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**‘Climate Change Journalism:
Comparative study of Japanese coverage of
COP3 and COP14’**

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Climate Change is the one of the biggest issues which humankind has to tackle in the world. As an environment and energy news writer, I have to improve my knowledge about this problem. I have been researching international policy for combating climate change from September 2008 in Europe, with leave of

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Chapter 1. - , Overview of COP14

According to the Intergovernmental panel on Climate Change (IPCC), if humankind does not take countermeasures to tackle future climate change, the average temperature of the Earth could increase by up to 6°C by the end of this century. Such an increase would pose a serious threat to the world's ecological system.

The Kyoto Protocol is currently the only treaty in place to combat these

changes. This protocol is valid until 2012. A new treaty for post-2012 is to be discussed at The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Conference of Parties (COP15) in Copenhagen this November, but an agreement will be very difficult to reach because there are wide differences in opinion between the developed and developing nations on what direction to take.

Previous rounds of discussions (COP14) were held in Poznan, Poland, between 1st and 12th December last year, but no progress was made. An Arrangement conference (ad hoc Working Group) will be held in Bonn, Germany, from this March to try to find a route towards agreement at COP15, but there is little optimism about its chances. Meanwhile, as international negotiations stagnate, the climate crisis is steadily engulfing the world.

What follows here is my overview of COP14 and observations on the likely outcome of future international climate negotiations based on these findings.

The aim of COP14, as stated by UNFCCC Executive Secretary Yvo de Boer, was to condense the 82 page 'Bali Road Map' proposal document developed at COP13 in Bali, Indonesia, in 2007. But the numbers of proposal pages instead swelled to 122. There are several reasons why COP14 for this failure:

1. Lack of top-level direction.

The president of COP14, Polish government minister Nowicki, told the conference that there was no need to reach conclusions with regard to international negotiations. Certainly COP14's aim was different from COP13, which made a document such as BRM, but it seems that Chair Nowicki perceived the sluggish situation as a "turning point", along with Executive Secretary de Boer [MSJO: sp?]. The Polish government constructed huge pavilions to demonstrate a model of renewable-energy car and wind power generation in the grounds. Ironically, as an "International Exhibition City", they accomplished their aim successfully.

2. Impact of the Obama delegation

Vice Secretary of State Paula J Dobriansky and Dr Harlan L Watson were the

official delegates of the USA, but many countries were more focused on then President-elect Obama's representatives, lead by Senator John Kerry. Those anticipating early indications of shifts in US climate policy were to be disappointed, with Obama's team confining their involvement to opinion exchange. Nevertheless, little attention was paid to Dobriansky's speech.

3. EU Conflict

The EU delegation had aimed to bring the negotiations to a more positive conclusion, particularly with Poland hosting the event. It had intended to champion a package of countermeasures named 'Triple 20', with targets for 2020 of a reduction in global emissions by 20 % compared to 1990, and the introduction of 20% more renewable energies compared to the same. But this proposal was complicated by conflict between the EU's own member states, with Germany, for example, lobbying for a compromise on carbon dioxide emission from the steel and cement industry. They eventually agreed their stance, but at the cost of significant distractions from the main business of COP14, with Germany's Prime Minister Merkel branded "Darth Vader" at "Climate Wars".

EU held many side events in their pavilion about renewable energy on each day in that period and held a cocktail party after that. This was really a sideshow to the main discussion, leading to the comment that the "Conference was all dance, but no progress".

The prospects for COP15

It is generally felt that a new protocol for post-2012 will have to be agreed at COP15 in November. The deadline for establishing the parameters for debate is 11th June 2009. Reaching agreement in such a short time-frame is unprecedented, particularly with three likely areas for potential deadlock:

1: The timeframe for submissions under the UNFCCC treaty

COOP15 will be held between 30th November and 11th December.

UNFCCC Article15 states: Amendments to the Convention shall be adopted at the ordinary session of the Conference of Parties. The text of any proposed amendment to the Convention shall be communicated to the Parties by the secretariat at least six month before the meeting at which it is proposed for adoption. The secretariat shall also communicate proposed amendments to the signatories to the Convention and, for information, to the Depositary.*1

Article 17 [PROTOCOLS] further states: The Conference of the Parties may, at any ordinary session, adopt protocols to the text of any proposed protocols shall be communicated to the Parties by the secretariat at least six months before such a session.*2

The secretariat of UNFCCC is planning to hold section meetings such as the ad hoc Working Group on Long-Term Cooperative Action under the convention (AWG-LCA) and the ad hoc Working Group on Further commitments for Annex 1 parties under the Kyoto Protocol (AWG-KP) between 29th March and 8th April, and 1st to 12th June in Bonn, Germany. If all substantial proposals for the new protocol are not completed in draft form by this point then the Copenhagen protocol will be in very real danger of collapse.

*1 and *2 are from The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change Articles.

2: The pace of change within the new US administration

Some delegations at COP14 pointed out that it will be very difficult for the US to change its stance on climate swiftly, in spite of Obama's declared new green policy. The USA moves like a super-tanker and it is likely to take the Obama administration about a year to change the course set during the eight years under Bush. This is too slow for COP15. Chinese and EU delegates also noted that while President Obama has targeted the US achieving zero emission of green house gases by 2020, compared to 1990 levels, this does not go as far as the demands of the Kyoto protocol which the US are yet to ratify.

