

INTRODUCTION

Emerging Forces in Global Environmental Politics

This book is based on the premise that global environmental issues can be best understood by studying environmental movements, ecological parties, international organizations and regimes, international law, and the problems and policies of specific nations in different regions of the world. The logic underlying this premise is that the activities of citizens, environmental pressure groups, ecological parties, and international organizations, alone and sometimes in concert with one another, help shape politics and policy at the local, national, and international levels. Unfortunately, most researchers tend to study these aspects of global environmental politics in isolation from one another. Those who conduct research on environmental movements, for example, may occasionally analyze ecological parties but will almost never pay attention to international organizations and regimes. Moreover, those who investigate movements and parties primarily incorporate theories from the comparative politics literature, while those who explore international organizations and regimes draw almost entirely on international relations theory (Rosenau 1980). Rarely does a single study include perspectives found in both the comparative politics and international relations literature.

The trend towards increased specialization in the major subfields of political science is largely responsible for this practice. Books, journals, conferences, and political science curricula are rigidly categorized according to subfield, and little encouragement is offered for researchers to venture into another area of study. The complex and interrelated nature of today's environmental issues, however, requires knowledge of a variety of theoretical and empirical approaches if they are to be properly understood (Kamieniecki and Sanasarian 1990). Clearly, important relationships exist between movements, parties, national governments, international organizations, and policy, and only by reading works in both comparative politics and international relations can they be fully known (Rosenau 1980).

A recent and growing body of literature in international relations actually seeks to sort out the linkages between domestic and international politics. While Peter Katzenstein (1978) and Stephen Krasner (1978) analyze the important influence of domestic factors on foreign economic policy, for instance, Peter Evans (1979), Peter Gourevitch (1986), and James Alt (1987) examine the impact of the international economy on domestic politics and domestic economic policy.¹ Robert Putnam's (1988) study, which attempts to account for reciprocal causation between domestic and international politics, employs a theory of "two-level games" to explain the ratification of various international agreements. In so doing, considerable emphasis is placed on "parties, social classes, interest groups (both economic and noneconomic), legislators, and even public opinion and elections, not simply executive officials and institutional arrangements" (1988, 432). The approach taken by Putnam and others has forced them to draw upon important concepts in comparative politics and international relations. In noting this, Putnam says that "the most portentous development in the fields of comparative politics and international relations in recent years is the dawning recognition among practitioners in each field of the need to take into account entanglements between the two" (1988, 459).

The primary objective of this book is not to advance a new theory of domestic-international interactions nor to test directly existing linkage theory. Rather, the book has a more modest goal: to bring together works written by prominent researchers in comparative politics and international relations that address important aspects of global environmental politics. Central principles of linkage theory were used as a guide in organizing the book and selecting the topics on which contributors were asked to write. The intention is to provide readers with a broader and richer understanding of the dynamics underlying global environmental issues than they would normally receive by reading essays written solely from a comparative politics or international relations perspective.

The present chapter provides background information and raises critical issues that are addressed later in the book. The chapter begins with a discussion of the reasons for the growth of the environmental movement and how changes in value orientations over time may account for the expansion of the movement. This section is followed by an examination of the role ecological parties play in Western democracies. Next, the chapter addresses international organizations and environmental regimes. Various issues concerning international law and policy are analyzed at the end of the discussion.

REASONS FOR INCREASED APPREHENSION

The environmental movement is having a growing impact on national and international politics, and there is little evidence to suggest that the move-

ment's momentum will slow in the near future. Nationally, surveys indicate a sharp rise in public concern over environmental problems in Western countries, which has contributed to the emergence of citizens' groups and ecological parties in those countries (Milbrath 1984; also see Rosenau's chapter in this book). Feeling intense pressure from various quarters, policymakers are enacting stringent regulations designed to abate pollution. Internationally, a sense of urgency about the deteriorating condition of the earth's ecological system is sweeping the capitals of foreign governments, and nations are now working together that have never worked together before. While most countries initially confined their attention to specific environmental problems inside their borders, they are now focusing on transnational issues such as biodiversity, the depletion of the ozone layer, and global warming. Given the traditional political and economic barriers inherent in international relations, a remarkable number of environmental agreements have been implemented (Young 1989). As Caldwell observes, "The growth of the environmental movement to international and global proportions has been a historical development. . . . Understood in its full context, it may be seen by subsequent generations as a major change-of-state in human affairs—an awakening of modern man to a new awareness of the human predicament on earth" (1990, 9).

Several factors account for these trends in international environmental politics and policy. Rapid industrialization and economic growth have increased the number and seriousness of pollution problems. Regardless of where people reside, nearly everyone has experienced threats to the environment and his or her health. Often, these problems are transnational and require binational or even multinational cooperation to solve them. As a result, policymakers have become increasingly aware of the vulnerability of the ecosystem and of the need to take immediate bilateral and multilateral action.

Apprehension about pollution can also be traced to the cumulative impact of major news stories and events in recent years. The chemical accident at Bhopal, India, the release of radiation resulting from the fire at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, the huge oil spill by the *Exxon Valdez* tanker in Prince William Sound in Alaska, the toxic chemical spills at Seveso, Italy, and Basel, Switzerland, and the release of oil into the Persian Gulf and the burning of Kuwait's oil wells during the war with Iraq were widely covered by the media. With the aid of advanced communications technology, millions of people quickly became aware of the magnitude of these catastrophes. Coming one after another, these and other news stories, drawing heavily upon scientific facts, pointed to the fragility of the natural environment and forced the international community to take note of the vital interrelationships which exist between humans and other life forms.

Porter and Brown (1991) further point out that additional scientific data on environmental problems have led to increased awareness and concern about the present condition of the earth's ecosystem. Compared to ten years ago, for example, scientists have a much better understanding of the causes and effects of acid precipitation, the depletion of the ozone layer, and global warming. While more research must be done before effective long-term policies can be enacted, the findings of preliminary studies suggest serious cause for alarm and, in some cases (e.g., the case of wildlife extinction), the need for immediate action.

New scientific information and increased pressure for action at the international level undoubtedly explains why the Group of Seven (G7) placed considerable emphasis on global environmental issues at their annual summit meeting in Paris in 1989. The heads of state of the G7, which includes the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Japan, Germany, France, and Italy, reached agreement on a number of general principles and possible policy strategies concerning the release of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) into the atmosphere, the burning of fossil fuels, and other matters. The fact that environmental issues received a great deal of attention in the final communiqué of this powerful economic organization made a strong impression on the rest of the world. For this and other reasons Porter and Brown conclude that "the global environment has emerged as a third major issue area in world politics, along with international security and the global economy" (1991, 2).

To a large extent, the withering away of superpower competition in the early 1990s has redirected attention away from strictly military issues and towards global environmental problems. It is quite possible that by the year 2000 most nations, affluent or less affluent, will have redefined or expanded their definition of national security to include natural resource issues. Whether nations will actually begin to form security pacts to the extent they did during the cold war, however, remains to be seen. While such pacts can help conserve the earth's natural resources, they also may lead to large-scale conflict over natural resources, similar to the way in which military agreements contributed to world wars in the past. Just as it is for peace and arms control, truly international cooperation is required to protect the global environment. Additional social learning and value transformation must first take place before effective cooperation at the international level is possible.

VALUE ORIENTATIONS AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Inglehart's (1981) work provides theoretical insights into why industrialized nations—or at least the advanced ones—are now closely attuned to "new

politics" issues, including those related to the conservation of natural resources. According to him, postindustrial societies are undergoing a slow, fundamental shift in their value orientations. The major features of postindustrial societies include a large percentage of people working in the service sector, the service sector contributing a greater portion of the gross national product (GNP) than the agricultural and manufacturing sectors combined, a high level of affluence and mass material well-being, and the national economy becoming more driven by knowledge, information, and technology. Extending Maslow's "hierarchy of human needs," Inglehart distinguishes between "materialist" and "postmaterialist" values. The former set of values is predicated on basic needs and desires, and priorities reflect scarcity in the socioeconomic environment. The latter set of values is present in societies that have already achieved a long period of peace and prosperity. Postmaterialist orientations tend to reflect satisfaction with higher-order needs.

Inglehart believes that postmaterialist value orientations are most common among postindustrial generations. In theory, the younger generational cohorts raised during the period of affluence are more likely than older cohorts to exhibit value orientations reflecting higher-order needs. Thus, individuals raised during the Great Depression and World War Two who hold political values that reflect the basic needs of security, safety, and sustenance are slowly being replaced in the population by people who have experienced widespread affluence and a relative absence of large-scale military conflict. As far as the environment and quality of life are concerned, the young are rejecting the central elements of the Dominant Social Paradigm, which emphasizes economic growth, and are adopting a New Environmental Paradigm to replace it. As Lester Milbrath explains in chapter 1, this is primarily occurring through socialization and learning.

THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

As one might expect, the recent transformation in values among citizens in advanced industrialized societies has led to increased public involvement which, in turn, has significantly colored environmental politics and policy at all levels of government. To a large extent, the increasing number of citizens who are deeply troubled about declining levels of environmental quality helps explain the rapid growth of environmental groups and the successful election of Green party candidates to legislative bodies in Western Europe. The demands of citizens, often channeled through local environmental groups and political parties, have resulted in the enactment of strict pollution control regulations over the strong objections of labor and industry.

In an early study, Milbrath (1984) argued that environmentalists represent a vanguard, using education, persuasion, and politics to try to lead people to their vision of a new, sustainable society.² In this they are opposed by a rearguard, best represented by Julian Simon and Herman Kahn, which contends that modern industrial societies are working quite well, that there is no limit to human ingenuity, and that industrial societies produce the greatest wealth and the most equitable social, economic, and political conditions. While the rearguard prefers that society continue to follow the Dominant Social Paradigm, the vanguard favors the adoption of the New Environmental Paradigm reflecting carefully considered production and consumption, resource conservation, environmental protection, and the basic values of compassion, justice, and democracy. Citizen activists and grass roots groups, as the frontline soldiers of the vanguard, initiate political battles to promote the ideals of the New Environmental Paradigm within the domestic and international arenas.

With this in mind, this book analyzes various aspects of the environmental movement. Russell Dalton's chapter provides a comprehensive examination of the early roots and historical development of the environmental movement in Western Europe. His study draws a distinction between two waves of environmental mobilization. The first wave at the turn of the century focused on issues of wildlife protection and the preservation of a nation's natural resources, whereas the second wave of the 1960s and 1970s centered on the new environmental problems and quality-of-life concerns of advanced industrial societies. Bron Taylor and his colleagues then follow with a careful investigation of the divergent and sometimes radical elements of the movement as well as the ethical and moral dilemmas faced by environmental activists in non-Western countries.

THE EMERGENCE OF ECOLOGICAL PARTIES

In the early 1980s most citizens' organizations and new political movements attempted to develop a closer relationship with the Social Democrats and other established left-wing parties in Western Europe. They hoped these parties would act as an effective force against unlimited economic growth, nuclear power, the deterioration of the environment, and the deployment of nuclear weapons. For various reasons, they were not able to influence significantly the policy stands of the Social Democrats and other labor and socialist parties in Western Europe on these issues.³ The lack of action on the part of the established parties, along with the perceived inability of political parties and other political institutions to develop an alternative policy approach, is a major reason for both the growth and electoral success of ecological parties in

Europe. Despite the fact that ecological parties have attracted only a small percentage of voters in most elections, established parties now feel they must take positions on major environmental questions or risk losing voter support to the Greens.

A Profile of Ecological Parties

Ecological parties tend to have similar types of programs and operate in different political systems and cultures. Today they are active, at least at the local level, in Canada, the United States, Japan, and Western Europe. Ecological parties are currently represented in several national parliaments in Europe as well as in the European Parliament.⁴ In a few countries the Green parties already have a significant effect on the process of coalition building, while in other countries they challenge traditional institutions and attempt to persuade conventional parties to change their policy. In some cases, small liberal parties view the Greens as a serious challenge to their continued electoral survival.

While the precise issues of interest and policy positions differ from country to country, common elements are present in their party platforms. First and foremost, Green parties believe that their nations are in the midst of an ecological and economic crisis which threatens the future of the world. The symptoms of this crisis are human exploitation and environmental degradation, which are manifested in capitalism and uncontrolled economic growth. In addition to demanding strict environmental regulations, they favor just distribution of goods and services to those socially disadvantaged. The ecological parties often take strong stands on sexual discrimination, nuclear energy, and disarmament. Some promote the rights of foreign workers, gypsies, homosexuals, disabled people, prisoners, the elderly, and animals. Greens generally voice concern about problems in poverty-stricken countries, and they support a more equitable distribution of wealth between affluent and less affluent nations. Moreover, they favor decentralization and individualistic, self-determined participation. They have a grass roots orientation and closely adhere to egalitarian and democratic principles and practices. Overall, the issues that comprise ecological party platforms in Europe reflect the "new politics" of the postmaterialist era and are broader in scope than those addressed by environmental groups in the United States.

