Insights for the Future from the Change of Climate in Copenhagen

The meaning of "The Meaning of Copenhagen"

Introduction

Immediately following the United Nations Climate Change Conference (Copenhagen, 2009), a number of observers have posted comments analyzing the failure of the event in relation to the hopes originally associated with it. These are listed below as a basis for identifying possible questions for the future and as a means of considering other ways of presenting such insights as a guide to future initiatives.

Observations (clustered)

These include:

- ALBA Declaration on Copenhagen Climate Summit. Venezuelaanalysis.com, 28 December 2009
- Agence France Presse:
  - Sweden slams climate talks as a 'disaster'. The Swedish Wire, 22 December 2009
  - U.N. climate panel needs overhaul, top scientists argue in 'Nature'. Grist, 10 February 2010
- Al Jazeera:
  - Poor response to climate deadline. Aljazeera.net, 1 February 2010
  - Copenhagen post-mortem: Interview on Al Jazeera. ClimateScienceWatch, 9 January 2010
  - Inside Story: Was failure avoided in Copenhagen? Aljazeera.net, 21 December 2009
  - Copenhagen Climate Summit: Scott Lucas on Al Jazeera's 'Inside Story'. Enduring America, 22 December 2009
  - Naomi Klein on the 'new climate ball-game', 9 December 2009
- UN to investigate climate email row. 4 December 2009
- BBC News (UK):
  - Climategate e-mails inquiry under way. BBC News, 11 February 2010
  - Climate scepticism 'on the rise'. BBC poll shows. BBC News, 5 February 2010
  - India hacks embattled climate chief Pachauri. BBC News, 5 February 2010
  - Copenhagen - the Munich of our times? BBC News. 2 February 2010
  - UN climate body admits 'mistake' on Himalayan glaciers. BBC News, 19 January 2010
  - Science must end climate confusion. BBC News, 11 January 2010
  - We must not accept Copenhagen's failings. BBC News, 29 January 2010
  - Why did Copenhagen fail to deliver a climate deal? BBC News, 22 December 2009
  - Copenhagen climate deal meets qualified UN welcome. BBC News, 19 December 2009
  - World media reacts to climate deal. BBC News, 19 December 2009
  - Copenhagen deal reaction in quotes. BBC News, 19 December 2009
- Brookings (USA):
Greenpeace International:
Friends of the Earth:
Financial Times (UK):
European Union:
EurActiv:
The Economist (UK):
Deutsche Welle (Germany):
ClimateScienceWatch:
Christian Science Monitor (USA):
February 2010

Interim Copenhagen Outcome Assessment
Copenhagen Climate Summit comes to chaotic end: Historic opportunity to avert climate chaos squandered in Copenhagen: Now a New Start?

Peaceful Greenpeace climate protesters released after 20 days of imprisonment without trial

Warming to civil disobedience after Copenhagen's failure

January 2010
Kate Magee. Briefing Note: Copenhagen - what next

Mike Scott. Copenhagen's true effect yet to be seen

Bjørn Lomborg. Lessons of a memorably chaotic global gathering

Lessons of a memorably chaotic global gathering

Nathan Hultman. The Copenhagen Governance Gap

Final Day in Copenhagen: Finding Collective Action to 'Stop the Train'

The Copenhagen Governance Gap

December 2009
Fiona Harvey, Amy Kazmin, Geoff Dyer and Jonathan Wheatley. COP 15: European Parliament: MEPs disappointed over weak climate change agreement (19 Dec. 2009)

Alex Evans and David Steven. Hitting Reboot: Where Next For Climate After Copenhagen? The Brookings Institution, 21 December 2009

Nathan Hultman. The Echo of Copenhagen. The Brookings Institution, 21 December 2009


Christian Science Monitor (USA):
Peter N. Spotts. Did Copenhagen talks open door to a new global order? Christian Science Monitor, 14 January 2010


ClimateScienceWatch:
After Copenhagen, questions about U.S. commitment to climate change aid to developing countries. ClimateScienceWatch, 8 January 2010

Deutsche Welle (Germany):
Post Copenhagen: Should citizens be called on to curb climate change? Deutsche Welle, 25 January 2010

Solving a planet-sized puzzle on a deadline. Deutsche Welle, 29 February 2010

Nations quietly reaffirm Copenhagen climate pledges. Deutsche Welle, 1 February 2010

Economist (UK):
Copenhagen climate talks: Better than nothing. The Economist, 19 December 2009

Climate change -- Planet B: How the underwhelming Copenhagen accord could yet turn into a useful document. The Economist, 30 December 2009

Climate change after Copenhagen: China's thing about numbers. The Economist, 30 December 2009

Winners and losers in Copenhagen. The Economist, 21 December 2009

EurActiv:
EU looks beyond 'weak' Copenhagen climate deal. EurActiv, 19 December 2009

Fifty-five nations join Copenhagen climate accord. EurActiv, 2 February 2010

European Union:
Swedish Presidency: Cautious step forward in Copenhagen

Swedish Presidency: United Nations Climate Change Conference, COP 15

European Parliament: MEPs disappointed over weak climate change agreement (19 Dec. 2009)

