



Global  
Relations  
Forum

Annual  
Report

2014&2015

GİFGRF

GLOBAL İLİŞKİLER FORUMU GLOBAL RELATIONS FORUM



# CONTENTS

GRF IN BRIEF	2
MESSAGE FROM THE FOUNDING CHAIRMAN	3
GOVERNANCE	6
GRF EXECUTIVE STAFF	8
TASK FORCES	9
COOPERATION WITH GLOBAL COUNTERPARTS	17
MEETINGS	29
GRF POLICY COMMUNITIES	33
ACTIVITIES IN UNIVERSITIES	44
PUBLICATIONS	45
MEMBERSHIP	46

# 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.



# MESSAGE FROM THE FOUNDING CHAIRMAN



**F**our years after the Arab Spring, developments in the Middle East continue to dominate headlines around the globe. Economic, political and social problems that led to the Arab Spring have still not been properly addressed. The Region is hostage to conflicts and the security situation continues to deteriorate. All of these led to a massive humanitarian crisis, as hundreds of thousands of people lost their lives, and millions of them were forcibly displaced.

The world is witnessing the biggest movement of people since the Second World War. According to the UN, currently, there are about 60 million refugees and displaced people around the world. Unless the world leaders take decisive actions to solve problems in the countries where the refugees are coming from, we should expect even bigger numbers of refugees in the years to come. The world understood the severity of this problem only after the refugees started to flock the European borders in large numbers. However, a globally coordinated and comprehensive solution to the ongoing crisis is still lacking.

Traditionally and historically, in spite of all the differences between them, fighting and animosity between the Arab nations have always been solved or eliminated by outside forces, as they never managed to come to terms with each other on their own.

Meanwhile, Russia's military involvement in Syria and Iran's increasing influence in the Region elevated the Syrian conflict into a full-scale global issue. Especially after the downing of a Russian fighter jet by the Turkish air forces, the tensions in the Region increased substantially. NATO, standing strongly by its member Turkey, increased its military presence in the eastern Mediterranean. In the meantime, while Russia beefed up its combat forces in Syria, the Russian government also announced plans to install a missile defense system within Syrian borders. In support of Bashar Assad, Iran has sent ground forces into Syria, fighting along with the Russians against the Syrian opposition.

Increasing chaos along its southern border leaves Turkey in a difficult position. Moreover, lack of harmony between Turkey's and her allies' priorities in Syria and Iraq complicate the situation even more for the Turkish government. While Turkey wants to see Bashar Assad go as soon as possible, the fight against ISIS is the top priority for the US and Europe. While Turkey is nervous about the enlargement of Kurdish enclaves in northern Syria, the West sees the Kurds in Syria as the most reliable and capable ground force in the fight against ISIS. In the meantime, while Turkey is at odds with Kurds in Syria, cooperation with the Kurdish Regional Government in Iraq intensifies in a bid to balance out the increasing clout of Iran in the Region.

Given the ongoing refugee crisis and escalation in the risk of an undesirable military confrontation in eastern Mediterranean basin and Middle East, a permanent solution to the problems in the Region is urgently needed. Failure in doing so could lead to grave consequences not only for the Region but also for global economic and political stability.

Seven years after the global financial crisis, world economy is still not out of the woods completely. Economic recovery is incomplete and remains largely unbalanced. Growth rates in developed economies improve only very slowly, while developing economies suffer from unusually weak economic performances. Within this context, slowdown in growth rate in China to below 7% and volatility in Chinese financial markets are especially worth noting.

The most important implication of softness in global economy, and low levels of investments in particular, is the sharp decline in commodity prices. Combined with weak demand, increasing supply of oil due to the shale gas revolution, expectation of further increases in supply originating from Iran in case the sanctions are lifted, and OPEC's decision to eliminate ceilings for production levels all contributed to the sharp decline in oil prices.

Decline in commodity prices has profound economic and political implications on countries that rely heavily on commodity exports. Russia, being already under stress due to the economic sanctions imposed after the annexation of Crimea, remains under additional strain due to the fall in oil prices. Brazil, mired in political turmoil due to the corruption scandal at Petrobras, got another beating after plunging commodity prices. South Africa, Australia, Chile and many others continue to suffer from the same phenomenon. As it is the case most of the time, someone's misfortune is a blessing for others. Turkey, India and most of the eastern European economies that are net importers of oil and other commodities enjoy the benefits of fall in prices on inflation and trade deficits.

Gradually recovering from the economic crisis, Europe is now struggling to overcome the political fissures within the Union. While Germany, under the leadership of Angela Merkel, remains the leading force within the EU, discontents of the EU policies in member countries are giving support to the rise of marginal parties either in the right or in the left of the political spectrum. Especially on the back of refugee influx and terror attacks in large urban centers, right wing parties are strengthening from France to Poland. Reluctance and in some cases incapability of political elite in Europe to structurally address the problems damage the underpinnings of the European ideal. Within this context, possibility of UK exiting the EU after the referendum that will be held most likely in 2017 poses a major threat to the dream of a closer and more unified Europe.

The United States, on the other hand, enjoys a relatively healthier economic outlook when compared to the other developed nations. For the first time since June 2006, the Fed is expected to increase its policy interest rate, an indication of its belief that the economic situation is normalizing. Presidential elections in November 2016 will bring in a new face to the Oval Office as President Obama's tenure will end following 8 years in the office.

The nuclear deal with Iran, the 196-nation agreement on limiting global warming at 1.5 degrees Celsius in the Climate Summit in Paris, and the thaw in relations with Cuba will be remembered as the biggest international achievements of President Obama. Nevertheless, Obama administration's success in completing the 7-years long negotiations on the Trans-Pacific Partnership will likely be the single most important achievement that would have long-lasting impacts on the way the business is done in the upcoming years, not only in the US and 11 other Pacific basin countries, but also in the rest of the world. Within this context, ongoing talks on the Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) between the US and the EU should be monitored very carefully.

These new generation free trade agreements have the potential to drastically alter the rules of the game in the global economy. In order not to be left out in the cold, Turkey should intensify its efforts to be a part of the TTIP either through signing a free trade agreement with the USA, or revising the terms of the Customs Union with the EU in a way to automatically allow Turkey to be part of any free trade agreement that the EU signs with third countries.

It is challenging times for the global economy and politics. This is even more so for Turkey given its structural economic problems and its geo-strategic positioning. In order to safely navigate through the rough waters in and around Turkey, a balanced foreign policy approach is always helpful. In that sense, Turkey's recent rapprochement with the European Union is a very welcome development. Opening up new chapters in full membership negotiations, widening the scope of the Customs Union agreement, and working on a lasting peace deal in Cyprus would help Turkey's cause in Europe.

**RAHİMİ M. KOÇ**

*GRF Founding Chairman*

# GOVERNANCE

## ANNUAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY

GRF held its 6<sup>th</sup> Annual General Assembly on January 20, 2014, at the Hilton Istanbul Hotel, and its 7<sup>th</sup> Annual General Assembly on February 11, 2015, at the Divan Istanbul Hotel.



## BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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

Board Members 2014	Board Members 2015
<p><b>Rahmi M. Koç</b> Chairman</p> <p><b>Memduh Karakullukçu</b> Vice-Chairman &amp; President</p> <p><b>Hanzade Doğan Boyner</b> Vice-Chairwoman</p> <p><b>Metin Fadıllıoğlu</b> Secretary-General</p> <p><b>Gülsün Sağlamer</b> Auditor</p> <p><b>Lucien Arkas</b> <b>Aslı Başgöz</b> <b>Hasan T. Çolakoğlu</b> <b>Salim Dervişoğlu</b> <b>Suzan Sabancı Dinçer</b> <b>Ali Doğramacı</b> <b>Sönmez Köksal</b> <b>Özdem Sanberk</b> <b>Ferit Şahenk</b> <b>İlter Türkmen</b></p>	<p><b>Rahmi M. Koç</b> Chairman</p> <p><b>Memduh Karakullukçu</b> Vice-Chairman &amp; President</p> <p><b>Hanzade Doğan Boyner</b> Vice-Chairwoman</p> <p><b>Metin Fadıllıoğlu</b> Secretary-General</p> <p><b>Gülsün Sağlamer</b> Auditor</p> <p><b>Ertuğrul Apakan*</b> <b>Hikmet Çetin</b> <b>Hasan T. Çolakoğlu</b> <b>Suzan Sabancı Dinçer</b> <b>Ali Doğramacı</b> <b>Sönmez Köksal</b> <b>Emre Kurttepelı</b> <b>Zeynep Bodur Okyay</b> <b>Özdem Sanberk</b> <b>Yaşar Yakış</b></p>
Audit Committee Members 2014-2015	
<p><b>Zekeriya Yıldırım</b> <b>Yavuz Canevi</b> <b>Ahmet Rona Yırcalı</b></p>	

\*As the first substitute Board Member, Ambassador (Ret.) Ertuğrul Apakan replaced Mr. Durmuş Yılmaz after he resigned from the Board of Directors on June 24, 2015, following his election to the Parliament.

# GRF EXECUTIVE STAFF



**Nigar Ağaoğulları Yalınkılıç**  
Executive Director



**Burcu Baran Türem**  
Director of Policy Communities



**Ali Serkan Türkmenoğlu**  
Program Director



**Ezgisu Biber**  
Program Director



**Gökberk Kızıltan**  
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, experience and opinion to deliberate and reach a consensus on complex topics in international relations and global affairs. A major part of GRF's studies since its foundation, these commissions strive to make balanced judgments on matters that involve medium- to long-term uncertainty and generate roadmaps for policymakers on a wide array of issues.

The number of Task Force members ranges from 10 to 15. Participants are identified and invited to ensure intellectual diversity. Two Co-chairs, a Director assigned from among GRF staff and a Rapporteur oversee Task Force functioning and the publication process of the final report. Members participate in the Task Force in their individual capacities, and their views do not necessarily represent those of the institutions they are affiliated with.

In 2014-2015, GRF Task Forces addressing the issues of “Turkey’s Approach to Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century” and “International Trade System and Turkey in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century” continued their consultations. The Security Task Force Report entitled “Turkey in a Changing Global and Regional Security Environment: Analysis and Recommendations” was completed after careful deliberations, and published in March 2015. The Trade Task Force organized roundtable meetings focusing on different aspects of the international trade system, and started its work on drafting the Task Force report.

In addition to these, a new Roundtable Meetings Series entitled “Rule of Law, Institutions and Global Development” was launched in 2014 in order to lay the foundation of a new GRF Task Force on the Rule of Law.



## TURKEY'S APPROACH TO SECURITY IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY TASK FORCE



GRF's third Task Force, "Turkey's Approach to Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century", was launched with the purpose of assessing numerous interrelated global security challenges in the context of pervasive uncertainty, and offering policy recommendations to redefine Turkey's conceptual and institutional security structure in line with the new global dynamics. The Task Force held its editorial meetings with the guidance of its Co-chairs Admiral (Ret.) Salim Dervişoğlu and Ambassador (Ret.) Sönmez Köksal, and the continued dedication of its members. The Task Force report, "Turkey in a Changing Global and Regional Security Environment: Analysis and Recommendations", was published in March 2015.

The first section of the report provides an overall assessment of the post-Cold War global order, with special attention paid to the effects of globalization, new global security paradigms, and major global risks and threats. Elaborating on each risk factor individually, the report makes policy recommendations for a wide range of security challenges, including but not limited to technology-related risks, terrorism, climate change, nuclear proliferation, and economic vulnerabilities. After the issue-based focus of the first section, the second and third sections of the report assess the security challenges from a geographical standpoint, evaluating the global and regional geopolitical landscape with separate sections on the US, the EU, the Russian Federation, China and the emerging economies, and the region surrounding Turkey. The fourth section focuses on the observations and recommendations regarding Turkey's security policy and institutions. The report then concludes with a security vision for Turkey's future.

The report was shared with GRF members at a launch meeting held on March 30, 2015. At the meeting, a panel consisting of the Task Force's Co-chairs Ambassador (Ret.) Sönmez Köksal and Admiral (Ret.) Salim Dervişoğlu, columnists Aslı Aydıntaşbaş, Murat Yetkin and Fehmi Kuru summarized the findings of the report, highlighted the main observations and recommendations, and answered the questions directed by GRF members.

The press release of the report took place on April 7, 2015, with the participation of the Task Force members and media representatives. The report was then shared with many institutions and individuals in both Turkey and abroad. The full text of the report is available at [www.gif.org.tr](http://www.gif.org.tr).

*"The report goes on to underscore the need for realism and says the clash of global and regional interests in the region surrounding Turkey will most likely continue for the foreseeable future. It says this will make it vitally important for Turkey to raise its diplomatic capabilities in managing differences and contradiction at the highest level possible."*

April 2, 2015, Semih İdiz, Hürriyet Daily News



*“The report suggests that a renewed national security understanding should take cyberspace, energy and water security; risk of climate change; individual rights and freedoms; and the changing intelligence environment into consideration, in addition to the conventional threats.”*

April 9, 2015, Murat Yetkin, Radikal (translated from Turkish)

*“The underlying message of the report is that the security institutions of Turkey need to be reformed in accordance with the security challenges of today.”*

April 11, 2015, Sami Kohen, Milliyet (translated from Turkish)

## TASK FORCE

### CO-CHAIRS

**Salim Dervişoğlu**

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

**Sönmez Köksal**

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

### MEMBERS

**Oktar Ataman**

General (Ret.)

**Mustafa Özbey**

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

**Gülnur Aybet**

Head of the Political Science and International  
Relations Department at Bahçeşehir University

**Ümit Pamir**

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

**Memduh Karakullukçu**

Vice-Chairman and President of GRF

**İlter Türkmen**

Ambassador (Ret.); Former Minister of Foreign Affairs;  
Former Commissioner General of the UNRWA

**Hüsamettin Kavi**

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

**Erkut Yücaoğlu**

Chairman of the MAP - Turkuaz Group

**Ergun Mengi**

Commodore (Ret.)

### TASK FORCE DIRECTOR

**Nigar Ağaoğulları Yalınkılıç**

GRF Executive Director

### PROJECT ASSOCIATE

**Ali Serkan Türkmenoğlu**

GRF Program Director

## SECURITY ROUNDTABLE MEETINGS SERIES



When “Turkey’s Approach to Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Task Force” was launched, security was adopted not as a temporary item on GRF’s agenda, but a critical issue on which GRF would continue studies and deliberations over the long run. Hence, the “Security Roundtable Meetings Series” was introduced as a complementary mechanism to facilitate engagement with the broader GRF community to discuss these critical issues. The series contributed substantively to the deliberations of the Task Force, and due to GRF’s commitment to contribute to the global debate on security, was continued after the launch of the report.

In 2014-2015, the following meetings were held as part of the Security Roundtable Meetings Series:

**“Changes in Security Theory and Assumptions, and Their Impact on the Policy Processes”**

Prof. **Ali Karaosmanoğlu**, Director of the Center for Foreign Policy and Peace Research and GRF member; February 17, 2014

**“Nuclear Proliferation and Security Risks”**

Prof. **Steven E. Miller** and Prof. **Scott D. Sagan**, Co-chairs of the American Academy Global Nuclear Future (GNF) Initiative; June 25, 2014

**“Iran Nuclear Talks: The State of Play”**

Dr. **Ali Vaez**, Senior Analyst on Iran at the International Crisis Group (ICG); January 6, 2015

**“The Latest Developments in the Ukraine Crisis”**

Ambassador (Ret.) **Ertuğrul Apakan**, Chief Monitor of the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine and GRF member; March 16, 2015

**“The Evolution and Implications of the Foreign Fighter Challenge: A European Perspective”**

**Sasha Havlicek**, CEO of the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD); June 26, 2015

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



The international trade system is currently undergoing a global reassessment process and alternative regional configurations such as the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) have appeared in the agenda.

Seeking to ascertain ways in which GRF can contribute to Turkey's policy decisions concerning international trade during this process, a Trade Task Force was launched. The Task Force sought to assess global economic as well as trade-related trends, and assign policy priorities for Turkey within a long-term framework.

Co-chaired by Ambassador (Ret.) Bozkurt Aran and Former Undersecretary of State Planning Organization Ali Tigrel, the "Global Trade System and Turkey in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Task Force" convened with prominent experts from the World Trade Organization (WTO), the European Union and leading universities to reflect on and discuss the functioning of the global trade system. The Trade Task Force is now drafting its final report, which will be published in 2016.

The final report of this crucial, multidimensional study will be structured around two distinct yet interlinked questions: the overall assessment of the transformations of the global trade system, and Turkey's options for further integration into the evolving global trade context.

