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# GRF IN BRIEF

**G**lobal Relations Forum (GRF) is an independent, non-profit membership association committed to being a platform for engaging, informing, and stimulating its members and all interested individuals in all matters related to international affairs and global issues.

GRF was founded with the support of 40 accomplished Turkish men and women who have assumed prominent roles in international fora and have received international recognition for their efforts throughout their careers. Founding members include former secretaries of state, university presidents, members of the armed forces, bureaucrats, and retired ambassadors as well as leading business leaders, scholars, artists, legal practitioners, and journalists. It was officially registered on May 11, 2009 and its first General Assembly was held on November 9, 2009.

GRF intends to advance a culture that rewards the fertile tension between passion for intellectual diversity and dedication to innovative and objective synthesis. It nurtures uninhibited curiosity, analytic inquiry, rational debate, and constructive demeanor as the elemental constituents in all its endeavors. It contributes to the shared understanding of and aspiration for humanity's path to peace, prosperity, and progress as an accessible, inclusive and fair process for all.

# GOVERNANCE

## ANNUAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY

GRF held its 8<sup>th</sup> Annual General Assembly on January 25, 2016, at its office situated at Yapı Kredi Plaza, and its 9<sup>th</sup> Annual General Assembly on February 15, 2017, at the Divan Istanbul Hotel.



## BOARD OF DIRECTORS

GRF Board of Directors consists of 15 full and 15 substitute members. The board members are elected for three-year terms, with one-third of the board members being renewed each year.



**Board Members 2016**

**Rahmi M. Koç**  
Chairman  
**Memduh Karakullukçu**  
Vice-Chairman and President  
**Hanzade Doğan Boyner**  
Vice-Chairwoman  
**Metin Fadılhoğlu**  
Secretary-General  
**Gülsün Sağlamer**  
Auditor  
  
**Elsie Vance Aşkar**  
**Ertuğrul Apakan**  
**Hikmet Çetin**  
**Hasan T. Çolakoğlu**  
**Suzan Sabancı Dinçer**  
**Ömer Dinçkök**  
**Cem Kozlu**  
**Zeynep Bodur Okyay**  
**İlter Turan**  
**Yaşar Yakış**

**Board Members 2017**

**Rahmi M. Koç**  
Honorary Chairman  
**Cem Kozlu**  
Chairman  
**Memduh Karakullukçu**  
Vice-Chairman and President  
**Hanzade Doğan Boyner**  
Vice-Chairwoman  
**Metin Fadılhoğlu**  
Secretary-General  
**Murat Özyeğin**  
Auditor  
  
**Ahmet Acar**  
**Ertuğrul Apakan**  
**Elsie Vance Aşkar**  
**Adnan Bali**  
**Hikmet Çetin**  
**Suzan Sabancı Dinçer**  
**Ömer Dinçkök**  
**Zeynep Bodur Okyay**  
**İlter Turan**  
**Yaşar Yakış**

**Audit Committee Members 2016-2017**

**Zekeriya Yıldırım**  
**Yavuz Canevi**  
**Ahmet Rona Yırcalı**

# GRF EXECUTIVE STAFF



**Nigar Ağaoğulları Yalınkılıç**  
Executive Director



**Burcu Baran Türem**  
Director of Policy Communities



**Ali Serkan Türkmenoğlu**  
Program Director



**Ezgisu Biber**  
Task Force Program Director



**Selin Uğurtaş**  
Program Director



**Gökberk Kızıltan**  
Senior Associate



**Maxine İmer**  
Administrative Coordinator



**Çiğdem Şimşek**  
Administrative Assistant

# TASK FORCES

GRF Task Forces are independent commissions that bring together accomplished individuals with diverse professional backgrounds, experiences and opinions to deliberate and reach a consensus on complex topics in international relations and global affairs. Since its foundation, these commissions have been a major component of GRF's studies and they strive to make balanced judgments on matters that involve medium to long-term uncertainty, as well as to generate roadmaps for policymakers on a wide array of issues.

GRF Task Forces are comprised of at least 10 and at most 25 members. Ensuring intellectual diversity is an important criteria for identifying and inviting participants. The functioning of the Task Force is overseen by a chair (or two co-chairs), a director assigned from amongst GRF staff, and a rapporteur. They are also responsible for the production of the final Task Force report. Task Force members participate in their individual capacities and their views do not necessarily represent those of the institutions they are affiliated with.

GRF Task Forces are complemented with roundtable series which are designed to establish an ongoing exchange between GRF Task Forces and GRF members. As part of the roundtable series, GRF welcomes internationally-renowned experts and political practitioners in meetings that are open exclusively to its members. These meetings not only allow GRF members to deliberate on issues that fall within GRF's areas of interest, but also contribute to the final Task Force reports.

In 2016, GRF launched two new Task Forces addressing the issues of "The Middle East and North Africa" and "Higher Education," whereas the Task Force on the "Future of EU-Turkey Relations" was initiated in Fall 2017. The Task Force entitled the "International Trade System and Turkey in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century" has finalized its consensus document in Fall 2016. However, the publication of the final report was put on hold due to uncertainties at the global level that are tied to Brexit and to United States President Donald Trump's unconventional approach to international trade. It was decided for the report to be published at a later date, when uncertainties are expected to decrease to an extent that permits reliable analysis.

## TASK FORCE ON THE FUTURE OF EU-TURKEY RELATIONS



GRF Task Force on the Future of EU-Turkey Relations was launched in Fall 2017 upon the premise that the European Union is undergoing a significant process of transformation and that it is likely to evolve into a different structure in the near future. With this study, GRF acknowledges ongoing debates across Europe that put into question both the pace and the direction of further integration, and dispute the ideal to achieve an “ever closer union.”

Based on this assessment, the Task Force on the Future of EU-Turkey Relations aspires to analyze the root causes of the demand for change, and evaluate the relative strengths and weaknesses of alternative scenarios that are put forth regarding the EU's future. It will then work to determine how these different scenarios would affect the future of EU-Turkey relations. Through this Task Force, GRF aims to ensure that Turkish policy thinking is well-prepared to designate possible areas of cooperation with a new and evolved Europe.

### TASK FORCE

#### CHAIR

**Ünal Çeviköz**  
Ambassador (Ret.)

#### MEMBERS

**Bekir Ağırđır**

General Manager, KONDA Research and Consultancy;  
Vice Chair of the Board, TESEV

**Ender Arat**

Ambassador (Ret.), Chief Advisor to Prime Minister on  
Foreign Affairs (F)

**Mehmet Arda**

Head of the Commodities Branch, UNCTAD (F);  
Professor of International Relations, GSU (F)

**Yavuz Canevi**

Chairman, TEB; Governor of Central Bank of Turkey  
(F); Undersecretary of Treasury and Foreign Trade (F)

**Turgut Cankorel**

Legal Counsel, International Finance Corporation (IFC)

**Elif Özmenek Çarmıklı**

Instructor and Migration Policy Expert

**Hikmet Çetin**

Speaker of TBMM (F), Minister of Foreign Affairs (F),  
NATO Senior Civilian Representative – Afghanistan (F)

**Uğur Doğan**

Undersecretary of the Ministry of Energy and Natural  
Resources (F); CEO and Board Member, Nurol Holding (F)

**Senem Aydın Düzgit**

Associate Professor of International Relations, Sabancı University; Senior Scholar and Research and Academic Affairs Coordinator, Istanbul Policy Center (IPC)

**Canan Ediboğlu**

Board Member, ING Bank; Board Member, Aygaz; General Manager, Shell Turkey (F)

**Yakup Atila Eralp**

Director of Centre for European Studies, METU; Director of International Policy Research Institute, TEPAV

**Vahit Erdem**

Member of Parliament (F); Undersecretary, Undersecretariat for Defence Industries (Ret.); Board Member, Kale Group

**Üstün Ergüder**

Director, Education Reform Initiative; Rector, Boğaziçi University (F)

**Hüsamettin Kavi**

Chairman, Istanbul Chamber of Industry (F); Chairman, GTE Endüstri Sistemleri

**Cem Kozlu**

Chairman, GRF; Management Consultant; Chairman, Turkish Airlines (F)

**Zekeriya Yıldırım**

Chairman, Yıldırım Consulting; Board Member, Sabancı Holding; Deputy Governor, Central Bank (F)

**Kamil Yılmaz**

Professor of Economics, Koç University

**Sönmez Köksal**

Ambassador (Ret.); Undersecretary of State in charge of Turkey's National Intelligence Organization (F)

**Bertil Emrah Oder**

Dean of Law School, Koç University; Professor of Law

**Ümit Pamir**

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

**S. Özdem Sanberk**

Ambassador (Ret.); Undersecretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (F)

**Gül Günver Turan**

President of Turkey-EU Association; Professor of Economics (Ret.)

**İlter Turan**

Rector, Bilgi University (F); Professor of Political Science

**Fusun Türkmen**

Professor of International Relations (GSU)

**Yaşar Yakış**

Minister of Foreign Affairs (F); Ambassador (Ret.); President, STRATIM

**GRF SECRETARIAT****Nigar Ağaoğulları Yalınkılıç**

GRF Executive Director

**Selin Uğurtaş**

Task Force Director and Rapporteur

## THE FUTURE OF EU-TURKEY RELATIONS ROUNDTABLE SERIES



In 2017, the following meetings were held as part of the Future of EU-Turkey Relations Roundtable Meetings Series:

### **“EU’s Economic Future and Strategic Choices”**

Dr. André Sapir, Senior Fellow at Bruegel  
October 3, 2017

### **“Britain and Turkey: Farewell to Europe?”**

Mr. Denis MacShane, Former Labour MP and Former Minister of Europe  
November 1, 2017

### **“How Can We Fix Turkey-EU Relations: What are the Possibilities?”**

Ambassador Selim Yenel, Undersecretary of the Ministry for EU Affairs  
December 13, 2017

## TASK FORCE ON HIGHER EDUCATION



GRF Task Force on Higher Education was launched in October 2016 in order to propose policy suggestions for the restructuring of higher education institutions and the field of research in Turkey. With this Task Force, GRF aspires to lay the groundwork for a “system design” that is able to nurture a highly-qualified human capital, which would in turn work towards institutionalizing mechanisms that would produce efficient information. The aim is to design a higher education system that can dynamically update its objectives in line with the necessities of a changing world, while preserving systemic qualities and continuing to meet the expectations of the system’s shareholders.

This study has been structured around two groups: the Task Force and the Advisory Council. While the Task Force is responsible for creating the framework of the study, provide a roadmap and finalize the consensus report; the Advisory Board provides feedback and recommendations throughout these processes.

