

# A Jubilee for Climate Justice



**Re/sisters for Climate Justice:**

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## Abstract

This working paper aims at an overall objective, namely, a proposal for a post-Kyoto 'Treaty for Climate Justice' based upon a worldwide equitable (re)distribution of financial wealth, equal access to the Earth's conditions of production and reproduction, and an attendant redefinition of wealth delinked from the goods and services provided by industrial capitalism. To this end, the tenets that characterize the methodology of liberation theology: [1] socio-historical analysis; [2] biblical hermeneutical guidance; and [3] *praxis*, are enacted. A theology for liberation adopts an uncompromising position with respect to the ill-situation of the oppressed. In the case at hand, the oppressed are the parties who occupy the most disadvantageous position in the face of climate change (or rather, anthropogenic climatic forcing) and within the international regulations for the alleged abatement of CO<sub>2</sub>-equivalent emissions, herein renamed International Climate Change Regime (ICCR) –the Kyoto Protocol to the UNFCCC, the World Bank's Prototype Carbon Fund, and various emissions trading schemes.

In the initial socio-historical analysis, the historical and contemporary relations of the Earth's carbon-cycling capacity are presented in the light of eco-Marxist theory and world-systems analysis. The inquiry therefore registers both the historical and contemporary unequal access to the Earth's carbon dump (the atmosphere). This critical analysis elucidates how core-parties counterproductively prepare and meet climatic doomsday scenarios with techno-fixes and the commodification of the Earth's carbon dump. Claims to environmental knowledge, re/produced as it is in global public and private institutions promoted by core-parties, further exacerbate the economic and ecological cleavages between core vs. peripheral areas –engendering thereby a complex third contradiction of the world-system which combines elements of the first and second or ecological contradictions of capitalism. Against this analytical backdrop, it is concluded that the ICCR is far from a regime designed for the abatement of carbon emissions. Rather, it conspicuously emerges as an economic contract geared at the liberalization of soil in peripheral areas and the protectionism of the 'centres of expertise' steered by core-parties.

In seeking inspiration for addressing the unjust structures of the ICCR, we then search for a hermeneutical mediation. Here, the jubilee regulations in Leviticus 25 are examined and two principles thereof are selected for application to the present context: one, the cancellation of unjust structures of power; two, the

redistribution of material resources. Both principles are key to the expedition of *shalom*, or the capacity of communities to provide for themselves, and to participate in flourishing communion with each other, with nature and with the divine.

Finally we turn to *praxis* and outline our current ideas regarding four mainstays for a post-Kyoto 'Treaty for Climate Justice'. Therein [1] a jubilee repudiation of both the rights grandfathered in the Kyoto Protocol and the three flexible mechanisms, and analogous mechanisms enacted in various trading schemes (UK ETS, EU ETS, the World Bank's Prototype Carbon Fund) is proposed; [2] the external debts that follow from the structural adjustments advocated by IFI are put on a par with historical ecological debts, providing thereby the space for the South to remind the North of their colonized-colonizer connections; [3] a carbon tax of \$20 per tone for every country that exceeds its proportional contribution to CO<sub>2</sub>e atmospheric concentrations of 450ppm is proposed as an interim adaptation step for a longer-term move towards endogenous forms of social organization; finally [4] a move towards co-operative Gandhian or feminist gift economics in international environmental treaties is conceived as the only sound long-term adaptation strategy to climate change.

# Table of Contents

<b>[I] Introducing an Ecologically-Sound Liberation Theology .....</b>	<b>1</b>
I.1 Liberation Theology's Genesis and Raison d'Être.....	1
I.2 Ecologising Liberation Theology.....	2
<b>[II] Socio-Historical Mediation: An Eco-Marxist Reading of the ICCR.....</b>	<b>4</b>
II.1 Introducing the Historical Ecological Debts.....	4
II.2 Conceptual Framework.....	5
II.3 The First and Second or Ecological Contradictions of the World-System.....	7
II.3.1 The First Contradiction.....	7
II.3.2 The Second Contradiction.....	8
II.4 Parties in the Relations of Re/Production of the ICCR.....	9
II.4.1 Core-Parties.....	10
II.4.2 Semi-peripheral Parties.....	11
II.4.3 Peripheral Parties.....	12
II.5 The "Sustainability" of Core-Party Hegemony .....	13
II.5.1 The Utopian Character of 'GHG Fetishism'.....	14
II.5.2 Dis-embodied/embedded Claims to Environmental Science.....	15
II.5.3 A Chrematistic Global Political Ecology.....	16
II.5.4 Technological Monopoly .....	17
II.5.5 An Ecocidal Metaphysical Ontology.....	19
II.6 From Second to Third Contradiction .....	20
<b>[III] Seeking Hermeneutical Guidance for a Novel Vision: The Jubilee Regulations</b>	<b>24</b>
III.1 Commodity Accumulation as a Sick Global Religion.....	24
Description of the Jubilee and Principles for Application.....	25
III.2 The Hermeneutics of Suspicion: Caveats to the Application of the Jubilee.....	26
<b>[IV] Praxis Geared At Liberation: Towards a Harmoniously Binding 'Treaty for Climate Justice'.....</b>	<b>28</b>
IV.1 'The Urgent Need for Stability': A Jubilee Cancellation of the Global Unequal Relations of the Conditions of Re/production .....	28
IV.2 'A Fair Science-Based Agreement': Registering the Historical Relations of the Conditions of Re/Production.....	29
IV.3 Immediate 'Adaptation to Inevitable Climate Change': A Carbon Tax with a 450 ppm Cap of CO2e Atmospheric Concentration.....	31
IV.4 Medium/Long-Term 'Adaptation to Climate Change': Shalom or Economic-cum-Ecological Sovereignty over One's Culture .....	33
IV.5 'The Urgent Need for Action' .....	34

## [I]Introducing an Ecologically-Sound Liberation Theology

In this introductory section, we set out the context in and purposes for which liberation theology came into being and outline its main methodological tenets. In order to robustly extend it to the climatic conundrum, we then ontologically link the fundamentals of liberation theology with those of ecology.

### I.1 Liberation Theology's Genesis and *Raison d'Être*

Marxism represents to classical philosophy an abrupt transition from a contemplative attitude towards knowledge to one that entails an active transformation of the material conditions of life.<sup>1</sup> Attesting to his implosive method, Marx writes in the infamous 'Thesis 11 on Feuerbach': "Die Philosophen haben die Welt nur verschieden *interpretirt*, es kommt drauf an sie zu *verändern* [Philosophers up to now have only *interpreted* the world in different ways; but it is all about *changing* it]"<sup>2</sup>. In a similar vein, liberation theology adds a *praxis*-dimension to classical theology. This is a genus of *praxis* that "binds together action, suffering and reflection"<sup>3</sup>, and is directed at "liberation from all that limits or keeps human beings from self-fulfilment, liberation from all impediments to the exercise of freedom"<sup>4</sup>, particularly from the causes of suffering and destitution impinged upon the 'losers' of history. Not surprisingly, liberation theology had its genesis in the peripheries of the world, especially in the Latin America of the 1960s, and has since been gaining steady allegiance among feminist, African American, and most recently, ecological theologians.

According to the Boff brothers, liberation theology constitutes a tripartite methodological programme which commences with a "pre-theological" commitment to the oppressed segments within a given community or problematic, together with whom the theologian struggles for justice. The three formal stages or "mediations" then proceed as follows. In the first socio-historical analytical stage, critical tools are deployed to elucidate the reasons for oppression. The second, hermeneutical, mediation, involves a turn to religious sources to seek divine inspiration and guidance for a root-and-branch transformation of the situation of the oppressed. Finally, the *praxis* stage

<sup>1</sup> Shlomo Avineri, *The Social & Political Thought of Karl Marx* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 134-149.

<sup>2</sup> Karl Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach", in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology: Collected Works*, V. 5 (New York: International Publishers, 1976 [1845]), p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel L. Migliore, *Faith Seeking Understanding*, (Grand Rapids, MI, USA & Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2004), p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Gustavo Gutierrez, *Teología de la liberación. Perspectivas* (Lima: Centro de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1981 [1971]), pp. 17-18.

develops and instigates a concrete course of action to achieve the sought-after transformation.<sup>5</sup>

## I.2 Ecologising Liberation Theology

In order to apply this method of *theoria-praxis* to the climatic problematic, we build on the intimations of the eco-liberation theologian Leonardo Boff and those of the physicist and systems theorist Fritjof Capra. We thereby ground liberation theology in the etymological understanding of religion, as derived from the Latin *religare*, the act of 'binding strongly'.

*Religare* is "the force that connects all human beings to their divine and sacred center and brings them together there"<sup>6</sup>, integrating thereby the socio-political and the ecological domains alike. Thus, "[e]cological awareness [ends up being] spiritual or religious awareness", which "recognizes the fundamental interdependence of all phenomena and the embeddedness of individuals and societies in the cyclical process of nature".<sup>7</sup> Boff further argues that it is the "divine image (*imago Dei*) [...] which shines forth from the centre of our inward life and often takes the form of Christ [...] Buddha, Atman, Krishna and so on" which endows life with meaning and purpose, and "makes religious services and celebrations so important for people".<sup>8</sup>

Furthermore, because "[i]njustice in personal and social relations is a sure barrier to the disclosure or emergence of the center"<sup>9</sup>, it is imperative for the invocation of the *imago Dei* that the socio-ecological be organized on fair grounds. Akin to Marx's & Engels's assertion in the *Holy Family* that "the property classes and the class of the proletariat represent the same human self-alienation"<sup>10</sup>, Boff too highlights the double-edged nature of oppression: the oppressor "den[ies] that the other is like him or her, and [...] dehumanizes the self (to lose his or her own centre)"<sup>11</sup>. It is just, as pointedly underscored by Marx & Engels, that the oppressor "feels comfortable and confirmed in this self-alienation, knowing that this alienation is its own power [whereas the oppressed] feels ruined in this

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<sup>5</sup> Leonardo Boff and Clodovis Boff, *Introducing Liberation Theology* (Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oates, 1987).

<sup>6</sup> Leonardo Boff, *Ecology and Liberation* (Orbis: Maryknoll, 2002 [1995]), p. 168.

<sup>7</sup> Fritjof Capra, "The Role of Physics in the Current Change of Paradigms", in Richard F. Kitchener (ed.), *The World View of Contemporary Physics: Does it Need a New Metaphysics?* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1988), p. 145.

<sup>8</sup> Boff, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

<sup>9</sup> Boff, *ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in David McLellan, *The Thought of Karl Marx: An Introduction* (London & Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press, 1980, second edition), p.120.

<sup>11</sup> Boff, *op. cit.*, p. 169

alienation and sees in it [their] impotence and the actuality of an inhuman existence".<sup>12</sup>

Through a grounding in *religare*, liberation theology comes to deflect an absolute concern with the ethereal realms of 'good and evil'<sup>13</sup> and shifts rather to a grounded preoccupation with life and death on Earth. Boff also vividly captures the Nietzschean "creative-affirmative force"<sup>14</sup>, by maintaining that "[t]he main contrast is not between spirit and matter, or between soul and body, but between life and death", and by describing spirituality as what "has to do with an existence oriented to the affirmation of life and to its protection and promotion"<sup>15</sup>.