## 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

#### **Tayfun Bayazıt**

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

#### **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**

International Partner at Chadbourne & Parke LLP Istanbul Office

#### **Hasan Ersel**

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

#### **Memduh Karakullukçu**

Vice-Chairman and President of GRF

#### **Hüsamettin Kavi**

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

#### **Mustafa Kılıçaslan**

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

#### **Sönmez Köksal**

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

#### **Vesile Kulaçoğlu**

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

#### **Muhsin Mengütürk**

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

#### **İlter Türkmen**

Ambassador (Ret.); Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Former Commissioner General of the UNRWA

#### **Zekeriya Yıldırım**

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

### TASK FORCE DIRECTOR

#### **Burcu Baran Türem**

GRF Director of Policy Communities

## INTERNATIONAL TRADE ROUNDTABLE MEETINGS SERIES



Launched as a complementary mechanism to the “Global Trade and Turkey in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Task Force”, the “International Trade Roundtable Meetings Series” provided a broader platform for GRF members to discuss the international trade system and Turkey’s role in it. The following meetings were held as part of the 2014-2015 International Trade Roundtable Meetings Series:

### **“The TTIP’s Significance for Turkey”**

**Cemalettin Damlacı**, Former Deputy Undersecretary of the Ministry of Economy; January 21, 2014

### **“The TTIP’s Importance for Turkey and its Assessment in Relation to the Customs Union”**

Ambassador **Haluk Ilıcak**, Undersecretary of the Ministry for European Union Affairs of Turkey; February 12, 2014

### **“Global Governance and International Trade”**

Prof. **Jean-Pierre Lehmann**, Professor of International Political Economy at IMD and Founding Director of Evian Group; March 31, 2014

### **“The Global Trade System and Recent Trends”**

Dr. **Patrick Low**, Former Chief Economist at the WTO and Vice President of Research at the Fung Global Institute; May 12, 2014

### **“The Evaluation of the EU-Turkey Customs Union”**

**Martin Raiser**, World Bank Country Director for Turkey; June 19, 2014

### **“The Developments in the International Trade System”**

Ambassador **Ujal Singh Bhatia**, WTO Appellate Body Member and Former Permanent Representative of India to the WTO; December 15, 2014

### **“Recent Developments in the TTIP Negotiations”**

**Damien Levie**, Head of the Trade and Agriculture Section of the EU Delegation to the United States; February 12, 2015

### **“The Future of the Doha Round”**

Prof. **Petros Mavroidis**, Professor of Law at Columbia University and the European University Institute, and Legal Advisor to the WTO; June 10, 2015

## RULE OF LAW, INSTITUTIONS AND GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT ROUNDTABLE MEETINGS SERIES



In the fall of 2014, GRF launched a new roundtable meetings series to analyze the complex interaction between the rule of law and socioeconomic evolution. Entitled “Rule of Law, Institutions and Global Development”, the roundtable meetings series was designed to lay the groundwork for a new GRF Task Force on the same topic.

The inaugural meeting of the series was held on November 12, 2014, where GRF hosted former President of Stanford University and Professor of Law, Prof. Gerhard Casper, at a luncheon. At the meeting, Prof. Casper set the framework of the series by introducing a definition of the rule of law, examining its relation to economic and societal development, and enumerating the standards by which to measure the rule of law.

The second meeting of the series was held on March 9, 2015, with the participation of Prof. Sami Selçuk, Honorary Chairman of the Turkish Supreme Court of Appeals. In his speech, Prof. Selçuk assessed the state of the rule of law at the national level by elaborating on the systemic problems of the Turkish judiciary, and expressed his views on the prospects for amelioration.

On June 12, 2015, at the third meeting of the series, GRF hosted European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) Judge and Vice-President Prof. Ayşe İşıl Karakaş. Prof. Karakaş provided an overview of the rule of law deficiencies in the ECHR countries, and made recommendations for their resolution.



# 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 level of civil society. At the outset, Track-II studies aim to understand the priorities as well as interests of the two countries, and hence the issues of convergence and divergence between them. It is assumed that if continued, this dialogue can help cultivate new ways of thinking and even a new language to facilitate the solution of future conflicts.

In 2014-2015, GRF continued its exchanges conducted under the Track-II studies with counterparts in the Russian Federation. The GRF - Carnegie Moscow Center Working Group consolidated its studies into a report, which was published in 2014. A parallel effort was undertaken with RIAC and RAS Institute of Oriental Studies.

Additionally, a Track-II study with India was initiated in partnership with the Ananta Aspen Center.

## Track-II Study with the Carnegie Moscow Center



Composed of former senior government officials, diplomats, military officers, and leading experts from both countries, the GRF - Carnegie Moscow Center Working Group on Turkish-Russian Relations was established in 2013 to motivate new thinking on how cooperation between the two countries could be practically advanced. Under the leadership of GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu and Carnegie Moscow Center Director Dr. Dmitri Trenin, the working group sought to facilitate a better understanding of the mutual interests in bilateral relations, and help build a more practical working relationship.

The working group report entitled “Exploring the Prospects for Turkish-Russian Cooperation in a Turbulent Neighborhood” was completed in 2014. The report emphasizes that despite the tensions over Ukraine, Russia and Turkey share a range of important interests. There are a number of areas in which the two countries can work together, such as the consequences of the Arab Spring, the Middle East peace process, Iran and nuclear non-proliferation, Afghanistan and regional stability, Central Asia and regional development, and conflict resolution in the South Caucasus.

The report was launched at a meeting held in Istanbul on October 13, 2014, with the participation of GRF - Carnegie Moscow Center Working Group members, GRF members, and the press. Another launch meeting was held in Moscow on October 17, 2014, where GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu, Carnegie Moscow Center Director Dr. Dmitri Trenin, GRF member Ambassador (Ret.) Ümit Pamir, and GRF Executive Director Nigar Ağaoğulları Yalınkılıç presented the report and received questions from the audience. The full text is available on both GRF and Carnegie Moscow Center websites.

*“Moscow and Ankara have their differences on regional issues, rooted in their respective national interests, outlooks, and perceptions. Yet, they can manage those differences with a modicum of goodwill, shared respect for the tenets of international law and states’ territorial integrity, regular and open dialogue between their political leaderships, and support from both countries’ elites and societies.”*

Exploring the Prospects for Russian-Turkish Cooperation in a Turbulent Neighborhood, 2014



## GRF - CARNEGIE MOSCOW CENTER WORKING GROUP

### **Anatoly Adamishin**

Former Deputy Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation

### **Ertuğrul Apakan**

Ambassador (Ret.); Chief Monitor of the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine; Former Permanent Representative of Turkey to the UN; Former Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

### **Mustafa Aydın**

Rector, Kadir Has University

### **Evgeny Buzinsky**

Lieutenant General (Ret.); Former Chief of the External Relations Directorate at the Russian Ministry of Defense

### **Salim Dervişoğlu**

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

### **Memduh Karakullukçu**

Vice-Chairman and President of GRF

### **Sönmez Köksal**

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

### **Alexey Malashenko**

Scholar-in-residence at the Carnegie Moscow Center

### **Ümit Pamir**

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

### **Pavel Shlykov**

Senior Research Fellow at the Moscow State University Institute of Asian and African Studies

### **Dmitri Trenin**

Carnegie Moscow Center Director

### **İlter Türkmen**

Ambassador (Ret.); Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Former Commissioner General of the UNRWA

### **Adnan Vatansever**

GRF Turkey-Russia Relations Specialist; Faculty Member at King's College London

### **Yaşar Yakış**

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

### **Nigar Ağaoğulları Yalınkılıç**

GRF Executive Director

### **Irina Zvagelskaya**

Leading Scholar at the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies

## Track-II Study with RIAC and RAS Institute of Oriental Studies

In 2014-2015, GRF continued its collaboration with the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC) and the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS) Institute of Oriental Studies to draft a joint paper on “Exploring the Pathways for Deepening Turkish-Russian Cooperation”. The working group held two meetings to discuss issues of common concern for Turkey and Russia, and reach consensus on the outline of the joint text.



The first of these was a roundtable meeting on Russian-Turkish relations held in Moscow on March 25, 2014. At the meeting, a GRF delegation comprising Ambassador (Ret.) Ertuğrul Apakan, Memduh Karakullukçu and Nigar Ağaoğulları Yalınkılıç convened with their Russian counterparts to discuss the current trends in Russian-Turkish bilateral relations; security issues and opportunities for cooperation in the greater Middle East, Central Asia and the Caucasus region; and the two countries' stances with regards to the Crimean issue.

The second meeting took place in Istanbul on October 17, 2014, with the visit of the RIAC delegation led by Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Russia, Petr Stegny. In the meeting, the discussions revolved around the current bilateral issues, the situation in Ukraine and Syria, as well as the future agenda and working plan of the Track-II study.

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



Given the growing importance of India as a global actor and the prospects of Indian-Turkish cooperation in 2015, GRF decided to initiate Track-II studies with Indian counterparts. The India-Turkey Forum held on March 28, 2015, where GRF was represented by a delegation headed by GRF member Ambassador (Ret.) Cem Duna, paved the way for the establishment of a Track-II study with the Ananta Aspen Centre.

Following this meeting, on October 23, 2015, GRF hosted the next meeting of the India-Turkey Forum in collaboration with the Ananta Aspen Centre. Moving forward, GRF members will constitute the Turkish delegation in the Forum.

The October meeting consisted of three sessions during which participants deliberated respectively on the foreign policy ramifications of domestic political developments in Turkey and India, energy and regional economic implications of the nuclear deal with Iran, and the economic implications of US-centered mega-trade deals. 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 country's perspective on the matters discussed.

Co-chaired by GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu and Ananta Aspen Centre Chairman Ambassador (Ret.) Satinder K. Lambah, the meeting aimed to enhance dialogue and understanding between the delegations and determine areas for future cooperation. Accordingly, the Forum decided to initiate a study to explore investment opportunities in Iran, and areas for collaboration on the issue of energy. The next meeting of the Forum is scheduled to take place in India in Spring 2016.

## INDIA – TURKEY FORUM PARTICIPANTS

### GRF DELEGATION

#### **Adnan Akay**

Provost and Chair of the Mechanical Engineering Department at Bilkent University

#### **Yavuz Canevi**

Chairman of the Turkish Economy Bank; Former Governor of the Turkish Central Bank; Former Undersecretary of Treasury and Foreign Trade

#### **Ünal Çeviköz**

Ambassador (Ret.)

#### **Salim Dervişoğlu**

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

#### **Cem Duna**

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

#### **Turgay Durak**

Former CEO of Koç Holding

#### **Memduh Karakullukçu**

Vice-Chairman and President of GRF

#### **Nigar Ağaoğulları Yalınkılıç**

Executive Director of GRF

### ANANTA ASPEN CENTRE DELEGATION

#### **Pramit Pal Chaudhuri**

Foreign Editor at The Hindustan Times

#### **Tarun Das**

Ananta Aspen Centre Founding Trustee

#### **Arunabha Ghosh**

CEO of the Council on Energy, Environment and Water (CEEW)

#### **Jamshyd Godrej**

Chairman of the Godrej and Boyce Manufacturing Company Ltd

#### **KRS Jamwal**

Executive Director of Tata Industries

#### **Satinder K. Lambah**

Ananta Aspen Centre Chairman; Former Special Envoy to the Prime Minister

#### **Sachin Pilot**

Former Union Minister of Corporate Affairs and President of the Rajasthan Pradesh Congress Committee

#### **Harshit Sehgal**

Ananta Aspen Centre Senior Director

### STAFF

#### **Burcu Baran Türem**

GRF Director of Policy Communities

#### **Gökberk Kızıltan**

GRF Associate

#### **Gaurav Ban**

Ananta Aspen Centre Program Officer

#### **Sreekumar Nair**

Regional Director of Americas, Eurasia and Israel at the International Department Confederation of Indian Industry (CII)

## 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, in 2014, GRF began to collaborate with other institutions for the joint organization of conferences and meetings, thereby introducing a new institutional method for cooperation with global counterparts. In 2014-2015, GRF collaborated with renowned institutions such as the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), Columbia University, Johns Hopkins University Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) and Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD), for meetings focusing on a wide array of issues.

### GRF - ISD “Club of Three” Meetings



In 2014, GRF started a collaboration with the “Club of Three” initiative of the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD). Established over 20 years ago, Club of Three serves as a forum for debate and dialogue between men and women of influence in the fields of politics, media, arts and business from the UK, France and Germany, on the major geo-strategic, economic and social issues. The partnership undertook the organization of two “Club of Three” events that would bring together GRF and Club of Three members to discuss issues of common concern.

The first of these meetings, “*Club of Three Plenary Session on Turkey and its Neighbors*”, was held at the Quai D’Orsay, Paris on **December 5, 2014**. Following opening speeches by ISD Trustee Lord Simon of Highbury and GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu, the meeting featured three sessions focusing on regional security, investment and growth, and migration. The meeting was concluded with a dinner reception hosted by the British Embassy, where the French Minister of Foreign Affairs Laurent Fabius gave a keynote address along with the Ambassador of the UK to France, Peter Ricketts, and the Ambassador of Turkey to the EU, Selim Yenel.

Hosted by GRF, the second meeting entitled “*Club of Three Working Session on Europe and Turkey*” took place in Istanbul on **June 26-27, 2015**. The opening speech of the conference was delivered by the Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu at a dinner held at the Rahmi M. Koç Museum. The meeting sessions at the Yapı Kredi Yeniköy Grove addressed several topics including regional balances, Turkey-Europe energy cooperation, and global governance. The session on global governance also featured a keynote address on Turkey’s G20 presidency by Ambassador Ayşe Sinirlioğlu, Turkey’s G20 Sherpa.

After both of the meetings, summary reports containing the major points raised during the discussions were prepared in collaboration with the ISD and made publicly available on the GRF website.





### GRF - Johns Hopkins SAIS Meeting on “The Economic Future of the Middle East and North Africa Region”

On **January 14, 2015**, GRF and Johns Hopkins University Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) held a joint meeting entitled “*The Economic Future of the Middle East and North Africa Region*” at the Metropolitan Club in New York, with the aim of identifying economic remedies for the conflicts and instability in the MENA region. The meeting sought to analyze the impact of political and economic transitions on growth, trade, and investment opportunities. While doing so, the participants paid special attention to demographic changes, job growth, and collaboration between international and regional stakeholders, including the private sector, governments, and multilateral organizations.



At the meeting, several GRF members convened with distinguished policy and industry leaders from the US to discuss the ways in which the collaboration between the public and private sectors in Turkey and the US can assist the necessary economic transformations for a path towards sustained development and political as well as economic stability in the MENA region. Moderated by SAIS Dean Prof. Vali Nasr, the first session focused on “Economic and Political Stability as a Strategic Regional Challenge”, and the second session addressed the topic of “Imagining and Managing Economic Integration” under the moderation of GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu.

GRF then held meetings and consultations with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, non-governmental organizations focusing on the region, and independent experts to present the analyses and recommendations put forth during the meeting. The following participants attended the meeting held in New York, and enriched the discussion with their contributions:



## PARTICIPANTS

### **Madeleine K. Albright**

Former US Secretary of State; Chair of Albright Stonebridge Group

### **Hikmet Çetin**

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Former NATO Senior Civilian Representative to Afghanistan

### **Ali Dođramacı**

Former Rector and Chair of the Board of Trustees of Bilkent University

### **Michael Goltzman**

Vice President of International Government Relations and Public Affairs of the Coca Cola Company

### **Stephen Heintz**

President of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund

### **Memduh Karakullukçu**

Vice-Chairman and President of GRF

### **Muhtar Kent**

Chairman and CEO of the Coca Cola Company

### **Üner Kırdar**

Ambassador (Ret.); Former Senior UN Official

### **Rahmi M. Koç**

Chairman of GRF; Honorary Chairman of Koç Holding

### **John Lipsky**

Senior Fellow at the Foreign Policy Institute; Distinguished Visiting Scholar at Johns Hopkins SAIS

### **Vali Nasr**

Dean of Johns Hopkins SAIS

### **David H. Petraeus**

Chairman of the KKR Global Institute

### **Özdem Sanberk**

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

### **Yaşar Yakış**

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

### **Fariba Yassaee**

Vice-President of the Albright Stonebridge Group

### **Ayşe Yüksel**

Managing Partner of the Chadbourne & Parke LLP Istanbul Office

## GRF STAFF

### **Ezgisu Biber**

GRF Program Director

### **Nigar Ağaoğulları Yalınkılıç**

GRF Executive Director

## SAIS STAFF

### **Shamila N. Chaudhary**

Senior Advisor to the Dean at Johns Hopkins SAIS

### **Donna Dejban**

Executive Specialist to the Dean at Johns Hopkins SAIS

## GRF – CFR – Columbia University Workshop on “Oil Price Fluctuations, World Economy and the G20 Energy Agenda”



In 2015, on the occasion of Turkey’s G20 term presidency and the preparations for the first G20 Energy Ministers Meeting, GRF partnered with the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) Center for Geoeconomic Studies (CGS) and Columbia University Center on Global Energy Policy to make contributions to the G20 agenda. The three institutions organized a workshop to address the impact and policy implications of oil price fluctuations on global economic growth, fuel subsidies and renewables/efficiency.

Entitled “*Oil Price Fluctuations, World Economy and the G20 Energy Agenda*”, the workshop was held in Istanbul on **March 12, 2015**. The event brought together several speakers including CFR Center for Geoeconomic Studies Director Michael Levi, Columbia University Center on Global Energy Policy Director Prof. Jason Bordoff, GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu, China National Petroleum Corporation Economics and Technology Research Institute Director Dr. Sun Xiansheng, and Russian Academy of Sciences Energy Research Institute Oil and Gas Department Head Dr. Tatiana Mitrova; GRF members; and representatives from the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Energy Market Regulatory Authority (EPDK) and the Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV).

With two panel sessions focusing on “Impacting the Global Economy: Growth, Deflation and Financial Instability” and “Changing the Policy Landscape: Subsidies, Renewables and Efficiency” respectively, the speakers elaborated on the volatile oil price environment, and its implications for policy design. After the event, GRF prepared a meeting summary containing the analyses put forward by the speakers as well as their recommendations for the G20, which was submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

### Council of Councils Eighth Regional Meeting

On **October 4-6, 2015**, GRF hosted the “*Council of Councils (CoC) Eighth Regional Conference*” in Istanbul. Founded in 2012 by leading foreign policy institutes around the world including GRF, the Council is a platform aiming to facilitate dialogue for creating international awareness on the twenty-first century’s global governance issues and encouraging multilateral cooperation to tackle these challenges. While the annual conferences are organized each year by the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), the regional meetings are hosted by other members in rotation.

The conference began on October 4 with a reception and an opening dinner featuring a panel session on Turkish politics, moderated by GRF member and Global Civics Academy President Hakan Altınay. During the session, the speakers, GRF Board Member and Former Minister of Foreign Affairs Yaşar Yakış and Hürriyet Daily News Editor-in-Chief Murat Yetkin, received a variety of questions from the moderator and the audience.





On October 5, with a major refugee crisis and a humanitarian tragedy having recently erupted along the borders of Turkey and spread towards Europe, the first session of the conference focused on how international cooperation can be reinforced for responding to refugees and migration effectively. The conference then continued with the proximate and immediate issue of the MENA Region and global security.

Following a special keynote address by GRF Board Member and Chief Monitor of the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine Ambassador (Ret.) Ertuğrul Apakan, the conference continued with a special session on Ukraine. The first day of meetings was concluded with a public session on the Eurozone and Europe's prospects as an effective global actor, which was followed by a dinner with Former Deputy Prime Minister and Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Economy, Ali Babacan.

Extending the scope from regional to global, the second day of meetings addressed the issues of redesigning regional and global energy governance, and global climate cooperation beyond the Paris summit.

After the meeting, a rapporteurs' report summarizing the discussions held throughout the sessions was prepared in collaboration with the CFR and made available on the GRF website.





## GRF'S ENGAGEMENT WITH GLOBAL PARTNERS' INITIATIVES



In 2014-2015, GRF's global counterparts invited its contributions at various international conferences and meetings. Through these platforms, GRF helped the shaping of the global policy agenda, and bolstered its international dialogue both geographically and in terms of scope.

- As a founding member of the **Council of Councils (CoC)**, in 2014-2015, GRF was represented at two annual and four regional CoC conferences, one of which it hosted (please see the *GRF's Policy Initiatives with Global Partners* section for details) :

- February 23-25, 2014; 5<sup>th</sup> Regional Conference, Sydney
- May 11-13, 2014; 3<sup>rd</sup> Annual Conference, New York
- September 28-30, 2014; 6<sup>th</sup> Regional Conference, Ottawa – “*Managing the New Global Commons*”
- January 11-13, 2015; 7<sup>th</sup> Regional Conference, New Delhi – “*Crisis in Global Governance: Reform or Reset?*”
- May 10-12, 2015; 4<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference, Washington, D.C.
- October 4-6, 2015; 8<sup>th</sup> Regional Conference, Istanbul

At these meetings where he served in the capacity of panelist or moderator, GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu made contributions to the discussions on various topics, including “Cyberspace Governance”, “The Future of Internet Governance”, “Global Financial Governance”, “New Geometry of Extremism and Instability”, “Currency Competition and International Trade”, “Redesigning Regional and Global Energy Governance”, and “The Endgame in Eurozone and Europe's Prospects as an Effective Global Actor”.

Mr. Karakullukçu was also invited to be a speaker at the launch meeting of the *Council of Councils 2014-2015 International Cooperation Report Card*, held on May 12, 2015, during the 4<sup>th</sup> Annual CoC Conference.

GRF Executive Director Nigar Ağaoğulları Yalınkılıç also attended the CoC Annual Conference in Washington, D.C. in 2015.

- At the NATO Academic Conference 2014 entitled “*Flexible Frameworks, Beyond Borders - Understanding Regional Dynamics to Enhance Cooperative Security*” organized by the **NATO Allied Command Transformation (ACT)**, the **University of Bologna**, and the **Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI)** in Forlì on May 15, 2014, GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu presented his paper entitled “Economic Prospects for the MENA Region: Impatient Expectations, Deferred Promises, and the Missing Axes of Trust”.

- GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu was invited by the **Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)** to attend the workshop entitled “*Turkey: An Emerging Power in a Changing Middle East*”, held in Istanbul on June 18, 2014. Mr. Karakullukçu delivered a speech during the session on “Energetic Ambitions: Turkey’s Energy Sector”.
- On October 28, 2014, at the “*4<sup>th</sup> Asian Forum on Global Governance*” organized by the **Observer Research Foundation (ORF)** and **ZEIT-Stiftung** in New Delhi, GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu delivered a speech on “Technology, Democracy, and Rights”.
- At the “*India Global Forum*” organized by the **International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)** and the **Observer Research Foundation (ORF)** in New Delhi on November 9-10, 2014, GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu delivered a speech in the session entitled “Geo-Economics of Commodities”.
- GRF Board Members Ambassador (Ret.) Yaşar Yakış and Hikmet Çetin attended the **Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)** roundtable meeting entitled “*Revisiting Turkey - US Relations*” held in New York on January 15, 2015, where they served as panelists and discussed the current state as well as the future of the bilateral relations.
- GRF member Ambassador (Ret.) Ünal Çeviköz and Executive Director Nigar Ağaoğulları Yalınkılıç represented GRF at the “*Russia and Turkey: Forging Multidimensional Partnership*” conference organized by the **Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC)** and the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ **Center for Strategic Research (SAM)** in Moscow on October 15, 2015. At the meeting, Ambassador Çeviköz delivered a speech in the session on Russian-Turkish energy cooperation.
- On November 29, 2015, at the “*Bahrain Bay Forum 2015*” organized by the **International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)** in Manama, GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu gave a speech on the impact of economic sanctions on business.

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

- January 27-28, 2014; **Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)** and **NATO Allied Command Transformation (ACT)**, “*Transatlantic Forum: Rebalancing and Reinforcing the Transatlantic Bond*”; Washington D.C.
- April 10-12, 2014; **Institute for New Economic Thinking (INET)**, “*Human After All: Innovation, Disruption, Society*”; Toronto
- April 8-11, 2015; **Institute for New Economic Thinking (INET)**, “*Liberté, Égalité, Fragilité*”; Paris
- May 28-31, 2015; **International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)**, “*14<sup>th</sup> Asia Security Summit*”; Singapore
- September 12-13, 2015; **The Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House)**, “*Istanbul Roundtable*”; Istanbul
- November 2-5, 2015; **Pugwash**, 61<sup>st</sup> Pugwash Conference, “*Nagasaki’s Voice: Remember Your Humanity*”; Nagasaki

# MEETINGS

## DISTINGUISHED SPEAKERS SERIES



GRF invited several distinguished guests in 2014-2015 to address GRF and GRF Community members, and share their assessments on various topics ranging from Turkey's bilateral relations to global governance.

- On January 20, 2014, at the 6<sup>th</sup> Annual General Assembly dinner of GRF, columnist **Ege Cansen** shared his views on the impact of global economic and financial developments on the Turkish economy.
- On April 17, 2014, GRF hosted UK Ambassador **Richard Moore** and Consul-General **Leigh Turner** at a luncheon focusing on the Turkey-UK relations. Ambassador Moore evaluated the bilateral relations in terms of security, trade and investment, highlighting the UK's support for Turkey's accession to the EU.
- On June 12, 2014, **Michael R. Bloomberg**, 108<sup>th</sup> Mayor of New York City, addressed GRF members and GRF Community members at the GRF Young Scholars Graduation Dinner. During his speech, Mr. Bloomberg discussed global and local governance, highlighting social and economic trends, as well as their implications for policy processes.
- On June 27, 2014, Prof. **Jeffrey D. Sachs**, Director of Columbia University Earth Institute, attended a luncheon on global climate change and provided a detailed overview of the progress made with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).
- On October 22, 2014, the Rt. Hon. **Paul E. Martin**, Former Prime Minister of Canada, and a **Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)** delegation convened with GRF members at a dinner on Turkey's G20 term presidency. At the meeting, the speakers evaluated the G20 as a tool of global governance, and shared their views on the issues to be prioritized by Turkey during its G20 presidency.







- On November 5, 2014, Former Speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and GRF Board Member **Hikmet Çetin** delivered a keynote speech at the GRF Honorary Membership Award Ceremony for Jak Kamhi. Mr. Çetin's speech focused on the developments in the region surrounding Turkey, their interplay in international affairs, and their effects on Turkey.
- On January 29, 2015, a delegation headed by **Tim Groser**, New Zealand's Minister of Trade, addressed GRF members at a dinner to discuss Turkey-New Zealand trade relations.
- On February 11, 2015, at its 7<sup>th</sup> Annual General Assembly Dinner, GRF hosted H.E. **Abdullah Gül**, the 11<sup>th</sup> President of the Turkish Republic. In his keynote address, Mr. Gül shared his assessments on the state of the Turkish-European relations in the changing regional and global context.
- On June 26, 2015, at the opening dinner of the *"Club of Three Working Session on Turkey and Europe"* hosted by GRF, the Turkish Foreign Minister **Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu** delivered a keynote address on Turkish foreign policy.
- On October 5, 2015, following the public session of the *"Council of Councils (CoC) Eighth Regional Conference"* hosted by GRF, Former Deputy Prime Minister and Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Economy **Ali Babacan** addressed CoC guests and GRF members at a dinner. In his address, Mr. Babacan evaluated the changes in Turkish economy, domestic politics and foreign affairs since 2002.
- On December 17, 2015, Former Swedish Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, H.E. **Carl Bildt** addressed GRF and GRF Community members at the graduation ceremony of GRF Young Scholars, Young Professionals, and Young Academics programs. Mr. Bildt's speech focused on the future of Europe and Turkey-EU relations.



