

NOTES

FOREWORD

1. Ambassador McDonald, Chairman Emeritus, Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy, wrote this foreword in January 2019 as the manuscript was being prepared for print. He passed away in May 2019.

PREFACE

1. Gordon Harrison, "Is There a United Nations Environment Programme? Special Investigation at the Request of the Ford Foundation" (in the author's possession, 1977), 2.
2. Daniel C. Esty and Maria H. Ivanova, *Global Environmental Governance: Options and Opportunities* (New Haven, CT: Yale School of Forestry & Environmental Studies, 2002).
3. Maria Ivanova, *Can the Anchor Hold? Rethinking the UN Environment Programme for the 21st Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale School of Forestry & Environmental Studies, 2005).
4. "The Quest for Symphony" and "The Quest for Leadership," dir. Maria Ivanova and Joe Ageyo, Global Media & PR Ltd., the College of William and Mary (USA), and Yale Center for Environmental Law and Policy, 2009.

CHAPTER 1

1. In 1989, a wave of revolutions swept through Eastern Europe and toppled the communist regimes. They began in Poland and continued in Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. In 1991, the Soviet Union dissolved,

resulting in fifteen new countries. Albania and Yugoslavia abandoned communism between 1990 and 1992.

2. Greta Thunberg, "Our House Is on Fire," *Guardian*, January 25, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/jan/25/our-house-is-on-fire-greta-thunberg16-urges-leaders-to-act-on-climate>.

3. Richard Flanagan, "Australia is Committing Climate Suicide," *New York Times*, January 3, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/03/opinion/australia-fires-climate-change.html>.

4. William Ruckelshaus, interview by the author, 2009.

5. Richard N. Gardner, "UN As Policeman," *Saturday Review*, August 7, 1971: 47; House of Commons, "Official Report: Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)" (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1971), 1604; US Congress, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, "Participation by the United States in the United Nations Environment Program: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Ninety-third Congress, first session, on H.R. 5696," April 5 and 10, 1973 (Washington, DC: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1973); UN Information Service, "Preparatory Committee for Conference on Human Environment Completes General Debate" (Geneva, 1971).

6. Jacques Chirac, "Speech to the Plenary session of the World Summit on Sustainable Development," Johannesburg, September 2, 2002, http://www.jacqueschirac-asso.fr/archives-elysee.fr/elysee/elysee.fr/anglais/speeches_and_documents/2002-2001/fi005004.html.

7. Inger Andersen, interview by the author, 2019.

8. Eugénie L. Birch, David C. Perry, and Henry Louis Jr. Taylor, "Universities as Anchor Institutions," *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement* 17, no. 3 (2013): 9; Camden Higher Education and Health Care Task Force, "A 5 Year Winning Investment: Camden's Anchor Institutions Provide Jobs, Services, and a Bright Future" (Camden, NJ, 2008), 3; Steve Dubb, Sarah McKinley, and Ted Howard, "The Anchor Dashboard: Aligning Institutional Practice to Meet Low-Income Community Needs" (Tahoma Park, MD: Democracy Collaborative, 2013), 27.

9. Michael N. Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 150.

10. UN General Assembly, "Resolution 2997 (XXVII): Institutional and Financial Arrangements for International Environmental Cooperation" (New York, 1972).

11. Robert W. Cox, Gerard Jacobson Curzon, and Harold Karan, *The Anatomy of Influence: Decision Making in International Organizations* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1973), 6.

12. Harrison, "Is There a United Nations Environment Programme? Special Investigation at the Request of the Ford Foundation," 10.

13. Harrison, "Is There a United Nations Environment Programme," 38.

14. Source for figures 1.2 and 1.3: UNEP, "Human Resources Management Report," unpublished report, December 31, 2019, in the author's possession, 1–16.

15. "About UN Environment Programme," UNEP, accessed February 10, 2019, <https://www.unenvironment.org/about-un-environment>.

16. "UNEP drove us out of our minds in the GEF," Mohamed El-Ashry, former CEO of the Global Environment Facility, remarked, "because they were coming after money for projects because it was more attractive to do projects where you go out in the field and become popular. People welcome you with open arms and they come to visit your project." But this was not UNEP's mandate, he noted. Mohamed El-Ashry, interview by the author, 2018.

17. There have been no full-length academic books on UNEP. Stanley Johnson's book, *UNEP: The First 40 Years, A Narrative* (Nairobi: UNEP, 2012), which was commissioned and published by UNEP for its fortieth anniversary, is the only book about the organization. Only brief overviews of UNEP's history and governance appear in chapters of books about global environmental governance and institutions. A fair number of books, however, have been written about the anchor institutions in other issue areas. The International Labour Organization was created in 1919, and a full-length book about it was published as early as 1926 and followed by three more. The Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees have all been the subject of multiple books, as have several of the environmental conventions—the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the Convention on Biological Diversity, and the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES).

18. For views on both of these identities, see Frank Biermann and Steffen Bauer, *A World Environment Organization: Solution or Threat for Effective International Environmental Governance?* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 113; Konrad von Moltke, "The Organization of the Impossible," *Global Environmental Politics* 1, no. 1 (2001): 3; James Gustave Speth, "A Memorandum in Favor of a World Environment Organization," in *United Nations Environment Organization—Towards an International Environment Organization*, ed. Andreas Rechkemmer (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2005), 2; Bharat H. Desai, "UNEP: A Global Environmental Authority?" *Environmental Policy and Law* 36, no. 3–4 (2006): 142; Adil Najam, "The case against a new international environmental organization," *Global Governance* 9 (2003), 36; Jodie Hierlmeier, "UNEP: Retrospect and prospect—Options for reforming the global environmental governance regime," *Georgetown International Environmental Law Review* 14, no. 4 (2001): 769; Mikhail Kopylov and Aleksandr Solntsev, "Международное Экологическое Право На Попоре Реформ (The International Law on the Eve of Reforms)," *Московский журнал международного права* 1, no. 77 (2014): 21; Mark Halle, "The UNEP that We Want: Reflections on UNEP's Future Challenges," *International Institute for Sustainable Development* (Prangins, Switzerland 2007): 5–6.

19. See Adil Najam, "The Case against GEO, WEO, or Whatever-Else-EO," in *Global Environmental Institutions: Perspectives on Reform*, ed. D. Brack and J. Hyvarinen (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2002), 36.

20. See Lars-Göran Engfeldt, *From Stockholm to Johannesburg and Beyond: The Evolution of the International System for Sustainable Development Governance and Its Implications* (Stockholm: Utrikesdepartementet, 2009), 7; Sverker Åström, *Ögonblick: Från Ett Halvsekel I UD-Tjänst [Moment: From Half a Century of Foreign Affairs Duty]* (Lind & Co., 2003); UN General Assembly, "Economic and Social Council Resolution 1346 (X.L.V.)" (1968).

21. The preparatory process was extensive and included numerous meetings and thousands of pages of national and international reports. United Nations, "Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (Stockholm Declaration)," A/Conf.48/14, in *United Nations Conference on the Human Environment* (Stockholm, 1972).

22. The narrative in this book uses the terminology employed by the United Nations, including developed and developing countries. See United Nations, *World Economic Situation and Prospects* (New York, 2019). Whenever possible, however, it uses Global North and Global South, though these are vague and imperfect terms.

23. Mostafa K. Tolba, interview by the author, 2008.

24. In 1967, Inga Thorsson, head of the UN Secretariat's Social Division, was in charge of preparations for a symposium on environmental problems for the UN Economic Commission for Europe and decided that such a conference would be useful at a broader scale and should convene countries beyond the twenty-seven member states of the Commission. Thorsson approached Philippe de Seynes, then UN Under-Secretary-General for Economic and Social Affairs, who was planning a fourth conference on peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Convinced that nuclear energy events had outlived their usefulness, de Seynes decided to lend Thorsson his support. The Swedish delegation to the United Nations, without instructions from Stockholm, resolved to convince the UN General Assembly to postpone deciding the fate of the nuclear energy conference, and to adopt instead a resolution to convene an environmental conference. In December 1967, Börje Billner, deputy permanent representative of Sweden to the United Nations, proposed in the General Assembly an international conference on the human environment. After multiple consultations with other national delegations and with US environmental experts, in the spring of 1968, the Swedish delegation, led by Sverker Åström, persuaded the Swedish government to launch a formal initiative in the UN General Assembly emphasizing the need for a forum where governments and international organizations could probe these issues and create a consensus to limit, and perhaps reverse, degradation of the environment. In December 1968, the UN General Assembly agreed to convene the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in 1972 and accepted the Swedish government's proposal to host the event in Stockholm.

25. Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, "Sweden's Environment—Problems and Protection, 1960–2010," <https://www.naturvardsverket.se/Documents/publikationer6400/978-91-620-8501-8.pdf?pid=4183>.

26. UN General Assembly, "Report of the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment on the 3rd Session," A/CONF.48/PC.131971.

27. Elizabeth DeSombre, *Global Environmental Institutions* (London: Routledge, 2006), 8.

28. John W. McDonald and Noa Zanolli, *The Shifting Grounds of Conflict and Peacebuilding: Stories and Lessons* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2009), 74.

29. Adil Najam, "Why We Don't Need a New International Environmental Organization" (Working Paper Series no. 64, *Sustainable Development Policy Institute*, 2001), 11.

30. Najam, "The Case against GEO, WEO, or Whatever-Else-EO," 9; Ken Conca, "Greening the UN: Environmental Organizations and the UN System" in *NGOs, the UN, and Global Governance*, ed. Thomas Weiss and Leon Gordenker (Lynne Rienner, 1996), 103–19; Konrad von Moltke, "Why UNEP Matters," in *Green Globe Yearbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 57; von Moltke, "The Organization of the Impossible," 25; Najam, "The Case Against a New International Environmental Organization," 371.

31. In 1975, the UN General Assembly, in resolution 3362 (S-VII), endorsed the recommendation that UNIDO be transformed into a specialized agency. In 1979, the UN conference on the "establishment of UNIDO as a specialized agency" in Vienna, Austria, adopted the new constitution. On June 21, 1985, the new UNIDO constitution entered into force, and the first session of the General Conference of UNIDO as a specialized agency met in August 1979.

32. In figure 1.4, assessed contributions are obligatory payments that member states pay to finance the regular budgets of UN specialized agencies and are based on their level of economic development and per capita income. Voluntary contributions are non-mandatory payments which member states contribute at their discretion to UN programs and humanitarian and development agencies, such as, for example, UNICEF, UNDP, and WFP. The assessed contributions for UNEP include the financing for some of the conventions that UNEP administers.

33. Najam, "The Case against GEO, WEO, or Whatever-Else-EO," 42; DeSombre, *Global Environmental Institutions*, 13.

34. The argument developing countries articulated during the negotiations about UNEP's location at the United Nations in November 1972 was that the United Nations was a "global body and it is unfair that its agencies should be confined to North America or Western Europe." UN General Assembly, Second Committee, "Summary Record of the 1466th Meeting" (New York, 1972), 326.

35. John Scanlon, interview by the author, 2018.

36. Ronald Mitchell, "Evaluating the Performance of Environmental Institutions: What to Evaluate and How to Evaluate It?" in *Institutions and Environmental Change: Principal Findings, Applications, and Research Frontiers*, ed. Oran Young, Leslie King and Heike Schroeder (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008), 96.

37. Mohamed El-Ashry, "Recommendations from the High-Level Panel on System-Wide Coherence on Strengthening International Environmental Governance: Introduction," in *Global Environmental Governance: Perspectives on the Current Debate*, ed. Lydia Swart and Estelle Perry (New York: Center for UN Reform Education, 2007), 9–10.
38. Najam, "Why We Don't Need a New International Environmental Organization," 11.
39. von Moltke, "Why UNEP Matters," 57.
40. Interviewee 729, interview by the author, 2008.
41. Interviewee 256, interview by the author, 2018.
42. Steve Charnovitz, "A World Environment Organization," *Columbia Journal of Environmental Law* 27, no. 2 (2002): 323.
43. UNEP, "Internal Communication Survey Report" (in author's possession), 11. When asked about the effectiveness of UNEP as the leading UN environmental institution, 64 percent of respondents in 2012 perceived the organization as somewhat effective or very effective, 23 percent considered it ineffective or somewhat ineffective, and 13 were neutral. Four years later, in 2016, only 45 percent of respondents indicated effectiveness, and 33 percent responded as neutral.
44. UNEP, "Internal Communication Survey Report," 27.
45. UNEP, "Internal Communication Survey Report," 23.
46. OIOS, "Evaluation of the United Nations Environment Programme," E/AC.51/2019/7 (2019), 2.
47. Kofi Annan, interview by the author, 2017.
48. Barnett and Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*, 24–27.
49. I use "limiting factor" in the way used in natural science—as the conditions that limit growth, abundance, and distribution of an organism.
50. Bill Mansfield, interview by the author, 2008.
51. For a thoughtful analysis of the role of executive heads in international organizations, see Nina Hall and Ngaire Woods, "Theorizing the Role of Executive Heads in International Organizations," *European Journal of International Relations* 24, no. 4 (2018): 865–886.
52. Inger Andersen, "As Voices for the Planet Grow Louder, We Must Get the Job Done" (June 15 2019, Nairobi, Kenya), <https://www.unenvironment.org/news-and-stories/story/voices-planet-grow-louder-we-must-get-job-done>.
53. Jon Pevehouse and Inken von Borzyskowski, "International Organizations in World Politics," in *The Oxford Handbook of International Organizations*, ed. Jacob Katz Cogan, Ian Hurd, and Ian Johnstone (Oxford University Press, 2016), 15.
54. Scott Krisner, "The suburbs are cheaper, but they don't have what Kendall Square has for biotechs: serendipity," *Boston Globe*, January 26, 2020, <https://www>

.bostonglobe.com/business/2020/01/26/kirsner/ZgCZqD4TlSJGMvNxZe3Ebl/story.html.

55. Figueres and Carnac, *The Future We Choose*, 17.

56. Manuel Pulgar-Vidal, interview by the author, 2018

CHAPTER 2

1. Fitzhugh Green, "Remarks by US Delegate Fitzhugh Green to the Stockholm Human Environment Preparatory Committee," in *World's People Must be Informed, Persuaded to Back Environment Correction Measures*, ed. US Information Service (Geneva, 1972).

2. Maurice Strong, "Closing Statement" (speech, United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, Sweden, 1972).

3. William Clark, "Dedication to Maurice Strong," *The Environmentalist* 4, no. 2 (1984): 89.

4. Åström, *Ögonblick*.

5. Interviewee 532, interview by the author, 2007.

6. Bill Reilly, interview by the author, 2007.

7. Maurice Strong, *Where on Earth Are We Going?* (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2000), 126. See also Ehsan Masood, "The Globe's Green Avenger," *Nature* 460 (2009): 454-455.

8. Wade Rowland, *The Plot to Save the World: The Life and Times of the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co. 1972), 47.

9. Strong, *Where on Earth Are We Going?*, 129-130.

10. Johnson, *UNEP: The First 40 Years*, 33.

11. Bernardo de Azevedo Brito, "Statement by the Brazilian Representative, Item 11 of the Agenda" (paper presented at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, Sweden, 1972).

