

## PAN AFRICAN CLIMATE JUSTICE ALLIANCE

## **African Climate Justice Manifesto**

We, the undersigned people and organizations of Africa, call on the Heads of State and Government representing the nations of Africa to embrace the cause of climate justice and ensure outcomes to the climate negotiations that will keep Africa safe, safeguard our right to development and implement the UN Climate Convention and its Kyoto Protocol.

Africa stands on the frontline of climate change. Across our continent, in villages, in towns, on coastlines and deep in the heart of Africa, people battle daily with a growing climate crisis. Our rivers run dry. Our crops turn to dust. Seasons shift and change. The effects of climate change are reflected in the expectant eyes of hungry children, and in the lengthening footsteps of women carrying water.

Across Africa, a growing congregation of people suffers starvation and disease while others, after freeing themselves from the grip of grinding poverty, are shackled again by an increasingly hostile climate. It is a cruel irony that a people who have lived for so long in harmony with Mother Earth, imprinting the lightest of footprints, are now suffer a crisis they did not cause.

We bear the burdens of climate change; but they are not of our making. For over two centuries the industrialized world became wealthy by polluting the atmosphere. Wealthy countries and corporations plundered resources from every region of the world. On mountains of coal and oil they built cities of plenty. In the great buildings they constructed while causing the climate crisis they now shelter from its adverse effects. Those left outside are told find another path to prosperity, while the sun beats down, or a perfect storm – not of their making – gathers on the horizon.

The result is a spiraling set of crises now afflicting our world among which is climate change. Responsibility for the causes and consequences of climate change lies with this system. More than 70% of carbon dioxide from industrial sources was emitted by the 20% of people living in developed countries. Africa, home to around a billion people, contributed less than 4%.

Rather than address their historical responsibilities, these countries and corporations, along with a significant segment of the scientific community, have led us focus on the symptoms of climate crisis and ignore its causes. We have focused on the fever while disregarding the disease: a system that has enabled a minority of the Earth's people to appropriate the vast majority of its natural resources and material wealth, and that is organized around a logic of competition and commodification in pursuit of limitless growth on a finite planet.

The industrialized countries now seek to entrench and extend the current system of social and economic organization, and propose to allow temperatures to rise by up to 2 degrees globally, and to much higher levels in Africa, threatening the production of food for our families, the stability of our ecosystems and the viability of our jobs and livelihoods.

They seek to continue their excessive emissions, threatening our development and consuming an unfair share of the Earth's atmospheric space. Their current proposals would enable the 20% of people living in developed countries to consume over 60% of the Earth's

carbon budget (historically to 2050) while the 80% who are poor would be consigned to live within the remaining 40%.

Through a global carbon market, they seek to enable their wealthiest investment firms and most polluting corporations to commodify the carbon in our soils, forests and other resources to create "carbon credits" that entitle them to increase their pollution, evading their responsibilities to cut their own emissions and provide public funds to developing countries.

At stake in the climate negotiations is the biggest distribution of resources among rich and poor countries in modern history. Economists from the developed countries have valued the Earth's carbon budget annually at more than a trillion dollars. As said by one official, "oldenday land-grabs are replaced by modern-day sky-grabs".

To achieve their objectives, developed countries are seeking end rather than implement the Kyoto Protocol, in violation of international law. They seek to dismantle the current UN climate regime and replace it with a weaker system of voluntary pledges based on the so-called Copenhagen Accord, a document resulting from an un-transparent and undemocratic process in Copenhagen, and which the UN Climate Convention's Secretariat confirms does "not have any legal standing in the UNFCCC process even if some Parties decide to associate themselves with it".

They propose global goals that risk untold suffering in Africa, while offering insufficient emission reductions, and inadequate funding. Expectations are downgraded. Processes are delayed. Pressure is mounting on developing countries. Those who suffer the injustice of climate change are encouraged to be "constructive", while those who caused it "divide and rule" through political pressure and the misuse of financial resources.

We, the undersigned people and organizations of Africa, believe that such an approach threatens not only Africa but all of humanity. We call for a fairer and more science-based solution to climate change that addresses the structural causes of climate change, not merely its symptoms; that promotes greater harmony among people and with nature; and that ensures respect for the human rights of all people and the rights of Mother Earth. We, as Africans, stand ready to play our part. But cooperation must be based on justice. Our future cannot be a subject of bargaining and our development cannot be sacrificed.

The outcomes agreed at the climate negotiations must ensure that developed countries address their historical responsibilities and debts, while implementing the Kyoto Protocol (through the Kyoto Protocol negotiations) and the Climate Convention (through the Bali Action Plan).

As the basis of this approach, we call on developed countries to address their historical responsibilities and honor their climate debts to developing countries:

- We call on developed countries to acknowledge they have already used more than a fair and sustainable share of the Earth's atmospheric space. They must repay their debt through deep domestic emission reductions and by transferring the technology and finance required to enable us to follow a less polluting pathway, without compromising our development (an emissions debt).
- We call on developed countries to compensate us for the adverse effects of their excessive historical and current per-person emissions, which are burdening us with rising climate-related costs and damages (an adaptation debt).

