

How to achieve ecological redistribution between north and south?

CENTRE FOR
CIVIL SOCIETY

Patrick Bond

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

presented to the
IG Metall Conference
Changing Course for a Good Life
Berlin Congress Centre

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.



6 December 2012

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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cartoons by Zapiro



DOHA 2012 UN CLIMATE CHANGE CONFERENCE COP18-CMP8



*former carbon trader
Christiana Figueres*

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

***foxes in charge of
COP18 henhouse***

*US sabotage, no
new emissions cuts*



COP 17

Durban's COP17 'Conference of Polluters'

SA in the chair



*confirmed climate-
related deaths of
180 million Africans
(Christian Aid estimate)*





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](#)

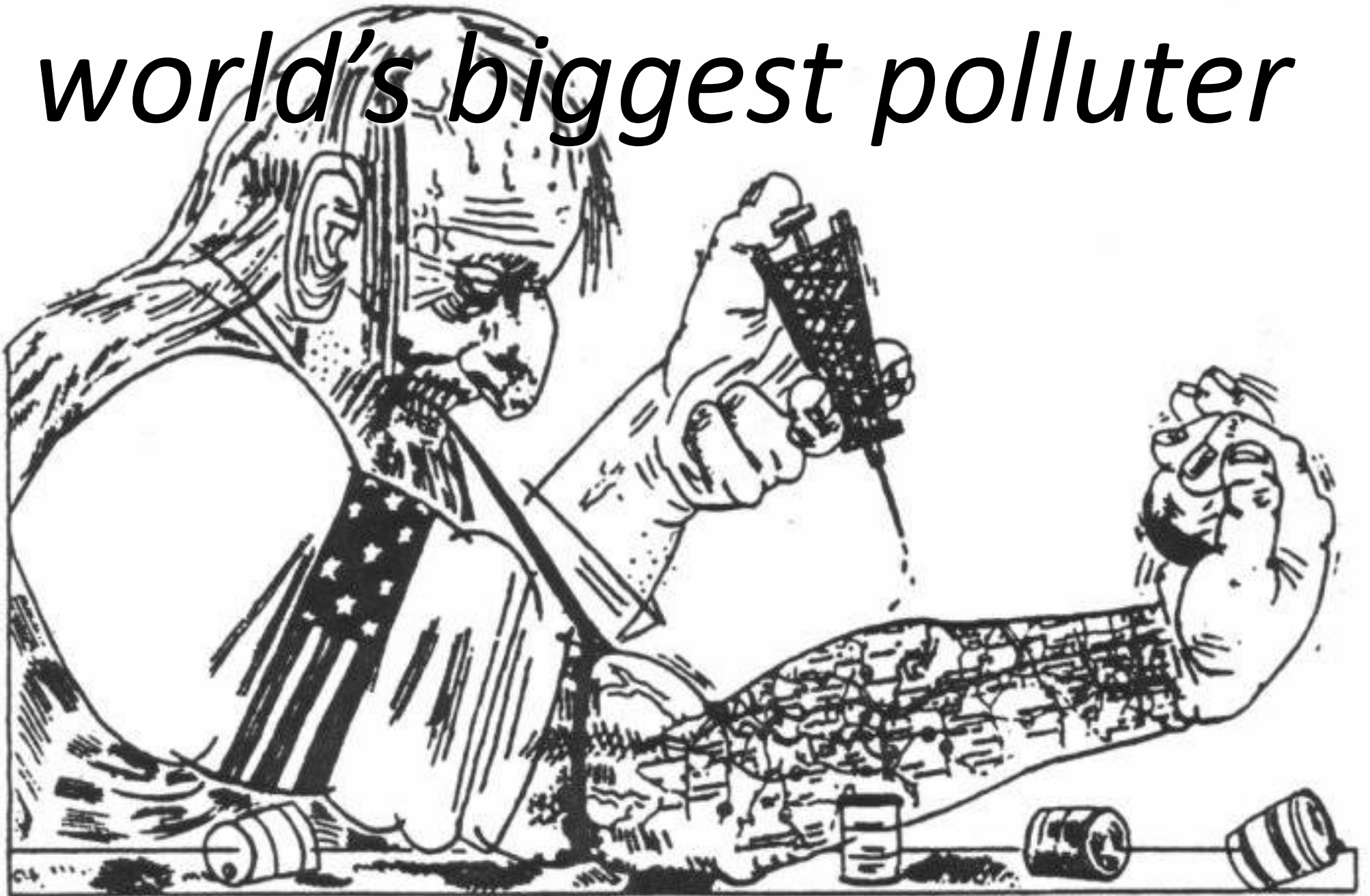


Each year, exhausted delegates and observers return home thinking that there has to be a better way to address what they believe to be one of the defining challenges of our time: the relentless warming of the planet and its impact on the world's inhabitants.

*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.”

world's biggest polluter



HOW THE UNFC DISCUSSES EMISSIONS

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

UNFC
CC



structural
problem:
national
self-interest
at UN COPs

SUN. 7/4/01 219 01

ZAPIRO

can bankers solve climate?

