FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Invites you to her Round Table Lecture series on:

CLIMATE CHANGE AND POLITICS OF CLIMATE JUSTICE

BY

PROF PATRICK BOND
University of KwaZulu-Natal,
School of Built Environment and Development Studies, Durban.
CLIMATE CHANGE AND POLITICS OF CLIMATE JUSTICE

Patrick Bond, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa
Presented to University of Port Harcourt Faculty of Social Sciences, 15 March 2013

- Saro-Wiwa and Satyagraha
- multilateral climate negotiations
- corporate logics: cap&trade, tech fixes
- BRICS: another ‘false solution’?
- Africa ‘rising’? or Africa *looted>*
- climate justice
- climate debt: CJ repayment strategies

UNFCCC COP 17, Dec 2011
FROM NIGER DELTA TO SOUTH DURBAN
Kwale
hypertoxic
South Durban
state & corporate
attacks on people
and environment

hazardous petro-
chemical plants

Mondi paper mill

Toyota car
assembly

freight traffic
(often illegal)

container terminals

new capacity: R250 billion plan!

Island View
refinery

Africa’s
biggest port

Engen: 80%
Petronas
(Malaysia)

Africa’s largest oil
refining complex

Sapref: BP/Shell

single buoy
mooring:
80% of SA’s
intake
South Durban’s most explosive refinery: Engen

Settlers Primary School: 52% asthma rate (world’s highest)
Fires, explosions in South Durban

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

18 January 2005, explosion at Engen Refinery

SDCEA demands refinery closure

- 21 September 2007, Island View Storage (IVS) facility, tank explosion
- 18 September 2007, explosion at the IVS facility.

Source: South Durban Community Environmental Alliance
then came March 2007 storm

climate crisis

extreme beachfront damage
not just the rich living on the beachfront

also poor and working people – especially shackdwellers
rogue Nigerian 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
Engen refinery, August 2012
Brutus’ last meeting with Saro-Wiwa, in Pittsburgh: “Ken was displaying his new novel Soja Boy, his 28th book. He seemed very gloomy – even pessimistic: as if he had a foreboding that he would be executed on his return.”

In Johannesburg soon thereafter: “After a Wits University conference in 1995, the US poet Amiri Baraka and I brought a letter to Mandela’s office appealing for a stronger role in preventing his execution.”

Brutus reminds, “Saro-Wiwa was executed in a bungled operation, with three attempts. The evidence has emerged that the Nigerian regime of Sani Abacha acted on instructions of Shell Oil.”
In the application of satyagraha, I discovered in the earliest stages that pursuit of truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one’s opponent but that he must be weaned from error by patience and compassion. For what appears to be truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but on oneself.
Newcastle, KwaZulu-Natal Province, 1913
first application of satyagraha
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 rise to 1C (300 Parts Per Million CO2 equivalents)

- acknowledging the **climate debt** owed by rich 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
can ‘global governance’ fix world crises?

recent record of elites: repeated top-down failures

- last solution: 1987 Montreal Protocol on CFCs (ozone hole)
- but since then:
  - dominant neoliberals (1990s), neoconservatives (2000s)
A TIMETABLE TO REDUCE EMISSIONS?!

...NOT UNTIL THERE'S MORE EVIDENCE OF GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE!
can ‘global governance’ fix world crises?
recent record of elites: repeated top-down failures

- last solution: 1987 Montreal Protocol on CFCs (ozone hole)
- but since then:
  - dominant neoliberal (1990s), neoconservatives (2000s)
  - World Bank, IMF Annual Meetings: trivial reforms (Chinese voting power rising a few %, African influence remains negligible)
  - ‘Post-Washington Consensus’: Joe Stiglitz fired, 1999
  - UN Millennium Development Goal rhetoric, 2000
  - WTO Doha Agenda 2001: failure at Cancun, no recovery
  - Monterrey Financing for Development summit, 2002, then G20 global financial reregulation, 2008-09: failure, IMF re-empowered
  - renewed wars in Central Asia, Middle East, North Africa, 2001-?
  - UN Security Council reform attempts failed, 2005
  - G8 aid promises (especially for Africa) broken, 2005
  - Kyoto Protocol out, Copenhagen Accord and Durban Platform in
global leaders exacerbate climate crisis
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;

political will missing
COP 16
UNFCCC revived
Trevor Houser, a climate and energy analyst at the Rhodium Group and a former adviser to the chief American climate negotiator, Todd D. Stern, said that the Durban platform was promising because of what it did not say. "There is no mention of historic responsibility or per capita emissions. There is no mention of economic development as the priority for developing countries. There is no mention of a difference between developed and developing country action."
COP 17
Gambling on the future of the Planet
NO RIFFRAFF!
...THE STAKES ARE TOO HIGH!