In this spirit of life-furtherance, which aims to disintegrate the shackles of oppression and actualise the sacred or the *imago Dei* in flourishing socio-political-ecological relations, we proceed with the initial stage of liberation theology – a socio-historical analysis of the International Climate Change Regime (ICCR).

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<sup>12</sup> Quoted in McLellan, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>13</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil: Prelude to a Philosophy of the Future*, McLean (Virginia: IndyPublish.com, translated by Helen Zimmern, 2003); Arkady Plotnitsky, *Reconfigurations: Critical Theory and General Economy* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1993a), pp. 149-211.

<sup>14</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche, *Birth of Tragedy & The Case of Wagner* (New York: Vintage Books; translated, with commentary by Walter Kaufmann, 1967), sec. 14, p. 88.

<sup>15</sup> Boff, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

## [II] Socio-Historical Mediation: An Eco-Marxist Reading of the ICCR

### II.1 Introducing the Historical Ecological Debts

Abundant work on the contentious issue that goes under the banner of ecological debt has been undertaken by both economists of marked eco-Marxist persuasion<sup>16</sup>, and by NGOs that stand for economic-cum-ecological justice, such as the British Christian Aid<sup>17</sup> and the Ecuadorian Acción Ecológica<sup>18</sup>. The work at issue has been carried out with an eye towards theorizing, quantifying and bringing to the international political agenda the issue of historical ecological debts.

Ecological debts are incurred by Northern countries in relation to Southern counterparts in view of the disproportionate and gratis use the former have made of global environmental services over the last five centuries. Thus, ecological debts are the ecological reflection of unequal links accompanying the rise of the capitalist world-system<sup>19</sup> at the political-economy level. In the framework of this world-system, a dominant set of core countries has enforced its reductionist chrematistic mindset<sup>20</sup> to develop its genocidal and ecocidal industrial capacities on the back of the ecological resources of a set of semi-peripheral and peripheral countries.<sup>21</sup>

Historical ecological debts are multidimensional and cover among other sub-categories the carbon debt, which speaks for the unequal access/use made of the Earth's carbon-cycling capacity by cores *vis-à-vis* semi-peripheries and peripheries. In line with carbon-debt accountability, monetary quantifications can be determined on a country-by-country basis.<sup>22</sup> Contrastingly, a critical analysis

<sup>16</sup> Joan Martinez-Alier, *The Environmentalism of the Poor: A Study of Ecological Conflicts and Valuation* (Cheltenham, UK & Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 2002), p. 213-250; *ibid.*, "¿Quién debe a quién?," in Joan Martinez-Alier & Arcadi Oliveras, *¿Quién debe a quién? Deuda ecológica y deuda externa* (Barcelona: Icaria, 2003), pp. 41-82.

<sup>17</sup> Christian Aid, "Who owes who: Climate Change, Debt, Equity and Survival" (1999), published online at <http://www.christian-aid.org.uk/indepth/9909whoo/whoo1.htm>; *ibid.*, "Facing the Inevitable: A Christian Aid UNFCCC COP 12/MOP2 Briefing" (2006), published online at <http://www.christian-aid.org.uk/indepth/0611climatechange/Kenya%20COP%20briefing%20Nov06.pdf>

<sup>18</sup> VVAA, "Call for Action against International Financial Institutions" (2006), published online at <http://www.deudaecologica.org/documentos/lamadoeng.pdf>.

<sup>19</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, San Francisco, London: Academic Press, 1974); *ibid.*, "The dilemmas of open space: the future of the WSF," *UNESCO* (Oxford, UK & Melden, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 2004); *ibid.*, *World-systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2006 [2004]).

<sup>20</sup> See p.6 for the definitional distinction between chrematistics and economics.

<sup>21</sup> Alf Hornborg, *The Power of the Machine: Global Inequalities of Economy, Technology, and Environment* (Wenut Creek, Lanham, New York, Oxford: Altamira Press, 2001); Martinez-Alier, 2002, *op. cit.*; Martinez-Alier, 2003, *op. cit.*.

<sup>22</sup> Martinez-Alier, *op. cit.*, 2002, pp. 229-233; 2003: pp. 70-80.

of the International Climate Change Regime (ICCR), which is in charge of regulating the contemporary global relations of the Earth's carbon-cycling capacity, alerts us to a caveat as to the basis on which the divisions between core, semi-peripheries and peripheries should proceed. As is pointedly underscored<sup>23</sup>, globalization –i.e. the current neoliberal stage of the capitalist world-system— dislocates traditional geographical and class borderlines. For example, ecofeminist Ariel Salleh fashions it thusly:

“Globalization is a colonising force that literally drives the contradictions of late capitalist patriarchy relations right down to our body cells. In this expanded material reality new questions are posed. What is North and South? Who is a subaltern?”<sup>24</sup>

We may therefore conclude that contemporary world-system theory can no longer be established on a country-by-country basis. Different social groups scattered throughout the world with differing degrees of access/use of the Earth's carbon-cycling capacity, as well as production of 'environmental expertise', appear to disrupt the traditional core, semi-peripheral and peripheral configuration.

## II.2 Conceptual Framework

To articulate cogently the contemporary relations of the Earth's carbon-cycling capacity, the following framework is advanced. In relation to historical Marxist world-systems theory,<sup>25</sup> a conceptual distinction between traditional *contra* contemporary socio-chrematistic/economic units is drawn. Traditional core, semi-peripheral and peripheral areas are subject to the theoretical rigidity of country-monoliths and therefore fail to account for the geographically-disembedded volatility on the basis of which socio-chrematistic/economic ghettos rise and fall in the current neoliberal framework. To register this latter reality, actors in the ICCR are identified as core-, semi-peripheral and peripheral *parties* or *areas*.

In relation to traditional and ecological Marxist theory, a conceptual distinction between conditions of production<sup>26</sup> *versus* conditions of reproduction appears equally key to a proper articulation of the ICCR. Following Marx, O'Connor<sup>27</sup> enacts the concept of 'conditions of production' in a broad sense “includ[ing]

23 Cf. Maria Mies, “The Myth of Catching-up Development,” in Maria Mies & Vandana Shiva, *Ecofeminism* (New Dehli: Kali for Women, 1993), pp. 55-69; Ariel Salleh, *Ecofeminism as Politics: Nature, Marx and the Postmodern* (London & New York: Zed Books Ltd., 1997).

24 Salleh, *ibid.*, p. x.

25 Wallerstein, *op. cit.*, 1974, 2004, 2006 [2004]; Andre Gunder Frank & Barry K. Gills (eds.), *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?* (London & New York: Routledge, 1993 [1999]); Hornborg, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-79.

26 James O'Connor, “The Conditions of Production and the Production of Conditions,” in James O'Connor, , *Natural Causes: Essays on Ecological Marxism* (New York & London: The Guilford Press, 1998a), pp. 144-157.

commodified or capitalized materiality and sociality, [but] excluding commodity production, distribution, and exchange.” Yet for convenience in our context, we shall say that central among the production conditions is the natural base which supplies the raw materials for manufacture, and consistently name the latter *nature-related condition of production*.

We define conditions of reproduction as those conditions in the production process that must by necessity remain unimpaired so that the eco-cycle is properly closed up,<sup>28</sup> and the nature-related condition of production can be properly reproduced. No less than three major elements comprise these conditions. Namely, *non-genetically modified seeds*;<sup>2930</sup> two essential elements in the biochemistry of any organism –viz. nitrogen and phosphorous;<sup>31</sup> and the Earth’s carbon-cycling capacity, also spoken of as global carbon dump<sup>32</sup>, which includes both carbon sinks –oceans, soil, vegetation– and the Earth’s carbon reservoir –i.e. the atmosphere.<sup>33</sup> This latter condition will be consistently abbreviated as *carbon-related condition of reproduction*.

In relation to conceptions of wealth, we endorse the conceptual divide ‘chrematistics’ vs. ‘economics’. ‘Chrematistics’ and ‘Oeconomicus’ are both Hellenic neologisms to be found in Aristotle’s *Politica*. Defined strictly from their etymological significance, ‘Oeconomicus’ (‘oikos’, household, and ‘nomos’, law or rule) is “the practical wisdom of household management”,<sup>34</sup> whilst ‘Chrematistics’ (‘crema’, possession or wealth) “refers mainly to the pecuniary aspects of

27 James O’Connor, “The Second Contradiction of Capitalism,” in James O’Connor, *Natural Causes: Essays on Ecological Marxism* (New York & London: The Guilford Press, 1998b), pp. 158-177.

28 A. Duncan Brown, *Feed or Feedback: Agriculture, Population Dynamics and the State of the Environment* (Utrecht: International Books, 2003), p. 12.

29 Vandana Shiva, *Biopiracy: the Plunder of Nature and Knowledge* (Boston, Massachusetts: South End Press, 1997), pp. 49-52.

30 The distinction between conditions of production and reproduction brings to light the inescapable truism that GM seeds are a scandalous invention. Ecologically speaking, the lab-hybridized seed succeeds in “transforming a self-regenerative process into a broken linear flow of supply” (Shiva, *ibid.*, p. 50), hampering thereby the reproduction of the production process. Economically, the GM seed uproots the sovereignty of the peasant over her means of re/production and turns her into a chrematistic pendant of the capitalist world-system.

31 Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-206.

32 Larry Lohmann, “Democracy or Carbocracy? Intellectual Corruption and the Future of the Climate Debate” (2001), published online at <http://www.thecornerhouse.org.uk/pdf/briefing/24carboc.pdf>; *ibid.*, “Inquiry into the International Challenge of Climate Change: UK Leadership in the G8 and EU,” Memorandum by The Corner House, SinksWatch and Carbon Trade Watch (2004), published online at <http://www.thecornerhouse.org.uk/pdf/document/envtaud.pdf>; *ibid.*, “Marketing and Making Carbon Dumps: Commodification, Calculation and Counterfactuals in Climate Change Mitigation, Science as Culture,” 14 (3) 2005, pp. 203-235; *ibid.* (ed.), *Carbon Trading: A Critical Conversation on Climate Change, Privatisation and Power*, (Uddevalla, Sweden: Development Dialogue, 2006) no. 48.

33 Martinez-Alier, *op. cit.*, 2002: 230.

34 Joseph A. Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis* (London: Routledge, 1997 [1954]), edited from manuscript by Elizabeth Boody Schumpeter and with an Introduction by Mark Perlman, p. 53.

business activity.”<sup>35</sup> Karl Polanyi<sup>36</sup> appears to have been the first in a series of modern economists to retrieve the distinction, subsequently endorsed by a number of ecological thinkers among whom is a strand of ecological economists.<sup>37</sup>

The two words have been charged with an additional political meaning: ‘Oeconomicus’ symbolises the quest for human-scale “economics for community,”<sup>38</sup> whilst the chrematistic rationale speaks in favour of the mainstream market economy paradigm –or self-regulating market,<sup>39</sup> herein renamed capitalist world-system. In this definitory light, the contradictions of capitalism<sup>40</sup> dealt with below are of a *chrematistic* order instead of an economic one; consistently they are referred to as *chrematistic contradictions of the world-system*.

