Payment for Ecosystem Services versus Ecological Reparations: The ‘Green Economy,’ Litigation and a Redistributive Eco-Debt Grant

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 Built Environment and Development Studies and Centre for Civil Society, Durban

presented to the Environmental Justice Organisations, Liabilities and Trade project’s workshop on

Ecologically Unequal Exchange and Ecological Debt

Human Ecology Division, Lund University, Sweden 28 March 2014

cartoons by Zapiro
financial sanctions to halt port-petrochem:
a $25 billion mega-project mistake
port-petrochemical expansion threatens South Durban

connecting the dots between issue areas and constituencies

can ‘ecological debt’ improve prospects for justice?
PROTEST!!!
Calling all Durban Communities...
- UNITE AGAINST

The Durban Port Expansion Project

THIS PROJECT WILL...
- Put more than 2,000 MORE trucks PER HOUR on our roads;
- Cause a housing crisis as unbearable living conditions displace communities & increase social decay & crime;
- Convert Clairwood Racecourse, South Durban’s only green area, into a container & trucking depot;
- Aggravate Clairwood community’s decay, caused by willful historic failure to control the invasion of illegal businesses into a residential zone;
- Deny fishermen access to the Beachfront & North Piers;
- Dispossess the Airport Farmers & cause food prices to soar;
- Divert R250 BILLION from vital services such as housing, education & health;
- Increase petrochemical industry pollution-related illnesses, cancer & asthma;
- Force small businesses to close - this unemployment will outweigh any jobs created by this project;
- Put a further burden on taxpayers in addition to existing white elephants;
- Worsen climate change;
- Create more opportunities for corruption;
- Profit a few at the expense of hundreds of thousands of Durban residents.

DATE: SAT 29 MARCH 2014
TIME: 8:00am - 12:00pm
START: KING DINIZULU
(Botha’s Gardens) Kwa Pixley Ka Seme (West) St

For more information on this protest call:
Desmond D’Sa: 083 982 6939 - Megan Lewis: 083 450 5541
Vanessa Burger: 082 847 7766 - Mthembisimzi Thusi: 081 021 8608

Redistributive Justice: approach based upon fine and ban narrative (not fee and PES), careful court cases and serious criminal proceedings, and maybe one day UNFCCC – also street heat and solidarity
WE LOVE DURBAN

From hydroelectric turbines to 7.5MWh of electricity produced from landfill waste, Durban is right to be proud of its renewable energy achievements.

And that’s just the start: other programs include energy saving Wonderbag cookers, and solar mapping, forecasting and subsidies to drive the industry.

OUR JOURNEY TO BETTER
Durban’s greenwashing deceits

OPINION / PATRICK BOND

Working frenetically from nouveau-riche Umhlanga, the Carver Media company just made themselves a lead candidate for the fiercest anti-marketing case method example you’d ever encounter at Wits Business School, a Mad Men’s nightmare script of a brand gone bust. The firm’s Praneetha and Aviash Ananth committed the most crotty social media mistakes imaginable in the course of high-priced, last-minute sock-puppetry, all aimed at advancing Durban’s bid for an utterly banal environmental prize.
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 even though DSW’s ‘additionality’ claim was a lie
"the system should be decommissioned and at minimum, a moratorium be placed on further crediting until the profound structural and implementation flaws are confronted. The damage done by CDMs to date should be included in calculations of the ‘climate debt’ that the North owes the South, with the aim of having victims of CDMs compensated appropriately."
PAYMENT FOR ECOSYSTEM SERVICES VERSUS ECOLOGICAL REPARATIONS: THE ‘GREEN ECONOMY,’ LITIGATION AND A REDISTRIBUTIVE ECO-DEBT GRANT

KHADIJA SHARIFE* AND PATRICK BOND**

ABSTRACT

Since the December 2011 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change Conference of the Parties 17 in Durban and the Rio+20 Summit on Sustainable Development, attention has turned to whether the ‘Green Economy’, the concept of ‘natural capital’ and ‘Payment for Ecosystem Services’ together facilitate the management of new environmentally-financialised markets whose aim is to price nature and its pollution, so as to achieve maximally efficient exploitation of resources (an example of which is carbon trading). Alternatively, if there are flaws in such markets, should society instead move towards retributive payments for ‘ecological debt’ based on both ‘loss and damage’ accounting (introduced at the UNFCCC COP18 in Doha) and environmental justice, in order that the valuing of nature is limited to fines for damages and then prohibitions on further pollution. These two countervailing philosophies play out in high-profile projects and pilot social-policy schemes in southern Africa, in ways that will teach the world foundational concepts surrounding ecological reparations.
‘loss & damage’ negotiations: trust them to the UNFCCC? – or do we need a solidaristic strategy, learning from Yasunization and the Otjivero BIG? 

