GIFGRF

2011 Annual Report

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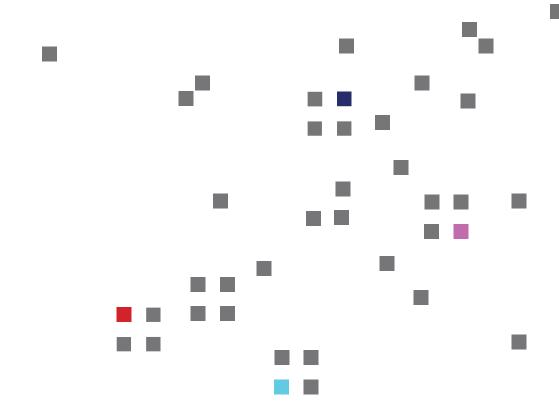
GRF IN BRIEF

Global Relations Forum was the brainchild, first proposed in May 2008, of a group of business people, scholars, and diplomats, all leaders in their respective fields. Their original aim was to support and reinforce Turkey's intellectual contribution to the global agenda, and to forge a sustained collaboration with respected global counterparts.

Consequently, on January 23, 2009, GRF assembled a broader group of leaders to discuss and debate the institution's

objectives, the instruments at its disposal, and its core values. These leaders sought to position GRF as an advocate for a more diverse global order, aiming to increase broader public awareness of the global agenda. The meeting concluded with the unanimous adoption of the 20-article bylaws of the association.

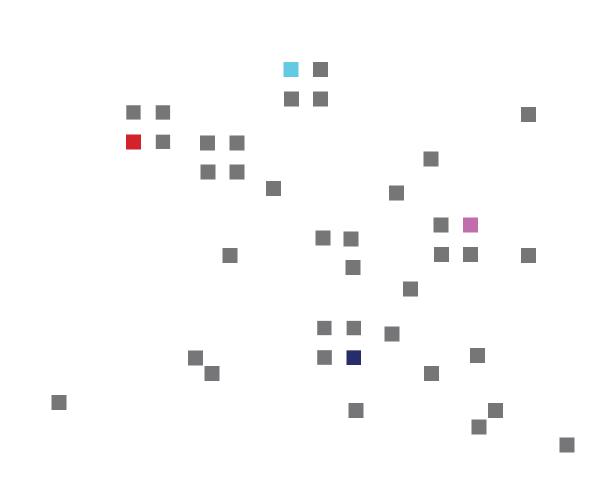
GRF was officially founded on May 11, 2009 by 40 accomplished Turkish men and women with prominent roles in international

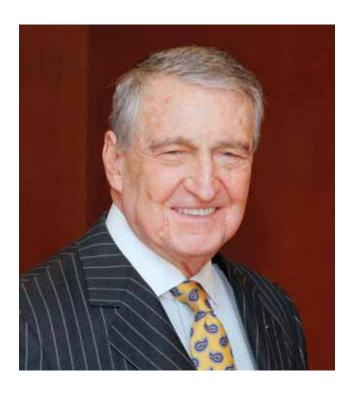


fora, who have received international recognition for their efforts throughout their careers. GRF commenced its activities after moving to its current premises in September of that year. H.E. Abdullah Gül, the President of the Republic of Turkey, delivered the association's inaugural address on November 18, 2009.

"Intellectual curiosity, resolve in the pursuit of truth, disciplined inquiry, rational debate, respect for diverse viewpoints, constructive demeanor, consistency and integrity, and above all a firm belief in human agency will always lead the way for GRF."

Memduh Karakullukçu





MESSAGE FROM THE FOUNDING CHAIRMAN

Global Relations Forum is now 3 years old.

We are already a part of the global debate and have been invited to join CFR's newly formed Council of Councils comprised of a selected group of prominent organizations from various parts of the world.

So far, we have had numerous high-ranking politicians, business leaders and visiting dignitaries attending our working luncheons and dinners.

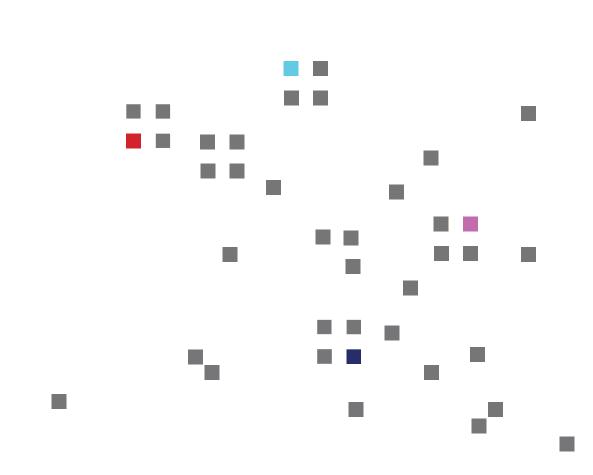
Our first Task Force report on Turkish-American Relations has been published and two more, focusing on Energy and National Security, are in the pipeline.

Since our founding, the world has seen dramatic changes. Especially in the last 2 years, the Middle East has been subject to great transformations in terms of politics, economics and culture.

Last year, Europe went through an unexpected and unforeseen financial bottleneck. Turkey's geographic importance has been magnified, as it is at the intersection of Europe and the Middle East. This situation puts great emphasis on the country's foreign policy and we are ready to play a major role in this context, so there is much more to do.

I would like to thank all our Board members, President and staff for their generous support and dedication and wish GRF continuing success.

Rahmi M. Koç





PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Sudden change and amplified instability have ruled the global agenda in the past few years. Many hitherto steady political, economic, financial structures have been shaken, humbled or wiped out. Intellectual and institutional capacity around the world is tested to its limits in making sense of the change, let alone in shaping it. Our intellectual apparatus for comprehending the abrupt shifts appears to be still descriptive and exploratory, not explanatory.

It is in this global intellectual climate that Global Relations Forum has evolved and grown in its second year of institutional history. The current milieu of instability inevitably provokes the desire to shape a fair and steady international order that can preempt or transcend episodic and unsettling discontinuities. The focus of GRF's policy deliberations, the nature of its international collaborations and the vision of its youth programs are molded by this aspiration.

The Task Forces are becoming the key fora for GRF's internal policy deliberations. The discussions in these meetings seek to demarcate the relatively stable long-term trends and structural certainties from the unruly dynamics of complexity and uncertainty. Disentangling the knowable from the unknowable or the permanent from the transient is a difficult task in global affairs, but that wisdom is the sine qua non of creating fair and lasting structures. The vast experience and the tested insights of GRF's members have proved to be critical in searching for that steady wisdom in an exceptionally unsteady part of the world.

