Extractivisms: North, South and Inbetween

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

anti-extractivism debates in Africa: economic dimensions and issue linkage

No Justice, No Peace: Confronting the Crises of Capitalism and Democracy

May 29-May 31st

John Jay College of Criminal Justice, The City University of New York

Register at leftforum.org
Anti-Extractivism in Africa: Potholes en Route to Unified Resistance

VOLUME 26  NUMBER 4  DECEMBER 2015

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By Saed

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By Nnimmo Bassey

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By Patrick Bond

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Documentation from the Front
Declaration of the February 2015 Alternative Mining Indaba:
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‘African Civil Society on Climate Justice’
AfDB’s amplification of extractivism

PIDA will shrink Africa’s ‘natural capital’ (non-renewable resources) and wreck societies and environments.
‘Useful Africa’
Source: Le Monde Diplomatique, Feb 2011

The geography of Useful Africa
- Oil and gas fields
- Mineral deposits
- Heavy concentration of small irrigation dams
- New deep-water port projects

Major infrastructure projects
- Construction, renovation or widening of roads, motorways, railways and major water transfer systems
- 1. Tangiers-Casablanca-Marrakesh high-speed rail link
- 2. East-West high-speed rail link and motorway
- 3. Major artificial river (water transfer system)
- 4. In-Shalah-Tamanasset water transfer system
- 5. Addis Ababa-Nairobi-Mombasa corridor (motorway)
- 6. “Lapsett corridor”: South Sudan-Ethiopia-Kenya (roads, motorways, railways)
- 8. Major water transfer project, Lesotho-Johannesburg

known minerals in Africa, 2008
Africa’s mining production by country, 2008

1. South Africa  599
2. Botswana        92
3. Zambia         75
4. Ghana          43
5. Namibia        32
6. Angola         32
7. Mali           29
8. Guinea         21
9. Mauritania     20
     Tanzania  20
     Zimbabwe   20
"Africa Rising" (# of citations)
“Africa Rising” GDP percentage increases, 1981-2012

Note: 2011 and 2012 excluding Libya.
Source: Leibfritz and Flaig (2013).
what’s missing from GDP as growth?

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

Genuine Progress Indicator
Thabo Mbeki runs AU’s ‘High level Panel on Illicit Financial Flows from Africa’

Illicit Financial Flows from Africa: track it, stop it, get it

Illicit money outflows are draining Africa’s domestic resources, depriving it of crucial investment funds

By: Masimba Tafirenyika
From Africa Renewal: December 2013, page 14

The figures are staggering: between $1.2 trillion and $1.4 trillion has left Africa in illicit financial flows between 1980 and 2009—roughly equal to Africa’s current gross domestic product, and surpassing by far the money it received from outside over the same period. Illicit financial flows are money earned illegally and transferred for use elsewhere. The money is usually generated from criminal activities, corruption, tax evasion, bribes and transactions from cross-border smuggling.

The numbers tell only part of the story. It is a story that exposes how highly complex and deeply entrenched practices have flourished over the past decades with devastating impact, but barely made it into the news headlines. “The illicit haemorrhage of resources from Africa is about four times Africa’s current external debt,” says a joint report by the African Development Bank (AfDB) and Global Financial Integrity, a US research and advocacy group.

The report, Illicit Financial Flows and the Problem of Net Resource Transfers from Africa: 1980–2009, found that cumulative illicit outflows from the continent over the 30-year period ranged from $1.2 trillion to $1.4 trillion. The Guardian, a British daily, notes that even these estimates—large as they are—are likely to understate the problem, as they do not capture money lost through drug trafficking and smuggling.

Turning logic upside down

“The traditional thinking is that Africa has been a net creditor to the rest of the world. Our report said the report turns that logic upside down, suggesting that Africa has been a net creditor to the rest of the world.
crime includes vast African capital flight
Composition of world’s illicit financial flows

- Corruption (bribery and embezzlement of national wealth): 5%
- Criminal activities (trade in drugs, weapons and people): 35%
- Commercial transactions through MNCs: 60%

Source: Kar and Cartwright-Smith (2010)
### Illicit Financial Flows due to trade, by sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GTAP Sector</th>
<th>USD Billion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metals nec (Copper &amp; Gold and other non-ferrous metals)</td>
<td>84.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>69.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural gas</td>
<td>33.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minerals nec (non metallic minerals eg. Cement, gravel, plaster etc)</td>
<td>33.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petroleum, coal products</td>
<td>19.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crops</td>
<td>17.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food products</td>
<td>16.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery and equipment nec</td>
<td>16.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wearing apparel</td>
<td>14.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferrous metals (Iron &amp; steel)</td>
<td>13.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>318.54</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Simon Mevel, Siope Ofa & Stephen Karingi / RITD / UN-ECA
Rough and polished
A case study of the diamond pricing and valuation system