UK Climate Change Minister

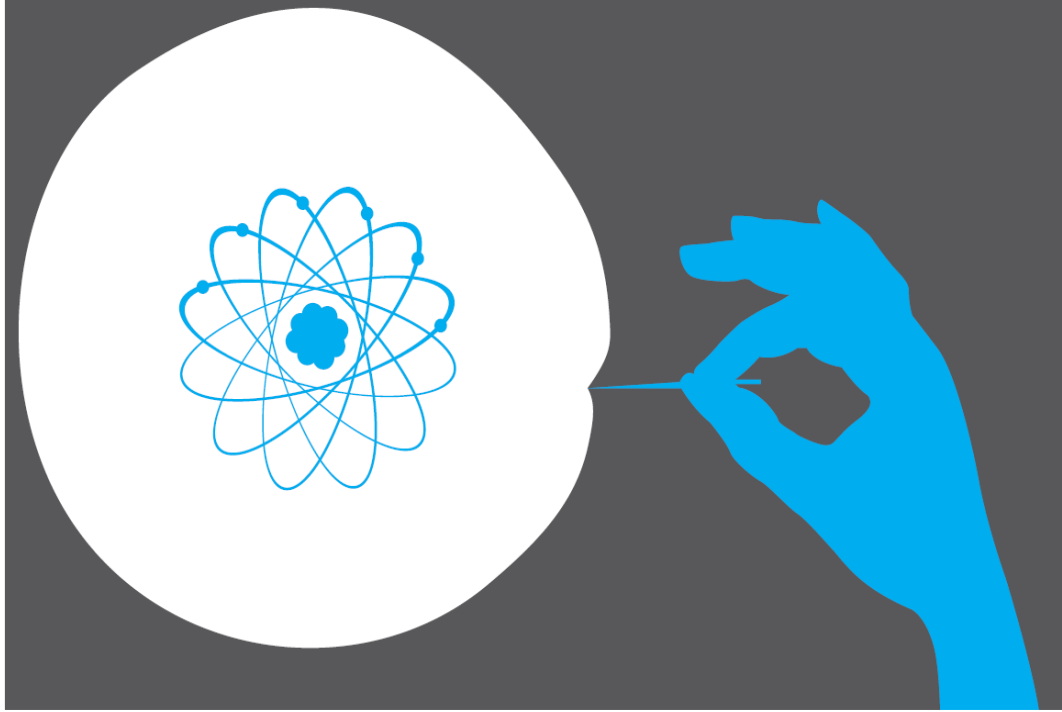
Greg Barker, 2010:

*"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?



FINANCIAL TIMES

ft.com/world

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UK

Last updated: December 11, 2011 6:19 pm

Climate deal boost for carbon markets

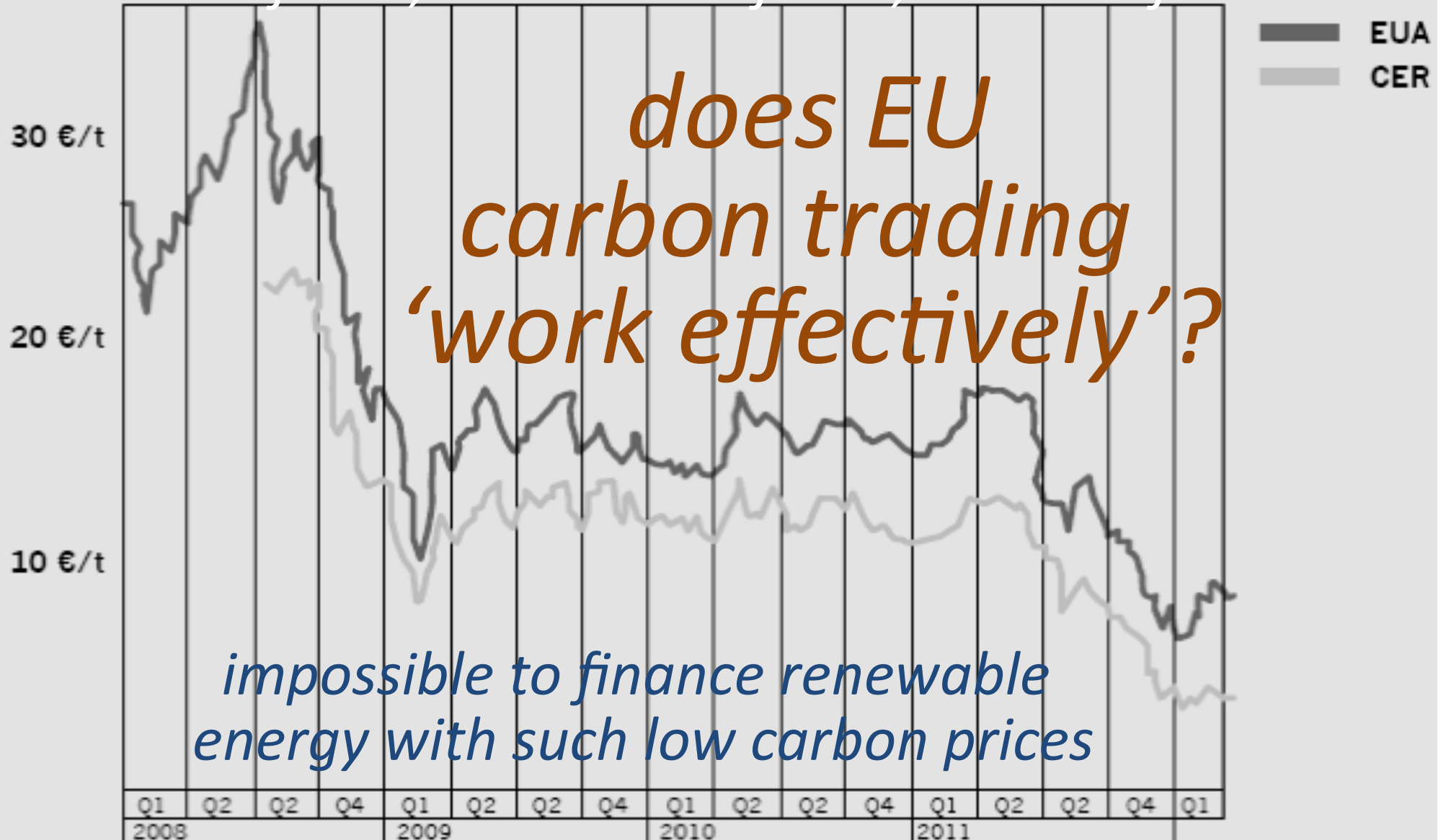
By Pillita Clark in Durban

‘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.*

emissions market crashes, 2008-12

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



*does EU
carbon trading
'work effectively'?*

*impossible to finance renewable
energy with such low carbon prices*

The
CDM
in Africa

Cannot
Deliver the
Money

Why the carbon trading gamble won't save the planet from climate change, and how African civil society is resisting

