

# TOTAL

# REPRESSION

**THE STRUGGLE OF UGANDAN ACTIVISTS  
AGAINST THE EACOP PROJECT**





# COLOPHON

TOTAL repression: The Struggle of  
Ugandan Activists Against the EACOP  
Project

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## FRONT PAGE PHOTO:

Ugandan activist Nyombi Morris  
speaking up for climate and social  
justice at a climate demonstration.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>CERAI</b>	Centre for Environmental Research and Agriculture Innovations
<b>CNOOC</b>	China National Offshore Oil Corporation Ltd.
<b>EACOP</b>	East African Crude Oil Pipeline
<b>EGI</b>	Environmental Governance Institute
<b>FFF Uganda</b>	Fridays for Future Uganda
<b>NGOs</b>	Non-Governmental Organisations
<b>PAPs</b>	Project-Affected Persons
<b>YGC</b>	Youth for Green Communities



PHOTO: HENDRIK LEHMANN / TAGESSPIEGEL INNOVATION LAB

# INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

On May 26th, 2023, the French oil and gas giant TotalEnergies held its Annual Shareholders' Meeting in Paris. Outside the offices, hundreds of protestors gathered to make their message clear: Stop EACOP! This demonstration presents just one action within the global alliance to halt oil and gas extraction across Africa, bringing to the forefront the long-standing demands that social movements in the affected countries have been voicing for years.

The East African Crude Oil Pipeline (EACOP) is a mega infrastructure project that aims to connect the Tilenga and Kingfisher oilfields in the North of Uganda with the port city of Tanga along the Eastern coast of Tanzania. If completed, EACOP would be the longest heated crude

oil pipeline in the world, spanning 1443 kilometres and transporting 246,000 barrels of oil per day at peak production times<sup>1</sup>. A project like this counteracts global commitments towards a green transition and has already resulted in a myriad of human rights abuses and environmental degradation. The detrimental effects of the EACOP project include:

## DISPLACEMENT AND LOSS OF LIVELIHOOD

- The oil fields and pipeline will directly affect the land and livelihoods of over 118,000 individuals across Uganda and Tanzania<sup>2</sup>.
- Early and unclear compensation cut-off dates have led to impoverishment, food insecurity as well as physical and economic displacement<sup>3</sup>.

1 <https://www.hrw.org/report/2023/07/10/our-trust-broken/loss-land-and-livelihoods-oil-development-uganda>

2 <https://www.amisdelaterre.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/table-numbers-of-individual-persons-affected-by-tilenga-and-eacop.pdf>

3 <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2214629621000633>

## ALARMING LOCK-IN OF CARBON EMISSIONS

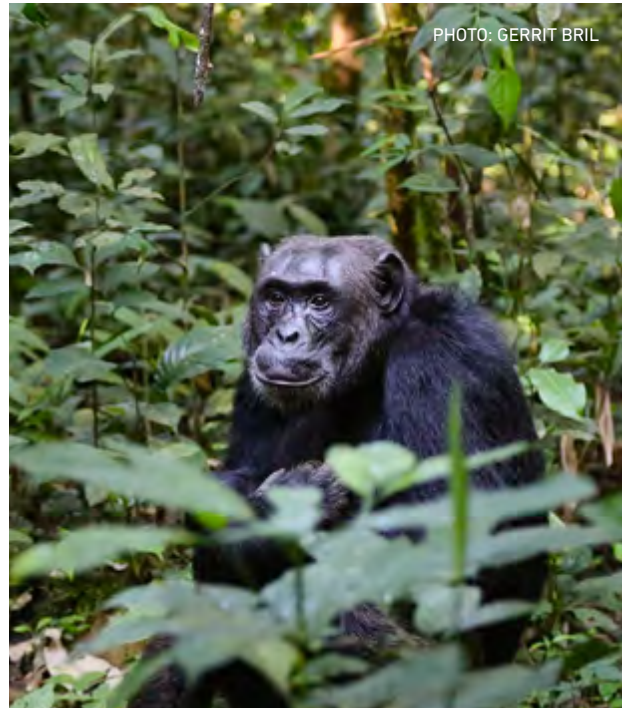
- At peak production, the pipeline's full emissions (construction, operation, oil refinement and use) amount to 34 million tonnes of carbon per year<sup>4</sup>. This surpasses the combined emissions of Uganda and Tanzania in 2022 by a significant margin and is 18% more than Denmark's total carbon emissions in the same year<sup>5</sup>.

## ENVIRONMENTAL DESTRUCTION

- Around 2000 km<sup>2</sup> of natural reserve areas are compromised and 500 km<sup>2</sup> of important wildlife corridors (including for endangered species like the Eastern Chimpanzee and the African Elephant) are severely threatened<sup>6</sup>.
- Almost one-third of the pipeline construction will run through the Lake Victoria basin, the largest freshwater body in Africa, with the risk of oil spills threatening the vital water resources for drinking and food production of 40 million people<sup>7</sup>.

TotalEnergies is the largest contributor to the project with a stake of 62%. Beyond that, the China National Offshore Oil Corporation Ltd. (CNOOC) holds an 8% stake, and the national oil companies of Uganda and Tanzania participate with a 15% stake each. Thus far, the project costs have already surged from \$3.5 billion to \$5 billion<sup>8</sup>, placing a significant financial burden on the stakeholders. The national oil companies of Uganda and Tanzania are disproportionately pressured, as they are also faced with the looming risk of a depreciating value of oil, threatening the stability of public finances in the two countries<sup>9</sup>.