Collaboration with global counterparts has been an explicit institutional objective since GRF's inception. As the second year unfolded, it has become easier to articulate the nature of the collaboration that GRF seeks. Foreign policy cultures vary significantly across countries. National policy reflexes are frequently conditioned by national history and limited by national risk-appetites or political cultures. GRF has been building relations with counterparts who are willing to bridge this structural gap among nations. Joint work among leading policy practitioners and experts across countries is a crucial step for initiating the much-needed convergence of national foreign policy cultures and reflexes. GRF's international collaborations are being shaped around this objective.

GRF's youth programs have become an integral part of the new institution's budding culture. Participants in these programs are encouraged to identify and question the fundamental premises of international and global dynamics. A culture of intellectual audacity and collective scholarly experimentation is cultivated. Given the long time-horizon of their careers, GRF's Young Scholars can take on the structural flaws of the global order that generate episodic instability. GRF, with the vast experience of its members, provides the ideal setting for audacious ideas of the participants to be tested and refined as they contemplate their contribution to national and global policy-making.

GRF is a young organization that has joined the ranks of institutions around the world seeking to address the global challenges that we face. Like any young aspiring institution, its institutional culture is being uniquely shaped by the distinctiveness of its position in time and geography. Partaking in its evolution is an unrivaled privilege and a source of profound intellectual satisfaction.

I thank our Board, our members, our team, our Young Scholars as well as our friends in Turkey and around the world for their generosity in inspiring and guiding our young institution.

Memduh Karakullukçu

GOVERNANCE

ANNUAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY

GRF's third Annual General Assembly was held at the Sakıp Sabancı Museum on March 25, 2011. A dinner, with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey H.E. Ahmet Davutoğlu as the guest of honor, followed the assembly.





BOARD OF DIRECTORS

GRF Board of Directors comprises fifteen members. Board members are elected to serve three-year terms, which are staggered so as to require annual elections for one-third of the board.



BOARD MEMBERS

Rahmi M. Koç Chairman

Memduh Karakullukçu Vice-Chairman, President

Hanzade Doğan Boyner Vice-Chairwoman

> Metin Fadıllıoğlu Secretary General

Gülsün Sağlamer Auditor

Lucien Arkas

Aslı Başgöz

Hasan T. Çolakoğlu

Salim Dervişoğlu

Ali Doğramacı

Sönmez Köksal

Özdem Sanberk

Suzan Sabancı Dincer

Ferit Şahenk

İlter Türkmen

AUDIT COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Eşref Cerrahoğlu Hayati Kamhi Zekeriya Yıldırım

COMMISSIONS

Global Relations Forum convenes commissions to support the efficacy of the Board of Directors and the executive processes.

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS

Canan Ediboğlu Memduh Karakullukçu Gülsün Sağlamer Özdem Sanberk Zekeriya Yıldırım - Auditor

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Piraye Antika Hanzade Doğan Boyner Ali Doğramacı Tarhan Erdem Sönmez Köksal Muhsin Mengütürk

STUDIES COMMISSION MEMBERS

Aslı Başgöz

Salim Dervişoğlu

Suzan Sabancı Dinçer

Ali Doğramacı

Metin Fadıllıoğlu

Memduh Karakullukcu

Sönmez Köksal

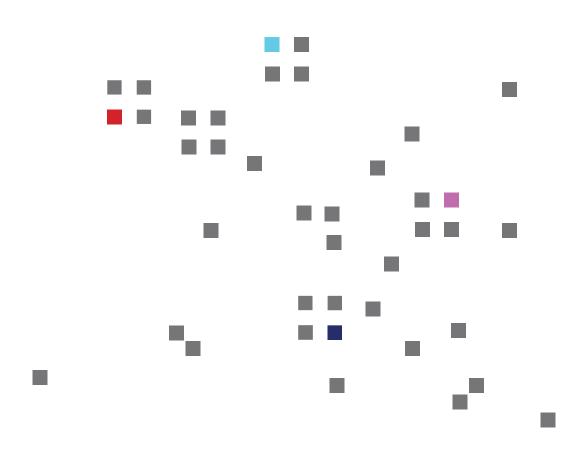
Muhsin Mengütürk

Gülsün Sağlamer

Özdem Sanberk

İlter Türkmen

GRF EXECUTIVE STAFF





Maxine İmer Administrative Coordinator



Gözde Küçük Program Director



Nigar Ağaoğulları Program Director



Ali Serkan Türkmenoğlu Associate

OBJECTIVES





Platform for Consultation

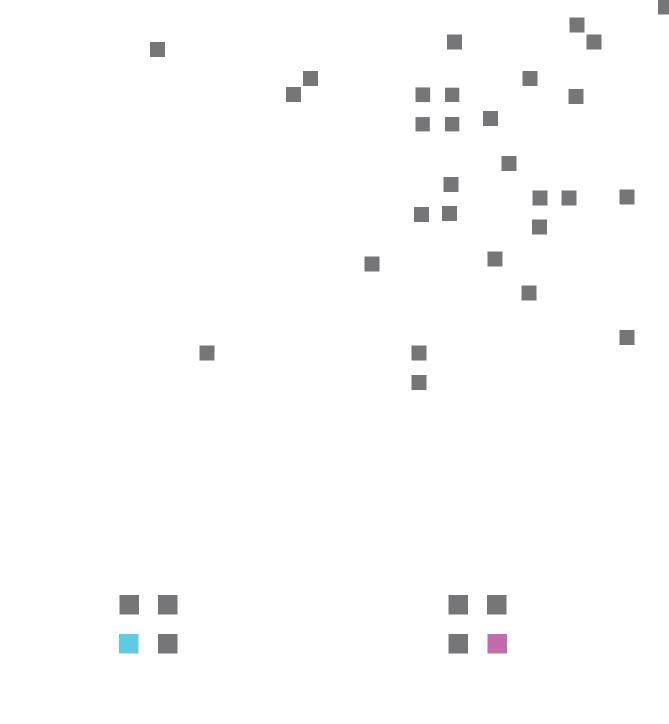
A culture of deliberation that crosses professional, political, and ideological faultlines

Policy reports that synthesize diverse viewpoints in global issues

Global Counterpart

Measured, steady, deliberative 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

TASK FORCES



Global Relations Forum launched two Task Forces in the 2009-2010 period: "Turkey-USA Relations" and "Energy and Climate Change". During 2011, these Task Forces focused on the drafting of consensus papers. The report entitled "Turkey-USA Partnership at the Dawn of a New Century" prepared by the Turkey-USA Relations Task Force was released to the Press on December. 16, 2011. GRF has also initiated a new Task Force in 2011 to assess "Turkey's Approach to Security in the 21st Century".

