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**FOREIGN  
RELATIONS**

**GIFGRF**

**COUNCIL OF COUNCILS  
EIGHTH REGIONAL CONFERENCE**

**COUNCIL  
OF COUNCILS**

*An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations*



**OCTOBER 4-6, 2015**

**ISTANBUL, TURKEY**

*Hosted by  
Global Relations Forum  
&  
Council on Foreign Relations*

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## **Council of Councils Mission Statement**

The defining foreign policy challenges of the twenty-first century are global in nature. To help direct high-level international attention and effective policy responses to these threats and opportunities, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) has created a Council of Councils (CoC). The CoC is composed of twenty-six major policy institutes from some of the world's most influential countries. It is designed to facilitate candid, not-for-attribution dialogue and consensus-building among influential opinion leaders from both established and emerging nations, with the ultimate purpose of injecting the conclusions of its deliberations into high-level foreign policy circles within members' countries.

*Participants are welcome to disclose ideas from CoC meetings and may attribute that information to the CoC, but may not reveal the identity or the affiliation of any speaker, participant, or institution attending the meeting. On- and off-the-record sessions will be noted on the agenda. An official photographer will be present and pictures will be displayed on the official webpage and social media websites, but use of personal recording devices and cameras is prohibited.*

## Council of Councils Eighth Regional Conference

### Agenda

#### Sunday, October 4, 2015

7:20 p.m.–7:30 p.m. Board the Gümüş Damla Yacht (*leaving from the Grand Tarabya Hotel jetty*)

7:30 p.m.–10:30 p.m. *Opening Dinner and Discussion on Turkish Politics*

*Moderator: Ali Hakan Altınay, Nonresident Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution (Turkey)*

*Speakers: Bülent Aras, Senior Scholar, Istanbul Policy Center, and Professor, Sabancı University (Turkey)*

*Murat Yetkin, Editor in Chief, Hürriyet Daily News (Turkey)*

#### Monday, October 5, 2015

**Yapı Kredi Yeniköy Korusu**

Sait Halim Paşa Caddesi No: 4

Yeniköy, Sarıyer

Istanbul

9:30 a.m.–10:00 a.m. *Registration and Light Breakfast*

10:00 a.m.–11:15 a.m. *Session One*

#### **Reinforcing International Cooperation in Responding to Refugees and Migration**

*Guiding Questions: What is driving the global refugee crisis? Which of these underlying dynamics are likely to continue in the coming decades? What changes need to be made to improve the current system for humanitarian response, at both the global and regional levels, including reducing impacts on frontline states? What explains the recent increase in asylum applications to industrialized nations from the developing world? What additional international mechanisms are needed to manage migration more effectively at a global or regional level?*

*Moderator: Sook-Jong Lee, President, East Asia Institute (South Korea)*

*Panelists: Elif Özmenek-Çarmıklı, Researcher, USAK International Strategic Research Organization (Turkey)*

*Gilead Sher, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for National Security Studies (Israel)*

*Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, Chief Executive, South African Institute of International Affairs (South Africa)*

11:15 a.m.–11:45 a.m. *Coffee Break*

11:45 a.m.–1:00 p.m. *Session Two*

#### **The Future of the MENA Region and Global Security**

*Guiding Questions: Given the deeply entrenched social, economic, political, ethnic, and sectarian tensions, what is the most likely scenario for the political development of the MENA region in the next decade? What mixture of political authoritarianism, violent conflict, and democratic experimentation should one anticipate? Will the Saudi Arabia-Iran or Sunni-Shia confrontation become the defining fault line, or can these conflicts be defused? Will the self-declared Islamic State prove to be a transient phenomenon or an enduring force in the region and even worldwide? What is the risk that additional states may seek to acquire military nuclear capability in the region? What can outside actors do to reverse the spreading disorder?*

*Moderator: **Abdulaziz Sager**, Chairman, Gulf Research Center (Saudi Arabia)*

*Panelists: **Bessma Momani**, Senior Fellow, Center for International Governance Innovation (Canada)*

