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P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. FELTMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, good morning and welcome to the Brookings Institution. And to those watching the event via webcast, you too are most welcomed to joining us. My name is Jeff Feltman, I am a John C. Whitehead visiting fellow and in international diplomacy studies here at the Brookings Institution and it's a real honor and pleasure for me to welcome you this morning on behalf of the Institution and on behalf of the Center for East Asia Policy studies to the Batkin International Leaders' Forum on climate threat and climate justice. For six years now, the Batkin forum has served as Brookings's most visible platform for engaging global leaders, including most recently Estonian President, Kersti Kaljulaid.

I also like to offer my sincere gratitude on behalf of this institution to Alan and Jane Batkin for their tremendous support of this leadership series and for making events like this possible. I also want to recognize that in our audience today that we have 16 Harvard students who are here for a workshop in Washington on European politics, democracy and political theory. Welcome to you and welcome to everybody.

Now, on my behalf, it's a pleasure at a personal level, not only an institutional level, to welcome today's two guests of honor, both of whom I had the pleasure of working, of working with at the United Nations. One of whom was my former boss at the United Nations and that is former United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and former President of Ireland, Mary Robinson. Secretary General Ban is now the vice, the vice chair of the elders and he served as two consecutive terms, the secretary-general of the United Nations between 2007 and 2016. I had the privilege of working for him during most of his second term as secretary-general and I can attest to the fact that he personifies the principles of the UN charter and integrity that we would expect in the leadership position like this.

Prior to his time at the UN, he had distinguished career in public service in South Korea for 37 years, which included serving as the foreign minister of Korea, South Korea between 2004 and 2006 throughout his tenure as the UN secretary-general. In addition to all of the peace and security and other issues that he was he was working on, he focused on bringing climate change to the top of the

global agenda. Starting with a 2007 Climate Change Summit, he has led diplomatic efforts to tackle these issues and he continues to advocate for mitigating the effects of climate change and promoting sustainable development. He helped launch the Global Commission on Adaptation in 2018 and he's been working as the president of the Assembly and the chair of the Council of Global Green Growth Institute, the GGGI. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, welcome.

President Robinson was -- is the chair of the elders and she was president of Ireland between 1990 and 1997. The first woman to hold that position. She also served as the UN high commissioner for human rights between 1997 and 2002. As the UN high commissioner for human rights, Mrs. Robinson witnessed the injustice and climate change and its disproportionate impact on the people of developing countries, especially women. She has since established a foundation focused on climate justice and she served as the secretary-general's special ongoing climate change from 2014 to 2015. I had the privilege of witnessing her personal diplomacy and action when she also served as the Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's special envoy for the Great Lakes region of Africa where she worked to put together mechanisms to bring the regional actors and domestic actors together to promote peace in the Eastern Congo, Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.

In a few short moments, Secretary-General Ban and President Robinson will share their remarks on the climate threat, the climate justice, and the role of global leadership as it relates to action on sustainable development. Their remarks will be followed by discussion moderated by our own Dr. Jung Pak, who is the senior fellow in the Center for East Asia Policy studies and our S.K. Korea Foundation chair in Korea studies. Jung hosted just recently, a tremendous conference last month on climate change in Asia as part of the Asia Transnational Threats Forum Series. And there's one quick reminder as the as the cameras would indicate this event is on the record and it is being live webcast and you can tweet about the event using hashtag climate leadership. I will now, it's now a real privilege to turn over the floor of the podium to my former boss, former Secretary-General Ban Ki Moon. Secretary-General, the podium is yours and so is the audience. [Applause]

SECRETARY-GENERAL BAN KI-MOON: Thank you, Ambassador Jeffrey Feltman, for

your very kind words of introduction. I'm very pleased to meet my former colleagues at the United Nations, and also Ambassador Whitman here and I'd like to also recognize chair of Korea Studies, Dr. Jung Pak and, of course, my chairperson of the elders, President Mary Robinson and distinguished guests.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a great pleasure to be back to Washington D.C. and also have an opportunity over speaking before you in the Brookings Institution such a highest level yet known global think tank. Thank you for inviting me here today at delivering our speech at the Brookings Institution, the world's foremost the think tank is always a great honor for me. And now as a private citizen, I used to be here as a secretary-general and also foreign minister of our Republic of Korea.

Today, ladies and gentlemen, I'd like to discuss with you one of the two existential threats which humankind is facing and is going to face very seriously. That is one is what I'm going to discuss with you. Climate change and the other is a nuclear -- possibility of a nuclear war on which as was introduced today that I was honored to unveil the doomsday clock whose hands is now moved to just to 100 seconds before it reaches midnight. That is the closest ever in the history add to the possibility of a doomsday. Many scientists stress, in fact, the reason behind on precedential scale and destructiveness of Australian fires, this is a bush fire, but this has a clearly very closely related to a climate crisis which we are now facing. So, it is not unusual one. It's unusually serious one.

As everybody will remember in 2018 the IPCC Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change has again, strongly warning to the world that unless we drastically contain the global temperature rise below 1.5 degrees Celsius, then there will be no hope. In fact, as you may remember, the Paris Climate Change Agreement agreed at 2 degrees Celsius, but soon after four day, a four years after four years -- three years, they realized that two degrees was not enough. So, IPCC has made them special report.

In fact, during the time of negotiation in Copenhagen and that continuing negotiations until Paris, there was a strong argument that this agreement should be at 1.5 degrees. There were many heads of state and government and ministers coming from Small Island developing countries. They were

even crying at the decision of two degrees, but that was the maximum at that time the world leaders were able to agree upon. So, we agreed to be more practical and understanding the reality of some different views and positions of the countries. Now, we realize that it must be completed and contained at 1.5 degrees. If we fail to miss all this kind of some golden opportunity, I think this may be almost a last opportunity that we can live with this. Otherwise, if we just neglect accelerating our actions much, much harder, then you'll have to regret for all our succeeding generations.