European Parliament: EP delegation at COP 15

Danish government: COP 15

COP 15: US, China, India, Brazil and South Africa reach deal

Financial Times (UK):
Joshua Chaffin. EU reflects on climate 'disaster'. Financial Times, 22 December 2009

Joshua Chaffin. EU reflects on hard truth after climate 'disaster'. Financial Times, 23 December 2009

FT Energy Source. Climate experts' forum - the Copenhagen agreement: a disappointment or a relief? Financial Times, 19 December 2009

Fiona Harvey. UN urges end to climate wrangling. Financial Times, 23 December 2009


Fiona Harvey, Amy Kazmin, Geoff Dyer and Jonathan Wheatley. Climate change alliance crumbling. Financial Times, 22 December 2009


Björn Lomborg. We should change tack on climate after Copenhagen. Financial Times, 22 December 2009

Mike Scott. Copenhagen's true effect yet to be seen. Financial Times, 17 January 2010

Friends of the Earth:
Briefing Note: Copenhagen - what next. January 2010

Kate Magee. Friends of the Earth delegation barred from Copenhagen climate talks. prweek.com, 16 December 2009

Greenpeace International:
Copenhagen Accord recycles old climate commitments, leaving the world heading for catastrophic climate change. 31 January 2010

Warming to civil disobedience after Copenhagen's failure. 12 January 2010

Peaceful Greenpeace climate protesters released after 20 days of imprisonment without trial. 6 January 2010

Copenhagen Climate Summit comes to chaotic end: Historic opportunity to avert climate chaos squandered in Copenhagen. 19 December 2009

Interim Copenhagen Outcome Assessment. 19 December 2009

Guardian (UK):
David Adam. Copenhagen treaty was 'held to ransom', says Gordon Brown. The Guardian, 21 December 2009

David Adam and Fred Pearce. No apology from IPCC chief Rajendra Pachauri for glacier fallacy. The Guardian, 2 February 2010
• Damian Carrington, Suzanne Goldenberg, *et al.* Global deal on climate change in 2010 ‘all but impossible’. The Guardian, 1 February 2010
• Damian Carrington, Suzanne Goldenberg, *et al.* Chances of Copenhagen climate talks ‘rematch’ unlikely, say experts. The Guardian, 1 February 2010
• Ben Goldacre. *Climate change? Well, we'll be dead by then.* The Guardian, 12 December 2009
• Suzanne Goldenberg. US cult of greed is now a global environmental threat. The Guardian, 10 January 2010
• Suzanne Goldenberg. Investors urge governments to take immediate action on climate change. The Guardian, 10 January 2010
• Suzanne Goldenberg. White House climate adviser offers hope after Copenhagen. The Guardian, 11 January 2010
• Suzanne Goldenberg. US officials helped prepare Obama for Copenhagen summit's collapse. The Guardian, 13 January 2010
• Suzanne Goldenberg. Copenhagen climate change talks must fail, says top scientist. The Guardian, 2 December 2009
• Suzanne Goldenberg and John Vidal. UN should be sidelined in future climate talks, says Obama official. The Guardian, 14 January 2010
• Suzanne Goldenberg, Toby Helm and John Vidal. Copenhagen: The key players and how they rated. The Guardian, 22 December 2009
• Ian Katz. The case for climate action must be remade from the ground upwards. The Guardian, 8 February 2010
• Martin Khor. Blame Denmark, not China, for Copenhagen failure. The Guardian, 28 December 2009
• Jonathan Lash. Last-minute agreement at Copenhagen marks turning point for the world. The Guardian, 13 December 2010
• Mark Lynas. How do I know China wrecked the Copenhagen deal? I was in the room. The Guardian, 22 December 2009
• George Monbiot. The Trouble with Trusting Complex Science. The Guardian, 8 March 2010 (also syndicated under the title *The Unpersuadables: when facts are not enough*)
• George Monbiot. If you want to know who's to blame for Copenhagen, look to the US Senate. The Guardian, 21 December 2009
• George Monbiot. Requiem for a Crowded Planet: this is what the failure of the climate talks means. The Guardian, 21 December 2010
• George Monbiot. This is bigger than climate change. It is a battle to redefine humanity. The Guardian, 14 December 2009
• George Monbiot. The denial industry case notes. The Guardian, 7 December 2009
• Fred Pearce. Climate change emails between scientists reveal flaws in peer review. The Guardian, 2 February 2010
• Fred Pearce. How the 'climategate' scandal is bogus and based on climate sceptics' lies. The Guardian, 9 February 2010
• Pope Benedict XVI denounces failure of world leaders at Copenhagen summit. The Guardian, 11 January 2010
• Press Association. Climate scientist at centre of email row defends his research. The Guardian, 2 February 2010
• Press Association. Climate sceptics denounced by Brown as he launches climate change group. The Guardian, 12 February 2010
• Jerome Ravetz. The climate crisis could be solved by courteous communication: Science could learn valuable lessons from politics on conflict resolution. The Guardian, 15 February 2010
• Bibi van der Zee. Activists reveal tactics used by police to ‘decapitate’ Copenhagen climate protests. The Guardian, 17 December 2009
• Bibi van der Zee. An activist's guide to Copenhagen. The Guardian, 18 November 2009
• Adam Vaughan and David Adam. Copenhagen climate deal: Spectacular failure - or a few important steps? The Guardian, 22 December 2009
• John Vidal. Rich and poor countries blame each other for failure of Copenhagen deal. The Guardian, 19 December 2009
• John Vidal and Jonathan Watts. Friends of the Earth among activists barred from Copenhagen conference centre. The Guardian, 16 December 2009
• Jonathan Watts. Senior Chinese climatologist calls for reform of IPCC. The Guardian, 8 February 2010
• Jonathan Watts, Damian Carrington and Suzanne Goldenberg. China's fears of rich nation 'climate conspiracy' at Copenhagen revealed. The Guardian, 11 February 2010
• Series: Climate wars: special investigation 12 (parts listed below)
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- Independent (UK):
  - Johann Hari. The truths Copenhagen ignored. The Independent, 19 December 2009
  - Copenhagen: Snubs, skulduggery, and sleepless nights. The Independent, 19 December 2009

