

Justice as Realism

**SILENCE ABOUT "FAIRNESS"
AS A BARRIER TO EFFECTIVE
CLIMATE POLICY**

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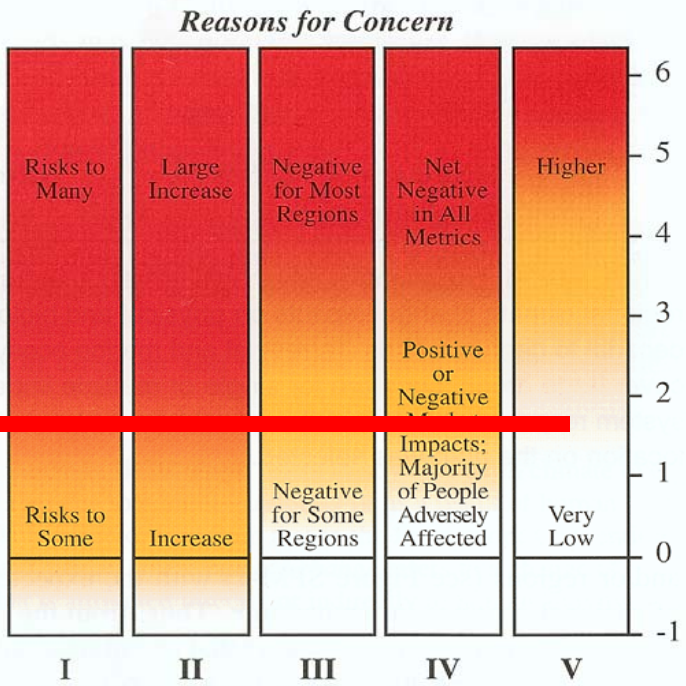
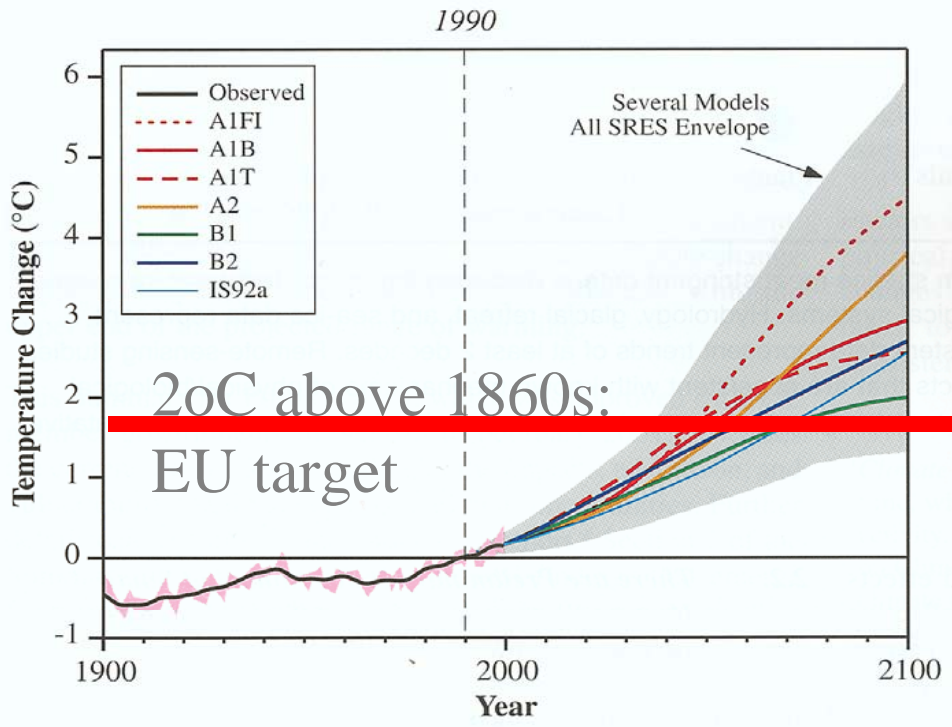
Two Beginnings

- Dangerous Climate Change
 - Situation appears very bad indeed
 - As uncertainties clarify, picture gets worse
 - Trend is to draw line at 2°C temperature increase
- Warming in a Divided World
 - Rich/Poor, North/South, Developed/Developing
 - Climate crisis puts redistribution back onto agenda
 - Social divisions subvert essential co-operation

