

ANNEX

Participants



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Selected writings: Environmental Laws in the Gulf Co-operation Council Countries (1996); Iraqi Aggression and Trampling of the Principles of Humanity and the Laws (1992); Women and the Law (1979); Public International Law & its Application in Kuwait (1979).



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Selected writings: Happiness, Conflict, and Development (forthcoming); The State, Violence, and Development: The Political Economy of War in Mozambique 1975–1992 (1996).



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Selected writings: USAID-Report on Foreign Aid in the National Interest (co-author, 2003); Universal Democracy? In: Policy Review (2003); Democracy after Communism (2002); Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation (1999).



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Selected writings: Das Recht auf Rechtfertigung. Elemente einer konstruktivistischen Theorie der Gerechtigkeit (forthcoming); Toleranz im Konflikt. Geschichte, Gehalt und Gegenwart eines umstrittenen Begriffs (2003); Contexts of Justice. Political Philosophy Beyond Liberalism and Communitarianism (2002).



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Selected writings: Kontinuität und Wandel im zeitgenössischen arabischen Denken: Intellektuelle Debatten der 90er Jahre (2005); Understanding Arab Reality (Carnegie Papers, 2005).



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Selected writings: Syria under Bashar al-Assad: Modernisation and the Limits of Change, Adelphi Paper (2004); Arab Elites: Negotiating the Politics of Change (2004); Geheime Gärten: Die Neue Arabische Welt (2004); Germany and the Middle East – Interest and Options (2002).



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Journalist, Editor-at-Large, DIE ZEIT, Hamburg; fmr. Board Member, German Agro Action; fmr. Lecturer in political science, Hamburg University and Center for European

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Selected writings: Waltz, Jazz, or Samba? The Contribution of Locally Driven Partnerships to Sustainable Development (2005); Exploring Concepts and Research Priorities for Partnership Accountability (2005); Palästina (2001, 2002).



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Selected writings: Mehr Wachstum für Deutschland (2004).



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Fmr. President of the Federal Republic of Germany (1984–1994); fmr. governing Mayor of West Berlin (1981–1984); fmr. Vice President of the German Parliament (1969–1981); former member of the Federal Executive Board of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU); former President of the German Lutheran Church Council; laureate of the Heinrich Heine (1991) and Leo Baeck Awards (1994); chairman of the Bergedorf Round Table of the Körber Foundation.

Selected Writings: Was für eine Welt wollen wir? (2005); Drei Mal Stunde Null? 1949–1969–1989 (2001); Vier Zeiten. Erinnerungen (1997); Richard von Weizsäcker im Gespräch (1992); Von Deutschland nach Europa (1991); Die deutsche Geschichte geht weiter (1983).



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Chairman of the Subcommittee for the United Nations of the German Parliament, Berlin, Chairman of the German Society for the United Nations, Berlin; member of the committee on foreign affairs of the German Parliament; member of the governing council of the Social Democratic Party (SPD); Chairman of the Socialist International Committee on the economy, social cohesion and the environment; fmr. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; fmr. foreign policy spokesman of the SPD faction in the German Parliament; various positions in ministerial rank in North Rhine-Westphalia.

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World Trade Organization (WTO): <http://www.wto.org>

Glossary

African Union (AU)

The African Union is a supranational organization promoting unity and solidarity among African states. The AU was established in 2001 as the successor organization to the Organization for African Unity (OAU), which was founded in 1963 among 32 African states. The organization is based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Its 53 members include every African state except Morocco. Besides promoting African unity, goals of the AU include defending the sovereignty and independence of its member states, promoting → good governance, human rights, security, and stability on the continent, as well as international cooperation. Institutionally, the AU resembles the European Union, with a President (elected annually by the Assembly, 2004–5 Olusegun Obasanjo, President of Nigeria), an Executive Council of heads of state, a pan-African Parliament, a Commission, pan-African financial institutions, and an African court being planned. Since 2004 there has also been an AU Security Council with a rapid reaction force based on the UN model, designed to prevent and, if necessary, intervene in conflicts and carry out peacekeeping operations. In March 2005 the Economic, Social, and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) was founded to provide civil society groups with an institutionalized form of cooperation with the AU. The AU's economic development program is called → NEPAD.

www.africa-union.org

Arab League

The Arab League or League of Arab States is an association of currently 22 states with the goal of deepening relations among member states in the fields of politics, culture, social issues and trade. The League was founded in 1945 by Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Jordan (then Transjordan). Its founding charter also identifies up-

holding members' independence and Arab external interests, recognizing Palestine as an independent state and preventing and mediating conflicts among members. The Arab League is based in Cairo; its Secretary General since 2001 has been the former Egyptian foreign minister Amr M. Moussa. Besides the General Secretariat, the League's chief organs include the Council of the Arab League, which consists of member states' representatives (mostly foreign ministers), the Permanent Commission and the General Secretariat, which meets twice annually, and the summits of kings and heads of state, which is called only when necessary. Resolutions of the League Council are binding only for those member states voting in favor. Every member has the power of veto. Consequently, conflicts of interest often disrupt the League's effectiveness. This is also why there has, as yet, been no general free trade agreement, only a pact signed in 2001 by four of the 22 members: Iraq, Egypt, Tunisia, and Syria. Other organs of the League include the Defence Council, the Economic and Social Council, additional ministerial councils and many standing committees.

