

global political economy & global political ecology

Patrick Bond, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa

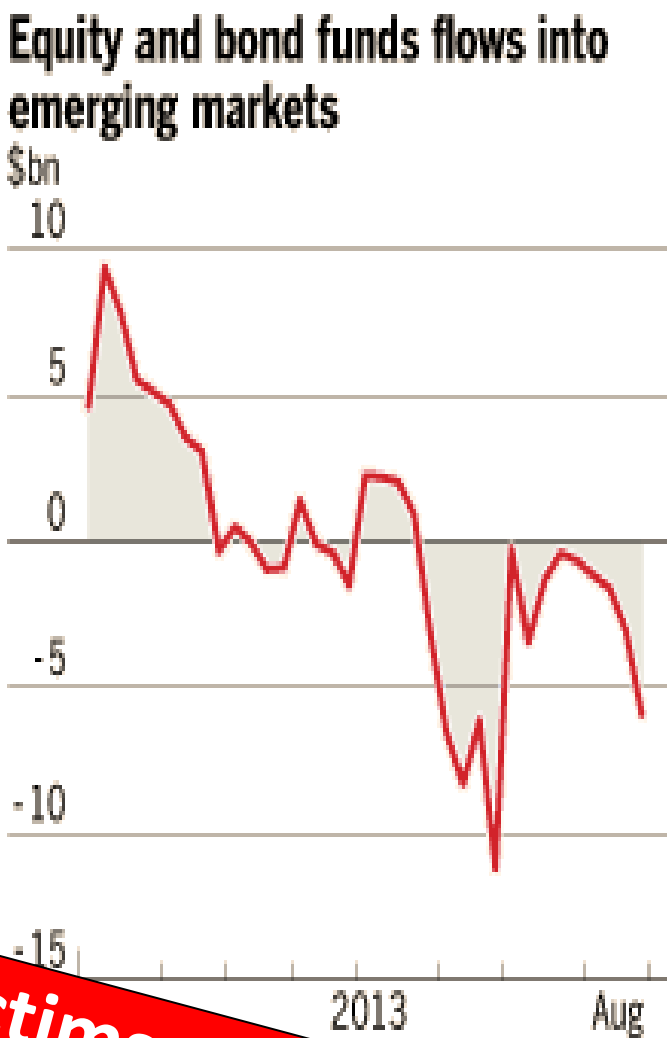
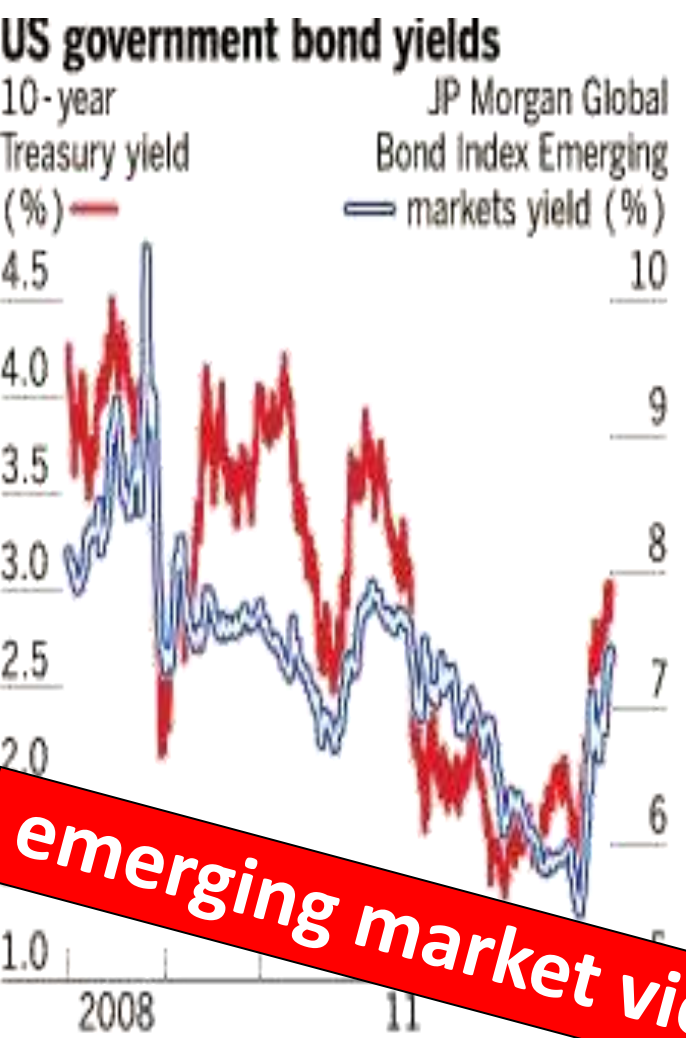
presented to the Institute of International Relations
Prague, 9 September 2013

- *political economy, power, accumulation and crisis*
- *political ecology and climate crisis*
- BRICS as anti-imperialist or sub-imperialist?
- Africa Rising (?!)
- 'Resource Curse' writ large: calculating 'natural capital' and 'ecological debt'
- 'Green Economy': Payment for Ecosystem Services
- carbon trading and its contradictions
- civil and uncivil society, from Prague 2000 to ?



UNFCCC
COP 17,
Dec 2011

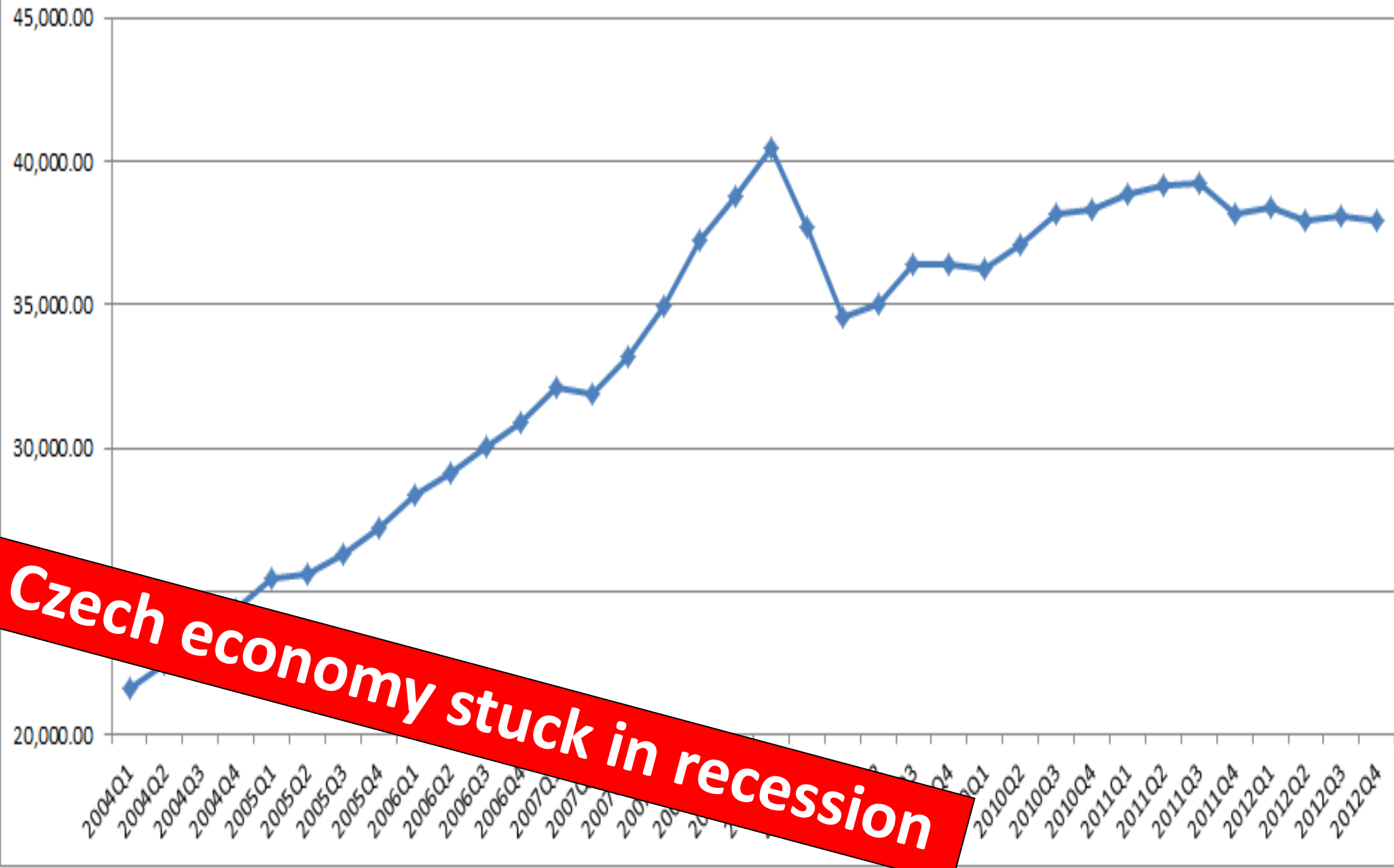
uneven development and capitalist crisis: current stage of financial destruction



emerging market victims of \$

Sources: Thomson Reuters Datastream; EPFR

Czech Republic GDP 2004-2012 (Millions of Euros)



Czech economy stuck in recession

why political economy?

The
Economist

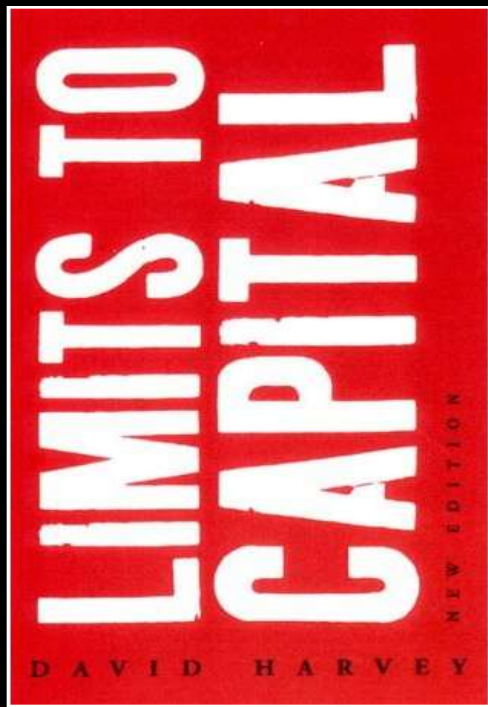
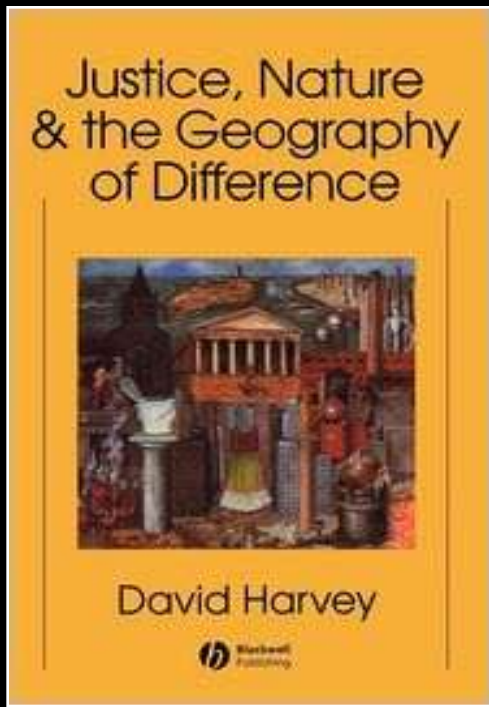
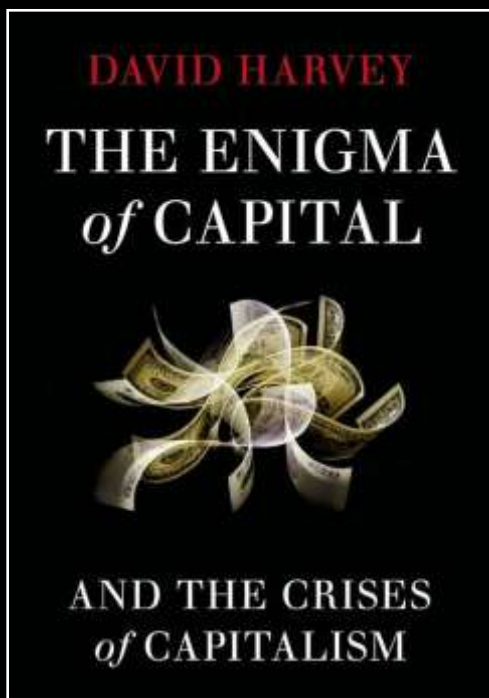
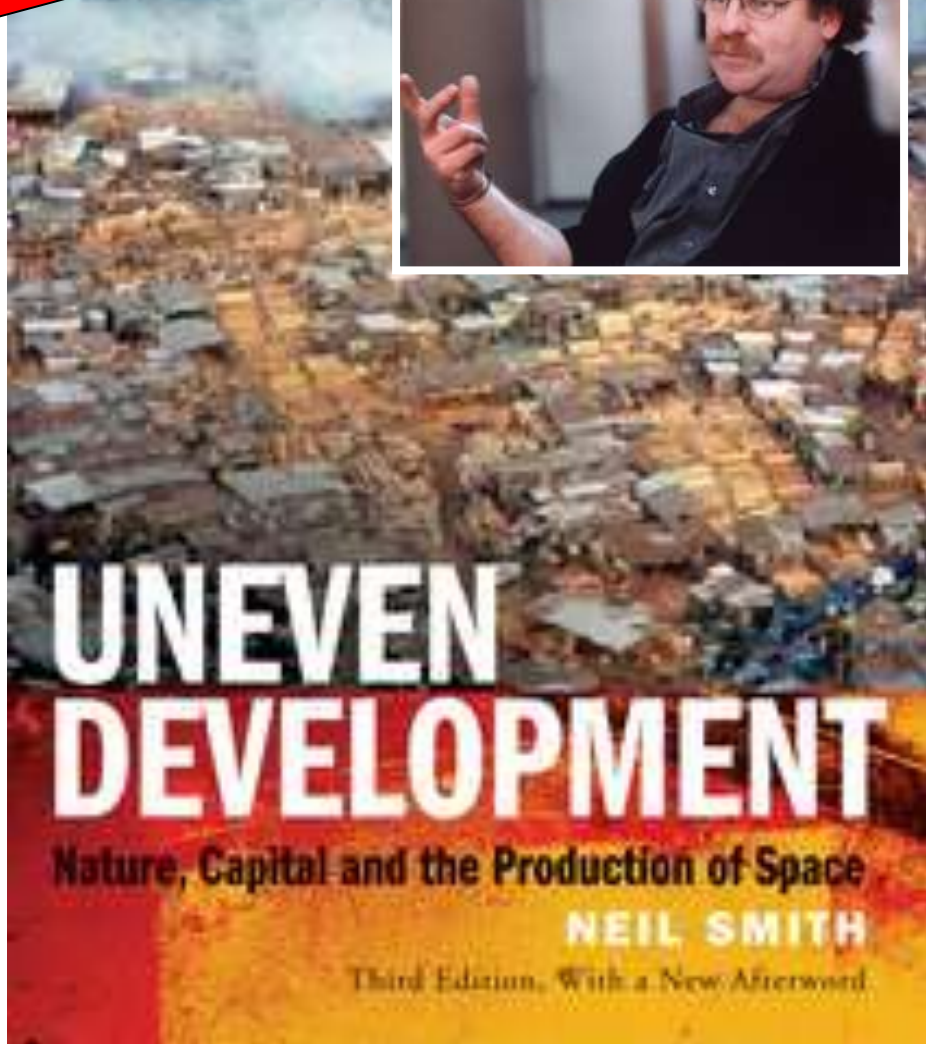
SEPTEMBER 27th 2008

www.economist.com

**OH
FUCK!**



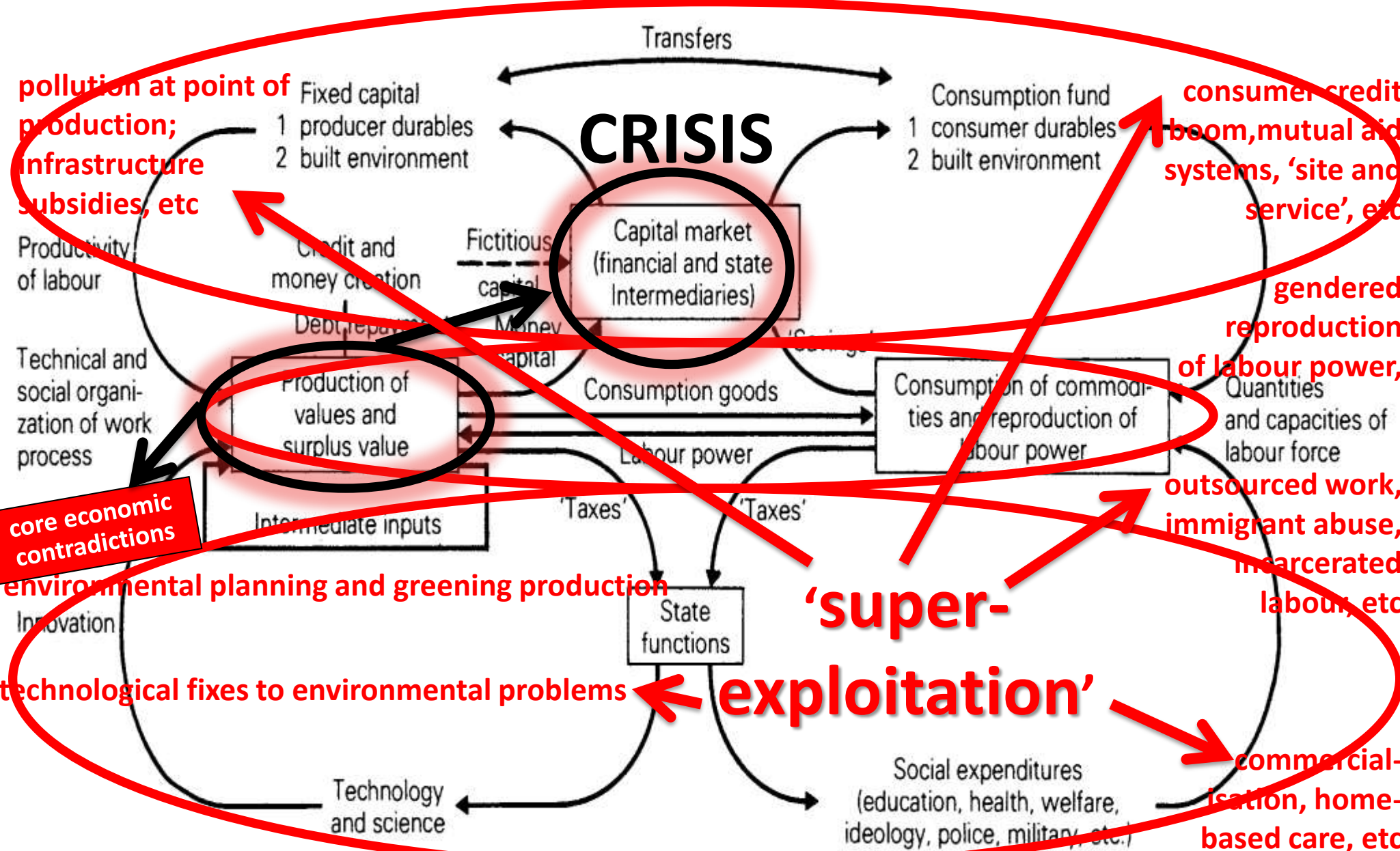
why political economy?



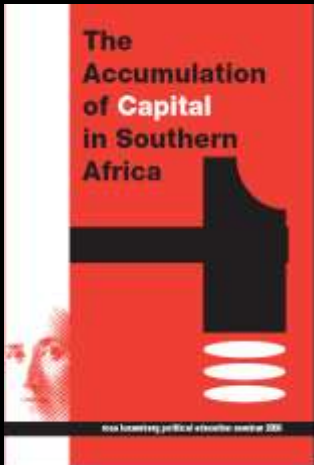
<http://davidharvey.org>



political economy: *follow the flows of capital*



Source: David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital* (1985)



super-exploitation through
capitalist/non-capitalist relations



Rosa Luxemburg

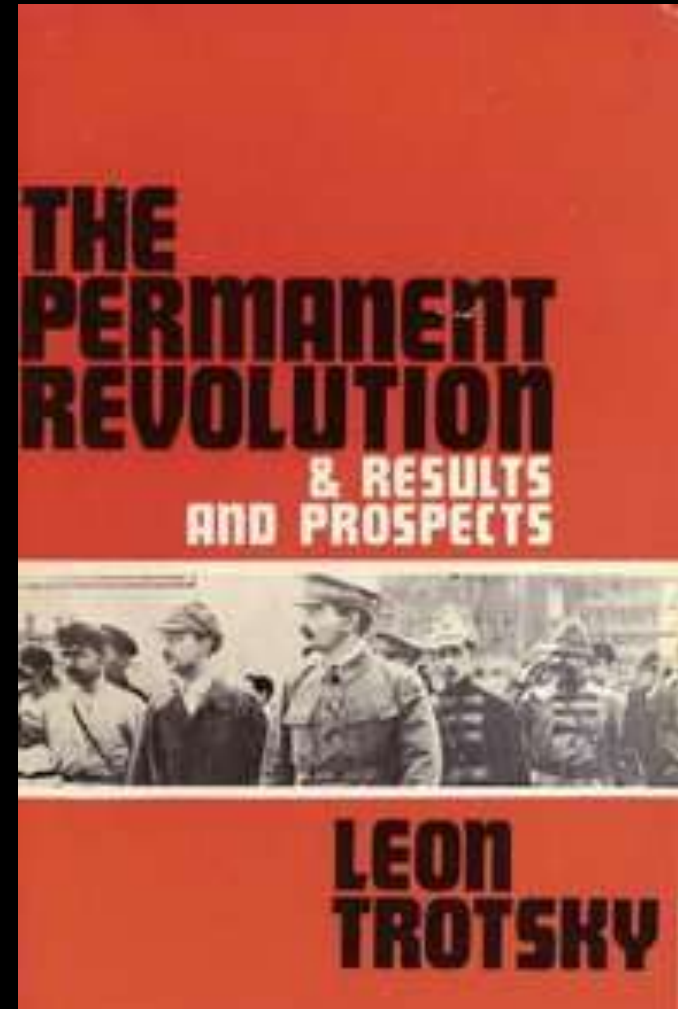
Accumulation of capital periodically

bursts out in crises and spurs capital on to a continual extension of the market. Capital cannot accumulate without the aid of non-capitalist organisations, nor ... can it tolerate their continued existence side by side with itself.

Only the continuous and progressive disintegration of non-capitalist organisations makes accumulation of capital possible.'

The Accumulation of Capital, 1913

uneven and combined development



combined development

- Trotsky: 'From the universal law of unevenness thus derives another law which for want of a better name, we may call the law of combined development – by which we mean a drawing together of the different stages of the journey, a combining of separate steps, an amalgam of archaic with more contemporary forms.'



**The Politics of Combined
and Uneven Development:
The Theory of Permanent
Revolution**

Michael Lowy



The Politics of Combined
and Uneven Development:
The Theory of Permanent
Revolution

Michael Löwy

Justin Rosenberg



**Isaac Deutscher and the Lost History of
International Relations**

**THE EMPIRE of CIVIL
SOCIETY**

**A Critique of the Realist Theory
of International Relations**



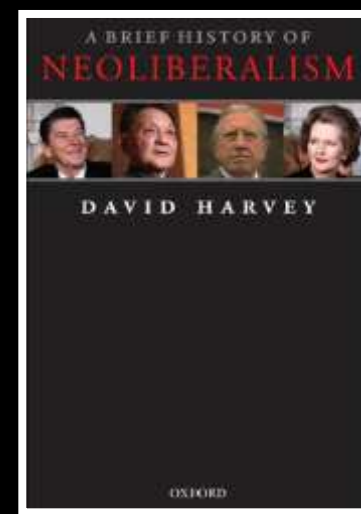
JUSTIN ROSENBERG

Uneven Geographical Developments

The Moving Map of Neoliberalization

A moving map of the progress of neoliberalization on the world stage since 1970 would be hard to construct. To begin with, most states that have taken the neoliberal turn have done so only partially—the introduction of greater flexibility into labour markets

**territorial
competition linked
to recent
overaccumulation
pressures**



Competition between territories (states, regions, or cities) as to who had the best model for economic development or the best business climate was relatively insignificant in the 1950s and 1960s.

Competition of this sort heightened in the more fluid and open systems of trading relations established after 1970. The general progress of neoliberalization has therefore been increasingly impelled *through* mechanisms of uneven geographical developments. Successful states or regions put pressure on everyone else to follow their lead. Leapfrogging innovations put this or that state (Japan, Germany, Taiwan, the US, or China), region (Silicon Valley, Bavaria, Third Italy, Bangalore, the Pearl River delta, or

**not everything can be explained through
uneven development theory:
*'contingent geopolitical considerations...'***

Contingent geopolitical considerations have also played their part. South Korea's position as a frontline state in the Cold War initially gave it US protection for its developmentalism. Mozambique's position as a frontline state led to a civil war fomented by South Africa to undermine Frelimo's attempt to construct socialism. Heavily indebted as a result of the war, Mozambique fell an easy prey to the IMF's penchant for neoliberal restructuring.⁴³ US-backed counter-revolutionary governments in Central America, Chile, and elsewhere have frequently produced similar outcomes. Even a particular geographical position, such as Mexico's proximity to the US and its peculiar vulnerability to US pressures,

Erik Swyngedouw: urban hydro-political ecology

'The city as a hybrid: On nature, society and cyborg urbanization,' Capitalism Nature Socialism, 7:2, 65-80, 1996



...water flows would narrate stories of people and powerful socio-ecological processes that produce urban spaces of

- *privilege and exclusion;*
- *participation and marginality;*
- *water-borne disease;*
- *speculation in water-industry related futures and options;*
- *chemical, physical and biological reactions and transformations;*
- *the global hydrological cycle and global warming;*
- *the capital, machinations and strategies of dam builders;*
- *urban land developers;*
- *the knowledges of the engineers;*
- *the passage from river to urban reservoir.*

In sum, my cup of water embodies multiple tales of the “city as a hybrid.” The rhizome of underground and surface water flows, of streams, pipes and veins that come together in urban water gushing from the stand-pipe is a powerful metaphor for the socio-ecological processes that produce the city and become embodied in city life.

Brundtland Commission (1987):

Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the **ability of future generations to meet their own needs.**

contains within it two key concepts:

- 1) the concept of 'needs', in particular the **essential needs of the world's poor**, to which **overriding priority** should be given; and*
- 2) the idea of **limitations** imposed by the state of technology and social organization on **the environment's ability to meet present and future needs.***

"Beautifully written and creatively researched...Davis has a keen wit and a superb eye for irony." –San Francisco Examiner

City of Quartz

Excavating
the
Future
in
Los Angeles

Mike Davis

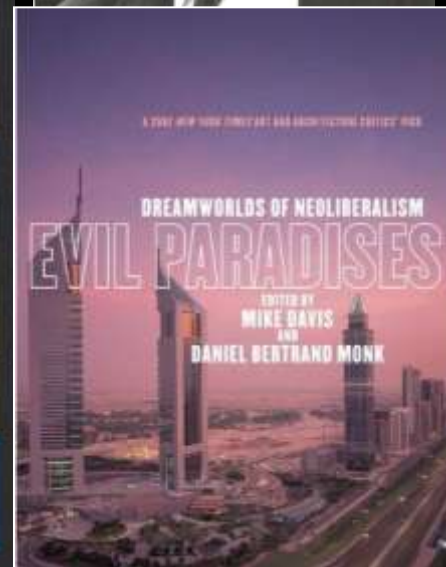
WITH PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROBERT MORROW

ECOLOGY OF FEAR

Los Angeles
and the
Imagination
of
Disaster

MIKE DAVIS

AUTHOR OF CITY OF QUARTZ



Global Labour Journal

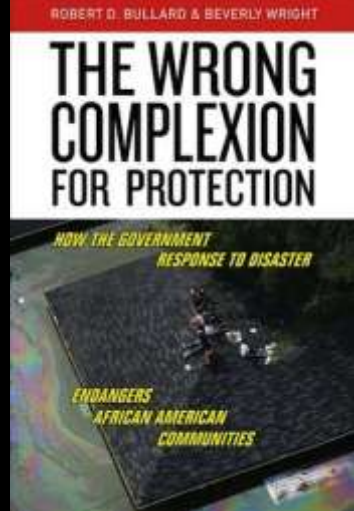
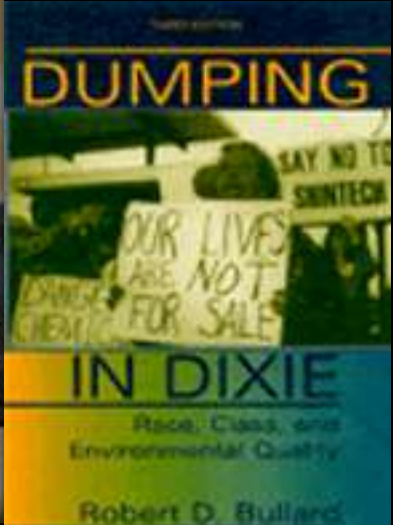
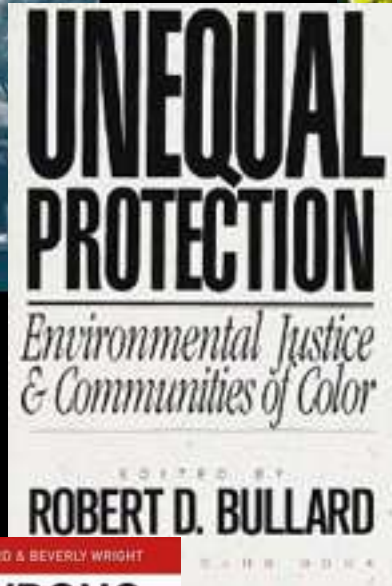
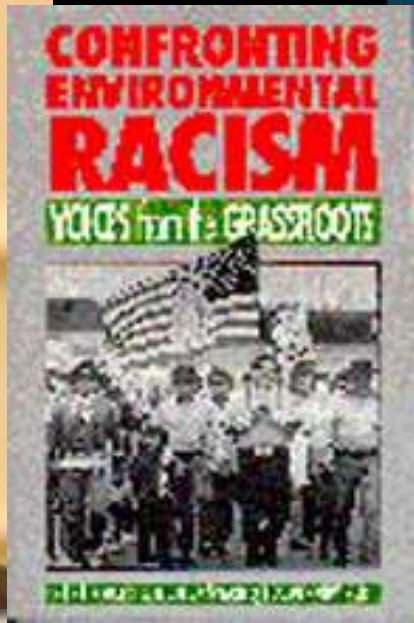
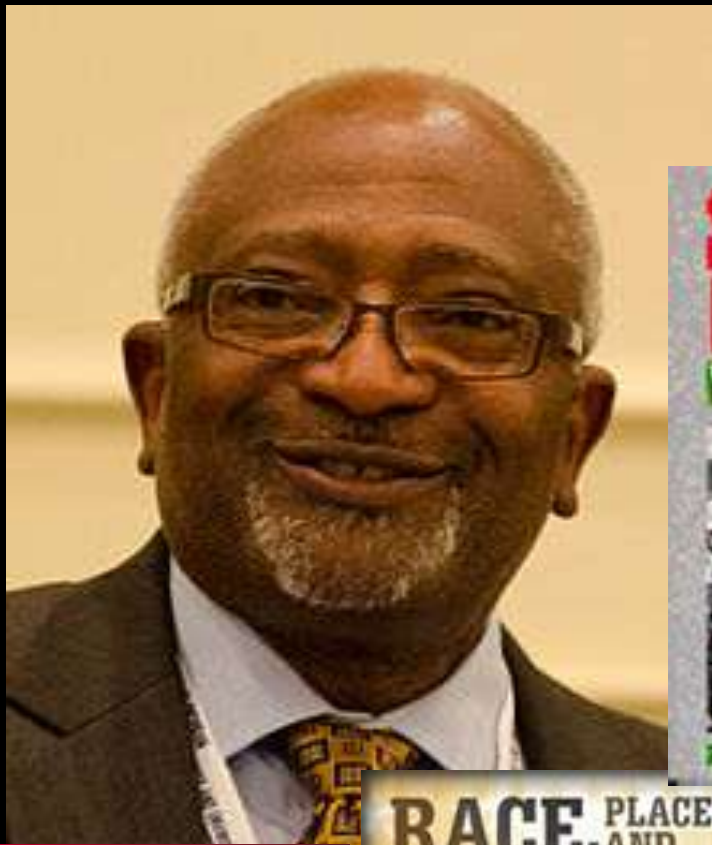
11-3-2004

Review of Mike Davis and Daniel Bertrand Monk's
'Evil Paradises: Dreamworlds of Neoliberalism'

Judith Cook
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, SA

A focus on water is central to Patrick Bond's superb chapter 'Johannesburg: Of Gold and Gangsters' because access to water remains, 'a fundamental, existential dividing line: on one hand, the pleasing bright green quilt of well-watered English style gardens and thick alien trees that shade traditionally white – now slightly desegregated suburbs; on the other, the dusty, often toxic deserts of the townships and new slums' (120).

Bond demonstrates the hardship that the privatization of water has imposed on poor communities. This is part of a broader trend: corporate capitalism involves the increasing commodification of natural resources such as water. At the same time *Evil Paradises* shows how corporate capitalism requires authoritarian regulation to survive. There is a 'symbiosis between the



ECO-SUFFICIENCY & GLOBAL JUSTICE

WOMEN WRITE POLITICAL ECOLOGY

EDITED BY
ARIEL SALLEH



externalization of costs takes the form of an extraction of surpluses, both economic and thermodynamic:

1) a social debt to inadequately paid workers;

2) an embodied debt to women family caregivers; and

3) an ecological debt drawn on nature at large.