Dangerous Climate Change

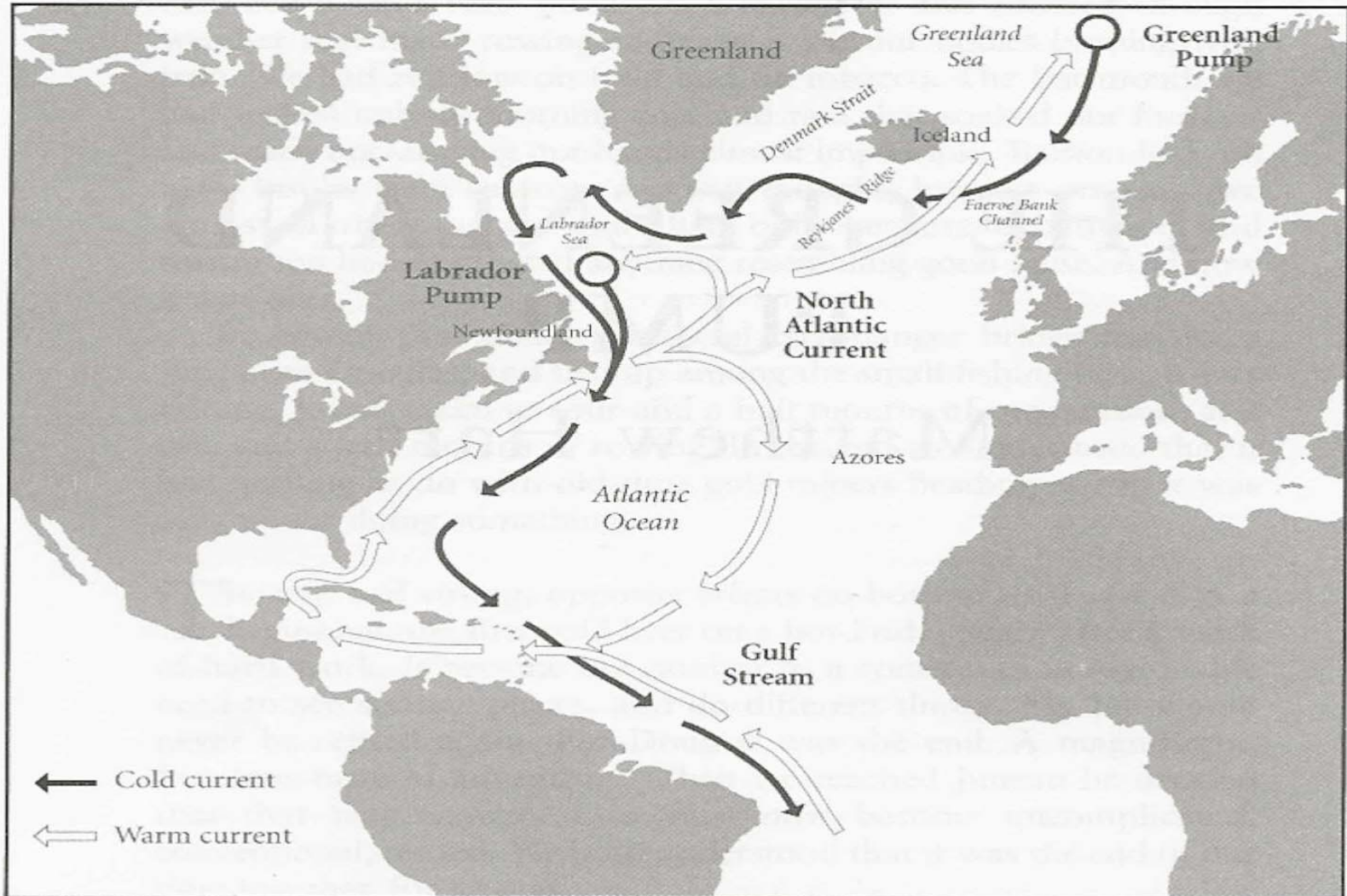
- 2°C above pre-industrial as max “tolerable” warming
- Already we have 0.7°C, with ~0.5°C more “locked in”
- Estimates of “climate sensitivity” (global temperature response to doubling of CO₂-equivalent) increasing
 - Second Assessment Report (1995) best estimate: 2.5C
 - Current best estimates are much higher (3C – 3.5C)
 - Paleoclimatic data (since last ice age) best fit about 4C
- Estimated odds of “abrupt” change are increasing
- Rates of extinction and ecological decay are rising
- The world’s poor, as usual, will suffer the most

IPCC TAR Risk vs Temperature



- I Risks to Unique and Threatened Systems
- II Risks from Extreme Climate Events
- III Distribution of Impacts
- IV Aggregate Impacts
- V Risks from Future Large-Scale Discontinuities