***Charles Powell**, Director, Real Instituto Elcano (Spain)*

***Ali Vaez**, Senior Analyst, Iran, International Crisis Group (Belgium)*

1:00 p.m.–1:30 p.m. *Buffet Lunch*

1:30 p.m.–2:15 p.m. **Keynote Address on Ukraine**

*Speaker: **Ertuğrul Apakan**, Chief Monitor, OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine (Turkey)*

2:15 p.m.–3:15 p.m. **Special Session on Ukraine**

*Moderator: **Özdem Sanberk**, Former Ambassador and Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Turkey)*

*Panelists: **Michael Fullilove**, Executive Director, Lowy Institute for International Policy (Australia)*

***Igor Yurgens**, Chairman, Institute for Contemporary Development (Russia)*

3:15 p.m.–6:00 p.m. *Free Time*

6:00 p.m.–9:30 p.m. *Cocktail Reception, Public Event, and Dinner at Sakıp Sabancı Museum*

**Sakıp Sabancı Museum**  
*Emirgan Mh.*

*Sakıp Sabancı Cd. No: 42*

*Sarıyer, Istanbul*

6:00 p.m.–6:30 p.m. *Cocktail Reception*

6:30 p.m.–7:30 p.m. *Public Event*

**The Endgame in the Eurozone and Europe's Prospects as an Effective Global Actor**

*Moderator: **İlter Turan**, Professor of Political Science, Bilgi University (Turkey)*

*Speakers: **Thomas Gomart**, Director, French Institute of International Relations (France)*

***Richard N. Haass**, President, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

***Memduh Karakullukçu**, Vice Chairman and President, Global Relations Forum (Turkey)*

***Volker Perthes**, Director, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)*

7:45 p.m.–9:30 p.m. *Dinner and Keynote Speaker at the Seed*

*Speaker: **Ali Babacan**, Former Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Minister of Economic Affairs (Turkey)*

**Tuesday, October 6, 2015**

**Yapı Kredi Yeniköy Korusu**

*Sait Halim Paşa Caddesi No: 4*

*Yeniköy, Sarıyer*

*Istanbul*

9:30 a.m.–10:00 a.m. *Light Breakfast*

10:00 a.m.–11:15 a.m. *Session Three*

## Redesigning Regional and Global Energy Governance

*Guiding Questions: Is stronger coordination to manage global energy dynamics a necessary and feasible prospect? Globally, should the International Energy Agency be reformed to allow membership of consumers who are not members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, especially big players like China, India, or Brazil—and how might this be brought about? Does the world need a new institution to promote sharing of clean technologies? Is it viable to build multilateral mechanisms to provide a more stable global investment environment in the energy sector? Regionally, is closer cooperation among potential supplier and consumer countries necessary to develop the Southern Gas Corridor as a realistic alternative to Europe's dependence on Russian gas? Can Turkey play a pivotal role in shaping and sustaining such cooperation?*

*Moderator: **Memduh Karakullukçu**, Vice Chairman and President, Global Relations Forum (Turkey)*

*Panelists: **Ünal Çeviköz**, Former Turkish Ambassador to the UK, Iraq and Azerbaijan (Turkey)*

***Jarosław Ćwiek-Karpowicz**, Head of Research, Polish Institute of International Affairs (Poland)*

***Nicolò Sartori**, Researcher, Institute of International Affairs (Italy)*

11:15 a.m.–11:45 a.m. *Coffee Break*

11:45 a.m.–1:00 p.m. *Session Four*

### **Global Climate Cooperation Beyond Paris**

*Guiding Questions: What are the prospects for a substantive multilateral breakthrough in Paris? What is the minimum that needs to be achieved at COP-21 to maintain international momentum? If Paris “fails,” will the major action shift to local, national, bilateral, minilateral, or regional initiatives? What is likely to be the overall effect of diverse, piecemeal alternatives to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change process? Can any of these alternatives replace (and even reinforce) more encompassing UN-wide efforts, or are they a distraction? If global deadlocks at the multilateral level persist beyond 2015, will global debates increasingly shift from mitigating climate change to adapting to its consequences?*

