Introduction

The need for international coordination on a just transition

Faced with the climate emergency, the IPCC confirms that the world must cut its emissions in half by 2030 to stay in reach of 1.5°C. The International Energy Agency has made clear that the expansion of fossil fuels is unnecessary and incompatible with a 1.5°C target.

Despite this evidence and the increase in extreme weather events globally in 2022, governments around the world still plan to produce more than double the amount of coal, oil and gas than is consistent with a 1.5°C world, according to the UNEP’s Production Gap Report.

Russia’s attack on Ukraine has emboldened those who continue to advocate business as usual – and even an increased dependence - on fossil production, in defiance of the science. It is a fact that almost 2.4 billion people - 30% of the world’s population - live in fossil fuel dependent countries that face the risk of significant economic, development and social consequences as a result of lost government revenue due to stranded fossil fuel assets.

Careful planning and international coordination are therefore essential to meet the twin challenges of phasing out fossil fuels rapidly enough to avoid catastrophic climate change, while ensuring equity and a global just transition.

Greater international cooperation on managing fossil fuel production can ensure a more equitable transition away from coal, oil and gas globally and complement the Paris Agreement by helping explicitly address the primary source of carbon dioxide emissions.

Calls for a global fossil fuel phase out date back to the 2015 Suva Declaration in which Pacific nations expressed their “grave concern that the continued increase in the production of fossil fuels (...) undermines efforts to reduce global GHG emissions and the goal of decarbonising the global economy”, and more recently the Kainaki II declaration which called for a global “just transition from fossil fuels”.


The Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty

In this context, there are growing calls for governments to negotiate a Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty, a proposed international mechanism to complement meeting the Paris Agreement’s goal of 1.5°C. The Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty proposal is structured around three core pillars:

- **Enabling a global just transition** for every country, worker and community, including through support to transition away from fossil fuel dependence, scaling up access to renewable energy, and allowing for economic diversification for fossil-free development pathways;
- **Preventing the proliferation of coal, oil and gas** by ending all new exploration and production;
- **Phasing-out existing production of fossil fuels** in line with the 1.5°C global climate goal, in a manner that is fair and equitable, where wealthy nations with the capacity and historical responsibility for emissions transition fastest.

The proposal for a global mechanism to manage fossil fuel production has gained momentum in various diplomatic and academic circles since the Paris Agreement was signed, and a global campaign and diplomatic initiative calling for a Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty was launched in September 2020 and has since built further support from a diverse range of institutions, thought leaders and governments.

**In September 2022 Vanuatu became the first country to publicly call for the negotiation of a Fossil Fuel Treaty on the floor of the UN General Assembly.**

This followed the World Health Organisation (WHO) issuing a call for a Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty and the fact that the three pillars of the proposed treaty have also been endorsed by 70 major cities and subnational governments globally including Lima, Paris, London, Sydney, Hawai’i and Kolkata, 101 Nobel laureates, over 3,000+ scientists and academics, 1,800+ civil society organisations, and 500+ parliamentarians from 69 countries.

Since Vanuatu’s call for a Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty, the proposal has also gained public displays of support from the Vatican, the President of Timor-Leste, the Government of New Zealand, and the Foreign Minister of Tuvalu and the European Parliament in their formal COP27 resolution.

**Role of an international treaty on fossil fuel production**

A Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty will complement the demand-side elements of the Paris Agreement by explicitly addressing the supply-side of fossil fuels and promoting international co-operation in active support. Other international mechanisms that have managed threats of nuclear weapons and landmines have shown that a treaty does not need to be universal to be effective. A grouping of ‘champion’ countries, including those most vulnerable to climate change, non-producers and small- and mid-level producers can drive significant change by generating collaboration between consumer and producer countries to wind down production, as well as creating new international legal standards and
shifting norms that flow through to the finance sector, subnational governments, and ultimately domestic policy actions.

