



# Security Council

Sixty-second year

**5663**<sup>rd</sup> meeting

Tuesday, 17 April 2007, 10 a.m.

New York

*Provisional*

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<i>President:</i>	Mrs. Beckett .....	(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
<i>Members:</i>	Belgium .....	Mr. Verbeke
	China .....	Mr. Liu Zhenmin
	Congo .....	Mr. Ikouebe
	France .....	Mr. De La Sablière
	Ghana .....	Mr. Christian
	Indonesia .....	Mr. Jenie
	Italy .....	Mr. Craxi
	Panama .....	Mr. Arias
	Peru .....	Mr. Voto-Bernales
	Qatar .....	Mr. Al-Nasser
	Russian Federation .....	Mr. Churkin
	Slovakia .....	Mr. Kubiš
	South Africa .....	Mr. Kumalo
	United States of America .....	Mr. Wolff

## Agenda

Letter dated 5 April 2007 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2007/186)

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*The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.*

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **Letter dated 5 April 2007 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2007/186)**

**The President:** I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Argentina, Australia, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Cape Verde, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Egypt, Germany, Iceland, India, Israel, Japan, Liechtenstein, Maldives, the Marshall Islands, Mexico, Micronesia, Namibia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Palau, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, the Republic of Korea, Singapore, Solomon Islands, the Sudan, Switzerland, Tuvalu, Ukraine and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, in which they request to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the consideration of the item, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*At the invitation of the President, the representatives of the aforementioned countries took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.*

**The President:** The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I should like to draw attention to document S/2007/186, which contains a letter dated 5 April 2007 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, transmitting a concept paper on the item under consideration.

I should also like to draw attention to document S/2007/203, which contains a letter dated 12 April 2007 from the Permanent Representative of Cuba, and

document S/2007/211, which contains a letter dated 16 April 2007 from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan.

I should now like to make some brief introductory remarks in my national capacity, before giving the floor to other Council members.

I welcome this debate. There have been some questions as to whether this is the right place to be having this discussion, so let me set out why I believe that it is.

Our responsibility in the Council is to maintain international peace and security, including the prevention of conflict. An unstable climate will exacerbate some of the core drivers of conflict, such as migratory pressures and competition for resources. The recent Stern Review Report on the Economics of Climate Change speaks of potential economic disruption on the scale of the two world wars and of the great depression. That alone will inevitably have an impact on the security of all of us — developed and developing countries alike.

So today is about the world recognizing that there is a security imperative, as well as economic, developmental and environmental ones, for tackling climate change and for our beginning to build a shared understanding of the relationship between energy, climate and security.

We are not, in this debate, seeking to pre-empt the authority of those institutions and processes where action is being decided — the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and its subsidiary bodies, the United Nations agencies, and, of course, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. Having been the United Kingdom's lead negotiator for five years in that body, I am the last person who would wish to undermine its work, or that of any other. But the decisions that we come to and the actions that we take in all of those forums will be better, stronger and more effective if they are informed by the fullest possible understanding of all of the implications of climate change. So I very much look forward to this unprecedented debate.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

In accordance with the understanding reached among Council members, I wish to remind all speakers to limit their statements to no more than five minutes

in order to enable the Council to carry out its work expeditiously. Delegations with lengthy statements are kindly requested to circulate the texts in writing in the Chamber and to deliver a condensed version when speaking. The list of those who wish to speak having been distributed, I think that colleagues will understand why that discipline would be helpful.

On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to His Excellency Mr. Ján Kubiš, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Slovakia, to whom I give the floor.

**Mr. Kubiš** (Slovakia): We welcome the fact that the Security Council has reached a point at which it is openly recognizing the significant security risks that the wider implications of climate change will pose in future. I would like to acknowledge the efforts of the United Kingdom to introduce this theme into our agenda.

Slovakia fully associates itself with the statement that will be delivered later by the Permanent Representative of Germany on behalf of the European Union. That is why I will limit my statement to some specific comments.

The complexity of the climate system makes it difficult to predict, but there is now an effective consensus among the world's leading scientists that there is a discernible human influence on climate and a link between the concentration of carbon dioxide and the increase in temperature. This is thus a good time to consider the policy dimensions of climate change.

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change has already finalized a new report that assesses the current and future impact of global warming and explores opportunities for proactively adapting to them. The report concludes that the world's rivers, lakes, wildlife, glaciers, permafrost, coastal zones, disease carriers and many other elements of the natural and physical environment are already responding to the effects of mankind's greenhouse gas emissions.

The security implications of further climate change entails, inter alia, the possible humanitarian crises resulting from unusual weather changes, including drought; energy shortages; possible migration pressures; and overall societal stress in those States that are heavily affected by climate change.

It is important to underline the scale of the implications for the developing world. It is not difficult to imagine the security, stability and health problems

that will arise in a world in which there is increasing pressure on water availability; where there is a major loss of arable land and consequent food shortages; and in which there are large-scale displacements of populations as a result of flooding and other climate change effects. And those factors will compound each other. The poorest countries in the world will suffer most from severe weather events, longer and hotter droughts and rising oceans. Over the coming decades, the Arctic, sub-Saharan Africa, small island States, low-lying coasts, natural ecosystems and water resources and agricultural production in certain regions will be at particular risk.

Such threats and growing social stress can be properly addressed only through international agreements and their consistent implementation. Only concerted action by Governments around the world can successfully address the long-term challenge of fighting climate change and stabilizing greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere, while preventing severe global economic and political strains and sustaining economic growth.

The 1987 Montreal Protocol, addressing the challenge posed by the hole in the ozone layer, has shown how quickly a global environmental problem can be reversed once targets are agreed. Slovakia is, in that respect, strongly committed to working with the world's industrial countries and emerging economies to reach emissions reduction targets after the first phase of the Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change ends in 2012.

We believe that emissions trading is one of the most cost-effective ways of reducing carbon emissions. The emissions trading scheme in Europe is of great importance to overall targets in that respect, and the establishment of the carbon-trading market is a substantial achievement and will change the way thousands of businesses think about their energy use. A world-wide network of such schemes could push its positive effects even further.

Other options exist for providing a stimulus for the development and more extensive use of renewable energy. We have to continue to support investments in the innovation of new low-carbon technologies, and there are also ways to consider nuclear energy as a cleaner choice if we are to meet our carbon targets.

Those are some of the reasons why Slovakia has approved the respective decisions taken at last March's European Council meeting on energy, which established binding European Union commitments coping with carbon dioxide emissions and on greater use of renewable sources of energy.

Security is only one of the factors to be considered under the overall agenda for climate change, but in this case it is well in line with Security Council resolution 1625 (2005) on comprehensively addressing the root causes of armed conflict and political and social crises, as highly stressed societies tend to be more violent societies. There is, in our opinion, an indisputable role for the Security Council in conflict prevention and in contributing to other United Nations organs and agencies, where appropriate. Notwithstanding what the other forums, including the General Assembly, already deal with, the Security Council is well positioned to incorporate that new dimension of threat perception into its considerations and ad hoc discussions, while remaining within its mandate.

My delegation would like to suggest that the Security Council request the Secretariat to include in its future regular reports, under mandates provided by the Council and where reasonable and substantiated, an additional note on possible threats in the framework of the subject of such a report that would be considered to be a security implication of climate change.

Time will show how we can deal with the climate change issue within the Security Council and where a consensus of the international community will be reached to address climate-related factors of instability and security risks.

**The President:** On behalf of the Security Council, I extend a warm welcome to His Excellency Mr. Vittorio Craxi, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Italy.

**Mr. Craxi (Italy) (*spoke in French*):** Allow me to begin by thanking the United Kingdom, in its capacity as President of the Security Council, for having organized today's debate, and to thank its Foreign Secretary, whose presence here attests to the importance of the issue under discussion.

Italy associates itself with the statement to be made by the representative of Germany on behalf of the European Union.

Climate change is an unequivocal global threat. Today's debate helps to raise awareness of the dangers associated with environmental problems and to provide food for thought on the actions to take in the competent forums, in the specialized agencies, and among the United Nations membership.

A few weeks ago, the latest report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change reiterated the extreme seriousness of global warming and its connection to human activities. Various studies, including the *Stern Review* and the report promoted by the United Nations Foundation, highlight the serious threat that climate change poses to peace and security, such as fomenting or aggravating conflicts. Climate change has an impact not only on the environment, the economy and human health, but also on stability and security, especially when they intersect with realities already characterized by problems of an ethnic, cultural, political or economic character.

In the long term, disputes over borders or over the division of maritime zones might be a consequence of territorial changes caused by a rise in sea levels. There is a further great risk of an exodus of entire populations, unleashing serious socio-economic instability and potential humanitarian crises. It is estimated that, by 2010, environmental degradation linked to climate change may drive population shifts involving upwards of 50 million people in developing countries — bona fide climate refugees. Particularly vulnerable to climate change are areas such as sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, South-East Asia and, in particular, the small islands, which, for that matter, generate fewer greenhouse gases than other States.

We must recognize that there is no trade-off between the fight against poverty and safeguarding the environment. Climate change and the risks associated with spiralling conflicts and mass exoduses contribute to an increase in both poverty and instability. The increase in climate-change-related poverty increases, in turn, pockets of discontent and ultimately — as the *Stern Review* underlines — recruitment by rebel or terrorist groups.

We should not neglect the relationship between climate change and energy consumption, which can also be reflected in crisis situations between States. Our development model and our very lifestyle require huge amounts of energy. That translates into an increasingly fraught search for large quantities of fossil

fuels, with consequences in terms of geopolitical tensions and environmental unsustainability.

To achieve a governance of the environment and energy dynamic that will provide access to potable water and electricity to all citizens of the world, the international community needs to endorse the concept that energy security and environmental sustainability are indivisible. We need to enact common strategies to address the risks related to climate change and our current model of economic growth.

In the context of United Nations reform, we should strive to strengthen multilateral governance that helps to counter and manage such phenomena. In that regard, we welcome the reference to that issue in the Secretary-General's recent report on the recommendations of the Panel on system-wide coherence. In that context, the Italian Government believes firmly in the importance of creating a United Nations environmental organization.

The European Union recently made a commitment to unilaterally reducing greenhouse emissions by 20 per cent by the year 2020 and by 30 per cent in the event that a post-Kyoto international agreement is reached.

In the framework of the Group of Eight (G-8), Italy plays a proactive role on environmental questions and has launched a partnership to promote the development of bioenergy. We look forward to the outcome of the G-8 Summit.

In the near future, the Italian Government will organize a national conference on climate in order to raise public awareness and to foster the adoption of a long-term strategy to combat global warming. The debate will also deal with relationship between security and climate change.

In conclusion, we need to act with determination and act quickly with regard both to forms of adaptation and to mitigation. Delayed action could increase costs and could even make global warming irreversible, with all the related disastrous effects that would derive therefrom in terms of failure to prevent conflicts. The Italian Government would like to renew here in the Security Council its support for all initiatives that seek a consensus to draft a new, universally endorsed international agreement to fight climate change. In this spirit, we are prepared to work with our European partners to achieve this goal.

**Mr. Verbeke** (Belgium) (*spoke in French*): I would like to thank you, Madam President, for having taken the initiative of organizing today in the Security Council a debate on the threats that can be posed by climate change to stability and security. The meeting of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change that has just completed its work in Brussels reaffirms the scope of this phenomenon and its potential consequences.

Designing and implementing an effective, sustainable response to the threats resulting from climate change requires a threefold effort on our part. First of all, we need to become aware of and recognize together the dilemma caused by two legitimate concerns — on the one hand, the need to promote economic growth and to combat poverty, because serious inequalities themselves are sources of tension and conflict, and, on the other hand, the need to reduce fossil fuel consumption because by increasing the impact of climate change such consumption could exacerbate a series of already existing factors giving rise to tensions.

It is increasingly clear that climate change exacerbates a multitude of non-military threats. Examples are already well known — increasing competition for access to water and arable land; the increase in infectious diseases; natural disasters, such as drought and flooding; the loss of agricultural land; drop in agricultural production; increase in poverty; the increase in social inequalities; displacement of populations to cities; and acceleration of domestic and international migratory flows.

Moreover, facts tend to show that the negative effects of climate change are felt primarily by regions and populations that are most vulnerable. According to projections, this trend will continue. The prime targets are also the least equipped to respond to this negative impact and to adapt to it.