In that regard, as a former secretary-general of the United Nations and as a person who has spent the 10 years passionately energizing and really trying to raise the awareness on the importance of addressing this climate change issues, I cannot but express my deepest concern that what is happening by the world leaders. And we have to really do much, much, much, much more. As part of the mandate, as you know, in 2015 there were two very important visions and agreement which were presented by the United Nations. One is the Sustainable Development Goals with the 17, 17 goals, a targeting by 2030. Then by 2030 there should be nobody who should suffer from abject poverty and there should be nobody who should die needlessly from preventable diseases and there should be no school children who should be left out of the schools. There are many, many issues and many promises, but I think this is the most ambitious and far reaching visions that the United Nations has ever presented to the people of the world. Then it contains the climate change.

One of the 17 goals include number 13 pillar climate change. That is what I am going to really focus today and raising again and again the importance of this. I believe that the, again, the speaking in Washington, D.C., center of United States and just near to White House, I cannot but – express my deepest regret and even anger about what President Trump has decided to withdraw from this a Paris Climate Change Agreement. This was signed by 197 state parties for conscious more than full member state of the United States. It has gone through very difficult -- United States was the champion under President Obama to mobilize a sense of unity working together with the China who was reluctant, to join, but with my engagement and President Obama's political engagement, China and India, decided to join this one. That is the reason why we are now having this a Paris Agreement.

I cannot, I can just say that, tell you that what President Trump has decided is politically very shortsighted and morally wrong and morally irresponsible. Even economically. It doesn't make any sense when it comes to science. It is a totally wrong. There is no such skeptics. There is no such denials as it used to be. There used to be some skeptics, but there is absolutely no climate skeptics. It is happening, happening much, much faster. It is approaching to us if the agreement fails and if we do not solve a climate change, we will all be losers in the end. And thus, I strongly urge President Trump and his administration to return to climate change agreement as soon as possible. That's the urge of international community. That's the wish of all citizens around the world.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is another issue which is a very closely related with the climate change phenomenon. That is air quality, air quality, air pollution particularly in matter. As you already know, particularly metro air pollution is a dangerous threat in itself, but also Q2 is a close relationship with the climate change. The minuscule size of particularly matter allows it to enter the human body with ease causing various illnesses such as respiratory disease, cardiovascular disease, stroke, and even cancer. According to WHO in particular, 92 percent of Asia Pacific population roughly covering 4 billion people out of 7.5 globally are already exposed to high levels of air pollution. No region, no nation is safe from the threats of particularly matter. Okay? Now, according to WHO, 7 million people are dying needlessly from this affect affected by air pollution. You go many Southeast Asian countries and the African countries, you cannot just to breathe. Even in my Korea, Republic of Korea, South Korea, one of the OACD countries is a very difficult to breathe. People had been abusing their privilege of nature, just the rapid process of industrialization, just that they were running ahead just for industrialization without knowing that they were just abusing our privilege. Action against particular matter cannot be pursued without addressing climate change as to our like two sides of the same coin. Not only do they share similar emissions sources, but they also influence and exacerbate each other.

Joint action is an absolute must. In this regard, the United Nations during this general assembly session in said last year, designated September 7th of every year as the International Day of Clean Air for Blue Skies which was in fact proposed by the Korean president, Moon Jae-in last year

during the general assembly, the International Day aims to raise solidarity, more action against air pollution and climate change all together raising political momentum against the true global challenges. I am also looking into ways to raise awareness and particular participation of all stakeholders by collaborating in many international organizations like a power forum where I'm working as a chairman and also Partnering for Green Growth and Global Goals, a summit. P4G summit, which will be held in the Republic of Korea in June. Therefore, I ask for your interest and support so that the International Day of the Clean Air for Blue Skies can advance a global action and change against air pollution and climate change.

Ladies and gentlemen, I also like to emphasize that dealing with the climate change also includes adapting to a new way of life. The warming planet means that we can no longer maintain the way we live; the way we work; and the way we consume; and the way we produce. We have to change our behavior or pattern. It's not only industries where they emit the greenhouse gas emissions, it's not from our own lives, lifestyles. We also create a lot of problems like a particular method of metal finding. Therefore, it is a very important that we have to take very seriously to adapt to changing a situation. The adaptation mitigation are two policy responses, but we have been spending more and more on only mitigation. It's very important to reduce the sources of greenhouse gas emissions. But at the same time we have to adapt. Adaptation, this has addressed 10 letters, but the word adaptation since so simple, but actually encompasses a lot. For example, adaptation means, planting drought resistant crops in highland dry land; positioning trees along riverbanks; restoring mangrove forest. Re-design the way we build our cities, sustainable cities, reducing the deadly impact of soaring temperatures and establishing on effective early warning system. How to make sure that people are aware of the imminent danger that we have to establish an effective early warning system to save lives. All of these cannot be achieved without the support of collective action and adequate financial, practical and innovatory resources. This is what led to the creation of a -- recently -- Global Commission on adaptation.

Now, I'm raising the awareness of the importance of how to adapt to this situation. I'm now working as one of the co-chairs together with the Bill Gates and with Ms. Kristalina Georgieva, who is

now new managing director of IMF. Three of our co-chairs in this, but I'm more involved in this because of their own responsibilities. Now, we are going to host a summit meeting after the very successful Global Action Summit meeting at the United Nations in September, on October 22nd at the invitation of a prime minister of the Netherlands. We are going to meet them at the heads of state and government level and there will be many important international events like Adaptation Summit in Netherland in October. Then Cup 26 in classical November this year. Therefore, I'm asking all the leaders, government leaders, business leaders or civil society leaders to take part in these two very important events where we will really show our solidarity and joint action to address climate change.

