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Global Social Policies: Redistribution, Regulation and Rights

REDISTRIBUTION

Intense international debate continues on whether and how to raise revenues for international development, climate change mitigation costs and rich country bailouts. After the IMF’s initial dismissal of a global financial transactions tax in its earlier June report to the G20 (see Digest 10.3), its opposition lately seems to have softened. An August draft working paper by a Fund staff member was welcomed by campaigners for its positive view of FTTs. It was also reported that in the run up to the UN Summit on the MDG Progress 60 States lobbied the UN for a currency transaction tax. Particularly, the French President Nicolas Sarkozy has repeatedly supported the idea and has highlighted it as one of his key objectives during France’s chair of the G20 from November onwards. However, the issue was not part of the G20 Communiqué from Seoul in November. As CAFOD asserts “it seems the trade and currency spats have really distracted G20 leaders. […] Taxing the finance sector seems to have been forgotten.”
The UN MDG Summit outcome document in September also avoided talk of a global tax instead declaring that the “fulfillment of all official development assistance (ODA) commitments, including those by affluent countries to achieve the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product (GNP) for ODA to developing countries by 2015 is crucial”. Progress towards this ODA objective can be seen as an element of the Commitment to Development Index 2010 published by the Centre for Global Development (CGD). The ILO’s and UNDP’s views and the World Bank’s assessment of MDG Progress can be found at their respective websites.

The emphasis of the OECD’s contribution to the MDG discussion was on the need to raise domestic revenues to fund the MDGs. The Secretary-General did acknowledge, though, the need to global cooperation in tax matters to avoid loss of revenue from TNCs insisting that the International Tax Dialogue involving the OECD, the IMF, the World Bank, the EU and other development partners was preferable to setting up a new Global Tax Authority.

Meanwhile, however, the IMF has retreated from any policy it had of fiscal stimulus in favour of encouraging countries to cut deficits. An NGO report concludes “Countries with IMF programmes are cutting faster than others: half of African countries […] with an IMF programme are cutting spending, even though most need to massively increase it if they are to reach the MDGs by the 2015 deadline.” Economic growth is the IMF’s recipe for meeting the MDGs.

One specific global redistribution initiative announced at the Summit was the UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon’s launch of a $40 billion plan to save the lives of 16 million women and children over the next five years including commitments by the Global Health Council and several member organizations.

At the same time, remittances remain an important mode of global redistribution. Despite the economic crisis they remain robust says the World Bank. How much remittances cost the remitter depends on the number of migrants, the cost of living and competition among remittance service providers, according to a new working paper by Thorsten Beck and Maria Soledad Martinez Peria.

In mid-December, the IDA-Replenishment agreement was concluded in Brussels. The CGD has produced several papers and proposals dealing with this.

On other than money is the 20th Anniversary UNDP’s Human Development Report. The report says little about global redistribution policies focussing instead on the alternative pathways to achieve greater human development and asserting that “the central contention of the human development approach […] is that wellbeing is about much more than money: it is about the possibilities that people have to fulfill the life plans they have reason to choose and pursue. Thus, our call for […] an economics of human development” (see also Social Protection section). World Bank Martin Ravallion responds to this in a working paper Troubling Tradeoffs in the Human Development Index. Also a CGD paper discusses More than Money. Further, in November an alliance of civil society groups, networks and foundations, including Third World Network, Social Watch, DAWN, the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation, Global Policy Forum, terre des hommes, and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, launched the Civil Society Reflection Group on Global Development Perspectives. The group will assess conventional and alternative models of development and well-being, reconsider development goals and indicators, including the MDGs, draw conclusions for future development strategies and provide specific policy recommendations for the UN Conference on Sustainable Development in 2012. Jens Albert (Global Policy Forum-Europe) argues that a “fundamental change of the dominant development paradigm is needed.
to move away from the modernization approach that confuses economic growth with social progress”.