### TASK FORCE

#### CO-CHAIRS

##### **Muhsin Mengütürk**

Board Member, Doğuş Holding A.Ş.; Former Chairman of Capital Markets Board of Turkey

##### **Gülsün Sağlamer**

Professor of Architecture and Former Rector, Istanbul Technical University; Board Member (F), European University Association

#### MEMBERS

##### **Taşkın Aksoy**

Managing Partner, LinkTera Information Technologies

##### **Hakan Altınay**

President, Global Civics Academy; Director, Boğaziçi University European School of Politics

##### **Ekrem Ekin**

Founding Member and Chairman, T-Dinamik Energy Investment Company; Former Rector, Işık University

##### **Armağan Erdoğan**

Director of Research Center for Higher Education Studies at Social Sciences University of Ankara

##### **Birgül Tantekin Ersolmaz**

Professor of Chemical Engineering at the Istanbul Technical University

##### **Memduh Karakullukçu**

Vice-Chairman and President, GRF

**Sönmez Köksal**

Ambassador (Ret.), Former Undersecretary of State in charge of Turkey's National Intelligence Organization

**Murat Özyeğin**

Board Member, Fiba Group

**Şevket Ruacan**

Founding Dean and Professor of Pathology, Koç University School of Medicine

**Cengiz Ustav**

Chairman of the Board of Directors, Technology Development Foundation of Turkey; Executive Board Member, Vestel Ventures

**Deniz Yuret**

Associate Professor of Computer Engineering and Founder of the Artificial Intelligence Laboratory, Koç University

**ADVISORY BOARD****Muhsin Mengütürk**

Board Member, Doğuş Holding A.Ş.; Former Chairman of Capital Markets Board of Turkey

**Gülsün Sağlam**

Professor of Architecture and Former Rector, Istanbul Technical University; Board Member (F), European University Association

**Ahmet Acar**

Former Rector, Middle East Technical University

**Attila Aşkar**

Former Rector of Koç University; Professor of Applied Mathematics

**Üstün Ergüder**

Director, Education Reform Initiative and Former Rector of Boğaziçi University

**Selçuk Esenbel**

Professor of History, Boğaziçi University

**Metin Fadıllıoğlu**

Former Chairman, Group 29

**Orhan Güvenen**

Former Undersecretary of State Planning Organization (DPT); Professor of Econometrics at Bilkent University

**Münci Kalaycıoğlu**

Transplant Surgeon; Head of the Organ Transplantation Department, Şişli Memorial Hospital

**Memduh Karakullukçu**

Vice-Chairman and President, GRF

**Cem Kozlu**

Former Chairman, Turkish Airlines; Management Consultant

**Sabih Tansal**

Former Rector, Boğaziçi University; Professor of Electrical and Electronics Engineering

**İlter Turan**

Former Rector, Bilgi University; Professor of Political Science

**GRF SECRETARIAT****Ali Serkan Türkmenoğlu**

GRF Program Director

## HIGHER EDUCATION ROUNDTABLE SERIES



In 2016-2017, the following meetings were held as part of the Higher Education Roundtable Meetings Series:

### **“Higher Education as a Shared Challenge: How Will Europe Deal With It?”**

Prof. Maria Helena Nazaré, Former Chairperson of the European University Association

Prof. Ursula Nelles, Rector of the Westphalian Wilhelms (Münster) University

Prof. Krista Varantola, Vice-Chairwoman of the Finnish Council of University Rectors

March 21, 2016

### **“The Future of European Knowledge System”**

Dr. John Smith, Senior Adviser and Former Deputy Secretary General at the European University Association (EUA)

April 1, 2016

### **“The Evaluation of the Turkish Higher Education and Research Ecosystem within the Global Competitive Context”**

Prof. Hasan Mandal, Executive Board Member of Turkey’s Council on Higher Education (YÖK)

April 27, 2016

### **“University”**

Prof. Kemal Gürüz, Former President of Turkey’s Council on Higher Education (YÖK)

December 22, 2016

### **“Growth, Quality, Internationalization: A Road Map for Turkish Higher Education”**

Prof. Gökhan Çetinsaya, Former President of Turkey’s Council on Higher Education (YÖK)

March 10, 2017

### **“Principles of Establishing a Modern University”**

Prof. İsmail Tosun, Former Vice President of Turkey’s Council on Higher Education (YÖK)

May 22, 2017

## TASK FORCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA



GRF launched the Task Force on the “Middle East and North Africa” in February 2016 in order to establish a policy framework for laying the foundations for stability and development in the region. Amidst the ongoing conflict and chaos, MENA emerged as a convenient stage for power struggles among regional and global actors.

As the region remains to be a source of instability for neighboring countries and proximate regions, the Task Force aims to begin by analyzing the regional drivers of instability. The country-specific dynamics with the potential to impact the region will also be investigated. The Task Force will then make assessments on the policy options that might contain the destructive effects of these factors, and increase the constructive interactions between them.

### TASK FORCE

#### CO-CHAIRS

##### **Hikmet Çetin**

Speaker of TBMM (F); Minister of Foreign Affairs (F); NATO Sen. Civilian Representative-Afghanistan (F)

##### **Yaşar Yakış**

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

#### MEMBERS

##### **Bozkurt Aran**

Ambassador (Ret.); Per. Rep. of TR to WTO (F);  
Director of Trade Studies, TEPAV; Board Member,  
Şişecam

##### **Ünal Çeviköz**

Ambassador (Ret.)

##### **Memduh Karakullukçu**

Vice Chairman and President, GRF

##### **Ali Karaosmanoğlu**

Professor of International Relations; Director of Center  
for Foreign Policy and Peace Research

##### **Sönmez Köksal**

Ambassador (Ret.), Former Undersecretary of State in  
charge of Turkey's National Intelligence Organization

**Ayşe Yüksel Mahfoud**

Partner-in-Charge of the Istanbul Office of Norton Rose  
Fulbright and Global Executive Committee Member

**Mustafa Özbey**

Admiral (Ret.); Board Member, Erciyas Steel Pipe Co.

**Soli Özel**

Professor of International Relations, Kadir Has  
University; Columnist

**Özdem Sanberk**

Ambassador (Ret.), Former Undersecretary of Ministry  
of For. Affairs

**Sabri Sayarı**

Emeritus Professor of Political Science, Sabancı  
University

**İlter Turan**

Professor of Political Science and Former Rector, Bilgi  
University

**Fusun Türkmen**

Professor of International Relations, Galatasaray  
University

**Nur Yalman**

Professor of Social Anthropology and Middle Eastern  
Studies at Harvard University

**GRF SECRETARIAT**

**Ezgisu Biber**

Task Force Director and Rapporteur

## THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA ROUNDTABLE SERIES



In 2016-2017, the following meetings were held as part of the Middle East and North Africa Roundtable Meetings Series:

**“Collapse of the State System in the Middle East: Readjustment of the Regional Balance of Power”**

Mr. Cengiz Çandar, Journalist and Writer

February 22, 2016

**“Sources of Instability and the Path to Resilient State Structures in the Middle East”**

Mr. David Gardner, Financial Times International Affairs Editor

March 15, 2016

**“The ‘Islamic State’: Between Terrorism and State-Building”**

Dr. Nelly Lahoud, IISS Middle East Senior Fellow for Political Islamism

May 25, 2016

**“Iran, the Nuclear Agenda and the Region’s Future”**

Dr. Nasser Hadian-Jazy, Professor at the University of Tehran

Prof. Steven E. Miller, Director of the International Security Program at Harvard University Belfer Center and Chair of the Pugwash Executive Committee

Ambassador Rakesh Sood, Special Envoy of the Prime Minister of India (SPEM) for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Issues

June 16, 2016

**“Middle East Disorder and External Powers: Between Containment and Opportunity”**

Mr. Emile Hokayem, IISS Senior Fellow for Middle East Security

November 25, 2016

**“Emergence of ‘Middle Eastern Uprisings’ and the Future of the Region”**

Mr. Anthony Bubalo, Deputy Director and Director of Research at the Lowy Institute

January 13, 2017

**“Drivers of Uncertainty and Ways to Promote Growth and Stability in the Middle East”**

Sir Jeremy Greenstock, Former Special Representative of the UK to Iraq

February 13, 2017

## TASK FORCE ON GLOBAL TRADE AND TURKEY IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY



“GRF Task Force on Global Trade and Turkey in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century” was launched to discuss global trends related to economics and trade, and to provide long-term policy suggestions for Turkey. In fall 2016, the Task Force succeeded in producing a Consensus Document. However, due to global uncertainties arising from unexpected developments, such as Brexit and the election of protectionist Donald Trump as President of the United States, the group decided to stall its publication. As the dust settled to an extent that allows one to understand and analyze the coming years, the Task Force updated the document to reflect recent changes in the international system. The Task Force Report is decided to be published at a later date.

### 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)

##### **Ali Tigrel**

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

#### MEMBERS

##### **Mehmet Arda**

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

##### **Yavuz Canevi**

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

##### **Turgut Cankorel**

Legal Counsel, International Finance Corporation (IFC)

##### **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.

##### **Sönmez Köksal**

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

##### **Muhsin Mengütürk**

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

##### **Zekeriya Yıldırım**

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

#### GRF SECRETARIAT

##### **Burcu Baran Türem**

GRF Director of Policy Communities

##### **Gökberk Kızıltan**

GRF Senior Associate

# COOPERATION WITH GLOBAL COUNTERPARTS

## TRACK-II STUDIES

GRF's Track-II studies involve contacts and consultation processes with high-level counterparts from other countries during which a common approach to bilateral relations and global issues is sought. The objective in these studies is to contribute to foreign policy processes and public diplomacy through in-depth exchanges at the civil society level. At the outset, Track-II studies aim to understand the priorities as well as interests of the two countries, and hence, the issues on which they converge and diverge. The assumption is that sustained dialogue would help cultivate new modes of thinking and develop a new language that could facilitate the resolution of future conflicts or hinder their emergence in the first place.

In 2016-2017, GRF continued its exchanges within the framework of the “Turkey-India Forum,” which was initiated in partnership with the Ananta Aspen Centre in 2015.

### Track-II Study with the Ananta Aspen Centre



Within the framework of GRF's Track II studies with India, the Turkey-India Forum was held in collaboration with the Ananta Aspen Center on April 4th, 2016 at the Taj Palace Hotel in New Delhi. The meeting was structured around three sessions during which the participants deliberated on the following topics respectively: “Renewable Energy and Caspian Oil: Future of Indo-Turkey Partnership in World Energy Market”, “Bilateral Economic Ties & Trade Opportunities between India and Turkey: Scope for Partnership as Emerging Economies” and “Strategic Dimensions, Challenges and Opportunities: Rise of ISIS, Risks & Threats Posed by Global Terrorism.” In all of the sessions, a panel of four participants, including a Co-Chair and a speaker from each delegation, provided an overview of each side's perspective on the matters discussed. Following the sessions, the participants discussed the opportunities for further dialogue and cooperation.

