

GLOBAL RELATIONS FORUM

YOUNG ACADEMICS PROGRAM

2014 TERM HANDBOOK

GIFGRF

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GLOBAL RELATIONS FORUM

Global Relations Forum (GRF) was founded on May 11, 2009 with the enthusiastic support of 40 prominent members with the aim to advance a culture that rewards the fertile tension between passion for intellectual diversity and dedication to innovative and objective synthesis. It nurtures uninhibited curiosity, analytic inquiry, rational debate and constructive demeanor as the elemental constituents in all its endeavours. It contributes to the shared understanding of and aspiration for humanity's path to peace, prosperity and progress as an accessible, inclusive and fair process for all.

GRF works towards its goals in a variety of ways: by sponsoring Task Forces which seek to demarcate the relatively stable long-term trends and structural certainties from the unruly dynamics of complexity and uncertainty, convening meetings with prominent global leaders and senior government officials, organizing round table meetings with experts, fostering cooperation with global counterparts as well as through its seminar programs aimed at engaging young people to debate global issues freely, intelligently and constructively.

GRF also sees its website www.gjf.org.tr as a vibrant forum toward achieving its goals.

GRF YOUNG ACADEMICS 2014

The *GRF Young Academics Program* will be carried out with the participation of young academics that are currently pursuing their doctorate studies or have completed their Ph.D. in Turkey or abroad within the last three years.

The program aims to ensure that participants write policy papers that are sufficiently insightful so as to make a unique impact on the global agenda and to publish them as part of the “*GRF Young Academics Program Policy Paper Series.*” Therefore, the GRF Young Academics Program is open for academics from all areas of study (Architecture, Business Administration, Engineering, Fine Arts, Law, Medicine, Natural Science, Social Science, etc.).

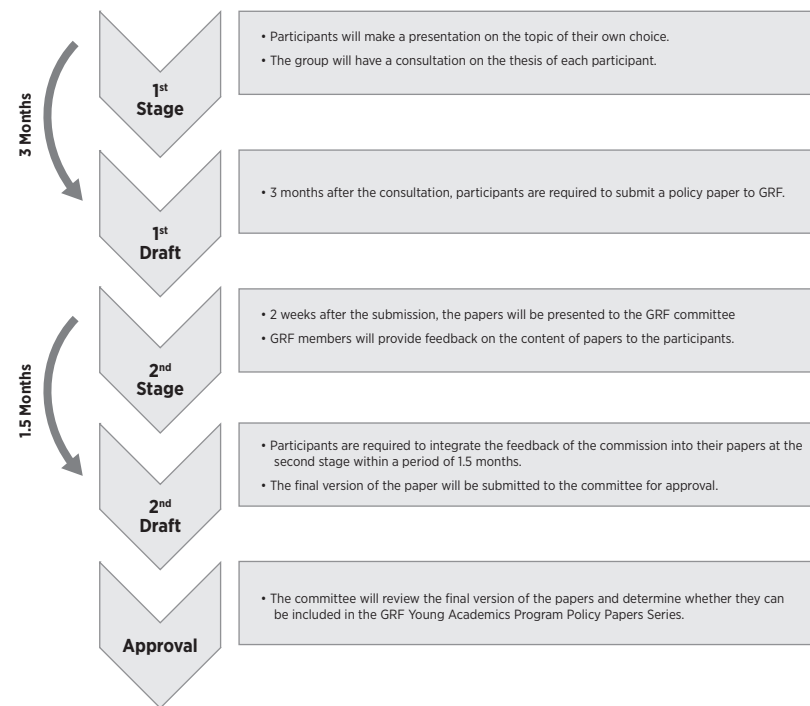
Candidates for the program should have a strong theoretical background, be able to focus on implementation, and be willing and able to transform their academic analyses into concrete policy suggestions.

The recommended length of the papers will be approximately 20-30 pages. In return for their contributions, GRF will present an honorarium to the authors of the papers that are published by the end of the program. The GRF Young Academics Program consists of two stages, the details and aims of which are described below.