Sarah Brackling and Khadija Sharife

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Domestic Production</th>
<th>Imports</th>
<th>Exports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KPI, Volume (cts)</td>
<td>KPI Value (mill)</td>
<td>KPI USD per carat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>14.09</td>
<td>1,075.76</td>
<td>76.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>15.56</td>
<td>1,319.09</td>
<td>84.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>14.93</td>
<td>1,361.82</td>
<td>91.18</td>
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<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>15.21</td>
<td>1,417.33</td>
<td>93.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>12.90</td>
<td>1,236.24</td>
<td>95.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>6.14</td>
<td>885.54</td>
<td>144.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>8.86</td>
<td>1,194.28</td>
<td>134.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>7.04</td>
<td>1,388.68</td>
<td>197.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>7.08</td>
<td>1,027.13</td>
<td>145.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 3,340.34 2,825.26

http://thestudyofvalue.org/2014/05/15/new-lcsv-working-paper-explores/
A “green economy” is not ...

...One which undermines natural capital ... or risks human survival ...

‘Ecological Footprint’ already exceeds Earth’s regenerative capacity... our demands on the planet have doubled over the last 40 years...

Global GHG Emissions at 42 GtCO2e per annum are 5 times higher than the Earth can absorb ...
the turn to ‘natural capital’ accounting by 10 African states, 24 May 2012

THE GABORONE DECLARATION

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

REAFFIRM OUR COMMITMENT TO IMPLEMENT ALL CONVENTIONS AND DECLARATIONS 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,
By the numbers

10 Signatory Countries

Visionary leaders from 10 African countries have committed to moving the value of nature to the center of their development strategies. The signatory countries are Botswana, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, South Africa and Tanzania. Membership is still open to other interested countries.
WAVES ‘50/50’ Campaign for Natural Capital Accounting

Glenn-Marie Lange, Program Manager for WAVES Global Partnership, Environment Department, The World Bank

Building on the Gaborone Communique on NCA
from the African Sustainability Summit, hosted by Botswana May 24-25, signed by 10 African countries

62 (32 developing) countries signed the NCA Communique, endorsing

- **Implement natural capital accounting** where there are internationally agreed statistical standards – the SEEA
- **Develop methodology** for the more difficult to measure natural capital – ecosystem services
- **Demonstrate how NCA can support decision-making** for sustainable development
World Bank (minimalist) adjustments to ‘genuine savings’ fixed capital (-), education (+), natural resource depletion (-), and pollution (-) most influential natural capital accounting.
World Bank (minimalist) adjustments to ‘genuine savings’ fixed capital (-), education (+), natural resource depletion (-), and pollution (-)

Furthermore, Sub-Saharan Africa is the region with the poorest record on sustainability. 88 percent of its countries were found to be depleting their wealth in 2010 (Table 1). The share of countries with wealth depletion—globally at about 45 percent—decreases as income levels increase (Table 1), indicating that poorer countries face severe sustainability challenges.

In many resource-rich countries, reinvesting natural resource rents in other forms of productive capital is one important way of avoiding wealth depletion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. Overview: Data and Wealth Depletion in 2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of countries with data</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High income countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper middle income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower middle income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe &amp; Central Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Asia &amp; Pacific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East &amp; North Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America &amp; Caribbean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Change in wealth per capita offers a comprehensive framework to look at sustainability threats to the twin goals. It is derived from standard national accounting measures of gross national savings by making four types of adjustments (Figure 1):

1. Deduction for depreciation of produced capital, measured by capital consumption of produced assets;
2. Addition from human capital formation, measured by current expenditures on education;
3. Deduction for depletion of natural capital, including minerals, energy, and forest resources; and
4. Deduction for wealth-diluting effects of population growth, based on the additional savings needed to keep current tangible wealth per capita constant with a changing population.

As the case of Sub-Saharan Africa in 2010 illustrates, aggregated gross savings and formation of human capital are not sufficient to compensate for depreciation of produced capital, depletion of natural capital, and population growth. The result: the region is wealth depleting (Figure 1).
South Africa’s natural capital accounts

Substantial ‘subsoil assets’ within ‘natural capital’ ($/capita)
depletion of subsoil (mineral) assets = 9% of income

Net decline in SA’s per person wealth: $245
“Africa Rising” (really?)