REGULATION
With governments in North and South cutting public expenditure in response to the global economic crisis, critics have addressed the alternative strategy of raising more revenues from taxation. On the issue of tax havens, Nuria Molina asks: *Where does the International Finance Corporation Stand?*. ActionAid has shown that “the Giant UK-based brewer SABMiller […] is avoiding an estimated £20m of taxes in Africa and India every year - enough money to educate a quarter-of-a-million African children”. Also in the UK a new direct action campaigning organization was formed to focus on big retailers who use tax havens as “tax-dodging stores shut down across the UK”. The OECD Report on progress made against international tax evasion to G20 Finance Ministers noted that 500 information exchange agreements have been signed since the last ministerial meeting.

On corporate social responsibility, the OECD released the *Annual Report on OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises 2010*, focusing on supply chains, human rights, and climate change.

Meanwhile over at the UN’s Global Compact, the 14th International Anti-Corruption Conference concluded in November with a pledge to accelerate efforts to fight corruption and fully honor existing anti-corruption agreements.

The *Global Forum on Migration and Development* took place in Mexico, 8-11 November. The *General Rapporteur’s Report* to the Plenary highlights that “it is essential to promote regular migration that respects human rights and to the leverage of development impacts of migrants (both economic and social) through effective partnerships between governments, diaspora groups, civil society and the private sector.” It also refers to the problem of brain drain. More reflecting current facts and numbers of migration is a UN Population Facts brief, the OECD’s international migration statistics and the *World Bank’s Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011*.

On aid and trade we find statements from UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon in the context of the discussion around the MDGs. He calls for both foreign aid and fairer trading terms for Africa. On the link between trade and social protection, the WTO Director-General Pascal Lamy addressed the ILO’s Governing Body. Also, a *Trade and Employment Post-Crisis conference* was organised by the World Bank and the ILO. The ILO in association with the Academic Foundation New Delhi released a report *Trade and Employment in the Global Crisis* (see also trade section).

The IFC’s *Doing Business 2011* report, which is usually criticised by global trade unions for being worker-rights unfriendly, has been criticised from within the World Bank by BRIC countries for being too sympathetic to Western forms of regulation.

RIGHTS
The 15th session of the Human Rights Council took place 13 September to 1 October 2010 in Geneva. Among the resolutions passed were those concerning the right to education, the human rights of indigenous peoples, housing, and water access. Also resolved upon were the human rights of migrants, the right to health and women’s rights. The “landmark
decision to make the right to water and sanitation legally binding” was particularly highlighted (see also http://www.righttowater.info/code/homepage.asp). Subsequently, the Social Forum of the Human Rights Council took place in Geneva (4-6 October). „Subsequently, the Social Forum of the Human Rights Council took place in Geneva (4-6 October).“ James Anaya, the Special Rapporteur on the situation of the freedom of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people has released a report to the GA stressing that “development projects targeted specifically at reducing the disadvantages experienced by indigenous people and improving their social and economic well-being often fail to properly incorporate their specific needs to advance their self-determination and their rights to maintain their distinct cultural identities [...]”. A World Bank Workshop also focuses on Indigenous Peoples, Poverty and Development.

Women’s rights have been addressed and called for marking the International Day of Rural Women (15 October). UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon called for their enjoyment of a full range of rights, including to health and education. He pointed to the lack of adequate pay for work and little or no social protection. At the same time, the Global Gender Gap Report 2010 approaches the problem in rather statistical terms. Children’s rights have received special attention on the Universal Children’s Day.

Also the rights of migrants have been in focus of recent global debates. The Global Migration Group stressed, amongst other things, that everybody, regardless of migration status, enjoys the fundamental rights of life and protection from discrimination, as well as rights to health, an adequate standard of living, social security, adequate housing, education and just and favourable conditions of work.

Marking the International Day of Persons with Disabilities, a meeting of the States Parties to the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities took place in the beginning of September.

Global Social Governance

The annual meeting of the IMF and the World Bank took place 9 October. The communiqué welcomes “the role played by the multilateral financial institutions in supporting countries’ own responses to the crisis”, and the exceptionally high levels of commitments by the World Bank and the IMF; and it calls the organisations “to continue identifying policies and instruments that could best assist in preventing and responding to future crises, reduce the risks to growth and increase prospects for a sustainable recovery.”