A major part of GRF activities, Task Forces strive to make balanced judgments on matters that involve medium to long-term uncertainty, and to generate roadmaps for Turkish foreign policy in light of these judgments.

GRF Task Forces bring together accomplished individuals from a diversity of professional backgrounds, experience and opinion who unite around the principles of consultation and search for common ground.

The Task Forces are independent commissions that make clear recommendations on strategy and policies in light of findings made on the monthly half-day meetings. Each Task Force member may add her additional concurring or dissenting view to the findings and recommendations of the commission.

The number of Task Force members varies between ten and fifteen to balance diversity with substantive exchange of ideas. Two Co-Chairs, the Project Director and the Rapporteur are responsible for managing the Task Force process as well as for crafting the synthesis of individual ideas. As members participate in the Task Force in their individual capacities, their views do not necessarily represent those of their institutions.

COMPLETED TASK FORCE:

TURKEY-USA RELATIONS TASK FORCE

The Turkey-USA Relations Task Force, the inaugural GRF Task Force, was launched to assess the dynamics that shape the two countries' foreign policies and their bilateral relations, as well as offering foresight and policy recommendations based on these dynamics. A group of 12 distinguished members, all authorities in their respective fields of business, academia, media, politics and diplomacy was led by the Co-Chairs, *Dr. Füsun Türkmen* of the Galatasaray University and Yavuz Canevi, Chairman of Türk Ekonomi Bankası, and co-ordinated by GRF Program Director Gözde Küçük.

The Turkey-USA Relations Task Force held ten meetings beginning on December 10, 2009; editorial meetings followed during the drafting process authored by Dr. Füsun Türkmen, the Co-Chair of the Task Force, and the consensus policy paper was finalized in September 2011 following a lengthy and comprehensive deliberation process.



"We have found chairing the Turkey-USA Task Force to have been a highly enriching and challenging experience, not only in terms of intellectual analysis, but also as an exercise in the art of reaching consensus."

Füsun Türkmen – Yavuz Canevi (Co-Chairs)

TASK FORCE

Co-Chairs: Yavuz CANEVİ

Chairman, Türk Ekonomi Bankası

Füsun TÜRKMEN

Associate Professor of International Relations, Galatasaray University

Members:

Edip BAŞER

Lecturer at Yeditepe University; Former Deputy Chief of General Staff

Aslı BASGÖZ

Global Executive Committee Member of White and Case, LLP

Hanzade DOĞAN BOYNER

Chairwoman, Doğan Online and Doğan Gazetecilik

Gökhan ÇETİNSAYA

President, The Council of Higher Education

Umran İNAN

Rector, Koç University

Memduh KARAKULLUKÇU

GRF Vice-Chairman and President

Sami KOHEN

Journalist, Milliyet Newspaper

Sönmez KÖKSAL

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

Özdem SANBERK

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

Project Director: Gözde KÜÇÜK

GRF Program Director





PROMOTIONAL ACTIVITIES

The report was shared with GRF members on December 14, 2011, and released to the press on December 16, 2011. The full text of the report is available at www.gif.org.tr.



....one of the key points emphasized by the report is that "a new Middle East challenge confronts the relationship". "Aspirations in North Africa and the Middle East towards a new democratic and social order present fresh opportunities for cooperation between Turkey and the US." According to GRF, this "is the cement long-needed to underpin the Turkey-US relationship."

December 17, 2011, Sedat Ergin, Hürriyet

The report was presented to GRF members, stakeholders in politics, academia, the press and business, as well as global counterparts.

Following the completion of the report, members of the GRF Turkey-USA Relations Task Force shared their experience and opinions with the delegation headed by Madeleine Albright, the former US Secretary of State, and the Co-Chair of the Independent Turkey Task Force launched by the Council on Foreign Relations.



ONGOING TASK FORCES:

ENERGY AND CLIMATE CHANGE TASK FORCE

GRF Task Force on "Energy and Climate Change" was launched with the purpose of making inclusive, systematic and dynamic assessments and offering recommendations on energy, which has strategic importance for Turkey in terms of politics, economics and national security. Eleven meetings were held during the year.

The Task Force continued its work towards forming a consensus policy paper and editorial meetings throughout 2011. The first draft of the consensus report was written by Memduh Karakullukçu, GRF Vice-Chairman, and presented to the Task Force for comments after incorporating the suggestions made by the Co-Chairs and the Editorial Commission.

The aim of the Task Force consensus paper is to identify lasting trends and propose dynamic policy processes with long-term relevance in the highly variable, multidimensional, and complicated domain of energy. A further underlying objective of the paper is to propose a conceptual framework that may be of relevance to policy debates beyond Turkey.

The report entitled "Turkish Energy Strategy in the 21st Century" places the objective of uninterrupted, low-cost and sustainable energy supply at the center, and reviews the uncertainty and discontinuities that might obstruct national strategies and policies developed to achieve this objective. The study treats the energy supply issue under three broad areas: fossil fuels, new energy technologies and nuclear energy. The Task Force report encourages institutions to provide flexibility in the face of uncertainty.



TASK FORCE

Co-Chairs: Fatih BİROL

Chief Economist, The International Energy Agency (IEA)

Gülsün SAĞLAMER

Professor of Architecture; Former Rector of Istanbul Technical University (İTÜ)

Members:

Salim DERVİŞOĞLU

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

Canan EDİBOĞLU

Economist; Former General Manager of Shell Turkey

Memduh KARAKULLUKÇU

GRF Vice-Chairman and President

Sönmez KÖKSAL

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

C. Tanıl KÜÇÜK

Chairman, Istanbul Chamber of Industry

Erol MEMİOĞLU

President of the Energy Group, Koç Holding, A.Ş.

Muhsin MENGÜTÜRK

Board Member, Doğuş Holding, A.Ş.

İlhan OR

Professor of Industrial Engineering, Boğaziçi University

Avse Yasemin ÖRÜCÜ

Energy and Climate Change Specialist, Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources

Mustafa TIRIS

Director of the Energy Institute at Marmara Research Center of the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK MAM)

Volkan VURAL

Ambassador (Ret.); Advisor to Chairman, Doğan Holding, A.Ş.

Project Director:

Nigar AĞAOĞULLARI

GRF Program Director

"TURKEY'S APPROACH TO SECURITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY" TASK FORCE



GRF Task Force on "Turkey's Approach to Security in the 21st Century" was launched with the purpose of debating and determining the newly emerging, interrelated global security risks and threats in the face of the uncertainty that shapes today's international relationships. The group intends to offer policy recommendations to refine Turkey's conceptual and institutional security structure.

