

Climate crisis, 'ecological debt' and a (top-up) Basic Income Grant to pay for 'loss & damage'

OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO ADVANCE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE BY DEVELOPING CRITICAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT, FOR AND IN DIALOGUE WITH CIVIL SOCIETY THROUGH TEACHING, RESEARCH AND PUBLISHING.

CENTRE FOR
CIVIL SOCIETY

**Patrick Bond &
Khadija Sharife**

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

presented to the
Studies in Poverty and Inequality
Institute and Kirchliche Arbeitsstelle
Suedliches Afrika

25 April 2013
cartoons by Zapiro

South Africa's 'Social Movements United' march from Alexandra Township to the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Sandton, 31 August 2002

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*last time Joburg
hosted environment
conference: WSSD*

***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



I WORRY
THE CORPORATES
HAVE TOO
MUCH SAY...



MEG 29-8-02

ZAP!RO®



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

johannesburg
world
summit



global leaders exacerbate climate crisis

Copenhagen Accord, COP 15, December 2009

*“they broke
the UN”
(Bill McKibbin,
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!**

YESSIR!

**CLIMATE
JUSTICE!**



DOHA 2012

UN CLIMATE CHANGE CONFERENCE
COP18·CMP8



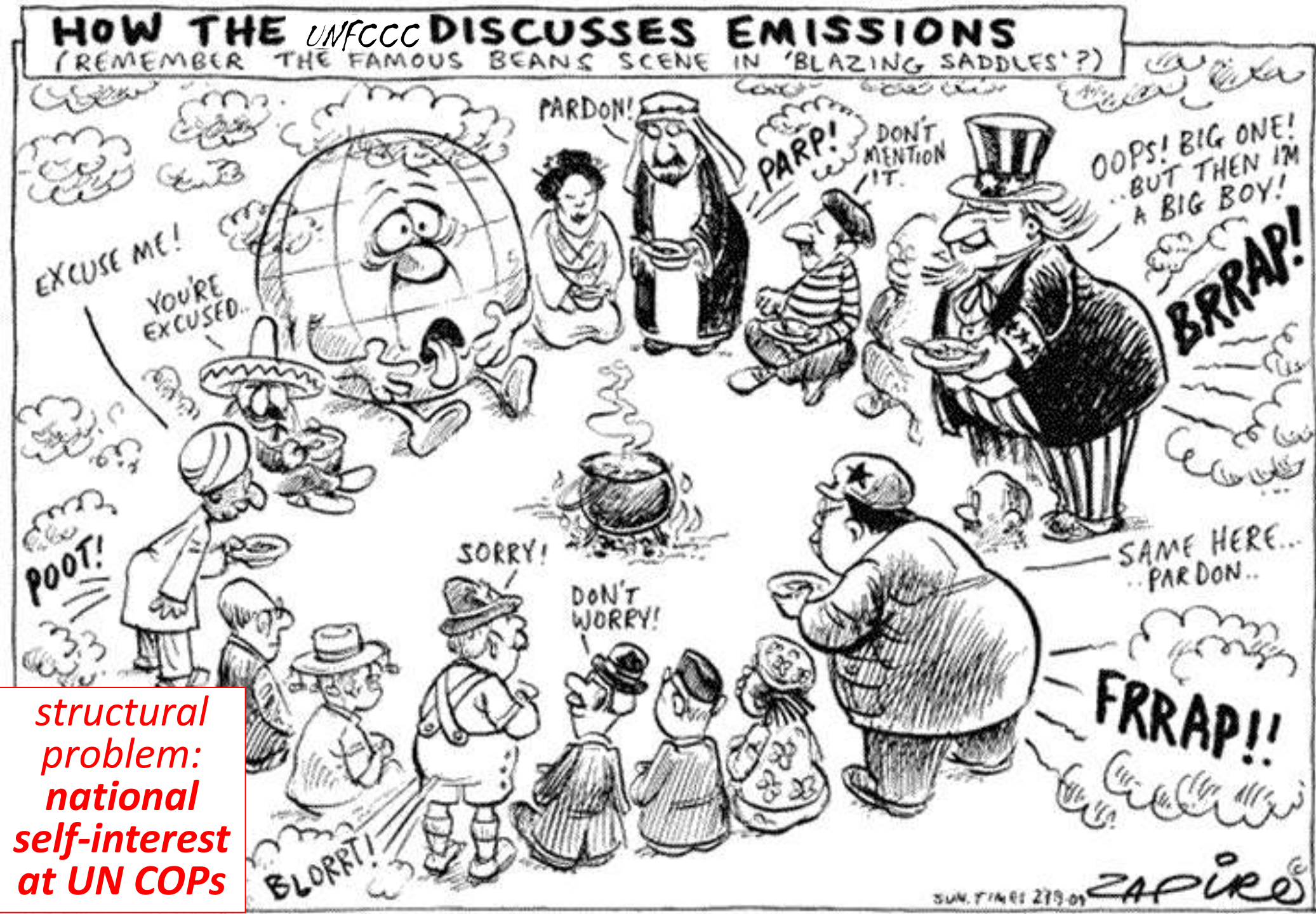
*former carbon trader
Christiana Figueres*



*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

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)