In light of these impacts, it is clear that TotalEnergies and CNOOC stand to gain the most from EACOP. Meanwhile, the populations of Uganda and Tanzania are left



to bear the burden of this fossil fuel extraction. These blatant inequalities have been a call to action for activists, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and civil society organisations in Uganda, Tanzania, and abroad. In Paris, the protests in front of TotalEnergies' offices may have garnered media attention and public support, but in Uganda and Tanzania, the picture is far grimmer. Here, human rights defenders and other activists have been working tirelessly in the face of repression, harassment, and intimidation. The freedom of speech of Ugandan and Tanzanian citizens engaged in the fight against EACOP is severely curtailed. Those who speak up about and organise resistance against TotalEnergies's and CNOOC's hunger for profit face attacks and arrests<sup>10</sup>. Standing up for the protection of human livelihoods and the environment has thus turned into a dangerous conviction for those on the frontline of the movement against EACOP.

4 <https://climateaccountability.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/CAI-EACOP-Rptlores-Oct22.pdf>

5 <https://edgar.jrc.ec.europa.eu/>

6 [https://www.banktrack.org/download/safeguarding\\_people\\_nature\\_in\\_the\\_east\\_africa\\_crude\\_oil\\_pipeline\\_project/safeguarding\\_people\\_nature\\_in\\_the\\_east\\_africa\\_crude\\_oil\\_pipeline\\_project.pdf](https://www.banktrack.org/download/safeguarding_people_nature_in_the_east_africa_crude_oil_pipeline_project/safeguarding_people_nature_in_the_east_africa_crude_oil_pipeline_project.pdf)

7 <https://oxfamlibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/621045/rr-empty-promises-down-line-101020-en.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>  
<https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2016/02/29/reviving-lake-victoria-by-restoring-livelihoods>

8 [https://www.banktrack.org/download/the\\_east\\_african\\_crude\\_oil\\_pipeline\\_new\\_risk\\_developments/210809\\_risksbanksinvestorseastafrican crudeoil pipeline.pdf](https://www.banktrack.org/download/the_east_african_crude_oil_pipeline_new_risk_developments/210809_risksbanksinvestorseastafrican crudeoil pipeline.pdf)

9 <https://www.climatepolicyinitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Understanding-the-impact-of-a-low-carbon-transition-on-Uganda-December-2-2020.pdf>

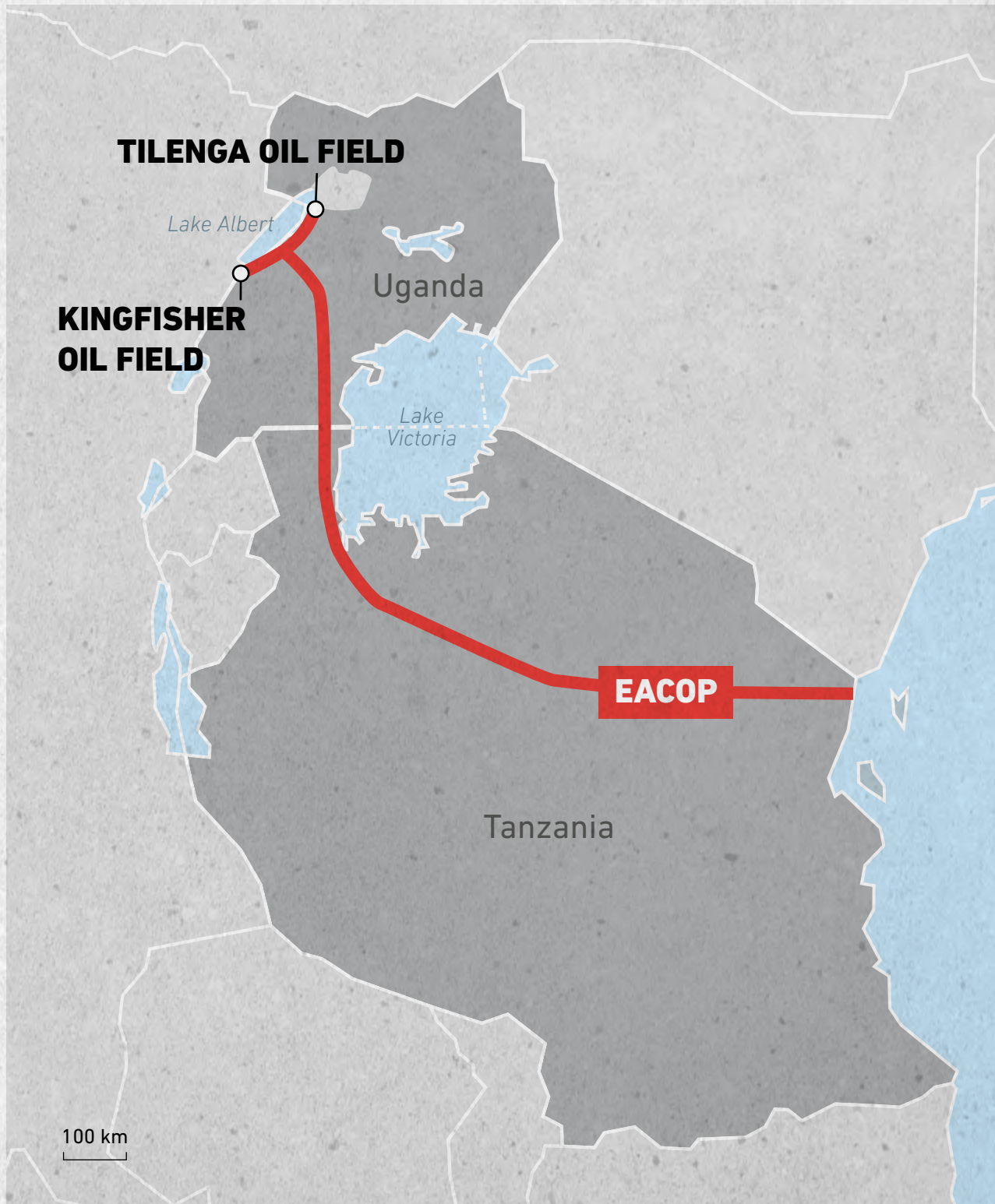
10 <https://www.amisdelaterre.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/a-nightmare-named-total-oct2020-foe-france-survie.pdf>