Additional pressures caused by climate change increase the risk of having fragile States lapse or relapse into civil war and chaos.

Secondly, we must abandon the idea that the future will look like the past. Our conventional security policies are all still often based on obsolete threat assessments and are more geared to managing crises than to preventing them. Security policies exclusively based on national sovereignty appear less and less appropriate in this context. To resolve the climate-

energy-security dilemma means that we need to rethink thoroughly the scope of our policies using a broader concept of security. By establishing greater trust amongst us, we will be able to create more interdependence among our countries.

The third aspect is to design and collectively implement systemic innovative responses to complex challenges caused by climate changes. As this preliminary stage, Belgium would like to make the following points.

First, climate change must gradually become one of the factors to be taken into consideration in discussing conflict prevention. It would be useful to have a more in-depth analysis, in particular on the basis of the recent reports of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) of the security implications of climate change, accompanied by policy recommendations to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to respond to them.

Secondly, the Secretary-General must be encouraged to bring to bear his institutional authority to catalyse political will for concerted, decisive action in the face of climate challenged, particularly with regard to the security dimension.

Thirdly, the United Nations should, furthermore, intensify its early warning efforts as well as its efforts to prevent and manage crises caused by climate change in the most vulnerable areas. It could assist countries concerned to elaborate risk reduction strategies.

Fourthly, the strengthening of capacity to prevent and manage climate risks should also be envisaged at national and regional levels.

Fifthly, environmental cooperation should be used and sustained more as an instrument for conflict prevention and as a confidence-building measure. It is particularly important in the case of river basins shared among several States where the water flow is threatened because of climate change.

Finally, States have everything to gain from a close dialogue with civil society, which, today, is a crucial driving force for global awareness of climate challenges in all of their dimensions.

The picture drawn by our experts is definitely a disquieting one, even an alarming one. Nevertheless, there is still a window of opportunity open, even though there is not much time.

Belgium is determined to actively contribute to finding and implementing collectively political and technical solutions for the consequences of climate change, with particular attention to the regions that are most vulnerable.

Only a leap forward in political courage and a change of mindset that invites us to replace our short-term reasoning with long-term reasoning will allow us to live up to our responsibilities as custodians of collective security.

**Mr. Christian** (Ghana): Permit me, at the outset, to extend our warm greetings to the Ministers who have joined us today, and commend the delegation of the United Kingdom for holding this debate on Energy, Security and Climate, and especially for drawing up a concept paper with pertinent questions that have forcefully brought home to us the ways in which the socio-economic pressures associated with climate change could threaten international peace and security.

It is our fervent hope, therefore, that the repeated alarm about the grave threats posed by climate change, especially to regions that are already struggling with chronic instability, will lead to action that is timely, concerted and sustainable, in order to alleviate the negative consequences of the phenomenon. Let me add, Madam President, that my delegation is aware of the rather heated debate that the problem of climate change tends to generate both at the national and international levels, but we are encouraged nonetheless by the existing consensus worldwide on the need to act expeditiously.

In this respect, we are happy to note that the African Union is already collaborating with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa and other leading agencies, such as the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), the United Nations Environment Programme, the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission, as well as non-governmental organizations like the International Council for Science.

One important outcome of these joint efforts is the development of a strategy for mainstreaming climate information within the Millennium Development Goals through the implementation of the Global Climate Observing System in Africa. The eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union held in January 2007 acknowledged the supportive efforts of

our development partners by formally endorsing an action plan entitled "Climate Information for Development Needs: An Action Plan for Africa".

Since energy, security and climate change are three closely interrelated issues, we are faced with real dilemmas that call into question some of the fundamental assumptions on which our strategies for achieving durable peace and stability are based. If, indeed, the key to lasting peace and security is sustainable development, as has been clearly identified in the Millennium Development Goals, then for us in Africa the fundamental question that arises immediately is how to alleviate the grave threats posed by climate change without compromising the target of an eight per cent growth rate necessary for reducing poverty to tolerable levels within the next decade.

For years, developing countries have been striving to end their dependence on the export of raw materials to finance their development, a strategy that has failed them woefully and, in the worst cases, resulted in bloody conflicts. Naturally, developing countries regard industrialization as the path to economic prosperity and lasting peace and stability. That cannot happen unless they have access to an efficient and reliable supply of energy for processing and adding value to their agricultural and mineral produce. In addition, they must be assured of market access within a transparent regulatory regime.

In relation to the foregoing, what sort of compromises will developing countries be obliged to make in line with the emergent international consensus on energy, security and climate change? Would they be politically sustainable within States that are already unstable and fragile? We are equally obliged to ask whether, in the light of the unfinished business of the Kyoto Protocol, the strategy of enunciating a sound energy policy in order to alleviate the negative consequences of climate change will entail a radical change of direction in the partnership between developed and developing countries.

With ever-growing economic development in various countries, global demand for energy is rising rapidly. Global energy consumption is estimated to grow by 70 per cent by 2030. Consequently, the acquisition and protection of energy supplies is now of strategic importance in national policies. The Commission of the Gulf of Guinea, which groups oil-rich countries in West and Central Africa, has been

hard at work ensuring that potential maritime border disputes are peacefully resolved, in line with the guidelines of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. This peaceful approach was exemplified by the manner in which Nigeria's dispute with Cameroon over the Bakassi Peninsula was resolved in favour of Cameroon in a deal brokered by the United Nations.

Several recent studies, including one by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, have identified the threats that may arise from the expected sharp increases in the temperature of vast areas of the African continent. As far as agricultural production is concerned, worsening drought and rampant flooding are two sides of the same coin, leading to food shortages, spread of infectious diseases, as well as widespread displacement of persons and the destabilization of whole societies. These developments will inevitably bring another dimension to the cross-border problems that are of interest to the Security Council.

Decades ago, the steady encroachment southwards of the Sahara Desert alarmed development experts and led the Organization for African Unity to adopt various initiatives aimed at halting the desertification of the Sahel belt. Needless to say, this progress has been minimal, and the problem has even worsened. There are credible reports that the nomadic Fulani cattle herders in Ghana are now arming themselves with sophisticated assault rifles to confront local farming communities that have become increasingly impatient with the devastation that roaming cattle cause to their crops.

It is important that the Security Council, from time to time, evaluates the risks inherent in these phenomena because of their destabilizing effects on society. We cannot gloss over the deadly competition over resources that are generating tensions in many parts of Africa. Ultimately, it makes no difference whether the risk of conflict stems from the scramble over dwindling water resources or from the shrinking of productive land owing to the changing rainfall pattern or from the inequitable distribution of oil revenues coupled with severe environmental damage affecting communities.

**Mr. Ikoube (Congo)** (*spoke in French*): Madam President, my delegation would like to thank you for having taken the initiative to organize this debate on a

question that constitutes one of the major challenges that humanity will be facing for some time to come.

We share the concerns expressed by the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the Group of 77 with regard to the respective domains of the various organs of the United Nations when it comes to dealing with issues of sustainable development. However, over and above the issue of the competence of the various bodies, we must recognize the seriousness of what is at stake — namely, the need for and the urgency of appropriate responses to a major risk to international peace and security.

The Security Council, therefore, is very well placed to help us become aware of this threat in the prevention of conflicts, which very often have deep and wide-ranging effects. Congo chairs the Ad Hoc Working Group of the Security Council on Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Africa, and we will very much benefit from this debate.

We share the call to act without delay launched by the United Nations Secretary-General on 6 April 2007. This call was issued to all Governments to encourage them to adopt major measures to reduce the most extreme consequences of climate change. The report published in Brussels on 6 April by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change is unequivocal with regard to the consequences of climate change in various parts of the world and on different sectors of the world economy. It clearly indicates that the areas the most affected will be the Arctic, sub-Saharan Africa, small island developing States, the major Asian deltas, as well as coastal areas.

Even more worrying, the report states that it will be the poorest who will suffer the most, because they have the fewest resources to be able to adapt.

The twist of fate, therefore, will be that it will be the poor who will be paying for the excess consumption and carefree attitude of the rich.

Africa has become aware of this major risk, and it debated the question of climate change during the recent Summit of the African Union (AU) of Heads of State and Government held in Addis Ababa last January. So, I think this tells us how important this debate is for a country such as Congo, which is already facing some negative factors of climate change, despite the ecological reservoir with which we are blessed. Certainly, this will not be the first time in the history of

humankind that men and women will have to fight for land, water, food and living space; but, this time, it will be on a greater scale and with disastrous effects that will dwarf the invasions and raids of ancient times.

Here, the borderline between the responsibility of man with a pattern of consumption that is increasingly destructive and what we can qualify as a natural disaster will become increasingly blurred. It is, therefore, significant and useful that the main body of the United Nations responsible for the maintenance of peace and security should galvanize universal awareness of the need for concrete action and should keep this matter on its agenda over time. We expect the Council to sound an alarm bell. However, the forum for consultation and the drawing up of norms and strategies is to be done elsewhere.

With regard to strategies, we have all the necessary instruments at our disposal, such as the Framework Convention on Climate Change and its Kyoto Protocol. The countries that are primarily responsible for pollution should therefore set an example by reducing their greenhouse gas emissions.

For their part, several countries of Central Africa — given their function as the world's second "lung", after the Amazon rainforest — have adopted a strategy based on an international partnership, with a view to promoting the sustainable management of the ecosystems and natural resources of the forests of the Congo Basin. That broad initiative already involves several international and multilateral partners; its goal is the participation of as many actors as possible. We hope that, immediately following today's debate, a greater commitment on the part of the international community will emerge with regard to this vital issue of climate change and its consequences and will be expressed at the United Nations Climate Change Conference, to be held in Bali next December.

Finally, I should like to stress the urgent need for individual and collective action on the part of States and other bodies, because, as was pointed out by a representative of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, we may see

"conflicts over water, the spread of diseases, and a big increase in worldwide migration unless adequate adaptation measures are adopted and integrated into long-term development planning."



The Security Council will therefore be making an important contribution if it can create the necessary awareness of the need for urgent action.

**Mr. Al-Nasser (Qatar)** (*spoke in Arabic*): Madam President, it gives me pleasure to participate in this important meeting dedicated to the discussion of one of the most important current topics on the United Nations agenda, namely the relationship between energy, security and the climate, which will no doubt be extensively debated during the high-level segment of the fifteenth session of the Commission on Sustainable Development, scheduled to be held in New York from 9 to 11 May 2007. The State of Qatar will have the honour of chairing that session, and it is my pleasure to share with the Security Council our views on the subject being discussed in the Council today, as outlined in the United Kingdom concept paper on energy, security and climate change.

We wish to recall here that climate change has become an urgent and pressing reality, which leaves us with a sole option: international collective action aimed at alleviating its repercussions and dire consequences for our planet.

We believe that failure to adequately address the question of climate change could be attributed to the de-linking of the question of development from that of climate change. We believe that an optimal and effective solution to the problem of climate change can be found only through an integrated approach addressing climate change in the context of sustainable development. The issue of climate change is part and parcel of that of development, and the development process must begin in the developing countries on the basis of a firm understanding of the manner in which development takes place.

In that connection, we would like to recall two significant elements that were reiterated at the 1992 Rio Conference on climate change: first, those that are primarily responsible for climate change should bear the financial burden of repairing the damage; secondly, the development process must be neither sacrificed nor compromised because of climate change.

It is noteworthy, however, that, during negotiations on the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, the topic of development was completely overlooked, which in turn led to the failure to effectively address the issue, in the light of the complete de-linkage of the question of climate change from that of development. A case in

point is the inability so far to produce a single comprehensive report on the twin questions of climate change and sustainable development.

Like the majority of developing countries, we believe that the literature on the linkage between climate change and sustainable development reflects a fragmented, patchy and diffuse philosophy that has effectively relegated development to a lower rank on the list of the international community's priorities. We firmly believe that any successful solution to the climate problem must emerge as part of an integrated approach to sustainable development.

We must ask ourselves about the theoretical and practical lessons that can be drawn from integrating climate-change-mitigation efforts into the development process. What policies can we put in place with respect to sources of greenhouse gas emissions? In other words, what is the impact of population density, income level, energy and carbon concentrations? The answer to these and other questions may not be adequately given in this forum as they require in-depth, detailed study, which must precede the formulation of specific policies or recommendations.

We have carefully studied the discussion paper submitted by the delegation of the United Kingdom. Given the differences in perspective, we would like to make the following comments.

