

# ***context for systemic change: the failure of neoliberal economics & nature***

***Patrick Bond, University of KwaZulu-Natal Centre for Civil Society, Durban***

**BEYOND Development, Extractivism, Globalization and Capitalism**

**Alternatives for ECONOMIC JUSTICE**



**Maputo, Mozambique – 1-3 October 2013**

- ***system-change (not 'reformist') strategies***
- ***capitalist economic & ecological crises***
- ***financialisation of everything***
- ***climate justice = 'leave oil under the soil' + 'climate debt' repayment + 'just transition'***
- ***climate debt repayment strategies: Ecuador (eco-social), Namibia (household)***
- ***the 'Climate Justice' movement as precursor to future system change***



# steps towards systemic change:

*two contrary directions for framing our campaigns*

## 1) 'reformist reforms' (away from system change):

- strengthen the **internal logic of the system**, by smoothing rough edges
- allow the system to **relegitimise**
- give confidence to **status quo ideas and forces**
- leave activists **disempowered or coopted**
- confirm society's **fear of power, apathy and cynicism** about activism

## 2) 'non-reformist reforms' (towards system change):

- counteract the internal logic of the system, by **confronting core dynamics**
- continue **system delegitimation**
- give confidence to **critical ideas and social forces**
- leave **activists empowered with momentum** for next struggle
- replace social apathy with **confidence in activist integrity and leadership**

*(for these distinctions, thanks to Andre Gorz, John Saul, Boris Kagarlitsky, Gosta Esping-Andersen)*

# WHAT ARE 'THE COMMONS'?

*On the one hand, the common refers to the **earth and all of its ecosystems**, including the atmosphere, the oceans and rivers, and the forests, as well as all the forms of life that interact with them. **The common, on the other hand, also refers to the products of human labor and creativity that we share, such as ideas, knowledges, images, codes, affects, social relationships, and the like.***

**- Michael Hardt, Duke University**



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http://za.creativecommons.org/commons-sense/index.htm

## Commons-sense

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Edition 2, April 2005

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- Editorial**  
The Creative Commons South Africa website was recently nominated for the prestigious 'Prix Ars Electronica - International Competition for CyberArts' in the Digital Communities section. Find out about this and other accolades for Creative Commons in southern Africa in Heather Ford's Commons-sense newsletter editorial.
- Letter from America: 'The world's largest encyclopedia in the world - and its free!'**  
Andrew Jankowich talks about the 'wisdom of crowds' and the Wikipedia project which, with 500,000 articles in English since its 2001 debut and about 1.5 million articles in other languages (including Afrikaans), is fast becoming the largest, most comprehensive and up-to-date encyclopedia in the world - all free to copy and share under the GNU-Free Documentation Licence.
- How to use the Creative Commons licence: A guide for all of us Version 1.0**  
During the first months of Creative Commons awareness-raising in southern Africa, we've had a number of questions from people about how to correctly use the Creative Commons licence. Problem is that if you don't use the licence correctly, it could be unenforceable. Follow these steps to ensure that you're using the licence in a way that ensures maximum legal and marketing impact.

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# ***commoning intellectual property: Treatment Action Campaign***



- ***1990s – US promotes Intellectual Property above all; monopoly-patented AIDS ('AntiRetroViral') (ARV) drugs cost \$15000/person/year***
- ***1997 – SA's Medicines Act allows 'compulsory licensing'***
- ***1998 – US State Dept counters with 'full court press'; TAC formed after stigmatisation/death of Durban activist Dlamini***
- ***1999-2003 – struggles against Al Gore, Big Pharma, WTO, Thabo Mbeki***
- ***2004 – battle won, generics finally produced in SA, life expectancy soars***
- ***2010-13– with 1.5 mn on ARVs, fiscal austerity & Obama's Pefpar cuts***

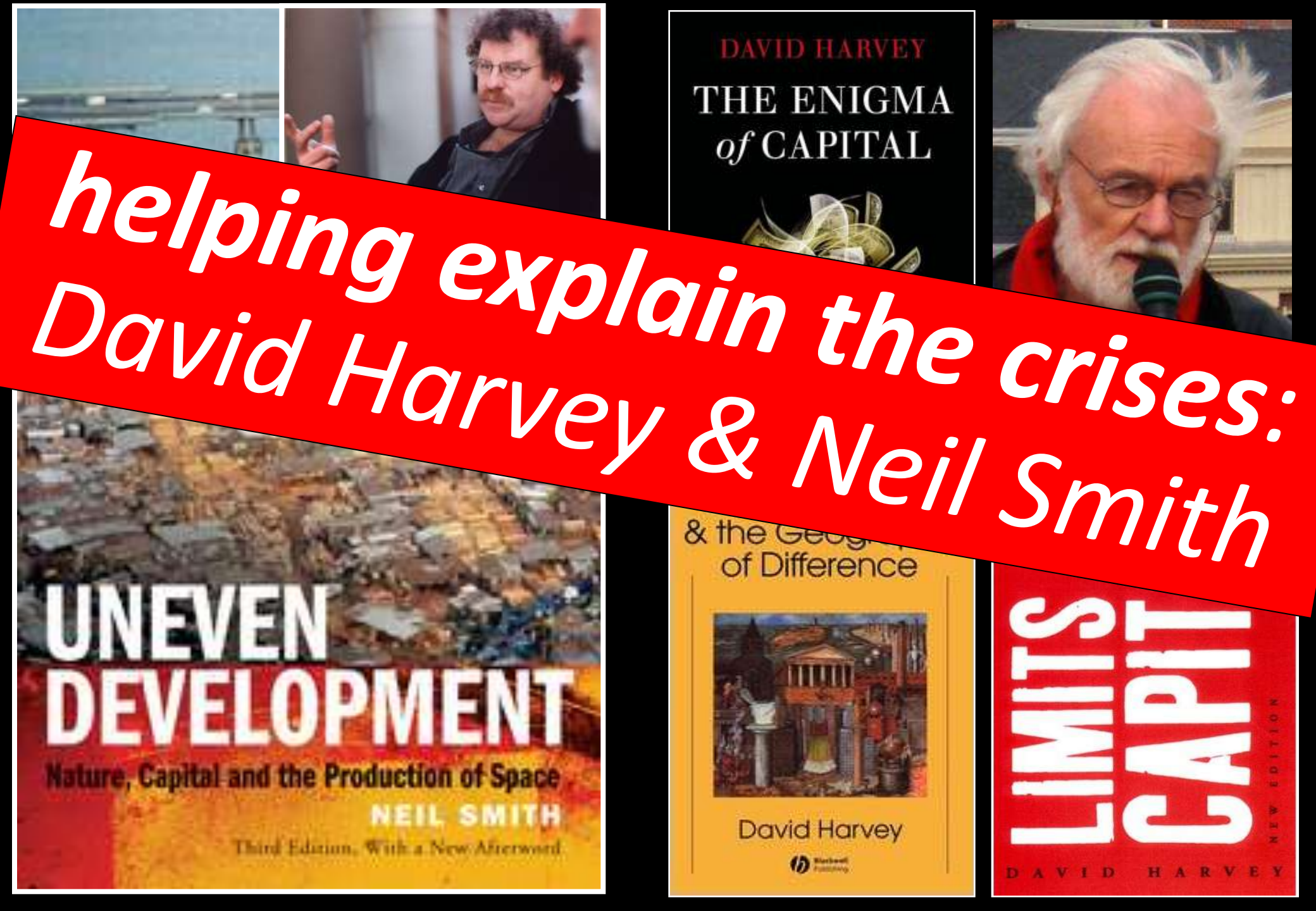


## ***lessons for social resistance:***

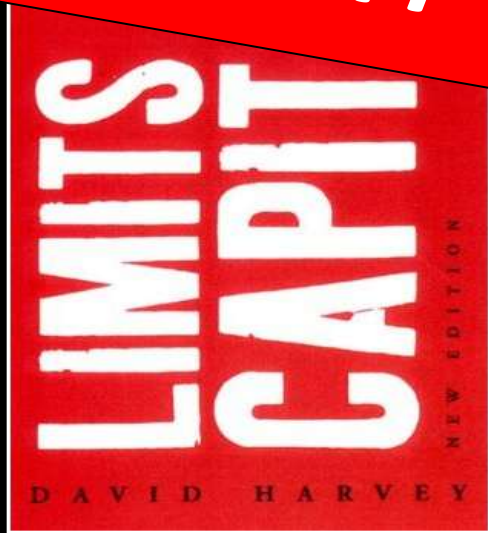
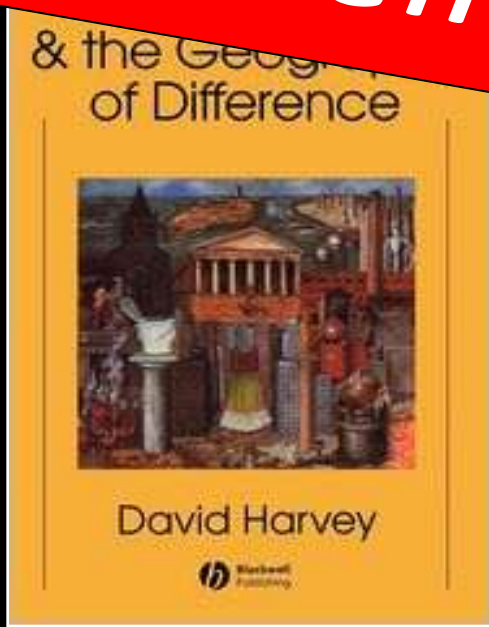
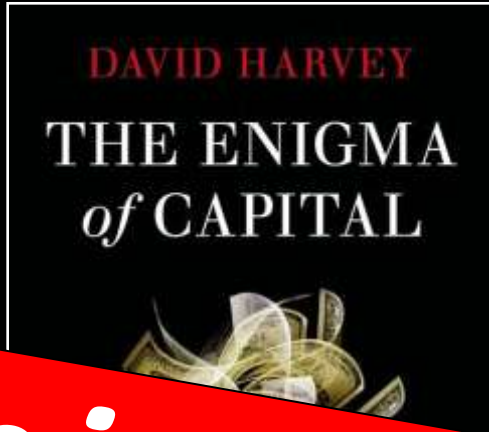
- ***commoning intellectual property***
- ***decommodification***
- ***destratification***
- ***deglobalisation of capital***
- ***globalisation of solidarity***