First Stage: During the first stage of the program, all the selected academics will present their topic of choice to the other participants, followed by a discussion focused on each fellow’s individual topic. Thus, each participant will have the opportunity to clarify and develop his or her thesis with the feedback they receive from their fellow participants.

Second Stage: The second stage is where the institutional experience and contribution of GRF comes into play more explicitly; a commission made up of select GRF members will evaluate the papers written by the fellows. At this stage each participant will present his or her draft paper to the GRF commission, followed by personalized feedback from the commission members.

At the end of these two stages, the paper—in addition to being the original work of the participant—will have also passed through GRF’s institutional filtering process.



GRF Young Academics Program Process

GRF Young Academics Program Policy Papers Series

The GRF Young Academics Program Policy Papers Series will be comprised of papers written by the participants of the GRF Young Academics Program.

The following criteria for the publications will help to sustain GRF’s prudent and constructive analytic culture in the long-run:

- Topic should be unique and should have practical aspects,
- Presented data should be reliable and the analysis should be accurate,
- Flow of thought should be clear and structured,
- Policy suggestions should be balanced and applicable.

PROGRAM SCHEDULE

August 8, 2014

14:00 – 15:00 Memduh Karakullukçu - Introductory Remarks

15:00 – 16:00 1st Presentation

Deniz Aydın - Designing a Private Pension System: Lessons from Behavioral Economics

16:00 – 16:15 Coffee Break

16:15 – 17:15 2nd Presentation

Umut Türem - Rule of Law in Turkey: Reforming

17:15 – 18:15 3rd Presentation

Egemen Eren - Shadow Banking System and Possible Regulatory Responses

August 9, 2014

10:00 – 11:00 4th Presentation

Cem Albayrak - Life Sciences Education at High School and University Level in Turkey

11:00 – 12:00 5th Presentation

Altay Atlı - Turkey-China Relations - Its Current Status, Strengths and Weaknesses

12:00 – 13:30 Lunch

13:30 – 14:30 6th Presentation

John Vincent Bowlus - Will Ankara Lose Baghdad's Oil? Iraqi-Turkish Oil Relations After the KRG-Turkey Pipeline

14:30 – 15:30 7th Presentation

Charles Laderman - Anglo-American Journalists, Turkey and the Question of Orientalism

15:30 – 15:45 Coffee Break

15:45 – 16:45 8th Presentation

Koray Mutlu - World Trade Regime in the Aftermath of the Bali Ministerial: Implications for Governance of the WTO

PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS AND PAPER ABSTRACTS

DESIGNING A PRIVATE PENSION SYSTEM: LEARNING FROM BEHAVIORAL ECONOMICS

Deniz Aydın

Department of Economics, Stanford University

The design of a defined contribution retirement system that allows individuals to better prepare for retirement is important for both macroeconomic and microeconomic reasons, and requires an understanding of both aspects of behavior. This piece will particularly pay attention to recent developments in Behavioral Economics that intend to attain optimal policies with very little or no cost interventions. As an example, a government can subsidize IRA contributions by either subsidizing contributions or by making new employees enroll in an IRA account by default. The latter is both more effective in increasing savings, and also is virtually free.

From a macroeconomic perspective, individual savings rates are tied directly to the current account deficit. Turkey has been consistently running very high current account deficits (CAD) in periods of high growth, and questions have been raised as to if the current account deficit is sustainable. The Central Bank's unorthodox set of tools to curb rapid credit growth was often not understood by market participants, increasing market ambiguity. The domestic productive entities with high return on capital are financed via foreign direct investment or short term hot money, and increase Turkey's susceptibility to financial shocks abroad. The CAD therefore functions as a borrowing constraint on the aggregate, and increased domestic savings can allow Turkey grow with a higher capital stock and lower current account deficit, and push the convergence growth rate to a higher level as predicted by the Solow growth model. Increased lifespans and decreasing fertility will also imply that the state funded social security system will run into problems financing itself, and fiscal realism will dictate a transition from a defined benefit system (where an individual is offered a defined monthly benefit in retirement) to a defined contribution system (where retirement benefits are a function of pre-retirement contributions).

