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# Energy Transition in the Election Manifestos



An analysis of the commitments  
of eight major political parties contested in the  
13th Parliamentary Election

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**Energy Transition in the Election Manifestos:** An analysis of the commitments of eight major political parties contested in the 13th Parliamentary Election

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# Acronyms

ADP	Annual Development Programme
BAPEX	Bangladesh Petroleum Exploration and Production Company Limited
BASOD	Bangladesher Samajtantrik Dal (Socialist Party of Bangladesh)
BDF	Bangladesh Democratic Front
BDT	Bangladesh Taka
BEC	Bangladesh Election Commission
BELA	Bangladesh Environmental Lawyers Association
BERC	Bangladesh Energy Regulatory Commission
BESS	Battery Energy Storage System
BIF	Bangladesh Islami Front
BIFFL	Bangladesh Infrastructure Finance Fund Limited
BILS	Bangladesh Institute of Labour Studies
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
BJI	Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami
BKM	Bangladesh Khelafat Majlis
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
BPDB	Bangladesh Power Development Board
BWGED	Bangladesh Working Group on Ecology and Development
CCS	Carbon Capture and Storage
CHT	Chittagong Hill Tracts
CLEAN	Coastal Livelihood and Environmental Action Network
CPB	Communist Party of Bangladesh
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CTM	Carbon Trading Market
CVF	Climate Vulnerable Forum
DFG	Domestic Fossil Gas
DOPS	Development of Poor Society
DUF	Democratic United Front
EEMP	Energy Efficiency Master Plan
ETI	Ethical Trading Initiative
ETP	Effluent Treatment Plan
EV	Electric Vehicle
FED	Forum on Ecology and Development
GMP	Global Methane Pledge

GOP	Gono Odhikar Parishad
GREEP	Global Renewables and Energy Efficiency Pledge
GSA	Greater Sunni Alliance
GW	Gigawatt
HAUS	Haor Area Upliftment Society
IAB	Islami Andolan Bangladesh
IDCOL	Infrastructure Development Company Limited
IDEA	Institute of Development Affairs
IEMP	Integrated Energy Master Plan
IEPMP	Integrated Energy and Power Master Plan
IFI	International Financial Institute
IRP	Integrated Resource Planning
JP (Ershad)	Jatiya Party (Ershad)
JSD (Rab)	Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (Rab)
LEED	Lawyers for Energy, Environment and Development
LNG	Liquefied Natural Gas
LPG	Liquefied Petroleum Gas
MJF	Manusher Jonno Foundation
MNS	Mongla Nagorik Samaj
MP	Member of Parliament
MW	Megawatt
NCBD	National Committee to Protect Oil, Gas, Mineral Resources, Power and Ports
NCP	National Citizens Party
NEM	Net Energy Metering
NEP	National Energy Policy
NERC	National Energy Research Centre
PERC	Public Expenditure Review Commission
Petrobangla	Bangladesh Oil, Gas and Mineral Resource Corporation
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
PSHP	Pumped Storage Hydropower Plant
RE	Renewable Energy
RMG	Readymade Garments
RPGCL	Rupantarita Prakritik Gas Company Limited
RTI	Right to Information
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SHS	Solar Home System
SREDA	Sustainable and Renewable Energy Development Authority
T&D	Transmission & Distribution
USD	United States Dollar
V20	Vulnerable Twenty Group
WTE	Waste-to-Energy

# Executive Summary

The 13th Parliamentary Election in 2026 marked a pivotal moment for Bangladesh, compelling major political parties to articulate comprehensive visions for the nation's energy future amid a severe debt and import dependency crisis.

This study, conducted by a group of Civil Society Organisations (CSO), rigorously analysed the manifestos of eight major political parties, such as Bangladesh Samajtantrik Dal (BASOD), Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami (BJI), Bangladesh Khelafat Majlis (BKM), Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB), Islami Andolan Bangladesh (IAB), Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD-Rab) and National Citizen Party (NCP).

Leveraging a 13-point Citizens' Manifesto as a benchmark, the research employed qualitative and quantitative comparative assessments to gauge political commitments and the content of the election manifestos against the urgent need for a just, green transition.

The analysis underscores that, while there is growing political consensus on the necessity of a renewable energy shift and grid modernisation, significant gaps remain, particularly in dismantling fossil fuel infrastructure and ensuring equitable financing for community-led clean energy projects.

## Key Findings

*The manifestos reveal a complex landscape in which progressive commitments coexist with a stubborn allegiance to the high-carbon status quo. The following ten points capture the essence of political intent:*

### 1. Grid Modernisation Consensus

Near-unanimous commitment (90% alignment) to upgrading the national grid and adopting Smart Grid

technology, signalling a shared understanding of the technical requirements for future renewable energy integration.

## 2. Renewable Energy Targets

Three major parties (BJI, BNP, NCP) are committed to achieving 20-25% Renewable Energy by 2030 or 2031, a significant step but still falling short of the 30% target demanded by the Citizens' Manifesto.

## 3. Incentivising Green Technology

Strong support (70%-75% alignment) exists for tax holidays on RE accessories and the development of Electric Vehicle (EV) infrastructure, indicating political willingness to incentivise green consumption and mobility.

## 4. Addressing Financial Siphoning

Solid consensus among three major parties (BJI, BNP, NCP) to address the costly issue of capacity charges for idle power plants, a move critical for stabilising the national economy.

## 5. Focus on Domestic Gas

All nine parties prioritise intensive exploration of domestic fossil gas (DFG), viewing it as the primary near-term strategy to reduce costly reliance on imported Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG).

## 6. Limited Halt on Fossil Fuel Expansion

Commitment to a moratorium on new fossil fuel plants shows moderate alignment at 55%, but a significant failure to halt the expansion of new LNG infrastructure underscores continued hydrocarbon dependence.

## 7. Institutional Strengthening

Almost all parties agree on the need to strengthen domestic energy institutions such as Bapex and Petrobangla, and to

increase the Bangladesh Energy Regulatory Commission (BERC) 's independence.

## 8. Rejection of False Solutions is Mixed

While some parties (CPB, NCP) reject unproven technologies like Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS) and Ammonia co-firing, many still support high-cost, high-risk nuclear power and Waste-to-Energy (WTE) solutions.

## 9. Decarbonization of Other Sectors

The manifestos show ambition in sectors such as Transport and Industry, with commitments to a Green Industrial Policy and EV procurement targets (NCP), indicating a broader sectoral approach to the transition.

## 10. Inadequate Finance for Renewables

Despite proposals for Green Bonds and Sukuk, there is a critical absence of commitment to allocate a fixed percentage (40%) of the national energy budget to RE, suggesting traditional fossil fuel projects will continue to dominate state financing.

## Recommendations for the New Government

*To seize the momentum of the 2026 mandate and secure genuine energy sovereignty, the new government must act decisively on the following five core areas:*

### 1. Immediate Policy Overhaul

The government must immediately suspend the existing fossil-fuel-heavy Integrated Energy and Power Master Plan (IEPMP) and draft Energy and

Power Sector Master Plan (EPSMP). The government should draft a new National Energy Policy (NEP) that mandates a transparent, consultative path to achieving 100% RE by 2050.

## **2. Financial Restructuring for Green Growth**

A minimum of 40% of the Annual Development Programme (ADP) energy budget must be allocated to renewable energy and grid modernisation, supported by the issuance of Green Bonds and aggressive demands for grant-based climate finance.

## **3. End to High-Carbon Lock-in**

Enact a formal, immediate moratorium on all new coal, gas, oil, nuclear, and WTE projects. All available capital must be redirected toward solar, wind, and

Battery Energy Storage Systems (BESS) for rapid, cost-effective deployment.

## **4. Strengthening Regulatory Independence**

Empower BERC and SREDA with independent budgets and full legal authority to ensure market transparency, prevent arbitrary price hikes, and rapidly increase the pace of RE installation, free from political influence.

## **5. Prioritising Social Justice and Inclusion**

Legislate a profit-sharing mechanism requiring 5% of energy project revenues to be shared with local communities and landowners. Simultaneously, launch massive, targeted training programs for two million new green jobs, prioritising women and indigenous peoples.

# Snapshot of the Manifestos

Political parties have presented diverse strategies for the energy sector, ranging from nationalist resource control to

market-oriented reforms. The following table summarises their core commitments across the primary indicators.

Indicators	BASOD	BJI	BKM	BNP	CPB	IAB	JSD (Rab)	NCP
<b>Energy Policy</b>	NCBD-proposed Alternative Energy Policy implementation	Three Zero Vision, including Zero Emission and Zero Waste.	Balanced development in the power sector, eliminating regional disparities.	Integrated Energy Master Plan (IEMP) implementation.	Science, technology, and environment-friendly policy.	The National Energy Policy and Master Plan Review.	Sustainable and 100% RE-based power sector policy.	Integrated Resource Planning (IRP); Energy Efficiency Master Plan (EEMP).
<b>Institutions</b>	Strengthening BAPEX and Petrobangla.	Independence of the BEREC.	—	National Energy Research Centre (NERC) establishment.	Strengthening BAPEX and Petrobangla.	Strengthening BAPEX for gas exploration.	Strengthening BAPEX and Petrobangla	Strengthening BIFFL and IDCOL for climate finance.
<b>Energy Supply &amp; Transition</b>	State-owned extraction by cancelling leasing to foreign companies	Expand gas exploration and limited use of coal with safety.	—	Domestic Gas Exploration and building a new oil refinery.	State-owned coal and gas extraction, and scrapping the Rampal coal power plant.	Focus on domestic gas capacity and monitor LPG retail prices.	Reduce dependence on imports and expand exploration of domestic resources.	Drilling 150 gas wells, reducing methane flaring and leakage.
<b>RE and Energy Storage</b>	Generally, the top priority is for the RE sector.	10-fold solar power by 2030; rooftop solar and net metering.	Emphasise the RE energy system.	20% RE by 2030; Subsidies for solar irrigation pumps.	Increased state investment in solar and wind power.	10-15% more energy efficiency; emphasise biogas; RE in religious sites.	Focused on 100% RE transition.	20-25% RE in five years (2031); BESS for grid stability.

