Patrick Bond
University of KwaZulu-Natal School of Development Studies and Centre for Civil Society, Durban presented to The Committee on Globalization and Social Change Center for Place, Culture and Politics City University of NY Graduate Center 9 November, 2011

Durban’s COP 17 ‘Conference of Polluters’
28 Nov-9 Dec 2011 International Convention Centre

‘A gift from the corporate world!’

World Summit on Sustainable Development
Johannesburg, 31 August 2002: 30,000 protested UN ‘type-two partnerships’, privatisation of water, emissions trading, neoliberalism

Copenhagen Accord, COP 15, December 2009
• Jacob Zuma (SA)
• Lula da Silva (Brazil) + 4 degree increase
• Wen Jiabao (China)
• Manmohan Singh (India)

World’s biggest polluter

‘They broke the UN...’ (all3mind.org)

‘Not until there’s more evidence of global climate change!’

A timetable to reduce emissions?...
we remember Durban, September 2001

The sense of guilt or culpability or reparations – I just categorically reject that.

Is Stern welcome in Durban? Stern/Pershing bribery and bullying: Ethiopia, Maldives

lead US climate negotiator Todd Stern, on demand for recognising climate debt

Maldives cabinet gets $50m in US aid: U-turn, to support Copenhagen

WikiLeaks revealed (Feb '10) Stern/Pershing bribery and bullying: Ethiopia, Maldives

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world’s biggest polluter: US Consulate next to City Hall is site of regular protests by O Durban activists

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SA ‘mitigation’? No, carbon-intensive ‘development’
Medupi and Kusile R240bn coal-fired power plants
Coega’s PetroSA R80bn refinery and new smelter
SA Climate Green Paper passes the buck:
“Most of our climate adaptation and much of the mitigation efforts will take place at provincial and municipal levels.”

CASE OF DURBAN:
Are we on track for a ‘Low Carbon City’?... or is this just a case of extreme greenwashing?

CASE OF DURBAN:
• port widening and new dug-out harbour at old airport site;
• competing Duba trade port next to new King Shaka Airport;
• new long-distance air routes and reliance on sports tourism;
• hope to host 2024 Olympics in White Elephant stadium;
• expansion of South Durban’s hated petrochemical complex;
• massive expansion of Joburg oil pipeline, with doubling of refinery capacity - and of risk of explosions - as cost of pipeline soared from R8 to R21b.

Green Climate Fund – $100bn/year by 2020 (promised), co-chaired by SA’s Trevor Manuel
• $100 billion isn’t enough!
• direct access? ‘Basic Income Grants’ preferable to corrupt ‘aid’ (Manuel opposed)
• False Solutions to be funded
• Manuel wants carbon trade to provide 50% of GCF revenue
• World Bank is interim GCF trustee despite terrible record of managing climate and development funding

What we need!
• Transformative spending
• Basic Income Grant

Should Robert Zoellick be lead climate financier?
• fossil fuel loans: $6.3 billion in 2009-10, up from $11.6bn in 2006-07
• commodity export dogma;
• resource curse financing;
• carbon trading promotion;
• Robert Zoellick qualifications:
  - WB prez after Wolfowitz was fired - Goldman Sachs int’l banker, 2006-07
  - US State Dep #2, 2005-6
  - US Trade Rep to WTO, 2001-5
  - Bush Jr’s senior political advisor, 1999
  - Enron’s senior political advisor, 1999
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What we fear from World Bank-run Green Climate Fund
• Revenue from carbon markets
• False solution financing

ideas to culture-jam the Conference of Polluters

breaks everything he touches a very worried panda
Should Robert Zoellick to lead climate financier?
we desperately need climate consciousness

Is climate change a "serious problem"? Global Scan polls citizenries: percentage answering 'Yes' (2003, 2006)

big challenge: a society kept ignorant of a profound threat

Durban climate consciousness-rising #1; our beloved beaches are threatened!

extreme beachfront damage

then came March 2007 storm

also poor and working people – especially shackdwellers

not just the rich living hedonistically on the beachfront
Oops, rogue oil tanker MT Phoenix ran aground north of Durban… 400 tonnes pumped out at huge risk and expense (phew!); unregistered ship towed out to sea for sinking (another recent beach threat, from high CO2 ship industry (Africa’s biggest port; Durban).

Another storm, August 2011

SA offers world’s cheapest electricity to metals smelters – phase-out needed!


BHP Billiton & SA crony capitalism

Derek Keys, last apartheid finance minister & first SA finance minister, allowed Gencor to externalise billions to buy Shell Billiton, then became its CEO.

