

**COP27: Pacific people,  
perspectives and  
pronouncements**  
*Rachel Smith*

**REGIONAL OUTLOOK** Climate Action

---

*Griffith Asia Institute*

# Griffith Asia Institute



## Regional Outlook

COP27: Pacific people,  
perspectives and pronouncements

Rachel Smith

## About the Griffith Asia Institute

The Griffith Asia Institute (GAI) is an internationally recognised research centre in the Griffith Business School. We reflect Griffith University's longstanding commitment and future aspirations for the study of and engagement with nations of Asia and the Pacific.

At GAI, our vision is to lead new ideas, knowledge and networks that contribute to an inclusive, sustainable and prosperous Asia-Pacific region.

We do this by: i) delivering research excellence on the politics, security, trade and business, governance and economic development of the region; ii) partnering for policy and impact outcomes in the region; and iii) shaping the next generation of Asia-Pacific leaders through learning experiences.



The Griffith Asia Institute's 'Regional Outlook' papers publish the institute's cutting edge, policy-relevant research on Australia and its regional environment. They are intended as working papers only. The texts of published papers and the titles of upcoming publications can be found on the Institute's website: [www.griffith.edu.au/asia-institute](http://www.griffith.edu.au/asia-institute).

'COP27: Pacific people, perspectives and pronouncements', Regional Outlook Paper No. 71, 2022.

## About the Author

### Rachel Smith

Rachel Smith is a post-graduate research student at Griffith University in the field of Asia Studies and research assistant within the Griffith Asia Institute. She obtained both her Bachelor and Masters of Asian Studies from Griffith University. She has over ten years of experience working with international markets in the international education sector, with a special interest in North Asia and Japan. Her research interests are primarily in the intersection of culture and political participation, particularly gender culture; and Australia's interests in the Asia-Pacific, particularly North Asia.

## Acronyms and abbreviations

<b>COP27</b>	Conference of the Parties 27	<b>SG</b>	Secretary General
<b>FSM</b>	Federated States of Micronesia	<b>SPREP</b>	Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme
<b>ICJ</b>	International Court of Justice	<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>NPT</b>	Non-Proliferation Treaty	<b>UNESCO</b>	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
<b>PICs</b>	Pacific island countries	<b>UNFCCC</b>	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
<b>PIF</b>	Pacific Islands Forum	<b>UNGA77</b>	United Nations General Assembly 77
<b>RMI</b>	Republic of the Marshall Islands	<b>WHO</b>	World Health Organization

# Contents

Introduction .....	7
1.5 to stay alive and a fossil fuels Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) .....	8
Loss and damage and other financing.....	9
Oceans.....	10
Climate change as human rights issue, legal issue .....	12
Gender .....	13
The Moana Blue Pavilion, Pacific voices, and Pacific youth.....	14
The Pacific and Australia to co-host COP31? .....	15
Final thoughts.....	16
Notes and references .....	17

# Introduction

---

---

*“Until emissions are reduced to zero, the global temperature will continue to rise, and major emitters: you will continue to rack up a moral and financial debt to us. We want that debt to be as small as possible. For we would rather keep our homes than be forced to come to yours.”*

Hon. John Silk  
Minister of Natural Resources and Commerce of the  
Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI), at COP27<sup>1</sup>

The theme for COP27 was ‘Together for Implementation’, but the Pacific island countries (PICs) arrived together under a different banner—‘1.5 to stay alive’,<sup>2</sup> referring to the Paris Agreement’s goal to limit warming to preferably below 1.5 degrees Celsius compared to pre-industrial levels.

‘Implementation’ for the Pacific meant tangible work towards mitigation on the ground, and Pacific delegates came to COP27 in pursuit of:

- More urgency and action in limiting global warming to 1.5 degrees.
- Meaningful progress on climate financing, including the last-minute agenda addition of Loss & Damage; adaptation financing, including a doubling of the 2019 collective provisions towards climate financing for by 2025; and progress towards the new collective quantified climate finance goal (keeping in mind the previous pledge of US\$100bn a year by 2020 was not met).
- Advanced work on the ocean-climate nexus.<sup>3</sup>

Additionally, while not a specific line item on their agenda, the topic of human rights was a consistent underpinning of the Pacific’s messaging at COP27. More support was sought for Vanuatu’s proposal for an Advisory Opinion from the International Court of Justice (ICJ) on the obligations of states to global populations in the context of climate change; a Gender Champion was appointed for the first time by the Pacific Islands Forum; and youth activists and civil society delegations made their voices heard.

