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CLIMATE DIPLOMACY IN THE TRUMP ERA



ANDREW LIGHT, DISTINGUISHED SENIOR FELLOW

U.S. AT COP 23: "ZOMBIE ARGUMENTS" OR CLIMATE DIPLOMACY?



THE US HAS NOT YET WITHDRAWN FROM PARIS

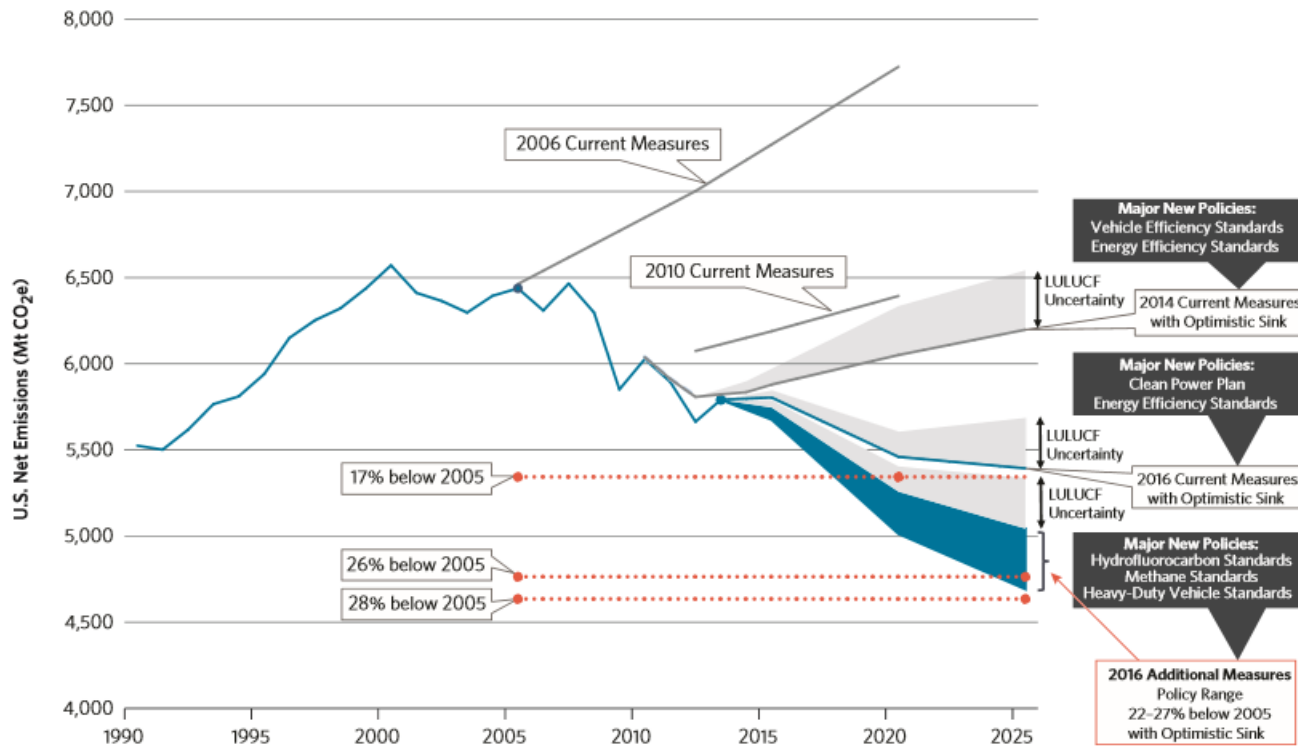
- **Good news:** Paris Agreement negotiated so withdrawal takes 4 years -- 3 + 1. Earliest withdrawal date will be 1 year after Entry into Force date = 1 day after next U.S. election in 2020.

“Trump’s Rose Garden speech [on June 1] has as much legal force as one of his tweets.” – Harold Koh

- **Good news:** Intensive lobbying efforts kept Trump from embracing a worse option: (1) withdrawal from UNFCCC (1 year but requires Senate ratification), or (2) send the Paris Agreement back to the Senate.
- **Bad news:** Regardless of whether Trump withdraws, he is intent on taking down as much federal climate action as possible. That damage will be done with or without the possible withdraw.

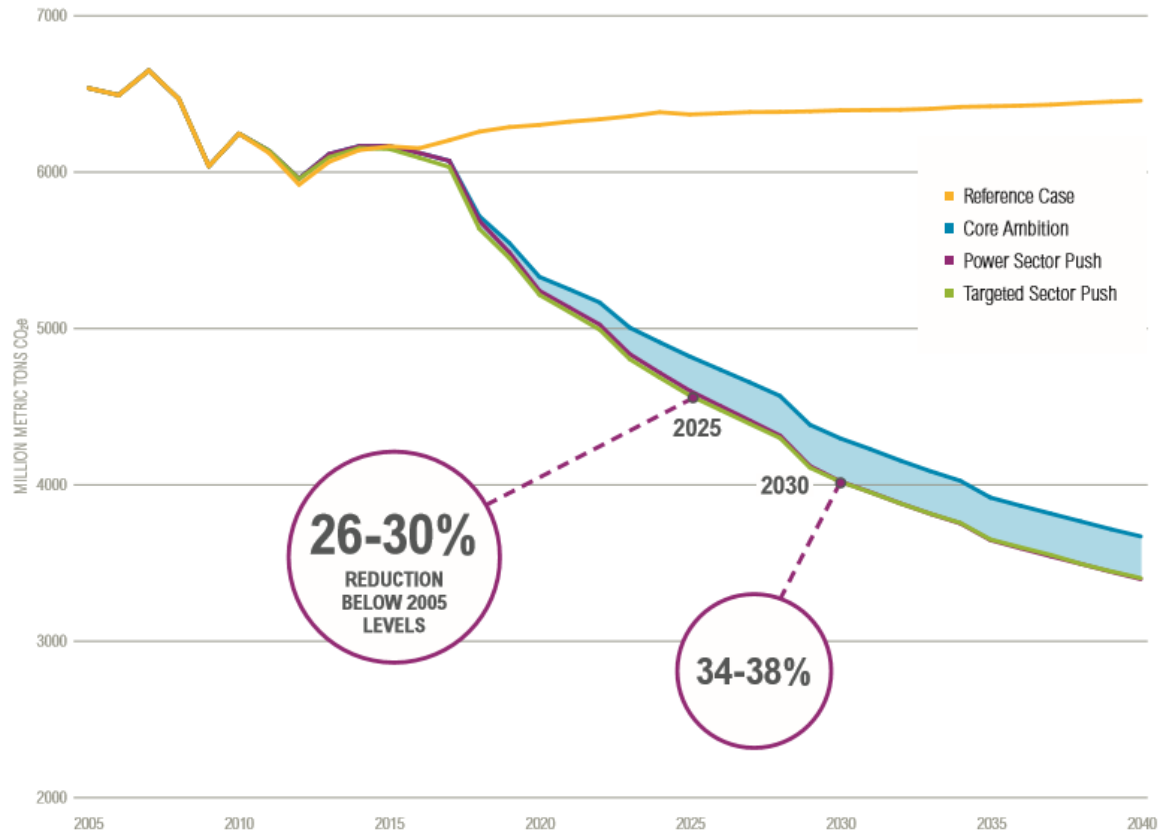
WHERE IS THE U.S. ON CLIMATE?