You Tube



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The Bill - short film - Germanwatch

germanwatch



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31 videos

rich countries owe ecological debt



1:22 / 4:22



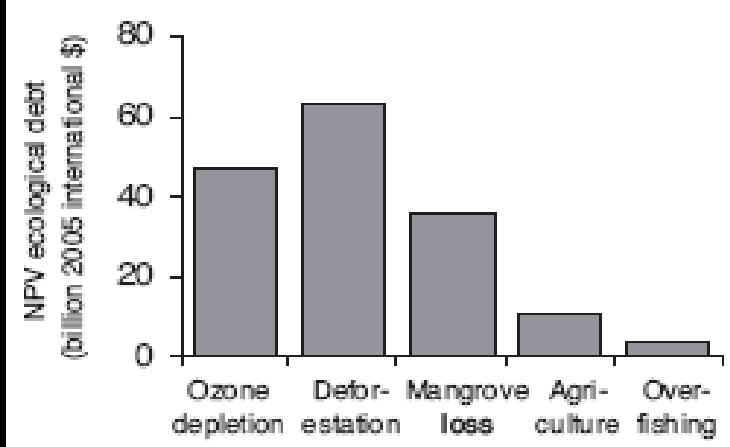
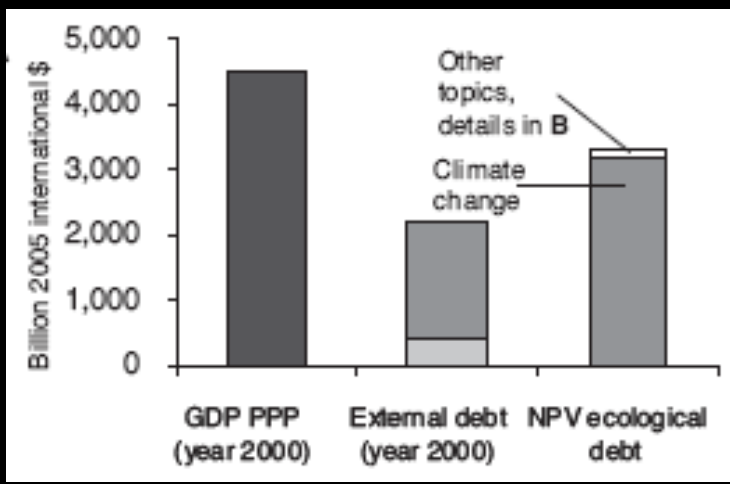
concept of
'ecological
debt' now
recognised
– as 'loss &
damage' at
COP18

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

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

^aPacific Ecoinformatics and Computational Ecology Laboratory, Berkeley, CA 94703; ^dEnergy and Resources Group, 310 Barrows Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720-3050; ^cDepartment of Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720-3114; ^eAmerican Meteorological Society, 1120 G Street NW, Washington, DC 20005-3826; and ^fSea Around Us Project, Fisheries Centre, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, Canada V6T 1Z4

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



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.

Richard Norgaard, economist at
University of California, Berkeley:

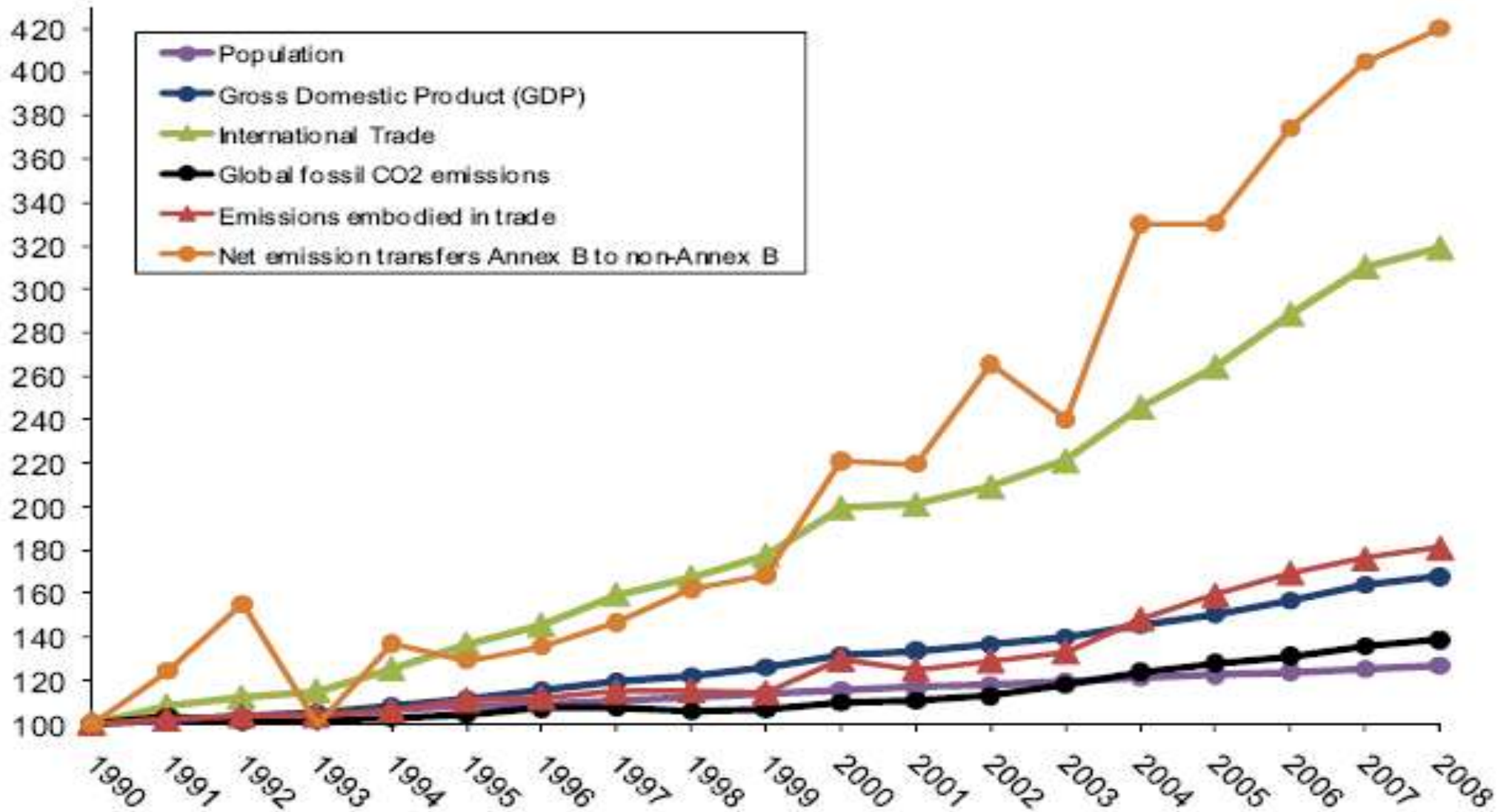
“At least to some extent, *the rich nations have developed at the expense of the poor, and, in effect, there is a debt to the poor.* That, perhaps, is one *reason that they are poor.* You don't see it until you do the kind of accounting that we do here.”

World Council of Churches (Sept 2009):

“*ecological debt* is the ecological damage caused over time to ecosystems, places and peoples through *production and consumption* patterns; and the *exploitation of ecosystems* at the expense of the *equitable rights of other countries, communities or individuals.*”

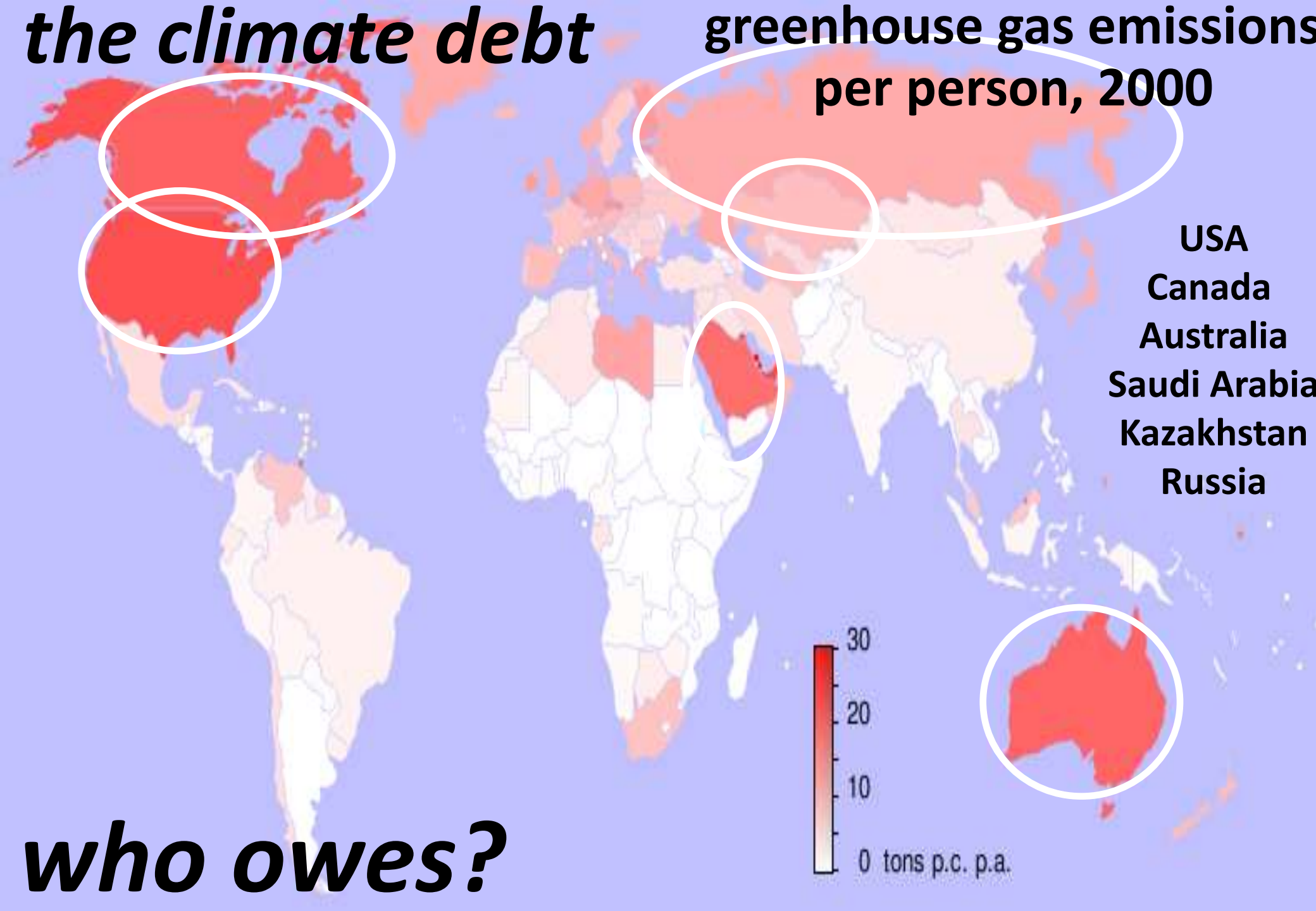
Accion Ecologica: ecological debt is ‘the debt accumulated by Northern, industrial countries toward Third World countries on account of *resource plundering, environmental damages, and the free occupation of environmental space* to deposit wastes, such as greenhouse gases, from the industrial countries.’

