Index

Aarhus Convention, 193–94, 251, 263n.76
Abbot, Jason, 69
Accountability
democratic, 92
in treaty negotiations, 216
Administrative state, 241
democratic discursive designs in, 15
Dryzek on, 163
ecological critique of, 88–93
and Habermas on citizenship, 177
and liberal state, 14
and transnational bonds, 185
Adorno, Theodor, 107
“Affectedness,” principle, 16–17,
173–74, 181, 186–87, 188, 190
and membership principle, 175
as restrictive, 187, 191
and transnationalizing of democracy, 193
Agenda 21, 212, 229
Agents, and social structures, 24
Ambit claim for ecological
democracy, 15–16, 111–15,
128–29, 135, 137, 164–65, 171, 174
Anarchy, international, 14, 241
cultures of, 43–48, 250–51
eco-anarchists, 86, 89
and “rationality” of states, 23
and state preoccupation with
security, 21
in Westphalian system, 204
Annan, Kofi, 193
Arato, Andrew, 147
Archibugi, Daniel, 180
Arendt, Hannah, 116, 157
Ashley, Richard, 24
Associative democracy, 283n.61
Australia
environmental cooperation resisted by, 231
and French nuclear tests, 219, 234, 237
Authoritarian state, and green state,
116, 157
Autonomy
and affectedness principle, 173
and ambit claim, 114
and cosmopolitanism of Held, 188
and critique of liberal democracy, 104
and liberalism, 107–108, 166, 242
Barkun, J. Samuel, 204
Barnett, Jon, 227
Barrow, Clyde, 61
Barry, John, 119
Basel Convention on the
Transboundary Movement of
Hazardous Waste, 233
Beck, Ulrich, 15, 60, 79, 88, 90, 97,
197
Beetham, David, 40, 42
Beitz, Charles, 184
Bellamy, Richard, 200
Belongingness principle, 173–74, 186, 190, 193
Bernstein, Steven, 229, 230
Between Facts and Norms (Habermas), 144
Biosphere, and international state system, 20
Bluhdorn, Ingolfur, 73
Bohman, James, 128, 130
Brundtland Report (Our Common Future), 72, 74, 101, 214, 291n.39
Bull, Hedley, 5, 91, 239, 245
Bureaucratic rationality, 90
Bush administration, second, 33, 39, 43
Buttel, Frederick, 61

Capitalism
contradictions of, 57–58
and democracy, 106
ecological sustainability impossible for, 59
and state, 54–60, 64
as “treadmill of production,” 63
Capitalistic welfare state. See Welfare state
Carr, E. H., 45
Cartagena Biosafety protocol, 233
Carter, Alan, 89
Cerny, Philip, 65, 68
Christoff, Peter, 70, 74, 75, 76
Citizenship, ecological, 184, 245
Civic nationalism, 204
Civic republicanism, 12–13, 16, 50, 179, 186
and affectedness, 187
and general will problem, 141
and Habermas, 156, 182
Civil society, 254
and associative democracy, 283n.61
and democratization of state, 60
vs. downward pressures on environmental standards, 69
and Habermas, 144, 147, 149, 153–54, 169
and liberalism, 106
limitation of (Young), 160
and state, 154, 161, 162–64
Climate change negotiations, 32
Club of Rome, 73
Coercion, as explanation for action, 37–38
Cohen, Jean, 147, 157
Collective security communities, 45
Commission for Sustainable Development, 212
Common but differentiated responsibilities, principle of, 214, 229
Common good, republican understanding of, 50
Communicative action, 35, 46
Communicative communitarianism, 174
Communicative context, 40–43
Communicative ethics, 41
Communicative ideal, 119, 154–55, 171, 173, 282n.42
Communicative justice, 10
Communicative reason or rationality, 116, 160
Communicative republicanism, 186
Communitarianism (communitarian democracy), 179–86, 248
on autonomous self, 104
and belongingness, 173, 174
and citizenship, 177
and discourse ethic, 192
and Habermas, 172
objection to, 190
Community, Taylor on, 105
Competition state, 65–69
Competitive strategy(ies), 69
ecological modernization as, 70
Compromises, Habermas on, 149, 281n.33
Conca, Ken, 29, 238–39
Constitutional design, 155, 245
green examples of, 243–44
Constitutional patriotism (Habermas), 147, 168, 172, 175, 177, 182, 189
Constitutional structure of international society, 203