POLICIES ADOPTED BY THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION CAN REDUCE GREENHOUSE GAS EMISSIONS



2016
SECOND BIENNIAL REPORT
of the United States of America
Under the United Nations Framework
Convention on Climate Change

FURTHER ACTION NEEDED TO CLOSE THE GAP



REGARDLESS OF PARIS DECISION, TRUMP HAD ALREADY STARTED TO ROLL BACK OBAMA'S CLIMATE PROGRESS

MAR. 15



EPA/NHTSA announce reconsideration of **GHG standards for car model years 2022-25.**

MAR. 16



Trump budget blueprint cuts:

- **EPA funding by 31%**
- **DOE efficiency and technology programs**
- **Payments to UN climate programs**
- **NOAA climate preparedness funding.**

REGARDLESS OF PARIS DECISION, TRUMP HAD ALREADY STARTED TO ROLL BACK OBAMA'S CLIMATE PROGRESS

MAR. 28



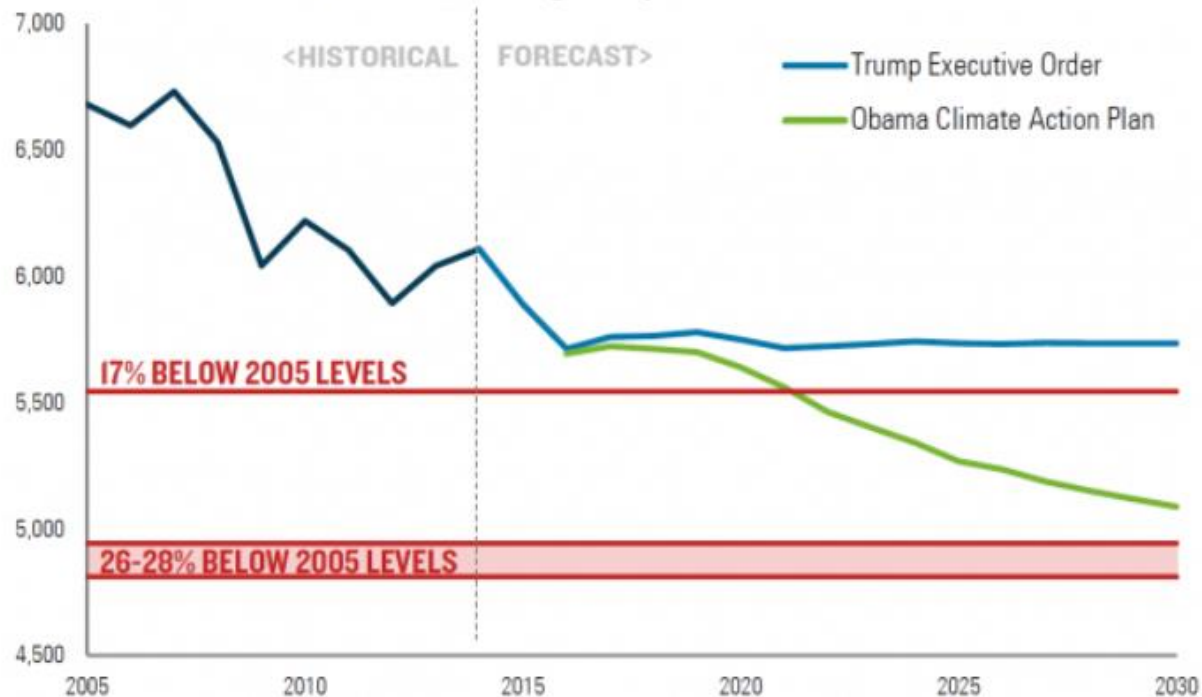
Trump signs executive order which:

- Rescinds **federal guidance on climate change considerations** in project permitting
- Disbands working group on **Social Cost of Carbon**, rescinds estimates
- Rescinds executive orders on **climate resilience**
- Orders review of **Clean Power Plan**
- Orders review of **carbon rules** for new and modified fossil power plants
- Orders termination of **coal leasing moratorium** on public lands
- Orders review of **fossil fuel production rules** on public lands
- Orders review of **methane emission limits** for new and modified oil and gas systems.

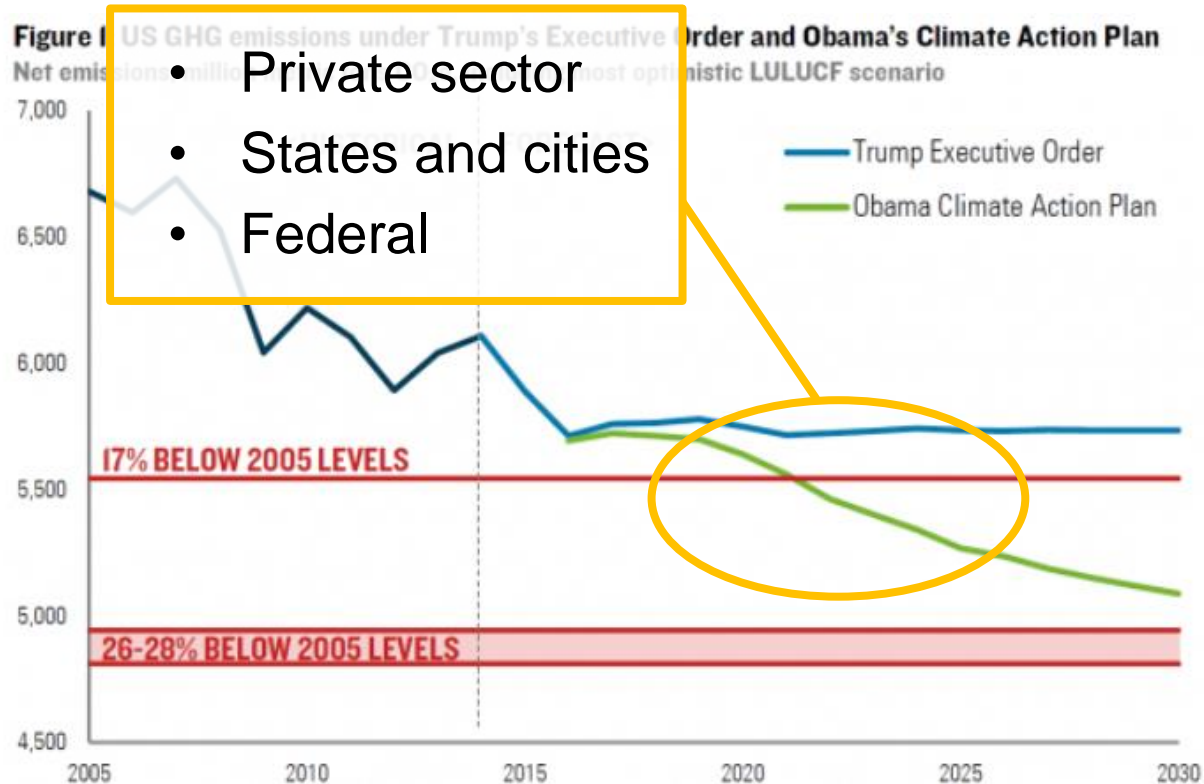
IF SUCCESSFUL, THESE ACTIONS WILL SET BACK U.S. TARGET

Figure 1: US GHG emissions under Trump's Executive Order and Obama's Climate Action Plan