North-South climate debt rises if we include outsourced production



the climate debt

**greenhouse gas emissions
per person, 2000**



**USA
Canada
Australia
Saudi Arabia
Kazakhstan
Russia**

who owes?

who's owed? climate change 'creditors'

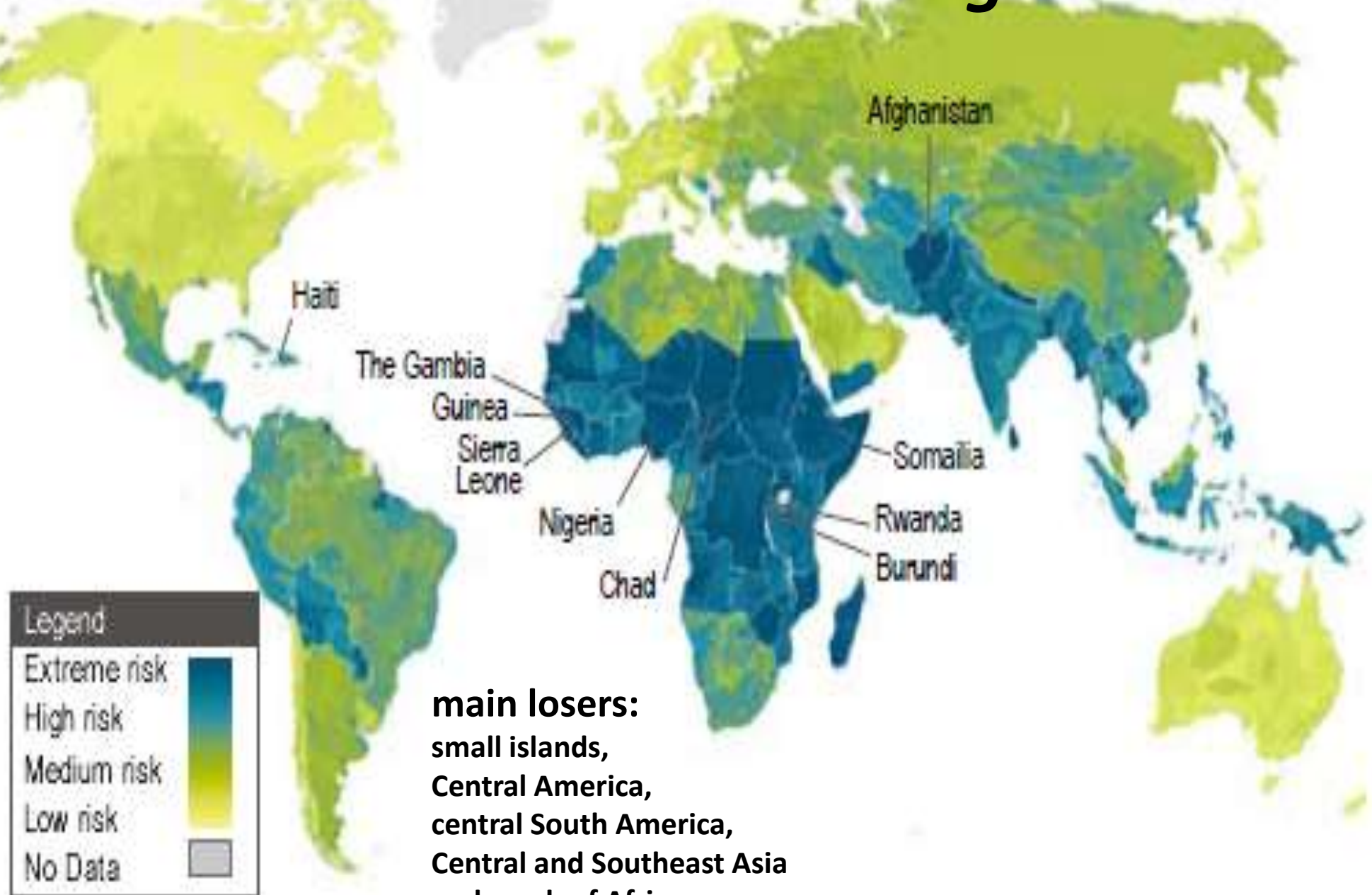


Table 4: Extreme Weather Risk: Top 20 Countries in 2015

**Quantifying Vulnerability to
Climate Change: Implications
for Adaptation Assistance**

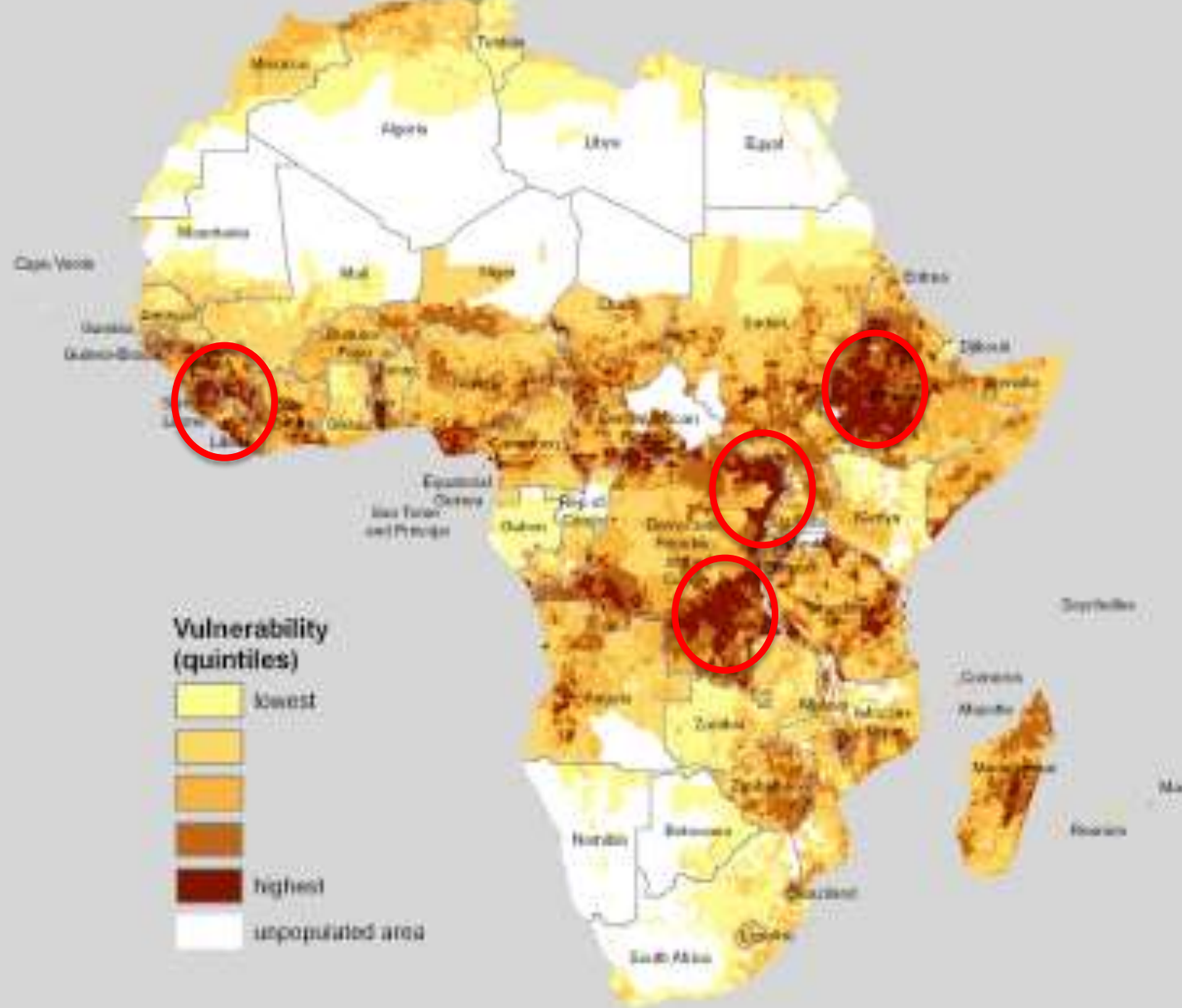
David Wheeler



Vulnerability: Probability of Extreme Weather Impact
(Per 100,000 Population)

Percent Contribution to Vulnerability
Change, 2008-2015

Country	Rank 2008	Rank 2015	2008	2015 Climate Only	2015 Climate + Income	2015 Climate + Income + Urbanization + Regulation	Climate	Income	Urbanization + Regulation	2015 Risk % Due to Climate Change (2008- 2015)
China	3	1	6,772	25,072	19,933	17,720	71.3	20.0	8.6	61.78
Djibouti	1	2	13,709	14,281	14,167	14,331	67.3	13.4	19.3	4.34
India	7	3	2,599	11,704	9,531	9,153	78.1	18.6	3.2	71.61
Kenya	2	4	6,807	7,752	7,620	7,617	87.5	12.3	0.2	10.64
Somalia	8	5	2,382	4,011	3,807	5,482	46.4	5.8	47.7	56.55
Mozambique	4	6	4,576	5,133	5,028	5,269	61.6	11.7	26.7	13.14
Philippines	10	7	2,134	5,161	4,607	5,102	74.2	13.6	12.2	58.18
Bangladesh	19	8	823	5,487	4,611	4,844	80.8	15.2	4.0	83.01
