

# POWERING UP POTENTIAL

Assessing Australia's policies, investments and practices relating to enabling a global just energy transition



**OXFAM**  
Australia

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Cover: Sambo, Cambodia: Vantha is part of a solar powered Aquaponics pilot project in her village. The pilot gives local villagers the opportunity to grow vegetables in a climate resilient way that can then be used to support their household expenses. Photo: Patrick Moran/Oxfam. Oxfam acknowledges the support of the Australian Government through the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) for this project.



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# SUMMARY

The global energy transition is more than just a shift in technology – it is a restructuring of power. While phasing out fossil fuels and scaling up renewables are essential, failing to embed justice risks deepening global inequalities. If the transition replicates past patterns of extraction and exclusion, it will entrench existing injustices rather than addressing them.

The work within Australia to deliver a just energy transition domestically is critical.<sup>1</sup> It represents a vital shift for Australian industries, workers and communities, helping to create a more equitable future as the country moves away from fossil fuels. But here's the thing: while much of the attention has focused on this internal transformation, with varying success, there's been almost no focus on the global picture – Australia's (or other high-emitting, wealthy countries') role beyond their own borders.

Australia plays a crucial role in shaping this transition beyond its borders. As a major fossil fuel exporter and a key player in global trade, finance and diplomacy, its policies influence how energy is produced, accessed and distributed worldwide. This paper evaluates Australia's international commitments across key levers – trade, export finance, sovereign wealth funds, development assistance and multilateral negotiations – against principles of a just energy transition: recognition, remedial, distributive and procedural justice, alongside the urgency of emissions reductions.

The findings show that Australia's commitments to justice in the energy transition are inconsistent and, in many cases, weak or absent. Trade agreements continue to facilitate fossil fuel exports. Export Finance Australia lacks restrictions on financing coal, oil and gas. Responsible sourcing of transition minerals remains unaddressed. Development assistance shows some promise but lacks clear mechanisms to ensure equitable benefit sharing. The term 'just transition' is barely present in policy

documents, appearing in only a handful of the almost 70 reviewed. Even where it is mentioned, there is little clarity on how the Australian Government defines or implements the concept.

Australia's approach to a global just energy transition is fragmented and largely uncommitted. Most policies and agreements show little integration of justice principles, with average scores falling between 'not committed' and 'minimally committed' across all justice elements. If Australia continues down this path, it risks reinforcing a system where wealthier nations benefit from the transition while marginalised communities bear the costs. But with targeted action Australia could be a leader.

The choices made now will shape the global energy system for decades. In the shift to renewable energy globally, Australia can provide far more support to low-income countries to avoid the pollution pathway and become energy secure nations that thrive on clean, renewable energy sources. Australia can help ensure marginalised communities are heard in the transition, their rights upheld, and their futures made more secure through community owned, affordable and reliable renewable energy.

Australia can support a transition that builds a more equitable, sustainable world where both people and the planet thrive. To do this we need to scale up climate finance investment in the Just Energy Transition and ensure our international policies and practices across government departments align with achieving this outcome.

# RECOMMENDATIONS

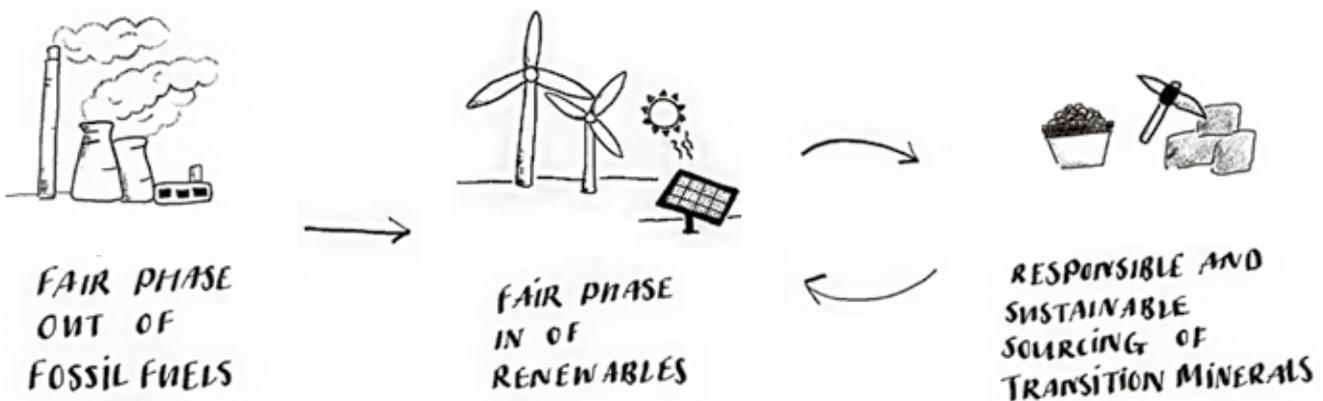
1. The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade should develop a new climate change action strategy for 2025-30 that embeds just energy transition principles, goals and action plans, including supporting access to affordable and reliable energy for all.
2. Improve government coordination and policy coherence across trade, finance, climate and development in line with just energy transition goals through an interdepartmental taskforce.
3. End fossil fuel finance and align investments with a just energy transition, including through Export Finance Australia, Australia's sovereign wealth funds, trade agreements and use Australia's positioning and influence to do the same through multilateral development banks, such as the Asian Development Bank.
4. Scale up grant-based and concessional renewable energy projects and equitable access to clean technologies, including through technology transfer cooperation, renewable energy skills training, and ensuring at least 25% of Australia's climate finance supports locally-led projects in low-income countries.
5. Embed human rights, Indigenous rights and social justice in climate and energy policies.
6. Strengthen accountability, remedial justice and corporate responsibility of Australian-supported projects and global supply chains of Australian companies, including through mandatory corporate due diligence laws requiring companies to identify, prevent and remedy environmental and human rights violations.
7. Ensure fair and sustainable resource use in global supply chains and mandate responsible sourcing of transition minerals.
8. Enhance transparency, inclusive governance and participatory decision-making in major trade, finance and energy policy decisions, ensuring Indigenous Peoples, workers and marginalised groups have a voice.
9. Scale up grant-based climate finance and support debt cancellation and relief to allow developing countries to invest in climate resilience and clean energy without worsening their debt burdens.

# 1. INTRODUCTION

## THE ENERGY TRANSITION IS ABOUT MORE THAN ONE SYSTEM OF POWER

The global energy transition is not just an engineering challenge; it is a battle over inequality. We know what needs to happen: fossil fuels must be phased out, renewables need to scale up, and the minerals required for this shift need to be sourced responsibly. But if we are not careful — if justice is not at the heart of this process — the energy transition could end up being just another chapter in the long story of extraction and inequality. If we are not deliberate, renewables could just become another extractive industry. Transition minerals are already being called the new oil,<sup>3</sup> and the rush to mine them has sparked land grabs, human rights abuses and environmental devastation in countries that are already on the losing end of global power dynamics. Without a commitment to justice in this transition, we are at risk of simply greening inequality. This is not just about technology — it is about systems of power.

Figure 1: What the energy transition encompasses



But what does it mean to embed justice at the heart of the process? Different groups have differing definitions, but for Oxfam, a just energy transition upholds four principles of justice: recognition justice; remedial justice; distributive justice; and procedural justice, while also being fast in terms of reducing emissions and limiting the worst impacts of climate change.<sup>4</sup> Figure 2 helps to break this down.

The principles in Figure 2 are more than just abstract ideas — they can be lifelines for communities on the frontlines of climate impacts. For example, procedural justice is about ensuring that local people — those most affected by the transition — have a say in how it unfolds. Without it, energy projects will replicate the same top-down, corporate-driven dynamics that have stripped communities of land, resources and agency for generations. Similarly, distributive justice asks: who really benefits from this transition, and who is bearing the largest burden? Remedial justice demands that those harmed by energy projects and policies are adequately compensated. And recognition justice ensures that marginalised communities are not seen as obstacles to progress, but as central to shaping it, and that their fundamental rights are recognised.

This is not theoretical. As seen in Box 1, people across the world are demonstrating how just energy transitions can happen. Communities are stepping up to ensure that energy projects respect rights and recognise marginalised voices, but their efforts are not enough alone. Governments must take a far greater role in enabling these transitions. Oxfam's work, and that of many others, shows that justice principles can and must be put into practice.

Look at Oxfam's work in Philippines, where a solar micro grid run by women is creating both economic empowerment and energy security. It is proof that a just energy transition can be both fast and fair (see Box 1). But this kind of justice-driven transition is the exception, not the rule. The fossil fuel industry has a history of exploitation and exclusion, and there is reason to think that the renewable energy industry may do the same unless we fundamentally rethink how our energy systems function.<sup>5</sup>

That is where speed and justice collide. The world needs to move fast to cut emissions, with historically high-emitting countries moving fastest, as evidenced by the devastating climate change impacts we are already witnessing<sup>6</sup>. But the urgency for speed cannot be used as an excuse to bypass justice. A transition that ignores people's rights and lives is not just unethical, it is self-defeating. Ignoring justice guarantees resistance, and that slows everything down<sup>7</sup>. The two are not mutually exclusive, they are mutually dependent.

Figure 2: Breaking down what 'justice' means in the energy transition



Sanag region, Somalia: Oxfam in Somalia has installed a 11kw solar system to help provide access to bore water and streetlights to help keep women safe at night in in Farogul village, Sanag region. Photo: Ahmed Osman/Oxfam.

## Box 1: Justice principles in practice

### Communities are leading in demonstrating justice principles in the energy transition

- **Recognition justice:** Oxfam strives to ensure that the rights of communities and marginalised groups are recognised and respected in energy and natural resource management. For example, in the face of large-scale energy projects like hydroelectric dams, communities across the Mekong region — who possess extensive knowledge of their natural environment — have been overlooked. Oxfam, through partnerships and capacity-building, supports these communities, and women in particular, to advocate for their rights, ensuring their voices are heard and that their contributions are recognised at the community and policy levels. This advances work towards a more equitable and inclusive energy transition, with respect for the rights and knowledge of those most affected.<sup>8</sup>
- **Remedial justice:** Indigenous women from Mekong River basin face deep remedial injustice due to energy and infrastructure projects that displace them from their lands and damage their resources without providing compensation or proper redress. These projects violate their rights to live on and protect their ancestral lands, stripping them of their means of survival and disregarding their voices in decision-making processes. In response, these women have organised within their communities, demanding their rightful compensation and resisting further displacement. They are defending their fundamental right to exist on their land and protect their livelihoods. To truly uphold these rights, governments must enforce the protection of Indigenous land, ensure free, prior and informed consent<sup>i</sup> is followed, and provide accessible legal pathways for remedy and compensation, aligning with their obligations to protect the rights of Indigenous peoples.<sup>9</sup>
- **Procedural justice:** The Pacific Climate Change Collaboration, Influencing and Learning (PACCCIL) project emphasises the importance of procedural justice in addressing the climate crisis, ensuring that Pacific Island communities, particularly Indigenous groups, are actively involved in decision-making processes that affect their lands and livelihoods. Procedural justice is essential for fair climate action as it guarantees that those most affected by climate policies — often marginalised communities — have a voice in shaping them. In the context of PACCCIL, this means facilitating community-led dialogues, providing training on advocacy and leadership and creating platforms for direct engagement with policymakers. By supporting local participation in climate resilience planning and national policy consultations, the project empowers communities to influence decisions that directly impact their futures. Governments must go further in institutionalising these participatory processes, ensuring they are inclusive, accessible and genuinely responsive to the needs and insights of these communities.<sup>10</sup>
- **Distributive justice:** In Philippines, Oxfam, in partnership with local organisation SIKAT, has supported the establishment of a community-based, micro grid system on off-grid Hilabaan Island. Now managed by the women's association as a social enterprise, this system provides affordable and reliable electricity to 124 households and the local fisherfolk community. The six solar-powered streetlights and off-grid solar system, located in the island's evacuation centre, have reduced the burden of unpaid care and domestic work for women, boosted livelihoods by enabling evening work, provided children with the ability to study at night, and enhanced community security. This initiative ensures that the benefits of clean energy are distributed equitably, improving the quality of life for marginalised groups. Governments must invest in and expand community-led renewable energy projects, ensuring marginalised groups, especially women, benefit equitably from the energy transition.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>i</sup> Free, Prior, and Informed Consent is the right of Indigenous Peoples to give or withhold consent to projects that affect their lands, resources, or livelihoods. It ensures decisions are made freely (without coercion), prior to project approval, and with full, accessible information to allow meaningful participation. FPIC is recognised under international law, including the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP).

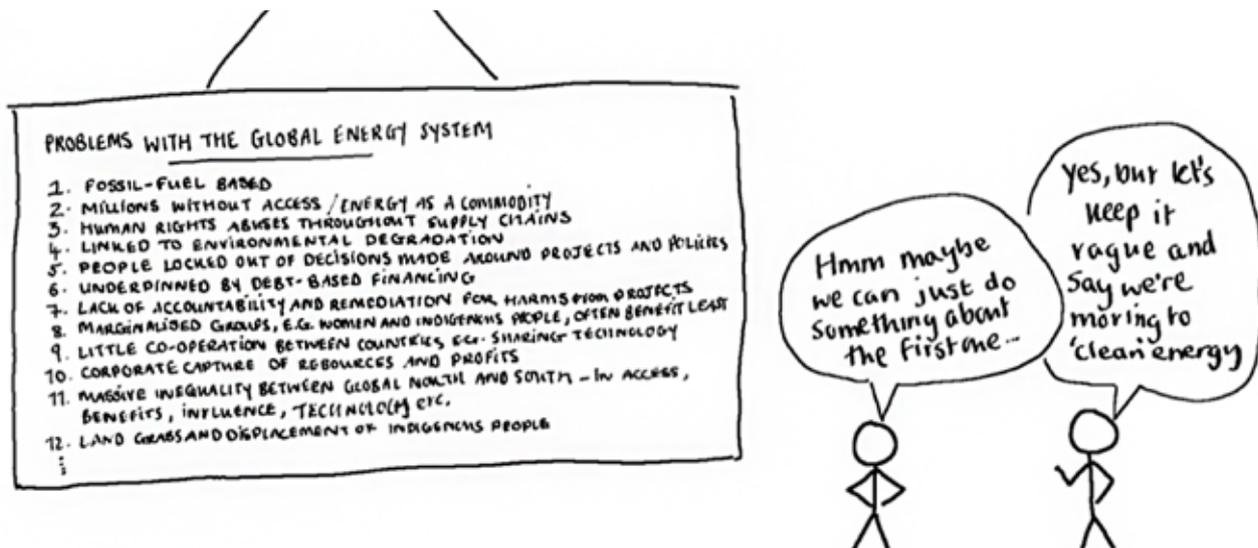
## WE WON'T MEET THE PARIS AGREEMENT GOALS WITHOUT A JUST ENERGY TRANSITION

The existing global energy system has many problems (see Figure 3), and if commitments are not made to embed justice in the transition to building a renewable energy system, then these are at high risk of being replicated. In 2021, 675 million people still lacked access to electricity.<sup>12</sup> The Business & Human Rights Resource Centre's Transition Minerals Tracker highlights that companies involved in mining the critical minerals needed for the transition are linked to multiple allegations of human rights abuses.<sup>13</sup> The World Benchmarking Alliance's Just



Hilabaan Island, Philippines: Celsa Nable is a member of a women’s group that launched a solar project. The participants appreciate the financial, health, and environmental benefits of using solar power rather than fossil fuels. This project is part of the ‘Disaster Risk Reduction: ACT Philippines’ program. Oxfam partner SIKAT is working with communities in flood prone areas to prepare for and recover from climate change impacts, and to develop local solutions to build community reliance. More in Box 1. Photo: Elizabeth Stevens/Oxfam.