We believe that the paper addresses the symptoms and the repercussions of the problem but not its causes. All the points raised in the paper involve issues affected by climate change, but the response of the international community has been piecemeal and ad hoc. We are convinced that the discussion of the subject of climate change must be extensive, integrated, comprehensive and all-inclusive, and that it must encompass all the dimensions of this problem, including those mentioned in the United Kingdom paper. Threats brought about by climate change do not loom over vulnerable States exclusively but are primarily threats to sustainable development. Drought, desertification, the drying out of river basins, migration, water resources and energy supplies are issues of concern to all and pose a threat to the entire world.

We note that the paper singled out fossil fuels as the principal cause of climate change and the concentration of greenhouse gases, while scientists attribute carbon dioxide emissions into the atmosphere

to destructive deforestation and desertification. Furthermore, the situation is compounded by the unsustainable exploitation and use of land, creeping urbanization, the impact of nuclear energy, natural disasters, conflicts, the lava and gases produced by volcanic eruptions, sandstorms and industrial pollution. We must not forget that fossil fuels were the single most important factor in the astounding industrial progress achieved in the developed countries. Those were the same States that pursued destructive policies of deforestation, urbanization and land use. Combating disease, unemployment and poverty require ambitious and adequately financed development programmes and must benefit from modern technologies.

In order to arrive at a common understanding so as to resolve the problem of climate change, we must not overlook the principle, agreed on at all United Nations summits and conferences, of the common and differentiated responsibilities of all States. Accordingly, rich, developed and industrialized countries are assigned responsibilities different from those of poor and developing countries.

Since we all run the risk of being submerged, we must work collectively to save ourselves from drowning. In this context, we recall Security Council resolution 1625 (2005), from which we draw the conclusion that the desired solutions to issues of conflict prevention, peacebuilding and post-conflict development must be comprehensive and integrated. Now that we have identified the problem and are becoming increasingly aware of its repercussions, we must mobilize the political will necessary to address vulnerability in countries liable to suffer from instability, through promoting knowledge, facilitating the transfer of technology, putting in place adaptation and impact mitigation mechanisms and providing sufficient resources to rise to the challenges of climate change.

With regard to the responsibility of the Secretary-General to bring this matter to the attention of the Security Council, we note that in Article 99 the Charter limits that prerogative to matters which in the opinion of Secretary-General may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

Much has been spoken and written about threats emanating from climate change. The picture has become clearer now. The question cannot be addressed by debates limited exclusively to the Security Council.

We need mechanisms capable of enforcing their own resolutions, provided that those mechanisms are of wider representation. In our view, the Security Council, because of imbalances in its power hierarchy, is not the optimal mechanism to address the question of climate change. The threats posed by climate change must be addressed by the Commission on Sustainable Development, the Economic and Social Council and above all, the General Assembly. We believe that a more serious and comprehensive approach to all aspects of climate change could be initiated through a joint meeting of the Economic and Social Council and the Security Council, the outcome of which should then be submitted to the General Assembly.

**Mr. Wolff** (United States of America): Climate change clearly presents serious challenges. Under the able presidency of the United Kingdom, in Gleneagles, two years ago, Group of Eight (G-8) leaders emphasized that energy security, climate change and sustainable development are fundamentally linked. In consultation with our developing country partners, G-8 leaders committed to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, improve the global environment and enhance energy security in ways that promote human development.

To achieve those goals, the United States is pursuing a wide range of activities and programmes. For example, we are working with Brazil to advance biofuels. We facilitated an agreement with China to install the largest coal mine methane power facility in the world. Through the Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate, we are expanding investment and trade in cleaner energy technologies. We are leading global efforts for the commercial deployment of near-zero-emissions coal technology through \$1.65 billion in tax credits. The United States Energy Policy Act authorizes \$5 billion over five years in tax incentives to encourage private investments in energy efficiency and alternative renewable energy. We dedicate about \$180 million a year to promote adaptation to climate variability and change and to other climate change priority areas in developing countries.

At home, we are on track to meet our goal of reducing our economy's greenhouse gas intensity by 18 per cent from 2002 to 2012. United States greenhouse gas emissions increased only 0.6 per cent between 2004 and 2005, compared with a 1 per cent increase over the 1990-2005 period. We have invested some \$35 billion in climate-related science and

technology since 2001, including over \$17 billion in energy technologies.

Internationally, climate and energy issues are being actively addressed through the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and other venues with appropriate mandates. The Bush Administration has pledged \$500 million to the Global Environmental Facility over the next four years — and that is the largest contribution of any country — to help developing countries address these problems. Those efforts matter, including because a lack of energy security can exacerbate economic and political problems.

The most effective way to bolster security and stability is to increase the capacity of States to govern effectively. States that can govern effectively can better anticipate and manage change and the challenges that come with change. Successful development strategies must focus on education, rule of law, human freedom and economic opportunity. The international community joined together in recognizing that at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002.

Well-governed countries grow and prosper. Economic growth provides the resources, in both developed and developing countries, to address energy and environmental challenges, including challenges associated with climate change.

The United States has a long history of extending a helping hand so that people can live in democratic societies with robust economies and strong and stable governance. We intend to continue that support, working with freedom-loving people everywhere to face the future constructively with confidence and determination.

**Mr. De La Sablière** (France) (*spoke in French*): First, I wish to thank you, Madam President, personally and to congratulate the United Kingdom presidency on taking the initiative to plan this discussion on energy, security and climate.

We believe that climate change is among the principal threats to the future of humankind and to its environmental security. It is a basic threat, the first consequences of which are already affecting populations, in particular those of the most vulnerable countries. Its impact on international peace and security may take various forms, which are clearly set

out in the very useful concept paper (S/2007/186, annex) prepared in preparation for today's meeting.

Therefore, we must act without delay. In Johannesburg in September 2002, President Jacques Chirac began his statement by stating, "The house is on fire but we are looking elsewhere". Five years later, there is definitely more awareness, but it has not yet been translated, as it must be, into concerted decisive action by the entire international community to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and to minimize the damage linked to climate change.

As a matter of urgency, we must mobilize and find responses to the challenge in all its aspects. The Security Council is certainly not the number one forum for dealing with this subject. Nor, clearly, is it the only one. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the General Assembly clearly have a central role to play here. But, within its mandate, the Security Council cannot ignore the threats to international security caused by global warming. And I must say that institutional squabbling is inappropriate given what is at stake. Exclusivity must give way to the contribution of all participants in the struggle; everyone has a role to play.

All of the climate change threats are real threats. In the medium and the long term, they will affect security among nations. Today, no one would dare to challenge the reality of climate change. In its fourth report, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change reached the scientifically corroborated conclusion that there is 90 per cent certainty that global warming is the result of human activity. On 6 April, the same Panel concluded that this phenomenon could lead to increased numbers of extreme weather events, massive population movements resulting from sea-level rise, decreased agricultural production causing serious food crises and an increased threat of health risks because of changes in the functioning of ecosystems.

Those four major impacts are convincing evidence of the threat to peace posed by climate change. There is no question but that the depletion of resources could increase competition for access to food, energy and water. There is no doubt that the loss of arable land could lead to a race for territory. It is clear that natural disasters and rising water levels could increase the number of refugees and displaced persons and could result in uncontrollable migratory flows. The

more sudden these phenomena are, the more they will constitute factors for conflict.

No region is immune, but the impact of climate change will be greater where it is accompanied by pre-existing factors of fragility, which it will make even worse. The most vulnerable countries, particularly in Africa, already face underdevelopment, ethnic tension, major pandemics and unpredictable climatic conditions, and they could pay the highest price. It will be even harder for them to face these difficulties because they lack capacity and because State structures are too weak to respond fully to the needs of their populations.

The situation therefore requires decisive, collective and urgent action by the international community to mitigate climate change and limit its consequences to tolerable levels — which must never exceed the threshold of 2 centigrade degrees. As Nicholas Stern has indicated in his report on the economics of climate change, the cost of not acting infinitely outweighs the cost of taking action. That is why, in order to ensure the continuity of steps taken and the durability of the relevant instruments, it is essential to define by 2009 a regime for effectively combating climate change after 2012. Members are aware of the commitments in this sphere undertaken by the European Union in March. The Security Council is certainly not the place to speak at length about negotiations taking place elsewhere.

But it falls squarely within the Security Council's mandate to prevent conflict — the likelihood of which, as I have just stressed, is unfortunately very great. It is thus the Council's duty to play its part. Here, we must think about what could be done in terms of preventive diplomacy in liaison with the Secretary-General. The Secretary-General could focus his efforts on regions or areas where climatic threats can have direct implications for peace. Such an approach requires that the consequences of climate change be integrated into risk analyses prepared by the Secretariat.

The impact of climate change should also be taken into consideration by the Security Council. It must include elements related to the depletion of resources — which have been seen to be a major factor in conflicts, especially in Africa — in its contribution to efforts at conflict settlement.

Beyond the role of the Security Council and the Secretary-General, preventing conflicts requires the

international community to mobilize all the mechanisms needed to support developing countries in their efforts to achieve sustainable management of their natural resources and to prepare for natural disasters. The United Nations can contribute by promoting the integration of the economic, social and environmental aspects of sustainable development, because it is clear that poverty, human health problems and environmental degradation can no longer be viewed as isolated threats. That is also why it is urgent to improve international environmental governance, towards which France has proposed the establishment of a United Nations environmental organization on the basis of the United Nations Environment Programme.

We must be aware that the international community cannot win the battle against climate change and its impact without putting into action the instruments in its possession.

**Mr. Liu Zhenmin (China)** (*spoke in Chinese*): Climate change is a major long-standing challenge confronting the world today. The international community is fully aware that climate change will affect national economic and social development and that it poses a threat to the sustainable development of human society. The importance of finding solutions to climate change is obvious to all. China is therefore ready and willing to discuss with other countries how to strengthen international cooperation and jointly respond to climate change.

Climate change may have certain security implications, but generally speaking it is in essence an issue of sustainable development. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change has laid down the framework and the basic principles for the international community's response to climate change. The Kyoto Protocol has set quantifiable albeit limited targets for reducing greenhouse gas emissions in developed countries. The Conference of the Parties to the Framework Convention, the United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, the United Nations Environment Programme and other forums are involved in discussions and actions related to this theme. To tackle climate change effectively, it is necessary to follow the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities set forth in the Framework Convention, respect existing institutional arrangements, strengthen cooperation and encourage concrete action.

Climate change solutions require concerted efforts by the international community. Discussing climate change in the Security Council will not help countries in their efforts towards mitigation. Nor will it help developing countries affected by climate change to respond to it more effectively. Discussions on climate change should be conducted within a framework accessible to all parties. The developing countries believe that the Security Council lacks expertise in handling climate change and is not the right place to take decisions with extensive participation leading to widely acceptable proposals. Such reasonable concerns should be fully understood and respected. In our view, the discussions at this meeting should be regarded as an exception giving rise to neither outcome documents nor follow-up actions.

The Chinese Government attaches great importance to climate change. As a developing country, China formulated its national sustainable development strategy as early as 15 years ago and is now formulating a national strategy to respond to climate change. China will vigorously implement its sustainable development strategy, and will make its due contribution to addressing climate change, in the form of actual deeds. We support full, pragmatic discussions on related issues within the context of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. We are also in favour of international cooperation to promote clean development. At the end of this month, discussions on climate change will be held at the fifteenth session of the Commission on Sustainable Development. We look forward to working with other countries towards climate change solutions.

**The President:** I would like to welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, His Excellency Ban Ki-moon, at this meeting, and I invite him to take the floor.

**The Secretary-General:** Thank you, Madam, for the opportunity to address the Security Council on this serious and timely topic. Throughout human history, people and countries have fought over natural resources. From livestock, watering holes and fertile land, to trade routes, fish stocks and spices, sugar, oil, gold and other precious commodities, war has too often been the means to secure possession of scarce resources. Even today, the uninterrupted supply of fuel and minerals is a key element in geopolitical considerations.

Things are easier in times of plenty, when all can share in the abundance, even if to different degrees. But when resources — whether energy, water or arable land — are scarce, our fragile ecosystems become strained, as do the coping mechanisms of groups and individuals. This can lead to a breakdown of established codes of conduct, and even to outright conflict.

