Climate *injustice* and the role of the World Bank: A view from South Africa

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School of Development Studies and Centre for Civil Society, Durban


cartoons by Zapiro
Durban’s Conference of Polluters (COP17) what will happen from 28 Nov until 9 Dec?

UNFCCC negotiations

UN & Durban officials want ‘civilised’ society in tents, out of sight and mind

Civil society unity for Durban Univ of Technology alternative ‘C17’ summit
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!
just not in elite interests to tackle climate

A TIMETABLE TO REDUCE EMISSIONS?! ..NOT UNTIL THERE'S MORE EVIDENCE OF GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE!
Pretoria’s ‘Long-Term Mitigation Scenario’ admits our huge culpability
put these stats together, and in energy sector, SA 20 times worse than US

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CO₂ Emissions</th>
<th>Population (millions)</th>
<th>Carbon Tax (USD)</th>
<th>CO₂ Emissions Intensity (t/million)</th>
<th>Tax Revenue (USD)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<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>
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<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>1116</td>
<td>10.96</td>
<td>$26,446</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.0004</td>
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<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.
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</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>17.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>17.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>USA</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>21.0</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

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

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

Xolani Mkhwanazi, former SA National Electricity Regulator, now BHP Billiton Southern Africa Chief Executive Officer

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

Richards Bay smelter

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)
main metals/mining firms export profits both through illegal transfer pricing and through straight repatriation of dividends to shareholders in London and Melbourne, and downstream consumption of their metals product is minimal due to notorious local overpricing

- local manufacturers are at a major disadvantage, and
- profits flow away, causing huge current account deficit, making SA very risky
The world’s most risky emerging market

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Current-account as % of GDP*</th>
<th>Short-term debt as % of reserves*</th>
<th>Banks’ loan/deposit ratio</th>
<th>Overall risk ranking†</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>-10.4</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>-4.3</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>Poland</td>
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<td>38</td>
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<td>South Korea</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>14 =</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>-2.5</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>12 =</td>
</tr>
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<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>-7.8</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>12 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>-1.5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>10 =</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>-2.3</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>10 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
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<td>58</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>-2.4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.72</td>
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<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: HSBC: Economist Intelligence Unit  
*2009 forecast  †Higher score implies higher risk
IN SOUTH AFRICA

60 YEARS OF DESTRUCTION

WORLD BANK / IMF

TIME TO RETIRE!
South African apartheid (1948-94) generously funded by WB/IMF (1951-83)

- **World Bank's US$100 million in loans to Eskom from 1951-67** that gave only white people electric power, but for which all South Africans paid the bill;
- **WB loans to colonial regimes across Southern Africa**;
- **WB’s point-blank refusal to heed a United Nations General Assembly instruction in 1966 not to lend to apartheid South Africa**;
- **IMF apartheid-supporting loans of more than $2 billion** between the Soweto uprising in 1976 and 1983, when the US Congress finally prohibited lending to Pretoria;
- **a World Bank loan for Lesotho dams which were widely acknowledged to `sanctions-bust' apartheid South Africa in 1986, via a London trust; and**
- **IMF advice to Pretoria in 1991 to impose the regressive Value Added Tax**, in opposition to which 3.5 million people went on a two-day stayaway;
South African class apartheid supported by WB/IMF, post-1994

- $850 million IMF loan to South Africa in December 1993 carried conditions of wage restraint and cuts in the budget, which in turn hampered the transition to democracy;
- World Bank promotion of `market-oriented' land reform in 1993-94, based on willing-seller, willing-buyer, so that instead of 30% land redistribution as promised in 1994, less than 1% of good land was redistributed;
- World Bank endorsement of bank-centred housing policy in August 1994, with recommendations for smaller housing subsidies;
- World Bank design of infrastructure policy in November 1994, which provided rural and urban poor with only pit latrines, no electricity connections, inadequate roads, and communal taps instead of house or yard taps;
- World Bank's conservative role in welfare commission in 1996, which recommended a 44% cut in the monthly grant to impoverished, dependent children from R135 per month to R75;
South African class apartheid supported by WB/IMF (continued)

- **World Bank's participation in failed Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy in June 1996**, through contributing both two staff economists and its economic model;

- **World Bank and IMF's consistent message to South African workers that wages are too high**, and that unemployment can only be cured through `labour flexibility';

- **World Bank's repeated commitments to invest, through its subsidiary the International Finance Corporation, in privatised infrastructure**, housing securities for high-income families, for-profit `managed healthcare' schemes, and the now-bankrupt, US-owned Dominos Pizza franchise;