Finally, we discard the reified term ‘environmental crisis’ in favour of ‘ecocide’. Ecocide appositely highlights the deliberate anthropogenic character of environmental disasters –as opposed to natural processes- conducive to climatic forcing and global warming/cooling.

### II.3 The First and Second or Ecological Contradictions of the World-System

A central chapter in traditional Marxist theory is one which narrates the demise of capitalism –here duly redubbed capitalist world-system— in the light of its internal chrematistic contradictions. In the following, the classical or first contradiction to which eco-Marxism juxtaposes the ecological or second contradiction is outlined.

#### II.3.1 The First Contradiction

Traditional Marxist theory establishes that the first contradiction of capitalism pivots around the gap between the steady rise in the proletariat’s production capacity and the non-accorded increment in their purchasing power. The antinomy arises therefore between the forces of production, which potentially can yield an infinite amount of goods, and the social relations of production which

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<sup>35</sup> Schumpeter, *ibid*.

<sup>36</sup> Karl Polanyi, “Aristotle Discovers the Economy,” in Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg and Harry W. Pearson (eds.), *Trade and the Market in the Early Empires*, (New York: Free Press, 1971 [1957]), pp. 64-94.

<sup>37</sup> Herman E. Daly and Joan Martinez-Alier just to name two.

<sup>38</sup> Herman E. Daly & John B. Cobb, *For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy toward Community, the Environment and a Sustainable Future* (Boston: Bacon Press, 1994 [1989]), p. 138.

<sup>39</sup> Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1944 [2001]).

<sup>40</sup> James O’Connor, “The Second Contradiction of Capitalism,” in James O’Connor, *Natural Causes: Essays on Ecological Marxism* (New York & London: The Guilford Press, 1998), pp. 158-177.

hamper the former in the following manner. The propertied class, eager to create chrematistic exchange-value, usurps the surplus value or rate of exploitation. Thereby, the propertied class leaves the class of the proletariat bereft of the means to purchase that which it generated through and by its own sweat, i.e. its own production.<sup>41</sup> Logically, as time goes by and the proletariat remains unable to acquire its own goods, commodities stack up. In this inauspicious picture, the elements for a looming chrematistic crisis of overproduction are all in place. Along with them, forms of social protest, such as the worker's movement, mushroom and "more transparently social, hence potentially socialist"<sup>42</sup> productive forces and relations surface.

Despite the achievements of the labour movement, which, as J. O'Connor<sup>43</sup> suggests, may have spawned more socialist-prone relations of production, core-parties in the world-system resiliently responded to its first contradiction by creating the post-war society of mass production and consumption –i.e. Fordism/Taylorism and Keynesianism.<sup>44</sup> The unbridled deployment of Fordism/Taylorism and Keynesianism have rendered the ecological or second contradiction so conspicuous that, though being inherent to the essence and thus self-same inception of the capitalist world-system, its noticing and theorizing<sup>45</sup> could at some point no longer be overlooked. It is no accident that this point coincided with the advent of the modern ecological movement which many date to have started in the late 1960's.<sup>46</sup>

### II.3.2 The Second Contradiction

The second contradiction of capitalism is grounded upon a similar grouping of causes and effects to that of the first, though here capital does not impede the proper functioning of the world-system through the worker –it does so *via* nature. According to O'Connor, the expansion of capitalism spoils its own production conditions, for it pollutes water, soil, air, and reduces biodiversity. The sequel backfires toward the very capitalist, who must either afford the costs of restoring the production conditions, or face dissent movements of protest. The latter may

<sup>41</sup> Maurice Dobb, "Introduction," in Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977 [1859]), pp. 12 *et passim*.

<sup>42</sup> O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

<sup>43</sup> O'Connor, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-157.

<sup>44</sup> David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Inquiry Into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge, MA & Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1995 [1990]), pp. 124-188; J.R. McNeill, *Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (New York & London: Norton & Company, 2001 [2000]), pp. 316-19.

<sup>45</sup> O'Connor, *ibid.*, pp. 158-177.

<sup>46</sup> Pratap Chatterjee & Matthias Finger, *The Earth Brokers: Power, Politics and World Development* (London & New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 5-10; Éric Darier (ed.), *Discourses of the Environment* (Oxford & Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 1-2; Paul Rutherford, "The Entry of Life into History," in Éric Darier (ed.), *Discourses of the Environment* (Oxford & Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 55.

or may not impose better production practices, in the affirmative case increasing production costs. So in this second contradiction, the paradox substantiates around, on the one hand, the production relations ascertained between the propertied class and the class of the proletariat, and the productive forces, again potentially unlimited; and, on the other, the impaired nature-related condition of production.

The same rationale henceforth follows: the capitalist, impatient to generate chrematistic exchange-value, expands the production forces, stressing thereby the production conditions, including the nature-related one. The result is a chrematistic crisis which assumes, this time, the form of underproduction. Responding to the pressure exerted by resulting green movements of dissent, "capital restructures the *conditions* of production [by way of,] for example, permanent-yield forests, land reclamation, regional land use and/or resource planning, population policy, health policy, labour market regulation, toxic waste disposal planning, and so on."<sup>47</sup>

Yet the ever-expanding production capacities of core-parties are not only impairing their nature-related condition of production –as emphasized in the second contradiction,<sup>48</sup> they are simultaneously stressing a vital condition of reproduction –*viz.* the Earth's carbon-cycling capacity. In the face of the exacerbation of the second contradiction, which is taking the form of a global atmospheric ecocide along with a concatenation of localized ecocides, core-parties are presently asserting their hegemonic position in the world-system from past to future upon two hinges –*viz.* the discourse of sustainable development, and the deployment of the ICCR as an overarching global legal framework. Before moving, in Section [II.5], to a more detailed description of the consequences of this strategy, which is steering the world-system to an intricate third contradiction that blends elements of the first and second or ecological contradictions of capitalism, a mapping of the parties involved in the ICCR is first provided.

#### II.4 Parties in the Relations of Re/Production of the ICCR

In the ICCR that core-parties are deliberately setting in place, the relations of re/production occur between two major parties –a core, and a periphery. Yet there is a third cluster of actors whose presence should be registered, no matter how neutral presently their role in the ICCR –as in the post-Kyoto era this cluster

<sup>47</sup> O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

<sup>48</sup> O'Connor, *ibid.*, pp. 158-177.

is bound to exert a more decisive role. Let us in the following briefly outline the building compounds of each party.

#### II.4.1 Core-Parties

The core is composed of two major blocs. One is linked to various emissions trading schemes (UK ETS, EU ETS, and that of the Kyoto Protocol), and the other to project-based 'flexible mechanisms' such as the two instituted in the Kyoto Protocol –Joint Implementation, Clean Development Mechanism— and those facilitated by the World Bank's Prototype Carbon Fund. Flexible mechanisms entitle Western industrialised countries to locate, create or buy new carbon dumps for their domestic emissions by promoting projects that shall *allegedly* sequester or avoid carbon emissions.

Actors in the first group include:

- Heavy industrial sectors in 38 countries of both the Western industrialised world and the former Eastern bloc (Annex-I countries in the Kyoto Protocol) that through their national governments have been allocated *gratis* tradable emissions rights to the extant global carbon dump; these happen to be the "biggest corporate emitters of greenhouse gases in the electric power, iron and steel, cement, pulp and paper, and other sectors in industrialised nations who have caused the climate crisis [impaired the global carbon-related condition of reproduction] and already exploit these systems the most."<sup>49</sup>
- Experts in the 'centres of calculation' in charge of shaping and defining the agents and commodities involved in the carbon market. In his *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin called these centres 'labour aristocracy': "the best-paid workers of the industrialized nations [who] could be perceived as implicated in the exploitation of poorer sections of the global working class [parties in the periphery]."<sup>50</sup> These expertise-bearing subjects make a living out of their scientific claims and exert a disproportional influence over social decision-making processes at the expense of popular participation. This group of actors is mainly located in corporations, government ministries, UN bodies, the World Bank, consultancies, trading firms, investment banks, commodity exchanges, national laboratories, research establishments, industry associations, law firms, policy think-tanks, industrial standard-setting

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<sup>49</sup> Lohmann, *op. cit.*, 2006, p. 356.

<sup>50</sup> Quoted in Hornborg, *op. cit.*, p 36.

bodies, technocratic NGOs such as the World Resources Institute, and university departments of economics/econometrics, forestry, agriculture, biology, law, physics, geology and politics.<sup>51</sup>

The second group within core-parties is composed of legal entities throughout the world who ensure the production process of the core —be it in the form of manufacture of physical goods, or provision of energy or/and information— by promoting projects within any extant flexible mechanisms. These include:

- Private companies who seek licences to sell dumping rights for the emissions that their projects have allegedly avoided. Examples of these projects are: large hydroelectric dams, efficiency programmes, forestry schemes, biomass energy, wind farms, coal mines and fossil-fuel power plants.<sup>52</sup>
- Carbon project developers and managers among which the World Bank appears as a dominant player.<sup>53</sup>
- Carbon project sponsors and investors. Some of the ones related to the World Bank's Prototype Carbon Fund include: British Petroleum, Mitsubishi, Deutsche Bank, Tokyo Electric Power, Gaz de France, and the governments of The Netherlands, Norway, Finland, Canada, Sweden, and Japan.<sup>54</sup>

#### II.4.2 Semi-peripheral Parties

The semi-periphery includes the industries and large-scale corporations in China, India, Pakistan, Brazil and other fast-industrialising countries (non-Annex I countries in the Kyoto Protocol) that, despite not having been attributed rights to the Earth's carbon dump, are allowed to proceed with their production processes exempt of monetary sanctions. As it is concurred in the literature: “[d]eveloping countries [here redubbed semi-peripheral parties] are expected to supersede industrialized countries as the leading source of greenhouse gas emissions in the next thirty years”.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Lohmann, *op. cit.*, 2005, p. 210; Heidi Bachram, “Climate Fraud and Carbon Colonialism: The New Trade in Greenhouse Gases,” *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 15 (4), 2004, pp. 12-13.

<sup>52</sup> Lohmann, *op. cit.*, 2005, p. 209.

<sup>53</sup> CDM Watch, “The World Bank and the carbon market: rhetoric and reality” (2005), published online at <http://www.cdmwatch.org/files/World%20Bank%20paper%20final.pdf>

<sup>54</sup> Lohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

<sup>55</sup> Allen Blackman, ‘The Economics of Technology Diffusion: Implications for Greenhouse Gas Mitigation in Developing Countries’, in Stuart S. Nagel (ed.), *Environmental Policy and Developing Nations*, (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London: McFarland & Company, 2002), p. 288.

### II.4.3 Peripheral Parties

Finally the periphery is made up of two broad groups: one thrust into the 'losers slot' when core-parties established the ICCR; a second one falling into the position of 'additional losers' as the ICCR is steadily deployed and enlarged. In the initial 'losers slot,' two groups are to be distinguished. One is composed of indigenous, peasant, local communities, and islands and low-lying costal areas that, in hosting flexible mechanisms –such as the Kyoto Protocol's CDM projects, see their local economies (nature-related condition of production) uprooted. Another consists of low-income communities in the industrialised world that suffer from eco-racism as a result of the unabated-emission pattern enabled with the flexible mechanisms.

