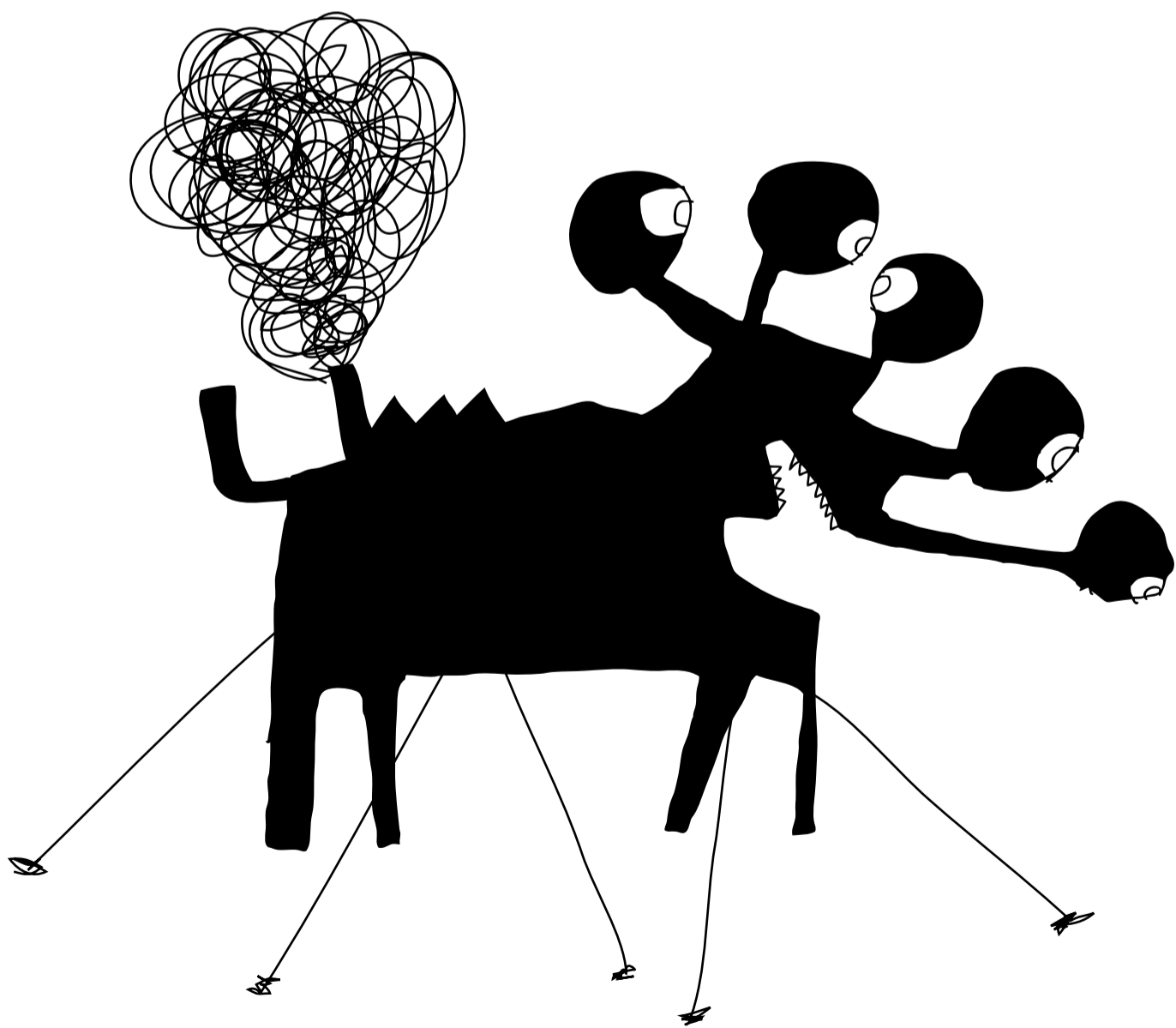
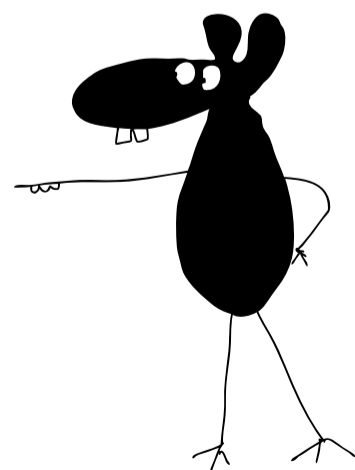


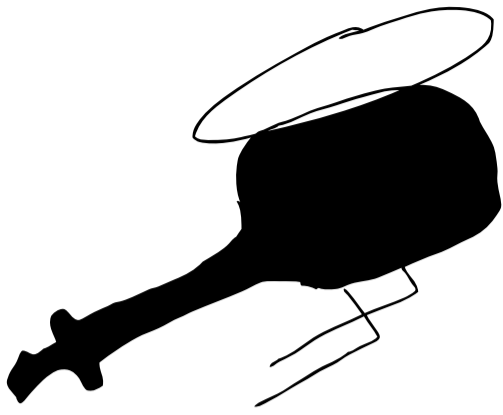
the Copenhagen UN climate talks

# deal or no deal?

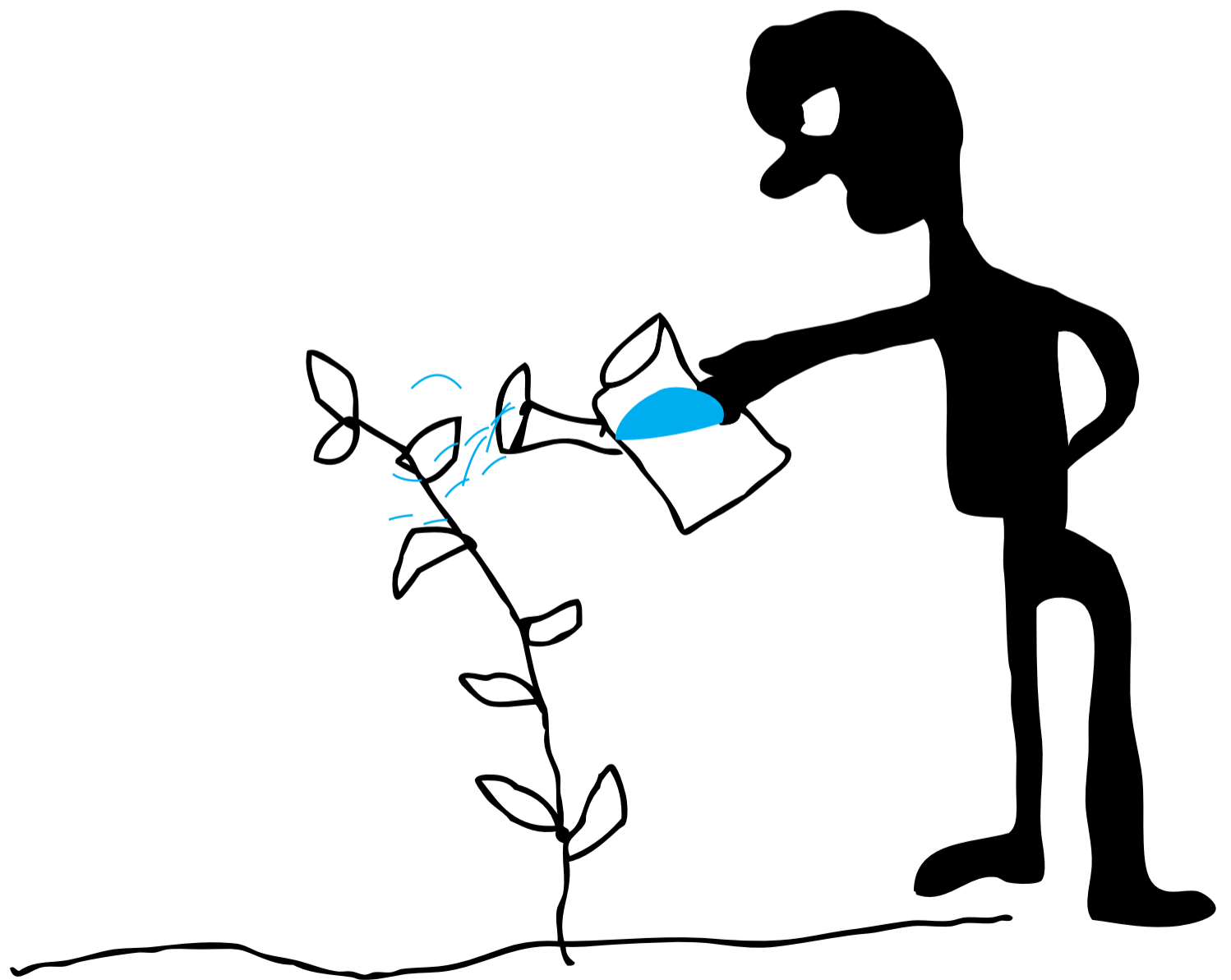


OF COURSE WE NAILED  
CLIMATE CHANGE!  
IT WAS A HIDEOUS  
BEAST AND WE  
CAUGHT IT!