BIG POLLUTER NATIONS
BIG DEVELOPING POLLUTERS
BIG OIL
BIG NUKES
BIG GAS
BIG COAL

YESSIR!

CLIMATE JUSTICE!

THE TIMES 29.12.11
ZAPIRO
former Qatar oil minister
Abdullah Bin Hamad al-Attiyah

former carbon trader
Christiana Figueres
structural problem: national self-interest at UN COPs
emissions market crashes, 2008-12
2009 VAT fraud, 2010 resale fraud, 2011 theft-closure

lack of political will = no chance for market fix
New Film by Story of Stuff Creator Offers Provocative, Humorous Look at CAP & TRADE on Eve of Copenhagen Summit

The Story of Cap & Trade:
Why you can’t solve a problem with the thinking that created it.

San Francisco, CA -- The Story of Stuff Project and Climate Justice Now!—an international network of climate justice advocates—will release The Story of Cap & Trade, a 9-minute animated film on carbon trading, on December 1st worldwide at www.storyofstuff.org.

Hosted by Annie Leonard, the creator of the viral video "The Story of Stuff," (viewed worldwide over 8 million times), the Story of Cap & Trade is the first in a series of six short films the Story of Stuff Project is releasing over the coming year with Free Range Studios (www.freerangestudios.com) and more than a dozen of the world’s leading sustainability organizations.

The Story of Cap & Trade takes a provocative but humorous look at cap and trade, the leading climate solution under consideration in Copenhagen and on Capitol Hill. Employing the same urgent honesty that made The Story of Stuff so successful—and flash animation that makes it clear who wins and who loses—The Story of Cap & Trade points to the ‘devils in the details’ in current cap and trade proposals: free permits to big polluters, fake carbon offsets and, most importantly, distraction from the significant tasks at hand in tackling the climate crisis.

www.storyofstuff.org
corporate-driven technological fixes

• ‘clean energy’: nuclear, ‘clean coal’, fracking shale gas, hydropower, hydrogen;
• biofuels, biomass, biochar;
• Carbon Capture and Storage; and
• other geoengineering strategies
  • sulfates in the air to shut out the sun;
  • iron filings in the sea to create algae blooms;
  • artificial microbes to convert plant biomass into fuels, chemicals and products;
  • Genetically Modified trees;
  • large-scale solar reflection e.g. desert plastic-wrap
biofuel (soya, maize) as ‘False Solution’

**Climate justice critique:**
- Energy Negative
- Water Negative
- Production Increases Air/Water Pollution
- Drives up Energy, Food, Land Prices
- Increases Monoculture, Decreases Sustainability
- Increases Land Concentration in Fewer Hands
- Increases Power/Control by MNCs

‘The shift from petroleum to biomass is, in fact, worsening climate change, increasing deforestation and biodiversity loss, degrading soils and depleting water supplies. Further, the new “bio-based” economy threatens livelihoods, especially in the global South where it encourages “land grabs”.’

- ETC Group, EcoNexus/African Biodiversity Network/Gaia, Biofuel Watch
Carbon Capture and Storage as ‘False Solution’

Climate justice critique:
- violates Precautionary Principle
- costs are excessive
- increases energy to produce power by 25%
- unproven technology
- at least a decade away from implementation
- prolongs extraction of coal
geoengineering *False Solutions* stymied?

Convention on Biological Diversity in Nagoya, 2010: no geoengineering activities should take place until risks to the environment and biodiversity and associated social, cultural and economic impacts have been appropriately considered.