12. Strong, *Where on Earth Are We Going?*, 124.

13. Engfeldt, *From Stockholm to Johannesburg and Beyond*, 77-79.

14. Mick Hamer, "The Filthy Rich," *New Scientist* 173, no. 2324 (January 5, 2002): 77.

15. Barbara Ward, "Only one Earth, Stockholm 1972," reprinted in *Evidence for Hope: The Search for Sustainable Development: The Story of the International Institute for Environment and Development, 1972-2002*, ed. by Nigel Cross (Earthscan, 2003).

16. UN Information Service, "Preparatory Committee for Conference on Human Environment Completes General Debate."

17. Mostafa K. Tolba, interview by the author, 2008.

18. Rowland, *The Plot to Save the World*, 47.

19. Conference on the Human Environment, *Development and Environment: Report and Working Papers of Experts Convened by the Secretary-General of the United Nations*

Conference on the Human Environment (Founex, Switzerland, June 4–12, 1971), Environment and Social Sciences, 1 (Paris: Mouton, 1972): 5–6.

20. Martin W. Holdgate, Mohammed Kassas, and Gilbert F. White, *The World Environment 1972–1982* (Nairobi: United Nations Environment Programme, 1982), 405.

21. Strong, *Where on Earth Are We Going?*, 128.

22. Gardner, “UN as Policeman.” 47.

23. Strong, *Where on Earth Are We Going?*, 121.

24. Strong, 122.

25. Walter Sullivan, “A UN Role is Envisioned in Global Pollution Drive,” *New York Times*, May 24, 1971.

26. Gardner, “UN As Policeman,” 48.

27. Strong, *Where on Earth Are We Going?*, 130.

28. Strong, 133.

29. Strong, 134.

30. US Mission to the UN, “Statement by Christian A. Herter, Jr., United States Representative, in the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, on Item 4, International Organizational Implications” (New York, NY, 1972), 1.

31. Michael Hardy, “The United Nations Environment Problem,” *Natural Resources Journal* 13, no. 2 (April 1973): 235–255.

32. McDonald and Zanolli, *The Shifting Grounds of Conflict and Peacebuilding: Stories and Lessons*, 27.

33. Environmental Studies Board, *Institutional Arrangements for International Environmental Cooperation: A Report to the Department of State by the Committee for International Environmental Programs* (Washington, DC: National Academies of Sciences, 1972), 31.

34. United States Secretary of State’s Advisory Committee on the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (UNCHE), “Stockholm and Beyond: Report” (Washington, DC, 1972), 134.

35. US Secretary of State’s Advisory Committee on the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (UNCHE), “Stockholm and Beyond: Report,” 8. The US Department of State reported, “There is general agreement among countries that a new specialized agency should not be created. One arrangement which is being widely discussed at the UN and among member governments is the creation of a small, high-level staff unit and an inter-governmental committee to give the unit policy direction.” US Information Service, “President Proposes Voluntary UN Environment Fund” (Geneva, 1972), 2.

36. United States Secretary of State’s Advisory Committee on the 1972 UNCHE, “Stockholm and Beyond: Report,” 131.

37. United States Secretary of State’s Advisory Committee on the 1972 UNCHE, 131.

38. United States Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on the 1972 UNCHE, 132.
39. Notably, dispute settlement is still missing in the global environmental governance system. By contrast, in the trade system, dispute settlement is at the core of the respective international institutions.
40. United Nations, "Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 5–16 June 1972" (New York, 1973), 3–27.
41. In 2015, for example, the World Health Assembly of the World Health Organization comprised 193 states; the World Meteorological Organization had 191 members; the International Labour Organization, 187 members; and UNESCO, 195 members. In 2011, UNESCO members voted to admit Palestine as a full member of the organization, a move that subsequently led to the official withdrawal of the United States and then Israel from the organization in 2019.
42. The UN Forum on Forests is a notable exception. UNFF is a subsidiary organ established in 2000 by the UN Economic and Social Council with universal membership.
43. Sanjay Gupta, "Jan Egeland," *Time Magazine*, 8 May 2006.
44. Maria Ivanova, "Designing the United Nations Environment Programme: A Story of Compromise and Confrontation," *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 7, no. 3 (2007).
45. David Wightman, "United Nations Conference on the Human Environment: The International Organisational Implications of Action Proposals: Second Draft" (In the author's possession, n.d); Maria Ivanova, "A New Global Architecture for Sustainability Governance," in *State of the World 2012: Moving toward Sustainable Prosperity* (Washington, DC: Worldwatch Institute, 2012).
46. Gordon J. MacDonald, "International Institutions for Environmental Management," *International Organization* 26, no. 2 (Spring 1972), 373.
47. United Nations, "International Organizational Implications of Action Proposals," in *United Nations Conference on the Human Environment* (Stockholm, 1972). At the third session of the Preparatory Committee, several delegations stated that the conference should not lead to the establishment of any new specialized agency or operational body, and that any coordinating mechanisms which might be necessary should not have operational functions. They also noted the need to avoid rigid institutional structures, which would be rendered obsolete by rapid scientific and technological advances.
48. Wightman, "United Nations Conference on the Human Environment: The International Organisational Implications of Action Proposals: Second Draft"; Environmental Studies Board, "Institutional Arrangements for International Environmental Cooperation: A Report to the Department of State by the Committee for International Environmental Programs," 25.
49. McDonald and Zanolli, *The Shifting Grounds of Conflict and Peacebuilding: Stories and Lessons*, 32.
50. UK House of Commons, "Official Report: Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)."

51. US Mission to the UN, "Statement by Christian A. Herter, Jr.," 4–5.
52. Olof Rydbeck, "Statement by Ambassador Olof Rydbeck in the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment at Its Fourth Session in New York on Monday, 6 March 1972" (Fourth session of the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, New York, March 6 1972), 3.
53. Strong, *Where on Earth Are We Going?*, 12–13.
54. Hamer, "The Filthy Rich," 77.
55. Some participants at a three-day "Mini-Stockholm" convened by the Aspen Institute in Rensselaerville, New York, in May 1971, "urged that environment be kept in the ECOSOC framework so that one institution could face the interrelated issues of development and environment; these people warned that separate bodies on environment and development could result in two sets of conflicting resolutions each reflecting a limited and inadequate perspective. Others urged that environment needed greater visibility and status than could be achieved in ECOSOC, which in their view has an unsatisfactory record." Gardner, "UN as Policeman," 49.
56. Wightman, "United Nations Conference on the Human Environment: The International Organisational Implications of Action Proposals: Second Draft," 6.
57. United Nations, "Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment," 71.
58. US Information Service, "President Proposes Voluntary UN Environment Fund," 1.
59. McDonald and Zanolli, *The Shifting Grounds of Conflict and Peacebuilding*, 117–119.
60. George H.W. Bush, "Telegram from the Mission to the United Nations to the Department of State, New York, May 31, 1972" (New York, May 31 1972), in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976*, Volume V: *United Nations, 1969–1972*, ed. Evan M. Duncan (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1972): 334–335. A year later, the United States did decrease its contributions to 25 percent of the general budget for the United Nations rather than the usual 28 percent, prompting the UN to offset its budget by 6.52 percent. See United States Congress, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, "Participation by the United States in the United Nations Environment Program," 67.
61. This conflict and impasse between the US executive and legislature would shape much of the US's subsequent behavior in international concerns and result in the inability of the US to ratify key environmental and social global agreements. It has also led to the tendency of US presidents to govern through executive orders, which set policies without congressional approval but can be easily annulled by a subsequent administration.
62. United States Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on the 1972 UNCHE, "Stockholm and Beyond: Report," 131.
63. Egypt, Brazil, Iran, Lebanon, Netherlands, Pakistan, Peru, Philipines, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, "Draft Resolution Concerning Development and Environment, A/C.2/L.1236, " (paper presented at the United Nations Conference on the

Human Environment, Stockholm, Sweden, 1972), 7. See also, UN General Assembly, "Official Records: 1466th–1488th Meeting of the Second Committee," ed. Second Committee of the United Nations General Assembly (New York, 1972).

64. UN General Assembly, "Summary Record of the 1478th Meeting," ed. Second Committee of the United Nations General Assembly (New York, 1972), 228.

65. Developing countries had voiced such concerns about the UN Fund for Population and the UN Capital Development Fund, which had diminished along with donor interest. UN General Assembly, "Summary Record of the 1478th Meeting," 228.

66. United States Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on the 1972 UNCHE, "Stockholm and Beyond: Report," 132.

67. United States Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on the 1972 UNCHE, 132.

68. United States Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on the 1972 UNCHE, 132. In a 1972 letter to Maurice Strong, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Christian Herter explained, "The United States believes that it would be misleading to advance in the context of the Conference on the Human Environment proposals for an increase in the gross total of resources available for development assistance to cover environmental costs. The United States has nevertheless accepted and has urged others to accept the principle that the added cost of development projects necessitated by environmental protection measures are a legitimate part of the projected cost structure and the amount of assistance provided to projects requiring such added factors should take these costs into account." Christian A. Herter Jr., "Letter to Maurice Strong, Secretary-General of UNCHE Commenting on 'A Framework for Environmental Action,'" (in the author's possession, 1972), 2.

69. US Information Service, "President Proposes Voluntary UN Environment Fund," 1.

70. US Information Service, "Success of the Stockholm Conference: Statement by Russell E. Train, Chairman United States Delegation to the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment" (Stockholm, 1972), 2.

71. United States Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on the 1972 UNCHE, "Stockholm and Beyond: Report," 131–132.

72. Ambassador Bush communicated concern over the UN financial crisis to the US State Department. George H.W. Bush, "Telegram from the Mission to the United Nations to the Department of State," 334.

73. These and all following financial figures are as of August 1, 2019, based on data from UNEP-audited financial statements and the "Your contribution" page on UNEP's website, <https://www.unenvironment.org/about-un-environment/funding-and-partnerships/why-invest-us/your-contributions>. The financial analysis in this book and all relevant figures are derived from UNEP-audited financial statements from 1973 to 2018 (the latest documents available as of the time of writing) as well as from the UNEP Funding Facts portal, <https://www.unenvironment.org/about-un-environment-programme/funding-and-partnerships/funding-facts>.

74. The total contributions to the Environment Fund in 1979 were \$31,493,929, which in constant 2019 dollars amounts to \$110,904,179.

75. Frank Biermann, "Reforming Global Environmental Governance: The Case for a United Nations Environment Organization (UNEO)," in *Stakeholder Forum* (London, 2011).
76. Interviewee 364, interview by the author, 2018.
77. OIOS, "Evaluation of the United Nations Environment Programme," 24.
78. Brazil, Argentina, Canada, Iran, Kenya, Jamaica, Malta, Mexico, New Zealand, Swaziland, Sweden, United Republic of Tanzania, United States, "Draft Resolution on Institutional and Financial Arrangements for International Environmental Co-Operation, A/C.2/L.1228 & Corr.1 (Russian Only)" (1972). See also UN General Assembly, "United Nations Conference on the Human Environment: Report of the Second Committee" (1972).
79. In correspondence with Maurice Strong during the preparatory process for the Stockholm Conference, colleagues from governments and other institutions referred to the new body as the Environment Secretariat.
80. For a discussion of the location decision, see Maria Ivanova, "UNEP in Global Environmental Governance: Design, Leadership, Location," *Global Environmental Politics* 10, no. 1 (2010); Maria Ivanova, "Designing the United Nations Environment Programme: A Story of Compromise and Confrontation," *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 7, no. 4 (2007).
81. United States Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on the 1972 UNCHE, "Stockholm and Beyond: Report," 131.
82. Maurice F. Strong, "Opening Remarks by Maurice F. Strong, Secretary-General Designate" (paper presented at the Informal Meeting of Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference on Human Environment, November 9, 1970), 8.
83. Peter Stone, *Did We Save the Earth at Stockholm?* (London: Earth Island, 1973), 140.
84. Stone, *Did We Save the Earth at Stockholm?*, 142.
85. Donald Kaniaru, interview by the author, 2004.
86. Johnson, *UNEP: The First 40 Years*, 29.
87. The Kenyan delegation maintained that "In order to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, the activities and headquarters or secretariats of United Nations bodies and agencies should be located having regard to equitable geographical distribution." UN General Assembly, "Summary Record of the 1466th Meeting," 326. Botswana, Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo, Dabomey, et al, "Draft Resolution Concerning Location of an Environment Secretariat, a/C.2/ L.1246 & Rev. 1" (1972). Donald Kaniaru, "Kenya: A Special Honor to Have the UNEP Here," *The Nation* (December 19, 2004).
88. UN General Assembly, "Summary Record of the 1487th Meeting," ed. Second Committee (New York, 1972), 301.

89. UN General Assembly "Summary Record of the 1474th Meeting," ed. Second Committee (New York, 1972), 190.
90. UN General Assembly, "Summary Record of the 1483rd Meeting," ed. Second Committee (New York, 1972), 261–262.
91. UN General Assembly, "Summary Record of the 1483rd Meeting," 266.
92. UN General Assembly, "Summary Record of the 1474th Meeting," 191. See also Mauritania's statement affirming that "the candidacy of Kenya was a test of the solidarity of the Group of 77 and of the future of the United Nations itself, because in the past the selection of the location of United Nations units had been based exclusively on financial considerations. [His] delegation was aware that it would be initially more expensive to locate the environment secretariat in Nairobi but felt that the decision to be taken was essentially a political decision." "Summary Record of the 1487th Meeting," 302.
93. UN General Assembly, "Summary Record of the 1487th Meeting," 303.
94. UN General Assembly, "Summary Record of the 1482nd Meeting," ed. Second Committee (New York, 1972), 256.
95. UN General Assembly, "Summary Record of the 1487th Meeting," 302.
96. UN General Assembly, "Summary Record of the 1483rd Meeting," 263.
97. UN General Assembly, "Summary Record of the 1487th Meeting," 302.
98. UN General Assembly, "Summary Record of the 1483rd Meeting." As noted earlier, the office of the secretary-general had not prepared analyses of the financial implications of all location bids, under the assumption that the secretariat would remain in Geneva. The Second Committee requested that such a review be undertaken, and it was quickly compiled based on questionnaires to the candidate countries. It revealed a cost of \$2.3 million for Nairobi and \$1.3 million for Geneva.
99. Joseph Odera-Jowi, Permanent Representative of Kenya to the United Nations; Donald Kaniaru, Second Secretary at Kenya's Permanent Mission, and Odera-Jowi's "right-hand man;" Dawson Mramba, Permanent Secretary; and Njoroge Mungai, Foreign Minister.
100. Kenya framed the decision as a question of affirming the role of developing countries as equal partners in multilateral affairs. The vote proceeded in two stages. First, governments voted on the operative part of the draft resolution, which included two paragraphs: "1. Decides to locate the environment secretariat in a developing country and 2. Further decides to locate the environment secretariat in Nairobi, Kenya." Second, governments voted on the resolution as a whole. The votes split along the deep rift between the Global North and South. Of the 124 UN member states at the time, ninety-three countries voted in favor of the operative paragraphs, and one country, the United States, voted against. Thirty member states abstained. Among the abstentions were all developed states except Greece, all socialist states except Romania and Yugoslavia, and the developing countries of Fiji, Malawi, Malaysia, Mongolia, and South Africa. The votes were influenced by the fact that Kenya was scheduled to take over the presidency of the Security Council only a

month after the vote. Since the issue of the status of Cyprus came up perennially before the Security Council, Greece supported Kenya and voted in favor of the resolution. Joseph Odero-Jowi, Permanent Representative of Kenya to the United Nations, became the President of the Security Council in February 1973. When countries voted on the resolution as a whole, however, the United States replaced its opposition with an abstention, and the resolution passed with ninety-three votes to none, with thirty-one abstentions. UN General Assembly, "Summary Record of the 1487th Meeting," 302.

