

ISSN 1665-5293

IBON

EDM

Education for Development

Vol. 12, No. 1

January-February 2013

AFRICA RISING: GROWTH FOR WHOM?

■ Africa's Rise: Separating Fact from Fiction

■ The West's war continues vs African development

COVER STORY

- 3 **Africa's rise:
Separating fact from fiction**
- 6 **The West's war continues vs African development**
Dan Glazebrook

NEWS

- 10 **One Billion Rising: Moving en masse to end violence vs women**
- 11 **Liberian homes demolished as global leaders meet**
Wade C.L. Williams
- 13 **NGOs call on EU to abolish its emissions trading system**
Kanaga Raja
- 16 **UN water agenda at risk of hijacking by Big Business**
Thalif Deen
- 17 **IFFM urges halt to landgrab by tourism project in Sri Lanka**
- 19 **Execution, arrests underscore Somalia rapes**

SPECIAL FEATURE

- 21 **People's Goals: Development challenges of our time**
- 25 **IBON International comments on the draft inequalities report**

FACTS & FIGURES

- 28 **Growth for whom? Africa by the numbers**



Education for Development Magazine

is published by



**IBON International
Foundation, Inc.**

IBON Center
114 Timog Avenue, Quezon City
1103 Philippines

Website: www.iboninternational.orgE-mail Address: ibon.international@ibon.org

Tel. Nos. +632 927 7060 to 62

Local 202

Fax +632 927 6981

Antonio Tujan, Jr.

International Director

Editor-in-Chief

International Department

Paul Quintos**Maria Theresa Nera-Lauron****Jennifer del Rosario-Malonzo****Pio Verzola, Jr.**

Editorial Board

Cover and Layout Design
Ron Villegas

Photo Credits

Pan-African News Wire
Wade C. L. Williams/IPS
Kate Holt/IRIN
Keishamaza Rukikaire/IRIN
TheMalt

Africa's rise: Separating fact from fiction



MODERN buildings rise proudly in Cape Town, the second largest city and the chief port of South Africa, seemingly proving reports about the continent as a global economic powerhouse. But like the buildings, these same reports remain mute to the issue of food insecurity and lingering poverty that continue to plague the continent. Photo credit: United Nations Photo via Flickr

Everlyne Wanjiku, a single mother of five, has earned her living for over three decades selling vegetables in the sprawling Kibera slum in Nairobi, Kenya. But now, like her many fellow poverty-stricken slum dwellers in this East African nation, she is feeling the pinch of the skyrocketing cost of food and other commodities. She fears she can no longer afford her family's upkeep.

Wanjiku's situation has become common in many African countries that continue to struggle with food insecurity and lingering poverty, despite glowing reports about the continent becoming the next global economic powerhouse.

Many economists see evidence of Africa's rapid development in its recent high GDP growth rates, rising per capita incomes, the unlocking of its vast natural resources, rising investments in its service sector, and the explosive growth of mobile phones and mobile banking.

A recent Inter-Press Service report quoted Lawrence Bategeka, a principal researcher at the Uganda-based Economic Policy Research Center, as saying that "liberalization of African economies resulted in improved efficiencies and saw rapid growth in the service sector," while "private sector-led growth has resulted in the growth of the middle class on the continent."

Apart from the increased flow of investments in banking, telecommunications, information technology, transport, tourism, housing and real estate, the continent has also started to cash in on its mineral resources—specifically oil and gas reserves. Tanzania, Uganda, Mozambique and Ethiopia are among East African countries that plan to

maximize their extractive industries. All in all, the IMF, World Bank, and African Development Bank expect the continent to achieve an annual average economic growth rate of 5% or more.

Exaggerated optimism and unequal growth

While a steady rise in growth rates in many African countries is cause for optimism, it may not be enough to significantly reduce poverty. Growth does not necessarily mean greater distribution of wealth, and achieving inclusive growth is a big challenge for Africa, once tagged as the poorest continent.

In general, the sectors driving growth are more capital-intensive than labour-intensive, propelling foreign direct investment into highly corporatised areas but doing little to help those underemployed and surviving on precarious, informal work without social protection.

At the recent African Development Forum held at the University of London, Dr Patricia Daley, lecturer in human geography at the University of Oxford, asked whom Africa's growth is really benefitting. "Despite growth, it is not trickling down," said Daley. "It is concentrated in the narrow economic bases of primary commodity production and extractive industries which do not create large employment."

Generating decent jobs in sufficient numbers, however, will of course be crucial for turning mere growth into real development. Owing to a development policy that emphasizes education, Africa's youth may be better educated than ever. But lack of jobs nevertheless means around 72% of its youth population live on less than \$2 a day. Out of 200 million people aged between 15 and 24, only 21 million are estimated to be in waged (hence, considered "good") employment, while 53 million are in vulnerable employment and thus in deeper poverty.

The most recent African Economic Outlook (AEO) report warns about the negative impact of "jobless growth", especially among African youth who often have no choice but to work in insecure jobs for low pay, while even many better-educated youths in middle-

income countries in the region remain unemployed and opt out of the labor force. According to the AEO, legions of discontented youth may "present a significant threat to social cohesion and political stability if they do not secure decent living conditions".

"Despite Africa's being agriculturally endowed, food security remains elusive for many countries"

African women joining the work force will also have to face the realities of gender inequality. Women are typically disadvantaged in getting good jobs due to various factors, forcing many of them into the informal and low-value-added industries where they are subject to low income, lack of job security, and vulnerable to abuse.

Lingering poverty and food insecurity

Such persistent inequalities have underscored the stark disjoint between Africa's rapid economic growth and its poor record in poverty reduction and food security.

According to a report by the African Development Bank entitled "Assessing Progress in Africa towards the Millennium Development Goals", the continent's rising growth and trade rates have minimal impact in improving people's lives. "Contributing to this pattern is the dependence by several African countries on primary commodity exports and capital-intensive extractive industries, which have few or no linkages with other sectors of the economy," the report said.

Despite Africa's being agriculturally endowed, food security remains elusive for many countries, as highlighted in a new report by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The Africa Human Development Report 2012 (Towards a Food Secure Future) notes that despite the remarkable growth by African economies over the past decade, sub-Saharan Africa is still plagued by food insecurity.

"More than one in four Africans are undernourished, and food insecurity ... is pervasive. The spectre of famine, which has virtually disappeared elsewhere in the world, continues to haunt parts of sub-Saharan Africa," says the report.

"Sub-Saharan Africa has abundant agricultural resources. But shamefully, in all corners of the region,

millions of people remain hungry and malnourished — the result of glaringly uneven local food production and distribution and chronically deficient diets, especially among the poorest,” notes the report.

UNDP Africa Bureau Chief Tegegnetwork Gettu argues, however, that with the right policies and institutions, Africa can sustain a virtuous cycle of higher human development and enhanced food security. “Africa has the knowledge, the technology and the means to end hunger and food insecurity. But still missing have been the political will and dedication,” Gettu concludes.

Using Africa’s resources for its own peoples’ long-term benefit

At the same time, given the boom in Africa’s extractive industry, there is a need to push for transparency from governments to ensure that countries make the most of their resources and embark on a course of sustainable development that improves the lives of ordinary Africans.

David Doepel, chair of the Africa Research Group at Australia’s Murdoch University, advised African economic planners to manage well the revenue from its resources to ensure long-term gains in economic growth, job creation, poverty reduction, and improved access to health and education.

“It is vitally important for any resource-rich country to have a focus of maximising the total value of any of its natural resources over the lifetime of that resource – that is a combination of maximising returns and minimising negative consequences (both environmental and social),” Doepel said.

“Opportunism and urgency to extract are not necessarily ingredients for maximising value,” he warned.

Industrialization for genuine development

An article by Rick Rowden, a former inter-regional advisor for UNCTAD, emphasized industrialization as a key factor for achieving genuine development in Africa.

According to Rowden, free-market economists treat indicators such as increased GDP growth rates, per capita incomes, and international trade as the main measure of development, whereas these only represent selected

aspects of development. He notes that growth—or lack of it—in Africa’s manufacturing industry is often excluded as an economic indicator.

The idea of development as industrialization has been completely abandoned in the last few decades, and the very idea of industrialization has been dropped from the official development agenda, he said. “Free market economics has come to advise poor countries to stick with their current primary agriculture and extractives industries and ‘integrate’ into the global economy as they are,” the article said.

Rowden cites Malawi as an example of a country with increased GDP growth rates and trade volumes, while remaining a mainly agricultural economy with little growth in manufacturing or labor-intensive job creation that Africa needs to truly “rise.”

“The failure to mention industrialization thus renders most comparisons of growth in Africa and East Asia spurious,” Rowden added.

According to Rowden, African countries need to combine industrial policies (such as temporary trade protection, subsidized credit, and publically supported R&D) with technology and innovation policies for their manufacturing sectors to really get off the ground.