From a microeconomic perspective an intelligently designed IRA system can allow individuals to better prepare for retirement. Both objective criterion and self-assessment point out to the inadequacy of retirement savings. Various theories have been proposed to explain the inadequacy of retirement savings, that revolve around themes of lack financial sophistication, self-control problems and poverty traps/subsistence.

Claims that individuals living around subsistence level can't cut consumption to channel to savings are implausible as **a.** most individuals around subsistence level spend a considerable fraction of wealth in temptation goods such as cigarettes and alcohol **b.**

individuals exhibit great variation of consumption even around the subsistence level **c.** individuals that face a policy intervention such as the introduction of an illiquid commitment savings product report increased savings and increased hedonics. Therefore attention has recently been paid to the behavioral factors that alleviate poverty traps, such as lack of self-control. Theories of self-control suggest that agents often prefer to instantaneously gratify themselves rather than commit a long-term ideal policy. Individuals often claim they will start dieting or exercising on Monday, however often fail to do so. Most individuals with self-control problems are not even sophisticated: they are not aware that they exhibit this time inconsistency. In the existence of self-control problems, policies informed by behavioral economics can implement first best outcomes at effectively no cost. The policy paper intends to review the literature and data pending, contribute to areas including but not exhausted by,

- Do tax encourages increase aggregate savings or do they induce a balance sheet arbitrage and have them to shift money they would have saved anyway?
- What are the other balance sheet implications of IRA's? Importantly, do IRA's create incentives for increased household leverage, therefore increasing financial fragility?
- Is it true that poor people spend a greater fraction of their income on temptation goods, and is this the reason as to why they can't accumulate assets?
- What are other lessons that can be drawn from behavioral economics to increase savings? Hyperbolic discounting, loss aversion and mental accounting.

Deniz Aydın is a Ph.D. Candidate in the Economics Department at Stanford University. His research is in the field of empirical macroeconomics, household finance and behavioral economics, with particular interests in household consumption, social security and other social insurance arrangements (such as unemployment insurance and IRAs) and the behavior of individual investors. In his Ph.D. thesis, Deniz aims to understand the distributional consequences of financial crises through a leveraged household sector. The excess buildup of consumer debt and the consequent tightening of borrowing constraints after the credit crunch of 2008 is seen as a primary reason for the currently ongoing worldwide recession. Deniz is quantifying the consumption and debt response consumers give to a change in borrowing capacity and asking if high levels of pre-crisis debt buildups are due to individuals being borrowing constrained or myopic. Deniz earned undergraduate degrees in Economics and Mathematics from Sabanci University and an M.Sc. in Finance and Economics from the London School of Economics and Political Science. He was previously a Research Associate at Harvard Business School.

RULE OF LAW IN TURKEY: REFORMING

Umut Türem, Ph.D.

Atatürk Institute, Boğaziçi University

In the recent years, reforming laws and legal institutions is, once again, on the immediate agenda of Turkish politics. From the much contested efforts to re-constitute the Higher Board of Judges and Prosecutors both in 2010 and (early) 2014, to the changing procedures of appointing high court judges, Turkey has engaged in an ongoing debate on legal reform.

This, indeed, is the latest iteration of a long lasting tendency: Turkey has a long history of reforming its laws and institutions. From the early 1800s onwards, there is a constant effort to reform the laws of the land. There, certainly, are moments in which such reform efforts have accumulated and crystallized into the span of a couple of years, such as the initial decade of the Turkish Republic. Nevertheless, law reform as a mantra has always been an integral part of the modernization efforts that so deeply defined Turkey.

The latest juncture of such reform modality is in one key instance very much different than the previous era, however. “Modernization”, no longer, appears to constitute the master narrative animating legal reforms. Having been swept aside by the neoliberal wave, “national development (alism)” can no longer produce a unifying goal; Europe, where “modernity” was to flow from, is no longer the center of world political economy; finally, modernity and modernization have been severely criticized and discredited as too Eurocentric, instrumental and intellectually incoherent.

What, if anything, could be a master paradigm in guiding efforts at legal reform in our day, when modernization is no longer the yardstick or the goal post? What principles should guide attempts at reconfiguring legality in an age that is defined very much by market instrumentalism, or a vague promise of the “rule of law”? These are the key questions that I would like to probe into in my Global Relations Forum article. I would like to introduce the question of legal reforms in Turkish history in my paper initially, set up the landscape so to speak, and move, from this mapping, to the more immediate question at hand, namely: “how to reform laws and institutions in the seeming absence of a master narrative?” This last question, needless to point out, also, has policy implications, and I will briefly focus on such implications in the paper.

The questions I ask are by no means unique to Turkey: From the neoliberalizing countries of Latin America, to the East European countries whose self re-construction efforts on the basis of the market logic have failed considerably, countries wishing to reform

their laws and legal institutions have long been grappling with similar questions. In my paper, this global dimension will also be present as a background that sheds light on the Turkish experience. Nevertheless, the main focus will be on understanding the Turkish case in its historicity, and pointing to possible paths to be taken.

Dr. Umut Türem is an Assistant Professor at the Boğaziçi University Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History. His particular research interests include scientific and interdisciplinary perspectives on the law phenomenon and political economics. Dr. Türem holds a Ph.D. degree from NYU Institute of Law and Society, M.A. in Sociology and B.A. in Political Science and International Relations from Boğaziçi University. He continued his post-doctoral studies at Brown University Watson Institute for International Studies. Prior to his current post, Dr. Türem was a visiting professor at UMass Amherst Department of Political Science.

SHADOW BANKING SYSTEM AND POSSIBLE REGULATORY RESPONSES

Egemen Eren

Department of Economics, Stanford University

The shadow banking system refers to the non-bank financial intermediaries that provide services similar to traditional commercial banks. However, they differ in several aspects. Contrary to the traditional commercial banks, shadow banks fund their positions by uninsured short term funding mostly consisting of repurchase agreements (repos). Furthermore, shadow banks are not a part of the Federal Reserve System, hence do not have access to a lender of last resort.

Repurchase agreements are, in effect, collateralized agreements where repo sellers sell securities and agreeing to buy back at an agreed price. Main participants of the repo markets are broker-dealers, money market mutual funds, securities lenders and hedge funds.

Broker-dealers serve as financial intermediaries between hedge funds on one side, and money market funds and securities lenders on the other side. Broker-dealers could provide cash and securities to their hedge fund clients by pledging collateral obtained by hedge funds to money market funds and securities lenders through a process called rehypothecation. Eren (2014) shows that rehypothecation is also an important source of funding for broker-dealers. Pledging hedge fund collateral provides cheaper funding for hedge funds, but could expose hedge funds to the bankruptcy of broker dealers. The financial crisis of 2007-2008 highlighted the risks posed by repo markets. Failures of Bear Stearns and Lehman Brothers featured similarities. Nervous investors of money market funds redeemed their shares, reducing the funding liquidity of broker-dealers. Furthermore, hedge funds that were exposed to the bankruptcy risk ran to broker-dealers to redeem their collateral. This created pressure for Bear Stearns and Lehman Brothers as well as other broker-dealers. The stress caused by the disruption in repo markets led to the acquisition of Bear Stearns by JPMorgan and the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers as well as a financial crisis at large that adversely affected the real economy for years.

Six years after the financial crisis, repo markets, money market funds and broker-dealers are still very lightly regulated making the financial system vulnerable to sudden reductions in liquidity.

In this paper, I will provide an overview of the risks posed by repo markets and institutional features of the participants and analyze the current policy proposals. Finally, I will propose some new policy responses that focuses on the rehypothecation of collateral in repo markets.

