Tom Tugendhat MP
Chair
Foreign Affairs Committee
House of Commons
London SW1A 0AA

By email: fac@parliament.uk

9 May 2021

Dear Mr Tugendhat

Climate diplomacy and COP26

Clean Air in London (CAL) has produced a 100-page report analysing open source intelligence on the objectives and top negotiating priorities for each of the top 20 emitters of greenhouse gases globally and selected others. CAL's aim is to ensure a successful outcome at COP26

I am writing on behalf of Clean Air in London (CAL) ahead of the Committee on COP26's oral hearing with Alok Sharma, the COP26 President Designate, on Tuesday 18 May 2021[1] to share with you CAL's analysis of open source intelligence on the objectives and top negotiating priorities for each of the world's 20 largest emitters of carbon dioxide (CO_2) (and selected others) ahead of COP26.

CAL copied you and other select committee chairs on its letter to Alok Sharma dated 8 March 2021 (attached)[2] which identified a number of warning signs in the preparations for COP26. This letter should be read in conjunction with the earlier letter.

CAL is aware of your excellent report titled 'A climate for ambition: Diplomatic preparations for COP26' published on 19 April 2021[3]. CAL is also aware of the International Development Committee's inquiry into Climate change, development and COP26 which is collecting evidence until 10 May 2021[4].

CAL is proposing to submit its analysis and report to the International Development Committee's inquiry on 'Climate change, development and COP26' which closes on 10 May 2021 unless you wish otherwise.

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[1] https://committees.parliament.uk/work/174/preparation-for-cop-26/publications/
[2] https://cleanair.london/app/uploads/CAL-399-Letter-to-Alok-Sharma_080321_Redacted.pdf
[3] https://committees.parliament.uk/committee/78/foreign-affairs-committee/news/153966/cop26-provides-key-moment-for-transformational-diplomacy/
[4] https://committees.parliament.uk/work/1190/climate-change-development-and-cop26/

CAL's aim is to highlight: that around 80% of the sources of local air pollution and greenhouse gases are the same (i.e. primarily fossil-fuels) (see page 3 of our letter to Alok Sharma dated 8 March 20201 for references); and the most important issues needing to be addressed if COP26 is to be a success.

Analysis of open source intelligence

CAL has used open source intelligence to identify the objectives and top negotiating priorities for each of the world's top 20 emitters of carbon dioxide and selected others in relation to COP26. CAL's sources include BBC Monitoring, on-the-record Chatham House events and Sprout Social Listening.

This research was undertaken up to and including 12 April 2021 i.e. the date when Alok Sharma wrote to all parties to the UNFCCC in a letter titled 'UN Climate change negotiations and making effective progress at the June session'[5].

CAL's two-part report includes the following analysis and information for each of the top 20 emitters, Small Island Developing States (SIDS) and several other Middle Eastern countries (Kuwait, Lebanon, Qatar and UAE) (Appendix 1 of this letter lists the emitters):

1. Part one: Qualitative overview providing context to the climate change and air pollution issue(s).
2. Part one: Top three to six stated negotiating priorities for COP26 with evidence (bullet point headlines are shown in Appendix 2 of this letter with full detail in the first part of CAL's report).
3. Part two: Relevance of each of top 20 themes about climate change and air pollution with evidence. The 20 themes and related keywords are shown in Appendices 3 and 4 of this letter.
4. Part two: Top 10-25 players (individuals or institutions) in each country across five themes of climate change, air pollution, cities, health and justice (with their name, job title and Twitter handle (where applicable)).
5. Part two: Events (in English) for each of five themes of climate change, air pollution, cities, health and justice.

In addition, CAL used Sprout Social Listening to analyse of all tweets globally relating to air pollution and/climate change and 20 themes for the 12 months ended 30 April 2021 (Appendices 3 and 4 of this letter). This analysis of 6.0 million tweets with 22.3 million engagements shows that:

- most of the public conversations about climate change are dominated by a few activists such as Greta Thunberg and focused on generalities e.g. "climate change" and "climate emergency"; and
- the air pollution, cities, health and justice stakeholders are still not talking about climate change (and vice versa). The only exception to this generalisation is the recent success by the World Health Organisation which is expected to publish updated air quality guidelines by early July 2021.

While Twitter is dismissed by some commentators or politicians as being a different 'world', the issues we have identified are echoed and apparent almost everywhere, 15 years after CAL first identified them.