Task Force member Dr. Gülnur Aybet of the University of Kent presented her views on the "Evolution of the Concept of Security in the 21st Century" at the first meeting held on September 21, 2011.

Following is the list of members who were invited to join the Task Force:





TASK FORCE

Co-Chairs:

Salim DERVİŞOĞLU

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

Sönmez KÖKSAL

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

Members

Oktar ATAMAN

General (Ret.)

Gülnur AYBET

Senior Lecturer, Politics and International Relations, University of Kent

Şadi ERGÜVENÇ

Lieutenant General (Ret.)

Memduh KARAKULLUKCU

GRF Vice-Chairman and President

Hüsamettin KAVİ

Industrialist; Former President of Istanbul Chamber of Industry Project Director Kemal KİRİŞCİ

Professor of Political Science and International Relations, Boğaziçi University

Ergun MENGİ

Brigadier (Ret.)

Mustafa ÖZBEY

Senior Rear Admiral (Ret.)

Ümit PAMİR

Ambassador (Ret.)

İlter TÜRKMEN

Ambassador (Ret.); Former Minister of Foreign Affairs

Erkut YÜCAOĞLU

President, TÜSİAD High Advisory Council Chairman, Map-Turkuaz Group of Companies

Rapporteur:

Münevver CEBECİ

Lecturer, European Union Institute at Marmara University

Project Director:

Nigar AĞAOĞULLARI

GRF Program Director

Following is the list of guest speakers who shared their views with the Task Force in 2011, and the titles of their respective presentations:

• Dr. George Friedman, CEO, STRATFOR and Political Scientist, October 7, 2011

"Global Security Risks and Threats that Shape Today's International Relationships"

• Dr. Claire Spencer, Director, Middle East and North Africa Programme, Chatham House, December 21, 2011

"Global Threats, Risks, and Challenges that Emerge in Light of the Arab Spring: Role of International and Regional Institutions"





TASK FORCES IN PLANNING STAGES:

GRF has, throughout 2011, planned and deliberated on the legal aspects of Turkey's relations with the EU, and the future of Turkey's human resources in global competitiveness.

"THE LEGAL FOUNDATIONS OF TURKEY – EU RELATIONS: MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS AND PRACTICES" TASK FORCE PLANNING COMMITTEE

GRF members **Cem Duna, Memduh Karakullukçu, Sönmez Köksal, Özdem Sanberk** took part in the Planning Committee, co-chaired by **Pekin Baran** and **Rıza Türmen**. **Gözde Küçük** served as the Director and **Esra Ünal** as the Rapporteur.

Prof. Ercan Tezer, Secretary General of Automotive Manufacturers Association, and **Can Baydarol**, European

Union Expert, participated in some of the meetings to share their expertise. The Planning Committee also invited guest speakers: **Prof. Marc Maresceau**, former legal advisor to the full accession negotiations carried out by countries such as Romania and Hungary, and **Ambassador Haluk Ilicak**, Undersecretary for the Ministry of EU Affairs, shared their expert opinions with the Committee.

"TOWARDS 2030: TURKEY'S HUMAN RESOURCES AND GLOBAL COMPETITIVENESS" TASK FORCE PLANNING COMMITTEE

GRF members Metin Fadıllıoğlu, Emre Gönensay, Memduh Karakullukçu, Sönmez Köksal and Gülsün Sağlamer, took part in the Planning Committee, co-chaired by Ali Doğramacı and Muhsin Mengütürk. Nigar Ağaoğulları served as the Director. Meetings were held throughout 2011 to discuss the framework, objectives, and methods of the study. To this end, the committee decided to initiate Roundtable Meeting Series

to address different approaches to human resources. The first Roundtable Meeting hosted GRF member Orhan Güvenen, Professor of Econometrics at Bilkent University, and Former Undersecretary to the State Planning Organization.

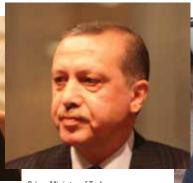
During this meeting, Orhan Güvenen shared his expertise on social capital and the present state of human resources in Turkey.

DISTINGUISHED GUEST SPEAKERS





Former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright December 2010



Prime Minister of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan January 2011



Minister of Foreign Affairs and Former Prime Minister of Australia Kevin Rudd January 2011





Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey Ahmet Davutoğlu March 2011



Honorary Chairman of the International Chamber of Commerce Victor K. Fung June 2011



Former UK Foreign Secretary and Labour MP David W. Miliband October 2011



Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey Ali Babacan December 2011

GRF invites prominent global leaders to its "Distinguished Guest Speakers" program. Distinguished Speakers present their ideas followed by discussion with the members. In the period between December 2010 and December 2011, eight prominent leaders, from Turkey and abroad, were invited as part of this program.

GRF members used this opportunity to debate a number of diverse topics with guest speakers including the position of Turkish economy in the world, Turkish-Australian and Turkish-British bilateral relations, trends in global governance, and China's evolving economic model.

The Hon. Madeleine Albright, Former US Secretary of State

"Turkey - USA Relations" December 2010, Yapı Kredi Korusu

The Hon. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Prime Minister of Turkey

"Turkey's Internal and External Challenges" January 16, 2011, Yapı Kredi Korusu

The Hon. Kevin M. Rudd, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Former Prime Minister of Australia

"Turkey and Australia: Opportunities for Co-operation in Global Issues"

January 31, 2011, Rahmi M. Koç Museum

Mr. Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, Leader of the Republican People's Party (CHP)

"Turkey's International Standing " February 16, 2011, Yapı Kredi Korusu

H.E. Ahmet Davutoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey

"Turkey's Foreign Policy Decisions and Regional Role" *March 25, 2011, Sakip Sabanci Museum, The Seed*

Mr. Victor K. Fung, Honorary Chairman of the International Chamber of Commerce

"China's Economic Position and Targets" June 24, 2011, Yapı Kredi Korusu

The Right Hon. David W. Miliband, Former UK Foreign Secretary and Labour MP

"Global Governance: Analysis and Recommendations" October 14, 2011, Yapı Kredi Korusu

H.E. Ali Babacan, Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey

"Turkey's Strategy for Becoming a Regional and Global Economic Power and the Structural Reforms Planned for the Economy"

December 23, 2011, Hilton Hotel

ROUNDTABLE MEETINGS

Roundtable meetings provide a platform for GRF members to engage in discussions led by experts in specific fields regarding international relations or global issues.