101. UN General Assembly, "Summary Record of the 1488th Meeting," ed. Second Committee (New York, 1972), 307.

102. UN General Assembly "Summary Record of the 1487th Meeting," 303.

103. United States Congress, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, "Participation by the United States in the United Nations Environment Program," 8.

104. Copy of Department of State Superior Honor Award to John W. McDonald (in the author's possession).

105. Najam, "The Case against GEO, WEO, or Whatever-Else-EO," 36.

106. John Matuszak, interview by the author, 2018.

CHAPTER 3

1. Daniel Magraw, interview by the author, 2018.

2. UN General Assembly, "Resolution 2997(XXVII) Institutional and Financial Arrangements for International Environmental Cooperation."

3. "Governments will want to attach highest priority to the need for co-ordination and rationalization of the activities and programmes of the various international organizations active in the environmental field," the preparatory committee of the 1972 Stockholm Conference agreed. UN General Assembly, "Report of the Secretary General on United Nations Committee of the Human Environment," A/CONF.48/pC 11 (New York, 1971). Resolution 2997 of 1972 establishing UNEP noted that a core function of the executive director was to coordinate environmental programs within the UN system, keep their implementation under review, and assess their effectiveness.

4. These elements include the following, according to the *Mid-Term Evaluation of UNEP's Medium-term Strategy 2010–2013*:

1. Keeping the world environmental situation under review;
2. Catalyzing and promoting international cooperation and action;
3. Providing policy advice and early warning information, based upon sound science and assessments;
4. Facilitating the development, implementation and evolution of norms and standards and developing coherent inter-linkages among international environmental conventions;
5. Strengthening technology support and capacity in line with country needs and priorities.

5. Figure 3.1 was created from key documents that established, reiterated and specified UNEP's mandate. Other documents that provided clarifications for UNEP's mandate include, among others, 2000 Malmö Ministerial Declaration, 2002 UNEP Governing Council Resolution SS.VII/I on International Environmental Governance, and 2005 Bali Strategic Plan for Technology Support and Capacity Building.

6. Other international organizations also have expansive mandates. The IMF mandate, for example, is to "promote stability and growth in the world economy [and] UNHCR's is to protect refugees." See Barnett and Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*, 159–160.

7. See von Moltke, "The Organization of the Impossible"; Toru Iwama, "Multilateral Environmental Institutions and Coordinating Mechanisms," in *Emerging Forces in Environmental Governance*, ed. by N. Kanie and P. M. Haas (Tokyo, New York, Paris: United Nations University Press, 2004); Biermann and Bauer, *A World Environment Organization: Solution or Threat for Effective International Environmental Governance?*

8. See Ivanova, "Designing the United Nations Environment Programme: A Story of Compromise and Confrontation"; Ivanova, "UNEP in Global Environmental Governance: Design, Leadership, Location."

9. Amina Mohammed, interview by the author, 2018.

10. Rowan Scarborough, "'Peace Dividend' Apparently Paying Off," *Washington Times*, March 9, 1998; US Congress, "After the Cold War: Living with Lower Defense Spending," OTA-ITE-524 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1992). The end of the Cold War led to a dramatic cut in defense spending in the United States. For example, by 1998, the Pentagon reduced its active-duty troops by 700,000 and closed many weapons assembly lines, leading to a defense spending authority of \$270 billion in 1999, down from \$429.8 billion in 1985 (in 1999 inflation-adjusted dollars) and from \$385 billion in 1989. These cuts, however, were not used to invest in global issues but to balance the budget in the United States.

11. Thomas McInerney, "UNEP, International Environmental Governance, and the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda" (Working Paper, UNEP, 2017), https://wedocs.unep.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.11822/21247/UNEP_IEG_2030SDA.pdf.

12. van der Hel and Biermann, "The Authority of Science in Sustainability Governance: A Structured Comparison of Six Science Institutions Engaged with the Sustainable Development Goals," *Environmental Science and Policy* 77 (2017): 215.

13. International Labour Organization (ILO); Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO); United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); World Health Organization (WHO); World Meteorological Organization (WMO); International Agency for Research on Cancer (IARC); Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO, after 1982 known as IMO, International Maritime Organization); International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO); United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

14. Laurence D. Mee, "The Role of United Nations Environment Programme and United Nations Development Programme in Multilateral Environmental Agreements," *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 5, no. 3 (2005): 231.

15. OIOS, "Evaluation of the United Nations Environment Programme," 24.
16. Office of Policy Development and Inter-Agency Affairs, "Review and Analysis of the Environment Coordination Board and Acc Reports and of the Process and Modalities of the Preparation of SWMTEP" (in the author's possession, 1993), 6.
17. Global Environmental Governance Forum: Reflecting on the Past, Moving into the Future (Glion, Switzerland, June 28–July 2, 2009).
18. Source notes for box 3.1: UNEP Governing decision 6/1 of 1978 on program policy and implementation created SWMTEP and UNGA Resolution 33/86 of 1978 affirmed it. UN General Assembly, "Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System," A/Res/32/197 (New York, 1977); Office of Policy Development and Inter-Agency Affairs, "Review and Analysis of the Environment Coordination Board and Acc Reports and of the Process and Modalities of the Preparation of SWMTEP," 13; Office of Policy Development and Inter-Agency Affairs, "Review and Analysis of the Environment Coordination Board and Acc Reports and of the Process and Modalities of the Preparation of SWMTEP," 16; ECOSOC, "In-Depth Evaluation of the Programme on Environment, E/aC.51/1995/3," 8.
19. Jim MacNeill, interview by the author, 2009.
20. Kofi Annan, interview by the author, 2017.
21. Global Environmental Governance Forum: Reflecting on the Past, Moving into the Future.
22. UNEP Evaluation and Oversight Unit, "Management Study on Trust Funds and Counterpart Contributions" (Nairobi, 1999), 27.
23. ECOSOC, "In-Depth Evaluation of the Programme on Environment, E/AC.51/1995/3," in *Thirty-Fifth Session of the Committee for Programme and Coordination* (New York: United Nations, 1995), 7.
24. Interviewee 370, interview by the author, 2008.
25. Engfeldt, *From Stockholm to Johannesburg and Beyond*, 217.
26. Designed to tackle global environmental problems and help implement environmental conventions, the GEF began with US\$1 billion over three years. Twenty-five years later, the GEF has invested US\$14.5 billion, and leveraged US\$75.4 billion in additional resources, for nearly four thousand projects in 167 countries. Global Environment Facility, "25 Years of GEF," 2016, <https://www.thegef.org/sites/default/files/publications/31357FinalWeb.pdf>.
27. UN General Assembly, "Strengthening of the United Nations Environment Programme," A/Res/48/174 (New York, 1993), 2.
28. Gerrard Cunningham, interview by the author, 2017.
29. Donald Kaniaru, interview by the author, 2004.
30. Tadanori Inomata, "Management Review of Environmental Governance within the United Nations System," JIU/REP/2008/3 (Geneva: Joint Inspection Unit, 2008), 10. See also Steiner Andresen, "The Effectiveness of UN Environmental Institutions," *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 7, no. 4 (2007), 317–336.

31. Inomata, "Management Review of Environmental Governance within the United Nations System," 30.
32. Mark F. Imber, *Environment, Security, and UN Reform* (New York: Springer, 1994), 83.
33. Regarding the clusters approach, El-Ashry explained his proposal to UNEP Executive Director Dr. Klaus Töpfer and noted that "Töpfer didn't buy it because he wanted the whole thing." The executive director of UNEP was formally the chair of the EMG, but UNEP no longer performs an active coordinating role in the UN system. Mohamed El-Ashry, interviewed by the author, 2008.
34. At the outset, EMG was perceived as an instrument that UNEP used to establish control over the agencies, and it was met with resistance. See Adil Najam, Mihaela Papa, and Nadaa Taiyab, *Global Environmental Governance: A Reform Agenda* (Winnipeg, Canada: International Institute for Sustainable Development [IISD], 2006), <https://www.iisd.org/sites/default/files/publications/geg.pdf>. Several initiatives to enhance the effectiveness of the EMG have been undertaken. See UNEP/GC/27/2, para. 16; UNEA/1/11, para. 4; and UNEA/2/5. However, fulfilling its mandate is still considered problematic. See UN Secretary-General, "Gaps in International Environmental Law and Environment-Related Instruments: Towards a Global Pact for the Environment," A/73/419, New York, 2018.
35. Janos Pasztor, interview by the author, 2017.
36. Kofi Annan, interview by the author, 2017.
37. For an analytical framework of the science-policy interface, see David W. Cash, William C. Clark, Frank Alcock, Nancy M. Dickson, Noelle Eckley, David H. Guston, Jill Jäger, and Ronald B. Mitchell, "Knowledge Systems for Sustainable Development," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 100, no. 14 (2003): 8086–8091. For an empirical study of the science-policy interface in global environmental governance, see Pia Kohler, *Science Advice and Global Environmental Governance: Expert Institutions and the Implementation of International Environmental Treaties* (London, New York: Anthem Press, 2019).
38. Ågesta Group AB Sweden, "Twenty Years after Stockholm, 1972–1992: A Report on the Implementation of the Stockholm Action Plan for the Environment and on Priorities and Institutional Arrangements for the 1980s" (Farsta: Ågesta Group AB, 1982). 13; Norman N. Miller, *The United Nations Environment Programme* (Hanover: American Universities Field Staff, 1979), 21.
39. John Matuszak, interview by the author, 2018.
40. UN General Assembly, "Consolidated Document on the UN System and the Human Environment," *United Nations Conference on the Human Environment* (Stockholm, 1972), para. 111.
41. ECOSOC, "In-Depth Evaluation of the Programme on Environment, E/a.C.51/1995/3," 10–12. Earthwatch comprised the International Referral System (IRS), the Global Environmental Monitoring Systems (GEMS), the International Register for Potentially Toxic Chemicals (IRPTC), and the Study of Outer Limits, which included work on climate change, ozone layer depletion, bioproductivity, and weather modification.

42. Richard Sandbrook, "The 'Crisis' in Political Development Theory," *The Journal of Development Studies* 12, no. 2 (1976): 180.
43. Peter S. Thacher, "Multilateral Cooperation and Global Change," *Journal of International Affairs* 44, no. 2 (1991): 442.
44. Thacher, "Multilateral Cooperation and Global Change," 442.
45. Calestous Juma, interview by the author, 2017.
46. Ågesta Group AB Sweden, "Twenty Years after Stockholm," 29.
47. Ågesta Group AB Sweden, 29.
48. This work started with the production of scientific assessments on particular topics. In 1995, UNEP published the *Global Biodiversity Assessment*—the first independent, peer-reviewed, global scientific assessment of biological diversity. The report offered a review of scientific knowledge to date and acknowledged areas of consensus and disagreement. UNEP also continued to produce the International Register of Potentially Toxic Chemicals and use it as the foundation for training experts and providing technical support to developing countries.
49. In 1995, UNEP published the first "independent, peer-reviewed, global scientific assessment of the earth's biological diversity, [a]n authoritative, 1100-page book, *The Global Biodiversity Assessment*." UNEP, United Nations Environment Programme: Highlights of the Biennium, 1994–1995, *UNEP/GC/19/INF.16* (Nairobi, 1995), 6.
50. Maria Ivanova and Melissa Goodall, "Global Environmental Outlook (GEO): an Integrated Environmental Assessment," *The Encyclopedia of Sustainability: Measurements, Indicators, and Research Methods for Sustainability* (Berkshire Publishing Group, 2012): 207–234.
51. Michael Zammit Cutajar, interview by the author, 2017.
52. Amina Mohammed, interview by the author, 2018.
53. Somini Sengupta, "'Bleak' U.N. Report on a Planet in Peril Looms Over New Climate Talks," *New York Times*, November 26, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/26/climate/greenhouse-gas-emissions-carbon.html>.
54. Murat Arsel, "Fuelling misconceptions: UNEP, natural resources, the environment and conflict." *Development and Change* 42, no. 1 (2011): 448.
55. Julia Marton-Lefèvre, "The Role of the Scientific Community in the Preparation of and Follow-up to UNCED," in *Negotiating International Regimes: Lessons Learned from the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development*, ed. Bertram I. Spector, Gunnar Sjöstedt, and I. William Zartman (London: Graham & Trotman/M. Nijhoff, 1994), 173.
56. Desai, "UNEP: A Global Environmental Authority," 139.
57. Michail Nikolaevich Kopylov, "ЮНЕП-35. Сколько еще? (UNEP-35. How Many Ahead?)," *Moskovsky zhurnal mezhduranodnogo prava* 66, no. 2 (2007): 159.
58. ECOSOC, "In-Depth Evaluation of the Programme on Environment—Note by the Secretary-General," 10–12.

59. Maria Ivanova and Natalia Escobar-Pemberthy, "The UN, Global Governance and the SDGs," in *Handbook on the Resource Nexus*, ed. Raimund Bleischwitz et al. (New York, Routledge/Earthscan: 2017): 486–502.
60. Niko Urho, interview by the author, 2019.
61. Gerard Cunningham, interview by the author, 2017.
62. GEO, "GEO, Group on Earth Observations," <https://www.earthobservations.org/index.php>.
63. Ivanova and Escobar-Pemberthy, "The UN, Global Governance and the SDGs," 491.
64. Dan Magraw, interview by the author, 2018.
65. Norman N. Miller, *The United Nations Environment Programme*, 10; ECOSOC, "In-Depth Evaluation of the Programme on Environment—Note by the Secretary-General," 18.
66. T. C. Bacon, "Role of the United Nations Environment Program in the Development of International Environmental Law," *The Canadian Yearbook of International Law* 12 (1974): 257.
67. UN General Assembly "Resolution 3129 (XXVIII) On the establishment of international standards on shared resources" (New York, 1973). Several Governing Council resolutions also requested the executive director to initiate legal consultations and participate in developing legal principles. See John W. Head, "The Challenge of International Environmental Management: A Critique of the United Nations Environment Programme," *Virginia Journal of International Law* 18, no. 2 (1977–1978): 285.
68. Mark Allan Gray, "The United Nations Environment Programme: An Assessment," *Environmental Law* 20 (1990): 295.
69. Achim Steiner, Lee A. Kimball, and John Scanlon, "Global Governance for the Environment and the Role of Multilateral Environmental Agreements in Conservation," *Oryx* 37, no. 2 (2003): 236.
70. John McCormick, *Reclaiming Paradise: The Global Environmental Movement* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 174.
71. Peter M. Haas, "Institutions: United Nations Environment Programme," *Environment* 36, no. 7 (1993): 44.
72. Gus Speth, interview by the author, 2019.
73. Interviewee 978, interview by the author, 2008.
74. The core policy functions of UNEP as per the 1997 Nairobi Declaration, which rearticulated UNEP's mandate include: Further the development of its international environmental law, including development of coherent interlinkages among existing international environmental conventions; Advance the implementation of agreed international norms and policies, to monitor and foster compliance with environmental principles and international agreements and stimulate cooperative action to respond to emerging environmental challenges.