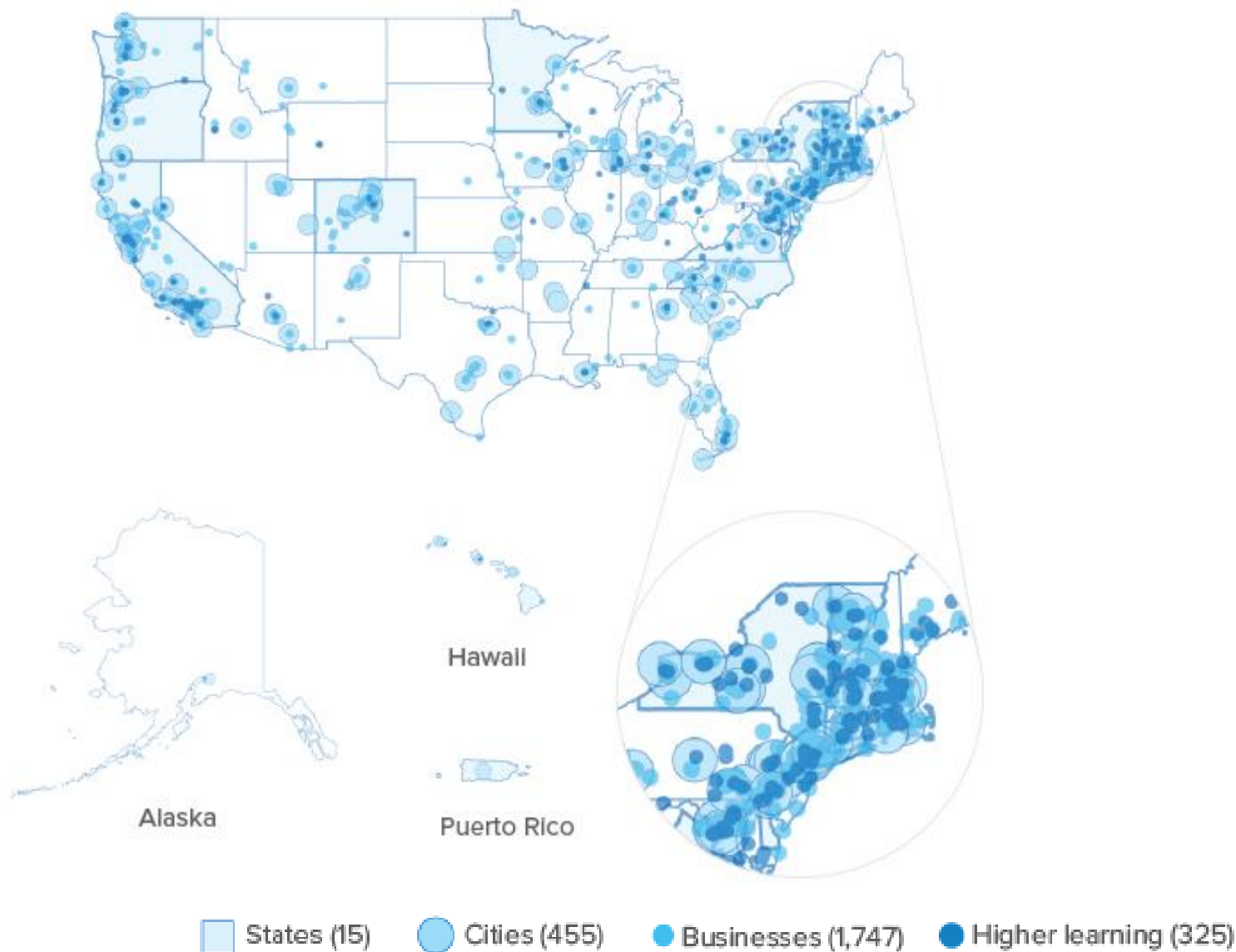
Net emissions, million metric tons CO_{2e}, including most optimistic LULUCF scenario



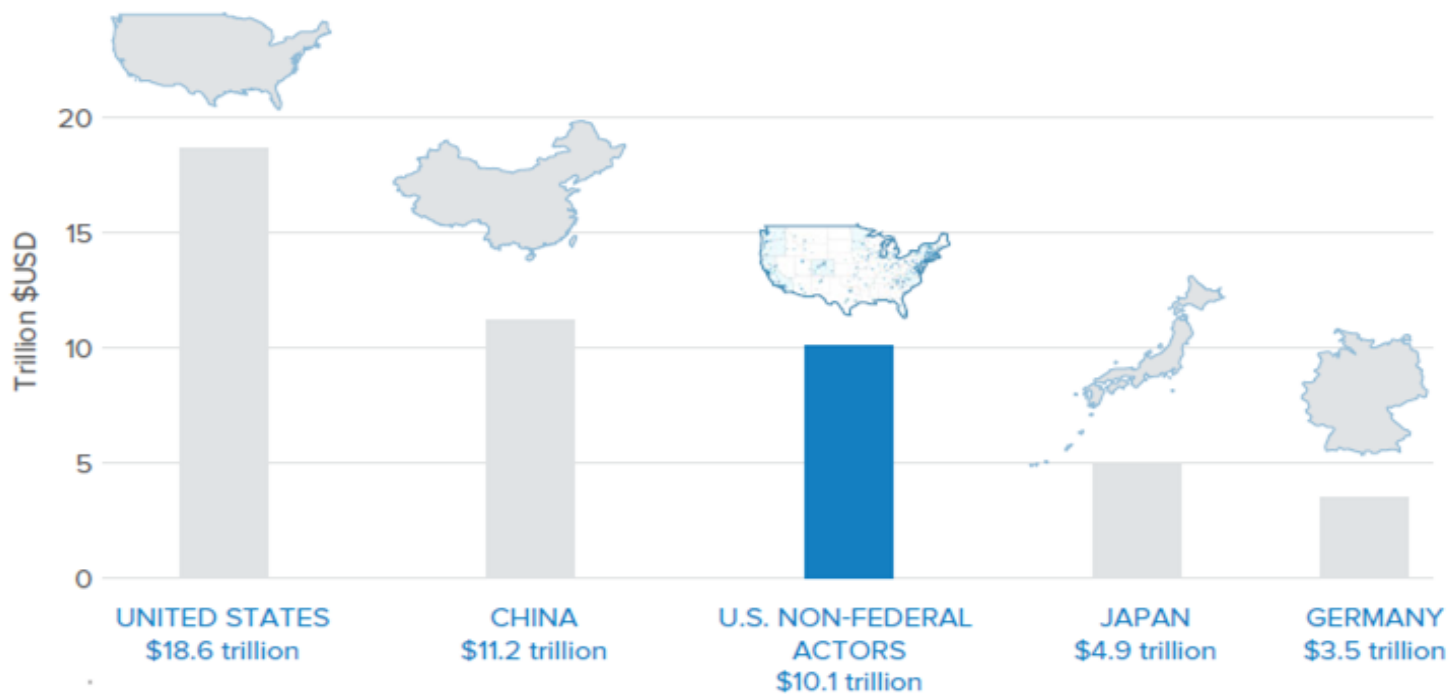
WILL IT BE POSSIBLE TO CLOSE THE GAP?