Adjusted Net Saving in Sub-Saharan Africa as a Percentage of Gross National Income

Source: Authors’ calculations based on World Bank data.
what’s rising? multinational corporate profits as a percentage of firm equity

and African protests Rising

www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/outlook/governance

Agence France Press
African protests rising

The top ten motivations of protests in 2013 (as % of total protests reported)

- Demand for salary increase
- Protesting the legitimacy of the governance and management rules
- Demand for dissolution of government or stepping down of the head of state
- Unemployment/pressure for new recruitment plan
- Quality of public service delivery
- Working conditions
- Unpaid salaries
- Demand for more political rights and civil liberties, more equality
- Reaction to executive overreach (arrests of journalists, protesters, opposition, etc.)
- Protesting political or legal reforms or proposals thereof

Public protest (base 100 = 2000) — Civil violence (base 100 = 2000)

Source: Authors' calculations based on AFP information. www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/outlook/governance
StatLink  http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888932807474
African protests work
African protests continue

Thousands protest army power grab in Burkina Faso

BY AGENCY STAFF, NOVEMBER 02 2014, 17:15

Related articles
- Burkina Faso’s leader refuses to quit
- Burkina army seizes power after uprising against veteran ruler
- Protesters storm Burkina Faso parliament over vote

OUAGADOGOU — Several thousand people protested in the capital of Burkina Faso on Sunday against the army’s power grab after the turbulent overthrow of President Blaise Compaore.
African protests (and food prices) rising

(number of food riot deaths in parenthesis)

Source: Adapted from New England Complex Systems Institute, USA
Broader resistance to extractivism: African working classes are extremely militant.

### Table 3: Africa’s relative worker militancy, 2013, amongst 148 countries, with 1 as most militant and 7 as least

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Militancy Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chad</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cote d’Ivoire</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Republic of the Congo</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabon</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madagascar</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

http://ejolt.org  maps eco-social conflict metabolism
“THIS” = climate change
“CHANGES” = post-capitalist rebooting
“EVERYTHING” = energy, transport, urbanisation, agriculture, production, distribution, consumption, disposal, etc

“I’m continually amazed by the extent to which we fail to make connections between, for instance, a fight for affordable public transport and climate change.”

- Naomi Klein, 24 April 2015  
http://www.bastamag.net/Naomi-Klein-Climate-and-capitalism-Everything-can-change
Durban as Africa’s largest harbour but too small for new 12-24,000-container ships question the economics of shipping industry expansion
the need to link issues in struggle: community, conservation and climate
white rhinos saved from extinction by Ian Player
in 2014, SA poachers killed a record 1000 rhinos just to sell their horns to China and Vietnam
coal fields of northern KwaZulu-Natal
Fuleni’s animals, peasants and workers threatened by coal, poaching, drought and future climate change.
Africa’s oldest wilderness under threat from mining

Posted by Scott Ramsay in Conservation, News, Solo Travel — 2 Comments

Posted: June 12, 2014

It was the blackest part of a moonless night, when the stars were at their brightest. I was alone at the campfire, while seven other trailists slept nearby. It was my job to keep the fire going, and to keep watch for lions, elephants, buffalos or leopards, which could wander into our makeshift campsite.
A northern KwaZulu-Natal community that faces being uprooted if a proposed coal mine is approved has said their neighbours' bitter experience with a mining company had largely influenced their decision to oppose it.

The Fulemi anthracite mine, planned only 40m away from the border of the Hluhluwe-iMfolozi Park's (HiP) Wilderness area, has galvanised environmentalists who have launched a global campaign to stop the development.

On Tuesday, global lobbyists Avaaz.org and the Global Environment Trust took foreign and local journalists on air trips to see the area, followed by a road trip to meet the community.

The affected community of Ocilwane, which has about 300 households, is separated by the Mfolozi River from the huge opencast Somkhele mine, South Africa's largest producer of metallurgical anthracite, which has been operating since 2007.

Acting as translator for the leadership of Ocilwane, local resident Philaa Ndimande told journalists: "We are in touch with the Somkhele community (about 12km away) across the river, and we are talking to them. These people are talking to us and making us aware that we are in big trouble if the proposed Fulemi mine goes ahead."

He said the neighbouring community felt Somkhele's bosses had made many promises while they were seeking the permissions needed to mine, but had reneged on them.
Mining poses new threat to world’s greatest rhino sanctuary

Somkhele Coal Mine, 17km from Hluhluwe-Imfolozi
Somkhele Coal Mine, 17km from Hluhluwe-Imfolozi
KZN to declare drought emergency

October 9 2014 at 08:34pm
By Daily News Reporter

Durban - As rivers and boreholes dry up and below average rainfall is expected, the KwaZulu-Natal executive council has announced it intends declaring eight areas to be in a “state of disaster”.

This follows a council meeting about the drought situation in the province today. In a statement the province said that another high-level meeting would be held on Tuesday with various MECs and other relevant stakeholders to ensure that emergency measures are facilitated.

