ANATOMIES OF ENVIRONMENTAL KNOWLEDGE AND RESISTANCE:

DIVERSE CLIMATE JUSTICE MOVEMENTS AND WANING ECO-NEOLIBERALISM

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'Climate Justice' (CJ) is the name of the new movement that best fuses a variety of progressive political-economic and political-ecological currents to combat the most serious threat humanity and most other species face in the 21st century. The time is opportune to dissect knowledge production and resistance formation against hegemonic climate policy making. One reason is the ongoing fracturing of elite power – including acquiescence by large environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs) - in era of extreme global state-failure and market-failure. The inability of global elite actors to solve major environmental, geopolitical, social and economic problems puts added emphasis on the need for a CJ philosophy and ideology, principles, strategies and tactics. One challenge along that route is to establish the most appropriate CJ narratives (since a few are contraindicative to core CJ traditions), what gaps exist in potential CJ constituencies, and which alliances are moving CJ politics forward. This can be done, in part, through case studies that illustrate approaches to climate *in*justice spanning campaigns and institutional critique. But it is through positive messaging and proactive traditions of CJ that the movement will gain most momentum for the crucial period ahead.

Birthing a Climate Justice Movement

CJ only arrived on the international scene as a coherent political approach in the wake of the failure of a more collaborative strategy between major environmental NGOs and the global capitalist managerial class. The first efforts to generate a climate advocacy movement in global civil society became the Climate Action Network (CAN). From 1997, CAN adopted as a strategy what proved to be a 'false solution', namely an emphasis on regular United Nations interstate negotiations aiming at minor, incremental emissions reductions augmented by carbon trading and related offsets. Along with corresponding national and regional legislation and the rise of emissions submarkets, this was meant to form the inevitable underpinnings of greenhouse gas regulation. The myth that this approach would solve the impending climate crisis was broken in practice by fatal flaws in the European Union's Emission Trading Scheme and by the refusal of the United States to participate in the Kyoto Protocol, as well as Canada's withdrawal and the difficulty in establishing targets for emerging-market economies like Brazil, South Africa, India and China (the BASIC group). For civil society, the cul-de-sac of CAN's commitment to carbon trading was confirmed when Friends of the Earth International broke away in 2010, but already by the time of the December 2009 Copenhagen Conference of Parties (COP) 15, the critical short film 'Story of Cap and Trade' (Leonard 2009) was launched and in nine months subsequently recorded a million downloads. CAN's critics in the CJ community were able to make the case for an alternative strategy with sufficient force, that they gained half the space reserved for non-governmental delegations in Copenhagen's Bella Centre.

The Copenhagen Summit crashed on 18-19 December when, at the last moment, a backroom deal was stitched together by Barack Obama (USA), Jacob Zuma (SA), Lula da Silva (Brazil), Manmohan Singh (India) and Wen Jiabao (China), designed to avoid needed binding emissions cuts (Müller 2010). Instead, the Copenhagen Accord delivered business-as-usual climate politics, biased towards fossil-fuel capital, heavy industry, the transport sector and overconsumers. As the leading US State Department climate negotiator, Todd Stern, explained when asked about the growing demand for recognition of Northern 'climate debt' liabilities, 'The sense of guilt or culpability or reparations – I just categorically reject that' (AP, 9 December 2009). In doing so, Stern not only rejected the 'polluter pays' principle (which can apply to past environmental externalities) but also the principle of common but differentiated responsibility, a foundational principle of the climate governance regime.

CJ activists had entered this terrain with demands that the global establishment would simply not meet: a 50 percent GHG emissions cut by 2020 and 90 percent commitment for 2050; payment of a rapidly rising 'climate debt' (in 2010, damages to Pakistan alone amounted to $50 billion) (Klein 2009, Bond 2010); the decommissioning of the carbon markets so favoured by elites; and massive investments in renewable energy, public transport and other transformative infrastructure. As a result, the next stage of the CJ struggle was necessarily to retreat from the naively overambitious global reform agenda (politely asking Copenhagen and then Cancun delegates to save the planet) and instead to pick up direct action inspirations from several sites across the world – Nigerian and Ecuadorian oilfields, Australia's main coal port, Britain's coal-fired power stations and main airport, Canada's tar sands, and US coalfields and corporate headquarters – where CJ was being seeded deep within the society. This represented the rise of 'poly-valent counter-hegemonic climate justice resistance movements' (Dorsey 2010), under the loose banner of CJ politics.

How did this transition from CAN's insider-lobbying to CJ politics occur? The CJ lineage includes 1990s environmental anti-racism (Dorsey, 2007); the late 1990s Jubilee movement against Northern financial domination of the South; the 2000s global justice movement (which came to the fore with the December 1999 Seattle World Trade Organisation protest); environmentalists and corporate critics who in 2004 started the Durban Group for Climate Justice (Lohmann 2006); the 2007 founding of the Climate Justice Now! (CJN) network; the 2009 rise of the European left's Climate Justice Alliance in advance of the Copenhagen COP; the ongoing role of Malaysia-based Third World Network in amplifying the critique by both South states and radical civil society in COP and related negotiations; the renewed direct-action initiatives that from 30 November 2009 generated the Mobilization for Climate Justice in the US and in 2010 drew in more mainstream groups like Greenpeace, Rainforest Action Network and 350.org; and, maybe most portentously, the Bolivian government-sponsored (but civil society-dominated) April 2010 'First Peoples' World Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth' in Cochabamba. Shortly afterwards, the Detroit Social Forum began to consolidate a US movement led by people of colour. On October 12, 2010 (to counteract what in the US is known as 'Columbus Day' but represents European invasion of the hemisphere), the European-based Climate Justice Action network coordinated direct-action protests against climate-related targets in two dozen locales. In Cancun from 28 November-11 December 2010, an International Forum on Climate Justice was established to unite international forces.

Fused as CJ, these inter-related and often overlapping (although sometimes conflicting) traditions are mainly aimed at building (or serving) a mass-based popular movement bringing together 'green' and 'red' (or in the US, 'blue') politics. This entails articulating not only the urgency of reducing greenhouse gas emissions but also the need to transform our systems of materials extraction, transport and distribution, energy-generation, production of goods and services, consumption, disposal and financing. While lacking 350.org's mass activism (albeit in events that mainly refrain from challenging power) and consciousness-raising capacity, the CJ organizations and networks offer great potential to fuse issue-specific progressive environmental and social activists, many of which have strong roots in oppressed communities. To illustrate, in late 2010, a network based at Movement Generation in Oakland provided an impressive list of direct action events and resulting community organizing victories in the US over several prior months and years:

- Stopping King Coal with Community Organizing: The Navajo Nation, led by a *Dine'* (Navajo) and *Hopi* grassroots youth movement, forced the cancellation of a Life of Mine permit on Black Mesa, AZ, for the world's largest coal company – Peabody Energy. Elsewhere in the U.S. community-based groups in Appalachia galvanized the youth climate movement in their campaigns to stop mountain-top removal coal mining, and similar groups in the Powder River Basin have united farmers and ranchers against the expansion of some of the world's largest coal deposits.