3: The complexity of negotiations

I have covered several conferences on climate change. In the lead-up to the signing of the Kyoto protocol it was comparatively easy to write articles about international negotiations since there were only the Kyoto Protocol issues to report on. But since COP13 in Bali 2007, we have had to report two streams of ongoing negotiations: how the decrees of the Kyoto protocol can be

accomplished, and how negotiations towards the new protocol can be concluded. This took place against a back-drop of concerns voiced by delegate nations over the make-up of the UNFCCC. The Japanese government, for example, has requested that China be differentiated from poor countries, which would require a revision of the UNFCCC.

Many country delegations think that UNFCCC is a “climate constitution”. It will very difficult to come to conclusions and agreement on such big issues by 11th June.

The Role of the Media

819 reporters from 37 organizations were at COP14 to report on the climate change negotiations. My paper will analyze the coverage given by key media representatives from Japan at COP14 and COP3 which developed The Kyoto Protocol in Kyoto, Japan in 1997. Through comparison of this coverage, I would like to find the best way to report on international negotiations for combating climate change.

Comparing the concluding processes for The Kyoto Protocol at COP3 and “The night before the battle” at COP14 will help show the prospects of the climate negotiations at COP15.

Media coverage is the mirror which reflects the activity of delegations and the negotiation process. I would like to consider how the media should reflect them in future through my study.

Chapter 2

COP and Media

Climate Change is the one of the biggest issues in the world. The importance of the role of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is increasing every day. COP1 was held at Berlin, where the road map named [Berlin Mandate] was made, which aimed for formulation of the Kyoto Protocol at COP3. COPs are held every year in alternation in Africa, Asia, and

America.

Many reporters gather every conferences form the entire world. The number is dependent on their interest and the value of decision paper. the largest number of reporters was 3712 at COP3, Kyoto, followed by 1498 at COP13, Bali.

Many people paid attention to COP 13 held in Bali because this conference had a target of adopting the [Bali Road Map] (BRM). BRM is the very important mandate for next framework expected at COP15, Copenhagen.

Moreover, the Nobel committee announced that the International Panel on Climate Change and former US Vice-President Al Gore would be awarded a Nobel Peace Prize in 2007. Public perception of climate change around the world was at its peak.

UNFCCC disclosed the number of media organizations and reporters present at COP1 to COP14 (except COP2 and COP5), which included broadcasting mechanical staff.

The change of number is as follows.

COP is held at typical city for its region in the world. From this table we can find a reference of a number of reporters and organizations present at each summit. Many people expect a formation of new protocols for post-2012 at COP15, Copenhagen. The delegation of the new administration of US President Obama will join it, and the number of reporters will be the largest in on record, probably the largest in the history of Europe.

A.

The change of numbers for media organizations and reporters at COP *3

The upper is number of organizations, the lower is number of reporters. UNFCCC did not disclose the numbers at COP2 and COP5

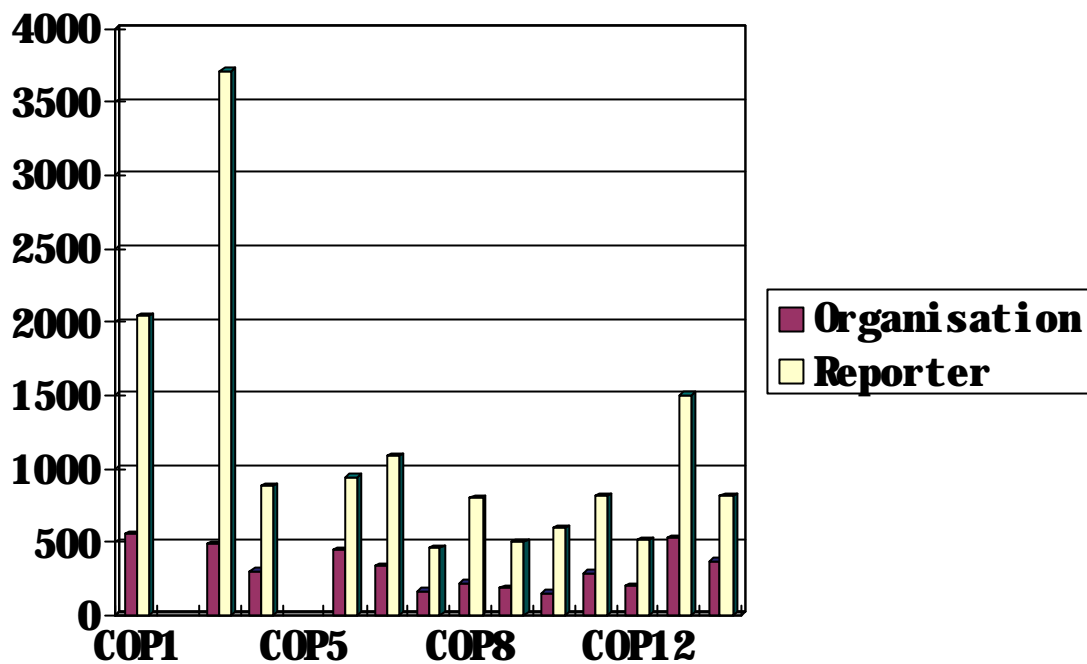
COP1	COP2	COP3	COP4	COP5	COP6	COP6bis
------	------	------	------	------	------	---------

Berlin	Geneva	Kyoto	Buenos Aires	Bonn	Hague	Bonn
556	Not Disclosed	483	299	Not Disclosed	443	332
2044		3712	883		944	1086

CO7 Marrakesh	COP8 New Delhi	COP9 Milan	COP10 Buenos Aires	COP11 Montréal	COP12 Nairobi	COP13 Bali	COP14 Poznan
166	222	190	153	287	195	531	371
459	795	506	597	817	516	1498	819

* 3 these numbers are from UNFCCC homepage Databases.