**Figure 3: Switching fossil fuels for renewables still leaves a deeply unequal global energy system**



Transition Assessment showed how companies in high-emitting sectors are far from demonstrating sufficient efforts towards a just transition.<sup>14</sup> In 2023, debt instruments were the most common financial instrument used to channel climate finance globally (61%) — which can burden low-income countries and hinder their ability to transition to clean energy sustainably and fairly.<sup>15</sup>

Achieving the goals of the Paris Agreement — limiting global warming to 1.5°C or 2°C — requires wealthier nations to support developing countries in transitioning away from fossil fuels. Australia, as a major fossil fuel exporter, has a crucial role to play. Many developing nations rely on international financial support to meet their climate targets, with a significant portion of their commitments being conditional on receiving this assistance.<sup>16</sup> South Africa’s Just Energy Transition Partnership (where G7 nations promised to financially support the country’s transition from coal to cleaner energy sources) has faced challenges due to insufficient funding. Despite being a pioneer in establishing a just energy transition partnership, South Africa has struggled to secure the necessary financial support to implement its ambitious energy transition plans. This shortfall has hindered the country’s ability to move away from fossil fuels and invest in renewable energy projects at the desired pace.<sup>17</sup>

Without such support, these nations will likely continue to depend on coal, oil and gas, exacerbating global emissions. Climate finance is not only essential for making the energy transition possible but also for ensuring that it is fair, both between countries and within countries. It enables the development of clean energy while addressing socio-economic inequalities. In short, without adequate finance we will not avoid the worst climate change impacts, and the transition risks deepening global injustice.

Justice in the energy transition is not just about assigning responsibility — it is about making the transition effective. People will resist a transition that leaves them behind, and history has shown that when affected communities are ignored, transitions fail. A key factor in any successful transition is its perceived fairness. If communities feel sidelined or exploited, resistance is inevitable, which can stall or even reverse the progress of energy projects.<sup>18,19</sup> The energy transition in the Ruhr region of Germany was significantly shaped by how well procedural justice — the inclusion of affected communities in decision-making — was upheld. Without their involvement, it faced resistance and delays.<sup>20</sup>

The term ‘just transition’ goes beyond energy systems alone. It is about the society-wide shifts that must be undertaken to ensure justice is at the centre of climate action, whereas ‘just energy transition’ (and the focus of this paper) focuses on the shift from fossil fuels to renewables in energy. About 90 per cent of the world’s carbon emissions come from the burning of fossil fuels,<sup>21</sup> and fossil fuels were 81.5% of the global energy mix in 2023.<sup>22</sup> The countries and corporations that built their wealth on fossil fuels must now pay for the damage their industry has caused, and that they have profited greatly from, and contribute their fair share to the transition away from them and to renewable energy.

The energy sector, as the largest source of global emissions, is at a critical crossroads. The decisions we make now will either entrench inequality or create pathways to fair access to clean energy. Once practices are embedded, they will be much harder to change, potentially locking in either justice or injustice for generations to come. The principle of Common but Differentiated Responsibilities makes clear that wealthier nations like Australia, which built their economies on fossil fuels, must lead.<sup>23</sup> Australia’s energy decisions have consequences far beyond its borders, and it must aim for genuine emissions reductions rather than relying on unproven technologies like carbon capture and storage.

## Box 2: First Nations’ justice as a foundation for global justice

Australia cannot credibly champion climate justice abroad without confronting injustice at home. First Nations communities have long faced the dispossession of their lands, degradation of Country from mining, exclusion of Traditional Owners from decision-making, and inadequate redress for past and ongoing harms. These realities are not just historical — they shape today’s energy landscape. The destruction by Rio Tinto of the deeply spiritually significant 46,000-year old rock shelters at the Juukan Gorge in the Pilbara region of Western Australia in 2020 is one of the more profound examples of such Indigenous and human rights abuses in recent times.<sup>24</sup> Despite the community outrage, since that time, little has changed to protect Country from mining corporations’ brazen practices.<sup>25</sup>

In response, many First Nations communities in Australia are driving transformative change. Organisations like Original Power<sup>26</sup> and the First Nations Clean Energy Network<sup>27</sup> are building renewable energy futures rooted in self-determination, environmental stewardship and economic justice. Seed Youth Indigenous Climate Network is supporting First Nations youth to speak for Country and for climate justice.<sup>28</sup> The work of all these First Peoples organisations is proof that a just energy transition is not only about reducing emissions — it is about who holds power, who benefits and whose voices are heard.

Australia’s global climate credibility depends on this. Justice at home strengthens the authenticity and effectiveness of its international advocacy. Though actions within Australia are not the focus of this paper, we must emphasise that it is critically important that the just energy transition starts with action on First Nations’ land rights and justice.



Canberra, Australia: Four climate activists from the Kimberley, the Philippines and the Solomon Islands came together for the Safe Climate, Equal Future Speakers tour in September 2024, organised by Oxfam Australia and Seed Indigenous Youth Climate Network. Eduardo Maher (left) and Peter Griffiths-Sebastian (right) traveled to Parliament House and to cites across Australia to advocate for protection of Country, greater action on climate change and for a ban fracking in the Kimberly. Photo: Heidi Demond/Oxfam.

## A JUST TRANSITION IS NOT ONLY A NATIONAL ISSUE

Australia has a significant historical responsibility for climate change through its territorial emissions — the emissions produced within its own borders — alone. In fact, Australia ranks among the top five global contributors to cumulative emissions from fossil fuels and land-use changes since 1850.<sup>29</sup> These cumulative emissions are crucial, as they represent the total amount of carbon dioxide released into the atmosphere, directly driving the global warming we face today. But that is not the end of Australia’s emissions story: beyond its borders, Australia’s fossil fuel exports further increase its global carbon footprint. In 2021, Australia was the third-largest exporter of primary fossil fuels and the second-largest contributor to emissions, primarily due to its coal exports.<sup>30</sup>

Australia has made various international commitments to a just energy transition, pledging to align its climate and energy policies with equity, inclusivity and global cooperation. But the real test is whether those principles, agreed upon in global forums, are reflected in Australia’s actions beyond its borders. It is one thing for Australia to sign up for global agreements like the Paris Agreement, the COP28 Global Stocktake, or the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), but another to translate those promises into real, meaningful change, especially for the most vulnerable communities around the world.

Table 1 highlights some of Australia’s global commitments. These agreements, like the Clean Energy Transition Partnership and the Gender-responsive Just Transitions and Climate Action Partnership, emphasise justice, whether through recognising Indigenous rights or ensuring fair treatment for workers. But there is a question hanging in the air: does Australia apply these justice principles through its actions, and if it does, does that happen globally or just at home?

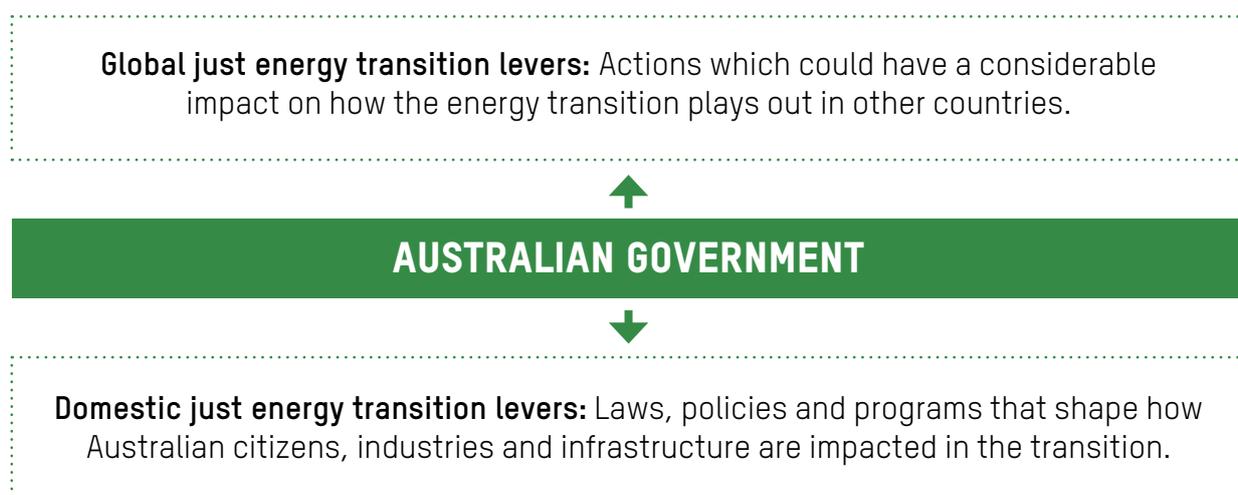
**Table 1: Global agreements Australia has signed up to, related to a just energy transition**

Name	Year	What does it say?
Global Stocktake at COP28 <sup>31</sup>	2023 – Agreed	Commits to transitioning energy systems away from fossil fuels in a just, equitable and orderly manner to achieve net zero by 2050. It highlights the importance of inclusivity, social dialogue and concessional finance for developing countries.
COP28 Gender-responsive just transitions and climate action partnership <sup>32</sup>	2023 – Signatory	Calls for urgent action to integrate gender equality in just energy transitions, promoting women’s leadership and gender-responsive investments. It stresses the need to involve marginalised women and girls and enhance social protection and economic opportunities.
Paris Agreement <sup>33</sup>	2016 – Ratified	Emphasises the need for a just transition of the workforce, ensuring decent work and quality jobs.
UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples <sup>34</sup>	2009 – Endorsed	Affirms Indigenous peoples' rights to self-determination, including participation in decisions affecting their lands, and requires free, prior and informed consent for projects on their territories. It also recognises their right to redress for infringements.
UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights <sup>35</sup>	2011 – Endorsed	States must protect human rights and businesses must respect them, both ensuring access to effective remedies for violations. Companies are required to conduct human rights due diligence across their global operations and supply chains.
Clean Energy Transition Partnership <sup>36</sup>	2023 – Signatory	Commits to supporting a just and inclusive transition, prioritising clean energy and aligning public finance with the 1.5°C warming limit. It also includes ending support for unabated fossil fuel projects and ensuring no communities are left behind.
Mission Innovation <sup>37</sup>	2021 – Member	Pledges to accelerate global clean energy innovation and cooperation to achieve net-zero emissions. The focus is on making clean energy affordable and accessible worldwide through research and development.
UN Framework Convention on Climate Change <sup>38</sup>	1992 – Signatory	Commits member countries to stabilising greenhouse gas emissions while promoting sustainable development. It stresses the principle of Common but Differentiated Responsibilities, with developed countries taking the lead on emissions reductions and funding the transition.
Industry Transition Leadership Group <sup>39</sup>	2023 – Member	Aims to foster a just and equitable industry transition through public-private partnerships, technology transfer and policy support. Focuses on ensuring heavy industry aligns with net-zero goals by 2050, especially in developing economies.
Clean Energy Ministerial <sup>40</sup>	2010 – Member	A global forum where governments collaborate on clean energy policies, technology development and enabling environments for energy transition. Members commit to advancing clean energy supply and efficiency worldwide.
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women <sup>41</sup>	1983 – Ratified	Commits countries to ending discrimination against women and promoting gender equality in all areas of life. It mandates proactive government action to ensure women's full participation in political, economic and social development.
International Labour Organization (ILO) Conventions <sup>42</sup>	Multiple years – Ratified	Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize Convention (No. 87) – ensuring workers' rights to organise.
Convention on Biological Diversity <sup>43</sup>	1993 – Ratified	Calls for integrating biodiversity protection into energy and development policies. The convention advocates for sustainable resource use to ensure the energy transition does not harm ecosystems.
G20 Principles for just and inclusive energy transitions <sup>44</sup>	2024 – Endorsed	The voluntary principles promote clean, just and inclusive energy transitions aligned with global climate goals. Key points include long-term energy planning, ending energy poverty, stakeholder participation, social protection, respecting vulnerable groups’ rights, and fostering job creation and sustainable economic growth.

The work within Australia to deliver a just energy transition domestically is critical.<sup>45</sup> It represents a vital shift for Australian industries, workers and communities, helping to create a more equitable future as the country moves away from fossil fuels. But here's the thing: while much of the attention has been focused on this internal transformation, with varying success, there's been almost no focus on the global picture—Australia's (or other high-emitting, wealthy countries) role beyond its own borders.

This paper zeroes in on that underexplored terrain: the levers Australia can pull to enable a global just energy transition. Domestic efforts are essential, but they're not the entire story. What happens beyond Australia's borders is just as crucial. Figure 4 breaks down the differences between the domestic just energy transition and the global just energy transition, highlighting how the actions Australia takes could shape the energy transitions of other countries—especially those most vulnerable to climate change. It's time we ask: how does Australia's leadership extend to the world stage? Because this transition isn't just about reshaping Australia; it's about helping build a fairer global energy future.

#### Figure 4: Explaining the focus of this paper, and how it conceptualises Global Just Energy Transition levers



The global energy system is highly interconnected, with fossil fuels and renewables alike flowing through international supply chains that span continents. No energy shift happens in isolation — decisions in one country ripple across others. From trade to technology sharing and financing, global cooperation is essential for a just and equitable energy transition. Our shared future depends on recognising and acting on these global ties.

In an era where our energy systems are tightly woven across borders, discussions about just energy transitions too often still stop at the nation-state. This paper shifts the frame entirely, exploring how a rich, high-emitting country like Australia can catalyse just energy transitions in other nations. By looking at Australia's unique position—its influence in global finance, trade, and climate diplomacy—it shows the need for a holistic approach that recognises global interdependence. No longer can we afford to silo climate action within national borders. What's been missing is a thorough examination of how Australia could use its influence and resources to ensure other countries—especially those hardest hit by the climate crisis—are not left behind. This research takes this global, integrated view.

In this context, it is also important to recognise that the global energy transition risks replicating colonial patterns of exploitation — where resources are extracted from the Global South to fuel wealth in the Global North, or where marginalised groups are exploited within wealthy countries, often without fair benefits for local communities.<sup>46</sup> Without deliberate action, the shift to renewables could entrench 'green colonialism', perpetuating inequalities under the guise of climate solutions.

This paper aims to broaden the conversation by mapping how Australia's global influence can address the deep inequalities of the current energy system as it moves away from fossil fuels and towards renewables. It examines how Australia can use its financial, trade and diplomatic power to embed justice into the renewable energy transition, counteracting the inequities of the fossil fuel era, while analysing existing commitments and providing recommendations to strengthen them for a fairer, more just energy future.

## 2. METHODS

To analyse Australia's role in enabling a just energy transition beyond its borders, we first needed to identify the specific levers of influence. Given the complexity and scope of this transition, our mapping focused on three key criteria:

- 1. Government influence:** We prioritised levers where the Australian Government has direct or significant influence, whether through policy, regulation or international agreements. The aim was to pinpoint areas where government actions could shape outcomes.
- 2. International element:** We restricted our analysis to levers with a clear international dimension, recognising that Australia's domestic policies have significant global repercussions, particularly in terms of trade, energy supply chains and resource management.
- 3. Energy and/or transition minerals focus:** Finally, we concentrated on levers directly related to energy and transition minerals, given their centrality to the shift from fossil fuels. These sectors are crucial not only for the technical success of the transition but also for its potential to reinforce or challenge existing global inequalities.

To inform this mapping, we conducted a literature review and engaged in interviews with experts from the energy and climate sectors. While this analysis is not exhaustive, it represents one of the first attempts to systematically map Australia's (or any wealthy, high-emitting country's) influence in the global energy transition through the lens of justice. We believe it provides a foundational approach that future research and advocacy can build upon.

### ASSESSING COMMITMENT TO A JUST ENERGY TRANSITION

After identifying the levers of influence, we developed a method for assessing Australia's commitment to a just energy transition. The approach involved collecting and analysing publicly available documents that outlined the Australian Government's stance on energy transition-related policies. In most cases these documents were hosted on official government platforms, reflecting the Australian Government's formal position on each lever.

Some may ask why we're focusing on Australia's commitments rather than its actions, which is a fair question. However, commitments set the foundation for accountability—without clear promises, there's no benchmark to measure progress against. The first step is ensuring that Australia formally commits to these principles, policies, and frameworks; only then can we effectively assess whether it's following through on them. Commitments create the necessary structure for future scrutiny and action, allowing us to hold governments to account when they fall short.

Our evaluation framework was based on justice principles. For each lever, we established clear expectations for what a just approach would entail, ensuring alignment with procedural, distributive, remedial and recognitional justice. These principles were not abstract; they were translated into practical criteria tailored to the specific demands of each lever. For instance, energy policies needed to address emissions reductions and equitable access, while trade agreements required attention to labour rights and responsible sourcing of transition minerals. For each document analysed, we created individual assessment criteria for what we saw as that specific initiative's scope to contribute to a just energy transition in other countries. Since each lever plays a different role in the transition, the criteria were adapted to reflect the specific justice considerations relevant to that policy area. This method allowed for a nuanced, contextualised evaluation of Australia's approach.

The topline criteria for each lever are summarised in Table 2, below, and Annex I contains high-level descriptions of how we evaluated each lever against the five justice principles. For greater detail, the sub-criteria used to evaluate each document and the corresponding analysis can be provided upon request. See Annex II for an example of how the analysis was performed, and Annex III for a full list of the documents analysed.

## ENSURING OBJECTIVITY

We recognise that assessments like these carry a degree of subjectivity. To mitigate this, we implemented several safeguards to enhance the rigor of our analysis:

- **Independent reviewers:** Each document was reviewed by four independent assessors to ensure diverse perspectives were considered and reduce individual bias.
- **Clear indicators:** For each score assigned, we used predefined indicators that clearly delineated what each element of justice — procedural, distributive, remedial and recognitional — should entail. This ensured consistency and replicability in our assessments.
- **Acknowledging document gaps:** In some cases, the relevant documents were unavailable or incomplete. Where this was the case, we have noted the gaps in our analysis. Given the evolving nature of Australia’s energy transition policy, new legislation and documents are expected to fill these gaps over time. For instance, future updates to Australia’s Nationally Determined Contribution in 2025 and the First Nations Clean Energy Strategy may address some of the missing elements.

## LIMITATIONS

It is important to acknowledge the limitations of this analysis. Our evaluation could only assess existing public documents that were available up to November 2024, and while the findings add some much needed clarity, more needs to be done for Australia to fully enable a just energy transition. The recommendations section outlines the additional steps we believe are necessary for Australia to meet its justice commitments, both domestically and globally.

As mentioned, the levers examined in this analysis primarily focus on commitments to various elements of justice. However, it is important to note that we did not examine every public document associated with each lever. For example, in the case of trade and international partnerships, we limited our review to documents that are explicitly related to the energy transition, meaning that many trade agreements that Australia has signed, which do not directly address energy or are quite old, were not included in our assessment. Similarly, for sustainable finance and corporate responsibility, we focused on legislation and policies emerging under the banner of sustainable finance,<sup>47</sup> rather than all regulations affecting corporate behaviour, leading to perhaps a more favourable assessment of how it is adhering to climate justice than otherwise would have happened. This approach ensures that our findings remain targeted, but it also means there may be additional commitments or policies under these levers that were not captured in this analysis.

This analysis builds on work conducted on policies available in 2024 reviewing key documents to assess Australia’s role in enabling a just energy transition. In early 2025, before this paper was published, new documents relevant to the research have been released, and while resource constraints prevented a proper analysis, a targeted search for key terms provided relevant updates. The Australia-Southeast Asia Development Partnership Plan<sup>48</sup> references the clean energy transition and elements of a just energy transition (affordability, access, technology sharing) but does not explicitly mention justice. Australia’s International Gender Equality Strategy<sup>49</sup> commits to ensuring inclusive green energy transitions, particularly increasing investment in women’s participation in low-carbon economies, but offers limited reference to energy beyond that. The Disability Equity and Rights Strategy<sup>50</sup> broadly addresses climate action but does not mention energy transition. The First Nations Clean Energy Strategy<sup>51</sup> is focused domestically, with no mention of international commitments. Finally, the Australia-Timor-Leste Development Partnership Plan<sup>52</sup> contains very limited references to energy, and just transition is not mentioned.

**Table 2: Levers that the Australian government can pull to facilitate a global just energy transition**

LEVER ONE: TRADE OF ENERGY		
Relevance to energy transition	Australia’s power over this lever	How it can be pulled to enable a just energy transition
Trade policies and agreements shape the flow of energy resources – fossil fuels or renewables – by setting terms that either promote or restrict different energy types and establishing standards that can accelerate or slow the shift to renewables.	Australia holds considerable power to negotiate trade agreements, set tariffs and establish standards that influence both fossil fuel exports and the trade of renewable energy technologies and resources.	Trade agreements could commit to phasing out fossil fuel exports while promoting the shift to renewable energy, ensuring that Indigenous Peoples and marginalised communities are protected and included in decision-making. These agreements could also provide mechanisms for redress regarding energy projects and encourage the fair distribution of benefits and burdens of the energy transition, particularly for marginalised countries and communities.

LEVER TWO: TRANSITION MINERALS		
Relevance to energy transition	Australia’s power over this lever	How it can be pulled to enable a just energy transition
Also termed ‘critical minerals’, these are essential for renewable energy technologies (e.g., batteries, solar panels, wind turbines). Australia’s policies on mining, exporting and importing these minerals directly impact the availability, responsible sourcing and sustainability of renewable energy.	The government influences through regulations on extraction, policies and international agreements. It sets production standards, controls export flows and can establish requirements for the responsible sourcing of both domestic and imported minerals, impacting global supply chains.	Australia’s approach to transition minerals could end harmful extraction and promote responsible sourcing. It could promote ethical supply chains, respect the rights of communities around extraction and production – especially Indigenous Peoples, provide redress mechanisms, and encourage equitable benefit distribution. Transparency, inclusive decision-making and investment in sustainable alternatives (such as recycling to minimise extraction) are also important.

LEVER THREE: EXPORT FINANCE		
Relevance to energy transition	Australia’s power over this lever	How it can be pulled to enable a just energy transition
Provides financial services such as loans and insurance to support Australian businesses in international trade. This influences the types of energy and mining projects that get financed abroad. Export Finance Australia is the Australian Government’s export credit agency.	The government sets the policy framework and guidelines under which Export Finance Australia operates, influencing which projects receive funding. This includes setting expectations for environmental and social impacts.	Prioritising funding for renewable energy projects and promoting responsible environmental, social and governance standards. By supporting equitable access to clean energy technologies and ensuring that affected communities, particularly Indigenous and marginalised groups, are involved in decision-making around projects. Additionally, by developing redress mechanisms for any harm incurred by projects.

## LEVER FOUR: SOVEREIGN WEALTH FUND

Relevance to energy transition	Australia's power over this lever	How it can be pulled to enable a just energy transition
As a sovereign wealth fund, the Future Fund invests in various sectors, including energy. Its investment choices impact the funding available for renewable versus non-renewable (i.e. fossil fuel) projects.	The Australian Government provides mandates and guidelines for the Future Fund's investment strategy, influencing its portfolio allocations and emphasis on sustainability.	Divesting from fossil fuels and increasing investments in renewable energy projects, with a renewed focus on respecting the rights of marginalised communities – including Indigenous Peoples. By promoting responsible investments and adhering to strong environmental, social and governance standards, the Future Fund could help ensure that the benefits of the energy transition are distributed equitably and align with global climate goals.

## LEVER FIVE: DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

Relevance to energy transition	Australia's power over this lever	How it can be pulled to enable a just energy transition
Directs financial and technical assistance to developing countries, including energy projects that influence their energy transition pathways.	The Australian Government sets the strategic priorities and guidelines for its international development programs, including how aid is allocated to energy projects.	Directing support to renewable energy projects that improve access to affordable and reliable clean energy, promote gender equality and protect biodiversity. By prioritising projects that involve Indigenous and local communities in decision-making and ensuring the benefits reach marginalised groups, these programs could help create a more equitable and inclusive energy transition.

## LEVER SIX: MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS RELATING TO ENERGY AND MINERALS

Relevance to energy transition	Australia's power over this lever	How it can be pulled to enable a just energy transition
Australia's stance in international negotiations shapes global climate policies and commitments that affect energy transitions worldwide.	Australia has an influential voice in multilateral processes and can help set an ambitious agenda on issues like fossil fuel phase-out, a just phase in of renewables, and responsible mineral sourcing. It can show leadership, influence the positions of other countries through its alliances, and publicly support fairer outcomes in these processes which often lack transparency.	Australia could encourage agreements that advance faster fossil fuel phase-outs, strengthen social and environmental protections in energy projects and supply chains, and direct funding to lower-income countries transitioning to renewable energy. By promoting inclusive, transparent negotiations that centre marginalised groups, it can contribute to a more equitable global shift away from fossil fuels and towards renewables.

## LEVER SEVEN: MULTILATERAL FUNDS RELATING TO CLIMATE AND ENERGY

Relevance to energy transition	Australia's power over this lever	How it can be pulled to enable a just energy transition
<p>These institutions finance large-scale energy projects, often supporting countries and regions that lack access to capital. By providing funding for renewable energy development, they help areas transition away from fossil fuels that otherwise could not afford to.</p>	<p>As a member and shareholder of some of these institutions, Australia has voting power and can influence funding priorities and policies.</p>	<p>Use its influence to shift funding away from fossil fuels and prioritise renewable energy projects, promote concessional financing for lower-income countries, and integrate strong social and environmental safeguards in projects – including through holding project actors accountable for harms. By promoting transparency, stakeholder engagement and the fair distribution of benefits, Australia could help enable a fair and inclusive energy transition.</p>

## LEVER EIGHT: SUSTAINABLE FINANCE AND CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY

Relevance to energy transition	Australia's power over this lever	How it can be pulled to enable a just energy transition
<p>Drives investments in different energy sources and minerals, shaping the pace of the global energy transition. Its role in adopting sustainable practices and influencing energy infrastructure is crucial to how quickly and equitably the transition occurs.</p>	<p>The Australian Government can influence the sustainable finance and corporate responsibility role in the energy transition through policies, regulations and financial incentives. By setting standards, enforcing emissions targets and offering subsidies, it can steer private investments toward sustainable energy solutions and align business practices with global climate goals.</p>	<p>Australia could require the Sustainable Finance and Corporate Responsibility to adhere to strong environmental and social standards in its global operations, including via supply chains. They could incentivise companies to phase out fossil fuels, conduct proper due diligence across supply chains, and uphold community rights, including free, prior, and informed consent for communities involved in their projects. They could also promote equitable benefit-sharing, accountability for harm, and transparency in decision-making processes.</p>

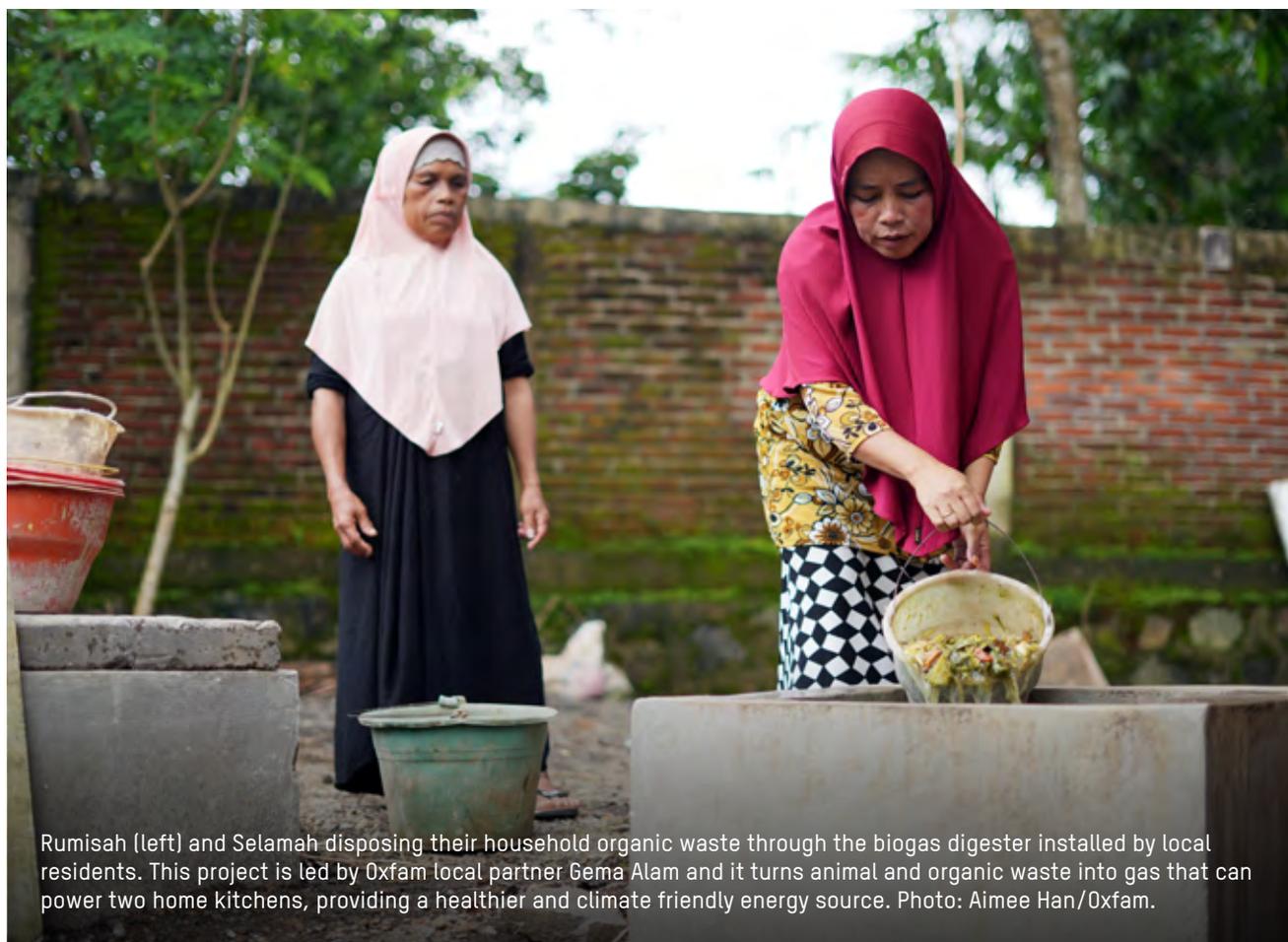
## LEVER NINE: INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE AND CLEAN ENERGY PARTNERSHIPS

Relevance to energy transition	Australia's power over this lever	How it can be pulled to enable a just energy transition
<p>Climate and energy partnerships play a role in the energy transition by promoting cooperation on renewable energy projects, technology sharing and policy alignment with partner countries. They can help support the global shift towards clean energy and integrate sustainability into economic practices.</p>	<p>Australia negotiates these partnerships and sets their strategic direction, influencing their focus and impact.</p>	<p>Australia could leverage international climate and energy partnerships to promote a just energy transition by prioritising renewable projects, protecting the rights of affected communities, especially Indigenous Peoples, and encouraging inclusive decision-making. By aligning with global climate goals and fostering equitable benefit sharing, these partnerships can support a global just energy transition.</p>

There are several key issues that influence both the speed and fairness of the global energy transition that, while outside the scope of this paper, are crucial considerations. From our literature review, these include:

- **Debt justice:** Many developing countries face significant debt burdens that restrict their fiscal space, limiting their ability to invest in clean energy. While not solely related to energy, debt justice is essential for creating the conditions needed for a just transition.
- **Australia's Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC):** Australia's current NDC focuses almost entirely on domestic emissions reductions, with little to no emphasis on supporting international efforts beyond the mention of climate finance.<sup>53</sup> The updated NDC, expected in 2025, could broaden this focus.
- **International carbon markets:** Australia's carbon credit system is tied to domestic projects, limiting its potential global impact. However, carbon markets are a growing tool in global climate strategies and their design will affect how just and effective the transition is.
- **Tax justice:** Australia's new public country-by-country reporting of revenue and tax information for multinational corporations will increase transparency and thus help tax fairness, not only in the energy sector but in many sectors where multinational profit shifting to 'tax havens' (low tax jurisdictions) is denying many countries, including low-income countries, much needed tax revenue.<sup>54</sup> Ensuring that multinational companies contribute their fair share of taxes is critical for financing a global just transition.
- **Negotiations around the Convention on Biological Diversity:** Ongoing discussions within the Convention on Biological Diversity framework are key to ensuring that the energy transition does not compromise biodiversity and ecosystems, an issue deeply connected to how responsibly minerals are sourced for renewable technologies.

Given time and resource constraints, we had to draw a line on what to include in this paper. However, these additional issues are important and merit further exploration.



## 3. RESULTS

The analysis of Australia’s policies and agreements across various levers reveals significant variation in the country’s commitment to justice elements essential for enabling a global just energy transition. While some documents and levers show moderate levels of commitment, the majority score between 1 (not committed) and 2 (minimally committed) on a scale where higher scores indicate stronger commitment. This suggests that, overall, Australia is either not committed or is minimally committed to integrating justice principles into its international energy and climate-related actions. Notably, none of the levers or documents analysed demonstrate a mostly or fully committed stance across all justice dimensions, highlighting substantial room for improvement.

**Table 3: Results of the analysis of Australia’s commitments to enable a global just energy transition**

	Fast	Recognition justice	Remedial justice	Distributive justice	Procedural justice	Average
1. Trade of energy	1.6	2.3	1.3	1.8	2.1	1.81
2. Transition Minerals	1.8	2.1	1.4	2.0	1.8	1.80
3. Export finance	1.5	2.5	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.95
4. Sovereign wealth fund	1.0	1.3	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.05
5. Development assistance	2.9	2.8	1.8	2.6	2.9	2.58
6. Multilateral negotiations	2.4	2.3	1.9	2.1	2.4	2.23
7. Multilateral Funds	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.60
8. Private sector	3.4	1.9	2.2	1.6	2.3	2.26
9. Climate and energy partnerships	2.3	1.6	1.3	1.8	1.6	1.70

Key to the table:

1 = No commitment

2 = Minimally committed

3 = Partially committed

4 = Mostly committed

5 = Fully committed

**Table 4: Overall average scores across the justice dimensions of Australia’s commitment to a just energy transition**

	Fast	Recognition justice	Remedial justice	Distributive justice	Procedural justice
Average	1.98	2.09	1.64	1.85	1.88

### Highest and lowest commitment scores across documents

The Indigenous Peoples Economic and Trade Cooperation Arrangement (analysed as a key trade agreement in the trade of energy analysis) stands out with a high score of 5 in Recognition Justice. This reflects a strong commitment to acknowledging and upholding the rights of Indigenous Peoples within this specific agreement.

The Development Assistance lever exhibits relatively higher scores across several justice elements. These scores indicate a moderate level of commitment to promoting renewable energy, recognising marginalised groups and ensuring inclusive decision-making in the context of Australia's overseas development actions.

The Sovereign Wealth Fund, the Future Fund, scores 1 across all justice elements — Fast, Recognition, Remedial, Distributive and Procedural Justice. This indicates a minimal or non-existent commitment to integrating justice considerations into its investment strategies, particularly concerning divesting from fossil fuels or investing responsibly in renewable energy.

The Export Finance lever also shows low commitment levels, with scores typically around 1 to 2 across all justice elements. Export Finance Australia does not exclude financing fossil fuel projects and lacks strong mechanisms for accountability, equitable benefit distribution, or inclusive stakeholder engagement, especially for communities in other countries.

Sustainable finance and corporate responsibility policies, such as the Modern Slavery Act, while acknowledging labour rights, score low in Remedial Justice and Distributive Justice due to the lack of enforcement mechanisms and failure to ensure benefits reach affected communities abroad.

## Prevalence of 'just transition' in policy documents

Out of 67 representative documents analysed, only five explicitly mention the term 'just transition', accounting for approximately 7% of the total. This low percentage suggests that the concept of a just transition is not widely integrated into Australia's policy framework related to energy and climate, especially in the context of supporting communities in other countries. Furthermore, when it is mentioned, it is unclear how the Australian Government is interpreting it.

## Average commitment levels across justice elements and levers

The overall average scores across the different justice elements — Fast, Recognition, Remedial, Distributive and Procedural Justice — and across the various levers indicate a general lack of strong commitment. Most scores fall into the categories of 'not committed' or 'minimally committed'. This trend underscores the need for Australia to enhance its efforts in integrating justice considerations into its policies and international engagements to support a fair and equitable global energy transition.

The overall average scores across the different justice elements and across the various levers indicate a general lack of strong commitment.

- Fast justice: Most levers score between 1 and 2, showing minimal commitment to phase out fossil fuels or promote renewable energy at the scale required according to science.
- Recognition justice: Scores vary, but several levers, like the Sovereign Wealth Fund and Export Finance, score 1, indicating a lack of acknowledgment of Indigenous rights or marginalised groups internationally.
- Remedial justice: Consistently low scores across most levers, averaging around 1.5, highlight a systemic absence of mechanisms for redress, compensation, or accountability when projects cause harm.
- Distributive justice and Procedural justice: Generally low scores, with many levers failing to ensure equitable distribution of benefits or inclusive decision-making processes involving affected communities abroad.

## Evidence of a siloed government approach

The analysis suggests a siloed approach within the Australian Government. Certain departments demonstrate stronger commitments to climate action and justice elements in their activities with other countries, while others appear to give these considerations minimal attention. This inconsistency will hinder a cohesive national strategy for promoting a just energy transition globally and indicates the need for better coordination and integration of justice principles across all government sectors involved in energy and trade policies if they are to fulfil the commitments they have already publicly signed up to in Table 1.

## KEY FINDINGS ACROSS THE JUSTICE ELEMENTS

The analysis across the five justice principles reveals that Australia's policies and agreements generally lack comprehensive commitments to enabling a just energy transition that benefits communities in other countries.

### **Fast justice: a glaring omission**

Many documents support renewable energy but lack firm commitments to phase out fossil fuel exports, relying on vague terms and sometimes unproven technologies like carbon capture and storage.

Most documents express support for renewable energy projects but fail to include explicit commitments to phasing out fossil fuel exports. In several instances, policies openly endorse the continuation or expansion of fossil fuel industries. For example, trade agreements, energy strategies and climate partnerships often promote fossil fuels like coal, liquefied natural gas (LNG) and gas as part of the energy mix, without establishing concrete timelines for phasing them out. Additionally, very few documents clearly commit to deep emissions reductions or exclusively promote renewable energy.

Many documents show a reliance on unproven technologies such as carbon capture and storage or carbon capture, utilisation and storage (CCUS), especially within climate and clean energy-focused agreements and strategies. Most of these documents do not explicitly rule out the use of unproven technologies such as carbon capture and storage.

There is also frequent use of vague terminology like "clean energy" or "low carbon", often without clear definitions or specific targets. This vagueness enables the inclusion of fossil fuel-based energy sources under the guise of clean energy.

On the positive side, a few documents, such as the Climate-Related Financial Disclosures legislation, promote transparency by requiring the reporting of Scope 1, 2 and 3 emissions, including financed emissions. Additionally, many documents support renewable energy development, although they still fall short of committing to the phasing out of fossil fuels.

### **Recognition justice: severely lacking for communities in other countries**

Many policies and documents focus on recognising marginalised groups domestically, particularly First Nations Peoples, but show minimal commitment to international human rights standards and Indigenous rights in other countries.

Few references are made to international human rights standards, such as UNDRIP or ILO conventions, and free, prior and informed consent is rarely mentioned. Rights discussions are mostly absent from the context of global energy transition and supply chains, particularly in trade agreements and international partnerships. However, development assistance policies do emphasise gender equality and social inclusion, and some strategies highlight the importance of respecting the land and water rights of First Nations Peoples within Australia.

### **Remedial justice: absence of mechanisms**

Widespread absence of (or even mention of) clear mechanisms for redress or accountability related to energy projects, with vague or non-existent pathways for affected communities to seek justice if harmed.

Most documents show a consistent lack of mechanisms for redress, with very few mentioning how communities harmed by projects can seek compensation or hold parties accountable. Even when remediation is referenced, details on the process are often missing. Some documents mention environmental safeguards but lack specific pathways for enforcement. A few policies, such as the Indigenous Peoples Economic and Trade Cooperation Arrangement, acknowledge the need to address negative impacts, but fail to include robust accountability frameworks. The Modern Slavery Act requires reporting on remediation but also lacks mechanisms for enforcement.

## Distributive justice: only for some

Primarily focuses on national economic interests and sustainable finance and corporate responsibility opportunities, with limited attention to equitable benefit sharing or reducing burdens on marginalised communities abroad.

Most documents emphasise the economic benefits for Australia, often directing gains towards sustainable finance and corporate responsibility and industries, while overlooking equitable distribution for marginalised communities internationally. There is little focus on mitigating the burdens of the energy transition for marginalised groups or ensuring universal access to reliable and affordable clean energy in other countries. Although some mention concessional financing, they rarely address the risk of debt burdens for low-income countries. Responsible sourcing and sustainable practices are also seldom discussed. Positively, development assistance policies and some partnerships acknowledge the need for inclusive development, but detailed commitments are largely absent.

## Procedural justice: limited

Documents offer limited consultation processes, often prioritising domestic stakeholders and sustainable finance and corporate responsibility, with minimal involvement of affected people in other countries.

Many documents mention consultation mechanisms but lack details on meaningful inclusion of marginalised groups, particularly from other countries. While domestic stakeholders, including Australian industries and occasionally First Nations communities, are engaged, marginalised groups in other countries are often excluded. Consultations tend to focus on sustainable finance and corporate responsibility, limiting broader civil society participation. Transparency remains a challenge, with negotiations often conducted in secret, while vague language hinders accountability. Positively, some development assistance policies emphasise stakeholder engagement, and strategies involving First Nations communities set a positive domestic precedent.



Tongatapu, Tonga: Cynthia Houniui, president of Pacific Island Students Fighting Climate Change (PISFCC) advocating for the human rights of young people facing climate disaster at an event in Tonga during the week of the 53rd Pacific Island Forum Leaders Meeting. This is an important example of procedural justice, where impacted communities voices are heard and acted on by decision makers about how we respond to climate change. Photo: Tini Media/Oxfam.

**Table 5: Key findings across the levers**

Lever	Key findings
Trade of energy	Australia's trade agreements present a complex picture regarding the energy transition. While many agreements mention renewable energy, they also often promote the continuation or expansion of fossil fuel exports, particularly coal and LNG. For instance, the Peru-Australia Free Trade Agreement emphasises liberalisation, potentially advancing fossil fuel exports, while the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership includes fossil fuel trade without committing to phasing them out. Commitments to justice principles vary: agreements like the Indigenous Peoples Economic and Trade Cooperation Arrangement focus on procedural justice but lack implementation. There is minimal commitment to fast justice, with most agreements failing to phase out fossil fuels or fully prioritise renewable energy. Recognition justice is limited to domestic concerns and remedial justice is absent, with no provisions for redress. Distributive justice favours Australian interests, with economic benefits rarely shared with partner countries. Procedural justice is weak, with few mechanisms for including international marginalised groups.
Transition minerals	Australia's Critical Minerals Strategy is a mix of forward-looking energy transition and continued reliance on fossil fuels. While the strategy supports renewable energy development and mentions environmental protections domestically, other policies like the Global Resources Statement position Australia as a leader in coal and LNG, signalling an ongoing commitment to fossil fuel exports. The Critical Minerals Strategy also lacks explicit protections for communities abroad, despite promoting engagement with First Nations Peoples domestically. Commitments to fast justice are undermined by continued support for fossil fuel exports. While recognition justice exists for domestic communities, international commitments are limited. There is little attention to remedial justice, with no clear redress mechanisms for harms caused by mining abroad. Distributive justice focuses on Australian benefits, with minimal efforts to address responsible sourcing in other countries. Procedural justice includes domestic engagement but little international inclusion.
Export finance	Export Finance Australia does not exclude fossil fuel projects from its portfolio and does not set out a strong commitment to renewable energy. While there are mentions of social impacts, the protections for marginalised groups are mostly focused on domestic issues, leaving international communities at risk. Accountability mechanisms are vague, and transparency is limited due to client confidentiality. The complaint process appears to favour clients over affected communities. Fast justice is weak due to the lack of explicit commitment to fossil fuel divestment. Recognition justice is limited to domestic concerns, with no protections for international communities. Remedial justice lacks clear accountability measures, and distributive justice solely prioritises Australian economic interests. Procedural justice is compromised by a lack of transparency and international stakeholder engagement.
Sovereign wealth fund	Australia's Future Fund does not commit to divesting from fossil fuels or prioritise investments in renewable energy. The fund's focus is on maximising returns and it lacks public policies addressing human rights, Indigenous rights or environmental standards. Even when breaches occur, the Board prefers engagement over divestment, allowing for ongoing fossil fuel investments. Fast justice is entirely absent, with no public plans to phase out fossil fuel investments. Recognition justice, remedial justice and distributive justice are similarly weak, as the fund does not publicly acknowledge the rights or needs of affected communities. Procedural justice is not prioritised, with limited engagement or transparency on investment decisions.
Development assistance	Australia's development assistance does show a commitment to renewable energy, with strong emphasis on gender equality and social inclusion. However, there are few publicly detailed mechanisms for ensuring redress or accountability for any harm caused by projects. The International Development Policy partially commits to distributive justice through concessional finance and capacity building. It emphasises social inclusion, although Indigenous rights abroad are not detailed. Remedial justice details are lacking, and while distributive justice emphasises access to services, it could have stronger commitments to equitable benefit sharing. Procedural justice includes some civil society engagement but could have greater inclusion of marginalised groups in implementation and plans for how this will be carried out.

<b>Multilateral negotiations relating to climate and energy</b>	<p>Australia’s public position in multilateral negotiations reflects an ambiguous approach to fossil fuel phase-out. In forums such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), Australia supports accountability frameworks but stops short of committing to end fossil fuel use. While it advocates for remediation and compensation in certain spaces, such as the International Seabed Authority, the focus is primarily on Australia’s domestic transition. Fast justice is inconsistent, as Australia supports climate goals but avoids explicitly committing to phasing out fossil fuel support. It acknowledges the particular challenges faced by developing countries, particularly small island developing states, but lacks strong commitments to embed rights in text, and in some settings offers general support for addressing harm but with little specificity. Distributive justice relies heavily on mobilising private finance, which raises concerns about equitable access. Procedural justice supports inclusive decision-making in theory but offers few concrete mechanisms.</p>
<b>Multilateral funds relating to energy</b>	<p>Australia’s priorities for funds such as the Green Climate Fund and the Asian Development Bank remain opaque, with no clear public indication of priorities related to the energy transition for any of them. There was only enough public information relating to the ADB to do an analysis so the following only pertains to that fund. While Australia says it promotes job creation and equitable access to economic opportunities via the ADB, these commitments are broad and lack specificity regarding the energy transition. There is little public advocacy for capacity building or technology transfer, and without transparency, it is unclear how Australia’s contributions support a just energy transition. Ending these fund’s support for fossil fuel projects is not clearly prioritized, and recognition justice, remedial justice, and procedural justice are similarly weak due to the lack of explicit commitments.</p>
<b>Sustainable finance and corporate responsibility</b>	<p>Recent legislation relating to Australia’s sustainable finance and corporate responsibility, such as the Modern Slavery Act and the Australian Green Bonds Framework, promote some positive steps but fall short in ensuring all dimensions of justice across global supply chains. The Modern Slavery Act acknowledges labour rights but lacks enforcement mechanisms, while the Green Bonds Framework excludes fossil fuels but does not set out how it ensures accountability for communities abroad. Fast justice shows some commitment to transparency in emissions through Climate-Related Financial Disclosures legislation but fails to mandate fossil fuel divestment. Recognition justice is present but weakly protects international communities, and remedial justice lacks enforcement. Distributive justice encourages ethical sourcing but does not enforce it, and procedural justice is limited to transparency in reporting without robust stakeholder engagement. It must also be noted that beyond the three pieces of legislation analysed here, the government continues to encourage fossil fuel exports for Australian companies.</p>
<b>International climate and clean energy partnerships</b>	<p>Australia’s climate and energy partnerships support technology transfer but mostly fail to prioritise justice for affected communities. There is mixed commitment to fast justice, with some focusing on renewable energy but continued inclusion of fossil fuel technologies in others. Recognition justice varies. For instance, the Australian Infrastructure Financing Facility for the Pacific (AIFFP) supports marginalised groups, but many other partnerships do not. Remedial justice is generally absent, with no clear mechanisms for accountability or redress. Distributive justice emphasises mutual benefits but lacks strong commitments to equity, and mainly speaks to benefitting industry and the sustainable finance and corporate responsibility. Procedural justice is very limited in terms of outlining how civil society or marginalised communities have been or will be meaningfully included in their implementation.</p>

## 4. DISCUSSION



Sanasomboun, Lao People's Democratic Republic: Phoukeo with his biogas digester on his small livestock farm. Limited or no electricity in rural Laos means families risk their health by cooking with fire indoors. In 2023 Oxfam partnered with Champasak University for a six-month pilot of converting pig manure into biogas as a healthier and climate friendly energy supply. Photo: Patrick Moran/Oxfam.

These results paint a clear picture: Australia has not yet embedded drivers for the clean energy transition, nor a just energy transition, across its international policies and practices.

The analysis reveals major inconsistencies across trade, finance and diplomacy — ranging from limited engagement to complete absence. Australia not only needs to fast-track, scale-up and support more renewable energy projects, its critically important in doing so we consider who benefits and bears the burdens. Without this we risk reinforcing inequalities. To increase equitable outcomes and fast track the renewable energy transition requires a systemic and comprehensive approach.

The global energy system is deeply interconnected. As a major fossil fuel exporter, Australia's choices influence economies, societies and the environment beyond its borders. Its stance on trade, investment and renewable energy will shape the fairness and success of the transition.

Australia's role is not neutral. The choices it makes will either reinforce existing inequalities or help build a just and sustainable future. This analysis shows current commitments are fragmented and, in many cases, inadequate. Without integrating justice into its international energy policies, Australia risks contributing to a transition that deepens environmental degradation and fuels social resistance.

Furthermore, navigating the just energy transition requires balancing local leadership with Australia's responsibility. The recommendations at the end of this paper emphasise genuine partnerships, avoiding prescriptive approaches while upholding human rights and supporting capacity strengthening. Australia's role should be enabling, ensuring knowledge sharing flows both ways and reinforcing locally driven solutions.

If Australia can shift gears towards a just energy transition, it has huge potential to unlock significant positive outcomes that will help countries scale up renewable energy for all, meet the obligations of the Paris Agreement to limit global heating to 1.5 degrees C, and deliver on the Baku to Belém Roadmap to 1.3 trillion in climate finance.

### **If Australia continues to neglect a global just energy transition**

If Australia maintains its current approach — where justice is weak, fragmented or absent — global inequalities will persist. Fossil fuel exports will likely remain central to its trade, prolonging emissions and delaying decarbonisation. If institutions like Export Finance Australia continue funding fossil fuels, it will lock partner countries into dependency rather than supporting a just transition.

Meanwhile, if Australian trade and investment policies fail to ensure responsible sourcing of critical minerals, then the energy transition risks replicating exploitative extractive practices, harming Indigenous and local communities, degrading ecosystems and reinforcing global inequalities rather than addressing them. Without

safeguards, mining projects will contribute to deforestation, water shortages and human rights abuses. If free, prior and informed consent is inconsistently applied, Indigenous and local communities will continue to be excluded from decisions affecting their lands.

Similarly, if Australia's development assistance and international partnerships do not fully integrate justice principles, then they may entrench existing power imbalances, exclude the most affected communities from decision-making, and fail to deliver equitable access to clean energy, ultimately undermining the credibility and effectiveness of Australia's climate commitments. If renewable energy projects are deployed without affected communities having a real say, it will lead to inequitable benefit sharing. If climate finance remains inadequate, with much of it provided as loans, it will deepen debt risks for low-income countries. Without accountability mechanisms, affected communities lack options for redress.

Without coordinated action, these trends risk reinforcing a system where Australia benefits while others bear the costs. Weak justice commitments could also undermine trust in Australia's international engagement, limiting its global influence on climate negotiations.

## **If Australia commits to enabling a global just energy transition**

If Australia aligns trade, finance and development policies with just transition principles, it can play a constructive role in advancing just energy transitions globally. At a time when many wealthy nations are scaling back commitments, Australia could stand out as a positive development partner by ensuring its actions support sustainable and fair outcomes.

This means phasing out fossil fuel exports and ending public financing for coal, oil and gas through Export Finance Australia. Australia could redirect investment toward renewable energy infrastructure, energy efficiency and storage solutions, ensuring lower-income countries receive the financial and technical support needed for their transitions.

Stronger safeguards could be integrated into trade and investment policies to uphold environmental and human rights standards. This includes requiring free, prior and informed consent for projects affecting Indigenous and local communities and strengthening due diligence requirements for Australian companies abroad. Trade agreements could prioritise responsible mineral sourcing, supporting circular economy initiatives and reducing dependence on new mining.

Australia's development assistance provides some support for community led renewable energy projects, for example through its Renew Pacific, but at \$75 million, there is significant scope to scale up support for community-led renewable energy projects across the Indo-Pacific region, ensuring equitable benefit sharing. This could help pilot transformative projects centred on Indigenous rights, gender equity and local economic empowerment. Concessional finance could support clean energy transitions without increasing debt burdens for lower-income nations. Climate finance commitments could be expanded, ensuring support aligns with Australia's fair share of responsibility.

Transparency and accountability mechanisms could be strengthened, ensuring that affected communities have avenues for participation and redress. Inclusive decision-making could build trust, positioning Australia as a constructive partner in global climate action.

All of this would help low-income countries achieve their Nationally Determined Contributions, increase access to energy for remote and marginalised communities, and help deliver on the Baku to Belém Roadmap to 1.3 trillion in climate finance commitment made at COP29.

## **A path forward**

The contrast between these two paths highlights the urgent need for a systematic transformation in Australia's approach to the global energy transition. The following recommendations provide a concrete roadmap to ensure that Australia's trade agreements, financial investments and international partnerships actively contribute to a just transition rather than reinforcing existing inequalities.

Based on the findings of this analysis, the following high-level recommendations address critical areas where Australia could better facilitate with a just global energy transition. While Australia has made positive strides in some areas, these recommendations focus on areas for improvement, particularly the need for stronger commitments to phasing out fossil fuels, enforcing human rights standards, promoting equitable benefit sharing and enhancing transparency and stakeholder engagement across its global energy policies.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

A more exhaustive list of recommendations is provided in Annex IV.

### 1. Develop a new climate change action strategy embedding a just energy transition

- Develop and implement a 2025–2030 Climate Change Action Strategy that embeds just energy transition principles across Australia’s policies.
- Ensure the strategy includes specific commitments to phase out fossil fuel exports, increase renewable energy investments and align international finance with just transition goals.
- Align with global frameworks like the Paris Agreement and international human rights standards (such as those outlined in Table 1).

### 2. Improve government coordination and policy coherence

- Establish an interdepartmental working group under the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade to coordinate implementation of the Climate Change Action Strategy across trade, finance, climate and development.
- Ensure public accountability mechanisms, including regular updates on how Australia’s policies align with just energy transition principles.
- Publicly signal Australia’s commitment through high-level ministerial statements and support for key UNFCCC agreements that advance a just energy transition (such as the Just Transition Work Programme promoting international cooperation on the just transition).

### 3. End fossil fuel finance and align investments with a just energy transition

- Immediately end public financing for all new coal, oil and gas projects through Export Finance Australia and sovereign wealth funds, and use Australia’s positioning and influence to do the same through multilateral development banks (MDBs), such as the Asian Development Bank.
- Commit to phasing out fossil fuel exports by removing subsidies and integrating time-bound phase-out commitments in trade agreements.
- Support full implementation of the Clean Energy Transition Partnership by ensuring Australia votes against fossil fuel financing in the Asian Development Bank and other MDBs.

### 4. Scale up renewable energy and equitable access to clean technologies

- Ensure at least 25% of Australia’s climate finance supports locally led projects in low-income countries (including for example, community energy projects).
- Scale up grants and concessional finance — not loans — to support clean energy transitions, technology transfer and skills development.
- Exclude fossil fuels from climate partnerships and ensure Australia’s bilateral and multilateral agreements prioritise proven renewable energy technologies and locally led renewable projects.

### 5. Embed human rights, indigenous rights and social justice in climate and energy policies

- Integrate mechanisms for free, prior and informed consent for all Australian-supported energy and resource projects affecting Indigenous Peoples and local communities.
- Align with international human rights standards, including ILO conventions that Australia has already endorsed, implementation of the UNDRIP, and UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, among others.
- Advocate for and implement stronger protections for environmental and human rights defenders by linking trade and investment agreements to robust human rights safeguards.

## **6. Strengthen accountability, remedial justice and corporate responsibility**

- Establish enforceable grievance mechanisms to ensure communities can seek redress for harms caused by Australian-supported projects.
- Work towards introducing mandatory corporate due diligence laws requiring companies to identify, prevent and remedy environmental and human rights violations across global supply chains of Australian companies.

## **7. Ensure fair and sustainable resource use in global supply chains**

- Mandate responsible sourcing of transition minerals by requiring Australian mining companies to meet the highest international environmental and human rights standards.
- Support alternatives to new mining, including recycling, circular economy models and investment in material efficiency.
- Adhere to the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative to improve transparency in mining contracts and revenues.

## **8. Enhance transparency, inclusive governance and participatory decision-making**

- Mandate public disclosure of trade negotiations, export finance decisions and sovereign wealth fund investments to increase accountability and prevent backroom deals.
- Require community participation in major trade, finance and energy policy decisions, ensuring Indigenous Peoples, workers and marginalised groups have a voice.
- Strengthen Australia's engagement in multilateral forums by openly advocating for and practicing transparency in forums such as the Asian Development Bank, the World Trade Organization, and the UNFCCC Just Transition Work Programme.

## **9. Scale up climate finance and support debt justice for a just transition**

- Increase Australia's climate finance contributions through new, dedicated climate finance in the form of grants, ensuring it is additional to mainstream aid.
- Support debt cancellation and relief to allow developing countries to invest in climate resilience and clean energy without worsening their debt burdens.

If every country looks at the global energy transition and says, "That is not our problem," we risk deepening global inequalities and delaying climate action. But if nations like Australia take proactive steps, make bold commitments, and follow through on them, the energy transition could be a powerful force for justice. The shift away from fossil fuels, if done correctly, can create opportunities to address long-standing injustices, ensuring marginalised communities are heard, their rights upheld, and their futures made more secure. This transition offers a chance to build a more equitable, sustainable world where both people and the planet thrive.

# ANNEX I: JUSTICE CRITERIA FOR EACH LEVER

Table 5: Key findings across the levers

LEVER ONE: TRADE OF ENERGY	
Fast	To what extent do Australia’s trade agreements commit to phasing out fossil fuel exports and transitioning to renewables, aligned with global climate goals? Look for commitments to reduce fossil fuel trade, support renewable energy like solar and wind, no reliance on unproven technology at scale, or technology which obscures the need for genuine emission cuts, like Carbon Dioxide Removal. Mention of time-bound targets aligned with science-based climate goals like the Paris Agreement.
Recognition justice	How do these agreements protect or recognise the rights of people - especially Indigenous Peoples and marginalised groups - affected by energy projects and policies? Check for provisions that uphold land rights, cultural heritage, and free, prior, and informed consent. Any mention of International Labour Organisation conventions or the United Nations Declaration on the Right of Indigenous People.
Remedial justice	What mechanisms enable accountability and redress for communities harmed by energy projects or trade activities? Look for accessible justice processes, compensation mechanisms and provisions that hold companies accountable for environmental and human rights violations. Are there safeguards mentioned at all?
Distributive justice	How do these agreements ensure fair distribution of benefits and burdens in the energy transition, particularly for marginalised groups? Look for commitments to equitable access to energy, economic gains, support for developing countries through technology transfer and capacity building, support for community-led renewable energy projects instead of excessive privatisation.
Procedural justice	How do Australia’s agreements ensure inclusive and transparent decision-making in the energy transition? Check for participatory processes involving affected communities and transparency in the negotiation and implementation of trade agreements.

LEVER TWO: TRANSITION MINERALS	
Fast	To what extent does it commit to aligning with global climate goals and the best available science in terms of renewables projections, and does it commit to ending support for fossil fuels? Look for commitments to support renewables instead of fossil fuels, phase out unsustainable practices, avoid unproven technologies like CCUS.
Recognition justice	How does it recognise and uphold the rights of people, particularly Indigenous Peoples and marginalised groups, affected by mining in other countries? Does it commit to sourcing any transition minerals from other countries in a way that respects the rights of people there? Check for explicit commitments to free, prior and informed consent, protection of land and cultural heritage, and alignment with international standards such as UNDRIP.
Remedial justice	What mechanisms are provided to ensure compensation and redress for communities harmed by mineral extraction and processing? Look for pathways to legal recourse, corporate accountability in international supply chains and recognition of historical harms. Is there explicit mention and description of safeguards in place?
Distributive justice	Does it promote recycling and efficient use of critical minerals to reduce new extraction, and ensure equitable benefits like job creation and profit-sharing for local groups, particularly those already marginalised? Look for commitments to technology transfer, capacity building for other countries to source their own transition minerals, and tangible benefits for local communities in source countries.
Procedural justice	Does it ensure inclusive and transparent stakeholder consultation, particularly with civil society, marginalised groups and local communities, and provide mechanisms for ongoing engagement and accountability? Check for clear processes involving affected communities in decision-making and information made public and accessible.

### LEVER THREE: EXPORT FINANCE

<b>Fast</b>	Does Australia's mandate to Export Finance Australia prioritise renewable energy over fossil fuels, with clear guidelines for phasing out fossil fuel financing, and align with international climate goals? Check for avoidance of "false solutions" like carbon capture and storage (CCS) and a focus on scalable, proven renewable technologies.
<b>Recognition justice</b>	Does the strategy recognise the rights of Indigenous Peoples, marginalised groups and local communities in importing countries, adhering to human rights standards such as free, prior and informed consent and UNDRIP or to ILO conventions. Look for safeguards to protect communities and sensitive ecological areas from harm due to energy or mining projects.
<b>Remedial justice</b>	Does EFA provide guidelines for redress and accountability for environmental or social harm caused by its projects, ensuring accountability measures are in place for financed projects? Check for specific mechanisms that ensure redress for impacted communities.
<b>Distributive justice</b>	How does EFA promote equitable distribution of economic benefits, including technology transfer and job creation in developing countries, and ensure responsible sourcing of critical minerals? Look for emphasis on inclusive energy access, concessional finance, and safeguards against privatisation that may harm public interest.
<b>Procedural justice</b>	Does it include marginalised groups in decision-making for EFA projects, and does it commit to transparency, continuous consultation and accountability in its implementation? Check for references to stakeholder inclusion and public scrutiny throughout projects.

### LEVER FOUR: SOVEREIGN WEALTH FUND

<b>Fast</b>	Does the Future Fund explicitly commit to phasing out fossil fuel investments and align with global climate goals, such as net-zero emissions by 2050 and the Paris Agreement? Check for commitments to increase renewable energy investments and avoid reliance on unproven technologies like CCS.
<b>Recognition justice</b>	Does the policy recognise the rights of Indigenous Peoples and marginalised groups, ensuring investments comply with international human rights standards (e.g., UNDRIP) and ILO conventions? Look for commitments to avoid harmful investments and safeguard sensitive ecological areas, as well as responsible sourcing of minerals.
<b>Remedial justice</b>	Are there mechanisms to address and remediate environmental or social harm caused by investments, and does the policy ensure accountability for companies violating human rights or environmental standards?
<b>Distributive justice</b>	Does the policy mention that the benefits of investments are equitably shared? Look for mentions of improving energy access, social benefits and sustainable practices.
<b>Procedural justice</b>	Was the investment policy developed with input from civil society? Does the document outline opportunities for stakeholders, including those from other countries, to engage with the work of the Future Fund where it impacts them? Are there commitments to regularly disclose investment portfolios and provide transparent reporting on environmental, social and governance factors?

## LEVER FIVE: DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

<b>Fast</b>	Does Australia acknowledge its responsibility to transition away from fossil fuels faster than developing countries and to financially support them in their energy transitions? Look for explicit commitments to support renewable energy projects (solar, wind, geothermal) and explicitly rule out support for fossil fuel-related projects, avoiding reliance on unproven technologies like CCUS.
<b>Recognition justice</b>	Does it respect and recognise human rights, particularly the need to protect the rights of marginalised groups? Any mention of free, prior and informed consent or UNDRIP for Indigenous Peoples and recognise the importance of Indigenous knowledge in climate solutions? Check for provisions that ensure marginalised groups benefit from development projects, align with international human rights standards.
<b>Remedial justice</b>	Does the policy include mechanisms for providing redress or compensation to communities harmed by development projects and ensure accountability for any human rights or environmental violations? Any mention of social or environmental safeguards?
<b>Distributive justice</b>	Does the policy ensure the benefits of funded projects are distributed equitably, especially to marginalised communities for things like renewable energy access? Look for commitments to providing concessional finance, supporting community-based energy projects, and encouraging inclusive and democratic control over renewable energy systems.
<b>Procedural justice</b>	Was this developed through consultation with civil society, Indigenous Peoples and marginalised groups in countries other than Australia? Check for commitments to transparency, ongoing stakeholder engagement and publicly disclosed decision-making processes throughout the project lifecycle.

## LEVER SIX: MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS RELATING TO ENERGY

<b>Fast</b>	Does Australia advocate for a rapid transition from fossil fuels (acknowledging that high-emitting, wealthy countries should move fastest and farthest) and for supporting renewable energy projects like solar, wind and geothermal in developing countries, while avoiding speculative technologies like CCS? Is there recognition of the need to support lower-income countries to transition away from fossil fuels?
<b>Recognition justice</b>	Does Australia emphasise human rights and call for gender and social inclusion in global agreements relating to energy? Does it push for alignment with international human rights standards and measures to protect Indigenous rights, such as UNDRIP?
<b>Remedial justice</b>	Does Australia support mechanisms for compensating and providing redress to communities harmed by climate actions, and acknowledge past harms caused by fossil fuel reliance? Does it advocate for accountability measures to address these impacts and for safeguards to protect people and the environment from harm?
<b>Distributive justice</b>	Does Australia promote equitable sharing of the benefits and burdens of the energy transition, especially for developing countries? Does it support financial mechanisms, technology transfer and capacity building to help developing countries and communities, while ensuring that funding is new and additional, not detracting from other aid? Does it promote responsible sourcing of transition minerals globally, and recycling?
<b>Procedural justice</b>	Does Australia advocate for inclusive, transparent decision-making processes at the UNFCCC, ensuring Indigenous Peoples, civil society and marginalised groups from affected countries are meaningfully involved in climate negotiations?

## LEVER SEVEN: MULTILATERAL FUNDS RELATING TO CLIMATE AND ENERGY

<b>Fast</b>	Is Australia promoting renewable energy projects (e.g., solar, wind, geothermal) as a priority for MDB and GCF funding, while pushing for an end to fossil fuel financing?
<b>Recognition justice</b>	Is Australia advocating for investments that align with global climate targets, particularly by excluding fossil fuels and speculative technologies like CCUS?
<b>Remedial justice</b>	Does Australia emphasise human rights and call for gender and social inclusion in energy projects supported by these funds? Does it push for alignment with international human rights standards and measures to protect Indigenous rights, such as UNDRIP and the principle of free, prior and informed consent?
<b>Distributive justice</b>	Does Australia push for independent accountability mechanisms within these funds to allow people to raise grievances in a safe way? Is it advocating for accountability mechanisms to address environmental and social harms caused by funded projects?
<b>Procedural justice</b>	Is Australia advocating for equitable distribution of benefits (e.g., job creation, technology transfer) from funded projects, particularly for marginalised groups?
<b>Procedural justice</b>	Does Australia advocate for the inclusion of Indigenous communities and civil society in decision-making for projects? Is Australia pushing for improved transparency in project selection and decision-making, as well as continuous consultation with stakeholders throughout the project lifecycle?

## LEVER EIGHT: SUSTAINABLE FINANCE AND CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY

<b>Fast</b>	To what extent do Australian regulations require companies to phase out fossil fuels, reduce emissions globally, and ensure their international operations align with climate goals? Look for mandates on emissions reductions across supply chains and operations abroad, alignment with global climate goals and language on phasing out fossil fuels and supporting renewables.
<b>Recognition justice</b>	How do Australian laws ensure that companies respect human rights and protect marginalised groups in their overseas energy and mining operations? Check for requirements for free, prior and informed consent and human rights compliance in overseas projects.
<b>Remedial justice</b>	What mechanisms hold Australian companies accountable for environmental and social harm in global operations, and do they ensure redress for affected communities? Look for frameworks providing compensation for harms caused by international projects. Ensure companies are held accountable for human rights violations abroad.
<b>Distributive justice</b>	How do Australian laws encourage benefits from global energy transition projects to be equitably shared, especially in developing countries? Does it require companies to promote recycling and sustainable alternatives to minimise extraction impacts.
<b>Procedural justice</b>	How do Australian regulations involve stakeholders, such as Indigenous Peoples and local communities, in decision-making for international energy and mining projects? Look for requirements for stakeholder engagement, transparency and continuous consultation throughout project lifecycles. Do companies disclose global operations' impacts and engage affected communities?

## LEVER NINE: INTERNATIONAL CLEAN ENERGY PARTNERSHIPS

<b>Fast</b>	Is Australia promoting renewable energy projects (e.g., solar, wind, geothermal) through international climate partnerships and advocating for the global phase-out of fossil fuels? Is Australia pushing for alignment with global climate goals, such as the Paris Agreement's 1.5°C target, and avoiding reliance on speculative technologies like CCS?
<b>Recognition justice</b>	Is Australia ensuring that partnerships respect human rights, especially of marginalised groups, including upholding free, prior and informed consent and complying with international human rights standards such as UNDRIP?
<b>Remedial justice</b>	Does Australia advocate for protecting marginalised communities, ensuring they are not harmed by energy projects, and that their rights and interests are recognised? Is Australia pushing for accountability mechanisms to ensure communities harmed by energy projects in partner countries can seek justice?
<b>Distributive justice</b>	Is Australia advocating for equitable distribution of benefits from energy transition projects, particularly for marginalised groups? Is Australia promoting sustainable practices and ensuring developing countries benefit from technology transfer, capacity building and concessional finance?
<b>Procedural justice</b>	Does Australia promote inclusive decision-making processes, ensuring the involvement of Indigenous Peoples, local communities and civil society in planning and implementing energy projects? Is Australia advocating for transparency in project selection, continuous stakeholder engagement and public accountability in the implementation of international partnerships?



# ANNEX II: EXAMPLE OF ANALYSIS PERFORMED ON A DOCUMENT

Document: Labor speech on Trade, link [here](#).

Purpose of the document: Outlining the Albanese Government’s trade and investment agenda.

**Table 7: Key questions to draw out when looking at the document**

Element of justice	Questions to ask for this document
<b>Fast</b>	To what extent do the trade policies in the speech explicitly commit to phasing out fossil fuel exports and promoting renewable energy, with clear deadlines or targets for aligning with international climate goals? Does it include reliance on unproven technologies such as CCS without prioritising actual emissions reductions?
<b>Recognition</b>	How do the trade policies in the speech recognise and protect the rights, identities and needs of all affected groups, including marginalised groups (e.g., Indigenous Peoples, racial and ethnic minorities, women and gender minorities, people with disabilities, low-income people, LGBTQ+ people, and refugees and migrants) and local stakeholders, particularly with regard to their involvement in energy projects? Any recognition of the importance of indigenous knowledge in climate solutions? Are there any safeguards mentioned to prevent critical minerals and energy projects from harming sensitive ecological areas?
<b>Remedial</b>	Are there any references to mechanisms that provide redress and accountability for communities negatively impacted by trade activities related to energy, ensuring fair compensation and access to justice?
<b>Distributive</b>	How do the trade policies in the speech ensure equitable distribution of the benefits and burdens of the energy transition, especially for marginalised groups and developing countries in terms of economic opportunities and access to renewable technologies? Mention of importance of all people having access to affordable and clean energy? Does it speak about the nature of finance for the transition, and how concessional and grant-based finance is important (as opposed to debt-instruments such as loans)? Does it address responsible sourcing, processing and use of critical minerals, ensuring minimal social and environmental harm throughout the supply chain? Mention of importance of all people having access to affordable and clean energy? Does it speak to ensuring that the transition to renewable energy systems remains inclusive, accessible and under democratic control, avoiding excessive privatisation that may prioritise profits over public good?
<b>Procedural</b>	How does the speech outline inclusive and transparent decision-making processes, ensuring the involvement of marginalised communities and stakeholders in the negotiation and implementation of trade agreements related to the energy transition? Any mention of the document being developed in consultation with stakeholders, particularly groups likely to be affected in-country?
<b>Other</b>	Does it mention justice/just transition/fairness at all? Any mention of other international agreements e.g. ILO conventions, UN conventions, Sustainable Development Goals, World Trade Organization, Investor-State Dispute Settlement, Environmental, Social and Governance Standards, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

**Table 8: Analysis table that assessors completed**

This is an example of the tables that the four assessors completed. A version of this table was created for each of the documents analysed, and the ‘scale’ seen below was amended to reflect what we felt that document could set out to promote the various aspects of a just energy transition. The table below links to the document linked above.

Element of justice	Commitment in this document? (number)	Scale	Justification for assessment
Fast		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Not Committed: No mention of phasing out fossil fuel exports or promoting renewable energy. Relies heavily on unproven technologies like CCS, showing little to no commitment to actual emission reductions or international climate goals.</li> <li>2. Minimally Committed: Acknowledges the importance of renewable energy but lacks specific targets or timelines for phasing out fossil fuel exports. Mentions CCS without clearly prioritising direct emission reductions.</li> <li>3. Partially Committed: Recognises the need for transitioning from fossil fuels to renewable energy and sets some general targets or timelines. Relies on a mix of proven and unproven technologies, with some emphasis on actual emission reductions.</li> <li>4. Mostly Committed: Sets clear targets for phasing out fossil fuel exports and promoting renewable energy, aligning with international climate goals. Minimises reliance on CCS, focusing more on direct emission reduction efforts.</li> <li>5. Fully Committed: Establishes explicit, time-bound commitments for phasing out fossil fuel exports and prioritises renewable energy development. Rejects reliance on unproven technologies like CCS, emphasising substantial emission reductions.</li> </ol>	
Recognition		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Not Committed: No recognition of the rights, identities or needs of Indigenous Peoples, marginalised groups or local stakeholders. Ignores Indigenous knowledge and lacks safeguards for protecting sensitive ecological areas.</li> <li>2. Minimally Committed: Briefly mentions affected groups but lacks specific commitments to protect their rights or involve them in energy projects. Minimal or no acknowledgment of Indigenous knowledge or ecological safeguards.</li> <li>3. Partially Committed: Recognises the importance of protecting the rights of marginalised groups and Indigenous Peoples, with some acknowledgment of Indigenous knowledge. Provides some safeguards for ecological areas but lacks detailed strategies.</li> <li>4. Mostly Committed: Acknowledges and commits to protecting the rights of Indigenous Peoples and marginalised groups, including the integration of Indigenous knowledge in climate solutions. Mentions clear safeguards for sensitive ecological areas.</li> <li>5. Fully Committed: Fully recognises the rights, identities and needs of all affected groups, integrating Indigenous knowledge and practices into climate solutions. Provides comprehensive safeguards to prevent harm to sensitive ecological areas.</li> </ol>	

Remedial		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Not Committed: No references to mechanisms for redress, accountability or fair compensation for communities negatively impacted by trade activities related to energy.</li> <li>2. Minimally Committed: Mentions the need for redress and accountability but lacks specific mechanisms or strategies to provide justice to affected communities.</li> <li>3. Partially Committed: Recognises the importance of providing redress and accountability, outlining some mechanisms for ensuring fair compensation, but lacks a comprehensive framework.</li> <li>4. Mostly Committed: Provides a clear framework for redress and accountability, including mechanisms for fair compensation and access to justice for communities impacted by trade activities.</li> <li>5. Fully Committed: Offers comprehensive mechanisms for redress, accountability and fair compensation, ensuring affected communities have access to justice and remediation.</li> </ol>	
Distributive		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Not Committed: No mention of equitable distribution of benefits or burdens, responsible sourcing of critical minerals, or access to affordable clean energy. Lacks focus on inclusivity or democratic control in the energy transition.</li> <li>2. Minimally Committed: Acknowledges economic opportunities or access to renewable technologies but lacks a focus on equitable distribution. Briefly mentions critical mineral sourcing without clear strategies.</li> <li>3. Partially Committed: Recognises the need for equitable distribution of benefits, promoting some sustainable practices. Discusses responsible sourcing of critical minerals with limited actionable steps, and mentions inclusivity but lacks clarity on democratic control.</li> <li>4. Mostly Committed: Promotes equitable distribution of benefits, access to affordable clean energy, and sustainable practices like recycling and efficiency. Addresses responsible sourcing of critical minerals and emphasises avoiding excessive privatisation, though some gaps remain.</li> <li>5. Fully Committed: Ensures equitable access to the benefits of the energy transition, prioritises responsible sourcing of critical minerals, and promotes inclusive, democratic control of renewable energy systems. Emphasises minimising negative impacts and ensuring affordable, clean energy for all.</li> </ol>	
Procedural		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Not Committed: No mention of inclusive and transparent decision-making processes or stakeholder involvement, especially regarding marginalised communities.</li> <li>2. Minimally Committed: Mentions the importance of transparency or stakeholder engagement but provides no clear mechanisms for inclusion, especially for marginalised groups.</li> <li>3. Partially Committed: Acknowledges the need for inclusive decision-making processes and transparency, outlining some engagement strategies but lacks detailed implementation plans.</li> <li>4. Mostly Committed: Commits to transparent communication and involves marginalised communities in decision-making processes. Includes some mechanisms for public engagement and stakeholder involvement.</li> <li>5. Fully Committed: Fully integrates inclusive and transparent decision-making processes, ensuring active involvement of Indigenous Peoples, civil society and local communities. Clearly outlines strategies for continuous stakeholder engagement and public disclosure.</li> </ol>	

