

# IKV BRIEF

## THE G20 AND AN ASSESSMENT OF THE GERMAN PRESIDENCY



52<sup>years</sup>



### IKV'S FOUNDERS AND TRUSTEE ORGANISATIONS



İSTANBUL  
SANAYİ ODASI



İSTANBUL  
TİCARET  
ODASI  
— 1882 —



TÜRKİYE  
İŞVEREN SENDİKALARI  
KONGRESİNE  
TÜRKİSH  
CONFEDERATION OF  
EMPLOYER ASSOCIATIONS



İSTANBUL  
TİCARET  
BORSASI  
1924  
ISTANBUL COMMUNITY EXCHANGE



# **THE G20 AND AN ASSESSMENT OF THE GERMAN PRESIDENCY**



ISTANBUL, DECEMBER 2017



**ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION**

Short quotations from this copyright work is allowed provided  
that the **ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION**  
and the author are properly cited.

---

**Preparation for publication**



**General Director:** Gürhan Demirbaş  
**Assistant General Director:** Eser Soygüder Yıldız  
**Art Director:** Hakan Kahveci  
**Editor:** Hüseyin Vatansever  
**Graphic Designer:** Şahin Bingöl

**Published by**  
Dünya Süper Veb Ofset AŞ  
100. Yıl Mah. 34204, Bağcılar – İSTANBUL  
Phone: 0212 440 24 24

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

EU:	European Union
FTA:	Free Trade Agreement
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
ICT:	Information and Communication Technology
ILO:	International Labour Organisation
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
NGOs:	Non-Governmental Organisations
OECD:	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
R&D:	Research and Development
TPP:	Trans-Pacific Partnership
TTIP:	Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
UNHCR:	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WB:	World Bank
WHO:	World Health Organisation
WTO:	World Trade Organisation

## Table of Contents

1.	Introduction .....	8
2.	G20: A Historical Perspective .....	8
3.	Structure and Functioning of the G20 .....	12
3.1.	Who is Who at G20 Summits? .....	13
4.	The Road to Hamburg: An Assessment of the Global Political Context Ahead of the G20 Hamburg Summit .....	15
5.	A Closer Look at the Agenda of the G20 Hamburg Summit .....	16
5.1.	Climate Change .....	17
5.2.	Trade .....	19
6.	Reading between the Lines of the G20 Leaders' Declaration .....	24
6.1.	An Insight into the Objectives of the G20 Leaders' Declaration .....	26
6.1.1.	Building resilience .....	26
6.1.2.	Improving sustainable livelihoods .....	27
6.1.3.	Assuming responsibility .....	29
7.	Press Headlines from the G20 Hamburg Summit .....	31
8.	Conclusion .....	34

# The G20 and an Assessment of the German Presidency

**Merve ÖZCAN**

IKV Junior Researcher

## Key Findings

- The G20 has had a long history. Its seeds were sown with the establishment of the G5 in 1973 following the collapse of the Bretton Woods system and the oil crisis. In time, with the inclusion of the new countries, the G5 became G7 and later G8.
- Highly influential economic crises in Asia and Latin America in the late 1990's and the developed countries' desire to insert the emerging market economies into global governance paved the way for the establishment of the G20. While until the 2008 international financial crisis G20 meetings took place at the level of finance ministers and central bank governors, following the 2008 crisis the leaders of the G20 countries began to meet in order to mitigate the effects of the crisis at the highest level.
- To date, 12 leaders' summits have been held within the context of the G20 which brings the world's largest 20 economies including 19 countries and the EU together.
- The G20 accounts for 80% of global trade and realises the same percentage of the global product. G20 countries are home to 66% of the world's population.
- The G20 is an informal forum due to the lack of an administrative board with a permanent secretariat. Hence, the G20's decisions are non-binding, but they are known to be highly influential on member countries' domestic policies. In fact, 71% of the decisions taken by the G20 within the 2008-2014 period have been implemented.
- The G20 depends on the rotating presidency system according to which a country holds the presidency for a year. Except for the EU, 19 G20 countries are categorised under five regional groups. While determining the term presidency, the geographical groupings that each country belongs to are taken into account in order to ensure geographical balance. The country which holds the presidency is responsible for organising not only ministerial and working group meetings in numerous areas such as labour, finance and agriculture, but also the leaders' summit which is the most visible and publicised event in the G20 calendar.
- In addition to the 20 members which form the G20, Spain attends the leaders' summits as a permanent guest country. Moreover, a number of international organisations such as the OECD, World Bank and the WTO which are considered natural partners to the G20 participate in summits regularly.
- The country that holds the G20 presidency has also the right to invite related institutions, countries and relevant parties. Within this context, Germany invited the



African Union, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation and the New Partnership for Africa's Development. Similarly, Norway, the Netherlands and Singapore were invited. Furthermore, there are engagement groups which aim to include the relevant stakeholders to the G20 processes. Under the German Presidency, seven engagement groups have been designated, namely; Business 20, Labour 20, Civil 20, Science 20, Think 20, Women 20 and Youth 20.

- The 12<sup>th</sup> G20 Summit was held in Hamburg on 7-8 July 2017. The political landscape ahead of the summit was marked by tension. The election of Donald Trump who had signalled during his campaign period that he was going to take a protectionist stance as US President has caused serious concerns about the reliability of the new US administration. In Europe, 2017 was a year of intense election calendar in the Netherlands, France, Germany, Austria and Czechia. Despite pro-EU Emmanuel Macron has become France's President, the rise in the votes of far right parties in many countries raised concern that populist discourses would be heard more than ever.
- Although most of the recent global challenges were touched upon at the G20 Hamburg Summit, climate change and trade were two of the most important topics on the agenda which came to the global fore after Donald Trump's controversial decisions such as withdrawing the US from the first universally acclaimed deal on climate change and the TPP, suspending negotiations for the TTIP, renegotiating NAFTA and threatening to impose tariffs on Chinese steel.
- At the end of the G20 Hamburg Summit, a 15-page-long Leaders' Declaration with
- the motto of "Shaping an interconnected world" was adopted. The declaration starts with the section on shaping the benefits of globalisation and continues with three objectives determined by Berlin within the context of its G20 Presidency: building resilience, improving sustainable livelihoods and assuming responsibility. Every objective contains sub-objectives and in total the leaders discussed three objectives in light of 13 sub-objectives.
- Two inferences of the G20 Leaders' Declaration are worth mentioning as key findings. The first is that all leaders excluding Donald Trump have agreed upon the irreversibility of the Paris Agreement which raised hopes regarding global climate goals. However, the second one is not that promising. While the leaders underlined the importance of free trade, they have recognised the legal trade defence instruments for the first time in the G20's history. Moreover, there are 14 agreed documents such as the G20 Africa Partnership and the Hamburg Action Plan.
- Lastly, the G20 Hamburg Summit witnessed interesting and tense moments at the same time. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Donald Trump, Emmanuel Macron, Angela Merkel and Vladimir Putin were in the spotlight throughout the summit. One-to-one meetings of the leaders attracted high media attention. Although Angela Merkel's long awaited statement on Turkey and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's efforts for the summit were encouraging considering the latest tension in Turkey-Germany relations, this mood of optimism did not last long. In the meantime, there were large scale protests with lots of incursions, sit down strikes and allegations of disproportionate use of force.

## 1. Introduction

Following China, Germany assumed the G20 Presidency on 1 December 2016 and hosted the 12<sup>th</sup> G20 Summit on 7-8 July 2017 which brought the biggest 20 economies of the world, some guest countries and international organisations together. The summit was organised in Germany's second largest city after Berlin which is known as the "door to the world" due to hosting the country's largest port: Hamburg.

The G20 summit that Hamburg hosted on 7-8 July had the priority of enabling sustainable, balanced and inclusive growth similar to the overall objective of the previous summits. Although what we recall when we hear the G20 is the summits, there is a long path ahead of and following them. Such that, during the German Presidency, more than 20 meetings that brought working and study groups together were organised and there were nine ministerial meetings. For its G20 Presidency, Germany has adopted three objectives to achieve or at least to take the necessary measures for their achievements: building resilience, improving sustainable livelihoods and assuming responsibility. Before discussing Germany's G20 objectives and themes in the following sections in detail, some of the addressed topics during one-year presidency were trade, digitalisation, tax, climate change, the UN's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, health, women's economic empowerment, corruption and migration. Among these topics, trade and climate change have come to the fore after the controversial decisions of US President Donald Trump, such as withdrawing the US from the Paris Agreement and ceasing the TTIP negotiations. Including Donald Trump,

the leaders who attended the G20 summit for the first time were curiously observed.

Within this context, the overall objective of this brief is to examine Germany's G20 Presidency. For its objective, the remaining of the brief is structured as follows: Section 2 gives information regarding the history of the G20 and its evolution through years before passing to some statistics on the G20 members. Then, Section 3 looks at the structure and functioning of the G20 in terms of its management, rotating presidency system, working procedures and participants to the summits. After the explanation of the global political context ahead of the G20 Hamburg Summit at Section 4, Section 5 discusses the agenda of the summit in terms of the prominent subjects of climate change and trade. Afterwards, Section 6 investigates the most profound document of the summit, the G20 Leaders' Declaration, with paying special attention to each of the objectives separately. Following the reflections in the press from the G20 Hamburg Summit regarding both Turkey and the other members at Section 7, Section 8 concludes with a brief summary.

## 2. G20: A Historical Perspective

Since Group of Twenty (G20) has been built upon Group of Five (G5), Group of Seven (G7) and afterwards Group of Eight (G8), it will be beneficial to start with their historical backgrounds. Following the collapse of the Bretton Woods system which had been based on fixed exchange rates tied to gold prices and the 1973 oil crisis, it became obvious that economic and financial policies needed to be structured at a higher level than national<sup>1</sup>. Therefore, finance

ministers of the UK, France, Germany and the US met at the White House Library on 25 March 1973 which resulted in the creation of the informal "Library Group". In September 1973, the Japanese finance minister began to participate in the meetings of the Library Group which started to be known as the G5.

In the following year, France's President invited the heads of state and government of the US, the UK, Germany, Japan and Italy to France, so Italy became the sixth participant of the group. In 1976, Canada joined the group that took the form of "G5+Italy+Canada" and began to be regarded as the G7<sup>2</sup>. Between 1977 and 1991, the number of the G7's members did not change. After 1991, Russia began to come together with the G7 members under the name of "Dialogue Following the Summit". At the Denver Summit in the US in 1997, Russia started to attend not only the meetings on economic issues but also other sessions<sup>3</sup>. At the Birmingham Summit in 1998, the G8 was formally established with the inclusion of Russia, but without its participation in finance ministers meetings<sup>4</sup>.

Looking at the dynamics of the G8, it is noted that the G7's working model of close consultation continued to be applied. To represent the governments, personal representatives, *Sherpas*, were being appointed by heads of state and government. They could be considered as mediators to enable not only maintaining the countries' institutional memories but also realising commitments. Although the leaders' main subjects at the G8 meetings were heavily based on economy and finance, they began to discuss broader issues such as security, environment and development, too. After a point, it started

to take the form that the leaders were not directed by that year's agenda but instead they were exchanging their views on what was going on around the globe.

In time, the severe economic, currency and financial crises in Latin America<sup>5</sup> and Asia<sup>6</sup> revealed the fact that key emerging economies were not represented in the mechanism of global decision-making. Herein, Canadian Finance Minister, Paul Martin, and the US Treasury Secretary, Lawrence Summers, pioneered the discussions to include some of the other important countries into the G8. In 1998 and 1999, four meetings were held to bring 22 and 33 finance ministers and central bank governors from advanced and emerging economies around the world together. These gatherings are known as G22 and G33. After these four meetings, the G20 consisting of the G8, some other emerging countries and the EU, was formed in December 1999. Hence, the purpose of the establishment of the G20 can be figured as not only finding solutions for the Asian and the Latin American crises but also including emerging economies into economic dialogue and global governance.

During the years following the establishment of the G20, finance ministers and central bank governors were meeting. However, especially Paul Martin began to be convinced that it would be better for the heads of state and government rather than only finance ministers and central bank governors to meet at summits to discuss global issues. At the same time, the international financial crisis in 2008 which was triggered by bank failures and the collapse of the housing bubble in the US in addition to deterioration of

stock markets around the world made obvious that the existing international organisations such as the IMF, the WB, the UN along with the G20 finance ministers and central bank governors were not enough to solve such global crisis. Therefore, on 14-15 November 2008, then US President George W. Bush invited the leaders of G20 countries and thereby paved the way for the entrance of “G20 Summits” into our lives.

As shown at Table 1, following the decision to discuss global topics at the level of heads of state and government rather than only at the level of finance ministers and central bank governors, the summits were held twice a year in 2009 and 2010 when the severe impacts of the 2008 international financial crisis were extremely felt<sup>7</sup>. Afterwards, summits were organised once a year in the country that held term presidency.

Well, what is the G20 in reality? It consists of the EU and 19 countries that are Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Korea, Turkey, the UK and the US. Looking at the continental distribution reveals that except for the Antarctica where nobody lives, the G20 countries are from all continents, mostly Asia and Europe.

According to the OECD, the G20 countries account for 80% of both global gross product and global trade. In terms of the G20’s share in global product, the BRICS countries which are Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, have the lion’s share with their summation of 31%. The EU with 17% and the US with 16% follow these countries<sup>8</sup>. What is more, the most crowded countries of the world which are China, India, the US and Indonesia respectively are members of the G20. Brazil, Japan, Russia and Mexico

**Table 1: List of the G20 Summits**

	Date	Host Country	Host City	Host Leader
1	14-15 November 2008	US	Washington	George W. Bush
2	2 April 2009	UK	London	Gordon Brown
3	24-25 September 2009	US	Pittsburgh	Barack Obama
4	26-27 June 2010	Canada	Toronto	Stephan Harper
5	11-12 November 2010	South Korea	Seoul	Lee Myung-bak
6	3-4 November 2011	France	Cannes	Nicolas Sarkozy
7	18-19 June 2012	Mexico	Los Cabos	Felipe Calderón
8	5-6 September 2013	Russia	Saint Petersburg	Vladimir Putin
9	15-16 November 2014	Australia	Brisbane	Tony Abbott
10	15-16 November 2015	Turkey	Antalya	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan
11	4-5 September 2016	China	Hangzhou	Xi Jinping
12	7-8 July 2017	Germany	Hamburg	Angela Merkel
13	30 November-1 December 2018	Argentina	Buenos Aires	Mauricio Macri
14	2019	Japan	Tokyo	
15	2020	Saudi Arabia	Riyadh	



follow these countries as being in the most crowded 10 countries (Table 2). Overall, the G20 countries are home to 66% of the world's population.

Looking at the other basic indicators of the G20 members in 2016, it is recognised that the world's richest 13 countries in terms of nominal GDP including the

**Table 2: Basic Indicators of the G20 Members in 2016**

Country	Population	Nominal GDP (dollar)	Nominal GDP Share in World GDP (%)	Exports of Goods and Services (dollar)	Imports of Goods and Services (dollar)
Argentina	43.8 million	545 billion	0.7	56 billion	59 billion
Australia	24.1 million	1.2 trillion	1.5	187 billion	200 billion
Brazil	207.6 million	1.7 trillion	2.2	191 billion	171 billion
Canada	36.2 million	1.5 trillion	1.9	408 billion	419 billion
China	1.37 billion	11.1 trillion	14.6	2.2 trillion	1.6 trillion
France	66.8 million	2.4 trillion	3.1	493 billion	563 billion
Germany	82.6 million	3.4 trillion	4.4	1.3 trillion	1 trillion
India	1.32 billion	2.2 trillion	2.9	264 billion	390 billion
Indonesia	261.1 million	932 billion	1.2	176 billion	178 billion
Italy	60.6 million	1.8 trillion	2.3	456 billion	410 billion
Japan	126.9 million	4.9 trillion	6.4	624 billion	625 billion
Mexico	127.5 million	1 trillion	1.3	380 billion	395 billion
Russia	144.3 million	1.2 trillion	1.5	343 billion	182 billion
Saudi Arabia	32.2 million	646 billion	0.8	201 billion	163 billion
South Africa	55.9 million	294 billion	0.3	69 billion	79 billion
South Korea	51.2 million	1.4 trillion	1.8	526 billion	436 billion
Turkey	79.5 million	857 billion	1.1	143 billion	207 billion
UK	65.6 million	2.6 trillion	3.4	466 billion	630 billion
US	323.1 million	18.5 trillion	24.4	1.5 trillion	2.3 trillion
EU	511.4 million	16.3 trillion	21.5	7.1 trillion	7 trillion

Source: World Bank

US, China, Japan and Germany were members of the G20. The poorest G20 country was South Africa with its 294 billion nominal GDP which made it rank 39<sup>th</sup> in the world. To make it clear, the G20 countries' nominal GDP shares in global gross GDP ranges from the US with 24.4% to South Africa with 0.3%. Concerning imports and exports of goods and services of the G20 members, the availability of the world's largest trade partners such as the EU, the US, China and Germany in this club makes the G20 realise 80% of global trade and thereby hold the leader position around the world.

### 3. Structure and Functioning of the G20

After having touched upon the G20's history and some statistics on its members, it is beneficial to have a look at its structure and functioning. First of all, the G20 has no administrative board with a permanent secretariat, so it can be considered as an informal forum rather than an international organisation<sup>9</sup>. Due to its informal structure, the G20 decisions are not legally binding, so that implementing them depends on the countries' willingness. Although this non-binding characteristics of the G20 may seem as a weakness at the first glance, compromising a large number

of countries with different interests has created the strength of the G20. Such that, 71% of the G20 decisions that had been taken between 2008 and 2014 were implemented by the members<sup>10</sup>.

Secondly, the G20 has the rotating presidency system in which a country is selected as the host country each year to organise working groups, ministerial meetings and summit of that year. When selection is made, regional grouping of countries is paid attention to make sure that each year a country from a different group hosts the summit with the aim of a balanced regional distribution (Table 3). Since its assignment, the host country becomes part of the rotating three-member management group that consists of the previous, current and the following host countries which refers to "Troika"<sup>11</sup>. For instance, Germany's *troika* includes China and Argentina. *Troika* is responsible for both the preparation of the G20 agenda and organisations of working processes, meetings and events<sup>12</sup>.

Despite of the fact that when the G20 is heard, the leaders' summits are generally recalled because public opinion is very much interested in the leaders of the world's largest 20 economies, the reality is in fact different than this. The

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Group 5
Australia (2014)	India	Argentina (2018)	France (2011)	China (2016)
Canada (2010)	Russia (2013)	Brazil	Germany (2017)	Indonesia
Saudi Arabia	South Africa	Mexico (2012)	Italy (2009)	Japan (2019)
US (2008, 2009)	Turkey (2015)		UK (2009)	South Korea (2010)

Source: The rotating G20 Presidency: How do member countries take turns? [https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/uploads/2016/11/g20\\_fundamentals\\_3\\_en\\_final.pdf](https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/uploads/2016/11/g20_fundamentals_3_en_final.pdf)

G20 has a long working process which has paved the way for the creation of a well-functioning system ahead of and following the summits in the course of time. To give an example, while the declarations that are published at the end of the summits are generally 15-20 pages long, their appendices are usually more than 1,000 pages that include all details of the initiatives mentioned at declarations only by their names. Similarly, in 2016, the G20 Hangzhou Summit in China was prepared and followed by five *Sherpa* meetings which brought chief economic advisors of the G20 countries together.

What is more, nine meetings at the ministerial level such as trade, agriculture, tourism and labour take place each year<sup>13</sup>. In reality, most of the work is done at ministerial meetings at which topics of the G20 are discussed one by one prior to summits. The German Presidency hosted the mentioned nine ministerial meetings, too (Table 4).

Likewise, more than 30 meetings of the G20 working and study groups

which consist of government officials and experts are organised each year. The working and study groups such as development, anti-corruption, trade and investment are expressed to have significant role in preparation of joint initiatives and ministerial decisions. Under the G20 Presidency, Germany organised more than 20 study and working group meetings<sup>14</sup>.

### 3.1. Who is Who at G20 Summits?

In terms of participants to the G20 summits, in addition to usual 20 members, Spain is a permanent guest country<sup>15</sup>. Moreover, the host country has the right to invite representatives of regional organisations and other guest countries that are partners to the G20 processes. Among the regional organisations, Germany invited the African Union represented by Guinea, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation represented by Vietnam and the New Partnership for Africa's Development represented by Senegal<sup>16</sup>. Similarly, Norway, the Netherlands and Singapore were invited, too.

Ministerial Meeting	Date
Agriculture ministers meeting	22 January 2017
Foreign ministers meeting	16-17 February 2017
Finance ministers and central bank governors meeting	17-18 March 2017
Digital ministers meeting	6-7 April 2017
Finance ministers and central bank governors meeting	20-21 April 2017
Labour and employment ministers meeting	18-19 May 2017
Health ministers meeting	19-20 May 2017
Finance ministers and central bank governors meeting	12-13 October 2017
Ministerial meeting of the global forum on steel excess capacity	30 November 2017

Source: The rotating G20 Presidency: How do member countries take turns?



What is more, some of the prominent international organisations attend the G20 summits regularly. These are ILO, IMF, the Financial Stability Board, WB, WTO, OECD and the UN. Additively, the German Presidency invited the representatives of WHO to attend the G20 Hamburg Summit.

The participation of a number of regional and international organisations, guest countries and other interested parties in the G20 summits stems from the fact that global governance has begun to be progressively evaluated as a phenomenon that is shaped and maintained by all governing and

governed parties such as women, youth, NGOs and leaders<sup>17</sup>. Within this context, the G20 has also initiated an engagement process which has paved the way for the emergence of the following engagement groups: business community (B20), labour unions (L20), NGOs (C20), scientific and research community (S20), think-tanks (T20), women (W20) and youth (Y20). These are inseparable parts of the G20 throughout the decision-making processes since they represent the interests of their groups. The German Presidency had the mentioned engagement groups with respective chairs and organising partners (Table 5).

**Table 5: Engagement Groups Initiated by the German Presidency**

Engagement Group	Chair(s)	Organising Group(s)
Business 20	Dr. Jürgen Heraeus	Federation of German Industries (BDI) Association of German Chambers of Commerce and Industries (DIHK) Confederation of German Employers (BDA)
Civil 20	Dr. Bernd Bornhorst Jürgen Maier	Association of German Development Humanitarian Aid NGOs (VENRO) German NGO Forum on Environment and Development
Labour 20	Reiner Hoffmann	German Trade Union Confederation (DGB)
Science 20	Prof. Dr. Jörg Hacker	German National Academy of Sciences
Think 20	Prof. Dr. Dirk Messner Prof. Dennis Snower	German Development Institute (DIE) Kiel Institute for the World Economy (IfW)
Women 20	Stephanie Bschorr Mona Küppers	Association of German Women Entrepreneurs (vDU) National Council of German Women's Organizations (DF)
Youth 20		Federal Ministry of Family Affairs Senior Citizens Women and Youth

Source: G20 Engagement Groups: Statement for Open and Inclusive Societies, February 2017.



#### **4. The Road to Hamburg: An Assessment of the Global Political Context Ahead of the G20 Hamburg Summit**

Keeping in mind the history, structure and the participants to the G20 summits, the global political context in which the G20 Hamburg Summit was held can now be touched upon. The foremost event of 2017 and probably the following years was the election and inauguration of Donald Trump as US President. Since he has taken the office, each of his steps, statements and decisions dropped like a bombshell to the global agenda. Ahead of the G20 Summit, German Chancellor Angela Merkel criticised some of his protectionist measures such as withdrawing the US from the TPP and ceasing the TTIP negotiations. Merkel stated that “globalisation is seen by the American administration more as a process that is not about a win-win situation but about winners and losers”<sup>18</sup>. Likewise, as the country that holds the G20 presidency has the right to decide the agenda of the summit, Merkel announced that the German Presidency’s main topic would be climate change which has come to the global fore after Donald Trump decided to withdraw the US from the

Paris Agreement on 1 June 2017<sup>19</sup>. Donald Trump has taken such a decision because he thinks that the agreement harms the coal industry of the US.

In order to explain, Paris Agreement is the first universally acclaimed global climate deal approved by 196 countries at the 21<sup>st</sup> Conference of the Parties (COP) in 2015<sup>20</sup>. The agreement aims to keep the rise in global average temperature below 2°C, and if possible at 1.5°C. The decision of Donald Trump caused a large number of reactions from not only representatives of environmental organisations and activists but also politicians including the former US President Barack Obama. Moreover, from the EU; France, Germany and Italy published a joint statement emphasising that the Paris Agreement cannot be renegotiated since it is evaluated essential for the planet, societies and economies. France’s young and pro-EU President Emmanuel Macron’s statement reveals the fact very clearly: “There is no Plan B [to the Paris Agreement], since there is no Planet B”. Contrastingly, the UK was criticised to react not immediately even though Theresa May stated her disappointment and underlined the UK’s commitment to the agreement<sup>21</sup>. Lastly, private sector did not stay silent after



Trump's decision. Lots of companies, including technology companies like *Facebook* and *Google*, transportation companies such as *Uber* and energy giant *Shell* announced their concerns on the decision which was considered to affect the planet undoubtedly.

In addition to Donald Trump's decision to withdraw the US from the Paris Agreement, there were other important developments around the globe, too. For instance, the political party of Emmanuel Macron, who was elected as France's President after the 23 April and 7 May elections, won the general elections on 11 and 18 June 2017<sup>22</sup>. Moreover, the negotiations of Brexit, that took place on 23 June 2016 in the UK and came up with the decision to exit the EU, started on 19 June 2017<sup>23</sup>. Looking at Turkey, the European Parliament decided to suspend accession negotiations with Turkey just on the day before the G20 Hamburg Summit<sup>24</sup>. All in all, the G20 Hamburg Summit was held in a political context of rising protectionist measures and populist discourses, increasing concerns on the future of the planet and intense election calendars in especially the EU.

### **5. A Closer Look at the Agenda of the G20 Hamburg Summit**

Similar to the previous summits, the priority of the Hamburg Summit was to enable sustainable, balanced and inclusive growth to make sure that globalisation brings equal opportunities and benefits for everyone. There are passionate advocates of globalisation such as Friedman who evaluates it as an opportunity for the less advantageous countries such as the ones in the African continent<sup>25</sup>. According to him, with the emergence of ICT, the

spread of internet, the developments in transportation such as long-distance planes, globalisation has "flattened the world" in a sense that narrowing the gap among people. However, other stream of literature emphasises that although globalisation has brought lots of advantages into our lives, these advantages are not distributed equally among people. For instance, Crescenzi and Rodríguez-Pose (2008) underline that globalisation restructures the world economy by creating winners and losers in which winners are those who are capable of benefitting from the advantages of globalisation while losers cannot make most of it<sup>26</sup>. Hence, it is up to people which side of globalisation to adopt. On the other hand, the rising income inequality around the world and the gap between the richest 1% and the poorest 1% might just give an idea to where the world evolves and how much successful the G20 summits may be to achieve their ultimate goal of bringing an inclusive and balanced growth for everyone.

In line with the summit's ultimate goal of achieving inclusive, balanced and sustainable growth, the 15-page-long G20 Leaders' Declaration that was published at the end of the two-day summit had the motto of "shaping an interconnected world"<sup>27</sup>. Some commentators expressed that the declaration repeats the fulfilment of the previous commitments steadily. Likewise, determination to combat with challenges that affect the global society such as terrorism, poverty, inequality and epidemics is reiterated. Although it is aimed to demonstrate unity by the means of an annual declaration with a motto of interconnected world which implies that we are all dependent on each other in a

way, as stated by experts that there was a tangible division between the US and the other G20 countries at the summit regarding the views on climate change and trade which caused comments such as "G19+1"<sup>28</sup>.

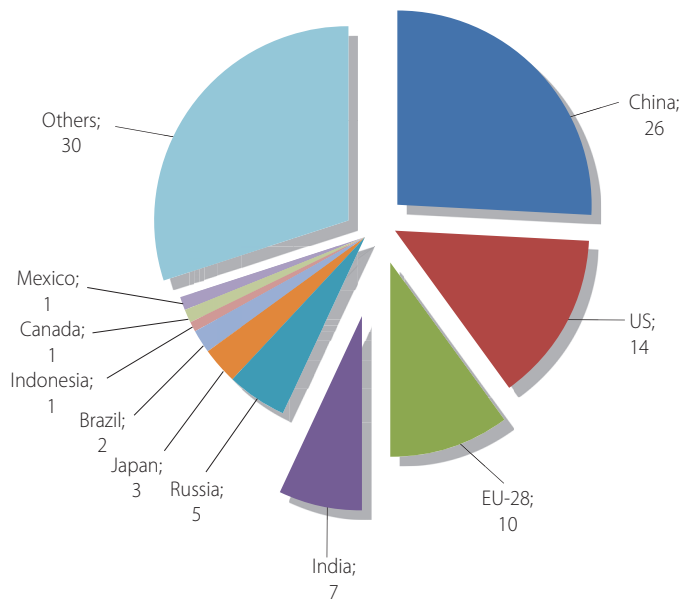
### 5.1. Climate Change

In order to reconcile different opinions and to host a compromising summit, German Chancellor Angela Merkel came informally together with the leaders of two countries in Berlin before the summit. They were Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Chinese Premier Li Keqiang whose countries have utmost importance for climate change. To make it clear, while China was realising the largest amount of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in 2014, India came at the fourth place with 7% of the global emissions (Figure 1). Fortunately, both leaders emphasised their countries' commitments with the

Paris Agreement. Hence, Merkel has ensured that there would be no retract at least in terms of climate change at the summit.

What is more, a joint summit statement that was published on 8 July 2017, the second day of the G20 Summit, indicated that the G20 countries except for the US were all well-aware of the decision of US President to withdraw from the global climate deal of the Paris Agreement, but they came to terms that the Paris Agreement is irreversible<sup>29</sup>. This statement is meaningful in the sense that the G20 countries account for approximately 75% of the world's greenhouse gas emissions, so that they dominate not only the global economy but also the global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions<sup>30</sup>. In similar patterns with Figure 1, Table 6 investigates CO<sub>2</sub> emissions of each G20 member in 2015. It is seen that China was again at the first place with its 27.3% of global energy-

Figure 1: Global CO<sub>2</sub> Emissions in 2014 (%)



Source: World Resource Institute

Table 6: CO <sub>2</sub> Emissions of the G20 Membes in 2015			
Country		CO <sub>2</sub> Emissions (MtCO <sub>2</sub> <sup>32</sup> )	Share in Global CO <sub>2</sub> Emissions (%)
China		9,154	27.3
US		5,486	16.4
India		2,228	6.6
Russia		1,483	4.4
Japan		1,208	3.6
Germany		754	2.3
Other EU		1,649	4.9
South Korea		649	1.9
Saudi Arabia		625	1.9
Indonesia		611	1.8
Canada		532	1.6
Brazil		488	1.5
Mexico		474	1.4
South Africa		437	1.3
UK		437	1.3
Australia		400	1.2
Italy		341	1.0
Turkey		336	1.0
France		309	0.9
Argentina		190	0.6
Non-G20		5,727	17.1

Source: BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2016

related CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, the US followed China with its share of 16.4%. This stems from the fact that the G20 countries burn more fossil fuels than the rest of the world. For instance, China accounts for approximately half of the burned coal every year. Overall, the G20 countries realise 93% of the world's coal use<sup>31</sup>.

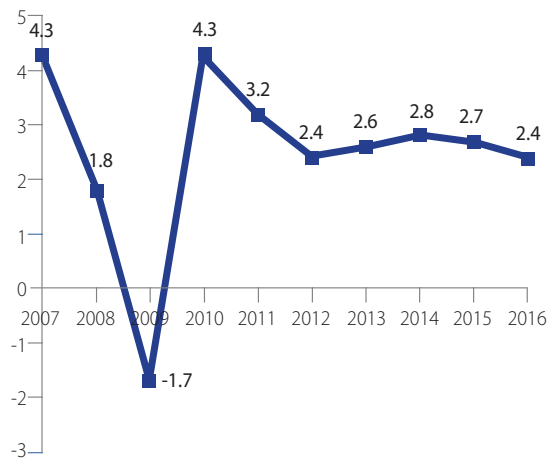
Although the target of the Paris Agreement is to keep the rise in global average temperature below 2°C, and if possible at 1.5°C, if the current emission trends of the G20 countries were to continue, global temperatures would rise between 3°C and 4°C. Hence, the commitment of the G20 countries except for even the US is so valuable that could address more than three fourth of the global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.

### 5.2 . Trade

In addition to the climate change, trade was the other highly debated topic at the G20 Hamburg Summit. The leaders reiterated the significance of liberal trade for global welfare and repeated their commitments to fight against the protectionist trade measures. Although these were repetition of the previous commitments, it is worth to keep in mind that they were of utmost importance in an era of ceasing TTIP negotiations, increasingly blowing protectionist winds and decreasing growth rate of the world's annual GDP (Figure 2).

To discuss one of the most important incidences of 2017 regarding trade, it is of utmost importance to enunciate that one of the very first actions of Donald Trump following his inauguration on 20 January 2017 was to sign the executive order which has enabled the US to withdraw from the TPP that was a multinational trade agreement covering the US, Japan, Mexico, Canada, Australia, New Zealand,

Figure 2: World's Annual GDP Growth Rate (%)



Source: World Bank

Vietnam, Peru, Chile, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei negotiated by his predecessor, Barack Obama. Similarly, it was announced that the Trump administration would renegotiate some parts of the NAFTA.