http://www.arableagueonline.org

Cotonou Agreement

The Cotonou Agreement is an association treaty among the ACP (African, Caribbean, Pacific) states with the EU, which permits the ACP states to export goods to the EU largely free of tariffs. 78 states currently take part in the agreement. In June 2000 the Cotonou Agreement replaced the Lome Agreement and its successor agreements which had regulated cooperation between the EU and the ACP states since 1975. In concrete terms the cooperation now focuses on strengthening the political dimension, fighting poverty, incorporating non-state actors and reforming economic and financial cooperation in

observance of WTO regulations. The Cotonou Agreement requires more explicitly than its predecessors the fulfilment of political or economic conditions that emphasize → good governance and human rights. In case of gross violations the EU can temporarily suspend all cooperation except humanitarian aid. Another novelty compared to earlier agreements is the intention of including non-state actors such as groups from civil society, private companies and trade unions in the process of development cooperation. One of the most controversial aspects of the new agreement was the reform of economic and financial cooperation. In a compromise, the EU and ACP states agreed to gradually dismantle preferential trade, thereby meeting a requirement of the WTO. In this way, the EU is seeking to support the ACP states in compensating the negative effects of liberalization. As in the Lomé Agreement, the treaty's central organs remain the Council of Ministers, the Permanent Committee of Ambassadors and the Parliamentary Assembly.

<http://europa.eu.int/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/r12101.htm>

Doha Round

The Doha Round of the → World Trade Organization (WTO) began in November 2001 in Doha, the capital of Qatar, with the Fourth Conference of the WTO member states' economics ministers. In the "Doha Development Agenda" they decided to open a new round of negotiations aimed at further liberalizing trade and, above all, establishing better trade conditions for developing countries. One key issue was subsidies for farmers in industrialized nations, which effectively shut farmers from poorer countries out of markets such as the European Union. The original timetable for reaching an agreement had to be repeatedly revised due to strong resistance from some developing countries. A concerted attempt to

bring about consensus at the 2003 Cancún Summit failed. In July 2004 in Geneva, the 147 member states managed to agree on a framework agreement that was widely regarded as an acceptable compromise. In it, industrialized countries pledged to dismantle the agricultural subsidies that distorted competition, while developing and threshold countries agreed to further open their markets to global trade. Many analysts say the agreement could contribute substantially to a more vigorous global economy. However, some → nongovernmental organizations say that rapidly opening their markets would harm developing countries' economies more than the subsidy reductions would help. Remaining unresolved issues will be the topics of discussion at the next WTO ministers' summit in Hong Kong in December 2005.

http://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dda_e/dda_e.htm

Debt Relief

The massive debt burdens of many developing countries are a key factor inhibiting development. Most of the debt volume was accumulated during the 1970s and 80s, when a combination of energy crises, rising interest rates and falling world market prices for the developing countries' most important export products left these countries able to service interest payments only by taking on additional debt, resulting in a vicious circle. In 1996, the → World Bank and → IMF launched an initiative to relieve the pressure on these countries, the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative, to make available more funding to fight poverty and promote sustainable growth. In 1999, the HIPC Initiative was expanded at the G8 summit in Cologne, the so-called Cologne Debt Initiative, to include more countries under its criteria, to implement debt relief more quickly and flexibly than before and therefore to reduce indebtedness to

a tolerable level. In compensation for debt forgiveness, the target countries committed themselves to spending the money saved from servicing debt on poverty reduction and investments in education, economic and social policy reforms. Countries are considered highly indebted when their debt equals 150% of their annual exports (increases in this limit are currently under discussion) and which they cannot reduce without external assistance. Forty mainly African countries fall under these criteria, of which 27 began the debt reduction process before a five-year evaluation in 2004. In 11 other countries this process has been obstructed through armed conflict or unimplemented structural reform.

Critics consider the debt problem five years after the Cologne summit worse than before, because, on the basis of overly optimistic assumptions regarding economic developments in debtor nations, the amounts forgiven by the World Bank have proven insufficient. It has also been criticized that some industrial countries have not forgiven additional bilateral debt through development aid funding. Acceptance in the HIPC Initiative is possible until December 2006.

Debt forgiveness is, however, a double-edged sword, since it simultaneously lowers the target country's credit rating, making it hard to secure additional funding from international financial markets. This is a significant consideration for threshold countries such as Indonesia and Thailand, which can finance their debts on their own through private investors, and therefore, for example, were reluctant to accept loans after the tsunami disaster in late 2004.

<http://www.fondad.org>

<http://www.worldbank.org/debt>

Empowerment / Participation / Ownership

Empowerment, ownership and participation are important principles of contemporary development aid policy.

The idea of empowerment was developed within the fields of psychology and educational science as a term for strategies that help people lead independent lives and to define and defend their own interests. In development cooperation, this primarily means supporting disadvantaged groups in taking part effectively in the political process. As a prerequisite, political institutions must often be redesigned so as to allow popular participation.