# 1.5 to stay alive and a fossil fuels Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)

---

---

“Why is it not possible to apply the same level of urgency of action witnessed for the COVID-19 pandemic to meeting the 1.5 degree Celsius promise?” asked Prime Minister Mata’afa of Samoa.<sup>4</sup> She was justified in asking— over 600 fossil fuel lobbyists were in attendance at COP27 capitalising on the current energy crisis to strike deals,<sup>5</sup> and at one point it seemed like the 1.5 degrees Celsius target may be watered down.<sup>6</sup> Pacific representatives, including Kiribati’s President Mr Taneti Maamu, in his speech to the High-level plenary, made it clear that 1.5 should be viewed as a hard line, rather than something that could be negotiated.<sup>7</sup>

Solomon Islands asked again for the phasing out of fossil fuel subsidies and a reduction of between 67% and 82% in global coal use by 2030 with a full stop by 2050;<sup>8</sup> the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) proposed fast-action on short-lived pollutants in order to buy time for long term decarbonisation, calling on countries and international banking and finance institutions to prioritise activities that cut methane and other ‘super pollutants’ as the most time-efficient way to slow warming.<sup>9</sup> Vanuatu called for a Climate Damage Tax on the producers of oil, coal and gas with the revenue raised to be distributed through the United Nations to countries affected by climate change induced suffering.<sup>10</sup> 1.5 degrees and meaningful steps to take to maintain this limit were on the minds of the Pacific representatives. The biggest headlines though, were caught by Tuvalu’s call for an international Fossil Fuel NPT, previously called for at UNGA77 by Vanuatu.

“The warming seas are starting to swallow our lands—inch by inch. But the world’s addiction to oil, gas and coal can’t sink our dreams under the waves,” said Tuvalu Prime Minister Kausea Natano.<sup>11</sup>

This treaty would work alongside the Paris agreement and calls for:

1. Ending the expansion of oil, gas, and coal.
2. Phasing out current fossil fuel production at a pace consistent with limiting global temperature rise to 1.5 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels.
3. Financing a just transition to renewable energy.<sup>12</sup>

While major developed countries have not yet backed the proposal, it is being supported by the European Parliament, the Vatican, the WHO, individual cities including Los Angeles, Paris, London and Lima, and has been praised by a number of Nobel laureates, parliamentary leaders, scientists, academics and civil society organisations.<sup>13</sup>



# Loss and damage and other financing

---

Loss and Damage nearly didn't make it on to the menu for COP27, but the PICs came ready to fight for this last-minute agenda item after disappointment in Glasgow last year. The battle was never going to be easy—developing countries and small island states have been pushing for loss and damage since 1991. The Pacific's Political Champion on Loss and Damage, Tuvalu's Minister of Finance Hon. Seve Paeniu expressed frustration with the progress of discussions in which some parties tried to argue that loss and damage were already covered under the general adaptation financial mechanisms already in place:

*"What I'm hearing now from the other parties is that they are really shying away from any mention of a special response fund. They want a GAP (sic) analysis, they want to see what's out there, not only within the Paris Agreement but broadly in the multilaterals, and then only then will they be prepared to sit down and discuss whether there is justification for the establishment of a special fund for loss and damage... This is not our view. Our view is that there is an existing gap in the funding arrangement, that is why we are fighting to establish a dedicated special fund... Our key objective at this COP is for the next two years to work out the details of that special fund, and we can also work with the other parties to address their concerns."<sup>14</sup>*

As COP27 began to end and a deal on Loss and Damage seemed increasingly unlikely to occur, representatives Hon. Gustav N. Aitaro of Palau and Hon. Andrew R. Yatilman of FSM, pleaded with leaders and negotiators to cease 'stonewalling' tactics and pass a deal. In a joint statement the Ministers said:

*"...We came to COP27 with much enthusiasm, we were pleased that Loss and Damage had been accepted on the agenda. However, today we have been told that at this COP27, we are not expected to address the issue of financing in Loss and Damage. To be stonewalled like this is disappointing. We've crossed oceans, mountains, rivers to come here to address this issue. This latest development is yet another challenge we face on top of dealing with the impacts of the climate crisis."<sup>15</sup>*

The PICs have consistently reminded the world during COP27 of their shared climate change experience in which loss and damage is a reality, manifesting in the form of destruction from increasing storms, coastal erosion, damaged infrastructure and homes, loss of agricultural land and livelihoods, and increasing droughts and water shortages. As Hon. Yatilman said plainly, "Provide the funding because we didn't cause climate change,"<sup>16</sup> a sentiment shared by the other Pacific attendees.

Beyond simply providing a financial mechanism for Loss and Damage, Pacific representatives also implored that funding for adaptation and mitigation be made more accessible. PICs struggle to mobilise the administrative resources needed to navigate the bureaucratic processes in order to access financing through UNFCCC,<sup>17</sup> and financing provision tends to be slow, taking up to 5 years through multilateral mechanisms at which point the impacts of climate change have been felt.<sup>18</sup> Minister of Forestry and Research and Solomon Islands Head of Delegation, Hon. Dickson Panakitasi Mua, and Prime Minister Mata'afa of Samoa asked for greater transparency on the promised US\$100bn for climate adaptation, and the planned doubling of 2019 levels by 2025.<sup>19</sup> Hon. Mua, stressed that climate funding was only useful if access procedures were simplified. On grant-financing for adaptation, he asked that it be fit for purpose and impactful including to the level of Indigenous custodians who 'have proven to be the most effective guardians of the nature and ocean'.<sup>20</sup>

# Oceans

---

---

“For us in the Pacific and for us in the Solomons, we cannot talk about the land without talking about the ocean, we cannot talk about climate change without talking about the ocean. The ocean will define how Pacific Islanders and Solomon Islands will move into dealing with the impacts and providing the solutions to the global problem we have which is climate change,”<sup>21</sup> stated Dr Melchior Mataki of Solomon Islands, Permanent Secretary for the Ministry of Environment, Climate Change, Disaster Management and Meteorology.