Although ecological parties share a wide range of characteristics and positions on important "new politics" issues, there are also substantial differences between them that have led to fierce conflicts in the European Parliament and have seriously blocked efforts to promote international Green cooperation. In Poguntke's (1989) view, these divisions have less to

do with the traditional left-right dimension and more to do with disagreements over strategies for accomplishing common goals.

Major internal conflicts have also characterized the development of ecological parties and still prevent them from achieving increased electoral success. The most intense debates have occurred over participation in coalitions, expansion from local and state to national party competition, adoption of positions on issues outside the environmental policy sphere, and party governance. Conflicting personalities, a lack of leadership, and country-specific legal and political barriers have hindered the growth of Green parties as well.⁵ In this book Herbert Kitschelt presents a realistic assessment of the Green party phenomenon in Western Europe in general, while James Lester and Elfar Loftsson analyze the activities of the Scandinavian ecological parties in particular.

INTERNATIONAL REGIMES AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

As argued at the outset, movements and parties frequently play an important role in influencing international politics, including international regimes and policy. Movements and parties, ecological or otherwise, often dictate election issues, who runs for public office, and who wins elections. As James Rosenau (1980) explains, which party controls the national legislature and who is elected or appointed to the highest political offices will largely determine the nature of both domestic and foreign policy. Whether certain international agreements are pursued and consummated will undoubtedly depend upon who controls government and to what degree. According to Rosenau (1980), the Vietnam War closely linked national and international politics and policy.

In between elections, movements and parties also help shape national and international issue agendas. Using the media and other means, movements and parties can bring vital issues to the attention of the masses. Sometimes they can be instrumental in promoting a particular position or blocking a certain proposal. Whether a country participates in or abstains from an international regime often depends upon these kinds of internal pressures (see Putnam 1988).

An international regime is generally defined as "a set of norms, rules, or decision-making procedures, whether implicit or explicit, that produces some convergence in the actors' expectations in a particular issue area" (Porter and Brown 1991, 20). (In contrast, those in comparative politics and other areas normally define regime as the government in power.) The concept may be applied to a broad range of international arrangements, from coordination of trade relations to superpower security relations. This way of

conceiving regimes has been criticized by Strange (1982) for including arrangements that are only agreements to disagree and have no predictability or stability. In the international environmental arena, nearly all norms or rules are defined by an explicit agreement.

With this in mind, Porter and Brown alternatively define an international regime as "a system of norms and rules that are specified by a multilateral legal instrument among states to regulate national actions on a given issue" (1991, 20). The convention is the main form of multilateral legal instrument used to address global environmental problems. A given convention may contain all the binding obligations expected to be negotiated, or it may be accompanied by a more detailed instrument elaborating on its rules and guidelines. A framework convention is negotiated in anticipation of later elaborating texts, and it is intended solely to provide a set of principles, norms, and objectives relating to the issue. It usually imposes few, if any, specific and binding obligations on the nations involved. Protocols are negotiated within the context of a framework convention, and they detail the particular, binding obligations of the parties to the framework convention.

Haggard and Simmons (1987) have analyzed a number of theoretical approaches that have been used to explain why international regimes in a given issue area come into existence and why they change. Their analysis includes the structural, game theoretic, institutional bargaining, and epistemic communities approaches. Of course, no one theoretical approach explains the development and transformation of all international regimes. It is clear from the literature, however, that international organizations often play a central role in institutional bargaining regarding environmental affairs. Oran Young's chapter examines how international organizations figure prominently in international environmental negotiations and the formation of international environmental regimes.