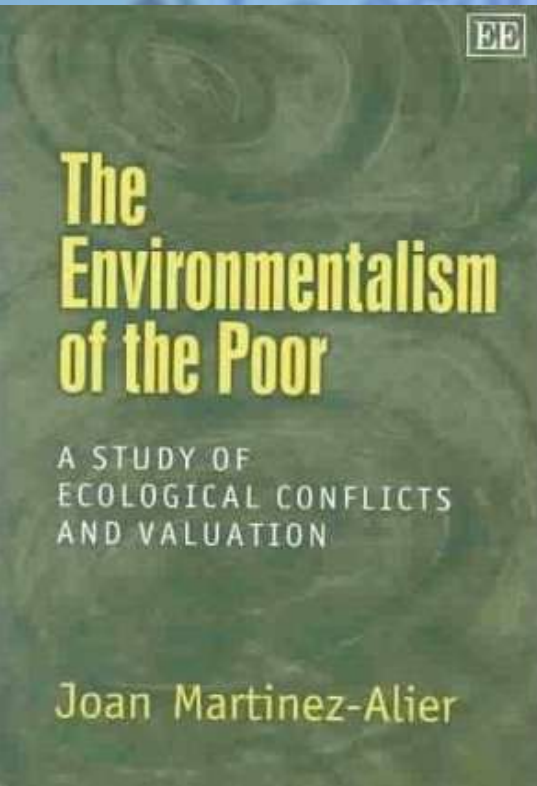
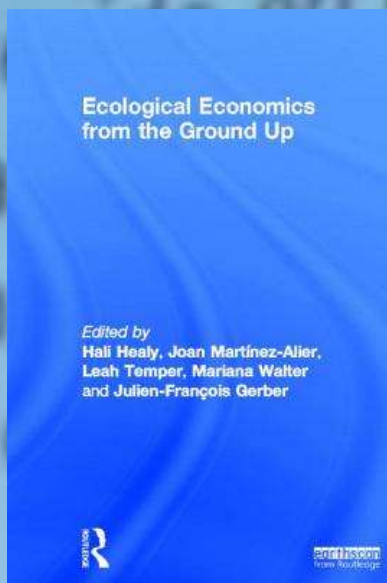
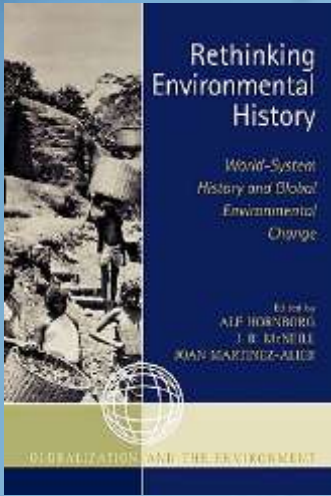


ECOFEMINISM AS POLITICS

nature, Marx and the postmodern

Ariel Salleh

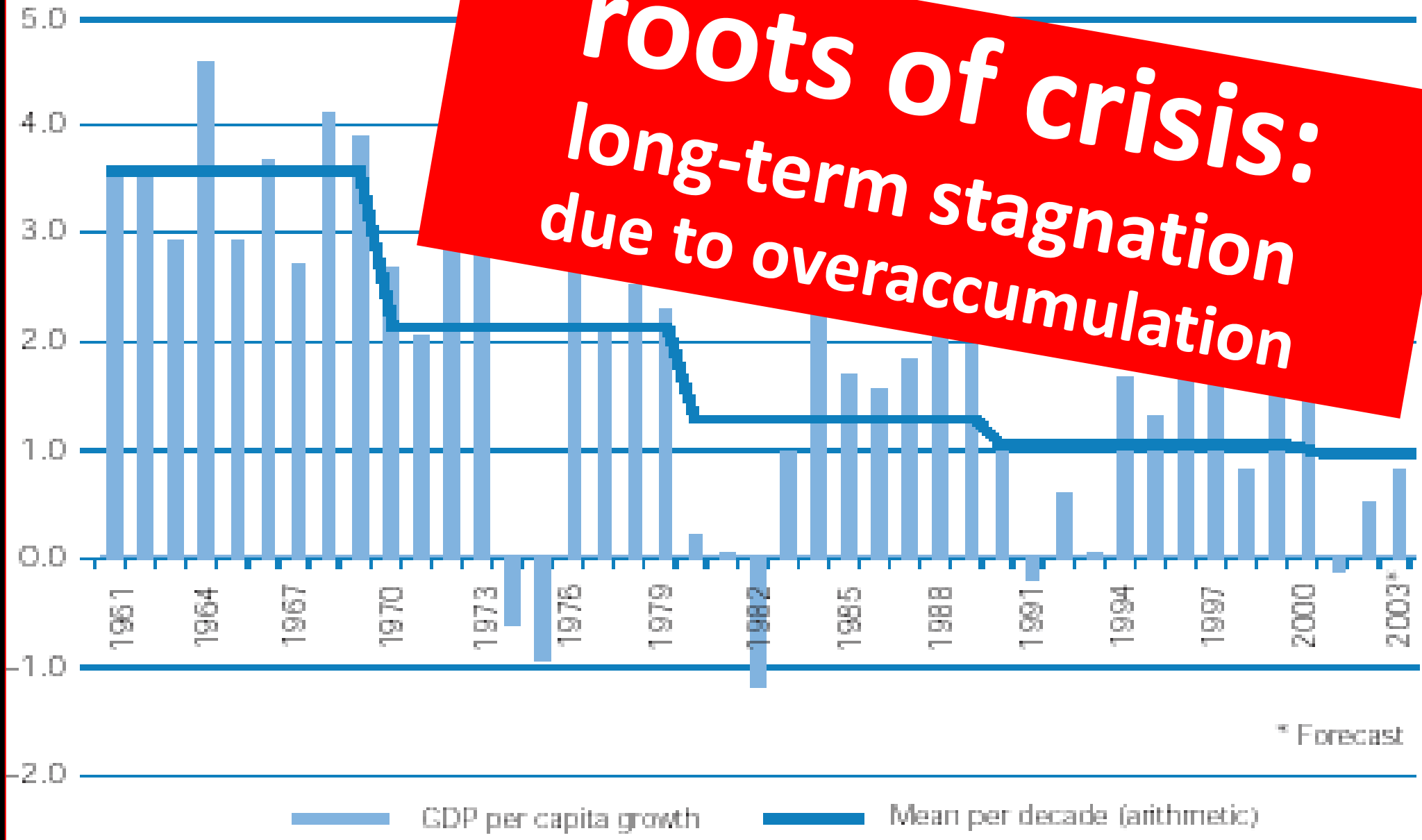
ejoinit



World GDP per capita

1961-2003 (annual change in per cent)

**roots of crisis:
long-term stagnation
due to overaccumulation**



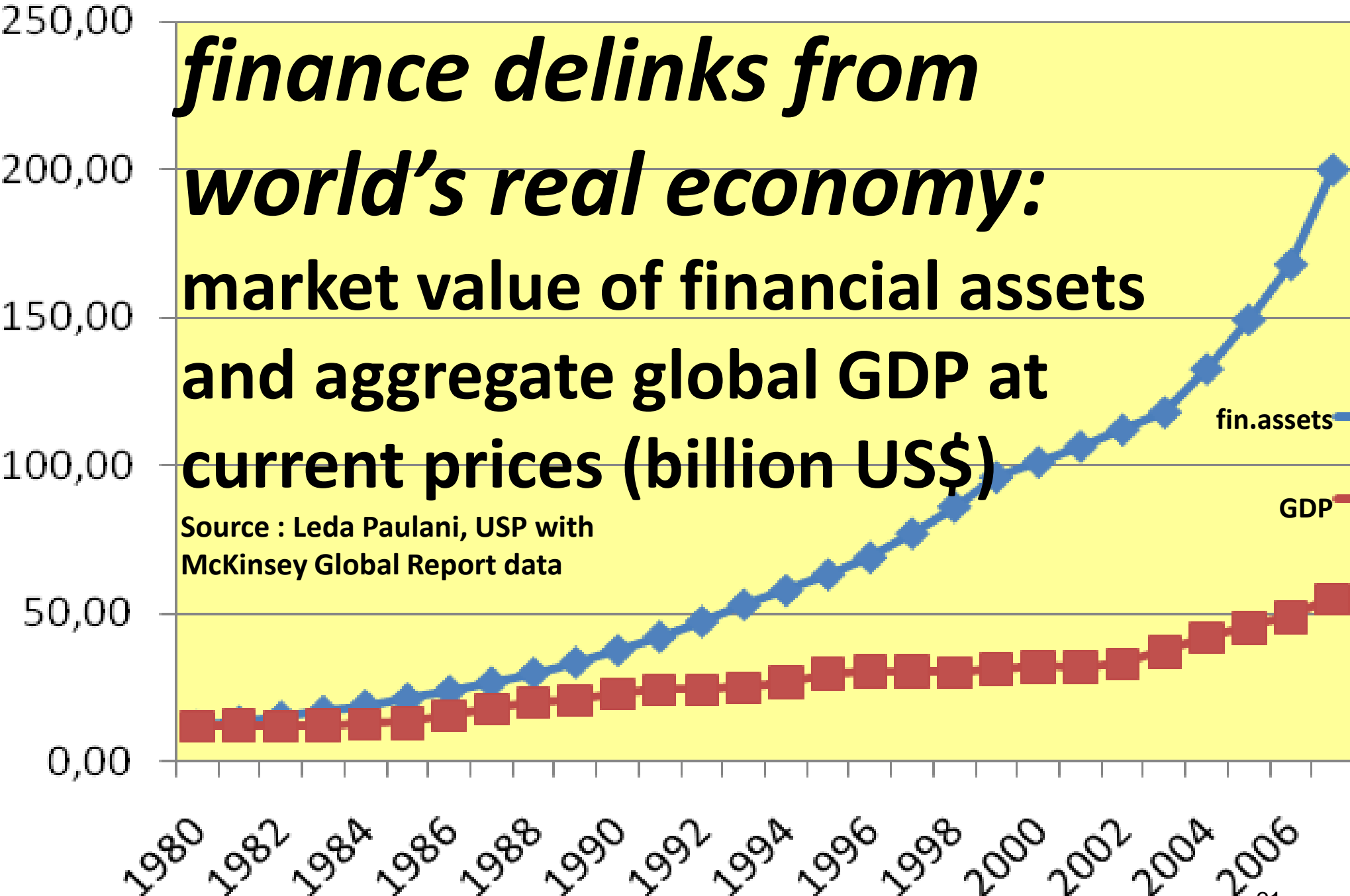
* Forecast

— GDP per capita growth — Mean per decade (arithmetic)

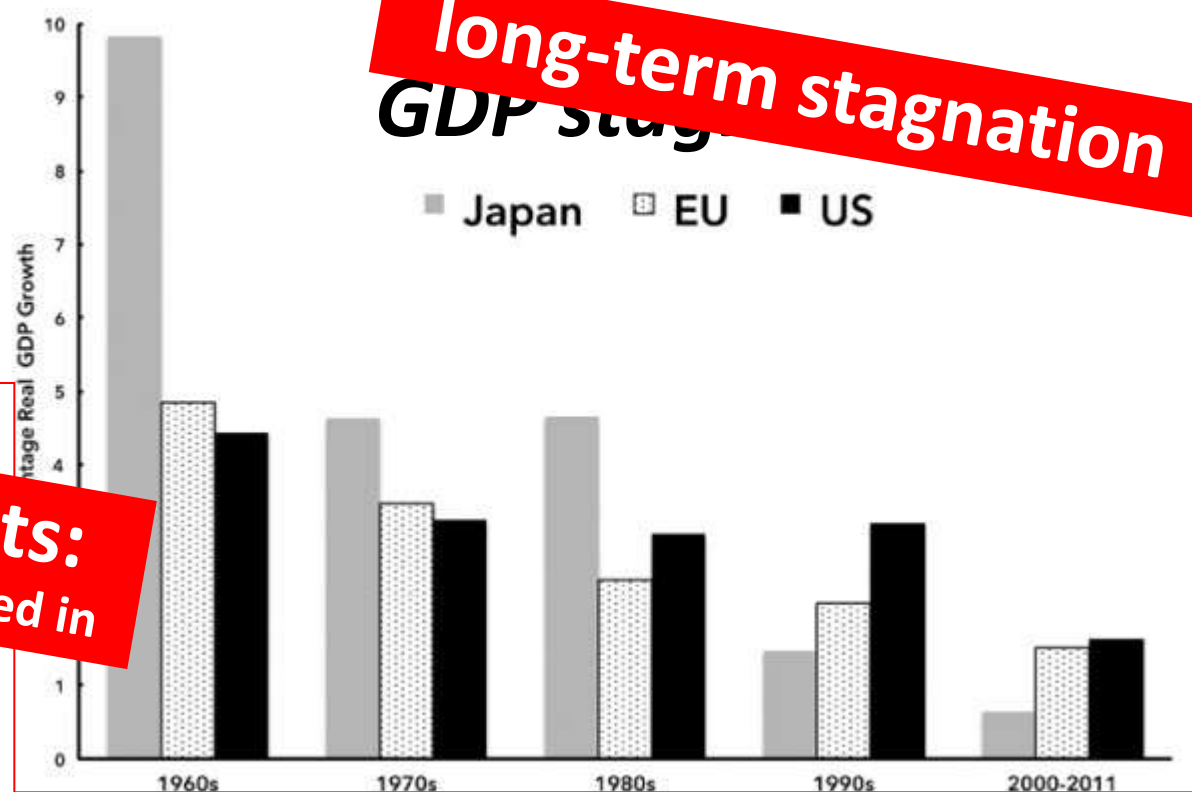
Sources: World Bank, *World Development Indicators 2003* (online version) and World Bank, *Global Economic Prospects 2004*.

***finance delinks from
world's real economy:
market value of financial assets
and aggregate global GDP at
current prices (billion US\$)***

Source : Leda Paulani, USP with
McKinsey Global Report data

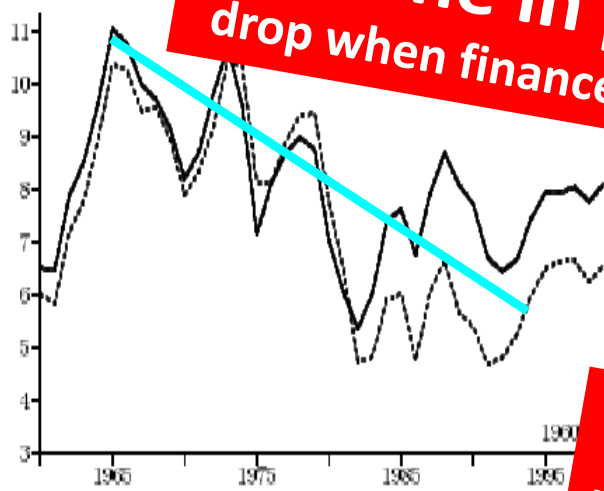


long-term stagnation
GDP stag



decline in profits:
drop when finance factored in

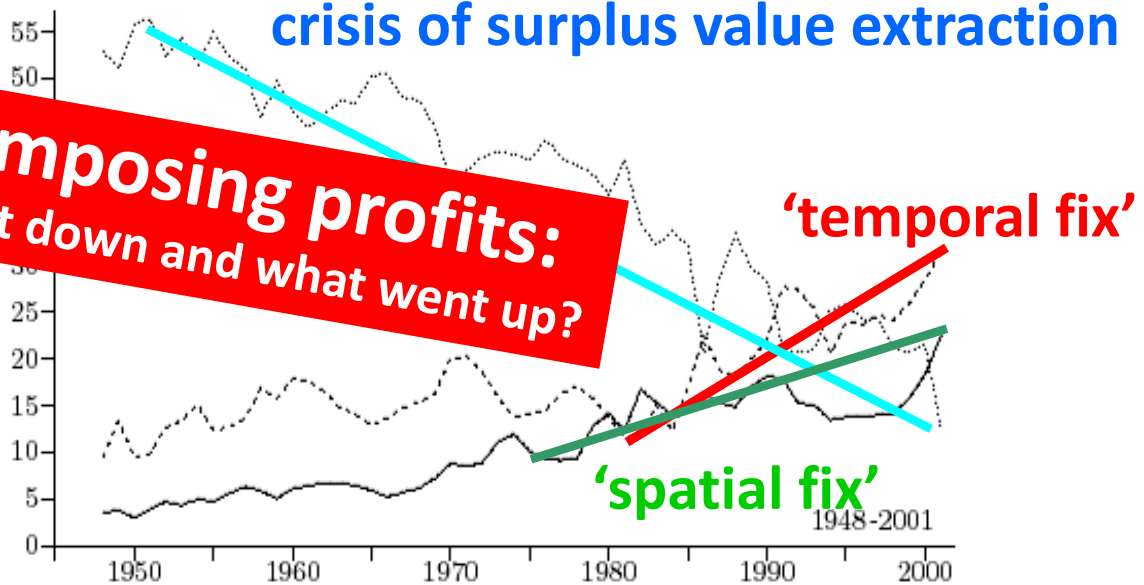
Figure 3 US, nonfinancial corporate profits prior to the payment of real interest (—) and after (---)



In the first series, profits are equal to the net product minus the cost of labor and profit taxes. They are divided by the net worth (total assets minus debt). For the second series, real interest is subtracted from profits, i.e., interest minus a correction for the depreciation of debt resulting from inflation.

crisis of surplus value extraction

decomposing profits:
what went down and what went up?

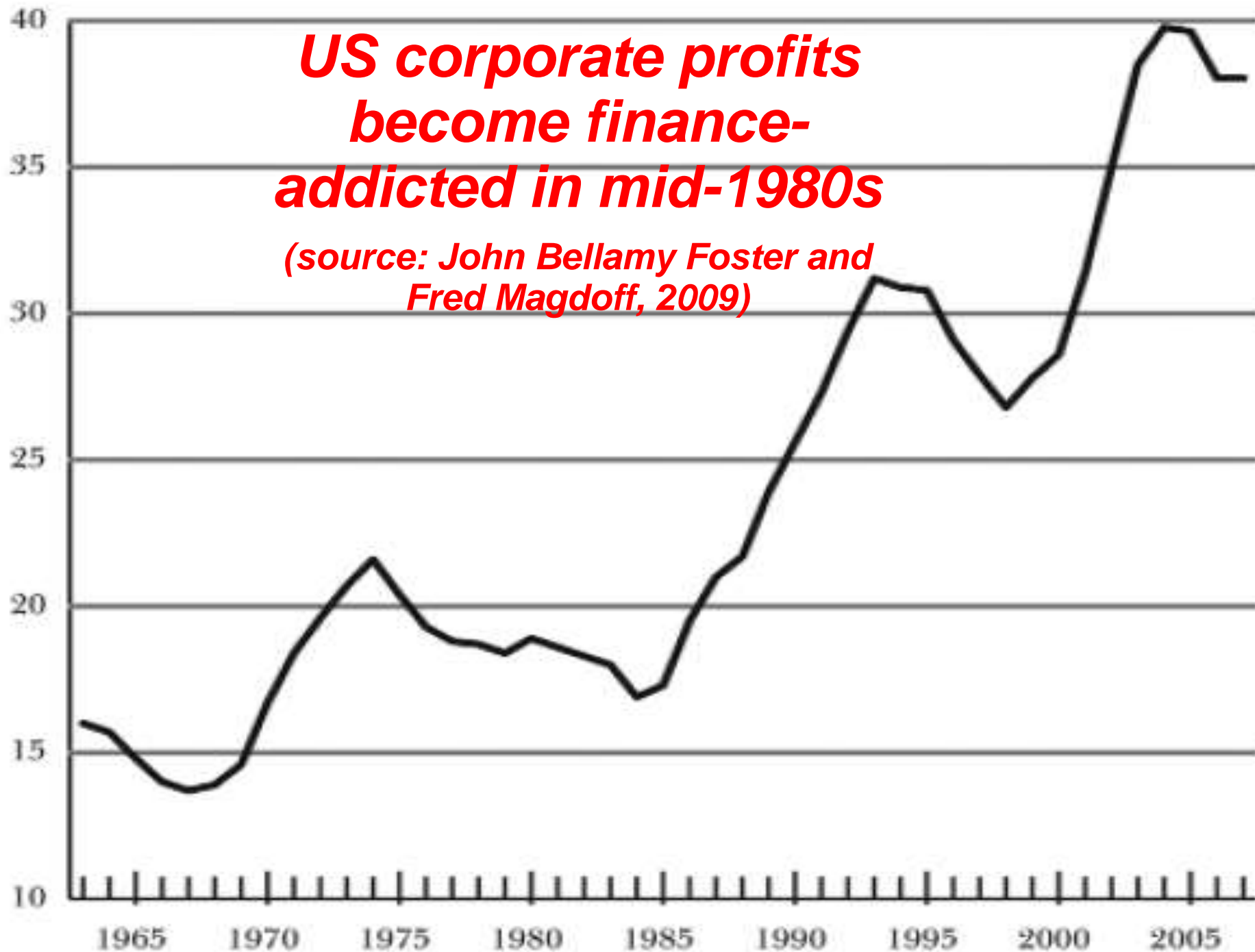


'temporal fix'

'spatial fix'

Rest of the world: (—); Financial sector: (-----); Manufacturing: (.....)

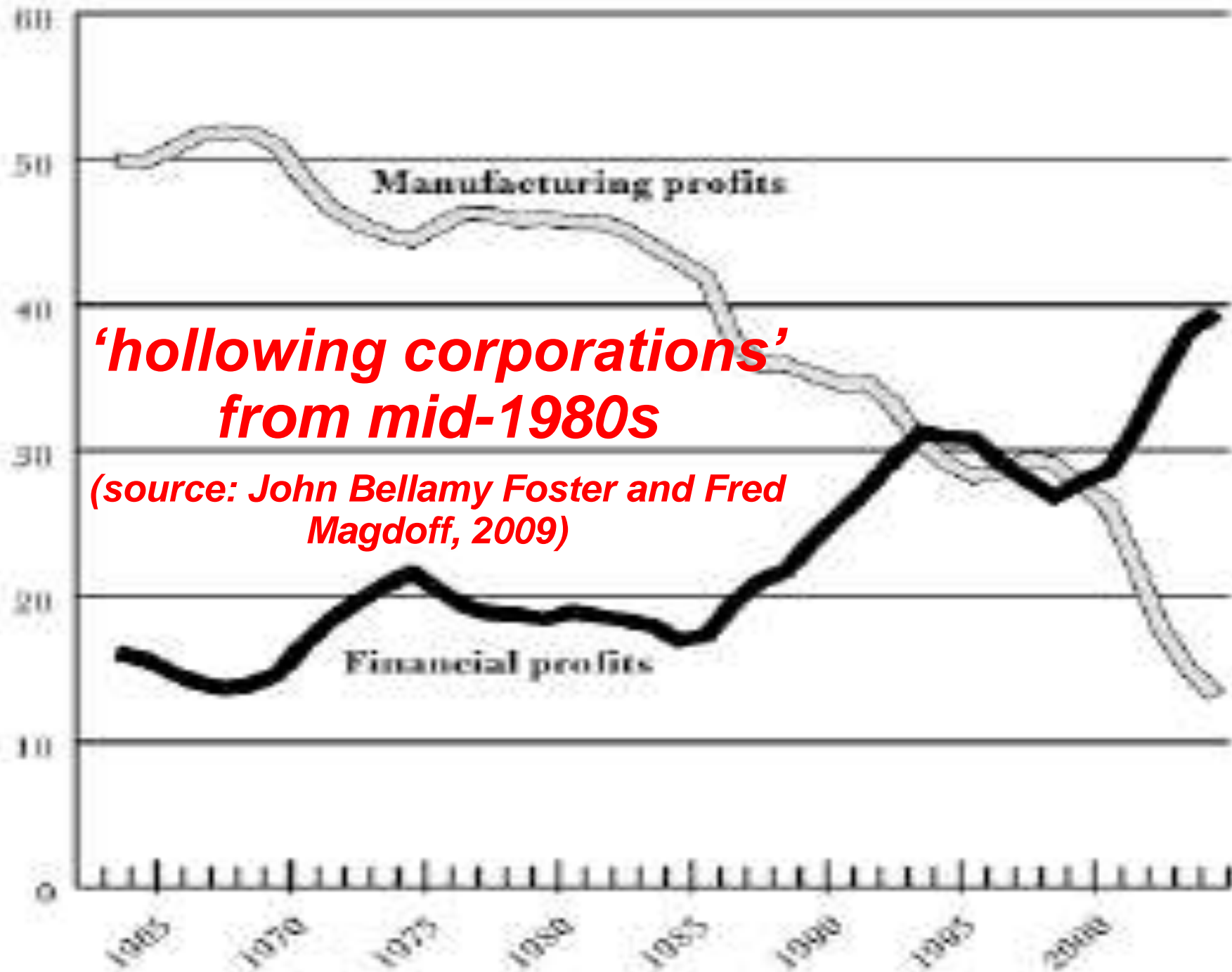
FINANCIAL PROFITS AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL DOMESTIC PROFITS



***US corporate profits
become finance-
addicted in mid-1980s***

***(source: John Bellamy Foster and
Fred Magdoff, 2009)***

PERCENT OF TOTAL DOMESTIC PROFITS



***'hollowing corporations'
from mid-1980s***

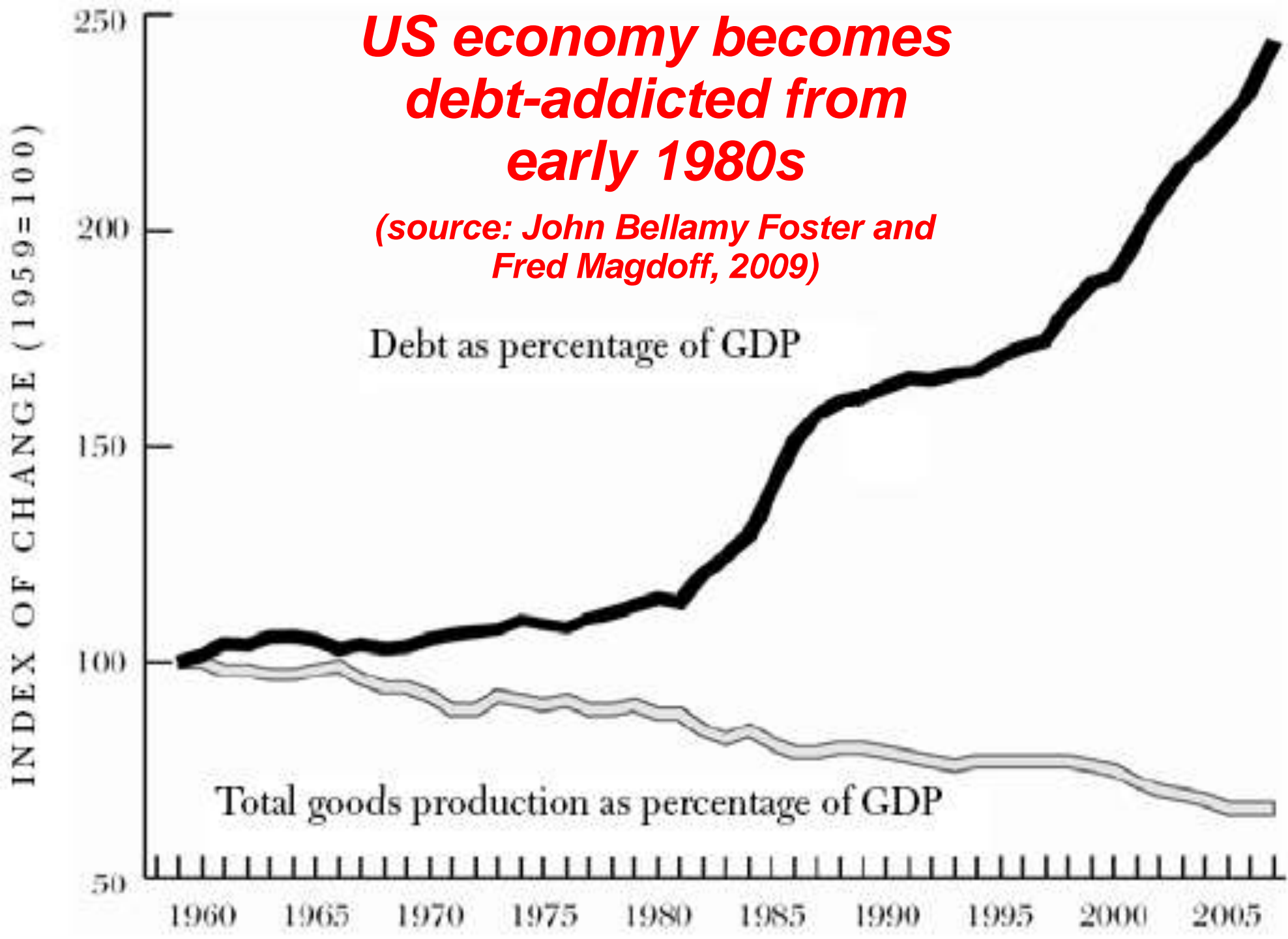
***(source: John Bellamy Foster and Fred
Magdoff, 2009)***

***US economy becomes
debt-addicted from
early 1980s***

***(source: John Bellamy Foster and
Fred Magdoff, 2009)***

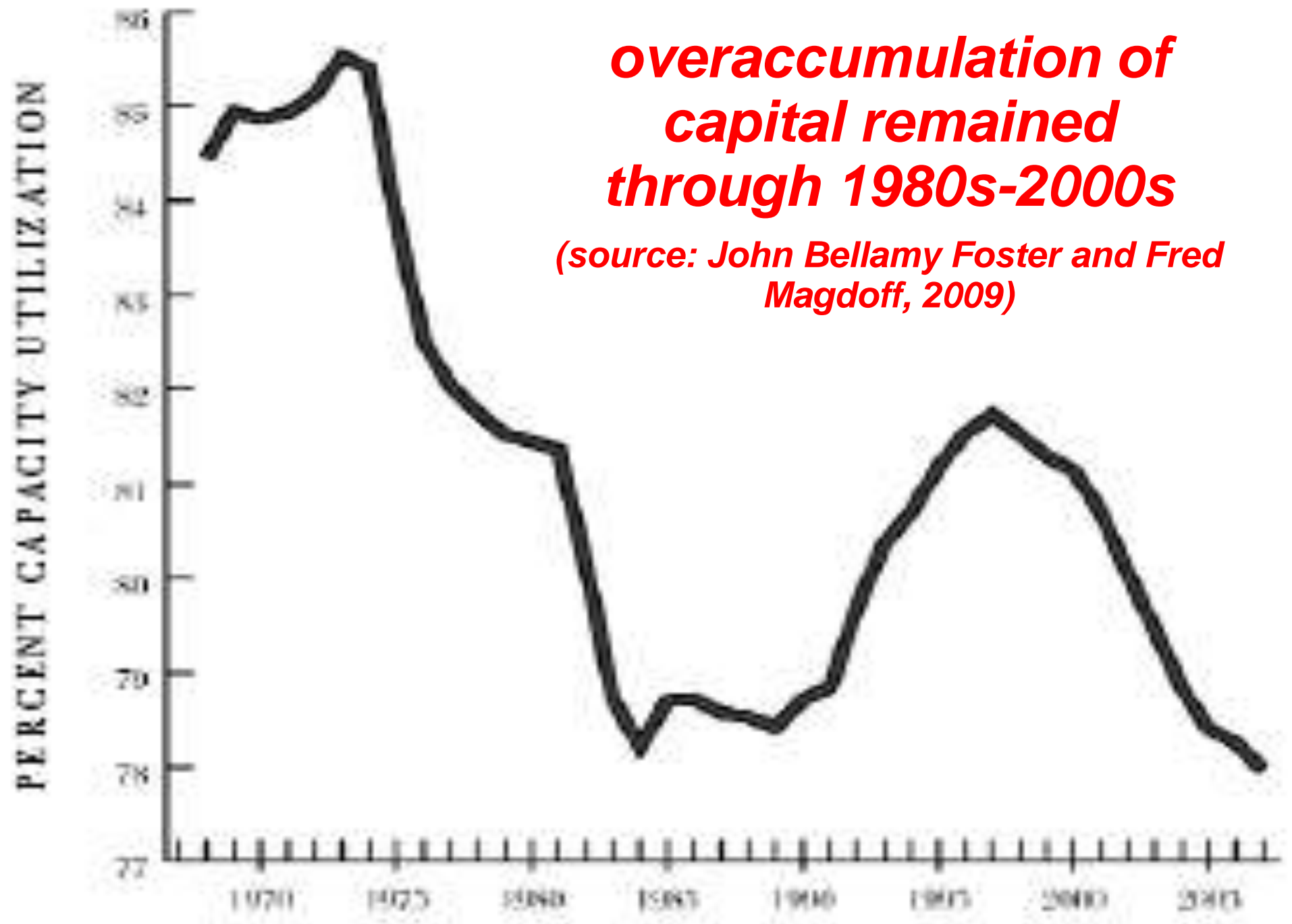
Debt as percentage of GDP

Total goods production as percentage of GDP



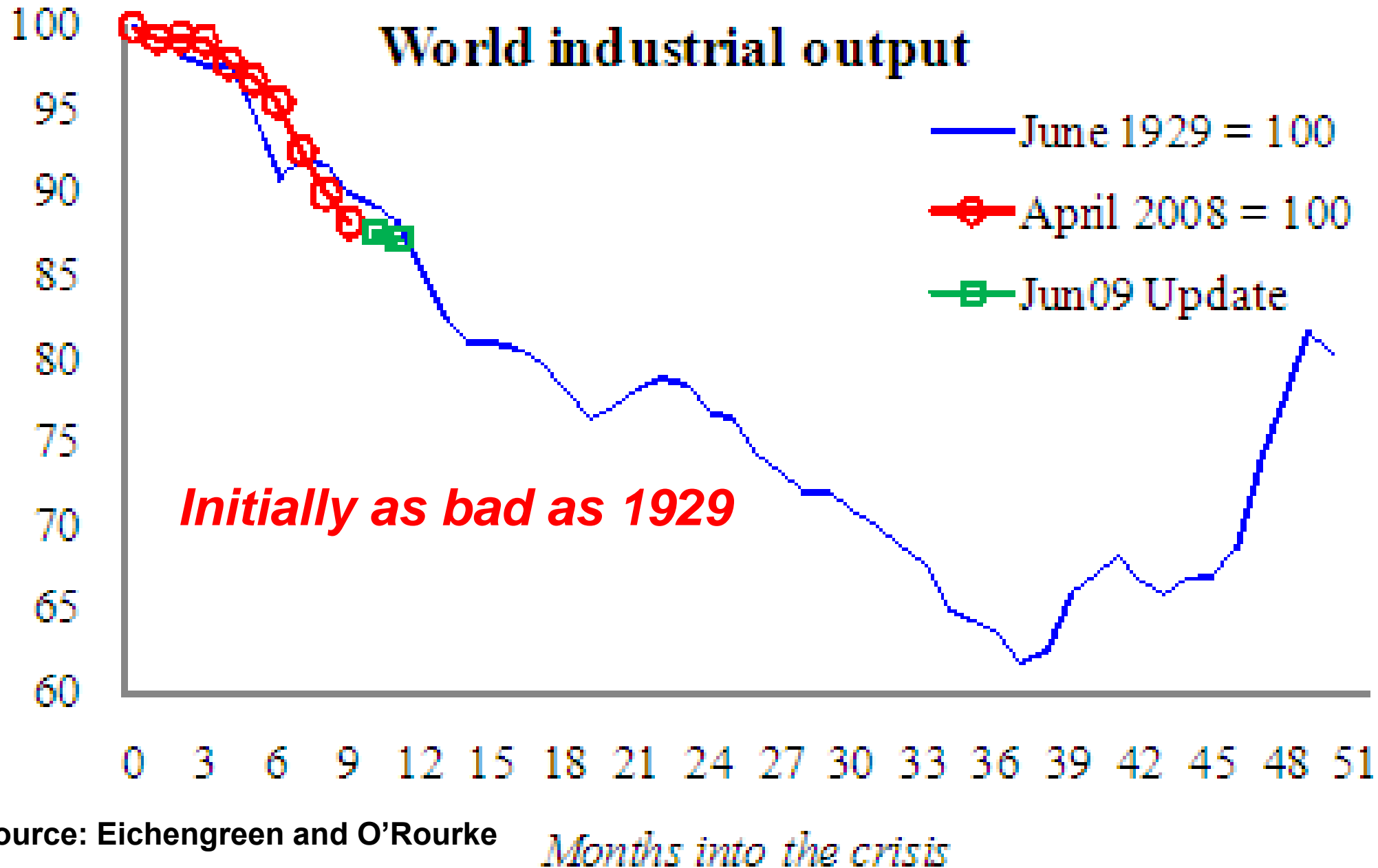
**overaccumulation of
capital remained
through 1980s-2000s**

*(source: John Bellamy Foster and Fred
Magdoff, 2009)*



Production crash in historical terms

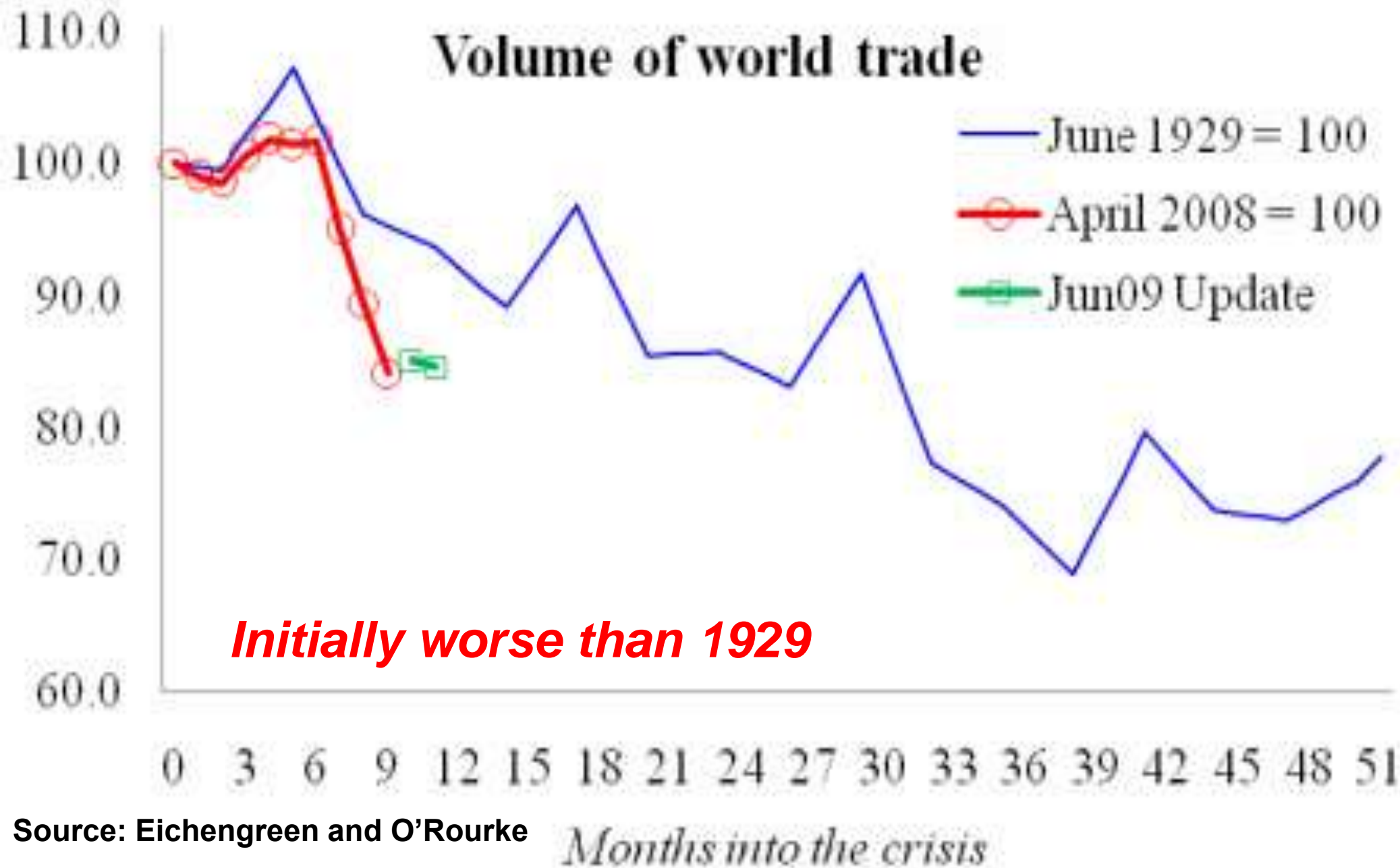
World industrial output



Source: Eichengreen and O'Rourke

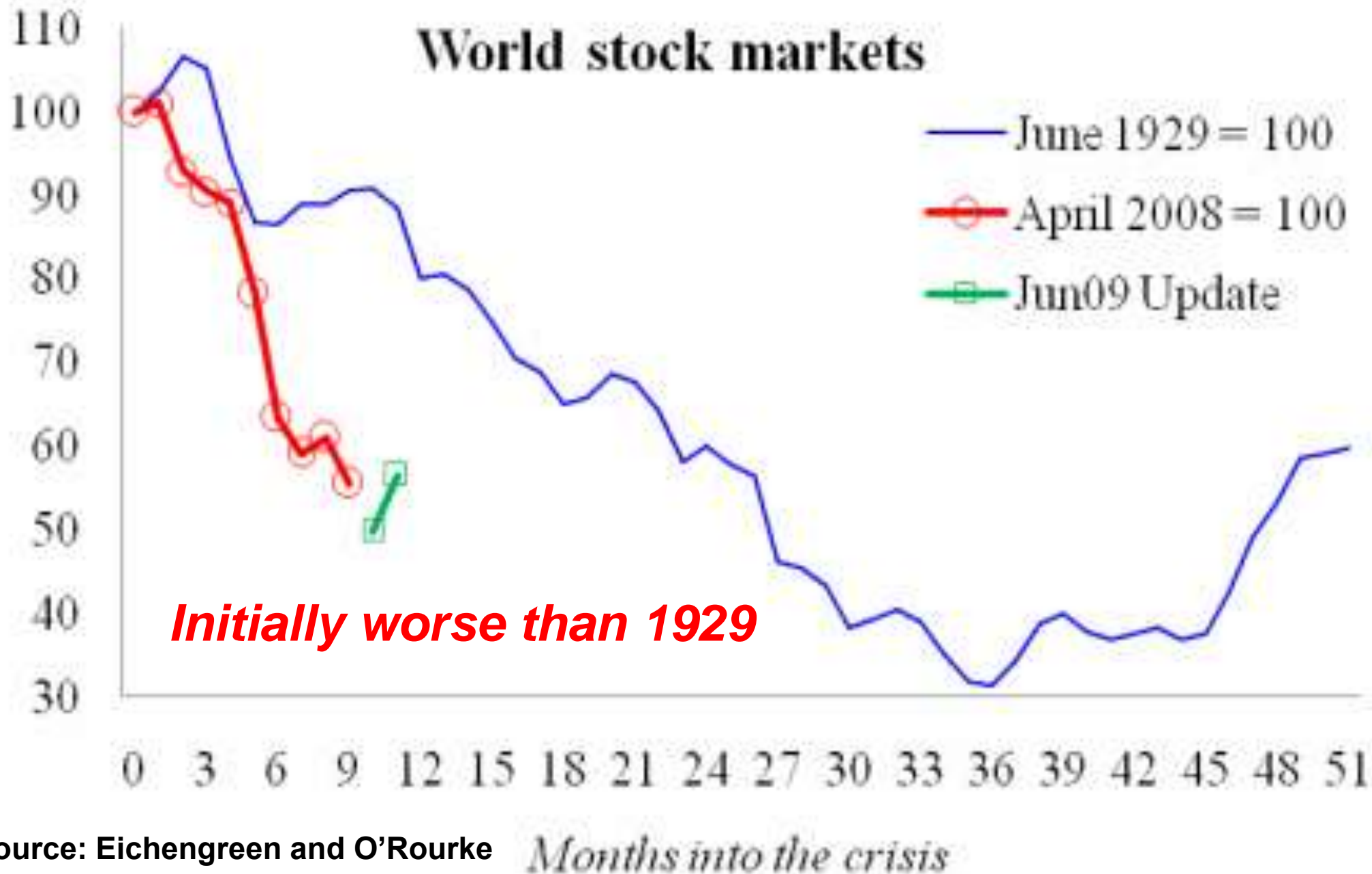
Months into the crisis

Trade crash in historical terms



Source: Eichengreen and O'Rourke

Stock market crash in historical terms



GDP, % change on previous year



World:
Annualised three-month % change



crash of GDP, industrial production and FDI

... vast implications for the 'real sector' too...

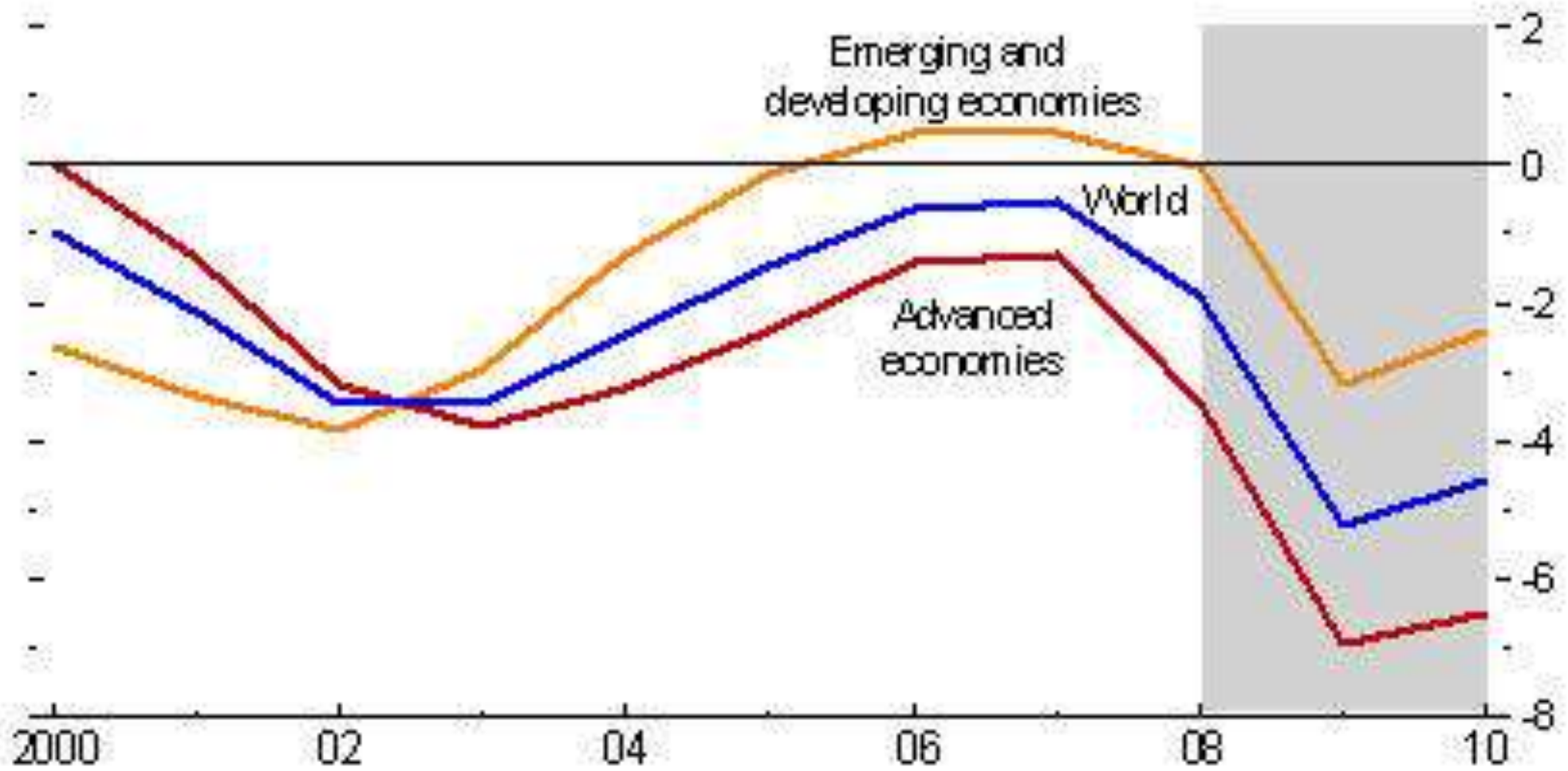
FDI inflows, % change on previous year
2008

Country	Change
Singapore	-57.3
Britain	-51.2
Germany	-48.9
France	-27.7
Japan	-22.7
US	-5.5

Source: The Economist

(Percent of GDP)

Keynes, PLEASE HELP!

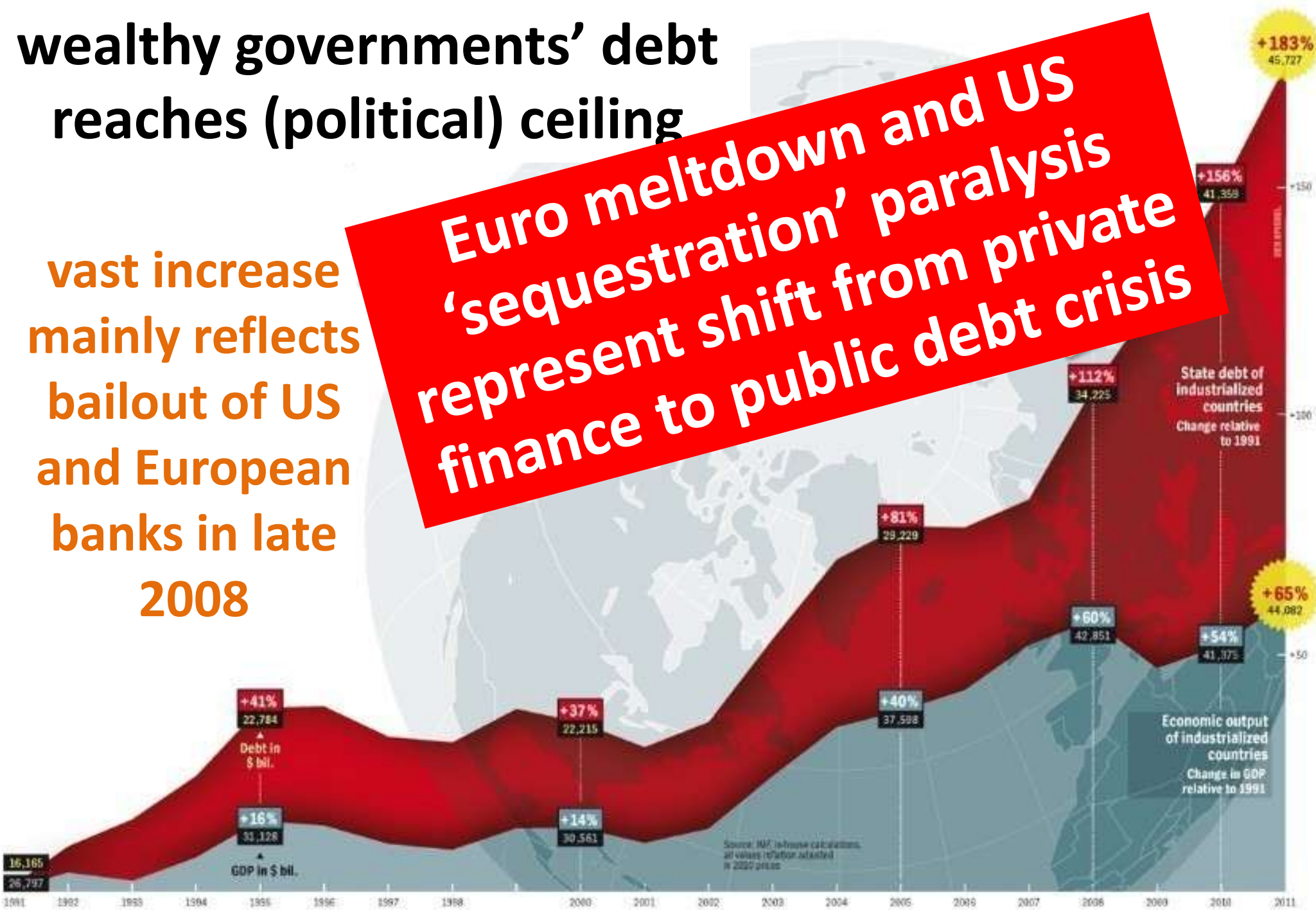


Source IMF staff estimates.

wealthy governments' debt reaches (political) ceiling

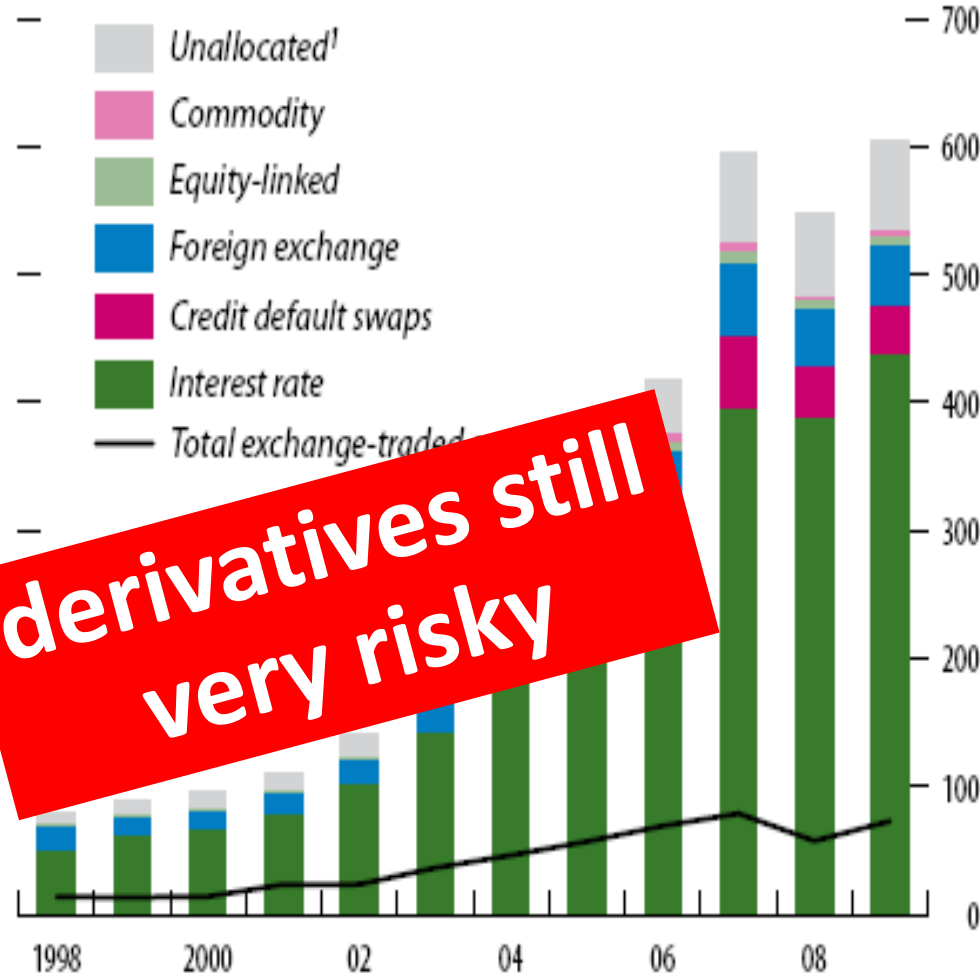
vast increase
mainly reflects
bailout of US
and European
banks in late
2008

**Euro meltdown and US
'sequestration' paralysis
represent shift from private
finance to public debt crisis**



'temporal fixes': derivatives, 'Quantitative Easing'

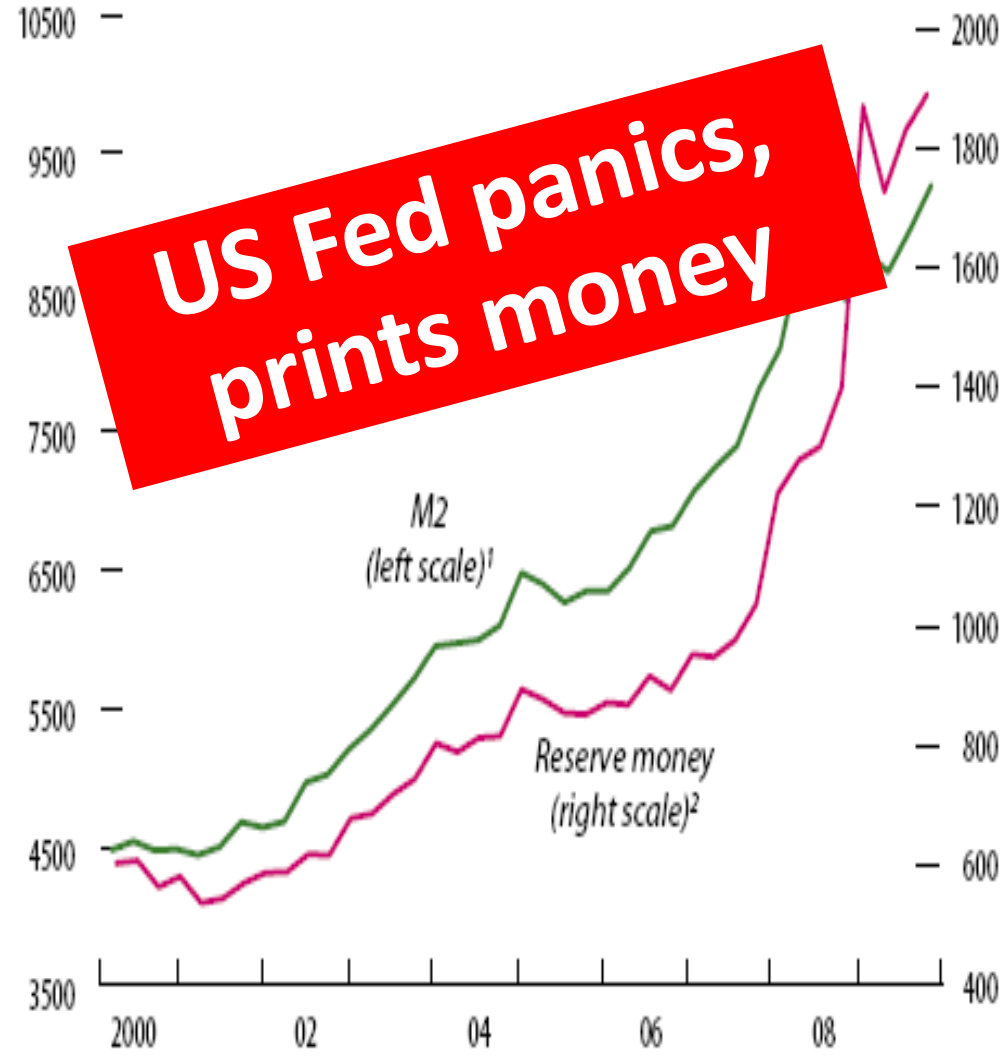
Figure 3.1. Global Over-the-Counter Derivatives Markets
(In trillions of U.S. dollars; notional amounts of contracts outstanding)



derivatives still very risky

Figure 4.1. Global Liquidity

(In billions of U.S. dollars; GDP-weighted; quarterly data)



US Fed panics, prints money

G20 leaders grapple with risks of reduced US monetary stimulus

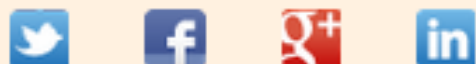
By George Parker, Courtney Weaver and Charles Clover in St Petersburg

Leaders at the Group of 20 summit were on Thursday grappling with the risks posed by a potential **reduction of US monetary stimulus** and worries over trade protectionism amid a shift of economic momentum towards advanced economies.

After years of agonising over sluggish growth in the developed countries, G20 leaders confronted fears that turmoil in some emerging markets – including India – posed a serious new threat to global growth.



Emerging market currencies and fund flows



[More](#)

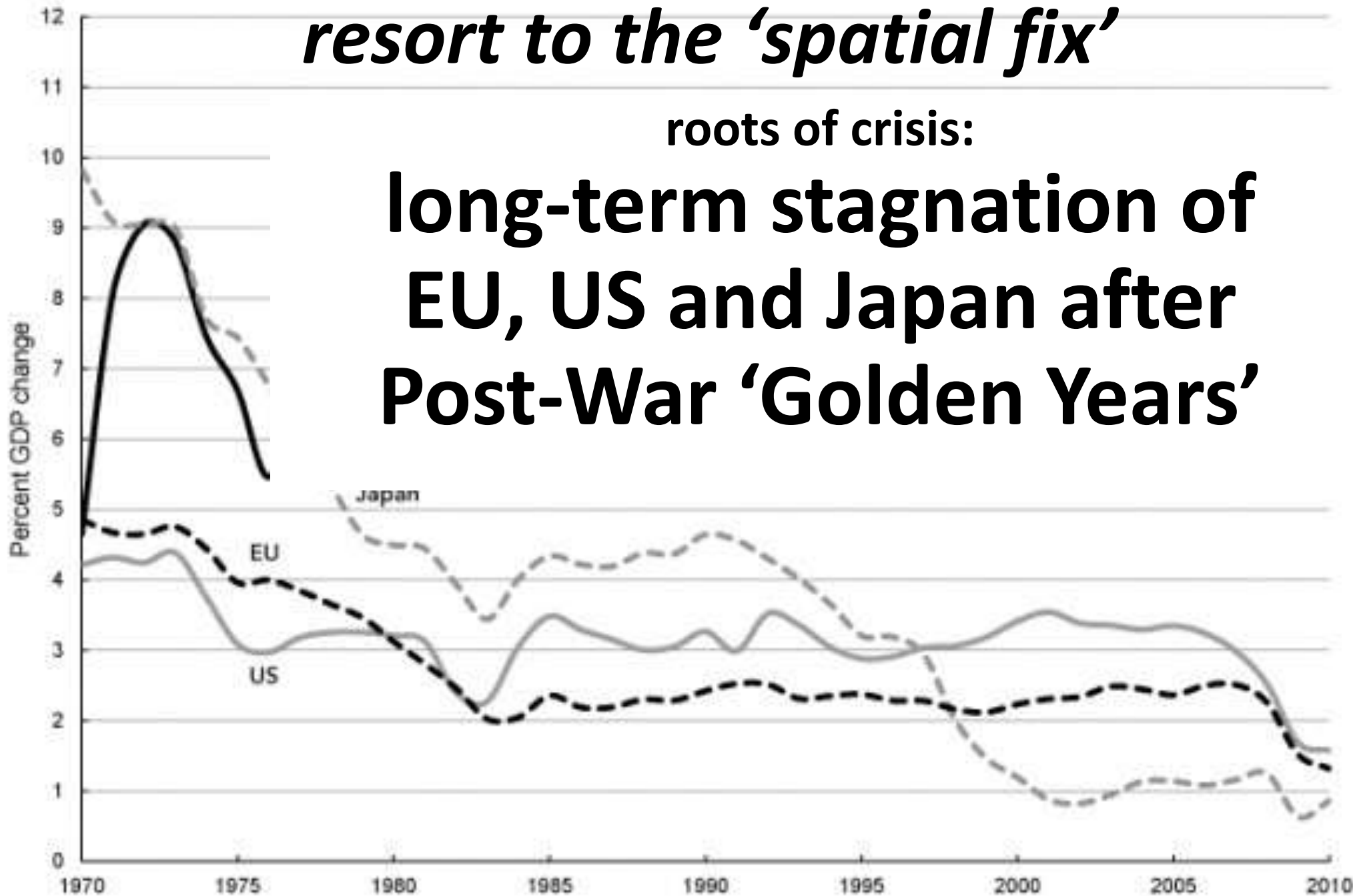
China entered the intensifying debate over the global impact of the US Federal Reserve's monetary policy on Thursday, when it urged the world's largest economy to be "mindful of the spillover effects" as it weighs reducing its support for financial markets.

Amid fears that the tapering of US quantitative easing – a policy that led to a flood of capital into emerging economies – will cause serious disruption, G20 officials were working overnight on the delicate task of framing communiqué language on the issue.

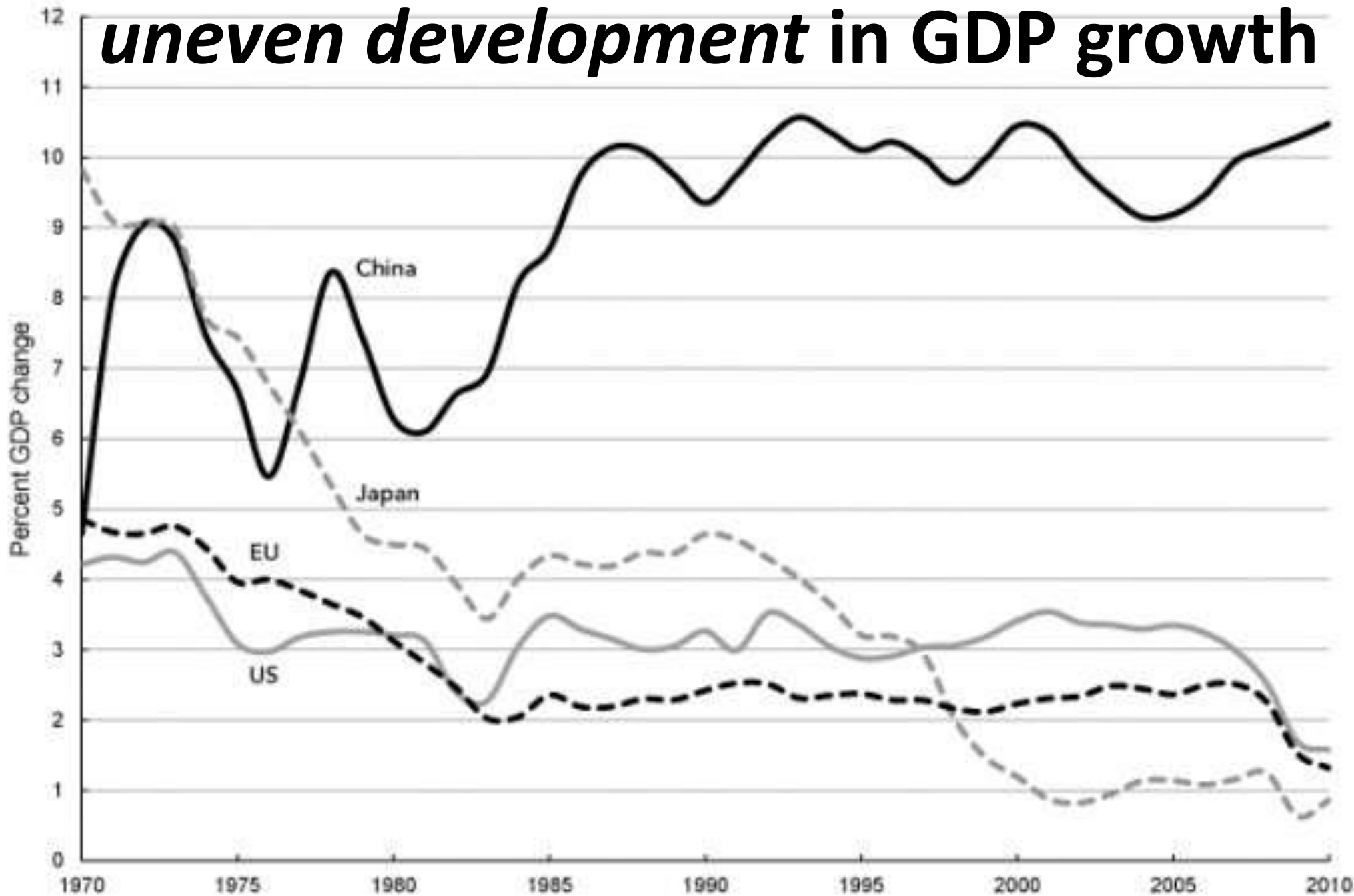
resort to the 'spatial fix'

roots of crisis:

**long-term stagnation of
EU, US and Japan after
Post-War 'Golden Years'**

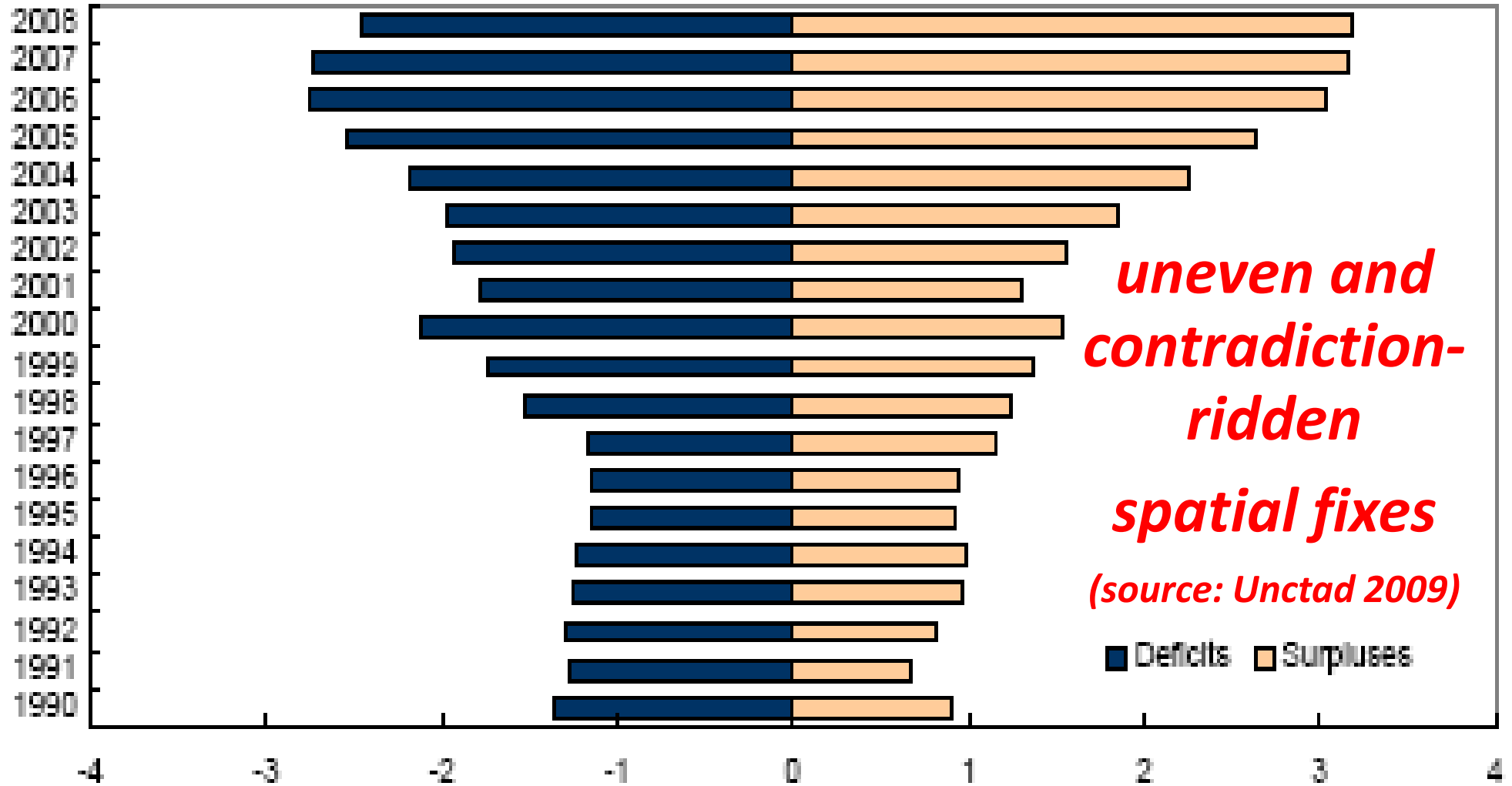


uneven development in GDP growth



GLOBAL CURRENT-ACCOUNT BALANCE, 1990–2008

(Per cent of GDP)

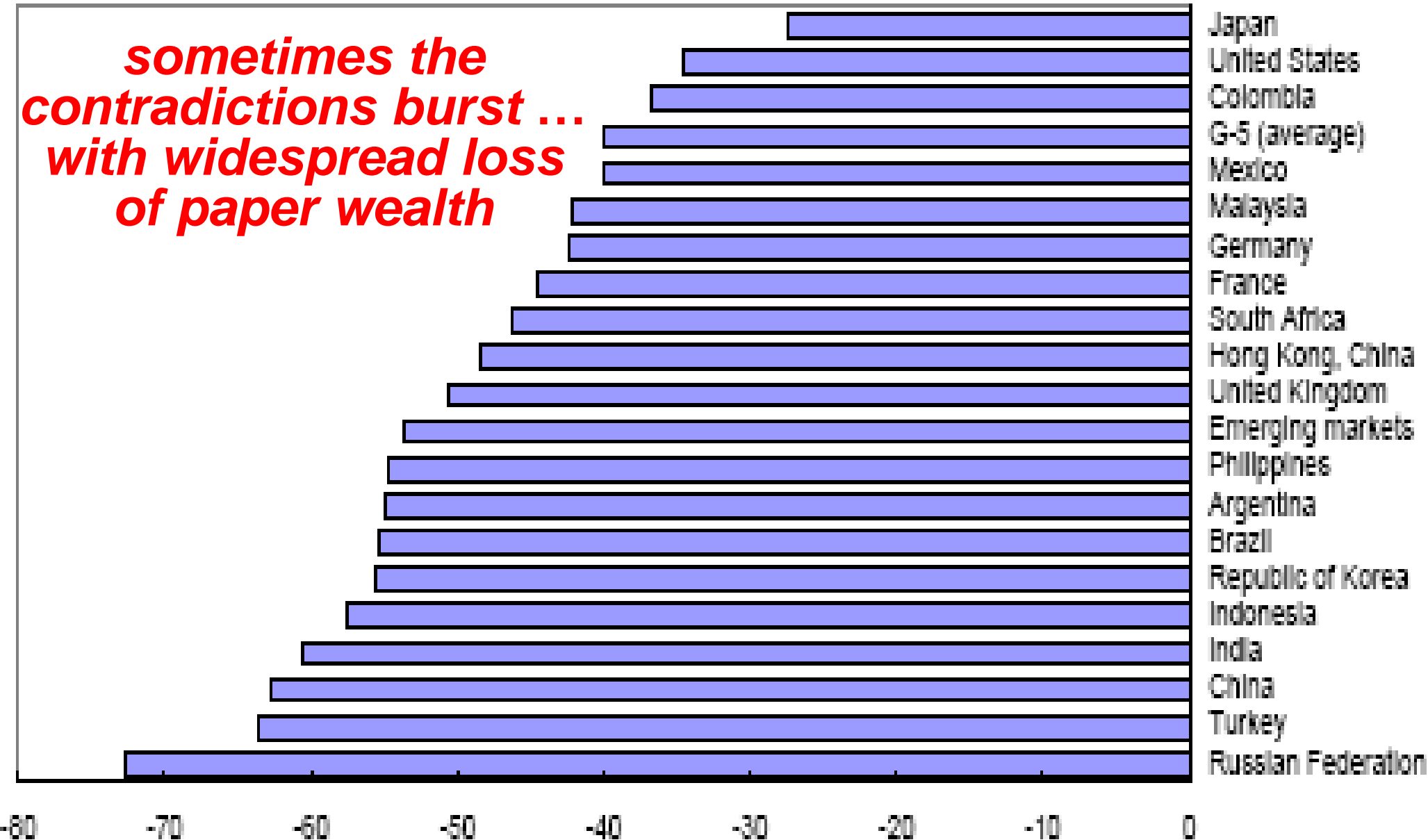


Source: UCTAD secretariat calculations, based on data from Thomson DataStream.

Note: Data refer to 122 countries.

stock market volatility: all markets in '08

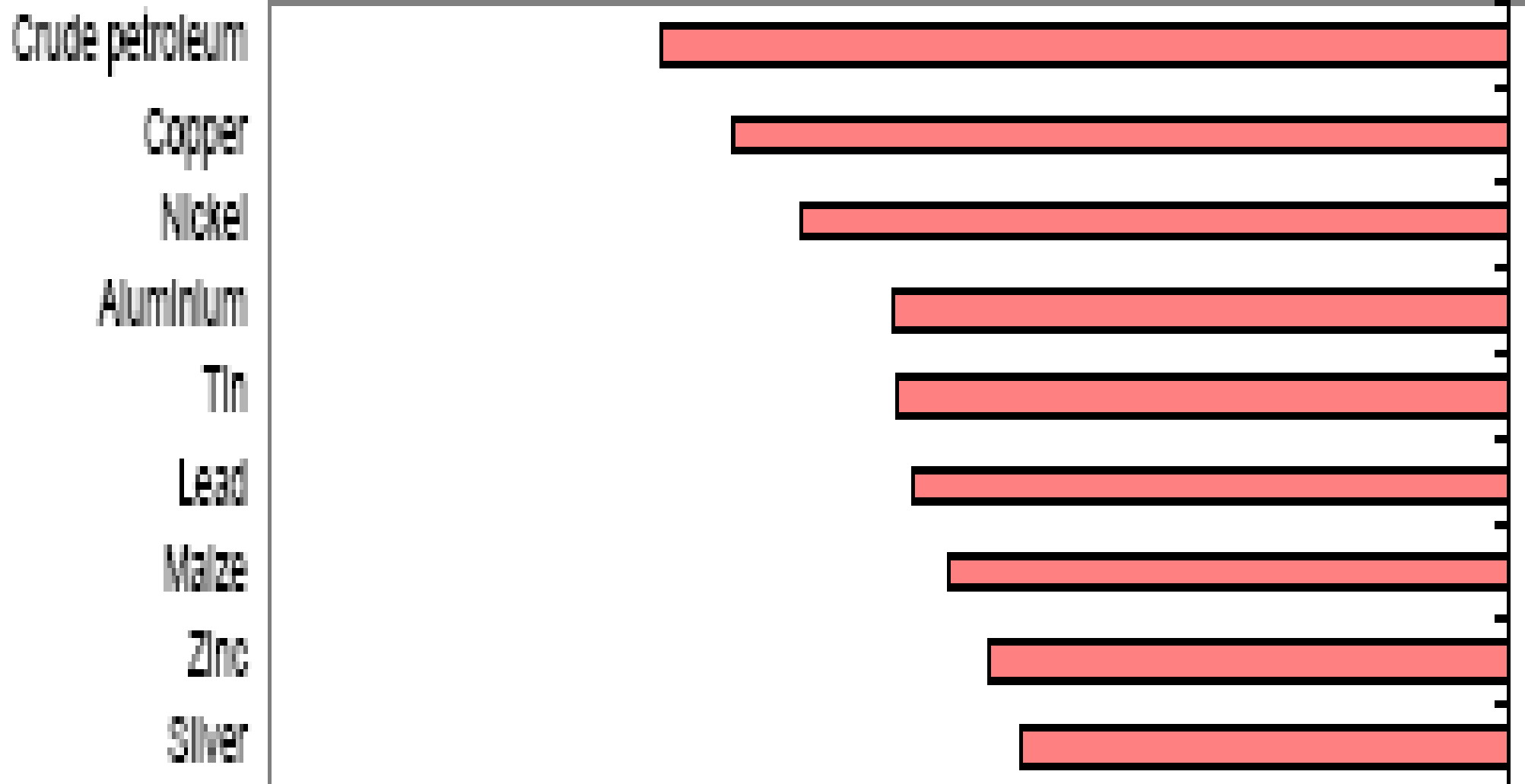
sometimes the contradictions burst ... with widespread loss of paper wealth



Source: Unctad

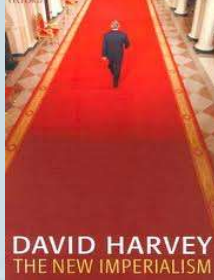
Dollar return (per cent)

commodity devaluations: change in prices, July – December 2008



Source: Unctad, *The Global Economic Crisis*, May 2009

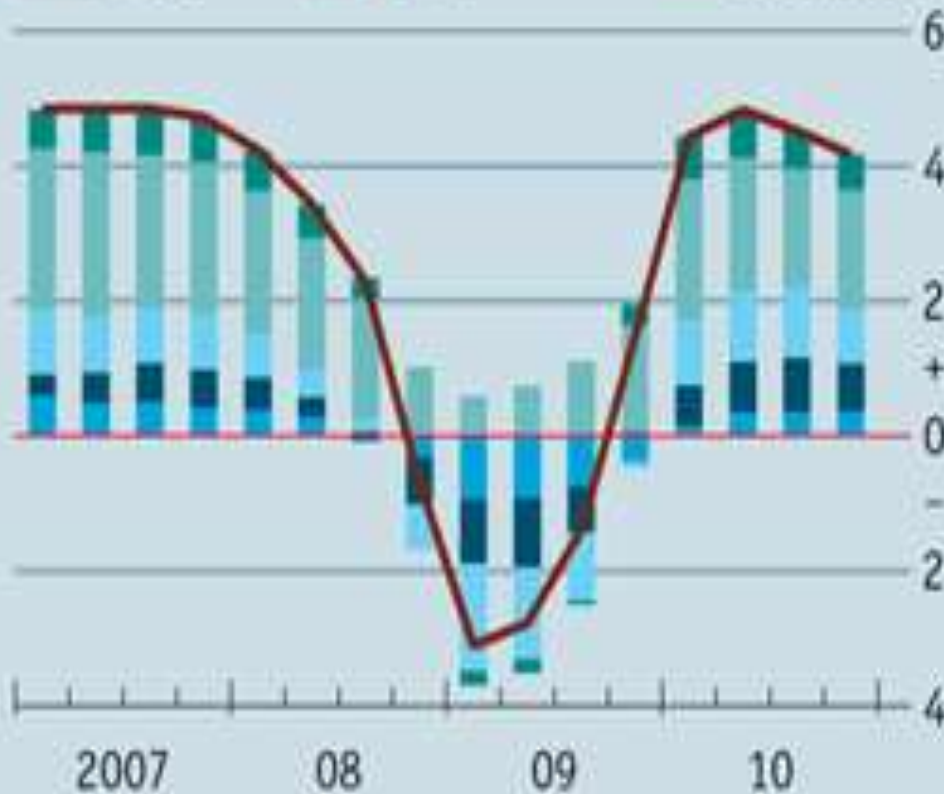
-70 -60 -50 -40 -30 -20 -10 0



World GDP*

% change on a year earlier

Legend:
Euro area (light blue), United States (dark blue), Other OECD (light blue),
BRICs (teal), Other (green), World total (brown line)



*Estimates based on 52 countries representing 90% of world GDP. Weighted by GDP at purchasing-power parity

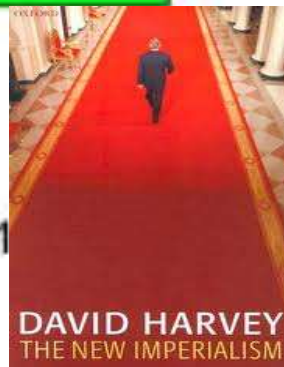
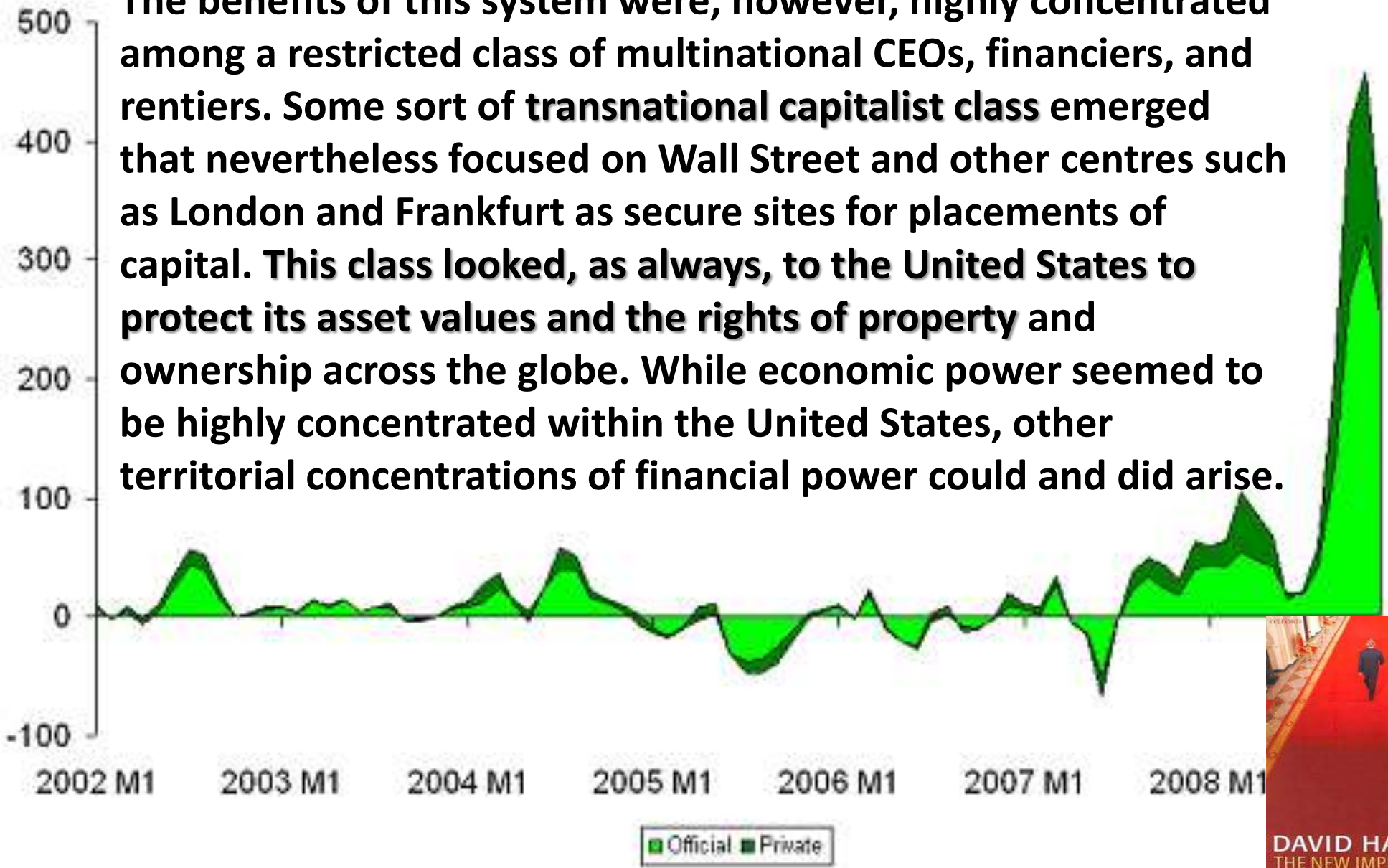
Source: *The Economist*

The opening up of global markets in both commodities and capital created openings for other states to insert themselves into the global economy, **first as absorbers but then as producers of surplus capitals**. They then became competitors on the world stage.

What might be called **'subimperialisms'** arose... **each developing centre of capital accumulation sought out systematic spatio-temporal fixes for its own surplus capital by defining territorial spheres of influence...**

Foreign T-bill purchases:\$ billion, rolling 3m sums

The benefits of this system were, however, highly concentrated among a restricted class of multinational CEOs, financiers, and rentiers. Some sort of transnational capitalist class emerged that nevertheless focused on Wall Street and other centres such as London and Frankfurt as secure sites for placements of capital. This class looked, as always, to the United States to protect its asset values and the rights of property and ownership across the globe. While economic power seemed to be highly concentrated within the United States, other territorial concentrations of financial power could and did arise.

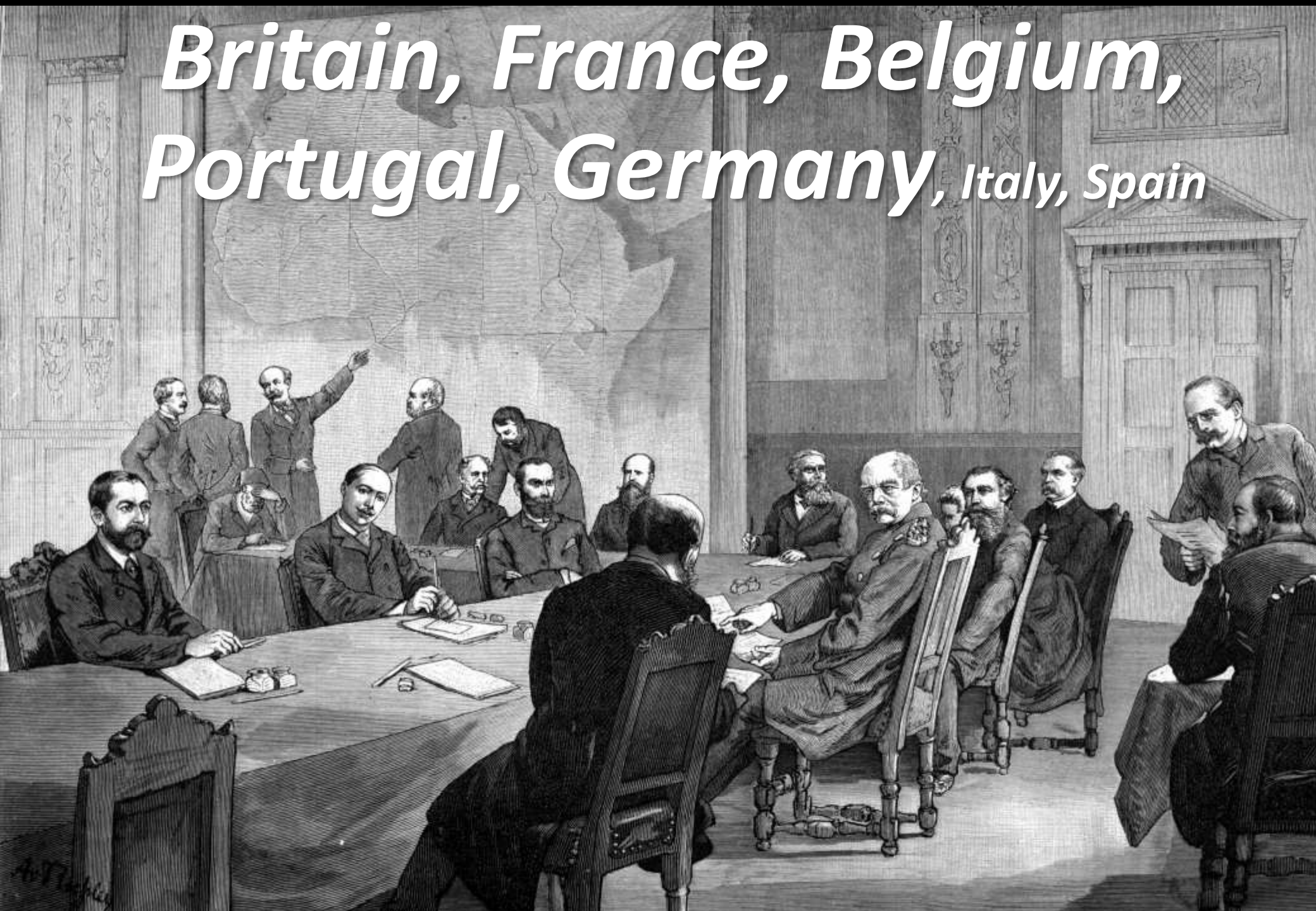


Berlin, 1884-85

'Scramble for Africa'



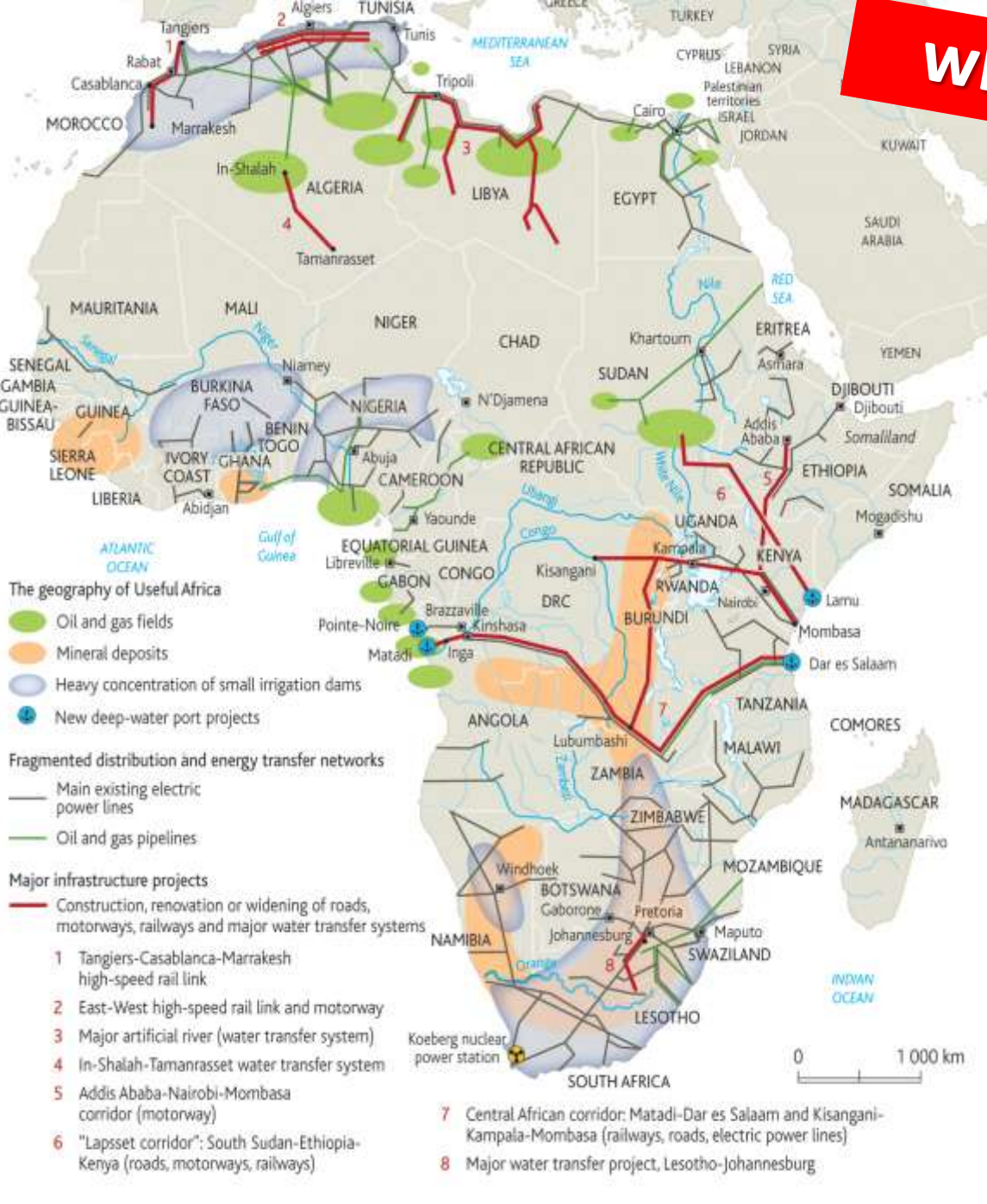
*Britain, France, Belgium,
Portugal, Germany, Italy, Spain*



What do BRICS want here?

useful Africa

Source: Le Monde Diplomatique, Feb 2011



Nouakchott, Mauritania

The United States flew PC-12 surveillance aircraft from here to track al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. The flights ended in 2008 after a coup.



Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti

The U.S. military targets al-Shabab in Somalia and al-Qaeda in Yemen from this key base.



Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso

The United States flies PC-12 surveillance aircraft from here north to Mali, Mauritania and the Sahara.

Nzara, South Sudan

The U.S. military says it is planning to base surveillance planes here.

Arba Minch, Ethiopia

The United States flies Reaper drones from here over Somalia.

Victoria, Seychelles

The U.S. military flies Reaper drones over East Africa from this island base.

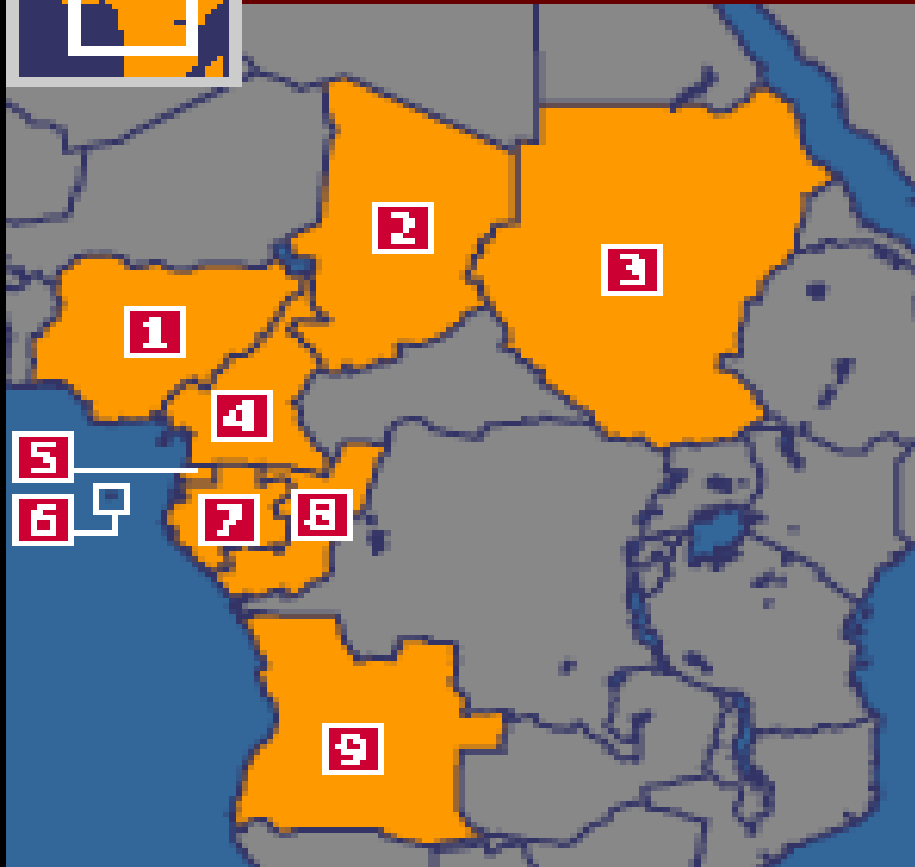
Entebbe, Uganda

The United States flies PC-12 surveillance aircraft from here over territory used by the Lord's Resistance Army.

Manda Bay, Kenya

More than 100 U.S. commandos are based at a Kenyan military installation.

Sub-Saharan Africa's Oil



Africa's existing oil

- substantial reserves
- oil and wars: Sudan, Angola, Chad, Congo
- US imports more than 20% from Africa

1 Nigeria	6 Sao Tome e Principe
2 Chad	
3 Sudan	7 Gabon
4 Cameroon	8 DR Congo
5 Equatorial Guinea	9 Angola

<http://www.catholicrelief.org/images/oil/Africa-Map-Web-PS0301-Da.jpg>

Despite the political risk, Western oil companies are queuing up to explore



Sierra Leone

An "active petroleum system" discovered by Anadarko 1125km west of the Jubilee field

Guinea
Sierra Leone
Liberia
Côte d'Ivoire
Ghana

Liberia

Several prospecting licences for auction

Côte d'Ivoire

Vanco's Orca 1-x exploratory well will reveal offshore potential

Ghana

Potential upside of 1.8bn barrels in the Jubilee field, and 1.4bn barrels in Tweneboa-1

DRC

Political turmoil means exploration is still years behind its neighbours

Uganda

Up to 2bn barrels found under and around Lake Albert

Tanzania

Already a gas producer, and further prospecting occurring in the Rovuma basin

Mozambique

Anadarko committing over \$250m over the next few years in exploration.

Uganda
DRC
Tanzania
Mozambique
Madagascar

Madagascar

TOTAL drilled an estimated 80 wells in 2009

in context of global crises, enter BRICS

**“a new global
economic geography
has been born”**

**– President Lula da Silva,
BRICS Brasilia Summit, 2010**



why BRICs? answer from New York/London: *building-block 'bricks' of 21st century world capitalism*





FIFTH BRICS SUMMIT

DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA
26 - 27 MARCH 2013

*BRICS and AFRICA: Partnership for
Development, Integration and Industrialisation*

Manmohan Singh

Xi Jinping

Jacob Zuma

Dilma Rousseff

Vladimir Putin



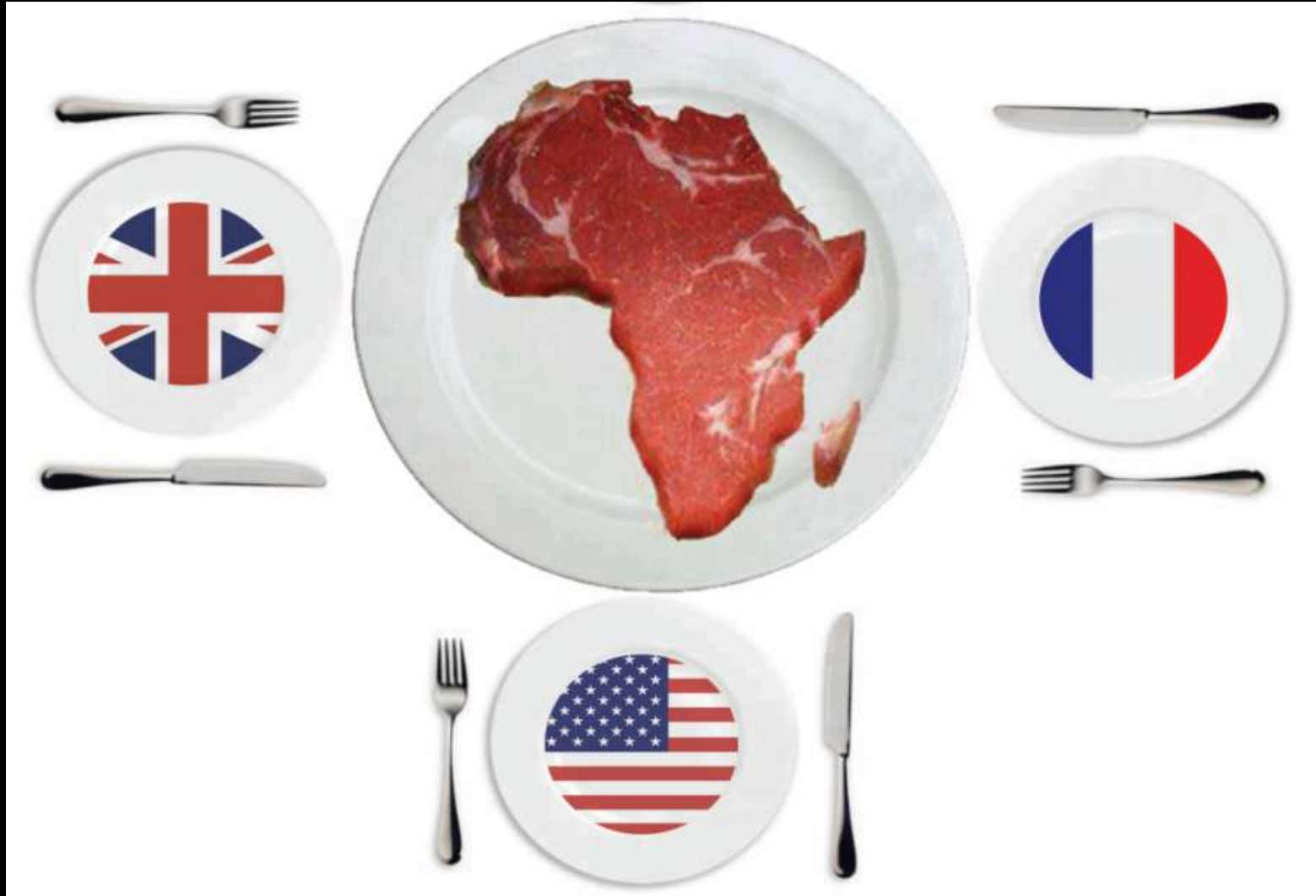
FIFTH BRICS SUMMIT

DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA
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*BRICS and AFRICA: Partnership for
Development, Integration and Industrialisation*



against slavery, colonialism,
neocolonialism, neoliberalism?



or

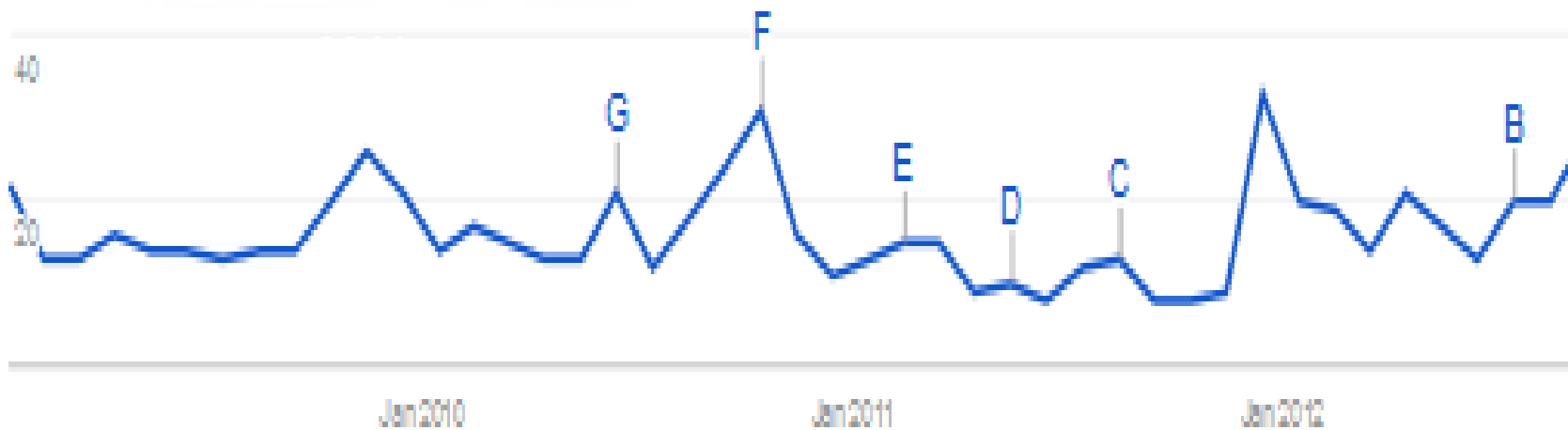
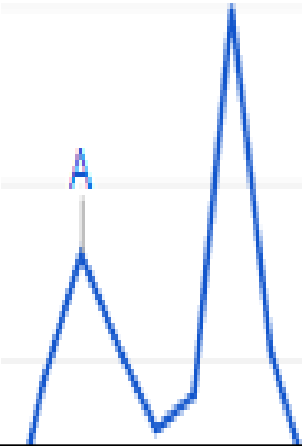
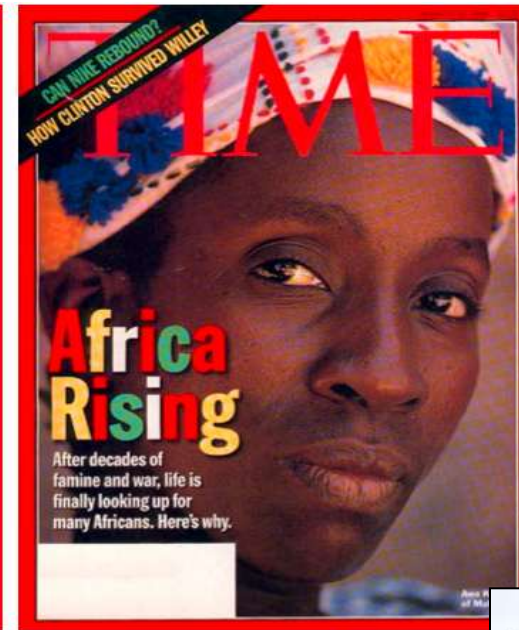
within?



“Africa Rising”? (# of citations)

The number 100 represents the peak search interest

News headlines Forecast 



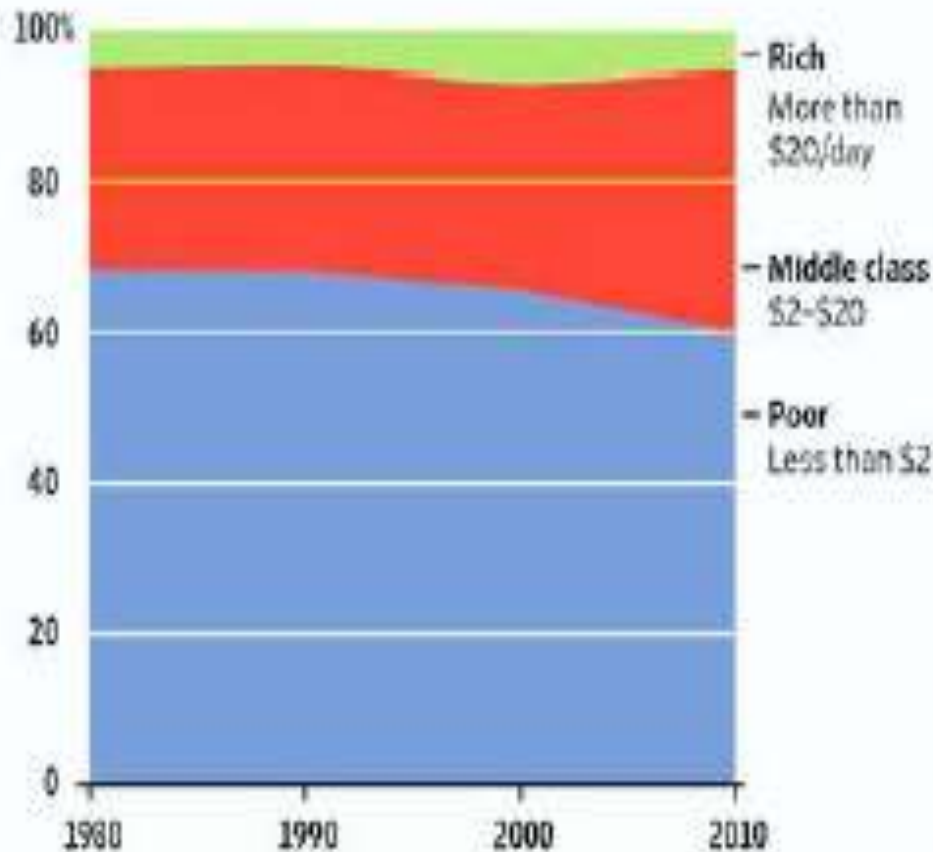
“Africa Middle Class Rising” (hmmm, a \$2/day ‘middle class’?)

Buying In

Africa's middle class has risen to 34% of the population, expanding to 313 million people.

SHARE OF AFRICA'S POPULATION, BY CLASS ▶

† Data not available for all countries; Source: African Development Bank Group



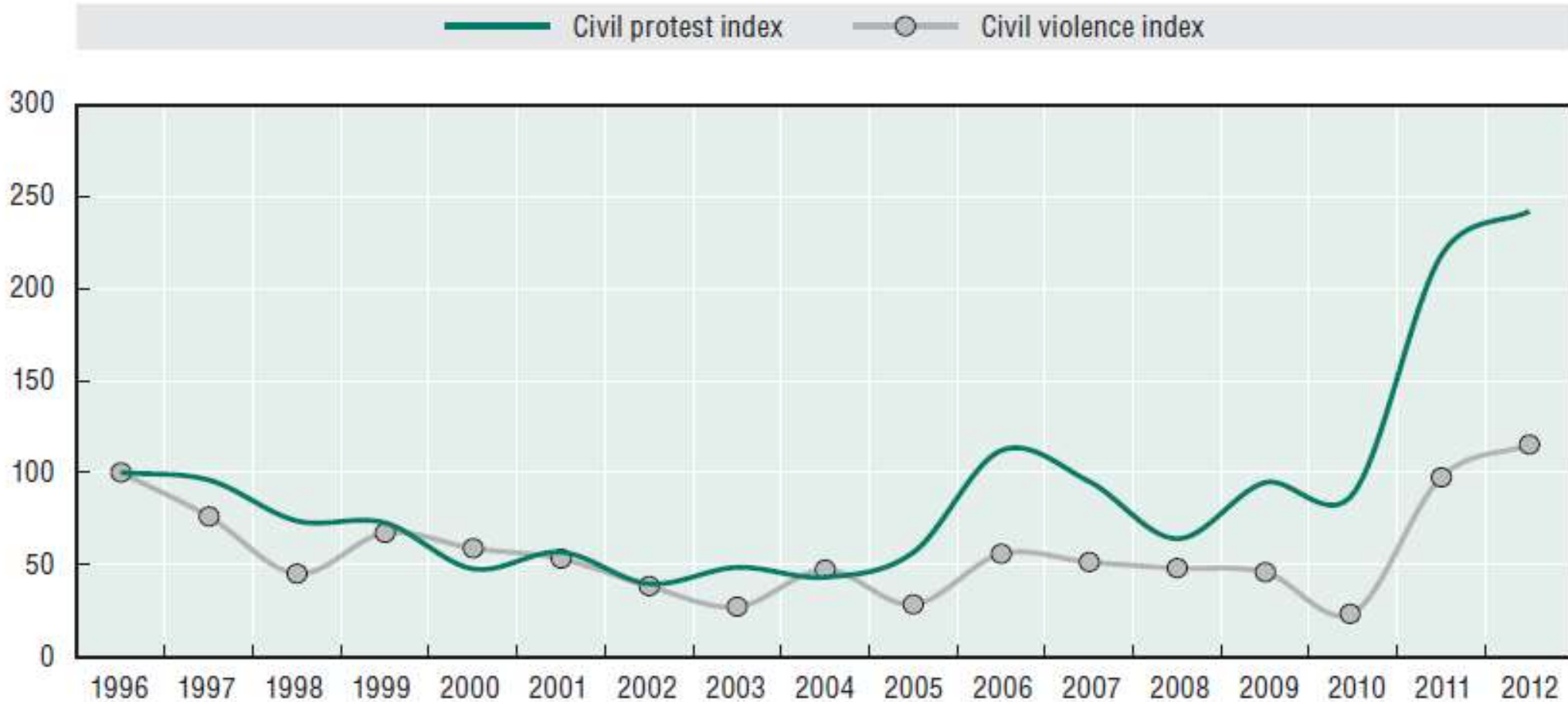
Source: *Wall Street Journal*,

<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748703703304576296663397991894.html>


no, Africa *protests* Rising

Agence France Press:

Public protests and civil violence, 1996-2012
(base year: 1996 = 100)



Source: Authors' calculations based on AFP information.

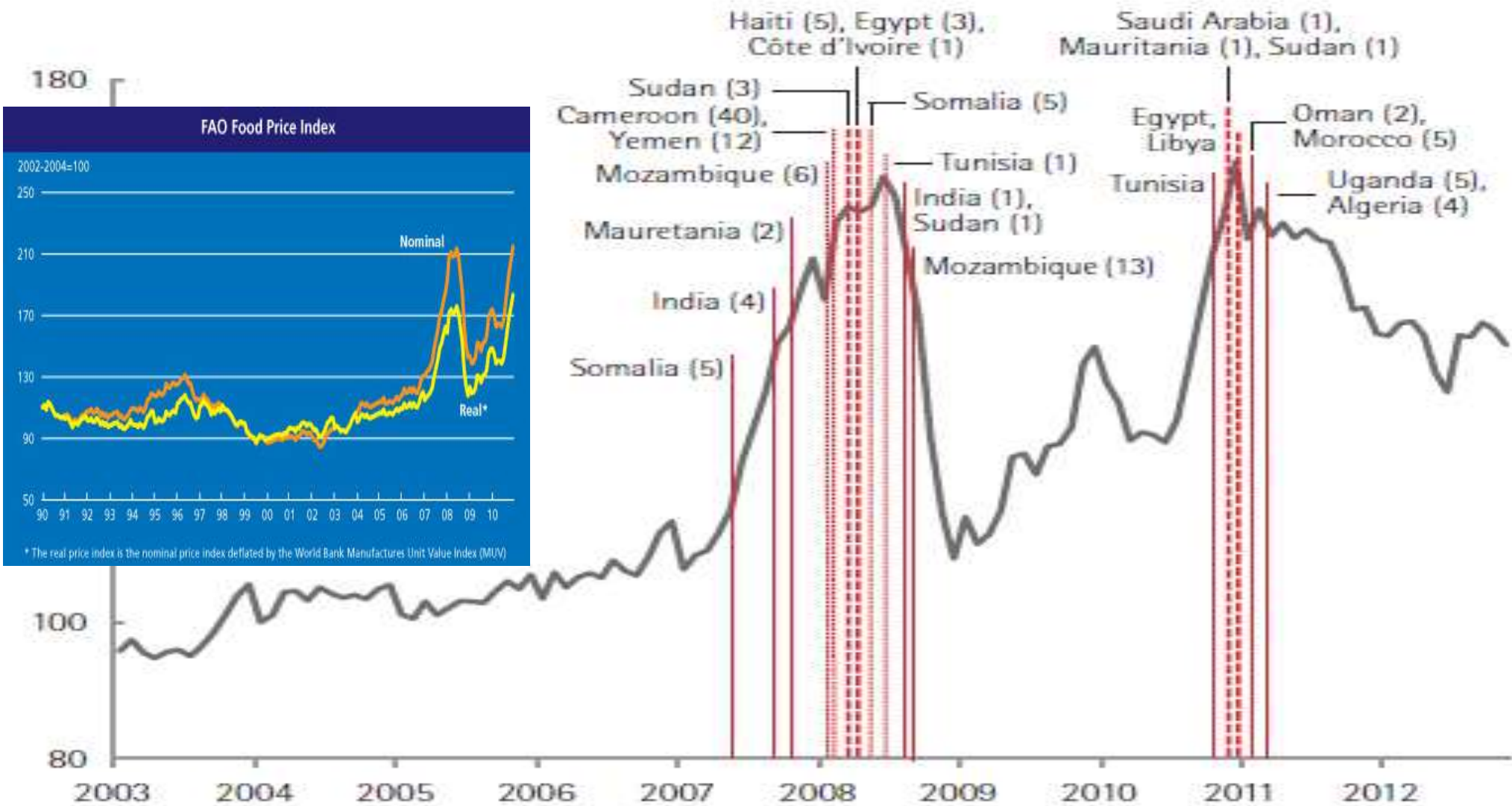
StatLink  <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888932807474>

www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/outlook/governance



Africa food protests (and prices) rising

(number of food riot deaths in parenthesis)



Source: Adapted from New England Complex Systems Institute, USA

land-grabbed Africa by voracious India, China, South Africa (and Brazil)

The 21st-century African land rush

Worldwide, up to 115 million acres of farmland are leased to foreign investors, and the bulk of that is in Africa. Food security and the push to produce biofuels drive the land rush. This map shows a sampling of reported land deals in Africa.



CHINESE firms invested in: Democratic Republic of Congo, 7 million acres acquired to produce biofuels; Mozambique, \$800 million investment to quadruple rice production; Tanzania, 741 acres secured for rice; Zambia, 4.9 million acres requested for biofuel

DJIBOUTI companies leased land in: Malawi, Unknown area of farmland

EGYPTIAN businesses invested in: Sudan, land secured to grow 2 million tons of wheat annually

GERMAN firms have land in: Ethiopia, over 32,000 acres to produce biofuels

INDIAN corporations invested in: Ethiopia, \$4 billion to produce flowers and foodstuffs

JORDANIAN firms have land in: Sudan, 60,000 acres for crops and livestock

KUWAITI business deals include: Sudan, "Giant" strategic partnership, details unknown

LIBYAN firms hold land in: Mali, 250,000 acres of rice fields

QATARI businesses made deals in: Kenya, 99,000 acres of farmland in exchange for funding \$2.3 billion port; Sudan, joint holding company set up to invest in agriculture

SAUDI ARABIA has deals in: Sudan, 2.27 billion acres leased for foodstuff with 60 percent Saudi government funding; Tanzania, 1.23 million acres sought by the Saudi government for food production

SOUTH AFRICAN organization holds land in: The Republic of Congo, 24.7 million acres rented by the South African farmers' union, AgrISA

SOUTH KOREA has firms with land in: Sudan, 1.7 million acres of wheat fields

SWEDISH businesses invested in: Mozambique, 250,000 acres to produce biofuels

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES has firms with land in: Sudan, 930,000 acres for food production

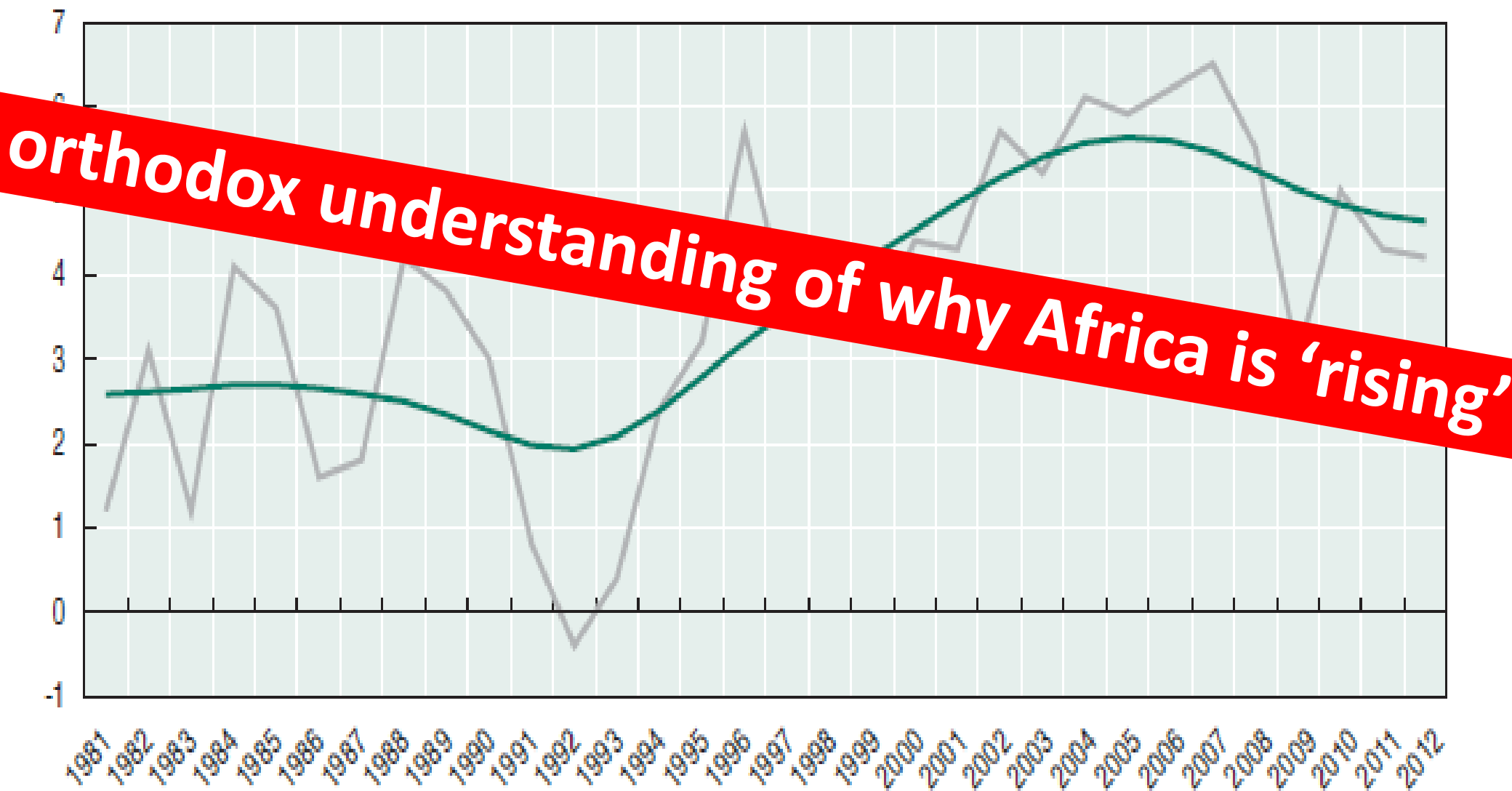
UNITED KINGDOM businesses invested in: Tanzania, 110,000 acres purchased for biofuels

UNITED STATES has firms with land in: Sudan, 1 million acres acquired

Country and Total Land	Total Land and Regional Areas	Target Countries
Brazil 28,000 ha ¹⁹	Eastern Africa 28,000 ha	Brazil; Mozambique, Ethiopia
India 1,924,509 ha	Central Africa: 15,000 ha Eastern Africa: 1,761,800 ha Northern Africa: 8,020 ha South East Asia: 139,689 ha	Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao, Philippines, India, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Mozambique, Sudan
China 1,140,683 ha	Central Africa: 10,000 ha Eastern Africa: 126,171 ha South America: 348,972 ha South-East Asia: 628,139 ha Western Africa: 26,000 ha	Cambodia, China, Sudan, Lao, Philippines, India, Bolivia, Peru, Argentina, Benin, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Mali, Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Zimbabwe
South Africa 1,416,411 ha	Central Africa 340,000 ha Eastern Africa: 367,174 ha South America 55,794 ha Western Africa 650,000 ha	Colombia; Angola; Benin; Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mozambique; Madagascar

Source: Tomaso Ferrando

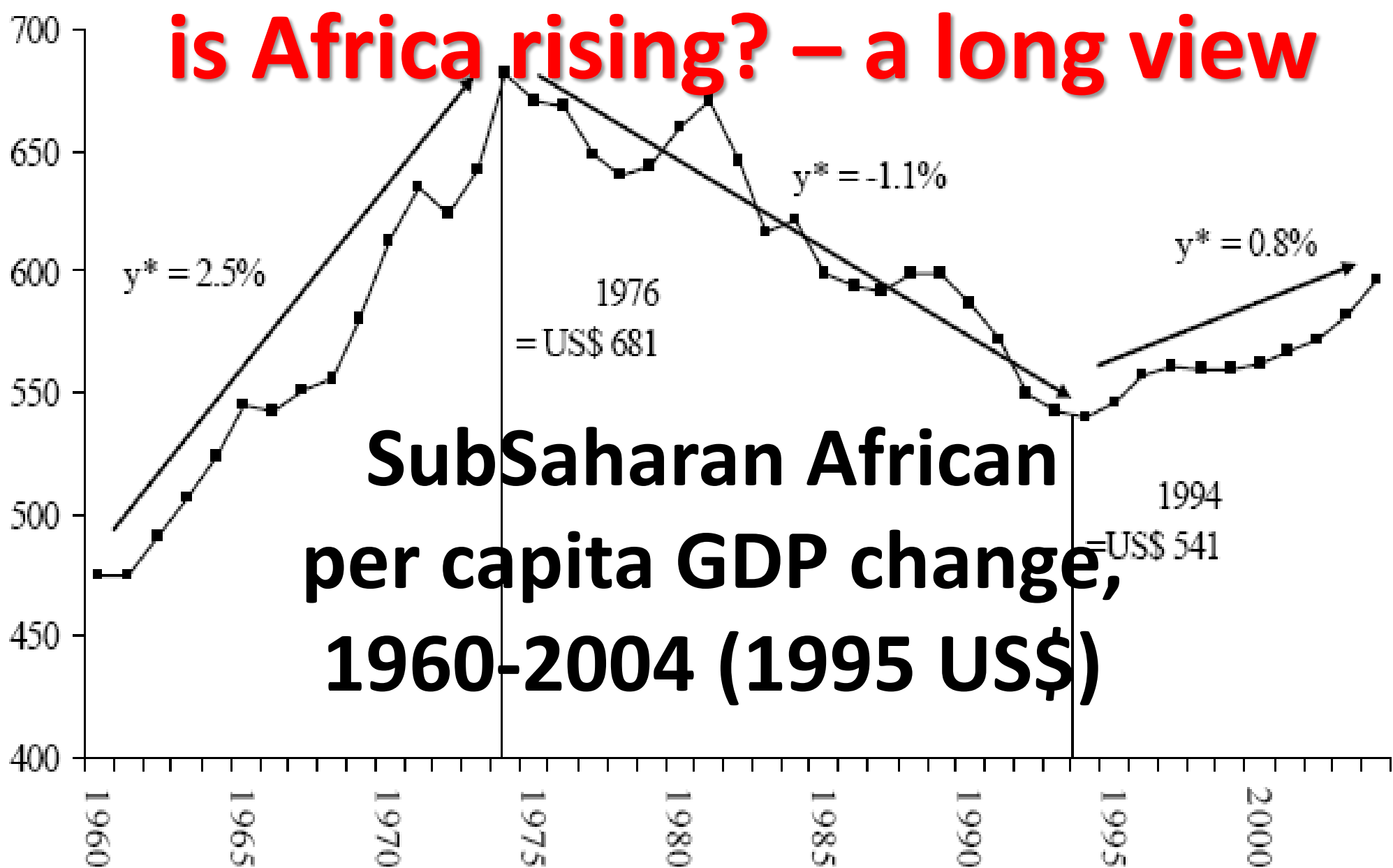
“Africa Rising” : GDP percentage increases, 1981-2012



Note: 2011 and 2012 excluding Libya.

Source: Leibfritz and Flaig (2013).

is Africa rising? – a long view



**SubSaharan African
per capita GDP change,
1960-2004 (1995 US\$)**

Note: y^* is the annual rate of growth of per capita GDP.

Source: *World Development Indicators, 2004.*

“Africa Rising”

(but **trade share's falling** - Unctad)

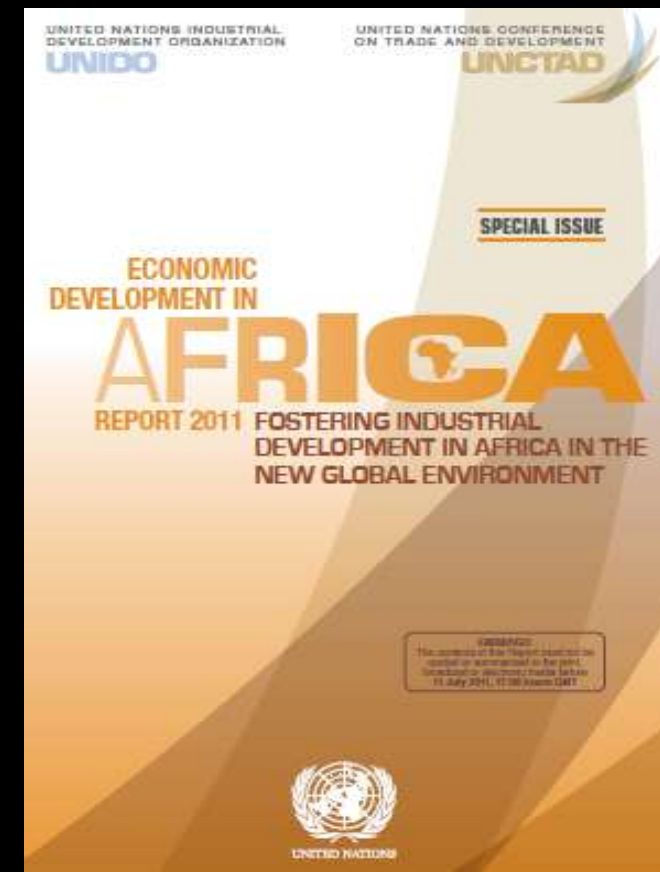


	Global trade volume (billions of tons)	Global trade volume (1980=100)	African trade volume (billions of tons)	African trade volume (1980=100)	Africa's share of global trade volume (%)
1980	4.0	100	0.3	100	6.5
1985	3.9	96	0.2	91	6.2
1990	5.0	124	0.3	102	5.2
1995	6.1	152	0.3	121	5.1
2000	7.6	189	0.4	156	5.3
2005	9.6	232	0.5	188	5.1
2008	10.3	257	0.5	195	4.9

Country	MVA per capita (1990)	MVA per capita (2010)	MVA per capita (Compound annual growth rate 1990-2010)
Algeria	179	136	-1.4
Angola	26	66	4.8
Benin	21	23	0.4
Botswana	124	171	1.6
Burkina Faso	26	37	1.9
Burundi	16	9	-2.9
Cameroon	126	148	0.8
Cape Verde	108	139	1.2
Central African Republic	21	16	-1.3
Chad	22	15	-1.8
Comoros	14	12	-0.9
Congo	62	83	1.5
Côte d'Ivoire	112	99	-0.6
Dem. Rep. of the Congo	16	5	-5.7
Djibouti	37	20	-3
Egypt	177	369	3.7
Eritrea	9	9	0.2
Ethiopia	8	9	0.3
Gabon	163	200	1
Gambia	19	16	-0.7
Ghana	20	28	1.6
Guinea	12	17	1.7
Guinea-Bissau	26	16	-2.2
Kenya	49	47	-0.3
Lesotho	44	103	4.3
Liberia	34	17	-3.6

Country	MVA per capita (1990)	MVA per capita (2010)	MVA per capita (Compound annual growth rate 90-10)
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	319	237	-1.5
Madagascar	30	25	-0.8
Malawi	21	17	-1
Mali	13	7	-3.3
Mauritania	27	22	-0.9
Mauritius	522	801	2.2
Morocco	180	246	1.6
Mozambique	15	52	6.2
Namibia	92	348	6.9
Niger	13	10	-1.5
Nigeria	15	24	2.4
Rwanda	56	17	-5.9
Sao Tome and Principe	34	50	1.9
Senegal	57	54	-0.3
Seychelles	692	1,193	2.8
Sierra Leone	9	6	-2.4
Somalia	8	7	-0.1
South Africa	551	581	0.3
Sudan	19	34	2.8
Swaziland	311	451	1.9
Togo	22	25	0.5
Tunisia	253	493	3.4
Uganda	9	26	5.6
United Republic of Tanzania	19	29	2.2
Zambia	36	44	1.1
Zimbabwe	106	34	-5.5

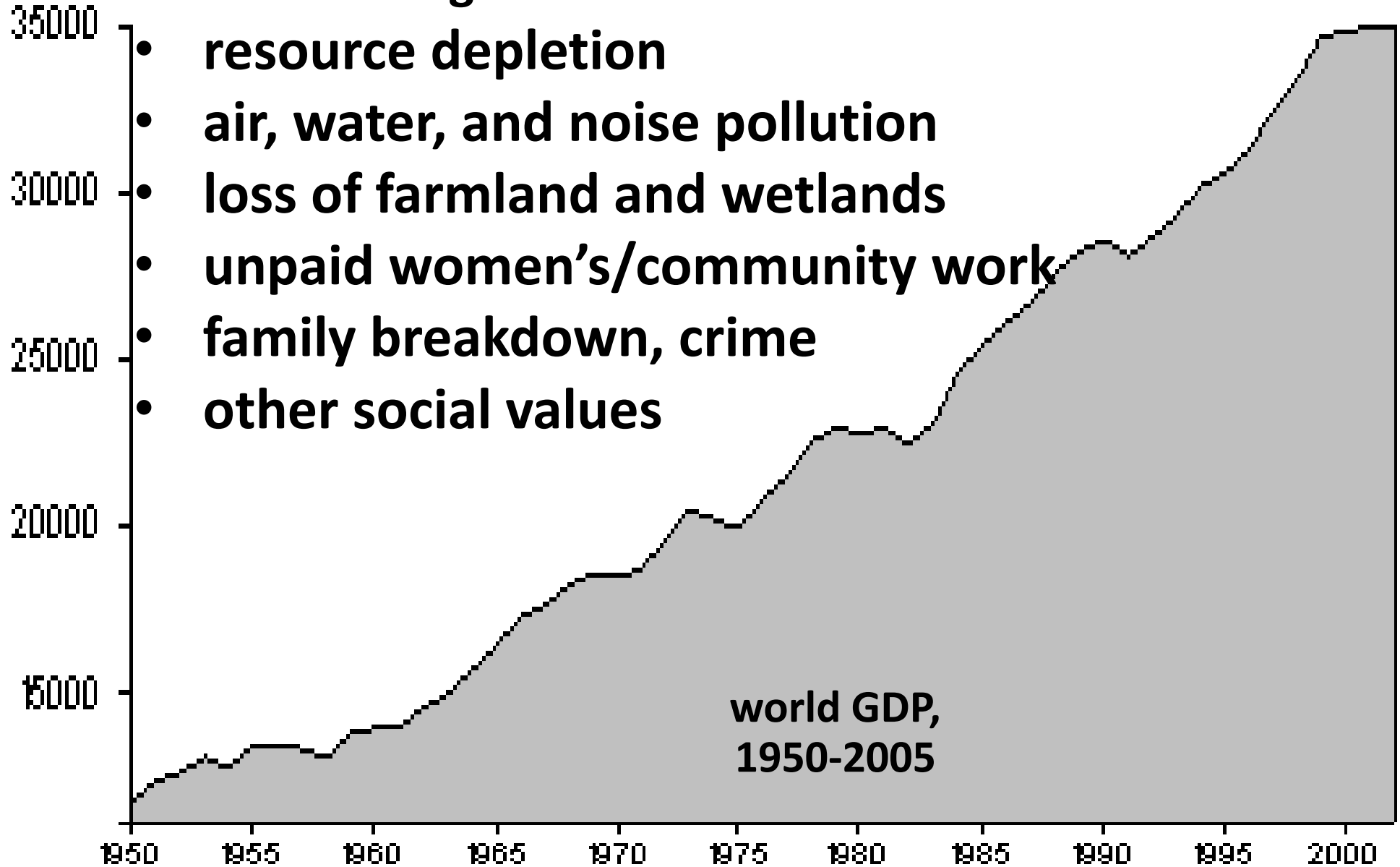
“Africa Rising”
but from 1990-2010,
manufacturing value
added per person has
fallen in 23 African
countries and is weak in 27
others (with only Namibia,
Mozambique and Uganda
above 5% annual growth)



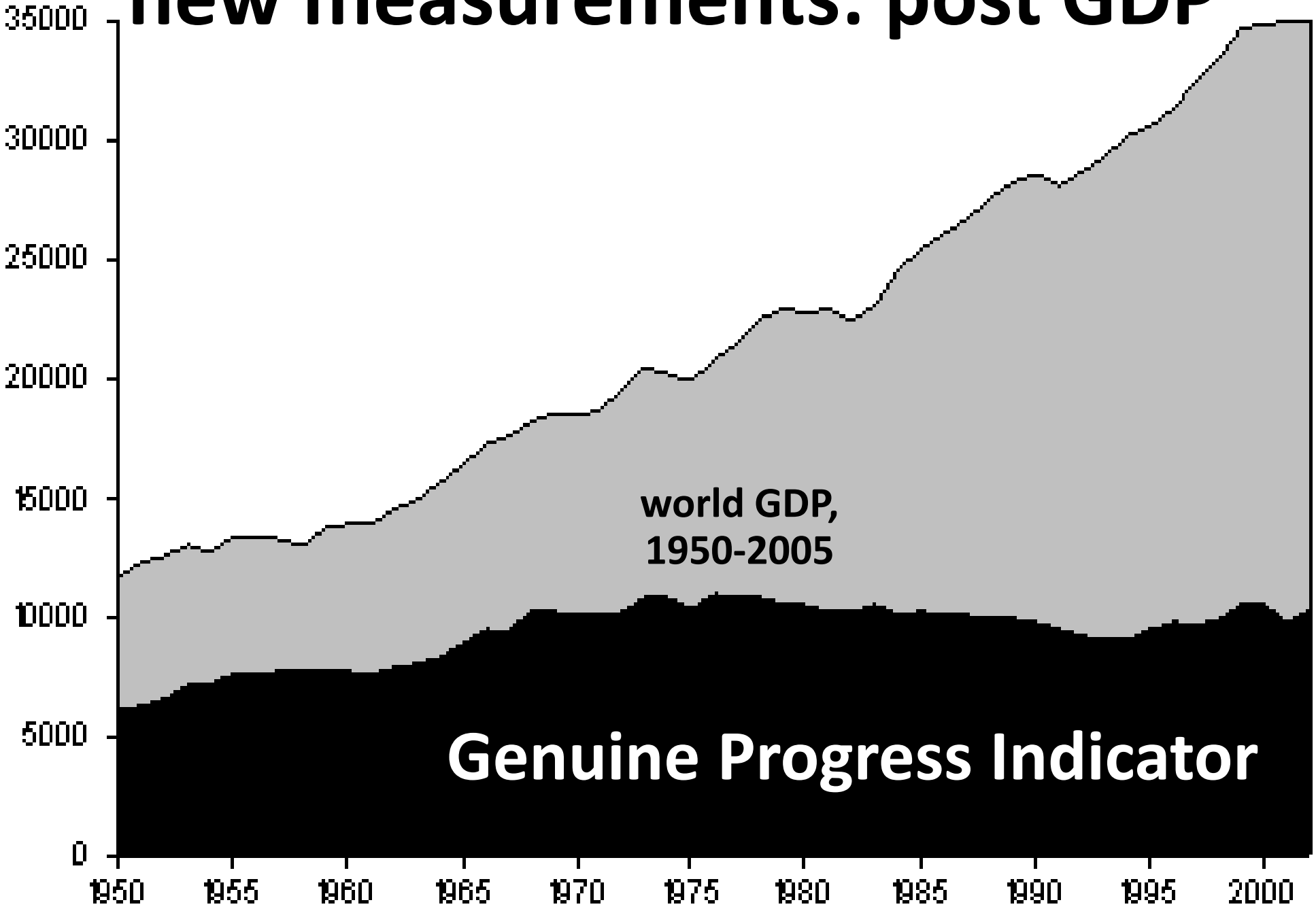
*isn't it finally time to **correct GDP bias?***

what's missing?

- resource depletion
- air, water, and noise pollution
- loss of farmland and wetlands
- unpaid women's/community work
- family breakdown, crime
- other social values



new measurements: post GDP



world GDP,
1950-2005

Genuine Progress Indicator

WAVES '50/50' Campaign for Natural Capital Accounting

Glenn-Marie Lange, Program Manager for WAVES Global Partnership, Environment Department, The World Bank

Building on the Gaborone Communique on NCA

from the African Sustainability Summit, hosted by Botswana May 24-25, signed by 10 African countries

62 (32 developing) countries signed the NCA Communique, endorsing

- Implement natural capital accounting where there are internationally agreed statistical standards –the SEEA
- Develop methodology for the more difficult natural capital – ecosystem services
- Demonstrate how NCA can support decision making for sustainable development



one example of GDP adjustment: World Bank



SUMMIT FOR SUSTAINABILITY IN AFRICA

CONSERVATION INTERNATIONAL



THE JOHANNESBURG DECLARATION

a turn to 'natural capital' accounting by 10 African states, 24 May 2012

We, the participants at the Summit for Sustainability in Africa, meeting from 24 to 26 May 2012 in Johannesburg, South Africa, Botswana, and Zimbabwe,

REAFFIRM OUR COMMITMENT TO THE AFRICAN CONVENTIONS AND AGREEMENTS THAT PROMOTE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, IN

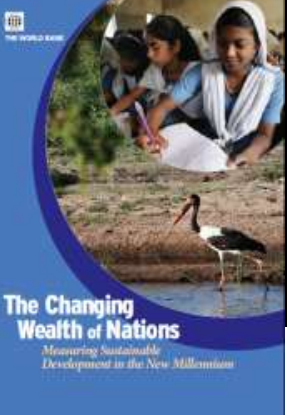
COMMUNIQUÉ ON NATURAL CAPITAL ACCOUNTING

Recognizing the limitations of GDP as a measure of well-being and sustainable growth that values environmental and social aspects of progress,

TO ENSURE THAT THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF NATURAL CAPITAL TO SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH, MAINTENANCE AND IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL AND HUMAN WELL-BEING ARE QUANTIFIED AND INTEGRATED INTO DEVELOPMENT AND BUSINESS PRACTICE;

Through:

- **Integrating the value of natural capital into national accounting and corporate planning and reporting processes, policies, and programmes, in agreed efforts, including the appended Communiqué on Natural Capital Accounting,**
- **Building social capital and reducing poverty by transitioning agriculture, extractive industries, fisheries and other natural capital uses to practices that promote sustainable employment, food security, sustainable energy and the protection of natural capital through protected areas and other mechanisms,**
- **Ecosystem restoration measures, as well as actions that mitigate stresses on natural capital,**



South Africa's natural capital accounts a first cut in the World Bank's Changing Wealth of Nations (2011)

substantial 'subsoil assets' within 'natural capital' (\$/capita)

Economy/Group	Population	Subsoil Assets	Timber	Nontimber Forest Resources	Protected Areas	Crop Land	Pasture Land	Natural Capital
South Africa	46,888,200	2,595	89	47	93	1,915	985	5,723

depletion of subsoil (mineral) assets = 9% of income

Economy/Group	Gross National Savings	Consumption of Fixed Capital	Net National Savings	Education Expenditure	Energy Depletion	Mineral Depletion	Net Forest Depletion	CO ₂ Damage	PM Damage	Adjusted Net Savings
South Africa	16.1	13.9	2.2	5.1	6.4	2.6	0.5	1.3	0.1	-3.4

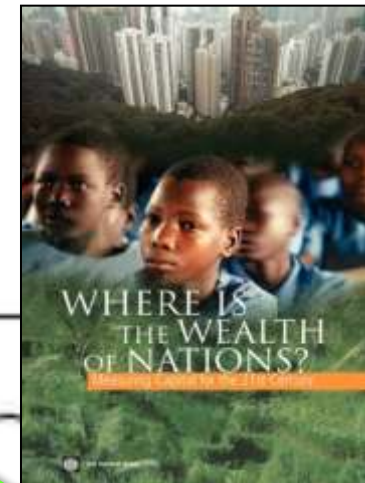
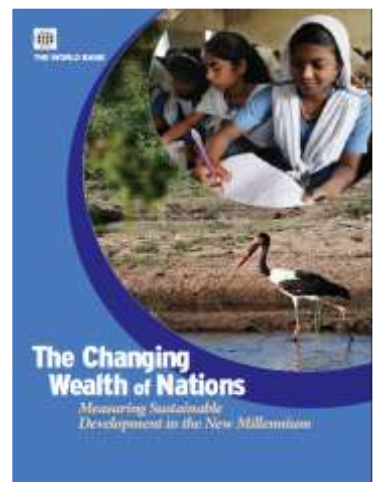
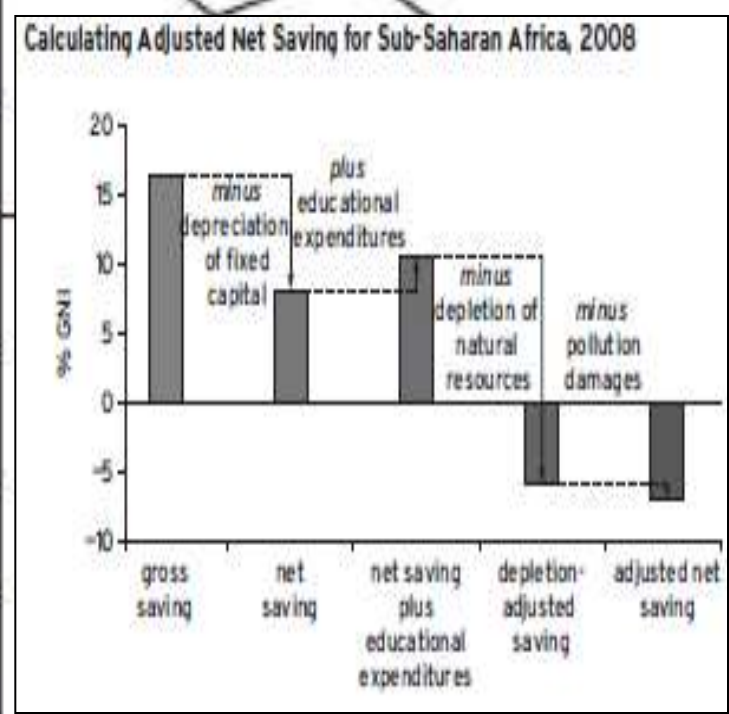
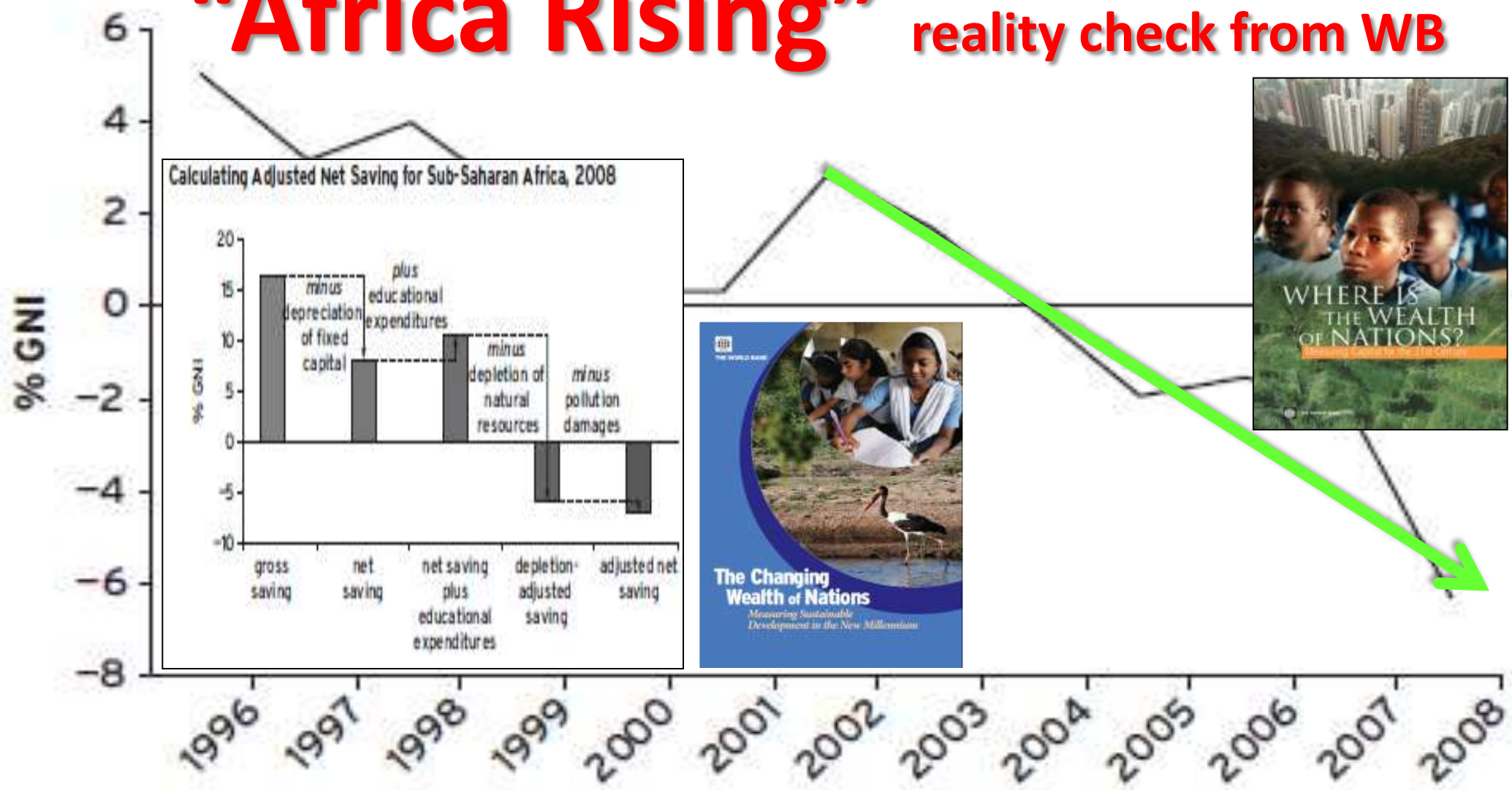
net decline in SA's per person wealth: \$245

Economy	GNI Per Capita (US\$)	Population Growth Rate (%)	Adjusted Net Saving Per Capita (US\$)	Change in Wealth Per Capita (US\$)	Adjusted Net Saving Gap (% GNI)
South Africa	5,073	1.1	-63	-245	4.8

Adjusted Net Saving in Sub-Saharan Africa as a Percentage of Gross National Income

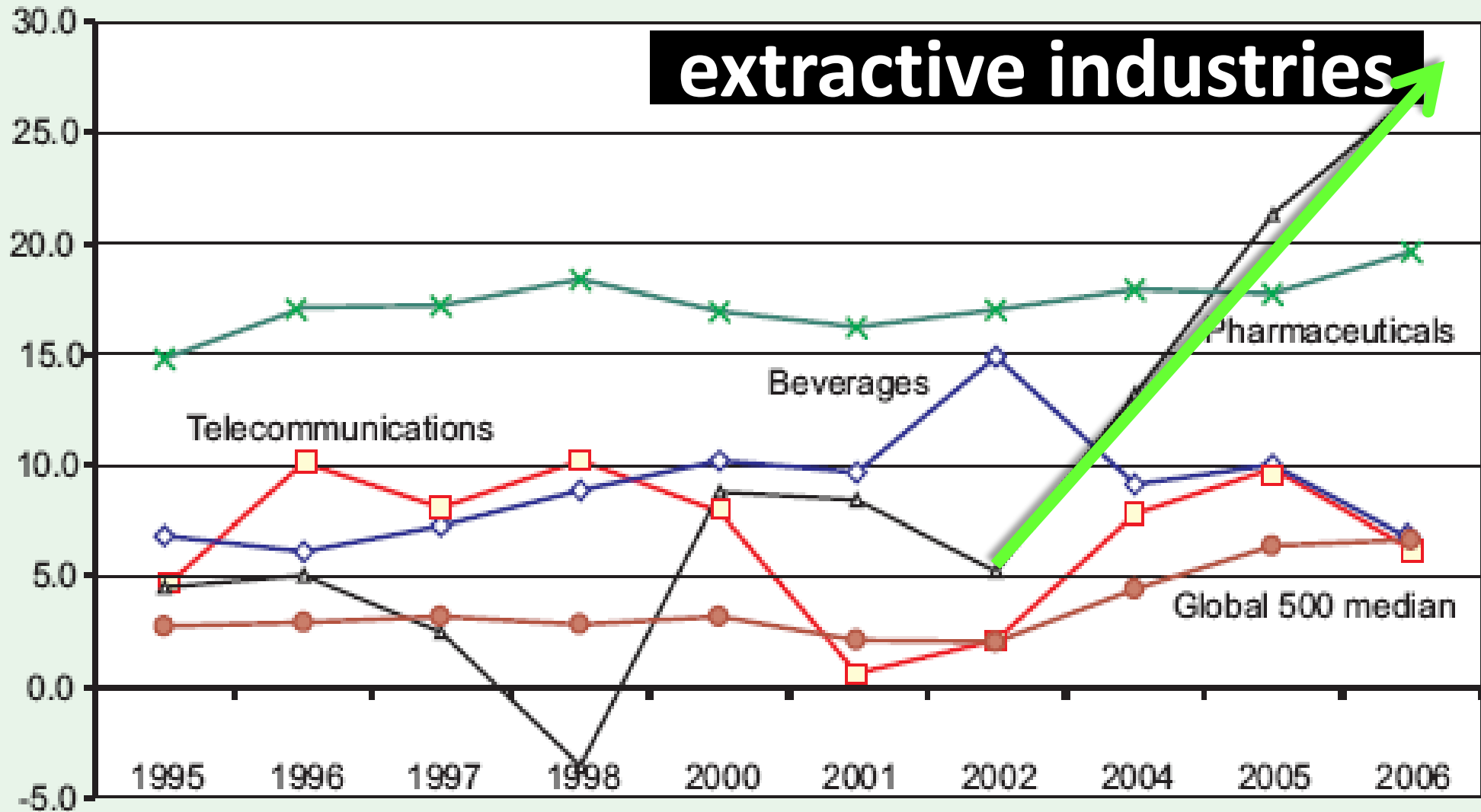
“Africa Rising”

reality check from WB



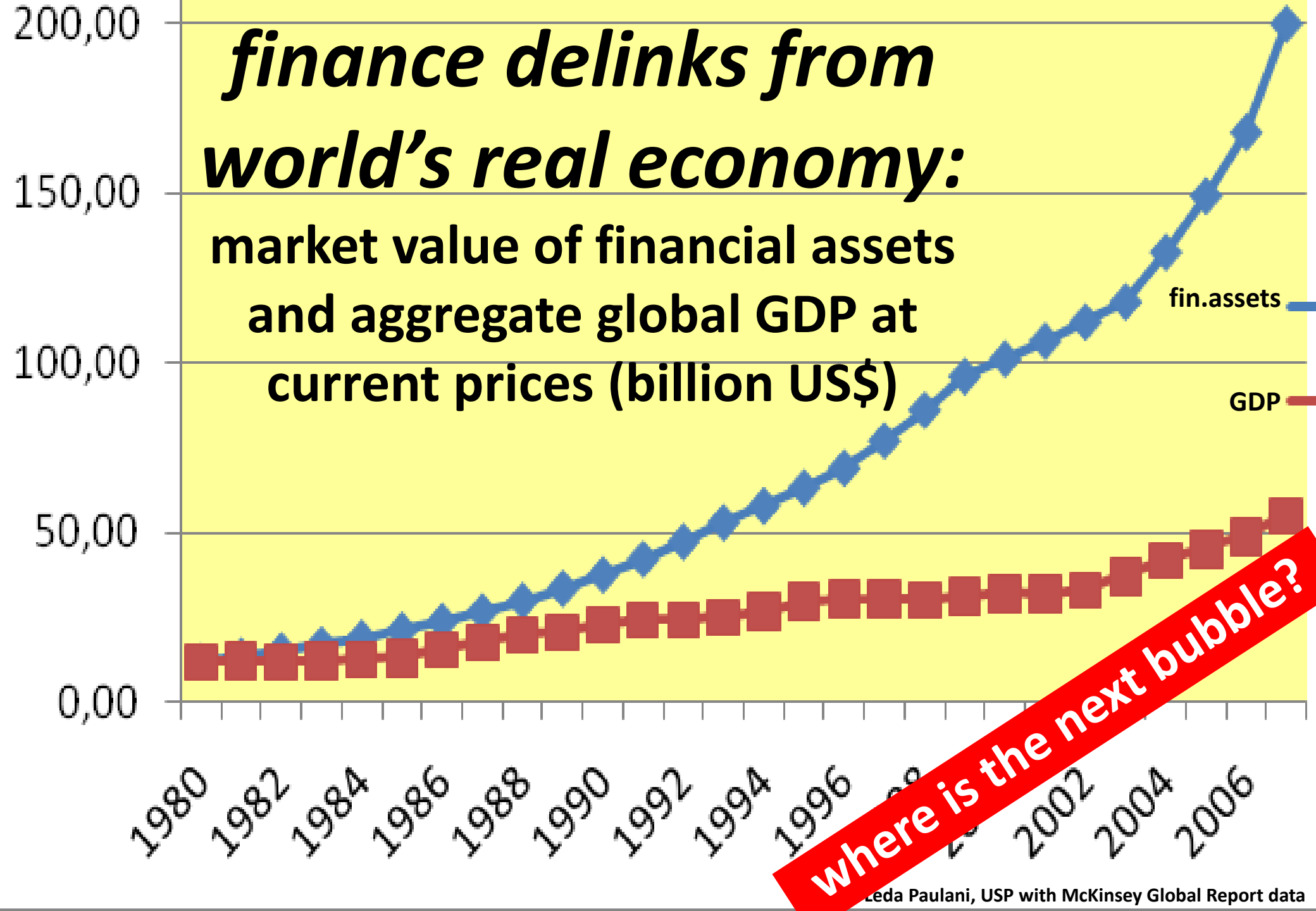
Source: Authors' calculations based on World Bank data.

multinational corporate profits as a percentage of firm equity



Source: UN Conference on Trade and Development (2007), World Investment Report 2007, Geneva.

***finance delinks from
world's real economy:
market value of financial assets
and aggregate global GDP at
current prices (billion US\$)***



where is the next bubble?

why are banks so desperate?

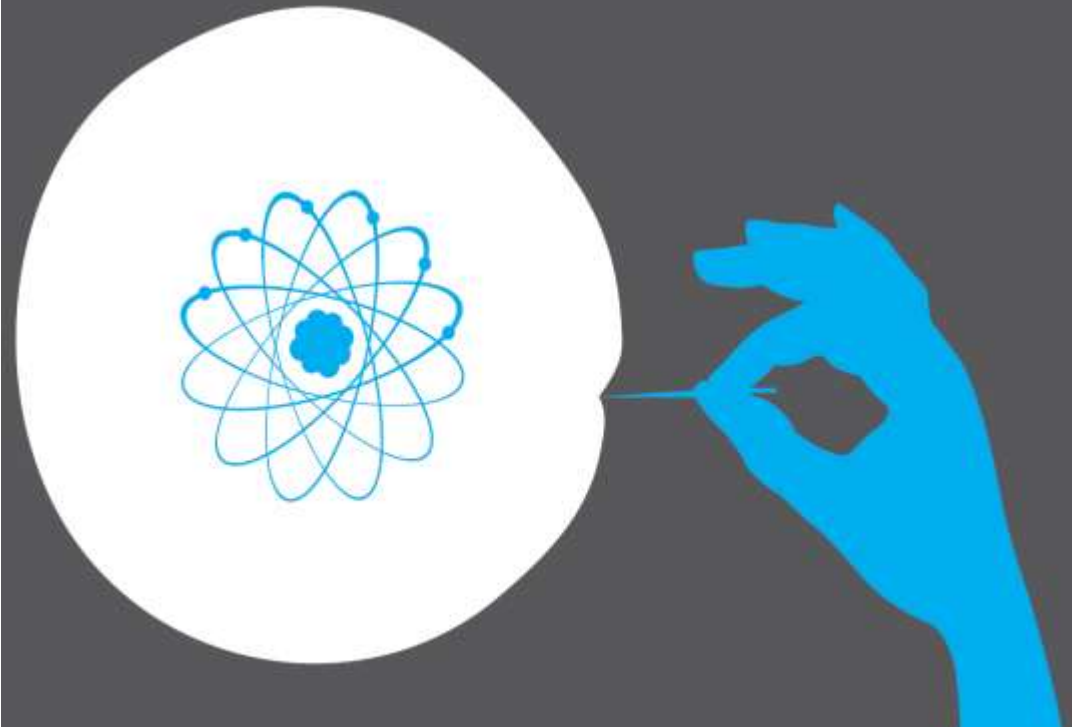
UK Climate Change Minister
Greg Barker, 2010:

"We want the **City of London**, with its unique expertise in innovative financial products, to lead the world and become the **global hub for green growth finance**. We need to put the **sub-prime disaster behind us**"



Unburnable Carbon –

Are the world's financial markets carrying a carbon bubble?



Carvier Limited: "3 million units available!!" from Brazil – the ethical alternative to carbon credits?

By Chris Lang, 6th June 2012



A company called Carvier Limited is advertising 3 million "Sustainability Credit Units" from an area of forest in Brazil. Predictably enough, REDD-Monitor had a few questions for Carvier Limited. And, perhaps just as predictably, Carvier Limited has so far not responded.

Here's what we know so far about Carvier Limited and its "Sustainable Credit Units" from Brazil. Carvier Limited was incorporated in the UK in September 2011. The company describes itself as a "Carbon Reduction

and Management Services Provider". Barinua Nwipko is the company director. Nwipko is also director of another company called Tamar (London) Ltd.

On 30 March 2012, Tamar (London) Ltd was one of four companies that were "ordered into provisional liquidation by the High Court on public interest grounds" pending a court hearing on 29 June 2012. Courts appoint a provisional liquidator to avoid the risk that companies' assets disappear before legal insolvency proceedings are completed.

The other three companies ordered into provisional liquidation were Johnnystone Limited, Brad Baker Limited and Tullett Brown. The director of Johnnystone Limited is John Nwipko. The director of Brad Baker Limited is Barinua Nwipko. Barinua Nwipko is also a director of Tullett Brown. Barinua, John and Daniel Nwipko own a total of 74% shares in Tullett Brown.

Tullett Brown was a commodity trader, specialising in precious metals (gold and silver) and carbon trading. In March 2012, World Finance named Tullett Brown "Commodities Broker of the Year in Western Europe". Simon Greenspan, a broker with Tullett Brown, accepted the award on behalf of Tullett Brown. Here's what Greenspan had to say about the award:



Follow Chantel

3 million units available!! BMV... available Units - the ethical alternative to Carbon Credits!! Our Brasil Mata Viva Sustainable... against objective, credible and transparent standards, and also... traceable through the QR code of...

We are currently one of 2 com...

We specialise in unique car... sequestering of Co2 and...

It is the first Sustainable... credits that just...

- The Sustainability solution enables...

- It ensures its o...

- It can improve...

- It takes co...

- A portion of the...

For more information con...

Reagnds
21 hours ago

Mirror.co.uk
OPINION
HOME NEWS SPORT CELEBS TV & ENTERTAINMENT LIFE & STYLE ADVICE

Penman & Sommerlad **INVESTIGATE**

Tullett Brown scammers net £3.2million but are "too poor" to defend themselves in court

BY ANDREW PENMAN ON JULY 4, 2012 11:00 PM IN INVESTMENTS

"It's an area of the market that Tullett Brown, not only are we very passionate about, we are very passionate about it. At Tullett Brown we've only ever invested in areas of the market that have truly stood the test of time, such as gold and silver and property. When our analysts were looking for the next great area of growth it was fairly obvious to them. It was the planet, it was the environment. The preservation of the planet allows us at Tullett Brown to give our clients what they truly seek, which is sustainable returns for many years to come."

a nature bubble?

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Latin America & Caribbean ▼

Middle East & North Africa ▼

Last updated: December 11, 2011 6:19 pm

Climate deal boost for carbon markets

By Pilita Clark in Durban

'Viagra Shot' for Carbon Markets -- Financial Times, p. 1, 12 December 2011

A global climate deal to extend the life of the Kyoto treaty and establish the parameters for negotiating a new pact by 2015 will provide a fresh stimulus to the world's floundering carbon markets, according to bankers and analysts. "The deal provides a significant boost for investors in low-carbon technology," said Abyd Karmali, global head of carbon markets at Bank of America Merrill Lynch, adding this was an achievement amid the woes of the eurozone crisis. In one of the more bullish business assessments of the new pact, which also includes a separate agreement to negotiate a new process aimed at legally obliging all countries to commit to cut their carbon emissions, he said **the deal was "like a Viagra shot for the flailing carbon markets"**. Carbon prices have plunged to record lows in recent weeks as Europe's emissions trading scheme, the world's largest, has been hit by eurozone uncertainties and fears of an oversupply of carbon credits.



carbon trading strategy:

in 1997, US vice-president Al Gore
(later a carbon trader) pushed for
Kyoto to include emissions markets,
in exchange for Washington's
promised support ... promise soon broken

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

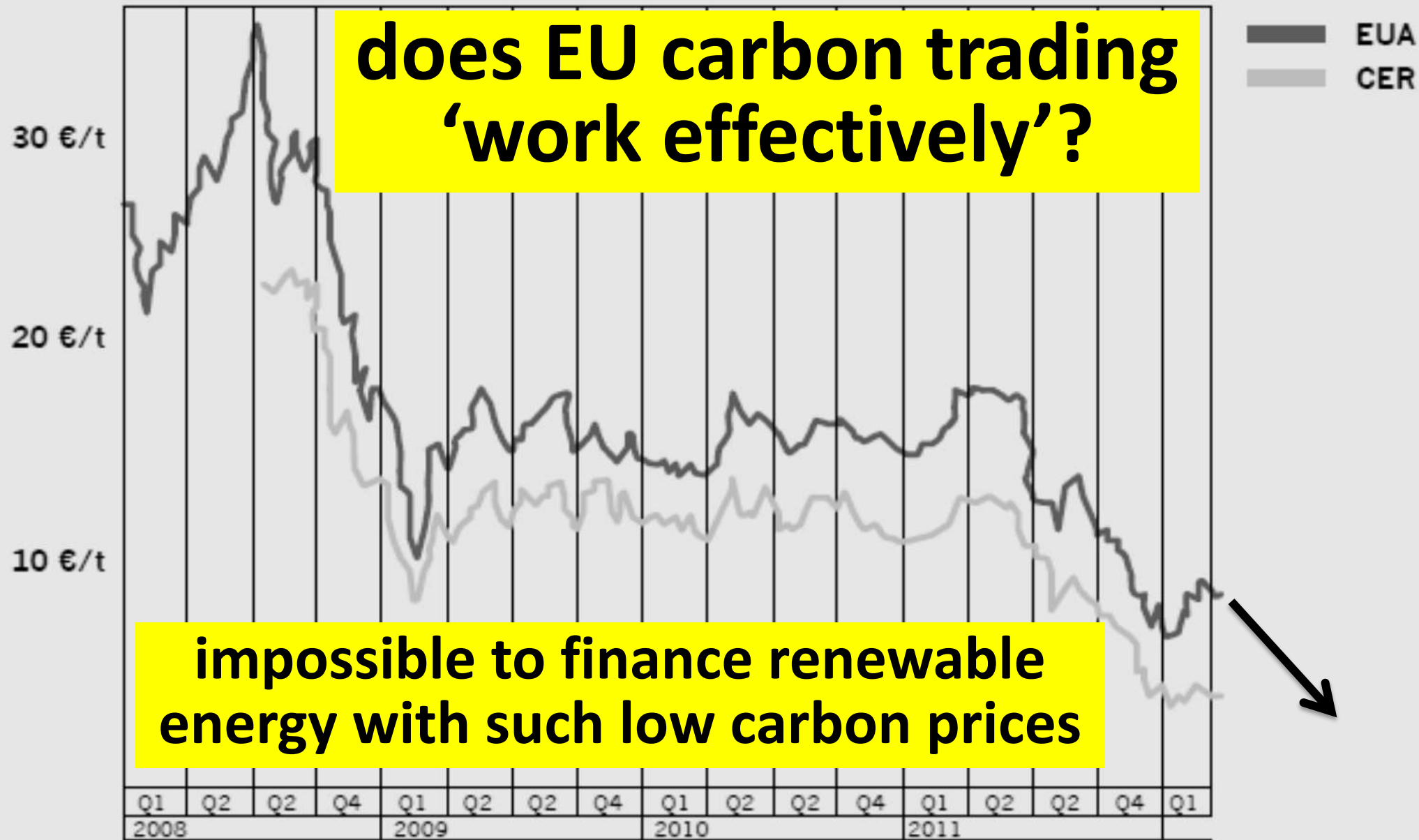
(An Inconvenient Truth, p. 252)



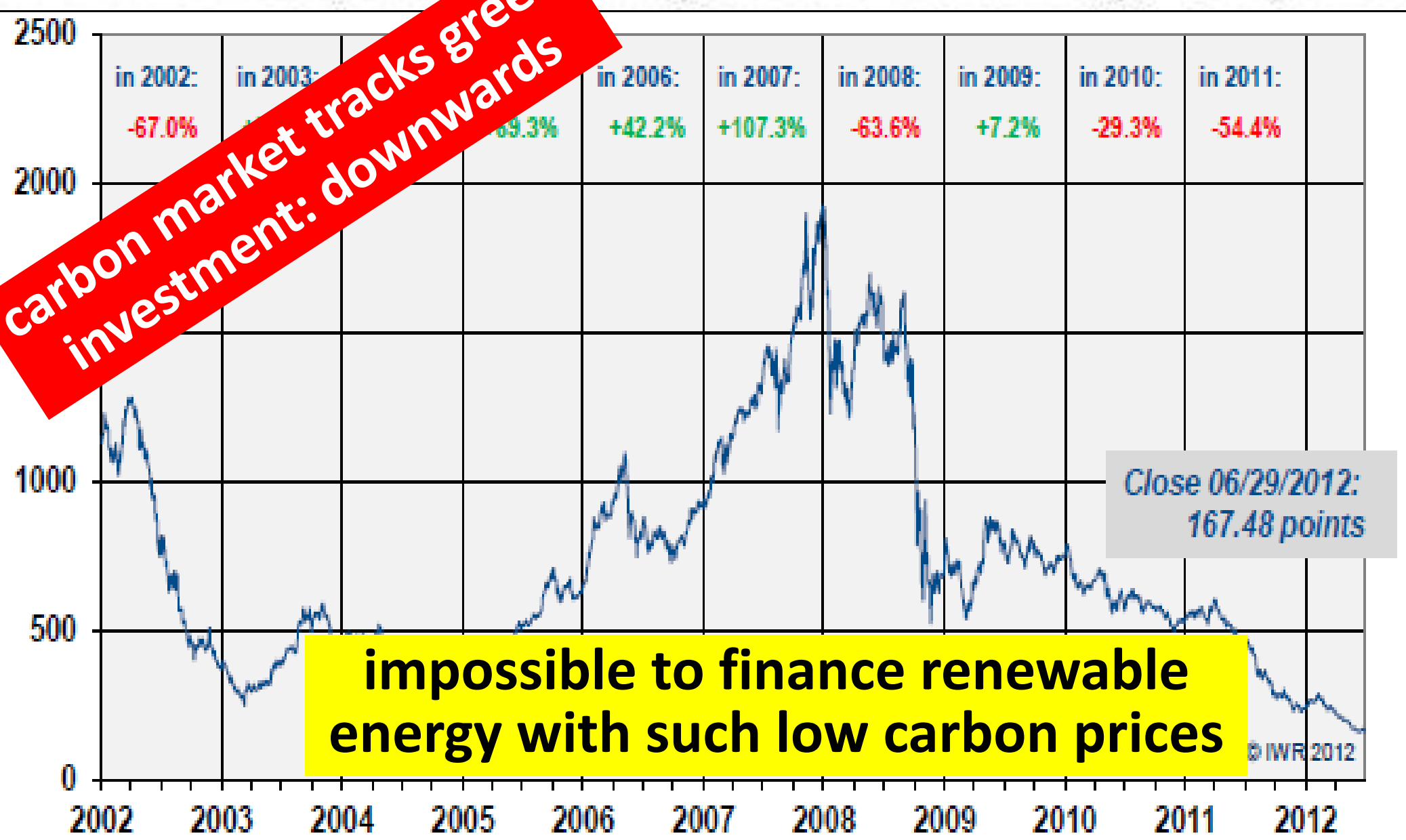
fib after fib

emissions market crashes, 2008-12

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



RENIXX Index, World's 10 Largest Renewable Energy Companies



Czech carbon market hacked,

ETS closed for weeks

Environment > Emissions trading

Carbon fraud may force longer closure of EU emissions trading

EU emissions trading scheme may remain suspended as governments struggle to beef up security

Terry Macalister and Tim Webb

The Guardian, Sunday 23 January 2011 19:08 GMT



The European commission stepped in to ban "spot" trading in carbon on any local exchanges last Wednesday after a £28m cyber attack on the Czech, Austrian and other national markets and was hoping to lift the restriction this week but there are growing fears that new security will not be in place on time in all locations.