2,500+ U.S. Non-Federal Actors Explicitly Support the Paris Agreement



2,500+ Non-Federal Actors Remain Committed to Paris – Aggregate Size and Rank as Country and % of U.S. Totals



POPULATION (2016)
159 Million
49% of all Americans

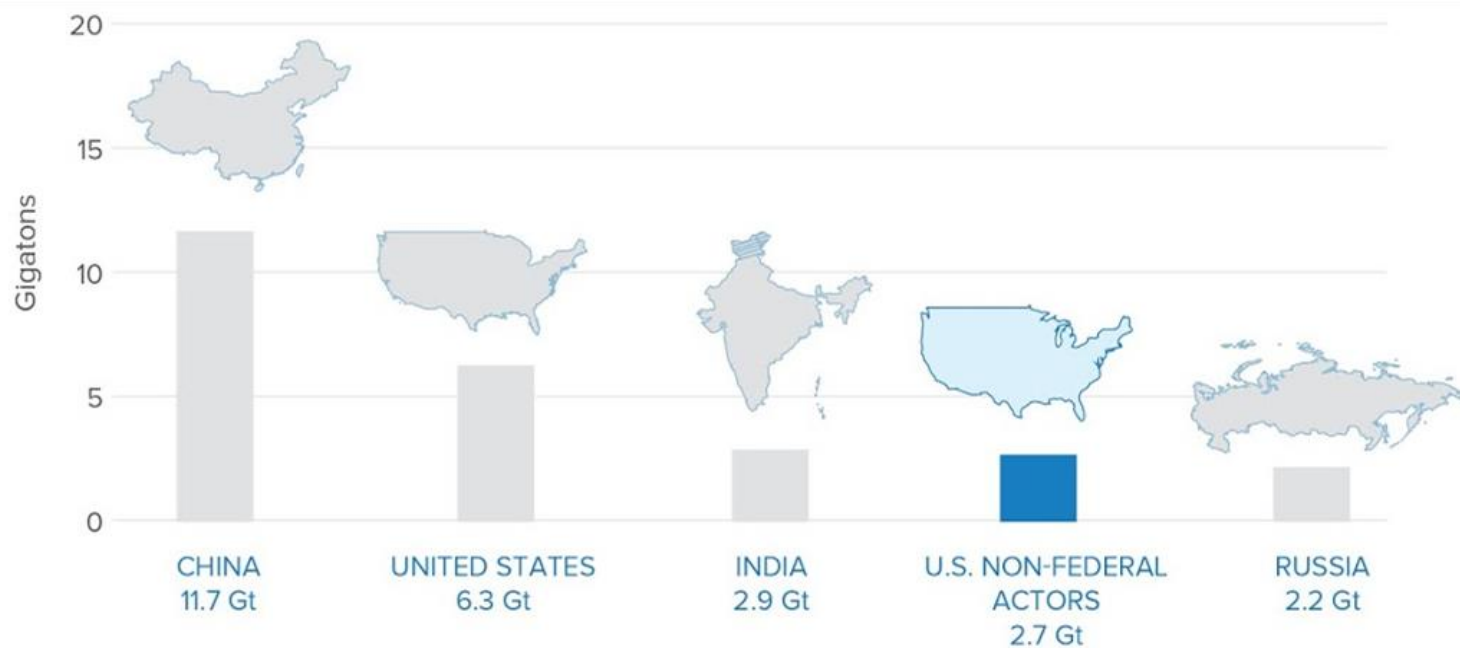


GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (2016)
\$10.1 Trillion
54% of total U.S. GDP



GHG EMISSIONS (2016)
2.3 GT
35% of U.S. GHG Emissions

1,400+ U.S. Non-Federal Actors Have Adopted GHG Reduction Targets - Aggregate Size as Country and as % of U.S. Totals



POPULATION (2016)
182 Million
56% of all Americans



GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (2016)
\$11.2 Trillion
60% of total U.S. GDP



GHG EMISSIONS (2016)
2.7 GT
40% of U.S. GHG Emissions

Climate-Friendly Electricity Policy and Action (29% of emissions)



29 states have mandatory renewable portfolio standards (representing 56% of U.S. electricity sales).



43 cities have committed to 100% clean energy goals.



62 Fortune 500 companies with U.S.-based operations have set renewable energy targets.

Climate-Friendly Transportation Policy and Action (26% of emissions)



10 states have adopted Zero Emission Vehicle (ZEV) targets.



30 U.S. cities have committed \$10 billion to purchase 114,000 EVs for their municipal fleets.

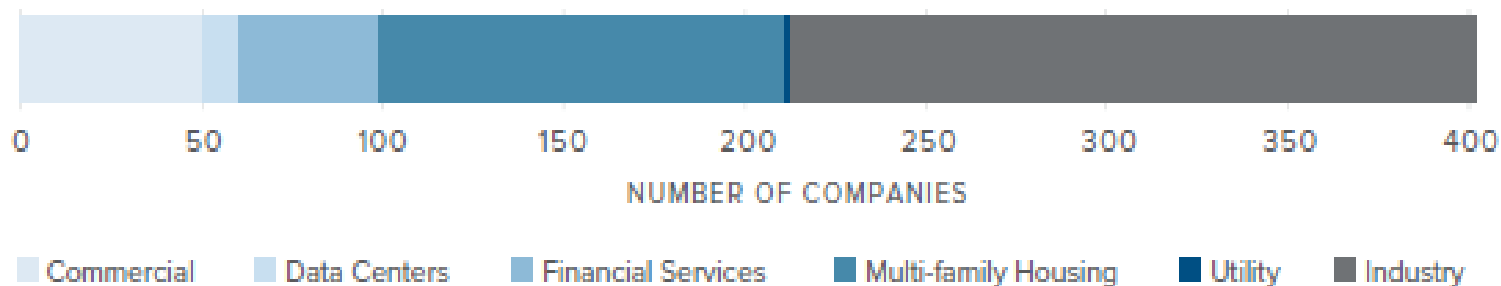


U.S. car manufacturers like General Motors and Ford are committing to increased EV production.

