Durban’s COP17
‘Conference of Polluters’
28 Nov - 9 Dec 2011

a conference
about money,
not climate justice

Korea hosts
COP18 in 2012

view from Apollo, 1969
a political economy of the 2010 World Cup™
in South Africa, six red cards for FIFA
slides by Patrick Bond
University of KwaZulu-Natal Centre for Civil Society, Durban (with cartoons from Zapiro)
For more, see World Cup Watch: http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs
A political-economic perspective on climate justice within alter-globalization movements

Resistance to ‘shifting, stalling and stealing’ from Kyoto to Copenhagen to Cancun (to South Africa)

Our objective is to advance socio-economic and environmental justice by developing critical knowledge about, for and in dialogue with civil society through teaching, research and publishing.

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

presented to the International Conference on Alter-globalization movements and the alternative ideas of Korea Gyeongsang University Institute for Social Sciences, Seoul, 28 May 2010
Class and environmental struggle

Globalisation, capitalist crisis and climate change

Our objective is to advance socio-economic and environmental justice by developing critical knowledge about, for and in dialogue with civil society through teaching, research and publishing.

South Africa's Social Movements United march from Alexandra Township to the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Sandton, 31 August 2002.

Patrick Bond
University of KwaZulu-Natal
School of Development Studies and Centre for Civil Society, Durban presented to the Gyeongsang University Institute for Social Sciences
International conference on Globalization and Changes in Accumulation System and Class Structure

Jinju, 27 May 2011

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

johannesburg World Summit 2002
not in leaders’ interests to address climate
timetable to reduce emissions?!..not until there’s more evidence of global climate change!
HOW THE UNFCCC DISCUSSES EMISSIONS
(REMEMBER THE FAMOUS BEANS SCENE IN 'BLAZING SADDLES'?)

structural problem: national self-interest at UN COPs
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!
world’s biggest polluter
lead US climate negotiator Todd Stern, on demand for recognising climate debt?

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

Ethiopian tyrant Meles Zenawi: UN Advisory Group on Finance cochair, halved AU’s 2009 demands for climate debt

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

Stern thus rejects core principle: ‘polluter pays’

WikiLeaks revealed (Feb ‘10) Stern bribery and bullying: Ethiopia, Maldives
The debt of nations and the distribution of ecological impacts from human activities

U. Thara Srinivasan\textsuperscript{a,b}, Susan P. Carey\textsuperscript{f}, Eric Hallstein\textsuperscript{d}, Paul A. T. Higgins\textsuperscript{d,e}, Amber C. Kerr\textsuperscript{d}, Laura E. Koteen\textsuperscript{d}, Adam B. Smith\textsuperscript{d}, Reg Watson\textsuperscript{f}, John Harte\textsuperscript{c,d}, and Richard B. Norgaard\textsuperscript{d}

\textsuperscript{a}Pacific Ecolaboratory and Computational Ecology Laboratory, Berkeley, CA 94703; \textsuperscript{b}Energy and Resources Group, 310 Barrows Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720-3050; \textsuperscript{c}Department of Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720-3114; \textsuperscript{d}American Meteorological Society, 1120 G Street NW, Washington, DC 20005-3826; and \textsuperscript{e}Sea Around Us Project, Fisheries Centre, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, Canada V6T 1Z4

As human impacts to the environment accelerate, disparities in the distribution of damages between rich and poor nations mount. Globally, environmental change is dramatically affecting the flow of ecosystem services, but the distribution of ecological damages and their driving forces has not been estimated. Here, we conservatively estimate the environmental costs of human activities over 1961–2000 in six major categories (climate change, stratospheric ozone depletion, agricultural intensification and expansion, deforestation, overfishing, and mangrove conversion), quantitatively connecting costs borne by poor, middle-income, and rich nations to specific activities by each of these groups. Adjusting impact valuations for different standards of living across the groups as commonly practiced, we find striking imbalances. Climate change and ozone depletion impacts predicted for low-income nations have been overwhelmingly driven by emissions from the other two groups, a pattern also observed for overfishing damages indirectly driven by the consumption of fishery products. Indeed, through disproportionate emissions of greenhouse gases alone, the rich group may have imposed climate damages on the poor group greater than the latter’s current foreign debt. Our analysis provides \textit{prima facie} evidence for an uneven distribution pattern of damages across income groups. Moreover, our estimates of each group’s share in various damaging activities are independent from controversies in environmental valuation methods. In a world increasingly connected ecologically and economically, our analysis is thus an early step toward reframing issues of environmental responsibility, development, and globalization in accordance with ecological costs.
who owes? who caused climate change?
GHG/capita by country, 1950-2000

countries sabotaging COP deal to save the planet
who loses from climate change?

a ‘Climate Demography Vulnerability Index’

main losers:
Central America, central South America, the Arabian Peninsula, Southeast Asia and much of Africa

Geographic disparities and moral hazards in the predicted impacts of climate change on human populations

J. Samson¹, D. Berteaux², B. J. McGill³ and M. M. Humphries⁴
instead of paying climate debt, US says: ‘fix market problem with market solution’

DATE: December 12, 1991
TO: Distribution
FR: Lawrence H. Summers

... I think the economic logic behind dumping a load of toxic waste in the lowest wage country is impeccable and we should face up to that.
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
carbon trading gimmick: US vice-president Al Gore (later a carbon trader) pushed for Kyoto to include emissions markets, in exchange for Washington’s promised support ... promise soon broken

Gore: ‘The European Union has adopted this US innovation and is making it work effectively there.’
(An Inconvenient Truth, p. 252)
emissions market’s five major crashes, 2006-09, 2010 stagnation, 2011 theft-closure, 2012 denouement?