Within the cluster of emerging losers, there is firstly a subgroup born out of the eco-(d)e(f)icient patches that core-parties are fixing to the bursting neoliberal bubble. These measures are spawning further shifts in the global political ecological panorama, which affect "many of the world's poorest people [who see] threaten[ed] the[ir] precarious livelihoods" as a result of the "ethanol boom"<sup>56</sup> fuelled by the Bush Administration and the Blairite cabinet<sup>57</sup> to meet US & UK energy demands. The reluctance to question the social and personal worth of the profligate 'American dream' and the UK's entrenched consumer culture alter ecologically and economically the stability of many a localised *oikos* in peripheral areas. On the global ecological front, "huge amounts of the world's remaining forests will have to be cut down and turned over to corn [,] sugar cane,"<sup>58</sup> and palm oil plantations in tropical countries such as Malaysia and Indonesia,<sup>59</sup> thereby causing thereby further deforestation and suppressing an essential source of "moderat[ion of] the planet's temperature."<sup>60</sup> On the economic front, the surge in demand for corn and sugar cane has simultaneously set the price of cereals on the rise, jeopardising the livelihood of those with feeble purchasing-power capacities.

A second subgroup of emerging losers conforms to "the energy underclass that could develop [...] if personal carbon trading is introduced in the fight against

<sup>56</sup> The Independent, "Leading article: A switch to biofuels will not save the planet," (05/03/2007), published online at [http://comment.independent.co.uk/leading\\_articles/article2328768.ece](http://comment.independent.co.uk/leading_articles/article2328768.ece); Movimento Sem Terra (MST), "Full Tanks at the Cost of Empty Stomachs: The Expansion of the Sugarcane Industry in Latin America", 16/03/2007, published online at <http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?SectionID=20&ItemID=12339>

<sup>57</sup> Monbiot, "Just a lot of hot air," *The Guardian* (05/03/2007), published online at <http://politics.guardian.co.uk/columnist/story/0,,2026723,00.html>

<sup>58</sup> *The Independent*, *ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Monbiot, *op. cit.*

<sup>60</sup> *The Independent*, *op. cit.*

climate change.”<sup>61</sup> Again, those segments with the most meagre financial means could be put in the vulnerable position of perceiving their energy allowances as a new exchange-value for the acquisition of basic foodstuffs.

## II.5 The “Sustainability” of Core-Party Hegemony

We resume the storyline: how are the core-parties currently responding to the aggravation of the second or ecological contradiction of the world-system? They do so by deploying policies of eco-modernization inspiration. Co-opting the indictment levelled against industrial capitalism by the modern green movement,<sup>62</sup> the Brundtland Report of 1987 made abundantly explicit that green(-plated) capitalism was the sole rationale that henceforth had the legitimacy to inform environmental policies at the national and international levels alike.<sup>63</sup>

Interestingly enough, in the light of the Second Law of Thermodynamics<sup>64</sup> in relation to the current global entropic rate,<sup>65</sup> the eco-modernizing and attendant ‘sustainability’ strategies emerge as mere semiotic or fictional constructions<sup>66</sup> of the physical possibilities of the Earth’s material basis. Far from being an outlet to either its self-incurred first or ecological contradictions, green (-plated) capitalism is but a semiotic sign –a hegemonic discourse<sup>67</sup> –which fails to connect with a coherent signified at the material level. The actual signified of this sign is rather the *sustainability of the core-party hegemonic position* in the world-system on all fronts –the onto-epistemological, the political ecological and technological alike. The sustainability of this hegemonic position, it must be noted, forbids the structural changes that are necessary<sup>68</sup> for the world-system to abort the incubation and incurrence of its third contradiction, as it will be exposed in Section [II.6].

<sup>61</sup> Alan MacDermid, “Fears for poorest over personal carbon trade plan”, *The Herald*, (22/03/2007), published online at <http://www.theherald.co.uk/misc/print.php?artid=1280682>

<sup>62</sup> Juan Martinez-Alier, “Poverty and the Environment: A Critique of the Conventional Wisdom,” in Ramachandra Guha & Juan Martinez-Alier, *Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North and South* (London: Earthscan, 2000 [1997]), pp 46-76; Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Limits of Nineteenth-Century Paradigms :Unthinking Social Science*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001; second edition), p. 25; Vandana Shiva, *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development* (New Delhi, London & New Jersey: Zed Books, 2002 [1989]).

<sup>63</sup> World Commission On Environment And Development, *Our Common Future* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. ix + 43.

<sup>64</sup> Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen, *The Entropy Law and the Economic Process*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974 [1971]).

<sup>65</sup> Malte Faber, Reiner Manstetten & John Proops with Stephan Baumgärtner, “The Use of the Entropy Concept in Ecological Economics” in Malte Faber et al., *Ecological Economics: Concepts and Methods* (Cheltenham, UK & Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 1998 [1996]), pp. 132.

<sup>66</sup> Martin O’Connor, “On the Misadventures of Capitalist Nature,” in Martin O’Connor (ed.), *Is Capitalism Sustainable? Political Economy and the Politics of Ecology* (New York & London: The Guilford Press, 1994), pp. 125-151.

<sup>67</sup> John Dryzek, *The Politics of the Earth: Environmental Discourses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, 2nd ed.), p. 145.

<sup>68</sup> That is, the agenda upheld and reclaimed by the global environmental justice movement (Martinez-Alier, *op. cit.*, 2002, pp. 10-15).

### II.5.1 The Utopian Character of ‘GHG Fetishism’

The discourse of sustainability facilitates first of all the perpetuation of the reigning liberal epistemology in the global claims to environmental science, disembodied from the social and corporeal bodies and disembedded from the *oikos* as they are. This incessant trend is most apparent in the reports of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the foremost international authoritative voice in climate change,<sup>69</sup> Al Gore’s *Inconvenient Truth*, and the (weak un)certainly under which environmental certificates trade with the global carbon-related condition of reproduction.

No matter how truly relevant the lengthy life-spans of GHGs for the stability of the climate, climatic doomsday scenarios on the life and death of GHGs are only possible precisely on the liberal abstraction that the IPCC adopts in their “anthropogenic climate change” reports. We may assert that IPCC projections, in so far as they treat embodied and embedded experiences as reified “socio-economic systems” or “human systems,”<sup>70</sup> are utopian in the most literal sense of the word –i.e. as “nowhere land,”<sup>71</sup> occurring in no prospective place wheresoever.

In this light, and by way of analogy, we may say that GHGs are to climate change analytics what labour and land to the self-regulating market –here redubbed capitalist world-system; namely, sheer fictions. Just as “[t]he commodity description of labor, land [...] is entirely fictitious [for none are produced as regular commodities, yet] it is with the help of this fiction that the actual markets for labor, land [...] are organized,”<sup>72</sup> so too doomsday climatic scenarios based on the life and death of GHGs are fictions advanced with the fictitious liberal epistemology –dis-embedded/embodied from physical realities as it is.

Making now a transposition with Marx’s indictment of capitalism, we may distrust the utopian or fictitious character of GHGs scenarios that hijack our future given their fetishist dimension<sup>73</sup> –they neglect the natural fact that, under circumstances where our embodied/embedded conditions are threatened, we comradely organize effective counteroffensives. Indeed, this

<sup>69</sup> Clive L. Spash, *Greenhouse Economics: Value and Ethics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 8-9.

<sup>70</sup> Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2001), “Climate Change 2001: Synthesis Report – Summary for Policymakers”, published online at <http://www.ipcc.ch/pub/un/syrceng/spm.pdf>, question 5: p. 18.

<sup>71</sup> Marius de Geus, *Ecological Utopias: Envisioning the Sustainable Society* (Utrecht: International Books, 1999), p. 19.

<sup>72</sup> Polanyi, *op. cit.*, 2001 [1944]), p. 76.

<sup>73</sup> Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Book One: The Process of Production of Capital. Translated from the third German edition by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling edited by Frederick Engels (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1983 [1867/1887/1954]), ch. 1, sec. 4, pp 76-87; Georg Lukács, *History and Class Consciousness* (London: Merlin Press, 1971), pp. 83-110.

embodiment/embeddedness is the very foundation of liberation theology, a point to which we return in Sections III and IV.

Finally, it is equally relevant to underscore that the truly alarmist tone raised by the IPCC reports has materialised within core-party institutions in an emphasis upon the need to adapt to climate change, away from the initial categorical emphasis upon the urgent deployment of measures directed at its prevention. In this light, hope emanating from the capitalist world-system to undertake the required structural changes to realise the Kingdom of God on Earth, where the values of peace, social and environmental justice find free rein, has been forsaken in favour of adaptation strategies based upon technological ill-solutions that often entail the geo-engineering of the planet, as we will unpack at some length in Section [II.5.4] below.

### II.5.2 Dis-embodied/embedded Claims to Environmental Science

The discourse of sustainability too makes inroads into the scientific claims to knowledge circulating in the carbon markets. Environmental science repudiates the epistemological implications of weak uncertainty to embrace in full those of strong uncertainty.<sup>74 75</sup> In other words, however much the predominant capitalist world-system of centralised purported nation-states seeks certain claims to knowledge in order to proceed with the management of populations and natural resources –wherein their *raison d'être* lies,<sup>76</sup> indeterminacy rules in the interpenetrated (or religious, interdependent) nature of Gaia. However, carbon credits are successfully packaged and circulated through global carbon markets with an alien ontological identity to them –that of [weak un]certainty.

Moreover, in today's as much mode-of-information<sup>77</sup> as mode-of-production based world-system, certain claims to environmental knowledge further enlarge the production capacities of core-parties. They achieve this by generating a new 'expertise-based' industry that is critical to the preservation of the physical production processes managed and controlled by the core-parties. Heidi Bachram, a critical voice of the ICCR, illustrates the intimate interplay between the

<sup>74</sup> Spash, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-152.

<sup>75</sup> Weak uncertainty can be corrected with an increase in research. Strong uncertainty entails irreducible areas of ignorance and indeterminacy proper to interpenetrated systems such as the Earth (Spash, *ibid.*, pp. 97-152).

<sup>76</sup> Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (eds.) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991 [1978] year when Foucault's *Govern.* was first published in French), pp. 87-104; Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: an Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1980 [1970]). Shiv Visvanathan, "Mrs. Bruntland's Disenchanted Cosmos," *Alternatives*, 16(3), 1991; pp. 253-263; Darier, *op. cit.*; Rutherford, *op. cit.*

<sup>77</sup> Mark Poster, *Foucault, Marxism & History: Mode of Production versus Mode of Information* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985 [1984]).

