



THE FLETCHER  
SCHOOL

TUFTS UNIVERSITY

THE CENTER FOR  
INTERNATIONAL  
ENVIRONMENT &  
RESOURCE POLICY

# Bilateral and Mini-multilateral Agreements as Complements to the UNFCCC Process

Kelly Sims Gallagher



# The slow road to Paris

Year	Event
1992	UNFCCC
1995	Berlin Mandate
1997	Kyoto Protocol
1998	U.S. Senate fails to ratify
2005	Entry into force of Kyoto Protocol
2009	Copenhagen Accord
2011	Durban Platform
2012	Canadian withdrawal from Kyoto Protocol
2014	U.S.-China Joint Announcement
2015	Paris Agreement

23 years

---

# 2014 Joint Announcement 2015 Joint Statement

The White House  
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 11, 2014

## FACT SHEET: U.S.-China Joint Announcement on Climate Change and Clean Energy Cooperation

**President Obama Announces Ambitious 2025 Target to Cut U.S.  
Climate Pollution by 26-28 Percent from 2005 Levels**



The White House  
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 25, 2015

## U.S.-China Joint Presidential Statement on Climate Change

1. In November 2014, President Barack Obama and President Xi Jinping stood together in Beijing to make a historic U.S.-China Joint Announcement on Climate Change, emphasizing their personal commitment to a successful climate agreement in Paris

# The Outcomes

## 2014: Targets (“INDCs”)

- China: Peaking of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and a 20% non-fossil primary energy target of “around” 2030 with “best efforts to peak early”
- USA: 26-28% reduction from 2005 levels with “best efforts to reach 28%”

## 2015: Implementation (“Don’t Wait for Paris”)

- Vision for Paris - “landing zones”
  - Domestic policy synchronization – power, light-duty vehicles, heavy duty vehicles, HFCs (China now leads on industrial sectoral coverage)
  - Green climate finance
  - Climate Leaders Summit (sub-national leadership)
-

# Consequences of U.S.-China Joint Announcement

- Lima breakthrough on differentiation
- Beginning of virtuous cycle
  - India?
  - Mexico (earlier peaking year)
  - Brazil
- Domestic policy
  - Domestic Policy Dialogue
- Paris Agreement



# Limitations of Paris

0.7 degrees – 1.4 degrees Celsius (bigger if 1.5°C) gap

Full implementation of INDCs?

Took too long to reach

Deferment of difficult issues

---

# Bi-lateral and Mini-Multilateral Agreements

Where shared interests exist, agreements among smaller, like-minded sets of countries are the new imperative. Such agreements:

- Can initiate a virtuous cycle

- Can generate momentum

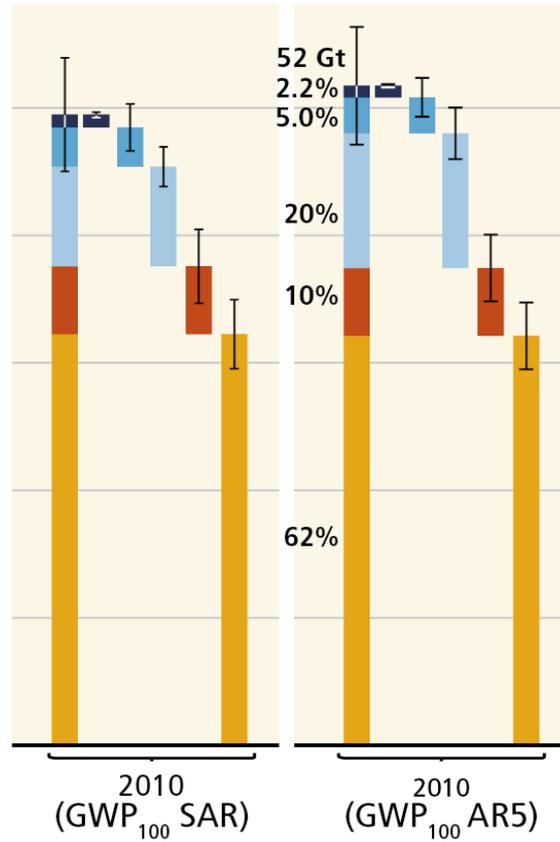
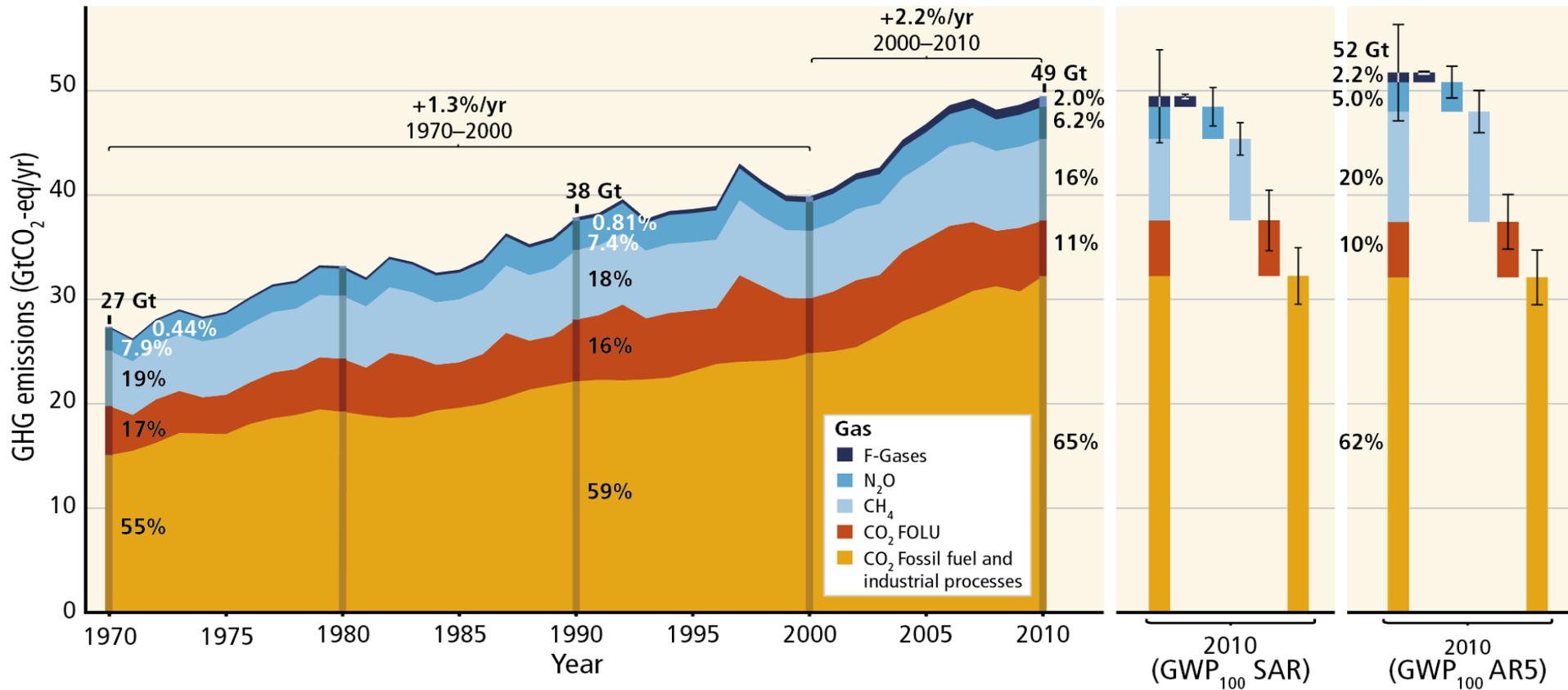
- Can be negotiated and implemented more quickly

- Can be complementary rather than supplanting the regime

---

# Example 1: Non-CO<sub>2</sub> Gases

Total annual anthropogenic GHG emissions by gases 1970–2010



# Example 2: Resilience in Agriculture





[fletcher.tufts.edu/cierp](https://fletcher.tufts.edu/cierp)  
[kelly.gallagher@tufts.edu](mailto:kelly.gallagher@tufts.edu)