

Climate justice in the era of Trumpism (and capitalist crisis)



presented at the conference
Activists, Artists, and Academics:
Building Just Climate Futures Together
University of California-Santa Barbara

Patrick Bond, Professor of Political Economy,
University of the Witwatersrand School of Governance

**1st President of
free South Africa**



45th President of the United States



1960s-90s, sanctions versus apartheid

Los Angeles Times

CALIFORNIA & LOCAL

ENTERTAINMENT

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MORE

Nelson Mandela helped popularize use of sanctions

The use of sanctions against South Africa's apartheid-era government was effective and became a model for applying international pressure. But the tactic has been ineffective in many cases since.

December 06, 2013 | By Paul Richter

time for anti-trump sanctions?

WASHINGTON — His greatest impact was as a moral leader, but Nelson Mandela also left a legacy in diplomacy by helping popularize the use of international sanctions to pressure a government to change its policies.

Since sanctions were imposed in an effort to end apartheid and bring down South Africa's white-minority government, they have been used hundreds of times, especially by Western countries. President Clinton, who ordered sanctions against Cuba, Libya, Iran and Pakistan, mused near the end of his second term that the United States had become "sanctions-happy."



A policeman responds to members of the Black Sash anti-apartheid organization... (Guy Tillim / AFP/Getty Images)

Published on Thursday, June 01, 2017 by Common Dreams

If Trump Dumps Paris, Says Naomi Klein: "Time for Some People's Sanctions"

It is time to communicate with this President in the only language he appears to understand: money.'

by Jon Queally, staff writer



29 Comments



to be sure, Paris has fatal flaws:

- insufficient emissions cuts (+3 degrees by 2100)
- **non-binding, without enforcement**
 - climate debt option prohibited
- **carbon trading back on the agenda**
 - main winners: USA & BRICS
-  **James Hansen: “Paris is bullshit”**



**December
2015**

A photograph of Donald Trump speaking at a podium. He is wearing a dark suit and a white shirt. The background is dark. The text is overlaid on the image.

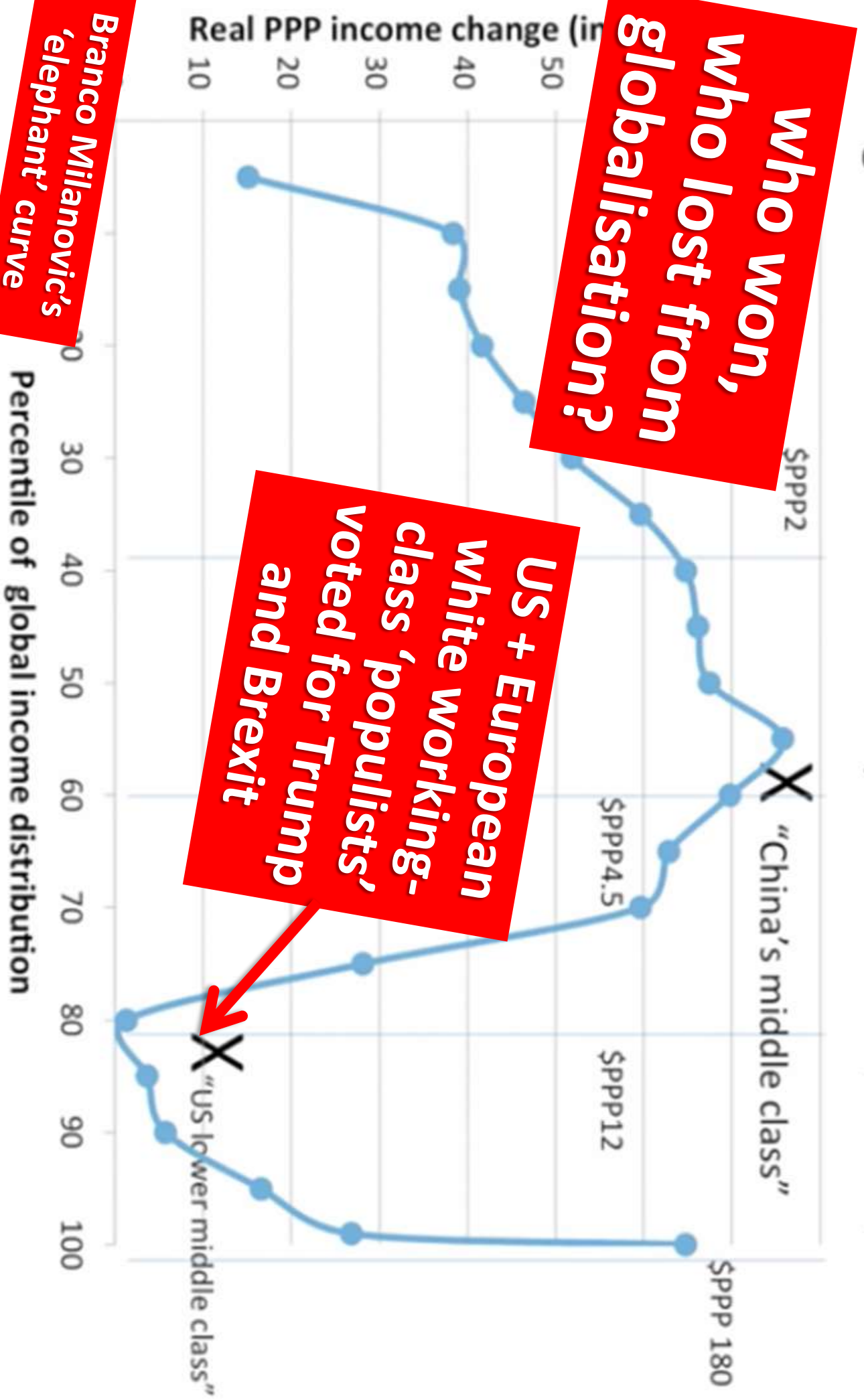
numerous reasons for anti-Trump sanctions

- **accelerated climate change**
- Pentagon's 'first-strike' nuclear capability and North Korea and Iran conflicts
- **extreme military overkill in Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan – including Islamaphobia**
- **heightened tension with China**
- **renewed alliances with authoritarian regimes**
- **trade wars and corporate investment deals**
- **macro-economic mismanagement in an era of stagnation yet high volatility**
- **new restrictions to immigration, refugees and development aid**
- **fusions of reactionary socio-cultural and political tendencies in society, plus US state with mega-corporate interests**

**did
capitalist
crisis
elect
Trump?**



Real income growth at various percentiles of global income distribution, 1988-2008 (in 2005 PPPs)



Who won, who lost from globalisation?

US + European white working-class 'populists' voted for Trump and Brexit

Branco Milanovic's 'elephant' curve

It's too late for hand-wringing - globalisation is already dead **Bob Swarup**

Donald Trump and Theresa May are not flagbearers in the distance. We are already some years into a phase of deglobalisation



Trump's stated intent to pull the US out of the TPP on his first day in office underlines the new reality. Photograph: Sam Greene/ddp USA/Barcroft

The world is getting smaller. That is the unbidden meme of our generation, thanks to the juggernaut of growth unleashed by an outpouring of global bodies, free trade agreements, technology and international capital. Every business and person now has a global reach and audience.

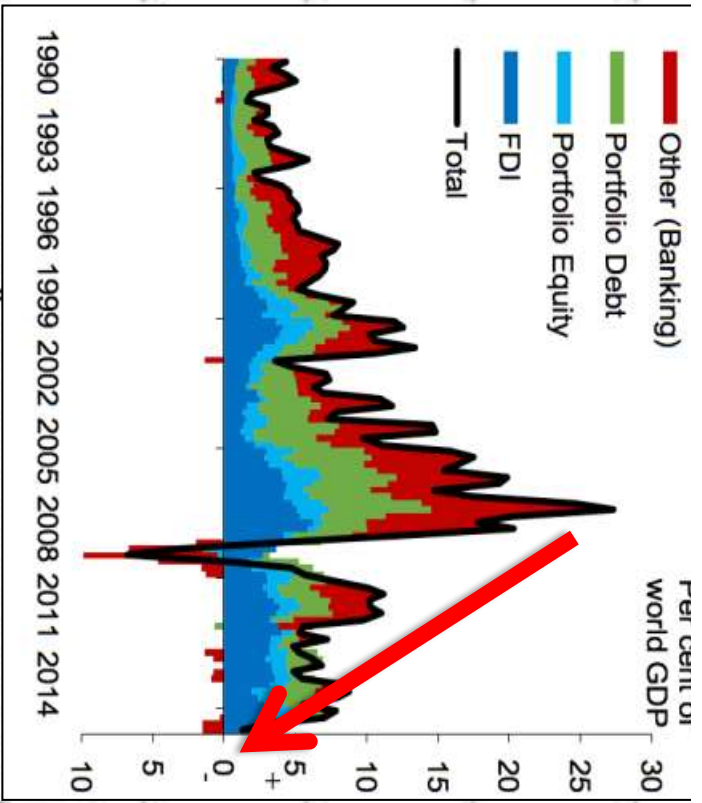
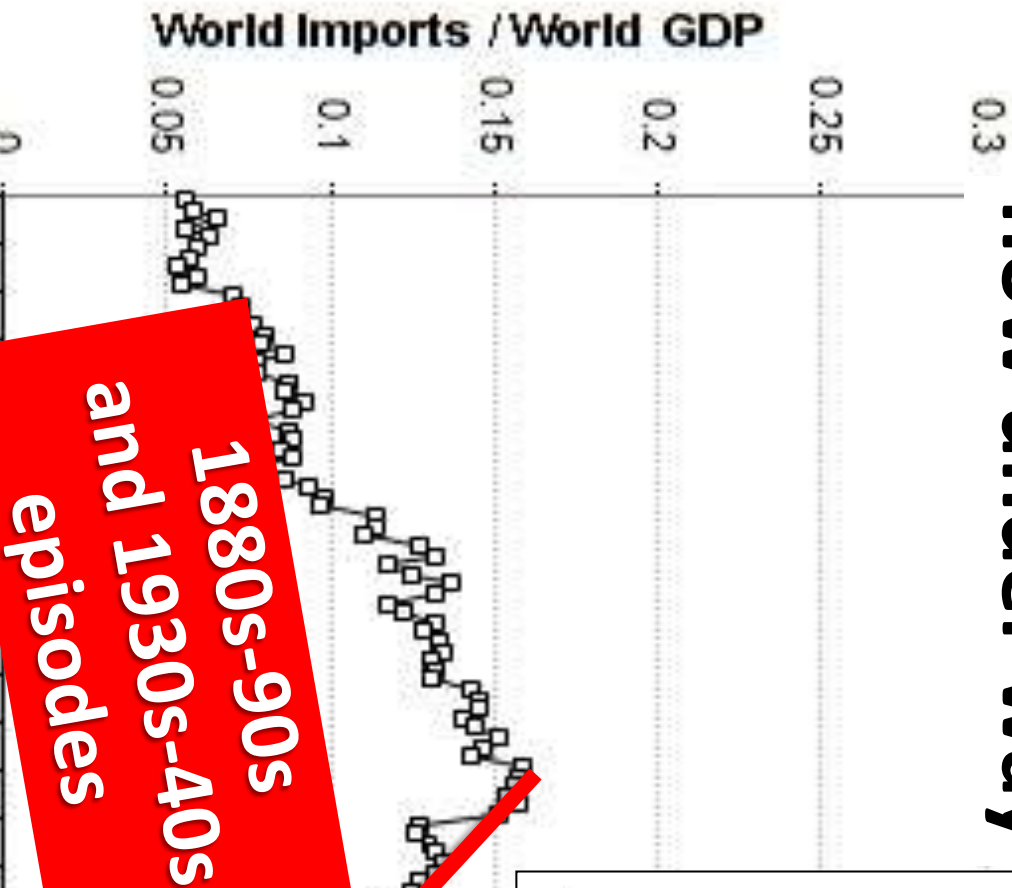
**Will Trump's
policies cause
trade wars and
'deglobalisation'?**

Friday 2 December 2016 15:18 GMT



825 324

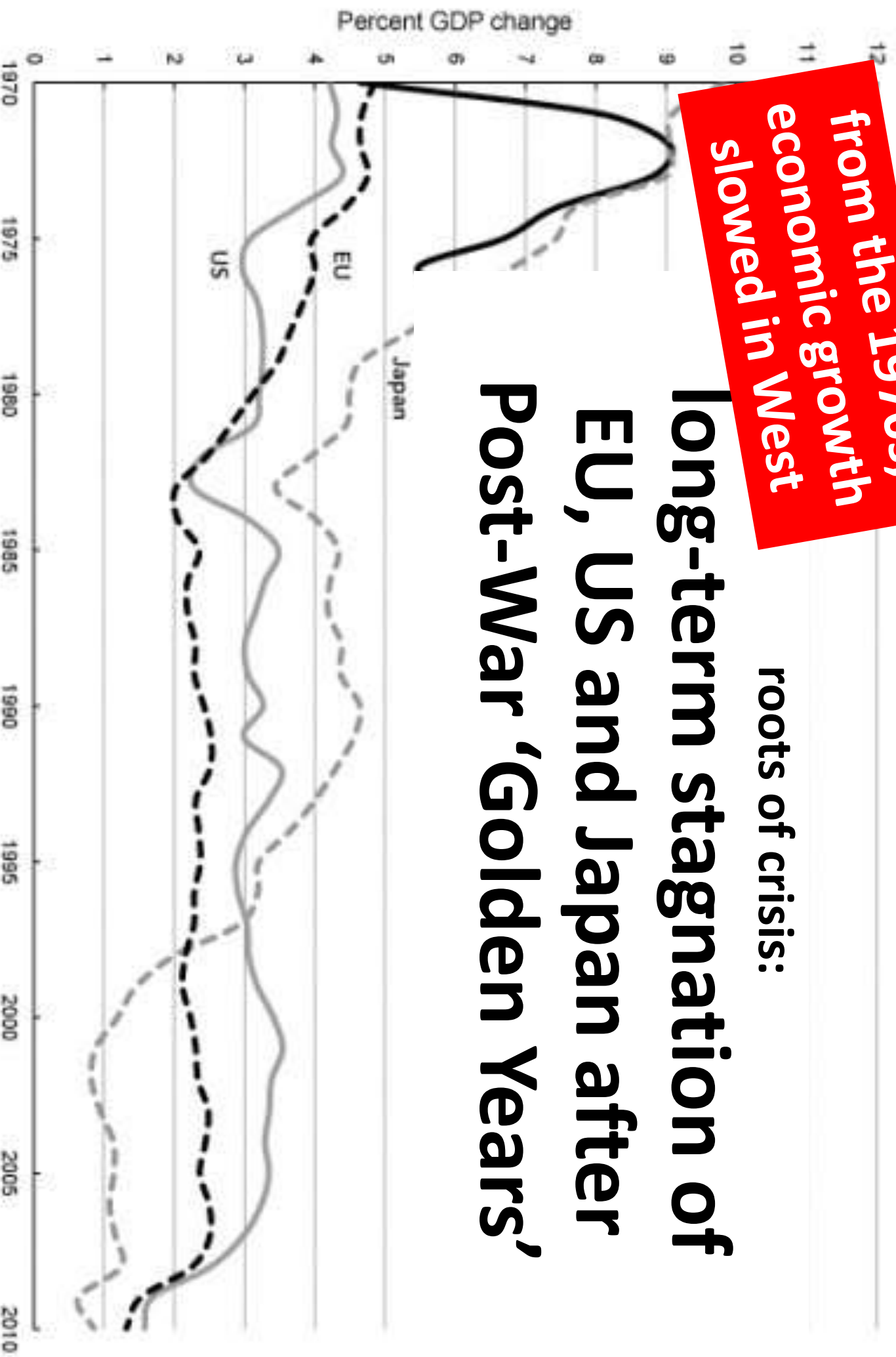
deglobalisation now under way



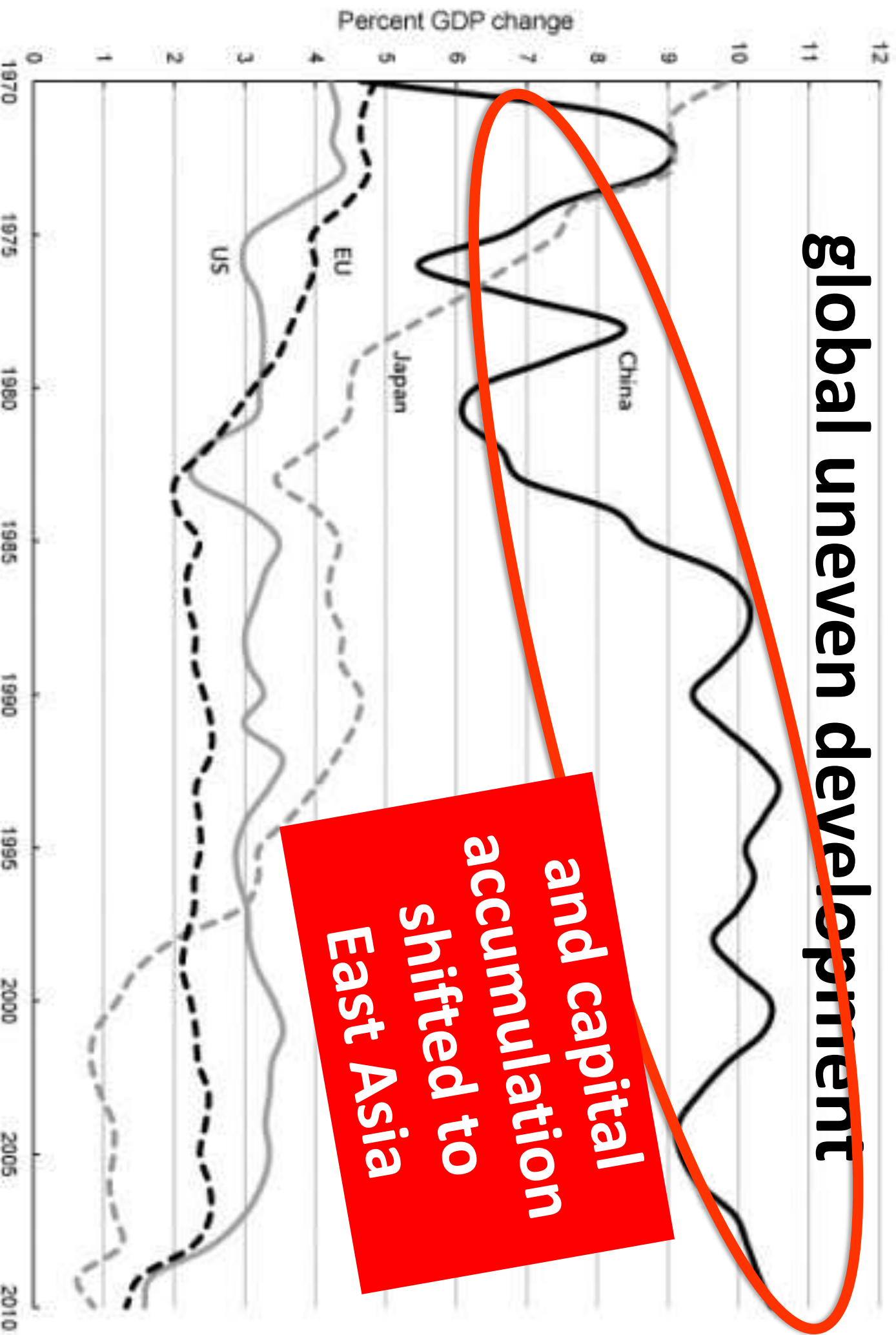
**from the 1970s,
economic growth
slowed in West**

roots of crisis:

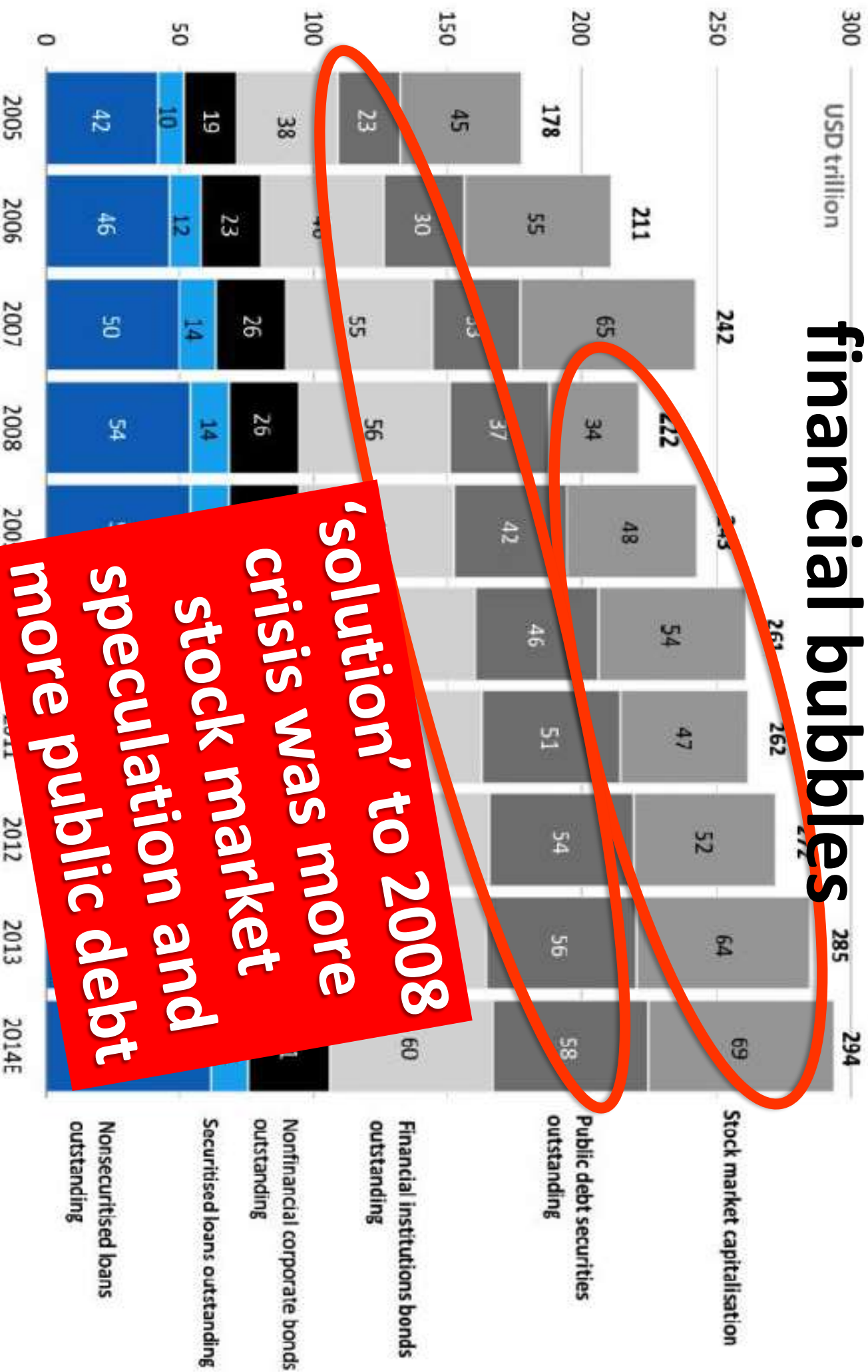
long-term stagnation of EU, US and Japan after Post-War 'Golden Years'



global uneven development



financial bubbles



'solution' to 2008 crisis was more stock market speculation and more public debt

Source: McKinsey Global Institute, Haver, BIS, Deutsche Bank Estimates

Overcapacity in China?

