

SEPTEMBER 2012

Global Economic Governance

A review and preview of events, research and publications

GEG asks: What forms of global finance best serve global growth and development?



Participants in the "Financing Globalization" workshop, Oxford, June 2012

MPELLED by on-going post-financial crisis debate, GEG launched the Globalization and Finance Project with the Blavatnik School of Government. Key policy-makers and demonstrators

Zhou Xiaochuan, Governor of the People's Bank of China, visits Oxford



Ngaire Woods, director of GEG, cohosted an official visit from Zhou Xiaochuan. Governor of the People's Bank of China, in early September. Professor Woods commented on his visit: "The Governor has been a leading reformer in China and has also led the way in recruiting brilliant Chinese students educated abroad. He vividly evoked how tempting it is for governments, whose banks are failing, to bail them out using their central bank's resources instead of more openly using citizens' taxes. He shared with us China's own experience of transition, and how it reformed its own largest four banks. It was fascinating to listen to his exchange with Sir John Vickers just two days before the Vickers Independent Banking Commission Report was published."

alike are questioning elements of global finance and regulators are responding with attempts to reduce risks in global banking. Yet too few people are asking how global finance can better serve global growth and development; what would an ideal global banking and financial system look like? The project seeks to contribute to the public debate by bringing together central bankers, finance professionals, investment negotiators and world-class academics, and applying economic, political, historical, and legal perspectives.

This year the project welcomed three visiting fellows: Dr Philipp Hildebrand, former Chairman of the Swiss National Bank and Director of the Bank for International Settlements in Basel; Macer Gifford, on sabbatical from Standard Chartered Bank where he was Group Head of ALM and Regional Markets; and Ahmad Irfan Aslam, counsellor at the Permanent Mission of Pakistan to the WTO in Geneva. The project is supported by the Ford Foundation.

The Globalization and Finance Project held three workshops:

- The 'Challenges of Cross-border Resolution' workshop considered what national regulators could do about financial institutions that are "too big to fail" and what international regulatory coordination is required to ensure that national taxpayers will no longer be forced to bail out faltering global banks.
- The 'Financing Globalization: Lessons from History' workshop brought together eminent economic historians and finance professionals to probe what kinds of finance made previous periods of successful globalization work.
- Multilateral Liberalization through Bilateral Treaties? This workshop evaluated how recent developments in bilateral investment treaties may constrain the ability of states to respond to financial emergencies.

The three workshops brought together high-level policymakers, negotiators, bankers, lawyers, and academics. These experts wrote original memos for the workshops, which were published in three collections and are available on the GEG website.

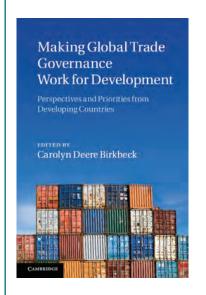
researching how global markets and institutions can better serve the needs of people in developing countries

Global Trade Governance

THE PAST YEAR has seen intense international debate over the future of the global trading system. Professor Ngaire Woods, Dr Carolyn Deere Birkbeck and Emily Jones participated in discussions on the way forward for the World Trade Organization in light of the failed Doha Round, writing policy papers and briefs for the Commonwealth Secretariat and ICTSD, and presenting their analysis at the eighth World Trade Organization Ministerial in Geneva.

Dr Deere Birkbeck published a book (see box) and led research for the IDEAS Centre in Geneva on ways that the smallest and poorest countries can use coalitions to increase their negotiating leverage, published as a GEG Working Paper.

Emily Jones is leading a joint project with the Commonwealth Secretariat on how developing countries can negotiate more effectively in trade negotiations with larger countries. With the input of a team of experienced developing country negotiators she has authored a book, to be published by Palgrave Macmillan. She led research for the Commonwealth Secretariat on the trade and development experiences of least developed countries, presenting the findings in London and at the 10-year UN Summit on Least Developed Countries in Istanbul. She also convened a seminar series in Oxford on the ethics of global trade.



Dr Carolyn Deere Birkbeck released a new book called 'Making Global Trade Governance Work for Development', published by Cambridge University Press.

Discussion of the governance of global trade and the multilateral trading system is too often dominated by developed-country scholars and opinion-makers. In marked contrast, this edited volume brings the perspectives of leading developing country scholars, commentators, and practitioners to the fore. It examines ways to improve the governance of global trade and the WTO to better advance sustainable development and respond to the needs of developing countries. The essays combine new, empirically-grounded research and practical insights about the trade policy-making process. They showcase a broad range of issues, assumptions and approaches on trade governance and institutional reform, going beyond debates on reform of the WTO's and negotiation decision-making process to consider broader proposals and priorities for reform of the trading system.

Global Knowledge Governance

In 2011, GEG's Carolyn Deere Birkbeck co-authored an independent external review of development assistance provided by the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO). The report's findings and recommendations have spurred significant debate among WIPO's Member States as well as reflection within the WIPO Secretariat.

The Secretariat issued a formal management response in Spring 2012, which together with the report was discussed at a May meeting of WIPO's Committee on Development and Intellectual Property (CDIP). Several recommendations in the report are already being implemented by the WIPO Secretariat.

Global Aid Governance

Dr Nilima Gulrajani has joined GEG and is leading research on the organisational determinants of aid effectiveness. She currently holds a British Academy grant investigating best practices in donor governance by comparing their political, policy, regulatory and management structures.

Three GEG researchers were engaged in discussions at the High-Level Aid Effectiveness Conference in November 2011, in Busan, Korea, where governments met to discuss how to coordinate their aid more effctively. Dr Isaline Bergamaschi, Dr Paolo de Renzio, and Jiajun Xu provided live commentary. Their full analysis is available on the GEG website.

Global Health Governance

Over the past year, the Global Health Governance project, directed by Dr Devi Sridhar, has focused on the role of the World Health Organization and the shift in power towards emerging economies in global health. The results of this research have been published in Nature, the Journal of the American Medical Association, and Foreign Affairs. They form the basis of a background paper on the rise of the South in global governance, co-written with GEG collaborators, for the Human Development Report Office of the United Nations Development

Project. The research was also presented in the Lancet/ London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine Global Health Lab series, in a keynote lecture for Oxfam, at the European Commission in Berlin, and at a workshop on Inequality in Global Health hosted by the Munich Centre on International Health. The project was successful in a 1.9 million euro EU FP7 bid on proposing new health goals and analysing the global governance to support them post 2015.



Dr Devi Sridhar speaking at a keynote lecture for Oxfam

The Global Leaders Fellowship Programme, at Oxford and Princeton, offers two-year fellowships in world politics and political economy for holders of a doctorate who are nationals of a developing country.

See the GEG website for details on the programme and application process.





THIS YEAR'S Global Leaders Fellowship (GLF) Colloquium was held in Princeton, chaired by Professor Robert Keohane and Professor Ngaire Woods, with all the current, past, and incoming GLFs in attendance. A series of excellent papers by the current GLFs were circulated in advance, addressing the theme 'The Political Economy of Transnational Relations of Developing Countries'. Topics ranged from the politics of tobacco control in China, the accountability of faith groups in Africa, philosophical challenges to contemporary refugee policy, and the links between political institutions and economic diversification. The discussion benefitted immensely from thought-provoking comments from leading scholars of international political economy and political theory, including Professor Jennifer Widner, Professor Charles Beitz, Professor Evan Lieberman, and Professor Kristopher Ramsay.



Participants of the GLF Colloquium, Princeton, May 2012

GLFs in Oxford

This year we welcomed new GLFs (2011-2013) from Azerbaijan, China and Brazil:



Anar Ahmadov (Azerbaijan), is researching the reasons why some developing countries rich in natural resources have been able to diversify their economies

while others have failed. He is testing several hypotheses on the political and institutional (rather than purely economic and geographic) factors that enabled or hindered export diversification in resource-rich developing countries between 1962 and 2010.

"GLF is providing a good opportunity to interact with and learn from leading academics and practitioners of global political economy both from Oxford and beyond. I especially enjoyed working alongside other scholars and staff of the Global Economic Governance Programme and rapidly developing Blavatnik School of Government. Engagement in seminars at Nuffield College and the Department of Politics and International Relations was very useful."



Jiyong Jin (China), is researching China's tobacco control politics and its implications for global health governance. China accounts for more than one third of the

world's cigarette sales and one third of its smokers. Although China ratified the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC) in 2005, which places it under legal obligation to curb tobacco use, this has made little difference to China's tobacco control in practice. Jiyong's research examines the factors hindering the internalization of FCTC in China.

"The benefits of the GLF Programme to me cannot be exaggerated. It significantly contributes to my academic career and professional development. For one thing, the rich academic resources of Oxford University greatly enhance my academic capacity and confidence, both theoretically and methodologically. For another, the fellowship makes it possible for me to get involved in well-connected academic networks, so that I can conduct theoretical and practical research collaboratively with world-class scholars and experts. I also want to extend my deep appreciation to Professor Ngaire Woods and Professor Robert Keohane for their mentorship under GLF Programme."



Luara Ferracioli (Brazil) is researching the philosophical challenges to contemporary refugee policy. Her research focuses on the ethical questions relating to the

brain drain and the refugee protection regime and her paper on the ethics of migration will be published in the philosophy journal 'Global Justice: Theory Practice Rhetoric'.

"The first year of my GLF experience has been extremely productive. I have met the best people working in my field and have received great feedback on my work. Apart from taking part in many reading groups, and weekly seminars in political philosophy here at Oxford, I have attended excellent conferences and workshops in world-class universities across the UK and continental Europe. I feel extremely privileged to have met all the people who are involved with the programme. I have also enjoyed getting to know the political philosophy community here at Oxford, and am quite confident that some of the relationships I have developed here will last for a lifetime."