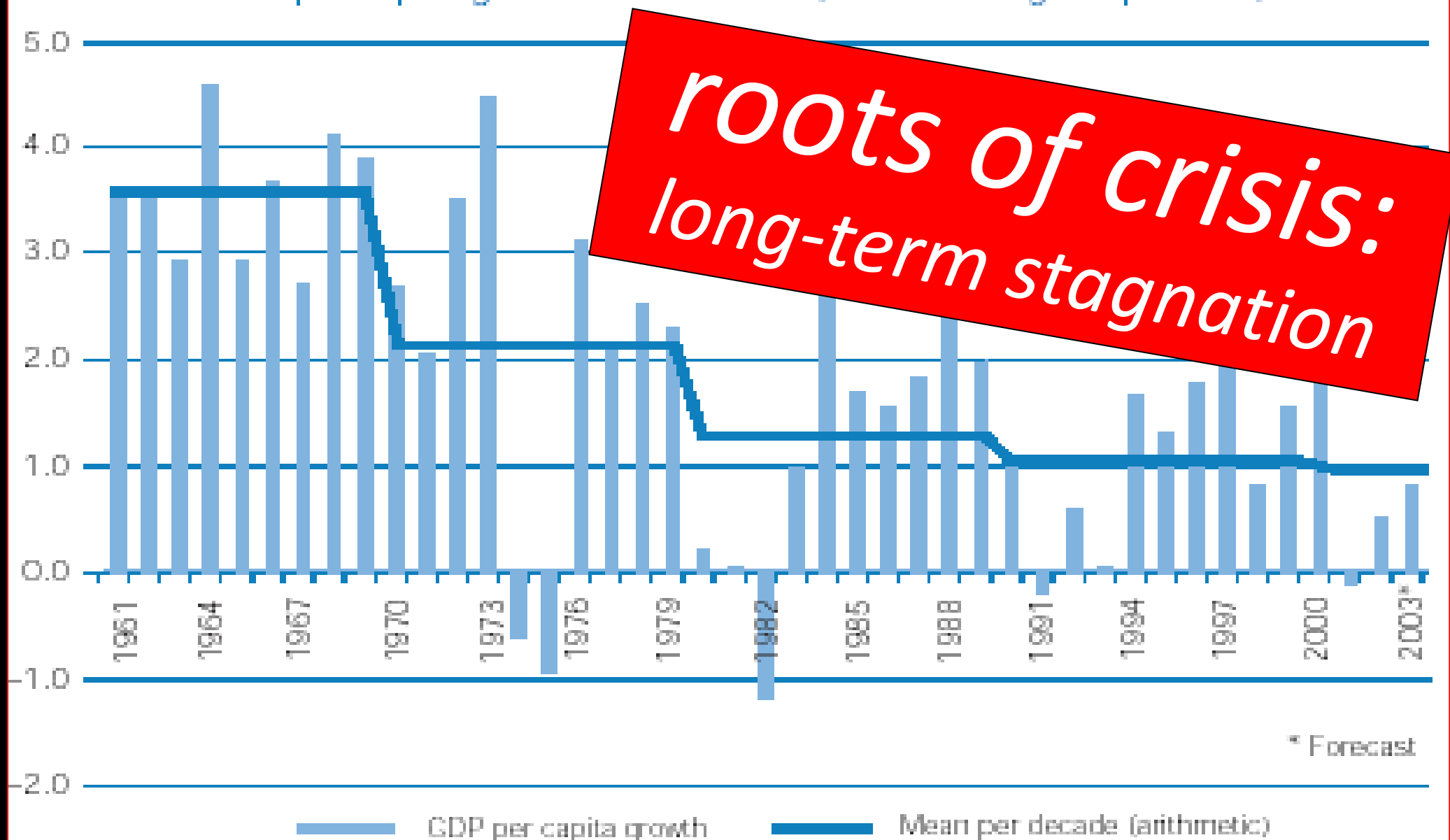




*helping explain the crises:  
David Harvey & Neil Smith*

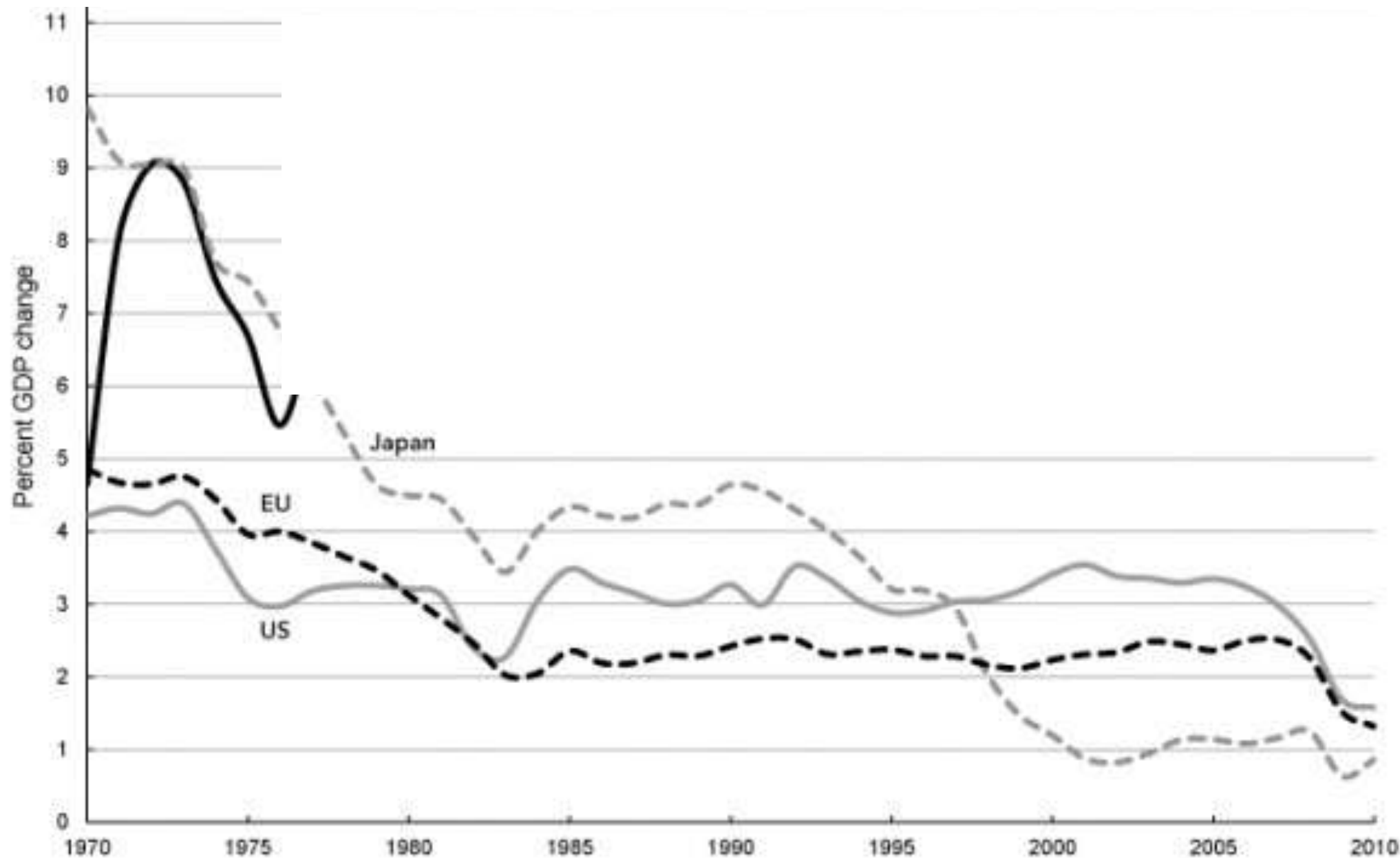


World GDP per capita growth, 1961-2003 (annual change in per cent)



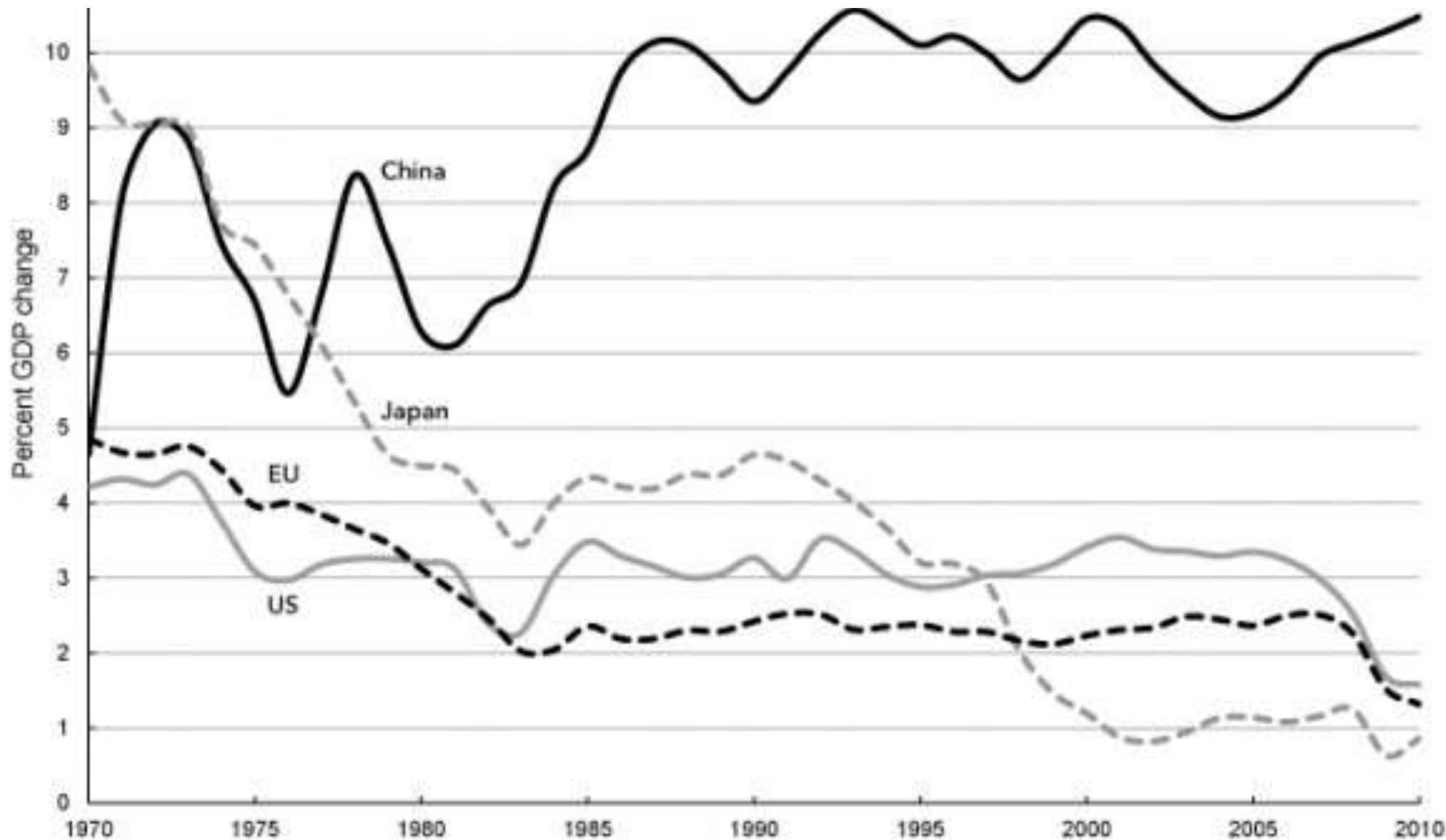
Sources: World Bank, *World Development Indicators 2003* (online version) and World Bank, *Global Economic Prospects 2004*.

# ***overaccumulation lowers GDP growth***





# ***uneven development in GDP growth***



*what happened to US corporate profit rate?*



*debate: was  
there a durable  
upturn after  
1984?*

WASCU

*Were relatively lower wages the reason for upturn in profit rates?*

(Bil. of \$/Bil. of \$)

*US wages as share of GDP in free fall...*

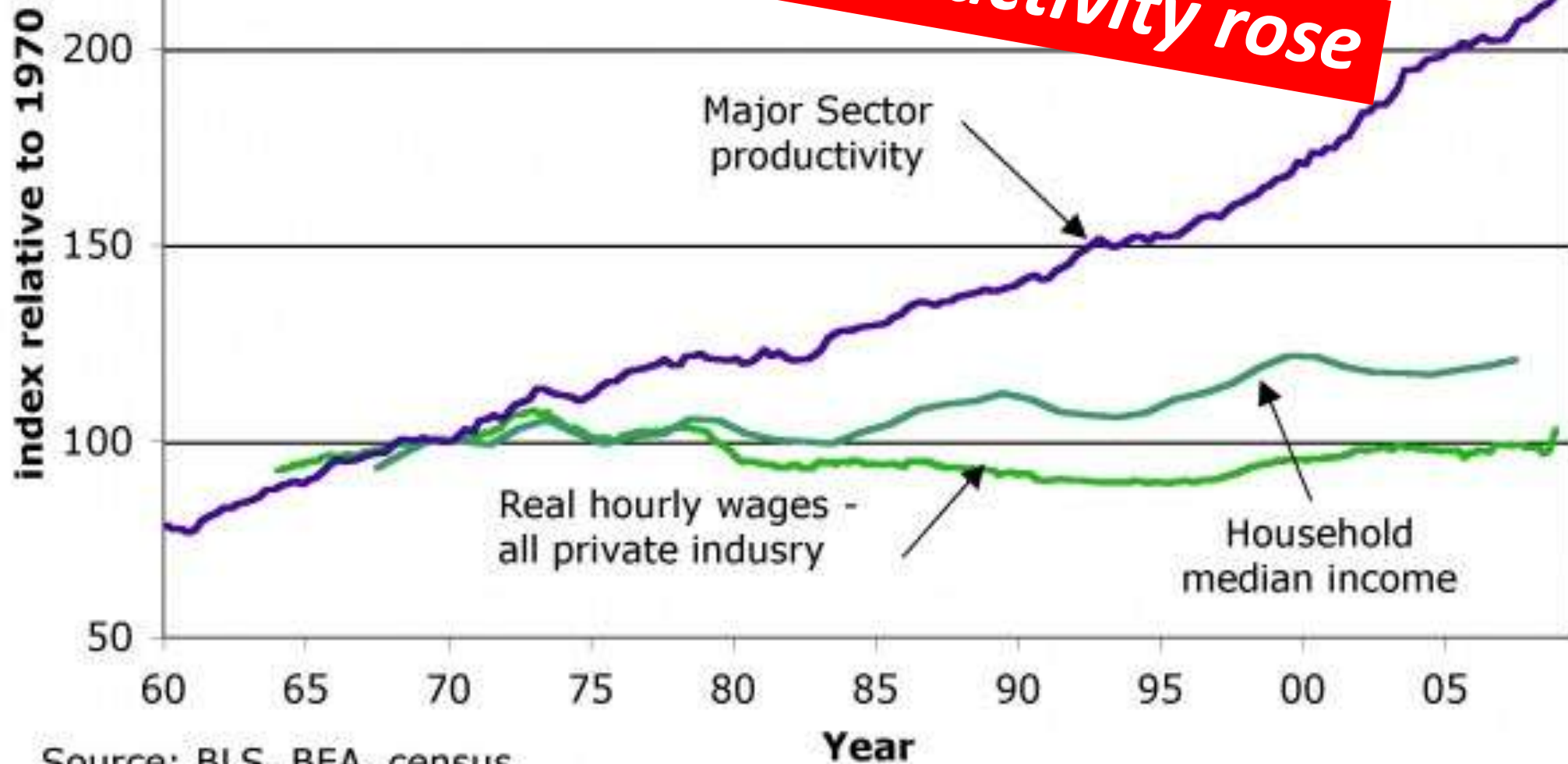


Shaded areas indicate US recessions.

2012 research.stlouisfed.org

# Productivity and real income 1964-2008

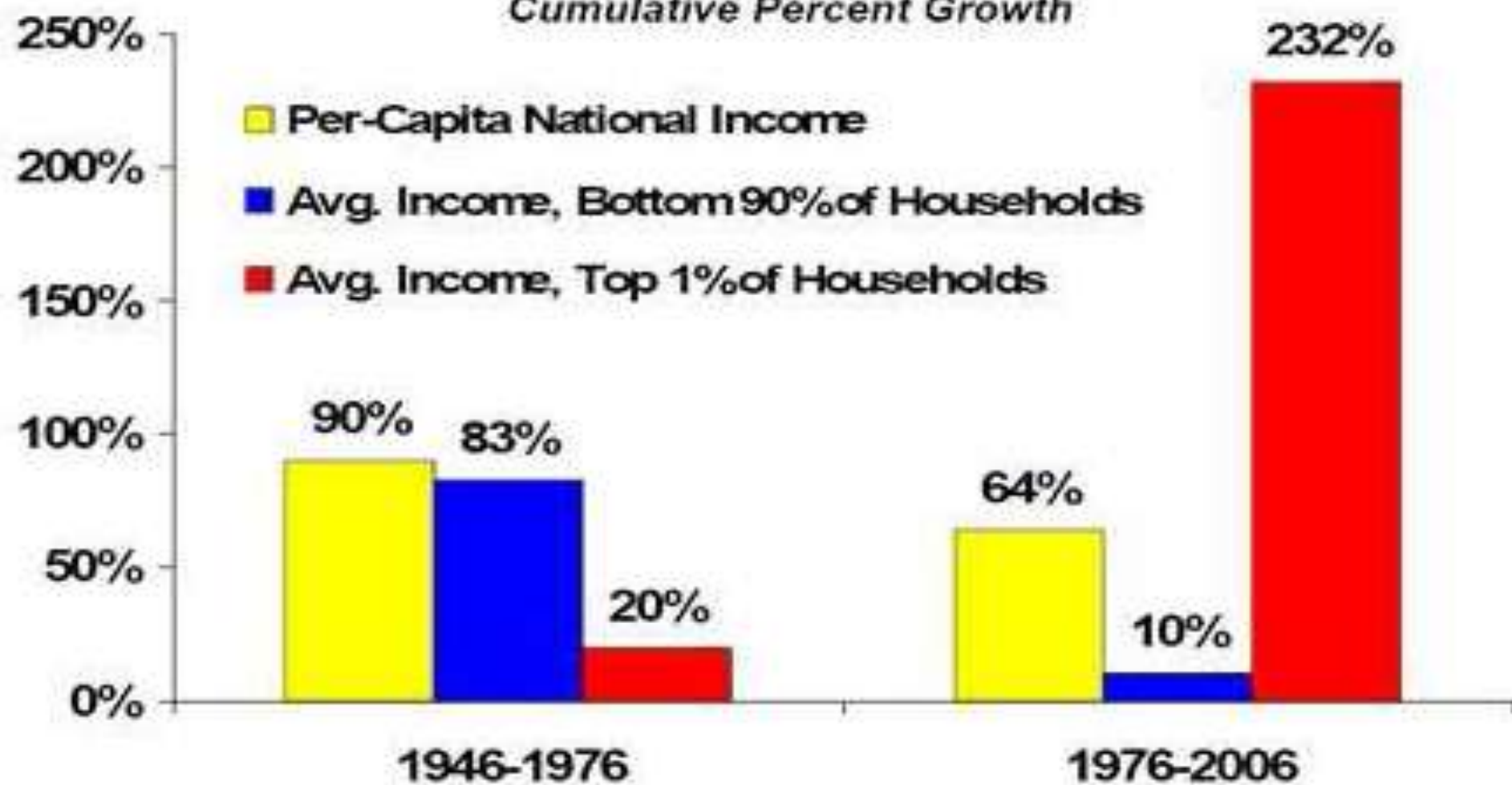
*...even though worker productivity rose*





