

GİFGRF

GLOBAL İLİŞKİLER FORUMU
GLOBAL RELATIONS FORUM

ANNUAL
REPORT
2012&2013



CONTENTS

GRF IN BRIEF

3

MESSAGE FROM THE FOUNDING CHAIRMAN

4

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

6

GOVERNANCE

8

GRF EXECUTIVE STAFF

10

OBJECTIVES

11

GRF COMMISSIONS

12

COOPERATION WITH GLOBAL COUNTERPARTS

22

MEETINGS

28

GRF POLICY COMMUNITIES

32

MEMBERSHIP

39



GLOBAL İLİŞKİLER FORUMU DERNEK TÜZÜĞÜ

BÖLÜM 1

KURULUŞ HÜKÜMLERİ

MADDE 1: DERNEĞİN UNVANI VE MERKEZİ

Derneğin adı "Global İlişkiler Forumu"dur ("Demek"). Derneğin merkezi Koç Holding A.Ş. Nakkaştepe Azizbey Sok No: 1 Kuzguncuk 34674 İstanbul ("Merkez") adresinde bulunmaktadır.

MADDE 2: DERNEĞİN AMACI VE FAALİYET ALANLARI

2.1 Amaç

Derneğin amacı uluslararası ilişkiler ve küresel tartışmalara konu olabilecek her alanda,

- uluslararası ve küresel aktörlerin ve Türkiye'nin politika seçeneklerinin yerel ve uluslararası kamuoyunda **anlaşılması** için gerekli bilgi paylaşım ve fikri tartışma platformlarını sağlayarak karşılıklı önceliklerin algısına dayalı küresel barış ve işbirliğine katkıda bulunmak;
- uluslararası ilişkilere ilgi duyan dernek üyeleri, resmi makamlar, iş adamları, gazeteciler, eğitimciler ve öğrenciler, sivil toplum örgütleri, bilim, sanat ve kültürel alanlarda lider kişiler ve tüm özel ve tüzel kişilerin ihtiyaç duyabilecekleri güvenilir **bilgi** kaynaklarını oluşturmak ve sunmak;
- uluslararası ilişkiler konularında toplumda bilgiye dayalı katılımcı ve sorgulayıcı ve bütüncül **düşünme**, tartışma ortamı oluşmasına katkıda bulunmak, bu yöndeki girişimlere destek olmak;
- toplumun her kesiminde **ilgi** uyandırarak toplumda bu konularda bilgilendirme ve tartışma talebine katkıda bulunmak;
- derneğin amaç ve ilkelerini paylasan ulusal ve uluslararası kurum ve kuruluşlarla **işbirliği** yapmak, var olan işbirliklerine destek olmak, gerektiğinde eşgüdümü sağlamaktır.



GRF IN BRIEF

GRF advocates a global order of shared influence and accountability, and seeks an active and constructive role for Turkey in that international order.

Global Relations Forum (GRF) is an independent, non-profit membership association that offers a platform for its members and all interested individuals to analyze and discuss matters related to international affairs and global issues.

The idea for GRF was conceived in May 2008, by a group of business leaders, academics and diplomats who wished to support and solidify Turkey's intellectual contribution to the global policy discussions and to build cooperative relationships with like-minded global counterparts.

GRF convened its first meeting of founders on January 23, 2009, when the participants discussed the organization's aims, means, and fundamental values, and unanimously approved its by-laws.

GRF was formally established on May 11, 2009 by a group of 40 diplomats, academics, artists, lawyers, journalists, business leaders, and bureaucrats who have represented Turkey in international fora. GRF held its first General Assembly on November 9, 2009.

MESSAGE FROM THE FOUNDING CHAIRMAN



Middle East tensions continue to simmer and, if this were not enough, ISIS has appeared center stage. Energy-buying countries are forced to walk a fine line in their policies so as not to enrage Russia. Within this turmoil, the never-ending dispute between Israel and the Palestinians seems to have lost its priority. Meanwhile, it became clear at NATO meetings that neither the Europeans nor the Americans are willing to engage militarily or to send troops into these countries. For Turkey, developments in Iraq and Syria are of particular interest. Inevitably, they will have intermediate-term effects on the Turkish economy and politics.

Moreover, feeble growth in Europe at the beginning of 2014 was replaced again with contraction in the middle of the year. It became clear that the contracting demand would be felt from the United States to China. Problems in the 28-member European Union reached dangerous levels, especially within the Eurozone.

Under these circumstances, every country prefers to prioritize its own interests. This delays taking lasting and bold measures. Europe still longs for a strong leader.

Until a few months ago, there was hysteria in the financial markets due to narrative of the possible bankruptcy of national budgets in Italy, Greece and Cyprus and the fear that these countries would not be able to repay their debts. The other countries in the European Union, first and foremost Germany, began to make concessions and provide financial support, albeit reluctantly. For the time being, it looks like the fire has been extinguished.

It is unclear how long Germany's willingness to shoulder the burden of these kinds of crises will continue.

Chancellor Merkel, who emerged more powerful after the last elections, is expected to try to impose financial discipline on other members of the Union in the near future. However, due to the failure of all attempts to accelerate growth in Europe, the European Central Bank brought interest rates down to near zero and committed to providing the market with abundant liquidity. These measures raise hopes that growth on the Old Continent will gain speed in the coming period. Nevertheless, the European economy looks like it needs a long time to fully recover.

The shale gas revolution has made the US more confident about its energy security and significantly reduced its dependence on petroleum-producing countries, particularly Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile, these countries have become a focus of attention for China and India. Nevertheless, the question remains as to whether the US will be willing to sacrifice the Middle East and, if so, what impact this might have on oil policy in this region.

US's economic recovery, coupled with recession in Europe despite rising demand and a slowdown in China, is likely to affect global economic growth rates and change policy priorities.

In such an environment, Turkey's foreign policy priorities, strategic assessments and energy needs will play an even more prominent role than before. In Davutoğlu's government formed after the presidential elections, almost all ministers retaining their posts from Erdoğan's government is an indication of Turkey's stability in economic and political arenas, which pleases the markets.

At GRF, our Energy report has been finalized and published. The work of our National Security and International Trade task forces are ongoing.

Negotiations over Iran's nuclear program, led by the United States, continue. However, the possibility of Iran obtaining a nuclear weapon is of concern to Israel and the other countries in the region and this possibility is also straining the US foreign policy strategy. The irresponsible actions of North Korea's young leader is troubling South Korea and raising the specter of instability in the region. These two developments throw into sharp relief the policies of Russia and China, as well as the significance of the two countries.

There has been no respite in the extremely complicated political and military unrest along Turkey's southern borders. The fighting between various factions is creating extreme misery for civilians, with enormous loss of life and property an unrelenting reality. Similarly, Russia and the Western Block are at loggerheads over the separatist movement in Ukraine, and the people of the region are paying the price.

In both conflict settings, the Western Block, particularly the US, appears to favor political and economic pressure over military intervention.

As mentioned above, the latest NATO meeting revealed disunity and a lack of solidarity among European Union countries. Each country seems to prioritize its own economic and political interests.

John Kerry, Secretary of State of the West's most powerful leader, the United States, signals his preference for solving disputes diplomatically.

Therefore, the world is going through a delicate process, economically and politically. This has once again forced a downward revision of growth figures.

We, as GRF, conduct dialogues with prominent Turkish and foreign figures to benefit from their observations and ideas. But, regardless of where one looks, at home or abroad, there is no doubt that we are in the midst of an interesting year.

My sincere thanks go to our esteemed members, the Board of Directors and the executive staff for their close interest in our organization and the generous work they have done for it.

Rahmi M. Koç

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT



When institutions are young, they are inescapably guided more by their future than their history. Guidance by an undefined future demands inquisitive imagination about the landscape of time, a stoic resolve to move forward despite the uncertainty and a cautiously adventurous attitude toward unexplored paths. GRF is very much in this phase of its institutional growth.

Imagining the century that unfolds before us and preparing the institution for its expectations is not an easy task. GRF set out to contribute to the shaping of a fast integrating global order with widely shared rights, responsibilities, gains and sacrifices.

The world, however, appears to have paused on that path. The youthful yearning for rights, freedoms and prosperity in the Arab world has turned into the resigned search for order and security. The relations between the Transatlantic Community and the Russian Federation have hit a new low, undermining order today and the rules of order for tomorrow. Global trade growth has stalled; arguments for fragmenting cyberspace across national lines to serve security interests are gaining ground; negative spill over effects of national monetary policy across borders are leading to a reconsideration of unfettered financial flows. Concern with and fear of disorder appear to be gaining the upper hand over the promise of a vibrant, free, integrating globe. This may prove to be an aberration but may well be a harbinger of a new context for international relations and humanity's trajectory in the coming decades.

GRF's Task Forces are the institution's core platform for synthesis, prognosis and prescription on such critical structural questions of our time, with a view to reconciling the global concerns with national interests. The Forum published its energy task force report in 2013, imagining and probing the open-ended landscape of the future while advocating the narrow path of resilient globalisation. The report highlighted the significance of globally integrated energy markets and warned against adverse discontinuities that could upend structures the world takes for granted. Task Forces on national security and global trade continued their deliberations in an intellectual climate of intensifying national or regional reflexes in both of those domains.