However, debates about the reform of the two institutions continue. IMF reform was dealt with at the G20 meeting in Seoul and the declaration claims that

the Seoul Summit delivers [...] a modernized IMF [...] comprehensive quota and governance reforms [...] will enhance the IMF’s legitimacy, credibility and effectiveness, making it an even stronger institution for promotion global financial stability and growth."

The Bretton Woods Project, however, does not see anything happening. Meanwhile, World Bank president Robert Zoellick reflects on the Bank’s function as a knowledge bank. He indicates that the “World Bank’s role must change if it wanted to keep its status as a pioneer in development economics research”, and that it needs to “recogniz[e] that we do not have a monopoly on the answers.” This is further discussed in Who is listening to the knowledge bank. Larry Elliot in the Guardian expresses “a caution welcome to the World Bank’s rejection of old orthodoxies”. However, the Bank’s activities, particularly with regard to the
current global economic and financial crisis, have also been taken under scrutiny by the Independent Evaluation Panel.66

Other discussions about the G20 Summit can be found at the CGD website67 and the G20 Information Centre68. The strategies of other international organisations to meet the crisis include the ILO’s crisis response is taken stock off in a paper for the 309th Session of the ILO Governing Body in November.69

Attempts to reform the UN system also continue. The new UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) now has an Executive Board, and will be officially established on 1 January 2011.70 The new body will merge four UN agencies and offices (the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues, and the UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW)), and will be headed by Michelle Bachelet, former Chilean president.71 The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) is also looking for a new head; a process that is followed up by the CGD’s new Working Group intended to offer recommendations to the incoming executive director.72 The ECOSOC reflected its role in a retreat under the topic Building on Progress: Defining New Actions in October 2010.73 The summary reflects the need of a more important role of the ECOSOC as a global coordination body of the UN system, and the need to focus the agenda more evenly balanced between economic and social issues.74

Meanwhile, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon in September rallied his “superheroes”. This is a group of eminent personalities who are supposed “to boost the effort to slash hunger, poverty, disease and lack of access to education by 2015” (MDG schedule).75

International Actors and Social Policy

HEALTH

Health systems and HIV/AIDS have been the main topics in global health debates. Most prominent on health systems is the 2010 World Health Report on health systems financing. The WHO outlines here ways to universal coverage in health, taking into account countries’ experiences and the necessary support of the international community. It states that:

Health financing is an important part of broader efforts to ensure social protection in health. As such, WHO is joint lead agency with the ILO in the United Nations initiative to help countries develop a comprehensive Social Protection Floor, which includes the type of financial risk protection [...] and the broader aspects of income replacement and social support in the event of illness.76

Among the background papers is one on user fees.77 Also a WHO Bulletin series is dedicated to health financing.78 At the same time, Julio Frenk, is reflecting on the World Health Report 2000 on health systems79 in the September issue of Health Policy and Planning.80

The first Global Symposium on Health Systems Research took place in Montreux, Switzerland, 16-19 November. It was organised by the Alliance for Health Policy and Systems Research, an international collaboration based in WHO Geneva, and attended by more than 1200 experts. The meeting concluded with a call for a new international society for
health systems research, knowledge and innovation. As in the new World Health Report, country ownership was an important issue, as well as out-of-pocket payments and access to health services. A World Bank blog is concerned with the questions of universal health coverage. In his contribution Adam Wagstaff, refers to the recent major health system related events and publications, and argues that

The problem with [...] much if not most of the debate on universal coverage – is that it portrays the universal health coverage challenge as an either-or problem. People either have coverage or they don’t. In actual fact, everyone everywhere has some coverage. The stark reality, though, is that in many – if not most – countries there are larger inequalities in coverage, typically mirroring pretty closely the income distribution. [...] The challenge, it seems to me, is [...] really about narrowing inequalities in coverage.