*does EU carbon trading ‘work effectively’? impossible to finance renewable energy with such low carbon prices*
context: capitalist crisis as a result of US-led overaccumulation and financialisation

when crisis sets in, 3 displacement techniques: ‘shifting’, ‘stalling’, ‘stealing’
the spatial fix, temporal fix and accumulation by dispossession

Financial profits
as % of total profits
Green Climate Fund – $100bn/year by 2020 designed last month in Mexico City

- $100 billion *isn’t* enough!
- **direct access?** ‘Basic Income Grants’ preferable to existing ‘aid’ systems (but Manuel is opposed)
- **carbon trade** will provide up to 50% of Fund revenue
- **World Bank is interim 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

Robert Zoellick

breaks everything he touches

a very worried panda
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
  - 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
‘climate justice’ semantics

- environmental/racial justice traditions - 1980s
- ad hoc climate activism, 1997 Kyoto Protocol
- ‘Durban Group for Climate Justice’, 2004
- fusion of ‘global justice’ and radical enviros, Bali, 2007
- ‘Climate Justice Now!’, 2007-present
- Climate Justice Alliance (EU-based), Copenhagen, 2009
- Cochabamba conference ‘Rights of Mother Earth’, 2010
- Third World Network emphasis on South state power
- UN-DESA’s CJ orientation: South industrialisation
- Mary Robinson Foundation for CJ – elite reengagement
- local struggles in many sites
One million climate jobs

Solving the economic and environmental crises

search for a ‘just transition’

- £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

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CJ movement: *leave the oil in the soil, the coal in the hole, the tarsand in the land, the fracking shale-gas in mother earth’s ass*

- Canada: Alberta anti-tarsands green and indigenous activists, and Quebecois versus shale-gas
- British *Climate Camp (Crude Awakening)* block Coryton oil refinery, 2010 – MIS 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
- Ecuador’s Amazon indigenous activists + *Accion Ecologica* halt oil drilling in Yasuni National Park
- 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
- Halting 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
- Halting shale-gas extraction in Pittsburgh, NY and South Africa’s Karoo region (by Shell)
- Building resilient communities through local action: frontline communities winning campaigns linking climate justice to basic survival
  - E.g., Oakland Climate Action Coalition opposes climate disruption, promotes Just Transition
introducing:
Durban Group for Climate Justice

- October 2004 initiative
- supported by Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, Sweden
- 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
Can global warming be mitigated by carbon trading?

With climate change posing perhaps the gravest threat to humanity in coming decades, and with free market economics still hegemonic, it is little wonder so much effort has gone into creating a carbon market. No matter how much evidence has recently emerged about its flaws.

South Africa, a revealing pilot site, has initiated carbon trading projects with adverse economic, environmental and social impacts. South Africa pollutes at a rate twenty times higher than even the United States of America, measured by CO₂ emissions generated by each GDP dollar per person, so the idea of trading for carbon reductions is seductive – and potentially lucrative. Current state policy is supportive and a former environment minister is a market promoter, alongside the World Bank, the Dutch government and big oil companies.

Editors Patrick Bond, Rehana Dada and Graham Erion of the University of KwaZulu-Natal and the TransNational Institute have assembled this cutting-edge collection to highlight the urgent situation.

"The most destructive effect of the carbon offset trade is that it allows us to believe we can carry on polluting. This crucially-needed book provides ample evidence of the trade's other dangers to "beneficiaries", with case studies of fraud, accounting tricks and maltreatment of people and the environment."

George Monbiot, Guardian columnist and author of Heat.

"As representatives of people's movements and independent organisations, we reject the claim that carbon trading will halt the climate crisis. This crisis has been caused more than anything else by the mining of fossil fuels and the release of their carbon to the oceans, air, soil and living things. This excessive burning of fossil fuels is now jeopardising Earth's ability to maintain a liveable climate."

"Climate Justice Now! The Durban Declaration on Carbon Trading."

Order your copy from http://www.ukznpress.co.za
pbond@mail.ukzn.za
Durban’s Conference of Polluters (COP17)
what will happen from 28 Nov until 9 Dec?

UNFCCC negotiations

UN & Durban officials want only ‘civilised’ society in (closed) Exhibition Centre

civil society unity for Durban Univ of Technology alternatives summit
'going away party - for the beach'!

7 July 2010 World Cup 'fanfest' party

December 3 march route: Curries Fountain to beach
red-green civil society (Climate Justice Now!SA) versus Medupi coal, Eskom pricing, World Bank, carbon trading: demands climate debt, conservation/renewables and electricity-as-a-right

Otherwise this danger: