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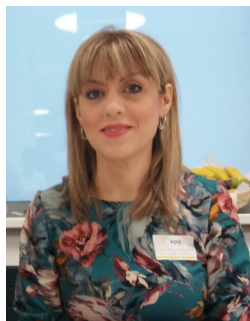
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PUBLIC POLICIES FOR CRISIS MANAGEMENT: LESSONS LEARNED FROM COVID-19 ON CLIMATE CHANGE

POLITICAL THOUGHT

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Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic is one of the greatest challenges facing societies in modern history. The crisis has had a severe impact on health systems and the global economy, the effects of which will be felt for many years after the pandemic ends. Although at first glance the Covid-19 pandemic does not seem to have much in common with the world's climate change, the essential analysis suggests that the two phenomena have many similarities given the big picture of these two serious challenges to humanity.

Namely, the pandemic and climate change have a strong resemblance: both are major threats that cause damage to societies globally. The most serious effects can be prevented only if states commit to serious and early action in the face of a seemingly abstract threat. The pandemic is a remarkable, albeit very unfavourable, opportunity to learn very difficult lessons in dealing with a crisis. The pandemic and climate change are potentially devastating global problems requiring rapid government intervention. Although this intervention inevitably creates losers, in both cases it must be decisive and based on social consensus¹.

However, if the authorities make an assessment, in the long run, which of these two severe and serious crises will be easier to deal with, it is believed that it will be the Covid-19 pandemic². Climate change seems to be much harder to defeat globally because of its nature, but also because of the longer period available to deal with it.

The present paper aims to analyze the relationship between the Covid-19 pandemic and climate change, i.e., the degree of impact of Covid-19 on climate change, and the possibilities of response by the competent authorities with appropriate policies in dealing with climate change, as a result of the learned lessons from dealing with the pandemic during the first year of its onset.

Two global 'bad things'

Climate change is not at the top of the global agenda due to the expansion of Covid-19. The pandemic has dealt a severe blow to economies with dramatic results. Namely, although the recently started vaccination process has raised hopes for a reversal of the pandemic, strong new waves and new variants of the virus still cast doubt on expectations and projections. Amid extreme uncertainty, the global economy is

1 Klenert, David, Franziska Funke, Linus Mattauch, and Brian O'Callaghan. "Five lessons from COVID-19 for advancing climate change mitigation." *Environmental and Resource Economics* 76, no. 4 (2020): 751-778.

2 See more at: Fuentes, Rolando, Marzio Galeotti, Alessandro Lanza, and Baltasar Manzano. "COVID-19 and climate change: a tale of two global problems." *Sustainability* 12, no. 20 (2020): 8560, 1.

projected to grow by 5.5 percent in 2021 and 4.2 percent in 2022³. Five years after the Paris Agreement, which is a legally binding international agreement on climate change, governments globally begin work on new economic recovery plans in the light of Covid-19, focusing on climate change and green recovery⁴. The need for a global and rapid transition to clean energy sources is essential to end the excessive use of fossil fuels. However, due to a number of signs of non-compliance with the clear commitments under the Paris Agreement by a number of countries, the global response to climate change is silent and insignificant in many respects⁵. Global climate change has already had a marked impact on the environment. Glaciers have shrunk, the ice of rivers and lakes is falling apart earlier, the range of plants and animals has shifted, and trees are flowering earlier. The effects, which in the past scientists predicted would occur as a result of global climate change, are now happening: the loss of sea ice, accelerated sea-level rise, and longer, more intense heat waves⁶.

However, the magnitude and urgency of the Covid-19 crisis should not disregard the other challenges, such as climate change. Climate change is an existential threat, posing serious risks to individuals, society, and the economy, as evidenced by the increasing frequency and intensity of extreme weather conditions. The economic losses caused by weather-related disasters are estimated at around \$ 337 billion in 2017, and these figures are expected to grow significantly in the near future⁷.

Hence, decisions made by competent authorities must deal with two crises simultaneously: the Covid-19 pandemic and climate change.

Covid-19 is a new phenomenon associated with a series of uncertainties and insecurity regarding the expectations about how the pandemic will develop and what its far-reaching effects will be. At the time of writing the present paper, the number of patients worldwide is over 127 million, of which more than 2.7 million are deaths⁸.