COME IN HQ!  
I SEE SIGNS  
OF PROTEST  
PLEASE SEND  
REINFORCEMENTS!





## Dogged

Dogged history of the COP process

## Driving

Who's driving the problem

## Selling

Carbon Trading

## What to not do

What to not do

# one way...

# ...or another

12 years ago the UN held a conference in Japan to work out what to do about climate change (COP 3), and an agreement was made. It was called the Kyoto Protocol. 15 years later, Copenhagen is hosting the meeting (COP 15), and the Kyoto Protocol is up for renegotiation. 184 nation state governments signed up to the Kyoto Protocol in 1997. It is said to be the only vehicle for an international agreement which can tackle climate change.

No pressure then.

This newspaper is about the 15th UN Conference Of Parties. What the climate talks will be like if the process continues the way it has, stagnated into fit-for-tat bargaining with power structures set in stone. And what not only the meeting, but the future of everything - the planet, and us - could be like instead.

## 15 COPS

What's up with the COPs?

## Resistance

How people have resisted

## Justice

Climate Justice

## What to do

What to do

## Another

So what's your alternative then?



# Dogged

Dogged history of Conference of Parties process

## The Recipe:

- Take one hefty acronym: UNFCCC – United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (convention not as in badges or stamps or Star Trek, but as in big-ass meeting)
- Mix with one ubiquitous title: The Kyoto Protocol (Kyoto as is the coolest-sounding city in Japan, Protocol as in souped-up Rules)

## Instructions:

- Line up the players: nation state governments, presenting themselves as representative of peoples across the world.
- Set up the bargaining table and give each nation equal bargaining power.

- Ignore the differentiated access each team has to staff, expenses and resources.
- Leave the Liberian delegates outside Poland waiting for visas in December 2008.
- Have a voluntary Treaty only to guide domestic carbon emission reduction targets.
- Make the Kyoto Protocol binding because it involves market-based mechanisms, which are great for economic growth.

## Pick-and-Mix Mechanisms:

- Emissions trading or “the carbon market” does exactly what is says on the tin. Carbon becomes a commodity with a market value that can go up and down like any other, unlike the impact it has on climate change, which stays high.

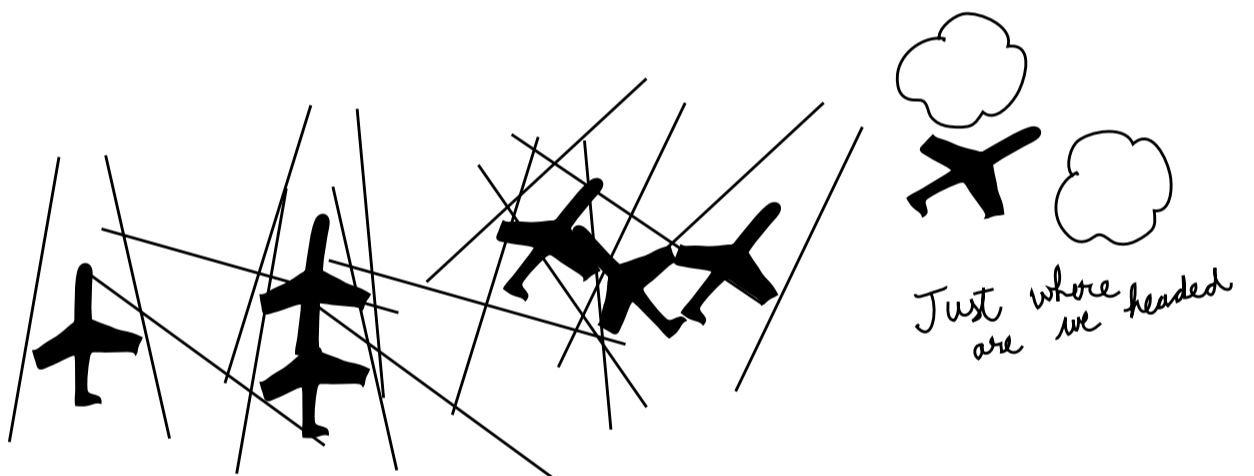
- A Clean Development Mechanism allows over-developed countries’ corporations to put in cash toward less ‘developed’ countries’ industrial projects and call it emissions reductions. A special kind of mathematics.

- Joint Implementation is the same as the CDM above, with more straightforward maths – over-developed countries fund less developed countries’ projects which have emission reduction targets set.

With pick-and-mix you never know what you’re going to get, but the dead cert so far has been no net fall in carbon emissions.

## Tips for Stirring:

- Use a soft angle on the climate science – why accept the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change’s advice that we need to get below 350 greenhouse gas parts per million (of air particles)? 450ppm is easier to swallow over a buffet breakfast.



# 15 COPs

What’s up with the COPs?



## Where did it all go wrong?

Some say the US was the biggest stumbling block, holding everyone back with its swaggering ego. Some say it was the set-up, nation states pitted against each other just like the trade negotiations in the old days of the World Trade Organisation meetings (before Seattle, when the movement of movements sprung up and claimed a right to justice). Some say the participating governments represent the corporate elites of nations, and are pushing agendas for financial profit and economic growth only. Some say, D) All of the above.

Many of the individuals, groups, peoples and nations who have set out to take part in the COP process have had doors slammed in their faces.

At COP-14 in Poznan, Poland, the International Indigenous Peoples Forum on Climate Change staged a spontaneous protest inside the convention calling for a halt on all agreements in which they were implicated – agreements that did not respect Indigenous Peoples’ rights. They felt they had to do this after New Zealand, Australia and Canada removed all language recognising the rights of indigenous peoples and local communities from the proposed text.

The Small Island States arrive at the negotiating table from the front line of climate change. Yet their voices have been marginalised by the other nation-players, who assume dominance stems from their global economic position of power. The notion proffered that industrialised countries, responsible for causing the climate crisis, must

financially support those nations primarily and most extremely affected, is begrudgingly noted, but very little more. Some money is promised as loans; some to be ‘donated’ via the World Bank, an institution whose track record makes many turn away in fear, and even more rise up in protest.