'expertise' that core-parties generate in relation to carbon emissions, and the advantageous position in which the core-party production processes are placed over those of peripheral parties:

"One of the most tragic ironies of the Kyoto Protocol is that 'carbon sinks' (forests, oceans, etc.) can only qualify for emissions credits if they are managed by those with official status. This means that an old-growth rainforest inhabited for thousand of years by indigenous peoples does not qualify under Kyoto rules as 'managed' and cannot get credits. However, a monoculture plantation run by the states or a registered private company does qualify. This exposes the vested interests which are served by emissions trading, as ordinary people are not recognized by the official process."<sup>78</sup>

### II.5.3A Chrematistic Global Political Ecology

The environmental certificates generated by this 'expertise-based' industry gain the international legal authority to regulate the two interpenetrated markets that allegedly are to mitigate the GHGs concentrations in the atmosphere.<sup>79</sup> One deals with the commodification of the carbon-related condition of reproduction; the other creates a fictional offsetting market as an extrapolation of environmental chrematistics. To be sure, the ICCR on the one hand commodifies this vital condition of reproduction —which it is impairing— by creating a carbon market. Within the legal framework of the Kyoto Protocol, for instance, large-scale corporations in 38 industrialised countries (some of the actors in core-parties) are 'grandfathered' rights of their inveterate abuse of the global carbon dump provided that their CO<sub>2</sub>-equivalent emissions (CO<sub>2</sub>e) in the period 2008-2012 shall not exceed on average 94.8% of their 1990-emissions levels.

Complementarily, this very framework legally forces the 'partners' in the periphery to host projects on their lands to develop novel carbon dumps for the absorption of carbon emissions released by core-party production processes. Through this mechanism core-parties earn carbon credits that they can then offset against their own emissions. This second generation, as it were, of carbon markets takes the form of both fast-growing monocultures of pine, eucalyptus and acacia plantations, and energy-related schemes.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Bachram, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>79</sup> United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), "Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change" (11/12/1997), Art. 3., published online at <http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/convkp/kpeng.pdf>.

<sup>80</sup> Martinez-Alier, *op. cit.*, 2002, pp. 233-235.

Beyond the first carbon-related market, the establishment of this second fictional one secures the impairment of the remaining conditions of reproduction. The uprooting of local economic systems for the establishment of monocultures of biofuels<sup>81</sup> for the benefit of core-party production processes threatens the reproduction of local seed banks, and the circulation of nitrogen and phosphorous in a relatively closed eco-cycle in peripheral areas. Carbon credits must therefore be read as dodgy claims to knowledge<sup>82</sup> with noxious repercussions at the international political ecological level. On their basis, core-parties succeed in enforcing their chrematistic exchange-value at the global level, usurping the conditions of re/production of semi-peripheral and peripheral parties, and selfishly ensuring exclusively the reproduction of their own production processes.

In this process, carbon credits take the capitalist world-system to a further level of abstraction, when it comes to the form of exchange-value whereby the world-system regulates the climate change regime. Indeed, some believe that the carbon market will become the largest market ever.<sup>83</sup> This exchange-value not only has lost its parity with the gold standard, but it also has moved away from central banks, which, with the exception of the Federal Reserve in the USA, kept the monetary or exchange system somehow attached to the representative un/democratic system proper to the liberal nation-state. The model that regulates the exchange system in the current ICCR, contrastingly, takes after the USA-styled form of monetarism. Namely, it is private bodies that issue 'at will' the currency that circulates in carbon markets. We may therefore conclude that the fictitious (weak un)certainty that envelops carbon credits serves to validate the chrematistic disembedded exchange-value system in the face of more ecologically coherent use-value-based economic systems such as socialist accountability or *Naturalrechnung*.<sup>84</sup>

#### II.5.4 Technological Monopoly

The discourse of sustainability further ensures the monopoly over environmental technology to core-parties. It has legitimized the creation of a legal framework that sets into motion the benignly-conveyed "technology transfer"<sup>85</sup> process from

<sup>81</sup> The Independent, *op. cit.*; MST, *op. cit.*

<sup>82</sup> Lohmann, *op. cit.*, 2001, 2005, 2005; Carbon Trade Watch, "The Carbon Neutral Myth: Offset Indulgences for your Climate Sins" (Amsterdam: Transnational Institute, 2007), published online at [http://www.carbontradewatch.org/pubs/carbon\\_neutral\\_myth.pdf](http://www.carbontradewatch.org/pubs/carbon_neutral_myth.pdf)

<sup>83</sup> Lohmann, *ibid.*, 2005, p. 207.

<sup>84</sup> Martinez-Alier, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 212-18; Martinez-Alier et al., *op. cit.*, p. 278.

<sup>85</sup> UNFCCC, *op. cit.*, Art. 11(2)(a).

core-parties to (semi-peripheral and) peripheral areas. In line with the perception within the literature, 'technology transfer' is "likely to gain widespread support since [it] represent[s] opportunities to enhance productivity and abate local pollution in the eyes of developing countries [peripheral parties], and opportunities to boost exports of equipment and expertise in the eyes of industrialized countries [core parties]."<sup>86</sup>

However, it is precisely within this context that anthropologist and theorist of a budding ecological world-system theory, Alf Hornborg, alerts us against the role that technology exerts in the hands of core-parties. Far from fixing environmental problems, technology is a means to re/produce global unequal-exchange patterns. In Hornborg's own words:

"unequal exchange in the world system is what reproduces machines, and machines are what reproduce unequal exchange. But does it agree with our everyday conception of technology as an application of inventive genius to natural resources? In some important sense it seems that I have not yet grasped what technology really *is*."<sup>87</sup>

Machines, the harbingers of eco-efficiency, and adaptation to climate change,<sup>88</sup> are devices that progressively fossilize uneven access to the global conditions of re/production. To put it plainly, technological fixes

"don't fix. They promise to deliver the world from the worst dangers of climate change while leaving everything else –politics, commerce and so forth– just as it is. But in fact [...] they do the opposite. They leave the course of climate change just as it is while exacerbating the inequalities."<sup>89</sup>

We may therefore conclude that the control of technology transfer for the reduction of GHG emissions and atmospheric concentration on the part of core-parties as facilitated by way of the three flexible mechanisms of the Kyoto Protocol, and the World Bank's Prototype Carbon Fund is but a detoured strategy of a *déjà vu*. Namely, it is the global re/production of the unequal relations of the conditions of re/production that have characterized the history of humankind over the last five centuries.

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<sup>86</sup> Blackman, *ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Hornborg, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>88</sup> UNFCCC, *op. cit.*, Art. 10(b)(i); which include the dubious technique of "carbon dioxide sequestration" (UNFCCC, *op. cit.*, Art. 2, 1(a)(iv). Cf. also Ben Courtice, "'Clean Coal' is smoke and mirrors," *Green Left* (9/02/2007), published online at <http://www.greenleft.org.au/2007/698/36270>

<sup>89</sup> Lohmann, *op. cit.*, 2006, p 33; Cf. also pp. 43-45.

## II.5.5 An Ecocidal Metaphysical Ontology

Finally we have reached the point where the reader is exposed to the dismaying truism that the discourse of sustainability serves the needs of the industrialized capitalist world-system at the ontological level.

The environmental treaties drawn up at the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment through to the 2005 UN World Summit, and the UN developmental treaties alike seek constant “new era[s] of economic [chrematistic] growth.”<sup>90</sup> The environmental treaties differ from the chrematistic ones only inasmuch as the former “must design new approaches to managing environmental resources [...] to sustain [a genus of] human development”<sup>91</sup> that satisfies the ontological constructions of human needs within industrial capitalism:

“Many essential human needs can be only met with goods and services provided by industry. The production of food requires increasing amounts of agrochemicals and machinery. Beyond this, the products of industry form the material basis of contemporary standards of living. Thus all nations require and rightly aspire to efficient industrial bases to meet changing needs.”<sup>92</sup>

This construal of needs in the homogenized world<sup>93</sup> advanced in the epoch-making Brundtland Report is also the common denominator in the ICCR. Therein core-parties in the Kyoto Protocol are charged with the remit “to promote Sustainable Development,”<sup>94</sup> forcing thereby peripheral parties to a –this time correctively qualified– “low-carbon path to industrialization,”<sup>95</sup> and to the monetarized exchange-system proper to the global market. Indeed, partners in the carbon market must satisfy “the fees needed for UN registration.”<sup>96</sup> Therein sustainable development emerges as another variation of the old-age adagio whereby the stigmatised third-world has to catch up with<sup>97</sup> the self-proclaimed first-world<sup>98</sup>: “the needs of the present [and] future generations [are predicated

<sup>90</sup> WCED, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>91</sup> WCED, *ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>92</sup> WCED, *ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> Visvanathan, *op. cit.*

<sup>94</sup> UNFCCC, *op. cit.*, art. 2, sect. 1.

<sup>95</sup> Larry Lohmann, ‘Carbon Offsets not Welcome Here’, Climate Change Corporation (03/04/2007), published online at <http://www.climatechangecorp.com/content.asp?ContentID=4788>.

<sup>96</sup> Lohmann, *ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> Mies, *op. cit.*

<sup>98</sup> Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development: from Western Origins to Global Faith* (London & New York: Zed Books; revised edition, 2002 [1997]).

upon] the products and technologies [that] in some parts of the world, particularly since the mid-1950s [...] have vastly improved the[ir] living standards and [...]quality of life"<sup>99</sup>. Furthermore, this approach portrays the ecological problematic as though it were a mere appendix to a globalized self-regulating market, and therefore amenable to be fixed with environmental technologies and the integration of the commons to the global monetarized chrematistic world-system. The social and technological engineering that has characterized the capitalist world-system is thereby sanctioned and perpetuated through the green-plated technologies of ecological modernization<sup>100</sup>.

From the arguments set out above, one may therefore *provisionally* conclude that the ICCR generates a legal framework by which the nature-related condition of production in peripheral areas is disturbed by successfully restoring the conditions of reproduction of the commons. The irony, however, is that neither carbon market created within the ICCR is abating carbon emissions <sup>101</sup> –the carbon-related condition of reproduction of core-parties is scarcely repaired. Seen in this light, it may be conclusively asserted that the ICCR is far from a regime designed for the abatement of carbon emissions. It conspicuously emerges as a chrematistic contract geared at the liberalization of soil in peripheral areas, and the protectionism of the centres of expertise set up in core-areas.

## II.6 From Second to Third Contradiction

How does the chrematistic third contradiction take place in the frame of the ICCR? *Formally*, the contradiction materializes between the relations of carbon-related reproduction of core-parties and the relations of the nature-related production of peripheral parties. Therefore it manifests as simultaneous underproduction and overproduction crises. Core-parties, in the guise of attempting to resolve the impairment of their carbon-related condition of reproduction, both impair and seize the nature-related condition of production of peripheral parties as well as the global conditions of reproduction. In so doing, core-parties succeed in carrying on with their production processes. Peripheral parties, and here manifests part of the third contradiction, in having their nature-related condition of production either impaired or looted, are deprived of their production processes and face liquidity crises.

<sup>99</sup> WCED, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 31)

<sup>100</sup> A treatment at length of the discourse of ecological modernization within the frame of both the UK and Netherlands contemporary policy-making processes can be found in Marteen A. Hajer, *The Politics of Environmental Discourse: Ecological Modernization and the Policy Process* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1997 [1995]).