Market experts are now calling for victims of carbon trading fraud to be compensated by the European Union to prevent the latest in a series of scandals turning traders off the ETS, which was meant to provide a blueprint for national carbon reduction schemes to be introduced in America and further afield.

just one example of fraud

Munich, May 22, 2012



Bavarian Stock Exchange

announces exit from emissions trading

After the volume of trading on European stock exchanges has plunged to practically zero in recent months, emissions trading lacks the preconditions necessary to establish liquid trading operations. Numerous reasons have been cited for the decline, ranging from the waves of emissions certificate theft and VAT fraud that devastated the image of emissions trading to the plunge in trading prices when a glut of largely free certificates swamped the market. “In its present form, emissions trading is not accepted by the market. Given the situation in Brussels, the uncertainty caused by the Eurozone debt crisis and the gloomy economic prospects ahead, we do not anticipate that politicians will take rapid action to adjust framework conditions”, stated Dr. Christine Bortenlänger, Director of Bayerische Börse AG.

<http://www.bayerische-boerse.de/greenmarket/presse.html>

Can IETA defend ETS?

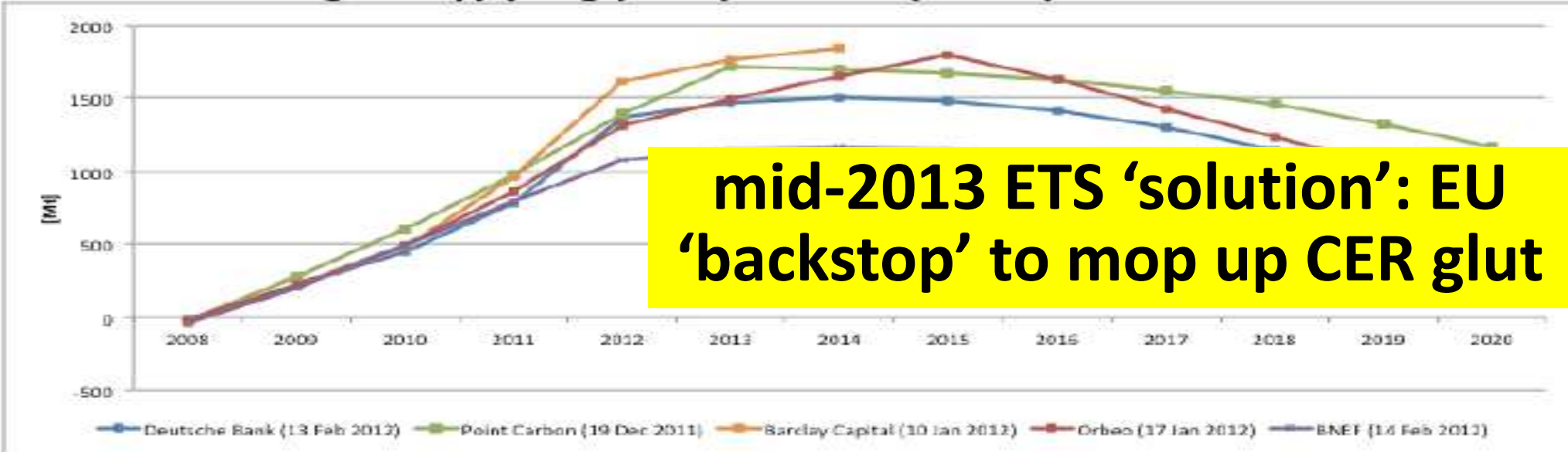


IETA position on EU ETS

February 15, 2012

- IETA members strongly support the EU ETS and believe that the market responds as intended: it delivers emission reductions at lowest costs to society and adjusts to economic conditions.
- However, fragmented EU and national policies are undermining the EU ETS price signal and the current extraordinary economic situation is amplifying this effect. This has led to the false impression of many stakeholders that the EU ETS is failing.
- IETA is concerned that market participants are losing confidence in policy makers' commitment to enforce long-term emission reduction targets and that the EU ETS is at risks of being side-lined as a policy instrument.

Chart 1: Accumulating oversupply or 'gap to cap' in EU ETS (2008-20)



mid-2013 ETS 'solution': EU 'backstop' to mop up CER glut

Source: IETA based on Barclays, BNEF, Deutsche Bank, Orbeo, Point Carbon, European Commission.

THE STORY OF STUFF PROJECT PRESENTS

THE STORY OF CAP & TRADE

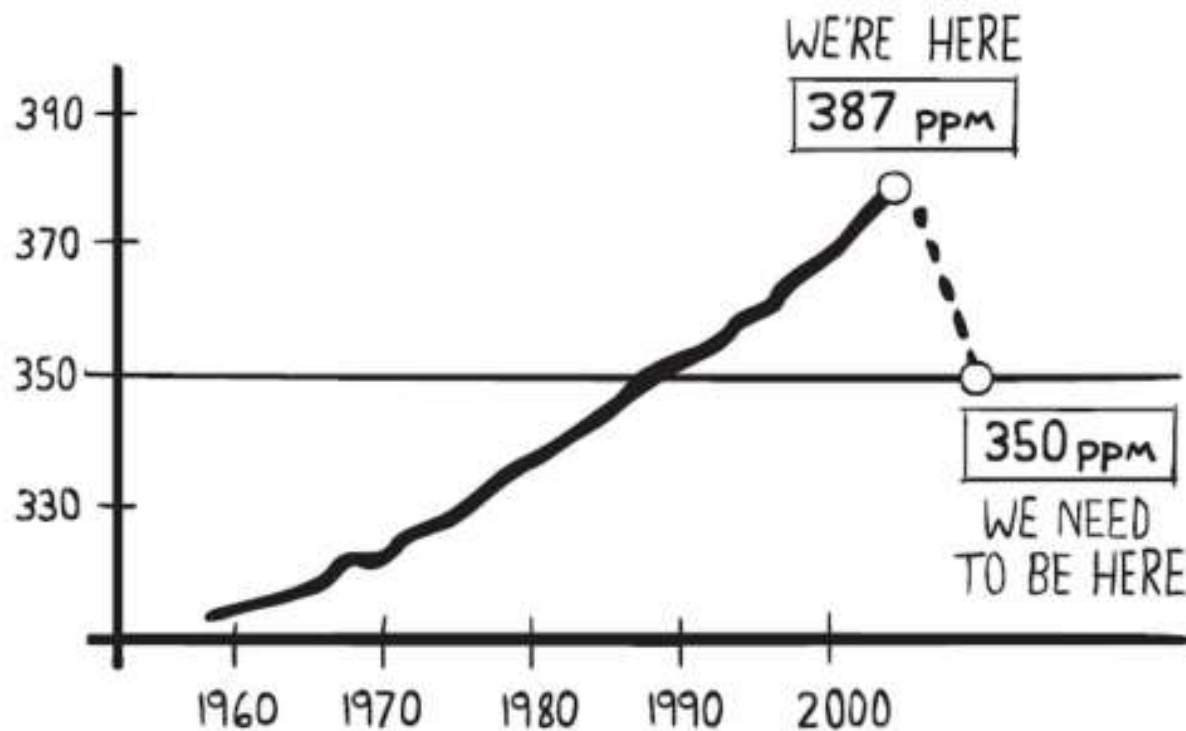
WHY YOU CAN'T SOLVE A PROBLEM
WITH THE THINKING THAT CREATED IT

storyofcapandtrade.org

THE STORY OF STUFF



ATMOSPHERIC CO₂
CONCENTRATION (PPM)



**user-friendly critique
of carbon trading**

'Payment for Ecosystem Services'?

ecosystems useful to humans:

- **storage of carbon** by soils, vegetation, and oceans,
- **habitats** for plants, animals, and micro-organisms,
- **filtering of fresh water**, and even
- **aesthetic or spiritual significance** of landscapes

an example of dangers of
commodified nature

Payment for Ecosystem Services

Compensating the poor and other land users for practices that maintain healthy, 'service-producing' ecosystems may be an important part of strategies for sustainable and equitable development. Serious problems arise, however, when such compensation schemes are framed as markets.

-Kathy McAfee, SF State University

global carbon market still essential to multilateral (and CA) climate governance

instead of Kyoto Protocol cap and trade,

*Montreal Protocol success: 'cap and **ban**'*

according to Jomo K.S. of the United Nations Department of Social and Economic Affairs

- example of **inclusive multilateralism** for reduction of ozone-depleting substances (ODS)
- parties moved rapidly to **reduce ODS**
- paid nearly all net costs of compliance for **developing countries ...**
- **costs lower, benefits higher than anticipated**

PAYMENT FOR ECOSYSTEM SERVICES VERSUS ECOLOGICAL REPARATIONS: THE ‘GREEN ECONOMY,’ LITIGATION AND A REDISTRIBUTIVE ECO-DEBT GRANT

KHADIJA SHARIFE* AND PATRICK BOND**

ABSTRACT

Since the December 2011 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change Conference of the Parties 17 in Durban and the Rio+20 Summit on Sustainable Development, attention has turned to whether the ‘Green Economy’, the concept of ‘natural capital’ and ‘Payment for Ecosystem Services’ together facilitate the management of new environmentally-financialised markets whose aim is to price nature and its pollution, so as to achieve maximally efficient exploitation of resources (an example of which is carbon trading). Alternatively, if there are flaws in such markets, should society instead move towards retributive payments for ‘ecological debt’ based on both ‘loss and damage’ accounting (introduced at the UNFCCC COP18 in Doha) and environmental justice, in order that the valuing of nature is limited to fines for damages and then prohibitions on further pollution. These two countervailing philosophies play out in high-profile projects and pilot social-policy schemes in southern Africa, in ways that will teach the foundational concepts surrounding ecological reparations.

Keywords: ecological debt, ecosystem services, reparations, Green Economy, Green Grant (BIG)

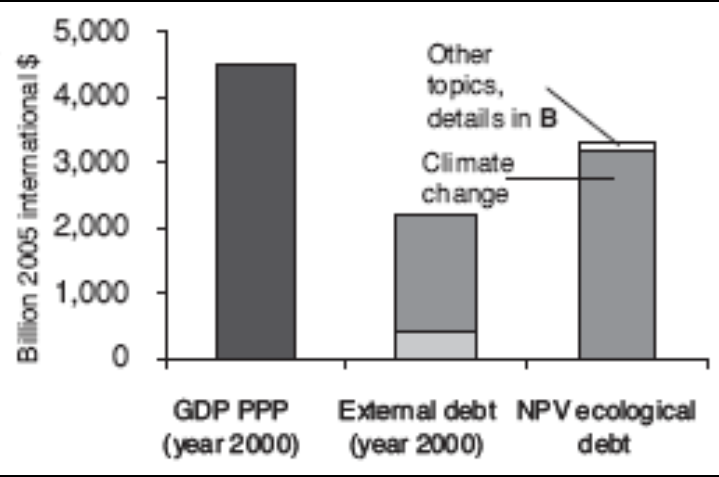
‘polluters pay’: eco-debt fine (not ‘fee’), then ban

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

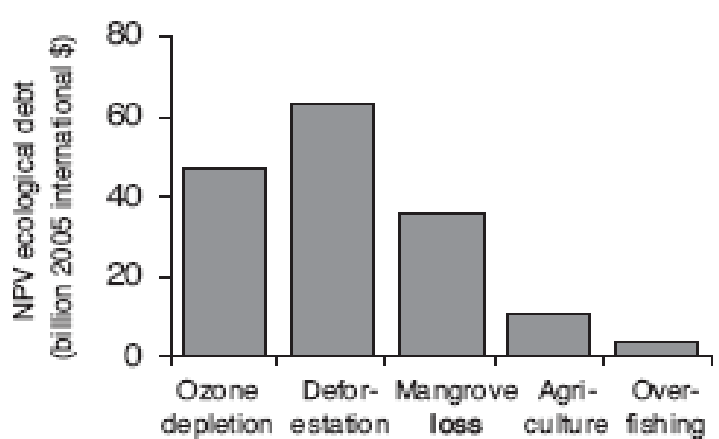
The debt of nations and the distribution of ecological impacts from human activities

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

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As human impacts to the environment accelerate, disparities in the distribution of damages between rich and poor nations mount. Globally, environmental change is dramatically affecting the flow of ecosystem services, but the distribution of ecological damages and their driving forces has not been estimated. Here, we conservatively estimate the environmental costs of human activities over 1961–2000 in six major categories (climate change, stratospheric ozone depletion, agricultural intensification and expansion, deforestation, overfishing, and mangrove conversion), quantitatively connecting costs borne by poor, middle-income, and rich nations to specific activities by each of these groups. Adjusting impact valuations for different standards of living across the groups as commonly practiced, we find striking imbalances. Climate change and ozone depletion impacts predicted for low-income nations have been overwhelmingly driven by emissions from the other groups, a pattern also observed for overfishing damages driven by the consumption of fishery products. In addition, disproportionate emissions of greenhouse gases by the rich group may have imposed climate damage on the poor group greater than the latter's current foreign debt. This pattern provides *prima facie* evidence for an unequal distribution of environmental damages across income groups. Our analysis provides estimates of each group's share in various environmental impacts that are independent from controversies in environmental valuation methods. In a world increasingly constrained by environmental and economic factors, our analysis is thus an important step toward reframing issues of environmental responsibility, justice, and globalization in accordance with ecological principles.



Category	Direct or indirect driver
Climate change	Greenhouse gas emissions (carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous oxide)
Stratospheric ozone-layer depletion	Chlorofluorocarbon emissions
Agricultural intensification and expansion	Consumption of agricultural goods
Deforestation	Consumption of agricultural goods and wood-related products

how much of a fine?

Richard Norgaard, economist at
University of California, Berkeley:

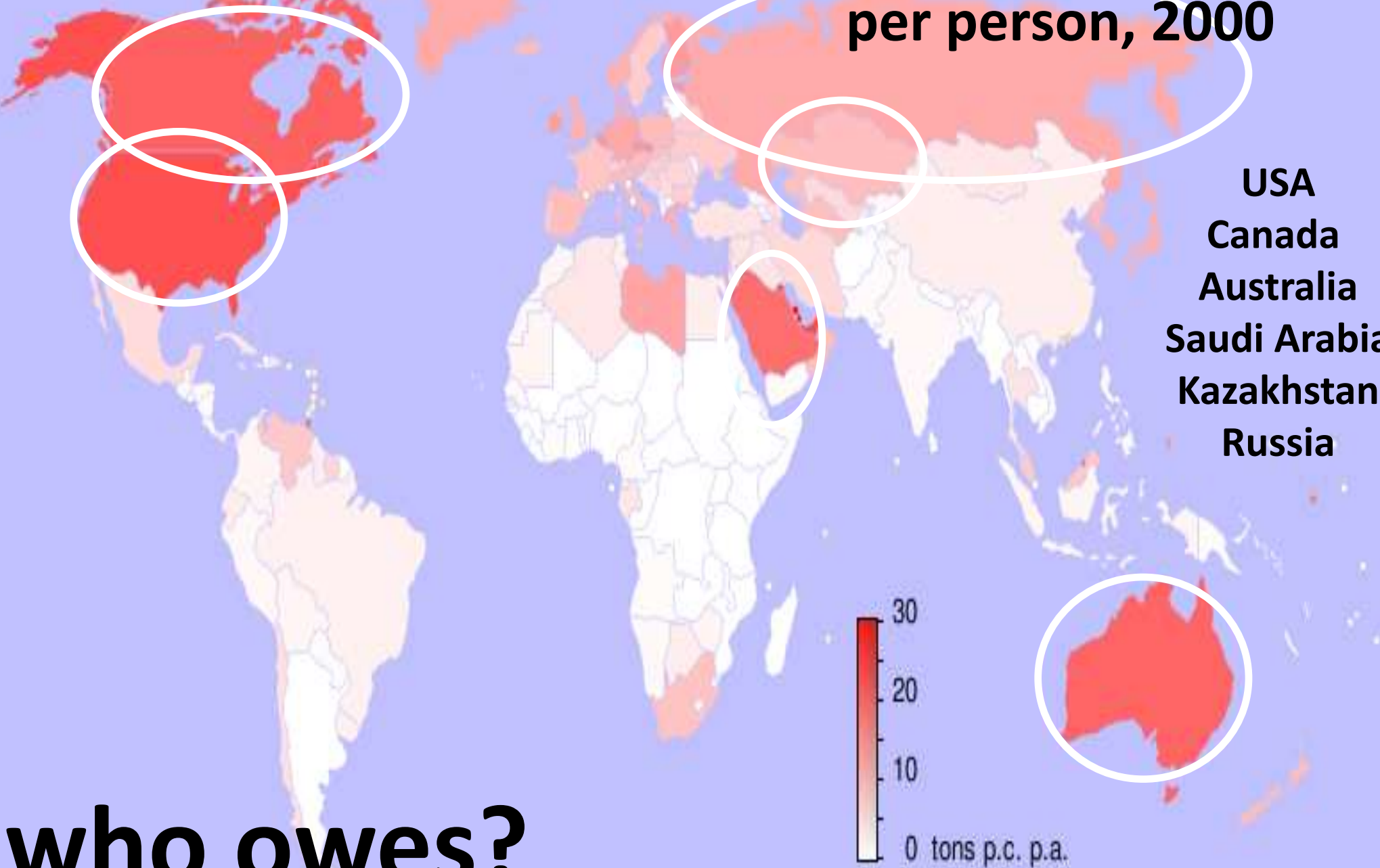
“At least to some extent, *the rich nations have developed at the expense of the poor, and, in effect, there is a debt to the poor.* That, perhaps, is one *reason that they are poor.* You don't see it until you do the kind of accounting that we do here: *not only a fine, but a ban on ecologically-unequal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

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

wide variety of eco-crimes

the climate debt

greenhouse gas emissions per person, 2000



- USA
- Canada
- Australia
- Saudi Arabia
- Kazakhstan
- Russia

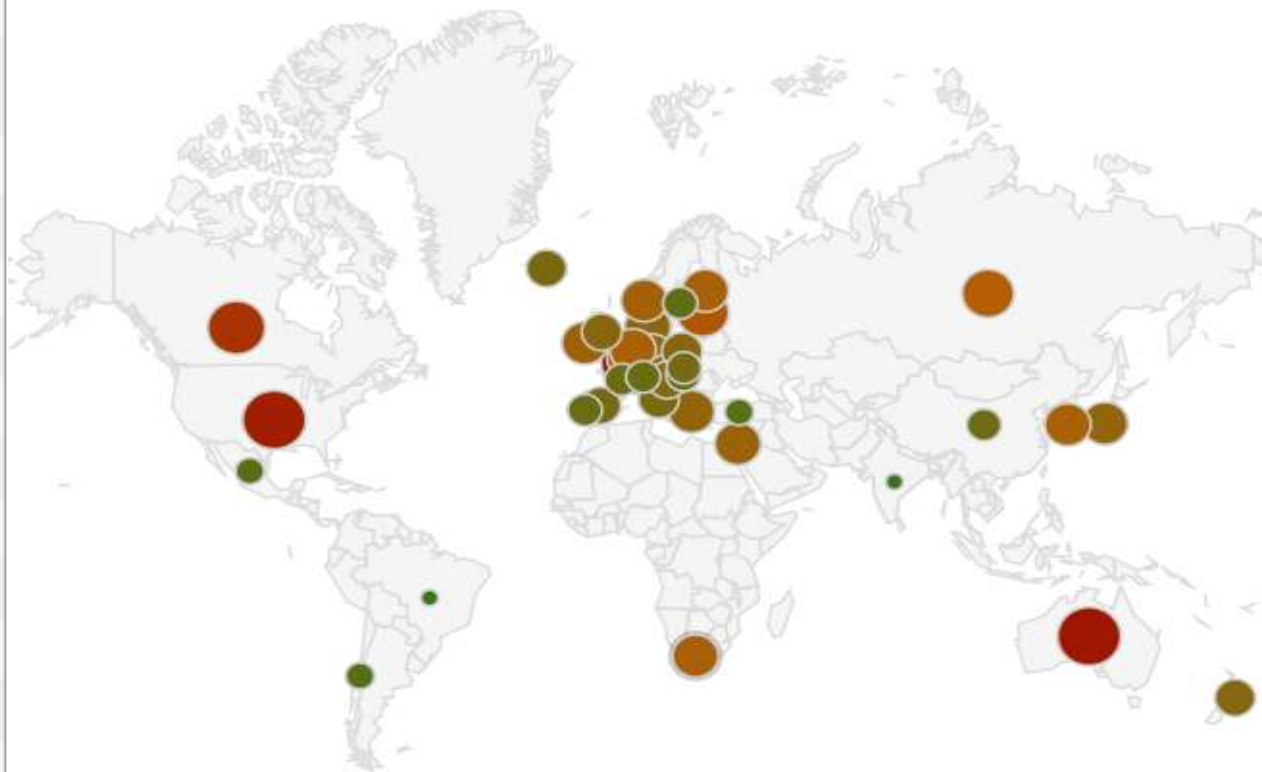
who owes?

CO2 emissions

per capita

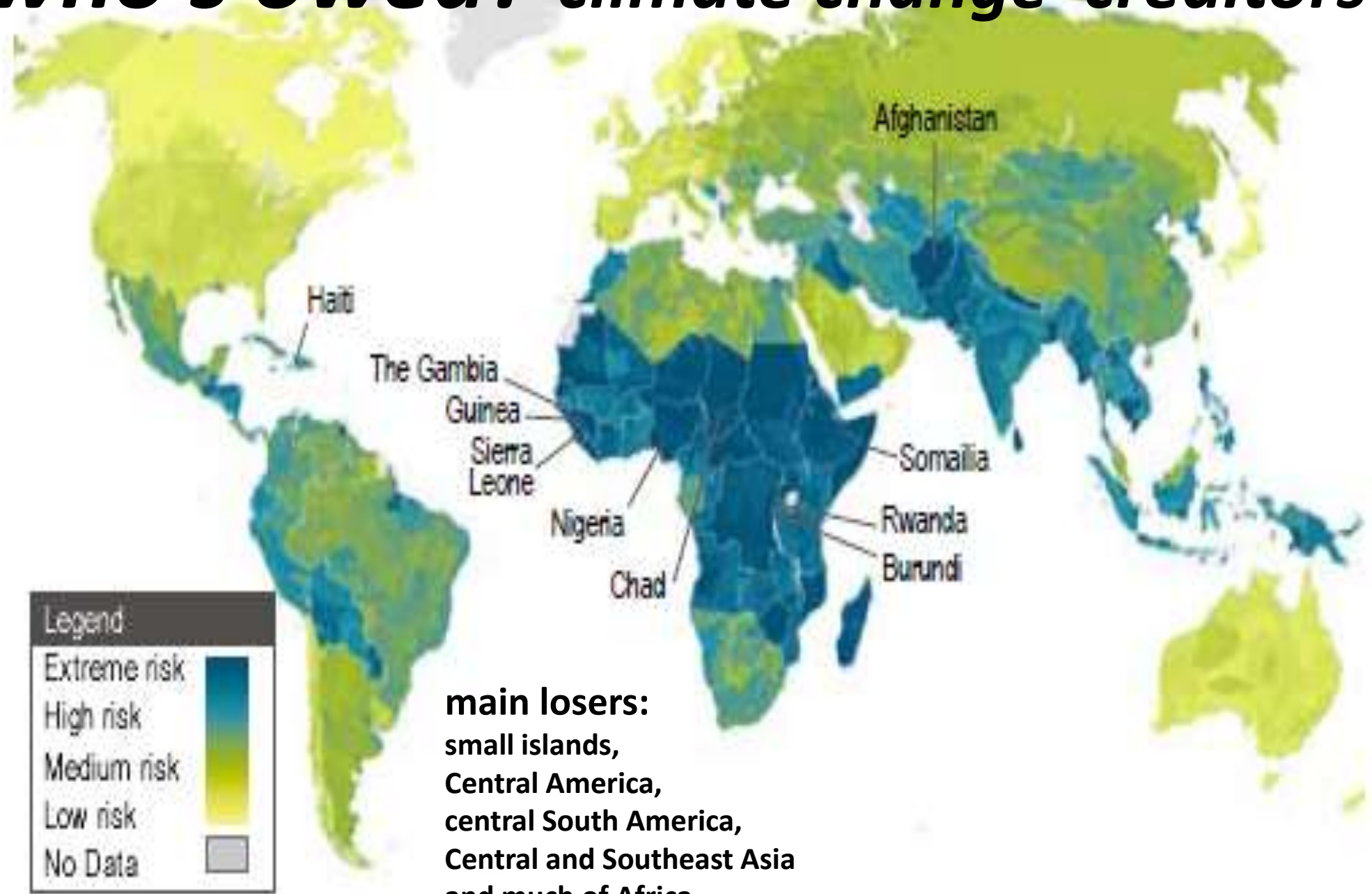
who owes the most (and least) climate debt?

Country	Emissions (tonnes per capita)
Luxembourg	20.38
Australia	18.23
United States	17.28
Canada	15.24
Estonia	11.90
Russia	11.09
Korea, South	10.36
Czech Republic	10.31
Netherlands	10.26
South Africa	10.12
Finland	10.03
Norway	9.75
Belgium	9.60
Ireland	9.34
Israel	8.98
Germany	8.97
Japan	8.63
Greece	8.41
Denmark	8.27



Country	Emissions (tonnes per capita)
India	1.64
Brazil	1.90
Turkey	3.87
Chile	3.94
Mexico	3.98
Sweden	4.70
Hungary	4.86
Switzerland	5.37
Portugal	5.40
France	5.61
China	5.77
Slovak Republic	6.25
Spain	6.28
Iceland	6.37
Italy	6.66
New Zealand	7.43
Austria	7.45
Slovenia	7.50
United Kingdom	7.68
Poland	7.83

who's owed? climate change 'creditors'



global leaders exacerbate climate crisis

Copenhagen Accord, COP 15, December 2009

**“they broke
the UN”
(Bill McKibbin,
350.org)**

- Jacob Zuma (SA)
- Lula da Silva (Brazil)
- Barack Obama (USA)
- Wen Jiabao (China)
- Manmohan Singh (India)

**non-binding;
4 degree
Increase;**



Durban's COP17

'Conference of Parties'

28 Nov-9 Dec 2011
International Convention Centre



Durban's COP17 'Conference of Polluters'



transforming fossil-addicted systems and paying for adaptation and loss & damage:

Green Climate Fund – \$100bn/year by 2020

- promised by Hillary Clinton at Copenhagen – but **not available during current fiscal crisis**
- **\$100 billion not enough** (Hurricane Sandy cost NY \$60bn)
- **who benefits? existing power elite and aid industry – not poor climate victims**
- corporate **'False Solutions'** to be funded
- **carbon trade** to provide 50% of GFCF revenue? (according to designers of the system and Trevor Manuel)

a very different climate finance system needed

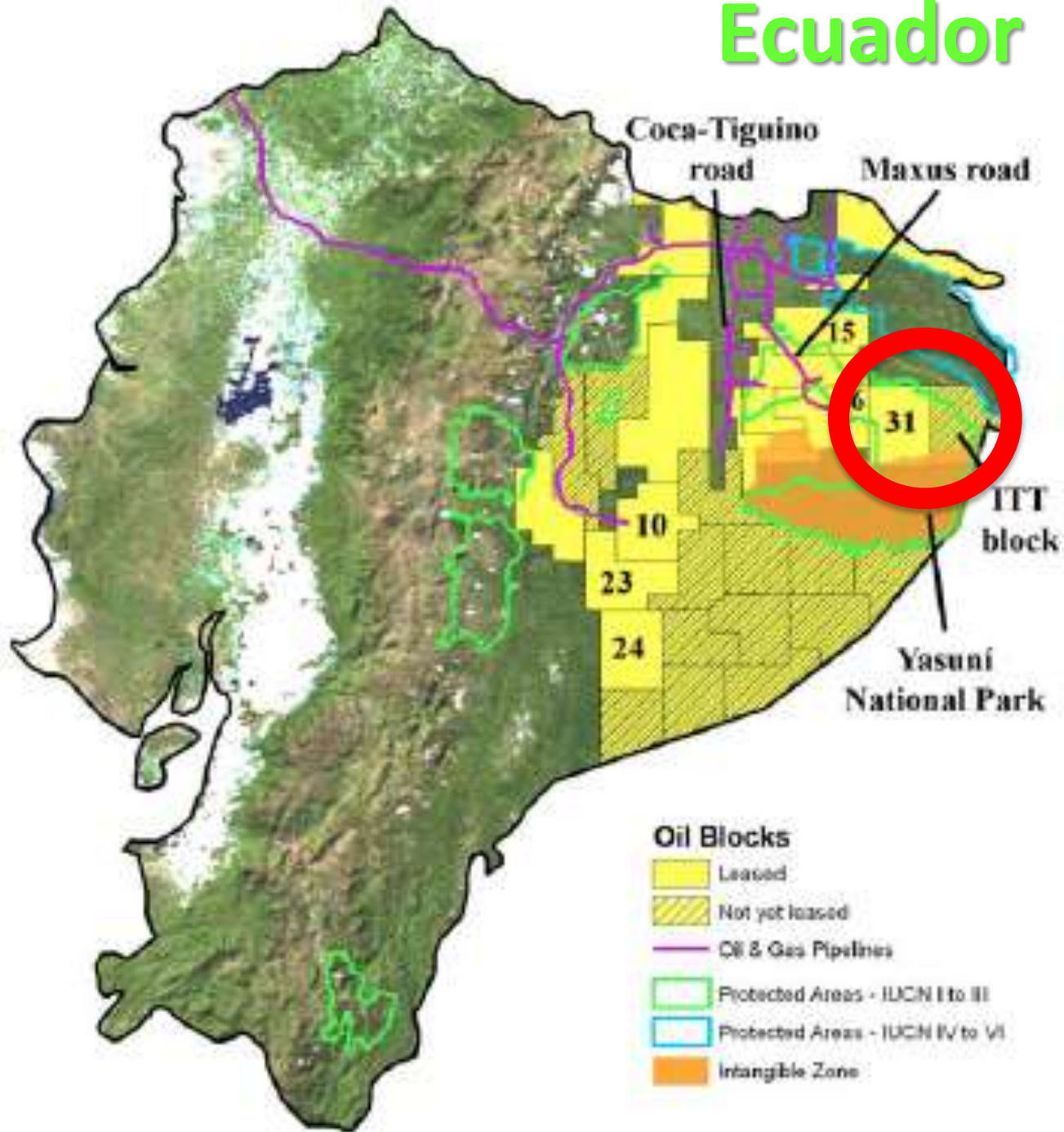
can we leave the oil under the soil?



Yasuni ITT in Ecuador's Amazon rainforest

1) leave oil in soil

Ecuador



Yasuni ITT in Ecuador's Amazon rainforest

Quito, Ecuador
★ Quito



Oilwatch research trip to Yasuni, July 2011



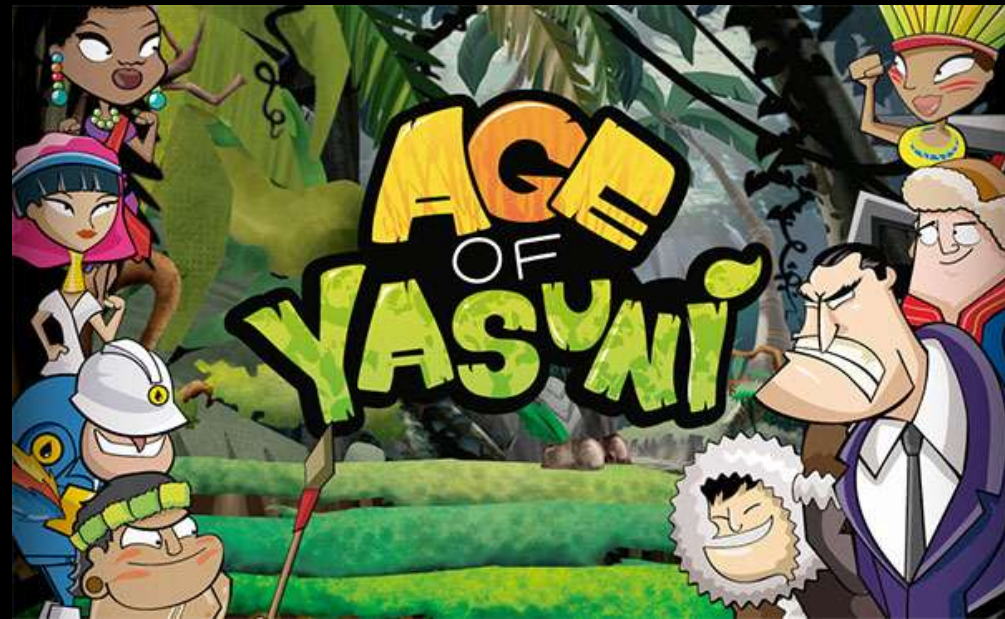
oil here = 407 mn tons of CO2



Accion Ecologica, Quito eco-feminist-indigenous defence of Yasuni

<http://www.accionecologica.org/>

<http://www.amazoniaporlavid.org/es/El-Juego-del-Yasuni/age-of-yasuni-un-esfuerzo-para-hacer-visibles-las-luchas-de-los-pueblos-origenarios.html>



Germany to pull out of Ecuador's Yasuni initiative?