Indicators	BASOD	BJI	BKM	BNP	CPB	IAB	JSD (Rab)	NCP
<b>False Solutions</b>	Rejecting harmful energy projects.	Expansion of nuclear power generation.	<b>Nuclear</b> for avoiding import dependency.	<b>Waste-to-Energy (WTE)</b> in urban areas.	Rejecting unproven and false technologies.	Shifting to <b>nuclear</b> and <b>hydrogen</b> power.	Stopping all environmentally destructive development projects.	Rejecting ammonia, CCS and hydrogen ,but not WTE.
<b>Power Supply</b>	Stopping corruption and wastage; Public over private generation.	Mix of gas, nuclear, coal and RE; End of Quick Rental power plants.	—	35 GW installed capacity by 2030; review of capacity charges.	Implementing the alternative energy master plan.	Phasing out Quick rental, supplying electricity in marginal areas.	Uninterrupted power supply to the agriculture and industry sector at a low cost.	Control overcapacity; Realistic demand forecasting.
<b>Upgradation of the Grid</b>	Modernising the national grid; focus on RE integration.	Reducing system loss; Implementing modern standards.	—	25,000 ckt km of transmission line; Smart Grid technology.	Modernising Rural Grids.	Replacing existing infrastructure by installing a smart grid and meters.	Emphasising Modern technology in the power sector.	Implementing Smart Grids; reduce system loss from 10-12% to 5-6%.
<b>Decarbonisation of the other Sectors</b>	Dedicated rail for agricultural products; subsidy for eco-roads.	30% Green Textile Credit; EV infrastructure for buses and bikes.	Energy-efficient and environment friendly technology.	Green Industrial Policy; Dhaka-Chattogram bullet train.	Eco-friendly technology; Prioritise rail and waterways.	Green urbanisation; mandatory RE in buildings; restoring waterways.	Emphasising reducing carbon emissions.	40% Gov EV procurement; Mandatory ETPs in industries
<b>Financing for Transition</b>	State budget allocation for energy transition.	Green Finance Mechanisms.	Investment for Energy Transition.	Green Bonds; Environmental Startup Fund.	Investment for Energy Transition; Climate reparations.	Specific Energy Development Fund	Investment for Energy Transition; Climate reparations	Sovereign Sukuk bond; PPP for green infrastructure.
<b>Just Transition</b>	Transport subsidies for students.	Youth and women training in Green Technologies.	Women's rights, employment and social life.	Carbon Trading; Green Watchman program.	Alternative livelihoods for labourers.	Inclusive stakeholder-based energy planning.	Addressing Climate Change: A fair and binding global initiative.	Youth civic council for transparency.

*A rickshaw puller is saluting the July Uprising movement in Bangladesh.*



# Chapter 1



## Introduction

The 13th National Parliamentary election was successfully held on the 12th of February 2026, with a landslide victory for the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)-led Alliance. Bangladesh has just begun a new democratic journey with renewed democratic promises after a decade of setbacks and deadlocks that culminated in the toppling of a 15-year authoritarian political regime, resulting from a student-led mass uprising in July-August 2024.

The Interim government led by Professor Yunus deserves credit for holding a comparatively free and fair election and for a smooth transition of power.

Cordial congratulations are extended to the political parties participating in the 13th Parliamentary election 2026 for sharing their manifestos with the public.

The publication of these documents provides a necessary baseline for democratic accountability and enables citizens of Bangladesh to interrogate the promises made regarding the future of the energy sector.

Engagement from the political class indicates that the voices of the people, demanding a shift away from fossil fuel dependence, are beginning to resonate within the halls of power.

The 2026 general election represents a watershed moment for Bangladesh's sovereignty and economic stability. Following the historic July 2024 uprising and a period of governance under an interim administration, the nation has focused on institutional overhauls and the dismantling of autocratic structures.

It holds unprecedented importance for the people of Bangladesh, marking a decisive departure from the controversial, uncompetitive elections of 2014, 2018, and 2024. Differences from earlier elections are stark, as the current process unfolds under an interim framework that has prioritised institutional reform and the restoration of the rule of law.

Participating parties and alliances, including the 11-party alliance and the Democratic United Front (DUF), are now compelled to articulate clear visions for a New Bangladesh that address systemic inequality and ecological degradation. It features a wide array of competing alliances and ideologies, with the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and the 11 Party alliance, led by Bangladesh Jamaat-E-Islami (BJI) and the National Citizens Party (NCP), creating a bipolar contest.

The energy transition has emerged as the most critical pillar of this election, given that the current path is unsustainable.

Bangladesh is currently trapped in a cycle of debt and dependency, with BDT 109,000 crore (\$11.7 billion) spent annually on fossil fuel imports and BDT 178,199 crore (\$18.6 billion) drained over the last 16 years by capacity charges on idle power plants. BDT 171,471 crore (\$25.4 billion) has already been spent on LNG imports since 2018, which could help build a green future<sup>1</sup>.

Climate change risks, including erratic rainfall and sea-level rise, are pushing millions of people to the brink, making energy sovereignty a matter of national survival.

The 2026 election will determine whether the nation continues to subsidise fossil fuel billionaires or invests in a community-centred, decentralised renewable energy future.

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<sup>1</sup> CLEAN (2025). [Citizens' Manifesto for Just Transition](#). Coastal Livelihood and Environmental Action Network (CLEAN) with BWGED, BELA, BILS, ETI Bangladesh, LEEDS, MJF and ReGlobal: November 2025

## 1.1 Scope & Methodology

The study for this report employed rigorous qualitative and quantitative methods. Manifestoes from the eight major political parties (BASOD, BJI, BKM, BNP, CPB, IAB, JSD, NCP) were collected to ensure a thorough understanding of their policy nuances. The research cross-referenced these manifestos with the spreadsheet analysis of commitments provided by CSOs to identify specific targets and ideological shifts.

Secondary sources included peer-reviewed papers on South Asian energy transitions, annual reports from the Bangladesh Power Development Board (BPDB), and environmental performance indices, in which Bangladesh currently ranks 175th out of 180 nations<sup>2</sup>. Social media posts and videos from activists were reviewed to gauge public sentiment, particularly regarding the protests against coal plants in Banshkhali and Payra, where at least 13 labourers were killed<sup>3</sup>. Financial data was sourced from government budgets and international agencies.

A comparative assessment was carried out based on the 13-point Citizens' Manifesto developed by the Election Campaign Group under the umbrella of the Bangladesh Working Group on Ecology and Development (BWGED). The framework enabled a systematic critique of whether party promises meet citizens' actual needs. The research also integrated findings from the third Bangladesh Energy Conference 2025 (BEC 2025) and roundtable discussions hosted by major media outlets, ensuring that the latest political dialogues were included.

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<sup>2</sup> Block, S., Emerson, J.W., Esty, D.C., de Sherbinin, A., & Wendling, Z.A. (2024). [Environmental Performance Index 2024](#). Yale Center for Environmental Law & Policy, Yale University: 7 October 2024

<sup>3</sup> Illius, S. (2021). [State violence suppresses opposition to Chinese coal plant in Bangladesh](#). Dialogue Earth: 15 June 2021

## 1.2 Voter Demography

Voter demographics reveal that a massive, diverse population will shape this transition. Registered voters have exceeded 127.7 million in 2025, with nearly equal participation from men and women, signalling the need for policies that address the energy needs of all social groups.

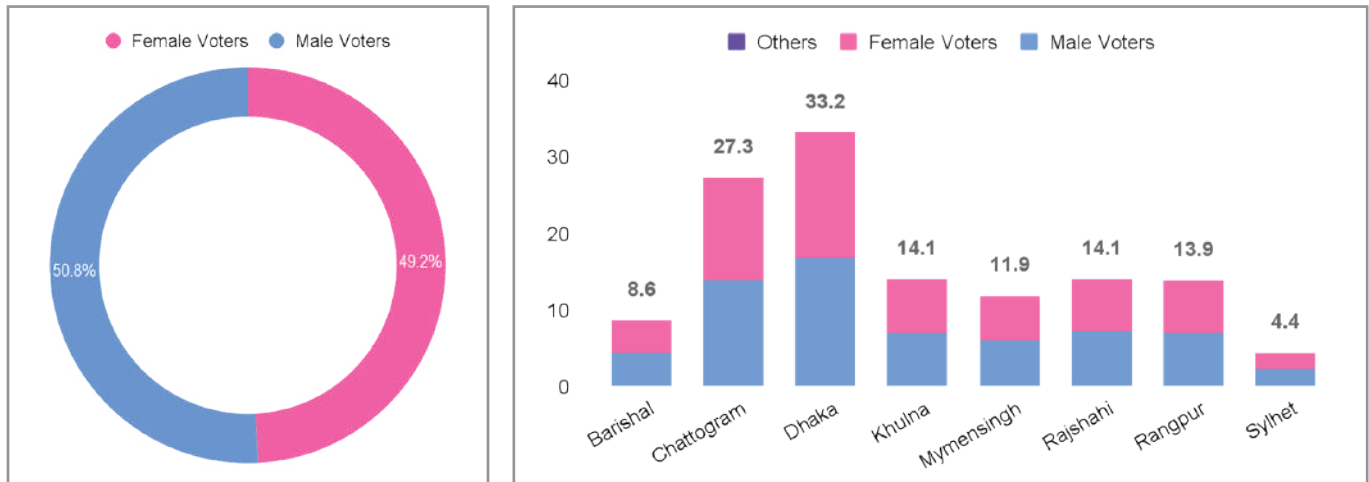
The 2026 election marks the significant entry of a new generation of voters, Gen Z and the leading edge of Gen Alpha, who are overwhelmingly concerned with climate change and economic justice. These younger voters, concentrated in urban and peri-urban areas, represent a dynamic, unpredictable bloc far less tethered to traditional political loyalties.

Their growing numbers necessitate a response from parties that goes beyond

generic promises, focusing instead on credible pathways for green job creation and a decisive break from the fossil fuel economy that Gen X and older generations perpetuated.

However, the enthusiasm of this young electorate contrasts sharply with persistent systemic barriers, particularly for marginalised groups. Participation risks were notably high for religious and ethnic minorities, who faced heightened security concerns during contested elections, and for indigenous communities, especially in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), where political tensions and resource conflicts intersect with electoral processes, potentially dampening turnout despite their urgent need for representation in energy and land policy debates.

**Figure 1. Number of Voters by Gender and Division (million)**



Source: Analysis based on the Number of Voters by the Constituencies 2026

## 1.3 Parties Contested in the Election

51 political parties registered with the Bangladesh Election Commission (BEC) contested the general election, and eight parties did not nominate any candidates. The parties were majorly divided themselves in five alliances namely (a) Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) alliance, (b) The 11 Party Alliance led by BJI, (c) Bangladesh Democratic Front (BDF) led by

the Jatiya Party (JP Ershad), (d) Democratic United Front (DUF) led by the CPB, and (e) Greater Sunni Alliance (GSA) led by Bangladesh Islami Front (BIF).

