

GREEN ECONOMY: THE LONG SUICIDE



The Different Worlds of **Green Jobs**
& **Climate Jobs**



An abridged and more 'popular' version is available on request from AIDC



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GREEN ECONOMY: THE LONG SUICIDE

The Different Worlds of Green Jobs and Climate Jobs

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On 10th May 2013, a major marker on the highway to climate change catastrophe was passed, when greenhouse gas emissions exceeded 400 ppm – the safe level to ensure that the global average temperature increase stays below 2 degrees centigrade.¹ This caused the Secretary of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change to declare

The world must wake up and take note of what this means for human security, human welfare and economic development. In the face of clear and present danger, we need a policy response which truly rises to the challenge².

Governments around the world have long been promoting the green economy as the ‘policy response’ that ‘truly rises to the challenge’. But the problem is that the green economy is not the solution and, worse, they know it isn’t.



So the question is why, when the world is rushing towards an unprecedented global catastrophe threatening the very existence of humankind are seemingly intelligent and democratically elected leaders promoting something they know is exacerbating the problem rather than providing a solution? Why are governments effectively ignoring the scientific evidence they accept as valid? Other than a despairing sense of helplessness and hopelessness, how is one to understand this seemingly wilful blindness and what, if any, appropriate action can be taken by those who think they see?

This booklet seeks to answer these questions.

1 Holme, Niklas & Moltmann, Sara (2009) *Sharing the Effect under a Global Carbon Budget*, WWF International
2 Cited by Gosling, Melanie (2013) ‘Planet In “New Global Warning Danger Zone”’. *Cape Times* 14th May

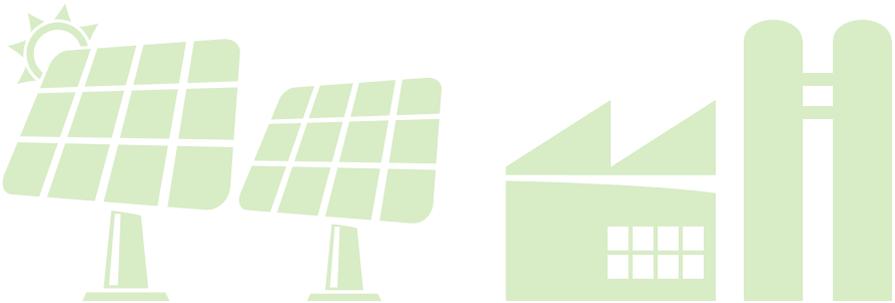
More specifically, the booklet seeks to demonstrate that the green economy is, at best, a wishful illusion; at worst, a deceptive myth. Both the good and bad versions effectively serve the same essential function: There is a very real economy and it is this economy that causes and relentlessly accelerates climate change while at the same time creating the need for the idea of a new and different green economy; an idea needed to provide the fantasy that something is being done.

Green jobs infuse this fantasy with a sense of realism, because green jobs are real, with the same visibility and familiarity of any other jobs in the real economy. It is only as an answer to climate change that green jobs are illusory, notwithstanding their real existence. Climate Jobs, on the other hand, are the immediately real answer to climate change – but they hardly exist, which is why climate change continues unabated. The immediate political challenge is to make governments and other public bodies create Climate Jobs and in the numbers required by climate change.

Confused? The story is actually far less strange than the fact that the world is NOT flat; or that even when we think we are stationary, we ARE in fact moving and doing so at great speed (at 1,180km/h as the earth spins on its axis and 108,000 km/h as it simultaneously travels around the sun).

Recognising that the answers provided in the booklet are both complex and contested, an attempt is made to provide an analysis in sufficient detail either to persuade readers or to enable them to know why they remain unconvinced. As the President of the American Sociological Association, Erik Olin Wright, advises

You must learn to write in such a way that it will be as easy as possible for your critics to know why they disagree with you³.



3 Wright, Erin Olin (1985:1) Classes. London: Verso

THE GREEN ECONOMY – WHAT IT IS AND ISN'T



Contrary to Shakespeare, the same or similar names can sometimes indicate different worlds. Sweet smelling roses can camouflage the poisoned thorn. Concealed by the difference between climate jobs and green jobs is the future of the world, or, more specifically, the actual survival of humankind, as well as other mammals and many other species

Green is the new good. But green can also be a façade for something decidedly ungreen; a reality not recognised by most and cynically concealed by others. How green is the green economy? This is the central question.

The claims...

The green economy is (supposedly) the answer to the catastrophe of climate change. More on the claims shortly; for the moment, it suffices to say that the green economy achieves this alleged planet-saving necessity via mitigation⁴ and climate resilient adaptations⁵.

Fortuitously, the green economy also creates both economic activity and a consequential large number of jobs when unemployment is a growing worldwide disfigurement, apart from countries, like South Africa, where mass unemployment is a normal way of life. The green economy is therefore at once the response to climate change, an economic stimulus and the creator of millions of green jobs. This would seem to be the perfect win-win-win situation.

But the problem is getting worse

Alas, like many things hard to believe, the green economy is a mirage. It most certainly hasn't worked, so far. No less a world authority than Professor James Hansen is well placed to know. Hansen, until recently, director of the NASA Goddard Institute for Space studies in the US has been driven to despair by the failure of the green economy to reduce greenhouse gas. Revealing the findings of a 2012 study, Professor Hansen explained, in an article entitled, 'Climate Change Is Here And Worse Than We Thought':

⁴ See, for instance, Government of The Republic of South Africa (2011) *National Climate Change Response White Paper*, October
⁵ *ibid*

Our new analysis shows it is no longer enough to repeat the caveat that no individual weather event can be directly linked to climate change. To the contrary, our analysis shows that, for the extreme hot weather of the recent past, there is virtually no explanation other than climate change.

Our new study, published by the (US) National Academy of Sciences, makes clear that while average global temperature has been steadily rising due to a warming climate, the extremes are actually becoming much more frequent and more intense worldwide.

This is the world we have changed, and now we have to live in it - the world that caused the 2003 heat wave in Europe that killed more than 50,000 people and the 2011 drought in Texas that caused more than \$5 billion in damage. Such events, our data show, will become even more frequent and more severe.

The future is now. And it is hot.⁶

But neither the future nor the heat has much register in the boardrooms and parliaments around the world.

The Fact or Fantasy of a Pristine Green Economy

The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) provides an official view of what the green economy is and what can be expected from it: Besides being

low carbon, resource efficient and socially inclusive

the green economy produces

improved human well-being and social equity, while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities⁷.

The green economy claims to be the opposite of everything the non-green economy is. Thus, the high carbon reality of the non-green economy is replaced by the low carbon claim of the green economy. Similarly, the green economy's social inclusiveness and equity – to pick only two of its many social claims – replaces the reality of the inequality and social exclusiveness that characterise un-green globalisation. This sharp contrast between the desirability of the one and the unpleasantness of the other is not a coincidence. Breathing life into the green economy are all the features that makes the non-green economy so unwelcome. In this way, the green economy becomes the home of many fanciful-though-noble wishes.

6 Washington Post 6th August 2012

The theme of the Bloomberg Business Week cover story on Hurricane Sandy that brought such devastation to New York City was: *If Hurricane Sandy doesn't persuade Americans to get serious about global warming, nothing will* (12th November 2012)

7 United Nations Environment Programme (2011). Towards a green economy: Pathways to sustainable development and poverty eradication – a synthesis for policy makers

The proponents of the green economy resolve this problem by *implicitly* presenting their green economy as an entirely new, stand-alone economic sector secure in its pristine greenness. It is this essential separateness from the non-green economy – a difference that is mostly unconscious (for reasons suggested later) – that transforms ‘green’ from an adjective into a distinct thing. As a noun, it merits the use of capital letters – Green Economy; a usage that will henceforth be followed.

Magically conceived as a separate add-on to the main economy allows the green adjunct (in the original understanding of green) to be in

*harmony with social and natural environments; where the rights of both people and nature are paramount; where the needs of people take full priority over profit and development is both sensitive to people and at human, local and localised scales.*⁸

The magic further allows the Green Economy not only to retain its pureness even when interacting with the non-Green Economy but – such is the power of the magic – to take over and transform the non-Green Economy. Thus, according to the World Future Council (note: nothing less than the World Future!), government guarantees of a fixed price for 20 to 30 years to private investors in Renewable Energy (RE), along with the power of these private RE producers to sell surplus electricity to the state – which directly involves both the green and non-green economies – is an

opportunity to empower communities and to revitalise local democracy and self-governance.

Moreover, this government guarantee allows RE to be

*an enormous opportunity for African countries to profoundly transform their societies and economies*⁹.

Alas, the very richness of this vision has been orphaned by the riches it offers. The global market for environmental products and services is enormous - \$6 trillion in 2011 and, at a projected 1% to 2.5% of global GDP, estimated to be \$316 trillion by 2050.¹⁰

In advance of the more detailed explanations that follow, it is important to bear in mind that the Green Economy is neither separate nor new, in terms of the analysis being advanced here. Rather, it is simply an extension of the same economic system that is responsible for climate change. That system is one in which the competition for profit leads to unending and limitless compound growth. The Green Economy simply extends this competition for profit into activities associated with clearing up and containing the ecological destruction caused by the very economy it seeks to conceal.

