Mobilising for social and environmental justice

From Durban to Dublin

Patrick Bond
University of KwaZulu-Natal
School of Development Studies and Centre for Civil Society, Durban

presented to
Friends of the Earth and Bloom:
Movement for Global Justice
Central Hotel,
Exchequer Street, Dublin
25 October, 2011

cartoons by Zapiro & others
Durban’s COP 17
‘Conference of Polluters’
28 Nov-9 Dec 2011
International Convention Centre
Durban’s Conference of Polluters (COP17) what will happen from 28 Nov until 9 Dec?

UNFCCC negotiations with Africa Pavilion and ‘civilised society’ space

potential Green Pavilion

C17 civil society unity for Durban Univ of Technology ‘People’s Space’
US Consulate in Old Mutual Tower

‘going away party - for the beach’!

7 July 2010

World Cup ‘fanfest’ party

December 3 march route: Curries Fountain to beach
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!

Sustainable Development

Profit
Self Regulation
Unfair Trade

Johannesburg World Summit 2002
A TIMETABLE TO REDUCE EMISSIONS?! ..NOT UNTIL THERE'S MORE EVIDENCE OF GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE!
world’s biggest polluter
Copenhagen Accord, COP 15, December 2009

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

"they broke the UN!" (Bill McKibbon, 350.org)

non-binding! 4 degree increase!
Looks like the debate is really heated in there ....!
we remember
Durban,
September 2011

Here then is the revised agenda for the U.N. conference on racism...
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.
is Stern welcome in Durban?
WikiLeaks revealed (Feb ‘10)
Stern/Pershing bribery and bullying: Ethiopia, Maldives

UN Advisory Group on Finance cochair halved AU’s 2009 demands for climate debt

Maldives cabinet gets $50m in US aid = U-turn, to support Copenhagen
world’s biggest polluter:
US Consulate next to City Hall is site of regular protests by CJ Durban activists
we reject Washington’s filthy climate & oil politics

at the USA’s Durban Consulate – 303 Pixley Kaseme St (West St) –
join a peaceful sidewalk picket: Friday, 9 September, 4-5pm

• The Obama Administration is waging oil/gas wars in the Middle East, Central Asia and North Africa;
• Washington promotes deep-sea oil drilling in spite of BP’s Gulf spill, dangerous gas fracking and nuclear energy;
• Washington refuses to make serious emissions cuts – offering just 3% below 1990 levels – leaving Africa to fry;
• in multilateral climate talks, at the Copenhagen 2009 COP15 Washington “blew up the UN” (says Bill McKibben, 350.org), and at Cancun’s COP16 promoted carbon trading and pushed the World Bank to run climate finance;
• WikiLeaks disclosures of cables prove the US State Department resorts to bribery and bullying to get its way;
• for Durban’s December 2011 COP17, lead State Dep’t negotiator Todd Stern refuses to endorse Kyoto Protocol binding emissions cuts and allow a new post-2012 commitment round;
• Durban will be known as the place Kyoto -- and prospects for a stable climate – died, thanks to these yanks;
• Stern has already sworn there will be no overall climate deal in Durban, he also reneged on Hillary Clinton’s
  Copenhagen promise of a $100-billion Green Climate Fund, he rejects the very idea of paying the US climate debt
  to Africa, and so he is passing the buck to for-profit financial markets; and
• 1250 US citizens and Canadians were arrested at the White House in August opposing import of Tar Sands oil.

This launches a new stage of our struggle: Satyagraha civil disobedience... Join us!

issued by Climate Justice activists at SDCEA, CCS and groundWork, and individuals/groups associated with Climate Justice Now!-KZN (082 982 6939, 083 425 1401)
Africa’s biggest polluter: can SA be trusted to chair the COP?

• September 2011 - refuses to put handbag through Oslo airport x-ray, and instead flies to Bulgaria on $30,000 private executive jet

• October 2011 - denies visa to Dalai Lama for Archbishop Desmond Tutu’s 80th birthday
Ask me anything except how to get a South African visa if the Chinese do not wish it.