- New Scientist:
  - Michael Le Page. Sceptical climate researcher won't divulge key program. New Scientist, 18 December 2009
  - Fred Pearce. Copenhagen chaos sets world on track for 3.5 °C. New Scientist, 19 December 2009

- New York Times (USA):
  - Al Gore. We Can't Wish Away Climate Change. The New York Times, 28 February 2010

- OpenDemocracy.net
  - Tan Copsey. The Copenhagen accord. OpenDemocracy.net, 4 January 2010
  - Rupert Read. Beyond Copenhagen: what kind of bottom-up climate activism do we need? OpenDemocracy.net, 4 January 2010

- Palestine Telegraph:
  - Copenhagen Climate deal melting? Palestine Telegraph, 24 January 2010

- Reuters:
  - U.N. climate talks end with bare minimum agreement. Reuters, 19 December 2009
  - Scenarios: U.N. talks descend into chaos; possible exits. Reuters, 19 December 2009
  - Instant View: Reaction to Copenhagen climate deal. Reuters, 18 December 2009

- Socialist International:
  - Socialist International In Copenhagen: 'Birth Of Global Governance'. 8 January 2010

- Telegraph (UK):
  - Helen Baxendale. Copenhagen climate summit: the talks were another missed opportunity. The Telegraph, 18 December 2009
  - Louise Gray. Copenhagen climate summit: protests threaten to shut down talks. The Telegraph, 16 December 2009
  - Louise Gray. Copenhagen summit is last chance to save the planet, Lord Stern. The Telegraph, 16 December 2009
  - Andrew Hough. Copenhagen: climate change talks 'should fail'. The Telegraph, 3 December 2009
  - Copenhagen climate summit: African walkout threatens talks. The Telegraph, 14 December 2009

- Time (USA):
  - Bryan Walsh. Lessons From the Copenhagen Climate Talks. Time, 21 December 2009

- Transcend Media Service:

- Washington Post (USA):
  - Anthony Faiola, Juliet Eilperin and John Pomfret. Copenhagen climate deal shows new world order may be led by U.S. The Washington Post, 20 December 2009
  - Bjorn Lomborg. From Copenhagen's ashes, a better way to fight global warming. The Washington Post, 15 January 2010

- World Socialist Website:
  - Pitiful Copenhagen. 7 January 2010
  - Nick Beams. Marxism, socialism and climate change. 22 December 2009
  - Patrick Martin. World climate conference: Conflict outside and inside Copenhagen meeting. 17 December 2009
  - Patrick Martin. Copenhagen climate summit ends in bitter disagreements. 19 December 2009
  - Patrick O'Connor. Climate change, emissions trading schemes and the profit system. 21 December 2009
  - Peter Symonds. Copenhagen Climate Summit: the gulf between rhetoric and reality. 7 December 2009
  - Peter Symonds. Global climate diagnosis worsening. 7 December 2009
The UNFCCC has made available a set of documents following the Copenhagen Summit:

- UNFCCC Press Briefing on the outcome of Copenhagen and the way forward in 2010
- Decisions adopted by the Conference, as well as the Copenhagen Accord
- Report of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Further Commitments for Annex I Parties under the Kyoto Protocol (AWG-KP) [10th session, Copenhagen, 7-15 December 2009]
- Report of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action under the Convention (AWG-LCA) [8th session, including an annex containing the draft texts presented to the COP at its fifteenth session]

A valuable systematic set of links, grouped by date, is provided by包括一个附录

- Decisions adopted by the Conference
- UNFCCC Press Briefing on the outcome of Copenhagen and the way forward in 2010
- Report of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Further Commitments for Annex I Parties under the Kyoto Protocol (AWG-KP) [10th session, Copenhagen, 7-15 December 2009]
- Report of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action under the Convention (AWG-LCA) [8th session, including an annex containing the draft texts presented to the COP at its fifteenth session]
Activating the blame game

Following the Copenhagen Conference, Yvo de Boer, the head of the UN's climate change secretariat, argued that the "blame game" was not helpful (Michael Szabo, Copenhagen blame game not helpful: U.N. climate chief, Reuters, 24 December 2009).

