



**for a living planet®**

**WWF-Australia**

Level 13, 235 Jones St  
Ultimo NSW 2007  
**GPO Box 528**  
**Sydney NSW 2001**

Tel: +61 2 9281 5515  
Fax: +61 2 9281 1060

enquiries@wwf.org.au  
wwf.org.au  
ABN 57 001 594 074

Professor Ross Garnaut  
Garnaut Climate Change Review  
Level 3, 3 Treasury Place,  
Melbourne  
VIC 3002

11<sup>th</sup> September 2008

Dear Ross,

Many thanks for your letter. We at WWF-Australia are very clear that your *Targets and Trajectories* Supplementary Draft Report aims to help Australia and the world speedily achieve a 450 ppm stabilisation scenario. We also note that even this scenario may not be sufficient to avoid dangerous climate change especially if overshoot courts threshold effects and triggers tipping elements. There is a very real possibility of runaway climate change and this we must avoid.

At the heart of WWF's thinking lies the premise that:

**Not to decide to win – is to decide to lose.**

There are many who believe it is already too late or too expensive to take on the challenge of stabilising at 450 ppm – they, in effect, have decided to lose and take whatever comes along believing that humanity is infinitely adaptable. They believe that delay, sloth and free-riding is the best way to secure value for Australia. They do not even consider the consequences so vividly pointed out in the CSIS paper *The Age of Consequences*.

You and I do not share that view, we aim to win.

As you and Nick Stern have so ably pointed out the consequences of inaction vastly exceed the costs of swift action.

The point you so eloquently made that “the pathway to 400 ppm lies through the pathway to 450ppm, and the pathway to 450 ppm lies through the pathway to 550 ppm”, I believe has been taken and used against the spirit of your argument. Many in the business community have been angling for a very slothful path and have seized the minus 10% cuts as validating their arguments for a long slow introduction of emissions trading. They dismiss completely a minus 25% cut and a stabilisation target of 450 ppm as impossibility.

For the USA, Australia and Canada (and others); it surely is very difficult technically, physically and institutionally to turn round our infrastructure at a rate sufficient to take us to a needed 80-90% emissions cut by 2050. However WWF believes that it is still eminently possible with a combination of aggressive domestic action and aggressive overseas investment in REDD and CDM like



**for a living planet®**

instruments to achieve a high speed reduction of emissions which would satisfy the equity requirements needed for a successful international negotiation. (I attach two slides in illustration.)

We note that the per capita argument has appeal vis-à-vis equity; however it can also be seen as a self serving argument. Ecofys and others look at variants of the three principles of; responsibility, capability and potential and many countries will argue equity from these principles. On the per capita basis, for example China could arguably say that its “one child policy” has been the most far reaching emissions and consumption reduction program unmatched by others. There are some technical points on the calculations that I have shared with your team and hope these are helpful. We must be clear that immigration is a choice to achieve economic growth by increasing population – but with it comes the concomitant penalty of increased emissions.

For a successful international negotiation, WWF believes that developed countries such as Australia must aggressively tackle their domestic emissions and must invest heavily in enabling developing countries to go up a far slower emissions growth path than would otherwise be the case. In our polling of the key governments it is clear that Australia is expected to fully play its proportionate part. With the 25-40% reduction aspiration on the table and Europe’s 20% and conditional 30% also being on the table, feedback to WWF-Australia is that for Australia to have any credibility at the Poznan and Copenhagen negotiating tables that we would have to bring a 25% unilateral reduction target concomitant with the 450 ppm goal you have already suggested. (This of course would be made up of aggressive domestic action and aggressive overseas investment).

I appreciate that the *legal* position of many countries is a slow start to emission reductions. It is also the case that in all countries – including the USA, Canada, Japan and China – there are political leaders that are trying to foster more aggressive policies. This is not susceptible to evidence because these discussions seldom see the light of day. As you would well know from your many years of public service – these discussions do not get even translated into Government discussion papers – even at the highest level – until well after a solid coalition has been formed. These people are trying to find allies and partners and a way forward. However this will not occur unless at least one country breaks ranks and offers large unilateral reductions even if really large reductions are conditional on a global agreement. The Europeans have made a start down this route but much more is required.

There is absolutely no reason why Australia should not play this role. As you have pointed out, Australia has more to lose and more to win. But if Australia wants to play this role, after many years of obstruction and delay, particularly if it wants to propose a new (albeit principled) approach to an international deal, it will have to put more than ratification of the Kyoto Protocol on the table. It will have to put significant unilateral emission reductions – much more than 10% - and decisive steps towards the global goal.

The role that Australia will play is particularly important at this juncture because USA political advisors particularly are observing Australia to see whether the optimism generated by our government’s ratifying of the Kyoto Protocol can domestically be followed through in the face of intense negative business lobbying. To this point in time the outcomes have been positive. The polls consistently support the Government on the issue. However it is imperative that this is not undermined by the luddites in the business community twisting your report and using it as a weapon to promote a low emission reduction target for Australia. We believe follow through can occur but



**WWF** *for a living planet*

many business actors will need to be stared down and others brought to the realisation that the alternative is economically far worse.

