

GLOBAL CLIMATE DIPLOMACY-CHALLENGES & OPPORTUNITIES

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Abstract

Global climate change is perceived to be one of biggest challenges that humanity is encountering today. Centrally, the climate system is the result of complex and dynamic interactions between the earth's atmosphere, oceans, and the biosphere. This work seeks to focus on the discordant debates, dialogues and narratives at diplomatic level that is primarily responsible for plaguing the global climate regime. Frankly, climate talk that is supposed to herald a brighter and cleaner planet for us has fast becoming a geopolitical power struggle. It is stressed here that these challenges could be transformed into opportunities to address our common concerns. From Japan to the US and from Iceland to Madagascar, our actions and interactions are all, either polluting the planet or aiding it to cope with the emerging disasters. The moot point is that we are all in the public square. Hence, the author strongly advocates that unless we display our responsibility to commit for a greener and cleaner environment, international actors are bound to fail in all their endeavours. Finally, the paper highlights how the participation of almost all actors starting from the civil society, grassroots governance agencies, national governments, global corporate conglomerates, human rights bodies, international institutions, and individual concerns on the issue of global warming has made it more complex, leading to a multi-layered conflicting debate. By spawning a variety of new elements and spaces to the ongoing climate talk, it has resulted into a proliferation of new perspectives, meanings, and utter confusions. Thus, to bring an end to this conundrum, the author offers a set of suggestions, to save the planet earth and not to mix the fight for global dominance with the concerns of the fast-deteriorating climate.

Keywords: Climate change, diplomacy, power struggle, UN, global governance

Introduction

Climate crisis is more serious than ever before. Time now is to fundamentally reorient our thinking process. Climate transformations are deepening. It is obvious that if it prolongs, the planet will witness massive disasters of man, material, and the environment. The complexity

of the climate crisis is very evident. The increasing levels of Green House Gas (GHG) emissions into the atmosphere is bringing serious impacts on the planet. While exploring plurality, complexity and opportunity in this climate change dilemma, what we observe is that the inequitable nature of the disaster is directly affecting the poorest and the most disadvantaged. Ironically, they all have contributed very little to this crisis. To create a resilient planet, words and pledges are to be transformed into actions. However, at the heart of this debate and emergency, it is clear that an increasingly institutionalised neoliberal consensus has forced the majority of the nations to rethink their strategies to counter the climate emergency.

It is evident that a complex and scientific enquiry has co-emerged with an imposing neo-liberal global governance system in the climate arena. Again, this institutional mechanism entails a multi-layered, networked system starting from the UN, its special agencies to civil society organizations (CSOs). The current climate governance regime consists of system that is guided by the United Nations Framework Conventions on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Kyoto Protocol, fully informed by varied scientific discourses through the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). And all these are enacted and backed by the various national governments across the world.

From Stockholm (Sweden), Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), Bali (Indonesia), Kyoto (Japan), Durban (South Africa), Katowice (Poland), Paris (France), Glasgow (UK) to now in Sharm El-Sheikh (Egypt) the point made is to bring a fundamentally pragmatic approach to minimise the disastrous effect on the planet. To formulate appropriate policies and strategies to counter the current climate emergency, a thorough grasp and analysis of the key global climate diplomacy initiatives is a must. To delineate political wranglings over the very foundations of the climate talk would enable us to steer clear the road ahead for a better planet. It is certain now that ‘future weather will not be like past weather; future climates will not be like past climates’.¹ Yes, it is true. Climate change is an environmental, political and cultural issue that reorienting our daily lives, whether consciously or unconsciously. Therefore, it’s time now to develop a constructive way to approach the climate change crisis to locate the probable solutions. Though very controversial and highly debateable issue, the former Secretary General of the UN, Ban Ki-moon (2007-16), perhaps rightly said that ‘climate change is the moral challenge of our

¹ M. Hulme. ‘Mapping Climate Change Knowledge: An Editorial Essay’, WIREs Climate Change, Vol 1, No. Jan/Feb, 1-8 (2010).

generation'.² The way the crisis brewed it has brought in front of us sheer ethical contestations. And, by most accounts, this environmental tragedy has not only created contestations between national governments and international organizations, but also between citizens and their respective governments, and finally between the current epoch and a sustainable future of this planet. Thanks to the IPCC, it has presented a powerful scientific consensus about the health of the atmosphere. And other important players in this like national governments, varied scientific agencies, CSOs, INGOs, and individual research have equally evinced similar results about the physical transformations of the climatic conditions. It is expressly envisioned that anthropogenic contribution to climate change is paramount.

Why the Climate Crisis is Alarming?

Throughout its history, the planet earth has warmed and cooled on its own. It's a natural course. What differs from the past warming is that a new element called humanity has added to the warming of the earth's climatic system in the past century. To put it simply, global warming is the unprecedented rise of the earth's surface temperature. It is primarily increasing because of the release of the GHGs by burning of the fossil fuels. It is mainly attributed to the presence of high levels of Carbon dioxide, CFCs and other pollutants in the earth's atmosphere. It is alarming as the climate change is affecting all other aspects of human, animal, and plant life.

'Glaciers are melting, sea levels are rising, cloud forests are dying, and wildlife is scrambling to keep pace. It has become clear that humans have caused most of the past century's warming by releasing heat-trapping gases as we power our modern lives. Called Greenhouse gases, their levels are higher now, than at any time in the past in 800, 000 years'.³

This demonstrates that humanity is experiencing a new threat from which no one can escape. Each part of the world has its own unique environmental issues, but all are undergoing epochal transformations in the last half a century. Each of the last four decades has been successively warmer than any decade that preceded it since 1850. Global surface temperature in the first two decades of the 21st century (2001-20) higher than 1850-1900. The estimated increase in global surface temperature in recent times is due to further warming since 2003-2012. Additionally, scientists confirm that the observed warming is driven by emissions emerging from human

² Ban Ki-moon. 'Forward' in P. McMullen (ed.), *Climate Change Science Compendium*, United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), ii (www.unep.org/compendium2009/).

³ Christina Nunez. 2019. 'Causes and Effects of Climate Change' (2019). Available at (<http://www.nationalgeographic.com/environment/article/global-warming-overview/>).

actions accompanied by GHG warming partly masked by aerosol cooling. The global temperature and overall weather change is dramatic.

Last year, the UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres sent a warning signal to the world about the current status of the climate change. He said that the IPCC Report was nothing short of a ‘code red for humanity’. He cautioned that ‘The evidence is irrefutable: greenhouse gas emissions are choking our planet & placing billions of people in danger. Global heating is affecting every region on earth, with many of the changes becoming irreversible. We must act decisively now to avert a climate catastrophe’. The IPCC’s latest report highlights that scientists have observed changes in earth’s climate in each part of the globe and across the entire climate system. Guterres also noted that internationally agreed thresholds of 1.5^oC above preindustrial levels of global heating was perilously close. Indeed, we all are very near to cross the redline. The only way to prevent exceeding this threshold is by urgently stepping up our efforts and pursuing the most ambitious path. Though the climate change is ‘widespread, rapid and intensifying’ as the IPCC says but still there is time to prevent the calamity. Thus, strong and sustained reductions in emissions of the CO₂ and other GHGs can swiftly make the atmosphere cleaner. And if it really happens, it is predicted that within a span of 20-30 years, the rise of global temperatures could very well be controlled.

Tracing History: Why the Climate Talks Have Failed so far?

Since the inception of the concern of the climate crisis, it has been marked that very few of the global actors and institutions are truly committed to the cause. The big polluters have always remained at the backdrop. Even then pinning down who is exactly responsible for it is trickier than it really seems. The brute reality is that all earlier actions initiated by the COPs and other global movements could have reduced the emission levels, but we did not do it sincerely. As a result, each passing year combined with inaction, the pollution levels have gone up and today global warming has become unmanageable. It is estimated that 70 per cent of the world’s GHG emissions over the last two decades are attributable to only 100 fossil fuel companies. Further a top 20 fossil fuel firms are behind a third of the world's emissions. Now the question is that who holds the power to control all of them and the rest which are spoiling the atmosphere? Precisely, we need to acknowledge the fact that allocating the blame to a particular group of companies, countries or individuals do not mean that they are solely responsible for the climate crisis. It is to be accepted that we all are using the products or by-products of these business

houses or things supplied by those polluting countries or individuals. True, no one can be spared for the deteriorating health of the planet.

Looking at the last two COP meetings, we could only sense failures. The COP25 in Madrid was a total disaster. It did not completely collapse, but certainly failed for many who expected that there could be hope for future. It was billed as a final session to offer guidelines for carbon markets to complete the Paris Agreement rulebook. The UN Secretary General Guterres also labelled the COP25 as ‘disappointing’. The COP26 at Glasgow again passed on as another platform for big power clash and wranglings. And now the COP27. We all are sensing a bitter struggle here as well. Frankly, the Paris Agreement that birthed the ‘can do spirit’ and to offer a hope for the world’s most vulnerable and underprivileged now has become a distant memory. These continued failures should have reminded the world leaders, business tycoons, social activists, scientists and the diplomatic community to rework their way to success.

Big Power Rivalry and the Global Climate Governance

The intricate panorama that surrounds the global climate talks is beset with big power rivalry. This work illustrates the key steps initiated by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in the last decade. It is important to see how this platform, the main multilateral institution for debating global action on climate crisis is plagued by big power clashes for long.

The fight to sustain its hegemony in world affairs, particularly in global climate governance system is apparent from the efforts made by Washington over a decade or so. Its all because of the rise of China in the last three decades. Since its joining of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001, its vision and mission for international expansion have been earmarked in almost all sectors. In general, the word hegemony is understood in terms of dominance. However, a Gramscian perspective underlines that hegemony is all but exertion of power by consensus. Drawing on the past experiences in international politics, consensus building is proved to be unimaginable. When both Beijing and Washington are vying for superiority, how can consensus be built by them on major global issues. In reality, its China that is fervently making strides to both counter and equate its position to the US in all major global governance institutions.

Is there a need to de-politicize this institution? Climate concern is common. So, an urgent need for depoliticization of the body is needed. After analysing the existing discursive struggles, it

can be concluded that unless shortcomings are addressed, global actions towards tackling climate change are not going to be realised.

The Washington vs Beijing has become synonymous for global power struggle today. Is it a fight for emission reduction or for achieving a 'Power Cult'. It seems the current contestations in climate governance is leading to re-establish a dominant 'Power Cult' in global politics.

Since the emergence of the WTO, the international stage has been set more for economic dominance than for political power play. The economic globalization accompanied by a huge upsurge in the field of information and communication technology have created a placeless world. This has made business, migration and knowledge flow to all corners of the globe with a much higher speed than ever before.

In this new scenario, China quickly emerged as an alternation source power to the already established western liberal order and also, especially to the Bretton Woods system. When China joined the WTO in 2001, it was regarded as the most pivotal development for the international economic order. Many analysts, mainly from the West, advocated China's decision to join the global trade body as its bold commitment to reform. It was expected that Beijing will abide by the rules of the global trading regime and will adjust its Communist command economy to the existing international system. However, one must be very clear that China is a vast state, and it is completely under the control of the CCP. Many within China preferred to welcome a liberalised free market economy, and some stood for an economic model already prevailing in Japan and South Korea. But the majority i.e. more than half of the 90 million plus members of the CCP wanted China to continue with its command economy. And these members beginning from global financial experts to ordinary people to the dyed-in-the-wool apparatchiks have a mixed opinion about China's entry into the elite club. So, while maintaining its market open to the outsiders, the Beijing Mandarins have kept intact its brand of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

And with this, China has gradually marched into the global stage and challenged the US and western hegemony in international institutions. Especially under the current Chinese President Xi Jinping, who has been ruling the country since 2012, the Middle Kingdom has openly challenged the US on all fronts. and now this October, he has extended his term to another five years, by breaking the very principle of 'Collective Leadership', once devised by legendary Deng Xiaoping. With this, Xi has warned the world leaders, particularly the US that China is

ready to set an alternative to the current global governance system. Washington is seriously under threat from Beijing, and it is continuously focussing on the Asia Pacific now much more than it did a decade before. This 'China challenge' has become a new symptom of geopolitical threat in all fields. This has been a cause of concern for making the climate change targets in the COPs. Unless these big powers are agreeing on a consensus to prevent the climate menace, humanity will soon lose the battle for reviving the green planet.

Role of International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs), Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and the Media

We all live in the public square. There is no place to hide. In an age of internet and communication propelled by globalization, the humanity is under surveillance. Our actions and reactions are being observed, recorded and circulated globally for mass consumption. At this critical juncture, when the environment is facing threats from our actions, the steps initiated by the INGOs and CSOs are noteworthy. The level of awareness and generation of information by them are immensely supporting the global community to fight the challenges brought by climate disasters.

It is once again underlined that governments at all levels—from the national to the grassroots, are responsible for helping communities responding to the emerging climate emergency. But the practice that is prevailing now is that most of these governments and their agencies act only under pressure either from the public or from the concerted efforts of the CSOs and the INGOs. Hence CSOs and INGOs have a social responsibility to raise awareness about climate change at local and regional levels while helping the governments, global governance institutions and numerous donor organizations to curb GHGs in the near future.

Initially, the role played by the CSOs from the advanced nations were very prominent at international climate talks and negotiations. But in 2009 in the run up to the COP15 at Copenhagen, the situation began to change. Many of the CSOs and INGOs in the Global South began to organize around climate change and development issues. And these organizations have started organizing at local and regional levels to articulate their voices around the specific issues that particularly affecting these nations from Asia, Africa, Latin America and the vulnerable island nations from the Pacific. The rapid climate change is impacting the world's poorest and the most vulnerable in the Global South and other parts of the world.

The report released by the Southern Voices on Climate Policy Choices in 2012 clearly highlights that ‘Climate change is happening now and is leading to a variety of impacts, including changing rainfall patterns, increases in number of floods, droughts and storms and slower onset changes such as rises in sea levels. This is affecting food security and water resources and leading to more disasters, especially among the world’s poorest and most vulnerable communities’.⁴ This indicates how increasing emissions are affecting the Global South and CSOs are raising these issues at global platforms like the COPs.

It is to be noted here that print, electronic and social media have also played a remarkable role in raising awareness particularly in regard to weather change and its impact on earth. Thus strong engagement with the media for environmental advocacy can facilitate programmes and policies to outreach the common people who are the worst sufferers of the crisis. More recently social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook have largely influenced people to fight for their lives, livelihood and rights on the face of fast degradation of the environment. Media coverage including the failures of governments and global institutions, reports released by UN and other key agencies, individual research outcomes on climate change are making people realise the hazardous impact of the emission of the GHGs.

It is immensely reported that our biodiversity is fully under threat. This learning mostly available either on free or on affordable platforms have done a yeoman’s service to humanity indeed. Finally, how young climate activists like Greta Thunberg are campaigning for climate justice is noteworthy and historic. While addressing the European Parliament and the UN, she has warned the global leaders that they have no right to steal the future of the young and also, she emphasised that the young people will not allow them to surrender their future. She clearly told the EU leaders that they should lead the way and have a moral obligation to do so. Its again a climate war declared by the youth leader to prevent the climate apocalypse.

Global Climate Justice Case

Just before embarking on the path to the COP-27, 12 countries (Germany, New Zealand, Singapore, Vietnam, Uganda, Samoa, Antigua and Barbuda, Bangladesh, The Federated States of Micronesia, Costa Rica, and Lichtenstein) are seriously backing an initiative launched by the Vanuatu Government to see the linkage between the violation of human rights and climate

⁴ Reid, H, Ampomah, G, Olazabal Prerah, M.I., Rabbani, G., Zvigadza, S. Southern Voices on Climate Policy Choices, (International Institute for Environment and Development, London, 2012) 38. Available at (<https://www.iied.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/2021-01/10032IIED.pdf>)

change. Here the issue of concern raised by the Vanuatu Government is that sustained climate change and disasters brought by them are leading to the breakdown of universal human rights and values. While demanding an investigation over this issue, the Government has alerted the international community that the issue must be addressed by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) based in The Hague (Netherlands) to get a legal clarity on the same. Hence seeking an advisory opinion from the ICJ over the issue itself highlights the fact that climate emergency is not only an issue of the environmental importance, but also it pertains to numerous democratic credentials like liberty, justice, equality, and most importantly rights. The violation of human rights is an unpardonable crime. Now it is learnt that this issue is going to be raised in the upcoming sessions of the United Nation General Assembly (UNGA), either in the later parts of the year 2022 or in early days of 2023. Once the voting is done on the issue, it would be referred to the ICJ. Ironically, though Australia has endorsed the campaign in principle, it has not so far joined the group. However regional and international pressure is mounting on Canberra to formally join the campaign before it enters the UNGA. This campaign was started in 2019 at a classroom in the University of South Pacific in Vanuatu, a nation that is there at the edge of climate risk. And on record, gross violation of human rights is fast becoming a part of the climate crisis in this island nation. The ‘Vanuatu Example’ as it can be rightly called and many more already on the line, is an alarming indication that it is the ICJ that must make an assessment of the grim situation created by the threat to the environment. The Pacific Vuvale (Vuvale is a word in Fijian language that stands for ‘Family’) is now concerned about the emerging threat to their survival and that is why it is urging Australia to give meaning to this environment pledge. Drawing on this deep-seated feeling of belongingness, it is very essential that Australia, a significant power in the Asia Pacific join the campaign and give the planet Earth, one more weapon to fight for its survival.

In fact, the small Pacific Island nations have been lobbying and speaking straight for quite some time to save their low-lying nations from the climate wrath. Last year, Prime Minister Josaia Voreqe Bainimarama of Fiji took the centre stage at the COP26 and seriously demanded the big emitter nations to accelerate their climate action programmes. He highlighted the idea that these plans must be useful both for the sinking Pacific nations and for the rest of the world. He repeatedly highlighted that the survival of the Pacific community is under threat. What he said rightly echoes a climate emergency: ‘All high-emitting countries must half global emissions by 2030. The G-20 nations who are prepared to make those commitments must demand the same from others. We have moral authority; you have a moral obligation. Together

our coalition of the willing can keep 1.5 alive, keep low-lying island nations above water, keep erratic and severe weather from devastating us all, and keep the trust between nations so that we can keep faith that our children and grandchildren will have a future. That includes making a good on the promise of \$100 billion in climate finance'.⁵ This says all that what the humanity together should do to adopt urgent mitigation measures to fully control global emission levels. Science is right. Climate crisis is on the rise.

Climate Finance: Does It Matter?

It does matter for the survival of the planet. Empty promises are not working anymore. Global finance is required to fight the climate risks. Without investing in the right places, particularly the poorer, vulnerable and developing nations, the global climate targets can't be reached. The climate finance is defined as 'the money which needs to be spent on a whole range of activities that will contribute to slowing down climate change and which will help the world to reach the target of limiting global warming to an increase of 1.5⁰C above pre-industrial levels'.⁶

With this it is overwhelmingly accepted that climate finance is needed to tackle what has been described by the UN as 'existential threat' of our times. To reach this goal, the world needs to reduce carbon emissions to practically zero by 2050. Indeed, more than a decade ago, the developed nations committed to mobilise \$100 billion per year by 2020 in support of climate action in developing countries. According to the UN, the annual \$100 billion commitment 'is a floor and not a ceiling' to mitigate the climate risks. But the advanced nations so far have failed to deliver on this promise and pushing the developing nations to the brink of danger.

The COP 26, COP-27 and the Road Ahead

The COP26 last year was seemed to be a great beginning. The 'Global Methane Pledge' launched at Glasgow, the UK is a major step forward, but then experts say that only sincere implementation will be the key to its success. Its main aim is to reduce methane emissions. The initiative now has 111 members led by the US and the European Union (EU). In fact, when over 130 heads of government and state gathered at Glasgow, the prime concern was to set new conditions for reducing the greenhouse gas emissions released by the burning of coal, gas and

⁵ PM Bainimaramas Statement at the COP26 Leaders' Summit available at <https://fiji.gov.fj/Media-Centre/Speeches/English/PM-BAINIMARAMA-S-STATEMENT-AT-THE-COP26-LEADERS-SU>.

⁶ The Trillion-dollar Climate Finance Challenge and opportunity available at <https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/06/1094762>

oil. Though the COP conference is an annual affair, the year 2021 was especially significant as it demanded an immediate solution to prevent the worst effects of climate change. All the leaders were urged to make immediate strategic decisions to lessen the effects of warming gases to avoid additional pollutants into the atmosphere. Today, freezing relations between Beijing and Washington may once again threaten the COP27, with a devastating war in Europe, just when the world was coming out of the COVID-19. The climate meet at Sharm El Sheikh will witness how the developing nations are still waiting for the huge climate finance promised by the wealthy nations in 2009 at the COP15 in Copenhagen. They are justifiably angry over this, it is now more than a decade, this finance is falling short to fight the climate disasters. Besides, V20 group of nations is also at the epicentre of this crisis that threaten their capacity to mobilise the urgent resources to build resilient and low-carbon economies moving forward. The debt of the V20 countries is increasing with the global pandemic weakening the financial back of all the nations. In fact, the UN needs to scale up some more trillions in sustainable infrastructure to meet its Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2030 and to limit global warming to 2⁰C.

Conclusion

While navigating through the global climate emergencies, it is realised that the following suggestions would extremely be high value in future:

- a. Firstly, it is time to engage multiple target groups to address the prevailing and future emergencies in various climate zones around the world. Sensitization part is already done and now the need of the hour is to facilitate a multifaceted coordinated action to tackle the burgeoning crisis.
- b. Secondly, to pressurize big cuts in carbon emissions, it is very essential to push the technological frontier.
- c. Thirdly, conducting regional dialogues and forging a web of leadership network would certainly be able to reduce major differences among the nations in tackling climate crisis.
- d. Fourthly, limiting further climate change would demand sustained cuts in GHG emissions. It is clear that without net zero CO₂ emissions, and a drop in the non-CO₂ forcing, the Green House will continue to be warmer.
- e. Fifth, the much-awaited climate finance needs to be delivered to the vulnerable nations.

- f. Sixth, the role of the UN, its agencies and other global donor organizations must play a pro-active role as they are doing now.
- g. Finally, more than a scientific issue, climate change has become an economic, political and social one. It is time to fight the climate emergency at all these levels.

When we look ahead of the current and persistent challenges, we see many more opportunities. But the reality is that woefully inadequate climate pledges by competing nations and bringing global power rivalry to the heart of the climate talks would lead us nowhere. Currently, we have difficult choices. So, the demand is for an impactful action at Sharm El-Sheikh on this November. The ultimate purpose is to secure a sustainable future for all.

At the end, it can well be concluded that it is just difficult to ascertain who should bear the entire costs and burdens of this climate disorder. There is no single factor or country that can be blamed for the continued deterioration of the health of the environment. Nevertheless, it is to be agreed here that mere moral prescriptions would be purely inadequate to address the intricacies of the climate dilemma. To find and work for an interpretive approach to climate change governance, we need to implement what Andersen said: ‘Sustainability is not a left or right issue: it is a long-term survival issue, an intergenerational justice and equity issue. We need to get on the right side of history and vote for the leaders who will do the right thing by the planet and so by us’.⁷ The task for now is to work out the solutions to save earth. The UNFCCC explains in simple and succinct terms both the dangers and intergovernmental processes the steps to be taken to arrest the destabilising effects of climate change. Global diplomacy may once again derail the COP27 meet. There are more chances big powers squabbling for spoiling the meet. But especially both Washington and Beijing must realise that the planet’s atmosphere, treasured oceans and the fragile biosphere are already thrown out of balance by human activities.

It is widely believed that the solutions to fix the climate is within our grasp. But we will not achieve it through top-down international treaties and grand bargaining among the nation states unless we cut emission levels at regional and local levels. So far global diplomacy has failed to deliver self-sustaining reductions in emissions. So, no more bickering, whether it is between the US and China or between the global governance systems and the national and locals. The issue here is to realise the heat. Time to sense the imminent danger. Accordingly, to act towards

⁷ Inger Andersen. Sustainability is about Being on the Right Side of History (2021) Available at (<https://www.unep.org/news-and-stories/speech/sustianability-about-being-right-side-history>)

implementing the policy prescriptions and heed carefully to the forewarnings constantly offered by the scientific community. Hope this COP27 does not become another deadlock and a dodge like the previous ones. Global diplomacy alone will not be sufficient to deconstruct the Greenhouse effects, it demands climate advocacy alongside to save the Planet Earth.