75. Calestous Juma, interview by the author, 2017.
76. John Scanlon, Secretary General of CITES, "Presentation at the 12th special session of GMEF, Plenary Panel on the Institutional Framework for Sustainable Development" (Nairobi, Kenya, February 12, 2012), https://www.cites.org/eng/news/sg/2012/20120221_UNEP-GMEF.php.
77. Michael Zammit Cutajar, interview by the author, 2017.
78. John Matuszak, interview by the author, 2018. See also UN General Assembly, "UN Reform. Implications for the Environment Pillar," UNEP/DED/040506 (Nairobi, 2006).
79. UNEP, "Mid-Term Evaluation of UNEP's Medium-Term Strategy 2010–2013," 15.
80. Youba Sokona, interview by the author, 2018.
81. Teresa Kramarz and Susan Park. "Accountability in Global Environmental Governance: A Meaningful Tool For Action?," *Global Environmental Politics*, 16, no. 2 (2016): 4.
82. See *Global Leadership Dialogues*, Volume 3, Issue 3: "Environmental Envoy: Achim Steiner." 2016. Center for Governance and Sustainability, University of Massachusetts Boston.
83. Annabell Waititu, interview by the author, 2017.
84. UNEP, "Mid-Term Evaluation of UNEP's Medium-Term Strategy 2010–2013," 7.
85. UNEP, "Medium Term Strategy 2014–2017" (Nairobi, 2015), 40.
86. In 2019, 70 percent of respondents to an Office of Internal Oversight Services survey evaluating UNEP's performance noted that there was no common vision at UNEP on how best to achieve goals, and 60 percent said that quality of work at UNEP suffered due to constantly changing priorities. OIOS, "Evaluation of the United Nations Environment Programme," 20.

CHAPTER 4

1. Tolba, 1998 interview cited in Penelope Canan and Nancy Reichman, *Ozone Connections: Expert Networks in Global Environmental Governance* (Sheffield, UK: Greenleaf Publishing, 2002), 48.
2. Interviewee 710, interview by the author, 2017.
3. Bill Mansfield, interview by the author, 2008.
4. OIOS, "Review of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the Administrative Practices of Its Secretariat, Including the United Nations Office in Nairobi (UNON)," A/51/810 (New York, 1997).
5. Richard E. Benedick, *Ozone Diplomacy: New Directions in Safeguarding the Planet* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 6.
6. Benedick, *Ozone Diplomacy*, 6; Philippe G. Le Prestre, John D. Reid, and E. Thomas Morehouse, eds. *Protecting the Ozone Layer: Lessons, Models, and Prospects* (Boston: Kluwer, 1998), 57–58; Edward A. Parson *Protecting the Ozone Layer: Science and Strategy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 142; Karen Litfin, *Ozone Discourses: Science*

and Politics in Global Environmental Cooperation (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 201–3; Peter M. Haas “Banning chlorofluorocarbons: epistemic community efforts to protect stratospheric ozone,” *International organization* 46, no. 1 (1992): 223; Detlef Sprinz and Tapani Vaahtoranta, “The interest-based explanation of international environmental policy,” *International Organization* 48, no. 1 (1994): 78.

7. Thacher, “Multilateral Cooperation and Global Change,” 442; Carol Annette Petsonk, “The Role of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) in the Development of International Environmental Law,” *American University Journal of International Law & Policy* 5, no. 2 (1990): 367; Benedick, *Ozone Diplomacy*, 54.

8. Canan and Reichman, *Ozone Connections*, 48.

9. Richard E. Benedick, “US Environmental Policy: Relevance to Europe,” *International Environmental Affairs* 1, no. 2 (1989): 47.

10. Source notes for box 4.1: Tribute to Mostafa Tolba in Benedick, *Ozone Diplomacy*. Cited in Stephen O. Andersen and K. Madhava Sarma, *Protecting the Ozone Layer: The United Nations History* (London: Earthscan, 2012), 139; Interviewee 676, interview by the author, 2018.

11. In addition, under Article 9, parties report every two years on activities regarding research, public awareness, and exchange of information. There are also reporting requirements established by Meetings of the Parties that require relevant countries to annually submit information on: reclamation facilities and their capacities (Decision VI/19), approved essential or critical uses (Decision VIII/9), and usage for exempted laboratory and critical uses (Decision VI/9).

12. Carol Petsonk, “The Role of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) in the Development of International Environmental Law,” 368.

13. UNEP Governing Council, “Review of Major Achievements in the Implementation of the Stockholm Action Plan,” UNEP/GC.10/6/Add.1 (Nairobi, 1982), para. 83.

14. Ernst Haas, *When Knowledge Is Power: Three Models of Change in International Organizations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990): 356.

15. Mostafa Tolba, interview by the author, 2008.

16. Tolba, interview by the author, 2008.

17. Tolba, interview by the author, 2008.

18. Glen Garelick, “Environment a Breath of Fresh Air: Delegates of 24 Nations Sign a Historic Pact on Ozone,” *Time Magazine*, September 28, 1987.

19. Carol Petsonk, “The Role of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) in the Development of International Environmental Law,” 369–370.

20. In figure 4.1 and further in the text, the numbers for the 2018–2019 biennium are based only on the 2018 UNEP audited financial statement, and 2019 numbers are projected based on the 2018 data.

21. Susan E. Strahan and Anne R. Douglass, “Decline in Antarctic Ozone Depletion and Lower Stratospheric Chlorine Determined from Aura Microwave Limb Sounder Observations,” *Geophysical Research Letters* 45, no. 1 (2018): 382.

22. Samson Reiny, "NASA Study: First Direct Proof of Ozone Hole Recovery Due to Chemical Ban," <https://www.nasa.gov/feature/goddard/2018/nasa-study-first-direct-proof-of-ozone-hole-recovery-due-to-chemicals-ban>.

23. Paul Akiwumi and Terttu Melvasalo, "UNEP's Regional Seas Programme: Approach, Experience and Future Plans," *Marine Policy* 22, no. 3 (1998); Stacy D. VanDeveer, "Protecting Europe's Seas: Lessons from the Last 25 Years," *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development* 42, no. 6 (2000): 10–26.

24. Frank Prial, "Program to Clean up Mediterranean Sea Is Approved," *New York Times*, March 11, 1981, <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/03/11/world/program-to-clean-up-mediterranean-sea-is-approved.html>.

25. The Barcelona Convention is also known as the Convention for the Protection of the Mediterranean Against Pollution. It was adopted on 16 February 1976 in conjunction with two Protocols addressing the prevention of pollution by dumping from ships and aircraft, and cooperation in combating pollution in cases of emergency. In 1995, the Contracting Parties adopted amendments to the Barcelona Convention of 1976 and renamed it the Convention for the Protection of the Marine Environment and the Coastal Region of the Mediterranean. It entered into force in 2004. Countries adopted the Protocol on pollution from land-based sources in 1980, the Protocol concerning Specifically Protected Areas in 1982, and the Offshore Protocol in 1994.

26. Prial, "Program to Clean up Mediterranean Sea Is Approved."

27. Desai, "UNEP: A Global Environmental Authority," 139.

28. Laurence D. Mee, "The Role of United Nations Environment Programme and United Nations Development Programme in Multilateral Environmental Agreements," 246.

29. UNEP, "UNEP Annual Report 1998" (Nairobi, 1999), 33.

30. Peter M. Haas, "Institutions: United Nations Environment Programme," 45; Peter Hulm, "The Regional Seas Program; What Fate for United Nations Environment Programme's Crown Jewels?" *Ambio* 12, no. 1 (1983): 7; Frank Biermann and Steffen Bauer, "Managers of Global Governance Assessing and Explaining the Effectiveness of Intergovernmental Organizations," paper presented at the 44th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association (Portland, 2003), 11. Other scholars, however, criticize it as insufficient. Mingst, et al. note, for example, that "the plans for various seas have faced a number of difficult problems, including contentious political relationships among participating states." Karen A. Mingst, Margaret P. Karns, and Alynna J. Lyon, *The United Nations in the 21st Century (Dilemmas in World Politics)*, 5th ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2016), 213.

31. The Sahel is the semi-arid region in Africa extending from Senegal eastward to Sudan. It forms a transitional zone between the Sahara Desert to the north and the belt of humid savannas to the south. It spans from the Atlantic eastward through Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Nigeria, Chad, and Sudan.

32. Mohammed Kassas, "Desertification: A General Review," *Journal of Arid Environments* 30, no. 2 (1995): 126.

33. Kassas, "Desertification: A General Review," 127. UNESCO had been working on desertification since 1950, when it launched a worldwide arid zone research program. As a result, two hundred arid-zone research institutions had been activated, thirty volumes of scientific and technical studies published, and dryland ecology emerged as a scientific field.
34. David Waugh, *Geography: An Integrated Approach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 192.
35. UNEP, "1979 Annual Review" (Nairobi, 1979), 34.
36. Steve Lonergan, "The Role of UNEP in Desertification Research and Mitigation," *Journal of Arid Environments* 63, no. 3 (2005): 533.
37. Mohammed Kassas, "Desertification," 123.
38. David S.G. Thomas and Nicholas J. Middleton, *Desertification: Exploding the Myth* (John Wiley and Sons, 1994), 17.
39. Adil Najam, Loli Christopoulou, and William R. Moomaw, "The Emergent 'System' of Global Environmental Governance," *Global Environmental Politics* 4, no. 4 (2004); Najam, Papa, and Taiyab, *Global Environmental Governance: A Reform Agenda*.
40. UNEP, *World Atlas of Desertification* (Baltimore: Edward Arnold, 1992), 23–24.
41. Source notes for box 4.2: Thomas and Middleton, *Desertification: Exploding the Myth*, 17–18; S.R. Verón, J.M. Paruelo, and M. Oesterheld, "Assessing Desertification," *Journal of Arid Environments* 66, no. 4 (2006): 755; Stefanie M. Herrmann and Charles F. Hutchinson, "The Changing Contexts of the Desertification Debate," *Journal of Arid Environments* 63, no. 3 (2005): 538; UNEP, *World Atlas of Desertification 11*; Verón, Paruelo, and Oesterheld, "Assessing Desertification," 756–57; Lindsay C. Stringer, "Reviewing the International Year of Deserts and Desertification 2006: What Contribution Towards Combating Global Desertification and Implementing the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification?" *Journal of Arid Environments* 72, no. 11 (2008): 2066.
42. Steve Lonergan, "The Role of UNEP in Desertification Research and Mitigation," 534.
43. T. V. Padma, "African nations push UN to improve drought research," *Nature News*, September 13, 2019, <https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-019-02760-9>.
44. Steve Lonergan, "The Role of UNEP in Desertification Research and Mitigation," 535.
45. ECOSOC, "In-Depth Evaluation of the Programme on the Environment, E/Ac.51/1995/3", 10–12.
46. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), World Health Organization (WHO), International Agency for Research on Cancer (IARC), Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO, after 1982 known as IMO, International Maritime Organization), and International Labour Organization (ILO).
47. Johnson, *UNEP: The First 40 Years*, 150.

48. RS, "Halt 'Garbage Imperialism,'" *Christian Science Monitor*, November 15, 1988.
49. RS, "Halt 'Garbage Imperialism.'"
50. Jennifer Clapp, *Toxic Exports: The Transfer of Hazardous Wastes from Rich to Poor Countries* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2001), 40; see also Kate O'Neill, *Waste Trading Among Rich Nations: Building a New Theory of Environmental Regulation* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000).
51. Dermot O'Sullivan, "UN Environment Program Targets Issue of Hazardous Waste Exports," *Chemical & Engineering News* 66, no. 39 (1988), 27.
52. Gerard Cunningham, interview by the author, 2017.
53. There have been extensive debates about whether the requirement of three-fourths of the parties to the Convention applies to the current membership, or the membership at the time of the amendment's adoption. In 2011, parties agreed to interpret the clause so that the amendment will have entered into force upon ratification by three-fourths of those that were parties at the time of the amendment's adoption (as detailed in decision BC10/3).
54. Erin McCormick et al., "Where does your plastic go? Global investigation reveals America's dirty secret," *Guardian*, June 17, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/jun/17/recycled-plastic-america-global-crisis>.
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56. Rolph Payet, interview by the author, 2018.
57. In 2017, at their joint General Assembly in Taipei, the International Council for Science (ICSU) and the International Social Science Council (ISSC) merged into one organization, the International Science Council (ISC).
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59. Robert M. White, "The World Climate Conference: Report by the Conference Chairman," *WMO Bulletin* 28, no. 3 (1979): 177–178.
60. WMO, "World Climate Programme (WEP)," <http://www.wmo.int/>.
61. UNEP, "1979 Annual Review," 28.
62. WMO, "World Climate Programme (WEP)."

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64. John Zillman, "A History of Climate Activities," *WMO Bulletin* 58, no. 3 (2009): 145.
65. WMO, "The Changing Atmosphere. Implications for Global Security No. 710" (Geneva, 1989).
66. UNEP, "UNEP Biennial Report 1996–1997: UNEP's 25 for Life on Earth" (Nairobi, Kenya, 1997), 45.
67. Michael Zammit Cutajar, interview by the author, 2017.
68. Interviewee 576, interview by the author, 2018.
69. UNEP, "Formative Evaluation of the UNEP Medium-Term Strategy 2014–2017: A Review of UNEP Programming Processes and Documents" (Nairobi, 2015), 14.
70. UNEP and WMO, "Integrated Assessment of Black Carbon and Tropospheric Ozone" (Nairobi, 2011); UNEP, "Emissions Gap Report" (Nairobi, 2018); UNEP-CCAC, "Time to act to reduce short-lived climate pollutants" (2014).
71. Christiana Figueres, interview by the author, 2019.
72. FridaysforFuture. Main page: <https://www.fridaysforfuture.org/>.
73. Ehsan Masood, "The Battle for the Soul of Biodiversity," *Nature* 50 (2018): 424.
74. Margaret Goud Collins, "International Organizations and Biodiversity," in *Encyclopedia of Biodiversity*, ed. Simon A. Levin (Amsterdam: Academic Press, 2013): 325.
75. Thomas Lovejoy, "Eden no more," *Science Advances* 5, no. 5 (2019).
76. Stephanie Fischer, "Holding on to hope: Q&A with Julia Marton-Lefèvre, former Director General of the International Union for Conservation of Nature," Stanford Woods Institute for the Environment, May 20, 2019, <https://woods.stanford.edu/news/holding-hope-qa-julia-marton-lef-vre-former-director-general-international-union-conservation>.
77. Fiona McConnell, *The Biodiversity Convention: A Negotiating History* (Kluwer Law International, 1996), 76.
78. Kristin G. Rosendal, "Impacts of Overlapping International Regimes: The Case of Biodiversity," *Global Governance* 7, no. 1 (2001): 102.
79. Rosendal, "Impacts of Overlapping International Regimes," 102.
80. Calestous Juma, interview by the author, 2017.
81. Falk Schmidt and Nick Nuttal, "Contributions Towards a Sustainable World in Dialogue with Klaus Töpfer" (München: Oekom Verlag, 2014), 99. See also Shawkat Alam, Sumudu Atapattu, Carmen G. Gonzalez, and Jona Razzaque, eds., *International Environmental Law and the Global South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

82. Désirée McGraw, "The CBD—Key Characteristics and Implications for Implementation," *Review of European, Comparative & International Environmental Law* 11, no. 1 (2002): 19.

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84. Timothy Swanson, *Global Action for Biodiversity: An International Framework for Implementing the Convention on Biological Diversity* (Routledge, 1997), 9.

85. Steinar Andresen, "Global Environmental Governance: UN Fragmentation and Co-Ordination," in *Yearbook of International Co-Operation on Environment and Development*, ed. Olav Schram Stokke and Oystein B. Thommessen (London: Earthscan Publications, 2001), 22–23.