## 6<sup>th</sup> INDIA – TURKEY FORUM PARTICIPANTS

### GRF DELEGATION

**Adnan Akay**

Provost and Chair of Mechanical Engineering  
Department, Bilkent University

**Bozkurt Aran**

Ambassador (Ret.); Former Permanent Representative  
of Turkey to the World Trade Organization (WTO);  
Director of Trade Studies, TEPAV; Board Member,  
Şişecam

**Ünal Çeviköz**

Ambassador (Ret.)

**Memduh Karakullukçu**

Vice-Chairman and President, GRF

**Yaşar Yakış**

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

### ANANTA ASPEN CENTRE DELEGATION

**Rajendra Abhyankar**

Professor of Practice of Diplomacy and Public Affairs,  
Indiana University Bloomington; Former Secretary,  
Ministry of External Affairs; Former Ambassador of  
India to Syria, Turkey, EU, and Luxembourg

**Shankar Acharya**

Honorary Professor, Indian Council for Research on  
International Economic Relations (ICRIER); Former  
Chief Economic Adviser to the Government of India

**Pramit Pal Chaudhuri**

Foreign Editor, Hindustan Times

**P S Das**

Former Commander-In-Chief, Eastern Naval Command,  
Indian Navy

**Tarun Das**

Founding Trustee, Ananta Aspen Centre

**Jamshyd Godrej**

CEO, Godrej and Boyce Manufacturing Company  
Limited

**Kiran Pasricha**

Executive Director & CEO, Ananta Aspen Centre

### STAFF

**Nigar Ağaoğulları Yalınkılıç**

GRF Executive Director

**Gökberk Kızıltan**

GRF Senior Associate

**Kaustav Padmapati**

Program Executive, Ananta Aspen Centre

## GRF'S POLICY INITIATIVES WITH GLOBAL PARTNERS

Since its founding, GRF has prioritized the establishment and advancement of a strong, multi-layered dialogue with like-minded institutions around the globe. In addition to hosting experts affiliated with its global counterparts and attending meetings and conferences organized by them, GRF also collaborates with different institutions for the joint organization of task forces, conferences and meetings. In addition to these activities, GRF has also begun organizing joint conferences and meetings with other organizations, thus developing a new corporate mechanism for co-operating with its global associates.

In 2016-2017, GRF launched the “International Task Force on the Future of the Nuclear Deal with Iran” in order to maintain the momentum of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) on Iran’s nuclear program and published the “Declaration on the JCPOA” on March 17, 2017. The International Task Force brought together 14 experts from nine countries. Over the same period, GRF also co-organized the “Task Force on Cooperation in Greater Europe,” alongside the European Leadership Network (ELN), the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC), and the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). The Task Force aims to decisively break with Cold War’s costly legacy and to focus on meeting the political, economic and security challenges posed by the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

- **International Task Force on the Future of the Nuclear Deal with Iran**



GRF launched the International Task Force on the Future of the Nuclear Deal with Iran with the assumption that the deal had the potential to have a positive impact on the broader Middle East and international security, and that it presented an unprecedented opportunity to engage with Iran.

The Task Force is co-chaired by Dr. Steven Miller, Director of the International Security Program at Harvard University’s Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and Chair of the Pugwash Executive Committee; Ambassador Rakesh Sood, Former Special Envoy of the Prime Minister for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Issues; and Memduh Karakullukcu, GRF Vice-Chairman and President. 14 members, including GRF members, as well as experts on nuclear disarmament from China, France, India, Iran, Israel, Russia, the UK and the US were brought together within the framework of this study. With its high-level international membership, the Task Force set out to identify strategies and possibly new institutional structures that can preempt the build-up of corrosive pressures on the JCPOA both within and from outside the region, while gradually steering the agreement towards broader constructive use.

The Task Force held two meetings in Istanbul, the inaugural meeting was held on **October 13-14, 2016** while the second and final meeting was held on **March 4-5, 2017**. On **March 17, 2017**, the Task Force released the “Declaration on the JCPOA” whereby it called upon all parties to the deal to reaffirm their full commitment to its implementation.

## INTERNATIONAL TASK FORCE

### CO-CHAIRS

#### **Memduh Karakullukçu**

Vice-Chairman and President, GRF

#### **Steven E. Miller**

Director of the International Security Program, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University; Chair, Pugwash Executive Committee

#### **Rakesh Sood**

Ambassador (Ret.); Former Special Envoy of the Prime Minister for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Issues

### MEMBERS

#### **Hikmet Çetin**

Former Speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Former NATO Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan

#### **Simon Gass**

Former Political Director, British Foreign and Commonwealth Office; Former NATO Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan

#### **François Heisbourg**

Chairman, Geneva Centre for Security Policy; Chair, IISS Council

#### **Nasser Hadian-Jazy**

Professor of Political Science, Faculty of Law and Political Sciences at the University of Tehran

#### **Sönmez Köksal**

Ambassador (Ret.); Former Undersecretary of State in Charge of the Turkish National Intelligence Organization

#### **Li Bin**

Senior Associate, Nuclear Policy Program & Asia Program at the Carnegie-Tsinghua Center; Professor of International Relations, Tsinghua University

#### **David Menashri**

Professor Emeritus, Tel Aviv University; Senior Research Fellow, Alliance Center for Iranian Studies and Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies at Tel Aviv University

#### **Vladimir Orlov**

Former President and Executive Board Member, PIR Center; Head of the Center for Global Trends and International Organizations, Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation

#### **Gary Samore**

Executive Director for Research, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University; Former White House Coordinator for Arms Control and Weapons of Mass Destruction

#### **Özdem Sanberk**

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

#### **Yaşar Yakış**

Ambassador (Ret.); Former Minister of Foreign Affairs

### EXPERT RAPORTEURS

#### **Sven-Eric Fikenscher**

Former Associate at the Project on Managing the Atom, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University

#### **Francesca Giovannini**

Program Director, Global Security and International Affairs Program at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cambridge, Massachusetts

#### **Beyza Ünal**

Research Fellow, International Security Department at Chatham House

#### **Tong Zhao**

Associate, Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy

### GRF SECRETARIAT

#### **Ezgisu Biber**

Director of the Task Force Program

#### **Nigar Ağaoğulları Yalınkılıç**

GRF Executive Director

#### **Selin Uğurtaş**

GRF Program Director

- **Task Force on Cooperation in Greater Europe**



The “Task Force on Cooperation in Greater Europe” is an effort to bring together key countries and actors in Greater Europe in order to overcome the costly legacy of the Cold War and to work effectively towards meeting emergent political, economic and security challenges. Trust-building is a central theme in the deliberations of the Task Force as one of its primary objectives is to address the causes of the current degree of mistrust while directing the continent towards becoming a more cooperative region.

The Task Force is supported by, and draws on, independent analytical work by the European Leadership Network (ELN), the Global Relations Forum, the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC), and the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). The Task Force is made possible by generous support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI).

A GRF delegation joined the Task Force meeting held in Moscow, Russia on **May 24-25, 2017**. After the meeting, on **July 6, 2017**, the Task Force published a group statement titled “Managing the Cold Peace between Russia and the West” signed by members, as well as a number of non-members. The statement calls upon states in the Euro-Atlantic area to halt the rapid deterioration of the relationship between Russia and the West and to cultivate a more “stable and sustainable” security relationship.

## SIGNATORIES OF THE TASK FORCE POSITION PAPER

### TASK FORCE CO-CHAIRS

**Des Browne**

Former Defense Secretary of the UK

**Igor S. Ivanov**

Former Foreign Minister of Russia; President, Russian International Affairs Council; Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences

**Adam Daniel Rotfeld**

Former Foreign Minister of Poland

**Özdem Sanberk**

Former Permanent Undersecretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and former Chief Foreign Policy Adviser to the Prime Minister

### TASK FORCE MEMBERS

**Anatoliy Adamishin**

President of the Non-Governmental Organization “Association of Euro-Atlantic Cooperation”; Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation

**Tony Brenton**

Former UK Ambassador to Russia

**Hikmet Çetin**

Former Speaker of Turkey’s Grand National Assembly (TBMM); Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; NATO’s Former Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan

**Tarja Cronberg**

Former Member of the European Parliament

**Ruslan S. Grinberg**

Scientific Director of the RAS Institute of Economics; Corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences

**Alexei Gromyko**

Director of the Institute of Europe of the Russian Academy of Sciences

**Angela Kane**

Former UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs & Undersecretary General

**Mikhail Margelov**

Former Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Russian Federation Council

**Paul Quilès**

Former Defence Minister of France

**Malcolm Rifkind**

Former Foreign and Defence Secretary of the UK

**Volker Ruehe**

Former Defence Minister of Germany

**Anatoliy Torkunov**

Rector of Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the RF MFA; RAS Full Member; Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation

**Klaus Wittmann**

Former General; Senior Fellow at the Aspen Institute

**Igor Yu. Yurgens**

Chairman of the Board of the Institute of Contemporary Development; Vice President of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs

**Vitaly V. Zhurkin**

Director Emeritus of the RAS Institute of Europe; RAS Full Member

### NON-MEMBERS OF THE TASK FORCE

**Karsten Voigt**

Former Member of the Bundestag and former President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly

**Carlo Trezza**

Former Italian Ambassador for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation

**Ünal Çeviköz**

Former Turkish Ambassador to the UK and former Deputy Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs

**Artem Malgin**

Vice Rector of MGIMO University

- **GRF – ISD Regional Security Conference**



In 2016, GRF continued its collaboration with the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD), after becoming involved with the ISD's "Club of Three" initiative in 2014 and hosting a meeting in Istanbul in 2015.

On February 22-23, 2016, GRF and ISD co-organized a regional security conference titled "The Mashriq Crisis: Containing Waves of Instability" at the Divan Istanbul Hotel.

The conference initiated with an opening dinner participated by the GRF and ISD delegations. Following opening remarks by GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu, the keynote addresses were delivered by ISD CEO Sasha Havlicek and Ceren Yazgan, Deputy Director General for Security and Intelligence Affairs at the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

On the second day of the conference, three interactive panel sessions focused on the following questions:

- Geostrategic context of Syria and Iraq: Vectors of instability towards the region and Europe
- Refugees: National and collective strategies to prevent radicalization
- Foreign Fighters: A national threat in need of a cooperative response

After the third session, the closing remarks were delivered by James Kearney, senior program manager at the ISD, and GRF Board Member İlter Turan.