Constructivism, 9, 36, 43–48, 124–25. See also Critical constructivism


Convention on Biological Diversity, 233

Convention on Environmental Impact Assessment in a Transboundary Context, 194, 263n.76

Convention against Landmines, 43

Cosmopolitan democracy (cosmopolitanism), 16–17, 180–89, 191, 199, 248, 275n.4

and affectedness, 174

and discourse ethic, 192

and Habermas, 172

institutionalizing of, 174

objection to, 190

opposition to, 191–92, 200

Cost–benefit analysis, 100

Counterfactual ideal, 41

Counterhegemonic tendencies, 24

Cox, Robert, 30, 34, 65

Critical constructivism, 9, 20, 33–40, 51, 64

and political logic of social orders, 61–62

and state sovereignty, 203

and structure-agent relationship, 24

Critical ecological conception of freedom, 141

Critical political ecology, 9–10, 48, 141, 156, 171, 186, 250

and critical theory, 8–9

and emancipatory openings, 50

and exclusive territorial rule, 234

and Habermas, 150

and inside-out-inside approach, 190–91

and liberal democracies, 96, 107

on liberalism, 104

and norms of ecologically responsible statehood, 227

and self, 97

and shared understandings, 27

and social construction of nature, 123

and territorial rule, 49

and transnational state, 192

Critical theory, xi, 4, 8–9, 257n.18

and capitalism, 71

and current historical practices, 91

Linklater on, 24

and possibility of green state, 20

vs. problem-solving (Cox), 30

“Critical vantage point” argument, 127–28

Cronin, Bruce, 38, 204

Cultures of anarchy, 43–48, 250–51

Dalby, Simon, 225

Deliberative democracy

criticisms and problems of, 127, 131, 278n.35

intuitive green appeal of, 115–19

and moral or epistemological challenges in representing excluded others, 119–27

and political or institutional challenges in representing excluded others, 127–37