A report by the University of KwaZulu-Natal Centre for Civil Society and Dartmouth College Climate Justice Research Project



www.cdm-africa.org

EJOLT. Environmental Justice Organisations, Liabilities and Trade
ICTA Autonomous University of Barcelona
22 February 2012

European Commission FP7.
Deliverable 4.1
Durban, South Africa and Hanover, US

new report by Centre for
Society and Dartmouth
for

“the system... a moratorium be placed on further crediting until the profound structural and implementation flaws are confronted. The damage done by CDMs to date should be included in calculations of the ‘climate debt’ that the North owes the South, with the aim of having victims of CDMs compensated appropriately.”

<http://cdmscannotdeliver.wordpress.com>



new 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 *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.

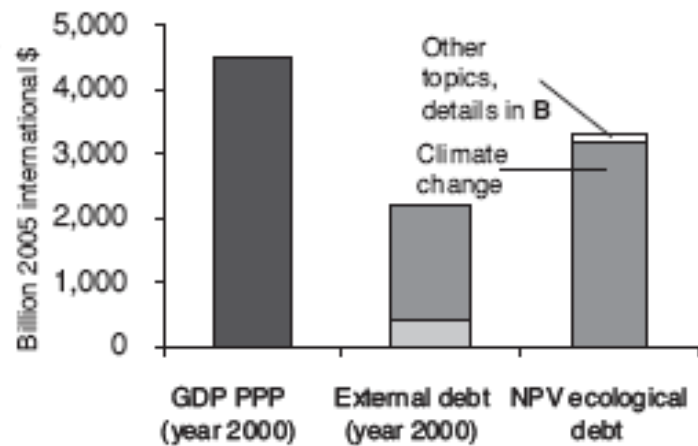
The Story of Cap & Trade takes a provocative but humorous look at cap and trade, the leading climate solution under consideration in Copenhagen and on Capitol Hill. Employing the same urgent honesty that made *The Story of Stuff* so successful—and flash animation that makes it clear who wins and who 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.

instead of carbon trading, concept of 'ecological debt' now recognised

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

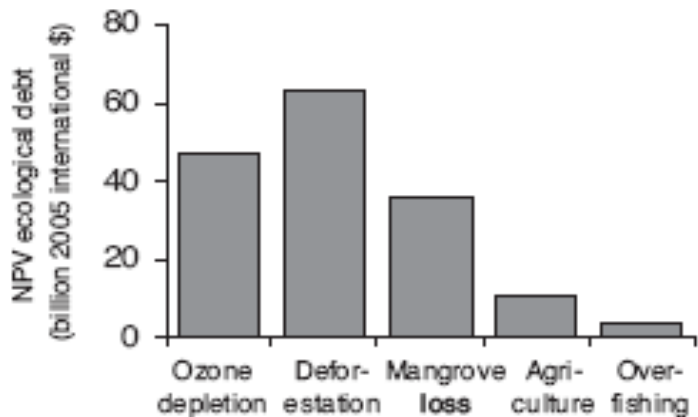
U. Thara Srinivasan^{a,b}, Susan P. Carey^c, Eric Hallstein^d, Paul A. T. Higgins^{d,e}, Amber C. Kerr^d, Laura E. Koteen^d, Adam B. Smith^d, Reg Watson^f, John Harte^{c,d}, and Richard B. Norgaard^d

^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



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 wood-related goods

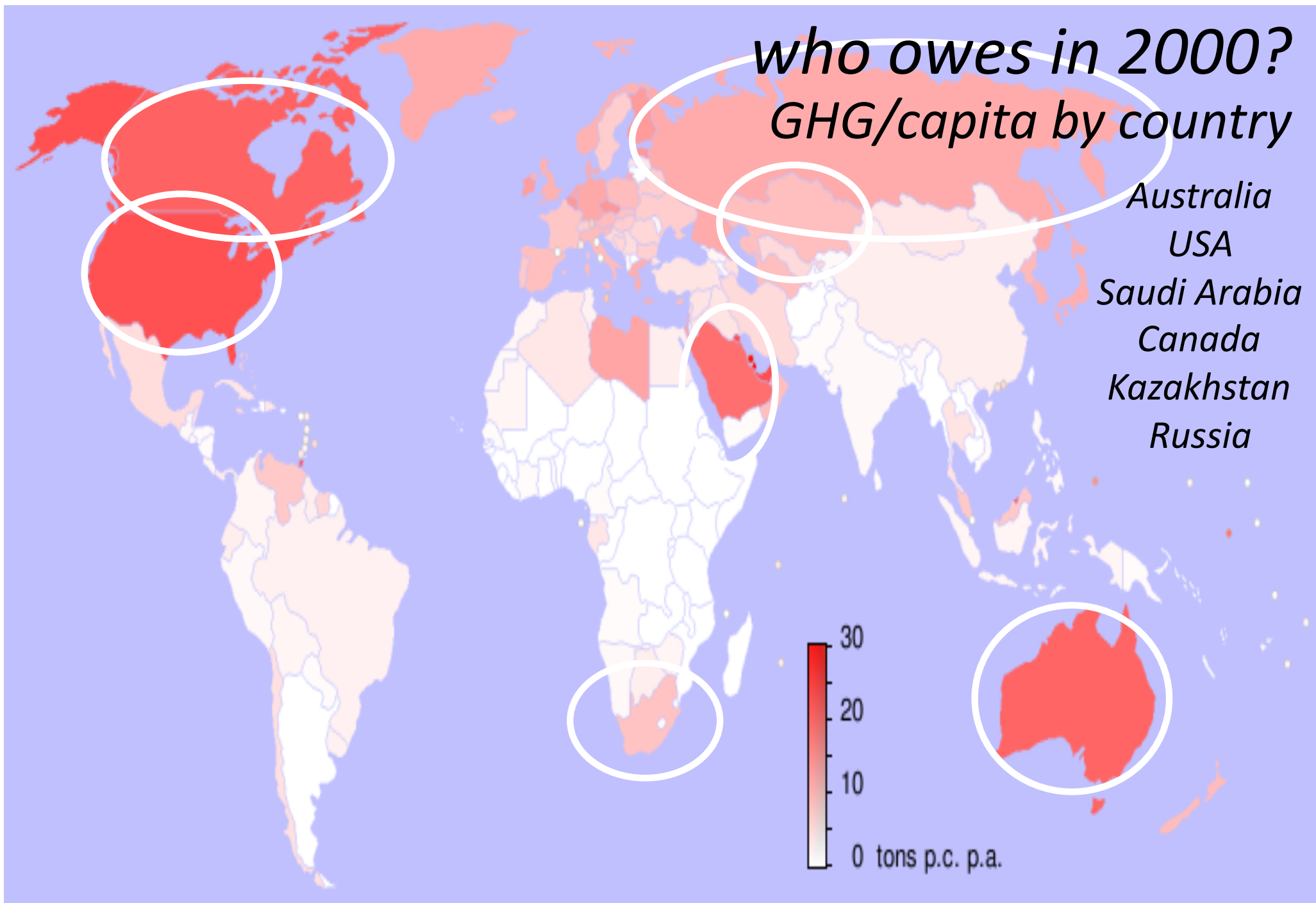


lead US climate negotiator Todd Stern,
on demand for recognising climate debt

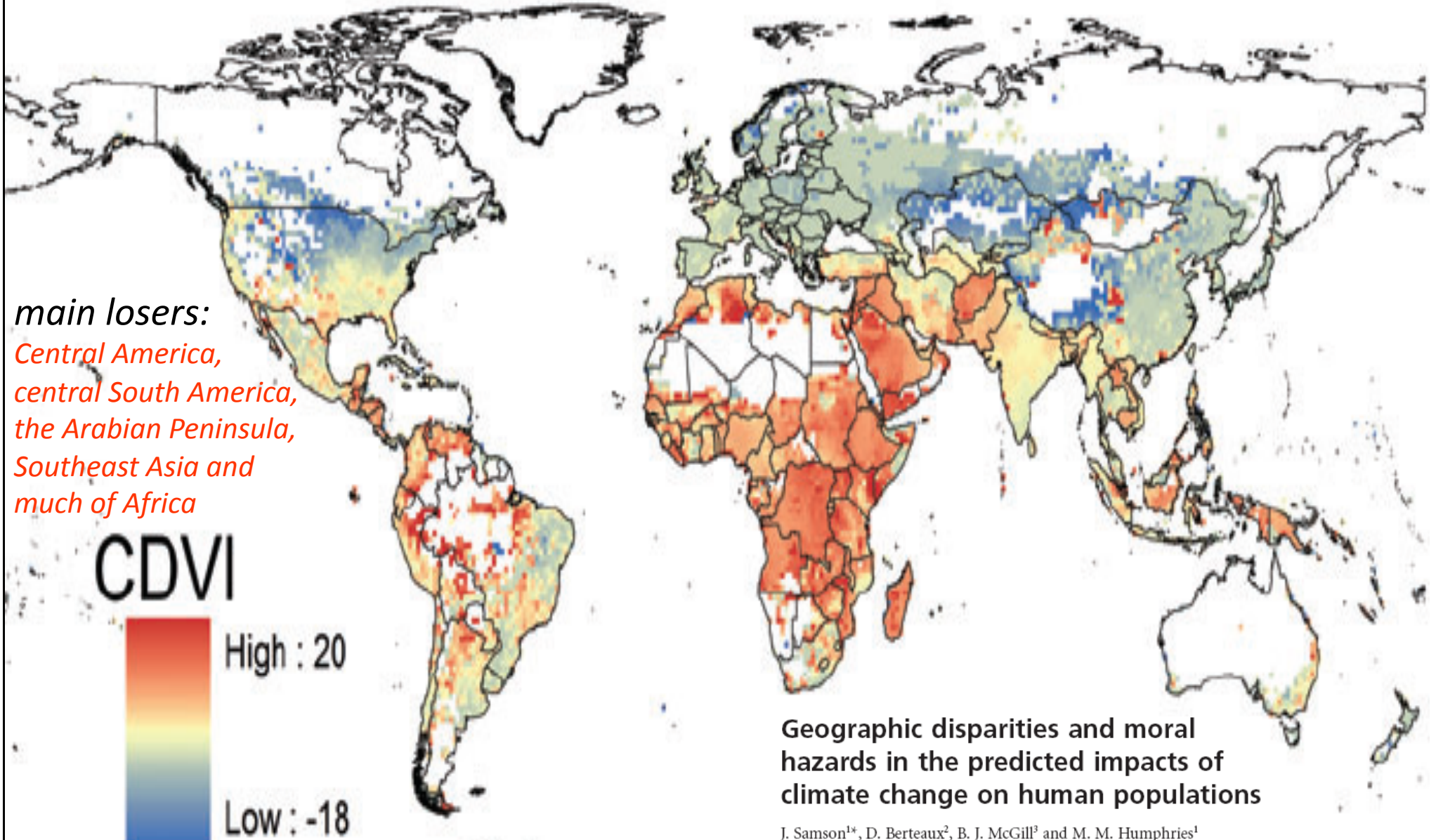
*The sense of
guilt or
culpability or
reparations – I
just
categorically
reject that*



who owes in 2000? GHG/capita by country



who loses from climate change? a 'Climate Demography Vulnerability Index'



J. Samson^{1*}, D. Berteaux², B. J. McGill³ and M. M. Humphries¹

Green Climate Fund – \$100bn/year by 2020 (mised), co-chaired by SA's Trevor Manuel

- *\$100 billion isn't enough!*
- *who benefits? existing power elite and aid industry – not poor climate victims*
- *'False Solutions to be funded*
- *Manuel wants carbon trade to provide 50% of GCF revenue*
- *World Bank is interim GCF trustee despite terrible record of managing climate and development funding*



Robert Zoellick
World Bank president



Green Climate Fund – \$100bn/year by 2020 (mised), co-chaired by SA's Trevor Manuel

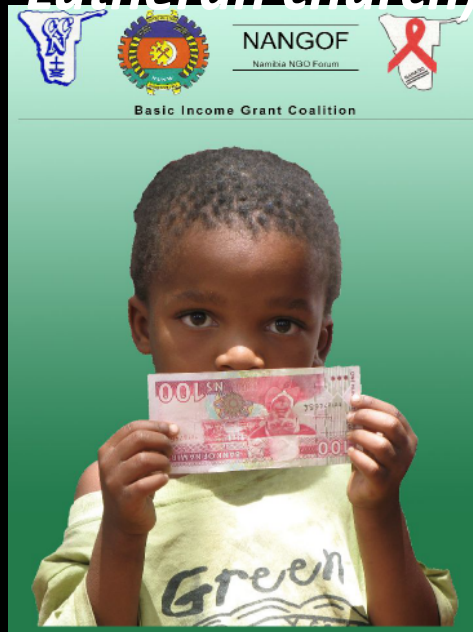
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*Jim Yong Kim, new
World Bank president*



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

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

what is 'climate justice'?

core principles from Rights of Mother Earth conference, Cochabamba, Bolivia (April 2010)

- *50 percent reduction of greenhouse gas emissions by 2017*
- *stabilising temperature rises to 1C and 300 Parts Per Million*
- *acknowledging the climate debt owed by developed countries (6% of GDP)*
- *full respect for Human Rights and the inherent rights of indigenous people*
- *universal declaration of Mother Earth rights to ensure harmony with nature*
- *establishment of an International Court of Climate Justice*
- *rejection of carbon markets, and REDD's commodified nature and forests*
- *promotion of change in consumption patterns of developed countries*
- *end of intellectual property rights for climate technologies*

One million climate jobs

Solving the economic and environmental crises



UK labour searches for a 'Just Transition'

Making renewable electricity	425,000 jobs
Renovating buildings	175,000 jobs
Changing transport	300,000 jobs
Industry and landfill	50,000 jobs
Education	50,000 jobs
Total	1,000,000 jobs

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

Total cost £52 billion

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Nick Grant, NUT		

vital need for SA **'Million Climate Jobs'** campaign, so metalworkers get 'Just Transition': guaranteed, well-paid jobs in public/community renewable sector that help society and save the planet

German metalworkers lead the world!

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



Transforming the unsustainable capitalist system

Focus on the Global South position paper on Climate Change, Nov 2012

- *More than two-thirds of coal, oil and gas should be left under the soil*
- *The right to development must not be used to promote more consumerist and capitalist societies*
- *Stop the false solutions*
- *No more speculation with carbon markets*
- *Joint social and environmental struggles to change the balance of forces*

Focus on the Global South:

The alternatives to cool the planet come from below

- *alternatives like **food sovereignty and agro-ecology** instead of agro toxics and agribusiness;*
- ***public transport** instead of unsustainable production of cars;*
- *durable goods with **less use of energy and natural resources** instead of products designed for over consumption;*
- ***local production** and consumption to avoid the waste of energy in global transport;*
- ***de-globalization** for the people instead of globalization for the corporations;*
- ***new balance between agriculture and industry** as well as between **countryside and city** to reverse massive urban slums of rural refugees;*
- ***social and not private management of the fundamental services.***

Our World is not for Sale June 2012



- *more practical linkages of eco-social issues;*
- *critique of financialisation, demand for debt audits;*
- *critique of Resource Curse;*
- *defense of rights of nature and commons*

What's needed Now is **SYSTEM CHANGE** !