8 Lukhani, Muna (2012) Shifting South Africa to the Next Economy

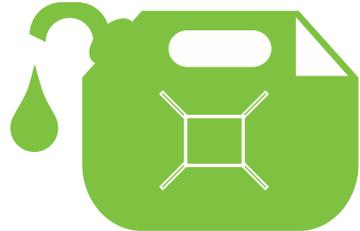
9 Both: World Future Council (2013) - Newsletter 2. Also see World Future Council (2012) Powering Africa through Feed-in tariffs. Accelerating renewable energy to meet the continent's electricity needs

10 Pp. 581, 583 - http://www.unep.org/greeneconomy/Portals/88/documents/ger/GER_15_Finance.pdf

Moreover, as an adjust to the dominant economy, it is never privileged to be anything other than second fiddle in that economy's complex orchestra. Thus, for instance,

- ▶ Despite the dire need for RE and even though a mere 1% of South Africa's land area suitable for solar energy could generate much more electricity than the total used by Eskom and 14 times more power than the still-to-be-built Kusile coal-powered plant,¹¹ the government's plans for renewable energy are modest in the extreme: just 9% of South Africa's total energy is scheduled to come from renewable energy by 2030.¹²
- ▶ This tiny amount reflects, in part, both the government's (false) belief that renewable energy is more expensive than fossil fuels (a belief that fails to take into account the rapid fall in RE prices alongside the increase in coal and the externalisation of fossil fuel costs) and the priority it gives to providing what is supposed to be the cheapest energy to business,¹³ regardless of what it otherwise presents as the Green Economy's vital contribution to mitigating climate change.
- ▶ Providing the economy with the cheapest possible energy, however, does not apply when strategic interests are seen to be involved. Highlighting what can be done is the Government's establishment of Sasol as a state-owned and controlled utility, together with the state subsidy Sasol enjoyed for the many decades during which imported petrol was cheaper than Sasol's coal-derived supply.
- ▶ Climate change enjoys no such strategic privileging. This is why, in order not to 'burden' the economy with 'uncompetitive' fuel costs, the government's Carbon Tax proposals – supposedly intended to incentivise the transition to a low-carbon economy – have been met with howls of outrage by all sections of the main economy,¹⁴ even though the proposals are actually exceedingly modest.¹⁵

The Green Economy, in other words, does not challenge or supplant the fossil fuel economy. Instead it provides ideological cover for the reproduction and continuation of that economy. It does this by creating the illusion that something is being done about climate change. But the impact the Green Economy has on reducing and mitigating climate change is totally insignificant compared to what is needed to prevent a terrible global crisis affecting both the whole of humanity and the living planet. The Green Economy distracts us from the radical changes that are needed to prevent this from happening. This makes it part of the problem, not the solution.



11 Derived from Northern Cape Department of Economic Development (2013:14) Northern Cape Renewable Energy Strategy Draft 1

12 Department of Energy, Integrated Resource Plan For Electricity 2010-2030 - Final Report (2011)

13 Republic of South Africa, National Planning Commission (2013:169), National Development Plan

14 For example, Business Unity South Africa, Sasol, ArcelorMital, Goldfields, the Cape Chamber of Commerce & Industry and the mouthpiece of big business, Business Day. See Parliamentary Monitory Group <http://www.pmg.org.za/report/20130820-carbon-tax-input-trade-and-industry-national-treasury-business-environment> ; Bloomberg 27th February 2013; Business Day 21st & 28th August 2013

15 See, for instance, AIDC (2013) Carbon Tax Policy Paper Submission



HUMAN STUPIDITY OR PRIVILEGED BLINDNESS?

Albert Einstein defined stupidity

As doing the same thing over and over again and expecting different results.

Some of the world's leaders might well be stupid – we probably all have our own chosen candidates – but stupidity does not figure in understanding the world's collective leadership, especially over time – even though they repeatedly expect different results from the Green Economy. Al Gore, the former US Vice President, sees recklessness rather than stupidity as the reason why climate change is getting worse.

Now, more than ever before, we are reaping the consequences of our recklessness. From Superstorm Sandy, which crippled New York City and large areas of New Jersey, to a drought that parched more than half of our nation; from a flood that inundated large swaths of Australia to rising seas affecting millions around the world, the reality of the climate crisis is upon us.¹⁶

The question implicit in much of what follows is: Why? Why have the world's leaders remained steadfastly united only in their recklessness or apparent stupidity? A cardinal case in point is the global temperature increase that must not be exceeded if run-away climate change is to be prevented. Why do our leaders remain singularly unable to do what they know must be done?

A short history of lost opportunities

In recognition of the catastrophe of climate change, 195 governments – including those of all developed countries – have signed the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The leaders of these governments have been meeting annually since 1994,

¹⁶ Gore, Al (2013) 400 Parts Per Million. Reader Supported News 13th May

at the inelegantly titled Conference of the Parties (COP). As they gathered in Copenhagen in 2009 for COP 15, Sir Nicholas Stern, the principal author of the *Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change*, a 700-page report commissioned by the British Government and released in 2006, called the assembly

*the most important gathering since the Second World War, given what is at stake.*¹⁷

The Danish Energy Minister, Connie Hedegaard, the Conference Chairperson, added:

*This is our chance. If we miss it, it could take years before we get a new and a better one. If ever.*¹⁸

COP 15 did 'miss it' – apart from agreeing that a temperature increase of 2⁰ Centigrade marked the maximum safe global increase above pre-industrial times. Leaders from 167 countries responsible for more than 87% of global carbon emissions committed themselves to this 2⁰C maximum. As a consequence, they further committed themselves to

*the deep cuts in global emissions...required...to hold the increase in global temperature below 2 degrees.*¹⁹

In agreeing to this temperature maximum and its consequent cuts in emissions of carbon dioxide (CO₂), COP 15 was doing no more than meeting one of the principle objectives of the UNFCCC, namely, the

*stabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system ... within a time frame sufficient to allow ecosystems to adapt naturally to climate change, to ensure that food production is not threatened and to enable economic development to proceed in a sustainable manner.*²⁰

How hot is hot?

COP 15 claimed that the 2⁰C threshold represented the 'scientific view'.²¹ It was in fact no such thing. 2⁰C was a compromise between science and political pragmatism. And the assembled world leaders knew this either directly or via their scientific advisers.

17 Quoted by McKibben, Bill (2012) 'Global Warming's Terrifying New Math,' Rolling Stone 19 July

18 ibid

19 ibid

20 Quoted by Wilson, Jessica (2012) 'Diplomats Fiddle While Africa Burns', South African Journal of Science 108(1/2) <http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/sajs.v108i1/2.1065>

21 ibid

From the previously mentioned Stern Review alone, they knew that even a 1°C rise would

- ▶ Cause the disappearance of small glaciers in Andes
- ▶ Threaten 50 million people's water supply
- ▶ Cause the death of 300,000 people from malaria, diarrhoea or starvation
- ▶ Precipitate the extinction of 10% of all species.²²

The Stern Report additionally informed them that a 2°C rise would

- ▶ Reduce water in South Africa & the Mediterranean by 30%
- ▶ Expose 60 million more people to malaria in Africa
- ▶ Cause the extinction of polar bears & caribous
- ▶ Begin melting Greenland's ice shelf with potential 7 metre rise in sea level.²³

This, to remind ourselves, was the supposedly 'safe' level!

African leaders, moreover, knew that the African continent was particularly threatened by global warming because Africa heats up by about twice the global average. South African leaders knew that by the 2050s our coast will warm by around 1-2°C, with a 2-3°C in the interior and that after 2050, warming is projected to reach around 3-4°C at the coast and 6-7°C in the interior.²⁴

Professor James Hansen, who warned about the 'future being now and hot', described the 2°C maximum – virtually COP 15's only success – as 'a prescription for long-term disaster'.²⁵ For Kevin Anderson and Alice Bows, at the Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research at the University of Manchester, 2°C was no longer a threshold of 'dangerous climate change' but, as they argued in a paper published in 2011, stands for the threshold of 'extremely dangerous' climate change, in the face of indications of increased climate sensitivity such as a much faster melting of Arctic sea ice than predicted.²⁶

Blindness compounded

By the time of Rio+20, in 2012, a mere two-and-a-half years after COP 15, this 'safe' 2°C was already history and the science of climate change compounded its warnings with even greater certitude. COP 16 & COP 17 were by then also history, both COPs having done virtually nothing to meet their earlier mentioned UNFCCC commitments to constrain the non-Green Economy by the

22 Stern, Nickolas (2006:57, Table 3.1) Stern Review: The Economics of Climate Change - Final Report. HM Treasury - http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/media/F/F/Chapter_3_How_climate_change_will_affect_people_around_the_world_.pdf

23 ibid

24 Government of the Republic of South Africa (2011:9) National Climate Change Response White Paper

25 Cited by McKibben, Bill (2012) 'Global Warming's Terrifying New Math,' Rolling Stone 19 July

26 Foster, John Bellamy (2013:2) 'James Hansen And The Climate Change Exit Strategy' Monthly Review 64/9, February

*stabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system*²⁷

The leaders of the world had gathered in *Rio de Janeiro*, in June 2012, to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the first ever conference on the environment graced by the Presidents and Prime Ministers of the nation's of the globe – hence 'The Earth Summit'. Rio+20 was additionally intended as a reflection on lessons learnt, along with the increasing urgency of the challenges faced. In the words of Achim Steiner, Under-Secretary General of the UN & Executive Director of UNEP

*Rio+20 is a moment to take stock of the past 20 years of sustainable development [sic!] – a moment too, to deliver the means of implementation for a very different century in a world of seven billion people.*²⁸

By coincidence, Rio+20 also marked the 150th anniversary of the first scientific understanding of the green house effect, by British scientist John Tyndall.²⁹ One hundred and fifty years after Tyndall and in anticipation of Rio+20, another UN body, UNEP, convened a group of 55 scientists and experts from 43 scientific groups across 22 countries to produce the third of its *Emissions Gap Reports*. As it explains in its third report:

*One of the fundamental questions in the global climate negotiations is: what level of "ambition", in terms of collective emission reductions, is needed to protect global climate? To help answer this question UNEP and the scientific community have published a series of reports on the "emissions gap" since 2010. Of particular interest to the ambition question is the gap in 2020 between emission levels consistent with the 2° C climate target and emissions levels projected if country reduction pledges are fulfilled. If there is a gap, then there is doubt that the ambition of countries is great enough to meet the agreed-upon 2°C climate target.*³⁰

We will return to this third report in due course, for it was published after Rio+20. Known to the Rio decision makers, however, was the key findings of the first two Emissions Gap Reports. The 2010 Report found the likelihood of a 'substantial' emissions gap, which the 2011 Report found to be unchanged.³¹

The consequence of this 'substantial' gap was widely reported within scientific circles before Rio+20: the gap meant the world was heading for a 3.5° increase and beyond. No less an authority than the former head of the UN's Climate Panel and Chief Adviser to Britain's Environment Ministry, Bob Watson, noting that

27 Quoted by Wilson, Jessica (2012) 'Diplomats Fiddle While Africa Burns', *South African Journal of Science* 108(1/2) <http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/sajs.v108i1/2.1065>

28 <http://www.unep.org/rio20/>

29 <http://coraifeartaigh.wordpress.com/2009/06/29/150th-anniversary-of-tyndalls-greenhouse-effect>

30 UNEP (2012:) *The Emissions Gap Report 2012 A UNEP Synthesis Report*, November

31 *ibid*

We have just not acted. The need for action is becoming more and more urgent with every day that passes,

he warned:

If you look at the commitments today [March 2012] from governments around the world, we've got a 50-50 shot at 3°, almost no chance of a 2°C world and, to be quite honest, I would say it's not unlikely that we will hit a 5° world.³²

Thanks to the Stern Report, the decision-makers at Rio+20 knew what was likely to be in store. This is because it had detailed some of the likely consequences of a 3 and 4 and 5 degree increase:

3°C rise

- Serious drought in Southern Europe
- 3 million more people die from malnutrition
- Up to 40% of species face extinction

4°C rise

- Australian agriculture ends
- Half of (the permanently frozen sub-soil) of the arctic tundra melts
- African agriculture yields down by 35%

5 C ° rise

- Himalayan glaciers disappear
- London, New York, Tokyo threatened by sea levels
- Massive migration of populations
- Greenland ice shelf melts, sea levels up 7 meters.³³

These predictions were based on the science of 2006. Since then, the science has grown more precise and the picture is even more harrowing.

