



The Rt. Hon. Alok Sharma MP
COP26 President Designate
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By email: publiccorrespondence@cabinetoffice.gov.uk

6 October 2021

Dear COP26 President Designate

Clean Air in London's prediction: COP26 will be 'good' but not 'good enough'.

Clean Air in London has updated fully its 135-page two-part report to identify the climate change issues and negotiating priorities for each of the top 20 emitters of greenhouse gases globally and selected others ahead of COP26.

Clean Air in London's test: COP26 will be a failure unless it 'locks in' 1.5c to 2.0c

Thank you for all that you are doing to achieve a successful COP26.

I am writing to you on behalf of Clean Air in London ("CAL") to ensure that no-one following COP26 can be left in any doubt about what is needed and the challenges ahead in Glasgow.

In essence, CAL's latest and fully updated 135-page two-part report, identifies the climate change issues for the 20 largest territorial emitters, Bangladesh (which leads the Climate Vulnerable Forum), Small Island Developing States ("SIDS") and several other Middle Eastern countries (Kuwait, Lebanon, Qatar and UAE) to understand their negotiating priorities, what needs to be achieved and the likelihood of success at COP26. Our prediction is that COP26 will be 'good' but not 'good enough' and our test is that COP26 will be a failure unless it 'locks in' 1.5c to 2.0c.

CAL hopes that, by highlighting the toughest issues with several weeks to go before COP26, it will increase the chances of success at the most important meeting on climate change since 2015. As you said on 14 May 2021: "[COP26] is our last hope of keeping 1.5 degrees alive" and "Our best chance of building a brighter future"¹.

¹ <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pick-the-planet>

Previous reports

CAL first wrote to you on 8 March 2021² to emphasise that a successful COP26 must: put the world firmly on track to keep global warming between 1.5c and 2.0c; ensure developed countries deliver on their pre-2020 financial commitments; complete outstanding business such as ‘rules’ (Article 6); and engage a wide range of stakeholders. CAL emphasised that the UK must put its ‘own house in order’ if it is to be a credible COP26 ‘host’. Those requirements are still applicable.

CAL copied you subsequently on its letters to Tom Tugendhat (dated 9 May 2021) in relation to the Foreign Affairs Committee’s oral hearing with you titled ‘Climate diplomacy and COP26’³ and to Sarah Champion (dated 14 July 2021) in relation to the International Development Committee’s inquiry into ‘Climate change, development and COP26’⁴. CAL’s letters attached the first and second versions of CAL’s two-part report titled ‘COP26 – Country overview and stated priorities for largest emitters and selected others’ which are described in more detail below.

CAL has fully updated its analysis of open-source intelligence to identify the most important issues for each of the world’s 20 largest emitters of carbon dioxide (CO₂) and selected others ahead of COP26. This letter builds upon the three earlier letters and should be read in conjunction with them.

Please note that CAL edited the two-part report and is responsible for opinions or facts within it, including omissions.

World Health Organisation has slashed Air Quality Guidelines to save millions of lives

Importantly, the World Health Organisation (“WHO”) published new and updated Air Quality Guidelines (“AQG”) on 22 September 2021⁵. They slashed the AQGs for annual mean concentrations of fine particles (“PM_{2.5}”) and nitrogen dioxide (“NO₂”) by 50% and 75% respectively to save millions of lives. With some 80% of the sources of greenhouse gases and local air pollution being the same, this means that the trajectories needed to mitigate climate change and protect public health are closely aligned. They also point to a common solution of ‘Zero Air Emissions’ as soon as possible.

COP26 must deliver an outcome between 1.5c and 2.0c

The UK must re-double its efforts over the next few weeks if COP26 is to be a success and we are to keep 1.5c alive and ensure that the world is on track for no worse than a 2.0c rise. This must include:

1. **‘Lock in’ 1.5c to 2.0c.** Current NDCs put the world on track for temperature rises of 2.7c or more by the end of the century. Instead, we need NDCs and Net Zero commitments that are consistent with the IPCC’s latest advice⁶ to keep us between 1.5c and 2.0c.
2. **Over \$500bn climate finance.** Developed countries have failed to keep their commitment to provide \$100bn per annum of climate finance from 2020 (and again in 2021) and so must deliver \$120bn pa or more in 2022 to ensure that the total exceeds \$500bn over five years⁷.

² https://cleanair.london/app/uploads/CAL-404_Sent_399-Letter-to-Alok-Sharma_080321_Reduced-file-size.pdf

³ <https://committees.parliament.uk/publications/4964/documents/49655/default/>

⁴ <https://committees.parliament.uk/work/1190/climate-change-development-and-cop26/>

⁵ <https://cleanair.london/health/new-who-air-quality-guidelines/>

⁶ <https://www.ipcc.ch/2021/08/09/ar6-wg1-20210809-pr/>

⁷ https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-58678937?at_medium=RSS&at_campaign=KARANGA

3. **Paris Rule Book.** It will only be possible to complete the Paris Rule Book if (1) and (2) are delivered upon in full. Other issues of fairness must also be addressed.
4. **‘Put our house in order’.** The UK must put in place plans, policies, laws and funding to deliver on its commitments to reduce greenhouse gases by at least 68% by 2030, by 78% by 2035 and achieve ‘Net Zero’ by 2050⁸. For example, the Environment Bill needs to include the latest WHO AQGs and a new Clean Air Act should achieve ‘Zero Air Emissions’ from buildings.
5. **Recognise the human right to a safe, clean, healthy and sustainable environment**⁹ as 15 UN entities¹⁰ and most countries have done¹¹.

In the remaining weeks to COP26, the Prime Minister needs to lead a whole of government effort, that includes putting the UK’s own house in order, to ensure success in Glasgow. Any COP26 outcome that fails to ‘lock in’ 1.5c to 2.0c will be a failure.

Analysis of open-source intelligence

CAL’s recommendations above are based on long experience and detailed evidence gathered in its 135-page two-part report.

CAL used open-source intelligence to identify the issues, objectives and top negotiating priorities for each of the world’s top 20 emitters of carbon dioxide and selected others in relation to COP26. This research was undertaken up to and including Thursday 30 September 2021 i.e. after the recent United Nations General Assembly meeting and the World Health Organisation’s publication of its new Air Quality Guidelines on 22 September 2021. This report updates and supercedes CAL’s earlier reports.

CAL’s updated fully two-part report includes the following analysis and information for each of the top 20 emitters, Bangladesh (which leads the Climate Vulnerable Forum), 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.

This report is based on research carried out by BBC Monitoring, which was commissioned by CAL to survey the coverage of climate change, COP26 and air pollution in the media in the countries and territories referenced in this document.

⁸ <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-enshrines-new-target-in-law-to-slash-emissions-by-78-by-2035>

⁹ <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Environment/SREnvironment/Pages/HealthySustainable.aspx>

¹⁰ <https://www.unep.org/news-and-stories/statements/joint-statement-united-nations-entities-right-healthy-environment>

¹¹ <https://healthyenvironmentisaright.org/>

In addition, CAL used Sprout Social Listening to analyse all tweets globally relating to air pollution and/or climate change and 20 themes for the period between 2 March 2020 and 30 September 2021 (Appendices 3 and 4 of this letter). This analysis of 10.0 million tweets with 33.9 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).

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 you in other electronic formats if that would be more convenient e.g. word (for Part One) or excel workbook (for Part Two).

Next steps

CAL wishes you and your teams every success at COP26.

Yours sincerely

Simon Birkett
Founder and Director
Clean Air in London

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The Rt. Hon. Dominic Raab, Deputy Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State of Justice
The Rt. Hon. Liz Truss MP, Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Affairs
The Rt. Hon. Kwasi Kwarteng MP, Secretary of State for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy
Committee on COP26, Select Committee Chairs and selected others

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
42	Bangladesh	102
79	Lebanon	28

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

Appendix 2

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		
Bangladesh (42nd)	Urging developed countries to do more	Developed countries to fund mitigation and adaptation	Focus on green economy and carbon neutral technologies	Cutting greenhouse gas emissions		
Brazil (13th)	Funding for the Amazon	Reducing greenhouse gases via carbon credit trading market	Achieving carbon neutrality	Combating deforestation and environmental crimes in biomes	Sustainable development of the Amazon	Seeking payment for protecting Amazon
Canada (11th)	Net zero by 2050	Building back better	Investing in climate finance	Powering past coal		
China (1st)	Carbon neutrality before 2060	Phase out coal	Increasing forest cover	National online carbon market	Green recovery, non-fossil fuels	
France (19th)	Reach deal that reflects urgency of climate situation	Carbon neutrality by 2050	Phase out coal	Transform financial system to make it climate friendly	Raise funds to help poorer countries cut carbon emissions	
Germany (7th)	Renewable power generation	Carbon trading	Fund mitigation	Climate financing	Support developing countries	
India (3rd)	Stick to climate commitments	Framework for financial and technical support	Multilateralism and equitable solutions	Integrate low carbon efforts into recovery	Transition to clean/green energy	Phase out use of HFCs
Indonesia (8th)	Reducing greenhouse gas emissions	Net zero	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	Reduce net emissions 46-50% by 2030	Funding green innovation	International collaboration on decarbonisation	Increasing focus on renewable energy	
Kazakhstan (21st)	Carbon neutrality by 2060	Renewable energy	Environmental protection	Monitor protected areas		
Kuwait (40th)	Resilience	Tackle air and water pollution	Waste management	Diversify energy sources	Protecting biodiversity	
Lebanon (79th)	Renewable energy	Green jobs and funding				
Mexico (14th)	Multilateral approach	Technical 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	Maintain biodiversity	Desertification and drought		
Russia (4th)	Emission control	Forest carbon credits	Knowledge development	No politicising of climate issues	Adapt to EU carbon border	
Saudi Arabia (10th)	Transition to post-oil world	Defend the oil market	Dealing with stranded oil tanker			
SIDS	Discuss NDCs at COP26	Global stocktake and periodic review	Funding for mitigation, adaptation, loss and damage	Emissions trading	Technology transfer	Full participation amid COVID
South Africa (12th)	Low carbon economy	Address climate change challenges	Investment in green economy	Reduce coal dependence	Climate and biodiversity crises	
South Korea (9th)	Carbon neutrality by 2050	Green new deal	Contributing to global climate action			
Turkey (16th)	Ratify Paris Agreement	Access to international climate finance	Redefine Turkey's status			
UAE (31st)	Reduce greenhouse gases 23.5% by 2030	Waste recycling	Protect fisheries	Ensure water security		
UK (17th)	Net zero by 2050. Cut 78% by 2035	Adaptation	Finance	Collaboration	Abandoning coal	Green industrial revolution
USA (2nd)	Climate crisis at centre of policy and security	Press for raised climate ambitions	Finance for developing countries' emission cuts	Net zero by 2050	Develop the US NDCs	

Appendix 3

Twitter volume on air pollution and/or COP26 globally – 2 March 2020 to 30 September 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 of public alarm	12	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	3	5
Fossil fuels	coal, diesel, fossil fuel, fracking, gas, oil, pipeline, wood	New coal fired power stations, oil dependency or removal of subsidies. Excludes 'greenhouse'	8	6
Net zero	#carbonneutral, #netzero, #racetozero, zero	Commitments to achieve net zero by a given date in law. Excludes 'waste'	18	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	17	10
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	11
Mitigation	coal-fired, deforestation, mitigate, mitigation, reduce	Politically challenging sources to mitigate e.g. deforestation in Brazil or coal use in Poland	7	12
Biodiversity and nature	biodiversity, #fornature, nature, #peacewithnature, terra carta	Countries known for biodiversity or losing it e.g. Costa Rica and Madagascar respectively	16	13
Global warming	global warming, temperature	Concern about temperature rise	15	14
Health	asthma, death, lung, heart, health, stroke, @WHO	Concern about health, heatwaves or vector-borne diseases	2	15
Justice	civil society, equality, gender, human right, inclusion, justice, racial, #thetimeisnow, vulnerable	Legal cases e.g. Ella Roberta Adoo Kissi-Debrah, Jakarta lawsuit	13	16
Extreme weather and disasters	aqi, bushfire, disaster, dust, episode, flood, glacier, heatwave, smog, storm	Bushfires, droughts, floods, smog episodes, storms, Uttarakhand Chamoli glacier	4	17
Cities	cities, @c40cities, delhi, london, mayor, new york, urbanisation, migration	Cities taking a lead on climate. Urbanisation or migration. Excludes 'Glasgow' and 'Paris'	5	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 – 2 March 2020 to 30 September 2021 Relative rankings of 20 themes ranked 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	15
Pollutants e.g. GHG and PM2.5	carbon dioxide, emissions, greenhouse gases, methane, NO2, ozone, PM2.5	Key polluter whether by consumption or production	3	5
Extreme weather and disasters	aqi, bushfire, disaster, dust, episode, flood, glacier, heatwave, smog, storm	Bushfires, droughts, floods, smog episodes, storms, Uttarakhand Chamoli glacier	4	17
Cities	cities, @c40cities, delhi, london, mayor, new york, urbanisation, migration	Cities taking a lead on climate. Urbanisation or migration. Excludes 'Glasgow' and 'Paris'	5	18
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	11
Mitigation	coal-fired, deforestation, mitigate, mitigation, reduce	Politically challenging sources to mitigate e.g. deforestation in Brazil or coal use in Poland	7	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'	8	6
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
Climate emergency	climate crisis, climate emergency, survival, threat	Declarations of Climate Emergency or general sense of public alarm	12	4
Justice	civil society, equality, gender, human right, inclusion, justice, racial, #thetimeisnow, vulnerable	Legal cases e.g. Ella Roberta Adoo Kissi-Debrah, Jakarta lawsuit	13	16
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	14
Biodiversity and nature	biodiversity, #fornature, nature, #peacewithnature, terra carta	Countries known for biodiversity or losing it e.g. Costa Rica and Madagascar respectively	16	13
Finance	bank, #economy, finance, investor, @markjcarney	Mobilisation of £100bn of climate finance annually by 2020 from developed countries	17	10
Net zero	#carbonneutral, #netzero, #racetozero, zero	Commitments to achieve net zero by a given date in law. Excludes 'waste'	18	7
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, @PEspinozaC, #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)