At the 2005 World Summit, Member States renewed their commitment to promoting a culture of prevention of armed conflict. They also pledged to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to that end. The Security Council adopted resolution 1625 (2005) on conflict prevention, particularly in Africa, and reaffirmed the need to address the root causes of armed conflict.

In a series of reports on conflict prevention, my predecessor, Secretary-General Kofi Annan, pointed to the threats emanating from environmental degradation and resource scarcity. I would like to quote from the most recent of those reports:

“Environmental degradation has the potential to destabilize already conflict-prone regions, especially when compounded by inequitable access or politicization of access to scarce resources. I urge Member States to renew their efforts to agree on ways that allow all of us to live sustainably within the planet’s means.”  
(A/60/891, para. 22)

Allow me to renew and amplify that call. Compared to the cost of conflict and its consequences, the cost of prevention is far lower — in financial terms, but also, and most importantly, in terms of human lives and quality of life.

I firmly believe that today all countries recognize that climate change, in particular, requires a long-term global response in line with the latest scientific findings and compatible with economic and social development.

According to the most recent assessments of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the planet’s warming is unequivocal and its impact is clearly noticeable, and it is beyond doubt that human activities have been contributing considerably to it. Adverse effects are already being felt in many areas, including agriculture and food security; oceans and coastal areas; biodiversity and ecosystems; water

resources; human health; human settlements; energy, transport and industry; and in terms of extreme weather events.

Projected changes in the earth's climate are thus not only an environmental concern; they can also have serious social and economic implications. And — as the Council points up today — issues of energy and climate change can have implications for peace and security. This is especially true in vulnerable regions that face multiple stresses at the same time — pre-existing conflict, poverty and unequal access to resources, weak institutions, food insecurity and the incidence of diseases such as HIV/AIDS.

Consider the following scenarios — all alarming, though not alarmist. The adverse effects of changing weather patterns, such as floods and droughts, and related economic costs, including compensation for lost land, could risk polarizing society and marginalizing communities. That, in turn, could weaken the institutional capacity of the State to resolve conflict through peaceful and democratic means, to ensure social cohesion and to safeguard human rights.

Extreme weather events and natural disasters, such as floods and drought, increase the risk of humanitarian emergencies and, thus, the risk of instability and dislocation.

Migration driven by factors such as climate change could deepen tensions and conflicts, particularly in regions with large numbers of internally displaced persons and refugees.

Scarcity of resources, especially water and food, could help transform peaceful competition into violence. Limited or threatened access to energy is already known to be a powerful driver of conflict; our changing planet risks making it more so. And, of course, the economic costs and losses of all of those scenarios would impede the ability of countries to reach the Millennium Development Goals.

Those are, of course, only possible scenarios. But we cannot sit back and watch to see whether they turn into reality. The entire multilateral machinery needs to come together to prevent that from happening.

We must focus more clearly on the benefits of early action. The resources of civil society and the private sector must be brought in. And the Council has a role to play in working with other competent

intergovernmental bodies to address the possible root causes of conflict discussed today.

The Secretariat stands ready to assist all entities engaged in the pursuit of their respective mandates. I personally look forward to engaging with Member States on these issues and hope that, through discussions in various forums, we can develop a broad consensus on the way forward.

**The President:** I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

**Mr. Jenie (Indonesia):** My delegation associates itself with the statements to be made later by the representative of Pakistan on behalf of the Group of 77 and China and by the representative of Cuba on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement.

I would like to take this opportunity to highlight some pertinent points relating to the issue before us. While my delegation can agree with the objectives of this debate relating to raising awareness of future potential risks and threats that the international community faces with regard to energy, security and climate, we also believe that it should not create a precedent for the future work of the Security Council. We consider that this issue is being addressed, and should be addressed more effectively, in other forums of the United Nations system, including the Commission on Sustainable Development, which will deliberate on the issue of energy and climate change at its fifteenth session.

My delegation is of the view that future threats to security posed by climate change must be prevented. We therefore call on all States to adhere to the Rio principles, especially the principle of common but differentiated responsibility, Agenda 21, the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol. In this regard, developed countries should immediately implement their commitments, particularly with regard to means of implementation. Without that, the adverse impact of climate change will not only continue to cause a deterioration in the environment, but also increase poverty and impede economic development, which are closely linked to potential security threats.

Realizing the formidable challenges ahead of us on issues of energy and climate change, we should seize the opportunity to reach global consensus on

ways to adapt to and mitigate climate change in the relevant forums. The upcoming fifteenth session of the Commission on Sustainable Development in New York in May, and particularly the thirteenth session of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change — to be held in Bali, Indonesia, this coming December — are two very important forums in which the issue of climate change and energy should be deliberated.

We believe that the success of the deliberations at those two meetings would contribute to creating an environment conducive to preventing the potential negative effects of climate change to security.

**Mr. Arias** (Panama) (*spoke in Spanish*): At the outset, Madam, allow me to congratulate you on your Government's initiative of organizing this thematic debate on the links between energy, security and, in particular, the effects of climate change on potential causes of conflict and its impact on international security and stability.

In the coming weeks, the thirty-seventh regular session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States will be held in Panama, under the theme "Energy for sustainable development". That is further proof of the importance that the Government of Panama attaches to matters related to climate change and its consequences for society.

There is a strong, broadly recognized link between the availability of sources of clean, affordable and reliable energy and the sustainable development of peoples. That issue also encompasses other aspects, such as the growing costs of the competition for scarce energy resources, the defence and security of sources, and the right of States to meet their energy needs. It is clear, however, that we still need greater understanding of its impact on global warming, the environment and international peace and security. That is why we must strengthen national and regional capacities and mechanisms at various levels in order to better understand and address the situation.

Today, at the United Nations and various regional organizations, political, social and scientific efforts are being undertaken to understand the relationship between the use of certain energy resources, climate change and their consequences for human beings. Greater synergy and cooperation among actors, based on the unique characteristics of each region, will allow us better to grasp the approaching challenges.

The causes and effects of climate change are of such magnitude and varied impact that each and every United Nations organ, including the Security Council, is obligated to consider them under the respective mandates assigned to each by the Charter.

Today's debate, being held at the invitation of the Security Council with the participation of all States Members of the Organization, should focus especially on those aspects of the subject that could constitute sources of international conflict and instability. On previous occasions, the Council has held debates on its role in matters of competence shared among the other United Nations organs. For example, in 2000 we held a debate on the impact of HIV/AIDS on peace and security on the African continent. We sought then to provide visibility to the problem. Although the debate led to no direct action, it demonstrated the consensus of the international community on setting objectives. No one can deny the positive effect of actions undertaken because of that and other debates.

It is now undeniable that the use of fossil fuels to produce energy contributes to global warming. It is equally undeniable that global warming will exacerbate poverty and national tragedies, which are breeding grounds for civil war and, sometimes imperceptibly, for conflicts that affect international peace and security.

Although the impact of climate change on daily life may be subtle, it has powerful effects. The gradual accumulation of consequences is precisely its most dangerous quality, because, as the poet T.S. Eliot wrote, "This is the way the world ends/ Not with a bang but a whimper".

**Mr. Kumalo** (South Africa): We, too, are very honoured and pleased that you, Madam, have come all this way to chair our meeting today.

I would also like to associate myself with the statements to be made by the representative of Pakistan on behalf of the Group of 77 and China; by the representative of Cuba on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement; and by the representative of the Sudan on behalf of the African Group.

While underscoring the fact that this debate does not fall within the mandate of the Security Council, South Africa would like to use this opportunity to outline the priorities for mitigating and adapting to

climate change that are best addressed elsewhere within the United Nations system.

In 1992, the historic Earth Summit held in Brazil adopted the Rio Principles. Among those was the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, which was accepted by the heads of State and Government as being fundamental to any debate on climate change.

Ten years later in September 2002, the World Summit on Sustainable Development, held in Johannesburg, reaffirmed that principle. Furthermore, the Johannesburg Summit assigned the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Commission on Sustainable Development, the United Nations Environment Programme, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol with the responsibility of following up on climate and sustainable development.

Recently, the report on impacts, adaptation and vulnerability issued by the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change reconfirmed that Africa is one of the continents most vulnerable to climate variability and change because of multiple stresses and low adaptive capacity. Some of the identified impacts for Africa resulting from climate change include the facts that, by 2020, between 75 million and 250 million people are projected to suffer exposure to an increase of water stress due to climate change; agricultural production, including access to food, is projected to be severely compromised by climate; local food supplies are projected to be negatively affected by decreasing fisheries; resource shortages in large lakes may be exacerbated by continued over-fishing; towards the end of the twenty-first century, projected sea-level rise will affect low-lying coastal areas with large populations; and the cost of adapting to those levels of climate change could amount to at least 5 to 10 per cent of gross domestic product.

Clearly, an inequitable global response, in which the largest historical emitters in the developed world do not shoulder their respective responsibilities to mitigate climate change or assist vulnerable countries to adapt, may in future contribute to human insecurity and could thereby indirectly contribute to instability and exacerbate conflict potential. The developed countries should take the lead in providing new and additional funding for adaptation activities. It is also

critical that all developed countries commit to legally binding emission reductions and meet their other obligations under the Kyoto Protocol.

The developing world is relatively unprepared for disasters and is under-resourced to deal with the consequences of extreme weather events. The least developed countries, especially in Africa and Asia, as well as the small island developing States, cannot bear the brunt of these costs. The appropriate United Nations bodies should strengthen their capacity to deal with disaster and humanitarian crises resulting from climate change, including new efforts focused on predicting, preventing, and handling climate-change-related disasters.

The established multilateral processes in the climate debate in terms of the Convention and the Kyoto Protocol are in place and we look forward to the Conference of the Parties of the Framework Convention on Climate Change serving as the meeting of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol to be held in Bali, Indonesia in December this year. What is of the utmost importance is that the obligations under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol are honoured by all countries if we are to avoid a catastrophe brought about by climate change.

The examples we have raised to describe the impact of climate change do not as yet directly threaten international peace and security. Moreover, the issues discussed here are first and foremost of a developmental nature. These issues can be best dealt with regionally in the General Assembly, a more representative body than the Security Council. Furthermore, the mandate of the Security Council does not authorize it to deal with such matters.

We remain convinced that it is vital for all Member States to promote sustainable development, adhere to the Rio principles, especially the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities", and to fully implement Agenda 21. We hope that these commitments will be reiterated at the fifteenth session of the Commission on Sustainable Development, which will meet in New York in a couple of weeks.

It is for this reason that South Africa attaches great importance to the assurance by the delegation of the United Kingdom that this Security Council meeting will not result in any outcome or summary. We further hope that these discussions will not in any way elevate



the issue of climate change or the environment to being a Security Council agenda item.

**Mr. Churkin** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Russia is an active participant in the international climate process. At all of its stages, we have consistently advocated and continue to advocate the consolidation of the efforts of all countries without exception in this area.

In 2003, in Moscow, upon the initiative of President Putin, a world conference on climate change was held, which made a significant contribution to analyzing how to develop international cooperation in the area of climate. It was actually the decision of Russia to ratify the Kyoto Protocol that enabled that important instrument to enter into force.

According to the fourth national report submitted by the Russian Federation in 2006 to the secretariat of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, the total volume of greenhouse gas emissions in Russia in 2004 dropped by 29.9 per cent compared to the base year 1990. These reduced emissions in Russia helped to a great extent to reduce the man-made impact on the global climate by significantly offsetting the increase in greenhouse gas emissions in the developed countries during this period.

Russia intends to carry out the quantitative commitments it undertook under the Kyoto Protocol up to 2012. To achieve this goal, we have all of the necessary instruments, including the appropriate normative legal basis. We think that it is crucial that decisions on future international actions in the area of climate be taken on the basis of comprehensive scientific research with the involvement of leading national and international organizations and agencies.

Here, I would like to make an appeal to avoid panicking and overdramatizing the situation, which does not help us reach long-term comprehensive agreements in this area. We believe that the world community must actively continue to work out measures to reduce the negative impact of man's activities on the global climate.

For full consideration of the problem of climate change in all of its aspects, including the analysis of new challenges and threats in this area, appropriate international forums and formats exist, such as the Conference of the Parties of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, the

Conference of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol, the World Meteorological Organization, the United Nations General Assembly and the United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development.

The United Nations Security Council, for its part, should only deal with the consideration of questions that directly relate to its mandate.