Participation, in turn, builds on empowerment. It is people's active representation of their interests, mostly through organizations, in the decision-making processes that influence their lives. For development policy, this means systematically incorporating the experiences and attitudes of those at whom development policy is aimed. Necessarily, these people take on a share of responsibility for the development project in question. However, participation does not necessarily imply direct action. In representative democracy, participation can also take indirect forms, e.g. through intermediary institutions such as political parties or elected representatives. Moreover, participation cannot guarantee consideration for the interests of weak political groups or minorities if these are unable to influence majority decisions. Still, political standards called for by the principles of → good governance seek to include as many societal groups as possible in the decision-making process. Yet the possibility of dominant groups developing within the upper or middle classes at the expense of more disadvantaged groups and their interests cannot be ruled out.

Ownership is a form of participation. In development policy, the term denotes the goal of target

groups, partner organizations, and partner governments identifying with and assuming responsibility for a project directed at them. It postulates that receiver countries should take the leading role in the process of development instead of passively letting donors solve the problems by themselves. According to the London-based "Overseas Development Institute," four prerequisites must be fulfilled for ownership to function: 1. Ministerial officials, 2. the government, and 3. a broad group of societal actors must be convinced of the strategy's value; and 4. the strategy must be anchored institutionally in the system of government. Ownership is considered an important precondition for → sustainability and the success of development policy initiatives.

<http://www.odi.org.uk/>

Global Compact

Global Compact is an initiative announced by United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan at the 1999 World Economic Forum. Annan called on the private sector to cooperate with the UN in making → globalization more socially and ecologically sustainable through responsible corporate governance and mutual support. The Global Compact is not a code of conduct or global governance concept, but a platform for dialog in which corporate "best practice" examples function as incentives for others. Although participation in the compact is voluntary, the corporations involved pledge to promote and implement its ten principles regarding human rights, labor and social standards, fighting corruption, and environmental protection. Essentially, the principles are based on the General Declaration of Human Rights, the International Labor Organization's (ILO) Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, the principles of Agenda 21, the declaration of the Rio Conference on Environment and

Development (→ sustainable development). There is no official monitoring or evaluation mechanism for observance of the principles. Critics consider this to be the compact's key flaw. They demand in its place global, binding and enforceable minimum standards or international certification processes with external monitoring. At present, some 1,700 state institutions, corporations, international organizations and NGOs have joined the compact.

<http://www.unglobalcompact.org>

http://www.iccwbo.org/home/menu_global_compact.asp

Globalization

This rather elastic term denotes the ongoing global integration at the economic, political, technological and cultural levels. Technological advances have permitted a dramatic increase in the exchange of goods, ideas and people. The growth of global problems and the expansion of international trade and financial markets have also severely limited the capacity of national governments to deal effectively with political problems. The word is also used to describe the growing acceptance of Western values and lifestyles. Many observers and political groups regard the negative economic consequences of globalization and its resultant destruction of indigenous social systems as a key cause of fundamentalist tendencies in poorer countries.

<http://www.globalpolicy.org/globaliz>

<http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/ib/2000/041200.htm>

<http://www1.worldbank.org/economicpolicy/globalization>

Good Governance

Good governance denotes the ideal process of making and implementing state decisions. Its main characteristics are: rule of law, responsibility, transparency, participation, efficiency and effectiveness, consensus building and inclusion. It also implies that corruption be minimized, market principles be promoted, human rights be respected, minorities and marginal societal groups be incorporated in decisions and the guiding principle of → sustainability be observed.

All these components are interdependent. Participation (→ Empowerment, Participation, Ownership), consensus building and inclusion all embody the particular importance in democratic systems of incorporating all societal groups in the political process, especially in matters directly affecting them. One prerequisite for all opinions to be heard is transparency, which ensures that political decision-making follows generally known and accepted rules consistent with the rule of law: that those in power take responsibility for their policies, that information for those directly affected by these policies is freely available, and that before such decisions are made, comprehensive information on them circulates i.e. in the media.

Since the 1990s, many states and development organizations have made good governance a condition for the awarding of development aid, because it is widely regarded as essential for the eventual success of such projects. However, organizations such as NGOs often point out that respect for these principles is not consistently required. They say that in trade and development cooperation with China, for example, human rights issues are mostly excluded. Hopes that the increasing global liberalization of markets would necessarily lead to political reforms toward good governance and democratization have

not been fulfilled. Political reforms are sustainable only when they have popular support (→ Empowerment, Participation, Ownership).

<http://www.unescap.org/huset/gg/governance.htm>

Human Development Index (HDI)

The UN Development Program (→ UNDP) publishes an annual study of human development, the “Human Development Report.” At its core is a Human Development Index or HDI, which was introduced as an alternative to per capita gross domestic product (per capita GDP) as a development indicator. The HDI is meant to emphasize that income and quality of life are not synonymous and that people must be given the opportunity to decide for themselves how to live their lives. Certain conditions must exist to permit this. Therefore, the HDI includes, besides the indicator of per capita GDP, others such as life expectancy at birth, literacy rates among adults, and the percentage of children entering school. In 2004 the HDI encompassed a total of 177 states, of which 122 were rated as having “medium” or “low” human development.

