



THE
DIGITAL
ECONOMIST

Meeting the Climate Challenge

Policy Brief No. 3

Our Duty of Care

A new social contract using United Nations Human Rights covenants and the UN Responsibility to Protect, to implement and ensure inclusive climate resilience and a sustainable future for humankind

ISBN [978-1-926755-21-2](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-926755-21-2)

© The Digital Economist Center of Excellence on Human-centered Digital Economy
May 2022

Contents



Legal Disclaimer	02
A Note from The Digital Economist	03
Executive Summary	04
Introduction	07
Why Do Ww Need UNCRA?	08
Looking back: The relevance of principles of human security and R2P to combat the climate crisis	11
UNCRA's novel approach to convene and apply funding, coordination, and implementation	13
COP conferences and Collective Responsibility	16
Redefining human security in light of the climate crisis	16
The Gandhian foundation for Human Security and Responsibility to Protect	17
The Impact of the Climate Crisis on Women, Peace and Security, and Feminist Foreign Policy	18
Conclusion and Recommendations	19



Legal Disclaimer

This document (the "Document") has been prepared by The Digital Economist ("The Digital Economist"). The Digital Economist is a registered S-Corporation in Washington, D.C.

No undertaking, warranty or other assurance is given, and none should be implied, as to, and no reliance should be placed on, the accuracy, completeness or fairness of the information or opinions contained in this Document. The information contained in the Document is not subject to completion, alteration and verification nor should it be assumed that the information in the Document will be updated. The information contained in the Document has not been verified by The Digital Economist or any of its associates or affiliates.

The Document should not be considered a recommendation by The Digital Economist or any of its directors, officers, employees, agents or advisers. Recipients should not construe the contents of this Document as legal, tax, regulatory, financial or accounting advice and are urged to consult with their own advisers in relation to such matters. The information contained in the Document has been prepared purely for informational purposes. In all cases persons should conduct their own investigation and analysis of the data in the Document.

Any forecasts, opinions, estimates and projections contained in the Document constitute the judgement of The Digital Economist and are provided for illustrative purposes only. Such forecasts, opinions, estimates and projections involve known and unknown risks, uncertainties and other factors which may cause the actual results, performance or achievements to be materially different from any future results, performance or achievements expressed or implied by such forecasts, opinions, estimates and projections. Accordingly, no warrant (express or implied) is or will be made or given in relation to, and (except in the case of willful fraud) no responsibility or liability is or will be accepted by The Digital Economist or any of its directors, officers, employees, agents or advisers in respect of, such forecasts, opinions, estimates and projections or their achievement or reasonableness. Recipients of the Document must determine for themselves the reliance (if any) that they should place on such forecasts, opinions, estimates and projections.

Information contained in the Document may not be distributed, published or reproduced in whole or in part or disclosed to any other person. The distribution of any document provided at or in connection with the Document in jurisdictions other than the United States may be restricted by law and therefore persons into whose possession any such documents may come should inform themselves about and observe any such restrictions.



A note from The Digital Economist

The Digital Economist works with the priorities for addressing the planetary climate crisis set by the Conference of Parties (COP) serving as the Parties to the [United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change \(UNFCCC\)](#), the [Glasgow Climate Pact](#) reached at COP26, and the [United Nations Sustainable Development Goals](#) (Agenda 2030).

Our [first policy brief](#) in our series Meeting the Climate Challenge, a call for a global carbon levy on fossil fuel extraction, addresses the key question evoked in the Glasgow talks, which is at the heart of the climate question – financing.

In the [second policy brief](#) in this series, The Digital Economist sought consensus that transcends the differences that became evident in Glasgow, to seek common purpose and common ground using our 6-D vision.

In this third policy brief, Our Duty of Care, we propose establishing a new international agency– the United Nations Climate Resilience Agency (UNCRA) to implement all international agreements approved by the Conference of Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. To realize the new climate agency, we invoke both the spirit and the letter of international covenants on human rights, human security and the responsibility to protect (which are the customary laws of signatory nation-states) to provide a robust legal and philosophical framework to converge climate resilience to include the most vulnerable. Indeed, the corrosive effects of planetary reliance on fossil fuels are brought into even sharper relief by the conflict in Ukraine, where Russia's role as producer and supplier of energy in Europe tests these international covenants. In addition to protecting civilians in conflict, we propose a social contract addressing inequity and sustainable human development, to successfully build enduring climate resilience.

We shall offer a collection of compelling policy briefs and technical briefs on Meeting the Climate Challenge by the time COP27 convenes in Sharm-el-Sheikh, Egypt, in November 2022, and continue to convene actionable thought leadership through to COP28 in the United Arab Emirates in 2023.

Each of these briefs is meant as a catalyst to provoke and stimulate conversation, dialogue, sharing of ideas, mutual engagement and, above all, to advance the momentum of inclusive climate resilience that leaves none behind.

To collaborate on future briefs generated by our Center of Excellence on Human-Centered Global Economy, please contact Senior Fellow [Satya Brata Das](#) on satya@thedigitaleconomist.com

Executive Summary

As a devastating military incursion pounded Ukrainian cities in February and March 2022, the world came to rediscover a United Nations doctrine born of the conflicts of the 20th century: the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). The doctrine of R2P promised a new way of dealing with conflict when the world was tormented by the 1991-2001 European wars sparked by the breakup of the former Yugoslavia, and the April to July 1994 genocide in Rwanda, when marauding militants massacred the Tutsi minority, and attacked the Hutu and Twa populations opposed to them. Each of these calamities cruelly exploited the limits of United Nations peacekeeping. In Rwanda, vastly outnumbered United Nations peacekeepers with a limited mandate stood by helplessly in the face of the carnage. And in the former Yugoslavia, UN peacekeepers themselves were captured and taken hostage. Mandated by a coalition of middle powers called the Human Security Network, the underlying spirit of R2P was to protect vulnerable populations, rather than nation-state boundaries.

Adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2005, the R2P foresaw the international community intervening to protect civilian populations trapped by conflict, particularly in areas where there was no effective governance. And more controversially, where the government itself was the predator on the weak and vulnerable. Human dignity was central to this effort. The evolving definition of human security presented by the United Nations Development Program meant safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression. Above all, it meant protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life.

Its principles and rationale remain compelling till this day. The generous, if so far rather uncoordinated, welcome afforded to Ukrainian refugees within the European Union in the wake of the Russian invasion is shaped by the principles of R2P.

