

COP21
Special

LOBBY PLANET Paris



a guide to
corporate COP21

Info on key climate criminals

Maps of lobbying hotspots

Section on COP21 sponsors



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ACRONYMS

APU	Auxiliary Power Unit
BBOP	Business and Biodiversity Offset Program
BECCS	Bio-energy with carbon capture and storage
BNP	Banque nationale de Paris, it took over the bank Paribas in 2000, creating the BNP-Paribas group
BP	British Petroleum
CCR	Caisse centrale de réassurance, entirely owned by the French State and provides insurance to professional insurers dealing with exceptional risks
CCS	Carbon Capture and Storage
CDC	Caisse des dépôts et consignations, French public financial institution
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
CEPIC	Conseil européen de l'industrie chimique, meaning European Chemical Industry Council
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CETA	Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement, referring to the EU-Canada free trade agreement
COP	Conference of Parties, the official name of the UN climate conference
COPA-COGECA	Comité des organisations professionnelles agricoles de l'Union européenne, together with the acronym of the Comité général de la coopération agricole de l'Union européenne, standing for respectively the European Farmers Confederation and the European Agri-cooperatives Federation
CPCU	Compagnie parisienne de chauffage urbain, French private company specialized in urban heating
DB	Deutsche Bank
DTIE	Division of Technology, Industry and Economics, of UNEP
EDF	Electricité de France, the historical French operator in the electricity sector
ERDF	Électricité Réseau et Distribution de France, subsidiary of the French historical operator specialized in the delivery of electricity under 50Kv
ERT	European Roundtable of Industrialists
ETS	Emissions Trading Scheme
EU	European Union
FNSEA	French acronym for Fédération nationale des syndicats des exploitants agricoles, meaning National Federation of Farmers' Unions
GDF	Gaz de France, the french historical operator in the gas sector, merged with the company Suez in 2008, and renamed Engie in 2015
GHG	Greenhouse gas
GM	Genetically modified
GRDF	Gaz réseau distribution France, Engie's subsidiary specialized in gas delivery
IATA	International Air Transport Association
ICC	International Chamber of Commerce
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IETA	International Emissions Trading Association
IIFP-EN	Institut Français du Pétrole-Energies Nouvelles, or French Oil Institute-New Energies
LMVH	Louis Vuitton group, meaning literally "Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy"
MGEN	Mutuelle générale de l'éducation nationale, a french complementary insurance fund for civil servants
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
SEDIF	Syndicat des eaux d'Ile de France, the public water management service for the Région Ile de France
TTIP	Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, referring to the EU-USA free trade agreement under negotiation
UFIP	Union française des industries pétrolières, or French union of oil industries
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
VAT	Value Added Tax
WBCSD	World Business Council for Sustainable Development
WTO	World Trade Organization

INTRODUCTION

The 21st Conference of the Parties (COP) of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the now famous 'COP21', will be held from 29 November to 11 December 2015 in Paris.

This Climate Summit should, theoretically, perfect the new global agreement for after 2020. We know that at least 80 per cent of fossil fuels must remain in the ground in order for the increase in the overall global temperature to remain below two degrees. To achieve this, governments should commit to massive reductions of greenhouse gas emissions, and societies must undergo a profound energy transition by radically changing their patterns of production and consumption.

But companies and their representatives — major industrial and financial lobbies — have an entirely different agenda, and are determined to interfere in the talks in order to protect the status quo. The UN climate talks are a 'greenwashing' heaven: companies spend lavishly to invent dramatic examples of their stellar climate performances, to claim the most virtuous social practices, and to increase their profits.

In fact, their real goal is often even more ambitious. While pretending to fight against climate change, they promote the technological solutions they have designed and wish to finance through subsidies or through the various programmes and agencies mandated to support development, climate mitigation, and adaption to the hazards of climate change in the Global South. These 'solutions' include agrofuels, biotechnology and bioenergy, carbon capture and storage, carbon markets, nuclear power, and geo-engineering (see boxes throughout the report for details).

Instead of averting climate catastrophe, the COPs have increasingly been serving as exhibitions and promotional fairs for the world's biggest environmental criminals. The 2013 Climate Summit in Warsaw reached a peak in the history of corporate climate co-optation, with the Polish Government co-hosting a parallel International Coal and Climate Summit during the same period. Organized together with the World Coal Association, the Summit called for development banks to strengthen their support to the coal industry!

This year, the Climate Summit is taking place in Paris, and the influence of multinational corporations and their lobbyists promises once again to be colossal. French companies have been preparing for COP21 for months, organizing events, trade fairs and

conferences in the run up to and during COP21. Gathered together in projects like 'Solutions COP21' (see page 24), companies such as Engie (formerly GDF Suez), Carrefour, Veolia, Sofiprotéol and Schneider Electric — with the help of public funding¹ — seek public visibility for private sector responses to climate change.

Even before the Summit has kicked off, polluting companies have already become major players in the future climate agreement via the 'Agenda des Solutions', also known as the Lima-Paris Action Agenda (LPAA).² Created in 2014 by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, this agenda has been designed to make polluting industries — toting their technological solutions to climate change — the key partners of states in implementing their corporate 'contributions'.

The French Government, which intends to play a "leading international role" in the birth of this historic agreement, has tried to outsource 20 per cent of the total conference funding to some of the most polluting private companies on the planet.³ The logos of champion polluters Engie, EDF, Renault-Nissan, Air France, BNP-Paribas, Michelin and Suez Environnement are among those that will adorn the walls of the Conference during the two weeks of the Summit.

Defending climate justice means exposing the actions of polluting companies and their lobbies to the public. This guide will propel you into the heart of the apparatus built up around the Paris Summit. It will introduce you to the anti-climate lobbyists and their false solutions, and expose the magnitude of the fossil fuel industry's pressure on governments. It offers a window onto the extent of public subsidies to dirty energy, the multiple public-private collusions, and the numerous forms of speculation on the climate crisis.

But it is important to highlight that this exposé of the influence of dirty industry occurs in the context of resistance. Citizens and communities are battling mega-polluters and their mega-projects, and opposing the 'land grabbing' operations of agribusiness. Communities are breaking away from the dominant production and consumption model and coming up with their own solutions: agroecology, energy cooperatives, relocalization of production and trade, redeployment of public and community transport, local currencies, and so forth.

So please join us 'en route' as we go behind the scenes to discover and demystify the actions and words of companies and their lobbies!

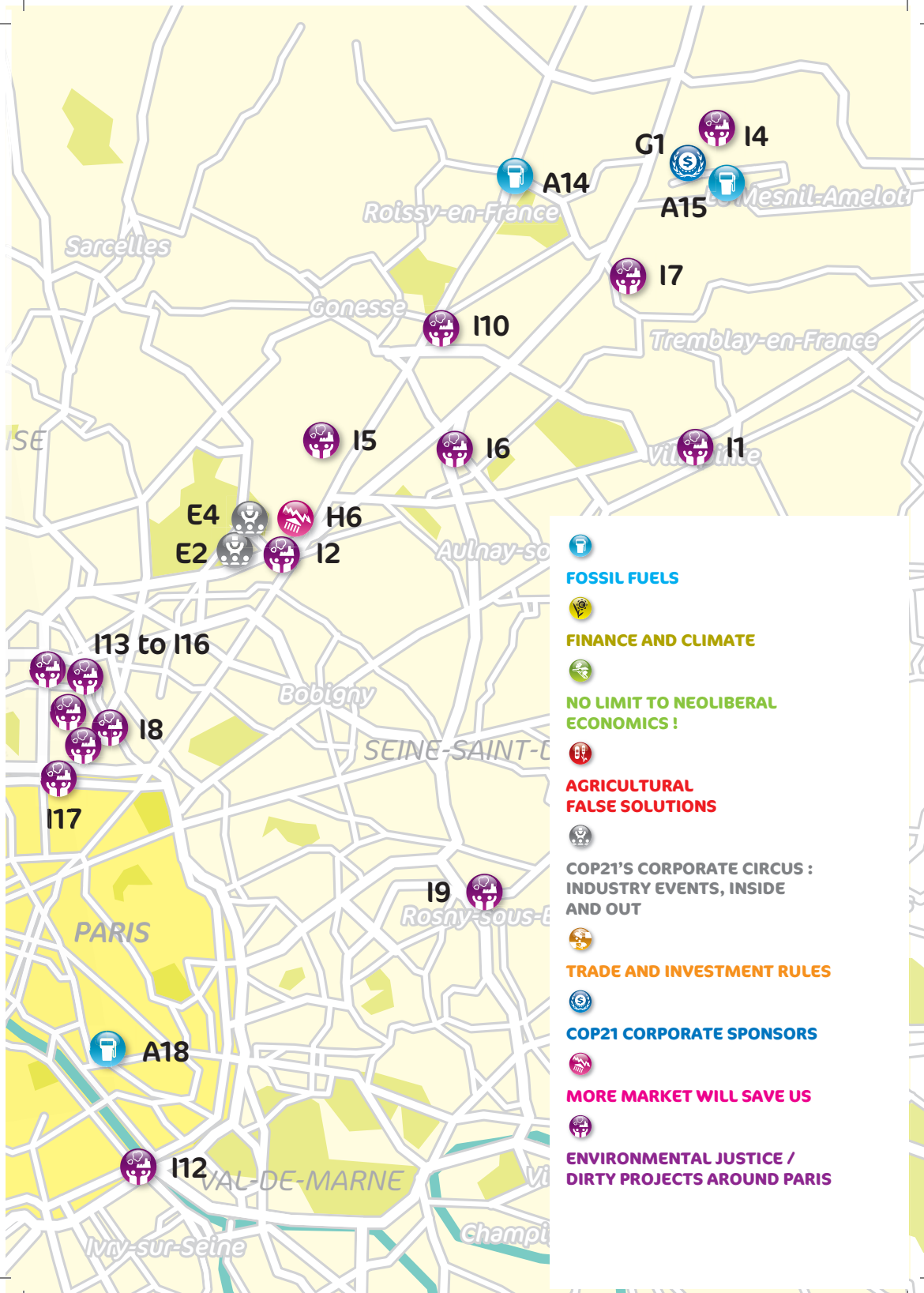
What is there to see in Paris during COP21?

Corporate headquarters, professional lobby associations, polluting public institutions, dirty projects around Paris: here you will find the local addresses of those responsible for climate catastrophe. This Lobby Planet is dedicated to COP21, so we have added the names of the conference sponsors, as well as the major greenwashing events organized by planet-polluting lobbies, intended to pollute our minds.

Watch out for the large concentration of polluters in the areas of La Défense and in the centre of Paris. To zoom in on these neighbourhoods, see pages 16 and 17.

You can find the addresses of these lobbies on pages 18 and 19.





FOSSIL FUELS



FINANCE AND CLIMATE



NO LIMIT TO NEOLIBERAL ECONOMICS !



AGRICULTURAL FALSE SOLUTIONS



COP21'S CORPORATE CIRCUS : INDUSTRY EVENTS, INSIDE AND OUT



TRADE AND INVESTMENT RULES



COP21 CORPORATE SPONSORS



MORE MARKET WILL SAVE US



ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE / DIRTY PROJECTS AROUND PARIS



FOSSIL FUELS

Industrial fossil fuels (oil, gas and coal) are one of the main causes of the climate crisis. However the fossil fuels industry, thanks to its political and economic power and aggressive lobbying, has blocked binding agreements and prevented ambitious international action. The Paris Conference is unlikely to be an exception, with the two French champions of dirty energy — EDF and Engie — in the foreground. Here are some facts about the powerful fossil fuel lobby in Paris.

TOTAL, SHELL, EXXONMOBIL AND OTHER OIL GIANTS

Total

2 Place Jean Muller, 92078 Paris-La Défense.

Shell France

307 Rue d'Estienne d'Orves, 92700 Colombes.

ExxonMobil (Esso) France

5 Entrepont Iris, 92400 Courbevoie, Paris-La Défense.

To prevent the adoption of policies that would promote leaving fossil fuels in the ground and reducing greenhouse gas emissions, top oil companies have actively funded 'climate skepticism' and promoted technological mirages (see Box 2). At the same time, they have consistently denied that it is possible to do without fossil fuels in the short and medium term, and have sought to discredit renewable energy. The CEO of ExxonMobil told his shareholders: "We chose to not lose money on purpose"⁴ to explain his refusal to invest in renewables.

Increasingly criticized by movements like the one calling for fossil fuel divestment, the oil industry's 'climate-friendly' initiatives and declarations have proliferated this year. Yet its proposed 'solutions', such as setting a global price for carbon and pouring massive state aid into carbon capture and storage,⁵ continue to assume the uninterrupted exploitation of fossil fuels and the rejection of any true energy transition, in order to maintain the production and consumption model.

Increasingly, Total, Shell and others choose to hide behind gas, which they do not hesitate to misleadingly present as a 'clean' source of energy (see Box 1). At the same time, these multinationals continue to spend hundreds of billions of dollars to develop new sources of increasingly dirty and risky fossil fuels, such as Canadian oil sands, shale gas and oil, and extreme offshore and Arctic drilling.

Box 1. Gas is not clean energy

Top European oil companies such as Total and Shell have added a new argument to their obstructionist strategies: the promotion of gas, which they present as "the cleanest fossil energy" and as a natural complement to renewable energies. To get this message across, Total and other big energy companies have infiltrated and taken control of the main European wind and solar lobbies.⁶

But gas is neither clean nor good for the climate. This is especially true when it comes to unconventional 'shale gas', which industry and some governments defend as an energy 'transition' fuel to assist during the phase out of the dirtiest energy sources such as coal. In fact, in addition to the risks it entails for environment and health, the extraction method for shale gas — hydraulic fracturing or 'fracking' — involves high methane leakage from the drilling wells. Ultimately, shale gas can be even worse for the climate than coal.⁷

The sole purpose of the top oil firms' 'marketing' offensive is to protect their business assets and their profits. They do not care that they will lock Europe and the world into several additional decades of dependence on fossil fuels, even though a clean energy transition is both feasible and urgent.

Box 2. Carbon Capture and Storage

Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS) intends to capture carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions from power plants and polluting factories and confine them underground (for instance in old mines or exhausted hydrocarbon deposits). Still very far from being operational, the efficiency of this technology has not been proven and it is not applicable on a large scale. Furthermore, it is colossally expensive, can only capture a fraction of CO₂ emissions, and involves major environmental risks (including leakage). Yet the fossil fuel industry continues to champion the technology, using it as an excuse to continue to extract and burn fossil fuels. In sum, CCS is a wasteful diversion of the public funds dedicated to climate solutions, while more efficient alternatives that would initiate the urgently needed structural transition are already available.

Box 3. Climate denial, in actions if not in words

Fearing that action on climate change would threaten their business models and profits, corporations have obstructed processes and denied the existence of the problem ('climate denial') for many years. However, the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD) pioneered the approach of painting big business and dirty industry as part of the solution rather than part of the problem, pushing for business to have a seat at the climate negotiating table. Other corporate groupings slowly caught on to the idea that having an inside presence would enable them to subvert, co-opt and weaken the agenda of the climate talks. And by the time the 1997 Kyoto Protocol rolled around, a shift in corporate campaigns to a seemingly more constructive approach was occurring. In short, corporations smelled money in opportunities like the new market-based mechanisms.

Today, in addition to the myriad of 'sustainable' industry networks and greenwashing groups portraying business as the climate saviour and pushing industry-friendly false solutions, we are also seeing a resurgence of climate scepticism. Big oil companies like ExxonMobil have been — and in some cases continue to be — the main funders of pseudo-scientific climate denial.⁸ But more systematically, we are witnessing abundant climate denialism *in action*, if not in words. For example, decision-makers pretend to be committed to climate solutions but make daily decisions that worsen the crisis; international institutions refuse to jeopardize economic growth by adopting a fossil fuel phase out; and economists propose superficial responses such as carbon pricing in order to preserve the neoliberal economic paradigm. These dangerous and short-sighted approaches also represent denial, not of climate change itself, but of the real action needed to deal with its consequences.

EDF AND ENGIE: THE TWO FRENCH ENERGY GIANTS

Engie

1 Place Samuel de Champlain, Faubourg de l'Arche, 92930 Paris – La Défense.

EDF

22–30 Avenue de Wagram, 75008 Paris.

EDF (Electricité de France) and Engie (formerly GDF Suez) have historically reigned over the French electricity and gas market, and have also considerably expanded their international operations. The French State still holds 84 and 33 per cent of the companies, respectively, and does not hide its intention to take advantage of COP21 to promote its two 'national champions', which are official sponsors of the event.

Although EDF and Engie present themselves as cheerleaders for the green energy transition, they are primarily champions of dirty energies.⁹ For example, only 4 per cent of Engie's production comes from renewable sources; the rest is from gas, coal, nuclear and large dams. Together, EDF and Engie own at least 46 coal plants around the world, which together emit 151 million tons of greenhouse gases each year. Both companies are also involved in oil, coal and gas extraction and shipping. Under its commitment to green energy, Engie is relying on the construction of large and destructive hydroelectric dams, such as the Jirau mega-dam in the Amazon.

The example of EDF and Engie illustrates the type of 'transition' praised by transnationals from the energy sector: change as little as possible, focus on large government-funded projects instead of democratizing and decentralizing energy systems, and transfer the costs of the energy transition to taxpayers and consumers.

Centre des hydrocarbures non-conventionnels

23 Rue Balzac, 75008 Paris.

Devoted to the promotion of shale gas in France, this centre was established in early 2015 by a coalition of major French companies including Total, Engie, Solvay and Suez Environment. French economic interests have had a hard time swallowing the 2011 ban on hydraulic fracking by the French Government, giving this lobby group a very clear goal.

Union Française des Industries Pétrolières (UFIP)

4 Avenue Hoche, 75008 Paris.

UFIP is the association of French oil industry professionals. It has distinguished itself by promoting oil and other fossil fuels consistently and without qualms. The organization still claims that an energy transition is neither necessary nor possible, and that France and the world will continue to massively consume fossil fuels in the decades to come.¹⁰ In the run-up to COP21, UFIP organized its annual Hydrocarbons Day with the theme "The role of fossil fuels in the energy transition".¹¹

AFG (Association Française du Gaz)

8 Rue de l'Hotel de Ville, 92200 Neuilly-sur-Seine.

AFG is the French gas industry's professional association, and it is dominated by Total and Engie. In June 2015 AFG organized a World Gas Summit in Paris, the climax of the large-scale promotional offensive of gas as a 'climate solution' devised by multinational fossil fuel companies (see Box 1).

Institut Français du Pétrole — Énergies Nouvelles (IFPEN)

1-4 Avenue du Bois Preau, 92852 Rueil-Malmaison.

This public research institute is closely related to the fossil fuel industry. It recently added the words 'New Energies' to its name, but this refers not to renewables but rather to carbon capture and storage, shale gas, biofuels and other false solutions perpetuating the age of fossil fuels (see Boxes 1, 2, 5 and False agriculture solutions, p. 23).

Embassies of Norway, the United States and other oil producing countries

Norwegian Embassy in France, 28 Rue Bayard, 75008 Paris.

US Embassy in France, 2 Avenue Gabriel, 75008 Paris.

Despite the climate crisis, fossil fuel producing countries are above all concerned with defending their own economic interests and those of their companies, therefore hampering any ambitious agreement. This is why the Norwegian Government has come to the rescue of Statoil, stressing the need to continue to burn fossil fuels, but in a 'sustainable' way. And this is why the US State Department served Chevron's interests by convincing Eastern European governments to open their doors to shale gas.¹²

Box 4. Geo-engineering

Geo-engineering refers to the deliberate large-scale manipulation of the climate, with the alleged aim of stemming climate change. Technologies are in most cases hypothetical, untested and extremely risky: fertilizing the ocean with iron in order to proliferate CO₂-absorbing phytoplankton; spraying sulfate aerosols in the stratosphere to lower temperatures; and carbon capture and sequestration in the soil, to name but a few.

The mobilization of civil society resulted in the establishment of a (non-binding) moratorium on ocean fertilization in 2009, but the issue continues to be of interest to political and economic leaders.

Geo-engineering entails entrusting global climate control to a small elite of transnational companies and scientists. Its promotion primarily serves to divert attention from the need to quickly and dramatically reduce our consumption of fossil fuels. In France, the National Research Agency encourages the development of so-called 'soft' geo-engineering techniques.

National Research Agency, 50 Avenue Daumesnil, 75012 Paris.

Box 5. False solutions: nuclear energy

The ageing nuclear industry has been denounced for decades due to its unacceptable social and environmental risks, financial costs and radioactive waste. It is now exploiting climate change and playing a 'low carbon' ticket to recapture political and financial support and bring it back from obsolescence. But the reality of nuclear energy is ominous: fossil-fuel intensive uranium extraction (most decidedly not low carbon), associated human rights abuses, and the investment of billions of euros of public money.¹³

Electricité de France (EDF)

EDF, 22-30 Avenue de Wagram, 75008 Paris.

French state-owned utility and nuclear heavyweight EDF brands itself as 'low carbon' and presents nuclear energy as 'CO₂-free'. Its subsidiary EDF Energy is heavily invested in coal, and sued protestors at a UK gas power plant in 2014.¹⁴ These actions rubbish the idea that EDF's pro-nuclear lobbying is about a low-carbon commitment and not just about profit. An example of the industry's spiralling financial costs is a new EDF reactor being built in Normandy, which is running five years late and is 6 billion euro over budget.¹⁵ Yet despite these failings, EDF has considerable sway with pro-nuclear French political leaders.

Areva

1 Place Jean Millier, 92084 Courbevoie.

Areva's uranium mining and the resulting radiation are held responsible for many deaths and diseases amongst the people of Niger. This has only added to the existing woes of the French state-owned nuclear giant: reactor design faults, safety concerns and financial floundering.¹⁶ Yet the company continues to insist that nuclear energy is "safe and competitive".¹⁷

TRANSPORT

The transport sector is one of the world's largest consumers of fossil fuels, but it continues to oppose any climate regulation. It is well represented in the list of official sponsors of COP21, by Renault–Nissan, Air France, and Aéroports de Paris among others.

Automotive: Renault–Nissan, Volkswagen and others

Renault–Nissan

13/15 Quai Alphonse le Gallo, 92100 Boulogne–Billancourt.

Volkswagen

Avenue de la Demi-Lune, 95700 Roissy–en-France.

Cars are a major source of greenhouse gas emissions, but the auto industry has used its economic and political clout to prevent any restrictions on their use. The recent scandal in which Volkswagen falsified its engines' emissions has also highlighted the aggressive lobbying and influence exerted by car manufacturers over their governments, in order to empty environmental regulations of any real ambition. Additionally, independent tests show that fuel consumption and CO₂ emissions are actually much higher than regulators allow.

Volkswagen and its German compatriots BMW and Daimler are among the companies most virulently opposed to the strengthening of passenger car emissions standards in Europe. They vocalize their objections directly and through lobbies such as the European Automobile Manufacturers' Association (ACEA) and the German Association of the Automotive Industry (VDA).¹⁸

Groups such as Renault–Nissan — an official COP21 sponsor — have put forward the electric car as a way to continue to

increase the dominance of the automobile, but the impact of these 'green' cars on the environment and climate is only slightly lower than that of conventional vehicles.¹⁹ In France, the electric car is being promoted by energy producers such as EDF in the hopes of boosting the nuclear power market (see Box 5).

Aviation: Air France and IATA IATA (International Air Transport Association)

19 Boulevard Malesherbes, 75008 Paris.

Air France

45 Rue de Paris, 95747 Roissy Charles de Gaulle Airport.

The expansion of air transport is another major cause of the climate crisis. So far, the industry has escaped any real regulation, despite having faster-growing emissions than those associated with any other economic sector. Both directly and through the influential International Air Transport Association (IATA) lobby group, airlines have managed to put a stop to the EU's proposal to introduce a tax on greenhouse gas emissions produced by international flights.²⁰

IATA also disagrees that civil aviation should be covered by the international climate agreement to be adopted in Paris.²¹ The industry much prefers non-binding commitments and false solutions such as carbon credits and offset mechanisms (see Box 6).

Air France — another official corporate sponsor of COP21 — is a prime user of such mechanisms, and has been blamed for the very negative social and environmental impacts of a reforestation project in Madagascar. This type of destructive project, which is supposed to 'offset' greenhouse gas emissions, in fact only legitimizes the continuation of business as usual in the airline industry.²²





FINANCE AND CLIMATE

Although most major financial players claim to be sensitive to environmental concerns, this has not prevented French banks from investing heavily in fossil fuels and false solutions. Nor has it stopped financial institutions from speculating on natural disasters and biodiversity. New 'greener' financial tools are emerging — such as green bonds — but can they be trusted given the nebulous criteria surrounding this type of investment?

BNP Paribas

16 Boulevard des Italiens, 75009 Paris.

The largest bank in the eurozone, BNP Paribas is among the financial institutions that invest the most in coal (ranking ninth globally, with more than 15 billion euro invested since 2005).²³ Its financial investments in the oil, coal, and gas sectors result in the spewing of 1.36 billion tons of CO₂ per year,²⁴ as much as Japan and its 127 million inhabitants. The bank is also one of those most involved in the financing of nuclear plants worldwide (€13.5 billion between 2000 and 2009).²⁵

Crédit Agricole

Financing and Investment Branch: 9 Quai du Président Paul Doumer, 92920 Paris-La-Défense.

Crédit Agricole invested up to €4.7 billion in coal plants between 2005 and 2014.²⁶ Its investments in the fossil fuel sector make it the planet's most polluting mutual bank (each euro spent is equivalent to the production of one kilogram of CO₂ per year).²⁷ Crédit Agricole has also been criticized for financing two companies, Arch Coal and Alpha Natural Resources, that use 'mountain top removal' technology, a devastating practice that explodes mountains in order to exploit the coal deposits inside.²⁸ On 20 May 2015, during its General Assembly, Crédit Agricole announced that it would stop funding both new mining projects and mountain top removal.²⁹ It will, however, continue to fund large groups in the extractive sector such as BHP Billiton and Glencore.

Engie (formerly GDF Suez)

1 Place Samuel de Champlain, Faubourg de l'Arche, 92930 Paris-La Défense.

In 2014, energy company Engie raised €2.5 billion by issuing a 'green bond'. The money collected was meant to be used

exclusively to finance renewable energy projects and energy efficiency. However, Engie used it to finance the Jirau dam in Brazil³⁰, a project that has been an environmental and human disaster, leading to the destruction of livelihoods, population displacements, deforestation, forced labour, and so forth. The bond might also have been used to finance other large dams, including those on the Tapajós River, one of the few remaining undeveloped areas of the Amazon.

AXA

AXA Investment Managers: Tour B, 100 Esplanade du Général de Gaulle, 92932 Paris-La-Défense.

Speculating on natural disasters is now possible thanks to the introduction of 'cat bonds' (literally 'catastrophe bonds'). Among the companies specializing in this field is insurance firm AXA. How does this financial product work? AXA issues a bond through an investment bank, which is then sold to investors. If the disaster occurs under the terms of the negotiated agreement, investors lose all or part of the invested capital. Otherwise, the investor recovers the initial capital plus the generated interests. In 2011, outstanding cat bonds totalled around US\$11 billion. In 2013, AXA issued bonds to cover industrial damages that could be caused by a storm in Western Europe for a total of 350 million euros.

Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations

Headquarters: 56 Rue de Lille, 75007 Paris.

Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations (CDC) is a French public financial institution with investments in many companies. CDC also manages the Pension Reserve Fund, which is meant to ensure that future generations benefit from social protection. The problem is that this fund, which has 34 billion euros in assets, contributes to climate change through its direct investments in 60 of the world's top 100 oil and gas companies, and in 21 of the world's top 100 coal enterprises.³¹ Oil giant Total, for example, has received more than 130 million euros through this fund.

CDC Biodiversity, a subsidiary of CDC, has embarked on the creation of 'natural asset reserves' by buying up areas with threatened biodiversity. After rehabilitating these areas, CDC Biodiversity transforms its investments into financial assets that can be sold to companies wanting to offset the 'negative effects' of their activities. In short, companies are able to purchase the 'right to spoil' (see Box 6). CDC is one of the targets of a divestment campaign launched by 350.org.³²



MORE MARKETS WILL SAVE US!

The 1997 Kyoto Protocol introduced 'market-based instruments', which have enabled the privatization of a common good: the atmosphere. Carbon markets attempt to put a price on — and profit from — ecological services such as carbon sequestration. Rich countries, pushed by big polluters and their lobbies, have created about 15 national, regional and international 'carbon markets', which basically enable them to win the rights to pollute in one place if they refrain from polluting in another.

Carbon markets have failed to reduce emissions, but have succeeded in enriching the most egregious polluters. Corporate lobbies have been the main architects behind the push for carbon markets, which allow them to profit from pollution, to avoid changing their business models, and to divert focus and resources away from effective policy instruments.

Enel

50 Rue de la Victoire, 75009 Paris.

Enel, Italy's largest power company, is the owner of Endesa, a major Spanish utility with gas and coal mining interests.³³ Enel recently announced that it would be 'carbon neutral' by 2050,³⁴ but a closer look shows that this will not happen via emissions reductions but by offsetting (see Box 6). Enel receives credits under the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), a UN offset scheme, for its 'carbon neutral' hydroelectric dams. This is despite evidence from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) that big hydro can have a larger carbon footprint than coal,³⁵ and in many cases causes social and environmental conflicts. Dodgy accounting by the CDM may allow Enel's official footprint to drop to zero while its real-world emissions rise. Ironically, Enel recently placed fifth in Fortune Magazine's 'Change the World' ranking of businesses.³⁶

Rio Tinto

17 Place du Reflet, 9209 Paris-La-Défense.

Mining goliath Rio Tinto is infamous for its destructive practices and anti-worker attitude: examples include suppression of opposition in Indonesia, creating water scarcity in Mongolia, and endangering species in Madagascar.³⁷ Yet the company hides behind greenwash and voluntary schemes to 'offset'

damage to biodiversity by 'replacing' it elsewhere, aided by corporate partnerships like the Business and Biodiversity Offsets Programme (BBOp).³⁸ In fact, evidence shows that biodiversity offsetting, which monetizes nature and attempts to pass costs elsewhere, can speed up biodiversity loss (see Box 6). Rio Tinto is eager for a green light from the EU and the UN to offset its environmentally-destructive extraction activities.

Deutsche Bank

23–25 Avenue Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 75008, Paris.