Egemen Eren was born in 1987 in Ankara, Turkey. He has received his BA in Economics from Bilkent University in 2008 and two masters degrees, one from Universitat Pompeu Fabra in 2010 and one from Stanford University in 2013 with a focus on finance and macroeconomics. He is currently a PhD Candidate at Stanford University, where he is also working as a teaching assistant and a research assistant. His research interests include the functioning of financial markets, with a focus on debt markets, and the shadow banking system. His latest research is on the functioning of financial markets and risks involved in repo markets and possible regulatory responses. He has presented in seminars at Stanford University and Universitat Pompeu Fabra, and is scheduled to present at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York in August 2014.

BIOLOGY AND LIFE SCIENCES EDUCATION AT THE HIGH SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY LEVELS IN TURKEY

Cem Albayrak, Ph.D.

Department of Biosystems Science and Engineering, ETH Zurich

What should be the overarching goal(s) of public education in the 21st century? How should we educate students in an age of information and knowledge-based economies where technology has penetrated our everyday life more than ever before? In light of these (and similar) questions, I plan to outline a modern and inquiry-based life sciences education, including its aims and possible implementation in Turkey. I anticipate that some of the recommendations will be relevant to the general educational system as well.

Two reasons motivated me to delve into the life sciences education in Turkey. First, during my training as a biologist and biochemical engineer, I had the opportunity to interact with and learn from some of the best researchers and thought leaders in biology and the life sciences. During my training, I made some observations which I believe are very important and relevant for this subject. Second, I am broadly interested in education, and I fear that the biology and life sciences education in Turkey is woefully inadequate to address the challenges of our society. Coupled with a dearth of publications on this subject, I felt there is an unmet need to address this topic.

I believe the following three challenges are the most important ones we face as a society and a species:

1. How will we be able to feed the ever-growing population sustainably?
2. As the median life expectancy rises around the globe, fatal diseases such as cancer and Alzheimer's disease are becoming more prevalent. How will we cure or prevent these diseases?
3. How will we generate energy (electricity and transportation fuel) sustainably?

The first two are directly, and the third indirectly via biofuels and bioremediation, related to biology and the life sciences. If well-educated and well-trained biologists, bioengineers and life scientists can address these grand challenges, they may make fundamental contributions on a national and a global scale.

Dr. Cem Albayrak is a postdoctoral fellow at the Department of Biosystems Science and Engineering (D-B SSE) in the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology at Zurich (ETH Zürich). After graduating from Robert College of Istanbul, he received dual B.S. degrees in Biology and Chemical Engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and his M.S. and Ph.D. degrees in Chemical Engineering from Stanford University. In Prof. Savaş Tay's group (<http://www.microfluidics.ethz.ch/>), he is currently developing methods for accurate quantification of macromolecules from single cells. His research interests lie in biotechnology, synthetic biology, systems biology and microfluidics. He has authored 5 peer-reviewed publications.

TURKEY-CHINA RELATIONS: ITS CURRENT STATUS, STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

Altay Atlı, Ph.D.

Asian Studies Center, Boğaziçi University

The topic on which I intend to focus concerns the relationship between Turkey and the People's Republic of China – its current status, strengths and weaknesses inherent in the relationship, and prospects for the future. My objective is to provide a thorough analysis of the relationship by incorporating analytic tools from International Relations theory with empirical evidence from the field in order to better understand the relationship and—more importantly—offer a roadmap in the form of concrete policy suggestions for Turkey to optimize her standing not only in its bilateral relationship with China, but also vis-à-vis a global economic conjuncture increasingly defined by the rise of China.

I intend to undertake this project because I believe that Turkey's relationship with China remains so far understudied and undertreated by both policy makers and foreign policy scholars, which prevents the construction of a long-term strategy through which Turkey can shape its relationship with this emerging global powerhouse. The relationship is conducted and studied mainly in an ad hoc manner, focusing on single issues as they appear, without investigating into the interaction between issues and therefore failing to grasp the larger picture. For instance, in the field of economics, practitioners and scholars think and act on the growing trade deficit with China; in politics, the Uighur issue remains on the agenda; in the military/technology field the latest Turkish decision to procure a missile defense system from China has been debated. What is missing is, however, a systematic and holistic approach that will bring all these pieces — and several others—together within a framework that is informed by theory. Only in this way can it be possible for us to understand the dynamics of Turkey's relationship with China, and only in this way we can come up with policy suggestions that would improve Turkey's standing in this relationship. With the policy paper, I will be hoping to provide a modest yet meaningful contribution to this endeavor.

