Can COP17 ‘deliver’?
No!
Delegitimise!

Patrick Bond
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School of Development Studies and
Centre for Civil Society, Durban
presented to the
Democratic Left Front
UKZN, Durban
24 September 2011

cartoons by Zapiro
Durban’s Conference of Polluters (COP17) what will happen from 28 Nov until 9 Dec?

UNFCCC negotiations

UN & Durban officials want ‘civilised’ society in tents, out of sight and mind

civil society unity for Durban Univ of Technology ‘People’s Space’ summit
last time SA hosted global environment conference: WSSD

World Summit on Sustainable Development
Johannesburg, 31 August 2002: 30,000 protested UN ‘type-two partnerships’, privatisation of water, emissions trading, neoliberalism
A GIFT FROM THE CORPORATE WORLD!

Johannesburg World Summit 2002

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

- PROFIT
- SELF REGULATION
- UNFAIR TRADE
Copenhagen Accord, COP 15, December 2009

- Jacob Zuma (SA)
- Lula da Silva (Brazil)
- Barack Obama (USA)
- Wen Jiabao (China)
- Manmohan Singh (India)

“they blew up the UN!”
(Bill McKibben, 350.org)

non-binding! 4 degree increase!
world’s biggest polluter
lead US climate negotiator Todd Stern, on demand for recognising climate debt?

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

Stern thus rejects core principle: 'polluter pays'

is Stern welcome in Durban? WikiLeaks revealed (Feb ‘10) Stern/Pershing bribery and bullying: Ethiopia, Maldives, Bolivia, Ecuador
just not in elite interests to tackle climate

A Timetable to Reduce Emissions?!
..not until there's more evidence of global climate change!

Johannesburg World Summit
why are we so uninformed about climate?

put these stats together, and in energy sector, SA 20 times worse than US

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CO₂ Emissions</th>
<th>CO₂ Intensity</th>
<th>CO₂ Cost</th>
<th>CO₂ Ability</th>
<th>CO₂ Emission Factor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>775</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>$569</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>0.0016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>20.46</td>
<td>$8,588</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>0.0023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>1116</td>
<td>10.96</td>
<td>$26,446</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.0004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>5921</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>$32,445</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: The tonnes of carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions are those measurable through fuel combustion.
SA offers world’s cheapest electricity to metals smelters - *phase-out needed*

### 2009 International electricity cost comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Cost per kWh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eskom brags in 2009 annual report, though reason for R9.7bn 2009-10 losses

The survey is based on prices as of 1 June 2009 for the supply of 1 000kW for a site with a monthly usage of 450 000kWh. All prices are in US cents per kilowatt hour and exclude VAT. Where there is more than a single supplier, an unweighted average of available prices was used. Where available in each country and widely used by the consuming public, deregulated or liberalised contract pricing was used in this survey.

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

Mick Davis, former Eskom Treasurer who offered sweetheart power deals, and after failing to become Eskom CEO, went to BHP Billiton (now heads Xstrata)

Derek Cooper, ill-fated Standard Bank chairperson, recommended BHP Billiton smelter switchoff

Xolani Mkhwanazi, former SA National Electricity Regulator, now BHP Billiton Southern Africa Chief Executive Officer

Zav Rustomjee, former DTI D.G. later a top BHP Billiton consultant

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

Marius Kloppers, BHP Billiton CEO (Melbourne)

Richards Bay smelter
main metals/mining firms export profits both through illegal transfer pricing and through straight repatriation of dividends to shareholders in London and Melbourne, and downstream consumption of their metals product is minimal due to notorious local overpricing

– local manufacturers are at a major disadvantage, and
– profits flow away, causing huge current account deficit, making SA very risky
world’s most risky emerging market

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Current-account as % of GDP*</th>
<th>Short-term debt as % of reserves*</th>
<th>Banks’ loan/deposit ratio</th>
<th>Overall risk ranking†</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>-10.4</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>-4.3</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>-8.0</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>14=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>14=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>-2.5</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>12=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>-7.8</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>12=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>-1.5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>10=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>-2.3</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>10=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>-2.4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: HSBC: Economist Intelligence Unit  *2009 forecast† Higher score implies higher risk
SA ‘mitigation’?? carbon-intensive ‘development’
• Medupi and Kusile R240bn coal-fired power plants
• Coega’s PetroSA R80bn refinery

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 Dube 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.
Cancun COP 16 revived market fix

in theory, yes, as a ‘castle in the sky’... but in reality relying upon carbon markets is like building that castle atop quicksand – given the market’s corruption, fraud, thievery, stagnation and speculation
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: Prototype Carbon Fund credits
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
Pretoria-Washington attack on climate: $3.75 bn loan from the World Bank to mainly finance Eskom’s coal-fired Medupi power plant... why is it so wrong?