<sup>101</sup> Bachram, *op. cit.*; CDM Watch, *op. cit.*; Carbon Trade Watch, *op. cit.*

To a large extent, the bleak economic picture faced by peripheral parties is bereft of negative repercussions on the chrematistic balance sheet of core-parties. Partially it simply widens the core-vs.-periphery chrematistic divide endemic to globalization. The new markets (in the manufacturing of goods, energy and information alike) opened up with the ICCR pronouncedly enhance the productivity of core-parties. Yet, *ex hypothesi* the liquidity crises in peripheral areas may also exert negative chrematistic bearings upon core-parties. In disturbing the production processes of peripheral areas, core-parties destroy one of the markets in which they sell their commodities, thereby leaving part of their profit unrealised and facing potential overproduction crises.

A declaration of popular sovereignty issued by Jubileo Sur Americas attests to the veracity of this hypothesis. The declaration at issue describes in stark precision the fact that one of the functional cogs within the larger geopolitical structure to which the USA wishes to collapse “the countries of the periphery in the Americas”<sup>102</sup> is that of consumers of manufactured goods by the USA. Another is that of suppliers of inexpensive nature-related conditions of production:

“[The Free Trade Area of the Americas engineered and sponsored by the USA] seeks to reduce us definitively to the role of consumers of the goods produced in the North and suppliers of natural resources, primary goods or low value-added manufactured goods”.<sup>103</sup>

The hypothesis that economic collapse in peripheral areas may leave core-parties faced with overproduction crises, furthermore, rests upon a shared fundamental in both Marxist dependency and world-systems theory, as developed by Gunder Frank<sup>104</sup> and Immanuel Wallerstein,<sup>105</sup> respectively. Both theoretical approaches have noted that “a relation of exchange, even when it has been entered voluntarily, can generate a systematic deterioration of one party’s resources, independence, and development potential.”<sup>106</sup> Hence the arresting urgency to ground the world of peace and harmony cherished by communities of faith upon a novel vision that shall guide us to this noble end. Upon relatively close study, we have arrived at the conclusion that the jubilee regulations of Leviticus set out in the Torah provide such a blueprint.

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<sup>102</sup> Jubileo Sur Americas, *Challenges for Hemispheric Emancipation: Declaration on Debt, the FTAA, and Militarization*, (Quito: Jubilee South Americas, 25/05/2002) (leaflet).

<sup>103</sup> Jubileo Sur Americas, *ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> Frank & Gills, *op. cit.*

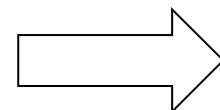
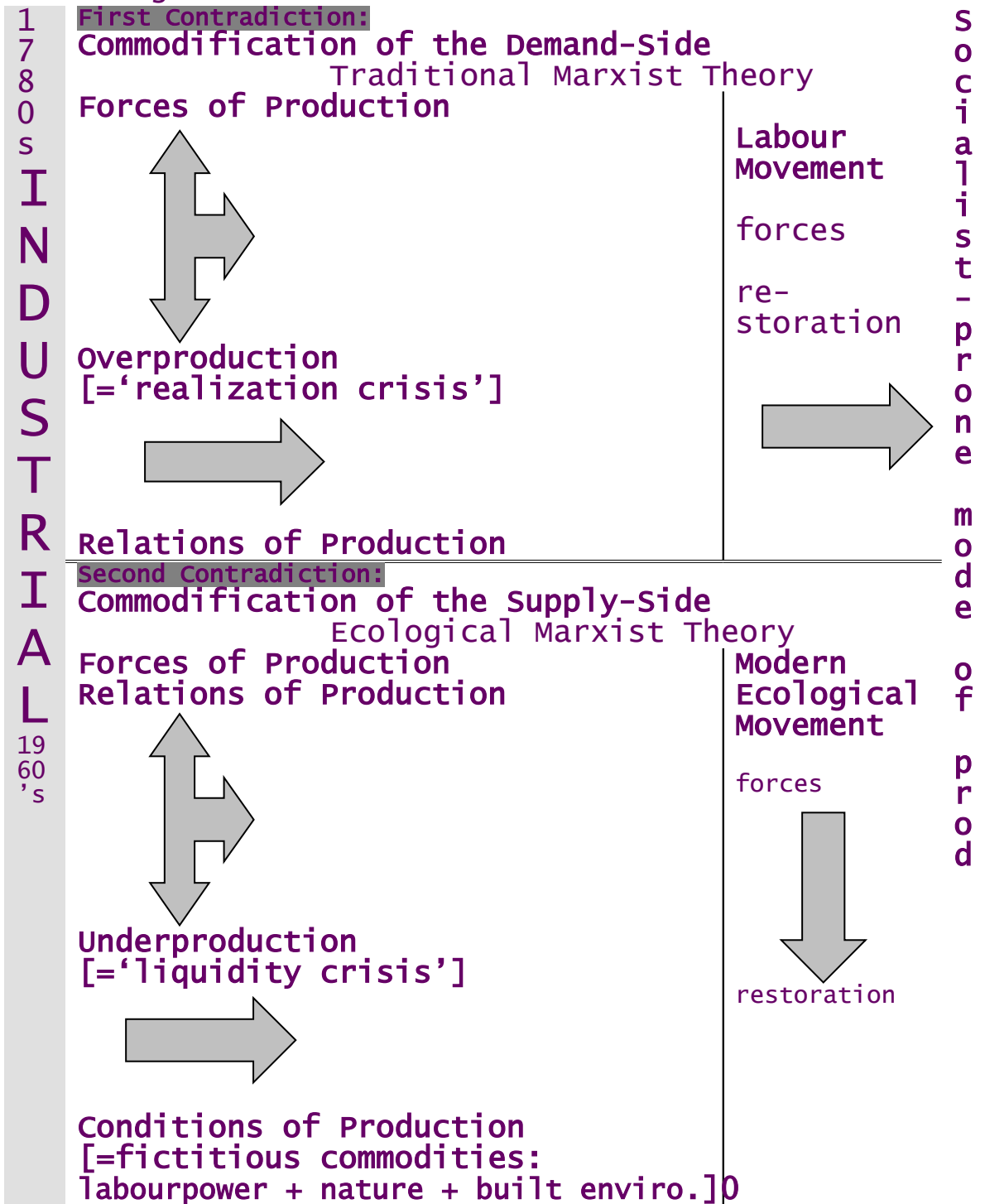
<sup>105</sup> Wallerstein, *op. cit.*, 1974, 2004, 2006 [2004].

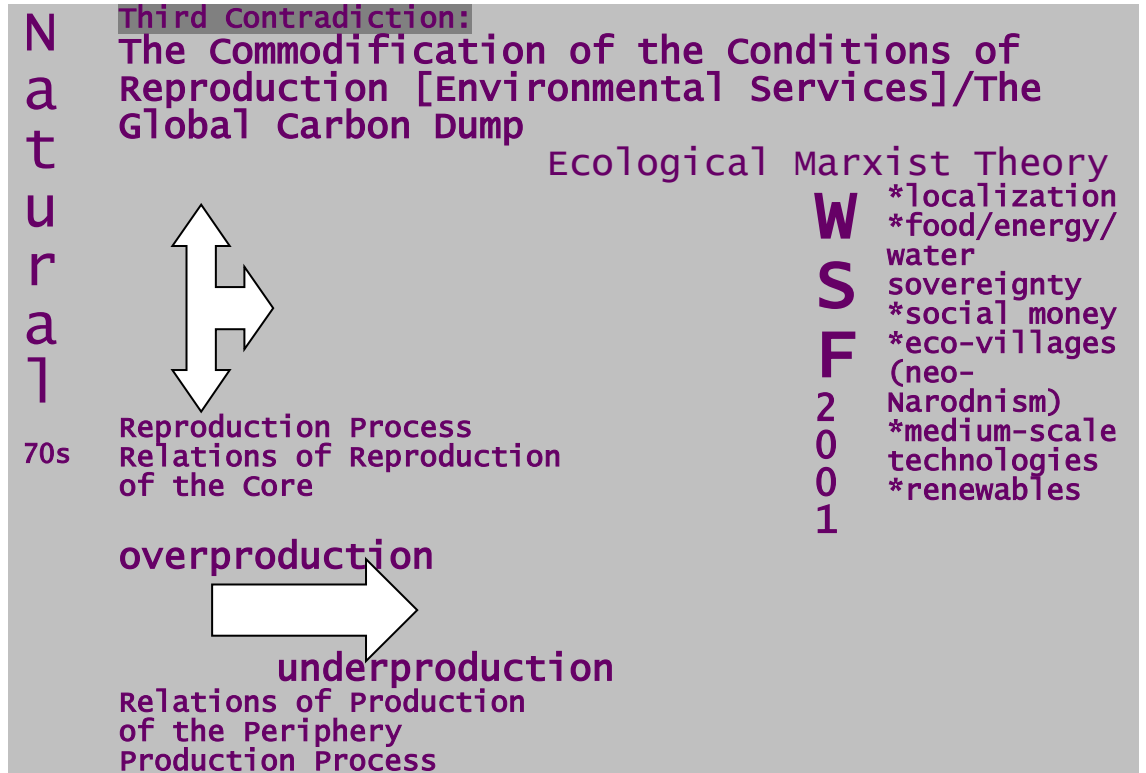
<sup>106</sup> Hornborg, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

## Stages of the world-System & Contradictions

1500

Mercantile/  
Manufacturing





## [III] Seeking Hermeneutical Guidance for a Novel Vision: The Jubilee Regulations

### III.1 Commodity Accumulation as a Sick Global Religion

In stark contrast with Marx's sociological theory, which derogatively assesses the role of religion on secular grounds, Emile Durkheim reads religion constructively. The social body acts as a binding force that elevates some practices to the unique status of the sacred, whilst disqualifying others as profane. Devotion to the set of sacred practices fosters social solidarity and cohesion.<sup>107</sup> In the Durkheimian light, the etymological retrieval of religion as a 'strong [community] binder' characterises *all* social systems, including the reigning capitalist world-system, which sacralises the practices attached to the accumulation of goods and services<sup>108</sup>. For example, the philosopher David Loy insists upon the observation that the market:

"is becoming the first truly world religion, binding all corners of the globe more and more tightly into a worldview and set of values whose religious role we overlook only because we insist on seeing them as 'secular'".<sup>109</sup>

Loy discusses the "theology" of neo-classical economics, which legitimates the negative outcomes of the workings of the market upon the assumption that individuals collectively acting in self-interest leads to the best outcome for all. Further, he points to the "proselytising" forces of advertising, global "conversion" to market values, and the promise of "another kind of salvation", of happiness through accumulation of wealth and possessions.<sup>110</sup>

Polanyian economic anthropology<sup>111</sup>, on the other hand, asserts that this tendency to accumulation is an exception to the general social rule:

"[t]he self-regulating market, advocated in England at the end of the eighteenth century and legally constituted by the Poor Law Act in 1834, was a *novum* in human history"<sup>112</sup>.

<sup>107</sup> Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (New York: Free Press, 1965 [1912]).

<sup>108</sup> e.g. Rosa Luxemburg, (1951 [1971]), *The Accumulation of Capital* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1971 [1951]); David Loy, "The Religion of the Market", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 65, 2, pp. 275-290; Maria Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour* (London & New York: Zed Books; 2nd edition, 1999)

<sup>109</sup> Loy, *op. cit.*, p.275

<sup>110</sup> Loy, *ibid.*

<sup>111</sup> Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg and Harry W. Pearson (eds.), *Trade and the Market in the Early Empires* (New York: Free Press, 1971 [1957]), pp. 64-94; George Dalton (ed.), *Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies: Essays of Karl Polanyi* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971).