Driven by the same spirit and aspirations, The Digital Economist revisited the doctrine of R2P in the context of the climate crisis. We believe the responsibility to protect the most vulnerable must go beyond the plight of civilians in armed conflict, to protect global populations facing the existential crises of the planet: climate change, nature and biodiversity loss, pollution and waste (we call it the “triple crisis”).

Our greatest and most urgent responsibility is to protect our common home from the worst ravages of human-driven climate change, the linchpin of the triple crisis.

The Digital Economist believes the principles of Responsibility to Protect must be fully and comprehensively summoned to cope with the triple crisis, including a means of effectively uniting, implementing and executing the global response.

So far, international efforts have failed to protect the planet from the consequences of significant atmospheric warming. The international consensus began in 1992 with the establishment of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), an international environmental treaty to combat “dangerous human interference with the climate system,” signed by 154 states at the United Nations Conference on Environment in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. This was followed by the Kyoto protocol in 1995, committing state parties to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. These noble initiatives have yet to achieve coordinated and collaborative climate resilience for all who share our common home.

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) [assessment report released at the end of February 2022](#) laments a fragmented and incremental response to climate change. The dismaying future it evokes makes it all the more imperative to implement an inclusive climate resilience master plan in the face of planetary peril.



The Digital Economist proposes two avenues to mitigate the impact of the previous failed attempts:

First, we believe the international community must be encouraged to find common ground and unity of purpose in applying R2P principles to coping with the climate crisis. Essentially, we propose that all the agencies, programs, legal frameworks and conventions of the UN relating to conflict resolution, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and inclusive societal development, must be adapted to address the climate emergency. In effect, this would be a new social contract, ensuring that all populations and all societies, particularly the most vulnerable and the most marginalized, draw equitable resources, protection and benefit from the global pursuit of climate resilience.

Second, to execute this social contract, we call for the creation of a new international body, the United Nations Climate Resilience Agency (UNCRA). The underlying rationale behind a new climate agency lies in the insufficiency of conventional views of human security, focusing primarily on nation-states and the conflicts within and among them, while failing to mitigate and eliminate the existential threat to our biosphere and our imperiled common home. This is amplified by the official report of COP26 released on March 10, 2022: the Glasgow Climate Pact is indeed an advance, but how are its goals to be implemented and enforced as effectively as possible? This is the role The Digital Economist foresees for UNCRA, as the action arm to take the outcomes of COP meetings and the newly-formed climate change global innovation hub of the UNFCCC, and ensure their robust and well-funded application.

The new social contract we propose, to be realized by UNCRA, already has strong foundations.

We are heartened by the steady progress achieved by the Conference of Parties (COP) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. We welcome with great interest and enthusiasm the creation of the The UN Climate Change Global Innovation Hub (UGIH), which promises human-centered coordination in mitigating climate change. Yet we believe in a formal global capacity to coordinate our collective efforts in climate resilience, to fully enact the principles and philosophy of R2P.

Building on the foundations already established, UNCRA's mission and mandate should include everyone: including the investors and capital

pools already committed to funding climate resilience, who already are leading the energy transition, decarbonisation, as well as technologies and installations to pursue net-zero economies. Indeed, robust public-private partnerships will be needed to overcome the limits of international consensus that evoke disappointment at each COP summit, and the constraints faced by private capital, which requires a predictable path charted by rule of law to govern investment.

We believe a new social contract should bring together the funding streams, expertise and collective will of all nations and all societies – mutually dedicated to enacting and emplacing effective solutions and best practices in adaptation, mitigation and inclusive climate resilience. We believe this can be achieved through the empowerment of UNCRA.

The new UNCRA is intended to create an enabling environment and operating framework to foster local innovation and investment. Ultimately, it will enable the shifts needed for effective action: behavior change among global citizens, community-driven adoption of new technologies and investment models, cross-sector investment into sustainable business practices. All of these elements are needed to fulfill our duty of care.

Essentially, the UNFCCC, with its drive to enact effective climate policy, would now gain an empowered and focused implementation capacity through the creation of UNCRA. It would be the enforcement arm of our global collective will.



Key Recommendations

1. Apply the principles of R2P to a coordinated international effort to cope with the climate crisis, based on the cumulative decisions reached in international agreements and conventions on climate change.
2. Apply the United Nations Charter, particularly its provisions on collective security and economic and societal development, to the climate crisis. Take the transnational view embodied in the 2005 adoption of the R2P and the 2005 creation of the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission and apply them to the climate crisis.
3. Ensure robust funding of the Paris Agreement to establish inclusive climate resilience, using the Global Carbon Levy proposed by The Digital Economist, and applying The Digital Economist's 6-D vision to identify priorities and sustainable approaches to inclusive climate resilience.
4. Establish a United Nations Climate Resilience Agency (UNCRA) to coordinate the enactment, delivery, execution and establishment of all cumulative agreements approved by the Conference of Parties (COP) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).
5. Populate UNCRA with expertise, procedures, governance and enabling structures within the UN ecosystem. These include, but are not limited to, the UN Environmental Programme, UNFCCC, UN Peacebuilding Commission, UN Peacekeeping Operations, UNESCO, World Health Organization and UNICEF.

Introduction

Our greatest and most urgent responsibility is to protect our common home from the worst ravages of human-driven climate change.

As the dominant life form within the biosphere, humans have intervened in nearly every aspect of the natural environment. And our collective and cumulative actions have changed the very composition of the air we all breathe, the water that sustains life and the land we inhabit.

Until the COVID-19 pandemic shattered our sense of invincibility and superiority – our civilisation brought to its knees by an infectious agent invisible to the human eye – many of the most powerful among us were convinced climate change could be “stopped,” or at the very worst, mitigated by technological prowess.

Yet apart from cultish science deniers, and with the lived experience of extremes in weather that affect every part of the planet, a critical mass of humans is coming to understand that we are at a *strophe*, a turning point. Our collective action in the next two decades will determine whether this *strophe* becomes a *catastrophe*, a point of no return for our biosphere and all life forms that inhabit it.

Simply understanding this responsibility to protect the planet from the consequences of significant atmospheric warming – a process that began in 1995 in Kyoto, with the protocol that enacted the 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) committing state parties to reduce greenhouse gas emissions – has yet to achieve coordinated and collaborative climate resilience for all who share our common home.