*Moderator: **Stewart M. Patrick**, Director and Senior Fellow, International Institutions and Global Governance Program, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

*Panelists: **Sanjeev Ahluwalia**, Advisor, Observer Research Foundation (India)*

***Rob Bailey**, Research Director, Energy, Environment, and Resources, Chatham House (United Kingdom)*

***José María Lladós**, Academic Director, Argentine Council for International Relations (Argentina)*

1:00 p.m.–1:30 p.m. **Closing Remarks**

1:30 p.m.–2:30 p.m. *Lunch*

## Speaker Bios

### **Hakan Altınay**

Hakan Altınay is a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and the founding president of Global Civics Academy. Altınay previously worked as regional director for Asia and Near East at Pathfinder International (1996–98), Caspian and Black Sea coordinator at the International Research and Exchanges Board in Istanbul (1999–2001), and executive director at the Open Society Foundation in Istanbul (2001–2009). He has been a world fellow at Yale University since 2009. He became a nonresident senior fellow at Brookings in 2009, and he established the European School of Politics in Istanbul in 2014. His book, *Global Civics: Responsibilities and Rights in an Interdependent World*, was published by Brookings Institution Press in 2011. The book has been translated into Arabic, Chinese, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish and inspired a documentary by the Chinese director Jian Yi. Altınay is currently working on the questions of constituency-building and normative frameworks for enhanced global cooperation and governance. He holds a BA in political science and international relations with high honors from Boğaziçi University and an ABD in political science from the New School for Social Research.

### **Ertuğrul Apakan**

Ertuğrul Apakan heads the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine. He previously served as Turkey's permanent representative to the United Nations (UN), where he represented Turkey at the UN Security Council (UNSC) from August 2009 to the end of 2010 and held the presidency of the UNSC in September 2010. Prior to his appointment as the permanent representative, Apakan served as undersecretary of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 2006 to 2009 and as deputy undersecretary for bilateral political relations from 2004 to 2006. Throughout his long diplomatic career, Apakan actively took part in the UN-Cyprus talks, Turkey-Greece exploratory talks on the Aegean Sea, Turkey-European Union talks, and negotiations on Turkish-Armenian protocols. Furthermore, during his tenure at the UN, he was involved in issues related to gender, children, aging, and disaster management. Apakan graduated from Ankara University's Faculty of Political Sciences and holds an MA in international economics from Ege University.

### **Bülent Aras**

Bülent Aras is a senior scholar and the coordinator of the conflict resolution and mediation stream at the Istanbul Policy Center (IPC), as well as professor at Sabancı University's Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Previously, he was academic advisor to Ahmet Davutoğlu, former Turkish minister of foreign affairs. A leading expert on Turkish foreign policy, Middle Eastern politics, and Central Asia, Aras has worked as a consultant for numerous organizations, such as Oxford Analytica, Microsoft, and Human Rights Watch. He is a member of the board of directors of the International Center for Black Sea Studies. Before joining IPC, Aras worked at the Center for Strategic Research and served as chairman of the Diplomacy Academy, both affiliated with Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He also taught in Istanbul Technical University's department of humanities and social sciences. In 2010, he was senior visiting professor of Turkish studies at Oxford University's St. Antony's College. He was a research scholar at the Paris-based European Union Institute for Security Studies in 2004, at St. Antony's College in 2003, and at Indiana University's center for Eurasian studies in 1998. Aras has published thirteen books and numerous articles, which have appeared in journals such as *Middle East Policy*, *Journal of Third World Studies*, *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, and *Political Science Quarterly*. He wrote a weekly column on foreign policy for *Daily Sabah* in 2009 and 2010. He is editor in chief of *Perceptions* and founding editor of *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations*. Aras received his BA, MA, and PhD in political science and international relations from Boğaziçi University.