Simply diagnosing or decrying the fragmentation of the world along national or regional lines is a muted response to a potentially paradigm shifting change. Institutions like GRF have a critical role to play- arguably their *raison d'être* rather than a role- in expanding, deepening and enriching the context and horizon of bilateral and multilateral cooperation around the globe. As an institution committed to global cooperation from its inception, the Forum is now at the stage where it has the institutional confidence and competence to build and deepen a much-needed institutional web of relations around the globe. It continues to invest in institutional channels of substantive dialogue with counterparts around the world, from the US to Europe, from the Russian Federation to India. The efforts with Carnegie Moscow and RIAC in the Russian Federation led to structured dialogues in 2012-2013. Of course, unbeknownst to us and our partners at the beginning, the dire developments in the Ukraine ended up rendering this work very topical, contentious but ultimately worthwhile. High level dialogues or Track-II's certainly have value in periods of peace and quiet but they prove their true worth in times of crises. Ultimately the web of these structures around the world will underpin and ensure the resilience of a sustainably cooperative global order.

GRF continued to build its community programs for young minds as the source of its institutional imagination and audacious intellect to position itself for the expectations of the future. The newly launched Young Academics program brings together a group of post-docs and final year PhD students in a variety of disciplines from around the world to probe and provoke each other as they push the boundaries of global policy debates. Developing these vibrant communities of policy thinking on global issues around the world is a key step to the shared ownership of global threats across societies. The other new program is geared towards young professionals, which reflects the Forum's continued commitment to synthesizing analytical policy work with thoughtful practical considerations. Together with GRF's continuing Young Scholars program, these initiatives now ensure a constant flow of motivated, informed and well-trained young associates to the Forum's ranks.

Institutions, like individuals, have their developmental stages. Plasticity is high when they are young and the choices made have long-lasting implications. That is why the dedication and values of the early founders have an impact that go well beyond the early years. GRF's Board, staff and members have been exceptionally forthcoming and generous in sharing their time, vision and wisdom with the institution. I can only hope that the Forum remains the beneficiary of such generosity for decades to come and builds on that good fortune to serve as a fertile venue for new ideas in pursuit of the global common good.

Memduh Karakullukçu

GOVERNANCE



ANNUAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY

GRF held its 4th Annual General Assembly on January 12, 2012, at the Divan Istanbul Hotel and its 5th Annual General Assembly on January 25, 2013, at The Seed, Sakıp Sabancı Museum.



BOARD OF DIRECTORS

GRF Board of Directors consists of fifteen full and fifteen substitute members. The board members are elected for a three year term, with one-third of the board members renewed each year.

BOARD MEMBERS 2012-2013

Rahmi M. Koç

Chairman

Memduh Karakullukçu

Vice-Chairman & President

Hanzade Doğan Boyner

Vice-Chairwoman

Metin Fadıllıoğlu

Secretary-General

Gölsün Sağlamer

Auditor

Lucien Arkas

Aslı Başgöz

Hasan T. Çolakoğlu

Salim Dervişoğlu

Suzan Sabancı Dinçer

Ali Doğramacı

Sönmez Köksal

Özdem Sanberk

Ferit Şahenk

İlter Türkmen

AUDIT COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Zekeriya Yıldırım

Yavuz Canevi

Hayati Kamhi*

* Due to the passing of our Audit Committee Member Hayati Kamhi, the 1st Substitute Member, Ahmet Rona Yırcalı, assumed the position of full Audit Committee Member.

GRF EXECUTIVE STAFF



Rana Birden Çorbacıoğlu
Executive Director



Nigar Ağaoğulları
Director of Studies



Burcu Baran
Program Director



Ali Serkan Türkmenoğlu
Senior Associate



Maxine İmer
Administrative Coordinator



Arzu Özkan
Administrative Assistant



OBJECTIVES

PLATFORM FOR CONSULTATION

A culture of deliberation that crosses professional, political, and ideological faultlines

Policy reports that synthesize diverse viewpoints on global issues

GLOBAL COUNTERPART

Deliberative, measured, reliable institutional interface between global concerns and
Turkey's priorities

An informed and engaged counterpart that focuses on and contributes to the global agenda

FORUM FOR DISSEMINATION OF IDEAS

A reliable source for high-caliber policy analysis in Turkey and abroad

A forum for informing interested individuals on pressing issues and encouraging them to
take part in shaping the global agenda

MAGNET FOR ASPIRING YOUNG LEADERS

An institution that attracts accomplished, motivated and committed young individuals
dedicated to addressing global challenges

A platform that brings together young leaders and members to debate global challenges
and viable policy alternatives

GRF COMMISSIONS

GRF commissions are mechanisms designed for synthesizing the accumulated experience of our members. Commissions examine global topics with short-, medium- or long-term implications.

Since its establishment, the Task Forces have become one of GRF's most important consultative mechanisms. As of 2012, GRF has introduced an additional institutional mechanism, "Ad Hoc Study Commissions", in order to examine matters of public concern that require more immediate attention.

1- TASK FORCES

GRF Task Forces are independent commissions where accomplished individuals convene to deliberate on complex global policy issues and formulate a consensus text. These commissions strive to clarify matters that involve medium to long-term uncertainty and offer elaborate and balanced assessments that guide the discussion on these matters. Task Force members commit to attending monthly half-day meetings, where they present clear strategies and policy recommendations based on their assessments. Each Task Force member can contribute to the commission's assessments and recommendations, or submit an additional or dissenting view.

A Task Force's size varies according to need with an upper limit of 10-15 persons so as to balance the substantive exchange of ideas with membership diversity. Two Co-chairs chosen from among the membership, a Director and a Rapporteur oversee Task Force functioning and the synthesis of ideas. Membership is on an individual basis and not as representative of an institution. Therefore, the contents of Task Force reports are not contingent on the views of any institutions the members may be associated with.

The studies of GRF Task Forces addressing the subjects of "Turkey's Approach to Security in the 21st Century" and "Energy and Climate Change" continued throughout 2012-2013 with meetings and consultations on consensus texts. The Energy and Climate Change Task Force report, "Turkey's Energy Strategy in the 21st Century: Weathering Uncertainties and Discontinuities," was published in June 2013.

A new task force addressing the "International Trade System and Turkey in the 21st Century" was launched in 2013. It completed its membership roster in September 2013 and began holding widely attended meetings.



“Energy policies should be designed to withstand unexpected adverse shifts and to flexibly benefit from fast-moving favorable changes.”

ENERGY TASK FORCE

The Energy Task Force was launched to make comprehensive, systematic and dynamic assessments and offer recommendations in a multidimensional, uncertain and complex policy area of great strategic importance to Turkey, politically, economically and in security terms. The Task Force pursued its editorial meetings under the direction of Fatih Birol, Chief Economist of the International Energy Agency, Gülsün Sağlam, former Rector of Istanbul Technical University and Professor of Architecture, and Nigar Ağaoğulları, GRF’s Director of Studies. The consensus report, authored by GRF Vice-Chairman and President Memduh Karakullukçu at the conclusion of comprehensive and extensive consultations, was published in June 2013.

Entitled “Turkey’s Energy Strategy in the 21st Century: Weathering Uncertainties and Discontinuities,” the Task Force report addressed the central policy objectives of supply security, affordability and sustainability in three distinct areas: access to fossil fuels, use of new technologies in energy supply and demand, and nuclear energy. The first section of the report examines the shifts that are expected to take place in the global oil and gas market structures and their likely impact on energy security, cost, and trade and investment flows; and focuses in particular on Turkey’s role as a ‘transit’ country. It emphasizes the importance of strengthening Turkey’s ability to make rapid adjustments to its energy supply and demand profile in response to sudden structural shifts in the energy context. The second section of the report assesses Turkey’s approach to new energy technologies. Accordingly, it stresses the need to demarcate “energy policy priorities” from “industry & technology policy objectives” separately and in complementary ways. The report’s final section discusses the high upfront costs of nuclear energy and underlines its potential risks, particularly in terms of safety and security, which differentiates its cost structure from that of fossil fuel-based electricity. Finally, the report emphasizes that Turkey has the potential to play a leading role in advancing the global agenda of nuclear safety and non-proliferation. The full report is available at www.gif.org.tr.

“Charting through a domain as complex and charged as energy is not an easy task. Keeping clear of platitudes, conventions and conditioned instincts demands intellectual determination, persistence and patience.”



Once completed, the report was initially presented to GRF members. It was then shared with many institutions and individuals both in Turkey and abroad.

A delegation comprised of the Task Force’s Co-Chairs, Gülsün Sağlamer and Fatih Birol, Ambassador (Ret.) Sönmez Köksal, and GRF Vice-Chairman and President Memduh Karakullukçu visited President Abdullah Gül and presented the report’s highlights and policy recommendations to him. In this period, the report was also shared with various institutions in the US, including The Belfer Center of Harvard University, The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, The Center on Global Energy Policy of Columbia University, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of Johns Hopkins University.