He noted that despite the desperate need of African countries for policy space in support of industrialization, “the rich countries are pushing loan conditions and trade and investment agreements that block them from doing so, all the while proffering a happy narrative about ‘the rise of Africa.’”

At the same time, aid donors often advise against such pro-industrial policies, and structure loan conditions accordingly. “WTO agreements and new regional free trade agreements (FTAs), as well as bilateral investment treaties (BITs) between rich and poor countries, frequently outlaw them.”

“Despite the important gains in services industries and per capita incomes, Africa is still not rising, and services alone will not create enough jobs to absorb the millions

Africa’s rise... (continued on p. 9)

The West's war continues vs African development

by Dan Glazebrook



FRENCH armoured units leave Bamako and start their drive to the north. France is using air and ground power in a joint offensive with Mali government soldiers launched on January 11 against Islamist groups controlling northern Mali. Photo credits: Pan-African News Wire

Africa's classic depiction in the mainstream media, as a giant basket case full of endless war, famine and helpless children, creates an illusion of a continent utterly dependent on Western handouts. In fact, the precise opposite is true—it is the West that is reliant on African handouts.

These handouts come in many and varied forms. They include illicit flows of resources, the profits of which invariably find their way into the West's banking sector via strings of tax havens.

Another is the mechanism of debt extortion whereby banks lend money to military rulers (often helped to power by Western governments), who then keep the money for themselves (often in a private account with the lending bank), leaving the country paying exorbitant interest on fast-growing debt. A recent study found that up to 80 cents in every borrowed dollar fled the borrower nation within a year, never having been invested there at all; meanwhile \$20 billion per year is drained from Africa in "debt servicing" on these loans.

Another form of handout would be through the looting of minerals. Countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) are ravaged by armed militias that steal the country's resources and sell them at sub-market prices to Western companies. Most of these militias are run by neighbouring countries such as Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, who are in turn sponsored by the West, as regularly highlighted in UN reports. Finally, pitifully low prices are paid both for African raw materials and for the labour that extracts them. These effectively serve as an African subsidy for Western living standards and corporate profits.

Impoverishing Africa through division and weakness

This is the role ascribed for Africa by the masters of the Western capitalist economy: a supplier of cheap resources and cheap labour. For Africa to keep to this role depends primarily on ensuring that it remains underdeveloped and impoverished. Meanwhile, extracting stolen oil and minerals depends on keeping African states weak and divided.

The DRC with its tremendous mineral production, for example, was able to collect only \$32 million in mining tax revenues in a recent year due to the proxy war waged against it by Western-backed militias.

The African Union (AU), established in 2002, was a threat to all of this: a more integrated, more unified African continent would be harder to exploit. Of special concern to Western strategic planners are the financial and military aspects of African unification.

Plans for an African Central Bank (to issue a single African currency, the gold-backed dinar) would greatly threaten the interests of the US, Britain and France in the continent. Were all African trading to use the gold-backed dinar, Western countries would in effect need to buy African resources in gold, rather than, as currently, in sterling, francs or dollars which can be printed virtually out of thin air.

The other two proposed AU financial institutions—the African Investment Bank and the African Monetary Fund—could undermine the ability of institutions such as the International Monetary Fund to manipulate African economic policies. As Jean Paul Pougala has pointed out, the AMF, with its planned startup capital of \$42 billion, “is expected to totally supplant the African activities of the [IMF] which, with only US\$25 billion, was able to bring an entire continent to its knees and make it swallow questionable privatization like forcing African countries to move from public to private monopolies.”

Africom as West's neo-colonial tool

African military initiatives accompany these financial developments. The 2004 AU Summit in Sirte, Libya, agreed on a Common African Defence and Security Charter, including an article stipulating that “any attack against an African country is considered as an attack against the Continent as a whole,” mirroring the Charter of NATO itself. This was followed up in 2010 by the creation of an African Standby Force (ASF), with a mandate to uphold and implement the Charter.

Yet the creation of the ASF represented both threat and opportunity. Whilst the ASF could possibly develop into a genuine force resisting neocolonialism and defending Africa against imperialist aggression,

if handled differently, it could also possibly turn into a proxy force for continued neocolonial subjugation under a Western chain of command.

Meanwhile, the West had already been building up its own military preparations for Africa. Its economic decline, coupled with China's rise, undermined the impact of its economic and financial weapons alone to keep Africa subordinated and weak. Realizing the need for increased military force to remain dominant, a US white paper published in 2002 recommended a “new and vigorous focus on US military cooperation in sub-Saharan Africa, to include design of a sub-unified command structure which could produce significant dividends in the protection of US investments.”

This structure, AFRICOM, was created in 2008. The immense economic, military and political costs of direct intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan meant, however, that AFRICOM would have to primarily rely on local troops to do the fighting and dying. AFRICOM was to coordinate and subordinate African armies under a Western chain of command; in other words, African armies turned into Western proxies.

Division within the AU over Libya

The biggest obstacle to this plan was the African Union itself, which rejected any US military presence on African soil in 2008—forcing AFRICOM to house its headquarters in Stuttgart, Germany. Worse, in 2009, Colonel Gaddafi was elected Chairman of the AU. Gaddafi-led Libya had already become AU's biggest financial donor, and he was now proposing a fast-track process of African integration, including a single African army, currency and passport.

His fate is of public record. NATO invaded Libya based on a pack of lies, reduced the country to a devastated failed state, and facilitated its leader's torture and execution, thus taking out their number one opponent. For a time, it seemed the AU had been tamed. Three members—Nigeria, Gabon, and South Africa—had voted in favour of military intervention at the UN Security Council, and its new chairman Jean Ping was quick to recognize the new NATO-imposed Libyan government and to denigrate Gaddafi's achievements.

Libya's key role in the Sahel-Sahara region

Gaddafi's execution had not only taken out a powerful member of the African Union, but also the lynchpin of regional security in the Sahel-Sahara region. Gaddafi's Libya headed a transnational security system that had prevented Salafist militias gaining a foothold—a role recognized by US Ambassador Christopher Stevens in 2008.

This security system, the CEN-SAD (Community of Sahel-Saharan States), was launched by Gaddafi in 1998 aiming at free trade, free movement of peoples, and regional development between its 23 member states, but with a primary focus on peace and security. CEN-SAD had played a key role in mediating various conflicts within the region. Libya was unquestionably the dominant force, with CEN-SAD based in Tripoli. Indeed, CEN-SAD support was primarily behind Gaddafi's election as AU Chairman in 2009.

The very effectiveness of this security system was a double blow for Western hegemony in Africa: not only did it bring Africa closer to peace and prosperity, but simultaneously undercut a key pretext for Western intervention. As long as Gaddafi was in power and heading up a powerful and effective regional security system, Salafist militias in North Africa could not be used as a “threatening menace” justifying Western invasion and occupation. Libya-led CEN-SAD had also prevented the militias from playing their other pro-Western role as a proxy force to destabilize independent secular states.

Security falls apart, with Mali as first victim

This security system has fallen apart with NATO's redrawing of Libya as a failed state. The Salafi militias have been given hi-tech weaponry by NATO, allowed to loot the Libyan government's armouries, and provided with a safe haven from which to organize attacks and even smuggle arms across the region. Border security has collapsed, with the apparent connivance of the new Libyan government and its NATO sponsors.

The most obvious victim of this destabilization has been Mali. That the Salafist takeover of Mali is a direct consequence of NATO's actions in Libya is not in doubt

by any serious analysts. One result of the spread of NATO-backed destabilization to Mali is that Algeria—who lost 200,000 citizens in a deadly civil war with Islamists in the 1990s—is now surrounded by heavily armed Salafist militias on both its Eastern (Libya) and Southern (Mali) borders.

Algeria's 'resource nationalism'

Algeria is now the only state in North Africa still governed by the anti-colonial party that won its independence from European tyranny. This independent spirit is still very evident in Algeria's attitude towards Africa and Europe. On one hand, Algeria strongly supports the AU, contributing 15 percent of its budget, and with a \$16-billion commitment making it the African Monetary Fund's largest contributor by far. With Europe, however, it has consistently refused to play the puppet's role. Algeria and Syria were the only Arab League members to vote against NATO bombings of Libya and Syria, and Algeria famously gave refuge to members of Gaddafi's family fleeing NATO's onslaught.

Perhaps more worrisome for European strategists is that they view Algeria—along with Iran and Venezuela—as an OPEC “hawk” driving a hard bargain for their natural resources. As an exasperated article in the *Financial Times* recently explained, Algeria has adopted “resource nationalism,” and foreign oil companies have complained of “crushing bureaucracy, tough fiscal terms and the bullying behavior of Sonatrach, the state-run energy group, which has a stake in most oil and gas ventures.”

Note that *Financial Times* had also accused Libya of “resource nationalism” before NATO's invasion. Of course, “resource nationalism” means exactly that—a nation's resources being used primarily for the benefit and development of the nation itself (rather than foreign companies)—and in that sense Algeria is indeed guilty as charged.