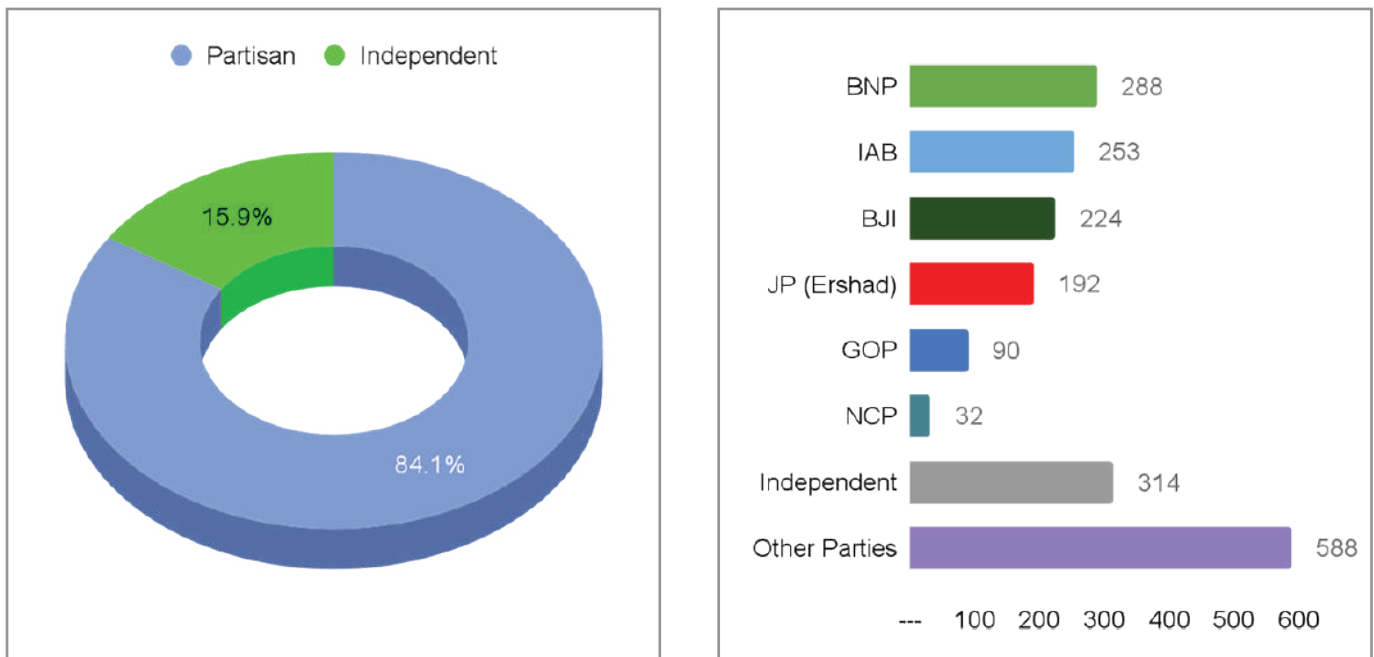
Among the contesting parties, 21 nominated only 1 to 20 candidates across 300 constituencies. As a result, the practical competition is shown between the BNP-led eight parties and the BJI-led 11 parties.

## 1.4 Election Candidates

Candidates participating in the election are equally robust, reflecting the competitive political landscape. A total of 1,981 candidates are contesting across 300 constituencies, representing both established parties and independent movements born from recent social justice struggles. NCP formed a

coalition with BJI, which included several other parties; the GOP and others joined BNP, while CPB, BASOD, and other leftist parties formed the Democratic United Front (DUF). However, we calculated the number of candidates by party affiliation.

**Figure 2. Number of Candidates by their Affiliations**



*Source: Analysis based on the Bangladesh Election Commission's Database*

Despite the overall competitive landscape, the parliamentary election reflects systemic underrepresentation for key marginalised groups. The candidate pool of 1,981 individuals reflects extremely low participation by women, third-gender individuals, and indigenous peoples, underscoring the need for political parties to adopt inclusive policies.

Specifically, women candidates constitute less than 5% (78 in total), while representation from the indigenous

communities is negligible (4 in total), and only one third-gender candidate has been registered, highlighting the severe barriers to entry for these groups within the formal political structure.

This deficiency suggests that the resulting parliament may lack the necessary diversity to effectively champion the just transition and equitable energy policies outlined in the manifestos, especially those concerning land rights and community profit-sharing models.

# Chapter 2



Voters wait in line outside a polling center in Dhaka  
Photo: Mahmud Hossain Opu, Associated Press

## Citizens' Manifesto

The Citizens' Manifesto was initiated by the BWGED in association with BELA, BILS, CLEAN, ETI, LEED, MJF and ReGlobal, recognising that Bangladesh stands at a crossroads in the energy sector. While electricity coverage has reached nearly 99.25%, the financial strain of the fossil-fuel-based system has become a national crisis, with taxpayers paying BDT 178,307 crore (USD 25.4 billion) in incentives to BPDB to cover its losses.

The 13-point arguments formed the core of the manifesto, focusing on structural reforms to end the looting of public funds by energy investors<sup>4</sup>. These points were designed to be implementable and evidence-based, directly challenging the Integrated Energy and Power Master Plan (IEPMP), which experts have criticised as fossil-fuel-heavy and exclusionary.

### 2.1 Key Points of the Manifesto

The Citizens' Manifesto outlines a transformative roadmap for energy sovereignty, centred on equity and sustainability. Key demands include:

#### 1. New National Energy Policy

Formulation of a new National Energy Policy (NEP) through mandatory civil society and expert consultation to prioritise climate risk over donor interests.

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<sup>4</sup>. CLEAN (2025). *ibid*.

## 2. Right to Information

Amendment of public procurement laws to bring all energy contracts under the RTI Act, ensuring transparency for every taka of public money.

## 3. Stop Fossil Fuel Subsidy

Phasing out fossil fuel subsidies while requiring at least 30% renewable use in industry, such as the Readymade Garments (RMG) sector, and in commerce by 2030.

## 4. No New Fossil Fuels

Enactment of a permanent moratorium on all new coal, gas, or oil-based power plant approvals.

## 5. End Capacity Charges

Removal of capacity charges for non-performing or idle power plants to stop the drainage of national reserves.

## 6. Halt LNG Infrastructure

Halt the construction of new LNG terminals while optimising gas allocation for fertiliser production and enforcing leak detection.

## 7. Renewable Targets

Achievement of 30% of generated electricity from RE by 2030 and 100% by 2050, supported by a 40% budgetary floor.

## 8. Grid & RE Subsidy

Modernisation of the national grid and provision of 25% subsidies for household solar with an additional 10% for women, indigenous peoples, and farmers.

## 9. Reject False Solutions

Rejection of expensive, unproven false solutions, including nuclear power expansion, ammonia co-firing, and carbon capture.

## 10. E-waste Management

Establishment of domestic e-waste recycling industries for solar panels, batteries, and inverters.

## 11. Participatory Infrastructure

Guaranteed rights, management participation, and equitable profit shares for marginalised communities, including labourers and fishers.

## 12. Land Rights

Protection of agricultural livelihoods by replacing land acquisition with long-term leases that provide annual rental income for farmers.

## 13. Employment Generation

Creation of two million green jobs through specialised training programs for youth and labourers transitioning out of fossil fuel industries.

## 2.2 Sensitising Political Parties

Political parties have been subject to ongoing education from Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) to adopt more ambitious energy transition goals. The engagement process began as early as November 2018, when BWGED and other CSOs held a press conference to demand a Coal moratorium and a shift toward renewable sovereignty<sup>5</sup>.

The proposal included key reforms to dismantle the corrupt cliques that have dominated the energy sector.

When the BEC announced the general election schedule, BWGED organised a

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<sup>5</sup> Daily Star (2024). [Reformation to power, energy sector: BWGED places 16-point proposals](#). The Daily Star: 12 September 2024

**Image 1: Photo Session after a Meeting with the Ganosanhati Andolan**



*Photo: CLEAN (Mohammad Noman)*

meeting with like-minded organisations to develop an election campaign strategy. Bangladesh Environmental Lawyers Association (BELA), Bangladesh Institute of Labour Studies (BILS), Coastal Livelihood and Environmental Action Network (CLEAN), Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI) Bangladesh, Lawyers for Energy, Environment and Development (LEED), Manusher Jonno Foundation (MJF) and ReGlobal joined the group.

Based on the discussions, the group formulated a Citizens' Manifesto on the Energy transition in cooperation with the grassroots organisations. These efforts were further intensified when CSO representatives met with the political parties' election manifesto committees to present the Manifesto.

To further emphasise the citizens' manifesto and its 13-point arguments, BWGED organised a press conference on 18



**Image 2: Press Conference of the Election Campaign Group**

*Photo: CLEAN (Kaniz Rabeya)*

The group organised a series of informal meetings with the major political parties, i.e., Bangladesh Jasod, BASOD, BNP, CPB, Ganosanhati Andolan and JSD (Rab), between November and December 2025 to raise their awareness of the importance of the energy transition.

November 2025, in collaboration with members of the election campaign group<sup>6</sup>. 27 National media and television channels covered the news of the press conference.

<sup>6</sup> TBS (2025). [Civil society orgs urge parties to phase out fossil fuels for energy sovereignty](#). The Business Standard (TBS): 18 November 2025

**Image 3: Session on the Commitments of the Political Parties during the 3rd Bangladesh Energy Conference 2025**



*Photo: CLEAN (Kaniz Rabeya)*

During the 3rd Bangladesh Energy Conference in December 2025, representatives of seven major political parties engaged in a public dialogue with experts and activists to discuss pathways to a just transition.

The 13-point manifesto for the energy transition was presented to the political leaders. Civil society leaders emphasised that setting targets is insufficient; the government must provide a realistic

The election campaign group further distributed the 13-point Citizens' Manifesto to all political parties, both in person and by post, ensuring that their policy wings had access to citizen demands.

The engagement culminated in a strategic roundtable held in partnership with the Daily Star, at which politicians were confronted with the economic realities of fossil fuel reliance (notably the doubling of carbon emissions since 2008 and the deteriorating



*Photo: CLEAN (Kaniz Rabeya)*

**Image 4: A Dossier of the Citizen Manifesto submitted to the Political Parties**

roadmap that ensures legal transparency and protects marginalised communities. It was the first of its kind in the country's energy discourse<sup>7</sup>.

air quality in Dhaka). Such activities were designed to shift the election debate from mere electricity generation to sustainable, clean-energy sovereignty<sup>8</sup>.

