

A person is silhouetted against a bright yellow background, holding up a white sign. The sign has the words "CLIMATE JUSTICE NOW!" written in bold, black, hand-drawn letters. A thermometer icon is drawn over the word "CLIMATE".

**CLIMATE
JUSTICE
NOW!**

A Green

New Eskom

TRANSFORMING POWER,
TRANSFORMING SOUTH AFRICA

Welcome to this booklet about the Green New Eskom campaign. The campaign is a project of the Climate Justice Coalition – a South African coalition of civil society, community based, trade union and grassroots organisations. These materials are produced by 350Africa.org in partnership with the Climate Justice Coalition.

In South Africa, we know that Eskom, our national electricity utility, is deep in trouble. The Green New Eskom campaign is about transforming Eskom from a national liability and the biggest polluter on the continent into a national asset and a force for climate justice.

The Problem: Eskom's old, unreliable and polluting coal power stations plunge us into rolling blackouts i.e. load-shedding or load reductions. Eskom has been mired in corruption, which has driven it deep into debt, sent electricity prices soaring, and robbed the public purse of trillions of rands.

Looking at Eskom now, it can be hard to think that it can be part of the solution to our problems rather than the cause of them. It can be hard to think of Eskom as anything but a headache, a drain on the taxpayer, and one of the gravest threats to our economy and environment.

The Solution: A better Eskom is possible. One that provides affordable, reliable and clean energy. An Eskom that drives a just transition to a more socially-owned renewable energy future that empowers and benefits communities, workers, businesses and all South Africans.

Not only is a transformed Eskom possible, it is absolutely vital. We simply cannot ensure a prosperous and sustainable future for South Africa without fixing Eskom. This may be one of the biggest and most important tasks in creating a better South Africa for all.

The campaign: The Green New Eskom campaign is calling for rapid and just transition to a more socially owned, renewable energy powered, zero carbon economy, providing clean, safe & affordable energy for all, with no worker or community left behind in the transition.

This booklet outlines our vision of a Green New Eskom and details the potential to transform Eskom. It also provides ways that you can be part of a movement to build a Green New Eskom. You can also take action online and sign up for updates at GreenNewEskom.org

CONTENTS

Our Vision for a Green New Eskom	4
Get Involved in Winning a Green New Eskom	6
Transforming Eskom – A Detailed Overview	8
A Renewable Revolution	8
A Just Transition	10
Takling corruption and serving the people	14
The Green Industrialization of South Africa	17
Systems Change, Not Climate Change	18
Assessing Eskom's Plans	20
The DMRE's Harmful Energy Future	22
Deepening loadshedding	22
Climate Denial	23
An Unjust Transition	23
Energy Authoritarianism	23
Karpowership Corruption	24
Mobilising for a Just Energy Future	25
About the Climate Justice Coalition and 350Africa.org	26
List of Supporters of the Green New Eskom campaign	27
Frequently Asked Questions	28
References	30

Our Vision for a Green New Eskom

The Green New Eskom campaign and its vision was developed by the Climate Justice Coalition, a South African coalition of civil society, grassroots, trade union, and community-based organisations. The coalition has put forward the following set of interconnected demands outlining their vision for transforming Eskom and South Africa's energy sector:

- 1. A rapid and just transition** to a more socially owned renewable energy powered economy, providing clean, safe & affordable energy for all, with no worker or community left behind in the transition.
- 2.** Put in place a robust **just transition plan** that invests in and protects workers & communities vulnerable in the transition to a zero-carbon future. We cannot leave workers and communities behind in this transition. They must be protected.
- 3. Remove the constraints on renewable energy** put in place by the 2019 Integrated Resources Plan and instead transition as fast as possible to renewable energy. We must accelerate the transition in line with South Africa's fair share of keeping warming to 1.5C.
- 4. Policies and incentives to enable socially owned renewable energy** so workers, communities, small-to-medium businesses, and families can own and benefit from clean energy. Gender, racial, and economic justice must guide these policies.
- 5.** The development and implementation of **green industrialisation policies**, which enables South Africa to proudly produce renewable energy and associated components. Priority should also be given to vulnerable, coal-dependent, carbon-intensive regions.¹
- 6. Expand Eskom's mandate to allow it to rapidly build renewable energy & energy storage.** They must also make the investments needed to extend and upgrade the grid – allowing socially owned renewable energy to feed into the grid.
- 7. Ending harmful and regressive subsidies for coal, oil and fossil gas**, and redirecting them to urgent needs like education, healthcare, energy access, and renewable energy. The taxpayer cannot keep bailing out polluting and uneconomic industries.
- 8. No new coal power** – so-called “clean coal” is an expensive polluting lie. Just Medupi & Kusile power stations are projected to cost nearly R500 billion, and that's without technologies to clean them up, which Eskom has said are simply too expensive.
- 9. No to fracking for fossil gas.** Rather than polluting fossil gas, new gas plants should aim for renewable hydrogen and biogas, which can help balance the grid for renewables. South Africa and Sasol should become leaders in producing green hydrogen.
- 10. A mass rollout of solar panels;** electric vehicles and accompanying infrastructure; affordable, electrified mass transit; smart grids; battery and storage technologies; and building efficiency retrofits especially for low-income houses; all with policies to encourage local production.
- 11. A massive skills, jobs, and training programme** to create opportunities for the people of South Africa in the renewable energy economy and unlock One Million Climate Jobs. Women and youth empowerment must be a vital part of this program.²
- 12. No to continued tariff hikes** which are making electricity unaffordable and subsidizing corrupt and overpriced coal contracts. While Eskom does need to be able to cover its costs, South Africans should not be made to pay for the corruption and looting at Eskom.
- 13. Restructuring Eskom to do away with corruption** and bloated, overpaid (mis) management. Eskom needs to put in place more transparent and accountable structures to ensure better public oversight, so that looting and corruption ends.
- 14. An audit of all energy supply contracts** to recover costs on and end overpriced contracts – including the R14 trillion in overpriced coal contracts signed during 2008 loadshedding. We must also declare as odious the corruption riddled World Bank debt for Medupi.³
- 15. Expand the insufficient basic free electricity** access grant for low-income households and ensure all have access to sufficient reliable, affordable energy. We must protect, not disconnect and load shed, our most vulnerable citizens.
- 16. No exemptions to Eskom or Sasol for clean air regulations,** minimum emission standards, or transparency on emissions data. We must strengthen regulations to ensure clean for all, as argued in the Deadly Air or Umoya Obulalayo Case.⁴
- 17.** All communities impacted by mining and energy projects must have their **free, prior and informed consent** respected by government and corporations. A standard which must be enshrined in the law and respected in practice.
- 18.** Beyond just energy, as the Cry of the Xcluded and the Climate Justice Coalition have both demanded, South Africa needs a **radical Green New Deal** which puts South Africans to work building a more socially and ecologically just future, tackling our deep inequality, unemployment, and poverty.⁵

GET INVOLVED IN WINNING A GREEN NEW ESKOM

The future of Eskom is one of the most contested spaces in South Africa. It is captured by vested interests who stand to gain billions by continuing to loot, pollute, and corrupt our energy future. As such, it will take more than a politely worded letter to win a Green New Eskom. We are in a power struggle over the future of our country, and we will need to build a movement powerful enough to drive meaningful change and transformation.

People from all walks of life will need to come together to win a Green New Eskom. We hope you will join us in demanding a Green New Eskom. Here are some ways you can get involved.



Sign on in support: At our website, GreenNewEskom.org, you can sign up in support of the campaign as an individual or you can endorse the campaign as an organisation. By doing so, you lend your voice in support, and can choose to receive updates about the campaign too.



Spread the word: We need to build the movement and get more people out supporting a Green New Eskom. To help spread the word, you can share on WhatsApp, social media or email. Links to help spread the word are available at: GreenNewEskom.org.



Speak up: Make your mark with your pen, your keyboard, and your words. Write or call in to your local newspaper, blog, and/or radio station to discuss why we need a Green New Eskom. Raising your voice is key to building support and awareness to win a just energy future.



Educate yourself and others: Want to learn more about what a Green New Eskom means? Visit GreenNewEskom.org/learn. There you will find a flier, a booklet, podcasts, articles, and materials which can help you understand the issues better and spread the word



Join the Mass Mobilisation: We are building towards a COVID-safe, mass mobilisation around September 2021. We welcome supportive groups and people to join, educate and mobilise towards it. Receive updates when you sign up to support the campaign at GreenNewEskom.org



Contact decision makers: We need decision makers in Eskom and the government to know that people support a Green New Eskom. We must hold their feet to the fire, and push them. Find out how you can contact your decision makers at: GreenNewEskom.org/contact



Organise a workshop: Are you part of an organisation or community group that wants to learn more about a Green New Eskom? Then please do organise a workshop either online or in-person - COVID-willing. Get in touch if you need support for workshops.



Protest or action: Groups are welcome to organise their own protest, action, or art installments in favour of a Green New Eskom. Whether targeting Eskom, government, or doing public facing actions, we encourage you to get involved.



New to organising and activism? You can learn more about organising workshops, writing to the media, and organising a protest at trainings.350.org



Do you have other ideas on how to win a Green New Eskom or do you want to get in touch? Then send us a message via the contact form available at GreenNewEskom.org

Transforming Eskom

The central demand of the Green New Eskom campaign is a rapid and just transition to a more socially owned, renewable energy powered economy, providing clean, safe, and affordable energy for all, with no worker and community left behind in the transition.

To transform our energy system, we must transform Eskom - South Africa's monopoly power utility, the biggest polluter on the African continent, and one of the gravest potential threats to our economy, given the devastation of load-shedding and Eskom's hundreds of billions in debt.

To save Eskom will require many different changes, including tackling corruption, ensuring energy access for all, and restructuring Eskom to ensure more accountability and transparency. One of the vital steps is for Eskom to move away from expensive, unreliable & polluting coal.

A RENEWABLE REVOLUTION

Coal power is killing our people through air, water and soil pollution, as well as the devastating impacts of climate change. Unreliable coal plants are causing load shedding, while corrupt and expensive coal contracts are driving up energy costs and deeply indebting Eskom.

The good news is we can transition away from our unhealthy dependence on coal. A renewable energy future is not only possible, it is also our best energy future on many different fronts. Multiple studies and reports show that a transition to renewable energy would:⁶

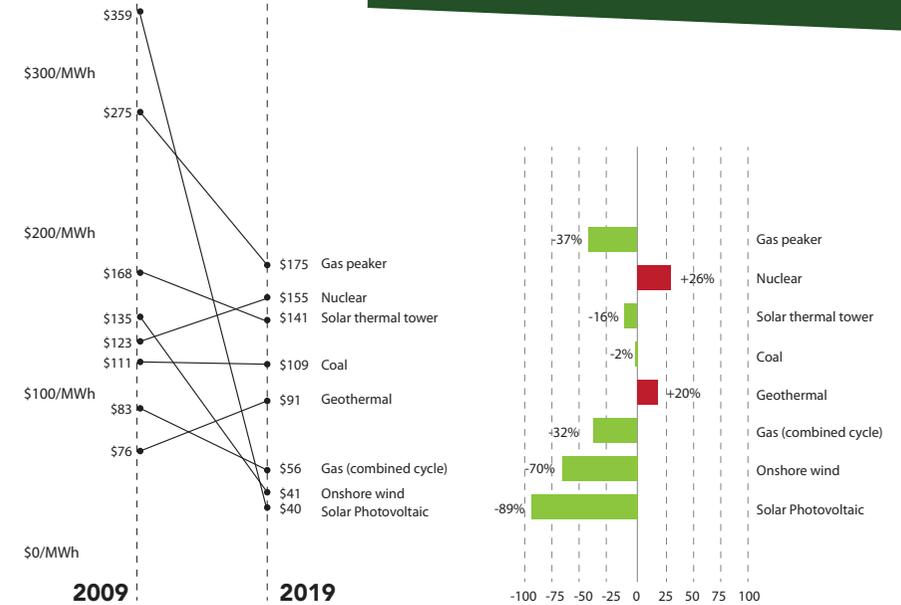
- ▶ Lower the cost of energy significantly.
- ▶ Save hundreds of billions of litres of water per year – a vital saving in a water scarce, drought-stricken country.
- ▶ Be the fastest way to bring new energy online, end loadshedding, and bring energy access to those without.
- ▶ Make our energy system more reliable.
- ▶ Remove our biggest source of pollution.
- ▶ Create hundreds of thousands more jobs compared to coal, gas and nuclear.

The plummeting costs of renewable energy

Renewable energy is now our most affordable energy, and continues getting cheaper

The price of electricity from solar declined by 89% in 10 years.

The price of onshore wind electricity declined by 70% in 10 years.



The price of electricity from new power plants

Electricity prices are expressed in 'levelized costs of energy' (LCOE). LCOE captures the costs of building the power plant itself as well as the ongoing costs for fuel and operating the power plant over its lifetime

Data: Lazard Levelized Cost of Energy Analysis, Version 13.0
Source: OurWorldinData.org

To see the speed at which renewable energy can solve our energy woes, we can turn to places like Vietnam, who managed to construct solar plants equivalent to six coal power stations in 2020 alone.⁷ Evidence suggests that South Africa too could rapidly turn our energy sector around if we put in place supportive policies for renewable energy.

With renewable energy providing our most affordable, reliable and clean energy source, we need to transition to renewable energy as soon as possible. Doing so is our fastest and best way to solve our energy crisis and take action on climate change at the speed the science says we must act.



A Just Transition

If we are to transition to renewable energy, we must ensure that it is not just a rapid but also a just transition. We must protect and invest in workers and communities who depend on coal and carbon-intensive sectors for their livelihoods. They cannot be left behind in the transition. South Africa spends hundreds of billions subsidizing increasingly uneconomic and polluting coal. It could instead follow the example of countries like Spain who redirected polluting subsidies to invest in a just transition in partnership with affected unions and communities.⁸

Trade unions, workers and communities across South Africa have been calling for a just transition to a more socially owned renewable energy future for many years.⁹ They have been calling for One Million Climate Jobs and for Eskom to be transformed.

However, while other countries forge ahead with just transition plans, South Africa still has no plan in place thanks to government inaction. We must urgently address this injustice, otherwise we risk more workers and communities falling through the cracks of a world in transition.

A just transition ensures that workers can be part of the new economy through retraining and other vital measures to protect and redeploy workers. It also means restoring degraded lands, which can create many jobs and a more dignified life for those who live on the land.

A just transition is not just about protecting those who may be negatively affected though. It is also about transforming our energy systems to ensure they are more just and equitable.¹⁰ It should be an engine for transformation to help undo the legacies of inequality, poverty, and injustice. It must be guided by social, racial, environmental, gender and economic justice.

Rather than the widespread privatisation of the energy sector in the hands of multinational corporations, a more socially owned renewable energy future can better ensure the benefits, jobs, and ownership of energy are in the hands of the people and brings energy access to all.

Eskom needs to play a central role in ensuring a transformative and just transition to renewable energy. That does not mean that they are the only ones producing energy, but it does mean they are a key player in the generation, distribution and transmission of renewable energy.



A GREEN NEW **ESKOM**

A transformed Eskom can be at the heart of a renewable energy revolution, where households, companies, communities, municipalities, and Eskom all work together to produce **reliable, affordable, clean, and renewable energy.**

Investing in a **smart grid** can help ensure that renewable energy brings electricity **reliably and affordably** to communities across South Africa.

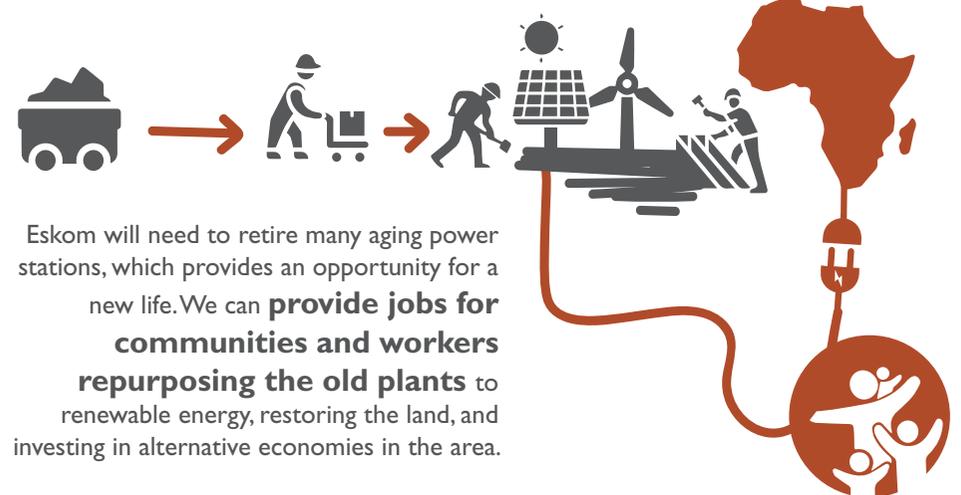
Across South Africa, households, communities and businesses can **benefit from more socially owned renewable energy** and energy efficiency projects creating jobs and making and saving them money.

Batteries and other energy storage solutions like pumped hydro can provide an affordable backup form of energy to ensure that **we always have energy access.**

So that a renewable energy future brings more jobs and benefits to South Africa, **green industrialisation policies** ensure we proudly manufacture renewables and needed components at home.

Transforming our energy sector and economy to be more socially and ecologically just is one of our greatest job opportunities. **Colleges, training centres and jobs programmes** can unlock millions of decent jobs creating a better future for all.

Key to a just transition is ensuring that we do not leave anyone behind. That means we must **retrain and provide jobs and opportunities** for workers and communities from vulnerable sectors like coal.



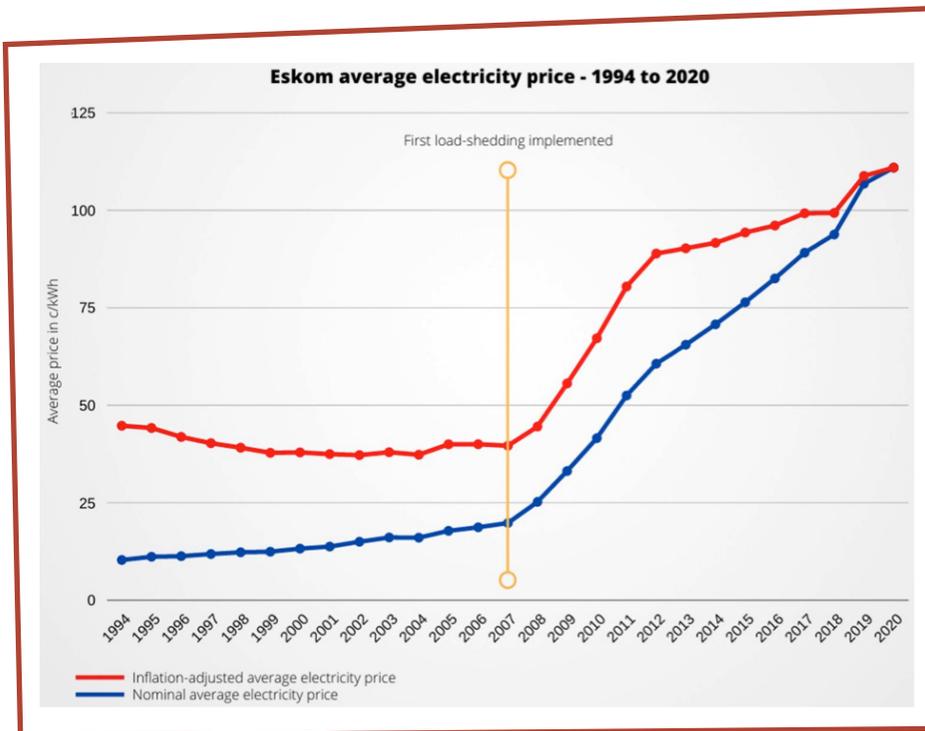
TACKLING CORRUPTION AND SERVING THE PEOPLE

South Africans often get blamed for Eskom's debt, because some municipalities have fallen behind on payments to Eskom. However, the reality is that most of Eskom's debt comes from corruption, mismanagement, and favouring expensive coal over cheaper renewable energy.

Consider that due to corruption and delays, Kusile and Medupi, our most recently built coal power plants, have cost South Africa nearly R500 billion, far more than their initial R80 billion price tag.¹¹ Also, during the 2008 load shedding, investigations show Eskom signed onto R14 trillion in irregular & overpriced coal supply tenders.

Those trillions of rands in corruption vastly outweighs the R50 billion owed in debt by municipalities. In addition, much of that municipal debt also comes from nonpayment due to the unaffordable 400% increase in electricity costs caused by corruption and mismanagement.¹²





Rather than blaming low-income South Africans for the failures at Eskom, we must transform Eskom and ensure it provides affordable, renewable electricity for all. Poor South Africans are not the cause, but rather the victims of Eskom's corruption and skyrocketing electricity prices.

Instead of disconnecting vulnerable citizens and leaving them in the dark, we need to ensure they have sufficient energy access. This includes extending energy access to those without and increasing the free basic electricity grant and ensuring it reaches all for to low-income South Africans. Studies show the grant is insufficient to meet basic needs and is also not reaching millions of poor households who qualify for it.¹³

Rooting out corruption is key to turning Eskom around. Eskom must thoroughly audit all supply contracts to reject all overpriced and corrupt deals and do away with wasteful practices. To avoid future corruption, Eskom must restructure to ensure transparency and accountability.

A transformed Eskom can go from being a national burden, to a national asset. That might seem idealistic, but similar transformations have happened before. Corrupt, mismanaged, indebted utilities have been turned around across the world. We can and must do the same.



THE GREEN INDUSTRIALIZATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

A Green New Eskom can also drive South Africa's green industrialisation creating millions of decent jobs. Government and Eskom policy can ensure our communities, businesses, and factories are leading a green industrial development and building our renewable energy sector at home.

In addition to local production and manufacturing, we also need a mass rollout of solar panels; electric vehicles & charging infrastructure; affordable, electrified mass transit; smart grids; battery & storage technologies; & building efficiency retrofits especially for low-income houses.

To ensure that the people of South Africa can be part of South Africa's green industrialisation, we need to invest in skills and training programmes to upskill our people.

We must also put in place job programs, guaranteeing people decent and dignified work in the transition.

Women and youth are key to this future. We must put gender justice at its core and provide opportunities to our young people. We must also give priority to building skills for vulnerable, coal-dependent regions, and low income, unskilled, unemployed, and rural peoples.

Green industrialisation can be at the core of rebuilding a more socially and ecologically just future, where we put millions to work in tackling our interconnected social, economic, energy, and ecological crises. A Green New Eskom can be a key driver of this transformation.



SYSTEM CHANGE NOT CLIMATE CHANGE

CLIMATE JUSTICE COALITION

Science shows we are already facing dangerous climate change, due primarily to pollution from burning coal, oil, & gas. The UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) warns that we must act rapidly to avoid crossing the vital threshold of 1.5C above pre-industrial levels.¹⁴

If we are to avert some of the worst consequences of the climate crisis, the IPCC shows we will have to rapidly transform our societies. By 2030, the world will need to nearly halve polluting greenhouse gases. By 2050, if not well before, we will have to go beyond net zero - drawing down more than we emit through activities like reforestation and regenerative agriculture.

Eskom as the biggest climate polluter on the African continent must be transformed to run on renewable energy as fast as possible. Doing so will provide zero carbon electricity to help decarbonise other sectors like transport and industry. Eskom can and must go from being Africa's biggest carbon polluter to the engine of economy-wide decarbonisation for South Africa.

At the same time that climate science says we must transform, the inequities in South Africa show we must transform too. As one of the most unequal societies in the world, plagued with deep inequality, poverty, and unemployment. The transformation needed to tackle the climate crisis can and must be the very same vehicle to transform South Africa.

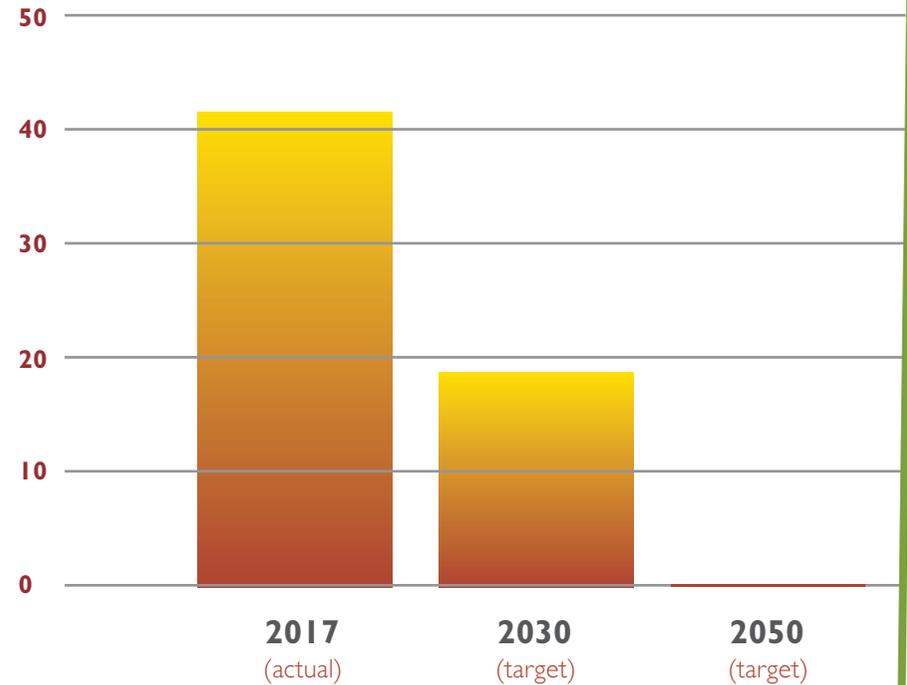
Such a transformation is our greatest opportunity to upend Apartheid's harmful model of economic development that relies on our polluting and exploitative minerals energy complex. In its place we can build a more just, inclusive, and sustainable economy that works for all.

This is South Africa's greatest opportunity for desperately needed change. However, rather than embracing change, we are being locked into a failed status quo by an old guard who prefers polluting patronage and economic stagnation over innovation, job creation & transformation.

TRANSFORMATION NEEDED

Limiting Global Warming to 1.5°C Will Require Deep Emission Cuts

GtCO₂ per year



"PROFOUND SOCIOECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION - THIS IS THE ONLY WAY TO GET TO ACHIEVE A ZERO-CARBON WORLD"

Zwelinzima Vavi - SAFTU General Secretary

Assessing Eskom's Plans

Eskom has realised that it needs to transform and embrace a just transition to renewable energy. They are planning the transition through the leadership of their Just Energy Transition office, who have shared their draft plans for a just energy transition with us.

There are a number of positive elements in Eskom's draft plans that align with demands in the Green New Eskom campaign. Some of the positive elements include:

- ▶ Repurposing and repowering old power plants with renewable energy
- ▶ Implementing socio-economic skills plans and reskilling labs as part of a just transition to ensure communities and workers are thriving and not left behind.
- ▶ Implementing renewable microgrids for communities without energy access
- ▶ Pursuing accelerated emission reductions and air quality improvements.
- ▶ Investing in storage and smart grids
- ▶ Investing in large scale renewable energy
- ▶ Implementing measures to ensure the local manufacture of renewable energy.
- ▶ Exploring ways to finance a just energy transition and restore Eskom's financial stability.
- ▶ Enabling small scale and embedded renewable energy
- ▶ Exploring green hydrogen i.e. using renewable energy to produce hydrogen

That Eskom's leadership has begun to embrace a just transition deserves some celebration, particularly as there are forces within government and Eskom that are resisting such changes. At the same time, here are several elements of concern and/or disagreement we have.

- ▶ Devil in the details – at the level of bullet points, much of the Eskom plan looks good. However, we need to see a more detailed plan to accurately assess it.
- ▶ Scale of privatisation – we worry that the path to renewable energy may be one of heavy privatisation. As such we reiterate the call for a more socially owned renewable future.
- ▶ Implementation – a just energy transition might be derailed by poor implementation, particularly given the state of Eskom. Eskom must ensure robust implementation.
- ▶ Just a transition? – Eskom has committed to a just transition in principle. However, whether it will be truly just remains to be seen. It needs to be just both in terms of procedural justice, ensuring it consults and includes relevant stakeholders. It must also be just in terms of ensuring substantive justice for affected parties.
- ▶ Funding – it is positive that Eskom is seeking ways to fund a just transition. However, we worry that international financiers might enforce harmful structural adjustment measures, rather than enabling a truly just transition.¹⁵ Any funding measures must be progressive.
- ▶ Political Interference – we worry that progress towards a just transition will be blocked by regressive forces. One major obstacle, as the next section details, is the DMRE.
- ▶ Ambition – Eskom is aiming to reach net zero by 2050. We see this as inadequately ambitious and too slow for several reasons, which we elaborate on below.

INADEQUATE AMBITION

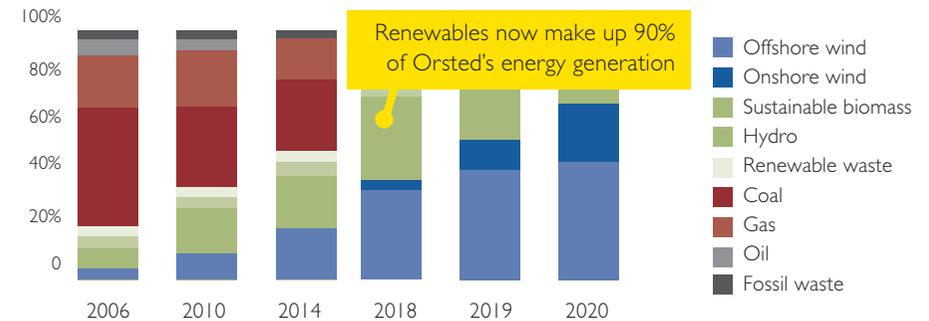
Net zero by 2050 means that by 2050 Eskom aims to be taking more greenhouse gases out of the atmosphere than it is emitting. Eskom has suggested they aim to do this by continuing to burn coal past 2050 and buying carbon offsets to balance out those emissions through projects like reforestation and carbon capture.

Net zero by 2050 for Eskom is far too slow. If the whole country needs to get to zero before 2050 for South Africa's fair share of keeping warming to 1.5°C, then the electricity sector

must transition well before then.¹⁶ Electricity is supposed to be the driver for decarbonising other sectors like transport and industry. It should not be relying on offsets itself to reach zero.

The climate crisis is already here. We need to transition as fast as ethically possible. Not continue polluting for another 30 plus years. Any delays condemn us to deepening climate chaos, and more air, soil, and water pollution from reliance on harmful coal and fossil fuels.

Learning from Orsted's rapid shift to renewable energy



Looking at other state-owned utilities, we see that a much faster transition is possible. Consider the Danish state-owned utility Orsted. Similar to Eskom's current state, back in 2006 Orsted was over 80% reliant on fossil fuels for energy. However, thanks to strong leadership, by 2019 over 90% of Orsted's energy generation was renewable. They are now aiming for 99% by 2025.¹⁷

Orsted made their transition before the stunning drops in renewable energy, which now makes it the cheapest energy on earth. As such, Eskom can and should go as fast if not faster than Orsted. That means reaching 100% renewables well before 2040, rather than after 2050. Our young people who will most feel the effects of climate change are calling for 100% by 2030.¹⁸

Economic analysis shows that by 2030 if not before, constructing and operating new wind or solar will be cheaper than continuing to operate coal plants.¹⁹ As such, rather than subsidizing uneconomic coal, shutting down coal plants early would save lives and money. Money which we can invest in a just transition for coal workers, or in areas like education or healthcare.

Thus, not only should Eskom transition much faster for the sake of the climate and environment. We also need to do so for better economic performance, lower energy prices, and the greater job creation potential that comes with a just energy transition. We need a rapid and just transition, not a slow and unambitious one.

The DMRE's Harmful Energy Future

To build a Green New Eskom, Eskom itself must be transformed. However, the biggest obstacle to change is probably not Eskom itself. Rather, it is the Department of Mineral Resources and Energy (DMRE), under the leadership of Minister Gwede Mantashe.

The DMRE is pushing forward an unjust, unsustainable energy agenda that threatens our economy, our jobs, our land, our lives, our access to reliable, safe, and affordable energy, our climate, our environment, our children's future and so much more.

DEEPENING LOADSHEDDING

While the economics is clear that renewable energy is our most affordable, reliable, and job-creating energy future, the DMRE has rigged the country's electricity plan (the Integrated Resource Plan) to force in expensive and polluting new coal, nuclear and fossil gas.²⁰

Renewable energy is the fastest way to generate new energy and end load-shedding - which **threatens to get much worse**. Yet, for years the DMRE sabotaged renewable energy, refusing to bring online new projects and providing no support to those wanting to generate their own.²¹

Instead of renewable energy, the DMRE is pushing expensive and polluting coal. It is forcing fracking for gas onto water scarce communities, threatening to pollute the little water they have. It greenlights oil and gas extraction off our coast, harming fishing communities and tourism.

CLIMATE DENIAL

Scientific studies show that if we do not use the recovery from COVID-19 to tackle climate change and transition to renewable energy, we will blow our last opportunity to keep warming to the vital threshold of 1.5°C.²² We must act now, or we will face much worse crises to come.

Instead of a green and just recovery from COVID-19, the DMRE's "recovery" plan fast tracks mining for fossil fuels; greenlights foreign-owned, expensive & polluting floating power stations; and invests hundreds of millions into the expensive and polluting lie of so-called "clean" coal.

The climate science is clear that we must move away from fossil fuels if we are to prevent catastrophic climate change. Yet, the DMRE is trying to push forward a massive expansion of oil, coal, and gas all across South Africa - condemning us to deepening climate chaos.

AN UNJUST TRANSITION

Coal dependent workers and communities have long been calling for a just transition to protect them in the transition to renewable energy. Yet the DMRE simply has no plan in place, and is leaving communities and workers sick, unsupported, and stranded, as coal plants close.²³

Unions and communities have also long called for more socially owned renewable energy, where renewables are owned by and benefit communities & workers. The DMRE, however, is privatizing energy and pursuing a polluting agenda which harms communities and workers.



KARPOWERSHIP CORRUPTION

One of the most egregious energy decision by the DMRE comes in the form of powerships – ships that will dock off our ports to provide energy by burning fossil gas on board. Like the ships, which will come from Turkey, the fossil gas will be imported from overseas.²⁴

The DMRE used the crisis of load shedding (a crisis they helped create) to put in place a procurement program called the Risk Mitigation Programme which corruptly favoured powerships. The President's own Economic Advisory Council warned that:

"the widely held view in the industry is that the [Risk Mitigation Programme] is 'extremely complicated' and appears to be specially written for more expensive powerships and gas-to-power projects and to exclude competition from renewables projects".

Confirming the corruption at the heart of the program, bidders who were involved are taking the DMRE to court for blatant corruption.²⁵ The DMRE essentially rigged a procurement programme and corruptly tried to force us into an energy future which is more expensive and polluting.

Powerships are so expensive and polluting that they are typically only used as a last resort by failed states and war-torn countries for just a few years to plug a gap in energy. That South Africa is considering them indicates just how badly the DMRE has ruined our energy space.

What is worse is that the DMRE has locked us into a twenty-year contract that is estimated to cost about R200 billion. That money will go mostly overseas, as the Turkish company behind the project was rather conspicuously granted an exemption to local procurement requirements.

Imagine if instead of sending R200 billion overseas and to corrupted cadres, we invested that money into building out a homegrown renewable energy sector? It could transform our energy space and create tens of thousands of jobs and opportunities for South Africans.

ENERGY AUTHORITARIANISM

While communities across South Africa are saying no to harmful mining and pollution, the DMRE ignores them, and works to undermine their hard-won right to free prior and informed consent. It then intimidates and represses communities who stand up for their right to say no.²⁶

While poor South Africans demand energy access, the DMRE cuts budgets to electrification programs.²⁷ It also corruptly allows hundreds of millions worth of solar water heaters for low-income homes to gather dust in storage facilities, wasting hundreds of millions in storage costs.

Instead of energy democracy based on clean energy and inclusive and sustainable development, the DMRE is pursuing energy authoritarianism based on extractive and polluting mining and energy projects, which benefit an elite few at the expense of the masses.



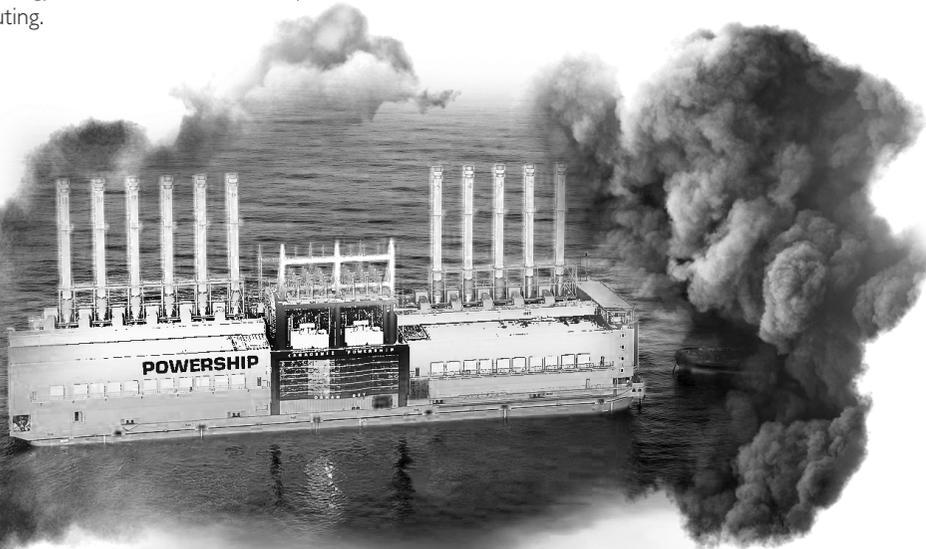
MOBILISING FOR A JUST ENERGY FUTURE

We must overhaul the unjust, exploitative, extractive, undemocratic, harmful Apartheid-era practices of the DMRE. In its place we need development that puts social, racial, economic, gender, & environmental justice at the heart of democratically transforming our society.

For all these reasons and more, the DMRE is the biggest obstacle to a Green New Eskom and to a more socially and ecologically just future. That is why, in addition to targeting Eskom itself, one of the Green New Eskom campaign's primary targets is Minister Mantashe's DMRE.

In September 2021, the Climate Justice Coalition are planning a national mobilisation targeting the DMRE. We will need a massive turn out to move this recalcitrant and unjust institution. Sign up to get updates and support the Green New Eskom campaign at GreenNewEskom.org.

SUBSIDIES AND
BAILOUTS FOR
POLLUTERS,
AUSTERITY AND
DISCONNECTION
FOR THE POOR





ABOUT THE CLIMATE JUSTICE COALITION

The Climate Justice Coalition is a coalition of South African civil society, community-based, and trade union organisations. Together we are working on advancing a transformative climate justice agenda, which works to tackle inequality, poverty, and unemployment that pervades South Africa. We are advocating for a vision of climate justice which advances environmental, energy, gender, racial, climate, and economic justice together. We know that at the root of our climate crisis is a deeply unequal economic system that exploits people and degrades our environment. To ensure climate justice, we must tackle that system and fight the exploitation of people and planet simultaneously. We need a working-class climate justice agenda that works for the many and not just the few. Find out more about the Coalition and our work at ClimateJusticeCoalition.org



ABOUT 350AFRICA.ORG

This pamphlet is produced by 350Africa.org, a global non-profit working to stop the climate crisis by ending the age of fossil fuels in Africa and bringing about a just transition to renewable energy for all. We are part of a million-people strong global climate movement that campaigns through grassroots organising and mass public mobilisation. Climate change will hit Africa hardest so this fight is about climate justice. Many of the poorest Africans, in particular, women and children are already facing more drought, floods and extreme weather that threaten their livelihoods and push food prices up. We believe that an African grassroots movement can hold our leaders accountable to the realities of science and the principles of climate justice. Find out more at 350Africa.org

LIST OF SUPPORTERS OF THE GREEN NEW ESKOM CAMPAIGN

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 350Africa.org | Mining Affected Communities United In Action |
| African Climate Alliance | Makause Community Development Forum |
| African Climate Reality Project | Middleburg Environmental Justice Network |
| Alternative Information and Development Centre | Newcastle Environmental Justice Alliance |
| Amnesty International SA | Nu Climate Vision |
| Bloemhof Electrical | Planet Huggers |
| Bokamoso Anti-Bullying | Progress Nature Conservation Ranger Organisation |
| Youth Support and Home Based Care Organisation | Project 90 by 2030 |
| Botshabelo Unemployed Movement | Rejuvenate Youth Development |
| Centre for Applied Legal Studies | Réseau des Associations pour la Protection de l'Environnement et la Nature (RAPEN) |
| Centre for Environmental Rights | Right 2 Know |
| Climates Africa | Section 27 |
| Designers Medium | Sekhukhune Environmental Justice Network |
| Earth Life | Soweto Action Committee |
| Extinction Rebellion South Africa | Software Colours |
| Fund our Future | South African Federation of Trade Unions |
| Foundation for Youth Empowerment and Advocacy | South African Youth Centre for Climate Change |
| General Industrial Workers Union of South Africa | Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee |
| Global Catholic Climate Movement - Africa | Unemployed Peoples Movement |
| groundWork | United Front - Gauteng |
| Keep Left | Vaal Environmental Justice Alliance |
| Lawyers for Human Rights | Waterberg Women Advocacy Organization |
| Lite Productions | Westside Park Community Crisis Committee |
| M2M Monitoring | Whole Earth Building Foundation |
| | Women Affected By Mining United in Action |
| | Women's Leadership and Training Program |
| | WoMiN |

Frequently Asked Questions:



Why save Eskom?

Many are tempted to say that we should just let Eskom die. We cannot do that though, as Eskom's debt is a national issue, which we do need to solve or risk a debt crisis. Additionally, while some can afford to disconnect from the national grid and create their own energy, the vast majority of South African will still rely on Eskom for the foreseeable future.

How do we pay for a Green New Eskom?

The truth is that it is more expensive to stay locked into our current polluting coal energy regime. Renewable energy is cheaper than coal, and so we would save money by making the shift.²⁸ Additionally, if we rein in corruption and looting at Eskom we could save hundreds of billions of Rands which can be used to fund a just transition. At the same time, Eskom is deep in debt, and is considering innovative funding solutions to fund a just transition. To find out more about their proposed just transition transaction and some of the concerns about how it might play out, visit: <http://bit.ly/350JTTanalysis>

What's wrong with privatization?

While the private sector has a role to play in the transition, the problem is when our energy sector is dominated by multinational corporations who send profits overseas. In several countries there are limits to how much energy can be owned and controlled by multinationals, and policies in place to promote more socially owned energy.

What is socially owned renewable energy?

Socially owned renewable energy comes in many forms, where energy is owned by workers, cooperatives, communities, citizens, municipalities, and the state through entities like Eskom. The aim of social ownership is for the benefits of energy to go to the people rather than to profit multinational companies.

What about nuclear?

Nuclear power produces less carbon pollution than coal or fossil gas. That's why many are opposed to shutting down nuclear early if it is replaced by fossil fuels. However, new nuclear is less job creating, and more polluting, expensive & slower to build than renewables. That's why new nuclear does not make sense compared to renewables.²⁹

What about "clean" coal?

There is no such thing as clean coal. There are some technologies which make coal slightly less polluting, but still very polluting. Those technologies also make coal power much more expensive. With renewable energy already cheaper than coal, building new coal power with expensive added technology, makes no economic or environmental sense.³⁰

Isn't gas a solution?

It depends which gas you are talking about. It is increasingly economic to create green hydrogen gas using renewable energy and water. We are in favour of that and other forms of green gas. However, fossil gas in the form of methane, the kind that is extracted from fracking the earth, is heavily polluting and expensive compared to renewable energy.³¹ As a forthcoming UN Climate Report warns, "expanding the use of natural gas is incompatible with keeping global warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius, a goal of the international Paris Agreement."³² As such, while gas might be needed to help balance the grid for renewables, we need to work to phase out polluting fossil gas and seek out renewable and green sources of gas instead.

Is a renewable energy powered system reliable?

One outdated objection to renewable energy is that it cannot reliably provide power to the grid. However, real life evidence and studies show that advances in renewable energy, grid, and storage technologies make it such that renewable energy systems are actually more reliable than fossil fueled ones, particularly the outdated and unreliable coal power system we have in South Africa.³³

Doesn't renewable energy have environmental impacts?

Manufacturing solar panels, wind turbines and batteries does have some ecological impacts. As such, we must be sure to reduce those impacts, ensure supply chain justice, and implement efficiency measures to reduce energy demands. We must also be careful of some forms of renewable energy like hydro and biomass, which have more significant ecological impacts than solar, wind, geothermal and tidal. However, fossil fuels such as coal oil and gas have orders of magnitude more harmful impacts than renewable energy. So, we must transition from fossil fuels to a renewable energy future as rapidly as possible to reduce the devastating impacts of fossil fuels.³⁴

References:

1. The Case for Turning South Africa's Coal Fields into a Renewable Energy Hub <https://renewafrica.biz/2021/04/15/the-case-for-turning-south-africas-coal-fields-into-a-renewable-energy-hub/>
2. For more about South Africa's One Million Climate Jobs Campaign visit: <http://aidc.org.za/programmes/million-climate-jobs-campaign/about/>
3. *Cancel Eskom's odious debt to the World Bank*, by Jonathan Cannard, Mail & Guardian, <https://mg.co.za/article/2019-08-19-00-cancel-eskoms-odious-debt-to-the-world-bank/>
4. For more about the Deadly Air Case Visit: <https://lifeaftercoal.org.za/about/deadly-air>
5. For more on the call for a Green New Deal for South Africa, read:

The Cry of the Xcluded: We want a radical new deal that provides three million jobs, Daily Maverick, 2020/05/13 <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-05-13-the-cry-of-the-xcluded-we-want-a-radical-new-deal-that-provides-three-million-jobs/~>

To recover from COVID-19, South Africa needs "Green New Deal", Jennifer Wells & Alex Lenferna, Daily Maverick <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-04-24-to-recover-from-covid-19-sa-needs-green-new-deal/>
6. Multiple reports and studies have shown that a renewable energy future is the most inclusive, affordable, and job creating way to reliably ensure energy for all South Africans. Some examples include:

Research by the University of Cape Town's Energy Research Centre available at: <https://www.climate-transparency.org/media/socio-economic-considerations-for-a-paris-agreement-compatible-coal-transition-in-south-africa>

Economic modelling by LUT University in Finland https://www.researchgate.net/publication/335881841_Pathway_towards_achieving_100_renewable_electricity_by_2050_for_South_Africa

Studies by the Centre for Scientific and Industrial Research and Meridian Economics: <https://www.engineeringnews.co.za/article/a-more-ambitious-renewables-roll-out-would-have-major-benefits-for-south-africa-new-study-shows-2020-07-16>

Research by Trade and Industrial Policy Strategies: <https://www.tips.org.za/policy-briefs/item/3804-a-case-for-renewable-energy-in-south-africa-s-post-lockdown-economic-recovery-stimulus-package>
7. Viet Nam has installed 6 coal plants' worth of solar in a year. Douglas Broo in the World Economic Forum online, <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2021/02/viet-nam-solar-power-surge/>
8. *Remaking our Energy Future: Towards a Just Energy Transition for South Africa*, by Project 90 by 2030. <https://190by2030.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Remaking-our-Energy-Future.pdf>
9. Eskom Transformed Report, by Eskom Research Reference Group, 2020 <https://aidc.org.za/eskom-transformed-full-report/>
10. *A Just Transition – our position*, by 350Africa.org, <https://350africa.org/just-transition-a-position-paper/>
11. *Here is the true cost of Eskom's Medupi and Kusile power stations*, in MyBroadband: <https://mybroadband.co.za/news/energy/318251-here-is-the-true-cost-of-eskoms-medupi-and-kusile-power-stations.html>
12. *Eskom electricity prices – 1994 to 2020* by Hanno Labuschagne, <https://mybroadband.co.za/news/energy/362660-eskom-electricity-prices-1994-to-2020.html>
13. *Free Basic Electricity: A Better Life for All*. Earthlife Africa Report Written by Ferrial Adam, 2010 <https://earthlife.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Free-Basic-Electricity-Final-Low-res.pdf>
- PARI Report: Broken Promises – Electricity Access for low-income households, 2021 <https://pari.org.za/broken-promises-good-intentions-bad-trade-offs-and-unintended-consequences/>
14. IPCC Special Report on 1.5°C, 2018, <https://www.ipcc.ch/sr15/>
15. For more details on concerns 350Africa.org has about the proposed just transition transaction for Eskom, visit: <https://350africa.org/350africa-org-reaction-to-proposed-just-transition-transaction/>
16. Climate Action Tracker ranks South Africa' fair share of climate action. <https://climateactiontracker.org/countries/south-africa/>
17. Orsted: How we build a world that runs on renewable energy <https://orsted.com/en/about-us/about-orsted/powering-the-world-with-green-energy>
18. Africa Climate Alliance – Climate Strike Report March 15, 2019 <https://africanclimatealliance.org/hello-world/>
19. Coal is not the answer to the COVID-recession, *Forbes*, Mike Scott, April 17 2020, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/mikescott/2020/04/17/the-coming-covid-19-recession-should-be-no-excuse-for-clinging-to-coal/>
20. Eskom Makes a Leap into the Future on Climate Change, *Business Day*, 2021/02/16 <https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/opinion/2021-02-16-eskom-makes-a-leap-into-the-future-on-climate-change/>
21. Why South Africa's electricity blackouts are set to continue for the next five years, Hartmut Winkler, *The Conversation*, 2021/03/30 <https://theconversation.com/why-south-africas-electricity-blackouts-are-set-to-continue-for-the-next-five-years-155233>
22. *New research suggests 1.5C climate target will be out of reach without greener COVID-19 recovery plans*, H. Damon Matthews & Kasia Tokarska, *The Conversation*, 2021/01/18 <https://theconversation.com/new-research-suggests-1-5c-climate-target-will-be-out-of-reach-without-greener-covid-19-recovery-plans-151527>
23. *Mantashe's dangerous energy agenda is from the Trump playbook*, by Alex Lenferna, Mail & Guardian <https://mg.co.za/article/2019-10-16-00-mantashes-dangerous-energy-agenda-is-from-the-trump-playbook/>
24. Gwede Mantashe condemns us to deepening load shedding, *Daily Maverick* 23/03/2021 <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2021-03-23-gwede-mantashe-condemns-us-to-deepening-load-shedding/>
25. SA energy mafia? Accusations against Gwede Mantashe are serious and could hurt entire South Africa <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2021-05-02-sa-energy-mafia-accusations-against-gwede-mantashe-are-serious-and-could-hurt-entire-south-africa/>
26. 'Still no right to free, prior, and informed consent in South Africa' by Mining Affected Communities United in Action, <https://macua.org.za/2020/10/02/a-decisive-break-from-the-past-still-no-right-to-free-prior-and-informed-consent-for-mining-affected-communities-in-south-africa/>
27. *Mantashe takes from the poor to pollute some more*, by Alex Lenferna, *New Frame*, 2020/08/24, <https://www.newframe.com/mantashe-takes-from-the-poor-to-pollute-some-more/>
28. See endnote 4 for more on why transitioning to renewable energy would save money for South Africa.
29. The multiple studies in endnote 4 show that nuclear is prohibitively expensive for South Africa.
30. *The Myth of "Clean Coal": Why Coal Can Only Ever Be Dirty*, by the Centre for Environmental Rights. 2019, <https://cer.org.za/reports/the-myth-of-clean-coal>
31. *Why natural gas is dangerous for the climate*, *Global Witness*, 2021 <https://www.globalwitness.org/en/campaigns/fossil-gas/why-natural-gas-is-dangerous-for-the-climate/>
32. *Halting the Vast Release of Methane Is Critical for Climate*, U.N. Says <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/24/climate/methane-leaks-united-nations.html>
33. Study: Batteries, solar and wind can easily maintain grid security as coal retires <https://reneweconomy.com.au/batteries-solar-and-wind-can-easily-maintain-grid-security-as-coal-retires/>
34. Does 'green energy' have hidden health and environmental costs? *The Conversation* <https://theconversation.com/does-green-energy-have-hidden-health-and-environmental-costs-52484>

CHANGE IS COMING



**CLIMATE
JUSTICE
COALITION**



**WE
FIGHT
CLIMATE
CHANGE**

350Africa.org