# MAP OF THE PROPOSED PIPELINE





# PURPOSE

This report is based on the insights provided by locally engaged activists and their confrontations with powerful oil companies, government officials, and international financiers. The interviews we draw on were conducted as part of a half-year research project based at Roskilde University, Denmark. We want to stress the appalling realities on the ground, especially in Uganda where our interviewees were located, and uphold the demands of activists to put people and the planet over profit. It is obvious and undeniable: EACOP needs to be stopped, the oil must remain in the ground!

Working towards this is a responsibility for all those who can influence the future of the EACOP project, directly or indirectly. This includes TotalEnergies and CNOOC, the Ugandan and Tanzanian governments, international financiers as well as governments and civil society in the Global North (for a more detailed list of recommendations for these stakeholders, see the section: *“What can be done?”*).

The research at the heart of this report analysed how activists in Uganda challenge the destructive nature

of EACOP. We investigated how the national context in Uganda shapes the activism of those at the frontline of the fight against EACOP. In addition, we explored what actions are used by activists in response to the challenges and opportunities they encounter. We aim to share the inspiring strategies employed by the activists and to highlight why the EACOP project urgently requires international attention.

The findings presented in this report **were made possible through the invaluable cooperation of frontline activists, and we sincerely express our gratitude for their trust and support.** We take this opportunity to illuminate the unwavering resilience of these local activists, with whom we stand in solidarity and whose voices we are committed to amplify. EACOP is a prime example of the ruthlessness of big oil corporations as well as their collaborators and financiers in the pursuit of financial gain. It illustrates how fossil fuel extraction in Africa sacrifices human rights and the integrity of the environment for the benefit of companies and consumers abroad. This is unacceptable. All stakeholders need to step up, take responsibility, and stop EACOP.



# WHO DID WE SPEAK TO?

By focusing on stories of activists on the ground, those who are at the frontline of resistance against EACOP in Uganda, we aimed to achieve a richer understanding of the context, the conditions, and the scale of what is at stake. The political oppression endured by these activists often remains hidden and unreported, thereby making first-hand accounts invaluable to understanding the potentials and barriers for activism against EACOP in Uganda.

This report focuses on the perspectives and first-hand experiences of five climate activists in Uganda, who are currently fighting to stop the construction of the pipeline project. We interviewed these activists in the spring of 2023. We have condensed our main findings and taken key quotes from these interviews which will be presented in the subsequent sections of this

report, *"The realities of activism against EACOP"* and *"How is the Global North involved"*. The five activists interviewed have played a significant role in shaping the *"What can be done?"* section, ensuring that the recommendations align with the demands of local activists in Uganda.

The EACOP project is not only affecting people in Uganda but also in Tanzania. The research on which this report is based, however, focuses on the stories of Ugandan activists for two reasons. Firstly, we had to take into account time and resource limitations for our research project. Secondly, initial talks with actors who were supporting mobilisation against EACOP on Ugandan and Tanzanian outlined that, for political and security reasons, activism was currently more present in Uganda than in Tanzania.



PHOTO: NYOMBI MORRIS



# INTRODUCTIONS TO THE ACTIVISTS



## **NYOMBI MORRIS**

**Activist, Fridays for Future Uganda  
(FFF Uganda)**

He became a climate activist at the age of 19 and has become a prominent figure in the Ugandan branch of Fridays For Future, the global climate movement started by Greta Thunberg from Sweden. He has received major international recognition for his work as an activist to advocate for climate justice and gender equality. Since 2021, he has been a strong voice in opposition to EACOP, arranging protests and awareness-raising campaigns on the economic, social, and environmental injustices inherent in the EACOP project.



## **NAKIBULI MIREMBA**

**(Name changed)**

This activist has worked specifically on promoting the rights of the most vulnerable groups, such as women and girls, who are disproportionately affected by climate change and the EACOP project. By her request, she remains anonymous and we have changed her name to protect her from additional security threats and repercussions she may be exposed to in Uganda following her activism against EACOP.



## **BAREKYE GERALD**

**Activist, Centre for Environmental  
Research and Agriculture Innovations  
(CERAI)**

As the director of the youth-led organisation CERAI, he is working to promote investments in clean energy as an alternative to fossil fuels investments. He founded CERAI with his co-students from university, who like himself were passionate about the environment and concerned about the impacts of the EACOP project. CERAI is part of the international coalition #StopEACOP, which today consists of over 260 organisations and has had success in pressuring major financiers to back out of the EACOP project.



## **ARYAMPA BRIGHTON**

**Activist, Youth for Green Communities  
(YGC)**

He founded YGC in 2018 with his university classmates to get young people to raise their voices on environmental and resource governance issues. Using his background in law, he has been a strong force in gathering and supporting several social movements and organisations in launching legal complaints against the Ugandan government over the EACOP project. Moreover, as part of YGC, he has been active in digital awareness-raising campaigns and empowered young people to use social media and other channels to speak about oil injustices and violations of human and environmental rights in EACOP-affected communities



## **OKULONY SAMUEL**

**Activist, Environmental Governance  
Institute (EGI)**

With a background in Environmental Science Technology, he was introduced to activism concerning climate change adaptation, just energy transition, and human rights. Since then, he has devoted his career to academic research and project management in these areas, garnering local and regional recognition for his contributions to sustainable management initiatives and natural resource accountability in Uganda and the Great Lakes Region. In the past, he coordinated research efforts at the non-governmental African Institute for Energy Governance (Afiege). Currently, he leads the Ugandan-based NGO Environment Governance Institute (EGI). These positions have enabled him to work closely with communities that are most vulnerable to the impacts of climate change and the EACOP project.

# THE REALITIES OF ACTIVISM AGAINST EACOP IN UGANDA

## HOW DOES THE NATIONAL CONTEXT IN UGANDA SHAPE ACTIVISM?

Uganda's history of colonisation by the UK has left profound and enduring impacts on the country. The process of colonial border creation and the aftermath of independence in 1962 resulted in violent conflicts and an oppressive eight-year-long military dictatorship. Amidst this tumultuous period, President Yoweri Museveni ascended to power and replaced the dictatorship with an authoritarian regime, which maintained its grip on power for the subsequent years. These historical events have significantly shaped the trajectory of Uganda's governance and continue to influence the country's political and social landscape to this day.

This context creates a challenging and dangerous environment for activists who protest against oil extraction activities. Our research spotlighted the following three characteristics:

### 1. The Ugandan state employs violence to maintain control and suppress dissent.

► Activists are confronted with a myriad of risks, including intimidation, potential legal consequences, imprisonment, and even the threat of severe physical harm.

### 2. Economic relations between Uganda and the Global North are neo-colonial and exploitative.

► Power imbalances favour the interests of big corporations and severely limit the potential of activism to influence decision-making.

### 3. Powerholders in Uganda use “development” as a justification for large infrastructure projects, such as resource exploitation within EACOP.

► By using the development narrative, powerholders are discrediting activists as adverse to progress, while simultaneously promoting their own fossil-fuel-based vision of the future.

Overall, these characteristics restrict the room for civil society and activist organisations to resist the destruc-

tion of their livelihoods and environment. Furthermore, greedy corporations and corrupt government officials are allowed to seek out the financial benefits of fossil-fuel extraction – all of that in the name of national “development”.

## WHAT CONCRETE CHALLENGES DO ACTIVISTS IN UGANDA ENCOUNTER?

Activists interviewed describe a hostile and repressive environment around challenging the EACOP project in Uganda. Those who stand up and defend human and environmental rights expose themselves to significant risks, as they confront powerful interests primarily focused on private profit. Concretely, the dangers of activism are manifested through the following perceived threats:

- Agreements concerning the construction of EACOP happen behind closed doors and in violation of Uganda's Information Access Act.
- Activists' work is prevented and discredited through bureaucratic hurdles, smear campaigns, and harassment against activist organisations.
- Activists' communications and activities are subject to surveillance and undue monitoring.
- Public protests are restricted through the suspension of social media channels, the prohibition of public information meetings, and threats against project-affected persons (PAPs) who cooperate with activists.
- Activists are exposed to threats and intimidation tactics.
- Activists are at risk of arrest and maltreatment during incarceration.
- A specialised oil-gas police has been formed and acts at the behest of TotalEnergies and CNOOC to protect extraction sites or shut down local resistance to EACOP.



*"The Parliament is surrounded by, I mean, like crazy, crazy stuff like security, you know, so you cannot just come and sit there. They can kidnap you, they can arrest you and make you disappear forever."*

– Nyombi Morris

## WHAT OPPORTUNITIES DO ACTIVISTS PERCEIVE?

Despite this narrowing space for resistance against EACOP, activists in Uganda refuse to yield. Driven by the injustices of ongoing fossil-fuel extraction, they persist in raising their voices and creatively utilise the remaining opportunities they perceive to advocate for change.

Firstly, the activists work by formulating a framework of claims. This framework entails establishing specific demands, identifying the claimants on whose behalf these demands are made, and selecting the power-holders to whom the demands are directed. Figure 1 visualises how the framework of claims can be structured around three main areas of demands: environmental justice, social justice, and procedural justice.