And ladies and gentlemen, let me and just add some other important aspects of this issue. Another way we can ensure adaptation at a systemic scale is through education. After having solved the 10 years as a second gender and after having spoken to many world leaders, business, political and civil society leaders. I have realized now that I have been speaking only to those people who know already, but these people have regularly being changed five years after, president, prime minister, they are gone. Then you -- new people come that we have to repeat and repeat is a very important that from now on that we have to educate our young generation who will really be leading this world with a more sense of global citizenship. It's extremely important that we educate young people possibly from elementary school, elementary, middle and high school. By the time they take charge of their leadership, community leadership, global leadership, national leadership, they will be much better equipped with the global citizenship, aware of importance of living together with the environment. That's what I got inspiration from, credit to Marie, 7-year old girl. I saw her speaking out in front of 150 heads of state and government at the United Nations. She was speaking out, look because of your empty words, my future, my dreams, were taken away. I will not forgive you. I will not forgive you. This is what she was saying. This kind of message had been spread and I'm very glad to tell you that for the first time the Italian government has made it a rule, national rule that all the school children from elementary, middle, high school will have to go through 33 hours education on environment. This is a national law. I have spoken to my president in Korea. I have met the deputy prime minister and education minister that South Korean

government should make a sure that change their curriculums. Then I'm asking Chinese and all this. Wherever I visit, I'm meeting the ministers that they should educate the people.

There was one has all in 1992 in the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, the young girl who was just a 12-years old, seventh grade Suzuki said that "losing my future is not like losing an election." The political leaders may win and lose election, but they are not responsible, but those young people will have to be responsible for their own future. Ladies and gentlemen, the rise of the climate youth movement has also made me realize that we need to provide green and climate centered atmosphere for all these people. During my two terms as the UN secretary-general, I have spent a lot of time meeting with world leaders, political leaders to discuss the ways to deter this. And I have visited almost all the places on the earth where I was able to see myself the impact of climate change. I visited Arctic, North Pole four times and one time, Antarctica. Have you ever seen any leader who has visited this North Pole and Artic? I was sending out strong messages standing on the Arctic ice that ice is melting, glaciers are melting. Let us prevent from this sea level rise-- rising.

This has been my own messages. Ladies and gentlemen, let me conclude. I cannot stress how important it is for us to unite and pursue collective action when faced with such daunting challenges in this tempting to shift the blames to others and turn blind eyes to the problems. However, playing the blame games is never the answer. I blame the President Trump, but is not blaming the just for the sake of blaming. I'm just urging him to show his global, global leadership based on global vision. As a global leader of this world, it has already been more than one year, the IPCs has made such a warning statement. We have only 11 years to act. The point is too late. We have to answer. Me versus you mentality has no meaning in climate action. Remember that it should be us versus climate change. This decade will be the final decade again, where we can turn the tide against irreversible destruction of our changing climate.

Ladies and gentlemen again, the last April, last year, April, I had an opportunity of meeting a Pope Francis in Rome and we were discussing the climate issues because he was very much a devoted and committed to climate change that he told me that God always forgives, a human being sometimes

forgives, sometimes nature never forgives. Nature never forgives. I think this is true. The nature goes his own way. They do not wait for humanity. We have to follow the voices and wanting of nature before the nature rush because like many things happening now and therefore, ladies and gentlemen, let's work together to make this world a better by addressing and taking climate action before it is too late. Thank you very much. (Applause)

PRESIDENT ROBINSON: Ladies and gentlemen, students. Thank you for your welcome and it's a pleasure to be back in Brookings and an honor to address you in such distinguished company, at least my Fellow Elder Ban-Ki Moon remembers Jeff Feltman actually reminded us. He was my boss for three mandates in the United Nations and now, he's my deputy and he's a very supportive deputy at that. (Laughter) I also have very happy memories of participating over a number of years at the Annual Brookings Blum Roundtable in Aspen, partly because the company is very good and we don't have to work too hard. We get the afternoons off and we can go for long walks in the Aspen Hills.

These are momentous times. The political dynamics unfolding on Capitol Hill will have a profound impact on how the United States has governed its place in the world and its influence on global debates, but as Ban-Ki moon has so eloquently outlined, the world faces a challenge far greater than any political machinations in any country. The climate crisis must be the top priority for all leaders in 2020. It's not hyperbole to say that the face of humanity as a whole rests on decisions taken this year. Yesterday, Ban-Ki Moon and I attended the unveiling of the doomsday clock. It's hands now stand as he said, at a hundred seconds to midnight, meaning, that in the view of the eminent women and men of the bulletin of the atomic scientists, we are closer than we have ever been to catastrophe. And it was actually very good that the four scientists that spoke about occasion spoke so clearly and communicated so well the message of why on nuclear, we're in such a bad position; on climate we are on such a difficult position; and we have these disruptive technologies that -- and the undermining of silence that is making it difficult to make good decisions. As the name suggests, the bulletin has historically been concerned with the threat of nuclear war, but the climate crisis is cited as the other existential threat facing our planet. Both demand urgent, sustained, responsible leadership and action and the time for talking is

over.

The science of the climate crisis makes it imperative that we implement in full the voluntary commitments of the 2030 Agenda with its 17 sustainable development goals and the commitments in the Paris Climate Agreement. We need a bold new vision where every country, every city, and every corporation commits to being carbon neutral by 2050. We need a change of mindset to enable a just transition to clean energy in a way that allows us to stay at or below 1.5 degrees warming. We need to put a proper price on carbon.

Every country needs to take seriously the report of the Global Commission on Adaptation, which Ban-Ki Moon was speaking about and build resilience in communities for the new normal we are experiencing. An experience exemplified by the terrible bush fires in Australia. Every country needs to raise the level of its political ambition regarding the nationally determined contributions climate plans ahead of Cup 26 in Glasgow this November and this has to include the United States regardless of the policies of the current Administration.

Plus, I too continue to deplore President Trump's decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement as myopic and irresponsible. I had been heartened by the huge response from Americans of all backgrounds, from the state governors and mayors to business leaders, to labor unions, faith groups, women and youth activists who have declared that they are still in and are determined to push for real climate action.

Indeed, I'm convinced that we will only generate the necessary momentum and political pressure on leaders if we combine a top down and a bottom up approach that brings together all key actors from the young activists, so powerfully exemplified by Greta Thunberg, Jamie Margolin, and Alexandria Villasenor; to central bankers and the heads of the world's top investment funds.

