

# 2021 Scottish Parliament Elections

## Manifesto in Full

*Friends of the Earth Scotland*



The next Scottish Parliament elections will be set against the backdrop of two crises. MSPs elected in 2021 will be tasked with continuing the recovery process from the impacts of Covid-19, whilst sitting for five of the nine years we have left to achieve our most crucial climate change target. These challenges can, and must, be tackled in tandem, delivering policies which reduce our emissions while creating new jobs in the zero-carbon economy.

Since the last Scottish Parliament election, the dangers of the climate emergency have been illustrated more clearly than ever. Natural disasters, from devastating cyclones in Mozambique and flooding in Bangladesh to out of control wildfires in California, and tragic landslips in Scotland, have highlighted that people across the world are already facing the impacts of climate change. These risk becoming more frequent and intense if we don't act to rapidly curb emissions and adapt to warming already locked-in. The 2018 special report from the UN's Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change illustrates the huge impacts of further warming, which will be disproportionately felt by "disadvantaged and vulnerable populations", if strong action to limit warming to 1.5° isn't taken now.<sup>1</sup>

In response to this growing recognition, and the 2015 Paris Agreement, the Scottish Parliament passed a new Climate Change Act, setting targets to reach 'net-zero' emissions by 2045, and reduce emissions by 75% by 2030. Action taken over the lifetime of the next Parliament, and particularly in the next two years, will determine whether we achieve this vital target or commit ourselves to climate breakdown.

It is clear that supporting business as usual is simply not enough. The impact of COVID-19 has exposed the deep inequalities that exist in our current system, and our fossil fuel focussed economy has offered little in the way of either energy or job security, while contributing significantly to global warming. Rebuilding our economy must focus on creating quality green jobs as part of a Just Transition to a zero-carbon economy, supporting the achievement of our climate goals by moving away from fossil fuels.

The scale of the challenge cannot be underestimated, and the time for tinkering round the edges has long passed. The last Scottish Parliament has been defined by targets, short term commissions, and fine rhetoric. Important as these have been, the next Scottish Government must move beyond strategising, and start taking urgent action.

The next 5 years must mark an end to climate hypocrisy, where politicians talk the talk on climate ambitions, while propping up the burning of fossil fuels, corporate interests and continued major road expansion. Instead, parties should commit to using the next Parliament to launch the ambitious policies needed to kickstart a Just Transition to a zero-carbon economy.

This manifesto sets out some of the principles that parties should champion in their manifesto, and the actions that should be taken to deliver them.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.ipcc.ch/sr15/>

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*Friends of the Earth Scotland also supports manifesto contributions from Scottish Environment LINK, Stop Climate Chaos Scotland, the Just Transition Partnership, and the Revive Coalition.*

## Economy

The economic status quo is not working for our planet or the people on it. The pursuit of profit at the expense of all else has played a significant role in Scotland's historic contribution to climate change, whilst doing nothing to look after our national wellbeing. Our dependence on fossil fuels particularly presents a barrier to making the positive changes we need to reduce emissions.

The next Scottish Government must rethink its approach to the economy, putting an emphasis on building a wellbeing economy that matches our climate ambitions and puts people and the planet before profit. We need to see the development of domestic jobs and industries that offer alternatives to the extraction and burning of fossil fuels, laying the foundations for a managed transition to a zero-carbon economy.

What is required is nothing short of a complete transformation in our approach to the economy, but in doing this we can create significant opportunities for new jobs and innovation in a resilient economy that is fit for the future.

### **Key policies:**

- Create a new Economic Strategy, with wellbeing and a Just Transition at its heart
- Deliver a Green New Deal for Scotland through increased public investment
- Reform pensions to support the Just Transition, not fossil fuels

## Create a new Economic Strategy with wellbeing and a Just Transition at its heart

Climate change is a problem caused by, and impacting, every area of the economy, meaning that tackling it will require a well managed transition aligned across every sector. A strategic approach is especially important to ensure all jobs created meet fair work principles, and are fit for the future rather than in declining sectors.

Scotland's existing Economic Strategy<sup>2</sup> is not fit to meet this challenge, having been written before the Scottish Government declared a climate emergency and committed to creating a wellbeing economy. Given the new recognition that we are in the midst of a climate emergency, and the limitations of purely chasing economic growth, Scotland needs a new Economic Strategy with a focus on delivering a Just Transition to a zero-carbon economy. This should be tied to an industrial strategy which sets out clear steps for growing zero-carbon industries, while managing a Just Transition for workers in fossil fuel industries.

Parties should commit to **developing a new Economic Strategy** which can lay the blueprint for the necessary transformation to our economy. The pursuit of economic growth as an absolute priority has been callous to the consequences for people and the planet, and it is time for a fundamental rethink in the way we perceive the value and purpose of our economy. We can no longer cross our fingers and hope that reliance on the market, and

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<sup>2</sup> <https://www.gov.scot/publications/scotlands-economic-strategy/>

using GDP as a sole measure, will deliver the required scale of emissions reduction in a fair way. As expressed by the Wellbeing Economy Alliance, we should remember that “Balancing social, environmental and economy goals requires remembering that the economy exists within society: it depends on society to function.”<sup>3</sup>

The question of delivering a Just Transition to a zero carbon economy cannot be divorced from the question of ownership and markets. As we have witnessed during COVID-19, it is our public institutions that are best placed to provide support to workers and communities as a priority. Greater investment and intervention from the next Government must follow in those sectors where emissions remain high, challenging conventional polluting activities, acting as a catalyst for zero-carbon supply chains, and creating quality jobs which support their workers. This means parties should commit to **supporting public ownership at different levels**, detailed throughout this manifesto, from community owned energy and local public transport, to a national energy company generating power.