B, The change of numbers for media organizations and reporters at COP



*4 These number are based on FNFCCC homepage databases

C, from analysis these number we can find an interrelation between the agenda and number of reporters.

COP1 . . . first Coherence Of Parties. The chair is German Minister for the Environment in Germany, Angela Merkel (the current Chancellor); adoption of Berlin mandate for an agreement the Protocol at COP3

COP2. . . preparation conference for COP3. Documentation of submission from delegations. COP14 played same role as COP2.

COP3. . . Adoption of Kyoto Protocol which is the first commitment for combating climate change under the United Nations

COP4. . . conference for implementation for The Kyoto Protocol

COP5. . . conference for implementation of Clean Development Mechanism (CDM)

COP6 . . Conference for final implementation but negotiations broke down

COP6bis. come to a conclusion for implementation

COP7 . . . come to political conclusion for the implementation for the Kyoto Protocol

COP8. . . conference for financial and technology transfer for developing countries

COP9. . . conference for financial mechanism and emission trading system for combating climate change

COP10. . conference for deforestation caused from climate change

COP11. . conference for financial aids and technology transfer for developing countries

COP12. . conference for mainly aids of African countries combating climate change

COP13. . conference for adoption of [Bali Roadmap] for post-2012

COP14 . . conference for documentation of submission from delegation for COP15

Chapter 3, Media overview at COP14

COP14 held in Poznan, Poland, was evaluated as the “Turning

Point” for COP15 at Copenhagen. There was no expectation for a definite conclusion about the political document. The number of organizations was 371 and that of reporters 819, half of COP13.

UNFCCC disclosed every delegation participant’s name on the [List of Participants] at every conference, but declined to do the same for the details of media organizations’ and reporters’ names. During COP14 I asked them several times to disclose this information, but it proved very difficult to persuade them.

Only Dr. Axel Wustenhagen, Media Coordinator at UNFCCC, informally passed on some information about the media presence, laid out as follows:

Reuters (UK), AP(USA), AFP(French), Xinhua(China), Corrie Della Sera(Italy), El Pais (Spain), Le Figaro(France), Le Monde (France), Financial Times (UK), The Guardian (UK), The Independent (UK), The Times (UK), Jakarta Post (Indonesia), Times India (India), The Wall Street Journal (USA), The Washington Post(USA), and The Chicago Tribune (USA).

Under the UNFCCC, reporters who came from developed countries belonging to Annex 1 (Developed countries) had to pay travel expenses, though exemption from this was made for reporters who came from developing countries invited by UNFCCC. These rules we also applied to delegations from developing countries.

The amount of donations for UNFCCC depended on the developing countries, and the USA shouldered most of them, followed by those of Japan, although at times the USA denied paying these donations because of dissatisfaction with the management of UNFCCC.

? Topic

UNFCCC held the [Work Shop for developing country journalists] at COP14. This workshop aimed to educate and prepare them for combating climate change. Teachers were mid-career environment

journalist, and the UNFCCC paid all of travel expenses at COP14. Essentially, this was an [Environmental Journalism School]. According to UNFCCC, the aim is merely [Capacity Building], with no intentions of using this program for controlling the media.

A, The situation of Japanese media at COP14

The Kyoto Protocol was adopted at COP3 at Kyoto, Japan, in 1997, leading to much attention being paid to this protocol by the Japanese media due to its having been signed 'on home turf'. Many Japanese reporters participate in every Conference of Parties. The number of organizations and reporters who joined COP14 is as follows:

The Asahi Shim bun 3 ? The Yomiuri Shim bun

4? The Tokyo Shim bun 2? The Mainichi Shimbun 1?

The Japan Economic Journal 4? The Kyoto Shimbun 1

Kyodo News 5? Jiji Press 3?

NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) 2, Fuji Television
2, the Japan Electronic News 1

B, Press Briefing

UNFCCC attach greater importance to relationship with media. They send much news about climate change to reporters who resisted their press office. During the opening period of COP, they prepare a huge press center, where reporters can use internet freely, although making a special booth for a news agency and broadcasting company required an advance application and a charge.

In COP14 press briefing were held in the evening each day by

the UNFCCC secretariat, and occasionally several delegations also followed suit, creating a slight “battle of briefings”.

The reporting style of Japan is little different from other countries’ press. In Japan most journalists who belong to a major newspaper company join the press club at the Japanese Ministry of the Environment. This press club is in a ministry building but organized by membership and completely independent of the government.

Usually overseas correspondents cannot join this club, which has led to criticism of this system of press club as “exclusive”.

In every COP Japanese journalists bring their [press club] from Japan. The Japanese government keeps the convenience of Japanese journalists in mind and coordinates Japanese press briefing before the morning and evening deadlines in Japan. The Japanese newspaper deadline for morning editions is 01:30 and for the evening edition is 13:30pm. 3 hours beforehand, the Japanese government coordinates the press briefing.

Most Japanese journalists have difficulties with English, so they depend on these Japanese briefings. The Japanese government then explains the passage of conference, negotiations and insistence of each delegation, although of course these briefings are colored by the position of the Japanese delegation. Many Japanese journalists have a critical attitude towards the government, although inevitably the Japanese press tends to speak out in favor of Japanese government.

