



2025 Annual Report



ecbi

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Message from the Director



2025 marked a milestone for ecbi as we celebrated its 20th Anniversary. I had the opportunity to look back and highlight some of our achievements at the 2025 Oxford Seminar dinner (for more, see the OCP/ecbi blog post: [ecbi@20: Looking back](#)).

We are also grateful to DANIDA for extending their Phase V funding for ecbi to 2026. This will allow us to fundraise for ecbi Phase VI, which will be under the Directorship of Kishan Kumarsingh, currently Head of the ecbi Fellowship and Trust-building Programme.

It has been an honour and a pleasure to direct the ecbi over the last two decades and I sincerely hope we will be able to secure its continuation.

Benito Muller
Director, ecbi
Oxford, February 2026

ecbi Activities in 2025

Fellowship and Trust-building Programme

Central to ecbi's Fellowship and Trust-building Programme is its annual seminars in Bonn and Oxford, which bring together developing country negotiators and their European partners in an informal setting to build mutual understanding and trust. They are conducted under the Chatham House Rule, which allows for frank and open exchanges and the building of trust among developing countries and their European partners..

The **Oxford Seminar** is ecbi's flagship event. It provides capacity building for climate change negotiators and promotes a level playing field and mutual understanding between governments in international climate negotiations. Since 2005, ecbi's Oxford Seminars have provided an opportunity for invited delegates from developing and European countries to meet in an informal setting ahead of the annual UNFCCC COPs. It is always preceded by the Fellows Colloquium, which brings together developing country negotiators who discuss amongst themselves topics that are being negotiated in advance of upcoming COPs. During the Seminar, the Fellows present the outcomes of their discussions to their European partners.

The **Bonn Seminar** is held alongside the intersessional UNFCCC Subsidiary Body meetings, which take place in May or June every year in Bonn. Since 2005, the Bonn Seminar has provided an opportunity for invited delegates from developing and European countries to share their views and ideas on topical issues in an informal setting and build mutual understanding and trust. The meetings provide a space for participants to speak off-the-record about topics relevant to the formal negotiations. The Bonn Seminars facilitate and maintain momentum with the aim of continuing to advance trust-building created during the annual Oxford Seminars and in other informal settings. Topics discussed are of immediate relevance to ongoing negotiations under the UNFCCC.

2025 Bonn Seminar

On 22 June, ecbi convened its **2025 Bonn Seminar** at La Redoute in Bad Godesberg, Bonn, Germany, on the sidelines of the 62nd session of the UNFCCC Subsidiary Bodies, bringing together more than 40 delegates from both developing and European countries.

In opening remarks, Kishan Kumarsingh, Head, **ecbi's Fellowship and Trust Building Programme**, thanked the Danish government, and specifically Danida, for its generous support of the Programme. Kumarsingh said it was a pleasure to be assisting ecbi with its ongoing efforts to build trust among negotiators on critical issues being discussed under the UNFCCC and the Paris Agreement.

During the seminar, participants discussed efforts being taken on advancing the Baku to Belém Roadmap to 1.3T, on scaling up climate finance to developing countries to support low emissions and climate-resilient development pathways and implement nationally determined contributions (NDCs) and national adaptation plans (NAPs), "including

through grants, concessional and non-debt creating instruments, and measures to create fiscal space, taking into account relevant multilateral initiatives as appropriate”.

Another session addressed the Mitigation Work Programme (MWP), with one developing country and former MWP Co-Chair commenting that it was the best discussion on the MWP that he had participated in, given the many innovative ideas put forward about how to improve the process. Topics raised by speakers related to, among others, how to make projects more attractive for investment such as aggregating small projects, and how to better scale up ambition and implementation.

An exchange took place on the Future of the Process, with presentations addressing the COPs, which have become unruly with Summits, Expos, and Negotiations all happening at the same time in the same place. The numbers of participants attending these events have been increasing, hindering small and vulnerable countries from holding COPs as they have limited infrastructure and hotel rooms to house participants. One proposal that was floated for COP31 was that, if Australia were chosen to host, it could partner with Fiji, which would host the negotiations. That way multiple events could take place in different venues, ensuring a small island country would be able to host.