50 'Manhattans' in 5 years

China built 5.9 billion m² from 2008-2012, 50 times the commercial space found in Manhattan.

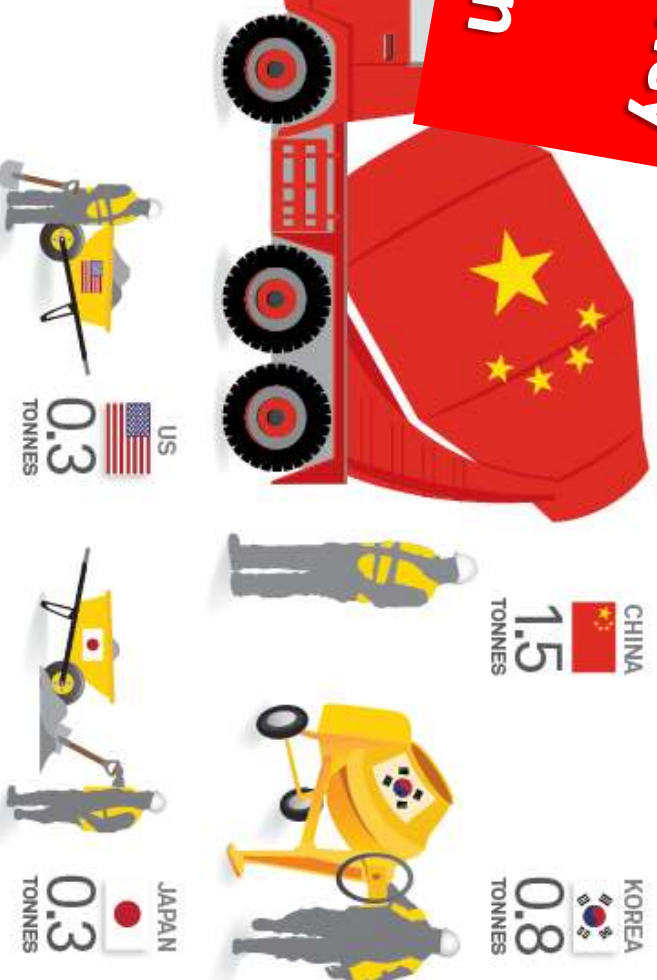


Capitalism's most durable crisis tendency is over-production

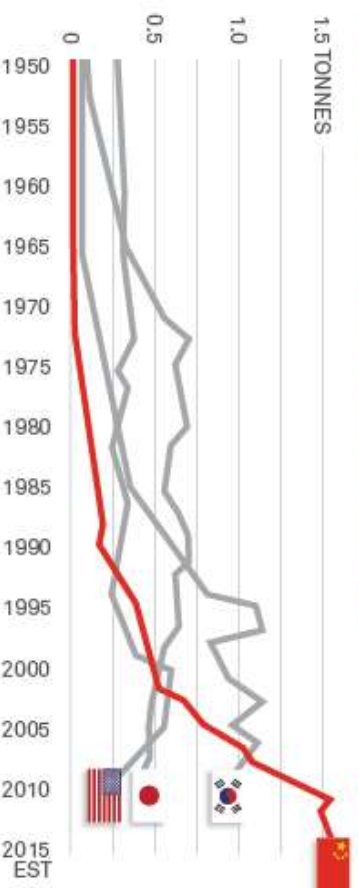
CHINA'S OVERCAPACITY PROBLEMS KEEP BUILDING

sector supplying unprofitable infrastructure projects

CONSUMPTION PER CAPITA 2011



PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF CEMENT SINCE 1950



China v the US at its peak

Residential units completed



Source: Prem Watsa, Chairman, and CEO, Fairfax Financial Holdings

**these
structural
conditions
make
Trump
(and USA)
vulnerable**





**climate change is
main rationale for
sanctions**

**indicators of
radically-worsened
climate crisis:**

- **Rex Tillerson** – Secretary of State
- **Scott Pruitt** – Director of Environmental Protection Agency
- **Rick Perry** – Secretary of Energy
- **Ryan Zinke** – Secretary of the Interior



Donald J. Trump 
@realDonaldTrump



 Follow

Trump's denialism

This very expensive GLOBAL WARMING bullshit has got to stop. Our planet is freezing, record low temps, and our GW scientists are stuck in ice

RETWEETS:

2,461

FAVORITES

1,550



#EEXXON

in reality, EXXON
scientists foresaw
climate change 40
Years ago

MORE THAN 30 YEARS

"there are some potentially
catastrophic events that
might be considered"

- Exxon 1982 corporate primer
on carbon dioxide and climate change

CLIMATE CHANGE WAS REAL AND DANGEROUS.



**corporate greed
personified**

**“My philosophy
is to make
money. If I can
drill and make
money, then
that’s what I
want to do.”**

**- Exxon CEO
Rex Tillerson**



**Tillerson-
Putin deal
(foiled by
2014
sanctions)**

\$500 billion Siberian oil drill = 'Order of Friendship'



**sanctions against Trump,
and US corporations?**



other Trump regime targets

Trump's cabinet includes top officials from Goldman Sachs bank, ExxonMobil oil, Koch Industries oil, Lockheed Martin military, Pfizer drugs, General Dynamics military, Wells Fargo bank, Amway beauty, Hardees food and Breitbart media

Billy Bush: "Your girl's hot as s---, in the purple."