What a curious situation. How wonderful to be convinced somebody is clearly to blame. Does it matter if it is China or Obama, or "you" (as proposed by George Monbiot)? Never "me" -- as the one dishing out the blame and having a whinge? How sad that something on which there was "global consensus" -- with regard to "the science" -- should prove to be undesirable to some. Clearly there are very bad people out there (or maybe just ignorant or selfish) who do not agree with "me" and the deal that I consider reasonable to "save the world". If only people would convert to "my faith", all would be good.

Is it not possible to take a step back from such problematic, self-serving analysis and assume that everyone is likely to have their own take and that everyone is likely to want to blame someone, as previously highlighted (Responsibility for Global Governance: Who? Where? When? How? Why? Which? What? 2008)? Failure to do so would mean that we are not in a collective learning mode. The only learning then required is on the part of those who are to blame?

How simple life can be. Just educate the people who do not agree with "me". The difficulty now is that everyone has become essentially untrustworthy and part of the problem -- especially those who claim that they are uniquely part of the solution. More fruitful might be to recognize that if one does not understand how one is part of the problem one cannot understand the nature of the solution required.

What some would have liked is a deal at any cost -- with little attention to who might be severely disadvantaged by the deal. In that respect the story of the "Danish text" says it all (John Vidal, Copenhagen climate summit in disarray after 'Danish text' leak, The Guardian, 8 December 2009).

Climate science and "Climategate"

The much-publicized incident of the hacked e-mails amongst climate change scientists, which was so influential in undermining the credibility of arguments in the Copenhagen debate, is summarized in the entry on the Climatic Research Unit hacking incident, in Wikipedia -- itself notably subject to controversy regarding manipulative editing. Other relevant documents are to be found at Climategate Document Database.

A12-part set of documents has been prepared by The Guardian (Climate wars: special investigation):

1. Battle over climate data turned into war between scientists and sceptics
2. How the 'climategate' scandal is bogus and based on climate sceptics' lies
3. Hockey stick graph took pride of place in IPCC report, despite doubts
4. Climate change debate overheated after sceptic grasped 'hockey stick'
5. Changing weather posts in China led to accusations of scientific fraud
6. Emails reveal strenuous efforts by climate scientists to 'censor' their critics
7. Victory for openness as IPCC climate scientist opens up lab doors
8. Climate scientists contradicted spirit of openness by rejecting information requests
9. Climate scientists withheld Yamal data despite warnings from senior colleagues
10. Search for hacker may lead police back to East Anglia's climate research unit
11. 'Climategate' was PR disaster that could bring healthy reform of peer review
12. Climate science emails cannot destroy argument that world is warming

Other summaries are to be found in:

- Renfrey Clarke. 'Climategate' emails: Scientists defend science. Green Left, 28 November 2009
- Lord Monckton. Summary of Climategate and its issues. Watt's Up With That, 30 November 2009

To the extent that it is appropriate to assume that an objective, rational approach is still a reasonable possibility for 21st century science and governance, issues meriting consideration might include:

- Efforts to review the science and its models, as with those of Richard Moore (Climate science: observations vs. models, 8 January 2010)

- Consideration of the justification of the climate science community and IPCC in failing to give "scientific" attention to a problematic fourth component of the Kaya Identity basic to the IPCC climate change case made in Copenhagen (Well Sharp, Getting climate policy back on course with the Kaya Identity, 8 December 2009). The component in question was population about which the IPCC report declared: "Admittedly, there are many possible combinations of the four Kaya identity components, but with the scope and legitimacy of population control subject to ongoing debate, the remaining two technology-oriented factors, energy and carbon intensities, have to bear the main burden...". How untrustworthy can "science" become in the light of such explicit negligence -- even if such factors are only mentioned in passing? Perhaps climate scientists could be inspired by marine biologists -- "scientific wailing" rather than "scientific whaling"? The problematic use of single metrics, including the Kaya Identity, is discussed elsewhere (Uncritical Strategic Dependence on Little-known Metrics, 2009).

- Beyond the mandate of the natural sciences, "scientific" consideration should legitimately be given by social scientists to the
challenges of more inclusive climate change debate and its cognitive challenges, as argued elsewhere (Overpopulation Debate as a Psychosocial Hazard: development of safety guidelines from handling other hazardous materials, 2009).

- Recognition of the track record of inefficacy in delivering solutions framed by global agreement and the possibility of more realistic response to future challenges, as discussed elsewhere (Recognizing the Psychosocial Boundaries of Remedial Action: constraints on ensuring a safe operating space for humanity, 2009).

