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Date: 04th March 2017

**“A Shared Mission for Mankind”:
The Chinese government’s changing attitudes to
international cooperation on climate change**

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1. Introduction

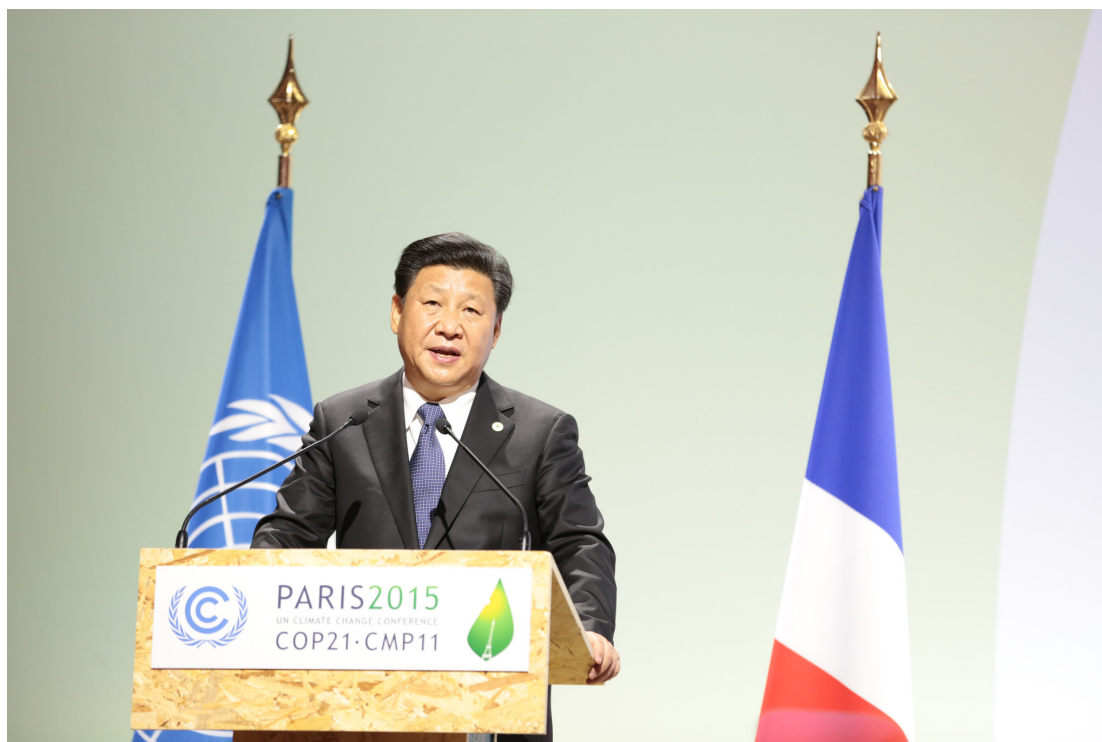


Figure 1 - Chinese President Xi Jinping speaks at the 2015 Paris Climate Conference¹

“Tackling climate change is a shared mission for mankind,” declared Chinese President Xi Jinping at the 2015 Paris Climate Conference (COP21)’s opening. This call for cooperative action was significant.

Over the past two decades, climate change has emerged as one of the world’s most pressing problems. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), a collection of global climate scientists, reported that if we cannot limit global warming to within 2°C of pre-industrial levels there is a danger of runaway climate change with devastating effects². Tackling climate change requires extensive international co-operation. In 2007, United Nations (UN) Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon said: “Given the nature and magnitude of the challenge, national action alone is insufficient. No nation can address this challenge on its own...That is why we need to confront climate change within a global framework, one that guarantees the highest level of international cooperation that is necessary”³.

China, one of the world’s largest nations and biggest carbon emitters, is key to cooperation to tackle climate change. It is therefore important to understand China and its government’s attitudes towards climate change and international co-operation. Research has shown the Chinese administration’s increasing enthusiasm for international action on climate change (see Chan 2004), while reports have suggested a shift in attitudes between the Copenhagen and Paris climate conferences (Wu & Ye,

¹ Photo from ‘UNclimatechange’ Flickr site (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/unfccc/23399298156>) reproduced here for non-commercial reasons under a Creative Commons license.

² For more about the IPCC, see <http://www.cop21.gouv.fr/en/why-2c/>

³ http://www.un.org/apps/news/infocus/sgspeeches/search_full.asp?statID=121

2015). However, research into the Chinese government's approach towards climate change and cooperation remains limited.

This thesis examines the government of the People's Republic of China (PRC)'s attitudes towards climate change and international cooperation to tackle this. It looks at how and why these attitudes might be changing. It seeks to verify the accuracy of previous observations about the PRC government's stance and aims to provide a fuller understanding of the Chinese government's present attitudes and how it is contributing to discussion of climate change. It therefore employs discourse analysis to examine statements the PRC government made regarding climate change during two key UN climate change conferences.

There has been extensive research into the Chinese government's international cooperation on issues such as economic governance and UN peacekeeping, and some research into its international cooperation to tackle climate change. Huang and Bailis (2015) have studied China's attitudes to participation in an international cap-and-trade market, while Chan (2008) looked broadly at China's participation in international agreements between 1970 and 2000. Meanwhile, Hodgson (2011) studied China's stance in negotiations on the 1987 Montreal Protocol, the 1997 Kyoto Protocol and the 2009 Copenhagen Accords.

These studies do not account for more recent developments in international cooperation on climate change, particularly the 2015 Paris Climate Change conference. They have not looked closely at the Chinese government's discourse about climate change. By examining discourse from the Paris conference, and comparing it with that from the Copenhagen conference, this thesis seeks to fill these gaps.

It aims to provide greater understanding of the PRC government's attitudes towards international co-operation on issues such as climate change. This can inform those trying to increase the Chinese government's participation in international regimes. Tackling climate change using agreements, initiatives, and other mechanisms depends greatly on the willingness of individual countries, particularly higher emitting countries such as China, to participate.

This research can also reveal how the PRC government might be shaping the climate-change regime and attempting to foster international cooperation on its own terms, indicating the possible future trajectory of climate change politics. It might provide insight into the PRC government's general views towards the international order and can help to forecast how China is likely to behave with regards to participation in international regimes.

This thesis will begin by reviewing existing literature about China's international cooperation on climate change and surveying theories explaining how nations behave with regards to international cooperation. Following this, a methodology section will describe discourse analysis' appropriateness for this study. I will then present the analysis results and discussion of what these indicate about China's attitudes.

2. Literature review

2.1. A History of International Cooperation on Climate Change

International cooperation on tackling climate change occurs in many forms including bilateral and multilateral agreements, joint initiatives, collaborations between non-governmental organisations, and knowledge exchange. For this thesis however, ‘international cooperation on climate change’ will be defined as states’ participation in UN institutions established to respond to climate change.

This form of international climate change cooperation is generally considered to have begun in earnest with the adoption of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) at the Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit in 1992. There was some cooperation on climate-related issues before this, notably the 1987 Montreal Protocol⁴. However, significant cooperation on reducing carbon emissions causing global warming began with the UNFCCC. This convention initiated a process of yearly climate conferences (see Figure 2). The early conferences resulted in introduction of the first major international climate change agreement, the Kyoto Protocol in 1997.

Although each yearly conference is arguably important in the ongoing process, several stand out because they resulted in important agreements or were expected to do so but failed. These conferences (in bold in Figure 2) are the 1997 Kyoto conference, which brought the Kyoto Protocol, the 2009 Copenhagen conference, where an attempt to produce a follow up to the Kyoto Protocol failed, and the 2015 Paris conference, which resulted in the Paris Agreement. Existing literature tends to focus on these conferences. Because of this study’s limited timeframe, they will also be the focus of my analysis.

⁴ The full name of this is the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer

Figure 2 - A Timeline of UN Climate Change Conferences

Earth Summit (Rio de J.) - 1992	> Negotiated the <u>UN Framework Convention on Climate Change</u>
1994	> UNFCCC enters into force
COP1 – The Berlin Mandate (Berlin) - 1995	
COP2 (Geneva) - 1996	
COP3 (Kyoto) - 1997	> <u>The Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change</u> adopted, outline emissions reductions for Annex 1 countries and reduction mechanisms
COP4 (Buenos Aires) - 1998	> Unable to resolve outstanding issues of Kyoto, adopted 2-year plan of action
COP5 (Bonn) - 1999	
COP6 (The Hague) - 2000	> Disagreements over ‘carbon sinks’, consequences for nations not meeting obligations. Talks collapsed.
COP6/2 (Bonn) - 2001	> Talks followed Bush rejection of Kyoto Protocol. US acted as observer. Agreements on reduction mechanisms / carbon sinks
COP7 (Marrakesh) - 2001	> Finalized operational details for ratifying Kyoto
COP8 (New Delhi) - 2002	
COP9 (Milan) - 2003	
COP10 (Buenos Aires) - 2004	
COP11 / CMP1 (Montreal) - 2005	
COP12 / CMP2 (Nairobi) - 2006	
COP13 / CMP3 (Bali) - 2007	
COP14 / CMP4 (Poznan) - 2008	
COP15 / CMP5 (Copenhagen) - 2009	> Goal of achieving a new agreement for post 2012 expiry of Kyoto Protocol, but no agreement achieved.
COP16 / CMP6 (Cancun) - 2010	> Agreed to establish a ‘Green Climate Fund’, did not agree on extension of Kyoto Protocol
COP17 / CMP7 (Durban) - 2011	> Agreed to start negotiations on a legally binding deal
COP18 / CMP8 (Doha) - 2012	> Doha Amendment to the Kyoto Protocol featuring a second commitment period from 2012 to 2020 for signatory nations
COP19 / CMP9 (Warsaw) - 2013	
COP20 / CMP10 (Lima) - 2014	
COP21 / CMP11 (Paris) - 2015	> Adoption of the Paris Climate Change agreement governing climate change reduction measures from 2020

2.2. China in International Cooperation on Climate Change

To talk about China's attitudes and actions regarding international cooperation treats the state as a person. Responding to Wendt (2004), Lomas (2005) argued that in discussion of international relations (IR) we cannot view states as single people in this way. Globalization theorists have shown states contain multiple actors forming international ties at different levels, while foreign policy analysts have shown they do not have a single attitude to foreign policy and there are "divisions of thought underlying the actions pursued by state governments towards each other" (p. 349).

Rather than a single person-like entity acting, a country's foreign policy is shaped by many actors holding different interests. Jakobson and Knox (2010) have described how "in contemporary China a cacophony of voices urges decision makers to pursue a variety of foreign policies" (p.1)⁵. The country's actions internationally are the result of a complex interplay between the Communist Party of China (CPC), the Chinese Government, the People's Liberation Army (PLA), and others with different foreign policy interests.

I accept this argument that states are not unified, person-like entities in the international arena, but contain multiple interests and attitudes. People within the country may hold different positions towards issues like climate change. However, the international cooperation investigated in this thesis (of the UN climate change regime) is cooperation between governments as representatives of states. In this area, governments do arguably act as person-like entities with a single standpoint. Regardless of the diversity of interests domestically, in this sphere China has one attitude and may be treated more as a person. Wendt (2004) has similarly argued "state persons are real in at least one important sense: they are 'intentional' or purposive actors" (p. 291).

The existing literature varies in its conclusions about China's participation in international cooperation on climate change. Chan (2004) offered a broad overview of China's participation in international environmental regimes since the 1970s. He argued since the Chinese government's adoption of a reform and opening policy it has shown increasing willingness to sign international agreements, but does not necessarily comply with these afterwards. Chan argued the PRC government's attitudes towards cooperation are based on a desire to uphold state sovereignty and ensure continued economic development.

Ross (1999) agreed that "China⁶ generally has become more willing to become a party to such agreements and to do so at an earlier date" (p. 300). He argued this increasing willingness is due to greater awareness of the problem in China. Ross also agreed with Chan that the Chinese government's approach to participation is influenced by a desire to protect its sovereignty and development. Whilst Chan looked broadly at the Chinese government's participation, Ross compared its level of participation in different agreements. He argued the Chinese government has been "more proactive with respect to the Convention on Biodiversity and more cautious under the Framework Convention [the UNFCCC]" (Ross, 1999, p. 305). Ross argued the Chinese government's

⁵ For more on the domestic complexities influencing China's foreign policy actions see Christensen, T. (2013). China's leadership and foreign policy, in G. Rozman (Ed.) *China's Foreign Policy*, pp. 20-37. US: Palgrave Macmillan

⁶ When Ross refers to 'China' here, I believe he is really referring to the PRC government.

greater caution about participating in international agreements on climate change echoes that of other states and is due to concern about the obligations such agreements could entail.

Hodgson (2011) examined China's participation in three environmental agreements: the 1987 Montreal Protocol, the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, and the 2009 Copenhagen Accords. He argued with each successive agreement "China became progressively more active in the negotiating process and assertive in promoting its interests" (Hodgson, 2011, p.7). In particular, he argued between the Kyoto and Copenhagen conferences China became more assertive in pushing for the 'Common but Differentiated Responsibilities' principle. Hodgson examined different factors influencing China's attitudes towards international cooperation (including economic concerns, desire for prestige, and public opinion), but concluded shifts in leadership accounted for the change in attitudes. One limitation of Hodgson's study is that he compared China's attitudes towards the Montreal Protocol, about ozone, with its attitudes to the Kyoto Protocol and Copenhagen Accords, about climate change.

Hodgson (2011)'s research employed the same methodology as this study, examining the Chinese government's statements. However, in analysing this discourse Hodgson is primarily looking for expressions of enthusiasm toward cooperation and not more subtle changes in attitudes.

Oberthelm and Sternfeld (2011) differed in arguing China did not show greater willingness to participate at the Copenhagen conference. Instead, they argued China and the US's refusal to make substantial mitigation commitments meant this conference failed. They argued that at this conference the US and China, responding to each other and seeking to preserve their autonomy, retreated from previous agreements.

Paris 2015 as a game changer?

One limitation of existing literature about China's international cooperation on climate change is it tends to end its analysis with the 2009 Copenhagen Climate Conference. It does not account for more recent developments, particularly the 2015 Paris conference and resulting Paris Agreement. Such developments may potentially alter conclusions about the trend of the Chinese government's attitudes. Wu and Ye (2015) argued there has been a significant shift in attitudes: "From Copenhagen to Paris, China's role in global climate governance has changed: from a seemingly passive participant to a proactive builder". They argued China developed "a vision of human beings as a community with a common destiny" (Wu & Ye, 2015). This study will further examine whether this recent shift has really occurred and whether Wu and Ye's constructivist explanation accounts for the change.

2.3. Theories on Cooperation

I employ international relations (IR) theories to analyse what factors determine the Chinese government's attitudes towards international cooperation. Several schools of IR provide different explanations of states' attitudes and behaviour with regards to international cooperation, identifying different factors as causing this behaviour. A number of authors have applied IR theories to explaining

international cooperation on climate change, while a smaller number have applied these theories to explain China's international cooperation. Where IR literature about China does not exist, I discuss how general theories might be applied to China.

Realism

Realists see states' actions as motivated by the pursuit of state power (Mastanduno, 2014). They expect states to protect their sovereignty and guard their capacity for independent action. In this sense, they argue states will be resistant to international cooperation threatening their sovereignty. Ross (1999) identified protection of sovereignty as a factor limiting China's international cooperation on climate change: "With respect to international environmental regimes, ...[China] opposed initiatives in environmental diplomacy if they threatened to constrain its development potential or unjustifiably interfere in its internal affairs" (p. 299).

Realists argue that states compete for power within an anarchic international system. They are therefore concerned not with absolute but relative gains in power with respect to other states. For realists, this concern for relative power is what mainly dictates states' preferences about cooperation. Kolmas (2016), for instance, argued China has embraced regional multilateralism to increase its power in Asia relative to the US.

Grundig (2006) used this relative gains argument to explain states' willingness to cooperate on trade, global climate change, and ozone. He argued that, compared to reducing ozone, states are less likely to cooperate on either trade or tackling global warming because these entail relative gains concerns. There is a danger that by investing in tackling climate change or increasing trade the state might lose power relative to others. Grundig also argued that while trade provides an 'excludable good', with benefits that cannot be enjoyed by those who do not cooperate, tackling global warming offers a 'non-excludable good' enjoyed by all. Therefore states will be even less willing to cooperate on global warming than trade. Grundig suggested this accounts for the Kyoto Protocol's weak cooperation, compared to cooperation under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and Montreal Protocol.

Whilst such realist theory is useful in explaining China's actions regarding international cooperation on climate change, it also has limitations. As Hodgson (2011) argued, the relative gains argument does not explain why some cooperation has still occurred, with China ratifying the Kyoto Protocol. Hodgson challenged the realist assumption that all states act the same under the same systemic conditions. He argued each state's particular foreign policy strategies might lead them to act differently. China's policy of 'peaceful rise', for instance, may produce different decisions regarding cooperation.

Realism's focus on power also means it does not fully account for other factors that might influence a state's actions (Keohane, 1986). In China's case, other motivations such as desire to increase trade or to demonstrate global leadership may also have influence. Additionally, realist theory assumes states are single unitary actors (Keohane, 1986). This ignores how domestic factors might influence states' international actions. Instead of increasing power, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)'s primary objective is arguably to maintain control over the country. This may impact its international actions and decisions

regarding international cooperation. It may, for instance, seek to cooperate in response to a perceived desire for cooperation from its public.

Liberalism

Liberal theory somewhat addresses these limitations. Liberalism, like realism, believes states' actions are motivated by pursuit of interests (Haggard, 2014). However, liberal theory argues states pursue multiple interests including but not limited to power. Rather than single unitary actors, liberal theorists also argue states' interests are the combined interests of their members. For liberals, states cooperate to pursue their interests and gain benefits. A state interacts with other states in institutions because these institutions are designed so interaction offers benefits. States are more likely to cooperate internationally if a) they have strong interests in this area of cooperation, and b) other states closely share these interests.

Keohane (2015) and Victor (2006) used this theory to explain states' behaviour regarding international cooperation on climate change. Keohane (2015) argued cooperation is limited because within different states the public's interest in tackling climate change is insufficient. People do not see enough incentive to pay to tackle a problem only benefitting future generations. Furthermore, because mitigation is a public good from which all benefit, they see a strong incentive to free ride. Victor (2006) argued the amount of international cooperation is also limited by variation in levels of interest between different states.

Applying these arguments to China may be useful in explaining its attitudes to international cooperation. Whilst China is vulnerable to climate change and has an interest in mitigation, it may perceive others (such as the US) as not sharing this interest. For liberal IR, this lack of closely aligned interests would make China less willing to cooperate. As a still developing country, with many people still poor, public interest in paying to mitigate climate change for future generations may be limited, affecting the country's willingness to cooperate. Ross (1999) stated "for China, low income levels and restrictions on political participation limit the present potential for domestic environmentalist pressure" (p. 297).

However, one problem applying liberal theory to countries like China is that an underlying assumption of the theory is that public interests determine state interests (or essentially that the state is a democracy). In China, it is difficult to determine how much the public's interests shape the government's decisions. There may be instances where the government makes decisions regarding international cooperation against the public's interests. While Keohane (2015) noted authoritarian governments have shown little willingness for international cooperation on climate change, he does not indicate how liberal theory might account for their actions.

The liberal analysis of environmental cooperation offered by Keohane (2015) treats states' cost-benefit analyses regarding climate change decisions in isolation. For China, the benefits of mitigating climate change are connected with the benefits of reducing pollution. Reducing pollution arguably has higher value to the public. If the benefits of pollution reduction are also considered, then public incentives for paying out to mitigate climate change increase. Liberal theory may not account for such indirect benefits.

Liberal theory also assumes public interest is based on self-interested desire to receive benefit. It discounts the fact that public interests may be determined by ideas or beliefs. Keohane (2015) acknowledged that regarding climate change cooperation ideas may play a role, stating “the magnitude of the problem” may “induce fear” in the public. However, he argued this was unlikely to be significant in shaping attitudes towards international cooperation (Keohane, 2015, p. 24).

Both realists and liberals have argued states’ actions with regard to climate cooperation are motivated by pursuit of material interests – generally power or money. Schroeder (2008) argued these theories ignore how states’ behaviour may also be determined by ideas, beliefs or norms: “Conflicts in the field of environmental politics have been primarily discussed as interests and distribution conflicts... The shortcoming of such rationalist approaches is their inability to explain a change in behaviour due to changes in norms” (p. 521). To account for states such as China’s cooperation on climate change, she has argued it is necessary to examine the normative beliefs states hold and how these affect their actions.

The English School

The English School sees the actions of states as influenced “not merely by power or prudence” but also by normative beliefs (Buzan, 2004, p. 6). It argues states will cooperate when they share “a common identity” or common norms with other states, forming international societies defined by these shared beliefs (Buzan, 2004, p.8).

Buzan (2010) used this theory to explain the extent China is willing to cooperate internationally. He argued while China accepts some institutions of international society (such as the market) and is thus willing to cooperate somewhat, its cooperation is limited because it does not accept other norms such as democracy, human rights, and environmental protection: it “resists the more politically liberal institutions” and “is uncomfortable with the predominantly western world society/global civil society” (p. 18). This account of the Chinese government’s attitudes to international cooperation might also be applied to climate change. China may resist more cooperation on climate change because it does not share this particular institution’s norms.

Palmujoki (2013) uses English School theory to explain international cooperation on climate change. He argues because different states do not share the same norms, and even hold contradictory beliefs, this limits cooperation. It produces ‘thin’ institutions that try to encompass competing norms. Whilst many developed countries emphasise liberal economic norms (market forces), developing countries emphasise norms of sovereignty, justice, and fairness. Applying Palmujoki’s analysis to China, it might be argued that China still sees itself as a developing nation (and spokesperson for other developing countries) and thus emphasizes norms of justice and equality in international cooperation. It would therefore be unwilling to cooperate closely in any international institution not seen as upholding these norms.

The English School’s theory has been extensively critiqued by non-mainstream IR scholars, who argue it inaccurately describes the character of the

international order and is Eurocentric⁷. Chinese IR scholar Qin Yaqing (2010) criticized the English School's, and particularly Buzan's, analysis of China's behaviour regarding cooperation. He argued this analysis does not account for how identities can change (Qin, 2010). Although China and international society do not share the same norms now, Qin argued their identities could shift so their values align. Qin argued an example of this is the way China adopted more liberal economic norms after it joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001.

Using Chinese ideas about the centrality of relationships to human identity, Qin (2009) proposed a theory of "processual constructivism", arguing interacting with others changes a state's identity (p.15). Johnston (2008) similarly argued interaction with international society between 1980 and 2000 has 'socialized' China and aligned its norms. Applying this to China's international climate change cooperation, it might be argued China's institutional interaction with other states is acting to shape its attitudes. Chin (2012) has developed Johnston's argument to argue there has actually been 'two way socialization', with Chinese participation also shaping the identity of organisations it has joined. This suggests it may also shape the international climate change regime as it participates.

Constructivism

Qin's processual constructivism is a form of constructivist IR theory. Constructivist IR argues states' actions are determined by ideas constructed by entities such as the media, religious practices, or social groups (Leheny, 2014). A state might decide to invade another, for instance, because the media fosters the idea this other state is a threat. In this way, particular constructed ideas may lead states to cooperate more or less with others.

Schroeder (2008) employed constructivist theory to explain China's international cooperation on climate change. She argued government representatives from OECD countries, the international scientific community, and domestic and international NGOs, shared information with Chinese citizens which constructed climate change as an important issue with local impacts. This then made the Chinese government more willing to cooperate internationally.

Constructivist IR theory appears applicable to explaining China's international climate change cooperation. If the Chinese government and public develop ideas about climate change, its meaning for China, and China's responsibility, these may influence China's foreign policy. Leheny (2014) has argued constructivism can capture the effects of ideas better than other IR theories and is therefore suited to issues like the spread of global environmental policies. He argued constructivism is good at accounting for situations where states express support without necessarily following through. International climate change cooperation is one such area.

⁷ In his post-colonial critique of mainstream IR, for instance, Seth (2011) challenged a number of aspects of the English School's account of the origins and character of the international system. He argued that the English School's narrative describing this order originating in the West and spreading to the rest of the world ignores the way in which colonialism and the diversity of political forms through which it operated impacted on the shape of the international system that emerges. He also took issue with the English School's argument that certain norms (equal sovereign states, non-interference) became universal, accepted by different cultures. He argued just because other cultures adopted these originally Western norms does not mean they accepted them. Seth suggested that in its account of the spread of the international system across the world, the English School elides aspects of the culture class that occurred and still may exist.

However, Schroeder (2008) also argued that looking at how ideas impact on states' actions does not mean ignoring other factors. When looking at China's climate change cooperation, she suggested using constructivist theory alongside realism and liberalism: "Norm internalization seemed to have grown with the realization of the costs of climate change, so that neither a constructivist nor a rationalist explanatory approach alone, but only one that intertwines both is able to account for a shift in Chinese climate politics" (Schroeder, 2008, p.522).

A combination of theories?

As described above, different IR theories identify separate factors determining China's international cooperation on climate change. Realists see states' actions as driven by protection of sovereignty and concerns about gaining relative power. Liberals view states' actions as motivated by pursuit of public interests, particularly economic gain. The English School views states' actions as influenced by the normative beliefs they hold, while constructivists take ideas as the driving force behind these actions. Possibly several of these factors impact China's actions regarding climate change cooperation, making it necessary to apply different theories in explaining China's attitudes. Sil and Katzenstein (2010) have argued such "analytical eclecticism" is advantageous in researching "problems of wide scope [... that] incorporate more of the complexity and messiness of particular real-world situations" (p. 412). In such cases, they argued, use of just one theory often identifies a single line of causation when complex causes are at work.

3. Methodology

This study researches the Chinese government's changing views towards cooperation on tackling climate change. The PRC government expresses its views through different channels including statements and policy documents issued by different departments and state-controlled media.

I examined articles published by the state-controlled Xinhua News Agency⁸ rather than official statements or policy documents for several reasons. During each conference there were more articles published by Xinhua than official statements, offering more data. Additionally, while official statements appeared intended for specific audiences, Xinhua articles were aimed at general audience and more likely to represent broader government attitudes.

These articles offer a good source for finding the PRC government's publically expressed stance towards different topics. There is general agreement that Xinhua News Agency still functions as "the mouthpiece of the CCP" and is used "to support and advance the policies of the government in power and to serve the state" (Hong, 2011, p. 378). Xinhua was recognised as the sole national news agency in 1949, its mission to "present the voice of the government" (Xin, 2006, p. 49). Since then Xinhua has "acted as the chief conduit of official interpretations of all political, economic, social, and cultural events – domestic and international – to party members and society at large throughout the country" (Xin, 2006, p. 51). Together with People's Daily, the agency has been guided by the Central Committee to deliver information and propaganda. As such, articles published by the agency can be seen as expressing the 'party line' or the government's attitudes.

3.1. Discourse analysis:

Discourse analysis appeared the most suitable research methodology. It allows for systematic study of how language is used to create different meanings, to present and argue for beliefs. Chilton (2004) described how in politics "language has the function of 'indicating' – i.e., signifying, communicating - what is deemed, according to shared perceptions, to be advantageous or not, by implication to the group, and what is deemed right and wrong within that group" (p.5). He described how discourse analysis can therefore be used to examine how political language functions.

This thesis uses discourse analysis to examine how the PRC government, through Xinhua, presents the issue of climate change and tries to shape public discussion. Whilst discourse analysis cannot reveal the government's underlying attitudes towards climate change, it can reveal how it seeks to present this issue to the public or its publically expressed attitudes. These are connected to the government's actions. Through its discourse, the government seeks to justify and persuade the public to support its actions. It is also somewhat accountable: if it presents climate change a particular way, the public will expect certain actions. Looking at how the government presents climate

⁸ For more background on Xinhua, see Xin, X. (2006). A developing market in news: Xinhua news agency and Chinese newspapers. *Media, Culture and Society*, 28(1), 45-144.

change to the public and how this changes, we can see its shifting publically expressed stance towards this.

Discourse analysis has been employed fruitfully to examine the attitudes towards issues such as foreign policy presented by different political organizations. Broad and Daddow (2010) used discourse analysis of speeches by party leaders, to study the attitudes of the British Labour Party about EU federalism. Daddow and Schnapper (2013) also used discourse analysis of speeches by Tony Blair and David Cameron to compare the two politicians' attitudes towards military intervention. These studies examine how set phrases are repeated within foreign policy discourse, concluding that such repetition suggests a theme is significant. My analysis will similarly look for themes discussed multiple times, assuming this suggests the theme is important to the PRC government. I will also compare how statements about different themes differ in their construction of ideas.

To closely examine the PRC government's discourse about international cooperation on climate change, I focus on the discourse it produced about this during important events – the annual UN Climate Change Conferences (COP or Conference of Parties). Whilst the Chinese government produces discourse about climate change at other times, at these conferences it produces considerably more statements, presenting good opportunities for focused study.

Research Questions:

What attitudes towards international cooperation to tackle climate change does the PRC's discourse on major climate change conferences reflect? How has this discourse changed?

To answer these questions, I focused on two key conferences: the 2009 Copenhagen climate conference and the 2015 Paris climate conference. In the literature review, I accounted for why I selected these.

3.2. Material for analysis:

I chose to analyse articles from state-owned Xinhua News Agency. I obtained the articles using Factiva⁹. I searched for all the Chinese language articles published by Xinhua News categorized as 'environmental news' containing 哥本哈根 (Copenhagen) between 1/12/2009 and 25/12/2009, and containing 巴黎 (Paris) between 23/11/2015 and 19/12/2015. Because Chinese media discussed this topic either side of each conference, I expanded the search period one week before and after each event. These searches produced 268 publications for Copenhagen and 135 publications for Paris¹⁰. These sets include articles published in print and online and republished articles. I numbered each set from #1 for the article published most recently. Because these sets were too large for discourse analysis of every article, I narrowed the sample by looking at the headlines and identifying articles expressing government attitudes.

⁹ <https://global.factiva.com/>

¹⁰ This significant difference in the number of articles published is itself interesting and I believe may be due to a change in the way Xinhua publishes its articles.

3.3. Headline analysis

To gain an overview of the differences in the discourse between the two sets and to find articles likely to include statements about the Chinese government's position, I examined the headlines of each full set of articles (Copenhagen=268, Paris=135) and noted the themes these headlines indicated.

Figure 3 - Results of Headline Analysis

Theme	Copenhagen Articles		Paris Articles	
	Times theme appeared (out of 268 total)	Percentage	Times theme appeared (out of 135 total)	Percentage
China's stance	38	14%	39	29%
Chinese leaders' views	6	2%	13	9%
Procedures of the conference	58	22%	28	21%
General reports of positive progress	11	4%	14	10%
References to China's cooperation	9	3%	17	13%
China's actions taken (both during and outside of conference)	41	15%	31	23%
Views of International Organisations	14	5%	8	6%
Distinction between developed / developing countries	39	15%	8	6%
China viewed by others	19	7%	13	10%
Other countries' stances	13	5%	14	10%
Other countries' actions	22	8%	8	6%
Costs of tackling climate change	18	7%	1	1%
Effects of climate change	12	4%	6	4%
Difficulty of tackling climate change	5	2%	2	1%

In Figure 3, rows in bold connote most significant findings regarding differences in content. Although headlines may not accurately indicate articles' content, these results suggested that a *distinction between developed and developing countries* was discussed

in fewer Paris articles (6%) than Copenhagen articles (15%). They also suggested the *costs of tackling climate change* were discussed in many more Copenhagen than Paris articles. They indicated more of the Paris articles reported on China's positive actions (23% compared to 15%) and almost twice as many Paris articles described *China's stance towards climate change* (29% compared to 14%).

This headline analysis provided an overview of differences in content between the two sets of articles to supplement findings from close analysis of a smaller sample. This headline analysis has some limitations. Judging the theme of each headline is subjective and the conclusions drawn assume headlines represent article content. In a larger study, quantitatively analysing each set of articles using computer-based text analysis would have been useful, but this was not possible within the timeframe.

