# Alignment of China's Energy Sector Export Finance with the Paris Climate Agreement

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#### **Abbreviations**

BRI Belt and Road Initiative "一带一路"倡议

BRIGC Belt and Road International Green Coalition 一带一路绿色发展国际联盟

CAIBA China-Africa Interbank Association 中非金融合作银行联合体

CAT Climate Action Tracker 气候行动追踪

CBIRC China Banking and Insurance Regulatory Commission 中国银保监会

CCS Carbon capture and storage 碳捕获与封存 CDB China Development Bank 中国国家开发银行

CDC Commonwealth Development Corporation 英联邦发展公司

CER Certified Emission Reduction核证自愿减排量
CEXIM Export-Import Bank of China 中国进出口银行

CCIF Credit Guarantee and Investment Facility 亚洲开发银行旗下信托基金

CIC China Investment Corporation 中国投资有限责任公司

CIDCA China International Development Cooperation Agency 国家国际发展合作署

CSO Civil societal organisation 公民社会组织

DFI Development finance institution 开发性金融机构
E3F Export Finance for Future 面向未来的出口金融
EACOP East African Crude Oil Pipeline 东非原油管道项目

ECA Export Credit Agency 出口信用机构

EIA Environmental impact assessments 环境影响评估

ESG Environmental, Social, and Governance 环境、社会与治理

EV Electric Vehicle 电动汽车

FLNG Floating natural gas liquefaction 浮式液化天然气生产储卸装置

FOCAC Forum on China-Africa Cooperation 中非合作论坛

G7 Group of 7 七国集团

G20 Group of 20 二十国集团

GDI Global Development Initiative 全球发展倡议

GDP Gross domestic product 国内生产总值

GHG Greenhouse gas 温室气体

GIFP Green Investment and Finance Partnership 绿色发展投融资合作伙伴关系

GIP Green Investment Principles 绿色投资原则

GW Gigawatts 吉瓦

IPLC Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities 原住民与当地社区

ISSB International Sustainability Standards Board 国际可持续发展准则理事会

JBIC Japan Bank for International Cooperation 日本国际协力银行

KEXIM Export-Import Bank of Korea 韩国进出口银行

KfW Development Bank (Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau) 德国复兴信贷银行

KSURE Korea Trade Insurance Corporation 韩国贸易保险公司

LNG Liquefied natural gas 液化天然气

MDB Multilateral Development Bank 多边开发银行

MEE Ministry of Ecology and Environment 生态环境部

MOF Ministry of Finance 财政部

MOFCOM Ministry of Commerce 商务部

MOFT Ministry of Foreign Trade 对外贸易部

NCQG New Collective Quantified Goal on Climate Finance 新集体量化气候资金目标

NDC Nationally determined contribution 国家自主贡献

NDRC National Development and Reform Commission 国家发展和改革委员会

NEXI Nippon Export and Investment Insurance 日本出口投资保险公司

NFRA National Financial Regulatory Administration 国家金融监督管理总局

NZECA Net-Zero Export Credit Agencies Alliance 出口信贷机构净零联盟

ODA Official Development Assistance 官方发展援助

OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 经济合作与发展组织

OECD-IWG OECD International Working Group on Export Credits 出口信贷国际工作组

O&G Oil and gas 石油和天然气

PBC People's Bank of China 中国人民银行

PFI Public finance institutions 公共金融机构

PRI Political risk insurance 政治风险保险

PV Photovoltaic 光伏

RE Renewable Energy 可再生能源

RMB Renminbi 人民币

SAFE State Administration of Foreign Exchange 国家外汇管理局

SASAC State-Owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission 国有资产监督管理委员会

SDG Sustainable Development Goals 可持续发展目标

SEZ Special Economic Zone 经济特区

SINOSURE China Export & Credit Insurance Corporation 中国出口信用保险公司

SOE State-Owned Enterprises 国有企业
SWF Sovereign Wealth Fund 主权财富基金

TCFD Task Force on Climate-Related Financial Disclosures 气候相关财务信息披露工作组
TNFD Task Force on Nature-Related Financial Disclosure 自然相关财务信息披露工作组

UKEF UK Export Finance 英国出口融资署

UNDP United Nations Development Programme 联合国开发计划署

UNFCCC United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change 联合国气候变化框架公约

US-EXIM The Export-Import Bank of the US 美国进出口银行

WRI World Resources Institute 世界资源研究所 WTO World Trade Organisation 世界贸易组织

# 执行摘要

- 本报告以 Perspectives Climate Research 的评估方法论为基础,从五个符合《巴黎协定》的维度出发,对作为中国官方出口信贷机构的中国进出口银行 (CEXIM) 和中国出口信用保险公司 (SINOSURE),以及作为"出口相关政策性银行"的国家开发银行 (CDB) 进行分析。总体来看,尽管这三家机构在推动清洁能源融资方面取得了良好进展,但要实现符合《巴黎协定》要求的出口融资,仍需进行重大转型。
- 中国的出口信贷机构与国家开发银行一道,是全球最大的海外能源项目融资机构,在 2013 至 2022 年间融资总额接近 2000 亿美元。其中,化石燃料项目分别占国家开发银行、中国进出口银行和中国信保出口能源融资总额的84%、51% 和 43%。自2017年以来,为了响应国家提出的"小而美"海外投资理念,这三家机构均逐步减少对能源领域的出口融资。
- 近年来,中国持续推动金融机构信息披露标准的发展。然而,由于未强制要求出口信贷机构和政策性银行对单笔 交易或行业分布进行公开披露,截至目前,这三家机构中仅有少数分支机构按照气候相关财务信息披露工作组 (TCFD)的建议,披露了排放数据及相关报告。
- 自 2021 年习近平主席承诺停止新建海外煤电项目后,此三家机构已于 2022 年初步停止了对煤炭项目的融资支持。然而数据显示,国家开发银行和中国进出口银行于 2023 年对一个位于巴基斯坦东南部的新煤电厂项目提供了担保。除煤炭外,此三家机构的其投资组合中仍然不断纳入新的石油和天然气项目,体现出全面限制化石燃料项目投资的必要性。
- 中国进出口银行、中国信保和国家开发银行均积极参与区域合作,通过在亚洲、非洲和拉丁美洲的多边论坛和双边伙伴关系加强与区域利益相关方的合作,但其与全球北方**/**经合组织国家的出口信贷机构合作相对较少。
- 进一步"绿化"中国出口融资,能够对全球气候雄心和可持续能源获取产生重大积极影响,推动中国作为发展中国家清洁能源领军者的积极贡献。

# **Executive Summary**

- The Export-Import Bank of China (CEXIM) and China Export & Credit Insurance Corporation (SINOSURE) as China's Export Credit Agencies, as well as China Development Bank (CDB) as the export-related policy bank have been assessed across five Paris alignment dimensions based on Perspectives Climate Research's methodology. Overall, while some progress has been made, these institutions have not yet achieved alignment with the Paris Climate Agreement.
- Together with CDB, China's ECAs are the largest public financiers of energy sector projects globally, totalling nearly USD 200 billion between 2013 and 2022. Fossil fuel-related projects accounted for 84%, 51% and 43% of CDB, CEXIM and SINOSURE's total export energy finance. Since 2017, the three institutions have been decreasing their energy sector export finance, echoing the country's 'Small and Beautiful' (小而美) approach.
- While China has been promoting disclosure standards among financial institutions, its ECAs and
  policy banks are not obliged to make information about single transactions or sector distribution
  publicly available. So far, only a few branches have published emissions data and reports as
  recommended by the Task Force on Climate-Related Financial Disclosures.
- Following Xi Jinping's no new coal power overseas pledge in 2021, the three institutions have initially
  halted support for coal in 2022, but a new coal power plant project in South-eastern Pakistan was
  guaranteed by CDB and CEXIM in 2023. In addition, comprehensive fossil fuel restrictions beyond
  coal are yet to be implemented, as evidenced by continued inclusion of new oil and gas projects in
  their portfolios.
- CEXIM, SINOSURE and CDB demonstrate stronger engagement with regional stakeholders through
  multilateral forums and bilateral partnerships across Asia, Africa and Latin America, but less so with
  peer-ECAs from Global North/OECD countries.
- Greening Chinese export finance further can have significant positive impacts on both climate ambitions and sustainable energy access globally, promoting China's positioning as a clean energy champion for the developing world.

<sup>1</sup> As the non-aggregated data of CDB's overseas finance is not publicly available, this share may include export credit, project financing, overseas investment and loans.

# Key recommendations for the Chinese government, ECAs and CDB

Our assessment demonstrated that CEXIM, SINOSURE and CDB have been making some progress towards alignment with the Paris Climate Agreement in recent years, particularly in terms of phasing out support to coal-fired power plants and developing green finance instruments. However, the Chinese government and the three institutions should continue working on improving transparency, expanding fossil fuel support restrictions beyond coal power and transforming the global export finance system in collaboration with like-minded countries. To this end, our study makes the following recommendations (grouped by Paris Alignment dimension):<sup>2</sup>

## **Transparency:**

- Transparently report on the energy finance portfolio (both flow and stock commitments), including all fossil fuels and clean energy, as well as by steps of the value chain (upstream, midstream, and downstream), following the best practices of the E3F coalition.
- Extend greenhouse gas accounting to cover portfolio-wide scope 1-3 emissions of Chinese ECAs and CDB based on international best practices such as the recommendations of the Task Force on Climate-related Financial Disclosures, and in line with the 'Green Investment Principles' (绿色投资原则). This includes publishing estimated GHG emissions data and expected sustainability impacts for all new projects, including information on assets' lifetime GHG emissions.
- Adopt a common climate finance definition for CEXIM and CDB following the lead of SINOSURE and building on the EU-China Common Ground Green Taxonomy. Climate finance should be tracked both for new authorisations and total exposure, including finance for clean energy and cross-cutting activities for both mitigation and adaptation. Such a definition should be distinct from 'sustainable finance' and 'green finance', using clear criteria and an unambiguous list of activities that could be financed by the three ECAs.
- Quantify China's voluntary export finance contribution to the New Collective Quantified Goal on Climate Finance of USD 300 billion annually by 2035.

## Fossil fuel policies:

- Consistently implement the 2021 Xi Jinping's Pledge of 'No New Coal Overseas', thus excluding
  financing for all coal projects in the future.
- Consider extending international fossil fuel support restrictions beyond coal power plants to include other steps of the value chain (e.g., coal mining), uses of coal (e.g., metallurgical coal), as well as other fossil fuels, e.g., oil and gas.
- Re-consider the support for controversial oil and gas projects abroad, such as the EACOP project, and explore the opportunity to support decommissioning fossil fuel infrastructure early (similar to UKEF).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Additional and more detailed recommendations for the Chinese government can be found in section 5 of this report.

### Climate impact of and emission reduction targets for all activities:

• Set science-based, portfolio-wide and sectoral GHG emission targets (scope 1-3), to align with China's 'Dual Carbon' (双碳) goals of peak-carbon by 2030 and carbon neutrality by 2060. Such shortand medium-term targets will also help with aligning with the Paris Agreement. These sectoral targets should be made public and reiterated in annual reports, as well as key policy documents amended to reflect these targets.

## Climate finance: Positive contribution to the global climate transition

- Integrate concepts of 'Ecological Civilisation'(生态文明)and 'New Quality Productive Forces' (新质生产力)into export finance, through RE leadership. Expand the focus of exports from the 'New Three' to comprehensive clean energy solutions. Meanwhile, develop and finance holistic models that combine RE with poverty alleviation, to showcase China's approach with Global South characteristics to sustainable development.
- Expand Chinese ECAs' support to global 'green' markets, e.g. via expanding political risk insurance coverage in underrepresented (green) sectors and geographies. Consider further diversification of clean energy exports beyond the 'New Three' to novel climate technologies and comprehensive clean energy solutions.

#### **Engagement:**

- Keep strengthening inclusive cooperation and exchange with Global South countries, especially key
  emerging economies in the green energy supply chain, by actively leading in relevant international
  fora such as the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC).
- Commence discussions with Global North countries on how to succeed the OECD's International Working Group (suspended since 2020), thus demonstrating a willingness to collaborate in areas such as transparency and standards.
- Collaborate with the OECD peers and join international initiatives such as the Clean Energy Transition Partnership, to form a new 'level playing field' outside the OECD Export Finance Arrangement (whose negotiations on oil and gas exclusion recently failed).
- Explore the possibility of joining Export Finance for Future (E3F), a 'coalition of the willing' that consists of ten major European economies with the aim of promoting and supporting a shift in investment patterns towards climate-neutral and climate-resilient export projects and the publication of joint energy finance transparency reports.
- CEXIM and SINOSURE join the UN-convened Net-Zero Export Credit Agencies Alliance (NZECA), if only as an observer initially, and implementing its new target-setting protocol.
- SINOSURE join the Berne Union Climate Working Group (BU-CWG), to collaborate with its peers on innovative climate-positive financial products and strengthen China's leading role in overseas financing and clean energy technology.

## 1. Introduction

Limiting global temperature increase to 2°C let alone 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels requires massively re-directing financial flows away from carbon dioxide (CO2) intensive actions and towards low-carbon activities. However, despite commitments made under Article 2.1(c) of the Paris Agreement – in which Parties agreed to make "finance flows consistent with a pathway towards low greenhouse gas emissions [...]" (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change [UNFCCC], 2015) and subsequent statements calling for an end to international public finance for fossil fuels – many countries still provide significant public support to fossil fuel value chains, among others, through their export credit agencies (ECAs). This contributes to a global lock-in of carbon-intensive infrastructures and hampers the ability of many developing countries to leapfrog the fossil fuel stage of development. ECAs and officially supported export finance are often considered key to promoting the competitiveness of domestic companies in foreign markets. ECAs, as government-backed finance institutions, typically support larger and riskier projects that would not have been insured otherwise (such as fossil fuel infrastructure) and can crowd in significant public and private finance, often improving the lending conditions of banks that finance export transactions. The export finance industry supports up to USD 28 trillion worth of financing annually (e.g., EKN, 2023).

Historically, ECAs have been a major public finance contributor to carbon lock-in (Figure 1), with a staggering USD 534.4 billion flowing to fossil fuel-related projects between 2013 and 2022. Specifically, oil and gas-related projects accounted for 52%, with oil and coal projects taking up 15% and 9% respectively. Clean energy, in turn, merely made up 10% of all energy finance in the same period (OCI, 2024c). Since 2019, ECAs have made up the single largest group of PFIs supporting fossil fuel investments, ahead of Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs) or bilateral Development Finance Institutions (DFIs). According to the Public Finance for Energy Database by Oil Change International (OCI), ECAs provided an annual average of USD 32 billion between 2020-22 to fossil fuels, six times more than for clean energy (OCI, 2024b, 2024c). 74% of fossil fuel finance in 2020-22 came from Canada, South Korea, and Japan alone, with an annual average of USD 10.9 billion, USD 7.4 billion, and USD 5.4 billion respectively (OCI, 2024c). Some G20 countries including Russia, India and Saudi Arabia either use other public or private channels to support fossil fuel energy investments or vastly underreport their energy sector finance (OCI, 2024c).

While a turning trend from fossil fuels to RE becomes increasingly notable (Censkowsky et al., 2025), the shift has been not in line with the estimated needs for the energy transition. In the first half of 2023, ECAs' support for RE reached a record high of USD 11.7 billion, almost four times higher than in the first half of 2022 (TXF, 2023). However, there is still a large potential for shifting export finance from fossil fuels to clean energy such as RE, quantified by Klasen et al. (2022) at EUR 57.4 billion by 2030 just to retain their current proportion relative to climate finance flows from other institutions.

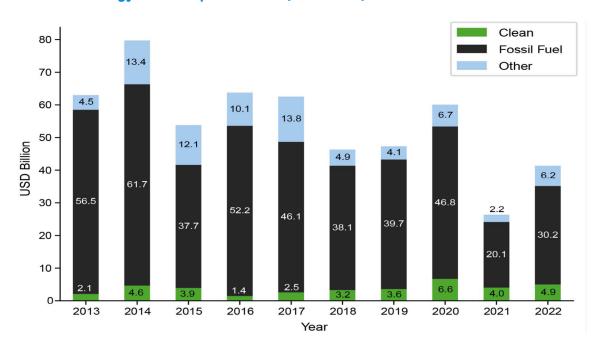


Figure 1: G20 ECAs' energy sector export finance (2013-2022).3

Source: Authors, based on OCI (2024c).

Previous research highlighted the lack of climate policies related to export finance, as well as lacking transparency on ECAs' climate impacts (Wenidoppler, 2017; Shishlov et al., 2020; Cook and Viñuales, 2021; DeAngelis and Tucker, 2021; Klasen et al., 2022; O'Manique et al., 2024). Recent research suggests that ECAs have increasingly taken a more proactive role as trade facilitators in addition to being insurers or lenders of a last resort (Klasen et al., 2024). They can become even more active agents of the energy transition if sufficiently ambitious climate-related commitments are made and convergence among a critical mass of like-minded countries is achieved (Lundquist, 2022). For example, energy sector projects have represented a significant share of the amount of support that falls under the OECD Arrangement on Officially Supported Export Credits, suggesting that this forum may have a significant impact on the role of export finance in the energy transition, despite recently failed negotiations on excluding all oil and gas (O&G) support (e.g., Lo, 2025).

Arguably, the starting positions of ECAs inside and outside the OECD vary significantly, depending on the development of the energy industry of the country. If an economy has a mature fossil fuel manufacturing industry instead of clean energy or if its exports have traditionally been from fossil-intensive industries, ECAs are likely to have a corresponding portfolio and vice versa. For example, the portfolio of Denmark's EIFO is dominated by RE support. In contrast, despite its 1992 mandate, the Export-Import Bank of the US (US-EXIM) has never dedicated 5% or more of its total financing to environmentally beneficial exports (Censkowsky et al., 2022; see further US-EXIM, 2024). Structural constraints exist for financing clean energy, including higher upfront costs, sensitivity to interest rates, currency risks, and lack of de-risking measures, to name only a few (Schmidt et al., 2023; Schmidt et al., 2024a). These and other factors make it challenging for private actors to accurately price and manage risks associated with RE investments (Hale et al., 2021). In this light, ECAs are well-positioned to address these risks and support the accelerated deployment of clean energy globally.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The data analysis in this research spans the period from 2013 to 2022. More recent data from the Public Finance for Energy Database have not yet been made publicly available.

Several noteworthy commitments targeting international public finance, including export finance, have been made by governments and ECAs in the past few years (see Annex I). For these initiatives, it remains an urgent priority to work towards enlarging existing clubs and coalitions while not backsliding on their ambition, especially with non-OECD ECAs like China to overcome the increasing fragmentation in the global export finance system (e.g., Schmidt et al., 2024b). So far, China and its ECAs are not members or signatories of those, except to UNFCCC commitments. However, as the largest public financier of overseas energy projects and a key exporter of clean technology, China is poised to inject new momentum into global export finance. Moreover, after the years-long OECD Export Finance negotiations on excluding oil and gas support failed in January (e.g., Lo, 2025), and with the new uncertainties that the Trump presidency brings, Chinese ECAs have a unique chance to position themselves as leaders in financing the clean energy transition.

This report seeks to understand the extent to which China's ECAs and its export-related policy bank CDB have transitioned their energy sector portfolios, commitments, strategies and engagement to align with the Paris Agreement objectives. Our research employs the analytical framework based on the Paris alignment methodology developed by Perspectives Climate Research (see section 4; Shishlov et al., 2021). The report draws on desk research and data analysis of the Public Finance for Energy Database by OCI, enriched with insights from nearly 20 expert interviews. Our interviewees, possessing strong expertise in China's export finance, foreign investment and development finance, represent a wide range of institutions including academia, think tanks, international organisations and civil society organisations in China and across four other continents. The report is structured into five sections: First, we provide an overview of the history and current landscape of China's export finance and introduce its ECAs: the Export-Import Bank of China (CEXIM) and the China Export & Credit Insurance Corporation (SINOSURE; see section 2), as well as China's export-related policy bank China Development Bank (CDB), before reviewing climate-related policies in China's officially supported export finance (see section 3). Then, the report analyses their energy sector export finance by applying the Paris Alignment analytical framework (see section 4). The report concludes with recommendations developed for the Chinese government and the three institutions (see section 5).

# 2. Officially supported export finance in China

## 2.1. Introduction to Chinese export finance

China is a pivotal player in the global export finance landscape, with significant increases in overseas finance in the past two decades, particularly flowing to the energy projects in the Global South (Ahmed, 2022). Historically, China has been the largest coal producer and public financier for overseas coal plants, accounting for 50% of global public coal finance between 2013 and 2018 (Ma and Gallagher, 2021). However, with pronounced policy shifts since 2021 (see further in section 3), China has become a global leader in RE technology and deployment, contributing to 63% of the global net expansion of RE capacity in 2023 (e.g., Christophers, 2024). This dual role as both a major public financier and clean technology provider places China and its ECAs at the forefront of financing global green transition, particularly supporting international climate commitments under the United Nations' Paris Agreement.

#### Text Box 1: Brief history of China's export model, its ECAs and CDB.

Since the opening of its economy in 1978 and economic reforms, 4 China has been highly exportreliant, with exports making up 18.9% of its gross domestic product (GDP) as of 2023 (Statista, 2024). Having overtaken Germany as the world's largest exporting nation in 2009, China has also been the largest trading nation since 2014 (Razo, 2021).5

Since the 1980s, 'Special Economic Zones' (SEZs; 经济特区) have played a crucial role in China's export-driven economic growth. These zones, which include various types such as free trade zones, export-processing zones, and industrial parks, have been instrumental in attracting foreign direct investment and promoting exports (World Bank, 2009). Offering incentives such as reduced tax rates and tax exemptions, SEZs complement the efforts of ECAs by creating a favourable environment for export-oriented industries (Zhou, 2022). Shenzhen, as the largest SEZ, experienced remarkable export growth in electric vehicles (EVs) and solar photovoltaic (PV), with year-on-year increases of 51.7% and 81.6% respectively, reaching a combined total of USD 2.14 billion<sup>6</sup> in the first half of 2024 alone (General Administration of Custom of China, 2024; People's Daily, 2024). This synergy between SEZs and ECAs has been a key factor in China's economic development and emergence as a global export powerhouse (Cheung, 2023).

In the 1990s, China set up its ECAs: Export-Import Bank of China (CEXIM) and China Export & Credit Insurance Corporation (SINOSURE), as well as a policy bank, China Development Bank (CDB). CDB has a broader mandate than ECAs, supporting China's economic development in key industries and underdeveloped sectors. Although CDB's portfolio remains domestic-dominated, it offers export finance products such as export credit and project financing. Considering the huge volume of CDB's support for export finance, this report takes CDB into account and classifies it as an 'export-related policy bank'.

The three institutions were set up before China's accession to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2001. Although China has been an 'OECD Key Partner' since 2007 (OECD, n.d.) - another major governing body for global export and trade - it is not a voting member and thus not obliged to comply with the OECD guidelines.7 Like other non-OECD members, China has been operating under a different norm and established a 'state-led' model of international development finance. The model is underpinned by three main pillars: state-led financial institutions supplying capital, state-owned enterprises (SOEs) delivering services, and a state-backed insurer underwriting risks (Chen and Liu, 2023, p.1).

The exact scale and distribution of Chinese official overseas financing are difficult to estimate since the country publishes neither sector breakdowns of its funding activities nor disaggregated loan data (see further section 4). Independent research suggests that China has become the world's largest official bilateral creditor (Rudyak, 2020): Over the last decade, China has lent more than USD 500 billion to developing countries (Hawkins, 2023; Horn et al., 2023; Russu, 2023).8 China's ECAs, together with CDB, have also become the largest public financiers for energy sector projects, totalling nearly USD 200 billion

Towards what is often termed 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' and 'socialist market economy'.

In multilateral contexts such as COP, however, China refers to itself as a 'developing country', as a member of negotiation blocs such as G77+China, for instance. In this report, all amounts originally denominated in RMB have been converted to USD using the 2024 annual average exchange rate of 0.14 RMB/USD.

Which (1) limit tied aid, (2) regulate credit practices, (3) impose maximum repayment terms, country risk classification and minimum interest rates, (4) require the exchange of information, (5) and impose social, environmental and governance standards on financing activities (e.g., European Parliament, 2011).

Even more than the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (ibid.).

between 2013 and 2022, almost double that of second-ranked South Korea. The three institutions provided by far the largest absolute amounts of finance to clean energy among G20 countries also showing the largest relative shares only behind France (see Figure 2).

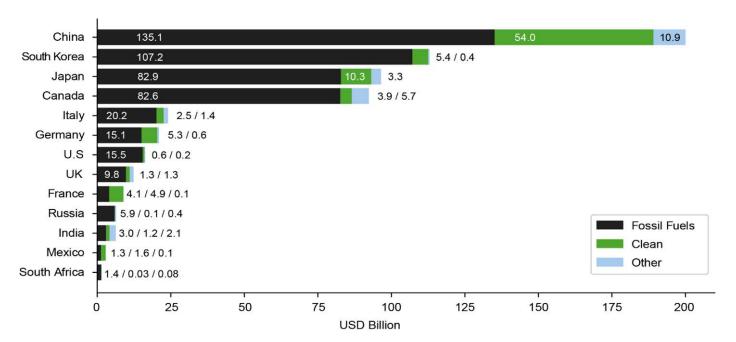


Figure 2: G20 countries with the largest ECA energy finance (2013-2022).

Source: Authors, based on OCI (2024c).

Note: To provide more accurate representation of China's involvement in overseas energy finance, the authors classified CDB, the policy bank, as an export-related policy bank that contributes to export finance, which makes the graph different from OCI's website. While CEXIM is also officially classified as a policy bank, it functions as a major ECA since CEXIM provides extensive financing support for Chinese companies' overseas activities, including export credits, buyer's credits, and project financing for those abroad.

With the announcement to stop building new coal-fired power projects abroad in 2021, China began transitioning away from its substantial involvement in overseas coal financing. In 2023, China produced 86%, 74%, and 68% of all solar modules, lithium batteries, and EVs respectively, totalling over USD 150 billion in value (Zhang and Nedopil Wang, 2024). By 2023, China has become the largest exporter in the trade for global energy transition, mainly attributed to the 'New Three' exports - solar PV, lithium-ion batteries, and EVs. Notably, in 2024, China's solar panel exports rose by 32% in Global South countries, but fell by 6% in Global North, highlighting China's pivotal role in South-South clean energy cooperation (Jones and Copsey, 2025). Besides exports, clean energy technologies within China have been the top driver of economic growth in 2023 and 2024 (e.g., Myllyvirta, 2024; Keenan, 2025).

In this process, CEXIM, SINOSURE and CDB play pivotal roles, each serving distinct purposes and complementing one another to bolster international trade and investment. They are crucial in facilitating Chinese enterprises' entry into global markets, enhancing the competitiveness of Chinese products, and supporting national strategies like the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) that seeks to build infrastructure and trade networks across Asia, Europe, Africa, and beyond (CEXIM, n.d.c). Table 1 provides a comparative overview of the three institutions. The subsequent sections outline the respective roles of CEXIM, SINOSURE and CDB, emphasizing their unique contributions.

Table 1: Overview of CEXIM, SINOSURE and CDB.

| Key aspects  | CEXIM   | SINOSURE  | CDB   |
|--|---|---|---|
| Main type of the institution   | ECA and policy bank   | ECA   | Policy bank   |
| Mandate  | Support foreign trade,<br>investment, and<br>international economic<br>cooperation  | Promote foreign trade, cross-border investments and economic cooperation through export credit insurance and investment insurance | Support China's<br>economic development<br>in key industries and<br>underdeveloped sectors                |
| Main instruments of financial support  | Preferential loans for<br>Chinese companies<br>operating abroad,<br>preferential export<br>buyers' credits,<br>international<br>guarantees, loans for<br>overseas investment,<br>concessional loans for<br>foreign aid projects | Export buyer's credit,<br>insurance, guarantee,<br>overseas investment,<br>project financing                                      | Long-term non-<br>concessional loans,<br>project financing,<br>overseas investment,<br>equity investments |
| Total assets as of 2023  | USD 6.38 trillion   | USD 197.58 billion  | USD 18.65 trillion  |
| Volume and share<br>of export finance<br>in commitments<br>outstanding (2013-2021) | USD 278.64 billion<br>(32.4%)   | USD 854.75 billion (92%)  | USD 230 billion (8.7%)  |

Source: Rudyak, 2020; CDB, 2024b, n.d.; CEXIM, 2024, n.d.b; SINOSURE, 2024a, n.d.

Note: CDB does not disclose the breakdown of domestic versus overseas commitments as shown in the last row. Thus, figures from OCI's Public Finance for Energy Database have been chosen as the best available proxy.

## 2.2. Overview of the institutional architecture of Chinese export finance

CEXIM, SINOSURE and CDB are the largest public financiers for energy sector projects worldwide (>USD 200 billion in 2013-2022; OCI, 2024c). As completely state-owned institutions, they directly report to and are under the jurisdiction of the State Council (Rudyak, 2020; Chen and Liu, 2023) (see Figure 3). As financial institutions, they are regulated and given oversight by the National Financial Regulatory Administration (NFRA). Chinese ministries also play important roles in coordinating export finance activities. In the case of CEXIM, for example, both the Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM) and the Ministry of Finance are on CEXIM's board but have no jurisdiction over it. Besides, all of CEXIM's overseas financing are monitored and approved by MOFCOM or the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) depending on the size, sector and geography. CEXIM's export credits also need to be approved by MOFCOM (Gallagher and Qi, 2021).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Previously the China Banking and Insurance Regulatory Commission.

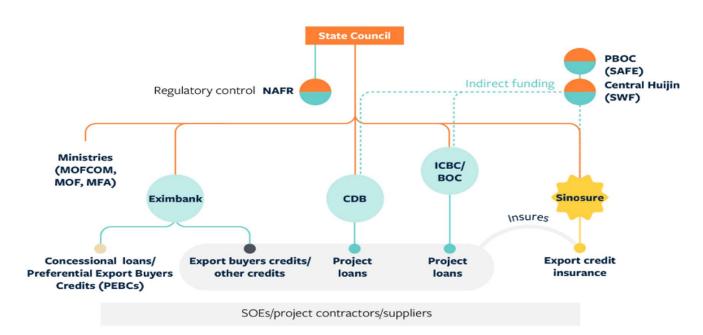


Figure 3: The institutional architecture of China's overseas lending.

Source: Chen and Liu (2023).

Without MOFCOM's approval, an overseas project cannot receive financial support from Chinese banks and insurance companies. Besides, as the NDRC manages Chinese companies' outward direct investment, domestic firms related to overseas projects need to register with the NDRC or its provincial administrations before they can apply for financial support from these entities. State-owned enterprises (SOEs), the crucial carrier of export finance and implementor of China's overseas projects, are guided and supervised by the State-Owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission (SASAC; Chen, 2020, p. 451). Additionally, the official international development institution of the country, China International Development Cooperation Agency (CIDCA), can supervise and evaluate the implementation of overseas infrastructure projects that are financially backed by ECAs or CDB (Asia Society Policy Institute, 2022).

Notably, Chinese ECAs and the export-related policy bank maintain close ties with the country's Sovereign Wealth Funds (SWF), particularly through the China Investment Corporation (CIC) and the State Administration of Foreign Exchange (SAFE). Central Huijin Investment Ltd. is one of CIC's three subsidiaries, which represents the government as an investor in key state-owned financial institutions and aims to increase the value of state-owned financial assets (CIC, n.d.). As of 2024, Central Huijin is the largest shareholder of SINOSURE (73.6%) and the second biggest of CDB (34.68%). The institutional ties were further strengthened in late 2024 when the former CEXIM chairman became chairman of both Central Huijin and CIC (Central Huijin, 2024; Dou, 2024). While maintaining these connections, Central Huijin "does not intervene in the day-to-day business operations of the firms in which it invests." (Central Huijin, n.d.).

SAFE's fully funded subsidiary, the Buttonwood Investment Holding Company Ltd., has also been a major stakeholder in China's export credit system. It holds an 89.26% controlling stake in CEXIM and a 27.19% stake in CDB (CDB, 2023a; CEXIM, 2024b). In 2014, CIC, together with the Buttonwood, CDB and CEXIM, jointly established the Silk Road Fund - a Sovereign Development Fund with an explicit geo-economic strategic mission (Mose et al., 2022) - to support high-quality BRI cooperation (Silk Road Fund, n.d.). This network of cross-shareholding and collaboration reveals the sophisticated institutional structure supporting China's export credit system.

Within its international public financing landscape, China-led global initiatives play a key part in delivering the commitments. In 2013, President Xi Jinping launched the BRI (see further Text Box 2) to provide development finance to countries of the Global South. Together, CDB, CEXIM and SINOSURE work in close coordination to advance the BRI ambition. CDB provides mid- and long-term, large-volume financing for overseas projects, while CEXIM supports Chinese companies' export and import activities with financial services. SINOSURE complements these efforts by offering export credit insurance and underwriting against non-payment risks, thereby facilitating financing from banks. Now, CDB and CEXIM have become the major capital suppliers of BRI projects, providing 45% of all BRI funding (Rudyak, 2020).

### **Text Box 2: Belt and Road Initiative.**

The BRI is a strategy initiated in 2013 by President Xi Jinping that seeks to connect Asia with Africa, Europe and beyond via land and maritime networks to improve regional integration, increase trade and stimulate economic growth. As a strategically significant initiative, pursuing BRI was incorporated into the Constitution of the Communist Party of China in 2017 (Xinhua, 2017). Up to at least 2018, the BRI has been associated with a very large programme of investments in infrastructure development for ports, roads, railways and airports, as well as power plants and telecommunications networks, of which CDB and CEXIM accounted for almost half (45%) of all financing (Rudyak, 2020). SINOSURE, meanwhile, has been instrumental for PRI in BRI partner countries. The BRI is heavily dependent on PRI to channel investment into partnering developing countries (Alschner, 2025; see further section 2.3).

Since 2018, however, BRI investment volumes have declined, dropping from more than USD 50 billion in 2018 to roughly USD 20 billion in 2021 (Ray, 2023). Then, it showed a returning trend with almost USD 50 billion in 2023 invested (Nedopil Wang, 2024). The BRI now places increasing emphasis on 'high quality investments', including through greater use of project finance, risk mitigation tools, and green finance (EBRD, 2024). The 'Opinions on Jointly Promoting Green Development of the Belt and Road' was issued in 2022, aiming to enhance cooperation on climate change and green finance, and encourage PFIs to implement the Green Investment Principles (GIP) for the Belt and Road Development (BRIGC, 2022). The GIP aims to promote green BRI investment at three levels: strategy, operations and innovation. It includes seven principles to encourage signatories to incorporate sustainability into decision-making, disclose environmental information and utilise green financial instruments (GIP, n.d.).

Besides the BRI, China has actively sought to export its development model on a larger scale in recent years. The Global Development Initiative (GDI; 全球发展倡议), proposed in 2021, identified development finance and green financing as priorities, to promote "full and effective implementation of the Paris Agreement" (MFA, 2021, p.4). The 'South-South Climate Cooperation Fund' was established in 2015 and is now managed by CIDCA, aiming to provide USD 20 million per year to support developing countries in climate actions. In 2017, the Chinese government announced a replenishment of USD 1 billion to the fund, accelerating the role of public finance in reducing GHG emissions (Belt and Road Energy Cooperation, 2018; CIDCA, n.d.).

## 2.3. CEXIM - ECA and Policy Bank

Also established in 1994, CEXIM is a state-owned policy bank, while it also functions as a major ECA since CEXIM provides extensive financing support for Chinese companies' overseas activities. In general, policy banks refer to large state-run financial institutions that support and promote the policy objectives of the Government, primarily source their funds by issuing long-term bonds which are state-guaranteed and under 'zero-risk weighting'. In most countries, policy banks are subordinate to government bodies that coordinate bilateral and multilateral lending. For instance, Germany's development bank *Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau* (KfW), the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC), and the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC) of the United Kingdom operate under their respective development or finance ministries, where staff rotations are common among national bilateral, multilateral, and international multilateral institutions (Rudyak, 2020). In China, however, a clear boundary exists between bilateral and multilateral activities, which exempts policy banks from the jurisdiction of certain ministerial institutions. CEXIM is not supposed to make a profit (in contrast to CDB) and receives the same credit ratings as China's sovereign rating (CEXIM, n.d.b). This high level of credibility enables policy banks to disburse long-term, large-volume loans for their capital output (Chen, 2018).<sup>10</sup>

As one of the world's largest export finance actors, CEXIM is dedicated to supporting China's foreign trade, investment, and international economic cooperation. The policy bank can cover up to 85% of a project's overall costs (Reuters, 2024). CEXIM provides a range of services including preferential loans for Chinese companies operating abroad, preferential export buyers' credits, international guarantees, loans for overseas investment, and concessional loans for foreign aid projects (e.g. European Parliament, 2011; CEXIM, n.d.a). The bank is instrumental in facilitating Chinese enterprises' entry into global markets, enhancing the competitiveness of Chinese products (incl. infrastructure), and supporting national strategies like the BRI (CEXIM, n.d.c).<sup>11</sup> In 2013-2022, CEXIM provided USD 211 billion for overseas energy projects, and by 2023, the export-related commitments outstanding reached USD 279 billion (CEXIM, 2024b).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> In contrast, commercial banks mostly depend on clients' deposits, which are subject to short-term withdrawal.

But also international industrial capacity and equipment manufacturing cooperation, science and technology and 'going global' endeavours of small and medium enterprises (ibid.).

<sup>(101</sup>d.).

Via its 32 branches in Mainland China, one representative office in Hong Kong SAR, and overseas institutions: Paris Branch, Representative Office for Southern and Eastern Africa, Northern and Western Africa, Poland, Chile, Russia and Uzbekistan (CEXIM, 2023b, 2024b).

**Table 2: Overview of CEXIM.** 

| Key facts CEXIM                       |  |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| Туре                                  | State-owned ECA and policy bank (89.26% Buttonwood Investment Holding Company Ltd., 10.74% Ministry of Finance)  |  |
| Main sectors*                         | Energy-related infrastructure (power plant, transmission, distribution), transportation, mining, equipment manufacturing, digital and telecommunication (not obliged to disclose details)  |  |
| Geographic activity concentration*    | 90+ countries in Southeast Asia, South Asia, Central Asia, West Asia, Africa, Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe, Pacific Island countries**   |  |
| Commitments outstanding*              | USD 859 billion<br>Export-related: USD 278.64 billion <sup>13</sup>  |  |
| New commitments*                      | USD 62.69 billion  |  |
| Main instruments of financial support | Short-term, mid-term and long-term loans approved for foreign trade and 'going global' endeavours, including export credit, import credit, loans for offshore contracts and overseas investment, Chinese government concessional loans and preferential export buyers' credit*** |  |

Source: Authors, based on CEXIM (2024b, n.d.c)

Note: (\*) = Data for 2023. (\*\*) = CEXIM does not provide any more information on this. (\*\*\*) = For a comprehensive list of its business scope, see CEXIM (2023c).

Figure 4 illustrates the governance structure of CEXIM. Overall, the Board of Directors is made up of 13 directors, including three executive directors (incl. Chairman of the Board) and ten non-executive directors which include four ministry or commission-appointed directors and six equity directors (e.g. CEXIM, 2023a). According to CEXIM's (2023) White Paper on Green Finance:

- (1) Its Board of Directors is leading the ECA's green finance endeavours, e.g. by reviewing its development plan and setting out strategic goals for green finance;
- (2) The senior management team is responsible for overseeing the same, approving policies and measures of green credit management;
- (3) Under the senior management team, a specialised committee is in charge of building and developing environmental and social risk management systems, coordinating efforts and approving regulations for identifying, assessing, monitoring, controlling, mitigating and measuring these risks.

This figure consists of: Loans for Export of Goods (USD 107 billion), Loans for Export of Services (USD 1.8 billion), Overseas Investment Loans (USD 31.9 billion), International Cooperation Business (USD 133.9 billion; CEXIM, 2024b).

**Board of Supervisors Board of Directors Top Executives** Strategic Development and **Investment Management Committee Strategy Committee Product Management Committee** Personnel and Remuneration Committee **Fintech Committee** Risk Management and Internal **Connected Transactions Control** (Digital Transformation Committee) **Control Committee** Committee Assest and Liability Management **Financial Review Committee** Risk Management Committee Committee Credit Review and Approval Credit Review and Approval **Committee for Domestic Customers Committee for Overseas Customers Audit Committee** 

Figure 4: Governance structure of CEXIM.

Source: CEXIM (n.d.d).

## 2.4. SINOSURE - Export Credit Agency

Established in 2001, SINOSURE was created by merging the export credit insurance departments of CEXIM and the People's Insurance Company of China (CCPITGS, 2013). Since then, SINOSURE has been China's official export credit and insurance agency, mandated to promote foreign trade, cross-border investments and economic cooperation (SINOSURE, 2024a). SINOSURE actively works on expanding the coverage of export credit insurance and providing comprehensive risk protection for the exports of Chinese goods, technologies, and services, as well as overseas contracting and investment projects. By safeguarding non-payment risks, SINOSURE enhances the confidence of Chinese exporters and financial institutions, thereby strengthening their capacity to conduct overseas investment initiatives (SINOSURE, n.d.a). Between 2018 and 2022, with ~USD 75 billion in Political Risk Insurance (PRI) globally, whose primary provider (~80%) are ECAs, SINOSURE alone covers as much value as all institutions from members of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee in the Berne Union combined. In 2023, SINOSURE's share was 41% of total public PRI, covering USD 13.7 billion of the total USD 26 billion in new cover provided (UNCTAD, 2025).

**Table 3: Overview of SINOSURE.** 

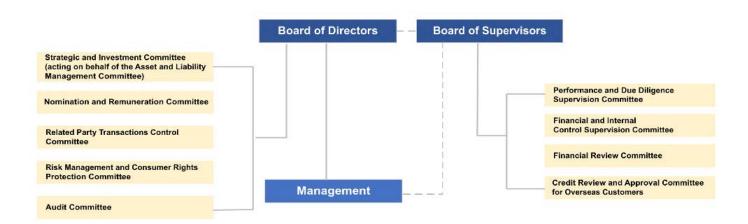
| Key facts SINOSURE                    |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| Туре                                  | 100% state-owned (73.6% Central Hujin/China Investment Corporation, 26.4% Ministry of Finance)   |
| Main sectors*                         | Energy, industry, mining and construction, transport and storage, communications, other social infrastructure and services, general budget support, banking and financial services, action relating to debt, unallocated/unspecified             |
| Geographic activity concentration*    | Angola, Argentina, Belarus, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Viet Nam  |
| Total underwritten amount *           | USD 928.61 billion Export-related: USD 854.75 billion (including short-, medium- and long-term export credit insurance and overseas investment insurance)  |
| New underwritten amount*              | USD 73.85 billion Export-related: USD 73.84 billion (including short-, medium- and long-term export credit insurance and overseas investment insurance)  |
| Main instruments of financial support | Short-, medium- and long-term export credit insurance, bond and guarantee facilities, overseas investment insurance, domestic trade credit insurance, insurance policy financing, (non-)financial guarantees, import advance payment insurance** |

Source: Authors, based on European Parliament (2011); Chen and Liu (2023); SINOSURE (2023); Berne Union (n.d.b).

Note: (\*) = Data for 2023. (\*\*) For a comprehensive overview of SINOSURE's risk management products and services, see Chen and Liu (2023, p.7).

SINOSURE'S Board of Directors has five committees, all of which discharge their responsibilities as mandated by the Board of Directors and report to the Board of Directors (see Figure 5). In 2021, SINOSURE established a Green Finance Development Leading Group, headed by the Chairman, which published a high-level 'Guiding Opinions on Promoting Green Finance' (关于加强绿色金融建设的指导意见) and integrated green finance into SINOSURE's 14<sup>th</sup> Five-Year Plan (SINOSURE, n.d.b).

Figure 5: Governance structure of SINOSURE.



Source: SINOSURE (n.d.b).

## 2.5. CDB - Policy Bank

Established in 1994, CDB is a state-owned policy bank, dedicated to supporting China's economic development in key industries and underdeveloped sectors (Rudyak, 2020). It is also China's major development bank domestically and the world's largest national development bank with total assets of USD 2.63 trillion in 2023 (CDB, 2024c). Despite a dominant share of domestic business, CDB also provides large financial support for overseas activities, amounting to a total of USD 230 billion between 2013 and 2022, with energy sector finance taking around USD 99 billion (Chen, 2020; AidData, 2023; OCI, 2024c). CDB is supposed to make 'modest profits' but prioritises China's political objectives over it (Rudyak, 2020). The policy bank provides extensive financial products including long-term non-concessional loans, export credit, project financing, overseas investment, and equity investments (CDB, n.d.; see Table 4). Although CDB cannot issue official aid loans like CEXIM (see section 2.3), it can provide non-official overseas market-rate commercial loans that support China's overseas development policy purposes in a quasi-official way (UNDP, 2023a).

Table 4: Overview of CDB.

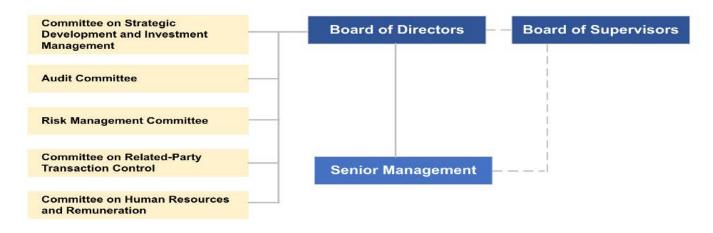
| Key facts CDB                         |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| Туре                                  | 100% State-owned (36.54% Ministry of Finance, 34.68% Central Hujin Investment Ltd./China Investment Corporation, 27.19% Buttonwood Investment Holding Company Ltd., 1.59% National Council for Social Security Fund) |
| Main sectors*                         | Transportation, logistics, energy infrastructure, information infrastructure, water conservancy, urbanization, people's livelihood   |
| Geographic activity concentration*    | Financial activities span across Southeast Asia, South Asia, Central Asia, West Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe**   |
| Commitments outstanding ,*            | USD 2.6 trillion   |
| New commitments *                     | USD 510.4 billion  |
| Main instruments of financial support | Middle and long-term loans (non-concessional), export buyer's credit, project financing, overseas investment, equity investments   |

Source: Authors, based on CDB (2023, p. 20, 2024b, n.d.)

Note: (\*) = Data for 2023. (\*\*) = CEXIM does not provide any more information on this.

Figure 6 illustrates the organisational structure of CDB. Overall, the Board of Directors is made up of 13 directors, including three executive directors (incl. Chairman of the Board), and four government agency directors (CDB, 2024c). According to CDB's Annual Report, the Board of Directors is guiding the directions by reviewing development strategies, annual business operation plans and investment plans, etc. The Board of Directors has five committees, all of which discharge their responsibilities as mandated by the Board of Directors and report to the Board of Directors. The Senior Management team is responsible for making operational plans, ensuring implementation, and strengthening management, to fulfil the business goal set by the Board of Directors (ibid.).

Figure 6: Governance structure of CDB.



Source: CDB (2023).

# 3. Climate-related policies in Chinese export finance

In 2016, China was one of the first major countries to ratify the Paris Agreement. In September 2020, President Xi Jinping announced at the UN General Assembly (UNGA, 2020) that China aims to have a "[CO<sub>2</sub>] emissions peak before 2030 and to achieve carbon neutrality before 2060". These targets were incorporated into the 14<sup>th</sup> Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development of the People's Republic of China and the Outline of Long-term Goals for 2035 as the dual goals of 'carbon peaking' and 'carbon neutrality' (e.g., CEXIM, 2023b). Since recent data suggests that China's 2030 target might already be reached by 2025, the country has increasingly been considered to have great potential of accomplishing its 2060 target much earlier than committed (e.g., Climate Action Tracker [CAT], 2024). In September 2021, President Xi Jinping announced at the 76<sup>th</sup> UNGA that China would not build new coal-fired power projects abroad and pledged to step up support for other developing countries in developing green and low-carbon energy (United Nations, 2021). Despite being responsible for as much as 60% of new RE capacity that is expected to become operational globally by 2028 (IEA, 2024), China has also been expanding fossil fuels such as coal to provide domestic energy stability and security.<sup>17</sup> In 2023, China released its Methane Action Plan (IGSD, 2023), a joint statement on climate cooperation (WRI, 2023) and supported the COP28 goal to triple installed RE capacity globally by 2030 (UNFCCC, 2023a).

In July 2024, the Third Plenum of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee was held, a five-yearly meeting that typically shapes the country's policy direction for years to come. For the first time in a plenum document, "concerted efforts to cut carbon emissions" were called for, and the need to "actively respond to climate change" was included (Patel, 2024). At the heart of this narrative is the concept of 'New Quality Productive Forces' (新质生产力), which emphasises green development as a core element of high-quality growth, encouraging the full play of green finance's catalytic role (Xinhua, 2024b). Prior to COP29, China issued its first Energy Law, which sets clear goals for clean energy development and consumption (Liu, 2024). In March 2025, after the annual 'Two Sessions' (两会), China issued comprehensive guidelines to accelerate its environmental protection equipment manufacturing sector, which explicitly mentions expanding exports of environmental protection technology and equipment and strengthening green finance support (Xinhua News, 2025). Despite recent geopolitical challenges to multilateralism, China stays deeply committed to the Paris Agreement (e.g., Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, 2025).

Being 100% state-owned and policy-oriented, the three institutions are intrinsically bound to government policies, including broader Chinese climate commitments and guidelines. CEXIM, SINOSURE and CDB have become indispensable in translating top-level concepts like the 'Philosophy of Green Development'(绿色发展理念),<sup>18</sup> 'A Global Community of Shared Future'(人类命运共同体) <sup>19</sup> and 'Xi Jinping Thought on Ecological Civilisation'(习近平生态文明思想)<sup>20</sup> into tangible financial actions (CDB, 2024c; CEXIM, 2024b; SINOSURE, 2024a). More precisely, this includes strengthening top-level governance on green finance, improving green finance management, innovating green financial products, and deepening international cooperation regarding green finance (ibid.). Text Box 3 lists further climate-related commitments and guidelines relevant to ECAs and the export-related policy bank in China.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> In 2024, China approved 66.7 gigawatts (GW) of new coal-fired power capacity; 94.5 GW of new coal power projects started construction and 3.3 GW of suspended projects resumed construction in 2024, the highest level since 2015 (Qin and Shearer, 2025).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Philosophy of Green Development', proposed by President Xi Jinping in 2023, put innovative-driven approach at the core, and bring forward several key areas that should be strengthened to achieve economic and social development (Wang, 2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> A Global Community of Shared Future was proposed with the mission of the wellbeing of all humanity, encourage all to build an open, inclusive, clean and beautiful world that enjoys lasting peace, universal security, and common prosperity, turning people's longing for a better life into reality (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> 'Xi Jinping Thought on Ecological Civilisation' explains the relationship between human beings and nature, environmental protection and economic development, with the mission to build a beautiful China and enable the country's great rejuvenation by mid-century (Kuhn, 2022).

## Text Box 3: Selected climate-related commitments and guidelines for the three institutions.

- In February 2025, the NFRA and PBOC jointly issued the 'Implementation Plan for High-Quality Development of Green Finance in the Banking and Insurance Industry' (银行业保险业绿色金融高质量 发展实施方案). This blueprint emphasised the diversification of green finance products especially for clean energy projects, aiming to promote the investments to shift toward low-carbon assets (NFRA, 2025).
- In October 2024, the NDRC and five agencies jointly issued the 'Guiding Opinions on Vigorously Implementing the Renewable Energy Substitution Initiative'(关于大力实施可再生能源替代行动的指导意见). These Opinions mention to strengthen green energy cooperation with BRI partner countries and promote the establishment of a number of best-practice green energy projects (NDRC, 2024b).
- In September 2024, China released the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) Beijing Action Plan (2025-2027) (中非合作论坛-北京行动计划[2025-2027]), in which the country committed to helping develop 30 clean energy projects and encourage more investments in utilising RE across Africa (Patel, 2024).
- In August 2024, the State Council released the 'Guidance on Accelerating Comprehensive Green Transformation of Economic and Social Development'(关于加快经济社会发展全面绿色转型的意见). Regarding international cooperation, it emphasised strengthening green trade and investment cooperation, improving the environmental sustainability of overseas projects, and encouraging the import and export of green and low-carbon products (Xinhua News, 2024).
- In May 2024, the People's Bank of China (PBC) released the 'Guidelines on Financial Supporting for Green and Low-carbon Development' (关于进一步强化金融支持绿色低碳发展的指导意见) which aim to enhance green credit support for overseas financing, improve green finance standards and information disclosure, and promote green investment in BRI partner countries (PBC, 2024).
- In February 2024, the NDRC released the 2024 edition of the 'Catalogue of Industries for Green and Low-carbon Transition'(绿色低碳转型产业指导目录), offering new directions to banks and financial institutions on facilitating financial tools like green bonds at home and abroad (NDRC, 2024a).
- In October 2023, China launched the 'Green Investment and Finance Partnership' (GIFP), which promises to help BRI partner countries develop green and low-carbon projects and match those projects with Chinese financiers. It also aims to explore innovative green financing mechanisms, especially blended finance (BRIGC, 2023; Gallagher et al., 2023).
- In May 2023, CDB together with CEXIM, SINOSURE and other financial institutions released the 'Initiative for Supporting Belt and Road Energy Transition with Green Finance'(绿色金融支持"一带一路"能源转型倡议), calling on strengthening support for green and low-carbon energy transition in BRI partner countries (CEXIM, 2023f).
- In January 2022, the 'Planning on Finance Standardisation in the 14th Five-Year Plan Period' (金融标准化"十四五"发展规划) was published, calling for the establishment of a standard system for green finance, and promoting the convergence of green financial standards at home and abroad (The State Council, 2022).
- In July 2021, 'Guidelines for the Green Development of Foreign Investment and Cooperation'(对外投资合作绿色发展工作指引) were jointly issued by MOFCOM and Ministry of Ecology and Environment (MEE). They emphasise the need to embed the green development concept throughout the entire process of foreign direct investment and cooperation. It also marked a step away from following host country standards to follow international green rules and standards (Nedopil Wang and Tang, 2021).

# 4. Alignment of Chinese ECAs with the Paris Agreement

## 4.1. Evolution of Chinese ECA's International Energy Finance

The following analysis of China's energy sector export finance from the three institutions excludes CDB's and CEXIM's domestic and inward financial flows, as well as Official Development Assistance (ODA; e.g., concessional loans and foreign aid), in line with previous assessments of financial institutions by the authors (Perspectives Climate Research, 2025). Overall, since 2017 China has decreased its official export finance substantially in total volume (see Figure 7) and geographic footprint (see Figure 8). Directed by the new investment approach of 'Small and Beautiful'(小而美), it appears that China has been pivoting towards smaller, more sustainable and less financially risky overseas financing activities (Nedopil Wang, 2023; Ray, 2023).

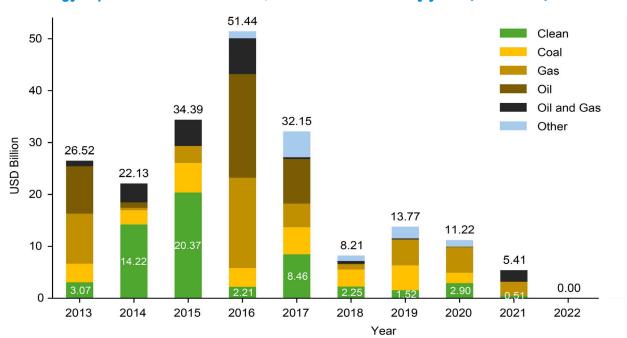


Figure 7: Energy export finance from CEXIM, SINOSURE and CDB by years (2013-2022).

Source: Authors, based on OCI (2024c).

The best-available project-level data<sup>21</sup> suggests a general downward trend for all three institutions across all types of energy, with the positive exception of clean energy. Notably, following Xi Jinping's no new coal power overseas pledge in 2021, no new energy sector finance at all was provided to Global South countries by China in 2022 (Springer et al., 2023). In 2023, Chinese ECAs returned to Africa with nearly USD 2.5 billion in only clean energy finance commitments (hydro and solar), all financed by CEXIM (Lu et al., 2024), which indicates high and increasing potential for China's clean energy support to fill the energy support after withdrawing support to fossil fuels. However, a new 1.3 gigawatt (GW) coal-fired power plant was recorded in Pakistan in the same year (Censkowsky et al., 2025), with CDB and CEXIM providing USD 0.5 billion in loans in total. This new project, reported as 'Thar Coal Block-I power station', will be located in South-Eastern Pakistan and developed as a part of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (IJ Global, 2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> See an in-depth data analysis protocol overview in Annex II.

Geographically, while their energy finance spans across diverse global regions (see Figure 8), the BRI has been at the centre of its landscape. Among the top 15 recipient countries during 2013-2022, a dominant 13 are BRI partner countries (except Brazil and the UK), collectively receiving a significant portion of the energy financing. Notably, clean energy investment was greatly concentrated in several countries (Pakistan, Argentina, the UK, Nigeria and Uganda), with large hydro projects dominating the clean energy portfolio, followed by nuclear.