Another presentation looked specifically at repurposing the multilateral climate process through, for example, reorganising and simplifying the agendas, moving to a multi-year programme of work so not every item needs to be addressed at every meeting, developing different work formats and changing mindsets to focus more on implementation, and making better use of spaces held outside of the formal process, such as climate weeks.

2025 Oxford Seminar

ecbi convened its **2025 Oxford Seminar** from 27-29 August at the Examination Schools in Oxford. The Seminar was preceded by the Fellows Colloquium from 25-27 August at Magdalen College.

The following topics were discussed during the Seminar both in plenary sessions and in breakout groups, which provided the opportunity for more in-depth exchanges:

- Mitigation Work Programme (MWP);
- Baku to Belém Roadmap to 1.3T;
- Global Goal on Adaptation;
- Just Transition Work Programme (JTWP);
- the International Country of Justice (ICJ) advisory opinion on the obligations of states regarding climate change;
- the Global Stocktake (GST), including progress on implementing the outcomes of the first GST and lessons learned for the second GST;
- repurposing COP sessions; the COP30 Action Agenda;
- future arrangements for intergovernmental meetings under the UNFCCC; and
- an app developed for COP30 that translates documents into more than 80 languages.

Of particular interest and timeliness, the presentation on the [ICJ advisory opinion](#), delivered by Kate Cook, a barrister at Matrix Chambers in London, addressed how the opinion might impact on the climate negotiations. Another session that provoked lively debate explored ways in which the climate negotiations could be repurposed to be more streamlined, effective, and focused on implementation. On the JTWP, one issue that was debated was whether a new mechanism was needed to help developing countries implement the work programme.

Representatives from the incoming Brazilian COP Presidency presented on the COP30 Action Agenda, based on six Axes (energy transition, biodiversity, agriculture and food systems, building resilience, social development, and the cross-cutting issue of enablers and accelerators), 30 key objectives, and a granary of solutions. Also introduced was a virtual assistant ([Macaozinho](#)), which was developed based on official documents released by the UNFCCC, approved IPCC reports, and articles by the Brazilian technical team. In 80 languages, it provides reliable formation on topics related to the negotiations at both COP30 in Belém and previous COPs.

In celebration of ecbi's 20th anniversary, a dinner took place in the Sheldonian Theatre on 28 August with ecbi Director Benito Müller providing some reminiscences on [ecbi@20: Looking back](#). John Simpson CBE, BBC News World Affairs Editor, delivered the after-dinner address. He later said that: "Professor Benito Müller and his co-hort are doing some of the most important work on the planet. It is important that they remember that and keep on bringing real passion to their work and never allow it to just be hum-drum and ordinary, because it is not."

Following the Seminar, several participants sent expressions of appreciation, including one submitted by H.E. Diana Mejía Molina, Minister Plenipotentiary, Director of Economic, Social, and Environmental Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Colombia, who stated:

"I wish to convey my deepest appreciation for the opportunity to participate in this year's Fellows Colloquium and Seminar. The program was exceptionally well-organized and intellectually enriching, fostering rigorous dialogue and a valuable exchange of perspectives. The breadth and depth of the discussions greatly contributed to advancing understanding of the issues at hand and hopefully will help us to bring solutions into climate negotiations and the incoming COP. The setting of Magdalen College provided an unparalleled environment that fostered closeness, calm, and reflection, greatly enhancing the quality of the exchanges and the sense of community among participants. Please accept my sincere thanks for your dedication and for creating such a stimulating and collegial environment".

Training and Support Programme

The Training and Support Programme convened a workshop in March 2025 in Trinidad and Tobago focused on building the capacity of novice negotiators from the Caribbean region.