Of its over-\$70-billion oil export income per year, much has been invested by Algeria in massive spending on health and housing, along with a recent \$23-billion loan and public grants programme to encourage small business. Indeed, high levels of social spending may be a key reason why no “Arab Spring” style uprising has taken off in Algeria in recent years.

Algeria's importance to EU members

Global intelligence firm STRATFOR, in a recent piece, said that this tendency to “resource nationalism” is particularly worrisome as Europe becomes a whole lot more dependent on Algerian gas once North Sea reserves run out.

Without saying it outright, the STRATFOR piece concludes by suggesting that a destabilized “failed state” in Algeria would be far preferable to a stable and independent “protectionist” government. Ominously, it says that “the existing involvement of EU energy majors in high-risk countries like Nigeria, Libya, Yemen and Iraq indicates a healthy tolerance for instability and security problems.”

In other words, in an age of private security, Big Oil no longer requires stability or state protection for its investments: disaster zones can be tolerated; strong, independent states cannot.

A new ‘war on terror’ in Africa?

It seems, therefore, favorable to the West’s strategic energy interests to see Algeria become a “failed state” like Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya.

The West has armed, trained, and provided territory to militias bent on the destruction of Algeria, the only major resource-rich North African state committed to genuine African unity and independence. In doing so,

it has also persuaded some Africans that—in contrast to their united rejection of AFRICOM not long ago—they do, after all, need the West’s “protection” from these militias. Like a classic mafia protection racket, the West makes its protection “necessary” by unleashing the very forces from which people require protection.

Now France is occupying Mali, the US is establishing a new drone base in Niger, and David Cameron is talking about his commitment to a new “war on terror” spanning six countries, and likely to last decades. But events have not unfolded as exactly planned. Algeria refused to fall into the trap of conducting an anti-Salafi border war. Meanwhile, the West’s unpredictable Salafi proxies expanded from their base in Northern Mali, not North to Algeria as intended, but South to Bamako, threatening to unseat a coup-installed, Western-allied regime. The French had to invade to drive them North, back towards Algeria—their real target all along.

For now, this invasion appears to have a certain level of support amongst those Africans who fear the West’s Salafi proxies more than the West’s own soldiers. Once the occupation starts to drag on, boosting the credibility and numbers of the guerrillas, whilst exposing the brutality of the occupiers and their allies, we will see how long that support lasts. ■

This is an abridged version, with edits, of an article posted on 20 Feb 2013 in **Pambazuka.org** Issue 617: <http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/86332>

Africa's rise... (continued from p. 5)

of unemployed youth in Africa’s growing urban areas. Instead, steps must be taken to revise WTO agreements and the many trade agreements and bilateral investment treaties currently being negotiated so that Africa has the freedom to adopt the industrial policies it needs in order to make genuine progress,” Rowden concluded. ■

Sources:

“The Myth of Africa’s Rise”, Foreign Policy.com, 4 Jan 2013 (http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/01/04/the_myth_of_africa_s_rise);
 “Africa – Rising Investments, Rising Middle Class”, IPS News, 26 Dec 2012 (<http://www.ipsnews.net/2012/12/africa-rising-investments-rising-middle-class/>);

“Africa Cashes in on Mineral Wealth,” IPS News, 24 Dec 2012 (<http://www.ipsnews.net/2012/12/africa-cashes-in-on-mineral-wealth/>);

“Africa’s Jobless Growth?” AllAfrica.com, 17 Jul 2012 (<http://allafrica.com/stories/201207190370.html>);

“Youth unemployment takes shine off Africa’s economic growth,” The Guardian, 28 May 2012 (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/2012/may/28/african-economic-outlook-2012-youth-unemployment>);

“Africa’s Economic Growth Not Matched by Poverty Reduction”, IPS News, 24 Dec 2012 (<http://www.ipsnews.net/2012/12/africas-economic-growth-not-matched-by-poverty-reduction/>); and

“Despite Economic Growth, Food Insecurity Lingers in Africa”, IPS News, 15 May 2012 (<http://www.ipsnews.net/2012/05/despite-economic-growth-food-insecurity-lingers-in-africa/>)

One Billion Rising:

Moving en masse to end violence vs women

There were marches in Afghanistan, human chains in Bangladesh, and a debate in the British parliament on February 14 to mark “One Billion Rising,” a global campaign to raise awareness of violence against women.

Started by activist and *Vagina Monologues* author Eve Ensler, the campaign asked participants to dance in solidarity with the estimated one billion women across the world who are abuse survivors. According to the One Billion Rising website, some one-third of the world’s 3.5-billion female population will have undergone rape or beating in their lifetime.

With countless women and women’s rights advocates taking part by the hundreds or thousands in countries ranging from Somalia to Australia, organizers considered the campaign very successful. Ensler herself said the day’s success was beyond her wildest dreams.

The event marked 15 years since Ensler founded the V-Day movement, which used the familiar date of Valentine’s Day to raise awareness of the many forms of violence faced by women around the world—from systematic use of rape as a weapon of war and the widespread physical abuse of wives and young girls within the community or household, all the way to the subtle but persistent

forms of harassment within the workplace. The broad theme of the campaign allowed its message to be adapted to each country.

In Germany, events in 126 cities highlighted how sexual violence is dealt with in the criminal system. A parliamentary debate in the UK focused on sex and relationship education in schools.

Hundreds of women and men marched through streets in Afghanistan. One said they were protesting against the women “sold and raped, and subjected to other violence” in the country. In India, tens of thousands of people were said to have joined rallies and dance events, as the country simmered in widespread anger over the recent gang rape and murder of a medical student in Delhi.

In Somalia, more than 300 women gathered in Wardhigley district, an area of Mogadishu governed by a woman, to dance and listen to poetry. There were five One Billion Rising events in Egypt; about 600 people danced and sang in one of the events.

In the Philippines, the national women’s alliance GABRIELA, its sister party-list group Gabriela Women’s Party, and New Voices Company gathered thousands of women and men in Manila and 24

other cities in various One Billion Rising events.

In Quezon City, elementary and high school students, government employees, barangay officials, activists, workers, urban poor, and children converged to “dance, strike and rise” against physical abuse such and also against “state-instigated violence” and the “rape of the country’s sovereignty and patrimony”.

According to GABRIELA, one out of 43 women is beaten by either her partner or husband, and a woman or child is harassed every hour. There are 500,000 victims of prostitution in the Philippines, 100,000 of whom are children.

During the Quezon City event, Rep. Luzviminda Ilagan of GWP and GABRIELA secretary general Joms Salvador discussed various forms of violence, including “state-instigated” ones or under the umbrella of the US-Philippines Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA), which allows U.S. troops to stay in the country for extended periods under the guise of joint training exercises.

Ilagan and Salvador criticized the Aquino administration for allowing foreign mining firms to destroy the environment, for the violent demolition of urban poor communities, and for its “counter-

insurgency” program, during which operations women and children are most vulnerable. Intensive military operations often result in forced evacuation and physical abuses, including rape.

Other speakers bewailed the plight of Filipino working women

affected by low wages, labor contractualization, land grabbing, and the impacts of forced migration. An estimated 60 percent of overseas Filipino workers are women.

Monique Wilson, theater actress and Philippine coordinator of One Billion Rising campaign thanked all

those who participated. “We will continue to rise up, not just today but forever,” she said. ■

Sources: **Guardian** (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2013/feb/14/one-billion-rising-action-worldwide>) and **Bulatlat** (<http://bulatlat.com/main/2013/02/16/filipinos-join-1-billion-rising-around-the-world-to-end-violence-against-women/>)

Liberian homes demolished as global leaders meet

by Wade C.L. Williams



FRUSTRATED with the slow pace of progress in Liberia, citizens of this West African country hold public protests as President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf delivers her state of the nation address. Photo credit: Wade C. L. Williams/IPS

Fatou Nernee is scavenging through the debris of her home, which was razed to the ground by bulldozers belonging to the Monrovia City Corporation in Liberia. She is looking for something to keep as a treasured memory of a place she called home for over 20 years.

Nernee and many others have been left homeless because of a current cleanup drive by the government ahead of the United Nations High Level Panel (HLP)

meeting on the Post-2015 Development Agenda this [last week of January].

“They broke my house down yesterday. The police arrested my brother and took him to the station,” Nernee told IPS.

UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon named Prime Minister of the United Kingdom David Cameron, Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, and

Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono as co-chairs of a high-level panel to advise him on the global development agenda after 2015, the expiry date for the Millennium Development Goals.

The demolition of these homes comes as Sirleaf appointed the five-star, privately owned Royal Grand Hotel as the venue for the meeting. Mayor of Monrovia Mary Broh defended the demolitions. “We want to make this city the greenest and cleanest city in West Africa,” Broh said.

But Nernee and other residents of the over a dozen demolished buildings and businesses some 10 blocks away from the Royal Grand Hotel say the government has destroyed their homes and made their lives more difficult.