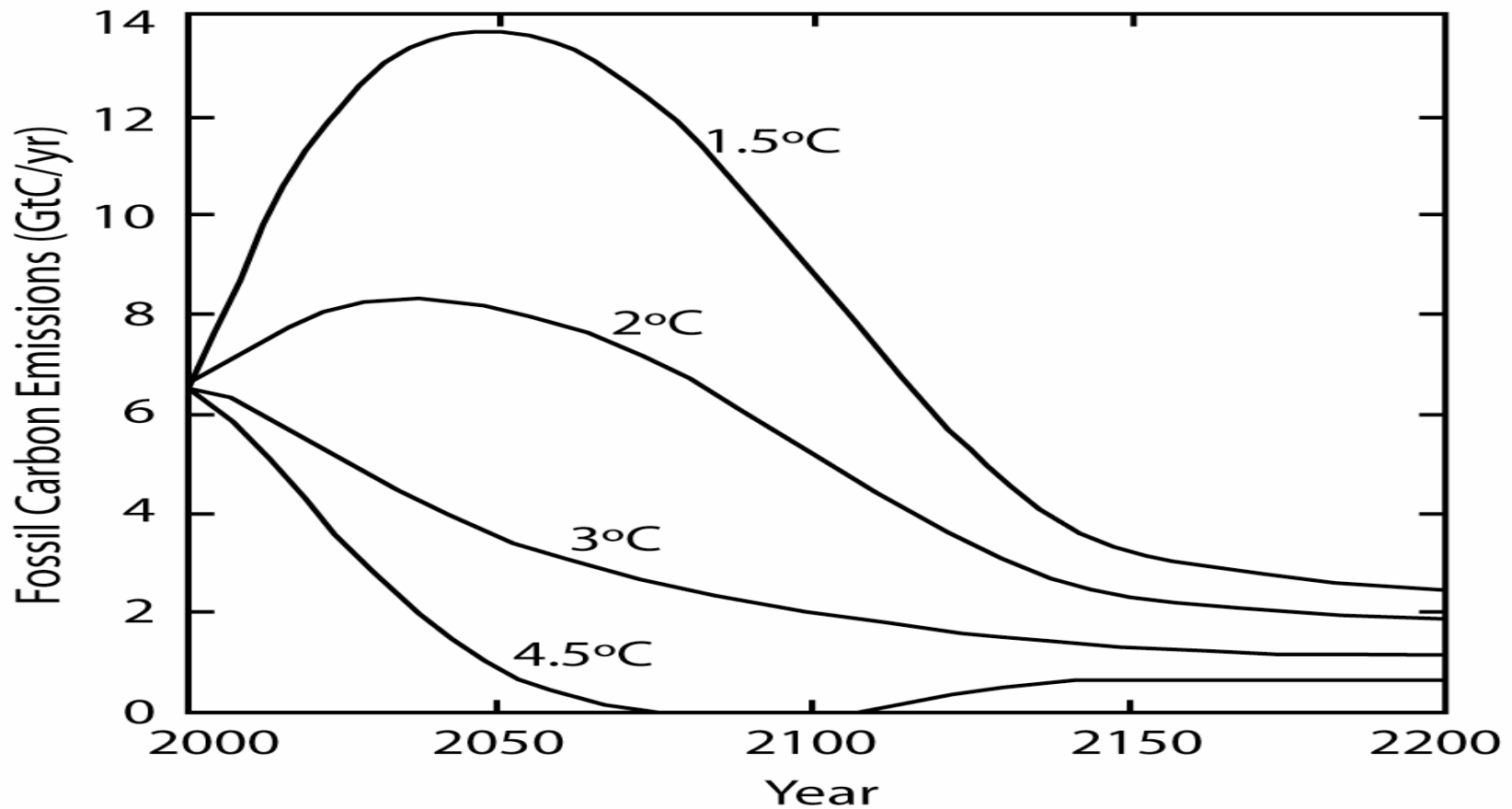
The Greenland Pump



Must Draw the Line: Peak at/below 2°C Max, then Decline

- Emerging consensus of both scientists and NGOs
- Warming greater than 2°C would put us beyond range of “recent” experience (last 400,000 years)
- Above 2°C, size and certainty of predicted impacts increases for many critical systems
- Some singular, non-linear events (melting of ice caps, sinks become sources, major extinctions) are increasingly likely at or beyond 2°C
- Impacts on both people and ecosystems predicted to sharply increase for increases of 1 - 2°C

2C Paths by Climate Sensitivity



What Should be Accepted?