This is a crucial and urgent undertaking, because optimizing the relationship with China is important for Turkey, equally so at three different levels: bilateral, regional and global. At the bilateral level, Turkey needs to be able to calibrate the various aspects of the relationship—be it economic, political, social or military—in order to maximize its benefits from the rise of China. Whether it is trade with, or investment from China, or the Uighur issue, or the missile issue; these are all components of a whole. They need to be taken together and managed together for Turkey to improve its relationship with China at the bilateral level.

At the regional level, on the other hand, we observe that China is increasingly becoming assertive in Turkey's near neighborhood, the Middle East. As China's dependence on Middle Eastern hydrocarbons increases, so does its political involvement in regional affairs, as we have clearly witnessed during its veto of a UN resolution on Syria. Turkey's priorities vis-à-vis the Middle East may or may not converge with those of China, but in any case, the Turkish-Chinese relationship is likely to become a significant factor in the complicated chess board of the Middle East geopolitics. Finally, at the global level, how Turkey—the world's 17th largest economy and G20 member—formulates and manages its relationship with this new great power of global politics and economics is of significant consequence for the world system as a whole.

In sum, the policy brief I intend to work on will bring together various aspects— economic, political, social, military, technology-related and so on—of the relationship between Turkey and China, analyze them by taking into consideration how they interfere with each other, provide a holistic study of the dynamics and causal mechanisms of the relationship under the guidance of International Relations theory and distill these into concrete policy suggestions for Turkish policy makers.

Dr. Altay Atlı is a lecturer at the Asian Studies Program of Boğaziçi University, and the coordinator of the Asian Studies Center at the same institution. After graduating from the German High School of Istanbul, he received a B.A. degree in economics from Boğaziçi University, an M.A. degree in international business from Deakin University in Melbourne, and completed his Ph.D. at the Department of Political Science and International Relations of Boğaziçi University. Atlı is an affiliated member at the Center for Research on Globalization and Democratic Governance of Koç University (GLODEM), and a "Global Emerging Voices Fellow" for the year 2012 (offered by Torino World Affairs Institute, German Marshall Fund of the United States, Australian National University, and Stiftung Mercator). His previous work experience includes positions at the Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey (DEİK), Australian Trade Commission and Bahçeşehir University's Asia-Pacific Research Center. Dr. Atlı's research interests cover international political economy with a focus on the Asia-Pacific region, Turkey's relations with Asian countries, and the political economy of Turkish foreign policy. Atlı authors a blog on Asian current affairs, in Turkish, available at <http://www.sarkekspresi.com>.

IRAQI OIL FLOWS AND REGIONAL SECURITY

John V. Bowlus, Ph.D.

The paper will try to answer the following questions: How can oil be transported from Iraq to international markets and how would these flows of oil affect both regional security and the world oil market?

Since 2003, Iraq has taken significant steps to develop its historically underperforming oil industry, but the lack of security and infrastructure investment has limited the country's capacity to transport oil from production areas to seaborne terminals for export to international markets. Iraq has two options to increase its capacity to transport and export oil, each of which has pitfalls. The first is to build up its capacity to export oil from the Persian Gulf. This is the most secure option – Iraq's internal forces can provide security – but Iraq's Persian Gulf coastline is only 36 kilometers long and is in marshy terrain that is difficult to build on. For these reasons, existing export infrastructure is expensive, limited, and growing decrepit. Moreover, there is a possibility that sectarian violence spilling over from Syria could turn the Persian Gulf into a warzone or close the Strait of Hormuz and cutoff Iraqi exports altogether, which was the case from 1980 to 1988.

Iraq's second option to increase its capacity to transport and export oil is use pipelines through Syria or Turkey to the Mediterranean Sea or Jordan or Saudi Arabia to the Red Sea. Pipelines offer Iraq diversification in the case of a problem in the Persian Gulf but they carry larger risks and have performed poorly in the past, as transit countries have blocked or held the flow of oil hostage to their political or commercial demands. Despite these risks, a pipeline through Turkey has been and likely will be Iraq's safest option and more capacity can be developed. However, Ankara's willingness to allow the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), the autonomous region of northern Iraq, to ship oil to Ceyhan for export, has angered Baghdad and jeopardized the transportation of southern Iraqi oil, which represents over 80 percent of Iraq's total production, through Turkey.

This paper will analyze Iraq's options to expand its capacity to transport and export oil. It will avoid predictions, since the political situation in Iraq and the region is evolving and could render these predictions worthless. For the same reason, a simple snapshot of Iraq's current oil transportation options also offers little value. Therefore, the paper will forecast different scenarios for increasing Iraqi oil flows. In general, oil transportation does not drive politics; instead, politics shapes the decisions made regarding oil transportation. So, I will analyze Iraq's transit scenarios first based on the political feasibility

of building and using them, both in terms of regional politics and the policies of the foreign powers, most notably the United States. Then, I will analyze how each scenario might affect regional security. Finally, I will place Iraq's oil in the context of the world oil market and offer policy recommendations for Iraq, Turkey, and those interested in regional security. In short, Iraq should seek to construct several new oil transportation options for Iraqi oil and that Turkey should support Iraq to diversify and expand its oil transportation options.

John V. Bowlus has received his BA in Classics and History from Brown University and his MA in Social Sciences from The University of Chicago. He has completed his PhD at Georgetown University where his dissertation was entitled as "Connecting Midstream: The Politics and Economics of Oil Transportation in the Middle East." His research interests include Energy and Politics, Energy Security, Oil, Oil and Natural Gas Transportation, Middle East Diplomatic History, International Politics, U.S. Foreign Policy and The Environment. His previous work experience includes positions at Eurasia Group, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, United States Peace Corps and Cambridge Associates.

ANGLO-AMERICAN JOURNALISTS, TURKEY AND THE QUESTION OF ORIENTALISM

Charlie Laderman

Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge

In 1919, the Near East was in the midst of a twelve-year conflict, which had begun with the Turkish-Italian War of 1911 and which wouldn't be resolved until the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne. For the peoples of the Ottoman Empire, the Great War of 1914-1918 was only part of this Greater War. And having suffered millions of casualties, the Ottoman Empire, one of the largest and longest standing empires in world history, was being dismembered – it had lost the Balkans, Caucasus and the Arab world, all formerly integral parts of the empire, and much of its Anatolian heartland was under the occupation of British, French, Greek, Armenian and Italian troops. The majority of international observers doubted that its Anatolian territories, today's Turkey, would survive as a sovereign state. It was in this atmosphere that an assembly of the Turkish nationalist movement met in the city of Sivas in September to establish the Society for the Defense of the Rights of Anatolia and Thrace. And joining them was an American journalist. The Chicago Daily News correspondent, Louis E. Browne, was the only foreign observer and the only non-Muslim present at the Congress. His interviews there with the Turkish nationalist leader, Mustafa Kemal, would bring the Turkish nationalist movement to American attention and offered Americans a fresh perspective on the region.

Kemal's position as the leader of the Turkish nationalist movement, if not Turkey's independence, was more secure by the time he met another American journalist, Clarence K. Streit in 1921. The first journalist to interview Kemal after he became president of the Turkish assembly, Streit found that Kemal still emphasized "strongly Turkey's friendliness towards the United States." For his own part, Streit declared that, "few men have impressed me as favourably as did this Turkish Washington." Even though Kemal's forces were then in retreat, at the height of the Turkish War of Independence, Streit prophesied that, "history will recognize in Mustafa Kemal Pasha the founder of the new Turkish state." Streit's plans to publish his experiences in Turkey as a monograph were scuppered by his inability to find a publisher in the United States or Britain. However, his articles in the Philadelphia Public Ledger would lead one of Kemal's associates, the journalist and Columbia University PhD, Ahmed Emin Yalman, to recall that both Streit and Browne were "instrumental in breaking the blockade of silence which muzzled Turkey" after the end of the First World War. Yalman would later claim that the assistance of these two journalists to the Turkish nationalist movement in its fledgling stage were the introductory phase of Turkish-American co-operation during and after World War II.