# Uneven Distribution of Gains Since Late 1970s Different From Earlier Era, When Growth Was Widely Shared

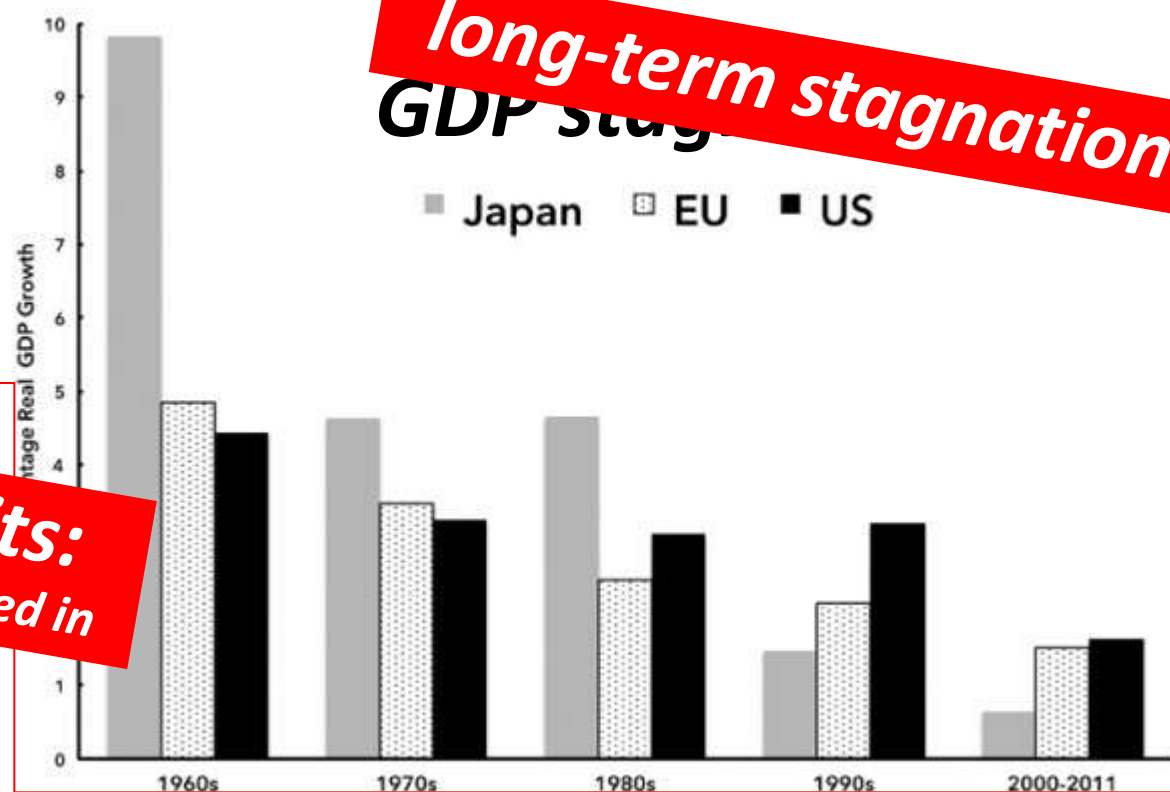
*Cumulative Percent Growth*



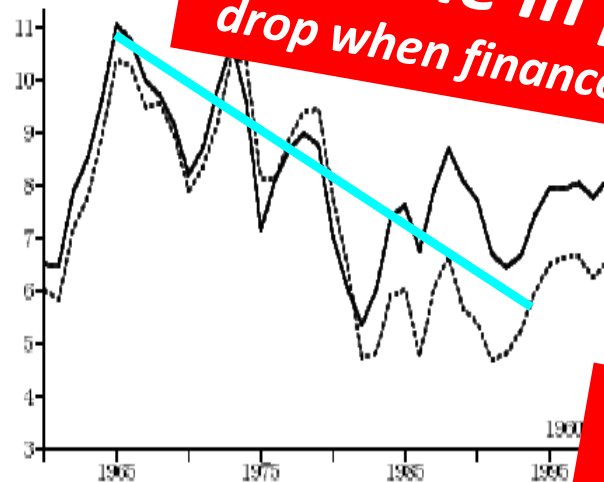
Source: CBPP calculations based on data from economists Thomas Piketty & Emmanuel Saez & BEA and Census data. Adjusted for inflation using CPI-RS.

# 'overaccumulation' and financialisation: sources of decline in US manufacturing profits

**long-term stagnation**  
**GDP stagnation**

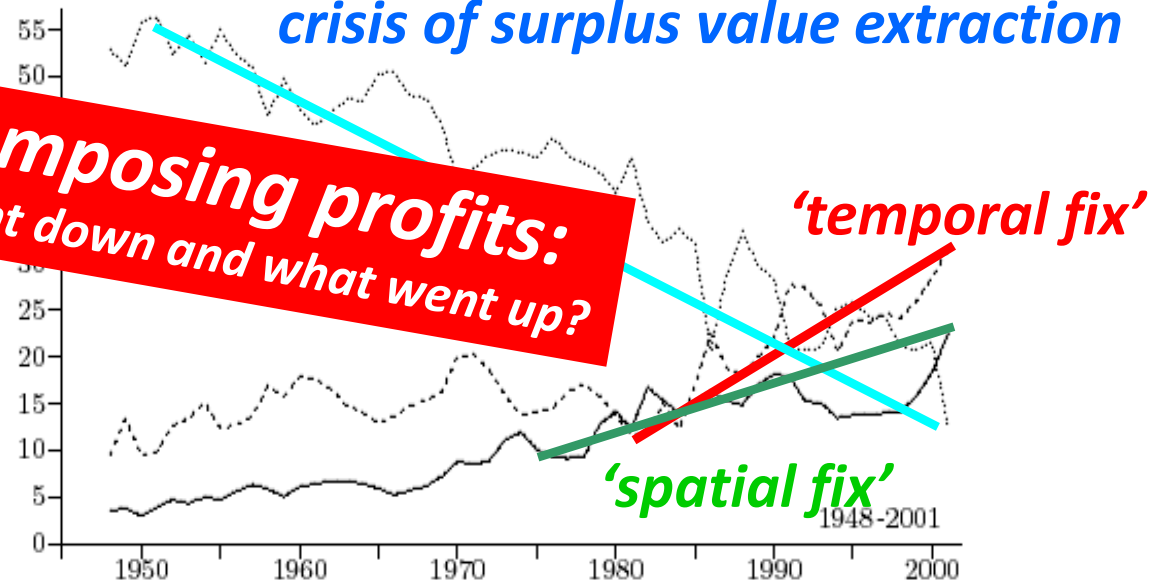


**decline in profits:**  
**drop when finance factored in**



**crisis of surplus value extraction**

**decomposing profits:**  
**what went down and what went up?**



**'temporal fix'**

**'spatial fix'**

In the first series, profits are equal to the net product minus the cost of labor and profit taxes. They are divided by the net worth (total assets minus debt). For the second series, real interest is subtracted from profits, i.e., interest minus a correction for the depreciation of debt resulting from inflation.

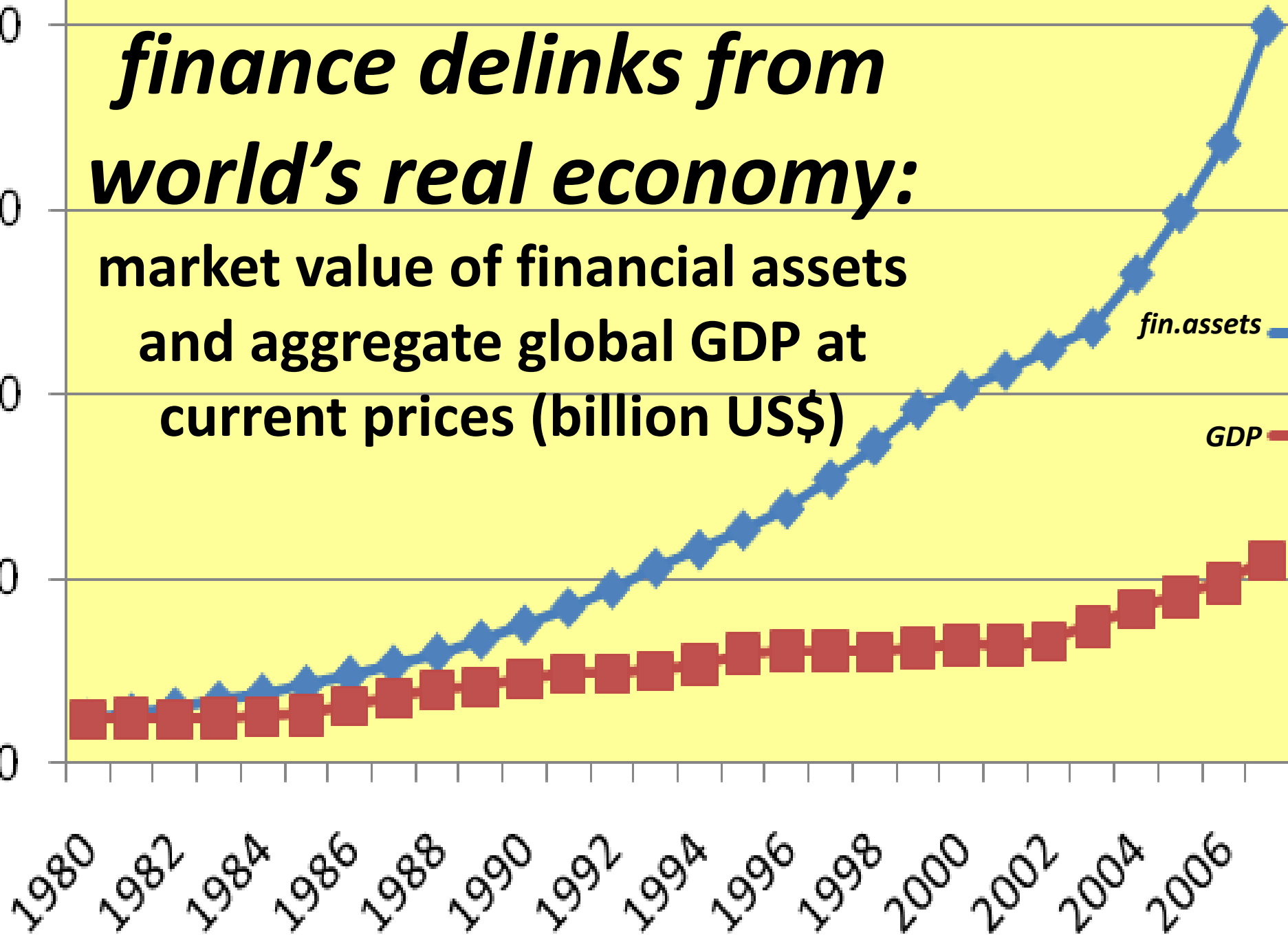
- US corporate profits derived much less from manufacturing products;
- much greater sources of profits from abroad;
- profits also came more from returns on financial assets.

Source: Gerard Dumenil and Dominique Levy

Rest of the world: (—); Financial sector: (---); Manufacturing: (.....)

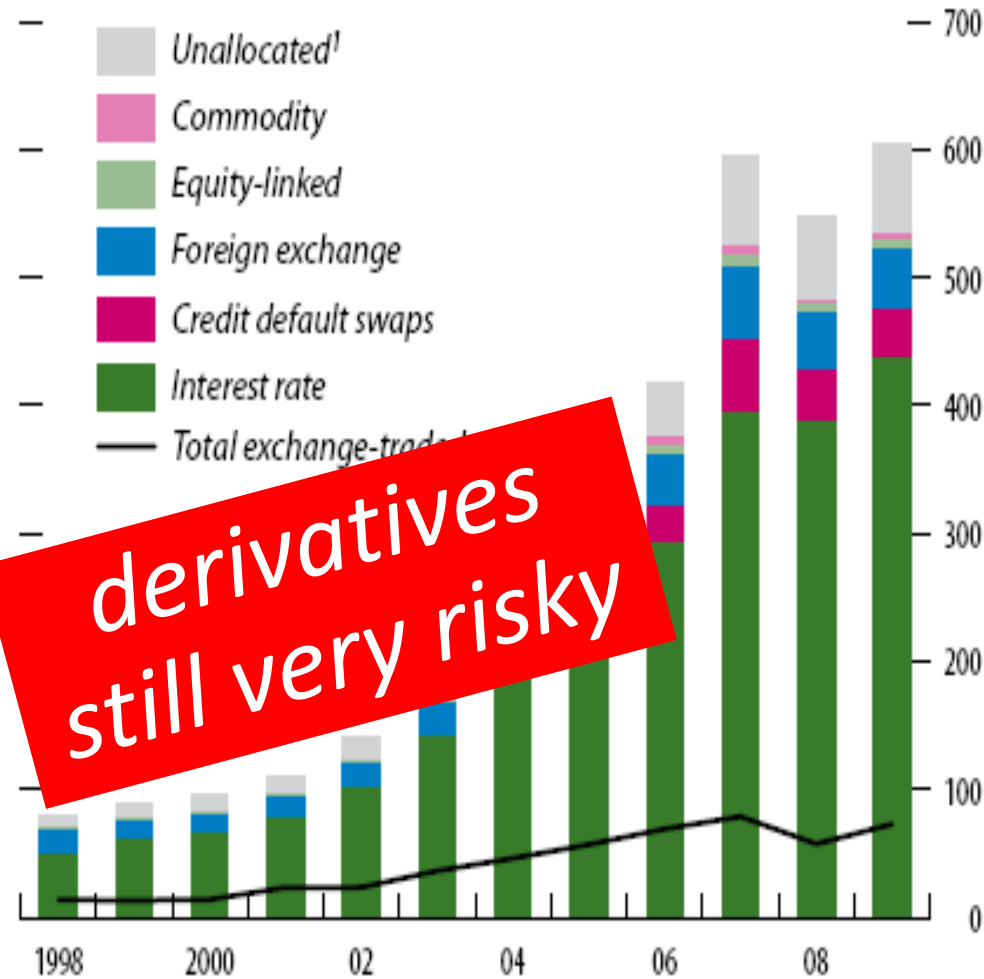
# ***finance delinks from world's real economy:***

**market value of financial assets  
and aggregate global GDP at  
current prices (billion US\$)**



# limits of 'temporal fix': uncontrolled financial markets

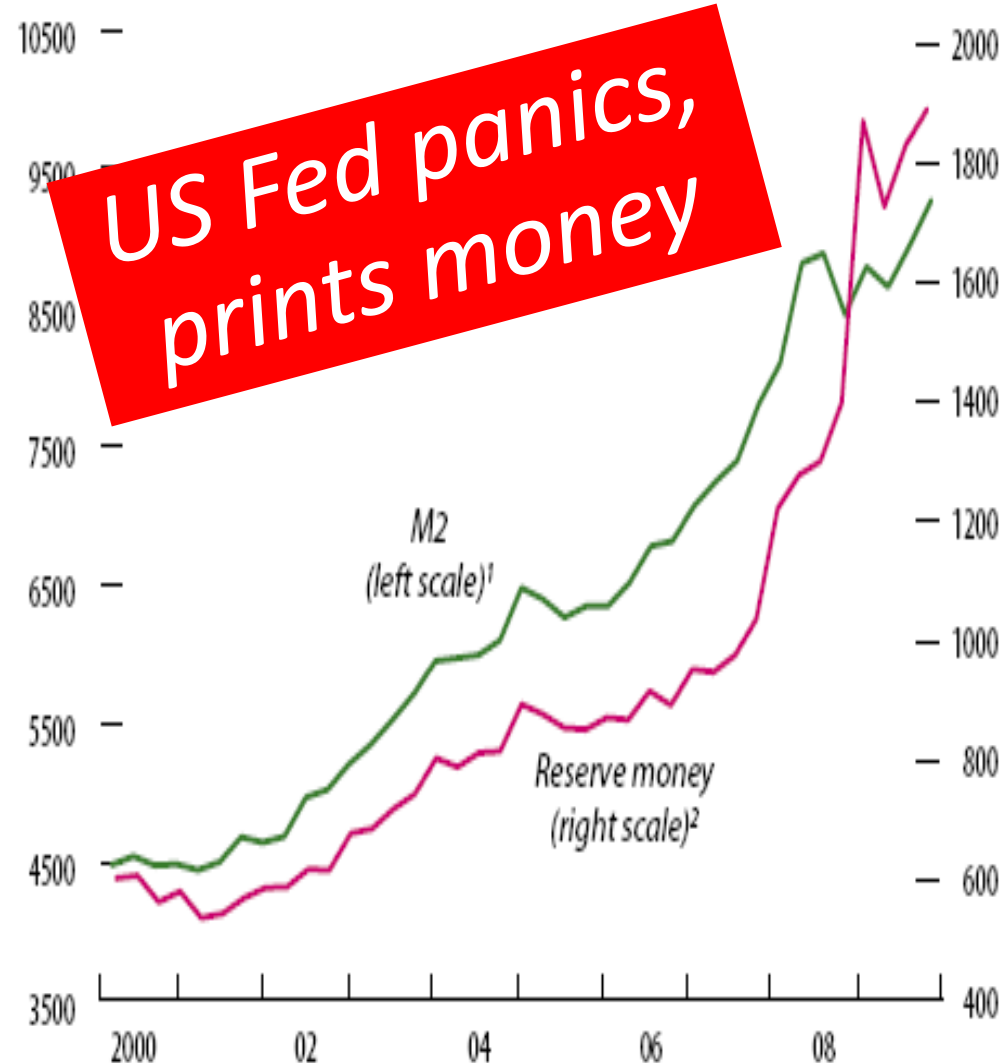
**Figure 3.1. Global Over-the-Counter Derivatives Markets**  
(In trillions of U.S. dollars; notional amounts of contracts outstanding)



Source: IMF, Global Financial Stability Report, April 2010

**Figure 4.1. Global Liquidity**

(In billions of U.S. dollars; GDP-weighted; quarterly data)





**Obama economists Larry Summers,  
Tim Geithner, Paul Volcker – no Keynesians!**

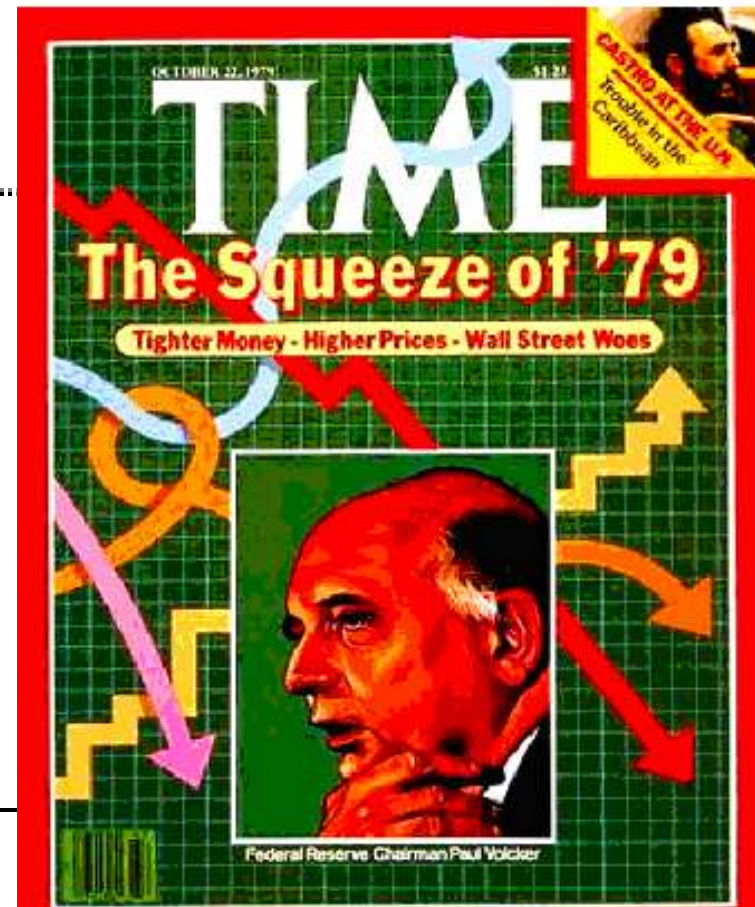


# Volcker's record defending finance

*“Volcker was selected [as Fed chair in 1979] because he was the candidate of Wall Street. This was their price, in effect.” – Jimmy Carter’s domestic policy advisor Stuart Eizenstat*

★ VOLCKER SHOCK

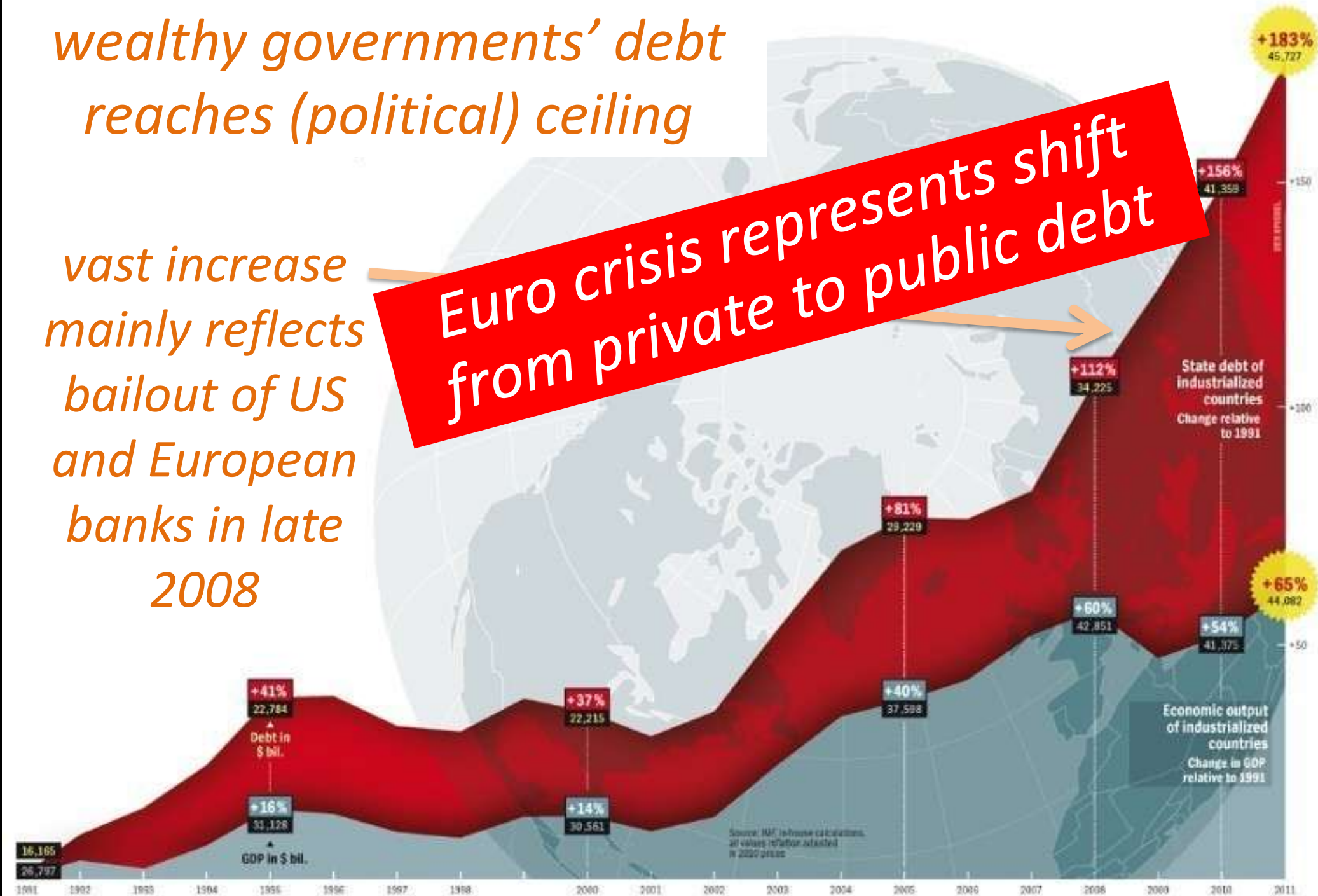
Source: Gerard Duminil and Dominique Levy



*wealthy governments' debt  
reaches (political) ceiling*

*vast increase  
mainly reflects  
bailout of US  
and European  
banks in late  
2008*

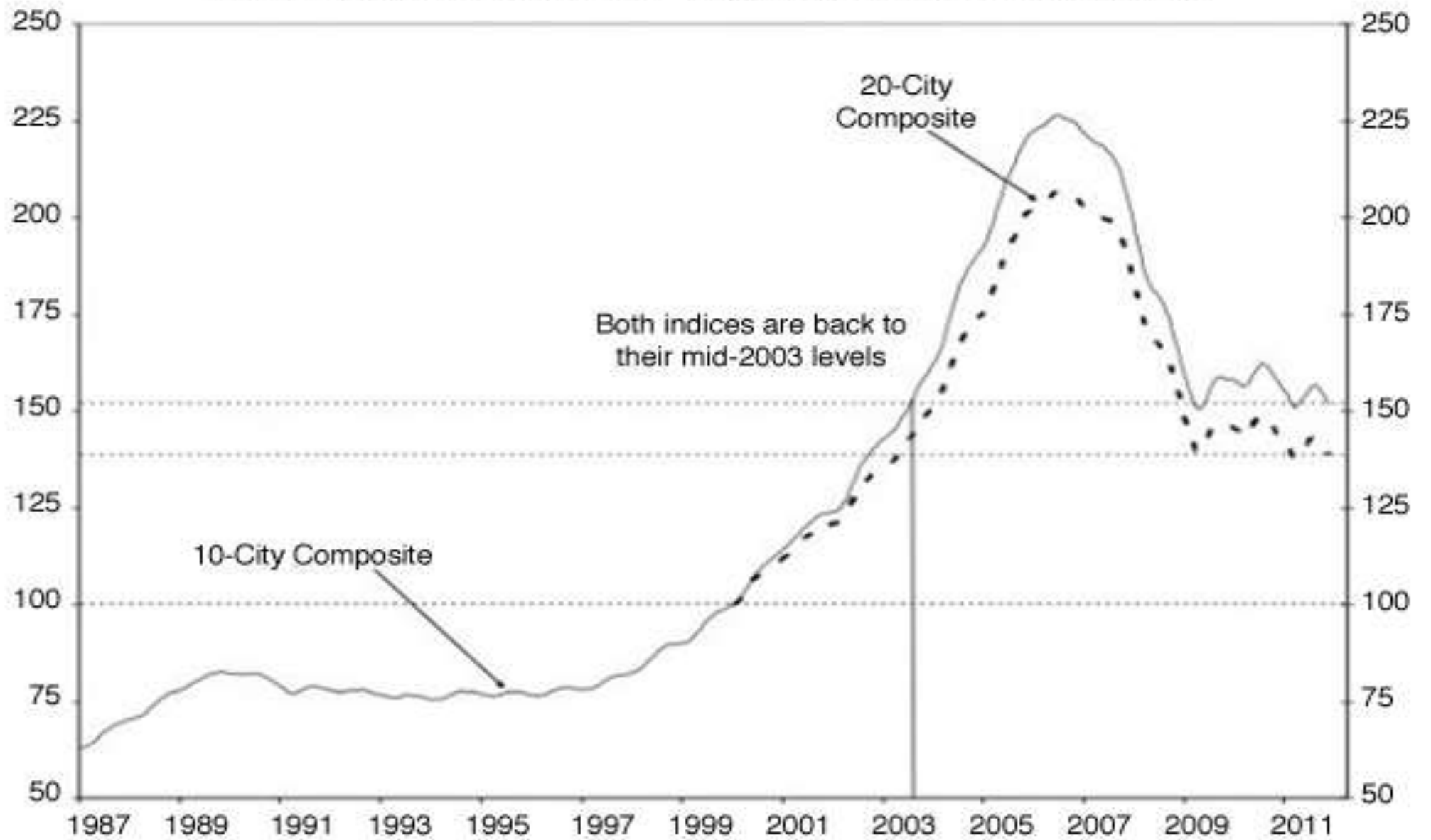
**Euro crisis represents shift  
from private to public debt**





# *limits of the 'spatial fix': US real estate bubble bursts*

## **S&P/Case-Shiller Home Price Indices**



Source: S&P



# *why are banks so desperate?*

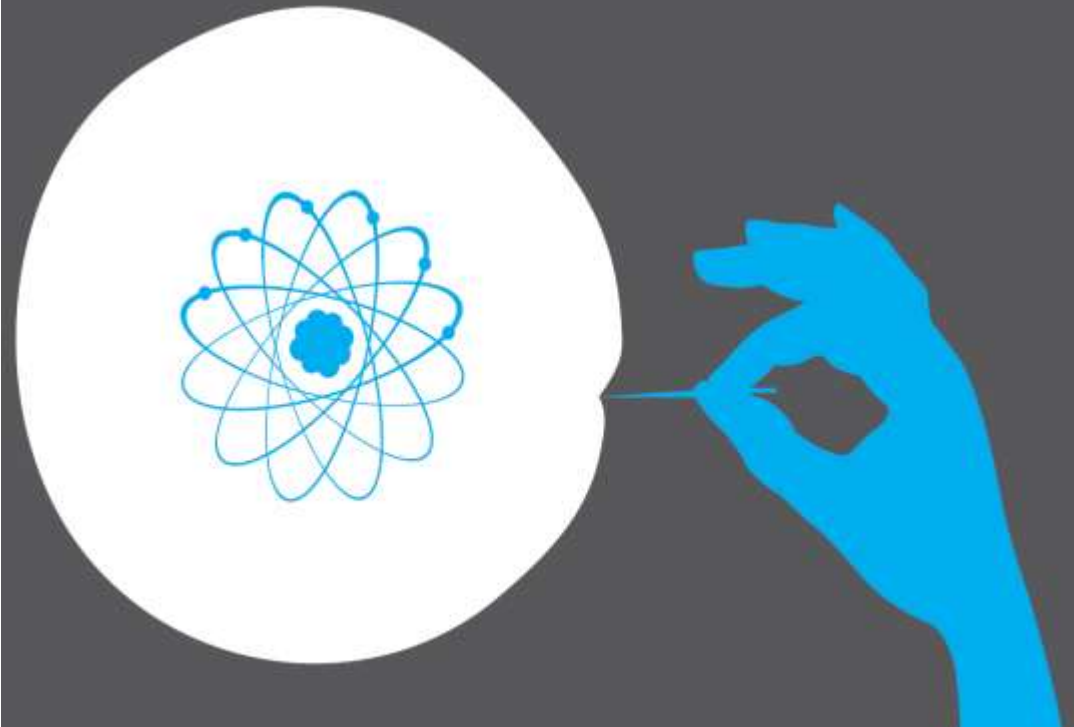
*UK Climate Change Minister  
Greg Barker, 2010:*

*"We want the **City of London**, with its unique expertise in innovative financial products, to lead the world and become the **global hub for green growth finance**. We need to put the sub-prime disaster behind us"*



## **Unburnable Carbon –**

Are the world's financial markets carrying a carbon bubble?



# Carvier Limited: "3 million units available!!" from Brazil – the ethical alternative to carbon credits?

By Chris Lang, 6th June 2012



A company called Carvier Limited is advertising 3 million "Sustainability Credit Units" from an area of forest in Brazil. Predictably enough, REDD-Monitor had a few questions for Carvier Limited. And, perhaps just as predictably, Carvier Limited has so far not responded.

Here's what we know so far about Carvier Limited and its "Sustainable Credit Units" from Brazil. Carvier Limited was incorporated in the UK in September 2011. The company describes itself as a "Carbon Reduction

and Management Services Provider". Barinua Nwipko is the company director. Nwipko is also director of another company called Tamar (London) Ltd.

On 30 March 2012, Tamar (London) Ltd was one of four companies that were "ordered into provisional liquidation by the High Court on public interest grounds" pending a court hearing on 29 June 2012. Courts appoint a provisional liquidator to avoid the risk that companies' assets disappear before legal insolvency proceedings are completed.

The other three companies ordered into provisional liquidation were Johnnystone Limited, Brad Baker Limited and Tullett Brown. The director of Johnnystone Limited is John Nwipko. The director of Brad Baker Limited is Brad Baker. Nwipko is also a director of Tullett Brown. Barinua, John and Daniel Nwipko own a total of 53.4% shares in Tullett Brown.

Tullett Brown was a commodity trader, specialising in precious metals (gold and silver) and carbon trading. In March 2012, World Finance named Tullett Brown "Commodities Broker of the Year in Western Europe". Simon Greenspan, a broker with Tullett Brown, accepted the award on behalf of Tullett Brown. Here's what Greenspan had to say about the award:

"It's an area of the market that Tullett Brown, not only are we very passionate about, we are very passionate about it. At Tullett Brown we've only ever invested in areas of the market that have truly stood the test of time, such as gold and silver and property. When our analysts were looking for the next great area of growth it was fairly obvious to them. It was the planet, it was the environment. The preservation of the planet allows us at Tullett Brown to give our clients what they truly seek, which is sustainable returns for many years to come."



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3 million units available!! BMV

Our Brasil Mata Viva Sustainable units are completely traceable through the QR code of

We are currently one of 2 com

We specialise in unique carbon sequestering of Co2 and

It is the first Sustainable

- The Sustainability solution enables in operations.

- It ensures its such as water

- It can improve market.

- It takes on adopting the

- A portion of the

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OPINION

Penman & Sommerlad  
**INVESTIGATE**  
Tullett Brown scammers net £3.2million but are "too poor" to defend themselves in court

BY ANDREW PENMAN ON JULY 4, 2012 11:00 PM IN INVESTMENTS



***Johannesburg  
hosted environment  
conference in 2002***

***World Summit on Sustainable Development  
Johannesburg, 31 August 2002: 30,000 protested  
UN 'type-two partnerships', privatisation of  
water, emissions trading, neoliberalism***



Rio+10, Joburg



MEG 29-8-02

ZAP!RO®





A TIMETABLE TO  
REDUCE EMISSIONS ?!  
..NOT UNTIL THERE'S MORE  
EVIDENCE OF GLOBAL  
CLIMATE CHANGE!

johannesburg  
world  
summit



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# *global leaders exacerbate climate crisis*

## Copenhagen Accord, COP 15, December 2009

*“they broke  
the UN”  
(Bill McKibben,  
350.org)*

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

*non-binding;  
4 degree  
Increase;*



# *COP 16*

*UNFCCC revived  
along with  
carbon trading*





# Durban's COP17

## *'Conference of Parties'*

**28 Nov-9 Dec 2011**  
*International Convention Centre*





# Durban's COP17 *'Conference of Polluters'*







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DAVOS 2012

# Signs of New Life as U.N. Searches for a Climate Accord

By JOHN M. BRODER

Published: January 24, 2012

WASHINGTON — Critics and supporters alike agree that the U.N. forum for negotiating international [climate change](#) policies is an ungainly mess, its annual gatherings marked by discord, disarray and brinkmanship.

 Enlarge This Image

Each year, exhausted delegates and observers return home thinking that there has to be a better way to address what they believe to be one of the defining challenges of our time: the relentless warming of the planet and its impact on the world's inhabitants.

*Trevor Houser, a climate and energy analyst at the Rhodium Group and a former adviser to the chief American climate negotiator, Todd D. Stern, said that **the Durban platform was promising because of what it did not say.***

***“There is no mention of historic responsibility or per capita emissions. There is no mention of economic development as the priority for developing countries. There is no mention of a difference between developed and developing country action.”***



**COP 17**

*Gambling on the future  
of the Planet*

**NO RIFFRAFF!  
...THE STAKES ARE  
TOO HIGH!**

**BIG  
POLLUTER  
NATIONS**

**BIG  
DEVELOPING  
POLLUTERS**

**BIG  
OIL**

**BIG  
NUKES**

**BIG  
COAL**

**BIG  
GAS**

**YESSIR!**

**CLIMATE  
JUSTICE!**

**UN**  
**COP**

**SA**  
**COP**





# DOHA 2012

UN CLIMATE CHANGE CONFERENCE  
COP18·CMP8



*former carbon trader  
Christiana Figueres*

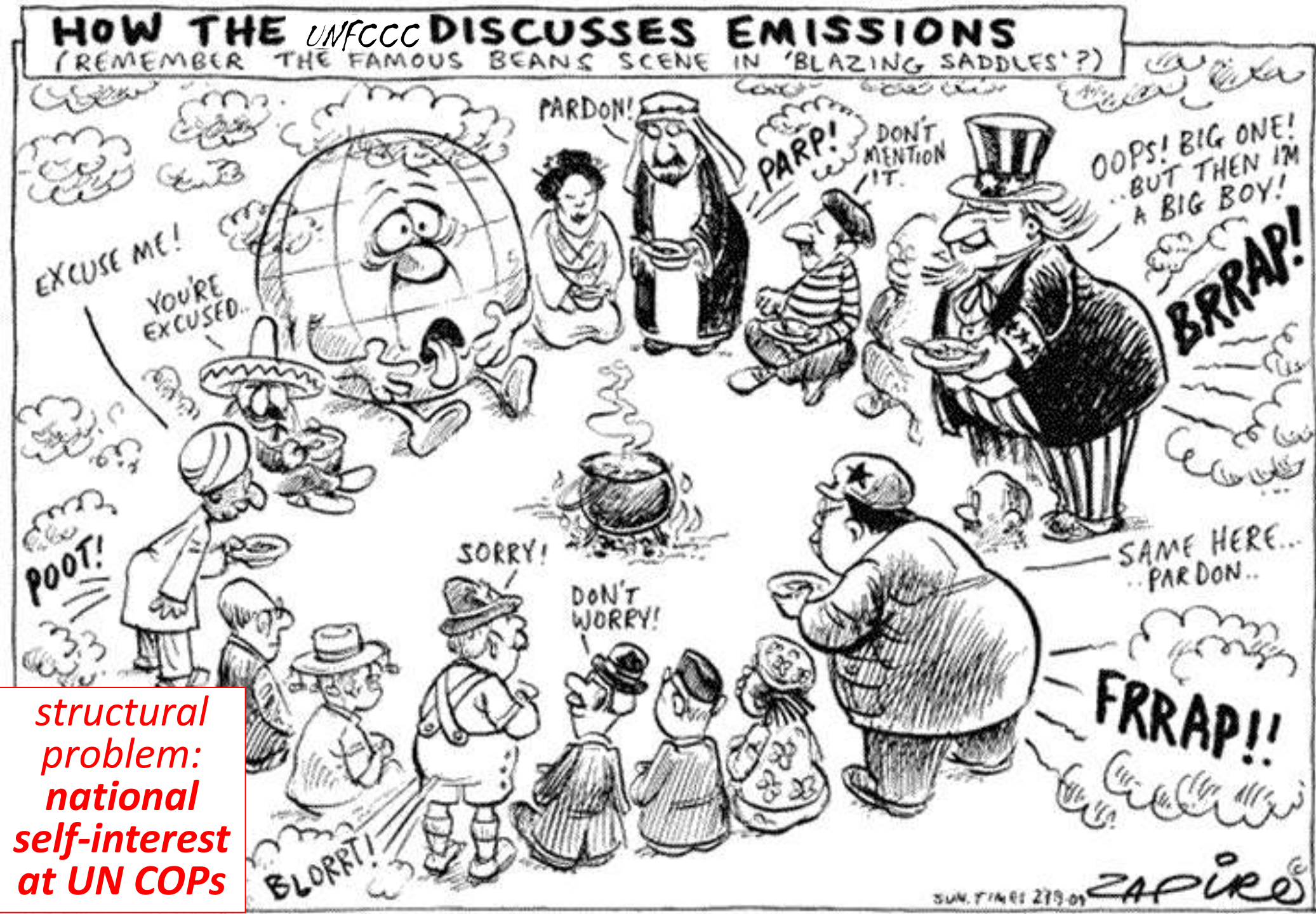


*former Qatar oil minister  
Abdullah Bin Hamad al-Attiyah*



# HOW THE UNFCCC DISCUSSES EMISSIONS

(REMEMBER THE FAMOUS BEANS SCENE IN 'BLAZING SADDLES'?)



structural  
problem:  
national  
self-interest  
at UN COPs



# ECO-SUFFICIENCY & GLOBAL JUSTICE

WOMEN WRITE POLITICAL ECOLOGY

EDITED BY  
ARIEL SALLEH

*externalization of costs takes the form of an extraction of surpluses, both economic and thermodynamic:*

*1) a social debt to inadequately paid workers;*

*2) an embodied debt to women family caregivers; and*

*3) an ecological debt drawn on nature at large.*



## ECOFEMINISM AS POLITICS

nature, Marx and the postmodern

Ariel Salleh

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germanwatch



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*rich countries owe ecological debt*



I was in Namibia.  
We did a kind of tour. Sort of like fly and drive.



1:22 / 4:22



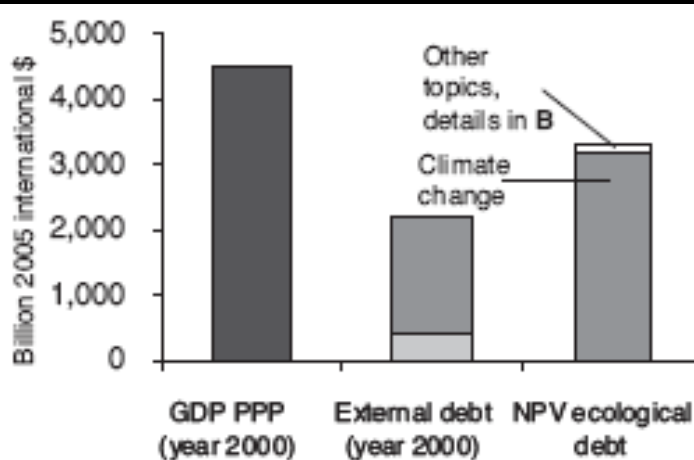


concept of  
'ecological  
debt' now  
recognised  
– as 'loss &  
damage' at  
COP18

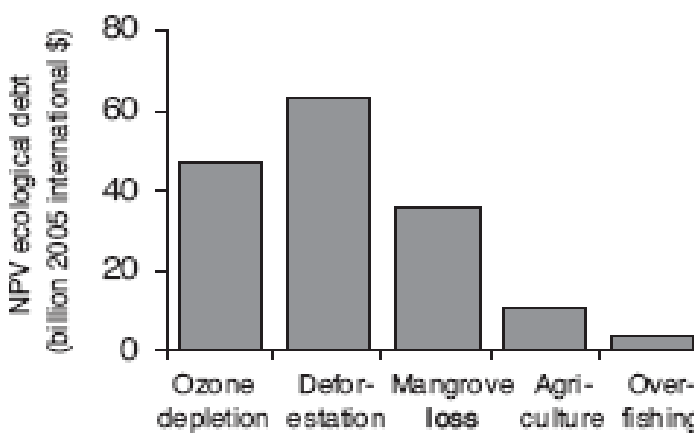
# The debt of nations and the distribution of ecological impacts from human activities

U. Thara Srinivasan<sup>a,b</sup>, Susan P. Carey<sup>c</sup>, Eric Hallstein<sup>d</sup>, Paul A. T. Higgins<sup>d,e</sup>, Amber C. Kerr<sup>d</sup>, Laura E. Koteen<sup>d</sup>, Adam B. Smith<sup>d</sup>, Reg Watson<sup>f</sup>, John Harte<sup>c,d</sup>, and Richard B. Norgaard<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Pacific Ecoinformatics and Computational Ecology Laboratory, Berkeley, CA 94703; <sup>d</sup>Energy and Resources Group, 310 Barrows Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720-3050; <sup>c</sup>Department of Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720-3114; <sup>e</sup>American Meteorological Society, 1120 G Street NW, Washington, DC 20005-3826; and <sup>f</sup>Sea Around Us Project, Fisheries Centre, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, Canada V6T 1Z4



As human impacts to the environment accelerate, disparities in the distribution of damages between rich and poor nations mount. Globally, environmental change is dramatically affecting the flow of ecosystem services, but the distribution of ecological damages and their driving forces has not been estimated. Here, we conservatively estimate the environmental costs of human activities over 1961–2000 in six major categories (climate change, stratospheric ozone depletion, agricultural intensification and expansion, deforestation, overfishing, and mangrove conversion), quantitatively connecting costs borne by poor, middle-income, and rich nations to specific activities by each of these groups. Adjusting impact valuations for different standards of living across the groups as commonly practiced, we find striking imbalances. Climate change and ozone depletion impacts predicted for low-income nations have been overwhelmingly driven by emissions from the other two groups, a pattern also observed for overfishing damages indirectly driven by the consumption of fishery products. Indeed, through disproportionate emissions of greenhouse gases alone, the rich group may have imposed climate damages on the poor group greater than the latter's current foreign debt. Our analysis provides *prima facie* evidence for an uneven distribution pattern of damages across income groups. Moreover, our estimates of each group's share in various damaging activities are independent from controversies in environmental valuation methods. In a world increasingly connected ecologically and economically, our analysis is thus an early step toward reframing issues of environmental responsibility, development, and globalization in accordance with ecological costs.



Category	Direct or indirect driver
Climate change	Greenhouse gas emissions (carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous oxide)
Stratospheric ozone-layer depletion	Chlorofluorocarbon emissions
Agricultural intensification and expansion	Consumption of agricultural goods
Deforestation	Consumption of agricultural goods and associated products



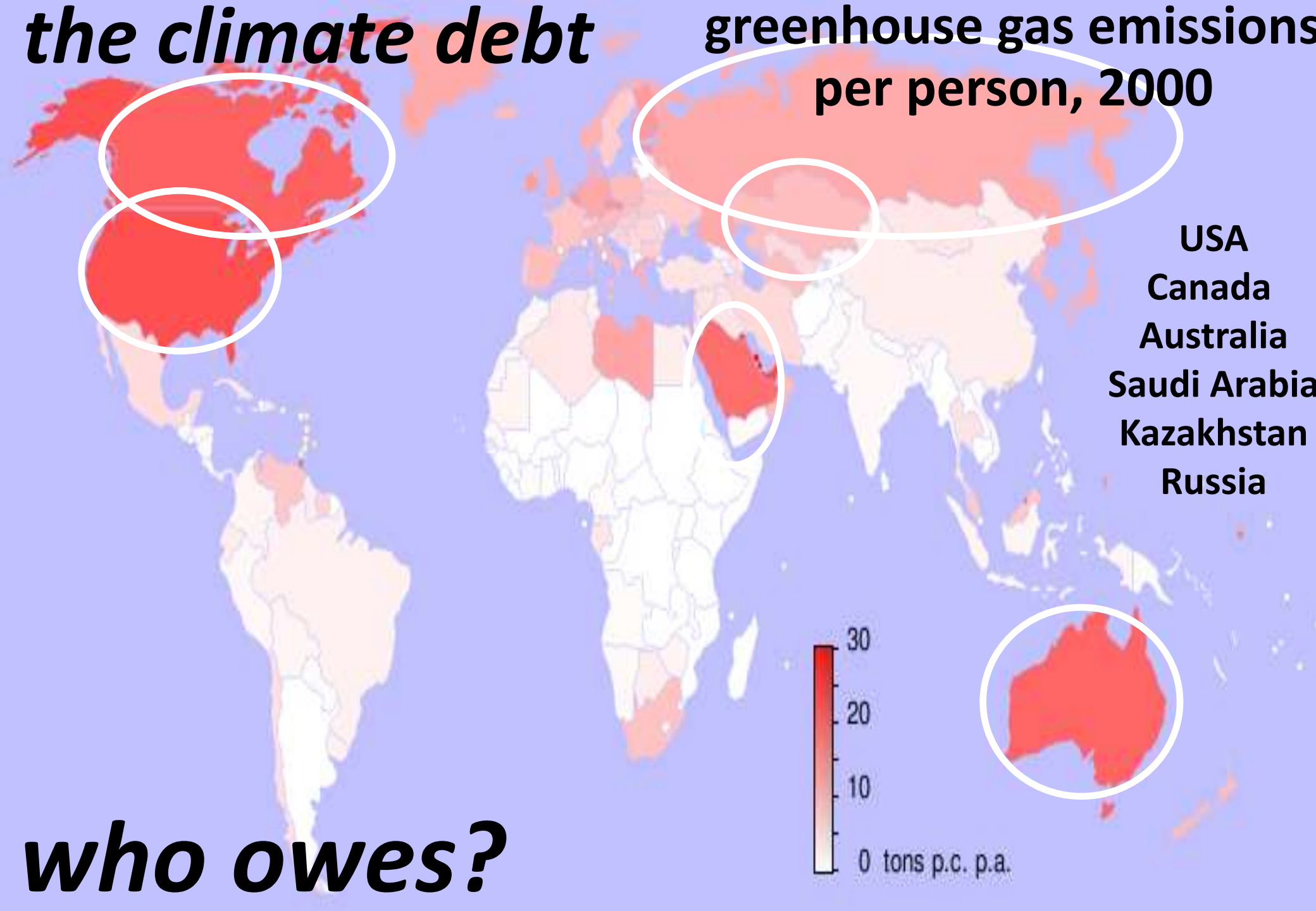
Richard Norgaard, economist at  
University of California, Berkeley:

“At least to some extent, *the rich nations have developed at the expense of the poor, and, in effect, there is a debt to the poor.* That, perhaps, is one *reason that they are poor.* You don't see it until you do the kind of accounting that we do here.”

**Accion Ecologica: ecological debt is ‘the debt accumulated by Northern, industrial countries toward Third World countries on account of *resource plundering, environmental damages, and the free occupation of environmental space* to deposit wastes, such as greenhouse gases, from the industrial countries.’**

***the climate debt***

**greenhouse gas emissions  
per person, 2000**



**USA  
Canada  
Australia  
Saudi Arabia  
Kazakhstan  
Russia**

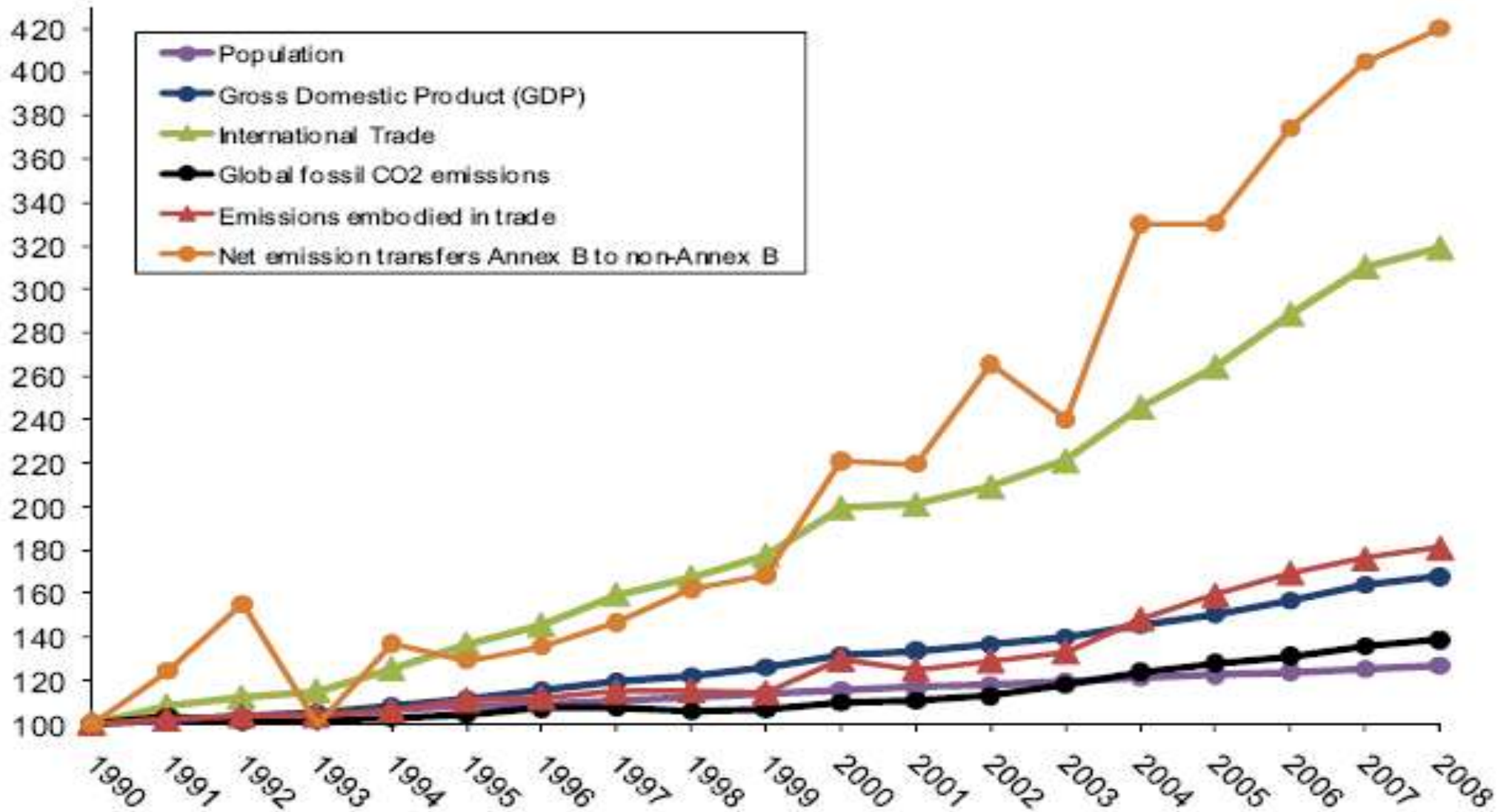
***who owes?***

Rank 📄	Country 📄	Annual CO2 emissions (in thousands of metric tonnes)
	<i>World</i>	29,888,121
1	 China <sup>[10]</sup>	7,031,916
2	 United States	5,461,014
-	 European Union (27)	4,177,817.86 <sup>[11]</sup>
3	 India	1,742,698
4	 Russia	1,708,653
5	 Japan	1,208,163
6	 Germany	786,660
7	 Canada	544,091
8	 Iran	538,404
9	 United Kingdom	522,856
10	 South Korea	509,170
11	 Mexico	475,834
12	 Italy <sup>[12]</sup>	445,119
13	 South Africa	435,878
14	 Saudi Arabia	433,557
15	 Indonesia	406,029
16	 Australia	399,219
17	 Brazil	393,220
18	 France <sup>[13]</sup>	376,986
19	 Spain	329,286
20	 Ukraine	323,532

World carbon dioxide emissions from the consumption and flaring of fossil fuels, 1980-2006 (Million metric tonnes of carbon dioxide)					
Country	1992	2000	2006	Emissions per capita	% change since 1996
China	2475.26	2966.52	6017.69	4.58	105%
United States	5079.53	5860.38	5902.75	19.78	7%
Russia	2056.55	1582.37	1704.36	12	5%
India	664.96	1012.34	1293.17	1.16	55%
Japan	1078.48	1203.71	1246.76	9.78	10%
Germany	896.37	856.92	857.6	10.4	-4%
Canada	485.09	565.22	614.33	18.81	18%
United Kingdom	579.82	561.23	585.71	9.66	-1%
South Korea	294.53	445.81	514.53	10.53	27%
Iran	234.79	320.69	471.48	7.25	79%
Italy	415.62	448.43	468.19	8.05	10%
South Africa	323.55	391.67	443.58	10.04	24%
Mexico	313.55	383.44	435.6	4.05	31%
Saudi Arabia	235.46	290.54	424.08	15.7	70%
France	382.89	402.27	417.75	6.6	7%
Australia	271.58	359.8	417.06	20.58	37%
Brazil	237.8	344.91	377.24	2.01	23%
Spain	254.21	326.92	372.62	9.22	52%
Ukraine	535.94	326.83	328.72	7.05	-10%



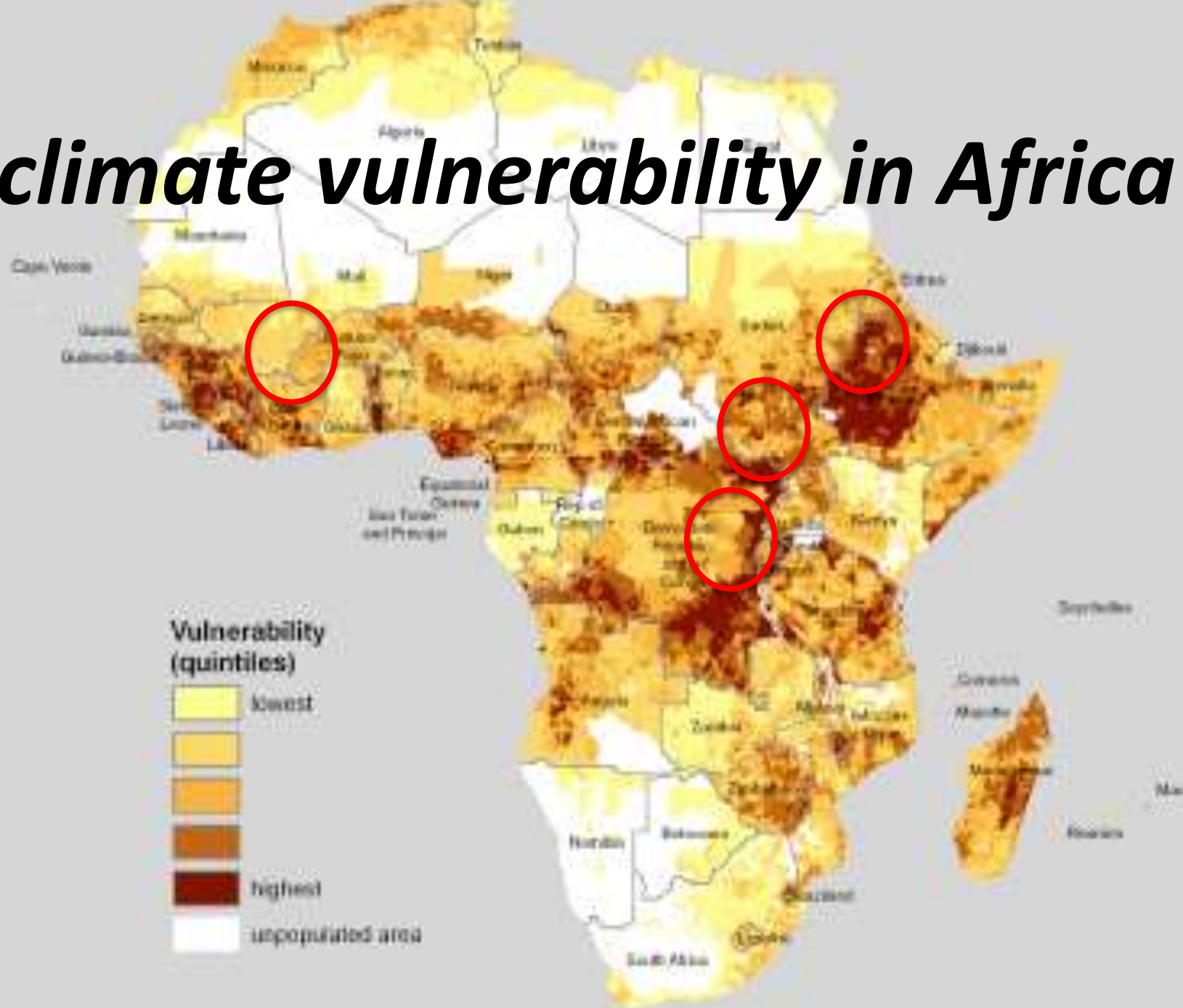
# North-South climate debt rises if we include outsourced production



# ***who's owed? climate change 'creditors'***



# *climate vulnerability in Africa*



source: Strauss Center, Univ of Texas



# lead US climate negotiator Todd Stern, on demand for recognising climate debt



Maldives cabinet gets  
\$50m in US aid = U-turn,  
to support Copenhagen

Ethiopian tyrant  
Meles Zenawi:  
UN Advisory  
Group on  
Finance cochair  
halved AU's  
2009 demands  
for climate debt



*'The sense of guilt or  
culpability or reparations  
– I just categorically  
reject that'*

Stern thus rejects core  
principle: *'polluter pays'*

*WikiLeaks revealed  
(Feb '10) Stern/Pershing  
bribery and bullying:  
Ethiopia, Maldives*



# instead of paying its debt, US plays the 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.*** (World Bank

chief economist Larry Summers, later US Treasury Secretary, Obama's economic manager, WB presidential candidate – [www.whirledbank.org](http://www.whirledbank.org))

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Last updated: December 11, 2011 6:19 pm

# Climate deal boost for carbon markets

By Pilita Clark in Durban

**‘Viagra Shot’ for Carbon Markets** -- *Financial Times*, p. 1, 12 December 2011

A global climate deal to extend the life of the Kyoto treaty and establish the parameters for negotiating a new pact by 2015 will provide a fresh stimulus to the world's floundering carbon markets, according to bankers and analysts. "The deal provides a significant boost for investors in low-carbon technology," said Abyd Karmali, global head of carbon markets at Bank of America Merrill Lynch, adding this was an achievement amid the woes of the eurozone crisis. In one of the more bullish business assessments of the new pact, which also includes a separate agreement to negotiate a new process aimed at legally obliging all countries to commit to cut their carbon emissions, he said **the deal was "like a Viagra shot for the flailing carbon markets"**. Carbon prices have plunged to record lows in recent weeks as Europe's emissions trading scheme, the world's largest, has been hit by eurozone uncertainties and fears of an oversupply of carbon credits.





