

How un-severing some celestial ties will make some indigenous groups happier- the case of the so-called Bushmen, and the Mokens

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INTRODUCTION

An emotional state of mind reflecting satisfaction or contentment? A reward for conquest – accomplishing ‘goals’? An end or means to another end? Pleasant circumstances or characteristics of gratification? Do the aforementioned constitute happiness? If so should stick with the prevailing dogma of utilitarian ideals by way of promoting the greatest happiness for the greater number of people through the provision of elaborate infrastructure that would permit such pleasant experiences? If so should we buy (self help books) happiness as positive psychologists suggests? At the esoteric end does critical thinking make us happy? If so why is it that some say ‘religious’ people, Republicans, or other churchgoers have been labeled as happier than liberal Democrats when they are prone to ‘believing’ things (creationism as explanation of human existence) rather than subject themselves to the challenge of the more plausible explanation of evolution of human existence? What are the mental components to happiness in relation to the material needs? Is it culture specific? Some of these questions have already answered in the literature, but here a detour is made into some indigenous enclaves to find explanations, especially on environmental management, and consequential mental and material deprivation that it presents. Emphasis is placed on the Bushmen from Southern Africa but it also draws in others, including the Mokens .

I. Something special about the indigenous peoples: happiness comes to them.

Happiness aside, there is another benefit to allowing the indigenous population to thrive in their own world. It can even make our lives much easier because as stewards of their land/sea, they know how to take care of it, something modern societies are struggling to get a handle on.

Moreover, there are good reasons why in Canada and a number of countries are redefining the relationship between the recent immigrant population in the global economy and the aboriginals. Horizontal arrangement where true self-governance takes precedence over vertical ones that underlined failed assimilative policies. Under the latter, the central government takes administrative control of enclaves that looks much like Bantus land arrangement under the

Apartheid regime in South Africa. The Sakhas and Komis of Siberia now do have a territory to call their own. In Europe, the – Samis in Scandinavia; Samoyedic in northern Russia, and the Komis of the Urals have a bit more cultural common with the recent immigrants but still have been granted increased autonomy. The story of the Maori in New Zealand, on the otherhand, is a bit different. Due to the limited geographic space, they have pretty well been assimilated. So maybe there is a dim light at the end of the tunnel, which might very well lead to a measure of satisfaction, and of happiness.

Survival

Talk of survival and happiness brings us to the main theme of this paper. The present trade party on resource overuse will certainly lead us to catastrophe and sadness to these aboriginals unless we become quick learners of these !Kungs. We know that in their civilizations technical skills are embodied in languages carried down across generations under community based resource management schemes. We need more of such productive interdependence (with such ‘environmental’ objects), a social production understanding that discourages the production of material subsistence, a social commons approach to natural resource use that obviously, is a user-friendly one. The !Kungs do not see the environment for its own sake. Rather, they have a celestial links to it by way of reverence of objects within it. the common belief among all strands of !Kungs is that they need to be close to graves of their ancestors so that they can cleanse him/her by visiting the grave. In return, they seek protection from these ancestors. Short of that, disconnect and misery, so staying within their geographical bounds is crucial to them, spiritually.

Flexible as a group in their semi-arid (desert-like) regions noted for excessive downpours at inopportune times and dry when rain is needed, they are well adapted to the mainly grass- and brush-covered topography. The men, mostly hunters and responsible for bringing home the biggest of the animals, are complimented by their women who, in addition to foraging, are also prolific in the hunting of small animals, aided by their immense knowledge of edible food and the medicinal/toxic values of trees and plants.

Wasting little or no part of these nature’s products, they even go as far as converting non-eatable parts as blankets and fertilizer. For subsistence, using relatively non-exploitative methods (sling, spears, digging sticks), the Gana and the Gwi strands, as with many other indigenous groups, use

manly animal skins as their favorite clothes. We have come a long way as a modern society by using these same products as handbags, jackets, shoes etc., only that we own too many of them at a point in time. More importantly for them, they have maintained remained, arguably, the ones that have hanged on steadfastly to the core values of their nation and kept game reserve (that now has been essentially seized) for over 20,000 years.

II. Drawing from the South Asian Experience

The Mokens in Thailand, Myanmar and Malaysia are closer to other indigenous people living in a collection of islands (Archipelagos) in South and Southeast Asia, and have a lot in common with virtually all indigenous groups around the world, united in their grief over governments intent on presenting them with a menu of happiness happiness. For the record, Mergui archipelago of Myanmar, until just a couple of months ago, is where the inhabitants lived close to normal, and, presumably, a happy life. but for those holding pu hope, they will be in for a surprise. The government ponders housing them in a camp on Pu Nala island. This is not exactly surprising because it has followed trend elsewhere. Thailand has its own Mokens now at settlement areas in Phuket, Phi Phi, and even at Rawai where ruthless tourists subject them to degrading sub-human treatment, almost incapable of productively participating in the global economy.

Here come the Bushmen, and misery

Expelled Bushmen Return Home was the headline in the January 21, 2007 Washington Post piece. BBC ¹ had one too titled *Bushmen mourn lost lifestyle*. The year 2002 brought home this somber reality that dragged on in its intensity for 5 years. About 300 people were initially forced to resettle away from the reserve in a policy called New Xade. Apparently the loincloths that they wear did not fit the 1980s party dress code. Even prior to the 1980's, acceptability was hard to come by from the Bantu (mainstream Africans living in neighboring areas), for over the past 1600 years. Recall, a decade earlier, in 1990-91, similar conflict erupted between the River Bushmen in the Okavongo Delta region of Botswana as they rallied successfully against the Okavongo Integrated Water Development Project. In Zimbabwe too, the Tyna Bushmen had

¹ Alistair Leithead, BBC, April 11, 2004

earlier on had their own bout of armed struggle with the government. All of a sudden, the twenty thousand years of life on this Game Reserve was about to come crashing down.

For subsistence, using relatively non-exploitative methods (sling, spears, digging sticks), among the Bushmen, the Gana and the Gwi strands, especially, use mainly animal skins as their favorite clothes. We have come a long way as a modern society and evolved by using these same products as handbags, jackets, shoes etc. the problem with the latter is that there are too many of them - some owning hundreds of handbags. More importantly for the bushmen, they have maintained, steadfastly, to the core values of their nation and kept game reserve (that now has essentially been seized) for over 20,000 years.

Threat to the commons

The first line of threat to the indigenous commons stems from the encroachment on marginal lands. In economic theory this plays out in both the shape and the movement of supply curves and consequential demand responses. Being so cheap, marginal lands- or resources underneath it helps flatten the relevant supply curves thereby lowering cost of production. That is what the upward slopping curve is all about. These ‘unpaid’ social costs to owners of the commons could very well have been part of the motivation for Marx writing “Association, applied to land, ...reestablishes, now on a rational basis, no longer mediated by serfdom, overlordship and the mysticism of (private) property, the intimate ties of man with the earth, since the earth ceases to be an object of hucksterling”².

Identity

In little ways, trying to understand the plight of all kinds of ‘Bushman’ is to imagine the good old days (less so now) when Jews, united in their shades of faith, spread all over the world, minorities in virtually every country, persecuted, and desperate to find their own nation, with a distinct boundary. The latter (national boundary), for now, is not a priority, but the former is. The march is on for a different horizontal relationship with the ‘immigrant’ powerbrokers widely considered predators.

² *ibid*

Their name changes ever so slightly as one moves from country to country in Southern Africa. Though revered in South Africa for their purity, in other areas, the name reflects the disdain for their lifestyle. Guaranteed, no respected ethnic group will be referred to as the Bushmen – one who, literally, operates from the bush, seen as unpolished, primitive, and needing directions on how to make a transition into the modern world. When we were reminded that this ‘Bushmen’ word was unpleasant, the *San People* was offered, by Monica Wilson and Leonard Thomson (1968) in their Oxford History of South Africa. On one hand, in Khoi Language – the language of a collection of these hunter-gatherer peoples in the Southern African region, including the Bushmen - it means real settlers but on the other, literally, it refers to them as worthless vagabonds (Lee and Hitchcock, 2001).

!Kung San refers to those in Angola and Namibia (about 40,000 of them) who received a brunt of the Portuguese and South African assault on the liberation movements in the 1960s and the 1970s. Botswana prefers to call those within its borders the Baserwa. Their number is still difficult to gauge but 100,000, for the for the Sans and pastoral Khois put together seem to be a number that a number of commentators have settled on.

Flexible as a group in their semi-arid (desert-like) regions noted for excessive downpours at inopportune times and dry in times of rain, they are well adapted to the mainly grass- and brush-covered topography. The men, mostly hunters and responsible for bringing home the biggest of the animals, are complimented by their women who, in addition to foraging, are also prolific in the hunting of small animals, aided by their immense knowledge of edible food and the medicinal/toxic values of trees and plants. Wasting little or no part of these nature’s products, they even go as far as converting non-eatable parts as blankets and fertilizer.

Their linkage to the world economy is spotty. Going by Lee and Hitchcock (1991)³ categorization, these hunter/gatherers could be (a) forest foragers (b) part-time foragers living close to cultural villages (c) independent communities recently brought into regional and international policies. Among the latter, the lucky ones get to be bus drivers, taxi drivers, cleaners, etc but a great many of them just struggle to fit in. Strangely enough, it was the British

³ ‘African Hunter-Gatherer’s Survival, History, and Politics of Identity’ *African Studies Monographs* supp. 206: 257-280.

(colonial) government that had the foresight and created Central Kalahari Game Reserve in 1961 as a buffer to preserving wildlife, and to nurture the Bushmen, a recreational project that will be maintained but without the Bushmen on it. in the meantime, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United States, in an ironic twist, have jumped on a counter movement that is drifting in the direction that this paper suggest: horizontal as opposed to vertical arrangements

III. The Grand picture

With the aforementioned trend in social relations and misery to aboriginals, I seek to shrink the expanding lines of democratic institutions that has drawn in principal actors - multinational institutions, and regional players - whose actions, increasingly, is anything but democratic. I do this because the normal dualistic relationships that are presented in mainstream economics literature has doubled, or even tripled. No longer do we have the rural/urban; formal/informal; skilled/unskilled; manufacturing/non-manufacturing divide but a much more complicated relationship. A significant number of stakeholders – the out-of-the-global-economy – are more than the structurally unemployed who were in the global economy before economic dislocation. They now include an indigenous bunch who have even limited skill exposure that the structurally unemployed. Thus, any truly pro-poor-pro-happiness policy has to reign them in, preferably with horizontal arrangements with self-governance as the core.

Urban	Formal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Skilled - Unskilled - Out of the global economy
	Informal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Skilled - Unskilled - Out of the global economy
Rural	Formal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - skilled - unskilled - out of the global economy

	Informal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - skilled - unskilled - out of the global economy
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Metaphorically, I refer to the latter as the dropped baton in a relay run that could only get completed for a win just because the (global) line judge ignores the dropped baton and instead declares him that runner. It turns out that if ignored repeatedly, such cheating will spread, creating all kinds of social cost and taking the spirit out of the sport. Related to the environment, ignoring these aboriginals, groups with a wealth of knowledge of their surroundings, threaten to unleash ecological lava that will cloud our skies for a very long time to come.

For such enlarged local and international democratic boundaries, it is easy to see how they could be ignored. A theoretical trade vision, backed by multilateral trade apparatus that, in poorer countries could transcend their national and local democratic institutions, have set of a frenzy of resource competition that threatens their very habitats while shutting them off access to income flow that are attached to related skills used to make them. The plausible arrangement being called for here for the sake of the environment that thy live in and from distributional point of view is a comprehensive horizontal arrangement as opposed to the present predatory vertical arrangements.

In the sections below, a discussion of conventional development strategies in the eyes of Karl Marx and Development Economist Arthur Lewis is made in the sections below. The point here is to emphasize the role of dualism and even exploitation as deliberate growth tool. Factor in trade and one gets a picture of stratified layers of dual relationships where the indigenous bung that does not fit into international economic relations could be severely handicapped, stripped of rights over resources/land, and marginalized. Botswana is then brought into the picture with special emphasis on its assimilative policies following that of settler countries

Common threads among indigenous groups

Exceptional at sea and foraging via different organisms, distinct languages does not seem to dampen their spirits in the way they relate to each other through a strong tie to the environment. With exceptional knowledge of all kinds of organisms, they make use of almost everything that they eye for consumption (little waste). The reason for such a push is simple. The prevailing culture encourages much less accumulative practices, taking greed out of the quest for happiness.

Happiness aside, there is another benefit to allowing the indigenous population to thrive in their own world. They know how to take care of the environment, something modern societies struggle to get a handle on. From my point of view, shrinking some would be an effective resource management strategy.

Such expanding lines of democratic institutions draws in principal actors, multinational institutions, and regional players whose actions, increasingly, is anything but democratic. Beyond the normal dualistic relationships that are presented in mainstream economics literature that has skilled people competing and squeezing out the unskilled in the urban and rural areas in market economies, this new globalized culture do more than complicate the lives of the less skilled. It sandwiches the smallest of the players – many minority indigenous groups - who might not be a good fit to this new world, a group whose reservation wage is close to nil and therefore ignored as genuine economic agents. Metaphorically, I refer to the latter as the dropped baton in a relay run that could only get completed for a win just because the (global) line judge ignores the dropped baton and instead declares him that runner. It turns out that if ignored repeatedly, such cheating will spread, creating all kinds of social cost and taking the spirit out of the sport. Related to the environment, ignoring these aboriginals, groups with a wealth of knowledge of their surroundings, we could be doing more than people.

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IV. The bits that we know about happiness

Happiness as we know it is unlikely to be an object that we chase. More likely it is a condition that is bestowed, usually reinforced by the environment that we live in. In a way it has an element of determinacy to it in the sense that whether through belief, religion, or mental development, significant outside information is effectively blocked, creating a new mental state of satisfaction given that mindset. The fact that the ‘demonic’ outside information is shunned in comparative context reinforces elements of thoughts that it is virtuous to be that different, and be happy. Such ‘in-the-box’ thinking is a significant part of happiness. But there is another side. If the new information threatens to disrupt celestial ties to object within the ‘box culture’, that will also be yet another reason to derive a sense of satisfaction from that culture until one that is more appealing and less threatening emerges. But it has to confer some spiritual value as well, otherwise they will be back to the acquisition culture attributed to the Calvinist religion.

One strong argument for a *mental* state model can be found by looking at what drives an aid worker who quits a 9-to-5 job just to save lives in areas that ordinarily (s)he would avoid. Though seeing others suffer could lead to a mental breakdown, it is this very challenge that could be a catalyst for such a mission, the ultimate reward being an ultimate satisfaction/happiness for doing good, especially if progress is made. This brings me to a Dutch doctor who was featured on the Dutch Radio International in 2005.

Asked whether he would come back from working gratis with his life savings in war zones after why he quit his million-dollar-a-year job, he responded that anytime he comes back to Holland colleagues are just interested in inviting him for dinners and other fancy entertainment – which the latter see as a transitory attribute/means to happiness, which to him, was anything but. The mission has not only given him a new environment and/or point of reference, but is also reinforced by a sense of egalitarianism between the beneficiaries of his work, conferring the virtues of happiness. He elaborated that he now enjoys eating with others when it is necessary to eat, not as a function meant to entertain, or a way to impress. So working at places where there is even no running water, he claimed, was very satisfying to him and that he hoped that such basic infrastructure could be produced universally over time.

This is a classic case of determinacy, a boundary between 2 lives – in this case a realistic reassessment of prior condition that has gotten him to an environment that bestows happiness. Sure his role of a ‘savior’ of life drives him, which many of us needs to stand out a bit, but it is his previous life that has given him a perspective in an environment that has determined the bound to his satisfaction. This, in a way, flies in the face of the utilitarian economic concept of pleasure and pain, or a deliberate construction of a set of material worth - greatest happiness for the greatest number of people. But in a way consistent in the sense that well constructed, basic needs (some material wealth) complements the feeling of security that this doctor and many indigenous groups experience.

This physician’s story carries an element of fitness in it, a word that the evolutionary-cybernetic theory postulates permits him to survive and reproduce in that condition, and even find a sense of self-control when he visits Holland to taste a new world out there. Applied to organisms, significant deviations from the goal state (that provides for intrinsic needs) could spell the doom of the organism so it is important to keep it within this state, and the better the control over the environment, the better the survivability, a point he cybernetic theory of happiness departs from.

Instead, it subscribes to the present drift of itemizing defined characteristics that, put together, constitutes (gross national) happiness (GNI). With good governance, equity, sustainable socio-economic development, and the promotion of cultural values (however defined) the argument goes, we will be all set to render care to ourselves and to our environment.

- (1) Wealth
- (2) Life events
- (3) social position
- (4) psychological state
- (5) health
- (6) access to knowledge (education)

The first four does not have meaning to many indigenous people, though they still revere those with social position amongst them, only that It is not an obsession. The last two is part of human rights of all of peoples, indigenous or non-indigenous. Any arrangement intended to strengthen indigenous groups to preserve (1)-(4) could include ((5)-(6) as well. Where there is a distinct

geographical boundary, efforts have to be made, policywise, to use all kinds of horizontal rather than vertical relationship to hold the country together. However, such an arrangement does not mean that there is a distinct indigenous/mainstream line. Far from it. Some have been fully absorbed into the global economy. Others are halfway there ready to join. These two groups could be dealt with all kinds of assimilative policies. Others, however, are content on living on the land/sea. Those should be left alone and helped by all kinds of basic needs infrastructure that everyone else is entitled to as basic human rights issue.

V. Mainstream Trade theories and the aboriginals

Traditional neoclassical growth models have it that growth comes from technological advantages. With such advantages comes with skill-relevant jobs in industrialized countries since they used to get most growth. That is the world according to the Heckscher-Ohlin Theorem. Developing countries will get a bit of a buzz too with benefits via labor-intensive exports and related jobs. Thus, industrialized countries got confident that they will maintain supremacy over high-tech capital-intensive jobs. The Stolper-Samuelson (1941) theorem became a sweetener. It legitimized the H-O theorem by emphasizing that labor of all kinds – skilled and unskilled - could gain in labor-intensive industries in the industrialized countries but it was the unskilled in poorer countries that would supposedly gain the most from increased trade. By implication, they would be content to shipping to us our low-tech toys and raw materials that richer countries have relied on for all these decades. This party has, indeed, gone on for a while and is about to take a sudden twist.

These industrialized countries missed an important (backward and forward) links: the extent of benefits to skilled groups in poorer countries. Who imagined that China would step up to challenge Boeing and Airbus in commercial aircraft making? Well it is! By getting comfortable thinking that it will remain an unregulated monopolist over such (high-tech) stuff, they - industrialized countries - assumed away catch-up by all others at a time of decreasing (tele)communications costs and increasing intra-industry trades stemming from joint ventures. Poorer countries are now able to learn, improve the skills of those well positioned to be in the global economy through increased trade volume and take industrialized countries on. Thus, the demand for resources now is not only coming from industrialized countries but also the first-tier

developing ones. Even in the second- and third-tier ones, a booming non-trading sector – construction especially – is fueling demand for resources that did not exist prior to the 1980s. This has set off another round of trade frenzy, and competitive energy bids that have sent policymakers deep into aboriginal enclaves, looking for the ‘precious stones’, and even more marginal lands that have prospects of more digs.

Regional dimension

Whether we listen to Al Gore, or the numerous panels that have painted a grim picture of the extent of environmental abuse, it is the marginal group – the periphery, a neo-Marxist might call it – that are getting the brunt of the strange behavior by mother nature that in large part is being caused by irresponsible use of nature’s products. Massive flooding is the routine in Haiti where removal of trees has facilitated soil erosion. In southeast Asia - Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Sri Lanka – devastation from Monsoon winds affects mainly the marginalized residents who cannot afford to move to higher grounds. The story is all too common around the globe, virtually all of them featuring a degree of trade linkage, irresponsible resource use and associated negative externality that leaves the land vulnerable. This is expected to continue and even intensify as current and capital accounts remained wide open for debtors to ship more of such natural resources to pay for burgeoning energy imports and other imports. We should, therefore, expect that the encroachment on aboriginal lands to continue.

VI. Karl Marx, Arthur Lewis, and their apocalyptic vision on the likes of the aboriginals

The purpose of this section is to trace our theorizing on how relationships should be, and how even progressive thinkers could not foresee what was in store for the likes of the aboriginals, and their relationship to their environment that help confer a sense of happiness.