The HLP meeting is taking place in a country that is the embodiment of global developmental challenges. Liberia’s infrastructure and political institutions were broken down during the country’s two civil wars, which occurred from 1989 to 1996 and 1999 to 2003 and were considered among the bloodiest in Africa.

This West African nation is in the early stages of rebuilding and a lack of electricity and access to cheap energy continues to be a problem. As many as 85 percent of the country’s estimated 4.2 million

people are said to be unemployed, according to the UN Development Programme.

The government Bureau of Statistics, however, puts Liberia’s current vulnerable employment rate—an indicator of unsustainable jobs—at 77.9 percent.

Sirleaf argues that her government has made considerable progress since she took over in 2006, particularly in healthcare delivery, but challenges remain.

A UN report said that the number of women dying of pregnancy- and childbirth-related complications has almost halved in 20 years, yet Liberia continues to have one of the highest rates of maternal mortality in the world with a maternal death rate of 994 per 100,000 live births.

Those who are frustrated with the slow pace of progress here held public protests as Sirleaf gave her state of the nation address on Monday, Jan. 28.

“We have come to inform the visiting guests that everything is not fine in Liberia. This government has been able to make many of our people homeless and jobless,” said Julius T. Dweh Jessen III, one of the protesters.

Ma Mary Frederick, a 74-year-old widow whose husband was killed during the civil war, stood with a

placard protesting for the payout of her late husband’s military benefits.

“I have seen the first vote, second vote and I can’t get anything from the government,” she said referring to the country’s two democratic elections since Sirleaf became the country’s first post-war president in 2006. “All day we stand in the sun and the police beat us. I have nothing; my grandchildren can’t go to school,” she said.

“We are sitting down at home with nothing good to eat and they made matters worse by breaking down the house I used to live in. Now we are sleeping outside.”

The two contrasting images of a meeting of world leaders at a five-star hotel in downtown Monrovia as locals some blocks away decry the demolition of their homes raises questions about the purpose and substance of the meeting and the implications it will have for this post-war country, student activist Janjay Gbarkpe told IPS.

On the other hand, Liberian economist Sam Jackson told IPS that the HLP meeting gave Liberia an opportunity to highlight the progress made after the war and a chance to carve out a development agenda. ■

Source: **Inter Press Service** news agency (<http://www.ipsnews.net/2013/01/liberian-homes-demolished-as-global-leaders-meet/>), edited here for brevity.

NGOs call on EU to abolish its emissions trading system

By Kanaga Raja (Published in SUNS #7529)

GENEVA, 19 Feb — Highlighting several “structural failures” of the European Union’s carbon Emissions Trading System, a group of over 90 organisations has called for the scheme to be scrapped in order to make room for climate measures that work.

“After seven years of failure, the EU’s claims that it can ‘fix’ its collapsing Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS) no longer have any credibility. We believe that the ETS must be abolished no later than 2020 to make room for climate measures that work,” said the joint declaration, released by the group just before a crucial European Parliament committee vote on the issue.

“The EU’s flagship policy to address climate change has diverted attention from the need to transform the system’s dependency on fossil fuels and growing consumption, resulting in increased emissions. After seven lost years, it’s time to make space for effective and fair climate policies,” said Joanna Cabello of Carbon Trade Watch, one of the declaration’s signatories.

Among the signatories to the joint declaration are ATTAC (Austria, France); Biofuelwatch (UK, US); Beyond Copenhagen Collective (India); several country chapters of Friends of the Earth; Confederation Paysanne (France); Carbon

Trade Watch; Corporate Europe Observatory; Ecologistas en Accion (Spain); Global Forest Coalition; GRAIN; Indigenous Environmental Network; International Rivers (US); Oilwatch America Latina; REDD-Monitor; South Asia Network on Dams, Rivers & People; TNI - Transnational Institute (Netherlands); and World Rainforest Movement.

The groups have highlighted what they say are many structural loopholes facing the ETS, which the reform proposals that have been put forward by EU policymakers will not be able to fix.

According to the group, the EU ETS was introduced in 2005, created the biggest carbon market in the world, and now serves as a model for other countries.

“China is setting up a system with EU support and is planning to link it to the EU ETS. Other countries and regions such as Brazil, Korea, Australia, California in the US and Quebec in Canada have similar plans. The failures of the ETS will also be exported to other areas, as it will be used as a model for trading other ‘ecosystem services’ such as forests, biodiversity, water, soils and landscapes,” it cautioned.

The ETS includes ‘cap and trade’ and ‘offsets’ systems which allow

participants to buy and sell emissions permits and offset credits in order to comply with their reduction targets or simply to make a profit on the market. The idea is to reduce industrial greenhouse gas emissions cost-effectively by creating incentives for climate-friendly innovations and so move industry onto a low-carbon path.

“But the scheme has failed to do so. The EU’s fixation on ‘price’ as a driver for change not only has locked in an economic system dependent on polluting extractive industries... The failure is also set to spread more widely insofar as the ETS is used as a template for other carbon markets ... and as a model for other ‘ecosystem service’ markets in biodiversity, water and soils,” said the joint declaration.

It noted that EU governments and the European Commission are determined to maintain the ETS as the central pillar of the EU’s climate change policies, with Phase III getting under way in 2013.

The joint declaration went on to highlight a number of “structural failures” of the ETS, which it said cannot be fixed.

1. ETS failure in GHG emissions cuts

First, it said that the ETS has not reduced greenhouse gas (GHG)

emissions. Benefiting from an excess of free emissions permits as well as cheap credits from offset projects in Southern countries, the worst polluters have had little to no obligation to cut emissions at source.

Indeed, the groups added, offset projects have resulted in an increase of emissions worldwide: even conservative sources estimate that between 1/3 and 2/3 of carbon credits bought into the ETS “do not represent real carbon reductions”.

Export of industrial production to Southern countries is another source of “reductions”. A study published in the Proceedings of the US National Academy of Sciences estimates that in some European countries, “imported” emissions—not counted as European emissions—add up to more than 30% of the total.

2. ETS as subsidy for polluters

Second, the joint declaration said that the ETS has worked as a subsidy system for polluters. The first two phases of the ETS (2005-2007, 2008-2012) allocated free permits according to historical emissions, acting as a de facto subsidy for the biggest polluters.

“The over-allocation of permits enabled the continued use of existing technologies and rubbed out any incentive for a transition towards low-carbon production processes.”

The groups cite research by CE Delft estimating that almost all of the cost of compliance with the ETS was passed through to consumers. The

study suggests that windfall profits from passing through these “costs” reached 14 billion euros between 2005 and 2008.

Electricity producers, too, are free to pass on to consumers the full “opportunity cost” of compliance by increasing electricity prices, resulting in windfall profits of anywhere between 23 billion euros and 71 billion euros in the second phase.

“...even conservative sources estimate that between 1/3 and 2/3 of carbon credits bought into the ETS ‘do not represent real carbon reductions’”

The groups noted that industry lobbying has guaranteed that over 75% of manufacturing industry will continue to receive permits for free at least until 2020 (meaning extra revenue to polluters instead of state coffers of around 7 billion euros per year). Every attempt to end this handout has met strong lobbying from energy-intensive industries.

In Phase III, only the energy sector will be required to buy permits at auction, and even then, exceptions have been made for utilities in Central and Eastern Europe, including those with a high dependence on coal for electricity generation.

3. ETS shaped by volatile carbon prices

Third, the joint declaration underlined that the ETS is characterised by carbon prices that have been continuously unstable, and declining overall since 2008.

“According to market analysts, there is no prospect of prices reaching levels that would incentivise any changes in energy-generating capacity. Even if very predictable high prices could somehow be engineered... they would be insufficient to incentivise the structural changes needed to address climate change in the absence of other measures.”

4. ETS as driver of conflicts in the South

Fourth, the joint declaration said that the ETS increases social and environmental conflicts in Southern countries. The ETS allows companies to use offset credits generated from “emissions saving” projects implemented largely in Southern countries, based on the idea that each ton of “saved” carbon generates a credit that allows another ton to be released somewhere else.

It noted that the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), the biggest offset scheme, has been shown to bring severe social and environmental impacts to areas where the projects are implemented, including land grabs, human rights violations, community displacements, conflicts and increased local environmental destruction.

Yet, it added, offset use in the ETS grew by 85% in 2011. Many of the companies using offsets have also been selling their (freely awarded) permits, buying CDM credits at a significantly lower price and pocketing the difference.

“Other new market mechanisms and related financial products (such as forest carbon offsets and biodiversity offsets) follow the same logic which allows, and offsets, deforestation, forest degradation, biodiversity loss and water pollution,” said Isaac Rojas of Friends of the Earth Latin America and Caribbean (ATALC) in the press release.

5. Fraud in carbon markets

Fifth, the joint declaration said that carbon markets are particularly susceptible to fraud. “To create tradable carbon units, measurement of pollution that has or has not occurred has to be carried out using proxy measures and other unreliable and often unverifiable calculation procedures open to abuse.”

In addition, it noted, in 2010, a vast ‘carousel fraud’ in the EU ETS was revealed to have cost the public more than 5 billion euros in lost Value-Added Tax (VAT) revenues. A German court jailed six people involved in a 300 million euro fraud selling carbon permits through Deutsche Bank, and courts in London jailed eleven.

The groups pointed out: “Big companies like steel producers ThyssenKrupp and Salzgitter have been outed as fraudulent carbon profiteers when, in December 2010, even pro-trading World

Wild Fund for Nature demanded (unsuccessfully) that ‘the EU put a halt to the use of fake offsets.’”

A few weeks later, credits from the Austrian and Czech governments were stolen, leading to a suspension of ETS market trading. The UN also had to disqualify its main CDM verification agency in 2009, and in 2011, had to suspend Ukraine due to emissions under-reporting fraud.

6. Squandering public money on carbon markets

Sixth, the joint declaration said that public money is being squandered on setting up carbon markets that are unable to achieve a public purpose, at a time when citizens are suffering from the economic crisis and “austerity” packages.

“Taxpayers are being forced to cover the cost of the legislation, regulation and much of the quantification that carbon markets require, as well as the cost of enforcement against fraud, theft, corruption, and tax evasion,” it said.

It added that industries covered by the ETS “gain subsidies for continuing to pollute, while governments allocate tax monies to compensate for excess emissions or to make up for the generous hand-out to ETS companies.”

7. ETS tied to fossil-fuel economy

Seventh, the joint declaration said that the ETS locks in a fossil-fuel economy. “The ETS reinforces the logic of overproduction and consumption based on fossil fuels... Coal fire plants, shale-gas, hydraulic fracturing and destructive

infrastructure projects are being expanded in Europe.”

The ETS is not only increasing the environmental and climate debt that the industrialised North owes the Global South, it is also exacerbating the climate crisis worldwide—to the particular detriment of vulnerable groups, the groups stressed.

Even the International Energy Agency has now admitted that at least two-thirds of remaining known fossil-fuel deposits have to be kept underground if the world is to achieve the goal of having a reasonable chance of limiting global temperature rise to 2 degrees Celsius.

8. False solutions shut out effective climate policies

Finally, the joint declaration said that the ETS closes the door to other, genuinely effective climate policies at the same time it reinforces false solutions such as nuclear energy, large-scale dams, agro-fuels and industrial tree plantations.

“For example, it discourages regulation that is seen to interfere with the carbon price. And instead of promoting a ‘zero-waste’ philosophy, it encourages automated methane-capture schemes which require more rotting rubbish and which drive out informal waste-pickers and recyclers.”

In addition, it noted, the logic of pollution trading is now being applied to other arenas, such as biodiversity and water crises,

NGOs call...
(continued on p. 20)

UN water agenda at risk of hijacking by Big Business

by Thalif Deen

Amidst growing new threats of potential conflicts over fast-dwindling water resources in the world's arid regions, the United Nations will commemorate 2013 as the International Year of Water Cooperation (IYWC).

But Maude Barlow, chairperson of the Council of Canadians and a former senior advisor on water to the president of the U.N. General Assembly in 2008-2009, warns the U.N.'s water agenda is in danger of being hijacked by big business and water conglomerates.

"We don't need the United Nations to promote private sector participation under the guise of greater 'cooperation' when these same companies force their way into communities and make huge profits from the basic right to water and sanitation," Barlow told IPS.

At this time of scarcity and financial crisis, she said, "We need the United Nations to ensure that governments are fulfilling their obligations to provide basic services rather than relinquishing to transnational corporations."

The U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), which has been designated the lead U.N. agency, formally launched

IYWC at a ceremony in Paris on Feb. 11.

In New York, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon warned of the new pressures on water, including growing populations and climate change. One-third of the world's 7.1 billion people already live in countries with moderate to high water stress, he said.

"Competition is growing between farmers and herders; industry and agriculture; town and country," Ban said. Upstream and downstream, and across borders, "We need to cooperate for the benefit of all now and in the future... Let us harness the best technologies and share the best practices to get more crop per drop."

In December 2010, the 193-member General Assembly adopted a resolution declaring 2013 as the IYWC. The 2013 World Water Day on Mar. 22 will be dedicated to water cooperation.

Big water corporations have gained influence in almost every agency working at the UN, Barlow told IPS.

The CEO Water Mandate, a public-private sector initiative launched by the UN in July 2007 and designed to assist companies in the



development, implementation and disclosure of water sustainability policies and practices, puts corporations such as Nestle, Coca Cola, Suez and Veolia directly into a position of influence over global water policy and presents a clear conflict of interest, she said.

"For-profit private companies cannot uphold the public interest if it conflicts with their bottom line," said Barlow, who is also founder of the Blue Planet Project.

Even the World Water Development Report is now advised by an industry group on "business, trade, finance and involvement of the private sector," she added.

Tom Slaymaker, senior policy analyst on governance at the London-based WaterAid, told IPS the UN recognised the "human right to water and sanitation" back in 2010.

"But today over 780 million lack improved water supplies and 2.5 billion lack basic sanitation facilities," he added.

The 2013 IYWC will be a critical year for the UN to reflect on why universal access has not yet been achieved, he said.

Slaymaker said it's also time to reflect on the kind of political leadership and new forms of partnership that are required to accelerate progress towards universal access as part of the emerging post-2015 development framework.

Since the General Assembly recognised the human right to water and sanitation, a number of countries, including Mexico, Kenya, Bolivia, The Dominican Republic, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Ecuador, El Salvador, The Netherlands, Belgium, the UK and France, have either adopted laws recognising the right to water or amended their constitutions to do so.

The Vatican recently recognised the human right to water and added that "water is not a commercial

product but rather a common good that belongs to everyone."

Last June, all 193 member states signed the Rio+20 Declaration which includes the recognition of the human right to water and sanitation as a universal right.

Specifically zeroing on the role of the private sector, Barlow told IPS that corporations are among those pledging their support for IYWC. So are "corporations who fought us on the right to water are now scrambling to claim it in their own image".

She quoted Nestle as saying that 1.5 percent of the world's water should be put aside for the poor and rest should be put on the open market.

If Nestle gets its way, she argued, there will one day be a water cartel similar to big oil, making life and death decisions about who gets water and under what circumstances every day.

"But at least we have this recognised and acknowledged right that no one should be allowed to appropriate water for personal gain while others die from an inability to pay for water," she said.

With time, "we will build consensus around the right to water and the understanding that water is a common heritage and a public trust." ■

IPS News, 11 Feb 2013 (<http://www.ipsnews.net/2013/02/u-n-s-water-agenda-at-risk-of-being-hijacked-by-big-business/>), reprinted here with minor edits.

IFFM urges halt to landgrab by tourism project in Sri Lanka

"We were once dignified people when we had our own land. Now we are beggars. Begging for subsistence from others. We cannot even have loans because no one would give us loan. Maybe because they know we cannot pay back."

This was a farmer's statement in a group interview conducted by an international fact-finding mission (IFFM) that visited a rural district in Sri Lanka during the last week of February to investigate reports of land grabbing linked to a mega-tourism project.

The IFFM, composed of 22 participants from Pakistan, India, Nepal, Philippines, Bangladesh, Indonesia and Sri Lanka, was

organized by the Movement for National Land and Agricultural Reform (MONLAR) and the Asian Peasant Coalition (APC).

The IFFM team, which was invited by the Organization for the Protection of Pannam Paththuwa (OPPP), gathered data in the affected village of Panama, Ampara District, Eastern Province.

"Our forefathers had cultivated our land even during the British colonial period. We have legal documents to prove it and the Magistrate of Court already made a decision that we are the rightful owners and we can cultivate it once again," local OPPP leader P. Somasiri said.

"But still the local government and the police do not implement [the court ruling]. Our houses have been burnt and our people have been forcefully evicted from our land," Somasiri further said.

"The villagers have already taken this case to the court and in fact they have won their petition but the government would not implement the decision to at least compensate for the land taken away from them," Sunil Santha of MONLAR added.

Tourism dev't project funded by the World Bank

In 2009, the World Bank pledged \$18 million for Sri Lanka's Sustainable Tourism Development Project, with an agreement signed

in January 2010. World Bank documents say that the project aims to “strengthen the institutional framework for the tourism sector to facilitate environmentally and socially sound investments, in particular in eastern Sri Lanka.”

Peasant organizations claim that the World Bank-funded government project is the reason for Panama’s conversion into a tourism zone, starting with massive road construction in the area.

The tourism project has led to landgrabbing, and threatens as well to denude the forests and destroy the natural habitat with its rich biodiversity, which thus “drastically affected the livelihood and the people’s way of life,” Somasiri explained.

The IFFM aimed to document and analyze the immediate and long-term impacts of the Arugam Bay Special Tourism Promotion Zone, to dialogue with local public officials, and to lobby government agencies to protect the affected people’s lands and livelihood.

According to Somasiri, the Sri Lankan government had begun work on the Arugam Bay project since 2006, with the first zones in Hambantota, Kalpitiya, and Arugam Bay covering 150 acres.

“The Ocean City Development project with Rs.100 million in Treasury funding in Trincomalee covers 933 acres of land to increase hotel establishments,” he added.

One of Sri Lanka’s biggest investors, Shangri-la Asia Ltd., a Hong Kong-

based hotel and resort group, is reportedly interested in developing a resort on approximately 100 acres of land in Hambantota, and may start the project this year.

Sri Lanka’s Economic Development Ministry, with the private sector, plan to double hotel room capacity to 45,000 by 2016 in order to accommodate 2.5 million expected tourists.

“This has resulted in the villagers of

“The tourism project has led to landgrabbing, and threatens as well to denude the forests and destroy the natural habitat with its rich biodiversity”

Ragamwela and Shasthrawela being evicted since 2006,” Somasiri said. “In August 2010, the villagers of Ragamwela were evicted by force with armed men burning down their houses with all their belongings,” he said further.

“The loss of habitation (mangroves) around the lagoon due to clearing for the hotels will have its ill effect on the regeneration of the fish produce and will burden the larger community of fishers in Panama,” he added.

Call for genuine agrarian reform in Sri Lanka

The Asian Peasant Coalition (APC), one of the IFFM organizers, urged

the Sri Lankan government and its military forces to stop harassing the people of Panama, who are fighting for their basic right to land and livelihood.

“We demand for genuine agrarian reform in Sri Lanka so that all the landless farmers would have access and control over their land, seeds and other resources to have decent livelihood and dignified life,” said Zenaida Soriano, APC coordinator for Southeast Asia and also chairperson of AMIHAN, the Philippine federation of peasant women.

“With no redress, they tried to cultivate their lands resulting in illegal arrests of some villagers, including women,” Soriano said.

The APC also expressed support for the Panama people’s call for the immediate implementation of the court order to let them cultivate their land again and to compensate them for damages incurred.

IFFM stopped by police for questioning

Meanwhile, local police stopped some IFFM participants from interviewing local residents in Panama. APC coordinator Soriano said “the police want the participants to give their passport details as ordered by their higher officials or else they will arrest us.”

“We are not doing anything wrong, we are here in solidarity with the people of Panama who have requested ... to be visited with a

IFFM urges...
(continued to p.20)

Execution, arrests underscore Somalia rapes

NAIROBI, 24 January 2013 (IRIN)—The recent execution in Somalia of a soldier convicted of rape and the detention of a journalist investigating sexual assault have given the traditionally taboo issue of gender-based violence an unusual degree of prominence.

Band-Aid solution

After an article published in December 2012 accused several state security officers of rape, police questioned journalists and one alleged victim. Since then, as many as five people have been detained—all of them as a result of their complaints or investigations and none on suspicion of having perpetrated rape.

President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud told Voice of America that incidents of rape by men in uniform were on the decline in Somalia and that the problem there would soon come to an end. Commenting on the previous day's executions of a 32-year-old soldier for rape and a 23-year-old policeman for murder, the president said that his government's "fight against bandits is reflected in the sentence passed by our courts."

Aid agencies working in Somalia say women need better protection and better avenues to report rape.

"Have we seen an improvement? No. Drastic measures, such as the execution of a soldier for sexual violence, are not the answer," said a senior aid official working on



INTERNALLY displaced persons are particularly vulnerable to sexual violence.

Photo credits: Kate Holt/IRIN

civilian protection in Somalia. The official described the humanitarian response to sexual and gender-based violence in Somalia as "a Band-Aid" to a growing problem.

Reports of rape increasing

According to anecdotal evidence from humanitarian workers in the country, reports of rape in Mogadishu are on the rise, but experts cannot confirm whether this means increasing rape incidents or better reportage.

Women and girls living in refugee camps are particularly vulnerable due to poor housing conditions, poor lighting, limited access to safe toilets, and risks in attempting to access goods and services.

But the protection officer said the government is well-placed to tackle rape cases involving uniformed men, saying that the fact that these are happening should be a wake-

up call to the authorities. "If it is a stranger or family rape, that is difficult to address in any country. If it's a member of the military, it should be much easier," the officer added.

"Every television and radio station has been talking about this all week. ... The journalists are up in arms, and everyone feels that, in the future, women who are raped may well come forward," said Mohamed Ibrahim, secretary-general of the National Union of Somali Journalists.

A gender-based violence expert at the UN agreed that the recent detentions raised longer-term concerns. "If survivors want to come forward, we should be able to provide them confidential and secure services. Empowerment of a survivor of sexual violence is key to enable her to overcome the trauma done to her," the UN expert said.

“It is important that government institutions protect this pathway.”

Ending silence

In a statement on 15 January, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict Zainab Hawa Bangura stressed that attempts to intimidate journalists rather than investigate “history’s greatest silence” diminish the credibility of government institutions.

“The approach taken by the Somali police ... only serves to criminalize victims and undermine freedom of expression for the press,” Bangura said, adding that the freedom of local journalists to report on



ALREADY forced to suffer in silence due to the stigma and taboo of coming forward to complain, victims of gender-based violence are further silenced by media repression on the subject.

Photo credits: Keishamaza Rukikaire/IRIN

sexual and gender-based violence is particularly important in Somalia, where international access is severely limited.

“An arrest like this will never deter me from writing stories about violations,” said a Mogadishu-based journalist. “[Rape] is commonplace and has been constantly reported by the Somali media. Hundreds of cases can be found.” The journalist believes it is largely armed men in uniform who commit these crimes.

Source: **IRIN News**, 24 Feb 2014 (<http://www.irinnews.org/Report/97325/Death-sentence-and-detentions-raise-profile-of-rape-in-Somalia>), abridged here with edits.

NGOs call... (continued from p. 15)

resulting in the commodification and financialisation of more and more of nature’s capacities, functions and cycles.

The groups cautioned that insisting on trying to “fix” a system that is broken from the start diverts attention and resources away from just and effective policies. Exporting the ETS failure to other countries in the name of “leadership” amounts to another wave of intervention in Southern countries, increasing the social and environmental debt of the North, they added.

Although European decision-makers preparing to review the ETS appear inclined to try to ‘fix’ the scheme for a post-2020 phase, the civil society organisations affirmed that there is only one option possible with a clear climate benefit: to end the scheme once and for all. ■

Originally posted by **TWN Info Service on Climate Change** (<http://twinside.org.sg/title2/climate/info.service/2013/climate130202.htm>), edited here for brevity.

IFFM urges... (continued from p. 18)

fact finding mission because their land has been taken away from them,” she said.

“They have harassed our families since 2006; that is why we already organized the Organization for the Protection of Panam Paththuwa and we sought the support of MONLAR and APC to invite friends and networks to visit our village,” explained Somasiri, who is from the locality.

“Our government and the media have not given any attention to our situation. That is why we believe that through this IFFM other people will be able to know about our situation and maybe help us in our struggle,” he said. ■

Source: Various reportage from the **People’s Coalition for Food Sovereignty (PCFS)** website, February 2013

People's Goals:

Development challenges of our time

The Campaign for People's Goals for Sustainable Development is a network of social movements, grassroots organizations, labor unions, non-governmental organizations and other institutions committed to forging new pathways to the future we want. The Campaign for People's Goals serves as a platform to challenge governments and the broader multilateral system to commit to real reforms that address the demands of the poor and marginalized under ten major thematic concerns. It also provides links across national boundaries and thematic sectors, connecting people's struggles from the local to the global. This is an opportunity to work collectively to advance the people's causes, taking advantage of the ongoing official process of coming up with a post-2015 development framework.

Overcoming global poverty, by any measure, remains a tremendous challenge.

The UN Development Programme's 2010 Human Development Report estimates that 1.75 billion people in 104 countries suffer overlapping deprivations in health, education and standard of living. Of that figure, around one billion are malnourished people (defined by minimal energy consumption), higher than the 850 million in 1980.

Even the World Bank, which measures poverty in terms of money costs, calculates that in 2008, some 3 billion people lived on \$2.50 or less per day outside the developed world; of this figure, about 1.3 billion survived below \$1.25 a day.

This poverty persists despite staggering wealth, due to intolerably high economic inequality. According to the 2012 Global Wealth Report by Credit Suisse, 8.1% of the world's adult population control US\$183 trillion in financial and other assets, or 82.4% of the world's total wealth. Meanwhile, 69.3% share only 3.3% of that wealth.

UNICEF similarly calculates that the top 20% of the world population enjoy 82.8% of total income, while the bottom 20% enjoys only 1%. UNICEF also

estimates that at the current rate of inequality reduction, improving the bottom billion's share of world income to just 10% would take eight and a half centuries—at least 10 lifetimes—to accomplish.

