

Special climate change



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Editorial Newsletter

Dear readers,

The West African office of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is wishing you an excellent year 2024!

Once again, I join my team to express my sincere thanks to all of you, for your invaluable availability and collaboration.

As you may know, our sub-region is still facing many challenges, and I believe it is our duty to continue proposing and providing concrete and sustainable alternatives to improve the social and economic conditions of our populations, through the various projects in which you and we are involved every day.

Unfortunately, the year 2024 is also full of constraints and restrictions, particularly in financial terms for our office. However, this will in no way prevent us from continuing to carry out our mission of education and awareness raising.

This first edition of this year is devoted to the issues of climate change and the exploitation of oil and gas in Saint -Louis. It gives an overview of the presentations made during the CLIMATE SCHOOL (6.-11. November 2023) and the symposium on gas exploitation in Saint-Louis (8. November 2023) organized by FRL in Saint-Louis.

Enjoy your reading!

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By Ibrahima Thiam

SUMMARY

Between the 5th and the 11th November 2023 the third edition of the Rosa Luxemburg Climate School took place Saint-Louis, Senegal. As an annual meeting of climate and environmental actors organized by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation West Africa Office (RLS), its objective is to strengthen the dynamic of struggles and networking in the different players for an environmental and climate justice advocacy in West Africa. The theme of the school was “Saint-Louis at the crossing of climate, energy and migration challenges”.

The school started with the introduction of the national platform for climate justice as a main partner of RLS. The platform PNAJC was created in 2021 to deal with climate issues throughout the regions of Senegal and working for a national advocacy program. Since then, the “movement “as it wished to become, has spread to the 14 regions including the 46 departments. In spite of its big ambition, there is a need for a better structuration and an empowerment of its members on the very current subjects regarding climate issues.

This Climate School was meant to be an opportunity for exactly that kind of empowerment. The first intervention came from Dr Touré, Chartered Marine Surveyor - Environment & Energy Regulation. Touré opened many questions related to the link between fossil fuel exploitation and climate change. Regarding the question of climate justice, he analyses it as a long process where the identification of the victims and the polluters will be the first step.

The African continent is asking for a compensation by the Global North to preserve the biodiversity for many years. Africa needs at least 250 billion USD per year to face the climate change but has received only 29 billion USD 2020 until now.

One of the most important program points of the Climate school is the meeting with the affected communities. Climate change has strongly affected the fishing communities of Gett Ndar and Gohou Mbath. Coastal erosion destroyed most of their houses. Fishery remains their main activity with 5,000 boats. More than 20 000 people live on fishing and the processing; the latter being an activity for women. The fishing sector suffers from the presence of fishing boats from Europe and Asia and the global warming caused the migration of the pelagic peach. Fish thus become a rare resource. The meeting at the fishing bay (7 November) was a chance to discuss all these issues with the national union of artisanal fishermen of Senegal and the association of women processing fish products. Diagnostic: the fisher communities hardly survive and their livelihoods is threatened. Moreover, the discovery of the gas and its planned exploitation by British Petroleum has caused the occupation of the reef and has created a banned area for fishers. The community cares about its future, the future of fishery in Saint-Louis and demands a right to know. Will they be compensated? Is there any program of reconversion? All these are open questions. The population is concerned.

On 9 November) the group visited the districts of Khar Yalla and Goujop, places where for a decade; thousands of Gett Ndarians have been relocated to. The new living conditions are very bad. They are flooded zones, people got housing in form of tents, there is insecurity and general isolation. The community hence became very vulnerable: A community with no assistance, no clean water and no school. This community was atar doned. These victims of climate impacts call for a just reparation.

The highlight of the third edition of the climate school was the symposium organized at the University of Gaston Berger. The fear of the "hydrocarbon curse" observed in many African countries persists as a source of anxiety in the fishing communities of Saint-Louis. Very often, gas development brings conflicts, environmental degradation and the loss of jobs. Local fishermen feel threatened by the installation of gas infrastructures near their coast; the region is already vulnerable to climate change, with negative consequences for fishing and youth migration.

This international symposium on "Gas exploitation in Saint-Louis, a city of a thousand challenges, including climate change, migration and fishing", gathered over 100 participants with a program of two panels with four speakers in each to discuss these issues. Through the different presentations, the experts brought light into the public skepticism about the exploitation of hydrocarbons in Saint-Louis.

The communities are anxious and fear for their livelihoods, so they expect good governance based on the redistribution of the resources and wealth. The question of compensation of the stakeholders as well as the review of the contract were part of the discussions. Moreover, to avoid the Nigerian case, there should be a management plan and environmental monitoring as barometers and measures for controlling and mitigating risks.

The next RLS climate school 2024 will be held in the region of Kédougou (South-east Senegal) where indigenous communities also face climate problems.



VISITING THE DISPLACED COMMUNITY OF KHAR YALLA

WOMEN'S CONCERNS ABOUT ACCESS TO LAND AND VULNERABILITY TO CLIMATE CHANGE: THE CASE OF SENEGAL



By Fadiaw Diagne, RLS Intern

Well-known for their dynamism and willingness to undertake, invest and become more involved in sustainable development projects, women have shown remarkable commitment and dedication in recent years in many areas of activity, such as agriculture, fishing, product processing, livestock breeding and so on. Unfortunately, they are often forced to face numerous obstacles, in this case difficulties linked to access to land and vulnerability to climate change.

In Senegal (located at the western tip of Africa and characterized by a predominantly tropical climate), climate change is already a significant threat. The negative impacts are manifold, including a drop in rainfall of around 300 mm in 30 years, more intense and shorter-lasting rains, a rise in temperature of around 1.7°C in 30 years, advancing sea levels, coastal erosion, desertification, a reduction in mangroves, loss of arable and grazing land, reduced availability of water for irrigation, drinking and other productive activities, etc. Coastal communities are threatened by sea-level rise and coastal erosion, changes in rainfall patterns lead to water shortages and flooding, agriculture and food security are affected, biodiversity and ecosystems are at risk, and human health is endangered. A situation that weighs heavily on women's daily lives, added to the difficulties of access to land that handicap their activities, especially agriculture, which is a vital economic sector for many communities.

In the light of these two major observations, it makes sense to consider the following questions: why is women's access to land still a rocky road in Senegal? and why is climate change having an unequal impact on women and men? In other words, why do women feel the effects of climate change more than men? And secondly, to try to identify possible solutions for the eventual eradication of these difficulties which are detrimental to women.

Why don't women have easy access to land?

Although laws and regulations in Senegal promote equal access to land for men and women, women do not always enjoy this right. Indeed, throughout the country, women face enormous difficulties in gaining access to land, which remains an essential lever for their involvement and empowerment through agricultural projects.

In the Ziguinchor region, for example, only 2% of women have access to land. This low level of access to land illustrates the difficulties women face in their farming activities. What's more, this precarious situation confines them to a position of land and economic dependence on men, in environments where agriculture is the main source of income. Despite this, changes have been taking place for women on certain types of land since colonial times.

On the one hand, the main constraints on women's access to land revolve around customary considerations. Under customary law, men have the privilege of inheriting cultivable plots of land. In Senegal, only 15% of women have access to land ownership. In the Fouta region, for example, the situation is striking. Despite the existence of a formal framework guaranteeing equitable access to land, many women in Fouta (Senegal) remain at a disadvantage compared to men. In addition, a study on the development of "criteria and conditions for rational and sustainable land governance by eco-geographical zone in Senegal" revealed that the dominant mode of access to land in Senegal is inheritance. This work was carried out by the Institut sénégalais de recherches agricoles (Isra) and the Ecole nationale supérieure d'agriculture (Ensa).

Funded by the Fao, it was carried out in 42 of the country's departments, covering a total of 600 villages. The results of the study were shared at a validation workshop. 2,752 households were surveyed in the areas concerned. According to study coordinator Dr. Tamsir Mbaye, the survey revealed that "the 1964 National Estate Act, which governs 95% of the country's land, is misunderstood by the majority of stakeholders".

Indeed, although inheritance remains the dominant mode, there are other modes of access to land in these areas, such as assignment and borrowing. Land leasing is also a practice that is increasingly practiced in the localities visited by the Ensa and Isra surveyors. According to the study, the purchase of land remains very low at national level, with less than 1% of households buying land. What's more, although the dominant form of access to land is inheritance, women are often excluded from the transfer process. According to the study, they gain access to land more through assignment and borrowing. Young people under 35 are also overlooked.

However, in the Sine region, it seems that women do have access to the land they can exploit. As such, they are protected by their status as wives and spared by the chiefs, due to the financial burdens they have to bear throughout the year. Finally, access to land is most difficult for young men, who are also dependents. This situation leads them to emigrate. It should be noted that the villages of the Sine have long been sending seasonal workers (sourga) to the New Lands, and that they receive no additional labor, even at the time of the heaviest work.

Furthermore, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) highlights the crucial role of women in agriculture and land management, and argues in favor of empowering rural women to build more resilient households. Strong political action in favor of women is therefore essential if they are to gain access to and control over natural resources. Women's access to and control of land is vital for their emancipation, the well-being of their families and, consequently, the fight against malnutrition and poverty. Their role in agriculture is essential. They provide up to 70% of the work in family farming. In so doing, they are the primary contributors to achieving food sovereignty and security.

Why does the climate crisis have a greater impact on women?



Women's vulnerability to climate change stems from a number of social, economic and cultural factors. Indeed, women and girls bear the brunt of climate change, which amplifies existing gender inequalities and poses an unprecedented threat to their livelihoods, health and security. Climate change affects men and women differently. Women are more vulnerable than men, largely because they make up the majority of the world's poor and are more dependent on threatened natural resources. Women have less access than men to resources such as land, credit, agricultural inputs, decision-making structures, technology, training and extension services that would strengthen their ability to adapt to climate change.

Women are also more likely to be affected by climate-related natural disasters, such as floods and droughts, as they often have different social and economic roles to men. What's more, women are more active in sectors such as agriculture, livestock breeding and fishing, which are key to the Senegalese economy. Taking the agricultural sector as an example, women, especially those in rural areas, depend heavily on it to meet the daily needs of their children, husbands and families in general. That's why, ever since they realized the advantages of agriculture for them as an income generator, they've given it special interest and attention. But unfortunately, climate change has aggravated their situation, making farmland inaccessible. The fishing and livestock sectors are also very popular with women. They are increasingly active in the processing of fish products such as smoked fish, dried fish, touffa, etc., but due to the effects of climate change, they sometimes find it difficult to find the raw material for processing, or even to sell their products. In livestock farming, too, women entrepreneurs often have to contend with the loss or death of herds due to reduced access to water and food, and to droughts which are repercussions of climate change.

Women in Senegal, like those in most other African countries, are experiencing the effects of climate change. In an article published on October 27, 2021, it was pointed out that hundreds of women from all four corners of the country (Thiès, Saint-Louis, Diourbel, Ziguinchor and Kédougou) took part in a march organized by the environmental association Vacances Vertes to denounce climate injustice. It was an opportunity for these women to deplore the consequences of climate change on their daily lives, notably pollution, disruption of the seasons and ecosystems, loss of biodiversity, food insecurity, deterioration of the land, the advancing sea, etc...

As they are particularly vulnerable to the effects of climate change, they wanted to make their voices heard at COP26 (26th Conference of the Parties, a meeting of signatory countries to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)).

In addition, the above-mentioned impacts of climate change are often the cause of women's displacement or relocation to other areas, where they are sometimes forced to live in tents; a kind of refuge for the latter, where they are unfortunately exposed to difficulties such as violence or sexual assault. All of which seems to sum up the ordeal of women, and demonstrates the extent to which they are the most affected by climate change.

Adaptation initiatives should therefore include the identification of the gender-specific impacts of climate change, and take account of women's priorities and needs in development projects and policy-making.

In reality, helping women to cope with the impacts of climate change means, among other things, enabling them to know how to adapt to climate change, and this should first and foremost involve setting up projects and programs that promote women's resilience to climate change.

Public authorities must also be encouraged to draw up policies aimed at raising awareness and training women, so as to facilitate their participation in decision-making bodies, but above all to build their capacities, enabling them to realize their potential, develop their self-confidence and self-esteem, and win over their opponents.

Just Economic Transition Partnership while Gas-Lock-in – European/German and Senegalese economic relationship under scrutiny

By Ann-Katrin Hähnle (RLS Intern)

In June 2023 the so-called Just Economic Transition Partnership (JETP) between Senegal and the International Partner Group, Germany and France coordinating the agreement, was launched (cf. BMZ, 2023b). Just one year before, the German chancellor Olaf Scholz visited Senegal and announced German's support for the Senegalese future gas exploration, including investments, technical support and purchase (cf. Hoffmann and Ali, 2022). How can one make sense of Germany (among others) and Senegal agreeing to a so-called just transition while in the same moment heavily investing into a Senegalese gas-lock-in for the next decades? Both projects, the gas exploitation and the JETP represent opposing world views. However, they make sense when analyzing it against the backdrop of the geo-political context of the ongoing Russian/Ukrainian war on the one side and the political economic context linked to the 'financialization of development' on the other side. The major claim in this article is therefor that this development becomes coherent when not analyzed with regard to climate compatibility in both Global North and Global South (cf. Müller, 2018), but with regard to the logic of private capital in an era of financialized capitalism. The narrative justifying gas exploitation makes reference to the economic needs and possibilities of the population.

The narrative supporting the JETP revolves around the core aspects of a just energy transition in the wake of the exacerbating climate crisis. For the JETP the leading role of the German state is highlighted. Both narratives avoid focusing on the role and interests of global finance, especially private finance forming partnerships with public entities. The apparent contradictions are explained again in the next two paragraphs: Why do they seem contradictory at first? What do the projects stand for in each case? What is at stake? What do the countries hope for in each case? The analysis will then show that these developments and projects are not so contradictory if you see them in a certain geopolitical and financial context. This portrays the complex interrelationships between the development prospects for the Senegalese state and global financial demands. In the final part critical and promising voices regarding a just transition in Senegal are shared, to draw contours of alternative development paths while living in this highly interdependent world.

Acknowledging the critical socioeconomic context in Senegal, the article critically interrogates its 'Gas to Power Strategy'. Further it is set in the economic triangle of 'gas as a transition energy', 'private investment' and a 'just and green transition', on which special light is shed on. Tackling the financing and ownership question of the JETP they are rather summed up as an unjust, non-transition debt scheme that mostly benefits investors from the global North, transferring wealth from the Global South (cf. Hege, 2022; Global Energy Justice Workshop Collective, 2023). Learning from the South African case, one can state that the success of a just transition via the JETP will hinge on the extent to which this represents a steep change in the history of climate finance. While negotiations for the investment plan in Senegal are about to start, the South-African JETP is already in operation. It is therefore worthwhile looking at the SA case to pinpoint the issues at stake. Currently, the JETP relies heavily on debt and prioritizes an in-transparent market-centric approach to finance the energy transition. This must be set in the context of so-called financialization of development organized around the Wall-Street-Consensus (WSC). The WSC is the attempt to organize development interventions around the partnership with global finance (Gabor, 2021).

The financing of so-called sustainable development, including (fossil and renewable) energy infrastructure, could be described as the necessary fuel for global finance, which needed new investment opportunities after the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) in 2008. As the the main criteria for private investment remains risk (e.g. liquidity/debt, political, climate), de-risking solutions are needed. Public money, in form of ODA and grants, is used as a de-risking instrument assuring and attracting the huge share of financial capital.

Consequently, the financial approach to former public, now public-private, infrastructure is less about the needs of the population, but about investment criteria (cf. Bayliss and Van Waeyenberge, 2018). All this is the basic financial mechanism for global scramble for the diverse resources in Africa. That comprises much more than oil, gas and minerals (cf. McKinsey, 2017).

That given, the question of who is financing Africa's development and who benefits from the returns remains crucial. When it comes to accessing climate finance, African countries remain strongly disadvantaged. They have higher capital costs for borrowing and the cost of capital in African countries to finance renewable energy technology by far exceeds the costs of capital in the Global North (cf. Haag, 2023). It is due to facts like this, that finance needs to be taken into account as a major aspect when the Senegalese president Macky Sall is insisting on the country's 'right to exploit to develop'. While these argument referring to justice seems understandable at a first glance, it's important to note, that the narrative of the 'right to exploit' is coming from the fossil fuel industry itself (cf. Lemmerich, Phillip, Koorts and Kaboub, 2023).

The article strongly advocates a transition to a resilient eco-system instead of extractive eco-system. In total, the article sums the investment into gas infrastructure in Senegalese up as an ongoing entrapment at the bottom of an economic value chain and a fossil lock-in (cf. Lemmerich, Phillip, Koorts and Kaboub, 2023). Besides the risk linked to the rising public debt, this could be worsened by any further problem in the ongoing processes, shifting the needed revenue stream in the unknown. In the final part Kabou, a Tunisian economist, is cited. He proposes another development vision, in which the mineral resources needed for the Green Economy could be used and manufactured to drive up the value chain. That would create jobs and African industries could evolve to the global leader in renewable energies. It must be clear that the African continent is not having a financial, but a dependency issue (Becker, 2014), not at least due to increasing foreign-owned state debt. Debt canceling and further unconcessional loans must be demanded by a loud pan-African voice. Further, to tackle the decision, ownership and income issue decentral, local based and owned energy system should be pushed. In contrast to fossil fuels, renewable energy bears different opportunities: It can be done on mammoth scales, as being proposed, or it can be done decentral and locally (cf. Hege, 2022; Sarr and Fall, 2022). During this year's Climate School of the RLS and the PNA/JC in Saint-Louis, a conference was organized to discuss gas exploitation from a local perspectives. The aim was to consider the observed problems, feared risks and proposed collective solutions. Formats like this, composed of diverse relevant local actors, affiliated scientist and local policy-makers, are needed to discuss issues as the 'gas to power strategy' or renewable energies in the local context. This proposals can be set in Mulugetta's (cf. 2023) elaboration on a just transition of the African continent, build on a feminist macro-economic foundation (cf. Sibeko, 2022). Finally the article brings up the question, why the focus is set on a transition in countries as Senegal and its financing without coupling it to a transition of the financing countries and investors (cf. Collaborative, 2021)?

The analysis sums up that it sounds shallow and kind of inaccurate, when the German state positions itself as the driver for a just transition. The JETP serves the need of a project for the 'green', financial and political discourse while global industries and countries in the Global North can continue to pollute. Progressive Northern and Southern voices keep demanding to place a just transition for workers and communities in the center (also of the JETP) and focus on the need for social dialogue, transparency, climate reparations and debt cancellation. The need to choose developments path outside of a fossil lock-in and unanswered questions around questions of profit, risk, financing and ownership is obvious. In the same moment, any critical analysis – also in future - must contextualize the current infrastructure investment in the light of the financialization of development, to draw a better picture of the entanglement between global finance, politics and industry and the sharing of risks and profit.



As the Conference of the Parties falters, it is Time to Beef up Climate Action elsewhere

COP28 UAE

By Roland Ngam & Ibrahima Thiam

The last two Conference of the Parties attracted unprecedented attention from governments and activists around the world. A lot of this was due to the climate emergency that is becoming impossible to dismiss or talk down, even for the wilfully blind. The baking hot summer of 2023 – the hottest year on record – coupled simultaneously with unprecedented extreme weather events in other parts of the world underscore the reality that our climate presents a clear and present emergency that we must deal with now through bold, decisive action.

Unfortunately, Dubai COP 28, just like Sharm El-Sheik COP27 before it, was a failure. Of course, we are always happy to focus attention on some incremental wins, but the reality is that, and as we will see later on in the excerpts taken from the Global Stocktake summary, COP is not fit for purpose. This and other agencies or processes tasked with resolving the climate emergency are not insulated from the gridlock that often play out on in United Nations' Organisation organs. COP is a UN process and its painfully slow gains are not in themselves going to deliver the decisive victories that we need in the short to medium term.

Consider this: since the Conference of the Parties was launched:

- CO2 emissions have been rising steadily instead of falling;
- Coal is still booming and in fact, China and India have set up more than 200 GW of coal power generation capacity since COP26 in Glasgow (the argument about how much green power they have set up does not really matter here).
- Demand for other fossil fuels like oil and gas is not likely to drop in the foreseeable future. In fact, according to the [International Energy Agency](#), “demand for natural gas and oil will remain around 2030 “peak” levels until at least 2050”.
- The Global North still has an insatiable appetite for cheap meat, cheap soybeans, cheap clothes, cheap technology, cheap palm oil, cheap coffee, cheap cocoa, etc.; and this will continue to drive the destruction of prime virgin forests in the Amazon, the Mekong Delta, the Congo Basin and elsewhere.
- The USA is never going to pay loss and damage money to China and Saudi Arabia, which caucus with developing countries in the G77+ network and so there is going to be a lot of friction and foot-dragging before a serious loss and damage facility is developed (China still considers itself a developing country).

The outcomes document of the first Global Stocktake noted “with concern the findings of the Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change that policies implemented by the end of 2020 are projected to result in higher global greenhouse gas emissions than those implied by the nationally determined contributions...”. COP28 did not change that.

COP28: An unprecedented number of delegates

The first thing to say about COP28 is that it was massive – the largest COP in history. The entire Dubai EXPO Centre was deployed to host the event. Official assessments show that at least 84 000 people journeyed to Dubai for the event. Two thousand people followed proceedings online. In addition to the parties, at least 20, 000 NGOs, CSOs and multinationals sent delegates. That is an incredible number of people. I am sure that this figure is understated because many people go to COP host cities and never show up at the event complex. They do their negotiations in other hotels and conference centres. Maybe the decision to bring in that many people was an attempt by COP President Sultan Al-Jaber to “flood the zone”, i.e. to pack the event with oil and gas lobbyists and drown out any real effort by civil society to dominate the narrative with the need to drown out the 1.5 agenda.

If that was the reason, then Sultan Al-Jaber's efforts were all in vain because past off-the-cuff remarks to the effect that he was yet to see any science showing that the phasing out of fossil fuels would help slow down climate change resurfaced right before the conference. The furore that ensued following the publication of the comments brought into sharp focus the question on who was really attending COP28, which in turn put a lot of pressure on Al Jaber to pull a rabbit out of the hat. Perhaps the jubilant scenes on the last day after Saudi Arabia agreed to his text on fossil fuel phase down was him heaving a big sigh of relief after his clean-up act.

The Loss and Damage Fund

The Loss and Damage fund was announced on the very first day of COP28. With hindsight, this may have been a good PR move to hide the emptiness that would follow. The Loss and Damage Fund currently has pledges amounting to just under one billion dollars from countries like Canada, Denmark, the EU, Japan, Norway, Slovenia(!), the United Arab Emirates and others.

Pledges! Pledges erode the idea of reparations for historical pollution and binding obligation on the part of historical polluters to contribute money to the countries that are currently dealing with the consequences of their bad development choices or even those ones like South Africa that are expected to give up over 200 years' worth of coal to save humanity.

Countries like Mali, Burkina Faso, Madagascar, Uganda, etc. are already dealing with multiple humanitarian crises caused by drought and unusually high mean ocean surface temperatures. Who is paying them for loss and damage? They did not cause the climate crisis. The Congo Basin countries are not expected to touch another square inch of their virgin tropical forests. Who is stepping up to pay for the loss and damage there? The Horn of Africa is facing unprecedented drought. Even the Comoros Islands. A serious, binding, reparations-heavy loss and damage mechanism needs to be created as soon as possible.

Voluntary phasing down or phasing out of fossil fuels

Let us look at what was considered to be a win from the COP28 extra time, the Majlis or open discussion sit-down, in which Saudi Arabia agreed not to block the COP President's text on fossil fuels. The COP President agreed to take the gathering into extra time after howls of protests from activists and developing nations that wanted a strong statement on ending fossil fuels before the final day, 13 December 2023. This led to the much-hyped Majlis and the ensuing resolution that it produced. But then, what does the text really say. Most post-COP articles and analyses focused only on one sentence, but then here is the entire paragraph 28 of the first Global Stocktake document:

Further recognizes the need for deep, rapid and sustained reductions in greenhouse gas emissions in line with 1.5 °C pathways and calls on Parties to contribute to the following global efforts, in a nationally determined manner, taking into account the Paris Agreement and their different national circumstances, pathways and approaches:

- Tripling renewable energy capacity globally and doubling the global average annual rate of energy efficiency improvements by 2030;
- Accelerating efforts towards the phase-down of unabated coal power;
- Accelerating efforts globally towards net zero emission energy systems, utilizing zero- and low-carbon fuels well before or by around mid-century;
- Transitioning away from fossil fuels in energy systems, in a just, orderly and equitable manner, accelerating action in this critical decade, so as to achieve net zero by 2050 in keeping with the science;
- Accelerating zero- and low-emission technologies, including, inter alia, renewables, nuclear, abatement and removal technologies such as carbon capture and utilization and storage, particularly in hard-to-abate sectors, and low-carbon hydrogen production;
- Accelerating and substantially reducing non-carbon-dioxide emissions globally, including in particular methane emissions by 2030;
- Accelerating the reduction of emissions from road transport on a range of pathways, including through development of infrastructure and rapid deployment of zero-and low-emission vehicles;
- Phasing out inefficient fossil fuel subsidies that do not address energy poverty or just transitions, as soon as possible

Here is what's problematic: firstly, just, orderly and equitable can mean anything. It can be interpreted a thousand ways. Secondly, the onus is on countries to arrange their transition from fossil fuels within Nationally Determined Contributions as they see fit. With the rise of climate denialists in Europe and elsewhere, do you have a sense that this is going to be a major global priority? Dubai itself is a postmodern monument to oil. It has spawned copycat versions all over the Middle East and oil producers are doubling down on this 'development' model. These countries are vowing to continue pumping oil literally like there is no tomorrow.

Thirdly, too much faith continues to be placed in carbon capture and usage or storage technology. This continues a trend of talking up geoengineering solutions although there is no case where they have been shown to remove and sequester CO2 from the atmosphere as quickly and efficiently as forests.

Carbon markets

A lot of bilateral and multilateral discussions took place around the issue of carbon markets. The final resolution called for "enhancement of forest carbon stocks in developing countries", echoing sentiments that were shared at the Africa Climate Summit in September 2023.

Indeed, at the Africa Climate Summit, the COP28 President announced that Saudi Arabia would be investing up to 4.5 billion USD over the next decade in African carbon markets. As COP28 got underway, feature articles in [Le Monde](#), [the Guardian](#) and others revealed that Qatar has signed long-term deals to take over millions of hectares of prime forest in Liberia, Tanzania, Kenya and DRC for carbon markets.

Carbon markets are often done without the input of indigenous communities. Whatever money is raised ends up in capital cities or national budgets, significantly disadvantaging the custodians of what brought in the money in the first place. Another consequence of carbon markets is massive [land grabs](#). A country like Liberia that is handing over up to [ten percent](#) of its territory for carbon offset schemes will most certainly become the scene of gross human rights violations as authorities push people off the allotments or block access.

Bilaterals

Bilateral efforts continued as usual. Senegal is now the confirmed recipient of a 2.5 billion USD JETP. That is an interesting coincidence, isn't it, considering that Senegal has just become a major producer of oil and gas. While this partnership was being signed, Senegal was dealing with a mass exodus of its young population. Favourable waters (due to climate change of course), overfishing, limiting of access to areas around oil and gas projects by government security forces and coastal erosion is causing an unprecedented number of young people to sell their fishing boats and travel to Europe. At least half a million youth attempted the Mediterranean crossing in the second half of 2023. All along Senegal's coastline, there are homes where all the young men are gone. Their parents wait for the dreaded text message telling them that their boy drowned at sea...or that they are in some refugee camp on the other side.

South Africa's JETP funds grew to over 10 billion USD and this will certainly cause more angry discussions with the ruling African National Congress' alliance partners as well as civil society organisations that want to see grants and not more loans.

Conclusion

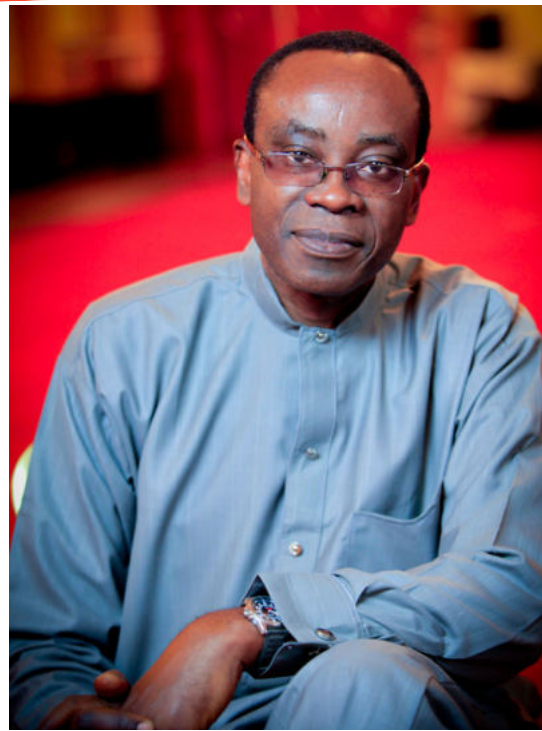
So how do we fix COP? Perhaps the biggest takeaway from successive COP28 failures is that we need to look beyond UN processes for really ambitious solutions to the climate crisis. There is consensus among the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change that to keep warming below 1.5 or even 2 degrees, we need to cut at least 50% of all emissions. The only way to achieve that is through a thorough litigation of the hegemonic neoliberal capitalist model and its insatiable appetite for cheap labour and raw materials. COP cannot do that, although the Global Stocktake has called for more sustainable living.

The private sector must come to the party. We must also encourage massive transfers of technology from the Global North to the Global South and demand reparations from the companies that have caused global warming. A massive taxing of windfall profits of oil and gas companies is a good place to start. We have to spend more time and money in alternative COPS that push a pluriverse of ecocentric alternatives like degrowth, co-operativism, communalism, slow living, agroecology, community artisans and markets, etc. This should lead us to more ecocentric ontologies and progress models. Private COPs often carry the voices of climate victims in a way that official COPs cannot do, with all the divisions that exist between Green Zones (area created for meetings by COP Presidency) and Blue Zones (official area where the Parties meet).

COP 28: A DEARTH OF DECISIVE ACTIONS

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First, I must say that the COP has been designed not to deliver on what is needed to tackle climate action, but for what is convenient for polluting nations and corporations. From the Copenhagen Accord up to the Paris Agreement, the central action has remained voluntary emissions reduction, rather than what is demanded by science. Previously, before COP15, more action was expected of industrialized nations who are historically responsible for taking up the carbon budget and creating the problem we are grappling with today. Now, nations are doing what they feel is convenient, under what is termed Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs).

After analysing the NDCs, the United Nations Environment Programme has issued an Emissions Gap Report, which shows that the level of ambition of all the countries do not add up to what is needed. In fact, if countries do what they say they are going to do, we can expect a temperature increase of about 2.5°C to 2.9°C by the turn of the decade. That would be catastrophic. If we have a temperature increase of approximately 3°C, that means Africa would be having about 4.5°C and would simply be set on fire. Throughout COP28, we did not see any serious action towards solving this problem. Instead, we saw more of sideline business deals about carbon offsetting than concrete decisions.

There is a new scramble for land on the African continent. It is an ongoing continental grab, a kind of green colonialism in exchange for money. Many African countries are offering to sell off, or lease, large areas of their country, some up to 10% and 20% of the landmass of their countries, not considering food security, the displacement of communities, the land rights of the people and the other problems it would create.

We have countries planning to sell off their forests to be used as carbon sinks by polluters. This means rich countries or corporations can claim to be carrying out climate action by transferring the burden on poor countries. Of course, carbon trading is a false solution. It does not solve the problem. It only compounds the situation of vulnerable communities whose lands are taken or whose forests are converted into plantations.

The other issue with COP28 was the outcome itself. Rather than phasing out fossil fuels, the COP decided to “transition from fossil fuels for energy”. We do know that fossil fuels are not problematic only when used for energy but when used at all for anything. “Transitioning from fossil for energy” means oil companies can continue to extract gas for fertilizer, petrochemicals, making plastics, etc. These are equally damaging. Plastics are especially damaging to aquatic biodiversity. It is known that by the turn of the century, there will be more plastics in the ocean than fish.

In Article 6, there is a wide-open door for carbon capture, utilization, storage, or sequestration. Now, carbon capture can be direct (by using a direct infrastructure to suck the gas out of the atmosphere or to capture the pollution from a factory). It could also mean capture and utilization by oil companies – they are doing that already.

For example, when oil is extracted, it sometimes comes mixed with water and gas. That gas can be flared or burnt as is done in the Niger Delta, which is harmful to the environment and human life. The gas can be captured and pumped back into the well. If you pump the gas back into the well, it helps to push out more crude oil. So, how do we solve the climate problem? Carbon capture and utilization allows oil companies to continue to pollute. Instead of fixing the problems, polluters are getting paid to continue with a problem they created.

Finally, the subject of Loss and Damage. One of the countries to pledge a reasonable amount of money (\$100million) was the United Arab Emirates, a country that has no historical responsibilities for creating the climate problem.

The debate about Loss and Damage was originally premised on the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, which means those who created the problem should do more to solve it. At COP 28, what we saw was polluting nations unwilling to take responsibility. Instead, they approached solving the problem as an act of charity, a gift, tokenism towards vulnerable nations. When the Loss and Damage mechanism was adopted, pledges came to about \$400 million on the opening day of the COP. At the end of the COP, it came to about \$700 million. Nevertheless, what is needed every year to tackle Loss and Damage is about \$400 billion. What is on the table right now is less than a billion. Therefore, though a nice idea, Loss and Damage does not appear to be a solution to the crisis.

Africa and the rest of the Global South needs to demand the recognition and payment of climate debt – a debt that is owed for centuries of exploitation, harms, and piling of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere. Climate debt should be paid as a legally binding obligation otherwise we are going to have to always beg for charity and so-called green climate finance which may not be forthcoming.

We know that finance is not the problem because we see the rich nations spending more than \$2 trillion in warfare and military equipment every single year. Yet, we cannot raise \$100 billion for climate mitigation and adaptation. Therefore, money is not a problem. What we need is a change of mentality and of focus.

We must demand for the payment of climate debt. If anybody asks us, “How much do you estimate it to cost?” We should mention the military budget, “\$2 trillion every year”. That is what we need.

COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL SUR L'EXPLOITATION GAZIÈRE À SAINT-LOUIS CITÉ AUX MILLE DÉFIS, ENTRE AUTRES, CHANGEMENT CLIMATIQUE, MIGRATION ET PÊCHE.



Le mercredi 8 novembre 2023 s'est tenu à l'Université Gaston Berger de Saint-Louis, au Centre d'Excellence Africain en Mathématiques, Informatique et TIC (CEAMITIC), un colloque international sur l'exploitation gazière à Saint-Louis présidé par madame Aïda Mbaye Dieng, adjointe au maire de Saint-Louis. Ce colloque a enregistré la participation d'éminents professeurs et enseignants-chercheurs. Il s'inscrit dans le cadre de la climate school que la Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung organise tous les ans en partenariat avec le PNA/JC (Plateforme Nationale des Acteurs pour une Justice Climatique). L'objectif général de cette rencontre était d'aborder la question de la présence des industries pétrolières et gazières au Sénégal, notamment dans la région de Saint-Louis.