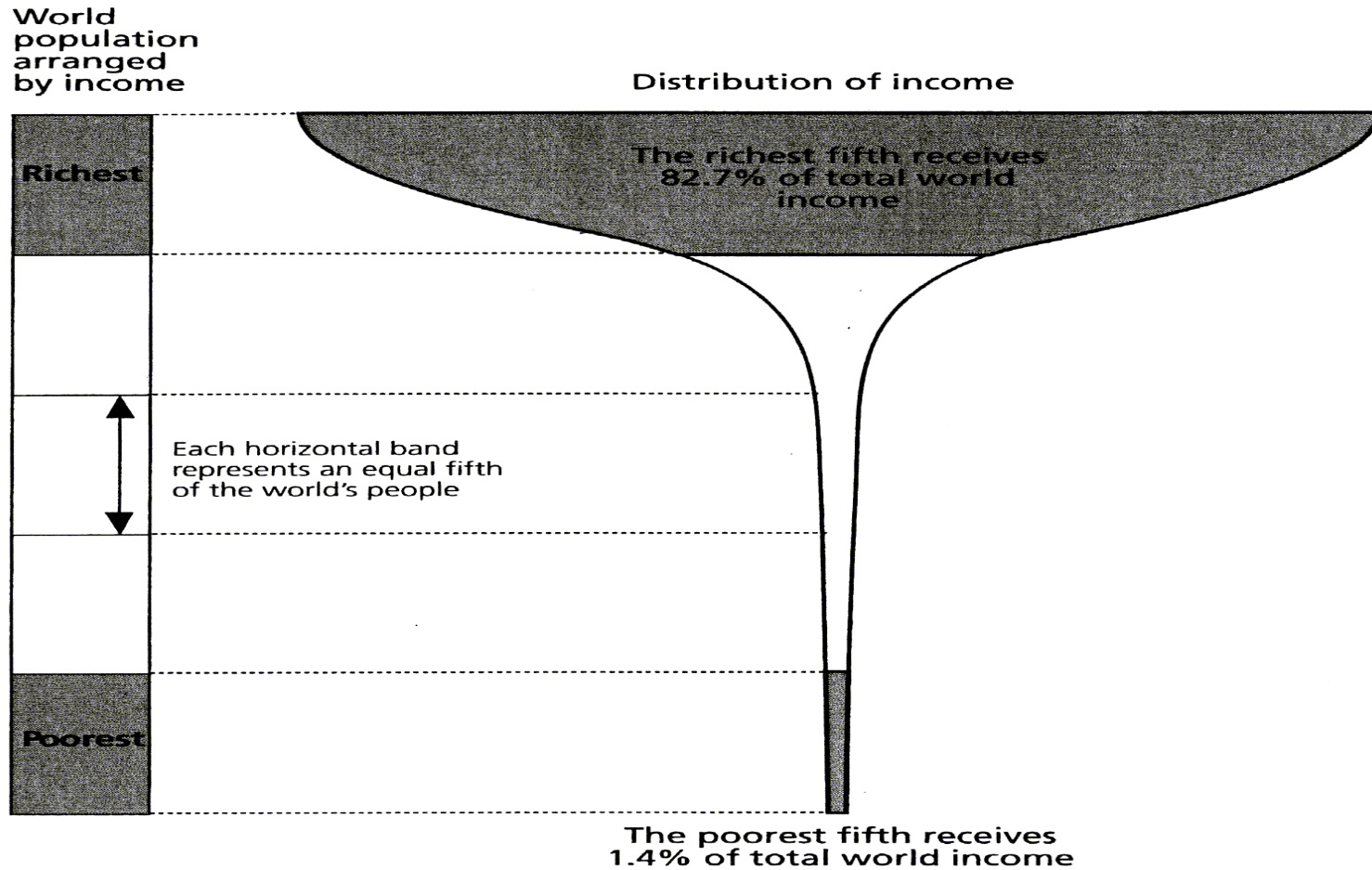
- Sharply reduced viability of many key ecosystems?
 - High confidence at 1-2°C, including serious damage to coral reefs, arctic ecosystems, and coastal wetlands. (IPCC, 2001b)
- The meltdown of Greenland?
 - Likely above global 1.5 - 3°C warming
 - About seven meters of irreversible sea-level rise over several centuries
- The loss of 24% of all species?
 - Medium to high confidence at 2°C (Recent habitat studies)
- Sharply worsened position for already-stressed poor?
 - One Example: 3 billion more people under high water stress?
 - Medium to high confidence for 2-3°C warming (Hare, WBGU)
 - Pressure would be concentrated in Southern megacities

