Building Global Democracy?

The scale, effectiveness and legitimacy of global governance lag far behind the world’s needs. This ground-breaking book examines how far civil society involvement provides an answer to these problems. Does civil society make global governance more democratic? Have citizen action groups raised the accountability of global bodies that deal with challenges such as climate change, financial crises, conflict, disease and inequality? What circumstances have promoted (or blocked) civil society efforts to make global governance institutions more democratically accountable? What could improve these outcomes in the future? The authors base their arguments on studies of thirteen global institutions, including the UN, G8, WTO, ICANN and IMF. Specialists from around the world critically assess what has and has not worked in efforts to make global bodies answer to publics as well as states. Combining intellectual depth and political relevance, Building Global Democracy? will appeal to students, researchers, activists and policymakers.

Jan Aart Scholte is Professorial Research Fellow in the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation at the University of Warwick.
Building Global Democracy?

Civil Society and Accountable Global Governance

Edited by

Jan Aart Scholte
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## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of figures</th>
<th>page vii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participants in the Gothenburg Workshop</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of contributors</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editor's acknowledgements</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of abbreviations</td>
<td>xvii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Introduction

**JAN AART SCHOLTE**

1. Global governance, accountability and civil society  
**JAN AART SCHOLTE**

2. Civil society and accountability of the United Nations  
**KERSTIN MARTENS**

3. The World Bank and democratic accountability: the role of civil society  
**ALNOOR EBRAHIM AND STEVEN HERZ**

4. Civil society and IMF accountability  
**JAN AART SCHOLTE**

5. Civil society and the WTO: contesting accountability  
**MARC WILLIAMS**

6. Civil society and accountability in the Commonwealth  
**TIMOTHY M. SHAW AND PAMELA K. MBABAZI**

7. The Organisation of the Islamic Conference: accountability and civil society  
**SAIED REZA AMELI**

8. Civil society and patterns of accountability in the OECD  
**MORTEN OUGAARD**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Civil society and G8 accountability</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PETER I. HAJNAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Structuring accountability: civil society and the Asia-Europe Meeting</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>JULIE GILSON</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Civil society and accountability in the global governance of climate change</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PETER NEWELL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Civil society and accountability promotion in the Global Fund</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CAROLYN LONG AND NATA DUvvury</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Accountability in private global governance: ICANN and civil society</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MAWAKI CHANGO</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Civil society and the World Fair Trade Organization: developing responsive accountability</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HEIDI ULLRICH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>JAN AART SCHOLTE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Bibliography</strong></td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Index</strong></td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figures

1. Organisation chart of the OIC General Secretariat  page 149
2. ICANN’s organisational structure     272
Participants in the Gothenburg Workshop

Affiliations as at June 2007

Note: practitioners contributed in a personal capacity, not as institutional spokespersons

Hans Abrahamsson, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University
Saied Reza Ameli, University of Tehran
Erik Andersson, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University
Srilatha Batliwala, Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations, Harvard University
Thomas Bernes, Independent Evaluation Office of the International Monetary Fund
Renate Bloem, Conference of NGOs in Consultative Relationship with the United Nations
Leonardo Burlamaqui, Ford Foundation
Mawaki Chango, GNSO Council, Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers
Daisy Cooper, Commonwealth Secretariat
Karin Dalborg, Globalverkstan
Meggan Dissly, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
Edmé Dominguez, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University
Alnoor Ebrahim, Harvard University
Tina Ebro, Institute for Popular Democracy
Ingrid Ekenberg, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University
John Evans, Trade Union Advisory Committee
Sylva Frisk, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University
Julie Gilson, University of Birmingham
Andrées Godsäter, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University
Marcia Grimes, Quality of Government Institute, Gothenburg University
Malin Hasselskog, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University