## ROUNDTABLE MEETINGS



Throughout 2014-2015, in addition to the roundtable meetings conducted under the Task Force studies, GRF hosted experts in various fields of global affairs, including but not limited to Turkey-US relations, Russian foreign policy, global governance, and the rule of law and human rights. In these 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. The roundtable meetings held in 2014-2015 are listed below.

### Country-Specific Meetings

#### “Russia’s Foreign Policy”

Dr. **Thomas Gomart**, Director of Ifri (Institut Français des Relations Internationales); March 28, 2014

#### “Turkey-US Relations”

George Washington University Delegation headed by the Hon. **Mark R. Kennedy**, Former Member of the US House of Representatives; August 5, 2014

#### “Turkey-Armenia Relations”

Ambassador **Altay Cengizer**, Director-General for Policy Planning at the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ambassador **Tunç Ügdül**, Director-General for Research and Security Affairs at the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs; December 17, 2014

#### “An Overview of the Turkish-American Relations”

Ambassador (Ret.) **Namık Tan**, Former Ambassador of Turkey to the United States and GRF member; April 14, 2015

#### “The Future of Turkey-Armenia Relations”

Ambassador **Ünal Çeviköz**, Former Ambassador of Turkey to Azerbaijan, Iraq and the United Kingdom and GRF member; April 29, 2015

#### “Nigerian Elections: Change in a Pivotal African State? Maybe”

Prof. **Jean Herskovits**, Research Professor of African History at the State University of New York; November 24, 2015

#### “The Future of Turkish Economy in Light of the Global Monetary Policies of the Upcoming Era”

**Durmuş Yılmaz**, Former Senior Advisor to the President of Turkey; Former Governor of the Turkish Central Bank; Member of TEPAV Board of Directors; December 28, 2015



### Human Capital Roundtable Meetings

#### “Philanthropy, Consensus-Building and Global Challenges”

Dr. **Peggy Dulany**, Founder and Chair of the Synergos Institute; March 17, 2014

#### “The Rule of Law and Human Rights”

**Salil Shetty**, Secretary General of Amnesty International; June 10, 2014

#### “Democracy, Religion and State”

Prof. **Bozkurt Güvenç**, Architect and Academic; May 27, 2015

### G20 Roundtable Meetings

#### “The G20 and the Global Economic and Financial Crisis”

Dr. **Charles Dallara**, Former Managing Director of the Institute of International Finance (IIF) and Former US Executive Director of IMF; May 14, 2014

#### “Turkey and the Future of the G20”

Ambassador (Ret.) **Andres Rozental**, Former Deputy Foreign Minister of Mexico, Dr. **Domenico Lombardi**, Director of the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) Global Economy Program, and Dr. **Barry Carin**, CIGI Senior Fellow; October 23, 2014  
(GRF Communities Event)

#### “Turkey’s G20 Presidency”

Ambassador **Ayşe Sinirlioğlu**, Turkey’s G20 Sherpa; June 27, 2015

# GRF POLICY COMMUNITIES

## GRF YOUNG SCHOLARS & YOUNG SCHOLARS ABROAD SEMINARS



In 2010, GRF laid the foundation of a community of young thinkers with the GRF Young Scholars Seminars for undergraduate students studying at leading universities of Turkey, and the GRF Young Scholars Abroad Seminars for undergraduate students from Turkey studying at distinguished universities abroad. Conducted separately since then, these seminar programs were merged into a single program in 2015.

The meetings are organized in three sections:

The first section brings together students participating in the program and GRF members. Invited as guest speakers, GRF members share their assessments on topics of international affairs chosen according to their career paths and areas of interest. This gives the students the opportunity to benefit from the wisdom and experiences of GRF members who have represented Turkey in international fora and have been instrumental in the shaping of events in Turkey and the world. In turn, GRF members find the opportunity to enrich their ideas with the questions and comments of the young participants. In short, this section of the program is about the exchange of knowledge and experience between generations.

The second section of the program consists of meetings where GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu and GRF executive staff convene with the students. The discussions in these meetings revolve around the articles written by leading academics and intellectuals of the world and require the active and sustained participation



of students. One of the important goals of this section is to enable students to form connections, on a macro scale, between many different aspects of the global agenda, from economy to technology and from law to politics. Additionally, this section of the program aims to provide students with the tools to understand 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.

In the third section of the program, students are expected read a book on global issues selected by GRF and written by leading intellectuals of the world. They are then expected to write a book review, and participate in "Book Discussion Panels" that are held during the December part of the program.

After completing the program, students who have attended the meetings and have presented their book review to the group earn the title of "**GRF Young Scholar**" and become part of the GRF community.

Information about the students who graduated from the Young Scholars 2014 and 2015 and Young Scholars Abroad 2014 programs, and the names of the GRF members who participated in the program as guest speakers, as well as the titles of their presentations, are listed below.



#### Young Scholars 2014 Term

<b>Yusufcan Demirkan</b>	Koç University	<i>Economics &amp; Mathematics</i>
<b>Ezgi Karaağaç</b>	Boğaziçi University	<i>Industrial Engineering</i>
<b>Deniz Kartepe</b>	Galatasaray University	<i>Communications</i>
<b>Yusuf Kumtepe</b>	Galatasaray University	<i>Law</i>
<b>Canberk Mersin</b>	Boğaziçi University	<i>Tourism Administration</i>
<b>Emre Özdemir</b>	Sabancı University	<i>Industrial Engineering</i>
<b>Elif Dilşad Özen</b>	Istanbul Technical University	<i>Management Engineering</i>
<b>İhsancan Özpoymaz</b>	Istanbul Technical University	<i>Industrial Engineering</i>
<b>Miray Palaz</b>	Boğaziçi University	<i>Political Science and IR &amp; Sociology</i>
<b>Bünyamin Tanıl</b>	Istanbul Technical University	<i>Electr. And Comm. Engineering</i>
<b>Mithat Can Ulubay</b>	Koç University	<i>Economics</i>

#### Guest Speakers:

- Dr. Hasan Ersel - "Political and Economic Changes in Turkey After 2000"
- Mustafa Kılıçaslan - "Technology Sector and Turkey"
- Ambassador (Ret.) Ümit Pamir - "Analyzing the 21<sup>st</sup> Century World Order"
- Ambassador (Ret.) İlter Türkmen - "Turkish Foreign Policy from 1923 to Today"



## Young Scholars Abroad 2014 Term



**Ateş Akgün**

Stanford University

*Human Biology*

**Bariş Akiş**

Stanford University

*Computer Science*

**Tuğba İdil Azizoglu**

King's College London

*Political Economy*

**Ahmet Tarık Çaşkurlu**

Georgetown University

*International Politics*

**Buse Çetin**

Sciences Po Paris

*Middle East and Mediterranean Studies*

**Buğrahan Çiğdemoğlu**

Johns Hopkins University

*Biomedical Engineering*

**Damla Erten**

American University

*Economics & Spanish*

**Mevlüt İkiz**

Yale University

*Economics*

**Kaan Turgut Özal**

Georgetown University

*International Business Management*

**Ezgi Şahin**

King's College London

*Politics, Philosophy, Law LLB*

**Erman Hakan Şener**

Columbia University

*Industrial Engineering & Economics*

**Tuğberk Tanrısevdir**

Georgetown University

*International Security*

**Nazlı Tuncer**

Columbia University

*Electrical Engineering*

**Kaan Ülgen**

Chicago University

*Political Science and Economics*

**Ege Yumuşak**

Harvard University

*Neurobiology*

### Guest Speakers:

- Prof. Mustafa Aydın - "Shifting Black Sea Geopolitics After the Ukraine Crisis, the Future of Russia's Relations with the West, and Turkey's Situation"
- General (Ret.) Edip Başer - "Global Security Issues"
- Prof. Selçuk Esenbel - "Turkey and Asia in the Global 21<sup>st</sup> Century"
- Ambassador (Ret.) Sönmez Köksal - "40 Years of Experience in Bureaucracy"
- Emre Kurttepel - "Entrepreneurship in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century"
- Prof. Bertil Emrah Oder - "Constitutional Democracy and Political Leadership in Turkey"
- Ambassador (Ret.) Özdem Sanberk - "Atatürk's Legacy"

### Books Discussed:

- "Homo Economicus: The (Lost) Prophet of Modern Times" - Daniel Cohen
- "Breaking Democracy's Spell" - John Dunn
- "Making in America: From Innovation to Market" - Suzanne Berger
- "The Second Machine Age: Work, Progress and Prosperity in a Time of Brilliant Technologies" - Erik Brynjolfsson & Andrew McAfee

## Young Scholars 2015 Term

(The two separate seminar programs, Young Scholars and Young Scholars Abroad, were merged into a single program in 2015.)



