

Promoting Rights in the Fight against Climate Change

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1. Introduction

Every day the media carries information about one climate-related disaster in some part of the world. It may be drought drying up the hopes that had been sown by resource poor Wodaabe farmers in Niger or floods washing away the habitats and other livelihood sources of fishing communities along the Volta Lake in Ghana. Desertification is descending on Tuaregs in the Niger and inducing migration and associated dislocation of communities of people, sometimes resulting in conflicts. These accounts point to the fact that climate change has far-reaching human implications. That is why the UN has since 2008 in particular been officially studying the human rights issues arising from climate change.

The quest for human rights especially in Africa has been a major concern in the light of the social and economic development shortfall. The poverty of the majority of the people is making them more vulnerable to the effects of climate change. Given the magnitude of climate change as a global environmental crisis affecting everybody and every country in way or the other it stands to reason that rights of women, men, girls and boys everywhere are bound to suffer. Responding to climate change at various levels also has its own implications for rights of people in various ways.

This paper is seeking to highlight the human rights implications of climate change with particular reference to the right to food and contend that promoting rights in the fight against climate change will strengthen human rights in general and contribute to more inclusiveness and effectiveness in the fight against climate change.

2. Climate Change and its impact

Climate change is the single most defining phenomenon of the 21st Century, implicating the rights of women and men, girls and boys, everywhere on earth, albeit it in different ways and to different degrees. Since the Earth Summit of 1992 the global community through the aegis of the UN has been pursuing a collective agenda of propagating the reality and the associated dangers of climate change. Intensive scientific research under the leadership of the Inter Governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has driven home the fact that climate change is largely a human induced phenomenon, with global character, thanks to the Fourth Assessment Report of the IPCC.¹ The incontrovertible evidence of unprecedented global warming has driven away all the skepticism of the past. Some striking revelations include the fact that eleven of the twelve warmest years since 1850 occurred between 1995 and 2006, as well as the strong evidence that global warming is actually accelerating.² Besides global warming the earth is recording varied changes in precipitation, melting ice caps of mountains, drying up of rivers, lakes and other water bodies and sea level rise that is inundating and threatening some low lying coastal settlements and small islands.

Climate change is the result of high levels of greenhouse gas emissions causing imbalances in the atmosphere beyond what the ecosystem can manage. These GHG emissions, which are responsible for global warming and the associated climate change manifestations, include carbon dioxide, nitrous oxide, methane and others from array of human activities. It is now adequately established that the major sources of the increased GHG emissions include energy generation from fossil fuels – oil, coal and natural gas – as well as emissions from deforestation and forest degradation.

¹ IPCC (November 2007): “Climate Change 2007: Synthesis Report for Policy makers”

² Thea Gelbspan (): Exposed – The Human Rights of the Poor in a Changing Global Climate, FES, Geneva

The far-reaching socio-economic impact of climate change implications are already manifest, especially in Africa and the world at large. One of the most disturbing direct effects is the heightened intensity and frequency of extreme weather events like droughts, floods and heat waves. These developments are already beginning to create untold havoc for economic activities and livelihood sources which are often derived from natural resource base of the countries of Africa in particular. Literature is extensive in highlighting the various ways in which climate change is a negatively affecting agriculture, tourism, construction and other livelihoods. These have direct and indirect implications for social and economic well being of communities of people, especially in rural areas where women dominate in productive activities. Changes in precipitation take different forms in different parts of the world: Some experience shorter raining seasons, while others experience late arrival of rains; others still have rains stopping earlier than expected while others have coming for longer periods than expected. These have far reaching effects on agriculture (crops, forestry, fisheries, livestock, poultry and other animals) and related livelihoods in Africa, where agriculture and related activities account for about 70 percent of the livelihoods. Given the gravity of the socio-economic conditions in Africa and the climate change impact implications for human rights is increasingly acknowledged.