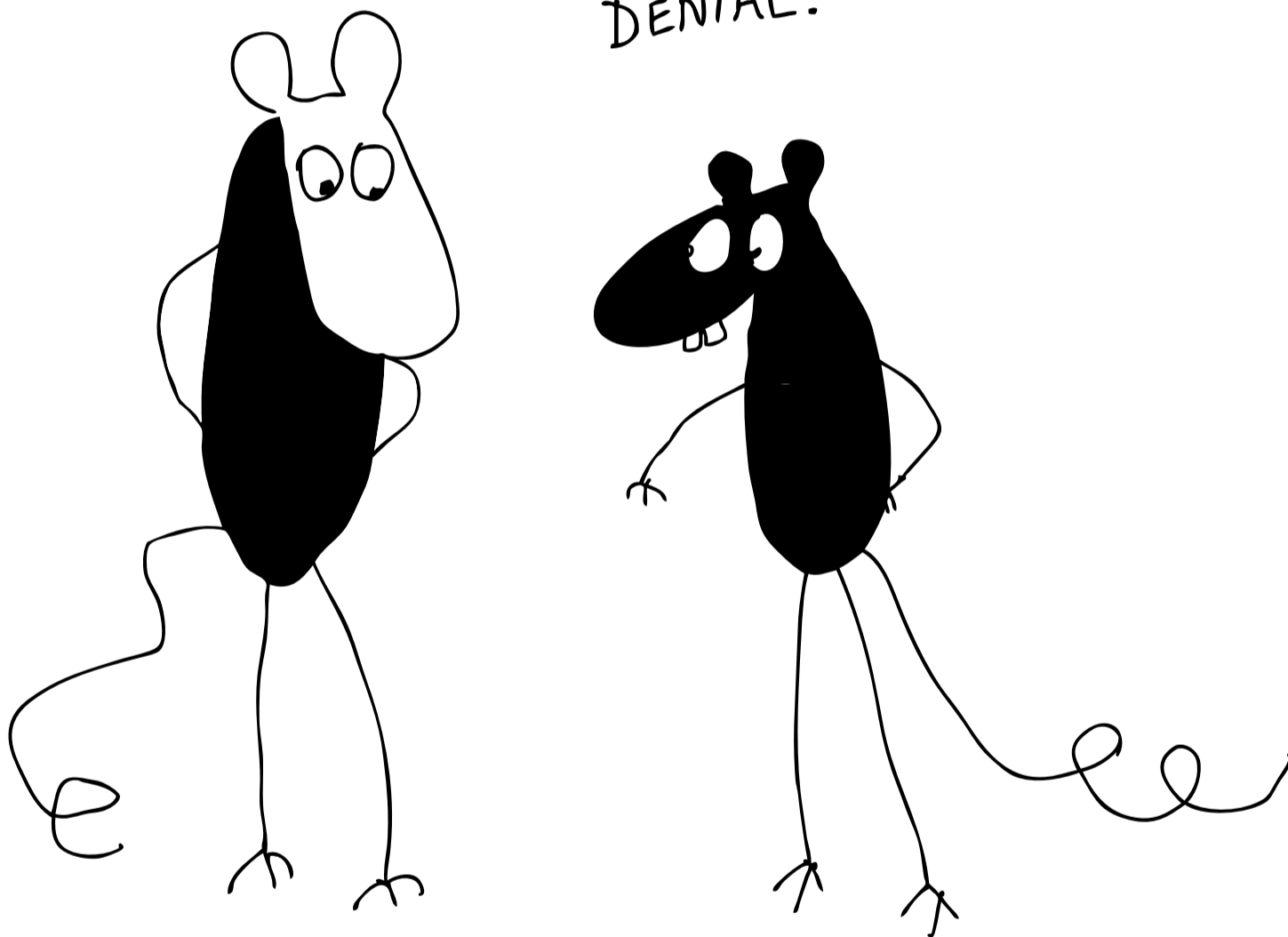
Cries of outrage about the brazen cheek of the US are heard even from the mouths of delegates. While the States refused to sign up “until India and China did”, the G77 of newly-industrialised countries fairly responded “no way – the over-industrialised countries first”, and precious time was simply wasted.

- Provide exhibition space for corporate lobbyists.
- Allocate a Business Day for corporate lobbyists.
- In Bali, Indonesia, COP-13 2007, allow 7% of non-governmental representation to come from the International Emissions Trading Association, while less than 1% comes from Friends of the Earth International.
- In Poznan, Poland, COP-14 2008, when Third World Network leaves information sheets on delegates' desks before the morning session, make them leave and remove all they have distributed.
- Break up the discussion into an endless web of subcommittees. DO NOT join the dots between the discussions in each room. DO stretch countries' staff between the subcommittees and working groups.

## Decorate with:

- Henry Derwent, Chief Exec of the International Emissions Trading Association, commenting from his balcony seat "It's going to take at least a riot to make any difference to the extraordinarily slow process." Careful what you wish for, Henry.

oh that's the  
most powerful  
weapon in our fight  
against climate change,  
it's called  
DENIAL!



## Some say:

This is a carbon trade fair with a conference stuck to it. The UNFCCC has been dubbed as the World Carbon Trade Organisation, the climate WTO.

Kyoto is based on carbon trading mechanisms which allow Northern countries to continue business as usual by paying for 'clean development' projects in developing and transition countries. This is a scheme designed deliberately to allow polluters to avoid reducing emissions domestically.

Everything, absolutely everything, can be bought and sold under capitalism. Even climate change itself has become a business.



"Overly complex markets are often ones that have been artificially created, based on an ideological commitment to solving every problem through the market rather than a natural evolution of trading in existing commodities"

- US Economist Frank Ackerman

# Driving

Who's driving the problem

When you begin to look into the drivers of climate change who are participating in COP-15, they seem to merge into one another – a greyness of purpose; a doggedness that results from an absolute faith in the capacity of capitalism to solve any problem. They certainly don't believe, as Albert Einstein said, that "We cannot solve our problems with the same thinking we used when we created them." It is in fact this same thinking that defines their world. If they get their way at Copenhagen, the only change we can be sure of is runaway climate change.

Here's a quick look at these players on an individual basis (You might of course keep them in mind when you're thinking about actions):

## DEFENDING BUSINESS

(or It's all about the money!)

From the horse's mouth: "Companies lobby on matters affecting the bottom line. Ultimately, every piece of legislation that could hurt is scrutinised, and positions formed accordingly." [www.climatechange.org]

Corporate lobbying on climate change is big business. US companies have spent over \$90 million in the past year to influence climate change policy.

Corporate lobbyists act with massive backing to defend the primacy of the 'free' market. If climate change is acknowledged at all it becomes a piece to be positioned in this Great Game. PR companies like Edelman will be hovering in the background, watching closely, eager to jump in with spin. Lobbyists for the burgeoning carbon trading industry, like the International Emissions Trading Association, will be there too – pushing for versions of carbon trading that best serve the markets (and change nothing). Other names to

look out for include the International Chamber of Commerce, the International Air Transport Association and the World Business Council for Sustainable Development.

## DEFENDING THE PLANET

(or It's all about the money?)

Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) often play a similar role to the lobbyists, working on the basis that the system is not to be messed with. The blurring of divides can be seen when for example Kate Hampton, formerly of Friends of the Earth International, move across to 'Climate Change Capital' – a company that spells out its purpose clearly.

As Northern NGOs have created and sustained the disastrous development industry, which claims to 'aid' poverty but instead facilitates corporate colonialism, so they will go on to do the same with climate change. For many NGOs such as the World Resources Institute and the Environmental Defence Foundation its all about market-based 'solutions.'

universal health care and the eight-hour working day.

While resistance these days is weak in Europe, networks of resistance reach far outside Europe; globally, people from all walks of life are defending themselves and their traditions, and sharing a vision of a better world. Such resistance is as varied as the ways of life to be defended: from armed struggle of the nomadic Tuareg (faced with extinction when Europeans discovered uranium under the Sahara) to the allotments movement in Britain. While the exact forms vary wildly, the message is the same: our way of life must not be subsumed into global industrial capitalism.

Increasingly, a movement for an end to catastrophic climate change and for a just transition is emerging. One could argue that these movements never change anything. What is the point of going to protest about carbon trading at the UN's December Copenhagen Summit or shutting down construction of the third runway at Heathrow? Why not just petition the government or personally reduce your carbon consumption? Governments of course regularly



# Resistance

How people have resisted

"There's no 'environmental catastrophe.'  
Our environment itself is the catastrophe."  
L'insurrection qui vient

Climate change is not only an environmental crisis. It is a crisis of how we organize our social relationships - relationships which ensure our mutual survival. Every species evolves under particular environmental conditions, and for humans, our main evolutionary advantage is the social relationships that organise our production of food, clothing, and shelter. Until the financial crisis, it was fashionable to believe that a combination of representative democracy and global industrial capitalism was 'the end of history'. Yet, as the world follows the same trajectory as Europe and North America and carbon emissions skyrocket, it has become stunningly apparent that this carbon-based growth cannot go on forever without leaving our children to inherit a wasteland. History needs to be remade: but how?