Caribbean Training Workshop for Novice Climate Negotiations

The 2025 ecbi Regional Training Workshop for the Caribbean, which convened from 18-20 March 2025 in Trinidad and Tobago, was attended by 16 negotiators from 10 countries. The Workshop covered key issues of importance to the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) in the multilateral climate change negotiations. It also provided hands-on training through a mock negotiating session. Sessions focused on:

- the science of climate change;
- the geopolitics of climate change, a background on the UNFCCC process, and key milestones;
- international law, the treaty-making process, and the legal nature of climate treaties, including compliance;
- the governance and institutional structure of the UNFCCC;
- mitigation, adaptation, and climate finance;
- loss and damage and a proposed Climate Solidarity Alliance;
- rules of procedure and decision making;
- the mechanics of negotiations; and
- the use of terminology.

Providing feedback on the training, participants said the Workshop was a great opportunity for novice negotiators to better understand the process before being dipped into a “pool of chaos”. One noted the training provided “an invaluable opportunity for young negotiators to gain hands-on experience before entering the complex world of negotiations”. Another appreciated the foundation-setting and said he would recommend the workshop to his colleagues. “Understanding the origins and evolution of these processes has helped me grasp their significance. Thanks to the organizers for exceeding my expectations—I leave this workshop more knowledgeable and better prepared,” he said.

A participant who had only attended one COP said it was a “baptism in fire” and, noting disappointment with his performance at the COP, said the workshop and grounding in different areas of the negotiations had prepared him to perform better in future COPs. Participants also felt the workshop was intense and suggested adding an additional day to accommodate smaller breakout sessions and more time to digest learning and prepare for the mock negotiations, as well as possibly adding a second round of mock negotiations to apply the feedback received on the first round. They appreciated the social aspects of the workshop as well, which they said was a lesson in engaging with people and bonding, and an opportunity to get to know colleagues from other countries in the region. One participant added this would also be “valuable in fostering professional relationships”.

Publications and Outreach Unit

In 2025, ecbi’s publications concentrated on a range of issues that it has been actively involved in, including those related to the future of and reforming the intergovernmental process and innovative financing. Within this context, 2025 saw the publication of several meeting reports (referenced above), policy briefs, discussion notes, and blog posts, many of which related to possible innovative financing sources, including Climate Solidarity

Levies (CSLs) that could potentially be imposed by individual countries on air travel or shipping to fund loss and damage.

Web Traffic Increases

In 2025, both the OCP and ecbi websites showed major increases, with more direct traffic than people coming through search engines, showing great visibility especially for ecbi. The OCP website had 74,996 unique visitors, 90,676 visits, and 354,096 hits, which represents a 79% increase. The ecbi website saw an incredible increase to 418,930 unique visitors, 503,991 visits, and 1,618,469 hits. This represents a 370% increase! While there had been an uptick the entire year, the majority of visitors came in before and during the COP, with October and November alone bringing 60% of the total yearly traffic, proving that the increased traffic has significant impact as people gear up for the COP negotiations. This was also evident as Brazil was the second country of origin this year with people visiting the website during the COP.

In 2024, the most downloaded ecbi file was the [updated Quo Vadis COP?](#) publication with 2,794 downloads, while in 2025 the most downloaded file was the [COP 28 Key Outcomes](#) with 6,887 downloads. The second place for both years, [Pocket Guide to Article 6](#), showed a 30% uptick from 2,081 to 2,628 downloads.

Meeting Reports

2025 Bonn Seminar

The [2025 Bonn Seminar](#) took place on 22 June at La Redoute, Bad Godesberg, Bonn. Sessions convened on the Baku to Belém Roadmap to 1.3T, the MWP, and the future of the process. Read the full report of the Bonn Seminar [here](#).

2025 Oxford Seminar

The [2025 Oxford Seminar](#) took place from 27-29 August. Participants addressed relevant topics in advance of COP 30 in Belém, Brazil, including the MWP, the Baku to Belém Roadmap to 1.3T, the GGA, JTWP, the ICJ advisory opinion on the obligations of states regarding climate change, the GST, repurposing COP sessions, and future arrangements for intergovernmental meetings under the UNFCCC, among others. The Seminar was preceded by the Fellowship Colloquium from 25-27 August. See the full report of the Oxford Seminar [here](#).