Neth Dano, ETC Group Philippines: “Not perfect... interim definition of geoengineering is too narrow because it does not include Carbon Capture and Storage technologies... a change of course is essential, and geoengineering is clearly not the way forward.”
Durban’s hosting of BRICS, 26-27 March 2013
International Convention Centre

• another false solution?
• is BRICS ‘anti-imperialist’ or ‘sub-imperialist’
• scrambled Africa: Durban 2013 = Berlin 1885?
Berlin, 1884-85
‘Scramble for Africa’
Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Germany, Italy, Spain
“We must find new lands from which we can easily obtain raw materials and at the same time exploit the cheap slave labour that is available from the natives of the colonies. The colonies would also provide a dumping ground for the surplus goods produced in our factories.”

- Cecil John Rhodes

- African Lakes (Malawi, 1891)
- Northern Rhodesia (Zambia, 1894)
- Rhodesia (Zimbabwe, 1895)
- Zululand (KwaZulu-Natal, 1897)
- Boer republics (RSA, 1899-1902)
“I am sure that Cecil John Rhodes would have given his approval to this effort to make the South African economy of the early 21st century appropriate and fit for its time.”

- Nelson Mandela, launching Mandela Rhodes Foundation, August 2003
Stratfor (known as private-sector CIA)

South Africa's history is driven by the interplay of competition and cohabitation between domestic and foreign interests exploiting the country's mineral resources. Despite being led by a democratically-elected government, the core imperatives of SA remain

- maintenance of a liberal regime that permits the free flow of labor and capital to and from the southern Africa region, and
- maintenance of a superior security capability able to project into south-central Africa.
January 2013: Pretoria deploys 400 troops to the Central African Republic during a coup attempt because ‘We have assets there that need protection.’

- deputy foreign minister Ebrahim Ebrahim, referring to arms and minerals

21st Century agent of imperialism?

Jacob Zuma, South Africa’s president, has warned western companies they must change their old “colonial” approach to Africa or risk losing out even more to the accelerating competition from China and other developing powers.

Western businesses and governments have a “psychological problem” and are still prone to lecturing Africa, Mr Zuma said in an interview with the Financial Times. He advised them to resist warning against the embrace of China and rethink their own investment strategies.

“I’ve said it to the private sector from the western countries: ‘Look. You have got to change the way you do business with Africa if you want to regain Africa. If you want to treat Africa as a former colony … then people will go to new partners who are going to treat them differently,’” he said.
what is subimperialism?

Ruy Mauro Marini (Brazil 1965):
‘It is not a question of passively accepting North American power (although the actual correlation of forces often leads to that result), but rather of collaborating actively with imperialist expansion, assuming in this expansion the position of a key nation.’
Resource Curse? tyrants needed!

Hosni Mubarak, Egypt – 1981-2011
Moummar Gaddafi, Libya – 1969-2011
Meles Zenawi, Ethiopia – 1995-2012
Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasago, Equatorial Guinea – 1979-present
Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Angola – 1979-present
Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe – 1980-present
Paul Biya, Cameroon – 1982-present
Yoweri Museveni, Uganda – 1986-present
King Mswati III, Swaziland – 1986-present
Blaise Compaoré, Burkina Fasso – 1987-present
Omar al-Bashir, Sudan – 1989-present
Idriss Deby, Chad –1990-present
Isaias Afewerki, Eritrea –1993-present
Yahya Jammeh, Gambia – 1994-present
Paul Kagame, Rwanda – 1994-present
with rare exceptions, Obama nurtures Africa’s tyrants
Nouakchott, Mauritania
The United States flew PC-12 surveillance aircraft from here to track al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. The flights ended in 2008 after a coup.

Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti
The U.S. military targets al-Shabab in Somalia and al-Qaeda in Yemen from this key base.

Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso
The United States flies PC-12 surveillance aircraft from here north to Mali, Mauritania and the Sahara.

Entebbe, Uganda
The United States flies PC-12 surveillance aircraft from here over territory used by the Lord's Resistance Army.