86. Masood, "The battle for the soul of biodiversity," 423.

87. UNEP, "Understanding Synergies and Mainstreaming among the Biodiversity Related Conventions: A Special Contributory Volume by Key Biodiversity Convention Secretariats and Scientific Bodies" (Nairobi, Kenya, 2016).

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89. Examples include the identification of the specific SDG indicators that are related to each of the conventions, the development of action programs that incorporate SDG-related indicators into national biodiversity strategies and action plans, and the establishment of links between Goals 14 and 15 indicators and the Aichi Targets established by the Convention on Biological Diversity.

90. Marie-Claude Smouts, *Tropical Forests, International Jungle: The Underside of Global Ecopolitics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 29.

91. Deborah S. Davenport, "An Alternative Explanation for the Failure of the UNCED Forest Negotiations," *Global environmental politics* 5, no. 1 (2005): 107; B. Chaytor, *The Development of Global Forest Policy: Overview of Legal and Institutional Frameworks* (London: International Institute for Environment and Development [IIED] and the World Business Council for Sustainable Development [WCBSD], 2001), 5–7.

92. The Forest Principles is the informal name for the Non-Legally Binding Authoritative Statement of Principles for a Global Consensus on the Management, Conservation and Sustainable Development of All Types of Forests.

93. Constance L. McDermott, Aran O'Carroll, and Peter Wood, "International Forest Policy—the Instruments, Agreements and Processes That Shape It" (Department of Economic and Social Affairs United Nations Forum on Forests Secretariat, 2007).

94. Richard G. Tarasofsky, "Assessing the International Forest Regime" (Gland, Switzerland: IUCN Environmental Law Centre, 1999), 21–22.

95. Richard G. Tarasofsky, "UN Intergovernmental Forum on Forests Ends—UN Forum on Forests to Begin," *Environmental Policy and Law* 30, no. 1–2 (2000): 32–33.

96. James Gustave Speth, *The Bridge at the Edge of the World: Capitalism, the Environment, and Crossing from Crisis to Sustainability* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 178. See also James Gustave Speth, *Red Sky at Morning: America and the Crisis of the Global Environment* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004).

97. UN General Assembly, "Environment and Human Settlements. Report of the Secretary-General," A/53/463 (New York, 1998).

CHAPTER 5

1. Johnson, *UNEP: The First 40 Years*, 51–52.

2. Harambee is used to denote community, self-help, and fundraising events but has come under criticism for corruption and the misappropriation of public funds. There have been several attempts to abolish harambee and remove the word from the coat of arms as part of anti-corruption efforts, with the latest in February 2018. See Joseph Karimi, "Efforts to end corruption in harambees," *Standard Digital*, August 28, 2013, <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000092053/efforts-to-end-corruption-in-harambees>; Daniel Psirmoi, "Petition Over Word 'Harambee' Splits Senators," *Standard Digital*, February 15, 2018, <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001269763/petition-over-word-harambee-splits-senators>.

3. David Ndii and Anne Waiguru, "Harambee: Pooling Together or Pulling Apart?" (Transparency International Kenya, 2001). See also Anne Waiguru, "Corruption and Patronage Politics: The Case of 'Harambee' in Kenya," in *Measuring Corruption*, eds. C. Sampford, A. Shacklock, C. Connors, and F. Galtung (Transparency International, 2006), 251.

4. Hierlmeier, "UNEP: Retrospect and Prospect—Options for Reforming the Global Environmental Governance Regime," 770.

5. UN General Assembly, Second Committee, "Summary Record of the 1466th Meeting," 326.

6. UN General Assembly, Second Committee, "Summary Record of the 1466th Meeting," 191. See also Mauritania's statement affirming that "the candidacy of Kenya was a test of the solidarity of the Group of 77 and of the future of the United Nations itself, because in the past the selection of the location of United Nations units had been based exclusively on financial considerations. His delegation was aware that it would be initially more expensive to locate the environment secretariat in Nairobi but felt that the decision to be taken was essentially a political decision" (UN General Assembly, Second Committee, 302).

7. Interviewee 663, interview by the author, 2004.

8. Mwangi S. Kimenyi and Josephine Kibe, "Africa's Powerhouse," Brookings Institution, 2014, <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/africas-powerhouse/>

9. Dominic Omondi, "Survey: Kenya Ranked Third Most Corrupt Country in the World," *Standard Digital*, February 26, 2016. <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000193065/survey-kenya-ranked-third-most-corrupt-country-in-the-world>.

10. Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission, "National Ethics and Corruption Survey, 2016" (Kenya: Report no. 3 of January 2017), http://www.eacc.go.ke/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Final_EACC_National_Survey_on_Corruption-2016.pdf.
11. Charles Mohr, "Corruption and Repression Mar the Success of Kenya," *New York Times*, October 17, 1975, <https://www.nytimes.com/1975/10/17/archives/corruption-and-repression-mar-the-success-of-kenya-kenyas-success.html>. Margaret Wambui, President Jomo Kenyatta's daughter, was the mayor of Nairobi from 1970 to 1976 and for ten years thereafter Kenya's representative to UNEP. "Through the United Africa Corporation (UAC) in which she was the major shareholder," Kenyan author, journalist, and diplomat Joe Khamisi writes, "Margaret Wambui exported 50 tons of ivory to Peking (now Beijing) China in 1972." Joe Khamisi, *Kenya: Looters and Grabbers: 54 Years of Corruption and Plunder by the Elite, 1963–2017* (Zionsville, IN: Jodey Book Publishers, 2018), 100.
12. Kipyego Cheluget, *Kenya's Fifty Years of Diplomatic Engagement: From Kenyatta to Kenyatta* (Nairobi: Moran Publishers and Worldreader, 2018), 24.
13. Khamisi, *Kenya: Looters and Grabbers*, 56; World Bank Data Kenya, <https://data.worldbank.org/country/kenya>; Grey Phombeah, "Moi's Legacy to Kenya," *BBC News*, August 5, 2002, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/2161868.stm>; Xan Rice, "The Looting of Kenya," *Guardian*, 2007.
14. Edwin Gimode, "An Anatomy of Violent Crime and Insecurity in Kenya: The Case of Nairobi, 1985–1999," *Africa Development Journal* 26, no. 1/2 (2001): 298.
15. Gimode, "An Anatomy of Violent Crime and Insecurity in Kenya," 315.
16. World Bank, "Violence in the City: Understanding and Supporting Community Responses to Urban Violence" (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2011), 218.
17. See Wangari Maathai, *Unbowed: A Memoir* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006).
18. Wanjira Mathai, "3 Ways to Uproot a Culture of Corruption," TED talk, 2019, https://www.ted.com/talks/wanjira_mathai_3_ways_to_uproot_a_culture_of_corruption.
19. The flow of guns across Kenya's borders for as low as \$65 each fueled insecurity. See Daniel Branch, *Kenya: Between Hope and Despair, 1963–2011* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011), 254.
20. The UN classifies the various duty stations using a hardship rating system that ranks 422 cities in 156 countries where UN personnel operate. The ratings range from A through E, with E being the most dangerous. The ratings only apply to areas the United Nations has identified as potentially hazardous, and therefore no cities in the United States, Canada or Western Europe are included in the rankings. The UN uses the ratings as guidelines for salary adjustments and contract lengths. Staff are entitled to a hardship allowance of up to 25 percent of base pay.
21. "From the top to the bottom of society," Daniel Branch, a scholar of East African politics, explained, "those that thrived under Moi's final decade in power were the agents of disorder, who built their political powerbases, economic wealth and social status on their ability to manage and exploit the conditions of violence and criminality." Branch, *Kenya: Between Hope and Despair, 1963–2011*, 267.

22. Stephanie McCrummen, "Incumbent Declared Winner in Kenya's Disputed Election," *Washington Post*, December 31, 2007, https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/12/30/AR2007123002506_pf.html.
23. See Gabrielle Lynch, *Performances of Injustice: The Politics of Truth, Justice and Reconciliation in Kenya* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 1; BBC News, "Kenya election violence: ICC names suspects," December 15, 2010, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-11996652>.
24. See Constance Smith, *Nairobi in the Making: Landscapes of Time and Urban Belonging* (Oxford: James Currey, 2019), 103.
25. The Fragile States Index assesses nation states' vulnerability to conflict or collapse and serves as early warning for the potential of states to fail. See <https://fundforpeace.org/2019/04/10/fragile-states-index-2019/>.
26. Vincent Achuka, "Sh1 Trillion—Shocking Numbers in the Plunder of a Nation," *Standard Digital*, December 9 2018.
27. A survey by the East African Institute in 2016 showed that 58 percent of young people in Kenya would do anything to make money, 35 percent would take or give a bribe, 45 percent believe corruption is profitable, and 73 percent are afraid to stand up for what they believe in, for fear of retribution. Quoted in Wanjira Mathai TED talk.
28. \$10 billion equals 12.6 percent of Kenya's 2017 GDP, which was \$79,263,000,000. In 2015, Kenya's annual expenditure on education accounted for 5.3 percent of the total GDP, and the country's health expenditure accounted for 5.22 percent of the total GDP.
29. Achuka, "Sh1 Trillion—Shocking Numbers in the Plunder of a Nation." The Ministry of Devolution and Arid and Semi-Arid Lands was established in January 2018 and is responsible for land management. The exposé continues, "In the 2015/2016 financial year, Sh40,286,583,945 [~\$391 million] was stolen while Sh3.7 billion [~\$36 million] collected from the public by various agencies never made it to the Treasury. Out of this amount, Sh27 billion [~\$265 million] was lost in just two ministries, Agriculture (Sh16 billion—\$156 million) and Devolution (Sh10.4 billion—\$102 million)."
30. Khamisi wrote that "The *Africa Investor*, a South African investment magazine, estimated the Kenyatta family wealth to be US\$10 billion (KES1 trillion)."
31. The percentage of permanent missions has been calculated based on data from the UN official website. For cities that are not capitals—Bonn, Geneva, and New York—the number includes embassies in the respective capital cities considering the geographic proximity and easy of travel to those locations.
32. See UN General Assembly, "Resolution 72/277 Towards a Global Pact for the Environment," A/72/L.51 & Add.1(as amended by A/72/L.53) (New York, 2018).
33. Remarks by Ambassador Amal Mudallali at a September 24, 2019 conference at Columbia University, "The Global Pact for the Environment and the Sustainable Development Agenda."
34. This is because there are no permanent interpreters in Nairobi, and they have to be flown in. In New York, interpretation costs are covered. Interviewee 173, interview by the author, 2018.

35. Harriet Constable, "Why Millennials Are Heading for a Wilder Tech City," *BBC Capital*, January 15, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/worklife/article/20180115-why>.

36. The Global Competitiveness Report by the World Economic Forum assesses the factors and attributes that drive productivity, growth, and human development. Indicators are organized into twelve "pillars": Institutions, Infrastructure, ICT adoption, Macroeconomic stability, Health, Skills, Product market, Labour market, Financial system, Market size, Business dynamism, and Innovation capability. See Klaus Schwab, ed., *Global Competitiveness Report 2019*, World Economic Forum (2019) <https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-competitiveness-report-2019>.

37. Pevehouse and von Borzyskowski, "International Organizations in World Politics," 16; Julia Gray, "Life, death, or zombie? The vitality of international organizations," *International Studies Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (2018): 11. See also Richard T. Cupitt, Rodney L. Whitlock, and Lynn Williams Whitlock, "The (Im)Morality of international governmental organizations." *International Interactions* 21, no. 4 (1996): 401.

38. Strong recruited a leadership team that included as Deputy Executive Director Mostafa Tolba, the Egyptian Minister who had greatly impressed Strong in the preparations for Stockholm, and as Assistant Executive Director Robert Frosch, a theoretical physicist who had been Assistant Secretary for Research and Development in the US Navy. Paul Berthoud of Switzerland served as the Director of the Environment Fund, Richard Foran as Director of Administration, and Peter Thacher, who had directed the secretariat for the Stockholm Conference, became director of UNEP's European Office in Geneva.

39. Johnson, *UNEP: The First 40 Years*, 52.

40. Cited in Mostafa Tolba, *Development without Destruction: Evolving Environmental Perceptions* (Dublin: Tycooly International, 1982), 140–141.

41. Source notes for box 5.1: Interviewee 369, interview by the author, 2007. Peter Sand's statement appears on a website that colleagues and friends of Stjepan Kečkeš created to share notes and impressions of him and celebrate his excellence, leadership, accomplishment, and good humor in the field of international marine protection and conservation.

42. Interviewee 558, interview by the author, 2004.

43. Mostafa Tolba, interview by the author, 2008.

44. In 2001, the security services at the United Nations Office in Nairobi responded to 7,212 calls for assistance from UN staff or Offices, and in 2002 to 10,042 calls. Nauludole V. Mataitini, "Security Update from Chief of Security UNON" (Nairobi, 2003).

45. Smith, *Nairobi in the Making*, 141.

46. OHCHR [Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights], "Protection Against Violence and Discrimination Based on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity," A/HRC/RES/32/2, Geneva, 2016. Criminalization of LGBTQ sexuality is among the legacies of colonialism. See Enze Han and Joseph O'Mahoney, "British Colonialism and the Criminalization of Homosexuality," *Cambridge Review of International*

Affairs 27, no. 2 (2014): 268–288. For the effects of such criminalization, see Doug Meyer, *Violence against Queer People: Race, Class, Gender, and the Persistence of Anti-LGBT Discrimination* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015).

47. Danna Harman, “Dark Days for Nairobi—Kenya’s Once-Lauded ‘Green City in the Sun,’” *Christian Science Monitor*, February 5, 2001, <https://www.csmonitor.com/2001/0205/p7s1.html>.

48. Arthur Dahl, interview by the author, 2007.

49. Ibrahim Thiaw, interview by the author, 2016.

50. Interviewee 270, interview by the author, 2004.

51. See the 1972 proposal of the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Kenya to the UN with regards to location of UNEP’s headquarters.

52. Interviewee 397, interview by the author, 2004.

53. UNEP, “UNEP Biennial Report 1996–1997,” 10.

54. ECOSOC, “In-Depth Evaluation of the Programme on Environment—Note by the Secretary-General,” 25.

55. UNEP Governing Council, “Decision 17/38 on improvement of facilities at the United Nations Office at Nairobi” (Nairobi, 1993).

56. UNEP, “UNEP Biennial Report 1996–1997,” 10.

57. In 2010, UNEP itself published a report on *Sustainable Travel in the United Nations*, offering guidance to UN organizations on how to improve sustainability of travel and reduce the carbon footprint of their travel—how to “travel less and travel more efficiently.” Yet, there is limited evidence that this advice has been taken to heart by UNEP or other UN agencies. UNEP, “Sustainable Travel in the United Nations” (Paris, 2010).

58. Christiana Figueres, interview by the author, 2019.

59. See Charlene Mires’s account of the dramatic history of the location choice of the United Nations in New York City, *Capital of the World: The Race to Host the United Nations* (New York: New York University Press, 2013).

60. Source notes for box 5.2:

UN Headquarters in New York, <https://www.un.org/en/sections/where-we-work/americas/index.html>.

NYC Mayor’s Office for International Affairs, “United Nations Impact Report” (New York, 2016).

UN Office Geneva, <https://www.unog.ch>.

UN Headquarters in Geneva, <https://careers.un.org/lbw/home.aspx?viewtype=VD&DID=3408>.