<http://hdr.undp.org>

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

The IMF was established in 1944 at the Bretton Woods Conference and is, together with the → World Bank, a United Nations-affiliated organization based in Washington DC. Under its managing director, Rodrigo Rato y Figaredo, the IMF presently has 185 member states. Its purpose is to coordinate monetary policies and promote international trade, stabilize exchange rates and extend credit to members with financial difficulties. The weight of a member country’s vote depends on its wealth and membership dues. The members with the greatest financial clout are currently the United States, Japan,

Germany, France, and Britain. The IMF's critics say its conditions for providing loans (privatization and public spending cuts) do great social damage in the receiver countries. These critics also say the IMF has had a decisive part in Argentina's financial crisis which began in 1991 and is only now beginning to subside.

<http://www.imf.org>

Microcredit

The United Nations has declared 2005 as the "Year of Microcredit" as a sign of the great potential it sees in microfinancing as a means of fighting poverty. By using development cooperation to institutionally strengthen and professionalize banks and other providers of small and microcredits that sometimes amount to only a few dollars, the initiative aims to give poor households access to financial services such as savings accounts, credits, insurance and general payment methods. This "helping others to help themselves" approach encourages entrepreneurial initiative and integrates the formerly underprivileged into formal economic processes. The aim is to create new employment, secure incomes, and improve the operation of local financial markets—a vital prerequisite for economic development. Problems of microfinancing generally include the difficulty in reaching the poorest of the poor, due to their inability to pay back loans, together with the fact that most microfinancing institutions cannot operate profitably and therefore depend on subsidies. Some models, however, have been making a profit. The complexity of poverty makes it difficult to prove that microfinancing really is superior to other approaches, such as investment in education and nutrition.

<http://www.yearofmicrocredit.org>

Millennium Declaration / Millennium Development Goals (MDG)

The Millennium Declaration was the outcome of the Millennium Conference, in which the heads of state and government from 150 nations met in New York in September 2000. The declaration is centered on the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), eight objectives for development policy to be attained by 2015. They are: to halve the number of people living in extreme poverty; give all children the opportunity to gain an elementary education; promote gender equality; fight communicable diseases such as HIV/AIDS and malaria; integrate the principle of → sustainability in political programs, make possible access to clean drinking water; and to construct a new, global development aid partnership that would come to grips with the problem of debt (→ debt relief) and better coordinate development cooperation.

In 2002, representatives of industrialized and developing countries met at a UN-sponsored conference in Monterrey, Mexico, to seek an agreement on financing possibilities for the MDG. The outcome was summarized in the "Monterrey Consensus," in which more money was to be mobilized in developing nations toward implementing the MDG, and direct investment increased to bolster the local economies. As agreed in the → Doha Round, industrialized states were reminded of their commitments to open their markets to products from developing nations and increase their official expenditures on development aid. Another part of the declaration concerns → debt relief within the framework of the HIPC Initiative, as well as a declared intent to integrate the interests of developing countries more strongly in reforming the architecture of global trade and finance.

UN Secretary General Kofi Annan has appointed an independent advisory commission, the "UN Mil-

lennium Project,” to work out strategies of attaining the MDG. Consisting of 250 international experts under the direction of economist Jeffrey D. Sachs, the group published a report with corresponding recommendations in January 2005 (see Recommended Literature). It calls for a series of immediate measures to fight poverty and implement political and economic reforms along the principles of → good governance to reach the MDG by the 2015 deadline.

<http://unmp.forumone.com>

New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD)

NEPAD is a program of the → African Union (AU) that was established in 2001 by the AU’s forerunner organization, the OAU. It seeks to produce integrated means of developing Africa socially and economically. Its main targets are to fight poverty and the marginalization of African countries in the process of globalization, and it promotes → sustainable development, the principles of → good governance, women’s empowerment, regional and continental integration, and international partnerships. All NEPAD initiatives must be aligned with the → Millennium Development Goals. One point of emphasis is promoting investment and mobilizing resources through programs in the areas of infrastructure, nutrition, health, and market reform.

www.nepad.org

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

NGOs are, in contrast to private corporations and state agencies, civil society groups that generally operate on a non-profit basis, for the common good, pursuing social or political objectives. NGOs are also distinct from citizens’ initiatives and other movements in having permanent, albeit often

loose, organizational structures and in their often transnational operations. Today, groups such as Greenpeace and Amnesty International mount effective public campaigns against human rights violations and environmental pollution, while other NGOs such as the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) prefer cooperative strategies such as lobbying to advance their agendas. NGOs are often sought-after partners for state agencies and development institutions in development aid policy because of their expertise and on-the-ground knowledge. Since various parties demand that civil society be incorporated into political decision-making processes in industrialized and developing countries, NGOs are often treated as representatives of civil society. However, NGOs do not represent all people and interests, as some interests can be organized only with difficulty, and small NGOs, especially those from developing nations, are often marginalized by other NGOs because of scant resources. Critics maintain that NGOs are not democratically organized and that they have no legitimacy (i.e. through elections) to call themselves representatives of civil society. This problem is largely resolved when NGOs operate transparently and clearly display their interests, including internal ones.