A CGD blog asks Can Research Make Health Systems Strengthening Sexier? Meanwhile, the Rockefeller Foundation contributed a report on the System Reform Costs of Universal Health Coverage concluding that “the cost of transitioning towards universal health coverage may be lower than assumed. This applies both in the expansion phase and the subsequent deepening of coverage.

The OECD organised Health System Priorities in the Aftermath of the Crisis, 7-8 October. As part of the final communiqué, the OECD was asked “to analyse the link between health and economic performance of OECD countries, and to explore health policy options to improve well-being”. Related publication are Health Care Systems – Efficiency and Policy Settings and Value for Money in Health Spending. By the WHO Europe is a report Implementing Health Financing Reform.

The World Bank Group’s IDA updated its strategy to help country health systems. The World Bank Institute organised a Flagship course on Equity and health systems.

Given World AIDS Day at 1 December, other global health debates concerned the various aspects of HIV/AIDS. In her statement, WHO Director-General Margaret Chan stressed the importance to protect human rights of all people affected by HIV. UNAIDS issued a new report on the Global Aids Epidemic 2010. Further documents and information can be accessed through the UNAIDS website, the World Bank’s website and the WHO’s website. In particular, there is a WHO progress report Towards universal access: Scaling up priority HIV/AIDS interventions in the health sector. With regard to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon stressed that more funding for the Fund was needed. The ILO launched international guidelines to protect health workers against HIV/AIDS and Tuberculosis.

On the link between health systems and HIV/AIDS, the WHO, UNICEF and UNAIDS released Towards universal access: Scaling up priority HIV/AIDS interventions in the health sector. It compiles information from a large number of countries on their status of the global health sector response to HIV progress made and remaining challenges to achieving universal access. The report hints at the current stagnation in increases of funding for health. Particularly in the current global crisis situation it were important that donors keep up support to fight the HIV epidemic and contribute to achieving the MDGs. This is also addressed in Financing Global Health 2010, a report by the Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation.
SOCIAL PROTECTION
The ILO continues with its lead role in campaigning for a Global Social Protection Floor. A recent publication outlining basic concepts such as the social protection floor and the social security staircase, analyses the affordability of various approaches, and examines the results of practices around the world, especially in low- and middle-income countries.101

The ISSA has been proactive in this field, too, putting rather more emphasis on extending social security towards universal social security. This was the message of a joint ISSA-ILO platform as part of the World Social Security Forum in Cape Town, South Africa.102 Also from the ISSA, an important study examines the existing knowledge on the extension of Social Security coverage.”103

The ILO urged the UN Summit on the MDGs in September 2010, and the G20 summit in Seoul in November 2010, to advance this work on social protection as well as ensuring decent work for all.104 The Seoul Summit declared:

We recognize the importance of addressing the concerns of the most vulnerable. To this end, we are determined to put jobs at the heart of the recovery, to provide social protection, decent work and also to ensure accelerated growth in low income countries.105

On the same theme, the ILO and IMF have been working together. As a result of the joint conference106 in Oslo, the organisations have agreed to work together on two specific areas:

First, we will explore the idea of a minimum social protection floor for the most vulnerable in all countries. The idea now is to bring the financial expertise of the IMF into the equation. Second, we will focus more, and work more closely together on, policies to create employment focused growth.107

The Bretton Woods Project is more skeptical:

The IMF has repeatedly claimed to have shaken off the one-size-fits-all approach, but may be entering a Janus-faced era. When Strauss-Kahn speaks the message is one of protecting people and employment, but when many IMF staff advise finance ministries, it is about how to begin cutting spending.108

Meanwhile the World Bank continues with its advice on safety nets: Its two week course on 6-17 December 2010 entitled For Protection and Promotion: Design and Implementation of Effective Social Safety Nets uses a new primer which appears not to use the term social protection floor certainly in its associated power point.109

By way of contrast the UNRISD published its major report on Combating Global Poverty and Inequality arguing that

universal social protection – that which covers the entire population with adequate benefits and is grounded in claimable entitlements [...] can contribute to human security, reduce poverty and inequality, and build social solidarity.110

The Bank offers Avoiding the Eye of the Storm: how to deal effectively with the job crises111