**Mr. Voto-Bernales** (Peru) (*spoke in Spanish*): I would like to welcome you here today amongst us, Madam President, and extend to you our sincere congratulations for the sure way in which the United Kingdom is presiding over the work of the Security Council this month. Peru would also like to welcome the United Kingdom initiative to invite the Security Council to consider the implications that the current patterns of climate change may have on international peace and security.

In the last weeks, the results of two Working Groups of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change have confirmed the known trends with regard to the increase in the average temperature of the planet as well as the increase in sea levels because of climate change. These projected climate changes will definitely have significant effects on the world environment and on economic activities, human health, food security and, in general, human society. Therefore, we have to ask ourselves how these effects will affect international peace and security.

The High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change pointed out that the greatest threats to security that we face today and will be facing in future decades will include, amongst other things, poverty, infectious diseases and the degradation of the environment. And the degradation of the environment, in turn, has also increased the destructive potential of disasters and in some cases has actually set them off. Of even greater concern, as pointed out by the same High-level Panel, is that, if climate change leads to greater flooding, heat waves, drought and serious storms, this trend could accelerate.

So, climate change could exacerbate the economic and social conditions today that could have an explosive effect on security, such as poverty, marginalization and exclusion. Peru in this very Security Council has called attention to the importance of taking into account this situation and we have referred to some of the aspects that are part of the agenda. Thus, with respect to Haiti, we have reiterated

that recovery from the environmental disaster resulting from years of marginalization and extreme poverty will be made even more difficult if the effects of the current climate changes intensify.

However, climate change is not a fate to which we must simply resign ourselves. It is the result of the actions of man, and it is up to all of us to act responsibly to reverse this trend. Unfortunately, we all have to be aware at the same time that any efforts we make to change course will not have immediate effects because the current effects of climate change are the result of past emissions that have built up today in the atmosphere. Therefore, the climate will continue to change over a long period of time, even if we do drastically reduce the greenhouse gas emissions in the short-term. Therefore, we have to act quickly and in a decisive fashion.

We are convinced, therefore, that attention to these potentially damaging trends should be based on prevention of rather than reaction to their possible effects on international peace and security. This is Peru's approach at the national level, and we are promoting regional actions on an Andean, or Pacific, or South American scale.

We are seriously concerned about the consequences of climate change with regard to the stability, development and well-being that we all seek. The population of Peru lives in a high diversity of ecosystems. In our case, the greater intensity and higher frequency of the El Niño phenomenon gives rise to severe flooding along the coast and to droughts in the Andes, and this has grave social and economic effects. Also, our glaciers, which represent more than half of the tropical glaciers in the world, are being affected by rapid thawing. This leads to shortages of water for human consumption, agriculture and energy generation. The Peruvian Amazonian forest, which is the second-largest in Latin America, and which is a biodiversity reserve of incalculable value, will also be affected. Although the phenomenon of climate change will affect each region differently and to a different extent, it is a problem of a global scale, one that can be tackled only by means of multilateral and concerted action on the part of the entire international community, within the agreed legal framework and the principles underlying it, in particular that of common but differentiated responsibilities. We reaffirm here that it is urgent to adopt specific measures that will limit the emission of greenhouse gases; and, therefore,

it is a matter of priority to strengthen the multilateral Kyoto regime and to fulfil the commitments made thereunder.

In conclusion, we feel that what is required is a firm will for political cooperation within a framework comprising legal instruments and competent bodies to avoid the worst scenarios that the scientific community is prophesying. The greatest challenge that this situation offers us is that of facing up to it collectively. Our responsibility to future generations requires this as a matter of urgency.

**The President:** I will now make a statement in my capacity as Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom.

For the United Kingdom, as for my Belgian colleague and others who have spoken in this debate, climate change is transforming the way that we think about security. Over the last couple of years, the threat we face has grown larger in scale and sharper in outline. Recent scientific evidence has reinforced and, in some cases, exceeded our worst fears. It has given us a picture of the physical impacts on our world that we can expect as our climate changes; and those impacts go far beyond the environmental. Their consequences reach to the very heart of the security agenda. Consequences of flooding, disease and famine — and, from that, migration on an unprecedented scale. The consequences of drought and crop failure — and, from that, intensified competition for food, water and energy. The consequences of economic disruption on the scale predicted in the Stern report are not seen since the end of the Second World War.

Charged as we are with the maintenance of international peace and security, this Council can make a unique contribution to the building of a shared understanding of what an unstable climate will mean for our individual and collective security. We can, and I believe we must, because this Council deals day in and day out with those very kinds of tensions and conflicts that an unstable climate will make yet more frequent and even more dangerous. As a group of the most respected retired American admirals and generals said in a report published just yesterday, climate change is a threat-multiplier for instability.

Listening to the debate, I am struck by the widespread recognition that there are significant links clearly already being experienced by some countries

between the impacts to be expected from climate change and the increased risks of conflict and insecurity within and between States. The United Kingdom fully agrees that full account should be taken of climate risks as we address the root causes of conflict. And, like other Council members, I very much welcome the Secretary-General's offer to assist us in such work.

The fact that so many non-members of the Security Council have chosen to speak today is a reflection of the bitter truth that instability will often be visited first and hardest on the already most vulnerable. President Museveni of Uganda, whose economy depends on hydropower from a reservoir that is already depleted by drought, has called climate change an act of aggression by the rich against the poor. He is one of the first leaders to see this problem in security terms. He will not be the last.

Certainly for the United Kingdom, climate change is a security issue, but it is not a matter of narrow national security. It has a new dimension. It is about our collective security in a fragile and increasingly interdependent world.

The United Kingdom proposed this debate during our presidency, because we felt that by facing up to the implications of climate change for that collective security, the world will take wiser decisions as we begin to build a low-carbon global economy — not at the cost of development — but to enable us to build a new kind of, indeed, sustainable development, as the representative of Qatar sought.

If our shared endeavour succeeds, maybe we can achieve this. Of course, as a number of colleagues have said, there are other organs of the United Nations that have particular responsibilities in respect of climate change, but this is not an either/or. The United Kingdom would welcome substantial debates in the General Assembly. Indeed, I made this issue a particular feature of the speech I made to the General Assembly last September. Also, we would welcome debates in the Economic and Social Council. I am well aware, as has been mentioned, that the meeting of the Commission on Sustainable Development this year will focus on energy. I look forward to the output of those discussions.

I think this debate has already shown that this is an issue not just of grave concern, but also very much of common concern, and so I judge that we need that

shared endeavour to which I referred a moment ago. If it succeeds, we will all enjoy better prospects for security. Climate change is a threat that can bring us together if we have the wisdom to prevent it from driving us apart.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

On behalf of the Security Council, I now give the floor to the representative of Germany. I extend a warm welcome to Her Excellency Heidmarie Wieczorek-Zeul, the Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development.

**Ms. Wieczorek-Zeul (Germany):** I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union (EU). The Candidate Countries Turkey, Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the Countries of the Stabilization and Association Process and potential candidates Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, as well as Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova align themselves with this statement.

Let me start by thanking you, Madam President, for convening this meeting which has received the high level of interest it rightfully deserves. The security implications of climate change should receive more attention and, therefore, we welcome this opportunity to convey the perspective of the EU on this subject.

This Council usually deals with more imminent threats to international peace and security than those caused by climate change. However, less obvious and more distant drivers of conflict should not be neglected.

This is true especially against the background of one of our central tasks — the prevention of violent conflict. The Security Council is committed to a culture of prevention, as incorporated in resolution 1625 (2005). Today we know that there is a clear link between climate change and the need for conflict prevention.

The past decade was the warmest on record, forcing glaciers and Arctic ice to retreat. Moreover, the recent findings of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) provide clear evidence that our globe is already being heavily affected by temperature increases caused by man-made warming. Some of the profound changes in many of the Earth's natural

systems projected by the Panel will have direct or indirect implications for security.

We can imagine how water scarcity — as has been mentioned by many representatives — as well as scarcity of food and fertile land could contribute to driving conflict. The countries most vulnerable to environmental stress factors are small island States, low-lying coastal nations and countries in arid and semi-arid areas. They contribute least to the problem but are most affected by climate change. To give only two examples, several small island States are seeing their very existence threatened by rising sea levels. As early as 2020, up to 250 million people in Africa are projected to suffer from increased lack of water due to climate change. In addition, and more generally, elsewhere we can anticipate much more frequent and extreme floods and droughts, with potentially disastrous effects on food production, food security and human life, as well as potentially destructive impacts on livelihoods.

The vulnerability of people, particularly in poor countries, can increase the potential for instability and conflict. Certainly a wide range of interacting factors such as ethnic tensions, trans-border disputes, inequalities within societies, population movements and failed States can contribute to armed conflict. But climate change will become an increasingly important factor among root causes of conflict as the climate continues to change at an ever faster rate.

What is the conclusion we should draw from these findings? The cost of action on climate change is far outweighed by the consequences of inaction. We need to give due consideration to the security implications of inaction and mitigate those risks. We are in need of a global framework of risk management to address the challenge of climate change. Such a framework needs to be based on two pillars: mitigation and adaptation.

Concerning the mitigation pillar, we have to keep changes in the world's climate within manageable limits. Hence, we need to formulate a forward-looking climate and energy policy. The world is expecting new and determined measures from Governments and the United Nations which will shape the future of humanity on our planet. The EU is prepared to play its part in efforts to address those challenges at the global level and is calling upon others to do the same. This is above all a political imperative, but it also makes sense

economically. That is why the EU decided in March this year to put itself on fast track to a low-carbon economy.

The EU has decided to take the lead and to unilaterally reduce its greenhouse gas emissions by 20 per cent by the year 2020 compared to 1990 levels, regardless of the progress made in international negotiations for a post-2012 agreement. Yet since the EU is responsible for only 15 per cent of worldwide greenhouse gas emissions, the effects of our reduction will be limited. It is thus necessary to reach a global and comprehensive agreement on how to combat climate change beyond 2012. The European Union offers a binding 30 per cent target compared to 1990, provided other developed countries take similar steps and economically more advanced developing countries adequately contribute according to their responsibilities and respective capabilities.

In addition, the EU adopted a binding target for the increased use of renewable energy and aims to achieve significant increases in energy savings. We hope that those goals will inspire the leaders of both the Group of Eight (G-8) and of economically more advanced developing countries. We also hope that those goals will help pave the way for ambitious international climate negotiations.

Concerning the adaptation pillar, we need to consider the consequences of unavoidable climate changes. To that end, we think that the security dimension should be duly reflected in future research and reports on the effects of climate change.

We are convinced that an overall framework of preventive diplomacy is needed in order to alleviate the worst consequences outlined in the recent IPCC report. Like other challenges to humankind, such as hunger, disease, poverty, water scarcity and migration, climate change should be addressed in a holistic and preventive manner. If we realize the interdependency of these factors, it will be easier to devise coherent and holistic approaches, and it might be easier to increase adaptive capacities, especially in those countries most vulnerable to those challenges.

No country alone can tackle problems of that dimension. Environmental, economic and energy policy decisions in one part of the world directly or indirectly affect people elsewhere and could be a root cause of conflict there. Sound environmental policies

therefore become an essential part of conflict prevention on a global scale.

We have to develop concrete strategies for coherent, integrated and holistic responses on the part of the United Nations family and United Nations institutions to address this challenge, and many United Nations institutions and organs can and should make a contribution to facing it. They should work hand in hand in a cooperative manner. No institution can claim exclusive competence with respect to this cross-cutting issue.

In conclusion, we think that the complexity of the subject and the institutional aspects of dealing with the various effects of climate change should not deter us from our task: to ensure that current and future generations can live in a safer and more prosperous world. I am sure that today's debate will deliver a valuable and powerful message that will contribute to the upcoming climate negotiations for a post-2012 framework, to be held in Bali in December.

**The President:** On behalf of the Security Council, I extend a warm welcome to Mr. Bert Koenders, Minister for Development Cooperation of the Netherlands, to whom I give the floor.

**Mr. Koenders (Netherlands):** The Netherlands welcomes this important initiative to hold a debate on energy, security and climate. It has come at the right time. The primary responsibility of the Security Council is to maintain peace and security. Understandably, the Council tends to focus on current conflicts. Sometimes, however, we need to look beyond the horizon of current conflicts to explore the challenges and threats to security that the future may bring. I refer here to the very useful discussion in the Council on the impact of HIV/AIDS on peace and security in Africa.