Ways of life change all the time. Remember

that carbon-intensive industrial capitalism didn't just drop out of the sky, but came about in the course of a series of often violent revolts, from the English Civil War to the American and French revolutions. Less than two hundred years ago, these revolutions propelled the bourgeoisie – who had lived a marginalized way of life at the fringes of feudal society – to global domination. But, let us not forget that as feudalism transitioned to capitalism, there were vast movements of resistance: from the Diggers to the resistance to the Clearances, the vast majority of the ancestors of Europeans fought to keep their communal farm lands and fought not be driven into factories.

Even when they congregated together in factories, instead of being obedient slaves, revolts like the Paris Commune nearly overthrew the newly established bourgeoisie governments. This resistance to the early incarnation of capitalism created powerful workers unions, and a new way of life, a proud tradition that gave us today much that we take for granted. Think of

## DEFENDING THE 'CIVILISED' WORLD

(or It's all about the money)

Northern industrialised countries are constantly pointing the finger at China and India in the debate (he went that way!!). Failure to act is seen across the board. Grand claims, like the UK's Climate Change Bill, are meaningless in the face of continued fossil fuel expansion. Maybe with carbon trading there'll be cuts in emissions on paper, but that just won't cut it with the real world. These countries are all governed by the fossil fuel industries that fuel their economies.

So let's be clear, COP is an exclusive process weighted towards the countries with most power, refusing entry to indigenous delegations, over-powering the Small Island States and failing democracy the world over.

ignore petitions, and a group of people changing their consumption habits has little effect while the gigantic industries continue to belch out CO2.

Yet an alternative view of history shows that social movements committed to direct action have been incredibly successful in invoking social change.

In the UK in the 1980s the non-violent civil disobedience of the anti-nuclear movement stopped the construction of new nuclear power plants, while in the 1990s the anti-roads movements halted the destruction of the countryside and small villages. More recently, the anti-globalisation movement has reduced the power of global institutions like the International Monetary Fund, which disciplines developing countries for the benefit of the developed countries' elites, to broken shadows of their former selves. Far from being a waste of time, the one thing that is almost guaranteed to prevent catastrophic climate change is a massive social movement committed to direct action against the root causes of climate change. Within such movements, there are a multitude of roles to play, and everyone - not just those

## A BEACON OF HOPE

(or It's all about the money)

The warmth with which President Obama was welcomed was in no small part fuelled by the relief felt at the departure of climate-change-denier Dubble-Yer. But Obama is an open disciple of the Market, and climate change will just have to fit in. Recent concessions made to the US coal industry foreshadow the US's stance at Copenhagen.

## DEFENDING CAPITALISM

(or It's all about the money. Period.)

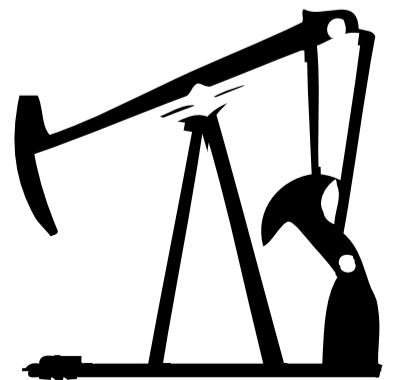
International Financial Institutions exist to oil the wheels of the global economy and to help make sure the money stays in the North. At Copenhagen, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation will continue to defend these interests. They'll key into the lucrative business of carbon trading and ensure that Southern countries continue to be locked into cycles of dependency. Plus ça change.

people who can risk arrest - is needed to fulfill all sorts of creative roles.

Objectively, science is telling us that the very environment we all depend on is being destroyed. What holds us in line are our own deep-set assumptions about how social change occurs, and a way of life based on hyper-production to fuel endless consumption (a consumption that leaves many of us strangely empty at the end of the day). Yet, ideology can change in the blink of an eye. If people organise themselves to resist, humanity has a chance of survival and collective prosperity. Resistance to climate change is not just an issue of a few drop-out anarchist hippies and well-meaning middle-class green campaigners - it's the latest incarnation of a long tradition, ranging from union struggles to protecting indigenous ways of life to the women's movement. A newly re-emergent global giant that has just begun to awaken. Despite the rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher that "There is No Alternative," there has always been an alternative. In the face of catastrophic climate change, alternatives to business-as-usual are the only way out.



THE NODDING  
DONKEY!  
WHAT A DISGRACE  
TO OUR NAME





## COP 6 – The Hague 1999

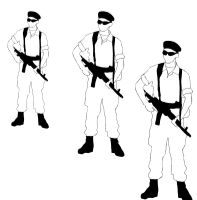
The Rising Tide coalition forms to oppose the use of carbon trading in the climate talks, and stages a series of direct actions over the course of the summit, including a mass conference invasion. The head of the US delegation gets a pie in his face during a live press conference.

## COP 6 bis – Bonn 2000

Eight activists lock on to each other and block the road during a climate demonstration, and demand to speak of climate justice principles to the delegates inside the conference centre. The police end up forcibly removing the hundreds of people who spontaneously surround and protect the

## COP 9 – Milan 2003

Greenpeace activists paint an enormous "Quit Coal" slogan on an Italian coal fired power station while the talks are in session. GenderCC - an international network of women for climate justice is formed during the COP.







Protesters from the Indonesian Civil Society Forum at the UN Climate Talks in Bali.

## COP 11 – Montreal 2005

The Climate Justice Centre operates for the duration of the talks, acting as a meeting space, platform and action planning space for Southern groups, Indigenous Peoples' Organisations and the Durban Group for Climate Justice.

## COP 13 – Bali 2007

Indigenous people wear symbolic gags in protest against their exclusion from key meetings at the talks. A coalition of NGOs, social movements and Indigenous Peoples' Organisations storm a press conference to launch the World Bank's Forest Carbon Partnership Facility.

## COP 14 – Poznan 2008

Groups gather outside the International Emissions Trading Association (IETA) building to protest against the World Bank's role in the climate talks.

**“The central problem, it is becoming increasingly clear, is a mode of production whose main dynamic is the transformation of living nature into dead commodities creating tremendous waste in the process. The driver of this process is consumption - or more appropriately over-consumption - and the motivation is profit or capital accumulation: Capitalism, in short.”**

# Selling

## Carbon Trading

The Climate talks came to a crucial turning point in 1997. Up until that point, when countries had agreed to make emissions reductions, those cuts were all going to be made domestically, without any market-based jiggery pokery. The talks were fraught with tension, because the US hadn't yet agreed to ratify the treaty, and everyone agreed that keeping the economic super-power on board was crucial for Kyoto's future success.

It was at this point that Al Gore, who was the head of the US delegation, made a controversial proposal. The US would be willing to ratify the treaty if the other countries were willing to halve the emissions targets that were being proposed, and introduce 'flexible mechanisms' as a means of countries being able to meet these targets. These flexible mechanisms were essentially carbon trading and offsetting.

The other countries were desperate to keep the US at the table, and so they made this enormous concession. And of course, the US didn't end up ratifying it anyway. Someone who was party to

the negotiations at the time described it as "we did a deal with the devil in order to get the deal, and in the end we got the devil and no deal."

Since then, carbon trading has absorbed a disproportionate amount of energy and political will in the Kyoto negotiations and beyond, to the point where it often seems like the real business of cutting emissions is very dim and distant in the background compared to the much sexier activities of boldly creating new markets and financial mechanisms.

This wouldn't be a problem in itself if carbon trading was effective. But it hasn't worked, it's not working, and it doesn't show any signs of being any more effective at reducing emissions in the future. It has been devastatingly effective in providing opportunities for the carbon intensive economy to keep going in the face of climate change – under the logic of the market, what point is there for an industry to start making costly, infrastructural changes if it's cheaper to buy permits and avoid it.

Overly complicated markets that aren't about meeting basic human needs provide multiple opportunities for the 'savvy' players to game the system in a way that can be used to their own advantage. This is constantly happening in carbon trading – a few examples –

- Under the Kyoto scheme Spain has bought 6 million emissions rights from Hungary. Emissions levels are measured from the baseline of 1990, but in former-communist East European countries like Hungary, when their economies collapsed in the 1990s, their emissions levels dropped massively too. That means they have a big surplus of permits to sell without them actively reducing their emissions, which can then be sold on to countries like Spain, to keep on polluting. This is known as 'hot air'.