Secondly, the activists adapt to fend for themselves in the repressive environment of the Ugandan state. They make use of the opportunities they can identify and come up with innovative strategies of action. These actions carried out by activists can be categorised into

three broad groups which highlight specific opportunities for activism that remain within the repressive context of the Ugandan state.

### 1. EXTERNAL ENGAGEMENT AND ALLIANCES:

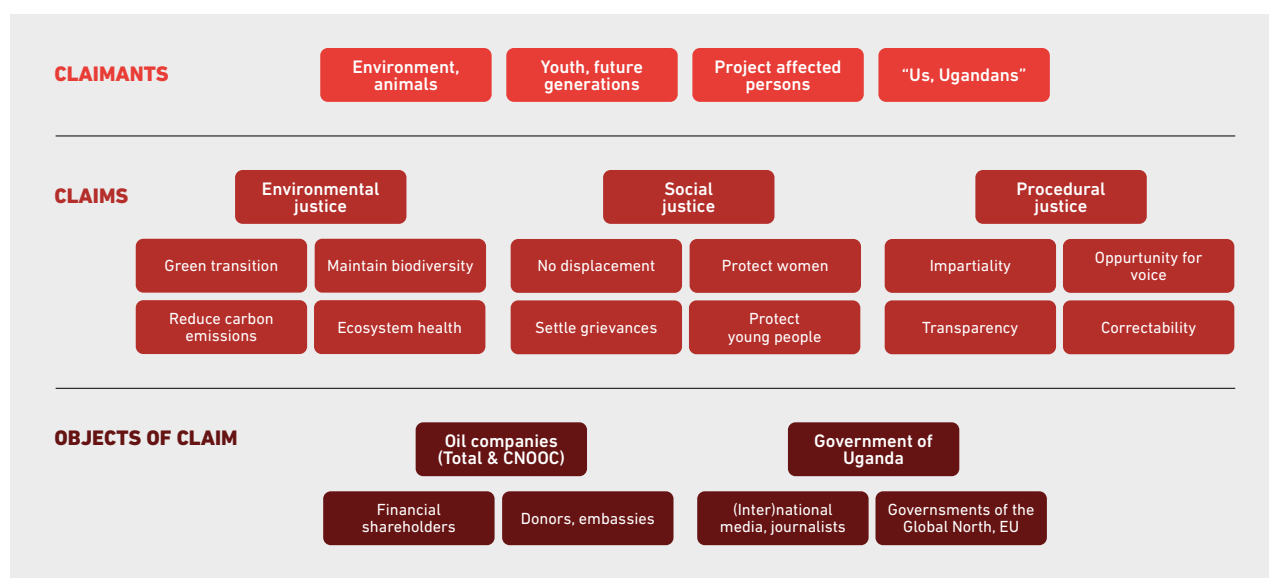
**Seeking external support:** Reaching out to international organisations and international media outlets to amplify awareness of the fight against EACOP and put the social, procedural, and environmental injustices caused by the pipeline on the global agenda.

► This brings attention to the wrongdoings of TotalEnergies, CNOOC, and state authorities and adds external pressure for these stakeholders to adhere to international human rights and compensation standards as well as global climate commitments.

*"So you find the medium that we would be using – they already compromised. It's the government doing it. It is they who decide what should be aired out and what shouldn't. But we try to expand and enlarge our networks. Make sure that if I fail to pass my information here, but if I get someone from Al-Jazeera, my information can go out. And in Uganda, Ugandans can watch Al-Jazeera and see what we are talking about. So we are trying to think outside the box. Yeah, if we can get some media from Denmark, we can have interviews and our information goes out. Because yeah, it is becoming so tricky."*

– Barekye Gerald

Figure 1: Framework of claims



**Partnering with international actors:** Building alliances and collaborations with international activists and organisations who share similar goals or interests, including NGOs, human rights groups, and advocacy networks to create a strong international campaign against EACOP.

- ▶ This enables activism to forego some of the security threats of on-the-ground activism.

*"It's a global thing whereby Total is not based in Uganda, Total's headquarters is in France. So we reached out to activists from France and told them what was happening and they decided to join us."*

– Nyombi Morris

*"Sometimes we want to organise an activity but this activity may not survive, and that's why we have tried to put most of the activities at the international levels to reduce the risks that are here on the ground."*

– Barekye Gerald

**Response to European Parliament resolution:** Strategically leveraging and responding to resolutions, statements, or positions taken by international bodies, such as the European Parliament.

- ▶ This highlights international disapproval of the human rights infringements faced by PAPs and activists against EACOP. It also increases the pressure for change.

*"Knowing that the European Parliament came in [with a statement against human rights abuses of EACOP], for me, it was breathtaking. Like okay, your problems have been mentioned, probably also outside in the world and many people also are aware of them."*

– Aryampa Brighton

## 2. COMMUNICATION AND DIGITAL ACTIVISM:

**Social media campaigns:** Utilising social media platforms like X (previously named Twitter) to create campaigns.

- ▶ This enables activists to mobilise support and raise awareness about the detrimental impacts of EACOP.

*"Social media has really worked for us and we are still pushing for reach because it has really created public pressure on the government."*

– Nakibuli Mirembe

**Online advocacy:** Leveraging digital platforms to advocate for alternatives to EACOP, share community information, and engage with affected parties.