Caribbean Training Workshop

The [2025 ecbi Regional Training Workshop for the Caribbean](#) convened from 18-20 March 2025 in Tobago and covered key issues of importance to AOSIS in the multilateral climate change negotiations. It also provided hands-on training through a mock negotiating session. See the full report of the workshop [here](#).

Annual Report: January to December 2024

In early 2025, ecbi published its [Annual Report covering the period January through December 2024](#). The Bonn Seminar, Fellows Colloquium, and Oxford Seminar took place during the report period. ecbi also published numerous discussion notes, policy briefs, and

blog posts, including on the New Collective Quantified Goal on Climate Finance (NCQG) and on the proposed CSLs. ecbi Director Benito Müller kept up a busy schedule participating in several events promoting the idea of CSLs, among others.
[Annual Report_2024.pdf](#)

Pocket Guide on Finance Update

In 2025, ecbi published an [update to its Pocket Guide to Finance under the UNFCCC](#), which was first published in 2020. This 2025 edition provides a summary of developments in the climate negotiations since 2020, including the decision taken that established the Fund for responding to Loss and Damage (FRLD) and, most recently, the outcome at COP29 in Baku, Azerbaijan, on the NCQG. The guide also looks at what lies ahead with respect to finance at COP30 in Belém and beyond. It details a timeline with relevant finance-related milestones in the climate process, discusses the various climate-related funds under the UNFCCC and Paris Agreement, and includes all climate-related decisions in an Annex for easy access. The guide aims to provide an overview for climate negotiators that might be new to the process or for those that have been in the process but want a summary of finance-related issues in one handy guide.

[2025 Pocket Guide on Climate finance.pdf](#)

Policy Briefs, Reports, Submissions, and Discussion Notes

Climate Solidarity Alliance Proposal to the Baku to Belém Roadmap to 1.3T

In July 2025, ecbi made a [submission on a proposal for a Climate Solidarity Alliance Solidarity Bonus Mechanism](#) in response to a call for proposals for [Mechanisms for Enhancing and Redistributing Revenues from Solidarity Levies](#) by the [Secretariat for the Global Solidarity Levies Taskforce](#) (GSLTF). The proposal states that members of the GSLTF Coalition could participate in the Climate Solidarity Alliance (CSA) to provide support for climate change-related activities in developing countries, particularly through building resilience (adaptation) and responding to loss and damage due to the adverse impacts of climate change. The CSA is envisioned as a partnership of [national and sub-national actors](#) willing to show solidarity with the poorest and most vulnerable to help them deal with climate change. This voluntary partnership is envisioned as bottom-up to enable immediate action and to avoid the complexities of international agreements.

The main elements of the proposed CSA are:

- national Climate Solidarity Trust Funds (CSTF) with loss and damage or adaptation windows, the [Fund to Respond to Loss and Damage](#) (FRLD) and the [Adaptation Fund](#) (AF) ideally placed to support the establishment of and provide standards for such national trust funds, and the use of CSLs; and
- a Solidarity Bonus Mechanism (SBM) under which eligible developing country CSA partners ('solidarity recipients') that contribute voluntarily to the FRLD or AF would receive a match of the contributed amount along with a 'solidarity bonus' from the solidarity-providing CSA partners ('solidarity providers') as bilateral SBM payments directly into the CSTF of the solidarity recipients.

A Solidarity Exchange, a (web-based) platform on which solidarity recipients could advertise their intention to contribute to an eligible multilateral climate fund, and

solidarity providers could indicate whether they would be providing a bonus-compensation for (a share of) the advertised proposed contribution.