Democracy. See also Ecological democracy; Liberal democracy

and affectedness, 173–74

associative, 283n.61

and basic rights (Habermas), 144

and belongingness/membership, 173–74

discursive, 146, 152, 172–73, 174–75

and green movement, 109–10

in green state, 2

and liberalism, 106

need for deepening of, 253

and norms, 138
Democracy (cont.)
state limits to, 88
transnationalizing of, 192–93
Democratic accountability, 14–15
Democratic state, green. See Green democratic state
Democratic state, Habermasian, 150–52, 156
Demonstration effect, 201
Deudney, Daniel, 196, 225, 226, 227
Developing countries
and environmental protection norms, 233
as globalization victims, 252
and right to development, 221–24, 230
and sovereignty vs. environmental encroachment, 230–31
and sustainable development, 206
Devetak, Richard, 8
Dialogue, 40
in deliberative democracy, 116
Dialogue of enlightenment, 78
Disciplinary neoliberalism, 53, 65–66
Disciplined imagination, 4
Discourse ethic, 115, 172, 192
institutionalizing of, 172
Discourse principle or theory, 16, 42–43, 62, 112, 144, 146, 148, 149, 150
Discursive democracy, 146, 172–73, 174–75
and ecological democracy, 152
Displacement of ecological costs, 105, 120, 126, 133, 242, 249
Dobson, Andrew, 75, 134
Dogmas of liberalism. See Liberal dogmas
Dryzek, John, 59–60, 62, 64, 128, 130, 153, 159, 160, 161–64, 169
Dual politics, of Habermas, 147
Due diligence test, 218
Dworkin, Ronald, 145
Earth Summit, 228
Eco-anarchists, 86, 89
Eco-authoritarian state, xii
Eco-efficiency, 73, 74–76
Ecofeminism, 10
Ecological citizenship, 95, 184, 245
Ecological crisis, 292n.54
rethinking invited by, 198
and state, 90
Ecological critique of administrative state, 88–93
Ecological critique of liberal democracy, 1, 2, 93–104
Ecological critique of liberal dogmas, immanent, 104–109
Ecological democracy, 2, 110, 139, 242–43, 251
affectedness principle in, 186
and deliberative democracy, 118
and discursive democracy, 152
liberal democracy as giving way to, 241
moral rather than pragmatic reasoning in, 164
as postliberal, 107
representative element in, 132
and state sovereignty, 248
transboundary dimensions of, 16
Ecological discourses, 48
Ecological embeddedness, 190
Ecologically responsible statehood, 2, 227, 236–38
Ecological modernization, 15, 64, 69–79, 202, 208, 241, 252–53
and levels of state reflexivity, 80–83
and privileged states as good international citizens, 84
weak, 109, 229
Ecological security, 224–28, 292n.54
Ecological socialism, 58
Ecological state, 103
Economic freedoms, macro-limits on needed, 95, 273n.27
Economic growth, and environmental protection, 56–57, 72, 76
Ecosocialist analysis of state, 61
Ecosocialist state, 59
Emancipatory paradox, and Habermas, 156
Empirical turn in deliberative democracy, 130–31
Enlightenment
dialectic, 78
ecologically informed dialectic of, 107
and liberalism, 108
Environmental advocacy, 15
Environmental capacity building, 83, 245–46, 254
Environmental harm, state responsibility for, 17, 217–21, 233–34, 249
in green constitution examples, 243–44
Environmental impact assessment, 126
Environmentalism
and economic growth, 76
free market, 94, 95
Environmental justice
vs. economic development, 221–24
institutionalizing of, 137
and privileged states, 253
Environmental justice movement, 10, 78
Environmental legislation, 100–101
Environmental modernization, 73.
See also Ecological modernization
Environmental Modernization: The New Labour Agenda (Jacobs), 73
Environmental movement, 255n.1.
See also Green movement(s)
and preexisting institutions, 230
Environmental multilateralism, 15, 26, 31, 202, 211–17, 241, 251
academic work on, 28
and economic multilateral arrangements, 52
and sovereignty, 48, 233
and territorial rule, 30
Environmental NGOs. See NGOs
Environmental patriotism, 196, 231
Environmental pragmatism, 130, 167
Environmental problems, as threats to security or economic interests, 22–23
Environmental protection and economic growth, 56–57, 72
and generalizable vs. particular interests, 98
realist view on, 21–22
as task of welfare state, 79–80
Environmental Protection Agency, 215
Environmental regimes, 28, 32
Environmental rights, 136–37, 214
Environmental treaties, multilateral, 68
Epistemological challenges, in representing excluded others, 119–27
Ethical ideal of the state, 64
European Union (EU), 45, 47–48, 175–76, 201, 251, 279n.45, 294n.5
Excluded others
representation of (moral and epistemological challenges), 119–27
representation of (political and institutional challenges), 127–37
representation of (precautionary principle), 196
Factor Four (Club of Rome report), 73
Finger, Mathias, 225
Fishkin, James, 194
Framework Convention/Protocol model, 213–14
France, atmospheric nuclear testing in Pacific by, 219, 234, 237
Frankfurt School of Social Research, 8, 9, 257n.18
Freedom, republican understanding of, 50
Free market environmentalism, 94, 95
Free trade zones, 68
Friendship, and Wendt on culture of anarchy, 44–45
Functionalist analysis and theories, 59, 60–61, 62, 64, 81

Game theory, 28
Garrett, Geoffrey, 68
Geneva Red Cross Conventions, “green protocol” to, 228
Germany, 67, 69, 215
Giddens, Anthony, 70
Gill, Stephen, 53, 65
Gleeson, Brendan, 239
Global capitalism. See Globalization and global capitalism
Global cosmopolitan democracy, 175
Global cosmopolitan law, 199–200
Global discourses, 17
Global environmental protection authority, 239
Global Environment Facility, 212
Global political ecology, and “(statist frame,” 4
Global warming, 91, 219 and low-lying island states, 23
Golub, Jonathan, 83
Goodin, Robert, 120, 121
Gramsci, Antonio, 257n.18
Gramscians, 38
Green consumerism, 95