Darn!
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 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
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

a very worried panda
What we fear from World Bank-run Green Climate Fund

- Revenue from carbon markets
- False solution financing

What we need!

- Transformative spending
- Basic Income Grant
HOW THE DISCUSES EMISSIONS
(REMEMBER THE FAMOUS BEANS SCENE IN 'BLAZING SADDLES'?)

PARDON!
PARP!
DON'T MENTION IT.

EXCUSE ME!
YOU'RE EXCUSED.

POOT!
SORRY!
DON'T WORRY!

BLORRT!

SAME HERE....PARDON...

BRRRRAP!!

OOPS! BIG ONE!
BUT THEN I'M A BIG BOY!

ZAPIRE
ideas to culture-jam the Conference of Polluters

Christiana Figueres
Executive secretary of the UNFCCC, emissions-marketing ideologue extraordinaire and carbon trader, formerly with C-Quest Capital, principal climate adviser to UN-Energy LatinAmericana, the continent’s largest private utility, used the Cancun Conference of Polluters 10 to revitalize near-dead carbon markets.

Robert Zoellick
World Bank president: his massive WB fossil fuel lending binge (including $3.75 bn for SA’s Medupi coal plant) and carbon trading frenzy (even ‘charismatic species’!) tops off career as Goldman Sachs banker, US State Dep’t #2, US rep to WTO, Florida vote-counter for Bush Jr, Enron senior advisor and neocon Project for a New American Century founder.
LEAVE THE OIL IN THE SOIL,  
THE COAL IN THE HOLE,  
AND TARP SAND IN THE LAND
official SA logo and slogan:

working together
Saving Tomorrow Today

revised evidence-based logo, slogan:

warming together
Stealing Tomorrow Today
we desperately need climate consciousness


big challenge: a society kept ignorant of a profound threat
pre-COP consciousness-raising

Bisasar Rd CDM
main beaches
City Hall, US consul
South Durban petrochemicals
then came March 2007 storm.

Durban climate consciousness-raising #1: our beloved beaches are threatened!

extreme beachfront damage
not just the rich living hedonistically on the beachfront
also poor and working people – especially shackdwellers
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 storm, August 2011

Another recent beach threat, from high-CO2 ship industry (Africa’s biggest port? Durban)
Durban consciousness-raising #2: poor people most adversely affected
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 (US cents)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>6.1</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

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

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

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

Xolani Mkhwanazi, 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

Marius Kloppers, BHP Billiton CEO (Melbourne)
CANCEL SPECIAL CORPORATE DEALS
ESKOM “FAT CATS” U MESSED UP
WHY MUST WE PAY!!!
No DIRTY loan to Eskom
NO TO WORLD BANK FOSSIL FOOL LOAN!
World Bank: Fossil Fool of the Year 2010!

Eskom, you betray... Poor South Africans!

No World Bank Loan. No Problems.

To Bank Loan.
Don't Nuke Our Future Generations!

Solar Energy Is Women's Power!

Women Says To DoE: Your IRP2 Sucks!

Ipuo Peters: Where Are You In The Draft As Woman?
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
SA emits 20 times more than even the US, measured by per capita energy intensity.

Table 6: Energy sector carbon emissions, 1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Population (mns)</th>
<th>CO₂/person</th>
<th>GDP ($bns)</th>
<th>CO₂/GDP (kg/$bn)</th>
<th>CO₂(kg)/GDP*pop</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.Africa</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>8.22</td>
<td>$164</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>0.0501</td>
</tr>
<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 measureable through fuel combustion.
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

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- Multinational corps. get ultra-cheap power
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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
upsurge of community protest against electricity disconnections, price increases, World Bank loan
PEOPLE'S POWER SAYS NO 2 35% HIKE WHERE IS THE FREE ELECTRICITY
• 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.
1/3 of Eskom’s four million customers have ‘zero’ consumption – most disconnected

their defense includes illegal reconnection

Sunday Tribune

‘We are being deprived’

July 31 2011 at 04:12pm
By NIYANTA SINGH

power hikes July 31

REUTERS

EThekweni ratepayers are losing R120 million a year to illegal electricity connections and cable theft — and the municipality has admitted it’s losing a “war” with shack dwellers who steal council cables and hotwire power connections.