<http://www.globalpolicy.org/ngos>

<http://www.ngos.net>

<http://www.oneworld.net>

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)

Founded in 1961, the Paris-based OECD has 30 member states in Europe, the Americas, Asia and Australia. It seeks to increase employment and raise living standards by coordinating its member states’ economic, trade and development policies. It also aims to promote economic growth on a global

scale by expanding and liberalizing international commerce. Member states are represented by one deputy each to the OECD Council. Donald J. Johnson has been Secretary General since 1996. The OECD works mainly through reports and recommendations; it has no coercive powers.

<http://www.oecd.org>

Sustainable Development/Sustainability

Since the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio, this catchword has defined the international discourse on environmental and development policy. Since the term was elevated to a global guiding principle in the Rio Conference report, the Agenda 21, it has been used equally by actors in national and international politics, and by the business, science and civil society communities, to pursue their own—and often contradictory—purposes.

The generally accepted definition was provided in 1987 by the World Commission on Environment and Development, better known as the Brundtland Commission, in its report “Our Common Future:” “By sustainable development we mean development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs.”

As a consequence, the report urges that sustainability become a fundamental consideration in all political decisions, in which the interrelationships between economic, social and ecological processes, as well as global interdependence and effects on future generations be taken into consideration.

Although the concept of sustainability is broadly accepted, the question remains of what goals it should pursue. For example, it is disputed whether limitations on growth and usage should be set, and if so, what form they should take. Also at issue is

whether sacrifice is needed in some areas, or whether sustainability can be achieved by increasing efficiency. Finally, most actors have differing ideas of justice and emphasize either equal results or equal chances, or: justice within a generation or among generations.

<http://www.johannesburgsummit.org>

<http://www.un.org/geninfo/bp/enviro.html>

<http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/index.html>

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)

UNCTAD is a subsidiary organization of the United Nations based, since its inception in 1964, in Geneva. It operates as a discussion forum for governments over how developing nations can be integrated in global trade. These discussions are supposed to include experts and research results provided by UNCTAD, so that trade recommendations can be made for international policymakers. In addition, UNCTAD provides development aid for developing nations in cooperation with other donors. The conference meets every four years.

UNCTAD’s status and political influence have fallen since the foundation of the → WTO in 1995, since the latter has become the definitive forum for negotiations on trade issues, while UNCTAD is merely a discussion forum. Moreover, development issues are now treated less as their own distinct field of politics than, within the framework of the WTO, increasingly linked with issues of trade and economic policy (→ Doha Round), thus marginalizing UNCTAD in this respect. UNCTAD’s main field of operation today is advising and representing the interests of developing nations. Its chief current goal is strengthening South-South trade.

www.unctad.org

UNDP – United Nations Development Program

The UNDP was founded in 1965 to advise countries in building up and reforming government systems, fighting poverty, preventing conflict and devising environmental and healthcare policies. The program's emphases include bringing together actors from different sectors and financing innovative projects. Through its bureaus in 166 countries, the UNDP helps developing countries make optimal use of UN and other international aid programs, thereby helping these countries to help themselves. In its annual "Human Development Report," (→ Human Development Index) the UNDP draws attention to development measures other than economic ones, and seeks to find methods of measuring and analyzing factors that are difficult to quantify, such as quality of life or social justice. The UNDP is financed exclusively through voluntary contributions from donor countries. Its resources for 2004–5 total some \$3.5 billion.

<http://www.undp.org>

<http://hdr.undp.org>

World Bank

The World Bank, actually the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), was established in 1944 at the Bretton Woods Conference and is, together with the → International Monetary Fund, a specialized agency of the United Nations based in Washington. The multilateral institution has the task of helping mainly developing countries improve their economies with loans and to help fight poverty. Political reforms including → good governance, privatization and promotion of a market economy are often prerequisites for credit. The World Bank is financed by the membership dues of its currently 185 member countries. The fact that the Bank's chief contributors—the biggest by far of

which is the United States—determine the organization's policies has generated criticism that it neglects the interests of poorer states. The World Bank has also repeatedly been criticized for its democratic deficits, because, through the organization's structures, industrialized states gain the lion's share of influence and therefore can dictate the conditions under which credits are awarded. In this way they often exercise substantial influence on the domestic politics of receiver countries. The issue of the World Bank's relevance and future continues into the present, raised repeatedly both by anti-globalization activists and conservative elements in the United States. In June 2005, Paul Wolfowitz, former Deputy US Defense Secretary under George W. Bush, will succeed James Wolfensohn at the expiration of the latter's 10-year term as president of the World Bank.

<http://www.worldbank.org>

World Trade Organization (WTO)

The Geneva-based WTO was founded in 1995 as the successor organization to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). It is based on the principle that free trade promotes economic growth and prosperity. Therefore, the WTO seeks to progressively open the markets of all its member states for goods and services on the basis of transparent and non-discriminatory rules. In 2001 the WTO members opened a new round of trade negotiations in Doha, particularly in the interests of developing states. The → Doha Round is expected to reach its conclusion in early 2006. Groups representing civil society often accuse the WTO of neglecting development, environmental and health care issues.