The Task Force completed its work with the contribution of the following members:

TASK FORCE

CO-CHAIRS

Fatih Birol

Chief Economist at the International Energy Agency

Gülsün Sağlamer

Former Rector and Professor of Architecture at Istanbul Technical University

MEMBERS

Salim Dervişoğlu

Admiral (Ret.); Former Commander of the Turkish Naval Forces

Muhsin Mengütürk

Board Member of Doğu Holding; Former Chairman of the Capital Markets Board of Turkey

Ayşe Canan Ediboğlu

Former General Manager of Shell Turkey; Board Member at ING Bank

İlhan Or

Professor of Industrial Engineering at Boğaziçi University

Memduh Karakullukçu

Vice-Chairman and President of GRF

Ayşe Yasemin Örcü

Environment and Climate Change Specialist at the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources

Sönmez Köksal

Ambassador (Ret.); Former Undersecretary of the Turkish National Intelligence Organization (MIT)

Mustafa Tırıs

General Director of T-Dinamik Energy Company; Former Director of the Energy Institute at TÜBİTAK Marmara Research Institute (MAM)

C. Tanıl Küçük

Chairman of Elit Çikolata; Former Chairman of the Istanbul Chamber of Industry (İSO)

Volkan Vural

Ambassador (Ret.); Advisor to the Chairman of Doğan Holding

Erol Memioğlu

President of Koç Holding Energy Group

TASK FORCE DIRECTOR

Nigar Ağaoğulları

GRF Director of Studies



“Civilian officials responsible for planning and implementing the security policies of Turkey should formulate the equation that befits Turkey in cooperation with the armed forces to ensure the highest level of protection of national interests. Changing paradigms necessitate the previous ‘state-centered’ security policies to be restructured, taking into consideration the individual dimension or human-centered approach to security.”

SECURITY TASK FORCE

The end of the Cold War and the resulting increase in the number of relevant players has broadened the scope of security. Risk factors and asymmetric threats such as cyber-attacks, the proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction, organized crime, illegal migration and the associated risks that came into sharper focus after 9/11 created an even more complex global security structure. This situation necessitated the redefinition of the global security context, including the concept of security itself.

In this period where the concept of security is expanding and regional transformations such as the Arab Spring are taking place, Turkey needs to understand the security priorities of major players around the world and redefine its own security-related as well as strategic priorities. Accordingly, it has to revise its existing security apparatus and institutional mechanisms to make them more adaptable to such transformations. Determining a security strategy requires a global perspective that takes into consideration different priorities and interests, and eliminates tensions based on dichotomies such as internal versus external security and individual versus state security.

Our initial objective as Global Relations Forum was to launch a task force that would adopt a comprehensive approach in identifying internal and external threats that are of global or country-specific nature, developing new security tools in the face of the global climate of uncertainty, enhancing institutional competence, and raising public awareness. GRF initiated the study with the belief that it could constructively contribute to the process of creating the systematic global governance structure required for dealing with the security challenges common to all countries, such as nuclear proliferation and terrorism. We emphasize that adopting a collective approach is crucial in overcoming asymmetric threats.



The initiative we took as an institution to launch a Security Task Force was timely and consistent with our objective of addressing the issue from a global, multifaceted perspective. Thus, we invited leaders and individual experts from the armed forces, academia and the business world to participate in the Task Force to reflect on and discuss the issue of security, and devise policy recommendations.

The Security Task Force carried out its work with the contribution of the following GRF members and experts. The consensus text prepared by members will be made available to the public in early 2015.

TASK FORCE

CO-CHAIRS

Salim Dervişoğlu

Admiral (Ret.); Former Commander of the Turkish Naval Forces

Sönmez Köksal

Ambassador (Ret.); Former Undersecretary of the Turkish National Intelligence Organization (MİT)

MEMBERS

Oktar Ataman

General (Ret.)

Gülnur Aybet

Chair and Faculty Member of the International Relations Department at Özyeğin University

Şadi Ergüvenç

Lieutenant General (Ret.)

Memduh Karakullukçu

Vice-Chairman and President of GRF

Hüsamettin Kavi

Former Chairman of the Istanbul Chamber of Industry (İSO); Chairman of GTE Endüstri Sistemleri A.Ş.

Ergun Mengi

Rear Admiral (Ret.)

Mustafa Özbey

Rear Admiral (Ret.)

Ümit Pamir

Ambassador (Ret.); Former Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations

İlter Türkmen

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Ambassador (Ret.); Former Commissioner General of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees

Erkut Yücaoğlu

Chairman of the MAP/ Turkuaz Group

TASK FORCE DIRECTOR

Nigar Ağaoğulları

GRF Director of Studies

PROJECT ASSOCIATE

Ali Serkan Türkmenoğlu

GRF Senior Associate

In addition, the following individuals were invited to our meetings as guest speakers in order to exchange information on certain technical aspects of the security issue and benefit from their valuable experiences and knowledge: Prof. Gencer Özkan, Faculty Member at Istanbul Bilgi University; Assoc. Prof. Serhat Güvenç, Faculty Member at Kadir Has University; Prof. Ekrem Ekinci, former Vice-Rector of Istanbul Technical University and member of the TÜBİTAK Science Board; Prof. Temel Belek, former Vice-Rector at Istanbul Technical University, and Prof. Sertaç Hami Başeren, Faculty Member at Ankara University.



SECURITY ROUNDTABLE MEETINGS SERIES

In order to analyze various layers of the security issue in more depth and create an element of continuity in GRF's agenda, we have launched the Security Roundtable Meetings Series, an additional institutional method open to the participation of all GRF members. This mechanism enabled interested members who were unable to take part in the Security Task Force due to time commitment, to participate in meetings that addressed various dimensions of security issues such as Turkey's Perception of Threats and Risks, the Transformation of NATO, US Policy for the Resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, the Kurdish Issue, the Turkish Defense Industry, the Nuclear Threat, and Nuclear Weapons. The following meetings were held as part of the 2012-2013 Security Roundtable Meetings series:

"Turkey's Perception of Threats and Risks: Military and Political Factors"

İbrahim Kalın, Advisor to the Prime Minister; February 12, 2012

"Nuclear Threat: Iran - North Korea"

Prof. **Anthony Monaco**, Tufts University Rector, and Profs. **Stephen Bosworth** and **Vali Nasr**, Faculty Members of the Tufts Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; May 28, 2012

"The Transformation of NATO and the Status of Turkey"

Hüseyin Diriöz, Ambassador (Ret.) and NATO Assistant Secretary-General; September 17, 2012

"The Kurdish Issue, PKK, the Middle East, and Iraq"

Murat Özçelik, Ambassador (Ret.) and Undersecretary for Public Order and Security; October 10, 2012

"US Policy in a Time of Transition: Ending Occupation, Enhancing Israel's Security, Realizing Palestinian Sovereignty"

Geoffrey Aronson, Director of the Foundation for Middle East Peace; November 20, 2012

"The Development Process and Future of the Turkish Defense Industry"

Murad Bayar, Undersecretary for Defense Industries; December 25, 2012

"Five Myths about Nuclear Weapons"

Ward Wilson, Senior Researcher at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS); March 26, 2013

"Weapons of Mass Destruction: Concerns and Measures Taken"

Ambassador **Rogelio Francisco Emilio Pffirter**, Former Director-General of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW); October 30, 2013

INTERNATIONAL TRADE TASK FORCE



In recent years, the effectiveness of the international trade order has been under scrutiny. Alternative regional configurations like TTIP and TPP are emerging.

With this in mind, a new Task Force has been launched to ascertain how GRF can contribute to Turkey's policy decisions concerning international trade during this process that is bound to have long-term effects. The Task Force will assess general global economic as well as trade-related trends and assign priorities within a long-term framework while discussing Turkey's policy preferences. Co-chaired by Ambassador (Ret.) Bozkurt Aran and Former Undersecretary of State Planning Organization, Ali Tigrel, and coordinated by GRF Program Director Burcu Baran, the Task Force held its first comprehensive meeting on September 30, 2013. During this meeting, the article prepared for GRF under the supervision of Task Force Co-chair Bozkurt Aran entitled "The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) and Turkey", provided a guideline for the discussions.

In this crucial multidimensional study, experts from various fields convened to reflect on and discuss the functioning of the global trade system, and make policy recommendations to remedy its shortcomings.

In line with the roadmap of the Task Force, the meetings aimed to approach the issue from two distinct yet parallel perspectives: the overall assessment of global trade and the case of Turkey in particular. Accordingly, to familiarize ourselves with different aspects of the topic, we planned to invite several experts to our meetings as guest speakers, such as Patrick Low from the Fung Global Institute; Prof. Jean-Pierre Lehmann, International Political Economy Professor and Evian Group Founding Director at IMD; Cemalettin Damlacı, Deputy Undersecretary (Ret.) of the Ministry of the Economy; and Amb. Haluk Ilıcak, Undersecretary of the Ministry for EU Affairs.

The first Roundtable Meeting was held on December 5, 2013 with WTO Appellate Body Member Prof. Peter L.H. Van den Bossche, who focused on the mechanisms shaping global trade and the WTO Ministerial Conference in Bali scheduled for later that month.