Green critique of liberal democratic state, 86–88
Green critique and reconstruction of Habermasian democratic state, 150–52
Green democratic standard of membership for states, 205–206
Green sovereignty discourse, 235
Green state, xi–xii, 1, 2, 13
and analysis of social life, 63–64
constitutional structures of, 2–3
and global capitalism, 51–52, 65
and globalization, 67
Gulf War (1990–1991), 228
Guttman, Amy, 130
Haacke, Jürgen, 158
Haas, Peter, 30–31
Habermas, Jürgen, 16, 141–42, 164
and antagonistic social forces, 158
and communicative action, 46
communicative ethics of, 41
communicative ideal of, 119, 154–55, 171, 173, 282n.42
communicative republicanism of, 186
on compromises, 149, 281n.33
and constitutional patriotism, 147, 168, 172, 175, 177, 182, 189
and deliberative democracy, 115, 116
and democracy, 174, 197
on democratic law, 13
discourse ethic of, 115, 172, 192
discourse theory of, 16, 42, 146
and discursive democracy, 172–73
on formal democracy, 172
on global democratic public law, 188
and “global domestic law,” 182
and green normative framework, 178
on legal norms, 153, 248, 281n.31
and moral validity, 120
and national communities, 182–84, 185
and nation-state, 172, 175–78
on normative validity, 112
and pragmatic reasoning, 164–68, 169
and public sphere, 142–50, 153–56, 162
pure proceduralism of, 161
and representation, 113
and republicanism, 144, 145–46, 280n.16
and social democracy, 198
systems-theoretic approach of, 56, 61
and state role, 142
on value, 124
Habermasian democratic state, 150–52, 156
Hajer, Maarten, 69, 72, 78, 83
Hall, P. A., 80
Hardin, Garret, 23
Hard power, 38–39, 253
Hay, Colin, 60
Hayward, Tim, 107, 136
Hegel, G. W. F., 8, 39
Hegemonic power, 38, 40
and counterhegemonic tendencies, 24
Held, David, 112, 175, 175, 180–81, 186, 187–88, 189, 191, 193, 195, 198, 199, 199–200, 201, 248
Hirst, Paul, 90, 199
Hobbesian culture, 21, 28, 29, 43, 44, 46, 47, 51, 201, 225, 249
Horkheimer, Max, 8, 107
Human right(s)
breach of as crime against humanity, 211
to environmental protection, 136–37
intervention in defense of, 226
right to develop as, 222
and Stockholm Declaration, 232
Hurd, Ian, 37
Hurrell, Andrew, 252
Hyperconstructivism, 123–24
Ideal communication community, 171
Ignacio-Pinto, Judge, 219
Ilkenberry, G. John, 38
Imagination, disciplined, 4
Imber, Mark, 225
Immanent ecological critique of liberal dogmas, 104–109
Imperialism and cosmopolitanism, 191
environmental encroachments seen as, 230, 233
green, 201
multilateral financial institutions’ conditions seen as, 222
Inclusiveness, in deliberative democracy, 116–17
Individuation, paradox of, 49
Innovative discursive procedures, and Habermas, 178
Inside-out-inside approach, 190–91
Institutional challenges, in representing excluded others, 127–37
Interest group bargaining, 98
International anarchy. See Anarchy, international
International Court of Justice, 219
International Criminal Court, 26, 43, 211
International Monetary Fund, 66–67
Intersubjective understandings, 123
Intersubjectivity, and pragmatic reasoning, 165
IOs (international organizations), 176
Iraq, question of intervention in, 39, 45
Jackson, Robert, 205
Jacobs, Michael, 73, 76
Jänicke, Martin, 60, 82, 87, 90
Johnson, James, 129
Jones, R. J. Barry, 200
Kant, Immanuel, 8, 112, 173
Kantian culture, 44, 45, 46, 201, 250–51, 251
Kantian security team, 45
Keohane, Robert, 30–31
Klipsch, Ronald, 137
Krasner, Stephen, 210
Ksentini, Fatma Zobra, 136–37
Kupchan, Charles A., 38
Kymlicka, Will, 179, 180, 183
Kyoto climate change negotiations, 216
Kyoto Protocol, 43, 263n.64
Laclau, Ernesto, 159
Law of the Sea Convention, 213
Legal norms, 148–49, 172
Habermas on, 148, 153, 248, 281n.31
Legitimacy of green democratic state, 16
Habermas on, 151
and international community, 39, 40, 41
as reason for behavior, 37
of rule or norm, 36
and self-interest, 36
social basis of, 27
of state, 1, 60
of state coercion, 12, 13
of treaties, 217
Weber on, 7
Legitimate power, 38
Levy, Mark, 30–31
Liberal democracy (liberal democratic state), 1–2, 62–63, 241–42
democratic deficits of, 14, 15
democratic will in, 178
ecological critique of, 1, 2, 93–104
and ecological democracy, 2, 137, 241
and ecological state, 103
green critique of, 86–88
vs. green democratic state, 16, 139–41
and Habermas, 144–45, 151
legislatures in, 154
nexus of elements in, 247
as non-neutral, 244
and reflexive learning, 85–86
social structure for, 105–106
Liberal dogmas, 108, 242
and green democratic states, 238