CAL would be pleased to make its two-part report and analysis available to the Committee in other electronic formats if that would be more convenient e.g. word, excel workbook and other.

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[5] https://unfccc.int/news/un-climate-change-negotiations-and-making-effective-progress-at-the-june-session

![Clean Air in London logo]

Conclusions and recommendations

CAL's analysis re-confirms the importance and relevance of the issues and recommendations in CAL's letter to Alok Sharma dated 8 March 2021 and dives much deeper into the challenges that need to be addressed if COP26 is to be successful.

Alok Sharma has done an exceptional job in the last few months in moving the UK government's aims for COP26 from oversimplistic or mistaken objectives to a hard focus on the correct issues. However, there is much more to be done across government if the UK is to be successful at COP26 e.g. why does Defra still have no plan to achieve net zero by 2050 or comply with other legal limits for air pollution[6]?

CAL recommends that you ask Alok Sharma at the forthcoming oral hearing to:

1. re-confirm the Government's objectives for COP26;
2. state whether he agrees with the substance of CAL's analysis and if not, where not;
3. explain what diplomatic resources and approaches the UK is bringing to bear to influence the decisions and conduct of foreign governments to ensure a successful outcome at COP26 e.g. through dialogue, negotiation and other means; and
4. state what he needs, in anything, from the UK government or others to ensure success in Glasgow.

You may also wish to invite the Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Affairs to make a statement in response to the key issues identified by CAL.

CAL recommends that you invite the Prime Minister himself to lead a step-change and whole of government effort, that includes putting the UK's own house in order, to ensure success in Glasgow.

Next steps

CAL intends to update the above analysis following the G7 and Commonwealth Heads of Government (CHOGM) meetings due to take place between 11-13 June 2021 and 21-25 June respectively. We would welcome your feedback on our report before doing so.

Yours sincerely

Simon Birkett
Founder and Director
Clean Air in London

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Cc

The Rt. Hon. Alok Sharma MP, President Designate COP26
The Rt. Hon. Dominic Raab MP, Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Affairs
Committee on COP26 Select Committee Chairs

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[6] https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/environment-ministry-has-no-plan-to-meet-target-for-lower-emissions-5f2p30c5x

Appendix 1

Territorial emissions in 2019

Rank	Country	Territorial (MtCO$_2$)
1	China	10,175
2	United States of America	5,285
3	India	2,616
4	Russian Federation	1,678
5	Japan	1,107
6	Iran	780
7	Germany	702
8	Indonesia	618
9	South Korea	611
10	Saudi Arabia	582
11	Canada	577
12	South Africa	479
13	Brazil	466
14	Mexico	439
15	Australia	411
16	Turkey	405
17	United Kingdom	370
18	Italy	337
19	France	324
20	Poland	323
21	Kazakhstan	314
31	United Arab Emirates	191
39	Qatar	109
40	Kuwait	108
79	Lebanon	28

Source: Global Carbon Atlas http://www.globalcarbonatlas.org/en/CO2-emissions

Appendix 2

Stated priorities for largest emitters and selected others

Emitter/Priority	1	2	3	4	5	6
Australia (15th)	Net zero asap and preferably by 2050	Criticise carbon tariffs	Green technology	Renewable energy		
Brazil (13th)	Financial contributions	Carbon credit trading market	Carbon neutral by 2060	Combatting deforestation	Indigenous groups	Eco services
Canada (11th)	Net zero by 2050	Building back better	International climate finance	Powering past coal		
China (1st)	Carbon neutrality before 2060	Increasing forest cover	Carbon emissions trading rules	Green recovery		
France (19th)	Carbon neutrality by 2050	Financing sustainable development	Reduce inequalities			
Germany (7th)	Renewable power generation	Carbon trading	Fund mitigation	Climate financing	Support developing countries	
India (3rd)	Stick to climate commitments	Framework for support	Equitable solutions	Low carbon efforts	Create partnerships e.g. solar	
Indonesia (8th)	Meeting Paris Agreement reductions	Combating deforestation	Restoring peatlands and mangroves	Developed countries to do more		
Iran (6th)	Not stated					
Italy (18th)	Climate neutrality by 2050?	Prepare the ground for COP26	Energy and ecological transition	Health		
Japan (5th)	Net zero 2050	Funding 'green innovation'	Collaboration on decarbonisation	Renewable energy		
Kazakhstan (21st)	Caron neutrality by 2060	Renewable energy	Environmental protection	Monitor protected areas		
Kuwait (40th)	Resilience	Air pollution	Diversify energy sources			
Lebanon (79th)	Renewable energy	Green jobs and funding				
Mexico (14th)	Multilateral approach	Innovation	Carbon market	Finance to deal with risk		
Poland (20th)	Reduce greenhouse gases	Renewable energy	Nuclear power			
Qatar (39th)	Natural gas	Water and food security	Biodiversity			
Russia (4th)	Forest carbon credits	Knowledge development	Emissions control			
Saudi Arabia (10th)	Transition to post-oil world	Defend the oil market	Dealing with stranded oil tanker	Protect Saudi image		
SIDS	Finance for loss and damage	Adaptation and resilience	Finance for disaster recovery	Renewable energy	Momentum in negotiations	
South Africa (12th)	Low carbon economy	Investment in green economy				
South Korea (9th)	Carbon neutrality by 2050	Green new deal	Contributing to global climate action			
Turkey (16th)	International climate finance	Redefine Turkey's status	Delay ratification of Paris Agreement			
UAE (31st)	Reduce greenhouse gases by 2030	Waste recycling	Protect fisheries	Ensure water security		
UK (17th)	Implementation of Paris Agreement	Adaptation	Loss and damage	Finance	Mitigation	Inclusive action
USA (2nd)	Climate crisis at centre of policy and security	Raised climate ambitions	Develop US NDCs	Finance developing co. mitigation	Net zero by 2050	

Appendix 3

Twitter volume on air pollution and/or COP26 globally in the 12 months ended 30 April 2021

Relative rankings of 20 themes by 'COP26'

Themes	Example keywords	Specific examples	Ranking by volume	
			Air pollution	COP26
UN Climate Change Conference (COP26)	@Alok_Sharma_RDG, COP26, Climate Change Conference, @PEspinosaC, #togetherforourplanet, @UNFCCC	Primary input	20	1
Climate activists	@BlackPink, climate action, #climatestrike, #FridaysForFuture, @GretaThunberg, #schoolstrike4climate	Greta Thunberg, Black Pink (in South Korea) or equivalents and their hashtags	14	2
Climate change	climate change	General public concern about climate change e.g. protests	11	3
Climate emergency	climate crisis, climate emergency, survival, threat	Declarations of Climate Emergency or general sense or public alarm	13	4
Pollutants e.g. GHG and PM2.5	carbon dioxide, emissions, greenhouse gases, methane, NO2, ozone, PM2.5	Key polluter whether by consumption or production	5	5
Net zero	#carbonneutral, #netzero, #racetozero, zero	Commitments to achieve net zero by a given date in law. Excludes 'waste'	18	6
Fossil fuels	coal, diesel, fossil fuel, fracking, gas, oil, pipeline, wood	New coal fired power stations, oil dependency or removal of subsidies. Excludes 'greenhouse'	7	7
Adaptation and resilience	adapt, adaptation, coastal, desertification, protect, resilience, sea level, SIDS	Desertification in Middle East, new city of Neom in Saudi Arabia, sea level rise affecting Small Island Developing States or US defence assets	9	8
'Building forward' (aka Build Back Better)	electric, clean energy, green economy, #greenrecovery, innovation, solar, technology, transition	Green economy successes, renewables or technology	10	9
Finance	bank, #economy, finance, investor, @markjcarney	Mobilisation of £100bn of climate finance annually by 2020 from developed countries	16	10
Health	asthma, death, lung, heart, health, stroke, @WHO	Concern about health, heatwaves or vector-borne diseases	2	11
Sectors excluding 'Building forward'	chemicals, construction, food, iron, meat, steel, transport, waste	Catch all for major emitting or legacy sectors that are seen as laggards e.g. chemicals, food, infrastructure, livestock industry, meat, transport or waste	6	12
Mitigation	coal-fired, deforestation, mitigate, mitigation, reduce	Politically challenging sources to mitigate e.g. deforestation in Brazil or coal use in Poland	8	13
Biodiversity and nature	biodiversity, #fornature, nature, #peacewithnature, terra carta	Countries known for biodiversity or losing it e.g. Costa Rica and Madagascar respectively	17	14
Global warming	global warming, temperature	Concern about temperature rise	15	15
Justice	civil society, equality, gender, human right, inclusion, justice, racial, #thetimeisnow, vulnerable	Legal cases e.g. Ella Roberta Adoo Kissi-Debrah, Jakarta lawsuit	12	16
Cities	cities, @c40cities, delhi, london, mayor, new york, urbanisation, migration	Cities taking a lead on climate. Urbanisation or migration. Excludes 'Glasgow' and 'Paris'	3	17
Extreme weather and disasters	aqi, bushfire, disaster, dust, episode, flood, glacier, heatwave, smog, storm	Bushfires, droughts, floods, smog episodes, storms, Uttarakhand Chamoli glacier	4	18
Fake news or denial	denial, deny, fake, fraud, scam	Climate change denial	19	19
Air pollution	air quality, air pollution, clean air	Primary input	1	20

* Using Sprout Social Listening' and selected Clean Air in London keywords and metrics
* Colours are used to create a visual impression of disjunction from Red (1-4) to Green (16-20)

Appendix 4

Twitter volume on air pollution and/or COP26 globally in the 12 months ended 30 April 2021

Relative rankings of 20 themes by 'Air pollution'

Themes	Example keywords	Specific examples	Ranking by volume	
			Air pollution	COP26
Air pollution	air quality, air pollution, clean air	Primary input	1	20
Health	asthma, death, lung, heart, health, stroke, @WHO	Concern about health, heatwaves or vector-borne diseases	2	11
Cities	cities, @c40cities, delhi, london, mayor, new york, urbanisation, migration	Cities taking a lead on climate. Urbanisation or migration. Excludes 'Glasgow' and 'Paris'	3	17
Extreme weather and disasters	aqi, bushfire, disaster, dust, episode, flood, glacier, heatwave, smog, storm	Bushfires, droughts, floods, smog episodes, storms, Uttarakhand Chamoli glacier	4	18
Pollutants e.g. GHG and PM2.5	carbon dioxide, emissions, greenhouse gases, methane, NO2, ozone, PM2.5	Key polluter whether by consumption or production	5	5
Sectors excluding 'Building forward'	chemicals, construction, food, iron, meat, steel, transport, waste	Catch all for major emitting or legacy sectors that are seen as laggards e.g. chemicals, food, infrastructure, livestock industry, meat, transport or waste	6	12
Fossil fuels	coal, diesel, fossil fuel, fracking, gas, oil, pipeline, wood	New coal fired power stations, oil dependency or removal of subsidies. Excludes 'greenhouse'	7	7
Mitigation	coal-fired, deforestation, mitigate, mitigation, reduce	Politically challenging sources to mitigate e.g. deforestation in Brazil or coal use in Poland	8	13
Adaptation and resilience	adapt, adaptation, coastal, desertification, protect, resilience, sea level, SIDS	Desertification in Middle East, new city of Neom in Saudi Arabia, sea level rise affecting Small Island Developing States or US defence assets	9	8
'Building forward' (aka Build Back Better)	electric, clean energy, green economy, #greenrecovery, innovation, solar, technology, transition	Green economy successes, renewables or technology	10	9
Climate change	climate change	General public concern about climate change e.g. protests	11	3
Justice	civil society, equality, gender, human right, inclusion, justice, racial, #thetimeisnow, vulnerable	Legal cases e.g. Ella Roberta Adoo Kissi-Debrah, Jakarta lawsuit	12	16
Climate emergency	climate crisis, climate emergency, survival, threat	Declarations of Climate Emergency or general sense or public alarm	13	4
Climate activists	@BlackPink, climate action, #climatestrike, #FridaysForFuture, @GretaThunberg, #schoolstrike4climate	Greta Thunberg, Black Pink (in South Korea) or equivalents and their hashtags	14	2
Global warming	global warming, temperature	Concern about temperature rise	15	15
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Biodiversity and nature	biodiversity, #fornature, nature, #peacewithnature, terra carta	Countries known for biodiversity or losing it e.g. Costa Rica and Madagascar respectively	17	14
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Fake news or denial	denial, deny, fake, fraud, scam	Climate change denial	19	19
UN Climate Change Conference (COP26)	@Alok_Sharma_RDG, COP26, Climate Change Conference, @PEspinosaC, #togetherforourplanet, @UNFCCC	Primary input	20	1

* Using Sprout Social Listening and selected Clean Air in London keywords and metrics
* Colours are used to create a visual impression of disjunction from Red (1-4) to Green (16-20)