

A compilation of material on

CLIMATE JUSTICE

June 2011

CLIMATE JUSTICE

THE NEED FOR MAJOR MOBILIZATION TO DEFEND LIFE AND EARTH

February 2011, World Social Forum, Doha

Climate justice briefs #8 THE DANGER OF CARBON MARKETS

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Africa is one of the most vulnerable regions to climate change, and is very likely to warm during the next 50 years. In all four seasons, the median temperature will rise by roughly 1.5 times the global average.

Key messages

- Adapting to and mitigating climate change are integral to economic development and social justice.
- Climate change policy and planning must take account of the needs of the most vulnerable, especially women, children, the elderly, and those in rural and coastal areas.
- Gender equality and women's participation in decision-making are essential for effective climate change policy and planning.
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Why focus on gender in climate change?

Climate change is a global issue that affects everyone, but it affects women and children disproportionately. Women and children are more vulnerable to the impacts of climate change, and they have less access to resources and decision-making power.

Differentiated impacts of climate change

Climate change will have different impacts on different groups of people. Women and children are more vulnerable to the impacts of climate change, and they have less access to resources and decision-making power.

Gender equality and climate change

Gender equality and women's participation in decision-making are essential for effective climate change policy and planning.

Shared vision

A shared vision for long-term cooperative action in climate change negotiations should not be based on a narrow focus on climate change alone, but on a broader vision of sustainable development and social justice.

Key messages

- The World Bank does not have a clear strategy for addressing climate change.
- The World Bank's climate change strategy is inconsistent with the needs of the most vulnerable.
- The World Bank's climate change strategy is inconsistent with the needs of the most vulnerable.

What's at stake?

Climate finance – the address of dollars and cents – is a key element of climate change negotiations. It is essential for developing countries to have access to climate finance to address their climate change needs.

Key messages

- The World Bank's climate change strategy is inconsistent with the needs of the most vulnerable.
- The World Bank's climate change strategy is inconsistent with the needs of the most vulnerable.

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The goal of this material is to connect some of the ideas and energy of the World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth in Cochabamba, Bolivia (April 2010) with issues on the table at the UN climate talks. Please feel free to use the material as a resource and to distribute it further. We hope you find the various contributions useful.

Please note that this material has been produced by a number of different organisations, listed in full on each Climate Justice Brief, but that the content of each is not necessarily endorsed by all the contributors.

CLIMATE JUSTICE

THE NEED FOR MAJOR MOBILIZATION TO DEFEND LIFE AND MOTHER EARTH

February 2011, World Social Forum, Dakar

We are at an unprecedented time in the history of the world – a time at which we must act urgently, with unprecedented unity and clarity, to defend life and our Mother Earth. We face a growing set of crises with climate change at the core, caused by a system that is designed and dominated by elite interests and is fundamentally opposed to the interest of people everywhere and to the harmony and integrity of our Mother Earth.

The movements of women and men, farmers and rural communities, fisher-folk and coastal communities, indigenous peoples, formal and informal workers, climate migrants, youth, and urban poor, and many others from all regions of the world meeting at the World Social Forum in Senegal, Dakar, have a crucial role to play in mobilizing for survival and climate justice.

A climate crisis

At the center of this crisis is the fundamental destabilization of the Earth's climate. Climate change is unequivocally upon us. Worsening famines in Africa. Fires in Russia. Extreme weather, flooding and devastation in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Brazil, China, Australia and numerous other locations worldwide. These are not isolated events but mounting evidence of a growing climate crisis that threatens lives and livelihoods everywhere.

Climate change is proceeding faster than predicted by the world's scientific body on climate change, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, in its Fourth Assessment Report. The Earth's climate is "tipping" off balance and we must act swiftly to stabilize it within a range fit for human life and human wellbeing.

Africa on the frontline

Africa is on the front-line of climate change. According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change:

Africa is one of the most vulnerable continents to climate change...¹ All of Africa is very likely to warm during this century. The warming is very likely to be larger than the global, annual mean warming throughout the continent and in all seasons...² In all four regions and in all seasons, the median temperature increase lies ... roughly 1.5 times the global mean response.³

As a result, warming of as little as 1.5 degrees Celsius globally could mean Africa warms by well over 2 degrees. Recent scientific evidence (since the IPCC Fourth Assessment Report) confirms that warming of these levels threatens catastrophic impacts, including potential for crop losses continentally of over 30%.⁴

Like communities in other regions, the communities of Africa will pay the highest price if our efforts to secure climate justice are unsuccessful. As stated by Reverend Desmond Tutu, "a global goal of about 2 degrees is to condemn Africa to incineration and to no modern development".⁵ As Africa will host the next UN climate conference in December 2011 in Durban, South Africa, it is timely that the World Social Forum is taking place in Dakar, Senegal.

A crisis of crises

The current crisis is not just about global warming or the science surrounding it; it is also an economic and social crisis, a political crisis, a food and energy crisis, and an ecological crisis. It is a systemic crisis that the affected people everywhere – and particularly peoples of the South – understand is about our lives and futures.

It is about our food, health, lands, seeds, rights, and livelihoods. It is about further discrimination and violence against women, forced migrations, loss of sovereignty over natural resources, the impossibility to continue existing as original communities living in harmony with nature. Above all, it is about justice: climate justice, ecological justice, economic justice, gender justice and historical justice.

Underlying our debates and conclusions is the shared belief that the dominant approaches in the official climate change negotiations are not considering either the urgency of the matter, nor its causes and the overarching reach of its implications. Without a change in course endless negotiations will only result in the justification and continuation of a failed “development” paradigm and the emergence of more market-based mechanisms that aim not to solve the problem of global warming but rather to profit from it.

Dismantling the climate regime

These concerns are already evident in the formal climate negotiations, where industrialized countries are leading an exodus from the agreed negotiating “roadmap” with the objective of dismantling the international climate regime.

Under the roadmap agreed in Bali (the Bali Roadmap) at the December 2007 climate conference of the United Nations, countries agreed an approach under which all countries would contribute to the solution of climate change in accordance with equity, historical responsibility and common but differentiated responsibilities.

They agreed to two tracks of negotiations under the Convention and its Kyoto Protocol. The agreement was that the current system would be maintained as the foundation of the global climate regime, and that we would build on this foundation in an equitable way.

Under the Bali Roadmap it was understood that:

- The negotiations to ensure developed countries take on binding emission reductions would continue and developed countries would adopt a second period of commitments under the Kyoto Protocol commencing in 2013;
- The United States, which is the only country to repudiate the Kyoto Protocol, would undertake comparable commitments under the Convention; and
- Developing countries would undertake nationally appropriate mitigation actions, enabled and supported by financing and technology that would be measurable, reportable and verifiable.

The bargain was to maintain the existing rules – including provisions on transparency and compliance

under the Kyoto Protocol – and to lift up the standard of other countries (including the United States) through new negotiations under the Convention. Developed countries were also to honor their long-standing, but largely un-implemented, obligations to enable adaptation and provide substantial financial and technology transfers.

Instead of honoring this plan, many developed countries have now indicated their clear intention to avoid binding obligations to reduce their climate pollution, to kill the Kyoto Protocol and to replace it with a weaker “pledge-based” system. At the same time, they are seeking to retain their favored elements of the Kyoto Protocol (e.g. market mechanisms) into a new agreement, and to establish a system of voluntary pledges.

Underpinning their agenda is the objectives of, among other things:

- Agreeing a global limit on warming of 2 degrees C, which would threaten catastrophic impacts on the world’s impoverished people while enabling a “soft landing” for their economies, corporations and powerful economic interests.
- Avoiding binding targets for developed countries that might limit their economic interests or consumption and that are enforceable as a matter of international law through oversight and compliance mechanisms.
- Enabling developed countries to appropriate the largest possible share of the remaining atmospheric commons to support their national economic interests and corporations through weak national targets and carbon markets, while imposing obligations on developing countries through the back door.
- Limiting their responsibility and liability for climate impacts and costs by “capping” their responsibility through a pledge to “mobilize” a mere \$100 billion in 2020, a sum far too little to address the scale of the challenge and a commitment carefully framed in terms of “mobilizing” so there is, in fact, no obligation to provide any particular sum of public funds, and these funds may thus be mobilized via markets and contributions by developing countries.

- Establishing markets and other false solutions that enable further consolidation of wealth and power to economic and financial interests in the developed countries, while enabling increased control over markets, industries, forests, agricultural resources in developing countries, and shifting the burden of curbing climate pollution to developing countries and communities.

An ambush in Copenhagen

To advance this agenda, an exclusive, un-transparent and undemocratic process involving around 28 countries was convened by the Danish government alongside the formal UN climate conference in Copenhagen to produce the so-called Copenhagen Accord, an illegitimate document that was not mandated and ignored years of work in the formal process.

The process excluded over 160 countries and sidelined formal UN negotiations. Emerging from this exclusive process, President Obama announced a deal to the international media before over 160 countries had even been presented with a draft text. The Danish Prime Minister then tabled the so-called Accord in the formal UN process on a “take-it-or-leave-it” basis offering countries only an hour to review the document. This led to an uproar in which many nations expressed their concerns.

Tuvalu refused to accept “30 pieces of silver” to sacrifice its future. Venezuela characterized it as a “coup-d’Etat” of the UN. Ultimately, thanks to the actions of a number of developing countries – including notably Bolivia, Nicaragua, Sudan, Tuvalu, Venezuela and others – the Accord was not adopted by the UN, meaning it remained a non-binding document with no legal standing or effect in the formal process.

The Accord was widely rejected by many NGOs, social organizations and movements⁶, for a variety of reasons including that:

- It includes pledges that would in fact give rise to 3.9°C of global warming according to Northern scientists.⁷ Its stated goal of 2°C threatens catastrophic impacts for many communities, and its proposed review of a 1.5°C goal occurs too late to stabilize emissions at this level.
- It threatens the Kyoto Protocol’s legally binding targets for developed countries. It is merely a system of voluntary and unilateral pledges that does

not include a science-based aggregate target, legally binding individual targets for industrialized countries or effective compliance. It threatens to shift the burden of climate change to developing countries.

- It fails to share the global atmospheric commons fairly. Inadequate pledges by Annex I countries (13-19% from 1990 levels by 2020) allow them to ignore historical responsibility and grab a disproportionate share of the remaining atmospheric space, denying it to developing countries. This is climate colonialism.
- The proposed \$10 billion per year in short-term financing for the period 2010 to 2012 is inadequate. This has already proven not to be “new and additional” to ODA. The African Group has called for short-term financing of \$400 billion, with \$150 billion immediately available as “special drawing rights”.
- The proposal to “mobilize” \$100 billion in longer-term financing is inadequate. There is no commitment to “provide” this finance from public sources. The amounts are insufficient to stabilize concentrations at levels essential to survival and prosperity.
- The Accord’s proposed finance and technology mechanisms fail to ensure democratic, transparent and accountable governance of finances and technology transfer under authority of the Conference of Parties, as called for by the G77 and China.

Despite a setback to their efforts in Copenhagen, powerful countries including the United States, United Kingdom and others pressured many developing countries during 2010 into associating with the Copenhagen Accord. Countries were bullied and pressured, and financial resources formally withdrawn by the United States to Ecuador and Bolivia, which refused to capitulate. While pushing the Accord outside the UN process, its proponents also sought to establish it as the formal basis of negotiations within the United Nations, while downgrading expectations for the 2010 Cancun climate meeting.

Manufacturing “consensus” in Cancun

In Cancun, a major objective was to avoid a re-run of the Copenhagen fiasco. At the same time, those driv-

ing the process understood that adopting the more transparent and participatory processes usually required within the United Nations would have made it difficult to impose their agenda.

Rather than restoring UN processes, as demanded by many developing countries, Mexico instead used its position as President of Conference of the Parties to convene WTO-style processes including small, exclusive meetings of selected Parties (known as “green rooms” in the WTO), informal consultations and “confessionals” conducted by pairs of Ministers (to find out Parties bottom line negotiating positions), back-room drafting processes, and informal plenaries to update Parties.