This sentiment was reiterated by other Pacific representatives. Oceans represent home, livelihood, and existential threat for PICs. Prime Minister Mata’afa of Samoa used her time in front of other world leaders to highlight the stress the ocean and the ecosystems it hosts are being placed under due to warming temperatures. “Increased acidification of our ocean is already destroying entire reef ecosystems which may never be recovered. Reef damage affects fish population which in turn affect entire fisheries upon which we rely. This is a stark reminder of how interconnected the effects of climate change are with our environments, and our daily lives.”<sup>22</sup>

She also highlighted the need to do more to prevent and eliminate marine pollutions, a category that includes not just plastics but also oils, other waste, and nuclear discharge. On a similar note Hon. John Silk, Minister of Natural Resources and Commerce RMI, reminded attendees of his nation’s nuclear history and that rising oceans were not only submerging homes but also the radioactive waste left behind after decades of nuclear testing.<sup>23</sup> Nuclear discharge, notably that from the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear plant, is a serious concern for PICs, and Secretary General (SG) Henry Puna of the Pacific Island Forum took time to meet with one of the PIF Panel Experts assessing the safety of the planned release, Dr Ken Buessler, on the side of COP27. “Experts have advised a deferment to the impending discharge into the Pacific Ocean by Japan is necessary, and based on that advice, our members encourage consideration for options other than discharge, while the independent panel of experts continue to further assess of the safety of the discharge in light of the current data gaps,” SG Puna stated.<sup>24</sup>

While Fiji took the opportunity to introduce its Sustainable Bond Framework, including blue bonds and blue economy projects,<sup>25</sup> Hon. Andrew R. Yatilman of FSM called for a managed approach to Blue Carbon and the importance of utilising indigenous knowledge of oceanic nations in global actions.<sup>26</sup> This message was taken a step further by Niue – the Head of Delegation and Minister for Natural Resources, Hon. Esa Sharon Mona Ainu’u introduced to an audience of world leaders its ‘Ocean Conservation Credits’ sustainable financing mechanism, starting with the established of a Niue and Ocean Wide Trust Fund. This public-private partnership would provide a consistent stream of funding to utilise in climate adaptation and mitigation activities.

*“Our goal is to raise at least \$32 million to capitalise our Trust Fund and making available \$1.5 million annually for 20 years. The \$32 million is based on the aggregated costs of protecting and maintaining 1 square km of the Moana Mahu Marine Protected Area comprising 40% of Niue’s EEZ or 127,000 square kms.”<sup>27</sup>*

The initiative is rooted in cultural traditions of only taking what is needed from the oceans and is inspired by 1000+ years of traditional knowledge and custodianship,<sup>28</sup> demonstrating the innovations PICs will employ to preserve their homes. Good ocean

stewardship will continue to be a topic of deep importance to PICs. Oceans represent great potential in carbon management but are also increasingly under threat as a biome; and are a possible instrument of destruction to PICs should the 1.5 limit be passed, a point reiterated by Fiji's Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Satyendra Prasad:

*"Our nations are the most exposed. Our nations are those who will lose the most. But we will not be the last. We share a planet. We will all share the same horrific future, if we stay this course...the Paris Agreement will be our epitaph in a world that crosses the 1.5-degree threshold."*<sup>29</sup>

# Climate change as human rights issue, legal issue

---

---

Tuvalu and the Marshall Islands previously announced on the sidelines of UNGA77 their Rising Nation Initiative<sup>30</sup>, which called on the international community to preserve their sovereignty and basic human rights, including the rights to life, health, food, water, livelihood, culture, privacy, home, and property. Currently there is no legal infrastructure for dealing with climate change and the rights to territory; and climate change refugee is not covered under the 1951 Refugee Convention should populations need to flee.

For Tuvalu, the Rising Nations Initiative means they are now looking to amend their Constitution to incorporate the need to maintain their land and maritime zones as a geographic location. In addition, they are applying for UNESCO Protection of World Cultural and National Heritage through declaring the whole of Tuvalu a cultural site and conducting a heritage project to digitise Tuvalu's culture, traditions and records so that future generations can learn the culture and be connected through digital technologies.<sup>31</sup> Most dramatically, Tuvalu is planning to become the first digitised nation in the metaverse,<sup>32</sup> a plan announced by Tuvalu's Foreign Minister Simon Kofe from a digital replica of an islet currently under threat. Currently there is no precedent for this in international law, and Tuvalu is consulting with legal experts to find a way to have Tuvalu's new digital status recognised legally so that their sovereignty can be maintained.