What is more, it has been known since the beginning that Donald Trump grounded his presidential campaign on protectionist measures and the viewpoint of "America first". He suggested not only imposing tariffs on companies outsourcing the US jobs but also forcing them to return their profits. Raising tariffs on the Chinese and Mexican imports was one of other suggestions of the Trump administration. According to Rem Korteweg from the Centre for European Reform, Donald Trump would implement a border tax which could impose levies on corporate imports while preventing export revenues from being taxed<sup>33</sup>. However, such an attempt would be contrary to the WTO rules.

Regarding Trump's economic point of view, while trade surpluses are good, trade deficits are bad for an economy. From this perspective, it is a very high probability that Trump administration

Figure 3: EU-US Trade in Goods (billion euro)

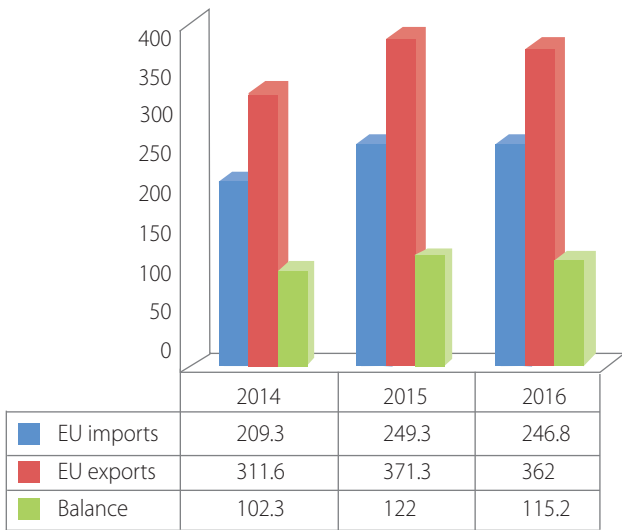
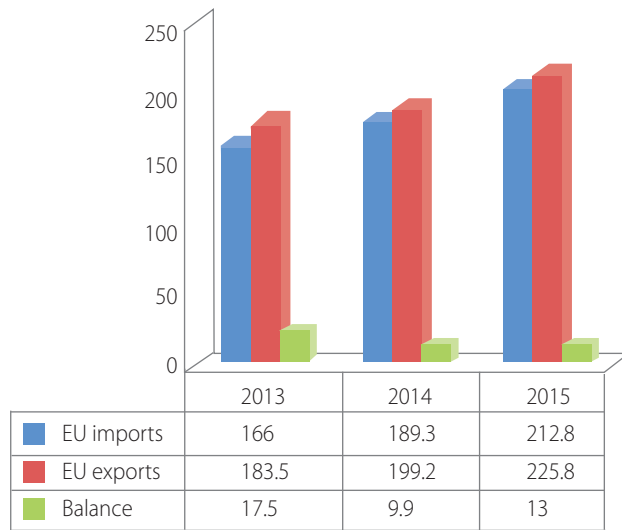


Figure 4: EU-US Trade in Services (billion euro)



Source: <http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/countries/united-states/>

would not like the situation in which the US had a remarkable amount of trade deficit against the EU. According to the latest data available, the US had a trade deficit of 115 billion euro in goods in 2016 and 13 billion euro in services in 2015 (Figure 3 and Figure 4).

At this point, being very inclined to Donald Trump’s perspective, his economic advisor Peter Navarro was blaming Germany for being currency manipulator to make its exports cheaper and thereby creating trade imbalances<sup>34</sup>. Hence, the TTIP which anticipated an FTA between the EU and the US has begun to be evaluated as “a multilateral deal in bilateral dress”<sup>35</sup> on the other side of the Atlantic. In spite of the four rounds of negotiations in 2016 and attempts to conclude the deal under the presidency of Barack Obama, whereas the EU and the US proceeded on less controversial issues including the removal of tariff barriers, there has been almost no progress on more controversial issues such as public procurement<sup>36</sup>. However, in addition to being a trade agreement

covering almost half of the global trade, the TTIP would be likely to set global norms and rules on issues such as labour and environmental standards. Although US President revealed his side regarding trade agreements, reconciliation of all other G20 leaders on the importance of a rules-based international trading system was of utmost importance more than ever to promote social and environmental standards in addition to human rights in international trade.

On the other side of the coin, the leaders have recognised the role of legitimate trade defence instruments for the first time in the history of the G20 which is likely to leave room for Trump’s unilateralism. As it can be easily remembered, all kinds of the protectionist measures were being condemned at the previous G20 summits including 2016 Hangzhou Summit in China<sup>37</sup>.

To explain, the legitimate trade defence instruments are measures such as anti-dumping and anti-subsidy which are

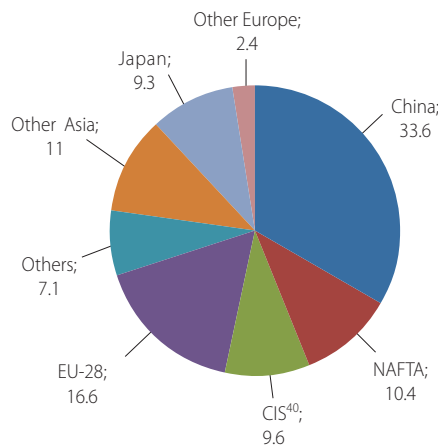
used in accordance with the WTO rules for the purpose of preventing unfair competition and trade distortions<sup>38</sup>. Recognition of legitimate trade defence instruments at the G20 Hamburg Summit was evaluated as a concession to the Trump administration<sup>39</sup>. As mentioned by experts, this recognition has created confusion and was probably decided as a result of the US' insistence. The US administration will probably take strength from this statement at the G20 Leaders' Declaration to impose new trade

measures with the aim of protecting one or more of its domestic industries from the dumped or subsidised imports<sup>41</sup>.

Herein, it is necessary to mention the Chinese dumped steel exports. With its more than 808 million tonnes of production, China produced 49.6% of the world's crude steel in 2016 (Figure 6). The situation was not so different in 10 years ago that China was again producing 33.6% of the world's total 1,252 million tonnes of crude steel (Figure 5).

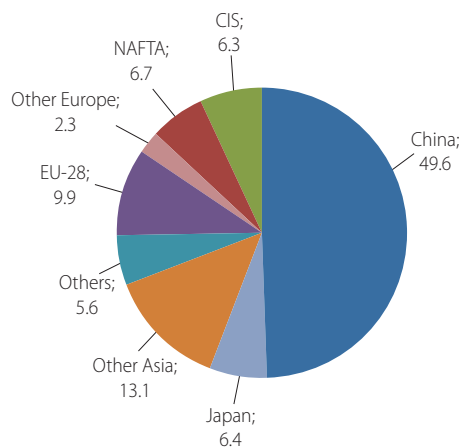
**Figure 5: Shares in Crude Steel Production (%)**

*2006 World Total: 1,252 million tonnes*



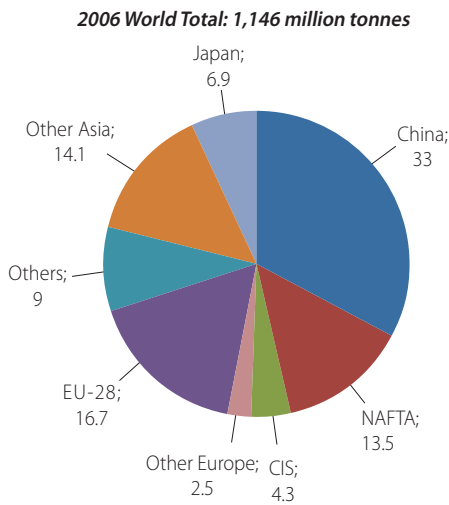
**Figure 6: Shares in Crude Steel Production (%)**

*2016 World Total: 1,630 million tonnes*



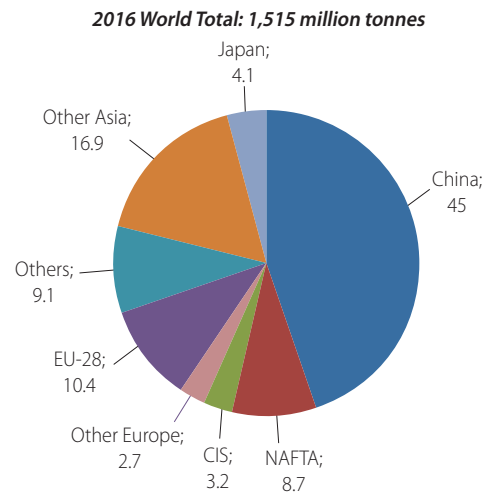
Source: World Steel Association

**Figure 7: Shares in Finished Steel Products (%)**



Source: World Steel Association

**Figure 8: Shares in Finished Steel Products (%)**

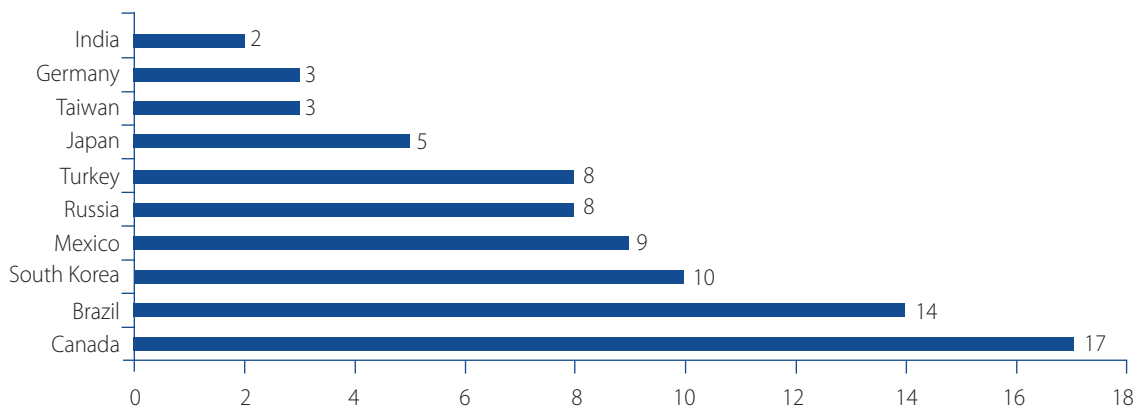


Looking at finished steel products at Figures 7 and 8, the patterns of crude steel production continue to be seen. In 2006, there were 1,146 million tonnes of finished steel products around the globe of which 33% was produced by China (Figure 7). In 2016, the amount of finished steel products reached to 1,515 million tonnes and 45% of it was manufactured by China again (Figure 8).

With the Chinese domination on both crude steel production and manufacturing of finished steel products due to its overcapacity and low costs, a

number of countries have been worrying about their domestic steel industries. One of these countries has been the US as being the world's largest steel importer. Such that, steel imports of the US was around 8% of the global steel imports and more than 15% larger than the world's second and third largest steel importers, South Korea and Germany<sup>42</sup>. The US' top 10 import partners are Canada, Brazil, South Korea, Mexico, Russia, Turkey, Japan, Taiwan, Germany and India, respectively, which account for 79% of all of the steel imports of the US (Figure 9).

