#### **CHAPTER I**

#### INTRODUCTION

# 1.1. Background

Climate change is considered as one of the most serious threats that challenge the humanity in this century. It is threatening human health and well-being, as well as the global economy, and the sustainability of the world's environment. The expertise and scientists all agree that this change is affected by the anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gases, such as Carbon Dioxide  $(CO_2)$ .

People has responded to this issue over a decade ago and the international society has also aware of this issue and try to do something in order to ask more people to become aware of this issue and do something to reduce the impact of climate change because this is not something that people can stop from happening and it is also requires not only a single action by one person, but all human action, and in general all states action. United Nations (UN) as the international organization has taken more attention on this environmental issue since 1972 when it first established the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (UNCHE) in Stockholm, Sweden. This conference was held from 5 to 6 June 1972 not only invited representatives from all states, which there were not only 113

states presented at that time, but also many international non-governmental organizations, intergovernmental organizations, and many other agencies were invited. This was the first UN conference on environmental as well as the first major international gathering focused on human activities in relationship to the environment, and it laid the foundation for environmental action at international level. And following this conference, the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) was launched in order to encourage UN agencies to integrate environmental measures into their programs<sup>1</sup>.

After UNCHE and UNEP, there was another conference that was held by UN that took place in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 2-14 June 1992. This conference was called the United Nations Conference in Environmental and Development (UNCED) that also known as the Earth Summit. There were 178 countries' government officials' attend this summit, and around 20,000 to 30,000 individuals from government, non-governmental organizations, and media participated in this event. The central focus of this conference was the question of how to relieve the global environmental system through the introduction to the paradigm of sustainable development. This concept emphasizes that economic and social progress depends critically on the preservation of the natural

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> UNCHE in

http://www.eoearth.org/article/United\_Nations\_Conference\_on\_the\_Human\_Environment\_(UNC HE),\_Stockholm,\_Sweden, accessed on 12 September 2011

resource base with effective measures to prevent environmental degradation<sup>2</sup>.

United Nations Framework Conference on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was also established in the Earth Summit. This body was adopted to ask for most countries joined to begin to consider what can be done to reduce global warming and to cope with whatever temperature increases are inevitable<sup>3</sup> and also to sets out a framework for action aimed at stabilizing atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases to avoid "dangerous interference" with the climate system<sup>4</sup>. UNFCCC entered into force on 21 March 1994 and currently there are 195 parties for UNFCCC and 193 parties for Kyoto Protocol.

The Kyoto Protocol is an international agreement linked to the UNFCCC. This protocol is legally binding, has more powerful measures, and is an additional treaty that has been approved by a number of nations. The major feature of the Kyoto Protocol is that it sets binding targets for 37 industrialized countries and the European Union (EU) for reducing greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. These amounts to an average of 5% against 1990 levels over the five-year period of 2008-2012. The protocol made the states commits to stabilize GHG emissions, not just encourage

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> UNCED in

http://www.eoearth.org/article/United\_Nations\_Conference\_on\_Environment\_and\_Development\_(UNCED),\_Rio\_de\_Janeiro,\_Brazil, accessed on 12 Setember 2011

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> UNFCCC essential background in http://unfccc.int/essential\_background/items/2877.php, accesed on 12 Setember 2011

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> UNFCCC purpose in http://www.iisd.ca/download/asc/enb12192e.txt, accessed on 12 Setember 2011

them. The Kyoto Protocol was adopted in Kyoto, Japan, on 11 December 1997 and entered into force on 16 February 2005.<sup>5</sup>

However, the Kyoto Protocol are recognizing that the current high levels of GHG emissions as a result of more than 150 years of industrial activity that have been done by the developed nations. That is why the Protocol sets a heavier burden and responsibility to the developed nations under the principle of "Common But Differentiated Responsibilities" (CBDR).

China as one of the country that has joined, signed, and ratified this conference and protocol has a huge responsibility to be fully committed and responsible for its action in accordance to the objectives of the protocol. It means that China shall not do any action that can harm its commitment to the protocol and it shall be fully committed in the action of reducing the environmental degradation and climate change effect.

China signed the UNFCCC on 11 June 1992, ratified it on 5 January 1993, and entered it into force on 21 March 1994. Whereas, China signed the Kyoto Protocol on 29 May 1998, ratified it on 30 August 2002, and entered it into force on 16 February 2005<sup>6</sup>.

As a developing country and according to the Kyoto Protocol's principle of CBDR, China has a slightly lighter responsibility compared to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Kyoto Protocol in http://unfccc.int/kyoto\_protocol/items/2830.php, accessed on 12 Setember 2011

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> China's ratification status in http://maindb.unfccc.int/public/country.pl?country=CN, accessed on

the other developed nations but that does not mean it does not need to set a target in reducing the GHG emission level. It still have to set its target although not as high as the other developed countries do.

And also as a developing countries, China place its economy growth as it first priority and it will do everything it takes to expand its economy. However, in the other hand, as the world second largest economy after United States (U.S.), China has been produced more GHG gases because of its industrial activity and it is not the good thing to do since it has been committed to fight against climate change. It also has been categorized as the world fastest economic growth compared with any other countries in the world, except U.S. and the action to promote economic growth has made China become the world largest emitter of GHG emissions.

But, despite all of the action that China has been done in order to promote their economy, China has taken some measures in the global war on climate change, for example: in 2002 the Ministry of Science and Technology published its 2001-2010 Program for Sustainable Development of Science and Technology, initiated the compilation of the National Assessment Report on Climate Change, and launched China Climate Change Info New, a web source<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ernesto Zedillo, 2008, Global Warming: Looking Beyond Kyoto, Yale University, p. 215

In the article 3 of the Kyoto Protocol stated that the parties that included in Annex I shall reduce the emissions of the four GHGs (CO<sub>2</sub>, Methane, Nitrous Oxide, and Sulphur Hexafluoride) and two group of gases (Hydro Fluorocarbons and Per Fluorocarbons) produced by them by at least 5% below 1990 levels in the commitment period 2008 to 2012. And each party included in Annex I shall, by 2005, have made demonstrable progress in achieving its commitments under this protocol. China as the party who is not included in Annex I have no responsibility in setting the target to reduce the GHGs, but in the other hand, many expertise are questioning why China who is currently become one of the largest emitter of GHGs does not responsible in committing its target, however, China have to report its emissions levels and develop national climate change mitigation programs.

In the other case, U.S. as an important role in the international negotiations decided to withdraw from the Kyoto Protocol under the leadership of President Bush. United States Senate refuse to ratify the Protocol, citing potential damage to the U.S. economic development and concerns related to the exclusion of certain developing countries such as China and India<sup>8</sup>. This case prove that China's commitment in setting the target is very important because as one of the largest emitter in the world, China also has a huge responsibility in reducing the GHG emissions that is

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Kyoto Protocol in http://www.climate.org/climatelab/Kyoto\_Protocol, accessed on 12 Setember 2011

why it need to regulate and establish some policy regarding the reduction of GHG emissions.

China kept using its status as developing countries as an excuse so that it has no responsibilities to set the target to reduce the GHG gasses. As Xie Zhenhua's, deputy head of China's National Development and Reform Commission, statement in Bali at a High-level segment of the UNFCCC that developing countries were innocent in terms of their responsibilities to the cause of climate change but they were most vulnerable to the adverse impacts of climate change. Given the unprecedented broadness, gravity and depth of the impacts of climate change, the issue of climate change cannot be solved by sole efforts of developed countries which bear the main responsibilities for climate change.