Millions of people will listen to and watch the Live Earth concerts on 7 July. They will wonder what world leaders are and will be doing to reduce the risk of climate change. The discussion here today underlines the Council's commitment.

The recent Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report clearly shows, more strongly than ever before, that action is urgently needed. The world is being exposed to the increasingly devastating effects of climate change. Climate change may have far-reaching and potentially dramatic consequences for

security in regions throughout the world, such as shortages of water and food, health problems, population movements, and environmental and social stress. New sources of conflict may emerge. Disasters might occur more frequently, with more devastating effect.

According to United Nations estimates, by 2010 the world will have 50 million environmental refugees, even without taking the impact of climate change into account. The report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) refers to an 80 per cent chance that availability of water in subtropical areas will substantially decline. By 2050, billions of people will be coping with an inadequate or even non-existent water supply. It is obvious that this will have not only social, economic and humanitarian, but also security implications.

Climate, peace and security are, in our view, global public goods of crucial importance. Though the poorest countries have contributed the least to climate change, they will be the most seriously affected by it. And they lack the knowledge, capacity and resources to deal with it. That problem must be addressed. We have to ensure that countries can cope with the risks posed by climate change. This is of immediate importance. Not only individual countries but also United Nations agencies, the World Bank and other institutions have an important role to play in ensuring full-fledged disaster preparedness.

Now, in order for this to happen, the 2005 Summit called for a culture of prevention. Timely addressing of climate change and identifying its potential security risks can help prevent conflicts. We urge the Secretary-General of the United Nations to alert the Security Council of climate related crisis situations which might endanger peace and security.

The two main priorities of today, in dealing with climate change and related security risks, are to reduce emissions and to adapt to the impact of climate change. It is urgent, now, to mitigate current trends. In my view, it is unacceptable and irresponsible that negotiations for a post-2012 arrangement are deadlocked. We cannot wait.

As the German European Union presidency just stated, the EU has shown leadership in an effort to overcome the deadlock. Without waiting to see what other countries would do, the EU leaders decided this spring that emissions must be cut by 20 per cent by

2020. The Netherlands even wants to achieve a 30 per cent cut. That should reduce the risk of climate change to an acceptable interim level, but efforts need to be continued beyond that date.

However, everything will depend on the commitment of every country concerned. I am referring here not only to the large industrial countries, but also to all economies that contribute to the growth of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. The United Nations negotiations for a post-2012 arrangement will be crucial if we are to make that commitment together, and we urge Member States to take the political initiative to make that possible.

Climate change is making it more difficult and more expensive to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. It means that poverty will prevail longer, and that is unacceptable. We have to stand by the goals we set for ourselves in 2000. Addressing climate change means addressing the Millennium Development Goals. The IPCC also points out that sustainable development can make countries less vulnerable to climate change by enhancing their adaptive capacity and increasing their resilience.

As is well known, the Netherlands has a special relationship with water. Much of the country is below sea level. The Dutch Government will continue to take action to secure it from the effects of further rises in sea level. We are willing to share our knowledge with other delta countries, particularly in the developing world. But the Netherlands is not only preparing for threats from the sea. We are also taking account of our rivers — the Rhine, for instance — that flow into the Netherlands from our neighbouring countries. Water availability in catchment areas will change, and that might well influence stability between countries — even between regions. We are working with countries such as those in the Nile, Zambezi and Mekong basins to cope with climate change and ensure water-supply stability. The aim is to build confidence and promote peaceful, mutually beneficial solutions.

Mitigation and adaptation will require new funding, based on the principle that the polluter pays. Those who are most responsible for climate change should also be the ones to pay the most towards mitigating its effects. Carbon markets play an important role here. As an innovative way of funding adaptation, a levy on carbon dioxide emissions and other innovative financing mechanisms might be

further studied. I propose that the World Bank and the United Nations actively continue exploring ideas for innovative financing.

International legal instruments are also needed to deal with the consequences of climate change. Extensive knowledge already exists in the field, and we need to bring the experts together with the policymakers, politicians, diplomats and non-governmental organizations. The Netherlands will be happy to facilitate conferences and policy debates in The Hague, the legal capital of the world, and take a political initiative to further that.

I highly appreciate the discussion today in the Security Council. Prime Minister Tony Blair underlined the mismatch between the global challenges we face and the global institutions available to confront them. The United Nations needs to be streamlined to meet those challenges effectively. We wholeheartedly applaud the decision of Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon to make climate change one of his priorities. Climate change requires us to reassess security risks, so that we can take adequate preventive and corrective measures. I invite the Secretary-General not only to alert the Security Council of risks to peace and security, but also to instruct United Nations agencies to support preventive measures. I strongly encourage him to continue working towards a world summit on climate change. Such a Summit and today's debate must contribute to addressing the problems of climate change. We owe it to our children and future generations. The billions of fellow citizens who will experience the huge Live Earth event on 7 July. They will rightly ask us to do that.

**The President:** On behalf of the Security Council, I extend a warm welcome to His Excellency, the Honourable Mr. Abdulla Shahid, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Maldives. I give him the floor.

**Mr. Shahid (Maldives):** For the Maldives,

“a mean sea-level rise of 2 metres would suffice virtually to submerge the entire country of ... small islands, most of which barely rise over 2 metres above mean sea level. That would be the death of a nation. ...

“We in the Maldives have seen and lived through grim experiences which could be indicators of the dire consequences of global

environmental change provoked and exacerbated by man.” (A/42/PV.41, p. 23)

That is what my President, His Excellency Mr. Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, said in his address to the General Assembly during its special debate on environment and development in October 1987. Almost 20 years on from that address and as we begin another vital debate — this time in the Security Council — I think it is important to recall the efforts made by small countries like the Maldives to draw the world’s attention to the urgency of climate change and its consequences.

The tsunami of December 2004 was a wake-up call for Asia and for the rest of the world. The tsunami provided a snapshot of what the long-term impact of climate change and sea-level rise will be for small, vulnerable countries like the Maldives.

For the people of the Maldives, dealing with climate change and its consequences is already an everyday fact of life. Over the past two decades we have seen, first-hand, the real, practical reality of climate change and sea-level rise. The Maldives is made up of about 1,200 small coral islands, of which about 200 are inhabited. Today, over 60 per cent of those inhabited islands are facing varying degrees of coastal erosion, which is physically threatening the human settlements on them.

We are heartened by the increased attention that has recently been given to the issue of environmental degradation and climate change. We are also encouraged by the increasing awareness of the issue and are optimistic that those positive developments will lead to a greater commitment from the international community to deal with the matter.

I wish to thank the United Kingdom, in its capacity as president of the Security Council, for promoting today’s debate. I wish also to pay a special tribute to you, Madam President. Your presence here attests to the importance attached by your Government to this issue.

This debate in the Security Council should stress that close cooperation and coordination among all principal organs is indispensable in order to enable the United Nations to remain relevant and capable of meeting existing, new and emerging threats and challenges. The issues of the environment, energy and climate change have been addressed in various United

Nations entities such as the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, their relevant subsidiary bodies, such as the Commission on Social Development, and the United Nations Environment Programme. Moreover, climate change is the subject of a binding multilateral agreement: the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and its supportive protocol, the Kyoto Protocol.

Maldives joins the Group of 77 and China in supporting the view that it is vital for all Members to promote sustainable development — but by adhering to the Rio principles, especially the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, and by fully implementing Agenda 21. Furthermore, Maldives stresses the urgent need to fulfil all other commitments related to the provision of financial resources and the transfer of available technologies to developing countries without delay. Capacity-building is essential in order to enable developing countries to form and implement adaptation strategies. I would also like to take this opportunity to call on the States that have not already done so to ratify the Kyoto Protocol.

My country reaffirms the key role of energy in achieving the goals of sustainable development, poverty eradication and achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. Maldives has already attained a number of the Goals and is clearly on track to achieve many of the rest. However, ensuring environmental sustainability is a challenge that we cannot meet on our own. Next year we will embark on a three-year transition period, after which we will graduate from the list of least developed countries. Despite that achievement, however, our inherent vulnerabilities will remain. It is ironic that the tsunami of 2004 washed away 20 years of development work only six days after the General Assembly adopted its resolution 59/210, on the graduation of Maldives from the list of least developed countries.

Climate change is now a fact. It is not an issue surrounded by scientific uncertainties. The best scientific knowledge has clearly and decisively stated the magnitude of the threat faced by humankind. The Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change is sufficient in that respect, and the review undertaken by Sir Nicholas Stern has shown the economic challenges of climate change and its threat to world output. The consequences of inaction would be enormous for the developing world.

Maldives has recently developed its first adaptation programme of action in the context of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and has incorporated climate change adaptation into its national development plans and the Government's annual budgets. Substantial financial resources are urgently required for speedy implementation of adaptation projects by countries, such as Maldives, that are among the most vulnerable.

Maldives favours and calls for a meaningful commitment on emissions reductions for a post-2012 regime. Negotiations in that regard should be accelerated, with a tangible commitment to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to pre-industrial-era levels. Not only is it imperative that the rich nations demonstrate leadership; it is also moral to safeguard from harm the vulnerable poor countries which are confronting aggravated climate change.

In the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document (General Assembly resolution 60/1) world leaders agreed on the need to act with resolve and urgency in facing the serious and multiple challenges in tackling climate change, promoting clean energy, meeting energy needs and achieving sustainable development.

I shall conclude my brief remarks by echoing the sentiments expressed at the 2005 World Summit and by quoting from the address of my President, His Excellency Mr. Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, at the World Summit on Sustainable Development, held in Johannesburg in 2002.

“What we need to do is simple: put our words into deeds. The only question that has to be answered is, ‘Do we have the will?’ I put the question to you once again: Do we have the will?”

**The President:** The next speaker is the representative of Pakistan, to whom I give the floor.

**Mr. Amil (Pakistan):** I have the honour to make this contribution on behalf of the Group of 77 and China on the decision by the Security Council to hold a debate on energy, security and climate.

The Group is of the view that Security Council's primary responsibility is for the maintenance of international peace and security, as set out in the United Nations Charter. On the other hand, other issues, including those relating to economic and social development, are assigned by the Charter to the

Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly. The ever-increasing encroachment by the Security Council on the roles and responsibilities of other principal organs of the United Nations represents a distortion of the principles and purposes of the Charter; it also infringes on their authority and compromises the rights of the general membership of the United Nations.

The issues of energy and climate change are vital for sustainable development. Responsibilities in the field of sustainable development belong to the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, their relevant subsidiary bodies, including the Commission on Sustainable Development, and the United Nations Environment Programme. Climate change is the subject of a binding multilateral agreement — the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change — and a supportive protocol — the Kyoto Protocol. No role was envisaged for the Security Council.

We are of the view that it is vital for all Member States to promote sustainable development, adhering to the Rio principles, especially the principle of common but differentiated responsibility, and fully implement Agenda 21 and other commitments related to the provision of financial resources, transfer of technology and capacity-building for developing countries, undertaken at Rio and Johannesburg and at other relevant United Nations conferences in the economic and social fields.

The Group has consistently maintained that the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change provides the appropriate forum to consider risks associated with climate change and actions needed to address climate change in accordance with the principles enshrined in the Convention. Developed countries should take urgent action to fulfil their commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in accordance with the Kyoto Protocol. Those countries that have not yet done so should accede to the Kyoto Protocol.

The Group also feels that it is inappropriate to consider the issue of energy in the Security Council. We reaffirm the key role of energy in achieving the goals of sustainable development, poverty eradication and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. Therefore, we emphasize the critical role of the international community in the provision of adequate,



predictable, new and additional financial resources, technology transfer and enhancing capacity-building for the developing countries, as agreed in Agenda 21, the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation and the relevant decisions of the Commission on Sustainable Development. Also, there is a need for political will and commitment to explore innovative ways of applying energy-efficient, environmentally sound, cost-effective and socially acceptable technologies and systems.

The Group of 77 and China will continue to pursue the realization of the goals of sustainable development and the fulfilment of commitments by developed countries in all relevant bodies, especially at the forthcoming fifteenth session of the Commission on Sustainable Development, and we urge others to do likewise.

We hope that the decision by the Council to hold this debate does not create a precedent or undermine the authority or mandate of the relevant bodies, processes and instruments which are already addressing these issues.