# *carbon trading strategy:*

*in 1997, US vice-president Al Gore  
(later a carbon trader) pushed for  
Kyoto to include emissions markets,  
in exchange for Washington's promised  
support ... promise soon broken*

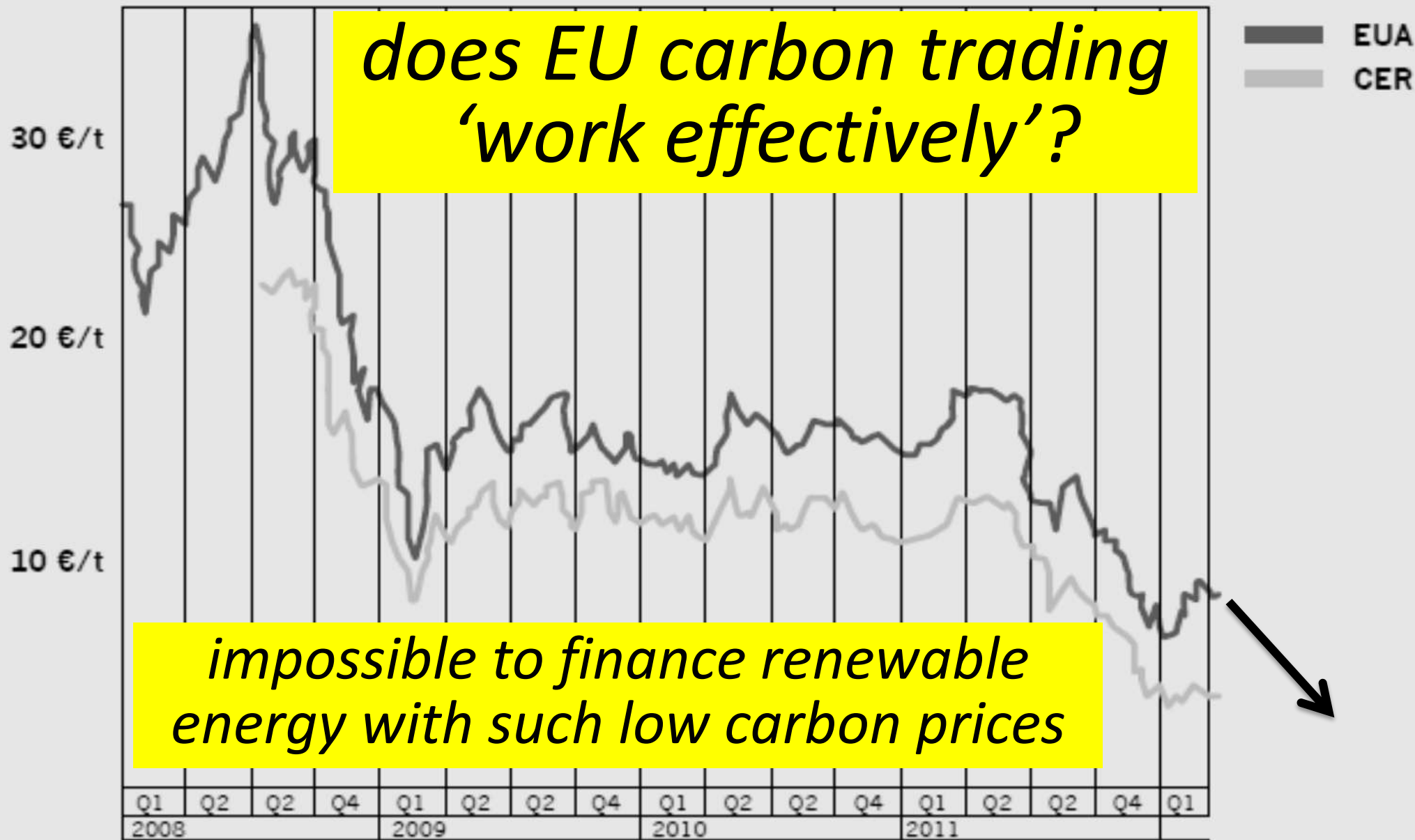
*'The European Union has  
adopted this US innovation  
and is making it work  
effectively there.'*

*(An Inconvenient Truth, p. 252)*



# *emissions market crashes, 2008-12*

*2009 VAT fraud, 2010 resale fraud, 2011 theft-closure*



THE STORY OF STUFF PROJECT PRESENTS

# THE STORY OF CAP & TRADE

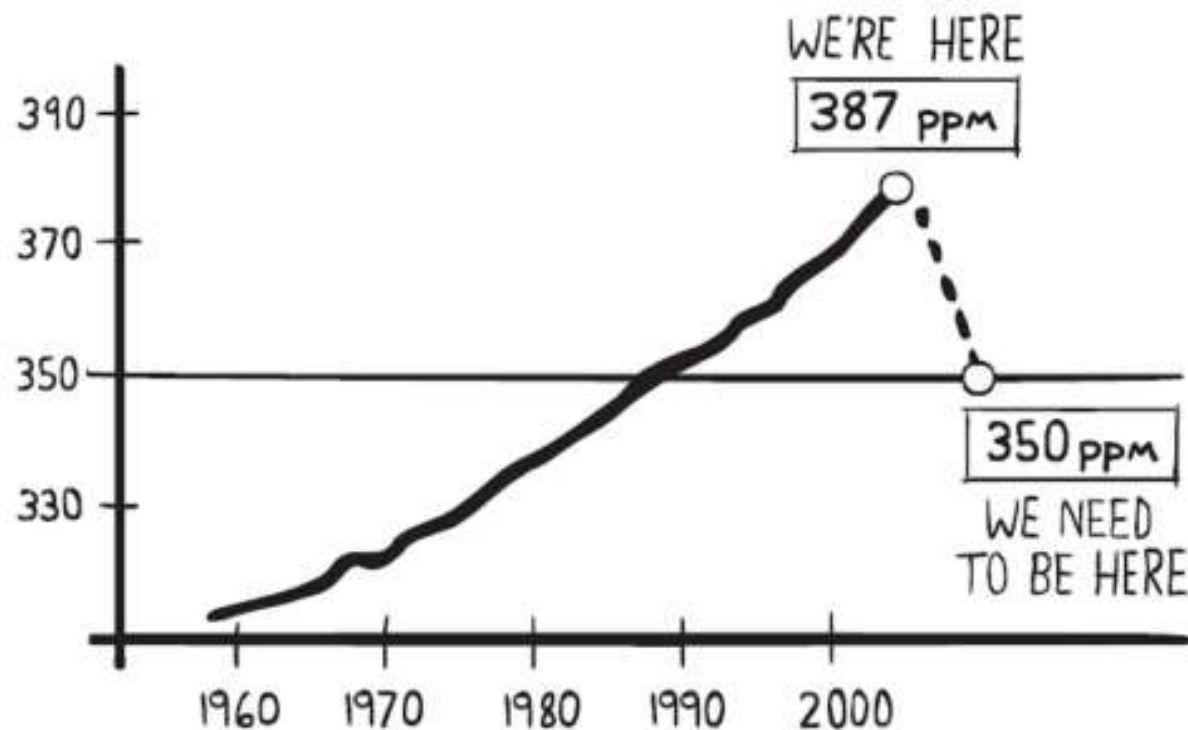
WHY YOU CAN'T SOLVE A PROBLEM  
WITH THE THINKING THAT CREATED IT

[storyofcapandtrade.org](http://storyofcapandtrade.org)

## THE STORY OF STUFF



ATMOSPHERIC CO<sub>2</sub>  
CONCENTRATION (PPM)



CLIMATE JUSTICE  
NOW!







8-min critique of carbon trading  
[www.storyofcapandtrade.org](http://www.storyofcapandtrade.org)



## New Film by *Story of Stuff* Creator Offers Provocative, Humorous Look at CAP & TRADE on Eve of Copenhagen Summit

### *The Story of Cap & Trade:*

Why you can't solve a problem with the thinking that created it

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

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

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

**transforming fossil-addicted systems and  
paying for adaptation and loss & damage:**

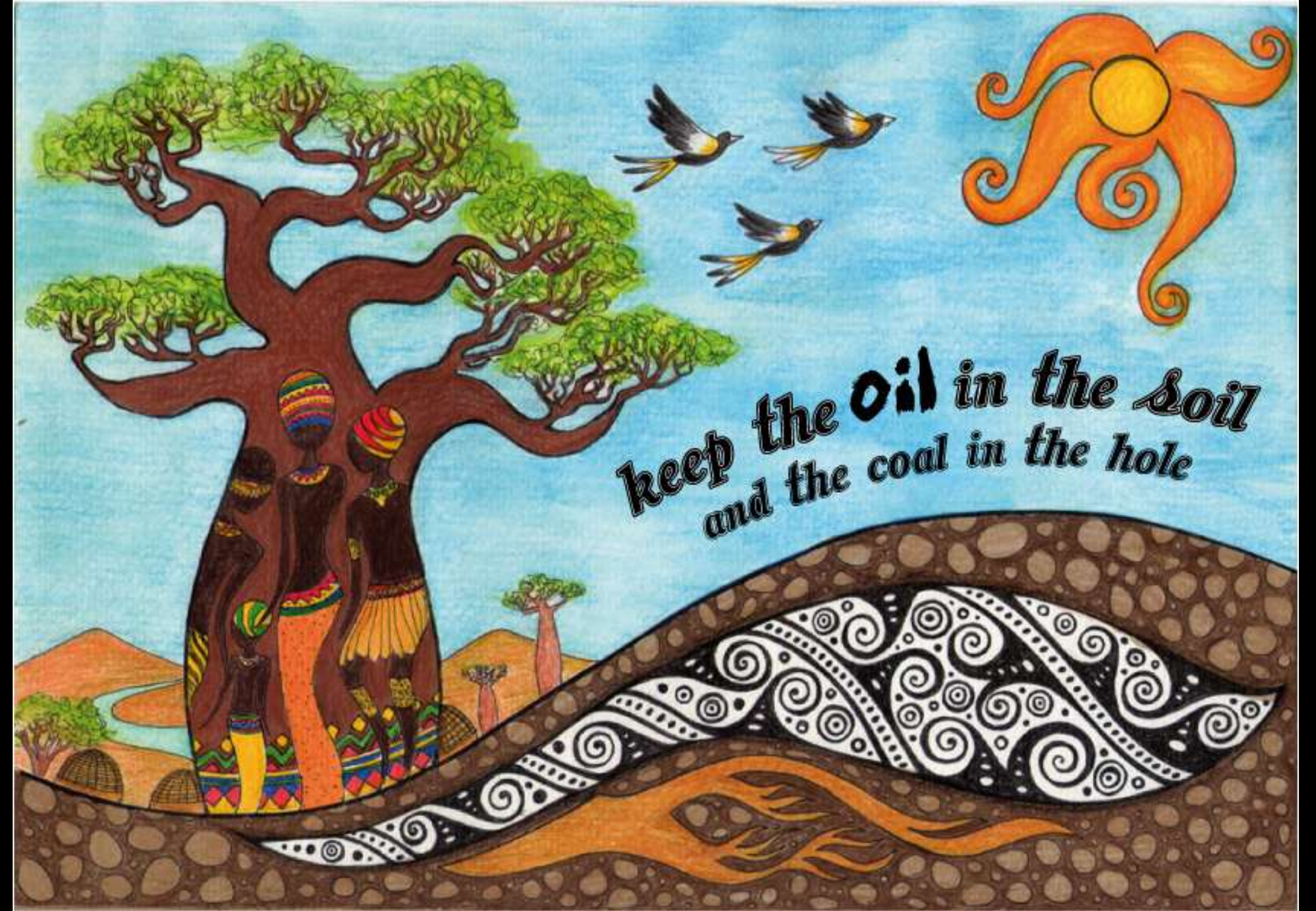
**Green Climate Fund – \$100bn/year by 2020**

- promised by Hillary Clinton at Copenhagen – but **not available during current fiscal crisis**
- \$100 billion **isn't enough**
- **who benefits? existing power elite and aid industry – not poor climate victims**
- **'False Solutions'** to be funded
- **carbon trade** to provide 50% of GCF revenue? (so say Nick Stern and Trevor Manuel)
- **World Bank is interim GCF trustee** despite leading role in fossil fuel financing

## *a better precedent: **the ICC***

*The International Criminal Court (ICC) created the **Trust Fund for Victims**, providing **reparations** to persons whose rights were violated, whether or not a criminal was convicted. The ICC defines reparations as “relieving the suffering and affording justice to victims not only through the conviction of the perpetrator by this Court, but also by **attempting to redress the consequences**”.*