### **Ali Babacan**

Ali Babacan was appointed the Turkish minister of foreign affairs in August 2007. He has held multiple positions in the government, including minister of state in charge of economy from 2002 to 2007 and chief negotiator in Turkey's accession negotiations with the European Union in 2005. Babacan has also served in parliament, to

which he was first elected in 2002 and reelected in 2007. He is a founding member and board member of the Justice and Development Party. Prior to working in the government, Babacan worked at a Chicago-based company from 1992 to 1994, providing financial consulting services to top executives of major banks in the United States, and then ran his family business until 2002. He received a BS in industrial engineering from the Middle East Technical University and an MBA in marketing, organizational behavior, and international business from Northwestern University's Kellogg School of Management as a Fulbright scholar.

### **İlter Turan**

İlter Turan is a professor of political science and a former rector (1998–2001) at Bilgi University in Istanbul. Turan previously worked as an assistant professor at Istanbul University's department of economics. He completed his PhD (1966), associate professorship (1970), and professorship (1976) at Istanbul University. Turan started teaching at Istanbul University's faculty of political science in 1984 and became the head of the department of political sciences in 1991. In 1993, he joined Koç University's College of Administrative Sciences and Economics as a professor of political science. Turan has published books and articles in both Turkish and English on the subjects of comparative politics, Turkish political life, political behavior, political culture, international relations, and foreign policy. He has also served on the administrative boards of various firms and foundations, and he writes weekly for *Dünya* newspaper. Turan received a BA in political science from Oberlin College and an MA from Columbia University in the same subject.

### **Murat Yetkin**

The editor in chief of the *Hürriyet Daily News*, Murat Yetkin began his journalism career in 1981 and joined the BBC World Service in Ankara in 1986. After working for a number of international news organizations, including Deutsche Welle and Agence France-Presse, he joined what was then the *Turkish Daily News* as the diplomacy and defense editor in 1992. Yetkin subsequently joined the founding team of Turkey's first round-the-clock news channel, NTV, and established its Ankara office. He returned to print journalism in 2001 as Ankara bureau chief of the daily newspaper *Radikal*, where he also wrote regular columns on current affairs, mainly addressing politics, diplomacy, security, and the economy. He assumed his current position at the *Hürriyet Daily News* in May 2011. Yetkin frequently appears on leading Turkish news channels, NTV, and CNN Türk. Yetkin is the author of four published books on Turkey's international relations: *Active Policy in the Ring of Fire: Turkey in the Triangle of the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Middle East*; *Turkey in the Waiting Room of the European Union*; *The Motion: The True Story of the Iraq Crisis*; and *The Kurdish Trap: Öcalan from Damascus to İmralı*. Yetkin is also an Eisenhower fellow and a member of the Georgetown University leadership seminar group. He graduated from the Middle East Technical University's mechanical engineering department.

## **Participant Bios**

### **Nigar Aġaoġulları Yalınkılıç**

Nigar Aġaoġulları Yalınkılıç, the executive director of Global Relations Forum (GRF), joined GRF in 2009 as a program director and has coordinated GRF's task force on energy. Currently, she oversees and coordinates GRF's track-II projects with Russia and GRF's task force on security. Before she started her career at an international law firm in New York, Yalınkılıç worked at Western Policy Center in Washington, DC, and at the Turkish mission to the United Nations. Prior to joining GRF, she specialized in strategy and business development and served as a communication consultant to several companies. She is fluent in Turkish and English, and conversational in French and Greek. Yalınkılıç graduated from Georgetown University in 2002 with a BS degree (cum laude) in foreign affairs concentrating in culture and politics as well as minorities, and she completed a certificate program in Muslim-Christian relations. She holds an MSc degree (merit) in social and public communication from the London School of Economics with specializations in corporate communications and social psychology.