**Figure 9: Shares of Top 10 Import Partners of the US in Steel Trade in 2017 (%)**



Source: HIS Global Trade Atlas, year-to-date through June 2017



As it can be obviously realised from Figure 9, China was not among the US' top 10 import partners in steel trade in 2017. This stems from the fact that due to anti-dumping and countervailing measures the US has been taking towards the Chinese steel products for the last 10 years, there has been a steady decline in the share of the Chinese steel exports to the US<sup>43</sup>. As it can be recognised from Table 7, compared to Korea, the EU and the ASEAN countries, the amount of steel products exported to the US was pretty low. Such that, the US' share in Chinese steel exports in 2016 was less than 1% due to trade measures<sup>44</sup>.

Despite of China's decreasing share in the US' steel imports, Donald Trump and his top trade negotiator Robert Lighthizer think that China creates unfair competition on steel trade due to its overcapacity and the WTO rules are not able to deal with trade distortions created by cheap Chinese steel. Therefore, Trump ordered Section 232 investigation on

the national security impacts of the steel and aluminium imports in April 2017<sup>45</sup>. To explain, Section 232 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 is put into practice with the purpose of evaluating the impacts of imports on national security in response to the application of any interested party, department, agency or Secretary of Commerce itself<sup>46</sup>. In this context, within 270 days a report is written. The President may agree upon the inferences of the report regarding whether the import of the item in question with that amount or under those circumstances threatens the national security or not. If the investigation finds out that steel imports endanger domestic steel industry of the US, this will be likely to give Donald Trump significant power for imposing tariffs or other measures on Chinese steel<sup>47</sup>.

Looking at the other side of the coin makes visible that the US is not able to produce the necessary amount of steel for its domestic industry, so in any case

**Table 7: Chinese Steel Exports to Trading Partners (million tons)**

Country	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
US	2.29	5.26	3.94	4.85	0.93	0.88	1.38	1.81	2.02	3.18	2.21	0.95
	8.5%	10.3%	5.8%	8.1%	3.9%	2.1%	2.9%	3.3%	3.3%	3.4%	2%	0.9%
EU	1.40	7.50	11.13	7.57	1.57	3.81	5.09	3.88	3.53	6.16	8.49	6.39
Japan	1.03	0.72	0.88	0.82	0.41	0.80	0.92	0.87	0.75	1.55	1.31	1.25
Korea	6.63	10.25	13.05	14.18	5.53	8.41	9.96	9.93	9.69	12.94	13.46	14.30
Subtotal	11.34	23.73	29	27.42	8.44	13.89	17.34	16.49	16	23.82	25.47	22.90
ASEAN	7.80	10.97	13.23	9.31	4.56	8.23	9.44	14.10	17.29	26.16	34.40	38.57
Vietnam	1.76	3.29	4.33	2.73	1.46	2.47	1.83	2.51	3.84	6.60	10.10	10.97
Philippines	0.65	1.12	1.42	0.90	0.42	1.14	1.30	1.69	2.43	4.77	5.59	6.50
Thailand	2.29	2.29	2.09	1.57	0.70	1.29	1.92	2.99	2.86	3.68	4.72	6.20
Africa	0.42	1.22	2.09	3.03	2.30	2.21	2.63	3.13	4.48	6.63	9.11	8.49
Middle East	0.77	3.31	9.36	7.76	2.51	4	4.80	5.38	6.43	11.42	15.28	14.05
Latin America and the Caribbean	0.30	1.76	2.38	3.16	1.40	4.35	4.61	5.57	6.37	9.42	9.45	7.66
World	26.88	50.96	67.77	59.25	23.58	41.22	47.43	54.29	61.08	92.34	110.93	107.08

Source: Trade Statistics for International Business Development

it will need to import some amount of steel from other countries<sup>48</sup>. It is good to remind that during the last G7 summits, countries not only called for actions to prevent overcapacity in steel, aluminum and other key industrial sectors but also highlighted their willingness to form global cooperation to find solutions<sup>49</sup>. However, Trump's attempts to protect domestic defence industry and national security through new sanctions in contradiction with the WTO rules are not suitable, though. Furthermore, Beijing's proposal a week after the G20 Hamburg Summit to cut its excess steel capacity by 150 million tonnes by 2022 was rejected by Donald Trump twice despite the confirmation of some of his economic advisers<sup>50</sup>. US President seems to prefer imposing tariffs on Chinese steel exports instead of accepting China's deal.

Clyde Russell from Reuters underlined what is seen at Figure 9 and Table 7 regarding China's much smaller share in the US' steel imports compared to other trading partners<sup>51</sup>. Referring to May 2017 statistics of the US Commerce Department on steel imports, Russell concluded that "what the US import data reveals is that if there is a problem with too much imported steel, China is definitely not the source of that problem". By looking at data, one can easily remark that if Donald Trump is afraid of national security being threatened, he should primarily focus on steel imports from Canada, Brazil and South Korea, respectively. Lastly, it should not be forgotten that imposing tariffs on Chinese dumped steel is likely to increase costs for the American manufacturers and to cause retaliations from trading partners<sup>52</sup>.

Turning back to the G20 Hamburg Summit, European Commission President

Jean-Claude Juncker hopefully indicated that if Donald Trump takes any measures towards imported steel, the EU is ready to impose counter measures at the press conference on 7 July 2017, the first day of the summit<sup>53</sup>. Actually, what he attempted to emphasise was that any potential sanction against China has to be multilateral, coordinated and compatible with the WTO rules rather than unilateral and non-observant.

### **6. Reading between the Lines of the G20 Leaders' Declaration**

After having examined the global political context ahead of the G20 Hamburg Summit and the summit's agenda, scrutinising the G20 Leaders' Declaration published at the end of the summit will be beneficial to understand which issues were discussed and what the G20 leaders have committed. At the declaration, the summit's objectives are categorised under three main topics: building resilience, improving sustainable livelihoods and assuming responsibility.

All these three objectives are examined in light of sub-objectives which rank from three to six. Before analysing these three objectives in detail, it will be good to mention that the declaration starts with a section of "sharing the benefits of globalisation". Under this section, there are six sub-titles: prospering global economy, trade and investment, excess capacities, sustainable global supply chains, harnessing digitalisation and boosting employment (Table 8).

In terms of prospering global economy, the leaders have committed to sustain their economic and financial cooperation in order to reverse the downward trend of global growth through monetary,

Table 8: Structure of the G20 Leaders' Declaration of the Hamburg Summit	
Objectives	Sub-objectives
<b>Introduction:</b> Sharing the benefits of globalisation	Prospering global economy
	Trade and investment
	Excess capacities
	Sustainable global supply chains
	Harnessing digitalisation
	Boosting employment
<b>Objective 1:</b> Building resilience	Resilient global financial system
	International financial architecture
	International tax cooperation and financial transparency
	Safeguarding against health crises and strengthening health systems
	Combatting antimicrobial resistance
<b>Objective 2:</b> Improving sustainable livelihoods	Energy and climate
	Leading the way towards sustainable development
	Women's empowerment
	Towards food security, water sustainability and rural youth employment
	Resource efficiency and marine litter
<b>Objective 3:</b> Assuming responsibility	Africa partnership
	Stepping up coordination and cooperation on displacement and migration
	Fighting corruption

Source: The G20 Leaders' Declaration of the Hamburg Summit

fiscal and structural policies. As a way to achieve the overall objective of "strong, sustainable, balanced and inclusive growth", the leaders have agreed upon succeeding greater inclusiveness, fairness and equality regarding their focus on economic growth and job creation. With reference to trade and investment, not only the significance of open and mutually advantageous trade and investment but also the commitments to fight against all protectionist measures are reiterated. Under this sub-objective, the aforementioned recognition of legitimate trade defence instruments is included. Furthermore, the profound role of rules-based international trading system

with bilateral, regional and plurilateral agreements based on transparency and the WTO compatibility is underlined. Concerning excess capacities, the G20 leaders have committed to come up with joint solutions to mitigate the problems stemming from negative effects of excess capacities at industrial sectors. At this point, Global Forum on Steel Excess Capacity that was set up following the G20 Hangzhou Summit in 2016 is appealed to meet its obligations.

Regarding sustainable global supply chains, compliance with labour, social and environmental standards in addition to human rights perspectives of international organisations is

agreed upon. In terms of harnessing digitalisation, after having mentioned the likely role of digital transformation in not only enabling global, innovative, inclusive and sustainable growth but also achieving the goals of the UN's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (2030 Agenda), the leaders have committed to make sure that the citizens of the G20 countries will have digital connections by 2025 and to support especially low-income countries in upgrading their digital infrastructure<sup>54</sup>.

It is also agreed upon that for the progress of digital economy, necessary conditions will be satisfied. Within this context, securing intellectual property rights, transparency and reliable online platforms is essential. Herein, the G20 Roadmap for Digitalisation which was accepted at the G20 Digital Ministers' Meeting in Düsseldorf on 6-7 April may lead to the leaders<sup>55</sup>. Lastly, with reference to boosting employment, the leaders have reached the agreement on the fact that it is vital to be equipped with necessary skills and abilities for people to be able to deal with the challenges of the rapidly changing world. Throughout the transition of the economy from the old style to the new and more digitalised version, the G20 leaders have agreed to create work opportunities with the hope of not leaving anybody behind.

### **6.1. An Insight into the Objectives of the G20 Leaders' Declaration**

As mentioned before, three objectives that are indicated at the G20 Leaders' Declaration following the section of sharing the benefits of globalisation are building resilience, improving

sustainable livelihoods and assuming responsibility.

#### **6.1.1. Building resilience**

Concerning the objective of building resilience, the G20 leaders addressed five issues: resilient global financial system, international financial architecture, international tax cooperation and financial transparency, safeguarding against health crises and strengthening health systems, combatting antimicrobial resistance.

Within the scope of resilient global financial system, the leaders have agreed upon concluding and fully implementing the G20 financial sector reform agenda. The willingness to hold monitoring and supporting the financial system in case of any risks is reiterated. As having been indicated in the Hamburg Action Plan in addition to the declaration, it has been decided to keep up supporting international capital flows for a stronger international financial architecture<sup>56</sup>. In terms of international tax cooperation and financial transparency, determination to accomplish a global, fair and modern international tax system and to support pro-growth tax policies is repeated.

The G20 leaders are going to enhance their cooperation with the OECD to ensure the fulfilment of the previously accepted standards on tax transparency. Additively, it is worthwhile that the leaders are eager to help developing countries build and support their tax capacities. In order to combat with rapidly rising problems of the world regarding the international financial system such as tax evasion, terrorist financing and money laundering, the G20 leaders have

reached an agreement to improve the implementation of international standards on transparency and legal entity. With reference to safeguarding against health crises and strengthening health systems, the leaders emphasised the importance of universal health coverage which has also been adopted as a sustainable development goal. Furthermore, it is indicated that strong health systems are key to prevent or mitigate health crises. Similarly, the G20 leaders have committed to continue putting efforts with the aim of fully eradicating polio. Besides, it is noted that mass movements of people in situations such as civil war and forced migration are prevalent causes of health crises. Therefore, the G20 leaders have not only called for countries and international organisations to enhance their cooperation but also promoted the role of the WHO in building capacities in especially vulnerable regions and responding health crises quickly.