3. Human rights

Human rights are fundamental rights and freedoms to which all women, men, girls and boys are entitled. They are universal, inalienable, indivisible, interrelated and interdependent rights, which are equally applicable to all human beings and therefore supposed to be non-discriminatory. As a concept human rights had found expression in the Covenant establishing the League of Nations, after World War I, and had, inter alia, informed the formation of the International Labour Organisation (ILO). The formation of the UN after World War II gave birth to the International Bill of Human Rights and, through that, started instituting international human rights regime.

The International Bill of Human Rights consists of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, (UDHR), 1948, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, (ICESCR), 1966, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, (ICCPR) 1966, and the first and second Optional Protocol on International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Other Instruments that have assumed international human rights status are Convention to Eliminate all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), adopted by the UN in 1979, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (ICRC), 1989.

The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR), 1986, made Africa one of the three world regions – in addition to Europe and the Americas – that have their own regional human rights. It has been explained that the ACHPR served the felt “need to develop a scheme of human rights norms and principles founded on the historical traditions and values of African civilisations rather simply reproduce and try to administer the norms and principles derived from the historical experience of Europe and the Americas.”³

The African Charter does not reinvent the wheel, as it does not depart from the global or the regional human regimes of the Americas and Europe. For example it promotes an array of normal individual rights including the rights to life and security, to health, and other individual political, social and economic rights. It departs from others with its catalogue of

³ Magnarella, P. J. “Achieving Human Rights in Africa.” 4(42): 2. [online]URL: [HTTP://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq.v4/v4ia2a2.htm](http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq.v4/v4ia2a2.htm)

peoples' rights including "all peoples" rights to freely determine their political status and economic development", In addition "all peoples shall have the right to national and international security" (Art. 23) and "the right to a general satisfactory environment favourable to their development"(Art. 24).⁴ The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples adopted on September 13, 2007, is reminiscent of sections of People's rights in the ACPRs.

4. Linkage between climate change and human rights

As far back as 1972 the Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment established the basis of a link between human rights and the environment when it declared that "Man has the fundamental right to freedom, equality and adequate conditions of life, in an environment of a quality that permits a life of dignity and well-being."⁵ The UDHR also provides that "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself & of his family...including food..."

Human rights impact of climate change is sometimes obvious in the light of oft reported climate-related disasters such as droughts and floods and heat waves because of the clear human sufferings associated with them. At the same time, constructing a case for human rights may not always come out strong from the standpoint of international human rights law. A wide array of individual examples highlight the human rights impact of climate change; especially the right to life, adequate food, health, water, adequate housing and possibly others.⁶

In all parts of the world, but especially the developing world, there is growing number of climate-related disasters, growing intensity and severity of these disasters, increasing number of people suffering from deaths, disease and injuries, as a result of these disasters, increasing climate-induced migration and related implications for food, water, housing, health facilities and other resources necessary for a life of dignity consistent with the International Bill of Human Rights. As pointed out by Mary Robinson, aside from the horrific deficits in human rights that many people experience as a result of the terrible extremes of floods and droughts and associated disasters there are the more insidious cumulative human rights losses that the poor and the vulnerable are suffering. Incremental deterioration of land, water, forest and other natural resources continue to undermine the ability of human beings to live a life of dignity as floods wash away livelihood sources away and droughts dry up the last drops of hope for a better life in a lifetime.

Apart from the direct impact of climate change implicating human rights, the mitigation and adaptation responses also tend to implicate rights of some people and communities, depending on the nature, scope and scale of the measures being pursued at the global, regional, national and sub-national levels. Invariably, measures and initiatives have differential impact within and between countries. For example, mitigation measures involving the closure of particular factories in Europe, in response to some carbon-emitting reduction standards, may suffer the human rights conditions of working people who may be laid off work. Relocating such factories in an African country where regulatory mechanisms and standards may be lower would amount to continuing to build on the global level greenhouse gas emissions, and thus undermine the efforts to fight climate change, even if some in such receiving countries see it as employment creating. Such employment creation

⁴ ibid

⁵ UNEDP (1972): "Principle 1 of the Stockholm Declaration"

⁶ McInerney-Lankford, S. et al: (2011): Human Rights and Climate Change: a review of the International Legal Dimensions, The World Bank, Washington, D.C.

value would however not stand human rights test that is relating to a wider range of contextual concerns and linkages between climate change and economic and social rights of people, especially when relating to the most vulnerable in society. The gains for the few would measure up to little on the side of the growing number of people who are caught in the throes of climate-related disasters.

5. Human rights deficit in Africa

The huge human rights deficit in Africa manifests in the political, economic, social and cultural lives of the people. Political instability, civil and ethnic strife, election related violence, political exclusion and corruption are prevalent in all regions of Africa associated with considerable human rights abuses and violations. Pervasive poverty among the people, with over 50 percent living below the poverty line, is indicative of the yawning gap between the realities and the minimum standards for economic and social rights. Even in African countries like Ghana which have recorded much higher economic growth than the global average the right to an adequate standard of living is far from being fulfilled because the economic growth has not resulted in increased enjoyment of the rights to decent work, living wage and social protection.

6. Climate Change aggravates these Human Rights shortfalls in Africa

Climate change aggravates human rights deficit in Africa in various, some direct, others indirect. As a result of climate change depletion and degradation of natural resources is accelerated with negative implications for accessing productive resources. This undermines employment and livelihoods, depresses farming, and reduces yields and incomes and fuels food insecurity, thus undermining the enjoyment of the right to food. The growing scarcity of water resources is also putting more stress on a continent whose per capita access to portal water is the lowest.

Africa has so far demonstrated that it is the most vulnerable continent to climate change impact. This vulnerability is clearly the result of the low level of development of social, economic and institutional infrastructure. Thus Africa's low level of irrigation development, for example, aggravates its suffering from depressed food security situation resulting from climate change manifestations like reduced rain fall, increased rainfall, drought, rains coming later or earlier, rains stopping earlier or later than normal pattern. Weak institutional infrastructure may underscore the low level of development of early warning systems to help disaster management. When poverty is the lot of a farming population the floods that descend on them is a life and death experience for them, their families and animals that constitute their store of wealth. Again, when the floods leave behind the conditions for more water borne diseases and increased malaria, as is becoming increasingly evident in different parts of the continent, the right to health suffers some more. What is more, rights of women and children, in the given cultural settings, tend to suffer more depression.

State institutions responses to climate –related disasters tend to favour those who are better off socially and economically. This is a manifestation of elite capture, which lends

itself to de facto discrimination. Physical infrastructural development has favoured the communities that are well to do in the cities, denying the urban poor the drainage and sanitation facilities that they must have as an entitlement. The result is that urban poor communities would see their lean properties washed away in the floods resulting from the unprecedented down pour. Discrimination against the poor is in this example systemic and contributes to reproducing the poverty of the poor. Energy security means something different for the estimated 285 million people in SSA who do not have access to electricity. Unfortunately, under current assumptions, and unlike most other regions of the world, number of people excluded from electricity is expected to increase to about 652 million by 2030.⁷

7. Addressing the HR gaps in the context of Climate change

The two main thrusts of response to climate change are the mitigation and adaptation measures that all countries are supposed to be initiating. In a wider perspective is the Green Economic growth paradigm situated in the sustainable development framework that is gradually being promoted, albeit it with some uncertainties about who the real beneficiaries of the Green economic growth are.

Current discourse on priorities has tended to place higher emphasis on adaptation than mitigation. Without going into that debate, the weaknesses of physical, social and institutional infrastructure and the pervasive poverty in Africa underscore the vulnerability of the continent to climate change as well as the yawning gap between their human right entitlements and what they actually enjoy. Given the slow responsiveness of industrialised countries in reducing their greenhouse gas emissions and the fact that African countries are already bearing the brunt of climate change, developing strategies to reduce the suffering and negative impact associated with climate change is obviously necessary and desirable. Besides, since the UNFCCC underscores the right to development for developing countries which are most vulnerable to climate change it behoves on communities of people to ensure that these countries continue to develop and do so at a much faster rate and in the process reduce their vulnerability, while ensuring progressively more enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights by the poor, including the right to food.