- **consistent failure of Bank and IMF `structural adjustment programmes' in Southern Africa since the 1980s; and**

- **stubborn refusal by the Bank and IMF to cancel debt owed by our impoverished neighbours since the mid-1990s**, except in tiny amounts and with brutal conditionality provisions.
South African elites (Manuel and Radebe) dance to neoliberal WB/IMF music
Copenhagen Accord, COP 15, December 2009

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

"they blew up the UN!"
(Bill McKibben, 350.org)

non-binding! 4 degree increase!
world’s biggest polluter
structural problem: national self-interest at UN COPs
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'

Stern thus rejects core principle: ‘polluter pays’

is Stern welcome in Durban?

WikiLeaks revealed (Feb ‘10) Stern/Pershing bribery and bullying:

Ethiopia, Maldives, Bolivia, Ecuador
The debt of nations and the distribution of ecological impacts from human activities


*Pacific Ecosystems and Computational Ecology Laboratory, Berkeley, CA 94703; Energy and Resources Group, 310 Barrows Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720-3050; Department of Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720-3116; American Meteorological Society, 1120 G Street NW, Washington, DC 20005-3826; and Sea Around Us Project, Fisheries Centre, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, Canada V6T 1Z4

As human impacts on 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Direct or indirect driver</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Climate change</td>
<td>Greenhouse gas emissions (carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous oxide)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stratospheric ozone-layer depletion</td>
<td>Chlorofluorocarbon emissions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural intensification and expansion</td>
<td>Consumption of agricultural goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deforestation</td>
<td>Consumption of agricultural goods and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Graph showing distribution of ecological debt](image_url)
who owes? who caused climate change?
GHG/capita by country, 1950-2000
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. Humphries¹
instead of paying its climate debt, US plays pollution markets

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... I've always thought that under-populated countries in Africa are vastly UNDER-polluted. (emphasis added)

(World Bank chief economist Larry Summers, later US Treasury Secretary and Obama’s economic manager – full memo: www.whirledbank.org)
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
Reducing Emissions through Deforestation and forest Degradation

REDD-type projects have already caused land grabs, killings, violent evictions and forced displacement, violations of human rights, threats to cultural survival, militarization and servitude

- Tom Goldtooth, Indigenous Environmental Network
Reducing Emissions through Deforestation and forest Degradation

CJ critiques of REDD reforms:
- no chance of getting full Indigenous rights (e.g. free, prior and informed consent)
- no chance to keep REDD out of carbon markets & offsets
- no chance to win on definitional issues (plantations)
- highly divisive within indigenous peoples, Africa (e.g. Wangari Maathai is supporter)
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: Prototype Carbon Fund credits

Sajida Khan’s family home
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
in sum, eight fatal flaws of carbon trading

• inventing **property right to pollute** is effectively ‘privatizing air’, a moral dilemma given **unprecedented inequality**;
• GHGs have **non-linear impact, not reducible to commodity exchange** (a tonne of CO2 produced at ‘X’ not same as a tonne reduced at ‘Y’);
• corporations most guilty of pollution, and World Bank (most responsible for fossil fuel financing), are **market’s driving forces**;
• many offsets – e.g. monocultural timber plantations, forest ‘protection’, landfill methane-electricity – **devastate local communities and ecologies**;
• **price of carbon in these markets is haywire**, not least due to corruption, fraud and theft – with no prospect of regulation;
• dangerous potential for markets to become multi-trillion dollar **speculative bubbles**, similar to other exotic financial instruments;
• encourages small **incremental shifts**, distracting us from big changes needed across economy, energy, transport, consumption, disposal;
• ‘**market solutions for market failure**’ is not an appropriate ideology after the world’s worst-ever financial market failure
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
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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Medupi has no pollution scrubbers yet ambient SO2 standards already excessive, area is water-scarce, 40 new coal mines needed, and mining causes extreme water degradation
Ten reasons to reject Medupi

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Bank’s Dec. 2009 ‘consultation’ had no attendees from affected areas; Bank procurement rules violated; Eskom has huge governance crises, including extreme leadership turmoil (e.g. chair and CEO fired each other, Nov. 2009)
Ten reasons to reject Medupi

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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
1/3 of Eskom’s four million customers have ‘zero’ consumption – most were disconnected
upsurge of community protest against electricity disconnections, price increases, World Bank loan
Ten reasons to reject Medupi