While it is clear to most that transboundary environmental problems require international solutions, such agreements are often difficult to reach. Regardless of the issue area, the sovereignty of nation states has proved to be a major obstacle to arriving at international agreements. No country is willing to relinquish completely its freedom of decision making to obtain security from common threats. Bargaining and compromise are therefore necessary in order to reach meaningful arrangements. Even then, the question of effective enforcement still looms. In this volume, Lettie Wenner's discussion of the important role the principle of national sovereignty plays in international law in general, and in air and water pollution control in particular, is enlightening in this respect. In concluding, she reviews possible techniques for dealing with transboundary environmental problems.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

International governmental organizations (IGOs) have worked hard to conserve the earth's natural resources, including those found in less affluent countries.⁶ Beginning with the Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1972 and the creation of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the United Nations has been fairly successful in raising vital environmental concerns and bringing together diverse nations with competing interests. Global warming, the pollution of the oceans and protection of marine life, and the transportation and disposal of toxic substances and radioactive materials are among the major issues on which the UN and its specialized agencies have forged agreements.

As a result of a resolution passed in 1989 by the United Nations General Assembly, the twentieth anniversary of the Stockholm conference was marked by the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The "Earth Summit," as it was called, brought together 178 nations and more than 115 heads of state. In the absence of leadership from the United States, the European nations, especially The Netherlands, pushed for strong initiatives to protect the environment, Japan offered financial and technological assistance, and India became the most effective negotiator for the less affluent nations (Dolan and Abramson 1992). More than one hundred countries signed both a treaty to curb future global warming and a biological diversity pact to conserve plants, animals, and their habitat. The People's Republic of China, which signed both measures, agreed to compromises it had opposed only a few years previously for fear that such actions would hinder its future development. In contrast, the United States succeeded in diluting the conference's global warming convention by insisting upon the elimination of specific targets for the reduction of carbon dioxide from the final draft. Moreover, it refused to sign the biological diversity agreement. As a result, President Bush's last minute proposal to increase funding for forest preservation in less affluent nations was greeted with considerable cynicism by most of the participants at the meeting.⁷ Despite America's recalcitrance, the "Earth Summit" adopted a nonbinding agreement (Agenda 21) that outlines environmental action plans for the next century. Perhaps most importantly, the United Nations-sponsored conference brought critical natural resource issues before the entire world for consideration.

At the regional, governmental level, the European Community, whose membership had grown to twelve nations by the 1980s, has become deeply involved in harmonizing environmental regulations among its member

states. The governing bodies established by the EC, namely the European Parliament and the EC headquarters, have been relatively responsive to pressures from interest groups. In fact, David Vogel states that "in a number of cases, environmental organizations and national regulatory officials enjoy more influence over [EC] policy makers . . . than they do with their own national governments" (1990, 271). Pressure by environmental groups has resulted in the adoption of stricter regulations than those enacted at the national level in such areas as air and water pollution; the marketing, use, and labeling of pesticides; and the disposal of toxic wastes. How effectively the EC will be able to enforce these tough standards, however, is uncertain. Specific questions concerning the formulation and implementation of environmental policy in Western Europe are discussed in Vogel's chapter in this book.

The Green wave has added members, money, and clout to numerous environmental INGOs. The International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) and the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU) have worked endlessly on various kinds of environmental programs and projects. While national governments remain the ultimate engine of international action, the IUCN, ICSU, and other nongovernmental transnational organizations are frequently able to influence governments through their members and sympathizers within individual nations. As Caldwell correctly observes, "Concerted pressure by national members of these organizations upon their respective governments may induce a readiness of those governments to cooperate toward implementing a common environmental policy" (1990, 13). INGOs also regularly participate at major international conferences and lobby international funding agencies, such as the World Bank, to help reduce the impact of economic development on the environment. The role and influence of INGOs is examined by John McCormick in this volume.

ISSUES CONCERNING LESS AFFLUENT NATIONS

Perhaps the major obstacle to achieving international agreements on global environmental issues is the growing gap between less affluent and wealthy nations, and the strong conviction on the part of many leaders that economic growth will improve the standard of living and quality of life of their nations. The advanced industrialized nations, too, are deeply concerned about maintaining their economic well-being and have demonstrated resistance, on occasion, to conserving natural resources. Politics aside, the finite nature of natural resources and the vulnerability of the earth's ecosystem make it virtually impossible for every nation to achieve the kind of economic

growth the West has experienced since World War II. Those who recognize this have therefore begun to call for the adoption of sustainable development as an alternative to unmanaged and uncontrolled economic growth and population growth.