### **Sanjeev S. Ahluwalia**

Sanjeev S. Ahluwalia is an advisor at the Observer Research Foundation. He is also affiliated with the Energy and Resources Institute, where he worked for three years, and the CUTS Center for Infrastructure Regulation and Competition in an honorary capacity. His main areas of expertise include energy regulation, institutional development, and political economy analysis. Having served as a senior specialist for the World Bank's poverty reduction and economic management network in East Africa for seven years, as well as in numerous senior level positions in India's ministry of finance, ministry of commerce, and Central Electricity Regulatory Commission, Ahluwalia has significant expertise in public sector financial management. He has also worked for the finance department of the government of Uttar Pradesh. Ahluwalia hosts a blog, *Opinion India*, which is also available at *Times of India Blogs*, and writes for the *Asian Age*, *Globalist*, and *Swarajya*.

### **Bozkurt Aran**

Bozkurt Aran is the director of the Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey's Centre for Multilateral Trade Studies. He started work at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the third secretary at the department of Eastern Europe in 1973. Aran served as vice consul at the Salzburg consulate general, first secretary at the Kuala Lumpur embassy, and economic counsellor at the Washington embassy. He was appointed the consul general of the Republic of Turkey at Dusseldorf (1989–93), ambassador to Pakistan (1998–2000), permanent representative at the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization in Paris (2002–2004), and ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Iran (2004–2006). He then served as the permanent representative of Turkey to the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Geneva (2007–2012), where he chaired the trade policy board, the committee of trade and environment, and the accession working committee of Belarus. After serving as the deputy director-general for bilateral relations for European countries at the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1993–1998), he worked as the director-general for bilateral economic affairs (2000–2002) and director-general for the Middle East (2006–2008). He was also a member of the management board of the advisory center on WTO law. Aran graduated from the Faculty of Political Sciences at Ankara University.

### **Rob Bailey**

Rob Bailey is director of the Energy, Environment, and Resources Department at Chatham House. His research has included climate change and food security, the political economy of low-carbon development, conflict and resources, and global resource governance. He came to Chatham House from Oxfam, where he was responsible for policy on climate change, trade, and food security. Prior to this, he had a career in financial services. Bailey holds degrees from Cambridge University and the London School of Economics and Political Science.

## **Hikmet Çetin**

Hikmet Çetin is the former speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, former minister of foreign affairs, and former North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) senior civilian representative in Afghanistan. He served four terms as a member of the Turkish parliament. He held the positions of minister of foreign affairs from 1991 to 1994 and speaker of the house between 1997 and 1999. On November 19, 2003, he was appointed as NATO secretary-general's senior civilian representative in Afghanistan, the highest level political representative of NATO in Afghanistan. He took office in Kabul in 2004 and served four consecutive terms until August 24, 2006. Earlier in his career, he worked as the head of the economics planning department at the State Planning Organization. During this time, he was a part-time lecturer at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara. Çetin is a member of the Global Leadership Foundation and the executive board for the European Leadership Network as well as honorary board member of the Peres Center for Peace. He graduated in 1960 with a BA in economics and finance from Ankara University and received his MA in economics of development from Williams College. In 1968, he carried out research on development models at Stanford University.

## **Ünal Çeviköz**

Ünal Çeviköz joined the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1978. Following his service in Ankara, he worked as second secretary at the Turkish embassy in Moscow and as consul at the Turkish consulate general in Bregenz, Austria. After serving as the chief of section at the east European department of the foreign ministry, Çeviköz was assigned to the Turkish embassy in Sofia as counselor. After 1989, he worked at the economic and political affairs directorates in the international secretariat of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). After launching the NATO Information Office in Moscow in 1994, Çeviköz prepared the NATO-Russia Founding Act before returning to the Turkish foreign ministry, where he headed the Balkan department and then served as the deputy director general for the Caucasus and Central Asia. He then served as Turkey's ambassador to Azerbaijan (2001–2004) and Iraq (2004–2006). From 2007 to 2010, Çeviköz acted as deputy undersecretary for bilateral political affairs and prepared the protocols signed between Turkey and Armenia in 2009. He then served as ambassador to the United Kingdom from 2010 to 2014. Çeviköz has been president of the general assembly of the International Maritime Organization since 2013. He holds two bachelor's degrees from Boğaziçi University, in English language and literature and political science, and a master's degree from Brussels University in international relations.