From the headline analysis, I found particular articles within each set likely to contain statements expressing the PRC government's stance on climate change¹¹. I chose eight¹² articles from each set, selecting articles published across each time period. I then surveyed these to ensure relevance. Two articles were not relevant¹³, so I substituted another article published at a similar time.

3.4. Coding Categories

The headline analysis's findings also helped me identify which themes the articles discussed and create coding categories for discourse analysis. Using a survey of the articles' content, together with the literature review and headline analysis, I chose these categories:

- a) *General attitudes to the conference* – general opinions about the conference proceedings.
- b) *Who is responsible for climate change* – about the extent to which different countries are responsible for causing / tackling climate change.
- c) *China's current situation* – about China's (economic, social, environmental) situation at the time of the conference.
- d) *Need to balance tackling climate change with economic development* – asserting China needs to continue developing or limit its actions to tackle climate change so it can continue developing.
- e) *What form cooperation on climate change should take* – prescriptive statements about the form cooperation on climate change should take.
- f) *The International Community's actions* – about actions the international community has taken, including past agreements.
- g) *Other countries' actions* – about what other nations have done to tackle climate change.
- h) *China's actions to tackle climate change* – about measures China / the PRC government has taken to tackle climate change.
- i) *China's actions as part of the conference* – describing things China has done during the conference.

¹¹ These were Copenhagen articles 2, 7, 13, 33, 42, 72, 78, 93, 119, 131, 156, 163, 201, 216, 217, 266 and Paris articles 5, 10, 11, 22, 46, 52, 58, 62, 74, 91, 83, 96, 127, 129.

¹² Given the time constraints of this study and the amount of time required to translate and analyse these articles, I judged that eight articles from each conference was sufficient to offer a representative sample of the discourse.

¹³ One article, whilst referring to Paris conference briefly, was about Xi Jinping's trip to Zimbabwe afterwards. Another was a feature article about green technology development in China.

- j) *China's actions to lead others* – presenting China showing leadership or leading other nations.
- k) *Other countries' views of China* – statements describing how other countries see China.

I then analysed the text (including headlines)¹⁴ of the eight articles from 2009 and eight articles from 2015. I coded the statements in the articles based on these categories [see appendix]. Where statements fell into multiple categories, I included them in both categories. As I categorised statements, I translated them into English. **All translations are my own.**

¹⁴ Whilst a full discourse analysis might also have examined how these articles were presented in print or online, with the photos to accompany them, such detailed analysis was not considered necessary for the aims of this study.

4. Findings: How Xinhua Presented Climate Change in 2009 and 2015

This section will present discourse analysis findings¹⁵, namely what themes the statements in each set of articles talked about and how the statements falling under different categories compared¹⁶. After presenting these findings, I will discuss what shifts in the PRC government's attitudes they might indicate as well as how these shifts may have affected each conference's outcome.

4.1. Discourse about responsibility for climate change

The Copenhagen and Paris articles analysed differ in their discussion of who is responsible for causing and tackling climate change. The Copenhagen articles present developed countries as largely to blame for causing climate change and responsible for tackling it. The Paris articles contain little discussion of who is to blame, but present both developed and developing countries as responsible for tackling climate change (albeit with different levels of responsibility).

Copenhagen

The articles analysed from the Copenhagen conference contained statements creating the impression developed countries are to blame for causing climate change. Article 266 states: "Looking back at the past 200 plus years in which the world has been industrializing, we see that only 1 billion people from developed countries have achieved modernization, but the whole world's resources and ecology have paid a heavy price"¹⁷. The world 'only' creates a sense of unfairness, emphasising just a small proportion of people have become modern. The phrase 'a heavy price' suggests extensive damage. By placing this after the reference to developed countries, the statement makes it seem they have caused this damage.

Several articles analysed used the phrase 'historical responsibility' to present developed countries' blame for causing climate change. Article 72, quotes negotiator Qing Tai asking "is the Japanese commitment really in line with its *historical responsibility*"¹⁸ and uses this phrase to imply Japan's past actions mean it is to blame for causing climate change. Article 216 states: "Regarding climate change responsibility, *historical responsibility* is with the developed countries which have already completed industrialization, in contrast with China which is in the middle of development"¹⁹. Again using *historical responsibility*, this statement suggests developed countries are to blame for climate change because of their past actions. It suggests industrialization is the cause of climate change and because developed countries are already completely industrialized they have caused more climate change than still-industrializing

¹⁵ Article numbers given refer to the reference numbers I assigned to each article. See appendix.

¹⁶ For full results see the appendix.

¹⁷ 温家宝说，回顾世界200多年的工业化历程，只有不到10亿人口的发达国家实现了现代化，但全球资源和生态却付出了沉重代价 [19, 20]

¹⁸ 日本承诺的以及准备落实到行动上的目标是否真的符合其历史责任

¹⁹ 对气候变化负有历史责任的发达国家已经完成工业化，而中国正处于发展当中 [Line 34]

China. The articles suggest developed countries are more to blame for climate change than China.

The Copenhagen articles analysed also sought to present developed countries as having more responsibility to tackle climate change today. Article 33 states that “developed countries *must* take the lead in quantifying emissions reductions and providing financial and technical support to developing countries, which is an inescapable moral obligation, and also is a legal obligation”²⁰. The use of ‘must’, the repeated word ‘obligation’, and the word ‘inescapable’, all create the sense developed countries have to take action in tackling climate change.

Article 201 similarly creates the impression developed countries have a strong responsibility to tackle climate change, stating “developed countries are expected to take the lead in significantly reducing emissions under the Convention and the Protocol”²¹. Here the passive form means the subject doing the expecting is omitted, creating a sense this is a general expectation placed upon developed countries by the world. Referring to previous legislation (the Convention and Protocol) suggests the idea of developed countries being responsible is well established.

Alongside attributing responsibility to developed nations, the articles contained statements asserting developing countries have less responsibility. Article 216 states that “there is an absence of any coercive and binding requirements for the developing countries under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change”²². It cites legislation to suggest developing countries lack obligations. Again citing legislation, Article 22 describes how the climate negotiator Yu Qingtai “argues [that] developing countries *do not have to* commit to emissions reductions under the Kyoto Protocol and argues that it is wrong to make developing countries declare their emissions reductions quantities”²³. Article 201 also presents China as lacking in responsibility, stating “developing countries should take action to reduce emissions, but do not have to accept the three standards”²⁴.

In this way the Copenhagen articles analysed create the idea developed countries bear the blame for causing climate change, and have a strong responsibility to act, whilst developing countries such as China cannot be blamed and do not have responsibility.

Paris

The Paris articles analysed presented a different discourse about who is responsible for causing and tackling climate change. The eight articles analysed, contained no statements assigning blame for causing climate change.

²⁰ 发达国家必须率先大幅量化减排并向发展中国家提供资金和技术支持，这是不可推卸的道义责任，也是必须履行的法律义务 [Lines 56, 57]

²¹ 因为根据《公约》和《议定书》规定，发达国家要率先大幅度减排 [Lines 22, 23]

²² 在《联合国气候变化框架公约》对发展中国家没有任何强制和约束性要求的情况下 [Line 36]

²³ 他认为，根据《京都议定书》要求，发展中国家不必作出量化减排承诺，“把发展中国家的量化减排行为作为实施自己承诺的前提是错误的” [22, 23]

²⁴ 发展中国家自觉采取的减排行动，完全不必接受“三可”标准。预计本次大会，各方会就此问题进行交锋 [35-38]

However, the Paris articles did contain statements about who was responsible for tackling climate change. Whilst the Copenhagen articles argued for why developed countries were responsible, the Paris articles instead invoked previous commitments and stated that developed countries had a responsibility to stick to these. Article 74 states “developed countries *should* be aware that the Paris Agreement is an agreement under the convention and that they *should* also assume the responsibility under the Convention in Paris and *must not* attempt to modify the Convention by negotiation under the Paris Agreement”²⁵. The extensive use *should* and *must* emphasises these countries’ obligations. The statement creates the idea, because they have signed the UNFCCC, developed countries have an obligation. Article 91 states that “developed countries *must* fulfil their commitments to developing countries”²⁶. Article 96 similarly states that “developed countries *should* strengthen financial, technical, and capacity building support for developing countries”²⁷.

The Paris articles analysed also contained a few statements recognizing that China’s economic success gives it more responsibility, contrasting with the Copenhagen articles’ lack of such statements. Article 129 states that “to actively respond to climate change is a responsible big country’s obligation”²⁸, appearing to acknowledging that China has become a ‘big country’ and so has a responsibility to tackle climate change.

Unlike the Copenhagen articles, the Paris articles analysed presented both developed and developing nations as having responsibility, albeit at different levels. Article 74 states “provision of funds by developing countries is...on a voluntary basis, not a legal obligation, while the developed countries...must bear the statutory responsibility, the two are essentially different”²⁹.

To suggest both have responsibility at different levels, the Paris articles analysed frequently referred to ‘*Common but Differentiated Responsibilities*’ (CBDR). Article 11 states China “has supported the principle of ‘*Common but Differentiated Responsibilities*’”³⁰. Article 96 refers to the principle several times, stating that “China’s position of insisting on the principle of ‘*Common but Differentiated Responsibility*’ is unlikely to change”³¹ and describing how “The Paris Agreement should reflect the principles of the Convention, in particular the principle of ‘*Common but Differentiated Responsibilities*’ and ‘equity’”³². These frequent references to CBDR arguably help make this seem something accepted, establishing it as a norm underlying cooperation.

Article 5 also describes how “President Xi *stressed* that while the basic principle of ‘*Common but Differentiated Responsibilities*’ was still valid, at the same time win-win cooperation should be promoted so that all countries can

²⁵ 发达国家要清楚，巴黎协议是《公约》之下的协议，他们在巴黎协议中也应承担《公约》规定的责任，不要企图借巴黎协议谈判来修改《公约》 [Lines 45 and 46]

²⁶ 发达国家要落实承诺，向发展中国家提供更加强有力的资金支持，并向发展中国家转让气候友好型技术 [Line 25]

²⁷ 发达国家应加强对发展中国家的资金、技术和能力建设支持 [Lines 36, 37]

²⁸ 积极应对气候变化，既是一个负责任大国应尽的义务 [Line 47]

²⁹ 发达国家向发展中国家提供资金支持是其按照《联合国气候变化框架公约》 [Line 37]

³⁰ 中国始终坚持协定是落实《联合国气候变化框架公约》、加强行动的阶段性成果，坚持“共同但有区别的责任”原则，最终达成的协定也体现了发达国家和发展中国家的区分 [26-28]

³¹ 他说，在谈判过程中，中国坚持“共同但有区别责任”原则的立场不会变 [Line 28]

³² 巴黎协议应体现《公约》的原则，特别是“共同但有区别责任”和“公平”原则 [Line 34]

meet the challenges together”³³. This statement’s second part indicates how the Paris articles create the idea all countries share responsibility. Article 91 describes how “Xi Jinping also *emphasised* that responding to climate change is humanity’s *collective* undertaking”³⁴, the word ‘emphasised’ adding force. This article states that “leaders expressed the view that climate change is a *common* challenge facing all mankind”³⁵. Article 46 quotes a Chinese representative saying: “Climate change is a *common* challenge facing the whole world”³⁶. Statements in the Paris articles therefore seek to create the idea of a collective responsibility for tackling climate change.

4.2. Discourse describing China’s current situation

The articles analysed from each conference contained statements giving different descriptions of China’s situation and the significance of this. The Copenhagen articles emphasise China’s relatively low level of development and need to prioritize economic growth, while the Paris articles describe China’s economic success and pollution problems.

Copenhagen

Articles analysed from the Copenhagen conference sought to create an image of China as a country still developing and with extensive poverty. Article 33 describes how “China, in the middle of its development process, attaches great importance to the issue of climate change”³⁷. The clause stresses China’s current condition and how this shapes its policies. When describing measures China has already taken to tackle climate change, the Copenhagen articles similarly include qualifying statements about the country’s condition (see section 4.3). Article 216 states “China currently *has not* reached a developed level”³⁸ and uses a negative (instead of saying China is still developing) to stress the country’s relative lack of progress.

Article 216 also emphasizes the poverty remaining in China: “We still have 150 million people who *have not* thrown off poverty”³⁹. The statement uses another negative to stress what has not happened, with the phrase ‘thrown off’ emphasising the burden poverty places on people. The use of ‘we’ to refer to the Chinese people makes readers feel connected to China’s poverty problem. Article 33, presents the same statistic, stating “China has a population of 1.3 billion with a per capita GDP of just over US\$3,000. According to UN standards,

³³ 对各方关切的问题，习近平主席强调共同但有区别的责任这一基本原则依然有效，同时应推进合作共赢，各尽其能共同应对挑战，发达国家尤其应切实履行向发展中国家提供资金和技术转让的义务。这些主张巩固了应对气候变化的国际合作基石 [80-82]

³⁴ 习近平最后强调，应对气候变化是人类共同的事业 [Line 42]

³⁵ 与会领导人表示，气候变化问题是全人类面临的共同挑战，攸关人类未来，需要各方携手应对 [45, 46]

³⁶ 中国气候变化事务特别代表解振华说：“气候变化是全球面临的共同挑战，大家应同舟共济。” [57, 58]

³⁷ 中国在发展的进程中高度重视气候变化问题 [Line 25]

³⁸ 中国目前没有达到它们的发展水准 [Line 35]

³⁹ 我们还有 1.5 亿人没有脱贫 [Line 38]

150 million people live below the poverty line”⁴⁰. It cites the UN to add a sense of authority to its analysis of China’s situation.

The articles seek to create the impression that China’s situation means it must focus on continued development rather than climate change. Article 216 describes how the Chinese official Xie Zhenhua “stressed the need for developing countries to develop”⁴¹, using *stressed* to convey importance. This article states that “economic development and the eradication of poverty are among *the first* and *overriding* priorities of developing countries”⁴² and uses language stressing the importance of pursuing economic growth. The word ‘*overriding*’ emphasises development should supersede other problems.

Other articles, whilst not saying development should be totally prioritized, argue climate change action and development should be balanced. Article 266 argues China “must.... promote human society’s raised production, prosperous lives, and ecologically good development”⁴³ and places raising prosperity alongside environmental issues. Article 7 similarly places the two side by side to suggest they are equally important: “China is building a prosperous society at the same time as reducing its emissions”⁴⁴.

They suggest China’s current development level makes it difficult to act on climate change, emphasizing the challenge of tackling poverty. Article 216 describes how “dealing with continued development, improving lives, reducing global warming, increasing adaptability to climate change is a huge task”⁴⁵ where the word *huge* and long list of ‘...ing’ verbs emphasise the challenge’s scale. Article 33 similarly says “the task of developing the economy and improving people’s livelihood is *arduous*”⁴⁶ and uses language emphasising the challenge. It also states “China is at a critical stage of rapid industrialization and urbanization, with coal-based energy structures and special difficulties in reducing emissions”⁴⁷. These statements suggest China’s current development limits its capacity to tackle climate change.

Paris

The articles analysed from the Paris conference give a very different presentation of China’s situation. Instead of stressing China’s lack of economic development and need to continue developing, these articles present China as economically successful. Article 129 describes how China is “behaving as the *biggest* of the developing countries”⁴⁸, using the superlative to emphasize its economic strength. Using more superlatives, it says China is “acting as the world’s *second largest* economy, and *biggest developing* country”⁴⁹. Article 5 uses

⁴⁰ 温家宝表示，中国有1.3亿人口，人均国内生产总值刚刚超过3000美元，按照联合国标准，还有1.5亿人生活在贫困线以下 [Lines 40,41]

⁴¹ 解振华强调，发展中国家需要发展 [Line 47]

⁴² 发展经济和消除贫困是发展中国家首要和压倒一切的优先事项 [Line 47]

⁴³ “必须。。推动人类社会走上生产发展、生活富裕、生态良好的发展道路 [23]

⁴⁴ 中国在建设富足社会的同时实现减少排放 [37]

⁴⁵ 面临著发展经济、改善民生、减缓气候变化、提高适应气候变化能力等艰巨任务 [Line 38]

⁴⁶ 发展经济、改善民生的任务十分艰巨 [Line 40]

⁴⁷ 中国正处在工业化、城镇化快速发展的关键阶段，能源结构以煤为主，降低排放存在特殊困难 [Lines 41, 42]

⁴⁸ 最大的发展中国家 [Line 21]

⁴⁹ 作为世界第二大经济体、最大的发展中国家 [Line 37]

similar language, describing how China is “acting as the world’s *largest* developing country”⁵⁰.

Statements describing China’s economic situation are embedded in descriptions of China’s actions, creating the sense that China’s high economic development means it should help tackle climate change. Whilst the Copenhagen articles suggested China’s poverty meant it should not act, these articles suggest China’s success means it should. Article 129 describes how “actively responding to climate change is both an obligation of a responsible big power and an urgent need for China’s current self-development”⁵¹, implying China has become a ‘big power’ and so has a responsibility regarding environmental issues.

It also states tackling climate change is an “urgent need for China’s current self development”. This may refer to China’s domestic environmental problems, creating the idea remedying these has become important. Alongside statements about China’s economic success, the Paris articles analysed contained some statements about its environmental problems. Article 5 states that “China’s rapid economic development has brought profound changes in people’s lives, but China has also paid the price of resources and environment”⁵². The economic language of ‘paid the price’ balances the costs and benefits of economic growth. Such statements create an image of China as suffering from environmental problems and needing to take action.

4.3. Discourse reporting actions China has taken

Both sets of articles contain statements about actions China has already taken to tackle climate change, but these statements are different. In the Copenhagen articles, they largely describe domestic measures taken by the government. These statements are often qualified with phrases saying ‘this is the action that China has taken given its current abilities and situation’. In contrast, the Paris articles contain statements about both domestic and international actions taken, and these are no longer qualified by phrases about China’s situation.

Copenhagen

The articles analysed from the Copenhagen conference contained statements about domestic actions the Chinese government has taken to tackle climate change. Such statements present China as taking extensive action.

Article 33 describes how “China is the first developing country to implement the National Climate Change Program. In recent years, a series of laws and regulations have been formulated to make the rule of law an important means to deal with climate change”⁵³. The use of ‘a series of laws and regulations’ makes the action seem extensive. The article also states “China is the *most* energy-saving and emission-reducing country in recent years”⁵⁴, “China is *the*

⁵⁰ 作为世界最大的发展中国家 [37]

⁵¹ 积极应对气候变化，既是一个负责任大国应尽的义务，也符合中国当前自身发展的迫切需要 [Line47]

⁵² 中国经济快速发展，人民生活发生了深刻变化，但也付出了资源环境方面的代价 [Line 40]

⁵³ 中国是最早制定实施《应对气候变化国家方案》的发展中国家。近年来制定了一系列法律法规，把法制作为应对气候变化的重要手段 [Lines 28, 29]

⁵⁴ 中国是近年来节能减排力度最大的国家。截至今年上半年，中国单位国内生产总值能耗比2005年降低13%，相当于少排放8亿吨二氧化碳 [Lines 31, 32]

fastest growing country in terms of new energy and renewable energy”⁵⁵, and “China is the *largest* country in the world for artificial afforestation”⁵⁶, using superlatives to emphasize the scale of actions. These statements create an image of the Chinese government as serious and proactive in tackling climate change. They almost all refer to domestic actions.

Several articles present domestic targets set by the government. Article 33 describes how “by 2020 carbon dioxide emissions per unit of GDP will be 40% to 45% less than in 2005. Such a large-scale reduction of carbon dioxide emissions in such a time needs arduous efforts”⁵⁷. The phrase ‘arduous efforts’ creates a sense the actions are especially large. Meanwhile, Article 119 states:

China has promised to reduce carbon dioxide emissions per unit of GDP by 40% to 45% by 2020 without any prerequisites or linking with other countries' mitigation actions. It can be seen that China has made *great efforts* to tackle global climate change.⁵⁸

Here ‘great efforts’ makes the government’s action seem particularly impressive. The use of ‘it can be seen’ suggests this is proof China is taking action. The article reports this twice, describing how “the Chinese government has adopted a series of measures, such as the announcement that by 2020 carbon dioxide emissions per unit GDP will be 40% to 45% lower than those in 2005”⁵⁹. Use of ‘a series’ again suggests extensive action. Article 266 similarly refers to these government targets:

The Chinese government has just announced that by 2020, China's CO2 emissions per unit of GDP will drop by 40% to 45% from 2005, non-fossil fuels will account for 15% of primary energy consumption, and forest area and forest stocks will be higher than 2005, increasing by 40 million hectares and 1.3 billion cubic meters.⁶⁰

This dense list of targets further gives an impression of extensive action.

The article qualifies this, saying: “this is, according to China’s current situation, the independent action employed, and is a huge effort responding to

⁵⁵ 中国是新能源和可再生能源增长速度最快的国家。水电装机容量、核电在建规模、太阳能热水器集热面积和光伏发电容量均居世界第一位 [34, 35]

⁵⁶ 中国是世界人工造林面积最大的国家。我们持续大规模开展退耕还林和植树造林。目前人工造林面积达54000万公顷，居世界第一 [37, 38]

⁵⁷ 在此基础上，我们又提出，到2020年单位国内生产总值二氧化碳排放比2005年下降40%至45%。在如此长时间内这样大规模降低二氧化碳排放，需要付出艰苦卓绝的努力。我们的减排目标将作为约束性指标纳入中长期规划，保证承诺的执行受到法律和舆论的监督。我们将进一步完善国内统计、监测、考核办法，改进减排信息的披露方式，增加透明度，积极开展国际交流、对话与合作 [Lines 43, 47]

⁵⁸ 中国却承诺到2020年单位GDP二氧化碳排放降低40%到45%，这种努力没有前提条件，也不与其他国家减排行动挂钩。从中可以看出，中国为全球应对气候变化作出了巨大努力。“中国这么做，是从我们本国利益出发，也是从全人类利益出发 [Lines 43 to 46]

⁵⁹ 中国政府采取了一系列措施，比如宣布2020年单位GDP（国内生产总值）二氧化碳排放比2005年下降40%到45%的目标，得到了很好的国际反响 [Lines 25, 26]

⁶⁰ 中国政府刚刚宣布，到2020年中国单位国内生产总值二氧化碳排放比2005年下降40%-45%，非化石能源占一次能源消费的比重达到15%左右，森林面积、森林蓄积量分别比2005年增加4000万公顷和13亿立方米 [Lines 31, 33]

climate change”⁶¹. This suggests that because China is a developing country it is limited in its abilities to tackle climate change, reinforcing other statements about China’s situation (see section 4.2). Article 216 qualifies actions China has taken, stating that “China currently has not reached a developed level, but still has already employed positive measures”⁶² and “under these conditions we have launched targets for controlling CO2 emissions per unit of gross domestic product”⁶³. The articles therefore suggest these actions are the most China can do given its development level.

Paris

In comparison, the articles analysed from the Paris conference contained fewer statements about the Chinese government’s domestic actions to tackle climate change. Just two of the eight articles contained such statements. Article 5 describes how “during the 12th Five-Year Plan, China has made *unprecedented* efforts to control pollution and protect the ecological environment. Today, China is the world’s leading energy and renewable energy source”⁶⁴, with ‘unprecedented efforts’ adding emphasis. Article 129 states:

As the largest developing country, China has not only made *remarkable achievements* in environmental governance, energy saving and emission reduction, and development of green low-carbon technologies, it has taken the initiative to adopt an international responsibility, actively participated in international dialogue, supported developing countries to cope with climate change, promoted global climate negotiations, promoted a new climate agreement, and made a positive contribution⁶⁵.

The phrase ‘remarkable achievements’ suggests considerable action. The statement is prefaced with ‘as the largest developing country’. While the Copenhagen articles qualified statements by referring to lack of development, statements in the Paris articles instead refer to China’s success.

Many of the statements describing China’s actions in the Paris articles refer to international actions. Article 129 states that: “At the end of 2014, China and the United States signed the Joint Declaration on Climate Change, and this year China submitted to the United Nations the ‘National Self-Contribution’ document and successively published joint statements with India, Brazil, the European Union, the United States, France and other countries and regions on climate change”⁶⁶.

Article 46 states that: “Over the past two years, China and the United States, France, Brazil, India, the European Union jointly issued a statement on climate change, to bridge the major differences between the parties to provide a

⁶¹ 这是中国根据国情采取的自主行动，也是为应对全球气候变化作出的巨大努力，充分体现了中国对中华民族和全人类高度负责的精神 [33, 34]

⁶² 中国目前还没有达到它们的发展水准，就已经采取了积极措施 [Line 35]

⁶³ 在这种情况下，我们提出控制单位G D P二氧化碳排放行动目标更表明了中国负责任的态度 40]

⁶⁴ ‘十二五’期间，中国以前所未有、全球罕见的力度，治理污染保护生态环境。如今，中国已是世界节能和利用新能源、可再生能源第一大国 [Lines 47, 48]

⁶⁵ 作为最大的发展中国家，中国不仅在本国环境治理、节能减排、发展绿色低碳技术等方面取得骄人成绩，在主动承担国际责任，积极参与国际对话，支持发展中国家应对气候变化，推动全球气候谈判、促进新气候协议的达成等方面也做出了积极贡献 [Line 21]

⁶⁶ 从2014年底中美两国签署气候变化联合声明，到今年中国向联合国提交应对气候变化“国家自主贡献”文件，并先后与印度、巴西、欧盟、美国、法国等国家和地区就气候变化发表联合声明 [Lines 25 - 27]

viable solution”⁶⁷. Meanwhile Article 5 describes how “before the Paris meeting, China and the United States, France, India, Brazil and other major economies published a number of joint statements on climate change. Funds, intensity and other issues are described in these joint declarations, which laid the foundations for the success of the Paris Conference”⁶⁸. Article 11 includes a very similar statement⁶⁹.

Such statements seek to create the impression China is an active participant in the international arena, cooperating with other nations. This supports findings suggesting that by 2015 the Chinese government was more concerned with China’s international role (see 4.4 and 4.5).

4.4. Discourse about how China is viewed by other countries

The two sets of articles differ in their presentation of how China’s actions are viewed by other countries. The Copenhagen articles analysed present China being unfairly attacked by others, while the Paris articles analysed create an image of China winning other nations’ praise and respect.

Copenhagen

The eight articles analysed from the Copenhagen conference contained fewer statements about how other countries viewed China. Just a couple of statements described other countries’ praise for China. Article 119 describes how China’s action “has had a good international reaction”⁷⁰. Article 7 quotes the Brazilian president saying “China has made positive emission reduction targets”⁷¹.

Instead, statements present China as being unfairly attacked by other countries. Article 72 states:

Some European countries believe that China’s published targets to reduce carbon emissions as a unit of GDP just represent their regular emissions targets. In this regard, Yu Qingtai argues that China’s emission reductions are a challenge. Some representatives of the EU countries have *condemned* them, which reflects these representatives of some EU countries’ prejudice⁷².

Use of the verb *condemned* to describe the EU representatives’ actions helps create the impression they are attacking China. The use of *believe* conveys

⁶⁷ 过去两年间，中国同美国、法国、巴西、印度、欧盟陆续发表气候变化联合声明，为弥合各方主要分歧提供了可行的解决方案 [60,61]

⁶⁸ 中国国家气候变化专家委员会副主任何建坤介绍说，巴黎大会前，中国与美国、法国、印度、巴西等主要经济体分别发表了应对气候变化的多个联合声明，气候谈判中的法律约束力、资金、力度等焦点问题在这些联合声明中都有描述，这为巴黎大会的成功奠定了基础 [75-77]

⁶⁹ 中国国家气候变化专家委员会副主任何建坤介绍，巴黎气候变化大会前，中国与美国、法国、印度、巴西等主要经济体分别发表了应对气候变化的多个联合声明，气候谈判中的法律约束力、资金、力度等焦点分歧在这些联合声明中都有描述，这为巴黎气候变化大会的成功提前凝聚了共识 [39- 41]

⁷⁰ 得到了很好的国际反响 [Line 25]

⁷¹ (Rousseff said) 中国提出了积极的减排目标 [Line 26]

⁷² 一些欧盟代表认为，中国宣布的控制单位国内生产总值（GDP）二氧化碳排放行动目标其实是中国的正常排放目标。对此，于庆泰认为，中国要实现这一减排目标面临极大挑战，一些欧盟国家代表却将此一笔抹杀，这反映了某些欧盟国家代表对中国的偏见 [Lines 25,26]

doubt about their accusations. The use of vague names - 'some European countries' and 'some representatives of the EU countries' - creates a sense of a larger, undefined threat to China. That these countries are not named specifically and are quoted indirectly takes away authority. In contrast, the figure rebuffing the accusations (Yu Qingtai) is named.

Another article containing statements presenting China as being unfairly attacked was Article 7, published just after the conference ended:

Regarding comments about China's "hijacking" of the Copenhagen climate change talks, Knut Alfsen, director of the Norwegian Center for Climate Studies, said the statement was "unfair". In dealing with climate change, "China has done much better than the United States." He believes that China's announcement of greenhouse gas emission reduction targets is "an ambitious goal," China is building a prosperous society at the same time as achieving emission reductions, and so attacking China is wrong⁷³.

This statement creates the idea that in criticizing its actions other countries are "attacking" China. It also does not name those commenting, creating an undefined enemy. The way "hijacking" is placed between quotation marks (although who said this is unclear) makes it appear untrue. Like the previous statement, an authoritative figure is used to discount the accusations, quoting Knut Alfsen saying the targets are "ambitious". Alfsen is also used to present other countries' criticism as "unfair". In this way, the statement interweaves short quotations with the article's own statements to add a sense of authority to its points.

Article 7 also presents an authoritative figure defending China: "Erik Solheim, Norwegian environmental and foreign aid minister, also said that the fact the Copenhagen climate change conference failed to reach a binding agreement cannot be attributed to China"⁷⁴. This indirectly implies China has been accused, reinforcing the idea it is being attacked. With such statements these articles construct an idea of China being attacked by undefined foreign enemies. They present other countries' accusations about China as untrue and suggest it is being criticized unfairly.

Paris

The Paris articles analysed present other countries' views of China differently. Instead of showing other countries unfairly attacking China, these articles seek to present other countries praising China. Article 129 describes how China "has gained extensive honour"⁷⁵. Article 129 states that:

Many countries and international organizations, and particularly public figures in developing countries really acknowledge and believe that China, in taking this step and making a commitment to tackle global climate change, is revealing that it is

⁷³ 针对日前有关中国“劫持”哥本哈根气候变化大会谈判进程的言论，挪威气候研究中心主任克努特·阿尔夫桑说，这一说法“有失公允”。在应对气候变化方面，“中国做得比美国好多了”。他认为，中国宣布的温室气体减排目标是“一个雄心勃勃的目标”，中国在建设富足社会的同时实现减少排放，“把矛头指向中国是不对的” [Lines 35-38]

⁷⁴ 挪威环境与外援大臣埃里克·索尔海姆日前也表示，哥本哈根气候变化大会未能达成具有约束力的协议，不能归咎于中国 [Lines 40, 41]

⁷⁵ 获得广泛赞誉 [Line 28]

courageously undertaking international responsibility, showing the conduct of a big country and setting an example to other developed nations⁷⁶.

The use of ‘many’ and the list (“countries”, “international organizations”, and “public figures”) make it seem China is receiving extensive praise from different sources. Use of both “acknowledge and believe” suggests these people are really convinced about China. The statement suggests these countries think China is showing “commitment” and “responsibility”, and acting “courageously”, constructing the idea other countries have a really positive image of China.

Both articles 129 and 5 use a quote from Christina Figueres, to make it appear others look positively on China:

UNFCCC Executive Secretary, Figueres, said at a press conference on the question of "which country can act as a model for addressing climate change" that China had adopted a “very impressive response to climate change” and could be a role model⁷⁷ [and] She said... these all show, China is extremely serious about tackling climate change⁷⁸.