The affected areas fall under the uMkhanyakude, uThungulu, iLembe, Zululand, uMgungundlovu, Harry Gwala, uMzinyathi and uThukela districts.

In a statement it said that among the reasons for the concern were:
* Most rivers were not flowing properly with some completely drying.
* Boreholes as alternative water sources to (existing) supply had dried up.
* The agro-industry was suffering due to the lack of water.
* The dry conditions had increased the province’s susceptibility to runaway fire incidents in affected areas.

The council had received a preliminary report regarding the dry conditions in the province, it said.
Wildlife in danger as rivers dry up

September 29 2014 at 09:15am
By Tony Carnie

Durban - As drought tightens its grip in Zululand, conservation staff in the Hluhluwe-Imfolozi Park have started digging up dry river beds to help wildlife reach underground water.

To make the situation worse, fodder for antelope and other grazing and browsing species was in short supply as nearly 45 percent of the 96 000 hectare park had been burned in controlled fires in anticipation of spring rains that were yet to come.

The flow of water in the Black Imfolozi River has all but dried up, sparking calls for the neighbouring Zululand Anthracite Colliery (ZAC) mine to halt or reduce its water abstraction until the drought breaks.

The mine, owned by Rio Tinto, recently paid a R497 000 government fine for building three new coal shafts over the past eight years without environmental authorisation.

One source said that although the mine had identified “big problems” for wildlife if the park did not get good rains by March, it was not interested in letting up on water use.

“Although we have been in this situation before, the park’s management experience that wildlife deals with burns in anticipation of early rains so animals have had to graze and be more visible to get access to water.

Environmental attorney Kirsten Youens, acting for the Global Environmental Trust, has written to the Department of Water Affairs to establish whether the ZAC is complying with its water permit licence.
community strategy meeting, March 2015
1000 women kicked Ibutho Coal out of Fuleni, May 2015
WOMEN STAND THEIR GROUND AGAINST BIG COAL

Despite threats to the planet and to humanity, coal expansion continues to escalate rapidly as energy demands increase globally, and supplies contract. In Southern Africa coal represents the energy and export choice of the future, with South Africa leading the way. South Africa’s reliance on coal is entrenched in its economy, with 95% of its domestic electricity supplied by the fossil fuel. The country’s energy demands are escalating in a context in which coal corporations, other mining houses and massive smelting companies are economically dominant and empowerment deals predominate.

In South Africa the three largest power plants under construction and design are Medupi, Kusile and ‘Coal3’. Climate change will worsen because more than 1200 coal-fired power plants and related infrastructure projects are proposed in over 65 countries. If these many projects succeed, the planet will warm by an estimated six degrees by the end of the century, rendering significant parts of the planet uninhabitable and threatening human existence. Because coal plants are a leading source of carbon emissions globally, the switch away from coal at the global level is a most necessary step to achieving the kinds of emissions reductions the world urgently needs. These catastrophic impacts are projected to have greatest effect in sub-Saharan Africa, where the charity Christian Aid projects that climate change will leave an additional 180 million Africans dead by 2100.

Climate change impacts are felt most intensively by women because of patriarchal role allocations and unequal control over natural resources in families, communities and economies. Peasant women in Africa will carry the brunt of climate change effects because of their responsibilities for provisioning between 60-80% of food consumed by rural households, the collection of safe drinking water, and the care of sick household members.

“Coal kills. It has destroyed our land, our lives and our community.” These are the words of a woman member of the Somkhele community in KwaZulu-Natal who has endured devastating environmental and social effects of coal mining over the last decade. Just a few miles west, communities in Fuleni are fighting Ibuthu Coal, a shadowy firm linked to BHP Billiton and Glencore – the world’s largest mining house and commodity trader – which aims to mine coal on the southern boundary of the iMfolozi Wilderness Area. Thousands of local residents in Fuleni will be relocated (for the second time in a generation) to make way for the mine in an area already suffering more than a year of deep drought. Thanks to increased burning of coal and other fossil fuels, such conditions are now more commonplace, as climate change takes hold across the world. South Africa is both victim and villain, on a grand scale, and this is just one of many sites where the class, race and gender character of the winners and losers are blatantly obvious.

The Southern African region is well placed to lead the world in rejecting a profit-oriented development model that deepens the climate crisis. This sub-region should, instead, seek to rapidly expand renewable energy capacity (using our abundant wind, solar and tidal resources), public transport and organic agriculture, creating decent safe ‘Climate Jobs’ and improving people’s lives. In this undeniably necessary transition, the perspectives of peasant and working-class women, who bear the brunt of multiple crises, point us to these most necessary alternatives.
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 1°C 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
only safe strategy: leave fossil fuels underground