Let James Hansen have the last word on this score. The earth's energy imbalance – created by more heat coming in than going out and thereby automatically warming the earth even without adding any further greenhouse gasses – can now be measured precisely. Professor Hansen explained, in a televised public address shown worldwide, that this extra energy

³² Both quotes from Common Dreams (2012) On the Brink: Planet Near Irreversible Point Of Global Warming. CommonDream.org – 27th March

³³ Stern, Nickolas (2006:57, Table 3.1) Stern Review: The Economics of Climate Change - Final Report. HM Treasury

the earth gains every day due to global warming is 20 times greater than the energy used by everyone everywhere on earth. It is the unimaginable equivalent of 400,000 Hiroshima A-bombs being exploded every day for a year.³⁴

Despite the known devastation associated with even a 2°C increase, desperately urgent though relatively modest imperatives have been placed on both business and government, at both global and national levels. Business has been required to reduce its use of carbon, the main greenhouse gas responsible for global warming and, hence, climate change. Governments, for their part, reflecting their unspoken misgivings about corporate behaviour, have been expected to impose a battery of regulations that in various ways reduce carbon usage and restrict carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions to levels commensurate with holding the temperature increase to a maximum of 2°C.

In the event, neither party has delivered. Business-as-usual has been the order of the day, for both the corporate world and the world's leaders, most of whom have been elected to represent us, the people. The evidence is overwhelming. More complex and even more urgent is the simple question: *Why?*

A summary is probably helpful before turning to the decisions taken at Rio+20. Climate change has been a naturally recurring feature of the history of our planet. Much of why this is so is known to science. The climate change the leaders assembled at Rio+20 had to address was of an entirely different type: People are responsible for the current climate change, unlike those of the past that were caused by natural phenomena. In the process of making the modern industrial world, our species have become increasingly reliant on fossil fuels – mainly coal, gas and oil. These fuels power the world of the 21st century. Unfortunately, they also simultaneously and unavoidably power the global warming behind human-made climate change.

It's the economy, stupid

Industry, like society itself, can take many forms. The economic formation that is overwhelmingly responsible for our current climate change crisis and has been dominant in the world since the industrial revolution that began in Britain in the 1750s has proved itself to be singularly unable to contain, let alone cut, its use of fossil fuels. It has moreover proved itself to be entirely unchallenged in its awesome ability to produce carbon dioxide in ever growing amounts, notwithstanding the growing introduction of renewable energy.

Against this irrefutable reality, what demands did our leaders at Rio make of this far from 'green' economy? They did two things that vie with each other for which was the more astonishing: They ignored the fact that the economy was blatantly ignoring the need to meet the (far from safe) 2°C and they greatly extended the remit of this (destructive) economy. They

³⁴ http://www.ted.com/talks/james_hansen_why_i_must_speak_out_about_climate_change.html

did this by reaffirming a host of noble expectations, despite the fact that their reaffirmation was needed precisely because of the failure to implement them in the first place! Einstein's earlier quoted definition of stupidity is strongly evoked!

The title of the Rio+20 Declaration merits its own attention. Ignoring its repetition of previously ignored commitments, it calls itself 'The Future We Want'! The section on climate change begins

88. We reaffirm that climate change is one of the greatest challenges of our time...

This 'reaffirmation' is not reflected anywhere else in the in the Declaration, other than rhetorically.

Some of the specific Green Economy commitments include:

25. *We are convinced that a green economy in the context of sustainable development and poverty eradication should contribute to meeting key goals in particular the priorities of poverty eradication, food security, sound water management, universal access to modern energy services, sustainable cities, management of oceans and improving resilience and disaster preparedness, as well as public health, human resource development and sustained, inclusive and equitable growth that generates employment, including for youth. It should be based on the Rio principles, in particular [...it] should be people-centred and inclusive, providing opportunities and benefits for all citizens and all countries.*
26. *We view the green economy as a means to achieve sustainable development, which must remain our overarching goal. We acknowledge that a green economy in the context of sustainable development and poverty eradication should protect and enhance the natural resource base, increase resource efficiency, promote sustainable consumption and production patterns, and move the world toward low-carbon development.*
29. *We are convinced that green economy policies and measures can offer win-win opportunities to improve the integration of economic development with environmental sustainability to all countries, regardless of the structure of their economy and their level of development.*
31. *We note that the transformation to a green economy should be an opportunity to all countries and a threat to none.*

Its Preamble commits all 193 members of the UN to the following, amongst many other things

2. *We reaffirm our determination to free humanity from hunger and want through the eradication of all forms of poverty and strive for societies which are just, equitable and inclusive, for economic stability and growth that benefits all.*
4. *We are also committed to...enhancing opportunities for all, be centred on human development while preserving and protecting the life support system of our common home, our shared planet.*

5. *We renew our commitment to sustainable development and express our determination to pursue the green economy in the context of sustainable development and poverty eradication.*

Finally, the leaders of the world state

116. *We reaffirm the key role of the private sector in promoting sustainable development including through multi-stakeholder partnerships. Public policy should create a stable investment climate and regulatory framework conducive to long-term investment and socially and environmentally responsible behaviour by business and industry.*³⁵

This last 'reaffirmation' is particularly pertinent. It draws unintended attention to the 'private sectors' inability to deliver on previous pledges. It also underscores the leaders' failure or refusal to see any connection between the problems they so loftily commit themselves to addressing and the currently dominant private sector.

How, one may ask, would Alice cope in such a Wonderland!

Adding to the madness of the Wonderland, the General Secretary of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon, sees only normality and hope:

Rio+20 has given us a solid platform to build on.

*Rio+20 has affirmed fundamental principles – renewed essential commitments – and given us new direction.*³⁶

The unreality of the 'new direction'

The world leaders who again gathered in Doha, at COP 18, at the end of 2012, had post-Rio information that provided still further cause for alarmed action. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) intentionally published its 62-paged Emissions Gap Report 2012 a few days before COP 18 began. COP 18 therefore had the benefit of knowing, even without going beyond the first page of the Report:

Current global emissions are already considerably higher than the emission level consistent with the 2°C target in 2020 and are still growing

*Current global Greenhouse Gas emissions, based on 2010 data from bottom-up emission inventory studies, are estimated at 50.1 GtCO₂e. ... This is already 14% higher than the median estimate (44 GtCO₂e) of the emission level in 2020 with a likely chance of meeting the 2°C target. This is also about 20% higher than emissions in 2000. Global emissions are now picking up again after their decline during the economic downturn between 2008 and 2009.*³⁷

³⁵ All <http://www.uncsd2012.org/futurewewant.html>

³⁶ Closing address 22nd June - <http://www.un.org/sg/statements/index.asp?nid=6149>

³⁷ UNEP (2012:) The Emissions Gap Report 2012 A UNEP Synthesis Report, November

This third Emissions Gap Report proceeds to detail a sobering assessment of the gulf between ambition and reality in respect to keeping a global average temperature rise this century under 2 degrees Celsius.³⁸

Also timed to coincide with COP 18, the World Bank published its own commissioned scientific report, *Turn Down the Heat: Why a 4°C Warmer World must be Avoided*.

The opening sentence of the Forward to the Report, by the President of the World Bank, Dr. Jim Yong Kim, reads:

It is my hope that this report shocks us into action. Even for those of us already committed to fighting climate change, I hope it causes us to work with much more urgency.

Explaining why we should be ‘shocked’, he observes

The 4°C scenarios are devastating: the inundation of coastal cities; increasing risks for food production potentially leading to higher malnutrition rates; many dry regions becoming dryer, wet regions wetter; unprecedented heat waves in many regions, especially in the tropics; substantially exacerbated water scarcity in many regions; increased frequency of high-intensity tropical cyclones; and irreversible loss of biodiversity, including coral reef systems.... It is clear that we already know a great deal about the threat before us. The science is unequivocal.³⁹

The global response to these ‘unequivocal’ scientific findings, however, is no more than voluntary ‘pledges’. As Kim notes

Despite the global community’s best intentions to keep global warming below a 2°C increase above pre-industrial climate, higher levels of warming are increasingly likely. Scientists agree that countries’ current ... emission pledges and commitments would most likely result in 3.5 to 4°C warming. And the longer those pledges remain unmet, the more likely a 4°C world becomes.⁴⁰

Ignoring the manifest failure of a mere ‘pledge’ – a failure reflected in why the pledges need constant ‘reaffirmations’ – he concludes his Forward with the same urgency of the call to action with which he began:

³⁸ *ibid*

³⁹ http://climatechange.worldbank.org/sites/default/files/Turn_Down_the_Heat_Executive_Summary_English.pdf

⁴⁰ http://climatechange.worldbank.org/sites/default/files/Turn_Down_the_Heat_Executive_Summary_English.pdf



This report is a stark reminder that climate change affects everything. The solutions don't lie only in climate finance or climate projects. The solutions lie in...ensuring all our work, all our thinking, is designed with the threat of a 4°C world in mind.⁴¹

It is science that has brought climate change to the attention of the world. It is science that keeps climate change at the centre of the global agenda. It is science that, with ever-increasing confidence, prescribes what must be done to prevent catastrophe. COP 18 did not challenge any of the science; it was simply ignored – amidst further 'reaffirmations' and fantasies about the Green Economy.⁴²

On May 10th 2013, as noted at the beginning of this booklet, the earth passed yet another global warming danger mark: 400 ppm of atmospheric CO₂. This resulted in yet another flood of pleas by important people for humanity to see what was happening.⁴³

All this adds even further weight to the observation by Albert Einstein, who, in the relative innocence of his time, was moved to note

Only two things are infinite. The universe and human stupidity, and I'm not sure about the former⁴⁴

Shakespeare refers to a third infinity:

What an infinite mock is this, that a man should have the best use of eyes to see the way of blindness!⁴⁵

There is hope deeply buried in the anguished despair so incomparably expressed by Shakespeare.

