

from climate change that could already have been prevented? You could pluck any figure out of the air, from zero to hundreds of thousands (if you lump in all the deaths resulting from famine and disease that might possibly be related to global warming).

Whatever the figure, it is small compared with the number who might die in the future.

This is the sort of alarmist guesstimate that gives activist statistics a bad name.

#### Claim

"Everybody will have to become very realistic in Copenhagen if we want an agreement.

"The EU will not be in a position to contribute as much as the Chinese would want."

**Mikolaj Dowgielewicz,**  
Poland's minister for European affairs

#### Likelihood

The jockeying leading up to the Copenhagen conference has been purposefully aggressive on both sides of the table.

On one side, developing nations, particularly China and India, have made demands for financial assistance as part of any final agreement that many industrial nations perceive as outlandish.

On the other, the EU and the US have been determined to set expectations as low as possible about what they can pay.

If there is to be a deal at Copenhagen, then common sense suggests that the two sides will have to meet somewhere in the middle, as Mr Dowgielewicz has argued.

**Clive Cookson and Joshua Chaffin**

Big business began attacking the Environmental Protection Agency's plan to start regulating greenhouse emissions even before it was announced yesterday, saying it would damage the US economy and force jobs abroad.

"The implications of today's action by EPA are far-reaching," said Charles Dreyfus, president of the National Petrochemical and Refiners' Association.

"Individual American consumers and businesses alike will be dramatically affected by this decision that, frankly, is based on selective science, a weak

control traditional air pollution, not greenhouse gases that come from every vehicle, home, factory and farm in America," he said.

Certainly, yesterday's "endangerment" finding – which the EPA says was based on "decades of sound, peer-reviewed, extensively evaluated scientific data" – will have huge implications for business.

It could allow the EPA to use the Clean Air Act to require emitters of more than 250 tonnes of carbon a year – a threshold that critics say would sweep up buildings such as schools and apartment blocks – to

Regardless of whether business lobby groups could file lawsuits to delay the implementation of the new regulations, which would cover carbon dioxide and five other greenhouse gases, for years.

But in spite of the business uproar, the Obama administration appears to have deftly achieved two goals with the EPA's ruling.

First, it will strengthen the US's position when Barack Obama, president, goes to Copenhagen next week.

"It's not coincidental that it is happening on the eve of the Copenhagen meet-

[Industry] believe the EPA will be ham-handed and bureaucratic'

**Robin West**  
Chairman of PFC Energy

Second, cap-and-trade legislation no longer looks so bad.

The House of Representatives has passed a bill with a system that would allow large emitters to buy permits for pollution above their set limits.

But the Senate version has become bogged down amid resistance from both

it decided to act unilaterally yesterday.

Now, faced with the prospect of less flexible and more expensive regulation through the EPA, the cap-and-trade system suddenly looks like the better option for business. "Obviously it would be better to have thoughtful legislation," said Steve Chazen, president of Occidental Petroleum, the US's fourth-biggest oil and gas company.

Robin West, chairman of PFC Energy, the consultancy, said industry considered the introduction of regulation a "doomsday scenario".

mendous uncertainty carbon-intensive investment," Mr West said.

Some lawyers were similarly critical of the EPA haste.

"I think the Clean Air Act is not well suited at all regulating greenhouse gases," said Bill Wehrum, former head of the EPA's air programme now at Hutton and Williams, a law firm.

"The EPA doesn't need to act right now and shouldn't act right now. They should give time for Congress to continue to deliberate on bills that are now under consideration."

## Cautious hopes for five steps and a one-two punch

### From the blogs

FT Energy Source will pose a daily question for a panel of experts. Below, two guest panellists, Lord Browne of Madingley and Graciela Chichilnisky of Columbia University, respond to today's question: what outcomes would you like to see from Copenhagen, and what do you expect to happen?

**Lord Browne:** First, the global community must establish a flexible framework through which future negotiations can take place. Second, the talks must yield a series of medium-term emissions targets. For investors ready to drive the low-carbon revolution, only targets set up to 2020 will matter.

Third, global targets must be broken down into national ones. Fourth, we need to assess developing nations' capacity to meet climate goals. Targets are

useless without good governance; ideas have no value where there are few skills. Fifth, Copenhagen is the right moment to agree and deliver joint research investment budgets to help drive low-carbon energy technologies towards mass deployment.

I feel quite optimistic about the first three requirements, but I am less hopeful on the other two.

*Lord (John) Browne of Madingley is president of the Royal Academy of Engineering and is a former chief executive of BP*

**Graciela Chichilnisky:** I would like to see two outcomes – like a one-two punch. The first is a unifying solution that helps overcome the divide between wealthy nations – the major carbon emitters – and developing ones who face the most daunting risks from climate change. In particular, I would like to see firm commitments from the US and China.

Second is the integration of negative carbon technologies into the Clean Development Mechanism of the Kyoto protocol in order to allow significant flows of CDM funding to low-emission regions such as small island states, Latin America and Africa. The purpose is to build power plants that suck carbon from air, using fossil or better yet renewable sources of energy, supporting development to eradicate poverty while averting climate change.

Along with the negative signals and widespread fears, I perceive a positive undercurrent and expect significant achievements if we keep an open mind and work on ambitious but feasible and practical solutions.

*Graciela Chichilnisky is the architect of the carbon market of the Kyoto protocol, author of 'Saving Kyoto' and a professor of economics at Columbia University, New York*

### Day 2

## Delegate diary

● All is not lost for people turning up in Copenhagen without a hotel reservation. The city's famous Christiania district – a self-proclaimed autonomous hippy commune occupying an abandoned army barracks in the heart of the Danish capital – is making up to 500 sleeping spaces available.

A barracks building has been set aside for visitors and Mongolian-style yurts erected outside.

Finnish activists have even built a temporary wooden sauna for guests.

Troels Dilling-Hansen, head of the Danish eco-village network, says local authorities are privately pleased for Christiania to absorb some of the thousands of activists expected over the next two weeks.

"We will act like a pressure valve," he says, detailing concerts and other events planned to keep people entertained.

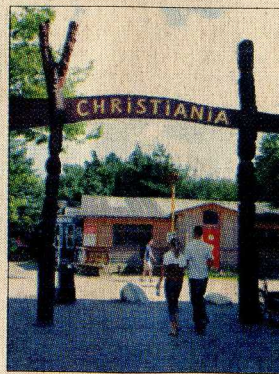
"We want to show how it is possible for communities to live in balance – not just

ecologically, but also economically, socially and spiritually."

● Big business is making its presence felt in Copenhagen, with multinational companies falling over each other to declare their commitment to saving the planet.

Coca-Cola is among the most visible, with its brand splashed across billboard advertisements bearing the slogan "Hopenhagen".

But the soft drink manufacturer is not among the official corporate sponsors of the conference.



Perhaps Coke was piqued by the organisers' decision to purge the venue of bottled drinks in the name of energy efficiency and instead provide delegates with municipal tap water.

Coke could be forgiven for feeling picked on when the carbon footprints of some of the official sponsors are considered. BMW, Honda, Volvo, DHL and the airline SAS may all be doing their bit to curb emissions but many people would consider theirs a fairly murky shade of green.

● Hugo Chávez (right) is normally one to pass up an opportunity to grandstand on the world stage. So it came as a surprise when the Venezuelan president revealed yesterday that he might give the Copenhagen climate summit a miss.

"If it's to go and waste time, it's better I don't go," he said. "If everything is already cooked up by the big [nations], then forget it."

His absence would no doubt prompt sighs of relief