## Deliver a Green New Deal through increased public investment

Transforming the economy to achieve our climate targets will require a much more interventionist approach from the next Scottish Government, with public investment leading the development of the zero-carbon alternatives which the market has failed to deliver. This investment-lead approach must be ambitious in its scale, representing nothing less than a true Green New Deal for Scotland, which can both lead decarbonisation and tackle unemployment.

### A strengthened Scottish National Investment Bank

Scotland has already taken tentative steps towards investing public money in decarbonisation, creating a Scottish National Investment Bank with the climate emergency as a core mission. However, the SNIB needs to be developed further if it is to unlock its full potential. The initial £2billion of capital over 10 years is not enough for the scale of the challenge we face to meet our 2030 climate targets, and in the midst of a recession will require more. Equally the Bank’s commitment to delivering a Just Transition, as just one of a number of aims, risks being applied inconsistently, with no clarity over whether it will prop up the ailing oil industry as other Scottish Government funds have done. This must be addressed if additional investment is to be directed towards the right projects to deliver a Green New Deal.

Parties should commit to **increasing the capital investment in the Scottish National Investment Bank specifically to finance zero-carbon innovation and tightening the Bank’s ethical criteria**, ruling out lending money to fossil fuel-connected activities. Any increase in funding must be reliant on these structural improvements to the Bank’s mission-led lending.

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<sup>3</sup> Wellbeing Economy Alliance, *A Wellbeing Economy for Scotland*  
<https://wellbeingeconomy.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/WEAll-Ideas-WBE-for-Scotland-Feb-6-2020.pdf>

## A public infrastructure body

The Scottish National Investment Bank is an appropriate catalyst to direct investment into the private sector, but the Bank is ill-suited to provide finance to the public sector, due to limitations on public investment. The history of public-private partnerships, which has underpinned a substantial part of our national infrastructure investment, has started to unravel - being exposed by costly failures and underdelivery. A Green New Deal requires a strategic approach, looking at investment across portfolios - focussing on creating jobs and reducing emissions, particularly in our most polluting sectors like transport and energy.

Creating a body, accountable to Parliament, tasked with directing investment towards public sector zero-carbon projects would go a long way to addressing these issues, creating a more effective and targeted approach to public investment. This body should have a similar, strengthened, mission-lead approach to the Scottish National Investment Bank, prioritising investments that address the climate emergency through a Just Transition.

Parties should commit to **introducing a public infrastructure body**, targeting public investment into key infrastructure and services that will be essential to the delivery of a Green New Deal. We would additionally encourage parties to look at Common Weal's proposal for a national infrastructure company, which sets out some detail in this area.<sup>4</sup>

## Reform pension funds to support the Just Transition to a zero carbon economy

Billions of pounds of public and private capital in Scotland is currently hedged on the continued use of fossil fuels, undermining the Scottish Government's declaration of a climate emergency, and presenting a serious risk to people's retirements given the volatility of the industry. Of the money invested in fossil fuels in Scotland, £1.81 billion comes from local government pension funds, while MSPs' pension fund also holds investments in fossil fuels.<sup>5</sup>

In 2015 Mark Carney, then Governor of the Bank of England, gave a widely publicised speech which concluded starkly: "There is a growing international consensus that climate change is unequivocal... once climate change becomes a defining issue for financial stability, it may already be too late."<sup>6</sup> This followed similar warnings from the Bank's Prudential Regulation Authority, adding to growing concerns that a 'carbon bubble' exists, where companies and their investors will see share prices plummet as more oil and gas reserves become unburnable. The Bank of England's work on climate change should be a wake up call for investors and pension funds to think very seriously about whether their investment plans are consistent with a sustainable future.

As we work to reduce emissions across the board, it is crucial that pension funds align with our climate goals. Parties should commit to address the fossil fuel and climate risks **in the ongoing reform of the local government pension scheme in Scotland**, which have a combined investment pot of over £40 billion. This review should focus on creating a plan to phase out fossil fuel finance in Scotland, supporting pension pots to transition to sustainable,

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<sup>4</sup> <https://commonweal.scot/big-ideas/end-pfi-start-national-infrastructure-company>

<sup>5</sup> <https://foe.scot/press-release/1-8-billion-council-fossil-fuels/>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.bis.org/review/r151009a.pdf>

socially beneficial investments. Ultimately, this should lead to the creation of investment vehicles which enable pension funds to invest reliably and at scale in the zero-carbon economy. Candidates in the election should pledge to **divest their own pension fund**, joining the growing list of MSPs who have pledged to divest their pensions.<sup>7</sup>

## A Just Transition

Our transition to achieving rapid decarbonisation must be a Just Transition - that is, that the ways in which a zero-carbon economy will be achieved will protect livelihoods, enhance social justice, and create a fairer and more equal Scotland. There are initiatives that would create decent, green jobs to support a Just Transition that should be taken forward immediately. In our section on energy, we outline the huge potential of a Publicly Owned Energy Company to create jobs, increase consumer satisfaction and improve energy democracy; in transport, investment in sites such as Alexander Dennis can protect and grow an essential workforce for a much needed expanded public transport network; and in heating, a large scale retrofits programme could provide an immediate boost in creating jobs in even our most rural communities, cutting our emissions and tackling high fuel poverty levels.