- Derailing the Build-out of Coal Power: Nearly two thirds of the 151 new coal power plant proposals from the Bush Energy Plan have been cancelled, abandoned or stalled since 2007 - largely due to community-led opposition. A recent example of this success is the grassroots campaign of Dine' grassroots and local citizen groups in the Burnham area of eastern Navajo Nation, NM that have prevented the creation of the Desert Rock coal plant, which would have been the third such polluting monolith in this small, rural community. Community-based networks such as the Indigenous Environmental Network, the Energy Justice Network and the Western Mining Action Network have played a major role in supporting these efforts to keep the world's most climate polluting industry at bay.

- Preventing the Proliferation of Incinerators: In the last 12 years, no new waste incinerators (which are more carbon-intensive than coal and one of the leading sources of cancer-causing dioxins) have been built in the US, and hundreds of proposals have been defeated by community organizing. In 2009 alone, members of the Global Alliance for Incinerator Alternatives prevented dozens of municipal waste incinerators, toxic waste incinerators, tire incinerators and biomass incinerators from being built, and forced Massachusetts to adopt a moratorium on incineration.

- Defeating Big Oil In Our Own Backyards: A community-led coalition in Richmond, CA, has, stopped the permitting of Chevron's refinery expansion in local courts. This expansion of the largest oil refinery on the west coast is part of a massive oil and gas sector expansion focused on importing heavy, high-carbon intensive crude oil from places like the Canada's Tar Sands. This victory demonstrates that with limited resources, community-led campaigns can prevail over multi-million dollar PR and lobby campaigns deployed by oil companies like Chevron, when these strategies are rooted in organizing resistance in our own backyards. REDOIL, (Resisting Environmental Destruction on Indigenous Lands) an Alaska Native grassroots network, has been effective at ensuring the Native community-based voice is in the forefront of protecting the Chukchi and Beaufort Seas. Together with allies, REDOIL has also prevented Shell from leasing the Alaska outer continental shelf for offshore oil exploration and drilling. Advancing recognition of culture, subsistence and food sovereignty rights of Alaska Natives within a diverse and threatened aquatic ecosystem has been at the heart of their strategy.

- Stopping False Solutions like Mega Hydro: Indigenous communities along the Klamath River forced Pacificorp Power company to agree to 'Undam the Klamath' by the year 2020, in order to restore the river's natural ecosystems, salmon runs and traditional land-use capacity. For decades, Indigenous communities have been calling out false solutions - pointing to the fact that energy technologies that compromise traditional land-use, public health and local economies cannot be considered climate solutions.

- Building Resilient Communities through Local Action: In communities all over the US, frontline communities are successfully winning campaigns linking climate justice to basic survival:
    - In San Antonio, Texas, the Southwest Workers Union led the fight to divert $20billion dollars from nuclear energy into renewable energy and energy efficiency. In addition, they launched a free weatherization program for low-income families and a community run organic farm.
    - In Oakland, California, the Oakland Climate Action Coalition is leading the fight for an aggressive Climate Energy and Action Plan that both addresses climate disruption and local equity issues (Movement Generation et al, 2010:2).

Some activists and visionaries (e.g. those associated with the journals *Capitalism Nature Socialism* and *Monthly Review*) anticipate that the linkage of red and green struggles under the CJ banner will require society moving from a fossil-fuel-dependent capitalism to eco-socialism, which will entail:

> a transformation of needs, and a profound shift toward the qualitative dimension and away from the quantitative… a withering away of the dependency upon fossil fuels integral to industrial capitalism. And this in turn can provide the material point of release of the lands subjugated by oil imperialism, while enabling the containment of global warming, along with other afflictions of the ecological crisis… The generalization of ecological production under socialist conditions can provide the ground for the overcoming of the present crises. A society of freely associated producers does not stop at its own democratization. It must, rather, insist on the freeing of all beings as its ground and goal (Kovel and Lowy, 2001: 3-5).

Before such a vision can be properly articulated, several critical missing elements must be accounted for, including, amongst others:

- a stronger labour input, particularly given the potential for 'Green Jobs' to make up for existing shortfalls (British eco-socialists have taken the lead with demands for a million green jobs) (Campaign Against Climate Change, 2009);

- a connection between climate justice and anti-war movements, given that military activity is not only disproportionately concerned with supplies of oil and gas (Iraq and Afghanistan) but also uses vast amounts of CO2 in the prosecution of war (Smolker, 2010); and

- a stronger presence of both environmentalists and socialists in many high emissions sites not yet suffused with grassroots CJ movements, from the Arab oil world to petro-socialist Venezuela.

However, against eco-socialist orientations of the sort proposed by Kovel and Lowy, not only are anarchists in the CJ movement suspicious of central planning, but a bottom-up socialism would preferably generate such manifesto statements from actual practice and from generalized movement sensibility and demands, as opposed to top-down pronouncements. The forging of unity in movements that address climate and social justice from below is especially important during times (such as at present) of apparently intractable conflict and division, which may even disrupt and distract the immediate future of CJ politics.

Climate Controversies and Wedge Issues

There are at least five ideological positions that have variously sought to claim CJ but that are not oriented (first and foremost) to movement-building:

- a Rawlsian 'Greenhouse Development Rights' technical calculation of per capita GHG emissions (by the NGO Ecoequity, with echoes in 'Contraction & Convergence' expansions/reductions and GHG 'budgetsharing') which aims to distribute the 'right to pollute' (and then let underpolluters sell their surplus rights via some form of carbon trading) (Athanasiou and Baer 2010);

- an emphasis on South-North justice primarily within interstate diplomatic negotiations over climate, as advanced especially by the South Centre and Third World Network, as well as the Bolivian government albeit with an awareness that the April 2010 Cochabamba meeting made demands on world elites far beyond their willingness to concede (Tandon 2009);

- an orientation to the semi-periphery's right/need to industrialise, via the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) (Jomo K.S. 2010);

- the use of CJ rhetoric by former UN Human Rights Commission director and Irish president Mary Robinson (2010), whose agenda for a new Dublin foundation appears solely situated within the 'elite' circuitry of global governance and international NGOs, in which 'climate justice links human rights and development to achieve a human-centered approach, safeguarding the rights of the most vulnerable and sharing the burdens and benefits of climate change and its resolution equitably and fairly'; and

- attempts to incorporate within CJ politics a commitment to carbon markets, especially through the Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD) projects (Spash 2010).