We need a new social contract that includes, but goes beyond the UNFCCC's noble and laudable mission. We need it to liberate the UNFCCC consensus from the hobble of domestic politics, which dilutes the resolve and commitment reached at each and every meeting of the Conference of Parties (COP) to the UNFCCC. A social contract that leaves none behind.

In this policy brief, we explore how the laws, conventions, and organizations in the United Nations ecosystem – particularly evolving notions of human security and the doctrine of Responsibility to Protect adopted by the General Assembly in 2005 – can be applied to converge and concentrate a truly global effort to implement mitigation, adaptation and climate resilience. Including the private sector, which has come to see sustainability as a significant value-creation opportunity, especially when aligned with the UN Sustainable Development Goals.

The Digital Economist calls for the creation of a new world body to ensure that the decisions of all COP meetings to date are brought to life. We propose the establishment of the United Nations Climate Resilience Agency (UNCRA) to coordinate the enactment, delivery, execution, and establishment of all cumulative agreements. Essentially, the UNFCCC, with its drive to enact effective climate policy, would now gain an empowered and focused implementation capacity through the creation of UNCRA. It would be the enforcement arm of our global collective will. It would include the deployment of open tech, funding model integration, cross stakeholder co-creation and capacity building. These strategic developments are essential to address solution gaps, and to the acceptance of “uncertainty and risks” related to financing with new business models.

Why Do We Need UNCRA?

The urgent need for an agency like UNCRA to implement the coordinated global response evoked in UNFCCC is brought into sharp relief by the The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) Sixth Assessment Report. Released at the end of February 2022, the report laments a fragmented and incremental response to climate change. The dismaying future it evokes makes it all the more imperative to implement an inclusive plan for climate resilience in the face of planetary peril.

Indeed, as the IPCC noted in its Summary for Policymakers (SPMD.3.1):

Taking integrated action for climate resilience to avoid climate risk requires urgent decision making for the new built environment and retrofitting existing urban design, infrastructure and land use. Based on socioeconomic circumstances, adaptation and sustainable development actions will provide multiple benefits including for health and well-being, particularly when supported by national governments, nongovernmental organizations and international agencies that work across sectors in partnerships with local communities. Equitable partnerships between local and municipal governments, the private sector, Indigenous Peoples, local communities, and civil

society can, including through international cooperation, advance climate resilient development by addressing structural inequalities, insufficient financial resources, cross-city risks and the integration of Indigenous knowledge and Local knowledge.

The potential of what UNCRA can achieve in implementing the accumulated commitments of every COP in the service of inclusive climate resilience that leaves none behind, is set out in the February 2022 report from Working Group II of the IPCC:

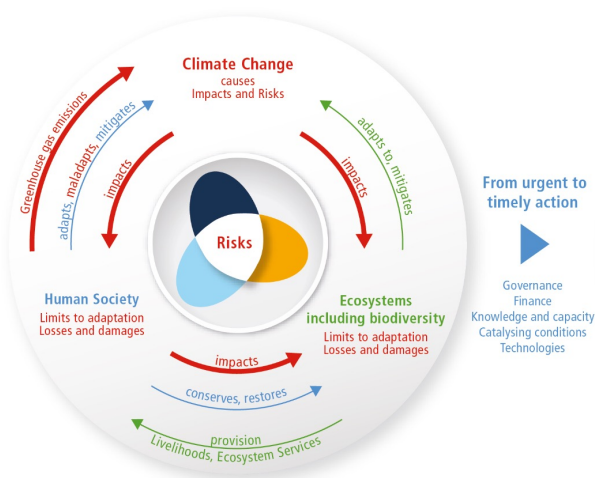
The graphic representation below illustrates the potential of this virtuous cycle.

The legal justifications for UNCRA, as the implementation agency of COP agreements and the consensus represented in the UNFCCC, can readily be derived from the [United Nations Charter](#) itself. Indeed, seeing the climate crisis in the context of the first two articles of the Charter makes a compelling case for concerted international action.

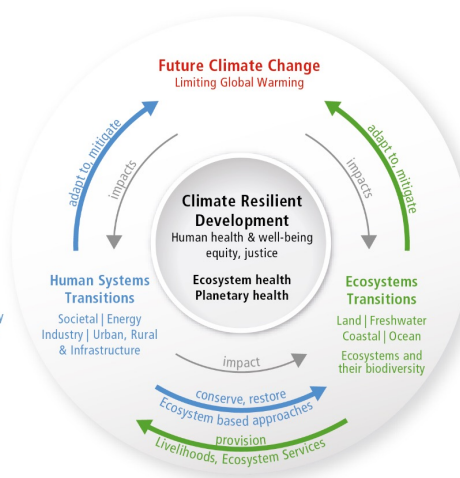
In addition, Articles 43 to 49 of the Charter can be readily adapted to meet the climate crisis: the requirement to provide military personnel can surely be interpreted to include military engineers, particularly those able to build the hard infrastructure of climate resilience. Further,

From climate risk to climate resilient development: climate, ecosystems (including biodiversity) and human society as coupled systems

(a) Main interactions and trends



(b) Options to reduce climate risks and establish resilience



The risk propeller shows that risk emerges from the overlap of:



Source: https://report.ipcc.ch/ar6wg2/pdf/IPCC_AR6_WGII_SummaryForPolicymakers.pdf

in keeping with the spirit of these sections, the requirement of nations to provide people to mutually assist one another can surely extend beyond the military, to experts best able to devise effective adaptation and mitigation in the climate crisis, while building inclusive climate resilience.

It is also worth mentioning that the human rights conventions adopted by the international community are founded upon the principle of human dignity. One can certainly place the compelling need for convening robust and effective action through UNFCCC and UNCRA within the vision of the Charter's preamble, which noted a collective will *"to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom ..."*

Besides the International Bill of Rights (which includes the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the Convention to End Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Convention on Rights of the Child (CRC)), we deploy the thinking used to mitigate conflict between nations to the service of inclusive climate resilience. More specifically, to use the guiding principles and rationale of the Human Security Framework, and its philosophical and policy instrument R2P in the context of climate change and climate resilience.

The Digital Economist believes that the sustainable future envisioned by the IPCC working group's report can indeed be achieved, by applying the principles and precepts of Human Security and the Responsibility to Protect to the climate crisis.

This philosophy is well reflected in the UN Climate Change Global Innovation Hub, launched in November 2021, which aims to develop the human-centered measures that must be incorporated by UNCRA as it uses the funds foreseen in the Paris Agreement – and which can be exceeded, as suggested by our policy brief in this series, *Leaving None Behind*, calling for a global carbon levy on fossil fuel production to fund inclusive climate resilience – as an effective implementation agency.