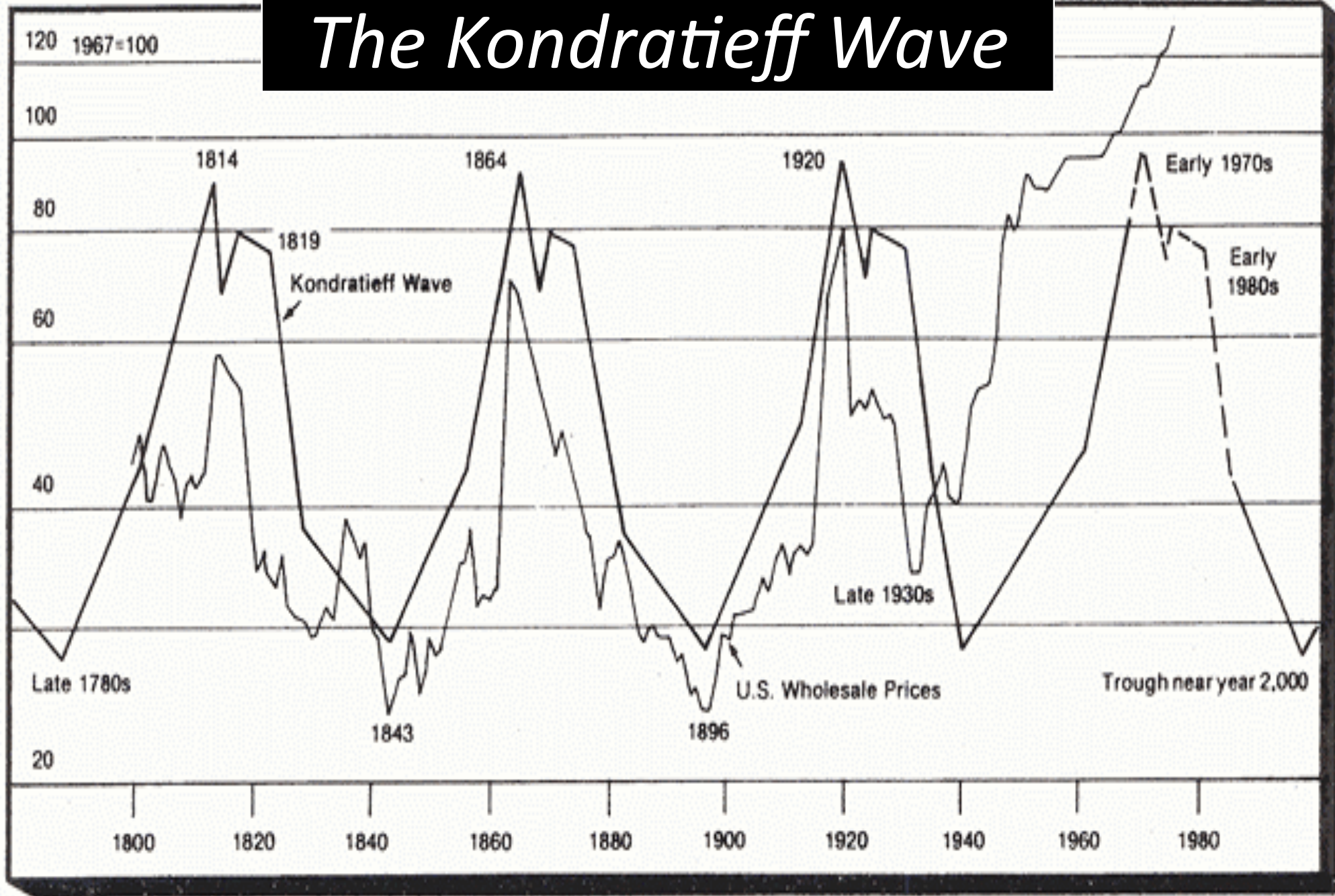
We insist that governments adopt a development model based on true social and environmental justice, and ensure the protection of the commons through an approach that would include the following:

- ◆ End the financial dynamics that privatize gain and nationalize/socialize risk and loss. This dynamic is creating inequality and stripping away basic rights and social protections from the most vulnerable, particularly women and racial/ethnic minorities;
- ◆ Promote human rights and equal access to productive assets (e.g., land, credit, water, seeds), particularly of and for the most vulnerable in society;
- ◆ Stop the financial capture of government regulation by, among other things, breaking up big banks, enacting and implementing anti-trust laws, and using public resources for election campaigns;
- ◆ Eliminate government subsidies to the fossil fuel industry (e.g. big oil, big coal etc) in ways that protect the poor and vulnerable;
- ◆ Fulfill the commitments of historical responsibility, established in International and regional conventions and agreements, to modify patterns of production-consumption for a low carbon society;
- ◆ Rethink the prevailing models of resource extraction and their dependence on carbon-intensive fossil fuel sources and other environmentally unsustainable practices, transitioning to models based more on respect for the Rights of Nature;
- ◆ Call on all industrialized economies to develop a national plan of action to substantially reduce their dependence on dirty fossil fuels and nuclear energy by 2030;
- ◆ Develop national strategies now for making the transition to clean renewable energy through public investments in wind, solar, geothermal and small-scale hydro by 2030;
- ◆ Set as a target for national government programs and strategies the creation of one million or more green jobs in all of the G20 countries and economies;
- ◆ Require all proposed mining, energy, forestry, tourism and agribusiness developments on community and Indigenous lands to obtain 'free, prior and informed consent' for any project that affects them or their lands;
- ◆ Withdraw all government subsidies to agriculture, mining, energy and other extractive industries and reinvest this capital into making the transition to clean renewable energy developments;
- ◆ Introduce measures to ensure that foreign and other forms of investment, as well as trade and intellectual property laws, contribute to local community development and respects domestic laws;
- ◆ Establish new ground rules designed to prevent any corporation, foreign or domestic, from engaging in practices that amount to an assault on the rights of nature and the commons;
- ◆ Advance in debt audits, the elimination of illegitimate debts and the system of debt chain at all levels;
- ◆ Advance in the regionalization of global finance to decentralize global financial power, to achieve the protection of the commons, of ecosystems and food sovereignty.