The analogy between these two crises of different nature can be seen in several segments, which is useful for setting up a structure from which applicable lessons can be learned. Namely, these two are global phenomena that do not recognize borders, nor are they influenced by the sovereign character of the states. Some authors define them

3 IMF World economic outlook update, January 2021: Policy Supports and Vaccines Expected to Lift Activity. Available at: <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WEO/Issues/2021/01/26/2021-world-economic-outlook-update>.

4 Climate and Covid-19: converging crisis. Published Online December 2, 2020. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(20\)32579-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(20)32579-4) For the 2020 *Lancet* Countdown on Health and Climate Change report.

5 See more at: Watts, N., Amann, M., Arnell, N., Ayeb-Karlisson, S., Beagley, J., Belesova, K., Boykoff, M., Byass, P., Cai, W., Campbell-Lendrum, D. and Capstick, S., 2020. The 2020 report of The Lancet Countdown on health and climate change: responding to converging crises. *The Lancet*, 130.

6 NASA Global Climate Change, Vital Signs of the Planet. Available on: <https://climate.nasa.gov/solutions/resources/>

7 Giuzio, M. et al., "Climate change and financial stability", Financial Stability Review May 2019, https://www.ecb.europa.eu/pub/financial-stability/fsr/special/html/ecb.fsrart201905_1~47cf778cc1.en.html#toc1

8 Available on: <https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/>

as “global public bads” and negative externalities⁹. The virus overflows in the same way as pollution, making them global, transborder phenomena with inherent transmissibility, accompanied by potentially catastrophic consequences, including high mortality rates. The infection did not take long to spread worldwide since the first Covid-19 cases in China. At the same time, as a common feature of these two devastating phenomena, there is also information asymmetry¹⁰, which refers to the lack of adequate information about the nature of the disease in the population. This is often associated with the deliberate failure of the competent authorities to take urgent action to create and implement policies on behalf of other (e.g., economic or political) short-term goals¹¹. The same applies to information related to the consequences of climate change and the need for immediate action.

Climate change is irreversible, i.e., the situation cannot be restored before it occurs. The Covid-19 pandemic also shows signs of irreversibility when it comes to lost lives and impaired health in individuals. The profound economic consequences, however, can be eliminated in the long run, which requires profound transformational processes.

The similarity of these two phenomena can serve as a basis for structuring the applicability of the experiences and knowledge from the early stages of the fight against Covid-19 on tackling climate change. At the same time, this experience leads to significant conclusions and lessons learned that have applicative value in other potential crisis phenomena/conditions in the future.

Lessons from the Covid-19 crisis applicable to tackling climate change

At the beginning of the pandemic, many political leaders tended to delay making political decisions until it was inevitable. However, in the face of viral epidemics or climate change, delays in the policy-making and implementation process can be tragic. *With the spread of Covid-19 and climate change, the dynamics that govern the processes are non-linear¹². This means that delayed responses from the competent authorities in both cases are disproportionately more expensive and cost more resources and lives.* The longer it takes to take appropriate action, the greater the harm caused by global threats such as the Covid-19 pandemic or climate change. The way out of the crisis requires long-term social transformations, with estimations that climate change will be more difficult to defeat

⁹ Fuentes, Rolando, Marzio Galeotti, Alessandro Lanza, and Baltasar Manzano. “COVID-19 and climate change: a tale of two global problems.” *Sustainability* 12, no. 20 (2020): 8560, 3.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Brazil's example in dealing with Covid-19 is explicated in Nassi-Pires, L.; Carvalho, L.; Rawet, E. Multidimensional inequality and COVID-19 in Brazil; Policy Brief No. 153; Levy Economics Institute of Bard College Public: Annandale-On-Hudson, NY, USA, 2020.

¹² Franziska Funke, David Klenert. “Climate change after COVID-19: Harder to defeat politically, easier to tackle economically” 17 August 2020. Available on: <https://voxeu.org/article/climate-change-after-covid-19>.

than the coronavirus pandemic. Climate stabilization, however, requires more lasting transformations that need to be implemented long before climate change reaches catastrophic proportions¹³.