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sweetheart deals: multi-decade ‘Special Pricing Agreements’ made during late apartheid give BHP Billiton and Anglo American R0.14 ($0.02)/kWh electricity for smelters (1/8th what households pay); resulting in Eskom’s R9.7 billion ($1.3 bn) loss in 2009
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BHP Billiton, Anglo, Arcelor Mittal, Xstrata and other beneficiaries of Eskom largesse headquartered (and send their profits) abroad, hence putting pressure on current account deficit (SA riskiest emerging market)
Ten reasons to reject Medupi

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SA’s foreign debt is already dangerously high - $100 billion – and repayment costs on Medupi loan will soar when R/$ rate crashes (as now happens regularly)
since early 2000s, rapid rise in SA foreign debt, to the point of severe debt/GDP danger levels, now more than $100 billion
five currency crashes, 1996-2008

when Rand falls 15%+, then repayment of World Bank’s $ debt much more expensive

Source: I-Net Bridge
Ten reasons to reject Medupi

climate destruction
local ecologies, health
procedural problems in World Bank process
poor people pay excessive prices
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profit outflow to multinationals
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ANC corruption
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Privatisation of electricity generation is underway in this loan (for ‘figleaf’ renewable component) – and will be increased for Kusile (to 49% private ownership); unions fighting for full public supply
Ten reasons to reject Medupi

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- Procedural problems in World Bank process
- Poor people pay excessive prices
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Ruling party investment arm, Chancellor House, to ‘earn’ at least R50 mn (probably more) pure profit from contracts in conflict-of-interest Hitachi tender; Eskom chair Valli Moosa acted ‘improperly’, according to state investigators.
Ten reasons to reject Medupi

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from 1951 (3 years after formal apartheid began) to 1966, loans to Eskom of $100 mn resulted in NO electricity to black townships or rural areas; Jubilee SA demands ‘reparations’ for Bank's apartheid profits
protest - from racial apartheid...

a scene from Soweto, 1976
... to class apartheid

a few kms from Soweto, a scene from Riverlea, next to Soccer City, October 2009
ubiquitous 'service delivery protests'
Police protest measurements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Violent Incidents</th>
<th>Peaceful Incidents</th>
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<tr>
<td>1997</td>
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<td>5,310</td>
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<td>1998</td>
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<td>736</td>
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<td>713</td>
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<td>562</td>
<td>7,997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>932</td>
<td>9,230</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Climate Justice Now! SA opposes emissions, privatised electricity, Eskom coal and nuclear, carbon trading: demands conservation/renewables and electricity-as-a-right to avoid this danger:
vital need for SA’s ‘Million Climate Jobs’ campaign, so that NUMSA 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
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
Voices for IMF/WB closure: Archbishop of Cape Town Njongonkulu Ndungane

- If we must release ourselves from debt peonage - by demanding the repudiation and cancellation of debt - we will campaign to that end. And if the World Bank and IMF continue to stand in the way of social progress, movements like Jubilee South Africa will have no regrets about calling for their abolition.

To that end, the World Bank Bonds Boycott movement is gaining even great momentum. Even a money centre city like San Francisco decided to redirect funds away from Bank bonds into other investments, on the moral grounds that taking profits from World Bank operations contributes to poverty, misery and ecological degradation. More and more investors are realising that profiting from poverty through World Bank bonds is not only immoral, but will not make good financial sense as the market shrinks.

**WBBB: Churches, foundations, unions, cities and social responsibility funds**

**PARTIAL LIST**
- **TIAA-CREF** (world’s largest pension) sold its WB bonds
- Univ. of New Mexico
- Unitarian Church
- Global Greengrants Fund
- Ben and Jerry’s Foundation
- **Calvert Group**
- Progressive Assets Management
- Trillium Assets Management
- PLUS many US cities (e.g., San Francisco, Milwaukee, Oakland)

- Major union pension/investment funds (e.g., Teamsters, Postal Workers, Service Employees International, American Federation of Government Employees, Longshoremen, Communication Workers of America, United Electrical Workers)

[www.worldbankboycott.org](http://www.worldbankboycott.org)  
JOIN US!
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?

Robert Zoellick

- 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

... breaks everything he touches

a very worried panda
What we fear from Green Climate Fund

• Revenue from carbon markets
• False solution financing

What we need!

• Transformative spending
• Basic Income Grant
Durban’s COP17
‘Conference of Polluters’
28 Nov-9 Dec 2011
International Convention Centre
‘going away party, for the beach’!

7 July 2010

World Cup ‘fanfest’ party

December 3 march route: Curries Fountain to beach
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
otherwise, this danger:

GLOBAL CLIMATE APARTHEID