Contents

Abbreviations, xi

- 1. What Is This Book About? 3
- 2. The Weaknesses of the Existing Environmental Treaty-making System, 11

Knowing How to Measure Success, 13

Three Serious Obstacles to Global Cooperation, 18

An Inadequate Legal Structure, 24

Fundamental Flaws in the Convention-Protocol Approach, 30

The Earth Summit as an Illustration, 37

3. Representation and Voting, 43

Why Countries Participate, 44

Only Countries Vote, 46

The Majority Does Not Rule, 48

"Unofficials" Have Key Roles to Play, 49

Who Represents Future Generations? 53

The Power of the Secretariat, 58

There Is No Consensus-Building Process, 61

4. The Need for a Better Balance Between Science and Politics, 62

There Will Always Be Uncertainty, 66

Giving Science Its Due, 68

Adversary Science Undermines Trust, 71

Are There Really "Epistemic Communities" of Scientists? 73

Ongoing Roles For Scientific Advisers, 76

No Regrets and the Precautionary Principle, 78

Contingent Agreements Are the Answer, 80

x CONTENTS

5. The Advantages and Disadvantages of Issue Linkage, 82

A Lesson in Negotiation Arithmetic, 87

The Theory of Linkage, 91

Dealing with the Threat of Blackmail, 92

Managing the Complexity, 94

Linkage Guidelines, 97

6. Monitoring and Enforcement in the Face of Sovereignty, 99

Technical and Legal Difficulties, 99

A Theory of Compliance, 107

Getting Around the Sovereignty Problem, 113

Nearly Self-Enforcing Agreements, 117

Do We Need the Green Police?, 120

7. Reforming the System: The Salzburg Initiative and Other

Proposals for Change, 122

The Salzburg Initiative, 123

Synchronizing Worldwide Expectations, 139

A New Three-Stage Process, 141

What We Need from the United Nations, 147

Appendix A: Selected Global Environmental Treaties, 151

Appendix B: Declaration of the Right to Nature Conservation, Environmental Protection, and Sustainable Development, 176

Notes, 181

Selected Readings, 189

Index, 195