Manda Bay, Kenya
More than 100 U.S. commandos are based at a Kenyan military installation.
Africa’s existing oil

- substantial reserves
- oil and wars: Sudan, Angola, Chad, Congo
- US imports more than 20% from Africa


(credit: Horace Campbell)
Despite the political risk, Western oil companies are queuing up to explore

**Sierra Leone**
An “active petroleum system” discovered by Anadarko 1125km west of the Jubilee field

**Liberia**
Several prospecting licences for auction

**Côte d'Ivoire**
Vanco’s Orca 1-x exploratory well will reveal offshore potential

**Ghana**
Potential upside of 1.8bn barrels in the Jubilee field, and 1.4bn barrels in Tweneboa-1

**DRC**
Political turmoil means exploration is still years behind its neighbours

**Uganda**
Up to 2bn barrels found under and around Lake Albert

**Tanzania**
Already a gas producer, and further prospecting occurring in the Rovuma basin

**Mozambique**
Anadarko committing over $250m over the next few years in exploration.

**Madagascar**
TOTAL drilled an estimated 80 wells in 2009
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Pretoria’s Marius Fransman: “Our presence in BRICS would necessitate us to push for Africa’s integration into world trade.”

DBSA’s Michelle Ruiters: “Our main focus is... financing large infrastructure cross-border projects, specifically because we find that most of the blockages that exist around infrastructure delivery are those on the cross-border list.”
time for a BRICS Bank?
commercial banks’ low appetite for political risk

‘country risk’
Economist Intelligence Unit 2010
SADC deputy executive secretary João Samuel Caholo: “There is resentment towards the DBSA in certain quarters because it is in South Africa, and South Africa is the only shareholder. SADC has no say in what the DBSA does and although the bank does work on a bilateral level with SADC countries, we need our own bank.” (June 2012)

DBSA CEO Patrick Dlamini reporting on R370 mn loss in 2012: “We can no longer allow the DBSA to be associated with shoddy work” (December 2012)
what, exactly, do ‘integration’ and ‘blockage’ and ‘shoddy’ and ‘no say’ mean, in such a ridiculously Resource-Cursed region like ours?

• much worse extractivist ‘Dutch-Disease’ bias,
• exported profits and current-account deficits,
• corrupted politics (e.g. Marikana, Marange),
• forced displacement and worsening migrancy,
• climate chaos and energy abuse (especially SA),
• air/water pollution and water scarcity
NEPAD warmup: a ‘new’ Partnership for Africa’s Development?
NEPAD: abolishing – or polishing – global apartheid?

New Partnership for Africa’s Development is ‘philosophically spot on’

- Walter Kansteiner, US State Dep't, 2003
The most fundamental flaws of Nepad, which reproduce the central elements of the World Bank's *Can Africa Claim the 21st Century?* and the ECA's *Compact for African Recovery*, include:

- (a) the neo-liberal economic policy framework at the heart of the plan, which repeats the structural adjustment policy packages of the preceding two decades and overlooks the disastrous effects of those policies;

- (b) the fact that in spite of its proclaimed recognition of the central role of the African people to the plan, the African people have not played any part in the conception, design and formulation of Nepad;

- (c) notwithstanding its stated concerns for social and gender equity, it adopts the social and economic measures that have contributed to the marginalisation of women;
Codesria and Third World Network-Africa
‘Declaration on Africa’s Development Challenges’

- (d) that in spite of claims of African origins, its main targets are foreign donors, particularly in the G8;
- (e) its vision of democracy is defined by the needs of creating a functional market;
- (f) it under-emphasises the external conditions fundamental to Africa's developmental crisis, and thereby does not promote any meaningful measure to manage and restrict the effects of this environment on Africa development efforts. On the contrary, the engagement that it seeks with institutions and processes like the World Bank, the IMF, the WTO, the United States Africa Growth and Opportunity Act, the Cotonou Agreement, will further lock Africa's economies disadvantageously into this environment.
‘good governance’: NEPAD’s Zim test

Dave Malcomson of NEPAD secretariat (responsible for int’l liaison and co-ordination):

‘Wherever we go, Zimbabwe is thrown at us as the reason why NEPAD’s a joke.’