Donald Trump: "Whoa! Whoa! I've got to use some Tic Tacs, just in case I start kissing her. You know I'm automatically attracted to beautiful — I just start kissing them. It's like a magnet. Just kiss. I don't even wait. And when you're a star, they let you do it. **You can do anything.**"

Bush: "Whatever you want."

Trump: "**Grab them by the p---y. You can do anything.**"

Watch: Donald Trump recorded having extremely lewd conversation about women in 2005



**brutal
misogyny
revealed**

DONALD TRUMP

Anti-Trump Boycott Targets Retailers That Sell Trump-Branded Products

#GrabYourWallet

John Kell

Updated: Nov 15, 2016 1:06 AM South



President-elect Donald Trump and his family business is being targeted by an online boycott that is calling for shoppers to avoid supporting retailers that sell Trump-branded products.

Before the election, marketing consultant Shannon Coulter launched the boycott, using the hashtag #GrabYourWallet. Some Twitter users have been expressing support of a move to avoid spending money at a handful of retailers that sell goods branded under Trump's name or the name of his daughter Ivanka. Coulter is the owner-founder of a San Francisco marketing company, according to her [LinkedIn profile](#),

The boycott [calls out 32 companies](#)—including Trump-owned or branded Trump Hotels, Trump Winery and Trump Golf Courses.

#GrabYourWallet
target includes
Ivanka brand

Nordstrom Is Dropping Ivanka Trump's Brand

After poor sales and aggressive boycott, the department store is backing away.

BY CHAVIE LIEBER | FEB 2, 2017, 1:18PM EST

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TOP STORI



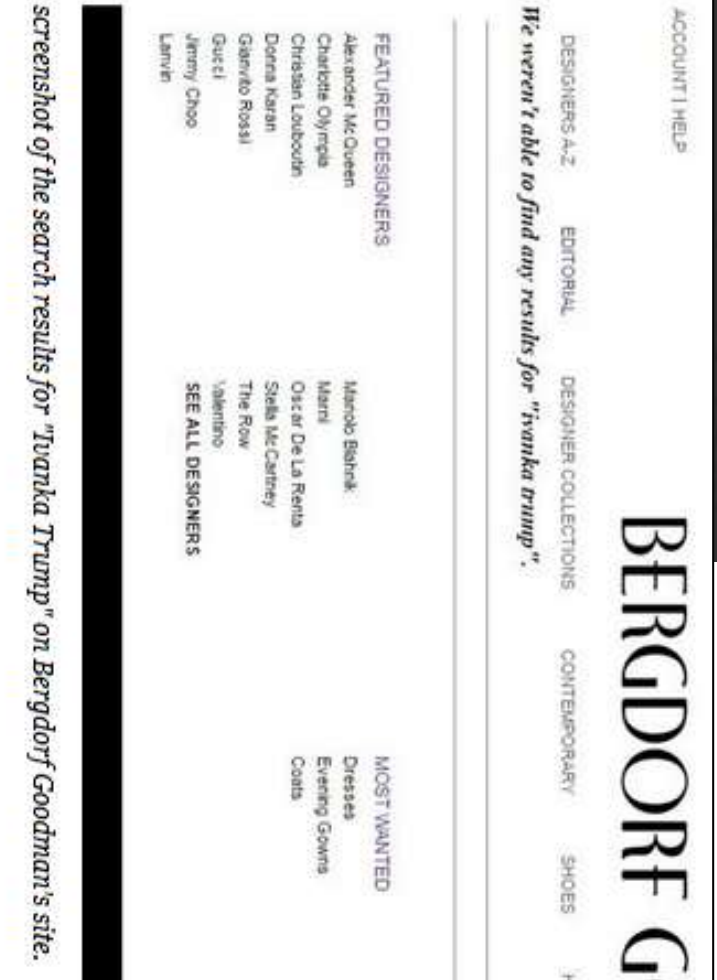
A #GrabYourWallet Effect? Following Nordstrom Drop, Ivanka Trump Line Disappears From Neiman Marcus

**#GrabYourWallet
momentum**

In the week since President Donald Trump signed an executive order banning immigration from seven Muslim-majority, protesters have stormed airports and filled the streets. They're also hitting back with their wallets -- and companies like Uber, [Nordstrom](#) JWN +2.43% and now, it appears, Neiman Marcus are taking notice.

Consumer boycotts of the Trump brand and outlets carrying Trump products are not a 2017 phenomenon -- the #GrabYourWallet campaign, a reference to the president's "grab them by the p---y" remarks, is a boycott of Trump-adjacent businesses that [launched last fall](#) -- but they are enjoying a recent string of high-profile successes.

On Thursday, following a [#DeleteUber](#) campaign that began after the company was (incorrectly) perceived as trying to profit from a taxi strike amid anti-executive order protests at JFK airport in New York, Uber CEO [Travis Kalanick](#) announced that he would step down from Trump's business advisory council. Later that day, Nordstrom confirmed



climate sanctions against Trump & the USA?

Making Globalisation Work – The 2006 Geary Lecture*

JOSEPH E. STIGLITZ**
Columbia University, USA



in 2006, Joe Stiglitz recommended US trade sanctions based on climate irresponsibility

It is a real pleasure to be here to give this annual lecture. I was one of Ireland's greatest economists of the twentieth century who has made lasting contributions of which every student of economics is aware. My topic for this Geary lecture is 'Making Globalisation Work', and I want to preface my remarks by talking about a question I am often asked – how did I come to write my book entitled *Making Globalisation Work?*

My wife complained that I had been moaning about globalisation for a long time, and she said: "You have complained enough. What would you do about it?" This was an important challenge, and in fact as I thought about it, there

*This paper was delivered as the Geary Lecture 2006 at the Burlington Hotel, Dublin, Ireland on 26 August. The Geary Lecture is organised each year in honour of Professor R. C. Geary (1896-1963) the first Director of The Economic and Social Research Institute and the most eminent Irish Statistician and Economist of the twentieth century. This lecture was organised in association with Penguin Books and *The Irish Times*.