<sup>112</sup> Gregory Baum, *Karl Polanyi on Ethics and Economics* (Montreal & Kingston, London, Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); p. 4.

All civilizations and societies have included mechanisms that level out the buildup of chrematistic differences. Religions, for their part, have presented a number of such mechanisms, among which the Jewish jubilee regulations of the Torah are included. In seeking to address the injustices besetting the ICCR, it is to the jubilee that we turn for our inspiration.

### Description of the Jubilee and Principles for Application

According to the Scripture, the regulations of Leviticus 25 were spoken by God unto Moses on Mount Sinai, to be enacted by the Israelites when in the promised land<sup>113</sup>. These regulations consisted of both the sabbatical (seventh) year, when the land had to be left fallow<sup>114</sup>, and the year of the jubilee at the end of seven sets of sabbaticals<sup>115</sup>. The jubilee was to entail the full cancellation of debts and debt servitude<sup>116</sup>, and the restoration of land to its original household owners<sup>117</sup>. Anchored in Israel's social and territorial covenantal relationships with God – creator of all things<sup>118</sup> and liberator of the Israelites<sup>119</sup>, the jubilee defended a model of egalitarian land tenure across tribes, clans and households.<sup>120</sup>

Attempting to apply a programme of regulations from one ancient agrarian society to the ICCR cannot proceed through either a simple ideological appropriation or an abstract declaration of principles on economic-cum-ecological justice. Liberation theology implores a contextualised *praxis*-oriented hermeneutical approach geared at concrete transformations of oppressive structures. Two principles underlying the jubilee programme provide the inspiration for supplanting the current chrematistic backdrop against which the ICCR is pitted.<sup>121</sup>

The first one notes that the jubilee celebrations were intended to periodically remove accumulated cycles of dominance, impoverishment and enslavement in Israel, particularly in relation to the control of physical resources. Leviticus 25 subjects the socio-economic system to a set of adjustments every seven years,

<sup>113</sup> Leviticus 25: 1-2

<sup>114</sup> Leviticus 25: 4-7

<sup>115</sup> Leviticus 25: 8-9

<sup>116</sup> Leviticus 25: 40-41, 54

<sup>117</sup> Leviticus 25: 10, 13, 28, 31, 33, 41

<sup>118</sup> Leviticus 25: 23

<sup>119</sup> Leviticus 25: 38, 42, 55

<sup>120</sup> Chris Wright, "Sabbath for the Land and Jubilee", in Sarah Tillett (ed.), *Caring for Creation* (Oxford: The Bible Reading Fellowship, 2005), pp. 57-58).

<sup>121</sup> Further examples of actual and potential applications of the jubilee can be found in Paul Spray, "Five Areas for Jubilee Today", in Hans Ucko (ed.), *The Jubilee Challenge: Utopia or Possibility?* (Geneva: WCC, 1997), pp. 134-139.

and commands a root-and-branch overhaul on a fifty-year basis.<sup>122</sup> As the socio-historical analysis of the ICCR in Section II has elucidated, in the guise of abating carbon emissions, core-parties are building an international legal framework which sanctions and furthers both their inveterate abuse of the Earth's carbon-cycling-capacity, and their growing control over the nature-related condition of production in the peripheries. The first principle of the jubilee points towards a comprehensive dismantling of the unjust structures that the ICCR has ill-set in place, and of the burgeoning number of abuses thereby facilitated.

The second principle registers the setting of the jubilee within the broader context of *shalom*. The jubilee strived to reclaim for families the capacity with which to provide for themselves, to enjoy the dignity of self-provision through the tilling of the land<sup>123, 124</sup>. The religious or binding –interpenetrated, that is– nature of ecology, *qua* representative of the non-human realm, and economy-culture, *qua* representative of the human realm “cultivating, [...] inhabiting, [...] worshipping, [...] protecting”<sup>125</sup> the former, thus intimately relate to *shalom*, which in the Hebrew Bible is understood as the “the positive enjoyment of physical, economic and social well-being”<sup>126</sup>. To reverse the statement, “[t]he practical wisdom of household management”<sup>127</sup>, or any economic system, must be in *religious harmony* with “the laws of the non-human world” or ecology so that *shalom* is expedited. We thus note with the Boff brothers<sup>128</sup> the continuity between liberation –*qua* economic and ecologic sovereignty over one's culture- and *shalom*, as the partaking in flourishing communion with one another, nature and the divine.

### III.2 The Hermeneutics of Suspicion: Caveats to the Application of the Jubilee

We cannot devote significant attention here to debates about when the levitical programme originated, and whether and to what extent it was practised. Nonetheless, in seeking a *praxis*-oriented application, we must pay heed to critical readings of Leviticus. Building upon the legacy left by the ‘masters of suspicion’ –Marx with his search for social relations of domination, Nietzsche and his reading of the history of Western philosophy as the expression of an ongoing

<sup>122</sup> Spray, *ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>123</sup> Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>124</sup> It is worth reminding the reader that the levitical programme also included a commitment to the sabbath year; a year of rest for people, animals and the land. The land was thus also to be given respite and renewal.

<sup>125</sup> Terry Eagleton, *The Idea of Culture* (Oxford & Massachusetts: Blackwell, 2000), p. 2.

<sup>126</sup> Hans Ucko, “The Jubilee as Challenge”, in Hans Ucko (ed.), *The Jubilee Challenge: Utopia or Possibility?* (Geneva: WCC, 1997), p. 3)

<sup>127</sup> Schumpeter, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>128</sup> Boff and Boff, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

decadent will to power, and Freud and his interest in neurotic desires<sup>129</sup>— Hebrew Bible scholar Norman Gottwald subjects the jubilee to a soundly suspicious interpretation in relation to its ideological-socio-economic context<sup>130</sup>.

This approach leads Gottwald to pose such queries as: to what social echelons did the architects of the jubilee belong? Whose interests did the regulations serve? How were the economic clashes between the different echelons to be addressed? Whose will(s) and actions spawned decadence and enslavement in the first place?<sup>131</sup> Analogously, we must *suspiciously* pit the tenets of the proposed 'Treaty for Climate Justice' against the conjunctural possibilities within the current capitalist world-system. We now turn our attention to this task.

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<sup>129</sup> Kenneth Baynes, James Bohman and Thomas McCarthy, *After Philosophy: End or Transformation?* (Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, England: The MIT Press, 1987), pp. 352-353; Alan D. Schrift, *Nietzsche and the Question of Interpretation: Between Hermeneutics and Deconstruction* (New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 77-79; Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Freud, Marx", in *Michel Foucault: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984: Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology* (New York: The New Press, edited by James D. Faubion; translated by Robert Hurley and others, 1998 [1964]); pp. 269-278.

<sup>130</sup> Norman K. Gottwald, "The Biblical Jubilee: In Whose Interests?", in Hans Ucko (ed.), *The Jubilee Challenge: Utopia or Possibility?* (Geneva: WCC, 1997), pp. 33-40.

<sup>131</sup> Gottwald, *ibid.*.

## [IV] Praxis Geared At Liberation: Towards a Harmoniously Binding 'Treaty for Climate Justice'

In this *praxis* phase, we outline our current ideas regarding four mainstays for a post-Kyoto 'Treaty for Climate Justice', which, in accordance with *religare*, endeavours to harmoniously bind the economic/cultural and the ecological realms. Throughout, we enact the hermeneutics of suspicion, thus exposing various shortcomings of our own suggestions, which, with the help of interested readers, we will labour towards amendment with resolute commitment.

In developing our treaty, we commence with Christian Aid's report to the 12<sup>th</sup> Conference of Parties (COP)<sup>132</sup> entitled "Facing the Inevitable"<sup>133</sup> as a critical starting basis. Christian Aid may be understood as an example of Christian *theoria-praxis* approaches to addressing global social and ecological injustices. However, in the light of the historical eco-Marxist analysis presented above in Section [II], the NGO's position, discussed below, appears far too concessive on all counts.

### IV.1 'The Urgent Need for Stability': A Jubilee Cancellation of the Global Unequal Relations of the Conditions of Re/production

The first step claimed necessary by Christian Aid is to "stabilise atmospheric concentration at 450 ppm of CO<sub>2</sub>e in order to minimise the risk faced by 'poor people'<sup>134</sup>, or 'peripheral parties' in our terminology. With an eye towards achieving this stabilisation, and inspired by the jubilee's cancellation of the temporal accumulation of unfair power structures, we repudiate the unequal relations of re/production as they were politically established in the UNFCCC in 1992, juridically entrenched in the Kyoto Protocol to the UNFCCC in 1997, and, following Russia's ratification in late 2004, enforced on 16<sup>th</sup> February 2005 for all Annex-I countries that have signed up to the treaty<sup>135</sup>. These relations sanction and perpetuate abuse of the carbon-related condition of reproduction by core-parties.

<sup>132</sup> The COP to the UNFCCC is the "supreme body" of the Convention; it is the highest decision-making authority. It is an association of all the countries that are Parties to the Convention. The COP meets every year, unless the Parties decide otherwise. The 12th COP took place in Nairobi, Kenya, in November 2006.

<sup>133</sup> Christian Aid, 2006, *op. cit.*.

<sup>134</sup> Christian Aid, *ibid.*, p.3.

<sup>135</sup> A list which excludes both the USA and Australia given their unwillingness to abide by the rules of the Protocol.

The jubilee cancellation of these relations shall materialize in the form of a double-digit legal invalidation<sup>136</sup>:

[a.] of the rights 'grandfathered' in the Kyoto Protocol to core-party corporations.

[b.] of the three flexible mechanisms established within the framework of the Kyoto Protocol to the UNFCCC: the Clean Development Mechanism, Emissions Trading Scheme, & Joint Implementation; and of other trading schemes (such as UK ETS, EU ETS) and offsetting projects whereby core-parties enjoy a legal framework to usurp the nature-related condition of production and carbon-related condition of reproduction, such as those facilitated by the World Bank's Carbon Prototype Fund.

#### IV.2 'A Fair Science-Based Agreement': Registering the Historical Relations of the Conditions of Re/Production

Christian Aid further calls for the establishment of a science-based 'carbon budget' for fair access and use of the global carbon dump<sup>137</sup>. In consonance with this call, the socio-historical eco-Marxist analysis advanced above is taken as the scientific basis upon which to ground the post-Kyoto climate treaty. Accordingly,

[a.] what the Kyoto Protocol refers to as Developed or 'Annex-I Countries' shall in the post-Kyoto climate treaty read 'Historical Carbon Debtors' and 'Historical Creditors of Export-Oriented Extractive Conditions of Production in Periphery-Parties', parties which are not fully coincidental with 'Annex-I Countries', but rather with core-parties.

[b.] 'Non-Annex-I Countries' shall likewise read 'Historical Carbon Creditors' & 'Historical Debtors of Export-Oriented Extractive Conditions of Production to Core-Parties', again, corresponding with peripheral parties.