Possible questions for the future

A very insightful generic checklist of Innovation Dynamics: Top Forty (December 2009) was prepared by G. K. VanPatter as part of the process of Making Sense of the Copenhagen Summit. It focused on 'why most large group meetings, work sessions, working conferences produce little other than feel good vibes'. The first 5 read:

1. Vastly different, unarticulated, unaligned expectations among participants.
2. Lack of awareness that many types of dialogue exist.
3. Lack of acknowledgement regarding what the default dialogue mode is.
4. Disconnect between (serious significant) expected outcomes and (tea party-like) processes.
5. Lack of acknowledgement that the scale of challenges facing us has changed.

The following unrelated items are however more specific to the dynamics within the pro-climate change movement:

- Many of the commentators offer well-reasoned comments. However the title of that of Richard Heinberg (The Meaning of Copenhagen, 3 January 2010) raises the question as to how each is to be construed as "The" meaning of Copenhagen. Does each preclude other interpretations and meanings -- of validity for some?
- Are those analyses that frame one group as essentially "bad" people (vested interests, etc) and another group as "good" people (those in favour of action on climate change) a bit too simple for governance in the 21st century?
- Do any framed as "bad" people have any kind of case? Is there anything to be learnt from them?
- Is there anything inadequate (if not "bad") in the case made by the "good" people?
- How come so little is said about the difficulties of the "good" people in getting their own act together -- echoes of the problems that the spectrum of religions face? Is it easier to identify "bad" people rather than recognize the challenges that the "good" people themselves face amongst each other?
- With respect to 'denial' and 'deniers':
  - To what extent is who "in denial" -- necessarily from some other perspective, readily held to be irrelevant or misguided?
  - User of 'denier' vs 'sceptic' has been helpfully considered with respect to media presentation by David Marsh (Mind your language, The Guardian, 1 March 2009). Suggestions have been made to stop referring to "climate change deniers" in favour of, perhaps, "climate sceptics", indicating: The former has nasty connotations with Holocaust denial and tends to polarise debate. On the other hand there are some who are literally in denial about the evidence. Also, some are reluctant to lend the honourable tradition of scepticism to people who may not be truly 'sceptical' about the science.
- Have the "good" people:
  - effectively bought into the problematic dynamics of religion over centuries past and its expectations that all can (and should for their own benefit) be persuaded of the validity of its perspective -- even though it makes every effort to marginalize and condemn other faiths?
  - trapped themselves in the belief that they had an unquestionable case which everyone should "believe" in or be labelled as an unbeliever and a denier, with all the historical echoes of that term? Should denial be criminalized?
  - made a poorly framed case in that it reflects those past patterns of religions in endeavouring to persuade the world of their unique message -- demonising those who disagree? Does the 21st century call for a subtler approach -- a possible lesson of Copenhagen?
- How appropriate is it to borrow language from fundamental debates of centuries past in order to frame the challenges of the future, namely:
  - the quasi-religious distinction made between "believers" in climate change and its "deniers" and the opprobrium with which it is considered appropriate by the former to frame the latter. In the religious traditions. deniers are a focus of stereotyping and victimization -- through a process of demonisation denying any degree of legitimacy to their perspective. Given the "evil" they are then held to represent within that framework, are they legitimately to be treated as an existential danger to the community and worthy of any sanction?
  - use of the term "denier" also borrows from the widespread condemnation of Holocaust denial -- now criminalized in some countries. Is it appropriate to activate a debate analogous to that in relation to the so-called "Holocaust industry", with use of pejorative terms such as "self-hating Jew", worthy of extreme threat in the eyes of some (Norman G. Finkelstein, The Holocaust Industry: reflections on the exploitation of Jewish suffering, 2000)? Will this transform the already emerging "climate change industry" such as to recognize and stigmatize some as "self-hating environmentalists"?
  - suggestions of the need to constrain population increase, as an aspect of the challenge of anthropogenic global warming,
may be reframed in an extreme manner in terms of the process used where populations of animals threaten their ecosystem. Is it appropriate to then deliberately imply that any restriction on population increase should be understood as promoting the "culling" of human populations with all that implies in terms of killing the unsuspecting, as in the analysis of the climate change debate by James Corbett (A Message to Environmentalists. The Corbett Report, December 2009)?

- Is the failure of Copenhagen now going to result in the emergence of a pattern of complaint typical of religions in blaming unbelievers for hindering the arrival of Heaven on Earth? Is that posture a bit too easy, implying that the "good" people have nothing to learn from Copenhagen (other than that the "bad" people were worse than they thought, and better organized)?

- To what extent has the climate change process been symptomatic of a more fundamental challenge, namely the desperate desire to achieve universal consensus -- something for everyone to believe in -- thereby obscuring the challenge of psychosocial diversity and of why people may have reason to disagree?