**Göksenin Akdeniz**

**Ayberk Arseven**

**Nazlı Azergün**

**Ömer Faruk Baysal**

**Ayşenur Biçen**

**Türker Bulut**

**Utku Cansu**

**Hatice Nur Eken**

**Roy Eskenazi**

**Rüya Günergin**

**Nil Karahasanoğlu**

**Yaşat Berk Manav**

**Ufuk Serkan Yıldırım**

Harvard University

Boğaziçi University

Boğaziçi University

Boğaziçi University

Yale University

UNC - Chapel Hill

Boğaziçi University

Yale University

Bocconi University

Harvard University

Koç University

Yale University

Boğaziçi University

*Economics & Social Studies*

*Electrical - Electronics Engineering*

*Political Science and IR*

*Political Science and IR*

*Philosophy, Politics and Economics*

*Computer Science & Economics*

*Political Science and IR*

*Economics & Neuroscience*

*Int. Econ., Management and Finance*

*Government & Social Studies*

*Law*

*Mechanical Engineering & Economics*

*Industrial Engineering & Economics*

### Guest Speakers:

- Dr. Hakan Altınay - "Illiberalism"
- Ambassador (Ret.) Ünal Çeviköz - "Shifts in Turkish Foreign Policy from 2008 to 2015 and Analyzing the Current Issues in Foreign Policy"
- Prof. Üstün Ergüder - "Higher Education in Turkey's Political Atmosphere"
- Ambassador (Ret.) Sönmez Köksal - "40 Years of Experience as a State Officer"
- Ambassador (Ret.) Namık Tan - "The Importance of 'Thinking Big' in Daily Life and Diplomacy"
- Ömer Dinçkök - "What Do We Expect from the Future?"
- Durmuş Yılmaz - "The Central Bank System in Turkey"

### Books Discussed:

- "The Globalization of Inequality" - François Bourguignon
- "Pax Technica: How the Internet of Things May Set Us Free or Lock Us Up" - Philip N. Howard
- "Energy, Economic Growth and Geopolitical Futures: Eight Long-Range Scenarios" - Evan Hillebrand & Stacy Closson
- "The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism Before Its Triumph" - Albert O. Hirschman

## 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 and Young Scholars Abroad programs, and international participants from the leading universities of the world who were nominated by Young Scholars.

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 will focus on imagining and systematically thinking through various dimensions of fundamental change in the coming centuries. In this phase, three or four 2-day meetings will be 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, property, law and so forth. Each meeting will address a different subset of these concepts, and the methodology will be for 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 will be a discussion and formulation of norms, values and structures that will build on the imagined futures of the first phase. With this exercise, the program will take 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 on, 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.

The first “unbundling” meeting of the program was held on April 17-19, 2015 at MIT's Endicott House in Massachusetts, USA, with a distinguished group of participants including several GRF Young Scholars Program graduates and other participants who are studying at or are graduates of the leading universities of the world.

The meeting focused on four important institutions/social constructs of humanity to bring out the possibilities of change in a two hundred year perspective: war, city, money and crime. 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 several “unbundling” meetings to be held in Turkey and Europe, the Young Global Program will be concluded with a “values and structures” meeting, where the document containing constructs that will potentially and hopefully endure 200 years of technological, social and cultural transformations will be drafted.

The participants who attended the first GRF Young Global Meeting held in Massachusetts, USA are listed below:

PARTICIPANT	UNDERGRADUATE INSTITUTION	DIPLOMA PROGRAM	CURRENT INSTITUTION
<b>Ömer Alaettinoğlu</b>	Columbia University	<i>Financial Engineering &amp; Economics</i>	Columbia University (BA)
<b>Haldun Anıl</b>	MIT	<i>Economics &amp; Management Sciences</i>	Capital One
<b>Meneviş Cılızoğlu</b>	Sabancı University	<i>Political Science</i>	University of North Carolina (PhD)
<b>Senem Çilingiroğlu</b>	Yale University	<i>Architecture</i>	Capita Property & Infrastructure
<b>Sabire İpek Demir</b>	Yale University	<i>Politics &amp; Economics</i>	London School of Economics (MSc)
<b>Diana Enriquez Schneider</b>	Yale University	<i>Political Science &amp; Latin American Studies</i>	TED Conferences
<b>Bilkan Erkmen</b>	Princeton University	<i>Economics - Finance &amp; Applied Mathematics</i>	Two Sigma
<b>Kyle Hutzler</b>	Yale University	<i>Economics</i>	McKinsey & Company
<b>Yasmin Inam</b>	MIT	<i>Mechanical Engineering &amp; Urban Studies</i>	Boston Consulting Group
<b>Malcolm Marcoulides</b>	Columbia University	<i>Economics</i>	Columbia University (BA)
<b>Ashhan Selimbeyoğlu</b>	Istanbul Technical University	<i>Molecular Biology and Genetics</i>	Stanford University (PhD)
<b>Nicholas Titelbaum</b>	Yale University	<i>Mol. Biology and Genetics &amp; S. Asian Studies</i>	Icahn School of Medicine (MD)
<b>Levent Tüzün</b>	Yale University	<i>Economics &amp; International Relations</i>	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)
<b>Yiğit Yorulmaz</b>	Yale University	<i>Biomedical Engineering</i>	McKinsey & Company
<b>Cem Zorlular</b>	Columbia University	<i>Computer Sciences &amp; Financial Economics</i>	Palantir Technologies



## GRF YOUNG ACADEMICS PROGRAM



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

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

The program is centered on the preparation and publication of a policy paper, and invites the participation of young academics who are either in the last year of their doctoral studies or have completed their Ph.D. in Turkey or abroad within the last three years. The GRF Young Academics Program is comprised of two stages:

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

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

Completed papers are published under the "*GRF Young Academics Policy Paper Series*" to ensure GRF's long-term contribution to the culture of rigorous and constructive policy analysis.

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



GRF members who participated in the Young Academics Program Review Committees in 2014-2015 are as follows:

#### 2014-2015 Young Academics Program Review Committee Members

<b>Bozkurt Aran</b>	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)
<b>Mehmet Arda</b>	Former Head of UNCTAD Commodities Branch; Former Professor of International Relations at Galatasaray University
<b>Gölnur Aybet</b>	Head of the Political Science and International Relations Department at Bahçeşehir University
<b>Tayfun Bayazıt</b>	Chairman of Bayazıt Consulting; Former Chairman of Yapı Kredi Bank; Former Vice-Chairman of the Turkish Industry and Business Association (TÜSİAD)
<b>Ünal Çeviköz</b>	Former Ambassador of Turkey to Azerbaijan, Iraq and the United Kingdom
<b>Canan Ediboğlu</b>	Aygaz and ING Bank Board Member; Former Manager of Shell Turkey
<b>Hasan Ersel</b>	Economist; Member of the TEPAV Board of Trustees; Former Deputy Governor of the Turkish Central Bank
<b>Selçuk Esenbel</b>	Professor of History at Boğaziçi University
<b>Memduh Karakullukçu</b>	Vice-Chairman and President of GRF
<b>Hüsamettin Kavi</b>	Former Chairman of the Istanbul Chamber of Industry (İSO); Chairman of GTE Endüstri Sistemleri A.Ş.
<b>Mustafa Kibaroglu</b>	Professor of International Relations and Chair of the Department of Political Science and International Relations at MEF University
<b>Sönmez Köksal</b>	Ambassador (Ret.); Former Undersecretary of the Turkish National Intelligence Organization (MİT)
<b>Muhsin Mengütürk</b>	Board Member of Doğuş Holding; Former Chairman of the Capital Markets Board of Turkey
<b>İlhan Or</b>	Professor of Industrial Engineering at Boğaziçi University
<b>Gölsün Sağlamer</b>	Former Rector and Professor of Architecture at the Istanbul Technical University; Former Board Member of the European University Association
<b>Durmuş Yılmaz</b>	Former Senior Advisor to the President of Turkey; Former Governor of the Turkish Central Bank; Member of TEPAV Board of Directors



Works completed and published under the GRF Young Academics Policy Paper Series in 2014-2015 are listed below.

- **Dr. Onur Çobanlı** - “Turkey in the Eurasian Energy Game” (November 2014)  
*Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Berlin Doctoral Program in Economics and Management Science*
- **Dr. John Bowlus** - “Pipeline Partners: Expanding and Securing Iraq’s Future Oil Exports” (November 2015)  
*Georgetown University, Ph.D, History*

The papers of the following GRF Young Academics 2014 participants are in the editing process, and are expected to be published in 2016 under the GRF Young Academics Policy Papers Series.

- **Altay Atlı** - “Turkey’s Foreign Policy Towards China: Analysis and Recommendations for Improvement”  
*Boğaziçi University, Ph.D, Political Science and International Relations*
- **Egemen Eren** - “Prime Brokerage Business Model and Regulation”  
*Stanford University, Ph.D, Economics*
- **Charlie Laderman** - “Freedom and Union: Clarence Street, Democratic Federalism and the Future of Atlantic Alliance”  
*University of Cambridge, Ph.D, History*

### Young Academics 2015 Term

The first stage of GRF Young Academics 2015 took place in two separate meetings in July and October 2015. Participants are currently working on their drafts to be presented to their respective Review Committees consisting of GRF members. Qualified policy papers are expected to be published throughout 2016.