## ANNEX III: DOCUMENTS ANALYSED

**Table 9: Summary of documents analysed to discern Australia’s commitments to a global just energy transition**

Lever	Document/Initiative	Purpose of document(s) <sup>i</sup>
Trade of energy	Minister Farrell’s 2022 speech	Outlining the Albanese Government’s trade and investment agenda.
Trade of energy	Singapore-Australia Green Economy Agreement	To collaboratively accelerate both countries’ transition to a sustainable, green economy.
Trade of energy	Australia-New Zealand Sustainable and Inclusive Trade Declaration	To strengthen their commitment to sustainable and inclusive trade while aligning their trade policies with climate action, biodiversity protection, and the transition to net-zero emissions.
Trade of energy	Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP)	To create a more competitive, open and fair market in the Asia-Pacific region while promoting sustainable development and inclusive economic growth among the member nations.
Trade of energy	Peru-Australia Free Trade Agreement	The Resources and Energy, and Labour and Environment sections were analysed. This is a bilateral trade agreement.
Trade of energy	Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations Plus	To enhance regional economic integration and development among Pacific Island countries, Australia, and New Zealand.
Trade of energy	National Hydrogen Strategy	To position Australia as a global leader in the hydrogen industry by 2030.
Trade of energy	Future Gas Strategy	Maps out the Australian Government’s plan for how gas will support the economy’s transition to net zero in partnership with the world.
Trade of energy	Future Made in Australia Act	Setting out how Australia plans to build its own industries and strengthens its economy during the global shift to clean energy.
Trade of energy	Inclusive Trade Action Group (group that meets on the margin of the World Trade Organization)	To strengthen collaboration between member countries to advance sustainable, inclusive and equitable trade.
Trade of energy	Global Trade and Gender Arrangement	Commits participating countries to creating gender-responsive trade policies, improving women’s access to economic opportunities and removing barriers to their participation in trade.
Trade of energy	Indigenous Peoples Economic and Trade Cooperation Arrangement	Seeks to enhance Indigenous Peoples’ involvement in trade, ensure their cultural heritage and traditional knowledge are protected, and support their economic and social development in a manner aligned with sustainable practices and Indigenous values.
Trade of energy	Australia’s Southeast Asia Economic Strategy to 2040	To strengthen Australia’s trade and investment relationship with South-East Asia.
Transition Minerals	Critical Minerals Strategy	Sets out the government’s vision to grow Australia’s critical minerals sector up to 2030.
Transition Minerals	Global Resources Statement	Positions the nation’s resources sector as a reliable, responsible and future-ready investment destination for resources exploration and supply.

<sup>i</sup> Please note that for some of these, multiple documents falling under the heading of the initiative were analysed.

Export Finance	Export Finance Australia	Analysed the government's latest statement of expectations for EFA, the bill itself, the corporate responsibility statement and policies available on their website.
Sovereign wealth fund	The Future Fund	Analysed the investment mandate (guidelines for the fund's operations and objectives, issued by the government) and investment policies statement.
Development Assistance	International Development Policy	Outline the government's strategic framework for delivering aid and development assistance. The document sets out the guiding principles, priorities and objectives for Australia's foreign aid, ensuring alignment with national interests while addressing global development challenges.
Development Assistance	Australia-Indonesia Development Partnership Plan	Translates into action the development priorities Australia shares with Indonesia, setting out agreed objectives and how to work together to deliver shared outcomes up to 2028.
Development Assistance	Papua New Guinea Development Partnership Plan	Translates into action the development priorities Australia shares with Papua New Guinea, setting out agreed objectives and how to work together to deliver shared outcomes up to 2029.
Multilateral negotiations	UNFCCC	Analysed public statements by Australia at COP28 and official submissions on the Just Transition Work Programme and the Global Stocktake.
Multilateral negotiations	International Seabed Authority	Analysed recent public statements given by Australia, particularly related to deep sea mining.
Multilateral negotiations	World Trade Organization	Analysed public remarks and statements made to the Committee on Trade and Environment, the Trade and Environmental Sustainability structured discussion, and ministerial statements.
Multilateral Funds	Asian Development Bank	Analysed the partnership framework for 2021-2025 by DFAT and the Asian Development Bank, and statements about funding from the minister.
Sustainable Finance and Corporate Responsibility	Modern Slavery Act	Aims to increase transparency and accountability for businesses regarding modern slavery practices, ensuring that larger corporations are aware of and actively working to mitigate modern slavery in their supply chains.
Sustainable Finance and Corporate Responsibility	Green Bond Framework	Outlines how the government will issue green bonds to finance projects that contribute to climate change mitigation, climate change adaptation and improved environmental outcomes.
Sustainable Finance and Corporate Responsibility	Climate-related financial disclosures	The Treasury Laws Bill was amended in 2024 to include provisions for companies to report on climate and risks associated with it.
Clean energy Partnerships	Indonesia	Analysed the Australia-Indonesia Joint Statement on Cooperation on the Green Economy and Energy Transition, the statement of cooperation on electric vehicles and the KINETIK climate and infrastructure partnership.
Clean energy Partnerships	Australian Infrastructure Financing Facility for the Pacific	Analysed the policy framework, policy on loans and grants, safeguards and transparency, gender equality and social inclusion, social procurement and design document.
Clean energy Partnerships	MoU with China on climate change cooperation	To formalise and promote collaborative efforts between China and Australia in addressing climate change.
Clean energy Partnerships	Australia-Germany Hydrogen Partnership	Outlines how Australia and Germany will collaborate around green hydrogen.

Clean energy Partnerships	India-Australia Green Hydrogen Taskforce	Expert group to report on trade, commercial and research opportunities between the two countries through the manufacture and deployment of green hydrogen
Clean energy Partnerships	Japan-Australia Partnership on Decarbonisation through Technology	Partnership aims to support the global response to climate change by focusing on a technology-led approach to reduce greenhouse gas emissions while promoting economic growth and job creation
Clean energy Partnerships	Singapore	Singapore-Australia Green Economy Agreement (establish a collaborative framework between the governments to accelerate the transition towards a green and sustainable future) and MoU with Singapore on cooperation on low-emissions solutions (developing and implementing low-emissions technologies)
Clean energy Partnerships	Australia-New Zealand 2+2 Climate and Finance Dialogue Joint Statements	To establish and deepen collaboration between Australia and New Zealand in addressing climate change and facilitating the transition to low-emission, climate-resilient economies
Clean energy Partnerships	Australia-United States Climate, Critical Minerals and Clean Energy Transformation Compact	To establish climate action and clean energy cooperation as a central pillar of the Australia-United States Alliance



Rarang, Indonesia: Nurlaeli with her biogas installation at her home. The gas is powered by her livestock waste and allows her to cook without foraging for firewood or buying gas. Photo: Aimee Han/Oxfam. Oxfam acknowledges the support of the Australian Government through the Australian NGO Cooperation Program (ANCP).

# ANNEX IV: FULL LIST OF RECOMMENDATIONS

## Table 10: Full recommendations across each lever

This is a more exhaustive list of recommendations for each of the levers than that included within the body of the paper, to fully align with a just energy transition.

### TRADE OF ENERGY<sup>55</sup>

#### *How can it fully commit to enabling a global just energy transition?*

**Commit to Phasing Out Fossil Fuel Exports:** Integrate explicit, time-bound commitments within trade agreements to reduce and phase out Australia's fossil fuel exports, aligning with global climate goals like the Paris Agreement. Shift trade policies to promote renewable energy technologies and infrastructure, avoiding reliance on unproven technologies like carbon capture, utilisation, and storage.

**Uphold Human Rights and Indigenous Rights Protections:** Incorporate commitments to international human rights treaties, including the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights, and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Uphold the UNDRIP by ensuring land rights, cultural heritage protection, and free, prior and informed consent in trade agreements.

**Include Labour Rights and Environmental Standards:** Adopt commitments to ILO fundamental conventions on freedom of association, elimination of forced and child labour, non-discrimination and safe working conditions. Support development partners in implementing these standards through capacity building initiatives. This includes carrying out environmental impact assessments, promoting responsible sourcing of natural resources, and ensuring trade agreements facilitate the transition to renewable energy while preventing environmental degradation in partner countries.

**Exclude Investor-State Dispute Settlement Provisions:** Remove investor-state dispute settlement mechanisms from existing trade agreements and exclude them from future agreements to prevent corporations from challenging public interest regulations. Lead efforts for a coordinated multilateral withdrawal from investor-state dispute settlement arrangements.

**Strengthen Remedial Justice Mechanisms:** Establish accessible mechanisms within trade agreements for communities to seek redress and hold companies accountable for environmental harm and human rights violations. Include strong environmental and social safeguards to prevent harm.

**Promote equitable benefit sharing:** Ensure trade agreements facilitate fair distribution of benefits, particularly for marginalised communities in partner countries. Encourage technology transfer, capacity building and support for community-led renewable energy projects which enhance access to energy. Avoid excessive privatisation that may disadvantage local communities.

**Enhance Transparency and Inclusive Decision-Making:** Involve affected communities, especially Indigenous Peoples and marginalised groups, in the negotiation and implementation of trade agreements. Improve transparency by making negotiation texts public and enhancing consultation processes. Require independent impact assessments before signing agreements.

### TRANSITION MINERALS<sup>56</sup>

#### *How can it fully commit to enabling a global just energy transition?*

**Commit to Phasing Out Fossil Fuels and Align with Climate Goals:** End Support for fossil fuel exports: cease promoting coal and LNG exports in policies like the Global Resources Statement to align with global climate commitments and the best available science. Prioritise renewable energy and sustainable practices: focus on supporting renewable energy technologies over fossil fuels and avoid reliance on unproven technologies such as Carbon Capture, Utilisation, and Storage.

**Recognise and Uphold the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and Affected Communities Internationally:** Ensure free, prior and informed consent: ensure that Australian companies obtain free, prior and informed consent from Indigenous Peoples and local communities for all overseas mining projects. Adopt international standards: align with the UNDRIP and ILO Convention 169 to protect land rights and cultural heritage globally. Protect self-determination: respect the sovereignty and decision-making rights of Indigenous Peoples regarding their lands and resources.

**Establish Robust Remedial Justice Mechanisms: Provide access to legal recourse:** create clear pathways for communities harmed by mining activities to seek justice and compensation. Hold companies accountable: enforce corporate accountability for environmental and human rights impacts in international supply chains. Address historical harms: commit to remedying past and ongoing injustices caused by mining activities.

**Promote Equitable Distribution of Benefits:** Support local economic development through encouraging mining projects to contribute to job creation and profit-sharing for marginalised communities in source countries. Facilitate technology transfer and capacity building: help partner countries develop sustainable mining practices and renewable energy technologies. Invest in alternatives to new mining: encourage development of technologies that reduce mineral dependence, such as advanced battery chemistries and recycling initiatives.

**Join the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative and Commit to EITI Standards:** Improve transparency in the mining sector by publicly disclosing contracts, revenues and company ownership, and participate in EITI processes to enhance governance and reduce corruption in extractive industries.

**Enhance Transparency and Inclusive Decision-Making:** Engage affected communities: involve Indigenous Peoples and local communities in all stages of project planning and implementation. Ensure public accessibility of information: make information about mining projects available and understandable to all stakeholders.

**Integrate Gender Equality, Promote Women's Participation and Protect Human Rights Defenders:** Include women in decision-making processes and address gender-specific impacts of mining such as exposure to health risks, and rising gender-based violence in mining regions.<sup>57</sup> Safeguard environmental and human rights defenders from harassment, violence and legal intimidation.

**Support International Efforts for Responsible Mining:** Engage in international collaborations to promote high environmental and social standards in mining, such as the Initiative for Responsible Mining Assurance (IRMA).<sup>58</sup> Support treaties that enforce human rights and environmental protections in the minerals sector. Work together to ensure mining practices respect rights and promote sustainability.

## EXPORT FINANCE<sup>59</sup>

### *How can it fully commit to enabling a global just energy transition?*

**Commit to a robust and holistic implementation of the Clean Energy Transition Partnership:** While this should immediately prohibit the financing of international fossil fuel projects, it should also extend to end export financing of domestic fossil fuel infrastructure, whose primary use is the enabling of fossil fuel exports.

**Prioritise Renewable Energy Investments:** It should prioritise funding for scalable and proven renewable energy projects such as solar, wind and energy storage solutions. Take an active role to support motions at the OECD Arrangement on Export Credits to end global export financing of fossil fuels. Internationally, export credit agencies remain the largest public financiers of fossil fuels. Australia's voting at the OECD must support global efforts to phase out fossil fuels, including the current proposal to extend the existing Article 6 prohibition on coal financing to include upstream oil and gas.

**Recognise and Protect Community Rights Internationally:** EFA should ensure all financed projects respect the rights of Indigenous Peoples, marginalised groups and local communities in importing countries, following international standards such as free, prior and informed consent under the UNDRIP, and ILO conventions.

**Establish Robust Remedial Justice Mechanisms:** Develop clear guidelines and accessible mechanisms for communities impacted by EFA-funded projects to seek justice and compensation for environmental or social harms. Ensure that companies receiving financing are held accountable for adhering to environmental and human rights standards, with consequences for non-compliance. Establish and enforce robust environmental and social safeguards to protect sensitive ecological areas and communities from potential harms caused by financed projects.

**Promote Distributive Justice:** Where relevant, it should facilitate technology transfer, job creation and capacity-building initiatives in developing countries, contributing to local economies and supporting sustainable

development goals. Encourage and require responsible sourcing practices for transition minerals, aligning with ethical and environmental standards to prevent exploitation and environmental degradation. Provide favourable financing terms for renewable energy projects in low-income countries to enhance inclusive energy access and avoid exacerbating debt burdens.

**Enhance Transparency and Stakeholder Engagement:** Improve disclosure of funding decisions, project details and environmental and social impact assessments, better balancing client confidentiality with the public's right to information. Set out how affected communities, including Indigenous Peoples and marginalised groups, will be meaningfully involved in the planning and implementation of financed projects. Establish open processes for ongoing engagement, feedback and accountability with stakeholders throughout the project lifecycle. Revoke exemptions from the Freedom of Information Act where appropriate and adopt robust reporting standards to enhance public oversight.

**Ensure that a more rigorous framework of environmental and social governance, particularly in terms of community consultation, is undertaken on EFA-financed mining projects:** We note that EFA is playing a larger role in facilitating mining for renewable energy transition minerals. EFA's existing commitments to the Equator Principles must be strengthened and reflected to ensure these Category A projects cause as little harm to the natural environment and local communities as possible.

## SOVEREIGN WEALTH FUND DISTRIBUTIVE<sup>60</sup>

*How can it fully commit to enabling a global just energy transition?*

**Strengthen Government Direction and Policy Alignment:** The Federal Government should revise the Future Fund's Investment Mandate and Statement of Expectations to explicitly include management of climate-related risks and support for a just energy transition. Ensure that the Fund's activities are consistent with Australia's international commitments on climate change, human rights and sustainable development. Emphasise that Australian taxpayer funds should be invested ethically, avoiding entities involved in serious human rights abuses or environmental harm.

**Divest from Fossil Fuels:** The Future Fund should explicitly commit to phasing out investments in coal, oil and gas companies, avoiding new investments in fossil fuel industries.

**Increase Renewable Energy Investments:** Direct capital toward renewable energy projects and technologies that support the transition to a low-carbon economy.

**Align with Global Climate Goals:** Adopt investment strategies consistent with the Paris Agreement and aim for net-zero emissions across the portfolio by 2050, setting interim targets to track progress.

**Recognise and Uphold Human Rights and Indigenous Rights:** Work to ensure that all investments comply with international human rights frameworks, including the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and International Labour Organization conventions. Exclude investments in companies associated with human rights abuses, violations of Indigenous rights, or environmental degradation.

**Establish Public Mechanisms for Remedial Justice:** Develop clear public policies to identify, address and remediate any environmental or social harms caused by companies within the investment portfolio. Implement policies to hold companies accountable for violations of human rights or environmental standards, including divestment from non-compliant entities.