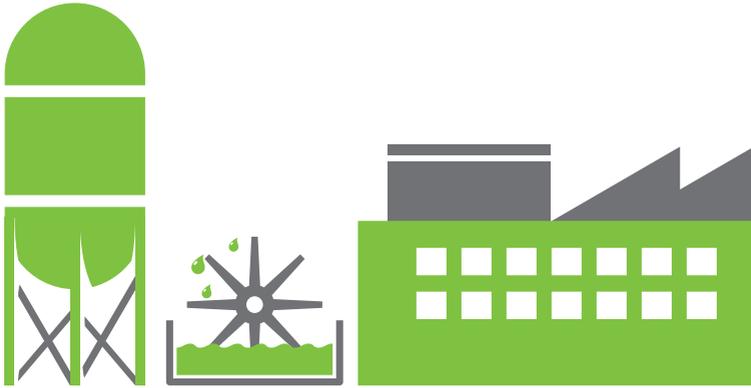
41 All http://climatechange.worldbank.org/sites/default/files/Turn_Down_the_Heat_Executive_Summary_English.pdf

42 See, for instance, United National Climate Change Secretariat (2012) At UN Climate Change Conference in Doha, governments take next essential step in global response to climate change. Press Release 10th December

43 See, for instance, Gosling, Melanie (2013), 'Planet in "New Global Warming Danger Zone"'. Cape Times 14th May

44 The source is unclear but was evidently first quoted by Persl, FS (1947) Ego, Hunger and Aggression: A Revision of Freud's Theory and Method.

45 Cymbeline, Act v, Scene iv. A British prison



Blindness by the Privileged

The world's apparent stupidity in the face of what is 'unequivocally' known about climate change and by its repeated expectation of different outcomes from the same inputs is not absolute. It is a stupidity constantly being challenged, in constantly increasing numbers, by scientists and lay-people alike, all of whom observe with increasing dismay and bewildered disbelief the failure of the world's leaders to do what must 'unequivocally' be done.

This challenge is the seat of hope.

The fundamental question begged by the fact of some people being able to see the 'ways of blindness' is: Is the manifest and prolonged failure to act in accordance with the demands of accepted scientific knowledge a fixed disability or a changeable refusal? It might be an all too easy convenience to attribute a world knowingly allowed to get even warming to the stupidity of the world's leaders. Any final explanation should wait until it has been established whether our decision makers and enforcers cannot or will not act differently.

We can again turn to James Hansen for a quick answer. This time, however, the wisdom comes not from what he says but rather from the insight provided by what has happened to him for daring to speak out.

It is reasonably well known that it was his 1988 testimony to the US Congress that finally forced the fact of climate change into the public consciousness. Much less familiar is that the White House doctored the record of his testimony by removing its sting. Nonetheless, his Congressional presentation resulted in invitations for him to speak at various universities and other public places. He used these opportunities to draw attention to the US government doing the opposite of what was required by the science in which he was such a central figure. This speaking out resulted in calls of concern from the White House to NASA, the US space agency, where Professor Hansen worked. This pressure from the President of the US produced

an instruction preventing him from speaking in public or giving media interviews without prior and explicit permission from NASA's Head Office. Hansen reported this gagging to the New York Times, with the lifting of the censorship duly following. Hansen explained that his speaking out was no more than giving effect to NASA's own Mission Statement, the very first line of which commits the Agency

To Understand and Protect the Home Planet

NASA couldn't disagree with him. They resolved their difficulty by removing this Mission objective!⁴⁶

Why should a President of the US go to such lengths to silence one of its most celebrated scientists from alerting the world to what was happening? Why, to extend this question, has there been such a concerted effort by some scientists – ready to be paid or supported by major international corporations – to rubbish even the suggestion of global warming? Why, when the scientific evidence became too secure to challenge directly, did research institutes, like the US Competitive Institute, argue that climate change was a myth promoted by the EU?⁴⁷ Another US President provides the answer. President George Bush bluntly announced in 2005 that he opposed the Kyoto Protocol because

*reducing greenhouse gas will wreck our economy.*⁴⁸

Although setting standards well below what is actually required, Kyoto stands unique as the only even vaguely legally backed attempt to restrict carbon emissions. Bush was a right-wing Republican president; the liberal Barak Obama is now in his second term as the Democratic president. Presidential and party changes have made no difference; the US has still refused to be bound by the timid Kyoto Protocol.

Bill McKibben offers a simple set of three numbers that offer an essential part of why reducing greenhouse gasses would 'wreck' not just the US economy but – to give it its proper name – that of the capitalist world.⁴⁹ The three sobering numbers of what McKibben calls the 'terrifying new math' are:

▶ **2°C**

This is the compromise temperature increase agreed to by the world's leaders

▶ **565 gigatons**

(A gigaton is one billion metric tons. One metric ton (2,200 lbs.) is what a cubic meter of water weighs. One billion metric tons is what one cubic kilometer (one billion cubic meters) of water weighs.)

46 http://www.ted.com/talks/james_hansen_why_i_must_speak_out_about_climate_change.html .

Also see Pielke, Roger (2013) James Hansen: Responsible Scientist and Advocate. <http://rogerpielkejr.blogspot.com/2013/04/james-hansen-responsible-scientist-and.html> (2nd April)

47 Wilson, Jessica & Law, Stephen (2007:81) Global Warming. London: Magpie Books

48 Quoted by Hertsgaard, Mark (2008) 'Climate Change : While Washington Slept,' Vanity Fair, 12th November

49 McKibben, Bill (2012) 'Global Warming's Terrifying New Math,' Rolling Stone 19 July



Scientists estimate that, to limit a temperature increase to no more than 2°C, the atmosphere can take the maximum of an extra 565 gigatons of CO₂ by 2050.

► 2,795 Gigatons

This is the estimated CO₂ contained in all the known coal, oil and gas still in the ground worldwide. The point about these reserves is that, although they have not been used, they nevertheless have already been given an enormous financial value – some \$27 trillion or some R279 trillion (at the exchange rate on 27th August 2013). The point about this gigantic number is that it has already been figured into share prices, with the companies that own these reserves additionally using the reserves to borrow money; moreover, governments of the countries in which these reserves are located are already basing their budgets on the presumed profit and tax to be realised from these reserves.

To make any sort of sense of R279 trillion – that is 279 followed by 12 noughts! – compare it to the R1.15 trillion, which is the size of South Africa's national budget for 2013-14. This (roughly) means that the value of the reserves still in the ground and shaping the finances of the world would cover our national budget for the next 279 years!

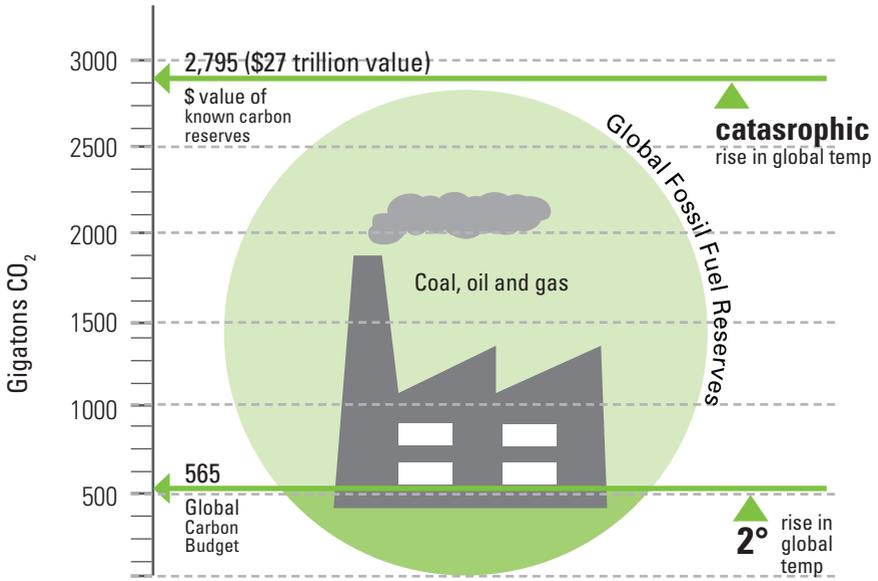
This third number of 2,795 takes us back to the second one, namely the greenhouse gas emissions of 565 gigatons consistent with a global temperature increase below 2°C. This is five times more than what is compatible with a 2°C increase. Crucially, this means that 80% of the reserves must never be used; this 80% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by 2050 (from 1990 levels) is increasingly accepted by national governments.⁵⁰ The problem is the consequential loss of \$20 trillion to the coal, gas and oil industry and all the very rich people, including the politicians who either have shares in that industry and/or whose interests are married to the stability of the capitalist economy as a whole. This also certainly helps explain why the US has neither a national policy for restricting the use of fossil fuels nor even renewable energy targets.⁵¹

These three numbers are far from being the only reasons why science is ignored – but, within the restrictions of this paper, they do point to the political economy that induces blindness.