Derek Cooper, ill-fated Standard Bank chairman, recommended BHP Billiton smelter switch-off.

Derek Cooper, ill-fated Standard Bank chairman, recommended BHP Billiton smelter switch-off.

Mick Davis, former Eskom Treasurer who offered sweetheart power deals, became BHP Billiton CEO, went to BHP Billiton (now head Xstrata).

Katarzyna Mieczkowska, former SA National Electricity Regulator, now BHP Billiton Southern Africa Chief Executive Officer.

Vincent Maphai, former radical political scientist and HSRC researcher who went to SABreweries public relations and then became chair of Southern Africa BHP Billiton, and attended 29 February 2008 meeting.

No DIRTY loan to Eskom

Richards Bay smelter

No world bank loan to BHP Billiton

No world bank loan to BHP Billiton
Pretoria-Washington attack on climate: $3.75bn loan from the World Bank to mainly finance Eskom’s coal-fired Medupi power plant… why is it so wrong?

Source: groundWork & Earthlife Africa

SA emits 20 times more than even the US, measured by per capita energy intensity

<table>
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<th>Area</th>
<th>Population (person)</th>
<th>cu/ person (kg/Btu)</th>
<th>cu/ 1000 (tonnes/million)</th>
<th>cu/ 1000 cap (tonnes/million)</th>
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</table>

NOTE: The tonnes of carbon dioxide (CO2) emissions are those measurable through fuel combustion.

Ten reasons to reject Medupi

- Climate destruction
- Local ecologies, health
- Procedural problems in World Bank process
- Poor people pay excessive prices
- Multinationals get ultra-cheap power
- Profit outflow to multinationals
- Increased foreign debt
- Privatisation
- ANC corruption
- World Bank’s apartheid history

Eskom’s Medupi: world’s fourth-largest coal-fired plant, to emit 25-35 mn CO2-eq. tonnes/year (more than 115 countries)

25%/year price rise; 127% real increase for 2008-12; electricity disconnections, ubiquitous ‘service delivery protests’ and threatened national labour strike

If South Africa increases Free Basic Electricity from 50 kWh to 200 kWh per month for the 4 million Eskom customers we would only need 17.5% of Medupi’s capacity

If large energy users pay a levy of 1.5 cents the FBE provision will be funded. We do not need a World Bank loan to undertake this.

If only 1/3 of Eskom’s four million customers have ‘zero’ consumption – most disconnected
vital need for SA’s ‘Million Climate Jobs’ campaign, so that affected workers have a Just Transition: guaranteed, well-paid jobs that help society and save the planet!

http://www.climatejobs.org.za

Durban consciousness-raising #3: damage done by fossil fuels in Durban

Pupils taken to hospital after blaze at refinery

Settlers Primary School: 52% asthma rate, highest in world
Fires, explosions in South Durban

21 September 2007, Island View Storage (IVS) facility, tank explosion

18 September 2007, explosion at the IVS facility.

The South Durban Community Environmental Alliance

Engen has violated our Human Right

i) to an environment that is not harmful to their health and well-being:

ii) to have the environment protected, for the benefit of present and future generations.

South Durban Community Environmental Alliance (South Africa)
Bisasar Road conversion of methane-to-electricity at environmentally-racist toxic dump
Africa's largest landfill placed in black residential suburb (Clare Estate) by apartheid; municipality refused to close it thanks to World Bank 2002 investment hype: WB Prototype Carbon Fund emissions reductions credits

Durban, South Africa: $15 million CDM pilot

introducing: Durban Group for Climate Justice
October 2004 initiative hosted by Khan, Timberwatch, SDCEA supported by Dag Hammarskjold Foundation driven by grassroots activists in India, Brazil, Thailand, South Africa, etc largest signatory: Friends of the Earth International key sites: The Cornerhouse, FERN, SEEN, CarbonTrade Watch, CDM Watch, Dartmouth Univ Environmental Studies, UKZN Centre for Civil Society