"Science, Technology, and Foreign Policy"

Prof. Kenneth H. Keller, Director of the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) Bologna Center and Professor of Science and Technology Policy, January 17, 2011

"Ongoing Crises in the US and Europe, and the Path Forward"

Prof. Lawrence H. Summers, Former US Secretary of the Treasury; Former President of Harvard University and Former Director of US National Economic Council, September 15, 2011

"Current State of Global Relations and the Ongoing Economic and Political Crisis in the US"

Chuck Hagel, Former USA Senator (R-NE), Chairman of the Atlantic Council and Co-Chairman of the US President's Intelligence Advisory Board, November 17, 2011



COUNCIL OF IDEAS

The Council of Ideas that convened on February 24, 2011, focused on "Liberal Democracy Norms" with the participation of Rıza Türmen (GRF member, Ambassador (Ret.), Former Judge of the ECHR, and *Milliyet* columnist) and Taha Akyol, *Milliyet* columnist.

The process of democratization throughout the world and the core values that constitute the concept of democracy were the two main topics of the discussion. The Council of Ideas is a platform where a thought-provoking thesis put forth by a leading GRF member is thoroughly discussed.



INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE

GRF has, in its second year, continued to lay the foundations of long-term cooperation with distinguished individuals and institutional counterparts. To this end, GRF held meetings with institutions across the US, Europe, Middle East and participated in international platforms for policy debate.









Thomas R. Pickering

- Heinrich Von Pierer, former Siemens CEO and Koç Holding Board Member, met with GRF on February 21, 2011 and shared his opinions on political and economic links between Germany and Turkey.
- H.E. Francis J. Ricciardone, US Ambassador, and Scott Kilner, US Consul General in Istanbul met with GRF members on March 28, 2011. Mr. Ricciardone addressed the current state of US-Turkey relations and opportunities for regional cooperation.
- Thomas R. Pickering, Ambassador (Ret.) and Co-Chair of the International Crisis Group, attended a dinner hosted by GRF to discuss developments in the Middle East on March 30, 2011. At this meeting, GRF members had the opportunity to assess the converging interests between Turkey and the US.
- Gianluca Alberini, Italian Consul General in Istanbul, visited the Global Relations Forum on April 21, 2011.
 During this visit, GRF members had the opportunity to exchange views on the political and economic relations between Turkey and Italy, potential areas for future cooperation and initiatives to enhance dialogue.

- Ad Melkert, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq and Head of the UN Assistance Mission for Iraq, informed GRF members about the structure and activities of the Mission on **May 9, 2011.** Melkert shared his insights about the transformation and the future of the county in light of the developments in the Middle East.
- The six-member UK Parliament Foreign Affairs Committee delegation, comprising Mr. Richard Ottaway, MP (Croydon South); Mr. Mike Gapes, MP (Ilford South); Mr. Andrew Rosindell, MP (Romford); Mr. Frank Roy, MP (Motherwell-Wishaw); Mr. Rory Stewart, MP (Penrith-The Border) and Mr. David Watts, MP (St. Helens North) paid a visit on **November 3, 2011**. The delegation exchanged views on Turkey-UK bilateral relations with our members.
- Memduh Karakullukçu, GRF Vice-Chairman and President, attended the Summit of the Global Agenda —a World Economic Forum initiative- held in Abu Dhabi between October 9 and 11, 2011, as a member of the EU Global Agenda Committee. During the course of the meetings held at the summit, Karakullukçu shared his assessment of the growth strategies of the European Union.

PUBLICATIONS



TURKEY – USA PARTNERSHIP AT THE DAWN OF A NEW CENTURY

The Turkey-USA Relations Task Force, the first Task Force launched by GRF published its report entitled "Turkey – USA Partnership at the Dawn of a New Century" in December 2011. The report is available on the GRF website in both Turkish and English.

gif.org.tr

GRF collaborates with distinguished institutions including the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) and the Brookings Institution. Translation of articles published by these institutions in periodicals and on their websites are made available to the Turkish public on the GRF website, www.gif.org.tr.

The articles published on the GRF website in 2011 with their Turkish translations:

- CFR GDP and Economic Policy Roya Wolverson
- CFR How to Save the Euro and the EU: Reading Keynes in Brussels - Henry Farrell and John Quiggin
- CFR Demystifying the Arab Spring: Parsing the Differences Between Tunisia, Egypt and Libya - Lisa Anderson
- CFR NATO After Libya: The Atlantic Alliance in Austere Times Anders Fogh Rasmussen
- FOREIGN AFFAIRS The Digital Disruption: Connectivity and the Diffusion of Power - Eric Schmidt, Jared Cohen

- FOREIGN AFFAIRS A G-Zero World: The New Economic Club Will Produce Conflict, Not Cooperation - Ian Bremmer and Nouriel Roubini
- FOREIGN AFFAIRS The Post-Washington Consensus: Development After the Crisis - Nancy Birdsall and Francis Fukuyama
- FOREIGN AFFAIRS The True Costs of Humanitarian Intervention: The Hard Truth About a Noble Notion Benjamin A. Valentino
- FOREIGN AFFAIRS Is Indonesia Bound for the BRICS?: How Stalling Reform Could Hold Jakarta Back
 - Karen Brooks
- BROOKINGS Getting Energy Regulation Right John P. Banks
- BROOKINGS US Aid to Pakistan: Time for a New Approach Homi Kharas

ARTICLES WRITTEN BY OUR MEMBERS

Cognizant that the language barrier is a two-way obstacle in accessing reliable sources of information on global issues, GRF publishes articles and commentaries by its members together with their translations on its website.

The articles written by GRF members, and published in 2011 are listed below:

- "Turkey is Losing Hope of a Rapport with Israel"
 Özdem Sanberk
- Turkey's Report on the Gaza Incident on May 31, 2010

Beyond gif.org.tr

In order to raise awareness about the content of gif.org.tr and to pave the way for constructive discussion, GRF is present in social media via its facebook and twitter accounts.

 $http://www.facebook.com/pages/Global-\dot{l}l\$kiler-ForumuGlobal-Relations-Forum/136162726407529$

https://twitter.com/#!/GRFGRF/



ACTIVITIES IN HIGH SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES



ROBERT COLLEGE MODEL UNITED NATIONS RCIMUN, APRIL 5-9, 2011

GRF Vice-Chairman Memduh Karakullukçu delivered the speech at the annual 2011 Robert College Model United Nations conference entitled "The Influences of Autarky and Cartelization in Policy Making".