Embroided in market manipulation and money laundering scandals, Deutsche Bank has received record fines for breaking the law (for example a US\$2.5 billion fine for interest rate manipulation).³⁹ A long-time advocate of failed carbon markets (see Box 6), its staff were charged for VAT fraud in the EU's failed Emissions Trading Scheme.⁴⁰ For the bank, markets are for gaming, and carbon trading is a way to profit from the climate crisis. Deutsche Bank is interested in making money and not in fixing the climate, as illustrated by the €15 billion it poured into coal between 2005 and 2014.⁴¹

International Emissions Trading Association (IETA)

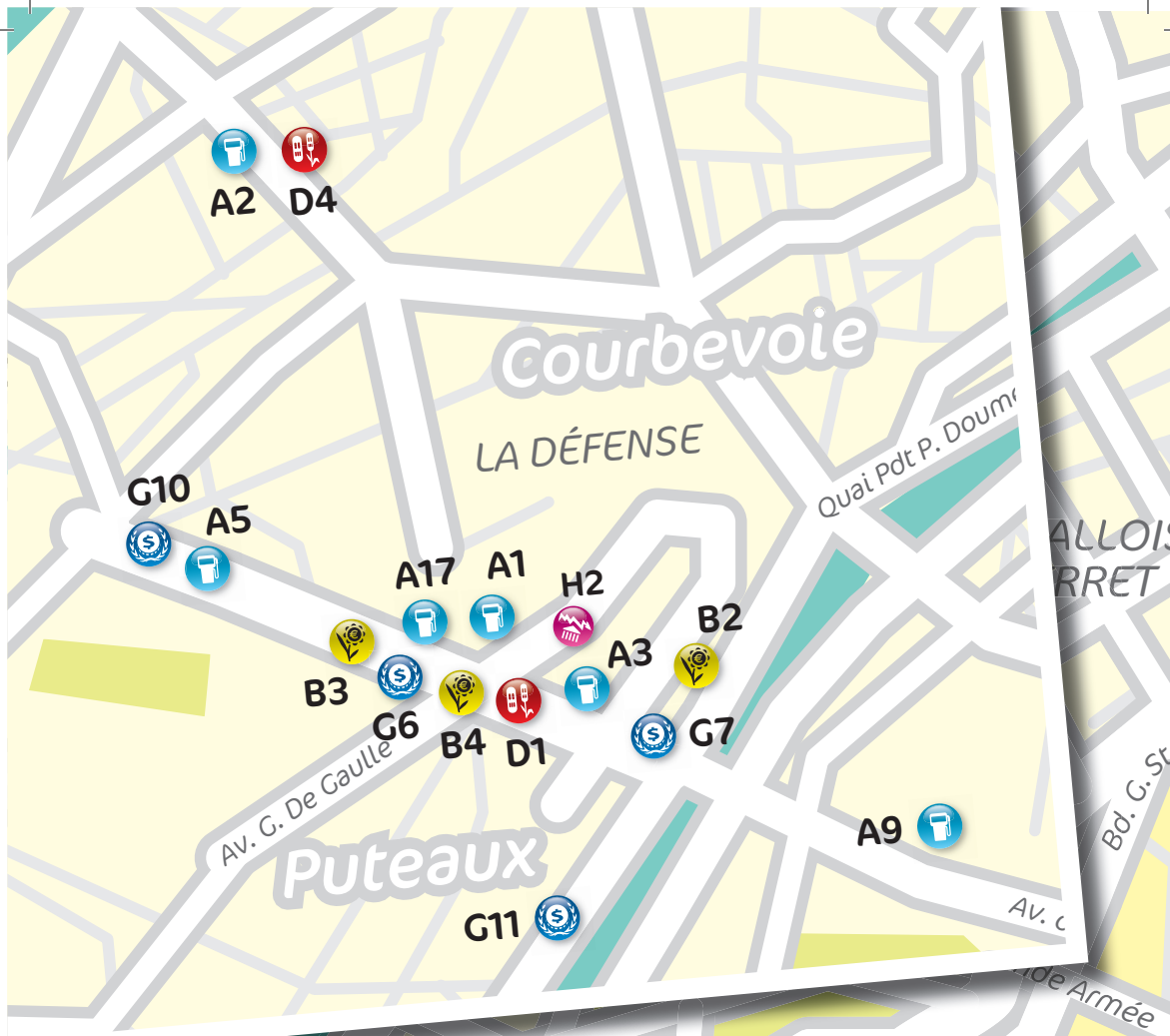
Side event, Le Bourget, 16 December, 16:45–18:15.⁴²

The brainchild of big business (WBCSD, Shell, and Rio Tinto) and the UN Commission for Trade and Development, IETA sends hundreds of delegates to the climate talks, and hosts dozens of events where business representatives can schmooze with decision makers. Its mission is to expand carbon markets across the world, so that companies can pay to keep polluting by buying offsets in poorer countries instead of cutting emissions at source (see Box 6). Members include dirty energy, financial and fossil carbon trading companies including BP, Chevron, BNP Paribas, EDF Trading, and Vattenfall Energy Trading.

International Chamber of Commerce

43 Avenue du Président Wilson, 75116 Paris.

The International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) is one of the largest business lobbies in the world, representing thousands of companies in 130 countries. Presenting itself as beacon of sustainable development, the ICC claims to mobilize expertise, innovation and private sector investment to tackle climate change. In reality, it defends carbon markets as the main response to the climate crisis⁴³ and seeks to ensure the preservation of corporate profits.







FOSSIL FUELS

- A1 Total (Siège social)**
2 place Jean Millier, 92930 La Défense
- A2 Shell**
307 rue d'Estienne d'Orves, 92700 Colombes
- A3 Exxon Mobil / Esso France**
5 entrepont Iris, 92400 Courbevoie, La Défense
- A4 Enel (Siège social)**
50 rue de la Victoire, 75009 Paris
- A5 Engie (Siège social)**
1 place S. de Champlain, Fg de l'Arche, 92930 La Défense
- A6 EDF (Siège social)**
22-30 avenue de Wagram, 75008 Paris
- A7 Centre Hydrocarbures non conventionnels**
23 rue Balzac, 75008 Paris
- A8 Union française des Industries pétrolières (UFIP)**
4 avenue Hoche, 75008 Paris
- A9 Association française du gaz**
8 rue de l'Hôtel de ville, 92200 Neuilly-sur-Seine
- A10 Institut français de pétrole – énergies nouvelles – IFP-EN**
1-4 avenue du Bois Préau, 92852 Rueil-Malmaison
- A11 Ambassade de Norvège / Statoil**
28 rue Bayard, 75008 Paris
- A12 Ambassade des Etats-Unis / Chevron**
2 avenue Gabriel, 75008 Paris
- A13 Renault Nissan (Siège social)**
13 /15 Quai Alphonse le Gallo, 92100 Boulogne-Billancourt
- A14 Volkswagen**
avenue de la Demi-Lune, 95700 Roissy-en-France
- A15 Air France (Siège social)**
45 rue de Paris, 95747 Roissy Aéroport Charles de Gaulle
- A16 Association internationale du transport aérien**
19 boulevard Malesherbes, 75008 Paris
- A17 Areva (Siège social)**
1 place Jean Millier, 92400 Courbevoie
- A18 Agence Nationale de la Recherche**
50 avenue Daumesnil, 75012 Paris



FINANCE AND CLIMATE

- B1 BNP Paribas (Siège social)**
16 boulevard des Italiens, 75009 Paris
- B2 Credit Agricole (Financement et Investissement)**
9 quai du Président Paul Doumer, 92920 La Défense
- B3 Engie**
1 place S. de Champlain, Fg de l'Arche, 92930 La Défense
- B4 AXA (Investment Managers)**
Tour B - 100, Esplanade du Gal de Gaulle, 92932 La Défense
- B5 Caisse des Dépôts (Siège social)**
56 rue de Lille, 75007 Paris



NO LIMIT TO NEOLIBERAL ECONOMICS !

- C1 OCDE**
Chateau de la Muette, 2 rue André Pascal, 75016 Paris
- C2 PNUE – Programme des Nations-Unies pour l'Environnement**
15 rue de Milan, 75009 Paris
- C3 Banque Mondiale**
66 avenue d'Iéna, 75116 Paris
- C4 Chaire d'économie du climat – Paris Dauphine**
Palais Brogniart - 4e, 28 place de la Bourse, 75002 Paris
- C5 MEDEF**
55 avenue Bosquet, 75007 Paris
- C6 CEFIC**
Solvay 25 rue de Clichy, 75009 Paris



AGRICULTURAL FALSE SOLUTIONS

- D1 Yara**
77 esplanade du Général de Gaulle, Puteaux, La Défense
- D2 Monsanto and the Gates Foundation Fleishman Hillard,**
37-39 rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris
- D3 Avril Sofiproteol**
11 rue de Monceau, 75008 Paris
- D4 Shell**
307 rue d'Estienne d'Orves, 92700 Colombes



COP21'S CORPORATE CIRCUS : INDUSTRY EVENTS, INSIDE AND OUT

- E1 Solutions COP21**
Grand Palais, 3 avenue du Général Eisenhower, 75008 Paris
- E2 Sustainable Innovation Forum**
Parc des Expositions Paris Le Bourget, 93350 Le Bourget
- E3 World Climate Summit**
Hotel Potocki, 27 avenue de Friedland, 75008 Paris
- E4 Caring for Climate Business Forum**
Parc des Expositions Paris Le Bourget, 93350 Le Bourget
- E5 Energy for Tomorrow**
Hotel Potocki, 27 avenue de Friedland, 75008 Paris
- E6 WBCSD Council Meeting**



TRADE AND INVESTMENT RULES

F1 American Chamber of Commerce

77 rue de Miromesnil, 75008 Paris

F2 Cercle de l'industrie

5 rue Tronchet, 75008 Paris

F3 Lafarge (Siège social)

61 rue des Belles Feuilles, 75016 Paris

F4 Perenco

7 rue de Logelbach, 75017 Paris

F5 Vattenfall

1 rue du départ, 75014 Paris

F6 Ambassade du Japon

7 avenue Hoche, 75008 Paris

F7 Shearman and Sterling LLP

114 avenue des Champs-Élysées, 75008 Paris



COP21 CORPORATE SPONSORS

G1 Air France (Siège social)

45 rue de Paris, 95747 Roissy Aéroport Charles de Gaulle

G2 Renault Nissan (Siège social)

13 /15 quai Alphonse Le Gallo, 92100 Boulogne-Billancourt

G3 EDF (Siège social)