The concept of sustainable development was discussed in *Our Common Future*, the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987). In what is more commonly known as the Brundtland Report (named after the commission's chair, Norwegian prime minister Gro Harlem Brundtland), sustainable development is defined as "development that is consistent with future as well as present needs." In redefining the concept of "development," the report stated that the continuation of present economic policies, which tend to place heavy emphasis on economic growth, risks irreversible damage to and depletion of the earth's natural resources. According to Porter and Brown (1991), this suggests the need to limit global economic activities and the need for greater equity not only between affluent and less affluent nations but also within societies and between generations. Affluent countries that now use a disproportionate share of the earth's natural resources are inherently unsustainable, as are nations in which the distribution of land and other resources is seriously unequal. No doubt, the policies of development assistance agencies of affluent nations, multilateral financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), as well as the central characteristics of the international market system, will have to be significantly altered to achieve sustainable development—not an easy task in an increasingly chaotic and turbulent world (Rosenau 1990).

Any international effort to approach sustainable development must seriously address the economic, political, and environmental problems of the majority of the world's nations.⁸ Air and water pollution, toxic waste disposal, the rapid depletion of rain forests, and the extinction of certain species of wildlife are among the major environmental problems that are not being effectively addressed. Clearly, the economic and political conditions commonly present in most less affluent nations severely hinder efforts to conserve natural resources and abate pollution. Dictators and authoritarian governments do not tolerate public protests against their policies, and they often resort to force to prevent them from occurring. The poor economic conditions and heavy debt load in many less affluent countries place a great deal of pressure on leaders to sell off their nation's natural resources quickly in return for hard currency. While some leaders recognize the vulnerability of the global ecosystem, most reject calls by Westerners to limit their economic growth. In many cases less affluent nations are controlled by a single family or a small group of wealthy landowners who see little benefit in conserving their country's natural resources for possible future use.

It is unrealistic to expect less affluent countries to adopt the radical political and economic reforms being called for by the West. The most effective strategy, at least in the short run, is for Western nations and international organizations to provide the necessary (and less controversial) scientific and technical expertise needed to encourage both economic growth and environmental protection. Future economic assistance, regardless of the source, must also contain stipulations for the conservation of natural resources. No doubt, the pressure for economic development in less affluent nations poses the toughest challenge for the environmental movement in the 1990s and beyond. This and other issues are explored in depth in Steven Sanderson's chapter on Latin America and in Louis Schubert's chapter on Asia. While environmentalists have been rather successful in influencing the agendas and policies of Western nations, they are likely to achieve fewer victories in other countries.

THE SOVIET REPUBLICS AND EASTERN EUROPE

The sweeping political changes that have taken place in the Soviet republics and Eastern Europe have resulted in the discovery of numerous severe pollution problems in those countries.⁹ Pollution problems are particularly acute in Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and parts of former East Germany. Obviously, previous Communist leaders sacrificed air and water quality and public health in favor of industrial production. Perhaps the movement by parts of Eastern Europe and by the newly independent republics in what was once the Soviet Union (and what is now referred to as the Commonwealth of Independent States) toward capitalist-style economies will also hasten an imitation of Western-style environmental politics and policies.¹⁰ Environmental organizations have already begun forming in the individual republics of the C.I.S. and in other nations, and the newly elected political leaders have made natural resource conservation a high priority. The cleanup will be very expensive and, no doubt, take years to complete. The newly formed political units of the C.I.S. and Eastern Europe will have to receive financial assistance and advanced pollution control technology from the West if they are to improve their environmental quality. These and other issues are addressed in this volume by Barbara Jancar-Webster.

Support for granting such aid is likely to come from environmental groups and ecological parties in the West. Unless the political landscape radically changes, however, various barriers will prevent ecological parties from acquiring true positions of power in advanced industrialized societies in the 1990s (Kitschelt 1988). In former West Germany, where the Greens had been most successful, internal bickering, the continued dominance of the

Christian Democrats and Social Democrats, and reunification with East Germany present them with an uncertain future (Webb 1990).¹¹ Although the reunification of Germany has brought the environmental problems of former East Germany to the forefront, high unemployment and the high cost of modernizing old industries will place serious economic pressures on Germans, possibly undercutting environmental appeals. The end of the cold war, the declining importance of the peace issue, and the addition of millions of new voters will require unprecedented cohesiveness and the adoption of clever strategies for maintaining and enlarging the base of support for environmental groups and ecological parties. Of course, as Kitschelt observes in his chapter, how well the Greens do will also depend a great deal on the tactics employed by the other parties.