The recent announcement by BlackRock CEO, Larry Fink, that the firm will no longer fund investments that in quotes present a high sustainability related risk including divesting US\$500 million from co-related businesses is an encouraging sign as is the new climate special envoy Role in March for bank of England, Governor Mark Carney. Last month, I attended the Cup in Madrid together

with my fellow elder Ricardo Lagos, former president of Chile. I met many young people there and I was really struck by the fierce clarity of their arguments and their determination to secure their future and the fact that they keep saying don't listen to us, we're only children. Listen to the science over and over again. That's what they say. Listen to the science.

We need their energy and their mobilization, but there's also another important pressure from the top down, from business and investment and then with this bottom up and top down who remains in the middle? Governments, it is governments who need to be squeezed because if we're not squeezing them, they're not going to move. They're going to continue with business as usual. They're going to continue to deny because the reality is elected representatives have very short-term horizons. They're thinking of the next election which may be six months away or at the most five years away and they don't want to take hard decisions because they want to get reelected and that's a problem all over the world. So, we have to put the squeeze bottom up with a broad movement and top down with investment and business which is on the right side of this issue. We need to see climate change as that intergenerational injustice as well as the crisis. This burden has felt the most by the people who have least contributed to rising emissions.

Some small island states will literally disappear unless the richer industrialized countries take much more radical and urgent action to keep temperature rises to 1.5 degrees, including a definitive and wholesale move away from fossil fuel use, exploration and extraction. There's a big gender dimension because of the different social roles of women and men in many countries. Women are on the frontlines and have to try to build resilience when their communities are affected and women leaders need to step up more on this crisis. Failure to act will be a terrible stain on the world's conscience and will mean any future reference to justice or common endeavor will ring hollow for the millions impoverished and displaced by the climate catastrophe.

This is why a multilateral approach is essential where the leaders of the rich and powerful countries such as the G20 take the lead not only in a spirit of solidarity, but also from enlightened self-interest. The challenge now is to increase ambition, which means keeping the G20 and its finance

ministers closely connected to the UN's climate agenda. Nowhere is this more critical than the debate on fossil fuels. We've actually entered a new reality where fossil fuel companies are losing their legitimacy and social license to operate. If governments are to retain their own legitimacy and trust among citizens, this means they must end all fossil fuel subsidies in all forms. So, coal and other hydrocarbons are kept in the ground and resources are invested instead in clean, renewable energy resources and green technologies. We need action to deliver a truly just transition so that regions and communities previously reliant on fossil fuel production for jobs and broader economic and social structures are not abandoned; that worker's rights and dignity are respected and that new opportunities are provided through investment and education for current and future generations.

We also need the fossil fuel and finance industries to make a firm and clear commitment to halt any and all plans for future fossil fuel extraction, whether through drilling, mining, fracking, or any other form, and to develop a comprehensive transparent database of all existing fossil fuel assets and reserves. A publicly accessible registry, whether state, or investor owned, would enable all stakeholders to organize a new plan for an orderly wind down of pending or proposed projects, adjust transition in other words, it would give clarity to investors who hold an extraordinary latent power to further the sustainability agenda and thus secure a long-term future for their own assets and investment strategies. There is, of course, an irony that this year's G20 presidency is held by Saudi Arabia, a state whose entire economy is based on fossil fuels, but I hope that this apparent dissonance will actually concentrate minds in all of G20 States to work together to develop new sustainable economic and industrial models that are compatible with a net zero world.

I actually know for a fact that Saudi Arabia can switch very rapidly to solar when it wants to. I was on the board of the King Abdullah University for Science and Technology for a number of years in Saudi Arabia and it was a new university with a very, very big endowment from the then king and it had all the money in the world for whatever research it wanted and what did it want, research on solar. It bought research from this country on solar. It has wonderful sun and it has very good sand for making the chips. So, believe me, there will be no problem when the time comes. But meanwhile there's profit to

be made profit to be made as we know. So, that's the problem.

And this debate mustn't, must not just be restricted to the G20. We need an inclusive global mobilization with the United Nations playing a leading role. A few weeks ago, I had the honor of addressing the UN Security Council as chair of the elders at a session on the future of the UN charter 75 years after the organization's founding. The council should be a key player in shaping the new global mindset on climate justice and climate action. But unfortunately, it's seen by many as not being fit for purpose. Too many members, not least, those with the special responsibility of holding permanent seats treated as a forum for advancing their own narrow interests rather than a means of addressing common challenges. So, we have a challenge and this year, 2020 is absolutely key from the East River to the Potomac and the shores beyond a radical change is needed in 2020.

As elders, we were actually mandated by Nelson Mandela to bring hope and as Mandela put it succinctly, it always seems impossible until it is done. Thank you very much. (Applause)

MS. PAK: Thank you so much President Robinson and Secretary Ban for joining us today. This was a truly inspirational for me and I'm very honored and privileged to be up here on the stage with you. And I also have the privilege of asking you a couple of questions to get us started and then we'll open it up for Q&A. So -- and thanks to all of you for joining us.

Thank you for those comments, I thought you as the elders and as, as global leaders are doing your part in education and encouraging multilateral international organizations, but when we -- as both of you have mentioned some of the climate changes, the climate events that are happening are daunting. Mozambique to Haiti, Bahamas, Australia, the floodings in Houston and the Midwestern States, the erosion of the permafrost in Alaska, all of those things seem to be happening with more frequency, with more devastation, with hundreds of billions of dollars in damage.

And so all of that seems very daunting. How do we absorb all of this crisis? And I think what we have in the audiences is that the audience members are also asking for how do we deal with this? So, you mentioned BlackRock, you mentioned Microsoft. These are big companies. Saudi Arabia can also do something as a government. The Trump Administration can obviously make a political

commitment, but what I also wonder was, you talk about the top down and bottom up, what can we do in addition to supporting and educating ourselves on a micro level? It -- and how does the bottom up and the top down meet? And I wonder President Robinson, if you might address that.

