



Breaking the Deadlock in Agricultural Trade Reform and Development:

How could a Leaders' Level G20 make a difference?

June 8-9

Draft Agenda (31 May 2004)

University College, Oxford

(90 High Street Lecture Room—enter via College main entrance on High St, Porters will advise)

Monday June 7th

19.30 Informal dinner at Italian restaurant 2-3 mins from Randolph Hotel. All participants are invited to come for dinner, dessert or coffee upon arrival.

Pizza Express
8 The Golden Cross
Cornmarket Street

Tuesday June 8th

Day One

9.00 Registration and Coffee

9.30 Introduction and Overview

Welcome: Ngaire Woods (Global Economic Governance Programme)

Overview of the Meeting: Carolyn Deere (Global Economic Governance Programme)

Introduction of Leaders' G20 concept: Gordon Smith and John English (Centre for Global Studies/Centre for International Governance Innovation)

Brief Introductions by Participants

Process

In each session discussion will be stimulated by short five-minute presentations (based on papers which will be distributed in advance of the meeting), followed by similarly brief remarks by nominated provocateurs/skeptics. We aim thereafter to ensure an informal, free-flowing discussion.

10.00-12.00

Session 1: Breaking the Deadlock: What is Blocking a Deal in Agriculture?

Chairs: Carolyn Deere and Ngaire Woods

The attainment of the 2001 deal to launch a new “Doha” Round of multilateral trade negotiations rested upon a commitment to promoting a more development-supportive global trading regime. Agricultural reform was a critical component of this deal, but negotiations thus far have produced far weaker results than anticipated.

The objective of Session 1 is to examine the key elements any balanced negotiating outcome must address, emphasizing core challenges and priorities from a development perspective. The session will include a “Tour du Table” to highlight various national and regional perspectives on the problems and blockages.

Proposals: Kevin Watkins (Oxfam) (5-10 minutes)

Provocateurs/skeptics: Adriano Campolina (Action Aid) and Ann Tutwiler (International Food and Agricultural Trade Policy Council) (3-4 minutes each)

(A 20-minute coffee break will occur at approximately 11am)

12.00-13.30

Lunch

Location: St. Edmund Hall, Old Dining Hall

13.30-15.00

Session 2: Governance and other elements of a new deal

Chair: Ngaire Woods

Governance, coherence among international agencies on trade, and capacity building have all been on the table of the Doha Round. Session 2 will review proposals for progress on these issues, highlighting how they may be an important component of any new WTO deal. This may be a distinct additional area where G20 Leaders would be uniquely positioned to contribute.

Proposals: Amrita Narlikar (Exeter University), Carolyn Deere (Global Economic Governance Programme) (5 mins each)

Provocateurs/skeptics: Ricardo Meléndez-Ortiz (ICTSD), Amb. Jeremy Kinsman (3-4 mins each)

15.00-15.30

Coffee Break

15.30-17.30

Session 3: The architecture of an agriculture “deal”: Possible Scenarios

Chair: Kevin Watkins

Five short briefing notes have been commissioned outlining possible scenarios for an overall deal on agricultural reform. The briefings examine the necessary scope of a deal (including the question of linkages to other issues) and the political trade-offs

implied for key countries and groupings of countries. The Day will conclude by drawing together the possible elements of a 2006 communiqué from a hypothetical G20 Leaders' Summit, outlining decisions and a course of action. This will set the stage for a full consideration of the possible contribution of a G20 Leaders forum on Day 2.

Proposals: Luisa Bernal (South Centre), Patrick Messerlin (GEM, Sciences-Po), Sophia Murphy (Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy), Dominique Njinkeu (ILEAP), and Panos Konandreas (FAO). [*The briefing note by Amb. John Weekes (Sidley, Austin, Brown & Wood)—who is not able to attend—will be introduced by Barry Carin*]

18.00-18.45

Evensong (optional)

Sung at *Christ Church Cathedral* – en route to the restaurant

19.00

Reception and Dinner

Location: Aqua Vitae (riverside restaurant a short 2-3 minute walk from *Christ Church* at 1 Folly Bridge)

Wednesday June 9th Day Two

9.00

Morning Coffee

9.30-12.30

Session 4: Breaking the Deadlock: A Role for G20 Leaders?

Chair: Gordon Smith

Session 4 will return to the question of the political contours of a possible deal on agriculture, focusing on whether and how a Leaders' Level G20 might have some comparative advantage at brokering a solution, and considering whether any other single, tough, trade-related issues might also be ripe candidates for its attention.

Questions for discussion will include: What further work is necessary to promote the proposed approach(es) to getting a deal? What kind of actors could take on that work and on what time frame? What would be the value-added and potential drawbacks of G20 Leaders on this issue (i.e. as compared to the existing G7/8)? How would a G20 Leaders' forum intersect with existing international trade negotiating processes?