The OECD meanwhile focussed rather more on the current challenges to the tradition of high quality defined benefit pension schemes in more developed countries, and has, in a working paper, argued for
reform of funding regulations for defined benefit (DB) pension schemes to make them more counter-cyclical in nature (which) can help achieve these goals as well as make DB schemes more attractive to plan sponsors that are increasingly moving away from DB towards defined contribution plans.\textsuperscript{112}

Also from the OEDC is \textit{Tackling Inequalities in Brazil, China, India and South Africa. The Role of Labour Market and Social Policies}.\textsuperscript{113} The Development arm of the OECD is planning a January 2011 Conference on Social Cohesion and Development.\textsuperscript{114}

In terms of the measurement of poverty the innovation has been the use by the \textit{UNDP Human Development Report}. The new measure reports a range of poverty indicators other than income in the fields of education, health and access to utilities such as water and electricity.\textsuperscript{115} Also of interest is the increasing attention by some developed countries of measures of social progress which move away from a focus on Economic Growth to measures of well-being, happiness and sustainability.\textsuperscript{116} This refers to the earlier report by Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi.\textsuperscript{117}

\section*{EDUCATION}

The UNESCO has launched a \textit{web page} on the impact of the economic crisis on education. A particular focus is on the consequences for education financing and educational outcomes.\textsuperscript{118} The organization has also announced the publication of the \textit{2011 Global Monitoring Report} on armed conflict and education in March 2011.\textsuperscript{119} The \textit{kick-off meeting} for the Global Monitoring Report 2012 took place in November, deciding for the theme of skills development.\textsuperscript{120} Together with the IEA, UNESCO has also launched a project on inclusive education, aiming at exchanging successful strategies for educational inclusion across countries.\textsuperscript{121}

After several consultation processes, the final draft of the \textit{World Bank education sector strategy 2020} was released.\textsuperscript{122} The new strategy is to be presented after final commenting to the Board of Directors in January 2011. It is labeled ‘Learning for All’ and emphasises learning throughout life and in different contexts, therewith providing an important cornerstone in establishing lifelong learning principles in developing countries. Also, the Bank plans to accommodate to the very different needs of low income countries, middle income countries or fragile situations (e.g. post-conflict). The document comes with two main rationales, namely the role of education in development, and the finding that schooling has expanded across countries, but that learning is not necessarily taking place to the same extent. The strategy refers to broader skills beyond literacy or employability, also mentions a need to investment in young children that goes beyond education, e.g. tackling malnutrition, and is supportive to programs of second-chance learning. However, these are not necessarily governmental task, stating: ‘since learning opportunities do not have to be limited to schools or higher education institutions, they do not have to be provided by government’ (p.10). The strategy subsequently underlines two central points, the working and structure of the education system and impact evaluations. Most importantly, it broadens the term ‘education system’ from a mainly governmentally regulated system to the interplay of government, state and non-state providers of learning and communities, the private sector, civil society and households. The broad tasks to be carried out in education are thus delegated to a variety of stakeholders, and impact evaluation. In sum, the document provides a complex picture of current education that is analytically adequate, insofar as it relies on the growing importance of private providers (either commercial or faith-based) in many education processes of developed and middle-income countries. It is nonetheless unclear, how far such an approach (and the overall strategy) relates to the goal of equality and whether the broadening of
‘education system’ to the variety of providers may subsequently influence the development of education services in the frame of GATS negotiations.

The OECD has launched the 2009 PISA study, including more countries than ever, also outside non-member states. The organization will publish the first survey on adults’ competencies in 2013. Education international criticized the lack of input from teachers on the PISA report.

**FOOD**

Current international activities relating to food security mostly target country needs, less so concentrate on major global meetings. In September 2010, the High Level Taskforce on Food Security published an updated comprehensive framework for action. Previously, the framework relied on two pillars: short term and immediate needs of the population and strategies for long-term resilience to hunger. In contrast, the updated model also considers issues like environment, gender or the special need of the most vulnerable population in securing access to food. In particular the second pillar, long-term strategies need increased attention to prevent crises to occur. Since the food crisis, food and agriculture has developed from an all-time low investment by donors to an important field for international cooperation. It nonetheless remains to be seen to which extent the first Millennium Goal – to reduce hunger – can be met.

**Trade and Social Policy**

In trade, main developments have taken place outside WTO, although there are reports of progress in the WTO government procurement committee that met on 14-15 October. This committee deals with the revision of the plurilateral Agreement on Government Procurement and accession of new members to the GPA, including China. Government procurement is a relevant matter for national policy space for social and health policies and, thus, negotiations in the area are likely to be of concern. It is also a matter that is under negotiation of a new bilateral treaty between the EU and Canada (see previous Digest).

In the WTO the TRIPS Council has discussed public health issues in the October 26-27 meeting. This was in the context of the use of the mechanism to import generic versions of patent-protected medicines under the so called "August 30" decision or "Para 6 mechanism" (referring to paragraph 6 in the Doha Declaration on TRIPS and public health, and to an amendment to the TRIPS Agreement). The provisional amendment has not yet entered into force due to lack of sufficient number of ratification. On the basis of WTO preliminary reporting on the matter, the potential future relevance of the mechanism was emphasised by the WHO contribution in the context of access to more expensive second-line antiretrovirals for the treatment of HIV/AIDS. Further discussions dealt with the prospective Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA) (see previous digest). An Indian delegate warned of ACTA risks concerning balance of rights and obligations of the TRIPS agreement and potential undermining of decisions taken on multilateral fora. The same issues were highlighted in the statement of Brazil. Furthermore, there were concerns that some of the provisions in the US health care reform may be in conflict with ACTA provisions (ICTSD Nov 3rd). The final ACTA text is available from Australian government web-pages.
On the bilateral front, EU negotiations on FTA with India have been the focus of substantial campaigning and concern (see previous digests). The Corporate Europe Observatory and India FDI Watch have produced a critical report that emphasises the role of big business and corporate lobbies and forecasts that the big-business-first agenda will put at risk the livelihoods of small farmers, street traders and patients. Further campaigning on the matter has taken place as negotiations continued in early December (see https://action.msfor.org/en_CH; http://donttradeourlivesaway.wordpress.com/). Economic Partnerships Agreements and WTO compatibility has been a focus for a South Centre analysis from a development perspective due to claims that the WTO compatibility of these agreements has been so far narrowly defined and from the perspective of European Union.

Employment has been at the forefront of trade agenda. The UNCTAD 2010 report on trade and development has its focus on employment policies and trade, articulating that developing countries should re-orientate macroeconomic policies and institution building so as to strengthen domestic demand as well as to rethink the paradigm of export led development based on keeping labour costs low. It further takes up collective bargaining arrangements among workers' and employers' organisations, minimum wages and public employment schemes as possible means for policy change. On the other hand, the report by WTO, ILO, World Bank and OECD for the G-20 Meeting emphasises the importance of trade. While taking up the necessity of social protection systems and "emergency" social safety nets that help affected individuals to manage external shocks, the emphasis is on further trade and investment liberalisation, which is promoted as non-debt-creating source of stimulus for the world as whole.

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On trade- and intellectual property-related health policy matters, the negotiations concerning pandemic influenza have continued in the context of the meeting of the Open-Ended Working Group on Pandemic Influenza Preparedness, which seeks to settle remaining concerns with respect to negotiations on pandemic influenza preparedness. Fredrik Abbott has brought up a concern over the risk that these independent negotiations will result in a two-tiered system of access to pathogen materials: one addressing certain influenza viruses under the auspices of the WHO and another addressing pathogen materials more generally under the auspices of the ABS protocol.

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3. 60 States to Lobby UN for Currency Transaction Tax (September 1, 2010)
9. http://www.oecd.org/document/51/0,3343,en_2649_33721_46020851_1_1_1_100.html
10. http://www.oecd.org/document/8/0,3343,en_21571361_44315115_46606080_1_1_1_100.html
11. http://www.oecd.org/document/44/0,3343,en_2649_33749_31743404_1_1_1_3742700.html