However, to turn the rhetoric of Just Transition into reality for workers and communities across Scotland, we need early commitments in the next parliamentary term to ensure there is consistency and long term thinking across our economy. There is no single policy that can deliver a Just Transition, and parties should see the following recommendations as a package which taken forward together would ensure that the transition is well planned, with workers engaged in the process and infrastructure sufficiently invested in and with the Government using all of its powers to drive the transformation. With the political will in the next Parliament to deliver a Just Transition, we can ensure rhetoric becomes reality.

### Key policies:

- Develop stakeholder-led Just Transition Action Plans
- Invest in skills and infrastructure
- Utilise all Government levers to deliver a Just Transition

## Develop stakeholder-led Just Transition Action Plans

The window of opportunity to deliver an economy wide Just Transition at a pace demanded by the Paris Agreement objectives is closing rapidly. Planning for the decline or conversion of polluting industries alongside the building of decent work and a fairer green economy is a significant challenge. The earlier this planning begins, the greater the opportunity to manage the transformation well. While the concept of just transition has climbed the political agenda for all parties, the onus is now on turning principles and advice into transformative plans for our economy.

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<sup>7</sup> <https://foe.scot/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Divest-Scotland-MSP-Briefing-22032019.pdf>

A Just Transition must be based on the urgency and necessity of climate and social justice. The key stakeholders in a Just Transition are impacted workers and communities, trade unions and environmentalists; these stakeholders must be actively engaged in drawing up plans and proposals, to provide confidence that the transition will effectively deliver a zero carbon economy and justice.

Parties should commit **to develop a national Just Transition Action Plan** based on a new Economic Strategy and the Climate Change Plan, with these key stakeholders. The Just Transition Action Plan should include regional and sectoral plans with targets and timescales set for decarbonisation, investment, jobs created and a clear offer to workers.

Initiatives in high carbon regions and sectors, including the Grangemouth Future Industries Board, should also prioritise representation and participation of the stakeholders central to a Just Transition.

Continuing scrutiny of Government actions is a vital function and this should be delivered by Parties committing to establishing **a successor to the Just Transition Commission**, rooted in a renewed membership that reflects the key stakeholders in a Just Transition - i.e. affected workers and communities, trade unions and environmentalists.

## Invest in skills and infrastructure

Scotland's renewable and low carbon economy story so far is one of broken promises. The STUC has demonstrated a consistent pattern of Scotland's supply chain being overlooked and having to fight for a small portion of work due to chronic underinvestment and the prioritisation of private interests.<sup>8</sup> The most recent figures show there was a decline in jobs in Scotland's offshore wind sector between 2017 and 2018.<sup>9</sup> Workers are seeing their roles made idle or under threat of redundancy in industries which should be thriving as we transition to a zero carbon economy.

It is already evident across our economy that investment is required to turn the tide of broken promises on the green economy. Just Transition Action Plans should highlight targets for investment over the long term, however to ensure competitiveness in the short term and build for the future, we urgently need to prepare and upgrade our capacities to be ready and able to deliver now. Identifying the infrastructure and skills needed for a Just Transition and committing to provide that investment must be an immediate priority in the new Parliament.

Parties should **commit to urgently carrying out a detailed assessment of the existing Just Transition skills and investment gaps**, identifying the urgent needs for clean energy sectors and allocating finance and support from Government and its agencies to address them. Parties should commit to **tackling known gaps and opportunities as a priority**, including upgrading our ports for large-scale offshore renewables and decommissioning.

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<sup>8</sup> STUC Report: Broken Promises and Offshored Jobs  
[http://www.stuc.org.uk/files/Policy/Research\\_Briefings/Broken%20promises%20and%20offshored%20jobs%20report.pdf](http://www.stuc.org.uk/files/Policy/Research_Briefings/Broken%20promises%20and%20offshored%20jobs%20report.pdf)

<sup>9</sup> STUC Report: Scotland's Renewables Jobs Crisis & COVID-19  
[http://www.stuc.org.uk/files/Policy/Research-papers/Renewable\\_Jobs\\_Crisis\\_Covid-19.pdf](http://www.stuc.org.uk/files/Policy/Research-papers/Renewable_Jobs_Crisis_Covid-19.pdf)

Support is specifically needed in those sectors and enterprises at risk in the green economy supply chain, such as CS Wind and Alexander Dennis, to turn the tide of false promises seen so far.

## Utilise all Government levers to deliver a Just Transition

Too often, whether pushing emissions reductions, promoting Fair Work or tackling social inequalities, the Government has relied on the carrot, rather than the stick, when it comes to the economy. This has failed to produce results and faced with the urgency of climate crisis and the importance of a Just Transition there is a need for the Government to take a more proactive role in transforming our economy in a way that prioritises people and the planet.

For key stakeholders to have faith in a Just Transition, there must be strong commitments to delivery alongside the creation of Just Transition Action Plans. This is particularly the case to identify decarbonisation or diversification opportunities for fossil fuel intensive industries. In some instances such as in oil and gas, where decarbonisation isn't possible, plans must be set and acted upon to manage their conversion to decommissioning and renewables, while supporting the existing workforce and communities around them.

Parties should commit to **utilising all levers available to deliver a Just Transition**, including building in expectations across public sector procurement and licensing. The duty on public bodies in the Climate Change Act should be strengthened to require that their contribution towards delivery of emissions reduction targets must be in line with the Just Transition principles and requiring them to develop Just Transition Plans. Conditions should be attached to any funding or support provided to the private sector to align with a Just Transition. Parties should review other levers available to ensure the workforce is supported with decent, green work being created through requirements for a required proportion of local content, particularly for local supply chains that can deliver work for subsidised energy projects.