Sri Lanka	6	9	3,458	4,304	4,072	4,558	54.1	14.8	31.1	24.12
Ethiopia	5	10	3,791	4,892	4,747	4,540	75.8	10.0	14.2	16.51
Vietnam	11	11	1,904	4,696	4,121	3,834	76.4	15.7	7.9	50.33
Bolivia	21	12	638	1,508	1,362	3,573	27.0	4.5	68.5	82.14
Hong Kong (China)	17	13	1,251	3,877	3,147	2,413	64.2	17.8	18.0	48.13
Cuba	9	14	2,190	2,221	2,213	2,227	59.0	15.2	25.8	1.63
Madagascar	14	15	1,314	2,203	2,076	2,122	83.6	12.0	4.4	38.09
Honduras	18	16	1,237	2,303	2,148	2,104	84.2	12.2	3.5	41.19
Thailand	16	17	1,271	1,996	1,813	1,863	75.7	19.1	5.2	31.77
Zambia	12	18	1,718	1,877	1,847	1,853	81.5	15.3	3.2	7.32
Colombia	15	19	1,299	2,026	1,892	1,781	74.8	13.8	11.4	27.08
Zimbabwe	13	20	1,692	1,714	1,709	1,721	55.3	13.2	31.5	1.69



Data Sources: World Bank Governance Indicators; Polity IV Project; Political Rights Characteristics and Transitions; KOF Index of Globalization; Political Instability Task Force Worldwide Atrocities Dataset; World Health Organization; World Development Indicators; Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations Food Security Statistics; PreventionWeb; DEM from USGS; GRUMP



act:onaid

Who should pay to tackle climate change in developing countries?

An ActionAid rough guide

May 2009

act:onaid

ActionAid ask: How much is required for climate mitigation, 2020?