Source: groundWork & Earthlife Africa
Ten reasons to reject Medupi

- climate destruction
- local ecologies, health
- procedural problems in World Bank process
- poor people pay excessive prices
- multinational corps. 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-equiv. tonnes/year (more than 115 countries)
Ten reasons to reject Medupi

- climate destruction
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- profit outflow to multinationals
- increased foreign debt
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Medupi has no pollution scrubbers yet ambient SO2 standards already excessive, area is water-scarce, 40 new coal mines needed, and mining causes extreme water degradation
Ten reasons to reject Medupi

- Climate destruction
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- Poor people pay excessive prices
- Multinational corps. get ultra-cheap power
- Profit outflow to multinationals
- Increased foreign debt
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- ANC corruption
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25%/year price rise; 127% real increase for 2008-12; electricity disconnections, ubiquitous ‘service delivery protests’ and threatened national labour strike
1/3 of Eskom’s four million customers have ‘zero’ consumption – most were disconnected
upsurge of **community protest** against electricity disconnections, price increases, World Bank loan
ubiquitous ‘service delivery protests’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Violent incidents</th>
<th>Peaceful incidents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>880</td>
<td>5,310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>1,185</td>
<td>8,102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>736</td>
<td>7,971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>713</td>
<td>7,074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>7,281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>6,187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>6,811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>7,997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>932</td>
<td>9,230</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Police protest measurements**
vital need for SA’s ‘Million Climate Jobs’ campaign, so that NUMSA workers have a Just Transition: guaranteed, well-paid jobs that help society and save the planet!

http://www.climatejobs.org.za
One million climate jobs

Solving the economic and environmental crises

search for a ‘Just Transition’

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Making renewable electricity 425,000 jobs
Renovating buildings 175,000 jobs
Changing transport 300,000 jobs
Industry and landfill 50,000 jobs
Education 50,000 jobs
Total 1,000,000 jobs

- £27 billion in wages for one million jobs over one year.8
- £5 billion in employers’ national insurance and pension contributions.9
- £20 billion in costs like materials, fuel, supplies, rent and interest.
Total cost £52 billion
what is ‘climate justice’?
core principles from Rights of Mother Earth conference, Cochabamba, Bolivia (April 2010)

• 50 percent reduction of greenhouse gas emissions by 2017
• stabilising temperature rises to 1°C and 300 Parts Per Million

• acknowledging the climate debt owed by developed countries
  • full respect for Human Rights and the inherent rights of indigenous people
  • 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 in consumption patterns of developed countries
  • end of intellectual property rights for climate technologies
  • payment of 6 percent of developed countries’ GDP for climate change
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
Should the World Bank be lead climate financier?

• fossil fuel loans: $6.3 billion in 2009-10 year, up from $1.6 bn 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, 2006-7
  - US State Dep’t #2, 2005-6
  - US Trade Rep to WTO, 2001-5
  - Bush Jr’s Florida vote-counter, 2000
  - Enron ‘senior political advisor’, 1999
  - neocon Project for a New American Century founder, 1998 (‘invade Iraq’)
  - Fannie Mae #2, 1993-98
  - Presidential deputy chief of staff to George Bush Sr, 1992
  - US Treasury: Deputy Assistant Secretary during S&L crash, 1980s
What we fear from Green Climate Fund

- Revenue from carbon markets
- False solution financing

What we need!

- Transformative spending
- Basic Income Grant
Durban’s COP17
‘Conference of Polluters’
28 Nov-9 Dec 2011
International Convention Centre
‘going away party, for the beach’!

7 July 2010

World Cup ‘fanfest’ party

December 3 march route: Curries Fountain to beach
Durban climate activist targets?

Gandhi’s ‘Satyagraha’ origins in Phoenix

airport smelters
Bisasar Rd CDM convention centre City Hall, US consul harbour petrochemicals auto industry

anti-apartheid traditions: Dube, Luthuli, Naicker, Biko, Meer, Mxenges, Turner, Brutus, women, 1973 dockworkers, students, communities, Diakonia faith centre, etc
Top 10 things we might aspire to as DLF and allies:

1) endorsement of Cochabamba People's Agreement and other likeminded declarations;

2) full COP17 delegitimisation as “Conference of Polluters” (to distinguish our position from 'Conference of Procrastinators' critique and 'Seal the Deal' NGO beggars);

3) full crit of carbon markets (including offsets, REDD, CDMs) with good knowledge of why they are capitalist False Solutions, especially in a time of financial crisis, so as to link these two processes;
4) full critique of Pretoria's emissions, fossil-fuel addiction, and subimperialist role in facilitating both COP17 non-deal (like Copenhagen) and carbon markets;

5) full crit of Trevor Manuel's role through Green Climate Fund in promoting carbon markets and financing of False Solutions;

6) full crit of Durban's greenwashing for COP17 (attached), including at the environmentally-racist Bisasar Road CDM;

7) higher-profile demands to take away Manuel's money and make direct downpayments on the North's Climate Debt to the South, via Basic Income Grants, to Africans adversely affected by climate change (rationale attached);
8) endorse a COP17 strategy of disputing the elites' solutions, and instead offering our own (both 'keep fossil fuels in the soil' and Just Transition transformation of economy/society);

9) endorse COP17 tactics of vuvuzelas against the US Consulate and Durban City Hall, and then walking PAST the ICC (maybe silently in mourning because it's a Dead Space)... and then from the "going away party for the beach" on 3 December, moving to sites of civil disobedience (neo-Satyagraha) across Durban... e.g. as described in attached and mapped below... and above all,

10) building the CJ movement as #1 priority, including winning soft environmentalists to our side, as well as trade unionists (skeptical of our ability to deliver million+ climate jobs) and communities (too wrapped up in electricity/water/housing and other struggles) -- by connecting the dots between these issue areas.
Climate Justice Now! SA opposes emissions, privatised electricity, Eskom coal and nuclear, carbon trading: demands conservation/renewables and electricity-as-a-right to avoid this danger: