



Climate Parliament  
Legislators working worldwide to combat climate change



## Contents

<b>Overview and outcomes</b> .....	2
<b>SESSIONS</b> .....	4
<b>1. Opening remarks and introductions</b> .....	4
<b>2. Rising heat</b> .....	6
<b>3. Powering communities</b> .....	8
<b>4. Clean energy superhighways</b> .....	9
<b>5. Making it bankable</b> .....	11

## Overview and outcomes

From 4-6 November, ahead of COP27, more than 100 members of parliament from across Africa and South Asia, 47% of whom were women, as well as CEOs, investors and climate and energy experts gathered in Luxor to discuss and debate this central question - how can we finance and build a new clean energy system for everyone on earth fast enough to avoid a climate breakdown?

Co-sponsored by the Climate Parliament, UNIDO and the Pan-African Parliament and made possible by the Directorate-General for International Partnerships (DG INTPA) of the European Commission, the Luxor Forum created a dialogue between elected politicians, investors and the private sector and was one of the largest ever gatherings of climate active legislators.

Over the course of the three days, participants met in plenary and breakout groups. Members of Parliament reported on climate impacts in their countries and discussed the potential of both small and large scale renewable energy as well as the barriers to, and opportunities for, access to finance for such projects with senior representatives from companies, investors and research institutions present.

Key outcomes from the Forum, as reported by participants, include:

- Multiple pledges to establish national Climate Parliaments (in countries where there aren't networks already formalised) including participants from Ghana who, post-Luxor, arranged a meeting with the Hon. Speaker of Parliament where the following points were agreed: 1) Climate Parliament Ghana will be formally recognised as a parliamentary group; 2) the Speaker would provide a budget line in the 2023 budget for the Climate Parliament Ghana; and 3) Honourable MPs will make a statement on the floor of Parliament on Climate change.
- Countries with existing Climate Parliament groups pledged to strengthen bi-partisan membership and representation across different strands of government. For example, Senator Moses Kajwang (Kenya) committed to convening an in-person meeting of the Climate Parliament caucus in Kenya in order to recruit members of the House of Representatives to the caucus and define an agenda and priorities for action for the group in the coming year.
- Commitments to hold governments to account on climate pledges, particularly the protection of biodiversity and ecosystems, and encourage the development of long-term visions of a fossil fuel free future, underpinned by sector-specific strategies
- Calls for climate change to be integrated into school curriculums to raise awareness among the younger generations.
- New projects developed between MPs and donor agencies to accelerate the energy transition, including access to GCF readiness funds and the potential for a 'Green Grids Fund'
- Significant progress on the Southern Africa ZiZaBoNa project made during CEO & Investor Council discussions
- Pledges to introducing de-risking mechanisms, improve political stability, design clear and well-defined frameworks for investment in order to create environments conducive to climate finance.
- Broad acknowledgement that proposals for climate finance should integrate elements of social development (improving employment of women and youth, energy access measures) to help catalyse investment of public multilateral institutions.

Present at the Luxor Forum was Laurence Tubiana, CEO of the European Climate Foundation and architect of the Paris Agreement. In discussions with Climate Parliament MPs in Luxor and earlier in the year when a delegation visited Brussels, a new initiative was conceived - Parliamentarians and the Paris Agreement. The initiative will aim to increase the role of legislators in global, regional and national decision-making on the implementation of the Paris Agreement. It acknowledges the fact that elected politicians have the strongest mandate to decide on an accelerated global energy transition. They have the power to make the big decisions on saving our great forests, and the other steps needed to control climate change. You can watch the press conference held during COP27 here: [https://unfccc-events.azureedge.net/COP27\\_89384/agenda](https://unfccc-events.azureedge.net/COP27_89384/agenda)

At the close of the Luxor Forum and ahead of COP27, we asked members of parliament from each country present to make commitments for climate action. This is what they said:



### *Participants*

Our thanks to all members of parliament who attended from Algeria, Bangladesh, Benin, Botswana, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Djibouti, DRC, Egypt, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, India, Jordan, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Morocco, Namibia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, UK, Zimbabwe and the Pan-African Parliament. Thanks to CEOs, investors and civil society participants from ACWA Power, Azure Power, Citi, Climate Bonds Initiative, Climate Policy Radar, Distributed Power Africa, Environmental Defense Fund, the European Climate Foundation, the Green Climate Fund, Greenko Group, the Harvard Negotiation Project, National Grid, Nexans, Scatec, Sida, Tapestry and Xlinks. We would like to thank our co-sponsors UNIDO and the Pan-African Parliament and specially the Directorate-General for International Partnerships (DG INTPA) of the European Commission for making the event possible.

## SESSIONS

### 1. Opening remarks and introductions

Dr Karim Darwish, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in the Egyptian House of Representatives, Vice-President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Mediterranean, and Rapporteur of the IPU for COP27 in Sharm el-Sheikh, opened the Luxor Forum, welcoming all attendees to Egypt. He stated the country's fervent commitment to tackle climate change. He explained that Egyptian legislation is now reviewed in order to integrate a green dimension into existing laws, and



discussed the work underway to build more resilient infrastructure. Acknowledging that Egypt, like many countries of the developing world, is among the most affected by global warming and its dire consequences, he emphasised the impacts climate change is having on social and economic development in the country. Dr Darwish concluded by saying that shared responsibility is our best hope to collectively tackle the impacts of climate change.

Mohamed Abdel Qader Khairy, Deputy Governor of Luxor, delivered a speech on behalf of Governor Mostafa Alham, emphasising how developed countries, historically responsible for most global emissions, must assist countries of the Global South with adaptation and mitigation. The Deputy Governor spoke of how the consequences of climate change affect his country and his region and encouraged legislators to actively promote the transition to renewable energy. He gave an overview of Egypt's roadmap to achieve a green energy transition and touched on the crucial role that his country would play as host of COP27.

Tareq Emtairah, Director of the Decarbonization and Sustainable Energy Division at the UN Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO), also raised the importance of making renewable energy accessible for everyone fast enough to avoid further climate catastrophes. He discussed the role the private sector can play in driving investment in projects and technologies, as well as the role of legislators in facilitating these investments, and advised legislators to hold their governments to account on their climate pledges and nationally determined contributions as defined by the Paris Agreement.

Didier Molisho Sadi, President of the Committee on Rural Economy, Agriculture, Natural Resources and Environment of the Pan-African Parliament, then highlighted the crucial role that parliamentarians can play in the fight against climate change. He reminded the MPs of all the tools at their disposal to question their governments, push for higher targets and ambition, and make sure they honour climate commitments. The Pan-African Parliament has been working since 2020 with African parliaments to support national and regional initiatives to tackle climate change.

Following the opening speeches, several members of parliament from Africa and South Asia described recent parliamentary initiatives and progress made on climate goals in their countries. Hon. Nahim Razzaq, Bangladesh, explained how a Climate Parliament group was formed in 2010 to raise awareness on climate issues, and how its work has led to significant progress on plastic production and water management. Hon. Ilaya Ismael Guedi, Djibouti, gave the audience details of the climate change law presented in her parliament. It was drafted after organising a caravan tour around the

country to gather testimonies on the impacts of climate change experienced by constituents. Hon. Dr Sanjay Jaiswal from India presented the targets and climate ambitions of his country: India has the



2nd largest solar power capacity in the world and aims to reach 500 MW of renewable energy capacity by 2050. Hon. Yacouba Sangaré, Côte d'Ivoire, emphasised the value of the work conducted by Climate Parliament, in particular sharing knowledge and examples of best practices across Africa. Sam Onuigbo, Nigeria, and Lawrence Biyika Songa, Uganda, presented the climate change bills that they helped pass in their respective parliaments, and the ground-breaking provisions that they contain. In Nigeria,

the government is now committing to annual carbon budgets, and pledged to reach net zero by 2060. Uganda made it necessary for each ministry and department budget to be approved by an independent committee of experts, in order to certify that each budget contains substantial investment to address climate change.

Closing the session, Dr Michal Nachmany, CEO of the Climate Policy Radar, gave a presentation on the importance of data in designing efficient policies to tackle climate change. Data on climate laws and policies are often too fragmented, sparse, and siloed, and this gap in knowledge contributes to a range of systemic failures and barriers to action. The Climate Policy Radar uses AI-powered tools to make information about climate laws and policies from every country open-source and accessible to all. It gives policymakers the tools to make informed and evidence-based policy decisions. Dr Nachmany encouraged parliamentarians present to become advocates for the use of data, for better climate policy design and accountability in their countries.



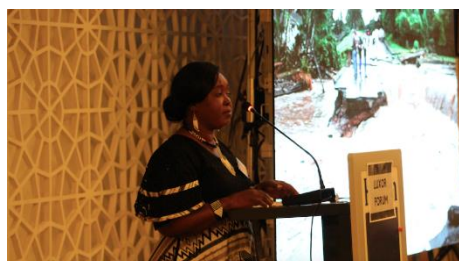
## 2. Rising heat

In this session, parliamentarians reported on the climate impacts they are witnessing in their countries and regions.

Several MPs reported on the devastating effects of drought in their countries. Hon. Utaara Mootu, Namibia, explained that her country, which is made up of 85% arid or semi-arid land, experienced seven years of prolonged drought conditions which damaged the economy and the farming sector, impacting livelihoods and exacerbating issues of food security. Hon Utaara also explained how wildfires have become more frequent, with over 100,000 hectares of land burnt in the weeks leading up to the Forum. Hon. Bimala Rai Paudyal, Nepal, brought up the issue of water shortages in her country, caused by the global rise in temperatures. She explained that hydropower, an important source of electricity for the country, is now becoming increasingly unreliable. The growing instability of access to water is also raising challenges for farmers and livestock owners, who are often unable to migrate to areas with greater availability of fresh water. Hon. Monica Chang'anamuno, Malawi, also reported on the consequences of rising heat, explaining that many schools in the Southern part of the country have had to change their schedules as it is now too hot for children to be outside in the middle of the day.



ong dry spells can be followed by extreme rainfalls and cyclones which cause just as much damage, especially when the ground is too dry to absorb the outpour of water, resulting in floods. Hon. Yvonne Musarurwa, Zimbabwe, talked about the increasing ferocity of tropical cyclones affecting her country, damaging its cities so badly that the government is now making sure that all new constructions



undergo a climate-proofing process, which integrates climate change mitigation and adaptation measures into the development of infrastructure projects. Hon. Bantu Holomisa, South Africa, pointed out that climate change is indeed exposing his constituents to many physical hazards, and suggested that taking such initiatives to protect the security of individuals should be a priority. Hon. Rebecca Yei

Kamara, Sierra Leone, also expressed her concern about the intensification and increasing frequency of such natural disasters. In 2017, Sierra Leone experienced one of its most powerful rainstorms, causing floods and landslides which killed over a thousand people. **She advocated for international donations to be targeted directly to helping the people reduce their carbon emissions,** for instance, by giving them clean alternatives to cutting down trees or using charcoal. Hon. Hon. Sunita Duggal, India, explained that just like the Nile in Egypt, the Ganges is a lifeline for India and other countries in South Asia. But with the rise in temperatures, the monsoons in India are ever more intense, causing frequent floods with disastrous impacts on livelihoods.



Sea level rise was another big concern raised by members of parliament present. Hon. Maha Abdelnasser, Egypt, explained that sea level rise is making agriculture in coastal regions difficult as the salinity levels in water become too high to grow crops. As a result of this phenomenon, Alexandria, the oldest city in Egypt, may lose 30% of its surface area in the coming years, with extreme economic and humanitarian consequences. She advocated for **urgent mitigation measures, as in the long run, adaptation would cost a lot more if our efforts to cut emissions don't begin immediately.** Hon.

Jérémie Adomahou, Benin, spoke to images of whole houses on the coast of the country, sliding into the sea as coasts have eroded with sea level rise. It is now predicted that houses built 200-300 metres away from the coast could disappear in the near future as sea levels continue to rise. Benin also suffers from recurrent floodings every year due to increased intensity and frequency of downpours. Hon. Fatoumatta Njai, The Gambia, emphasised the vulnerability of her people to climate change, as over 50% of the country is within 20



meters of sea level, with the highest point only 60 meters. For example, the coast around Banjul is mostly composed of erodible sediment and mangroves at risk of devastation by sea level rise.

**As reported by parliamentarians, these changes in weather patterns are affecting ecosystems and biodiversity, increasing the negative impacts on human health and livelihoods.** Hon. Christine

Mwando, Democratic Republic of the Congo, discussed the disruption in water cycles caused by climate change, with the great river of the Congo and its tributaries now greatly reduced and, in some areas, now devoid of water. These disruptions have led to great losses in local biodiversity and mangroves, and other ecosystems close to the rivers are gradually disappearing. Climate change also impacts human health directly, as it creates the conditions for more regular and intense outbreaks of diseases like cholera and yellow fever. Hon. Laetitia Nyinawamwiza, Rwanda, insisted on the

importance of preserving the Congo Basin biodiversity and advised MPs to **hold their governments accountable for its protection.** Dr Salisu Mohammed Dahiru, Director-General of the Climate Change Council, Nigeria, mentioned that his country is composed of five different eco-climatic zones, with impacts of climate change varying from one area to another.

They range from desertification and loss of biodiversity to pressure on wood, which is an important energy source for a large majority of the population. Hon. Vicent Willie, Liberia, insisted on the

**importance of climate education,** especially regarding the threat of deforestation, to protect the environment in Liberia which is home to one of the



biggest forests in Africa. He also explained how climate change has affected the farming sector in his country, resulting in agricultural hardship and famine. Hon. Euphrasie N'guessan, Côte d'Ivoire,

further developed the **link between climate change and agricultural productivity.** She explained that her country is a major producer of cocoa and coffee, as well as rice, but erratic weather means that sowing which used to take place two to three times a year can now only take place once. This has a disproportionately high effect on the livelihoods of women, who form the majority of the agricultural workforce.

### 3. Powering communities

This panel discussion, chaired by Hon. Dr Kandeh Yumkella, focused on renewable energy solutions to improve energy access in rural communities. The panel was composed of Ed Brown, Research Director at the Modern Energy Cooking Services; Margot Brown, Vice-President of the Environmental Defense Fund; Tareq Emtairah, Director of the Department of Energy at UNIDO; Norman Moyo, CEO of Distributed Power Africa; and Glenn Pearce-Oroz, Director of International Relations at Sustainable Energy for All (SEforAll).

Currently, 43% of the African population still lacks access to energy and national electricity grids, where available, are still unreliable and dependent on fossil fuels. The panelists discussed the opportunities offered by clean energy off-grids solutions and the role that parliamentarians must play in accelerating the transition to renewable energy and achieving 100% energy access by 2030 (SDG7). Mini-grids not only offer more reliable and clean electricity to communities, they should also be considered from an adaptation perspective as a way to make the energy systems more resilient against climate related catastrophes.

**Discussions on clean cooking must go hand in hand with countries' planning on renewable energy and energy access. Progress in the sector is still too slow because clean cooking is still perceived as a women's issue.** Clean cooking is a vital issue for women and children's health, countries decarbonisation and the fight against deforestation, but also a powerful tool to increase communities' energy demand, making them more attractive to investors in the energy sector. Ed Brown insisted on the importance of leapfrogging to the use of modern energy solutions instead of transitioning through gas.



Panelists discussed the fact that the necessary technology and capital for the energy transition is already available, and the prices of renewable energy equipment and batteries have dropped down considerably in recent years. To enable a rapid investment in the sector, developing countries must put in place robust and transparent planning and policies, to build the trust and confidence of private investors, and eliminate the barrier of initial capital. **In order to place the transition to renewable energy on top of the agenda, MPs should not consider the transition from a climate change perspective only. Instead, they should frame it as an opportunity for energy access, development and job creation.**

Glenn Pearce-Oroz presented two initiatives supported by SEforALL that will help decision-makers build consistent and more transparent renewable energy projects: the Integrated Energy Planning (IEP) Tool, launched in Nigeria and Malawi to provide energy data on all households and identify the areas still lacking access, as well as the best solutions available for each community; and the Global Energy Alliance for People and Planet (GEAPP), launched in Glasgow and supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, Ikea Foundation and Bezos Earth Fund. The GEAPP focuses on the dual challenge of solving energy poverty within a green energy transition and responding to development needs such as job-creation.