Ever since this period, American journalists in Turkey have played a significant role in the bilateral relationship between the two nations. They have served as crucial conduits for Turkish leaders to publicize their vision of Turkey to the outside world. Furthermore, their interpretations have played a vital role in shaping the framework within which policymakers and the wider American public have understood the Turkish nation. I propose to explore the intellectual prism through which American publicists, including Browne and Streit, perceived Turkey and compare their insights with those of contemporary journalists, such as Benjamin Harvey at Bloomberg and Daniel Dombey of the Financial Times. I also plan to compare their writings with British commentators, such as Arnold Toynbee and Bernard Lewis, in order to explore the evolution of wider Western perspectives on Turkey and the "Islamic world" from the early twentieth century to the present day. Many of these Western observers were accused of willfully misrepresenting "Arabo-Islamic peoples and their culture" in Edward Said's landmark study, *Orientalism*. A number of commentators have extended this critique to the rest of the Middle East, including Turkey. Recently Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's senior adviser, Dr Ertan Aydin, suggested that these cultural stereotypes remain prevalent in the Western media. A study of how the discourse of Anglo-American journalists in Turkey has developed over the past century is therefore as timely as it is of enduring importance.

*Charlie Laderman is completing a PhD in International History at Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge. He also holds a Bachelor of Arts with Honours in History and Politics from the University of Nottingham, and a Master of Philosophy in History from the University of Cambridge, receiving numerous awards for his performance in each degree. Next year, he will be taking up a Research Fellowship at Peterhouse and an Affiliated Lectureship in European Geopolitics at the Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Cambridge. He was previously a Fox International Fellow at the Whitney and Betty Macmillan Center for International and Area Studies, and Smith Richardson Fellow in International Security Studies, both at Yale University, and an AHRC Fellow at the Kluge Center, Library of Congress. He has published articles in academic journals, periodicals and magazines, including *Standpoint* and *the Social Affairs Unit*.*

WORLD TRADE REGIME IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE BALI MINISTERIAL: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE GOVERNANCE OF THE WTO

Koray Mutlu

Department of Political Science, McMaster University

The Bali Ministerial Conference has been a historical milestone in terms of producing, at least, a partial solution to the protracted negotiations in the Doha Round, launched in 2001. While the Bali Package has brought hope to the world trade regime through carving out a deal from the inextricable Doha Round negotiations, it, at the same time, triggered discussions over the governance of world trade. Indeed, the deal reached at the Bali Ministerial Package also signifies the dissolution of single undertaking principle of the WTO decision making mechanism.

Consequently, Bali Ministerial also reifies the fact that future negotiations in multilateral trade will evolve from negotiating broader agendas with many issues of conflict to micro issues such as information technology, sectoral negotiations in services and goods trade, and environmental goods, with prospects to reach an agreement. In an era of growing complexity in world trade with the proliferation of mega-regional trade agreements, particularly Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), the Bali Package has deeper meanings and broader implications on the role of the WTO in governing global trade regime.

Koray Mutlu is a doctoral candidate and instructor in the Department of Political Science at McMaster University. He received B.A. and M.A. degrees from International Relations Department at Koç University. His research areas are international political economy, comparative politics, and globalization and global governance. He is particularly specialized on the issues of development and the governance of international trade. His dissertation project is entitled Rethinking the “Development” Dimension of the Doha Round: Agriculture and NAMA Negotiations in Critical Perspective” and examines the impact of different, mostly conflicting, perspectives of major powers on “development” on the Doha Round negotiations. He is currently conducting research on the impact of mega-regional trade agreements on global trade governance and the implications of renewable energy policy on sustainable development in Turkey. He also teaches courses on global political economy, globalization and the state, and comparative politics.

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