Article 129 also features a quote: “As Marie-Claire Aoun, director of the Centre for Energy Research at the Institute for International Relations in France, says, China has in recent years placed environmental governance on par with the development of the economy and the eradication of poverty”⁷⁹. Meanwhile, Article 5 states that China has “received a good evaluation from international society”⁸⁰.

4.5. Discourse on international leadership

The Copenhagen and Paris articles analysed present different depictions of China’s role within international society. The Copenhagen articles analysed contain few statements describing China acting as a leader in international society. Those that do this generally present China leading developing countries in opposing developed nations and not towards cooperation. In contrast, the Paris articles contained statements showing China acting as leader and exemplar, persuading other nations to cooperate, and statements showing China introducing new ideas.

Copenhagen

The Copenhagen articles analysed did not contain many statements that presented China taking an international leadership role. One article which did was Article 163, which describes how “Wen Jiabao will give the international negotiations on climate change new momentum and have a positive and

⁷⁶ 不少国家和国际机构，特别是发展中国家人士对此非常赞赏，认为中国这一举措对世界应对气候变化做出了贡献，展现了其勇于承担国际责任、履行国际义务的大国风范，给其他国家尤其是发达国家做出了榜样

⁷⁷ 《公约》秘书处执行秘书非格雷斯日前在一次记者会上回答“哪个国家应对气候变化的行动可称榜样”的问题时指出，中国采取了“令人印象非常深刻的”应对气候变化行动，具有榜样意义 [Lines 30,31]

⁷⁸ 这些都表明，中国在对待气候变化问题上“非常非常认真” [35]

⁷⁹ 法国国际关系研究所能源中心主任玛丽克莱尔奥恩所说，近年来，中国的确将治理环境放到了同发展经济、消除贫困同等重要的位 [Lines 64, 65]

⁸⁰ 这些做法获得了国际社会的好评 [Line 60]

important impact on international cooperation on climate change in the future”⁸¹. This was published just after Wen made the decision to intervene and may have been trying to portray this intervention as positive.

Another Copenhagen article seeking to present China as showing leadership is Article 7, which quotes an expert saying “China played an active and constructive role during the Copenhagen Conference. For example, China pushed for developed countries to provide immediate financial assistance to small island nations and the least developed nations”⁸². Many of the Copenhagen articles use the words ‘active’ and ‘constructive’ to describe China’s attitudes, seeking to present its role positively. While this example shows China as a leader, here it is leading less-developed countries to challenge developed countries and not to cooperate.

Paris

In contrast, the articles analysed from the Paris conference contained many statements presenting China acting as a leader. Rather than leading developing nations in opposition, many of these statements present China leading different nations, particularly developing nations, towards cooperation.

Article 5 describes how “as the world’s largest developing country, China is also using its own actions and wisdom to ‘lead the way’ for other developing countries, to explore a green development model that can be used as reference to help the global response to climate change, and to transform ecological civilization”⁸³. This statement presents China as a leader and an exemplar. The use of ‘wisdom’ creates a particular image of China as a learned and powerful force, while the series of verbs (‘to lead’, ‘to explore’, ‘to help’, ‘to transform’) present it as a positive leader.

Article 129 similarly presents China acting as an exemplar and leader, describing how China has “broadcast to the world a strong political signal, declaring its resolve to continue to follow a green, low carbon, sustainable road”⁸⁴. It states China “has taken the initiative to adopt international responsibility, actively participated in international dialogue, supported developing countries to cope with climate change, promoted global climate negotiations, promoted a new climate agreement, and made a positive contribution”⁸⁵. Again the many verbs – ‘taken the initiative’, ‘actively participated’, ‘supported’, ‘made’, and especially the repeated ‘promoted’ - create an image of China as positively and pro-actively leading the negotiations and fostering cooperation.

The Paris articles analysed also contained statements presenting China as leading South-South cooperation. Article 5 describes how:

⁸¹ 温家宝总理与会，将为气候变化国际谈判注入新的推动力，对未来气候变化国际合作产生积极和重要的影响。中方愿与有关各方共同努力，使会议取得积极成果 [Lines 39-41]

⁸² 他表示，中国在哥本哈根大会期间发挥了积极的、建设性作用。例如，中国一直大力推动发达国家立即向小岛国以及最不发达国家等最易受气候变化影响的发展中国家提供财政援助 [Lines 32, 33]

⁸³ 作为世界最大的发展中国家，中国也正用自己的行动与智慧，为其他发展中国家“带路”——探索一个可资借鉴的绿色发展模式，助力全球应对气候变化和向生态文明转型 [Lines 37, 38]

⁸⁴ 接连向世界传递出强有力的政治信号，表明其坚持走绿色、低碳、可持续发展道路的决心 [27]

⁸⁵ 在主动承担国际责任，积极参与国际对话，支持发展中国家应对气候变化，推动全球气候谈判、促进新气候协议的达成等方面也做出了积极贡献 [21]

In addition, China has added momentum to South-South climate cooperation. In September this year, the establishment of China's climate change South-South cooperation fund was announced. In Paris, President Xi Jinping further announced that in 2016 China will start 10 low-carbon demonstration zones in developing countries, 100 mitigation and adaptation projects, and offer 1,000 climate change training places. China, with its own practical actions, supports developing countries to improve their ability to cope with climate change⁸⁶.

Use of 'in addition' and 'further' emphasize these actions are on top of other things China is doing, adding to the impression China is taking extensive action to support, and lead other nations.

Several of the Paris articles analysed contained statements presenting China taking a leadership role at the conference itself, putting forward different ideas and encouraging participation. Article 22 describes how the Chinese negotiators helped "push the parties to move together to ensure a comprehensive, balanced, forceful, ambitious, binding agreement of all parties"⁸⁷. The statement presents China as influencing other nations and putting forward new ideas. Article 46 similarly includes a quote (from French Minister of Foreign Affairs Laurent Fabius) stating "China is active in the negotiation of the Paris agreement [and] made a number of recommendations. These proposals have been incorporated into the negotiation process and have played a positive role in advancing the negotiations"⁸⁸. This again presents China displaying leadership and having a 'positive' influence over the conference, initiating new ideas about the form cooperation should take.

Article 5 presents China initiating new ideas about the form climate change cooperation should take and about the nature of global governance. It describes how "A speech by President Xi Jinping contributed Chinese wisdom to the international communities' thinking about the shape of future global governance and promoted a common human destiny"⁸⁹. This presents China introducing new ideas about the international system, seeking to promote a different kind of global governance and shared responsibility.

4.6. Discourse about what form cooperation should take

The two sets of articles made different arguments for the form international cooperation should take. In the Copenhagen articles, most statements argue new cooperation must keep to already agreed principles. In the Paris articles, the

⁸⁶ 除此之外，中国还为南南气候合作增添动力。在今年9月宣布设立中国气候变化南南合作基金的基础上，习近平主席在巴黎大会上进一步宣布，2016年将启动在发展中国家开展10个低碳示范区、100个减缓和适应气候变化项目及1000个应对气候变化培训名额的合作项目。中国以自己的实际行动支持发展中国家提高应对气候变化能力 [Lines 64-68]

⁸⁷ 解振华说，中国代表团将在大会最后阶段充分展现建设性、灵活性和推动力，推动各方相向而行，确保会议达成一份全面、均衡、有力度、有雄心、有约束力、适用于所有各方的协议 [Lines 20, 21]

⁸⁸ 在巴黎大会上，中国做出的努力得到各方肯定。法比尤斯说，中国在巴黎协议谈判中积极行动，提出多项建议。这些建议被纳入谈判进程，为推进谈判发挥了积极作用 [60,61]

⁸⁹ 习近平主席的讲话，为国际社会深入思考和探索未来全球治理模式、推动人类命运共同体建设贡献了中国智慧 [34, 35]

statements are more assertive, presenting various opinions on the form cooperation should take.

Copenhagen

In the Copenhagen articles analysed, the statements about what form cooperation should take generally argue new cooperation needs to stick to already-agreed principles. Article 163 describes how: “Wang Guangya *stressed* the *key* to the success of the Copenhagen Climate Change Conference is adherence to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and its Kyoto Protocol”⁹⁰. Here the words *stressed* and *key* make keeping to the previous agreement appear important.

Article 201 describes how: “Some developed countries advocate merging the two-track negotiations into a single track and completely abandoning the Kyoto Protocol... If the Kyoto Protocol is cancelled then the ‘common but differentiated responsibilities’ will have little substance. Therefore, it *should* be ‘a two-track system’”⁹¹. *Should* is used to stress the importance of keeping to the protocol. The article then states “the Conference *should* make decisions in accordance with the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and its Kyoto Protocol”⁹². Article 33, also using modal verbs to suggest importance, quotes Wen Jiabao:

First, keep the results consistent: the results of this meeting *must* be upheld without undermining the fundamental principles of the Convention and its Protocols, *must* be followed without derogating from the mandate of the Bali Roadmap, *must* be locked and not negated by the consensus reached and negotiated progress⁹³.

The verbs ‘upheld’, ‘followed’, ‘locked’ together reinforce the idea it is necessary to follow the existing system. Article 72 states that “[negotiator Yu Qingtai] explained that regarding the climate change question, developing countries and the international agreement, they have very simple requirements for the developed countries ‘do what you say’⁹⁴. In this way, the Copenhagen articles’ statements arguing for the form cooperation should take generally create the sense it is necessary for cooperation to adhere to existing concepts and agreements. The discourse about the form of cooperation seeks to preserve the status quo, particularly elements China agrees with.

⁹⁰ 王光亚强调，哥本哈根气候变化会议成功的关键是坚持《联合国气候变化框架公约》及其《京都议定书》，坚持“共同但有区别的责任”原则，坚持“巴厘路线图”授权。中方对会议有三点期待 [Lines 26, 27]

⁹¹ 现在的一个斗争焦点是一些发达国家主张把双轨谈判合并成一条轨道，彻底抛弃《京都议定书》…如果《京都议定书》取消了，“共同但有区别的责任”就不会有什么实质内容。因此“是双轨制，还是两轨合一，这是本次大会各方争论的焦点问题” [Lines 17-20]

⁹² 本次大会应该按照《联合国气候变化框架公约》及其《京都议定书》，作出一些决定，不过目前的谈判还需要解决四大焦点问题 [Lines 14, 15]

⁹³ 第一，保持成果的一致性。本次会议的成果必须坚持而不能模糊公约及其议定书的基本原则，必须遵循而不能偏离“巴厘路线图”的授权，必须锁定而不能否定业已达成的共识和谈判取得的进展 [Lines 52,53]

⁹⁴ 于庆泰表示，有关气候变化问题，发展中国家及国际协定对发达国家的要求非常简单，就是“说到做到 [Line 31]

Paris

The Paris articles analysed contained more statements arguing for the form cooperation should take. Some statements still asserted cooperation should maintain elements of previous agreements. Article 96 argues “the Paris Agreement *should* reflect the principles of the Convention, in particular the principles of ‘common but differentiated responsibilities’ and ‘equity’”⁹⁵. As noted in section 4.1, references to CBDR appear frequently in the Paris articles analysed, making this principle seem generally accepted. Article 74 also suggests cooperation should adhere to previous agreements, stating “developed countries *should* be aware that the Paris Agreement is an agreement under the Convention and they *should* also assume the responsibility under the Convention in the Paris Agreement and *should not* attempt to modify the Convention by negotiation under the Paris Agreement”⁹⁶. The repeated *should* stresses the importance of developed countries sticking to what is agreed. These arguments for keeping to previously agreed principles echo those in the Copenhagen articles.

However, the Paris articles analysed also seek to introduce new ideas about the form cooperation should take. The same language is repeated in several articles. Article 129 states that participants should “strive to create a *comprehensive, balanced, effective* resolution”⁹⁷ and “China supports the Paris Climate Change Conference to reach a *comprehensive, balanced* and robust agreement based on the Convention and its Protocol”⁹⁸. Article 22 describes how China wants a “*comprehensive, balanced, forceful, ambitious, binding*, agreement”⁹⁹ and that “the Chinese delegation is stepping up efforts to reach a *comprehensive, balanced, energetic, ambitious, and binding* climate change agreement,”¹⁰⁰. Article 96 describes how “the Paris agreement should reflect in a *comprehensive and balanced* manner the core elements”¹⁰¹, while Article 46 states they should “achieve a low carbon, green, *balanced, comprehensive, strong and binding* agreement”¹⁰².

These articles also contained statements asserting that cooperation should be ‘binding’ and ‘fair’. Article 22 states that the negotiations should see a “*binding* climate change agreement”¹⁰³ while Article 46 argues there must be a “strong and *binding* agreement”¹⁰⁴. Article 129 states that the world’s nations

⁹⁵ 巴黎协议应体现《公约》的原则，特别是“共同但有区别责任”和“公平”原则 [Lines 31-34]

⁹⁶ 发达国家要清楚，巴黎协议是《公约》之下的协议，他们在巴黎协议中也应承担《公约》规定的责任，不要企图借巴黎协议谈判来修改《公约》 [Lines 45, 46]

⁹⁷ 旨在努力达成一项“全面、均衡、有力度”的协议 [Lines 17, 18]

⁹⁸ 中国支持巴黎气候变化大会达成一份全面、均衡、有力度的协议，主张协议应以《公约》及其《京都议定书》为基础 [Lines 59, 60]

⁹⁹ 解振华说，中国代表团将在大会最后阶段充分展现建设性、灵活性和推动力，推动各方相向而行，确保会议达成一份全面、均衡、有力度、有雄心、有约束力、适用于所有各方的协议 [Lines 20, 21]

¹⁰⁰ 巴黎气候变化大会即将闭幕，中国代表团正加紧与有关各方沟通，为推动大会达成全面、均衡、有力度、有雄心、有约束力的气候协议作出努力 [Lines 12 - 14]

¹⁰¹ 声明指出，巴黎协议应全面、平衡地反映减缓、适应、资金、技术与转让、能力建设、行动与支持透明度核心要素，以及应对与气候变化相关的损失和损害等内容 [Lines 36, 37]

¹⁰² 顺利达成一份能为全球低碳、绿色发展指明方向的全面、均衡、有力度、有约束力的协议 [Lines 20, 21]

¹⁰³ 巴黎气候变化大会即将闭幕，中国代表团正加紧与有关各方沟通，为推动大会达成全面、均衡、有力度、有雄心、有约束力的气候协议作出努力 [Lines 12 - 14]

¹⁰⁴ 有力度、有约束力的协议 [Lines 20, 21]

must “build a *fair* and reasonable climate change regime”¹⁰⁵ while Article 91 argues they need to achieve “*fairness* and justice”¹⁰⁶. These statements all construct an idea of the type of agreement Paris should pursue. They show China taking a leadership role and seeking to initiate new ideas.

Article 91, about Xi Jinping’s speech at the conference, contains numerous statements about the form cooperation should take:

Xi Jinping pointed out in his speech that the Paris Conference should strengthen the implementation of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and reach a comprehensive, balanced, dynamic and binding climate change agreement¹⁰⁷.

Use of the verb ‘pointed out’ makes the recommended actions appear self-evident. The article also states:

Xi Jinping delivered an important speech ‘Working together to build a cooperative, *win-win* and fair and equitable mechanism for addressing climate change’ stressing the need for all parties to demonstrate sincerity, confidence and work together to promote a fair and effective global response to climate change and achieve a higher level of global sustainability, and to develop *win-win* cooperation and international relations”¹⁰⁸.

The phrase ‘stressing the need’ makes this action seem important. This statement’s assertion that cooperation should be ‘win-win’ appears frequently in the Paris articles analysed.

Article 5 states: “President Xi stressed that while the basic principle of ‘common but differentiated responsibilities’ was still valid, at the same time *win-win* cooperation should be promoted so that all countries can meet the challenges together”¹⁰⁹. This again uses ‘stressed’ to suggest importance. The article also states that “the Paris Conference should abandon ‘zero-sum game’ narrow-minded thinking, to promote countries, especially developed countries to share a little more, to show a little more responsibility and to achieve mutual benefit and *win-win*”¹¹⁰. Article 5 also states cooperation “*should* be conducive to the Convention’s targets, lead the way in green development, bring together the world capabilities, widely encourage participation, increase input, create strong pledges, consider each country’s situation, and pay attention to effectiveness”¹¹¹. While the Paris articles suggest cooperation should adhere to some previously agreed concepts, they also seek to introduce new ideas about how cooperation should be ‘comprehensive and balanced’, ‘fair and equal’, and ‘win-win’.

¹⁰⁵ 构建公平合理的国际气候制度 [Line 62]

¹⁰⁶ 我们要创造一个各尽所能、合作共赢、奉行法治、公平正义、包容互鉴、共同发展的未来 [30, 31]

¹⁰⁷ 习近平在讲话中指出，巴黎大会要加强《联合国气候变化框架公约》的实施，达成一个全面、均衡、有力度、有约束力的气候变化协议 [Lines 21, 22]

¹⁰⁸ 携手构建合作共赢、公平合理的气候变化治理机制》的重要讲话，强调各方要展现诚意、坚定信心、齐心协力，推动建立公平有效的全球应对气候变化机制，实现更高水准全球可持续发展，构建合作共赢的国际关系 [Lines 14-16]

¹⁰⁹ 对各方关切的问题，习近平主席强调共同但有区别的责任这一基本原则依然有效，同时应推进合作共赢，各尽其能共同应对挑战 [Lines 80 - 82]

¹¹⁰ “巴黎大会应该摒弃‘零和博弈’狭隘思维，推动各国尤其是发达国家多一点共享、多一点担当，实现互惠共赢 [Lines 33, 34]

¹¹¹ 有利于实现公约目标，引领绿色发展；有利于凝聚全球力量，鼓励广泛参与；有利于加大投入，强化行动保障；有利于照顾各国国情，讲求务实有效 [Lines 26, 27]

5. Discussion

The articles from the 2009 Copenhagen and 2015 Paris conferences discuss international cooperation on climate change very differently. This suggests between 2009 and 2015 there were a number of shifts in the PRC government's attitudes towards this. These new attitudes which the Chinese government expressed in 2015 may have made it more willing to cooperate in the Paris conference, contributing to this conference's success.

A shift in attitudes about responsibility for climate change

The two sets of articles differ in their presentation of who is responsible for causing and tackling climate change, suggesting that between 2009 and 2015 there was a change in the Chinese government's attitudes towards this. The articles analysed from the Copenhagen conference presented developed countries as to blame for causing climate change and therefore as responsible for tackling it. They also fostered the idea that developing countries such as China were not to blame and not responsible. This would support the argument made by Ross (1999) that China is concerned with preventing intervention in its internal affairs. Ross argued that this concern has limited China's willingness to participate in international cooperation to tackle environmental issues. These articles construct a concept of climate justice where the burden countries assume for tackling climate change is based on the extent they have historically been to blame for causing it.

That the Copenhagen articles contained so many statements arguing for this principle of climate justice suggests it was important to the Chinese government at this time. This supports the argument made by Palmojoki (2013) that principles of "justice/equity are strongly supported by developing countries" (p. 35) and "through the principle of equity and the call for justice, they try to achieve fair burden-sharing in the climate change arrangements" (p.35). The English School-based analysis given by Palmujoki (2013) argued developing countries' emphasis on principles of justice clash with norms held by other participants in international institutions. When developing nations do not see an institution upholding justice, this makes them less willing to cooperate within it. That the Copenhagen articles frequently argued for a concept of justice suggests the PRC government did not see this being upheld. This could have made it less willing to participate in the cooperation proposed.

The articles from the 2015 Paris conference presented the responsibility for causing and tackling climate change differently. They contained few statements arguing developed countries were to blame for causing climate change and therefore responsible, suggesting the PRC government no longer felt the need to argue for this climate justice.

The articles still contained statements asserting there should be a different level of responsibility for developed and developing nations, but these tended to be references to the principle of 'Common but Differentiated Responsibilities'. This suggests the Chinese government now saw climate justice incorporated into institutionalised cooperation (in the CBDR principle). Applying

the theory advanced by Palmujoki (2013), if the Chinese government saw this norm of justice within the institution it would be more willing to participate. The Chinese government saw the UN climate change cooperation accepting a norm of climate justice that corresponded to its own beliefs. The climate change regime's adoption of this norm would also support the argument made by Qin (2010) that institution's identities can evolve over time.

The articles from the Paris conference also contained more statements that presented tackling climate change as all nations' shared responsibility. This suggests that, by 2015, the PRC government's views about who was responsible for climate change had changed. These statements somewhat support Wu and Ye (2015)'s argument that the Chinese government had moved to "a vision of human beings as a community with a common destiny".

Changing views about China's situation

The two sets of articles presented China's development level and development needs very differently, suggesting the government's attitudes about this changed. The articles from the 2009 Copenhagen conference contained numerous statements creating the idea China was still a developing country and therefore needed to focus on economic development. The statements sought to foster the idea amongst the Chinese public that it was not in their interests to cooperate on tackling climate change because focusing on pursuing economic growth was more important. This suggests this was the PRC's stance in 2009.

The number of statements about the Chinese people's economic interests suggests the PRC government considered these important. This supports liberal IR theory's argument that interests are the main factor driving state actions. Keohane (2015) argued states will be less willing to cooperate internationally when they feel their public's interests do not correspond with those of other states. The numerous statements the PRC government made in 2009 about the need to continue developing suggest it considered this to be the Chinese public's main interest at that time. Applying Keohane's argument, if the government saw international action on climate change as conflicting with this interest in continued development, then it would have been unwilling to participate in cooperation. That the Copenhagen conference occurred a year after the 2008 financial crisis perhaps meant the government felt more pressure to focus on continued economic development.

The articles published during the 2015 Paris conference describe China's situation very differently. Rather than statements creating the impression China is still developing, these articles present China as economically successful, as the world's second largest economy and biggest developing country. These articles contained fewer statements presenting China as needing to continue developing. Instead, they suggest that China's economic success means it has a responsibility to contribute to global governance. This indicates that by 2015 the PRC government's views about China's economic situation and its development needs had changed. It now saw China's economic interests as more closely aligned with the interests of cooperation on climate change.

The 2015 articles also contained some statements referring to China's environmental problems. This suggests the government recognised the public was interested in dealing with these alongside economic growth. Recognition of

this public interest in tackling domestic environmental issues may also have made the government more willing to cooperate.

Changing attitudes towards China's role internationally.

The two sets of articles differ in their presentation of China's relationship with other countries and these countries' views of China. In the articles analysed from the 2009 Copenhagen conference, statements present other countries as unfairly attacking China and making false accusations about it. These statements suggest that in 2009 the PRC government saw China in a competitive and antagonistic relationship with other countries, rather than winning friends and influence.

The Copenhagen Conference followed the 2008 Beijing Olympics, during which the Chinese government appeared to view soft power positively. However, the Copenhagen articles' statements suggest by 2009 the PRC government had become disillusioned about the potential positive impact of Chinese soft power. This may have been due to the lack of support the Chinese government received after the Olympics, the criticism of its handling of riots in Tibet, and the blame thrown at China after the 2008 financial crisis. These perhaps combined to make the Chinese government pessimistic about potential for building soft power.

The articles from the 2015 Paris Conference present other countries' views of China very differently, suggesting by then the Chinese government had come to adopt a more positive attitude towards potential for gaining soft power. Rather than presenting other countries attacking China, these articles contained statements describing other countries' praise. They sought to demonstrate how China could gain soft power and influence by cooperating in international initiatives to tackle climate change.

This suggests by 2015, the PRC government had begun to pay more attention to how China was perceived internationally and recognized the benefits of a good international image. Power et al. (2012) also noted the PRC government's growing attention to how China is perceived by other countries, arguing this has paralleled the growing importance of global trade to China's economy. They stated that the government is increasingly aware of the benefits obtaining a positive international image for China can bring, both to diminish the sense of a 'China threat' and to bolster the Party's legitimacy. By presenting this praise for China to the public in the Paris articles, the Chinese government may be seeking to demonstrate other countries' positive perceptions of China as a way of supporting its legitimacy.

This change in attitude is also reflected in the contrasting way the two sets of articles present the actions China is taking to tackle climate change. The Copenhagen articles focus on China's domestic actions. In contrast, the Paris articles focus on China's international actions, particularly cooperation with other countries. This would suggest by 2015, the PRC government had come to believe it was these international actions and moves towards cooperation, rather than domestic environmental measures, that should be conveyed to the Chinese public and were more important.

Analysing how states are 'socialized' by participating in institutions, Johnston (2008) identified three processes: mimicking, persuasion, and social influence. Regarding 'social influence', he suggested state representatives are moved to cooperate within institutions to gain status. If the PRC government was more concerned with China's status in the eyes of other countries by 2015, this

may have made it more willing to cooperate on tackling climate change to gain status. Researchers have also developed Johnston's ideas to suggest a process of 'two way socialization' taking place regarding China's interaction with international institutions (Chin, 2012). China builds status by not only cooperating with existing frameworks, but by actively participating in shaping these institutions. If by 2015 China was seeking to build soft power and influence, this may have led it to assert itself as an international leader.

Envisaging China as acting as a leader

The differences between the two sets of articles indicate that between 2009 and 2015 the PRC government had come to envisage China as acting more in the role of leader within the international community. The articles from the Copenhagen conference contain virtually no statements presenting China as taking on a leadership role moving others to cooperate. On the contrary, these articles describe the PRC government leading other developing countries in resisting cooperation. This would suggest that in 2009 the PRC government did not yet see China playing a role as a global leader that guides international efforts to tackle climate change.

In contrast, the articles from 2015 contained many statements describing China guiding other countries and initiating cooperation. This would suggest that by this time, the government saw China acting more in the role of leader within the international community or recognized the benefits it could gain in terms of legitimacy and soft power from China appearing to take the lead. If this change in the government's attitude occurred, it could partly explain why it was more willing to cooperate in the Paris negotiations.

A change in attitudes about the form cooperation should take

The differences between the two sets of articles also suggest changes in the Chinese government's attitudes towards the form international climate change cooperation should take. They indicate that by 2015 the government had become much more assertive in trying to shape the nature of international climate change cooperation. This corresponds with the finding that by 2015 the government saw China acting as a global leader.

In the articles from 2009, there are fewer statements arguing for what form international cooperation should take and these are arguments it should adhere to already agreed principles, particularly about responsibility. This suggests rather than viewing international climate cooperation as something it could help shape, in 2009 the PRC government wanted to ensure cooperation did not infringe on China's freedom.

In contrast, the articles from 2015 Paris conference contain many more statements arguing for the form international cooperation should take. Rather than calling for adherence to previous principles, these are initiating new ideas. They argue cooperation must be 'balanced and fair', 'comprehensive and binding', and particularly that it should abandon zero-sum competition for a 'win-win' approach. This supports Power et al.'s (2012) observation that "Chinese policy discourses are shifting as multilateralism is prioritized over concerns with multi-polarity, anti-hegemonism and non-interference... and as a new vision of a strong and globally engaged China ('peaceful rise', 'win-win'

diplomacy and 'harmonious world') starts to emerge" (p. 244). This finding that China is presenting new concepts challenges arguments China is a status quo power fitting into pre-existing structures (see Ikenberry, 2008). It suggests instead China is attempting to reshape elements of the international system.

6. Conclusion

The differences between the two sets of articles suggest between 2009 and 2015 the PRC government's attitudes to cooperation on climate change underwent a number of changes. The discourse from the 2009 Copenhagen conference indicates the PRC government attended this conference with a defensive and obstructive attitude. In this discourse, the Chinese government argued for why China should not cooperate, presenting climate change as the responsibility of developed countries and China's level of development as too low to allow it to act. It defended China against criticism that it was not taking enough action on climate change and showed a negative view about the soft power gains of pursuing cooperation.

By 2015, the discourse the Chinese government presented on climate change cooperation had changed, indicating its standpoint had also shifted. Instead of presenting reasons why China should not participate in international initiatives, it now offered reasons why it should cooperate. It presented the concept of 'Common but Differentiated Responsibility' as embedded in the cooperative institutions. It also presented the idea that tackling climate change was the world's collective responsibility. It described China as economically successful and therefore having a responsibility to contribute. It also showed China could gain soft power and influence by participating. These new PRC government attitudes all likely helped the Paris conference to succeed where Copenhagen failed.

Amongst these differences, the changed presentation of China's economic situation is perhaps most important. In 2009, articles presented China as still developing and so unable to tackle climate change, while the 2015 articles presented it as economically successful and having a responsibility to participate. This suggests, over these six years, the PRC government changed its view on China's economic situation and what this meant for tackling climate change. If China's economy slows, as some predict (see Gough, 2016), there is the danger it will revert to the 2009 stance that it needs to focus on growth rather than climate change.

Most significantly, the discourse from 2015 showed China presenting new ideas about the form climate change cooperation should take, arguing for 'win-win' and 'balanced and comprehensive' cooperation. This suggests China had begun to see itself as playing a role in shaping the nature of global governance. This is reinforced by how the Paris articles present China as leading and offering an example to other countries, suggesting that by 2015 the Chinese government had come to see China as a 'leader' in the international arena. I would argue that US President Obama's meeting with the Chinese government at the 2014 APEC Summit, resulting in the two countries standing side by side to make a joint declaration, helped foster this idea that China could act as a global leader.

Whilst revealing these shifts, there are a number of limitations to this study. It only analysed a small sample of the articles from each conference, extrapolating conclusions about the discourse as a whole. It would have been useful to analyse a larger sample to further support the conclusions. Looking at the articles' headlines did provide some findings to support the discourse

analysis, but using computer software to examine the whole data set would have been useful. Other research methods, such as interviews with members of the Chinese negotiating team, could also provide further insights into the attitudes of the PRC government.

This study only examined two of the annual climate change conferences, identified as being particularly important. Further research might study discourse from other conferences to see whether this confirms and adds to the findings. Research could also look at discourse produced by the PRC during other forms of international cooperation (G20 summits or UN security council sessions) to see whether this discourse shares similarities with that about climate change. Whilst this study can only provide initial findings, nevertheless analysis of the discourse from the conferences has provided interesting insights and increased understanding of the PRC government's attitudes.

The US's current leadership transition from Obama to Trump, who is seen as a climate change sceptic, makes the Chinese government's attitudes to international cooperation on climate change, and particularly to leadership in this, more significant. With Trump likely to renounce US leadership of climate change cooperation and potentially withdraw from the Paris Agreement, there is speculation China will step in to fill the void. The discourse from 2015 suggests two years ago the Chinese government was already beginning to think of itself in this leadership role. As the world's nations gather to discuss cooperation on climate change at forthcoming conferences, the Chinese government may continue to assert itself: showing leadership, initiating new ideas, and shaping future initiatives.