CJ movement: *leave the oil in the soil, the coal in the hole, the tarsand in the land, and the fracking shale-gas under the grass*

- Niger Delta women, *Environmental Rights Action, MEND* halted majority of oil exploitation, 2008
- Canada: Alberta anti-tarsands green and indigenous activists, and Quebecois versus shale-gas
- British *Climate Camp (Crude Awakening block Coryton oil refinery, 2010 – MI5 spy couldn't crack it)*
- Australian *Rising Tide* regularly block Newcastle coal exports
- Norwegian environmentalists and Attac win against state oil company in *Lofoten* region, 2011
- Ecuador's Amazon indigenous activists + *Accion Ecológica* halt oil drilling in Yasuni National Park
- stopping US King Coal: Mountain Top Removal nearly halted in Appalachia; Navajo Nation forced cancellation of Black Mesa (Arizona) mine permit against world's largest coal company, Peabody; Powder River Basin (MN, WY) farmers and ranchers fight coal expansion
- detailing US coal energy: nearly all 151 proposed new coal power plants in Bush Energy Plan cancelled, abandoned or stalled since 2007; key community forces: Indigenous Environmental Network, Energy Justice Network and Western Mining Action Network, plus Sierra legal team
- preventing incinerators: since 2000, no new waste incinerators (more carbon-intensive than coal and leading source of cancer-causing dioxins)
 - Global Alliance for Incinerator Alternatives, Detroit victory, world wastepickers movement
- defeating Chevron expansion in Richmond, CA
- undamming Mega Hydro at Klamath River: indigenous communities defeat Pacificorp Power
- building resilient communities through local action: frontline communities winning campaigns linking climate justice to basic survival
 - e.g., Oakland Climate Action Coalition opposes climate disruption, promotes Just Transition

The Kondratieff Wave

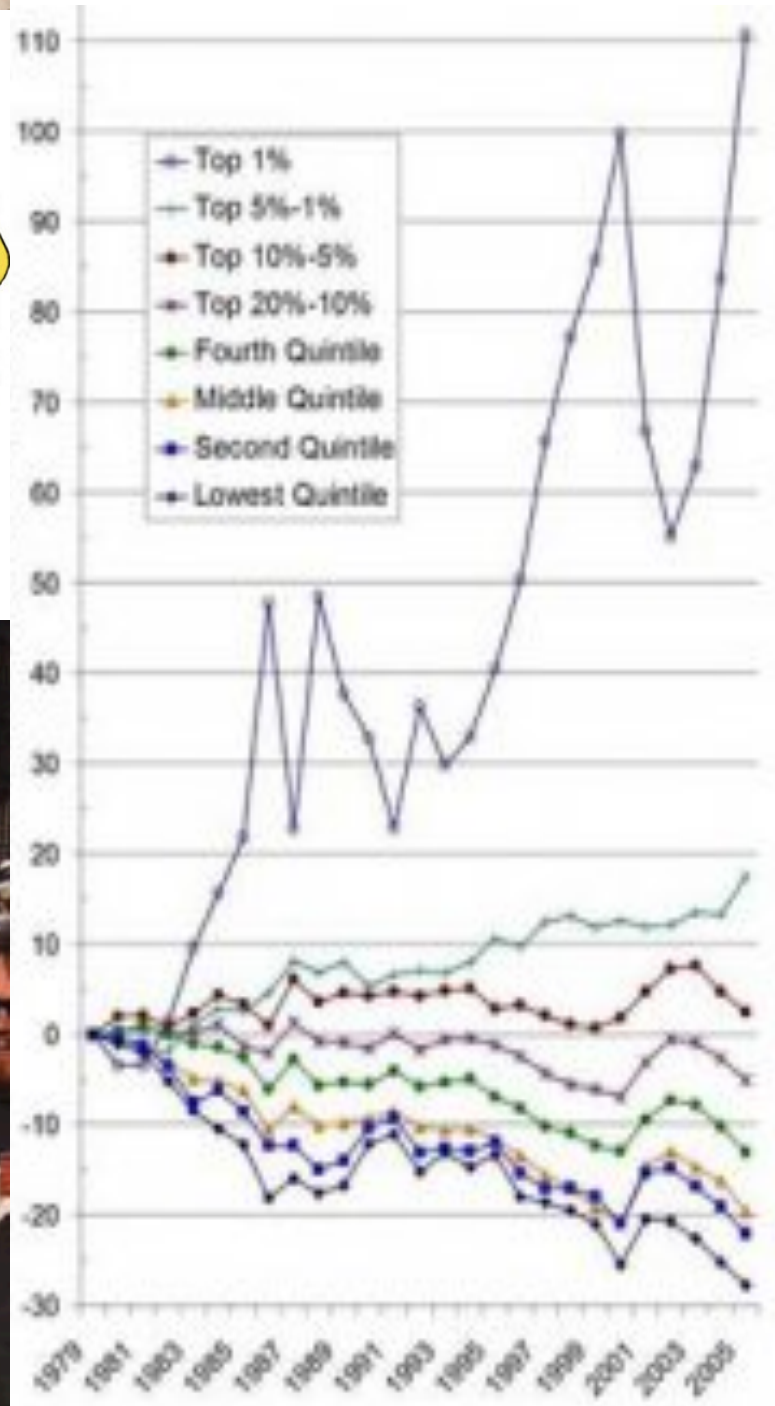
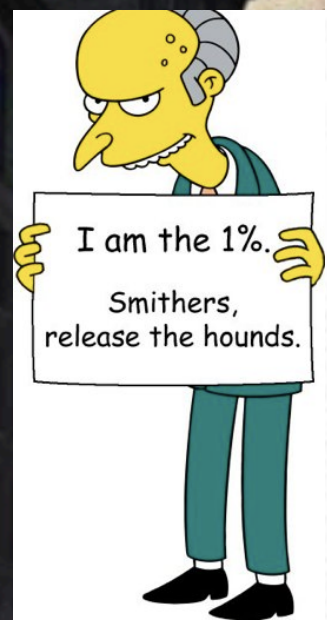


economic resistance from below?