This week, the city all but conceded it was being held to ransom by hundreds of shack dwellers living on the fringes of Reservoir Hills. In a desperate bid to restore power to frustrated ratepaying households in the area, the council backed off the fight with shack dwellers and let them reconnect illegally.

The city’s head of electricity, Sandle Maphumulo, says the incident is not isolated.

On Friday, shack dwellers threw rocks and packets of fasces at council contractors and security guards who had disconnected illegal connections and confiscated stolen cables in Reservoir Hills.

The windscreen of a security vehicle was shattered and guards fled. Last week, security guard Wiseman Mthombeni was shot dead in nearby Sea Cow Lake in a row over illegal connections.
ubiquitous ‘service delivery protests’
Eskom + LDI + industry:
fewer jobs
climate + chaos
actinactmove.org
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
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,
- £5 billion in employers’ national insurance and pension contributions,
- £20 billion in costs like materials, fuel, supplies, rent and interest.
Total cost £52 billion
Durban consciousness-raising #3: damage done by fossil fuels in Durban
Pupils taken to hospital after blaze at refinery

Tony Camie

MORE than 100 primary school children were taken to hospital yesterday – some struggling for breath, others with itchy skin and eyes – after being splattered by airborne droplets of crude oil and a cloud of smoke and soot from another fire at the Engen fuel refinery in South Durban.

Wentworth Hospital manager Suriya Kader said 101 children from Settlers Primary School in Merebank and 10 adults had been brought in with signs or symptoms of dizziness, itchiness, headaches and sore eyes.

About 20 of the children were treated with allergy medication, headache pills or calamine lotion, while two were nebulised because of breathing problems.

None were admitted, however, and most did not require medical treatment.

Meanwhile, the refinery remained closed late yesterday after flames erupted from a crude oil distillation unit, which caught fire just before 1am.

Refinery manager Kamal Bah-
rin Ahmad said it had taken 20 minutes for Engen firemen to bring the fire under control. No staff had been injured.

There have been several fires at the refinery in the past few years, including a petrol tank which burned for 58 hours after being struck by lightning in November 2007.

The latest fire has also sparked new calls from local community groups for a government commission of inquiry into safety issues and maintenance at the refinery.

Anna-Lydia Pillay, 11-year-old pupil at the school in Lakhimpur Road, said that many pupils were outside during break when they saw a cloud of dark smoke.

Along with several other pupils seen by the Mercury at Wentworth Hospital, Anna-Lydia’s white school clothes were stained with blotches of an oily substance carried downwind to the school, less than a kilometre from the refinery fence.

Some of the kids were getting oxygen from paramedics and others were feeling sick. Our noses were burning and our eyes were watering. I’m still feeling a bit shaken up and my skin was also very itchy from the black drops which came in the air,” Anna-Lydia said.

Her mother, Charmain Andreoli, said it was “high time” that something was done to improve safety and reduce environmental pollution from the refinery.

Desmond D’sa, of the South Durban Community Environmental Alliance, said the latest fire was an indictment against both Engen and government health and safety officials.”

Ahmad said it was too early to say what had caused the fire.

“We regret any inconvenience or discomfort caused,” refinery spokesman Herb Payne said.
October 10, 2011

October 11, 2011: war on Engen

Settlers Primary School: 52% asthma rate, highest in world
Pollution Incidents in the South Durban Basin
A community under siege

- On the 30/10/08 Dunlop (SA) Ltd released a very thick black smoke in the atmosphere. It was rubber burning, we were driving on the N4 Highway. It was round about 15h30.
  C H L no.53/182/08

- On the 18th Sept 2007, six tanks at Island View storage were gutted and four others damaged in a chemical blaze.