We do agree that a “notional” agreement at Copenhagen that is not followed through would waste precious time and in that instance I would fully expect that some countries would continue their reductions but would also commence retaliatory action. Large powerful countries such as China which are strongly adversely affected in the next two decades could be expected to use trade and currency as countervailing bargaining chips. **Copenhagen is not likely to be the end of the climate change negotiations but it might just signal the beginning of the *Age of Consequences!***

In summary, in your Final Report I believe it would be useful to bring out very strongly that:

- **Not to decide to win – is to decide to lose!**
- The 450 ppm stabilisation scenario is the global greenhouse gas emission goal that Australia should promote (with the option of 400ppm by 2100).
- To be at the negotiating table requires us to have a credible strong 2020 target – this should be really ambitious if we are to foster an international agreement – and we should be prepared to say that if an effective international agreement is not made then we might as well walk away and concentrate on border security. The eventual target should be in the order of 25% of 1990 levels with a willingness to go further if an effective international agreement is made.
- The 2020 target should be made up of aggressive domestic action and aggressive investment in overseas reductions, particularly in the region.
- The benefits of swift (global) action far outweigh the costs of runaway climate change.
- Should Copenhagen fail, Australia should expect deteriorations in world trade and security conditions.
- Climate adaptation measures under all scenarios need to be addressed with great urgency.

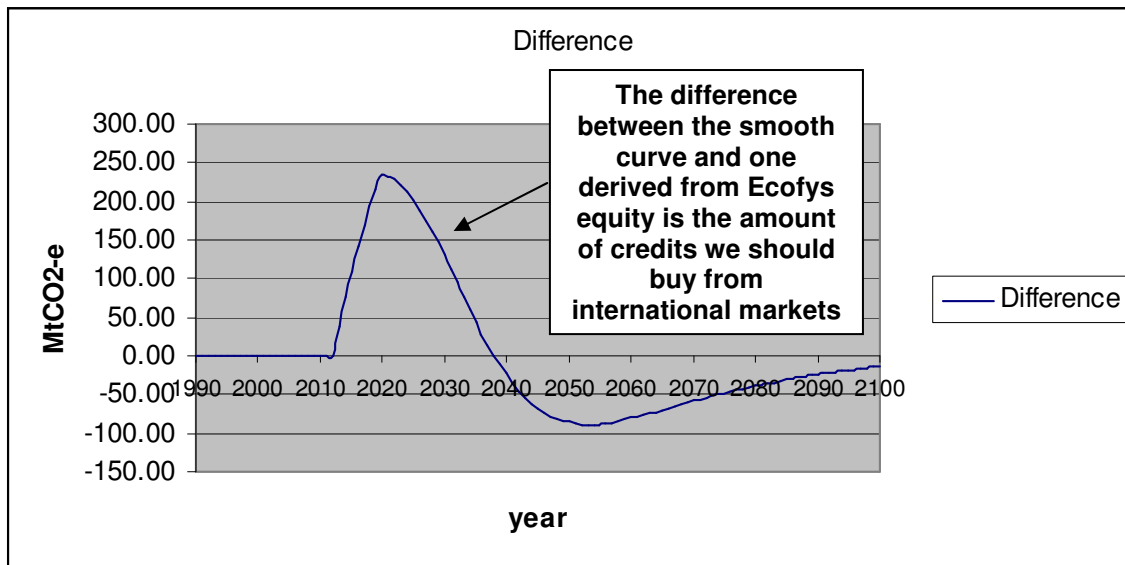
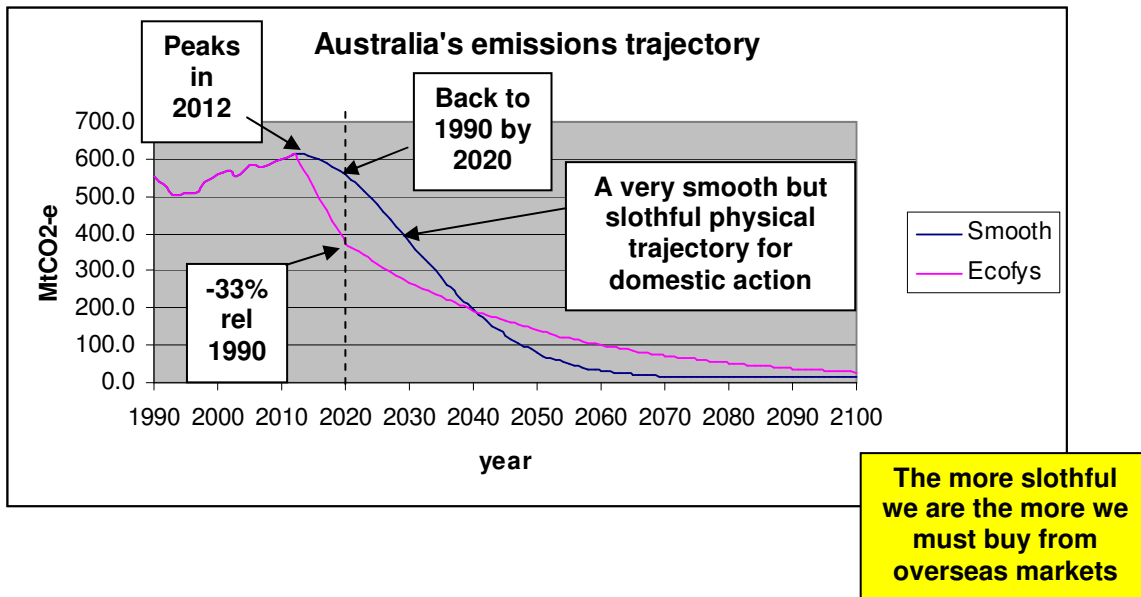
If I and WWF can be of any assistance in elucidating these thoughts we are happy to prioritise our time at your call.

Kind regards

Greg Bourne  
CEO WWF-Australia



WWF® *for a living planet*®



*The Ecofys curve is taken from the Ecofys “South-North Dialogue on Equity in Greenhouse” and subsequent “Emission Allowances*

*The “smooth” curve is taken from a purpose built spread sheet which allows families of such curves to be developed, each of which integrates to the same value as under the Ecofys equity curve.*