[GSLTF Solidarity Mechanism Concept Note.pdf](#)

Discussion Note on Reimagining COPs and Climate Weeks

In May 2025, ecbi published a [Discussion Note on reimagining COPs and Climate Weeks](#), based on the premise that COPs have become “too big, too complex”. Their size is second only to the Olympics, with the costs of hosting at around USD 200 million, making hosting a COP unaffordable for smaller countries. This scale is largely due to concurrent summits, side events, and country pavilions (in what a recent ecbi Report referred to as ‘Climate Expos’). The Note proposes shifting most, if not all, Climate Action (Climate Expo) events currently held at COPs to the remodelled ‘COP Presidency Climate Weeks’. This separation would significantly reduce COP participant numbers, allowing small or developing countries to once again host the core negotiations, and enable COPs to focus more effectively on governance, stocktaking, reporting on progress, and accountability. The reimagined Climate Weeks would become major events focused on climate action and innovation zones. They should bridge the gap between international negotiations and ground-level implementation, and be “exciting, action and solutions-oriented, and relatable to the real world”. These weeks would feature practical events, launch projects with funding, and facilitate real-world deals (‘trade fairs’). The goal is to make Climate Weeks impactful and inspiring, allowing COPs to be more efficient and purposeful.

[Climate Weeks Discussion Note.pdf](#)

Climate Solidarity Alliance Proposal to the Baku to Belém Roadmap to Oxford 1.3T

In September 2025, Oxford Climate Policy made a [submission on the Climate Solidarity Alliance \(CSA\) proposal to the Baku to Belém Roadmap](#), as it has become clear that Loss & Damage (L&D) due to the adverse impacts of climate change must be addressed now. This is particularly the case for Small Island Developing States (SIDS) who are among the most vulnerable to L&D, some of which have already implemented domestic L&D response measures.

The proposed CSA is a voluntary partnership between countries that wish to support these national efforts as well as the multilateral activities of the UNFCCC/Paris Agreement [Fund for responding to Loss and Damage](#) (FRLD). While the CSA is meant to be open to all countries, there could also be regional cooperation between partners. This Note begins to sketch how such a collaboration could work for Latin America and the Caribbean. It is based on two key elements: all partners that are deemed eligible to receive support must have a domestic Climate Solidarity Trust Fund (CSTF), with a L&D window; and a specific Solidarity Bonus Mechanism (SBM) used to distribute solidarity payments between CSA partners (thus creating an incentive for joining the CSA), and beyond (through the FRLD).

Some CARICOM members already have domestic funds and are thus ‘CSA-ready’. For example, Antigua and Barbuda has a Climate Resilience and Development Fund, while Barbados has a Resilience and Regeneration Fund.

[OCP Baku to Belem Roadmap Submission on Climate Solidarity Alliance submitted.pdf](#)

Blog Posts

Quo Vadis COP? Glossary

This [post](#), authored by Benito Müller and Jen Allen, describes the COP Triad as detailed in Quo Vadis COP31?

- *UNFCCC Sessions* (Sessions): activities organised by the UNFCCC Secretariat (including negotiations, mandated events, side events) and usually organised in the Blue Zone.
- *COP Presidency Summits* (COP Summits): meetings of Heads of Government and State.
- *COP Presidency Expos*: mega-COP activities not covered by the above, such as Green Zone and pavilion activities.

ecbi@20: Looking back

This post, by Benito Müller, looks back on [20 years of ecbi](#). During a 20th Anniversary Oxford Seminar dinner on 27 August 2025 in the Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford, ecbi Director Müller looked back over the past two decades of ecbi activities and highlighted some key accomplishments. ecbi was founded in 2005 by the late [Saleemul Huq](#) (International Institute for Environment and Development) who was Head of the then titled Workshop Programme, and Benito Müller (OCP) as ecbi Director and Head of the Fellowship Programme (for more on ecbi, click [here](#)).

Pakistan: A Climate Solidarity Alliance Case Study

This [post](#) by Malik Amin Aslam Khan (former Minister of Climate Change, Pakistan) and Benito Müller explains how (a prompt launch of) a Climate Solidarity Alliance would fit in well with efforts of developing countries, such as Pakistan, in combatting climate change and its adverse impacts. A 'Bridgetown Postscript' to the post looks at the welcoming address by Mia Motley, Prime Minister of Barbados, to the participants of the fifth meeting of the FRLD Board on 9 April in Bridgetown, Barbados.