8. The right to food

“Climate change constitutes the single most important threat to food security in the future”.⁸ The right to food therefore provides a good example of how to promote rights in the course of responding to climate change and how using a rights-based approach could be more useful and effective in the fight against climate change. This example comes in handy because climate change has direct and indirect implications for the most vulnerable who are largely in Africa, and concentrated in economic and livelihood activities that tend to compromise their ability to enjoy their right to food. Again, the right to food is gaining

⁷ Bazalian, M. et al (): Smart and Just Grids: Opportunities for Sub-Saharan Africa, Imperial College, London.

⁸ 2009 Report, UN Rapporteur on the Right to Food to the UNHRC 10th session, March 2009

increasing recognition as a justiciable right at the national, regional and international levels, more so with the renewed momentum for the development of optional protocol for the rights to food.

At the international level, the legislative basis of the right to food can be found in a number of International treaties. These are Article 25 of the UDHR, Article 11 of the ICESCR, Article 24(2) and 27(3) of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and other relevant portions of CEDAW, Right to work, Right to clean water, Right to water and sanitation.

Currently, the most important legal provision for the right to food is contained in Article 11 of ICESCR. Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Article outline the right to an adequate standard of living, including food, and the fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger. The Right to Food is also very closely linked to the right to life, which is protected under Article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The Right to Food of children is also specifically protected under Article 24 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, a Convention that Ghana was the first to ratify. In general, the Right to Food embodies the practical idea that all people should have a decent standard of living, especially, enough to eat, in peacetime and in war. Like all the other economic and social rights, the Right to Food is really about the concern for human dignity that underlies the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the justifiability of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. It seeks to address the tragedy of hunger in a world of plenty.⁹

Article 11 of ICESCR states, *inter alia*, that: “The states parties to the present covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The states parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international co-operation based on free consent.

The states parties to the present ICESCR, recognizing the fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger, shall take, individually and through international co-operation, the measures, including specific programmes, which are needed.”

In international human rights law the Human Right to Food obliges Governments to progressively eradicate hunger and improve nutritional intake for active and healthy life, and in ways that are fully consistent with their human dignity. Article 11 of the ICESCR has also received substantial interpretation by the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) in its General Comment No. 12, 1999. It draws attention to the fact that Article 2(1) of the Covenant provides for the realization of the rights therein, including the Right to adequate Food, to wit, “Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to take steps, individually and through international assistance and cooperation, especially economic and technical, to the maximum of its available resources, with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in the present Covenant by all appropriate means, including particularly the adoption of legislative measures”.

There are a number of other global commitments against hunger and malnutrition, within the UN system, but outside the Human rights framework, which can be used to leverage advocacy work on the right to food in particular. These include the World Food Summit 1996 – commitment 5.2 of the Rome Plan of Action - with paragraphs clarifying the content of the right to adequate food and also highlighting the need to give attention to implementation; the World Food Summit, five years later 2002; the Voluntary Guidelines in support of the progressive realization of the right to adequate food in the context of national food security

⁹ GAWU (): GAWU SPEAKS – Advocacy Organ of the General Agricultural Workers Union, Accra.

(FAO Council, 23 Nov. 2004); and the Rome Declaration of the World Summit on Food Security (16-18 November 2009).

In the framework of current jurisprudence on the right to food, all States have three levels of obligation, to wit, to “respect, protect and fulfill”. There are also concrete ways in which each of these three levels of obligation may be violated.

The obligation to respect the right to food means that the Government should not arbitrarily take away people’s right to food, or make it difficult for them to gain access to food. Violations of the obligation to respect would occur, for example, if a Government arbitrarily evicted or displaced people from their land. A less obvious but insidious violation by government would be policies and legislation, which destroy farmers’ access to seeds, through ascendancy of Corporate control the subjugation of farmers rights to seeds to Corporations structurally and systemically, to the dis-benefit of the farmers.

The obligation to protect entails that Governments would pass laws to prevent powerful people or organizations (third parties) from violating the Right to Food. Governments would also establish bodies to investigate and provide appropriate remedies where the rights of individuals are violated. For example, if the Government does not intervene when big Multi-national Corporations evicts people from their land for the purpose of producing feedstock for biofuel, as has been the case in several administrative regions of Ghana, then the Government is renegeing on their obligation to protect the Right to Food of the affected people. Government is also obliged to ensure that appropriate mechanisms are instituted to prevent Corporations from dumping such agro-chemicals that undermine food safety. It is striking that Article 1 in Common, of the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights states: “...In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.”