Below is a list of participants who joined the conference:

#### GRF MEMBERS

##### **Gülnur Aybet**

Professor of International Relations, Yıldız Technical University

##### **Hikmet Çetin**

Former Speaker of Turkey's Grand National Assembly (TBMM); Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; NATO's Former Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan

##### **Ünal Çeviköz**

Ambassador (Ret.)

##### **Salim Dervişoğlu**

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

##### **Memduh Karakullukçu**

Vice-Chairman and President of GRF

##### **Sami Kohen**

Journalist, Writer

##### **Mustafa Özbey**

Admiral (Ret.); Board Member, Erciyas Steel Pipe Co.

##### **Ümit Pamir**

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

##### **İlter Turan**

Professor Political Science; Former Rector of Bilgi University

##### **Yaşar Yakış**

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

## GRF GUESTS

**Elif Özmenek Çarmıklı**  
Migration Expert, International Strategic Research  
Organization (USAK)

**Fatma Ceren Yazgan Etiz**  
Deputy Director General for Security and Intelligence  
Affairs, Turkish Foreign Ministry of Affairs

## GRF COMMUNITY

**Müge Dalkıran**  
GRF Young Scholar

**Melike Tokathıoğlu**  
GRF Young Scholar

**Nur Banu Özkut**  
GRF Young Scholar

## GRF STAFF

**Nigar Ağaoğulları Yalınkılıç**  
GRF Executive Director

**Ali Serkan Türkmenoğlu**  
GRF Program Director

**Ezgisu Biber**  
GRF Program Director

**Maxine İmer**  
GRF Administrative Coordinator

## ISD GUESTS

**Mubaraz Ahmed**  
Centre on Religion & Geopolitics at the Tony Blair  
Faith Foundation

**Philip Robins**  
St Antony's College, Oxford

**Andrew Abell**  
US Consulate Istanbul

**Alison Suttie**  
House of Lords

**Suat Kınıklıoğlu**  
Center for Strategic Communication

**Sinan Ülgen**  
Carnegie Brussels

**Monica Marks**  
Oxford University

**Yaniv Voller**  
Edinburgh University

**Marc Pierini**  
Carnegie Europe

**Filippo Dionigi**  
LSE

## ISD STAFF

**Sasha Havlicek**  
CEO

**James Kearney**  
Senior Program Manager

**Sebastien Feve**  
Strategic Development Manager

**Lucie Parker**  
Programme Associate, Policy & Research

## GRF'S ENGAGEMENT WITH GLOBAL PARTNERS' INITIATIVES



In 2016-2017, GRF has been invited to contribute to various international conferences and meetings organized by its global counterparts. Through these platforms, GRF assisted to the shaping of the global policy agenda, and bolstered its international dialogues in terms of both geography and scope.

- As a founding member of the **Council of Councils (CoC)**, GRF was represented at two annual and two regional CoC conferences organized in 2016-2017:

- May 15-17, 2016: 5<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference, New York
- October 30-November 1, 2016: 9<sup>th</sup> Regional Conference, Berlin - "Regional Security in a Turbulent World"
- May 7-9, 2017: 6<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference, Washington D.C.
- November 5-7, 2017: 10<sup>th</sup> Regional Conference, Buenos Aires - "Latin America, the World Today, and the Future of Global Governance"

GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu joined these meetings in the capacity of panelist or moderator and made contributions to various discussions, including "Global Economic Governance: Preventing the Next Crisis", "Is the European Union Worth Saving? If so, What Should Be Done?" and "How Can the World Adapt to Rapid Technological Innovation, and What Role Should the Multilateral System Play?"

During the 9<sup>th</sup> CoC Regional Conference, Mr. Karakullukçu was invited to interview Prof. Lars-Hendrik Röller, Chief Economic Advisor to German Chancellor Angela Merkel, during a special session on Germany's G20 term presidency. At the same conference, GRF member Ambassador (Ret.) Ümit Pamir shared his assessments at a panel entitled "Migration as a Challenge for Regional Security."

- On March 1-3, 2016, at **Raisina Dialogue** organized by the **Observer Research Foundation (ORF)**, in collaboration with the **Ministry of External Affairs of India**, GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu delivered a speech as part of a panel titled "Light of Asia: The Future of Energy."

- GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu, GRF Board Member Ambassador (Ret.) Yaşar Yakış and GRF Member Ambassador (Ret.) Bozkurt Aran attended the Fourth Annual Meeting of **The Growth Net** in New Delhi, India on April 7-9, 2016. During the conference, Mr. Karakullukçu delivered a speech at a panel titled "Emerging Economies need much more infrastructure development: How to plug the capabilities gap?", Amb. Aran spoke at a panel on "The new geography of trade: what will be the impact of the changing trading blocs for emerging countries?" and Amb. Yakış spoke during a plenary luncheon themed "A riskier geopolitical environment and its impact on the global economy."

- On September 26-27, 2016, GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu delivered a speech at a roundtable meeting discussing “Security Challenges and Nuclear Weapons in Europe,” co-hosted in London by **Pugwash** and the **Centre for International Studies and Diplomacy**.
- GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu delivered a speech at a panel titled “Assessing the Longevity of the JCPOA in the Trump Era” as part of a **IISS** Workshop focusing on “Nuclear Energy and the Political Outlook of the Middle East” held in Istanbul on December 13, 2016
- On January 23-24, 2017, GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu joined the 10<sup>th</sup> Annual International Conference organized by **The Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)** in Israel as a panelist for the session on “The Israel-Russia-Turkey Triangle.”
- On March 20-21, 2017, GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu attended the Fifth Annual Meeting of **The Growth Net** in New Delhi, India, where he delivered a speech on “Mapping out the new consumers: How are they impacting on growth, business models, social changes.”

In addition to these, GRF was represented at the following events:

- April 26-27, 2017; **Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation**, *VI Moscow Conference on International Security*; Moscow
- August 25-29, 2017; **Pugwash**, 62nd Pugwash Conference, “*Confronting New Nuclear Dangers*”; Astana
- September 16-17, 2017; **The International Institute for Strategic Studies**, Bahrain Bay Forum 2017, “*MENA Economies*”; Bahrain

# MEETINGS

## DISTINGUISHED SPEAKERS SERIES

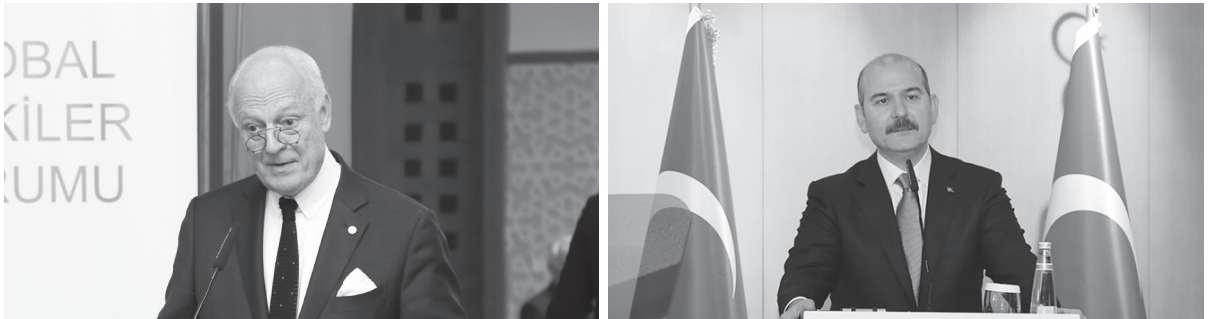


Over the course of 2016 and 2017, GRF invited a number of distinguished speakers to address GRF and GRF Community members, and share their assessments on various topics ranging from climate change to issues related to Turkey's bilateral relations and global governance.

- On January 28, 2016, GRF hosted US Ambassador John R. Bass at a luncheon focusing on Turkey-US relations. In his speech, Ambassador Bass defined the relationship as “vital and indispensable” and highlighted the important role of collaboration and communication in overcoming thorny issues that might cause harm to bilateral relations.
- On March 15, 2016, Former UK Defence Secretary, Labor Party MP and Chair of the European Leadership Network (ELN), The Rt. Honorable Lord Browne of Ladyton (Des Browne) addressed GRF members and a group of GRF Community members at a luncheon held at the Divan Hotel. In his remarks, Lord Browne assessed the state of EU-Russia relations in light of the developments in Crimea.
- On May 24, 2016, GRF welcomed Ambassador Frank G. Wisner, former US undersecretary of defense for policy and former undersecretary of state for international security affairs, at a luncheon held at the Divan Istanbul Hotel. In his speech, Ambassador Wisner evaluated the US-Turkey relationship, discussed the challenges facing the US in the Middle East and stressed the importance of US involvement in and commitment to the region.
- On June 29, 2016, GRF hosted Former UK Ambassador Sir Peter Westmacott at a dinner held at the Yapı Kredi Yeniköy Grove. In his speech addressing GRF and GRF Community members, Sir Westmacott discussed the UK referendum on EU membership, its causes and consequences.
- On October 19, 2016, President of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, H.E. Mustafa Akıncı, addressed GRF and GRF Community members at a dinner held at Divan Istanbul Hotel. Mr. Akıncı underlined the importance of cooperation between the two communities in Cyprus and expressed his sincere hope that the ongoing negotiations will result in a sustainable solution that benefits all Cypriots.



- On November 17, 2016, GRF welcomed UN Secretary-General's Special Envoy for Syria, Mr. Staffan de Mistura, at a dinner held at Divan Istanbul Hotel, with the participation of GRF and GRF Community members. In his speech, Mr. de Mistura provided a panoramic description of the situation unfolding in Syria and stressed the need for a politically inclusive solution.
- On February 15, 2017, at GRF's 9th Annual General Assembly dinner, Minister of Interior of the Turkish Republic, Mr. Süleyman Soylu, addressed GRF members as the guest of honor. Mr. Soylu shared his views of global trends, as well as recent developments in Turkey and elaborated on shifts in Turkey's security paradigm.
- On March 1, 2017, GRF hosted Mr. Naci Ağbal, Minister of Finance of the Turkish Republic, as the guest of honor at a dinner organized at the Hilton Bosphorus Hotel. In his remarks, Mr. Ağbal shared his views on the outlook of the Turkish economy and the global economy. The minister also explained the government's economic policies for 2017-2019.
- On March 31, 2017, the Republican People's Party's (CHP) Deputy Chair, Spokesperson and İzmir MP Ms. Selin Sayek Böke addressed GRF and GRF Community members at a working dinner held at Divan Istanbul Hotel. Ms. Sayek Böke evaluated the current state of the Turkish economy and discussed that the challenges could be overcome by using the country's potential more efficiently.
- On June 18, 2017, GRF welcomed Former US Secretary of Energy and Nobel Laureate in Physics Dr. Steven Chu at a dinner held at the Yapı Kredi Yeniköy Grove. In his speech addressing GRF and GRF Community members, Dr. Chu underlined that climate change is taking effect considerably faster than predicted and discussed the potential of renewable energy as a tool to halt global warming.
- On September 14, 2017, GRF hosted Mr. José Manuel Barroso, the former president of the European Commission, the former prime minister of Portugal and non-executive chairman of Goldman Sachs. Mr. Barroso addressed a small group of GRF members at a working lunch organized at Divan Istanbul Hotel.