To advance the interests of Africa the outcome of the climate negotiations must at a minimum address the following demands:

1. **Keep Africa safe**. We recognize the need to minimize further loss and damage to Africa, and call for the blanket of greenhouse gas in the atmosphere to be returned to well below 300ppm CO2eq and warming to be limited to well below 1 degree Celsius above preindustrial levels, with the objective of returning to pre-industrial levels in the longer term. Even warming of this level globally risks warming of more than 1.5 degrees Celsius in

Africa, dangerous interference with our climate, and loss and damage requiring compensation. We oppose a goal of "less than 2 degrees Celsius" as condemning Africa to incineration and to no modern development.

- 2. **Secure food security**. We recognize the grave risk posed by climate change to our food security, and to the lives and livelihoods of our farmers and rural poor communities, and call for atmospheric concentrations to be stabilized in a time frame that safeguards food production, allows our agricultural and ecological systems to adapt naturally, and safeguards our jobs and economic development.
- 3. **Share the atmosphere fairly**. We emphasize our right to achieve sustainable development making use of a fair share of the Earth's global commons and resources, and call for the carbon budget required to return to well below 300ppm CO2eq to be shared fairly with Africa taking into account the accumulative historical use of these resources by developed countries and the finance and technology transfers made available to developing countries.
- 4. **Rich countries to cut excessive consumption and pollution.** We recognize that current atmospheric concentrations are principally the result of historical emissions of greenhouse gases, the largest share of which originated in developed country Parties, and we call on developed countries honor their commitments under the Kyoto Protocol and curb the growth of their emission debt by reducing their emissions by more than 50% by 2017 and by more than 100% well before 2050, against a base year of 1990 levels. We call on the United States to ratify the Kyoto Protocol or adopt comparable commitments under the Climate Convention. We oppose any effort by developed countries to appropriate Africa's fair share of atmospheric space or to create a carbon markets to buy a further share.
- 5. **Protect and compensate affected communities**. Developed countries' historical emissions are driving current and committed warming and its adverse effects on Africa. The impacts and costs of climate change have been grossly underestimated. Damage from disasters, droughts and other adverse effects in Africa are rising rapidly. To limit and repay their adaptation debts, developed countries must compensate Africa for the full costs of: 1) avoiding harms (where possible); 2) actual harm and damage; and 3) lost opportunities for our development. We oppose any effort to establish adaptation as an obligation not a right, or to use adaptation as a means to divide or differentiate between developing countries.
- 6. **Polluter not poor pays**. Developed countries have prospered through "cheap carbon" growth while externalizing their costs to the atmosphere and to developing countries. The costs are now born by Africa, as we mitigate and adapt to a crisis we played little role in causing. To avert a climate catastrophe and enable mitigation, adaptation and technology transfer to developing countries, developed countries must make available financing of more than 5% of their GDP. We oppose efforts to shift the burden of financing away from developed countries and towards developing countries or the market. We oppose the creation of "unsupported" or "market" NAMAs (actions) as inconsistent with the Convention.
- 7. **Transfer the tools to adapt and develop**. Curbing global emissions within a decade requires technology transfers on a scale never before considered. We need a Marshall Plan for Africa and for the Earth. Developed countries must remove intellectual property rights and pay "full incremental costs" of technology transfer to protect developing countries and to peak and decline global emissions. As stated in the Convention, the extent of developing countries' implementation depends on developed countries' implementation of financing and technology. We oppose efforts to sell rather than transfer technologies, or to strengthen rather than relax Intellectual property rights.
- 8. **Fair not false solutions**. We oppose the use of false and unfair measures by developed countries. They must not shift burdens to developing countries, or seek to "divide and rule" the countries of the South, or to penalize developing countries through trade or other measures. We oppose the creation of global carbon markets or sectoral trading

mechanisms, by which the developed countries will take more of Africa's rightful share of atmospheric space.

- 9. **Systems change not climate change**. Recognizing the structural causes of the present crisis, and that the climate crisis will not be solved with the same level of thinking that created it, we call for a new system that restores harmony with nature and among human beings. We believe that for there to be balance with nature, there must first be equity among human beings. We call for fundamental change to the current system of social and economic organization and call for a new order building on the wisdom of our civilizations to live well and to live in harmony with Mother Earth.
- 10. **Defend democracy**. We affirm that the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) constitutes the fundamental legal framework on climate change and call for the establishment of effective and accountable institutions under the Conference of Parties. We oppose the removal of decision-making away from our elected representatives into unaccountable institutions at the regional or international level. And we oppose efforts to extend the role of the World Bank, Global Environment Facility or other donor-driven institutions. We call for a response to the climate crisis that is of the people, by the people and for the people.

The response to the climate crisis must advance Africa's interests. Africa must sign no suicide pact. Our longer-term interests must under no circumstances be sacrificed to short-term financing or to "beggar thy neighbor" outcomes that pursue the interests of some developing countries at the expense of others.

We call on our leaders to stand in solidarity with the leaders of any nation who seek a solution to climate change that is founded on justice, builds on the best available science, and ensures the well-being of Africans and other peoples and countries. We will stand in solidarity with you.