The consensus text of the "Global Trade System and Turkey in the 21st Century" Task Force will be prepared by the Task Force members and made available to the public in early 2016.



TASK FORCE

CO-CHAIRS

Bozkurt Aran

Ambassador (Ret.); Former Permanent Representative of Turkey to the WTO; Director of the Center for Multilateral Trade Studies at the Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV)

Dr. Ali Tigrel

Former Undersecretary of the State Planning Organization (DPT); Former Chairman of the EU Relations Council

MEMBERS

Prof. Mehmet Arda

Former Head of the Commodities Unit of the UN Trade and Development Conference; Professor of International Relations

Tayfun Bayazıt

Vice-Chairman of the Turkish Industry and Business Association (TÜSİAD); Chairman of Bayazıt Consulting; Former Chairman of Yapı Kredi Bank

Yavuz Canevi

Chairman of the Turkish Economy Bank (TEB); Former Governor General of the Turkish Central Bank; Former Undersecretary of Treasury and Foreign Trade

Dr. Hasan Ersel

Member of the Board of Trustees at the Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV), Former Deputy Governor of the Turkish Central Bank

Memduh Karakullukçu

Vice-Chairman and President of GRF

Hüsamettin Kavi

Former Chairman of the Istanbul Chamber of Industry (İSO); Chairman of GTE Endüstri Sistemleri A.Ş.

Mustafa Kılıçaslan

Former Director of the Public & Private Alliances Division at Microsoft Corporation

Sönmez Köksal

Ambassador (Ret.); Former Undersecretary of the Turkish National Intelligence Organization (MİT)

Vesile Kulaçoğlu

Director of the Trade and Environment Division at the World Trade Organization (WTO)

Prof. Muhsin Mengütürk

Board Member of Doğu Holding; Former Chairman of the Capital Markets Board of Turkey

Prof. Bertil Emrah Oder

Dean of the Faculty of Law at Koç University; Professor of Law

İlter Türkmen

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Ambassador (Ret.); Former Commissioner General of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees

Zekeriya Yıldırım

Chairman of Yıldırım Consulting; Board Member of Sabancı Holding; Former Deputy Governor of the Turkish Central Bank

Turgut Cankorel

Lawyer, Chadbourne & Parke

TASK FORCE DIRECTOR

Burcu Baran

GRF Program Director

2-AD HOC STUDY COMMISSIONS

GRF's institutional culture seeks to make the experience and analyses of its members available to the public as well as the senior decision-makers. GRF Task Forces have become an institutional tradition and tool while working towards this objective. In 2012, in order to extend GRF's intellectual contribution to the short-term policy sphere, a decision was made to diversify the institution's methods.

"Ad Hoc Study Commissions" are designed to analyze technical subjects that have short-term implications and are of direct interest to the public.

GRF TURKEY-EU VISA STUDIES COMMISSION

Our relations with the EU are moving forward in two separate processes – political and legal. The political process concerns Turkey's obligations for fulfilling the full membership criteria. The legal process, on the other hand, is based on the Accession Partnership; the legal rights that Turkey acquired by signing the Ankara Agreement in 1963.

The Turkey-EU Visa Studies Commission, Co-chaired by Pekin Baran and Ambassador (Ret.) Sönmez Köksal, was established to examine the "free movement of individuals" dimension of the legal framework of our relations with the EU. With the launch of the Turkey-EU Visa Studies Commission GRF initiated the study of an issue with short-term implications and of direct concern for the public, i.e. the freedom of movement.



COMMISSION

CO-CHAIRS

Pekin Baran

Chairman of Denizcilik A.Ş.

Sönmez Köksal

Ambassador (Ret.); Former Undersecretary of the Turkish National Intelligence Organization (MİT)

MEMBERS

Cem Duna

Ambassador (Ret.); Chairman of AB Consultancy and Investment Services

Özdem Sanberk

Ambassador (Ret.), Former Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Memduh Karakullukçu

Vice-Chairman and President of GRF

COMMISSION DIRECTOR

Burcu Baran

GRF Program Director



The Accession Partnership, which is a binding document for the Turkey-EU relations, is based on the 1963 Ankara Agreement and the 1973 Accession Protocol. These agreements are part of the European Union Acquis, and together with the rulings of the EU Court of Justice, constitute Turkey's acquired rights.

When analyzing Turkey's acquired rights concerning the free movement of individuals, GRF Turkey-EU Visa Studies Commission drew on previous relevant studies and the EU's experience in this regard with the western Balkan countries. In addition, several lawyers who took part in the prosecution of various visa-related court cases that the Turkish citizens in the Netherlands brought to the EU Court of Justice, made contributions to the study at a technical level.

In light of the Turkey-EU Visa Studies Commission's elaborate technical work, the relationship between the Schengen regulations and the Readmission Agreement, which was signed between the EU and Turkey on 21 June 2012, was also examined. A summary report outlining the Commission's policy recommendations that the signing of the Readmission Agreement will limit the rights Turkey had acquired under the Accession Partnership was submitted to government officials in charge of EU relations.

Moreover, in order to inform the public on the legal process that affects Turkish citizens' freedom of movement, the Commission published an article in the Turkish press summarizing the technical details as well as the Commission's policy stance.

EU VISA ROUNDTABLE MEETING SERIES

"The Legal Dimension of Turkey-European Union Relations"

Assoc. Prof. Sanem Baykal; Director at Directorate of EU Law, Turkish Ministry for EU Affairs; March 8, 2012

"Bilateral Agreements before the Council of Europe"

Selim Kuneralp; Turkey's Permanent Representative to the EU, Ambassador, May 11, 2012

"Western Balkan Countries and Turkey in the EU's Visa Liberalization Process"

Gerald Knaus; Founding Chairman and Chief Analyst at the European Stability Initiative (ESI), December 12, 2012

COOPERATION WITH GLOBAL COUNTERPARTS

1-TRACK-II STUDIES

Track-II diplomacy is based on exchange of ideas and consultation with high-level counterparts from other countries and is designed to create a common perspective on bilateral relations and global issues. The aim of GRF's Track-II studies is to expand official dialogue between two countries and to contribute to foreign policy processes and public diplomacy. The initial goal is to acquire an understanding of the parties' priorities and concerns, based on current events. The hope for the long-term is that, through such dialogue, the partners will develop a fuller awareness, and a common language with which to solve problems.

In 2012-2013, GRF initiated two Track-II projects on **Turkey-Russia Relations** with the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC) & the Institute for Oriental Studies, and the Carnegie Moscow Center. Preliminary consultations on a Track-II study with India have begun.



TRACK-II STUDIES WITH THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Turkish-Russian relations improved with the termination of the Cold War. Regional cooperation replaced regional competition, and political, economic and social convergence between the two countries accelerated, particularly in the last ten years. The countries are more attuned to sources of political disagreement.

Turkey-Russia relations are crucial for regional stability, peace, security, and prosperity. The two countries can cooperate on solving the nuclear proliferation crisis in Iran, rebuilding Afghanistan's economy, and participating in joint ventures in transportation, energy and infrastructure in Central Asia. Moreover, cooperation between two countries on global matters such as nuclear proliferation, terrorism and drug trafficking can facilitate the resolution of these global problems.

To further improve the relations, both countries must invest in the intellectual and institutional infrastructures that already exist. Even though Turkey and the Russian Federation approach regional issues from different angles due to divergent priorities, disparities can be overcome through ongoing official dialogue, respect for international law and the territorial integrity of states, and the support of civil society organizations (CSOs) in the two countries.

TRACK-II STUDY WITH THE CARNEGIE MOSCOW CENTER

In December 2012, GRF initiated contacts with the Carnegie Moscow Center. A joint task force was formed in early 2013 to study ways in which the two countries could cooperate to bring about regional stability, peace and prosperity. GRF continues the preparation of a joint text on the regional issues on which consensus was reached. This text will be available to the public in 2014.

TRACK-II STUDY WITH RIAC AND THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

On 26 April 2013, GRF held a meeting entitled “New Dimensions in the Turkish-Russian Strategic Partnership” in cooperation with the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC) and the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow. At the meeting, we exchanged ideas on four main topics: the position of Russia and Turkey in world politics, Russian-Turkish regional cooperation, the role of energy and economic factors in the development of Turkey-Russia bilateral relations, and non-state factors affecting Turkish-Russian relations. To clarify the topics to be included in the joint text, we held consultative sessions in Istanbul with the Russian delegation on December 16-17, 2013.

We benefited from the valuable opinions and contribution of the following individuals in both Track-II studies on Turkey-Russia relations:



TASK FORCE

MEMBERS

Ertuğrul Apakan

Ambassador (Ret.); Former Permanent Representative of Turkey to the UN; Former Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mustafa Aydın

Rector, Kadir Has University

Salim Dervişoğlu

Admiral (Ret.); Former Commander of the Turkish Naval Forces

Sönmez Köksal

Ambassador (Ret.); Former Undersecretary of the Turkish National Intelligence Organization (MİT)

Memduh Karakullukçu

Vice-Chairman and President of GRF

Ümit Pamir

Ambassador (R); Former Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations

İlter Türkmen

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Ambassador (Ret.); Former Commissioner General of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees

Yaşar Yakış

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador (Ret.); President, STRATİM

RAPPORTEUR**Adnan Vatansever**

GRF Turkey-Russia Relations Specialist, Faculty Member at Kings College London

TASK FORCE DIRECTOR**Nigar Ağaoğulları**

GRF Director of Studies

2- RELATIONS WITH GLOBAL INSTITUTIONS



In 2012-2013, GRF collaborated with leading institutions from around the world and was invited to attend numerous meetings and conferences and make contribution on issues related to Turkey and the region, as well as global ones indirectly related to Turkey.

- **Council of Councils (CoC)** is a platform for leading foreign policy organizations that facilitates dialogue for creating international awareness of the 21st century's crucial global problems, and developing effective policy responses. GRF is a founding member of this platform, which was created under the leadership of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) in 2012 with the participation of 24 organizations from 23 countries, most of whom are G-20 members.

Important global and regional matters are dealt with at CoC meetings so as to prepare a common platform to address global threats, build support for innovative ideas, find solutions to problems that concern member countries, and devise appropriate policies. For this purpose, the member organizations' chair persons gather once a year in the US and hold regional meetings twice a year in founding members' countries.

The meetings held in 2012 and 2013 are listed below:

- March 12-13, 2012; Inaugural Conference, Washington
- October 30-31, 2012; Regional Conference, Singapore - "Asia at the Crossroads: Regional Priorities for the Twenty First Century"
- December 12-13, 2012; Regional Conference, Moscow - "Russia, Europe, and the Future of Global Governance"
- March 10-12, 2013; Second Annual Conference, Washington
- September 8-10, 2013; Regional Conference, Rome- "Europe and the Future of Global Governance"
- November 24-26, 2013; Regional Conference, Mexico City - "The Future of the Americas in Global Governance"

At these meetings, GRF Vice-Chairman and President Memduh Karakullukçu made contributions on the following topics: "The Iran Crisis", "Balancing the Global Financial System", "The Eurozone Crisis and the Future of the Global Economy", "Space Security Policies", "The Future of the G-20", and "Latin American Energy Policies".

GRF Board Member Ambassador (Ret.) Özdem Sanberk attended the CoC Inaugural Conference in 2012 and GRF Board Member Ambassador (Ret.) Sönmez Köksal attended the CoC's Annual Conference in 2013.



- GRF Board Member Ambassador (Ret.) Özdem Sanberk and GRF Vice-Chairman and President Memduh Karakullukçu discussed the “*US-Turkey Alliance and Israeli-Turkey Relations*” at a **Turkish Coalition of America (TCA)** meeting in Washington on March 14, 2012.
- GRF Board Member Ambassador (Ret.) Özdem Sanberk and GRF Vice-Chairman and President Memduh Karakullukçu spoke on “*The Process of Transformation and Transition in the Middle East and US-Turkey Relations*” at a **Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)** meeting held in Washington on March 15, 2012.
- GRF Vice-Chairman and President Memduh Karakullukçu was invited to give the opening address at the conference on “*Internationalization for Job Creation and Economic Growth*”, a collaborative event by the **OECD Program in Institutional Management in Higher Education (IMHE)** and the **State University of New York (SUNY)** held in New York on April 12-13, 2012.
- GRF Vice-Chairman and President Memduh Karakullukçu was invited to the conference on “*NATO in 2020: Rethinking NATO’s Capabilities, Operations and Partnerships*”, held in collaboration between **NATO, Bologna University** and the **Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI)** in Bologna, October 26-27, 2012, where he also participated in a working group as guest speaker on the topic of “*NATO’s North Africa and Middle East Partnerships.*”
- At the **Carnegie Endowment for International Peace** meeting held on March 13, 2013 in Washington, GRF Board Member Ambassador (Ret.) Sönmez Köksal delivered a speech on “*Iraq-Syria Developments and Turkey*” and GRF Vice-Chairman and President Memduh Karakullukçu commented on “*Regional Energy Dependencies and Turkey*”.
- At the **British Council** panel in Istanbul entitled “*The Turkey-UK Information Partnership Initiative*”, held with the participation of the UK Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg on October 4, 2013, GRF Vice-Chairman and President Memduh Karakullukçu chaired the session on “*Employment, Entrepreneurship and Growth*”.
- GRF Vice-Chairman and President Memduh Karakullukçu was invited to attend the **60th Pugwash Science and International Relations** Conference, held on November 1-5, 2013 in Istanbul, where he chaired a working group entitled “*Nuclear Energy and Security*”.
- GRF Vice-Chairman and President Memduh Karakullukçu was invited to the 3rd Annual Conference held by the **Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale (ISPI)** in



collaboration with the SACE Group and UniCredit on November 7, 2013 in Rome. The conference was entitled “*Where is Turkey Going? Difficulties, Opportunities and Relations with Italy*”. Karakullukçu gave a talk at the session entitled “*Is Turkey an Exception among the Rising Economies Entering Economic Recession?*”

- GRF Vice-Chairman and President Memduh Karakullukçu was invited by the **Li & Fung Group** to attend its Board of Directors meeting held in Istanbul on November 21, 2013, where he shared his assessments on the last 30 years of the Turkish economy as well as his projections for the future.
- GRF Chairman Rahmi M. Koç and Vice-Chairman and President Memduh Karakullukçu were invited by the **Fung Global Institute (FGI)** to the Asia-Global Dialogue (AGD) Conference entitled “*Towards a New Global Economy: What’s Next for Jobs, Opportunity and Growth?*”, held in Hong Kong on December 5-6, 2013. At the conference, Rahmi M. Koç delivered a speech at the session entitled “*Asia’s Re-balancing Act - An Opportunity for Global Business?*”

In addition, GRF participated at the following events to contribute to current debates:

- April 26, 2012; **Euro-Atlantic Security Initiative (EASI)**, Warsaw
- November 9-11, 2012; **The Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)**, “*Five Years after the Fall: The Governance Legacies of the Global Financial Crisis*,” Waterloo
- December 7-9, 2012; **International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)**, 8th Regional Security Summit, Manama
- December 11, 2012; **Think-20**, “*Economic Growth and Creating Incentives for Sustainability*”, Moscow
- April 4-6, 2013; **Institute for New Economic Thinking (INET)**, “*Changing of the Guard?*”
- December 7-9, 2013; **Club de Madrid**, Brisbane

MEETINGS

1-DISTINGUISHED SPEAKERS SERIES

The speakers invited to participate in GRF's Distinguished Speakers Series in 2012-2013 shared their assessments on topics ranging from the global economic crisis to the Middle East.

- On May 15, 2012, at the third anniversary dinner of GRF, our members convened with **Sandy Weill**, Former Chief Executive and Chairman of Citigroup, who shared his assessments on the current state of global economy and the continuing crisis in Europe, concentrating on the global role of the United States.
- On June 7, 2012, **Muhtar Kent**, Chairman of the Board of Coca-Cola and GRF Member, discussed the characteristics of tomorrow's leaders in a changing business world.
- On June 22, 2012, GRF hosted **Dora Bakoyannis**, Former Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs and MP from New Democracy Movement Party (Greece). Mrs. Bakoyannis shared her assessments on the Turkey-Greece bilateral relations as well as possible scenarios of the euro crisis and their impact on Greece, stressing the need for immediate structural reforms in Europe.
- On November 5, 2012, **Cemil Çiçek**, Speaker of the Turkish Parliament, convened with GRF members at a dinner held in his honor. Mr. Çiçek discussed the preparations that had begun in 2011 for creating a new constitution, and the meetings conducted with various stakeholders as part of the process. .





- On January 25, 2013, GRF held its General Assembly. **George Papandreou**, Former Prime Minister of Greece, was the distinguished speaker at the event. During his speech, Mr. Papandreou shared his assessment of the Turkey-Greece bilateral relations, the euro crisis, and the developments in the Middle East.
- On April 8, 2013, GRF hosted **Assoc. Prof. Erdem Başçı**, Chairman of the Turkish Central Bank, whose speech focused on the Bank's role in the Turkish economy and the Bank's monetary policy.
- On May 15, 2013, **Dominique de Villepin**, Former Prime Minister of France, shared his views on the Turkey-France bilateral relations, the policy options for improving these relations, and the latest developments in the Middle East, particularly Syria.
- On December 19, 2013, **Prof. Joseph Stiglitz**, Professor of Economics at Columbia University and Former World Bank Vice-President and Chief Economist, convened with GRF members. While sharing his assessments on the current global economic situation and growth, Prof. Stiglitz focused on the EU's ongoing euro crisis and the slow recovery in the US. Under the headings "structural transformation", "increasing inequality", "global imbalances", and "saving rates", Prof. Stiglitz pointed out that the US and global economies were still fragile, emphasizing that countries were performing well below their potentials.
- On December 23, 2013, our member **Dr. Fatih Birol**, Chief Economist and Chairman of the Economic Analysis Department at the International Energy Agency (IEA) discussed macro developments in the world energy outlook and their implications on the medium and long-term global energy demand as well as trade, asserting that the rules of the game in the energy sector are being rewritten. Dr. Birol pointed out the difficulty of finding long-term solutions to global issues such as climate change and energy insecurity.