Meetings were claimed to be “open and transparent” but in fact it is still not known – even to many government delegations – who was in fact invited to participate in which meetings, where they were held, and what was discussed. A final document was prepared outside the formal negotiating process, again without clarity on who served as its drafters, but presumably with input from powerful countries and the Mexican presidency. From this process the Mexican government presented a final text to all countries, offering them only a few hours to review it and – like in Copenhagen – to accept it on a “take-it-or-leave-it” basis.

Predictably the outcomes were warmly welcomed by the developed countries, which had achieved many of the objectives set in the Copenhagen process and Accord. Many developing country officials also publicly welcomed the outcomes, some participating exuberantly in standing ovations, presumably celebrating that another Copenhagen-style collapse had been averted or some of their demands were reflected (e.g. for new adaptation, finance or technology institutions), while in private many delegates acknowledged the outcome is deeply flawed. Only Bolivia had the courage to speak out about both the process and its outcomes.

In the final plenaries, Bolivia stood alone in demanding its right as a sovereign state to participate in formal negotiations, and to have its formal negotiating proposals – including those reflecting the will of the people as expressed in the Cochabamba People’s Agreement – be fairly reflected in the text. Bolivia’s Ambassador, Pablo Solon, spoke passionately in front

of thousands assembled in the final plenary, and stated that the document represents a step backwards in relation to mitigation as it⁸:

- Postpones indefinitely a decision under the Kyoto Protocol. Bolivia had come to Cancun to ensure that there would be a decision to guarantee a second commitment period of reductions under the Kyoto Protocol and this document did not guarantee that.
- Opens the doors to a regime that will be a flexible and voluntary “pledge and review” approach and not a system where all Annex I Parties will fulfill a set target. What is going to emerge is not a stronger regime for reducing emissions in mitigation but a voluntary regime which is less demanding on developed countries that are responsible for global warming.
- Refers to a supplementary document which is supposed to include developed countries’ commitments (document FCCC/SB/2010/INF X) that did not even exist and that Parties “do not know what these commitments will be and if these commitments will lead to a stabilization of greenhouse gas emissions which will be sustainable for human life and plants.” Solon stated that it was not possible to have a decision based on a list that was to be drawn up later, in essence a blank cheque where the Annex 1 Parties would fill up whatever they wanted.
- Likely referred to, in the supplementary document, the Copenhagen Accord pledges that would only amount to a 13 to 17% reductions in emissions compared to 1990 levels, which will lead to a temperature rise of 4 degree C. Such a temperature level could lead to a situation of “genocide and ecocide.” Bolivia could not agree to an agreement “which will put more human lives in a situation close to death.”
- Allows the Kyoto Protocol’s market mechanisms to continue, whereas countries that do not accept a second commitment period of the Protocol should not be allowed to use its flexibility mechanisms like emissions trading and the Clean Development Mechanism.

In relation to technology, Ambassador Solon stated that Bolivia had wanted Parties to address the issue

of intellectual property rights. As a compromise to the various proposals on IPRs on the table, Bolivia said that it had requested for at least a workshop be held and a process for discussions to begin in 2011 on the IPR issue. Even this basic proposal was disregarded. In most clean technologies, 70-80% of that is in the hands of developed countries and it is they who hold the patents.

In relation to finance, he said \$100 billion per year would be mobilized by 2020 but that it was not stated whether this would come from developed countries or from the carbon markets. The World Bank is to serve as the interim trustee and Bolivia could not accept this as the Bank is an institution dominated by donors.

In relation to shared vision, he said Bolivia could not support the 2 degree C temperature goal as according to various studies, this would mean a 3 degree C situation for Africa. Referring to the IPCC's Fourth Assessment Report, a 2 degree C target would mean a 50% chance of stabilizing the climate and he said that no one would send his or her child on a plane if it had a 50% chance of crashing.

For these reasons, Bolivia could not agree to the so-called Cancun Agreements. Ambassador Solon stated:

We represent a small country which has principles and will not sell our country and we speak with the peoples of the world. There is no consensus for approval of this document."

Despite Bolivia's objections, the Mexican chair gavelled through the outcome as formally adopted stating that one country could not prevent a consensus.

Undermining international law and institutions

The decision by Mexico to override the express objections of a sovereign state and nevertheless claim "consensus" departs from established processes in the UN and in other international organizations including the WTO. At the WTO consensus is defined where "no member, present at the meeting, when the decision is taken, formally objects to the proposed decision".

In a final plenary, Ambassador Solon said that consensus meant that no state was explicitly stating objection or rejection to the decision. He added:

You cannot say there is consensus. You can only take note. This is an attempt to violate rules of the Convention and the United Nations. Consensus is not by a majority. There must be an absence of explicit rejection of a decision. Despite our objection, the decision was adopted. We are going to apply to all international bodies to preserve the rules of consensus. We came here to negotiate and not to gavel an injustice. Not even in Copenhagen was this done and there was respect for the rule of consensus. The (Copenhagen) Presidency did not have the gall to hammer through a decision. Now there is a violation of rule. This is an unhappy conclusion. I ask you to review your decision and return to the path of law.

The decision by the Mexican Presidency, and those supporting it, raise serious questions about the rule of law, the sovereignty of states and the integrity of the United Nations system. It demands a response by all states and people committed to a system based on rule by law not power, and to outcomes that reflect the will of people and not merely those of the most powerful countries and groups.

Dismantling democracy

Pressure on international law and institutions have been paralleled by pressure on democratic practice at the national level. In many countries, the interests of people are being undermined by pressure from powerful states, donor organizations and elite and economic interests. In some countries, elite interests or pressure from industrialized countries led developing country governments to associate with the Copenhagen Accord, despite protests from civil society organizations and social movements.

In Africa regional institutions and platforms, supported substantially by donors, have been created or expanded with the ostensible goal of improving the consistency of Africa's participation in climate negotiations and policy-making. These efforts, however, risks further sidelining elected officials and undermining their accountability, where it exists, to citizens.

An elite and corporate-led agenda

In the absence of a countervailing force, the international climate agenda is increasingly dominated by the interests of Northern industrialized countries,

international financial institutions, multinational corporations and elites in both the North and the South.

Underpinning their agenda are the interests of a small economic and political elite – including the networks of individuals, corporations and financial institutions that dominate decisions about investment, production and distribution and who hold senior positions in corporations, academia, media and government.

The position of the United States in international climate negotiations is shaped substantially by its failure to secure domestic climate legislation, which in turn is the result of actions by powerful economic lobbies including the coal, oil, automotive, metals, fertilizer, chemical, agri-business and other economic lobbies.

Corporations have opposed not merely domestic legislation and international emission reduction pledges, but also any curbs on emissions that would affect their economic interests. Some are architects of the effort to deny climate change, harass climate scientists and limit necessary climate action. They seek not merely to undermine the inadequate pledges that are currently on the table – which are estimated to lead the world to some 5 degrees C of average global warming – but any effective climate action.

These efforts against climate justice are not isolated. They must be seen in the context of broader efforts to appropriate wealth and resources, extend domination and hegemony, and consolidate power. Some of those who oppose climate justice are those who also support any available means to pursue their agenda including, where they deem it necessary, armed conflict, terrorism and torture, and unjust and illegal wars in the Middle East and elsewhere.

Courting climate catastrophe

The reconceived climate agenda proposed by these elite interests, set out in the Copenhagen Accord and embodied in the Cancun outcomes threaten to lead the world down the path of global warming disaster. A UN report on the “Emissions Gap” shows that under the Copenhagen Accord’s pledges the developed countries will actually increase their emissions by 6% in the worst scenario or will only cut by 16% in the best scenario (by 2020 compared to 1990).⁹

It concludes that under current pledges, the world will move towards global warming of 2.5 to 5 degrees Celsius before the end of this century. Many scientists and over 100 governments believe that the safe limit is below 1 or 1.5 degrees, so this threatens to destabilize the Earth’s climate system, subject hundreds of millions of people in the world to inhumane conditions that seriously violate their human rights. Current levels of warming have already begun “triggering” major “tipping points” in the Earth system – such as methane from Arctic tundra, die-back of the Amazon or loss of icesheets and glaciers – with 2 degrees of warming threatening to trip a chain of events that cause warming to spin rapidly out of control. In fact, the UN Advisory Group on Greenhouse Gases stated already in 1986 that warming “beyond 1 degree C may elicit rapid, unpredictable and non-linear responses that could lead to extensive ecosystem damage”.¹⁰

If the elite and corporate interests that seek to undermine even the current pledges (let alone any more ambitious effort to achieve climate justice) are successful then the stability of the Earth’s physical and living systems is in jeopardy. A recent article in *Science* notes that if we continue business-as-usual fossil fuel use then we’re in fact on trajectory for 900-1100ppm CO₂ by the end of the century.¹¹ It states that concentrations of this level last existed about 30 to 100 million years ago, when global temperatures averaged about 16 degrees C above pre-industrial levels. In the typically understated language of scientists it concludes “the human species and global ecosystems will be placed in a climate state never before experienced in their evolutionary history and at an unprecedented rate”.

A translation: In a world that is 16 degrees C warmer the surface of the Earth that is not inundated completely, including the poles, would be rendered into low-biodiversity swamps lashed by storms, floods and fires. It seems unlikely under such conditions that human civilization could continue for long, except perhaps in small, highly fortified enclaves. A significant portion of the Earth’s people, plants and animals would perish. For those humans that survive the focus would be principally on “order” rather than “justice” or “development”.

These, unfortunately, are not the scenarios of science fiction. Scenarios of potential for 16 degrees C of

warming are based firmly on the latest evidence about the Earth's historical climate. Evidence from the historical record also demonstrates that at other stages in the history of our planet (such as the "end-Permian event" around 225 million years ago) changes in climate caused 90% of all life to be extinguished. At stake in our effort, then, is literally life on Earth. Not simply human rights, democracy or justice, which we cherish, but the maintenance of life.

A mobilization of people

Defending life on Earth requires an unprecedented global mobilization of people – a movement of movements representing all branches of the global justice movement, organized at the local, national and global levels and in all regions to change the system, counter the opponents of justice, and implementing the program of actions required to defend life and restore harmony among humans and with nature. This effort must:

- Be based on a rigorous and scientific analysis of the causes of the current situation, including the scale of the challenge posed by climate change and associated crises, their root causes and the solutions to these causes.
- Involve a more systematic mobilization involving all branches of the global justice movement working in concert, with leadership coming in particular from the peoples and social movements of the Global South.
- Secure agreement on a clear science- and justice-based platform, or platform of platforms, that unites us across all regions, sectors and levels in a common social front of resistance and action.
- Demarcate a clear line between those who support the movement to defend life and Mother Earth and those who are its opponents, including those who seek to perpetuate and extend the status quo, risking the stability of our home the Earth.
- Include a willingness to embrace the full range of strategies including social action, political action and direct action to confront the root causes of the present crisis and put in place a more just and harmonious system.
- Ensure more systematic mobilization and organization of people in every location and every forum necessary to achieve our objectives built on a unity among all peoples and movements.
- Involve more systematic efforts to support all allies – including those individuals working within formal institutions and governments – who share our agenda and are willing to advance it.
- Champion and implement a clear agenda of just and positive solutions at the local level and in every sector and location designed to ensure the interests of people and communities while curbing climate change and addressing related crises.

Together we must continue to fashion a climate justice agenda and mobilization capable of confronting the grave threat facing humanity and all of life on Earth. Deliberations in Dakar provide a key opportunity to deepen our collaboration, and extend the circle of cooperation to new partners in the struggle to defend life and ensure a fairer and brighter future.

¹ Contribution of Working Group II to the IPCC Fourth Assessment Report, Chapter 9, Africa, at page 435

² Contribution of Working Group I to the IPCC Fourth Assessment Report, Chapter 11, Regional Climate Projections, at page 866-867

³ Id.

⁴ Schlenker et al., Environmental Research Letters 5 (2010)

⁵ Rev. Desmond Tutu, Letter to Danish Prime Minister, 15 December 2009

⁶ PACJA Statement on Copenhagen Accord ("Say 'No' to the Copenhagen Accord), March 2010

⁷ www.pewclimate.org/.../copenhagen-accord-adding-up-mitigation-pledges.pdf

⁸ TWN Cancun News Update No. 19

⁹ <http://www.unep.org/publications/ebooks/emissionsgapreport/>

¹⁰ UN Advisory Group on Greenhouse Gases, 1986

¹¹ Science, Lessons from the Earth's Past, 331, 158(2011)

This document was first produced for and distributed at the World Social Forum, Dakar, Senegal, in February 2011, at workshops/seminars organized by, among others, Pan-African Climate Justice Alliance (PACJA), Friends of the Earth International, Jubilee South Asia/Pacific Movement on Debt and Development (JSAPMDD) and What Next Forum.

CLIMATE DEBT

November 2010, Cancún

A wealthy minority of the world's countries and corporations are the principal cause of climate change; its adverse effects fall first and foremost on the majority that is poor. This basic and undeniable truth forms the foundation of the global climate justice movement.

The climate debt primer

Key messages

- The main causes of climate change are wealthy countries and corporations
- The main victims of climate change are developing countries and communities
- Wealthy countries and corporations thus have climate debts for: 1) their excessive emissions and use of atmospheric space; and 2) the adverse impacts of climate change on the poor
- Developed countries must rapidly and radically reduce and remove their greenhouse gases from the atmosphere
- They must also provide finance, technology and reparations for adverse impacts and lost opportunities for development
- Repaying these climate debts is the basis for a fair and science-based solution to climate change

As the starting point for climate justice, those who are the main cause of climate change must embrace and address their responsibilities. Developed countries must address their climate debt in all its dimensions as the basis of a fair, effective and scientifically sound solution to climate change.

Historical responsibilities for climate change

The causes of climate change are clear. Developed countries have appropriated the Earth's atmospheric space by emitting the vast majority of historical greenhouse gas emissions, while they only represent 20% of the world's population.

Adverse effects on poor countries and people

The poor have contributed least to the climate crisis but are its first and worst victims. At greatest risk are vulnerable countries, communities and people, including women, children, elders, indigenous peoples, poor rural and urban communities, small-scale farmers, fisher-folk and forest communities, youth and future generations.

Climate debt and reparations

Developed countries and corporations owe a two-fold climate debt to the poor majority:

- For their historical and continuing excessive emissions – denying de-

veloping countries their fair share of atmospheric space – they have an “emissions debt”;

- For their contribution to the adverse effects of climate change – requiring developing countries to adapt to rising climate impacts and damage – they have an “adaptation debt”.

The sum of these debts constitutes their climate debt, which is part of a larger ecological, social and economic debt owed by the rich industrialized world to the poor majority.

A fair and science-based solution

The way to solve the climate crisis in a fair, and scientifically sound way is to honor climate debts.

This approach provides a methodology for sharing responsibilities to address climate change based on the principles of equity and common but differentiated responsibilities enshrined in the UN Climate Convention.

It forms the basis of proposals by Bolivia and numerous other States, which call on developed countries to:

Developing countries are not seeking economic handouts to solve a problem we did not cause. What we call for is full payment of the debt owed to us by developed countries for threatening the integrity of the Earth's climate system.

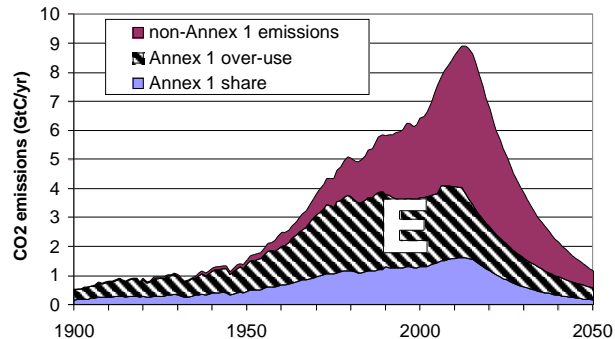
Bolivian Government, Submission to UN climate negotiations

Climate justice briefs #1 – Climate debt

- Take on a total commitments reflecting the full extent of their historical debt;
- Take on commitments to reduce their domestic emissions by 50% by 2017;
- Apply the difference between their total and domestic commitment as the basis for assured funding for developing countries via the Global Climate Fund under the UN Climate Convention.

Repaying climate debt focuses not merely on financial compensation, but on restorative justice – on “making whole” those people and members of the community of life on Earth that are adversely affected by climate change. It is an essential element of the broader effort to address the root causes of climate change.

Annual emissions with 80% global reductions by 2050 (showing Annex 1 over-use)



Further delay by developed country parties in implementing their commitments to reduce emissions will increase their climate debt to the developing countries and significantly constrain opportunities to achieve lower stabilization levels of greenhouse gases and increase the risk of more severe climate change impacts.

Least Developed Country Group, Statement to UNFCCC

People's Agreement, April 2010, Cochabamba

Developed countries, as the main cause of climate change, in assuming their historical responsibility, must recognize and honor their climate debt in all of its dimensions as the basis for a just, effective, and scientific solution to climate change. In this context, we demand that developed countries:

- Restore to developing countries the atmospheric space that is occupied by their greenhouse gas emissions. This implies the decolonization of the atmosphere through the reduction and absorption of their emissions.
- Assume the costs and technology transfer needs of developing countries arising from the loss of development opportunities due to living in a restricted atmospheric space.
- Assume responsibility for the hundreds of millions of people that will be forced to migrate due to the climate change caused by these countries, and eliminate their restrictive immigration policies, offering migrants a decent life with full human rights guarantees in their countries.
- Assume adaptation debt related to the impacts of climate change on developing countries by providing the means to prevent, minimize, and deal with damages arising from their excessive emissions.
- Honor these debts as part of a broader debt to Mother Earth by adopting and implementing the United Nations Universal Declaration on the Rights of Mother Earth.

The focus must not be only on financial compensation, but also on restorative justice, understood as the restitution of integrity to our Mother Earth and all its beings.

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SHARED VISION

November 2010, Cancún

The “shared vision for long-term cooperative action” in climate change negotiations should not be reduced to defining the limit on temperature increases and the concentration of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, but must also incorporate in a balanced and integral manner measures regarding capacity building, production and consumption patterns, and other essential factors such as the acknowledging of the Rights of Mother Earth to establish harmony with nature.

People’s Agreement, April 2010, Cochabamba

Key messages

- The “shared vision” involves the largest distribution of resources in modern history and maintaining the integrity of the Earth’s climate system
- Warming and greenhouse gas concentrations must be limited at levels that keep the world – and especially vulnerable communities – safe
- The remaining atmospheric space must be shared equitably among countries, based on historical responsibilities and capabilities
- Developed countries must radically reduce and remove their emissions, to live within the remaining atmospheric space, while leaving room for developing countries
- Developed countries must agree binding goals for financing and technology to developing countries
- The elements of the shared vision must address the root causes of climate change and, like pieces of a puzzle, fit together to get the job done in practice

At the UN climate talks countries are discussing a “shared vision” for long-term cooperation. Under discussion is:

- An agreed limit on global warming, and associated risks;
- The level of global emission cuts required to achieve this;
- The roles of developed and developing countries;
- The financing and technology to be provided to developing countries; and
- How in practice the shared vision will be achieved and reviewed.

At stake in the shared vision is nothing less than protecting the Earth’s climate and ecosystems, how we share atmospheric commons among rich and poor, and whether all countries can access the means – including finance and technology – to address climate change and live well.

Keeping the world safe

A “shared vision” must achieve the objective of the UN Climate Convention (UNFCCC Article 2) and keep the world safe from climate change.

According to recent climate science, atmospheric concentrations must be reduced below today’s levels “if humanity wishes to preserve a planet similar to that on which civilization developed and to which life on Earth is adapted”.¹

Over 100 developing countries have called for an effort to limit average global warming to “well below 1.5°C” above pre-industrial levels, and to thin

the blanket of greenhouse gasses in the atmosphere to “well below 350ppm” (parts per million).

Bolivia, and participants at the World People’s Conference, have called for an effort to limit warming to below 1°C, and atmospheric concentrations to below 300ppm, with a view to returning to pre-industrial levels.

Concentrations must be stabilized in a time frame that allows ecosystems to adapt naturally, ensures food production, and enables sustainable economic development (UNFCCC Article 2).

Emerging science suggests even 1.5°C of average warming is dangerous. It risks over 2°C warming on large land-masses such as Africa, which will warm “roughly 1.5 times the global mean response”.² It may lead to crop losses of over 30% continentally, according to recent studies.³

A global goal of 2°C is increasingly recognized as risking runaway climate change with catastrophic ecological, economic, social and moral implications.

Sharing atmospheric space

To keep warming below safe levels, the world must limit its emissions. The safer the limit on warming (e.g. 1 or 1.5°C), the thinner must be the blanket of gasses (e.g. 300 or 350ppm), and the less that can be emitted – implying a limit on the remaining “atmospheric space” or global “carbon budget”.

How this limited atmospheric space is shared among developed and develo-

¹ Dr. James Hansen et al., Target atmospheric CO₂: Where should humanity aim? Open Atmos. Sci. J. (2008)

² IPCC, Contribution of Working Group I to the IPCC Fourth Assessment Report, p866-867.

³ See, e.g., Schlenker et al., Environmental Research Letters 5 (2010)

Climate justice briefs #2 – Shared vision

ping countries is a major issue. To ensure they have the space and means to develop, developing countries have called for a long-term goal that is “preceded by a paradigm for equitable access to global atmospheric space”.

Rich countries to cut consumption and pollution

Developed countries must make “equitable and appropriate contributions” (UNFCCC Article 4.2) to achieving the global goal.

They must rapidly and radically cut their climate pollution and restore the atmospheric space occupied by these emissions.

Developed countries must adopt binding commitments far beyond the meagre “pledges” on the table, and close the “accounting loopholes” that would allow them to cheat the system.

The necessary level of mitigation calls not only for technological pro-

gress, but also for an end to over-consumption and unsustainable lifestyles.

Ensuring the means to develop and adapt

Developed countries are obliged to provide financial and technological resources to enable developing countries to fulfil their responsibility for mitigation actions and to address adverse climate impacts.

The shared vision must therefore include binding goals on the other elements of an agreed outcome:

- Compensation for adaptation must be adequate in light of the warming implied by the global goal and in practice;
- Technology must be deployed on a scale sufficient to curb global emissions, limit warming and enable development; and
- Financing must be sufficient to address adverse impacts, and pay the full incremental costs of mitiga-

tion, adaptation and technology transfer.

The shared vision must ensure that all the pieces of the puzzle – a limit on warming, the commitments of developed countries, and financing and technology available to developing countries etc. – are together sufficient to address climate change.

Addressing structural causes

These elements form part of a broader effort to address the structural causes of climate change and protect Mother Earth. A shared vision must ultimately address excessive consumption and production patterns, both in developing and developed countries, intellectual property rights, international trade and financial relations, and other inequities and root causes of climate change. The shared vision must ensure “systems change” not climate change.

Myth busting: What a “shared vision” is NOT

- 2°C is NOT safe. 2°C in fact threatens unprecedented ecological disruption and damage, species extinction, social conflict and violations of human rights. Reverend Desmond Tutu has said “a global goal of about 2 degrees is to condemn Africa to incineration and no modern development”.¹
- A 50% global emission reduction by 2050 will NOT keep warming below 2°C. This inadequate mitigation effort is in fact more than 50% likely to increase warming above 2°C.
- A shared vision is NOT solely a global emission target. Agreeing a global target, without having secured an equitable allocation of atmospheric space, and sufficient finance and technology transfer to adapt and develop, is unacceptably risky for developing countries.
- Developed countries’ mid- and long-term pledges (less than 20% by 2020, and 80% by 2050) are NOT fair or consistent with the science. These targets in fact imply continued high emission in rich countries, an unfair appropriation of atmospheric space, and shifting the burden of emission reductions to developing countries.
- Finance of \$100 billion per year by 2020 is NOT sufficient. This figure from the Copenhagen Accord is patently inadequate and has no grounding in science or economics. All reasonable studies call for financing of much higher levels.

¹ Rev. Desmond Tutu, *Letter to Danish Prime Minister*, 15 December 2009

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ADAPTATION

November 2010, Cancún

We demand that developed countries ... assume their adaptation debt related to the impacts of climate change on developing countries by providing the means to prevent, minimize, and deal with damages arising from their excessive emissions.

People's Agreement, April 2010, Cochabamba

Key messages

- Industrialized countries have the legal obligation to compensate for historical, current and future climate change impacts
- Efforts to divide developing countries in the negotiations on the basis of their vulnerability is unacceptable
- Institutional arrangements under the Convention are needed to ensure decisions are made fairly and respect the sovereignty of nations and peoples
- Adaptation under bilateral cooperation and donor-driven international financial institutions, such as the World Bank, limit the voice and participation of those suffering adverse impacts.
- Adaptation is not resignation. Those who caused climate change must change their polluting lifestyles rather than imposing new costs on the poor.

Developed countries must fulfill their commitment to compensate poor countries and communities for the costs of adapting to climate change, and repay their climate debts.

Impacts on poor countries and people

Climate change is threatening the lives and livelihoods of people everywhere and threatening the stability of life on our planet.

Current atmospheric concentrations have already committed the planet to decades of disruption of the normal cycle of life. This will affect the entire planet. But the worst impacts will be felt by the poor and marginalized.

Because of the global distribution of the impacts and the limited capacity of vulnerable communities to respond to abrupt changes, they are the first victims of the excessive emissions by industrialized countries that are causing climate change.

Responsibility of rich countries and corporations

The rich industrialized world has an obligation to compensate for historical, current and committed climate change impacts. The countries and companies that caused climate change must repay their debts for damages incurred and lost opportunities suffered by poor countries and communities.

This includes compensating the full costs of current and future dama-

ges, loss of opportunities due to extreme and gradual climatic events, and additional costs that could present themselves if our planet surpasses ecological thresholds.

Respecting and protecting rights

All humans have equal right to be protected from the adverse effects of climate change.

Adaptation to the adverse impacts of climate change must protect, respect and fulfil rights, with particular attention to those who are vulnerable, such as local communities, women and indigenous peoples.

Developing countries must supported to establish lines of defence against growing impacts, while all peoples seek a fundamental change of paradigm that allows us to protect and to take care of Mother Earth and all its forms of life.

Adaptation not resignation

The notion of adaptation to climate change as a resignation to impacts provoked by the historical emissions of developed countries must be rejected.

Support to combat the impacts is a debt not aid. And industrialized

Key issues for negotiations

As part of an Adaptation Framework for Implementation:

- An Adaptation Committee to enhance coherence and provide advice to the new fund
- Full compensation for avoiding impacts, actual impacts and lost opportunities
- A new adaptation fund or window under the authority of the Conference of Parties
- A mechanism to address loss and damage
- Capacity in developing countries to assessment of vulnerability and adaptation measures
- Full repayment by developed countries of their adaptation debts

countries must adapt their modes of life and consumption in the face of this global emergency.

Many people are already forced to move from affected areas. Industrialized countries must meet their responsibilities to the hundreds of millions of people that will be forced to migrate due to climate change.

Business as usual won't work

The proposals by developed countries on adaptation offer to continue the business-as-usual model: obtain loans from the World Bank when a disaster hits, beg for aid assistance to prevent disasters, and come to the UNFCCC to be told to keep planning for adaptation.

Efforts to bring adaptation under bilateral cooperation and interna-

tional financial institutions controlled by developed countries will limit the ability of those suffering the impacts to participate and respond.

The need for effective institutions

New institutions for adaptation under the Convention are needed to ensure decisions are transparent and equitable and respect the sovereignty of nations and peoples.

They must recognize that support to address adverse impacts is a responsibility, not charity, and provide developing countries with the space to decide how to best manage the response to the crises created by the historical accumulation of greenhouse gases.

"The proposals by developed countries on adaptation offer to continue the business-as-usual model: obtain loans from the World Bank when a disaster hits, beg for aid assistance to prevent disasters, and come to the UNFCCC to be told to keep planning for adaptation"

People's Agreement, April 2010, Cochabamba

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MITIGATION BY DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

November 2010, Cancún

It is necessary that, at the next UN Climate Change Conference in Mexico, the amendment to the Kyoto Protocol be adopted for its second commitment period from 2013 to 2017 in which developed countries must commit to significant domestic GHG emission reductions of at least 50% in reference to 1990 levels.

People's Agreement, April 2010, Cochabamba

Key messages

- Developed countries have commitments to cut their climate pollution under the Kyoto Protocol
- The United States should ratify the Protocol or be bound under the Climate Convention
- Efforts by developed countries to replace the Kyoto Protocol with a weak, non-binding, domestic approach based on the Copenhagen Accord must be stopped
- Instead, developed countries must repay their climate debts and agree to fair and science-based targets for the post-2012 period under the Kyoto Protocol
- Loopholes – such as carbon markets and land-use accounting tricks – must be closed

Responsibilities of the rich

Rich countries bear a moral responsibility to cut their climate pollution. Their historic pollution is the main driver of the climate crisis. They continue to pollute and consume at high levels. Developing countries have not contributed much comparatively and historically, and have much larger populations.

All countries must be part of the solution to climate change. But developed countries bear the principal responsibility. They must repay their climate debts.

Despite their commitments, developed countries increased their emissions 11.2% from 1990 to 2007. They have so far failed in their basic responsibilities to reduce their emissions.

The problem of the United States

Many countries – including the United States – are trying to change rather than implement the basic bargain in the Climate Convention and its Kyoto Protocol.

The US is the largest historical contributor to climate change. Yet it has abandoned the Kyoto Protocol. So unlike other wealthy countries, it is not legally bound internationally to reduce its emissions by any specific amount.

It is now seeking to replace the current legally binding international system with a “new paradigm” based on the non-binding, domestic approach proposed in the controversial Copenhagen Accord.

The United States should join the rest of the world and become a Party to the

Kyoto Protocol. But it refuses to do so. So a major pre-occupation has been how to get it to commit internationally to emission reductions.

This was partly achieved in the Bali Action Plan, where all developed countries – including the United States – agreed to comparable mitigation commitments or actions. The challenge now is getting them to honor this agreement and take on binding and comparable commitments under the Convention.

Killing Kyoto

Despite its many flaws – including deeply controversial carbon market mechanisms – the Kyoto Protocol remains the only legally binding international agreement that imposes specific commitments requiring developed countries to cut their climate pollution.

To avoid binding targets, some developed countries are attempting to kill the Kyoto Protocol. They seek a new agreement to bind developing countries to similar emission reduction responsibilities, thus transferring the burden from rich to poor nations, without adequate financing and technology transfer.

What's needed under the Kyoto Protocol?

To fulfill their responsibilities and repay their climate debts, developed countries must commit to radically reduce their emissions under the Kyoto Protocol, based on science and equity.

More than 100 developing countries have called for cuts of 45% below 1990 levels by 2020. Bolivia has proposed domestic emission reductions of 50%

Key issues for negotiations

- The system of legally binding international obligations on developed countries to reduce their emissions must be protected
- The amendment of the Kyoto Protocol for developed countries' emission reductions after 2012 should be adopted in Cancun; further delay may result in a gap between the commitment periods
- A 'top-down' aggregate target for developed countries, based on science and equity, in the order of 50% domestic reductions in the commitment period 2013-2017 should be adopted under the Kyoto Protocol
- The United States should commit to comparable emission reductions under the Climate Convention; this is the centerpiece for mitigation under the Bali Action Plan
- A comprehensive assessment and effort to close all loopholes should be conducted, failing which developed countries' emission reduction targets should be increased by the amount of their loopholes
- A process to review and roll back market-based mechanisms under the Kyoto Protocol should be initiated under the Kyoto Protocol's Meeting of the Parties (CMP)

The emission reductions of developed countries must be achieved domestically, without the use of carbon markets or any other off-setting mechanisms that allows them to avoid the adoption of real measures to reduce emissions.

People's Agreement, April 2010, Cochabamba

during 2013-2017. Others have proposed 40% reductions by 2020.

These proposals are science-based. They are in line with demands that developed countries make equitable and adequate contributions to curbing climate change and keeping temperature increase well below 1.5°C or 1°C.

They are also based on equity. Cuts in this order are required to share atmospheric space fairly, keep temperatures down and ensure the burden of mitigation is not shifted unfairly to developing countries.

A principled approach

To ensure fair and science-based cuts by developed countries, developing countries are demanding a principled approach. This involves first identifying what the developed countries must contribute collectively, and then identifying what they must contribute individually.

Developed countries, by contrast, are proposing a 'bottom-up' system of voluntary and domestic pledges, whereby individual countries simply do what they are politically prepared to – not what is required in terms of science or equity.

This is the system they are advancing under the controversial Copenhagen Accord, which takes many steps backwards from the current legal framework. Pledges under the Copenhagen Accord have been estimated to result in warming of around 4°C.

Ending offsetting and closing loopholes

Deep emission reductions are not enough. They must be achieved without recourse to loopholes that demonstrate cuts on paper, without making them in practice.

The Kyoto Protocol currently allows developed countries to reach their emission reduction targets through market mechanisms like the so-called Clean Development Mechanism. These allow developed countries to shift the burden of mitigation to poor countries, and must be reviewed, rolled back and restricted. Developed countries' emission reductions after 2012 should be achieved domestically, as Bolivia and other countries are demanding.

Current loopholes— relating to land use, the "carry over" of amounts from the first commitment period, and market-based mechanisms – could even lead to increased net emissions. They must be closed. Developed countries must refrain from introducing new ones.

Repaying climate debts

Developed countries, in assuming their historical responsibility, must recognize and honor their climate debts as the basis for a just, effective, and scientific solution to climate change. The starting point is deep cuts and closing loopholes under the Kyoto Protocol, as the foundation for a fair and science-based solution to climate change involving all peoples and countries.

¹ Bank Information Center, <http://www.bicusa.org/en/Issue.Resources.48.aspx>

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SHARING TECHNOLOGY AND KNOWLEDGE

November 2010, Cancún

It is essential to establish guidelines in order to create a multilateral and multidisciplinary mechanism for participatory control, management, and evaluation of the exchange of technologies. These technologies must be useful, clean and socially sound.

People's Agreement, April 2010, Cochabamba

Key messages

- Knowledge is universal and must be freely available to all people
- A mechanism under the UNFCCC is needed to scale up technology transfer
- Technologies must be assessed to ensure they are useful, clean and socially sound
- Barriers – including intellectual property – must be removed
- We must recover and re-learn traditional wisdom to live well in harmony with Mother Earth

Sharing and transferring knowledge, skills and technology – on levels never before conceived – is essential if we are to address the climate crisis. The solutions exist: ecological agriculture, renewable energy, improved public transportation, traditional practices of living well, and many others. We need a new era of cooperation to deploy these socially and environmentally sound solutions in every country, sector and location to help all people to live well in harmony with each other and with Mother Earth

The responsibility of developed countries

In recognition of their historical responsibilities for climate change developed countries are committed under the UN Climate Convention to:

- Promote technology transfer in all sectors including the energy, transport, industry, agriculture, forestry and waste management
- Fund the agreed “full incremental costs” of technology transfer to developing countries
- Take “all practicable steps” to promote, facilitate and finance the transfer of environmentally sound technologies and know-how to developing countries
- Enhance the endogenous capacities and technologies of developing countries

Fulfilling these responsibilities is fundamental if the developed countries are to honor their climate debts and implement their commitments under the Convention. It is also in the rich countries' self-interest in order to avoid catastrophic climate change and the crossing of irreversible tipping points.

The scale of the challenge

The scale of the challenge is unprecedented. Technology transfer and deployment must occur on a scale sufficient to enable development while pea-

king global emissions within the next decade and returning greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere to well below 300ppm CO₂eq, and as close as possible to pre-industrial levels in the longer-term. It must also enable effective adaptation to adverse effects of climate change by all affected communities.

Promoting the exchange of sound technologies

Solutions must be ecologically and socially sound. The use and transfer of nuclear, so-called “clean” fossil fuel, genetic engineering and other false solutions must be opposed. Geo-engineering technologies, in particular, present a grave threat. Technologies must be systematically assessed to ensure they are useful, clean and socially sound.

Overcoming barriers to technology development and transfer

Solutions must be made publicly available for the common good. Climate change represents an existential threat. So rules in other areas, including intellectual property rights, must be adjusted to reflect this. Intellectual property rights present a barrier to the availability, affordability and adaptability of existing and new technologies:

- All relevant forums must remove barriers associated with intellectual property rights

Key issues for negotiations

To support these objectives, the climate negotiations must at a minimum deliver:

- A global goal for technology transfer to developing countries
- A new Technology Mechanism and Framework including a new Subsidiary Body to oversee a Technology Network and Technology Centers
- A new Technology Transfer Fund (or window) under the Conference of Parties
- Specific commitments to transfer technologies “in all relevant sectors” under UNFCCC
- Specific commitments to enhance technologies and capacities in developing countries
- Technology assessment to ensure solutions are ecologically and socially sound
- Removal of intellectual property barriers to sharing technologies, skills and knowledge
- Full participation of all affected communities in climate-related decision-making

- Knowledge banks should be created in each country and internationally
- A platform for exchange must be established to enable sharing of solutions, managed collectively by and for the people

Ecological and communal education and creation of capacities

Underpinning these efforts must be an effort to integrate sustainability into our educational systems. These must enhance understanding about how we relate to each other and the Earth, and build on ancestral and cultural knowledge that reconnect us with nature and reflect the fundamental truth that “Mother Earth does not belong to us, we belong to it”.

Recognizing and respecting technologies and ancestral knowledge

Many of the solutions to the climate crisis are to be found in traditional knowledge and practices. We must recover and relearn the principles and approaches of indigenous peoples to stop the destruction of the planet, and promote intercultural dialogue and scientific exchange between nations with the goal of achieving human rights and balance with nature.

A global goal for technology

To address the climate crisis exchange must occur in practice – it must be measurable. We need a global goal for technology transfer setting the values and volumes of technology required to curb emis-

sions and adapt to climate change, building on recognition by the world’s top scientists in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change that an option for a long-term goal is “is an agreement on specific long-term actions such as a technology R&D and diffusion target”.

Bold public investment strategies, such as funding for feed-in tariffs for renewable energy in developing countries, are needed to quickly set in motion a transition towards non-fossil societies while increasing access to energy for the poor.

Systems change not climate change

Technology must be part of the solution. But technology alone is not the solution. Ultimately, the spiraling crises that confront us will only be solved through a fundamental change in the system that caused them – the model of life and development that has led to climate change. As long as we do not confront these root causes, we are likely to see an escalation of new, dangerous large-scale technofixes – such as inherently risky geo-engineering schemes – put forth as “solutions”. These must be opposed and stopped.

Technology must therefore be seen as an integral part of a broader effort to address the underlying, structural causes of climate change and reintroduce harmony among people and with Mother Earth. Just as humanity had power to push our world to the brink of disaster, we have the capacity to return it into balance. We must seize this opportunity at all levels, including at the UN climate negotiations.

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INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE FINANCE

November 2010, Cancún

Current funding directed toward developing countries for climate change and the proposal of the Copenhagen Accord is insignificant. In addition to Official Development Assistance and from public sources, developed countries must commit to a new annual funding of at least 6% of GDP to tackle climate change in developing countries.

People's Agreement, April 2010, Cochabamba

Key messages

- Hundreds of billions in climate finance are needed every year. The less we do now, the more it will cost later
- Developed countries are historically responsible for causing the climate crisis and are obligated to provide climate finance from public sources in the form of grants
- Innovative sources of funds – like financial transaction taxes and special drawing rights – could deliver the scale of funds that is necessary
- Funding should be governed, managed, and disbursed through a Global Climate Fund under the authority of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. This fund must be established in Cancun

International climate finance is the transfer of funds from the North to the South to help enable developing countries to deal with the impacts of climate change, shift to equitable and sustainable development pathways, and embark on clean energy development paths.

In keeping with the “polluter pays” principle and the recognition of the North’s historical responsibility for causing the climate crisis and corresponding obligations to address it, developed countries responsible for the climate crisis must provide climate finance. These commitments to the South must be through public funds, and not in the form of loans or private investments.

The provision of climate finance can be seen as part of reparations for the climate debt that the North owes to the South. It is also a legal obligation under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).

How much is needed?

Hundreds of billions every year, and more if rich countries don’t start to take their mitigation and finance obligations seriously. For example, the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs’ 2009 UN World Economic and Social Survey estimated that \$500-\$600 billion annually in public funds is needed for adaptation and mitigation in developing countries. Though estimates vary, the bottom line is the less we do now, the more it will cost later.

The Copenhagen Accord – a political document championed by the United States and agreed to by some countries in Copenhagen in December 2009 – stated that “developed countries commit to a goal of mobilizing jointly US \$100 billion dollars a year by 2020 to address the needs of developing countries.” But \$100 billion is an arbitrary, political figure that is based neither on need nor on equity. Magnitudes more have been spent to bail out Wall Street and to pay for wars every year.

Moreover, funds should come from public sources and be in the form of

grants, not loans. Dealing with a climate crisis not of their making must not add to the debt burden of countries of the South. Furthermore, climate finance must not be subject to the whims of markets and investors. Adaptation in particular is not an area that is likely to turn a profit for the private sector, and truly renewable energy is often at a market disadvantage.

How much has been made available so far?

In Copenhagen, developed countries pledged to provide just US \$30 billion in climate finance between 2010 and 2012. But, to date, they are nowhere near fulfilling that pledge, an ominous sign for future financing. Though all funds are supposed to be additional to any monies pledged prior to the 2009 Copenhagen summit, as of September 2010, only \$5.2 billion (17%) was new according to an analysis by the World Development Movement. Moreover, only \$3.9 billion (13%) had actually been delivered, and a significant proportion of the funding has come in the form of loans.¹

How can rich countries come up with the needed money?

In these times of economic recession, innovative sources of funds are needed in addition to the appropriations of money from national treasuries. There are a number of promising sources of finance that could deliver the scale of funds necessary, especially in combination. They include:

- Financial transaction taxes - tiny levies on financial market transactions involving stocks, bonds, foreign exchange and derivatives;

Key issues for negotiations

- A Global Climate Fund under the authority of the UNFCCC that is designed within the Convention must be established in Cancun.
- The World Bank must have no role in the Global Climate Fund.
- Developed countries must provide climate finance from grant-based, public sources, in line with what need and equity demand.
- Developed countries must begin to generate funds from a combination of innovative sources of finance, including financial transaction taxes and special drawing rights, in addition to funds from national treasuries.
- The payment of climate finance must address developed countries' climate debts.

- Special drawing rights - reserve assets created by the International Monetary Fund that countries can exchange for hard currency;
- Shifting fossil fuel subsidies – savings from ending fossil fuel subsidies in developed countries that are directed toward climate finance in developing countries;
- Solidarity air passenger ticket levy – a levy on individual air tickets to raise money. One proposal calls for a levy of \$6 on economy-class tickets and \$62 on first-class tickets; and
- Revenue from a carbon tax in developed countries directed toward climate finance in developing countries.

How should international climate finance be delivered?

At least as important as revenue generation is ensuring that funds are delivered through an equitable, effective mechanism. Funding should be governed, managed, and disbursed through a Global Climate Fund (GCF) under the authority of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). There is near consensus at the UN climate talks that a Global Climate Fund should be established in Cancun, but political obstacles remain. In particular, the US is threatening to block the establishment of the GCF until it extracts new, unreasonable concessions from developing countries related to mitigation.

To ensure both effectiveness and political acceptability to developed and developing countries, it is critical that the Global Climate Fund be designed within the UNFCCC in an inclusive process led by experts in the UNFCCC,

climate, development, and other relevant areas (as opposed to the US proposal that finance ministers lead the process). It is also critical that the GCF be governed equitably -- with majority developing country representation and substantial participation by civil society, including affected communities.

No role for the World Bank

The World Bank and other multilateral development banks should have no role in the Global Climate Fund. The World Bank is far more experienced at causing climate change than in preventing it. In fact, 2010 was a record-breaking year for coal at the World Bank, with \$4.4 billion in coal funding, representing a 356 percent increase over 2009². The World Bank has a poor record when it comes to democratic governance, social justice, and environmental integrity.

The Global Climate Fund must allow developing countries to directly access funds without requiring that they go through multilateral implementing agencies like the World Bank.

The UNFCCC's Adaptation Fund is the first multilateral climate fund that allows direct access for developing countries. As developing countries are the most impacted by climate change and least responsible for causing it, the Adaptation Fund board has a slight majority of developing countries. Because of its provision of direct access and its governance structure, the Adaptation Fund provides a good model for the Global Climate Fund. Moreover, it deserves far greater support from developed countries; less than 1 percent of fast start funding committed thus far has been directed toward the Adaptation Fund.

¹ Mark "A long way to go – An update on the state of fast start climate finance," World Development Movement, September 2010, <http://www.wdm.org.uk/sites/default/files/alongwaytogo.pdf>.

² World Bank Group Energy Sector Financing Update," prepared by Heike Mainhardt-Gibbs for the Bank Information Center, November 2010. www.bicusa.org.

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THE WORLD BANK AND CLIMATE FINANCE

November 2010, Cancún

Climate funding should be direct and free of conditions, and should not interfere with the national sovereignty or self-determination of the most affected communities and groups.

People's Agreement, April 2010, Cochabamba

Key messages

- The World Bank does not represent the interests of the countries or communities most adversely impacted by climate change
- The World Bank's fossil-fuel heavy lending portfolio puts people and the planet in peril
- World Bank financing leads to further indebtedness of countries in the global South
- A global climate fund must be established under UN Climate Convention to channel financial reparations for climate debt
- The World Bank must have no role in establishing the climate fund or in managing or governing climate finance

What's at stake?

Climate finance – the trillions of dollars owed as a climate debt to developing countries to build resiliency to climate change and rapid, just transition to a renewable energy future – will be a lynchpin issue at the climate negotiations.

In particular, countries are negotiating how to channel the financial resources that developed countries are obligated by the UN Climate Convention to provide. There is almost universal support for establishing a new global climate fund. But the role of institutions like the World Bank in a future climate finance regime is still highly controversial.

The United States and other developed countries want the World Bank to have a central role. They cite its management of large sums of money for development and its global reach as justifications why. The World Bank says it remains neutral on the issue, but has ramped up its climate programs – including opening a suite of Climate Investment Funds and expanding its carbon-trading portfolio.

Many developing countries, policy experts and climate justice activists say the World Bank cannot be trusted with climate finance because it does not have the interests of developing countries, communities or the planet at its core.

Undemocratic governance

The World Bank is an institution that reflects the economic and political interests of developed countries. The Bank's "one-dollar-one-vote" decision-

making structure gives the United States alone about 16% of the votes on the Executive Board, while middle and low-income countries all together have only 39%.

World Bank decision-making about programs, policies and projects lacks transparency. It offers few, if any, chances for participation by the communities and people they affect. Even the new Climate Investment Funds fail to give developing countries, the majority of the world's population and the nations that are most impacted by climate change, majority votes.

Major rights violator

Numerous communities throughout the world – from those impacted by the Chad-Cameroon pipeline to the Nam Theun 2 Hydropower Project in Laos – have suffered human and environmental rights violations as a direct result of World Bank-backed projects.

Fueling climate change

The World Bank broke its own record in 2010 by funding fossil fuels to the tune of \$6.6 billion, a 116% increase over the previous year. The \$4.4 billion the World Bank provided for coal-based energy, mainly in middle-income countries, means that these countries are locked into dirty energy for the next 40 to 50 years.¹

The Bank also increased its lending this year to large hydropower by 60%, from \$177 million to \$284 million. Hydropower reservoirs actually release greenhouse gases in tropical countries, and often result in resettling whole communities. Despite this, according to its 2008 Strategic Framework for

Key issues for negotiations

- The World Bank must not be given any role in decisions about establishing a global climate finance regime to meet finance commitments and repay climate debt
- The World Bank must not be given a role in managing or governing a global climate fund
- Funds flowing through the World Bank should not count toward developed countries financial obligations under the UNFCCC
- The World Bank must immediately stop funding fossil fuels and large hydro projects
- The World Bank must stop pushing the carbon market as a climate finance solution

Development and Climate Change, the Bank still plans to scale up its large hydropower portfolio.

Pushing market mechanisms

The World Bank aggressively promotes offsetting emissions and carbon markets, and seeks to expand them into new areas. But offsets can actually lead to increased emissions, and very few projects actually address poverty or deliver local environmental benefits - and some actually have harmful impacts.

As of 2008 less than 10% of the Bank's carbon deals supported new renewable energy projects; more than 75% of the World Bank's carbon portfolio effectively subsidized polluting, energy-intensive coal, chemical, iron and steel industries.²

This year, the World Bank's own Independent Evaluation Group found that its offset sales have failed to catalyze large-scale investment in renewable energy or to effectively reduce emissions. But the Bank continues to push forward on carbon markets for forests and agriculture.

Increasing indebtedness

The World Bank is, as its name suggests, a bank. It has long been using loans to impose harmful policy condi-

tions on developing countries and their peoples.

Giving a major role to the World Bank in climate finance will result in a significant part of climate finance flowing as loans not grants, and will very likely come with conditionalities. Developing countries will be pushed further into debt to tackle a crisis they did little to cause.

Not helping the poor access energy

Supporters of the World Bank claim it can help bring energy to the world's 1.6 billion people lacking access to electricity. To do this, says the World Bank's Strategic Framework, cheap energy - like coal - must be made abundant.

However, none of the World Bank's fossil fuel finance directly targeted the poor or ensured that energy benefits are reaching the poor. The Bank admitted that no coal or oil projects could be classified as improving energy access.³ This included a \$3.75 billion for a coal-fire power plant in South Africa, which is projected to be the fourth largest in the world.

Because the World Bank continues to put people and the planet in peril, it must stay out of climate finance.

¹ Bank Information Center, <http://www.bicusa.org/en/Issue.Resources.48.aspx>

² Institute for Policy Studies, http://www.ips-dc.org/reports/world_bank_climate_profiteer

³ Oil Change International, <http://priceofoil.org/educate/resources/energy-for-the-poor>

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THE DANGER OF CARBON MARKETS

November 2010, Cancún

We consider inadmissible that current negotiations propose the creation of new mechanisms that extend and promote the carbon market, for existing mechanisms have not resolved the problem of climate change nor led to real and direct actions to reduce greenhouse gases.

People's Agreement, April 2010, Cochabamba

Key messages

- The so-called Clean Development Mechanism has failed miserably
- Carbon offsets allows Annex I countries to use an even bigger portion of atmospheric space
- Developed countries want to count financial flows from offsets toward their financial obligations to developing countries for mitigation and adaptation. This is a clear case of double counting
- The use of offsets must be immediately scrapped
- A public fund to support appropriate clean technologies, as well as mitigation and adaptation in developing countries is a better option than carbon markets.

Why were carbon markets introduced?

To entice the United States to ratify the Kyoto Protocol (KP), carbon markets were included to provide industrialized (Annex I) countries more flexibility in meeting their emission reduction targets.

The idea was to allow them to save money by buying "emission reduction" credits from developing countries rather than cutting their own emissions, and instead pay developing countries to reduce emissions for them.

At the time, Europe was opposed to the use of market mechanisms, but it now has the world's largest carbon market. And the United States refused to ratify the KP. The world is left with a concept that is deeply flawed in principle and in practice.

A bad idea gone wrong

In theory, carbon markets do not reduce emissions in developed countries but merely shift the burden of doing so to developing countries.

In practice, one of the Protocol's market-based mechanisms, the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), has failed. It is estimated that anywhere from 20 to 65% of projects do not result in real emission reductions.¹

It can't be proven that projects yield real reductions. Doing so requires proof that a project is additional (i.e. it wouldn't have happened without the extra carbon finance). Yet, this is impossible to know.

Increasing climate pollution

The majority of funded projects are not cutting edge clean-tech projects, such

as solar power. Rather, they're business as usual projects (e.g. hydro dams). Or big fossil fuel projects that are less polluting than the norm (e.g. supercritical coal-fired power plants). So developed countries receive credits to continue polluting, although the reductions don't actually occur in the developing country.

Worse, there is evidence that carbon markets are actually encouraging emissions to grow in developing countries. Projects to capture waste gases from refrigerant factories, for example, yield over 11,000 credits for capturing merely one tonne of waste gas; providing a perverse incentive for companies to increase refrigerant production, just to gain the credits.

The CDM, then, is enabling emissions to continue in developed countries, while providing perverse incentives to increase climate pollution in developing countries and undermine the policies required to cut emissions in practice.

Serving big countries and corporations

Most of the money stays with rich countries and corporations. Only 0.5% of the value of the carbon market in 2009 went towards reducing emissions, while double this amount was spent on verifying and marketing CDM projects.

Of this, the vast majority has gone to the largest developing countries, excluding smaller countries, and demonstrating that the market is not a reliable means for providing adequate and predictable funding.

And there is growing concern about the risk of "subprime carbon" – i.e. the potential for risky carbon credits based on unsuccessful offset projects, to cau-

Climate justice briefs #8 – The danger of carbon markets

se financial contagion like the “subprime mortgage” crisis.

Capturing the Earth’s carbon budget

Developed countries have already used more than their fair share of the Earth’s capacity to absorb greenhouse gases – its atmospheric space or carbon budget – and so owe a ‘debt’ to developing countries.

Rather than repay their debts, they now want to appropriate an additional share of the Earth’s limited emissions budget via the market, leaving even less for developing countries. Lifting people out of poverty is directly linked to access to energy.² So developing countries must have fair access to Earth’s global commons, and the techno-

logies to live within its limits. Carbon markets are inconsistent with this objective.

As well as grabbing the carbon budget, carbon markets allow industrialized countries to grab the cheapest mitigation options, leaving developing countries with the more expensive mitigation options. In essence, carbon markets let industrialized countries get developing countries to clean up their mess, while shifting the burden to developing countries and increasing their costs over the long-term.

Avoiding commitments for mitigation and finance

Under the UN Climate Convention, developed countries must reduce their emissions and provide technological and financial resources to developing countries to cover costs related to mitigation and adaptation.

Rather than fulfill their commitments, industrialized countries are doing their best to mix apples with oranges. They are shifting the burden to developing countries via the market. And rather than providing public funds, they are seeking to count carbon finance – which really funds compliance with their own commitments – as funding for developing countries. This is a clear case of double counting by developed countries.

Potential also exists for triple and quadruple counting. Triple counting occurs when climate-related financial flows are also counted toward official development assistance (ODA) obligations. Quadruple counting occurs where the buyer and seller claim emission reductions from the same offset project as mitigation in each respective country, even though a reduction can only actually occur in one location.

New markets, new risks

Some countries want to expand carbon markets to cover deforestation, soil carbon and other agriculture projects. They propose commodifying soil and forests to sell carbon credits to wealthy corporations in developed countries, to enable them to continue polluting.

Unfortunately such types of credits have numerous problems. Monitoring changes in forest and soil carbon is rife with problems. And there is potential for carbon leakage. For example, if trees in one region are saved, but deforestation moves elsewhere, then emissions have not actually been avoided.

Furthermore, they want to expand markets to include new approaches that would allow credits for reductions across whole sectors in developing countries. Only advanced developing economies can take advantage of sectoral crediting and many credits are unlikely to be additional.

Killing the Kyoto Protocol

Carbon markets should have no role under the Convention and only a limited role under the Kyoto Protocol, and this should be stopped. Yet, rich countries are including markets in negotiations under the Convention, as a step towards killing the KP and replacing it with a non-binding approach based on the controversial Copenhagen Accord.

Markets haven’t resulted in real emission reductions or supported the transfer of clean technologies to developing countries. What the world needs are proven solutions such as public investments, removal of fossil fuel subsidies, regulations and support for sustainable development through a global climate fund.

Key issues for negotiations

- The discussion of markets should only take place in the KP; introducing the KP market mechanisms into the Convention would pave the way for the termination of the KP
- There should be no introduction of new market mechanisms under the Convention or the KP
- Current market mechanisms under the KP should be stopped
- REDD (reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation) should be a fund-based mechanism, rather than a market-based mechanism
- A climate fund, with new and additional financial and technological flows to cover mitigation and adaptation should be established, under the guidance and authority of the Parties

¹ Schneider, L., Erhebliche Anfangsprobleme, GEO Magazin, Dec. 2010

² World Economic and Social Survey, 2009; Promoting Development, Saving the Planet, United Nations

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FORESTS AND REDD

November 2010, Cancún

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples must be fully recognized, implemented and integrated in climate change negotiations. The best strategy and action to avoid deforestation and degradation and protect native forests and jungles is to recognize and guarantee collective rights to lands and territories, especially considering that most of the forests are located within the territories of indigenous peoples and nations and other traditional communities.

People's Agreement, April 2010, Cochabamba

Key messages

- Reducing emissions from, and ultimately halting, deforestation is vitally important but it is not a cheap and easy shortcut. It is better to move slowly than hastily agree on a flawed framework.
- Forest protection efforts must support transformational change in the forest sector, not business-as-usual approaches, as is currently taking place
- The rights of indigenous peoples and local communities must be fully protected and secure forest tenure is essential to forest protection and sustainable development
- All parties, including developed countries, must address the underlying drivers of deforestation, including unsustainable consumption of wood and agricultural products that result in deforestation
- Developed countries must provide significantly scaled up financial resources to developing countries through a targeted window under a new financial mechanism, fully accountable to and under the authority of the COP

After decades of failed interventions in the forest sector, REDD was offered as a transformation in the way forests are managed. REDD was to address the underlying drivers of deforestation while safeguarding biodiversity and protecting the rights of indigenous peoples and local communities.

However, as currently being implemented around the world, REDD is failing to live up to its promise and risks repeating many of the same mistakes of the past. Parties must correct course and set forest protection on the right path. Moreover, if developed countries fail to lead by reducing their own emissions tropical forests will be at serious risk from an ever-warming climate.

Failed Promises

REDD policies and programs are being implemented in several fora, including the World Bank, UN-REDD and through emerging bilateral agreements. Current REDD programs are failing to support sound solutions: underlying drivers of deforestation are not being addressed and the rights of some of the most vulnerable people are not being recognized. For example, by classifying intact natural forests as “degraded land” Indonesia intends to use international climate funds to subsidize its palm, paper and biofuel industries to carry on deforesting. Such examples abound.

The wrong framework decision on REDD risks legitimizing current flawed REDD programs. The UNFCCC needs to affirm clear guidance, including an agreed goal to halt deforestation, ensure full funding and implementation of agreed safeguards and establish a fund for forest protection to set REDD on a course to achieve the goals of efficient and sustainable protection of the world's forests.

Repackaged ODA

In Copenhagen, several developed countries failed to provide new and additional funding to protect forests. The 3.5 billion USD pledged for REDD+ policies and programs through 2012 is largely repackaged existing biodiversity aid and other official development assistance (ODA).

Developed countries have a legal obligation to provide new and additional finances for forest protection efforts. Simply re-branding their current, insufficient ODA funds as climate finance is unacceptable.

Flawed definition of forests

The way forests are defined is crucial to whether REDD helps to preserve or destroy forests. The current definition under the UNFCCC fails to differentiate between forests and industrial tree plantations, creating a perverse incentive to deforest and plant tree plantations, which store a fraction of the carbon and very little biodiversity,

Key issues for negotiations

- Parties must clearly endorse a fund-based forest protection mechanism and reject including forests in carbon markets.
- Parties must agree to fully operationalize sound safeguards by requiring robust provisions for measuring, reporting and verifying (MRV) all safeguards. The safeguards must be required, not merely supported and promoted. Subsidiary bodies can support this effort by developing guidelines for the MRV of safeguards. A mechanism for redress must also be constituted.
- Establish a window for forest protection financing under a new financial mechanism fully accountable to and under the authority of the COP. Forest protection financing cannot be based on offsetting.
- Parties should consider a target on halting deforestation and degradation with full financial support and an ambitious time frame and give explicit priority to the protection of natural forests.
- Recognise that addressing drivers of deforestation and degradation requires reducing the global consumption and demand for timber and forest land.

while claiming finance under REDD+ schemes.

Carbon markets will not solve deforestation

Commodifying forests to generate carbon credits so that wealthy corporations in developed countries can continue polluting will not stop deforestation and further exacerbates the risks posed to forests from a warming climate.

Carbon markets do not reduce emissions but merely shift the burden of doing so from developed countries to developing countries. In practice, the Protocol's market-based mechanism, the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), has failed. It is estimated that anywhere from 20 to 65% of projects do not result in real emission reductions.

Avoided deforestation was not included in the CDM or in the European Union's Emissions Trading Scheme (EU-ETS) because of insurmountable technical and methodological challenges, none of which have been solved to date.

The impermanence of forest carbon sequestration (the likelihood carbon stored in trees and soils is eventually released into the atmosphere) as well as international and intra-national emissions leakage (that logging moves to other places) make forests poorly suited to carbon market financing mechanisms. Determining additionality, whether a project would have happened anyway, has not proven possible.

Thus, allowing carbon stocks in the biosphere to offset rich countries' continued extraction of fossil carbon into the atmosphere will most certainly contribute to increased net emissions. There is no guarantee that the forests will always

stand, while the corresponding fossil emissions in the north are immediate and definite.

Carbon trading will not provide money for those forest protection activities that are most needed. The current emphasis on generating carbon credits from REDD+ is locking developing countries into expensive and futile exercises to 'accurately' measure forest carbon, instead of using limited funds to finance the policies and programs that will actually result in reduced deforestation in the short and long-term, like institutional reforms, law enforcement and developing alternative livelihoods. Simply measuring forest carbon will not save forests.

The Way Forward

Carbon markets are failing to support the substantial shifts in the way forests are managed and conserved. Fund based mechanisms are a more efficient approach with far greater environmental integrity.

To reduce global emissions from deforestation, reliable and adequate funding is clearly needed. A fund based mechanism to support actions in developing countries to halt deforestation and forest degradation must be immediately established and fully funded by developed countries. Such funds must be in addition to existing overseas development assistance commitments.

Developed countries must also significantly reduce consumption of wood and agricultural products that drive deforestation. Existing policies and funding, including at the World Bank, should be reviewed in order to ensure coherence with the goals of protecting our forests, biodiversity and ensuring human rights.

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AGRICULTURE AND CLIMATE CHANGE

November 2010, Cancún

Climate change is now producing profound impacts on agriculture and the ways of life of indigenous peoples and farmers throughout the world, and these impacts will worsen in the future.

People's Agreement, April 2010, Cochabamba

Key messages

- Agriculture is not merely about producing food – it is a source of livelihood for billions of people worldwide. Approaches to both mitigation and adaptation in agriculture have to above all protect and secure livelihoods, while building the resilience of farming systems and ensuring food security
- Adaptation is the central challenge for agriculture and food security in a changing climate
- Developed country agricultural emissions are significant. Mitigation in their own agricultural systems must be a priority for Annex I countries
- The agriculture sector of developing countries cannot serve to provide more loopholes for Annex I countries to avoid mitigation and financing obligations
- Business as usual is not an option. Neither technologies nor carbon markets will produce the resilient agricultural systems and robust rural economies necessary for survival in a rapidly changing climate

Climate impacts on agriculture

Many of the first impacts of climate change to be felt around the world have been and will be in the agriculture sector. From the dramatically reduced yields of Russia's current wheat harvest to the thousands of hectares of fields lost in Pakistan's flooding earlier this year, climate change is already threatening food supplies around the world.

Those impacts will only be exacerbated as temperatures increase and rainfall patterns change. Temperature increases are particularly worrying, as key crop processes such as pollination will cease after temperature thresholds are reached. Agriculture thus must be a central consideration as the negotiations move forward.

Agriculture impacts on climate

Industrial agricultural production systems make significant contributions to global greenhouse gas emissions. Around 14% of global emissions are due to the non-CO₂ gases emitted by the agriculture sector, principally nitrous oxide (N₂O) from the production and use of synthetic nitrogen fertilizers and methane (CH₄) from animals.

Climate-friendly agriculture

Climate-friendly agricultural production systems exist. Organic and other ecological agricultural production methods focus on soil-building, using manures, compost, cover cropping and other techniques that reduce or eliminate the need for synthetic nitrogen fertilizers.

Soil-building practices not only significantly reduce the greenhouse gas

emissions of agriculture, but they are also key to building the resilience of agriculture. Healthier soils hold more moisture, thus buffering against drought and changing rainfall patterns. Better soils also allow more infiltration of water, so flooding may be less severe and lead to less soil erosion.

The incorporation of manures and compost into soils also serves to sequester carbon. The IPCC estimates that the bulk of the mitigation potential (89%) in agriculture comes from soil carbon sequestration.

A focus on adaptation is needed

Climate threats to agriculture are real and serious and immediate. As temperatures and precipitation patterns change, crop varieties will need to change with them. Work needs to begin now adapting seeds to the climates that farmers will be farming in ten years from now. Conservation of crop genetic diversity is more important than ever.

Adaptation must serve as the central organizing principle for climate policy related to agriculture. The tasks in front of the global community are too huge and the costs of failure too high to be distracted from the effort required.

Misguided focus on markets and developing country mitigation

Despite the clear need to prioritize the serious adaptation challenges ahead, a number of Annex I countries, along with the World Bank, are trying to orient the agriculture conversation towards mitigation in developing countries. Despite the huge mitigation obligations of developed country agricul-

Key issues for negotiations

- The land-use (LULUCF) loop-hole must be closed: countries should not be able to choose to count activities that reduce emissions and ignore activities that are significant sources of emissions.
- The CDM should not be expanded to include projects on the sequestration of agricultural soil carbon. Proposals for a subsidiary body (SBSTA) to initiate work programmes towards this end should be rejected.
- A shared vision must consider the consequences of warming for agricultural production in the most vulnerable of places, including on the African continent. A 1°C target is the only option.
- Considerations of agriculture within the convention track, including in chapter IX of the current negotiating text, must provide an appropriate balance between adaptation and mitigation, given the centrality of agriculture, and hence adaptation, to the livelihoods and food security of billions.

ture, reducing emissions in the north is seen as too difficult and costly.

The solution proposed instead is to turn soil carbon into a commodity and to create markets for soil carbon sequestered in the developing world. For the north, it is a deliberate strategy to avoid twin obligations: mitigating their own agricultural emissions and funding the adaptation needs of developing countries.

Business as usual is not an option

The International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development (IAASTD), a multi-stakeholder process initiated by the World Bank and the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, concluded in 2008 that “business as usual is no longer an option.” To continue to produce adequate amounts of food under a changing climate, it is essential to stop the destructive practices of industrial agriculture that are currently destroying soils and water supplies.

Genetic engineering technologies are not an option. Often invoked as a panacea for any and every agricul-

tural problem, genetic engineering cannot solve the challenges posed by climate change. It is a technology oriented toward simple, single-gene problems. Climate adaptation will require addressing multiple variables – temperature, water availability – often at the same time, an unsurmountable challenge for the simplistic technologies of genetic engineers.

Moreover, the use of genetic engineering technologies allows large seed and agrochemical companies to claim intellectual property protection over some of the most valuable resources farmers have for adapting to climate change – the genetic diversity found in the many different crop varieties grown by farmers. Thousands of stress-tolerance genes have already been patented by a handful of companies, preventing access to diversity that is fundamental to the efforts of farmers and breeders to adapt crops to new conditions of changing climates.

Ecological solutions that prioritize soil health and crop diversity are the only way to provide the stability and resilience necessary for surviving in a changing climate.

The immense challenge humanity faces of stopping global warming and cooling the planet can only be achieved through a profound shift in agricultural practices toward the sustainable model of production used by indigenous and rural farming peoples, as well as other ancestral models and practices that contribute to solving the problem of agriculture and food sovereignty.

People’s Agreement, April 2010, Cochabamba

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THE UNITED STATES AND CLIMATE NEGOTIATIONS

November 2010, Cancún

Key messages

- The fossil fuel industry and polarized politics killed US domestic climate legislation, and have negatively impacted the United States' contribution to international climate discussions
- The Obama administration has acted unfairly and aggressively in the negotiations to try to extort unreasonable concessions from developing countries
- The Obama administration has proposed a "new paradigm" of voluntary pledges - rather than binding, science-based mitigation commitments - that threatens to completely undermine the current climate architecture
- The Obama administration must stop pretending it can lead internationally, and must start leading domestically, so the US can fulfill its responsibilities to its own citizens and the world

Failed tactics

In the run-up to the December 2009 UN Copenhagen climate summit and in the months afterward, many countries felt compelled to tolerate US efforts to weaken international climate policies because they believed this was the only way to bring it on board, given the precarious state of US domestic climate legislation. However, climate legislation was not taken up by the US Senate in 2010, and it never became law.

The November 2010 elections in the US have made clear that the US won't be getting on board any time soon. Almost all the new Republicans joining the Senate are climate deniers. Control of the House of Representatives is now in the hands of Republicans, under the leadership of the very conservative John Boehner, who is known for saying, "The idea that carbon dioxide is a carcinogen, that it is harmful to our environment, is almost comical."

US attempts to lower international mitigation efforts

The US is the only wealthy country that has not ratified the Kyoto Protocol, the only international instrument related to climate change that contains legally binding emission reduction targets. The first period of emission reduction commitments under the Kyoto Protocol ends in 2012, after which a second commitment period is supposed to start.

Instead of supporting this second commitment period, at the Copenhagen climate talks in December 2009, the US championed the "Copenhagen

Accord," a weak, nonbinding document that features national pledges to reduce emissions that countries individually put forward, regardless of science, equity, and what national pledges add up to in aggregate. (The Kyoto Protocol assigns an aggregate and individual mitigation targets for developed countries.)

The US claims not to take a position on the Kyoto Protocol, but the "pledge-based" or "bottom-up" approach it has promoted in the Accord is, in practice, an attempt to replace the Protocol with a far weaker substitute.

Bad behavior at the UNFCCC

The United States has acted aggressively with regard to international climate negotiations to try and win concessions from developing countries. For example, US Special Climate Envoy Todd Stern has vigorously pressed to shift the burden to address climate change onto many developing countries by calling for an agreement that is "legally symmetrical" with "the same elements binding on all countries, except the least developed."

In another example, to compel developing countries to associate with the Copenhagen Accord, the Obama administration threatened to withhold climate finance from countries outspoken in their opposition to it. Obama carried out this threat in the cases of Bolivia and Ecuador.

Recently, the US articulated that it will block forward movement on establishing a global climate fund in

Key issues for negotiations

- The US must support a science and equity-based international climate regime in which developed countries – including the US – take on binding emission reduction commitments.
- The US should plug a comparable emission reduction commitment into the section of the Bali Action Plan designed for it, and end its efforts to kill the Kyoto Protocol.
- The US should support the establishment in Cancun of a Global Climate Fund designed within and under the authority of the UNFCCC, with no role for the World Bank.
- The US must commit to contribute its fair share of climate finance from public sources.

Cancun if its demands on mitigation and transparency from developing countries, especially China, aren't met.

Stern issued an ultimatum at the Geneva Dialogue on Climate Finance in September, saying:

“We are not going to move on the Green Fund [a UNFCCC climate fund to help developing countries adapt to and mitigate climate change] and the \$100 billion [in long-term financing that the US had previously promised to help mobilize] if the issues that were central to the Copenhagen Accord, that were part of the balance of the Copenhagen Accord, including mitigation and transparency, don't also move.”

These statements and others have led many in civil society and developing countries to charge the US with unethically holding climate finance hostage.