"It is very clear that no Tuvaluan wants to leave. The people want to remain at home, keep their identity and cultural heritage," said Tuvalu's Minister of Finance, Seve Paeniu. "... if we are unable to get climate finance through loss and damage from this COP27 that is sufficiently large enough to protect our land from disappearing, Tuvalu will be no more...we will need to go back to [the] community to explain to them that this is a worst-case scenario plan in the event the sea is rising faster than us trying to protect our land."<sup>33</sup>

Continuing the topic of uncharted legal territory, President Nikenike Vurobaravu of Vanuatu, implored world leaders at the High-Level plenary to vote in favour of their proposal to seek an Advisory Opinion from the ICJ regarding the obligations governments have to protect populations—their own, and others—and human rights in regards to climate change.<sup>34</sup> Vanuatu reported as COP27 was coming to a close that 86 nations have already backed the initiative, almost the 50% required for the resolution to pass at the next United Nations General Assembly.<sup>35</sup> It is expected that the resolution will be put to a vote in the UN early in 2023.

# Gender

Of the 110 world leaders present at COP27 for the inaugural group photo, only seven were women; when looking at the breakdown of gender within the delegations, less than 34% of COP27 participants were women.<sup>36</sup> This is even though climate change disproportionately affects women and girls,<sup>37</sup> and the addition of the Gender Thematic Day to COP27.<sup>38</sup>

Recognising that climate change is also a women's rights issue, the Pacific Islands Forum for the first time added a Champion for Gender, Social Inclusion and Adaptation to its delegation, after the success of the Pacific Political Climate Champions at COP27.<sup>39</sup> In addition, 43% of delegates from the Pacific were women, with only Papua New Guinea (28%) and Tonga (25%) amongst the PICs being below the COP27 average of 33.3%.<sup>40</sup>

The Hon. Mona AINU'U of Niue represented the PIF in her second capacity at COP27 as Champion for Gender, Social Inclusion and Adaptation. Women in the Pacific already face difficulties in their day-to-day life due to limited opportunities for economic participation and carrying the burden of unpaid labour, and on top of this find it more difficult to access the financial resources that would help them to either prepare for or recover from climate-change induced natural disasters. They also face increased risk of domestic and sexual violence in the wake of disasters, with little access to the sexual and reproductive health, and mental health services required, Hon. AINU'U explained.<sup>41</sup> At a side event, Hon. AINU'U also highlighted the role of women as holders of traditional knowledge and custodians of natural resources in the Pacific, and asked for simplified, gender-inclusive finance mechanisms that made funding accessible to women given the importance of their role in Pacific society.

*"Women are on the frontlines of this existential threat each day and face specific challenges including a heightened risk of gender-based violence during and following disasters, including exposure to sexual violence and exploitation. Women find it harder to access financial support to adequately prepare for or recover from natural disasters."<sup>42</sup>*

The call for accessible finance for women was also championed by Pacific negotiators, who came to push for 'enhance access' in paragraph 12 of the gender and climate negotiating text to be changed to 'simplify access' to financing for women, local and indigenous communities. "We are hoping that whatever the final wording it will be, that our proposal of 'simplified' access to climate financing will remain," said Eunice DUS, negotiator from Papua New Guinea.<sup>43</sup>

"Unfortunately, we have three options in paragraph 12. I'm hoping that when it's taken up to the COP Presidency, he can decide on what option will be in the text. For us it's the 'simplified' success," added Ms Rothina ILO NOKA of Vanuatu, fellow negotiator, and Director of Women's Affairs in Vanuatu. At the time of speaking there were three options on the table—'simplify access', 'enhanced/simplified access' and simply 'access to' climate financing.<sup>44</sup>

The hard work of Pacific and other Alliance of Small Island States negotiators eventually paid off, with 'simplified' being included in the final text<sup>45</sup> with the support of the European Union, the United States, and others; though the matter of who would fund gender into policy remained under debate.<sup>46</sup>

## The Moana Blue Pavilion, Pacific voices, and Pacific youth

---

---

The Moana Blue Pavilion returned to COP27, opening with a reading of the poem ‘Remember Us’ by environmentalist and youth activist Okalani Mariner which calls for Pacific youth to fight for survival in the face of climate change.<sup>47</sup> The Blue Pavilion again hosted the Mana Moana Pacific Voices art initiative, a collection of poetry, artwork and animations intended to amplify Pacific voices speaking on the topic of climate change.<sup>48</sup> The Moana Blue Pavilion was mandated to facilitate *talanoa*—conversation and knowledge-sharing—that would amplify Pacific voices.<sup>49</sup> Over 70 side events were conducted on a range of issues of import to the region.<sup>50</sup> Topics were varied and, broadly, included the concerns and experiences of PICs regarding loss and damage and other financing models; the launch of management strategies by individual states, such as the Rising Nations Initiative and the Fijian Sustainable Bond Framework; the need to incorporate the voices of indigenous populations, women and other disenfranchised populations into the discussion; ways to adapt and mitigate; and many more. All sessions were available in webinar format, allowing for global attendance.

The Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP) and the Moana Blue Pavilion also selected and hosted eight Pacific youth negotiators participating in the Climate Youth Negotiator Programme at COP27. The Programme aims to upskill 18–35 year-olds with the necessary leadership and negotiation training so that they may become the climate change negotiators of the future.<sup>51</sup> In addition to becoming negotiators themselves, Pacific youth activists were out in force to drum up public support for the Pacific agenda. Ten representatives from the Pacific Islands Students Fighting Climate Change Association – the Pacific island law students who initially championed the proposal to seek an Advisory Opinion from the ICJ<sup>52</sup> – were present at their first COP in Sharm el-Sheikh alongside allies from other countries, calling for more action, less talking.<sup>53</sup> The need for user-friendly reporting that is accessible to all in order to increase local engagement was highlighted as well.

“The IPCC reports were written by scientists in a language that scientists and academia mainly understand. In the same way, policies are written for politicians and delegates. My humble request is if user-friendly reports can be available for children, non-scientists, and non-political individuals,” suggested Fijian youth and climate activist, Salote Nasalo.<sup>54</sup>

A side event hosted by the Moana Blue Pavilion introduced the Kioa Climate Emergency Declaration, another Pacific youth initiative. Drafted on Kioa Island in Fiji—an island that hosts a community relocated 75 years ago from Vaitupi island in Tuvalu – the Kioa Declaration calls for urgent and decisive action on greenhouse gas emissions in order to align with the 1.5 degrees Celsius goal; more support, action and financing for adaptation; progress on Loss and Damage; facilitating the just and safe movements of people in the context of climate change; more equitable financing and a review of both regional and international financing structures in collaboration with civil society and other stakeholders; ocean policies compatible with climate goals; and inter-generational equity through cancelling climate debt, and commitment to a debt free future.<sup>55</sup> Pacific Island youth and civil society present at COP27 met with Australian and Pacific leaders to present the Declaration.<sup>56</sup>

# The Pacific and Australia to co-host COP31?

---

---

As COP27 drew to a close and a penalty-time decision to include Loss & Damage in the final implementation plan<sup>57</sup> ensured PICs would continue to engage in the COP process (an outcome that seemed in doubt at one point, with the Alliance of Small Island States ready to walk away if they didn't get an agreement on Loss & Damage<sup>58</sup>) talk began to move towards future COPs—specifically, COP31 in 2026, with Australia bidding to host alongside the Pacific.

While the Pacific Islands Forum is reportedly in favour of the bid, and the new government was described by Vanuatu's climate minister Ralph Regenvanu as a 'breath of fresh air',<sup>59</sup> Minister Regenvanu also made it clear that support of the bid should be conditional upon meaningful climate action by Australia. If Australia continued to invest money in developing fossil fuels, Vanuatu would not support the bid and he would call on other countries to do the same, he stated.<sup>60</sup>

Australia's emissions currently are more than triple of those of the entire Pacific region inclusive of New Zealand.<sup>61</sup> While the new Labor government has joined the Global Methane Pledge since taking office,<sup>62</sup> and in the final moments of COP27 argued firmly for both maintaining the 1.5 limit in the final document and backed the (unsuccessful) push for the inclusion of a need to phase down fossil fuels;<sup>63</sup> it is yet to join the Powering Past Coal Alliance or the Beyond Oil and Gas Alliance.<sup>64</sup> Climate Change Minister Chris Bowen has said that if successful in winning the right to co-host COP31 with the Pacific Islands Australia would "seek to accelerate global action and harness the economic opportunities from the clean-energy transition"<sup>65</sup>—Pacific states will be watching closely to see if Australia does so anyway, without a COP to motivate the Australian Government.

# Final thoughts

---

---

Hon. John Silk RMI, implored leaders at COP27:

*"We cannot escape the drops of water from melting glaciers, or the salt that seeps into our wells as king tides invade our wells. In this interconnected world, I ask you all to stand in solidarity with us, and to take the difficult and bold decisions that this moment in our history demands...all we ask for as a people, is a piece of the earth for our children and their children to call home."<sup>66</sup>*

Perhaps the underlying message from the Pacific island countries at COP27 can be understood simply as, 'we want a place to call home'. A home is a permanent place to belong, a place that is both physical and spiritual. The Pacific delegates were consistent with their messaging that they needed the rest of the world to do their bit to help them to protect those homes—the spaces where their cultures and history exist – for their children and future generations. Tuvalu is willing to digitise their nation to do so. Let us hope that is ultimately unnecessary.