PRESIDENT ROBINSON: Well, I like to say to people what they can do, which is three steps. And the first step is to make climate change the climate crisis. I don't even talk about climate change anymore. The climate crisis, the climate emergency, personal in your own life. You've got to do that, which means you're going to do something you weren't doing before. And I give the example, I've become a pescatarian. I've given up meat about a year and a half ago. I still have withdrawal from time, but anyway, the second step is to get angry and get active. Get angry about those with more responsibility that aren't meeting their responsibility and get active supporting those who are on the right side of this, on conservation, on advocacy, on all the things that can be done. And the third thing, and actually this is the most important, we have to imagine this world that we need to be hurrying towards because as we've heard, we both been saying this. We have 10 years. We have to be in a much different place. We have to have 45 percent reduction in global emissions by 2030. That's a very short time. So, that's why Greta Thunberg is so frustrated in Davos. She says there's lots of talk, but there's no action. We're not seeing that bend of the curve. But in order to get sensitive about it, we have to imagine this world. It would be a much healthier world. We won't have the particle problem that Ban-Ki Moon was talking about. We won't have that -- the other fossil fuel, air and water pollution, we have to have a much more equal world because we'll have to have implemented the sustainable development goals, leaving no one behind. And with the gender equality, equality, a gold 10 on equality between countries and within countries and so on and oceans and all of those things, of biodiversity. So, I think we really need young people to think about that world they want to see and pressure us to get there more quickly.

MS. PAK: And I think what comes through in both of your comments today is that yes, there is a crisis, and as Secretary-General Ban, you mentioned that we talk a lot about mitigation and that's the sense of crisis and that we have to try to stop things from happening. And -- but you also talked about adaptation, which brings us to a net from a narrative of crisis to a narrative of opportunity in climate

change. Will you talk more about sustainable development and how that is an opportunity for all of us?

SECRETARY-GENERAL BAN KI-MOON: If we are able to meet the target of old agenda 2030, I think that will be fine. But the implementation level, depending upon where you are living is quite different. Likewise in the addressing the climate actions, this again, hugely different the countries where the resources, I think they are doing all at trying to transition from fossil secure energy to a sustainable energy as it were. But there are many poor countries as you mentioned, Africa and Southeast Asia, Latin America and South Pacific, developing -- I mean small developing Island States, they simply don't have any resources. That's why the U.S. and European Union and Japan, at the time of the negotiation they pledged that from this year up to this a 2020, they will mobilize \$100 billion every year. Then thereafter, \$100 billion every year to support developing countries financially. But this Green Climate Fund is almost the empty shell now because of non-implementation of their promises starting from the United States. United States is not paying at least one-third is lacking and European Union is not following. Japan is not following. So, OECD is not following and then it has just a merely few billion dollars. That's the reality. Then we must use all high technology, 21st century technology to address climate phenomena that we have to really mobilize the power of business community, global business communities, which can really take a much, much more important contribution. Much more than a government can do. They have to really show and their global responsibility as a global corporations. That's what I am asking, but there is a clearly lack of united will of the international community.

Now, when United States is away out of this, then there is, we are missing huge, huge, huge pillar. Now, who is the leading this? The U.S. has been leading and then when U.S. is not there then who can expect to lead this one? Do you expect China will lead this one or European Union is also divided? So, that's why I am very much worried that the things are not moving as has been promised. Yeah.

MS. PAK: Mm-hmm.

SECRETARY-GENERAL BAN-KI MOON: So, there should be political leadership.

MS. PAK: Both of you talked about unity, political leadership, collective action, having a

common goal and being very focused on this, but as you know, the Trump Administration's approach is America first. And we have a rise of populism and authoritarianism in Europe and in all parts of the world, and I wonder how do we get to that point given this trend in the rise of authoritarianism? I'm talking about, for example, the Amazon is burning and the Amazon is being depleted at an alarming rate, and yet when the global community said something about it, the pushback was severe, that this is -- our country, this we're a sovereign nation, we can do what we want. And so when we, when we talk about global unity, how do we deal with that in the age of America First or in the age of authoritarianism or -- and the rise of populism and entrenched interests that are hard to move?

PRESIDENT ROBINSON: It's certainly true that we are in a difficult time of undermining multilateral cooperation. And these elders actually made a strong statement last December and we called out the United States as being probably the worst offender, if you like, in that regard. But there are other countries as well. And you mentioned the Amazon, and we know that Brazil is part of that, but actually I think we can learn a lesson from the way young people are organizing with their Fridays for Future. I have been incredibly impressed. I was moderating a panel in Madrid in which I had five young people and I mean 14, 15, 16, 17 and five government ministers who were on the right side of the issues. They had committed to a declaration on the importance of remembering children, in particular, with the sustainable development goals. And they were, the children were asking questions at the ministers and the ministers could ask if the children, and at one point, a 14-year old from Norway, had asked a question and clearly she wasn't satisfied with the answer. And I said, do you want to come back? And then it just took off. And what those children said, I will never forget. They said, "We are bonded by the fact that all over the world, we know we don't have a future unless things change. And that has made us have a huge solidarity and even love for those who are most effected in our world." It was it was just it was like listening to the implementation of the sustainable development goals by the young people who are aware of this bond between them. And that's what's happening and that's what's happening, that's the marches in Davos because there's Greta Thunberg was there with our leadership of, there are various names. She's not the only one that she keeps trying to get away from just mentioning her. But the point is they

get it and they say, as I said, listen to the science and they have understood the science. It's not hard for them to understand it. It's accessible to them. And the science is frightening at that age unless you do something.

So, I think there's an opportunity in the very climate crisis and I think there's opportunity because actually we don't have any choice. And it's manifesting itself. When a first world country like Australia is burning. And then when the rains come, the dust in the rivers kills the fish and it's worse and worse and worse.

SECRETARY-GENERAL BAN KI-MOON: Let me add to multilateralism again, another tip is worrying situation is that the multilateralism symbolized by represented by the United Nations is now under serious attack by those countries including the United States, which have been very most supported and in their global leadership based on universal values and principles on human rights and peace and security. Equality, I think United States has been just respected as a leader of this world and multilateralism has been respected. Multilateralism particularly since the end of Second World War has been the guiding framework, global framework under which and within which countries big and small people rich and poor have been protected and supported with a due respect, sovereignty, et cetera. Now, you talk about America First, my country first protectionism, individualism, isolationists look at what had happened in 1930s when U.S. took isolationist policies. It has led to the collapse of League of Nations that it has led the surge of what is the nationalism and fascism.

Then Second World War broke out. There was no peacekeeping or stability, no force. Now, only with the having experienced such a tragic, tragic consequences during Second World War, people came to realize that we have to work together big and small and U.S. has been by any standard that without any questions has been playing a leadership role and people accepted it. Now, UN, the U.S. has been withdrawing from most importantly Human Rights Council. Then UNESCO, then they have abrogated the JCPOA, the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action with Iran. They have withdrawn from the biggest and important global agreement on climate change and what kind of lessons are we going to learn from this? The people say that children learn from their parents. When parents give good lessons

by their own behavior, you don't need to teach but just acting mother and father, by acting the children learn. And people learn from the global leaders. When global leaders are not acting responsibly, then you will see lot of divisions and isolationist policies. Then you will see unwanted, the situation. Like ISIS or extremist forces, so this world is now experiencing continuing sources of conflict here and there and therefore, I think we have to really work together. The global leaders should show global vision based on global citizenship. There is no such a United States, Japan, Korea, we are living in a small planet earth. There's no country in this world where you cannot arrive within 24 hours. Our message can be transferred within a fraction of a second to the end of the world.

So, then we are just one citizen, one global citizen. Then you act differently. Then you are giving very bad messages to our succeeding generation. I think we have a moral responsibility and political leaders, they have political leadership to make this one the better where we can live sustainably with the all human rights respected, rich and poor.

Now, we have to really be more compassionate, more compassionate to those people who are really suffering, particularly on climate change. Those countries who have contributed least to the consequences of climate are being affected worst most. Those countries who have contributed most to the climate phenomena, they have resources they can be much better off than those people. There's some merit to what the Mary Robinson say, climate justice. This is an issue of justice. This is an issue of science, this an issue of morality and science. So, I'm really urging world leaders, particularly political leaders. They have to show good example. They should lead by example. That's my answer as former secretary-general, I'm really appealing.

MS. PAK: Thank you. I was really interested in what you said about Spain having a new curriculum and how it's, sorry, Italy having a new curriculum to require some hours on, on climate change and climate science, and that you're encouraging the South Korean government to do so. So, as well as the global leadership that I think President Robinson and Secretary-General Ban provide and the moral leadership, I think there you've both made the case for the economic leadership as well, and that there are economic costs at the very -- so all of these climate change things that are happening are felt at the

local level, right?

Rich and poor, the least developed islands are obviously feeling the pinch, but also the wealthy are feeling the pinch. You mentioned Aspen -- Aspen, Colorado because of the lack of snow has opened up its first soup kitchen in the past couple of years. And Napa Valley, another area of wealth has also suffered devastating fire. So, I think at the global level there is a moral leadership, but the effects are felt at the local level as well. And that provides this wellspring of some new ideas for what to do.

I want to now open it up to the audience. I'll take three at a time. I would ask that since we're running out of time that you introduce yourself very quickly and make sure to ask a question rather than a comment. So, let me do woman up front in the pink; woman also in the pink. (Laughter) Is there another pink woman in the middle with the glasses? So, up here first.

QUESTIONER: Hi, thank you so much for the wonderful sharing. I think we've all learned a lot about it. My name is Anga and I'm with Hong Kong Phoenix Television. Actually, I'm used to work in the United Nations Secretariat in your last year in 2016 and I have also worked in WFP in Rome before. So, my question is it seems like everyone seems worried about climate change and nuclear weapons, and as you have said before, the government, the States seems worried. They all talk about it inside of the United Nations by when they left, they forget about it. How do we ensure the effectiveness and efficiency of what the UN has been said has been putting to agenda, can actually be achieved? How do we ensure the effectiveness and efficiency? Thank you so much.

MS. PAK: Pink again.

MS. SAWYER: Good morning, Sagine Sawyer, Langham partners. Thank you so much for lucid and succinct and straightforward remarks. My question to you, President Robinson, you mentioned about of Central Bank and financial institutions. You're absolutely right. Mark Carney has been forward thinking and the lord of the Central Bank, but I'm not sure if incoming governor, Andrew Bailey will do the same things, but with regard to your remark BlackRock, of course, BlackRock made \$7 trillion. However, last year when I was in BlackRock in London and those huge demonstrations, so perhaps it may be something changed. But when you mentioned Norway, Norway has the largest

Southern West fund managed \$1 trillion. Government decide to divert some of the fundings and not everything and I would be interested in your views, Secretary Ban-Ki Moon. You know Middle East very well, of course, the Kingdom of Saudi will host the G20. At the moment, the president of Islamic Development Bank, former Saudi Arabia minister, and then most of the Islamic Development Bank is dealing with infrastructure funding issues. I would be interested in your views on what GCC Southern West funding with regard to the climate change? Thank you very much.

MS. PAK: So, your question is about the role of climate or sovereign risk funds on climate change and what they can do?

MS. SAWYER: Yes.

MS. PAK: Got it. Okay. Middle, yes.

QUESTIONER: Hi. Good morning and thank you for being here. It's such an honor. My name is Roshni. I'm a student at Harvard University. I'm very concerned about the forced displacement caused by climate change and numbers have been thrown around 200 million by 2050. And my question has two parts. The first is, do you think there's hope for the 1951 refugee convention to be amended to include climate refugees? And the second part is what is a sustainable way in which to de-settle these populations? Because a lot of countries have begun buying land in Fiji, for example. So, but that doesn't really seem sustainable. So, what is a sustainable way in which to resettle these massive numbers of people?

MS. PAK: So, we have three questions. One is on how do we ensure the efficiency of UN type mechanisms and how the implementation of what is agreed on at the UN. Secondly, what is the role of sovereign wealth funds and in their role in mitigating and adapting to climate change? And three, what do we do about forced displacement, which is happening now with the climate refugees and the issue of land use, so I welcome you. You don't have to answer all three, just --

SECRETARY-GENERAL BAN KI-MOON: One, the first one, let me answer about the effectiveness of the United Nations. I have been receiving this kind of question so many times. My answer is that the UN is not the perfect one. I admit it, but at this time, that's the maximum where

member States will and commitment have been there. But that does not give us any complacency. You know, I had been very strong, very firm to make United Nations more accountable, responsible, morally clean and the effective. That's why I really tried to change the administrative structures. I think lots of changes have been made during my time, including just to make morally clean, ethically clean UN.

We have learned a lot from a so-called willful food crisis. That was a corruptive practices. Then we have not seen any such kind of very serious issues. At the same time, how to make sure that the UN staff, particularly leading staff, they should lead by example, by showing good example, not only to the staff, but also to the world so that the UN is a working -- an accountable way. That's what I can tell you at this time. I'm sure that my successor, Antonio Gutierrez, will be watch more based on what I have achieved. That's what I can tell you.

Let me go to number three, refugees. There are many reasons why people become refugees. Some, most of them, they are driven, forced to flee their country of their home because of imminent danger to their lives. Like a conflict. As you see in Syria, I think at least the 500, five million people have become refugees now. We have 75 million refugees around the world. That is the number of refugees where there was during only during the Second World War. During peace time. 21st century is impossible to understand.

It's unacceptable to recognize that there are 75 million people. Why? Because of that domestic problems they leave their country because of the country, because of the poverty. Long spell of droughts or flooding. Natural disasters -- there are many reasons now UNHCR, which was led once by Antonio Gutiérrez, the current secretary-general, we've been mobilizing all necessary support. I have convinced so many refugee support border conference so many times and we're still creating. There is a lack of level for support from the member state.

Instead of helping refugees, many leaders are erecting walls to prevent the refugees from entering to a safer place. I've been really speaking out that the leaders please, do not erect walls. You should -- you must build a bridges among people, instead of rejecting them. Then if you reject them, where can they go? We lose a lot of children who have to die needlessly because of this problems.

Therefore, again, there is a clearly moral deficiencies at this time. Political, moral deficiencies among the leaders, some very well to do, European countries, they just prohibit the people from coming and some leaders are now threatening to release refugees to other countries. This has become quite political issues. Again, this a source of concern that I hope that again, the U.S. should really show a global leadership. Thank you.

MS. PAK: President Robinson?

PRESIDENT ROBINSON: Okay, I wouldn't dream of attempting the first question after the secretary-general, so I'll focus on the second question and I also want to add something to what a Ban-Ki Moon said about the third question on climate displaced people and refugees. Under the sovereign funds, I think the main problem now is countries are committing to be zero carbon by 2050. And the United Kingdom, for example, is actually put it into law to their great credit, but the United Kingdom is with its export credit funding, fossil fuel elsewhere. And I gather there was a big African meeting in London the other day and most of the investment was in fossil fuel in Africa. So, that's not really very helpful. Norway has just got a big oil field that's coming on stream and they're very proud of the fact that they're using clean energy to bring the oil on stream and then they'll export the oil and it won't be their problem. That's not on. We can't have that anymore. We got to get real about this and I think that's really very important.

And on the climate displaced, there's actually a good piece of news thanks to the UN Human Rights Committee. Just the other day, there was a case of a person from Currie Bass a small Island atoll of Currie Bass. He was on one of the smaller atolls that went under. So, he had to move to a slightly higher atoll, which was overcrowded. So, he fled basically to New Zealand and brought a claim that he shouldn't be sent out of New Zealand because he was a climate displaced force person. The court on the evidence didn't uphold his claim, but they did uphold in law that a person who is forced to leave and cannot live because of climate conditions cannot be forced to return. That's very important. That's the beginnings of a human rights approach to -- I still don't say climate refugees. I say climate displaced people because they haven't got the status of refugees. Now, they've begun to get a little bit of

status thanks to the Human Rights Committee and I think we can build on that and that's good news and the UN has done something good.

MS. PAK: Thanks. I want to get two more. Woman in beige and gentlemen in the purple shirt back there. Again, your name, affiliation and a quick -- a very brief question.

MS. OBRANDOM: Thank you. My name is Shemese Obrandom and my question is you mentioned about all of the things that we talked about, protectionism, individualism, climate skepticism, climate denialism. These things are funded and by actors who benefit from climate inaction, from business as usual, how do we address that? Because Mary Robinson, in her three things that we as individuals can do, that's great, but how do we combat the active actors who are working against our collective interests? Thank you.

MS. PAK: Oh no. Oh yeah. There was a gentleman in the purple shirt in front of you, in front of you. (Laughter)

MR. MINEKOS: Thank you. Good morning. My name is Aristotle Minekos. I'm an undergraduate at Harvard. We talked a lot about science and in the role of science in legitimizing the climate emergency, but when we talked about actually solving the problem, we mentioned the role of government and in private institutions. I'm wondering how you envision the role of science and innovation, technology and allowing us to actually combat the issue as well and promote new solutions maybe in continual clean energies, things like that will allow us to promote change as well.

MS. PAK: So, I feel -- thank you. So, I feel terrible. (Laughter) So, please.

MR. RYBECK: Rick Rybeck with Just Economics. Thank you for the great presentations and insights. Question, in the United States and around the world our development patterns are characterized by something we call suburban sprawl. And development is very spread out. It results in very energy, inefficient dwellings and requires people to travel in energy efficient modes. I'm wondering what you see as a way to remedy suburban sprawl? Are there certain techniques or things that we can do so that our settlement patterns are more compact and more compatible with saving both the countryside and our cities.

