

La conferenza di Copenhagen e il futuro delle politiche climatiche

Politecnico di Milano, 16 marzo 2010

Antonio Villafranca

ISPI
Istituto Superiore di Politica Internazionale
Milano

Climate Change/Data

- Climate change is a global challenge that requires equally global human intervention.
- World temperature grew by 0.6°C over the last 30 years. From 2030 to 2060 the doubling of greenhouse gases may lead to a 2-5°C increase.
- The concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has increased over the past 20 years. By 2100 the quantity may double or even triple.
- According to Stern, 1% of global GDP is required to stabilise emissions in the next 20 years and reduce them 1-3% afterwards.
- Side effects: nutrition and food/water safety, environmental refugees (mass migrations caused by climate change), infectious diseases etc.

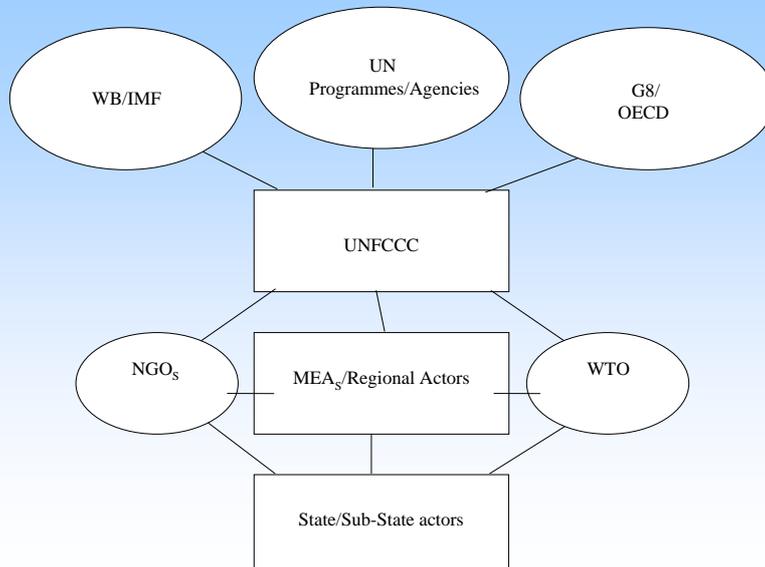
Climate Change/Main issues

- Risk of free riding behaviour
- Persistency over time of today's emissions → costs in the long run???
- Rhythm of climate change and political response
- Need for a multilateral governance

Multi-level Governance approach

- **Governance**: the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action may be taken. It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed to or perceive to be in their interest.
- All the relevant actors involved can make their contribution by jointly defining the objectives, scope of intervention and measures to be undertaken at any level.

Current multi-level governance of climate change



- There are three **levels of governance**...
 - The international/global level
 - The regional level
 - The state/substate level
- ...And four aspects to which they contribute:
 - Definition of objectives
 - Coherence with other global objectives
 - Fundraising of necessary financial resources
 - Implementation of concrete measures.

Two types of possible governance

- 1) Multilevel governance emerges as the outcome of the continuous handing over of state powers to the sub-state and international levels → federalism;
- 2) Multilevel governance requires a wide distribution of powers in a net of structured, overlapped, levels with different sizes and targets.



Define new elements of a revised governance that allow for a more coherent functioning of the international/global level, a better coordinated action (UNFCCC as an arbiter) within macro-regions and a more effective role for state/sub-state actors.

Presumably needed changes at international level

- Number of UN programs and agencies dealing with global warming reduced
- One UN program or agency should take the lead and be considered a focal point of the action taken by all at any level
- Increase the number of states adopting binding targets: Obama's willingness to consider security of supply and environmental issues as priorities raises hopes for US' full commitment

The biggest challenge is now to include emerging countries in the post-Kyoto regime.

Possible solutions

- Extend the world carbon market initiated by the Kyoto Protocol
- Fully exploit cost-effective opportunities offered by many developing countries
- Make technology transfer from developed to developing countries easier
- Lower constraints and barriers to freer trade of environmentally friendly products and services

Possible problems for trade policies

- “measures taken to combat climate change, including unilateral ones, should not constitute a means of arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination or a disguised restriction on international trade”
- Rise of discrimination between products because of the manner in which they are produced
- Rise of preferential agreements between some countries (e.g. MEAs) → clash between WTO and MEAs



Negotiation at WTO level for a stricter dialogue between UNFCCC and WTO
EU model for other macro-regions (“cap and trade” and auction of allowances)
Strengthen cooperation with state and sub-state to reach regional and international objectives