<http://www.wto.org>

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Previous Round Tables*

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1961	1	Schwächen der industriellen Gesellschaft	F. W. Schoberth	H. B. Tolkmitt
	2	Kulturkrise in der industriellen Gesellschaft	Erik von Sivers	Fritz Voigt
	3	Glanz und Elend der Entwicklungshilfe	Fritz Baade	Günther Buch
	4	Gesellschaftliche Entwicklung im Osten	Helmut Gollwitzer	Eugen Kogon
1962	5	Die Fragwürdigkeit der Bildungspolitik	Rüdiger Altmann	Josef Müller-Marein
	6	Die Erziehung zum Europäer	Stéphane Hessel	François Bondy
	7	Die Bewältigung des Preis-Lohn-Problems	Theodor Pütz	Gottfried Bombach
	8	Die Preis-Lohn-Dynamik in der BRD	Hans-Constantin Paulssen	Fritz Voigt
1963	9	Maschine—Denkmaschine—Staatsmaschine	Pierre Bertaux	Arnold Gehlen
	10	Kybernetik als soziale Tatsache	O. W. Haseloff	Freiherr von Stackelberg
	11	Westliche Gesellschaft und kommunistische Drohung	Winfried Martini	Th. Eschenburg
	12	Wohin treibt die EWG?	U. W. Kitzinger, Roland Delcour	Eugen Kogon
1964	13	Planung in der freien Marktwirtschaft	Edgar Salin	Gottfried Bombach
	14	Wohin Deutschland in Europa?	Alfred Grosser, Karl Theodor Frhr. zu Guttenberg	François Bondy
	15	Entwicklungshilfe—Mittel des Aufstiegs oder des Verfalls?	Walter Rau E. F. Schumacher	Edgar Salin
	16	Industrielle Gesellschaft— menschlich oder unmenschlich?	Raymond Aron	Ralf Dahrendorf
1965	17	Vermögensbildung in Arbeitnehmerhand	Helmut Meinhold H. J. Wallraff	Eugen Kogon
	18	Hemmen Tabus die Demokratisierung?	Alexander Mitscherlich	Hellmut Becker
	19	Automatisierung—eine gesellschaftliche Herausforderung?	Gottfried Bombach Günter Friedrichs Kurt Pentzlin	Hans Wenke

*a complete list of all participants since 1961 is available at www.bergedorf-round-table.org

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair	
	20	Ein Dilemma der westlichen Demokratien	Leo H. Klaassen	Edgar Salin
1966	21	Die "unterentwickelten" hochindustrialisierten Gesellschaften	Friedrich Heer	Hellmut Becker
	22	Muss unsere politische Maschinerie umkonstruiert werden?	Rüdiger Altmann Joseph Rován	Eugen Kogon
	23	Wissenschaftliche Experten und politische Praxis—Das Problem der Zusammenarbeit in der heutigen Demokratie	Helmut Schelsky Ulrich Lohmar	Hellmut Becker
	24	Ist der Weltfriede unvermeidlich?	Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	Edgar Salin
1967	25	Bedroht die Pressekonzentration die freie Meinungsbildung?	Helmut Arndt	Hellmut Becker
	26	Neue Wege zur Hochschulreform	Ralf Dahrendorf	Hellmut Becker
	27	Beherrschen die Technokraten unsere heutige Gesellschaft?	Alfred Mozer	Eugen Kogon
1968	28	Freiheit als Störfaktor in einer programmierten Gesellschaft	Jeanne Hersch	Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker
	29	Fördern die Bündnissysteme die Sicherheit Europas?	Wladimir Chwostow	Alfred Grosser
	30	Haben wir im entstehenden Europa eine Chance für die freie Marktwirtschaft?	Hans von der Groeben	Hans Peter Ipsen
	31	Mögliche und wünschbare Zukünfte	Robert Jungk	Hellmut Becker
1969	32	Die Biologie als technische Weltmacht	Adolf Portmann	Hoimar von Ditfurth
	33	Verstärken oder verringern sich die Bedingungen für Aggressivität?	Friedrich Hacker	Eugen Kogon
	34	Welchen Spielraum hat die Entspannungspolitik?	Alfred Grosser	Theo Sommer
1970	35	Zugänge zur Friedensforschung	Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker Richard Löwenthal	Karl Carstens
	36	Europäische Sicherheit und Möglichkeit der Zusammenarbeit	Alfred Grosser Nikolai E. Poljanow	Nikolai E. Poljanow
<i>Leningrad</i>				
	37	Demokratisierung der Demokratie?	Joseph Rován	D. Klaus von Bismarck
1971		Arbeitsgespräch: Aufgabenstellung und Verfahrensfragen einer internationalen Konferenz für Europäische Sicherheit	—	Dr. Franz Karasek