One does not have to be a biocentrist to subscribe to the belief that humans have not treated the ecology as part of them. We subjugate objects that makes up the environment – trees, air, water – and even human beings. That is what slavery is/was all about. Such subjugation, in some cases rewarded with a ‘fair’ wage, is what Marx offered in a historical materialist context. His partial solution was “replacing capitalist production with cooperative production, and

capitalist property with a *higher form* of the archaic type of property, i.e. communist property.”⁴ But even here, the sheer strength of capitalist forces of production, even in its tamed welfare statist forms, has managed to massage in the Anglo-American corporate culture that carries with it intense resource use. This too might not be controversial either. What is controversial is the degree of degradation and requisite actions needed to stall or reverse the damage. The “Inconvenient truth” is that is that not even Al Gore could put together a scheme, giving the present forces of production at play, to get over the severe limitations of the globalized voucher system popularly called carbon credit or Clean Development Mechanism (CDM). Let us see how it works, and if it does not work well, explore the possibility of the horizontal arrangement with some indigenous groups in a way that at least at the local level, effective management techniques could be restored.

The carbon credit drift

When confronted by right wing reporters asking why he was preaching conservation while using too much hydroelectric power just to light his home, Al Gore’s response was that he had bought ‘offsets’ to balance out his bad behavior. How does this ‘offset’ (or Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), or carbon credit) work?

For Al Gore, this scheme permits him to sell his ‘bad deed’ and not be embarrassed about it. In otherwords, he can pay ‘good’ people to do even more good while he does the bad – one time or repeated. There would not be shortage of such ‘good’ people in poorer countries, the argument goes, because they have been historically good people- have not polluted that much in the past. Let us bring in one reality.

As competition ploughs ahead - with different trading blocks vying for competitive edge - producers would want to gain even more of a competitive edge and so will jump on the opportunity to bring in even more marginal resources, especially, if it is (almost) free, as per Arthur Lewis. That will translate into a lower price for what they charge to consumers, making such goods more desirable, perhaps getting those companies more market share, and profits.

⁴ Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring* (New York: International Publishers, 1939), 221 Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value*, part 3, 525; “Drafts of the Letter to Vera Zasulich, March 8, 1881,” in *Collected Works*, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, vol. 24 (New York: International Publishers, 1989), 362 (emphasis in original).

Such freebies helps keep such companies in business with low, low resource prices but also some toxins that are dumped in the ocean, for diamond and gold extraction water contamination etc - the kind of negative externality that the carbon scheme seeks to get rid of.

The traditional 'public' solution has been that the governments step in to do the cleaning itself, keep these private companies in check by either mandating that they clean up after themselves, or tax them to do it, or to step up and do it for the common good. There is also a private solution: a government-sponsored carbon scheme. It works like this.

Suppose such pollutants can be packaged into say 5-ton units (contract) for \$1000 each, and that each company is entitled to one contract, free, to be bad and pollute one time. However, if it behaves and cleans up voluntarily they get to sell their unused contract –\$1000 worth - and pocket it, just for being good. Alternatively, it can also buy contracts/coupons that will permit it to be 'bad' for whatever reason. But since it has paid, the guilt of pollution disappears, as Al Gore proudly illustrated. So go ahead, pollute to the tune of the number of contracts purchased (say 4 contracts for \$1000 apiece, or \$4000). The sky is the limit because there is going to be someone ready, somewhere –legitimately or not – ready to churn out contracts. This is the so-called offsets (to offset bad deeds). So far, this scheme has not been all roses.

The Europeans have been slammed for passing the cost of the credits to consumers and making profit from something that they get for free. Other problems include charges that the CDM board has identified companies filing erroneous reports. That is not all. Some of the 17 companies validating and certifying participating companies are seen as questionable, at best. Moreover, there are numerous allegations that they make up numbers, permit projects – and allow new ones - that makes little or no contribution to reducing greenhouse gases. Finally, the question of questionable method of "additionality" surfaces. Additionality is the certification that a particular line of action does reduce greenhouse emissions. It turns out that a number of these companies certified that there were real cuts when in fact they were not. For instance the English newspaper *The Guardian* recently⁵, quoting UN sources, asserted that a third of Indian firms fraudulently claimed additionality when they in fact did not exist, part of a pattern of made-up facts. Finally, there is the good-old question of how they arrived at the \$1000 price.

⁵ Nick Davies "Abuse and incompetence in fight against global warming", *The Guardian* June 2, 2007