immanent ecological critique of, 104–109
Liberal environmentalism, compromise of, 229
Liberalism
and democracy, 106
and Enlightenment, 108
Liberal pluralism, 99
Liberal political culture, as Habermas presupposition, 149, 166
Libertarians, 94
Lifzin, Karen, 209
Lindblom, Charles, 98
Linklater, Andrew, 8, 24, 45–46, 47, 191, 192, 197
Locke, John, 108–109
Lockean culture, 43, 44, 46, 47, 51, 250
and Habermas, 144, 145
and neoliberal approaches, 29
Lockean defense of private property, 102
“Long march through the institutions,” 143, 153
Low, Nicholas, 239
Lundqvist, Lennart, 6, 245
Macyntyre, Alasdair, 96
Majority rule, and moral pluralism, 93–94
Marietta, Don, 123
Markets, 12
Marx, Karl, 8
Marxist-inspired critical social theory, 3–4
Meadowcroft, James, 103, 254
Mellor, Mary, 10
Membership principle, 173–74, 186, 190
Military intervention, 226–27
Miller, David, 179, 182, 183, 186, 198
Modernity, radical ecological critique of, 79
Modernization reactions against, 79
reflexive, 15, 64, 69, 70–71, 73, 77, 79, 80, 82
Modernization, ecological. See Ecological modernization
Modernization, environmental, 73
Mol, Arthur A., 72
Moral challenges, in representing excluded others, 119–27
Moral context, of self-interested negotiation, 32
Morality, green, 169
Moral norms, Habermas on, 148
Moral pluralism, 94
Moral reasoning, 164–67
Moral validity, Habermas’s procedural account of, 120
Morgenthau, Hans, 21
Mouffe, Chantal, 159
Multilateral environmental treaties, 68
Multilateralism, 49, 51, 195
and Nye on soft power, 39
and state sovereignty, 30
and US vs. EU, 45
Multilateralism, environmental. See Environmental multilateralism
Multilateral negotiations, communicative context for, 40–43
Multilateral treaties, 28, 176, 194
NAFTA, 68
Najam, Adil, 222–23
Narrative explanation, 63
Narrative explanatory protocols, 37
National communities, 179, 182–83, 184–85, 248, 285n.18
“thrown character” of, 180
National sovereignty, 204
Nation-state, 255n.6
and ambit claim for ecological democracy, 114–15
as ecological trustee, 51
and green political theory, 4–5
and Habermas, 172, 175–78
Nature, representation of, 120–26, 131
Negative sovereignty discourse, 17, 205, 223, 224, 230, 232–33, 234
Neo-Gramscians, 34, 38, 41
Neoliberal economic policy, 2
Neoliberal institutionalism, 27, 28–33, 33, 46–47, 48, 50, 250 and critical constructivism, 34, 51 and culture of international anarchy, 43
Neoliberalism, 28 and “compromise of liberal environmentalism” (Bernstein), 229 disciplinary, 53, 65–66 and international competitiveness, 65–66 and self-interest, 32
Neoliberal state, 8
Neo-Marxist theorists, 54, 71 Neorealism, 21, 22, 24, 25, 28 and critical constructivism, 34, 51 and culture of international anarchy, 43 and environmental exploitation, 249–50 “power-based” framework of, 28 Netherlands, 69 New International Economic Order (NIEO), 222, 223 New Zealand, in nuclear-testing case, 219 NGOs, 216, 251, 278n.43 and developing countries, 230 and discourse on environmental rights, 206 in green constitution example, 243 and multilateral treaties, 28, 176 and national communities, 185 and political action, 35 and state, 33–34, 82 and state-civil society relation, 161 in treaty texts, 217 Nonhuman others, 120–22, 168 Nonintervention (noninterference) as ecological resistance, 224, 232–34 responsibilities correlative to, 234 right to, 234, 238 Non-state actors, 82, 216, 217. See also “Excluded others;” NGOs Normative theory(ies) of the state, 1, 3–4, 7, 12, 13, 16 concern of, 20 Normative validity, Habermas’s procedural account of, 112 Norms. See also Legal norms and democracy, 138 of ecological interventions, 226–27, 228 Habermas on, 148, 153, 248, 281n.31 on sovereignty, 205, 207, 210–11 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 45 Nuclear fallout, and nuclear-testing case, 219 Nye, Joseph, 38–40, 253 O’Connor, James, 56, 57–59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 159 O’Connor, Martin, 10 OECD, 67, 77, 81, 82, 229 Offe, Claus, 56, 61 Ohmae, Kenichi, 67 Olsen, Mancur, 99 Ontological critique of liberalism, 104–105 Ophuls, William, 72 Organizational realism, 88–89 Our Common Future (WCED), 72, 239. See also Brundtland Report Paehlke, Robert, 79, 253 Pakistan, and precautionary principle, 215 Palan, Ronan, 69 Paradox, emancipatory (Habermas), 156
Paradox of American power, 253
Paradox of individuation, 49
Parasitical transcendence, 10
Parekh, Bhikhu, 106
Passive exclusive states, Dryzek on, 163, 164
Paterson, Matthew, 11
Patriotism, environmental, 196, 231