In the article by David Biello titled "From Bad to Worse: Latest Figures on Global Greenhouse Gas Emissions" on November 17, 2008, stated that most industrialized European nations as well as China and U.S. (which have not agreed to any emissions' reductions) have been spewing more carbon dioxide since 1990 – up in total some 403 million metric tons of carbon dioxide from 2000 levels<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Article titled "China urges combating climate change under principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" in http://english.gov.cn/2007-12/12/content\_832383.htm, accessed on 12 September 2011

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Article titled "From bad to worse :latest figures on Global Greenhouse Gas Emissions" in http://www.scientificamerican.com/article.cfm?id=from-bad-to-worse-with-greenhouse-gasemissions, accessed on 12 September 2011

Further, the article written by Orville Schell, the director of the Center on U.S.-China Relations at the Asia Society and the primary editor of "A Roadmap for U.S.-China Cooperation on Climate and Energy" says:

"China is in no mood to have its own long-awaited development curtailed in order to compensate for the burden of the GHGs already emitted by developed nations during their industrialization. The Chinese come to Copenhagen with expectations that developed countries, especially U.S., will offer cuts in GHGs that far surpass anything the industrialized world is likely to offer, meanwhile U.S. expects China to agree to some limits on its CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, which doubled from 1996 to 2006. Officials in Beijing have evolved considerably over the last few years in terms of recognizing the serious consequences of climate change in China, but the Chinese leaders still steadfastly hold that since the West is primarily responsible for the problem, it must bear most of the costs of remedy and as the Premier Wen Jiabao has weighed in on the issue, noting that developed countries should alter their unsustainable lifestyle<sup>11</sup>."

In another article titled "China Won't Accept a Cap on Carbon Emissions", stated that the spokesmen for the Chinese Foreign Ministry announced that China will not accept a binding emissions reduction target when the UNFCCC holds its climate change conference in Copenhagen saying that this would stunt the country's economic growth. The spokesmen said that China is still a developing country and the present task confronting China is to develop its economic and alleviate poverty.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Article titled "Article titled "The Challenge of Copenhagen:Bridging the U.S.-China Divide" in http://e360.yale.edu/content/feature.msp?id=2159, accesed on 12 September 2011

Given that, it is natural for China to have some increase in its emissions, so it is not possible for China to accept a binding, compulsory target<sup>12</sup>.

Although China has not yet wanted to set its target in reducing the GHG emissions, there are still some action done by the Government of China in order to address the climate change, there are <sup>13</sup>:

- adopted a National Climate Change Program the first such plan adopted by a developed country – that addresses such areas as energy efficiency, renewable energy, nuclear power, forestry, and the development of technology, with specific inspirational targets
- 2) established an ambitious target in its last Five Year Plan to reduce energy intensity per unit of GDP. China's economy is almost nine times less energy efficient than Japan's and almost five times less efficient than the U.S.'s
- 3) embraced renewable energy, with 17 percent of its electricity already generated from hydropower, solar, and wind
- initiated hundreds of hydro projects, making China the world's leader in dam-generated power

<sup>13</sup> Article titled "Article titled "The Challenge of Copenhagen:Bridging the U.S.-China Divide" in http://e360.yale.edu/content/feature.msp?id=2159, accessed on 12 September 2011

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Article titled "China won't accept a cap on carbom emissions" in http://thegreentechnocrat.com/?p=371#more-371, accessed on 12 September 2011

<sup>13</sup> Article titled "Article titled "The Challenge of Copenhagen Bridging the U.S.-China Divide" in

- 5) set fuel economy standards in 2008 requiring new vehicles to average 36.7 miles-per-gallon (Those recently implemented by the Obama administration only require 35.5 mpg)
- 6) appropriated 7 billion RMB as part of its new economic stimulus package to subsidize Chinese willing to trade old, inefficient cars for new, more efficient models and to upgrade from older, less energy-efficient home appliances

The action in reducing the GHG emissions is somehow incompatible with China's national interest which is to develop its domestic economy. The Chinese leaders have stated that they do not want to enter into any international agreements that might stop them from whatever action they feel necessary to promote economic growth. The official statements emphasize that China has a right to decide on its own development and it will sets its own target for carbon intensity. In contrast, to most western media and politicians, China officially praised the UNFCCC as an important first step which should be respected by all side and China as one of the party of UNFCCC are fully committing to participate against climate change. This paper will discuss and elaborate more about China's policy toward UNFCCC and what are the factors that influence China in making the policy. The title of this thesis: "China's Policy toward United Nations Framework Conference on Climate Change Regarding the Target for the Reduction of the Greenhouse Gasses in the year of 2002 to 2009".