7. TCW (2025). [Bangladesh energy conference calls for new energy policy](#). The Climate Watch (TCW); 8 December 2025

8. Observer (2026). [Citizens' manifesto calls for just energy transition to net-zero by 2050](#). Daily Observer; 3 February 2026



**Image 5: Dialogue with the Major Political Parties**

*Photo: CLEAN (Kaniz Rabeya)*

Meanwhile, BWGED members and allies, such as the Forum on Ecology and Development (FED), CLEAN, Development of Poor Society (DOPS), Environmental Safeguard and Development Society (ESADS), Haor Area Upliftment Society (HAUS), Integrated Social Development Efforts (ISDE), Kandivita Samaunayon Mahila Samity (KASMAS), Mongla Nagorik Samaj (MNS), Onnochitra Foundation, Paribartan, Prantojon Trust, Songshoptaque,

## 2.3 Citizens' Manifesto vs Party Promises

The comparative assessment between the 13-point Citizens' Manifesto and the political parties' promises in the 13th Parliamentary Election reveals a notable, yet incomplete, convergence on the necessity of an energy transition.

While civil society demanded a concrete 30% RE allocation by 2030 and a 40% budgetary

**Image 6: An MP Candidate is signing the Citizens' Manifesto**



and Zabarang Kallyan Samity organised press conferences, sensitised 57 constituency-level MP candidates and collected commitment signatures for the Manifesto<sup>9</sup>. It ensured that all candidates in the election campaign group's working areas were aware of the just and equitable transition in Bangladesh.

floor for RE projects, the manifestos offered slightly lower targets of 20-25% and critically failed to earmark a fixed percentage of the national energy budget, suggesting that

<sup>9</sup>. DT (2025). [Khulna civil society calls for renewable energy pledges in election manifestos](#). Dhaka Tribune (DT): 28 December 2025

financial leverage remains predominantly with fossil fuel interests. Encouragingly, the political class largely aligned with demands for grid modernisation, tax relief for green technologies, and addressing capacity charges. However, crucial demands for social justice, such as a moratorium on new LNG

infrastructure, dedicated reskilling programs for fossil fuel workers, and profit-sharing mechanisms with local communities, received minimal attention, indicating a significant gap between elite policy rhetoric and the equitable transformation needed at the grassroots level.

**Table 2. Key Achievements from the Election Manifestos**

Key Indicators	Achievement (%)	Consolidated Achievements
Grid Modernisation and Smart Grid	90	Five parties target grid upgradation and smart grid (BJI, BNP, IAB, JSD, NCP)
Ensure 30% RE in the energy mix by 2030	85	Four parties target to install 20-25% RE by 2030 (BJI, BNP, JSD, NCP)
Symbolic 1% taxes for RE Accessories	75	Three parties support a general tax holiday for RE accessories (BJI, BNP, NCP)
Removal of capacity chargers for inefficiency	70	Strong consensus from three parties; others did not mention (BJI, BNP, NCP)
Reduced taxes for EVs and modern batteries	70	Strong support from three parties on EV and Li-ion batteries (BJI, BNP, NCP)
New Participatory National Energy Policy	65	Three parties commit to energy plans and engage stakeholders (BNP, IAB, CPB)
Ensure 30% RE in Industries by 2030	65	One party affirms, while another party focuses on 20% RE by 2030 (BNP, NCP)
Right to Information in Energy Contracts	60	Two parties lead with strong commitments to transparency (BNP, NCP)
Moratorium on new fossil fuel plants	55	Four parties commit to a halt, while others for a partial halt (BASOD, BJI, CPB, JSD)
Creating 2 million new Jobs in Renewables	50	General job targets are high, but RE-specific intents are low (BNP, NCP)
Subsidies for Individual Rooftop Solar	40	Two parties prioritised subsidies for the individual rooftop solar (BJI, IAB)
Protect Agricultural Land from projects	35	Three parties mention the protection of agricultural lands (BASOD, IAB, NCP)
Transition labourers' skills for green jobs	30	Two parties mentioned training for youth, but not transition labourers (BJI, NCP)
Domestic E-waste Industry	25	One party mentions battery management and recycling policies (NCP)
Gradually decrease fossil fuel subsidies	20	Two parties focus on phasing out fossil-fuel subsidies after 2030 (CPB, NCP)
Allocation of 40% energy budget for Renewables	10	Two parties mention green finance, but the budget share is missing (BNP, NCP)
Women and Indigenous RE Entrepreneurship	10	One party mentions women training, but not the indigenous groups (BJI, BKM)

The matrix of key manifesto achievements reveals a significant, yet uneven, political alignment with civil society demands. On the positive side, commitments to modernising the national grid and adopting Smart Grid technology achieved near-unanimous support (90%), reflecting a shared understanding of the need to integrate modern infrastructure.

Furthermore, three-quarters of the commitments indicated support for tax holidays on RE accessories and strong backing for electric vehicle (EV) technology, signalling a consensus on incentivising green consumption.

Conversely, the analysis highlights critical gaps that indicate a reluctance to fundamentally challenge the status quo. The commitment to a moratorium on new LNG infrastructure garnered only 15% support, demonstrating a deep-seated reliance on imported gas, while the crucial demand for allocating 40% of the energy budget to renewables also showed minimal traction (10%), suggesting that financial priorities remain tethered to traditional, high-carbon projects.

The marginal support for protecting indigenous RE entrepreneurship (5%) underscores the pervasive marginalisation of vulnerable groups in proposed transition plans.



Rooftop Solar could be the easiest solution for Bangladesh's Energy Crisis

-AI Generated Photo

# Chapter 3



*National Parliament of Bangladesh  
Photo: Tanjim Chowdhury, Feuille Obscure*

## Election Manifestos

Political proposals fall broadly into two main ideological camps. One group prioritises systemic reform and accountability, focusing heavily on eradicating corruption, improving governance, and enhancing the efficiency of existing market-driven structures. The underlying premise here is that the current model is fundamentally sound but has been undermined by poor management and graft.

The second, more radical camp advocates for a complete ideological overhaul, demanding a shift away from market-based mechanisms toward a state-controlled, nationalist energy-sovereignty paradigm.

This approach typically calls for the nationalisation of critical infrastructure, reduced reliance on international markets, and a foundational emphasis on energy self-sufficiency as a matter of national security and economic autonomy.

Beyond immediate crisis management, a critical area of difference is the commitment and strategy for the global energy transition. This shift is clearly reflected in the manifestos released for the 2026 General Election, which exhibit a significant and welcome evolution toward detailed, sector-specific planning.

This stands in stark contrast to previous elections, in which energy policy was often reduced to broad, aspirational statements.

The depth and breadth of these policy documents, however, vary considerably, directly correlating with the ideological background and institutional capacity of the respective parties.

A quantitative assessment of the manifestos reveals substantial variations in both physical volume and thematic scope:

## 1) Comprehensive Planning

The manifestos of the BJI, BNP and NCP are noted for their exceptional detail and thematic comprehensiveness. These documents represent the most substantial policy volumes, ranging in length from 48 to a remarkable 90 pages each. Their expanded scope allows for granular policy prescriptions across generation, transmission, distribution, and renewable integration, reflecting a deep, perhaps ideologically driven, engagement with the sector's complexity.

## 2) Targeted Platforms

In contrast, smaller parties or those focused on a more narrow set of core issues often

produced more concise documents (e.g., 25-40 pages).

While these manifestos may lack the exhaustive detail of the larger volumes, they often articulate sharp, focused policy prescriptions, particularly on specific aspects such as renewable energy targets or anti-corruption measures.

A comparative overview of these manifesto attributes, volume, thematic breadth, and core ideological focus is essential for understanding the diverse strategies political parties intend to deploy in tackling the energy crisis and guiding the country through the critical energy transition phase.

**Table 2. Key Achievements from the Election Manifestos**

Political Party	Date of Publication	No. of Pages	No. of Sections	Sectors Covered
BASOD	22 Jan 2026	10	17	Democracy & Good Governance, General Election, Education, Health Sector, Agriculture, Women's Rights, Defence, Employment, Youth, Labour Rights, Environment and Climate Change, Energy and Cultural Development
BJI	4 Feb 2026	90	41	Governance, Law & Judiciary, Foreign Policy, Military Affairs, Energy, Jute & Textile, Labour Rights, Expatriates, Agriculture & Food, Fisheries & Livestock, Environment & Climate Change, Water Resources, Education, Culture, Transport, Tourism, Youth, Sports, Social Welfare, Children, Disaster and Relief.
BKM	3 Feb 2026	11	22	Good Governance, Corruption, Citizens' Rights, Foreign Policy, Education, Employment, Religion, Economy, Culture, Labour Rights, Agriculture, Health, Environment, Climate Change, and Mass Media.
BNP	6 Feb 2026	48	49	State Reform, Women's Protection, Agriculture, Food Security, Defence, Foreign Policy, Overseas Employment, Environment Conservation, Sustainable Development, Climate Change, Water Resources, Disaster Management, Economy, Power & Energy, Blue Economy, Sports, Culture, Religion, Mass Media and Tourism
CPB	22 Jan 2026	32	18	Democratic Restructuring, Employment, Economy, Education, Foreign Policy, Media, Science & Technology, Environment & Climate Change, Transport, Youth, Women's Rights, Labour Rights, Agriculture, Health and Energy.

Political Party	Date of Publication	No. of Pages	No. of Sections	Sectors Covered
IAB	6 Feb 2026	24	42	Economic Prosperity, External Debt, Sustainable Transition, Public Safety, Education, Employment, ICT Development, Healthcare, Religion, Military and Diplomacy, Transport, Labour Rights, Energy & Power, Fisheries, Mass Media, Water Resources, Climate, Environment, and Tourism.
JSD (Rab)	4 Feb 2026	15	10	Bicameral Parliament, Labour Rights, Election Commission, National Economic Council, National Security Council, ICT, Women's Rights, Defence, Military Affairs, Power and Energy, Religion, Transport, Foreign Policy, Food Security, Economy and Social Business.
NCP	30 Jan 2026	86	42	State Reform, Civil Rights, Justice, Transparency, Corruption, Citizen Services, Economy, Expatriates, Youth, Education, Health, Dignity & Rights, Environment, Energy, Sustainable Development, Climate Change, Agriculture & Food, Women's Rights, and Foreign Policy.

*Source: Analysis based on the Election Manifestos 2026*

Analysis of these manifestos suggests that the 2026 election cycle is defined by an urgency to address the siphoning of funds through capacity charges over the last 16 years.