(14,996 words)












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Appendix:

This appendix presents the work steps employed to examine the data during the discourse analysis of eight articles from each conference. The eight articles from the 2009 Copenhagen conference are presented first, in chronological order from the article published earliest. After these, the eight articles from the 2015 Paris conference are presented, also in chronological order. For each article, I first include the results of the coding (the categorization of different statements from the article by theme). After this, I present the text of the original article, with the different statements highlight in different colours depending on their theme. The key for the highlighted colours is:

 General attitudes to the conference	 China's action to tackle climate change
 Responsibility	 China's actions as part of the conference
 Need to balance with development	 China's actions to lead others
 How action should be	 Praise for China from other countries
 International Communities' actions	 China's status
 Other country's actions	

Article #266 (30 November, 2009)

<p>General attitudes to cooperation /views about the conference</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 哥本哈根会议将是国际社会应对气候变化的又一重要时刻 [1] Copenhagen conference will be an important time in international society's response to climate change ▪ 哥本哈根会议将是国际社会应对气候变化的又一重要时刻 [13, 14] Copenhagen conference will be an important time in international society's response to climate change ▪ 世界各国即将在哥本哈根表达的意愿和作出的承诺, 必将推动绿色经济和可持续发展的历史进程 [15, 16] At Copenhagen the world's countries will express their wish and commitments, will promote a green economy that can continue development's historic course. ▪ 中国政府将以积极的建设性态度参加会议, 衷心期待会议取得积极成果 [17] The Chinese Government will positively and constructively participate in the meeting, sincerely looks forward to obtaining positive results
<p>Defining the problem</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>Responsibility</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 温家宝说, 回顾世界 200 多年的工业化历程, 只有不到 10 亿人口的发达国家实现了现代化, 但全球资源和生态却付出了沉重代价 [19, 20] Looking back at the world's 200 plus year industrializing course, only 1 billion people of developed countries have achieved modernization, but the whole world's resources and ecology have paid a heavy price. ▪ 1997 年通过的《京都议定书》和 2007 年确定的《巴厘路线图》, 明确了不同发展阶段国家应对气候变化的责任 [28, 29] 1997 passed the Kyoto Protocol and 2007 confirmed the Bali Roadmap, made clear the responsibility of countries with different levels of development,
<p>China's status in world</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>Describing China's situation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 这是中国根据国情 [33] This is according to the countries situation
<p>How action to tackle climate change should be</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 我们要为子孙后代留下一个赖以生存和发展的地球家园. 必须建设低投入、高产出, 低消耗、少排放, 能循环、可持续的国民经济体系, 转变现有发展模式和消费模式, 推动人类社会走上生产发展、生活富裕、生态良好的发展道路 [22,23] We need for our descendants to leave a homeland they can rely on to live and to develop, must build low input, high output, low consumption, low emissions, circular, can continue citizens economic structures, change the current development and consumption models, and promote human society's raised production , prosperous lives, ecologically good development road. ▪ 实现这些目标, 需要付出艰苦卓绝的努力, 我们要下更大的决心, 采取更有力的行动, 实施更有效的政策来履行我们的承诺 [35, 36] Achieving these goals requires great efforts, we need great resolve and to take stronger action to implement effective policies and fulfill our commitment
<p>Need to balance tackling climate change with development</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “必须。。推动人类社会走上生产发展、生活富裕、生态良好的发展道路 [23] promote human society's raised production , prosperous lives, ecologically good development road
<p>Actions taken by International Community</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 温家宝表示, 为了让人类的家园更美好, 1992 年联合国环境与发展大会通过了《里约宣言》和《21 世纪议程》这两个纲领性文件以及关于森林问题的原则声明, 签署了《联合国气候变化框架公约》和《生物多样性公约》 [25, 27] In 1992, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) adopted the two programmatic documents, the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21, as well as the Declaration of Principles on Forests, and signed the United Nations Declaration on Forests and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. ▪ 1997 年通过的《京都议定书》和 2007 年确定的《巴厘路线图》, 明确了不同发展阶段国家应对气候变化的责任, 全球逐步兴起环境与经济协调发展的绿色浪潮 [28, 29] 1997 passed the Kyoto Protocol and 2007 confirmed the Bali Roadmap, made clear the responsibility of countries with different levels of development, the whole world step by step revives the environment and cooperates to develop a green tide. ▪ 绿色文明引起世界各国高度关注, 可持续发展成为国际社会的广泛共识 [27] Green Civilization has drawn the world's countries high level attention, allowing to continue developing has become international societies' broad common understanding
<p>Actions taken by China to tackle climate change</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 中国政府刚刚宣布, 到 2020 年中国单位国内生产总值二氧化碳排放比 2005 年下降 40% - 45% , 非化石能源占一次能源消费的比重达到 15% 左右, 森林面积、森林蓄积量分别比 2005 年增加 4000 万公顷和 13 亿立方米 [31, 33] The Chinese government has just announced that by 2020, China's CO2 emissions per unit of GDP will drop by 40% to 45% from 2005, non-fossil fuels will account for 15% of primary energy consumption, and forest area and forest stocks will be higher than 2005 Year increase of 40 million hectares and 1.3 billion cubic meters ▪ 这是中国根据国情采取的自主行动, 也是为应对全球气候变化作出的巨大努力, 充分体现了中国对中华民族和全人类高度负责的精神 [33, 34] This is according to China's current situation, the independent action employed, and is responding to climate change a huge effort, which embodies the spirit of the Chinese people's and whole of humanity's responsibility.
<p>China actions as part of the conference</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>China actions to lead others</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪

Views of China from other countries	▪
Actions taken by other countries	▪

1 温家宝说，哥本哈根会议将是国际社会应对气候变化的又一重要时刻

2

3 刘东凯

4 749 words

5 30 November 2009

6 11:59

7 新华社中文新闻 (简体)

8 XINCCN

9 Chinese - Simplified

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11

12 新华社南京 1 1 月 3 0 日电 (记者石永红 侯丽军) 国务院总理温家宝 3 0 日下午在南京表示，哥本
13 哈根会议将是国际社会应对气候变化的又一个重要时刻。

14

15 温家宝在第五届中欧工商峰会上发表主旨演讲时表示，世界各国即将在哥本哈根表达的意愿和作出
16 的承诺，必将推动绿色经济和可持续发展的历史进程。中国政府将以积极的建设性态度参加会议，
17 衷心期待会议取得积极成果。

18

19 温家宝说，回顾世界 2 0 0 多年的工业化历程，只有不到 1 0 亿人口的发达国家实现了现代化，但
20 全球资源和生态却付出了沉重代价。《世界自然资源保护大纲》中有一句名言：“地球不是我们从父
21 辈那裏继承来的，而是我们从自己的后代那儿借来的。”我们要为子孙后代留下一个赖以生存和发展
22 的地球家园，必须建设低投入、高产出，低消耗、少排放，能循环、可持续的国民经济体系，转变
23 现有发展模式和消费模式，推动人类社会走上生产发展、生活富裕、生态良好的发展道路。

24

25 温家宝表示，为了让人类的家园更美好，1 9 9 2 年联合国环境与发展大会通过了《裏约宣言》和
26 《2 1 世纪议程》这两个纲领性文件以及关于森林问题的原则声明，签署了《联合国气候变化框架
27 公约》和《生物多样性公约》。从此，绿色文明引起世界各国高度关注，可持续发展成为国际社会的
28 广泛共识。1 9 9 7 年通过的《京都议定书》和 2 0 0 7 年确定的《巴厘路线图》，明确了不同
29 发展阶段国家应对气候变化的责任，全球逐步兴起环境与经济协调发展的绿色浪潮。

30

31 温家宝表示，前几天，中国政府刚刚宣布，到 2 0 2 0 年中国单位国内生产总值二氧化碳排放比 2
32 0 0 5 年下降 4 0 %- 4 5 %，非化石能源占一次能源消费的比重达到 1 5 % 左右，森林面积、森
33 林蓄积量分别比 2 0 0 5 年增加 4 0 0 0 万公顷和 1 3 亿立方米。这是中国根据国情采取的自主行
34 动，也是为应对全球气候变化作出的巨大努力，充分体现了中国对中华民族和全人类高度负责的精
35 神。实现这些目标，需要付出艰苦卓绝的努力，我们要下更大的决心，采取更有力的行动，实施更
36 有效的政策来履行我们的承诺。(完)

Article #216 (7 December, 2009)

General attitudes to cooperation / views about the conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 解振华告诉记者，这些年来他参加了许多与气候变化相关的重要会议 [21] Xie Zhenhua told reporters that over the years he participated in a number of important meetings related to climate change
Defining the problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
Responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “作为一个负责任的大国 [24] Behaving as a responsible great power ▪ 对气候变化负有历史责任的发达国家已经完成工业化，而中国正处于发展当中 [34] Regarding climate change responsibility, historical responsibility is with the developed countries which have already completed industrialization, in contrast China in in the middle of development. ▪ 在《联合国气候变化框架公约》对发展中国家没有任何强制和约束性要求的情况下 [36] There is absence of any coercive and binding requirements for the developing countries under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change ▪ 解振华认为，发达国家在气候变化问题上拥有不可推卸的历史责任，但发展中国家却是真正的受害者 [43] Xie Zhenhua believes that the developed countries have an unshirkable historical responsibility for climate change, but the developing countries are the real victims [43] ▪ 而根据《联合国气候变化框架公约》的有关规定，发展经济和消除贫困是发展中国家首要和压倒一切的优先事项 [44] In accordance with the relevant provisions of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, economic development and the eradication of poverty are among the first and overriding priorities of the developing countries ▪ 既是对全人类负责，也是对自己负责，这就是中国的态度 [51, 52] It is China's attitude that it is both responsible for all mankind and for itself
Describing China's situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 中国目前没有达到它们的发展水准 [35] China currently hasn't reached a developed level ▪ 我们还有 1.5 亿人没有脱贫，面临着发展经济、改善民生、减缓气候变化、提高适应气候变化能力等艰巨任务 [38] We still have 150 million people who have not thrown off poverty, dealing with continued development, improving lives, reducing global warming, increasing adaptability to climate change is a huge task.
China's status in world	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 最大感受就是随着中国发展、国力提升，中国的影响力不断增强，在气候变化谈判中的作用越来越大 [21, 22] with the development of China, national strength has increased, China's has growing influence and role in the climate change negotiations ▪ “作为一个负责任的大国 [24] Behaving as a responsible great power
How action to tackle climate change should be	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
Need to balance tackling climate change with development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 同时，这也是中国实现自身可持续发展的需要 [40] At the same time, it is also the need for China to realize its sustained development ▪ 发展经济和消除贫困是发展中国家首要和压倒一切的优先事项 [44] economic development and the eradication of poverty are among the first and overriding priorities of the developing countries ▪ 解振华强调，发展中国家需要发展，在发展中国家的工业化过程中，其能源消费和温室气体排放总量肯定要增长 [47,48] Xie Zhenhua stressed the need for developing countries to develop, and in the course of their industrialization the overall volumes of consumption of resources and emissions would definitely increase.
Actions taken by International Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
Actions taken by China to tackle climate change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 为节能减排做出了自己的贡献 [17] For energy-saving emission reduction (China) has made its own contribution ▪ 解振华告诉记者，这些年来他参加了许多与气候变化相关的重要会议 [21] Xie Zhenhua told reporters that over the years he participated in a number of important meetings related to climate change ▪ 中国推动本次会议取得进展的一个最重要举措，就是提出了控制单位国内生产总值（GDP）二氧化碳排放行动目标 [27, 28] An important move by China to make progress in this meeting is to put forward the targets for controlling CO2 emissions per unit of gross domestic product (GDP) ▪ 中国还有一系列节能减排目标，并有许多措施保证实现这些目标。例如，近期已确定各种节能减排指标都要纳入“十二五”规划，考核执行 [28, 29] China also has a series of energy-saving emission reduction targets, and there are many measures to ensure the achievement of these goals. For example, the recent energy-saving emission reduction targets have been identified should be included in the 12th five year plan” ▪ 中国还要提高能效，发展核电，发展可再生能源，植树造林，在建筑、交通等方面采取节能措施，发展低碳经济等，“这些都是实实在在的措施” [31, 32] China still must / will increase its productivity, develop nuclear power, develop recycling of resources, and in buildings and transport implement renewable energy measures, develop a low carbon economy. These are real measures. ▪ 中国目前没有达到它们的发展水准，就已经采取了积极措施 [35] China currently hasn't reached developed level, but still has already employed positive measures ▪ 在《联合国气候变化框架公约》对发展中国家没有任何强制和约束性要求的情况下，中国主动提出减排举措 [35,36] Although the "United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change" doesn't give developing countries any mandatory and

	<p>binding requirements, China has still implemented emission reduction measures</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 在这种情况下，我们提出控制单位GDP二氧化碳排放行动目标更表明了中国负责任的态度 [40] Under these conditions we have launched targets for controlling CO2 emissions per unit of gross domestic product 这些目标完全是根据自身国情而定的 [40, 41] These targets are according to our current condition 中国节能减排并推动气候变化国际谈判取得进展 [51] China's energy-saving emission reduction promote international progress in climate change negotiations
China actions as part of the conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 中国积极推动气候谈判取得进展 [1] China positively promotes climate negotiations progress 中国积极推动气候谈判取得进展 [12] China positively promotes climate negotiations progress “中国一直在积极推动气候变化国际谈判取得进展 [17] China all along has positive promoted international climate change negotiations progress “作为一个负责任的大国，中国的态度是严肃的，在气候变化谈判中一直发挥著积极和建设性作用，并希望本次大会取得成功” [24,25] "As a responsible big country, China's attitude is serious and has been playing an active and constructive role in climate change negotiations, and we hope that this conference will be a success"
China actions to lead others	
Views of China from other countries	
Actions taken by other countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 许多发达国家提出要将全球温度上升控制在2摄氏度内 [44] Many developed countries have proposed that the whole world keeps the increase in climate below 2 degrees

1 (应对气候变化) 专访：中国积极推动气候谈判取得进展——访中国国家发改委会副主任解振华

2

3 杨骏

4 947 words

5 7 December 2009

6 05:22

7 新华社中文新闻 (简体)

8 XINCCN

9 Chinese - Simplified

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12 新华社哥本哈根 12月6日电专访：中国积极推动气候谈判取得进展——访中国国家发改委会副主任

13 解振华

14

15 新华社记者杨骏 黄堃

16

17 “中国一直在积极推动气候变化国际谈判取得进展，并为节能减排做出了自己的贡献。”在哥本哈根
18 联合国气候变化大会即将召开之际，中国国家发展和改革委员会副主任解振华6日在此间接受记者
19 采访时如是说。

20

21 解振华告诉记者，这些年来他参加了许多与气候变化相关的重要会议，最大感受就是随着中国发展
22 、国力提升，中国的影响力不断增强，在气候变化谈判中的作用越来越大。

23

24 “作为一个负责任的大国，中国的态度是严肃的，在气候变化谈判中一直发挥著积极和建设性作用，
25 并希望本次大会取得成功。”

26

27 解振华说，中国推动本次会议取得进展的一个最重要举措，就是提出了控制单位国内生产总值（G
28 DP）二氧化碳排放行动目标。他指出，中国还有一系列节能减排目标，并有许多措施保证实现这
29 些目标。例如，近期已确定各种节能减排指标都要纳入“十二五”规划，考核执行。

30

31 此外，解振华说，中国还要提高能效，发展核电，发展可再生能源，植树造林，在建筑、交通等方
32 面采取节能措施，发展低碳经济等，“这些都是实实在在的措施”。

33

34 解振华说，对气候变化负有历史责任的发达国家已经完成工业化，而中国正处于发展当中。中国目前
35 还没有达到它们的发展水准，就已经采取了积极措施。在《联合国气候变化框架公约》对发展中国家
36 没有任何强制和约束性要求的情况下，中国主动提出减排举措。

37

38 他同时指出：“我们还有 1.5 亿人没有脱贫，面临著发展经济、改善民生、减缓气候变化、提高适
39 应气候变化能力等艰巨任务。在这种情况下，我们提出控制单位 GDP 二氧化碳排放行动目标更表
40 明了中国负责任的态度。同时，这也是中国实现自身可持续发展的需要，这些目标完全是根据自身
41 国情而定的。”

42

43 解振华认为，发达国家在气候变化问题上拥有不可推卸的历史责任，但发展中国家却是真正的受害
44 者。许多发达国家提出要將全球温度上升控制在 2 摄氏度内，而根据《联合国气候变化框架公约》
45 的有关规定，发展经济和消除贫困是发展中国家首要和压倒一切的优先事项。

46

47 解振华强调，发展中国家需要发展，在发展中国家的工业化过程中，其能源消费和温室气体排放总
48 量肯定要增长。中国也一样，但中国的温室气体排放不会无约束地增长。中国绝对不走发达国家高
49 耗能、无约束排放的老路。

50

51 他最后表示，中国节能减排并推动气候变化国际谈判取得进展，既是对全人类负责，也是对自己负
52 责，这就是中国的态度。（完）

Article #163 (10 December, 2009)

General attitudes to cooperation / views about the conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 王光亚表示，哥本哈根气候变化会议将就未来应对气候变化国际合作做出安排，具有重要意义 [22] Wang Guangya said that the Copenhagen Climate Change Conference will make arrangements for future international cooperation on climate change, it has important significance ▪ 温家宝总理与会，将为气候变化国际谈判注入新的推动力，对未来气候变化国际合作产生积极和重要的影响。中方愿与有关各方共同努力，使会议取得积极成果[39-41] Wen Jiabao will give the international negotiations on climate change new momentum, And have a positive and important impact on international cooperation on climate change in the future. China is willing to make joint efforts with relevant parties to make the meeting a positive outcome
Defining the problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
Responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 王光亚强调，哥本哈根气候变化会议成功的关键是坚持《联合国气候变化框架公约》及其《京都议定书》，坚持“共同但有区别的责任”原则，坚持“巴厘路线图”授权。中方对会议有三点期待 [26, 27] Wang Guangya stressed that the key to the success of the Copenhagen Climate Change Conference is the adherence to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and its Kyoto Protocol, the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" and the authorization of the "Bali Roadmap". The Chinese side has three expectations for the meeting ▪ 一是明确发达国家在《京都议定书》第二承诺期应当承担的大幅度量化减排指标，确保未批准《京都议定书》的发达国家承担可比较的减排承诺 [29,30] To identify the quantitative emission reduction targets that developed countries should undertake in the second commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol to ensure that the developed countries that have not ratified the Kyoto Protocol undertake comparable emission reduction commitments ▪ 二是做出有效的机制安排，以确保发达国家切实兑现向发展中国家提供资金、技术转让和能力建设支持的承诺 [32, 33] Second, put in place effective institutional arrangements to ensure that developed countries are effectively meeting their commitments to finance, technology transfer and capacity-building support to developing countries ▪ 三是明确发展中国家在得到发达国家技术、资金和能力建设支持的情况下，在可持续发展框架下根据本国国情采取适当的适应和减缓行动 [35, 36] Identification of appropriate adaptation and mitigation actions by developing countries in the context of sustainable development, taking into account the technical, financial and capacity-building support of developed countries
Describing China's situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
China's status in world	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
How action to tackle climate change should be	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 王光亚强调，哥本哈根气候变化会议成功的关键是坚持《联合国气候变化框架公约》及其《京都议定书》，坚持“共同但有区别的责任”原则，坚持“巴厘路线图”授权。中方对会议有三点期待 [26, 27] Wang Guangya stressed that the key to the success of the Copenhagen Climate Change Conference is the adherence to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and its Kyoto Protocol, the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" and the authorization of the "Bali Roadmap". The Chinese side has three expectations for the meeting ▪ 一是明确发达国家在《京都议定书》第二承诺期应当承担的大幅度量化减排指标，确保未批准《京都议定书》的发达国家承担可比较的减排承诺 [29,30] To identify the quantitative emission reduction targets that developed countries should undertake in the second commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol to ensure that the developed countries that have not ratified the Kyoto Protocol undertake comparable emission reduction commitments ▪ 二是做出有效的机制安排，以确保发达国家切实兑现向发展中国家提供资金、技术转让和能力建设支持的承诺 [32, 33] Second, put in place effective institutional arrangements to ensure that developed countries are effectively meeting their commitments to finance, technology transfer and capacity-building support to developing countries ▪ 三是明确发展中国家在得到发达国家技术、资金和能力建设支持的情况下，在可持续发展框架下根据本国国情采取适当的适应和减缓行动 [35, 36] Identification of appropriate adaptation and mitigation actions by developing countries in the context of sustainable development, taking into account the technical, financial and capacity-building support of developed countries
Need to balance tackling climate change with development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
Actions taken by International Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
Actions taken by China to tackle climate change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 王光亚说，中国政府高度重视气候变化问题，采取了大量积极有效的政策措施 [17] Wang Guangya said that the Chinese government attaches great importance to climate change and has adopted a number of positive and effective policy measures. ▪ 胡锦涛主席在9月联合国气候变化峰会上的讲话，赢得了国际社会对中国应对气候变化立场和政策的普遍理解和支持 [18, 19] President Hu Jintao's speech at the UN Climate Change Summit in September won the international community's general understanding and support for China's position and policy on tackling climate change ▪ 不久前，中国政府宣布了控制温室气体排放的目标，充分显示了中国政府正在以实际行动积极推动“巴厘路线图”谈判取得进展、促进哥本哈根会议取得积极成果 [19,20] Not long ago, the Chinese government announced its goal of controlling greenhouse gas emissions, which shows that the Chinese government is taking active actions to actively promote the progress of the "Bali Roadmap" negotiations and promote the positive results of the Copenhagen conference
China actions as part of the	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 温家宝总理出席哥本哈根气候变化会议将为气候变化国际谈判注入新的推动力 [1] Wen Jiabao visits Copenhagen

conference	<p>conference and will give the international negotiations on climate change new momentum</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 外交部副部长王光亚表示，温家宝总理与会，将为气候变化国际谈判注入新的推动力 [14-15] The deputy head of the Foreign Affairs department Wang Guangya explained Wen Jiabao will give the international negotiations on climate change new momentum 温家宝总理与会将进一步彰显中国政府对气候变化问题的高度重视和积极姿态，展示中国政府为保护全球气候做出贡献的决心、信心和政治意愿 [22-24] Premier Wen Jiabao's attendance will manifest the Chinese government's high priority and positive attitude towards climate change and demonstrate the determination, confidence and political will of the Chinese government to contribute to the protection of the global climate 王光亚表示，温家宝总理将在会议上发表重要讲话，全面阐述中国积极应对气候变化、推动气候变化国际合作的立场和主张，还将分别会见与会的一些国家领导人 [38, 39] Wang Guangya said that Premier Wen Jiabao will deliver an important speech at the meeting to explain China's position on tackling climate change and promoting international cooperation, and he will also meet with some of the leaders of the participating countries 温家宝总理与会，将为气候变化国际谈判注入新的推动力，对未来气候变化国际合作产生积极和重要的影响。中方愿与有关各方共同努力，使会议取得积极成果[14-15] Wen Jiabao will give the international negotiations on climate change new momentum, And have a positive and important impact on international cooperation on climate change in the future. China is willing to make joint efforts with relevant parties to make the meeting a positive outcome
China actions to lead others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 温家宝总理与会，将为气候变化国际谈判注入新的推动力，对未来气候变化国际合作产生积极和重要的影响。中方愿与有关各方共同努力，使会议取得积极成果[39-41] Wen Jiabao will give the international negotiations on climate change new momentum, And have a positive and important impact on international cooperation on climate change in the future. <u>China is willing to</u> make joint efforts with relevant parties to make the meeting a positive outcome
Views of China from other countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 胡锦涛主席在9月联合国气候变化峰会上的讲话，赢得了国际社会对中国应对气候变化立场和政策的普遍理解和支持 [18, 19] President Hu Jintao's speech at the UN Climate Change Summit in September won the international community's general understanding and support for China's position and policy on tackling climate change
Actions taken by other countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none">

1 外交部：温家宝总理出席哥本哈根气候变化会议将为气候变化国际谈判注入新的推动力

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3 对外部

4 775 words

5 10 December 2009

6 14:54

7 新华社中文新闻 (简体)

8 XINCCN

9 Chinese - Simplified

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12 新华社北京12月10日电（记者熊争艳、廖雷）外交部10日就温家宝总理即将出席在哥本哈根
 13 举行的《联合国气候变化框架公约》第15次缔约方会议暨《京都议定书》第5次缔约方会议举行
 14 中外媒体吹风会，外交部副部长王光亚表示，温家宝总理与会，将为气候变化国际谈判注入新的推
 15 动力。

16

17 王光亚说，中国政府高度重视气候变化问题，采取了大量积极有效的政策措施。胡锦涛主席在9月
 18 联合国气候变化峰会上的讲话，赢得了国际社会对中国应对气候变化立场和政策的普遍理解和支持
 19 。不久前，中国政府宣布了控制温室气体排放的目标，充分显示了中国政府正在以实际行动积极推
 20 动“巴厘路线图”谈判取得进展、促进哥本哈根会议取得积极成果。

21

22 王光亚表示，哥本哈根气候变化会议将就未来应对气候变化国际合作做出安排，具有重要意义。温
 23 家宝总理与会将进一步彰显中国政府对气候变化问题的高度重视和积极姿态，展示中国政府为保护
 24 全球气候做出贡献的决心、信心和政治意愿。

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26 王光亚强调，哥本哈根气候变化会议成功的关键是坚持《联合国气候变化框架公约》及其《京都议
 27 定书》，坚持“共同但有区别的责任”原则，坚持“巴厘路线图”授权。中方对会议有三点期待：

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一是明确发达国家在《京都议定书》第二承诺期应当承担的大幅度量化减排指标，确保未批准《京都议定书》的发达国家承担可比较的减排承诺；

二是做出有效的机制安排，以确保发达国家切实兑现向发展中国家提供资金、技术转让和能力建设支持的承诺；

三是明确发展中国家在得到发达国家技术、资金和能力建设支持的情况下，在可持续发展框架下根据本国国情采取适当的适应和减缓行动。

王光亚表示，温家宝总理将在会议上发表重要讲话，全面阐述中国积极应对气候变化、推动气候变化国际合作的立场和主张，还将分别会见与会的一些国家领导人。温家宝总理与会，将为气候变化国际谈判注入新的推动力，对未来气候变化国际合作产生积极和重要的影响。中方愿与有关各方共同努力，使会议取得积极成果

Article #119 (14 December, 2009)

<p>General attitudes to cooperation / views about the conference</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 为了全人类利益气候大会必须成功 [1] For the sake of the human race, the climate meeting must succeed ▪ “中国高度重视哥本哈根气候变化会议，对会议取得积极成果抱有极大期望 [17] China is paying close attention to the Copenhagen climate change meeting, and has high hopes this meeting with achieve positive results ▪ 为了全人类利益气候大会必须成功 [17,18] For the sake of the human race, the climate meeting must succeed ▪ 何亚非说，哥本哈根会议已进行一周，取得了一些进展，但是在一些重大问题，特别是发达国家中期量化减排指标和发展中国家提供资金支持等问题上，各方分歧比较大，原因是发达国家缺乏政治意愿 [32, 33] He Yafei said that the Copenhagen Conference has been making progress for a week, but some major issues remained, especially the developed countries emission reduction targets in the medium term and to their provision of financial support to developing countries. In these things the differences are relatively large. This is because developed country’s lack the political will ▪ “谈判会很艰苦，目前各方也都了解了各自立场。下一阶段，需要发达国家拿出政治诚意，并转化成实实在在的减排指标，”他说 [39, 40] The negotiations will be tough and the parties are now aware of their positions, and the next stage will require the developed countries to show political will and translate them into tangible emission reduction targets," he said
<p>Defining the problem</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>Responsibility</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 他说，发达国家作出的承诺与它们应该做的相差很远 [35] He said that the distance between developed countries promises and what they should do is large ▪ 在资金方面，联合国的数据显示，为应对气候变化，发展中国家今后每年需要1 0 0 0 亿美元，但现在发达国家讨论的数字只有1 0 0 亿美元，且不愿考虑中长期问题，这与《联合国气候变化框架公约》及其《京都议定书》的要求相差很远 [35-37] In terms of funding, UN data show that developing countries will need \$ 100 billion annually in response to climate change, but now the developed countries are discussing only \$ 10 billion and are reluctant to consider medium- and long-term issues, this varies greatly with the requirements of the Framework Convention on Change and its Kyoto Protocol ▪ 何亚非特别指出，中方算过一笔账，从1 9 9 0年到2 0 0 5年，发达国家单位G D P的二氧化碳排放只下降2 6 %，根据他们作出的承诺，到2 0 2 0年这一指标也只会下降3 0 %到4 0 % [42, 43] He Yafei pointed out that the Chinese side calculated that from 1990 to 2005, the developed country unit GDP of carbon dioxide emissions fell only 26%, according to their commitments, by 2020 this indicator will only drop 30% to 40%
<p>Describing China's situation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>China's status in world</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 中国作为一个大国 [21] As a big country
<p>How action to tackle climate change should be</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>Need to balance tackling climate change with development</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>Actions taken by International Community</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>Actions taken by China to tackle climate change</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 中国政府采取了一系列措施，比如宣布2 0 2 0年单位G D P（国内生产总值）二氧化碳排放比2 0 0 5年下降4 0 %到4 5 %的目标，得到了很好的国际反响 [25, 26] The Chinese government has adopted a series of measures, such as the announcement of 2020, unit GDP (gross domestic product) carbon dioxide emissions than in 2005 fell 40% to 45% of the target, this has had a good international reaction ▪ 中国却承诺到2 0 2 0年单位G D P二氧化碳排放降低4 0 %到4 5 %，这种努力没有前提条件，也不与其他国家减排行动挂钩。从中可以看出，中国为全球应对气候变化作出了巨大努力。“中国这么做，是从我们本国利益出发，也是从全人类利益出发[43 to 46] China has promised to reduce carbon dioxide emissions per unit of GDP by 40% to 45% by 2020 without any prerequisites or linking with other countries' mitigation actions. It can be seen that China has made great efforts to tackle global climate change. "China to do so is from our own interests, but also from the interests of all mankind."
<p>China actions as part of the conference</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 何亚非对新华社记者说：“气候变化是全人类面临的挑战。中国作为一个大国，将做出努力和贡献。因此，我们在哥本哈根谈判等许多场合，都采取建设性的、积极的态度 [21, 22] Climate change is a challenge for all mankind," he told reporters on the Xinhua news agency. "As a big country, China will make efforts and make contributions, so we have adopted constructive and positive attitude in many occasions, such as the Copenhagen negotiations ▪ 他指出，中国政府高度重视本次会议，派出了以中国国家发展和改革委员会副主任解振华为团长的阵容强大的谈判队伍 [24, 25] He pointed out that the Chinese government attaches great importance to this meeting and dispatched a strong contingent of negotiators headed by Xie Zhenhua, deputy director of the National Development and Reform Commission of China ▪ 中国总理温家宝将出席哥本哈根气候大会，这是继胡锦涛主席出席联合国气候变化峰会后，中国领导人再次与各国领导

	<p>人共商应对气候变化大计的一次重要活动 [28,29] Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao will attend the Copenhagen Climate Conference, showing the importance China gives it. Chinese leaders have once again discussed with leaders on climate change, following President Hu Jintao's attendance at the United Nations Climate Change Summit</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 温总理将在哥本哈根会议上全面阐述中国政府在气候变化问题上的政策、主张和行动, 推动会议取得积极成果 [29,30] Premier Wen will comprehensively explain the Chinese government's policies, proposals and actions on climate change issues at the Copenhagen conference to promote the positive outcome of the meeting. 他说, 在下一阶段会议中, 中方会尽力积极促进各方凝聚共识、减少分歧、增强信心、加强合作, 与各方一道为推动哥本哈根会议成功继续做出努力 [48,49] He said that in the next phase of the meeting, China will make every effort to promote consensus among all parties, reduce differences, enhance confidence, strengthen cooperation and work together with all parties to promote the success of the Copenhagen Conference.
China actions to lead others	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
Views of China from other countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 得到了很好的国际反响 [25] This has had a good international reaction
Actions taken by other countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 何亚非说, 哥本哈根会议已进行一周, 取得了一些进展, 但是在一些重大问题, 特别是发达国家中期量化减排指标和向发展中国家提供资金支持等问题上, 各方分歧比较大, 原因是发达国家缺乏政治意愿 [32, 33] He Yafei said that the Copenhagen Conference has been making progress for a week, but some major issues remained, especially the developed countries emission reduction targets in the medium term and to their provision of financial support to developing countries. In these things the differences are relatively large. This is because developed country's lack the political will 他说, 发达国家作出的承诺与它们应该做的相差很远 [35] He said that the distance between developed countries promises and what they should do is large 在资金方面, 联合国的数据显示, 为应对气候变化, 发展中国家今后每年需要 1 0 0 0 亿美元, 但现在发达国家讨论的数字只有 1 0 0 亿美元, 且不愿考虑中长期问题, 这与《联合国气候变化框架公约》及其《京都议定书》的要求相差很远 [35-37] In terms of funding, UN data show that developing countries will need \$ 100 billion annually in response to climate change, but now the developed countries are discussing only \$ 10 billion and are reluctant to consider medium- and long-term issues, this varies greatly with the requirements of the Framework Convention on Change and its Kyoto Protocol 原因是发达国家缺乏政治意愿 [33] Developed countries lack the political will 何亚非特别指出, 中方算过一笔账, 从 1 9 9 0 年到 2 0 0 5 年, 发达国家单位 GDP 的二氧化碳排放只下降 2 6 %, 根据他们作出的承诺, 到 2 0 2 0 年这一指标也只会下降 3 0 % 到 4 0 % [42, 43] He Yafei pointed out that the Chinese side calculated that from 1990 to 2005, the developed country unit GDP of carbon dioxide emissions fell only 26%, according to their commitments, by 2020 this indicator will only drop 30% to 40%