The US press club looks similar to the Japanese press club, and a typical example would be the White House Press Club, famous for being the most exclusive club in the world. The US delegation held press briefing each Wednesday and Friday at COP14 for the US media. Moreover, the Chair for COP14 Nowicki held press briefing every day and similarly the Danish Minister for the Environment, Connie Hedegaard.

Chapter 4, overview of COP3 This COP aimed for the conclusion of a protocol which would be the first treaty for combating climate change in the world. After the agreement of the [Berlin Mandate] at COP1, there was no progress made about

international negotiations.

This protocol was expected to contain:

- 1, the quantity of reduction targets for green house gases (GHG) in the world
- 2, the period of reduction
- 3 the quantity of each country's reduction of GHG.
- 4, mitigation
- 5, base year

It was very hard to reach an agreement in this protocol. Because the negotiation period was too short and there were a lot of agenda points to discuss, COP3 faced several times the possibility of breaking down. But in the end they did reach an agreement at last, the reasons for which were supposed to be as follows:

- 1, a determined chair
- 2, an appearance of Vice-President Al Gore
- 3, the will of delegations
- 4, a lack of awareness for the economic impact of this protocol
- 5, the exhaustion of delegations from working all night

The important decision about this protocol

- 1 , Base year 1990
- 2, a period of first step for reduction Green House Gases between 2008-2012
- 3, agreement with common but differentiated responsibility in each country and responsibility to reduce being a duty for developed countries only
- 4, amount of reduction for GHG for each developed countries

EU 8% USA 7% Japan 8% Russia 0%

5, countermeasures named the Kyoto mechanism

CDM (Clean Developing Mechanism) . . . Developed country can support a reduction project in developing countries. The amount of reduction of GHG at this project can count into their reduction amount.

JI (Joint Implementation) Developed countries can make a project together

For reduction of GHG the developing countries which support the other developed countries project financially and technologically can count the reduction of GHG into their amount.

Emission Trading . . . The trading system that each countries can trade for their amount of reduction GHG

Ironically the chief advocates of these mechanisms was the US delegation under Vice-President Al Gore. After the agreement of the Kyoto protocol, the USA withdrew from it. The Japanese government accepted the reduction percentage for 6% reduction by 2012 by 1990 level, a political decision as the host country. But the Ministry of Industry and Economic Planning in Japan was not satisfied with this agreement because it constituted a huge economic burden for Japan. Under present negotiations, the Japanese government insisted on changing the base year into 2000 for the next step for post-2012. They also demanded that China and India have to have a legal responsibility for reduction targets. Moreover they are claiming for the EU bubble. One representative of the Japanese government told me “There are a lot of economic differences between EU countries. It is a big problem for other counties in terms of equality”

Japanese Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda appealed that all countries should reduce emission of GHG by 50% by 2050 from present levels at the G8 summit held at Hokkaido last year, but did not state the

mid-term target of their country. When I asked them for the reason, one of the representatives told me “We want to play the card game after other countries played their card.”

Chapter 5, Media overview at COP3

Cultural back ground of the Japanese Media

Japan is an island country. In the Edo era, the Shogun (Japanese King) prohibited citizens from moving freely between one district and another, an environment that led to insularism, with a citizenry believing that homogeneity is more important than diversity.

Japanese journalists report on the basis of this homogeneity. Quite ironically, Japanese journalists have to write an exclusive while at same time writing similar news to other papers. Japanese newspaper executives are relieved if they read the same headlines in other papers every morning.

COP3 was held at Kyoto which was the old capital for 2000 years. Japanese journalists faced a big difficulty to write exclusively about the named Kyoto Protocol and to write the same news as the other papers.

COP3 was the largest international conference which had ever been held in Japan. Accordingly, large numbers of reporters gathered there from the entire world to report on it.

According to the Asahi Shinbun 3ed 12 1997, the media situation at COP3 was as follows: the number of foreign media organizations was about 300 and that of reporters about 640. CNN dispatched 32 reporters, and the head of their crew is the Paris branch chief.

Otherwise, about 10 media organizations came from Australia. Indonesian newspaper [The Compass] dispatched 2 reporters ,while the Tokyo shimbun Daily Newspaper dispatched about 10 reporters, the same number as for a report on the Olympic Games.

Kyoto is a symbolic city in Japan. There were dreadful battles of reporting between Japanese media. Normally not so many reporters are dispatched for such an international conference, but COP13 was extraordinarily different from that. Almost all media organizations in Japan sent reporters to this conference.

As a result, huge numbers of articles were written including exclusives and some environment events held at department store as “climate news”

A characteristic of Japanese media is that media organizations desire similar news as much as possible. It is seen as very strange and contradictory from the Western view of the principle of the scoop. But representatives at a newspaper have a tendency to like similar news from another media. On the contrary, if their paper covers different news from the other papers, they doubt their editors' ability and wonder why their paper covered this news.

This is typical Japanese media attitude and came from the “row” culture in Japan, whereby Japanese representatives in the media feel safe by confirmations about similarity to each other.

It is very difficult to find differences between media coverage in Japan because they write the same press comments, with the same criticism and approval about international negotiations for climate change.

5, Comparative study of coverage at COP14

There is a system for retrieving information about Japanese News articles at The Tokyo Shimbun daily newspaper. The following analysis is based on information gathered from that database.