**Ingredients for achieving a Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty**

Recent analysis has shown that historically, successful campaigns for humanitarian, health and environmental treaties have drawn on the following ingredients:

1) **A vibrant and growing civil society movement**: The Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty Initiative was launched in September 2020 and has since built significant momentum with support from 101 Nobel laureates, over 3,000+ scientists and academics, 1,800+ civil society organisations, 500+ parliamentarians from 69 countries and 70 major cities and subnational governments globally including London, Hawai‘i and Kolkata.

2) **An emergent evidence and knowledge base**: Carbon Tracker launched in September 2022 the Global Registry of Fossil Fuels, which tracks fossil fuel production and its associated CO2 emissions worldwide. The Fossil Fuel Treaty Initiative is also working with partner organisations from the Global Gas and Oil Network to develop a World Commission on Fossil Fuels drawing inspiration from the World Commission on Dams as well as a Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Tracker to showcase a database of the world’s leading supply-side policies.

3) **A group of champion and first-mover countries**: In September 2022, Vanuatu became the first country to publicly call for the negotiation of a Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty on the floor of the UN General Assembly. A month later the European Parliament called for nation states to develop a Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty in their formal COP27 resolution. The Fossil Fuel Treaty Initiative is now working with Vanuatu through diplomatic channels to bring on board other champion countries. New Zealand, Tuvalu, the Vatican, and Timor-Leste have already publicly displayed in-principle support for the proposal at government or ministerial levels.

4) **A preliminary series of conferences and convenings**: An initial convening was held at Stockholm+50 hosted by the Nordic Council, with facilitation by Vanuatu, Finland and UNEP. This process will be continued with a policymaker meeting at COP27 in Sharm El-Sheikh in November 2022. Eventually we hope this process could replicate the Ottawa Process of international dialogues which led to the negotiation of the Mine Ban Treaty.

5) **Selecting a forum for negotiations**: Options include a UN General Assembly resolution (similar to the Nuclear Ban Treaty), a negotiation mandate at the UN Environment Assembly (similar to the Global Plastics Treaty), or a standalone negotiations process (similar to the Mine Ban Treaty). The best forum for negotiation is likely to ultimately be driven by the preferences of champion countries, the spaces in which momentum can be generated, and relevant rules of procedure.

6) **Crafting the substance of the Treaty**: Ultimately the Treaty text will be negotiated by country parties. In the lead up to securing a negotiating mandate for a Treaty the champion countries could develop a set of principles to guide the negotiations.

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1 Read the full analysis of lessons from other humanitarian treaties relevant for an international framework on fossil fuel supply here: [https://fossilfueltreaty.org/humanitarian-treaties-lessons](https://fossilfueltreaty.org/humanitarian-treaties-lessons)

2 Access a more detailed overview of potential international legal pathways towards a Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty here: [https://fossilfueltreaty.org/legal-pathways-briefing](https://fossilfueltreaty.org/legal-pathways-briefing)
Proposed actions for country governments

As the Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty Initiative takes forward its diplomatic strategy, it is seeking support from country governments with the following activities:

**Public expression of support for a Fossil Fuel Treaty**
Join Vanuatu, the European Parliament and Ministers in New Zealand, Tuvalu and Timor-Leste in publicly calling for the development of a Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty.

**Engaging in convenings**
A series of informal convenings of government representatives is an important first step to establish a common understanding of the global coordination challenge around fossil fuel supply, and build diplomatic support for a Treaty. A series of convenings on fossil fuels could be led by a group of champion countries. This was the successful model of the Ottawa Process which led to the Mine Ban Treaty. An initial convening was held at Stockholm+50 hosted by the Nordic Council, with facilitation by Vanuatu, Finland and UNEP. As a next step, we are seeking government participation in a policymaker meeting on the topic of fossil fuel production co-hosted by Vanuatu and Tuvalu at COP27 in Sharm El-Sheikh.

**Building a group of champion countries**
Working through diplomatic channels to engage target countries on the idea of a Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty - including Pacific Island States, Caribbean Countries, small and mid-level producer countries and particularly dependent fossil fuel producers.

**Support the push for an ICJ Advisory on climate change**
Support the push for an ICJ Advisory opinion on climate change and human rights, and when it's considered by the Court, work on how to introduce issues related to fossil fuels.

