

FINANCING CLIMATE DISASTER:

How Export Credit Agencies Are a Boon for Oil and Gas





This report was researched and written by Kate DeAngelis with Friends of the Earth U.S. and Alex Doukas with Oil Change International, with contributions from Sebastien Godinot with WWF European Policy Office. Data was collected by Ken Bossong of the SUN DAY Campaign for Oil Change International.

The authors appreciate the input and help from the following people: Karyn Keenan of Above Ground; Dana Mareková of BankWatch; Wiert Wiertsema and Niels Hazekamp of Both ENDS; Nicholas Hildyard of Corner House; Antoine Simon and Colin Roche of Friends of the Earth Europe; Sara Shaw of Friends of the Earth International; Karen Orenstein and Lukas Ross of Friends of the Earth U.S.; Allison Lee and Elizabeth Bast of Oil Change International; Regine Richter of Urgewald; and Stefan Henningsson of World Wildlife Fund Sweden.

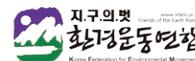
October 2017

Oil Change International is a research, communications, and advocacy organization focused on exposing the true costs of fossil fuels and facilitating the coming transition towards clean energy. For more information, visit www.priceofoil.org

Friends of the Earth U.S. works to defend the environment and champion a more healthy and just world. For more information, visit www.foe.org

WWF's mission is to stop the degradation of the planet's natural environment and to build a future in which humans live in harmony with nature. For more information, visit wwf.panda.org/

Alongside the authoring organizations, this report is endorsed by: Both ENDS (The Netherlands), Friends of the Earth Australia, Friends of the Earth Japan, Jubilee Australia, Korea Federation for Environmental Movements (South Korea), KIKO Network (Japan), Re:Common (Italy), Solutions for Our Climate (South Korea), and Urgewald (Germany).



CONTENTS

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	4
II. INTRODUCTION	5
III. METHODOLOGY AND DATA SOURCES	7
IV. OIL AND GAS FINANCING FOR G20 COUNTRIES.....	8
V. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICYMAKERS.....	11
VI. CONCLUSION	12



I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Export credit agencies (ECAs) from G20 countries are a major source of financing for oil and gas projects. Key findings from this report include:

- › From 2013 to 2015, ECAs provided over \$32 billion annually to support oil and gas projects.
- › Despite climate impacts potentially as bad as coal, ECAs provided more than 11 times as much support to oil and gas than clean energy.
- › Nearly 23 percent of ECA oil and gas financing went toward exploration of new oil and gas resources.
- › ECAs are supporting climate disaster while providing little help to clean energy - 88 percent of ECA energy financing went toward fossil fuels.
- › Japan is the worst offender, providing over \$13 billion annually to fossil fuels, followed by Korea and the United States supporting almost \$8 and almost \$6 billion annually, respectively.

Recommendations:

- › All ECAs must:
 - Disclose the amount and nature of all fossil fuel-related transactions, as well as information on their decision making process.
 - Formulate policies to phase out all support for fossil fuels.
- › The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) ECAs must take the lead to phase out all support for fossil fuels by 2020 at the latest. Through the International Working Group on Export Credits, Non-OECD ECAs must also end fossil fuel financing in line with their common but differentiated responsibilities and capabilities to shift their development paths away from fossil fuels.

II. INTRODUCTION

The world must address its addiction to fossil fuels, but not just coal – oil and gas too. Natural gas is mostly composed of a greenhouse gas, methane, which is 87 times more potent than carbon dioxide over a 20-year period.¹ Methane emissions are a major problem for the oil and gas sector; some estimates put methane leakage from oil and gas production at 17 percent.² Government regulators and fossil fuel companies underestimate methane emissions at every point in the supply chain from extraction to consumption.³ One recent study found methane emissions from natural gas power plants to be up to 120 more than the estimates the facility reported.⁴ Due to these methane emissions associated with extraction and transportation, in certain circumstances natural gas can be as bad for the climate as coal.⁵ Climate impacts of coal, oil and gas require that countries stop building new fossil fuel-fired power plants after 2017 in order to avert the worst impacts of climate change.⁶

Carbon-based energy is the largest contributor to climate change,⁷ so quickly improving energy efficiency and shifting to renewables like solar and wind is necessary to reduce global emissions. If all of the

fossil fuel – coal, oil and gas – was burned from extraction projects that are operational, the global average temperature would likely increase by much more than 1.5 or 2 degrees Celsius – warming beyond which scientists agree could be catastrophic.⁸ Therefore, public support for additional fossil fuel projects undermines mitigation pledges under the Paris Agreement and contribute to warming much higher than 2 degrees Celsius. Contrary to what the gas industry has claimed, natural gas cannot serve as a bridge to renewables as it actually diverts investment away from renewables and energy efficiency.⁹ A clean energy transition in line with what climate science suggests is needed will require an end to all public support for all fossil fuel projects, coupled with financial and technical support for sustainable development pathways from high-income countries for low and middle income countries.