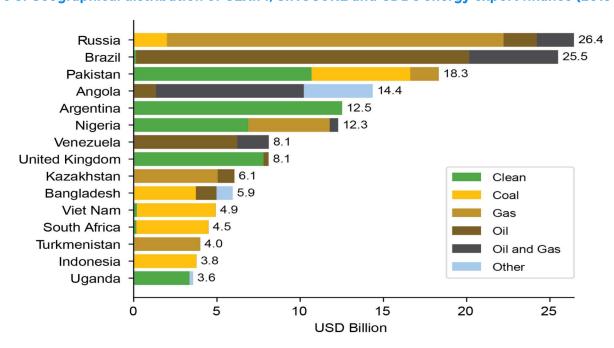


Figure 8: Geographical distribution of CEXIM, SINOSURE and CDB's energy export finance (2013-2022).

Source: Authors, based on OCI (2024c).

In the following, we analyse the progress of CEXIM, SINOSURE and CDB's international energy sector portfolios, policies and governance towards alignment with the Paris Climate Agreement.<sup>22</sup> The analysis follows the framework of Perspectives' ECA Paris alignment methodology based on five criteria – transparency, fossil fuel policies, mitigation across portfolio, climate finance and engagement (Shishlov et al., 2021; Schmidt et al., 2024a).

## 4.2. Transparency - Financial and non-financial disclosure

China has been integrating international disclosure standards while tailoring them to its specific context. For example, the country has already made progress in adopting the recommendations of the former Task Force on Climate-related Financial Disclosures (TCFD; now under the International Sustainability Standards Board [ISSB]), while China's Ministry of Finance (MOF) recently announced its intention to formulate a unified national sustainability disclosure standard (Xinhua, 2024a). Notably, in December 2023, the Insurance Association of China released the first ESG (Environmental, Social, and Governance [ESG]) disclosure guidance for the insurance industry, a step towards standardised sustainability reporting in the financial sector (Ping An Group, 2023) Shanghai, 19 December 2023. In December 2024, China released the 'Corporate Sustainability Disclosure Standards - Basic Standards (trial)' (企业可持续 披露准则——基本准则(试行)) that is in line with the ISSB, aiming to establish national unified standards

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The assessment conducted data analysis for the period of 2013-2022. This timeframe is justified by the launch of the BFI in 2013, which significantly impacts China's export finance strategy.

system by 2030, which aligns with the global trend towards ESG information accessibility (MOF, 2024). These efforts, combined with initiatives like the 'Guidance on Promoting Green Belt and Road' (关于推进 共建"一带一路"绿色发展的意见) and Green Investment and Finance Partnership (GIFP;绿色发展投融资伙伴关系) showcase China's incremental approach to integrating sustainability considerations into its financial system and international engagement.<sup>23</sup>

Despite this progress, public data on the three institutions' energy sector or other international finance is scarce. ECAs and policy banks in China are not obliged to make every single transaction in either sector publicly transparent (Lee and Liu, 2017; Horn et al., 2021). However, the three institutions are all members of the **Green Investment Principles** (GIP; 绿色投资准则) and have to apply these principles to their operations and financial activities (GIP, 2019). Notably, the GIP encourages its members to adopt internationally recognised disclosure standards, such as those from the TCFD, to improve the quality and coherence of climate-related disclosure.

In the case of **CEXIM**, only three branches - Sichuan, Shenzhen, and Guizhou - have published Environmental Information Disclosure Reports, revealing their scope 1, 2, and 3 emissions and the environmental impacts of their financial activities (CEXIM Guizhou Branch, 2024). For instance, the Sichuan Branch reported generating 495.80 tCO<sub>2</sub>e in 2021, while its green credit projects contributed to reducing 0.62 million tCO<sub>2</sub>e. The branch also achieved operational carbon neutrality through the purchase of Certified Emission Reduction (CER) credits (CEXIM Sichuan Branch, 2022). However, the criteria for calculating scope 1, 2 and 3 emissions are not consistent among branches, potentially creating data gaps and comparability issues in the overall environmental assessment. **SINOSURE**, in contrast to CEXIM, has not yet disclosed any information regarding environmental impacts or GHG emissions yet.

CDB started to promote green finance policies and governance as early as 2007. As one of the first banks in China, it developed a green credit strategy to encourage green credit business and to proactively manage the environmental and social risks of credit lines. In 2018, CDB started to annually publish its Sustainability Report (CDB, 2021a). However, as of March 2025, only CDB's Hong Kong Branch published one TCFD Report, publicly disclosing its scope 1 and 2 emissions (261.15 tons of CO<sub>2</sub>-equivalent [t CO<sub>2</sub>e]) besides its GHG intensity (CDB Hong Kong Branch, 2023). So far, CDB's other branches and headquarters only conduct carbon inventories in accordance with relevant national standards to provide support for a comprehensive understanding of its scope 1 & 2 emissions (CDB, 2024b).

Overall, we recommend that all three institutions disclose disaggregated data on their energy finance, including fossil fuels and renewable energy as well as for different steps of the value chain - upstream, midstream and downstream - as done, for example, by the members of the E3F coalition (E3F, 2024c). We also recommend that they extend GHG accounting to cover portfolio-wide scope 1-3 emissions based on international best practices (see further Schmidt et al. 2024a). This also includes adopting a common climate finance definition applicable to all which can build on the EU-China Common Ground Green Taxonomy. Climate finance should be tracked both for new authorisations and total exposure, including finance for clean energy and cross-cutting activities for both mitigation and adaptation. This would also help China with quantifying its voluntary export finance contribution to the New Collective Quantified Goal on Climate Finance (NCQG) of USD 300 billion annually by 2035 (UNFCCC, 2024; see further section 4.5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> For a comprehensive mapping of ESG standards in China, see Urgewald (2024).

<sup>24</sup> Joined by Singapore at COP29. See further https://www.argusmedia.com/en/news-and-insights/latest-market-news/2629146-cop-singapore-joins-eu-china-green-finance-taxonomy.

## 4.3. Fossil fuel policies

During 2013-2022, around USD 132 billion or 68% of the energy finance from the three institutions was directed towards fossil fuel projects (see Figure 9). For those, CDB contributed the largest share (USD 86.2 billion), more than double that of the second-ranked CEXIM. In contrast, clean energy only accounted for 27% of the total, with CEXIM leading with USD 27.5 billion, while CDB and SINOSURE contributed USD 14.2 billion and USD 10.2 billion respectively. Additionally, 5% of total finance was categorised under 'Other' energy types, including unclear or unidentified energy projects. As mentioned above, in September 2021 President Xi Jinping announced at the 76th UNGA that China would stop building coal plants overseas (e.g., Volcovici et al., 2021), which has indeed been abided by in 2022 (OCI, 2024c). In addition, according to the 'Chinese Loans to Africa Database', all of the country's energy financing across Africa went to clean energy in 2023, with a total of USD 2.5 billion (Engel et al., 2024). This contrasts with the ECAs' fossilfuel-dominated portfolio in Africa during 2000-2022, with oil extraction attracting the largest amount of support (Moses, 2024). For O&G, China has no restrictions or even exclusions for investments announced yet.<sup>25</sup>

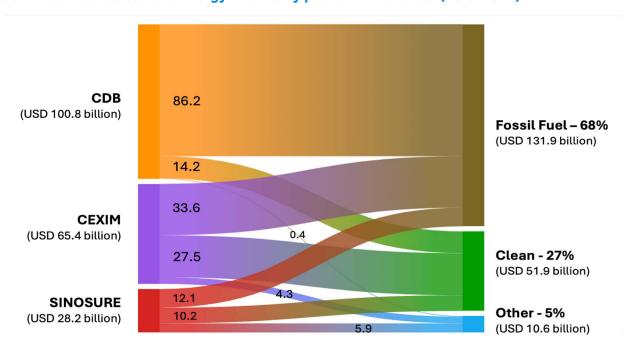


Figure 9: The three institutions' energy finance by provider and sector (2013-2022).

Source: Authors, based on OCI (2024c).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Similar to OECD countries. For a long list of OECD members' violations to commitments to end international public finance for fossil fuels, see https://priceofoil.org/content/uploads/2023/09/Fossil-Fuel-Violations-July-2024.pdf.

During 2021 and 2022, **CEXIM** has not provided new financing for coal plants overseas, aligned with the national commitment and bank policy. According to the 2022 exclusion list of CEXIM, it will not finance projects that involve "coal mining, coal transportation and coal-fired power plants, as well as infrastructure services exclusively dedicated to supporting any of these activities" (CEXIM, 2022, p.18). However, CEXIM - together with CDB - has provided loans for a 1.3 GW coal power plant in Pakistan in 2023 (Censkowsky et al., 2025) while also providing continued support for new O&G projects. Notable recent investments include the provision of financing for Qatar Energy's liquefied natural gas (LNG) carrier fleet expansion in 2024 and the co-financing of Africa's largest floating natural gas liquefaction (FLNG) facility in Mozambique in 2022 - a highly contested project that ranks as the second largest of its kind globally (CEXIM, 2023e, 2024g).

Ever since 2021, **SINOSURE** has halted support for all overseas coal plants and not approved insurance on any new projects, affecting several coal projects such as in Pakistan along the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (e.g., Chen and Liu, 2023). SINOSURE, however, is still involved in and continues supporting new O&G projects. For example, SINOSURE provided USD 2 billion for the East African Crude Oil Pipeline (EACOP) project in Uganda in 2023, a highly contested project aiming to export crude oil from western Uganda (Tilenga and Kingfisher oilfields) to the port of Tanga in eastern Tanzania, which has been criticised for its negative environmental social impacts and ignoring of Indigenous people's rights to prior and informed consent (e.g., Biryabarema, 2023; Wanzala and Bendana, 2023).

CDB, in line with President Xi Jinping's 2021 pledge to end overseas coal financing, has ceased financing for new coal-fired power plants in 2022 (OCI, 2024c). However, besides the above-mentioned coal power plant in Pakistan in 2023, the bank also continues to maintain its involvement in overseas O&G projects. A notable example is the completion of an oil pipeline project in northeastern Thailand in August 2023, marking it CDB's first energy infrastructure project in the country that was financed by an international consortium (CDB, 2023d).

Oversell, we recommend that CEXIM, SINOSURE and CDB consistently implement the 'No New Coal Overseas' pledge proposed by President Xi, thus ceasing the financial support for the 1.3 GW coal power plant in Pakistan and excluding financing for all coal projects in the future. Not resuming coal support abroad should be in China's economic and social self-interest, avoiding the risk of investing in stranded assets and causing environmental degradation (Ma, 2022; Semieniuk et al., 2022; Lu et al., 2023.) Moreover, we recommend extending coal restrictions to other steps of the value chain – such as mining – and other coal use, such as metallurgical coal. The Chinese government, the ECAs and CDB should all also reconsider their support to O&G projects abroad, first and foremost for highly contested ones like EACOP and Mozambique LNG for their negative environmental impacts (e.g., Biryabarema, 2023; Wanzala and Bendana, 2023). They can follow the lead of UK Export Finance (UKEF), which was previously involved in O&G in Uganda but withdrew its financing commitment for EACOP in 2021, as part of a government policy to end all fossil fuel support overseas (e.g. Gerretsen, 2021). This also led UKEF to re-considering its USD 1.15 billion financing for Mozambique LNG (e.g., Paraskova, 2025). Finally, the three Chinese institutions can still explore the opportunity of early decommissioning fossil fuel infrastructure similar to UKEF (see further Schmidt et al. 2024a).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> As have 20 private banks so far. See further https://www.stopeacop.net/our-news/seven-financiers-abandon-totalenergies-eacop-pipeline-in-a-week.

## 4.4. Climate impact of and emission reduction targets for all activities

In the early years, China-financed energy projects were always accompanied by concerns of environmental and social risks such as deforestation and violation of indigenous people's rights (Yang and Ray, 2021). Since 2020, however, China – in addition to host country standards – officially complies with international standards and conventional requirements in project construction, which is expected to reduce environmental and social impacts of ECAs' financing activities (see further Nedopil Wang and Tang, 2021). Moreover, CEXIM, SINOSURE and CDB have been closely following the guidance of the national 'Dual Carbon' (双碳) goals, which is to achieve carbon peak by 2030 and carbon neutrality by 2060.

As of the time of publication (April 2025), CEXIM has not established explicit GHG emissions reduction targets, but it has declared alignment with China's 'Dual Carbon' goals (CEXIM, 2023c). In 2023, CEXIM developed an internal, unpublished 'Dual Carbon' roadmap and timeline, following its 2021 commitment to the 'Joint Initiative of China's Banking Industry to Support the Achieving Carbon Peak and Carbon Neutrality Goals'(中国银行业支持实现碳达峰和碳中和目标的联合倡议) (CEXIM, 2023d). Similarly, SINOSURE has not made explicit GHG reduction targets and instead aims to integrate China's 'Dual Carbon' goals into its development (SINOSURE, 2024b).

CDB, through its 2021 'Action Plan for Implementing Green and Low-carbon Finance to Support Carbon Peaking and Carbon Neutrality' ("实施绿色低碳金融战略 支持碳达峰碳中和行动方案"), established its first-ever climate targets. The bank commits to achieving a 'double peak' of both its financial and operational activities' carbon emissions by 2030. This commitment extends further to achieving 'double neutrality' by 2060 (CDB, 2021b). To achieve these targets, in 2023, CDB implemented a green and low-carbon finance strategy while refining its green finance management mechanisms. It now actively promotes the establishment of a '1+N+x+y' policy system'<sup>27</sup> to support the 2030 and 2060 targets (The State Council, 2021; CDB, 2024b).

We recommend that CEXIM, SINOSURE and CDB establish science-based, portfolio-wide GHG emission targets (scope 1-3) that go beyond the 'Dual Carbon' goals, in line with international best practice (see further Schmidt et al. 2024a). Learning from other ECAs such as UKEF, we further recommend developing sectoral GHG emissions reduction targets to align with the Paris Agreement. Ideally, these sectoral targets should be made public and be reiterated in annual reports as well as key policy documents amended to reflect these targets.