The Innovation Hub can be seen as the "engine room" of UNCRA, given its ambition to leverage the convening power and climate leadership of the United Nations with the innovative capacity and dynamism of the private sector. It is specifically designed to overcome the incremental and piecemeal approach deplored by the IPCC report, to share ideas and design climate solutions in a spirit of radical collaboration. And once those ideas are shared, UNCRA becomes the executing agency to put them into action.

And it is essential to see this as an all-sector effort, in the spirit of the Global Compact. The efforts of UNFCCC and the global innovation hub clearly delineate the necessary actions, but implementation is local. Public-private partnerships, especially on the local scale, tap into private- and philanthropic-sector networks and funds that can help fast track initiatives pursued by UNCRA.





Looking back: The relevance of principles of human security and R2P to combat the climate crisis

As a devastating military incursion pounded Ukrainian cities in February and March 2022, the world came to rediscover a United Nations doctrine born of the conflicts of the 20th century: the Responsibility to Protect.

The 1991–2001 European wars sparked by the breakup of the former Yugoslavia and the April to July 1994 genocide in Rwanda, when marauding militants massacred the Tutsi minority and attacked those among the Hutu and Twa populations opposed to the killing, provoked a new way of dealing with conflict. Each of these calamities cruelly exploited the limits of United Nations peacekeeping. In Rwanda, vastly outnumbered United Nations peacekeepers with a limited mandate stood helplessly in the face of the carnage. And in the former Yugoslavia, UN peacekeepers themselves were captured and taken hostage.

In the wake of the Balkan civil wars and the genocidal civil war in Rwanda in the last decade of the 20th century, a collection of middle powers within the United Nations convened a Human Security Network to redefine global security.

Human dignity was central to this effort. The evolving definition of human security presented by the United Nations Development Program meant safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression. Above all, it meant protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life.

Their efforts led to a new way of looking at global conflict: centered on vulnerable populations, rather than nation-state boundaries. In 2001, the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty published its final report titled *The Responsibility to Protect*. Commissioners redefined sovereignty not as an absolute right, but as a responsibility to be fulfilled. And they set out the responsibilities we have as an international community to prevent the gravest crimes and to protect people from them. Their report laid the groundwork for the unanimous UN Agreement on the Responsibility to Protect. Adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2005, the R2P foresaw the international community intervening to protect civilian populations trapped by conflict, particularly in areas where there was no effective governance. And more controversially, where the

government itself was the predator on the weak and vulnerable.

In the immediate aftermath of the Cold War, and the new development agenda, the first authoritative definition of human security was provided in 1994 when Mahbub ul Haq drew attention to the concept in the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Human Development Report. Beyond territorial and military concerns, the report argued that human security is fundamentally concerned with human life and dignity. For UNDP, human security meant safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression, and it meant protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life. Understood in these terms, human security has also been encapsulated in the “freedom from fear” and “freedom from want” policy axiom.

The concept evolved from the work of the Human Security Network (HSN). The HSN began as a multi-regional group created in 1999 to maintain dialogue and identify areas of human security that can be the subject of collective action. The member countries of the HSN in 1999 were Austria, Canada, Chile, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, Norway, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Switzerland, Thailand and, as Observer, South Africa.

The original human security agenda included a number of goals that flow from the underlying tenet of the doctrine that the true holders of rights in our world are not states and governments, but rather the individuals for whose benefit they exist and in whose interests nation-states are expected to act. Seen in this context, the rights that states possess are derived from responsibilities – and indeed, the word most commonly associated with states is not “rights,” but “responsibilities.” And the definition of security itself, as stated by the UNDP, consists of seven nonexhaustive and nonexclusive security categories—community, economic, environmental, food, health, personal and political.

The most significant achievements of the HSN: the Ottawa Treaty banning anti-personnel mines; the Treaty of Rome creating the International Criminal Court; action on “conflict diamonds,” seeking to prevent the financing of terrorism and violence through diamond trafficking; groundbreaking thematic Security Council resolutions on children and armed conflict and women, peace and security; and major breakthroughs in the protection of civilians, including the unanimous adoption by UN Member States in 2005 of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P).

It is worth noting that the turn of the millennium brought to a close some extraordinary and groundbreaking work by three Canadian foreign ministers who sought to redefine human security in new ways of being and belonging in the world. The last of these was Lloyd Axworthy, whose retirement brought to an end a career of great achievement and controversy, marked by the courage and capacity to project the ideals of Canada onto the global stage. Axworthy was the third in the great triumvirate of foreign ministers who charted Canada's place in the world in the latter half of the 20th century, and in so doing defined new possibilities for the human family.

Lester Pearson, the creator of United Nations peacekeeping, represented in the 1950s and 1960s the first evolution of a post-colonial worldview that was more just and inclusive – defying the great powers to chart an independent course, showing overt sympathy and identification with the newer and smaller nations of the world.

Joe Clark's tenure as foreign minister in the 1980s was the most pivotal. His Conservative government was a champion of human rights, nuclear disarmament and a more peaceful world. Clark and his prime minister Brian Mulroney's singular leadership in the international campaign against apartheid was vital in hastening South Africa's transition to democracy. Axworthy built on the work of his estimable predecessors – indeed, his time as foreign minister was a natural continuum from Clark, picking up the threads dropped by less distinguished ministers in between.

All three of them redefined the meaning of the word "security" as it applies to nations and governments. The traditional view, based on military might and the ability to project that power swiftly and rapidly to protect national interests, was at the heart of definitions of security since the Second World War. This militaristic view was based on a notion of strong national defense, including threats that might be remote or unlikely, leading to the idea of a space-based missile-defense system against nuclear attack.

That notion of security gained even greater force in the United States in the wake of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks led by Saudi nationals, which destroyed the World Trade Center in New York and crashed a passenger jet into the Pentagon. Once invincibility was shattered, once vulnerability was exposed, America set out to build even stronger defenses, warning that a decades-long "war on terrorism" might be necessary to abolish any possibility of another such attack on American soil. In the first months after the attacks, the United States government repeatedly issued

cryptic warnings that a terror attack could be imminent, and warned people to be vigilant. In the budgets that followed, billions of dollars were spent on homeland defense, and no one questioned whether the US military budget should be subject to any limits on its growth.

Yet as the terrorist attacks demonstrated, no amount of money or vigilance can buy absolute security. Canada's trio of eminent foreign ministers advocated a more complex sense of global security, based on mutual support and interdependence.

In the 1990s, this evolved into what came to be known as human security, a notion of international peace and security based on protecting the rights of the individual. The human-security concept of foreign policy that originated in the last two decades of the 20th century, and maintained a momentum until the UN adopted the Responsibility to Protect in 2005, there was a new definition of what security means – one based on the rights of civilian populations regardless of national jurisdiction.

This meant saving people caught in war, rescuing people from terror, fighting poverty, empowering people and nations, being partners in development, giving people tools to build lives of meaning and purpose. Most controversially, the two dozen or so member nations of the Human Security Network argued that all of this should be done by transcending traditional notions of national boundaries, to ensure the wellbeing of vulnerable citizens and their communities.



UNCRA to combat climate crisis – an embodiment of combined HSN and R2P principles

The principles of HSN and R2P and their rationale remain compelling today. The Russian invasion of Ukraine, launched in February 2022, is a calamitous aftershock of the December 26, 1991 breakup of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which sundered Ukraine and Russia after centuries of Czarist and Communist governance. The generous, though not always well coordinated, welcome afforded to Ukrainian refugees within the European Union is shaped by the Responsibility to Protect.

Yet while the Ukraine conflict demands a humanitarian response, the Responsibility to Protect must go beyond the plight of civilians in armed conflict, to protect global populations facing the existential crises of the planet: climate change, nature and biodiversity loss, pollution and waste.

The Digital Economist believes the principles of R2P must be fully and comprehensively summoned to cope with the triple crisis, including a means of effectively uniting, implementing and executing the global response. The international community can find common ground and unity of purpose in applying R2P principles to coping with the climate crisis. Essentially, we propose that all the agencies, programs, legal frameworks and conventions of the UN relating to conflict resolution, peacekeeping, peacebuilding, inclusive societal development, should be adapted to the climate emergency. In addition, the soft tools around innovation, capacity building, partnership models, umbrella mechanisms, community building and platforms for uptake must be empowered and utilized in support of global goals.

The Digital Economist believes we must extend this concept to the realm of climate resilience, with a particular focus on ensuring that no one is left behind in the quest for inclusive climate resilience, including, but not limited to, the construction of the physical infrastructure necessary to protect the most vulnerable populations. Not as an act of charity or help, but as an exercise of our common responsibility. The Responsibility to Protect.

UNCRA's novel approach to convene and apply funding, coordination, and implementation

In a world accustomed to war, the imperatives of peace building represent new ground, with a paucity of resources and an absence of clear direction. Building and sustaining a peace takes the international community into new areas: into violating the sovereignty of other

nations, ignoring territorial integrity, demanding the right to act aggressively against governments that violate the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is a remaking of the world order made possible by the end of the Cold War between the western alliance and the former Soviet Union and its allies. In theory at least, it promises a future in which human rights are paramount. It flows from an evolving idea of human security – the notion that human rights transcend political boundaries. With more and more conflicts within nations rather than between nations – civil war rather than wars between countries – protecting civilians in armed conflict becomes the priority.

The overwhelming challenge – in a world where US\$ 2.1 trillion flows annually into “defense” spending, preparations for war fighting and the legal portion of the global arms trade – is determining who pays for collective security, and in particular, the transition to inclusive climate resilience. Especially in the wake of 26 COP conferences, where the UNFCCC continues to plead for the resources necessary to fund inclusive climate resilience that leaves none behind. Indeed, the diversion of funds from arms production to civil defense is an imperative in coping with climate change, moving the focus from armaments to further fuel internecine conflict, to meeting the peril facing the planet itself. And in applying the thinking of Responsibility to Protect in this disarmament perspective, one can see that the military – particularly the corps of engineers and soldiers skilled in everything from electronics to mechanics – can be diverted and deployed to help erect the physical infrastructure the planet needs to mitigate, and adapt to, anthropogenic climate change.

The United Nations is chronically hampered by a lack of funds. This was as true in Kofi Annan's time as it is now. The chronic shortage of funding for a basket of grand demands and aspirations led Annan to propose a “Global Compact,” wherein business and enterprises would be

subcontracted to provide and perhaps pay for services the United Nations would normally offer. The Global Compact did come into being, and has evolved beyond Annan's initial thoughts. It has taken on a direct and explicit role in addressing Agenda 2030, the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.

This development arose as a natural evolution catalyzed by the Responsibility to Protect. The momentum behind R2P began gathering as the turn of the millennium approached. The United Nations was in 2000 de jure and de facto the government of two territories emerging from conflict, Kosovo and East Timor, although its hold on Kosovo was more tenuous than it ought to have been. In each case, lack of money eroded the lofty goal of establishing a lasting peace, rooted in a civil society. As former Czech foreign minister Jiri Dienstbier famously put it after a visit to the Serbian province of Kosovo in the former Yugoslavia in the fall of 1999, the spring ethnic cleansing of Albanians has been replaced by the fall ethnic cleansing of Serbs. Yet at the end of the day, despite early turbulence, the 2020s see both Kosovars and Timorese enjoying the fruits of lasting peace.

The UN's difficulties in restoring civil society in Kosovo aptly illustrated the challenges of peacebuilding, the next step after traditional peacekeeping establishes a cease-fire. Sustainable peace was new and unknown territory for the UN and the international community. It was one of the first items on Annan's plate upon assuming office, and he took a much more expansive view of peace than its minimalist definition as the absence of war:

"Lasting peace requires more than intervention of the Blue Helmets on the ground," Annan told the World Economic Forum in February 1997.

*"Effective peacekeeping demands a broader notion of human security. We cannot be secure amidst starvation, we cannot build peace without alleviating poverty, and we cannot build freedom on foundations of injustice."*¹

Replace the term peacekeeping with inclusive climate resilience, and we can see how these precepts apply also to the concerted global effort convened by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the annual conferences of parties to the framework.

To achieve inclusive climate resilience, it is worth revisiting the ground prepared by the UN to achieve peace-building, and to sustain it. The broad vision of sustainable peace articulated by Kofi Annan can only flow from a narrower mission:

the requirement to end conflicts so that the foundations of justice can be established. Both tasks are necessary, but Annan consistently stressed that the UN can't do it alone. It should not be expected to "do something" in every outbreak, nor should its inability to act be condemned and dismissed as an ineffectual stance. The world body cannot impose a miraculous settlement, nor can it reasonably be expected to build a peace if there is no organic desire to end a conflict. *"Political motivation and political persuasion are critical elements in a peace process,"* Annan told a peacekeeping seminar in November 1997. *"When the parties are genuinely interested in a settlement, mountains can be moved in the interest of peace. However, in chaotic conditions in which power has devolved to splinter factions, which have no real interest in peace, there are palpable limits to what the international community can accomplish. A sense of community – the will to reconcile – cannot be imposed."*²





COP conferences and Collective Responsibility

The limits of effective action arising from the annual Conference of Parties (COP) of the UNFCCC are laid bare by the February 2022 update from Working Group II of the international convergence of scientists from across the world, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). [Climate Change 2022: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability](#) follows the science to a terrifying conclusion.

COP reliance on consensus – which often goes against the warnings issued by the Secretariat of the UNFCCC itself – means a heavy reliance on Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs), which effectively means each signatory gets to decide how much or how little to do in terms of climate adaptation, mitigation and resilience. In fact, the IPCC report notes, things are getting worse, not better. And the window for effective action is rapidly closing. The parenthetical comments in the excerpt below relay the degree of confidence in the scientific consensus on each conclusion:

Future vulnerability of ecosystems to climate change will be strongly influenced by the past, present and future development of human society, including from overall unsustainable consumption and production, and increasing demographic pressures, as well as persistent unsustainable use and management of land, ocean, and water (high confidence). Projected climate change, combined with non-climatic drivers, will cause loss and degradation of much of the world's forests (high confidence), coral reefs and low-lying coastal wetlands (very high confidence). While agricultural development contributes to food security, unsustainable agricultural expansion, driven in part by unbalanced diets, increases ecosystem and human vulnerability and leads to competition for land and/or water resources (high confidence).

The Digital Economist argues that establishing UNCRA, and giving it the power and scope needed to achieve inclusive climate resilience, is an imperative rather than an alternative. The next two COPs — 2022 in Egypt and 2023 in the United Arab Emirates – are in regions where vulnerability from lack of arable land and scarcity of freshwater are part of the normative framework of life. If the world community emerges from these without creating an action-oriented agency in UNCRA or its like, the window may indeed shut on any effective measures. Our common home, where

more than half the species are already migrating towards the planet's poles (as noted in the February 2022 IPCC report) will face unprecedented upheaval. Today's *strophe* will become tomorrow's *catastrophe*. The next two COPs are our last, best chance to mitigate the existential threat to our biosphere.

Redefining human security in light of the climate crisis

As noted, the prevailing definition of security has depended primarily on armed forces and organized military responses. In the convergence necessary to answer the clarion warning of the IPCC February 2022 report, there is still a critical role for the military.

In “Finding Common Ground,” the second paper in our series on Meeting the Climate Challenge, we introduced a 6-D vision to uncover a broader expanse of challenges and their potential solutions, in coping with the climate crisis. We argued that three foundational Ds – Disarmament, Development and Dignity – would set the stage for three action-oriented Ds – Decarbonisation, Decentralization and Digitalization.

We evoke Disarmament with great precision: diverting resources away from the production and manufacture of arms, and using those to build civil defenses to advance adaptation and mitigation in the face of the climate emergency. With their deep experience in logistics and organization, not to mention the skills of military engineers and scientists, the world's military forces can be the front line in building the hard infrastructure of climate resilience.

The creation of the UN Peacebuilding Commission in the first decade of the millennium arose from a recognition that peacekeeping is not enough to resolve conflict. To build a sustainable peace meant building the soft infrastructure of a civil society: rule of law, equitable economic opportunity and human rights as a way of life, as well as learning that included literacy, numeracy and social justice and above all, respect for one another and for the natural environment.

We can see the convergence of civil society, the business world, non-governmental organizations, the entire engineering profession and military expertise, all following the science to build climate resilience. The coalitions evoked in peacebuilding, which led to significant success in UN-led nation building in post-conflict regions as diverse as East Timor and Kosovo, must now be applied to the climate emergency.

The Digital Economist believes the precepts of peacebuilding can readily be adapted to the quest for inclusive climate resilience. In putting theory into practice, we need to learn more from failures of UN peacebuilding and peacekeeping as well as from successes. The experiences of Afghanistan, Palestine and Rwanda should remind us of what needs to be learned, as we move forward with a new UN agency to ensure inclusive climate resilience. And as we take this step into the future, it is worth recalling the lived experience of the past, which must continue to guide and shape our efforts to converge effective planetary collaboration.

The new UNCRA is intended to create an enabling environment and operating framework to foster local innovation and investment. Ultimately, it will enable the shifts needed for effective action: behavior change from global citizens, community-driven adoption of new technologies and investment models and cross-sector investment into sustainable business practices. All of these elements are needed to fulfill our duty of care.

The Gandhian foundation for Human Security and Responsibility to Protect

Even though the entirety of his life and his work preceded the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the India-born world leader Mohandas Karamchand (Mahatma) Gandhi laid the foundations of what we have come to know as ethical and moral leadership, the very foundations of Human Security and the Responsibility to Protect.

As with the great Stoic philosopher Marcus Aurelius Antonius (who served *en passant* as Emperor of Rome in the second century of the Common Era), Gandhi summoned faith, reason and self-restraint to forge his view that the absence of fear and the absence of want are in fact the apex of civilisation, in the context of advancing human dignity as the axial motive of a clement and inclusive future for humankind.

As a subject of the British Crown, which claimed domain and suzerainty over the Indian subcontinent, Gandhi was driven by moral and ethical conviction to seek and pursue human dignity as the foundation of all societal intercourse, making a compelling case for the end of colonization and the emancipation of those caught in economic and political enslavement.

In this quest, Gandhi defined the seven public sins

he believed must be overcome; to bend the arc of civilisation towards justice. He named these in 1925:

- Wealth without Work
- Pleasure without Conscience
- Knowledge without Character
- Commerce without Morality
- Science without Humanity
- Worship without Sacrifice
- Politics without Principle

Stop and think about this diagnosis.

Look at the world around you, your community, your workplace. Take stock of the people you know. If you maintain a clear-eyed gaze, you will find examples of each one of these public sins.

Now think about the historic context. Gandhi's diagnosis came at the height of the colonial era, when much of Europe and North America was prospering in the years that followed the First World War.

It came only seven years after the Russian Revolution, before Stalin killed off his rivals and began his reign of terror. It came only four years after the Shanghai meeting that established the Communist Party of China, at a time of feuding warlords, when Mao Zedong was still an idealistic revolutionary in his twenties. It came four years before the Great Depression, when the fruits of "commerce without morality" plunged the world economy into the abyss.

The "if only" of hindsight is all too tempting when one looks at the two decades that followed Gandhi's assessment of what ails the world. It is all too easy now to look back at history and understand how these public sins unleashed a paroxysm of violence that engulfed the world. But it is not just a question of history.

As they did in Gandhi's time, these public sins continue to afflict humankind and the species with whom we share this biosphere.

Each of us can look within our community, our polity, our nation, and our state to find myriad examples. Indeed, there are entire cadres of leadership – in the public, private and even philanthropic spheres – who openly and ardently embrace these sins as markers on the path to "success," or as a necessary means to secure their own ambitions.

And we see all too clearly that these public sins bolster a culture of might, dominance and subjugation – especially in the Gandhian construct, which holds poverty as the most debilitating form of violence.

The South African leader Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, who himself took inspiration from Gandhi during his long incarceration, concluded that the world needs an entirely new political culture. One based on our common humanity. One based on collaboration and cooperation. One in which the right to a fulfilled, meaningful human life is paramount: a culture of human rights.

We have at our disposal the astonishing connectivity of the digital world, ways to intermingle that were not imagined in the last century, or even when the new millennium began.

Even now, it is worth recalling Gandhi's methods and how he became a peerless agent of change. He believed in the power of example. Specifically, the power of sacrifice. In Gandhi's view, the glue of social cohesion was to be selfless.

Rather than the pursuit of individual liberty, he believed in the fulfillment of individual obligations. Our obligations to our family, our friends. The responsibility to care for one another, to believe in one another, to build the bonds of love and trust and fellowship and companionship.

Gandhi had no illusions about the chicanery of politics, about the corrosive power of greed and inequality. Giving of yourself, in the service of those in your family and your community, took precedence over gratifying your personal desires and the exclusive pursuit of your personal happiness. And above all, to make these sacrifices without expecting anything in return. This in itself is the polar opposite of transactional relationships. He believed that this willingness to sacrifice makes you fearless.

His second method was to walk in the shoes of the dispossessed, the forgotten, those at the fringes of society. Gandhi believed that the only democracy worthy of the name would put human dignity far ahead of accumulated wealth. Once the poorest enjoyed the same respect accorded to the wealthiest, when the human dignity of the poorest in a society mattered above all, then we could rightly claim that the arc of history would bend toward justice.

Much like those among us who advocate "follow the science," Gandhi believed in the transformative power of truth. He used the term *satyagraha* to describe the empowered application of truth to confront societal injustice. And the application of *satyagraha*, Gandhi felt, must be in the context of converging better human and planetary outcomes: the very mission that drives The Digital Economist today.

Poverty, in Gandhi's view, was the worst and most pervasive form of violence. He evoked a concept he called *sarvodaya* – a Sanskrit word roughly translating as the welfare of all. It can be more clearly expressed in English as a philosophy that nurtures the common good and enhances the wealth of all.

The twin concepts of *satyagraha* and *sarvodaya* become the radiant principles of Gandhi's goal of

societal transformation.

Gandhi thought economic inequality was a tyranny with a sugar coating: that the interests of the rich and powerful would always prevail until we all recognised our obligation to uplift the weakest and powerless. Gandhi's self-generated humility, and identification with the poorest of the poor, gave him the ability to build from the ground up – in utter contrast to the post-colonial politicians who often imposed top-down, centralized "solutions" for inequity in their efforts to abet societal development.

The willingness to sacrifice, to shed privilege and to empathize with the poor, formed the core of *satyagraha*: to use the power of selflessness and sacrifice to shame the powerful and privileged to dilute their advantages for the betterment of the common good.

His simplest organizing principle was the power of 10. Find 10 people who will spread your message. Task each with finding 10 more. And watch it multiply. This is how he was able to motivate tens of thousands of people to join his cause, across a country with dozens of languages and ethnicities in a vast geography, long before there was any facility and ease in mass communications.

Imagine how much more that power is amplified in the digital era, and what you can do in convening and collaborating in effective action.

And we know our actions cannot continue to reflect patriarchal power structures and hierarchies dominated by phallogocentric thinking, if climate resilience is to be truly inclusive. The power of *satyagraha* and *sarvodaya* can and must be applied in the service of gender equity.

The Impact of the Climate Crisis on Women, Peace and Security, and Feminist Foreign Policy

The United Nations Security Council has adopted resolutions on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) starting with resolution 1325 in 2000:

*"The resolution reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and in post-conflict reconstruction and stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security."*²

We share a common goal with the UN to encourage women to be a part of the peacekeeping process, to train peacekeepers on gender equality, and to urge member states to take action to promote gender parity and women's participation in peacekeeping.⁴ Achieving gender parity depends on collective efforts that need to be addressed in policy: increase in disarmament, economic recovery and accessing resources, women's leadership and political participation, gender-responsive peacekeeping, promoting and protecting the human rights of women and girls, financing the women, peace, and security agenda, and national and regional actions plans to guide and advocate women's peace and security.⁵

The Digital Economist believes that achieving gender equality and empowering women through gender policies and programs effectively promotes sustainable development, economic growth, democracy, human rights, stability, peace and security globally. Essentially, we propose that gender should be integrated into climate policy to achieve inclusive climate resilience. Gender equity in the realm of climate resilience ensures a commitment to protect the most vulnerable. Women and girls face higher rates of violence, displacement, and poverty due to the effects of climate change and conflict.⁶

We also advocate promoting women's leadership and participation in climate resilience. The organization UN Women reports that *"Women are not only vulnerable to climate change but they are also effective actors or agents in relation to both mitigation and adaptation... and these efforts should systematically and effectively address gender-specific impacts of climate change in the areas of food security, agriculture and fisheries; biodiversity; water; health; human rights; and peace, and security".⁷*

Financing mechanisms and technological developments are also considered important in terms of considering the priorities and needs of women.⁸

In 2017, the first ever Gender Action Plan to the UNFCCC was adopted at COP 23. The Gender Action Plan defines five priority areas: *"a) capacity-building, knowledge management and communication; b) gender balance, participation, and women's leadership; c) coherence; d) gender-responsive implementation and means of implementation; e) monitoring and reporting."⁹* UNDP reaffirms its commitment to promoting gender equality in climate change. It ensures that *"women and girls – their leadership, agency, and specific needs – are not left behind."¹⁰* In this

context, UNDP compels countries to develop and integrate gender mainstreaming into their climate action strategies and policies. Countries such as Cambodia, Ecuador, Guinea, Jordan, Kyrgyz Republic, Montenegro, Panama, Sierra Leone and Tunisia have integrated gender equality issues on their agendas to combat the climate crisis.¹¹ These initiatives promise a future wherein gender equality principles are paramount when taking action to address the climate crisis at both national and international levels.

We believe that advancing inclusive climate resilience can be achieved through a comprehensive analysis of gender relations. The Digital Economist proposes integration of gender-responsive policies, plans and programs into a feminist foreign policy framework to successfully build enduring climate resilience. Feminist foreign policy (FFP) was first adopted by Sweden in 2014, followed by other countries such as Canada, France, Luxembourg, Mexico and the UK.¹² FFP goes beyond the traditional notion of foreign policy based on national interests, as women and people from marginalized communities are most adversely impacted. FFP invites governments to rethink the meaning of security through a feminist lens, and promotes gender parity in foreign policy.

Most significantly, recent discussions on FFP are centered around climate change. Like global gender inequality and the pandemic itself, climate change has no borders. FFP framework deconstructs the securitized response to climate change. The Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy declares that:

"Feminist Foreign Policy - dedicated to human security and putting people's safety over the safety of states - acknowledges the climate crisis as a security issue and thus commits to fighting all factors directly and indirectly contributing to climate change. Only by striving for intersectional climate justice and accepting how the climate crisis already threatens and destroys livelihoods and makes people, especially marginalized communities, unsafe, we can achieve justice and security for everyone in the long run."¹³

Feminist foreign policies overlap with the core tenets of the WPS and GAP. In particular, Russia's invasion of Ukraine has revealed that gender issues and feminist insights still seem excluded from mainstream discussions.¹⁴ The Digital Economist invokes the spirit of common purpose and common ground through an intersectional feminist lens to achieve inclusive climate

resilience. We must continue to guide and shape our efforts to dismantle patriarchal, racial, and/or post-colonial imbalances. All genders must be fully involved in coping with the triple crisis.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The Digital Economist believes that Responsibility to Protect offers the convergence global efforts need to cope with the Climate Crisis. And that the UNFCCC needs robust implementation, execution and enforcement by a sister agency that will enact the agreements reached within the UNFCCC process. To that end, we recommend the following:

- Apply the principles of Responsibility to Protect (R2P) to a coordinated international effort to cope with the climate crisis, based on the cumulative decisions reached in international agreements and conventions on climate change,
- Apply the United Nations Charter, particularly its provisions on collective security and economic and societal development, to the climate crisis. Take the trans-national view embodied in the 2005 adoption of the R2P and the 2005 creation of the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission and apply them to the climate crisis.
- Ensure robust funding of the Paris Agreement to establish inclusive climate resilience, using the Global Carbon Levy proposed by The Digital Economist, and applying The Digital Economist's 6-D vision to identify priorities and sustainable approaches to inclusive climate resilience.
- Establish a United Nations Climate Resilience Agency (UNCRA) to coordinate the enactment, delivery, execution and establishment of all cumulative agreements approved by the Conference of Parties (COP) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).
- Populate UNCRA with expertise, procedures, and governance and enabling structures within the UN ecosystem. These include, but are not limited to, the UN Environmental Programme, UNFCCC, UN Peacebuilding Commission, UN Peacekeeping Operations, UNESCO, World Health Organization and UNICEF.





Authors



Neslihan Akpinar

Fellow, The Digital Economist



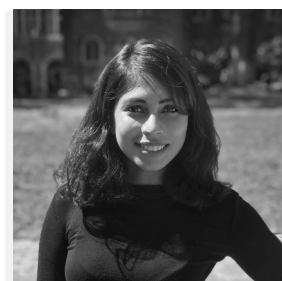
Satya Brata Das

Senior Fellow, The Digital Economist



Katherine Foster

Executive Director,
Green Digital Finance Alliance



Sangita Gazi

Fellow, The Digital Economist



Ranjani Sridharan

Senior Fellow, The Digital Economist

Editor



Michael Durrie

Editor-in-Chief, The Digital Economist



Contributors



Brian Barnier

Head of Decision Science & Analytics, ValueBridge



Hon. Douglas J. Roche, OC

Senator Emeritus, Canadian Senate
Former Canadian Ambassador for Disarmament



Lara Cerruti

Partnership Research Officer,
Impact 17



Sam Sealey

Digital Assets Advisor, The
Digital Economist



William Hoffman

Project Lead, Data for
Common Purpose Initiative,
World Economic Forum



Bibhu Prasad Mohapatra

Executive Director Emeritus, India
Development Foundation
Commonwealth Human Rights Institute



End Notes



1. <https://www.un.org/press/en/1997/19970131.sqsm6153.html>
2. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/246927?ln=en>
3. United Nations Security Council. (2000). Report of the Resolution 1325 (2000) Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on 31 October 2000. <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/720/18/PDF/N0072018.pdf?OpenElement>
4. United Nations Peacekeeping. (n.d.). Women in Peacekeeping. <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/women-peacekeeping>
5. UN Women. (2021). Facts and Figures: Women, peace, and security. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/facts-and-figures#participation>
6. UN Women Watch. (2009). Women, Gender Equality, and Climate Change. https://www.un.org/womenwatch/feature/climate_change/
7. *ibid.*
8. *ibid.*
9. United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). (2020, Jan 28). Strengthened 5-year Action Plan on Gender Adopted at COP25. <https://unfccc.int/news/strengthened-5-year-action-plan-on-gender-adopted-at-cop25>
10. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2022, March 7). Women at the Front of Climate Action: 9 Countries Working Towards Gender-Responsive Climate Policies. <https://undp-climate.exposure.co/women-at-the-front-of-climate-action>
11. *ibid.*
12. The Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy. (n.d.). Feminist Foreign Policy. <https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/feminist-foreign-policy>
13. The Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy. (2021, May 25). Feminist Foreign Policy and Climate Justice. <https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/cffp-events/2021/5/25-ffpandclimatejustice>
14. Moaveni, A. & Nagarajan, C. (2022, March 15). Another Deeply Gendered War is Being Waged in Ukraine. <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2022/3/15/another-deeply-gendered-war-is-being-waged-in-ukraine>