## **Jarosław Ćwiek-Karpowicz**

Jarosław Ćwiek-Karpowicz is head of the research office at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). He previously worked at PISM as program coordinator of eastern and southeastern Europe. He is also an adjunct professor at the University of Warsaw's Institute of Political Science. His main areas of research include energy security, international relations in the post-Soviet space, and contemporary Russia. He has published numerous papers and articles, the most recent being "Sanctions and Russia." Ćwiek-Karpowicz received two master's degrees as well as his doctoral degree in political science from the University of Warsaw. He also studied political science at Moscow State University and the University of Strasbourg.

## **Salim Dervişoğlu**

Salim Dervişoğlu served as commander of the Turkish naval forces from 1997 to 1999. Previously, he served as the deputy secretary-general of the Turkish National Security Council, head of the plans and policy department of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, allied naval forces command of southern Europe, superintendent of the Turkish Naval Academy, chief of the intelligence division of the Turkish general staff, and head of the press and public relations department of the Turkish National Security Council. Dervişoğlu is currently a member of the Wise Men Center for Strategic Studies in Istanbul. He is a graduate of the Turkish Naval War College and received his MSc in management from the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey.

## **Michael Fullilove**

Michael Fullilove is the executive director of the Lowy Institute for International Policy. Fullilove has also worked as a lawyer, a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC, and an advisor to former Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating. He remains a nonresident senior fellow at Brookings. Fullilove writes widely, and his work is published in outlets such as the *New York Times*, *Financial Times*, and *Foreign Affairs*, as well as the Australian press. He is the author of *Rendezvous with Destiny: How Franklin D. Roosevelt and Five Extraordinary Men Took America into the War and into the World*, which won the 2014 New South Wales Premier's Literary Award for nonfiction. He is the coeditor, with Anthony Bubalo, of *Reports from a Turbulent Decade*, an anthology of the Lowy Institute's best work. He is also the editor of *Men and Women of Australia!: Our Greatest Modern Speeches*. Fullilove will deliver the Boyer Lectures on the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's Radio National in September and October 2015.

## **Thomas Gomart**

Thomas Gomart is the director of the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI), based in Paris and Brussels. He was previously IFRI's vice president for strategic development (2010–2015) and the director of its Russia/NIS Center (2004–2013), and is coeditor of the trilingual electronic collection *Russie.Nei.Visions*. Before joining IFRI, Gomart was assistant professor at the Sorbonne (1996–99), cadet officer in the army (2000), Lavoisier fellow at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (2001), visiting fellow at the European Union Institute for Security Studies (2003), and Marie Curie fellow at the department of war studies at King's College London (2003–2004). Gomart has managed many projects with leading international think tanks, high-level government officials, senior executives from global companies, nongovernmental organization activists, and leading journalists. He recently published, with Thierry de Montbrial, "Think Tanks à la française" in the September–October 2014 edition of *Le débat*. Gomart holds an EMBA from HEC Paris and a PhD in history from Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne.

## **Imtiaz Gul**

Imtiaz Gul is the founder and executive director of the Center for Research and Security Studies, a Pakistani think tank focused primarily on security, radicalization, and governance. He has contributed to international and national print publications, including *Foreign Policy*, *USA Today*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Friday Times*, *Pulse*, *Islamabad*, and *Express Tribune*, on issues such as militancy, border regions, Afghanistan, and India-Pakistan relations. In addition to advising foreign diplomatic missions and development sector organizations, Gul regularly appears as an expert on several Pakistani television channels, as well as the Doha-based Al Jazeera English/Arabic satellite television channel for his expertise in areas such as Afghanistan, the tribal areas, and the Kashmir militancy, which he has been covering since 1988. He has presented papers at numerous international security and counterterrorism conferences and authored the books *Pakistan: Before and After Osama*, *The Most Dangerous Place: Pakistan's Lawless Frontier*, *The Al Qaeda Connection: The Taliban and Terror in Tribal Areas*, and *The Unholy Nexus: Pak-Afghan Relations Under the Taliban*.