The Japanese media dispatched many reporters to COP14, but few articles were written because there were no serious negotiations during the conference.

Media Outlet	Number of articles
The Tokyo Shimbun Press News)	7 (Mainly carried by Kyodo News and Jiji

The Asahi Shimbun 8

The Yomouri Shimbun 9

Chapter 6: Comparative study of Coverage at COP14

- I. How did these media outlets report on climate change and negotiations?

All the Japanese media paid close attention to how the negotiations progressed at COP14, and to the make-up and impact of President-Elect Obama's delegation.

But since the only development was a substantial increase to the working document, with no definite message from the Obama camp, international negotiations, and therefore the reporting, were very dull.

Japanese Newspaper Headline Openings for COP14 were as follows:

"COP14 Intent to accelerate negotiations"

The Tokyo Shimbun 2.12.2008

"COP14 Chair says 'It is difficult to reach agreement on the long-term reduction target' ominous clouds are already threatening the prospects of this conference."

The Asahi Shimbun 2.12.2008

"COP14 How will the Obama delegation behave?"

The Yomiuri Shimbun 2.12.2008

Japanese Newspaper Headlines at the COP14 curtain-fall were as follows:

”No Progress. Real negotiations will come after next June”

The Asahi Shimbun 13.2.2008

”The negotiation for post-Kyoto came to a standstill. COP14 postpones dealing with a problem”

The Yomiuri Shimbun 13.2.2008

”COP14 failed to include a new reduction target in the working document. The problem was put off until the next meeting.”

The Yomiuri Shimbun 11.2.2008

”The COP14 curtain fell with everyone expecting a plan from the Obama delegation after January”

The Yomiuri Shimbun 13.2.2008

The Japanese media reported COP14 negotiations as chilly. They focused on the fact that the results of the debate were only an increase in the length of the working documents.

During the talks, non-governmental organizations for the environment announced a “Fossil of The day” every day, and criticized the countries that were going against the negotiations. There were very few reports of this in Japan, even though one of the members of WWFJ (World Wildlife Fund Japan) explained to me that “these events are really important for our lobby“. But since such events are now held at every COP, this “Fossil of The Day” movement has become a stereotype and little discussed. The NGO presentations to the media are facing a turning point, too.

II. Who was interviewed and quoted in the media reports?

A, Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk:

"If the average temperature of the Earth grows by more than 2 Celsius in the future, then the ecosystem will face fatal damage"

2.12.2009 The Tokyo Shimbun(Kyodo News)

"I cannot agree with those who insist on removing coal from the energy category."

10.12.2009 the Yomiuri Shimbun

B, Danish Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen:

"The financial crisis will be solved soon. But if we don't move to combat climate change now, the future will be further aggravated"

2.12.2009 The Tokyo Shimbun(Kyodo News)

C, UNFCCC Executive Secretary Yvo de Boer:

"We have only one year. Let's put negotiations in top gear!"

2.12.2008 the Asahi Shimbun

" It is very important to agree a financial system to raise campaign funds through each country government"

5.12.2008 the Asahi Shimbun

"Let's think about how to use the mechanism for reducing GHG to help solve the financial crisis"

7.12.2008 the Asahi Shimbun

D, Polish Government Minister Nowicki,

"It will be difficult to reach an agreement on the reduction targets for post 2012"

2.12.2008 the Asahi Shimbun

"It is indispensable for US participation to reach an agreement on the reduction of GHG between industrialized countries. "

6.12.2008 the Asahi Shimbun

"We can show the route for COP15. The negotiations will be in top gear."

13.12.2008 The Asahi Shimbun

"At this conference the subjects were piled up like a mosaic. This mosaic will change into a clear picture-image"

6.12.2008 The Asahi Shimbun

E, Bolivian Delegation:

"It looks like the developed nations are more focused on discussing Wall Street than the Earth."

4.12.2008 The Asahi Shimbun

"Developed countries are pushing the emission responsibility off onto our developing countries by twisting the negotiations to their advantage."

10.12.2008 The Yomiuri Shimbun

F, Japanese Minister for the Environment, Saito:

"I am not in a position to reveal Japan's middle target for GHG

reduction.”

11.12.2008 The Asahi Shimbun

”Let’s reduce the GHG emissions on Earth by 50% by 2050.”
The Asahi Shimbun

G, US President-Elect Obama:

”The United States will write a new chapter for combating Global Warming.”

12.12.2008 The Asahi Shimbun(Quotation from video address)

”Global Warming is a problem of great urgency which has no equal in the world.”

8.12.2008 The Yomiuri Shimbun (Quotation from video address)

H, UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon:

”We are facing 2 critical crises. One is Climate Change and the other is in the financial markets. Let’s begin a Copernican change while in his homeland.”

12.12.2008 The Asahi Shimbun

”Now, We need a ‘Green New Deal’ policy.”

13.12.2008 the Asahi Shimbun

”It is very important that the new US administration ranks

renewable energy and environmental conservation alongside national security, and reconstructs their economy accordingly.”

12.12.2008 the Yomiuri Shimbun

I, Chinese Delegation:

“ Let’s settle on a middle target of GHG first, such as reducing global emissions by 25-40% compared to 1990 by 2020.”

10.12.2008 the Yomiuri Shimbun

”The population of developed countries accounts for only 20% of the world’s, but their GHG emissions account for 75% of the world’s.”