**Joseph E. Stiglitz is Professor of Finance and Economics at Columbia University, New York. He is a recipient of the Nobel Prize for Economics in 2001 and the John Bates Clark Medal in 1979. He is a former member and chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors and also the former Senior Vice President and Chief Economist of the World Bank.

Here is an example where I think globalisation has within itself some of the instruments to correct the problem. The answer is straightforward: trade sanctions. Trade sanctions, when they are enforced, have sometimes been proven to be an effective way of affecting people's incentives. The principle is already accepted, and in fact, the United States has advocated this principle, though they were not thinking through all the consequences when they did this, to be sure.

The United States brought a case against Thailand to the World Trade Organisation (WTO), called the shrimp turtle case. The United States said: "We have the right to prohibit, or tax, the importation of shrimp from Thailand that are caught in nets that catch a species of turtle that are endangered. There is a global agreement to protect endangered species, and this net in an unnecessary way is killing these turtles." The WTO appellate body supported this, saying that environmental concerns do trump commercial concerns and that the United States had a legitimate interest, reflecting a global concern on this issue. The WTO then imposed a trade restriction on shrimp that were caught in these turtle-unfriendly nets.

If an action can be taken to preserve a turtle, surely a trade sanction can be undertaken to preserve the whole planet. The principle in terms of economics is also very simple: American producers are being given an unfair trade advantage over producers in Europe and Japan. It is the real cost of production that people in Europe and Japan face. They have to work hard to reduce their emissions, and if they emit more, they have to pay a price. They have to buy more emission permits, and people in Europe and Japan are being forced to pay the real social costs of their actions.

The WTO is designed to create a level playing field for global trade, and although it does not do it perfectly, it did create a rule of law. Without the WTO, if you subsidise labour, it would be clearly an unfair trade action, but allowing the producers in America not to bear the full cost of their production is an implicit subsidy, as they do not face the cost that producers in Europe and Japan face. There is a very simple answer: unless the United States goes along with the rest of the world, unless producers in America face the full cost of their emissions, Europe, Japan, and all the other countries of the world should impose trade sanctions against the United States.

I do not think it will come to this extreme. There are many people in the United States who have been convinced about the signs of global warming, and California and some of the north-eastern states are already doing something about this. However, this pressure would be welcome by many people to help the United States deal with the role of some special interest groups. America would be better off, in the same way the world would be better off.

Call for sanctions on USA if Trump reneges Paris accord



Canadian activist Naomi Klein says sanctions may be needed if the US walks away from action on climate change. Photo: AAP

The US should be hit with punitive sanctions if its new president orders its withdrawal from the Paris climate change treaty, says acclaimed Canadian activist and author Naomi Klein.

Ms Klein, who is in Australia to receive the 2016 Sydney Peace Prize, also says that Donald Trump had been elevated to the US presidency mainly because of a Brexit-style "whitelash" from disaffected blue-collar families

Quentin Dempster
@QuentinDempster



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CLIMATE CHANGE | CLIMATE SCIENCE | OPINION

Donald Trump's Climate Policy Will Literally Mean the End of the World

Island nations like Kiribati will disappear if Trump goes forward with his energy plans.

By Naomi Klein

UPDATED 10:30AM



That's right: warm the planet as quickly as possible, and burn the paltry life jackets currently being thrown to the people who will suffer most. And lest there be any doubt that Trump means it, he just appointed Myron Ebell, from the climate-denying and scientist-harassing Competitive Enterprise Institute, to transform the Environmental Protection Agency.

This is just some of what is at stake if Trump does what he says he will do. We cannot let him. Outside the United States, we need to start demanding economic sanctions in the face of this treaty-shredding lawlessness. In North America, where the carbon that Trump wants to unleash is currently buried, we all need to get ready to warrior up—and if you want to know what that looks like, turn your eyes to Standing Rock.



Nicolas Sarkozy promises to hit America with a carbon tax if Donald Trump rips up landmark Paris climate deal

French presidential candidate suggests US should be punished financially if Trump scraps Paris climate pact

Ben Kentish | @BenKentish | Tuesday 15 November 2016 | 11 comments

TF1: "Donald Trump has said – we'll see if he keeps this promise – that he won't respect the conclusions of the Paris climate agreement. Europe could no longer be "weak" or "naïve", he added while calling for countries to use more products and materials made in European states.

"Well, I will demand that Europe put in place a carbon tax at its border, a tax of 1-3 per cent, for all products coming from the United

anti-Trump Sanctions

Sarkozy represents nervous French manufacturers, soon facing competitive disadvantage



FRANCE PRESIDENT NICOLAS SARKOZY SPEAKS AT THE CLIMATE CONFERENCE IN PARIS. SARKOZY PROPOSES CARBON TAX ON US GOODS IF TRUMP SCRAPS PARIS CLIMATE PACT

Exxon Mobil Becomes Focus of a Boycott

By FELICITY BARRINGER JULY 12, 2005

WASHINGTON, July 11 - A coalition of environmental and consumer groups is planning a boycott of Exxon Mobil products to protest the company's challenges to warnings about global warming and its support for oil and gas exploration in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

The boycott is part of a public relations campaign to brand Exxon Mobil, the nation's biggest oil company, as an "outlaw," the groups say.

A spokesman for Exxon Mobil said in an e-mail message that the company did recognize the risk of climate change. The spokesman, Russ Roberts, said Exxon Mobil had committed to "investments and strategic planning that address emissions today, as well as industry-leading research on technologies with the potential to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in the future."

**One vital example:
ExxonMobil's
climate denialism**



#Boycott Exxon

#ChildrenRNot4Sale



Big Business's support for
Common Core is grounded
in seeing your children as
commodities they own.

ExxonMobil

"I'm not sure public schools understand that we're their customer—that we, the business community, are your customer. What they don't understand is they are producing a product at the end of that high school graduation. Now is that product in a form that we, the customer, can use it? Or is it defective, and we're not interested?"