Second, probably one of the main reasons why countries, companies, and people have so far refused to engage in serious and vigorous action to tackle climate change is due to the assumption that it costs a lot. However, the pandemic has taken a step that many governments have not shown the courage to take before, in the interest of combating climate change, which is to stop economic activity in order to stop the spread of the disease.

The lockdowns imposed around the world, accompanied by declining economic activity, have led to large reductions in greenhouse gas emissions (along with life-threatening air pollutants) from transport and industrial activities. In China, for example, the cessation of industrial activity caused a 25% drop in CO₂ emissions in February 2020, compared to the same month in 2019¹⁴. These effects of improving the environment quickly became noticeable to the human eye. Namely, although unexpectedly, it took only weeks, not years, to clear the sky in the polluted cities with the decline in emissions during the Covid-19 lockdowns¹⁵. The decline in pollution in Europe became visible from space. People in smog-stricken cities in India¹⁶ shared photos of the suddenly visible Himalayas, previously blurred by pollution.

This temporary decline in emissions, however, will be insignificant for climate change, unless supported by additional activities related to the implementation of effective climate policies. Namely, to make climate change happen, important factors are the amount and the composition of the greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, and not the short-term flows. Equally important regarding the temporary declines in emissions is that they are not offset by stronger emissions growth in subsequent years¹⁷, as was the case in 2008 when, in the context of the global financial crisis, temporary declines in emissions occurred, which were later offset and exceeded.

However, the reduction of harmful emissions as a side effect caused by the lockdowns to prevent the spread of Covid-19 has shown that the price is high, although in most cases the perception of climate change is that the price of economic inactivity is lower than that of Covid-19. The argument in favour of rising carbon prices in the past has

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Global Carbon Project (2020), Available on: <http://www.globalcarbonatlas.org/en/content/welcome-carbon-atlas>.

¹⁵ Bloomberg, In: "Air Clears in Rome, Paris, and Madrid as Millions Stay Home", Available on: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-03-27/coronavirus-lockdown-skies-clear-in-rome-paris-and-madrid?sref=HJFr5loq>, (accessed July 16, 2020)

¹⁶ Bloomberg, In: "World's Dirtiest Air Gets Cleaner After India's Lockdown", Available on: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-04-07/world-s-dirtiest-air-gets-cleaner-after-india-s-lockdown?sref=HJFr5loq>

¹⁷ See more at: OECD Policy Responses to Coronavirus (COVID-19): COVID-19 and the low-carbon transition: Impacts and possible policy responses, 26 June 2020. Available on: <http://www.oecd.org/coronavirus/policy-responses/covid-19-and-the-low-carbon-transition-impacts-and-possible-policy-responses-749738fc/#section-d1e32>

been portrayed as an unbearable burden on society. After Covid-19, it will be difficult to reject economic arguments against climate policy because it is predicted that the economic costs of limiting climate change to two degrees Celsius will have weaker effects in terms of reducing greenhouse gas emissions¹⁸. The short-term reductions in CO2 emissions during the Covid-19 lockdowns are not sufficient to meet the criteria of the Paris Agreement. This suggests the need for much deeper societal change, along with a full “green recovery” in the next phase of Covid-19 fiscal interventions that will eliminate much of the greenhouse gas emissions and lead to slow climate change¹⁹.

Third, the work in conditions of Covid-19 has caused a change in the behaviour of the citizens, which can contribute to the mitigation of climate change in the long run. The Covid-19 pandemic can have long-term consequences for the way we work, where we live, where we shop, and how we spend our free time²⁰. The reduced number of business trips, especially with the use of air transport, reduces emissions. Working with video conferencing reduces the need to use transportation. But on the other hand, the pandemic could affect the reduced use of public transport at the expense of the use of cars to prevent the spread of the disease. If certain business models prove to be successful, such as working from home, the way of working can change even after the end of the pandemic, which will contribute to improving the environment²¹. However, the behaviour change is caused for the most part by the seriousness and credibility of the death threat²², such as the habit of wearing a mask or keeping a distance. Covid-19 mortality creates strong personal, family, and social implications and greater sensitivity when it comes to behaviour change. Climate change, on the other hand, could lead to the potential destruction of the planet and its habitats, threatening the very existence of humanity. The behaviour of individuals is changeable and adaptable to new situations. Alerting on climate change can result in a change in citizens’ behaviour, just as the Covid-19 pandemic forced changes in mask-wearing and physical-distance routines.