**The President:** The next speaker is the representative of Switzerland, to whom I give the floor.

**Mr. Maurer** (Switzerland) (*spoke in French*): At the outset, I should like to thank you, Madam President, for having convened this timely debate on energy, security and climate. Switzerland welcomes your initiative and shares the passionate arguments and concerns you have raised in your concept paper.

It is important that the Security Council contribute to raising awareness about the repercussions of environmental degradation on international peace and security, including through its impact on the drivers of conflicts. We must also reflect on ways to improve our response to such challenges. We do not consider this initiative to be an encroachment by the Security Council on the responsibilities and functions of the General Assembly. We believe that climate change and environmental issues in general are themes that will have to be addressed by different bodies in the framework of their respective mandates.

Climate change and conflict are closely linked. However, the problem of climate change constitutes only one important aspect of the broader problem of environmental degradation. Conflicts are often a consequence of dwindling natural resources such as

energy, water and soil. The causes of such conflicts will not be resolved by focusing on climate change alone. We therefore should bear in mind the often-neglected environmental dimensions of conflict as a whole and address them at all stages: conflict prevention, conflict management and post-conflict recovery.

Switzerland is particularly concerned about the looming food and water insecurity in many parts of the world due to the cumulative effects of population growth, changing food habits, shortage of cultivable land, spreading degradation of the soil and water-resource constraints. The need to produce more and healthier food from less land with less water is a reality that should be tackled urgently by both Governments and the private sector. Climate-related factors of change tend to aggravate this already enormous challenge, because those countries most exposed to their likely negative impact are often those with inadequate means to adapt or to take the necessary preventive measures.

As rightly stressed in the concept paper, Member States have the primary responsibility for efforts to prevent conflicts and reduce the risks of disaster. Switzerland would like to invite all stakeholders to participate in the first session of the Global Platform for Disaster Risk Reduction, to be held in Geneva from 5 to 7 June 2007. This high-level event intends to raise awareness and to consider ways and means to move disaster risk reduction higher up on the international policy agenda.

Environmental degradation, including climate change, and its impact on all forms of livelihood constitute an additional challenge because they can contribute to forced migration, with all the destabilizing effects that can have on societies in countries of origin, transit and destination. In managing that phenomenon, Member States are urged to respect their obligations under international law. In this respect, I should like to highlight the positive contribution made by the Inter-Agency Standing Committee in adopting the Operational Guidelines on Human Rights and Natural Disasters. These guidelines are increasingly being used by humanitarian and development actors and by the Security Council to reinforce those positive effects.

The protection of the environment and sustainable development are a pillar of our foreign

policy. Switzerland is currently undertaking a more structured analysis of the links between environmental degradation, the use of natural resources and violent conflict. We are therefore ready to contribute substantively to the discussion within the United Nations.

Already, at this early stage it is safe to say that each conflict has its specificities with regard to the environmental drivers of conflict; there are no simple answers. There is therefore an obvious need to strengthen our analytical capacities in order to channel targeted and authoritative input into the Council's policy debate. However, potential risk factors should be examined on a case-by-case basis rather than by predefining priority areas. Where environmental factors are elements explicitly affecting security, the Council may wish to consider creating a specific environmental capacity for conflicts and thus strengthen its own abilities in this area.

Above all, we see added value in that the Security Council, when debating a specific conflict, would have recourse to environmental expertise that could help it understand the drivers of conflict or provide assessments of the environmental impact of the conflict. The United Nations Environment Programme, which we have collectively designated as the central environmental pillar of the United Nations system, must be strengthened so that it can respond to such requests. As we are organized at present, we may get opinions on possible drivers of conflict but rarely get relevant and authoritative advice.

As the Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, Switzerland very much welcomes its readiness to examine the challenges that climate change and environmental degradation pose in terms of causes of conflicts. The resulting threat to international peace and security is both interdependent and multidimensional; it thus has social and economic repercussions. We hope that this debate will provide impetus, including with regard to the need to strengthen the coherence of the United Nations system and international environmental governance, in the framework of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and other relevant entities of the system, including the Security Council.

**The President:** The next speaker is the representative of Papua New Guinea, to whom I give the floor.

**Mr. Aisi** (Papua New Guinea): On behalf of the Pacific Islands Forum Small Island Developing States — Fiji, Nauru, Micronesia, Marshall Islands, Palau, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and my own country — I would like to thank you, Madam President, and your delegation for giving us the opportunity to speak at this very important debate in the Security Council.

The Pacific island countries are already experiencing the effects of climate change, and they represent some of the most vulnerable communities in the world. According to the findings of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Pacific island countries are facing extreme risks to their survival as nations. Many islands are not more than a few metres above sea level. As wave actions are exponentially linked to sea level, an increase of half a metre in sea level would completely inundate these island States, putting at risk the survival of their human populations.

Climate change is also expected to increase the intensity of tropical cyclones. While the evidence is not as clear in this case, the pattern of tropical storms seen in the last few years is cause for deep concern. Prior to 1985, for example, the Cook Islands were considered to be out of the main cyclone belt and could expect a serious cyclone approximately every 20 years. This has changed. Most notably, there were five cyclones within one month — in February and March of 2005 — three of which were classified Category 5 as they passed through Cook Islands waters. While these recent cyclones caused damage equal to 10 per cent of the Government's annual budget, destroyed 75 per cent of homes on the island of Pukapuka and caused emotional distress, no lives were lost, due to activation of warning systems and preparedness by the general public. In 2004, the island of Niue was hit by Cyclone Heta, with the ocean rising over the 30-metre-high cliffs, causing two deaths and making 20 per cent of the population homeless. All told, Heta caused economic damages equivalent to 200 years of exports. The country's only museum lost 90 per cent of its collection.

The king tides that have struck Tuvalu and Kiribati in recent years are further dramatic examples

of how climate change will affect our communities. Wells and agriculture were poisoned by sea water, house foundations undermined and graves exposed. Those are just some of impacts that have been observed in our region. Those are dramatic events, and pose a significant threat to peace and security in the Pacific, as the people may have to abandon their traditional lands, their homes and possibly their nations.

Climate change has several other related impacts. Vector-borne diseases, such as malaria and dengue fever, are increasing their range upland in Papua New Guinea, and the incidence of dengue fever was especially high this year in the Pacific in general. A World Bank study on climate change and health found that a dengue epidemic in Fiji in 1998 cost the country about \$3 million to \$6 million. The World Bank also estimated that the economic costs of a dengue epidemic in Kiribati would be beyond the coping capacity of that country.

Climate change is also going to have an impact on economic activities in the region. The 1997-1998 El Niño event saw a significant westward shift of major tuna stocks, making some of our economies and dinner tables suffer. That temporary warming of the Western Pacific during the El Niño-Southern Oscillation is a harbinger of things to come should the seas permanently rise in surface temperature. Deteriorating coral reefs, the nurseries for certain fish stocks, are being severely damaged by warming waters, coral bleaching and ocean acidification. We fear that there will be a major decline fish stocks as a result. We also have to consider the overall issue of the sovereignty of our current exclusive economic zones under climate change scenarios, the right to fish in those waters, and our ability to patrol and control them.

Climate change, climate variability and sea-level rise are therefore not just environmental concerns, but also economic, social and political issues for Pacific island countries. They strike at the very heart of our existence. The impacts, and in particular the related economic and social shocks, pose serious political and national financial management issues for Pacific island countries. Climate change, climate variability and sea-level rise adversely affect gross domestic product, balance of payments, budget deficits, foreign debt, unemployment and living standards.

Therefore, climate change is undermining the very basis for the existence of 12 independent Pacific island countries, as well as seven Pacific island territories. Climate change is an overarching threat, and all of its impacts are and will be detrimental to us. We know and understand many of the impacts, but there is still much more knowledge that is necessary. We also need to ensure that our communities are well briefed on those impacts and that they are empowered with the capacity to plan for mitigation and adaptation. Our Governments will establish overall climate change policy, but it is the communities that will have to agree to and implement appropriate measures.

We in the Pacific islands are not standing idly by. Together with our development partners, some steps are being taken. For example, as a means of adapting to present climate variability and climate change, in 2006 the village of Lateu in Vanuatu was relocated further inland in order to avoid storm surges, frequent inundation, coastal erosion and flooding. The Canadian Government funded the relocation, and the new settlement has been made more resilient through improved water storage, new agricultural practices and better-constructed houses, but many Pacific communities have no higher ground to move to. Moreover, most of our economic activities — such as tourism, shipping and infrastructure — are located in the coastal zones. Even in the higher islands, there are limits to what can be physically moved. There are also limits to what our Governments can afford.

In some areas of the Cook Islands, such as Manihiki Atoll, where 3 per cent of the island's population was killed by eight-metre waves washing over the island during cyclone Martin in 1997, more concrete preparedness or adaptation measures are required. That is sensible from a risk-management perspective, and through projects such as the Global Environment Facility and the Pacific Adaptation to Climate Change, such things as cyclone shelters and communications equipment, as well as the incorporation of climate proofing, where possible, in infrastructure design, will be implemented in the Pacific in the coming years.

Individuals and communities should be empowered to adapt by ensuring that they possess a water tank to better deal with drought or floods, allowing setbacks or building on poles if homes are in coastal areas. Risk assessments to see which

communities are vulnerable, and taking steps to address those risks, are essential.

Our Pacific ancestors living on those islands and voyaging across the Pacific dealt with a great deal of climate variability and adapted to new environments. They often did so by learning and understanding the natural system, using existing traditional knowledge, or else by sailing on to new islands.

Traditional knowledge in the region is passed on verbally and is particularly important for increasing understanding and awareness of climate risks at the community level and in the local language. Traditional knowledge by necessity fills a gap in small islands, where pure science data collection is sparse. In terms of managing climate risks, our traditional leaders have clear roles to play in our risk-management programmes, in mobilizing community response, and in increasing ecosystem resilience through indirect methods, such as defining traditional marine protected or no-harvest areas for reefs that are vulnerable to sea-level rise, coral bleaching, and run-off sedimentation.

Many of our island communities have begun strengthening the resilience of natural systems in that manner in order to protect themselves against waves. Coral reefs and mangroves are the first line of defence against storm surges and erosion, and those are being protected through marine parks and coastal zone management. But coral reefs exist within a very narrow band of temperatures and are very sensitive to sea-temperature increases, as shown by the numerous bleaching events in past years. Mangroves, on the other hand, are very sensitive to sea-level changes, and their capacity for inland migration may be obstructed by the settlements they currently protect. Our best protection against extreme climatic events is thus being undermined by climate change.

It has been said that, for the Pacific island countries, all areas affected by climate change are priority areas. In order to build a shared and sufficiently robust understanding of what needs to be done, Pacific island countries see the need for progress in a number of mutually supportive areas. We need to continue to build a stronger and more comprehensive international climate change regime within the Framework Convention on Climate Change that uses the best scientific knowledge and assesses its implications.

The negotiations on future commitments for the international community as a whole should be based on the following priorities: to give equal priority to adaptation and mitigation; to slow the rate of warming and sea-level rise; to avoid positive climate feedbacks and their destructive consequences; to convince developing countries that industrialized countries are serious about addressing climate change and finding ways to reduce emissions in all countries; to maintain public credibility in the climate Convention; to stop further delays in taking action; to minimize the economic costs to developing countries of preventing dangerous climate change; to stop investment by the developed world in long-lived carbon-intensive capital equipment and infrastructure; to promote a massive worldwide expansion of renewable energy; to provide greater flexibility to future generations; and to send strong signals to industry that climate change is a serious issue and that it needs to find solutions.

Within other multilateral processes, there is also scope for some of those issues to be addressed to increase international cooperation in finding solutions. All the impacts that I have enumerated are considered in different forums, such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, the Commission on Sustainable Development, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the World Meteorological Organization and the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

This debate in the Security Council suggests that there are additional avenues for discussing one of the most critical issues for the survival of our Pacific island communities. The Security Council and the General Assembly have accepted the principle of the responsibility to protect. The dangers that small islands and their populations face are no less serious than those faced by nations and peoples threatened by guns and bombs. The effects on our populations are as likely to cause massive dislocations of people as past and present wars. The impacts on social cohesion and identity are as likely to cause resentment, hatred and alienation as any current refugee crisis.