2011-12: Arab Spring, 'Indignados' of Spain, Greeks and Italians, Occupy in the US and Europe, Nigeria Occupy, Senegal, etc





*can we get there? two contrary
directions for framing campaign strategy:*

1) 'reformist reforms':

*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*

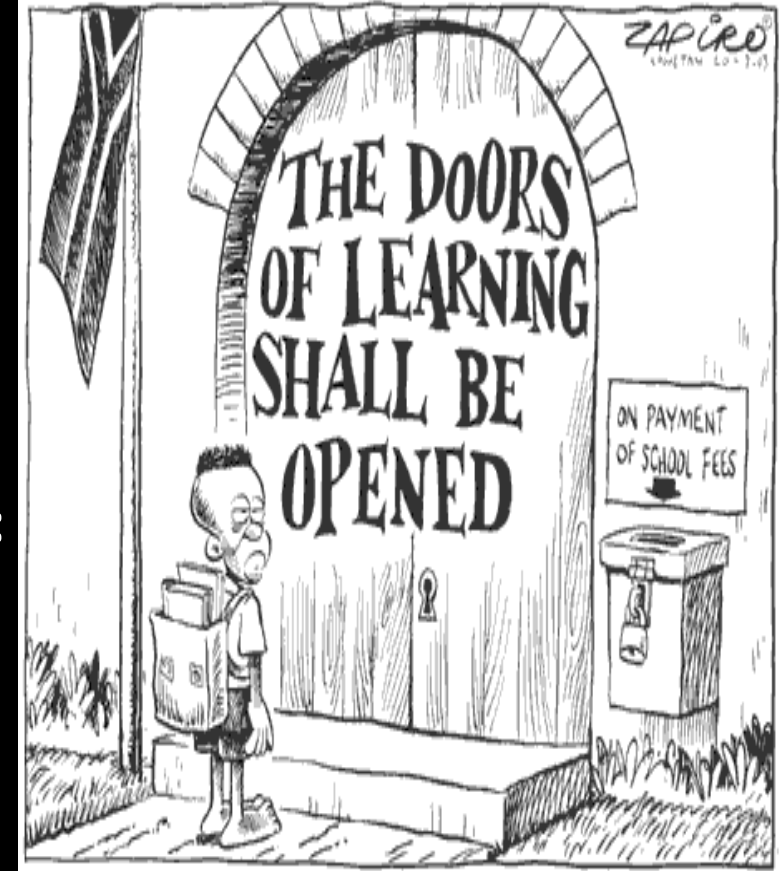
2) 'non-reformist reforms':

*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)

South African campaigns for decommmodification, destratification and the deglobalization of capital

- SA activists turning several ongoing struggles to turn basic needs into *human rights*:
 - *free antiretroviral medicines*;
 - *National Health Insurance*;
 - *free water (50 liters/person/day)*;
 - *free electricity (at least 1 kWh/c/d)*;
 - *thorough-going land/housing reform*;
 - *free basic education*;
 - *renationalisation of Telkom for lifeline phone services*;
 - *prohibition on services disconnections and evictions*;
 - *a 'Basic Income Grant'* ; and
 - *the right to a job!*
- as 'non-reformist reforms', all such services should be *universal*, partly financed by *penalizing luxury consumption*.
- interlocking/overlapping campaigns – but so far not unified due to macropolitical conjuncture (especially sustained Zuma faction within ANC)



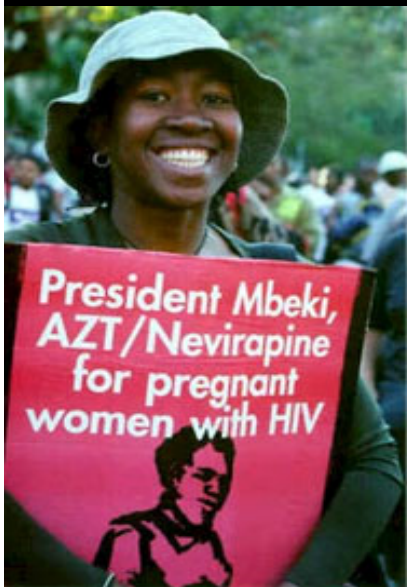
**case study of successful
local/internationalist social
movement solidarity for
access to Anti-RetroViral (ARV)
drugs to treat AIDS**



Gugu Dlamini

- *1990s – US promotes Intellectual Property above all, monopoly-patented ARVs cost \$15 000/person/year*
- *1997 – SA's Medicines Act allows 'compulsory licensing'*
- *1998 – US State Dept counters with 'full court press', Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) formed, death of Durban AIDS activist Gugu Dlamini due to stigmatization*
- *1999 – Al Gore for president, ACTUP! opposition, Seattle WTO protest and Bill Clinton surrender*
- *2000 – AIDS Durban conference, Thabo Mbeki denialism*
- *2001 – 'PMA-SA v Mandela' lawsuit w MSF & Oxfam, while*

- **TAC's Anti-RetroVirals campaign successes:**
 - 2001 – SA Constitutional Court supports nevirapine, major WTO TRIPS concession at Doha
 - 2002 – critiques of Mbeki, Tshabalala-Msimang, Erwin
 - 2003 – ANC compels change in state policy
 - 2004 – generics produced in SA, followed by roll-out
 - 2012 – 1.5 million recipients, 8-year life expectancy rise
 - threats – Obama's Pefpar cuts, Global Fund crisis



lessons for social resistance:

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