One of the most significant sources of public support for fossil fuel investments are export credit agencies (ECAs) – government-backed institutions few people have heard of that provide tens of billions of dollars for energy projects all over the world every year.¹⁰ ECAs provide

government-backed guarantees, insurance, credits, and loans to support the export of goods and services abroad.¹¹ This public support makes it easier for companies to do business in other countries, especially risky markets. The stated goal of ECAs is usually to create and maintain jobs and help the domestic economy of the home country by catalyzing exports. Most high income countries, and now many middle income countries, have at least one ECA, which is usually an official or quasi-official government agency, and in all cases acting on behalf of the government. The high credit ratings of ECAs – due to sovereign government backing – and their guarantees for exports make their investment crucial for the realization of many energy projects (especially risky ones). This public support sends a signal to investors and leverages support from the private sector, often driving investment in fossil fuel production that would not occur otherwise.

A number of ECAs have placed some restrictions on fossil fuel financing, but almost exclusively on coal. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Working Party on Export Credits and Credit Guarantees (Export Credit Group) took an important

1. INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE, CLIMATE CHANGE 2014: MITIGATION OF CLIMATE CHANGE (2014), <http://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar5/wg3/>.

2. Oliver Schneising et al., *Remote Sensing of Fugitive Methane Emissions from Oil and Gas Production in North American Tight Geologic Formations*, 2 EARTH'S FUTURE 548 (2014), <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/2014EF000265/pdf>.

3. E.g., Gabrielle Pétron et al., *A New Look at Methane and Nonmethane Hydrocarbon Emissions from Oil and Natural Gas Operations in the Colorado Denver-Julesburg Basin*, 119 J. GEOPHYSICAL RESEARCH: ATMOSPHERES 6836 (2014), <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/2013JD021272/full>.

4. Tegan N. Lavoie, et al. *Assessing the Methane Emissions from Natural Gas-Fired Power Plants and Oil Refineries*. 51 ENVTL. SCI. & TECH. 3,373 (2017), <http://pubs.acs.org/doi/abs/10.1021/acs.est.6b05531>.

5. Robert W. Howarth, *A Bridge to Nowhere: Methane Emissions and the Greenhouse Gas Footprint of Natural Gas*, ENERGY SCI. & ENG'G (2014), http://www.eeb.cornell.edu/howarth/publications/Howarth_2014_ESE_methane_emissions.pdf.

6. Alexander Pfeiffer, et al. *The '2°C Capital Stock' for Electricity Generation: Committed Cumulative Carbon Emissions from the Electricity Generation Sector and the Transition to a Green Economy*. 179 APPLIED ENERGY 1,395 (2016), <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0306261916302495>. It is important to note that the only way developing countries will be able to accomplish this is if high income countries provide low income countries with the financial support to pursue a different development pathway.

7. Johannes Friedrich, et al. *What Do Your Country's Emissions Look Like?*, World Resources Institute Blog, 23 June 2015, <http://www.wri.org/blog/2015/06/infographic-what-do-your-countrys-emissions-look>.

8. Greg Muttit. *The Sky's Limit: Why the Paris Climate Goals Require a Managed Decline of Fossil Fuel Production* (2016), http://priceofoil.org/content/uploads/2016/09/OCl_the_skys_limit_2016_FINAL_2.pdf.

9. Haewon McJeon, et al. *Limited Impact on Decadal-Scale Climate Change from Increased Use of Natural Gas*, 514 NATURE 482 (2014), <http://www.nature.com/nature/journal/v514/n7523/full/nature13837.html>.

10. For information on other sources of G20 public support for energy projects, see Alex Doukas et al., *Talk Is Cheap: How G20 Countries Are Financing Climate Disaster* (2017), http://priceofoil.org/content/uploads/2017/07/talk_is_cheap_G20_report_July2017.pdf.

11. For more information, see ECA Watch, *What are ECAs*, <http://www.eca-watch.org/node/1> (last visited 3 July 2017).



– albeit insufficient – first step when the members agreed not to support the least efficient coal-fired power plants above a certain size starting 1 January 2017.¹² In addition to the OECD restrictions, individual ECAs have also placed limits on their support of fossil fuel projects. For instance, in 2014, France forbade export credits for almost all coal projects in developing countries.¹³

However, considering that they provide billions of dollars in support to fossil fuel projects annually, ECAs have to take much more drastic steps to stop undermining the Paris Agreement. The existing limitations on support for fossil fuel projects are severely insufficient if the world wants to avoid catastrophic impacts of climate change. ECAs (and other public institutions) need to lead the market away from all fossil

fuels rather than responding to markets. They must extend existing restrictions on coal to include oil and gas and require the phase out of all fossil fuel financing. Simultaneously, public institutions must embrace energy efficiency and renewables, which continue to become more competitive and cost-effective day after day, while following clear social, environmental and human rights standards.¹⁴

12. OECD, Sector Understanding on Export Credits for Coal-Fired Electricity Generation Projects, 27 Nov. 2015, TAD/PG(2015)9/FINAL, [http://www.oecd.org/officialdocuments/publicdisplaydocumentpdf/?cote=TAD/PG\(2015\)9/FINAL&docLanguage=En](http://www.oecd.org/officialdocuments/publicdisplaydocumentpdf/?cote=TAD/PG(2015)9/FINAL&docLanguage=En).

13. *France to Stop Credits for Coal Projects in Developing Countries*, REUTERS, 27 Nov. 2017, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-energy-coal-idUSKCN0JB17J20141127>

14. It is important to note that whether or not a form of energy is truly “clean” can depend greatly on its use. For instance, a large-scale solar array that is used to power a mine is not clean.

III. METHODOLOGY AND DATA SOURCES

This report analyzed data on energy projects financed by ECAs from G20 countries. This data includes ECA support provided for exploration, development, extraction, and transportation of fossil fuels; power plant construction and operation including renewable energy; energy efficiency investments; transmission and distribution of electricity; and decommissioning. The data only includes support for related infrastructure, such as the construction or expansion of a port, when it is clear that at least a majority of that infrastructure

is intended to support energy production or transportation. Factoring in these projects that aid the fossil fuel industry would add billions more in support.

The forms of energy included in this report are:

- Fossil fuels: coal, oil, and natural gas
- Renewables: solar, wind, geothermal, small hydro
- Other: infrastructure categorized as neither renewable nor fossil fuel-related – for example,

large hydro dams,¹⁵ nuclear, biomass, or transmission infrastructure with no clearly associated energy source.

A. Sources of Data

Data for this report comes from Oil Change International's Shift the Subsidies database,¹⁶ which covers a wide range of bilateral and multilateral public finance. This database has collected information from ECAs and other publically available data, as well as the Infrastructure Journal (IJ) Global database, Boston University's Global Economic Governance Initiative's China Global Energy Database, Above Ground, Bank Information Center, and CEE Bankwatch Network.

Unfortunately, the amount and nature of the disclosure of investment data for ECAs vary greatly. Most ECAs – even from OECD countries – remain very opaque and only a few allow public access to detailed investment information. Due to this lack of transparency, the finance figures provided in this report are likely significant underestimates.

B. ECAs Covered

This report includes data on energy financing from the ECAs in G20 countries, listed in Table 1.

Table 1. G20 ECAs for Which Data Is Provided

Country	Export Credit Agency	Abbreviation
Australia	Export Finance and Insurance Corporation	EFIC
Canada	Export Development Canada	EDC
China	China Export and Credit Insurance Corporation	Sinosure
	China Export-Import Bank	CHEXIM
France	Compagnie Francaise d'Assurance pour le Commerce Exterieur (absorbed by BPI France)	Coface
Germany	Euler Hermes	Hermes
India	Export-Import Bank of India	India EXIM
Italy	Servizi Assicurativi del Commercio Estero	SACE
Japan	Japan Bank for International Cooperation	JBIC
	Nippon Export & Investment Insurance	NEXI
Korea	Korea Export-Import Bank	KEXIM
	Korea Trade Insurance Corporation	K-Sure
Mexico	Banco Nacional de Comercio Exterior	Bancomext
Russia	Export-Import Agency of Russia	EXIAR
South Africa	Export Credit Insurance Corporation	ECIC
United Kingdom	UK Export Finance	UKEF
United States	Export-Import Bank of the United States	U.S. EXIM

15. Large hydro is not counted as renewable because dams required for the creation of power contribute to climate change by producing large quantities of methane caused by bacteria feeding on plant-material in the reservoirs. International Rivers, *Dirty Hydro: Dams and Greenhouse Gas Emissions* (2008), https://www.internationalrivers.org/sites/default/files/attached-files/dirtyhydro_factsheet_lorez.pdf. Global methane emissions from dams could be up to 23 percent greater than methane emissions produced from burning fossil fuels. Bobby Magill, *Hydropower May Be Huge Source of Methane Emissions*, CLIMATE CENTRAL, Oct. 29, 2014, <http://www.climatecentral.org/news/hydropower-as-major-methane-emitter-18246>. Large hydro dams also contribute to climate change through the massive amount of cement required to build them, the diversion of waterways away from wetlands that serve as carbon sinks, and in some cases result in massive deforestation. Gary Wockner, *Dams Cause Climate Change, They Are Not Clean Energy*, EcoWATCH, Apr. 4, 2014, <http://www.ecowatch.com/dams-cause-climate-change-they-are-not-clean-energy-1881943019.html>. In addition, they require the capture of large areas of land that often displace thousands of people. Allen F. Isaacman & Barbara S. Isaacman, *Dams, Displacement and the Delusion of Development: Cahora Bassa and Its Legacies in Mozambique, 1965 - 2007*. Ohio University Press, 2013.

16. Oil Change International. Shift the Subsidies: Public Energy Finance Still Funding Fossils <http://priceofoil.org/shift-the-subsidies/> (last visited 31 Aug. 2017).

IV. OIL AND GAS FINANCING FOR G20 COUNTRIES

Export credit agencies from G20 countries provided over \$32 billion annually in support of oil and gas projects from 2013 to 2015. This amount dwarfs the already considerable annual average of \$5.6 billion supplied to coal. Thus, export credit agencies provided almost six times more support to oil and gas than coal. Trailing way behind either of these streams of fossil fuel finance is support for truly clean energy projects at about \$3 billion annually.¹⁷ Therefore, oil and gas receive more than 11 times and coal two times more support than renewable energy. Clean energy does not fare any better when looking specifically at ECA support in developing countries; United Kingdom Export Finance (UKEF) for example, directed 99.4 percent of its energy finance in developing countries to fossil fuels.¹⁸

A. ECA Support for Oil and Gas Dwarfs All Other Energy Financing

Investment in coal pales in comparison to the support provided for oil and gas projects. For example, support for oil and gas by U.S. EXIM and Italy's SACE was over six times that for coal, while France's Coface provided more than 13 times as

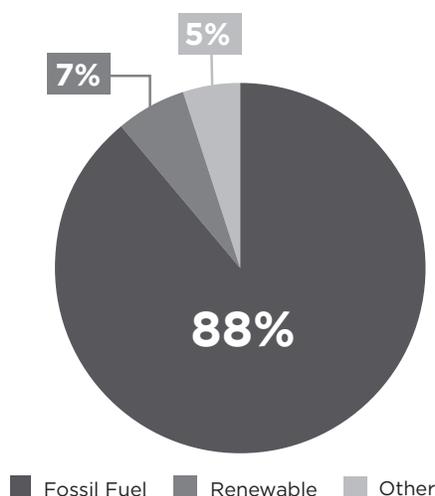


Figure 1. Percentages of Fossil Fuel, Renewable, and Other Energy Financing from ECAs, 2013-2015

much support to oil and gas as coal. In addition, some countries, such as Canada and the United Kingdom, which provided little or no support for coal, were major financiers of oil and gas projects. While transitioning away from coal is crucial, doubling down on gas will prevent the world from having any chance of mitigating climate change.

Unfortunately, it seems likely that ECA support for oil and gas projects will only increase unless restrictions are put in place. For example, Mexico's Bancomext increased its support for oil and gas projects over the timeframe covered by this report – 2013 to 2015. Since 2015, many large gas projects have received support

or are likely to:

- CHEXIM (co-financed with the China Development Bank),¹⁹ Sweden's EKN, and Germany's Euler Hermes provided support to the Yamal liquefied natural gas (LNG) project in Russia;²⁰
- LNG projects in northern Mozambique have received support from KEXIM;²¹
- SACE, U.S. EXIM,²² and other ECAs are considering support for related onshore and offshore fossil fuel projects in Mozambique.

17. The majority of clean energy support (not even \$3 billion) went toward wind projects.

18. Sarah Wykes & Andrew Scott, *UK Support for Energy in Developing Countries 2010-14* (Aug. 2017), <https://cafod.org.uk/About-us/Policy-and-research/Climate-change-and-energy/Sustainable-energy/Analysis-UK-support-for-energy>.

19. BU Global Economic Governance Initiative (GEGI), "China's Global Energy Finance: Energy Source - Gas/LNG," 2016, (last visited August 31, 2017), <http://www.bu.edu/cgef/#/2016/EnergySource/Gas-LNG>.

20. *Yamal LNG Raised Financing with Insurance Coverage by the Swedish and German Export Credit Agencies*, *Your Oil & Gas News*, 13 Jun. 2017, http://www.youroilandgasnews.com/yamal+lng+raised+financing+with+insurance+coverage+by+the+swedish+and+german+export+credit+agencies_142750.html.

21. Jung Suk-ye, *Eximbank of Korea to Finance Gas Field Development Project in Mozambique*, *Bus. Korea*, 28 Jun. 2017, <http://www.businesskorea.co.kr/english/news/money/18485-financial-support-exim-bank-korea-finance-gas-field-development-project-mozambique>.

22. U.S. EXIM, *Pending Transactions for Environmental Category A and B Projects*, <http://www.exim.gov/policies/ex-im-bank-and-the-environment/pending-transactions> (last visited 5 Jul. 2017).

Moreover, recent analysis shows that burning the reserves in already operating oil and gas fields alone, even if coal mining is completely phased out, would take the world beyond 1.5°C of warming.²³ Therefore, no oil and gas reserve can be added to the operating projects without contradicting the Paris Agreement. Yet ECA support for oil and gas continues to include exploration for new oil and gas reserves. In fact, nearly 23 percent of ECA oil and gas finance went toward exploration. A few ECAs stand out for their high proportion of support for such exploration. The United Kingdom’s UKEF directed over 44 percent of its oil and gas finance to exploration-related activities, while Canada’s EDC directed 37 percent toward exploration. The U.S. EXIM also provided a high proportion of its oil and gas finance to exploration – just under 30 percent.

B. Worst Offenders in ECA Oil and Gas Financing: Japan, Korea, United States

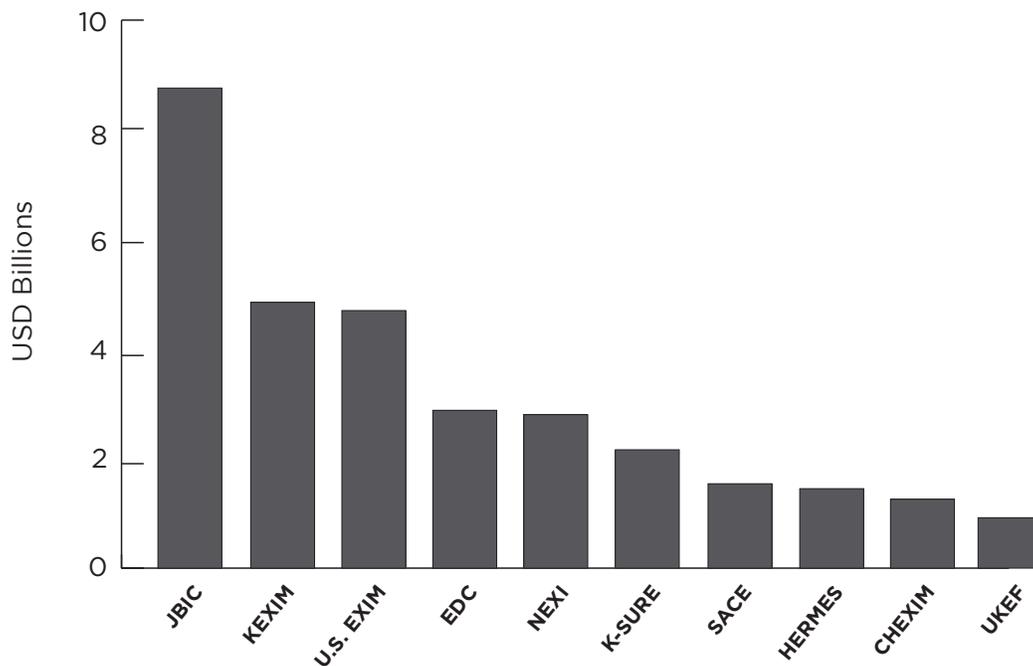
When it comes to oil and gas financing, Japan is the world’s worst offender. Korea – closely followed by the U.S. – is an obvious number two. Through the Nippon Export and Investment Insurance (NEXI) and the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC), Japan provided a staggering annual average of \$11.6 billion – over a third of all oil and gas ECA financing globally. The country provided a similar percentage for overall export credit agency fossil fuel financing – 35 percent. Korea, through the Export-Import Bank of Korea (KEXIM) and the Korea Trade Insurance Corporation (K-Sure), is the next largest ECA financier of fossil fuels, an astonishing annual average of \$7 billion for oil and gas projects. Following close behind is the U.S. EXIM with close to \$5 billion.

Other ECAs have also been responsible for providing billions or hundreds of millions of dollars annually in support to oil and gas projects. These countries include China,²⁴ Germany, and Italy. Worth noting is Canada’s EDC, which provided \$2.9 billion annually to oil and gas projects. In reality, the true figure is probably much higher, possibly even double that amount because EDC only discloses a financing range (e.g., \$100 million to \$200 million) for its loans, and this report used the lowest end of the range to provide a conservative estimate.

C. Almost No Restrictions Exist on Oil and Gas Financing, Unlike Coal

Almost no international or domestic restrictions on oil and gas support currently exist. Two notable exceptions are the African Development Bank and the Asian Development Bank, which do not finance the exploration of oil and

Figure 2. Largest ECA Financiers of Oil and Gas by Institution, Annual Average, 2013-2015



Source: Oil Change International Shift the Subsidies Database.

23. Muttitt, *supra* note 8.

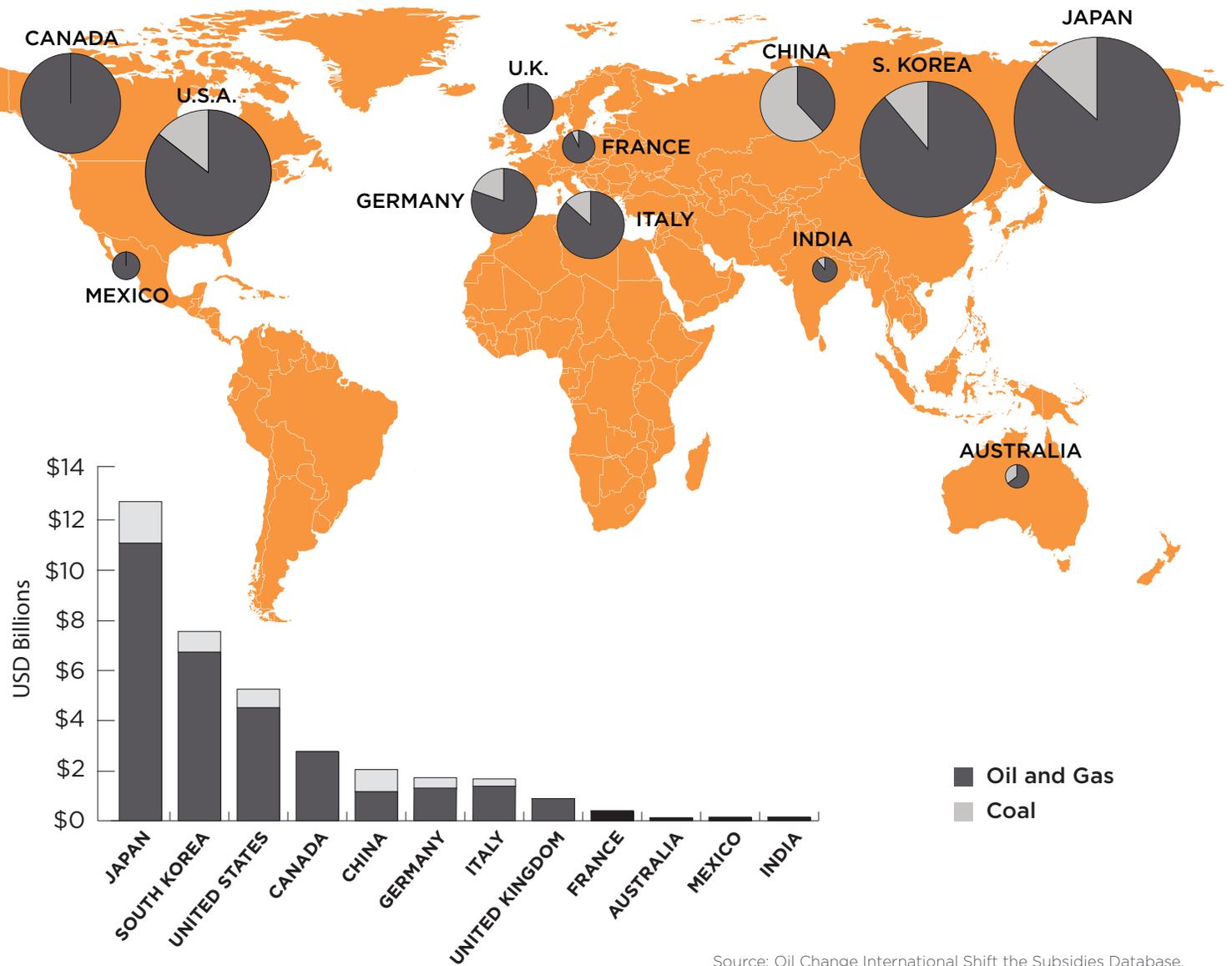
24. Other Chinese institutions, such as the China Development Bank (CDB), provide billions of dollars of financing for oil and gas projects. Doukas et al., *supra* note 10. In 2016, for instance, CDB supported over \$36 billion in oil and gas project, of which about \$14 billion was co-financed with CHEXIM. BU GEGI, *supra* note 19.

gas fields.²⁵ Recognizing the negative climate impacts of coal, OECD ECAs have agreed to restrict financing for certain coal projects. The OECD coal financing restrictions still allow support for coal projects in the world's poorest countries and for slightly more efficient coal plants. In addition, OECD ECAs can still support coal mining and related coal infrastructure, such