10.12.2008 the Yomiuri Shimbun

J, Swiss Delegation:

“The way the USA come to a decision on their policy is as follows: first they decide their inland policy and then they go to the international negotiations. They will have to iron out differences in Congress before offering a new approach. The position of the Obama administration will not be clear until after next march.”

10.12.2008 the Yomiuri Shimbun

III. What do these media outlets suggest are the prospect for ongoing international negotiations ahead of COP15?

”There was no remarkable progress at COP14. Delegations will be anxious about the prospects of reaching agreement at COP15 in

Copenhagen in a year's time.”

13.12.2008, the Asahi Shimbun

”There were no change in position between the developed countries and developing counties. They postponed dealing with this problem. Many delegations are worried about a consensus at COP15.”

10.12.2008 The Yomiuri Shimbun

COP14 was just a “Turing-Point Conference”. So there were no break-downs in international negotiations. The conference proceeded as planned. But no reporters would give this conference a passing grade. Many difficulties will lie ahead in trying to reach an international agreement. History is likely to consider COP14 as a “Failed Conference for Preparation” (FCP). It is possible that some redress can be made at the several working group meetings to be held after March 2009 and at The United Nations General Assembly in September. But the most important meetings will be the Ad-Hoc Working Group on Long-Term Cooperative Action under the Convention (AWG-LCA) and the Ad-Hoc Working Group on Further Commitments for Annex 1 Parties under the Kyoto Protocol (AWG-KP) to be held between 1st and 12th June in Bonn, Germany. These meetings will tell COP15's fortune.

Chapter7, The Analysis of Coverage for COP3

COP3 was the largest international conference held in Japan's history. The amount of articles written also hit record levels. The number of articles at COP3 and COP14 are as follows:

The Tokyo Shimbun	158	(COP14	7)
The Asahi Shimbun	372	(COP14	8)

Explanation of the significance of selected quotations

Many Japanese journalists conduct interviews and write about each delegation in their reporting of the negotiation process. The comments of those interviewed are a mirror for the negotiations and those shown here give a clear indication of the views of Chairman Estrada and the US and Chinese delegations.

From these quotes it is clear to see that the core reasons for disagreement between developed and developing countries haven't changed since COP3. The U.S were governed by the Democrats at the time of COP3, and will be again at COP15. The U.S delegation wants to take the initiative in diplomatic negotiations at COP15 but developing countries (mainly China) will criticize the U.S for being the only developed country to leave the Kyoto Protocol. So the same oppositions will reappear at COP15 .

The chair for COP15 is Danish Minister for the Environment, Connie Hedegaard. I think it may be very difficult for her to apply the same techniques as Chairman Estrada at COP3. The major difference from COP3 is UNFCCC executive secretary's powerful personality. Mr. Ybo de Boer is one of the main players for climate negotiations and he will be asked his management ability in particular at COP15.

The Japanese media relied upon its government's press-briefings and individual interviews to report on the process of international negotiations towards GHG reductions. Many Japanese reporters wrote of their hopes for positive negotiations and a brilliant concluding protocol. But Japanese government officials quarreled amongst themselves throughout the period of the conference. The

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, and The Ministry for the Environment all had a different opinion about what level the reduction target should be set at, and how it could then be reached. This meant they were only prepared to negotiate on a small number of reduction targets. At this point the Japanese media reports became more critical. “They are performing negotiations as though they are a game.”

The Japanese media perceived US Vice-President Al Gore as an environmentalist but became critical of his focus on countermeasures relating to emissions trading. Almost all reporters covered this strategy with skepticism. The US technique of bringing the market mechanism into GHG reduction also repelled the European Commission delegation. And yet, ironically, the EU took an active part in the Emission Trading System project after the withdrawal of the Americans.

Most of the Japanese Media praised COP3’s final achievement as “the Kyoto Protocol” because of the significance of Kyoto as the former capital of Japan. And it is no exaggeration to say that this name has played a significant role in Japanese reporters being involved in all successive COPs.

? ? Who was interviewed and quoted in reports from COP3?

By far the most frequently quoted person was Joint Chairman Estrada, Ambassador of Argentina, who played a key role in the negotiations. Every media outlet covered his detailed statements. It is also interesting to note that Senator John F Kerry attended COP3 and played an important role in the US delegation. He is now Chairman of the Foreign Relations Senate Committee. On the other hand, Several Republican senators denied the Kyoto Protocol at COP3 categorically, providing a glimpse of the G.W Bush

administration policy.

The process of negotiation at COP3 as reported by the Japanese media:

USA targets a reduction in USA emissions by 0 % compared to 1990 by 2010.
EU targets a reduction in EU emissions by 15 % compared to 1990 by 2010.
Japan targets a reduction in Japan emissions by 5 % compared to 1990 by 2010.

Developing countries target a reduction in emissions by 15 % compared to 1990 by 2010.

1.12.1997 ,the Tokyo Shimbun

“The Austrian delegation disclosed that there had been discussion of proposals for the following cuts: US 5%, Japan 4%, EU 8%”

”Chairman Estrada showed the negotiation papers: ‘USA 5%, Japan 4. 5% ? EU 8%’”

9.12.1997, the Tokyo Shimbun

“Japan, The United States of America and the EU held an informal meeting and agreed targets of ‘U.S.A 7%, Japan 6%, EU 8%’.”

10.12.1997, the Tokyo Shimbun

“According to UE officials this conference is going to the end of a play. ‘USA 7%, Japan6%, EU 8%’.”