Governments’ obligation to fulfill the right to food of right holders means has two dimensions – facilitating access or direct provision of food. First, Government is duty bound to take positive actions to identify vulnerable groups and to implement policies to ensure access to adequate food, by facilitating their ability to feed themselves, by removing the systemic impediment to the enjoyment of the right to food. This could be through improving employment prospects, introducing necessary agrarian reform for landless rural people, or promoting alternative employment opportunities. It could also include, for example, a school feeding programmes that is targeting children suffering under nutrition. Secondly, the government also has an obligation to directly provide when people’s food security is threatened for reasons beyond their control. As argued by GAWU,¹⁰ direct assistance may have to be provided, by means of safety nets such as food voucher schemes or social security provisions, to ensure freedom from hunger. The Government would violate the obligation if it let people starve when they were in desperate need after the floods have washed away their means of livelihood. A State is obliged to appeal for international humanitarian aid, when it is itself unable to guarantee the populations right to food.

This international dimension of the third level of state obligation as well as the changing developmental challenges emerging as a result of climate change requires the international community to further elaborate obligations of governments beyond their national borders. Hopefully, the efforts to promote HR in the efforts to combat climate change should contribute in that direction.

¹⁰ *ibid*

9. Multi-level institutional framework for promoting right to food

Promoting rights always call for appropriate institutions at all levels. This may call for the examination of policies, legislations and specific institutional mechanisms for advancing the rights. The UNFCCC and related institutional arrangements provide the global framework for responding to climate change and is increasingly being compelled to integrate human rights dimension in its work. Since 2008 the UN Human Rights Council has been interrogating the human rights challenges arising from climate change and resulting from the various scales and levels of mitigation and adaptation measures.

Other global level institutional arrangements relevant to climate and natural resource regeneration have arisen through the Convention on Biological Diversity (1992), which seeks to promote biodiversity of plants, animals, micro-organisms & their ecosystems, to satisfy human needs like food and medicines. There is also the UN Convention to combat Desertification (1994), which is seeking to reduce land degradation especially in rural areas and mitigate the effects of drought. Each of these Conventions underscores the Right to food and therefore would be of greater effectiveness if they are operationalized from a rights-based approach as that would go a long way in meeting fundamental needs of the most vulnerable and elicit the participation of the majority who are the poor in combating climate and environmental degradation.

At the African Regional Level, in addition to the ACHPR, various commitments to promote food security or combat climate change have emerged from Heads of States Conferences, African Ministerial Conference on the Environment. For example, the **Maputo Declaration of 2003** emerged of Heads of States who committed to enhancing the area under sustainable land management and reliable water control systems and promoting food security. In **Sirte in 2004 they made** similar commitments address water resources, desertification and drought. Establishment of support institutions such as Regional and Sub-Regional centres of excellence for agriculture, water and the environment are critical operational outputs of the efforts to address the needs for adaptation and mitigation in the face of climate change. The Pan-African Climate Justice Alliance (PACJA), a network of the Africa's civil society groups and the African Trade Network, Third World Network (TWN) and ITUC-Africa are among the leading the CSOs playing a key role in promoting right to food specifically and generally seeking climate justice.

At the national level, promoting the right to food in Ghana, for example, has involved consistent elaboration of the right in the light of national specificities. Civil society organisations like GAWU of TUC, Action Aid Ghana and Food Security Policy Advocacy Network have been in the forefront of right holders' efforts to secure higher level of legislative basis for this right. Specifically they have been advocating for an explicit inclusion of the right to food in the 4th Republican Constitution. This would mark the beginnings of the legislative domestication of international treaties pertaining to the right to food.

African countries have since the nineties signed onto the UNFCCC and participated in the negotiations to date, and yet most African countries are yet to develop comprehensive climate change policies and adaptation strategies that adequately address the climate change implications for food security and the right to food.