# 4.5. Climate finance: Positive contribution to the global climate transition

In recent years, China has made significant strides in green finance, <sup>28</sup> which provided an enabling environment for greening export finance, complemented by clean technology development. With the cross-ministerial coordination of MEE, MOF, NDRC, NFRA and PBC, a comprehensive green finance policy landscape has been gradually evolving in China, which offers a conducive regulatory environment (Urgewald, 2024; see further Text Box 3). Green financial instruments have seen substantial growth, with green loans reaching an outstanding balance of USD 4.26 trillion by the end of 2023, marking a 36.5% yearly increase (Zhang et al., 2024). The green bond market has also shown promising development, with China becoming a top global market in 2023 (Wu and Ramos, 2024). Additionally, the country has also

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> 'I' refers to CDB's Action Plan for Implementing Green and Low-carbon Finance to Support Carbon Peaking and Carbon Neutrality; 'N' represents various sectoral guiding documents for implementation; 'x' stands for regional plan, while 'y' refers to the specialized service plans for major customers.

Reither 'green finance' nor 'climate finance' are unambiguously defined terms (see for instance Shishlov and Censkowsky, 2022). In China, 'green finance' is used much more commonly, thus serving as the best-available proxy for this section.

progressed in areas such as green insurance and transition finance, with green insurance reaching USD 65.6 trillion and transition-related bonds standing at USD 9 billion by 2024 (Zhang et al., 2024; Yue and Nedopil Wang, 2025). Complementing these developments, China has become a global powerhouse of clean energy technology, particularly the 'New Three' industries, with the clean energy sector contributing USD 1.9 trillion in 2024 (2023: USD 1.6 trillion; Myllyvirta, 2024), or 10% of China's GDP (Keenan, 2025).

Further, a first-of-its-kind assessment found that China already provided and mobilised climate finance<sup>29</sup> of ~USD 45 billion between 2013 and 2022, though China and its ECAs had no obligations to contribute to the former USD 100 billion climate finance goal (Liu et al., 2024). This makes China the joint 5th-largest climate finance provider after Japan, Germany, the US and France (Lin, 2024). After bilateral (38%) and multilateral public finance (34%), export finance represents 26% of all Chinese climate finance. Before 2020, the share of export finance was significantly higher, but since then, hardly any new export finance (and bilateral public finance) has been accounted as climate finance (Liu et al., 2024). In fact, in 2023, all three institutions were absent from the list of the top 15 ECAs providing the most support for RE projects globally (Ivey, 2024), which makes up an important component of climate finance. This contrasts with other major Asian economies. For instance, Japan's Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) and Nippon Export and Investment Insurance (NEXI), along with South Korea's Trade Insurance Corporation (KSURE) and the Export-Import Bank of Korea (KEXIM), provided USD hundreds of millions each (ibid.).30 Thus, there is room for improving Chinese ECAs' and policy bank's climate finance contributions compared to its international peers, given that emerging economies like China are now expected to voluntarily contribute to the NCQG of at least USD 300 billion in public climate finance by 2035 (e.g., Liu et al., 2024). Considering that almost 10% of current global climate finance is threatened by aid cuts by US President Trump (Gabbatiss, 2025), China could play a much bigger role in financing the energy transition and curbing global GHG emissions in line with the Paris Agreement, particularly via clean energy exports. In order to achieve that, CEXIM, SINOSURE and CDB have various green financial instruments at their disposal (see Table 5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> In the assessment, the authors use the definition of climate finance aligned with the UNFCCC Standing Committee on Finance's Biennial Assessment and Overview of Climate Finance Flows: "Climate finance aims at reducing emissions, and enhancing sinks of greenhouse gases and aims at reducing vulnerability of, and maintaining and increasing the resilience of, human and ecological systems to negative climate change impacts".

<sup>30</sup> JBIC ranked 1st among all ECAs, with USD 4.35 billion invested in RE. Following are NEXI (ranked 5th) with USD 997 million, KSURE (11th) with USD 219 million and KEXIM (13th) with USD 136 million invested in RE in 2023 (ibid.). Perspectives Climate Research (2025) has already assessed Japanese and South Korean ECAs in 2021 and 2023 respectively, with less positive results based on data from previous years.

Table 5: Overview of ECAs' most important green financing instruments.

| Туре                                    | Instrument  | Chinese<br>ECAs | Advanced<br>OECD-ECAs   |
|---|---|-----------------|---|
| Traditional<br>instruments              | Official export buyer's credit (pure cover ECAs)  | Ø               | Ø   |
|   | Credit insurance and guarantee (pure cover ECAs)  | Ø               | Ø   |
|   | Short-, medium- or long-term loans (multi-purpose ECAs)   | Ø               | $\square$   |
|   | Overseas investment (multi-purpose ECAs)  | Ø               | Ø   |
| 'Greened'<br>traditional<br>instruments | Smaller premium or interest rate, longer repayment periods of loans for green deals and projects (e.g., OECD)   | Ø               | Ø   |
|   | Green export credit guarantees with relaxed/<br>differentiated underwriting criteria (e.g., Sweden's<br>EKN)  | d               | d   |
|   | Green insurance with higher maximum insured amounts for green deals (e.g., OECD)  |                 | Image: section of the content of the |
|   | Green cover (e.g. the Dutch Atradius DSB)   |                 | $\square$   |
| Selected<br>novel green<br>instruments  | Sustainable finance (e.g., Bpifrance's 'Bonus Climat', UKEF's Clean Growth Direct Lending Facility, and EIFO's venture capital funds for 'green' start-ups) | ď               | Image: section of the content of the |
|   | Transition finance support for green small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) (e.g., UKEF)  |                 | ď   |
|   | Blended finance to leverage additional resources for climate-related investment   |                 | Ø   |
|   | Risk-sharing arrangements for large-scale green projects  |                 | Ø   |
|   | Green (thematic) funds to expand green financing capacity (e.g., Dutch Atradius DSB's green shipping fund and green risk fund, EIFO's Green Future Fund)    |                 | Ø   |

Note: For the comparisons above, we have assessed ECAs of twelve OECD countries between 2021 and 2024, including Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, South Korea, Sweden, United Kingdom and United States. Source: Authors, based on E3F (2024b); Schmidt et al. (2024a); Perspectives Climate Research (2025).

<sup>31</sup> As of March 2025, UKEF has been considering expanding its Transition Export Development Guarantee from large exporters to SMEs, as clarified in an exchange between UKEF and the authors.

Via diverse financing instruments, ECAs can increase their global clean energy support. For example, depending on their mandate, ECAs can generally support clean energy via direct lending to exporters or their customers, and provide credit guarantees or insurance to reduce the cost of financing and attract additional private and public sources of finance. 'Greening' such traditional instruments is a common practice, including offering relaxed underwriting criteria, longer repayment periods, and higher maximum insured amounts for green projects. Additionally, ECAs have expanded their offerings to include also more innovative instruments, such as **green funds** (investment vehicles dedicated to environmentally sustainable projects), **blended finance** (combining public and private capital to fund initiatives), and **transition finance** (supporting the shift towards low-carbon operation in industries not yet fully green). While China has embraced some 'greened' instruments, the absence of novel green instruments in Chinese ECAs' toolkits indicates potential areas for future development.

#### **CEXIM**

CEXIM has achieved important progress in recent years on green finance policies, governance and cooperation. The ECA aims to direct credit resources toward green and low-carbon sectors, among others by setting up fast approval processes for green projects and implementing a policy to reduce Funds Transfer Pricing (FTP)<sup>32</sup> for green loans. In 2024, CEXIM issued four green bonds totalling USD 1.18 billion, with the third bond complying with the EU-China Common Ground Taxonomy (CEXIM, 2024n). The Common Ground Taxonomy serves as a bridge between the EU Taxonomy and China's green finance classification system, identifying areas of overlap in climate mitigation activities (IPSF, 2022). In the same year, CEXIM supported green economic development in Central and Eastern Europe by providing credit guarantees for three overseas green bonds through its Credit Guarantee and Investment Facility (CGIF; CEXIM, 2024d).

In 2023, CEXIM established a **Green Finance Committee**, and formulated the **Principles for the Green Finance Committee**. It also revised the **Green Credit Guidelines** to further enhance its ESG risk management and green credit management throughout the lifecycle of credit businesses (CEXIM, 2024b). Previously, CEXIM adopted the **Green Finance Work Plan (2022-2025)** to establish a framework for sustainable practices, including institutional structure, policies and regulations, product system, risk management, international cooperation, enabling technology and marketing mechanisms. Around the same time, CEXIM released its **Green Financing Framework**, which instructs the bank to evaluate and select green financing transactions, aiming to direct more resources into green and low-carbon areas (CEXIM, 2022, p.8).

In 2021, CEXIM stated in its 14<sup>th</sup> Five-Year Plan that "[promoting] greening and [achieving] new development through low-carbon transformation" will be among the bank's major development goals (CEXIM, 2022, p.7). To deliver the goal, CEXIM identified green finance as one of its five key supporting areas, proposing to actively develop green credit, and promote innovative financial products such as green bonds, carbon neutrality bonds, and carbon emissions trading, etc. (CEXIM Shenzhen Branch, 2023). In 2020, CEXIM established a special leading group on sustainable development which is responsible for coordinating green finance, environmental protection, and ecological civilisation-related work (CEXIM Shenzhen Branch, 2023).

<sup>32</sup> A financial tool to measure the profitability of different business units, products, or services by assigning costs and benefits to the funds each unit uses or generates (e.g., Young, 2024).

In 2017, CEXIM issued a green bond worth USD 296 million to investors worldwide via Bond Connect.<sup>33</sup> All the funds raised were used to support projects of green industries listed in the 'Catalogue of Green Bond Endorsed Projects' (绿色债券支持项目目录) compiled by the Green Finance Committee of the China Society of Finance and Banking (CEXIM, 2023c). Back in 2015, CEXIM developed the 'Guidelines on Green Credit', mandating the adoption of environmental risk assessment during credit approval (CEXIM, 2023c).

Specifically for energy, CEXIM already directed 46% of its energy sector support to clean energy projects in 2013-2022 (Figure 10). Geographically, CEXIM's clean energy finance has been distributed widely to nine countries across Asia, Africa and Latin America, with Pakistan receiving the most for its hydro, solar and nuclear projects.

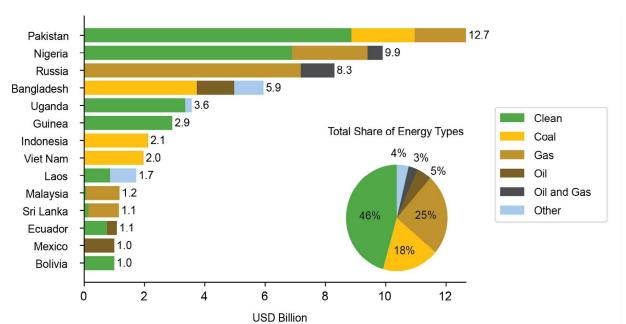


Figure 10: Types of energy finance among CEXIM's top recipient countries (2013-2022).

Source: Authors, based on OCI (2024c).

#### **SINOSURE**

SINOSURE's commitment to environmental governance dates back to 2007 when it began incorporating environmental impact risk analysis into its project underwriting process. Its loans are concentrated in a small number of key BRI countries, where the ECA plays a crucial role for PRI (e.g., Alschner, 2025), largely explaining why energy dominates coverage by sector (e.g., Chen and Liu, 2023). The ECA repeatedly emphasised its ambition to increase the proportion of green business in its portfolio, particularly RE via scaling up green guarentees and insurance, and driving product innovation including green bonds (e.g., Chen and Liu, 2023).

In December 2024, SINOSURE published the 'Green Finance Development Strategy' (绿色金融发展战略), outlining six targeted action plans for green credit insurance including promoting the Green BRI (绿色"一带一路"). The strategy sets an ambitious target to increase annual green business underwriting to USD 100 billion by 2029 and establish itself as a key financial instrument for China facilitating international

<sup>33</sup> A market access scheme that allows investors from Mainland China and overseas to trade in each other's bond markets.

low-carbon transition by 2035 (ibid.). In 2023, SINOSURE established an internal system for its green finance work, enhancing the capability to provide green financial services (SINOSURE, 2024a). In the same year, SINOSURE supported USD 59.1 billion of 'green' trade and projects in value (including clean energy sources such as hydro; ibid.). While still small (11% of its new commitments in 2023), this sector is likely to be prioritised more since the BRI recalibrates towards a greener, smaller-scale direction (Chen and Liu, 2023, p.34).

In 2022, SINOSURE formulated the **implementation plan for China Banking and Insurance Regulatory Commission's (CBIRC) green guidelines**, and published projects' classification and clients' label policies according to their green level (SINOSURE, 2023). In the same year, SINOSURE integrated the **EU-China Common Ground Taxonomy** – a bridge between the EU Taxonomy and China's green finance classification system – into its business decisions for identifying green projects (SINOSURE, 2023). In 2021, thanks to a domestic momentum, SINOSURE witnessed an important year of green finance governance, when it established a leading group for promoting green finance, issued the **'Guiding Opinions on Strengthening Green Finance Construction'** (关于加强绿色金融建设的指导意见) and incorporated green finance and green development transformation into top-level institutional policies such as the 14<sup>th</sup> Five-Year Plan (CBIMC, 2022). In 2015, SINOSURE issued environmental assessment review guidelines for its project insurance, marking the beginning of a continuous effort to enhance its environmental impact management system (Li et al., 2022).

In 2013-2022, SINOSURE directed 36% of its energy sector support to clean energy projects in (see Figure 12). Its international energy finance peaked in 2017 and has continuously declined since then (OCI, 2024c), partially explained by the successful stop of new support to coal power plants after 2020. From 2013-2022, SINOSURE showed only a modest increase in funding clean energy projects, suggesting that a significant transition towards Paris-aligned finance has yet to come. This statistic, however, somewhat hides that from 2005 until March 2022, the ECA already supported the exports of more than USD 140 billion worth of solar PV, covering over 40% of China's total solar PV exports (Wang et al., 2023). From 2013-2022, Argentina and Angola were major recipients, primarily for hydropower and nuclear energy, while countries like Nigeria and Vietnam still saw substantial investments in gas and coal (OCI, 2024c). Currently, SINOSURE insures the world's largest PV power station project under construction in Saudi Arabia, covering USD 220 million of value (SINOSURE, 2024e).