TEA TALKS WITH CEOs, SABANCI UNIVERSITY; MAY 18, 2011

"Tea Talks with CEOs" held by the Economics and Management Club of Sabancı University brings together leaders from diverse backrounds to share their experiences with the students. On May 18, 2011, Memduh Karakullukçu joined the group to reflect on alternative career paths.

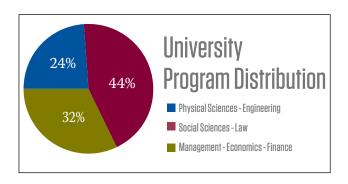
GRF aims to raise awareness of global dynamics in Turkey, and inspire young people to become active players and thinkers in world matters.

THE NINTH NATIONAL ELECTION CONFERENCE OF THE EUROPEAN YOUTH PARLIAMENT: MAY 24-28, 2011

Memduh Karakullukçu spoke at the conference that took place at Galatasaray High School. The conference addressed issues related to EU's foreign relations, human rights, economy, energy, culture, international trade, regional development, constitutional matters and civil liberties.



GRF YOUNG SCHOLARS SEMINARS



GRF Young Scholars Seminars is a program for a maximum of 20 undergraduate students to be selected annually from leading universities in Istanbul.

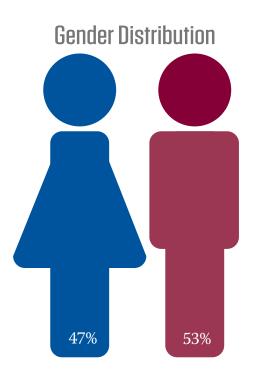
The program provides its participants with a platform where they can analyze and debate global issues freely, intelligently and constructively. Throughout the program, participants are encouraged to acquire indepth knowledge about a particular issue, examine it from various perspectives, and develop an objective synthesis. The aim of the program is to instill and cultivate an understanding in its participants of how differing opinions can interact and blend constructively, a premise fundamental to GRF.

Seminars usually held at GRF premises assess complex and interrelated issues in the global agenda such as the financial system, economic imbalances, security systems, global governance, energy balances, human rights, demographics and education.

GRF members participate in some these seminars as guest speakers. These meetings allow students to debate topics of global significance with the leaders who have been instrumental in shaping the events in Turkey and the world.

The students are expected to present a 1.500-word Policy Analysis and Recommendation Memorandum on a global topic of their own choice to the group at the end of the seminars.

Students who successfully complete the program receive their certificates at a ceremony attended by GRF members and qualify for invitations to a variety of GRF activities that attract world leaders and internationally acclaimed experts. GRF interns are primarily selected from the Young Scholars.





GRF YOUNG SCHOLARS FALL 2010 TERM

GRF Young Scholars Fall 2010 seminars comprised ten seminars of three hours each and two presentation meetings of six hours each, held between October 2010 and March 2011.

Thirteen successful students currently studying at distinguished higher education institutions participated in the seminars; their policy notes covered topics relevant to Turkey and the world and as diverse as freedom of the media and expression, natural gas policies in the Caspian Region, Turkey's foreign policy with respect to Egypt's transition, and Turkey's technology policy.

GRF members attended the seminars as guest speakers, shared their experiences and insights on the following topics:

- Sönmez Köksal "Diplomacy"
- Gülsün Sağlamer "Restructuring Higher Education"
- Salim Dervişoğlu "A Professional Military Force"
- Hanzade Doğan Boyner "The Media"
- Muhsin Mengütürk "Human Resources in the 21st Century"
- Özdem Sanberk "Phases of Turkish Foreign Policy" Following is the list of the thirteen GRF Young Scholars who participated in the Fall Term and successfully completed the program by presenting their Policy Analysis and Recommendation Memoranda.

Faruk Aktay	Koç University	Law
Ezgisu Biber	Sabancı University	Social and Political Sciences
Seran Çavdar	Boğaziçi University	Economics and Mathematics
Yılmaz Ergun Dinç	Koç University	International Relations
Adnan Koçak	Istanbul Bilgi University	International Political Economy
Melis Öner	Istanbul Technical University	Electrical Engineering
Hüseyin Özen	Sabancı University	Social and Political Sciences
Nur Banu Özkut	Boğaziçi University	Political Science and International Relations
Ezgi Sönmez	Boğaziçi University	Management
Sevgi Ceyda Şairoğlu	Sabancı University	Economics
Emre Tekişalp	Boğaziçi University	Mechanical Engineering
Ali Serkan Türkmenoğlu	Istanbul Technical University	Electrical Engineering
Ali Can Uzun	Galatasaray University	International Relations

GRF YOUNG SCHOLARS SPRING 2011 TERM

The second GRF Young Scholars group attended ten seminars and two presentation meetings, held between April and October 2011.

GRF members shared their views and experiences on the following topics:

- İlter Türkmen "Turkish Foreign Policy From the Beginning of the Republic to Today"
- Hakan Altınay "Global Civics"
- Leyla Alaton "Entrepreneurship"
- Mehmet Arda "Fifty Years in Global Economic Governance"

Following the summer break, the seminars continued through September and October, concluding with a final meeting held on October 15, 2011 at the Rahmi M. Koç Museum. Student presentations covered topics such as global food security, energy poverty in Africa, the restructuring of the UN Security Council and urban transformation.

This group had the opportunity to contribute to the Global Civics project organized by the Brookings Institution-London School of Economics and led by Mr. Hakan Altınay. Global Civics project, whose contributors include distinguished educational institutions from around the world such as the Australian National University, FGV (Sao Paulo), Hong Kong University, Mercator Academy (Berlin), New Economics School (Moscow), University of Johannesburg and Yale University, published articles written by GRF Young Scholars on the Global Policy Journal website (http://www.globalpolicyjournal.com).

Following is the list of twelve GRF Young Scholars who participated in the Spring Period and successfully completed the program by presenting their Policy Analysis and Recommendation Memoranda.

Gizem Akçaylan	Koç University	Management and Industrial Engineering
Sinem Baykalöz	Koç University	Industrial Engineering
Meneviş Cılızoğlu	Sabancı University	Social and Political Sciences
Aycan Adrian Corum	Sabancı University	Electronic Engineering
Dilara Çelik	Koç University	Law
Zeynep Çetin	Koç University	Economics
Hayrettin Günç	Yıldız Technical University	Architecture
Çağlar Kaya	Sabancı University	Economics
Ozan Kublay	Boğaziçi University	Political Science and International Relations
Yıldız Okyay	Sabancı University	Economics
Ayşe Söğütlügil	Koç University	International Relations
Lale Tekişalp	Boğaziçi University	Political Science and International Relations









GRF YOUNG SCHOLARS GRADUATION DINNER, DECEMBER 28. 2011

The graduation dinner for the first two GRF Young Scholars Seminar groups was held at the Rahmi M. Koç Museum. Mr. Rahmi M. Koç, GRF Chairman and Mr. Memduh Karakullukçu, GRF Vice-Chairman and President shared their views on the Young Scholars program and welcomed the Scholars to the GRF community. Ali Serkan Türkmenoğlu and Sinem Baykalöz followed with speeches reflected on their experiences as Young Scholars. The Scholars who successfully completed the seminars received their certificates, acknowledging their accomplishment.