- A handful of power companies, including E.ON, made billions in windfall profits from the first phase of the EU Emissions Trading Scheme. They convinced Brussels that they needed loads more permits than they actually did, and also, despite receiving all these permits for free, passed the cost onto consumers as if they had paid for them.

- Under the Kyoto offset scheme, some of the most polluting industries in southern countries with appalling environmental and human rights records are raking in enormous amounts of money to do emissions reduction or avoidance projects that were being planned anyway. If they were happening anyway, but are being used to justify pollution elsewhere, that means there's a net increase in emissions.

# Justice

## Climate Justice Now!

No to neoliberal illusions, yes to people's solutions!

Climate Justice Assembly Declaration  
Bélém, Brazil, 1 February 2009

For centuries, productivism and industrial capitalism have been destroying our cultures, exploiting our labour and poisoning our environment.

Now, with the climate crisis, the Earth is saying 'enough', 'ya basta'!

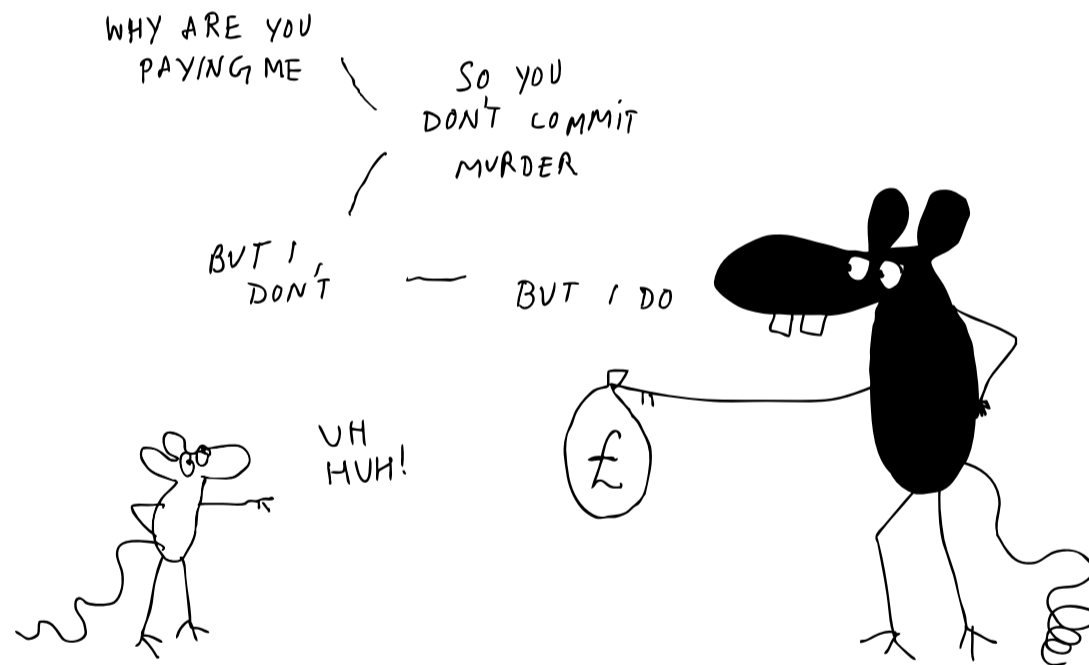
Once again, the people who created the problem are telling us that they also have the solutions: carbon trading, so-called 'clean coal', more nuclear power, agrofuels, even a "green new deal". But these are not real solutions,

they are neoliberal illusions. It is time to move beyond these illusions. Real solutions to the climate crisis are being built by those who have always protected the Earth and by those who fight every day to defend their environment and living conditions. We need to globalise these solutions.

For us, the struggles for climate justice and social justice are one and the same. It is the struggle for territories, land, forests and water, for agrarian and urban reform, food and energy sovereignty, for women's and worker's rights. It is the fight for equality and justice for indigenous peoples, for peoples of the global South, for the redistribution of wealth and for the recognition of the historical ecological debt owed by the North.

Against the disembodied, market-driven interests of the global elite and the dominant development model based on never-ending growth and consumption, the climate justice movement will reclaim the commons, and put social and economic realities at the heart of our struggle against climate change.

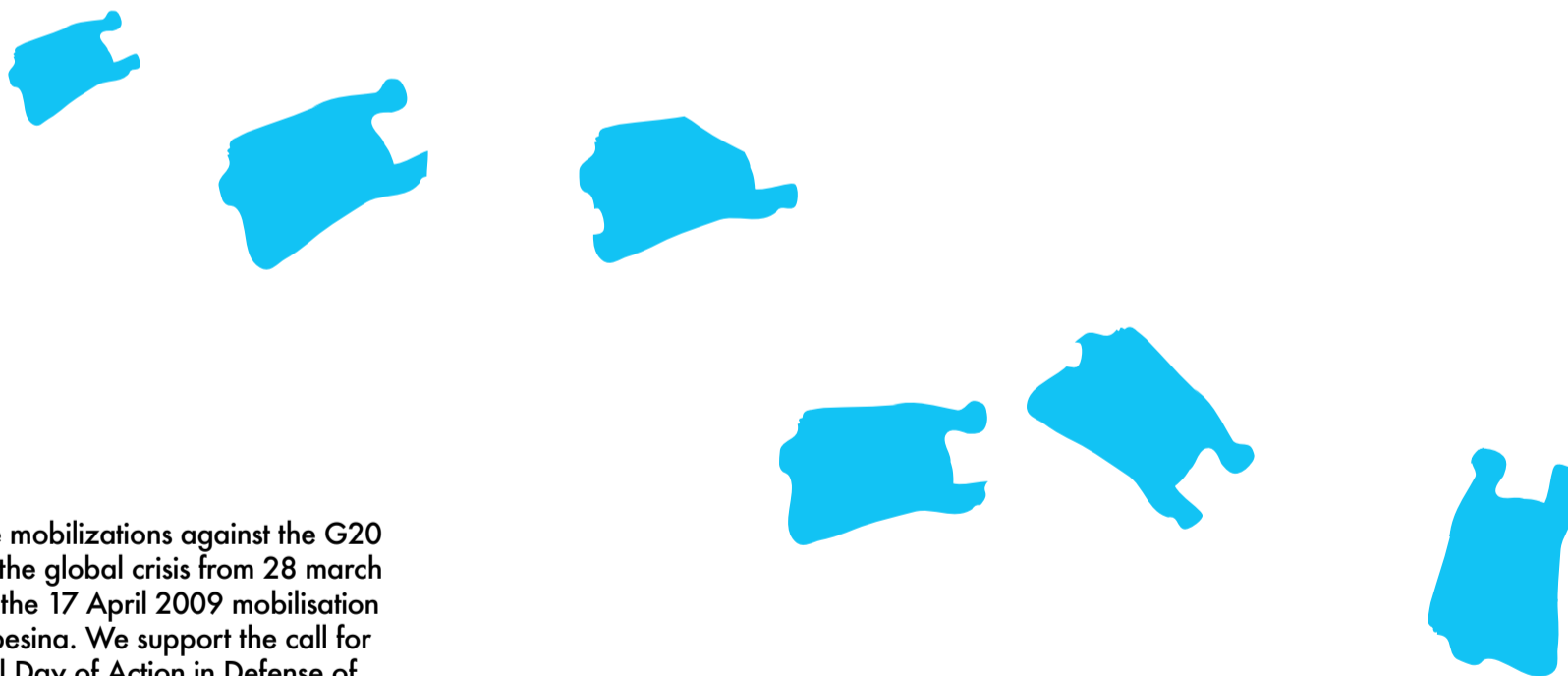
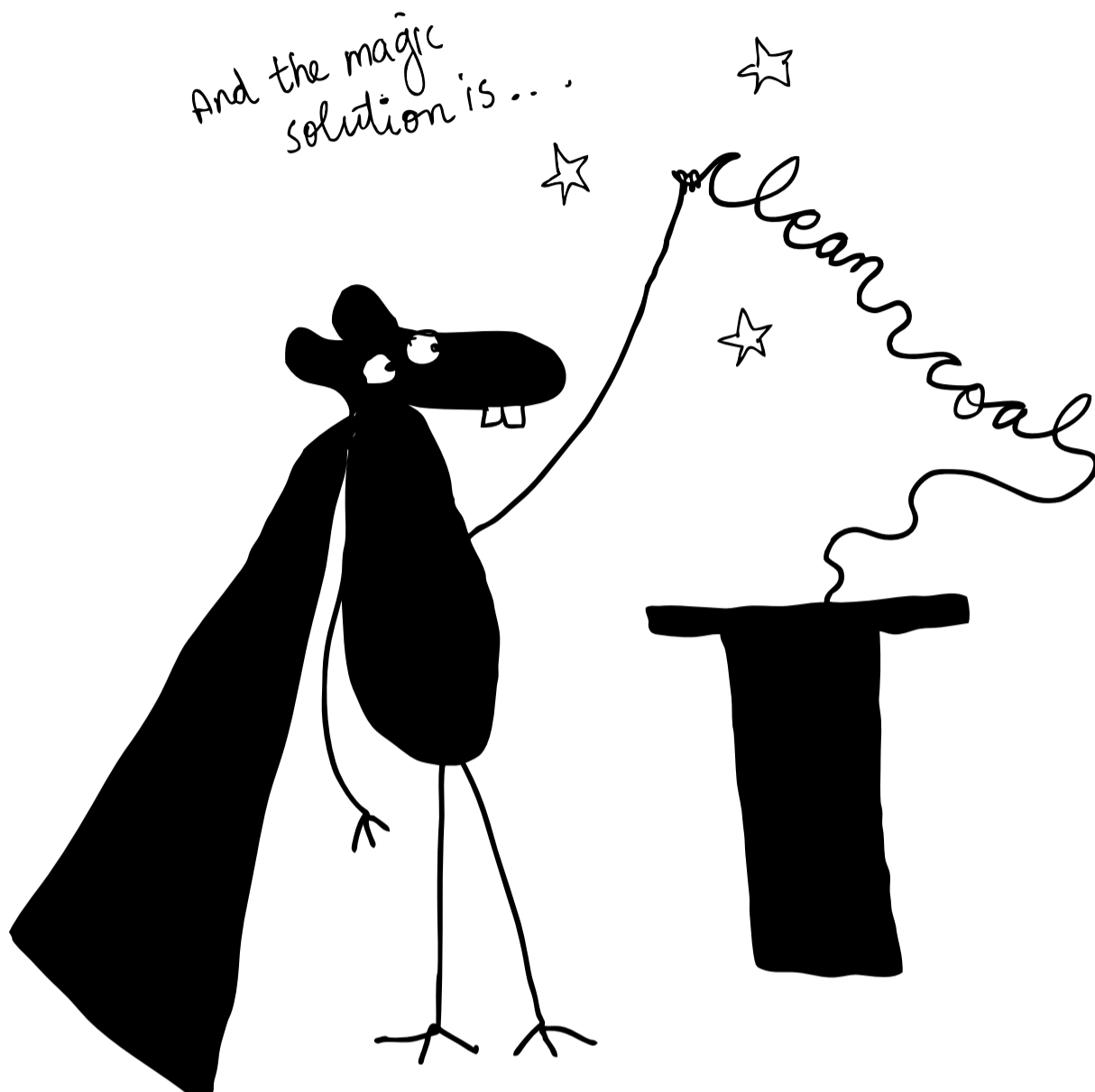
We call on everyone – workers, farmers, fisherfolk, students, youth, women, indigenous peoples, and all concerned humans from the South and the North – to join in this common struggle to build the real solutions to the climate crisis for the future of our planet, our societies, and our cultures. All together, we are building a movement for climate justice.