22-30 avenue de Wagram, 75008 Paris

G4 Michelin

27 cours de l'Île Seguin, 92100 Boulogne-Billancourt

G5 BNP Paribas (Siège social)

16, boulevard des Italiens, 75009 Paris

G6 Engie (Siège social)

1 place S. de Champlain, Fg de l'Arche, 92930 La Défense

G7 Suez Environnement (Siège social)

16 place de l'Iris, 92400 Courbevoie

G8 Caisse des Dépôts (Siège social)

56 rue de Lille, 75007 Paris

G9 Generali

11 boulevard Haussmann, 75009 Paris

G10 AXA (Siège social)

313 terrasse de l'Arche, 92727 Nanterre

G11 Blue solution, Bolloré

Tour Bolloré, 31-32 quai De Dion-Bouton, 92811 Puteaux

G12 Aéroports de Paris

291 boulevard Raspail, 75014 Paris



MORE MARKET WILL SAVE US

H1 Enel (Siège social)

50 rue de la Victoire, 75009 Paris

H2 Rio Tinto

17 Place des Reflets, 92400 Courbevoie, La Défense

H3 Deutsche Bank

23-25 avenue Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 75008 Paris

H4 Epex Spot

5 boulevard Montmartre, 75002 Paris

H5 International Chamber of Commerce (ICC)

43 avenue du Président Wilson, 75116 Paris

H6 International Emissions Trading

Association (IETA)

Parc des Expositions Paris Le Bourget,

Side Event, 93350 Le Bourget



ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE / DIRTY PROJECTS AROUND PARIS

I1 Centre d'expos Paris Nord Villepinte (Vipa-

ris/Unibail-Rodamco)

ZAC Paris Nord 2, 93420 Villepinte

I2 Le Bourget

Parc des Expositions Paris Le Bourget,
Carrefour Charles Lindbergh, 93350 Le Bourget

I3 Centrale charbon CPCU à Saint-Ouen

Docks de Saint-Ouen, 93400 Saint-Ouen

I4 Aéroport de Roissy

Paris-Charles De Gaulle, 95700 Roissy-en-France

I5 Aéroport du Bourget

Aéroport de Paris - Le Bourget,
180 esplanade de l'Air et de l'Espace, 93350 Le Bourget

I6 Centre commercial : Parinor

O'Parinor Le Haut de Galy, 93600 Aulnay-sous-Bois

I7 Centre commercial : Aéroville

Aéroville 30 rue des Buissons, 95700 Roissy-en-France

I8 Centre commercial : le Millénaire

23 rue Madeleine Vionnet, 93300 Aubervilliers France

I9 Centre commercial : Rosny2

Avenue du Général de Gaulle, 93110 Rosny-sous-Bois

I10 Centre commercial : Projet Europacity

EuropaCity, La Patte-d'Oie de Gonesse, 95500 Gonesse

I11 Incinérateur Saint-Ouen

Docks de Saint-Ouen, 93400 Saint-Ouen

I12 Incinérateur Bercy

43 rue Bruneseau, 75013 Paris

I13 Data center d'Aubervilliers/La Plaine

45 avenue Victor Hugo, 93300 Aubervilliers

I14 Data center d'Aubervilliers/La Plaine

10 rue Waldeck Rochet, 93300 Aubervilliers

I15 Data center d'Aubervilliers/La Plaine

34 rue des Gardinoux, 93300 Aubervilliers

I16 Data center d'Aubervilliers/La Plaine

11-13 avenue Arts et Métiers, 93200 Saint-Denis

I17 Autoroute A1

Porte de la Chapelle, 75018 Paris

EPEX SPOT

5 Boulevard Montmartre, 75002 Paris.

The European Power Exchange, EPEX SPOT, is an energy exchange (ie a trading centre for electricity spot contracts, or agreements of immediate sale) for Germany, Austria, France, Luxembourg and Switzerland. Electricity spot markets, which allow speculation and gambling on electricity as a financial asset at all hours of the day, are rapidly expanding. Trading electricity on a spot market provides new opportunities for energy multinationals, banks and financial investors to play with our energy and our lives, and constitutes a new obstacle for implementing energy transition policies.

Box 6. Unjust offsets and failed markets

What is carbon emissions trading?

Carbon emissions trading targets carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases by setting a quantitative limit on the emissions produced by polluters. Countries and companies can trade in order to meet their emissions reduction obligations (as specified by the Kyoto Protocol in the case of countries). A country or company with higher carbon emissions can purchase the right to emit more, whilst a country or company with lower emissions can trade the right to emit carbon to other countries or companies.

The EU Emissions Trading Scheme

The European Union's Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS) is still presented by the European Commission as the 'best tool' to combat climate change. In reality, it is structurally flawed and should be abolished so that genuine climate policies can enter into legal force.⁴⁴

Successful lobbying by industry has ensured that the EU's flagship climate policy — and the world's largest carbon market — is so full of loopholes that polluters can avoid making any domestic emissions cuts. Trading 'permits to pollute' (given for free), which are limited by an overall cap (so high as to be useless), has enabled industry to reap massive windfall profits. Furthermore, industry passes the costs of the free emission permits on to consumers as if they had been paid for. The ETS has utterly failed the climate, but has generously lined the pockets of polluters.⁴⁵

A global carbon market

The corporate push for a global carbon market is stronger than ever, but combining different national and regional schemes, each with different social, environmental and carbon accounting standards, will quickly lead to a global race to the bottom. Polluters in the Global North have shown they are far keener to pay for dodgy offsets in poorer countries than they are to cut emissions at source. The call for a global carbon market is also a tactic to include 'competitors' from countries in the Global South (via sectoral programs), regardless of their historical responsibility. This is unacceptable, as it ignores the necessity for climate justice.

Carbon offsets and the Clean Development Mechanism

A carbon offset is a reduction in emissions of greenhouse gases made in one place in order to offset an emission made elsewhere. There are two markets for carbon offsets. In the larger market, companies, governments and other entities buy offsets in order to comply with caps on the total amount of carbon dioxide they are allowed to emit. In the much smaller voluntary market, individuals, companies, and governments purchase offsets to mitigate their own greenhouse gas emissions on a voluntary basis.

The UN's biggest carbon offset scheme, the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), encourages rich countries and corporations to pay for carbon credits, mostly generated by large-scale projects in southern countries. Yet many CDM projects do not represent additional reductions to what would have happened in the absence of the scheme. As well as failing to achieve emissions 'savings', projects receiving CDM credits — including coal plants, large wind and hydro projects, and monoculture plantations — often have negative impacts for local communities and their environments.

Biodiversity offsetting

Extending the broken logic of carbon offsetting to biodiversity — which is invaluable and irreplaceable — is the next item on the dirty industry wish list. Business is seeking carte blanche for environmental destruction through the fallacious notion that natural habitats can be 'replaced' elsewhere. The evidence shows that biodiversity offsetting can in fact increase biodiversity loss, while at the same time undermining the abilities of communities to resist destructive projects.⁴⁶



NO LIMIT TO NEOLIBERAL ECONOMICS!

International institutions, neoliberal economists, and the majority of governments repeat ad nauseam that it is urgent to give carbon a price in order to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and trigger the energy transition. Introducing a carbon price signal in the economy sounds so magical that it is hard not to endorse it: by giving a price to pollution, costs will increase for the most polluting technologies. This will boost green technologies and encourage economic actors to reduce pollution and invest in 'green solutions'. Problem solved! It will no longer be necessary to question economic growth policies or the material foundations of the global economy. In short, using this blinkered thinking, markets can solve the problem they have helped to create, despite all the evidence pointing in the other direction (see Box 6).

Portraying a carbon price as the silver bullet to our problems is a way for corporations to ensure that market signals rather than government targets determine how we tackle the climate crisis. It is supposed to allow business to cut carbon in the most cost-effective way (i.e. the cheapest), but the narrow focus on carbon means that social, environmental and wider economic concerns or benefits are not part of the equation. Instead businesses can choose whichever technologies best correspond to their existing business models or create the least costs for them (regardless of the costs to people and the planet). This opens the doors to dangerous technofixes like CCS, BECCs, agrofuels, nuclear etc (see Boxes 2, 5 and p. 23). The real battle behind the push for a price on carbon is around regulation — will governments and the public be able to decide which policies are part of our climate future, or will this be left in the hands of corporations and the market?

OECD

Château de la Muette, 2 Rue André Pascal, 75016 Paris.

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)⁴⁷ brings together the world's richest countries operating in the market economy. For over forty years, in report after report, the OECD has explained that there is no fundamental contradiction between the expansion of world trade, economic growth and environmental protection, including the fight against climate change.

The OECD is a major force for neoliberalism, free trade and unfettered markets. Its analyses have had a great impact on national policies that have enabled the rich to get richer as the poor get poorer, while natural resources are depleted and the environment is ravaged. For the OECD, there is no alternative to economic growth policies that encourage endless consumption and profits. The institution is a major force exacerbating climate change and blocking the transition to a fair and sustainable low-carbon world.⁴⁸

Box 7. Trading 'green' goods

The OECD is one of the strongest supporters of the Environmental Goods Agreement⁴⁹ currently being negotiated between 17 countries and regions, under the premise that trade liberalization in 'green' goods and services will enable us to solve the climate crisis. Through this, nature and its processes become a commodity.

Not only do these negotiations ignore the carbon footprint of increased production and trade in industrial products, be they 'green' or otherwise, but they are also being used as an excuse for some countries to promote free trade in products with deeply questionable benefits for the climate (such as aircraft engine parts, agrofuels and nuclear technology components).

UNEP – United Nations Environment Programme

15 Rue de Milan, 75009 Paris.

Created in 1972, UNEP⁵⁰ is the highest environmental authority within the United Nations system. While it is officially responsible for coordinating UN activities in the field of environment, it is increasingly guided by the conventional reflexes of the neoliberal environmental economics that guide the bulk of international policies. This was clearly demonstrated in a 2009 joint report with the WTO⁵¹, published ahead of COP15 in Copenhagen, which stressed that there were no major contradictions between the continued expansion of free trade and the fight against climate change. UNEP's Division of Technology, Industry and Economics (DTIE), which includes an Economics and Trade branch, is based in Paris and plays a major role in the neoliberalization of UNEP and in the reports it produces.

