

## **Submission COP30 Presidency Roadmap for Transitioning Away from Fossil Fuels in a Just, Orderly and Equitable Manner.**

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### **(a) What are the most critical barriers — whether physical, economic, financial, institutional, technological or social— preventing a transition away from fossil fuels?**

There are many closely interrelated barriers that prevent a rapid and just transition away from fossil fuels. Here we identify three: the first is the ability of fossil fuel incumbents like companies, investors, insurers, and political actors to:

- Entrench the fossil fuel system through lock-ins

Fossil fuel project development, infrastructures and finance create long-term lock-in to unsustainable trajectories. The lengthy lifecycle of fossil fuel projects, especially oil and gas, means those with economic interests in projects are committed to maintaining the system for as long as possible. The connections between fossil fuel corporations and pro-fossil political parties hinder a transition through political lock-in: campaign contributions, lobbying, and the role of fossil rents in development and employment prolong the fossil fuel system.

- Actively block efforts to move away from fossil fuels

The threat (real or perceived) of capital flight and the initiation of lawsuits (through the Investor State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) mechanism, for example) against states that seek to curb fossil fuel production is another major barrier. Corporations can seek redress and the mere possibility of fossil fuel phaseouts can lead to enforcement of market discipline and credit rating agency pressure, particularly on heavily indebted states in the Global South.

This requires states to act together and coordinate their climate actions in the face of attempts to play them off against one another. The second barrier, therefore, is the lack of effective international coordinated action. The risk of leading on fossil fuel phaseout without anyone following or matching (free-riding), and anticipating the backlash from attempted fossil fuel phaseouts, means that states may be reluctant to raise their level of ambition. Historically, the lack of discussion of fossil fuels at COP meetings means there is a lack of dedicated pathways within international climate negotiations to address fossil fuels. The growth of phase out clubs such as the Powering Past Coal Alliance (PPCA) and the Beyond Oil and Gas Alliance (BOGA) and growing calls for a Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty are more encouraging in this regard.

The third issue is the disconnect between climate policies and technocratic, expert, and legal debates on the one hand, and lay, rural, and Indigenous knowledge on the other. This divide often renders discussions on transitions and climate change as external or overly complex. This poses a significant risk, as phase-out policies remain primarily a concern for governments, limiting society's ability to build broad and sustained consensus around these issues, and ensuring that regardless of political positions, governments build strong and

consistent phase-out policies. This also shows the problem of leaving “the truth” and the courses of action only to western science, instead of building clear roadmaps from an “ecologies of knowledge” perspective.

**(b) What potential levers, whether economic, financial, institutional, social or technological, exist for accelerating the implementation of the transitioning away commitment?**

There are now many first mover countries whose policies we have analysed as part of the SUS-POL project at the University of Sussex, UK. We have seen important progress made by fossil fuel phase out clubs such as BOGA and the PPCA. But we now need a multilateral treaty guided by principles, procedures and funding mechanisms to support countries to diversify their economies and reduce their exposure to the economic, social and environmental effects of fossil fuels. This is why we first proposed back in 2018 the idea of a Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty which now has the support of 18 states and many hundreds of civil society, labour and indigenous peoples’ organisations and others.

Such a treaty would complement the climate regime by getting to the heart of the problem: the fossil fuels driving the climate crisis. The climate regime addresses many other issues such as adaptation, loss and damage, technology transfer and so on but has failed for 30 years to name the number one driver of climate change. Its voting procedures mean powerful and often undemocratic fossil fuel nations are able to hold up progress on this critical issue. The Santa Marta summit has an unprecedented opportunity to build a coalition of the willing: of states, civil society and other organisations willing to build our global roadmaps for a fair transition away from fossil fuels under the umbrella of a new multilateral agreement.