50 Sheppard, Stephen R.J. (2012:13) *Visualising Climate Change – A guide to visual communication of climate change and developing local solution*. London: Routledge

51 Chomsky, Noam (2013) 'Humanity Imperilled' *TomDispatch* 4th June

Graphic: The vested interests that lose from transition to low carbon economy





OUR UNECONOMICAL ECONOMY

Integral to the ‘terrifying math’ of modern capitalism is that it is a political economy whose health is directly measured by the productivity of the waste it is compelled to generate; waste is fundamentally the capital necessarily made surplus by the total value of workers’ production always being greater than the sum of their wages. Waste, in the wealth of the forms it necessarily takes in an economy driven by the primacy of maximising profit, regardless of how or at what cost to the environment – and, dare one say, people – is a primary source fuelling global warming. The waste required to sustain global capitalism requires almost unlimited energy for the design, mining, mineral processing, manufacture, assembly, distribution, marketing, advertising and ultimate disposal of products – along with the energy costs of the transport that is involved in all these processes. And all this for commodities most of which have life-spans designed to be as short as possible and many of which rest on the manufacture of either hedonistic needs or self-evidently artificial ones. Bottled water, in conditions when safe and considerably cheaper tap water is readily available, stands supreme as an example of an artificial need.⁵²

Cell-phones are amongst the most prolific and readily recognisable of the commodities designed for quick throw-away, as the latest models are obsolete almost by the time they hit the shops.⁵³ They also offer an illustration of the fact that it is not profit that drives capitalism, as is popularly understood, but rather the compulsion of profit maximisation. Apple, the world’s largest company by market value, recently lost billions of dollars because it was too slow replacing its latest iPhone model; it did so ‘only’ once a year, unlike competitors who introduce new models several times a year. This resulted in Apple selling ‘only’ 26 million iPhones rather than the expected 28.4 million. Selling 26 million phones still meant a healthy profit. Causing Apple’s ‘loss’ – its market value falling by as much as 5.5% – was that its sales nonetheless fell short of ‘market’ expectations.⁵⁴ Capitalism is systematised greed; mere money making does not meet its demands. Capitalism’s health requires the greatest possible profit and this requires the greatest possible production of waste.

⁵² See, for instance, Rudin, Jeff (2011) ‘Put a cap on capitalism’, Mail & Guardian, 14 November

⁵³ See, for instance, Sibaud, Philippe and the Gaia Foundation (2013) Short Circuit: The Lifecycle of our Electronic Gadgets and the True Cost to Earth. London: The Gaia Foundation

⁵⁴ See, for instance, Rudin, Jeff (2012) ‘Core Meltdown’ Cape Times, 30th July

The cycle of capital accumulation

The wealth of any country and the well being of its economy is measured in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). GDP is the measure of the (monetary) value of all the goods and services produced and/or provided each year. GDP is the yardstick used to measure growth. The growth it measures, however, is not simple growth but compound growth. The baseline therefore never changes but effectively reverts back to zero each year. If, for instance, an economy with a GDP of (to keep it simple) R100 million most impressively grows 10% during any given year, the new GDP will have grown by R10 million to R110 million. The GDP baseline for the following year, however, would not be the original R100 million but R110 million. Let's say that the following year the GDP also grew by 10% and thus stood at R121 million. In the third year, however, even if the economy still generated a total wealth of R121 million this would register as zero growth – and the economy would be described as being very sick. Any 'negative' growth is an official disaster called a Depression.

Behind all of this are the following basic features of our capitalist economy:

- ▶ Growth requires investment.
- ▶ The money for investment originally comes from money each investor – whether individual business or person – makes available exclusively for making more money. This self-expansion of money – using money to make money – is the simplest meaning of capital.
- ▶ New capital, in the normal course of events, is capital made by already existing investments and ready for new and quickly available investment opportunities in anything, anywhere in the world. (The expansion by 10% of R1 million means that capital of R1.1 million is available for new investments, provided that some of it is not used up, consumed as money.)
- ▶ Investment opportunities are shaped by two fundamental conditions: First, they are required to generate a level of profit greater than inflation and higher than keeping it in an interest-bearing bank account or government bond and, second, at a level of security not dissimilar to that supposedly offered by banks or governments. (The current global financial crisis shows that neither banks nor even governments can be guaranteed safe.)
- ▶ Achieving the expected rate of profit is dependent, in the first instance, on being able to sell whatever is being made available, whether in the form of goods or services.
- ▶ What is being produced, how it is being produced, how it is marketed and how it is disposed of is of little if any relevance to each investor.
- ▶ What is central to the whole circulation of capital is that the greater the quantity of whatever is being sold the better. There is no limit to this. This applies no less to the economy as a whole as it does to each individual investor of capital.
- ▶ The obverse of this whole cycle is idle surplus capital, that is, capital that remains un-invested, for want of suitably profitable investment outlets. Too much idle capital means economic stagnation, which means enhanced forms of hardship for most people, including those who do not lose their jobs.

Many governments now see the Green Economy not so much as the antidote to climate change as the antidote to the global economic crisis. The Green Economy is being targeted as an ideal investment opportunity. The frontiers of the Green Economy are indeed being greatly extended by the new moves to price nature and apply market mechanisms for profit.⁵⁵

Capitalists, however, can never have enough capital. It is never-ending capital accumulation that drives the never-ending need for the compound growth that sustains the system.

The uneconomic reality of cars

Just how unsustainable this un-economic economic mode is and just how destructive it is of the environment and finally, just how it causes the very climate change the supposedly Green Economy is claimed to counter is best illustrated by motor cars. This is because the



car industry is recognised worldwide as a barometer of the health of any particular economy. The premise is simple: The more cars that are sold the bigger the GDP; growth is good; the faster the growth the better. Cars become all the more egregious because of what they additionally reveal about the claimed efficiency of competitive capitalism.

It needs to be emphasised that the inherent usefulness of cars is not in question. It is the anarchy of the market that compounds the energy-sapping of the motor industry and transforms these inherently useful products into a major cause of climate change. Again, it must be emphasised that cars are no more than illustrative of how the imperatives of capital accumulation driving all business ends in hugely wasteful production, exacerbated by a winner-takes-all competition that, in combination, greatly accelerates climate change.

Take South Africa, for instance.⁵⁶ Notwithstanding South Africa's small total population of less than 50 million and its far smaller car-owning population due to our world-beating inequality, no fewer than 44 car manufacturers are active in South Africa. Between them, they provide a staggering 1,180 or so different – and constantly changing – models! One German manufacturer of exclusively luxury cars has no less than 120 versions of only 11 different models.⁵⁷

55 See, for instance, Financialization of Nature: A Roundtable Discussion (2012) <http://climatemarkets.org/video/financialization-of-nature-a-roundtable-discussion-pt-1.html>; Bindell, Rich (2012) The Financialisation of Nature Is A New Battle Based on Old Tricks <http://ecowatch.com/2012/the-financialization-of-nature-is-a-new-battle-based-on-old-tricks>; Hauter, Wenonah (2012) Climate Change and the Financialization of Nature - http://www.huffingtonpost.com/wenonah-hauter/5512-and-6512-climate-cha_b_1476976.html

56 The information that follows draws on Rudin, Jeff (2010), The Story Of Cars Is One Of Absurdity - Motor Industry Paradoxes Illustrate The Excesses Of Prevailing Economic System. Cape Times 15/1/2010

57 Drive Times 25th April 2013

The difference between competing makes and models are marginal, at best. Consider, however, the huge amount of energy that goes into all stages of the design, production, distribution, marketing and maintenance of these 1,180 different models, some of which are even shipped here from the far reaches of the world. Consider, more especially, the energy that goes into making the road-legal tanks that masquerade as cars. Their sheer size alone proclaims their absurdity. Think of the extra metal, minerals and other materials that go into making and maintaining these monsters, whose most arduous off-road activity is likely to be curb-climbing when looking for city-centre parking made so difficult to find because the 'more private cars the better' is the basis of the economy.

Consider even more particularly the carbon dioxide released by the energy used in the research and design of the engines that propel the cars that compete to see which one can exceed the legal speed limit by the greatest margin; consider the fossil fuels required to make the ever bigger engines required to make cars faster and faster; consider the global warming energy that goes into the design and making of the brakes and other components to make safer the cars designed to go faster and faster. Finally, consider the greenhouse gas emissions produced by the extracting, refining and transporting of the extra petrol required by these bigger and heavier and faster cars.

Capitalism is, indeed, *'the fountain of its own pollution'*, to borrow Shelley's words.⁵⁸

Diverting attention from the car industry's contribution to climate change is – the Green Economy. Thus we have electric cars and hybrid cars. Not said is that these 'green' cars reproduce all the far from green absurdities of the standard car industry. Thus, as the newest 'gee-whiz', there is a hybrid sports car with a huge engine (6 litres and 12 cylinders) designed to break the legal speed limit by more than 2½ times and burn the rubber required to go from 1-100km/h in a mindless in 4.9 seconds.⁵⁹ 'Green' helps market cars at a premium price. As a motoring journalist unknowingly put it, in an article aptly titled 'The Green Monster',



*Ideally all cars should be green but if they were then the marketing people would have nothing to shout about.*⁶⁰

Innovative production processes are similarly presented as 'green' because they are slightly less carbon emitting and therefore 'ecologically responsible', as a major car manufacturer boasts.⁶¹ 'Auto Industry To Turn Green' could be the headline of countless articles in different newspapers around the world, even though this particular one comes from the MediaClub.⁶²

58 Jones, F.L. (ed.) (1964:vol II, 699) The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley. Oxford: Clarendon Press

59 'Hybrid Hydrogen Car set to Paint Nurburgring green' Business Day Motor News supplement 18th April 2013

60 Smyth, Mark (2013) 'The Green Gangster', Motoring News, Business Day 23rd May

61 See, for instance, http://www.vw.co.za/en/volkswagen_groupsouthafrica/volkswagen_magazine/spring-2012.htm

62 Chibba, Shamin (2011), 'SA Auto Industry To Turn Green', MediaClubSouth Africa.com 13th September. <http://www.mediaclub-southafrica.com/economy/2557-auto-industry-130911>

The magic of the Green Economy is the sleight of hand inducing the belief that a slightly smaller carbon footprint means no footprint at all.⁶³

The Green Economy is a form of 'slow violence'⁶⁴ that could well be the 'longest suicide in history'.⁶⁵

Genuine hope for the future lies in seeing through the green façade, not to 'industrialisation' – for it can take many different forms – but to the one usually (and mistakenly) seen as the only possible one; our own. Placing industrialisation in historic time and place, as one must, leads directly to the decidedly uneconomic economy that needlessly produces gigatons of life-destroying greenhouse gasses as a condition of the never-ending growth of capital accumulation without which it ceases to function.