Peace of Westphalia, 204. See also Westphalian system of sovereign states
Penz, Peter, 238, 239
Perot, Ross, 68
Persson, Göran, 73, 253
Petitt, Philip, 145
Phillips, Anne, 133
Philpott, Daniel, 37, 204, 205, 207
Plumwood, Val, 10, 96
Pluralism
  liberal, 99
  moral, 94, 141
  political, 96
Pluralistic communities, 46
Pogge, Thomas, 184
Poggi, Gianfranco, 6, 8, 92
Policy diffusion, 251–52
Policy failure, 56
Political action, repertoire of, 35–36
Political challenges, in representing excluded others, 127–37
Political and discursive struggles, 62
Political pluralism, radicalization of, 96
Politics
  of difference, 127, 157
  of ideas vs. presence, 133
  of recognition, 168
Polkinghorne, Donald, 63
Polluter pays principle, 214, 237
Pollution, and inverse restraint principle, 102
Postliberal state, 2
Poststructuralists, 86, 89, 197–98
Post-Westphalian community, 201, 250–51, 251
Power
  disparities in, 99–100
  hard vs. soft, 38–39, 253
  hegemonic, 38, 40
  illegitimate, 93
  legitimate, 38
Pragmatic reasoning, 164–68, 169
Pragmatism, environmental, 130, 167
Praxeology, 8
Precautionary principle, 135–36, 139, 214, 237
  constitutional entrenchment of, 135, 168, 196, 244
  and European Community, 279n.45
  and moral norms, 229
  origination of, 215
  and rights of environmental victims, 234–35
  vs. traditional assumptions, 249
Preservationist or protective perspective, 32
Price, Richard, 9
Principles on Human Rights and the Environment, 136
Private property, 102–103. See also Property rights
  absolute and exclusive, 49
Problem-solving, 30
Property rights, 100–101, 104, 114, 236. See also Private property
  Locke on, 108–109
Public accountability, and green critique of administrative state, 88
Public interest, 99
Public sphere, 140, 142–50
  green, 86, 140, 156–58, 245, 246–47 (see also Green public sphere)
  realizing potential of, 153–64
  and state, 86
  transnational, 150
Race to the bottom, 66, 68, 69
Radical ecology movement, 75
Radical environmentalists, and capitalism, 71
Rational actor model, 35
Rational choice theory or assumption, 28, 36, 97, 99, 146
Rationality
bureaucratic, 90
of states in anarchic system, 23
Rawls, John, 101, 144, 144–45
Realism, 19–26. See also Neorealism critique of, 26–27
vs. neoliberal institutionalists, 29
and paradox of individuation, 49
“power-based” framework of, 28
and state cooperation, 28
“Reasonable use” test, 218
Reflexive learning, and liberal democratic state, 85–86
Reflexive modernization, 15, 64, 69, 70–71, 73, 77, 79, 80, 82
Regime(s), 28, 29, 31
Regime formation, 34–35
Regulative ideal, 130
Remoteness, 10
Reporting, state of the environment, 126, 194
 Representation
in democratic process, 112–13
of “excluded others” (moral and epistemological challenges), 119–27
of “excluded others” (political and institutional challenges), 127–37
of “excluded others” (precautionary principle), 196
and general will, 141, 280.16
“unrepresentative,” 164
Republicanism, 282n.42
civic, 12–13, 16, 50, 141, 179, 186
(see also Civic republicanism)
and Habermas, 144, 145–46, 280n.16
Resolution on Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources (1962), 221
Responsibility-displacement strategies, 60
Restraint principle, 101–102, 103, 105
Reus-Smit, Christian, 9, 206, 207, 209
Right(s), 100. See also Human rights; Property rights
to develop, 221–24, 230, 235
and discourse principle, 144
environmental, 136–37, 214
of environmental noninterference, 234, 238
in green democratic constitution, 243
Rio conference, 212
Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, 212–13, 214, 221, 228, 229
precautionary principle of, 135
and right to develop, 235
Risk, and free informed consent, 111
Risk generating activity, and justification to victims, 114
Risk generation and displacement, 109
Risse, Thomas, 41
Rosewarne, Stuart, 61, 63
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 141, 280n.16
Ruggie, John, 37, 49, 63, 65
Rutherford, Paul, 78
Said, Edward, 129
Saward, Michael, 19, 191, 192, 195
Schnaiberg, Alan, 63
Scientific uncertainty
and democratic deliberation, 134–35
and precautionary principle, 135
(see also Precautionary principle)
Security, ecological vs. traditional, 224–28, 292n.54
Security dilemma, 23
Security threats, 184
Self
critical political ontology on, 97
liberal ontology of, 104
Self-determination principle, 179
Self-interest  
and culture of anarchy, 44  
as explanation for action, 37–38  
nationalist notion of, 32  
overly broad defining of, 36  