It may be premature to judge, but these latter strands, drawing upon varying degrees of technicist-redistributionist, Third Worldist, Keynesian, or global-elitist experiences and aspirations, do not hold out much opportunity for success. There is a simple reason: the adverse balance of forces at the world scale. Most of these latter five CJ projects' ambitions play out at elite levels, primarily within UN negotiations. The problem for elite-level strategies is that the last time a sense of global-state coherence was achieved in addressing a world-scale problem was when the 1996 Montreal Protocol on chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) banned emissions outright, in order to prevent growth of the hole in the ozone layer. Just such an agreement is required today (Jomo K.S. 2010). But since then, there has been no progress on any other substantive top-down front, in part because of the decline of global social democrats (of the Willy Brandt type) and rise of neoliberals (1980s-90s) and then neoconservatives (2000s), and sometimes – as in the case of World Bank president Robert Zoellick, considered in detail below – their even more dangerous fusion. Hence we can label the current era as one of global-state failure, simultaneous with an historic failure of the financial markets that at one point eco-neoliberal technicists had relied upon, through carbon trading, to solve the climate crisis.

Nevertheless, for some eco-neoliberal specialists who carry out climate or development advocacy mainly within multilateral institutions or from international NGOs, especially in New York, Washington, London and Geneva, commitments to top-down approaches are held with an almost religious fervor. To recall an analogy once evoked by George and Sabelli (1994), supranational, non-democratic, elite institutions have ‘doctrine, a rigidly structured hierarchy preaching and imposing this doctrine and a quasi-religious mode of self-justification.’ Unsurprisingly, the aforementioned five approaches to CJ are at times advanced directly at odds with grassroots forces which tired of the futility of global-scale reform.

In February 2010, for example, a controversy broke out in civil society regarding one civil society group whose initial desire for a negotiating stance in Geneva included a petition with several controversial positions: promotion of the Kyoto Protocol (due to its common but differentiated responsibilities position) notwithstanding the treaty’s very weak emissions cuts; a 2 degree (not 1 degree) centigrade temperature rise (considered unacceptable within the CJ movement); and an implicit endorsement of offsets and other private sector financing arrangements in spite of the failures of private offset arrangements and the broader emissions market. The petition was changed after an uproar within the Climate Justice Now! network.

By April 2010, the demands of CJ activists had strengthened. The Cochabamba conference adopted several that were anathema to mainstream climate politics, and the Bolivian government struggled to put these into official United Nations texts:

- 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 rights of Mother Earth to ensure harmony with nature
- Establishment of an International Court of Climate Justice
- Rejection of carbon markets and commodification of nature and forests through the REDD programme
- Promotion of measures that change the consumption patterns of developed countries
- End of intellectual property rights for technologies useful for mitigating climate change
- Payment of 6 percent of developed countries’ GDP to addressing climate change (Solon 2010).

REDD proved amongst the most important wedge issues within the CJ community, for late in 2010, sharp controversies emerged over forest preservation, as major US environmental foundations attempted to resurrect market strategies. The seeds of the controversy were sown in late 2009 and in the aftermath of Copenhagen. Several US-based, pro-REDD funders - ClimateWorks, David and Lucile Packard, Ford and Gordon and Betty Moore - came together under the auspices of the US based Meridian Institute, a mediator-oriented think-tank that periodically assembles ‘government officials, business leaders, scientists, foundation executives, and representatives of nongovernmental organizations’ to ‘facilitate internal consensus’. These foundations committed to begin making grants in support of REDD projects under an umbrella group called the Climate and Land Use Alliance (CLUA) in early 2010. Other CJ groups, including the San Francisco-based International Forum on Globalization, also sought a ‘consensus’ position, but one that excluded the Indigenous Environmental Network, which maintained a strong critique of carbon markets.

Meridian’s corporatist approach had been tried before. In late 2006 and early 2007 Meridian was the sole facilitating and mediating institution behind the creation of the US Climate Action Partnership. The Partnership assembled well over $200 million to support efforts by pro-market environmental organizations and major corporations to advocate for market-based solutions within US climate change legislation (such as the 2009 bill proposed by Henry Waxman and Bill Markey), which subsequently failed to find traction in the Senate in 2010. No US national climate legislation is anticipated until at least 2013, in view of the election of numerous climate-denialist Members of Congress and Senators in November 2010.

The CLUA sphere of influence is not confined to the US. By June 2010 CLUA members, heads of state, influential ministers and representatives from 55 countries convened in Norway for the Oslo Climate and Forest Conference. The conference aimed to endorse and launch the post-Kyoto REDD effort, dubbed the ‘Interim REDD+ Partnerships’. By the meeting’s end, with the largest contribution from the Norwegian government, some $4 billion was committed to support developing country involvement in REDD. Yet some argue that CLUA foundations and key actors that control the Interim REDD+ Partnerships process utilize a kind of divide-and-rule strategy. According to some sources, organizations that support and do not question any aspects of proto-REDD projects are lavished with funds; while those that have question REDD projects have been marginalized from even participating in many key of meetings on the matter. In a September 2010 letter, 34 non-governmental organizations from 20 countries issued a complaint to the co-chairs of the Interim REDD+ Partnership:

> The modalities proposed so far by the Partnership do not satisfy the minimum requirements for effective participation and consultation, and therefore we urge that the workplan include a process to develop concrete and effective procedures to ensure proper participation and input to the Partnership initiatives. Simply using a mailing list that has been put together randomly, including organisations that are not working on REDD and excluding key actors, notably indigenous peoples organisations, is not an acceptable way to pretend that stakeholders are engaged in an effective and fair manner.

In the US, tensions between the CJ approach and the group of NGOs comprising the Climate Action Network and 1 Sky continue, over whether legislative lobbying, social marketing and top-down coordination of consciousness-raising activities without further strategic substance (e.g. TckTckTck in 2009) are more appropriate advocacy methodologies than bottom-up linkage of organic climate activism. In a letter to 1 Sky in October 2010, a coalition self-described as ‘grassroots and allied organizations representing racial justice, indigenous rights, economic justice, immigrant rights, youth organizing and environmental justice communities’ criticized the vast expenditures on congressional lobbying, at the expense of movement building:

> A decade of advocacy work, however well intentioned, migrated towards false solutions that hurt communities and compromised on key issues such as carbon markets and giveaways to polluters. These compromises sold out poor communities in exchange for weak targets and more smokestacks that actually prevent us from getting anywhere close to what the science – and common sense – tells us is required (Movement Generation et al, 2010:2).

