

THE ROAD THROUGH PARIS

December 2015



HOPE FOR CLIMATE JUSTICE LIES BEYOND PARIS



Shalmali Guttal

Focus on the Global South

To save ourselves from the deepening climate crisis, we need to shift towards a different kind of society, shaped by principles of climate justice and respect for nature. For this, we must look beyond the Paris climate summit.

The most important and inspirational battles for climate justice are being led by communities that are fighting to stop mining, oil and gas drilling, fracking, land and water grabbing, deforestation and other extractive projects. Many of these frontline communities not only face the local destruction caused by fossil fuel driven development, they also bear the brunt of extreme weather events and climate unpredictability.

The historic victory of the Dongria Kondh peoples in Odisha, India, against attempts by Vedanta Resources to mine bauxite in the Niyamgiri hills is a victory for self-determination and a different paradigm of well-being. Similarly, forest-based

farming communities in Southern Thailand are fighting the palm oil industry to both reclaim their common lands for reforestation and to slow down climate change. Across the Mekong basin, riverine communities are mobilising against large dams that will critically alter ecosystems and increase vulnerability to natural disasters (See pages 6 and 7 for more on climate struggles around the world).

They are among thousands of rural and coastal communities where survival entails daily battles to protect their lands, forests, rivers, coasts, plants, animals and fish from predatory marketeers who give little thought to the climate or the consequences of exploiting nature. Their resistances are struggles for climate justice as well as social and economic justice.

Across Asia, communities have long been struggling against a kind of development that is polluting, unjust, breeding poverty and inequality, displacing peoples and fracturing societies. Asian governments rightfully demand greater emissions cuts from developed countries on the basis of historical responsibility and the right to development, but the development model they follow back home – one obsessed with economic growth – largely serves elite and corporate interests.

Dominant development policies, promoted by powerful global corporations and states, favour investments in dirty energy, extractive industry, agribusiness and property, not smaller-scale,

sustainable and healthy local economies, food systems and renewable energy.

They have little to offer to the majority of Asia's factory, plantation and mine workers, or to those who are poor and marginalised. They fail to recognise the crucial contributions of peasant and artisanal food producers and indigenous peoples in cooling the planet, nurturing biodiversity and feeding communities.

To confront the climate catastrophe we urgently need deep cuts in emissions, reductions in fossil fuel extraction, increased public financing for adaptation and mitigation, and a shift towards a non-extractive, non-capitalist society. It is unlikely, though, that the governments gathered in Paris will come anywhere close to a deal that delivers climate justice.

That is why it is important not to lose sight of the most powerful forces for positive change: social movements and alliances of frontline and local communities that are learning and sharing knowledge about living within nature's boundaries, defending their rights to live, and building climate justice rooted in their grounds and waters.

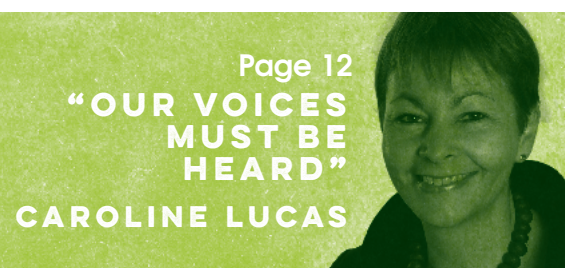
The outcomes of the Paris COP are important, but they should prompt us to organise beyond summits, and collectively build the actions and solutions that our governments are not prepared to deliver.



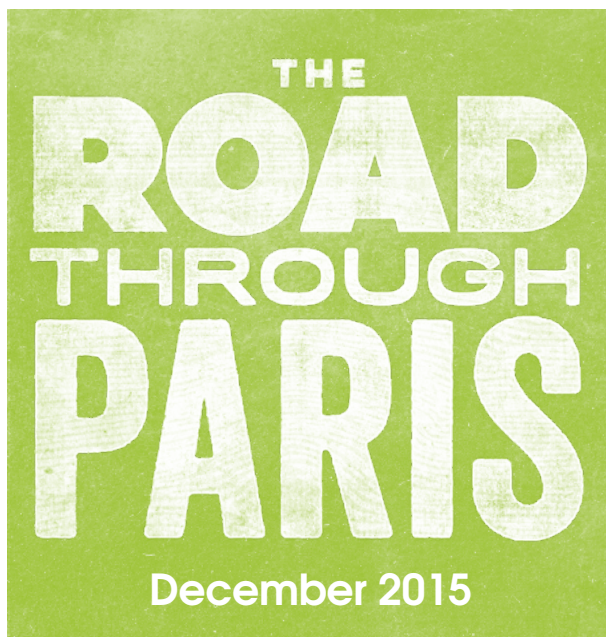
Page 4
**"WE NEED A NEW
ECONOMY AND
NEW VALUES"**
NAOMI KLEIN



Pages 6 & 7
OUR STRUGGLE IS GLOBAL



Page 12
**"OUR VOICES
MUST BE
HEARD"**
CAROLINE LUCAS



WHAT'S THE COP?

COP stands for Conference of the Parties and is part of the UNFCCC (which stands for the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change). COP meetings happen every year, they've been going since 1995. They came out a United Nations conference held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. Some years are more significant than others because they're years that the UN sets as times by which a decision or agreement must be made.

For Paris governments are being asked to submit pledges on how far they intend to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions by 2030. These promises, known as 'intended nationally determined contributions', or INDCs, will determine the success of the deal that the UN hopes to sign off in December. Current analysis suggests that the pledges made by individual countries are a fair way away from the scale of emissions reductions needed to avoid catastrophic climate change.

HOW CORPORATIONS CAPTURED THE CLIMATE TALKS

CLIMATE TALKS CUL-DE-SACS

Oscar Reyes

Institute for Policy Studies

UN climate change conferences have gabbled through dozens of accords, instruments, platforms, protocols and mechanisms over the years – but side-stepped the real business of keeping fossil fuels in the ground. Here's a list of five of the many cul-de-sacs on the road to Paris.

1. The 2 degrees pledge

The 2010 Cancun Agreements set a target of no more than 2°C global warming. Scientists suggest that's dangerous for many of the world's poorest people, with 1.5°C a far safer target. It has become an argument over which is the better of two things that won't happen. The pledges set to be tabled at the Paris COP would allow for global warming of up to 5°C, spelling disaster for many countries in the global south.

2. The Kyoto Protocol

'I ♥ KP' badges, bags and t-shirts were all the rage at some recent COPs, but nostalgia for the climate treaty signed in 1997 can't disguise the scale of this flop. The Kyoto Protocol established a target for reduced greenhouse gas emissions far below what science suggested was needed, and then set up a series of loopholes that allowed developed countries to avoid climate action.