**Promote Distributive Justice:** Encourage investments that contribute to social benefits such as improving energy access, supporting sustainable development and delivering social benefits to underserved communities.

**Enhance Transparency and Stakeholder Engagement:** Regularly publish the entire investment portfolio, not just the top holdings, to enhance transparency and public accountability. Report on environmental, social and governance factors in line with global frameworks like the Task Force on Climate-related Financial Disclosures. Develop an updated investment policy with input from civil society organisations and stakeholders, including those from other countries impacted by the Fund's investments. Create an independent ethics body to monitor investment decisions, ensuring alignment with responsible investment practices and environmental, social and governance standards.

**Conduct Independent Climate Risk Review:** Commission an independent review of the Future Fund's climate risk strategy to align with international best practices and identify areas for improvement.

## DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE<sup>61</sup>

### *How can it fully commit to enabling a global just energy transition?*

**Recognise Differential Responsibilities:** Acknowledge Australia's responsibility to transition away from fossil fuels faster than developing countries and commit to financially supporting their energy transitions in line with global climate goals.

**Commit to Supporting a Just Transition to Renewable Energy:** Enhance funding and technical assistance for renewable energy projects in developing countries, focusing on proven technologies such as solar and wind. Incorporate just transition principles into development assistance, ensuring that efforts to shift away from fossil fuels and to renewables are equitable and inclusive.

**Recognise and Uphold Human Rights and Indigenous Peoples' Rights:** Ensure development policies adhere to international human rights frameworks, including the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Continue to incorporate Indigenous knowledge into energy solutions.

**Enhance Accountability:** Clarify, and perhaps expand, the mechanisms available for communities harmed by development projects to seek redress and compensation, making them more transparent and easier to navigate, and specify how they would relate to energy projects. Ensure that implementing agencies and partners are held accountable through transparent and accessible processes, including publicly detailing how grievances are addressed and harm is rectified.

**Promote Equitable Distribution of Benefits:** Ensure that the benefits of funded projects are distributed equitably, focusing on improving renewable energy access for marginalised and vulnerable groups. Invest in capacity-building initiatives that empower local communities to manage and maintain renewable energy infrastructure effectively.

**Offer grant-based and Concessional Financing:** Provide grants, concessional finance and support for community-based energy projects that encourage inclusive and democratic control over renewable energy systems.

**Enhance Transparency and Inclusive Participation:** Continue to develop policies and projects through meaningful consultation with civil society organisations, Indigenous Peoples and marginalised groups in partner countries. Establish mechanisms for continuous engagement with stakeholders throughout the project lifecycle, particularly of the Development Partnership Plans, ensuring their input influences decision-making. Publicly disclose decision-making processes, project criteria and environmental and social impact assessments to enable public scrutiny and accountability.

**Increase Climate Finance Commitments:** Increase Australia's climate finance contributions to meet its fair share, supporting mitigation and adaptation efforts in developing countries. Provide support for workers and communities impacted by the transition to renewable energy, including retraining programs and economic diversification initiatives.

## MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS RELATING TO CLIMATE AND ENERGY<sup>62</sup>

### *How can it fully commit to enabling a global just energy transition?*

#### UNFCCC

- **Explicitly Commit to Phasing Out Fossil Fuels:** Advocate for a rapid and equitable global transition away from fossil fuels, acknowledging Australia's responsibility as a high-emitting, wealthy nation to lead by example, and the COP28 decision text. Support ambitious emission reduction targets consistent with limiting global warming to 1.5°C, including enhanced Nationally Determined Contributions with clear timelines.
- **Support Developing Countries in Just Energy Transition:** Increase financial commitments to assist lower-income countries in transitioning to renewable energy, ensuring funding for a just energy transition is new and additional to existing aid. Scale up climate finance to meet Australia's fair share, focusing on grants and concessional finance rather than loans to avoid increasing the debt burden of developing countries.
- **Recognition of Human Rights and Indigenous Peoples:** Emphasise human rights, gender equality and social inclusion in all climate agreements and negotiations. Advocate for the inclusion of international human rights standards, such as the UNDRIP, in climate policies.

- **Ensure Inclusive Participation:** Support the establishment of mechanisms that guarantee meaningful participation of Indigenous Peoples, local communities, women and marginalised groups in climate decision-making processes.
- **Support for Remedial Justice Mechanisms:** Recognise and address past harms caused by fossil fuel reliance, both domestically and internationally. Promote the development of accountability measures to address environmental and social impacts of climate actions, ensuring robust safeguards to protect communities and ecosystems.
- **Promotion of Equitable Benefit Sharing:** Support mechanisms for technology transfer to developing countries, enabling access to renewable energy technologies and sustainable practices. Invest in capacity building initiatives that empower local communities and governments in managing the energy transition.
- **Strengthen the Just Transition Work Programme (JTWP):** Support the integration of just transition principles across all UNFCCC workstreams, ensuring social justice and equity are central to climate actions. Establish advisory bodies or mechanisms that include civil society, Indigenous Peoples and other stakeholders to inform decision-making.
- **Enhance Transparency and Stakeholder Engagement:** Promote open and transparent negotiation processes, allowing for greater public scrutiny and input from all affected parties.

## WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION

- **Eliminate Fossil Fuel Subsidies:** Advocate for the phasing out of fossil fuel subsidies globally, aligning trade policies with the objectives of the Paris Agreement.
- **Promote Sustainable Trade Rules:** Support reforms to trade agreements that facilitate the transition to renewable energy and sustainable practices, avoiding provisions that lock in fossil fuel dependency.
- **Integrate Human Rights into Trade Agreements:** Ensure that trade policies respect and promote human rights, labour rights and environmental protections, aligning with international standards such as the ILO Conventions, the Convention on Biological Diversity and UNDRIP.
- Oppose trade mechanisms that undermine the rights of Indigenous Peoples and marginalised communities, such as certain investor-state dispute settlement provisions.
- **Promote Fair and Transparent Trade Practices:** Advocate for increased transparency in trade negotiations and agreements, involving diverse stakeholders in the process.
- Advocate for trade policies that enable resource-rich developing countries to benefit fully from their natural resources, including critical minerals essential for the energy transition.
- **Facilitate Technology Transfer and Fair Trade:** Promote policies that encourage technology sharing and capacity building, supporting developing nations to participate equitably in global trade related to renewable energy technologies.
- **Promote Fair Carbon Measures:** Ensure that mechanisms like Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanisms are designed fairly, considering the impacts on developing countries and providing support to prevent trade imbalances.

## INTERNATIONAL SEABED AUTHORITY

- **Support a Moratorium on Deep-Sea Mining:** Call for a global moratorium or precautionary pause on deep-sea mining activities until comprehensive, independent scientific research confirms it will not harm marine ecosystems.
- **Prioritise Ocean Conservation:** Emphasise the protection of marine biodiversity and ecosystems, recognising the deep sea as a critical component of the earth's environmental health and a common heritage of humankind.
- **Reform International Seabed Authority (ISA) Decision-Making Processes:** Advocate for greater transparency in ISA's operations, including open access to negotiations and decision-making documents. Support the inclusion of civil society, Indigenous Peoples and affected communities in discussions about seabed mining regulations.

- **Recognise and Uphold Community Rights:** Ensure that the rights and livelihoods of Indigenous Peoples and coastal communities are protected in any activities related to the seabed.
- **Implement Robust Environmental Safeguards:** Advocate for strict environmental standards and safeguards to prevent harm to marine environments and dependent communities.
- **Establish Clear Redress Procedures:** Promote the development of mechanisms to address and remediate any environmental damage or social impacts resulting from seabed activities.

## G20

- **Support Global Energy Transition:** Advocate for collective G20 commitments to rapidly reduce greenhouse gas emissions, phase out fossil fuel subsidies and transition to renewable energy sources. Encourage collaborative efforts among G20 nations to assist developing countries in their energy transitions through financial support, technology sharing and capacity building.
- **Integrate Just Transition Principles:** Promote the inclusion of human rights, gender equality, and social justice considerations in G20 climate and energy policies.
- **Increase Climate Finance Contributions:** Encourage G20 members to scale up climate finance, providing grants rather than loans to prevent increasing the debt burden of developing nations.
- **Facilitate Debt Relief Initiatives:** Support efforts to cancel or restructure debt for low and middle-income countries, enabling them to invest in sustainable development and climate resilience.
- **Promote Fair Taxation and Revenue Sharing:** Advocate for fair taxation frameworks and transparent financial practices to ensure revenues from natural resources contribute to sustainable development.
- **Support Sustainable Supply Chains:** Encourage responsible sourcing of critical minerals and promote recycling initiatives to reduce environmental impacts and support circular economies.
- **Improve Transparency:** Advocate for greater transparency in G20 decision-making processes and the implementation of agreed policies, enabling public oversight and accountability.

## MULTILATERAL FUNDS RELATING TO ENERGY<sup>63</sup>

### *How can it fully commit to enabling a global just energy transition?*

**End Fossil Fuel Financing:** Advocate within MDBs to cease funding for fossil fuel projects, aligning investments with global climate targets including through indirect investments like financial intermediaries and trade finance.

**Publish new voting guidance for Australia’s directors at the multilateral development banks aligned with Australia’s commitments to the Clean Energy Transition Partnership (CETP):** As a signatory to the CETP the Australian government must issue new voting guidance aligned with the CETP to its appointed directors at the MDBs, particularly at the ADB and AIIB. This voting guidance must clearly stipulate its directors vote against proposals for fossil fuel developments and in favour of renewable energy.

**Prioritise Renewable Energy Investments:** Promote renewable energy projects like solar, wind and geothermal as funding priorities in MDBs and the Green Climate Fund.

**Provide grants for community-owned energy projects:** Ensure local communities, particularly small and remote communities, get access to modern energy and the benefits of clean energy projects.

**Increase Transparency in MDB Engagements:** Develop and publicly disclose an engagement framework outlining Australia’s policies and voting behaviour in relation to banks it is a significant shareholder in (World Bank, ADB and AIIB).

**Advocate for Just Transition Policies:** Use Australia’s influence on support policies within MDBs that facilitate a just energy transition for developing countries, including support for workers and communities affected by the shift away from fossil fuels.

**Enhance Accountability Mechanisms:** Push for strong Independent Accountability Mechanisms in funds to allow safe grievance redressal for communities impacted by funded projects.

**Promote Human Rights and Inclusion:** Emphasise the importance of aligning funded projects with international human rights standards, including UNDRIP and the principle of free, prior and informed consent.

**Support Equitable Benefit Sharing:** Advocate for equitable distribution of benefits from funded projects, ensuring marginalised groups receive job opportunities and technology transfers.

**Facilitate Concessional Financing and Capacity Building:** Strongly encourage MDBs to provide concessional financing, debt relief and capacity-building initiatives to support clean energy transitions in developing countries.

**Improve Stakeholder Engagement:** Advocate for the inclusion of Indigenous communities and civil society in decision-making processes for MDB-funded projects, including advocating for MDBs to develop civic space assessments in countries where they operate to identify gaps, and promote and protect the civic space for safe and inclusive engagement with communities and civil society. Also critical is to advocate for zero-tolerance commitments against any form of reprisals or retaliation against human rights and environmental defenders.

**Enhance Transparency and Continuous Consultation:** Push for improved transparency in project selection and decision-making, ensuring continuous consultation with stakeholders throughout the project lifecycle, including a remedy framework to offer remedial measures to communities that have suffered harm and have been negatively impacted by MDB investments.

## SUSTAINABLE FINANCE AND CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY<sup>64</sup>

*How can it fully commit to enabling a global just energy transition?*

**Mandate Fossil Fuel Phase-Out:** Require Australian companies to phase out fossil fuels and reduce emissions globally, aligning operations with international climate goals.

**Legislate Corporate Due Diligence:** Mandate human rights and environmental due diligence across entire supply chains, holding companies responsible for impacts abroad.

**Enforce Human Rights Compliance:** Implement regulations ensuring companies respect human rights and protect marginalised groups in overseas operations, including requiring free, prior and informed consent.

**Strengthen Accountability Mechanisms:** Establish frameworks that hold companies accountable for environmental and social harm abroad, ensuring affected communities have access to redress.

**Promote Equitable Benefit Sharing:** Encourage laws that ensure benefits from global energy projects are shared equitably, promoting recycling and sustainable alternatives to minimise extraction impacts.

**Enhance Stakeholder Engagement:** Encourage companies to involve Indigenous Peoples and local communities in decision-making for international projects, ensuring transparency and continuous consultation.

**Implement Mandatory Climate Disclosures:** Enforce climate-related financial disclosures aligned with international standards, including Scope 3 emissions and credible transition plans.

**Exclude Fossil Fuels from Sustainable Finance:** Ensure sustainable finance taxonomies exclude fossil fuels and CCUS, directing investments toward activities that truly reduce emissions in a fast way.

**Combat Greenwashing:** Regulate against misleading claims by setting clear definitions and standards for sustainability commitments, particularly regarding net-zero targets.

**Support Smaller Enterprises:** Provide guidance and resources to help smaller companies and suppliers meet reporting and compliance requirements under new regulations.

**Leverage Government Influence on Finance:** Use regulatory powers to influence banks and financial institutions to divest from fossil fuels and invest in renewable energy.

**Align with Global Standards:** Adopt international best practices for sustainability reporting and corporate responsibility to influence multinational corporations' global operations.

## INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE AND CLEAN ENERGY PARTNERSHIPS<sup>65</sup>

*How can it fully commit to enabling a global just energy transition?*

**End Fossil Fuel Support:** Cease promoting fossil fuels in partnerships and advocate globally for their phase-out, focusing exclusively on renewable energy projects.

**Prioritise Renewable Energy and Enhance Energy Access:** Support renewable energy initiatives like solar, wind and geothermal to improve energy access for marginalised and remote communities.

**Align with Global Climate Goals:** Ensure all partnerships align with the Paris Agreement and UNFCCC, and that they make genuine cuts to emissions.

**Uphold Human Rights and Indigenous Rights:** Require that all partnerships respect human rights, uphold free, prior and informed consent, and comply with international standards such as UNDRIP, protecting marginalised groups.

**Ensure Responsible Sourcing of Minerals:** Promote ethical mining practices and support recycling to reduce environmental impact, ensuring communities are not harmed by extraction activities.

**Establish Accountability Mechanisms:** Advocate for mechanisms that allow communities harmed by energy projects to seek justice and receive compensation.

**Promote Equitable Benefit Sharing:** Facilitate technology transfer and capacity building, and ensure benefits from energy projects are distributed equitably, especially to marginalised groups.

**Enhance Inclusive Decision-Making:** Involve Indigenous Peoples, local communities and civil society in planning and implementing energy projects.

**Improve Transparency and Stakeholder Engagement:** Ensure transparent project selection, continuous stakeholder consultation and public accountability throughout project lifecycles.

**Provide Concessional Finance and Support:** Offer favourable financing terms and debt relief to support clean energy transitions in developing countries without increasing their debt burdens



Satkhira Bangladesh: Mst. Doulotunnesa's community has been severely impacted by climate change, with increasingly high temperatures and increasing levels of salinity in the water. Mst Doulotunnesa, along with other women from the community, attended training sessions by Oxfam partner organisation, Breaking the Silence. This training covered climate change, gender equality and women's empowerment. Photo: Fabeha Monir/Oxfam. Oxfam acknowledges the support of the Australian Government through the Australian NGO Cooperation Program (ANCP).

# ENDNOTES

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# COBA ENERGI TERBARUKAN SAMPAH ORGANIK ABILITAS DI DESA RARANG

15 FEBRUARI 2025



Indonesia: Muhammad Juaini is the WE for JET Project Manager at Oxfam local partner Gema Alam. Oxfam acknowledges the support of the Australian Government through the Australian NGO Cooperation Program (ANCP).

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