Durban briefing

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cartoons by Zapiro & others...

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

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!

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)

Last time SA hosted global environment conference: WSSD

International Convention Centre last time SA hosted global environment conference: WSSD
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

we reject Washington’s filthy climate & oil politics at the USA’s Durban Consulate – 303 Holby Xexe Cube (West St) – join a powerful sidewalk picket: Friday, 9 September, 4-6pm

• Stop Climate Action at an illegal protest under the detailed Durban centre of peace energy – or, unless you’re of the white spirit, you’re in the wrong; we offer no comment. • Stern/Pershing bribery and bullying: WikiLeaks revealed (Feb ’10) Stern/Pershing bribery and bullying: Ethiopia, Maldives

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

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?

is Stern welcome in Durban?

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

Foreign Minister Maite Nkoana-Mashabane

• 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

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;

• 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 R21bn

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

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
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 fear from World Bank-run Green Climate Fund
- Revenue from carbon markets
- False solution financing

What we need!
- Transformative spending
- Basic Income Grant

Robert Zoellick: World Bank president

- fossil fuel loans: $6.3 billion in 2009-10 year, up from $1.6bn in 2006-7
- commodity export dogma;
- resource curse financing;
- carbon trading promotion;
- Robert Zoellick qualifications:
- Wolfowitz fired after 9/11, but was his protégé;
- Bush’s #2 at the fed, 1980s;
- US Trade Rep, 1991-93;
- NAFTA negotiating table, 1992-93;
- Treasury, 1993, 1996;
- Fannie Mae, #2, 1993-98;
- Deputy Assistant Secretary during S&L crash, 1980s;
- Deputy Assistant to George Bush Sr, 1992;
- Senior political advisor Enron, 1999;
- Senior political advisor Bush Jr’s Florida vote, 2000;
- US Trade Rep to WTO, 2001-05;
- #2 US State Dep, 2005-06;
- Goldman Sachs, 2006-7;
- #1 at the fed, 2007-10;
- World Bank prez after Wolfowitz was fired.

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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

then came March 2007 storm

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 (peww), 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

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

Durban climate consciousness-raising #2: but beloved beaches are threatened!

Durban climate consciousness-raising #3: not just the rich living hedonistically on the beachfront

also poor and working people – especially shackdwellers
BHP Billiton & SA crony capitalism

Derek Keys, last apartheid finance & 1st 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 switch-off

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

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

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 26 February 2008 meeting

Roxanne Gilmore

No DIRTY loan to Eskom

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

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<th>C/s (mns)</th>
<th>C/s (kg/mn)</th>
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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
• 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)

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

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upsurge of community protest against electricity disconnections, price increases, World Bank loan

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source: groundWork & Earthlife Africa

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
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.

A 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!
October 10, 2011: war on Engen

Settlers Primary School: 52% asthma rate, highest in world

South Durban’s most explosive refinery: Engen

South Durban Community Environmental Alliance demands refinery closure

18 January 2005, explosion at Engen Refinery

June 15, 2011: Now KZN faces threat of fracking

SA fossil fuels known and exploration

Hires, explosions in South Durban

SDCEA demands refinery closure

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

18 September 2007, explosion at the IVS facility.

Fires, explosions in South Durban

18 September 2005, explosion at the IVS facility.

South Durban’s emissions hot spots

South Durban’s biggest port

Island View refinery

Mondi paper mill

South Durban Community Environmental Alliance

Engen: 80% Petronas (Malaysia)

SA fossil fuels

known and exploration

gas exploration

fracking

hazardous petrochemical plants

South Durban’s biggest port

firearms

loading

Addington

freight traffic school bus

container terminals

Mondi paper mill

South Durban’s biggest port

hazardous petrochemical plants

Engen: 80% Petronas (Malaysia)

Africa’s largest oil refining complex

Mondi paper mill

single buoy mooring: 80% of SA’s intake

South Durban’s most explosive refinery: Engen

25 October 2008, burning toxic waste in SAPREF and Engen

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

21 September 2007, explosion at the IVS facility.

Source: South Durban Community Environmental Alliance

Settlers Primary School: 52% asthma rate, highest in world

October 11, 2011: war on Engen

Pupils taken to hospital after blaze at refinery

October 10, 2011

Engen has violated our Human Right

1. to an environment that is not harmful to their

health and well being;

2. to have the environment protected, for the benefit

of present and future generations.

The South Durban Community Environmental Alliance

PROTEST

June 15, 2011
KZN-Mpumalanga fossil fuels complex

Durban consciousness-raising #4: carbon trading comes to Durban

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 Unit Environmental Studies, UKZN Centre for Civil Society

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

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

Durban, South Africa: $15 million CDM pilot

strong Durban traditions of solidarity (Bobby Peek, Trevor Ngwane)
currents of a global eco-social movement ‘climate justice’ traditions, 2011

- 1980s: environmentalism and indigeneous rights
- 1990s: ecocentric environmental debt demands
- 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
- 2007-2008: the Climate Justice Now! network in Bali
- emergence of a parallel (but not programatically opposed) political tendency in the People’s Movement for Climate Change (PMCC)
- 2009: the of the European left’s Climate Justice Alliance in advance of the Copenhagen Conference of the Parties (COP 15)
- renewed direct action initiatives that potentially tie in mainstream groups like the Greenpeace and 350.org
- renewed grassroots campaigning across the world, and
- potential link to national climate change efforts (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 inter-state 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 industrially (what land?), 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 (i) by former UN Human Rights Commission director and Irish president Mary Robinson, whose Dublin Foundation influences international NGOs; (ii) 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)
  - 40 percent reduction of greenhouse gas emissions by 2020
  - 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 peoples
- universal declaration of nature’s 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
- redefinition 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

- major Delhi women, Environmental Rights Action, MENVIS led majority of oil exploitation in 2008
- Ecuador’s Amazon indigenous activists + Amazon Ecology had oil drilling in Yasuní National Park
- Climate Camp (Glasgow, Scotland) had its cry (2008) – MI5 spy couldn’t crack it
- Australian Greenpeace (Sydney) blocked first Global Gas Conference, Melbourne, 2011
- Canada: affects oil sands green and indigenous activists
- national protests; ‘Tarsands: The People’s Stance’ (interest group)
- Andean peoples’ resistance against the ‘Black Mountain Project’ initiated by the World Bank, Canada, and the Energy Resources Development Authority, Canada
- New York, USA, 2004: ‘take a crack at it’
- American Indian 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
- Nunavut’s right to industrial action, 2008
- ‘Un Furious’ Desert, 2008
- Navajo and Hopi opposition to ‘Fehr’ project, 2007
- global eco activist opposition, 2008
- major European protests against power plants
- global energy justice groups like Greenpeace and Attac, sponsoring ICAN, March 2009
- the Copenhagen Conference of the Parties (COP 15); 2009-2010
- global justice movement – Cochabamba – 2009
- 2010-2011: the Rights of Mother Earth conference in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa
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, Nkosi, Sikele,
Meer, Khehges, Turner, Brutus,
women, 1973 dockworkers, students,
communities, Diakonia faith centre, etc