International Geneva, <https://www.geneve-int.ch/facts-figures>.

2018 UN Geneva Annual Report, [https://www.unog.ch/80256EDD006B8954/\(httpAssets\)/07818F29E3189146C12583D2005BC330/\\$file/65409560.pdf](https://www.unog.ch/80256EDD006B8954/(httpAssets)/07818F29E3189146C12583D2005BC330/$file/65409560.pdf).

UN Office Vienna, <http://www.unis.unvienna.org/unis/es/unvienna.html>.

UN Headquarters in Vienna, <https://careers.un.org/lbw/home.aspx?viewtype=VD&DID=2159>.

Austrian Embassy, Vienna—Official Seat of International Organisations & Institutions, <https://www.austria.org/international-organisations-in-austria>.

Federal Ministry Republic of Austria for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs, <https://www.bmeia.gv.at/en/the-ministry/press/announcements/2014/foreign-minister-kurz-presents-latest-study-about-austria-as-a-centre-of-international-organisations/>.

UN Office Nairobi, <https://unon.org>.

UN Headquarters in Nairobi, <https://careers.un.org/lbw/home.aspx?viewtype=VD&DID=2738>.

Peter Mwaura, “The Real Value of Having UN Presence in Kenya,” *Daily Nation*, December 19, 2004, <https://www.nation.co.ke/news/1056-37570-11815gs/index.html>.

61. Henry S. Weber and Mikael Karlström, *Why Community Investment is Good for Nonprofit Anchor Institutions: Understanding Costs, Benefits, and the Range of Strategic Options* (Chicago: Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago, 2009), 176. See also, Dubb, McKinley, and Howard, “The Anchor Dashboard: Aligning Institutional Practice to Meet Low-Income Community Needs”; Donald Kaniaru, interview by the author, 2004 and 2020.

62. Donald Kaniaru, interview by the author, 2020.

63. Kaniaru, interview by the author, 2020.

64. Moses Wetang’ula, “Kenya’s Diplomacy Has Come of Age,” in *Kenya’s Fifty Years of Diplomatic Engagement: From Kenyatta to Kenyatta*, ed. Kipyego Cheluget (Nairobi: Moran Publishers and Worldreader, 2018), 17.

65. Cheluget, *Kenya’s Fifty Years of Diplomatic Engagement*, 20.

66. Cheluget, 63.

67. Nasser Ega-Musa, “The United Nations Family Is in Kenya to Stay,” *Daily Nation*, June 29, 2014, <https://www.nation.co.ke/oped/letters/United-Nations-Nairobi-Office-Kenya/440806-2365524-7ewjuez/index.html>.

CHAPTER 6

1. Christiana Figueres, interview by the author, 2020.

2. Warren G. Bennis and Burt Nanus, *Leaders: Strategies for Taking Charge* (New York: HarperCollins, 1985), 213–214.

3. Jessica E. Dinh, Robert G. Lord, William L. Gardner, Jeremy D. Meuser, Robert C. Liden, and Jinyu Hu, “Leadership Theory and Research in the New Millennium: Current Theoretical Trends and Changing Perspectives,” *The Leadership Quarterly* 25, no. 1 (2013): 57–58.

4. Devesh Kapur, "Who Gets to Run the World?" *Foreign Policy* 121 (2000): 47; Nina Hall and Ngaire Woods, "Theorizing the role of executive heads in international organizations," 871.

5. Robert Cox, "The Executive Head: An Essay on Leadership in the ILO," *International Organization* 23 (1969): 205.

6. David A. Whetten, "Effective Administrators: Good Management on the College Campus," *Change: The Magazine of Higher Education* 16, no. 8 (1984): 42.

7. The core tasks of the environmental executive were to include (not necessarily listed in order of priority):

1. To consult with regional groups, as well as nations, concerning environmental measures, goals, and standards.
2. To identify and focus attention upon environmental problems and possible solutions.
3. To consult with the international science advisory service.
4. To administer the United Nations Voluntary Fund for the Environment.
5. To encourage the environmental activity of intergovernmental and nongovernmental groups.
6. To develop policy and guidelines with the advice of the United Nations Intergovernmental Body for the Environment.
7. To encourage nations to enter environmentally protective agreements with each other.
8. To provide advisory and good offices for dispute settlement.
9. To call together and/or contract with ad hoc groups of experts.
10. To promote public awareness and education.
11. To promote technical cooperation among nations.
12. To establish a global monitoring system.
13. To provide for the gathering, assessment, and sharing of data.

Source: United States Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on the 1972 UNCHE, "Stockholm and Beyond: Report," 131.

8. United States Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on the 1972 UNCHE, 133.

9. OIOS, Internal Audit Division, "Audit of Official Travel at the United Nations Environment Programme, Report 2018/109," November 16, 2018.

10. Maurice F. Strong, interview by the author, 2008.

11. Strong, interview by the author, 2008.

12. Engfeldt, *From Stockholm to Johannesburg and Beyond*, 72.

13. Interviewee 369, interview by the author, 2007.

14. Mostafa Tolba, interview by the author, 2008.

15. Maurice F. Strong, interview by the author, 2008.

16. John Ralston Saul, "Maurice Strong: Environmental Movement Loses a Founding Father," *The Globe and Mail*, November 30, 2015.

17. Ehsan Masood, "Maurice Strong (1929–2015): Oil Man Who Was First Director of the United Nations Environment Programme," *Nature* 528 (2015): 480–481.
18. Maurice F. Strong, interview by the author, 2008.
19. Strong, interview by the author, 2008.
20. The Cocoyoc Declaration, adopted by the participants in the UNEP/UNCTAD symposium on "Patterns of Resource Use, Environment, and Development Strategies," Cocoyoc, Mexico, October 8–12, 1974.
21. Branislav Gosovic, "Maurice F. Strong, Marc Nerfin, Pope Francis' Laudato Si', SDGs and COP 21," *Other News: Voices Against the Tide*, March 8 2016.
22. Thomas Palme, "Financial Difficulties and Program Review at UNEP Meeting," *Ambio* 5, no. 3 (1976): 144.
23. Palme, "Financial Difficulties and Program Review at UNEP Meeting," 144.
24. Interviewee 369, interview by the author, 2007.
25. Mark Halle, interview by the author, 2008.
26. William R. Moomaw, "Scientist Diplomats or Diplomat Scientists: Who Makes Science Diplomacy Effective?" in *Global Policy* 9, no. 3 (2017): 79.
27. Oran Young argues that regime formation happens in the interplay of these three forms of leadership, and hence studying interactions between leaders is crucial for understanding an institution's creation. See Oran R. Young, "Political leadership and regime formation: on the development of institutions in international society," *International Organization* 45, no. 3 (1991).
28. Mostafa Tolba, interview by the author, 2008.
29. Tolba, interview by the author, 2008.
30. Tolba, *Development without Destruction*, vii.
31. The World Commission on Environment and Development, "Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future" (Geneva, 1987), 43.
32. Anonymous, "Living History Interview with Dr. Mostafa Kamal Tolba Executive Director United Nations Environment Programme," *Transnational Law and Contemporary Problems* 2, no. 1 (1992): 263.
33. Anonymous, "Living History Interview with Dr. Mostafa Kamal Tolba," 267.
34. Interviewee 295, interview by the author, 2004.
35. Young, "Political Leadership and Regime Formation," 301.
36. Interviewee 924, interview by the author, 2007.
37. Interviewee 532, interview by the author, 2007.
38. Fiona McConnell, quoted in Johnson, *UNEP: The First 40 Years*, 123.
39. Interviewee 934, interview by the author, 2004.
40. Mark Halle, interview by the author, 2017.

41. Interviewee 762, interview by the author, 2004.
42. Interviewee 369, interview by the author, 2007.
43. Mark Halle, interview by the author, 2017.
44. Interviewee 663, interview by the author, 2004.
45. Interviewee 509, interview by the author, 2007.
46. Mark Halle, interview by the author, 2017.
47. Mostafa Tolba, interview by the author, 2008.
48. Sandbrook, "The 'Crisis' in Political Development Theory," 179.
49. Jennifer Clapp and Peter Dauvergne, *Paths to a Green World, the Political Economy of a Global Environment* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 57.
50. Barbara Ward, "A Decade of Environmental Action," *Environment* 24, no. 4 (1982): 4.
51. Tolba, *Development without Destruction*, 140.
52. David Hughes-Evans, "Dedication to Dr. Mostafa Kamal Tolba," *The Environmentalist* 2, no. 1 (1982): 7.
53. UN General Assembly, "Report on the United Nations Environment Programme's Session of a Special Character," in *Subcommittee Hearings* (New York, 1981).
54. David Struthers, "The United Nations Environment Programme after a Decade: The Nairobi Session of a Special Character, May 1981," *Denver Journal of International Law & Policy* 12, no. 2-3 (1981): 281, note 73.
55. Mohamed El-Ashry, interview by the author, 2017.
56. UN General Assembly, "Process of Preparation of the Environmental Perspective to the Year 2000 and Beyond," A/Res/38/161 (New York, 1983).
57. Mark Halle, interview by the author, 2017.
58. Engfeldt, *From Stockholm to Johannesburg and Beyond*, 153.
59. Interviewee 291, interview by the author, 2017.
60. Mark Halle, interview by the author, 2017.
61. Mostafa Tolba, interview by the author, 2008.
62. Interviewee 950, interview by the author, 2018.
63. Nina Berglund, "Solheim's travel hits UNEP funding," *News in English*, September 24, 2018, <https://www.newsinenglish.no/2018/09/24/solheims-travel-hits-UNEP-funding/>.
64. Mark Halle, interview by the author, 2017.
65. United Nations Population Information Network (POPIN), "Statement of UNEP, Mrs. Elizabeth Dowdeswell," 1994.
66. Elizabeth Dowdeswell, interview by the author, 2004.

67. Interviewee 369, interview by the author, 2007; Interviewee 336, interview by the author, 2008. In 1994, Dowsdeswell and Kinley published an article on “Constructive Damage to the Status Quo” in *Negotiating Climate Change: The Inside Story of the Rio Convention*, eds. Irving M. Mintzer and J. Amber Leonard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1994).
68. Fred Boyd, ed., “In Conversation with Elizabeth Dowdeswell,” *Canadian Nuclear Society Bulletin* 24, no.1 (2003).
69. Fred Pearce, “Environment Body Goes to Pieces,” *New Scientist*, February 15, 1997, <https://www.newscientist.com/article/mg15320691-500-environment-body-goes-to-pieces/>.
70. Interviewee 393, interview by the author, 2004.
71. Johnson, *UNEP: The First 40 Years*, 147.
72. Interviewee 625, interview by the author, 2005.
73. Interviewee 742, interview by the author, 2004.
74. Interviewee 369, interview by the author, 2007.
75. Elizabeth Dowdeswell quoted in Johnson, *UNEP: The First 40 Years*, 148.
76. Engfeldt, *From Stockholm to Johannesburg and Beyond*, 217.
77. Interviewee 964, interview by the author, 2017.
78. Quoted in Khamisi, *Kenya: Looters and Grabbers*, 34.
79. Idunn Eidheim, interview by the author, 2018.
80. Interviewee 370, interview by the author, 2008.
81. Mark Halle, interview by the author, 2017.
82. Engfeldt, *From Stockholm to Johannesburg and Beyond*, 217.
83. The Republican Revolution, or Gingrich Revolution, refers to the success of the Republican Party in the 1994 US congressional elections, which resulted in a Republican majority in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. The Speaker of the House of Representatives, Newt Gingrich, pursued an ambitious agenda to limit government, including environmental regulation and multilateral engagement.
84. Richard Bernstein, “Why Does the United States Refuse to Pay Its UN Bill?” *New York Times*, August 7, 1988, <https://www.nytimes.com/1988/08/07/weekinreview/the-world-why-does-the-united-states-refuse-to-pay-its-un-bill.html>
85. John Matuszak, interview by the author, 2018.
86. Engfeldt, *From Stockholm to Johannesburg and Beyond*, 199.
87. The Ågesta Group AB Sweden, “Twenty Years after Stockholm 1972–1992,” 27.
88. ECOSOC, “In-Depth Evaluation of the Programme on Environment, E/AC.51/1995/3,” 7. The figure for FAO is for 1992–1993, for ILO 1994 and for UNDP 1994–95.
89. Matthew Heimer, “The United Nations Environment Programme: Thinking Globally, Retreating Locally,” *Yale Human Rights & Development Law Journal* 1 (1998): 132.

90. Heimer, "The United Nations Environment Programme," 132–133.
91. Engfeldt, *From Stockholm to Johannesburg and Beyond*, 217.
92. UNEP, "Proceedings of the Governing Council at its Nineteenth Session," UNEP. GC/19/34 (Nairobi, 1997).
93. OIOS, "Review of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the Administrative Practices of Its Secretariat, Including the United Nations Office in Nairobi (UNON)," 2.
94. Hussein Abaza, head of UNEP's Economics and Trade Branch quoted in Johnson, *UNEP: The First 40 Years*, 165.
95. United Nations, "Review of the United Nations Environment Programme and the Administrative Practices of Its Secretariat, Including the United Nations Office in Nairobi," in *Report of the Secretary-General on the activities of the Office of Internal Oversight Services* (Nairobi, 1997), 8.
96. Engfeldt, *From Stockholm to Johannesburg and Beyond*, 217.
97. UN General Assembly, "Environment and Human Settlements. Report of the Secretary-General."
98. Interviewee 912, interview by the author, 2008.
99. Heimer, "The United Nations Environment Programme," 134.
100. Mostafa Tolba, interview by the author, 2008.
101. Interviewee 729, interview by the author, 2008.
102. Klaus Töpfer, "United Nations Task Force on Environment and Human Settlements," *Linkages Journal* 3, no. 3 (1998).
103. Interviewee 806, interview by the author, 2004.
104. Klaus Töpfer, "Environmental Degradation and Poverty as Inhibitors of Economic Growth," in *5th Annual Conference of the German Council for Sustainable Development* (Berlin, 2005), 3.
105. UNEP, "UNEP Annual Report 1999" (Nairobi, 1999), 15. UNEP comprised six functional divisions: Division of Early Warning and Assessment; Division of Policy Development and Law; Division of Environmental Policy and Implementation; Division of Technology, Industry and Economics; Division of Regional Cooperation and Representation; and Division of Environmental Conventions. See UNEP Annual Report 2000 for the first organizational chart of new structure. UNEP, "Annual Report 2000" (Nairobi, 2000), 36.
106. Dalberg Global Development Advisors, "Review of UNEP's Programme Implementation Mechanisms and Administrative Structures" (New York, 2006), 9.
107. The first suggestion for a target for official aid dates back to 1958 when the World Council of Churches proposed a one-percent target, and all members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) agreed. Because governments cannot control private financial flows, however, efforts emerged to create a target only for official flows. In 1969, the Pearson Commission articulated a 0.7 percent target to be reached no later

than by 1980, and the suggestion was adopted in UN Resolution 2626 on October 24, 1970, which stated that “Each economically advanced country will progressively increase its official development assistance to the developing countries and will exert its best efforts to reach a minimum net amount of 0.7 percent of its gross national product at market prices by the middle of the Decade.” In 2018, only five countries contributed in accordance with the target: Sweden, Luxembourg, Norway, Denmark, and the United Kingdom. The United States never committed to this target.

108. Some observers remark that Töpfer’s motivation was less a matter of conviction and more a desire to have a more prestigious position such as director general of a specialized agency.

109. Johnson, *UNEP: The First 40 Years*, 200.

110. Interviewee 705, interview by the author, 2017.

111. Interviewee 531, interview by the author, 2017.

112. By comparison, Mostafa Tolba created a total of forty-one new trust funds; Elizabeth Dowdeswell, twenty-three; Achim Steiner, thirty; and Klaus Töpfer, fifty-nine. These accounted for 18 percent, 41 percent, 63 percent, and 61 percent of UNEP’s total income, respectively.

113. Tony Brough, interview by the author, 2017.

114. Niko Urho, Maria Ivanova, Anna Dubrova, and Natalia Escobar-Pemberthy, “International Environmental Governance: Accomplishments and Way Forward” (Copenhagen, Denmark: Nordic Council of Ministers, 2019). <http://norden.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1289927/FULLTEXT01.pdf>.

115. Johnson, *UNEP: The First 40 Years*, 161.

116. Interviewee 277, interview by the author, 2004.

117. Klaus Töpfer, quoted in Johnson, *UNEP: The First 40 Years*, 159.

118. Interviewee 509, interview by the author, 2007.

119. Interviewee 277 interview by the author, 2004.

120. Interviewee 531, interview by the author, 2017.

121. Interviewee 705, interview by the author, 2017.

122. Interviewee 532, interview by the author, 2007.

123. UNEP, “Annual Report 2000” (Nairobi, 2001), 5.

124. UNEP “Annual Report 2001” (Nairobi, 2002), 7.

125. Interviewee 509, interview by the author, 2007.

126. Engfeldt, *From Stockholm to Johannesburg and Beyond*, 222.

127. Achim Steiner, “Statement of Achim Steiner, Director General of IUCN-the World Conservation Union,” in *The High-level Plenary Meeting of the 60th Session of the United Nations General Assembly* (New York, 2005).

128. UNEP, “Time to Make Environment and Economics Team Players” (Nairobi, 2006).

129. Johnson, *UNEP: The First 40 Years*, 208.
130. Julia Pataki, interview by the author, 2017.
131. Ecosystem services refer to how the environment contributes directly to human survival and well-being. We depend on environmental “goods” (water, air, fiber) and “services” (oxygen production, pollination, climate regulation). There are four categories of ecosystem services, as defined by the *Millennium Ecosystem Assessment*:
1. Supporting services (nutrient cycling, oxygen production, soil formation, crop pollination, seed dispersal, pest regulation, waste decomposition)
 2. Provisioning services (food, fuel, water, genetic resources, useful natural substances including medicinal plants, fish, game, metals, timber, etc.)
 3. Regulating services (climate regulation and stabilisation, storm buffers, water and air purification, flood protection, protection of soils from erosion)
 4. Cultural services (recreation, aesthetic and psychological value, knowledge)
132. UNEP, “Time to Make Environment and Economics Team Players,” 7.
133. Global Environmental Governance Forum: Reflecting on the Past, Moving into the Future.
134. Ban Ki-moon, interview by the author, 2018.
135. UNEP, “Time to Make Environment and Economics Team Players,” 8.
136. UNEP, “Medium-term Strategy 2010–2013” (Nairobi, 2008), 13. In practice, each sub-programme is accompanied with a set of “expected accomplishments” and “indicators of achievement” to help measure progress in terms of outputs, commonly the increase in the number of countries undertaking a specific activity measured against a baseline and a target. UNEP reports on progress in annual programme performance reports and the mid-term and final evaluations of the MTS. In addition, quarterly progress reports from UNEP’s executive director inform the regular CPR meetings. Measuring progress of implementation and the display of this information could be improved, specifically by more clearly showing the impact on the ground. Decision UNEP/EA.4/1 (paragraphs 14–15). Available online: <https://bit.ly/2Oql6Ki>.
137. Interviewee 506, interview by the author, 2017.
138. Interviewee 222, interview by the author, 2018.
139. Interviewee 222, interview by the author, 2018.
140. Idunn Eidheim, interview by the author, 2018.
141. Mark Halle, interview by the author, 2017.
142. Interviewee 531, interview by the author, 2017.
143. UNEP, “Policy Statement by Achim Steiner at the Opening of the Governing Council/Global Ministerial Environment Forum at Its Eleventh Special Session” (Bali, Indonesia, 2010).
144. Johnson, *UNEP: The First 40 Years*, 208.
145. UNEP, “Time to Make Environment and Economics Team Players,” 8.

146. Achim Steiner, interview by the author, 2008.
147. A D1 level position is a senior position at the United Nations that requires at least fifteen years of work experience. A D2 level position requires over fifteen years of work experience. The senior appointments then proceed as follows: Assistant Secretary-General (ASG), a head of office appointed by the Secretary-General; Under-Secretary-General (USG), a head of a UN body appointed by the Secretary-General; Deputy Secretary-General, appointed by the Secretary-General following consultations with Member States; Secretary-General, appointed by the General Assembly, on the recommendation of the Security Council.
148. Ban Ki-moon, interview by the author, 2018.
149. Mark Halle, interview by the author, 2017. In 2007, the General Assembly adopted the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.
150. UNEP, "Time to Make Environment and Economics Team Players," 11.
151. Catherine Karongo, "Walk through eco-friendly UNEP building," *Capital News FM*, March 7, 2012, <https://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2012/03/walk-through-eco-friendly-unep-building/>; UNEP, "Building for the Future: A United Nations Showcase in Nairobi" (Nairobi, 2011), <https://wedocs.unep.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.11822/7859/Building-for-the-Future.pdf>.
152. Ed King, "Erik Solheim: Meet the Man Tasked with Protecting Planet Earth," *Climate Home*, May 12, 2016, <https://www.climatechangenews.com/2016/05/12/erik-solheim-meet-the-man-tasked-with-protecting-planet-earth/>.
153. Interviewee 506, interview by the author, 2017.
154. Nina Berglund, "Ousted Solheim Fires Back at UN," *News in English*, November 28, 2018, <https://www.newsinenglish.no/2018/11/28/ousted-solheim-fires-back-at-un/>. See also Nina Berglund, "Solheim Resigns as UN Climate Chief," *News in English*, November 20, 2018, <https://www.newsinenglish.no/2018/11/20/solheim-resigns-as-un-climate-chief/>; Nina Berglund, "Former Minister Scolded at UN," *News in English*, September 13, 2018, <https://www.newsinenglish.no/2018/09/13/former-minister-scolded-at-un/>; Walter Menya, "Audit Reveals Erik Solheim Wasted Millions in Foreign Travels," *Daily Nation*, September 16, 2018, <https://www.nation.co.ke/news/UNEP-boss-Solheim-blew-millions-in-foreign-travels/1056-4761598-bxnp1sz/index.html>; Galgallo Fayó, "Embattled UNEP Head Refunds Travel Expenses," *Business Daily Africa*, September 19, 2018, <https://www.businessdailyafrica.com/news/Embattled-UNEP-head-refunds-travel-expenses/539546-4766720-s7pshz/index.html>; Matt McGrath, "Report Slams 'High Flying' UN Environment Chief," *BBC News*, September 21, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-45604408>.
155. Erik Solheim, interview by the author, 2020.
156. Maria Ivanova, ed., "Champion for Change: Erik Solheim," *Global Leadership Dialogues* 4, no. 1 (Boston: Center for Governance and Sustainability, 2017).
157. Mohamed El-Ashry, interview by the author, 2017.
158. AMCEN, "Draft Decision: Africa's Engagement in the Third Session of the United Nations Environment Assembly of the United Nations Environment Programme,

AMCEN/16/L.5," June 9, 2017. The resolution "urgently request[ed] the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme to refrain from using any nomenclature, titles or designations other than those contained in the General Assembly resolutions establishing the United Nations Environment Programme and the United Nations Environment Assembly, and to reverse any such changes made without due process and reflected on the official communications, stationary, web pages, social media pages or any other related aspects of the United Nations Environment Programme."

159. Mark Halle, interview by the author, 2017.

160. As of June 2019, there are seven divisions at UNEP: Communication Division, Economy Division, Ecosystems Division, Law Division, Science Division, Policy and Programme Division, and Corporate Services Division.

161. Email by Erik Solheim to staff, in the author's possession.

162. Erik Solheim, "Town Hall Meeting" (Nairobi, 2018).

163. In our interview in 2017, published as a Global Leadership Dialogue, Erik Solheim remarked, "The one main change I have done is to make a differently-structured executive office, where I have four special assistants focusing on four different parts of the world. One from Rwanda, one from Norway, one from Japan and one from China with the aim of making it much easier to link up to the ambassadors, to the governments, and to our regional offices and to everyone. For instance, the person working with China, East Asia, she's from China, making communication to everyone there very easy, so I get their input, and they get to hear my views. Of course, then working in a similar way with all the divisions. There is some fear of this, because people are afraid that it will be a filter, but it is exactly the opposite—make it a way for the top leadership to be closer to everyone." Ivanova, "Champion for Change," 5.

164. UNEP, "Internal Communication Survey Report," 19.

165. Nina Berglund, "Ousted Solheim Fires Back at UN."

166. Oli Brown, "Erik Solheim: what he got right, what he got wrong, and what the new UN Environment chief should do next," February 13, 2018, <https://olibrown.org/erik-solheim-what-he-got-right-what-he-got-wrong-and-what-the-new-un-environment-chief-should-do-next/>.

167. Kristoffer Rønneberg, "Erik Solheim accused of squandering by UN auditors," *Aftenposten*, September 12, 2018, <https://www.aftenposten.no/verden/i/LOEjEP/Erik-Solheim-accused-of-squandering-by-UN-auditors>.

168. Lisa Abend, "Leaders and Visionaries, Erik Solheim," *Time Magazine*, September 22, 2009.

169. Brown, "Erik Solheim."

170. OIOS, "Evaluation of the United Nations Environment Programme, E/AC.51/2019/7," 22.

171. Franz Perrez, interview by the author, 2018.

172. Robin Hicks and Jessica Cheam, "We Need to Engage Business 'Like Never before', Says New UNEP Head," *Eco-Business*, January 6, 2017, <https://www.eco-business.com/news/we-need-to-engage-business-like-never-before-says-new-unep-head/>.

173. UNEP, "First Global Multi-Agency Operation Highlights Widespread Marine Pollution Crime" (Nairobi, 2018), 14.

174. Isis Alvarez, "The 3rd United Nations Environment Assembly: A Growing Marketplace for the Private Sector" (Global Forest Coalition, 2017), 2–3.

175. Interviewee 531, interview by the author, 2017.

176. Annabell Waititu, interview by the author, 2017.

177. In his official remarks at the meeting of the Open-ended Committee of Permanent Representatives in November 2017, Erik Solheim stated that many groups fell within the broad civil society category, including terrorist groups such as ISIS. This engendered anger, protests, and requests for an apology.

178. Interviewee 709, interview by the author, 2018.

179. See Lifang, "China Sets Example in Sustainable Development: UN Environment," *Xinhua*, December 10, 2018, http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-12/10/c_136815369.htm; Somini Sengupta, "Why Build Kenya's First Coal Plant? Hint: Think China," *New York Times*, February 27, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/27/climate/coal-kenya-china-power.html>.

180. The *Guardian* reported: "Denmark's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) said it was withholding its 2018 contribution of about \$1.6m to UNEP. 'The ministry is familiar with the criticism of Solheim's travel activities,' an MFA spokeswoman told the *Guardian*. 'We take this seriously. We are now awaiting the final audit report and its possible recommendations before we pay additional funds.' Sweden's International Development Agency (SIDA) said they would not approve any new funding until all the issues raised had been resolved. 'SIDA takes all signals of misuse of funds very seriously,' a spokeswoman said." Damian Carrington, "Nations halt funding to UN Environment Programme as outcry over chief grows," *Guardian*, September 25, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/sep/25/nations-halt-funding-to-un-environment-programme-as-outcry-over-chief-erik-solheim-grows>.

181. OIOS, Internal Audit Division, "Audit of Official Travel at the United Nations Environment Programme, Report 2018/109."

182. Nina Berglund, "Ousted Solheim Fires Back at UN."

183. Aicha Afifi, *Review of Air Travel in the United Nations System: Achieving Efficiency Gains and Cost Savings and Enhancing Harmonization*, JIU/Rep/2017/3 (Geneva: Joint Inspection Unit, 2017). The report states, "On the basis of data provided by 24 United Nations system organizations, the review found that the overall expenditure on air travel and travel-related expenses—namely airline tickets, daily subsistence allowance (DSA), lump sums, terminal expenses and shipment—totaled approximately \$4 billion for the four-year period from 2012 to 2015. This total comprises regular budget and extrabudgetary funding sources and represents air travel and

related expenditures for staff and non-staff, but it excludes air travel and related expenditures incurred by United Nations peacekeeping operations. Air travel and related expenditures, in their totality and as a proportion of each organization's overall expenses, constitute a significant financial element for almost all United Nations system organizations. The total value of air travel and related expenditures would have been higher had all United Nations system organizations provided JIU with the requested information."

184. OIOS, Internal Audit Division, "Audit of Official Travel at the United Nations Environment Programme, Report 2018/109."

185. Erik Solheim, interview by the author, 2018.

186. Brown, "Erik Solheim."

187. Mary Uhl-Bien and Russ Marion, "Complexity Leadership in Bureaucratic Forms of Organizing: A Meso Model," *The Leadership Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (2009): 633.

188. Uhl-Bien and Marion, "Complexity Leadership in Bureaucratif Forms of Organizing," 635.

189. See J. Steven Ott, Sandra J. Parkes, and Richard B. Simpson, eds., *Classic Readings in Organizational Behavior*, 3rd ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 2003); Peter M. Senge, *The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Practice of the Learning Organization* (New York: Doubleday, 2010); Philip Selznick, *Leadership in Administration: A Sociological Interpretation* (New Orleans: Quid Pro Books, 1957).

190. James Wilson, *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It* (Basic Books, 1989), 91–94.

191. Tribute to Mostafa Tolba in Benedick, *Ozone Diplomacy*. Cited in Andersen and Sarma, *Protecting the Ozone Layer*, 139.

CHAPTER 7

1. Barbara Ward, *Progress for a Small Planet* (Norton, 1979), 265.

2. UN General Assembly, "Report of the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment on the 3rd Session," A/CONF.48/PC.13 (New York, 1971).

3. Ward, "Only one Earth, Speech at the 1972 Stockholm Conference."

4. Strong, *Where on Earth Are We Going?*, 128; Johan Rockström, et al, "Planetary boundaries: exploring the safe operating space for humanity," *Ecology and society* 14, no. 2 (2009). See also Simon Nicholson and Sikina Jinnah, eds., *New Earth Politics: Essays from the Anthropocene* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2016).

5. Interviewee 291, interview by the author, 2017; Interviewee 950, interview by the author, 2018; Interviewee 260, interview by the author, 2018.

6. Interviewee 291, interview by the author, 2017.

7. António Guterres, "Vision Statement," April 4, 2016, https://www.un.org/pga/70/wp-content/uploads/sites/10/2016/01/4-April_Secretary-General-Election-Vision-Statement_Portugal-4-April-20161.pdf.

8. UN, "Transcript of Press Conference by Secretary-General Kofi Annan at United Nations Headquarters, SG/SM/10089," quoted in Luisa Blanchfield, "CRS Report for Congress. United Nations Reform: US Policy and International Perspectives" (2007). See also UN Secretary-General, "Strengthening of the United Nations: An Agenda for Further Change," A/57/387 (New York, 2002); "Renewing the United Nations: A Programme for Reform," A/51/950 (New York, 1997); "In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All," A/59/2005 (New York, 2005).