- ▶ This gives the activist a meaningful alternative to organising protests and demonstrations on the streets, thereby avoiding the risk of harassment, arrest, and physical harm.

*"I had to change the way I communicate [to] social media [...] I just changed the way I delivered the message because I realised that I can no longer go to the street and stand every Friday [...], otherwise, I might put myself in danger."*

– Nyombi Morris

**Advocacy letter writing:** Crafting and sending letters to policymakers, government officials, and relevant stakeholders to express concerns, demands, and proposed alternatives to EACOP.

- ▶ This gives the activists an avenue to directly address the powerholders, deliver their critique of the EACOP project, and demand the change they want.

*"We've written advocacy letters to the government and parliament of Uganda and also to banks that are pledging to invest in this."*

– Aryampa Brighton

## 3. GRASSROOTS MOBILISATION AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT:

**Community information dissemination:** Sharing information with affected communities about the project and its potential impacts through various channels such as community meetings, workshops, and grassroots organising.

- ▶ This helps affected communities to know the rights they hold and guard them against infringement by oil companies and state authorities.



*"You find that most of the affected communities, they have no capacity to actually meet directly [with the oil companies] and activate the issues. So we support them, we talk to them, we go with them, we go to the offices, we have meetings with them."*

– Barekye Gerald

*"We organise workshops to empower the human rights defenders who are working in the oil-affected communities. We give them digital skills, we give them know-how to protect themselves from physical violence."*

– Nakibuli Mirembe

**Mobilising young people:** Engaging and empowering the youth to play an active role in the movement against EACOP.

► This enables the movement against EACOP to leverage the young people's energy, creativity, and passion to bring about change.

*"The young people are hungry. They see the issue at a global scale and get hungry; looking at what can be done. They have quite a lot of good energy to continue fighting."*

– Okulony Samuel

*"The whole idea is that if we have young people, we build the capacities for them to lead themselves and others to create change."*

– Aryampa Brighton

**Proposing alternatives to EACOP:** Working with communities to develop and promote sustainable alternatives to the EACOP project, thereby fostering community-driven solutions and engagement.

► This ensures that the movement against EACOP is constructive by developing clear visions for a better, more just, and sustainable future that is grounded in the needs and wishes of the affected communities.

*"Our demand is: stop the investment. We have many potentials where you can put your investments. Come, let us find new ways to invest together, like in our solar potential, let's look into other sectors."*

– Aryampa Brighton

## HOW DO ACTIVISTS CULTIVATE RESILIENCE?

Contesting EACOP in Uganda is challenging. The activists on the ground gave us important insights into the obstacles they face and the risks they take every day. Their resilience and determination to continue the fight





The Ugandan government is building so-called Oil Roads through the regions along Lake Albert.

are truly inspiring – so we asked the activists about the sources they draw strength and resilience from.

*“It is really so totally, psychologically, physically, and emotionally challenging. Yeah, at the same time.”*

– Nakibuli Mirembe

*“We are progressing every day. We are achieving success and we are still going on, no matter the challenges that come on the way.”*

– Barekye Gerald

**Determination in the face of injustice:** The activists have a profound awareness of the dangers posed by EACOP and feel a strong responsibility to protect their land, culture, and rights. They are driven by the urgent need to address climate change and ensure justice for future generations. This is a calling that can be shared by people around the globe and unite us in the fight against fossil fuel extraction and the practices of companies and governments that continue to put profit over people and the planet.

*“We don’t know how the world will look like even in our old age or even what we will inherit to our grandchildren.”*

– Aryampa Brighton

*“We are just trying to make sure we don’t remain silent when we have a chance to speak. Once, in the end, we are going to be the older generation and our kids will be asking us: What did you do?”*

– Nyombi Morris

**Alliances and solidarity:** One crucial aspect is the power of working together in coalitions and forming partnerships. The activists form bonds, with both international actors and local communities, standing united against the negative impacts of the project and the repressions they face. This strength in numbers not only enhances the activists’ safety but also creates pressure on authorities. Standing in solidarity with on-the-ground activists is an opportunity for everyone to join in and help to stop EACOP as well as other projects that destroy the environment and put people and livelihoods at risk for the sake of private gain.



*"When one of us gets arrested, the communities protest. You know, they say: Release our person! Because they are helping us. It creates pressure on the police."*

– Nakibuli Miremba

*"So why we work in coalition or in solidarity is for our safety. The government cannot really target all the citizens in Uganda. When they target one person, other organisations or other activists will continue pushing, and they get that we're all fighting for the same cause."*

– Nakibuli Miremba

*"We ally ourselves with international actors, especially from Europe. If we are targeted, these alliances allow us to "press an alarm", that in the past has made it possible to stop the companies from further abuses and have them respect our rights. This is how we are able to fight. It's extremely risky to go at it alone."*

– Okulony Samuel



*"We have court cases on the project. [...] We have a case in the national courts, High Court of Uganda. We have cases in the East African Court of Justice. We have a court case in the French court. We are trying [...] to involve all the institutions."*

– Aryampa Brighton

**Cultural practices:** An additional source of resilience for some of the interviewed activists are cultural practices, such as upholding religious traditions or summoning forest spirits. This adds spiritual and symbolic strength to the resistance efforts.