- With respect to choice of language to communicate the challenge of climate change:
  - Campaign: Should the challenge have been framed as a "battle" in the first place -- notably in the use of "campaign" -- or effectively presented as a "crusade" (and why not a "jihad")?
  - Targetting: The problem is that anyone who feels they are being targetted tends to have techniques for avoiding the consequences -- as in the animal world.
  - Comparison may be made with interpersonal relationship: anyone who gets the sense that they are the subject of a campaign (courtship or otherwise) tends to adopt measures of avoidance. For courtship to work, obvious targetting has to be avoided. What then are the range of 'courtship techniques' for climate change? How does climate change become sexy -- how is a change of climate cultivated? Intriguing is the recent recognition by the marketing world that 'targetting' now has to become contextual -- 'environmental' -- moving beyond older marketing ploys. Neurormarketing is the name of the game. And for climate change?
  - Missiles, Missives, Missions and Memetic Warfare [https://www.laetusinpraesens.org/docs/missile.php]
  - Western bias: It would seem, given the emerging Chinese strategy with respect to climate change, that there is merit in exploring Chinese insights into responding to 'Western strategy':
  - What is it fruitful to do when a "battle" is perceived as lost -- focus on blaming the enemy?
  - Has the scientific community made mistakes in pretending that it is its business to achieve consensus and to penalize all those scientists who do not subscribe to it -- complaining that its unquestionable values are being besmirched by questioning its processes? A case of "scientific wailing" despite complicity of marine biologists in "scientific whaling"?
  - What questions have been swept under the carpet in the effort to bulldoze consensus -- to manufacture consent in Chomsky's terms? How come there is so little mention of the Kaya Identity on which the IPCC case is built -- having excluded consideration of one of its components?
  - Although much was said about "the science" relevant to climate change and its reliability, is the fact that so little attention was given to other "sciences" capable of analyzing the debate itself and its players more fruitfully to be considered a blindspot in "the science"? What efforts are made to recognize cognitive blindspots and biases in global risk analysis, as discussed by Eliezer Yudkowsky (Cognitive biases potentially affecting judgment of global risks, In: Nick Bostrom and Milan Cirkovic, eds, Global Catastrophic Risks, OUP, 2008)?

  - Who can now be held to speak credibly and with authority -- and how is this credibility determined, other than by affirmation? Who to have confidence in -- given the range of constituencies with various conflicting perspectives, each appealing for such confidence?
  - What are the other questions that might be tabled for consideration rather than pretending to have achieved closure on "The" meaning of Copenhagen? How to determine what more strategically instructive questions might be?

Where are the analyses of mistakes made by all the respective parties to the climate change debate -- and the learnings to be obtained from those mistakes?

- How are these to be interrelated to transcend an unfruitful blame-game, as has been the case with the financial crises of 2008-2009?
- Is another style of meeting and communication required, rather than endeavouring to pour 'new wine into old bottles' with processes that have proven to be unfruitful for purpose?

Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) is widely renowned for his early contribution to what was subsequently hailed as an emergent scientific methodology. As an artist, he quickly became master of topographic anatomy, drawing many studies of muscles, tendons and other
visible anatomical features through dissecting human corpses -- a conventionally repugnant preoccupation for an artist. It resulted in a theoretical work on anatomy to which he contributed more than 200 drawings (published 161 years after his death) as a treatise on painting. It might be asked whether the attitude of a Leonardo is required to engage in the study -- so repugnant to conventional "science" -- of the "corpses" of international gatherings such as Copenhagen, in order to herald the emergence of a "new science" of vital relevance to understanding collective intelligence and governance processes of the future (cf End of Science: the death knell as sounded by the Royal Society, 2008).

Might it be concluded that "Copenhagen", given its ambition, could be fruitfully recognized in the terms of Gregory Bateson in concluding a conference on the effects of conscious purpose on human adaptation, namely: "We are our own metaphor." (Mary Catherine Bateson. Our Own Metaphor, 1972, p.304)

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<th>Law of Repetitive Consequences</th>
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<td>Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it</td>
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<td>(George Santayana, The Life of Reason, 1905)</td>
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<td>Of relevance in relation to learnings from the set of United Nations and intergovernmental summits:</td>
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Climate change used as a fig leaf -- to conceal a more challenging issue?

To what extent is it appropriate to understand the climate change debate as a relatively unchallenging issue which in effect distracts attention from a more challenging underlying issue, and a more systemic perspective from which to handle crises -- as variously discussed in:

- **United Nations Overpopulation Denial Conference: exploring the underside of climate change** (2009)
- **Climate Change as a Metaphor of Social Change: systemic implications of emissions, ozone, sunlight, greenhouse and overheating** (2008)
- **Climate Change Misrepresented as Climate Change** (2008)
- **Climate Change and the Elephant in the Living Room: in quest of an endangered species** (2008)
- **Systemic Crises as Keys to Systemic Remedies: a metaphorical Rosetta Stone for future strategy?** (2008)
- **Playfully Changing the Prevailing Climate of Opinion: climate change as focal metaphor of effective global governance** (2005)

Few commented on the occasion of the Copenhagen event on the population issue:

- Louise Gray. *Copenhagen climate summit issues: population growth*. The Telegraph, 8 December 2009, to the effect that:

  The UN has insisted the issue does not become part of the negotiations at Copenhagen, pointing out that the population will control itself as countries develop, women become better educated and families shrink.