viii
Participants in the Gothenburg Workshop

Dhammika Herath, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University
Björn Hettné, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University
Rosalba Icaza Garza, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University
Jo Marie Griesgraber, New Rules for Global Finance
Yuriy Isakov, Russian Federation Civil Society Liaison for the 2006 G8 Summit
Lisa Jordan, Ford Foundation
Johny Joseph, Creative Handicrafts
Alice Urusaro Karekezi, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University
Milly Katana, Health Rights Action Group
Bernard Kuiten, World Trade Organization
Tatsuro Kunugi, International Christian University (ex-United Nations)
Helena Lindholm Schulz, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University
Jan Lindström, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University
Robert Lloyd, One World Trust
Carolyn Long, International Center for Research on Women
Mikael Löfgren, Swedish Committee of Civil Society Research
Kerstin Martens, University of Bremen
Pamela Mbabazi, Mbarara University of Science and Technology
Ricardo Meléndez-Ortiz, International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development
Andrea Morf, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University
Mike Muchilwa, International Fair Trade Association
Milissao Nuvunga, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University
Morton Ougaard, Copenhagen Business School
Valentina Pellizzer, Association for Progressive Communication
Ziad Abdel Samad, Arab NGO Network for Development
Bassirou Sarr, International Monetary Fund
Jan Aart Scholte, School of Global Studies and University of Warwick
Michael Schulz, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University
Timothy Shaw, Royal Roads University
Rajesh Tandon, Participatory Research in Asia
Ramesh Thakur, Centre for International Governance Innovation (ex-United Nations)
Marie Thynell, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University
Håkan Thörn, Department of Sociology, Gothenburg University
Heidi Ullrich, International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development
Olav Unsgaard, Globalverkstan
Participants in the Gothenburg Workshop

Stellan Vinthagen, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University
Shanta Wanninayake, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University
Muthoni Wanyeki, ex-FEMNET
Marc Williams, University of New South Wales
Rachel Winter Jones, World Bank
David Winters, Secretariat of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria
Contributors

SAIED REZA AMELI, author of the OIC study, is Professor of Media Studies, Dean of the Faculty of World Studies and Policy Vice President at the University of Tehran, Iran. He is also an honorary Research Fellow at the University of Birmingham. His publications cover various aspects of globalisation, global media, cyberspace, virtual cities, e-public relations, e-government, m-government, religion and interculturality.

MAWAKI CHANGO, author of the ICANN study, is a doctoral candidate in the School of Information Studies at Syracuse University. His research interests include digital identity systems, Internet governance and public policy. Prior to PhD studies he worked on various projects in the area of information and communication technologies for development. He also worked with the Secretariat of the Working Group on Internet Governance and held a two-year term as member of the ICANN-GNSO Council.

NATA DUVVURY, co-author of the Global Fund study, is Co-Director of the Global Women’s Studies Programme at the National University of Ireland, Galway. Previously she was Director of the Gender, Violence and Rights Team at the International Center for Research on Women in Washington, DC. In addition to work on the Global Fund, her areas of publication include gender issues and human rights.

xii List of contributors

JULIE GILSON, author of the ASEM study, is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Birmingham. Her publications include *Asia Meets Europe* (of which she is the author) and *The European Union and East Asia: Inter-Regional Linkages in a Changing Global System* (which she co-edited). She has also written articles and chapters on the ASEM process, including civil society engagement with it.

PETER I. HAJNAL, author of the G8 study, is Research Fellow at the Munk Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto. He has authored and (co-)edited several books on civil society and global governance, including: *Civil Society in the Information Age; Sustainability, Civil Society and International Governance: Local, North American and Global Perspectives*; and *The G8 System and the G20: Evolution, Role and Documentation*. He has attended twelve G7/G8 summits and conducted several consultancies on civil society relations with the body.

STEVEN HERZ, co-author of the World Bank study, is Founder and President of Lotus Global Advocacy, a legal and policy consultancy based in Oakland, California. He advises global civil society organisations on international environmental and human rights law, and sustainable development policy. A focus of his practice has been the public participation and accountability requirements and environmental and social standards of the World Bank and other international financial institutions. He is the author of a number of articles and reports on these issues.

CAROLYN LONG, co-author of the Global Fund study, is an international development consultant. Her research for this chapter was done on assignment with the Gender, Violence and Rights Team at the International Center for Research on Women in Washington, DC. Her areas of publication include gender issues, participatory development, and NGO advocacy. She has worked for over twenty years with NGOs, especially in strengthening their capacity to carry out policy advocacy.

KERSTIN MARTENS, author of the UN study, is Associate Professor of International Relations at the University of Bremen. She holds a PhD from the European University Institute, Florence. Her areas of publication include NGOs, the United Nations, global governance more generally, and education policy.

PAMELA MBABAZI, co-author of the Commonwealth study, is Associate Professor and Dean of the Faculty of Development Studies at Mbarara
List of contributors

University of Science and Technology. Her areas of publication include globalisation, rural development, governance and peace-building. She actively engages with civil society in Uganda and participated in civil society activities around the 2007 Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Kampala.