World Bank

66 Avenue d'Iéna, 75116 Paris.

The World Bank is one of the largest contributors to the development of fossil fuels. It increased its support to the sector by more than four times both between 2000–2004 and between 2010–2014.⁵² It still provides 1.5 times more funding to fossil fuels than to renewable energy, including the funding of dirty projects in the least developed countries. The Bank recently launched a new global initiative called “It’s Time to Put a Price on Carbon” in alliance with banks (AG2R, BNP, Deutsche Bank, etc.), polluters (Airbus, Air France, Arcelor Mittal, BP, DuPont, Engie, Lafarge, Rio Tinto, Shell, Statoil, Unilever, Veolia, Yara, etc.) and Heads of State (including Angela Merkel and François Hollande).⁵³ Climate change policies should be cost-effective according to the World Bank,⁵⁴ and carbon pricing is the way to exclude non-cost-effective climate policies. Carbon pricing is promoted by the World Bank as a way to continue ‘business as usual’ without addressing the root causes of global warming.

Climate Economics Chair: University of Paris–Dauphine

Palais Brongniart, 4th floor, 28 Place de la Bourse, 75002 Paris.

The Climate Economics Chair represents economists at the service of multinational companies. Funded by Total, EDF, Engie, the European Regional Development Fund, Gaz Réseau Distribution France (GRDF), Michelin, Invivo, Amundi, Solvay, Sofiproteol and CDC Climat, the Climate Economics Chair⁵⁵ of the University of Paris–Dauphine is one of the staunchest proponents of the introduction of a global and unique carbon price, and of the development of market mechanisms and carbon finance for global climate governance. Christian de Perthuis from the Climate Economics Chair of Paris–Dauphine, in alliance with Jean Tirole (Toulouse School of Economics and Nobel Laureate 2014), launched a call to include the principle of a single carbon price for the world market⁵⁶ into the future Paris Agreement, a prelude to the establishment of an integrated global carbon market (see Box 6).

Box 8. Cross-sectoral business lobbies: MEDEF, BusinessEurope and the ERT

MEDEF

55 Avenue Bosquet, 75007 Paris.

MEDEF, a French cross-sectoral business lobby, has been ranked among the worst business lobbies due to its active fighting against regulation to protect the climate. The organization also supports shale gas exploitation and weak EU CO₂ reduction targets, and has resisted a law on the energy transition in France.⁵⁷ MEDEF is the French member of BusinessEurope (BE), one of the most regressive forces on climate policy at the EU level. BE torpedoed the EU’s 2030 climate targets, watering down ambition and securing handouts for industry for bogus costs. Its success stems from privileged access to EU policymakers: when the 2030 targets were being finalized, BE held a one-day meeting, complete with a cocktail party, for its corporate members inside the European Commission headquarters. 18 company CEOs, including Arcelor–Mittal and GDF Suez, were joined by then Commission President Barroso, two Commissioners, and four Commission Directors–General. Ultimately, BE got its anti-climate action agenda across, and its messages were reflected in the final text.⁵⁸

Another powerful pro-big business, anti-climate lobby is the European Roundtable of Industrialists (ERT), a group of Europe’s biggest CEOs. Founded in 1983 in Volvo’s Paris boardroom, ERT puts industrial competitiveness above climate action, and has political leaders in its pocket. Last year for example, ERT members dined with Hollande, Merkel and Barroso in Paris to ensure that climate action didn’t get in the way of the industry renaissance in Europe.



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FALSE AGRICULTURAL SOLUTIONS

Climate change will make achieving food security and food sovereignty more difficult. Yet instead of focusing on agroecology and local food systems that empower people, cool the planet, preserve biodiversity and foster food sovereignty, big agribusiness is pushing climate-unfriendly technological fixes that will keep the power in their hands.

International public institutions including the UN World Food Programme and the World Bank developed the 'Climate Smart Agriculture'⁵⁹ approach together with agrifood companies seeking new legitimacy for their damaging practices. Various corporations that drive deforestation, biodiversity loss, soil degradation and water pollution through industrial-scale farming, monocultures and Genetically Modified (GM) crops have seized the opportunity to rebrand themselves as 'climate smart'.

These companies are bringing fertilizer-intensive agriculture into the 'profitable' parts of climate change: carbon markets and offsets.⁶⁰ They are pushing GM seed, making farmers dependent on seeds and pesticides from biotech giants like Monsanto. GM is not a climate solution, but a real world failure that increases chemical use and the erosion of the seed diversity that will be crucial in adapting to climate change. Bioenergy Carbon Capture and Storage (BECCS) is another false solution that has been gaining ground. Replacing fossil fuels with biomass, BECCS power plants would capture emissions and pump them underground. But demand for bioenergy (including agrofuels) drives deforestation, more fertilizer use, land grabs, human rights abuses and biodiversity loss. Furthermore, CCS is a prohibitively expensive, uncertain and unviable technology (see Box 2).⁶¹

Monsanto and the Gates Foundation

Fleishman Hillard, 37-39 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris. Fleishman Hillard are hired guns employed by Monsanto to lobby for them at the EU level. GM seed giant Monsanto has teamed up with the Gates Foundation to push GM crops (and the Monsanto-made toxic herbicides they're resistant to, like Roundup) as a climate solution. Gates has big shares in the company, claiming GM is needed to fight starvation, and his Foundation has given it millions. Yet Gates denies a conflict of interest.

Yara

77 Esplanade du Général de Gaulle, 92800 Puteaux.

Fertilizer giant Yara, as part of the Global Alliance for Climate Smart Agriculture, insists that chemical fertilizers are climate-friendly and enable 'sustainable intensification'. Fertilizer production requires lots of fossil energy, which explains Yara's pro-shale gas position. Fertilizers pollute land and water, harm health, and produce nitrous oxide (N₂O), a greenhouse gas 300 times worse than CO₂. On top of it all, Yara wants its polluting practices to qualify for climate finance—money intended to help with climate mitigation or adaptation—thus diverting public money from real solutions.

Avril Sofiproteol

11 Rue de Monceau, 75008 Paris.

France's leading agrofuels producer, Avril is also involved in GM development and industrial animal feed. CEO Beulin Xavier is simultaneously head of the powerful French agro-industry lobby FNSEA, and so close to President Hollande that he is known as the Shadow Agriculture Minister! In collaboration with EU agribusiness lobby Copa-Cogeca, Avril has successfully pushed destructive agrofuels at the EU level.

Shell

307 Rue d'Estienne d'Orves, 92708 Colombes.

Shell's Climate Change Advisor David Hone takes the line that continuing to use fossil fuels until the end of the century is no problem, because "as illustrated in the IPCC 5th Assessment Report, [it can be] offset by bio-energy and CCS (BECCS) elsewhere".⁶² The IPCC has opened the door to this dangerous myth, thanks to increasing influence from climate economists and pressure to present 'policy optimism'. For Shell, BECCS is a convenient excuse to keep burning fossil fuels; the company argues that burning 'carbon neutral' biomass and then using CCS to store the emissions underground would make the process carbon negative. However, evidence undermines the carbon-neutrality of biomass,⁶³ and the vast quantities of bio-energy required would fuel the mass conversion of land for energy crops, driving land grabs, food price hikes, and threatening the livelihoods of millions.





COP21'S CORPORATE CIRCUS: INDUSTRY EVENTS, INSIDE AND OUT

COP21 will be riddled with corporate events where big business and dirty industry will push their cleverly-marketed and profit-motivated agendas to get policymakers on their side. A combination of greenwashing, techno-fixes and market-based 'solutions' are on the menu. Here's a taste of what's on offer:

Solutions COP21

4–10 December

Grand Palais, 3 Avenue du Général Eisenhower, 75008 Paris.

Organized by the not-so-sustainable development networks Club France Développement Durable and Comité 21, the 'Solutions COP21' expo is expected to draw some 50,000 visitors. Partners pay big money for positive visibility and privileged access to climate policymakers. They include Engie (see pages 11 and 14), Avril Sofiprotéol (page 23), Suez Environment (page 11) and Renault-Nissan (page 13).⁶⁴

2 December: the 'Trophies for Climate Solutions' will be awarded at World Efficiency's 'Solutions Gallery' in Le Bourget. Solutions COP21 will also have its own networking area in Le Bourget, the COP21 venue.

4 December: the 'Winners Conference' for the Climate Solutions Trophies will take place at the Grand Palais.⁶⁵

Sustainable Innovation Forum

7–8 December

Parc des Expositions, Le Bourget.

COP21's biggest official side event is organized by UNEP and Climate Action. It will be a big business bonanza with sponsors and speakers including BMW and fossil fuel/nuclear energy giant Vattenfall (see page 26). With partners like the International Emissions Trading Association (see page 15) and the International Chamber of Commerce (see page 15), expect a heavy push for carbon markets and an emphasis on how private sector 'innovation' will save the world. A great opportunity for 'networking' between profit-motivated corporates and the officials tasked by the public to make a just and ambitious climate deal.⁶⁶

Numerous other business events are happening in and around COP21, including:

- *World Climate Summit, 6 December, Hotel Potocki.* Tickets cost US\$1100 for World Climate Ltd and Sustainia's schmoozefest of "high-level business, finance and government officials", followed by an evening awards ceremony.⁶⁷ 2014's World Climate Summit at the Lima Hilton attracted hundreds of protestors calling for "system change not climate change".⁶⁸
- *Caring for Climate Business Forum, 7–8 December, Le Bourget.* Organized by the UN Global Compact, which continues to provide privileged access to big business at this invite-only event.⁶⁹
- *World Business Council on Sustainable Development (WBCSD) 'Council Meeting', 7–10 December, venue to be confirmed.* This event, "exclusively for WBCSD members and invited guests", will bring politicians and corporate big shots together to profile 'solutions' like CCS, Climate Smart Agriculture and agrofuels (see Boxes 6 and 9).⁷⁰
- *Energy for Tomorrow, 8–9 December, Hotel Potocki.* Sponsored by Total, Renault-Nissan and AmCham France, tickets are €1,200 for this event put on by the New York Times and the WBCSD.⁷¹

Box 9. Business and Climate Summit

In May 2015, UNESCO's Paris headquarters hosted a "forum for business and government leaders",⁷² sponsored by dirty industry players ArcelorMittal, EDF (see page 10), Engie (see page 11), and Total (see page 11). A champagne lunch and cocktail reception was combined with keynotes from President Hollande and his ministers. Guests were also treated to speeches by the CEOs of dozens of polluting companies, including Statoil, RWE, Total, BNP Paribas (see page 14), Glencore, LaFarge and Engie. Summit partners included the UN Global Compact, the International Chamber of Commerce, the WBCSD, MEDEF (see page 22), and Europe's notoriously anti-climate chemicals lobby CEFIC. CEFIC, which is chaired by the CEO of chemicals firm Solvay and is a vocal promoter of shale gas,⁷³ reportedly used its sponsorship of the Summit to water down the messaging of the event and remove references to science in the speakers' notes!⁷⁴

Solvay, 25 Rue de Clichy, 75009 Paris.