2- ROUNDTABLE MEETINGS



Roundtable Meetings are events where we host an expert in international relations or global affairs, who shares his/her views and exchanges ideas with GRF members.

In about 20 roundtable meetings, we discussed topics such as Turkey-US relations, the European Union, the Middle East, the Caucasus, human capital, and sustainable cities.

USA

“Turkey-US Relations and the Middle East”

Frank Guinta, US Congressman; February 11, 2012

“US Tax Policies within the Framework of Fiscal Cliff Debates”

George Pataki, Former New York Senator; December 3, 2012

Council on Foreign Relations Delegation and GRF Members Roundtable Meeting; April 19, 2013

- **“Turkey’s Middle East Policy”**
Ertuğrul Apakan, Ambassador (Ret.) GRF Member
- **“Turkey-US Relations, The US’s Changing Priorities”**
Richard N. Haass, CFR Chairman
- **“Turkey’s Economic Performance and Energy Policies in the Past 10 Years”**
Memduh Karakullukçu, GRF Vice-Chairman and President

European Union (EU)

“Turkey’s Role in the Middle East”

Lapo Pistelli, Head of the Foreign Affairs and International Relations Department of the Italian Democratic Party and MP (representing Florence); 24 April 2012

“The Euro Crisis and the Future of the EU”

Dr. Robin Niblett, Chatham House Director; May 17, 2012

“The Euro Crisis, European Identity, Expansion of the EU”

Thierry de Montbrial, French International Relations Institute (IFRI) Founder and Chairman; November 8, 2012

“Turkey-Denmark Relations, Opportunities for Cooperation between Two Countries”

Denmark Network Group; October 4, 2013

Countries of the Region

“Iran and Human Rights”

Hadi Ghaemi, Executive Director of the International Campaign for Human Rights in Iran; May 8, 2012

“Turkey-Russia Relations, Developments in the Caucasus”

Thomas de Waal, Senior Researcher at the Russia and Eurasia Program at the CEIP; June 4, 2013



“Latest Developments in Egypt, Syria and Iran, and Turkey’s Role in the Region”

David Gardner, Financial Times International News Editor and Columnist; September 24, 2013

“The Internal Dynamics and Bilateral Relations of Countries in the South Caucasus and Russia’s Role in the Region”

Ekaterine Tkeshelashvili, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia; October 10, 2013

Human Capital Roundtable Meetings Series

“Democracy, Education and Religion”

Dr. Sijbalt J. Noorda, Former Rector of Amsterdam University Rector; February 3, 2012

“Opportunities for Cooperation between British and Turkish Universities in Science, Technology and Education”

David Willetts, UK Minister of State for Universities and Science; April 3, 2012

“New Law Regarding the Higher Education Council (YÖK)”

Prof. Dr. Gökhan Çetinsaya, Higher Education Council (YÖK) Chairman; November 19, 2012

“Human Capital Development”

Nebraska University Delegation; December 6, 2012

G20 Roundtable Meetings

“G20 and Turkey”

Consultation with GRF Corporate Members; March 27, 2013

“2014-2015: Turkey-Australia Cooperation on G20 Troika”

Ian Biggs, Ambassador of Australia to Turkey; December 20, 2013

“Istanbul, Urbanization and Sustainability”

Kadir Topbaş, Mayor of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Dr. Roland Busch, Siemens AG Board Member, Prof.

Nuran Zeren Gülersoy, Director of the ITÜ Urban and Environmental Planning Research Center; June 29, 2012

“The Indian Economy and India’s Bilateral Relations with the US, China and Pakistan”

Dr. Sanjaya Baru, International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), Geo-economics and Strategy Director and Former Advisor to the Indian Prime Minister; May 7, 2013

“The Organizational Transformation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: New Foreign Policy Instruments”

Ambassador Naci Korum, Turkish Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs; May 8, 2013

GRF POLICY COMMUNITIES

Since its inception, GRF has created programs for young thinkers to engage them in its ongoing institutional work and to make them active participants in its long-term policy initiatives.

In these programs, GRF

- aims to support and advance a culture where diversity of ideas co-exist in harmony and blend constructively;
- bases all its activities on nurturing intellectual curiosity, systematic inquiry, rational debate, a constructive demeanor, and objective synthesis.

In each program GRF initiates, it carefully selects individuals who have adopted and internalized these principles.

Individuals who complete one of the four GRF programs, which are offered to various age groups, join the GRF Community. The GRF Community laid its foundations with the GRF Young Scholars and Young Scholars Abroad Programs, which were designed for undergraduate students. In 2013, the GRF Young Academics Program was created for academics, and the GRF Young Professionals Program was introduced for professionals at the early stages of their careers.



1-GRF YOUNG SCHOLARS & GRF YOUNG SCHOLARS ABROAD SEMINARS

Global Relations Forum conducts *GRF Young Scholars Seminars* for undergraduate students studying at leading universities in Istanbul, and *GRF Young Scholars Abroad Seminars* for undergraduate students studying at distinguished universities abroad.

The meetings are organized in three sections:

The **first** section brings together students and GRF members.

Invited as guest speakers, our members share their assessments on topics of international affairs that they have selected based on their own career paths and areas of interest. This gives the students the opportunity to benefit from the wisdom and experiences of GRF members, who have represented Turkey in international fora and have been instrumental in the shaping of events in Turkey and the world. In turn, our members find the opportunity to enrich their ideas with the questions and comments of the young participants, who think across the parameters of today's challenges and show interest in a wide array of subjects resulting from their intellectual curiosity. In short, this section of the program is about the exchange of knowledge and experience between generations.

The **second** section of the program consists of meetings where GRF Vice-Chairman and President Memduh Karakullukçu, and GRF executive staff convene with students.

The discussions in these meetings revolve around the articles written by world's leading academics and intellectuals and require the active and sustained participation of students. One of the important goals of this section is to enable students to make connections, on a macro scale, among many different aspects of the global agenda, from economy to technology and from law to politics. Additionally, this section of the program aims to provide students with the tools to understand key debates concerning the world's future in a 50-100 year time frame; and help them shape their professional and personal goals as well as their public service aspirations.

In the **third** section of the program, students are tasked with preparing a policy analysis report on a global issue of their choice.

With this exercise, the students are expected to systematically analyze a problem concerning Turkey and the world, create a comprehensive conceptual model of the problem by carefully using the available facts, and make viable policy recommendations. Through this effort, students are encouraged to begin thinking about the resolution of long-term problems that will challenge global policy thinking throughout their careers.

After completing the program, students who have attended the meetings regularly and have presented their policy analysis reports to the group are designated "**Young Scholars**" and become part of the GRF Community.

Information about the students who graduated from the Young Scholars 2012 and 2013 and Young Scholars Abroad 2012 and 2013 programs, and the names of the GRF members who participated in the program as guest speakers, as well as the titles of their presentations, are listed below:

YOUNG SCHOLARS 2012

Olgu Alduran	Boğaziçi University	Industrial Engineering
Erdem Altay	Boğaziçi University	Electric-Electronic Engineering
Reyhan Ayas	Sabancı University	Economics
Bilgenur Baloğlu	Istanbul Technical University	Molecular Biology and Genetics
Sıla Bozok	Galatasaray University	International Relations
Müge Dalkıran	Galatasaray University	International Relations
Ali Oskar Elerman	Koç University	Industrial Engineering & Economics
Zeynep Erdemir	Sabancı University	Production Systems and Industrial Engineering
Gökçen Karaman	Boğaziçi University	Sociology
Emre Kudatgobilik	Galatasaray University	Political Science
Zübeyde Ece Kural	Koç University	Psychology and Economics
Nazlı Mergen	Sabancı University	Production Systems Engineering
Semuhi Sinanoğlu	Boğaziçi University	Political Science and International Relations & Economics
Burak Yavuz	Boğaziçi University	Mechanical Engineering

Guest Speakers:

- Prof. Orhan Güvenen- “Technologies in the World, Social Capital and Human Resources”
- Ambassador (Ret.) Sönmez Köksal- “Turkey and the Devil’s Triangle: Iran, Iraq and Syria”
- Ambassador (Ret.) İlder Türkmen - “Turkey’s Middle East Policy in the Arab Spring Process”
- Erkut Yücaoğlu- “Necessary Strategies for Turkey’s Economic Development in the Medium to Long-Term”



YOUNG SCHOLARS 2013

Zeynep Ayapbek	Galatasaray University	International Relations
Mehmet Yalçın Aydın	Koç University	Mechanical Engineering
Onur Aytaç	Marmara University	Law and Radio, Cinema and Television
Anıl Balıkcı	Özyeğin University	Business Administration & Psychology
Yaprak Bulut	Istanbul Technical University	Food Engineering
Esra Yağdır Çeliker	Istanbul Technical University	Architecture & Construction Engineering
Esra Çiçekçi	Galatasaray University	Law
Yener Çağla Çimendereli	Boğaziçi University	Political Science and International Relations & Philosophy
Ekin Ersanlı	Koç University	Law
Zeynep Ülkü Kahveci	Galatasaray University	Law
Esad Erkam Köroğlu	Boğaziçi University	Economics & Political Science and International Relations
Mustafa Mert Metin	Koç University	Medicine
Esra Oktay	Istanbul Technical University	Molecular Biology and Genetics
Göksenin Orhan Öztürkeri	Okan University	Chinese Translation-Interpretation & International Relations
Cem Tecimer	Koç University	Law
Hilal Temel	Bilgi University	Law & Economics
Emine Büşra Ünlüöner	Sabancı University	Social and Political Sciences
Cansu Üttü	Galatasaray University	Political Science