Climate-Friendly Policy and Action: Buildings (9% of emissions) & Industry (12% of emissions)

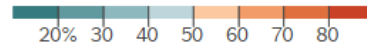


Over 400 companies have voluntarily committed to reduce their energy use through DOE's Better Buildings / Better Plants program.

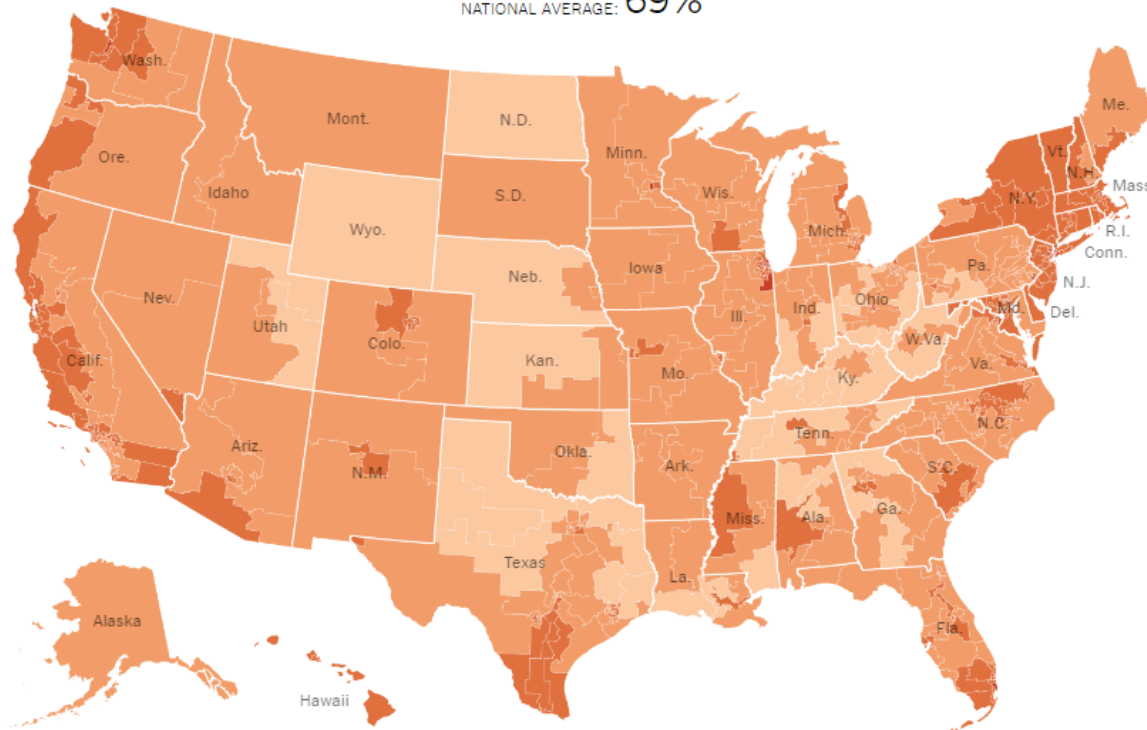


TRENDS: AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE IN FAVOR OF THESE MEASURES

Percentage of adults per congressional district who support strict CO2 limits on existing coal-fired power plants

