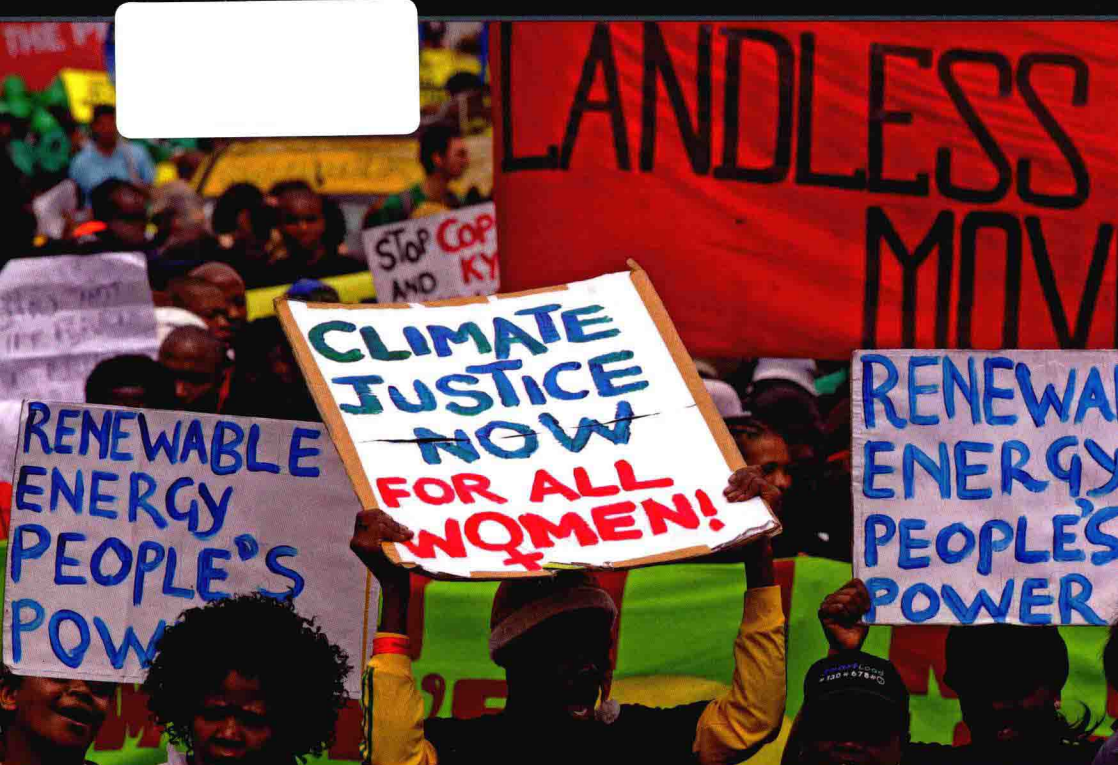


Pamela S. Chasek, David L. Downie,  
and Janet Welsh Brown



# GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS

SIXTH EDITION

DILEMMAS IN WORLD POLITICS



SIXTH EDITION

# Global Environmental Politics



PAMELA S. CHASEK



A MEMBER OF THE PERSEUS BOOKS GROUP

Westview Press was founded in 1975 in Boulder, Colorado, by notable publisher and intellectual Fred Praeger. Westview Press continues to publish scholarly titles and high-quality undergraduate- and graduate-level textbooks in core social science disciplines. With books developed, written, and edited with the needs of serious nonfiction readers, professors, and students in mind, Westview Press honors its long history of publishing books that matter.

Copyright © 2014 by Westview Press

Published by Westview Press,  
A Member of the Perseus Books Group

All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. No part of this book may be reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews. For information, address Westview Press, 2465 Central Avenue, Boulder, CO 80301.

Find us on the World Wide Web at [www.westviewpress.com](http://www.westviewpress.com).

Every effort has been made to secure required permissions for all text, images, maps, and other art reprinted in this volume.

Westview Press books are available at special discounts for bulk purchases in the United States by corporations, institutions, and other organizations. For more information, please contact the Special Markets Department at the Perseus Books Group, 2300 Chestnut Street, Suite 200, Philadelphia, PA 19103, or call (800) 810-145, ext. 5000, or e-mail [special.markets@perseusbooks.com](mailto:special.markets@perseusbooks.com).