- Tom Levitt. *Copenhagen and population growth: the topic politicians won't discuss*. Ecologist, 15 September 2009, to the effect that:

  The UN's top climate official, UNFCCC executive secretary Yvo de Boer remains reluctant to bring the issue into talks at Copenhagen. 'A lot of people say population pressure is a major driving force behind the increase in emissions, and that's absolutely true but to then say 'OK, that means that we need to have a population policy that reduces emissions,' takes you onto shaky ground morally,' he has said.... The UK government's new chief scientific advisor John Beddington said... that population growth would contribute to a 'perfect storm' by 2030 as demand for food and resources increased [World faces 'perfect storm' of problems by 2030, chief scientist to warn, The Guardian, 18 March 2009].


- Salem Fakir. *Africa: Climate Change and the Population 'Bomb': a debate not to shy away from*. AllAfrica.com, 19 November 2009

- Agence France-Presse. *U.N. finally draws link between population bomb and climate change*. Cosmos, 19 November 2009


Does the level of denial and avoidance merit recognition as a dangerous form of ‘shunning’ calling for radically different approaches to debate as discussed in:

- Overpopulation Debate as a Psychosocial Hazard: development of safety guidelines from handling other hazardous materials (2009)

Is the climate change crisis effectively an engineered crisis, following a pattern of scare politics shared by crises over recent years (Y2K, SARS, BSE/CJD, swine flu, avian flu, foot-and-mouth, WMD, terrorism)? A possible indication of this is concern within the EU regarding the complicity of the WHO in the agenda of the pharmaceutical industry in handling the swine flu pandemic (F. William Engdahl, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly to Investigate WHO and "Pandemic" Scandal, Global Research, 2009). A related concern, of relevance to future geoengineering proposals, is articulated by Simon Jenkins (Swine flu was as elusive as WMD: the real threat is mad scientist syndrome, The Guardian, 14 January 2010).

Is there an intention to engender a degree of confusion and lack of faith in any conventional authorities such as to justify the use of other means, as variously argued with respect to:

- Abuse of Faith in Governance: mystery of the unasked question (2009)
- Geo-engineering Oversight Agency for Thermal Stabilization (2008)

Is framing crises in this way a means of testing the capacity of governance and its many constituencies to frame, through misinformation, disinformation and spin, to habituate people to a mode of crisis-led governance? Is this a new means of providing a "guarantee" of the credibility of governance -- given that "fire-fighters" can only be upheld as "good"?

### Mapping the climate change context of Copenhagen

David Price of Debategaph and the Global Sensemaking community enabled a mapping process to gather arguments presented at Copenhagen, in collaboration with the MIT Climate Collaboratorium team, and The Open University Cohere COP15 team, The Copenhagen Summit map team, and The Independent / Debategraph team (see David Price, ESSENCE and the UN Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen, 2009; Copenhagen Summit Map, 2009). This was hosted via The Independent (Debategraph: Copenhagen - what's happening?).

Such initiatives are exceptional with respect to international gatherings, despite the availability of technology of increasingly sophistication for decades (Complementary Knowledge Analysis / Mapping Process, 2006). A quite different approach was taken using the text analysis application Leximancer (see illustrative gallery) in various distinct experiments to generate interactive maps and reports from texts available during the the Copenhagen process. With thanks to Julia Cretchley of Leximancer, these included:

1. Interactive concept map derived from text of existing UNFCCC treaty (see below)
2. Interactive concept map derived from text of draft UNFCCC treaty (see below)
3. Automatically generated report: Leximancer comparison of insights in existing and draft texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Screenshots of Leximancer interactive concept maps</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From the highest level, indicated below, users could drill down to more specific concepts access the specific texts citing them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Existing UNFCCC treaty</strong> (click image for larger version)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
In a further experiment, a text by regular contributor environmental commentator George Monbiot (Clive James isn’t a climate change sceptic, he’s a sucker - but this may be the reason, The Guardian, 2 November 2009) together with the 869 comments it attracted, was analyzed using the web-crawler feature of the Leximancer application. As with the texts above, an interactive map was generated and made available to interested parties during the Copenhagen process. In this case the screenshots (below) indicate the kinds of detailed information extracted at various stages of any interaction by users with the facility.

Curiously few international initiatives, if any, take formal steps to map their own discourse as a contribution to self-reflexivity and learning in order to improve upon the initiatives of the past when envisaging new initiatives. Such an approach has never been a characteristic of intergovernmental events.

It is therefore interesting to contrast this aversion to an analytical overview by the Office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the US of the counterinsurgency (COIN) initiative in Afghanistan as represented by the PA Consulting Group. This takes the form of a map, notably publicized on behalf of McClatchy Newspapers by Dion Nissenbaum (The great Afghan spaghetti monster, Checkpoint Kabul, 20 December 2009; Graphic Shows Complexity of US Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan, The Huffington Post, 22 December 2009). Coincidentally this map has been publicized over the web at the end of the Copenhagen event. It will be interesting to see whether analysis of that event gives rise to a map of equivalent detail.