(A 30-minute coffee break will be provided at approximately 11.00)

12.30-14.00

Lunch

Location: St. Edmund Hall, Old Dining Hall

14.00-16.30

Session 5. Trade issues for the G20: Making it Happen

Chair: Gordon Smith

Session 5 will focus on the broader question of how best to implement and “sell” the idea of a G20 Leaders' forum in the realm of trade and beyond. Questions for discussion will include: How practically could a G20 Leaders' group be activated in the trade arena? What is the appropriate scope and membership of a Leaders' Level G20? How best to build support of potential member and major powers? How should such a forum engage civil society and expert groups?

II. Participants

Luisa Bernal (Venezuela)
Agriculture Project Officer
Programme on Trade and Development
South Centre

Adriano Campolina (Brazil)
Americas' Regional Director
ActionAid

Barry Carin (Canada)
Associate Director
Centre for Global Studies
University of Victoria

Melvyn Cappe (Canada)
High Commissioner for Canada
in the United Kingdom

Amb. KM Chandrasekhar (India)*
Permanent Representative
Indian Mission to the WTO

Celine Charveriat (France)
Director, Geneva Office
Oxfam International Advocacy

Carolyn Deere (Australia)
Trade Project Coordinator
Global Economic Governance Programme
University of Oxford

John English (Canada)
Director
Centre for International Governance Innovation

Simon Evenett (UK)
University Lecturer in International Business
Saïd Business School, Oxford University

Michael Eyestone (Canada)
Deputy Director
Policy Coordination Division
DFAIT

Adair Heuchan (Canada)
Minister Counselor
Canadian Mission to the WTO

Bernard Hoekman (The Netherlands)
Research Manager
International Trade Group, World Bank

Sir Michael Jay* (UK)
Permanent Under Secretary of State at
The Foreign and Commonwealth Office
Head of the British Diplomatic Service

Susan Joeekes (Canada)
Team Leader, Trade, Employment and
Competitiveness Programme
International Development Research Centre

Louka Katseli (Greece)
Director
OECD Development Centre

Caroline Khoubessarian (Canada) *rapporteur*
Programming and Events Manager
Centre for International Governance Innovation

Amb Jeremy Kinsman (Canada)
Canadian Ambassador to
the European Union

Panos Konandreas (Greece)
Senior Liaison Officer
UN Food and Agriculture Organization

David Luke (Sierra Leone/Canada)
Trade, Debt and Globalisation Advisor
UNDP

Ricardo Meléndez-Ortiz (Colombia)
Executive Director
International Centre for Trade and Sustainable
Development (ICTSD)

Dianna Melrose (UK)
Head of International Trade Department
UK Department for International Development

Patrick Messerlin (France)
Director
Group d'Economie Mondiale, Sciences-Po

Marie-Lucie Morin (Canada)
Associate Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs
DFAIT

Sophia Murphy (UK)
Director, Trade and Agriculture Programme
Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy

Amrita Narlikar (India)
Lecturer, International Relations
Department of Politics, University of Exeter

Kalypso Nicolaidis (Greece/France)
University Lecturer in International Relations and
Faculty Fellow, St. Antony's College, Oxford
University

Dominique Njinkeu (Cameroon)
Executive Director
International Lawyers and Economists against
Poverty (ILEAP)

Ralf Peters
Economic Affairs Officer
Division on International Trade in Goods
and Services, and Commodities, UNCTAD

Jeff Powell (UK)
Communications and Research Officer
Bretton Woods Project

Susan Prowse (UK)
Senior Economic Advisor
International Trade Department
Department for International Development

Amb. Andrés Rozental (Mexico)
President
Mexican Council on Foreign Relations

John Sewell (US)
Senior Scholar
Woodrow Wilson Centre

Gordon Smith (Canada)
Director
Centre for Global Studies
University of Victoria

Susan Sechler (US)
Senior Advisor
The German Marshall Fund

Randy Spence (Canada)
Director, Micro Impacts of Macroeconomic
Adjustment Policies
International Development Research Centre

Diana Tussie (Argentina)
Director, Research Program on International
Economic Institutions (FLACSO) and Latin
American Trade Network (LATN)

Ann Tutwiler (US)
Chief Executive
International Food and Agricultural Trade Policy
Council

Kathleen Van Hove (Belgium)
Senior Programme Officer
European Centre for Development Policy
Management (ECDPM)

Kevin Watkins (UK)
Head of Research
Oxfam

Robert Wolfe (Canada)
School of Policy Studies
Queen's University

Ngaire Woods (New Zealand)
Director
Global Economic Governance Programme
University of Oxford

Tamara Zur (*conference assistant*)
Centre for International Governance Innovation

* to be confirmed

III. The Organizers



The Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) is a global research centre charged with studying, advising and educating scholars, practitioners and governments. Its area of concern is the character and desired reforms of the multilateral system, particularly within the area of economic and financial governance. Our emphasis is on the need for a collective problem solving approach to finding innovative and practical solutions to the economic and financial governance challenges posed by globalization.