Regarding the last item under the objective of building resilience, combatting antimicrobial resistance, the G20 leaders have decided to implement their National Action Plans which are based on “One-Health Approach” to combat with antimicrobial resistance in humans, animals and the environment<sup>57</sup>. The leaders have also committed not only to enhance the public awareness of antimicrobials in the environment but also to ensure the access of larger amount of people to antimicrobials, vaccines and diagnostics. After having emphasised the significance of R&D in the area of antimicrobials, the leaders have called for all interested parties to create an international R&D Collaboration Hub to pave the way for more complicated researches on antimicrobial resistance.

### **6.1.2. Improving sustainable livelihoods**

Under the second objective of the G20 Leaders’ Declaration, there are five sub-objectives in terms of energy and climate, sustainable development, women’s empowerment, food security, water sustainability and rural youth employment, resource efficiency and marine litter.

Regarding energy and environment, the leaders have repeated their commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions with the help of both increasing innovative efforts on clean energies and acquiring low greenhouse-gas emission energy systems. Based on the G20 Principles on Energy Collaboration prepared during the Australian Presidency, the leaders have indicated that energy security needs to be essentially provided to make any transformations of energy systems<sup>58</sup>. Then, one of the most striking issues of 2017 and the German Presidency comes: climate change. The leaders of the G20 countries have noted the withdrawal decision of Donald Trump from the Paris Agreement and his desire to make sure that reducing emissions does not necessarily prevent the US from realising economic growth and energy security. Interestingly, Donald Trump has highlighted the willingness to collaborate with other countries to assist them accessing and using fossil fuels in a cleaner manner in case they would like to.

Afterwards, one of the most important sentences for the future of the world comes: “The leaders of the other G20 members state that the Paris Agreement is irreversible”. Why it is of utmost importance stems from the fact that, as mentioned before, the G20 countries account for approximately 82.9% of

global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions altogether. Even though the US has decided to exit the Paris Agreement, the commitment of the remaining 19 members that account for 66.5% of global emissions is still so meaningful in the sense that they have not followed Donald Trump's decision. The leaders have agreed upon fully implementing the agreement in accordance with their common but differentiated responsibilities with accordingly different capabilities. In terms of leading the ways towards sustainable development, the leaders have enunciated their determination to work together and to align their national policies for actualising the full implementation of the UN's 2030 Agenda and within its scope, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda on Financing for Development<sup>59</sup>. Last but not least, the importance of high level political forums and the UN events on sustainable development is underlined.

What is more, the G20 leaders have announced that they are aware of the profound role of the financial inclusion in mitigating poverty, creating job opportunities, ensuring gender equality and women's empowerment, and within this context they have prepared the G20 Financial Inclusion Action Plan<sup>60</sup>. Looking at the women's empowerment, it is good to remind that the G20 countries committed to reduce the gender gap in labour force participation rate by 25% by the end of 2025 at the G20 Brisbane Summit under the Australian Presidency in 2014. Although the progress that has been achieved since then is not at the desired level, the leaders have reiterated their determination. Additively, not only minimising the employment discriminations and improving the

quality of female employment but also reducing the gaps between the earnings of men and women have been agreed upon.

The leaders of the G20 members have articulated the fact that digitalisation and the increased use of online networks are significant tools to accelerate women's empowerment and their inclusion to economic life. Within this framework, they have introduced the *#eSkills4Girls* to increase opportunities and participation of girls and women in the digital economy with a specific focus on developing countries. Similarly, they have expressed their hope with the Women Entrepreneurs Financing Initiative (We-Fi) of the WB Group. The initiative aims not only to assist the existing works of the G20 on reducing problems that limit women's financial inclusion but also to support the G20 to achieve the goals of the G20 Africa Partnership<sup>61</sup> and the G20 Entrepreneurship Action Plan. Furthermore, the leaders have compromised that they will form a Business Women Leaders' Taskforce that will be collaborating with W20 and B20 engagement groups of the G20 with the purpose of bringing business women from the G20 countries together to share their ideas on enhancing women's participation.

Concerning food security, water sustainability and rural youth employment, the leaders have stipulated to increase agricultural productivity by protecting efficient water usage and water-related ecosystems. After having underlined the role of digitalisation in agriculture, the leaders have made a call to strengthen the Agricultural Market Information System. From a perspective

of economics, it was expressed that since well-functioning markets are able to decrease the volatility in food prices, farmers should have access to not only national but also regional and international markets. Regarding rural youth employment, the G20 leaders have introduced the G20 Initiative for Rural Youth Employment in developing countries, especially in Africa<sup>62</sup>. This initiative has two goals: to create 1.1 million job opportunities for the youth by 2022 and to provide programmes for the attainment of innovative skills for minimum 5 million young people within five years. Furthermore, after having mentioned the famine in some parts of South Sudan and the same risk in Somalia and Yemen, the G20 leaders have reiterated their support to the UN agencies and other humanitarian organisations.

With reference to resource efficiency and marine litter, two initiatives are launched to support the full implementation of the 2030 Agenda and sustainable development. The first one, G20 Resource Efficiency Dialogue, aims to raise awareness of good practices and national experiences with the purpose of not only enhancing efficiency and sustainability of natural resource use but also making sustainable consumption and production more prevalent<sup>63</sup>. The goal of the second initiative, G20 Action Plan on Marine Litter, is to prevent and reduce marine litter by taking its socio-economic impacts into consideration as well<sup>64</sup>.

### **6.1.3. Assuming responsibility**

Under the third objective of the G20 Leaders' Declaration, there are three sub-objectives: Africa Partnership, stepping

up coordination and cooperation of displacement and migration, fighting corruption.

First of all, the G20 leaders have introduced the G20 Africa Partnership by taking the opportunities and challenges with which the continent has been encountering and the purposes of the 2030 Agenda into account. It is aimed to create new job opportunities especially for women and young people and to pave the way for sustainable and inclusive growth on the continent. The partnership is related to other initiatives such as #eSkills4Girls, G20 Initiative for Rural Youth Employment and African Renewable Energy. Moreover, the leaders have indicated their pleasure with the results of the G20 Africa Partnership Conference in Berlin where increasing sustainable infrastructure, accelerating investment initiatives and supporting decent education were touched upon<sup>65</sup>. The G20 leaders have also decided to take all measures for the purpose of increasing private investments and raising awareness of the efficient use of public funding by closely working with the African Development Bank, IMF and the WB Group.

With the aim of promoting equal partnership, the G20 leaders have enunciated not only their support to the African ownership but also their commitments to align their decisions with Africa's priorities and regional policies, especially the African Union's Agenda 2063<sup>66</sup> and the Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa<sup>67</sup>. With reference to stepping up coordination and cooperation on displacement and migration, it is meaningful to remind firstly that migration was expressed one of the most



important global challenges by European Council President Donald Tusk ahead of the G20 Hamburg Summit. In line with this, the leaders have emphasised the unprecedented levels of migration and forced displacement with which the world has been encountering during the last years and indicated that mass movements of people in large groups are likely to cause detrimental results.

The G20 Policy Practices for the Fair and Effective Labour Market Integration of Regular Migrants and Recognised Refugees is expressed to be supported<sup>68</sup>. The leaders have recognised the countries' sovereign rights regarding the control of their domestic policies and borders in order to protect their national interests. Nevertheless, they have committed to fight against people smugglers and traffickers to eradicate human trafficking and migrant smuggling. Furthermore, the leaders have underlined their wish to deal with

the main causes of displacement and thereby called for not only the G20 but also all other world leaders to take actions for the countries with high level of social, political and financial pressure. At this point, the importance of developing well-grounded relations with countries of origin and transit is emphasised.

What is more, meeting the needs of migrants and refugees, and when possible, ensuring their safe returns to their home countries have been decided. The leaders have expressed that eradicating forced displacement should be addressed at an international level and thereby they have stated their willingness to see the results of the UN's Global Compacts for Refugees and Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration that are expected to be adopted in 2018<sup>69</sup>. With the desire of monitoring the consequences of migration and forced displacement in terms of economy, it has been decided

<b>Table 9: Agreed Documents at the G20 Hamburg Summit</b>
Hamburg Action Plan
Climate and Energy Action Plan for Growth
Hamburg Update: Taking forward the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda
Annual Progress Report 2017
G20 Action Plan on Marine Litter
G20 Africa Partnership
G20 Initiative for Rural Youth Employment
High Level Principles on the Liability of Legal Persons for Corruption
High Level Principles on Organising against Corruption
High Level Principles on Countering Corruption in Customs
High Level Principles on Combatting Corruption related to Illegal Trade in Wildlife and Wildlife Products
G20 Initiative #eSkills4Girls
Women Entrepreneurs Finance Initiative
G20 Resource Efficiency Dialogue

Source: G20 Leaders' Declaration 2017



that collaborations with the international organisations such as the OECD, UNHCR and ILO are going to be strengthened and information on annual global trends and policy changes is going to be requested.

In terms of fighting corruption, the leaders have repeated their commitments not only to be part of the international cooperation and assistance but also to continue the full implementation of the G20 Anti-Corruption Action Plan 2017-18<sup>70</sup>. They have introduced four new High Level Principles on corruption<sup>71,72,73,74</sup>. Likewise, making public administrations of the G20 countries more resilient against corruption has been accepted. Similarly, the G20 leaders have committed to accelerate their combat with corruption regarding illegal trade in wildlife and wildlife products which poses a vital threat to the biodiversity, health and security. Additively, the High Level Principles on Countering Corruption in Customs has been endorsed. Related to another kind of corruption, the leaders have called for international sports

organisations to increase their fight. Similarly, the leaders' determination to deal with illegal applications in contracts especially in natural resource sector is articulated. Finally, all of the G20 countries have been called not only to ratify and implement the UN Convention against Corruption but also to be part of it at the highest level<sup>75</sup>.

### **7. Press Headlines from the G20 Hamburg Summit**

At the G20 Hamburg Summit to which US President Donald Trump, French President Emmanuel Macron and South Korean President Moon Jae-in attended for the first time, Turkey was represented by President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan<sup>76</sup>. He was accompanied by Deputy Prime Minister Mehmet Şimşek, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Minister of Economy Nihat Zeybekci, Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Berat Albayrak, Undersecretary of National Intelligence Organisation Hakan Fidan and Deputy Secretary General and Spokesperson





of the Presidency Ambassador İbrahim Kalın. On 7 July 2017, the first day of the G20 Hamburg Summit, President Erdoğan attended the first working session on growth and trade and had also the opportunity to come with Donald Trump together.

In addition to this, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan held official talks with President of Mexico Enrique Peña Nieto, UN Secretary-General António Guterres, Prime Minister of Japan Shinzo Abe, Norway's Prime Minister Erna Solberg and Prime Minister of Italy Paolo Gentiloni. On the same day, Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu had a meeting with France's Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs, Jean-Yves Le Drian to evaluate the bilateral relations and regional developments.

On the second day of the summit, President Erdoğan met with Russian President Vladimir Putin to talk over Turkey-Russia relations and the latest developments in the region. Additively, he held official talks with President of

Argentina Mauricio Macri, Director-General of the WHO Dr Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus and UK's Prime Minister Theresa May.