Shared understandings, 26–27, 35, 37, 44, 63, 211  
and culture of anarchy, 45  
about legitimate authority to rule, 205  
shifts in, 209  
and sovereignty, 207  

Short termism, 100  

Shue, Henry, 223, 236, 237  

Skocpol, Theda, 88–89  

Social constructionism, 124–25  
Social (societal) learning, 35–37, 80  
and communitarian understanding of democracy, 180  
in deliberative democracy, 117, 131  

Social structures, and agents, 24  

Soft power, 38–39, 253  

Solidarist communities, 46  

Sovereignty, 51, 203–206, 228  
absolute and exclusive, 49  
vs. condemnation for human rights abuses, 226  
constitutive and regulatory rules of, 287–88n.3  
and democratic legitimacy, 248  
as environmental defense, 248–49  
and environmental governance, 231–39  
and environmental responsibility of states, 206–10  
evolutions in, 239  
green evolutions in, 17, 207  
greening of, 27, 203, 209–10  
and multilateral arrangements, 30  
over natural resources, 230–31  
and norms, 205, 207, 210–11  
state vs. national, 204  
territorial dimension of, 30, 232–33  
three faces of, 204, 207  
transformation of, 48  
and UN on right to development, 221–22  

Sovereignty discourse  
green, 235  
negative, 17, 205, 223, 224, 230, 232–33, 234  

State(s), xi, 203, 204, 255n.6.  
See also Administrative state; Nation-state; Welfare state  