In many countries, wages have held flat or fallen over the last 30 years. Even prior to the current global crisis, the share of wages in national income in industrialized countries had already been falling. The share of wages has been also falling for surplus (net exporting) countries, many of which rely on wage suppression to compete.

Environmental constraints and tipping points

Current patterns of production and consumption, while benefiting a few and leaving many in poverty, have imparted lasting damage to the environment. Various accounts of human pressure on the environment all show that it is being run down at alarming levels. According to a Millennium Ecosystem Assessment in 2005, in a group of 24 ecosystems some 60% are now degraded or exploited unsustainably. And of nine threshold indicators identified to comprise a safe operating space for humanity, three have been breached, including those on climate change and biodiversity loss. Breaching these thresholds could lead to tipping points of catastrophic environmental change.





The billions of poor people, who aspire to climb out of poverty, are instead bearing the brunt of environmental disasters. Their livelihood depends most on the environment, and their impoverished conditions make them most vulnerable to disasters. These, in turn, undermine the most basic rights to life, food, water and health, thus worsening poverty and inequality.



Multilateral efforts to avert environmental crises are yielding little results. Carbon emissions rise unabated as major culprit countries back down on drastic cuts. Limiting global warming to 2°C is becoming unlikely.



The challenge is to shift to modes of development that are both sustainable and equitable in order to secure decent living, within safe planetary limits, for today's population as well for some additional 2 billion people to inhabit the planet in the next half century.



A scramble for what's left

The era of global economic expansion in past centuries, which was fuelled by abundant and cheap supplies of raw materials, is coming to a close. At current depletion rates, reserves will soon be exhausted. Governments and corporations are thus redoubling efforts to seek control of the world's remaining resources, which worsens competition and conflict over such resources.



At stake is the survival of the system as a whole, and for global powers, their respective economic and political strength. At the losing end are the people, especially rural and indigenous people, who find their land and resources taken away or destroyed.



This race for what's left plays out in various forms: energy firms invade increasingly risky locations to extract unconventional fuels; mining firms scouring up frontier areas for unexhausted mineral deposits; public and private actors from cash-rich countries grab vast lands in poor countries to secure food or simply



to profit; major powers projecting their military strength, supporting repressive regimes and launching wars of aggression to secure strategic resources and supply lines.

Crisis, recovery, austerity

The economic crisis triggered by the 2008 meltdown drags on. Stimulus and bank bailouts have averted financial collapse but have failed to revive the economy, with growth remaining sluggish and jobless.

The crisis is now on a new phase. Bailouts and falling revenues have pushed up fiscal deficits and public debts. Governments quickly shifted to public spending cuts and debt reduction, supposedly to stimulate financial markets and growth. Eurozone countries, under threat of default, had to impose severe austerity measures in return for financial help.

But such measures made the crisis worse by increasing joblessness, lowering wages and cutting benefits. Workers, the youth, the aged, women, and the unemployed are the hardest hit. The North faces a long period of stagnation that can drag down the rest of the world, unless drastic changes are adopted.

Deregulation enabled financial institutions to create fictitious wealth and shift them around with complex financial products, causing the worst crisis in 80 years and aggravating the effects of earlier crashes in East Asia, Latin America and Russia. As before, banks are rescued and left unpunished and unreformed. Thus, while economic recovery falters, finance is back to its old greedy ways and is even using the Eurozone debt crisis to profit from high interest. Reforming the global finance system needs to be part of any agenda for recovery and development.

Jobs crisis

In developed countries, workers have been the crisis' main casualty. Joblessness has been worsened by labor deregulation as part of austerity programs. In poor countries with weak

industries, unemployment is endemic and informal work predominates. Globally, 200 million people are unemployed—with 27 million more losing their jobs since the current crisis started. Joblessness is particularly severe among the youth, with 75 million unemployed. Over 1 billion workers are in precarious employment, while 900 million workers live on \$2 a day or less. Some 29 million have withdrawn from the workforce.

Massive unemployment means increased poverty and vulnerability, especially in poor countries without comprehensive social protection. Between 40 million and 80 million people fell into poverty because of the crisis. This has led to worse nutrition, health and education outcomes, and heightened inequality and social discontent.

Real economic recovery, and sustainable development beyond that, means full employment and decent work. The world economy needs to create 600 million jobs over the next decade. These jobs will need to be productive, remunerative and sustainable.

Gender: old inequalities in new times

Many gender disparities have narrowed thanks to struggles for gender equality by women's movements. In many countries, women have won equality with men to formal rights under law and face better opportunities today than in the past.

Women's literacy now stands at 90% of the male rate, compared to just 54% in 1970. Female enrolment is 96-97% of the male rate in primary and secondary levels, and 108% in the tertiary level. Women today are freer from the burden of frequent childbearing and have wider life choices than in the past. Women's labor participation has also grown from 36% in 1970 to 52% in 2010.

Despite some progress in these areas, women are still behind men in terms of economic, social and political power. Women make up the large majority of the world's poorest and unemployed, highlighting their lack of access to assets, income, and gainful work. Although more women are performing paid work, they are often trapped in low-paying, low productivity and vulnerable jobs. Women remain a minority in parliaments and top government posts. Legal barriers still limit them in

terms of owning property, divorce, and reproductive rights, while traditional gender roles still impose on them the burden of household work.

In general, women still have less power than men in decision-making, whether at home, at work, in the community, or over their own bodies. And they continue to face discrimination and violence from cradle to grave. These inequalities are doubly worse for Southern, poor, rural, and ethnic women who face other forms of exclusion.

Global population: growing poorer, more urban

The world population more than doubled in the last half century to reach 6 billion by the close of the 20th century, and stands at 7 billion today. It grows by 70 million people every year, and may reach 9 billion in 2050.

The world is growing poorer. Almost all of expected population increases will come from poor regions, notably Africa. In 1950, global population was roughly evenly divided between poor and rich countries. By 2050, four out of five people will live in a poor country; we will need viable, stable and well-functioning economies to secure decent living for 9 billion people, especially for those living in the global South. This population challenge is, essentially, a development challenge.

The world is growing more urban, with its total urban population now exceeding its rural population. According to a UN Habitat study, 7 out of 10 people will live in a town or city by 2050, with most of urban growth occurring in poor countries. High poverty and crime rates, unemployment, pollution, unplanned urban sprawl, inadequate and unequal access to services, and other current problems make urban growth unsustainable and must be solved decisively.

Feeding 9 billion: not simply producing more

The projected world population of 9 billion by 2050 raises concerns about how to adequately feed them. It

Peoples goals... (continued on p. 26)

IBON International comments on the draft inequalities report

IBON International, as a member of the Campaign for People's Goals, submitted its comments on the draft Report on the Global Thematic Consultation on Inequalities (Report on Inequalities) for the Post-2015 Development Agenda on 31 Jan 2013. The following is an abridged and edited version.



ECONOMIC DIVIDE. A street serves as a line that divides the rich and the poor in the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh. Despite the recognition of global inequality as a pressing issue in the world today, the rich continue to grow richer and the poor, poorer. Redistribution of assets remains the core of the issue. Photo credit: TheMalt via Flickr

While the draft report covers many critical aspects that drive inequality, it falls short of making strong and detailed policy recommendations to address structural inequalities. Some of these major gaps are:

1. On redistribution

Over the last twenty years, inequality has become worse as the rich have become richer and the poor, poorer. Today, it is estimated that the wealthiest 30% account for 87% of the global wealth while the poorest 20% enjoy less than 1%.

While the draft report recognises inequality as a pressing issue and the need for a fair distribution of wealth, it does not address the core issue of redistribution, which means a democratic restructuring of asset ownership. Redistribution is not recognised in the framework as being at the heart of transformative change to tackle inequalities. Its recommendations mention redistribution, but this must be greatly strengthened to reflect a substantive definition of redistribution as stated above.

Redistribution is not just a matter of making the poor catch up to the rich to narrow the gap i.e., “levelling up measures”. There is a case for making the rich less rich in as much as monopolistic control over the global economy by a tiny elite ultimately leads to unjust and even inefficient outcomes. Given the vast disparities of

wealth accumulation globally and within countries, a sustainable and equitable ownership of and access to wealth and resources is essential. This can only be achieved through direct redistribution efforts.

The draft report's redistribution proposals are not substantial, being limited to pro-poor subsidies and targeted reforms and social protection schemes that are not enough to address the main structural causes of inequality. They are limited to treating the symptoms of inequality rather than addressing its causes.

Surprisingly, there are no recommendations for substantive redistribution of wealth and resources as this was also a recommendation by an earlier thematic think piece within the UN System Task Team on Post-2015. Section 2 repeatedly mentioned increased inequality due to increasing disparities in asset ownership and control, but does not follow up with corresponding proposals. There is a disjoint between the analysis and the recommendations.

IBON International calls for substantive recommendations that support redistribution of ownership and access to natural resources (land, water, energy); and of wealth and finances as well. This can take place through redistribution programmes, progressive taxation and substantial corporate taxation systems, and anti-trust measures including stronger public control over banks and other industries where the public interest is greatly at stake.