Quo Vadis COP.31?

This [post](#), by Yvo de Boer (former UNFCCC Executive Secretary) and Benito Müller, explains that the statistical analysis in the [2024 update of Quo Vadis COP?](#) shows that if the Negotiations were removed from the Summits and Expos, their 'stand-alone' size is predicted to be below 5000 participants, enabling any country, large or small, to host. Regarding COP31, the authors posited that Australia, for example, could offer to take on the COP Presidency in collaboration with [Pacific Island Forum](#) (PIF) member countries, and share the hosting of the three events between them. This would help overcome the exclusion problem as all PIF members could host stand-alone Negotiations (while not all would be able to host a Summit or a mega-Expo). Such a collaborative COP could encourage small and vulnerable countries to put themselves forward for future COP Presidencies.¹

¹ Since this post was written, Türkiye's offer to host COP 31 in Antalya was accepted, as was an arrangement between Türkiye and Australia to share the COP31 Presidency, with Australia designated the "President of negotiations". A Pre-COP meeting is expected to convene in the Pacific.

Activities of the ecbi Director

In 2025, ecbi Director Benito Müller participated in numerous events, meetings, and seminars, presenting on such issues as the future of intergovernmental meetings and the proposed Climate Solidarity Alliance.

17 October: WSDS-ACT4Earth Dialogue on Strengthening Multilateralism on the Road to Belém and Beyond COP

On 17 October, The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI), based in New Delhi, India, convened a [virtual Dialogue on Strengthening Multilateralism on the Road to COP30 and Beyond](#), which was chaired by Rajani Rajan Rashmi (Distinguished Fellow at TERI and former climate negotiator). Benito Müller kicked off the round of presentations, discussing the work he and colleagues have been doing under the theme of [Quo Vadis COP31? Future Arrangements for Intergovernmental Meetings](#). Ovais Sarmad (former UNFCCC Deputy Executive Secretary), author of an [OCP/ecbi Discussion on Note on reimagining COPs and Climate Weeks](#), proposed an ‘Implementation Forum’ within the COP process.

Niclas Svenningsen (Manager, Mitigation, UNFCCC) observed that the majority of participants at recent mega-COPs are not actually negotiating and that a conference with other climate actors could take place before the COP, so it feeds into the negotiations. He emphasised that “the UNFCCC is still the essential main mechanism for international negotiations”. In the Chair’s Summary, Rashmi highlighted key takeaways, the first being that we need to focus more on implementation and separate the process of negotiations from the process of climate actions.

30 September: GFLAC Dialogue on Advancing the Advancing the Baku to Belém Roadmap

On 30 September, Professor Benito Müller participated in a [virtual Dialogue](#) with Elmaddin Mehdiyev (Finance Team Leader and Senior Negotiator, COP29 Presidency) and Luiz de Andrade Filho (Finance Coordinator, COP30 Presidency). The event was convened by the [Climate Finance Group for Latin America and the Caribbean](#) (GFLAC) and moderated by its Director, Sandra Guzmán.

As recorded in the Dialogue Notes, “Mr. Müller emphasized the need for immediate, visible action to restore trust in climate finance. ‘Even if it’s small ... the world needs to see that money is actually moving — even if it’s peanuts, at least it’s peanuts’. He introduced the Climate Solidarity Alliance, which proposes a coalition of willing countries acting collectively outside the formal negotiations to deliver fast, tangible finance, particularly for loss and damage. Drawing on the precedent of the French air-ticket solidarity levy, he argued that such voluntary initiatives can complement slower multilateral channels. Finally, Müller emphasized that the Roadmap must combine long-term milestones with short-term, trust-building actions, demonstrating that finance is flowing to those most in need”.