as the transportation of coal. On the other hand, the OECD has placed no limits on oil and gas financing. While some countries have focused on reducing coal financing, Sweden's SEK is the only ECA to decrease support for oil and gas projects.²⁶ In 2016, SEK analyzed the impacts of the Paris Agreement on its lending portfolio and joined the Fossil Free Sweden Initiative.²⁷ While

not an ironclad commitment to ending fossil fuel finance, it points in the direction of SEK reducing or even phasing out fossil fuel finance. SEK did not finance fossil fuel projects in 2015 or 2016 according to its disclosure of higher risk projects.

Figure 3. Largest ECA Financiers of Fossil Fuels by Country, Annual Average, 2013-2015



Source: Oil Change International Shift the Subsidies Database.

25. Asian Development Bank. Energy Policy p. 8 (Jun. 2009), <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/institutional-document/32032/energy-policy-2009.pdf>; African Development Bank, Operation Resources and Policies Department. Energy Sector Policy of the AfDB Group p. 22 (2012), https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Policy-Documents/Energy_Sector_Policy_of_the_AfDB_Group.pdf. These policies are based on economic risks, not climate risks.

26. It is important to note that Sweden's other export credit agency, EKN, has not placed similar restrictions on its financing. For instance, EKN recently supported the Yamal LNG project in Russia. *Russia's Yamal LNG Gets 425 Mln Euro Loans from Foreign Banks*, Reuters (13 Jun. 2017), <http://www.reuters.com/article/brief-russias-yamal-lng-gets-425-mln-eur-idUSL8N1JA1NW>.