- On the 12 Feb 2007, workers affected with chemical leak at Beacon Sweets. 22 were hospitalized at ChatsMed after suffering from chest pains and other respiratory problems.

- On the 13/11/08 Engen refinery had an explosion, fire in the combo unit after midnight. The people of the communities were scared to death.
  C H L no. 108/11759,

- On the 06/03/08 Engen refinery disposed a gas smell to the communities and they complained with burning eyes and breathing problems C H L no.08/005518

- On the 19th March 2008, there was an ignition of Hydrocarbon vapours in the refinery oily water sewer resulting in an underground explosion, it was in the Sasol Wax Plant.

- On the 28/09/08 Southern Sewerage Works released a very bad smell that convinced the communities to have breathing problems C H L no.08/089694.

- On the 09/09/00 Sayeio disposed a very bad smell to the communities. It was a rotten eggs smell it started at round about 17:20
  C H L no.08/003407.

Saturday 8th March 2008 due to a problem in the Alkylation unit at 17h45. To relieve this pressure, the emergency let down valve was opened, resulting in alorized leak on a flange on the flare header C H L no.H08/00033.
South Durban’s emissions hot spots

- hazardous petrochemical plants
- freight traffic (often illegal)
- container terminals
- Island View refinery
- Africa’s biggest port
- new port: $30 billion plan!
- Africa’s largest oil refining complex
- single buoy mooring: 80% of SA’s intake

- Toyota car assembly
- Mondi paper mill
- Sapref: BP/Shell
- Engen: 80%
- Petronas (Malaysia)
South Durban’s most explosive refinery: Engen

Settlers Primary School: 52% asthma rate (world’s highest)

Source: South Durban Community Environmental Alliance
fires, explosions in South Durban

SDCEA demands refinery closure

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

- 25 October 2008, flaring, regular occurrence at SAPREF and Engen

- 18 September 2007, explosion at the IVS facility.

- 18 January 2005, explosion at Engen Refinery

Source: South Durban Community Environmental Alliance
The South Durban Community Environmental Alliance invites you to a PROTEST

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.
Now KZN faces threat of fracking

Colleen Durdagan and Tony Carson

NEVER mind the Kano, a multinational energy consortium has set its sights on mining in a huge strip of Nkululeko-Natal for shale gas—a development that could pose the chemical “frack- ing” of the water-rich and scenic Drakensberg region.

While media attention has been focused on the controversial shale gas exploration plans in the Kano, a consortium made up of Sasol, Statoil of Norway and Chesapeake Energy Corporation of the US has also been granted a permit to explore for gas reserves in an 18,000km² chunk of land stretching across southern KZN, the eastern Cape and parts of the Free State.

Farmers at a mining workshop in Pietermaritzburg yesterday also expressed fears about a separate suite of thousands of new coal mining and exploration rights that have been lodged around KZN.

KwaZulu-Natal Premier South African Richard Barcinsky said that about 10,900 prospecting applications for various minerals had been lodged with the Mineral Affairs Department in KZN, and, in many cases, farmers were unaware that their land had been targeted for mining.

The possibility of fracking the rich KwaZulu-Natal shale gas and rigging up new coal mines in several parts of KZN has also raised fears about massive water pollution, environmental damage and the potential loss of some of KZN’s oldest farming areas.

Mitsubishi-Mbalu, chief executive of Petroleum Agency SA, confirmed that Sasol, Statoil and Chesapeake were granted a one-year technical co-operation permit in November in KZN, and were involved in a desktop exploration study which did not involve any drilling of this stage.

Sasol spokesman Nkoshe Nkunyana said the giant hopes to complete its exploration study by the end of this year—no refusal to say how it would extract the gas.