To give assurances to the workforce, parties should make a clear commitment to **introducing guaranteed support provided anywhere jobs are lost**. This support should be focussed on supporting workers to transition into new opportunities which offer quality work in the zero-carbon economy. Our Sea Change report found that a managed Just Transition could create three clean energy jobs for every oil and gas job at risk from winding the sector down, meaning the right policies can ensure that jobs exist for those leaving fossil fuel sectors.

## Energy

If we are to have any hope of meeting the ambitions set in the Paris Agreement, the next Parliament must signal an end to Scotland's relationship with fossil fuels. The most significant reductions in energy emissions over the past three decades have come from the closure of fossil fuel power stations.



Moving to a fully renewable energy system, free from fossil fuel and nuclear power, will be crucial in tackling the worst impacts of climate change - but can also deliver a number of co-benefits, creating quality green jobs and tackling fuel poverty. The next Parliament must kick start this energy revolution - both in delivering short-term interventions and making a clear signal for the long-term direction of travel in the energy sector.

**Key policies:**

- Give the publicly owned energy company powers to generate renewable electricity
- Align energy policy with our climate ambitions
- Introduce a ban on new fossil fuel infrastructure including CCS/CCUS, fossil hydrogen, and BECCS

## Give the publicly owned energy company powers to generate renewable energy

One of the barriers to delivering the pace and scale of energy transition we need is the complex patchwork of private companies making up Scotland's energy system, prioritising short-term profit over a medium-term transition. This slow progress is clearly detrimental to our progress in reducing domestic emissions, but also poses a long-term risk to jobs in the energy industry. Instead, we need to see stronger government leadership in generating renewable energy, including support for a range of public models like community energy, local authority projects, and support for energy efficiency programmes.

The Scottish Government has made tentative steps in the right direction, proposing a publicly owned energy company (POEC). However, their model is limited to a shopfront - acting as a retailer for commercially generated energy, with no generation powers and no power to influence the direction of the energy market.

To unlock the full potential of the POEC parties should commit to **creating a publicly owned energy company with powers to generate renewable electricity**. A public company would have a far greater influence in developing clean energy generation projects and infrastructure, acting as a catalyst for community and local authority models - rather than treating them as small scale competitors as private operators do. An expansive POEC should be central to our economic recovery, given its potential to create jobs in developing alternatives to fossil fuel energy.

With a role across the energy network, the POEC could drive renewable energy generation at a national and local level while prioritising domestic supply chains and decent work that is aligned with Fair Work principles. This energy could be provided to people in Scotland at an affordable price that prioritises those in fuel poverty over the profit line, while democratising the energy network through the facilitation of local projects can create more resilient local economies and raise public participation in transition efforts.

## Align energy policy with our climate ambitions

Scotland's current energy strategy is at odds with our climate ambitions, ignoring the scale of transformation we need, and offering no hope of achieving our climate targets. It's crucial that decisions at every level of energy policy is aligned to deliver a Just Transition away from fossil fuels and towards a renewable energy system.

As a starting point, parties should commit to **replacing maximising economic recovery (MER) of fossil fuels as Government policy with policies for a managed and just transition**. Our report 'Sea Change: Climate Emergency, Jobs and Managing the Phase out of UK Oil and Gas Extraction'<sup>10</sup> demonstrated that the 5.7 billion barrels of oil and gas in already operating fields will already far exceed the UK's share in relation to Paris climate goals. Maximising economic recovery would mean exceeding the Paris goals more than three fold. MER also puts us on course for a cliffedge of job losses in the future, as fossil fuels inevitably become unviable, whereas the Sea Change report found that replacing a policy of MER with a policies for a managed Just Transition could create three clean energy jobs for every oil and gas job at risk from winding the sector down.

Our current energy targets are inadequate, and fall far short of complying with either Scotland's climate change targets or the Paris Agreement. To help achieve our 2030 targets, parties should commit to setting a target for **100% of electricity generated in Scotland to come from renewables by 2030**. Current targets focus on the consumption of electricity, but a target of energy generation would be better aligned with the fact our climate targets are based on emissions based in Scotland.

In order to achieve this, Scotland's heat network, where little progress has been made in decarbonisation to date, must be transformed. It is clear that to reduce our emissions the future must lie in moving away from our current system of gas central heating in individual properties, so parties should commit to **supporting genuinely renewable heat solutions** - through the electrification of heat, rolling out heat pumps, and district heat networks. The development of new heat solutions not only has potential to reduce emissions, but will create jobs and, if delivered through the right interventions, could contribute to tackling fuel poverty.

The next Parliament must also see a much increased commitment to increasing the energy efficiency of Scotland's home. Energy efficiency unlocks triple benefits - reducing emissions, tackling fuel poverty, and creating green jobs. Estimates from the STUC suggest that up to 34,000 jobs jobs would be created in energy efficiency over 2 years if funding was doubled. Parties should commit to **doubling energy efficiency funding**, rapidly scaling up existing schemes.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> <https://foe.scot/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/SeaChange-final-r3.pdf>

<sup>11</sup> [http://www.stuc.org.uk/files/Scotland\\_Report.pdf](http://www.stuc.org.uk/files/Scotland_Report.pdf)

## A ban on new fossil fuel infrastructure

Any fossil fuel infrastructure developed in the next parliament will be operational long after we should have completed our energy transition. This would lock Scotland into high carbon emissions for decades to come, compromising our ability to meet our climate targets. With significant potential for emissions reduction alongside job creation in zero carbon industries, our focus must instead be on supporting the just transition to a renewable energy system - not propping up fossil fuels.

Crucially, this must mean parties committing to **not support false solutions like carbon capture (utilisation) and storage (CCS/CCUS), hydrogen from fossil fuels, or Bioenergy with Carbon Capture and storage (BECCS)**. If we are going to achieve our targets, we don't have time to drive focus and funding away from the zero-carbon alternative technologies that we know exist to gamble on these uncertain and highly problematic technologies. Even if they could work at scale, these solutions do little to challenge the underlying problems of fossil fuels, broken ownership models, and workers conditions in the energy sector which have contributed to many of the problems that exist today. BECCS additionally brings the insurmountable challenge of competing for limited land needed globally to grow food.

Following delays to the process of the National Planning Framework, the next Parliament will have oversight of the development of Scotland's new planning strategy (NPF4). Parties should commit to using **NPF4 to set out an explicit ban on the construction of fossil fuel infrastructure, including CCS/CCUS, fossil hydrogen and BECCS**, giving favourability to the development of renewable energy instead. Parties should also commit to **continuing the existing prohibition on onshore unconventional oil and gas extraction - aka fracking -** and strengthening this prohibition through inclusion in the forthcoming NPF4.

## Waste

Our current linear economy, where resources are extracted, made into products, used, then thrown into landfill, is disastrous for our planet - and has no place in the zero-carbon economy that we must be striving for. This model creates unnecessary additional emissions in manufacturing new products, leads to litter on our streets and beaches, creates an overconsumption of valuable global resources, and has potentially huge consequences for public health.

Moving to a more circular economy, where products and their raw materials are reused and recycled rather than going to waste, reduces these burdens on our planet. Instead of creating more waste that goes to landfill, is dumped in the environment, or ends up burned, we can develop new opportunities to reuse materials - tackling emissions, reducing waste, and developing new green jobs in reuse and recycling.

### Key policies:

- Introduce a Circular Economy Bill with targets

- Put in place a moratorium on building new incinerators in Scotland
- Support national reuse and repair initiatives

## Introduce a Circular Economy Bill with targets

Moving to a circular economy has the potential to make Scotland more resilient to future global crises by creating more local sustainable jobs and developing circular business opportunities. This will reduce our reliance on global supply chains and reduce our contribution to the global climate crisis.

The next logical step is to transform the way we consume and manage resources in Scotland, moving to a circular economy which would save Scotland 11 million tonnes of carbon dioxide emissions by 2050 - a quarter of our current total.

A Circular Economy Bill was due to be introduced in spring 2020, but was one of the Bills halted by the COVID-19 pandemic. In order to properly capture the impact of our consumption of resources, parties must commit to **introducing a Circular Economy Bill**, including targets that reduce the emissions produced in creating everything we consume, replicating the model used in the Climate Change Act. Scotland's 2045 net-zero target only requires us to reduce our territorial emissions, yet 51.1% of Scotland's carbon footprint is made up of greenhouse gas emissions embedded in imported goods and services from overseas. These wider consumption emissions are already measured by the Scottish Government so any Circular Economy Bill must include targets to reduce our carbon footprint to net zero by 2050 including imported emissions and our material footprint by 50% from 2020 to 2030 for minerals, metals and fossil fuel feedstocks. The Bill must also include a commitment to set a biomass reduction target when data is available to ensure increased demands for biomass like timber as a substitute for concrete and steel does result in habitat destruction and biodiversity loss.

## Put in place a moratorium on building new incinerators in Scotland

As we work towards the target of net-zero emissions by 2045 and local authorities across Scotland move to divert waste from landfill before the ban on sending biodegradable municipal waste to landfill comes into force in 2025, we must ensure we don't rush into building more incinerators in Scotland. Our focus should instead be on reducing overall waste, ensuring that as much waste as possible is made up of recyclable or reusable materials.

Any new incinerator will lock us into years of wasting resources by burning them, and the associated environmental damage, at a time when we should be embracing opportunities to reuse and recycle raw materials. In their manifestos, parties should commit to **a moratorium on building new incinerators**. Further incineration capacity will reduce the incentive for implementing reduce, reuse, and recycle schemes in Scotland and incineration itself creates pollution, and is ultimately in conflict with our climate change ambitions.

## Support national reuse and repair initiatives

Reusing materials is a fundamental aspect of the waste hierarchy - extending the lifespan of products, delaying the need for an outright replacement, reduces our consumption of raw materials and the associated environmental damage of making new products. Despite the

importance of reuse, our current linear economy promotes a throwaway culture - where it is often easier and cheaper for consumers to just replace a product. This must change.

To promote a greater reuse culture, we need a national programme of reuse initiatives - promoting the sharing and repairing of items that risk otherwise being thrown away. This shouldn't just focus on individual behaviours, but put emphasis on changing how businesses operate and supporting the development of a reuse economy.

Parties should commit to launching initiatives that rapidly roll out **reuse and repair schemes**, particularly developing specific support and funding for individuals wanting to launch relevant businesses or initiatives in their area. A number of successful examples, including Edinburgh and Stirling tool libraries, the Bike Station, and the Remakery in Edinburgh should be scaled up and replicated. These initiatives can keep products circulating in the economies for as long as possible, thus reducing the environmental impacts of replacing them.

Parties should be supportive of putting an obligation on manufacturers and retailers to make and sell products that are easier to repair, reuse and recycle, and put an onus on manufacturers to fund these national repair schemes.

## Cleaner, greener transport

Transport represents Scotland's biggest source of greenhouse gas emissions - making up almost a third of our annual emissions in 2018, having decreased only 4.9% from 1990 baseline levels. It is clear that changing our transport system is key to tackling the climate crisis and achieving our emissions targets. Equally, we know significant, decent jobs exist in green transport - from building and maintaining active travel infrastructure, to the manufacture and maintenance of electric trains and buses. Transport policy in the next Parliament must focus in moving away from the car-centric system we have at present, recognising that the future lies in increasing access to public transport and active travel.

As well as reducing our contribution to climate change, moving away from cars towards sustainable transport will also unlock a number of co-benefits for connecting communities and employment, improving health, and addressing inequalities. Car use is an equalities issue, with people on the lowest incomes, people from ethnic minority communities, and people living with disabilities least likely to own a car.<sup>12</sup> Air pollution, primarily from transport, is responsible for the early deaths of 2,500 people in Scotland each year.<sup>13</sup>

The next Parliament has potential to be significant for Scotland's relationship with private cars, with the delayed Low Emission Zones being implemented in our 4 biggest cities, and a target to remove the need for new fossil fuel cars and vans by 2032. Equally, it is not enough to just plan for a like-for-like replacement of fossil fuel vehicles with electric alternatives. If all

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<sup>12</sup> <https://www.transport.gov.scot/media/44207/sct01193326941.pdf>

<sup>13</sup>

<https://foe.scot/press-release/new-research-means-2500-deaths-a-year-in-scotland-are-from-air-pollution/>

of Scotland's 3 million cars were turned electric overnight, we would still experience dangerous levels of sedentary behaviour, community severance due to traffic, and air pollution produced from electric car tyres and brakes. Instead, we need to look at how we can better incentivise alternative sustainable travel options.

**Key policies:**

- Stop building new roads and redirect money into sustainable transport
- Introduce scrappage schemes, replacing cars with access to sustainable transport
- Increase Air Departure Tax to fund surface transport improvements.

## Stop building major new roads and redirect money into sustainable transport

Traffic is an induced demand - more trunk road capacity leads to longer journeys and more emissions. We cannot afford to create more transport emissions than we have already: the priority, and therefore the spending, must be on sustainable transport. Investing in more major road building - thereby incentivising one of our largest sources of greenhouse gas emissions - contradicts our climate objectives.

The next Scottish Government must commit to halting all planned trunk road expansions, with the funding instead spent on improving our public transport network and our connectivity. With a huge demand for working from home, our broadband capacity needs to be expanded, particularly in rural areas. Even the AA to suggest road use spending should be diverted to broadband infrastructure.<sup>14</sup>

Parties should commit to **stop building major new roads, and investing in:**

- Universal free bus travel

As well as supporting efforts to achieve our climate targets,<sup>15</sup> cities and countries that have implemented free bus travel have found it creates huge savings for statutory services, and stimulates the economy.<sup>16</sup> In Scotland, particularly in areas of deprivation, a free and reliable bus service could connect people to employment and education opportunities that would otherwise be unavailable. We need to understand transport as a vital public service, like our NHS, which is inter-connected with all aspects of public life - not as a stand alone product which we allow private operators to profit from. This will be vital alongside other initiatives to make public transport more accessible and appealing as we look to restore passenger numbers after the pandemic.

Parties should commit to **extending free bus travel to all**, starting with a trial in Glasgow in the lead up to the UN Climate Summit in November 2021.

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<sup>14</sup> <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-52137968>

<sup>15</sup>

<https://fraserofallander.org/scottish-economy/can-fare-free-public-transport-help-glasgow-reach-their-net-zero-emissions-target-by-2030/>

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.getglasgowmoving.org/reports/farefreebuses.pdf>

- A publicly owned bus fund

Buses are absolutely essential to the functioning of our society and to the reduction in greenhouse gas emissions from our highest emitting sector: transport. Buses being run for profit is one of the reasons bus use has declined so significantly; changeable services with expensive fares have led many people to buy a car, which brings its own expenses. The impacts of transport poverty have far reaching consequences and it begins with poorly-run bus services with warped priorities.

Private operators have been handed enormous subsidies during lockdown, even with very few passengers, showing that the funding is possible. Despite this, private companies have demonstrated little obligation to passengers over profit, with routes being cut or changed across the country. This has subsequently rendered many of our bus routes insufficient, unreliable, and expensive.

Parties should commit to **creating a fund for Local Authorities and Regional Transport Partnerships** to run bus services directly, using powers in the Transport (Scotland) Act 2019. Publicly owned buses, most efficient in tandem with free bus travel, can challenge isolation and transport poverty - unlocking new, affordable or free, bus routes. These companies could also act as a stimulus for the Scottish bus manufacturing and retrofit industry.

## Introduce scrappage schemes, replacing cars with access to sustainable transport

We need to find ways of getting the most polluting vehicles out of our built-up areas, supporting people to move away from old, polluting cars. Scrappage schemes, where the Government buys the old, polluting cars from the owner, are often touted as a solution. However most scrappage schemes, which rely on replacing one car with a newer car, don't tackle the underlying issues with car use, and serve only to secure more money for the car industry. These schemes risk entrenching transport inequalities, and have proved ineffective in appealing to people to replace old cars. A new model is needed.

Scrappage schemes fit for the climate emergency should focus on giving people access to active travel and public transport, the most sustainable modes of transport, rather than retaining the same number of cars on the roads. For example, instead of offering part of the cost of a new car - schemes should offer to cover the full cost of car club membership, public transport season tickets, or electric bikes. Not only would this scheme contribute to our climate targets, but it would also prioritise public health, be able to offer targeted support to people on lower incomes, and create demand for jobs in sustainable transport.

Parties should commit to **creating a scrappage scheme which offers access to public transport and active travel** instead of new cars.

## Increase Air Departure Tax to fund surface transport improvements.

Air travel, the most polluting mode of transport - by some distance - per passenger per mile, is disproportionately used by the very wealthy. In May 2019, the Scottish Government abandoned its plans to cut Air Departure Tax (ADT), recognition that this policy would be in conflict with our climate ambitions. Revenue from ADT, a relatively progressive tax given it is applied to a disproportionately wealthy activity, and differentiates between classes of travel, is currently around £300m a year.

Going forward, just maintaining existing ADT levels is not enough. Air travel remaining more affordable than surface transport alternatives, often propped up by public fuel subsidies, cannot be condoned. The next Scottish Government should look at how ADT can be raised, and whether there is flexibility to do this in a way that taxes frequent flyers more. This increased revenue should be ringfenced to support sustainable ground transport - including expanding free bus travel, electrifying Scotland's railways, and investing in developing electric ferries to connect Scotland's islands, and Scotland with mainland Europe. Crucially, the income could also address skills and technology development in the supply chain for these initiatives.

Parties should commit to **increasing Air Departure Tax**, ringfencing income to develop sustainable public transport initiatives instead. This process to explore how ADT can be increased using similar principles to the Frequent Flyer Levy - ensuring that additional ADT is targeted at those who fly the most.

## Environmental Rights & Governance

The next Scottish Parliament will sit for the first time just 5 months after the UK has left the European Union. Brexit represents a significant threat to environmental rights and protections in Scotland. The European Union underpins a number of the environmental standards which offer protection to people and the environment around us - from water quality to air pollution. Equally, our environmental justice system is interwoven with our EU membership, and the European courts offer a vital route to justice for the environment, which will be lost on Brexit.

While the Scottish Government has committed to keeping pace with EU standards, and has established a Task Force to advise on Human Rights, including environmental rights, parties must commit to going further by incorporating environmental rights into law and developing a robust framework of environmental governance. Scotland must come out of the next Parliament with much greater protections, fit for a time of multiple and existential environmental crises, rather than having rights stripped away by Brexit.

## Incorporate the Right to a Healthy and Safe Environment into Scots Law

The right to a healthy and safe environment is essential to the realisation of all other human rights. This reality has been painfully exposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, with new viruses like this one on the increase over the last century due to the harm human activity is causing



to the ecosystems we are part of and depend upon. On the other hand the unequal impacts of both the virus and the measures to restrict it have clearly played out along the lines of existing systemic inequalities in our society.

As the climate and biodiversity crises escalate, the transformation of our society and economy needed to address them must be underpinned by a human rights approach that recognises the fundamental right to life is only possible if the Right to a Healthy and Safe Environment is respected and upheld. This right has been clarified and articulated in the 2018 UN Framework Principles on Human Rights and the Environment. The principles of environmental democracy - enshrined as rights to access to information, public participation in decision making and access to justice in the UNECE Aarhus Convention - are key to the overarching Right to a Healthy and Safe Environment.

Parties must commit to **fully incorporate the Right to a Healthy and Safe Environment into Scots Law** in line with the UN framework principles, and the Aarhus Convention, in the next Parliamentary session along with the other human rights recommended by the Task Force. Parties should also commit to capacity building with duty bearers and rights holders to help make these all important rights a reality.

## Improve environmental governance post-Brexit

Our post-Brexit environmental regime must be built on the premise of adhering to and keeping pace with EU standards as a minimum, setting stricter regulations where necessary, ensuring compliance and building a stronger system of environmental governance in Scotland in the process.

This means the new Environmental Standards Scotland (ESS) watchdog must be given a robust and independent mandate to ensure that these standards are met or exceeded. Its mandate must cover the full scope of environmental law, including climate change obligations, and the ESS must be resourced adequately for the task at hand, including investigating complaints by individuals and community groups. It also means establishing a new environmental court to make up for the loss of oversight from the European Court of Justice. A specialist environmental court or tribunal would see more consistent, certain and speedier judicial decisions to secure better outcomes for the environment and should improve access to justice, resulting in better compliance with the UNECE Aarhus Convention. This could be achieved by extending the scope of the Scottish Lands Court and Tribunal, as is presently under discussion, or by establishing a new body.

Parties should therefore commit to **introducing comprehensive environmental standards in order to keep pace with** and go beyond the EU where necessary. Parties must also commit to **ensuring Parliamentary oversight, independence and adequate resourcing** of Environmental Standards Scotland, and a mandate that covers the full scope of environmental law. Finally Parties should commit to introducing legislation to establish a **specialist Environmental Court**, with a speedier, more accessible and cost-effective environmental justice system.

## Climate justice and COP26

The climate crisis is at heart a crisis of global justice - with those in the Global South, who have done the least to cause climate breakdown suffering from the worst impacts of it. Meanwhile rich nations who have caused the crisis and benefited economically from

decades of polluting the atmosphere are failing to step up to their fair share of action. Recognising and acting on this injustice is key to unlocking global cooperation on climate and averting truly catastrophic warming.

A climate justice analysis should therefore underpin all efforts to tackle the climate emergency, and embedding climate justice principles in the Climate Change (Emissions Reduction) (Scotland) Act 2019 was an important start for this work. Scotland's commitment to and record on climate justice will come under scrutiny in the next Parliament, with the global UN Climate Conference coming to Glasgow in 2021. As the sub-state nation host of COP26, the Scottish Government must take a strong stand on climate justice, using its prominent role to influence other nations to recognise and embrace a climate justice approach.

## Publish Scotland's climate commitments ahead of COP26 in Glasgow

One of the key topics to be discussed at COP26 relates to the updated and enhanced Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) which parties to the Paris Agreement are due to submit by 2020. NDCs set out parties contributions to climate action, including emissions reductions targets and plans, contributions to adaptation, climate finance commitments and other support for developing countries. Current NDC pledges put the world on track for a catastrophic 3-4°C warming, so it is crucial that these are substantially and fairly increased in line with the Paris Agreement goal of limiting warming to 1.5°C.

Ahead of COP26, many major countries will submit NDCs with 'flagship' commitments on proposed emissions reductions by 2030. Compared to a 1990 baseline, the EU is likely to set a 50-55% 2030 target, and the UK is understood to be considering 65%.

As the sub-state nation host of COP26, and a known champion for ambitious climate action, Parties should therefore commit to **develop and promote an “indicative NDC” for Scotland**, showcasing our commitment to climate justice, highlighting our 75% target by 2030 and how it will be met, to encourage other developed nations to substantially raise their own ambition. Scotland's indicative NDC should also show leadership by including commitments on climate finance, and other support for developing countries, including in relation to mitigation and adaptation.

## Commit to a Fair Shares approach to global climate finance

Most of the issues arising at the UN climate talks - due to be held in Glasgow in November 2021 - centre around questions of equity, and historic responsibility and capability to act that are at the heart of climate justice. Long term tensions between 'developed' and 'developing' country parties to the UNFCCC focus on these questions, therefore they are key to unlocking the global cooperation that is essential to achieving the Paris Agreement target of limiting global temperature increase to 1.5°C. New analysis demonstrates that in addition to getting to zero emissions domestically, Scotland, and the UK, need to make substantial emissions cuts happen internationally to fulfil the other part of our Fair Share.<sup>17</sup> Climate finance and other forms of support for global south countries are central to this.

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<sup>17</sup> <https://www.christianaid.org.uk/resources/about-us/uks-climate-fair-share>

The analysis shows that if the UK was to reduce its own emissions to zero by 2030, it would still be responsible for an estimated £1trillion in support for developing countries. Given that the UK has committed to net-zero by 2050 (two decades later), its financial obligations are significantly greater. Scotland is responsible for a portion of the UK's Fair Share, both in terms of mitigation and finance. Given its more ambitious mitigation targets of 75% by 2030 and net-zero by 2045, its climate finance obligations will be slightly less than the UKs on a proportional basis.

Parties should commit to **increasing Scotland's climate fund in line with the Fair Shares approach** using devolved revenue-raising powers to ensure the money is additional and not simply repurposed from other initiatives, domestic or international. Parties should also proactively call for other rich countries to increase their own contribution, based on a Fair Shares approach, while championing additionality before and at COP26 in Glasgow, building on Scotland's example to date, and champion increased wealth taxes, financial transaction taxes, and the redirection of military budgets and fossil fuel subsidies internationally as a means to pay the carbon debt owed to the Global South.

## Commit to a fossil free COP

The UN and its annual Conference of the Parties (COP) is intended as a place for global leaders and civil society to discuss a coordinated response to tackle the climate emergency. Increasingly though, the COP has become dominated by powerful corporate interests, such as fossil fuel companies, who are vested in the status quo and use their significant influence to prevent meaningful progress. That this influence is having a profound effect on the architecture and implementation of the global climate regime is clear through energy giant Shell's boast that it wrote Article 6 of the Paris Agreement.

It is both contradictory and morally inexcusable to give fossil fuel companies space within the COP to lobby to continue polluting, perpetuating the very problem the conference is aiming to resolve. Meanwhile, the voices of those already experiencing the impacts of the climate emergency are increasingly pushed to the sidelines, as demonstrated by the temporary exclusion of hundreds of civil society observers at COP25 in Madrid. This should not be allowed to happen when COP26 comes to Glasgow.

Parties should commit to working to **kick fossil fuels out of COP**, and instead meaningfully engaging with conference participants from the global south. Such a transformation would be an important long term legacy of the Glasgow COP. With its prominence as a world leader on climate, and its influence as the sub-state nation host, the Scottish Government should use its engagements with the UK Government to press for a COP presidency which:

1. Takes no money from big polluters for the sponsorship of COP venue, UK pavilion inside COP, and any external UK-Gov organised events and spaces planned for the Glasgow summit;
2. Gives no UK Party badges to representatives of big polluters

3. Invites no big polluters to sit on their panels or speak at their events, and reject sharing a platform with any big polluters invited by others.
4. Pushes for a Conflicts of Interest policy at the UNFCCC

Building on this, the next Scottish Government should also commit to:

5. Taking no money from big polluters for the sponsorship of any Scottish Government organised venues, events and spaces planned for the Glasgow summit;
6. Inviting no big polluters to sit on their panels or speak at their events, and reject sharing a platform with any big polluters invited by others.

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