*Business Day, 28 March 2003*
extreme BRICS inequality (2011)
the worst Gini coefficients amongst large societies

but isn’t Africa now ‘rising’?
Sub-Saharan Africa: Growing Strong, Challenges Ahead

November 6, 2012

ROBUST PERFORMANCE BUT GOVERNANCE REMAINS A KEY CONCERN

- The seven countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) covered by the IIF (accounting for 65% of the region’s economy) have averaged a robust 4.7% growth rate since 2007, demonstrating resilience in the global financial crisis. Ex-South Africa, the rate was 6.5%.

David Hedley
DEPUTY DIRECTOR
Africa/Middle East Department
1-202-857-3605
dhedley@iif.com

Clement Gillet
Africa Rising

It's the world's next economic powerhouse. But huge challenges lie ahead. By Alex Perry

Can Nike Rebound?

How Clinton Survived Willey

After decades of famine and war, life is finally looking up for many Africans. Here's why.
or instead is Africa ‘Resource Cursed’

‘Useful Africa’,
Le Monde Diplomatique, February 2011
NEW KIDS ON THE BLOCK

**Guinea**
Despite the political risk, Western oil companies are queuing up to explore.

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it is time to **correct GDP bias** (global)

researchers’ contribution to ending the Resource Curse: help measure!

A "genuine progress indicator" corrects the bias in GDP Source: redefiningprogress.org
new measurements: against GDP

MISSING FROM GDP:
- resource depletion (crucial to extractivism)
- air, water, and noise pollution
- loss of farmland and wetlands
- unpaid women’s/community work
- family breakdown, crime
- other social values

Genuine Progress Indicator
towards Buen Vivir?
new measurements against GDP

• Ecological footprint
• Full cost accounting
• Global Peace Index
• Green GDP
• Gross domestic product
• Happy Planet Index
• Human Development Index
• Index of Sustainable Economic Welfare

Seattle:
• physical health
• time or work-life balance
• social connection and community vitality
• education
• access to arts, culture and recreation
• environmental quality and access to nature
• good governance
• material well-being
• psychological well-being
SUMMIT FOR SUSTAINABILITY IN AFRICA

THE OSLO DECLARATION

We, the participants at the Summit for Sustainability in Africa, meeting from 24 to 25 May 2012 in Botswana,

REAFFIRM OUR COMMITMENT TO IMPLEMENT THE CONVENTIONS AND AGREEMENTS THAT PROMOTE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, IN

COMMUNIQUÉ ON NATURAL CAPITAL ACCOUNTING

Recognizing the limitations of GDP as a measure of well-being and sustainable growth that values environmental and social aspects of progress,

TO ENSURE THAT THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF NATURAL CAPITAL TO SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH, MAINTENANCE AND IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL AND HUMAN WELL-BEING ARE QUANTIFIED AND INTEGRATED INTO DEVELOPMENT AND BUSINESS PRACTICE;

Through:

- Integrating the value of natural capital into national accounting and corporate planning and reporting processes, policies, and programmes, in agreed efforts, including the appended Communiqué on Natural Capital Accounting,

- Building social capital and reducing poverty by transitioning agriculture, extractive industries, fisheries and other natural capital uses to practices that promote sustainable employment, food security, sustainable energy and the protection of natural capital through protected areas and other mechanisms,

- Ecosystem restoration measures, as well as actions that mitigate stresses on natural capital,
Where is the Wealth of Nations?

World Bank method for adjusting savings to account for a country’s tangible wealth and resource depletion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Percent of GNI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gross savings</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Consumption of fixed capital</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= Net national savings</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Education expenditure</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Energy depletion</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Mineral depletion</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Net forest depletion</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Carbon dioxide damage</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Particulate emission damage</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= Adjusted net savings</td>
<td>-3.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

substantial ‘subsoil assets’ within ‘natural capital’, 2005

depletion of subsoil (mineral) assets = 9% of income

net decline in SA’s per person wealth: $245
World Bank (minimalist) adjustments to ‘genuine savings’
fixed capital (-), education (+),
natural resource depletion (-), and pollution (-)
Adjusted Net Savings as a Percentage of GNI for Selected Regions, 1970–2007

- East Asia and the Pacific
- Latin America and the Caribbean
- Sub-Saharan Africa
Adjusted Net Saving in Sub-Saharan Africa as a Percentage of Gross National Income