TRADE AND INVESTMENT RULES

The international rules of trade and investment have been crafted over the past 500 years to help multinational companies grab the planet's natural resources. Throughout the colonial era and the modern capitalist expansion, western powers have used all conceivable arguments and pressures — and sometimes even the military — to ensure that their corporate jewels enjoy unrestricted access to natural resources.

Many industrial lobbies advocate the further liberalization of trade and investment in the energy sector, for example through the negotiation of transatlantic treaties like the EU-US Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership deal (TTIP). Their goal is to raise all US restrictions on the export of goods and services, including crude oil and gas in order to ensure maximum sales on the European market and vice-versa.

Laws on trade and investment have direct impacts on climate, as they grant large companies a range of exclusive privileges that guarantee their undisputed control of the planet's energy, mining and biological resources.

American Chamber of Commerce

77 Rue de Miromesnil, 75008 Paris.

The French branch of the American Chamber of Commerce, one of the world's most powerful business lobbies, is in Paris. Its Board of Directors includes ExxonMobil France, General Electric France, Lafarge and BNP Paribas.⁷⁵ Since 2013, 'AmCham' has been very active in promoting transatlantic trade treaties. In France alone, it has organized or co-organized 12 events to convince the public and local decision makers of the supposed 'benefits' of .⁷⁶ But AmCham wants TTIP to lift export restrictions for crude oil and gas! The Chamber of Commerce also took advantage of the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA, between Canada and the EU) and the TTIP negotiations to encourage Washington to lobby Brussels to weaken the European Fuel Quality Directive, which sought to limit the use of the most polluting oils, claiming it would interfere with trade.⁷⁸

Le Cercle de l'Industrie

5 Rue Tronchet, 75008 Paris.

French companies' main lobby group active in Paris and Brussels, Le Cercle de l'Industrie is chaired by the CEO of Areva, Philippe Varin, and assisted by a prestigious honorary

Chairman: Pierre Gadonneix, Chairman of the World Energy Council.⁷⁹ It is therefore not surprising that the group campaigns for the conclusion of a transatlantic treaty with ambitious energy provisions,⁸⁰ meaning more oil and gas produced and exported from the US.

Box 10. International trade against climate

The WTO and bilateral free trade agreements have engraved trade liberalization and investment protection law in stone. The Geneva-based WTO for example does not tolerate any political measures from its members that would result, even indirectly, in restricting trade flows. Bye bye to the laws and moratoria ordering an end to oil and gas extraction, and to taxes or customs duties likely to penalize fossil fuels in favour of renewables!

Moreover, the WTO doesn't accept any differentiation between local economic actors and foreign investors. These conditions make it difficult to initiate tax or subsidy policies targeting SMEs and local cooperatives.

Finally, the WTO has the only binding jurisdiction in the field of international economic regulation, and it allows one government to demand trade sanctions against another whose public policies are claimed to contravene trade rules. Thousands of bilateral investment agreements and more and more bilateral trade agreements include an even more dangerous invention: Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) mechanisms. This tool allows a foreign multinational company to sue a government on the pretext that a political decision (which could be in the health, social or environmental area) has 'directly or indirectly expropriated' all or part of its profits, including its anticipated earnings.

We need strong public action to respond to the climate crisis. Governments and businesses must be made to limit their consumption of fossil fuels and to finance the energy transition. But powerful legal provisions such as ISDS endow polluters with major legal and institutional weapons to prevent this change from happening. Some companies have not hesitated to invoke the provisions of trade agreements in order to attack government measures deemed harmful to their profits, including when these policies were intended to regulate the use of fossil fuels and natural resource extraction, set specific pollution limits, or enforce new tax rules.

Lafarge

61 Rue des Belles Feuilles, 75116 Paris.

French firm Lafarge, active in 61 countries, claims to be the world's largest building materials company. Cement accounts for two-thirds of its turnover. Currently, cement production is responsible for between 5 and 10 per cent of global greenhouse gas emissions,⁸¹ and causes air and water pollution as well as health problems for local communities (for example, in the United States,⁸² Slovenia,⁸³ and Cameroon⁸⁴).

According to the Egyptian press and activists involved in the 'Egyptians Against Coal' campaign, Lafarge used the threat of legal proceedings in 2013 in a private arbitration court (through the ISDS mechanism in the investment agreement between France and Egypt) to have the country's longstanding import ban on coal lifted. Lafarge, like all businesses operating in Egypt, said it was suffering from the regular disruptions of gas supply and general price increases, and reportedly organized large imports of coal without official approval.⁸⁵

Perenco

7 Rue de Logelbach, 75017 Paris.

Franco-British company Perenco specializes in oil, but has also invested in gas, including the exploitation of shale gas at El Franig in southern Tunisia.⁸⁶ Perenco is accustomed to ecological and human disasters being associated with its operations (for example, in Guatemala,⁸⁷ Gabon,⁸⁸ and the Democratic Republic of the Congo⁸⁹). The company also invoked the investment agreement between France and Ecuador to sue the latter country in 2009. The Ecuadorian Government wanted to seize part of the company's production due to the non-payment of taxes, while Perenco claimed that it was tax exempt through the concession contract. The case is still pending.

Vattenfall

1 Rue du Départ, 75014 Paris.

Swedish energy company Vattenfall has sued Germany twice under the Energy Charter Treaty.⁹⁰ The first case led to the weakening of environmental regulations in the city of Hamburg, which opted for negotiations in order to avoid a long and expensive trial.⁹¹ The second, still ongoing, case targets the German decision to phase out nuclear energy by 2022, and challenges the early termination of service agreements with the government.⁹²

Vattenfall opened offices in Paris in order to benefit from the liberalization of the hydropower market and to receive

concessions on several French dams. However, it closed its office in July 2013 due to the lack of sufficiently rapid results.⁹³

Embassy of Japan

7 Avenue Hoche, 75008 Paris.

Japan, together with the EU, initiated proceedings before the WTO Dispute Settlement Body against Ontario, Canada, over its 'Feed-in Tariff Programme' that supports the local renewable energy sector (solar and wind). In 2014, Ontario was forced to limit its provincial support for the construction of wind turbines and solar plants favouring local labour and components.⁹⁴

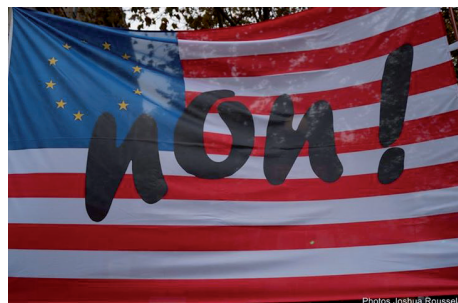
Japan is also the world's biggest supporter of coal expansion at home and abroad. The country is responsible for one-quarter of the world's public subsidies to coal, and invested more than US\$20 billion in coal mining between 2007 and 2014.⁹⁵

Shearman and Sterling LLP

114 Avenue des Champs-Élysées, 75008 Paris.

Shearman and Sterling is one of the most prestigious law firms in the world. It is particularly specialized in investment arbitration under ISDS (see Box 10), and its figurehead is the famous lawyer — and investment arbitration star — Emmanuel Gaillard. Gaillard strongly defends the trade system, and claims there would be large-scale global economic disaster if bilateral investment agreements are structurally challenged!⁹⁶

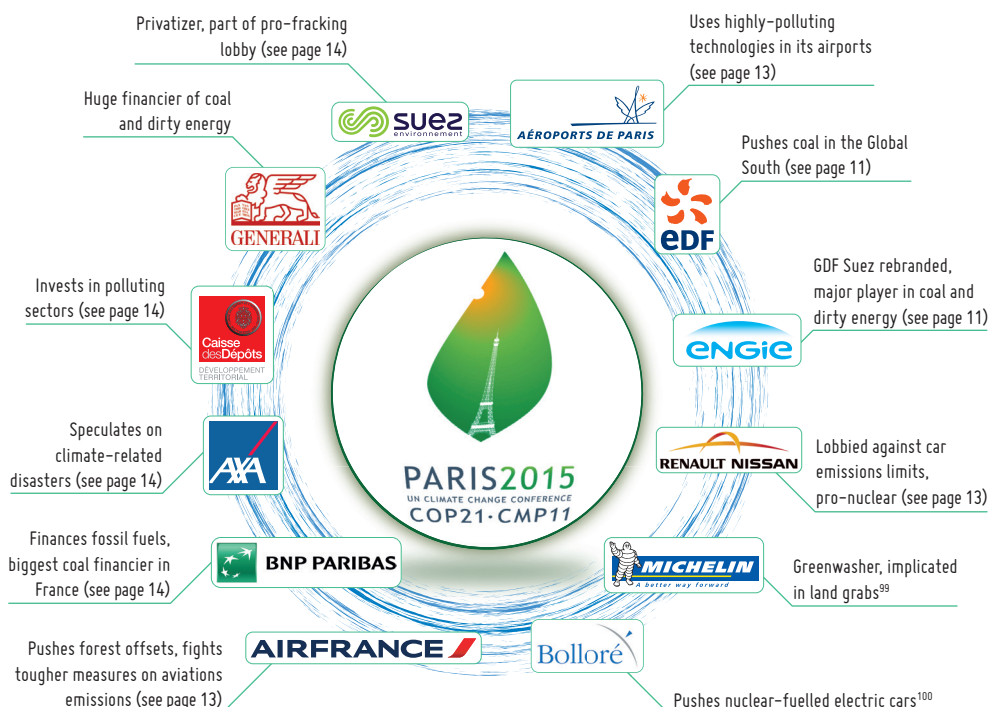
Gaillard often acts as arbitrator in Investor-State Disputes: for example, he was appointed by Eurogas Inc. and Belmont Resources Inc. in their proceedings against Slovakia.⁹⁷ He represented the Dutch company Lundin in its dispute with the Tunisian Government over the amount of the taxes claimed by Tunis in connection with the Oudna oil exploration field. Gaillard also acted as counsel for the Russian oil and gas company Yukos in the international arbitration case that resulted in a record €37 billion compensation.⁹⁸



Photos Joshua Roussel



COP21 CORPORATE SPONSORS



These companies have dodgy records when it comes to people and the planet. Their greenwashing activities, and their lobbying for false solutions that enable them to continue profiting from polluting, demonstrate beyond a doubt that they should not be tolerated as sponsors for the climate talks. The vested interests of big business and dirty industry are directly opposed to the goals of an ambitious and just climate deal.