1 (应对气候变化·气候大会) 专访: 为了全人类利益气候大会必须成功——访外交部副部长何亚非

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3 杨骏

4 924 words

5 14 December 2009

6 04:03

7 新华社中文新闻(简体)

8 XINCCN

9 Chinese - Simplified

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12 新华社哥本哈根 1 2 月 1 3 日电专访: 为了全人类利益气候大会必须成功——访外交部副部长何亚

13 非

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15 新华社记者杨骏 尚军

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17 “中国高度重视哥本哈根气候变化会议, 对会议取得积极成果抱有极大期望。为了全人类的利益, 哥

18 本哈根会议必须成功,”在丹麦首都哥本哈根出席联合国气候变化会议的中国外交部副部长何亚非 1

19 3 日表达了上述观点。

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21 何亚非对新华社记者说: “气候变化是全人类面临的挑战。中国作为一个大国, 将做出努力和贡献。”

22 因此，我们在哥本哈根谈判等许多场合，都采取建设性的、积极的态度。”

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24 他指出，中国政府高度重视本次会议，派出了以中国国家发展和改革委员会副主任解振华为团长的
25 阵容强大的谈判队伍。中国政府采取了一系列措施，比如宣布2020年单位GDP（国内生产总
26 值）二氧化碳排放比2005年下降40%到45%的目标，得到了很好的国际反响。

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28 中国总理温家宝将出席哥本哈根气候大会，这是继胡锦涛主席出席联合国气候变化峰会后，中国领
29 导人再次与各国领导人共商应对气候变化大计的一次重要活动。温总理将在哥本哈根会议上全面阐
30 述中国政府在气候变化问题上的政策、主张和行动，推动会议取得积极成果。

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32 何亚非说，哥本哈根会议已进行一周，取得了一些进展，但是在一些重大问题，特别是发达国家中
33 期量化减排指标和向发展中国家提供资金支持等问题上，各方分歧比较大，原因是发达国家缺乏政
34 治意愿。

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36 他说，发达国家作出的承诺与它们应该做的相差很远。在资金方面，联合国的数据显示，为应对气
37 候变化，发展中国家今后每年需要1000亿美元，但现在发达国家讨论的数字只有100亿美元
38 ，且不愿考虑中长期问题，这与《联合国气候变化框架公约》及其《京都议定书》的要求相差很远
39 。

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41 “谈判会很艰苦，目前各方也都了解了各自立场。下一阶段，需要发达国家拿出政治诚意，并转化成
42 实实在在的减排指标，”他说。

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44 何亚非特别指出，中方算过一笔账，从1990年到2005年，发达国家单位GDP的二氧化碳
45 排放只下降26%，根据他们作出的承诺，到2020年这一指标也只会下降30%到40%。中
46 国却承诺到2020年单位GDP二氧化碳排放降低40%到45%，这种努力没有前提条件，也
47 不与其他国家减排行动挂钩。从中可以看出，中国为全球应对气候变化作出了巨大努力。“中国这么
48 做，是从我们本国利益出发，也是从全人类利益出发”。

49

50 他说，在下一阶段会议中，中方会尽力积极促进各方凝聚共识、减少分歧、增强信心、加强合作，
51 与各方一道为推动哥本哈根会议成功继续做出努力。（完）

Article #72 (16 December, 2009)

General attitudes to cooperation / views about the conference	▪
Defining the problem	▪
Responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 当有记者问到日本政府就其减排 25% 提出前提条件一事时，于庆泰表示，日本政府必须考虑以下两点：首先，日本承诺的以及准备落实到行动上的目标是否真的符合其历史责任；其次，作为一个国家，一个政府，是否要讲求“言必信，行必果” When a reporter asked the Japanese government about its commitment to reduce emissions 25%, Qing Tai said that the Japanese government must consider the following two points: First, is the Japanese commitment really in line with its historical responsibility; secondly, as a country, a government, whether it has been kept its word. ▪ 他认为，根据《京都议定书》要求，发展中国家不必作出量化减排承诺，“把发展中国家的量化减排行为作为实施自己承诺的前提是错误的” [22, 23] He argues that developing countries do not have to commit to emissions reductions under the Kyoto Protocol and that it is wrong make developing countries declare their emissions reductions quantities in developing countries
Describing China's situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 一些欧盟代表认为，中国宣布的控制单位国内生产总值（GDP）二氧化碳排放行动目标其实是中国的正常排放目标. 对此，于庆泰认为，中国要实现这一减排目标面临极大挑战，一些欧盟国家代表却将这一笔抹杀，这反映了某些欧盟国家代表对中国的偏见 [25, 26] Some European countries say that China's published targets to reduce carbon emissions as a unit of GDP just represents their regular emissions targets. In this regard, Yu Qingtai argues that China's emission reductions are a challenge, some representatives of the EU countries have condemned them, which reflects the representatives of some EU countries prejudice
China's status in world	▪
How action to tackle climate change should be	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “连句道歉都没有！”于庆泰评价道。他强调，在应对气候变化问题上，发达国家应该说话算数 [17, 18] They have not issue one sentence of apology, is Qing Tai's evaluation. He emphasized that on the climate change question, developed countries should keep their word ▪ 于庆泰表示，有关气候变化问题，发展中国家及国际协定对发达国家的要求非常简单，就是“说到做到 [31] Qing Tai explained that regarding the climate change question, developing countries and the international agreement, they have very simple requirements for the developed countries “do what you say”
Need to balance tackling climate change with development	▪
Actions taken by International Community	▪
Actions taken by China to tackle climate change	▪
China actions as part of the conference	▪
China actions to lead others	▪
Views of China from other countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 一些欧盟代表认为，中国宣布的控制单位国内生产总值（GDP）二氧化碳排放行动目标其实是中国的正常排放目标. 对此，于庆泰认为，中国要实现这一减排目标面临极大挑战，一些欧盟国家代表却将这一笔抹杀，这反映了某些欧盟国家代表对中国的偏见 [25, 26] Some European countries say that China's published targets to reduce carbon emissions as a unit of GDP just represents their regular emissions targets. In this regard, Yu Qingtai argues that China's emission reductions are a challenge, some representatives of the EU countries have condemned them, which reflects the representatives of some EU countries prejudice
Actions taken by other countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 中国代表：未曾听到发达国家为没实现承诺而“道歉” [1] Chinese representative: Never heard Developed Countries apologize for not having realized their promises ▪ 一些发达国家作出了减排承诺，但其排放不降反增，连句道歉都没有，发达国家应看看自己在应对气候变化问题上，是否“言必信，行必果 [13,14] Some developed countries have made emission reduction commitments, but their emissions have not fallen and they have not apologized for this. Developed countries should look at their own in dealing with climate change, whether they have insisted on keeping their word ▪ 于庆泰在一个媒体吹风会上说，他在谈判中遇到一些发达国家代表，这些代表对他说，他们国家没实现减排承诺是事实，但“你们要接受事实” [16,17] Yu Qingtai said in a media briefing that he met some representatives of the developed countries in

	<p>the negotiations. They said that it was a fact that their country had not fulfilled the emission reduction commitments, and "you have to accept the facts"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “连句道歉都没有！”于庆泰评价道。他强调，在应对气候变化问题上，发达国家应该说话算数 [17, 18] They have not issue one sentence of apology, is Qing Tai's evaluation. He emphasized that on the climate change question, developed countries should keep their word ▪ 当有记者问到日本政府就其减排 2 5 % 提出前提条件一事时，于庆泰表示，日本政府必须考虑以下两点：首先，日本承诺的以及准备落实到行动上的目标是否真的符合其历史责任；其次，作为一个国家，一个政府，是否要讲求“言必信，行必果” When a reporter asked the Japanese government about its commitment to reduce emissions 25%, Qing Tai said that the Japanese government must consider the following two points: First, is the Japanese commitment really in line with its historical responsibility; secondly, as a country, a government, whether it has been kept its word ▪ 他认为，根据《京都议定书》要求，发展中国家不必作出量化减排承诺，“把发展中国家的量化减排行为作为实施自己承诺的前提是错误的” [22, 23] He argues that developing countries do not have to commit to emissions reductions under the Kyoto Protocol and that it is wrong make developing countries declare their emissions reductions quantities in developing countries ▪ 一些欧盟代表认为，中国宣布的控制单位国内生产总值（G D P）二氧化碳排放行动目标其实是中国的正常排放目标. 对此，于庆泰认为，中国要实现这一减排目标面临极大挑战，一些欧盟国家代表却将此一笔抹杀，这反映了某些欧盟国家代表对中国的偏见 [25, 26] Some European countries say that China's published targets to reduce carbon emissions as a unit of GDP just represents their regular emissions targets. In this regard, Yu Qingtai argues that China's emission reductions are a challenge, some representatives of the EU countries have condemned them, which reflects the representatives of some EU countries prejudice ▪ “我建议那些不公平看待中国的欧盟国家代表，看看自己国家的承诺做得怎样，是否做到了”。他说，十多年的气候谈判，发达国家实际行动非常少 [28, 29] ”I suggest that EU representatives who unfairly treat China should see how their country's commitments are being carried out." He said in more than 10 years of climate negotiations, developed countries had made very little practical action
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1 应对气候变化·气候大会) 中国代表：未曾听到发达国家为没实现承诺而“道歉”

2

3 杨骏

4 606 words

5 16 December 2009

6 05:26

7 新华社中文新闻 (简体)

8 XINCCN

9 Chinese - Simplified

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11

12 新华社哥本哈根 1 2 月 1 5 日电（记者杨骏 黄堃）正在哥本哈根参加气候变化大会的中国外交部气

13 候变化谈判特别代表、中国代表团副团长于庆泰日前说，一些发达国家作出了减排承诺，但其排放

14 不降反增，连句道歉都没有，发达国家应看看自己在应对气候变化问题上，是否“言必信，行必果”

15

16

17 于庆泰在一个媒体吹风会上说，他在谈判中遇到一些发达国家代表，这些代表对他说，他们国家没

18 实现减排承诺是事实，但“你们要接受事实”。“连句道歉都没有！”于庆泰评价道。他强调，在应对

19 气候变化问题上，发达国家应该说话算数。

20

21 当有记者问到日本政府就其减排 2 5 % 提出前提条件一事时，于庆泰表示，日本政府必须考虑以下

22 两点：首先，日本承诺的以及准备落实到行动上的目标是否真的符合其历史责任；其次，作为一个

23 国家，一个政府，是否要讲求“言必信，行必果”。他认为，根据《京都议定书》要求，发展中国家

24 不必作出量化减排承诺，“把发展中国家的量化减排行为作为实施自己承诺的前提是错误的”。

25

26 一些欧盟代表认为，中国宣布的控制单位国内生产总值（G D P）二氧化碳排放行动目标其实是中

27 国的正常排放目标。对此，于庆泰认为，中国要实现这一减排目标面临极大挑战，一些欧盟国家代
28 表却将此一笔抹杀，这反映了某些欧盟国家代表对中国的偏见、不公正以及双重标准。“我建议那些
29 不公平看待中国的欧盟国家代表，看看自己国家的承诺做得怎样，是否做到了”。他说，十多年的气
30 候谈判，发达国家实际行动非常少。
31
32 于庆泰表示，有关气候变化问题，发展中国家及国际协定对发达国家的要求非常简单，就是“说到做
33 到”。（完）

Article #33 (18 December, 2009)

General attitudes to cooperation / views about the conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 无论会议成果如何，中国都坚定不移地为应对气候变化作出不懈努力和积极贡献 [17] Regardless of the outcomes of the Conference, China is unswervingly committed to making a positive contribution to addressing climate change ▪ 我们言必信、行必果，无论本次会议达成什么成果，都将坚定不移地为实现、甚至超过这个目标而努力 [68, 69] We will make every effort to achieve or even surpass this goal, regardless of the outcome of this meeting.
Defining the problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 温家宝说，气候变化是当今全球面临的重大挑战 [24] Wen Jiabao said that climate change is a major challenge facing the world today
Responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 温家宝说，气候变化是当今全球面临的重大挑战 [24] Wen Jiabao said that climate change is a major challenge facing the world today ▪ 遏制气候变暖，拯救地球家园，是全人类共同的使命，每个国家和民族，每个企业和个人，都应当责无旁贷地行动起来 [24, 25] It is the common mission of all mankind to curb climate warming and save the planet's home. Every country and nation, every enterprise and individual should act responsibly and unshirkably. ▪ 中国在发展的进程中高度重视气候变化问题 [25] China, in the middle of its development process, attaches great importance to the issue of climate change ▪ 第二，坚持规则的公平性。“共同但有区别的责任”原则是国际合作应对气候变化的核心和基石，应当始终坚持 [55, 56] Second, insist on the fairness of rules. The principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" is the core and cornerstone of international cooperation in coping with climate change and should always be adhered to ▪ 发达国家必须率先大幅量化减排并向发展中国家提供资金和技术支持，这是不可推卸的道义责任，也是必须履行的法律义务 [56, 57] Developed countries must take the lead in quantifying emissions reductions and providing financial and technical support to developing countries, which is an inescapable moral obligation and a legal obligation ▪ 发展中国家应根据本国国情，在发达国家资金和技术转让支持下，尽可能减缓温室气体排放，适应气候变化 [57,58] Developing countries should mitigate greenhouse gas emissions and adapt to climate change as much as possible, in line with national circumstances and with the support of capital and technology transfer from developed countries ▪ 促使发达国家兑现承诺，向发展中国家持续提供充足的资金支持 [63] developed countries to fulfill their commitments to developing countries continue to provide adequate financial support to accelerate the transfer of climate-friendly technologies to effectively help developing countries ▪ 温家宝最后强调，中国政府确定减缓温室气体排放的目标是中国根据国情采取的自主行动，是对中国人民和全人类负责的，不附加任何条件，不与任何国家的减排目标挂钩 [67,68] Finally, Wen stressed that the Chinese government's goal of mitigating greenhouse gas emissions is China's self-determined action on the basis of its national conditions and is accountable to the Chinese people and all humankind <u>without any conditions attached to any country's emission reduction targets</u>
China's status in world	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
Describing China's situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 中国在发展的进程中高度重视气候变化问题 [25] China, in the middle of its development process, attaches great importance to the issue of climate change ▪ 温家宝表示，中国有 13 亿人口，人均国内生产总值刚刚超过 3000 美元，按照联合国标准，还有 1.5 亿人生活在贫困线以下，发展经济、改善民生的任务十分艰巨 [40,41] China has a population of 1.3 billion with a per capita GDP of just over US \$ 3,000. According to UN standards, 150 million people live below the poverty line, and the task of developing the economy and improving people's livelihood is arduous. ▪ 中国正处在工业化、城镇化快速发展的关键阶段，能源结构以煤为主，降低排放存在特殊困难 [41, 42] China is at a critical stage of rapid industrialization and urbanization, with coal-based energy structures and special difficulties in reducing emissions.
How action to tackle climate change should be	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 温家宝强调，应对气候变化需要国际社会坚定信心，凝聚共识，积极努力，加强合作。必须始终牢牢把握以下几点 [49, 50] Wen Jiabao stressed that tackling climate change requires the international community to strengthen confidence, cohesion, positive efforts and cooperation. Must always firmly grasp the following points ▪ 第一，保持成果的一致性。本次会议的成果必须坚持而不能模糊公约及其议定书的基本原则，必须遵循而不能偏离“巴厘路线图”的授权，必须锁定而不能否定业已达成的共识和谈判取得的进展 [52,53] First, keep the results consistent. The results of this meeting must be upheld without undermining the fundamental principles of the Convention and its Protocols, must be followed without derogating from the mandate of the Bali Roadmap, must be locked and not negated by the consensus reached and negotiated progress ▪ 第二，坚持规则的公平性。“共同但有区别的责任”原则是国际合作应对气候变化的核心和基石，应当始终坚持 [55, 56] Second, insist on the fairness of rules. The principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" is the core and cornerstone of international cooperation in coping with climate change and should always be adhered to ▪ 第三，注重目标的合理性。应对气候变化既要着眼长远，更要立足当前。确定一个长远的努力方向是必要的，更重要的是把重点放在完成近期和中期减排目标上，放在兑现业已做出的承诺上，放在行动上 [60, 61] Climate change should not only focus on long-term, but also be based on the current situation. It is necessary to identify a long-term direction and, above all, to focus on achieving near-term and medium-term emission reduction targets, on the commitments already made and in action

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 第四，确保机制的有效性。国际社会要在公约框架下做出切实有效的制度安排，促使发达国家兑现承诺，向发展中国家持续提供充足的资金支持，加快转让气候友好技术，有效帮助发展中国家、特别是小岛屿国家、最不发达国家、内陆国家、非洲国家加强应对气候变化的能力建设 [63, 65] Fourth, ensure the effectiveness of the mechanisms. The international community needs to make effective institutional arrangements within the framework of the Convention to promote the developed countries to fulfill their commitments to developing countries continue to provide adequate financial support to accelerate the transfer of climate-friendly technologies to effectively help developing countries, especially small island countries, least developed countries, landlocked countries and African countries to strengthen their capacity to address climate change ▪ 温家宝最后强调，中国政府确定减缓温室气体排放的目标是中国根据国情采取的自主行动 [67] Wen Jiabao concludes that the Chinese government's goal of mitigating greenhouse gas emissions is China's self-determined action on the basis of its national conditions
Need to balance tackling climate change with development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
Actions taken by International Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 新华社哥本哈根 12 月 18 日电（记者田帆 赵承）哥本哈根气候变化会议领导人会议 18 日在丹麦举行。100 多个国家的领导人以及联合国及其专门机构等国际组织负责人出席了会议 [18] The leaders of more than 100 countries and the heads of international organizations such as the United Nations and its specialized agencies attended the meeting
Actions taken by China to tackle climate change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 无论会议成果如何，中国都坚定不移地为应对气候变化作出不懈努力和积极贡献 [17] Regardless of the outcomes of the Conference, China is unswervingly committed to making a positive contribution to addressing climate change ▪ 中国国务院总理温家宝与会并发表了题为《凝聚共识 加强合作 推进应对气候变化历史进程》的重要讲话（全文另发），全面阐述中国政府应对气候变化问题的立场、主张和举措 [20-22] Wen Jiabao, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, attended the meeting and delivered an important speech entitled "Consolidating Consensus to Strengthen Cooperation to Promote the Historical Process of Climate Change" (full text separately), comprehensively expounding the Chinese government's position, proposition and initiatives on tackling climate change ▪ 中国在发展的进程中高度重视气候变化问题，从中国人民和人类长远发展的根本利益出发，为应对气候变化做出了不懈努力和积极贡献 [25-26] China, in the middle of its development process, attaches great importance to the issue of climate change and has made unremitting efforts and active contributions to tackling climate change from the fundamental interests of the Chinese people and the long-term development of mankind ▪ 中国是最早制定实施《应对气候变化国家方案》的发展中国家。近年来制定了一系列法律法规，把法制作为应对气候变化的重要手段 [28, 29] China is the first developing country to implement the National Climate Change Program. In recent years, a series of laws and regulations have been formulated to make the rule of law an important means to deal with climate change ▪ 中国是近年来节能减排力度最大的国家。截至今年上半年，中国单位国内生产总值能耗比 2005 年降低 13%，相当于少排放 8 亿吨二氧化碳 [31, 32] China is the most energy-saving and emission-reducing country in recent years. As of the first half of this year, China's energy consumption per unit of GDP fell by 13% compared with 2005, equivalent to 800 million tons less emissions of carbon dioxide ▪ 中国是新能源和可再生能源增长速度最快的国家。水电装机容量、核电在建规模、太阳能热水器集热面积和光伏发电容量均居世界第一位 [34, 35] China is the fastest growing country in terms of new energy and renewable energy. Hydropower installed capacity, nuclear power construction scale, solar water heater collector area and photovoltaic power generation capacity ranks first in the world ▪ 中国是世界人工造林面积最大的国家。我们持续大规模开展退耕还林和植树造林。目前人工造林面积达 5400 万公顷，居世界第一 [37, 38] China is the largest country in the world for artificial afforestation. We continue to carry out large-scale conversion of cropland to forest and afforestation. The current afforested area of 54 million hectares, ranking first in the world ▪ 降低排放存在特殊困难。但是，我们始终把应对气候变化作为重要战略任务。1990 至 2005 年，单位国内生产总值二氧化碳排放强度下降 46% [42,43] There are special difficulties in reducing emissions. However, we always take climate change as an important strategic task. Between 1990 and 2005, the intensity of carbon dioxide emissions per unit of gross domestic product (GDP) fell by 46 per cent. ▪ 在此基础上，我们又提出，到 2020 年单位国内生产总值二氧化碳排放比 2005 年下降 40% 至 45%。在如此长时间内这样大规模降低二氧化碳排放，需要付出艰苦卓绝的努力。我们的减排目标将作为约束性指标纳入中长期规划，保证承诺的执行受到法律和舆论的监督。我们将进一步完善国内统计、监测、考核办法，改进减排信息的披露方式，增加透明度，积极开展国际交流、对话与合作 [43,47] On this basis, we also propose that by 2020 carbon dioxide emissions per unit of GDP than in 2005 decreased by 40% to 45%. Such a large-scale reduction of carbon dioxide emissions in such a long time, need to pay arduous efforts. Our emission reduction targets will be included as binding targets in the medium and long-term planning, commitment to ensure the implementation by the law and public opinion. We will further improve domestic statistical, monitoring and evaluation methods, improve disclosure of emission reduction information, increase transparency, actively carry out international exchanges, dialogue and cooperation ▪ 我们言必信、行必果，无论本次会议达成什么成果，都将坚定不移地为实现、甚至超过这个目标而努力 [68, 69] We will make every effort to achieve or even surpass this goal, regardless of the outcome of this meeting.
China actions as part of the	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪

conference	
China actions to lead others	▪
Views of China from other countries	▪
Actions taken by other countries	▪

1 (出访) 全面阐述中国政府的立场主张温家宝出席哥本哈根气候变化会议领导人会议 (因标题超长
2 , 以电头前标题为准)

3

4 胡冠

5 1,475 words

6 18 December 2009

7 17:35

8 新华社中文新闻 (简体)

9 XINCCN

10 Chinese - Simplified

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12

13 (出访) 全面阐述中国政府的立场主张

14

15 温家宝出席哥本哈根气候变化会议领导人会议

16

17 无论会议成果如何, 中国都坚定不移地为应对气候变化作出不懈努力和积极贡献

18

19 新华社哥本哈根 12 月 18 日电 (记者田帆 赵承) 哥本哈根气候变化会议领导人会议 18 日在丹麦
20 举行。100 多个国家的领导人以及联合国及其专门机构等国际组织负责人出席了会议。中国国务
21 院总理温家宝与会并发表了题为《凝聚共识 加强合作 推进应对气候变化历史进程》的重要讲话 (全
22 文另发), 全面阐述中国政府应对气候变化问题的立场、主张和举措。

23

24 温家宝说, 气候变化是当今全球面临的重大挑战。遏制气候变暖, 拯救地球家园, 是全人类共同的
25 使命, 每个国家和民族, 每个企业和个人, 都应当责无旁贷地行动起来。中国在发展的进程中高度
26 重视气候变化问题, 从中国人民和人类长远发展的根本利益出发, 为应对气候变化做出了不懈努力和
27 积极贡献。

28

29 ——中国是最早制定实施《应对气候变化国家方案》的发展中国家。近年来制定了一系列法律法规
30 , 把法制作作为应对气候变化的重要手段。

31

32 ——中国是近年来节能减排力度最大的国家。截至今年上半年, 中国单位国内生产总值能耗比 20
33 05 年降低 13%, 相当于少排放 8 亿吨二氧化碳。

34

35 ——中国是新能源和可再生能源增长速度最快的国家。水电装机容量、核电在建规模、太阳能热水
36 器集热面积和光伏发电容量均居世界第一位。

37

38 ——中国是世界人工造林面积最大的国家。我们持续大规模开展退耕还林和植树造林。目前人工造

39 林面积达5400万公顷，居世界第一。

40

41 温家宝表示，中国有13亿人口，人均国内生产总值刚刚超过3000美元，按照联合国标准，还
42 有1.5亿人生活在贫困线以下，发展经济、改善民生的任务十分艰巨。中国正处在工业化、城镇
43 化快速发展的关键阶段，能源结构以煤为主，降低排放存在特殊困难。但是，我们始终把应对气候
44 变化作为重要战略任务。1990至2005年，单位国内生产总值二氧化碳排放强度下降46%
45 。在此基础上，我们又提出，到2020年单位国内生产总值二氧化碳排放比2005年下降40
46 %至45%。在如此长时间内这样大规模降低二氧化碳排放，需要付出艰苦卓绝的努力。我们的减
47 排目标将作为约束性指标纳入中长期规划，保证承诺的执行受到法律和舆论的监督。我们将进一步
48 完善国内统计、监测、考核办法，改进减排信息的披露方式，增加透明度，积极开展国际交流、对
49 话与合作。

50

51 温家宝强调，应对气候变化需要国际社会坚定信心，凝聚共识，积极努力，加强合作。必须始终牢
52 牢把握以下几点：

53

54 第一，保持成果的一致性。本次会议的成果必须坚持而不能模糊公约及其议定书的基本原则，必须
55 遵循而不能偏离“巴厘路线图”的授权，必须锁定而不能否定业已达成的共识和谈判取得的进展。

56

57 第二，坚持规则的公平性。“共同但有区别的责任”原则是国际合作应对气候变化的核心和基石，应
58 当始终坚持。发达国家必须率先大幅量化减排并向发展中国家提供资金和技术支持，这是不可推卸
59 的道义责任，也是必须履行的法律义务。发展中国家应根据本国国情，在发达国家资金和技术转让
60 支持下，尽可能减缓温室气体排放，适应气候变化。

61

62 第三，注重目标的合理性。应对气候变化既要着眼长远，更要立足当前。确定一个长远的努力方向
63 是必要的，更重要的是把重点放在完成近期和中期减排目标上，放在兑现业已做出的承诺上，放在
64 行动上。

65

66 第四，确保机制的有效性。国际社会要在公约框架下做出切实有效的制度安排，促使发达国家兑现
67 承诺，向发展中国家持续提供充足的资金支持，加快转让气候友好技术，有效帮助发展中国家、特
68 别是小岛屿国家、最不发达国家、内陆国家、非洲国家加强应对气候变化的能力建设。

69

70 温家宝最后强调，中国政府确定减缓温室气体排放的目标是中国根据国情采取的自主行动，是对中
71 国人民和全人类负责的，不附加任何条件，不与任何国家的减排目标挂钩。我们言必信、行必果，
72 无论本次会议达成什么成果，都将坚定不移地为实现、甚至超过这个目标而努力。（完）

Article #7 (23 December, 2009)

<p>General attitudes to cooperation / views about the conference</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 综合消息：国际社会持续关注哥本哈根气候大会及《哥本哈根协议》 [1] Comprehensive news: The international community continues to focus on the Copenhagen climate conference and the Copenhagen Accord ▪ 尽管大会已于 1 9 日闭幕，但国际社会连日来仍持续关注气候变化问题，不断就相关话题发表看法 [13, 14] Although the conference closed on the 19th, the international community continues to pay close attention to related issues ▪ 尽管有些国家对哥本哈根会议的成果不太满意，但是“我们必须以现实的态度来看待会议的成果”，这是各方经过艰苦谈判取得的成果，“确实具有积极意义” [17, 18] Although some countries are not satisfied with the outcome of the Copenhagen Conference, we must regard the outcome of the conference in a realistic manner and see it as the result of hard negotiations and positive ▪ 国际能源机构 2 2 日发表公报，对《哥本哈根协议》的达成表示欢迎，称该协议为下一步的气候变化谈判提供了指导。公报说，《哥本哈根协议》呼吁发达国家作出承诺，从财政上支持发展中国家适应气候变化 [20-22] The International Energy Agency issued a statement on Tuesday welcoming the Copenhagen Accord, saying it provides guidance for the next phase of climate change negotiations. The Copenhagen Accord calls on developed countries to make commitments to financially support developing countries in adapting to climate change ▪ 代表巴西参加哥本哈根气候变化谈判的迪尔玛·罗塞芙表示，哥本哈根大会是解决气候问题的重要途径 [25] Dilma Rousseff, who represented Brazil at the Copenhagen climate change talks, said the Copenhagen conference was an important way to tackle the climate problem [25] ▪ 美国进步中心高级政策分析师黄立安认为，《哥本哈根协议》至少有三个原因令人乐观：中国、印度等主要发展中国家首次在国际协议中承诺采取减缓行动 [29, 30] Huang Lician, a senior policy analyst at the Center for American Progress, believes that the Copenhagen Accord is optimistic for at least three reasons: major developing countries like China and India are committed to mitigation actions for the first time in international agreements
<p>Defining the problem</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>Responsibility</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 国际能源机构 2 2 日发表公报，对《哥本哈根协议》的达成表示欢迎，称该协议为下一步的气候变化谈判提供了指导。公报说，《哥本哈根协议》呼吁发达国家作出承诺，从财政上支持发展中国家适应气候变化 [20-22] The International Energy Agency issued a statement on Tuesday welcoming the Copenhagen Accord, saying it provides guidance for the next phase of climate change negotiations. The Copenhagen Accord calls on developed countries to make commitments to financially support developing countries in adapting to climate change ▪ 国际能源机构估计，发展中国家每年约需 2 0 0 0 亿美元的投资，才能在 2 0 2 0 年前建立起一套对碳依赖相对较小的能源体系，而发达国家在协议中承诺的资金援助将有助于实现这一目标 [22, 23] The International Energy Agency estimates that developing countries will need about \$ 200 billion a year to establish systems to tackle their carbon dependency, and the financial commitments committed by the developed countries in the agreement will help to achieve this goal ▪ 协议对“透明度”等焦点问题作出规定：协议规定了发达国家要承担向发展中国家、特别是受气候变化影响最严重的国家以及穷国提供财政援助的义务 [30, 31] The agreement sets out the obligations of developed countries to provide financial assistance to developing countries, in particular those most affected by climate change, and to poor countries
<p>Describing China's situation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>China's status in world</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>How action to tackle climate change should be</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>Need to balance tackling climate change with development</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 中国在建设富足社会的同时实现减少排放 [37] China is building a prosperous society at the same time as reducing its emissions
<p>Actions taken by International Community</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 联合国气候变化大会经过各方艰苦磋商和共同努力，最后发表了《哥本哈根协议》 [12, 13] The United Nations Climate Change Conference, through all the hard work and concerted efforts, finally published the Copenhagen Accord ▪ 第 6 4 届联合国大会主席阿裏·图裏塞 2 2 日说，《哥本哈根协议》的达成是联合国气候变化大会取得进展的重要标志 [16,17] The 64th UN General Assembly President said the "Copenhagen Accord" is the United Nations Climate Change Conference is an important sign of progress
<p>Actions taken by China to tackle climate change</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 她说，哥本哈根大会期间，中国、印度、南非和巴西代表举行的“基础四国”会谈“富有成效”，四国互相尊重，本着解决气候问题的目的交换意见，中国提出了积极的减排目标 [26, 27] She said that during the Copenhagen conference, the talks held by China, India, South Africa and Brazil were "fruitful" and the four countries had respected each other and exchanged views on solving the climate problem. China has made positive emission reduction targets
<p>China actions as part of the conference</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>China actions to</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 他表示，中国在哥本哈根大会期间发挥了积极的、建设性作用。例如，中国一直大力推动发达国家立即向小岛国以及最

lead others	不发达国家等最易受气候变化影响的发展中国家提供财政援助 [32, 33] He said that China played an active and constructive role during the Copenhagen Conference. For example, China has been pushing for developed countries to provide immediate financial assistance to small island developing States, such as small island developing states and least developed countries, which are most vulnerable to climate change
Views of China from other countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ (Rousseff said) 中国提出了积极的减排目标 [26] China has made positive emission reduction targets ▪ 美国进步中心高级政策分析师黄立安认为,《哥本哈根协议》至少有三个原因令人乐观:中国、印度等主要发展中国家首次在国际协议中承诺采取减缓行动 [29, 30] Huang Lician, a senior policy analyst at the Center for American Progress, believes that the Copenhagen Accord is optimistic for at least three reasons: major developing countries like China and India are committed to mitigation actions for the first time in international agreements ▪ 他表示,中国在哥本哈根大会期间发挥了积极的、建设性作用。例如,中国一直大力推动发达国家立即向小岛国以及最不发达国家等最易受气候变化影响的发展中国家提供财政援助 [32, 33] He said that China played an active and constructive role during the Copenhagen Conference. For example, China has been pushing for developed countries to provide immediate financial assistance to small island developing States, such as small island developing states and least developed countries, which are most vulnerable to climate change ▪ 针对日前有关中国“劫持”哥本哈根气候变化大会谈判进程的言论,挪威气候研究中心主任克努特·阿尔夫桑说,这一说法“有失公允”。在应对气候变化方面,“中国做得比美国好多了”。他认为,中国宣布的温室气体减排目标是“一个雄心勃勃的目标”,中国在建设富足社会的同时实现减少排放,“把矛头指向中国是不对的” [35- 38] Regarding comments about China's "hijacking" of the Copenhagen climate change talks, Knut Alfussan, director of the Norwegian Center for Climate Studies, said the statement was "unfair". In dealing with climate change, "China has done much better than the United States." He believes that China's announcement of greenhouse gas emission reduction targets is "an ambitious goal," China's building a prosperous society at the same time to achieve emission reductions, attacking China is wrong ▪ 挪威环境与外援大臣埃里克·索尔海姆日前也表示,哥本哈根气候变化大会未能达成具有约束力的协议,不能归咎于中国 [40, 41] Erik Solheim, Norwegian environmental and foreign aid minister, also said that the Copenhagen climate change conference failed to reach a binding agreement that can not be attributed to China
Actions taken by other countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 国际能源机构估计,发展中国家每年约需 2 0 0 0 亿美元的投资,才能在 2 0 2 0 年前建立起一套对碳依赖相对较小的能源体系,而发达国家在协议中承诺的资金援助将有助于实现这一目标 [22, 23] The International Energy Agency estimates that developing countries will need about \$ 200 billion a year to establish systems to tackle their carbon dependency, and the financial commitments committed by the developed countries in the agreement will help to achieve this goal