Asked whether the company would frack the area, Nkunyana said: “It is only early days and I don’t want to speculate on what will or will not be done.”

However, mining experts say any shale gas mining is generally only possible using invasive methods such as horizontal drilling and hydraulic fracturing (fracking).

To extract the shale gas, large volumes of water, sand and chemicals are injected into the ground under pressure.

Berk Light, a Groote Schuur attorney who has been closely involved in the campaign against fracking in the Kano, said KZN farmers yesterday that the mining companies were reluctant to publicise what chemicals were used in the fracking process.

“Shale doesn’t tell you what chemicals they use—except that one of their chemicals can be harmful to humans. This is just one of the many threats of fracking; the extracting, the chemicals and superficial information we are fed.”

However, US studies revealed the presence of at least 350 fracking chemicals, including benzene, and several others which could cause damage to the nervous system, brain, liver, eyes, skin, respiratory and circulatory systems.

Apart from the risk of chemically contaminated water, the fracking process could also release naturally occurring radioactive minerals.

Light said shale gas was seen as a “new energy transition fuel” and it also raised questions about fracking and the environment, as well as water shortages.

However, the proposed fracking and new coal mining schemes could be “more dangerous than the failed land-reform process”, and farmers should understand the implications for agriculture.

“We need to understand what the right mining companies have to offer, and give farmers the ability to negotiate a more effective contract.”

Barnabas said his union was not opposed to mining and development in general, but wanted to ensure that developments did not significantly damage the environment, national food security and clean water.

However, the proposed fracking and new coal mining schemes could be “more dangerous than the failed land-reform process”, and farmers should understand the implications for agriculture.

“We need to understand what the right mining companies have to offer, and give farmers the ability to negotiate a more effective contract.”

Light also confirmed that mining companies such as Sasol were wealthier and more powerful than many nations, and local farmers would be well advised to pool their resources to hire legal and technical experts.

KwaZulu-Natal Farmers’ Federation president Juma Mavumangala said the number of new coal mines in sensitive environments and farming areas could put a school of thought propagated that certain parts of the country should be “sacrosanct” to create wealth and jobs from mining.

“What is left at the end of the day? What will the KwaZulu-Natal version of ‘where does one stop?’ be?” Prontzos said.
fracking gas exploration

SA fossil fuels known and exploration
KZN-Mpumalanga fossil fuels complex
Mail & Guardian

Burmese firm gets SA exploration right

CRAIG MCKUNE - Oct 07 2011
South Africa has handed an offshore petroleum exploration right to a company reportedly tied to the military junta that has ruled Burma brutally for nearly half a century.

The company, Silver Wave Energy, is pursuing other mineral concessions in South Africa, including access to petroleum deposits off the south coast and diamond and gold resources.

An opposing bid for the same concession was rejected during the same month that President Jacob Zuma received gifts, gems and artwork from Burma’s ambassador to South Africa at the time, Tin Oo lwin.
Durban consciousness-raising #4: carbon trading comes to Durban
Durban, South Africa: $15 million CDM pilot

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
looking north from the dump

big-box shops

Kennedy Road shacks

Bisasar Road landfill
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*
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
major protests in Durban, 2011
strong Durban traditions of solidarity (Bobby Peek, Trevor Ngwane)
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
CJN!-KwaZulu-Natal founding, Oct 2009

some CJ hosts in Durban at People’s Space & UKZN

People’s Dialogue workshop, Sept 2011

CJN!-SA National meeting, Sept 2011

CJ Durban gathering, Sept 2011
_currents of a global eco-social movement ‘climate justice’ traditions, 1990s-2011_

- 1990s environmental anti-racism;
- 1990s Accion Ecologica environmental debt demands;
- late 1990s Jubilee movement against Northern financial domination;
- 2000s global justice movement (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 Peoples Movement on Climate Change (2008);
- 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 campaigning across the world; and
- potential link to national states (via 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/need to industrialise* (what kind?), via UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs;
- ‘Greenhouse Development Rights’ *technical calculation of per capita GHG emissions* (by NGO Ecoequity,) aiming to distribute ‘right to pollute’ (and let underpolluters sell surpluses via carbon trading);
- use of CJ rhetoric to promote 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 (April 2010)