These aren't a handful of bad apples spoiling the bunch. They represent the norm of a corrupt and ineffective system that is all about providing new opportunities to make money while avoiding making the necessary transition to a low carbon economy.

The reason why carbon trading has been pushed so enthusiastically by governments and businesses is because it fits in neatly with the economic dogma that has been so politically fashionable in the last few decades – the idea that the free market is the most effective means of meeting human needs. However, the economic crisis has shaken peoples' faith in the market to an unprecedented extent. There are a number of parallels between the carbon market and the factors that lead to the recent economic turmoil, such as difficulties in asset valuation and a trend towards increasingly complicated financial products that very few people really understand. We are already witnessing brokers package together credits from several installations, then slice these up and resell them in a manner chillingly reminiscent of the 'sub prime' mortgages debacle.

There are a wide variety of ways to reduce emissions that are appropriate for different individuals, communities and countries. Any of these many ways forward should be evaluated (along with important factors like equity and social justice) on the criteria of whether or not it allows us to move away from extracting and consuming large amounts of fossil fuels. Carbon trading does exactly the opposite of this – it sanctions further fossil fuel burning. We need to start consciously making the many changes to our societies and economies to take us to a low carbon future, rather than putting our blind faith in the market to make these changes for us.



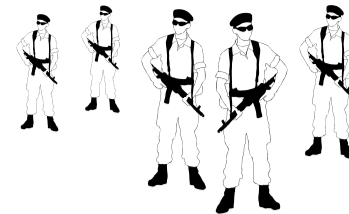
We support the mobilizations against the G20 summit and on the global crisis from 28 March to 4 April, and the 17 April 2009 mobilisation of La Via Campesina. We support the call for an International Day of Action in Defense of Mother Earth and Indigenous Rights on 12 October 2009. We call for mobilisations and diverse forms of actions everywhere, in the lead up to, during and beyond the UN climate talks in Copenhagen, especially on the Global Day of Action on 12 December 2009.

In all of our work, we will expose the false solutions, raise the voices of the South, defend human rights, and strengthen our solidarity in the fight for climate justice. If we make the right choices, we can build a better world for everyone.

**“Every time the carbon market fails to reduce emissions, the politicians and businesses who promote the market as the solution to the climate crisis reach for their Samuel Beckett: ‘Try again, fail again, fail better.’”**

- Oscar Reyes, The Guardian, 1 Feb. 2009.

# What to not do



## Don't:

### Don't pin all your hopes on a good deal.

It's tempting to hope that if we just ask nicely enough, the powers that be will do right. And it's likely that they'll tell us that they've solved the problems. But the rhetoric of market-based solutions is just that - empty rhetoric.

### Don't make Climate Change into Make Poverty History.

Remember white bands made in Chinese sweatshops and the Government cheering civil society along? Remember the feckless self-righteousness of musical has-beens Bono and Geldof? Remember Bono stripping the issues of their political content and Geldof saying that the G8 had scored "8/10" in terms of addressing poverty? Sadly, though unsurprisingly, poverty isn't history, it's actually gotten worse. Real change and real solutions have to come from the people affected by them, and through solidarity, not empty gestures.

### Don't miss this opportunity.

COP15 is crucial in the battle to avert catastrophic climate change. If governments and corporations agree an international deal based on carbon trading and manage to sell it as 'the solution' we will have a much harder time fighting carbon-intensive expansion like the 3rd runway and the coal-fired power station at Kingsnorth. The more effectively we expose the lies, the more space we will open up for real action on climate change.

### Don't let it get you down.

We all have that moment of panic, that 'it's all fucked'. Don't worry, that's normal, so don't be afraid of talking with friends, it is scary after all. But equally don't let that be the basis of your response, otherwise it will become a self-fulfilling prophecy. The alliances we'll build and the media storm we'll create around COP-15 - exposing the lies and corruption at the heart of the process - will set the stage for the battles we will continue to fight because we know that other worlds are possible. Hope will always be more powerful than fear.

### Don't believe the hype.

We need to act together rather than believe the atomizing guilt-hype of 'individual responsibility'. It is collective action on the systemic causes of climate change - not a few energy saving lightbulbs - that will bring us a better world.

# What to do

## Do:

### Do go to Copenhagen for the COP.

Use direct action as a means of drawing the world's attention to just how dire the talks have become, embroil yourself in the growing global network of groups committed to climate justice, use it as a launch pad for moving forward on climate change. Yaay!