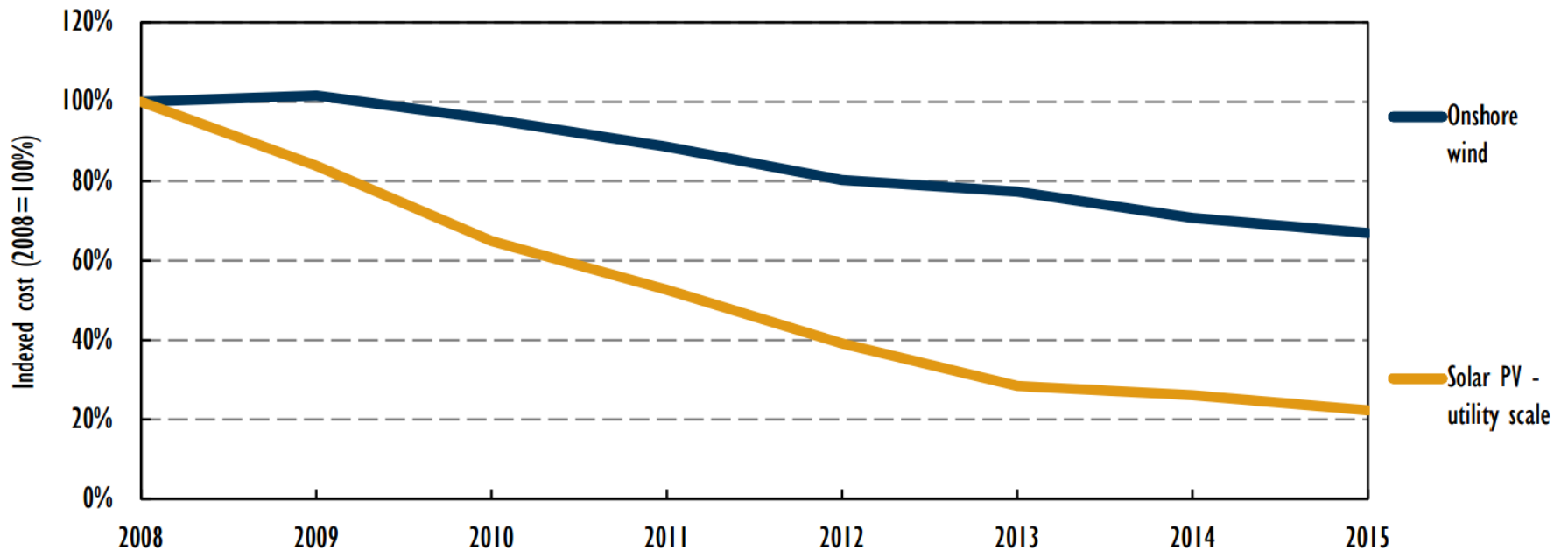


NATIONAL AVERAGE: 69%



TRENDS: FALLING COSTS OF RENEWABLES MAKE THEM INCREASINGLY MORE COMPETITIVE

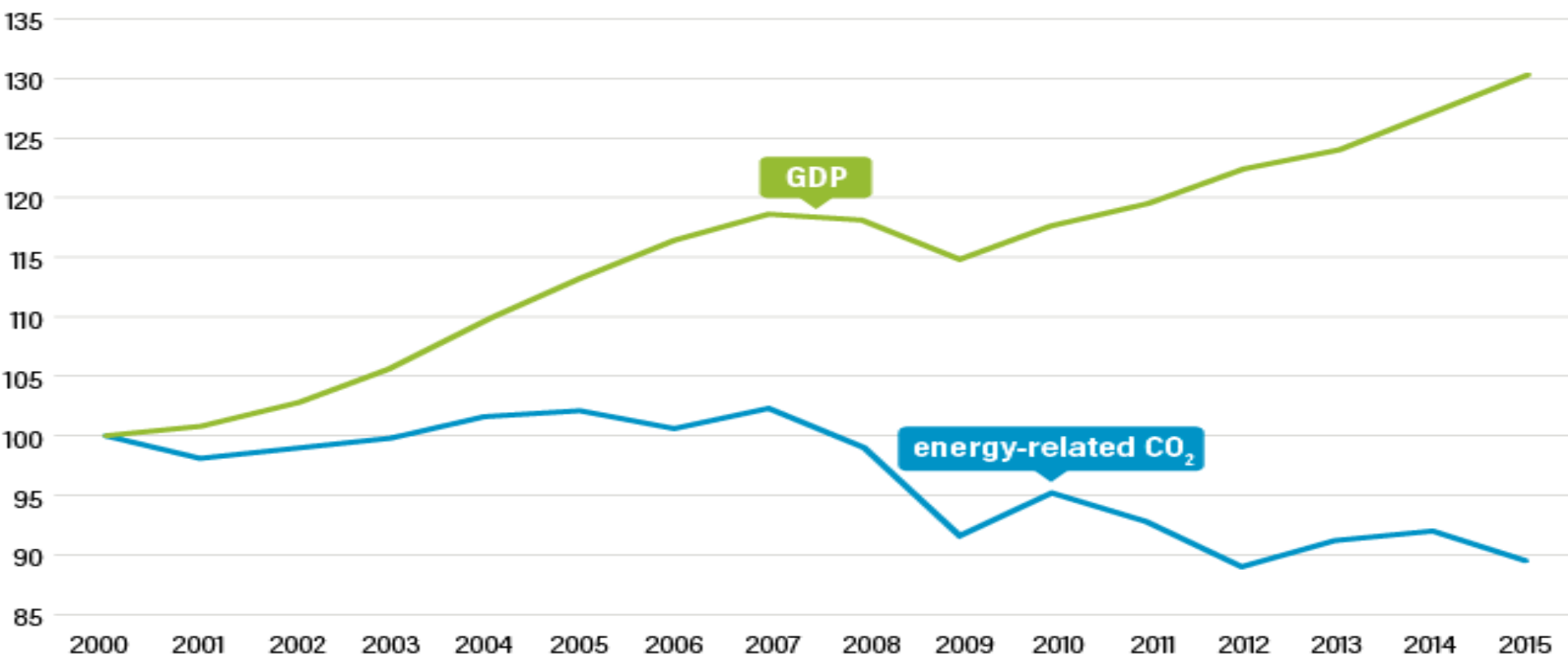
Indexed cost of onshore wind and utility-scale PV



Note: Costs refer to global average of LCOE with country specific assumptions on investment costs (declining over time) and cost of financing (fixed over time). Different costs per country are averaged weighted by annual capacity additions.

TRENDS: US HAS DECOUPLED GROWTH FROM CO₂

U.S. Decoupling: Change in Real GDP and CO₂ Emissions Since 2000
(indexed to 100 in 2000)

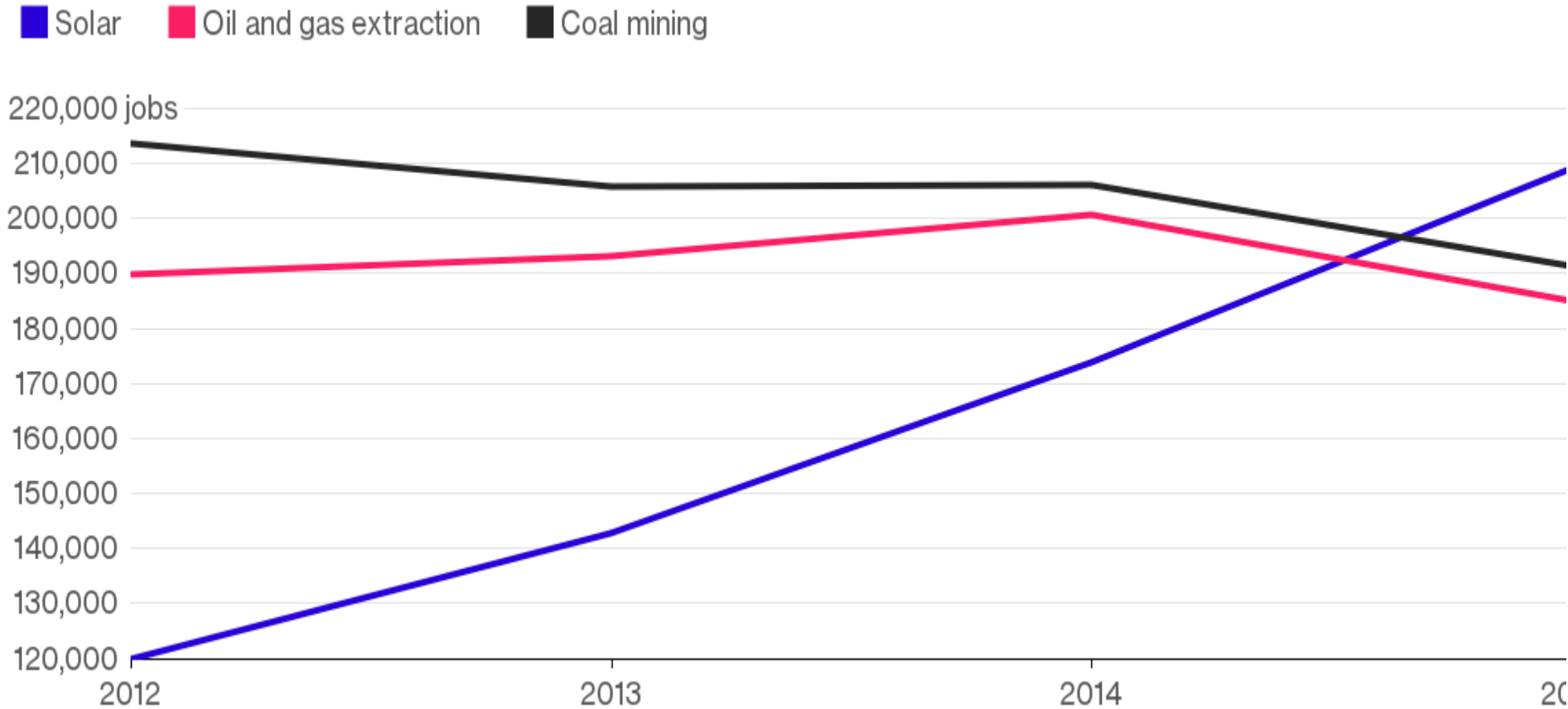


Source: EIA's "Monthly Energy Review" and BEA's "Real GDP"



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TRENDS: RENEWABLES ARE BIGGEST AND FASTEST GROWING JOB SECTOR FOR ENERGY



CAN SOMEONE ELSE FILL THE GAP?