2. On inter-country inequality

The draft report recognises the critical importance of addressing inter-country and international inequalities. Branko Milanovic's report on inequality finds that the world's Gini coefficient is 70, up from 55 in 1850.

Powerful countries dominate international forums and platforms; they maintain international systems and structures to ensure global wealth accrues to them. The draft report recognises these structural causes of inter-country inequality, but does not offer recommendations to address them.

Section 1 explicitly refers to the dominance of rich countries and their influence over poorer countries. This should have led to calls for a democratic restructuring

of the system of international trade, economic and development cooperation, and also for more inclusive and more democratic processes at the highest international levels. Instead, the draft report only calls for regulatory reforms in the international financial system and tax justice, which will not be sufficient to address inter-country inequality.

We cannot continue with nominal changes. To tackle the root causes, rather than merely the symptoms of inter-country inequality, the existing international trade, financial and monetary architecture must undergo substantive reform.

IBON International particularly urges the draft report to propose reforms in trade relations that promote mutual benefit among trade partners and uphold the special and differential treatment of developing countries. We also appeal for a mandatory system of enabling technology transfer from rich to poor countries. There must also be concrete recommendations that address the unregulated, volatile and failing financial and monetary architecture at the root of extremely destructive financial speculation.

3. On the role of corporate sector in driving inequality

To some degree, the draft report recognises the corporate sector's role in driving inequality. Indeed, global or transnational corporations (TNCs) have amassed substantial power and are increasingly consolidating into tightly interlocked networks. An independent analysis of 43,000 TNCs has identified that a core group of companies control each other through shareholding networks and thus control the majority of the world's economy. This study found that less than 1% of companies are able to control 40% of the network of TNCs.

The growing interlocks among TNCs shows the vulnerability of the global economy: the collapse of one core TNC will substantially impact the rest of the TNCs and the global economy as a whole. The report says that TNC interconnectedness is a natural effect of an unregulated market. But it also shows the need to regulate these corporations to reduce the disproportionate impacts on the poor and the vulnerability of the global economy and financial system.

These same TNCs also influence national governments and international institutions—as the draft report recognizes—to adopt policies that benefit their global operations but which worsen poverty and inequality as well as undermine nations’ economic sovereignty. This is borne out by increasing labour contractualization, which worsens precarious employment, inhumane labour conditions, and repression of labour unions. It is also seen in the growing dependence of developing countries on models of export-led growth, making them more vulnerable to global economic crises.

Decent work, recognised in the draft report, is a key factor to reducing inequality and poverty. Yet it is hardly achievable without checking the unfettered power of TNCs to press down on wages and working conditions while enjoying assured superprofits.

The draft report recognises the liability of corporations and big finance in conjuring up volatile financial bubbles, which eventually burst and wreak havoc on the global economy, workers’ jobs and people’s livelihoods. However, its proposals for international commitment to equitable economic and financial rules are not enough to address the unfettered power and behaviour of TNCs. Rather than merely voluntary corporate commitments, strong regulatory frameworks for large corporations should be adopted, with mandatory

reporting requirements and accountability mechanisms. Corporate accountability must become one corner stone of any post-2015 development framework.

4. On accountability

The draft report does not adequately address the role of people’s participation in making policy and falls short of enumerating public accountability mechanisms.

In principle, governments are the enactors of policies and measures to address inequality. However, not all governments respond effectively to their people’s needs and wants. Policies and measures that are structured from above, without full public participation, often fall short of reflecting the people’s interests and priorities. Governments are also vulnerable to capture by elites that turn them into self-serving instruments.

Thus there is a need for systems of direct participation and accountability where the people can hold their governments and other institutions to account. All citizens should be enabled to fully participate in the making and implementation of policies on issues that affect them. ■

Source: **CPG website**, 31 Jan 2013 (http://peoplesgoals.org/download/submissions_un_consultations/IBON%20International%20Submission%20on%20the%20Draft%20Report%20on%20Inequalities.pdf)

Peoples goals... (continued from p. 23)

is argued that with rising demand and emerging supply constraints, there will not be enough food and that the solution is a new green revolution. The FAO calculates that food production needs to increase by 70% to 100%.

This notion of solving world hunger by increasing food production disregards that even now there is enough food per capita, yet one billion people are hungry while an epidemic of obesity afflicts rich countries. Chronic hunger is caused by poverty, inequality, wrong trade

policies, and lack of public support to farmers and consumers.

The solution is thus to eradicate poverty and inequality, to reform trade and investment policies that impact agriculture, and adopt policies that sufficiently support small food producers and consumers. Part of the solution is to shift to sustainable methods of farming. ■

Source: **Campaign for People’s Goals (CPG) website**, 7 Feb 2013 (<http://peoplesgoals.org/development-challenges-of-our-time/>). This is a substantially shortened and edited version of the original.



Popa Matumala, an illustrator and political cartoonist from Tanzania, began his career in comic magazines and book illustrations. He was the first in Tanzania to create caricatures and editorial cartoons that challenged the government formerly ruled by a one-party political system. Popa believes that his cartoons are an effective medium to express his worldview and shame others based on the fact that 20% of the world's population benefit from 80% of the world's wealth.

<http://www.africa.wisc.edu/politicalcartooninginafrica/>
<http://africartoons.com/>



January - February 2013



November -
December 2012

COP18: Gateway
to more climate
injustice



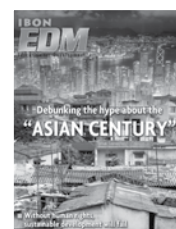
September -
October 2012

Feeding the world:
Fisherfolk give
notice



July - August 2012

The struggle for
agreement on
Climate Change



May - June 2012

Debunking the hype
about the
"Asian Century"

Dear EDM Reader,

Your feedback is very important to us. If you have any comments on our articles, or general points about our publication, please email them to **edm@iboninternational.org**, along with your name and organization. You can also access our past EDM issues at **<http://iboninternational.org/resources/edm>**.

Thank you for helping us make EDM better for valued partners in development like you.

GROWTH FOR WHOM?

AFRICA BY THE NUMBERS

FACTS & FIGURES

 **12%**

of journalists killed worldwide were in Africa (2006-2012)

 **47%**

Although the proportion of people living on less than \$1.25 a day gradually fell in Sub-Saharan Africa from 56% in 1990 to 47% in 2008, it still greatly lags from the MDG-2015 target, and remains the highest globally

 **27%**

The proportion of people who are undernourished in Sub-Saharan Africa remains the highest globally at 27% as of 2006-08



10.3%

unemployment rate in 2012

247 million workers in vulnerable employment



10 million

school dropouts every year in Sub-Saharan Africa alone

32%

of secondary school-age children are actually enrolled in secondary schools

+ 20 years or less

difference in average life expectancy at birth for someone living in Africa compared to those living in the US



Women throughout Africa are far more likely than men to be engaged in vulnerable employment, as own-account and family workers. The percentage of women in vulnerable employment in Sub-Saharan Africa is the worst worldwide.

35%

of the world's climatological disasters (extreme temperatures, droughts, wildfires) affect sub-Saharan Africa



36% LIVE ON LESS THAN ONE DOLLAR PER DAY

HEIGHT OF KILIMANJARO **19,340 FEET**

14% WORLD POPULATION **53 COUNTRIES**

12 MILLION ORPHANS **31%** SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

6 AVERAGE CHILDREN EACH WOMAN BEARS **44%** POPULATION IS UNDER FIFTEEN **ONE THOUSAND+** LANGUAGES

114.8 BARRELS IN 2ND MOST POPULOUS CONTINENT **6%** OF WORLD'S SURFACE AREA **900** PEOPLE

26,828 SQUARE MILES IN LAKE VICTORIA

SUCCESSFUL MILITARY **80 COUPS** **AVERAGE GDP \$671 PER CAPITA**

53 M CELL PHONE USERS

\$10 BILLION ANNUALLY IN CONFLICT DIAMONDS DURING 1990s

44.3 MILLION INTERNET USERS

27 YEARS NELSON MANDELA WAS IMPRISONED

80% ARE CHILDREN UNDER 5

16,100 MILES OF COASTLINE

Sub-Saharan Africa trails the world on the Human Development Index and Income

90%

of people in 11 countries in Africa go completely without electricity. Africa has the lowest per capita energy use of any continent.

Percentage of world mineral reserves found in Africa: oil - 10%; gold - 40%; chromium - 84%; platinum - 88%

General sources:

Africa HDR 2012: <http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/corporate/HDR/Africa%20HDR/UNDP-Africa%20HDR-2012-EN.pdf>

http://individual.troweprice.com/retailCommon/applications/brandjournalism/africa/Africa_infographic.pdf

<http://wewrite.or.tz/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Africa-infographics.png>

<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2013/05/2013591410454886.html>

<http://believinginafrica.wordpress.com/2012/02/>