These struggles are not limited to seemingly rival grassroots social movements and mainstream organizations. Funders too, are also divided on which constituencies to support and at what levels; and variously divide and gather those same constituencies. While most foundations support the pro-market, corporatist CLUA effort described above, in September 2010 the Climate Equity Working Group of the Funders Network on Trade and Globalization committed to supporting ‘fossil-fuel infrastructure resistance struggles and more broadly building the power of grassroots movements.’

Contrast this with the revelation at the 2009 US Environmental Grantmakers Association meeting in Alaska, that less than 2% of all recorded funds from US private foundations were spent on addressing unfolding climate change in Africa — where many researchers concur that the adverse effects of climate change will be most severe.[1] Accordingly the battle for justice-based climate policy is as much a derivative of movement and organizational dynamics and struggles, as it is subject to passing whims, fads and frenzies of private foundation capital.

Such strategic controversies and divergent funding strategies are logical to expect at a time huge, intractable pressures are mounting. North-South and environment-development tensions are often extreme. Neoliberal financial forces continue to dominate the mainstream elite framework. And CJ movements across the world have not solidified a coherent set of tactics, much less strategy, principles, ideology and foundational philosophy. This is not the space to explore that shortcoming, but suffice to say that the wedge between most of the movement-oriented CJ activities and those from the five other CJ approaches noted above, as

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1 A staffer from the Consultative Group on Biological Diversity, the ‘premier professional association of foundation executives and trustees who make environmental grants’ revealed this in the Association’s meeting.

well as with CAN, could continue to grow, in part because use of carbon markets is one of the core differences between CJ and mainstream strategies.

Failure of the Elite Model

One reason for ongoing tension, as made clear by global climate negotiations since Bali in 2007, is that NGO investment of enormous lobbying efforts into elite processes is not effective. This is not merely a problem in the climate talks, for a scan of global governance reform efforts reminds us of consistent failure. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) Annual Meetings were sites of merely trivial reforms (for example, subimperial countries' voting power rising a bit in 2010, with most of Africa's and other poor countries' voting shares stagnating or actually falling). The reformers' inability to budge the Bretton Woods ideological *status quo* was demonstrated when even a mild-mannered 'Post-Washington Consensus' gambit was introduced in early 1998, but within twenty months, its champion, Bank chief economist Joseph Stiglitz, was fired. Similarly, the UN Millennium Development Goals launched in 2000 proved illusory especially for Africa, in no small part because the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and Bretton Woods Institutions were crucial intermediaries for MDG delivery. The WTO itself went into apparently terminal decline after the 1999 Seattle summit meltdown, the overhyped 2001 'Doha Agenda' and the failed Cancun summit of 2003 – with no subsequent progress to report.

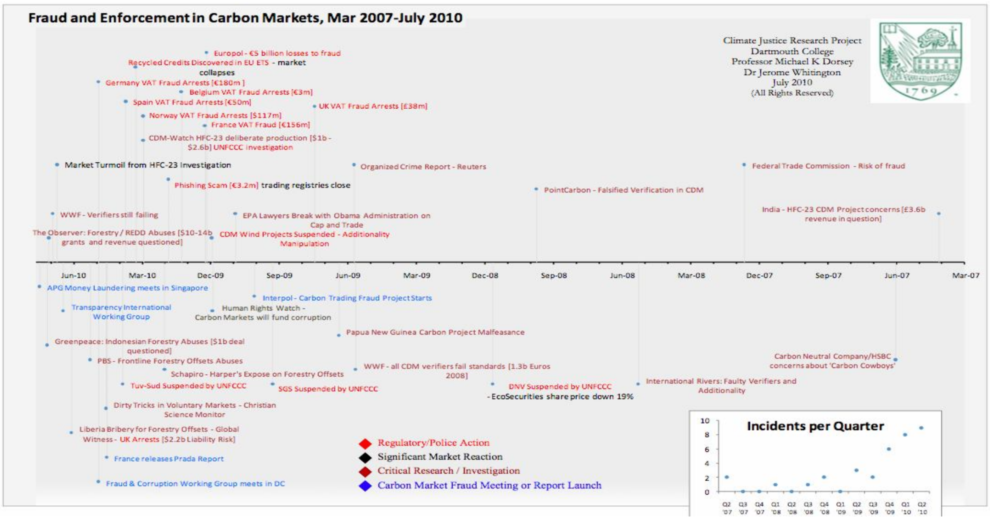
On the global currency and credit fronts, in addition to failed World Bank and IMF reform (Goldman 2005, 2007), none of the five main processes designed to shore up a cracking international financial architecture mustered the clout required to control footloose financiers: the Monterrey Financing for Development summit in 2002; various Basel Bank for International Settlements risk and capital re-ratings during the late 2000s; the G20 global financial reregulation talkshops of 2008-09; Stiglitz's 2008-09 United Nations commission on reform; and French-German advocacy of an international financial transactions tax (George 2009, 2010, 2011). Such reregulation can only be built in a sturdy way based upon state power over finance in national settings, but the two leading national capitals for world banking – Washington and London – were run by Democratic Party and New Labour Party deregulators during the periods of greatest financial industry vulnerability. As a result, there was only insubstantial regulation, as witnessed by the rapid return to superprofits and bonuses at Goldman Sachs and the other too-big-to-fail financial institutions from 2009. Indeed, as Europe's national elites have shown – from Iceland to Greece to France to Britain to Ireland to Portugal in 2009-10 – there is still excessive banking power and a tendency to impose austerity policies on a citizenry that in each of these settings, has begun to wake from a slumber to again explore the practice of class and social movement politics.

With climate change bound to generate more warring of the Darfur type, i.e., the kind where climate strained and stressed natural resource problems cyclically exacerbate conflict, it is especially disturbing that global governance is also failing on the security front, with renewed wars in Central Asia and the Middle East starting in October 2001 meant to last, as former US vice president Dick Cheney confessed, apparently forever. German, Japanese, Indian, Brazilian and African attempts to widen the UN Security Council failed decisively in 2005. Meanwhile North-South ‘global apartheid’ wealth gaps grew even more extreme, especially when G8 aid promises were broken; African countries hopes had been raised by the Gleneagles Summit of 2005, but then dashed when neither aid transfers nor debt relief were carried out with a genuine sense of shifting economic power.

Finally, the most decisive blow to the idea of global governance was the failure of the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, as demonstrated by the 2009 Copenhagen Accord. The international carbon market was founded when, then US vice-president Al Gore in 1997 at Kyoto effectively misled other global climate managers into thinking Washington would sign the Protocol if US firms were given permission to keep polluting at planet-threatening rates, through offsetting their emissions with trades and Clean Development Mechanism investments (Lohmann 2006, Spash 2010). Zoellick’s World Bank still strongly promotes carbon markets, even though they contain so much corruption, speculation and incompetence that the carbon price crashed from a high of €33/tonne in mid-2008 to €13 after the Copenhagen Summit, and on two European markets all the way down to €1.50 after yet more fraud scandals in March 2010 (Dorsey and Whitington 2010).