Peter Newell, author of the climate change study, is Professor of International Development Studies at the University of East Anglia. He previously held appointments at the University of Oxford, the University of Warwick and the Institute of Development Studies. His areas of publication include the political economy of environment and development, global environmental governance, and corporate accountability. He has worked for and with many environmental organisations, governments and international institutions including the United Nations Development Programme and the Global Environment Facility.

Morten Ougaard, author of the OECD study, is Professor of International Political Economy and Program Director, International Business and Politics at the Copenhagen Business School. His areas of publication include globalisation, global governance, and global business. He has written on the OECD for The Encyclopedia of Globalization and the Seminar on Globalisation, Statehood and World Order (Florence, 1999).

Jan Aart Scholte, editor of this book and author of the IMF study, is Professorial Research Fellow in the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation at the University of Warwick. His areas of publication include globalisation, global governance, global civil society, global finance, and global democracy. He helped draft the IMF Staff Guide for Relations with Civil Society Organizations in 2003 and prepared an assessment of IMF-civil society relations for the Independent Evaluation Office in 2009.

Timothy Shaw, co-author of the Commonwealth study, is Director of the Institute of International Relations at the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine. He is also Professor Emeritus at the University of London and Visiting Professor at Mbarara University of Science and Technology, Makerere University Business School, and Stellenbosch University. His areas of publication include globalisation, development, foreign policy and the Commonwealth. He has also been associated with the Commonwealth Foundation Civil Society Advisory Committee, the Commonwealth Scholarship Commission in London and the Commonwealth Summit Office in Trinidad.
xiv

List of contributors

HEIDI ULLRICH, author of the WFTO study, is Director of At-Large with the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers. Previously she worked with the International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development in Geneva and Consumers International in London. She has served as a lecturer at the London School of Economics, where she also obtained her PhD, and the University of Southampton. Currently she is a visiting fellow at the University of Birmingham. Her areas of publication include global trade, global accountability, and civil society interaction with the World Trade Organization.

MARC WILLIAMS, author of the WTO study, is Professor of International Relations at the University of New South Wales. His areas of publication include global political economy, global trade, global environmental issues, and civil society engagement of the World Trade Organization.
The Civil Society and Accountable Global Governance project was initiated in a year of productive calm as Olof Palme Guest Professor in the School of Global Studies (SGS) at Gothenburg University. SGS also hosted the workshop where draft chapters of this book were discussed in June 2007. I am particularly grateful to Helena Lindholm Schulz and Fredrik Söderbaum of SGS for encouraging the project from the outset and facilitating some of its funding. A score of other Gothenburg researchers (named above as workshop participants) also gave much appreciated inputs during early stages of the work. Annika Forssell and Andreas Godsäter at SGS provided impeccable logistical support to the workshop together with Louise Griffiths at my permanent base in the University of Warwick.

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## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAOIFI</td>
<td>Accounting and Auditing Organisation for Islamic Financial Institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Group Australia, Britain and Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACU</td>
<td>Association of Commonwealth Universities</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACUNS</td>
<td>Academic Council on the United Nations System</td>
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<tr>
<td>AEBF</td>
<td>Asia-Europe Business Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AEPF</td>
<td>Asia-Europe People's Forum</td>
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<tr>
<td>AFTF</td>
<td>Asia Fair Trade Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AH</td>
<td>Anno Hegirae (of the Islamic calendar)</td>
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<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<tr>
<td>ALAC</td>
<td>At-Large Advisory Committee</td>
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<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>AOSIS</td>
<td>Alliance of Small Island States</td>
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<tr>
<td>APR</td>
<td>Africa Personal Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARV</td>
<td>Antiretroviral (AIDS treatment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of South East Asian Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASEF</td>
<td>Asia-Europe Foundation</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASEM</td>
<td>Asia-Europe Meeting</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASEMUS</td>
<td>Asia-Europe Museum Network</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASO</td>
<td>Address Supporting Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATUC</td>
<td>ASEAN Trade Union Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>ATUF</td>
<td>ASEM Trade Union Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BATU</td>
<td>Brotherhood of Asian Trade Unions</td>
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<tr>
<td>BCAS</td>
<td>Bangladesh Centre for Advanced Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>BIAC</td>
<td>Business and Industry Advisory Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>BIC</td>
<td>Bank Information Center</td>
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<td>BIS</td>
<td>Bank for International Settlements</td>
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<td>BWC</td>
<td>Bretton Woods Committee</td>
</tr>
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<td>CAIP</td>
<td>Commonwealth Association of Indigenous Peoples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAN</td>
<td>Climate Action Network</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of abbreviations