Issue	Amount required per year
Adaptation ¹	US\$86 billion
Clean technology ³	US\$65 billion
Combating deforestation ⁴	US\$24 billion
Agricultural mitigation ⁵	US\$7 billion
TOTAL	US\$182 billion

... how much is pledged?

Fund	Amounts pledged
Special Climate Change Fund	US\$12 million
Least Developed Countries Fund	US\$182 million
Kyoto Protocol Adaptation Fund	US\$61 million
TOTAL	US\$255 million

who should pay what share?

Country	% of global total	Mitigation amount per year by 2020 (billions)		Adaptation amount per year by 2020 (billions)		TOTAL amount per year by 2020 (billions)	
		US\$	€	US\$	€	US\$	€
US	44%	42.2	31.4	37.8	28.1	80	59
EU17	32%	30.7	22.8	27.5	20.4	58	43
Japan	13%	12.4	9.2	11.1	8.3	24	18
Canada	4%	3.8	2.8	3.4	2.5	7	5
Australia	3%	2.9	2.2	2.6	1.9	5	4
South Korea	2%	1.9	1.4	1.7	1.3	4	3
Others ⁸	2%	1.9	1.4	1.7	1.3	4	3
TOTAL	100%	96	71	86	64	182	135

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)

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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*

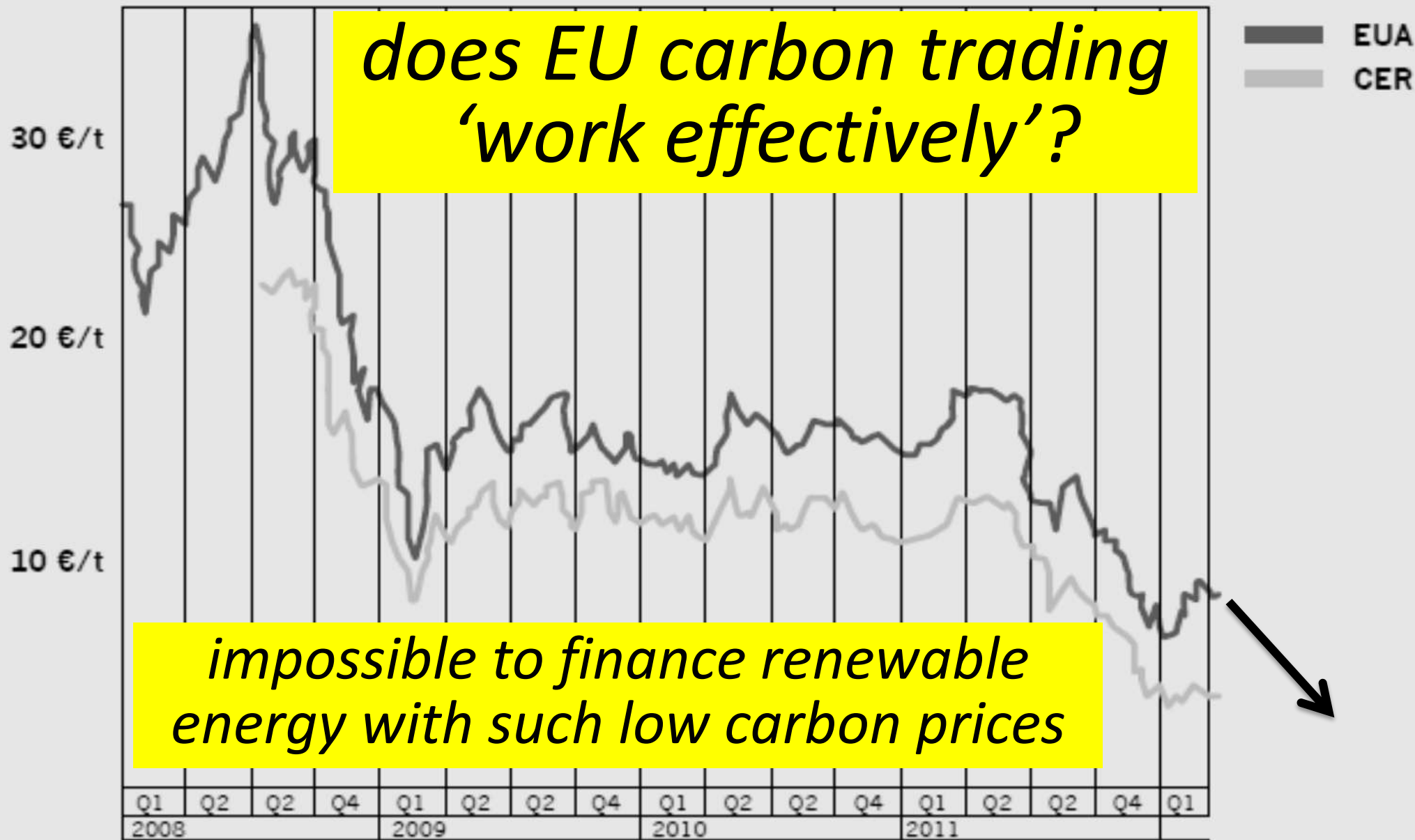
*'The European Union has
adopted this US innovation
and is making it work
effectively there.'*