While traditional parties, such as the BNP, focus on macroeconomic recovery through a Trillion Dollar Economy framework (p. 28), the NCP adopts a Gen Z-centric Second Republic model that prioritises citizen dignity and technological sovereignty (p. 5).

Islamic political entities, such as the BJI and IAB, have integrated social justice and Shariah-aligned economic principles,

specifically targeting annual energy subsidy expenditures to ensure a more equitable distribution of resources.

BASOD and CPB remain the most radical in their demands, advocating for the cancellation of anti-national energy contracts and a return to state-led exploration.

The findings indicate that the international community has also weighed in, with agreements to install new renewable capacity, a target that several party manifestos seek to integrate.



# Chapter 4



## Energy Sector in the Election Manifestos

The prominence of the energy sector in the 2026 General Election is a direct reflection of its cascading impact on national solvency, institutional integrity, and climate resilience, making it a core issue of governance.

Unlike previous elections, in which energy was treated primarily as a function of capacity augmentation, the current political discourse is defined by the sector's fiscal vulnerability, highlighted by the massive financial burden of stranded assets and the sector's reliance on imports.

This election offers a crucial opportunity for the electorate to mandate a shift toward a decentralised, community-driven system that fundamentally alters the power dynamic between the state, corporations, and citizens, ensuring that energy policy serves as a foundation for economic justice rather than a conduit for corruption.

Regarding the primary energy sector commitments, a clear pattern emerges: the majority of major parties prioritise the intensive exploration and extraction of domestic fossil gas (DFG) as a near-term security measure, often proposing aggressive drilling programs to reduce reliance on volatile LNG imports.

However, the approach to coal shows deep divergence: while

some leftist parties demand an immediate and complete phase-out, specifically targeting controversial projects such as Rampal, centrist and religious-conservative parties advocate limited, compromise-oriented use, citing 'clean coal' technology as a transitional measure.

## 4.1 Energy Policies and Plans

Commitments to policy reform are centred on replacing the previous government's opaque decision-making processes, such as the preparation of Master Plans.

BNP commits to implementing an Integrated Energy Master Plan (IEMP) to ensure a balanced energy mix and explicitly states that secret energy contracts signed under previous regimes will be reviewed and cancelled if found to be against the national interest (p.35).

NCP introduces an Integrated Resource Planning (IRP) framework to secure long-term energy security through market realism (p.71). NCP's focus on reviewing power contracts in light of market realities and environmental impacts suggests a more technocratic approach to the transition.

BJI proposes a Three Zero Vision by 2030, targeting zero emissions, zero waste, and

Critically, there is a pervasive lack of concrete policy across the political spectrum to definitively halt the expansion of new fossil-fuel infrastructure; only a few parties advocate a moratorium on LNG terminals, indicating a continued, cautious dependence on hydrocarbons even as renewable targets are established.

zero flood risk, which aligns rhetorically with global sustainability goals but lacks a detailed roadmap for achieving zero emissions (p.12).

BASOD and CPB provide the most radical critique of current policies, calling for the complete cancellation of unequal agreements with foreign companies. These parties argue for a National Alternative Energy Plan that prioritises domestic resources and excludes the influence of International Financial Institutions (IFIs) that they claim have driven Bangladesh into a debt trap.

IAB proposes establishing a Public Expenditure Review Commission (PERC) to oversee energy spending and ensure that its distribution adheres to the Islamic principles of justice (p.20-21).

## 4.2 Institutions

All parties, including BJI, BNP, CPB and IAB, commit to strengthening Bapex by providing modern equipment and technological capacity for onshore and offshore gas exploration.

BASOD and CPB emphasise that the capacity of domestic institutions such as the Bangladesh Oil, Gas & Mineral Corporation (Petrobangla) must be increased to eliminate the need for costly foreign leasing of oil and gas fields.

The independence of the Bangladesh

Energy Regulatory Commission (BERC) is a recurring theme. BNP and BJI both pledge to increase BERC's autonomy to prevent arbitrary price hikes by the executive branch.

NCP goes a step further by proposing strengthening the Sustainable and Renewable Energy Development Authority (SREDA), Infrastructure Development Company Limited (IDCOL), and Bangladesh Infrastructure Finance Fund Limited (BIFFL) as lead agencies for international diplomacy and green-finance mobilisation (p. 79).

### 4.3 Primary Energy

The articulation of a primary energy supply strategy in election manifestos is vital, as it directly affects national resource sovereignty and fiscal stability.

Our assessment focused on key indicators, including the commitment to DFG exploration versus reliance on imported LNG, the proposed timeline and method for coal phase-out, and specific policy stances on methane emissions and flaring.

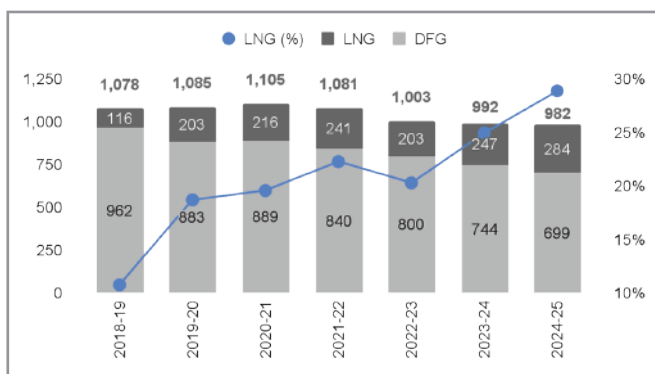
These commitments serve as crucial differentiators, revealing whether a party intends to perpetuate the cycle of import dependence or pivot toward genuine energy security and environmental mitigation, which are essential to fulfilling the promises of a just transition.

#### a) Energy Supply

Primary energy supply remains a battleground between the pursuit of domestic resources and the convenience of imports.

BNP prioritises domestic fossil gas (DFG) exploration to reduce reliance on costly imports and proposes building a new crude oil refinery with a capacity of 7.5 million tons per year (p.35).

**Figure 3: Mix of LNG in the Gas Supply (bcf)**



Source: RPGCL and Petrobangla Reports

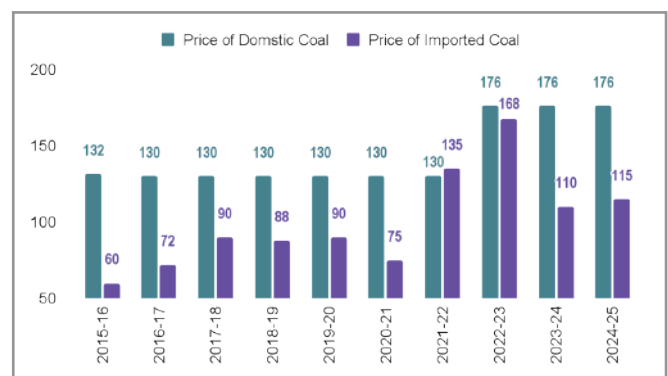
NCP follows a similar path, committing to drilling 150 domestic gas wells and to integrating DFG from the Bay of Bengal into the national grid within five years, by 2031 (p. 74).

Coal phase-out positions are also varied. BJI suggests limiting the role of coal in environmental safety but adopts so-called clean coal technology and modern boilers as a compromise for existing plants (p. 31).

CPB is the most aggressive, calling for the scrapping of the Rampal Coal Power Plant and the closure of all other harmful industries near the Sundarbans (p.28).

The position of BJI and BNP is tricky here. Both parties are interested in domestic coal mines, although it is more expensive than imported coal.

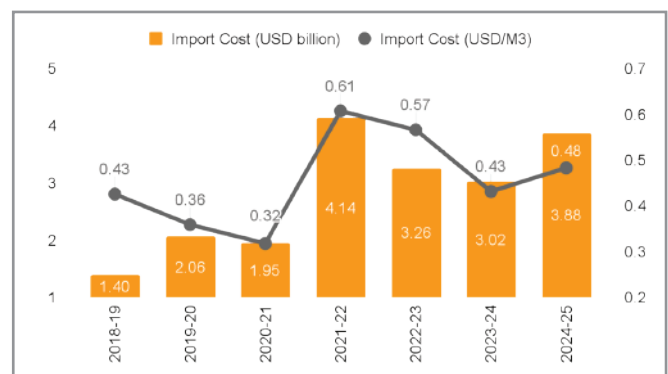
**Figure 4: Cost of Domestic Coal (USD/ton)**



Source: BCMCL and Petrobangla

BASOD demands a halt to high-risk projects, such as open-pit mining, in Phulbari (p.8). The continued support for coal by BJI and

**Figure 5: LNG Import Cost in Bangladesh**



Source: RPGCL and Petrobangla Reports

BNP is a significant disappointment, as 'clean coal' is often used as a marketing term for inefficient, carbon-intensive generation. That is why 'clean coal' is known as a 'dirty lie' globally.

LNG and LPG are viewed as bridge fuels by BNP and BJI, but this commitment overlooks the price volatility that has previously led to factory shutdowns and domestic gas shortages (p.1).

CPB and IAB focus on fossil gas self-reliance, with CPB calling for immediate state intervention to control fuel prices within the first 100 days (p.2).

NCP stands out by targeting methane emissions and flaring from gas fields, a commitment that is crucial for meeting global climate pledges.

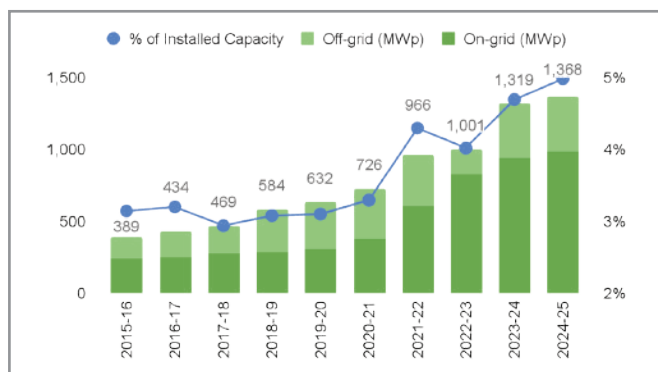
### b) Energy Efficiency

Energy efficiency is the most cost-effective way to reduce emissions, yet it receives minimal space in most manifestos. BJI and BNP proposes mandatory energy audits for households and industries, while NCP pledges an Energy Efficiency Master Plan (EEMP) designed to save 10-15% of electricity through technological upgrades.

### c) Renewable Energy

Renewable energy targets for 2030 are beginning to show promise. BNP targets 20% RE by 2030, while NCP aims to generate 20-25% of electricity from renewable sources

**Figure 6: Installed RE Capacity in Bangladesh**



Source: BPDB and SREDA

by 2031. BJI promises a 10-fold increase in solar capacity by 2030, which would require a massive deployment of solar parks and rooftop systems (p.31). NCP mandates

rooftop solar for new government and commercial buildings, which could provide a stable base for urban RE generation (p.71).