The protocol was an unambitious compromise shaped by the USA, whose negotiating position was heavily influenced by fossil fuel lobbyists. Having fatally weakened the climate agreement, the US later withdrew. A decade on, the US was followed out of the door by Canada, which ratified the protocol but then missed its target by a long way because it had ramped up tar sands oil production. Neither country faced any consequences.

Pascoe Sabido and Rachel Tansey

Corporate Europe Observatory

The UN climate negotiations history is one of corporate capture, a tale of multinationals realising that in order to protect their profits, they needed to be on the inside, subverting, co-opting and weakening the talks.

The consequence of this is the woeful lack of progress we will see in Paris, characterised by hollow voluntary initiatives staving off more hard-hitting government regulations, and market-based mechanisms and techno-fixes increasingly adopted as 'solutions'. The same climate criminals trashing the planet now get to proclaim their business model as the climate saviour, laughing all the way to the bank.

The push to get business a seat on the inside

3. The Clean Development Mechanism

The centrepiece of the Kyoto Protocol was the Clean Development Mechanism, which allowed rich countries to buy 'carbon credits' from poorer countries instead of reducing emissions domestically. Each credit was meant to represent a tonne of carbon cuts, but they were based on dubious accounting that meant polluting companies got paid for doing almost nothing, or even for expanding harmful projects. The market for the mechanism's credits essentially collapsed in 2012 and since then, a tonne of carbon has cost far less than a cup of coffee.

4. \$100 billion a year in climate finance by 2020

The Copenhagen Accord, which emerged from the failed climate talks of 2009, is a short list of vague promises with one eye-catching number: developed countries commit to "mobilising jointly US\$100 billion a year by 2020" to address developing countries' climate needs. But the money can come from "a wide variety of sources, public and private" – a handy fudge, since existing financing exceeds that amount if you make the definition broad enough. The World Bank has even offered a new definition of climate finance that is wide enough to comfortably include finance for fossil fuels.

5. Pre-2020 ambition

The promise of a new international climate agreement is only one of the two workstreams under discussion in Paris. A second workstream promises to discuss 'pre-2020 ambition'. Developing countries have come with strong proposals, such as a global renewable energy support programme. Developed countries, meanwhile, have sought to limit pre-2020 talks to a technical examination of anything other than their own inadequate actions to address climate change.

was pioneered by the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD). The council, founded on the eve of the 1992 Rio Earth Summit "to ensure the business voice was heard", rebranded its multinational members – the likes of Shell, Monsanto and Dow Chemical – as part of the climate solution rather than the problem.

Out of the Rio summit, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change was born, grounded in the principles of taking timely action on climate, and of those most responsible for climate change leading, and transferring finance and technology. This could have spelled the end of the dirty business models of the biggest corporations, but business lobbyists were quick to fight back.

Carbon markets were forced into the 1997 Kyoto Protocol by the US government. Rather than cutting emissions, polluters could now pay someone else to, despite the well-documented abuses surrounding offset schemes. The UN was instrumental in this. Its

THE VOICES OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH WILL NOT BE HEARD IN PARIS

Dorothy Guerrero

For two decades, the global south has followed the UN climate process, preparing carefully and spending valuable resources. We expected our efforts to influence the process and to see solutions that match up to the crisis at hand. We tirelessly appealed to the goodwill of the negotiating parties and supported sympathetic governments.

What do we have to show for it? After 20 years of hearing the mantra that every summit is the last or best chance to solve the climate crisis, we must soberly evaluate the actual achievements of this annual gathering.

Rich country governments – themselves disproportionately responsible for emissions – have failed to offer just and appropriate solutions. Instead of leading the process of slowing and reversing climate change, they have bullied, bribed and bamboozled developing countries in the negotiations. The global north continue to evade their responsibilities using deceitful schemes like carbon credits and other market-led, profit-seeking solutions.

The negotiations are taking the form of 'one step forward, two steps back'. In 1997 the Kyoto Protocol was approved despite concerns over the number of loopholes it contained. Criticism was silenced in the hope that it would keep the US on board. That didn't work. Since then we have lived with the false solution of carbon credits.

At the 2009 Copenhagen summit, a group of 26 rich and powerful countries secretly agreed the unambitious Copenhagen Accord and then presented it as a *fait accompli* to the rest of the conference. This was despite a plea by

trade arm, UNCTAD, joined forces with WBCSD, and set up the International Emissions Trading Association, to successfully promote carbon markets as the most 'cost-effective' climate policy.

The 2009 climate talks in Copenhagen fired the starting gun for the institutionalisation of business in the negotiations. The International Emissions Trading Association brought almost 500 delegates to the negotiations to promote markets and various dodgy techno-fixes. In Cancun the following year, the Mexican government invited the WBCSD to organise the 'Mexican Dialogues', giving business advance access to negotiators on issues of interest (carbon markets, financing, technology), effectively pre-cooking the talks.

COP 19 in Warsaw 2013 was even sponsored by fossil fuel companies, and UN climate chief Christiana Figueres was the keynote speaker at the Coal and Climate Summit, co-organised by the coal industry and the Polish government. Figueres has been at

the group of Small Island Developing States, pointing out that even an average 2°C increase in temperatures would be a death sentence for vulnerable countries and millions of people living near low-lying coastlines. A 2°C rise would also drastically affect agriculture in many already dry and water-stressed areas.

These negotiations lack trust and equality. Last year in Lima, for example, pressure was exerted on the Philippines to drop its chief negotiator, who had been one of the most vocal critics of rich countries' lack of action. Year after year, the delegations from rich countries have grown in proportion to those from poor countries in order to drown out their voices. Many countries in the global south cannot afford to send enough people to follow all of the simultaneous meetings and they are not informed of the secret ones that often decide the outcome.

The elephant in the negotiation room is that capitalism, especially in its current globalised form, is directly connected with climate change. Climate change is one of capitalism's multiple crises, and has always been both an ecological and a social problem.

Very few governments are prepared to acknowledge that capitalism is based on plunder, waste and pollution. As the impacts of climate change intensify, free market ideology, big business and financial actors increasingly shape the strategies and priorities in addressing it, consolidating business-oriented and market-controlled climate policies.

With transformative climate politics shut-out and countries settling for lowest common denominators, COP 21 will fail to even contain the damage already done. It will only continue the trend towards corporations calling the shots.

the heart of bringing business closer to the table, having said that people should "stop demonising oil and gas companies".

It's not just the UN either. In 2010 the European Commission actually contracted WBCSD to design options for how the private sector should engage with the UN process. Unsurprisingly, the resulting report claimed increased private sector involvement was a condition for successful negotiations – a position the EU has adopted.