Guest Speakers:

- Prof. Gülnur Aybet- “NATO’s Transformation”
- Prof. Nur Yalman- “Human Rights”
- Ambassador (Ret.) Sönmez Köksal- “Turkey and Developments in Iraq and Syria”
- Ambassador (Ret.) Özdem Sanberk- “Public Diplomacy”

YOUNG SCHOLARS ABROAD 2012

Haldun Anıl	Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)	<i>Economics & Administrative Sciences</i>
Nezihe Simin Araz	Georgetown University	<i>International Politics</i>
Alara Büyükçınar	McGill University	<i>Entrepreneurship, International Management and Strategy</i>
Alpkan Çelik	Harvard University	<i>Mathematics and Mathematical Economics</i>
Senem Çilingiroğlu	Yale University	<i>Architecture & Economics</i>
Defne Gabay	McGill University	<i>Finance and Economics</i>
Enis Gezmez	McGill University	<i>Management, Finance and Marketing</i>
Yunuscan Sevimli	Johns Hopkins University	<i>Mechanical Engineering & Robotics</i>
Ömer Faruk Şerifoğlu	Georgetown University	<i>Science, Technology and International Relations</i>
Arda Can Tekin	Harvard University	<i>Social Sciences</i>
Başak Tulga	Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)	<i>Economics & Administrative Sciences</i>
Cem Zorlular	Columbia University	<i>Financial Economics & Computer Science</i>



Guest Speakers:

- Tayfun Bayazıt- “Management of Financial Institutions in the Fluctuating Markets of Turkey”
- Metin Fadilloğlu- “Education in Turkey”
- Prof. Umran İnan- “Technology, University and Defense”
- Ambassador (Ret.) Sönmez Köksal- “Protocol” & “Middle East”
- Erol Memioğlu- “Turkey’s Energy Policies”
- Prof. Muhsin Mengütürk- “Change in International Financial Regulations”
- Ambassador (Ret.) Özdem Sanberk- “Phases of Turkish Foreign Policy”

YOUNG SCHOLARS ABROAD 2013

Baturay Akaslan	Tufts University	<i>Computer Engineering and Computational Economics</i>
Ömer Alaettinoğlu	Columbia University	<i>Financial Engineering & Economics</i>
Çınar Ark	Johns Hopkins University	<i>International Relations & Sociology</i>
Kiara Butrosoğlu	Brown University	<i>Economics & Middle East Studies</i>
Feridun Mert Çelebi	Yale University	<i>Electric and Computer Engineering</i>
Cansu Çolakoğlu	Harvard University	<i>Social Sciences</i>
Ceyda Erten	Georgetown University	<i>International Politics and Law</i>
Mehmet Emre Gül	Harvard University	<i>Economics</i>
Kayacan Lordoğlu	North Carolina University	<i>Computer Engineering & Economics</i>
Alp Sevimlisoy	Cass Business School	<i>Banking and International Finance</i>
Melike Tokatlioğlu	Princeton University	<i>International and Public Relations</i>
Sera Tolgay	Yale University	<i>Political Science & Energy Sciences</i>
Sevi Uras	McGill University	<i>Finance & Political Science</i>
Yiğit Yorulmaz	Yale University	<i>Biomedical Engineering</i>

Guest Speakers:

- Tayfun Bayazıt- “The Economic Policy of Turkey in a 20-Year Perspective”
- Prof. Hasan Ersel- “Turkey’s Experience with Democratization and Development”
- Ambassador (Ret.) Sönmez Köksal- “Protocol” & “New Global Balances and Turkey”
- Ambassador (Ret.) Özdem Sanberk- “Key Elements of the Turkish Foreign Policy – A General Assessment of 2013”
- Ambassador (Ret.) İlter Türkmen- “The Last 60 Years of Turkish Foreign Policy”



2- GRF YOUNG ACADEMICS PROGRAM



GRF established the Young Academics Program to draw into its studies and activities young academics with strong theoretical backgrounds and a desire to contribute to Turkey's long-term policy debates.

With this program, GRF laid the foundations of a GRF Policy Community that focuses on the systemic global problems in its policy assessments, and approaches Turkey's agenda from a global perspective. The intellectual capital accumulating as a result of this program will hopefully make a valuable contribution to national and global policy-making deliberations in the coming decades.

The program is centered on preparation and publication of a policy paper, and invites the participation of young academics that are either in the last year of their doctoral studies or have completed their PhD in Turkey or abroad within the last three years.

The GRF Young Academics Program is comprised of two stages.

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

The **second** stage consists of editing each article into its final publishable form in light of the recommendations and advice of selected GRF members. At this stage, separate review committees are formed for each candidate. Each "*Young Academics Program Review Committee*" is comprised of at least three GRF members whose areas of interest coincide with the paper's topic.

To ensure GRF's long-term contribution to the culture of rigorous and constructive policy analysis, this program plans, for the first time, to publish articles prepared by non-GRF-member specialists under the "*GRF Young Academics Policy Papers Series*".

Any subject with a practical aspect, and a potential to create an impact on the national or global agenda, is of interest to the GRF Young Academics Program. Therefore, the program is open to young academics, from all areas of study (e.g. social sciences, fundamental sciences, engineering, fine arts, architecture, medicine, law, and business administration).

Candidates accepted to the 2013 term of the program presented policy papers in the fields of political science, economics and sociology to the *GRF Young Academics Program Review Committees* during the second stage meetings of the program.



GRF members who participated in the Young Academics Program Review Committees are listed below:

Hakan Altınay – Non-resident Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution; President of Global Civics Academy

Canan Ediboğlu – Board Member, ING Bank; Board Member, Aygaz; Former Chief Executive officer of Shell Turkey

Dr. Hasan Ersel – Economist; Member of the Board of Trustees of TEPAV; Former Deputy Governor of Central Bank of Turkey

Prof. Üstün Ergüder – Director of the Educational Reform Initiative (ERI); Former Rector of Boğaziçi University

Ayla Göksel – Vice Chairwoman of the Mother and Child Education Foundation (AÇEV)

Memduh Karakullukçu – Vice-Chairman and President of GRF

Sönmez Köksal – Ambassador (Ret.); Former Undersecretary of the National Intelligence Organization (MİT)

Prof. Muhsin Mengütürk – Board Member of Doğu Holding; Former Chairman of the Capital Markets Board of Turkey

Prof. İlhan Or – Professor of Industrial Engineering at Boğaziçi University

Prof. Gülsün Sağlamer – Professor of Architecture and Former Rector of Istanbul Technical University; Former Board Member of European University Association

Prof. İlter Turan – Professor of Political Science and Former Rector of Bilgi University

The first paper of the GRF Young Academics Program 2013 Term will be published in 2014 under the “GRF Young Academics Policy Papers Series.”

3-GRF YOUNG PROFESSIONALS PROGRAM



The *GRF Young Professionals Program* is designed for young professionals who are equipped with the resolve, background, and experience to contribute to the future of Turkey and the world.

Since its establishment, GRF has organized activities designed to enrich Turkey's contribution to the global agenda. The *GRF Young Professionals Program* was launched to make GRF's access to non-academic, professional expertise by incorporating young professionals into GRF activities.

GRF asks the Young Professionals to focus on understanding systemic global problems and to evaluate Turkey's priorities within this global framework.

Participants of the *GRF Young Professionals Program* are individuals from various educational backgrounds and career paths, who are no older than 38 years of age and have worked in a private company, a public institution, or an NGO for at least four years. The program is open to individual applications as well as the participant nominations of GRF's Corporate Members.

In addition, GRF members are invited to the program as guest speakers, and share their ideas on matters that relate to their areas of expertise. The objective of this exercise is to enable the participants to not only benefit from the knowledge and experience of one another, but also of GRF members.

The 2013-2014 participants, *GRF Young Professionals Program's* first group, began attending seminars in the final quarter of 2013. Candidates from companies operating in various sectors were accepted to the program.

Half of the candidates participating in the GRF Young Professionals Program were chosen from amongst individuals nominated by GRF Corporate Members. Our Corporate Members who participated in the program through the candidates they nominated are listed below.

Chadbourne & Parke Consulting and Legal Services
Citibank
Deloitte
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Siemens
Total Oil Türkiye
Türkiye İş Bankası
Türkiye Sınai Kalkınma Bankası
Vodafone

MEMBERSHIP

Global Relations Forum membership is either Individual or Corporate. GRF had 40 founding members in May 2009; by the end of 2013, the number of individual members had risen to 149 and the number of corporate members to 13.

1- INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS

Ahmet Acar	<i>Rector, Middle East Technical University</i>
Faik Açıkalın	<i>CEO, Yapı Kredi Bank; President of the Banking and Insurance Group, Koç Holding A.Ş.</i>
Vural Akışık	<i>Executive; Former Chairman of the Turkish State Banks</i>
Leyla Alaton	<i>Board Member, Alarko Group of Companies</i>
Hakan Altınay	<i>Non-resident Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution; President of Global Civics Academy</i>
Piraye Antika	<i>Founder, Enkuba Technologies; Former CEO of HSBC Bank Turkey; Management Consultant</i>
Ertuğrul Apakan	<i>Ambassador (R); Chief Monitor of the OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation of Europe) Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine; Permanent Representative of Turkey to UN (F); Undersecretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs (F)</i>
Emre Aracı	<i>Musicologist; Composer</i>
Bozkurt Aran	<i>Ambassador (R); Per. Rep. of TR to WTO (F); Director of Trade Studies, TEPAV; Board Member, Şişecam</i>
Mehmet Arda	<i>Former Head of Commodities Branch, UNCTAD; Professor of International Relations, GSU (F)</i>
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Osman Boyner	<i>Chairman, BD Otomotiv A.Ş.</i>
Şule Bucak	<i>Communications Consultant</i>
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Tarhan Erdem	<i>Chairman, Konda Research Consulting; Columnist</i>
Üstün Ergüder	<i>Director, Education Reform Initiative and Former Rector of Boğaziçi U.</i>
Aydemir Erman	<i>Ambassador (R); Former Special Coordinator of Turkey for Afghanistan</i>
Ahmet Kamil Erozan	<i>First Deputy Secretary General, Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation; Ambassador (R)</i>
Nazif Murat Ersavcı	<i>Ambassador (R); Head of the Turkish Delegation, BIE; Sen. Adv. to the Board on International Affairs, MetCap</i>
Hasan Ersel	<i>Member of Board of Trustees, TEPAV; Former Deputy Governor of Central Bank of Turkey</i>
Selçuk Esenbel	<i>Professor of History, Boğaziçi University</i>
Metin Fadilloğlu	<i>Chairman, Group 29</i>
Ayla Göksel	<i>Vice-Chairwoman, Mother Child Education Foundation (ACEV)</i>
Celal Göle	<i>Professor of Commercial Law and Former Dean (of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Ankara University</i>
Nilüfer Göle	<i>Professor of Sociology at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris</i>
Emre Gönensay	<i>Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Professor of Economics</i>
Bülent Gültekin	<i>Associate Professor of Finance, Univ. of Pennsylvania; Governor of the Central Bank of Turkey (F)</i>
Orhan Güvenen	<i>Former Undersecretary of DPT, Professor of Econometrics at Bilkent University</i>
Talat S. Halman	<i>Former Minister of Culture; Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, Bilkent University</i>
Şükrü Hanioglu	<i>Professor of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University</i>
Metin Heper	<i>Provost, Bilkent University; Professor of Political Science</i>

Rifat Hisarcıklıoğlu	<i>President, Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges</i>
Umran İnan	<i>Rector, Koç University</i>
M. Cemal Kafadar	<i>Professor of History, Harvard University</i>
Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı	<i>Professor of Psychology, Koç University</i>
Ersin Kalaycıoğlu	<i>Professor of Political Science, Sabancı University</i>
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Sami Kohen	<i>Journalist, Writer</i>
Sezer Komsuoğlu	<i>Former Rector, Kocaeli University; Professor of Neurology</i>
Osman Korutürk	<i>MP; Ambassador (R)</i>
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Sönmez Köksal	<i>Ambassador (R), Former Undersecretary of State in charge of Turkish National Intelligence Organization</i>
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Emine Gürsoy Naskali	<i>Professor of Turkish Language and Literature, Marmara U.</i>
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Zeynep Bodur Okyay	<i>CEO- President, Kale Group of Companies</i>
Gülsin Onay	<i>Pianist; State Artist</i>
İlhan Or	<i>Professor of Industrial Engineering, Boğaziçi University</i>
İlber Ortaylı	<i>Professor of History, Galatasaray U., Former Director of Topkapı Palace Museum</i>
Altan Öymen	<i>Journalist, Writer</i>
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Murat Özçelik	<i>Ambassador (R); Former Undersecretary of Public Order and Security</i>
Ersin Özince	<i>Chairman, İş Bank</i>
Murat Özyeğin	<i>Board Member, Fiba Group</i>
Necmettin Pamir	<i>Professor of Neurology and Former Rector, Acibadem University</i>
Ümit Pamir	<i>Ambassador (R); Former Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations and NATO</i>

Süher Pekinel	<i>Pianist</i>
Günsel Renda	<i>Professor of History of Art, Koç University</i>
Gülsün Sağlam	<i>Professor of Architecture and Former Rector, İTÜ; Board Member (F), European University Association</i>
Güven Sak	<i>Director of Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV); Professor of Economics</i>
S. Özdem Sanberk	<i>Ambassador (R), Former Undersecretary of Ministry of For. Affairs</i>
Rüşdü Saraçoğlu	<i>Former Minister of State, Former Governor of the Central Bank of Turkey</i>
Çiğdem Selşik	<i>Theatre Director; Actress; Lecturer, Koç University</i>
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Leyla Tara Suyabatmaz	<i>Founder and Senior Director, RAMPA Istanbul; Board Member, ENKA Foundation</i>
Ferit Şahenk	<i>Chairman, Doğu Holding A.Ş.</i>
İpek Nur Cem Taha	<i>Director, Columbia Global Center in Turkey</i>
Sabih Tansal	<i>Former Rector, Boğaziçi University; Professor of Electrical and Electronics Engineering</i>
Agah Mehmet Tara	<i>Chairman of Executive Committee and General Manager, ENKA</i>
Turgut Tarhanlı	<i>Dean, Bilgi University Faculty of Law; Professor of Public International Law and Human Rights Law</i>
Ertan Tezgör	<i>Ambassador (R); Head of Delegation of Turkey to International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA)</i>
Ali Tigrel	<i>Undersecretary of State Planning Organization (F); Chairman of the EU Coordination Council (F)</i>
Sübidey Togan	<i>Professor of Economics and Director of Center for International Economics, Bilkent University</i>
Canan Çelebioğlu Tokgöz	<i>Vice Chairwoman, Çelebi Holding A.Ş.</i>
İlter Turan	<i>Professor of Political Science and Former Rector, Bilgi University</i>
Fusun Türkmen	<i>Professor of International Relations, Galatasaray U.</i>
İlter Türkmen	<i>Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Ambassador (R); Former Commissioner General, UNRWA</i>
Rıza M. Türmen	<i>MP; Former ECHR Judge; Ambassador (R)</i>
Tomris Türmen	<i>Professor of Neonatology, Ankara University; Former Representative of Director-General, WHO</i>
Akın Umur	<i>Chairman, Türk Tütün A.Ş.</i>
Derin Ural	<i>Professor of Civil Engineering and Former Vice-Rector, Istanbul Technical University (İTÜ)</i>
Emine Uşaklıgil	<i>Journalist, Writer</i>
Ali Ülker	<i>Vice-Chairman, Yıldız Holding</i>
Murat Ülker	<i>Chairman, Yıldız Holding</i>
Volkan Vural	<i>Ambassador (R); Advisor to Chairman, Doğan Holding</i>
Yaşar Yakış	<i>Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Ambassador (R); President, STRATİM</i>
Nur Yalman	<i>Professor of Social Anthropology and Middle Eastern S. at Harvard U.</i>
Tezcan Yaramancı	<i>Chairman, Investa Consulting; Chairman, TURMEPA</i>
Zekeriya Yıldırım	<i>Chairman, Yıldırım Consulting; Board Member, Sabancı Holding; Deputy Governor of Central Bank (F)</i>
Durmuş Yılmaz	<i>Sen. Adv. to the President of TR (F); Governor of the Cent. Bank of TR (F); Member of Directors' Council, TEPAV</i>
Rona Yırcalı	<i>Chairman, Yırcalı Group; Honorary Chair, ICC WCF; Chairman of Board of Trustees, TEV</i>
İdil Yiğitbaşı	<i>Chairwoman, Yaşar Holding</i>
Erkut Yücaoğlu	<i>President of High Advisory Council (F), TÜSİAD; Chairman, Map-Turkuaz Group of Companies</i>
Gamze Dinçkök Yücaoğlu	<i>Financial Audit & Risk Management Director, AKENERJİ</i>

2- CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP

GRF introduced Corporate Membership in April 2011 as part of its institutional commitment to the diversity of ideas and perspectives.

Corporate Members are represented by one person at the level of Chairperson, Chief Executive Officer (CEO) or Executive Director.

CORPORATE MEMBERS

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ING Bank

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Türkiye İş Bankası

Türkiye Sınai Kalkınma Bankası

Vodafone

IN MEMORIAM

In fond memory of our respected members Hayati Kahmi and Jak Amram, whom we lost in June 2012 and September 2013, respectively. We would like to extend our sincere condolences to their relatives, loved ones, and the GRF family.



GLOBAL İLİŞKİLER FORUMU

Yapı Kredi Plaza D Blok Levent 34330 İstanbul - Türkiye

T: +90 212 339 71 51 F: +90 212 339 61 04

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