1 (应对气候变化) 综合消息: 国际社会持续关注哥本哈根气候大会及《哥本哈根协议》

2

3 王丹丹

4 884 words

5 23 December 2009

6 17:10

7 新华社中文新闻(简体)

8 XINCCN

9 Chinese - Simplified

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11

12 新华社北京 1 2 月 2 3 日电综合新华社记者驻外报道: 联合国气候变化大会经过各方艰苦磋商和共
13 同努力, 最后发表了《哥本哈根协议》。尽管大会已于 1 9 日闭幕, 但国际社会连日来仍持续关注
14 气候变化问题, 不断就相关话题发表看法。

15

16 第 6 4 届联合国大会主席阿裏·图裏基 2 2 日说, 《哥本哈根协议》的达成是联合国气候变化大会取
17 得进展的重要标志。尽管有些国家对哥本哈根会议的成果不太满意, 但是“我们必须以现实的态度来
18 看待会议的成果”, 这是各方经过艰苦谈判取得的成果, “确实具有积极意义”。

19

20 国际能源机构 2 2 日发表公报, 对《哥本哈根协议》的达成表示欢迎, 称该协议为下一步的气候变
21 化谈判提供了指导。公报说, 《哥本哈根协议》呼吁发达国家作出承诺, 从财政上支持发展中国家
22 适应气候变化。国际能源机构估计, 发展中国家每年约需 2 0 0 0 亿美元的投资, 才能在 2 0 2 0

23 年前建立起一套对碳依赖相对较小的能源体系，而发达国家在协议中承诺的资金援助将有助于实现
24 这一目标。

25
26 代表巴西参加哥本哈根气候变化谈判的迪尔玛·罗塞芙表示，哥本哈根大会是解决气候问题的重要途径。
27 她说，哥本哈根大会期间，中国、印度、南非和巴西代表举行的“基础四国”会谈“富有成效”，
28 四国互相尊重，本着解决气候问题的目的交换意见，中国提出了积极的减排目标。

29
30 美国进步中心高级政策分析师黄立安认为，《哥本哈根协议》至少有三个原因令人乐观：中国、印
31 度等主要发展中国家首次在国际协议中承诺采取减缓行动；协议对“透明度”等焦点问题作出规定；
32 协议规定了发达国家要承担向发展中国家、特别是受气候变化影响最严重的国家以及穷国提供财政
33 援助的义务。他表示，中国在哥本哈根大会期间发挥了积极的、建设性作用。例如，中国一直大力
34 推动发达国家立即向小岛国以及最不发达国家等最易受气候变化影响的发展中国家提供财政援助。

35
36 针对日前有关中国“劫持”哥本哈根气候变化大会谈判进程的言论，挪威气候研究中心主任克努特·阿
37 尔夫桑说，这一说法“有失公允”。在应对气候变化方面，“中国做得比美国好多了”。他认为，中国
38 宣布的温室气体减排目标是“一个雄心勃勃的目标”，中国在建设富足社会的同时实现减少排放，“把
39 矛头指向中国是不对的”。

40
41 挪威环境与外援大臣埃里克·索尔海姆日前也表示，哥本哈根气候变化大会未能达成具有约束力的协
42 议，不能归咎于中国。（完）

Article #129 (25 November, 2009)

General attitudes to cooperation /views about the conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 如今的中国已做好充分准备, 积极投身有关气候问题的国际谈判, 并为推动谈判的成功贡献力量 [65, 66] China today is well prepared to take an active part in international negotiations on climate issues and to contribute to the success of the negotiations
Defining the problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
Responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 在主动承担国际责任, 积极参与国际对话, 支持发展中国家应对气候变化 [21] it has taken the initiative to adopt on international responsibility, actively participated in international dialogue, supported developing countries to cope with climate ▪ 积极应对气候变化, 既是一个负责任大国应尽的义务 [47] To actively respond to climate change is a responsible big country's obligation ▪ 气候变化是一项全球性威胁, 关系到世界各国的切实利益 [59] Climate change is a global threat that affects the tangible benefits of countries around the world ▪ 中方愿意按照“共同但有区别的责任”原则、公平原则和各自能力原则 [61,62] China is willing to [take action] in accordance with the "common but differentiated responsibilities" principle, the principle of fairness and the principle of their ability
China's status in world	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 全球应对气候变化的重要参与者 [18] An important participant in the whole world response to climate change ▪ 作为最大的发展中国家 [21] Behaving as the biggest of the developing countries ▪ 支持发展中国家应对气候变化 [21] Supported developing countries responses to climate change ▪ 作为世界第二大经济体、最大的发展中国家, 中国在全球国际事务中的影响力与日俱增。因此, 法国作为巴黎气候变化大会的主办国, 期待中国为大会的成功提供支持 [37] Acting as the world's second largest economy, and biggest developing country, China's influence over these kinds of world affairs increases everyday. Therefore, France, as host of the Paris Climate Change Conference, looks forward to China's support for the success of the Conference ▪ 法国总统奥朗德表示, 中国将在巴黎气候变化大会中扮演“重要角色” [40] The French president explained, China will play an important role in Paris
Describing China's situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 最大的发展中国家 [21] The biggest of the developing countries ▪ 作为世界第二大经济体、最大的发展中国家 [37] Behaving as the world's second largest economy, and biggest developing country ▪ 积极应对气候变化, 既是一个负责任大国应尽的义务, 也符合中国当前自身发展的迫切需要 [47] Actively responding to climate change is both an obligation of a responsible big power and an urgent need for China's current self-development
How action to tackle climate change should be	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 旨在努力达成一项“全面、均衡、有力度”的协议 [17, 18] aim to strive to create a comprehensive, balanced, effective, resolution ▪ 中国支持定期盘点包括减排在内的相关长期目标的实施进展, 也表明其有能力与自信进行气候变化治理 [44, 45] China supports the progress of the implementation of relevant long-term goals, including emissions reductions, and demonstrates its ability and confidence to undertake climate change governance ▪ 中国支持巴黎气候变化大会达成一份全面、均衡、有力度的协议, 主张协议应以《公约》及其《京都议定书》为基础 [59,60] China supports the Paris Climate Change Conference to reach a comprehensive, balanced and robust agreement based on the Convention and its Kyoto Protocol. ▪ 构建公平合理的国际气候制度 [62] Build a fair and reasonable climate regime
Need to balance tackling climate change with development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 正如法国国际关系研究所能源中心主任玛丽-克莱尔·奥恩所说, 近年来, 中国的确将治理环境放到了同发展经济、消除贫困同等重要的位置 [64, 65] As Marie Claire Orne, director of the Center for Energy Research at the Institute for International Relations in France, says, China has in recent years placed the governance environment on par with the development of the economy and the eradication of poverty
Actions taken by International Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
Actions taken by China to tackle climate change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 作为最大的发展中国家, 中国不仅在本国环境治理、节能减排、发展绿色低碳技术等方面取得骄人成绩, 在主动承担国际责任, 积极参与国际对话, 支持发展中国家应对气候变化, 推动全球气候谈判、促进新气候协议的达成等方面也做出了积极贡献 [21] As the largest developing country, China has not only made remarkable achievements in environmental governance, energy saving and emission reduction, and development of green low-carbon technologies, it has taken the initiative to adopt on international responsibility, actively participated in international dialogue, supported developing countries to cope with climate change and promoted Global climate negotiations, the promotion of new climate agreement and made a positive contribution ▪ 从 2014 年底中美两国签署气候变化联合声明, 到今年中国向联合国提交应对气候变化“国家自主贡献”文件, 并先后与印度、巴西、欧盟、美国、法国等国家和地区就气候变化发表联合声明 [25- 27] At the end of 2014, China and the United

	<p>States signed the Joint Declaration on Climate Change, and this year China submitted to the United Nations the "National Self-Contribution" document to the United Nations, and successively published joint statements with India, Brazil, the European Union, the United States, France and other countries and regions on climate change</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 她说中国在“国家自主贡献”文件中确定，在2030年前后使其温室气体排放达到峰值，计划于2017年启动全国碳排放交易体系，并把应对气候变化的行动列入“十三五”发展规划中 [33, 34] She said that China in its "national self-contribution" document determine by 2030 to peak its greenhouse gas emissions, and scheduled to start a national carbon emissions trading system in 2017, and to address climate change in its 13th five year plan. 目前，中国已成为世界节能和利用新能源、可再生能源的第一大国。2014年，中国单位国内生产总值能耗和二氧化碳排放分别比2005年下降29.9%和33.8% [48, 49] At present, China has become the world's energy and the use of new energy, renewable energy, the first country. In 2014, China's energy consumption per unit of GDP and carbon dioxide emissions decreased by 29.9% and 33.8%, respectively 日前发布的《中国应对气候变化的政策与行动2015年度报告》说 [61] Currently, [China has] published <China's policy regarding climate change 2015 report> which states
China actions as part of the conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 作为全球应对气候变化的重要参与者，中国正在为这一“富有雄心”的目标做出贡献 [18] As an important participant in the global response to climate change, China is contributing to this "ambitious" goal
China actions to lead others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 接连向世界传递出强有力的政治信号，表明其坚持走绿色、低碳、可持续发展道路的决心 [27] Broadcast to the world a strong political signal, declaring its resolve to continue to follow a green, low carbon, sustainable road 在今年9月发表的《中美元首气候变化联合声明》中，中国宣布出资200亿元人民币建立“中国气候变化南南合作基金”，帮助其他发展中国家应对气候变化 [54, 55] In the Joint Statement on Sino-US Heads of State Climate Change published in September this year, China announced that it would invest 20 billion yuan to establish the China South-South Cooperation Fund for Climate Change to help other developing countries cope with climate change 在气候治理问题上，中国在加速本国发展的同时始终不忘向广大经济、资源、技术水准较为落后的国家和地区提供力所能及的支持 [50, 51] On the issue of climate governance, while accelerating China's development, China has always been able to provide assistance to less developed countries and regions 作为最大的发展中国家，中国不仅在本国环境治理、节能减排、发展绿色低碳技术等方面取得骄人成绩，在主动承担国际责任，积极参与国际对话，支持发展中国家应对气候变化，推动全球气候谈判、促进新气候协议的达成等方面也做出了积极贡献 [21] As the largest developing country, China has not only made remarkable achievements in environmental governance, energy saving and emission reduction, and development of green low-carbon technologies, it has taken the initiative to adopt on international responsibility, actively participated in international dialogue, supported developing countries to cope with climate change and promoted Global climate negotiations, the promotion of new climate agreement and made a positive contribution
Views of China from other countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 获得广泛赞誉 [28] (China) has gained extensive honour 《公约》秘书处执行秘书菲格雷斯日前在一次记者会上回答“哪个国家应对气候变化的行动可称榜样”的问题时指出，中国采取了“令人印象非常深刻的”应对气候变化行动，具有榜样意义[30,31] The Secretary-General of the UNFCCC Executive Secretary, Figueres, said at a press conference on the question of "which country can act as a model for addressing climate change" that China had adopted a "very impressive response to climate change" and could be a role model 这些都表明，中国在对待气候变化问题上“非常非常认真” [35] She said... these all show, China is extremely extremely serious about tackling climate change 不少国家和国际机构，特别是发展中国家人士对此非常赞赏，认为中国这一举措对世界应对气候变化做出了贡献，展现了其勇于承担国际责任、履行国际义务的大国风范，给其他国家尤其是发达国家做出了榜样 [55-57] Many countries and international organizations, and particularly public figures in developing countries really acknowledge, believe China in taking this step making a commitment to tackle global climate change, reveals its as courageously undertaking international responsibility, showing the conduct of a big country and setting an example to other developed nations. 法国国际关系研究所能源中心主任玛丽-克萊尔·奥恩所说，近年来，中国的确将治理环境放到了同发展经济、消除贫困同等重要的位置 [64, 65] As Marie Claire Orne, director of the Center for Energy Research at the Institute for International Relations in France, says, China has in recent years placed the governance environment on par with the development of the economy and the eradication of poverty
Actions taken by other countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none">

1 (巴黎气候变化大会) 新闻分析：中国为应对全球气候变化做出贡献

2

3 张雪飞

4 1,360 words

5 25 November 2015

6 06:47

7 新华社中文新闻(简体)

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11
12 新华社巴黎 1 月 24 日电新闻分析：中国为应对全球气候变化做出贡献

13
14 新华社记者张雪飞 应强 韩冰

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16 将于 30 日开幕的《联合国气候变化框架公约》（以下简称《公约》）第 21 次缔约方会议（即“巴黎气候变化大会”）进入倒计时。届时，来自 195 个国家和欧盟的代表将聚首巴黎，旨在努力达成
17 一项“全面、均衡、有力度”的协议。作为全球应对气候变化的重要参与者，中国正在为这一“富有雄
18 心”的目标做出贡献。

19
20
21 近年来，作为最大的发展中国家，中国不仅在本国环境治理、节能减排、发展绿色低碳技术等方面
22 取得骄人成绩，在主动承担国际责任，积极参与国际对话，支持发展中国家应对气候变化，推动全
23 球气候谈判、促进新气候协议的达成等方面也做出了积极贡献。

24
25 从 2014 年底中美两国签署气候变化联合声明，到今年中国向联合国提交应对气候变化“国家自主
26 贡献”文件，并先后与印度、巴西、欧盟、美国、法国等国家和地区就气候变化发表联合声明，中国
27 通过一系列郑重承诺，接连向世界传递出强有力的政治信号，表明其坚持走绿色、低碳、可持续发
28 展道路的决心，获得广泛赞誉。

29
30 《公约》秘书处执行秘书菲格雷斯日前在一次记者会上回答“哪个国家应对气候变化的行动可称榜样
31 ”的问题时指出，中国采取了“令人印象非常深刻的”应对气候变化行动，具有榜样意义。

32
33 她说，中国在“国家自主贡献”文件中确定，在 2030 年前后使其温室气体排放达到峰值，计划于
34 2017 年启动全国碳排放交易体系，并把应对气候变化的行动列入“十三五”发展规划中。这些都
35 表明，中国在对待气候变化问题上“非常非常认真”。

36
37 作为世界第二大经济体、最大的发展中国家，中国在全球国际事务中的影响力与日俱增。因此，法
38 国作为巴黎气候变化大会的主办国，期待中国为大会的成功提供支持。

39
40 法国总统奥朗德表示，中国将在巴黎气候变化大会中扮演“重要角色”。法国总统环境问题特别顾问
41 尼古拉·于洛此前在接受新华社记者采访时，高度肯定了中国在应对气候变化领域“毋庸置疑的示范
42 作用”。他说：“中国有能力在提出目标后将其实现，甚至以更快速度实现目标。”

43
44 中国支持定期盘点包括减排在内的相关长期目标的实施进展，也表明其有能力与自信进行气候变化
45 治理。

46
47 积极应对气候变化，既是一个负责任大国应尽的义务，也符合中国当前自身发展的迫切需要。目前
48 ，中国已成为世界节能和利用新能源、可再生能源的第一大国。2014 年，中国单位国内生产总
49 值能耗和二氧化碳排放分别比 2005 年下降 29.9% 和 33.8%。

51 在气候治理问题上，中国在加速本国发展的同时始终不忘向广大经济、资源、技术水准较为落后的
52 国家和地区提供力所能及的支持。

53

54 在今年9月发表的《中美元首气候变化联合声明》中，中国宣布出资200亿元人民币建立“中国气
55 候变化南南合作基金”，帮助其他发展中国家应对气候变化。不少国家和国际机构，特别是发展中国
56 家人士对此非常赞赏，认为中国这一举措对世界应对气候变化做出了贡献，展现了其勇于承担国际
57 责任、履行国际义务的大国风范，给其他国家尤其是发达国家做出了榜样。

58

59 气候变化是一项全球性威胁，关系到世界各国的切实利益。中国支持巴黎气候变化大会达成一份全
60 面、均衡、有力度的协议，主张协议应以《公约》及其《京都议定书》为基础。日前发布的《中国
61 应对气候变化的政策与行动2015年度报告》说，中方愿意按照“共同但有区别的责任”原则、公
62 平原则和各自能力原则，与各方一道积极建设性推动谈判进程，构建公平合理的国际气候制度。

63

64 正如法国国际关系研究所能源中心主任玛丽-克莱尔·奥恩所说，近年来，中国的确将治理环境放到
65 了同发展经济、消除贫困同等重要的位置。如今的中国已做好充分准备，积极投身有关气候问题的
66 国际谈判，并为推动谈判的成功贡献力量。（完）

Article #91 (30 November, 2015)

<p>General attitudes to cooperation / views about the conference</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 习近平在讲话中指出，巴黎大会要加强《联合国气候变化框架公约》的实施，达成一个全面、均衡、有力度、有约束力的气候变化协议 [21, 22] Xi Jinping pointed out in his speech that the Paris Conference should strengthen the implementation of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and reach a comprehensive, balanced, dynamic and binding climate change agreement ▪ 习近平指出，巴黎协议不是终点，而是新的起点 [29] Xi Jinping pointed out that the Paris agreement is not the end, but a new starting point ▪ 应对气候变化的全球努力给我们思考和探索未来全球治理模式、推动建设人类命运共同体带来宝贵启示 [29, 30] Global efforts to tackle climate change give us valuable insights into how we think about and explore future models of global governance and build communities of human destinies ▪ 气候变化巴黎大会为全球共同应对气候变化提供了重要契机 [46,47] The Paris Conference on Climate Change provides an important opportunity for a global response to climate change
<p>Defining the problem</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>Responsibility</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 强化行动保障，发达国家要落实承诺，向发展中国家提供更加强有力的资金支持，并向发展中国家转让气候友好型技术 [25] ensure that developed countries to implement their commitments to developing countries to provide more strong financial support to developing countries and the transfer of climate-friendly technology ▪ 应该有利于照顾各国国情，讲求务实有效，应对气候变化不应该阻碍发展中国家消除贫困、提高人民生活水准的合理需求 [26- 27] It should give consideration to country's conditions, and pay attention to effectiveness, responding to climate change should not hamper the need for developing countries to eradicate poverty and raise the standard of living of the population ▪ 巴黎大会要推动各国尤其是发达国家多一点共享、多一点担当 [31] The Paris meeting must promote countries, especially developed countries, to increase slightly collective benefit, increase responsibilities, realize reciprocity and win-win ▪ 遵守共同但有区别的责任原则；要允许各国寻找最适合本国国情的应对之策 [33] to allow countries to find the best response to their national conditions ▪ 习近平最后强调，应对气候变化是人类共同的事业 [42] Xi Jinping also emphasized that responding to climate change is humanities collective undertaking ▪ 与会领导人表示，气候变化问题是全人类面临的共同挑战，攸关人类未来，需要各方携手应对 [45, 46] Leaders expressed the view that climate change is a common challenge facing all mankind and that the future of mankind will require a concerted effort
<p>Describing China's situation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>China's status in world</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>How action to tackle climate change should be</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 强调坚定信心 齐心协力 携手构建合作共赢、公平合理的气候变化治理机制 [1, 2] Emphasising steadfast confidence, of one mind cooperation, linking hands to build win-win cooperation, and a fair and rational climate change governance system. ▪ 携手构建合作共赢、公平合理的气候变化治理机制》的重要讲话，强调各方要展现诚意、坚定信心、齐心协力，推动建立公平有效的全球应对气候变化机制，实现更高水准全球可持续发展，构建合作共赢的国际关系 [14-16] (Xi Jinping delivered) an importance speech <Working together to build a cooperative, win-win and fair and equitable mechanism for addressing climate change> stressing the need for all parties to demonstrate sincerity, confidence and work together to promote a fair and effective global response to climate change and achieve a higher level of global sustainability, and to development, building a win-win cooperation and international relations ▪ 习近平在讲话中指出，巴黎大会要加强《联合国气候变化框架公约》的实施，达成一个全面、均衡、有力度、有约束力的气候变化协议 [21, 22] Xi Jinping pointed out in his speech that the Paris Conference should strengthen the implementation of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and reach a comprehensive, balanced, dynamic and binding climate change agreement ▪ 巴黎协议应该着眼于强化 2020 年后全球应对气候变化行动，也要为推动全球更好实现可持续发展注入动力 [22, 23] The Paris agreement should focus on strengthening the global response to climate change after 2020, as well as fueling global efforts to achieve sustainable development ▪ 协议应该有利于实现公约目标，有效控制大气温室气体浓度上升，引领绿色发展；应该有利于凝聚全球力量，鼓励广泛参与，提高公众意识 [23,24] The agreement should facilitate the achievement of the objectives of the Convention, the effective control of atmospheric greenhouse gas concentrations and lead to green development, and should facilitate global cohesion, encourage broad participation and raise public awareness ▪ 应该有利于加大投入，强化行动保障，发达国家要落实承诺，向发展中国家提供更加强有力的资金支持，并向发展中国家转让气候友好型技术 [24-26] (it) should be conducive to increasing investment and strengthening action, and ensure that developed countries to implement their commitments to developing countries to provide more strong financial support to developing countries and the transfer of climate-friendly technology ▪ 应该有利于照顾各国国情，讲求务实有效，应对气候变化不应该阻碍发展中国家消除贫困、提高人民生活水准的合理需求 [26- 27] It should give consideration to country's conditions, and pay attention to effectiveness, responding to climate change

	<p>should not hamper the need for developing countries to eradicate poverty and raise the standard of living of the population</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 我们要创建一个各尽所能、合作共赢、奉行法治、公平正义、包容互鉴、共同发展的未来 [30, 31] We need to create a future that will do our utmost to achieve win-win cooperation, pursue the rule of law, fairness and justice, tolerance and mutual development, and common development 巴黎大会要推动各国尤其是发达国家多一点共享、多一点担当, 实现互惠共赢; 要确保国际规则的有效遵守和实施, 坚持民主、平等、正义, 建设国际法治, 遵守共同但有区别的责任原则; 要允许各国寻找最适合本国国情的应对之策 [31,33] The Paris meeting must promote countries, especially developed countries, to increase slightly collective benefit, increase responsibilities, realize reciprocity and win-win , To ensure the effective observance and implementation of international rules, to uphold the principles of democracy, equality, justice, international rule of law and the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities; to allow countries to find the best response to their national conditions 让我们携手努力, 为推动建立公平有效的全球应对气候变化机制、实现更高水准全球可持续发展、构建合作共赢的国际关系作出贡献 [42, 43] Let us work together to contribute to building a fair and effective global response to climate change, achieving a higher level of global sustainable development and building a win-win international relationship 与会领导人表示, 气候变化问题是全人类面临的共同挑战, 攸关人类未来, 需要各方携手应对 [45, 46] Leaders expressed the view that climate change is a common challenge facing all mankind and that the future of mankind will require a concerted effort 巴黎大会要取得成功, 就要确保大会达成全面、均衡、有力度、有约束力的协议。各国要加大对清洁能源、低碳经济等领域的投资, 制定有雄心的减排计划, 减缓气候变化过程 [47,48] For the Paris Conference to succeed, it is necessary to ensure that the General Assembly reaches a comprehensive, balanced, dynamic and binding agreement. Countries should increase investment in clean energy and low-carbon economy, formulate ambitious emission reduction plans and mitigate the climate change process
Need to balance tackling climate change with development	▪
Actions taken by International Community	▪
Actions taken by China to tackle climate change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 习近平强调, 中国一直是全球应对气候变化事业的积极参与者, 目前已成为世界节能和利用新能源、可再生能源第一大国 [35, 36] Xi Jinping emphasized that China has always been an active participant in the global response to climate change and has become the world's leading energy and renewable energy source. 中国将落实创新、协调、绿色、开放、共享的发展理念, 形成人与自然和谐发展现代化建设新格局 [36, 37] China will implement practical innovation, coordination, green living, openness and sharing, and form a new pattern of harmonious development between man and nature 中国在“国家自主贡献”中提出的目标虽然需要付出艰苦努力, 但我们有信心和决心实现我们的承诺 [37, 38] China has made its "national self-contribution", and despite the arduous efforts required it has confidence and determination to fulfill our commitments
China actions as part of the conference	▪
China actions to lead others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 中国政府认真落实气候变化领域南南合作政策承诺, 今年9月宣布设立中国气候变化南南合作基金, 将于明年继续推进清洁能源、防灾减灾、生态保护、气候适应型农业、低碳智慧型城市建设等国际合作, 并帮助发展中国家提高融资能力 [38, 40] The Chinese government has made serious commitment to South-South cooperation on climate change. In September, the Chinese government announced the establishment of a South-South Cooperation Fund for Climate Change. Urban construction and other international cooperation, and help developing countries improve their financing capacity
Views of China from other countries	▪
Actions taken by other countries	▪
	▪

- 1 (出访) 习近平出席气候变化巴黎大会开幕式并发表重要讲话 强调坚定信心 齐心协力 携手构建合
- 2 作共赢、公平合理的气候变化治理机制
- 3
- 4 国际部
- 5 1,164 words
- 6 30 November 2015

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Chinese - Simplified
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新华社巴黎11月30日电(记者王朝文 陈贻 张正富) 国家主席习近平30日在巴黎出席气候变化巴黎大会开幕式并发表题为《携手构建合作共赢、公平合理的气候变化治理机制》的重要讲话, 强调各方要展现诚意、坚定信心、齐心协力, 推动建立公平有效的全球应对气候变化机制, 实现更高水准全球可持续发展, 构建合作共赢的国际关系。

当地时间上午9时25分许, 习近平抵达布尔歇展览中心, 法国总统奥朗德和联合国秘书长潘基文在停车场处迎接。

习近平在讲话中指出, 巴黎大会要加强《联合国气候变化框架公约》的实施, 达成一个全面、均衡、有力度、有约束力的气候变化协议。巴黎协议应该着眼于强化2020年后全球应对气候变化行动, 也要为推动全球更好实现可持续发展注入动力。协议应该有利于实现公约目标, 有效控制大气温室气体浓度上升, 引领绿色发展; 应该有利于凝聚全球力量, 鼓励广泛参与, 提高公众意识; 应该有利于加大投入, 强化行动保障, 发达国家要落实承诺, 向发展中国家提供更加强有力的资金支持, 并向发展中国家转让气候友好型技术; 应该有利于照顾各国国情, 讲求务实有效, 应对气候变化不应该阻碍发展中国家消除贫困、提高人民生活水准的合理需求。

习近平指出, 巴黎协议不是终点, 而是新的起点。应对气候变化的全球努力给我们思考和探索未来全球治理模式、推动建设人类命运共同体带来宝贵启示。我们要创造一个各尽所能、合作共赢、奉行法治、公平正义、包容互鉴、共同发展的未来。巴黎大会要推动各国尤其是发达国家多一点共享、多一点担当, 实现互惠共赢; 要确保国际规则的有效遵守和实施, 坚持民主、平等、正义, 建设国际法治, 遵守共同但有区别的责任原则; 要允许各国寻找最适合本国国情的应对之策。

习近平强调, 中国一直是全球应对气候变化事业的积极参与者, 目前已成为世界节能和利用新能源、可再生能源第一大国。中国将落实创新、协调、绿色、开放、共享的发展理念, 形成人与自然和谐发展现代化建设新格局。中国在“国家自主贡献”中提出的目标虽然需要付出艰苦努力, 但我们有信心和决心实现我们的承诺。中国政府认真落实气候变化领域南南合作政策承诺, 今年9月宣布设立中国气候变化南南合作基金, 将于明年继续推进清洁能源、防灾减灾、生态保护、气候适应型农业、低碳智慧型城市建设等国际合作, 并帮助发展中国家提高融资能力。

习近平最后强调, 应对气候变化是人类共同的事业。让我们携手努力, 为推动建立公平有效的全球应对气候变化机制、实现更高水准全球可持续发展、构建合作共赢的国际关系作出贡献。(讲话全文另发)

约150个国家领导人出席气候变化巴黎大会开幕活动。与会领导人表示, 气候变化问题是全人类面临的共同挑战, 攸关人类未来, 需要各方携手应对。气候变化巴黎大会为全球共同应对气候变化提供了重要契机。巴黎大会要取得成功, 就要确保大会达成全面、均衡、有力度、有约束力的协议。各

- 49 国要加大对清洁能源、低碳经济等领域的投资，制定有雄心的减排计划，减缓气候变化过程。
- 50
- 51 杨洁篪等出席会议。（完）

Article #96 (30 November, 2015)