**Engagement in multilateral processes**
Engagement in UN and multilateral processes such as Summit of the Future, the UNGA to look for strategic openings to include consideration of fossil fuels. This can include the addition of language relating to fossil fuel supply and/or the call for a Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty in high level statements in multilateral fora such as COP27, in addition to pushing to include relevant complementary language through the formal UNFCCC process, including within the Mitigation Work Programme, as inputs to the Global Stocktake, as part of the Katowice Committee on the Impacts of the implementation of response measures, and as part of the CMA4 and COP27 decisions, and as part of ratcheting up ambition within Nationally Determined Contributions (see appendix for suggested text).

**Supporting other fossil fuel supply-side initiatives**
- Advancing adoption of the Global Registry of Fossil Fuels within UN institutions
- Proposing and/or catalysing a World Commission on Fossil Fuels
- Joining the Beyond Oil and Gas Alliance and the Powering Past Coal Alliance, and working with country members towards support for a Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty
- Looking for opportunities in G7/G20 to advance supply-side action and call for a Fossil Fuel Treaty
- Active support of the work in multilateral fora to remove fossil fuel subsidies
Box 1: Domestic measures governments can take to reduce fossil fuel supply or dependence

In addition to engaging in international processes through the steps outlined above, countries can take a range of domestic policy measures to limit their production of fossil fuels, and the dependence of their economy, energy sector and workforce on fossil fuel production.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Supply-side policy</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Regulatory Approaches</strong></td>
<td>Limit exploration, production, or export (e.g. via moratoria, bans, or quotas)</td>
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<td>Prohibit development or limit permits for specific resources, infrastructure (oil pipelines and terminals, coal ports, etc.) or use of certain technologies</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ensure comprehensive (upstream and downstream) emissions assessment in environmental impact reviews of new fossil fuel supply projects</td>
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<td><strong>Economic instruments</strong></td>
<td>Remove fossil fuel producer subsidies</td>
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<td>Introduce fees or taxes for fossil fuel production or export, and increase royalties</td>
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<td><strong>Government provision</strong></td>
<td>Assist workers and communities transitioning out of fossil fuel production</td>
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<td>of goods and services</td>
<td>Divest state-controlled investment funds from companies involved in fossil fuel production</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Restrict financing for fossil fuel supply projects through government-owned finance institutions (e.g. export credit agencies, and national and multilateral banks)</td>
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<td><strong>Information and transparency</strong></td>
<td>Require corporate disclosure of long-term climate-related risks associated with capital-intensive upstream production and exploration (Carbon Tracker Initiative 2019a)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Set targets for reducing fossil fuel production and report on progress alongside existing climate mitigation accounts (e.g. by using an extraction based emissions accounting framework) (Steininger et al. 2016)</td>
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<td><strong>Increased international</strong></td>
<td>Countries in the Global North provide additional finance, technology and capacity building support to countries in the Global South to enable a transition to 100% renewable energy, economic diversification for fossil fuel dependent sectors and economies, and a just transition for workers and communities.</td>
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Support available from the Fossil Fuel Treaty Initiative

The Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty Initiative can support your country’s diplomatic engagement activities through the following resources:

- Resources to support events, activities, and travel required to advance this agenda;
- Additional capacity to support diplomatic efforts;
- Research and policy development work on key issues or areas where further knowledge and information would be useful e.g. Pacific Just Transition Report
- Communications support including drafting, filming, publishing, pitching, and distributing materials and assets;
- A diverse network of high-profile, trusted external validators and amplifiers from around the world who can promote, recognise, and support your country’s leadership on this issue.

Appendix: Suggested text for COP27

The following text may be amended as appropriate for inclusion in statements declarations and as inputs into negotiations under existing multilateral processes, including under the UNFCCC within the Mitigation Work Programme, as inputs to the Global Stocktake, as part of the Katowice Committee on the Impacts of the implementation of response measures, as part of the CMA4 and COP27 decisions, and as part of ratcheting up ambition within Nationally Determined Contributions.