Innovative solar deployment is a highlight of the NCP and IAB manifestos. These parties propose agrivoltaics, floatovoltaics, canal-top and riverbank solar to maximise energy production without sacrificing agricultural land.

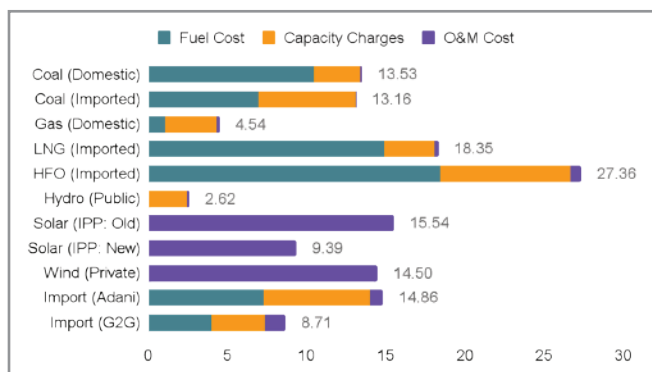
CPB and NCP both emphasise wind power development based on Long-term Resource Assessments in coastal areas, which is necessary to diversify beyond solar-only strategies.

### d) Energy Storage

Energy storage is the missing piece in Bangladesh's renewable puzzle. NCP is the only party that mentions using the Pumped Storage Hydropower Plant (PSHP) to enhance grid stability and battery recycling policies.

Most other parties focus on generation capacity but fail to address grid stability issues arising from the intermittency of solar and wind. Without commitments to large-scale Battery Energy Storage Systems (BESS), any RE target above 10% will face significant technical hurdles.

**Figure 7. Generation Cost by Fuel (BDT/kWh)**



Source: BPDB Annual Report 2024-25

### e) False Solutions

False solutions such as ammonia co-firing and carbon capture are unproven, expensive, and serve only to extend the life of fossil-fuel

assets. On the other hand, hydrogen is expensive and results in the waste of valuable RE resources.

While CPB and NCP reject these technologies, BJI and IAB still support nuclear energy as a national interest option.

BNP and NCP also promote Waste-to-Energy (WTE), which is often a source of dioxin pollution and conflicts with green waste recycling initiatives.

The inclusion of nuclear and WTE indicates that some parties continue to prioritise centralised, high-cost infrastructure over decentralised, community-owned solutions.



## 4.4 Power Sector

The inclusion of the power sector in political manifestos is no longer merely a technical footnote; it is a fundamental test of a party's commitment to national stability and social equity.

A secure and affordable electricity supply underpins economic growth, public health, and industrial competitiveness, making policy articulation in this area paramount for gaining public trust.

Across the political spectrum, parties demonstrate a collective acknowledgement of the need to provide universal and uninterrupted electricity. However, their proposed methods diverge sharply, revealing ideological fault lines.

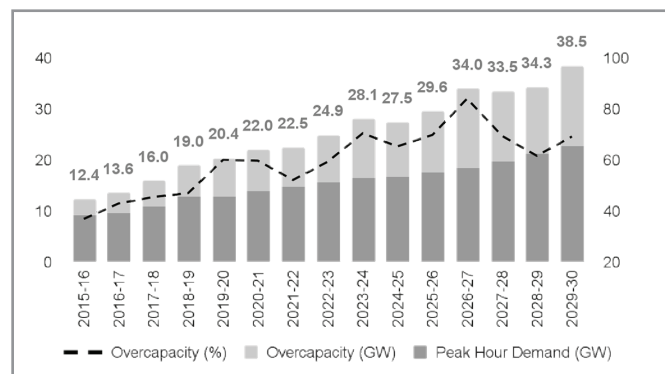
While some political parties prioritise aggressive capacity expansion and the rapid closure of rental power plants to stabilise immediate supply, others focus on reforming underlying systemic inefficiencies, such as excessive capacity charges and high system losses, advocating realistic load forecasting and a complete shift to state-led generation to ensure consumer affordability.

The central challenge remains translating these universal supply goals into fiscally responsible and environmentally sustainable pathways.

### a) Power Generation

Generation targets must be balanced against the risk of overcapacity. BNP's target of 35 GW by 2030 risks creating excess capacity, thereby increasing consumer bills through capacity charges (p.35). The commitment is unnecessary, because the installed capacity will surpass 35 GW in the business-as-usual (BAU) case.

**Figure 8. Installed Capacity by 2030 (GW)**



Source: Bangladesh Power Development Board

NCP's focus on realistic load forecasting is a more responsible approach, as the nation currently has more installed capacity than its grid can handle (p.71).

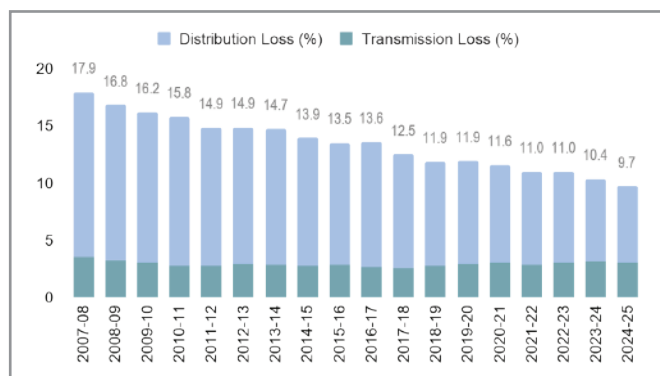
IAB commits only to ensuring an uninterrupted electricity supply, particularly

in marginal and remote areas (p. 20), whereas CPB seeks to ensure electricity supply as part of integrated rural infrastructure development (p. 21).

### b) Transmission and Distribution

Grid modernisation is essential for the transition. BNP, IAB, and NCP all commit to Smart Grid technology and reducing transmission and distribution (T&D) losses. NCP specifically targets reducing system losses to 5-6% through BESS and Smart Metering. However, it is quite impossible without a massive investment for distribution systems.

Figure 9. T&D Loss in the Power Sector (%)



Source: PGCB & BPDB Reports

BNP aims to expand the transmission network by 25,000 km by 2030 (p.35). IAB proposes replacing the existing distribution infrastructure to minimise carbon leakage and financial losses caused by technical inefficiencies (p. 20).

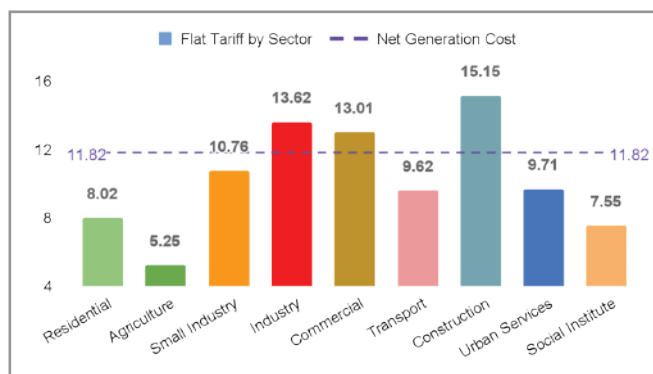
### c) Tariff of Electricity

Tariff reduction is one of the major election promises by almost all. CPB and BASOD claim they can lower prices by eliminating corruption and wrong policies. NCP suggests reducing peak industrial tariffs to BDT 13/kWh to support the manufacturing sector.

However, the feasibility of these reduced tariffs depends largely on whether the

government can successfully phase out the capacity charge by integrating more renewable energy into the grid.

Figure 10. Flat Tariffs for by Sector (BDT/kWh)



Source: BERC Gazette: 29 February 2024

### d) Energy Finance

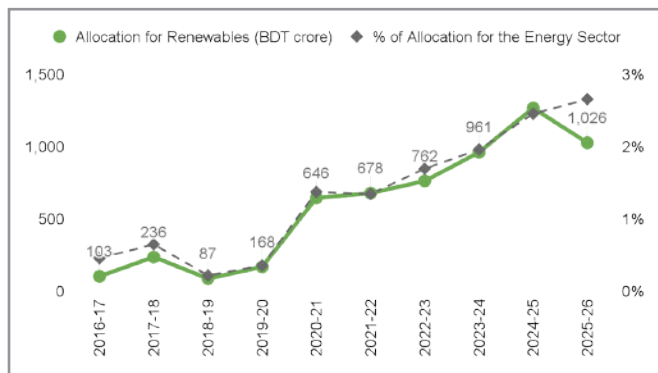
Financing mechanisms are gradually becoming more sophisticated. BNP proposes a Carbon Trading Market (CTM) and Green Bonds, while NCP looks to Sovereign Sukuk and Municipal Bonds for green infrastructure (p. 41). IAB proposes a specific development fund for investment in the energy sector.

Table 4. Bangladesh Bank's Green Finance

Name of the Scheme	Fund Size (USD million)	Eligible Sectors
Refinance Scheme for Environment-friendly Initiatives	81.7	Bangladesh Bank's Green Product List
Shariah-based Refinancing Scheme for Green Initiatives	10.2	Bangladesh Bank's Green Product List
Green Transformation Fund (GTF)	843.2	Green and export-oriented products
Technology Development and Upgradation Fund	81.7	100% export-oriented industries
Export Facilitation Pre-finance Fund	817.1	100% export-oriented industries
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,834</b>	

Despite these proposals, no party has committed to allocating RE funding from the national budget, as demanded by the Citizens' Manifesto, suggesting that fossil fuel projects will continue to receive the lion's share of financing.

**Figure 11. ADP Allocation for RE (BDT Crore)**



Source: Bangladesh National Budget Documents



## 4.5 Energy Diplomacy

In the manifestos, energy diplomacy is largely inward-looking. Parties have largely ignored the Global Methane Pledge (GMP) and the Global Renewables and Energy Efficiency Pledge (GREEP), both of which are central to international climate negotiations.

BNP and IAB mentioned regional cooperation in hydroelectricity trade with Nepal and Bhutan, which warrants rigorous analysis, given environmental and human rights violations in host communities.

Interestingly, none of the parties focused on the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) or the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and

Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), both of which were established under Bangladesh's leadership<sup>10</sup>.