Warming in a Divided World

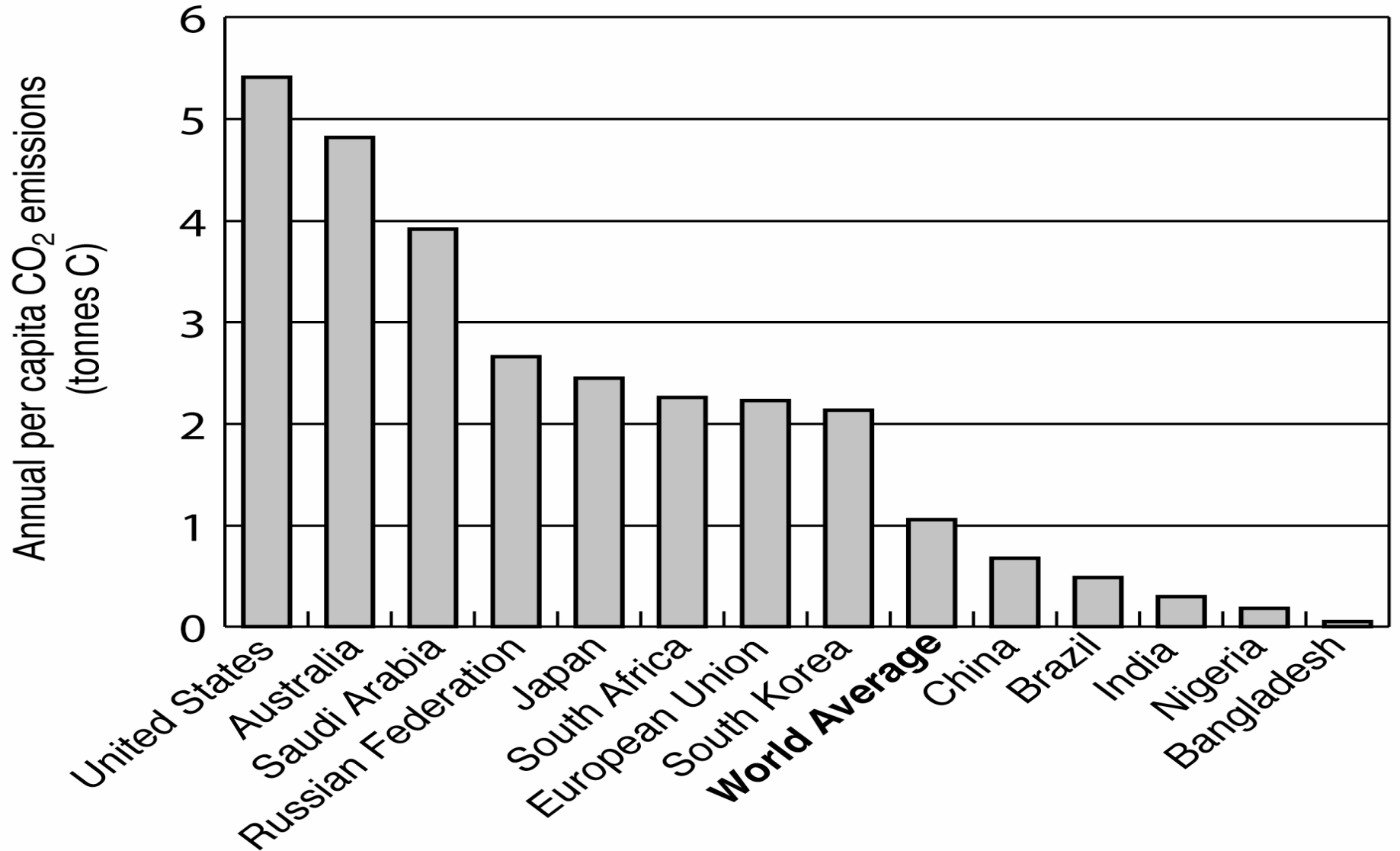
Global Inequality as Baseline

- Climate crisis is something new
 - World's division into rich and poor is obviously not
- This division sets the stage
 - Where the climate battle, too, will be fought. In fact, it is the key to success in the climate battle
- Essential matters
 - Rich world alone will soon overshoot “safe” budget
 - Developing world emissions should and must increase
 - But developing world **must** “leapfrog” the rich world rather than attempting to follow its path
 - Rich world must pay for this to happen in time

The Champagne Glass



Per Capita Emissions



Top to Bottom Quintiles

- The richest fifth of the world accounts for 63% of all emissions, the poorest fifth contributes just 2%
- The average American emits 25 times the carbon of the average Indian
- Other top to bottom quintile comparisons:
 - Meat, 11 times as much
 - Energy, 17 times as much
 - Overall consumption, 16 times as much
 - Fish, 7 times as much
 - Telephone lines, 49 times as much
 - Paper, 77 times as much
 - Cars, 145 times as much

Our Hobbesian World

- **The “Rule of thumb” ...**
 - that the richest 20% of the population consume 80% of all global resources is probably an understatement.
- **Income:**
 - Globally (1998) top 1% = bottom 57%. 50 million people receive as much as do 2.7 billion.
 - Person with income of US\$25,000 is richer than 98% of global population. Poorest 10% of Americans have incomes greater than 2/3 of the world’s people.
- Inequality worsening in, notably, both US and China. China now approaching the inequality level in 1940s, just before the Communist revolution.
- Hyper-competitive economy means low “willingness to pay” to prevent climate change, which is a principle political problem
- The “Fortress World” scenario looking all too plausible

The Impacts

Bottom line on impacts and equity

From the IPCC's Third Assessment Report, 2001

- "The effects of climate change are expected to be greatest in developing countries in terms of loss of life and relative effects on investment and the economy."
- "The projected distribution of economic impacts... would increase disparity in well-being between developed countries and developing countries.."

Likely Impacts of 2C Warming

- Damages focused on poorest and developing countries
 - Threatens tens of millions with increased risk of hunger
 - Threatens hundreds of millions with increased Malaria risk
 - Threatens billions with risk of water shortage
- Risks, over centuries, many metres of sea level rise
 - Sea level rise threatens large numbers everywhere and particularly in developing countries
- Risks major ecosystem damages from poles to tropics
 - Loss of forests and species will affect the lives of all. But the economic costs will fall disproportionately on the poor and developing countries