A photograph of President Xi Jinping of China speaking at a podium. He is wearing a dark suit, a white shirt, and a red tie. The podium has a sign that reads "Annual Meeting 2017". The background is a solid blue color.

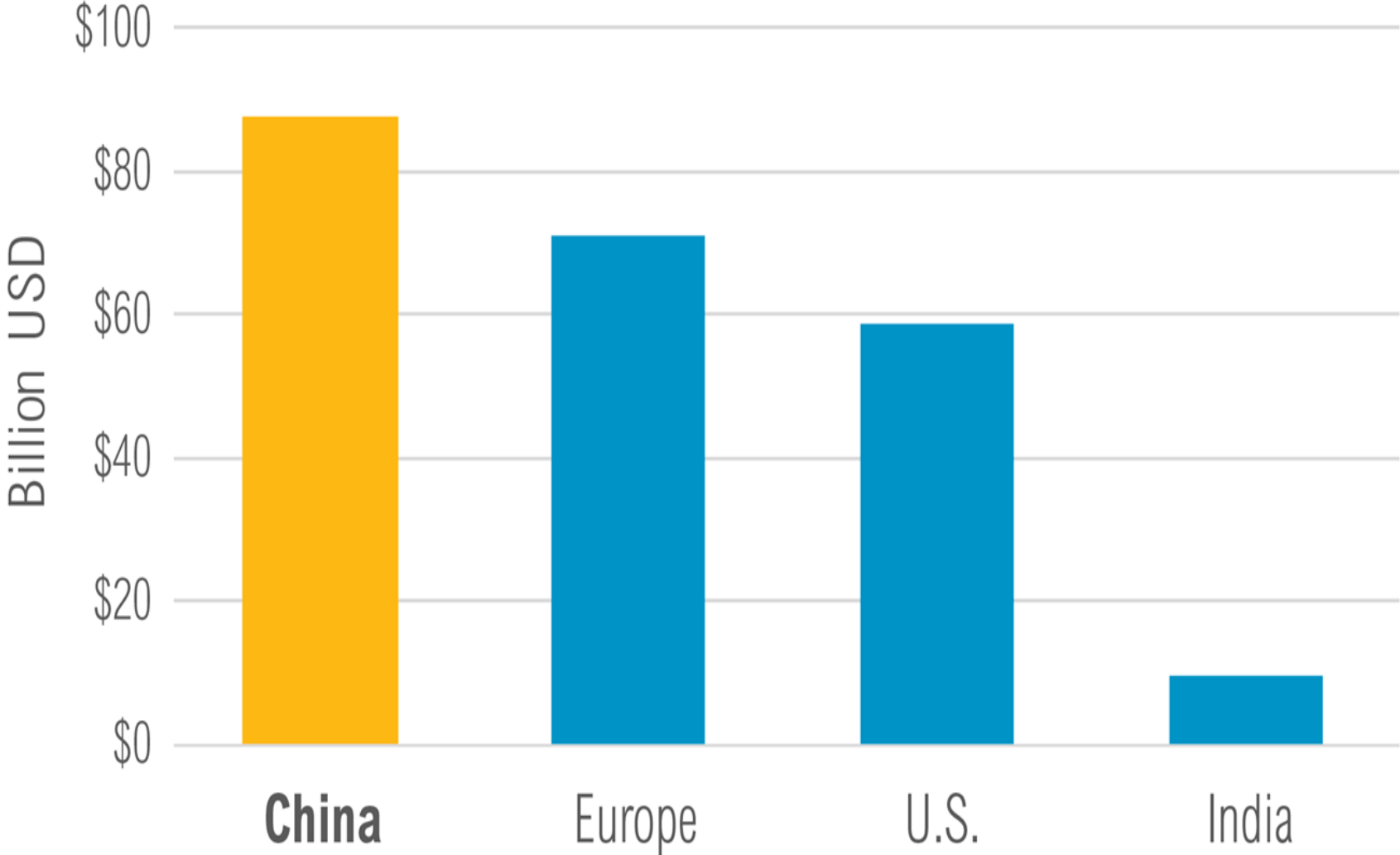
CHINA STEPS UP

“The **Paris Agreement** is a hard-won achievement which is in keeping with the underlying trend of **global development**. All signatories should stick to it instead of walking away...”

- President Xi, People's Republic of China

2016: CHINA LEADS IN RENEWABLES

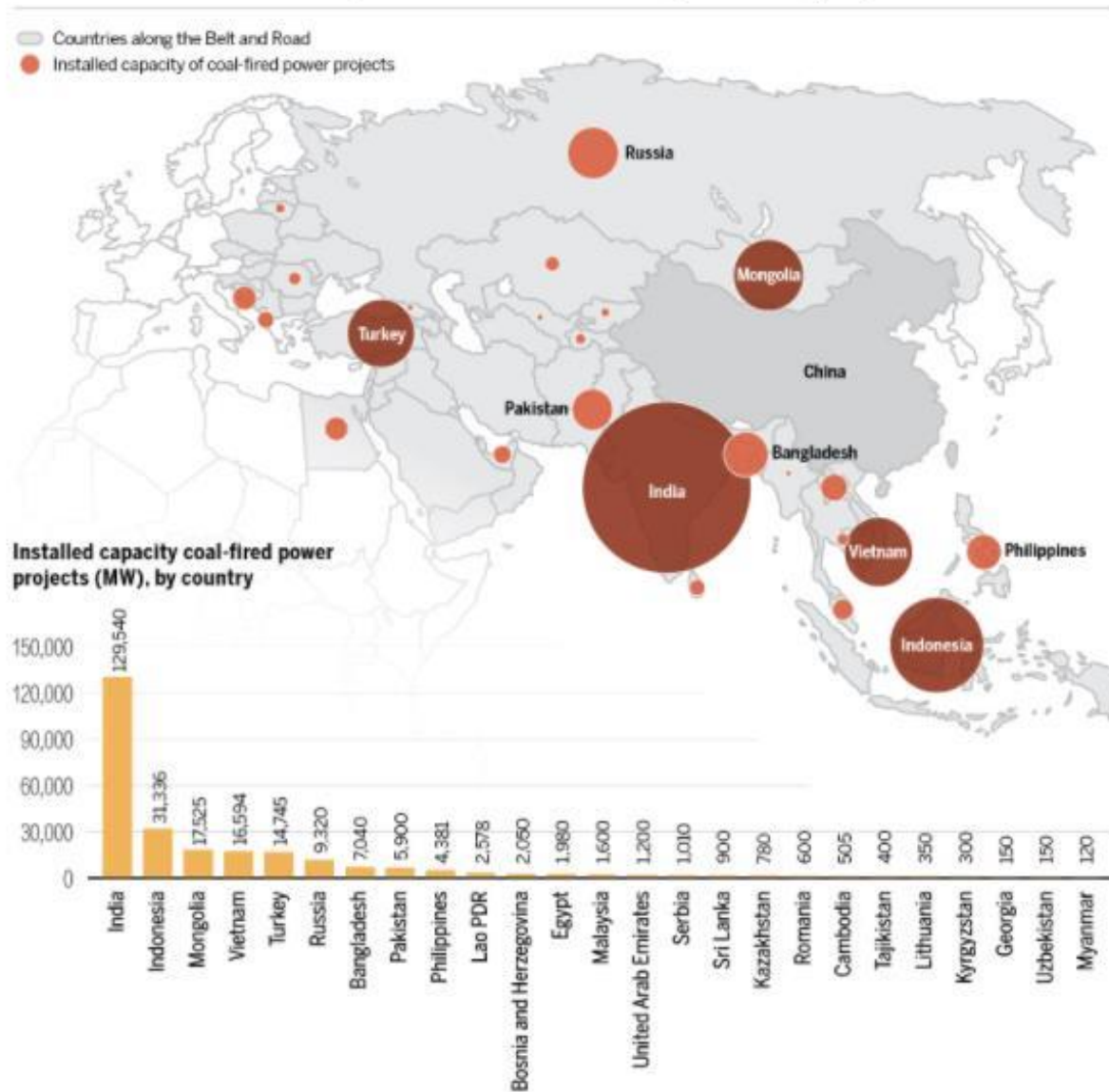
2016 GLOBAL RENEWABLE ENERGY INVESTMENTS