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Chasek, Pamela S., 1961–

Global environmental politics / Pamela S. Chasek, David L. Downie,  
Janet Welsh Brown. — Sixth edition.

pages cm. — (Dilemmas in world politics)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-0-8133-4896-4 (pbk.) — ISBN 978-0-8133-4897-1 (e-book)

I. Environmental policy. I. Downie, David Leonard. II. Brown, Janet Welsh.  
III. Title.

GE170.C46 2010

363.7'056—dc23

2013002230

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

# ***Global Environmental Politics***

## **Dilemmas in World Politics**

**Series Editor: Jennifer Sterling-Folker, University of Connecticut**

Why is it difficult to achieve the universal protection of human rights? How can democratization be achieved so that it is equitable and lasting? Why does agreement on global environmental protection seem so elusive? How does the concept of gender play a role in the shocking inequalities of women throughout the globe? Why do horrific events such as genocide or ethnic conflicts recur or persist? These are the sorts of questions that confront policy makers and students of contemporary international politics alike. They are dilemmas because they are enduring problems in world affairs that are difficult to resolve.

These are the types of dilemmas at the heart of the *Dilemmas in World Politics* series. Each book in the *Dilemmas in World Politics* series addresses a challenge or problem in world politics that is topical, recurrent, and not easily solved. Each is structured to cover the historical and theoretical aspects of the dilemma, as well as the policy alternatives for and future direction of the problem. The books are designed as supplements to introductory and intermediate courses in international relations. The books in the *Dilemmas in World Politics* series encourage students to engage in informed discussion of current policy issues.

## BOOKS IN THIS SERIES

***Global Environmental Politics, Sixth Edition***

Pamela S. Chasek, David L. Downie, and Janet Welsh Brown

***International Human Rights, Fourth Edition***

Jack Donnelly

***The United Nations in the 21st Century, Fourth Edition***

Karen A. Mingst and Margaret P. Karns

***Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium, Third Edition***

V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan

***United States Foreign Policy in the 21st Century: Gulliver's Travails***

J. Martin Rochester

***Democracy and Democratization in a Changing World, Third Edition***

Georg Sørensen

***Southern Africa in World Politics***

Janice Love

***Ethnic Conflict in World Politics, Second Edition***

Barbara Harff and Ted Robert Gurr

***Dilemmas of International Trade, Second Edition***

Bruce E. Moon

***Humanitarian Challenges and Intervention, Second Edition***

Thomas G. Weiss and Cindy Collins

***The European Union: Dilemmas of Regional Integration***

James A. Caporaso

***International Futures, Third Edition***

Barry B. Hughes

***Revolution and Transition in East-Central Europe, Second Edition***

David S. Mason

***One Land, Two Peoples, Second Edition***

Deborah Gerner

***The Global Spread of Arms***

Frederic S. Pearson

***Dilemmas of Development Assistance***

Sarah J. Tisch and Michael B. Wallace

***East Asian Dynamism, Second Edition***

Steven Chan

# *Illustrations*

## *Tables*

- 1.1 The World's Megacities, 2011, 14
- 3.1 Montreal Protocol Chemical Phaseout Schedules, 115
- 3.2 Top 20 Emitting Countries by Total Fossil-Fuel CO<sub>2</sub>, 2010, 154
- 4.1 Selected Illicit Wildlife Trade and Estimated Retail Value, 201
- 4.2 Veto States and Regime Creation or Strengthening, 233
- 7.1 Top 20 Countries Ranked by GDP, 1992 and 2011, 327

## *Figures*

- 1.1 World Population Growth, 1950–2050, 3
- 1.2 Global Energy Use, 2010, 5
- 1.3 World Energy Consumption, 6
- 1.4 World Energy-Related Carbon Dioxide Emissions, 1990–2035, 8
- 1.5 Evolution of Global Water Use, 9
- 1.6 Population Residing in Urban Areas by Major Areas of the World, 1950, 1970, 2011, 2030, and 2050, 13
- 3.1 Migration of Persistent Organic Pollutants, 134
- 3.2 Process for Adding New Chemicals to the Stockholm Convention, 140
- 3.3 Atmospheric Concentration of Carbon Dioxide at Mauna Loa, Hawaii, 1959–2011, 153
- 3.4 Global Carbon Dioxide Emissions from Fossil-Fuel Burning, 2010, 155

- 4.1 Scientific Whaling Catches, 1986–2012, 193
- 4.2 Fish Stocks in Different Status by Three Groups in 2009, 208
- 4.3 Annual Forest Cover Change, 1990–2010, 223
- 6.1 Net Official Development Assistance from OECD Countries, 1992–2011, 288
- 6.2 The Millennium Development Goals, 295
- 6.3 Global Adult Population Distribution and Global Wealth Distribution, 2011, 303
- 6.4 Examples of Ecolabels, 314

### *Photographs*

- 1.1 Public opinion can play an important role in global environmental politics, 18
- 1.2 In multilateral negotiations, states must believe they will be better off or no agreement will be reached, 22
- 1.3 UN Conference on Environment and Development, Rio, 1992. NGO representatives join hundreds of thousands who signed the Earth Pledge leading up to the Earth Summit, 35
- 2.1 Canada pushed for strong action on POPs after the discovery that the chemicals tend to bioaccumulate in the Arctic food chain and disproportionately affect Inuit communities in northern Canada, 54
- 2.2 New York mayor Michael Bloomberg, speaking at the Bali Climate Change Conference in 2007 with London's deputy mayor, Nicky Gavron, is one of the mayors who signed the Mayors Climate Protection Agreement, 57
- 2.3 UNEP, under Executive Director Achim Steiner, has played an agenda-setting role for international action on mercury pollution, 63
- 2.4 Ozzy Ozone was developed by UNEP under the Multilateral Fund to help educate children on how to protect themselves from the sun's harmful UV rays and to give practical tips on how to enjoy the sun safely and how to help save the earth's ozone layer, 75
- 2.5 The International POPs Elimination Network mobilized grassroots support for a global treaty to eliminate POPs, 90



- 2.6 The *Earth Negotiations Bulletin*, published by IISD, has provided real-time reports of many different environment and development negotiations since 1992, 94
- 3.1 Anti-methyl bromide picket signs outside of the first Extraordinary Meeting of the Parties to the Montreal Protocol in Montreal in March 2004, 114
- 3.2 The Montreal Protocol Meeting of the Parties in 2008 in Doha, Qatar, became the first UN meeting to replace the avalanche of official documents with electronic versions, 117
- 3.3 A Chinese child sits amongst a pile of wires and e-waste. Children can often be found dismantling e-waste containing many hazardous chemicals known to be potentially very damaging to children's health, 130
- 3.4 WWF protesters outside the POPs negotiations in Bonn, Germany, in March 2002, 137
- 3.5 Climate-change negotiations in Bali were often so crowded that delegates sat on the floor, 162
- 3.6 Youth delegates at the climate-change negotiations in Doha call on delegates to reflect their demands, 169
- 4.1 Lack of effective implementation was also demonstrated in the international community's failure to meet the global target of significantly reducing the rate of biodiversity loss by 2010, during the International Year of Biodiversity, 178
- 4.2 The Sea Shepherd Conservation Society and other NGOs protested outside the IWC meeting in Jersey in 2011, 195
- 4.3 Examining poached elephant tusks, 205
- 4.4 *Despair*. Severe land degradation and desertification has a huge impact on the livelihoods of some of the poorest people on the planet, 216
- 4.5 During UNFF-9, Felix Finkbeiner, presenting "Felix & Friends," a Plant-for-the-Planet Children's Initiative, highlighted that forests are the future for children today. He noted two crises exist, poverty and environment, and lamented that too little action on either of these is being taken, 230
- 5.1 The International POPs Elimination Network (IPEN) informs delegates about the dangers of mercury at the first session of the Intergovernmental

- Negotiating Committee to Prepare a Global Legally Binding Instrument on Mercury, 240
- 5.2 Bangkok Climate Change Conference, 2011. Treaties result from negotiations involving hundreds of government representatives from different types of ministries, 254
- 5.3 Rifles and ivory tusks taken from poachers in Kenya, with the assistance of the NGO TRAFFIC, 271
- 5.4 NGOs from 350.org and AVAAZ.org delivered to the British prime minister a petition to end fossil-fuel subsidies, 280
- 6.1 NGOs reminding the developed countries about the principles of additionality and common but differentiated responsibilities, 292
- 6.2 NGOs marching in Johannesburg for access to better sanitation and clean water, 299
- 7.1 Artwork in RioCentro reminding governments of their responsibilities, 331
- 7.2 Children's artwork was on display during Rio+20, 334

### *Boxes*

- 1.1 What Is a Carbon Footprint? 17
- 1.2 What Is the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment? 10
- 2.1 Prominent Intergovernmental Organizations in Global Environmental Politics, 59
- 2.2 What Is UNEP? 61
- 2.3 What Is the FAO? 67
- 2.4 What Is UNDP? 69
- 2.5 What Is the GEF? 71
- 2.6 What Is the World Bank? 77
- 2.7 What Is the IMF? 80
- 3.1 Chemicals Controlled by the Montreal Protocol, 112
- 3.2 POPs Controlled Under the Stockholm Convention, 145

- 3.3 Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's Fourth Assessment Report, 164
- 4.1 Invasive Alien Species, 182
- 4.2 Megadiverse Countries, 186
- 4.3 Guitars, CITES, and the Lacey Act, 199
- 4.4 Endangered Species Online, 202
- 4.5 Illegal, Unreported, and Unregulated Fishing, 214
- 4.6 Drylands Facts, 217
- 5.1 Prominent Obstacles to Creating Strong and Effective Environmental Regimes, 243
- 5.2 Obstacles to Effective National Implementation, 257
- 5.3 Opportunities to Improve Effective Implementation and Compliance, 266
- 5.4 Opportunities to Increase Financial Resources for Implementing Global Environmental Regimes, 275
- 6.1 The 0.7 Percent ODA Target, 289
- 6.2 Selected MEA Trade Measures, 307
- 7.1 Commodity Chains, 325

# *Acronyms*

<b>AOSIS</b>	Alliance of Small Island States
<b>APEC</b>	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
<b>CBD</b>	Convention on Biological Diversity
<b>CDM</b>	Clean Development Mechanism
<b>CFCs</b>	chlorofluorocarbons
<b>CITES</b>	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora
<b>CO<sub>2</sub></b>	carbon dioxide
<b>COFI</b>	Committee on Fisheries (FAO)
<b>COP</b>	Conference of the Parties
<b>CSD</b>	Commission on Sustainable Development
<b>CTE</b>	Committee on Trade and Environment (WTO)
<b>EC</b>	European Community
<b>EEZs</b>	exclusive economic zones
<b>ETMs</b>	environmental trade measures
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>FAO</b>	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
<b>FSC</b>	Forest Stewardship Council
<b>FTA</b>	financial and technical assistance
<b>G-77</b>	Group of 77
<b>GATT</b>	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
<b>GDP</b>	gross domestic product
<b>GEF</b>	Global Environment Facility

<b>GHGs</b>	greenhouse gases
<b>GM</b>	Global Mechanism
<b>GNI</b>	gross national income
<b>GNP</b>	gross national product
<b>HCFCs</b>	hydrochlorofluorocarbons
<b>HFCs</b>	hydrofluorocarbons
<b>HIPC</b>	heavily indebted poor countries
<b>IFCS</b>	Intergovernmental Forum on Chemical Safety
<b>IFF</b>	Intergovernmental Forum on Forests
<b>IGOs</b>	intergovernmental organizations
<b>IISD</b>	International Institute for Sustainable Development
<b>IMF</b>	International Monetary Fund
<b>INC</b>	Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee
<b>IOMC</b>	Inter-Organization Programme for the Sound Management of Chemicals
<b>IPCC</b>	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
<b>IPEN</b>	International POPs Elimination Network
<b>IPF</b>	Intergovernmental Panel on Forests
<b>IPR</b>	intellectual property rights
<b>IUCN</b>	International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources/World Conservation Union
<b>IUU</b>	illegal, unreported, and unregulated
<b>IWC</b>	International Whaling Commission
<b>LMOs</b>	living modified organisms
<b>MARPOL</b>	International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships
<b>MDGs</b>	Millennium Development Goals
<b>MEAs</b>	multilateral environmental agreements