COP 21 will see Paris awash with corporate lobby groups organising high-profile greenwashing events to dress up climate crimes as solutions. Inside the talks the COP 21 'Agenda for Solutions' will legitimise corporate "commitments" by placing them alongside the official negotiated outcome of the talks. Wishy-washy, non-binding promises from big business and dirty industry will be used to distract attention from a weak climate deal. It's time to kick the polluters out of climate policy.

SOME GOOD THINGS HAVE HAPPENED IN THE UN PROCESS

Kevin Smith

Global Justice Now

The UN talks have consistently failed to agree the emissions cuts necessary to address climate change. But outside the negotiating chambers, a series of counter-conferences, interventions and mobilisations have been pivotal in bringing together the climate justice movement that thrives around the world. These are just some of those moments in the history of the climate summits.

2000 – The Hague, Netherlands

The Rising Tide mobilisation in the Netherlands saw the US chief negotiator getting a cream pie in the face during a press conference. At the same time, protesters invaded the conference centre, showered the delegates with fake carbon credits and denounced the UN's increasing use of false solutions like carbon trading. A counter-conference was called around climate justice, one of the first times that the term featured prominently at the talks.

2007 – Bali, Indonesia

NGOs haven't always played a particularly positive role in the climate talks. Some of them have promoted carbon markets, while others have taken big donations from corporations responsible for the climate crisis. So when the Climate Justice Now network emerged on the scene at the Bali climate talks, it felt like a refreshing change. Climate Justice Now wanted to ensure that it wasn't dominated by Northern NGOs with big budgets and liberal politics, and refused to pretend that the climate talks were dealing with the problem. Meanwhile at the march outside the conference centre, international small-scale farmers' network La Via Campesina mobilised thousands of peasants from all over South-East Asia calling not just for carbon cuts, but also an end to neoliberalism and carbon trading.

2009 – Copenhagen, Denmark

Copenhagen was a disaster for everyone who'd succumbed to the relentless narrative pushed by big NGOs that it was "the last chance to save the world". But outside the conference centre was one of the biggest mobilisations yet of people articulating the need for system change in order to deal with climate change. There were numerous moments of courage and dignity in the face of violent police repression, while hundreds of arrestees took it upon themselves to dismantle the makeshift cages they had been placed in while holding a sort of impromptu protest-themed Eurovision song contest.

2011 – Durban, South Africa

This year saw one of the noisiest and most disruptive protests to take place inside the conference centre, as numerous activists blocked the plenary halls chanting "Climate justice now!", "Don't kill Africa!", "World Bank out of climate finance" and "No carbon trading".

CLIMATE CHANGE IS ABOUT CAPITALISM & ABOUT HOW WE SEE THE WORLD



Naomi Klein

After three decades of free market fundamentalism, confronting the climate crisis requires both a new economy and new cultural values.

This is a story about bad timing.

One of the most disturbing ways that climate change is already playing out is through what ecologists call “mismatch” or “mistiming.” This is the process whereby warming causes animals to fall out of step with a critical food source, particularly at breeding times, when a failure to find enough food can lead to rapid population losses.

The migration patterns of many songbird species, for instance, have evolved over millennia so that eggs hatch precisely when food sources such as caterpillars are at their most abundant. But because spring now often arrives early, the caterpillars are hatching earlier too, which means that in some areas they are less plentiful when the chicks hatch.

Scientists are studying cases of climate-related mistiming among dozens of species, from Arctic terns to pied flycatchers. But there is one important species they are missing—us. Homo sapiens.

We too are suffering from a terrible case of climate-related mistiming, albeit in a cultural-historical, rather than a biological, sense. Our problem is that the climate crisis hatched in our laps at a moment in history when political and social conditions were uniquely hostile to a problem of this nature and magnitude—that moment being the tail end of the go-go '80s, the blast-off point for the spread of deregulated capitalism around the world.

Climate change is a collective problem demanding collective action the likes of which humanity has never actually accomplished. Yet it entered mainstream consciousness in the midst of an ideological war being waged on the very idea of the collective sphere.

This deeply unfortunate mistiming has created all sorts of barriers to our ability to respond effectively to this crisis. It has meant that corporate power was ascendant at the very moment when we needed to exert unprecedented controls over corporate behaviour in order to protect life on earth. It has meant that regulation was a dirty word just when we needed those powers most. It has meant that we are ruled by a class of politicians who know only how to dismantle and starve public institutions, just when they most need to be fortified and reimagined. And it has meant that we are saddled with an apparatus of “free trade” deals that tie the hands of policy-makers just when they need maximum flexibility to achieve a massive energy transition.

Confronting these various structural barriers to the next economy is the critical work of any serious climate movement. But it's not the only task at hand. We also have to confront how the mismatch between climate change and market domination has created barriers within our very selves, making it harder to look at this most pressing of humanitarian crises with anything more than furtive, terrified glances. And little wonder: just when we needed to gather, our public sphere was disintegrating; just when we needed to consume less, consumerism took over virtually every aspect of our lives; just when we needed to slow down and notice, we sped up; and just when we needed longer time horizons, we were able to see only the immediate present.

This is our climate change mismatch, and it affects not just our species, but potentially every other species on the planet as well.

Climate change demands that we consume less, but being consumers is all we know

This is not a crisis that can be solved simply by changing what we buy. At its core, it is a crisis born of overconsumption by the comparatively wealthy. The problem is not “human nature” – we weren't born having to shop this much. Late capitalism teaches us to create ourselves through our consumer choices: shopping is how we form our identities, find community and express ourselves. Thus, telling people that they can't shop as much as they want can be understood as a kind of attack, akin to telling them that they cannot truly be themselves.

Climate change is slow, and we are fast

When you are racing through a rural landscape on a bullet train, it looks as if everything you are passing is standing still: people, tractors, cars on country roads. They aren't, of course. They are moving, but at a speed so slow compared with the train that they appear static. So it is with climate change. Our culture, powered by fossil fuels, is that bullet train, hurtling forward toward the next quarterly report, the next election cycle, the next diversion. Our changing climate is like the landscape out the window: from our racy vantage point, it can appear static, but it is moving, its slow progress measured in receding ice sheets, swelling waters and incremental temperature rises. If left unchecked, climate change will most certainly speed up enough to capture our fractured attention—but by then it may be too late for our actions to make a difference, because the era of tipping points will likely have begun.

Climate change is place-based, and we are everywhere at once

The problem is not just that we are moving too quickly. It is also that the terrain on which the changes are taking place is intensely local: an early blooming of a particular flower, an unusually thin layer of ice on a lake, the late arrival of a migratory bird. Noticing those kinds of

subtle changes requires an intimate connection to a specific ecosystem. That kind of communion happens only when we know a place deeply, not just as scenery but also as sustenance. But that is increasingly rare in the urbanised, industrialised world.

Another part of what makes climate change so very difficult for us to grasp is that ours is a culture of the perpetual present, one that deliberately severs itself from the past that created us as well as the future we are shaping with our actions. Climate change is about how what we did generations in the past will inescapably affect not just the present, but generations in the future. These time frames are a language that has become foreign to most of us. This is not about passing individual judgment, nor about berating ourselves for our shallowness or rootlessness. Rather, it is about recognising that we are products of an industrial project, one intimately, historically linked to fossil fuels.

The good news is that, unlike reindeer and songbirds, we humans are blessed with the capacity for advanced reasoning and therefore the ability to adapt more deliberately—to change old patterns of behaviour with remarkable speed. If the ideas that rule our culture are stopping us from saving ourselves, then it is within our power to change them.

A longer version of this article first appeared in The Nation.

“The climate crisis hatched at a moment in history when political and social conditions were uniquely hostile to a problem of this nature and magnitude.”

MORE AND MORE PEOPLE ARE FLEEING CLIMATE DISASTERS

Alex Randall

UK Climate Change and Migration Coalition

As the planet warms, new patterns of disasters emerge. We are beginning to see this already: heatwaves become longer and more severe, droughts become more frequent, flooding gets worse. All these disasters result in people having to flee.

The connection between climate change, disasters and human displacement has formed an important part of the climate change talks. In Paris, while the key topic of reducing carbon emissions will dominate the headlines, time will also likely be spent trying to reach agreement on issues around migration and displacement.

The connection between climate disasters and human movement is far from simple. Many other forces such as conflict, employment and human rights abuses can be contributing factors in causing people to move. For example, a complex web of climate impacts, drought and civil war have caused millions of people to flee in and from the Horn of Africa. The following is testimony collected by researchers working for the UN. The testimony demonstrates how these issues combined to force people to move. These are the words of an elderly Somali farmer who fled across the border to Uganda:

“And since there was the war, we did not receive any support from the government. Therefore, there are combined factors that made us suffer: droughts and war. If war did not exist, then we might have been able to stay, but now that the land is looted, there is no way for us to claim it.”

Many people reject the label of ‘climate refugee’, arguing that although climate change may

force them to move, they want to relocate with dignity, creating plans with their communities to move together and become active citizens in new communities.

To make things more complicated, in some cases the effects of climate change may stop people from moving rather than forcing them to flee. As slowly unfolding disasters like drought make people poorer, they may reach the point where they no longer have the resources to migrate and build new lives elsewhere.

Unfortunately it is looking increasingly unlikely that these issues will get the level of attention – or agreement – they badly need in Paris.

The draft text of the agreement that states have been bargaining over for the last year contained some positive signs. Buried in the text was a paragraph calling on states to establish a “climate change displacement coordination facility” that would provide emergency relief and help people plan for eventual relocation.

However, this paragraph was mysteriously deleted from the latest version of the agreement. It may be that some states realised it would require them to commit more funding to emergency relief, or that it could pave the way for them to admit more refugees and migrants. Either way, the part of the agreement that makes a commitment to helping people displaced by climate-linked disasters is currently missing.

But all is not yet lost. The idea of establishing safe, legal migration options is something that many countries – especially the small island states – will be fighting for when the talks start again in November. There is a possibility that, with the right kind of pressure from developing country governments and civil society, displacement could be back on the agenda in Paris.

CAN WE FIGHT CLIMATE CHANGE IF WE DON'T STOP TTIP?

Morten Thaysen

Global Justice Now

Energy company LonePine is currently suing the Canadian government for \$123 million because the state of Quebec had placed a moratorium on fracking – a controversial method of accessing new gas and oil reserves.

LonePine is able to pursue this court case because it used a so-called corporate court, a system of opaque and undemocratic courts set up through international trade agreements that allows corporations to sue governments if they see their profits threatened.

Cases like this will only become more frequent if new trade agreements like TTIP (between the EU and the USA) and CETA (between the EU and Canada) are ratified. You can imagine what the

prospect of gigantic law suits will do to governments' motivation to stop dirty energy projects or introduce new climate targets.

Corporate courts are only one of the threats these new trade agreements are posing to the climate. Under the guise of cutting red tape, agreements like TTIP could remove essential environmental regulation. That would mean more dirty coal power, tar sands extraction and polluting cars.

As if that wasn't bad enough, TTIP and other deals would give big business a direct influence on new regulations. It is not hard to see how this push for profits over environmental concerns would affect our ability to stop climate change.

If we don't stop toxic deals like TTIP, the fight against climate change will be even more of an uphill struggle.

WHY DON'T WE VIEW BIG AGRIBUSINESS LIKE WE VIEW BIG OIL?

Alex Scrivener

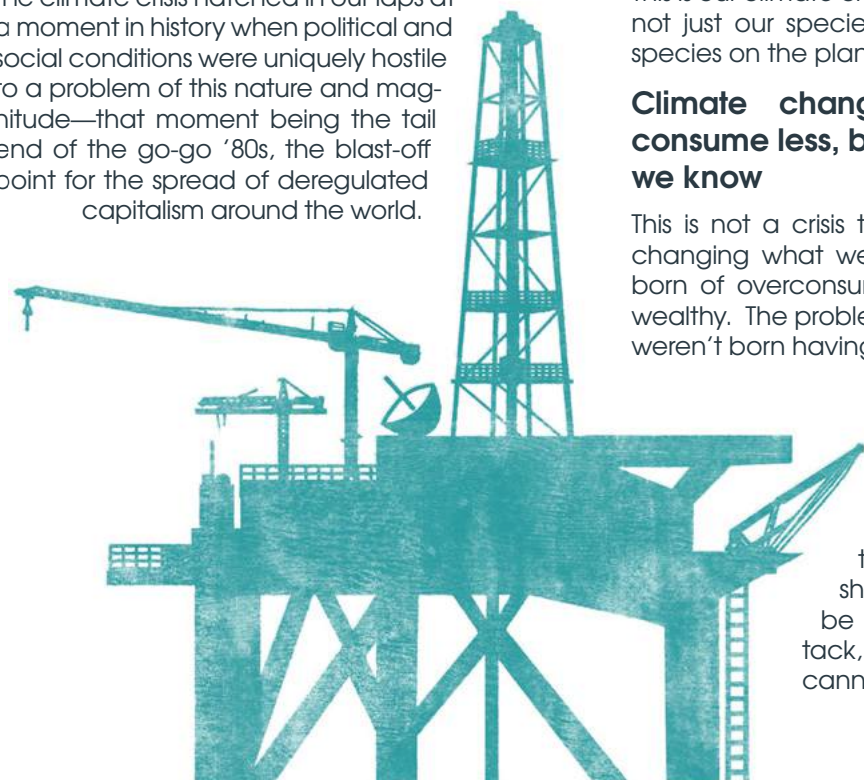
Global Justice Now

BP, Shell, Chevron, Gazprom – when you think of the world's worst companies for the climate, these are the names that come to mind. But there are other companies (some of which will be slinking around the corridors in Paris) that have managed to avoid significant attention despite being among the world's biggest emitters. These companies are the agribusiness giants like Cargill and Yara, who are busy trying to greenwash their activities as ‘climate smart agriculture’ at the Paris COP.

The biggest agribusiness companies have emissions comparable to oil and gas firms once you factor in their supply chain and emissions caused by the use of their products. For example, Cargill says it is responsible for emissions equivalent to 15 million tonnes of carbon dioxide per year. But now it has been estimated that, taking into account indirect emissions, the company is responsible for at least 145 million tonnes of CO2 emissions. That's about the same as the total emissions of Scotland, New Zealand, Botswana and Albania combined.

Many of Cargill's unreported emissions stem from the huge amount of methane (a greenhouse gas 21 times more potent than carbon dioxide) emitted from cows eating Cargill feed. But there's more to agricultural emissions than cow flatulence. The production and use of fertilisers (especially nitrous oxide) has been estimated to account for up to 10% of global greenhouse gas emissions.

This is why it's of huge importance that, for all their talk of ‘climate smart’ agriculture, the big agribusiness firms are brought to account for their climate wrecking ways. The truly climate-friendly form of agriculture is agroecology – up to date versions of the sustainable methods practiced by framers for centuries. But as there is little profit in promoting what the corporates regard as ‘backward’ methods, these are solutions that will get short shrift in Paris.



To fight climate change we need a global movement of people pushing back against the fossil fuel industry. Here are some of the communities on the frontline who are leading the way.

CANADA

“In my home, the Beaver Lake Cree Nation, treaty six territory in Alberta, Canada, I am part of a community of 900 Woodland Cree people who have walked the land for thousands of years.

Under the land we call home sits the Alberta tar sands, the largest known reservoir of crude bitumen oil in the world – an area larger than England. Most of our land has now been leased out to the oil industry without the Canadian and provincial government following due process in their duty to consult the local people.



Photo: This Changes Everything

This is no longer an “Indian” problem. If you breathe the air and drink water, this is about you too. The battle is to protect one of the world’s most important carbon sinks – the boreal forest – and to stop the expansion of Canada’s largest industrial producer of greenhouse gases. It is about the inherent rights of First Nations people, collective basic human rights and the rights of nature.”

Crystal Lameman, climate change campaigner from Alberta, Canada

COLOMBIA

“For us mining is misery. They say there is coal there for the world, but they don’t realise this comes at the expense of huge loss of human life. BHP Billiton and its associates at Cerrejón are taking out the coal, which for us represents the internal organs of Mother Earth, which is sacred to us. Diverting the river would be like cutting her veins. They are damaging our land and we have to defend it.”

Yazmin Romero Epiayu, an indigenous leader of the Wayuu people in northern Colombia fighting against the Cerrejón coal mine part-owned by BHP Billiton.



Photo: Justina Pinkviciute



ITALY

“About 1900 olive trees will be destroyed due to the pipeline. The environment will be deeply changed. This project is an act of blind arrogance, the people that live here will receive nothing back and our livelihoods will be hurt. We need a different energy model but it’s not enough to simply replace fossil fuels with renewable energy sources. Who controls the energy is just as important.”

Olive farmer Alberto Santoro standing on the coast of Puglia, Italy, where a huge piece of gas infrastructure that will run 4000 km from Azerbaijan would come ashore. He’s organising with many others in his municipality to stop the pipeline.

INDIA

“Our many struggles against massively increasing coal use are struggles to keep India liveable for our children and theirs too. The ruthlessly profiteering coal lobby is out to mine and burn through India’s best forests, coasts and other natural ecosystems, leaving a ruined land to future generations. Coal is NOT the “cheapest source of energy that serves the poor”. Not by a long way, factoring in the enormous environmental and social costs.”

Soumya Dutta, fighting against the coal-fired Tatra Mundra power plant in Gujarat, India.



AUSTRALIA

“We are the people of the land and sea. We have been handed down tribal information on the rights of law, rules and justice to protect and care for life. The six seasons guide us to care for the next generation, not to destroy our land and sea. We need to survive the huge push for fracking as it will destroy our lands and seas. We need to live and survive with our fresh water. I work as an Indigenous educator and campaigner with Lock the Gate for our Protect Arnhem Land campaign against fracking, oil and gas. I feel hope that we will keep fighting to maintain and manage a healthy environment for future generations.”

Helena Gulwa, Northern Territory, Australia



Photo: Joya Begam

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

OUR STRUGGLE IS GLOBAL



Photo: 10.10

ENGLAND

“The project came about originally after the (2013) protests in Balcombe over fracking. A group of local people were keen to do something positive about the energy future of Balcombe, and make their own decisions about that, rather than have have it imposed on them. So a group of us got together with the aim of providing the energy needs of Balcombe village from solar power - through locally-generated, renewable power that benefited local people, on which local people had a say. It’s fantastic to see the panels going up - to start generating electricity in Balcombe.”

Tom Parker, one of the directors of Repower Balcombe

PAPUA NEW GUINEA



Photo: 350.org

“We are hopeful that our journey here as Pacific Climate Warriors is a peaceful journey. We bring with us our culture, our tradition, we bring with us our people. We travelled to Newcastle, Australia, to highlight these impacts of climate change, to share our stories with the rest of the world. And to get Australia to reconsider their commitment to expanding the fossil fuel industry. Because if they continue to expand the industry, it will continue to expand the destruction to the Pacific. We are here to tell the world as warriors that we are not drowning, we are fighting.”

Arianne Kassman, Pacific Climate Warriors, Papua New Guinea



Photo: © 2008-2015 ChokShine Architects

TAKING BACK THE POWER

James Angel

Fuel Poverty Action

What's the alternative to the corporate energy system? Energy democracy is the inspiring vision of renewable energy produced under participatory popular control and ownership, distributed in ways that prioritise social justice and universal energy access.

It's not just an idea: it's happening now, with communities, cities and proactive governments leading the way toward a low-carbon energy transition. Energy democracy embraces many different forms of collective control, and it means finding ways for them to flourish together. Here are some of the experiments so far.

Community control

There are community controlled energy co-operatives, owned by their members, who invest in the co-op to fund new renewable generation. Denmark's renewables revolution – which saw them meet 140% of demand through renewables at some points last year – is based on community control.

Community energy is taking off in Scotland too, with government investment supporting 302 co-operative projects in 2012 alone. Scotland aims to produce 100% of its energy renewably by 2020. While co-operatives usually operate at local scale, the Som Energia co-op in Catalonia has 14,000 customer-members, organised through autonomous local groups, who collaborate and make decisions using online methods of direct democracy.