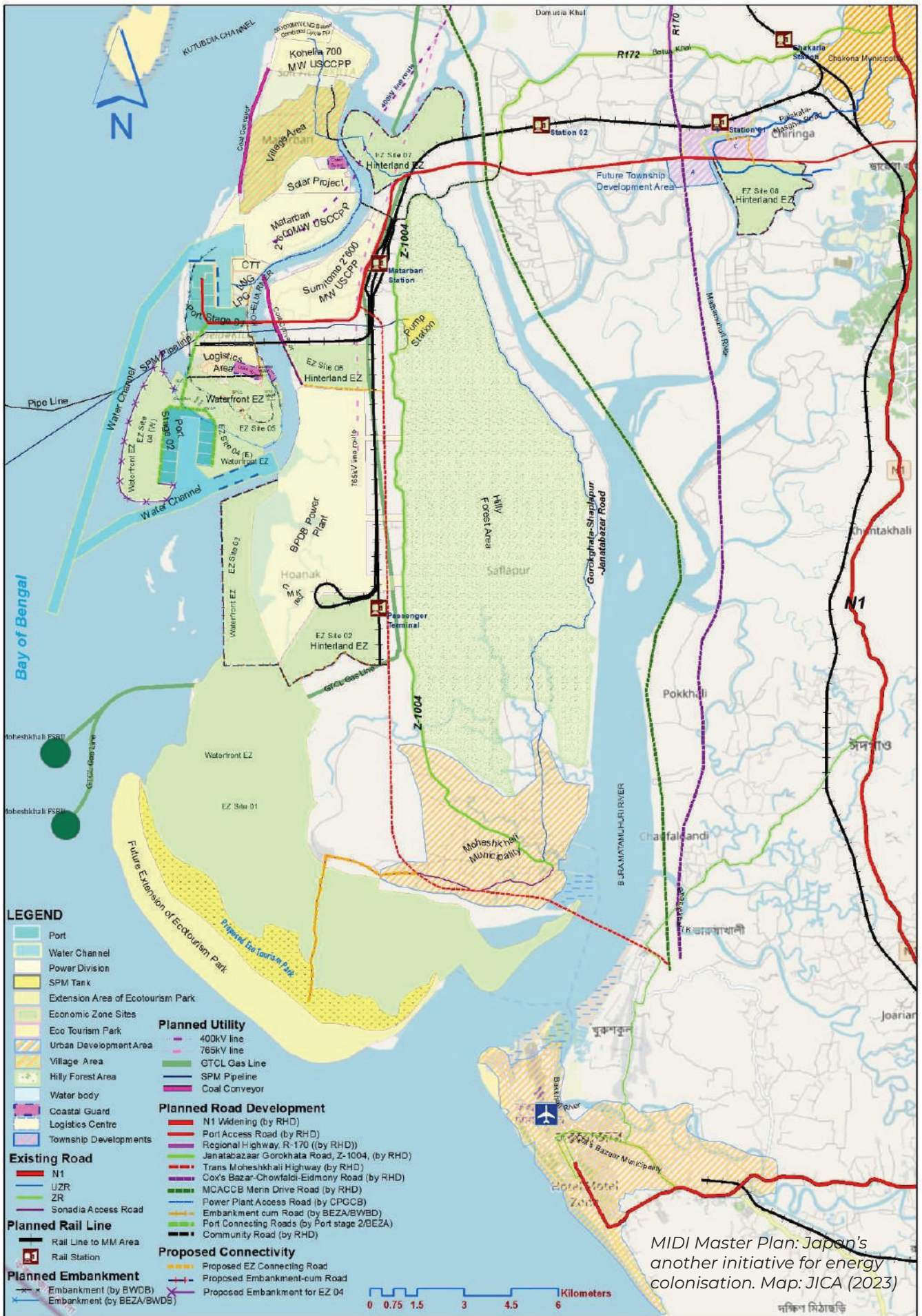
Bangladesh's leadership in the Climate Vulnerable Forum (CVF) and the Vulnerable Twenty Group (V20) is a missed opportunity to leverage climate finance and to demand fair compensation for loss and damage<sup>11</sup>.

Missing elements include a strong stance on technology transfer. The CSOs have demanded that RE technologies be recognised as global public goods, yet no party's manifesto reflects this in its diplomatic goals.

Diplomacy must move beyond simple electricity trade towards a radical demand for grant-based climate finance to fund the national transition.

<sup>10</sup> Chowdhury, U. (2024). [Bangladesh and the creation of Saarc](#). Dhaka Tribune (DT): 9 October 2024

<sup>11</sup> TBS (2025). [Bangladesh pushes youth-led, locally driven adaptation, spotlights LoGIC model at COP30](#). The Business Standard (TBS): 21 November 2025



MIDI Master Plan: Japan's another initiative for energy colonisation. Map: JICA (2023)

# Chapter 5



*Dhaka is one of the most polluted cities in the world. Photo: Somoy News*

## Decarbonising Other Sectors

The transition to a low-carbon economy cannot be confined to the energy and power sector alone. It must permeate every aspect of the national economy, from the fields where our food is grown to the factories that drive our exports and the cities where half our population will soon reside.

The manifestos of the political parties contesting the 13th Parliamentary Election in Bangladesh demonstrate a varied, yet growing, recognition of the necessity of addressing decarbonization across non-energy sectors.

From promoting rooftop solar and Net Energy Metering (NEM) in residential and commercial buildings, to transitioning irrigation pumps in agriculture, and mandating greener processes in the export-critical industrial and construction sectors, these commitments signal an emerging sectoral approach.

The inclusion of transport strategies, such as electric-vehicle adoption, and the push for greening social institutions collectively reflect a crucial political shift toward holistic, economy-wide sustainability beyond mere electricity-generation targets.

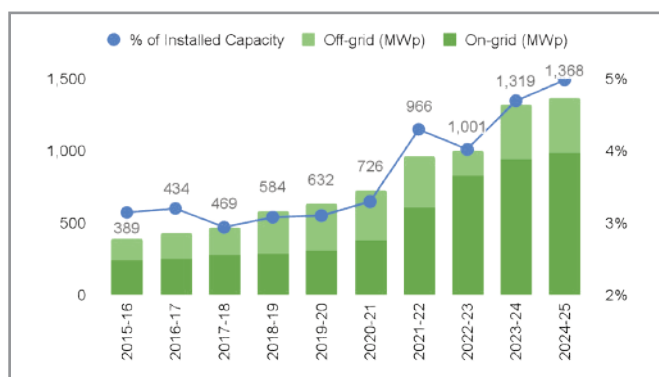
### 5.1 Residential Sector

Residential demand is the largest driver of evening peak loads. BNP and BJI both support the expansion of rooftop solar and Net

Energy Metering (NEM) for residential buildings, but they lack specific financial mechanisms to make this affordable for middle-income families.

NCP stands out for encouraging the use of electric induction cookers to replace gas stoves, a move that would reduce indoor air pollution and cut the nation's reliance on imported Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) (p.75).

**Figure 12. Capacity of Distributed RE (MWp)**



Source: SREDA, IDCOL and the Power Division

Small initiatives, such as the Solar Home System (SHS), are insufficient to meet the growing electricity demand, and most are currently inactive. Still, BNP plans to promote SHS in remote areas (p.35).

The plan should be revised to prioritise individual, institutional and industrial rooftop solar over old energy applications.

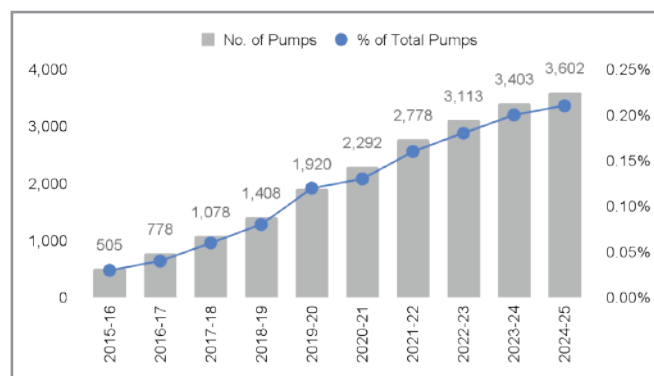
## 5.2 Agricultural Sector

Decarbonising the agriculture sector involves two important aspects: (a) climate mitigation, and (b) food security.

BASOD and BJI propose direct subsidies for diesel and electricity used in irrigation, which lock farmers into expensive high-carbon pathways.

BNP and IAB are more forward-looking, pledging to transition diesel-run irrigation pumps to solar irrigation pumps (SIP).

**Figure 13. Number & Capacity of SIPs (MWp)**



Source: BADCO, SREDA and IDCOL

NCP's proposal for an NID-based direct cashback for solar machinery ensures that subsidies reach the actual farmers (p.2). BASOD and NCP's commitment to protecting agricultural land from encroachment by energy projects is commendable.

## 5.3 Industrial Sector

Industrial decarbonization is critical for Bangladesh's RMG exports, as global buyers increasingly demand green supply chains and require a mandatory 30-42% RE use for exports to the European Union (EU).

BNP proposes a National Green Industrial Policy (NGIP), while BJI offers a 30% green textile credit to factories that adopt sustainable technologies (p. 39).

NCP makes Effluent Treatment Plants (ETPs) mandatory for all industrial facilities, backed by tax incentives. It is to mention that, almost 70% of green finance from commercial banks is provided for ETP now.

However, none of the parties commits to ensuring a specified percentage of RE use, as in RMG, across other industries.

## 5.4 Commercial Sector

Commercial buildings offer massive potential for rooftop solar. NCP mandates rooftop solar for all government and commercial buildings, while IAB emphasises

solar use in schools and religious sites (p. 20). BNP and CPB propose mandatory energy audits for the commercial sector to reduce technical wastage.

BNP and NCP promise green finance for commercial rooftop projects through bonds and Sukuk mechanisms, but the scale of these funds must be clearly defined in the first post-election budget.

## 5.5 Transport Sector

Transport transition is the next frontier for decarbonization. NCP is the most ambitious, targeting 40% of government vehicle purchases to be Electric Vehicles (EVs) and converting 4-5 million auto-rickshaws to Lithium-ion batteries (p. 76).

BJI focuses on EV infrastructure for buses and bikes, while BNP proposes a high-speed bullet train between Dhaka and Chattogram (p.37).

BASOD, CPB and IAB prioritise rail and river transport over highways, a stance that is more sustainable and cost-effective, but does not account for emerging, greener technologies.

However, none of the parties proposes to install solar systems on the bus terminal, rail line, or the railway station's rooftops.

## 5.6 Construction Sector

Construction is a high-emission sector that has been largely neglected. BNP and NCP both call for the enforcement of the Green Building Code and compliance with the Bangladesh National Building Code (BNBC) 2020.