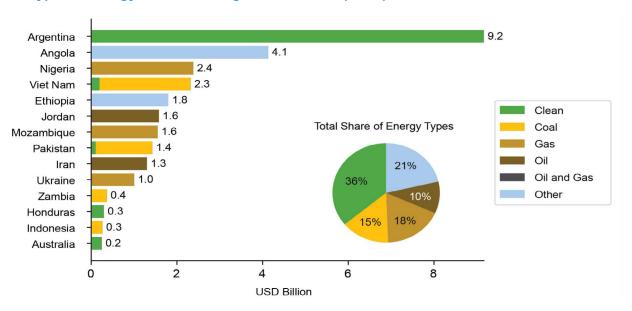


Figure 11: Types of energy finance among SINOSURE's top recipient countries (2013-2022).

Source: Authors, based on OCI (2024c).

#### **CDB**

CDB has recently been strengthening its supply of "a more efficient and high-quality green finance" which focuses on green industry, environmental infrastructure and green technology innovation (CDB, 2024b). At the end of 2023, CDB's balance of green loans reached USD 353 billion. Previously, CDB set the target to expand its green loan portfolio to approximately 30% of total credit assets by 2030 (CDB, 2021b). Specifically for energy, CDB directed 14% of its energy sector support to clean energy projects in 2013-2022 (Figure 12). Geographically, most of the top recipients are Global South countries, with the exception of the UK which received the single-largest clean energy support for a nuclear project. CDB also provided Argentina, Pakistan and South Africa with significant financing for hydro, wind and solar projects.

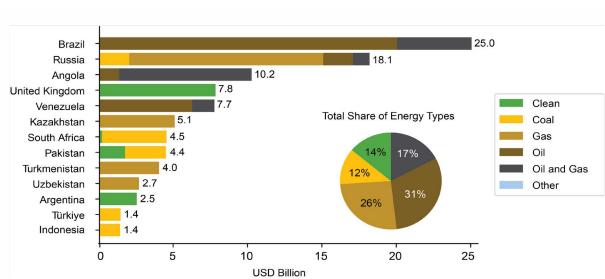


Figure 12: Types of energy finance among CDB's top recipient countries (2013-2022).

Source: Authors, based on OCI (2024c).

Overall, various instruments exist that can help China scale up its overseas clean energy and broader climate finance, further diversifying its exports in line with the 'Dual Carbon' goals as well as importing countries' climate targets and the Paris Agreement (Qin and Shen, 2024). China and its three ECAs also have the potential to diversify clean energy exports beyond the 'New Three' (EVs, REs and batteries) to novel climate technologies and comprehensive clean energy solutions. This could include, for example, climate-resilient RE such as wind turbines that can harness energy even during the strongest hurricanes (e.g., Sankaran, 2024), which would be particularly beneficial to many small island development states. The Chinese government could integrate concepts of 'Ecological Civilisation' (生态文明) and 'New Quality Productive Forces' (新质生产力) into export finance, through renewable energy leadership. To showcase China's approach with Global South characteristics to sustainable development, China can further develop and finance holistic models that combine renewable energy, and climate action with poverty alleviation.

Against the backdrop of the return of protectionism and the backrolling of climate and environmental legislation under President Trump (e.g., Ma, 2025), we recommend that Chinese ECAs focus on expanding their support to global 'green' markets. For example, SINOSURE could be expanding PRI coverage of investments in underrepresented (green) sectors and geographies. Other instruments include extending repayment tenors, lowering the repayment ratio threshold and improving conditions on sourcing flexibility. We also recommend that Chinese ECAs learn from the advanced ECAs from OECD countries that provide targeted instruments for supporting clean energy (Schmidt et al., 2024).

## 4.6. Engagement at National and International Levels

State-owned and policy-oriented, Chinese ECAs and CDB are supposed to adhere to government regulations and therefore can be proactive in their international engagement only to a limited extent, under the jurisdiction of the State Council. This has been summarised by Chen and Liu (2023, p.13) as follows: "While [...] Chinese financial institutions remain norm-takers, their capacity to manage risk is also evolving, and with new priorities emerging around ESG risk and climate." Thus, to contribute to China's climate commitments and 'Dual Carbon' goals, the three institutions are already active in translating the 'Philosophy of Green Development' (绿色发展理念), 'A Global Community of Shared Future' (人类命运共同体) and 'Xi Jinping Thought on Ecological Civilization' (习近平生态文明思想) into financial practices (e.g., CDB, 2024c; CEXIM, 2024b; SINOSURE, 2024a). While not mentioning export finance, the three norms have been adopted to guide China's overseas investment and financing, integrating 'green' aspects into the process of outbound investment and cooperation (e.g., MOFCOM, 2013; State Council, 2023; MFA, 2024).

As an emerging market and developing economy, China has been active in engaging in international climate-related finance and relevant cooperation for a decade. As early as 2015, China established the South-South Climate Cooperation Fund (南南气候合作基金) to support Global South countries in green transitions, including trade and investment facilitation (BRI, 2018; South-South Cooperation Fund, n.d.). In 2023, the Green Investment and Finance Partnership (GIFP; 绿色发展投融资伙伴关系) was announced to help BRI partner countries develop green projects (Gallagher et al., 2023). During the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC; 中非合作论坛) in September 2024, more positive signals for green cooperation emerged. President Xi stated that China will help develop 30 specific clean energy projects and encourage more investments in utilising RE across Africa (Patel, 2024). In an action plan for 2025-2027, 'green development' was recognised as one of the ten dedicated partnership initiatives between China and Africa (FOCAC, 2024). In March 2025, China and France released a joint statement on climate change, which mentioned collective efforts to transition away from fossil fuels and stressed the opportunities for promoting financing and investment in this process (Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, 2025).

Around the same period, China and the UK signed a Clean Energy Partnership MoU to collaborate on various aspects, including nationally determined contributions (NDCs) and energy transition pathways (Government of UK, 2025).

#### **CEXIM**

Domestically, **CEXIM** has established itself as a key 'green' force in China's export finance landscape. Appointed by the National Energy Administration to lead the **Green Finance Working Group of the Belt and Road Energy Partnership Cooperation Network** ("一带一路"能源合作伙伴关系合作网络绿色金融工作组), CEXIM jointly published a research report on promoting green finance in BRI countries, calling on relevant actors' attention (CEXIM, 2024b). The ECA maintains strategic dialogues with major SOE exporters, including China National Petroleum Corporation, China Huaneng Group, and State Grid Corporation of China, consistently emphasising green energy and energy transition aspects (CEXIM, 2022b; 2024j; 2024m). While CEXIM's engagement with domestic CSOs and research institutions has been relatively limited, it recently participated in a high-level discussion co-organised by the Belt and Road International Green Coalition (BRIGC) and the World Resources Institute (WRI) on financing Southeast Asia's energy transition (BRIGC, 2024b).

Internationally, CEXIM continues to expand its impacts through multilateral forums and strategic partnerships. In July 2024, CEXIM held the 12<sup>th</sup> 'CEXIM-EDCF-JICA-NEDA Seminar',<sup>34</sup> which focused on energy transition and combating climate change, emphasising increased attention and support for low-carbon technologies and RE (CEXIM, 2024e). In November 2024, it hosted the 29<sup>th</sup> Asian EXIM Banks Forum Annual Meeting, which brought together 13 ECAs and three multilateral financial institutions. During this meeting, CEXIM established bilateral cooperation agreements with the EXIM banks of Malaysia and Vietnam, particularly focusing on green and low-carbon initiatives (CEXIM, 2024d; CGTN, 2024). Notably, CEXIM convened the 'Three EXIMs High-level Meeting' with JICA and KEXIM, focusing on ESG financing collaboration in third-party markets (CEXIM, 2024i). Also in 2024, CEXIM signed the MoU with the French Development Agency (AFD) to expand collaboration on green finance and other key areas (CEXIM, 2024f).

Previously, CEXIM signed a plethora of international cooperation agreements, such as with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) China, the New Development Bank of BRICS+ countries, the French Engie Group, Saudi Arabia's Public Investment Fund, all featuring future commitments to energy transitions and sustainable finance (CEXIM, 2023a, 2024k, 2024c). CEXIM also maintains regular dialogues with leading international financial institutions during which green finance and climate financing are featured, such as with the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank or the Multilateral Cooperation Centre for Development Financing (CEXIM, 2023b, p. 76, 2024).

### **SINOSURE**

Domestically, **SINOSURE** has been actively interacting with key government bodies, domestic CSOs and research institutions on green practices. In 2022, SINOSURE reached strategic cooperation with MEE, committing to provide green solutions to Chinese exporters and advance the construction of Green BRI (MEE, 2022). Building on this momentum, in 2024, SINOSURE actively participated in seminars led by the BRIGC, contributing expertise on environmental and social policy systems while drawing from international

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> EDCF refers to Economic Development Cooperation Fund (South Korea); JICA is the Japan International Cooperation Agency; NEDA refers to the Neighbouring Countries Economic Development Cooperation Agency (Thailand).

best practices (BRIGC, 2024a). This involvement extended to high-level discussions on regional energy transition, particularly through participation in a BRIGC-WRI seminar focused on financing Southeast Asia's energy transition (BRIGC, 2024b).

Internationally, while SINOSURE has been a member of the **Berne Union** for many years, it has yet to join its **Climate Working Group**, an initiative led by Sweden's ECA EKN since 2022 to advance low-carbon methodologies and innovative financial products (Berne Union, n.d.a). SINOSURE has pursued bilateral partnerships to advance climate objectives, as demonstrated by its 2024 meeting with Japan's NEXI, for instance. This collaboration highlighted the critical role of the ECA in facilitating global energy transition and strengthened cooperation in RE development (SINOSURE, 2024d). Particularly, SINOSURE has demonstrated leadership in South-South cooperation. In 2024, SINOSURE held a seminar on capacity building of ECAs in English-speaking African countries, engaging various institutions such as the Export-Import Bank of Nigeria, Ethiopia, Export Credit Guarantee Corporation of Egypt, and others. The seminar incorporated sessions on green finance development and the Green BRI (SINOSURE, 2024c).

### **CDB**

Domestically, CDB mainly engages with government bodies and relevant ministries in greening finance practices and showed limited engagement with CSOs and research institutions. In 2023, a significant milestone was reached when CDB formalised its partnership with the **China International Development Cooperation Agency** (CIDCA) through a Memorandum of Understanding to advance the GDI (Xinhua, 2023). This collaboration led to the establishment of the GDI Special Fund, which provides financing mechanisms for climate change initiatives and green development projects, including support for Chinese exporters (CDB, 2024a). Together with NDRC and UNDP in China, CDB organised the 'Capacity Building and Knowledge Sharing Workshop on Low Carbon Transition and Green & Sustainable Finance', marking the first step in their trilateral partnership focused on building capacity in energy transition, carbon reduction pathways, and sustainability practices among Chinese government officials and CDB personnel (UNDP, 2023b).

Internationally, CDB has been the leading Chinese financial institution for establishing multilateral frameworks. In 2018, CDB led in establishing the China-Africa Interbank Association (CAIBA) and China-Arab Countries Interbank Association (CDB, 2023c, 2024d). The bank's leadership in establishing the China-Latin America Development Finance Cooperation Mechanism in 2019 has fostered partnerships with eleven national banks, including prominent institutions like the Brazilian Development Bank and Mexico's Export-Import Development Bank for International Trade, with a strong focus on clean energy collaboration (e.g., Xinhua, 2019; CDB, 2023b). In 2020, it signed a Memorandum of Understanding on DFIs' 'Principles for Responsible Financing' with other BRICS countries, 35 to promote green finance and contribute to the implementation of the Paris Agreement (BRICS, 2020). CDB has further strengthened its sustainability initiatives through bilateral partnerships with international organisations. This includes a cooperative agreement with the Green Climate Fund in 2021 focusing on climate project development and climate investment standards (China Daily, 2021), followed by an enhanced partnership with UNDP in

<sup>35</sup> Then including Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.

2022 to align CDB's financial policies with China's climate goals under the 14<sup>th</sup> Five-Year Plan and establish robust regulatory frameworks for sustainable development (UNDP, 2022). Most recently, at the CAIBA Forum 2024 in Nigeria, CDB reinforced its commitment to supporting RE and green development across Africa (CDB, 2024d).

Overall, we recommend that China and OECD countries commence discussions on how to succeed in the OECD-International Working Group (IWG), thus demonstrating a willingness to collaborate in underexplored areas such as export finance transparency and standards. Between 2012 and 2020, the IWG has been negotiating a new set of rules for export credit support (e.g. minimum interest rates, minimum premia or maximum repayment terms of the loan) among OECD countries as well as BRICS countries (Brazil, China, India, Russia and South Africa). However, the IWG has been suspended since 2020 due to a lack of concrete progress and mutual distrust (European Commission, 2020). Recently, after years-long OECD export finance negotiations, the push for ending support for new O&G projects ultimately failed (e.g., Lo, 2025). China and its ECAs' involvement in a successor format to the IWG could be a stimulus to take up this agenda again. We further recommend that China and its ECAs keep strengthening inclusive cooperation and exchange with Global South countries, especially key emerging economies in the green energy supply chain, by actively leading in relevant international for such as FOCAC.

For CEXIM and SINOSURE, as the institutions with the clearest export finance mandate in China, we suggest that it joins the UN-convened Net-Zero Export Credit Agencies Alliance (NZECA), if only as an observer initially, and draws on its target-setting protocol (NZECA, 2024). Thus, they would follow the lead of KazakhExport and Etihad Credit Insurance from the UAE to bring in perspectives beyond OECD countries. Finally, we recommend SINOSURE to join the BU-CWG, to collaborate with its peers on innovative climate-positive financial products and strengthen China's leading role in overseas financing and clean energy technology. We also suggest that CDB together with Chinese ECAs collaborate with OECD peers and join international initiatives such as the Clean Energy Transition Partnership (CETP), to form a new 'level playing field' outside the OECD Arrangement.