10.12.1997, the Tokyo Shimbun

? .The interviewed and quoted persons:

Chairman Estrada

"The draft paper for negotiations consists of 32pages. This paper was three that length at the beginning of 1997. I have deleted material and put the issues in order according to my judgment."

1.12.1997, the Tokyo Shimbun

"The key to persuading developing countries is for developed countries to agree significant reduction targets for combating climate change."

8.12.1997, the Tokyo Shimbun

"I judge on instinct. I know by intuition what kind of target will be acceptable or not for each delegation."

10.12.1997, the Tokyo Shimbun

"It was my big mistake that I delayed the article of participation of developing countries who want to reduce emissions of Green House Gases without assistance."

"Telecommunications companies got a big many during this conference because every delegations telephoned their home countries every day. I also."

12.12.1997, the Yomiuri Shimbun

Li Peng, Chinese Prime Minister:

"I oppose developing countries being subject to the same levels of

reduction in GHG as developed countries. 20% of the world's population is from developed countries but they use 80% of the world's energy. It is unfair.”

3.12.1997, the Tokyo Shimbun

Chinese Delegation:

“Discussions on emissions trading aren't part of our agenda for COP3.”

11.12.1997, the Yomiuri Shimbun

US delegation, Senator Max Baucus (Democratic Party):

“The US government insists that they will not agree to the ratification of The Kyoto Protocol without developing countries having a legal responsibility to reduce GHG. But it will be possible to reach agreement if the protocol shows impartiality in the duty of each country.”

US Vice-President Al Gore:

“Our target for 2010 of a reduction in US emissions to 0 % compared to 1990 is an ambitious enough plan.”

4.12.1997, the Tokyo Shimbun

“It is very important to reach a practical and realizable agreement.”

“We need a long term partnership with developing countries for combating global warming.”

8.12.1997, the Tokyo Shimbun

“To reach agreement on the Kyoto Protocol, We need acceptance of 3 terms. The first is an admission of the need for emissions trading, the second is joint implementation and the third is an effective participation by developing countries.”

5.12.1997, the Asahi Shinbun

"This historical agreement will be a base for protecting the environment and a new opportunity to stimulate economic growth."

11.12.1997, the Yomiuri Shimbun

John Prescott (Former) Deputy Prime Minister of the UK:

"Every country has to be flexibly. It will possible to reach an agreement with political will and flexibility."

8.12.1997, the Tokyo Shimbun

Russian Delegation:

"All the media disregard our statements. They have to write about us as a key player."

8.12.1997, the Tokyo Shimbun

Al Saud, representative of Saudi Arabia:

"Oil is the only means of achieving economic growth in the world. I expect Mr. Gore to be flexible."

8.12.1997, the Tokyo Shimbun

Chen Yaobang, Minister of Forestry, China:

" The problem of global warming came from industry in developed counties. The urgent questions for developing countries are economic growth and poverty. There is no responsibility for us to reduce GHG from the agreement at COP1, 1995."

8.12.1997, the Tokyo Shimbun

U.S Senate John F. Kerry:

"We have never faced such complicated negotiations. The agreement will be an historic event."

10.12.1997, the Tokyo Shimbun

"It will be better for us to wait until the developing countries are participating before we ratify the Kyoto Protocol."

11.12.1997, the Yomiuri Shimbun

Joseph Lieberman, US Democratic Senator:

"We can tell our electorate that the process of agreeing the Kyoto Protocol will begin in a few hours."

10.12.1997, the Tokyo Shimbun

Chester Trent Lott, US Republican Senate Majority Leader:

"We cannot ratify such a defective protocol. The US delegation is being asked to be much too flexible. We need to be satisfied on 3 key issues ahead of ratification. The first is that there should be no infringement on the sovereignty of the USA. The second is that there should be no danger to US employment. Thirdly, that the agreement should not be against US interests. This protocol does not satisfy our demands. "

10.12.1997, the Tokyo Shimbun

Representative of the World Wildlife Fund:

"This protocol is full of defects. The USA is the only winners in these negotiations."

11.12.1997, the Tokyo Shimbun

Chuck Hegel, U.S Republican Senator:

"It is absolutely necessary for developing countries to participate. And they must share the responsibilities for GHG reduction with us. The Senate will never approve any protocol that is bound by such unreasonable restrictions."

"The result is really bad. We would hush up such a protocol even if President Clinton would sign it."

11.12.1997, the Asahi Shimbun

Bert Bolin, the first Chairman of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC):

"Please be sure to include the scientific evidence in the protocol"

2.12.1997, the Asahi Shimbun

Green Peace:

"This protocol is as full of holes as a Swiss cheese."

10.12.1997, the Asahi Shimbun

Rajendra Pachauri, Director at Tata Energy Institute (Chairman of IPCC):

"We have to aim towards a target that allows Indian children and Japanese children to have the same opportunity to eat the same square meals and go to university in the future. Every one has an equal right. If developed countries don't admit this, then developing countries can never catch up with them."

11.12.1997, the Yomiuri Shimbun

Chapter8, Investigation of the differences and similarities between COP14 and COP3, based on Japanese coverage

From this examination, two key figures came to light. One is a Chair of COP, the other is the Executive Secretary of UNFCCC.

At COP3 the person most quoted in the Japanese media was Chairman Estrada.

The Chair continued to be much-quoted at COP14. But according to articles in the the Asahi Shimbun, the Executive Secretary of UNFCCC received the same level of coverage, suggesting he has played an important role in negotiations recently.