CBC      Commonwealth Business Council
CBD/CDD  Community-Based and Community-Driven Development
CBOs     community-based organisations
CCMs     Country Coordinating Mechanisms
cCNSO    Country Code Names Supporting Organisation
CCS      Council of Commonwealth Societies
CDM      Clean Development Mechanism
CE       Common Era (year-numbering system)
CGD      Center for Global Development
CGF      Commonwealth Games Federation
CHOGM    Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
CHRI     Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative
CI       Consumers International
CIEL     Center for International Environmental Law
CIGI     Centre for International Governance Innovation
CIME     Committee on International Investment and Multinational Enterprises
CIRA     Canadian Internet Regulatory Authority
CJMA     Commonwealth Judges and Magistrates Association
CLGF     Commonwealth Local Government Forum
CMAG     Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group
CMJA     Commonwealth Magistrates and Judges Association
COFTA    Cooperation for Fair Trade in Africa
COG      Commonwealth Organisations Group
ComSec   Commonwealth Secretariat
COP      Conference of the Parties
COPOLCO  Consumer Policy Committee
COW      Committee of the Whole
CPA      Commonwealth Parliamentary Association
CPF      Commonwealth People’s Forum
CPLP     Community of Portuguese Language Countries
CPSU     Commonwealth Policy Studies Unit
CPU      Commonwealth Press Union
CSAC     Civil Society Advisory Committee
CSD      Commission for Sustainable Development
CSER     Corporate Social and Environmental Responsibility
CSOs     civil society organisations
CSPR     Civil Society for Poverty Reduction
CTP      Centre for Tax Policy and Administration
CTUG     Commonwealth Trade Union Group
CWN      Commonwealth Women’s Network
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CYEC</td>
<td>Commonwealth Youth Exchange Council</td>
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<td>DATA</td>
<td>Debt AIDS Trade Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>DAW</td>
<td>Division for the Advancement of Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>DAWN</td>
<td>Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era</td>
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<tr>
<td>DENIVA</td>
<td>Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Associations</td>
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<td>DESA</td>
<td>Department of Economic and Social Affairs</td>
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<td>DNS</td>
<td>Domain Name System</td>
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<td>DOC</td>
<td>Department of Commerce</td>
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<tr>
<td>DOT</td>
<td>Digital Opportunities Task Force</td>
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<td>Department of Public Information</td>
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<td>DSM</td>
<td>Dispute Settlement Mechanism</td>
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<td>Economic and Social Council</td>
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<td>Environmental Defence</td>
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<td>ED</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
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<td>EEB</td>
<td>European Environmental Bureau</td>
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<td>Electronic Frontier Foundation</td>
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<td>EFTA</td>
<td>European Fair Trade Association</td>
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<td>EMTA</td>
<td>Trade Association for the Emerging Markets</td>
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<tr>
<td>EPA</td>
<td>Environmental Protection Agency</td>
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<td>EPOC</td>
<td>Environmental Policy Committee</td>
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<td>ESAF</td>
<td>Enhanced Structural Adjustment Fund</td>
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<td>ETUC</td>
<td>European Trade Union Confederation</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>Eurodad</td>
<td>European Network on Debt and Development</td>
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<td>EXR</td>
<td>External Relations Department</td>
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<tr>
<td>FAD</td>
<td>Fiscal Affairs Department</td>
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<tr>
<td>FATF</td>
<td>Financial Action Task Force</td>
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<tr>
<td>FCIC</td>
<td>Federation of Consultants from Islamic Countries</td>
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<tr>
<td>FDC</td>
<td>Freedom from Debt Coalition</td>
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<tr>
<td>FEALAC</td>
<td>Forum for East Asia-Latin America Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>FFD</td>
<td>Financing for Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>FIEL</td>
<td>Foundation for Latin American Economic Investigations</td>
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<td>FIELD</td>
<td>Foundation for International Environmental Law and Development</td>
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<td>FIM</td>
<td>Forum international de Montréal</td>
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<td>FLO</td>
<td>Fairtrade Labelling Organisations International</td>
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<tr>
<td>FOE</td>
<td>Friends of the Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOEI</td>
<td>Friends of the Earth International</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of abbreviations