## 4. Clean energy superhighways

The session started with a keynote speech by Paddy Padmanathan, CEO of ACWA Power, a major renewable energy developer. He presented the fact that electricity currently represents approximately 20% of our energy but it will become our principal source of energy in the coming decades. Therefore, there is a pressing need to ensure that this electricity is generated from renewable sources. According to Paddy, if local or off-grid technologies are indeed part of the solution, the bulk will come from large scale grids. Electricity needs to be generated where clean resources are most abundant, and then transported to areas of high demand. Another important aspect of the energy system for the future is to **build grids interconnections at regional and continental scales to cope with the intermittency of renewable energy, reduce the need for batteries by exchanging electricity surplus instead of storing it and enhance the resilience of the system.** Today's technology enables electricity to be transported long distances without losses in transmission. Additionally, **a large deployment of the new renewable energy system will have considerable economic benefits for countries by increasing employment and further driving down the cost of clean electricity for more inclusive growth and prosperity.**

ACWA Power produces the cheapest renewable energy in the world with 1.04 cents/kWh in Saudi Arabia, 1.69 cents/kWh in Dubai and 2.4 cents/kWh in Ethiopia despite the high cost of credit. **The cost trajectory of solar energy is predictable, unlike that of fossil fuels.** In 2022, ACWA Power installed more renewable energy than in any previous year. It is currently involved in the Xlinks Morocco-UK Power Project, which will connect the UK to Moroccan solar and wind energy via a long-range subsea transmission cable. This \$24 billion project will supply 8% of the UK's energy demand, with plans for completion by 2030.



Lords.

The session continued with a panel discussion chaired by Climate Parliament's Secretary-General, Nick Dunlop. The panel was composed of Rupesh Agarwal, CEO of Azure Power; Sumedha Basu, Policy Director at the Climate Parliament; Olivier Chevreau, Vice-President of Sustainability at Nexans; Terje Pilskog, CEO of Scatec; Marcus Stewart, GGI Lead for National Grid and UK Department of Energy and Industrial Strategy; and Baroness Bryony Worthington, UK House of

The panelists discussed the critical role of energy transmission in the global transition to renewable energy and presented some regional and global initiative on renewable energy interconnection. It is estimated that 45% of the world's renewable energy potential lies in the African continent. But **energy sovereignty isn't the solution. Instead, panelists asserted the need for energy solidarity and energy interconnection.** The key phrase of the day was that there can be **"no transition without transmission"**. According to the International Energy Agency, **investments in grids need to be tripled if we were to meet 1.5 degrees.**

**The transmission infrastructure must be developed at the same time as the energy generators.**

Members of Parliament from energy committees as well as finance and planning committees should be part of energy planning discussions. A critical point is to **make sure that interconnection projects are bankable** for investors. That involves many different aspects, from regulations for investment to copper supply, and social and biodiversity implications. Professor Mark Howells, Director of the UK's Climate Compatible Growth (CCG) Programme presented a software developed by CCG researchers

that empowers decision-makers with open source modelling and analysis of transmission routes to help in the evaluation of viable energy investments. The tool can help MPs to ensure that energy infrastructure projects will meet their country's needs. The analysis also makes projects more auditable for bankers. The panelists particularly emphasised the importance of **involving affected communities in energy planning discussions from the start, to make sure that their needs and interests are correctly addressed**. Also, the panelists stated, public opposition to power plants and transmission lines can be an enormous waste of time and resources.

Sumedha Basu presented the development of energy infrastructure in South Asia. She reported that India had been working on 'clean energy corridors' with the aim of producing 75 kilowatts of energy capacity by 2022. This target was reached in 2015. Interconnection projects in the South Asia region are being developed through bilateral agreements (discussions between Bangladesh and India; Bhutan and India).

Marcus Stewart described the work done on the Green Grids Initiative (GGI), launched in Glasgow in November 2021. The initiative brings together governments, legislators, international organisations and research institutions to accelerate the construction of the new infrastructure needed for a world powered by clean energy. The initiative is currently composed of three key working groups: a thematic group focusing on climate finance, and two regional working groups for Africa and the Asia-Pacific.

Moeketsi Thobela, Chief Renewable Energy Investment Specialist at the African Development Bank, was invited to present the ZiZaBoNa project which aims to build energy interconnection between Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana and Namibia. The development of an African single energy market cannot happen without developing the necessary transmission infrastructure. The ZiZaBoNa lines supported by the AfDB should be a first step in the development of a continental market and harness the resources of the different regions across Africa.