### Do not go to Copenhagen for the COP.

It's not the be all and end all, and maybe your attention and energy is better served shutting down coal plants or growing vegetables at home. But for two weeks in December everyone will be talking about the COP. Use this opportunity to provoke discussion on the false market-based solutions, the vested corporate interests, the disgraceful bargaining tactics, and grow the global climate change network.

### Do discover the joys of horizontal networking.

Get involved in the many exciting initiatives, schemes and platforms going on around you. Climate change doesn't mean sitting about feeling doomed about the world, it's about people being creatively empowered to make positive changes.

### Do see the climate talks at Copenhagen as a beginning rather than the end.

The 'gloom and doom' scenarios are by no means inevitable - the future can be rewritten, but it depends on enough people being motivated to get out there and make those changes rather than waiting for corrupt and ineffectual international processes to (not) make them on our behalf.

### Do keep breathing.

Look after each other and party whenever there's a chance.

"Hope is an orientation, a way of scanning the wall for cracks - or building ladders - rather than staring at its obdurate expanse. It's a worldview, but one informed by experience and the knowledge that people have power; that the power people possess matters; that change has been made by populist movements and dedicated individuals in the past; and that it will be again."

- Rebecca Solnit, The Secret Library of Hope

# So what's your alternative, then?

There are thousands of things that we can do, at individual, community, national and international levels in order to combat the climate crisis, reduce our impact on the environment and work towards a just, sustainable future.

There is also a huge amount governments could do in order to facilitate the transition to a low carbon society, like kickstarting a national program to insulate all homes, boost public transport infrastructure and renewable energy implementation, massive educational programs, grants, etc.. Yet governments across the world, particularly those of the so-called developed nations, have been woefully slow to undertake much needed initiatives to help people take action on climate change in their lives.

Politicians across the world remain an intrinsic part of the problem. Influenced by big business and careers they are unable to act on the climate crisis because they are at the heart of the industrial capitalist system that has created it. The alternative lies in creating new ways of organising societies, working together co-operatively towards exploring and implementing solutions, using forms of self management and organisation to create new processes and work towards building awareness and solidarity, to support and empower people to take action in their lives on climate change. The following are just some of the examples of people in the here and now creating, resisting and developing dynamic, vibrant, projects that are exploring the possibilities of change and are striving to build new realities.

## At home

### Incredible Edible Todmorden

Todmorden, Britain's first town with self-sufficient food supply. Every square inch of available ground in Todmorden is being dug up and turned into a vegetable plot. Red-ribbed chard decorates the kerbside of the A646 to Halifax and public flower beds are being transformed into community herb gardens and vegetable patches as Incredible Edible Todmorden aims to increase the amount of local food grown and eaten in the town. Businesses, schools, farmers and the community are all involved. Vegetables and fruit are sprouting forth everywhere. Their aim is for the town to be self-sufficient in vegetables by 2018.

[www.incredible-edible-todmorden.co.uk](http://www.incredible-edible-todmorden.co.uk)

### The Yellow House

The Yellow House is the story of how a family took their ordinary 1930's ex-terrace council house and on a limited budget turned it into a dream eco-house: comfortable, clean, healthy, beautiful and a model for low impact living.

[www.theyellowhouse.org.uk](http://www.theyellowhouse.org.uk)

## Grassroots

### Camp for Climate Action

The Climate Camp set up in 2006 outside DRAX power station with 4 key objectives: education, direct action, sustainable living, and building a movement to effectively tackle climate change by both resisting climate crimes and developing sustainable solutions. Since then, climate campers have not looked back, going from strength to strength and inspiring people across the world to run similar events. This year (2009) climate camps will be held in the UK, Germany, France, Australia, the USA, Denmark and on the Dutch/Belgian border.

[www.climatecamp.org.uk](http://www.climatecamp.org.uk)

### Transition Towns

A transition town is a community within a village, town or city who have come together to respond to a common concern: "How can our community respond to the challenges, and opportunities, of Peak Oil and Climate Change?" Through organising events and meetings and setting up working groups to explore local possibilities, transition groups aim

to generate awareness around peak oil, climate change and the need to undertake a community-led process to rebuild resilience and reduce carbon. In addition they aim to:

- Connect with existing groups in the community
- Build bridges to local government
- Connect with other transition initiatives
- Form groups to look at all the key areas of life (food, energy, transport, health, heart & soul, economics & livelihoods, etc)
- Develop and implement a community-defined, community-implemented "Energy Descent Action Plan" over a 15 to 20 year timescale.

The transition initiative is spreading rapidly - to date there are over 152 worldwide with many more on their way.

[www.transitiontowns.org](http://www.transitiontowns.org)

## Permaculture

Permaculture is about creating sustainable human habitats by following nature's patterns. It uses the diversity, stability and resilience of natural ecosystems to provide a framework and guidance for people to develop their own sustainable solutions to the problems facing their world, on a local, national or global scale. Based on the philosophy of co-operation with nature and caring for the earth and its people, there are hundreds of permaculture projects worldwide.

[www.permaculture.org.uk](http://www.permaculture.org.uk)

### Landmatters Permaculture Project

Landmatters Permaculture Project manages 42 acres of land for the benefit of bio-diversity and wildlife whilst providing for the needs of the community's food, water, energy, shelter, creativity, transport and waste management. They are also developing land-based livelihoods and acting as an educational resource for the wider community.

[www.landmatters.org.uk](http://www.landmatters.org.uk)

### CAT

Nestled in the hills of Snowdonia, the Centre for Alternative Technology in Wales is one of the world's most renowned eco-centres, featuring interactive displays and practical examples of sustainable living, renewable energy and organic gardening. CAT recently launched Zero Carbon Britain, a report which details how Britain can eliminate emissions from fossil fuels in 20 years and break our dependence on imported energy.

[www.cat.org.uk](http://www.cat.org.uk)

[www.zerocarbonbritain.com](http://www.zerocarbonbritain.com)

## Further Afield

### Los Jardineros Urbanos de Cuba (the Urban Gardens of Cuba)

The collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s meant that Cuba's financial support and oil imports rapidly dried up and the country was faced with widespread food shortages. With few options to import food, Cuba converted to an organic, non-oil dependent agricultural system within 19 years. In 2002 Cuba produced 3.2 million tonnes of food in more than 29,000 urban farms and gardens.

[www.cityfarmer.org/cuba.html](http://www.cityfarmer.org/cuba.html)

### Via Campesina

Via Campesina is an international movement that co-ordinates the organisation of peasants, small- and medium-sized producers, landless, rural women, indigenous peoples, rural youth and agricultural workers. The principal objective of La Via Campesina is to develop solidarity and unity among small farmer organisations in order to promote gender parity and social justice in fair economic relations; the preservation of land, water, seeds and other natural resources; food sovereignty; sustainable agricultural production based on small- and medium-sized producers.

[www.viacampesina.org](http://www.viacampesina.org)

### The Bet, Germany

As part of a project called 'The Bet' (part of Friends of the Earth Germany) German school children from 150 schools bet their government that they would be able to save more CO<sub>2</sub> in eight months than the government had promised to save in eight years. They won.

## Get Involved

### Carbon Trade Watch

have a website with lots more info on the problems with carbon trading, COPs and other climate justice issues.

[www.carbontradewatch.org](http://www.carbontradewatch.org)

### C-words at Arnolfini, Bristol, 3.10.09 - 29.11.09

Over 25 events, installations, performances, actions, walks, courses, discussions, and skills-sharing will build towards the moment of public departure to the protests at the contested COP-15 in Copenhagen.