MS. PAK: Great. Thank you. So, we have three questions. One is how do we -- we talked about the trends on protectionism. How do we combat entrenched funded interests that are solidly on the side of the status quo? Secondly, what is the role of science and innovation? And I think the third question actually does relate to the science and innovation question, which is what are we doing with development of combating sprawl and how do we design cities? You can answer one or any of those questions.

SECRETARY-GENERAL BAN KI-MOON: The first two question we'll have to be much to fostering a global citizenship. We see many national leaders with just aiming for short-term gain, short-term political gains. So, electoral gains. This really hampers and very makes such serious problems. A lot of leaders claim that they are global leaders, they work for the world. But in reality, almost all of them, almost without exception, they become national leaders with the small sense of global vision. European union, they always say global vision, American leaders, most of them except some developing countries, but the way they do is very, very disappointing. So, that is why based on my experience then the first thing I did after my retirement is to establish a Ban Ki-moon center for global citizens, global citizen because I've been always feeling that this is lack-- because of lacking of global citizenship, either leaders who claimed to be global leaders, I think that's an insult. It's an easy answer, but very difficult how to teach, how to educate these people. So, normally we use such a forum like a United Nations, but I tried to have any such kind of forum now. I'm just speaking out alone, but still I am doing more for young people just starting from young people for certain global citizenship. That's my answer this time, of course, there is a clearly very important role of science, but in the other aspect, the third is another, some issues of how you use science and technology for proper purpose. That is what we need to really have some global governance of the system.

Suppose AI, artificial intelligence, it can be used. There is a serious morality issues. Can, should the human being become slaves or dictated by what machine says no, that's not, we have to control, we have to able to control the use of this science when it comes to disruptive force technologies, how can you make sure that this disruptive sciences are not used by terrorists or some other people who

have evil motives? So, there should be, again, United Nations, there is a lot of things for United Nations to do with the future of technology. Maybe I'm leading you again. (Laughter)

PRESIDENT ROBINSON: On the climate skeptics, yes, there are big funders and a lot of money going into climate skeptics and I think the advice is follow the money and challenge the large fossil fuel companies that are funding the skepticism, the bad science, et cetera. They're still doing it. And so that's the way to address that. And I served for nine years on the European Climate Foundation and the European Climate Foundation tracked the funding of the skepticism of the denial, the bad science, and it is millions and millions every year. And then the money countered is a million or two. It's far, far less, but actually the European Climate Foundation has become more effective in addressing some of the climate denial and also making sure the good science gets well covered and gets out. And this is important, but it's a, it's a tough world because the money is on the bad side. And I learned something. I mean, I'm not letting Ban Ki-moon away with the pope. I was with the pope as well, I was at a second convening at the Vatican of the oil and gas heads of companies and they were all there, including the heads of ExxonMobil, BP, Toto, Shell, you name it. And the investors in the oil and gas companies, the first convening the year before had been a total failure. The pope had not been pleased. He made a strong statement and left with no photographs, which devastated -- so, they were on their better behavior and they signed up to weak agreements on carbon pricing and carbon risk disclosure and they all signed and then they got their photo, et cetera. But the point is what really came home to me, and it's a very obvious thing, but I hadn't understood it properly, is you make billions from fossil fuel. You make millions from clean energy. So, how do you go from billions to millions without disruption? So, the only way we're going to get the change in the fossil fuel led economy, which we still have and start to bend that curve, is through disruption. It's through the work of the schoolchildren, the extinction rebellion, the sunrise movement in this country. But it's also litigation, like the agenda case. The other cases that are pending the Children's Trust Case in Oregon and all other cases, it's through shareholders' questioning in things they through. Most of us have bank accounts, I think. We could all challenge our banks. I have a podcast called mothers of invention and the byline of the podcast is that climate change

is a manmade problem and requires a feminist solution. (Laughter) And for the men in the room who might feel a bit uncomfortable, manmade is generic and a feminist solution definitely includes men and hopefully, all the men in the room. And I'm doing it with a younger Irish woman who's a very successful comedian based in New York and Maeve Higgins and Maeve rang her bank up because Chase Bank, she discovered when she learned a little bit about climate through our podcast and was very invested in fossil fuel. So, thrust of the phone call was that she wanted to withdraw her money and the poor woman she was talking to had no idea how to deal with this and said, well look, you better get on to headquarters. And Maeve said very politely, yes, I'll do that. And now tell me, I'm in New York phoning you, where are you? The woman said, "Oh, I'm in the Philippines." "Oh," says Maeve, "I got the climate is very difficult in the Philippines," and for the next 10 minutes the woman talks about we can all ring our bank and you know, ask them about their fossil fuel. In other words, there are things you can do to make the disruption, make life more uncomfortable for those on the wrong side of all of this. So, I don't have to go on for too long. Yes, I totally agree about the science and innovation.

I also agree with the points that Ban-Ki Moon was making. We need to be worried about when we get more urgent, which we will over the next decade, we'll get very urgent about climate. It's going to get worse and worse. And if we don't see the bending of the curve, then we'd get more urgent and then we'll start having technical geoengineering solutions. And we have no governance at the moment of geoengineering. So, that's an issue with the elders and have been thinking about, and the final one on the urban suburban sprawl and I think to me that's a matter of planning regulations. And I think the diminishing of regulations generally on water quality, on air quality that are in this country is very distressing, to be honest. And I think the planning regulations are probably the same. I'm not, I'm not an expert on that area, but it's better if you have planning. We're going to need to refresh old buildings to make them energy efficient because buildings contribute hugely to emissions. Refitting old buildings that people live in is very costly and we haven't worked out how we're going to do it. So, that's a huge problem which every country would need to think about.

MS. PAK: We started late, so we are ending a little bit late. Thank you, all of you for

your time and your attention and your wonderful questions. Thank you President Robinson, and Secretary-General Ban for your leadership and for your vision. (Applause)

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