Continued volatility on various international financial fronts is especially worrisome for those championing carbon market approaches. Indeed, as shown by the recent financial meltdown’s ongoing contagion into the European Union, there is not only a global-state regulatory failure in financial markets but an extraordinary hubris still evident, insofar as Goldman Sachs and many other institutions harbour ambitions that a global carbon market can address climate change. In the early part of the 21st century, eco-neoliberals explained that the Emissions Trading Scheme’s repeated crashes, fraud and irrational features were because it was an ‘immature’ market. However, as carbon markets mature they are increasingly characterised by crime, corruption, institutional malfeasance and incompetence. These problems increasingly appear to be systemic. Since the conclusion of the first phase of the world’s largest formal carbon market (the EU-ETS) in 2007, carbon market crime has cost the market no less than €5 billion. Since the last quarter of 2009, analysis from the Climate Justice Research Project at Dartmouth College reveals that nearly 90% of publicly-known incidences of fraud took place during the ‘mature market’ stage after the end of phase one. Contrary to theoretical predictions and official proclamations, as the formal carbon market matures, without proper oversight, criminal activity, corruption and ethical malfeasance are on the rise (Figure 1) (Dorsey and Whitington, 2010).

Figure 1: Fraud and enforcement in carbon markets



Source: Dorsey and Whittington, 2010.

These examples add up to a devastating conclusion: that the contemporary global elite cannot properly diagnose the extreme economic (trade/finance/migration), geopolitical, environmental and legitimacy crises that afflict the world, much less mobilize the political will and capital needed to fix the problems (Bond 2009). Efforts by the five teams of insider elite strategists, no matter their claim of CJ sensibilities or how talented they package the advocacy, will in this context inevitably bump up against a low ceiling, at least for the foreseeable future. At its most dangerous, elite jockeying in the realm of climate policy making runs the risk of marginalizing social movements, curtailing proverbial direct democracy and undermining social and political moves toward energy sovereignty. Increasingly the harms of broken carbon markets, off-set scheme frauds, *inter alia*, are socialized across and over tax-payers, while the benefits are privatized to a shrinking set of would-be climate-catastrophe profiteers.

So it is to the more direct ways in which CJ activism confronts its targets that we turn for inspiration. While the international CJ movement rose rapidly and has a lifespan only as long as its activists stay focused, nevertheless it combines a variety of political-economic and political-ecological theories, scale politics, and single-issue constituencies (Ziser and Sze 2007, Dawson 2009). The extreme challenge of mobilizing on an issue that in temporal and spatial terms is of great distance from the most implicated constituencies – the corporations, governments and citizens of Northern industrial countries – suggests the need for common targets, narratives, strategies, tactics and alliances. To this end, an example of a campaign that gained more from losing than it would have from winning is the effort in early 2010 to prevent the World Bank's largest-ever project loan to the world's fourth-largest coal-fired power plant, at Medupi. (Had the campaign against the World Bank won, the project would still have gone ahead with private financing.) The death of a campaign in South Africa in 2010 suggests potential areas for building CJ politics in years to come, especially against the single major financier of fossil fuel across the globe, the World Bank.

Defeat of a South African CJ Campaign

We learn a great deal about the CJ terrain by examining a crucial campaign – unsuccessful in the short term – which entailed fighting the World Bank's fast-growing coal portfolio. On April 8 2010, after nearly two months of strenuous lobbying against more fossil fuel credits, the Bank Board approved a $3.75 billion loan to the South African electricity utility Eskom. It's main purpose (for which $3.1 billion was allocated) is to build a power station that will pump 25-30 megatonnes of CO2 into the atmosphere annually, more than the output of 115 countries. Paying for Medupi will require a 127% real price increase from 2007-12 for South African household electricity consumers (to nearly $0.15/kiloWatt hour).

The loan was a last-minute request, as the 2008-09 global financial turmoil dried up Eskom's potential private sector financing. As a result, it was only in December 2009 that South African civil society activated local and global networks against the loan, starting with a groundWork/Earthlife briefing document in December 2009. Within three months, more than 200 organisations across the world had endorsed a critique of the loan (http://www.earthlife.org.za/?p=858). South Durban activists launched the local public campaign on February 16 2010 with a spirited protest at Eskom's main local branch. South Durban was an epicentre of protest against fossil fuels, given that it hosted the largest and least responsible petro-chemical firms south of the Niger Delta. With electricity prices soaring, many more residents in South Durban were being disconnected. They often reconnect illegally and as Eskom and the municipality clamped down, the result was more social strife, in a country with what is probably the world's highest rate of community protest (http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs/default.asp?2,27,3,1858). To establish a campaign against an obscure World Bank loan so quickly, with the purpose of generating a profound crisis of confidence at the World Bank and in Pretoria, required clarity of message, an explicit demand ('stop Medupi financing') and a variety of issue-linkages to pull various constituencies into a coalition.

As always, the question is who wins and who loses? First, the source areas of the coal for Medupi are highly contaminated by mercury and acid-mine drainage, with air, land, vegetables, animals and people's health at much greater risk. Forty new coal mines in impoverished areas of Limpopo and Mpumalanga provinces will be opened to provide inputs to Medupi and its successor, Kusile. This will create a few coal sector jobs (hence receiving endorsement from the National Union of Mineworkers), but a great many jobs in agriculture and tourism will be lost as a result of the invasive mining activity and downstream degradation. Medupi itself will be built in a water-scarce area where communities are already confronting extreme mining pollution and, even though an air-cooled model (Africa's first) was chosen, the cost of supplying an additional water-cooling supply amounted to hundreds of millions of dollars, given the long transport and pumping costs.

Once the coal is burned and electricity generated, the winners and losers become even more divergent. Medupi's main beneficiaries will be the world's largest metals and mining corporations, especially BHP Billiton (Melbourne based) and various Anglo American subsidiaries (most reporting to London), which already receive the world's cheapest electricity thanks to multi-decade deals. Anger soon grew about the huge discounts made when secret, forty-year 'Special Pricing Agreements' were offered by Eskom during late apartheid, when the firm had a third too much excess capacity due to the long South African economic decline. These agreements were finally leaked in March 2010 and disclosed that BHP Billition and Anglo were receiving the world's cheapest electricity, at less than \$0.02/kWh (whereas the overall corporate price was around \$0.05/kWh, still the world's cheapest, and the consumer price was around \$0.10/kWh). In early April, just before the Bank decision, Eskom announced that a small modification was made to BHP Billiton's contract price but it was reportedly to the firm's 'advantage'. Finally, however, the Australian based mining house was sufficiently intimidated by the glare of publicity that in October 2010 Deutsche Bank mining analysts predicted BHP would dispose of Richards Bay assets. According to *Business Day* (2010) 'The reason for selling the aluminium smelters would be the scrutiny under which BHP's electricity contracts have come amid demands for resource companies to use less power.'