CONCLUSION

It is somewhat ironic that the bourgeoisie of the postwar era created the affluence and political conditions conducive to nurturing an environmental movement in the advanced industrialized societies. As a consequence, a significant portion of the masses now question the pretexts on which unlimited economic growth was originally based. If Inglehart (1981) is correct, the transformation from materialist values to postmaterialist values in Western society is likely to continue and support for "new politics" issues is likely to grow. As the New Environmental Paradigm finds wider acceptance and greater numbers of disciples infiltrate the halls of government, tough national and international environmental policies will perhaps follow.

Movement towards more democratic forms of government in Asia, Latin America, Eastern Europe, the republics of the former Soviet Union, and other nations of the world may lead to increased environmental protection nationally and internationally as well. Free and open debate should help educate the masses and result in a new awareness of the need to conserve natural resources as nations attempt to increase their standard of living. Newly formed environmental groups, both radical and nonradical, are likely to be the vanguard in this debate. Severe economic crisis, ethnic turmoil, and regional conflict, however, may seriously restrict what most nations can and cannot do, at least in the short term.¹² A growing acceptance of capitalism and an increased desire for economic growth around the world pose new and even more difficult challenges for those who wish to establish international environmental regimes. At some point leaders and citizens will have to weigh priorities and decide on what courses of action should be taken to protect the natural environment.

The chapters in this volume provide a starting point for future leaders

and citizens in this regard by addressing central questions that are relevant to conflicts between capitalism, economic growth, democracy, and environmental protection. It is impossible to cover completely every issue dealing with natural resource conservation in a single book, and an effort has been made instead to touch upon the major topics and issues in the most important controversies by drawing upon the thoughts and ideas of distinguished researchers in comparative politics and international relations. If this ambitious effort succeeds, readers will come away with a broad and deep understanding of the complex dynamics underlying global environmental issues and problems.

NOTES

1. In addition, see Katzenstein's (1985) study.
2. This point is addressed in great depth in Milbrath (1989).
3. The specific reasons why they were not successful are discussed in Müller-Rommel (1989).
4. For a comprehensive examination of ecological parties in individual European nations, see Müller-Rommel (1989).
5. The obstacles ecological parties face are discussed in Milbrath (1989). Also see Vedung (1988).
6. For an extensive account of the role of international organizations in environmental policy-making, consult McCormick (1989) and Caldwell (1990).
7. In fact, William Reilly, the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the head of the United States delegation at the conference, later stated in a memorandum to EPA employees that the Bush White House had actively undermined his efforts in Rio de Janeiro. He wrote, "For me personally, it was like a bungee jump. You dive into space secured by a line on your leg. . . . It doesn't typically occur to you that someone might cut your line!" (*Los Angeles Times*, 2 August 1992).
8. This point is made in Goodman and Redclift's (1991) volume on Latin America.
9. Rosenau (1990) offers an in-depth and insightful analysis of the upheaval taking place in world politics today.
10. Since the Havel government took power, however, there has been a sharp increase in air pollution in the industrial heartland of Czechoslovakia. Strong economic pressures have forced the government to increase the mining and burning of brown coal, which results in the emission of extremely high concentrations of sulfur dioxide and other pollutants. Officials are now seriously considering introducing nuclear power on a broad scale in order to

improve air quality in the country. It could very well be that environmental conditions will first become worse before they become better in this and other Eastern European nations.

11. United in their doubts about German reunification, West Germany's Green party and East Germany's Alliance 90, a far-left party, ruled out cooperation with the Social Democrats and joined forces for the all-German elections in December 1990. While both parties contain environmentalists, pacifists, and feminists, members of Alliance 90 were most concerned about the threat of mass unemployment following reunification.

12. For instance, see O'Brien's (1991) analysis of the impact of the debt crisis on environmental policy in Latin America.

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SECTION ONE

Environmental Movements