[www.platformlondon.org](http://www.platformlondon.org)

### The Great Climate Swoop, 17.10.09

Mass direct action to shut down one of the UK's biggest coal power stations - vote for which one at

[www.thegreatclimateswoop.org](http://www.thegreatclimateswoop.org)

Find out about more collective action at:

World Rainforest Movement - [www.wrm.org.uy](http://www.wrm.org.uy)

T.R.A.P.E.S.E - [www.trapese.org](http://www.trapese.org)

Rising Tide Australia - [www.risingtide.org.au](http://www.risingtide.org.au)

Rising Tide North America - [www.risingtidenorthamerica.org](http://www.risingtidenorthamerica.org)

Plane Stupid - [www.planestupid.com](http://www.planestupid.com)

Plane Speaking - [www.planespeaking.org.uk](http://www.planespeaking.org.uk)

Indymedia - [www.indymedia.org](http://www.indymedia.org)

Focus on the Global South - [www.focusweb.org](http://www.focusweb.org)

European Youth for Action - [www.eyfa.org](http://www.eyfa.org)

Environmental Rights Action - [www.eration.org](http://www.eration.org)

Environmental Justice Matters - [www.ejmatters.org](http://www.ejmatters.org)

Climate Camp UK - [www.climatecamp.org.uk](http://www.climatecamp.org.uk)

### Credits:

Produced by - people involved in Climate Camp

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For more copies email [mel@platformlondon.org](mailto:mel@platformlondon.org)

### Prachuap Khiri Khan, Thailand

For years, the people of Prachuap Khiri Khan opposed the plans by US energy company Edison and Thai company Gulf Power to build two coal-fired power stations in the region. The proposed plants were funded by a consortium of US, Japanese, Hong Kong and Thai companies. The successful campaign to stop the dirty coal plants of Bo Nok and Ban Krut was led by a local villager Chareon in an incredible example of grassroots organising. A whole community fought back against large industrial projects, corruption and bad investments that threatened the local people, communities and the environment. Sadly Chareon was murdered by gunmen outside his home, shortly after testifying to a parliamentary committee against powerful figures involved in community land grabs.

## Global Solidarity

Finding solutions to climate change is not just about sorting ourselves out. The climate crisis is a global problem and is as much about pushing for social and political change as attempting to reduce our carbon emissions. Many of the false solutions proffered by Kyoto and the climate deals are designed to ensure business-as-usual, and put profit before humanity and competition above solidarity. Movements for climate justice are global and are rising up around the world, and while resistance has taken many forms over the years, Copenhagen will be a decisive moment where this movement shows its strength, diversity, its solidarity and its power— and then we go home and carry on creating it ourselves, in our homes and communities, in our countries and our world.

## A Call to Climate Action

### YOU CAN'T FIX A BROKEN SYSTEM

#### Climate Justice Movement to Converge on UN Climate Talks

The UN climate talks will not solve the climate crisis. We are no closer to reducing greenhouse gas emissions than we were when international negotiations began fifteen years ago: emissions are rising faster than ever, while carbon trading allows climate criminals to pollute and profit.

At present, the talks are essentially legitimising a new colonialism that carves up of the world's remaining resources. Faced with the profound crisis of our civilisation, all we get is a political circus playing to the interests of corporations. In response to this madness, a global movement for climate justice has emerged to reclaim power over our future. As part of this, the international network Climate Justice Action is mobilising tens of thousands of people across the world to take action during the international climate negotiations in Copenhagen in December 2009.

#### No More False Solutions

We cannot trust the market with our future, nor put our faith in unsafe, unproven and unsustainable technologies. Contrary to those who put their faith in "green capitalism", we know that it is impossible to have infinite growth on a finite planet. Instead of trying to fix a broken system, we should be:

Leaving fossil fuels in the ground  
Socialising and decentralising energy  
Relocalising our food production  
Recognising and repaying ecological and climate debt  
Respecting indigenous peoples' rights  
Regenerating our eco-systems

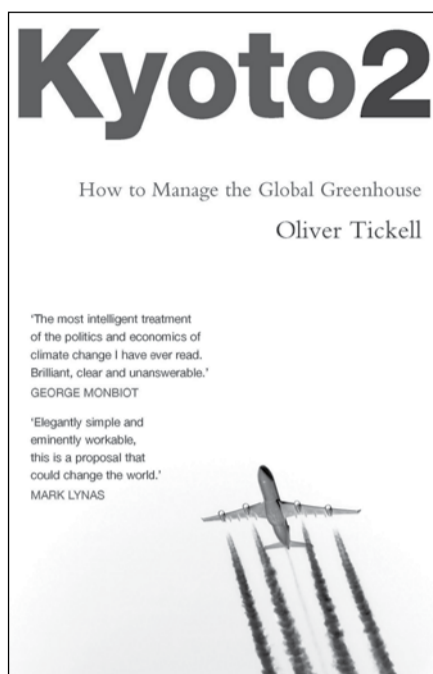
Real solutions to the climate crisis are being built by those who have always protected the Earth and by those who fight every day to defend their environment and living conditions. We need to globalise these solutions and work for a just transition towards a zero-carbon future.

[www.climate-justice-action.org](http://www.climate-justice-action.org)



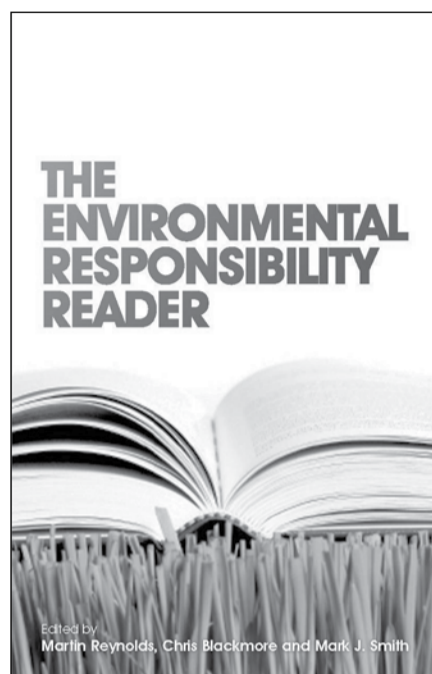
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**“Climate change is also an issue that has a lot to do with the question of who owns the atmosphere, who’s going to have power over the capacity of the earth to stabilise its own climate, and so forth. These questions have to do with power and politics, so of course they have to involve struggles for democracy at all levels.” - Larry Lohman, The Cornerhouse**



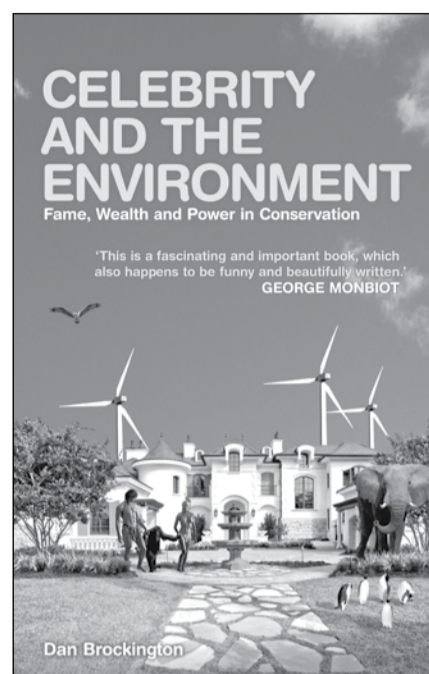
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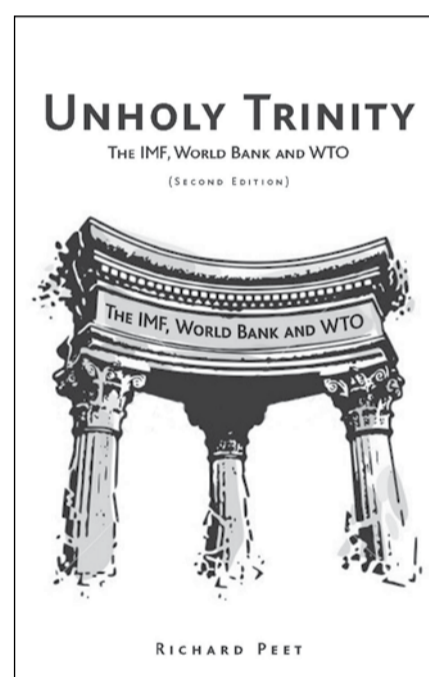
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“What’s being talked about for Copenhagen is a strengthening of Kyoto [protocol] approach, a cap and trade with offsets and escape hatches which will be guaranteed to fail in terms of getting the required rapid reduction in emissions. They talk about goals which sound impressive, but when you see the actions are such that it will be impossible to reach those goals, then I can understand the informed public getting frustrated.”