An additional problem with BHP and Anglo as beneficiaries is the outflow of profits to Melbourne and London, at a time South Africa's current account deficit made it the world's most risky middle-income country, according to *The Economist* (25 February 2009). Moreover, South Africa had an existing \$75 billion foreign debt, which would escalated by five percent with the Bank loan. The 1994 foreign debt was just \$25 billion, and First National Bank projected that the ratio of foreign debt to GDP would by 2011 rise to the same level as was reached in 1985, when a debt crisis compelled a default (on \$13 billion), a signal that business and banking were finally breaking ranks with the apartheid regime.

Another controversial aspect of the loan was the Bank's articulation of the privatization agenda. The confirmation that Eskom would offer private generating capacity to Independent Power Producers was established in loan documentation, in relation to the renewable component, advancing Eskom's desire to privatize 30 percent of generating capacity (including a 49 percent private share in Kusile, although no private interest had been expressed for Medupi). This component attracted explicit opposition from trade unions – especially the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa - and consumers.

Corruption was another feature that generated critiques of the World Bank by South African opposition political parties (especially the centre-left Independent Democrats and liberal Democratic Alliance, which subsequently merged) and the influential liberal *Business Day* newspaper. These organizations opposed the loan because contrary to supposed Bank anti-corruption policies, it will directly fund African National Congress (ANC) ruling party coffers. Medupi will be built with Hitachi boilers that in turn kick back between $10 and $100 million (the amount is still unclear) thanks to an ANC investment in Hitachi. As the Eskom-Hitachi deal was signed, Eskom chairperson Valli Moosa was also a member of the ANC's finance committee. A government investigation released in March 2010 found his conduct in this conflict of interest to be 'improper'. The ANC promised to sell the investment stake, but this dragged on and in late 2010 was still not complete. Ironically, in February 2010, the Bank had issued a major statement alongside its annual African Development Indicators, entitled 'Quiet Corruption', in which it blamed African teachers and healthcare workers for moonlighting (a result of Bank structural adjustment policies).

Finally, the matter of historic racial injustice could not be ignored. The World Bank's financing of apartheid began just three years after the 1948 election of the Afrikaners' Nationalist Party, lasting through 1967, and included $100 million for Eskom. During that period, the Bank financed the supply of electricity to no black households (who only began receiving electricity in 1980), and instead empowered only white businesses and residences (Bond 2003).

Curiously, South African Finance Minister Pravin Gordhan argued, on April 1 2010, that 'South Africa, in 16 years of democracy, never has had to take any loans from the World Bank… This is an opportunity for the World Bank to build a relationship with South Africa.' Yet the Bank's 1999 and 2008 'Country Assistance Strategy' documents show conclusively that Medupi is the 15th credit since 1994. As for 'building a relationship', Gordhan also neglected that the Bank coauthored the 1996 Growth, Employment and Redistribution (homegrown structural adjustment) programme, whose orthodox strategies failed and which led South Africa to overtake Brazil as the world's most unequal major country, as black incomes fell below 1994 levels and white incomes grew by 24% within fifteen years, according to official statistics.

Indeed the Bank itself regularly bragged about its 'Knowledge Bank' role in South Africa, and in 1999, for example, after Bank economist John Roome suggested to then water minister Kader Asmal that the government impose 'a credible threat of cutting service' to people who cannot afford water, the Bank's Country Assistance Strategy reported that its 'market-related pricing' advice was 'instrumental in facilitating a radical revision in SA's approach'. As a result, the cholera epidemic the following year – catalysed by water disconnections near Richards Bay - killed hundreds. Predictions are easy to make, given the huge price increases faced by electricity customers, that parallel misery will follow the Bank's Medupi loan.

It is here, in questioning the World Bank's ability to reform away from its fossil fuel portfolio and extreme market-based orientation, that the CJ movement came to the conclusion in 2010 that the Bank should have no role in climate-related financing. There are a great many socio-environmental rationales why the Bank should be boycotted – as documented by a coalition, 'World Bank out of Climate' (http://www.worldbankoutofclimate.org/) – but one obvious reason was the institution's leadership, a model of climate *injustice*.

Robert Zoellick as Exemplar of Elite Failure and Climate Injustice

Robert Zoellick, the 58-year old World Bank president, replaced Paul Wolfowitz, who in 2007 was forced to resign due to nepotism. US foreign policy analyst Tom Barry (2005) recalled how, ideologically, Zoellick stood hand in hand with Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, Richard Perle, Wolfowitz, John Bolton, John Negroponte and the other neoconservatives:

> Zoellick was perhaps the first Bush associate to introduce the concept of *evil* into the construct of Bush's radical overhaul of US grand strategy. A year before Bush was inaugurated, Zoellick wrote: 'A modern Republican foreign policy recognizes that there is still evil in the world - people who hate America and the ideas for which it stands.'

Zoellick is of interest to the CJ movement not only as a neocon (given the relationship of militarism to climate change), but because he represents a global trend of Empire in crisis since the Millennium, featuring at least three traits which he brings to climate negotiations. First is the ideological fusion of neoconservatism and neoliberalism that Zoellick shares with his predecessor Wolfowitz. Both strains are bankrupt, by any reasonable accounting, given the failure of the Bush petro-militarist agenda of imposing 'democracy', and the 2008-present financial meltdown catalysed by neoliberal deregulation. Representing the former, Zoellick was at the outset a member of the Project for a New American Century, as early as January 1998 going on record in a letter coauthored with a score of other leading neocons to then president Bill Clinton that Iraq should be illegally overthrown. The petro-military complex is a major contributor to climate change via direct emissions, has a strong interest in the invasion (or imperial policing) of territories with fossil fuel resources, and has been the key source for financing climate denialism (Smolker 2010). It is therefore crucial for the CJ movement to reach out to a global anti-imperialist network that, notwithstanding failures to halt the US and allied invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan, did manage the world's largest-ever anti-war protest, on 15 February 2003, when more than fifteen million participated.