In the absence (to date) of any such map for Copenhagen, as an experimental exercise it is instructive to adapt the rich analytical framework of the Afghanistan counterinsurgency analysis to climate change. The legitimacy of such an adaptation may be argued on the basis that the viability of both strategic initiatives is dependent in cybernetic systems terms on a set of interacting functions. From the perspective of general systems theory, it is to be expected that there is a degree of isomorphism between a systems analysis of the global initiative in Afghanistan and that with respect to climate change. Whatever the inadequacies of such an exercise, it may at least serve to highlight the knowledge tools used to focus initiatives on which unprecedented global resources are being expended -- given the shameful paucity of resources devoted to representing the challenges of climate change in the light of the conflicting relations between those party to that process.

Adaptation to climate change of a representation of counterinsurgency operations in Afghanistan (click on image for larger version)
Afghanistan COIN dynamic (clusters in original map)

- Population/Popular support
- Infrastructure, Economy and Services
- Government
- Afghanistan Security Forces (ANSF)
- Insurgents
- Crime and Narcotics
- Coalition Forces and Actions
- Physical Environment

Climate change COIN dynamic (clusters in adapted map)

- Population/Popular support
- Infrastructure, Economy and Services
- Governance
- Activist NGO Strategic Forces (ANSF)
- Dissenters ("Them")
- Crime and Distractions
- Initiatives of Coalition of the Willful ("US")
- Physical Environment

Audio: Copenhagen According To Dr Seuss
A poetic take on events at the Copenhagen summit by Marcus Brigstocke on The Now Show podcast (transcript posted by Jeffrey Hill, The English Blog, 21 December 2009).

The delegates came and the delegates sat
And they talked and they talked till their bums all went flat
Then a delegate said of the country he knew
"We must do something quick but just what should we do?"
So they sat again thinking and there they stayed seated
Sitting and thinking "the planet's been heated"
"I think," said a delegate there from Peru
"That we all must agree on some things we could do
Like reducing emissions at least CO2"
So they nodded and noted then vetoed and voted
And one of them stood up and suddenly quoted
"It's the science you see, that's the thing that must guide us
When the leaders all get here they're certain to chide us"
So they sat again thinking about what to think
Then decided to ponder what colour of ink
To use on the paper when they'd all agreed
To be selfless not greedy McGreedy McGreed
"But how do we choose just what colour to use?"
Said a delegate there who'd been having a snooze
"We need clear binding targets definitive action
We must all agree clearly without more distraction"
So they sat again thinking of targets for ink
But the ink in their thinking had started to stink
And they started to think that the ink was a kink
In the thinking about real things they should think
"If ze climate needs mending then zis is our chance"
Said the nuclear delegate sent there by France
"We need to agree on one thing to agree on
Something we all want a fixed guarantee on"
"Yes," said another who thought this made sense
Some value for carbon in dollars or pence
But the mention of money and thoughts of expense
Had stifled the progress and things became tense
The fella from China with a smile on his face
Said "Who put the carbon there in the first place?"
"Wasn't us" said the U.S then Europe did too
Then a silence descended and no words were spoken
Till a delegate stood up, voice nervous and broken
"Is there nothing upon which we all can decide?
Because on Wednesday my chicken laid eggs that were fried"
"We all like a sing song" said the bloke from Down Under
But then the great hall was all shouting and thunder
Policemen had entered and were wearing protesters
Who they'd beaten and flattened like bloodied sou'westers
The police had decided to downplay this crime
With prevention detention and beatings in rhyme
The Greenies who'd shouted and asked for a decision
Were now being battered with lethal precision
All sick of inaction and fed up of waiting
All tired of the endless debated placating
They'd risen up grating berating and hating
So the police had commenced the related abating
Ban Ki-moon put his head in another man's lap
And was last heard muttering something like "crap"
But the chap next to him said "It's more like it's poo"
So the great hall debated not what they should do
But how to decide between crap cack and poo
"It is poo" "It is cack" "It is crap" "We agree"
Which was written and labelled as document three
"I think if we all find one thing we agree on
Then maybe Brazil might be left with a tree on"
So they sat again thinking of trees and Brazil
And of glaciers which had retreated uphill
And they thought of the poor folks whose homes were in flood
But less of the protesters covered in blood
They pondered the species so nearly extinct
It's as if they all thought that these things might be linked
"We need a solution we need action please"
Said a lady who'd come from the sinking Maldives
The others all nodded and said it was fact
That the time must be now not to talk but to act
Then Obama arrived and said most rhetorical
"Action is action and not metaphorical"
"Wow" they all thought "he must mean arregorical [sic]"
"I love it when Barack goes all oratorical"
"But the problem I have is that Congress won't pass it"
"Bugger" said Ban Ki then "sorry" then "arse it"
Then Brown said "I've got it now how does this strike you?
It's simpler when voters already dislike you"
He suggested the EU should lead from the front
So The Mail and The Telegraph called him something very unpleasant indeed
So the delegates stared at the text with red marks on
Ignoring the gales of laughter from Clarkson
No-one was satisfied nobody won
Except the morons convinced it was really the sun
And they blew it and wasted the greatest of chances
Instead they all frolicked in diplomat dances
And decided decisively right there and then
That the best way to solve it's to meet up again
And decide on a future that's greener and greater
Not with action right now but with something else later

In a similar vein:

Sets and their Settings: from development to climate change... and beyond

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