Looking at Turkey-Germany relations reflected in the press during the time of the G20 Hamburg Summit, it can be remembered that German government did not allow Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to deliver a speech for Turkish citizens living in Germany during the summit in advance. According to Deutsche Welle, this decision had been taken due to domestic policy reasons rather than a special reaction to Turkey<sup>77</sup>. At the press conference following the summit, German Chancellor Angela Merkel touched upon her meeting with Recep Tayyip Erdoğan the day before the summit and expressed that they discussed the recent political relations between Turkey and Germany<sup>78</sup>. Afterwards, she praised Turkey's role in the G20's success by mentioning that "Turkey and President Erdoğan showed a lot of commitment. He was very much

engaged on the whole agenda of the summit and gave his contribution<sup>79</sup>.

Although this was promising for the bilateral relations between Turkey and Germany, the call of the Vice Chairman of the Germany's Christian Democratic Union (CDU) Julia Klöckner for the EU to halt accession funds to Turkey on 29 July and Merkel's statement on the impossibility of the modernisation of the Customs Union on 16 August deteriorated this mood of optimism<sup>80,81</sup>. Then, it was being anticipated that the intense election calendar of the EU in 2017 including the elections in Germany on 24 September accelerated tensions in Turkey-EU and Turkey-Germany relations. However, the elections in Germany did not prevent the bilateral relations from getting complicated. *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD), known by its racist discourses, has become the third party and got approximately 12% of the votes at the elections. Therefore, there has been a tense wait for the future of Turkish community in Germany. Lastly, at the European Council meeting on 19-20 October, making reductions in Turkey's pre-accession financial assistance and reorienting it were largely agreed upon due to Germany's request<sup>82</sup>.

Turning to the press headlines from the G20 Hamburg Summit, there is no doubt that the most wondered and observed leader was US President Donald Trump. At a closed-door meeting, European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker was reflected in the press while elucidating the benefits of free trade to Donald Trump by mentioning that trade agreements are more than buying and selling goods and services, they pave the way for the creation of new job

opportunities<sup>83</sup>. It is substantive, since the EU and Japan agreed upon an FTA on 6 July 2017 in principle, just the day before the start of the G20 Hamburg Summit and Juncker wanted to get Trump's attention at a time of his decisions to suspend the negotiations of trade agreements or withdraw the US from them. Another important moment of the summit was the two-hour bilateral meeting of Donald Trump and Vladimir Putin. It was the first face-to-face meeting since Donald Trump has become US President. As indicated by the Secretary of the US Rex Tillerson following the meeting, two leaders were able to catch a sincere connection during their discussions on different issues ranging from Ukraine and Syria to cybersecurity. The most controversial topic of the Russian allegation campaigns to influence the US elections in 2016 was touched upon by the leaders, too<sup>84</sup>.

Lastly, it is well-known that the most international summits such as the G20 summits have been always witnessing protests either at small or large scales. Generally, these protests stem from the fact that there has been the widespread belief that the world leaders may not be able to take the best interest of the public into account while reaching agreements behind the closed doors. Before looking at the G20 Hamburg Summit, it is useful to remind that this year's protests are not the first. To illustrate, during the G20 London summit in 2009, approximately 4,000 people organised demonstrations and afterwards the police was accused of using high level of force<sup>85</sup>. Similarly, the G20 Toronto Summit in 2010 went down in history by ending up with the largest mass arrest in the Canadian history with the detention of more than 1,000 people. Therefore, the large scale protests with



“welcome to hell” slogans organised by the opponents of globalisation and capitalism who think that the G20 summits’ decisions increase poverty and hunger worldwide were familiar. Despite of the extraordinary security measures, a large number of cars were burned by arson and Hamburg streets in flames were reflected in press. Among the protestors, there were environmentalists, students, unions and parishioners. They staged a sit-in on Donald Trump’s road and because of the large scale protests his wife, Melania Trump, was stuck at her hotel and could not attend the event that had been organised for the G20 leaders’ wives<sup>86</sup>. While the leaders were discussing the world’s most striking challenges at Hamburg Messe and Congress, the police was using teargas, water cannon and speed boats to stop thousands of out of control protestors. Hamburg authorities announced that 160 polices were injured and 70 protestors were arrested.

## 8. Conclusion

Global governance has been gaining more importance since the end of the Second World War as the countries have recognised the fact that all interested parties need to be included in the global decision-making process. One of the most significant building blocks of the global governance is the G20 which consists of the world’s largest 20 economies that host 66% of the world’s population, account for 80% of global trade and produce the same percentage of the global product. All in all, it can be inferred that these are the countries which are usually at the first front of the global stage.

Following the international structures of the G5, G7 and G8, 1999 Asian and Latin American crises along with the desire to include the emerging market economies in global decision-making have resulted in the emergence of the G20 which



was bringing finance ministers and central bank governors together until the 2008 international financial crisis which revealed the fact that global economic and financial problems need to be discussed at the level of leaders rather than ministers. In time, not only economic and financial issues but also all of the global challenges have begun to be addressed.

Although the G20 is an informal structure with non-binding decisions, it is noted that the world's largest 20 economies pay special attention to the results of the G20 summits during their domestic decision-making processes. Furthermore, despite of the fact that the summits are the most publicised events of the G20, there are large number of ministerial and working group meetings, workshops and summits on specific areas during the whole year. According to the rotating presidency system in which a country assumes the presidency for a year, 2017 was the year of Germany that has specified three objectives of building resilience, improving sustainable livelihoods and assuming responsibility.

While these are the facts of the G20, we are all aware of the fact that 2017 witnessed a number of incidents that are likely to pass into history such as the inauguration of Donald Trump as US President and his highly debated decisions regarding the Paris Agreement and some of the trade agreements, the intense election calendar of the EU and

the unprecedented rise of the far right, strained relations between Turkey and Germany, North Korea's ballistic missile tests and the Rohingya crisis. Whereas all of these issues were addressed at the G20 Hamburg Summit that was held on 7-8 July under the German Presidency, climate change and trade left their marks on the summit. Although the world has become hopeful again with the statement of the G20 leaders on the irreversibility of the Paris Agreement despite Trump's withdrawal decision, people who followed the summit got confused regarding trade due to the leaders' contradictions by both appraising free trade and recognising legal trade defence instruments for the first time in the G20's history.

Similar to the world-shaking incidents of 2017, a large number of interesting moments from the G20 Hamburg Summit such as Jean-Claude Juncker's suggestions to Donald Trump on free trade, the first face-to-face meeting of Vladimir Putin and Donald Trump and the large scale "welcome to hell" protests have reflected in the press. We hope that all of these interesting scenes will be able to serve the purpose of making the world a better, more liveable and peaceful place by building more resilient systems against all kinds of crises, widening the scope of sustainable livelihoods in a way not to leave anybody behind and assuming responsibility for the most vulnerable issues such as innocent people who are being affected by conflicts and wars.

## Footnotes

1. Smith, G.S. (2011). G7 to G8 to G20: Evolution in global governance, *The Centre for International Governance Innovation*, 6, pp. 1-12.
2. Information sheet: From the G5 to the G20. Available at: [http://www.nbbmuseum.be/doc/infosheets/fiche\\_information\\_EN\\_32.pdf](http://www.nbbmuseum.be/doc/infosheets/fiche_information_EN_32.pdf) (Accessed: 2 October 2017)
3. Apak, S., Yılmaz, G. (2010). G20 ülkeleri ve küreselleşme, 46, pp. 11-24.
4. [http://www.esteri.it/mae/it/politica\\_estera/g8/storia-del-g7-g8.html](http://www.esteri.it/mae/it/politica_estera/g8/storia-del-g7-g8.html) (Accessed: 7 November 2017)
5. Damill, M., Frenkel, R. and Rapetti, M., Financial and Currency Crises in Latin America. Available at: [http://inctpped.ie.ufrj.br/spiderweb/pdf\\_2/10\\_frenkel\\_et\\_al\\_financial\\_and\\_currency.pdf](http://inctpped.ie.ufrj.br/spiderweb/pdf_2/10_frenkel_et_al_financial_and_currency.pdf) (Accessed: 2 October 2017)
6. Corsetti, G., Pesenti, P. and Roubini N. (1999). What caused the Asian currency and financial crisis? pp.1-18.
7. <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1727642/g20-memebers-hamburg-summit-2017-agenda/> (Accessed: 2 October 2017)
8. <https://www.deutschland.de/en/topic/politics/global-issues-law/surprising-facts-and-figures-about-the-g20> ( Accessed: 28 October 2017)
9. The Group of Twenty - G20 Available at: <http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/g20-august-2012.pdf> (Accessed: 11 October 2017)
10. <https://www.b20germany.org/the-b20/about-g20/> (Accessed: 11 October 2017)
11. To the point. Information from the Federal Ministry of Finance Available at: [http://www.bundesfinanzministerium.de/Content/EN/Standardartikel/Press\\_Room/Publications/To\\_the\\_point/to-the-point-g20-presidency.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile&v=15](http://www.bundesfinanzministerium.de/Content/EN/Standardartikel/Press_Room/Publications/To_the_point/to-the-point-g20-presidency.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=15) (Accessed: 11 October 2017)
12. <https://www.boell.de/en/2016/11/30/rotating-g20-presidency-how-do-member-countries-take-turns> (Accessed: 15 October 2017)
13. <https://www.b20germany.org/the-b20/about-g20/> ( Accessed: 8 October 2017)
14. [http://www.g20.org/Webs/G20/Calender\\_node.html](http://www.g20.org/Webs/G20/Calender_node.html) (Accessed: 8 October 2017)
15. <http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Portal/en/PoliticaExteriorCooperacion/G20YOCDE/Paginas/Presencia.aspx> (Accessed: 11 October 2017)
16. [https://www.g20.org/Webs/EN/G20/Participants/participants\\_node .html?jsessionid=F-835909D8A7AD43174E95A85D006B07B.s4t1](https://www.g20.org/Webs/EN/G20/Participants/participants_node .html?jsessionid=F-835909D8A7AD43174E95A85D006B07B.s4t1) (Accessed: 11 October 2017)
17. Heinbecker, P. (2011). The future of the G20 and its place in global governance, *The Centre for International Governance Innovation*, 5, pp.1-19.
18. <http://www.eurasiareview.com/08072017-an-analysis-of-the-g20-summit-2017/> (Accessed: 12 October 2017)
19. <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/live/2017/jun/01/donald-trump-paris-climate-agreement-live-news> (Accessed: 11 October 2017)
20. United Nations (2015). Paris Agreement Available at: [https://unfccc.int/files/essential\\_background/convention/application/pdf/english\\_paris\\_agreement.pdf](https://unfccc.int/files/essential_background/convention/application/pdf/english_paris_agreement.pdf) (Accessed: 11 October 2017)