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

• acknowledging the climate debt owed by developed countries (6% of GDP)
  • 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
CJ movement: leave the oil in the soil, the coal in the hole, the tarsand in the land, and the fracking shale-gas in our earth’s ass

- Ecuador’s Amazon indigenous activists + *Accion Ecologica* halt oil drilling in Yasuni National Park
- British *Climate Camp (Crude Awakening)* block Coryton oil refinery, 2010 – MI5 spy couldn’t crack it
- Australian *Rising Tide* regularly block Newcastle coal exports
- Norwegian environmentalists and Attac win against state oil company in *Lofoten* region, 2011
- Canada: Alberta anti-tarsands green and indigenous activists
- stopping US King Coal: Mountain Top Removal nearly halted in Appalachia; Navajo Nation forced cancellation of Black Meza (Arizona) mine permit against world’s largest coal company, Peabody; Powder River Basin (MN, WY) farmers and ranchers fight coal expansion
- detailing US coal energy: nearly all 151 proposed new coal power plants in Bush Energy Plan cancelled, abandoned or stalled since 2007; key community forces: Indigenous Environmental Network, Energy Justice Network and Western Mining Action Network, plus Sierra legal team
- preventing incinerators: since 2000, no new waste incinerators (more carbon-intensive than coal and leading source of cancer-causing dioxins)
  - Global Alliance for Incinerator Alternatives, Detroit victory, world wastepickers movement
- defeating Chevron expansion in Richmond, CA
- undamming Mega Hydro at Klamath River: indigenous communities defeat Pacificorp Power
- building resilient communities through local action: frontline communities winning campaigns linking climate justice to basic survival - e.g., Oakland Climate Action Coalition Just Transition
- movement to halt fracking of shale gas: France, Quebec, Pittsburgh, South Africa’s Karoo
Down with coal! The grassroots anti-coal movement goes global

The article was coauthored by Bob Burton (CoalSwarm, Australia), Christine Shearer (CoalSwarm, U.S.), Cynthia Ong (LEAP, Malaysia), Jamie Henn (350.org, U.S.), John Hepburn (Greenpeace, Australia), Joshua Frank (CoalSwarm, U.S.), Justin Guay (Sierra Club, U.S.), Kate Hoshour (International Accountability Project, U.S.), and Mark Wakeham (Environment Victoria, Australia).

In the United States and Europe, the triple whammy of recession, cheap alternatives, and aggressive anti-coal campaigning has helped halt the expansion of coal use. Since 2004, plans to build more than 150 coal plants in the U.S. have been abandoned. In fact, the U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), a government agency that analyzes energy-related statistics, predicts continued stagnation or decline in coal-fired electricity generation in the U.S. and the European Union over the coming decades.

Facing resistance to its longstanding role in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, King Coal has redoubled ambitions elsewhere. According to 2010 projections by the EIA, coal consumption in the non-OECD world will increase by 23 quadrillion BTUs between 2007 and 2030. The high- and low-end projections of coal's share of global energy consumption in 2030 are 29% and 20%, respectively.
how most know Durban: great urban beach and World Cup 2010 hosting
2010 World Cup hosting: extreme waste, corruption (Durban’s 2\textsuperscript{nd} stadium requires massive ongoing operating subsidies), and distraction of society from genuinely solving social problems.
What we've built so quickly is testament to our real commitment!

Lesson: SA state can deliver – but what is its bias?!
a new protest instrument: controversies over vuvuzelas, SA’s contribution to World Cup culture

first known vuvu complaint

banned in upscale malls

world’s most hated CEO, Tony Hayward of BP, blasted by vuvus