Recently, language on fossil fuel supply has tended to be watered down or rendered ineffective by qualifying words such as ‘unabated’ coal, or ‘inefficient’ subsidies, which provide loopholes for major producer countries and corporations to continue to expand fossil fuel production and subsidies under the argument that they will ‘abate’ or ‘offset’ their emissions, or that their subsidies are ‘efficient’, despite these terms having no clear definition, and technology required for genuine abatement of emissions having not yet been proven. It is recommended to avoid such words, and to advocate against their inclusion in any text.

An example of appropriate language which can be directly referenced is Recommendation 3 of the United Nations Stockholm+50 Recommendations and Actions for Renewal and Trust which recognises the need to ‘phase out of fossil fuels while providing targeted support to the poorest and most vulnerable in line with national circumstances and recognizing the need for financial and technical support towards a just transition.’
Suggested text on fossil fuel supply:

The language below may be adapted into the appropriate format for speeches, statements and negotiating texts, as needed.

[Country] calls on [the international community]/[Parties to the UNFCCC/Paris Agreement]/[other relevant fora] to:
1. Recognise the urgent need to end expansion of new fossil fuel production, agree an equitable phase out of existing production in line with the 1.5°C temperature goal, and to develop and resource a plan for a global just transition for fossil fuel dependent countries and communities;
2. Commit to phasing out fossil fuel production and taking action to fulfill these commitments on the basis of equity, taking into account each country’s capacity to transition, level of dependence on fossil fuel production, and historical responsibility for climate change and ecological crises;
3. Recognise the need for a mechanism - which is complementary to the Paris Agreement - for international cooperation on fossil fuel production, such as a Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty, to be situated within the UN system to further progress towards these urgent actions;
4. Commit to providing finance and technology to countries with high dependence on fossil fuels and limited capacity to transition to i) increase access to renewable energy, ii) diversify their economies and iii) ensure a just transition for workers and communities;
5. Urgently commit to an immediate ban on fossil fuel production in ecologically sensitive areas, including transfers for developing countries to pursue alternative economic opportunities in exchange for not exploiting their fossil fuel resources in these areas.
6. Agree to establish a Global Commission on Fossil Fuels within UN dialogues, to produce an authoritative evidence base on the impacts of fossil fuels on a healthy, sustainable and inclusive planet and prosperity for all, and to inform a global, equitable phase out of fossil fuels;
7. Acknowledge the need for improved government transparency on historical and planned fossil fuel production through reporting and/or verifying data included in the newly established Global Registry of Fossil Fuels.

Suggested text for the Mitigation Work Programme:

The text below has been developed specifically to inform the design of the Mitigation Work Programme (MWP) under the UNFCCC. It may also contain useful content for other processes under the UNFCCC.

1. The MWP must follow up on the Glasgow Pact provisions on energy by developing a timeline for the phaseout of all fossil fuels - coal, oil and gas, as well as fossil fuel subsidies with developed countries taking the lead.
2. The MWP must reflect the need that to achieve the Paris goals, all countries will need to cease new oil, gas, and coal exploration and development immediately and set targets for significant reductions in global fossil fuel production and export by 2030, with wealthy countries moving first and fastest to phase out extraction while supporting just-transition in developing countries.
3. The MWP must ensure that countries’ NDC implementation promotes an equitable and just transition that respects human rights, Indigenous Peoples’ rights, children’s rights and results in access to clean, reliable and affordable energy for their populations. It must be supported through international cooperation and governance measures.
4. The MWP is complementary to the Global Stocktake, and must be based on equity and fair shares and the principle of Common but Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities (CBDR-RC).
5. The MWP should create a check-in and accountability process of Parties’ sectoral pledges and commitments. Voluntary sectoral pledges and commitments must be linked to NDCs and Long Term Strategies (LTS) and provide a readily available opportunity to enhance ambition.
6. Ministerial roundtables should be informed by the technical work of the MWP, allowing a political check-in on strengthening and revisiting NDCs and implementation.
7. The role of Non–Party Stakeholders (NPS) towards raising 2030 ambition and implementation should be enhanced, by strengthening the link between their contributions and efforts by Parties, and by enabling the contributions of NPSs to the Work Programme through reporting frameworks.