21. <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2017/jun/01/trump-withdraw-paris-climate-deal-world-leaders-react> (Accessed: 11 October 2017)
22. France Ministry of Interior Available at: <https://www.interieur.gouv.fr/> (Accessed: 12 October 2017)
23. <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/department-for-exiting-the-european-union> (Accessed: 12 October 2017)
24. European Parliament Press Release on 6 July 2017  
Available at: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20170629IPR78637/turkey-meps-raise-the-alarm-on-eu-accession-talks> (Accessed: 12 October 2017)
25. Friedman, T. (2005). *The world is flat: A brief history of the twenty-first century*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.
26. Rodríguez-Pose, A. and Crescenzi, R. (2008). Mountains in a flat world: why proximity still matters for the location of economic activity. *Cambridge journal of regions, economy and society*, 1 (3). pp. 371-388.
27. G20 Hamburg Summit Leaders' Declaration Available at: [https://www.g20.org/profiles/g20/modules/custom/g20\\_beverly/img/timeline/Germany/G20-leaders-declaration.pdf](https://www.g20.org/profiles/g20/modules/custom/g20_beverly/img/timeline/Germany/G20-leaders-declaration.pdf) (Accessed: 12 October 2017)
28. <http://www.icc.se/nyheter/icc-initial-views-on-the-hamburg-g20-leaders-declaration> (Accessed: 12 October 2017)
29. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-40540359> (Accessed: 13 October 2017)
30. Brown to Green: The G20 transition to a low-carbon economy | 2017. *Climate Transparency*  
Available at: [http://www.climate-transparency.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Brown-to-Green-Report-2017\\_web.pdf](http://www.climate-transparency.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Brown-to-Green-Report-2017_web.pdf) (Accessed: 1 November 2017)
31. <https://www.carbonbrief.org/nine-charts-show-why-g20-matters-for-energy-and-climate> (Accessed: 23 October 2017)
32. MtCO<sub>2</sub> refers to millions of tonnes of carbon dioxide.
33. Korteweg, R. (2017). The end of the transatlantic trade consensus?, *Centre for European Reform Insight*, pp. 1-4.
34. Novotná, T. (2017). Brexit, elections and discourse: The state of play of the TTIP negotiations in Europe, paper prepared for EUSA 15<sup>th</sup> Biennial Conference in Miami, May 4-6 2017.
35. Financial Times, 31 January 2017 Available at:  
<https://www.ft.com/content/e33022f6-1b33-3539-9f38-d47cfafd2b43> (Accessed: 10 August 2017)
36. Morin, J-F. et al. (ed) (2015). *The Politics of Transatlantic Trade Negotiations: TTIP in a Globalized World*. New York: Routledge.
37. Berger, A. (2017). What remains of the G20 Hamburg Summit?, *German Development Institute*, pp. 1-2.
38. DG Trade, European Commission,  
<http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/accessing-markets/trade-defence/>
39. Politico, 10 July 2017  
Available at: <https://www.politico.eu/article/g20-summit-in-hamburg-concludes-with-compromise-on-trade-and-dissent-on-climate/> (Accessed: 26 October 2017)
40. CIS is the abbreviation of "Commonwealth of Independent States" represented by Russia, Ukraine and Belarus.
41. <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/g-20s-tortured-trade-language-a-step-backward-for-free-markets/> (Accessed: 26 October 2017)

42. Global Steel Trade Monitor, The US Department of Commerce. (2017) Available at: <https://www.trade.gov/steel/countries/pdfs/imports-us.pdf> (Accessed: 27 October 2017)
43. Research Report on China-US Economic and Trade Relations, Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China. (2017) Available at: <http://images.mofcom.gov.cn/mds/201705/20170526093434663.pdf> (Accessed: 15 October 2017)
44. <https://piie.com/blogs/china-economic-watch/chinese-steel-exports-united-states-dropped-dramatically-2016> (Accessed: 1 November 2017)
45. Morrison, W.M. (2017). China-US Trade Issues, *Congressional Research Service*, pp. 1-66.
46. <https://www.bis.doc.gov/index.php/other-areas/office-of-technology-evaluation-ote/section-232-investigations> (Accessed: 1 November 2017)
47. <http://time.com/4844756/donald-trump-steel-g20-china/> (Accessed: 1 November 2017)
48. Fact sheet 2016: Energy use in steel industry, *World Steel Association*  
Available at: [https://www.worldsteel.org/en/dam/jcr:f07b864c-908e-4229-9f92-669f1c3abf4c/fact\\_energy\\_2016.pdf](https://www.worldsteel.org/en/dam/jcr:f07b864c-908e-4229-9f92-669f1c3abf4c/fact_energy_2016.pdf)
49. G7 Taormina Leaders' Communiqué Available at: <http://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000260041.pdf> (Accessed: 1 November 2017)
50. Financial Times, 29 August 2017 Available at: <https://www.ft.com/content/1980fd1c-8c3b-11e7-a352-e46f43c5825d> (Accessed: 10 October 2017)
51. Reuters, 24 July 2017 Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-column-russell-steel-china/if-the-u-s-has-a-steel-problem-it-isnt-china-russell-idUSKBN1A90F1> (Accessed: 12 October 2017)
52. <http://www.mauldineconomics.com/frontlinethoughts/trade-war-games/> (Accessed: 5 November 2017)
53. <https://www.politico.eu/article/juncker-eu-in-elevated-battle-mood-to-retaliate-against-us-over-steel/> (Accessed: 5 November 2017)
54. Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development,  
Available at: [http://www.un.org/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/1&Lang=E](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/1&Lang=E) (Accessed: 25 October 2017)
55. <https://www.de.digital/DIGITAL/Redaktion/EN/Dossier/g20-shaping-digitalisation-at-global-level.html> (Accessed: 25 October 2017)
56. G20 Hamburg Action Plan Available at: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/23546/2017-g20-hamburg-action-plan-en.pdf> (Accessed: 1 November 2017)
57. One-Health Approach assumes that the health of human-beings, animals and the eco-system are all interdependent. The approach is based on pursuing a coordinated, collaborative and inter-sectoral perspective to deal with potential or existing threats that might affect human-animal-ecosystem dependency.
58. G20 Principles on Energy Collaboration  
Available at: [http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/2014/g20\\_principles\\_energy\\_collaboration.pdf](http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/2014/g20_principles_energy_collaboration.pdf) (Accessed: 5 November 2017)
59. Addis Ababa Action Agenda of the Third International Conference on Financing for Development (Addis Ababa Action Agenda) Available at: [http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/AAAA\\_Outcome.pdf](http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/AAAA_Outcome.pdf) (Accessed: 3 November 2017)



60. 2017 Financial Inclusion Action Plan  
Available at: <https://www.gpfi.org/sites/default/files/documents/2017%20G20%20Financial%20Inclusion%20Action%20Plan%20final.pdf> (Accessed: 4 November 2017)
61. G20 Africa Partnership Available at: [https://www.bmz.de/de/zentrales\\_downloadarchiv/g20/2017\\_03\\_Fact\\_Sheet\\_G20\\_Africa\\_Partnership.pdf](https://www.bmz.de/de/zentrales_downloadarchiv/g20/2017_03_Fact_Sheet_G20_Africa_Partnership.pdf) (Accessed: 5 November 2017)
62. G20 Initiative for Rural Youth Employment  
Available at <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/23551/2017-g20-rural-youth-employment-en.pdf> (Accessed: 3 November 2017)
63. G20 Resource Efficiency Dialogue  
Available at: <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/23558/2017-g20-resource-efficiency-dialogue-en.pdf> (Accessed: 5 November 2017)
64. G20 Action Plan on Marine Litter Available at: <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/2017/2017-g20-marine-litter-en.pdf> (Accessed: 3 November 2017)
65. <http://www.bundesfinanzministerium.de/Content/EN/Standardartikel/Topics/Featured/G20/2017-07-25-g20-conference.html> (Accessed: 1 November 2017)
66. Agenda 2063 The Africa We Want  
Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/pdf/au/agenda2063.pdf> (Accessed: 3 November 2017)
67. <https://www.afdb.org/en/topics-and-sectors/initiatives-partnerships/programme-for-infrastructure-development-in-africa-pida/> (Accessed: 1 November 2017)
68. <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/2017/170519-labour-annex-c.html> (Accessed: 1 November 2017)
69. <http://refugeemigrants.un.org/migration-compact> (Accessed: 2 November 2017)
70. G20 Anti-Corruption Action Plan 2017-18  
Available at: <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/2016/g20-anticorruption-action-plan.pdf> (Accessed: 3 November 2017)
71. G20 High Level Principles on the Liability of Legal Persons for Corruption Available at: <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/2017/2017-g20-acwg-liberty-legal-persons.html> (Accessed: 5 November 2017)
72. G20 High Level Principles on Organising Against Corruption Available at: <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/23555/2017-g20-acwg-anti-corruption.pdf> (Accessed: 5 November 2017)
73. G20 High Level Principles on Countering Corruption in Customs Available at: <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/2017/2017-g20-corruption-in-customs.html> (Accessed: 5 November 2017)
74. High Level Principles on Combatting Corruption related to Illegal Trade in Wildlife and Wildlife Products Available at: <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/23552/2017-g20-acwg-wildlife-en.pdf> (Accessed: 3 November 2017)
75. United Nations Convention Against Corruption Available at: [https://www.unodc.org/documents/brussels/UN\\_Convention\\_Against\\_Corruption.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/brussels/UN_Convention_Against_Corruption.pdf) (Accessed: 1 November 2017)
76. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/410/78794/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-g20-liderler-zirvesine-katildi.html> (Accessed: 25 October 2017)
77. <http://www.dw.com/en/germany-blocks-erdogan-rally-around-hamburg-g20/a-39467166> (Accessed: 15 August 2017)

78. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-g20-germany-merkel-turkey/merkel-says-meeting-with-erdogan-underscored-deep-differences-idUSKBN19T0SD> (Accessed: 20 August 2017)
79. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/merkel-praises-turkeys-contribution-to-g-20-summit-115273> (Accessed: 20 August 2017)
80. <https://www.dailysabah.com/politics/2017/07/31/germany-calls-for-cessation-of-accession-funds-to-turkey> (Accessed: 22 August 2017)
81. <https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2017/08/16/merkel-rules-out-improving-customs-union-opposes-eu-turkey-divorce> (Accessed: 20 August 2017)
82. <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2017/10/20/tusk-final-remarks-european-council/> (Accessed: 1 November 2017)
83. <https://www.politico.eu/article/juncker-gives-trump-crash-course-in-free-trade-at-g20-summit/> (Accessed: 1 November 2017)
84. <http://edition.cnn.com/2017/07/07/politics/trump-putin-meeting/index.html> (Accessed: 20 September 2017)
85. <https://globalnews.ca/news/3576435/g20-summit-why-people-protest/> (Accessed: 1 November 2017)
86. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/07/g20-protests-hamburg-altona-messehalle> (Accessed: 1 November 2017)



İKTİSADİ KALKINMA VAKFI YAYINLARI



52 years

#### **ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION**

Esentepe Mahallesi Harman Sokak TOBB Plaza No:10 Kat:7-8  
34394 Levent Istanbul/Turkey  
Phone: +90 212 270 93 00 Fax: +90 212 270 30 22  
E-mail: [ikv@ikv.org.tr](mailto:ikv@ikv.org.tr)

#### **BRUSSELS REPRESENTATION**

Avenue de l'Yser 5-6, 1040 Brussels/Belgium  
Phone: +32 2 646 40 40 Fax: +32 2 646 95 38  
E-mail: [ikvnet@skynet.be](mailto:ikvnet@skynet.be)

[www.ikv.org.tr](http://www.ikv.org.tr)