— Rex Tillerson, CEO, Exxon



THE ARCTIC IS MELTING. AND
#EXXONKNEW 25 YEARS AGO.

"As extensive open water seasons,
[Exxon researcher] said in 1992,
could potentially reduce
exploratory drilling
and production costs
by 30% to 60%."

— Los Angeles Times, Oct. 6, 2011,
"What Exxon Knew About
The Melting Arctic"

**Exxon CEO Rex Tillerson
thinks of our children as his
products. Exxon knew about
climate change. Join us!**

#ExxonKnew

STRANDED ASSETS

PROGRAMME



it makes less financial sense to invest in fossil fuels

Stigmatisation outcomes

As with individuals, a stigma can produce undesirable consequences for an organisation. Firms that are criticised in the media suffer from a bad image that scares away suppliers, subcontractors, potential employees and customers.¹³² Governments and politicians prefer to engage with 'clean' firms¹³³ to prevent adverse spillovers that could taint their reputation or jeopardise their re-election. Shareholders can demand changes in management or the composition of the board of directors of stigmatised companies. In the aftermath of the Valdez oil spill in May 1989, shareholders forced the Exxon management to appoint an environmentalist to its board.¹³⁴ This paved the way for far-reaching changes in Exxon's corporate social responsibility policy which the management had previously resisted.¹³⁵ Stigmatised firms may be barred from competing for public tenders, acquiring licences or property rights for business expansion, or be weakened in negotiations with suppliers. The consequences of stigma also include cancellation of multibillion-dollar contracts or mergers/acquisitions.¹³⁶

Stranded assets and the fossil fuel divestment campaign: what does divestment mean for the valuation of fossil fuel assets?

Published on Saturday, November 28, 2015 by Common Dreams

The Gates Foundation Have Sold Their Exxon Stock – But Why?

The Gates Foundation's recent tax filings show that even those that are stubbornly resistant to the logic of divestment are moving huge amounts of money out of the fossil fuel industry.

by Alec Connon



**even Bill Gates
divests from
ExxonMobil**



Kayaktivists floated on Lake Washington in front of Bill Gates' mansion in October 2015 to pressure him to reconsider his dismissal of divestment. (Photo by Goorish Wisnesh)

sanctions within logic of SA's capitalist crisis

South Africa sanctions worked

formed in alliance of African National Congress (Mandela), US civil rights movement

- however, internal opposition to sanctions rose from progressive trade unions – reversed in 1985
- black Bantustan collaborators' opposition to sanctions (via 'Sullivan Principles') was dismissed
- objective: *delegitimation of apartheid* – a 'crime against humanity' – and making South Africa a 'rogue nation' via corporate shaming
- identified strategic wedge between white ('english-speaking') Johannesburg capitalists and racist ('Afrikaner') Pretoria regime
- bank sanctions hit SA Achilles Heel: 1985 foreign debt crisis, which broke capital-state alliance and compelled SA's 9-year transition to democracy





**constituencies
for sanctions**



imminent human rights victims (in the US alone):

- **women**
- **Muslims**
- **Latinos**
- **other immigrants**
- **African-Americans**
- **indigenous people**
- **LGBT+**
- **poor people**
- **trade unionists**
- **environmentalists**
- **social justice activists**

**constituencies
for sanctions:
difficult to exit
single-issue silos**

Donald Trump
president
inaugurat
20 January

*example of
'single-issue'
protest*

Women's
March on
shington,
1 January



More than 50 organizations launch United Resistance campaign as Trump's cabinet hearings begin

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

ORGANIZATIONS ACROSS THE U.S. ARE

UNITING IN SOLIDARITY AGAINST TRUMP'S POLICIES

More than 50 organizations launch United Resistance campaign as Trump's cabinet hearings begin

Groups pledge to work across issues as Trump takes office

Washington, DC- More than 50 progressive organizations sent a strong message to the Trump administration on the same day his cabinet hearings begin on Capitol Hill. The groups, led by leaders including NAACP President Cornell Brooks, Greenpeace USA Executive Director David Swartz, and International President Mary Kay Henry pledged to defend everything they stand for, including civil rights, immigrants, women's reproductive rights, social equality, action on climate change, health and safety, public dissent, and access to information.

**first attempt at uniting
sanctions constituents**

- Advancement Project (National)
- Asian Pacific Environmental Network
- Braze New Films
- Center for Biological Diversity
- Climate Justice Alliance
- Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA)
- Color Of Change
- Common Cause
- Communications Workers of America (CWA)
- Daily Kos
- Democracy Initiative
- Demos
- Ella Baker Center for Human Rights
- Every Voice
- Food & Water Action Fund
- Forward Together
- Free Press
- Friends of the Earth
- Grassroots Global Justice Alliance
- Green For All
- Greenpeace, Inc
- Indigenous Environmental Network
- Jewish Voice for Peace
- Jobs With Justice
- Labor Network for Sustainability
- MoveOn.org
- NAACP
- NARAL
- National Domestic Workers Alliance
- National LGBTQ Task Force Action Fund
- National Network for Arab American Communities
- Oakland Institute
- Oil Change International
- OneAmerica
- One Billion Rising
- Our Revolution
- People's Action
- People For the American Way
- Planned Parenthood Action Fund
- Public Citizen
- United Network
- U.S. (ROC)



fossil fuels, climate justice
and energy: micro-struggles

global fights to save the planet

Trumpism as logical sanctions target

- even if Trump himself is impeached, **his power bloc will remain intact** under influence of Michael Pence, Koch brothers and Dick Cheney
- Washington's state-corporate power now fuses multiple reactionary **political, socio-cultural and economic forces** into a **US neo-fascism**



- weakening that power requires boycott of key corporations in order to **break Trump's state-capital alliance** and to **attack the legitimacy of profits made within a neo-fascist, climate-denialist USA**
- a sanctions project could **strengthen climate activists and other Trump critics** who now require maximum international solidarity