FSAP      Financial Sector Assessment Program
FSC      Forestry Stewardship Council
FTAO      Fair Trade Advocacy Office
G5      Group of Five
G7      Group of Seven
G77      Group of Seventy-Seven
G8      Group of Eight
GA      General Assembly
GAA      Global AIDS Alliance
GAC      Governmental Advisory Committee
GATS      General Agreement on Trade in Services
GATT      General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCAP      Global Call to Action Against Poverty
GCC      Gulf Cooperation Council
GFATM      Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria
GHCs      greenhouse gases
GigaNet      Global Internet Governance Academic Network
GLOBE      Global Legislators Organization for a Balanced Environment
GMOs      Genetically Modified Organisms
GNSO      Generic Name Supporting Organization
GOPIO      Global Organization of People of Indian Origin
GTI      Global Transparency Initiative
gTLD      Generic Top-Level Domain
HIPC      Highly Indebted Poor Countries
IACHR      Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
IASB      International Accounting Standards Board
IATP      Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy
IBASE      Brazilian Institute for Social and Economic Analysis
IBRD      International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICANN      Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers
ICC      International Chamber of Commerce
ICC      Inuit Circumpolar Conference
ICCI      Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry
ICFTU      International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ICFTU/APRO      ICFTU Asian and Pacific Regional Organisation
ICHRP      International Council on Human Rights Policy
ICJ      International Court of Justice
ICLEI      ICLEI – Local Governments for Sustainability
List of abbreviations

ICMA  International Capital Market Association
ICRW  International Center for Research on Women
ICS   Institute of Commonwealth Studies
ICSID International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes
ICTSD International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development
IDA   International Development Association
IDB   Islamic Development Bank
IDN   Internationalized Domain Name
IEA   International Energy Agency
IEG   Independent Evaluation Group
IEO   Independent Evaluation Office
IETA  International Emissions Trading Association
IETF  Internet Engineering Task Force
IFAT  International Fair Trade Association
IFAT-LA International Fair Trade Association in Latin America
IFC   International Finance Corporation
IFIs  International Financial Institutions
IGC   Internet Governance Caucus
IGF   Internet Governance Forum
IGOs  intergovernmental organisations
IGP   Internet Governance Project
IHEM  Institute of Higher Studies in Management
IHRC  Islamic Human Rights Commission
IIE   Institute for International Economics
IIED  International Institute of Environment and Development
IIF   Institute of International Finance
IIFA  International Islamic Fiqh Academy
INA   International Islamic News Agency
IISD  International Institute for Sustainable Development
ILO   International Labour Organisation
ILRF  International Labour Rights Forum
IMF   International Monetary Fund
INGO international non-governmental organisation
IOC   International Organising Committee
IOE   International Organisation of Employers
IP    Internet Protocol
IPCC  Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IPD   Institute for Popular Democracy
List of abbreviations

ISBO      Islamic States Broadcasting Organisation
ISEAL     International Social and Environmental Accreditation and Labelling Alliance
ISESCO    Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
ISO       International Organisation for Standardisation
ISOC      Internet Society
ITGN      International Trade and Gender Network
ITO       International Trade Organisation
ITU       International Telecommunication Union
ITUC      International Trade Union Confederation
IUCN      International Union for the Conservation of Nature
J8        Junior Eight
JCIF      Japan Centre for International Finance
JPA       Joint Project Agreement
JWPTE     Joint Working Party on Trade and Environment
L20       Leaders’ 20
LFAs      Local Fund Agents
MAI       Multilateral Agreement on Investment
MAP       Multi-Country HIV/AIDS Program
MCM       Monetary and Capital Markets Department
MD        Managing Director
MDGs      Millennium Development Goals
MDRI      Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative
MEAs      multilateral environmental agreements
MEJN      Malawi Economic Justice Network
MERCOSUR  Southern Common Market
MIGA      Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency
MNEs      multinational enterprises
MOU       Memoranda of Understanding
MSF       Médecins Sans Frontières
MSN       Monitoring Sustainability of Globalisation
NACP3     National AIDS Control Plan
NCPs      National Contact Points
NCUC      Noncommercial Users Constituency
NEPAD     New Partnership for Africa’s Development
NEWS!     Network of European Worldshops
NGLS      Non-Governmental Liaison Service
NGO       non-governmental organisation
NIEO      New International Economic Order
NRDC      Natural Resources Defence Council