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Human Ecology Division, Lund University, Sweden 28 March 2014
cartoons by Zapiro
in 2002, SA hosted ‘W$$D’: ecological modernisation

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

Johannesburg World Summit 2002
Rio+10, Joburg

I worry the corporates have too much say...
A timetable to reduce emissions?!

...not until there's more evidence of global climate change!
Durban COP17 – December 2011: climate’s ecological modernisation

FINANCIAL TIMES
ft.com/world

Climate deal boost for carbon markets
By Pilita Clark in Durban

revised evidence-based logo
Hurricane Sandy

October 29, 2012:
$60 bn damage overnight

what changed for COP18?
‘loss & damage’ mentioned here – but, ‘no liability!’

former carbon trader
Christiana Figueres

former Qatar oil minister
Abdullah Bin Hamad al-Attiyah
lead US climate negotiator Todd Stern, on demand for recognising climate debt in Copenhagen, “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/Pershing bribery and bullying: Ethiopia, Maldives

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
are negotiations to reduce greenhouse gas emissions working?

structural problem: national self-interest at UN COPs
solutions within global governance? 

Top-down failures in economics, politics, environment

Montreal Protocol banning CFCs, 1987

But since then:

- World Bank, IMF Annual Meetings: trivial reforms - China rising, Africa falling
- Post-Washington Consensus: rhetoric
- UN MDG strategies, 2000: missed targets
- WTO Doha Agenda 2001: failure (WTO dead)
- Renewed war in Central Asia, Middle East, 2001-?
- UN Security Council Reform failed, 2005
- G8 promises on aid, NEPAD/APRM, Gleneagles: broken
- Kyoto Protocol 1997 and aftermath – Copenhagen, Cancun, Durban, Doha and Warsaw climate disasters
futile CJ advocacy in Warsaw
“we need to change our strategies... the insider COP approach isn’t working: what governments can’t push, we should push as civil society”
- Mithika Mwenda

“we need to name the names and shame them”
- Azed Girmai

“Let’s have mobilisations, let’s get people on the streets, fighting for their issues – we have a problem of buy-in, we have to reach the real issues: food insecurity, extreme storms and sea-level rise, energy... how do we connect this issue in the clouds, climate, to very real issues?”
- Dipti Bhatnagar
to be a very good jam-maker, you need a strong tree-shaker
how do we change the balance of forces in 2014-15?
thanks to Chelsea Manning, WikiLeaks and Ed Snowden, we know!
NSA “signals intelligence will undoubtedly play a significant role in keeping our negotiators as well informed as possible throughout the 2-week event... leaders and negotiating teams from around the world will undoubtedly be engaging in intense last-minute policy formulating; at the same time, they will be holding sidebar discussions with their counterparts – details of which are of great interest to our policymakers”
world’s main historic polluter

US, Canada, Russia, Japan, Australia

block US delegates from COP20?
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 McKibben, 350.org)

non-binding!
4 degree increase!
again they gathered: Durban in March 2013

Manmohan Singh  Xi Jinping  Jacob Zuma  Dilma Rousseff  Vladimir Putin
Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Germany, Italy, Spain in Berlin, 1884-85: ‘The Scramble for Africa’

Scramble for Africa’s minerals, oil, gas, land
against slavery, colonialism, neocolonialism, neoliberalism
or within?
SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA
Is SA getting trade and foreign policy right?
CO2 emissions per capita: BRICS are mixed

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<th>Country</th>
<th>Emissions (tonnes per capita)</th>
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<td>Luxembourg</td>
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<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
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the climate debt
greenhouse gas emissions per person, 2000
USA
Canada
Australia
Saudi Arabia
Kazakhstan
Russia

who owes?
North-South climate debt rises if we include **outsourced production**.
who are climate ‘creditors’? (who’s owed?)
a ‘Climate Demography Vulnerability Index’

main losers:
• Central America and Caribbean
• Andes and Amazon
• Central/South Asia and Middle East
• SubSaharan Africa
• Southeast Asia and small islands

Geographic disparities and moral hazards in the predicted impacts of climate change on human populations
J. Samson, D. Berteaux, R. I. McGill and M. M. Humphries
who’s owed? climate change ‘creditors’

main losers:
Central America, central South America, Central and Southeast Asia and much of Africa
Africa burning
I was in Namibia. We did a kind of tour. Sort of like fly and drive.
The debt of nations and the distribution of ecological impacts from human activities


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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 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.
can we leave the oil under the soil?