## ROUNDTABLE MEETINGS



In addition to the roundtable meetings organized as part of Task Force studies, GRF continued to organize a number of independent meeting series focusing on a range of issues including “The Future of Asia”, “Climate Change and the Environment”, “Corporate Series”, “Ambassadors Serving in Turkey” as well as meetings with GRF members and country-specific gatherings.

During the meetings, the guest speakers delivered speeches in their respective areas of expertise and engaged in an open discussion and exchange of ideas with GRF members. A comprehensive list of the roundtable meetings held in 2016 and 2017 is shared below.

### Country-Specific Meetings

#### **“Greek Foreign Policy”**

Dr. Thanos Dokos, Director of the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy; January 13, 2016

#### **“UK Foreign Policy on Ukraine and Turkey”**

Ambassador Leigh Turner, Consul General of the UK to Turkey and Director-General for Trade and Investment for Turkey, Central Asia and the South Caucasus; March 21, 2016

#### **“Turkish-Indian Relations within the Framework of Turkey’s Pivot to Asia”**

Ambassador Burak Akçapar, Director General for Policy Planning at the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Former Ambassador to India (2009-2016); February 3, 2017

#### **“The Regional and Global Implications of the Situation in Afghanistan”**

Ambassador İsmail Aramaz, Former NATO Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan; May 31, 2017



### Ambassadors Serving in Turkey

#### **“The Emerging Complexities and Opportunities of EU-Turkish Relations”**

Ambassador Hansjörg Haber, Head of the EU Delegation to Turkey; June 13, 2016

#### **“Normalization in Turkish-Israeli Relations: Predictions and Expectations”**

Ambassador Eitan Na'eh, Ambassador of the State of Israel to Turkey; March 17, 2017

#### **“Domestic Politics in Europe and the Future of the European Union”**

Ambassador Charles Fries, Ambassador of the French Republic to Ankara; March 31, 2017

#### **“Is Better Management of the Refugee Crisis Possible?: Burden-Sharing”**

Ambassador Luigi Mattiolo, Ambassador of Italy to Ankara; September 27, 2017

#### **“Europe, Turkey and EU-Turkey in Difficult Times”**

Ambassador Lars Wahlund, Ambassador of Sweden to Ankara; November 24, 2017

### Corporate Series

#### **“How Economic Trends Will Impact Turkey in the Short Term: Possible Precautionary Measures”**

Mr. Adnan Bali, CEO of İş Bank; November 25, 2016

#### **“Could Multinational Corporations Act as Guardians of Globalization?”**

Mr. Ahmet Bozer, Former Executive Vice President of The Coca-Cola Company; April 20, 2017

#### **“Prospects for a Technology-Based Economy in Turkey: Local Difficulties, Global Opportunities”**

Mr. Cengiz Ultav, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Technology Development Foundation of Turkey, and Executive Board Member of Vestel Ventures; June 14, 2017

#### **“Economy and Technology in Turkey: Sectors and Strategies”**

Mr. Jan Nahum, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Hexagon Consulting and Hexagon Solid Waste; October 30, 2017



## Security

### **“Turkey’s Security in the Face of Increasing Nuclear Proliferation and Risks”**

Prof. Mustafa Kibaroglu, Chair of the Department of Political Science and International Relations at MEF University; December 12, 2016

### **“Turkey in a Shifting Security Environment: Opportunities, Trends, and Threats”**

Dr. Metin Gürcan, Security Expert and Columnist; December 20, 2016

### **“Ethnic and Religious Fragmentation at the Mashriq”**

Dr. Nihat Ali Özcan, Security and Foreign Policy Expert and Columnist at the Milliyet daily; March 14, 2017

### **“Cyber Security”**

Mr. Shai Cohen, Consul General of Israel to Istanbul; May 5, 2017

### **“Nuclear Arms Control and Non-Proliferation: The Good and the Bad News”**

Ambassador (Ret.) Carlos Trezza, Ambassador for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation (F) and Chairman (F) of the Missile Technology Control Regime; December 8, 2017

## The Future of Asia

### **“Shifting Power Balances in Asia and Their Strategic Implications”**

Ambassador (Ret.) Rakesh Sood, Special Envoy of the Prime Minister (SPEM) for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Issues and Former Ambassador of India to Afghanistan, Nepal and France; June 20, 2016

### **“US-China Strategic Security Relationship During the Trump Presidency”**

Dr. Tong Zhao, Nuclear Policy Fellow at the Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy; March 6, 2017

### **“Sino-Russian Rapprochement and Its Global Implications”**

Dr. Bobo Lo, independent analyst and former head of Chatham House’s Russia and Eurasia Program; November 22, 2017

## Climate Change and the Environment

### **“Combating Climate Change”**

Dr. Yasemin Biro Kirtman, Global Environment Facility (GEF) Knowledge Management Coordinator; December 26, 2017

## Meetings with GRF Members

### **“The Prospects of Turkey as an Energy Hub in the Light of the Current Geostrategic and Economic Developments?”**

Ambassador Mithat Rende, Former Permanent Representative of Turkey to the OECD and Former Chairman of the OECD Executive Committee; February 28, 2017

### **“Ukraine Crisis: Implications for European Security Architecture”**

Ambassador (Ret.) Ertuğrul Apakan, Chief Monitor of the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine; December 18, 2017

# GRF POLICY COMMUNITIES

## GRF YOUNG SCHOLARS PROGRAM



In 2010, GRF laid the foundations of a community of young thinkers when it launched the Young Scholars Seminars for undergraduate students enrolled at the country's leading universities, and the Young Scholars Abroad Seminars for Turkish undergraduate students who are pursuing their degrees at distinguished universities abroad. These two programs were merged into a single program in 2015.

The Young Scholars meetings are organized in three sections:

The first section brings together the participants of the program with members of the Global Relations Forum who are invited as guest speakers. At these meetings, GRF members share their assessments of topics related to international affairs, in line with their professional experience and areas of expertise. This is an opportunity for the program's participants to benefit from the wisdom and experience of GRF members who have represented Turkey in the international fora and have been instrumental in the shaping of events in Turkey and the world. In turn, this exchange enables GRF members to enrich their ideas with the questions and comments of the young participants. Hence, this section of the program aims to facilitate the intergenerational exchange of ideas, knowledge, and experience.

The second section of the program consists of meetings where GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu and GRF executive staff convene with the participants. The discussions in these meetings revolve around articles written by the leading academics and intellectuals of the world, and require the active and sustained participation of the students. An important goal of this section is to enable students to form connections, on a macro scale, between 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 central debates concerning the world's future in a 50-100 year time frame, and help them shape their professional and personal ideals with a view to contributing to their countries and the humankind.

For the third section of the program, GRF selects a number of books dealing with global issues and authored by the world's leading intellectuals. The participants are required to read one of these books, write a book

review, and participate in “Book Discussion Panels” that are held during the December meeting of the program. Once the program ends, students who have successfully completed the program earn the title “**GRF Young Scholar**” and become part of the GRF Community.

Below is a list of students who became GRF Young Scholars in 2016-2017, the GRF members who devoted their valuable time to join the program as guest speakers, as well as the titles of their presentations.



### Young Scholars 2016 Term

#### Students

<b>Yasemin Akçagüner</b>	Barnard College	<i>Middle Eastern Studies &amp; Political Science</i>
<b>Lütfullah Bingöl</b>	Boğaziçi University	<i>Economics</i>
<b>Cengiz Cemaloğlu</b>	Harvard University	<i>Social Anthropology &amp; Political Science</i>
<b>Kadir Yavuz Emiroğlu</b>	Bilkent University	<i>Political Science &amp; Public Administration</i>
<b>Yunus Emre Erdölen</b>	Galatasaray University	<i>Law</i>
<b>Hande Güven</b>	Tufts University	<i>International Relations &amp; Computer Science</i>
<b>Meltem Ece Oba</b>	Koç University	<i>Law</i>
<b>Mert Özlütıraş</b>	Koç University	<i>Economics &amp; Business Administration</i>
<b>Sera Pekel</b>	Duke University	<i>Economics &amp; Psychology</i>
<b>Tunç Semih Savaş</b>	Koç University	<i>Law &amp; International Relations</i>
<b>Elif Sema Şanal</b>	Galatasaray University	<i>Economics</i>

#### Guest Speakers:

- Hakan Altınay - “Global Mutual Dependency: Choices and Preferences”
- Ambassador (Ret.) Ender Arat - “A Historical Overview of Turkey’s Asylum Policy”
- Ambassador (Ret.) Sönmez Köksal- “The Middle East”
- Ambassador (Ret.) Özdem Sanberk - “The Multiple Crises Surrounding the EU: Supranational Governance Utopia and Turkey”
- Prof. Sabri Sayarı - “Turkey-US Relations”
- Cengiz Ultav - “Prospects for a Technology-Based Economy in Turkey: Local Difficulties, Global Opportunities”

#### Books Discussed

- *Big Data: A Revolution That Will Transform How We Live, Work, and Think* by Viktor Mayer-Schönberger
- *Democracy in Retreat: The Revolt of the Middle Class and the Worldwide Decline of Representative Government* by Joshua Kurlantzick
- *Identity Economics: How Our Identities Shape Our Work, Wages, and Well-Being* by George A. Akerlof
- *The Paradox of Liberation: Secular Revolutions and Religious Counterrevolutions* by Michael Walzer



## Young Scholars 2017 Term

### Students

<b>Can Akdere</b>	Columbia University	<i>Mechanical Engineering</i>
<b>Mehmet Efe Akengin</b>	MIT	<i>Computer Science &amp; Political Science</i>
<b>Sinan Anbarcıoğlu</b>	Free University of Berlin	<i>Political Science</i>
<b>Kaan Armağan</b>	Harvard University	<i>Economics</i>
<b>Atakan Baltacı</b>	Princeton University	<i>Public and International Affairs</i>
<b>Selin Batıttürk</b>	Boğaziçi University	<i>Political Science and International Relations &amp; Business Administration</i>
<b>Beste Kaygısız</b>	Wellesley College	<i>Economics &amp; Mathematics</i>
<b>Ayşe Obalı</b>	Boğaziçi University	<i>Political Science and International Relations &amp; Sociology</i>
<b>Mehmet Giray Ögüt</b>	Boğaziçi University	<i>Electrical and Electronics Engineering &amp; Economics</i>
<b>Nur Sevencan</b>	Wellesley College	<i>Economics</i>
<b>Metincan Suran</b>	Yale University	<i>Global Affairs</i>
<b>Furkan Saygın Şener</b>	Boğaziçi University	<i>Political Science and International Relations &amp; Economics</i>
<b>Elif Temel</b>	Koç University	<i>Industrial Engineering &amp; Economics</i>
<b>Bedel Türker</b>	Harvard University	<i>Social Sciences</i>

### Guest Speakers:

- Prof. Ahmet Acar - “Higher Education and Research System in Turkey”
- Metin Fadilloğlu - Q&A Session
- Ambassador (Ret.) Sönmez Köksal - “Security and Technology”
- Ambassador (Ret.) Özdem Sanberk - “Structural Problems of Turkish Foreign Policy”
- Prof. Deniz Yuret - “The Deep Learning Revolution”

### Books Discussed

- *The Rhetoric of Economics* by Deirdre McCloskey
- *Politics Against Domination* by Ian Shapiro
- *Who Gets What and Why* by Alvin Roth
- *War by Other Means* by Robert D. Blackwill and Jennifer M. Harris

## GRF YOUNG GLOBAL PROGRAM



Launched in 2015, GRF's Young Global Program is a unique thought exercise that engages young individuals to reflect on the main constructs/concepts/institutions of human life, imagine their possible paths of evolution over the next two centuries, and identify core values and structures that we wish to preserve in the era of rapid transformation that lies ahead of us.