As for the latter ideology, the 'Washington Consensus', Zoellick had long advocated and practiced the core strategy of financial deregulation, no matter its devastating consequences. The extension of financial securitization into the climate, via carbon markets, was as prone to failure as the packaging of real estate loans and associated instruments. As a result, after the 2007-08 meltdown of securitized home mortgages in the US undermined neoliberalism's ideological hegemony, Zoellick and IMF managing director Dominique Strauss-Kahn spent 2009 beating a hasty retreat from the austerity-oriented economics their institutions intrinsically favor, so as to maintain global effective demand with crony-Keynesianism during capitalist crisis. Yet by 2010 it was evident in sites as formerly wealthy as California, Greece, Ireland and Britain, that the Washington Consensus was only temporarily in retreat. Moreover, it was Zoellick's embrace of eco-neoliberalism that would maintain Bank promotion of carbon markets, notwithstanding his attempts to disguise the financial agenda with triumphalist 2010 speeches about 'Democratizing Development Economics' and 'The End of the Third World?' (Zoellick 2010a, 2010b). A final feature of neoliberal economic policy is the desire to lock in financialization and the resulting strategy of austerity, and it was therefore not out of character for Zoellick (2010c) to promote 'gold as an international reference point of market expectations about inflation, deflation and future currency values.... Although textbooks may view gold as the old money, markets are using gold as an alternative monetary asset today.' This view, according to University of California economist Brad de Long (2010), a Clinton-era Treasury official, was Zoellick's 'play for the stupidest man alive crown', because 'The last thing that the world economy needs right now is another source of deflation in a financial crisis. And attaching the world economy's price level to an anchor that central banks cannot augment at need is another source of deflation--we learned that in the fifteen years after World War I.'

The second trait of interest to CJ politics is Zoellick's inability to arrange the global-scale deals required to either solve climate crises or gracefully manage the US Empire's smooth dismantling. This was witnessed in the World Trade Organisation's (WTO's) demise, on his 2001-05 watch as the US Trade Representative. Zoellick's inability to forge consensus for capital's larger agenda was on display at the Cancun ministerial summit in 2003, in disputes with the European Union over the US genetic engineering fetish, and in his insistence upon bilateral and regional alternatives to multilateralism, which generated durable anti-Washington economic sentiment across Latin America. Then, as one of the most senior Bush Administration officials in 2005-06, second-in-command at the State Department, Zoellick achieved practically no improvement to Washington's wrecked image abroad. And as Bank president, appointed after Wolfowitz's fall by Bush, Zoellick's efforts during the 2008-09 G20 deliberations on the world economy and at the December 2009 UN Copenhagen climate summit were equally unsuccessful. If Zoellick continues clinging to the core financialization agenda of the US empire, the discarding of carbon markets in favour of genuine solutions to the climate crisis will take much longer.

The third trait, at a more profound level, was Zoellick's tendency to deal with economic and ecological crises by 'shifting' and 'stalling' them, while 'stealing' from those least able to defend. As a theoretical aside, the shifting-stalling-stealing strategy (Bond 2010) is at the heart of the problem, and can be summed up in David Harvey's (2003) phrase: 'accumulation by dispossession'. This stage arrives when capital exhausts the options it usually has to address economic crises through traditional means: work speed-up (absolute surplus value), replacing workers with machines (relative surplus value), shifting the problems around geographically (the 'spatial fix'), and building up vast debt and blowing speculative bubbles so as to stall crises until later (the 'temporal fix'). At this stage, capital needs to also loot the non-capitalist spheres of society and nature through extra-economic, imperialist techniques, as described by Rosa Luxemburg (1913) a century ago in *The Accumulation of Capital* and more recently by Naomi Klein (2007) in *Shock Doctrine*. Carbon markets are a classic case of shifting-stalling-stealing, since they move the challenge of emissions cuts to the South (hence preventing industrialization), they permit a financialised futures-market approach – no matter how fanciful - to preventing planet-threatening climate change, and by 'privatising the air' (through carving up the atmosphere to sell as carbon credits) the maintenance of an exploitative relationship between capital and non-capitalist spheres is crucial to Zoellick's agenda. To shift-stall-steal in his various positions since achieving international prominence in 2001, Zoellick's neocon-neolib worldview provided cover, yet only up to a point, which we now appear to be reaching. That point comes sooner than later in part because the institutions needed to keep the game in play are cracking up.

To illustrate this problem of institutional incapacity, consider the fate of several major US financiers: Fannie Mae, Enron, Alliance Capital and Goldman Sachs. These were all crucial US imperial financial institutions, instrumental in generating the fictitious capital in real estate, energy and other sectors which proved so important to the Clinton-Bush era's internal displacement and eventual amplification of crises. First, Fannie Mae was led by Zoellick - its mid-1990s executive vice president – into dangerous real estate circuitry after his stint as a senior aide in James Baker's Treasury, at one point Deputy Assistant Secretary for Financial Institutions Policy just prior to the 1988-90 Savings&Loan (S&L) crisis, itself a function of the financial-deregulatory era that gave us mortgage-backed securities. Fannie Mae was soon so far in the red due to subprime lending through those securities, that a massive state bailout was needed in 2008. (And Baker also found Zoellick invaluable when he served as the Texan's main assistant during the notorious December 2000 presidential vote recount in Florida, destructive of those last vestiges of US democracy, thanks to the open racism and right-wing bullying of Zoellick's assistants.) Enron, the second of these financial firms, which cracked in 2002, boasted Zoellick as a senior political and economic advisor in 1999. Records are not available as to how implicated Zoellick was in Enron's gambles, so painful to Californians (subject to extreme electricity price manipulations) and investors (who suffered Kenneth Lay's illegal share price manipulation). However, as Board member of the third firm, Alliance Capital, Zoellick was party to late 1990s oversight of its investments in Enron which led to multiple fraud lawsuits and vast losses for Alliance's clients, including the state of Florida, led by Jeb Bush.