NCP pledges to close all polluting brick kilns and transition to green brick technology, a move that would significantly improve air quality in major cities (p.70). IAB's proposal for mandatory rainwater harvesting in all new buildings is a vital adaptation measure in response to declining urban groundwater tables (p.24).

## 5.7 Municipal Services

Smart urban services are essential for liveable cities. BJI envisions smart cities with automated waste management and smart lighting (p.23). BNP and NCP propose integrated WTE projects for urban waste, although the Citizens' Manifesto cautions that WTE is a False Solution<sup>12</sup>. NCP's plan for an integrated public transport authority would reduce congestion, which currently costs the economy billions in wasted fuel and time (p.77).

## 5.8 Health & Education

Green infrastructure in health and education is a cornerstone of a just transition. BASOD proposes nationalising all educational institutions and allocating 6% of GDP to education to ensure that every school building is retrofitted with energy-efficient systems (p.6).

BNP's focus on IT labs and multimedia classrooms must be paired with RE targets to ensure that digitalisation does not increase the sector's carbon footprint (p.17).

NCP proposes decentralised health services to reduce travel-related emissions (p.55).

However, all parties overlooked the potential of rooftop solar for hospitals and academic buildings.

## 5.9 Other Sectors

Religious places and social institutions serve as community hubs and should take the lead in creating examples. IAB and BJI both propose installing rooftop solar on mosques, temples, and social clubs. BJI also suggests utilising social clubs as centres for training youth and women in green technologies (p.75). These initiatives can democratise access to energy and foster a cultural shift toward sustainability.

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<sup>12</sup>. CLEAN (2025). *ibid.*



*Waste-to-Energy power plants pollutes double than coal power plants. Image of the Delhi WTE Power Plant  
Photo: Ranjit Devraj (CSE)*

# Chapter 6



*Women can play a vital role in energy transition  
Photo: Development Alternatives*

## Just Transition

Just Transition is the principle that a shift to a sustainable economy must be fair and inclusive, leaving no worker, farmer, or community behind. For Bangladesh, the principle is not a theoretical concept but a necessity for social peace and equity.

The inclusion of a Just Transition framework in the election manifestos is vital for ensuring that the shift away from fossil fuels does not exacerbate existing social inequalities. True energy sovereignty demands policies that safeguard the most vulnerable populations, specifically, those manifestos must outline clear commitments for strengthening environmental governance to protect natural resources from industrial harm.

They must incorporate a strong gender component, ensuring women move from being disproportionately affected by energy poverty to becoming leaders and entrepreneurs in the green economy. Furthermore, addressing the needs of youth, who are the future workforce, and of transitional labour from the phasing out of the coal and gas sectors is paramount, requiring comprehensive reskilling programs.

Crucially, the manifestos must guarantee the rights of farmers and marginal producers by protecting agricultural land and involving them in the benefits of renewable energy projects, while legally recognising the land rights and self-determination of indigenous communities who bear the brunt of resource conflicts. Without these measures, the transition risks trading one form of injustice (social consequences of fossil fuels) for another (social exclusion in transition).

## 6.1 Environment

Environmental governance is the bedrock of a just transition. Manifestos must move beyond vague green promises to enforceable laws. BNP is committed to plant 25 crore saplings within the next five years.

CPB and BASOD emphasise that the environment must be protected from looting by corporate interests. NCP proposes

a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to address past human rights and environmental violations (p.70).

NCP also proposes strict monitoring of air quality and methane emissions, but no party has committed to a total ban on projects without public Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs).

## 6.2 Gender

Energy poverty disproportionately affects women, yet they are rarely at the decision-making table. BJI is the only party to explicitly mention training women entrepreneurs in green technology (p.75).

NCP proposes establishing reserved seats for female representatives through direct

elections to increase women's participation in policymaking (p.62).

However, none of the parties has proposed specific quotas for women in energy utility boards or profit-sharing models for women-led cooperatives in the RE sector.

## 6.3 Indigenous People

Indigenous communities, particularly in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), have historically suffered from energy projects that displace them without compensation.

CPB promises constitutional recognition of Indigenous rights to safeguard their cultural and territorial integrity (p.23). NCP proposes

consent-based development as a core principle for the Hill regions, ensuring that local voices are heard (p.19).

However, other manifestos remain largely silent on indigenous land rights in the context of large-scale solar projects.

## 6.4 Transitional Labour

Workers in the coal and gas sectors are at risk of displacement as fossil fuels are phased out. CSOs have called for a Just Transition Fund (JTF) to reskill these workers. CSOs also emphasised that workers must be recognised as change agents.

BJI mentions training for youth and women, and NCP proposes government-regulated placement and skills training, but these are not targeted at the specific labour groups in coal-intensive areas (p.49).

## 6.5 Marginal Farmers

Farmers are the most vulnerable to climate change and to land-grabs for energy infrastructure, even for renewable energy projects.

IAB and NCP are committed to protecting agricultural land by using riverbanks, canal-tops, and agrivoltaics for solar projects. BNP proposes a Farmer Card for direct

subsidies, while NCP offers NID-based direct cashback for solar machinery.

No party has adopted the CSO recommendation to make farmers shareholders in power plants built on their lands.

## 6.6 Youths

Youth are the strongest advocates for a just transition, comprising 30.9% of Bangladesh's total population. BNP proposes an Environment Startup Fund and programs, such as Green Watchman, to engage students in climate action (p.26).

NCP advocates lowering the voting age to 16 and establishing a Youth Civic Council (YCC) to ensure that the generation that will live



with the consequences of today's energy decisions has a seat at the table (p.46).

Such steps are vital to cultivating a generation of Green Entrepreneurs who can lead the transition at the grassroots level.

However, there is a crucial need to train the youth population to develop their skills for the green transition.



AI Generated Photo

*Agrivoltaics could be a saviour  
in the land scarcity in Bangladesh*

# Chapter 7



## Recommendations

Recommendations for the newly elected government are grounded in the core principles of the Citizens' Manifesto and a critical analysis of current political gaps.

The analysis of the 13th Parliamentary Election manifestos, juxtaposed with the urgent demands of the Citizens' Manifesto, illuminates a clear path forward for the incoming government.

To successfully navigate the deep economic and climate crises, the new administration must translate its electoral promises into actionable, structural reforms across seven critical thematic areas: Energy Policy and Plans, Institutions, Infrastructure, Energy Mix, Finance, Energy Diplomacy, and Social Inclusion.

These recommendations are designed not merely to augment capacity but to fundamentally reorient Bangladesh's energy sector toward sovereignty, sustainability, and equity, ensuring a just transition that dismantles the corruption-driven, import-dependent fossil fuel complex.

### 7.1 Energy Policy and Plans

Policy decisions must be returned to local experts and citizens. The new government should **immediately suspend** the Integrated Energy and Power Master Plan (IEPMP) and the proposed Energy and Power Sector Master Plan (EPSMP). The new government should also **draft a National Energy Policy**, after 22 years since the last energy policy, through a **transparent, consultative process** that mandates a 30% RE share by 2030, 40% by 2040 and 100% by 2050.

## 7.2 Institutions

Regulatory bodies such as the Bangladesh Energy Regulatory Commission (BERC) and the Sustainable and Renewable Energy Development Authority (SREDA) must be free from political interference.

The government should strengthen BERC and SREDA by providing them with independent budgets and the legal authority to block environmentally harmful or economically non-viable projects<sup>13</sup>.

The Government should establish a Renewable Energy Division (RED) within the Ministry of Power, Energy and Mineral Resources (MOPEMR) to increase the pace of RE installation.

## 7.3 Infrastructure

Large-scale integration of renewable energy is impossible without modern infrastructure. The government should allocate at least 40% of the electricity budget to grid modernisation and Battery Energy Storage Systems (BESS) to manage the intermittency of solar and wind.

## 7.4 Energy Mix

A formal ban on all new coal, gas, and oil-based plants is required. Such a moratorium should include false solutions such as ammonia co-firing, CCS, Hydrogen, nuclear, and WTE expansion, and redirecting all available capital toward solar and wind technologies, which are now three times cheaper than imports.

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<sup>13</sup>. Daily Star (2024). [Reformation to power, energy sector: BWGED places 16-point proposals](#). The Daily Star: 12 September 2024:

<sup>14</sup>. CLEAN (2025). [BWGED and Partners Push for Fossil Fuel Phase-Out, Just Transition at COP30](#). Coastal Livelihood and Environmental Action Network (CLEAN): 6 November 2025

## 7.5 Finance

Financing the transition through high-interest debt is a recipe for disaster. The government should issue green bonds and Sukuk while demanding grant-based climate finance from the international community as compensation for historical emissions<sup>14</sup>.

Allocating at least 40% of the energy budget under the Annual Development Programme (ADP) to renewable energy is necessary to fulfil the ambitious RE implementation plan.

## 7.6 Energy Diplomacy

Bangladesh must lead in international energy and climate diplomacy. The government should also adopt the GMP and GREEP, leveraging these platforms to demand technology transfer and the establishment of a JTF from developed nations.

## 7.7 Energy Diplomacy

Justice requires that those who give up their land for energy projects are not left behind. Legislation must be enacted to require that 5% of the profits from every energy project be shared with the local community and displaced landowners.

Landowners should also receive an incremental rent rate for their land.

The Department of Youth (DOY) and Department of Social Services (DSS) must launch a massive training program to prepare transition labourers and youth for two million new RE jobs.

The program should prioritise women and indigenous people to ensure an equitable labour market in the new energy economy.

# Chapter 8



## Conclusion

Momentum for an energy transition in Bangladesh is no longer a matter of choice; the transition is a matter of economic and environmental survival.

The analysis of the 2026 manifestos shows that while political parties are beginning to embrace renewable energy targets, they remain tethered to the false solutions and centralised models that have led the country into its current fiscal crisis.

A target of 20% RE is a step forward, but it falls short of the 30% mandated by the BCPP and the urgency of the climate crisis.

Overall expectations for the post-election government include dismantling the power clique and eliminating the capacity charge, which has enriched a few at the expense of millions.

**Energy sovereignty means that our power comes from our own sun and wind**, not from imported fuels that drain our foreign reserves and poison our air.

Concluding remarks must reiterate that a **just transition is only possible if the shift is people-centred**. Political parties must stop prioritising high-cost, high-risk technologies such as hydrogen and ammonia.

Instead, the government must empower youth, protect farmers, and respect indigenous communities, who are the true guardians of our land.

The 13th National Parliament must be a parliament of the people, for the environment, and for a sustainable and low-carbon future. Achieving energy sovereignty is the final struggle for true independence.





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