Environmental Space Bench

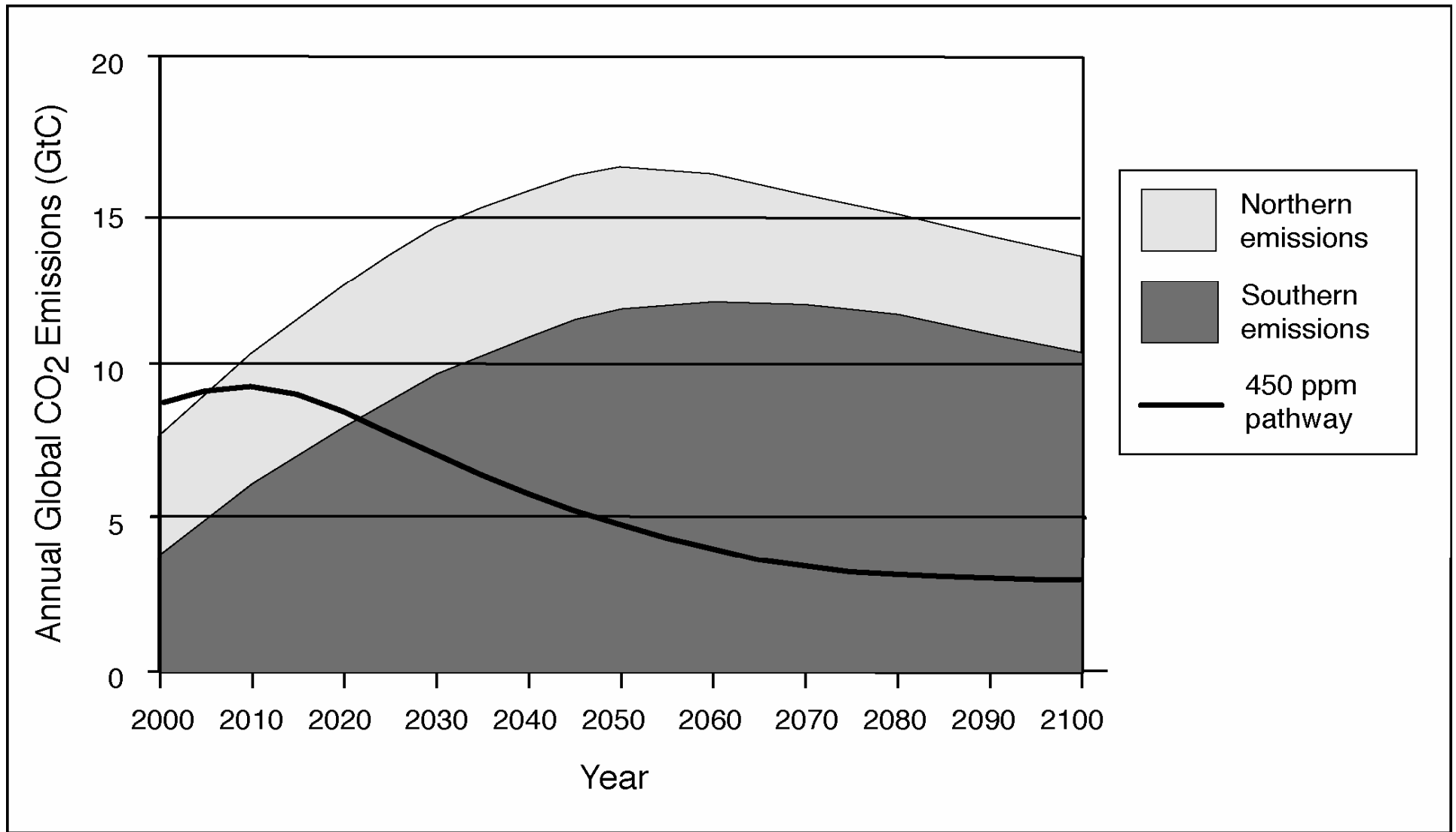


“Environmental Space”

- “Environmental space is the total amount of energy, nonrenewable resources, land, water, wood and other resource which can be used globally or regionally
 - Without environmental damage
 - Without impinging on the rights of future generations
 - Within the context of equal rights to resource consumption and concern for the quality of life of all peoples of the world
- The environmental space approach is based on a quantitative and qualitative assessment of sustainable resource use (often at the national level) compared to the national “fair share” calculated on a global or regional basis.”