(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

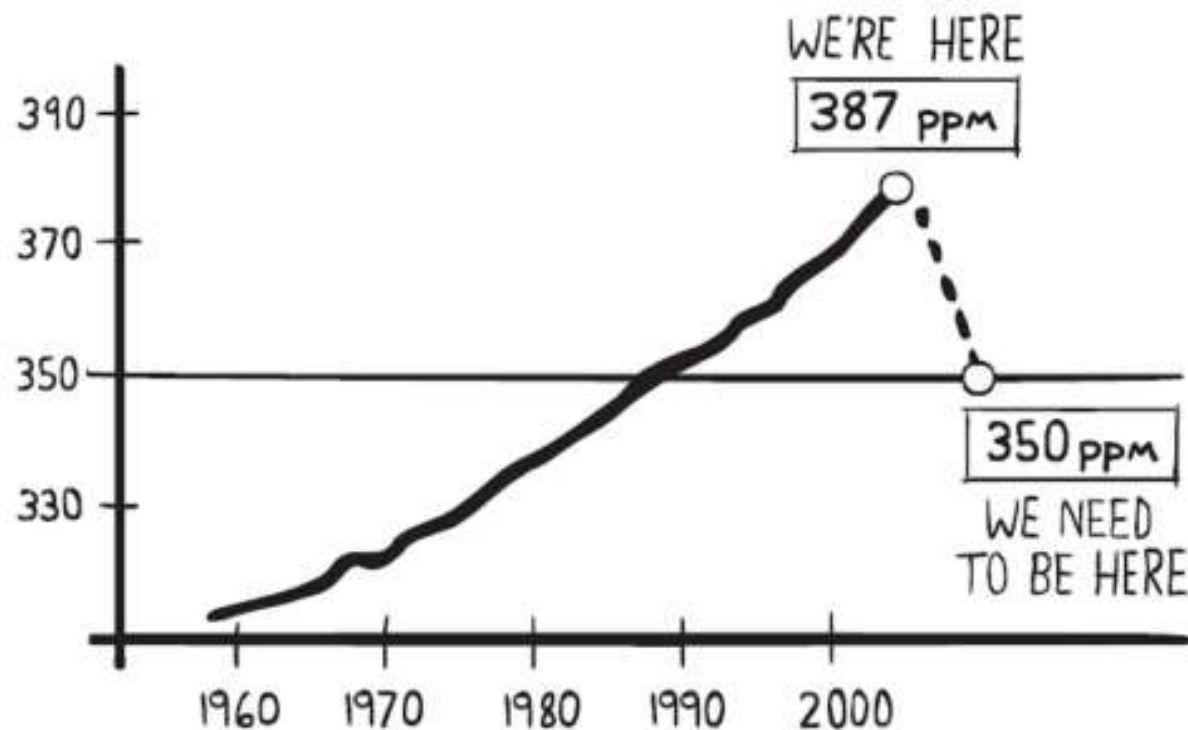
WHY YOU CAN'T SOLVE A PROBLEM
WITH THE THINKING THAT CREATED IT

storyofcapandtrade.org

THE STORY OF STUFF



ATMOSPHERIC CO₂
CONCENTRATION (PPM)



CLIMATE JUSTICE
NOW!





8-min critique of carbon trading
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.

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) and more than a dozen of the world's leading sustainability organizations.

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

APARTHEID

AMATEUR!

CLIMATE
APARTHEID

SUBSIDISED
OVER-CONSUMPTION

TRICKLE
DOWN

IMF

WTO

WORLD
BANK

Zeiro



**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**”.*

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



Basic Income Grant (BIG) pilot in Otjivero, Namibia (funded by German- Namibian Evangelical Lutheran church)

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%**.