The participants of the program are individuals who have successfully completed GRF's Young Scholars Program. International participants from the world's leading universities may also join the meetings that have been or will be organized abroad, upon being nominated by a GRF Young Scholar.

As opposed to similar programs targeting youth, Young Global does not aim to offer formulated solutions for the immediate problems of humanity; instead, through a systematic discussion of the main constructs of humanity and which elements of these we deem important for individuals to live a secure, productive and fulfilling life, it targets the alignment of values for the solution of current as well as future problems of global scale.

In line with its objective, GRF Young Global Program is designed in two stages.

The first stage focuses on imagining and systematically thinking through various dimensions of fundamental change in the coming centuries. In this phase, three or four 2-day meetings are held to think through and create a framework of understanding for the possible long-term evolution of key social structures and concepts like family, war, crime, art, money, city, privacy, education, private property, law and so forth. Each meeting addresses a different subset of these concepts, and the methodology is to allow the participants to “unbundle” the constituent qualities or characteristics of these structures and concepts, and imagine how these can be lost or modified under the influence of foreseen or unforeseen changes.

The second stage of the program is a discussion on the formulation of norms, values and structures that are set to build on the imagined futures of the first phase. With this exercise, the program is taking up on the challenge of policy thinking in the milieu of fast-paced change. At the end of this stage, which consists of a longer meeting with a larger number of participants, a concise text of norms, values and structures will be agreed upon, published and disseminated. It is hoped for this document to preserve its relevance in the face of frequent shifts in the global context, thereby contributing to the establishment of a bundle of core values and structures with which to tackle the resilient problems of humanity.

While the first “unbundling” session was held at the United States in 2015, the second meeting was organized at the Baksı Museum in Turkey's Bayburt province on May 6-8, 2016.

This meeting focused on three important institutions/social constructs of humanity - namely, family, media and private property- to bring out the possibilities for change in a 200-year perspective. Throughout the meeting, the participants discussed these constructs in great detail through unbundling their constituents and imagining different future versions of these constructs as their components evolve or disappear.

After a third “unbundling” session, which is scheduled to be held in Europe, the Young Global Program will conclude with a “values and structures” meeting. At this final meeting, participants will draft a document outlining the social constructs that will potentially, and hopefully, endure 200 years of technological, social and cultural transformations.

The participants who attended the second GRF Young Global Meeting held at the Baksı Museum in Turkey are listed below:

<b>PARTICIPANT</b>	<b>UNDERGRADUATE INSTITUTION</b>	<b>DIPLOMA PROGRAM</b>	<b>CURRENT INSTITUTION</b>
<b>Ayberk Arseven</b>	Boğaziçi University	<i>Electrical and Electronics Engineering</i>	McKinsey
<b>Nazlı Azergün</b>	Boğaziçi University	<i>Political Science and International Relations</i>	UC Santa Barbara
<b>Utku Cansu</b>	Boğaziçi University	<i>Political Science and International Relations</i>	Duke University
<b>Seran Çavdar</b>	Boğaziçi University	<i>Economics &amp; Mathematics</i>	Goldman Sachs
<b>Senem Çilingiroğlu</b>	Yale University	<i>Architecture &amp; Economics</i>	
<b>Yusufcan Demirkan</b>	Koç University	<i>Economics &amp; Mathematics</i>	New York University
<b>Nur Banu Özkut</b>	Boğaziçi University	<i>Political Science and International Relations &amp; Philosophy</i>	Refugee Rights Turkey
<b>Miray Palaz</b>	Boğaziçi University	<i>Political Science and International Relations &amp; Sociology</i>	University of Chicago
<b>Semuhi Sinanoğlu</b>	Boğaziçi University	<i>Political Science and International Relations &amp; Economics</i>	Co-Opinion
<b>Arda Can Tekin</b>	Harvard University	<i>Social Sciences</i>	Oxford University
<b>Lale Tekişalp</b>	Boğaziçi University	<i>Political Science and International Relations</i>	Microsoft
<b>Mithat Can Ulubay</b>	Koç University	<i>Economics</i>	Goldman Sachs

## GRF YOUNG ACADEMICS PROGRAM



The GRF Young Academics Program brings together a select group of Turkish and international academics from a variety of disciplines with the intent to encourage and enable the mutual accessibility of academic research and policy thinking.

This program also constitutes an important step towards nourishing Turkey's nascent policy community and facilitating an informed encounter amongst bright thinkers from around the world.

The Young Academics Program is centered on the preparation and the publication of a policy or an analysis paper. While both are concerned with thoroughly analyzing a topic of interest related to global systemic issues, the former additionally proposes policy recommendations.

The Young Academics Program welcomes academics from all disciplines, and the papers published within its framework are written with a general audience in mind. GRF invites the participation of young academics who are either pursuing a doctoral degree or have completed their PhDs within the last three years.

As part of the program, GRF members who have assumed leading roles in academia, state institutions or the business world are brought together to offer their expertise, and to ensure that the papers are relevant and applicable.

The Program is structured around two meetings organized in Istanbul. During the first stage meeting, participants come together to present their proposed paper topics to the rest of the group. A discussion follows each presentation. This stage allows the participants to clarify and improve their theses based on the feedback they receive from their peers.

The second stage meeting is an opportunity for the participants to benefit from the expertise of GRF members. At this phase, GRF convenes a different evaluation commission for each participant, tailored specifically for their research interests. The evaluation commission provides personalized feedback on the first draft of the participant's research paper. When preparing the second drafts of their papers, the participants are required to take into account the commission's suggestions. The final drafts are then sent to respective commissions for approval.

Research papers that are successfully completed and approved are published under the Young Academics Program Publications.

A total of three policy papers and one analysis paper were published under the Young Academics Program Publications over the course of 2016-2017.

## Policy Papers

- “Turkey’s Foreign Policy Towards China: Analysis and Recommendations for Improvement”

by **Dr. Altay Atlı**

*Ph.D. in Political Science and International Relations, Boğaziçi University*

- “The Russian-Turkish Rapprochement: Policy Options for Ankara and Its Allies”

by **Dr. Chris Miller**

*Ph.D. in History, Yale University*

- “State Responses to Cyber Operations”

by **Dr. François Delerue**

*Ph.D. in Law, European University Institute*

## Analysis Papers

- “Clarence Streit and the Intellectual Origins of the Atlantic Alliance”

By **Dr. Charlie Laderman**

*Ph.D. in International History, Cambridge University*

The following papers are currently undergoing editing, and are expected to be published early in 2018.

- “Prime Brokerage Business Models”

by **Dr. Egemen Eren**

*Ph.D. in Economics, Stanford University*

- “Under the Sword of Damocles: Film Censorship in Turkey”

by **Pelin Kıvrak**

*Ph.D. Candidate in Comparative Literature, Yale University*

- “Analyzing Global Commodity Prices and Their Pass-Through into Turkish Inflation Measures”

By **Dr. Kerem Tuzcuoğlu**

*Ph.D. in Economics, Columbia University*

- “Perceived Income Inequality and Corruption”

By **Dr. Çınar Baymul**

*Ph.D. in International History, Cambridge University*

Following is a list of GRF members who participated in Young Academics Program Evaluation Commissions in 2016-2017.

#### 2016-2017 Young Academics Program Review Committee Members

<b>Ünal Çeviköz</b>	Ambassador (Ret.)
<b>Selva Demiralp</b>	Associate Professor of Economics, Koç University; Former Economist, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System
<b>Salim Dervişoğlu</b>	Admiral (Ret.); Former Commander of the Turkish Naval Forces
<b>Üstün Ergüder</b>	Director, Education Reform Initiative; Former Rector, Boğaziçi University
<b>Memduh Karakullukçu</b>	Vice-Chairman and President, GRF
<b>Ali Karaosmanoğlu</b>	Professor of International Relations; Director, Center for Foreign Policy and Peace Research
<b>Sönmez Köksal</b>	Ambassador (Ret.), Former Undersecretary of State in charge of Turkey's National Intelligence Organization (MİT)
<b>Muhsin Mengütürk</b>	Board Member, Doğuş Holding; Former Chairman of Capital Markets Board of Turkey
<b>Mustafa Özbey</b>	Admiral (Ret.); Board Member, Erciyes Steel Pipe Co.
<b>Ümit Pamir</b>	Ambassador (Ret.); Former Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations and to NATO
<b>Günsel Renda</b>	Professor of History of Art, Koç University
<b>Cengiz Ultav</b>	Chairman of the Board of Directors, Technology Development Foundation of Turkey; Executive Board Member, Vestel Ventures
<b>Ercan Uygur</b>	President, Turkish Economic Association (TEK); Professor of Economics (Ret.), Ankara University
<b>Can Yücel</b>	Corporate Loans Department Head, Isbank; Board Member, TSKB

## Young Academics 2017 Term

Participants for the 2017 term of the Young Academics Program were divided into two groups, and their first stage meetings were held in September and November 2017. Qualified papers are expected to be published in 2018.