Municipal ownership

Alongside community action, cities are leading the way towards energy democracy. Germany is embarking on an ambitious low-carbon transition, led by municipal governments rejecting privatisation. Between 2007 and 2012, 60 new non-profit municipally owned utility companies were established, with over 190 distribution grid contracts returning to municipal hands.

In the UK, Nottingham recently became the first council to set up its own non-profit utility company, with Bristol to follow suit shortly. Recent research showed that if local authorities divested their workers' pension funds from fossil fuels and re-invested the money in renewable energy, they could generate enough power to fuel all of Scotland.

“Energy democracy embraces many different forms of collective control, and it means finding ways for them to flourish together.”

local state but controlled by the city's inhabitants via participatory democratic measures such as elected board members and neighbourhood assemblies.

Nationalisation

The large-scale coordination, redistribution and investment offered by the central state can be put to work for energy democracy. Uruguay's ambitious investment in renewables – which currently makes up two-thirds of its energy mix – has been

achieved entirely through a nationalised, state-run company. It's also achieved almost universal energy access.

In the UK, campaign group Platform proposes a strong tax regime to phase out North Sea oil, as well as a new publicly owned company to invest in Britain's tremendous offshore wind potential.

Privatisation has failed

These models all provide a striking contrast to the continuing failure of private energy ownership. Since the 1980s, countries across the world have sold off their energy sectors to private companies under the promise of lower bills, increased energy access and better quality provision.

But we've been sold a lie. Privatisation has seen prices soar: in the UK, bills have risen eight times higher than earnings since 2010. A recent report from the World Bank – who have enforced privatisation policies across the globe – showed that electricity access is lower in countries with a privatised energy system. Corporations have been happy to rake in profits from skyrocketing bills, but they've failed to invest in the new clean energy infrastructure we urgently need in the face of climate change.

Big utility companies are now looking like profit-hungry, polluting dinosaurs on the verge of extinction. Private ownership has failed us and people everywhere are building their own democratic alternatives.

Climate change is a threat to all we hold dear, but it's also a serious opportunity to break the chokehold of unaccountable and unelected private interests over our lives. From setting up an energy co-operative, campaigning for your council to set up a non-profit green utility company or fighting for new publicly owned renewables, there are many ways we can start to take back power.

GETTING TO ZERO EMISSIONS: IT'S ALREADY POSSIBLE

Kim Bryan

Centre for Alternative Technology

We have the capacity to reduce global greenhouse gas emissions to zero – and it can be achieved with already existing technology. That is the conclusion of a report from the Centre for Alternative Technology and Track 0.

How can it be done? The report's 100 robustly researched scenarios show that the key is 'powering down', through energy efficiency measures, while at the same time 'powering up' renewable capacity, and making changes to land use and diet. These factors together allow a rapid cut in greenhouse gas emissions alongside stable, sustainable growth and wellbeing.

Powering down involves changes to the design, construction, refurbishment and operation of buildings through smart technologies, efficient design and behaviour changes. Electrification of transport, reducing the amount of air travel and increasing use of public transport are crucial to decarbonising the transport sector.

Powering up means a shift to an energy mix of renewables including solar, biomass, wind energy, hydro and geothermal. To balance supply and demand, the production of carbon-neutral synthetic gas can ensure that the lights don't go out. Smart appliances and demand management will make the use of power more efficient.

Land use and diet changes would free up land for the production of fuel and energy by reducing the amount of meat and dairy in diets. This is im-

portant because agriculture is one of the biggest emitters of greenhouse gases globally, primarily through livestock.

Making it happen

Getting to zero means making changes – but it also offers a huge opportunity to deliver a wide range of other benefits, from stronger and more stable economics to increased access to energy without air pollution, and productive and biodiverse forests and land.

The Paris summit is unlikely to produce a legally binding agreement robust enough to tackle the climate crisis with the scale and speed of cuts to emissions that are needed. But the mobilisation and participation of thousands of organisations and groups in the alternative spaces being organised around the official talks show that rapid change is feasible and technically achievable. Paris is a fantastic opportunity to forge alliances, build networks, exchange ideas and learn from each other.

The 'Who's Getting Ready for Zero?' report is a step in the right direction, yet there are still some essential pieces of the picture missing. Some countries do not yet have detailed national-scale models exploring zero-emissions futures, and therefore lack the tools to open necessary conversations around a sustainable energy mix, energy democracy and development priorities.

Beyond Paris, the Centre for Alternative Technology is establishing a Zero Practitioners Network, an effort to build a hub of reports, studies and best practice around zero-carbon scenarios. It



Photo: Centre for Alternative Technology

has also launched a project called 'Making it Happen', exploring ways to overcome the barriers to the transition to zero, including insights from organisations delivering projects on the ground.

The Centre for Alternative Technology welcomes the involvement of groups and individuals in these projects, which aim to join up the dots between projects across the globe, amplify and multiply their impact.

zerocarbonbritain.org/making-it-happen

WHO'S GOING TO REWIRE THE SYSTEM?

Chris Baugh

Assistant General Secretary, PCS trade union

How do we make the transition from an economy hard-wired for fossil fuels to one based on zero carbon emissions and renewable energy? It's a huge task, involving large-scale construction, insulation, re-tooling and re-training. That's why workers have to be central to the transformation.

We need better links between climate activists and trade unionists, co-operating and working together to make the changes that are needed.

One important proposal that would create jobs as well as tackling climate change comes from the One Million Climate Jobs campaign. The campaign calls for the introduction of a National Climate Service, employing large numbers of people to do work that reduces greenhouse gas emissions. It would put people to work:

- **Building wind turbines to replace power stations that burn coal and gas**
- **Retrofitting or insulating homes and workplaces to make them more energy efficient**
- **Investing in an integrated public transport network run on clean fuel**

• Training and re-skilling the workforce for the new energy system

This is an agenda that can unite unions with everyone who is concerned about climate change, harnessing workers' economic power to make vital social change.

Of course there are workers whose jobs currently rely on fossil fuel extraction, such as offshore oil and gas workers, who may not be easily persuaded. But as we have seen, more fossil fuel extraction will not protect jobs. Already, falling oil prices on the financial markets are being used to lay off workers and impose severe cuts to pay and conditions.

We should be looking at the vast levels of state subsidy given to the fossil fuel industry, using employment as a justification, and how it could be spent in other ways that create and preserve jobs. For example, no such aid has been forthcoming to save the steel industry – thousands of steelworkers are losing their jobs while the government sits on its hands, despite steel being vital to building the infrastructure of a renewable energy economy.

The government is locking us into a fossil fuel future that is no good for the planet, no good for society and no good for our livelihoods. It has little

concern for sustainability in the workplace and, as part of a wider anti-union agenda, it is restricting the ability of workplace representatives to hold the government and employers to account on their environmental record.