By Chris Lang, 22nd September 2010



Ecuador plans to leave almost a billion barrels of oil in the ground below the Yasuni National Park, in return for US\$3.6 billion or about half of the market value of the oil. It's been hailed as "The world's first really green oil deal". In 2008, the German Parliament agreed to support the Yasuni initiative. But now Germany's Minister for Economic Development and Cooperation, Dirk Niebel, says Germany "will not consider payment into the trust fund".

The Yasuni initiative applies to an area of 175,000 hectares of some of the most rainforest on the planet, home to two of the world's last remaining uncontacted groups: the Tagaeri and the Taromenane. Others, the Shuar, Waorani, and Kichwa recently came into contact with the modern world. Under the initiative, 846 million barrels of oil would be kept permanently underground, avoiding the emission of 407 million tonnes of CO2.



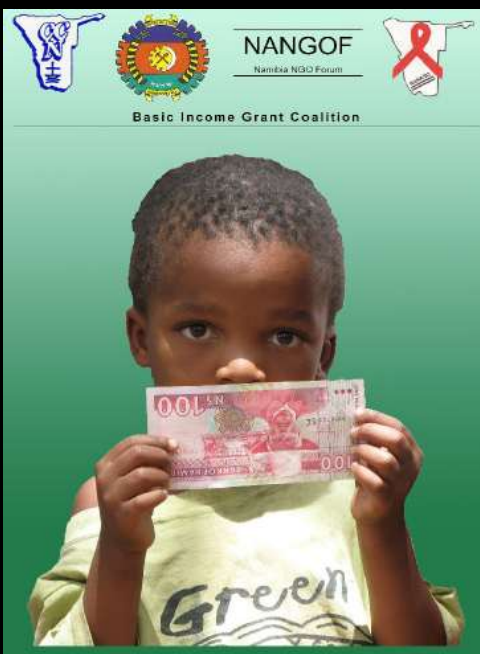
ejolt 6

Towards a Post-Oil Civilization
 Yasunization and other initiatives
 to leave fossil fuels in the soil

with contributions by
 CARA, M. Gaudin, R. Chelvanathan, R. Luyckx, M. Lutz, S. Mollath, J. Mathew,
 Alex J. Munnell, P. Munnell, S. Munnell, S. Oja, T. Ojala, S. Ojala, M. M. Pflanz, T. Rupp,
 Alessandro L. Tampieri, L. Tizabi, M. Tizabi, R. Winkler, S. Winkler, L. Tizabi



FIGHT FOR THE AMAZON. People march during a protest against the exploitation of oil in the Yasuni National Park, in Quito on August 27, 2013. AFP / Juan Cevallos



The results after one year of implementation have been remarkable.

- Before the pilot program, **42% of children in the village were malnourished**. Now the proportion of malnourished children has dropped significantly, to **10%**.
- The village school reported **higher attendance rates** ... children were **better fed and more attentive**.
- Police statistics showed a **36.5% drop in crime** since the introduction of the grants.
- **Poverty rates declined** from 86% to 68% (97% to 43% when controlled for migration).
- **Unemployment dropped** as well, from 55% to 45%, and there was a 29% increase in average earned income, excluding the grant.

Basic Income Grant (BIG) pilot in Otjivero, Namibia (funded by German solidarity donations catalysed by churches)

Council of Churches of Namibia (CCN), the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW), the umbrella body of the NGOs (NANGOF), the umbrella body of the AIDS organisations (NANASO), the National Youth Service (NYC), the Church Alliance for Orphans (CAFO), the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC) and the Labour Resource and Research Institute (LaRRI)

Carnegie Council:

<http://www.policyinnovation.org/briefings/data/000163>

2) pay 'loss & damage' fairly

One million climate jobs

Solving the economic and environmental crises



search for *Just* *Transition* with labor

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

- £27 billion in wages for one million jobs over one year.⁸
 - £5 billion in employers' national insurance and pension contributions.⁹
 - £20 billion in costs like materials, fuel, supplies, rent and interest.
- Total cost £52 billion**

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| Nick Grant, NUT | | |

3) finance 'Just Transition' investments

vital need for SA's **'Million Climate Jobs'** campaign, so that affected workers have a **Just Transition**: guaranteed, well-paid jobs that help society and save the planet!



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



“Leave the Oil in the Soil!”
not in S.Durban’s air, land and water!
damage done by fossil fuels in Durban



4) finance popular campaigning

Occupy COP! site, Dec 2011





Global Day of Action, Durban, South Africa, Saturday, December 3, 2011



DIÁLOGO DOS POVOS
PEOPLE'S DIALOGUE
DIALOGO DE LOS PUEBLOS

South Durban Community Environmental Alliance



SDCEA



Institute of Globalisation Studies, Moscow



aglob

Глобальная аналитика



FOCUS ON THE SOUTH
GLOBAL SOUTH



BRICS from-below 2013

INSTITUTO MAIS DEMOCRACIA
Transparência e controle cidadão de governos e empresas

**brics-from-below at
Durban church
25 March 2013**



BRICS -from- below
for social, environmental and economic justice BRICS



BRICS -from- below
for social, environmental and economic justice **BRICS!**



BRICS =
People
Suffer

BRICS =
FLOODS
& DROUGHTS

BRICS
Below

BRICS
WE DIE



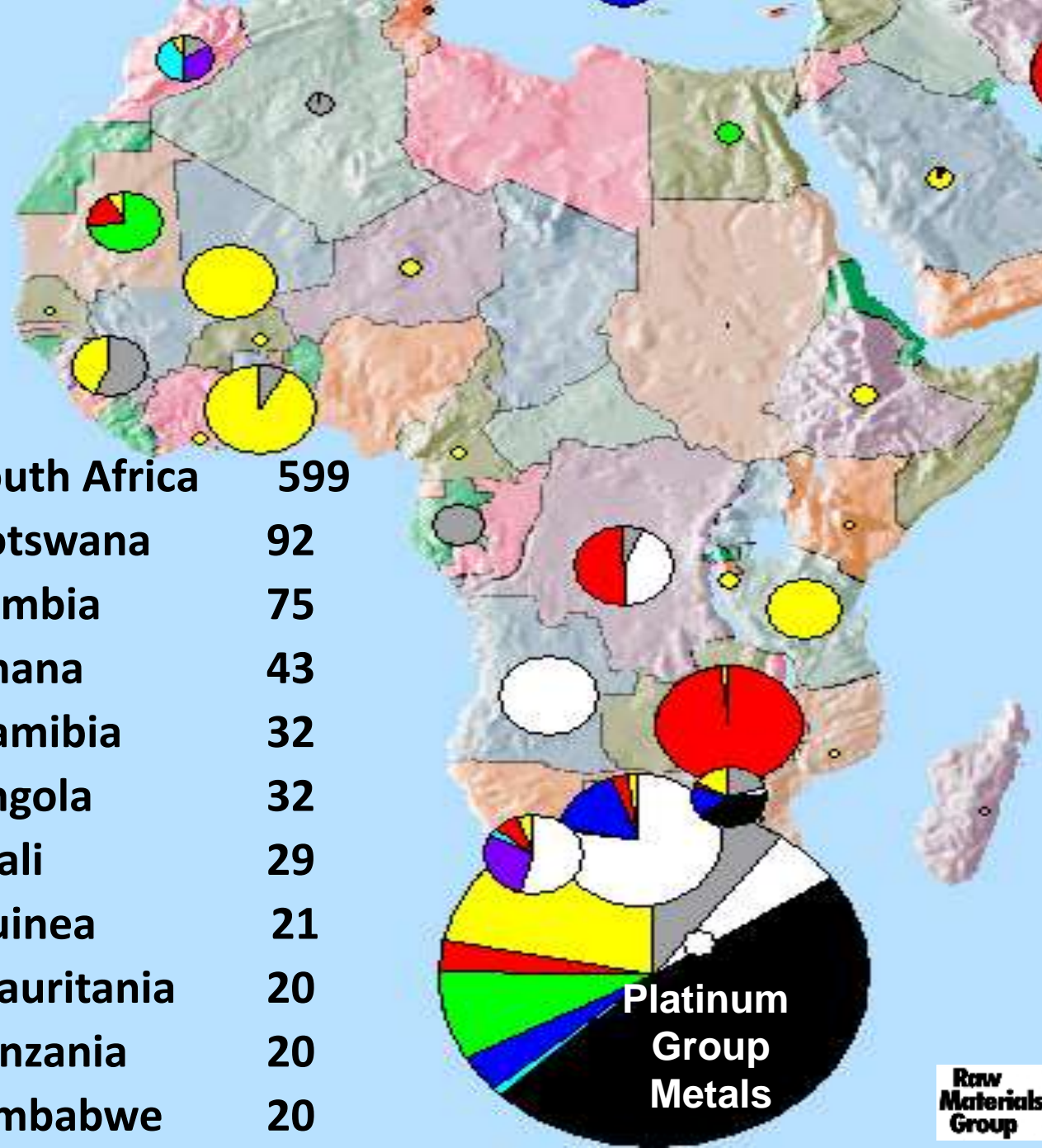
**brics-from-below march:
outside US consulate, 27/3**



● gold
 ● copper
 ● iron ore
 ● nickel
 ● lead
 ● zinc
 ● PGMs
 ● other

Africa's mining production by country, 2008

1.	South Africa	599
2.	Botswana	92
3.	Zambia	75
4.	Ghana	43
5.	Namibia	32
6.	Angola	32
7.	Mali	29
8.	Guinea	21
9.	Mauritania	20
	Tanzania	20
	Zimbabwe	20



and end Africa's Resource Curse

Platinum Group Metals



platinum
under
Marikana

**Mgcineni Noki,
platinum rock
drill operator
16 August 2012**





34 murdered, 78 others shot



**'The unacceptable face of capitalism',
British PM Edward Heath, 1973**

**Tiny
Roland**







women's power at Marikana



women's courage: march of 800 from Nkaneng to Marikana police station, under extreme duress

a month later, they won their 22% raise



7th pillar: Labor market efficiency

Cooperation in labor-employer relations



Insight Report

The Global Competitiveness Report

2012-2013

Class of World Economic Forum

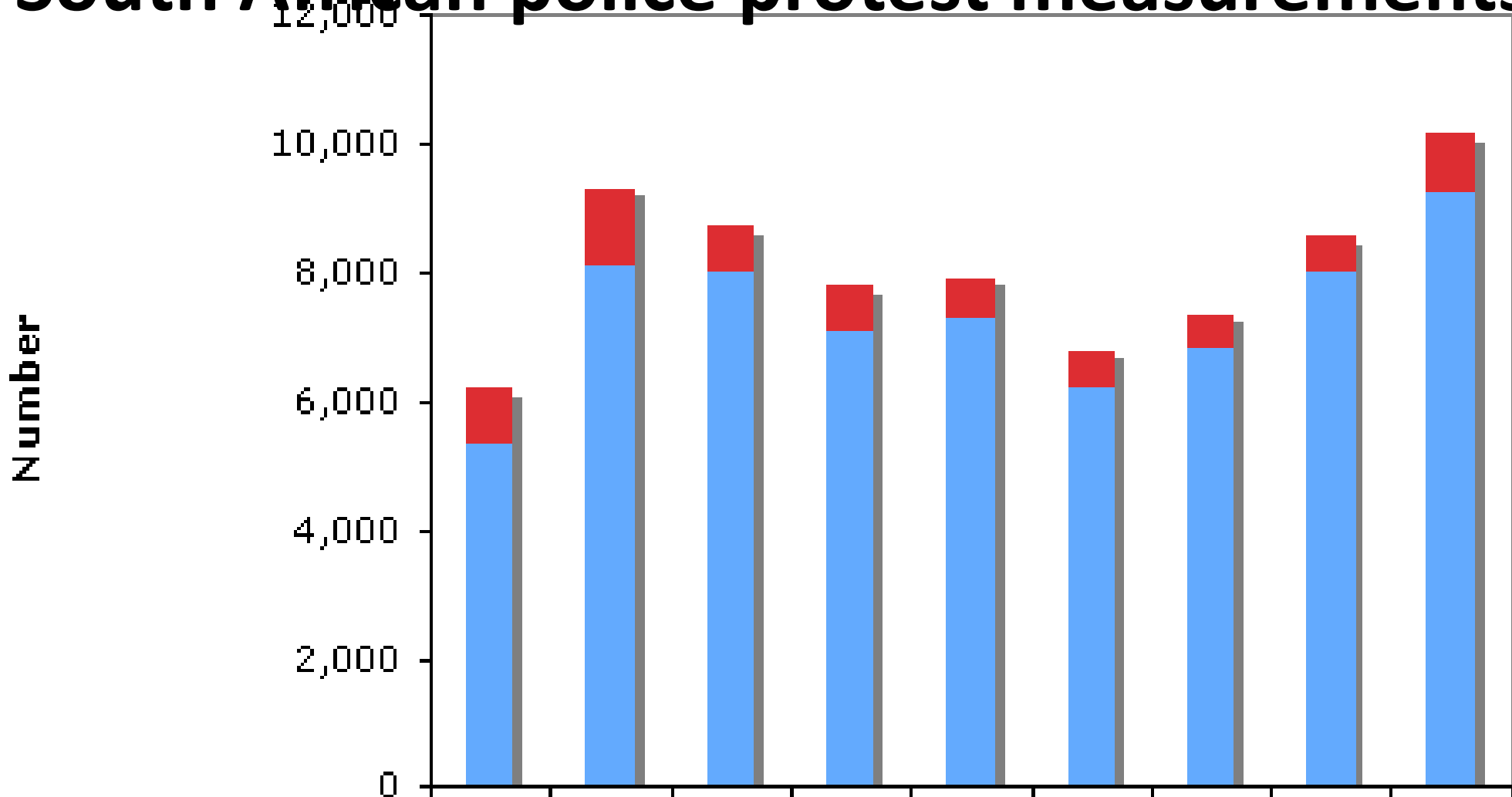


The Global Competitiveness Index in detail

INDICATOR	VALUE	RANK/144	INDICATOR	VALUE	RANK/144			
1st pillar: Institutions								
1.01 Property rights	5.4	26	6.01 Intensity of local competition	5.1	51			
1.02 Intellectual property protection	5.3	29	6.02 Extent of market dominance	4.2	39			
1.03 Dimension of public funds	3.0	84	6.03 Effectiveness of anti-monopoly policy	5.3	5			
1.04 Public trust in politicians	2.4	85	6.04 Extent and effect of taxation	4.0	31			
1.05 Irregular payments and bribes	4.6	47	6.06 Total tax rate, % profits*	33.1	48			
1.06 Judicial independence	5.3	27	6.06 No. procedures to start a business*	5	29			
1.07 Favoritism in decisions of government officials	2.6	110	6.07 No. days to start a business*	19	50			
1.08 Wastefulness of government spending	3.4	62	6.08 Agricultural policy costs	4.2	47			
1.09 Burden of government regulation	2.7	123	6.09 Prevalence of trade barriers	4.7	36			
1.10 Efficiency of legal framework in settling disputes	5.0	17	6.10 Trade tariffs, % duty*	6.5	79			
1.11 Efficiency of legal framework in challenging regs.	4.8	16	6.11 Prevalence of foreign ownership	5.3	31			
1.12 Transparency of government policymaking	4.8	25	6.12 Business impact of rules on FDI	4.7	31			
1.13 Gov't services for improved business performance	3.1	106	6.13 Burden of customs procedures	4.3	56			
1.14 Business costs of terrorism	6.2	29	6.14 Imports as a percentage of GDP*	34.8	99			
1.15 Business costs of crime and violence	2.9	134	6.15 Degree of customer orientation	4.7	31			
1.16 Organized crime	4.3	111	6.16 Buyer sophistication	4.1	32			
1.17 Reliability of police services	3.8	90	7th pillar: Labor market efficiency					
1.18 Ethical behavior of firms	4.3	48	7.01 Cooperation in labor-employer relations	2.9	144			
1.19 Strength of auditing and reporting standards	6.6	1	7.02 Flexibility of wage determination	2.8	140			
1.20 Efficacy of corporate boards	5.8	1	7.03 Hiring and firing practices	2.2	143			
1.21 Protection of minority shareholders' interests	6.0	2	7.04 Redundancy costs, weeks of salary*	9	33			
1.22 Strength of investor protection, 0-10 (best)	8.0	10	7.05 Pay and productivity	2.9	141			
2nd pillar: Infrastructure								
2.01 Quality of overall infrastructure	4.5	58	7.06 Reliance on professional management	5.6	11			
2.02 Quality of roads	4.9	42	7.07 Brain drain	3.7	47			
2.03 Quality of railroad infrastructure	3.4	66	7.08 Women in labor force, ratio to men*	0.9	142			
2.04 Quality of port infrastructure	4.7	50	8th pillar: Financial market development					
2.05 Quality of air transport infrastructure	6.1	15	8.01 Availability of financial services	6.4	1			
2.06 Available airfreight cost km/week, millions*	1,146.3	24	8.02 Affordability of financial services	5.2	2			
2.07 Quality of electricity supply	3.9	94	8.03 Financing through capital supply market	5.3	3			
2.08 Mobile telephone subscriptions/100 pop.*	126.8	25	8.04 Ease of access to loans	5.0	4			
2.09 Fixed telephone lines/100 pop.*	8.2	99	8.05 Venture capital availability	5.0	5			
3rd pillar: Macroeconomic environment								
3.01 Government budget balance, % GDP*	-4.6	105	8.06 Soundness of banks	5.0	6			
3.02 Gross national savings, % GDP*	16.5	31	8.07 Regulation of capital flows	5.0	7			
3.03 Inflation, annual % change*	5.0	35	8.08 Legal rights trade	5.0	8			
3.04 General government debt, % GDP*	38.9	89	9th pillar: Technology					
3.05 Country credit rating, 0-100 (best)	4	45	9.01 Available fixed telephone	5.7	36			
4th pillar: Health and primary education								
4.01 Business impact of malaria	4.9	30	9.02 Available mobile telephone	5.4	38			
4.02 Malaria cases/100,000 pop.*	0.1	30	9.03 Technology adoption	5.4	38			
4.03 Business impact of HIV/AIDS	4.9	32	9.04 High-speed Internet, %*	2.0	38			
4.04 Tuberculosis cases/100,000 pop.*	1.0	32	9.05 Fixed broadband subscriptions/100 pop.*	2.0	38			
4.05 Business impact of HIV/AIDS	4.9	32	9.06 Broadband subscriptions/100 pop.*	2.0	38			
4.06 HIV prevalence, % adult pop.*	17.0	34	9.07 Mobile broadband subscriptions/100 pop.*	2.0	38			
4.07 Life expectancy, male/100 years	51.0	34	10th pillar: Market size					
4.08 Life expectancy, female/100 years	52.3	34	10.01 Domestic market size index, 0-7 (best)	5.1	34			
4.09 Quality of primary education	3.9	132	10.02 Design index, 0-7 (best)	5.1	34			
4.10 Primary school enrollment, % of pop. 5-14	95.1	115	11th pillar: Government					
5th pillar: Government								
5.01 Government effectiveness	5.0	33	11.01 Local government efficiency	5.0	43			
5.02 Government credit rating	5.0	33	11.02 Government transparency	4.0	47			
5.03 Government corruption	5.0	33	11.03 Government responsiveness	3.0	107			
5.04 Government stability	5.0	33	11.04 Government effectiveness	5.2	106			
5.05 Government efficiency	5.0	33	11.05 Government effectiveness	4.6	26			
5.06 Government effectiveness	5.0	33	11.06 Government effectiveness	4.2	43			
5.07 Government effectiveness	5.0	33	11.07 Government effectiveness	5.1	29			
5.08 Government effectiveness	5.0	33	11.08 Government effectiveness	4.3	33			
12th pillar: Innovation								
12.01 Capacity for innovation	3.5	41	12.01 Capacity for innovation	3.5	41			
12.02 Quality of scientific research institutions	4.6	34	12.02 Quality of scientific research institutions	4.6	34			
12.03 Company spending on R&D	3.5	39	12.03 Company spending on R&D	3.5	39			
12.04 University-industry collaboration in R&D	4.5	30	12.04 University-industry collaboration in R&D	4.5	30			
12.05 Gov't procurement of advanced tech products	3.1	106	12.05 Gov't procurement of advanced tech products	3.1	106			
12.06 Availability of scientists and engineers	3.4	122	12.06 Availability of scientists and engineers	3.4	122			
12.07 PCT patents, applications/million pop.*	6.8	37	12.07 PCT patents, applications/million pop.*	6.8	37			

Notes: Values are on a 0-7 scale unless otherwise indicated with an asterisk (*). For further details and explanation, please refer to the section "How to Read the Global Competitiveness Index" on page E3.

South African police protest measurements



Violent incidents	880	1,185	736	713	632	570	526	562	932
Peaceful incidents	5,310	8,102	7,971	7,074	7,281	6,187	6,811	7,997	9,230

SA's high social protest rate:

3000 violent (thousands more non-violent) from 2009-12

On 19 March the Minister of Police, Mr. Nathi Mthetwa, informed parliament about the number of 'crowd management incidents' that occurred during the three years from 1 April 2009.¹ Table 1, compares the new data with similar statistics for the preceding five years.

Table 1. Crowd management incidents²

	Peaceful	Unrest	Total
2004/05	7,382	622	8,004
2005/06	9,809	954	10,763
2006/07	8,703	743	9,446
2007/08	6,431	705	7,136
2008/09	6,125	718	6,843
2009/10	7,897	1,008	8,905
2010/11	11,681	973	12,654
2011/12 ³	9,942	1,091	11,033



service delivery protests at
amongst world's highest rate

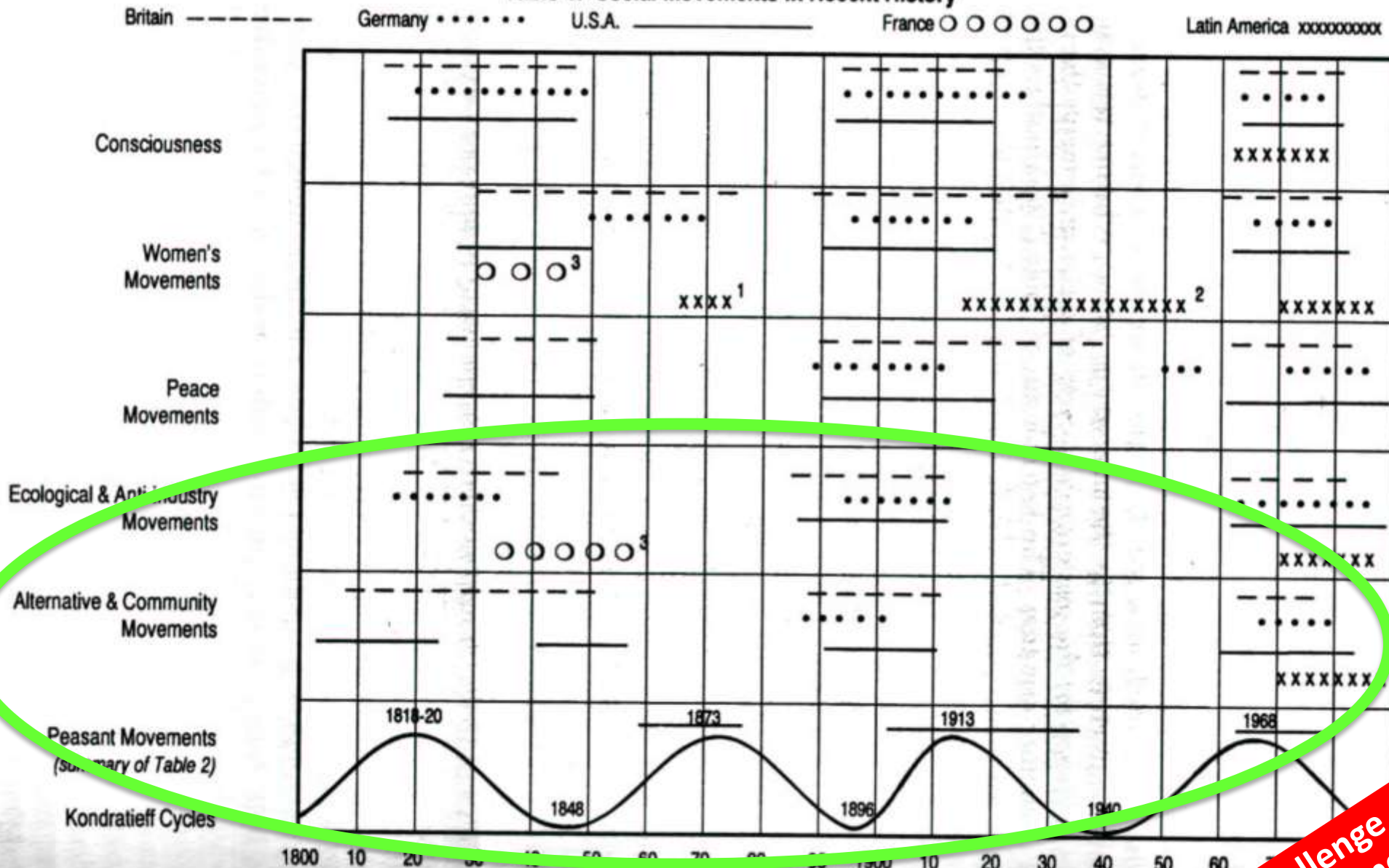


Yet these can be termed 'popcorn protests', — rising and falling quickly, and while up in the air...



if the wind blows rightward,
protests quickly move onto
xenophobic terrain

social movements in 19th & 20th century history



Adapted by the author from Brand (1988) with additional information from Huber (1987) and others.

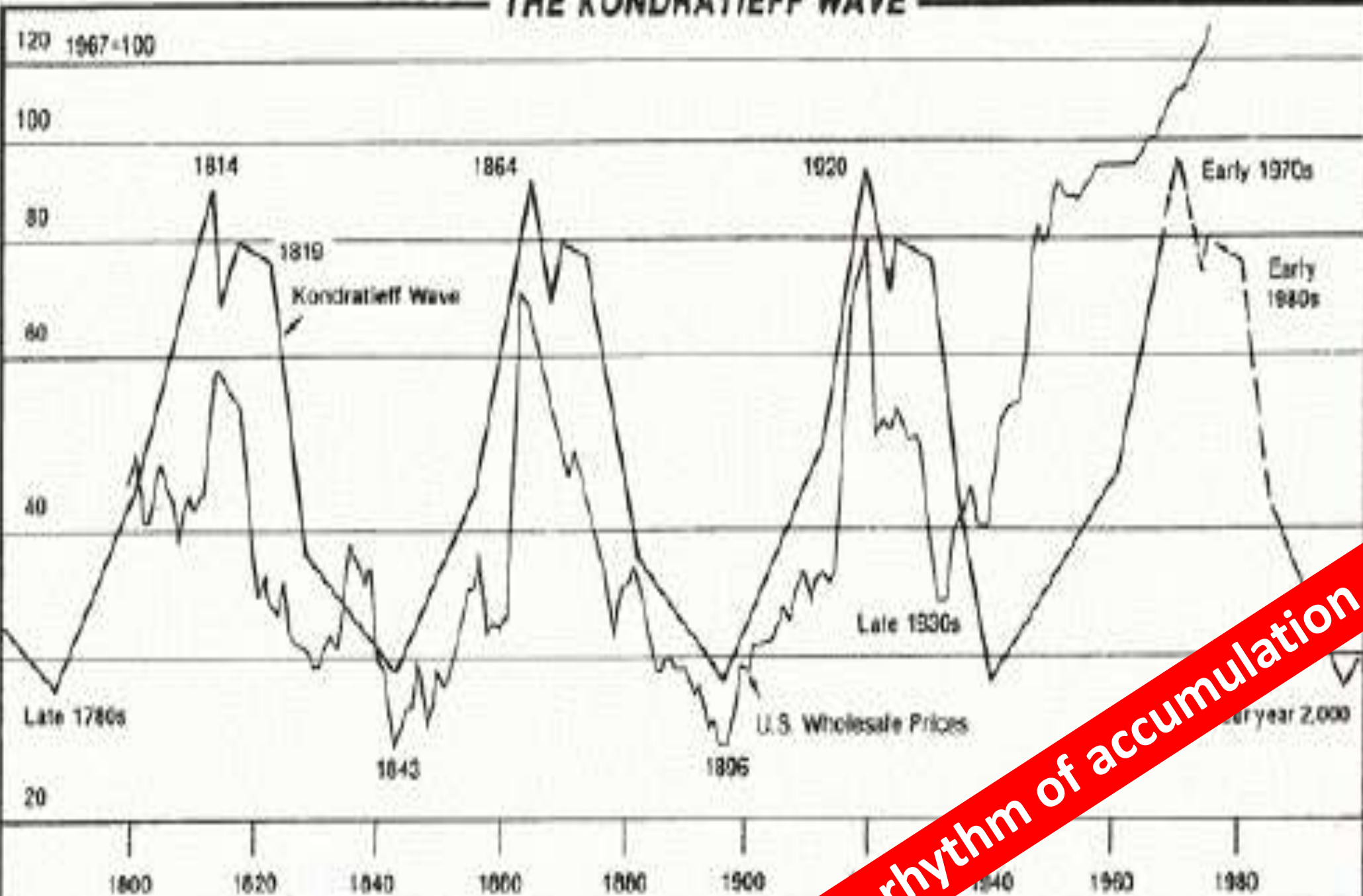
¹ Chile

² on and off in various Latin American countries

³ incomplete data

challenge of movement building

THE KONDRATIEFF WAVE

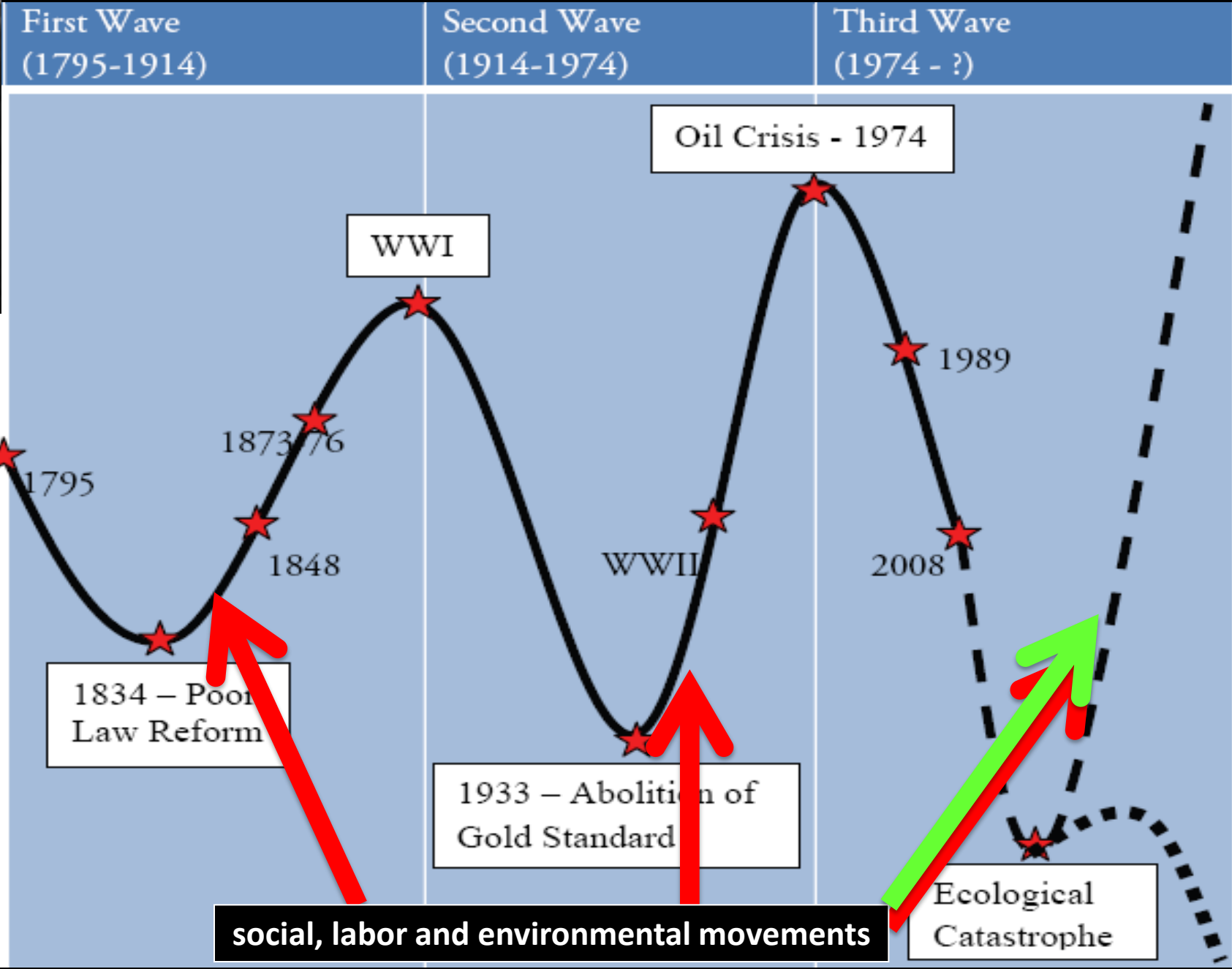


rhythm of accumulation

Polanyi's double movement: waves of market power



Polanyi's double movement: waves of market power



Marketization

Counter-Movement

Source: Michael Burawoy

social, labor and environmental movements

Ecological Catastrophe

UNITED COLOURS OF GLOBAL RESISTANCE

Resistance to the IMF and World Bank in Prague

The mobilisation for S26 (September 26th) was the first event of this kind that took place in a Central or Eastern European country. About 12,000 people from all over the world came to Prague to protest against the Summit of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) in September 2000. It was a long and sometimes painful task to organise not only the protest actions, but the whole campaign. But looking back on it, I think it was the best thing that could have happened to the Czech anarchist (or to be more general - anti-authoritarian) movement. We learned a lot. First of all, however, I would like to point out that the views expressed here are my own and don't necessarily reflect the opinions of other organisers or participants.

The Beginnings of the Mobilisation

A kind of predecessor to the Prague 2000 mobilisation were the street parties organised in Prague and Brno. The first one took place in Prague in 1998, was a part of the worldwide Global Street Party and was organised by people from Earth First!, the collective of the radical newspaper Konfrontace (Confrontation) and others who later became the Czech Reclaim The Streets group. This action was very important for our movement in terms of being the first Czech reaction to a global mobilisation. It introduced the problem of economic globalisation to the activists and the public, it connected protest with a party, some international contacts were established and also the Czech police showed how brutal they can be.

The idea of organising something against the IMF/WB Summit appeared for the first time during an informal meeting in July 1999. It was attended by people who were involved in organising the street parties. At that time most of us hardly knew anything about these two financial institutions. We had a strong feeling that there was something wrong with them. We agreed to collecting information and meeting again in the autumn.



one example that inspired many, 13 years ago...