GRF YOUNG SCHOLARS 2012 TERM

Informed by the first two terms, GRF decided to restructure the seminars to cover a full year.

Consequently, the 2012 program was designed around fifteen seminars to take place between November 2011 and October 2012.

17 successful undergraduates, currently studying at *Boğaziçi University, Istanbul Technical University, Galatasaray University, Koç University and Sabancı University,* were selected after an intense process of applications and interviews. The group began its program with an inaugural meeting on November 23, 2011 at the Koç University İstinye Campus. In 2011, İlter Türkmen and Erkut Yücaoğlu participated in the seminars. They shared their insights on "Turkey's Middle East Policy During the Arab Spring Process" and "Essential Strategies for the Development of Turkish Economy in the Medium and Long Term" respectively.

GRF YOUNG SCHOLARS ABROAD SEMINARS

GRF Young Scholars Abroad 2011 Seminars has been designed as a significant step in the GRF objective of providing young people with a platform where they can debate international relations and global issues. Undergraduates currently studying at such distinguished universities as *Brown, Columbia, Georgetown, Harvard, McGill, MIT, Princeton, University of Chicago* and *Yale* attended residential programs at the Koç University İstinye Campus in two separate sessions: June 9-11 and December 27-29, 2011. GRF members made the following presentations during the seminars led by Memduh Karakullukçu, GRF Vice Chairman and President:

"What made GRF unforgettable for me was the awareness it instilled in me about areas for self-improvement and the intellectual prejudices I had previously overlooked" Erman Eruz, GRF Young Scholars Abroad 2011

- İlter Türkmen "Turkish Foreign Policy From the Beginning of the Republic to Today"
- Sönmez Köksal "The Middle East" and "Protocol"
- Güven Sak "Economic Policies"
- C. Tanıl Küçük "Industrial Policies"
- Umran İnan "Technology-Universities-Defense"
- Gülsün Sağlamer "Higher Education in Turkey"
- Özdem Sanberk "Diplomacy"

- Salim Dervişoğlu "Security"
- Scott Kilner, US Consul General in Istanbul-"Turkey-US Relations"

The meetings concluded with participants presenting their policy notes on topics such as renewable energy, unplanned urbanization, climate change, nuclear disarmament and education policies. Following is the list of successful GRF Young Scholars Abroad 2011:

Sabire İpek Demir	Yale University	Ethics, Politics and Economics
Ece Erdagöz	Harvard University	Economics and Ethics and Public Policy
Begüm Ersan	Brown University	Economics and International Relations
Irmak Erman Eruz	Princeton University	Architecture and Civil Engineering
Berk Güler	Georgetown University	Economics and Government
Mine Kansu	Tufts University	International Relations and Economics and Religion
Ediz Karahasanoğlu	Brown University	Applied Mathematics and Economics
Okan Okutgen	Princeton University	Mechanical and Aerospace Engineering
Özgün Sak	University of Chicago	History and Political Science
Arman Uygur	Worcester Polytechnic Institute	Aerospace Engineering
İrem Yörük	Wellesley College	Economics



GRF YOUNG SCHOLARS ABROAD 2012 TERM APPLICATIONS

The application period for the GRF Young Scholars Abroad 2012 Term is opened to Turkish undergraduates currently studying at leading US universities on December 26, 2011, following a briefing session.

MEMBERSHIP

GRF membership is open to individuals as well as to companies.

Founded in May 2009 by a group of 40 individuals, Global Relations Forum increased its individual member count to 110 by the end of 2011.

MEMBERS*

Faik Açıkalın CEO of Yapı Kredi Bank; President of the Banking and Insurance Group, Koç Holding, A.S.

Vural Akışık Executive; Former Chairman of the Turkish State Banks

Leyla Alaton Board Member, Alarko Group of Companies

Hakan Altinay Board Member, The Open Society Foundation; Non-resident Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution

Piraye Antika Management Consultant; Former CEO of HSBC Bank Turkey

Emre Aracı Musicologist; Composer

Mehmet Arda Professor of International Relations, Galatasaray University

Esin Güral Argat Board Member, Gural Artcraft Lucien Arkas Chairman, Arkas Holding, A.Ş.

Attila Aşkar Professor of Applied Mathematics; Former Rector of Koç University

Elsie Vance Aşkar Consultant

Ömer Pekin Baran Chairman, Denizcilik A.Ş.

H. Edip Başer Former Deputy Chief of General Staff; Lecturer at Yeditepe University **Aslı Başgöz** Global Executive Committee Member of White and Case, LLP

Tayfun BayazıtFormer Chairman, Yapı Kredi BankFeyyaz BerkerChairman, Tekfen Holding, A.Ş.A. Gülsün BilgehanMP; Lecturer at Bilkent University

Fatih Birol Chief Economist, IEA

Nakiye Boyacıgiller Dean of Faculty of Management, Sabancı University
Hanzade Doğan Boyner Chairwoman, Doğan Online and Doğan Gazetecilik A.Ş.

Osman Boyner Chairman, BD Otomotiv, A.Ş. Şule Bucak Communications Consultant

Yılmaz Büyükerşen Mayor of Eskişehir; Former Rector of Anadolu University

Yavuz Canevi Chairman, Türk Ekonomi Bankası Eşref Cerrahoğlu Chairman, Cerrahgil, A.Ş.

Hikmet Çetin Former Speaker of TBMM; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs

Gökhan Çetinsaya President, The Council of Higher Education; Former Rector of Istanbul Şehir University

Hasan T. Çolakoğlu Chairman, TEB Holding, A.Ş.; Chairman, Çolakoğlu Metalurji Salim Dervişoğlu Admiral (Ret.), Former Commander of the Turkish Naval Forces Suzan Sabancı Dinçer Chairwoman and Managing Director, Akbank Turkey A.Ş.