27. SEK, Annual Report 2016, http://www.sek.se/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2014/02/SEK_annual_report_2016.pdf. SEK also issues green bonds; the first of which SEK issued in 2015 for \$500 million. SEK. Green Bonds, <http://www.sek.se/en/investor-relations/green-bonds/> (last visited 26 July 2017); SEK. SEK Issues Its First Green Bond (18 Jun. 2015), <http://www.sek.se/en/media/media-archive/sek-issues-its-first-green-bond/>.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICYMAKERS

To have any hope of preventing the worst impacts of climate change, public institutions must take the lead in ending support for all fossil fuel projects. As one of the largest sets of fossil fuel financiers globally, ECAs will need to play a leading role in restricting such financing, thus allowing for the needed transition to renewables.



Improve transparency of fossil fuel support through greater public disclosure. Greater transparency will shed light on the true climate, environmental, and social impacts of ECAs' fossil fuel support. Early notice of potential projects receiving ECA support would allow project impacted communities a greater opportunity to provide input and engage with potential financiers. Further, ECAs need to provide detailed information on every transaction they support in the entire fossil fuel sector, including related infrastructure projects. This disclosure must encompass disclosure of decision-making, including consideration of public comments.

End all ECA support for fossil fuels as soon as possible, in line with common but differentiated responsibilities, starting with OECD ECAs by 2020 at the latest. By 2019, the OECD will review the sector understanding on coal-fired power plants. If this review takes into account the latest climate science for limiting global warming to 2°C as required by the coal sector understanding, the OECD Export Credit Group would find that no new fossil fuel-fired power plants - whether coal, oil or gas - should be built after 2017, nor any more oil and gas exploration conducted. The OECD Export Credit Group must extend the restrictions in the current sector understanding on coal power plants to cover all coal projects, including plants of any efficiency in any

country, as well as coal mines and related coal infrastructure. These restrictions should cover all financial transactions, not just those covered by the Arrangement on Officially Supported Export Credits.²⁸ Any violators should be held accountable. Simultaneously, progressive ECAs must take the lead in developing policies that immediately end support for all fossil fuels, forming a coalition-of-the-willing.

Non-OECD ECAs must also end support for all fossil fuel projects as soon as possible in line with their common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities. These low and middle-income countries have an opportunity to bypass fossil fuel development and leapfrog to renewables. To help facilitate this, developed countries must provide international climate finance for developing countries commensurate with what science and justice demand.²⁹ Non-OECD ECAs, like China Export-Import Bank, are providing tens of billions of dollars in support to oil and gas projects, and this support is only growing. The International Working Group on Export Credits (IWG), an initiative started by the U.S. and China in 2012, aims to negotiate global guidelines on export credits that cover both OECD and non-OECD countries like China. In meeting three times a year, the IWG provides a forum to implement fossil fuel restrictions beyond the OECD.

28. The OECD Export Credit group developed the Arrangement on Officially Supported Export Credits "to provide a framework for the orderly use of officially supported export credits" with the goal of creating a level playing field. OECD, Arrangements on Officially Supported Export Credits, TAD/PG(2017)1 (1 Feb. 2017), [http://www.oecd.org/officialdocuments/publicdisplaydocumentpdf/?docId=4682282&docLanguage=en&code=tad/pg\(2017\)1](http://www.oecd.org/officialdocuments/publicdisplaydocumentpdf/?docId=4682282&docLanguage=en&code=tad/pg(2017)1). To ensure that OECD export credit restrictions cover all financial transactions would require a separate agreement, rather than just a sector understanding.

29. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change uses the phrase "common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities" to acknowledge that industrialized countries are responsible for historical contribution to climate change and have the ability to provide financial and technological resources to developing countries to mitigate and adapt to climate change.

VI. CONCLUSION

Many G20 countries publically proclaim the need for climate action; yet, their ECAs exacerbate the crisis by providing billions of dollars to new fossil energy projects every year. These countries have made international pledges and passed domestic policies to reduce their contribution to climate change to meet the Paris Agreement's goal of keeping warming to well below 2 degrees Celsius. Meanwhile,

governments knowingly undermine those efforts by propping up the very industries that must be abolished to have a chance of preventing the devastating impacts of climate change. ECAs must lead the charge in ending support for fossil fuels while other public financiers, such as development finance institutions, push the world in the direction it needs to go – a just energy efficiency and renewable transition.

Instead of allowing exporters of fossil fuel technologies to dominate the market, ECAs should seek out projects that will not use taxpayers dollars and guarantees to aid carbon pollution. Governments would then have tens of billions of dollars to use on keeping communities clean and safe and providing sustainable renewable energy to all.