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	38	Infrastrukturreform als Innenpolitik	Helmut Kohl	D. Klaus von Bismarck
	39	Globalsteuerung der Wirtschaft?	Gottfried Bombach	Herbert Giersch
	40	Der bevollmächtigte Mensch	Dennis Gabor	D. Klaus von Bismarck
1972	41	Sprache und Politik	Hans Maier	Hellmut Becker
		Arbeitsgespräch: Demokratie und Nationalbewusstsein in der BRD	Richard Löwenthal	François Bondy
	42	Das erweiterte Europa zwischen den Blöcken	R. Dahrendorf Jean-Pierre Brunet Sir Con O'Neill	Rudolf Kirchschräger
	43	Wo bleiben die alten Menschen in der Leistungsgesellschaft?	Helge Pross	D. Klaus von Bismarck
1973	44	Die "neue Mitte": Schlagwort oder Strukturwandel?	Richard Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	D. Klaus von Bismarck
	45	Umsteuerung der Industriegesellschaft?	Hans-Jochen Vogel Hugo Thiemann	Gottfried Bombach
	46	Neutralität—Wert oder Unwert für die europäische Sicherheit	Rudolf Kirchschräger Gaston Thorn Józef Czyrek	Olivier Reverdin
Vienna				
1974	47	Revolution der Gleichheit—Ende oder Beginn der Freiheit?	Ralf Dahrendorf	D. Klaus von Bismarck
	48	Rohstoff- und Energieverknappung	H. B. G. Casimir Manfred Schäfer	Gottfried Bombach
	49	Entwicklungshilfe—eine Illusion?	Peter T. Bauer Karl-Heinz Sohn	Max Thurn
1975		Arbeitsgespräch: Entspannungspolitik, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Zusammenarbeit	Ralf Dahrendorf H. Ehrenberg Theo Sommer C.-F. Frhr. v. Weizsäcker G. Arbatow O. Bogomolow Schalwa Sanakojew Georgij Shukow	Kurt A. Körber Lew Tolkunow
Moscow				
	50	Kooperation oder Konfrontation—Stürzt die Wirtschaft in eine weltpolitische Krise?	Helmut Schmidt	Gaston Thorn
	51	Welche Zukunft hat die parlamentarische Demokratie westlicher Prägung?	Gaston Thorn	Ralf Dahrendorf
Bonn				

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	52	Ordnungspolitik oder Verteilungskampf?	Kurt H. Biedenkopf	Theo Sommer
1976	53	Die Berufsgesellschaft und ihre Bildung	Hans Maier	Hellmut Becker
	54	Nach der Wahl '76: Welchen Spielraum hat die deutsche Innenpolitik?	—	Ralf Dahrendorf
	55	Entspannungspolitik nach Helsinki	G. Arbatow Leonard H. Marks Theo Sommer Ryszard Wojna	Ralf Dahrendorf
1977 <i>Bonn</i>	56	Ein anderer "Way of Life"	E. F. Schumacher	Hans K. Schneider
<i>Luxemburg</i>	57	Europa und die Weltwirtschaft	Claude Cheysson Herbert Giersch	Gaston Thorn
	58	Energiekrise—Europa im Belagerungszustand?	Guido Brunner	Hans K. Schneider
1978	59	Terrorismus in der demokratischen Gesellschaft	Walter Laqueur	Ralf Dahrendorf
		Arbeitsgespräch: Alternativenergien	Joachim Gretz	Werner H. Bloss
	60	Europäische Arbeitslosigkeit als Dauerschicksal	Volker Hauff Gerhard Fels Erich Streissler	Gottfried Bombach
	61	Wachstum und Lebenssinn—Alternative Rationalitäten?	Carl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	Ralf Dahrendorf
1979 <i>Moscow</i>	62	UdSSR und Bundesrepublik Deutschland—wirtschaftliche und politische Perspektiven in den 80er Jahren	Klaus von Dohnanyi Alexander E. Bowin	K. A. Körber Boris A. Borrisow
	63	Jugend und Gesellschaft	Leopold Rosenmayr	Hans Maier
	64	Weltrezession 1980? Befürchtungen und Hoffnungen	Herbert Giersch Karl Otto Pöhl	Hans K. Schneider
1980	65	Der Westen und der Nahe Osten	Arnold Hottinger Hans A. Fischer-Barnicol H. Hobohm	Udo Steinbach
	66	Europas Sicherheit	Christoph Bertram W. R. Smyser	Theo Sommer
	67	Voraussetzungen und Ziele der Entspannung in den 80er Jahren	W. A. Matweew Stanley Hoffmann	Karl Kaiser