### September Group:

- Ole Frahm** Ph.D. in Political Science, *Humboldt Universität zu Berlin*; Postdoctoral Researcher, *University of St. Gallen*
- Ian Ona Johnson** Ph.D. in History, *Ohio State University*; Associate Director, *Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy at Yale University*
- Stephen O’Connell** Ph.D. in Economics, *City University of New York*; Postdoctoral Fellow, *Department of Economics and SEII at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
- Ezgi Uzun** Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science, *Sabancı University*; Visiting Research Scholar, *Columbia University*
- Yuval Weber** Ph.D. in Government, *University of Texas-Austin*; Visiting Assistant Professor, *John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University*
- Ayşe Yemişçigil** Ph.D. Candidate in Behavioral Science, *Warwick Business School*; Visiting Doctoral Research Fellow, *John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University*

### November Group:

- İsrafil Boyacı** Ph.D. Candidate in Economics, *Boğaziçi University*; Fox International Fellow, *MacMillan Center of Yale University*
- Ali Fisunoğlu** Ph.D. in Political Science and Economics, *Claremont Graduate University*; Research Fellow, *Carlos III – Juan March Institute of Social Sciences*
- Arnaud Koehl** Ph.D. Candidate in Public Health and Environmental Economics, *Imperial College London*
- Emma Nyhan** Ph.D. Candidate in Law, *European University Institute*
- Duygu Sever** Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science and International Relations, *Koç University*
- Cem Veziroğlu** Ph.D. Candidate in Private Law, *Istanbul University*; Research Assistant in Commercial Law, *Koç University Law School*
- Pontus Wallin** Ph.D. in Political Science, *Linnaeus University*; Researcher, *Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul*

## GRF YOUNG PROFESSIONALS PROGRAM



The GRF Young Professionals Program was launched to enhance GRF's access to non-academic, professional expertise by incorporating young professionals into GRF's activities. The program is designed for young professionals who are equipped with the academic background, experience and the resolve to contribute to the future of Turkey and the world.

The aim of the program is to encourage 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 not 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 to nominations from GRF's corporate members. Each term, a maximum number of 2 participants who do not meet the requirement of 4 years of work experience are admitted to the program as well.

The program is carried out through discussions and participants' presentations on various issues relating to global affairs. 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. Hence, the participants benefit from the knowledge and experience of each other, and of GRF members.

### Young Professionals Program 2016-2017 Term

"Technology" was designated as the theme of the 2016-2017 term of the Young Professionals Program. The following aspects of technology was studied and discussed in depth:

- Technology and Values
- Technology and Security
- Technology and Humans
- Technology and the Socioeconomic Order

In line with his/her area of expertise, each participant selected one of the topics outlined above and were assigned to read two books focusing on their preferred subject. Later, each participant delivered a presentation that addressed their chosen topic from a global systemic perspective.

Below is a list of books that were assigned to the participants to help them prepare for their presentations.

*Humans Need Not Apply* by Jerry Kaplan  
*The Future of the Professions* by Richard Susskind  
*The Rise of the Robots* by Martin Ford  
*Industries of the Future* by Alec Ross  
*The Fourth Industrial Revolution* by Klaus Schwab  
*Production in the Innovation Economy* Edited by Richard Locke and Rachel Wellhausen  
*The Master Algorithm* by Pedro Domingos  
*The Intelligent Web* by Gautam Shroff  
*The Black Box Society* by Frank Pasquale  
*Entrepreneurial State* by Mariana Mazzucato  
*Doing Capitalism in the Innovation Economy* by William Janeway  
*Cycles of Invention and Discovery* by Narayanamurti and Odumosu  
*Social Physics* by Alex Pentland  
*Who Owns the Future* by Jaron Lanier  
*Reality Mining* by Nathan Eagle Kate Greene  
*To Save Everything* by Evgeny Morozov  
*Cognitive Surplus* by Clay Shirky  
*You Are Not a Gadget* by Jaron Lanier  
*The Darkening Web* by Alexander Klimburg  
*The Hacked World Order* by Adam Segal  
*The Evolution of the Cyber Domain* Published by the IISS  
*Drones* by Sarah Kreps  
*Drone Wars* by Peter Bergen  
*Drone Warfare* by Hugh Gusterson  
*The Imagineers of War* by Sharon Weinberger  
*The Department of Mad Scientists* by Michael Belfiore  
*Buying Military Transformation* by Peter Dombrowski and Eugene Gholz  
*Blockchain Revolution* by Don Tapscott and Alex Tapscott  
*Cryptocurrency: The Future of Money?* by Paul Vigna and Michael J. Casey  
*The End of Money* by New Scientist  
*Crowded Orbits* by James Clay Moltz  
*Asteroid Mining 101* by John Lewis  
*The Little Book of Space Law* by Matthew J. Kleinman  
*Driverless* by Hod Lipson and Melba Kurman  
*The Great Race for the Car of the Future* by Levi Tillemann  
*The Big Data Opportunity in Our Driverless Future* by Evangelos Simoudis  
*Constitution 3.0* Published by the Brookings Institution  
*Surveillance, Privacy and Trans-Atlantic Relations* by David D. Cole, Federico Fabbrini and Stephen Schulhofer  
*The End of Sex and the Future of Human Reproduction* by Henry T. Greely  
*Minds, Brains, and Law: The Conceptual Foundations of Law and Neuroscience* by Michael S. Pardo & Dennis Patterson  
*Touching a Nerve: Our Brains, Our Selves* by Patricia S. Churchland  
*Neuroscience and the Law* by Brent Garland  
*The Neuroethics of Biomarkers* by Matthew L. Baum  
*The Ethics of Invention: Technology and the Human Future* by Sheila Jasanoff  
*Ethics and Emerging Technologies* by Ronald Sandler  
*Innovation and its Enemies: Why People Resist New Technologies* by Calestous Juma

## Participants

<b>Mehmet Selçuk Atıcı</b>	Principal, Earlybird Venture Capital
<b>Altuğ Bilgin</b>	Board Member, Bilgin Enerji
<b>Onur Çandar</b>	Team Leader, Bain & Co.
<b>Deniz Değirmenci</b>	Investor Relations Manager, Tüpraş
<b>Ekin İnal</b>	Partner, Bilgiç Avukatlık
<b>Ahmet Mavuş</b>	Mechatronic Systems Design Engineer, ASELSAN
<b>Cihan Vehbi Salihoglu</b>	Cyber Risk Services Senior Manager, Deloitte
<b>Ceren Sayar</b>	Digital Banking Innovation Department Manager, İşbank
<b>Dilara Sezgin</b>	Founding Partner, Sezgin & Partners Law Office
<b>Emin Şenay</b>	Group Leader, Siemens
<b>Erdem Şişmangil</b>	Senior Associate, Heuking Kühn Lüer Wojtek, Berlin
<b>Onur Şişmangil</b>	Derivatives Sales & Structuring, Burgan Bank
<b>Lale Tekişalp</b>	Marketing Manager, Microsoft
<b>Filiz Hayırlı Tepebaşı</b>	Government Affairs and Business Development Director, Boeing
<b>Emre Tunçalp</b>	Director, Stroz Friedberg, London
<b>Tuvan Yalım</b>	Founding Partner, Kabine Law

# ACTIVITIES IN UNIVERSITIES

GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu addressed students as a keynote speaker at the opening ceremony of the Turkish International Model United Nations Conference (TIMUN) held at Üsküdar American Academy on November 30, 2017. The topic of Mr. Karakullukçu's speech was "Building Bridges."

GRF also organized meetings at a number of leading US universities in order to introduce the Young Scholars and the Young Academics programs. Below is a list of introductory meetings held in 2017:

- On April 4, 2017 - Massachusetts Institute of Technology
- On April 5, 2017 - Harvard University
- On April 7, 2017 - Yale University
- On April 10, 2017 - Columbia University

In both 2016 and 2017, GRF also organized an introduction meeting specifically for scholarship holders from TEV (Turkish Educational Foundation).

# PUBLICATIONS

## GRF YOUNG ACADEMICS PUBLICATIONS

In 2016-2017, GRF published three policy papers and an analysis paper authored by the participants of the GRF Young Academics program.

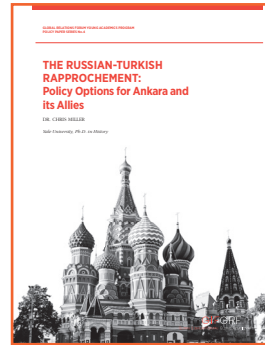
The papers are available at the GRF website.

### Policy Papers



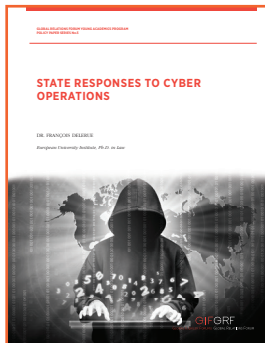
#### **“Turkey’s Foreign Policy Towards China: Analysis and Recommendations for Improvement”**

Dr. Altay Atlı



#### **“The Russian-Turkish Rapprochement: Policy Options for Ankara and Its Allies”**

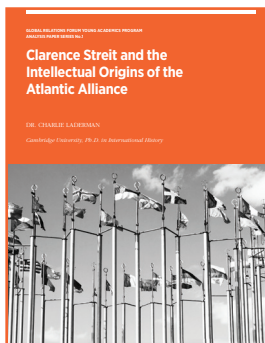
Dr. Chris Miller



#### **“State Responses to Cyber Operations”**

Dr. François Delerue

### Analysis Papers



#### **“Clarence Streit and the Intellectual Origins of the Atlantic Alliance”**

Dr. Charlie Laderman

## ARTICLES WRITTEN BY GRF MEMBERS

The following articles, written by GRF members, were posted on the GRF website in 2016-2017:

- “EU Energy Policy: Sustained by Fragile Solidarity, Indispensable for Eurasian Security” by Memduh Karakullukçu
- “EU’s Crisis or the Supranational Governance Utopia” by Özdem Sanberk
- “The Referendum Heralds a New Europe” by Ünal Çeviköz
- “Migration as a Challenge to Regional Security” by Ümit Pamir
- “Globalization, European Union and Economic Integration” by Bozkurt Aran
- “A Test Case for Globalization: The World Trade Organization” by Bozkurt Aran