Arguably, climate change and our response to it is the most serious issue facing workers today. Austerity politics, inequality, energy poverty, the refugee and economic crisis and the anti-trade union bill are all linked to the environmental crisis. This is why today, when we talk about climate change, we do so as an issue of justice for workers and all people.

With a global system dominated by a powerful corporate lobby arguing for business as usual, trade unions need to take a lead role in setting out the pathway to a zero-carbon future. A new energy system should not replicate the injustices of the fossil fuel economy. We need to ensure a new system is based on energy democracy. That means public ownership and democratic public control of our energy.

It is workers and communities that will rewire the new energy system, not governments and corporations, or even NGOs. We need to be at the heart of this transformation, as part of a new 'green deal' for workers.

PICKING IT UP AFTER PARIS

“Slavery and apartheid did not end because states decided to abolish them. Mass mobilisations left political leaders no other choice.”

So say Desmond Tutu, Naomi Klein, Vivienne Westwood, Noam Chomsky and around 100

other high-profile figures in a recent statement. They're calling for a mass climate justice movement to challenge the corporate power which stops real progress.

Beyond Paris we need a global movement to stop climate change, challenge the corporate power which feeds it and build a just future for

everyone. Movements all over the world are building momentum: from the 1,500 international activists who temporarily shut down a coal mine in Germany in August to the Indian farmers and fishermen in Andhra Pradesh who stopped the Sompeta coal plant in its tracks. Here are some of the examples of what people in the UK are planning in 2016 as we move beyond Paris.



August 2015: Some of the 1,500 activists shutting down Europe's biggest opencast coalmine in Germany.

JANUARY

WHERE NEXT FOR THE CLIMATE MOVEMENT?

Saturday 30 January 2016, Friends Meeting House, Euston Road, London.

Plenaries and participatory workshops reflecting on the state of climate politics post-Paris and under the current government, offering a crucial chance for us all to decide together where the climate movement goes next.

Organised by Friends of the Earth. Email foeclimate@foe.co.uk

FEBRUARY

SHOW THE LOVE: DIVEST FROM FOSSIL FUELS

This Valentine's day, thousands of people around the country will be showing their love for the planet and calling for 100% clean energy within a generation. Whether it's your university, local council, your employer or your own pension, make sure they're standing on the right side of history and divesting from fossil fuels.

Find out more, register an event and get involved at gofossilfree.org/uk/show-the-love

THIS CHANGES EVERYTHING FILM SCREENINGS

The documentary to accompany Naomi Klein's important book, *This Changes Everything*, could be an important tool in the hands of activists. The film has already been launched and there is a facility to organise 'community screenings' via the film website: www.filmbuff.com/screenings/this-changes-everything

Organising a post-COP screening could be a stepping stone to actions later in the year, as well as making a good introductory meeting to bring new people into the movement.

Global Justice Now can help with template publicity. Email activism@globaljustice.org.uk

A YEAR OF ACTION

Sam Blacksmith

Reclaim the Power

Reclaim the Power camps have seen thousands descend on fracking operations in Balcombe, shutting them down for six days, as well as nationwide actions springing from a

camp in Blackpool, with activists supergluing themselves to Defra's headquarters, occupying and blockading fracking firms' headquarters and shutting down a fracking site near Hull.

Out of this, Reclaim the Power now represents a strong base of grassroots activists who are mobilising for Paris and looking at what comes next. We know the climate talks will fail and Reclaim the Power would like to call for a year of action straight away. We will be asking groups of people to take mass direct action. We use direct action because we want to inspire people to get involved in making change happen and at the same time offer an ideal way of bringing attention to the issue. We would want the year of action in 2016 to be broad and

inclusive and encourage those that haven't taken part in civil disobedience before to get involved.

People who get involved will be asked to do three actions during the year as part of a group and sent a suggested site for action for each of these. Reclaim the Power is planning to offer help, training and support to ensure this is sustainable for the teams, that actions are effective and that people feel part of a wider movement. Details are still being finalised so watch this space. But whatever we do we will aim to do more on climate justice in one year than our governments have done in the last 21.

nodashforgas.org.uk

CELEBRATING DIVESTMENT SUCCESSES THEN GOING FURTHER

Jo Ram

Community Reinvest

The grassroots movement for fossil fuel divestment is gathering pace. The campaign, which demands that institutions move their money away from shares in fossil fuel companies, has secured many significant commitments in the UK and elsewhere. It's publicly discrediting the fossil fuels industry and reducing the funding it has for dirty expansion into fragile ecosystems.

While there is much to celebrate, the movement also needs to exercise caution. Big finance is responding to divestment successes by offering low-carbon or fossil-free specialist funds. While in the short term they may provide a home for divested funds, long-term investment in such options could block genuine change. We need to prevent corporate capture of the fossil-free movement by articulating a vision of the world we want to create, and consider how the funds unlocked by divestment can be reinvested into such a future.

Discrediting the fossil fuels industry is the first step, not the end goal. Divestment's real potential for change lies in challenging the structures of capitalism through positive, democratic reinvestment. At its most transformative, divest/reinvest proposes investing in community-owned renewable energy, good quality affordable housing, free education, free childcare, universal healthcare, and other socially and environmentally useful outcomes.

The financial system's opacity and lack of accountability are barriers to transformative reinvestment. We must break these down by raising our collective financial literacy, challenging the advice big finance provides. We must not only secure divestment commitment, but also engage in shaping our institutions' reinvestment strategies, by putting our case to local authorities, universities, health and faith communities that it is their duty to reinvest in and build our commons – in energy and beyond.

communityreinvest.org.uk

TWELVE MONTHS TO END GREENWASH

Terri Lomax

Liberate Tate

Four prominent cultural institutions in London – Tate, British Museum, National Portrait Gallery and the Royal Opera House – see their five year sponsorship with BP finish at the end of 2016. Groups in the Art Not Oil network will be using a variety of creative interventions to make sure that it doesn't get renewed.

Groups such as **BP or not BP**, **Platform** and **Liberate Tate** have been working hard to disrupt long-standing relationships between big oil and the arts.

They've shown how the likes of BP and Shell count on these sponsorship relationships to develop their 'social licence to operate'. The groups pushing back on oil sponsorship are using similar strategies to the divestment movement in seeking to stigmatise those corporations whose business model actively depends on trashing the climate.

There's everything to play for in these next twelve months in the battle to stop big oil companies using arts institutions to 'greenwash' their planet-trashing business activities.

liberatetate.org.uk

APRIL FOSSIL FREEZE

Danni Paffard, 350.org

Any agreement in Paris only exists on paper. We know that international agreements won't mean anything if there isn't a large movement applying sustained pressure to demand an end to the fossil fuel age.