La découverte du pétrole et du gaz le long des côtes sénégalaises, depuis quelques années a suscité beaucoup d'espoirs pour la population locale. L'essor socio-économique escompté ne contribue pas à amoindrir les inquiétudes des Sénégalais qui craignent les effets souvent négatifs de l'exploitation gazière tels que les conflits, la militarisation, la corruption et surtout les dommages environnementaux. La peur de la « malédiction des hydrocarbures » observée dans d'autres pays persiste et constitue une source d'anxiété. Les pêcheurs locaux se sentent menacés par l'installation d'infrastructures gazières près des côtes. Saint-Louis ne fait pas exception à la règle. La région de Saint-Louis est déjà vulnérable au changement climatique, ce qui entraîne des conséquences néfastes sur la pêche et la migration des jeunes. La population demande plus de transparence de la part du gouvernement.

Ce colloque international a permis d'aborder différentes problématiques, notamment le changement climatique, la migration et la pêche, et de sensibiliser la population aux enjeux liés à cette industrie.

Deux panels furent organisés dans le cadre des discussions ; le premier porte sur : « Changement climatique et exploitation gazière : enjeux et perspectives ? » et le deuxième sur : « Le gaz, la pêche et la migration à Saint-Louis entre textes législatifs et réglementaires, et données factuelles ».

Panel 1 : « Changement climatique et exploitation gazière : enjeux et perspectives ? »

Le professeur Diakhaté, modérateur du premier panel a introduit le thème en revenant sur les principaux concepts. La compréhension des notions d'exploitation gazière, d'impact environnemental entre autres est liée au dispositif d'accompagnement tels que le champ juridique, la mise en place d'un système de contrôle pour limiter les dérives et préserver l'écosystème marin. Pour lui, beaucoup d'insuffisances sont notées. Ce qui rend la population sceptique quant à la création d'un environnement favorable grâce à l'exploitation des hydrocarbures à Saint-Louis.

Quatre intervenants :

1. La communication de Pape Demba Thiam, Directeur Adjoint à la Direction Régionale de l'Environnement et des Etablissements classés de Saint-Louis a porté sur « changement climatique à Saint-Louis ». les aspects suivants ont caractérisé son exposé : le contexte de l'exploitation du gaz et du pétrole dans la région, les définitions conceptuelles, les impacts des changements climatiques et les mesures à prendre, le un plan de mise en œuvre pour une adaptation durable. Il a terminé sa présentation par le cadre institutionnel qui a pour mission de réguler l'exploitation des hydrocarbures au Sénégal.
2. Le professeur Sambou Ndiaye a mis le focus sur « les vulnérabilités liées à l'exploitation gazière et les questions de gouvernance, le cas de la langue de barbarie » ; il est revenu sur les facteurs qui interviennent pour expliquer la vulnérabilité de la langue de Barbarie: la dépendance exclusive, la surexploitation des ressources halieutiques, la disparition de l'unité de pêche, la surpêche artisanale etc. Tout ceci a eu comme conséquence la migration, la diminution des débarquements, la déscolarisation, le sous-emploi, la précarité de l'emploi, le déplacement de la population engendrant des comportements à risques et une perturbation de l'écosystème marin.
3. L'exposé de M Amath Dia s'intitule : « l'exploitation gazière et politiques publiques locales à Saint-Louis » ; trois points furent évoqués :
 - Qui sommes-nous : quelles sont les conditions juridiques et objectives qui régissent les collectivités locales.
 - Que faisons-nous : Les collectivités locales travaillent suivant des blocs de compétences générales et spécifiques.
 - La situation actuelle spécifique à la région de Saint-Louis avec la découverte du gaz et du pétrole qui requiert une bonne gouvernance basée sur une redistribution des ressources et des richesses issues de l'exploitation du gaz et du pétrole. Pour se faire, une association des collectivités locales est en gestation.
4. Dr Mamadou Touré, spécialiste, environnementaliste a parlé des « défis environnementaux, de la cartographie des risques pétroliers, du système de management de la sécurité des tankers et Conventions internationales. » Partant des problématiques liées à l'exploitation des hydrocarbures, est-il possible d'exploiter des hydrocarbures tout en ayant l'assurance d'une maîtrise totale du risque environnemental ? Comment faire face à une marée noire ? Quid des conventions internationales. Trois questions sont essentielles :
 - La cartographie des risques pétroliers des plateformes offshore sur l'environnement marin permet de mesurer les risques encourus : sinistres, éruptions de puits pétroliers, incendies et affaissements de plateformes, naufrages de tankers, ...
 - Les risques sur la faune et la flore sont réels. Toutefois, une bonne politique de mers et poissons propres, une sécurité et une sûreté des activités pétrolières ainsi que des contrôles réguliers et une surveillance de l'exploitation pétrolière peuvent pallier cette problématique.
 - Le système de management de la sécurité des tankers (exemple Erika) reste un impératif dans l'exploitation du gaz et du pétrole.
 - Les Conventions internationales régissent et constituent aussi des mesures de contrôle.

Synthèse 1

Le professeur Diakhaté en faisant la synthèse des présentations du premier panel a cité plusieurs facteurs qui ont dénaturé et appauvri l'écosystème marin des côtes de Saint-Louis. Les sédiments de Diama protégeaient les organismes marins afin de préserver cet écosystème. De l'érection du barrage de Diama à l'exploitation du gaz et du pétrole en passant par l'ouverture de la brèche, Saint-Louis est devenu malade, Saint-Louis souffre et devient de plus en plus vulnérable.

Une vidéo tournée à Doun Baba Diéye fortement impacté par l'ouverture de la brèche et un témoignage d'un ancien pêcheur ont mis fin aux présentations du panel 1.

Echanges et discussions

Un débat s'en est suivi tournant essentiellement autour des effets des changements climatiques (adaptation et atténuation, la surexploitation de la pêche à Saint-Louis, la découverte et l'utilisation du gaz et du pétrole, l'exploitation des autres ressources minières (fer), l'agriculture, la mal gouvernance, les réponses apportées sur les contrats pétroliers. Il faut reconnaître que les moyens colossaux requis par les prospections ne sont pas toujours à la portée de notre état d'où la présence des multinationales.