# Notes and references

---

---

- 1 Woonton, N, 2022a, 'Marshall Islands ask for a place their future generations can call home' *Pacific Environment*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 16 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/marshall-islands-ask-for-a-place-their-future-generations-can-call-home>.
- 2 The Pacific Community, 2022, 'COP 27: What are the expectations for Pacific Island Countries? (Part 1)', *The Pacific Community*, 2 November, <https://www.spc.int/updates/blog/a-conversation-with/2022/11/cop-27-what-are-the-expectations-for-pacific-island-0>.
- 3 Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, n.d., 'Championing Pacific Priorities, Keeping 1.5 Alive', *Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat*, <https://www.forumsec.org/cop-27/>.
- 4 Lesa, S, 2022g, 'Samoa rallies for collective leadership and solidarity to avoid climate catastrophe', *Pacific Environment*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 16 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/samoa-rallies-for-collective-leadership-and-solidarity-to-avoid-climate-catastrophe>.
- 5 Woonton, N, 2022d, 'Global NGOs frustrated at the pushback and stalling tactics on key Pacific negotiating priorities', *Pacific Environment*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 17 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/global-ngos-frustrated-at-the-pushback-and-stalling-tactics-on-key-pacific-negotiating-priorities>.
- 6 Nath, R, 2022b, 'Time ticking on loss and damage payments at COP27', *RNZ*, 17 November, <https://www.rnz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/478856/time-ticking-on-loss-and-damage-payments-at-cop27>.
- 7 Tuioti, C, 2022a, 'Meaningful action to address climate crisis begins now, Kiribati to COP27', *Pacific Environment*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 9 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/meaningful-action-to-address-climate-crisis-begins-now-kiribati-to-cop27>.
- 8 Woonton, N, 2022b, 'Solomon Islands calls for real commitment to loss and damage financing', *Pacific Environment*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 16 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/solomon-islands-calls-for-real-commitment-to-loss-and-damage-financing>.
- 9 Lesa, S, 2022f, 'FSM offers solution on fastest way to slow global warming at Implementation COP', *Pacific Environment*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 16 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/fsm-offers-solution-on-fastest-way-to-slow-global-warming-at-implementation-cop>.
- 10 Lesa, S, 2022e, 'Vanuatu to announce at COP27 its draft proposed UNGA Resolution on rights of people against the adverse impacts of climate change', *Pacific Environment*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 15 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/vanuatu-to-announce-at-cop27-its-draft-proposed-unga-resolution-on-rights-of-people-against-the-adverse-impacts-of-climate-change>.
- 11 United Nations (UN), 2022, 'Developing countries at COP27 call for "climate justice" in the form of adaptation and loss and damage funds', *UN News*, 8 November, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/11/1130347>.
- 12 Rosane, O, 2022, 'Sinking nation Tuvalu calls for treaty ending fossil fuel use at COP27' *World Economic Forum*, 11 November, <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2022/11/tuvalu-calls-for-treaty-ending-fossil-fuel-use-cop27/>
- 13 Ibid.

- 14 Lesa, S, 2022b, 'Loss and damage political champion calls for united Pacific voice at COP27', *Pacific Environment*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 11 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/loss-and-damage-political-champion-calls-for-united-pacific-voice-at-cop27>.
- 15 Woonton, N, 2022f, 'On loss and damage, Palau and FSM demand action at COP27', *Pacific Environment*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 17 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/on-loss-and-damage-palau-and-fsm-demand-action-at-cop27>.
- 16 *ibid.*
- 17 Nath, R, 2022b, 'Time ticking on loss and damage payments at COP27', *RNZ*, 17 November, <https://www.rnz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/478856/time-ticking-on-loss-and-damage-payments-at-cop27>.
- 18 Bafana, B, 2022, 'Climate change is no "future scenario" for Pacific island nations; Climate change is 'real'', *Reliefweb*, 15 November, <https://reliefweb.int/report/world/climate-change-no-future-scenario-pacific-island-nations-climate-change-real>.
- 19 Lesa, S, 2022g, 'Samoa rallies for collective leadership and solidarity to avoid climate catastrophe', *Pacific Environment*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 16 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/samoa-rallies-for-collective-leadership-and-solidarity-to-avoid-climate-catastrophe>; Iroga, R, 2022, 'We cannot afford nor wish to pass on the struggle to our next generation – Mua', *Solomon Business Magazine*, 16 November, <https://sbm.sb/we-cannot-afford-nor-wish-to-pass-on-the-struggle-to-our-next-generation-mua/>.
- 20 Iroga, R, 2022, 'We cannot afford nor wish to pass on the struggle to our next generation – Mua', *Solomon Business Magazine*, 16 November, <https://sbm.sb/we-cannot-afford-nor-wish-to-pass-on-the-struggle-to-our-next-generation-mua/>.
- 21 Kusu, F, 2022, "'We cannot wait for another COP" Solomon Islands tell world leaders', *Solomon Islands Broadcasting Corporation*, Solomon Islands Broadcasting Corporation (SIBC), 15 November, <https://www.sibconline.com.sb/we-cannot-wait-for-another-cop-solomon-islands-tell-world-leaders/>.
- 22 Lesa, S, 2022g, 'Samoa rallies for collective leadership and solidarity to avoid climate catastrophe', *Pacific Environment*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 16 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/samoa-rallies-for-collective-leadership-and-solidarity-to-avoid-climate-catastrophe>.
- 23 Woonton, N, 2022a, 'Marshall Islands ask for a place their future generations can call home', *Pacific Environment*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 16 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/marshall-islands-ask-for-a-place-their-future-generations-can-call-home>.
- 24 Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2022, *Expert advises deferment on Japan Fukushima discharge dates*, Media release, 16 November, <https://www.forumsec.org/2022/11/16/release-expert-advises-deferment-on-japan-fukushima-discharge-dates/>.
- 25 Koroitanoa, S, 2022, 'Fiji leads blue economy financing discussions', *Fiji Broadcasting Corporation News*, 16 November, <https://www.fbcnews.com.fj/news/climate-change/fiji-at-the-forefront-of-cop-27-blue-economy-financing-discussions/>.
- 26 Lesa, S, 2022f, 'FSM offers solution on fastest way to slow global warming at Implementation COP', *Pacific Environment*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 16 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/fsm-offers-solution-on-fastest-way-to-slow-global-warming-at-implementation-cop>.
- 27 Woonton, N, 2022e, *Niue touts Ocean Conservation Credit as innovative climate change solution at COP27*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 17 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/niue-touts-ocean-conservation-credit-as-innovative-climate-change-solution-at-cop27>.
- 28 Government of Niue and Tofia Niue, 2022, 'Niue Nukutuluea multi-use marine park declaration', *Niue Ocean Wide Project*, 12 July, <https://www.niueoceanwide.com>.