That's why in April we will mobilise in a global wave of action unlike any we've seen before. Not one big march in one city, not a scattering of local actions, but rather a wave of historic national and continent-wide mobilisations targeting fossil fuel projects and backing the

energy solutions that will replace them.

Details are still being worked out, but here's the gist: we plan to team up with allies in many of the key places around the world fighting fossil fuels and pushing for a renewable revolution. During a set period of time, we'll jointly prepare coordinated and bold mass actions, non-violent and appropriate to each context, escalating local struggles and increasing the push-back on fossil fuels. We will reveal the real dangers of the fossil fuel economy, and the breadth and diversity of the people who are fighting to stop it.

Make sure April 2016 is in the diary now, and get ready to mobilise.

350.org/get-ready-for-bold-action-in-april

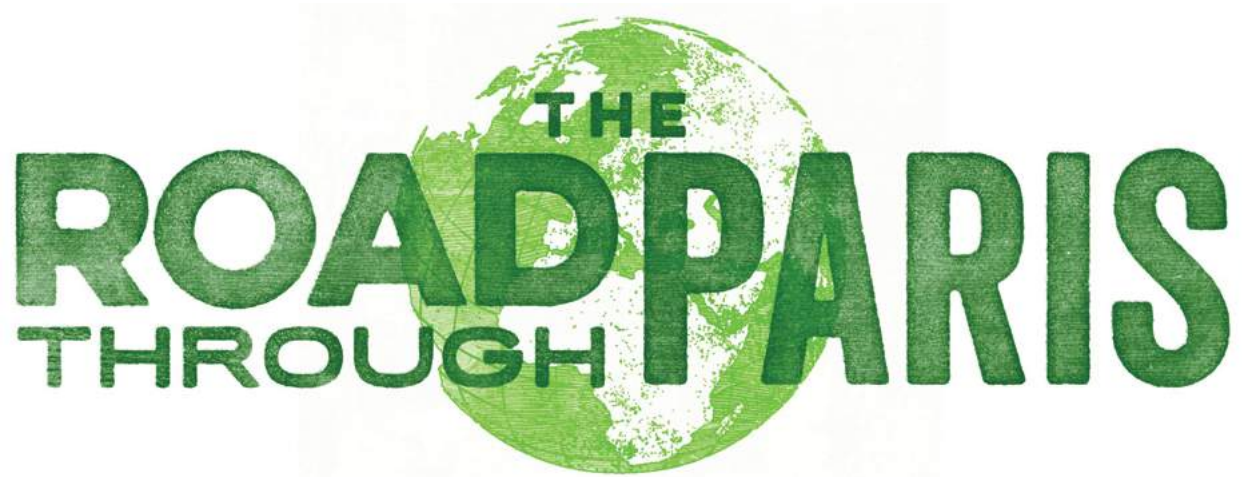
WE DEMAND PEOPLE'S ENERGY FOR LONDON!

Our energy system could be sustainable, renewable, just and democratic. London should be leading the way in rolling out renewables, introducing social tariffs, retrofitting homes and ending fuel poverty.

We want a London-wide municipal energy company – managed by the GLA and boroughs, but directly accountable to the residents of

London. One that is dedicated to a rapid transition and social justice.

Platform and **Fuel Poverty Action** are building a coalition of unions, grassroots groups, faith institutions and community energy projects to demand People's Energy for London. By asserting democratic control over energy, we can both help solve the climate crisis and promote social justice.



OUR VOICES MUST BE HEARD BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER PARIS



Caroline Lucas

Green Party MP

The Paris climate summit will be a big moment in history. But we must remember that history is not made in a day, or a week, but by what happens before and after those big moments.

The success of Paris will depend a lot on what happens afterwards — on how communities, campaigners, businesses and social movements respond. As heads of state and senior diplomats from almost 200 countries gather in Paris, their formal aim is to achieve a new international agreement on the climate, applicable to all nations, to keep global warming below 2°C. There is hope that they will grasp the monumental opportunity at hand but there is also fear that they lack the vision or courage to do so.

The main issue on the table is not how much each

individual country will pledge to cut emissions at one moment in time. We already know what most of those pledges are.

And we already know that they will not, at that moment, be sufficient to keep temperature rises to below 2°C, never mind the 1.5°C demanded by more vulnerable nations and many campaigners.

That means we need a framework to ensure that climate ambition will be seriously increased: mechanisms for countries to scale up their national plans every five years. And we need a long term goal to show we are serious about the complete phase-out of emissions, and phase-in of 100% renewable energy, by 2050.

The renewable energy revolution has already started. It can and must be global. Only through a multilateral approach can we make that transition faster, more democratic and more just. Now is not the time to retreat behind borders and kid ourselves that we can tackle the greatest global challenge of our generation without international rules and agreements, including through the European Union and United Nations.

When it comes to avoiding dangerous climate change, phasing out fossil fuels and phasing in 100% renewables has to be at the top of the agenda, locally, nationally and globally.

However, success in Paris and action to increase ambition thereafter is inextricably linked to domestic politics. Climate change and clean energy policy in the UK is under attack. We have had a raft of reckless policy announcements: generous tax breaks and taxpayer funded propaganda propping up the fossil fuel companies; solar cuts and policy U-turns; sticking

the knife into our own home-grown renewable energy sector. No wonder there has been widespread condemnation, on both economic and environmental grounds.

Yet now is not the time to despair. The flip side of this grim domestic picture is the tidal wave of civil society and business voices calling for stronger action — and of people taking action. Not waiting, but creating the alternative. An increasing number of companies and co-ops are going 100% renewable. There is the plummeting cost of solar power and other renewables, alongside exciting innovation in storage and smart grid.

And the science is clearer than ever — not just on paper, but our real world experience of what destabilising our climate feels like, from floods in England to drought and wildfires in the US, to typhoon Haiyan and super storms.

Even more importantly, there is the breadth of civil society mobilisation. An increasingly diverse and influential range of voices are speaking out: the Pope's encyclical; major institutional investors; the British Medical Association; universities divesting from fossil fuels. Energy co-operatives and community groups are getting together to build and generate their own power from local renewable sources.

Increasingly, people are simply not willing to leave our future in the hands of those inside the secure zone in a conference centre in Paris. But the importance of political decision-makers seeing this happen and hearing our voices could not be more crucial — before, during and after Paris.

As the saying goes, we are the ones we've been waiting for. See you on the streets.

This newspaper has been produced by

 **Global Justice Now**

From trade deals such as TTIP to false solutions to climate change, global elites are concentrating power and wealth in their own hands. But it doesn't have to be this way. Global Justice Now challenges corporate power and acts in solidarity with those fighting injustice around the world.

With thousands of members and local activist groups around the UK, we fight for a more democratic and equal world, where resources are controlled by the many, not by the few. Together, we are powerful. Will you join us?

globaljustice.org.uk/join

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