It must be highly doubtful whether the human imagination could design a more wasteful, resource depleting, environment destroying and efficient and effective way of global warming than the capitalism the Green Economy seeks to camouflage.



63 See, for instance, the Carbon Initiative Project Climate Change Report 2012, SA business committed to decrease carbon emissions - <http://www.nbi.org.za/Pages/Details.aspx?NBIweb=e586ac5b-bcad-49be-ba41-81b0f1fa2ba3&NBlist=64654bc6-d34d-4582-999b-0778898cb878&NBItem=130>. This international project is represented in South Africa by the National Business Initiative, which, according to its website is 'Working Towards to Sustainable Growth Development in South Africa'.

64 Nixon, Rob (2011:2) *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*. Harvard University Press
Violence is usually understood as an event or action that is immediate in time, and explosive in space, but much of the degradation of nature involves a violence that extends over time, is insidious, instrumental, undramatic, accretive and relatively invisible

65 As Kumi Naidoo, Executive Director of Greenpeace said of Rio+20. Quoted by <http://blogs.worldwatch.org/sustainableprosperity/the-future-we-want-reflections-from-rio20/> The title of this booklet derives from Naidoo



Capping Capitalism – The Need for Democratic Planning⁶⁶

A brief aside is necessary. It follows from the above that reforming capitalism is a climate change imperative. This is so even for those people who don't go as far as saying that capitalism is the only or even main cause of climate change. Only the wilfully blind would, when confronted by climate change, deny the need to question the need of each product. More specifically, this means the critical assessment of the employment, resource depletion, social, green house gas and other environmental impacts of each particular product and its promotion and distribution throughout its entire life-cycle. These fundamental issues lie outside traditional concepts of democracy and are left instead to each business and investor to decide by themselves. They alone make these life-shaping and climate change-determining decisions, even though they are driven primarily by the imperatives of their own, short-term if not immediate profit maximisation. For instance, car manufacturers are free both to decide the size and weight of a car as well as of the car's engine; they are similarly free to decide how fast the car should go, regardless of legal speed limits and they alone decide how fast it should take to get to various speeds.

This market freedom is no longer compatible with the challenges of climate change. Climate change demands the deepening of democracy by allowing a much louder social voice. This means democratic planning that takes precedence over the profit-driven anarchy of the market. The organisational form of this democratic planning is an open question that needs to be developed and agreed according to the specificities of each country. And it needs to be developed urgently.

Essential to any of this is an explicit and unambiguous statement that the planning is designed to circumscribe capitalism in order to ensure that the climate change tipping point is not reached. Such an open declaration is required because the claims of Green Economy might appear to make redundant the need for any further democratic planning. Apart from 'sustainable development' being central to the Green Economy, recall, for instance, only the following one of the 128 clauses of the Rio+20 Declaration:

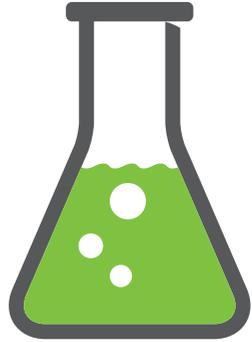
⁶⁶ This section draws on Rudin, Jeff (2011) 'Put a cap on capitalism', Mail & Guardian 14th November

We acknowledge that a green economy... should protect and enhance the natural resource base, increase resource efficiency, promote sustainable consumption and production patterns⁶⁷

The rationale for democratic planning therefore needs to make plain that achieving these Rio objectives necessitate capping capitalism's freedom to destroy.

Profit from pollution – the Ozone story⁶⁸

The Green Economy's camouflage of capitalism confounds even James Hansen, the very scientist who has done so much to alert the politicians to Armageddon. Hansen, however, has not been able adequately to see the profit maximising economics behind the politics of climate change. He thus turns to the market for what he sees as a 'simple, honest and effective solution': A carbon tax on all fossil-fuel companies, with the money collected being distributed on a per capita basis to all legal residents. This, he assures us will 'stimulate innovations to create a clean energy economy'.⁶⁹



Alas, for all of us, he is wrong on this score. Before turning to a somewhat extended example of just how wrong he is, the official collapse of the EU carbon emissions market should be noted. The European emissions trading system died in mid April 2013. Instead of the carbon price of between €0 and €0 per tonne required both to make a significant impact on arresting climate change and force companies to abandon fossil fuels, the actual price was only €2.8 a tonne – 'below the level of junk bonds', as the *Economist* noted.⁷⁰

Returning to Hansen's 'simple solution', a New York Times article (of 9th August 2012), blows it away only 3 days after Hansen put forward his proposal. The New York Times article (to which we will shortly return) makes plain how the pursuit of immediate profit maximisation takes precedence over life itself, including the lives of those making the profit.⁷¹ As Karl Marx noted, the last capitalist would sell the rope used for his own hanging. Capitalism has little if any place for Hansen's market solutions.

67 <http://www.uncsd2012.org/futurewewant.html>

68 Many different examples tell a similar tale.

69 Hansen, James E (2012) 'Climate Change Worse Than We Thought', The Washington Post 6th August

70 Monbiot, George (2013) 'This Faith In The Markets Is Misplaced: Only Governments Can Save Our Living Planet', The Guardian 22nd April

71 Rosenthal, Elisabeth and Lehren, Andrew W (2012) 'Profits on Carbon Credits Drive Output of a Harmful Gas', New York Times 9 August.

One year before Hansen began his often-lonely campaign to warn the world about climate change, the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer was adopted (in September 1987). The Protocol has since been ratified by 197 countries, plus the EU, making it the most widely supported treaty in the history of the United Nations. Unlike the Kyoto Protocol that seeks to limit the greenhouse gasses causing climate change and is rejected by the US, the ozone-specific Montreal Protocol has the full support of the US. This US support is probably why, in the words of Kofi Annan, the then UN Secretary General, it is ‘perhaps the single most successful international agreement’.⁷²

By the mid-1980s, the science of the ‘Ozone-hole’ had been sufficiently established for the world’s leaders to take the problem seriously. Chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) – the main coolant used in refrigerators and air conditioners as well as in the manufacture of solvents, blowing agents for plastic foam manufacture, fire extinguishers and aerosol cans – were causing the depletion of the ozone layer in the atmosphere. The resulting hole was leading to an increase in UV-B radiation, with an increase in skin cancer, damage to crops and to marine phytoplankton being the outcome. Despite strenuous objections by CFC manufacturers and users who sought to debunk the science involved,⁷³ the Montreal Protocol binds all parties to phasing out the use of CFCs. Hydrochlorofluorocarbons (HCFC) are acceptable transitional CFC replacements and are the basis of the current problem.

The Montreal Protocol relies on market mechanisms to repair to the ozone hole. Embracing the principle of all countries having a common but differentiated responsibility to protect and manage the global commons – which is a cardinal principle in all climate change negotiations – the Protocol restricts the use of HCFC in developed countries but not developing ones. The UN, under whose auspices this takes place, assigned the value of 1 to carbon dioxide (CO₂), the most common of the greenhouse gasses. Other industrial gasses are assigned values relative to that, based on their warming effect and how long they linger in the atmosphere. Methane is valued at 21, nitrous oxide at 310. HCFC-22, the waste gas produced making HCFC, is near the top of the list, at 11,700.

And there’s the rub. These values are used to calibrate exchange rates for the carbon ‘credits’ the UN began issuing in 2005. Companies awarded these credits under the UN’s Clean Development Mechanism are free to sell them on global trading markets. They are bought by companies in the developed world that exceed their legal carbon emission limits under various international agreements.

Profit maximisation, the engine of capitalism, has produced a perverse – though highly profitable – outcome. Rather than the one credit earned by eliminating one ton of carbon dioxide, entrepreneurs quickly realised they could earn 11,700 credits by destroying the HCFC-22 produced as a waste by-product of HCFC, the transitional coolant pending the total outlawing of all CFC.

72 All http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Montreal_Protocol accessed 19/8/12

73 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Montreal_Protocol accessed 19/8/12

Nineteen plants, mainly in India and China, now legally produce as much HCFC as they can in order to maximise the carbon credits they get by destroying its waste by-product! The result has been that 46% of all carbon credits awarded worldwide have gone to these 19 companies. Worse still, their production of HCFC has been so enormous that it has made the cost of the gas so cheap that the companies in the developed world no longer have any economic incentive to stop using the gas.⁷⁴ Long live profit. As Naomi Klein said:

*Climate change is the greatest single free market failure.*⁷⁵

And, yet, the European Commission's Environmental Commissioner still wants us to accept that

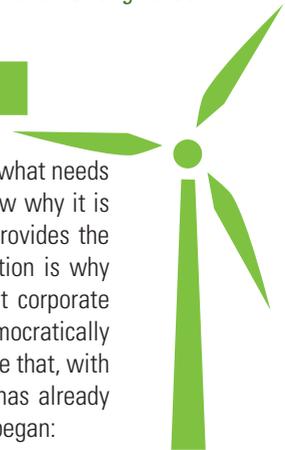
*We need to move from protecting the environment from business to using business to protect the environment.*⁷⁶

Such patent absurdity calls forth the despairing cry of the ancient Greek philosopher Antisthenes:

A man must provide himself either wit to understand or a halter to hang himself

Why government's naturally buy the green fantasy

We are fortunate to have 'the wit of understanding'. We know what needs doing – science is at our service and we know enough to know why it is not being done – our brief excursion into political-economy provides the main outline of the answer. What still needs further elaboration is why governments around the world have been so ready to protect corporate interests. This question is particularly pertinent when it is democratically elected and otherwise decent politicians who ignore the science that, with ever-increasing urgency, alerts them to the catastrophe that has already begun. President Obama, for instance, is categorical in saying began:



74 Derived from Rosenthal, Elisabeth and Lehren, Andrew W (2012) 'Profits on Carbon Credits Drive Output of a Harmful Gas', New York Times 9 August. Also see Rudin, Jeff (2012) 'Capitalists put profit ahead of attempts to save the planet,' Mail & Guardian 7th September

75 Moyes, Bill & Klein, Naomi (2012) How Climate Change is a Historic Opportunity for Progressives, 17th November. YouTube accessed 9 May 2013

76 Quoted by Cock, Jackie (2013:3) The "Green Economy": a sustainable development path or a "wolf in sheep's clothing"? Paper presented at Conference on 'Land Divided: Land & South African Society in 2013' in Comparative Perspective, University of Cape Town, 24-27 March

I am a firm believer that climate change is real; that it is impacted by human behaviour and, as a consequence, we have an obligation to do something about it.⁷⁷

Yet, virtually everything he does gives the lie to what he stated so unequivocally. The crudely put typical response to such inconsistencies or hypocrisies is a variation of: ‘They are all bought’. But even if true, the very validity begs questions such as: Who would want to buy these political leaders and, additionally, has the power to do so? And: Why are our leaders so easily bought? We have already answered the first question. What about the second?