The fourth lesson from Covid-19 that applies to climate change concerns the reorganization of economies as a result of the pandemic. There is an interesting dilemma posed by Fuentes, Rolando et.al.²³ as to whether this low-contact economy will turn into a low-carbon emission economy, given that energy is at the heart of economic activity.

18 See more at: Fuentes, Rolando, Marzio Galeotti, Alessandro Lanza, and Baltasar Manzano. “COVID-19 and climate change: a tale of two global problems.” *Sustainability* 12, no. 20 (2020): 8560, 9, also: Klenert, David, Franziska Funke, Linus Mattauch, and Brian O’Callaghan. “Five lessons from COVID-19 for advancing climate change mitigation.” *Environmental and Resource Economics* 76, no. 4 (2020): 751-778.

19 UN News ‘Green recovery’ from COVID-19 can slow climate change: UN environment report. Available on: <https://news.un.org/en/story/2020/12/1079602>

20 Rice, W.L.; Mateer, T.J.; Reigner, N.; Newman, P.; Lawhon, B.; Ta, B.D. Changes in recreational behaviors of outdoor enthusiasts during the COVID-19 pandemic: Analysis across urban and rural communities. *J. Urban Ecol.* 2020, 6, juaa020

21 For instance, the air transport, although growing rapidly prior to the crisis, accounted for 2.5% of global greenhouse gas emissions at the beginning of 202, indicating that climate change cannot be addressed wiby just a certain change in behaviour, but it requires a joint and comprehensive action.

22 Fuentes, Rolando, Marzio Galeotti, Alessandro Lanza, and Baltasar Manzano. “COVID-19 and climate change: a tale of two global problems.” *Sustainability* 12, no. 20 (2020): 8560, 10.

23 Ibid, 10-11.

In the post-Covid-19 world, it will be the basic human interaction that will determine the organization of this new economy. According to some authors, this will be an opportunity given only once in a lifetime to restart economies with a low-carbon way of working, which should not be taken for granted²⁴.

The expectations are that the economies will undergo a transformation in several aspects of the recovery process. One of the key priorities for transformation will be an economy that will reduce the spread of the disease.

According to Fuentes, Rolando et.al. only if the low-carbon organization is compatible with this priority will it provide low-contact and carbon economic activity. The low-carbon economy will favour those activities which production includes a pure environmental advantage in terms of reduced emissions. As a result of the Covid-19 crisis, there has been a serious shift in demand preferences. The most important attribute in economic exchange would be cleanliness but in a hygienic sense. The altered economic awareness also means that instead of giving priority to activities without emissions, activities without inspections are preferred. This is well illustrated by the so-called paradox of packaging. Namely, before the start of the Covid-19 crisis, the main focus in terms of packaging was waste reduction and the use of biodegradable, i.e., recyclable material. With the advent of the Covid-19 pandemic, the focus of the packaging is on how to obtain the attributes of a surface that will provide protection and health to humans, that is, how to provide a surface that is easy to clean and unfit for growth and spread of viruses and other microorganisms. A packaging design that engages touch from many entities will not be functional due to the new circumstances, but disposable packaging with personalized handles may be desirable in the market. This problem is further complicated due to the possibility of unregulated recycling of the personalized approach, as has already been seen with the dumping of large quantities of pandemic masks and gloves.

Parallel fight against two threats to humanity: Covid-19 and climate change

Climate change is a global challenge that requires a global response, which is why this issue is high on the agendas of governments in many countries around the world. At the Paris Summit in December 2015, 196 countries met to sign a new climate change agreement. This summit on climate change in Paris (held after the coordinated terrorist attacks in Paris, on the night of November 13, 2015) is very important since it made a real difference in climate activities internationally.

²⁴ Winston, A. Is the COVID-19 Outbreak a Black Swan or the New Normal? MIT Sloan Management Review, 16 March 2020. Available on: <https://sloanreview.mit.edu/article/is-the-covid-19-outbreak-a-black-swan-or-the-new-normal/>

Namely, in December 2015 at the 21st Conference on Climate Change in Paris (COP21), after 20 years of negotiations, the signatory countries of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) reached an agreement on combating climate change, to maintain the rise of the global average temperatures to less than 2 °C above the pre-industrial levels, seeking to limit the rise to 1.5 °C. Simply put, countries are committed to reducing the greenhouse gases they emit to slow global warming. Otherwise, it is to be expected that global warming will have irreversible, catastrophic consequences for all life on the planet.