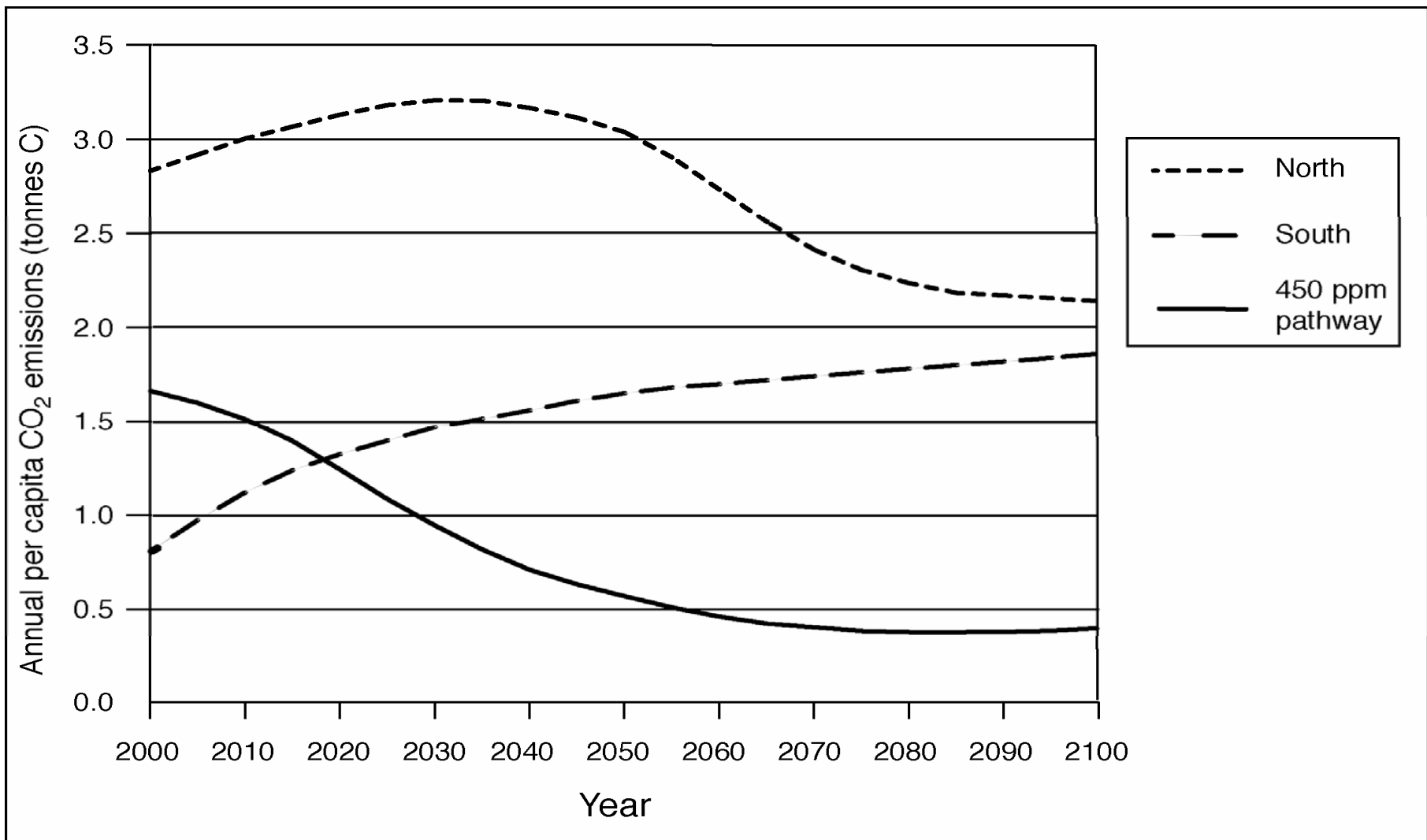
Where To From Here?

Development as Usual



CO₂ Emissions under IPCC's "A1 Balanced" Scenario

BAU Emissions Paths, 450 ppm Corridor



Per Capita CO₂ Emissions under IPCC's "A1 Balanced" Scenario

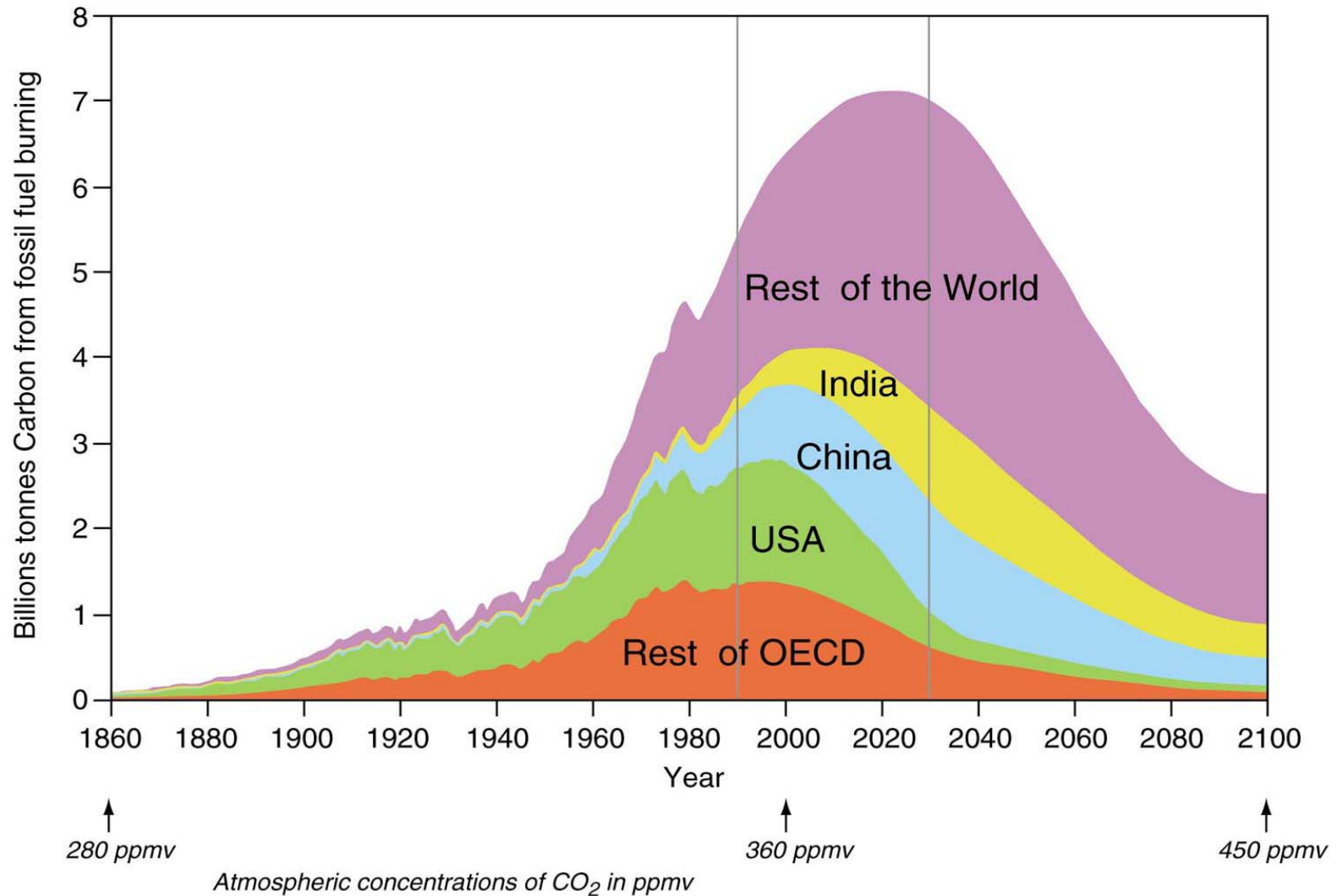
So How Do We Get Out of Here?