[Notes - B2B Roadmap Dialogue with Civil Society.pdf](#)

26 September: Quo Vadis COP31? Update Event During New York Climate Week

On Friday 26 September, during New York Climate Week, ecbi convened a [meeting in the Permanent Mission of Tuvalu](#) with representatives from Pacific Islands and Australia to discuss the ideas put forward in [Quo Vadis COP.31?](#) The meeting was organised by Professor Elisabeth Holland and convened by H.E. Amb. Tapugao Falefou (Permanent Representative of Tuvalu to the UN in New York). Following the New York meeting, Amb. Falefou travelled to Fiji and introduced the idea to the Prime Minister of Fiji, H.E. Sitiveni Rabuka CF OBE MSD, who expressed that he would be happy to volunteer Fiji to host the COP31 sessions of the Governing and Subsidiary Bodies under an Australian COP Presidency.

The statistical analysis in the recent [2024 update of the Quo Vadis COP? report](#) illustrates that if the Negotiations are removed from the Summits and Expos, their 'stand-alone' size is predicted to reduce attendance to below 5000 participants. As previously mentioned, Negotiations could then be hosted by smaller countries, including SIDS. Regarding COP31, Australia, for example, could offer to take on the COP Presidency in collaboration with [Pacific Island Forum](#) (PIF) member countries, and share hosting the COP segments between them. This could help to overcome the exclusion problem as some PIF members, like Fiji, could host stand-alone Negotiations.²

12 February: ecbi Director Presents on Climate Solidarity Levies and Alliance at Sciences Po

On 12 February, ecbi Director Benito Müller made a [presentation on the proposed Climate Solidarity Levies and Alliance at an event at the Center for International Studies at Sciences Po](#) in Paris, France. He spoke about the proposed Climate Solidarity Alliance (CSA), which seeks to create a coalition of national and sub-national actors willing to implement Climate Solidarity Levies. Modelled on the French air ticket solidarity tax originally proposed by French President Chirac and Brazilian President Lula in 2005, the levies would aim to generate innovative funding for addressing climate-induced loss and damage, domestically and through the FRLD.

These levies would be easily collectable and allocated both domestically and internationally, with a payback multiplier solidarity mechanism incentivising multilateral contributions from developing countries. He explained that all CSA members would be expected to set up national Climate Solidarity Funds to channel loss and damage funding, mentioning, as an example, [Fiji's Climate Relocation of Communities Trust Fund](#). Müller added that if a developing country CSA member, say Fiji, chooses to contribute voluntarily to the multilateral FRLD, then developed country members would repay that sum directly into the Fiji Fund, with a solidarity bonus to reward Fiji's multilateral solidarity contribution. For more on the envisaged workings of the solidarity pay-back scheme, see [The Functions and Responsibilities of a Climate Solidarity Alliance & the Varieties of its Membership](#). Müller said all the tools to become a founding member of the proposed CSA are already in place. Thus, the only thing required would be to make loss and damage eligible for funding through the Solidarity Fund for Development.

² Since this post was written, Türkiye's offer to host COP 31 in Antalya was accepted, as was an arrangement between Türkiye and Australia to share the COP31 Presidency, with Australia designated the "President of negotiations". A Pre-COP meeting is expected to convene in the Pacific.

Müller described the way forward (as proposed in the 2024 blog post [Founding the Climate Solidarity Alliance: Possible Next Steps](#)). He cited French leadership in international climate finance, exemplified by its co-chairing of not only the [Global Solidarity Levies Taskforce](#), but also the FRLD. He noted the aim of launching the CSA at COP30 in Belém, Brazil, which will also mark the 10th anniversary of the adoption of the Paris Agreement. [Muller-2025 SciencePo Paris.pdf](#)

Alan Anic, Oxfam France, also spoke during the event, providing more details about [how to open a loss and damage window into the French Solidarity Fund](#).

6 January 2025: ecbi New Delhi Seminar

On 6 January, the [2025 ecbi New Delhi seminar](#) took place at the India International Centre. ecbi Director Benito Müller opened the seminar by remembering long-term [Co-Chair of the ecbi Advisory Committee](#), Ambassador Bo Kjellén from Sweden, who passed away peacefully on 26 December 2024.