In addition to the climate culprits shown above, the growing list of COP21 sponsors includes Carrefour, IKEA, Google, Louis

Vuitton Moët Hennessy (LVMH), L'Oréal, Association Française des Banques, Puma, Schneider Electric, Sanofi, La Poste, Derichebourg, Groupe Galeries Lafayette, the Syndicat des eaux d'Ile-de-France (SEDIF), Deyrolle, JCDecaux, Caisse centrale de réassurance (CCR), Sycomore Asset Management, Antalis, Saint-Gobain, Accor Hotels, and MGEN. These corporations, and the economic model they represent, have no place in the UNFCCC. The business model of LVMH for example, a self-professed "world leader in luxury", depends on promoting the consumption lifestyle of the one per cent most responsible for the climate crisis.



ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE / DIRTY PROJECTS AROUND PARIS

The UN Climate Conference will be held at Le Bourget in the northeast of Paris (Seine-Saint-Denis district). This is the most disadvantaged part of the Paris metropolitan area. COP21 will be surrounded by controversial and polluting projects and infrastructure, ironically illustrating the damage associated with our current development model for the climate, citizens and local communities.

Here, as in the rest of the world, it is primarily the poor who pay the price of these projects, with their health and their quality of life. And unsurprisingly, the primary beneficiaries are large companies.

COAL POWER PLANT OF SAINT-OUEN

This coal plant outside Paris is managed by CPCU, a subsidiary of Engie. It produces 982 MW of thermal power for steam for the district heating network, and also burns gas and waste. In addition to their climate impacts, the air pollution associated with coal-fired power plants directly threatens the health of local residents: the annual number of premature deaths caused by coal plants is estimated at 18,000 in Europe.¹⁰¹ To reduce its climate impact, CPCU proposes using biodiesel, a type of biofuel (see Box 6), as well as biomass. In other words, the plant will burn wood¹⁰² — a fuel increasingly used in EU coal plants in order to give them a ‘greener’ image — thereby encouraging deforestation in Europe and North America.¹⁰³

LE BOURGET AND ROISSY-CHARLES DE GAULLE AIRPORTS

Charles de Gaulle is one of the major European airports in terms of air traffic, and Le Bourget is the largest European corporate airport. They are both owned by the company Aéroports de Paris, one of the official COP21 sponsors. Air transport is an important and growing source of greenhouse gas emissions, but the sector still squirms away from emission reduction commitments (see page 13). The takeoff and landing of aircraft emits significant quantities of greenhouse gases, particularly

when highly polluting kerosene-fuelled Auxiliary Power Units (APU) are used. Banned by most other airports in France and Europe, Aéroports de Paris continues to use this technology.¹⁰⁴ Both airports are also a source of noise, light, air and water pollution, and a nuisance for local residents. Air France, another official sponsor of COP21, is headquartered in Roissy.

A1

The A1 motorway, or the ‘North Highway’ links Paris to the Roissy and Le Bourget airports and continues on to northern France and Belgium. It is one of the busiest motorways in France, with 200,000 vehicles crossing the city of Saint-Denis each day. It is also frequently congested, which increases greenhouse gas emissions. In general, this motorway symbolizes the social and environmental ills associated with the mass use of private cars and trucks for transportation. The tunnel entrance leading to the A1 motorway in Paris is the most polluted place in Île-de-France: the air quality at this site does not meet European standards two out of every three days.¹⁰⁵

The management of French highways has been privatized since 2006, and this has become a huge source of profits for large companies from the construction and public works sector such as Vinci, Eiffage, and — as in the case of the A1 motorway — the Spanish group Abertis. The automotive and infrastructure sectors continue to push for the construction of more and more motorways, at the expense of the environment and local residents.

INCINERATORS

The Paris region hosts several waste incinerators, including Saint-Ouen and Bercy-Vitry, operated respectively by EDF and Suez. French companies like Suez and Veolia are world leaders in the waste sector. They try to export the model of incineration to other countries by presenting it as a source of ‘renewable’ energy, as power plants can be used to burn waste instead of coal or oil. In addition to the air pollution it causes, waste incineration is very energy intensive and has a negative climate impact, especially compared with policies for the sorting, recycling, re-use and reduction of waste at source, such as those advocated by the international ‘Zero Waste’ movement.¹⁰⁶

SHOPPING CENTRES, EXHIBITION HALLS AND OTHER BIG USELESS PROJECTS

Seine-Saint-Denis hosts two large exhibition halls, Le Bourget Exhibition Park (where COP21 will take place) and the Paris Nord Villepinte Exhibition Centre, where commercial events are organized. The area is also host to a large number of recently-built shopping centres: Parinor, Aéroville Millennium and Rosny 2, as well as the nearly completed EuropaCity project. These shopping centres lead to real estate speculation and the loss of farmland; they foster transport by private car; they promote consumerism and the waste of resources; and they require massive quantities of concrete — in itself a major source of greenhouse gases. All of these projects are supported by large companies, and receive public aid and significant tax exemptions in the name of ‘economic development’.¹⁰⁷

DATA CENTRES

‘Data centres’ are warehouses that house computer server farms, used for operating the Internet and various social and marketing networks like Facebook, Google and Apple. The Seine-Saint-Denis district hosts the largest concentration of data centres in France, and the industry is considered as the new economic bonanza for this de-industrialized area. However, data centres create very few jobs and are extremely high energy consumers. They are also sources of noise pollution and cause other nuisances such as vibrations and fire hazards for residents.¹⁰⁸



CONCLUSION

COP21 has been taken over by corporate lobbyists intent on pushing their false climate solutions. These include carbon markets, natural gas including shale, carbon capture and storage, agrofuels, GM crops, and nuclear power: all wrapped up in reassuring phrases like 'green economy', 'sustainable growth', and 'climate smart agriculture'.

Multinational corporations, aided by public institutions, have mastered the art of dressing up their dirty business model as tomorrow's climate 'solutions'. It's painstakingly clear that business as usual will fail to prevent catastrophic climate change, and will lock us into a system dependent on fossil fuels. Furthermore, it will continue to destroy the livelihoods of local communities as their environments are sacrificed at the altar of corporate profit.

Frustratingly, rather than standing up to these powerful and self-serving corporations, the UNFCCC has granted them a lead role in designing the 'solutions'. Meaningful change is impossible as long as industry is seated at the table and treated as a partner. We know that the only real solution is to keep fossil fuels in the ground and to make a just transition towards truly renewable – and not corporate-dominated – energy.

If governments are serious about tackling climate change, these corporate climate criminals should not be sponsoring the COP; they should not be inside the COP; and they should not have their events endorsed by the COP. We need to kick the Big Polluters out. And it's not just the COP they need to vacate: they need to be banished from all levels of climate policymaking, from the French Government, and particularly from the EU in Brussels. The World Health Organization, confronted with the destructive lobby tactics of the tobacco industry, managed to create a firewall between industry and public officials at all levels of government. There is no reason that our leaders can not do the same with the fossil fuel industry and other big polluters.

We know that governments are unlikely to deliver what science demands to save the climate at the Paris COP, but that doesn't mean that people are losing hope. In fact, in the face of government inaction, people around the world are taking action.

In France, local communities, together with farmers' groups and activists, are stopping a number of harmful and polluting projects in their tracks. From the well-known resistance against a new airport at Notre-Dame-des-Landes to fighting

a new dam in Sivers; from opposing a new Center Parcs in Roybon to dismantling industrial milk farms in Picardie: this is just a taste of the resistance happening across the country.

Inspiring struggles for climate justice can be found in every country on every continent. From the Dongria Kondh peoples in Odisha, India resisting bauxite mining¹⁰⁹ to the fights of forest-based farming communities in Southern Thailand against the palm oil industry; from the grassroots battle to protect the indigenous Arnhem Land in Australia's Northern Territory from fracking and oil and gas exploration¹¹⁰ to the tireless local struggle against the Cerrejón coal mine in Colombia,¹¹¹ and the ongoing fight by the people of Ecuador's Amazon region against oil giant Chevron for reparations for three decades of oil-related devastation.¹¹² First Nations communities are resisting the devastating tar sands project in Alberta, Canada, with the recent historic win against Keystone XL pipeline a symbol of the power of grassroots campaigns that bring together diverse groups.¹¹³ The struggle against the expansion of industrial agriculture and GMOs in Latin America continues, including the successful mass protests by rural women, farmers and indigenous communities in Chile against the so-called 'Monsanto law' that would have privatised indigenous seeds.¹¹⁴ And, not to be forgotten, the fight between the Ogoni and Shell to clean up the company's deadly spills continues 20 years after the public execution of Nigerian oil activist Ken Saro-Wiwa.¹¹⁵

It is only by taking matters into our own hands that we can change the system instead of the climate. In December, in Paris and cities around the world, people will be standing up, speaking out, and taking action. But Paris is just a warm up for 2016. We are hopefully fast approaching the beginning of the end for corporate power, and the downfall of the armies of lobbyists that hold our governments in their grasps.



FURTHER READING

To learn more about corporate lobbies – and their false solutions to climate change – as well as other issues in this guide, check out some of our further reading tips:

Websites

Aitec [FR]

<http://aitec.reseau-ipam.org/>

Attac France [FR]

<https://france.attac.org/>

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http://multinationales.org/IMG/pdf/edf_crok.pdf

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Transnational Institute, Corporate Europe Observatory, The COP19 Guide to Corporate Lobbying: Climate crooks and the Polish government’s partners in crime, October 2013, www.tni.org/files/download/cop19_guide_to_corporate_lobbying-with_references.pdf [EN]

NB. A fully referenced version of this guide, including footnotes, is available online at <http://corporateeurope.org/cop21>