Source: BNEF

BUT: CHINESE COAL BUILDS MOVE OVERSEAS

Text Belt and Road Coal-Fired Power Projects with Chinese Involvement, by Installed Capacity



* This map includes projects that are not yet in operation, representing the total 240 coal-fired power plant projects with which China is involved, which span various stages.

THREE OPTIONS FOR A RESPONSE

SUB-NATIONAL ALLIANCE



ISOLATION



RE-ENGAGEMENT

CSSR

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Climate Science Special Report

Fourth National Climate Assessment (NCA4), Volume I

This report is an authoritative assessment of the science of climate change, with a focus on the United States. It represents the first of two volumes of the Fourth National Climate Assessment, mandated by the Global Change Research Act of 1990.

▣ Recommended Citation

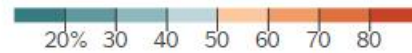
ONE OPTION: CLIMATE AND SECURITY

- **At least six senior defense officials, including Secretary Mattis, have publicly expressed their concerns about climate change:** Climate change has national security implications that must be addressed. [SEP](#)
- **DoD continuing its past policies on climate change.** Continuing its comprehensive climate adaptation and resilience policy from January 2016: “This is a risk. The Department o Defense has to take a long-term view.”
- **Republicans in the House and Senate Armed Services Committees are leading on addressing climate change risks to security:** A bipartisan “climate and security” majority has emerged in the U.S. Congress. Defense of a climate provision in 2018 National Defense Authorization Act (46 Republicans and 188 Democrats).

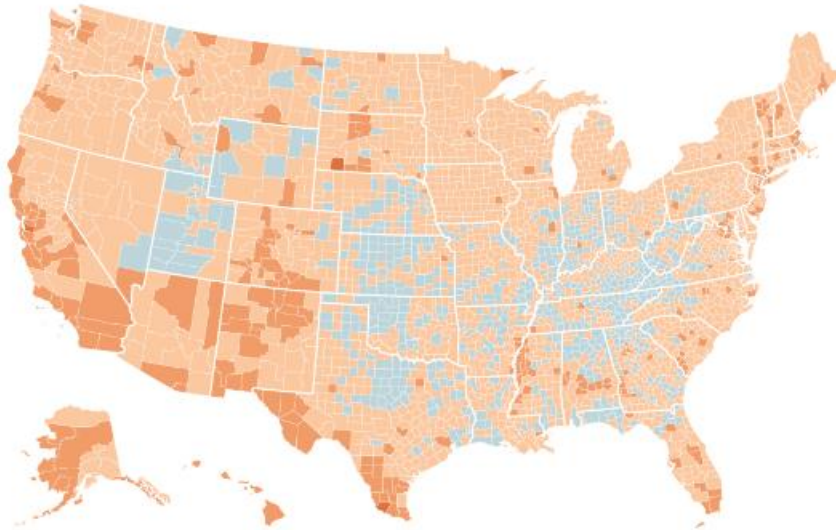


WEAK SPOT IS CLIMATE CHANGE HARMS ME PERSONALLY

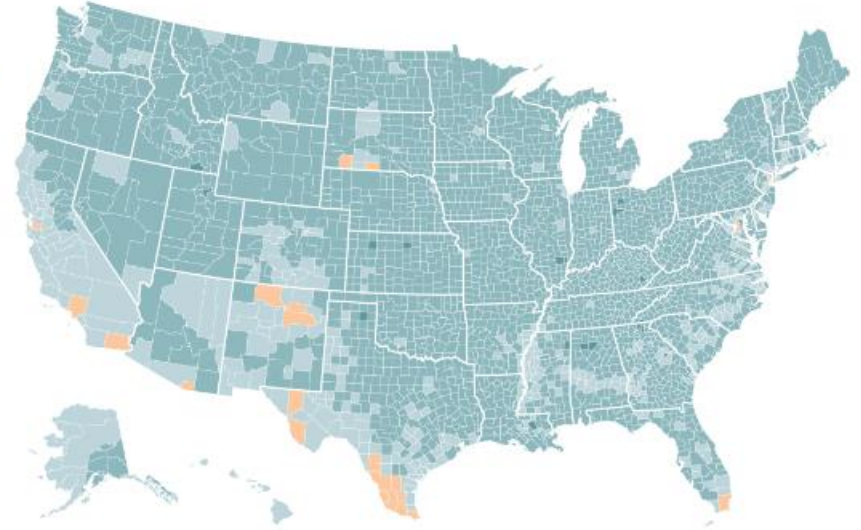
Percentage of adults per county who think . . .



Global warming will harm people in the United States



Global warming will harm me, personally



International Defense of Paris

1. Other countries stand firm and not weaken commitments or withdraw: strong language so far from China, EU, India to step into gap.
2. Other parties should accelerate action under Paris for 2025 review process of targets, not to take up slack but to prove the case that it is in their interests to accelerate mitigation.
3. Other countries must continue to raise climate change with US officials, from President on down.
4. Continue external pressure. Paris was built by breaking climate diplomacy out of its silo. Other countries must signal that they will not engage on other issues with a US withdrawal from Paris.
5. Pressure should come collectively, e.g., at G7 and G20. **Example of G20 statement on climate in July.**