9. Geoffrey Palmer, "New Ways to Make International Environmental Law," *American Journal of International Law* 96, no. 2 (1992): 259.

10. In 1995, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)—the international framework, forum, and code of conduct for eight rounds of negotiations over tariff reductions and trade rules dating back to 1947—was succeeded by the World Trade Organization. The primary purpose of the WTO is to ensure that global trade advances smoothly, freely, and predictably. To this end, the organization engages in rulemaking among member nations and offers a system for global trade. WTO rules become a part of a country's domestic legal system and, therefore, apply to local companies and nationals in the conduct of business in the international arena. Theoretically, if a country is a member of the WTO, its local laws cannot contradict WTO rules and regulations. The WTO, therefore, functions as a global authority on trade and has considerably constrained national sovereignty through its right to review countries' domestic trade policies.

11. Kofi Annan, interview by the author, 2017.

12. See UN General Assembly, "Renewing the United Nations: A Programme for Reform."

13. Helmut Kohl, chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, "Speech at the Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations" (1997), quoted in Frank Biermann, "The Case for a World Environment Organization," *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development* 42, no. 9 (2000): 24.

14. Similar calls came subsequently from the French Environment Minister Dominique Voynet (2000) and Prime Minister Lionel Jospin (2002); Mikhail Gorbachev of Russia (2001); Ernesto Zedillo of Mexico (2001); the former head of the UN Development Programme and Dean of Yale's Environment School, James Gustave Speth (2005); and WTO directors Renato Ruggiero (1998) and his successor, Supachai Panitchpakdi (2001).

15. The European Union had overtaken the United States as the largest contributor to UNEP's Environment Fund in 1995 and began increasing its financial support significantly and would become UNEP's largest contributor.

16. EU, "Contribution of the European Union and Its Member States to the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Input for the 2012 UNCSO Rio+20 Compilation Document" (2011), quoted in Ivanova, "Institutional Design and UNEP Reform: Historical Insights on Form, Function and Financing."

17. The Task Force comprised the following members:

- Dr. Klaus Töpfer (Chair), Executive Director, UNEP
- Ms. Maria Julia Alsogaray, Minister of Natural Resources and Sustainable Development, Argentina
- Dr. Christina Amoako-Nuama, Minister of Education, Ghana
- Ambassador John Ashe, Ambassador/Deputy Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission of Antigua and Barbuda
- Ms. Julia Carabias Lillo, Minister of Natural Resources and Fisheries, Mexico
- Mr. Nitin Desai, Under-Secretary-General, United Nations Department for Economic and Social Affairs
- Ambassador Lars-Göran Engfeldt, Permanent Representative of Sweden to UNEP and UN-Habitat
- Ms. Guro Fjellanger, Minister of Environment, Norway
- Mr. Jean-Pierre Halbwachs, Assistant Secretary-General, UN Office of Programme Planning, Budget and Accounts
- Sir Martin Holdgate, United Kingdom
- Mr. Ashok Khosla, Development Alternatives, India
- Mr. Martin Khor, Director, Third World Network, Malaysia
- Ambassador Tommy Koh, Ambassador-At-Large, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore
- Ms. Julia Marton-Lefèvre, LEAD International, New York
- Mr. James Gustave Speth, Administrator, UNDP
- Mr. Maurice Strong (ex-officio), Special Advisor to the Secretary-General
- Dr. Mostafa K. Tolba, President, International Centre for Environment and Development, Cairo, Egypt
- Ambassador Joseph Tomusange, High Commissioner of the Republic of Uganda to India
- Ambassador Makarim Wibisono, Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations
- Mr. Timothy E. Wirth, President, United Nations Foundation
- Mr. Michael Zammit Cutajar, Executive Secretary, UNFCCC Secretariat

Advisors to the Task Force

- Mr. Peter Thacher
- Hon. Eileen Claussen

18. UN General Assembly, "Report of the Secretary-General on Environment and Human Settlements." Major groups are nine sectors of society recognized at UN for participation in decision-making. These major groups are Women, Children and Youth, Indigenous Peoples, Non-Governmental Organizations, Local Authorities, Workers and Trade Unions, Business and Industry, Scientific and Technological Community, and Farmers.

19. In 2001, in the lead-up to the Johannesburg Summit, Klaus Töpfer came to Yale to meet with my advisor, Professor Daniel Esty, and our team at the Yale Center for Environmental Law and Policy. We had written about the need for a Global Environmental Organization and convened the Global Environmental Governance Dialogues to seek input from a variety of actors across sectors and geographies. Klaus

Töpfer engaged fully and would continue to do so throughout his time as executive director. In 2005, he hosted the team of twenty-eight students and faculty that I led to the UNEP Governing Council in Nairobi to present the results of our independent evaluation to the world's environmental ministers.

20. For discussions of the need for a WEO/GEO and the conditions under which it could be established, see analyses by Frank Biermann, "The Emerging Debate on the Need for a World Environment Organization: A Commentary," *Global Environmental Politics* 1, no. 1 (2001): 45–55; Frank Biermann, "Green Global Governance: The Case for a World Environment Organisation," *New Economy* 9, no. 2 (2002): 82–86; Charnovitz, "A World Environment Organization"; Daniel C. Esty and Maria H. Ivanova, "Making International Environmental Efforts Work: the Case for a Global Environmental Organization" (New Haven, CT: Yale Center for Environmental Law and Policy, 2001); Daniel Esty and Maria H. Ivanova, "Toward a Global Environmental Mechanism," in *Worlds Apart: Globalization and the Environment*, ed. J. G. Speth (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2003); Ford C. Runge, "A Global Environmental Organization (GEO) and the World Trading System," *Journal of World Trade* 35, no. 4 (2001): 399–426; Richard G. Tarasofsky, *International Environmental Governance: Strengthening UNEP* (Tokyo: United Nations University, Institute of Advanced Studies, 2002); Joy Hyvarren and Duncan Brack, *Global Environmental Institutions: Analysis and Options for Change* (London: Royal Institute for International Affairs, 2000); Peter Haas, "UN Conferences and Constructivist Governance of the Environment," *Global Governance* 8, no. 1 (2002): 73–91; and Lee Kimball, "The Debate Over a World/Global Environment Organisation," in *Global Environmental institutions*, ed., D. Brack and J. Hyvarinen (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2002). For the case against a Global or World Environment Organization, see Calestous Juma, "The Perils of Centralizing Environmental Governance," *Environment Matters* 6, no. 12 (2000): 13–15; von Moltke, "The Organization of the Impossible"; Sebastian Oberthür, *Clustering of Multilateral Environmental Agreements: Potentials and Limitations* (Tokyo: United Nations University, Institute of Advanced Studies, 2002); and Najam, "The Case Against a New International Environmental Organization," *Global Governance* 9, No. 3 (July-September 2003), 367–384.

21. Esty and Ivanova, "Making International Environmental Efforts Work," 3.

22. I have continued researching UNEP's creation and performance over the years and have argued that UNEP's institutional design was chosen carefully and that change in its institutional form would not result in improved performance. See Ivanova, "Designing the United Nations Environment Programme: A Story of Compromise and Confrontation," *International Environmental Agreements: Policy, Law and Economics* 7 (2007); and Ivanova, "Institutional Design and UNEP Reform: Historical Insights on Form, Function and Financing," *International Affairs* 88, no. 3 (2012).

23. UN General Assembly, "2005 World Summit Outcome", A/RES/60/1 (New York, September 2005), para. 169 on "Environmental activities." The main needs highlighted in paragraph 169 of the outcome document include: enhanced coordination; improved policy advice/guidance; strengthened scientific knowledge, assessment,

and cooperation; better treaty compliance; and better integration of environmental activities in the sustainable-development framework at the operational level.

24. See UN General Assembly, "2005 World Summit Outcome"; IEG Co-Chairs Option Paper, "Informal Consultative Process on the Institutional Framework for United Nations' Environmental Activities" (Nairobi, 2008); UNEP "Belgrade Process: Moving Forward with Developing a Set of Options on International Environmental Governance Co-Chairs' Summary. Consultative Group of Ministers or High-level Representatives" (Nairobi, 2009); UNEP, "Nairobi-Helsinki Outcome," Consultative Group of Ministers or High-level Representatives (Nairobi, 2010).

25. The official name of the process was the Informal Consultative Process on the Institutional Framework for the United Nations' Environmental Activities. See Enrique Berruga and Peter Maurer, "Co-Chairmen's Summary of the Informal Consultative Process on the Institutional Framework for the UN's Environmental Activities" (New York, 2006).

26. Keynote address by Marthinus van Schalkwyk, South African Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, at the plenary ministerial consultations on "International Environmental Governance: Help or Hindrance?" United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) Global Ministerial Environment Forum, February 19, 2009, Nairobi, <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2009/09022015151004.htm>.

27. UNEP, "Nairobi-Helsinki Outcome."

28. Maria Ivanova, "Achim Steiner: Environmental Envoy," *Global Leadership Dialogues* 3, no. 3 (Boston: Center for Governance and Sustainability, 2016).

29. Franz Perrez, interview by the author, 2018.

30. Ibrahim Thiaw, interview by the author, 2016.

31. I. Fazey, N. Schöpfke, G. Caniglia, J. Patterson, J. Hultman, B. Van Mierlo, F. Säwe, et al, "Ten Essentials for Action-Oriented and Second Order Energy Transitions, Transformations and Climate Change Research," *Energy Research & Social Science* 40 (2018): 61.

32. Yunae Yi, interview by the author, 2017.

33. In September 2013, following the recommendation of the UN Global Sustainability Panel, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon established the Scientific Advisory Board of the United Nations Secretary-General. It brought together twenty-six leading scientists from around the world in an effort to inform decision-making processes with scientific evidence and knowledge and to promote international and transdisciplinary scientific collaboration. The author served on the Board.

34. For a discussion on environmental goals, see Franz Perrez and Daniel Ziegerer, "A Non-Institutional Proposal to Strengthen International Environmental Governance," *Environmental Policy and Law* 38 (2008): 253–261.

35. Christine Lagarde speaking at the inaugural Paris Peace Forum in 2018, notes in author's possession.

36. Matthias Garschagen, Sylvia Wood, Jennifer Garard, Maria Ivanova, and Amy Luers, "Too Big to Ignore: Global Risk Perception Gaps Between Scientists and Business Leaders," *Earth's Future* 8, <https://doi.org/10.1029/2020EF001498>.

37. Peter M. Haas, Robert O. Keohane, and Mark A. Levy, *Institutions for the Earth: Sources of Effective International Environmental Protection* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993): 17–19; Abram Chayes and Antonia H. Chayes, “On Compliance,” *International Organization* 47, no. 2 (1993): 175–176; Harold K. Jacobson and Edith B. Weiss, “Strengthening Compliance with International Environmental Accords: Preliminary Observations from Collaborative Project,” *Global Governance* 1, no. 2 (1995): 124.

38. Global Environmental Governance Forum: Reflecting on the Past, Moving into the Future.

39. The Environmental Conventions Index measures the implementation of global environmental conventions and enables self-assessment and comparison with peers. The Index evaluates the implementation of environmental conventions by assessing the actions signatory countries have taken to fulfill their commitments. To date, it includes six conventions in two thematic clusters—biodiversity, and chemicals and waste—and, though still limited in scope, it gives enough information to enable countries to assess where they stand. The Index was developed at the Center for Governance and Sustainability at the University of Massachusetts Boston, supported by the Federal Office for the Environment of Switzerland, the Carnegie Corporation through the Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program, the United Nations Environment Programme, and the McCormack Graduate School of Policy and Global Studies at UMass Boston.

40. See Maria Ivanova, Natalia Escobar-Pemberthy, and Anna Dubrova, *National Implementation of Global Environmental Agreements in Rwanda* (Boston: UMass Boston, 2019).

41. John Scanlon, interview by the author, 2018.

42. Julia Marton-Lefèvre, interview by the author, 2019. See also Julia Marton-Lefèvre in “The Quest for Symphony,” dir. Maria Ivanova and Joe Ageyo.

43. The United Nations has implemented issue-based coalitions, broad, multi-partner coalitions led by one or several agencies that coordinate the response to cross-cutting challenges in a particular UN region and develop joint action.

44. John Scanlon, Secretary General of CITES, “Presentation at the 12th special session of GMEF, Plenary Panel on the Institutional Framework for Sustainable Development.” February 12, 2012, https://www.cites.org/eng/news/sg/2012/20120221_UNEP-GMEF.php.

45. John Matuszak, interview by the author, 2018.

46. Interviewee 727, interview by the author, 2018.

47. The author, Maria Ivanova, served as a Coordinating Lead Author for the policy chapter in GEO-5 published in 2012 just before the Rio+20 summit. The difficulties in ensuring financing delayed the production process and added uncertainty and unpredictability.

48. UNEP Evaluation and Oversight Unit, “Management Study on Trust Funds and Counterpart Contributions,” 32.

49. For the financial figures, see GEF's funding page, <https://www.thegef.org/about/funding>; United Nations Climate Change, "Achievements of the Clean Development Mechanism: Harnessing Incentive for Climate Action, 2001–2018," 2019, https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/UNFCCC_CDM_report_2018.pdf; Green Climate Fund, "Initial strategic plan for the GCF," 2016, https://www.greenclimate.fund/documents/20182/761223/Initial_Strategic_Plan_for_the_GCF.pdf/bb18820e-abf0-426f-9d8b-27f5bc6fafef; UN REDD+, UN REDD Programme Fund, <http://mptf.undp.org/factsheet/fund/CCF00>; and The World Bank, Environment, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/environment/overview#2>.
50. "Finance Initiative," <http://www.unepfi.org/>.
51. John Scanlon, interview by the author, 2018.
52. Interviewee 727, interview by the author, 2018.
53. Youba Sokona, interview by the author, 2018.
54. Manuel Pulgar-Vidal, interview by the author, 2018.
55. "Strategic direction must be clarified at the institutional and programme level plainly articulating the targets UNEP seeks to achieve and the means through which it plans to achieve them," the Dalberg Global Development Advisors study noted. Dalberg Global Development Advisors, "Review of UNEP's Programme Implementation Mechanisms and Administrative Structures," 8.
56. Inger Andersen, executive director of UNEP, "Speech at the 146th Committee of Permanent Representatives" (Nairobi, Kenya, 2019), <https://www.unenvironment.org/news-and-stories/speech/146th-committee-permanent-representatives>.
57. CCISUA, "UN Global Staff Satisfaction Survey" (in the author's possession, 2017), 38.
58. UNEP Evaluation and Oversight Unit, "1985–1986 Evaluation Report" (Nairobi, 1986); CCISUA, "UN Global Staff Satisfaction Survey," 38; UNEP, "Internal Communication Survey Report," 11; OIOS, "Programme Evaluation of the United Nations Environment Programme," E/AC.51/2013/2, 2013, 3.
59. In figure 7.2, the numbers in the circle represent the number of headquarters at each location.
60. Karen Litfin calls this the "realm of immediacy where meaningful action is possible and most likely to be effective." Karen T. Litfin, "The Gendered Eye in the Sky: A Feminist Perspective on Earth Observation Satellites," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 18, no. 2 (1997): 38.
61. Interviewee 165, interview by the author, 2019.