That is why the Paris Agreement²⁵ creates a kind of process that is expected to result in tackling climate change. The Paris Agreement is considered a great success because, for the first time, it unites all countries under one cause in order to make ambitious efforts to tackle climate change. Countries that have ratified the agreement at a national level have committed themselves to take action at a national and local level to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. The belief and expectations that this process is possible remain today, six years later.

With the right political leadership, the Paris Agreement can lead to ambitious results that will have a real impact on tackling climate change²⁶.

The Covid-19 pandemic since its onset on March 11, 2020, has also provoked a wide range of responses from governments around the world. While scientists were trying to find a vaccine and a suitable cure, the states were rapidly taking drastic measures. Today (2021), a year later, governments are working to provide vaccines and debating the introduction of a vaccine passport to normalize the process.

On December 12, 2020, the UN Climate Ambition Summit was hosted by the United Kingdom and France, in partnership with Italy and Chile. The Summit was an opportunity to summarize progress five years after the signing of the Paris Agreement, but also to provide a platform for leaders to announce new, more ambitious national contributions to climate change, as well as long-term strategies that lead us to a neutral, greener and more resilient sustainability.

To combat the Covid-19 pandemic and the “intimidating existential threat of climate change”, the only credible answer is “courageous, visionary and collaborative leadership” anchored in multilateralism, UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres said during the international discussion focusing on climate change. The Secretary-General called for

²⁵ Paris Agreement, United Nations, 2015. Available on: https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/english_paris_agreement.pdf

²⁶ Stojanovska-Stefanova, Aneta and Vckova, Nadica. International Strategy for Climate Change and The Countries Commitment For Developing Policies. In: *International Scientific Conference: Crisis Management: Challenges and Perspective*, 18 Nov 2015, Skopje, Macedonia, (2016): 204.

multilateral co-operation and drew a parallel between the two threats, explaining that “greenhouse gases are like a coronavirus, they know no borders²⁷”.

According to the United Nations, the Covid-19 pandemic should be utilized to create a better world. Scientists have long sounded the alarm about climate change and its inevitable effects on our future. The vast majority of climate scientists, as many as 97%, agree that humans are causing climate change, and the data explicitly support their beliefs. “Science is clear. Science is unequivocal. Politics complicates science’s response, says climate and water expert Dr. Peter Gleick.²⁸”

Experts say that in many cases, climate solutions are in fact pandemic solutions. Countries around the world need to take action on climate change to prevent another pandemic. For example, preventing deforestation – which is considered to be a major cause of climate change – can help reduce biodiversity loss, as well as slow animal migration that may increase the risk of spreading infectious diseases.

A review of agricultural practices, including those that rely on the breeding of tens of millions of animals in tight quarters, can help prevent the transmission of disease between animals spill over into the human population.

Furthermore, reducing air pollution caused by burning fossil fuels such as coal, oil, and natural gas, also helps maintain lung health, which can protect us from respiratory infections such as coronavirus.

To combat climate change, countries need to drastically reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

States also need to enable low-carbon electricity generation in their policy plans, from sources such as wind and solar power, to reduce harmful air pollutants, such as nitrogen oxides, sulfur dioxide, and carbon dioxide, which lead to diseases in humans.

Given past experiences, the world can make very smart investments to avoid new pandemic outbreaks, primarily by helping poor countries in their efforts to give up coal, oil, and gas, and build windmills, set up wind farms, solar panels, and use geothermal and hydropower.

Political leaders around the world can also support public health and science, and provide more funding for research, early response to epidemics, and sufficient testing materials.