The fourth bank, Goldman Sachs, which Zoellick served as a leading international official in 2006-07, did well only through morally-questionable and allegedly-illegal deals, followed by crony-suffused bailouts linking Bush/Obama adminstration officials Hank Paulson, Ben Bernanke, Tim Geithner and Larry Summers. For the CJ movement this is important, not only because ‘The world’s most powerful investment bank is a great vampire squid wrapped around the face of humanity, relentlessly jamming its blood funnel into anything that smells like money’, as Matt Taibbi (2009) put it:

> The new carbon-credit market is a virtual repeat of the commodities-market casino that’s been kind to Goldman, except it has one delicious new wrinkle: If the plan goes forward as expected, the rise in prices will be government-mandated. Goldman won’t even have to rig the game. It will be rigged in advance… The bank owns a 10 percent stake in the Chicago Climate Exchange, where the carbon credits will be traded. Moreover, Goldman owns a minority stake in Blue Source LLC, a Utah-based firm that sells carbon credits of the type that will be in great demand if the bill passes… Goldman is ahead of the headlines again, just waiting for someone to make it rain in the right spot. Will this market be bigger than the energy-futures market? ‘Oh, it’ll dwarf it,’ says a former staffer on the House energy committee. Well, you might say, who cares? If cap-and-trade succeeds, won’t we all be saved from the catastrophe of global warming? Maybe -- but cap-and-trade, as envisioned by Goldman, is really just a carbon tax structured so that private interests collect the revenues. Instead of simply imposing a fixed government levy on carbon pollution and forcing unclean energy producers to pay for the mess they make, cap-and-trade will allow a small tribe of greedy-as-hell Wall Street swine to turn yet another commodities market into a private tax-collection scheme. This is worse than the bailout: It allows the bank to seize taxpayer money before it’s even collected… The moral is the same as for all the other bubbles that Goldman helped create, from 1929 to 2009. In almost every case, the very same bank that behaved recklessly for years, weighing down the system with toxic loans and predatory debt, and accomplishing nothing but massive bonuses for a few bosses, has been rewarded with mountains of virtually free money and government guarantees -- while the actual victims in this mess, ordinary taxpayers, are the ones paying for it.

Under Zoellick, the World Bank remains the most important multilateral fixer of broken carbon markets, continuing to invest billions and spin-doctor the obvious flaws in the system. Simultaneously, internal Bank sources actively criticize and challenge the legitimacy of the Bank’s role in the carbon marketplace. A late 2010 report from the Bank’s Independent Evaluation Group (IEG) poignantly reveals,

> The World Bank’s Carbon Finance Unit (CFU) has led, through its extensive activities in Clean Development Mechanism markets, to expanding the role of, and the infrastructure for, carbon trading between developed and developing nations. However, there has been criticism of the environmental quality of many projects that the WBG [World Bank Group] has supported, including industrial gases, hydro-power, and fossil (gas and coal) power plants, which may well have been either profitable in themselves or were pursued primarily for the purpose of national energy diversification and security policies. In addition, although the CFU was promoted as a market maker that could act as a carbon offset buyer until the private market flourished, the WBG continued to build up its trading after that private market was fully established. Finally, as a vehicle for catalytic finance and technology transfer, the IEG finds the CFU’s record is at best mixed. The Panel

> suggests that the WBG has a public responsibility to ensure that its behavior advances the quality of international institutions that regulate carbon finance markets, rather than acting principally as a pure market player profiting from expanding market scale.

Partly as a result, in November 2010, four global civil society organizations - Jubilee South, Friends of the Earth International, ActionAid and LDC Watch – along with dozens of regional and national organizations reacted to Zoellick's management of the environment, including the loan to Medupi, with a full-fledged international campaign to ban the Bank from climate financing:

> Many northern country governments and the World Bank itself have been actively pushing for the World Bank to be given the mandate to be 'THE' global climate institution, or for it to play a central role in setting up and eventually managing the governance and operations of a new global climate fund. At the June UNFCCC inter-sessional negotiations in Bonn, Germany, the United States submitted a proposal naming the World Bank as the 'Trustee' for the formation of the Global Climate Fund. On June 25th, on the eve of the G20 meeting in Toronto, the WB appointed a World Bank Special Envoy for Climate Change. The World Bank also recently hired Daniel Kamman as their clean energy czar. These are some of the latest of a series of moves since 2008 to secure this important mandate for the World Bank. Also included is the establishment of the WB-managed Climate Investment Funds, at the behest of the UK, US, and Japan. Regional development banks are also part of the governance and management system of these Climate Investment Funds (Jubilee South *et al* 2010).

In short, argue Jubilee South *et al* (2010), there should be no World Bank role in climate finance, for reasons that bring together several aspects of CJ politics:

> Financing must be public in nature, obligatory, predictable, additional, and adequate, must not come with or be used to impose conditionalities, should not be in the form of loans or other debt-creating instruments. Instruments for raising finance should not cause harm to people and the environment. These should not promote or reinforce false solutions. These mechanisms and instruments should also have a transformational effect on the economy and environment. A new Global Climate Fund is an essential institutional channel for north to south climate finance flows and ensuring equitable, fair, and appropriate distribution among countries of the South. Such an institution should have democratic governance and management structures with majority representation from South countries, gender balance, and seats for civil society organizations.

Conclusion

Had the Kyoto Protocol and its arcane climate financing strategies succeeded over the past 13 years, and had centrist non-governmental organizations and environmentalists not themselves failed to offer visionary advocacy on what is the world's most serious threat, there would not have been a need for the CJ movement to emerge and gel (Vlachou and Konstantinidis 2010). Had global governance firmly established itself in the 1990s-2000s, based on the Montreal Protocol's example of decisive action in which global public goods were taken seriously, the kinds of subsequent elite gatherings that produced, at best, the likes of a Copenhagen Accord would instead have had more legitimacy and efficacy. Had South African elites paid attention to the variety of extreme contradictions unveiled by the Medupi power plant and World Bank financing, the campaign that generated a South African CJ movement – so crucial ahead of the COP 17 in South Africa in November-December 2011 – would not have been necessary.

Finally, Robert Zoellick's background – his relationship to S&Ls, FannieMae, the Project for a New American Century (now formally defunct), Florida vote-counting, Enron, Alliance Capital, the WTO, Bush-era foreign/military policy (not to mention a million Iraqis and thousands of US soldiers), Goldman Sachs' reputation, the World Bank, South African finances, and the climate – reveals his Zelig-like role in the interrelated failures of global states and markets. Instead of generating despair, what CJ observers need to understand is that Zoellick is little more than a key figure in a demonstrably corrupt actor-network defined by the consistent geopolitical, economic, environmental and diplomatic self-destructiveness associated with recent elite managerialism. Zoellick is merely a personification of the way global governance, neoliberal-neoconservative ideological fusion, frenetic financialisation, the failing green-market project and the responsibility for financing a transition from climate chaos are not capable of working under present circumstances.

CJ marks a double effort to imagine other possible worlds and deliver them through struggle. Bolivian president Evo Morales (2009) offered his perspective on the movement's momentum well before he convened the historic Cochabamba summit: 'We can't look back; we have to look forward. Looking forward means that we have to review everything that capitalism has done. These are things that cannot just be solved with money. We have to resolve problems of life and humanity. And that's the problem that planet earth faces today. And this means ending capitalism.' Accordingly, only the continuing rise of CJ activism from below – notwithstanding an occasional defeat, and indeed spurned on by the knowledge and anger thereby generated - will suffice to reverse the course of fossil fuel consumption and, more broadly, of a mode of production based on the utterly unsustainable accumulation of capital.

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