Presenting on future arrangements for intergovernmental meetings under the UNFCCC to make it fit for purpose, Müller referred to the 2021 ecbi publication [Quo Vadis COP?](#) The report analysed participation in the COPs, and found that the number of participants increased exponentially particularly in the aftermath of “mega-COPs” like Copenhagen and Paris. A [2024 update of Quo Vadis COP?](#) describes three major issues arising from such mega-COPs:

- Climate vulnerable states can no longer afford to preside over or host COPs, making it harder to draw attention to the climate impacts they face. Even larger countries with higher capacities shy away from hosting mega-COPs, drastically reducing the inclusiveness of the multilateral process and raising equity concerns.
- Mega-COPs hinder or even prevent serendipitous encounters between participants, which can benefit the negotiations.
- Mega-COPs pose a serious reputational risk for the multilateral climate change negotiations, by: inflating public expectations of outcomes that make good headlines but are not meant to be delivered by COPs focusing on implementation; and downplaying the importance of successes under the Global Stocktake (GST), enhanced transparency reports, and NDCs, which are critical for the process.

Müller suggested that as the UNFCCC negotiations shift to implementation mode, the institutions and processes of the global negotiations will also have to adapt and become fit for purpose. The 2024 update proposes new arrangements that reflect this new role, particularly by slimming down the COPs to deal with technical matters related to implementation. Political elements could be dealt with in processes outside the COPs that have already been established to support implementation on the ground – such as the Global Climate Action Agenda, the Marrakech Partnership, Regional Climate Weeks, and technical meetings and workshops that support countries in formulating and implementing policies and measures in support of climate ambition.

The 2024 update identifies a Triad of distinct events happening at current COPs: Negotiations; Summits; and trade Expos. The update proposes the negotiations take place

at the World Conference Center Bonn without ministerial high-level segments. Summits could take place at critical stages when political leadership and ambition are necessary in the region that holds the COP Presidency or at the UN in Geneva. Expos can take place in the region that holds the COP Presidency, but not necessarily in the country of the Presidency.

[Delhi 2025 Muller.pdf](#)

[Rajani Ranjan Rashmi](#), Distinguished Fellow, TERI, presented on the NCQG and its impact on global ambition. He recounted that paragraph 7 of the [NCQG decision at COP29](#) in Baku calls on all actors to work together to enable the scaling up of financing to developing country Parties for climate action from all public and private sources to at least USD 1.3 trillion per year by 2035. The decision sets a goal, with developed country Parties taking the lead, to mobilize at least USD 300 billion per year by 2035 for developing country Parties for climate action, from a wide variety of sources, such as public and private, bilateral and multilateral, and alternative sources. Rashmi noted that the USD 300 billion target falls short of the USD 1.3 trillion demanded by developing countries and is far lower than even the most conservative estimates of what is needed. He explained that closing the ambition and implementation gaps will depend on the finance gap, which is reflected in the findings of the [Standing Committee on Finance \(SCF\) Needs Determination Report](#).

Rashmi explained that the NCQG is excessively reliant on multilateral development banks (MDBs) and the private sector. While the OECD estimates the previous US 100 billion commitment has been surpassed, 69% of the funds are provided as loans rather than grants (only 28%), rendering the claims questionable. The NCQG complicates matters further by legitimizing MDB flows (mainly loans to developing countries which need to be paid back) as climate finance. He said developing countries are encouraged to make contributions, including through South–South cooperation, on a voluntary basis. He noted proposals by Switzerland and Canada to define the threshold for contributions, either based on per capita income or per capita emissions.

Rashmi noted the launch of the [Baku to Belém Roadmap to 1.3T](#), which mandates a review of the NCQG in 2030, saying it was likely to face several challenges, including: lack of trust on part of developing countries; fragmentation through regional and bilateral agreements, which will weaken the spirit of multilateralism; and weakening of the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities.

[Delhi 2025 Rashmi.pdf](#)