## 5. Conclusions and recommendations

In this report, we applied an analytical framework developed by Perspectives Climate Research to understand the extent to which China's ECAs and the export-related policy bank CDB have transitioned their international energy sector portfolios, commitments, strategies and engagement to align with the Paris Agreement objectives. The assessment has shown that CEXIM, SINOSURE and CDB have been making some progress towards Paris alignment in recent years, particularly in terms of phasing out support to coal-fired power plants and developing green finance instruments. However, the Chinese government and the three institutions should continue working on improving transparency, expanding fossil fuel support restrictions beyond coal power and transforming the global export finance system in collaboration with like-minded countries. Greening Chinese export finance further can have significant positive impacts on both climate ambitions and sustainable energy access globally, in line with China's positioning as a champion for the developing world. All recommendations for the Chinese government and three institutions are summarised per criteria in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Summary of key recommendations per assessment dimention.

|                         | Transparency -<br>Financial and non-<br>financial disclosure   | Fossil fuel policies   | Climate impact<br>of and emission<br>reduction targets for<br>all activities   | Climate finance:<br>Positive contribution<br>to the global climate<br>transition   | Engagement  |
|-------------------------|--|--|--|--|---|
| SINOSURE                | <ul> <li>Transparently report on the energy finance portfolio including fossil fuels and clean energy, as well as by steps of the value chain (following the E3F best practice)</li> <li>Consistently extend greenhouse gas accounting to cover portfolio-wide scope 1-3 emissions, across headquarters and all branches</li> <li>Adopt a common climate finance definition applicable to all</li> </ul> | Consistently implement the 'No New Coal Overseas' pledge, exclude financing for all coal projects in the future Consider extending international fossil fuel support restrictions beyond coal Re-consider support for controversial oil and gas projects abroad, for example the EACOP project Explore the opportunity of decommissioning fossil fuel infrastructure early (similar to UKEF) | Establish science-based, portfolio-wide GHG emission targets (scope 1-3) that go beyond the 'Dual Carbon' goals, in line with international best practice     Develop sectoral GHG emissions reduction targets to align with the Paris Agreement | Diversify clean energy exports beyond the 'New Three' to novel climate technologies and comprehensive clean energy solutions.     Expand support to global 'green' markets against the backdrop of the return of protectionism | <ul> <li>As the policy bank with the clearest export finance mandate in China, join the UN-convened Net-Zero Export Credit Agencies Alliance (NZECA)</li> <li>Join the NZECA</li> <li>Join the BU-CWG to collaborate with peers on innovative climate-positive financial product</li> <li>Collaborate with OECD peers and join international initiatives such as the Clean Energy Transition Partnership</li> </ul> |
| Chinese gov-<br>ernment | Quantify China's voluntary export finance contribution to the New Collective Quantified Goal on Climate Finance  | Consider extending<br>international fossil<br>fuel support restric-<br>tions beyond coal<br>power plants   |  | • Integrate concepts<br>of 'Ecological<br>Civilisation' (生态文<br>明) and 'New Quality<br>Productive Forces'<br>(新质生产力) into<br>export finance  | <ul> <li>Keep strengthening inclusive cooperation and exchange with Global South countries</li> <li>Commence discussions on how to succeed the OECD International Working Group</li> <li>Explore the possibility of joining Export Finance for Future (E3F)</li> </ul>  |

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# **Annex I: Major international public finance milestones**

- November 2024: Agreement of the New Collective Quantified Goal on Climate Finance (NCQG) and launch of the Target-Setting Protocol by the UN-convened Net-Zero Export Credit Agencies Alliance (NZECA). The NCQG of USD 300 billion by 2035 replaces the former USD 100 billion goal of annual public climate finance that was supposed to be reached by 2020. The new target is seen by developing countries as largely insufficient to meet their mitigation, adaptation, and loss and damage needs. As the former target, it counts green export finance (e.g., Ombuya et al., 2024). The NZECA-Protocol, in turn, is a dedicated tool for all ECAs to accelerate their net-zero journeys and allow for a high degree of comparability, providing guidance on setting long-term and intermediate science-based climate targets and related disclosure (UNEP FI, 2024). NZECA was launched at COP28 by Sweden's EKN and SEK, Denmark's EIFO, Export Development Canada, UK Export Finance, the UAE's Etihad Credit Export Insurance, Spain's Cesce and KazakhExport.<sup>36</sup> They aim to "[unite] leading [ECAs] committed to delivering net-zero economies by 2050 [...]." (NZECA, 2023; n.d.) NZECA is the first-of-its-kind net-zero finance alliance of global PFIs, contributing to the goals and activities of the Glasgow Financial Alliance for Net Zero (GFANZ). Its members have supported USD 120 billion in international trade in 2022, including clean energy. They have committed to "[transition] all operational and attributable [GHG] emissions from business activities in alignment with the path to net zero by mid-century, or sooner [...]" and to publish GHG emission data annually to showcase action in line with the commitments (ibid.).
- December 2023: First-ever Global Stocktake of international climate ambitions at COP28. Widely hailed to signal the "beginning of the end of the fossil fuel era" (UNFCCC, 2023b), the final cover decision did not include language on the phase-out of all fossil fuels. Parties including China did, however, unanimously call for "efforts towards the phase-down of unabated coal power, phasing out inefficient fossil fuel subsidies, and other measures that drive the transition away from fossil fuels in energy systems, in a just, orderly and equitable manner, with developed countries continuing to take the lead" (ibid.). Additionally, the stocktake called on Parties to take action towards achieving a tripling of RE capacity and doubling energy efficiency improvements globally by 2030 (ibid.).
- June 2023: Reform of the Climate Change Sector Understanding (CCSU) under the OECD
  Arrangement. Through this reform, OECD-ECAs were granted new possibilities to support climate
  mitigation projects (including new technologies), via extending repayment periods, making terms
  more flexible and reducing minimum guarantee payments, among others (see further Schmidt et
  al., 2024).
- March 2022: Launch of the Berne Union Climate Working Group to advance "thought leadership and practices within export credit, trade finance and political risk insurance and contribute to global problem-solving around climate challenges [...]". Consisting of 15 ECAs, the Climate Working Group is chaired by Sweden's EKN, managed by the Berne Union Secretariat and focuses on three workstreams: (i) Products, Incentives and Innovation, (ii) Best Practices in Low-Carbon Transition, and (iii) Policy Coherence & Alignment (Berne Union, n.d.). Chinese ECAs are not (yet) members of the Climate Working Group.
- November 2021: Statement on International Public Support for the Clean Energy Transition (CETP)
  launched at the 26<sup>th</sup> Conference of the Parties (COP26) in Glasgow (UK Government, 2021). A UK-led
  initiative of now 40+ signatories (countries and financial institutions) which commits them to end
  new direct public support for the international 'unabated' fossil fuel sector, except in limited and
  clearly defined circumstances, within one year of joining the initiative (CETP, n.d.). Throughout

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Finland's Finnvera joined NZECA at COP29. See further https://www.unepfi.org/themes/climate-change/nzeca-launches-target-setting-protocol/.

2022 - against the backdrop of the Russian invasion of Ukraine - signatories reduced their fossil fuel financing but only by USD 6.5 billion while supporting clean energy<sup>37</sup> with an additional USD 5.2 billion (UNEP FI, 2024). In 2023, CETP signatories financed a total of at least USD 5.2 billion in international fossil fuels,<sup>38</sup> between USD 10 to 15 billion less compared with the pre-CETP 2019-2021 annual average (Jones et al., 2024).

- October 2021: Agreement among participants of the OECD Arrangement to ban support for coal-fired power plants without carbon capture and storage (OECD, 2021). While the agreement marks historic progress in integrating climate change considerations into the OECD Arrangement, it still lacks significant additional components, including other parts of coal value chains, e.g., mining and transport, as well as entire O&G value chains, for which there are currently no restrictions. Shortly after, Chinese ECAs stopped all their coal support (CDB, 2024c; CEXIM, 2024b; SINOSURE, 2024a), at least in part because of intergovernmental bargaining that also increased pressure on China (Wang et al., 2024).
- April 2021: Launch of the E3F coalition.<sup>39</sup> Export Finance for Future is a 'coalition of the willing' initiated by France that now consists of ten major European economies: Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and the UK. E3F aims to promote and support a shift in investment patterns towards climate-positive export projects, including via

# **Annex II: Data analysis protocol**

This report primarily utilised OCI's 'Public Finance for Energy Database' for the period 2013-2022, while more recent data have not yet been publicly available. When refining our methodology, we also analysed other databases such as the Global Chinese Development Finance Dataset by AidData; the China's Global Energy Finance (CGEF), Chinese Loans to Latin America and the Caribbean (CLLAC) and China's Global Power (CGP) by Boston University's Global Development Policy Center; the China Overseas Finance Inventory Database (COFI) by World Resources Institute, etc. Each database offers unique perspectives: AidData provides detailed project-level information across sectors, CGEF categorizes sub-sectors of Chinese energy investments, COFI offers capacity data of energy projects, CGP estimates CO<sub>2</sub> Emissions of each project, and other focus on Chinese loans to specific regions. However, OCI's comprehensive coverage of all three institutions and the energy-specific information made it the most suitable for this assessment. It is important to note that discrepancies in coverage, methodologies, and definitions across databases necessitate careful interpretation of results.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Understood as "both low carbon and [with] negligible impacts on the environment and human populations if implemented with appropriate safeguards. These types of energy include solar, wind, tidal, geothermal, and small-scale hydro. This classification also includes energy-efficiency projects where the energy source(s) involved are not primarily fossil fuels." (Jones and Mun, 2023, p. iii)

primarily fossil fuels." (Jones and Mun, 2023, p. iii)

The American, Canadian, Italian, Japanese and Swiss ECAs have violated their countries' commitments by financing major fossil energy projects abroad after the end of 2022 (e.g., OCI, 2023, 2024; Troost and Puši, 2024).

<sup>2022 (</sup>e.g., Oct., 2023, 2024; 1705st and Pust, 2024).

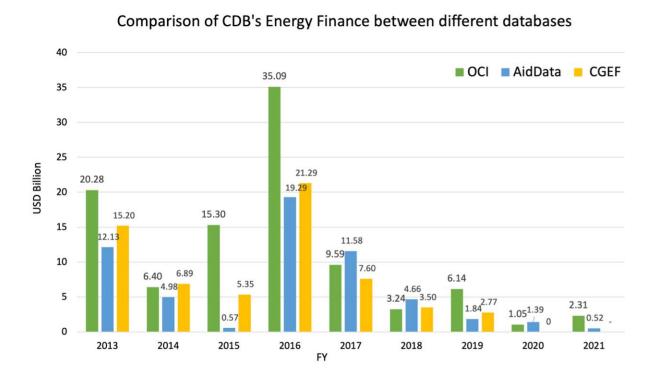
39 See further https://www.tresor.economie.gouv.fr/Articles/2021/04/14/seven-countries-launch-international-coalition-export-finance-for-future-e3f-to-align-export-finance-with-climate-objectives

### A.1. General Comparison Protocol

For calculating energy sector export finance of the three institutions in below databases (take CDB as an example):

| Database   | Protocol  |
|--|---|
| Public Finance for Energy<br>Database (OCI)          | 1. Download OCI   Public Finance for Energy Database 2. Filter column I ('institution') for 'China Development Bank' 3. Filter column P ('country') for excluding 'China' =USD 99.4 billion (2013-2022)   |
| Global Chinese Development Finance Dataset (AidData) | 1. Download AidData   AidData's Global Chinese Development Finance Dataset, Version 3.0  2. Filter column I ('Commitment Year') for 2013-2022  3. Filter column Y ('Funding Agencies') for 'China Development Bank (CDB)'  4. Filter column V ('Sector Name') for 'ENERGY'  5. Filter column B ('Recommended for aggregates') for 'Yes' = USD 56.96 billion (2013-2022) |
| China's Global Energy Finance<br>(Boston University) | 1. Download <u>China's Global Enery Finance Database</u> 2. Filter column B ('Year') for 2013-2022 3. Filter column H ('Lender') for 'CDB'  |

Figure 13: Annual comparison of CDB's Energy Export Finance between databases.



Source: authors, based on the data protocol above.

### A.2. AidData Protocol

Drawing from expert interviews during the scoping phase, AidData's dataset has also emerged as a widely used resource, particularly valued for its comprehensive sector coverage and granular project-level information. Therefore, the authors have also developed a protocol for extracting export credit transactions data from this dataset.

| Topic  | Protocol   |
|--|--|
| CDB's energy<br>sector export<br>finance   | 1. Download AidData   AidData's Global Chinese Development Finance Dataset,  Version 3.0  2. Filter column I ('Commitment Year') for 2013-2022  3. Filter column Y ('Funding Agencies') for 'China Development Bank (CDB)'  4. Filter column V ('Sector Name') for 'ENERGY'  5. Filter column B ('Recommended for aggregates') for 'Yes'  =USD 56.96 billion (2013-2022)   |
| CDB's energy<br>sector export<br>buyer's credits   | 1. Download AidData   AidData's Global Chinese Development Finance Dataset,  Version 3.0  2. Filter column I ('Commitment Year') for 2013-2022  3. Filter column Y ('Funding Agencies') for 'China Development Bank (CDB)'  4. Filter column V ('Sector Name') for 'ENERGY'  5. Filter column T ('Flow Class') for 'OOF-like'  6. Filter column B ('Recommended for aggregates') for 'Yes'  7. Filter column CD ('Export Buyer's Credit') for 'Yes'  =USD 9.11 billion (2013-2022)                               |
| CDB's export<br>buyer's credits<br>across all sectors  | 1. Download AidData   AidData's Global Chinese Development Finance Dataset,  Version 3.0  2. Filter column I ('Commitment Year') for 2013-2022  3. Filter column Y ('Funding Agencies') for 'China Development Bank (CDB)'  4. Filter column T ('Flow Class') for 'OOF-like'  5. Filter column B ('Recommended for aggregates') for 'Yes'  6. Filter column CD ('Export Buyer's Credit') for 'Yes'  =USD 21.39 billion total export buyer's credits (2013-2022)  =Share of energy sector among all sectors: ~43% |
| All recorded<br>Chinese financial<br>institutions'<br>energy sector<br>export buyer's<br>credits | 1. Download AidData   AidData's Global Chinese Development Finance Dataset,  Version 3.0  2. Filter column I ('Commitment Year') for 2013-2022  3. Filter column B ('Recommended for aggregates') for 'Yes'  4. Filter column T ('Flow Class') for 'OOF-like'  5. Filter column CD ('Export Buyer's Credit') for 'Yes'  6. Filter column V ('Sector Name') for 'ENERGY'  =USD 76.58 billion (2013-2022)  |

| Topic  | Protocol  |
|--|---|
| All recorded Chinese financial institutions' export buyer's credits across all sectors | 1.Down load AidData   AidData's Global Chinese Development Finance Dataset, Version 3.0 2. Filter column I ('Commitment Year') for 2013-2022 3. Filter column B ('Recommended for aggregates') for 'Yes' 4. Filter column T ('Flow Class') for 'OOF-like' 5. Filter column CD ('Export Buyer's Credit') for 'Yes' =USD 183.29 billion (2013-2022) =Share of energy sector exports: ~42% |