General attitudes to cooperation / views about the conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 中国气候谈判首席代表苏伟 29 日接受新华社记者采访时表示，第一周围绕协议草案的谈判日程会非常紧，“可能一场会接一场会，时间计算到每一分每一秒” [25, 26] China's chief negotiator for climate talks, Su Wei, told Xinhua in an interview on Tuesday that the negotiating schedule for the first week of the draft agreement would be very tight: "Maybe a meeting will take place, and time will be calculated for every minute"
Defining the problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
Responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 目前，各方在减排责任划分、发达国家向发展中国家提供资金和技术支持、行动计划更新及审核机制等方面分歧众多 [22, 23] Currently there is a wide difference among the parties in terms of allocation of responsibilities, and the financial and technological support provided by developed countries to developing countries ▪ 他说，在谈判过程中，中国坚持“共同但有区别责任”原则的立场不会变 [28] She said, in the course of the negotiations, China has continued to take the standpoint of the 'common but differentiated responsibilities principle' and has not changed ▪ 特别是“共同但有区别责任”和“公平”原则 [34] in particular the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" and "equity". ▪ 发达国家应加强对发展中国家的资金、技术和能力建设支持 [36, 37] Developed countries should strengthen financial, technical and capacity building support for developing countries
Describing China's situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
China's status in world	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
How action to tackle climate change should be	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 法国外交部长、巴黎气候变化大会主席法比尤斯当天表示，各国谈判代表应集中精力寻求弥合分歧，在各项议题上取得进展，这样才能在 12 月 11 日大会闭幕时达成一项各方广泛参与的有力协议 [16,17] French Foreign Minister Fabius said in Paris that negotiators should focus their energies on bridging differences and making progress on the issues before the closing of the General Assembly on the 11th December to reach a broad consensus on an agreement that has broad participation and is strong ▪ 他说，在谈判过程中，中国坚持“共同但有区别责任”原则的立场不会变 [28] She said, in the course of the negotiations, China has continued to take the standpoint of the 'common but differentiated responsibilities principle' and has not changed ▪ 77 国集团和中国在当天发表的一份声明中强调，巴黎气候协议的谈判目的是为了推动《联合国气候变化框架公约》（下称《公约》）全面、有效和持久的落实。巴黎协议应体现《公约》的原则，特别是“共同但有区别责任”和“公平”原则 [31-34] In a statement issued on the same day, the Group of 77 and China stressed that the negotiation of the Paris climate agreement was aimed at promoting the full, effective and lasting implementation of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The Paris Agreement should reflect the principles of the Convention, in particular the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" and "equity". ▪ 声明指出，巴黎协议应全面、平衡地反映减缓、适应、资金、技术发展与转让、能力建设、行动与支持透明度等核心要素，以及应对与气候变化相关的损失和损害等内容 [36, 37] The statement says that the Paris Agreement should reflect in a comprehensive and balanced manner the core elements of mitigation, adaptation, finance, technology development and transfer, capacity building, transparency of actions and support, and addressing climate change-related losses and damage ▪ 发达国家应加强对发展中国家的资金、技术和能力建设支持 [36, 37] Developed countries should strengthen financial, technical and capacity-building support for developing countries
Need to balance tackling climate change with development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 中国一直以积极认真的态度对待气候变化问题，将根据自己的国情、能力和发展阶段尽可能为全球应对气候变化作出贡献 [28, 29] China has been taking a positive attitude towards climate change and will contribute to the global response to climate change as much as possible according to its own national conditions, capabilities and development stage
Actions taken by International Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 出席大会的各国代表 29 日就巴黎气候协议草案展开最后阶段谈判，期望在本周达成最终草案，为随后进行的部长级磋商做准备 [12-14] Delegates attending the conference began a final phase of negotiations on the draft climate agreement in Paris on Thursday, with the hope that a final draft could be reached this week to prepare for the subsequent ministerial consultations ▪ 按照计划，协议最终草案将于 12 月 5 日完成，并提交大会审议。在第二周，各国部长级官员将就草案中涉及的主要政治议题磋商并做出决策 [19-20] According to the plan, the final draft agreement will be completed on December 5, and submitted to the General Assembly for consideration. In the second week, ministers will consult and make decisions on the main political issues involved in the draft
Actions taken by China to tackle climate change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
China actions as part of the conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 中国一直以积极认真的态度对待气候变化问题，将根据自己的国情、能力和发展阶段尽可能为全球应对气候变化作出贡献 [28, 29] China has been taking a positive attitude towards climate change and will contribute to the global response to climate change as much as possible according to its own national conditions, capabilities and development stage

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 77国集团和中国在当天发表的一份声明中强调，巴黎气候协议的谈判目的是为了推动《联合国气候变化框架公约》（下称《公约》）全面、有效和持久的落实。巴黎协议应体现《公约》的原则，特别是“共同但有区别责任”和“公平”原则 [31-34] In a statement issued on the same day, the Group of 77 and China stressed that the negotiation of the Paris climate agreement was aimed at promoting the full, effective and lasting implementation of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The Paris Agreement should reflect the principles of the Convention, in particular the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" and "equity".
China actions to lead others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 77国集团和中国在当天发表的一份声明中强调，巴黎气候协议的谈判目的是为了推动《联合国气候变化框架公约》（下称《公约》）全面、有效和持久的落实。巴黎协议应体现《公约》的原则，特别是“共同但有区别责任”和“公平”原则 [31-34] In a statement issued on the same day, the Group of 77 and China stressed that the negotiation of the Paris climate agreement was aimed at promoting the full, effective and lasting implementation of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The Paris Agreement should reflect the principles of the Convention, in particular the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" and "equity".
Views of China from other countries	
Actions taken by other countries	

1 (巴黎气候变化大会) 巴黎气候协议谈判提前开场

2

3 唐志强

4 619 words

5 30 November 2015

6 03:33

7 新华社中文新闻 (简体)

8 XINCCN

9 Chinese - Simplified

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11

12 新华社巴黎11月29日电（记者唐志强 应强）巴黎气候变化大会将于30日正式开幕。出席大会
13 的各国代表29日就巴黎气候协议草案展开最后阶段谈判，期望在本周达成最终草案，为随后进行
14 的部长级磋商做准备。

15

16 法国外交部长、巴黎气候变化大会主席法比尤斯当天表示，各国谈判代表应集中精力寻求弥合分歧
17 ，在各项议题上取得进展，这样才能在12月11日大会闭幕时达成一项各方广泛参与的有力协议
18 。

19

20 按照计划，协议最终草案将于12月5日完成，并提交大会审议。在第二周，各国部长级官员将就
21 草案中涉及的主要政治议题磋商并做出决策。

22

23 目前，各方在减排责任划分、发达国家向发展中国家提供资金和技术支持、行动计划更新及审核机
24 制等方面分歧众多。

25

26 中国气候谈判首席代表苏伟29日接受新华社记者采访时表示，第一周围绕协议草案的谈判日程会
27 非常紧，“可能一场会接一场会，时间计算到每一分每一秒”。

28

29 他说，在谈判过程中，中国坚持“共同但有区别责任”原则的立场不会变。中国一直以积极认真的态
30 度对待气候变化问题，将根据自己的国情、能力和发展阶段尽可能为全球应对气候变化作出贡献。

31

32 7 7 国集团和中国在当天发表的一份声明中强调，巴黎气候协议的谈判目的是为了推动《联合国气
33 候变化框架公约》（下称《公约》）全面、有效和持久的落实。巴黎协议应体现《公约》的原则，
34 特别是“共同但有区别责任”和“公平”原则。

35

36 声明指出，巴黎协议应全面、平衡地反映减缓、适应、资金、技术发展与转让、能力建设、行动与
37 支持透明度等核心要素，以及应对与气候变化相关的损失和损害等内容。发达国家应加强对发展中
38 国家的资金、技术和能力建设支持。（完）

Article #74 (2 December, 2015)

General attitudes to cooperation / views about the conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “大家正全力就巴黎协议案文进行磋商，基本上进入了白天黑夜连轴转的模式，”中国气候谈判首席代表苏伟说，领导人讲话对案文谈判注入了强劲推动力，但谈判是复杂漫长的过程，在具体方面还需谈判代表逐字逐句地讨论 [19] We are all in full consultation on the text of the Paris agreement, basically into the day and night even the axis of the model,"said Su Wei, chief negotiator of China's climate talks, The leaders' speeches have given a strong impetus to the text negotiations, but negotiation is a complex and lengthy process, with negotiators discussing them verbatim in concrete terms ▪ 他说，各方代表将在第一周就协议内容进一步深入交换意见，尽可能缩小分歧，使最终的选项更加明确，为第二周的部长级磋商做准备 [23, 24] He said representatives of the parties would have a further in-depth exchange of views on the agreement in the first week, narrowing differences as far as possible, making the final option clearer and preparing for the second week of ministerial consultations ▪ 目前，各国在协议长期目标、减排责任划分、资金技术支持、行动进展盘点机制、行动和支持透明度等议题上仍有众多分歧 [29,30] Currently, there is still a great deal of disagreement over the long-term objectives of the agreement, the allocation of responsibility for mitigation, financial support, the inventory of operational progress, transparency of actions and support, etc. ▪ 巴西气候谈判首席代表马孔德斯说，各国代表今后几天的主要工作是将领导人表达的政治意愿转化为弥合分歧的具体方案 [32,33] The chief negotiator of the climate talks in Brazil said that the main task of the delegates in the next few days is to translate the political will expressed by the leaders into a concrete plan to bridge the differences
Defining the problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
Responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 他说，发展中国家正积极为应对气候变化作贡献，包括资金贡献。但发展中国家提供资金属于“南南合作”，以自愿为基础，不是法定义务。而发达国家向发展中国家提供资金支持是其按照《联合国气候变化框架公约》（下称《公约》）的规定必须承担的法定责任，这两者有本质区别 [36, 37] Developing countries are actively contributing to climate change, including financial contributions, he said. However, the provision of funds by developing countries is "South-South cooperation", on a voluntary basis, not a legal obligation. While the developed countries to provide financial support to developing countries in accordance with the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (hereinafter referred to as the "Convention") must bear the statutory responsibility, the two are essentially different ▪ 发达国家要清楚，巴黎协议是《公约》之下的协议，他们在巴黎协议中也应承担《公约》规定的责任，不要企图借巴黎协议谈判来修改《公约》 [45, 46] Developed countries should be aware that the Paris Agreement is an agreement under the Convention and that they should also assume the responsibility under the Convention in the Paris Agreement and do not attempt to modify the Convention by negotiation under the Paris Agreement
Describing China's situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
China's status in world	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
How action to tackle climate change should be	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 马孔德斯说，发达国家落实 1 0 0 0 亿美元资金承诺，并以此为基础在 2 0 2 0 年后进一步提高对发展中国家的资金支持是巴黎协议的关键 [43,44] Malcones said that the developed countries to implement 100 billion US dollars of financial commitments, and on this basis to further increase in 2020 after the financial support of developing countries is the key to the Paris agreement. ▪ 发达国家要清楚，巴黎协议是《公约》之下的协议，他们在巴黎协议中也应承担《公约》规定的责任，不要企图借巴黎协议谈判来修改《公约》 [45, 46] Developed countries should be aware that the Paris Agreement is an agreement under the Convention and that they should also assume the responsibility under the Convention in the Paris Agreement and do not attempt to modify the Convention by negotiation under the Paris Agreement
Need to balance tackling climate change with development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
Actions taken by International Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 来自近 2 0 0 个国家的谈判代表开始就巴黎气候协议的最终草案展开磋商，以期 1 1 日顺利达成协定 [13,14] Negotiators from nearly 200 countries began negotiations on the final draft of the Paris climate agreement, with a view to having reached an agreement by the 11th ▪ 当天，谈判代表们从上午 1 0 点至深夜举行了约 3 0 场大小会议，就协议草案的相关细节逐字逐句进行讨论。在谈判屋外，一些双边、多边磋商也在进行 [15,16] Day, the negotiators from 10 am to late at night about 30 large and small meetings, the relevant details of the draft agreement verbatim to discuss. In the negotiations outside the house, a number of bilateral and multilateral consultations are also carried out
Actions taken by China to tackle climate change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
China actions as part of the	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪

conference	
China actions to lead others	▪
Views of China from other countries	▪
Actions taken by other countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 发展中国家正积极为应对气候变化作贡献，包括资金贡献。但发展中国家提供资金属于“南南合作 [35,36] Developing countries are actively contributing to climate change, including financial contributions. However, the funding provided by developing countries is "South-South cooperation ▪ 发达国家早在 2 0 0 9 年便承诺到 2 0 2 0 年每年向发展中国家提供 1 0 0 0 亿美元资金，帮助后者应对气候变化，但发达国家一直没有提出落实这一承诺的详细路线图。经济合作与发展组织今年 1 0 月发布的报告显示，2 0 1 4 年发达国家提供的这一资金总额只有 6 2 0 亿美元，距离目标甚远 [39, 40] Developed countries promised to provide 100 billion US dollars annually to developing countries by 2020 to help them cope with climate change, but the developed countries have not put forward a detailed roadmap to implement this commitment. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development report released in October this year, developed countries in 2014 to provide the total amount of this fund is only 62 billion US dollars, far from the target

1 (巴黎气候变化大会) 巴黎气候变化大会进入谈判模式

2

3 唐志强

4 808 words

5 2 December 2015

6 04:16

7 新华社中文新闻 (简体)

8 XINCCN

9 Chinese - Simplified

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11

12 新华社巴黎 1 2 月 1 日电 (记者唐志强 张雪飞) 在各国领导人出席会议表明共同应对气候变化挑战
13 的政治意愿后，巴黎气候变化大会 1 日进入谈判模式。来自近 2 0 0 个国家的谈判代表开始就巴黎
14 气候协议的最终草案展开磋商，以期 1 1 日顺利达成协定。

15

16 当天，谈判代表们从上午 1 0 点至深夜举行了约 3 0 场大小会议，就协议草案的相关细节逐字逐句
17 进行讨论。在谈判屋外，一些双边、多边磋商也在进行。

18

19 “大家正全力就巴黎协议案文进行磋商，基本上进入了白天黑夜连轴转的模式，”中国气候谈判首席
20 代表苏伟说，领导人讲话对案文谈判注入了强劲推动力，但谈判是复杂漫长的过程，在具体方面还
21 需谈判代表逐字逐句地讨论。

22

23 他说，各方代表将在第一周就协议内容进一步深入交换意见，尽可能缩小分歧，使最终的选项更加
24 明确，为第二周的部长级磋商做准备。

25

26 按计划，协议最终草案将于 1 2 月 5 日形成。此后，各国部长级官员将就草案中涉及的主要政治议
27 题作出决策。

28

29 目前，各国在协议长期目标、减排责任划分、资金技术支持、行动进展盘点机制、行动和支持透明
30 度等议题上仍有众多分歧。

31

32 巴西气候谈判首席代表马孔德斯说，各国代表今后几天的主要工作是将领导人表达的政治意愿转化

33 为弥合分歧的具体方案。

34

35 他说，发展中国家正积极为应对气候变化作贡献，包括资金贡献。但发展中国家提供资金属于“南南
36 合作”，以自愿为基础，不是法定义务。而发达国家向发展中国家提供资金支持是其按照《联合国气
37 候变化框架公约》（下称《公约》）的规定必须承担的法定责任，这两者有本质区别。

38

39 发达国家早在2009年便承诺到2020年每年向发展中国家提供1000亿美元资金，帮助后
40 者应对气候变化，但发达国家一直没有提出落实这一承诺的详细路线图。经济合作与发展组织今年
41 10月发布的报告显示，2014年发达国家提供的这一资金总额只有620亿美元，距离目标甚
42 远。

43

44 马孔德斯说，发达国家落实1000亿美元资金承诺，并以此为基础在2020年后进一步提高对
45 发展中国家的资金支持是巴黎协议的关键。发达国家要清楚，巴黎协议是《公约》之下的协议，他
46 们在巴黎协议中也应承担《公约》规定的责任，不要企图借巴黎协议谈判来修改《公约》。（完）

Article #46 (6 December, 2015)

<p>General attitudes to cooperation / views about the conference</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 分析草案不难看出，各方在巴黎气候协议如何体现“共同但有区别的责任”原则、2020年后资金支持等议题上的分歧依然明显 [17, 18] Analyzing the draft, it is not difficult to see that regarding the "common but differentiated responsibilities" principle, funding support after 2020 and other issues, differences remain significant ▪ 中国气候谈判首席代表苏伟认为，这份草案为下周部长级谈判提供了坚实基础 [27] The Chinese Climate chief negotiator, representative Su Wei believes, this draft will form a solid foundation for next week's high level negotiations ▪ 不过，从草案内容可以看出，各方在巴黎协议如何体现“共同但有区别的责任”原则、2020年后资金支持等核心议题上的分歧依然明显。在减排长期目标、各国自主贡献提交周期、行动力度保障机制等具体安排上，各方也没有找到妥协方案 [30-32] However, it is clear from the content of the draft that differences between the parties on how the Paris Agreement embodies the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" and the funding support after 2020 are still evident. On the topic of long-term goals for reducing emissions, the period when countries should contribute to their own goals, force and pledge mechanisms etc. parties did not find a compromise ▪ 资金问题被普遍认为是要拖到大会最后才能解决的一个问题 [34] The issue of financing was commonly thought to drag on until the last days of the conference ▪ 分析人士认为，由于各国代表在谈判第一阶段在关键议题上并没有做出实质让步，第二阶段的谈判压力会很大 [45,46] Analysts believe that because during the first phase of negotiations parties did not make substantial concessions, in the second phase of the negotiations will be a lot of pressure ▪ 与哥本哈根气候变化大会相比，巴黎气候变化大会氛围更加积极。无论是各国谈判代表、非政府组织观察员还是长期跟踪气候变化议题的媒体记者都普遍对巴黎气候变化大会达成协议感到乐观 [64, 65] Compared with the Copenhagen Climate Change Conference, Paris has been more active. Media observers from national negotiators, NGO observers and long-term followers on climate change are generally optimistic about an agreement on the Paris climate change conference ▪ 《联合国气候变化框架公约》秘书处前执行秘书德博埃尔认为，与2009年相比，如今人们对气候变化问题的科学认知更强，而且各国都意识到，有必要转变经济发展方式，这为各国更积极地推动气候谈判创造了条件 [67, 69] De Boer, former Executive Secretary of the UNFCCC secretariat, argues that scientific understanding of climate change issues is now stronger than in 2009 and that countries are aware of the need to transform the mode of economic development, thus creating the conditions for countries to more actively promote climate negotiations
<p>Defining the problem</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 法比尤斯5日对各国代表说：“我们正在讨论的不只是气候，不只是环境。我们讨论的是生命 [49, 50] "We are talking about not just climate, not just the environment," Fabius said to the delegates, "we're talking about life." ▪ 气候变化将导致海面上升、极端天气频发等严重后果。就在巴黎气候变化大会召开期间，印度南部泰米尔纳德邦遭遇百年以来最强降雨，引发洪灾，夺去数百人生命 [52, 53] Climate change will lead to severe sea-level rise and extreme weather extremes. During the Paris climate change conference, southern India's Tamil Nadu state suffered the strongest rainfall in a century, causing flooding and killing hundreds of people
<p>Responsibility</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 在巴黎协议谈判中，发展中国家要求发达国家在2020年后以每年1000亿美元为基础，继续提高对发展中国家减缓和适应气候变化行动的资金支持力度 [35- 37] In the Paris agreement negotiations, developing countries are calling for developed countries from 2020 onwards to provide US \$ 100 billion and to continue to increase their financial support for mitigation and adaptation to climate change in developing countries ▪ 中国气候变化事务特别代表解振华说：“气候变化是全球面临的共同挑战，大家应同舟共济。”他呼吁各国以建设性态度推动谈判，对弥合分歧提出积极建议，尽早解决主要问题 [57, 58] "Climate change is a common challenge facing the whole world," Xie Zhenhua, special representative for China's climate change affairs, called on all countries to promote negotiations in a constructive manner and make positive proposals for resolving differences and resolve major problems as soon as possible
<p>Describing China's situation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>China's status in world</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>How action to tackle climate change should be</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 达成巴黎气候协议需各方相向而行 [1] Achieving a Paris climate change agreement needs all parties to go in the same direction ▪ 目前距离大会闭幕还有一周，各方只有以建设性的态度参与谈判，相向而行，才能最大限度聚同化异，顺利达成一份能为全球低碳、绿色发展指明方向的全面、均衡、有力度、有约束力的协议 [20, 21] At present there is one week from the closing of the conference, all parties at least need to participate in the negotiation in a constructive manner, so as to maximize the assimilation and achieve a low carbon, green development comprehensive, balanced, comprehensive, strong and binding agreement ▪ 在巴黎协议谈判中，发展中国家要求发达国家在2020年后以每年1000亿美元为基础，继续提高对发展中国家减缓和适应气候变化行动的资金支持力度 [35- 37] In the Paris agreement negotiations, developing countries are calling for developed countries from 2020 onwards on the basis of US \$ 100 billion per year, to continue to increase their financial support for mitigation and adaptation to climate change in developing countries
<p>Need to balance tackling climate change with development</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>Actions taken by</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 巴黎气候变化大会5日形成巴黎气候协议最终草案，作为下一周各国部长们继续谈判的基础 [16] The Paris Climate Change

International Community	<p>Conference on December 5th produced the most recent draft of the Paris climate agreement as the basis for continued negotiations between ministers the following week</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 草案明确了巴黎气候协议的主要结构和内容：共 26 个条目，包括减缓、适应、损失损害、资金、技术发展与转让、能力建设、透明度等内容。与先前版本相比，这份草案整体结构和案文表述更加清晰，不同议题的选项更加明确 [25-27] The draft defines the main structure and content of the Paris climate agreement: a total of 26 items, including mitigation, adaptation, , finance, technology development and transfer, capacity building, transparency etc... Compared with the previous version, the overall structure and text of this draft are clearer
Actions taken by China to tackle climate change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 过去两年间，中国同美国、法国、巴西、印度、欧盟陆续发表气候变化联合声明，为弥合各方主要分歧提供了可行的解决方案 [60, 61] Over the past two years, China and the United States, France, Brazil, India, the European Union jointly issued a joint statement on climate change, to bridge the major differences between the parties to provide a viable solution
China actions as part of the conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 中国气候变化事务特别代表解振华说：“气候变化是全球面临的共同挑战，大家应同舟共济。”他呼吁各国以建设性态度推动，对弥合分歧提出积极建议，尽早解决主要问题 [57, 58] "Climate change is a common challenge facing the whole world," Xie Zhenhua, special representative for China's climate change affairs, called on all countries to promote negotiations in a constructive manner and make positive proposals for resolving differences and resolve major problems as soon as possible 在巴黎大会上，中国做出的努力得到各方肯定。法比尤斯说，中国在巴黎协议谈判中积极行动，提出多项建议。这些建议被谈判进程，为推进谈判发挥了积极作用 [60,61] At the Paris Conference, the efforts made by China were affirmed. Fabius said that China is active in the negotiation of the Paris agreement, made a number of recommendations. These proposals have been incorporated into the negotiation process and have played a positive role in advancing the negotiations
China actions to lead others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 在巴黎大会上，中国做出的努力得到各方肯定。法比尤斯说，中国在巴黎协议谈判中积极行动，提出多项建议。这些建议被谈判进程，为推进谈判发挥了积极作用 [60,61] At the Paris Conference, the efforts made by China were affirmed. Fabius said that China is active in the negotiation of the Paris agreement, made a number of recommendations. These proposals have been incorporated into the negotiation process and have played a positive role in advancing the negotiations
Views of China from other countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
Actions taken by other countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 不过，从草案内容可以看出，各方在巴黎协议如何体现“共同但有区别的责任”原则、2020年后资金支持等核心议题上的分歧依然明显。在减排长期目标、各国自主贡献提交周期、行动力度保障机制等具体安排上，各方也没有找到妥协方案 [30-32] However, it is clear from the content of the draft that differences between the parties on how the Paris Agreement embodies the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" and the funding support after 2020 are still evident. On the topic of long-term goals for reducing emissions, the period when countries should contribute to their own goals, force and pledge mechanisms etc. parties did not find a compromise 2009年，发达国家承诺在2020年前，每年向发展中国家提供1000亿美元资金支持 [34, 35] In 2009, the developed countries committed to providing US \$ 100 billion annually to developing countries before 2020 而发达国家不愿意对支持资金的具体金额做出承诺，倾向于在巴黎协议资金条款中使用模糊的语言表述，并希望发展中国家也承担出资义务 [39, 40] Developed countries are reluctant to commit to a specific amount of funding support, preferring to use vague language in the Paris agreement funds clause, and in the expectation that developing countries will also be obliged to contribute 法国外交部长、巴黎气候变化大会主席法比尤斯多次呼吁，各方应以“妥协精神”推进谈判，以确保巴黎协议在11日大会闭幕前顺利达成 [48,49] French Foreign Minister Francis Fabius, head of the French Ministry for Climate Change, has appealed for all parties to carry out negotiations in a "spirit of compromise" to ensure the smooth conclusion of the Paris agreement before the closing 法比尤斯5日对各国代表说：“我们正在讨论的不只是气候，不只是环境。我们讨论的是生命 [49, 50] "We are talking about not just climate, not just the environment," Fabius said to the delegates, "we're talking about life."

1 (巴黎气候变化大会) 新闻分析: 达成巴黎气候协议需各方相向而行

2

3 唐志强

4 1,250 words

5 6 December 2015

6 13:02

7 新华社中文新闻 (简体)

8 XINCCN

9 Chinese - Simplified

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11

12 新华社巴黎12月6日电新闻分析：达成巴黎气候协议需各方相向而行

13

14 新华社记者唐志强 应强

15

16 巴黎气候变化大会5日形成巴黎气候协议最终草案，作为下一周各国部长们继续谈判的基础。分析
17 草案不难看出，各方在巴黎气候协议如何体现“共同但有区别的责任”原则、2020年后资金支持
18 等议题上的分歧依然明显。

19

20 目前距离大会闭幕还有一周，各方只有以建设性的态度参与谈判，相向而行，才能最大限度聚同化
21 异，顺利达成一份能为全球低碳、绿色发展指明方向的全面、均衡、有力度、有约束力的协议。

22

23 (小标题) 分歧依旧

24

25 草案明确了巴黎气候协议的主要结构和内容：共26个条目，包括减缓、适应、损失损害、资金、
26 技术与转让、能力建设、透明度等内容。与先前版本相比，这份草案整体结构和案文表述更加
27 清晰，不同议题的选项更加明确。中国气候谈判首席代表苏伟认为，这份草案为下周部长级谈判提
28 供了坚实基础。

29

30 不过，从草案内容可以看出，各方在巴黎协议如何体现“共同但有区别的责任”原则、2020年后
31 资金支持等核心议题上的分歧依然明显。在减排长期目标、各国自主贡献提交周期、行动力度保障
32 机制等具体安排上，各方也没有找到妥协方案。

33

34 资金问题被普遍认为是要拖到大会最后才能解决的一个问题。2009年，发达国家承诺在202
35 0年前，每年向发展中国家提供1000亿美元资金支持。在巴黎协议谈判中，发展中国家要求发
36 达国家在2020年后以每年1000亿美元为基础，继续提高对发展中国家减缓和适应气候变化
37 行动的资金支持力度。

38

39 而发达国家不愿意对支持资金的具体金额做出承诺，倾向于在巴黎协议资金条款中使用模糊的语言
40 表述，并希望发展中国家也承担出资义务。

41

42 (小标题) 时间紧迫

43

44 从7日起，巴黎气候变化大会进入第二阶段，各国部长级官员将接手谈判，就协议中的政治议题做
45 出决策。分析人士认为，由于各国代表在谈判第一阶段在关键议题上并没有做出实质让步，第二阶
46 段的谈判压力会很大。

47

48 法国外交部长、巴黎气候变化大会主席法比尤斯多次呼吁，各方应以“妥协精神”推进谈判，以确保
49 巴黎协议在11日大会闭幕前顺利达成。法比尤斯5日对各国代表说：“我们正在讨论的不只是气候
50 、不只是环境。我们讨论的是生命。”

51

52 气候变化将导致海面上升、极端天气频发等严重后果。就在巴黎气候变化大会召开期间，印度南部
53 泰米尔纳德邦遭遇百年来最强降雨，引发洪灾，夺去数百人生命。

54

55 (小标题) 相向而行

56

57 中国气候变化事务特别代表解振华说：“气候变化是全球面临的共同挑战，大家应同舟共济。”他呼
58 吁各国以建设性态度推动谈判，对弥合分歧提出积极建议，尽早解决主要问题。

59

60 过去两年间，中国同美国、法国、巴西、印度、欧盟陆续发表气候变化联合声明，为弥合各方主要
61 分歧提供了可行的解决方案。在巴黎大会上，中国做出的努力得到各方肯定。法比尤斯说，中国在
62 巴黎协议谈判中积极行动，提出多项建议。这些建议被纳入谈判进程，为推进谈判发挥了积极作用
63 。

64

65 与哥本哈根气候变化大会相比，巴黎气候变化大会氛围更加积极。无论是各国谈判代表、非政府组
66 织观察员还是长期跟踪气候变化议题的媒体记者都普遍对巴黎气候变化大会达成协议感到乐观。

67

68 《联合国气候变化框架公约》秘书处前执行秘书德博埃尔认为，与2009年相比，如今人们对气
69 候变化问题的科学认知更强，而且各国都意识到，有必要转变经济发展方式，这为各国更积极地推
70 动气候谈判创造了条件。（完）

Article #22 (11 December, 2015)

General attitudes to cooperation / views about the conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 他预计，大会主席定于 12 日发布的新版巴黎协议案文将与最终协议“比较接近”，案文中各方分歧将大大减少 [17,18] He expects that the new version of the Paris agreement, to be issued by the President of the General Assembly on December 12, will be "closer" to the final agreement and that the differences in the text will be greatly reduced
Defining the problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
Responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
Describing China's situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
China's status in world	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
How action to tackle climate change should be	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 巴黎气候变化大会即将闭幕，中国代表团正加紧与有关各方沟通，为推动大会达成全面、均衡、有力度、有雄心、有约束力的气候协议作出努力 [12 - 14] The Paris Climate Change Conference is nearing completion, and the Chinese delegation is stepping up efforts to reach a comprehensive, balanced, energetic, ambitious and binding climate agreement with the concerned parties ▪ 解振华说，中国代表团将在大会最后阶段充分展现建设性、灵活性和推动力，推动各方相向而行，确保会议达成一份全面、均衡、有力度、有雄心、有约束力、适用于所有各方的协议 [20, 21] Xie Zhenhua said that his delegation will fully demonstrate its constructive, flexible and impetus in the final stage of the conference and push the parties to move together to ensure a comprehensive, balanced, forceful, ambitious, binding, Agreement of all parties
Need to balance tackling climate change with development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
Actions taken by International Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 解振华说，在 10 日晚间至 11 日早晨进行的磋商中，各国代表都展现出了灵活性，在一些重要议题上就案文内容进行了实质讨论 [16, 17] Xie Zhenhua said that in the evening of 10 to 11 morning consultations, delegates have demonstrated flexibility in a number of important issues on the text of a substantive discussion ▪ 潘基文在与法比尤斯一同会见记者时说，目前各方在资金、行动力度、如何体现区别等方面仍有一些问题需要解决，但剩余的谈判时间已经不多。希望各方能展现强大领导力和聪明才智，从全球视野做出决策，推动全球实现低碳、可持续发展 [35 - 37] Ban Ki-moon and Fabi Yousi with reporters, said that the current parties in the capital, the intensity of action, how to reflect the difference there are still some problems to be resolved, but the remaining time is running out. We hope that all parties will demonstrate strong leadership and intelligence, make decisions from a global perspective, and promote global low carbon and sustainable development.
Actions taken by China to tackle climate change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
China actions as part of the conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 解振华：中国正积极推动巴黎大会取得成果 [1] Xie Zhenhua: China is actively promoting the Paris Conference to achieve results ▪ 巴黎气候变化大会即将闭幕，中国代表团正加紧与有关各方沟通，为推动大会达成全面、均衡、有力度、有雄心、有约束力的气候协议作出努力 [12 - 14] The Paris Climate Change Conference is nearing completion, and the Chinese delegation is stepping up efforts to reach a comprehensive, balanced, energetic, ambitious and binding climate agreement with the concerned parties ▪ 解振华介绍，当天上午，他已同联合国秘书长潘基文、马来西亚环境部长加法尔、印度环境部长贾瓦德卡尔以及美国代表进行了磋商。下午还计划同其他一些国家部长及各方面代表交流。与此同时，代表团的其他同事也在加强与各方沟通协调 [23- 25] On the morning of the day, he had consultations with UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, Malaysian Minister of the Environment, Indian Environment Minister and representatives of the United States. In the afternoon, he also plans to communicate with other ministers and representatives of various countries. At the same time, the delegation's other colleagues are also strengthening communication and coordination with the parties
China actions to lead others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 解振华说，中国代表团将在大会最后阶段充分展现建设性、灵活性和推动力，推动各方相向而行，确保会议达成一份全面、均衡、有力度、有雄心、有约束力、适用于所有各方的协议 [20, 21] Xie Zhenhua said that his delegation will fully demonstrate its constructive, flexible and impetus in the final stage of the conference and push the parties to move together to ensure a comprehensive, balanced, forceful, ambitious, binding, Agreement of all parties