## **Richard N. Haass**

Richard N. Haass is in his thirteenth year as president of the Council on Foreign Relations, the preeminent independent, nonpartisan organization in the United States dedicated to the study of U.S. foreign policy. In 2013, he served as the chair of the multiparty negotiations in Northern Ireland that provided the foundation for the 2014 Stormont House Agreement. For his efforts to promote peace and conflict resolution, he received the 2013 Tipperary International Peace Award. From 2001 to 2003, Haass was director of policy planning for the Department of State as well as U.S. coordinator for policy toward the future of Afghanistan and U.S. envoy to the Northern Ireland peace process. He was also special assistant to President George H.W. Bush and senior director for Near East and South Asian affairs on the staff of the National Security Council from 1989 to 1993. Haass is the author or editor of twelve books on U.S. foreign policy and one book on management. His most recent books are *Foreign Policy Begins at Home: The Case for Putting America's House in Order* and *War of Necessity, War of Choice*.

*A Memoir of Two Iraq Wars.* A Rhodes scholar, he holds a BA from Oberlin College, both an MA and PhD from Oxford University, and numerous honorary degrees.

### **Memduh Karakullukçu**

Memduh Karakullukçu is the vice chairman and president of the Global Relations Forum (GRF). He is also the founding partner of the Turkish online legal informatics initiative, Kanunum.com. Previously, he served as senior advisor to the chairwoman of the Turkish Industry and Business Association and as the founding managing director of Istanbul's leading science park, Istanbul Technical University (İTÜ) ARI Teknokent. During his tenure at İTÜ, Karakullukçu was senior advisor to the president; coordinator of the law, technology, and policy graduate program; and the strategic advisor at the university's center for satellite communications. He has also served as a member of the academic staff at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) and İTÜ. Karakullukçu's earlier academic work includes research commissioned by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank on inflation dynamics, debt instruments, and debt markets. His recent policy work at GRF includes global energy analysis, technology-related security issues, global economic and financial governance, and the economic prospects of the Middle East and North Africa. Earlier in his career, he worked as a specialist in structured finance in London and Istanbul. Karakullukçu received his BS in electrical engineering and in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, his MSc in finance from the LSE, and his JD from Columbia University. He is a member of the New York State Bar.

### **Alexandra Kerr**

Alexandra Kerr is assistant director of the International Institutions and Global Governance Program at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). She joined CFR in 2012 as a program coordinator overseeing projects related to global multilateral cooperation, and has since managed the Council of Councils (CoC) initiative, coordinating meetings in nine countries over the past three years. Prior to joining CFR, Kerr held a postgraduate fellowship focused on conflict mediation at the Center for Humanitarian Dialogue in Geneva. During her studies she held several research positions, including at the University of Oxford, the political risk division of Lloyd's of London, and the UN World Food Program in Rome. Starting in November 2015, Kerr will be a fellow at the National Defense University in the Institute for National Security Studies, where she will be concentrating on U.S. defense strategy with a focus on irregular warfare and complex military operations. Kerr holds a BA and MA in international relations from the University of Saint Andrews in Scotland, and an MA in international conflict from the Department of War Studies in King's College London.

### **Sönmez Köksal**

Sönmez Köksal is a retired career diplomat who has served as ambassador of Turkey to France and Iraq and permanent delegate to the Council of Europe. He was undersecretary of state in charge of the Turkish National Intelligence Organization from 1992 to 1998. Köksal has served in several posts at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including deputy director-general in charge of multilateral economic relations, deputy permanent delegate to the European Economic Committee, director of the Middle East and Africa department, and director of the policy planning department. Until recently, Köksal was president of the board of trustees of the Istanbul Commerce University and a member of the academic staff at Işık University. He is currently a board member of Global Relations Forum and a member of the Wise Men Center for Strategic Studies in Istanbul. Köksal is a graduate of the Faculty of Political Sciences of Ankara University.

### **Elena Lazarou**

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