**keep the oil in the soil  
and the coal in the hole**

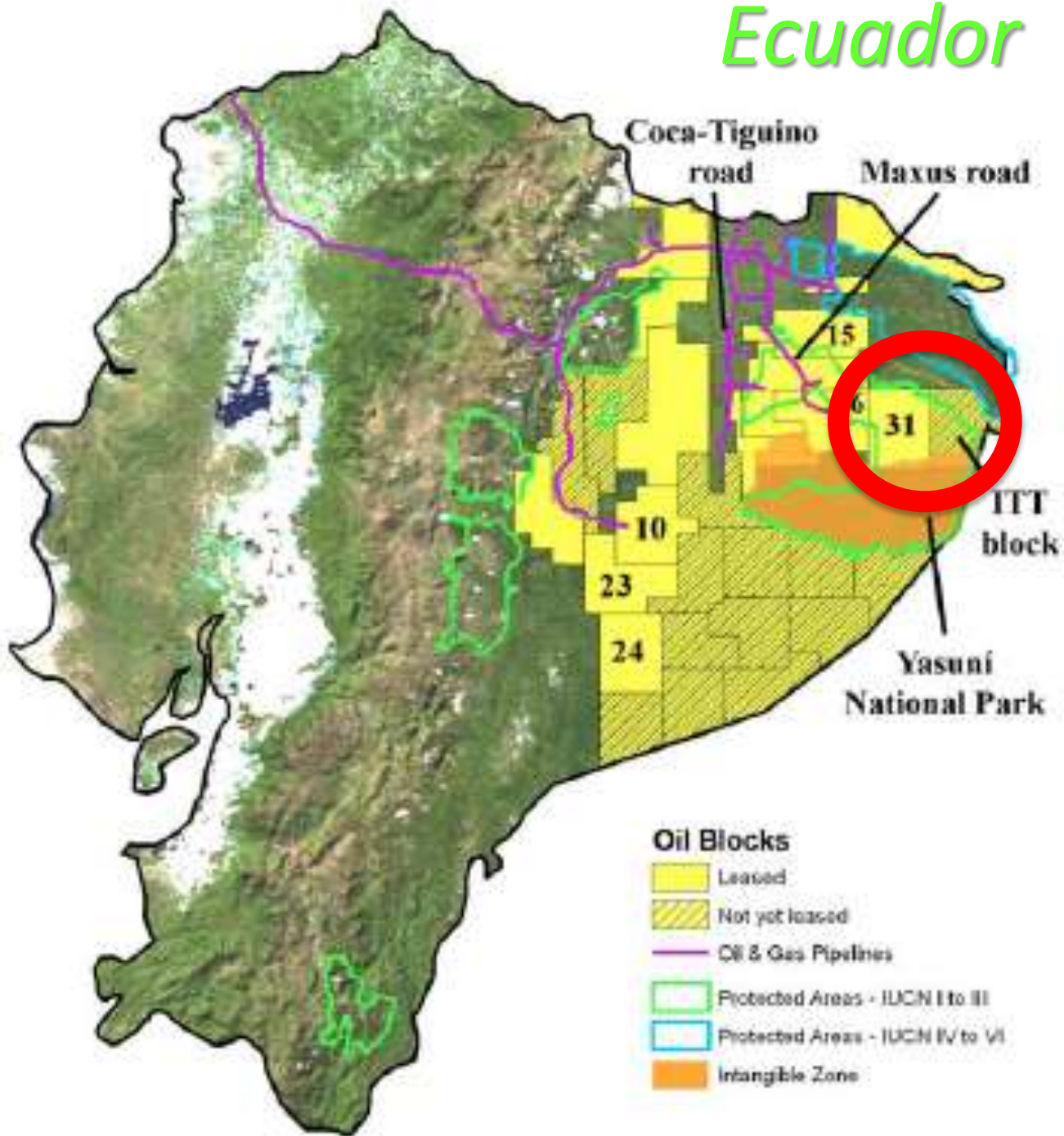


*can we leave the oil under the soil?*



*Yasuni ITT in Ecuador's Amazon rainforest*

# Ecuador





# *Yasuni ITT in Ecuador's Amazon rainforest*



## ***Oilwatch research trip to Yasuni, July 2011***



*oil here = 407 mn tons of CO2*





# Accion Ecologica, Quito eco-feminist-indigenous defence of Yasuni

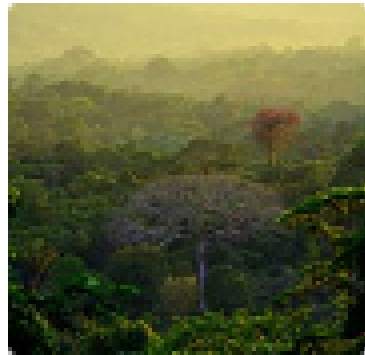
<http://www.accionecologica.org/>

<http://www.amazoniaporlavid.org/es/El-Juego-del-Yasuni/age-of-yasuni-un-esfuerzo-para-hacer-visibles-las-luchas-de-los-pueblos-origenarios.html>



# Germany to pull out of Ecuador's Yasuni initiative?

By Chris Lang, 22nd September 2010



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

The Yasuni initiative applies to an area of 175,000 hectares of some of the most biodiverse rainforest on the planet, home to two of the world's last remaining uncontacted indigenous groups: the Tagaeri and the Taromenane. Others, the Shuar, Waorani, and Kichwa, only recently came into contact with the modern world. Under the initiative, 846 million barrels of oil would be kept permanently underground, avoiding the emission of 407 million metric tonnes of CO<sub>2</sub>.

In August 2010, the UN Development Programme signed an agreement with the Ecuadorian government. Under the agreement, UNDP would be an independent administrator of the

Will Yasuni go to the carbon markets?

**UNDP: "The Government will issue Yasuni Guarantee Certificates for sale to private and/or public entities in mitigating greenhouse gas emissions through avoidance of oil and gas extractions from megabiodiverse areas that are highly socially and environmentally sensitive"**



# PAYMENT FOR ECOSYSTEM SERVICES VERSUS ECOLOGICAL REPARATIONS: THE 'GREEN ECONOMY,' LITIGATION AND A REDISTRIBUTIVE ECO-DEBT GRANT

KHADIJA SHARIFE\* AND PATRICK BOND\*\*

## ABSTRACT

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

**Keywords:** ecological debt, ecosystem services, reparations, Basic Income Grant (BIG)

**how to best pay  
loss & damage?**



## **Basic Income Grant (BIG) pilot in Otjivero, Namibia (funded by German solidarity donations catalysed by churches)**

Council of Churches of Namibia (CCN), the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW), the umbrella body of the NGOs (NANGOF), the umbrella body of the AIDS organisations (NANASO), the National Youth Service (NYC), the Church Alliance for Orphans (CAFO), the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC) and the Labour Resource and Research Institute (LaRRI)

The results after one year of implementation have been remarkable.

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

Carnegie Council:

<http://www.policyinnovations.org/ideas/briefings/data/000163>

# who can do this? **elements of a global eco-social movement** **'climate justice' traditions, 1990s-2013**

missing! labor

- 1990s **environmental anti-racism**;
- 1990s **Accion Ecologica** (Quito) ecological debt demands;
- late 1990s **Jubilee** movement against Northern financial domination;
- 2000s **global justice movement**, following Seattle World Trade Organisation protest;
- 2000 first conference on Climate Justice (Holland – CorpWatch);
- environmentalists and corporate critics who in 2004 started the **Durban Group for Climate Justice**;
- 2007 founding of the **Climate Justice Now!** (CJN) network in Bali;
- 2009 rise of the European left's **Climate Justice Alliance** in advance of the Copenhagen Conference of the Parties (COP15);
- potential link to **national states** (via Third World Network), e.g. April 2010 Cochabamba 'World Conference of Peoples on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth' sponsored by **Bolivian government**
- renewed **direct-action initiatives** – e.g. against Keystone XL Pipeline – that potentially renews ties to groups like Greenpeace and 350.org;
- renewed **grassroots campaigning** across the world.



# One million climate jobs

Solving the economic and environmental crises



search for  
*Just*  
*Transition*  
with labor

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
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,000,000 jobs</b>

- £27 billion in wages for one million jobs over one year.<sup>8</sup>
- £5 billion in employers' national insurance and pension contributions.<sup>9</sup>
- £20 billion in costs like materials, fuel, supplies, rent and interest.

**Total cost £52 billion**

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Roy Wilkes, CaCC

vital need for SA's **'Million Climate Jobs'** campaign, so that affected workers have a **Just Transition**: guaranteed, well-paid jobs that help society and save the planet!



<http://www.climatejobs.org.za>





**"Leave the Oil in the Soil!"**  
not in S.Durban's air, land and water!  
damage done by fossil fuels in Durban





Occupy COP! site, Dec 2011

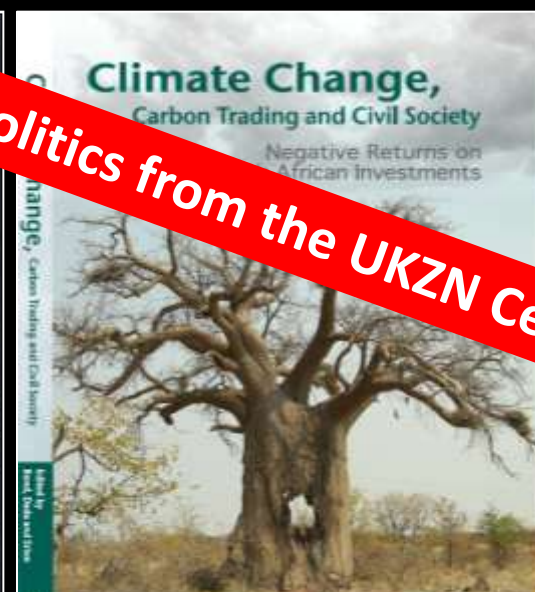
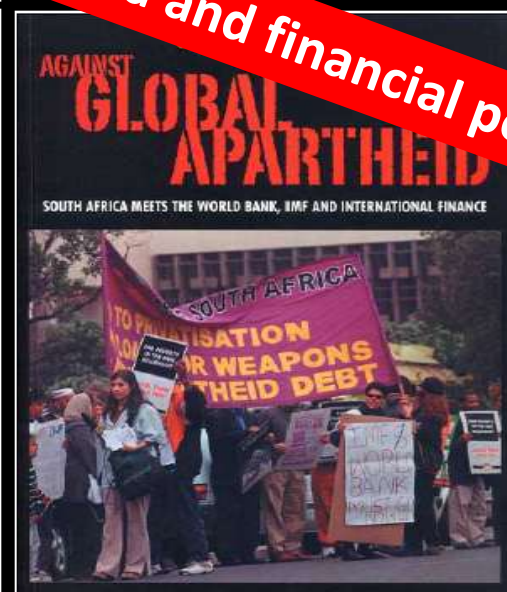
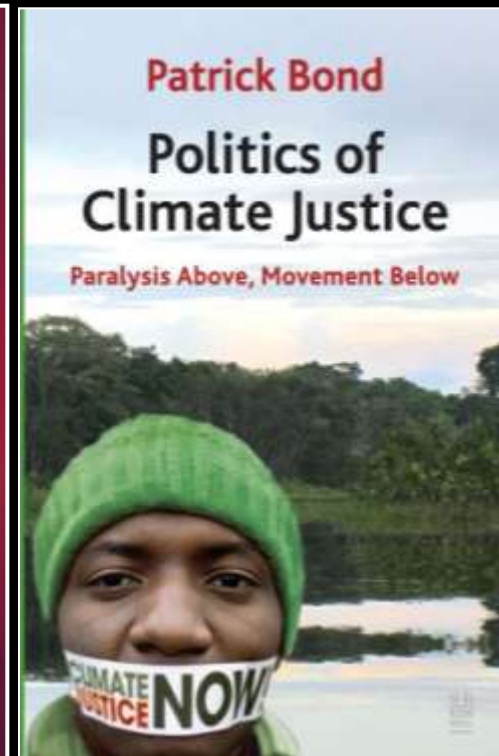
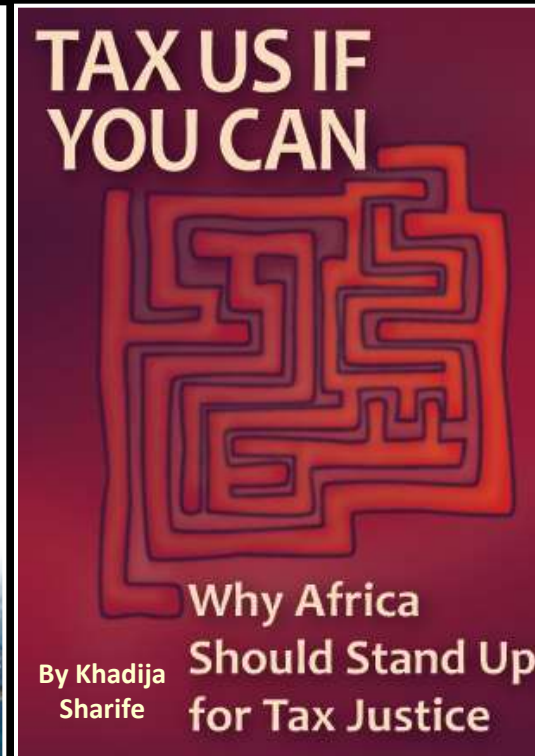
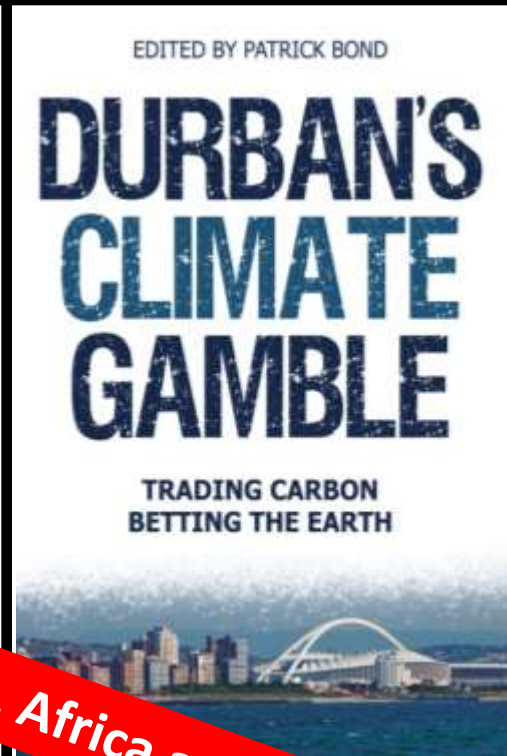
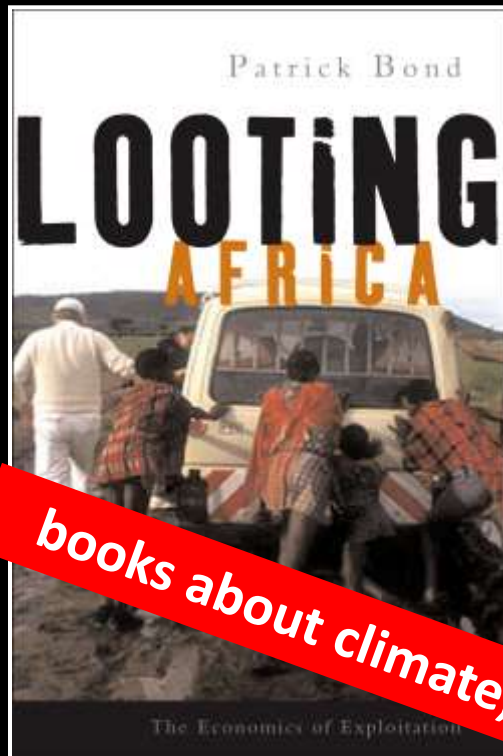






***Global Day of Action, Durban, South Africa, Saturday, December 3, 2011***





books about climate, Africa and financial politics from the UKZN Centre for Civil Society

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