*"In our cultures, people believe we live among spirits, spirits that created the forest and we worship them. But EACOP comes in here and says 'No, these trees are of no value', removing them as if they were part of an ordinary forest. So, developments are actually happening while neglecting people's cultural values."*

– Okulony Samuel

Overall, the knowledge that they are not alone in their struggle presents a significant source of resilience for activists in Uganda. The solidarity among activists, affected communities and international allies serves as a reminder that they are part of a larger global movement working towards social and environmental justice. Thus, the inspiring resistance against EACOP by activists in Uganda is also a call to action for others who share fears about environmental destruction and human rights abuses. Lending support to the message of these activists is an important step towards ending fossil-fuel extraction globally.

*"Stop fossil fuels, not just in Uganda, but all over the world."*

– Aryampa Brighton

*"When we join forces, when we join ideas, we can really find ways how we can interact with the government."*

– Nakibuli Miremba

# HOW IS THE GLOBAL NORTH INVOLVED?

## WHY IS IT IMPORTANT TO DRAW INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION TO THE EACOP PROJECT AND STAND AGAINST ITS CONSTRUCTION?

Our findings emphasise that the EACOP project is not happening in isolation within Uganda and Tanzania but that Global North actors and interests are playing a crucial role in driving the project forward.

**Firstly**, a large part of the oil extracted from the EACOP oilfields is destined for the European and North American markets<sup>11</sup>. Therefore, fossil fuel projects like EACOP must be seen as part of a bigger effort by the Global North to gain access to cheap energy sources at the expense of other countries. In this way, the oil extraction in the Global South is a result of the demand for oil to fuel Western mass consumption and growth. Through their massive influence on international economic policies, Global North actors have pushed for the opening up of the Ugandan economy to international oil companies, thereby satisfying their own profit-seeking interests. This leads countries like Uganda and Tanzania to be vulnerable to resource extraction projects, like EACOP, and leaves these countries dependent on the continued demand for oil from the Global North. This stands in stark contrast to the direction the Western states and the international community need to pivot in the coming decades, as fossil fuels must be replaced by green energy to live up to the Paris Agreement and curb climate change.

*"If EACOP becomes profitable, Total makes the biggest share, not the Ugandan and Tanzanian governments. If it doesn't, Total makes the losses financially, but Uganda will remain with the financial impact of this project on its people through debts. We Ugandans are the biggest losers and the oil companies are the biggest benefitters."*

– Okulony Samuel

*"To the governments of the Global North: the hypocrisy of asking us for more, while they are still transiting away from fossil fuels within their own countries."*

– Okulony Samuel

**Secondly**, the Global North has everything to do with the EACOP project, as the pipeline is funded by big multinational banks. Although the two remaining key financial advisors for the EACOP project are the South African Standard Bank and the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China, much of the \$5 billion needed to construct the pipeline and the insurance deals required are sought from big Western-owned banks. Without Global North funding and insurance, the possibility for the pipeline to be completed is significantly decreased.

*"[With our demands] we are looking at the funders that are funding these oil companies. [And] we're looking at the insurers that are insuring this project."*

– Aryampa Brighton

*"Europe's role in Africa is that they initiate new pipeline projects."*

– Aryampa Brighton

The biggest Global North banks who have not ruled out funding the EACOP project are<sup>12</sup>:

- Goldman Sachs – UNITED STATES.
- Bank of America – UNITED STATES.
- Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria (BBVA) – SPAIN.

The biggest Global North insurance companies who have not ruled out funding the EACOP project are<sup>13</sup>:

- Lloyd's of London – UNITED KINGDOM.
- Tokio Marine Kiln – UNITED KINGDOM.
- Brit – UNITED KINGDOM.

11 <https://www.amisdelaterre.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/eacop-a-disaster-in-the-making-foe-france-and-survie-oct-2022.pdf>

12 <https://www.stopeacop.net/banks-checklist>

13 <https://www.stopeacop.net/insurers-checklist>



- Chaucer – UNITED KINGDOM.
- Liberty Mutual – UNITED STATES.
- American International Group (AIG) – UNITED STATES.
- Chubb – UNITED STATES.

But not only actors who are directly funding and insuring the EACOP project are responsible for enabling the pipeline to be built. Banks and pension funds that are investing in TotalEnergies also share this responsibility. As shareholders of TotalEnergies, the main stakeholder and driver of the EACOP project, they are complicit in allowing the company to continue the realisation of the pipeline construction.



## HOW ARE STAKEHOLDERS IN DENMARK INVOLVED IN THE EACOP PROJECT?

Denmark's involvement in EACOP comes through its pension funds and banks, which invest heavily in TotalEnergies. By the end of last year, Danish pension funds alone held approximately 7 billion Danish Kroner in TotalEnergies<sup>14</sup>. Figure 2 below lists the biggest investors in TotalEnergies among the Danish pension funds, the most prominent being PFA Pension, Danica Pension and Topdanmark<sup>15</sup>.