Source: Authors' calculations based on World Bank data.
multinational corporate profits as a percentage of firm equity

extractive industries

transforming our fossil fuel addicted systems will cost money:

Green Climate Fund – $100bn/year by 2020

• promised by Hillary Clinton at Copenhagen – but not available during current fiscal crisis
• $100 billion isn’t enough
• who benefits? existing power elite and aid industry – not poor climate victims
• ‘False Solutions’ to be funded
• carbon trade to provide 50% of GCF revenue? (Nick Stern and Trevor Manuel)
• World Bank is interim GCF trustee despite leading role in fossil fuel financing
I was in Namibia. We did a kind of tour. Sort of like fly and drive.
The results after one year of implementation have been remarkable.

- Before the pilot program, 42 percent of children in the village were malnourished. Now the proportion of malnourished children has dropped significantly, to 10 percent.
- The village school reported higher attendance rates and that the children were better fed and more attentive.
- Police statistics showed a 36.5 percent drop in crime since the introduction of the grants.
- Poverty rates declined from 86 percent to 68 percent (97 percent to 43 percent when controlled for migration).
- Unemployment dropped as well, from 60 percent to 45 percent, and there was a 29 percent increase in average earned income, excluding the basic income grant.

Carnegie Council:
http://www.policyinnovations.org/ideas/briefings/data/000163
pay to leave the oil in the soil?

Yasuni ITT in Ecuador’s Amazon rainforest.
Oilwatch research trip to Yasuni, July 2011

Yasuni ITT in Ecuador’s Amazon rainforest

Oil here = 407 mn tons of CO2
Accion Ecologica, Quito

eco-feminist-indigenous defence of Yasuni

http://www.accionecologica.org/

Ecuador plans to leave almost a billion barrels of oil in the ground in the Yasuni National Park, in return for US$3.6 billion or about half the market value of the oil. It’s been hailed as “The world’s first really green oil deal”. In 2008, the German Parliament agreed to support the Yasuni 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 would be kept permanently underground, avoiding the emission of 407 million metric tonnes of CO2.

In August 2010, the UN Development Programme signed an agreement with the Ecuadorian government. Under the agreement, UNDP would be an independent administrator of the fund. In September 2010, Ecuador’s President Rafael Correa announced that the UNDP would be replaced by the United Nations Development Fund (UNDF) and a new arrangement should be put in place in December.
currents of a global eco-social movement ‘climate justice’ traditions, 1990s-2013

• 1990s environmental anti-racism;
• 1990s Accion Ecologica (Quito) ecological debt demands;
• late 1990s Jubilee movement against Northern financial domination;
• 2000s global justice movement, following Seattle World Trade Organisation protest;
• 2000 first conference on Climate Justice (Holland – CorpWatch);
• 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;
• 2009 rise of the European left’s Climate Justice Alliance in advance of the Copenhagen Conference of the Parties (COP15);
• 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
• renewed direct-action initiatives – e.g. against Keystone XL Pipeline – that potentially renews ties to groups like Greenpeace and 350.org;
• renewed grassroots campaigning across the world.
One million climate jobs
Solving the economic and environmental crises

search for Just Transition with labor

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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
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
CJ strategy: leave the oil in the soil, the coal in the hole, the tarsand in the land, and the fracking shale-gas under the grass

- Niger Delta women, Environmental Rights Action, MEND halted majority of oil exploitation in 2008
- Ecuador’s Amazon indigenous activists + Accion Ecologica halt oil drilling in Yasuní 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
- Derailing 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 rule 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. That’s roughly the equivalent of today’s entire U.S. coal mining and
contradictions within climate movement?
recent ‘climate justice’ contestations

- 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 (but 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;
- how to address Brazil-Russia-India-China-SA (BRICS) emissions?
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)
HOPES FOR THE WORLD SUMMIT

...TO SAVE THE ENVIRONMENT!

...TO UPLIFT THE POOR!

...TO KEEP EXPLOITING THE ENVIRONMENT AND THE POOR WHILE THEY FIGHT IT OUT!

ENVIRONMENT-ALISTS

POVERTY ACTIVISTS

BUSINESS