The number of quotations for the Executive Secretary (ES) and the Chair at COP3, COP13 and COP14 are as follows:

	the Tokyo	the Asahi	the Yomiuri
COP3			
ES	0	5	0
Chair	29	29	30
COP13			
ES	1	3	1
Chair	2	3	2

COP14 ES Chair	4 19	3 19	5 15
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It is clear that developed countries and developing nations are standing in opposition on the same point as before. The developing nations' opposition is backed by history: that most carbon dioxide emissions have been generated by developed countries since the Industrial Revolution. This opposition has been consistent since COP1.

The Japanese media reported several points of opposition between nations but also stated that each country has the will to solve this big problem.

Eleven years have passed between COP3 and COP14. Recently, opposition between China, India and weak developing countries such as Tuvalu has developed. China has been playing the role of representative for the developing countries named "G77 and China" at the Conference of Parties. But after the first quarter of 2008, China and India got a lot of Clean Developing Mechanism (CDM) funding from industrialized countries through the Kyoto Protocol and many weak developing countries expressed their disapproval at this perceived unfairness.

Especially since China had become the largest CO2 emitter since 2008 and has entered the World Trade Organization (WTO). China has become a big economic power.

The Japanese media doesn't treat China as a representative of developing countries. It sees China as a very important player - on the same level as the United States of America in terms of international negotiations for combating climate change.

Japanese coverage of COPs has gradually decreased since COP3. This is because the recent agenda for negotiations has been focused

on the “Post Kyoto Protocol” or “Post 2012” and because the Japanese delegation’s role in the UNFCCC has gradually decreased. If the Copenhagen Protocol replaces the Kyoto Protocol, I wonder how many Japanese reporters will be dispatched by their newspaper companies for such expensive overseas conferences. Most of the Japanese newspaper companies are facing financial crisis. It will be big problem for reporters and executives at newspaper companies to decide how we report international climate news in the future.

Chapter9? Conclusion: How should the media report on climate change in the future?

The Prospects for COP15, Copenhagen, Denmark

Is political compromise the only way to reach an agreement?

It is likely that there will be a lot of coverage from Bonn, where the UNFCCC headquarters is located, after this March. Those articles will be very specialized and complicated, and therefore it will be very difficult for ordinary people to understand the process of ongoing negotiations. People are likely to assume that “There is the same discord between developed counties and developing nations as before.”

I have slight misgivings that these complicated articles will lead to a reduction in momentum for grappling with the problem of climate change. Reporting COP with clarity and accuracy is vital. It is very important to convey to people that this impending climate crisis is one that we all share, and that efforts to combat the problem must be redoubled every year. Unfortunately, international negotiations are going in the opposite direction.

Danish Minister for the Environment, Connie Hedegaard, planning

the Chair for COP15, has more of a sense of this crisis than most. She declared at COP13 in Bali that “a first baby was born in Kyoto and I would like to have a second baby in Copenhagen”. It will be very difficult to reach agreement about a base year and emissions targets for every nation at COP15, but it will be possible to make some framework documents for post 2012. It could be that a political agreement includes a statement by the IPCC to “share targets for 2020 of a reduction in global emissions by 25-40 % compared to 1990.”

It is generally felt that the real negotiations will take place in Los Angeles in 2010. Many Hollywood actors and actresses will gather and appeal the crisis of the earth. At any rate, if no practicable countermeasures are agreed, space history will record us as a creature that became extinct during a cocktail party.

The role of media in combating climate change

It is really important that the media reports on this serious problem accurately. The role of the journalists who deliver such key information on our survival is significant. It is vital that we write clearly on the points of issue between countries. We have to show how any conclusions reached at COP will affect the future of the world.

The media should never act as spokesperson for delegations or the UNFCCC. We must work to avoid each media's tendency to simply repeat their home country's official position. We have to report impartial information for our readers. And to write such accurate articles we must have an accurate perspective of the issues. For that to be possible, journalists (especially Japanese journalists) must improve their foreign language skills and strength of reporting. From analysis of media coverage at COP, I found that their news reporting was very haphazard.

To report accurately, it is necessary for media companies to maintain a system for covering climate change. Most newspaper companies are suffering a financial crisis. If we want to win readers' support, we have to concentrate on improving the value of our news as much as possible. We must be on the spot and providing first-hand interviews.

I would like to propose 3 principles for reporting climate change:

- 1, For journalists to improve their specialist knowledge of climate change to aid their coverage of international conferences.**
- 2, To meet the parties concerned and report directly.**
- 3, To write articles that are as easy to understand as possible.**

Parts of the United Kingdom faced heavy snow this February - more than at any time in the last 18 years. Oxford was among the regions affected.

How cold Oxford is, though I am researching Global Warming - as it is generally called in Japan and the USA. This is one illustration of the perceptions gaps between Japan and the US on one side, and Europe on the other. The Europeans refer to the heating of the Earth as "Climate Change". If global warming causes the ocean currents from Mexican Bay to stop, a freezing chill will come from the North Sea and everything would freeze like in the movie "The day after tomorrow". So climate change can equally mean "Global Freezing".

No one knows what kind of conclusions will come from COP15. But it is likely that the Obama administration will promote their "Green Deal Policy" strongly, and negotiate on climate change policies with enthusiasm. I would like to dedicate my life to writing on these issues accurately. And be able to walk hand in hand with colleagues at Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, and researchers at University of Oxford, in the future.