- Without early action, catastrophe
 - We have to “bend the curves” as soon as we can
- To happen, early action must be “fair enough”
 - South will not sacrifice “development” for the climate
 - Europeans will not do heavy lifting for a US “free rider”
 - US will not rejoin unless its competitors also do
 - The weak, everywhere, must benefit *immediately*
- The Catch 22 – even a short-term “fair enough” regime must quickly engage the big issue:
 - Since atmospheric space is limited, and since the rich countries have “taken” most of it, distributive justice is needed to finance *short-term* decarbonization.

Equity Underlies Adequacy

- Rapid, large scale, low-carbon development in the South will only happen if the rich countries subsidize it
- Such subsidies are ethically and historically justified as redistribution, but will be viciously attacked (“Writing checks to China”) by the right wing
- Redistribution must, therefore, as a matter of political realism as well as efficiency, be (largely) market based.
- Subsidies should be framed as “payments” for resources rather than, say, as reparations
- For this to work, even in adequacy terms, emission allocations must be distributed fairly, as “equal rights.”
- Anything like “grandfathering” will be a disaster – for mitigation as well as for justice

Contraction and Convergence



What Would Actually be Fair?

- Not vanilla Contraction & Convergence
 - Run the numbers -- more grandfathering than BAU!
- Must also account for Historical Circumstances
 - *Ecological Debt* (Responsibility)
 - Extremely difficult, but can hardly be ignored
 - *Wealth and Infrastructure* are key issues
 - US, Russia, South Africa all need "bad infrastructure" credits
 - *The Right to Development*
 - This may be the hardest problem of them all
- Must account for Geographical Circumstances
 - Renewable resource endowments
 - Transportation requirements
 - Heating and cooling requirements

A Few Domestic Considerations

Global & Domestic Justice

- Domestic equity more difficult than global?
 - Developing countries have real bargaining power, but the domestic poor are generally on their own
 - A fair global accord, or even carbon taxes, could have regressive impacts on the poor in rich countries
- Global rules must help protect poor in both rich and poor nations from their own elites
 - “Survival emissions” could be non-transferable
 - Development funds as well as emissions trading
- Sky Trust and other kinds of “revenue recycling”
 - Equal rights to national share: real money, good politics
 - We can have *either* Grandfathering or Just Transitions

Just Transitions

- Not just coal miners
 - Transition will involve *serious* economic dislocation
- Not just impacted local communities
 - Such communities need help adapting
 - But adaptation is only the beginning of climate justice
- Not just a domestic challenge
 - Making massive, rapid, techno/economic change fair!
 - If the transition is not just, it will fail
- The good news: the greenhouse transition the best option for generating jobs on the scale of the global employment crisis

Preventing Byrd/Hagel II

- In 1997, during the battle for Kyoto
 - Right-wing: "Kyoto is not fair, and would not work"
 - Enviros replied, in effect, that "Kyoto would work"
- Rematch is coming
 - Unless Americans come to understand the justice of the equal rights approach, they can not be expected to join an adequate global regime
 - When a fair international regime is finally proposed, it will be again attacked, as it was in 1997
- Avoiding “the fairness question” is not an option

Climate Equity for Americans

- The rest of the world sees global warming as a problem of fair *resource sharing*. And why not? When it comes to climate, fair shares can actually be calculated.
- The framing problem
 - Our wealth really is their poverty. It doesn't have to be, but it is.
 - Are we really not going to talk about this? Why then, should we expect success?
- The message for Americans: “If we’re going to take more than our share, at least we should pay for it.”

In Sum

- Dangerous climate change will be extremely hard to prevent
 - Though we do have the money and technology to do so
- Prevention must involve real global cooperation
 - In today's Hobbesian world, such cooperation is rare
 - And, obviously, today's US isn't helping
- Cooperation requires that the thrust of the *overall* transition is fair, and seen as fair
- Fairness is now truly “necessary.” This is new
- Fairness requires finesse, but it can't be avoided. Nor should it be