

# Justice in Balance: Climate Debt Relief and the Rise of Natural Rights Led Governance

Dhaka, 20 September 2025

Bangladesh faces a loan-driven climate debt trap: high debt-to-grant ratios, delayed disbursement, and sustained underfunding of climate adaptation. Without a grant-first approach and rules against misattribution of fossil fuel-based projects as "climate finance", fiscal space will tighten, human losses will compound, and resilience will stall.

### **Key Takeaways**

- Per-capita cumulative climate debt: USD 79.61 (≈3× of LDC average)
- **Debt-to-grant (overall): 2.7: 1** (highest among 55 countries)
- MDB debt-to-grant: 0.94 (≈5× MDB average)
- Adaptation-to-mitigation (overall): 0.42 (adaptation starved)
- Disbursement-to-commitment: 0.63 overall; 0.32 via Multilateral finance.

### **Systemic Distortions**

- Sector skewness: Energy absorbs the majority share, loan-dominated (loan-to-grant ≈ 11.99), while agriculture, disaster preparedness, health, and industry are significantly underfunded.
- Misattribution: ~18.84% funds channeled to fossil fuel project and attributed as "climate finance" (loan-to-grant ≈ 28.8), inflating Bangladesh's national loan ratio from 2.07 to 2.70 and compromising resilience.

**Bottom Line:** Immediate, enforceable **grant-first** rules, **anti-misattribution** standards, and **direct local access** are required to avoid deeper debt and escalating losses.

## 2) What the Index Measures

• Scope & Data Sources: 2002–2023 flows and forecast outlook to 2031; multi-source economic and governance data integrated with climate-related indicators.



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- **Core indicators:** Disbursement to commitment, debt to grant, adaptation to mitigation, climate-debt to GDP, climate-debt to tax revenue, per-capita climate debt vs income and emissions, and cumulative per-capita burden.
- Forecasting: Economic, fiscal, and governance composite to project debt-trap risk trajectory (2025 → 2028 → 2031).
- Materiality: Indicators are selected to reflect decision relevance (fiscal pressure, delivery risk, human exposure) and to communicate real policy and portfolio decisions.
- Quality guardrails: Cross-checks the fossil fuel misattribution as "climate finance"; sectoral analysis (energy, water, transport, agriculture, health, industry, multisector).

## 3) Bangladesh Findings

### A. Structure & Delivery

- Debt>Grant: Overall 2.7:1; MDB finance 0.94:1.
- Slow disbursement: 0.63 of committed finance actually disburses; MDB disburses 0.32.
- Adaptation gap: 0.42 adaptation/mitigation ratio (resilience stalled).

### **B. Sectoral Analysis**

- Energy: USD 2.54B; loan-to-grant ≈ 11.99; almost entirely mitigation; medium delivery.
- Transport & storage: Loan-to-grant ≈ 1123 : 1; high debt exposure despite good delivery.
- Water supply: Loan-to-grant ≈ 7.78; adaptation-focused but slow delivery (0.41).
- Agriculture & disaster preparedness: All-grant but tiny volumes vs need; decent delivery.



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• Health, industry, population: Negligible climate allocations (clear resilience gap).

#### C. Misattribution Forensics

- 18.84% of the portfolio labeled "climate" is actually fossil, with loan-to-grant 28.8.
- This artificially worsens national debt metrics (overall ratio 2.07 → 2.70) and diverts money from embankments, mangroves, water security, primary health preparedness, and community resilience.

#### D. Needs vs Flows

- NAP (2023–2050): ≈ USD 230B (≈ USD 8B/yr), ~USD 6B/yr external.
- Historical adaptation finance secured: ≈ USD 1.41B total (<< 1% of need).</li>
- **Mitigation NDC gap:** Large under-provision vs unconditional/conditional needs; current mobilization covers a small fraction.

### 4) Risk Outlook

- CDRI-25 score: 65.37 out of 100 (High); drifting up to 65.63 by 2031 absent reform.
- **Fiscal crowd-out risk:** Rising climate debt service **displaces** social spending (health, education) and slows recovery after shocks.
- **Human impact:** Higher displacement, food insecurity, and mortality from floods, cyclones, heat, and disease outbreaks if adaptation remains underfunded.

## 5) Pathway toward Just Climate Finance (NRLG)

**Principle:** People and ecosystems hold **natural rights** to exist, recover, and thrive. Finance must **follow those rights** - as **obligation**, **not charity** - with **debt-free by default** for adaptation and loss & damage, **direct local access**, and rules that **ban misattribution**.



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Policy Remedies: What must change now

#### A. Rules for Bilateral and Multilateral Finance

- Grant-first standard: ≥ 70% of adaptation and 100% of loss & damage funds as grants.
- 2. **Anti-misattribution code:** Exclude fossil fuel projects from climate finance tags; publish carbon screens; independent audits.
- 3. **Fast-track delivery:** Simple templates; 180-day decision clocks; rolling tranches tied to transparent milestones.
- 4. **Debt exits:** Targeted **debt-for-nature swaps** and climate-debt cancellations linked to verifiable restoration/resilience outcomes.
- 5. **Earth Solidarity Fund:** Grant-only, capitalized by carbon pricing and transaction levies; country windows for LDCs.

### **B.** Country Platform for Bangladesh

- 1. **BNRF launch:** Transform BCCTF into **Bangladesh Natural Rights Fund (BNRF)**; rights-based allocation; community stewardship mandates.
- 2. **Local access windows:** Community-level windows with small-grant ceilings; fiduciary and MRV trainings.
- 3. **Adaptation pipeline:** National pipeline for embankments, mangroves, safe water, heat-health systems, climate-smart agriculture, shock-responsive safety nets.
- 4. **Disclosure & integrity:** Public dashboards for all climate projects (amounts, terms, carbon screen, delivery status).



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### 6) 12-Month Implementation Roadmap: An Accountability-First Approach

### Day 0-100

- Issue **Government Circular** adopting grant-first finance, anti-misattribution standard, and BNRF transition.
- Publish Bangladesh Priority Adaptation Pipeline (top 25 projects; budgets, terms).
- Convene MDB Taskforce to convert eligible pipeline items to grants-based funding;
  agree on 180-day decision clock.
- Launch Local Access Pilots in 10 municipalities with rapid small-grant windows (water, heat-health, embankments).

#### Month 4-8

- Sign first **debt-for-nature swap** tied to coastal wetlands and riverbank protection.
- Operationalize **BNRF** governance (board incl. communities; integrity & audit committees).
- Stand up **public dashboard** (real-time disbursement, milestones, carbon screens).

### **Month 9–12**

- Secure Earth Solidarity Fund grant for 2–3 flagship adaptation projects.
- Independent misattribution audit; reclassify portfolios; publish fixes.
- Table COP-aligned **Country Justice Statement** (NRLG pathway + verified delivery wins).

### 7) Monitoring, Verification & Learning Strategies

## Six KPIs (publish quarterly)

- 1. Grant share in adaptation (%).
- 2. Misattribution rate (%) target: → 0.



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- 3. **Disbursement speed** (days from approval to first tranche).
- 4. Debt-to-grant ratio (overall/MDB).
- 5. Household co-financing burden (Tk/year) target: downward trend.
- 6. Lives & livelihoods protected (people with improved flood/heat/water security).

**Verification:** Third-party carbon/adaptation screens; community scorecards; open contracts; machine-readable data.

### 8) Risks & Mitigations

- Risk: Grant scarcity or donor fatigue → Mitigation: Pooling via Earth Solidarity Fund; phased tranches tied to transparency milestones.
- Risk: Delivery bottlenecks → Mitigation: Simplified templates; municipal fiduciary coaches; standardized procurement.
- Risk: Policy slippage → Mitigation: Legal codification of anti-misattribution; public dashboard; independent oversight.
- Risk: Exchange-rate shocks → Mitigation: Local-currency grant windows; hedging in fund design.

#### **Annex: Definitions**

- **Debt-to-Grant Ratio:** How many dollars of loans per dollar of grants.
- **Disbursement-to-Commitment:** How much of pledged money actually arrived.
- Adaptation-to-Mitigation: Share of funds for protecting people and systems vs cutting emissions.
- Misattribution: Tagging fossil or non-climate projects as "climate finance".