The writer decide to choose the year of 2002 to 2009 to be in the research because in 2002 China have just ratified the Kyoto Protocol which means in 2002 China agree to be part of the Protocol and be fully committed in making its contribution to the Protocol. And in the year of 2009 is when China finally publishes it's first-ever decision to cut the GHG emissions.



#### 1. 2. Formulation of the Problem

China have been searching for an excuse so that it can still be free from the responsibility in setting the target for reducing the GHG emissions which can harm its action in promoting its domestic economic growth. This activity will bring more damage in the UNFCCC and the world as general because China will produce more GHG emissions from its industrial activity whereas the UNFCCC are trying to ask for more state to reduce the GHG emissions.

However, the decision to set the target for GHG emissions reduction is a very harmful thing to do for China because it will affect its industrial activity and in the end its economic situation because China is not free anymore in exploring the environment and doing whatever it wants in promoting and developing its economy. And that is why this thesis is aimed to answer the questions regarding China in UNFCCC as follows:

- 1) how has China responded to the UNFCCC during the period of 2002 to 2009 especially regarding the issue of setting the target in reducing GHGs emissions?
- 2) what are the factors that influencing China in making such policies?

## 1. 3. Research Purposes

Based on the formulation of the problem, this research is purposed to:

- find out how has China responded to the UNFCCC from 2002
   to 2009 especially regarding the issue of setting the target in reducing GHGs emissions
- 2) find out what are the factors that influence China in making such policies

### 1. 4. Research Advantage

The advantage that can be obtained of this research can be seen in two different kinds of views which are from the writer and the reader. And they are:

this research is expected to become a source of information for the reader who is also interested to do another research in the same core problem which is China and UNFCCC. There are also another advantage the reader can achieve when reading this research, which are they can analyze China's respond to the UNFCCC from the year of 2002 to 2009 especially regarding the issue of setting the target in reducing GHGs emissions and see the different position and respond of China itself from time to time in UNFCCC (whether it is fully support or not). Further, this research is not only elaborating China's respond for UNFCCC, but also explain what are the factors that influencing China in making such respond and decision.

2) this research is a tool for the writer in helping her to practice her skills like writing, analyzing, making conclusion, etc, and the tool for the writer to learn more about the topic that she have been interested about which are China, UNFCCC, and the environment.

## 1. 5. Thesis Organization

All of the studies that will be discussed in this paper are prepared systematically and regularly arranged based on the provisions that have been defined. Moreover, this systematic arrangement is one kind with the systematic arrangement used by the other writer. The thesis organization is as follows:

### 1) Chapter I Introduction

Chapter I is the first part also the introduction of the scope of study that will be discussed in the paper. In this chapter, the study will be divided into several basic descriptions, such as: background selection of the topics and titles of research, the formulation of issues that will be examined deeper, the final goal that want to be reached, the expected advantage that can be obtained from the research and then the thesis organization and the compilation of the data in the research.

### 2) Chapter II Conceptual Framework

Chapter II contains the theoretical base and the concepts that will be used and needed in supporting the research. The deeper explanation of the theories and concepts will help in the efforts to analyze and respond to the issue that will be discussed further in the research and will help the writer in answering the problems based on the theoretical foundation.

### 3) Chapter III The Research Method

This chapter is the section that contains the research method where there are all things related to the process and study objects of the research.

The concrete thing that will be explained in this chapter is the operational definition, the method that will be used in supporting the research, the type of data, and how to analyze the data that already collected by the writer. This explanation will enlighten the reader about the validity of the research that based on the literature studies.

# 4) Chapter IV Data and Analysis

This is the most important section and also the core of the research, because it all includes all forms of description and explanation of the studied object. In this chapter, there will be a deeper analysis in order to obtain answers to the formulation of the issues raised in the study.

## 5) Chapter V Conclusion

This is the last part of the research which includes the conclusion and the opinion regarding the studied or discussed object. In this chapter, the conclusion of the research will be taken and the answer to the formulation of the problem will be clearly stated. Whereas the suggestion is given by the writer regarding the studied object and the other issue that related with it.

### 6) Bibliography

### 7) Annex