Bull on positive role for, 5  
and capitalism, 54–60, 64  
and civil society, 154, 161, 162–64  
and critical constructivists, 34–35, 203  
critical theories of, 33  
on critique of realism, 26  
decline of, 53  
deductive vs. contingent theories of, 61–62  
and demands for environmental regulation and justice, 11–12  
democratization of, 241  
and ecological crisis, 59–60  
ecological modernizers on, 72  
as ecological stewards or trustees, 249  
environmental responsibilities of, 235–37  
and globalization, 65–69, 177  
as good, 12–13  
and green movement, 11–12  
and Habermas, 142, 144–45, 149–50, 154, 169  
important functions of, 160  
internationalized and pan-Western, 268n.55  
need to come to terms with, 5–6, 7–8  
environmental view of, 31  
new role for, 3  
and new social movements, 11  
as owner vs. caretaker, 235  
and public sphere, 154, 169  
realist view on, 19–21  
and right to develop, 222  
selection of policies in, 62
State(s) (cont.)
as strong or effective, 12
transnational, 192, 197, 204–205, 231
understanding of role of, 64
Weber’s understanding of, 6–7
State capitalist system, 56
State of the environment reporting, 126, 194
State responsibility for environmental harm, 17, 217–21, 233–34, 249
in green constitution examples, 243–44
and responsibility-displacement strategies, 60
State sovereignty, 4, 27
for realist vs. neoliberal, 29
Stockholm conference, 212
Stockholm Declaration on the Human Environment, 212, 220–21, 232, 235
Strategic environmental policy, 72
Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, The (Habermas), 142, 143, 153
Sunstein, Cass, 130
Sustainability, Barry on, 119
Sustainability, ecological and marker processes, 64
and state, 59, 64, 88
Sustainability parameters, 95
Sustainable development, 15, 214, 221
and developing countries, 206
international discourse of, 206
and state “interests,” 27
Swedish Social Democrats, 73–74, 253
Taylor, Charles, 105
Terrapolitan conception of sovereignty, 196
Thatcher, Margaret, 21
“Think globally, act locally,” 11
Thompson, Dennis, 130, 134

Torgerson, Douglas, 78, 86, 156–57, 159
Tragedy of the commons, 14
avoiding of, 36
and interests of state, 22
and privatization of the commons, 95
and realist frame, 24–25
reasons for, 25–26
Trail Smelter principle, 220
Transboundary democracy, 171–72
Transboundary democratic will-formation, 183–86
Transboundary environmental harm, 247
and state responsibility, 217–18
Transnational green state, 16, 190, 192–98
strategies for facilitating, 198–202
Transnational networks of communication, 176
Transnational states, 48, 189
Tribunes for noncitizens, 134, 195

Unconstrained dialogue, in deliberative democracy, 116
UN Declaration on the Right to Development, 222
Unilateralism, 39, 43
Unit-driven transformation, toward transnational green democratic states, 201
United Nations
and Aarhus Convention, 193
environmental bodies for, 239
environmental governance as social program for, 212
and green military, 226
program of reform of, 182
on right to development, 221
United Nations Charter and ecological security, 227
environmental concerns absent from, 211–12
principle of non-intervention in, 232
United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), 212, 224, 225
United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (UNCHE), Stockholm (1972), 30, 212
United Nations Ecological Security Council, need for, 227
United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), 212
United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (1992), 32, 229
United States, 253
and climate-change negotiations, 32–33
and economic order, 67
environmental cooperation resisted by, 231
and EU, 45
and globalization, 67
Varner, Gary, 101, 102
Vietnam War, Agent Orange in, 228
Vig, Norman, 80, 81
Vincent, Andrew, 3, 4
Vogel, Steven, 122, 124, 131
Waltz, Kenneth, 21, 22
Walzer, Michael, 173, 179, 183, 192
Water resources, scarce, 25
Weak ecological modernization, 109, 229
Weber, Max, 6–7
Weidner, Helmut, 82
Weiss, Edith Brown, 213
Welfare state, 254. See also State(s)
as capitalist state, 56
and dialectic of legal equality and factual inequality (Habermas), 177
and ecological state, 103
environmental protection as task of, 79–80
and state’s contradictory tasks, 54
"fiscal crisis" of, 54
functionalist theories of, 64
and political autonomy, 68
Wendt, Alexander, 31, 43–45, 47, 200
Westphalian system of sovereign states, 49, 203, 204
Wise-use perspective, 32
Wissenburg, Marcel, 94–95, 96, 96–97, 101–102, 103, 105, 236
World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), 72, 232. See also Brundtland Report
World Environment Council, 239
World Environment Court, 239
World Summit on Sustainable Development, 212
Young, Iris Marion, 133, 160, 161, 162, 169