Case 1 of solidaristic climate debt payment: Yasuni ITT

Yasuni ITT in Ecuador’s Amazon rainforest
Accion Ecologica, Quito
eco-feminist-indigenous defence of Yasuni
http://www.accionecologica.org/
Germany to pull out of Ecuador Yasuni initiative?

By Chris Lang, 22nd September 2010

Ecuador plans to leave almost a billion barrels of oil in the Yasuni National Park, in return for US$3.6 billion of the market value of the oil. It’s been hailed as “The world’s oil deal”. In 2008, the German Parliament agreed to support the initiative. But now Germany’s Minister for Economic Development and Cooperation, Dirk Niebel, says Germany “will not consider payment into the trust fund”.

The Yasuni initiative applies to an area of 175,000 hectares of some of the most biodiverse rainforest on the planet, home to two of the world’s last remaining uncontacted indigenous groups: the Tagaeri and the Taromenane. Others, the Shuar, Waorani, and Kichwa, only recently came into contact with the modern world. Under the initiative, 846 million barrels of oil are kept permanently underground, avoiding the emission of 407 million metric tons of CO₂ over the next 30 years.

Development Programme signed an agreement with the Ecuadorian government, UNDP would be an independent administrator of the trust fund: “A look at Ecuador’s agreement to leave 846 million barrels of oil in the ground.”
keep the oil in the soil
and the coal in the hole

but bottom-up solidarity possibilities remain!
The results after one year of implementation have been remarkable.

- Before the pilot program, 42% of children in the village were malnourished. Now the proportion of malnourished children has dropped significantly, to 10%.

- The village school reported higher attendance rates … children were better fed and more attentive.

- Police statistics showed a 36.5% drop in crime since the introduction of the grants.

- Poverty rates declined from 86% to 68% (97% to 43% when controlled for migration).

- Unemployment dropped as well, from 60% to 45%, and there was a 29% increase in average earned income, excluding the BIG.

Carnegie Council: http://www.policyinnovations.org/ideas/briefings/data/000163
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
No DIRTY loan to Eskom
Eskom CANCELS SPECIAL CORPORATE DEALS
two contrary directions for framing campaign strategies:

1) ‘reformist reforms’:
   strengthen the internal logic of the system, by smoothing rough edges
   allow the system to relegitimise
   give confidence to status quo ideas and forces
   leave activists disempowered or coopted
   confirm society’s fear of power, apathy and cynicism about activism

2) ‘non-reformist reforms’:
   counteract the internal logic of the system, by confronting core dynamics
   continue system delegitimisation
   give confidence to critical ideas and social forces
   leave activists empowered with momentum for next struggle
   replace social apathy with confidence in activist integrity and leadership

(for these distinctions, thanks to Andre Gorz, John Saul, Boris Kagarlitsky, Gosta Esping-Andersen)
ten potential sins of researchers in relation to EJ & related movements

• gatekeeping (or worse, hijacking): in which a researcher takes ownership of a movement, its interpretation and even access

• substitutionism: replacing (not augmenting) the local understanding with the researcher’s understanding or vision

• ventriloquism: replacing local phrasing with a researcher’s own words (in press releases, articles, statements of demands, etc)

• careerism through parasitism: exploiting information gained, without reporting back or turning benefits back to the base

• technicism or legalism: sometimes necessary to contest enemy’s technicism, but sometimes incapable of comprehending realities, usually causing premature deradicalisation

• divisiveness: favouring or profiling certain factions or individuals, often in a sectarian way

• hucksterism: romanticising and overstating the importance of the movement/struggle

• score-settling: importing researchers’ petty internecine rivalries, causing degeneracy in movement politics as ego-clashing replaces open, honest debate

• failure of analytical nerve: inability (often due to fear) to draw out the fully liberatory potentials of the movement and its struggles

• betrayal: turning against movement, giving info to enemies, or accepting enemy arguments
LET THE
COMPETITION
BEGIN!

WTO

1ST WORLD

SUBSIDIZED

3RD WORLD

uneven economic & ecological exchange