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List of abbreviations

NTIA  National Telecommunications and Information Administration
O5    Outreach 5
OAU   Organisation of African Unity
ODI   Overseas Development Institute
OECD  Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OECE  Organisation for European Economic Co-operation
OIC   Organisation of the Islamic Conference
OISA  Organisation of the Islamic Shipowners Association
P7    Poor 7
PANA  Pan-African News Agency
PDR   Policy Development and Review
PF    Partnership Forum
PIN   Public Information Notices
PNoWB Parliamentary Network on the World Bank
PRGF  Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility
PRSP  Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSI   Policy Support Instrument
PSI   Public Services International
QAG   Quality Assurance Group
RALOs Regional At-Large Organisations
RCS   Royal Commonwealth Society
REBRIP Brazilian Network for the Integration of Peoples
RSSAC Root Server System Advisory Committee
SADC  Southern African Development Community
SAN-ROC South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee
SAPA  Solidarity for Asian People’s Advocacy
SAPRI Structural Adjustment Participatory Review Initiative
SBI   Subsidiary Body on Implementation
SBSTA Subsidiary Body on Science and Technological Advice
SC    Security Council
SCF   Save the Children Fund
SCIMF Sub-Committee on IMF matters
SEATINI Southern and Eastern African Trade Information and Negotiations Institute
SESRTCIC Statistical, Economic and Social Research and Training Centre for Islamic Countries
SFTMS Sustainable Fair Trade Management System
SIDS  Small Island Developing States
### List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SMEs</td>
<td>small and medium enterprises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOMs</td>
<td>Senior Official Meetings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOMTI</td>
<td>Senior Officials’ Meeting on Trade and Investment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOs</td>
<td>Supporting Organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPR</td>
<td>Strategy, Policy and Review Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPS</td>
<td>Phytosanitary Measures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRH</td>
<td>Sexual and Reproductive Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSAC</td>
<td>Security and Stability Advisory Committee</td>
</tr>
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<td>TDBI</td>
<td>Thailand Development Research Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>TERI</td>
<td>The Energy and Resources Institute</td>
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<td>TI</td>
<td>Transparency International</td>
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<tr>
<td>TLD</td>
<td>Top-Level Domain</td>
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<tr>
<td>TLG</td>
<td>Technical Liaison Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>TNCs</td>
<td>transnational companies</td>
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<tr>
<td>TNI</td>
<td>Transnational Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOES</td>
<td>The Other Economic Summit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRIPS</td>
<td>Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRPM</td>
<td>Trade Policy Review Mechanism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TUAC</td>
<td>Trade Union Advisory Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWG</td>
<td>Transitional Working Group</td>
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<td>TWN</td>
<td>Third World Network</td>
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<tr>
<td>UCLG</td>
<td>United Cities and Local Governments</td>
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<tr>
<td>UDN</td>
<td>Uganda Debt Network</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNCTAD</td>
<td>United Nations Conference on Trade and Development</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNEP</td>
<td>United Nations Environment Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNF</td>
<td>United Nations Foundation</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNFCCC</td>
<td>United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNGASS</td>
<td>United Nations General Assembly Special Session on HIV/AIDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNIW</td>
<td>Union of NGOs of the Islamic World</td>
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<td>VCS</td>
<td>Voluntary Carbon Standard</td>
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<td>VSO</td>
<td>Voluntary Service Overseas</td>
</tr>
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<td>W3C</td>
<td>World Wide Web Consortium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WBCSD</td>
<td>World Business Council for Sustainable Development</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of abbreviations

WCL      World Confederation of Labour
WDM      World Development Movement
WEDO     Women's Environment and Development Organization
WEF      World Economic Forum
WFP      World Food Programme
WFTO     World Fair Trade Organization
WFUNA    World Federation of United Nations Associations
WGIG     Working Group on Internet Governance
WGSC     Working Group on the Security Council
WHO      World Health Organization
WIDE     Women in Development Europe
WMD      weapons of mass destruction
WSF      World Social Forum
WSIS     World Summit on the Information Society
WTO      World Trade Organization
WWF      World Wide Fund for Nature
WWW      Women Won't Wait