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 他表示，中法、中美关于气候变化的联合声明为弥合各方分歧提供了平衡的解决方案，希望各方能向这些方案靠近 [27, 28] He said that the Sino-French and Sino-US joint statement on climate change provided a balanced solution to bridge the differences and hoped that all parties would be able to follow these models
Views of China from other countries	
Actions taken by other countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 与此同时，代表团的其他同事也在加强与各方沟通协调 [25] At the same time, the delegation's other colleagues are also strengthening communication and coordination with the parties 法国外交部长、巴黎气候变化大会主席法比尤斯 11 日中午说，他将继续加紧与谈判各方沟通，在当地时间 12 日上午 9 时（北京时间 12 日 16 时）提供新版案文。他相信，新版案文能获得各方通过。“我们已快抵达目的地，我对前景很乐观。”法比尤斯说 [30-33] French Foreign Minister Francois Fabius said at noon on the 11th that he will continue to intensify communication with the negotiating parties, at 9:00 on the 12th local time (Beijing time 12 16) to provide a new version of the text. He was confident that the new version would be adopted by the parties. "We're on our way to the destination, and I'm optimistic about the prospects," Fabius said

1 (巴黎气候变化大会) 解振华：中国正积极推动巴黎大会取得成果

2

3 唐志强

4 665 words

5 11 December 2015

6 14:59

7 新华社中文新闻 (简体)

8 XINCCN

9 Chinese - Simplified

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11

12 新华社巴黎 12 月 11 日电（记者唐志强 应强）中国气候变化事务特别代表解振华 11 日表示，巴黎气候变化大会即将闭幕，中国代表团正加紧与有关各方沟通，为推动大会达成全面、均衡、有力度、有雄心、有约束力的气候协议作出努力。

15

16 解振华说，在 10 日晚间至 11 日早晨进行的磋商中，各国代表都展现出了灵活性，在一些重要议题上就案文内容进行了实质讨论。他预计，大会主席定于 12 日发布的新版巴黎协议案文将与最终协议“比较接近”，案文中各方分歧将大大减少。

19

20 解振华说，中国代表团将在大会最后阶段充分展现建设性、灵活性和推动力，推动各方相向而行，确保会议达成一份全面、均衡、有力度、有雄心、有约束力、适用于所有各方的协议。

22

23 解振华介绍，当天上午，他已同联合国秘书长潘基文、马来西亚环境部长加法尔、印度环境部长贾瓦德卡尔以及美国代表进行了磋商。下午还计划同其他一些国家部长及各方面代表交流。与此同时，代表团的其他同事也在加强与各方沟通协调。

26

27 “今天就是密集的磋商，希望大家都能展现灵活性，争取会议取得成功，”解振华说。他表示，中法、中美关于气候变化的联合声明为弥合各方分歧提供了平衡的解决方案，希望各方能向这些方案靠近。

30

31 法国外交部长、巴黎气候变化大会主席法比尤斯 11 日中午说，他将继续加紧与谈判各方沟通，在当地时间 12 日上午 9 时（北京时间 12 日 16 时）提供新版案文。他相信，新版案文能获得各方通过。

33

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35 “我们已快抵达目的地，我对前景很乐观。”法比尤斯说。

36

37 潘基文在与法比尤斯一同会见记者时说，目前各方在资金、行动力度、如何体现区别等方面仍有一些问题需要解决，但剩余的谈判时间已经不多。希望各方能展现强大领导力和聪明才智，从全球视野做出决策，推动全球实现低碳、可持续发展。（完）

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Article #11 (13 December, 2015)

<p>General attitudes to cooperation / views about the conference</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 中方权威人士：《巴黎协定》凝聚各方最广泛共识 [1] The Paris agreement brings together all parties broad understanding ▪ 这一协定内容丰富，是全球气候治理进程中的重要里程碑 [13,14] This agreement is an important milestone in the global climate governance process ▪ 中国气候变化事务特别代表解振华当天在大会闭幕式上说，《巴黎协定》是一个“公平合理、全面平衡、富有雄心、持久有效、具有法律约束力”的协定，传递出全球将实现绿色低碳、气候适应型和可持续发展的强有力积极信号。同时，协定起到了衔接2020年前提高应对气候变化力度和2020年后加强切实行动的作用 [17, 20] China's Special Representative for Climate Change Affairs, Xie Zhenhua, said at the closing ceremony of the conference that the Paris Agreement is a "fair, reasonable, balanced, ambitious, lasting and legally binding" agreement that will deliver a strong positive signal towards achieving global low- carbon, adaptive, and sustainable development. At the same time, the agreement is a bridge for enhancing the response to climate change by 2020 and to strengthening practical action after 2020 ▪ 解振华说，虽然协定并不十分完美，但是中方对协定“完全支持” [22] Xie Zhenhua said even though the agreement is not perfect, but the Chinese party fully supports it ▪ 协定凝聚著各方最广泛的共识，体现了世界各国利益和全球利益的平衡 [22, 23] The agreement embodies the broadest consensus among all parties and reflects the balance of interests of the world ▪ 解振华说，《巴黎协定》对中国今后的低碳发展将起到很大推动作用。应对气候变化是一种挑战，但也是中国可持续发展的一种机遇，“落实《巴黎协定》，中国的可持续发展会越来越越好 [43, 44] Xie Zhenhua said that the "Paris Agreement" will help China's future low-carbon development. Addressing climate change is a challenge, but it is also an opportunity for sustainable development in China." Implementing the Paris Agreement will make China's sustainable development better
<p>Defining the problem</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>Responsibility</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 中国始终坚持协定是落实《联合国气候变化框架公约》、加强行动的阶段性成果，坚持“共同但有区别的责任”原则，最终达成的协定也体现了发达国家和发展中国家的区分 [26-28] China has consistently adhered to the UNFCCC Agreement on the Implementation of the UNFCCC, which has helped strengthen the conferences results, and China has supported the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities". The final agreement also reflects the distinction between developed and developing countries ▪ 中国代表团成员、国家应对气候变化战略研究和国际合作中心副主任邹骥透露，没有中国的坚持，最终的《巴黎协定》就不会像现在这样体现出发达国家和发展中国家的“共同但有区别的责任” [30, 31] Zou Ji, member of the Chinese delegation and deputy director of the National Center for Strategic Studies and International Cooperation on Climate Change, divulged that without the insistence of China the eventual Paris Agreement will not reflect the common but differentiated responsibilities [30, 31]
<p>Describing China's situation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>China's status in world</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>How action to tackle climate change should be</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 他敦促发达国家切实兑现向发展中国家提供资金、技术和能力建设支持的承诺，为2020年后加强行动奠定坚实互信基础 [23, 24] He urged the developed countries to effectively fulfill their commitment to providing financial, technical and capacity-building support to developing countries, laying a solid foundation of mutual trust for action after 2020 ▪ 协定中敦促发达国家缔约方提高其资金支持水准、“制定切实的路线图”的内容就是中方提出并坚持的，最终正式写入协定 [32, 33] Developed countries are urged to increase their level of funding support. The "development of a realistic roadmap" is the an idea that China put forward and insisted on, and was finally written into the agreement ▪ “没有‘制定切实的路线图’这个表述，发达国家关于2020年前每年为发展中国家提供1000亿美元应对气候变化支持资金的承诺就成了画饼。”邹骥说，“有了路线图这个说法，明年开气候变化大会，我们就可以以此为依据来讨论了” [35-37] "If there was no 'realistic roadmap' statement," says Zou Ji, "the commitment of the developed countries to provide \$ 100 billion a year to developing countries by 2020 could change. With this statement, next year's climate change conference can use this as a basis for discussions "
<p>Need to balance tackling climate change with development</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>Actions taken by International Community</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 巴黎气候变化大会12日晚通过《巴黎协定》，为2020年后全球应对气候变化行动作出安排 [12, 13] The Paris Climate Change Conference on the evening of the 12th passed the "Paris Agreement" for post-2020 global response to climate change arrangements
<p>Actions taken by China to tackle climate change</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 中国国家气候变化专家委员会副主任何建坤介绍，巴黎气候变化大会前，中国与美国、法国、印度、巴西等主要经济体分别发表了应对气候变化的多个联合声明，气候谈判中的法律约束力、资金、力度等焦点分歧在这些联合声明中都有描述，这为巴黎气候变化大会的成功提前凝聚了共识 [39- 41] Before the Paris Climate Change Conference, China and the United States, France, India, Brazil and others published a number of joint statements on climate change, legal restrictions, negotiations funding, and intensity are described in these joint statements, which led to a consensus ahead of the Paris climate change

	conference
China actions as part of the conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 中国代表团权威人士在会后第一时间向新华社记者就如何看待这一协定、中国有哪些贡献等问题作出解答 [14, 15] After the meeting, the authorities of the Chinese delegation made the first answer to the Xinhua News Agency on how to treat the agreement and what China's contribution was 解振华认为, 在与各国共同努力的过程中, 中国为推动达成协定作出了建设性贡献 [26] Xie Zhenhua believes that China has made a constructive contribution to the promotion of cooperation in the process of concerted efforts with other countries. 中国始终坚持协定是落实《联合国气候变化框架公约》、加强行动的阶段性成果, 坚持“共同但有区别的责任”原则, 最终达成的协定也体现了发达国家和发展中国家的区分 [26-28] China has consistently adhered to the UNFCCC Agreement on the Implementation of the UNFCCC, which has helped strengthen the conferences results, and China has supported the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities". The final agreement also reflects the distinction between developed and developing countries 协定中敦促发达国家缔约方提高其资金支持水准、“制定切实的路线图”的内容就是中方提出并坚持的, 最终正式写入协定 [32, 33] Developed countries are urged to increase their level of funding support. The "development of a realistic roadmap" is the an idea that China put forward and insisted on, and was finally written into the agreement
China actions to lead others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 中国代表团成员、国家应对气候变化战略研究和国际合作中心副主任邹骥透露, 没有中国的坚持, 最终的《巴黎协定》就不会像现在这样体现出发达国家和发展中国家的“共同但有区别的责任” [30, 31] Zou Ji, member of the Chinese delegation and deputy director of the National Center for Strategic Studies and International Cooperation on Climate Change, divulged that without the insistence of China the eventual Paris Agreement will not reflect the common but differentiated responsibilities [30, 31] 协定中敦促发达国家缔约方提高其资金支持水准、“制定切实的路线图”的内容就是中方提出并坚持的, 最终正式写入协定 [32, 33] Developed countries are urged to increase their level of funding support. The "development of a realistic roadmap" is the an idea that China put forward and insisted on, and was finally written into the agreement 中国国家气候变化专家委员会副主任何建坤介绍, 巴黎气候变化大会前, 中国与美国、法国、印度、巴西等主要经济体分别发表了应对气候变化的多个联合声明, 气候谈判中的法律约束力、资金、力度等重点分歧在这些联合声明中都有描述, 这为巴黎气候变化大会的成功提前凝聚了共识 [39- 41] Before the Paris Climate Change Conference, China and the United States, France, India, Brazil and others published a number of joint statements on climate change, legal restrictions, negotiations funding, and intensity are described in these joint statements, which led to a consensus ahead of the Paris climate change conference
Views of China from other countries	
Actions taken by other countries	

1 巴黎气候变化大会) 中方权威人士: 《巴黎协定》凝聚各方最广泛共识

2

3 韩冰

4 892 words

5 13 December 2015

6 04:24

7 新华社中文新闻 (简体)

8 XINCCN

9 Chinese - Simplified

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11

12 新华社巴黎 1 2 月 1 2 日电 (记者韩冰 应强 苏轶人) 巴黎气候变化大会 1 2 日晚通过《巴黎协定》

13 , 为 2 0 2 0 年后全球应对气候变化行动作出安排。这一协定内容丰富, 是全球气候治理进程中的

14 重要里程碑。中国代表团权威人士在会后第一时间向新华社记者就如何看待这一协定、中国有哪些

15 贡献等问题作出解答。

16

17 中国气候变化事务特别代表解振华当天在大会闭幕式上说, 《巴黎协定》是一个“公平合理、全面平

18 衡、富有雄心、持久有效、具有法律约束力”的协定, 传递出全球将实现绿色低碳、气候适应型和可

19 可持续发展的强有力积极信号。同时, 协定起到了衔接 2 0 2 0 年前提高应对气候变化力度和 2 0 2

20 0年后加强切实行动的作用。

21

22 解振华说，虽然协定并不十分完美，但是中方对协定“完全支持”。协定凝聚著各方最广泛的共识，
23 体现了世界各国利益和全球利益的平衡。他敦促发达国家切实兑现向发展中国家提供资金、技术和
24 能力建设支持的承诺，为2020年后加强行动奠定坚实互信基础。

25

26 解振华认为，在与各国共同努力的过程中，中国为推动达成协定作出了建设性贡献。中国始终坚持
27 协定是落实《联合国气候变化框架公约》、加强行动的阶段性成果，坚持“共同但有区别的责任”原
28 则，最终达成的协定也体现了发达国家和发展中国家的区分。

29

30 中国代表团成员、国家应对气候变化战略研究和国际合作中心副主任邹骥透露，没有中国的坚持，
31 最终的《巴黎协定》就不会像现在这样体现出发达国家和发展中国家的“共同但有区别的责任”。协
32 定中敦促发达国家缔约方提高其资金支持水准、“制定切实的路线图”的内容就是中方提出并坚持的
33 ，最终正式写入协定。

34

35 “没有‘制定切实的路线图’这个表述，发达国家关于2020年前每年为发展中国家提供1000亿
36 美元应对气候变化支持资金的承诺就成了画饼，”邹骥说，“有了路线图这个说法，明年开气候变化
37 大会，我们就可以以此为依据来讨论了。”

38

39 中国国家气候变化专家委员会副任何建坤介绍，巴黎气候变化大会前，中国与美国、法国、印度
40 、巴西等主要经济体分别发表了应对气候变化的多个联合声明，气候谈判中的法律约束力、资金、
41 力度等焦点分歧在这些联合声明中都有描述，这为巴黎气候变化大会的成功提前凝聚了共识。

42

43 解振华说，《巴黎协定》对中国今后的低碳发展将起到很大推动作用。应对气候变化是一种挑战，
44 但也是中国可持续发展的一种机遇，“落实《巴黎协定》，中国的可持续发展会越来越好”。（完）

Article #5 (14 December, 2015)

General attitudes to cooperation / views about the conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 当地时间 12 日晚，有关 2020 年后全球应对气候变化行动安排的《巴黎协定》终于破壳而出 [16, 17] The Paris agreement to tackle climate change after 2020 was finally hatched
Defining the problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
Responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “巴黎大会应该摒弃‘零和博弈’狭隘思维，推动各国尤其是发达国家多一点共享、多一点担当，实现互惠共赢 [33. 34] The Paris Conference should abandon the 'zero-sum game' narrow-minded thinking, to promote countries, especially developed countries to share a little more, to show a little more responsibility and to achieve mutual benefit and win-win 对各方关切的问题，习近平主席强调共同但有区别的责任这一基本原则依然有效，同时应推进合作共赢，各尽其能共同应对挑战，发达国家尤其应切实履行向发展中国家提供资金和技术转让的义务。这些主张巩固了应对气候变化的国际合作基石 [80-82] President Xi stressed that the basic principle of ‘common but differentiated responsibilities’ was still valid, <u>at the same time win-win cooperation should be promoted so that all countries can meet the challenges together.</u> Developed countries should, in particular, fulfill their obligations to developing countries and carry out financial and technology transfer obligations. These assertions reinforce the cornerstone of international cooperation to address climate change 大会期间，中方团队本着负责任、合作精神和建设性态度参与谈判，为促成《巴黎协定》达成作出了重要贡献 [86,87] During the conference, the Chinese team participated in the negotiations in a responsible, cooperative and constructive manner and made important contributions to the conclusion of the Paris Agreement.
Describing China's situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 作为世界最大的发展中国家 [37] Acting as the world's largest developing country 中国经济快速发展，人民生活发生了深刻变化，但也付出了资源环境方面的代价 [40] China's rapid economic development has brought profound changes in people's lives, but it has also paid the price of resources and environment 在中国这片土地上，既有天人合一、道法自然等思想积淀，更有“绿水青山就是金山银山”等认识上的飞跃 [41-42] In this piece of land in China, we have both the idea of unity of man and nature, Taoism and other natural thoughts as well as other green knowledge
China's status in world	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> （巴黎气候变化大会）特稿：《巴黎协定》背后的中国智慧与力量 [1] Paris Agreement, behind the scenes China's wisdom and strength
How action to tackle climate change should be	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 一份成功的国际协议既要解决当下矛盾，也要引领未来 [25, 26] A successful international agreement must solve the present contradiction and lead the future 有利于实现公约目标，引领绿色发展；有利于凝聚全球力量，鼓励广泛参与；有利于加大投入，强化行动保障；有利于照顾各国国情，讲求务实有效 [26, 27] Should be conducive to the conventions targets, lead the way in green development, bring together the world's power, widely encourage participation, increase input, create strong pledges, consider each country's situation, and pay attention to effectiveness “巴黎大会应该摒弃‘零和博弈’狭隘思维，推动各国尤其是发达国家多一点共享、多一点担当，实现互惠共赢 [33. 34] The Paris Conference should abandon the 'zero-sum game' narrow-minded thinking, to promote countries, especially developed countries to share a little more, to show a little more responsibility and to achieve mutual benefit and win-win 对各方关切的问题，习近平主席强调共同但有区别的责任这一基本原则依然有效，同时应推进合作共赢，各尽其能共同应对挑战，发达国家尤其应切实履行向发展中国家提供资金和技术转让的义务。这些主张巩固了应对气候变化的国际合作基石 [80-82] President Xi stressed that the basic principle of ‘common but differentiated responsibilities’ was still valid, <u>at the same time win-win cooperation should be promoted so that all countries can meet the challenges together.</u> Developed countries should, in particular, fulfill their obligations to developing countries and carry out financial and technology transfer obligations. These assertions reinforce the cornerstone of international cooperation to address climate change
Need to balance tackling	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
Actions taken by IC	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
Actions taken by China to tackle climate change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 法国作家雨果说：“最大的决心会产生最高的智慧。”中国正是以最大的决心、最高的智慧走绿色发展之路 [44, 45] The French writer Hugo said: "The greatest determination will produce the highest wisdom." China has the greatest determination, the highest wisdom to take the green road of development ‘十二五’期间，中国以前所未有、全球罕见的力度，治理污染保护生态环境。如今，中国已是世界节能和利用新能源、可再生能源第一大国 [47, 48] During the 12th Five-Year Plan, China has made unprecedented efforts to control pollution and protect the ecological environment. Today, China is the world's leading energy and renewable energy source. 面向未来，中国将把生态文明建设作为“十三五”规划重要内容，落实创新、协调、绿色、开放、共享的发展理念，通过科技创新和体制机制创新，实施优化产业结构、构建低碳能源体系、发展绿色建筑和低碳交通、建立全国碳排放交易市场等一系列政策措施，形成人和自然和谐发展现代化建设新格局 [50-53] In the future, China will make ecological civilization construction important content of the 13th Five-Year Plan, and will implement innovation, coordination, green living, openness

	<p>and sharing - using scientific and technological innovation and institutional mechanisms, it will optimize the industrial structure and optimize the systems, it will develop green buildings and low-carbon transport, establish a national carbon emissions trading market and a series of policy measures to form a harmonious development of man and nature and a new pattern of modernization.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 中国在巴黎大会召开前提交的国家自主贡献文件中，提出将于2030年左右使二氧化碳排放达到峰值，并争取尽早实现，2030年单位国内生产总值二氧化碳排放比2005年下降60%到65%，非化石能源占一次能源消费比重达到20%左右，森林蓄积量比2005年增加45亿立方米左右 [55-58] China's national self-contribution document submitted before the Paris Conference, said that by 2030 it would peak carbon dioxide emissions, and carbon dioxide emissions per unit of GDP will be decreased by 60% to 65% from 2005 levels, non-fossil energy as a proportion of primary energy consumption will be about 20%, the volume of forest reserves will increase by 4.5 billion cubic meters 中国国家气候变化专家委员会副主任何建坤介绍说，巴黎大会前，中国与美国、法国、印度、巴西等主要经济体分别发表了应对气候变化的多个联合声明，气候谈判中的法律约束力、资金、力度等焦点问题在这些联合声明中都有描述，这为巴黎大会的成功奠定了基础 [75-77] Before the Paris meeting, China and the United States, France, India, Brazil and other major economies published a number of joint statements on climate change. Funds, intensity and other issues are described in these joint declarations, which laid the foundations for the success of the Paris Conference
China actions as part of the conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> （巴黎气候变化大会）特稿：《巴黎协定》背后的中国智慧与力量 [1] Paris Agreement, behind the scenes China's wisdom and strength 作为全球应对气候变化事业的积极参与者，中国方案、中国行动与中国智慧，为大会成功作出不可替代的贡献 [19- 21] As a positive participant in the climate change discussions, China set an example, its action and wisdom made an irreplaceable contribution to the success of the meeting 一份成功的国际协议既要解决当下矛盾，也要引领未来。正基于此，中国国家主席习近平在参加巴黎气候变化大会时对巴黎协定提出了四点建议 [25,26] A successful international agreement must solve the present contradiction and lead the future. Based on this, Chinese President Xi Jinping in the Paris climate change conference on the Paris agreement made four recommendations 习近平主席的讲话，为国际社会深入思考和探索未来全球治理模式、推动人类命运共同体建设贡献了中国智慧 [34, 35] A speech by President Xi Jinping contributed to China's wisdom for the international community to think deeply and explore the future global governance model and promote the construction of human destiny community 为推动全球携手共进，凝聚各方共识，中国作出了自己的努力 [70] China has made its own efforts to promote global consensus and work together 大会伊始，习近平主席同其他与会领导人坦诚、务实沟通协调，引导各方着眼大局、坚定信心、相向而行，最大程度凝聚共识 [79, 80] At the beginning of the meeting, President Xi Jinping and other leaders of the meeting agreed to undertake frank and pragmatic communication and coordination, and guide the parties to focus on the overall situation, strengthen confidence, the greatest degree of consensus 在大会闭幕前夕，习近平主席还与美国总统奥巴马通电话，表达了达成协定的强烈政治意愿 [84] On the eve of the closing of the conference, President Xi also telephoned President Barack Obama to express the strong political will to reach an agreement 大会期间，中方团队本着负责任、合作精神和建设性态度参与谈判，为促成《巴黎协定》达成作出了重要贡献 [86,87] During the conference, the Chinese team participated in the negotiations in a responsible, cooperative and constructive manner and made important contributions to the conclusion of the Paris Agreement.
China actions to lead others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 习近平主席的讲话，为国际社会深入思考和探索未来全球治理模式、推动人类命运共同体建设贡献了中国智慧 [34, 35] A speech by President Xi Jinping contributed to China's wisdom for the international community to think deeply and explore the future global governance model and promote the construction of human destiny community 作为世界最大的发展中国家，中国也正用自己的行动与智慧，为其他发展中国家“带路”——探索一个可资借鉴的绿色发展模式，助力全球应对气候变化和向生态文明转型 [37, 38] As the world's largest developing country, China is also using its own actions and wisdom to "lead the way" for other developing countries - to explore a green development model that can be used as reference to help the global response to climate change and to transform ecological civilization 为全球做表率 [41] Setting an example to the world 除此之外，中国还为南南气候合作增添动力。在今年9月宣布设立中国气候变化南南合作基金的基础上，习近平主席在巴黎大会上进一步宣布，2016年将启动在发展中国家开展10个低碳示范区、100个减缓和适应气候变化项目及1000个应对气候变化培训名额的合作项目。中国以自己的实际行动支持发展中国家提高应对气候变化能力，敦促发达国家向发展中国家提供更多的技术和资金支持，进而推动气候变化全球行动的进程 [64-68] In addition, China has added momentum to South-South climate cooperation. In September this year, announced the establishment of China's climate change South-South cooperation fund, based on the President Xi Jinping in Paris Conference further announced that in 2016 will start in developing countries to carry out 10 low-carbon demonstration zones, 100 mitigation and adaptation projects And 1,000 climate change training places. China, with its own practical actions, supports developing countries to improve their ability to cope with climate change and urges developed countries to provide more technical and financial support to developing countries so as to promote the global process of responding to climate change
Views of China from other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 这些做法获得了国际社会的好评 [60] These measures have received a good evaluation from international society 《联合国气候变化框架公约》秘书处执行秘书克裏斯蒂娜·菲格雷斯不久前在一个记者会上回答“哪个国家的应对气候变化

countries	行动可称榜样”时点名提到了中国。她说，中国采取了“非常令人印象深刻的”行动，中国在对待气候变化问题上“非常非常认真” [60,62] Christina Figueres, executive secretary of the UNFCCC secretariat, mentioned China at a press conference to answer the question "Which country's climate change initiative can be called a model". China has taken "very impressive" actions, she said, and China is "very, very serious" in addressing climate change
Actions taken by other countries	中国国家气候变化专家委员会副主任何建坤介绍说，巴黎大会前，中国与美国、法国、印度、巴西等主要经济体分别发表了应对气候变化的多个联合声明，气候谈判中的法律约束力、资金、力度等焦点问题在这些联合声明中都有描述，这为巴黎大会的成功奠定了基础 [75-77] Before the Paris meeting, China and the United States, France, India, Brazil and other major economies published a number of joint statements on climate change. Funds, intensity and other issues are described in these joint declarations, which laid the foundations for the success of the Paris Conference

1 (巴黎气候变化大会) 特稿: 《巴黎协定》背后的中国智慧与力量

2

3 杨骏

4 1,738 words

5 14 December 2015

6 09:11

7 新华社中文新闻(简体)

8 XINCCN

9 Chinese - Simplified

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11

12 新华社北京12月14日电特稿: 《巴黎协定》背后的中国智慧与力量

13

14 新华社记者杨骏

15

16 世界目光聚焦巴黎。当地时间12日晚，有关2020年后全球应对气候变化行动安排的《巴黎协定》终于破壳而出。

17

18 巴黎气候变化大会，13天、近200个缔约方，催生《巴黎协定》的谈判密集而艰苦。作为全球应对气候变化事业的积极参与者，中国方案、中国行动与中国智慧，为大会成功作出不可替代的贡献。

19

20 (小标题) 贡献中国智慧

21

22 一份成功的国际协议既要解决当下矛盾，也要引领未来。正基于此，中国国家主席习近平在参加巴黎气候变化大会时对巴黎协定提出了四点建议：有利于实现公约目标，引领绿色发展；有利于凝聚全球力量，鼓励广泛参与；有利于加大投入，强化行动保障；有利于照顾各国国情，讲求务实有效。

23

24 。

25

26 这些建议既立足当下，又面向未来，既坚持原则，又体现灵活，既勾勒出聚同化异、相向而行的现实路径，也包含著标本兼治、绿色发展的长远谋划，因而得到广泛支持和赞同。

27

28 “巴黎大会应该摒弃‘零和博弈’狭隘思维，推动各国尤其是发达国家多一点共享、多一点担当，实现互惠共赢。”习近平主席的讲话，为国际社会深入思考和探索未来全球治理模式、推动人类命运共同体建设贡献了中国智慧。

29

30 作为世界最大的发展中国家，中国也正用自己的行动与智慧，为其他发展中国家“带路”——探索一

31

38 个可资借鉴的绿色发展模式，助力全球应对气候变化和向生态文明转型。

39

40 中国经济快速发展，人民生活发生了深刻变化，但也付出了资源环境方面的代价。在中国这片土地
41 上，既有天人合一、道法自然等思想积淀，更有“绿水青山就是金山银山”等认识上的飞跃。（小标
42 题）为全球做表率

43

44 法国作家雨果说：“最大的决心会产生最高的智慧。”中国正是以最大的决心、最高的智慧走绿色发
45 展之路：

46

47 “十二五”期间，中国以前所未有、全球罕见的力度，治理污染保护生态环境。如今，中国已是世界
48 节能和利用新能源、可再生能源第一大国。

49

50 面向未来，中国将把生态文明建设作为“十三五”规划重要内容，落实创新、协调、绿色、开放、共
51 享的发展理念，通过科技创新和体制机制创新，实施优化产业结构、构建低碳能源体系、发展绿色
52 建筑和低碳交通、建立全国碳排放交易市场等一系列政策措施，形成人和自然和谐发展现代化建设
53 新格局。

54

55 中国在巴黎大会召开前提交的国家自主贡献文件中，提出将于2030年左右使二氧化碳排放达到
56 峰值，并争取尽早实现，2030年单位国内生产总值二氧化碳排放比2005年下降60%到6
57 5%，非化石能源占一次能源消费比重达到20%左右，森林蓄积量比2005年增加45亿立方
58 米左右。

59

60 这些做法获得了国际社会的好评。《联合国气候变化框架公约》秘书处执行秘书克ristina·菲格雷
61 斯不久前在一个记者会上回答“哪个国家的应对气候变化行动可称榜样”时点名提到了中国。她说，
62 中国采取了“非常令人印象深刻的”行动，中国在对待气候变化问题上“非常非常认真”。

63

64 除此之外，中国还为南南气候合作增添动力。在今年9月宣布设立中国气候变化南南合作基金的基础
65 上，习近平主席在巴黎大会上进一步宣布，2016年将启动在发展中国家开展10个低碳示范
66 区、100个减缓和适应气候变化项目及1000个应对气候变化培训名额的合作项目。中国以自
67 己的实际行动支持发展中国家提高应对气候变化能力，敦促发达国家向发展中国家提供更多的技术
68 和资金支持，进而推动气候变化全球行动的进程。

69

70 （小标题）凝聚各方共识

71

72 巴黎气候变化大会具有里程碑意义。为推动全球携手共进，凝聚各方共识，中国作出了自己的努力
73 。

74

75 中国国家气候变化专家委员会副任何建坤介绍说，巴黎大会前，中国与美国、法国、印度、巴西
76 等主要经济体分别发表了应对气候变化的多个联合声明，气候谈判中的法律约束力、资金、力度等
77 焦点问题在这些联合声明中都有描述，这为巴黎大会的成功奠定了基础。

78

79 大会伊始，习近平主席同其他与会领导人坦诚、务实沟通协调，引导各方着眼大局、坚定信心、相

80 向而行，最大程度凝聚共识。对各方关切的问题，习近平主席强调共同但有区别的责任这一基本原
81 则依然有效，同时应推进合作共赢，各尽其能共同应对挑战，发达国家尤其应切实履行向发展中国
82 家提供资金和技术转让的义务。这些主张巩固了应对气候变化的国际合作基石。

83
84 在大会闭幕前夕，习近平主席还与美国总统奥巴马通电话，表达了达成协定的强烈政治意愿。大会
85 期间，中方团队本着负责任、合作精神和建设性态度参与谈判，为促成《巴黎协定》达成作出了重
86 要贡献。

87
88 中国气候变化事务特别代表解振华说，本次大会上，在与各国共同努力的过程中，中国为推动达成
89 协定作出了建设性的贡献。中国始终坚持协定是落实《联合国气候变化框架公约》、加强行动的阶
90 段性成果，坚持“共同但有区别的责任”原则，最终达成的协定也体现了发达国家和发展中国家的区
91 分。（完）

