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# The G77 and China: Post-Copenhagen Symptoms

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*“Judging from the post-Copenhagen political debate, the political and historical reasons behind the genesis of the G77, and especially its functioning in today’s rapidly changing world, are not sufficiently understood.”*



# Negotiations History

- G77 and China: Product of the political economy and the North/South divide
  - Bandung conference in 1955
  - UNCTAD in the 1960s
  - Exclusion, terms of trade, commodity price stabilization
  - Cold War
- 1972 Stockholm [UNCHE]; 1992 Rio de Janeiro [UNCED]; 2002 Johannesburg [WSSD]; 2009 Copenhagen [UNFCCC]
- The South: From “contestation” to “participation” to “engagement”?



- **BASIC**
  - Emerging economies China, India, Brazil, South Africa
- **AOSIS**
  - 42 small island states
- **African Group**
  - 53 members of the African Union
- **LDCs**
  - 49 least developed countries
- **OPEC**
  - 12 oil-exporting countries, led by Saudi Arabia
- **ALBA**
  - Venezuela, Cuba, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Ecuador



# Key trends in G77

- Rise of the BASIC
  - Surprising to most analysts: close coordination, China's leading role
  - China: non-interference and sovereignty
  - China: mutual dependency with the rest of G77?
- Radicalisation in the climate agenda
  - ALBA – geopolitics, anti-americanism, anti-capitalism
  - Sudan – the public voice of China?
  - Feelings of marginalisation feed sympathy for ALBA?



# Key trends in G77 II

- **Against the Copenhagen Accord**
  - ALBA: geopolitics in democracy rhetoric
  - OPEC: Saudi Arabia strongly opposes, UAE and Algeria associate
  - Tuvalu and some other AOSIS: insufficient content
- **Ambivalence on the Accord compromise**
  - China and India, domestic debate on MRV
- **Pro Copenhagen Accord**
  - Maldives and some other AOSIS: vocal support, importance of para 15
  - Many African and Latin American countries



# Strategic implications I

- Lesson I: US continues on a fundamentally unilateralist strategy
  - multilateralism "in accordance with domestic law"
  - rules of e.g possible flexibility mechanisms are to be made in D.C.?
- Lesson II: China revealed its strategy – and internalization of China's climate actions is not in it
  - clear signs of obstructionism in Copenhagen
- Lesson III: EU is not a last minute "deal breaker" – but an agenda setter nevertheless
  - there is no such thing as "G2"
  - Copenhagen Accord is peppered with European ideas



# Strategic implications II

- Lesson IV: the G77 is fragmented on key issues
  - BASIC and the rest –dynamics?
  - functioning of UNFCCC – and multilateralism as a whole?
- Lesson V: "multilateralism is not dead, it is in intensive care"
  - negotiations may lead to a legally binding treaty (on a long term)
  - or a "soft law", bottom up framework
  - or endless talks like Doha round in WTO
- Lesson VI: in 2010-11, clarity is needed on
  - the status of the Accord and future of the KP
  - can the near future COPs restore faith in UNFCCC (and multilateralism)?





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*Elephant in the room:*

*The new G77 and China dynamics in climate talks*

<http://www.upi-fiia.fi/en/publication/118/>

*Thank You!*