*Figure 2: Pension funds' investments in TotalEnergies*

PENSION FUNDS	INVESTMENTS (DKK)
PFA	1,303,580,802
Danica	347,854,104
Topdanmark	243,889,750
Velliv	186,726,179
Industriens Pension	78,388,145
PKA	67,966,086
Pension Danmark	30,136,080
Lægernes Pension	17,119,475
Pensam	13,221,380
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,288,882,001</b>

Additionally, three major Danish Banks also have huge investments in TotalEnergies, including Danske Bank with 82.4 million dollars (573.7 mio DKK), Nykredit with 21.7 million dollars (151.1 mio DKK), and Jyske Bank with 8.7 million dollars (60.6 mio DKK). This means that the Danish population indirectly funds the EACOP project through its pension savings and bank deposits.

This is a reminder to all of us that although fossil fuel extraction might happen away from our home countries, we are not detached from it. It is Global North companies, banks, and insurance providers that support EACOP and stand to gain financially from its construction. In addition, the oil extracted through EACOP will largely serve the demand of international markets and leave the people in Uganda and Tanzania with the most serious repercussions on society and the environment. It is foolish for us to close our eyes to the responsibilities that arise from these global interconnections in the extraction of fossil fuels and the fight against it. This report is a call to action for everyone to stand in solidarity with activists on the ground, amplify their demands, and hold stakeholders accountable. We cannot leave local populations alone but must acknowledge and address our own involvement.

<sup>14</sup> [https://www.ms.dk/sites/default/files/investeringerpublikationer/publikationer/2022/2022-09-29\\_pensionssektorens\\_tikkende\\_co2-bombe\\_.pdf](https://www.ms.dk/sites/default/files/investeringerpublikationer/publikationer/2022/2022-09-29_pensionssektorens_tikkende_co2-bombe_.pdf)

<sup>15</sup> [https://www.ms.dk/sites/default/files/investeringerpublikationer/publikationer/2022/2022-09-29\\_pensionssektorens\\_tikkende\\_co2-bombe\\_.pdf](https://www.ms.dk/sites/default/files/investeringerpublikationer/publikationer/2022/2022-09-29_pensionssektorens_tikkende_co2-bombe_.pdf)

# WHAT CAN BE DONE?

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR KEY STAKEHOLDERS

The following is a list of recommendations, the culmination of research-based findings and insights gathered from interviews with activists on the ground in Uganda. The voices of the interviewed activists are at the core of these recommendations, as they offer critical insights into the challenges faced by affected communities and provide pathways to achieve meaningful change.

### TO THE UGANDAN GOVERNMENT

- 1.** Engage in dialogue with the Ugandan population, especially project-affected persons (PAPs), rather than resorting to intimidation and the deployment of police forces.
- 2.** Uphold constitutional and legislative requirements regarding land rights and transparency, ensuring that Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC) is respected.
- 3.** Cease clampdowns on non-violent activists advocating against EACOP and safeguard their right to speak up without fear of persecution.
- 4.** Prioritise the well-being of Ugandans by investing in clean, renewable energy over oil and gas projects, while ensuring prompt and adequate compensation to PAPs.
- 5.** Support the affected communities with standalone solar panels that are cheap and flexible, reducing the burden of energy poverty and ensuring energy security in rural areas.

### TO TOTALENERGIES AND CNOOC

- 1.** Stop the construction of EACOP and take all measures possible to restore the livelihoods and nature already destroyed or negatively impacted by the initial phases of construction.
- 2.** Take responsibility for the impacts of the EACOP project and ensure the fulfilment of promised compensation to PAPs, including fishing communities endangered by potential oil spills. Align the compensation with human rights standards. Review past practices and publish results promptly. Provide additional allowances for lost revenue and ensure transparent communication with PAPs. Increase the budget to enhance livelihood restoration and offer land-for-land compensation options.
- 3.** Abandon new fossil fuel infrastructure and extraction projects globally, recognising the urgency of addressing climate change.
- 4.** Stop benefiting from the repressive Ugandan regime that grants extraction rights without proper consultation of PAPs. Ensure that financial cooperation with the Ugandan state and private actors does not compromise human rights and environmental protection.



## TO THE DANISH GOVERNMENT / EU

- 1.** Give visibility to the issue and condemn human rights abuses along the pipeline corridor (inspired by European Parliament Resolution 2022/2826(RSP)).
- 2.** Implement and enforce duty of vigilance laws to prevent human rights and environmental abuses along the supply chains of companies located in their countries.
- 3.** Prioritise climate justice and ensure Global North countries fulfil their pledges to mitigate climate change impacts.

## TO CIVIL SOCIETY

- 1.** Provide capacity building and security training for activists and human rights defenders to strengthen their resilience in advocating against fossil fuel extraction.
- 2.** Collaborate and coordinate with campaigns against fossil fuel extraction in the Global South, supporting local activists in their fight for justice and sustainability.

## TO GLOBAL NORTH FINANCIERS (BANKS, INSURANCE COMPANIES & PENSION FUNDS)

- 1.** Divest from EACOP and openly speak out against it. The time to negotiate is over, it is time to pull out from investing in such projects.
- 2.** Build collaborations to pressure other banks and institutions to end funding TotalEnergies and the EACOP project.
- 3.** Set clear red lines for future investments, including a commitment to withdraw support for projects and companies if human rights standards and environmental integrity cannot be guaranteed.
- 4.** Prioritise economic sectors like agriculture, tourism, and fisheries instead of oil and gas expansion in Uganda.