This theoretical manoeuvre enables us to pit external debts against historical ecological debts, the latter being a major source of anthropogenic climatic forcing<sup>138</sup>, despite failing to be listed as such in the legal framework of the Kyoto Protocol. External debt forces debtor countries to deplete their natural resources

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<sup>136</sup> Let us note that this double-edged invalidation is consonant with extant declarations for climate justice, such as 'Climate Justice Now! The Durban Declaration on Carbon Trading' (cf Lohmann, 2006, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-358); & 'Call for Global Actions against International Financial Institutions' (VVAA, 2006, *op. cit.*).

<sup>137</sup> Christian Aid, 2006, *op. cit.*

<sup>138</sup> Martinez-Alier, 2002, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-229; Martinez-Alier, 2003, *op. cit.*

(such as petroleum and ores, the turning of old-growth forests into fast-growing monocultures or the production of paper pulp and biofuels such as ethanol)<sup>139</sup> for export to their alleged creditors. The extraction and consumption of these resources enhances the greenhouse effect and must therefore be registered in a post-Kyoto 'Treaty for Climate Justice'. In uprooting peripheral local economies to extract or grow nature-related conditions of production for core-parties, the external debt further deprives peripheral local communities of their means of livelihood<sup>140</sup>, and therefore of their ability both to adapt to climate change and to participate in *shalom*.

In order to financially relate external debts to carbon debts, the procedure adopted by campaigners of the ecological debt shall be heeded<sup>141</sup>. The 'Historical Creditors of Export-Oriented Extractive Conditions of Production in Periphery-Parties' shan't receive payment on the part of 'Historical Debtors of Export-Oriented Extractive Conditions of Production to Core-Parties' as long as the 'Historical Carbon Debtors' fail to satisfy their debt dues to the 'Historical Carbon Creditors'.

Furthermore, jubilee debt campaigns have set jurisprudence as to the registration and contestation of the illegitimacy of external debts<sup>142</sup>. To be sure, the external debt cancellation campaigns, including the Jubilee 2000 campaign (an international coalition of aid agencies, churches, trade unions and campaigning groups, which called for cancellation of unpayable external debt as befitting for the new millennium), and its successors such as the Jubilee Debt Campaign (UK), and Jubilee USA, are of direct relevance to our own application of the jubilee. These ongoing campaigns call for outright condonations of the unpayable and unjust debts with which core parties have been saddling their peripheral counterparts over the last three decades.

External debts are the result of the overall core-party-led strategy to integrate peripheral countries to the global chrematistic world-system under the guise of recommending poverty alleviation measures. External debt cancellation campaigns are also of relevance to us not only in view of their application of the levitical debt remission regulations to a global issue, but also given the link they

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<sup>139</sup> Daniel Howden, 'The Big Green Fuel Lie', *The Independent*, (05/03/2007), published online at [http://news.independent.co.uk/environment/climate\\_change/article2328821.ece](http://news.independent.co.uk/environment/climate_change/article2328821.ece)

<sup>140</sup> Martínez-Alier, 2002, *op cit.*, Martínez-Alier, 2003, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>141</sup> Martínez-Alier, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. Martínez-Alier, 2003: 83-118)

ascertain between ecological and external debts. They set jurisprudence at the international law level upon which we can instrumentally draw when it comes to implementing the proposed 'Treaty for Climate Justice.'

In our ongoing quest to remain suspiciously critical of the feasibility and consequences of our own postulates, in this second tenet we must draw the attention of the reader to a couple of caveats. One the one hand, *religare* requests us to move away from a chrematistic exchange-value system. Therefore, calls for financial repayment of the carbon debt should be used strategically both as a means for the condonation of the external debt, and as a call for structural change, rather than simply as a call for financial compensation.

On the other hand, we must direct the reader's attention to the fact that the current international legal system draws its borderlines across countries. There is presently no international legal framework wherein to capture the core-parties vs. peripheral parties divide, which is non-concidental with Northern countries vs. Southern countries. As presented in Section [II.4], ghettos of socio-ecological exclusion/racism reside in the North as they do in the South, which is also true of elites of chrematistic affluence. In view of the contamination of the UN with liberal political economy and the attendant managerialist environmentalism that reigns therein as set out in Section [II.5.3], the question whether this legal framework will be able to absorb a 'Treaty for Climate Justice' must be seriously posed.

The ethos and political agenda problematized in the World Social Forum (WSF), contrastingly, resonates well with the issues raised in this treaty. What's more, the WSF is perhaps the most cogent umbrella through which local struggles for environmental and thus climate justice are internationalized. In this light, the challenge faced by the WSF goes in the form of the following rhetorical question: How will a more appropriate legal system be established without resorting to military surveillance?

#### **IV.3 Immediate 'Adaptation to Inevitable Climate Change': A Carbon Tax with a 450 ppm Cap of CO<sub>2</sub>e Atmospheric Concentration**

"Facing the Inevitable" captures a piece of evidence that has now become a truism: "[w]e are already locked into significant climate change and are highly likely to see global temperatures rising by two degrees this century"<sup>143</sup>. Given the propensity of sustainable development –infused as it is in the ICCR– to

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<sup>143</sup> Christian Aid, 2006, *op. cit.*, p.5.

counterproductively generate and meet climatic doomsday scenarios with technofixes, the Kyoto Protocol establishes an Adaptation Fund to afford the transfer of environmental technology from Annex-I to Non-Annex-I countries<sup>144</sup>, the revenues for which are to be raised through CDM projects. However, as detailed above in Section [II.5.4], these sources of adaptation sanction and perpetuate unequal access/use of the Earth's carbon-cycling capacity, while legitimating the extraction and seizure of conditions of production from peripheral parties on the part of core-parties. Moreover, the funds at issue are proving dramatically unsuccessful<sup>145</sup>.

To avoid these shortcomings, the 'Treaty for Climate Justice' we propose shall take the global relations of the carbon-related condition of reproduction as the scientific basis on which to derive accountabilities to pay for adaptation costs. Namely, a financial penalty shall be applied to each party that exceeds its proportional contribution to CO<sub>2</sub>e atmospheric concentrations of 450 ppm, the price of which has been estimated, to have a sufficiently stringent penalizing effect, at \$20 per exceeded CO<sub>2</sub>e ton<sup>146</sup>. The establishment of an 'Adaptation Fund' or carbon tax grounded upon a carbon polluter's pay principle will prove key to the mitigation of anthropogenic climatic forcing on a triple basis:

[a.] firstly, to secure the adjustment of the economies of core-parties to the 'carbon budget'.<sup>147</sup>

[b.] secondly, to finance endogenous forms of development for peripheral parties, where there is a redefinition of wealth away from the goods and services provided by industrial capitalism towards a genus of ecological-cum-economic security or *shalom* that lends priority to a pattern of water, energy and food sovereignty for the bioregion.

[c.] thirdly, regarding semi-peripheral parties, this strategy shall prevent this group from going down the path of unrestricted industrial capitalism, and thereby also prevent a further buildup of unfair access to the Earth's carbon-cycling capacity.

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<sup>144</sup> UNFCCC, *op. cit.*, Art. 11.

<sup>145</sup> Christian Aid, 2006, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>146</sup> Martinez-Alier, 2002, *op. cit.*, p. 232; Martinez-Alier, 2003, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>147</sup> Martinez-Alier conveys it thus: "the reclamation of the ecological [carbon] debt as part of the international political agenda would in itself be the major contribution on the part of the South [periphery-parties] in order to bring the economies of the North [core-parties] towards ecological sustainability" (Martinez-Alier, 2003, *op. cit.*, p. 43.)

Again we are bound to suspiciously raise our concerns as to the desirability of these financial exchanges. *Religare* requests us to move away from the chrematistic exchange-value system or self-regulating market economy towards other forms of use-value production and exchange such as barter. For this reason, the 'Adaptation Fund' herein proposed should be exclusively viewed as an interim step. Further issues concern how and through whom the moneys raised by the carbon tax are to be distributed, given the unchecked proneness to corruption endemic to some 'centres of distribution' such as the governments of Africa.

#### IV.4 Medium/Long-Term 'Adaptation to Climate Change': *Shalom* or Economic-cum-Ecological Sovereignty over One's Culture

As elucidated in Section II, the diachronic causes of anthropogenic climatic forcing are located in the historically unequal relations to re/production forced onto (semi-peripheral and) peripheral parties by core-parties. It follows therefore that only non-chrematistic economic/cultural paradigms that operate in harmony with the ecological realm, and thus not predicated upon relations of domination and forms of mass industrial production, present an appropriate longer-term strategy for authentic prevention of and adaptation to climate forcing, and for the realisation of *religare*.

Future international ecological treaties must therefore contemplate a new economics that first and foremost reclaims the commons, which is essential to the attainment of both climate justice and *shalom*. One of Karl Marx's most trenchant critiques levelled against the socialism envisioned by Germanic utopian quarters was its disembeddedness –to posthumously convey it in Polanyian parlance<sup>148</sup>. So reads a passage of Marx's "Critique of the Gotha Programme":

"The bourgeois have very good grounds for falsely ascribing supernatural creative power to labour; since precisely from the fact that labour depends on nature it follows that the man (sic) who possesses no other property than his labour power must, in all conditions of society and culture, be the slave of other men who have made themselves the owners of the material conditions of labour. He can work only with their permission, hence live only with their permission"<sup>149</sup>

<sup>148</sup> Fred Block, "Introduction", in Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001 [1944]).

<sup>149</sup> Karl Marx, "Original Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party" (1875), Marx & Engels: Selected Works (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1973), p. 315.

To this end, a move towards feminist gift economy or Gandhian economics<sup>150</sup>, and endogenous schemes for micro-finance, that enable both the economic and ecological sovereignty of the bioregions are of prime necessity in the upcoming 'Treaty for Climate Justice'.

#### IV.5 'The Urgent Need for Action'

In view of the available evidence that climate change is taking place faster than had been previously forecast, Christian Aid calls for immediate action in the devising and implementation of a post-Kyoto Climate treaty<sup>151</sup>. Given this urgency, we call on all people and organisations of goodwill to consider seriously contributing to and endorsing our proposal.

As we have emphasised, this is a paper in progress. Liberation theology requires us to develop a workable programme of action that will deliver concrete transformation of structures of oppression. Application of the hermeneutics of suspicion alerts us to potential problems with the proposal, such as the legal feasibility of the implementation of the treaty, and the shortcomings of carbon taxation. If you have suggestions for how to move the proposal forward, then please get in touch. We are open to co-authorship.<sup>152</sup>

We hold profound faith that the miracle required to stabilize CO<sub>2</sub>e atmospheric concentration at 450 ppm –or preferably below— is in *all* our hands 'bound strongly' together in the light of *religare*. Please join hands together with us in this spirit.

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<sup>150</sup> J. D. Sethi (ed.), *Trusteeship: The Gandhian Alternative* (New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1986).

<sup>151</sup> Christian Aid, 2006, *op. cit.*.

<sup>152</sup> Please also feel free to refer to this paper in your own work, acknowledging the source. (See [www.creativecommons.org.uk](http://www.creativecommons.org.uk)).