Sajida Khan (1952-2007) though felled by cancer from dump, she had co-hosted “Durban Group for Climate Justice” (2004) and her challenge to Bisasar methane flaring temporarily rebuffed World Bank in 2005 project went ahead in 2008-09 and currently CDM is paid just €14/tonne

looking north from the dump
big-box shops
Kennedy Road shacks
Bisasar Road landfill

major protests in Durban, 2011

strong Durban traditions of solidarity (photo: Rees, Trevor Ngwane)
currents of a global eco-social movement: climate justice' traditions, 2011
- 1990s environmental protest: Action
- 1990s Action Ecological environmental debt demands
- late 1990s justice movement against Northern financial domination...
- early 2000s global justice movements (following Seattle World Trade Organisation protest) and first climate justice conference (Amsterdam);
- environmentalists and corporate critics who in 2004 started the Durban Group for Climate Justice;
- 2007 founding of the Climate Justice Now! (CJN) network in Bali;
- emergence of a parallel (but not programmatically opposed) political tendency in the People Assembly on the Climate Change (2009);
- 2009 rise of the European left’s Climate Justice Alliance in advance of the Copenhagen Conference of the Parties (COP);
- renewed direct-action initiatives that potentially ties in mainstream groups like Greenpeace and 350.org;
- renewed grassroots campaigns across the world; and
- potential link to global justice (e.g. the Third World Network, e.g. April 2010 Cochabamba World Conference of Peoples on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth sponsored by Bolivian government)

contradictions within climate movement? ‘climate justice’ contestations, 2009-11
- emphasis on South-North justice primarily within interstate diplomatic negotiations over climate, advanced especially by South Centre and Third World Network - but with debates surrounding defense of the Kyoto Protocol, compromises on demands;
- semi-periphery’s right-to-Indigenise (what land?), via UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs;
- Greenhouse Development Rights (NGOs, ENSA, CAPE, the Global South Centre, ETC, etc) attempting to incorporate ‘right to use’ of carbon trading (!) by former UN Human Rights Commission director and Irish president Mary Robinson, whose Dublin foundation influences international NGOs;
- attempts to incorporate (within CJ politics) a commitment to indigenous rights, finance through the Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD) projects

what is ‘climate justice’?
core principles from Rights of Mother Earth conference, Cochabamba, Bolivia (2008)
- 50% percent reduction of greenhouse gas emissions by 2017
- stabilising temperature rises to 1°C and 2°C Per Million
- acknowledging the climate debt owed by developed countries (6% of GDP)
- full respect for human rights and the inherent rights of indigenous peoples
- universal declaration of Mother Earth rights to ensure harmony with nature
- establishment of an International Court of Climate Justice
- rejection of carbon markets, and REDD’s commodified nature and forests
- promotion of change (transformation) patterns of developed countries
- end of intellectual property rights for climate technologies

CJ movement: leave the oil in the soil, the coal in the hole, the tar sand in the land, and the fracking shale-gas in our earth’s ass
- Niger Delta women, Environmental Rights Action, MNH (the majority of oil exploitation in Nigeria), 1998
- Ecuador’s Amazon indigenous activists + Action Ecological block drilling in Yasuní National Park
- British Climate Camp (Cape Ann Visitors Park on the south coast, 2009 – BS say couldn’t crack it)
- Australian mining (BHP Billiton, Rio Tinto, Xstrata, BHP in the Pilliga coal seam of 2009).
- Canadian Alberta: first green anti-pipeline resistance
- Standing Rock: Iroquois, Mohawk, Oneida, Cayuga, Onondaga, Seneca, Tuscarora
- Indigenous people & communities protesting Black Mountain (Arizona), with New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg, 2009; later energy production halted
- Standing Rock Sioux tribe: crude oil pipeline threatening 200,000-acre reservation near South Dakota, 2009
- Standing Rock Sioux tribe: US government authorised 814-mile mainline through Dakota territory, 2009
- Defending Calgary: sprawling powerful industry threatening rights of Siksika, Nakoda, Tsuut’ina, and Stoney Nakoda nations
- US military: fracking for gas in our earth’s Karoo
- US consulate: underground gas storage in front of Howard Auditorium, with neighbouring student dorms
- Global Alliance for Resistor Alternatives, Detroit victory, world war criminal movement
- Defending Chicago: resistance in Richmond, CA
- any number of things (e.g. 1973/1974: indigenous communities defeated Paducah Power, 1980s: elemental justice centres through local action, 1990s: grassroots campaigns unning campaigns over Amazon indigenous lands, etc)
- Indigenous people and communities fighting climate change through the Rights of Mother Earth

Durban International Convention Centre zone
University of KwaZulu-Natal (Howard College campus)
host of People’s Space alternative summit 24 November – 9 December

Durban climate activist targets?
- airport
- smelters
- Bisasar Rd CDM convention centre
- City Hall, US consul
- harbour
- petrochemicals auto industry
- anti-apartheid traditions: Dube, Luthuli, Nkosi, Biko,
- Mec, Mdenges, Turner, Brutus, women, 1972 dockworkers, students, communities, Diakonia faith centre, etc