Ömer Dinçkök Board Member, Akkök Group

Ali Doğramacı Chairman of the Board of Trustees; Former Rector of Bilkent University

Cem Duna Ambassador (Ret.); Chairman, AB Consulting

O. Turgay Durak CEO, Koç Holding, A.Ş. F. Bülent Eczacıbaşı Chairman, Eczacıbaşı Holding

Canan EdiboğluEconomist; Former General Manager of Shell TurkeyTarhan ErdemChairman, Konda Research Consulting; Columnist

Üstün Ergüder Director, Education Reform Initiative; Former Rector of Boğaziçi University

Selçuk Esenbel Professor of History, Boğaziçi University

Metin Fadıllıoğlu Chairman, Group 29

Celal GöleDean of the Faculty of Political Sciences, Ankara UniversityNilüfer GöleProfessor of Sociology at the École des Hautes Études in ParisEmre GönensayProfessor of Economics; Former Minister of Foreign AffairsBülent GültekinAssociate Professor of Finance, University of Pennsylvania

Orhan Güvenen Professor of Econometrics at Bilkent University; Former Undersecretary of the State Planning

Organization

Talat S. Halman Dean of the Faculty of Humanities at Bilkent University; Former Minister of Culture

Şükrü Hanioğlu Professor of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University

Metin Heper Provost, Bilkent University

Rifat Hisarcıklıoğlu President, Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges

Umran İnan Rector, Koç University

M. Cemal KafadarProfessor of History, Harvard UniversityÇiğdem KağıtçıbaşıProfessor of Psychology, Koç University

Hayati Kamhi Founder, Proteksan Turquoise Kerim Kamhi Chairman, Profilo Telekom

^{* 31} December 2011

Memduh Karakullukçu Founding Partner of Kanunum.com; Founding MD of İTÜ-ARI Science Park

Hüsamettin Kavi Industrialist; Former Chairman of Istanbul Chamber of Industry Muharrem Kayhan Chairman, Söktaş A.Ş.; Board Member, Koç Holding, A.Ş.

Muhtar Kent Chairman and CEO, Coca Cola

Üner Kırdar Ambassador (Ret.)

Rahmi M. Koç Honorary Chairman, Koç Holding, A.Ş.

Sami Kohen Journalist, Writer

Sezer Komsuoğlu Prof. Rector, Kocaeli University
Osman Korutürk Ambassador (Ret.), MP

Cem Kozlu Management Consultant; Former Chairman of Turkish Airlines

Sönmez Köksal Former undersecteray of Ambassador (Ret.); Former Undersecretary of Turkish National Intelligence

Organization

Avse Kulin Writer

C. Tanıl Kücük Chairman, İstanbul Chamber of İndustry

Tugrul Kudatgobilik President, Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations Organization

Livio Manzini Chairman, Bell Holding

Erol Memioğlu President of the Energy Group, Koç Holding, A.Ş.

Muhsin Mengütürk Board Member, Doğuş Holding, A.Ş.

Emine Gürsoy NaskaliProfessor of Turkish Language and Literature, Marmara UniversityA. Gülru NecipoğluProfessor of Islamic Art and Architecture, Harvard UniversityOsman OkyayGroup Head Technical Division, Kale Group of Companies

Zeynep Bodur Okyay CEO- President, Kale Group of Companies

İlhan Or Professor of Industrial Engineering, Boğaziçi University

İlber Ortaylı Professor of History, Galatasaray University; Director of Topkapı Palace Museum

Altan Öymen
Mustafa Özbey
Ersin Özince
Murat Özveğin

Journalist and Writer
Senior Rear Admiral (Ret.)
Former CEO, İş Bank
Board Member, Fiba Group

Necmettin Pamir Professor of Neurology; Former Rector, Acıbadem University

Ümit Pamir Ambassador (Ret.) **Süher Pekinel** Concert Pianist

Gülsün Sağlamer
Güven Sak
Director of Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV)
S. Özdem Sanberk
Rüşdü Saraçoğlu
Professor of Architecture; Former Rector, Istanbul Technical University (İTÜ)
Director of Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV)
Ambassador (Ret.); Former Undersecretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Former Minister of State; Former Governor of the Central Bank of Turkey

Ferit Şahenk Chairman, Doğuş Holding, A.Ş. İpeknur Cem Taha Journalist and Businesswoman

Ali Tigrel Former Undersecretary of the State Planning Organization

Canan Çelebioğlu Tokgöz Vice Chairwoman, Çelebi Holding, A.Ş.

Binnaz Toprak MP; Professor of Political Science and International Relations, Bahçeşehir University

Füsun Türkmen Associate Professor of International Relations, Galatasaray University

İlter Türkmen Ambassador (Ret.); Former Minister of Foreign Affairs

Riza M. Türmen MP; Ambassador (Ret.); Former ECHR Judge, **Tomris Türmen** Professor of Neonatology, Ankara University

Akın Umur Chairman, Türk Tütün, A.Ş.

Derin Ural Vice-Rector, Istanbul Technical University (İTÜ)

Emine Uşaklıgil Journalist and Writer
Murat Ülker Chairman, Yıldız Holding

Volkan VuralAmbassador (Ret.); Advisor to Chairman, Doğan HoldingYaşar YakışAmbassador (Ret.); Former Minister of Foreign Affairs

Nur Yalman Professor of Social Anthropology and Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University

Zekeriya Yıldırım Chairman, Yıldırım Consulting; Board Member, Sabancı Holding A.Ş.

Rona Yırcalı Chairman, Yırcalı Group of Companies

İdil Yiğitbaşı Chairman, Yaşar Holding

Erkut Yücaoğlu President, TÜSİAD High Advisory Council and Chairman, Map-Turkuaz Group of Companies

IN MEMORIAM

In fond memory of Mr. Murad Megalli, a profoundly respected member, whom we lost in a tragic air crash in February 2011. We would like to extend our sincere condolences to his family and friends and the greater GRF family.

CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP

GRF introduced Corporate Membership in April 2011 as part its ongoing institutional commitment to diversity of perspectives. Globally engaged companies committed to understanding, discussing and advancing a constructive global agenda, provide expertise that can contribute significantly to GRF's work.

The membership offers companies and executives a platform for deliberations with GRF members and GRF's distinguished speakers throughout the year.

Corporate membership offers a range of benefits to companies including, but not limited to:

- invitation to Distinguished Guest Speakers Series
- invitation to Roundtables with prominent experts

- invitation to participate in Task Force meetings either as members or speakers on topics relevant to the company's area of expertise
- invitation to the Annual Corporate Event which will bring together our Corporate Members and Board Members to discuss matters of shared interest
- subscription to the GRF Newsletter

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Citibank A.Ş., Coca Cola İçecek Sanayi A.Ş., ING Bank A.Ş. and Microsoft Bilgisayar Yazılım Hizmetleri Ltd. joined the GRF as corporate members in 2011.