<b>MMPA</b>	Marine Mammal Protection Act
<b>MOP</b>	Meeting of the Parties
<b>MSC</b>	Marine Stewardship Council
<b>NAFO</b>	Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization
<b>NEPAD</b>	New Partnership for Africa's Development
<b>NGOs</b>	nongovernmental organizations
<b>NIEO</b>	New International Economic Order
<b>OAS</b>	Organization of American States
<b>ODA</b>	official development assistance
<b>ODS</b>	ozone-depleting substance(s)
<b>OECD</b>	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
<b>PFOS</b>	perfluorooctane sulfonate
<b>PIC</b>	prior informed consent
<b>POPRC</b>	Persistent Organic Pollutants Review Committee
<b>POPs</b>	persistent organic pollutants
<b>SAICM</b>	Strategic Approach to International Chemicals Management
<b>TEDs</b>	turtle excluder devices
<b>TRAFFIC</b>	Trade Records Analysis of Flora and Fauna in Commerce
<b>UNCCD</b>	United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification
<b>UNCED</b>	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
<b>UNCSD</b>	United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development
<b>UNCTAD</b>	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Programme
<b>UNEP</b>	United Nations Environment Programme
<b>UNFCCC</b>	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
<b>UNFF</b>	United Nations Forum on Forests
<b>UNGA</b>	United Nations General Assembly

<b>WHO</b>	World Health Organization
<b>WMO</b>	World Meteorological Organization
<b>WSSD</b>	World Summit on Sustainable Development
<b>WTO</b>	World Trade Organization
<b>WWF</b>	World Wildlife Fund/Worldwide Fund for Nature

# Chronology

- 1800 Atmospheric carbon dioxide ( $\text{CO}_2$ ) and methane concentrations in the atmosphere hover around 270 to 290 parts per million (ppm) and 700 parts per billion (ppb), respectively. Most scientists today use these numbers as a pre-Industrial Revolution baseline for comparison.
- 1827 Jean-Baptiste Joseph Fourier, a French mathematician and physicist, publishes perhaps the first paper speculating on the existence of what we now call the *natural greenhouse effect*.
- 1859 John Tyndall, an Irish physicist, publishes results of laboratory experiments detailing the relative radiative forcing (greenhouse effect) of different gases in the atmosphere, including  $\text{CO}_2$ .
- 1872 Yellowstone National Park, the first national park in the United States, is created.
- 1896 Svante Arrhenius, a Swedish scientist, publishes an article that concludes that doubling the amount of  $\text{CO}_2$  in the atmosphere would raise temperatures by 5 to 6 degrees Celsius.
- 1900  $\text{CO}_2$  concentration in the atmosphere reaches 295 ppm.
- 1902 The Convention for the Protection of Birds Useful to Agriculture is signed.
- 1903 The first international conservation NGO is formed: the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire.
- 1909 US president Theodore Roosevelt convenes the North American Conservation Conference in Washington, DC.
- 1911 The Treaty for the Preservation and Protection of Fur Seals is signed.
- 1913 The Commission for the International Protection of Nature is founded.
- 1933 The London Convention on the Preservation of Fauna and Flora in Their Natural State is signed.
- 1938 G. S. Callendar revisits Arrhenius's 1896 publication and argues that increases in  $\text{CO}_2$  concentration could explain recent warming trends.



- 1940 The Convention on Nature Protection and Wildlife Preservation in the Western Hemisphere is signed.
- 1945 The United Nations is established.
- 1946 The International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling is signed; the International Whaling Commission (IWC) is created.
- 1947 The International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) is established, becoming the first international nongovernmental organization with a global outlook on environmental problems.
- 1949 The International Convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries is signed.
- 1950 The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) is created.
- The International Convention for the Protection of Birds is signed.
- 1952 A toxic mix of dense fog and sooty, black coal smoke kills at least four thousand people, and perhaps as many as twelve thousand, in the worst of London's "killer fogs."
- 1954 The International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the Sea by Oil is signed.
- 1956 The European Economic Community is established.
- Roger Revelle and Charles David Keeling publish a paper on CO<sub>2</sub>, showing the trend of increasing atmospheric concentrations over the past century.
- 1962 Rachel Carson publishes *Silent Spring*.
- 1963 The Agreement for the Protection of the Rhine Against Pollution is signed.
- 1967 The supertanker *Torrey Canyon* runs aground in the English Channel, causing a massive oil spill.
- 1969 The US Congress passes the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA).
- 1971 The Ramsar Convention on Wetlands of International Importance is signed.
- 1972 The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment is convened in Stockholm.
- The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) is created.
- *The Limits to Growth* report is published.