²⁷ United Nations 2020. Parallel threats of COVID-19, climate change, require 'brave, visionary and collaborative leadership': UN chief. Available on: <https://news.un.org/feed/view/en/ story/2020/04/1062752>

²⁸ Lassman, Angie. 2020. What the US' Response to Coronavirus Can Teach Us About Climate Change, NBC Miami 27 April 2020. Available on: <https://www.nbcmiami.com/ news/local/what-the-us-response-to-coronavirus-can-teach-us-about-climatechange/ 2225641/>

The Paris Agreement enabled broad initiative and led to major global movements, enabling the involvement of governmental and non-governmental organisations. The comprehensive nature of the initiative is also a feature of the fight against the Covid-19 pandemic where everyone is called to get involved with a personal example, in terms of respecting the measures and preventing further spread of the infection.

“We are going through dark days, but hope still exists. The unusual window of opportunity to create a better world for us is briefly open before us. Let us use the fight against the pandemic to create a world that can be safer, healthier, and more inclusive for all of us,” said UN Secretary-General, Guterres²⁹.

The climate emergency, like the Covid-19 pandemic, does not respect national borders. Therefore, knowing that the threat of climate change and the pandemic is not over, the United Nations continues to face challenges and to think of future plans for a healthier planet and a society “that leaves no one behind.” Continuous action is being taken throughout the United Nations system to ensure a healthier and more resilient future.

The process of recovering from the coronavirus pandemic offers a chance to change course and put humanity on a path that does not conflict with nature, with the United Nations calling for “greater efforts by all actors to protect biodiversity and intensify climate action³⁰”. Each state will have to determine its own so-called national contributions to climate change mitigation³¹, as a contribution to the global efforts. However, this time, no country can do it alone – success requires multilateral cooperation in which the international community works together to combat climate change and the pandemic.

Conclusions

Covid-19 and climate change are causing a global disruption that transcends borders and threatens the lives of millions of people. They are multipliers of risk that exacerbate inequalities, disproportionately affect the most vulnerable, each in their own way³². Covid-19 and climate change pose global health threats.

29 United Nation 2020. Climate Change and COVID-19: UN urges nations to ‘recover better’. Available on: <https://www.un.org/en/un-coronavirus-communications-team/un-urges-countries-%E2%80%98build-back-better%E2%80%99>

30 COVID-19 recovery offers ‘chance to change course’, Guterres tells One Planet Summit. Available on: <https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/01/1081772>.

31 See more at: NDCs – a key tool for international climate change mitigation. Available on: <https://www.international-climate-initiative.com/en/ndcs>.

32 Stojanovska-Stefanova A., Runcheva-Tasev H., (2021), “*The impact of the coronavirus crisis on climate action: Lessons learned for the governments*”, In: Proceedings from Annual International Conference “Political Consequences of the Pandemic”, organized by The Serbian Political Science Association (SPSA), University of Belgrade, Faculty of Political Science-Belgrade, Serbia, 26-27 September, 2020, ISBN 978-86-6425-081-8.

The World Health Organisation estimates that between 2030 and 2050, climate change will cause approximately 250,000 additional deaths per year from malnutrition, malaria, and heat stress³³. Climate change and the loss of biodiversity also increase the risk of future pandemics by endangering the fragility of the world's ecosystems³⁴.

Climate change is thought to be more difficult to defeat than the Covid-19 pandemic. The post-pandemic world in apparent normalcy is expected to provide effective vaccines, appropriate therapy perhaps, and treatment protocols. Climate stabilization, however, requires more lasting transformations that need to be implemented long before climate change reaches catastrophic proportions.

There is a big difference in terms of perceptions related to Covid-19 and climate change, which indicates different reactions from the actors involved. The threat of climate change is invisible, it evolves gradually, and it is not felt equally in space and time globally. Giddens's paradox of climate change confirms that no matter how great the dangers of climate change, the lack of their immediate visibility in the everyday world means that people will not act to deal with them; until the dangers are immediately apparent, and then it will be too late for any action by humans to be effective³⁵. Unlike climate change, the harm caused by Covid-19 is close to every individual, and the loss of human lives creates a sense of urgency. The pandemic has created a global crisis in public health, which is a visible danger that conditions our short-term survival. The harm becomes greater if the response is late or delayed, and it is visible in the loss of a huge number of human lives.

Such a visible threat also poses advantage in dealing with the Covid-19 on the global political agenda. Climate change is a long-term problem facing humanity, requiring an intergenerational and multi-dimensional approach from a broad range of stakeholders, unlike the Covid-19 pandemic, which is expected to be a generational battle in the short term.

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³⁴ Ibidem.

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