



**PRE-COP DIALOGUE**  
**FROM BAKU  
TO BELÉM**

**Shaping the Next  
Phase of Climate  
Action**

Chintan Research Foundation (CRF) hosted a Pre-COP dialogue titled “From Baku to Belém: Shaping the Next Phase of Climate Action” on October 24, 2025, at the India Habitat Centre, New Delhi. The Dialogue aimed to foster strategic discussions among leading climate experts, policymakers, and practitioners on advancing the global climate action agenda, particularly in the lead-up to the 30th Conference of the Parties (COP30). The COP30 is scheduled to take place from 10 to 21 November 2025 in Belém, Brazil. The central focus of the upcoming conference is expected to be on the Paris Agreement and its implementation. The provisional agenda includes key provisions of the Paris Agreement - such as the financial support, the adaptation plan, and global stocktake - as major discussion points. With India proposing to host COP33, the discussions and conclusions at COP30 will be particularly pivotal for India’s commitments. Thus, COP30 offers India a crucial platform to influence the follow-up to the Global Stocktake, shape the 2035 NDC process, and advocate for technology sharing, finance, and equity. Another layer of importance for this year’s COP stems from United States’ withdrawal from the Paris

Agreement. As the first COP meeting to be held post US withdrawal, the Belém Conference will be closely watched to assess how parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Paris Agreement respond to the withdrawal of the world’s second-largest carbon emitter, and how accountability for its emissions will be pursued within the existing global climate governance mechanism. Against this backdrop, CRF organised the Pre-COP Dialogue with leading experts to shape the next phase of climate action.

The dialogue stressed the importance of collaborative climate action driven by civil society engagement, equity in climate finance, and critical examination of policy effectiveness. Discussions highlighted the necessity for inclusive decision-making, global transparency through digital platforms, and robust private sector involvement. The consensus underscored that ambitious climate goals require innovative financial models, broad participation across stakeholder groups, and scrutiny of ongoing international climate negotiations to ensure effective and impactful results.

The dialogue consisted of a structured session discussing the upcoming COP30 in Belém and the expectations from it. It involved one moderated session with four panellist speakers from the government, academia and private sector. Across the engaging panel discussion, critical themes around climate governance, mitigation & adaptation finance and climate equity were explored. The panellists included H.E. Kenneth Felix Haczynski da Nobrega, Ambassador of Brazil to India, Dr. Prodipto Ghosh, Distinguished Fellow, The Energy Resources Institute, Dr. Arun Sharma, Group Head for Sustainability and Climate Change, Adani Group and Prof. Archana Negi, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. The session was moderated by Dr. Debajit Palit, Centre Head for Climate Change and Energy Transition, CRF.

Mr. Shishir Priyadarshi, President of CRF delivered the opening address welcoming the panellists and the participants. While delivering his welcome address, he emphasised that the global climate agenda stands at a moment of reflection and reckoning. In his address, Mr. Priyadarshi delivered three key expectations from the upcoming COP: firstly, it is expected to restore faith in equity, ambition, and global solidarity. Operationalising the New Collective Quantified goal would help in establishing clarity on scale, accessibility and transparency of finance, with civil society oversight. Secondly, the agenda must move from goal setting to goal enabling and determining how those goals will be achieved. He concluded highlighting the importance of alignment of the global north and global south. He proposed that the Global South must reclaim its place in climate action and now need to be proactive agenda setters unlike before.

In the context setting presentation, Dr. Pooja Sehbag, Research Associate, CRF framed the context for the unfolding Dialogue. Dr. Sehbag mentioned about COP29 which was dubbed as a “Finance COP”. It established a new collective quantified goal (NCQG) of \$300 billion per year for developing countries by 2035, with a broader ambition of mobilizing \$1.3 trillion per year from all sources. COP29 also advanced carbon markets, transparent reporting, and

adaptation frameworks, but challenges remained in translating pledges into actual disbursements and ensuring equitable access to finance. She added India and other Global South countries needs to showcase leadership in climate negotiations. As the COP30 agenda indicate, Belém is tasked with bridging the gap between developed and developing nations with regards to global goal on adaptation (GGA), climate finance, and loss and damage fund. The action agenda for COP30 emphasises implementation, equity, and urgency, with a focus on mobilizing all stakeholders including civil society, businesses, and subnational actors to accelerate climate action. In this context, Dr. Sehbag laid the pressing questions under discussion:

- How can COP 30 restore faith in the UNFCCC as the legitimate platform for global cooperation?
- How can COP 30 make countries agree on a transparent, enforceable roadmap from USD 300 billion to USD 1.3 trillion that addresses justice and accessibility?
- Will COP30 correct the imbalance in global climate finance and give adaptation a dedicated, measurable goal?
- How can the emerging economies of Global South balance the development goals and climate action agenda in their national plans?

Moderating the panel discussion, Dr. Debajit Palit remarked how climate agenda should be informed by the climate science. Dr Palit urged the panel to provide action points for COP30. During the discussion, the speakers highlighted on the urgent need to focus on implementation in the upcoming COP. They stated how a focus is needed on national projects of mitigation and adaptation where the COP could help in generating models of devising such national plans. These would include a set of tested solutions and ideas especially for the developing nations. The role of multilateralism was also pointed out as a significant factor contributing to principle setting and implementation for climate change agendas which is expected to be mirrored like for the G20 and BRICS partnerships.

Speakers pressed on the issue of lack of adequate finance for mitigation measures. It was discussed



how developed countries need to be questioned with respect to their financial and climate goals. The absence of a universally agreed definition of climate finance often allows countries, particularly developed ones, to classify even minimal or indirect contributions as part of their climate finance commitments. This ambiguity enables them to present limited or non-transformative efforts as substantial progress, thereby diluting the spirit of genuine financial support for developing nations. Another limitation of getting accurate data on climate finance talked about was the year-to-year discounting of climate finance requirements, but this should not be the case. Addressing these issues were brought up to be crucial to achieve the NDCs by the nations.

Experts also emphasised on the strategic role of the private sector in the renewable energy transition for the developing nations. Developing nations may need to be self-reliant in managing their climate action. This could be driven by investments in research and development to face technological and economical challenges. Collaborating with the private sector would also give an opportunity to explore different sources of energy such as nuclear. Therefore, it was proposed that the COP 30 should help facilitate business models through inclusion of civil society and private stakeholders.

Speakers also discussed the USA's withdrawal from Paris Agreement and how it would impact the new

NDCs being submitted by the participating nations. Mitigation is on a five-year renewal cycle of the NDCs which were to be submitted this year, and the deadline for which has been severely missed. This is an uncertain environment as it must be seen whether the combined NDCs would drive climate action. It was also noted that there is a lot of politics around hosting the COP as it drives attention to the host nations' environmental policy. It was stated how COPs have been overburdened with expectations, which always led to missed targets in the past. Therefore, the speakers suggested how actions should be focused to see the overall picture for climate governance.

The overarching action point that emerged through the session includes:

- **Equity must be re-centred:** CBDR-RC should be operationalised across all pillars—finance, technology, adaptation, and loss and damage.
- **Finance defines credibility:** The NCQG must set a clear, measurable goal—potentially \$1.3 trillion annually—with sub-targets for adaptation and grant-based support.
- **Adaptation needs elevation:** The GGA should move from discussion to delivery, with measurable indicators and institutional mechanisms.
- **Loss and Damage must deliver:** The fund must be scaled, accessible, and replenished transparently.
- **Implementation, not intent, defines leadership:** Future NDCs must integrate credible domestic policies, capacity-building, and enabling finance.

*Contributed By: Ms. Shagun Mamgain*



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ELEVATING IDEAS | EMPOWERING PEOPLE

## ABOUT CRF

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CRF is an independent think tank committed to advancing innovation and shaping policy through rigorous research and thought leadership. It conducts comprehensive policy and market research to support informed decision-making, engaging with policymakers and stakeholders through discussions, events, and workshops.



1st Floor, Bharti Crescent Building, 1 Nelson Mandela Marg,  
Vasant Kunj Phase II, New Delhi - 110070



[info@crfindia.org](mailto:info@crfindia.org)



+91 9311630957, +91 6358871398



[www.crfindia.org](http://www.crfindia.org)