## 5. Making it bankable

In this session, a panel of experts discussed how to finance the new clean energy system.

Laurence Tubiana, CEO of the European Climate Foundation and architect of the Paris Agreement, opened the session with a keynote. She emphasised the crucial role of parliamentarians in the energy transition and the importance of involving them in decision-making processes. She argued that parliaments should have a prerogative to set revised NDCs, and to make choices on the adoption of a renewable energy strategy, as directly elected representatives of the citizens. **She emphasised the economic benefits of transitioning to renewable energy in terms of employment, and development of skills for the workforce:**

Africa's energy transition could create five million jobs by 2030, a huge increase from the current 324,000 jobs in the sector. Renewable energies also drive growth, access to health, education, telecommunications and infrastructure. She pointed out that with the growing interest in the development of green hydrogen as a source of energy for transport and heavy industry, several African governments could also become exporters of renewable energy in the medium term.



Jay Collins, Vice Chairman of Banking, Capital Markets and Advisory at Citi, gave a keynote speech focused on the Just Energy Transition Partnerships (JETPs). These are multi-donor agreements looking to catalyse investments in the green energy sector to accelerate the phase-out of coal-fired power plants. He encouraged MPs to work towards an enabling environment for these partnerships, by promoting rule of law, regulatory and contractual stability. He reminded the MPs that developing countries are waiting for \$100 billion in investment per year, and that this money will go to the most ambitious.

A panel discussion followed with Moeketsi Thobela; German Velasquez, Director of Mitigation and Adaptation at the Green Climate Fund; Sean Kidney, CEO of the Climate Bonds Initiative; Pierre Larroutourou, Member of the European Parliament; and Monica Gullberg, Senior Policy Specialist Energy at the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA). **The main question addressed by the panelists was - there is more than enough money in the world to finance a global energy transition, but where do we find it?**



**A significant part of the discussion focused on the various funding opportunities offered by the private sector.** Sean Kidney, CEO of the Climate Bonds Initiative, presented on the potential of green bonds. Approximately US\$130 trillion are available in the bond market, and it represents a huge potential to drive a fast and radical change in climate finance. The **green**

**bonds market matches investors concerned about climate change with possibilities to invest in green projects and climate solutions.** He pointed out that one difficulty is to decide what investment qualifies as green and for that reason, under the Climate Bonds Initiative principles, bonds can only be certified as being green if they are compatible with the goals of the Paris Agreement and deliver projects that will help in the transition to a low carbon economy. Under this definition, large scale green grids investments qualify. Pierre Larroutourou, Member of the European Parliament, put forward another possibility, that of financing the energy transition with a 0.1% tax on financial transactions in Europe. This initiative could make 60 billion euros available each year to invest in

climate projects, of which one third (20 billion euros) would be dedicated to Africa. Many EU countries support the initiative, but the lobby of the banking sector has so far been able to block it from being passed.

**Multilateral banks and institutions working around climate change also offer interesting funding opportunities for countries eager to become leaders in the energy transition.** German Velasquez advised the MPs to make the most of the assistance and capital that these multilateral institutions can offer. He explained that the Green Climate Fund proposes a project preparation service for each country worth up to US\$1,000,000 and can also provide consultants to help with the necessary feasibility studies and concept notes. The GCF also has a high-risk appetite to make good climate projects viable and can bear the risks related to internal politics or local currency fluctuations. **He also encouraged MPs to always think about incorporating a component on access to energy for the poorest,** as fostering development is an effective argument to have in project proposals.

Monica Gullberg concluded by reminding the audience of **how important it is to develop a long-term vision of a fossil free future and from there, to produce a set of sector-specific strategies.** She talked about the importance of looking at energy demand just as much as energy supply in the projects' preliminary studies, and of the benefits of regional collaboration. Moeketsi Thobela advised the MPs present to consider and answer three important questions before developing a strategy on green projects: where is the demand for renewable energy, and is it high enough to make it bankable? In what place can you gather all the information you need to develop a green infrastructure project? How do you make sure the energy will be affordable for citizens? Answering these three questions and creating a competitive environment where different players are able to compete on prices, are indispensable to ensuring the success of any project.

*Before the Forum ended, participants spent time visiting the Valley of the Kings and Hatshepsut Temple.*