**(c) What country, regional or sector roadmap experiences, best practices, and lessons learned can be shared?**

As part of our analysis of the cases in Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean and our involvement in these regions, we have identified many lessons learnt from countries putting in place a wide range of supply-side policies to phase-out fossil fuels including:

1. **The need to put justice at the core of transition strategies and build meaningful and binding social and multi-actor participation.** Phasing out fossil fuel production requires comprehensive policies that address economic, sociocultural, environmental, industrial and health dimensions. Impacts extend beyond formal and unionized workers to disproportionately affect precarious and informal workers - including subcontracted labour, as seen in Chile -as well as women engaged in unpaid domestic and care work. A just transition must therefore account for how these measures differently shape well-being across gender, ethnic, and class lines.
2. **It is critical to have adequate diagnoses of the most affected people and build clear and manageable strategies to transition away from fossil fuel production.** Understanding the full range of impacts and their cascading effects across sectors is essential. This includes identifying who is directly and indirectly affected, how these impacts unfold, and which factors enable or constrain systemic reductions in fossil fuel production. Addressing these questions is critical for effective planning and adaptive policy design.

Although ambitious, the cases of Chile and Colombia illustrate the consequences of insufficient state planning - particularly regarding electricity system inertia, transmission infrastructure, and storage capacity - as well as the prioritization of market-led approaches. Even where there is public and private commitment to decarbonization, these constraints have delayed progress and led to significant curtailment of renewable energy.

3. **Effective and enduring transitions require medium- and long-term planning and legislation.** Embedding transition efforts in law is essential to ensure continuity beyond electoral cycles and to avoid setbacks during political or economic crises. Chile's, Denmark's or Colombia's Climate Change Law is a great example of setting long-term institutional mechanisms for monitoring progress. Ecuador, meanwhile, offers another great example through its recognition of the rights of nature, which aligns legal frameworks to biodiversity protection and environmental stewardship. The UK has recently banned new licenses for exploration in the North Sea, with legislation expected to be tabled in parliament soon. Denmark's 2050 production phase-out date is enshrined in law and creates a long-term trajectory for winding down extractive industries in its basin.
4. **Economic diversification and alternative rents.** Transitions must address the potential for territorial economic diversification, the fiscal challenges of phasing out fossil fuel production, and viable alternatives to replace fossil revenues over the medium and long term. Promoting industrial policies that not only add value to diversification but that also incorporate social and environmental sustainability is key to building resilient economies and fostering the support of affected communities and wider publics. Denmark's transition plan following the development of a vibrant domestic wind power industry has created an industrial footprint that has been able to supplement the losses from the oil and gas industry, providing secure employment for workers. The UK's development of the wind industry, however, has been less successful in this regard.
5. **Project life cycles and adaptive governance.** A systemic approach is needed to account for the full life cycle of projects and infrastructures, including closure phases. In Colombia, weak regulatory frameworks and the absence of clear closure plans have led to socio-environmental crises, highlighting the need for robust standards that address environmental liabilities, local economic conditions, socio-psychological impacts, and long-term externalities.

Similarly, as shown by the case of the rapid coal phase-out in the Chilean electrical system, continuous spaces for participatory re-evaluation are essential to adapt transition pathways and ensure effective implementation.

**(d) How can a just, orderly and equitable transition best reflect the diverse realities of countries at different stages of development and with different degrees of dependence on fossil fuels?**

As proposed by Newell and Simms (2019), this could have three pillars: non-proliferation (no new expansion); fair phase out and just transition. It could have a global transition fund financed by redirected fossil fuel subsidies (which currently stand at \$11 billion a minute worldwide according to the IMF) to support economies dependent on fossil fuels to diversify

their economies. Many key legal principles that underpin such an agreement already exist and there is wide support for them. The work we have done for the legal working group of the Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty has identified many principles, procedures, mechanisms and approaches to compliance that exist in the realm of international environmental, human rights and trade law to name just a few that could be repurposed for a fossil fuel treaty. Other innovations and principles for sequencing a fair phase out have been outlined in our work and that of other scholars working on these issues which we are happy to share with the conference organisers.

Equally, addressing the external debt burden of low- and middle-income countries is essential to enable investments in transitions to cleaner economies and energy systems. In countries such as Colombia and Ecuador, dependence on fossil fuel revenues underscores the need to manage the fiscal implications of a post-fossil transition in a fair and responsible manner. Ensuring that transition policies and legal frameworks are adequately resourced is also critical for their effective implementation.