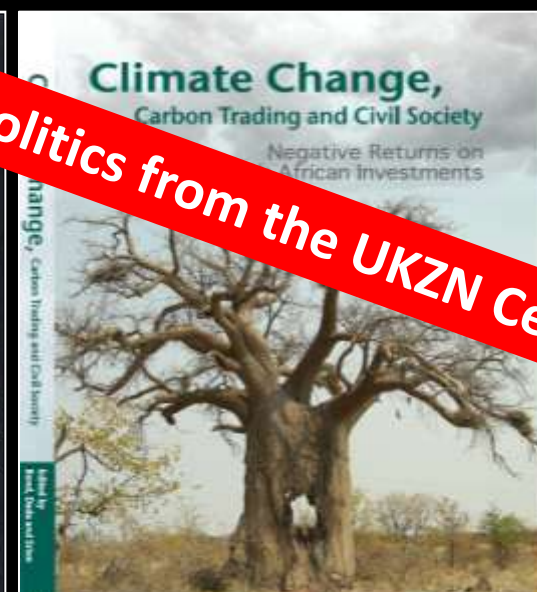
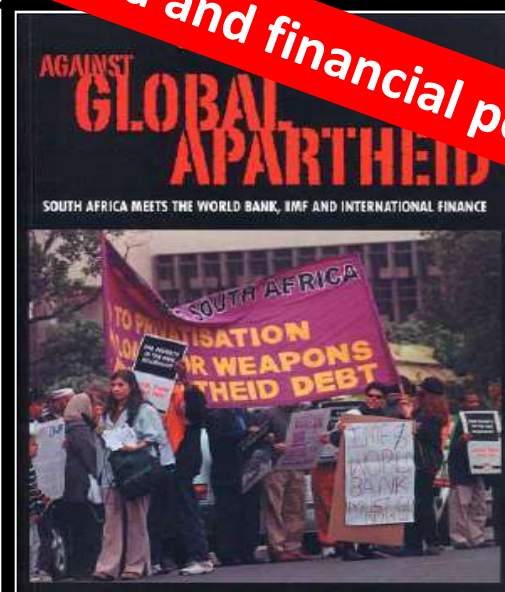
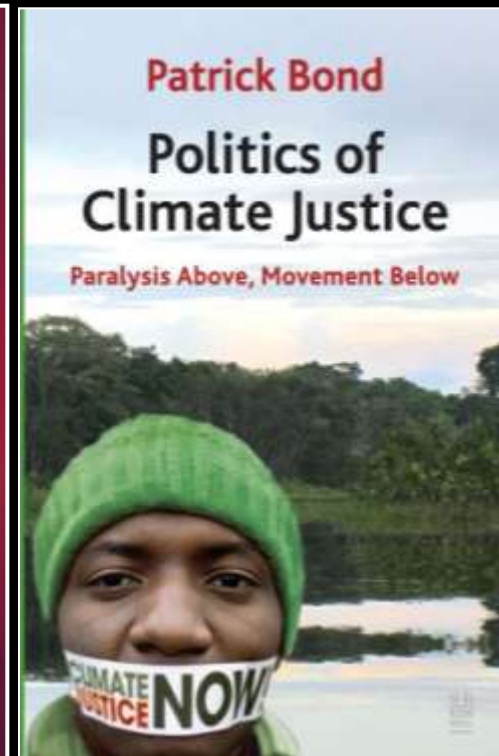
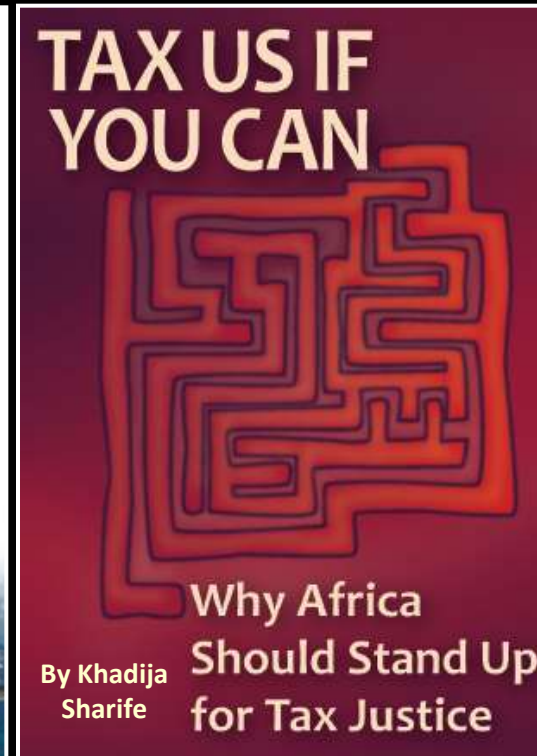
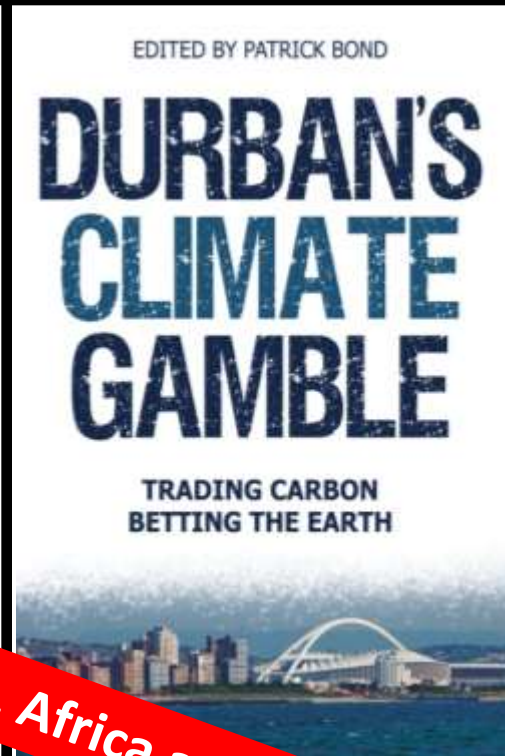
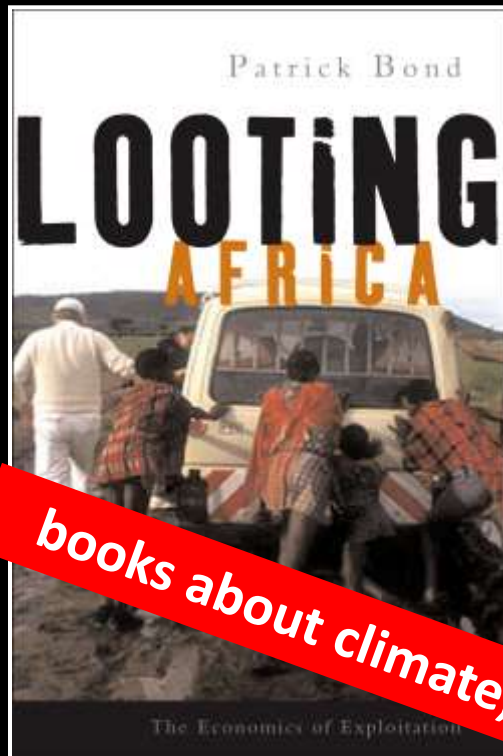
- The village school reported **higher attendance** rates ... children were **better fed and more attentive**.
- Police statistics showed a **36.5% drop in crime** since the introduction of the grants.
- **Poverty rates declined** from 86% to 68% (97% to 43% when controlled for migration).
- **Unemployment 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>

optimal strategy:

- *ensure that the GreenHouseGas ‘polluters pay’ in a manner that first, compensates their climate change victims (BIG) thus promoting ‘adaptation’;*
- *second, permits transformation of African energy, transport, extraction, production, distribution, consumption and disposal systems; and*
- *third, in the process assures the ‘right to development’ for Africa in a future world economy constrained by emissions caps.*



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

pbond@mail.ngo.za