and Just Transition Silesia Declaration*, drafted by the Polish presidency on President Andrzej Duda's initiative. It is to express support for mining regions and former mining employees. Thirty top officials have confirmed their attendance. Representatives from the USA, Russia and China are not among them. Eleven leaders will represent the EU, including the French PM Édouard Philippe and Spanish PM Pedro Sánchez.

DECLARATION ON ELECTROMOBILITY AND THE BEGINNING OF NEGOTIATIONS

December 4, 2018

On December 4, within the framework of *Global Climate Action High-Level Event*, the Polish presidency accompanied by Polish PM Mateusz Morawiecki will present the initiative on electromobility. On the agenda is also the presentation of the IPCC report (first published on October 8) that proved that curbing the rise the average global temperature to 1.5o °C is possible. December 4 also marks the beginning of the proper implementation talks of the Paris Agreement. These are mainly technical debates that should finish by Saturday, December 8. December 9 is a day off at COP24.

THE BEGINNING OF THE POLITICAL PHASE

December 10, 2018

On Monday, December 10, the technical part of the conference will be completed, and Katowice will welcome the ministers of the UN countries. Two important, high-level events will also take place: the summary of actions before 2020 and the dialogue on climate funding. This is the key moment of the negotiation. Any technicalities that remain unfinished from the first week may hamper the second week's negotiations among the ministers. Eventually, all business not directly related to the *Paris Rulebook* should be closed by Wednesday, December 12, when the COP and CMP plenary takes place. The host of COP25 in 2019 should be announced on this day.

TALANOA DIALOGUE SUMMARY

December 11, 2018

The Talanoa Dialogue enters its political phase on December 11. This process of sharing experiences on climate protection among the states has been in operation since January 2018. The negotiation will develop at seven different tables and an adoption of its summary is one of the two main objectives of COP24 – next to the implementation of the *Paris Rulebook*. The outcome of the dialogue will be the starting point for debate on the post-2020 Global Stocktake. The Polish and Fijian presidencies will present the Talanoa Dialogue summary on December 12.

THE END OF THE SUMMIT

December 14, 2018

The last plenary will take place on December 14. This is also supposed to be the final day of the conference. For this to happen, the negotiation of the final draft of the Paris rulebook must conclude successfully (unanimous decision is required) and the document itself must be translated into all six official UN languages (a lengthy and complex process where every single word is carefully examined). Only then shall we know whether COP24 has been successful according to the UN rule “nothing is decided until everything's decided”. It is very likely that the conference will be extended until Saturday, December 15.

The outcome of the Talanoa Dialogue will be the starting point for debate on the post-2020 Global Stocktake.



Will COP24 end up a failure?

Western states are becoming less determined to pursue an ambitious climate policy as cities and NGOs take a more active role. This new trend might sink COP24 in Katowice.

BACKGROUND

The December climate summit in Katowice is set to convert the political objectives of the Paris Agreement into the language of the law (*Paris Rulebook*). Four days before the summit begins, however, the prospect of success is waning. “The wave of optimism and global cooperation that carried us to the Paris agreement, has already peaked, broken and is now falling down”, said Michał Kurtyka in London on October 16. In the communiqué after the PreCOP24 conference, which was to show politicians what had already been done with regard to the Rulebook, Kurtyka admitted that he was still facing “a huge challenge” of working on “hundreds of pages of a difficult technical text”. We present the key threats that might sink COP24.

TREND

Economic nationalism is winning with climate. In June 2017, Donald Trump announced his intention to withdraw from the Paris agreement and also pushed to dismantle the environmental regulations put in place by Barack Obama. The White House policy was aimed at increasing support in states with a strong mining industry, but it became an impetus to curb climate ambitions in countries both developing and developed that rely on fossil fuels. In October, Australia, the world’s largest coal exporter, openly admitted that its main priority is to maintain low energy prices, not reduce CO2 emissions. At the same time, Jair Bolsonaro won Brazil’s presidency. During his campaign, he declared that he would withdraw from the Paris Agreement and continue the deforestation of the Amazon Rainforest.

Without Merkel, Europe can no longer lead. The EU, which has positioned itself as a climate champion, is too weak to impose a more ambitious pace on climate negotiations. During an October meeting in Luxembourg, after a difficult round of negotiations, the EU MinEnvs managed to approve a common position on COP24 but postponed the decision on a reduction target increase. Europe’s weakness is the result of Brexit and the end of the Angela Merkel era. The European capitals and Brussels officials are currently absorbed in processing the UK’s departure from the EU. None of the European leaders is strong enough to replace the “Climate Chancellor”, not even Emmanuel Macron. The French president’s approval rating currently stands at 26 per cent, which weakens his position internationally.

China does not want to fill the void created by the West. Despite the ambitious environmental policy, RES growth and a reduction of coal consumption, China has no intention of becoming a global climate leader. During the final negotiations in the months leading up to COP24, Beijing has focused on representing the interests of developing countries, arguing that rich countries should take on the financial burden of combating climate change (including the cost of natural disasters) and be fully accountable for their actions. For the West, this is politically unacceptable, which might spell trouble for COP24. The 2015 Paris COP21 summit was a success because the largest polluters – China and the USA - were able to find common ground. Currently, such an agreement seems unlikely.

Cities, NGOs and business want a more ambitious climate policy. In recent years, the burden of financing actions aimed at fighting climate change has shifted to non-state actors. Banks are moving away from financing the coal sector, cities are creating zero-emission zones, companies are switching to RES, and courts (for instance, in the Netherlands) are ordering governments to decarbonise faster. This trend has been fuelled by the recent IPCC report, which argued that it is possible to slow down global warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius. Such postulates are more likely to be highlighted by the media, thus increasing the public expectations as to the outcome of COP24 and the pressure on decision makers responsible for the countries' low climate ambitions.

THE BOTTOM LINE

There is an increased likelihood that the summit in Katowice might share the fate of the 2009 climate summit in Copenhagen, where the high hopes of global climate agreement supporters collided with the strong resistance of decision-makers. As a result, it was necessary to wait six years for a political breakthrough in Paris. If such a scenario materialises in Katowice, COP24 will go down in history as another technical summit that offered no clear political results. The Rulebook will probably be accepted, but in an overly general form, which would leave ample room for interpretation. The Polish government should already be preparing for such an outcome.

Despite the ambitious environmental policy, RES growth and a reduction of coal consumption, China has no intention of becoming a global climate leader.

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WHAT IS PI CLIMATE?

PI Climate is a bilingual, analytical service providing top-of-the-line information on Poland, climate and COP24. Over the course of three weeks our editorial team on the ground will report the progress of negotiations, the coffee break chatter and the most interesting and important COP24 sideshows.

WHY?

The idea behind this project is to provide in-depth, fair and interesting reporting on the most important global event in Poland, this year. We would like to reach decision-makers in government, business, media and the non-profit sectors, as well as a possibly big audience interested in climate and energy issues. We believe there is both a lack and a dire need of information on climate issues in mainstream media outlets in Poland (and possibly abroad).

WHAT IS POLITYKA INSIGHT?

Polityka Insight (PI) is Poland's leading source of political analysis and business intelligence. Launched over five years ago it has three business pillars: daily analytical services available upon subscription (PI Premium, PI Finance and PI Energy), bespoke reports, presentations and high-profile debates and conferences.



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