- 29 Woonton, N, 2022c, *Fiji raises 1.5-degree ambition and decisions in the Glasgow Climate Pact*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 17 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/fiji-raises-1-5-degree-ambition-and-decisions-in-the-glasgow-climate-pact>.
- 30 AFP, 2022, 'Pacific nations launch global plan to preserve heritage', *ABC Pacific*, 21 September, <https://www.abc.net.au/pacific/programs/pacificbeat/rising-nations-un-initiative/101464650>.
- 31 Lesa, S, 2022d, 'Tuvalu's innovative contingency plan to address scientific predictions of being uninhabitable by 2050', *Pacific Environment*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 15 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/tuvalu-innovative-contingency-plan-to-address-scientific-predictions-of-being-uninhabitable-by-2050>.
- 32 Craymer, L, 2022, 'Tuvalu turns to the metaverse as rising seas threaten existence' *Reuters*, 15 November, <https://www.reuters.com/business/cop/tuvalu-turns-metaverse-rising-seas-threaten-existence-2022-11-15/>.
- 33 Lesa, S, 2022d, 'Tuvalu's innovative contingency plan to address scientific predictions of being uninhabitable by 2050', *Pacific Environment*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 15 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/tuvalu-innovative-contingency-plan-to-address-scientific-predictions-of-being-uninhabitable-by-2050>.
- 34 Lesa, S, 2022a, 'Vanuatu implores world leaders to vote for International Court of Justice Climate Resolution', *Pacific Environment*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 9 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/vanuatu-implores-world-leaders-to-vote-for-international-court-of-justice-climate-resolution>.
- 35 Volcovici, V, 2022b, 'From Pacific to Red Sea: Climate court action gathers wave of support' *Reuters*, 19 November, <https://www.reuters.com/business/cop/pacific-red-sea-climate-court-action-gathers-wave-support-2022-11-18/>.
- 36 Stallard, E, 2022, 'COP27: Lack of women at negotiations raises concern', *BBC News*, 16 November, <https://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-63636435>.
- 37 Rigg, S, 2022, 'Why women's rights matter in COP27', *Al Jazeera*, 14 November, <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2022/11/14/cop27-why-womens-rights-matter-cop27-climate>.
- 38 COP27 Official, 2022, *COP27 Thematic Gender Day Urges Institution and Individuals to Act for Implementation*, Thematic press release, COP27, 14 November, <https://www.cop27.eg/assets/files/thematic-days/gender-day/COP27%20THEMATIC%20GENDER%20DAY%20PRESS%20RELEASE-DOC-01-EGY-11-22-EN.pdf>.
- 39 Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, n.d., *Championing Pacific Priorities, Keeping 1.5 Alive*, Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, <https://www.forumsec.org/cop-27/>.
- 40 McSweeney, R, 2022, 'Analysis: Which countries have sent the most delegates to COP27?', *Carbon Brief*, November, <https://www.carbonbrief.org/analysis-which-countries-have-sent-the-most-delegates-to-cop27/>.
- 41 Lesa, S. (2022h, November 16). Support for gender and climate change gaining traction at COP27. Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP). <https://www.sprep.org/news/support-for-gender-and-climate-change-gaining-traction-at-cop27>
- 42 Woonton, N, 2022e, *Niue touts Ocean Conservation Credit as innovative climate change solution at COP27*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 17 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/niue-touts-ocean-conservation-credit-as-innovative-climate-change-solution-at-cop27>.
- 43 Lesa, S, 2022c, *Early gains for gender and climate change text, as negotiations heads into final week*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 14 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/early-gains-for-gender-and-climate-change-text-as-negotiations-heads-into-final-week>.