Apart from the fact that few members of even fewer governments around the world are not also seekers of profit maximisation, governments have an electioneering interest in reducing unemployment and giving hope to the still unemployed as well as those still being educated in one of its many different schools or institutions. UNEP predicts that between 15 million and 60 million additional jobs can be created worldwide in the next two decades if green policies are put in place to switch from the existing high-carbon global economy to a low-carbon one. These figures take into account the number of jobs that are lost by the transition to a low-carbon economy or by failing to transform.⁷⁸

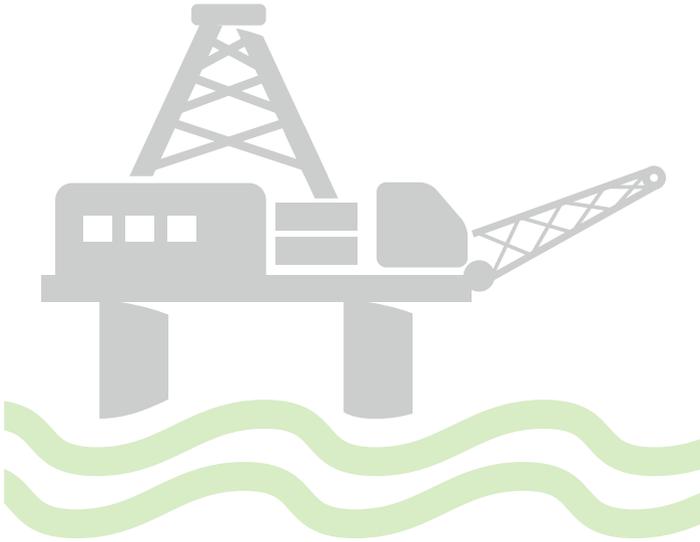
In addition to these two considerations of business and election self-interest, it is to be expected that governments, concerned by climate change and the need to do something, would automatically look to the market and their own industries in particular. They would see climate change as a golden business opportunity wrapped in urgently needed solutions; a classic win-win situation, if ever there was one.

Seeing the Green Economy in this way is the outcome of ideological predispositions. Market values and market-thinking are so dominant in shaping all aspects of life from birth to death that the market is the spontaneous, unthinking, ‘natural’ expectation of any economic activity. Alternatives to market based economies have become so remote that most people are simply unaware of the specifically market form of the economic activity involved. For them, it is as much part of the natural order as the rising sun. This is why, when most government’s think of the growth and job creation expected of ‘their’ industries, few are concerned about – or even aware of – the (historically transient) market form they take for granted.

‘National interest’ is invariably thus indistinguishable from private business interests. It is therefore to be expected, for instance, that large business delegations always accompany our globe-trotting Presidents – whether Mandela or Mbeki or Zuma – on their various travels

77 Quoted by Moyes, Bill & Klein, Naomi (2012) How Climate Change is a Historic Opportunity for Progressives, 17th November. YouTube accessed 9 May 2013

78 Richards, Fiona (2012), Switching To A Green Economy Could Mean Millions Of Jobs, Says UN, The Guardian 13th May



to forge or enhance better trade or development or cooperation or even cultural links with other countries. And these goals might well be genuine. That they are mediated – in whole or part – by profit-maximising business might not even be consciously registered so normal is the practice.

The cooperation agreement between the Central African Republic (CAR) and South Africa, which was so much in the news following the deaths of so many of our soldiers early this year, is but a case in point. Foreign affairs objectives are seldom, if ever, without an economic dimension. And economics always means the primacy of the market even when public money is involved, as with, say, Public Private Partnerships (PPPs). It is thus entirely unremarkable that the Inala Centrafrique, the CAR PPP that evidently figures so prominently in the murky waters of South Africa-CAR dealings, was to enjoy a monopoly over CAR's diamond market with prominent ANC-linked business people enjoying suitably lucrative profits.⁷⁹

The intimacy of these connections between the political and economic is as old and universal as the divisions themselves. It is this unity within all class structured societies that indeed gives rise to the very idea of a ruling class.

Black Economic Empowerment, along with the recent and still prevailing dominance of neo-liberalism, has merely accentuated the intensity – and openness – of this intimacy between the holders of political and economic power. Thus, Corporate South Africa is not only heavily dependent on business from all spheres of government (national, provincial and municipal)

79 'Is this what our soldiers died for?' Mail & Guardian 28/3/13

but expects this business to be nothing less than ‘lucrative’. Reflecting the ‘naturalness’ of the marriage between the holders of economic and political power, opposition parties and the media are quick to draw loud attention to the favouring of ANC-linked business people but are entirely silent about both the fact of outsourcing and that the tenders are always ‘lucrative’.

The privatisation of the public

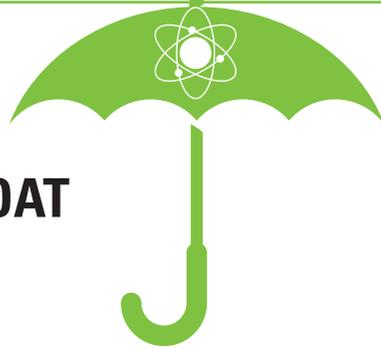
Reversing the normalcy of profit-driven outsourcing and replacing it with the public provision of public services – with public need as the primary determinant – is a critical option to which we will shortly return. For the time being, however, this option has no practical reality. This is because

- ▶ Public enterprises are nowadays so closely modelled on private corporations that the formal ‘public’ ownership means nothing. This is symbolically reflected in the manner in which the Security or Stock Exchange reproduces itself in our so-called State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs): both are openly based on ‘shares’. SOEs, however, have, by law, only a single ‘share holder’ – the state. ‘Public is as Private Does’, as the title of a research paper on a SOE pithily puts it.⁸⁰
- ▶ Public enterprises are intended to serve the interests of the dominant private sector, whether as the provider of
 - (i) cheap inputs (Eskom is under heavy pressure because of its failure to do so; by contrast, Water Boards are not in the news because they mostly deliver);
 - (ii) insufficiently profitable services (like the supply of domestic water), or
 - (iii) essential services (education, health, housing) that provide the second rate services required by the economy and legitimise both government’s claim to be ‘pro-poor’ as well as the existence of lucrative, private alternatives.
- ▶ Public enterprises are essential to the promotion of Affirmation Action and Black Economic Empowerment in various ways.
- ▶ More generally, governments are heavily dependent on private investment for the Green Economy (even though they fail to see this dependency as a creation of their own policies that, by choice, simultaneously make them cash-strapped alongside a private sector awash with ‘surplus’ capital).⁸¹

Climate Change makes putting the public back into public enterprise the urgent political challenge. Green jobs provide a focus for this to happen. They could compel publicly elected governments to act in the public interest.

80 Van Rooyen, Carina & Hall, David (2007) Public Is As Private Does: The Confused Case Of Rand Water In South Africa. Municipal Service Project, Occasional Papers Series Number 15, August

81 See, for instance, Forslund, Dick (2012) Personal Income Taxation and the Struggle against Inequality & Poverty’. AIDC



WEARING A RAINCOAT WHEN IT RAINS

Being influenced by weather forecasts is hardly newsworthy. What would be remarkable is if someone, alerted to the high probability of rain, nonetheless leaves home unsuitably prepared, dies as a consequence of complications following the chill he caught, yet is honoured in his obituaries for his foresight.

We are fortunate; more than enough of us are able to see the ways of climate change blindness. This allows for collective action. But to do what?

The logic of profit-maximising business people, as we have repeatedly seen, would be to provide the rain required to sell the raincoats and, in order to sell the greatest possible number of rain clothes, to provide the water in such profusion that it causes their own drowning.

The market, in other words, can be relied upon only to make worse the climate change it has caused. This leaves only democratically elected governments with the power and legitimised authority to act in the public interest. And they already know perfectly well what needs doing, as the above pages of this booklet have attempted to make clear.

Climate jobs vs green jobs

Governments **must** do whatever is required to ensure that the temperature increase is at least kept to a maximum of no more than 2°C. This implies a totally uncompromising approach to business, as happened during the Second World War. Wartime governments told business what to do and what not to do and most people applauded the government for acting so decisively and unapologetically in the national interest. Unlike wartime, however, national governments would now be acting in a global interest. Somewhat surprisingly, the South African government already accepts the necessity of this approach. Its National Climate Change White Paper boldly declares



*The overall strategic approach for South Africa's climate change response is **needs driven** (emphasis added)⁸²*

82 Government of the Republic of South Africa (2011:5) National Climate Change Response White Paper

The required reduction of greenhouse gas emissions not only necessitates alternate energy sources but also the much more efficient use of energy. Both steps must be very boldly and urgently taken not least to catch up with the already lost time. None of this can happen without labour – lots of labour and much of it new.



These new jobs are climate jobs. They are jobs driven by what governments MUST do to tackle climate change; in the words of the government's National Climate Change Response White Paper, climate jobs emerge from the government's 'needs driven' strategy.⁸³ Retrofitting all RDP houses with ceilings, solar water heaters, and enabled to harvest rainwater is an obvious requirement. So, too, is the need for this to be done in a systematic and coordinated way by specialised and experienced workers. Such dedicated retrofitting units should be a part of public works departments whether at national or local level. This also means large-scale, decent employment.⁸⁴

Green jobs, by contrast with what governments must do, MUST maximise profit as a condition of both their coming into being and their duration. At their simplest, green jobs are those having something – anything! – to do with saving energy or improving the environment. However, being an integral part of the Green Economy, green jobs are part of the very profit-maximising economy responsible for climate change. More specifically, their existence is not dictated by the exigencies of climate change but those of profit in circumstances in which the failure to maximise returns can be fatal.

This point is well illuminated by domestic solar water heaters (DWHs) in South Africa. With 50% of all energy being used for heating and cooling worldwide and with South Africa's abundance of sun, solar water heaters are a natural component of the Green Economy.

It might seem that this natural good fortune is reflected by the 500 different systems available, along with the 200 companies ready to do the installation. This would be deceptive, however. The oversupply of systems and companies exists both because of a public subsidy to private households installing SWHs and the promise of lucrative business. This promise is based on the government's commitment to install one million SWHs in poor areas by 2014/15.⁸⁵ Moreover, even the subsidy – from Eskom, the state-owned electricity generator – does not exist because of climate change. The subsidy is provided as part of Eskom's desperate attempts to reduce the electricity demand that it cannot supply. SWHs do this by freeing Eskom from the energy intensive demands of heating water.

83 Government of the Republic of South Africa (2011:5) National Climate Change Response White Paper

84 Mawbey, John (2011) Creating Climate Change Jobs In The Construction And Building Industry. Research paper for the One Million Climate Jobs Campaign available on www.climatejobs.org.za

85 Republic of South Africa (2011:10-13), Green Economy Accord. Economic Development Department

Furthermore, the notoriety of RDP housing construction – earned because of the billions of rands the government has had to spend rectifying the shoddy work done by the profit maximising construction companies – is being replicated by the SWH installers.⁸⁶ Stories abound of the roof top collectors being placed wherever was most convenient rather than where the sun demanded. Some collectors were even placed in the shade, under an overhanging tree. Some 80% of the SWHs in Khayalitsha are reportedly not working, mainly due to incompetent installation. Yet the companies involved are happy to see themselves as the creators of green jobs.⁸⁷

Apart from such difficulties, what needs emphasising is that regardless of the need or its urgency, climate change does not automatically lead to green jobs: new jobs are entirely contingent on the expectation of suitable levels of profit. If left to the market, the millions of jobs needed to address climate change – referred to at the beginning of this booklet – will become actual jobs only if, and to the extent that, suitable profit can be made. No profit means no jobs, with climate change being no more than a business opportunity – ‘a spur for industrialisation,’ according to the Economic Development Minister⁸⁸ – most conveniently timed to absorb the vast amount of idle capital seeking duly profitable new outlets.⁸⁹ As Sir Richard Branson, Britain’s most swashbuckling entrepreneur of the late 20th century, puts it most candidly:

Our only option to stop climate change is for industry to make money from it.⁹⁰

Thus, the then Energy Minister, Dipuo Peters, was proud to inform the Cabinet in May 2013 that South Africa now ranks as the ninth most attractive investment destination for the Green Economy.⁹¹

This ought to reassure Business Day, the mouthpiece of South African business, which editorialised:

If climate change is to be taken seriously, it needs to be made more profitable for firms and countries to abide by carbon-reduction agreements than for them not to.⁹²

86 See, for instance, ‘The Game of Geysers,’ Carte Blanche 24th June 2013

87 All this information comes from a Soltrain Thermal Training Workshop, Cape Town 13th March 2013 that I attended. Also see Kings, Siphon (2013b) ‘Solar Geysers Get A Cool Reception,’ Mail & Guardian 7th June and ‘The Game of Geysers,’ Carte Blanche 24th June 2013

88 Patel, Ebrahim (2011:3) Green Economy Accord. Republic of South Africa, Economic Development Department. Also see: ‘Cashing in on Catastrophe: climate change, corporations and security states. Forthcoming

89 For South Africa see, Donnelly, Lynley (2011) ‘Sitting on a mountain of cash’, Mail and Guardian, 26 August & ‘Big Cash Stockpiles In South Africa’, Editorial, Business Day 18th June 2012

90 <http://www.spiegel.de/international/business/richard-branson-discusses-climate-change-business-opportunities-a-839985.htm> - Cited by Cock (2013:3)

91 Kamaldien, Yazeed (2013) ‘SA on its way to greener economy,’ Mail & Guardian 31st May

92 Business Day (2012) 26th November

But even this searing insight can be misleading. It ignores the precedence given to protecting 'market share', regardless of the cost to reversing climate change. The fact that solar panels are rapidly falling in price, for instance, ought to be decidedly good news. It could also be seen to affirm the advantages of capitalist competition. Yet the EU is taking action against China at the WTO. The EU's complaint is that Chinese solar panels are far too cheap! Taking action to protect their own manufacturers (legitimised as protecting jobs), the EU is thus threatening to impose a whopping tariff of 47% on Chinese imports.⁹³ Apart from the EU condemning such protectionism when its products are targeted, climate change is utterly forgotten when it comes to which capitalists profits most from the Green Economy.

In contrast to green jobs, which are entirely contingent on climate change welcomed as a business opportunity, climate jobs are conceived as primarily public jobs because it is the government, acting in the public interest and driven solely by both the urgency and the demands of climate change, which uncompromisingly determines what must be done.

Climate jobs do not necessarily preclude the involvement of the private sector but it is an involvement explicitly predicated on doing what government says must be done to meet the 2°C cap. Profit can still be made but at levels set by the government, not a profit-maximising market.

Climate jobs can additionally embrace other organisational forms ranging from cooperatives, to NGOs and the livelihoods of small-scale agriculture.

Climate jobs are expressly decent. Being primarily public gives a better chance of this requirement are being met. Government is also in a position to require that climate jobs outsourced to the private sector meet agreed conditions. This is all the more important because current evidence shows that any connection between greenness and decent work is entirely accidental.⁹⁴



93 'Green Folly Sank Siemens Boss,' Business Day 1st August 2013

94 See, for instance, International Labour Office (2012) 'Are "green" jobs decent?' International Journal of Labour Research, Vol. 4 Issue 2

In summary:

Green jobs are part of the business-as-usual private profit realm whereas climate jobs are part of the public realm determined solely by the imperatives of climate change. More especially, green jobs, being part of the Green Economy, are:



- (a) Created and sustained only for as long as profit is maximised;
- (b) Located only in those areas of the Green Economy where suitable profit is anticipated.

Climate Jobs are

- (a) Independent of the market and
- (b) Dependent and sustained entirely by the imperatives of climate change, as directed by public authorities as the only body with the power and legitimacy to act solely in the public interest

A climate jobs-based strategy for tackling climate change and unemployment

Responding appropriately to the demands of climate change does more than create new jobs in large numbers. Research by the One Million Climate Jobs Campaign shows that one million new jobs can easily be created in South Africa alone.⁹⁵ Climate jobs serve other vital functions:

- (a) They make climate change meaningful to the large number of people who have little interest in climate change, even if they've heard of climate change. For them, the struggle of life is just to survive each day. The concerns of climate change are luxuries they can ill afford. Linking climate change with what, for them, are desperately needed jobs gives these millions of people a material interest in the matter.
- (b) Linking service provision, enhancement, or money-saving with climate change makes the otherwise arcane subject the very stuff of practical life. The same applies to communities affected or threatened by coal mining. Retrofitting the slums that pass for houses, so that they don't lose heat and indeed provide free energy and water (in varying quantities), and doing something similar to schools, with, in this case, the additional bonus of food and a greatly enhanced learning environment,⁹⁶ are but examples of how, via climate jobs, climate change can be made important to people who are otherwise seen as unimportant.

⁹⁵ One Million Climate Jobs Campaign (2011) One Million Climate Jobs: A just transition to a low carbon economy to combat unemployment and climate change. Cape Town: One Million Climate Jobs Campaign

⁹⁶ See Dugmore, Heather (2013) 'Safe, Green, Sustainable South African Schools', WWF Nedbank Green Trust <http://www.nedbankgreen.co.za/2013/07/safe-green-sustainable-south-africa-schools/>

(c) They provide an important part of the popular base needed to force governments to decouple their interest from those of business. We have seen above that a natural oneness exists between the political and economic classes. We have further seen that it is this essential division of labour between the beneficiaries of a society based on profit maximisation that explains why governments have so singularly failed to heed the increasingly robust – and desperate – pleadings of science.

The logic of democratic government is to act in the public interest, if that interest is voiced in sufficient numbers and sufficiently clearly and loudly and steadfastly and for long enough to coincide with a national election. This and this alone might exert the near atomic force required to split the political and economic classes.

The demands put forward need to be securely evidence-based; it also helps if they are voiced with eloquent passion. But none of this matters in the least if serious vested interests are seriously challenged. Climate change itself is probably the best example of this. The ever increasing number of scientists, ecologists, environmentalists and other citizens who are already outraged by governments' failure to act decisively in the interest of preserving life as we know it, united with climate job workers, provide the basis of an organised constituency of the quality and size that governments avoid at the risk of their own electoral safety.

The One Million Climate Jobs Campaign shows that such unity is possible. The diversity of understandings of capitalism within the Campaign is real. Some groups see capitalism as a reformable system while others see the need to replace the whole system with something else. The point is that everyone sees a direct connection between capitalism and climate change, even though, for some, it is just the present form of capitalism that is the problem. These differences, however, are secondary to the Campaign's common purpose.

Therein lies the Hope that infuses these pages. Climate change is a global problem. Ultimately, only a global solution will suffice. The need is to start somewhere, anywhere; ideally, there should be several starts in different parts of the world. The strategy is not modest. Its boldness, however, is determined by what we already know is already happening. From another perspective, the proposal is a model of modesty. If it's raining, wear a raincoat.

The final words belong to the person best known for his daring to think the seemingly impossible – Albert Einstein:

*If at first an idea does not sound absurd, there is no hope for it.*⁹⁷



⁹⁷ Quoted by Kaku, Michio (2008), *Physics of the Impossible*. London: Penguin Book



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Other AIDC booklets available on request:

- * Climate Change & Climate Jobs – Easy Answers to 56 Important Questions
- * One Million Climate Jobs – A just transition to a low carbon economy to combat unemployment & climate change
- * Youth Wage Subsidy – Difficult Questions with Easy Answers
- * Personal Income Taxation and the Struggle Against Inequality & Poverty – Tax policy and personal income taxation in South Africa since 1994
- * The National Development Plan: 7 Critical Appraisals



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