Through a series of research grant programs for scholars and practitioners and the creation of research networks, as well as investigating new technology for collaboration, CIGI will add enormous research capacity in Canada and the world. Research projects will complement similar ones carried out in other "think tanks", universities, international financial institutions, and United Nations agencies. CIGI will support excellence in policy-related scholarship on the system of multilateral governance by:

- Funding the research programs of recognized experts and young academics of exceptional potential;
- Building collaborative links among world-class researchers located in Canada and in a variety of major international centres;
- Shaping the dialogue among scholars, opinion leaders and key policy makers in Canada, other countries and international institutions.



The Centre for Global Studies was created in 1998 with a mandate to conduct collaborative, policy-oriented inquiry into the impacts of globalization on a broad spectrum of inter-related issues encompassing international governance and finance, the environment, security, and sustainable development. Building on the university's existing base of interdisciplinary expertise, the Centre provides a vehicle for bridging scholarship with the needs of policy-makers for concise and accessible analysis in response to the pressing challenges of global change.

Since its formation, the CFGS has evolved rapidly to establish an extensive program of international research and development assistance activity. Through its innovative "centre of centres" model, the CFGS provides infrastructure and administrative support to a diverse group of associates, who operate within the following six core divisions:

- Canadian Institute for Climate Studies
- Division of Globalization and Governance
- Division of Technology and International Development
- EastWest Institute of Canada (EWIC)
- International Institute for Child Rights and Development
- Canadian Consortium on Human Security

Common themes that unify the research work of associates at the Centre include an engagement with *action-oriented* approaches to democratic reform and capacity building, and an overriding commitment to the advancement of human and environmental security objectives.



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: (1) to conduct and foster research into international organizations and markets as well as new public-private governance regimes; (2) to create and maintain a network of scholars and policy-makers working on these issues; (3) to influence debate and policy in both the public and the private sector in developed and developing countries.

The Programme is directly linked to Oxford University's Department of Politics and International Relations and Centre for International Studies. It serves as an interdisciplinary umbrella within Oxford drawing together members of the Departments of Economics, Law and Development Studies working on these issues and linking them to an international research network.

The five current research areas are:

- Reforming the international financial institutions;
- Trade and developing countries in the global trading system;
- New financing for development;
- Harnessing the private sector; and
- New challenges in global economic governance.

III. Background on the G20 Leaders Level

The purpose of the project is to stimulate debate on the future role of a G20 at Leaders' level to assist in strengthening the capacity to manage critical global challenges. We will explore the case that a G20 Leaders meeting can help resolve issues that are intractable in existing multilateral Ministerial fora or Summits. Issues to be explored in order to provide pragmatic options include: agricultural subsidies/trade, HIV-Aids, Terrorism & WMD, the post Kyoto Protocol regime, Global financial crises, access to water, the responsibility to protect and UN reform. We also intend to further understanding on the questions of the future composition of the G20, the impact on existing fora, the best means to engage the major powers and future roles for civil society.

Following the February 29 meeting in Ottawa, (see CIGI and CFGS website for this report), the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs asked the Center for Global Studies (CFGS) and the Center for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) to organize a series of regional meetings, each focusing on an intractable global problem. We have scheduled meetings as follows:

June 8, 9	<i>Oxford University - Agriculture, Development and the WTO</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Global Economic Governance programme<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Ngaire Woods and Carolyn Deere
September 21, 22	<i>New York, United States - Post Kyoto architecture</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Council on Foreign Relations<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ David Victor, Stanford University
October 25, 26	<i>Durban, South Africa – HIV AIDS</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- University of Natal<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Cyrus Rustomjee
December 3, 4	<i>Brussels, Belgium – UN Reform</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- EU Council<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Amb. Jeremy Kinsmen (Canada)
December 6, 7	<i>Alexandria, Egypt – Water</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Al Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Affairs<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Abdel Moneim Said
To Be Determined	<i>Washington D.C., United States - Terrorism/ WMD</i>
January 27, 28	<i>Mexico City, Mexico - Financial crises</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- ITAM<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Duncan Wood and Andres Rozental
March	<i>Tokyo, Japan - Responsibility to Protect</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- United Nations University<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Ramesh Thakur

For each meeting, we will commission a series of competitive short briefing notes outlining:

- (i) A definition of the issue that will galvanize G20 leaders;
- (ii) The architecture/design of an attractive win-win solution the G20 leaders could endorse/pursue
- (iii) The roadmap to promote the process of gaining consensus on the best route to establishing a G20 Leaders Summit Process.

These papers will be completed 1-2 weeks before the respective regional meetings. Our intent is to stimulate a global dialogue on both the substantive and systemic recommendations. In the short term, the project may identify win-win outcomes for a series of intractable issues and provide insights on how to gain multilateral agreement.