A Way Forward

Mitigation. It is clear that domestic politics at this time will not allow the United States to lead global efforts to tackle climate change. The Obama administration must stop pretending it can lead and cease its efforts to drag the rest of the world down to its very low level of ambition, when what the climate crisis demands is far higher ambition from all developed countries.

In 2007, international climate negotiators developed a solution to bring the slow-moving US on board with global climate action—a solution that won the support of the Bush administration. The 2007 Bali Action Plan included a carve-out for the United States: a special section (paragraph 1(b)(i)) to ensure that the US would make emissions re-

ductions that were comparable to those made by other wealthy countries under the Kyoto Protocol negotiating track.

Instead of trying to torpedo the Kyoto Protocol, the US should take on a comparable commitment (increasing its shamefully low 3-4 percent below 1990 levels by 2020) under its own special section of the Bali Action Plan while other developed countries continue with emissions reductions under the Protocol.

This would allow the world to move forward and avoid the danger of a gap between Kyoto commitment periods, during which binding emissions reduction targets for other developed countries could disappear. The European Union, rather than continuing its strategy of catering to the US, could reemerge as a climate leader and take up the cause of binding, equitable, and science-based emissions targets.

Finance. The US must also withdraw its threat to hold climate finance hostage. While earlier this year winning praise for being the first developed country to seriously engage in conversations on establishing a Global Climate Fund, the Obama climate team is now threatening to sabotage the process.

The US must work for the establishment in Cancun of a Global Climate Fund under the authority of the UNFCCC that is designed within the Convention. The World Bank – with its poor record on democratic governance, social justice, and the environment – should have no role in the Global Climate Fund. The US must also commit to contribute its fair share of climate finance from public sources.

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HUMAN RIGHTS AND CLIMATE JUSTICE

November 2010, Cancún

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 28

Key messages

- Climate change is among the greatest threats to human rights in human history
- Climate change is already violating human rights especially of those who are vulnerable
- States are duty-bound to protect the rights of their own people and people everywhere
- Mechanisms are required to redress past injustices and realize the right to development
- Affirmative action is essential to ensure representation of countries and peoples in relevant international forums

Human rights are at risk

Climate change impacts including floods, droughts, hurricanes, sea-level rise and water salination are already interfering with individuals' and peoples' human rights, such as the rights to life, health, housing, food, water, an adequate standard of living, self-determination and the right not to be subjected to inhumane and degrading treatment.

Climate change is also exacerbating poverty and inequality, posing an additional constraint on the capacity of many countries to ensure their people's social, economic and cultural rights.

Urgent action is needed to stop climate change, first, by reducing and removing greenhouse gases, second, helping countries adapt to adverse impacts, and, third, providing all countries the resources and technology they need. This requires fair and equitable burden-sharing mechanisms. We must not only protect the rights of a privileged few while risking the rights of millions of people.

Duties beyond borders

All governments must protect, respect and fulfill rights, with particular attention to those who are vulnerable, such as local communities and indigenous peoples. They have a legal duty to protect the human rights of individuals and peoples nationally and internationally.

This implies affirmative cooperation so that every country is able to ensure the rights of its people. This cooperation is foreseen in the Climate Convention. Implementing and strengthening this

treaty is necessary to keep the planet safe and facilitating 'fair, rights-based' cooperation.

Respect, protect and fulfill

States have unambiguous legal duties under international human rights law to fulfill their climate commitments:

- **Respect.** States must refrain from any measure that adversely affects the rights of those who are marginalized, such as those living in vulnerable areas or communities.
- **Protect.** Positive action, including legislative measures, must be taken to stop climate change from interfering with rights. Private companies must be subjected to climate- and rights-protecting regulations.
- **Fulfill.** Mechanisms must be established to support the social and economic empowerment and development of countries that are otherwise unable to realize the basic human rights of their people.

Acknowledging responsibilities

In relation to climate change, human rights law must be applied with due regard for the special responsibilities of developed countries.

The Convention recognizes "the largest share of historical and current global emissions of greenhouse gases has originated in developed countries".

Developed countries thus have an obligation to "lead" by cutting their own emissions and by implementing a range of measures to enable developing countries. Meeting these commitments must be a crucial component of any rights-based approach.

Climate justice briefs #12 – Human rights and climate justice

We call upon States to recognize, respect and guarantee the effective implementation of international human rights standards and the rights of indigenous peoples ... in the negotiations, policies and measures used to meet the challenges posed by climate change.

People's Agreement, April 2010, Cochabamba

A rights-based agenda

States also have obligations to promote rights in negotiations on new climate laws and policies under the Convention and its Kyoto Protocol. They must thus reach agreements on shared vision, mitigation, adaptation, technology, finance and other issues that are individually sound, and collectively sufficient to realize rights and curb the climate crisis (see box).

A rights-based agenda – underpinned by science, engaged across all issues, and dedicated to a deal that adds up – can help ensure an outcome that addresses climate change and effectively promotes the human rights of all people, now and in the future.

The right to a remedy

The right to a remedy is at the heart of a rights-based agenda. To operationalize this right, a mechanism must be established to provide a remedy to individuals, communities or indigenous peoples whose rights are adversely affected by climate impacts and response measures.

Ensuring the right to a remedy also requires that developed countries responsibly repay their climate debts and release resources for financial compensation to climate victims in developing countries.

Key issues for negotiations

Realizing rights requires a substantive human rights and climate agenda, including:

- **A shared vision and global goal** that limits warming to levels that are safe. A goal allowing 2 degrees C of warming risks human rights violations on scales unprecedented in human history.
- **Equitable burden sharing** must be ensured through a paradigm that distributes the benefits and burdens fairly and is consistent with the Convention and human rights instruments.
- **Mitigation** by developed countries must be fair, science-based and sufficient to stabilize GHG concentrations to safe levels. Inadequate efforts risk increased warming, shifting the burden of mitigation to poor countries and compromising their capacity to realize human rights.
- **Adaptation** efforts must be effective in protecting the rights of all people against climate change impacts, particularly those who are vulnerable.
- **Technology transfer** must be environmentally and socially sound, and occur on scales consistent with peaking global emissions within a decade and stopping dangerous warming. It must enable all peoples and countries to realize human rights progressively without damaging the planet.
- **Finance** must be new and additional, adequate and predictable to enable all governments to protect, respect and fulfill the rights of their people. The \$100 billion to be “mobilized” under the Copenhagen Accord is dangerously insufficient.
- **Sectoral discussions** on forests, agriculture and other areas should adopt human rights-based approaches that integrate adaptation and mitigation along with development and human rights objectives. These objectives must include adequate safeguards for protection of the human rights of affected communities and a complaint mechanism for the provision of redress.
- **Carbon markets** – existing and proposed – should be re-examined from a human rights-based perspective. Proposals to sell to the most polluting corporations rights over the soil of the poorest farmer and enable these corporations to continue polluting, are unacceptable.

On these and other issues, a human rights-based agenda can help ensure rights are realized in each element of the negotiations, and that the pieces of the puzzle together connect into a global response capable of addressing climate change and realizing the rights of all people.

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GENDER AND CLIMATE CHANGE

November 2010, Cancún

The international climate change negotiation process and climate change policies at the national level must adopt the principles of gender equality at all stages, including research, analysis and design and implementation of mitigation and adaptation strategies.

Expert Group, Commission on the Status of Women, 2008

Key messages

- Adapting to and mitigating climate change are critical to women's and men's enjoyment of economic and social rights
- Climate change policy and financing must seek to promote sustainable development as the grounding for gender equality, women's empowerment and poverty eradication
- Global, regional and national climate financing policies and projects must ensure positive synergies between adaptation, mitigation, technology transfer and gender and social equity
- Gender analysis, gender perspective and women's effective participation must be assured at all levels of the climate policy and climate change financing architecture

Why focus on gender in climate change?

In most all economies, women's care-taking role, their access to resources and information and their level of participation in society leaves many women at a disadvantage when climate change related weather events such as storms, floods and droughts occur. In almost all developing countries women are more dependent than men on the agricultural and informal sectors, which are more vulnerable to extreme weather than traditional male-dominated sectors.

Differentiated impacts of climate change

Climate change and extreme weather impact both men and women, but its adverse effects are likely to be more acute for women, especially poor, rural women and indigenous women. A London School of Economics study analyzing the aftermath of extreme weather events shows that "natural disasters (and their subsequent impact) on average kill more women than men or kill women at an earlier age than men".

The IPCC's Fourth Assessment Report notes that "climate change is likely to directly impact children and pregnant women because they are particularly susceptible to vector- and water-borne diseases, e.g., malaria is currently responsible for a quarter of maternal mortality". And climate-related conflicts over resources predispose women more so than men to both domestic and community violence.

Gender equality and women's empowerment

Current approaches to climate change may intensify the effects of pre-existing gender gaps such as gender segmentation in credit and finance and information asymmetry (in terms of credit, technical assistance and transfer of technology) between men and women.

While the old forms of asymmetries led to long-term chronic problems such as endemic poverty, the new forms such as asymmetrical information sharing regarding early warning and disaster preparedness are a matter of life and death.

Shared vision

It is therefore important that global climate pledges by developed countries adhere to their commitments of the Kyoto Protocol, and advance a shared vision that enables gender equality and strictly maintains the global goal of keeping increase in global mean surface temperature substantially below 1.5 or 1 degree – levels which are critical to avoid potentially massive adverse impacts to vulnerable groups including women.

Adaptation

Adaptation strategies and policies must be supportive of women's practical and strategic interests by enhancing the role of local innovation and context specific knowledge as captured by participatory research. They would also need to address the obstacles to women's participation, (such as poor infrastructure and limited time). Adaptation must hence focus on:

- The different needs of men and women in prescribing funding goals, criteria and delivery mechanisms.
- Funding mechanisms should hold to a less than ‘burdensome criteria’ for both developing countries as well as women’s projects.
- Ensure that there are appropriate easily accessible mechanisms for compensating men, poor women and other vulnerable groups impacted by climate change.

Mitigation

Gender friendly mitigation should stress the provision of decentralized renewable energy in rural areas and promote the conservation, sustainable livelihoods and natural resources management practices of women and indigenous peoples. Adequate financing, technology and capacity must be provided to enable mitigation actions in developing countries that enhance gender equality and empower women.

Technology

Technology funding and projects must seek to facilitate the elimination of the substantial barriers to entry (i.e., credit, information gaps) and the adoption of technology faced by women. Women’s—more so than men’s—acquisition of technology is blocked by upfront purchase prices or administrative costs. Within the context of the

present negotiations framework it is important to:

- Establish within funding mechanisms, special or thematic windows dedicated to capacity building and the development of projects among cohorts of male and female actors who have been traditionally marginalized.
- “Enhancing the endogenous technologies and capacities of developing countries” in a manner that enhances the empowerment of women and indigenous men and women

Climate financing

It is important that gender equality and women’s empowerment and social equity priorities are included as key drivers of climate change financing. Ultimately, poverty reduction, sustainable development, the financing of gender equality and women’s empowerment outcome-sensitive adaptation, mitigation and technology development and transfers necessitate:

- Inflows of new, additional, non-debt creating and predictable funds. Developing countries cannot meet critical poverty reduction and gender equality targets if they are burdened with financing climate related adaptation and mitigation.
- No diversion of current ODA flows from social and development imperatives towards climate change financing.

- Adequate scale of financing to meet the agreed full incremental costs of the adaptation and mitigation measures required for protecting and maintaining the lives of women and men in developing countries and in promoting gender equality and women’s empowerment.
- New Fund under the Convention and the control of the COP. This new fund must integrate gender analysis and priorities into all of its aspects.
- A gender and social impact analysis of carbon markets and emission reductions projects currently implemented in developing countries.

Outcomes

The outcome from climate negotiations must reflect a clear gender analysis and perspective and women’s effective participation must be assured at all levels of the climate policy and climate change financing architecture.

Successful fair and equitable climate change policy and finance that promote sustainable development will safeguard women’s and men’s lives. Likewise, implementing sustainable gender equality interventions that enhance women’s empowerment and overall social equity, can have large, sustainable development dividends that can be immensely beneficial to the achievement of global climate change policy.

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