- 44 Woonton, N, 2022g, *Vanuatu's Director of Women relishes her role as a technical negotiator on gender and climate at COP27*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 18 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/vanuatus-director-of-women-relishes-her-role-as-a-technical-negotiator-on-gender-and-climate-at-cop27>.
- 45 UNFCCC, 2022, 'Intermediate review of the implementation of the gender action plan', *United Nations Climate Change*, UNFCCC, 19 November, <https://unfccc.int/documents/624406>.
- 46 Lesa, S, 2022c, *Early gains for gender and climate change text, as negotiations heads into final week*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 14 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/early-gains-for-gender-and-climate-change-text-as-negotiations-heads-into-final-week>.
- 47 NDC Administrator, 2022, *Opening of Moana Blue Pacific Pavilion*, Regional Pacific NDC Hub, 8 November, <https://pacificndc.org/articles/opening-moana-blue-pacific-pavilion>.
- 48 Mana Moana Collective, n.d., 'Mana Moana Pasifika Voices 2022', *Mana Moana*, <https://www.manamoana.co.nz/pasifikavoices2022/>.
- 49 Nath, R, 2022a, 'COP27: Platform will boost Pacific presence at UN climate conference', *Asia Pacific Report*, 4 November, <https://asiapacificreport.nz/2022/11/04/cop27-platform-will-boost-pacific-presence-at-un-climate-conference/>.
- 50 Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), n.d., Pacific at COP27—Moana Blue Pacific Pavilion Side Event Schedule, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), <https://www.sprep.org/sites/default/files/COP27/Side-Event-Schedule.pdf>.
- 51 Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), n.d., *Uplifting our Pacific youth to support the UNFCCC COP27 negotiations*, Moana Blue Pacific Pavilion at COP27, <https://www.sprep.org/cop27#act02>.
- 52 Volcovici, V, 2022a, Pacific Islands students target UN court as key weapon to fight climate change', *Reuters*, 17 September, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/pacific-islands-students-target-un-court-key-weapon-fight-climate-change-2022-09-16/>.
- 53 Tuioti, C, 2022b, 'Pacific Islands students fighting climate change amplify their voices at COP27 in Sharm el-Sheikh', *Pacific Environment*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment, 9 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/pacific-islands-students-fighting-climate-change-amplify-their-voices-at-cop27-in-sharm-el-sheikh>.
- 54 Tesan, M and Menaouer, C, 2022, 'COP 27: Recognising the rights of local communities and indigenous knowledge', *The Pacific Community*, November, <https://www.spc.int/updates/news/2022/11/cop-27-recognising-the-rights-of-local-communities-and-indigenous-knowledge>.
- 55 Pacific Civil Societies, n.d., 'Tears of resilience', *Kioa Climate Emergency Declaration*, <https://350.org/kioa-declaration/>.
- 56 Ligaiula, P, 2022, 'Pacific Islanders present historic declaration to leaders at COP27', *PINA*, Pacific Islands News Association (PINA), 10 November, <https://pina.com.fj/2022/11/10/pacific-islanders-present-historic-declaration-to-leaders-at-cop27/>.
- 57 Letman, J, 2022, 'Pacific leaders celebrate COP27 victory on loss and damage fund after decades of advocacy', *The Guardian*, 21 November, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/21/pacific-leaders-celebrate-cop27-victory-on-loss-and-damage-fund-after-decades-of-advocacy>.
- 58 Nath, R, 2022b, 'Time ticking on loss and damage payments at COP27', *RNZ*, 17 November, <https://www.rnz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/478856/time-ticking-on-loss-and-damage-payments-at-cop27>.

- 59 Morton, A, 2022b, 'Australia's new approach was a rare positive at COP27 – but now the need for action is all the more acute', *The Guardian*, 21 November <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2022/nov/21/australia-cop27-climate-summit>.
- 60 Morton, A, 2022a, 'Australia told to end new fossil fuel subsidies if it wants Pacific support to host climate summit', *The Guardian*, 17 November, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2022/nov/17/australia-told-to-end-new-fossil-fuel-subsidies-if-it-wants-pacific-support-to-host-climate-summit>.
- 61 Morgan, A, 2022, 'COP27: Australian emissions more than triple the entire Pacific region's', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 November, <https://www.smh.com.au/world/africa/australian-emissions-more-than-triple-the-entire-pacific-region-s-20221111-p5bxxmf.html>.
- 62 Slezak, M, 2022, 'Australia promises to invest in offshore wind at UN climate conference', *ABC News*, 15 November, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-11-16/cop27-chris-bowen-climate-change-speech-in-egypt/101655354>.
- 63 Morton, A, 2022b, 'Australia's new approach was a rare positive at COP27 – but now the need for action is all the more acute', *The Guardian*, 21 November, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2022/nov/21/australia-cop27-climate-summit>.
- 64 Slezak, M, 2022, 'Australia promises to invest in offshore wind at UN climate conference', *ABC News*, 15 November, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-11-16/cop27-chris-bowen-climate-change-speech-in-egypt/101655354>.
- 65 *ibid.*
- 66 Woonton, N, 2022a, 'Marshall Islands ask for a place their future generations can call home', *Pacific Environment*, Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), 16 November, <https://www.sprep.org/news/marshall-islands-ask-for-a-place-their-future-generations-can-call-home>.

# GRIFFITH ASIA INSTITUTE

Griffith University Nathan campus  
Nathan Queensland 4111, Australia

Email: [gai@griffith.edu.au](mailto:gai@griffith.edu.au)

---

[griffith.edu.au/asia-institute](http://griffith.edu.au/asia-institute)