Panel 2: « Le gaz, la pêche et la migration à Saint Louis entre textes législatifs et règlementaires et données factuelles »

Le premier exposé : « « Les conséquences de l'exploitation du gaz sur la pêche à Saint-Louis » présenté par Monsieur Dieng, président de l'Union Nationale des Pêcheurs Artisans. Il estime que le Sénégal compte une flotte de 26 mille pirogues qui fait vivre plus de 2 millions de personnes. BP a installé sa plateforme sur un récif corallien proche des côtes de Saint-Louis. De 80 km, nous sommes passés à moins de 10 km, cette zone fait vivre depuis plus d'un siècle des milliers de personnes. Il faut noter que l'exploitation du gaz et du pétrole a impacté négativement la pêche et les conditions de vie des pêcheurs de Guet-Ndar. Le problème de compensation s'est posé parce que tout simplement les acteurs concernés n'ont pas été consultés. Revoir les contrats de pêche reste aussi un impératif. La pisciculture peut toutefois être une solution durable.

Le professeur Maguèye Seck a mis en exergue l'analyse des effets de la colonisation en Afrique en citant l'ex-chancelière Merkel, des chercheurs émérites et des personnalités publiques, Cheikh Anta, Kwame Nkrumah et Martin. L. King, Pour résumer, il invite les compagnies internationales comme BP à échanger avec les populations locales. Il a rappelé les conditions de vie de notre jeunesse qui depuis des décennies sont en train de chercher comment améliorer celles-ci à travers une migration irrégulière.

Madame Nancy Passou Bampassy, chargée de suivi des plans de gestion environnementale au Ministère de l'Environnement a fait une présentation sur le nouveau code de l'environnement avec quelques outils (étude d'impact environnemental) et mesures relatives à l'audit et à l'évaluation de l'environnement stratégique (EES) ainsi que le cadre législatif. Le Plan de gestion et le plan de suivi environnemental et social sont des baromètres et des mesures de contrôles et d'atténuation des risques. Des plans d'urgence sont pris afin de réduire les menaces.

Le contenu local fut présenté par monsieur Thiamba Seck, point focal pétrole et gaz du Conseil Départemental de Saint-Louis, qui a donné une définition sémantique du contenu local (local content) pouvant se résumer en une idée de gain, de plus-value et de ressources générés par l'exploitation du gaz et du pétrole au Sénégal pour le bien-être et le mieux-être des populations locales. Des lois et règlements sont votés et fixés afin de défendre les intérêts de ces dernières. Un fonds d'appui équitable est mis en place. Cependant, nous notons une mauvaise volonté pour le respect du contenu local. Les collectivités territoriales doivent bénéficier du contenu local.

Une vidéo de témoignage de monsieur Cheikh S. Dièye, portant sur quelques aspects historiques de la pêche artisanale et les difficultés rencontrées dans ce secteur, a mis fin au deuxième panel. Pour lui, la pêche était un secteur rentable qui regroupait 600 mille pêcheurs qui n'a pas évolué depuis 1962. Ce qui nécessite une revue de l'effectif, un nouveau recensement permettrait d'avoir des résultats fiables. Les sites traditionnels de pêche ne sont plus accessibles pour les pêcheurs. Les bénéfices perçus des contrats de pêche européens s'élèvent à 2 milliards par an. Ce qui est très peu comparé aux retombées financières accumulées par ces entreprises.

Synthèse 2 :

Le modérateur du deuxième panel a fait la synthèse des différents exposés en posant la question de savoir si les hydrocarbures constituent une aubaine ou une manne financière pour les populations locales. Les interventions des panélistes ont donné des réponses claires à cette question. Le gaz et le pétrole peuvent être bénéfiques aux populations autochtones si l'état arrive à mettre en place un cadre juridique consensuel qui prendrait en compte les besoins de celles-ci.

Echanges et discussions

Le débat a porté essentiellement sur le contenu local. Avons-nous réellement pris en charge le contenu local en amont de l'exploitation des hydrocarbures au Sénégal, la ZES de Saint-Louis (vidéo de prospection et de planification), le code de l'environnement.

La chaîne de valeurs de l'exploitation du gaz et du pétrole requiert une territorialisation du contenu local qui porte sur la main d'œuvre locale, les ressources, les investissements.

Le leadership instrumental s'intéresse aux résultats tandis que le leadership expressif s'intéresse au bien-être des populations.

Recommandations

Lors des débats, les recommandations suivantes ont été notées :

- La place et le rôle des femmes dans l'intercommunalité, la budgétisation sensible au genre qui serait une solution pour cette cible vulnérable.
- Revoir les chiffres portant sur le nombre de pirogues.
- Les études d'impact environnementaux.
- L'exploitation des hydrocarbures n'exclue pas le développement durable de la pêche.
- Le développement n'est pas intrinsèquement lié à l'exploitation des hydrocarbures. Le Sénégal gagnerait à faire des autres secteurs d'activités, des priorités.
- L'UGB a un rôle prépondérant à jouer dans le développement socio-économique durable. Le département A2SAT peut jouer sa partition dans la problématique de la pêche à Saint-Louis.
- Le monde actuel digitalisé à outrance ne nous permet plus de rester statique culturellement et économiquement.
- La prochaine Zone Economique Spéciale (ZES) est une solution pour l'employabilité des jeunes.
- La stratégie de RSE de BP doit répondre aux besoins réels des populations.
- Organiser d'autres activités de cette nature pour mieux sensibiliser la jeunesse sur les enjeux de l'exploitation du pétrole et du gaz.

Conclusion

Le colloque international sur l'exploitation gazière à Saint-Louis, Cité aux mille défis, entre autres, changement climatique, migration et pêche a pris fin vers 17 heures GMT après les remerciements des initiateurs.



With '**Parlons Climat**' ('Let's talk about climate'), we have invited activists and experts to do a post COP analysis . Every year RLS facilitate the participation of partners throughout the world to join the COP in order to follow the current situation such as the new challenges on climate change.

This year an online debate was organized under the title “After **COP28: the civil society interrogate on the Dubaï consenss**”

Video links:

- COP28 Debriefing- <https://youtu.be/MgjUOMsDXPg>
- DR Mamadou Toure (maritime expert)- <https://youtu.be/x-hnGNkYZxs>
- Mbaye Hadj (engineer in energy)- <https://youtu.be/NbW14OTzK2M>