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair
1981	68 Der Ausbau des Sozialstaates und das Dilemma des Staatshaushaltes	R. Dahrendorf Anke Fuchs	Armin Gutowski
	69 Europe and America facing the crises of the 80's <i>Washington</i>	R. Dahrendorf Stanley Hoffmann	Karl Kaiser
	70 Was bleibt noch vom staatsbürgerlichen Grundkonsens?	Hans-Jochen Vogel E. Noelle-Neumann	Ralf Dahrendorf
1982	71 Repräsentieren die Parteien unsere Gesellschaft?	Werner Remmers Richard Löwenthal	Hans Heigert
	72 Wirtschaftspolitik in der Krise? Zur Situation in den Vereinigten Staaten, Großbritannien, Frankreich und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland <i>Bonn</i>	J. Tobin M. Feldstein Sir Alec Cairncross A. A. Walters P. E. Uri P. Salin A. Gutowski H. Schulmann	Herbert Giersch
1983	73 Ein Weg zur Erneuerung der Industriegesellschaft <i>Zurich</i>	Präsident Gaston Thorn	Ralf Dahrendorf
	74 Die deutsche Frage—neu gestellt <i>Berlin</i>	Richard Frhr. v. Weizsäcker	Karl Kaiser
1984	75 Zukunft Europas: Probleme der politischen und militärischen Entspannung. <i>Moscow</i>	Horst Teltschik Wadim W. Sagladin	Karl Kaiser Juri Shukow
	76 Ist die Spaltung Europas das letzte Wort? <i>Rome</i>	Franz Kardinal König Helmut Schmidt	Luigi Vittorio Graf Ferraris
1985	77 Neue Strukturen für die soziale Sicherheit?	Helmut Meinhold Ulf Fink Olaf Sund	Fides Krause-Brewer
	78 10 Jahre Helsinki—die Herausforderung bleibt <i>Bonn</i>	R. Burt S. Tichwinskij M. Szürös L. V. Graf Ferraris M. Dobrosielski H. Teltschik	Ralf Dahrendorf
1986	79 Findet Europa wieder die Kraft, eine Rolle in der Weltpolitik zu spielen? <i>Brussels</i>	Jacques Delors Lord Carrington Helmut Schmidt	Karl Kaiser

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair	
	80	Bürger und res publica—die Zukunft der Verantwortung	Hans Maier	Ralf Dahrendorf
1987	81 <i>Moscow</i>	Die Beziehungen zwischen der Sowjetunion und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	Volker Rühle Wadim W. Sagladin Egon Bahr	Valentin Falin Theo Sommer
	82 <i>Geneva</i>	Die Modernität in der Industriegesellschaft—und danach?	Hermann Lübbe	Luigi V. Ferraris
	83 <i>Budapest</i>	Zusammenarbeit als Mittel zur Vertrauensbildung	M. Szürös Helmut Schmidt R. Bogdanow H. Sonnenfeldt	Karl Kaiser
1988	84 <i>Berlin</i>	Systemöffnende Kooperation? Perspektiven zwischen Ost und West	W. Leonhard Harry Maier	Jürgen Engert
	85 <i>Munich</i>	Die ökologische Wende—hat sie noch Chancen?	Frhr. v. Lersner Alois Glück	Hans Maier
	86 <i>Bonn</i>	Das gemeinsame europäische Haus—aus der Sicht der Sowjetunion und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland	Wadim W. Sagladin Horst Teltschik	Karl Kaiser
1989	87 <i>Dresden</i>	Globale Umweltproblematik als gemeinsame Überlebensfrage	W. Mundt W. Haber	Max Schmidt
	88 <i>Bonn</i>	Auf dem Wege zu einem neuen Europa? Perspektiven einer gemeinsamen westlichen Ostpolitik	Lawrence Eagleburger Sir Christopher Mallaby Horst Teltschik	Sir Ralf Dahrendorf
	89 <i>Prague</i>	Chancen für die europäische Kultur am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts	Valtr Komárek Kurt Biedenkopf	Hans Heigert
1990	90 <i>Dresden</i>	Wie geht es weiter mit den Deutschen in Europa?	Willy Brandt Manfred Stolpe Lothar Späth	Sir Ralf Dahrendorf
	91 <i>Moscow</i>	Europa im Aufbruch—auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Friedensordnung	Wadim W. Sagladin Horst Teltschik	Andreas Meyer-Landrut
1991	92 <i>Moscow</i>	Perestrojka: Kontinuität, Ende oder Wende?	W. Wladislawlew F. W. Christians	Sir Ralf Dahrendorf
	93 <i>Berlin</i>	Nach dem "Sozialismus": Wie geht es weiter mit den neuen Demokratien in Europa?	Tadeusz Mazowiecki Sir Ralf Dahrendorf	Hans Maier
1992	94 <i>Dresden</i>	Wege zur inneren Einheit	Kurt Biedenkopf Wolfgang Thierse	Brigitte Seebacher-Brandt

Protocol	Topic	Speakers	Chair
95 <i>Paris</i>	Welche Antworten gibt Europa auf die neuen Einwanderungswellen?	Willy Brandt Jacques Delors	Karl Kaiser
96 <i>Tallinn</i>	Zwischen Integration und nationaler Eigenständigkeit: wie findet Europa zusammen?	Jim Hoagland Dr. Krenzler Lennart Meri T. Örn B. Schmidbauer	Andreas Meyer-Landrut
97 <i>Kiev</i>	Energiesicherheit für ganz Europa?	Hermann Krämer W. Skljarov Helga Steeg Y. Rudenko	Andreas Meyer-Landrut
1993 <i>Berlin</i>	98 Orientierungskrise in Politik und Gesellschaft? Perspektiven der Demokratie	Antje Vollmer Wolf Lepenies	Jürgen Engert
99 <i>Ditchley Park</i>	Will the West survive the disintegration of the East?	Bill Bradley W. F. van Eekelen H.-G. Poettering	Lord Ralf Dahrendorf
100 <i>Dresden</i>	Wieviel Gemeinsinn braucht die liberale Gesellschaft?	Kurt Biedenkopf Albert O. Hirschman	Dieter Grimm
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