# MEMBERSHIP

## INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS

<b>Ahmet Acar</b>	Rector (F), Middle East Technical University
<b>Feride Acar</b>	Professor of Political Science and Public Administration, Middle East Technical University (Ret.)
<b>Faik Açıklan</b>	CEO, Yapı Kredi Bank (F); President of the Banking and Insurance Group, Koç Holding A.Ş. (F)
<b>Bekir Ağırdır</b>	General Manager, KONDA Research and Consultancy; Board Member, TESEV; Columnist
<b>Adnan Akay</b>	Provost and Chair of Mechanical Engineering Department, Bilkent University
<b>Vural Akışık</b>	Executive; Former Chairman of the Turkish State Banks
<b>Saffet Batu Aksoy</b>	CEO and Board Member, Turcas Petrol
<b>Taşkın Osman Aksoy</b>	Managing Partner, LinkTera Information Technologies
<b>Leyla Alaton</b>	Board Member, Alarko Group of Companies
<b>Hakan Altınay</b>	President, Global Civics Academy; Director, Boğaziçi University European School of Politics
<b>Mehmet Yiğit Alpogan</b>	Ambassador (Ret.); Former Deputy Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Secretary-General of the National Security Council (F)
<b>Piraye Antika</b>	Founder, Enkuba Technologies; Former CEO of HSBC Bank Turkey; Management Consultant
<b>Ertuğrul Apakan</b>	Ambassador (Ret.); Permanent Representative of Turkey to the UN (F); Former Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Chief Monitor, OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine
<b>Emre Aracı</b>	Musicologist; Composer
<b>Bozkurt Aran</b>	Ambassador (Ret.); Permanent Representative of Turkey to the WTO (F); Director of Trade Studies, TEPAV; Board Member, Şişecam
<b>Ender Arat</b>	Ambassador (Ret.); Senior Foreign Affairs Counsellor of the Presidency (F); Secretary-General, Turkish-Russian Social Forum
<b>Mehmet Arda</b>	Former Head of Commodities Branch, UNCTAD; Professor of International Relations, Galatasaray University (F)
<b>Esin Gral Argat</b>	Vice President of the Board, Grallar
<b>Lucien Arkas</b>	Chairman, Arkas Holding A.Ş.
<b>Sibel Asna</b>	Partner, A&B Communications
<b>Attila Aşkar</b>	Professor of Applied Mathematics and Former Rector of Koç University
<b>Elsie Vance Aşkar</b>	Consultant
<b>Oktar Ataman</b>	General (Ret.)
<b>Temel Kamil Atay</b>	Board Member, Koç Holding
<b>Ayşe Ayata</b>	Professor of Political Science and Public Administration, Middle East Technical University
<b>Rona Aybay</b>	Professor of Law, Near East University
<b>Mustafa Aydın</b>	Rector (F), Kadir Has University
<b>Grer Aykal</b>	Conductor
<b>Emin Mahir Balcıoğlu</b>	Architect; Director, Erimtan Archaeology and Arts Museum
<b>Adnan Bali</b>	İşbank Board Member and CEO
<b>Ömer Pekin Baran</b>	Chairman, Denizcilik A.Ş.
<b>Aslı Başgz</b>	Partner, White and Case Istanbul
<b>Mehmet Ali Bayar</b>	Board Member, CCN Holding; Former Chairman of the Democrat Turkey Party (DTP)
<b>Murad Bayar</b>	Board Member, CCN Holding; Former Undersecretary for Defence Industries
<b>Tayfun Bayazıt</b>	Vice-Chairman, TSİAD (F); Chairman, Bayazıt Consulting; Former Chairman, Yapı Kredi Bank
<b>Kumsal Bayazıt Besson</b>	Regional President Europe, Reed Exhibitions
<b>A. Glsn Bilgehan</b>	Member of Parliament; Lecturer at Bilkent University
<b>Emin Murat Bilgel</b>	Admiral (Ret.), Former Commander of the Turkish Naval Forces
<b>Tevfik Bilgin</b>	Chairman, Nuh Çimento; Former Chairman of the Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency (BDDK)
<b>Fatih Birol</b>	Executive Director, IEA
<b>Mehmet Osman Birsen</b>	Undersecretary of Treasury and Foreign Trade (F); Former President, Istanbul Stock Exchange (IMKB)
<b>Nakiye Boyacıgiller</b>	Professor of Management, Sabancı University
<b>Dilek Boyacıoğlu</b>	Professor of Food Engineering, Istanbul Technical University (ITU)
<b>Hanzade Doğan Boyner</b>	Vice-Chairwoman, Doğan Holding A.Ş.
<b>Osman Boyner</b>	Chairman, BD Otomotiv A.Ş.
<b>Ahmet Bozer</b>	Executive Vice President (F), Coca Cola Company; Former President, Coca Cola International
<b>Fevzi Bozer</b>	Deputy Chairman of the Board and Member of the Audit Committee, Fibabanka

<b>Şule Bucak</b>	Communications Consultant
<b>Lale Bulak</b>	Director; Translator
<b>Yusuf Buluç</b>	Ambassador (Ret.)
<b>Fatma Pınar Canevi</b>	Professor of Philosophy, Boğaziçi University
<b>Yavuz Canevi</b>	Chairman, TEB; Governor of Central Bank of TR (F); Undersecretary of Treasury and Foreign Trade (F)
<b>Ali Bilge Cankorel</b>	Ambassador (Ret.)
<b>Turgut Cankorel</b>	Legal Counsel, International Finance Corporation (IFC)
<b>Eşref Cerrahoğlu</b>	Chairman, Cerrahgil A.Ş.
<b>Fadlullah Cerrahoğlu</b>	Founding Partner, Cerrahoğlu Law Firm
<b>Elif Özmenek Çarmıklı</b>	Instructor and Migration Policy Expert
<b>Gürol Çarmıklı</b>	Board Member and Human Resources & Public Relations Coordinator, Nurol Holding
<b>Hikmet Çetin</b>	Speaker of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) (F); Minister of Foreign Affairs (F); NATO Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan (F)
<b>Gökhan Çetinsaya</b>	Chief Advisor to Prime Minister; President, Council of Higher Education (F); Rector of Istanbul Şehir Uni. (F)
<b>Ahmet Ünal Çeviköz</b>	Ambassador (Ret.)
<b>Hasan T. Çolakoğlu</b>	Chairman, TEB Holding A.Ş.; Chairman, Çolakoğlu Metalurji
<b>Haydar N. Çolakoğlu</b>	Vice-Chairman, EgeGaz; Board Member, Çolakoğlu Metalurji; Board Member, TEB Holding
<b>Ahmet Selçuk Demiralp</b>	Undersecretary of Treasury and Foreign Trade (F); CEO, Türk Eximbank (F); CEO, Ziraat Bank (F)
<b>Selva Demiralp</b>	Associate Prof. of Economics, Koç University; Former Economist, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System
<b>Salim Dervişoğlu</b>	Admiral (Ret.), Former Commander of the Turkish Naval Forces
<b>Haluk Dinçer</b>	President of the Retail and Insurance Group, Sabancı Holding A.Ş.
<b>Suzan Sabancı Dinçer</b>	Chairwoman and Managing Director, Akbank T.A.Ş.
<b>Ömer Dinçkök</b>	Chairman, Atlantik Holding
<b>Uğur Doğan</b>	CEO and Board Member, Nurol Holding (F); Undersecretary of the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources (F)
<b>Ali Doğramacı</b>	Chairman of the Board of Trustees and Former Rector of Bilkent University
<b>Tayyibe Gülek Domaç</b>	Minister of State (F)
<b>Cem Duna</b>	Ambassador (Ret.); Chairman, AB Consulting
<b>O. Turgay Durak</b>	CEO, Koç Holding A.Ş. (F)
<b>Senem Aydın Düzgit</b>	Associate Professor of International Relations, Sabancı University; Senior Scholar & Research and Academic Affairs Coordinator, Istanbul Policy Center (IPC)
<b>F. Bülent Eczacıbaşı</b>	Chairman, Eczacıbaşı Holding
<b>Canan Ediboğlu</b>	Board Member, ING Bank; Board Member, Aygaz; Former General Manager of Shell Turkey
<b>Ekrem Ekinci</b>	Founding Member and Chairman, T-Dinamik Energy Investment Company; Former Rector, Işık University
<b>Yakup Atıla Eralp</b>	Director of Centre for European Studies, METU; Director of International Policy Research Institute, TEPAV (F)
<b>Vahit Erdem</b>	Former Member of Parliament; Founding Undersecretary (Ret.), Undersecretariat for Defence Industries; Kale Group Board Member
<b>Şaban Erdikler</b>	Board Member (F), Artur Andersen; Chairman, Erdikler Tax Consultancy; Independent Board Member, Akfen Holding
<b>Üstün Ergüder</b>	Director, Education Reform Initiative and Former Rector of Boğaziçi University
<b>Mehmet Uğur Erkan</b>	CEO, Anadolu Hayat Emeklilik
<b>Nazif Murat Ersavcı</b>	Ambassador (Ret.); Head of the Turkish Delegation, BIE
<b>Birgül Tantekin Ersolmaz</b>	Professor of Chemical Engineering at the Istanbul Technical University (ITU)
<b>Ahmet Ertürk</b>	Senior Advisor to the President of Turkey (F); Chairman (F), Savings Deposit Insurance Fund (TMSF)
<b>Selçuk Esenbel</b>	Professor of History, Boğaziçi University
<b>Nüket Küçükkel Ezberci</b>	Chairperson, Güven Hospital
<b>Metin Fadilloğlu</b>	Chairman, Group 29 (F)
<b>Mehmet Nazmi Gök</b>	Part-time Faculty Member, Boğaziçi University Department of Political Science and International Relations; Board Member, Turkish Airlines (F)
<b>Emre Gönensay</b>	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Professor of Economics
<b>Nuran Zeren Gülersoy</b>	Professor of Urban and Regional Planning, Istanbul Technical University (ITU)
<b>Bülent Gültekin</b>	Associate Professor of Finance, University of Pennsylvania; Governor of the Central Bank of Turkey (F)
<b>Melkan Gürsel</b>	Architect; Partner, Tabanlıoğlu Architects
<b>Orhan Güvenen</b>	Former Undersecretary of the State Planning Organization (DPT), Professor of Econometrics at Bilkent University
<b>Şükrü Hanioglu</b>	Professor of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University

<b>Metin Heper</b>	Provost, Bilkent University; Professor of Political Science
<b>Ümit Hergüner</b>	Senior Partner, Hergüner Bilgen Özeke Attorney Partnership
<b>Rifat Hisarcıklıoğlu</b>	President, Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges
<b>Ahmet İçduygu</b>	Professor of Political Science and Sociology, Koç University
<b>Ayşegül İldeniz</b>	Vice President and General Manager for Business Development and Strategy, New Devices Group at Intel
<b>Canan Pak İmregün</b>	Board Member, Pak Holding A.Ş.; Board Member, Kartonsan A.Ş.
<b>Umran İnan</b>	Rector, Koç University
<b>Kemal Kabataş</b>	Chief Adviser to the Board of Directors, Ciner Group; Former Member of Parliament; Former Undersecretary, Ministry of Finance
<b>Rıza Kadılar</b>	Chairman and CEO, Natixis Pramex International Turkey
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