Incoming GLFs (2012-2014)

Alexander Kupatadze (Georgia) works on organized crime and corruption issues in post-Soviet Eurasia. His first book 'Organized Crime, Political Transitions and State Formation in post-Soviet Eurasia' was published by Palgrave Macmillan in 2012.

Fuzuo Wu (China) will investigate China and India's efforts to address their energy insecurity and climate change and their implications for international energy and climate governance.

Pichamon May Yeophantong (Thailand) will be exploring the 'ecological footprint' of Chinese investments in the Mekong sub-region, focusing particularly on China's growing corporate presence in the hydropower sector.

2010 - 2012

Valéria Guimarães de Lima e Silva (Brazil) is based at the Hauser Global Law School's Global Fellows Program at NYU, researching the enforcement of Intellectual Property Rights through intergovernmental organizations.

Hongshen Ren (China) is an associate professor of IPE at the School of Politics and Public Administration, China University of Political Science and Law, Beijing. His research focuses on networks of regulatory standard-setting institutions.

Omobolaji Ololade Olarinmoye (Nigeria) has been appointed Assistant Professor in the Department of Government, Hamilton College, New York. He will be teaching Comparative Politics, African Politics, Fragile States and Poverty/Development.

Ousseni IIIy (Burkina Faso) is taking a position as an assistant professor of law at the University of Ouagadougou. In parallel, he will be setting up an international trade think tank in Ouagadougou, called the African Centre for International Trade and Development.

2009 - 2011

Leany Lemos (Brazil) is Committee Director to the Environment, Consumer Rights and Oversight Committee at the Brazilian Federal Senate.

Le Thanh Forsberg (Vietnam) is currently living in Sweden, advising on development cooperation and partnerships between Swedish and Vietnamese academic institutions. She participates in UNDP's expert pool for democratic governance as a political economy analyst. Her focus remains development effectiveness and governance at global and country levels, with a focus on Vietnam.

Dima Sarbo (Ethiopia) is working on a book on the Ethiopian state, based on research conducted for his dissertation. He is also doing consulting work on development issues in Africa.

Rahmane Idrissa (Niger) is running and teaching in the Programme Economie Politique et Gouvernance (pepg.org) in Niamey, Niger. He recently published a book, the "Historical Dictionary of Niger."

2008 - 2010

Ana Arroio (Brazil) is the manager of Innovation and Technological development at the Federation of Industries of Rio de Janeiro State. She recently completed a Residency Programme at the Rockefeller Foundation's Bellagio Center, Italy.

Arunabha Ghosh (India) is CEO of Council on Energy, Environment and Water (ceew. in). He recently was named an Asia 21 Young Leader by the Asia Society, and has been appointed to the Board of the International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development, Geneva.

Bo Qu (China) is Associate Professor at Institute for International Studies, Foreign Affairs University, Beijing.

George Gray Molina (Bolivia) is the Chief Economist for UNDP-Latin America and the Caribbean, based in New York.

Pooja Sharma (India) is based in New Delhi and leading research on India's agricultural trade and related food security issues, sponsored by the Department of Commerce, Ministry of Commerce & Industry, Government of India. She is also the lead coordinator for a programme on G-20 issues.

GEGWorking Papers

GEG published working papers on a variety of topics this year. These include:

Trade:

Carolyn Deere Birkbeck and Emily Jones (2012) "Beyond the Eighth Ministerial Conference on the WTO: A Forward Looking Agenda for Development"; Emily Jones (2011) "Delivering on Development: A New Ten-Year Programme of Action for LDCs"; Ousseni Illy (2012) 'Trade Remedies in Africa: Experience, Challenges and

Knowledge:

Prospects."

Valéria Guimarães de Lima e Silva (2012) "Sham Litigation in the Pharmaceutical Sector."

Aid:

Ngaire Woods (2011) "Rethinking Aid Coordination"; Omobolaji Olarinmoye (2011) "Accountability in Faith-Based Development Organizations in Nigeria: Preliminary Explorations"; Paolo de Renzio (2011) "Buving Better

Paolo de Renzio (2011) "Buying Better Governance: The Political Economy of Budget Reforms in Aid-Dependent Countries."

Health:

Devi Sridhar and Kate Smolina (2012) "Motives behind National and Regional Approaches to Health and Foreign Policy."

About GEG





The Global Economic Governance Programme was established at University College in 2003 to foster research and debate into how global markets and institutions can better serve the needs of people in developing countries. The three core objectives of the programme are:

- to conduct and foster research into international organisations and markets as well as new public-private governance regimes;
- to create and maintain a network of scholars and policy-makers working on these issues;
- to influence debate and policy in both the public and private sector in developed and developing countries.

The Programme is directed by Ngaire Woods and has been made possible through the generous support of Old Members of University College. Its research projects have been principally funded by the Ford Foundation (New York), the International Development Research Centre (Ottawa) and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation (Chicago).