Pacific peoples have inhabited their islands for thousands of years and have rich and vibrant cultures. We are likely to become the victims of a phenomenon to which we have contributed very little and which we can do very little to halt. We are taking action on renewable energy and energy efficiency and in seeking to avoid deforestation, but our primary focus is on

adaptation and preparing for the worst. The Security Council, charged with protecting human rights and the integrity and security of States, is the paramount international forum available to us. We do not expect the Security Council to get involved in the details of discussions in the Framework Convention on Climate Change, but we do expect the Security Council to keep the matter under continuous review so as to ensure that all countries contribute to solving the climate change problem and that their efforts are commensurate with their resources and capacities. We also expect that the Security Council will review particularly sensitive issues, such as implications to sovereignty and to international legal rights from the loss of land, resources and people.

**The President:** I now call on the representative of Japan.

**Mr. Oshima (Japan):** I would like to begin by thanking you, Madam, and the delegation of the United Kingdom for the important initiative you have taken of organizing this timely debate on the security implications of climate change and global warming, and I thank you as well for the excellent concept paper that was presented.

We are aware that this is the first time that the Security Council has held a thematic debate on this topic. Scientists and economists around the world have once again — more clearly and convincingly than ever before — drawn our attention to what is, without a doubt, one of the most imminent, serious and multifaceted risks and challenges confronting all of humanity. Given the rapid advances that have been made in research on climate change and its impact on the global ecosystem, and in the light of the facts and the prognosis presented to us by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the Stern review team and many others, it would be not only foolhardy but also highly irresponsible if we failed to move on from discussing science to practical planning, strategizing and taking action.

It is clear that climate change can pose threats to national security, including those discussed in the United Kingdom concept paper. National security has been threatened by conflicts over claims to land and natural resources since ancient times. In the foreseeable future, climate change in all its manifestations may well create conditions or induce circumstances that could precipitate or aggravate

international conflicts, and it therefore has serious potential national and international security implications.

Also, as noted in the recent IPCC report and other authoritative studies, global warming will generate conditions and circumstances that could have a negative impact on development and poverty reduction strategies in a variety of ways. Food production may be affected, natural disasters may increase in number and intensify, the supply of fresh water may diminish, infectious diseases may become more rampant, and so forth. Clearly, the implications for human security would also be quite serious.

As projected, it is the poor and the weakest of countries and societies that are most vulnerable to the onslaught. The projected rise in sea levels poses an immediate threat to the survival of small island developing States and lowland areas. We must acknowledge the linkages between the new emerging global phenomenon, sustainable development and poverty-reduction strategies.

Climate change is a global challenge, and meeting it will require a global response: the concerted efforts of the international community on a number of fronts. In this, the United Nations should continue to play a leading role; indeed, it should play a stronger one by involving all relevant organs and bodies of the system, including the Security Council, as relevant to their respective mandates, because doing so is essential for system-wide coherence on the issue.

Among the many challenges and issues that we face, I would like to note — without going into too much detail — three that require our urgent attention. In fact, they require that we mobilize.

The first is the overriding importance of controlling greenhouse gas emissions and creating an effective post-Kyoto framework. It is of the utmost importance that the maximum number of countries responsible for any significant emissions linked to global warming participate in this effort — and I am speaking of developed and developing countries alike. Currently, only about 30 per cent of the world's total greenhouse gas emissions are covered by the parties to the Kyoto Protocol. That is grossly and dangerously inadequate. According to a report by the International Atomic Energy Agency, emissions of carbon dioxide by developing countries reached 40 per cent of total global emissions in 2004, and if the current trend

continues, by about 2015 the overall total of emissions from developing countries will overtake that of the countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. In our view, any new post-Kyoto arrangement must seek to enable all countries to cut emissions according to their ability, and thus maximize emission controls on a truly global basis, the goal being to halve the level of total emissions as soon as possible. In doing so, we must acknowledge the close linkages that exist between development strategy and climate change strategy.

In this connection, let me mention that on the occasion of the visit by the Premier of China, Mr. Wen Jiabao, to Japan last week, Japan and China issued a statement on the further enhancement of cooperation in the area of environmental protection. In it, they expressed their shared intention to work together on the issue under discussion, stating

“Under the framework of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and its Kyoto Protocol, both sides reaffirm their political resolve to engage in efforts towards the resolution of climate change issues through international cooperation, in accordance with the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities ... . Both sides will actively participate in the process towards the construction of an effective beyond-2012 framework, based on the principles and regulations set forth in the above-mentioned Convention and Protocol.”

The second challenge is supporting the development and use of clean energy, including nuclear or renewable energy, and new, effective energy-saving technologies. This is obviously an essential part of any effort to reduce the level of greenhouse gases. Cooperation and exchanges on such technology at all levels — bilateral, regional and international — should be strengthened. United Nations agencies have an important role to play in that regard, including facilitation of the transfer of advanced clean-energy and energy-saving technologies to developing countries, which should be encouraged in any way possible.

The third, related, challenge, which is no less important, are issues regarding adaptation — preventing, mitigating and adapting to the negative effects of climate change, especially those arising from

natural disasters. The Stern review states that “the benefits of strong and early action far outweigh the ... costs”. Such action needs to be taken now, because we cannot ignore the fact that global warming, with all its potential harmful consequences, is here to stay and will get worse before it can get better. Governments set out what needs to be done to reduce vulnerabilities and disaster risks in the Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015, agreed at the World Conference on Disaster Reduction, held in Hyogo, Japan, in January 2005. Governments need to take urgent action to simultaneously reduce the emissions causing climate change and adapt to the changes that are unavoidable by implementing the Hyogo Framework for Action.

In order to deal with these and other issues surrounding climate change and global warming, it is time for Member States to take a look at how comprehensively — or how inadequately — the United Nations system is equipped. We welcome the intention of Secretary-General Ban to make climate change one of his priorities. Indeed, we will welcome any initiative that he takes that helps to strengthen the United Nations role and enhance its agenda in that area. To that end, I would like to propose that the Secretary-General be requested — perhaps not by the Council but, more appropriately, by the General Assembly — to make a report with recommendations at the earliest possible date on how best the United Nations system as a whole can organize itself to strengthen its capacity so that it will be able to address this matter more effectively and coherently. The report should address such questions as the role and function of the Inter-Agency Secretariat of the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction, which is responsible for coordination of disaster prevention and mitigation.

Before concluding, I would like to state that Japan is strongly resolved to continue its active engagement in all international efforts on climate change-related issues, both in the United Nations and outside it, including negotiations for a new, post-Kyoto greenhouse gas emissions regime.

Climate change will be one of the main themes at this year’s Group of Eight (G-8) Summit, to be held in Germany, and it is expected to remain high on the agenda next year, 2008, when Japan will host the G-8 Summit. In its bilateral and multilateral development cooperation and partnership arrangements with the countries of Asia and the Pacific including the Pacific Islands Forum, Africa, the Caribbean Community and

others, Japan has accorded high priority to projects and programmes aimed at preventing, mitigating and adapting to the effects of climate change. In the future, it will give them even more attention.

Allow me to say a few words about the form such cooperation and partnership has taken, or will take in the future. Japan, together with the United States, China, India, the Republic of Korea and Australia, established the Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate. At the Second East Asia Summit, held at Cebu in the Philippines, Prime Minister Abe announced Japan's cooperation initiative for clean energy and sustainable growth for the East Asia region.

Japan has promoted the Tokyo International Conference on African Development process, which focused greater attention on energy and environmental issues, as well as on adaptation to the effects of global warming, in the context of sustainable development in Africa, through the holding of a ministerial conference in Nairobi in March.

Japan attaches high priority to disaster prevention, especially the steps proposed in the Hyogo Framework of Action, and it supports the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction. Japan also contributes to multilateral institutions, such as the World Bank, through the Global Facility for Disaster Reduction and Recovery.

Finally, we continue to be closely involved in programmes that focus on water and sanitation, including through participation in bilateral aid programmes and the United Nations Advisory Board on Water and Sanitation.

**The President:** The next speaker on my list is the representative of Namibia, to whom I have pleasure in giving the floor.

**Mr. Mbuende** (Namibia): My delegation would like to associate itself with the statement delivered by the representative of Pakistan on behalf of the Group of 77 and China and with the statement to be delivered by Cuba on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement.

My delegation recognizes that threats to peace and security emanate from different sources. Poverty and unemployment can give rise to instability that threatens peace and security. Underdevelopment and global economic imbalances can create tensions among

nations that could threaten international peace and security.

Non-traditional threats to peace and security, however, can best be addressed through the appropriate organs charged with the responsibility to take remedial action in a particular area. The Charter of the United Nations recognizes the link between social and economic development — or, rather, the lack thereof — and peace and security. It was against this background that the Economic and Social Council was created with a view to addressing these issues. Threats to peace and security that emanate from social and economic factors can best be addressed through investments in economic development. By the same token, threats to international peace and security emanating from climate change and global warming can best be addressed through interventions in the environmental arena. There are indeed a host of instruments designed to deal with environmental problems before they get out of hand — or, rather, to stop further deterioration.

We are taking part in this debate today because of the seriousness with which we view the phenomenon of climate change. This is not an academic exercise but rather a matter of life or death for my country, Namibia.

Humanity, and the developing countries in particular, have been subjected to what could be described as low-intensity biological or chemical warfare. Greenhouse gases are slowly destroying plants, animals and human beings. A large part of Namibia is today subjected to frequent droughts while, at the same time, another part is flooded. The combined effect of drought and floods has had a tremendous impact on our biodiversity. Namibia has two deserts, the Namib in the west and the Kalahari in the east. These deserts are spreading, claiming more and more range and agricultural land and rendering these lands uninhabitable.

Another characteristic of climate change that is becoming evident in Namibia is the spread of malaria to areas hitherto considered free of the disease. Historically, this disease was prevalent in the northern and north-eastern parts of the country only because the central and southern parts had colder temperatures. However, with the change in temperatures, malaria-carrying mosquitoes have extended their range to nearly everywhere in the country and are spreading the disease. Meanwhile, our fight against malaria is

hindered by the high cost of medicines. Our attempts to produce cheaper generics have been met with resistance, as multinational pharmaceutical companies invoke their intellectual property rights. The impact of climate change on health is further exacerbated by the fact that some plants that were used for traditional medicinal purposes are likely to be extinct.

We cannot talk about climate change in a casual manner, and it cannot be business as usual. The cause of the problem is known. Those who are responsible for the problem are also known. Now is the time to hold them accountable for their action. They cannot be allowed to escape with impunity.

There is a need to take drastic measures to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. The economic argument that these measures will be costly does not hold water. For the continuation of the status quo is also costly to those who, though not responsible for global warming, suffer its consequences. However, we are encouraged by the steps that some industrialized countries are taking. But is it not too little, too late? Still, every step to curb emissions is important.

Climate adaptation will be a costly exercise for Namibia. The people of my country, like those of many other developing countries, are dependent on natural resources. However, these resources are being destroyed by a combination of droughts, wildfires and floods. Namibia had placed high hopes in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol. These two instruments contain a number of commitments by States parties. If fully honoured, they could have assisted us tremendously in our endeavours to reverse this ruinous phenomenon.

It saddens us that, despite elaborate paragraphs and wording in both the Convention and the Kyoto

Protocol, what we have been witnessing is the continuation of a business-as-usual attitude. Indeed, as developing countries, we are facing what I dare to call an unprovoked war being waged on us by developed countries. In fact, what we see happening is a concrete example of the proverbial discarding one's dirty water in the backyard of one's neighbour.

Despite long-standing treaty commitments to help poor countries deal with global warming, the industrial Powers are spending very little on ways to limit climate and coastal hazards in the world's most vulnerable regions compared to what they are spending on securing their own continued survival. How many more conventions and protocols does the international community require before drastic measures are taken to address the issues of climate change in earnest?

Kyoto 2 will probably come and go, and so will Kyoto 3 and 4, while our peoples and countries are rendered more and more vulnerable. What we need is action now and not mere debates that do not produce concrete results. In this regard, my delegation would like to see the establishment of an effective mechanism to take charge of the governance of climate change. We have in mind a mechanism that will monitor and ensure the compliance of States parties with the provisions of the instruments they have acceded to and their fulfilment of the commitments contained therein. Namibia intends to make this recommendation in the appropriate organs.

**The President:** There are still a number of speakers remaining on the list for this meeting. I intend, with the concurrence of members of the Council, to suspend the meeting until 3 p.m.

*The meeting was suspended at 1.20 p.m.*