10. National level commitments to food security

One of the key challenges in operationalizing the right to food at the national level has been the tendency on the part of some to place the economic, social and cultural rights beyond the reach of courts. Paragraph 10 of the General Comments No. 9 has debunked this, recalling the international principle that economic and social rights are indivisible and interdependent with civil and political rights. India, Cambodia and South Africa have made progress in developing legislation for the right to food. For example the established legislation of South Africa on the right to food, articulate a strong commitment to the Right to Food in the Constitution and Bill of Rights; all economic and social rights are understood to be justifiable under South African law and a monitoring mechanism has been put in place to ensure implementation and progressive realization of those rights.

As noted in the General Comment 12, the formulation and implementation of national strategies for the Right to Food requires full compliance with the principles of accountability, transparency, people's participation, decentralization, legislative capacity and the independence of the judiciary. The government would be expected to develop indicators and set benchmarks to allow verification of the progress towards establishing the Right to Food at the country level. These call for the mobilisation and organisation of right holders to make concerted and consistent for good governance that creates the conditions for the promotion of rights.

11. Trade Union Perspectives

Trade Unions have since 2005 been very active in developing perspectives that are fair and just in the efforts to combat climate change. The International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) has accordingly been very active in mobilising the world of work to influence climate change negotiations at all levels. The quest for a Just Transition summarises the trade union position to date. Mobilising working people and their organisations to elaborate on the content and direction of the "just transition" is an on-going task, which should be pursued from a rights-based approach. Justice, which is, inter alia, predicated on the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" espoused by the UNFCCC should necessarily take account of the vulnerabilities of the poorest countries and people, in order to steer off violations of HR.

12. Conclusions

The climate change and human rights discourse needs appropriate contextualisation. In seeking to promote rights in the course of combating climate change and its effects there is a need to appreciate the fact that human rights has political, juridical, cultural and moral dimensions and bases depending on the context. In this respect in perceiving human rights as a juridical issue there must be clear delineation of responsibilities and duties, not only of the state but also all actors within a body polity. From this standpoint, it may be surmised that not all climate change induced social and economic shortfalls constitute human rights violations from a juridical point of view. On the other hand, the scales and magnitude of human insecurity and suffering that is thrown up constitutes a basis for invoking human rights from a moral, political and cultural standpoint, for now. Notwithstanding the fact that climate change is obviously a human rights issue, the discussions point to the limitations of climate change as a human rights issue. However, this limitation can be appreciated as an

inevitable historical one, which calls for further interrogation with the view to pushing back on the parameters of currently applicable human rights law.

In seeking to promote rights in the fight against climate change there is a need to appreciate that some human right issues of legal import are clear, others are currently blurred, while others are for now quite contentious. At the same time, human rights activists cannot be unmindful of the limits of international human rights law, as legal regimes are evolving, as always, and more so in the current historical conjuncture where obligations of duty bearers within a given territorial boundaries are considered limited. For example, duty bearers in Europe and North America should have juridical responsibilities of the operations of their MNCs/TNCs in developing countries, when they violate or threaten to violate human rights of citizens. “Human rights are integral to the promotion of peace and security, economic prosperity and social equity... A major task for the United Nations, therefore, is to enhance its human rights programme and fully integrate it into the broad range of the Organization's activities”.¹¹ From this standpoint a number of action points are recommended:

- Trade unions and other civil society organisations should step up their efforts, in a coordinated manner, to advocate for appropriate legislative and operational responses to the more obvious, indisputable violations of human rights in responding to climate change, be it through adaptation or mitigation measures.
- A rights based approach in combating climate change lends itself to strengthening rights in the process addressing the more vulnerable in adaptation measures, and in ensuring in mitigation measures that there is a just transition to a low carbon economy.
- All concerned should take forward the discourse on climate change and human rights with the view to identifying its operational relevance to securing a higher level of participation of the population in responding to climate change, through a stronger articulation of a human rights approach, and also identify the strengths and weaknesses of the climate change – human rights linkage.

¹¹ Report of the Secretary-General on Renewing the United Nations: a Programme for Reform, to the UN General Assembly, July 1997