Two Presidencies, One Agenda towards COP32: Co-creating policy to repurpose public support for agriculture

At this event, the High-Level Panel for a Just Rural Transition (HLP), UNFCCC COP host-country representatives from Türkiye and Ethiopia, and farmer and government voices set out how food security and agricultural subsidy reform can link COP26's legacy, COP31 in Türkiye and COP32 in Ethiopia into a unified and ambitious agenda to reform policies and accelerate action in an increasingly fragmented world.

The Panel's report, launching on 9 November at COP31, makes the evidence-based case for repurposing subsidies and offers a political-economy playbook with ten ingredients for successful reform. Vision for a new policy action agenda will be presented at COP31, which will seek to translate this evidence to action, in partnership with governments, farmer organizations and NGOs on the way to COP32, where Ethiopia hopes to turn commitments into programs on agroforestry, land restoration and food security.

The Political Opportunity

H.E. Carlos Alvarado, the chair of the High-Level Panel for a Just Rural Transition started us off by emphasizing the political opportunity to focus on food security and agricultural systems as a bridge between the upcoming COP in Türkiye and the future COP in Ethiopia, highlighting the importance of creating an inclusive action agenda involving governments, civil society, businesses, and farmers. He stressed that food security can be a topic that can bring parties and non-party stakeholders together.

The Evidence Base

Dr. Sonja Vermeulen presented a snapshot of the High-Level Panel report which will be **launched on November 9th at COP31 in Türkiye**. The report focuses on the strong case for repurposing agricultural subsidies, which has been made and proven time again, and offers a political-economy playbook for overcoming barriers to reform. 10 key ingredients for successful reform were discussed, with examples of where they have proven successful.

Farmers and Countries at the Centre

Ishmael Sunga, CEO of the Southern African Confederation of Agricultural Unions (SACAU), complemented this by sharing his thoughts on how to make this transition with farmers driving this agenda, rather than being the one included by others. *Robyn Smith* from FCDO reemphasized this in an inspiring recap of work that has been done on this topic since COP26, highlighting that it is time to listen to countries and farmers about what they need.

Building on the Legacy of COP26

Dhanush Dinesh from Clim-Eat shared some background on the opportunity to develop a new version of a policy action agenda that builds on lessons learned and actions over five years of working in subsidy repurposing and policy reform, including from other Rio conventions, thereby building a unified and ambitious lever for actions to accelerate food security under a changing climate. Based on the evidence from the HLP report, a new agenda aims to be introduced at COP31 in Türkiye, from which point on it will be co-developed with governments, farmer organizations, and NGOs, with the goal of bringing it to COP32.

COP31 and COP32 Perspectives

As host of COP31, *Orhan Solak* from Türkiye outlined four focus areas for this year: the food-water-climate nexus, finance, youth for food and climate, and climate-resilient agriculture --emphasizing the need to show progress and implementation between COP31 and COP32. As host of COP32, *Dr. Teshome Tamirat* from Ethiopia outlined the country's vision for 2027, emphasizing the potential to operationalize policy commitments into tangible programs focused on agroforestry, land restoration, and food security, and the commitment from Ethiopia to showcase the new policy action agenda as a key initiative for COP32.

Key Discussion Points and Takeaways

The Q&A explored how to frame the reform concept for different audiences, especially around fertilizer use in Africa, as well as the feasibility and trade-offs of reform in specific contexts. Participants agreed on the importance of aligning incentives for farmers, governments and the private sector, and of building coalitions across sectors. The convergence of a strong evidence base (the HLP report) engaged host countries, and a co-development process offers a chance to move from years of progress to more ambitious political momentum for change. Success will depend on farmer-led design, tailored framing for different stakeholders, and visible consultative efforts between COP31 and COP32.