#### July Group:

<b>Damla Cihangir Tetik</b>	Sabancı University
<b>Emine Deniz</b>	New York University
<b>Kerem Gülay</b>	Cornell Law School
<b>Quynh Nguyen</b>	Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich
<b>Kerem Tuzcuoğlu</b>	Columbia University

#### October Group:

<b>Gruia Badescu</b>	Cambridge University
<b>Çınar Baymul</b>	Oxford University
<b>François Delerue</b>	European University Institute
<b>Pelin Kıvrak</b>	Yale University
<b>Chris Miller</b>	Yale University

## GRF YOUNG PROFESSIONALS PROGRAM

Since its establishment, GRF has organized activities aiming to enrich Turkey's contribution to the global agenda. 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 the nominations of GRF's corporate members.

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 another, and of GRF members.

### Young Professionals 2014 Term



In the 2014 term of the Young Professionals Program, in consultation with GRF, each participant selected a topic related to his/her area of expertise, and delivered a presentation that addressed the topic from a global systemic perspective.

### Participants:

**Taşkın Aksoy**

*Managing Partner, Link Tera Information Technologies*

**Ercan Balkoç**

*Manager, McKinsey & Company*

**Turgut Cankorel**

*International Partner, Chadbourne & Parke*

**Güler Emre Demirörs**

*Assistant Vice President, Citibank*

**Ramazan Küçük**

*Bank Auditor, BDDK*

**Ayşe Deniz Lokmanoğlu**

*Consultant, Istanbul Economics Consultancy*

**Can Naiboğlu**

*Health Economics & Pricing Project Manager, Novo Nordisk*

**Erdem Prekiç**

*Director, Aon Consulting*

**Özgür Soner**

*Managing Partner, InGame Group*

**Bülent Tekçe**

*Strategic Coordination and Monitoring Director, Yapı Kredi Bankası*

**Elifcan Yazgan**

*Operations and Process Development Manager, Aygaz A.Ş.*

**Can Yücel**

*Project Finance Unit Manager, Türkiye İş Bankası*

### Guest Speakers:

- Dr. Hakan Altınay - “Global Civics Project”
- Ambassador (Ret.) Bozkurt Aran - “The Future of Turkey-China Relations”
- Sami Kohen - “The Regional Dynamics in a 20-30 Year Perspective for Turkey, its Neighbors and Other Actors”

### Young Professionals 2015 Term



In the 2015 term of the GRF Young Professionals Program, GRF selected three topics for the presentations with the aim of keeping the discussions more focused. The participants were assigned a book covering one aspect of their preferred topics, and delivered a presentation on them.

### Topics:

- Future of Globalization I: Technology and Economy
- Future of Globalization II: Technology and Social Justice
- Future of State Structure: Rivalry Between East and West, Rising Individualism and Collapsing States

### Participants:

<b>Beran Berat Camak</b>	<i>Strategic Marketing Manager, Enerjisa</i>
<b>Emre Demirel</b>	<i>Vice-President, Turkven Private Equity</i>
<b>Burcu Geriş</b>	<i>Vice-President and CFO, TAV Airports Holding</i>
<b>Duygu Gözeler</b>	<i>Vice-President, Deutsche Bank Asset &amp; Wealth Management</i>
<b>Ayşe İnan</b>	<i>Int. Project Manager, TEGV; Manager, Suna and İnan Kırac Foundation</i>
<b>Yıldız Tuğba Kurtuluş Kara</b>	<i>Foreign Trade Specialist, Ministry of Economy, Republic of Turkey</i>
<b>Dilek Karasoy</b>	<i>Financial Analyst, Intel Corporation</i>
<b>Gökberk Kızıltan</b>	<i>Associate, Global Relations Forum</i>
<b>Harun Tepe</b>	<i>Assistant Manager at Capital Markets Division, Isbank</i>
<b>Fatih Tezel</b>	<i>ICT Regulations and Policy Expert, BTK</i>
<b>Memet Ünsal</b>	<i>Program Director, InnoMate</i>
<b>Saygın Ürel</b>	<i>Finance Manager, Shell Upstream Turkey</i>

### Guest Speaker:

- Hanzade Doğan Boyner - “Years of Experience in the Business World”



# ACTIVITIES IN UNIVERSITIES



In 2014-2015, GRF President Memduh Karakullukçu addressed students at the following meetings, where he delivered keynote speeches on various issues related to global affairs:

- September 6, 2014; **Boğaziçi University European School of Politics**; speech on “Policy Processes for Energy”
- September 27, 2014; **Youth Vision Association 3<sup>rd</sup> MUN Turkey Conference**; speech on “Eradicating Global Poverty through Globalization”
- December 15, 2014; **Boğaziçi University Financial Engineering Graduate Program**; speech on “Global Cooperation in Financial Regulation and Monetary Policy”
- February 23, 2015; **Sciences Po Babel Initiative**; speech on “Turkey’s Economic Growth and Future”
- October 3, 2015; **Co-Opinion 1<sup>st</sup> Annual Youth Summit**; speech on “The Economic Prospects for the Middle East & North Africa”

In addition, GRF held informational meetings at Columbia University, Harvard University, MIT, Stanford University and Yale University throughout 2014-2015 to promote the GRF Young Scholars and GRF Young Academics programs.



# PUBLICATIONS

## GRF REPORTS



### Exploring the Prospects for Russian-Turkish Cooperation in a Turbulent Neighborhood

The final report of the Track-II study conducted with the Carnegie Moscow Center was published in October 2014. The report is available on the GRF website in both English and Turkish.



### Turkey in a Changing Global and Regional Security Environment: Analysis and Recommendations

GRF Task Force on "Turkey's Approach to Security in the 21st Century" summarized its analyses and recommendations in a report, which was published in March 2015. The report is available on the GRF website in both English and Turkish.

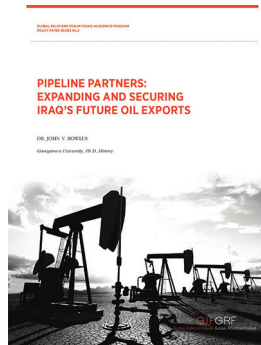
## GRF YOUNG ACADEMICS POLICY PAPER SERIES

In 2014-2015, GRF published two policy papers that were written by the participants of the GRF Young Academics program and approved by the Review Committees comprising GRF members. The papers are available on the GRF website in English.



### Turkey in the Eurasian Energy Game

Onur Çobanlı



### Pipeline Partners: Expanding and Securing Iraq's Future Oil Exports

John Bowlus

## ARTICLES WRITTEN BY GRF MEMBERS

In 2014-2015, GRF posted the following articles written by its members on the GRF website:

- "Middle East Regional Security Challenges: The View from Turkey" - Memduh Karakullukçu
- "The Two Radical Sources of Instability in the Middle East" - Murat Özçelik
- "The New Vision of the 'New Turkey'" - Özdem Sanberk
- "Economic Prospects for the MENA Region: Impatient Expectations, Deferred Promises and the Missing Axes of Trust" - Memduh Karakullukçu
- "Managing the Interaction between Islam and Democracy" - Özdem Sanberk

# MEMBERSHIP

## INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS

<b>Ahmet Acar</b>	Rector, Middle East Technical University
<b>Feride Acar</b>	Professor of Political Science and Public Administration, Middle East Technical University
<b>Faik Açıkalın</b>	CEO, Yapı Kredi Bank; President of the Banking and Insurance Group, Koç Holding A.Ş.
<b>Bekir Ağırdır</b>	General Manager, KONDA Research and Consultancy; Board Member, TESEV; Columnist
<b>Adnan Akay</b>	Provost and Chair of the Mechanical Engineering Department, Bilkent University
<b>Vural Akışık</b>	Former Chairman of the Turkish State Banks
<b>Leyla Alaton</b>	Board Member, Alarko Group of Companies
<b>Hakan Altınay</b>	Non-resident Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution; President, Global Civics Academy
<b>Piraye Antika</b>	Founder, Enkuba Technologies; Former CEO, HSBC Bank Turkey; Management Consultant
<b>Ertuğrul Apakan</b>	Amb. (R); Per. Rep. of TR to UN (F); Undersec., MFA (F); Chief Monitor, OSCE Special Monit. Mission to Ukraine
<b>Emre Aracı</b>	Musicologist; Composer
<b>Bozkurt Aran</b>	Amb. (Ret.); Per. Rep. of TR to the WTO (F); Director of Trade Studies, TEPAV; Board Member, Şişecam
<b>Ender Arat</b>	Ambassador (Ret.)
<b>Mehmet Arda</b>	Former Head of Commodities Branch, UNCTAD; Former Professor of International Relations, GSU
<b>Esin Güral Argat</b>	Board Member, Güral Artcraft
<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; Former Rector of Koç University
<b>Elsie Vance Aşkar</b>	Consultant
<b>Oktar Ataman</b>	General (Ret.)
<b>Gülnur Aybet</b>	Head of the Political Science and International Relations Department, Bahçeşehir University
<b>Mustafa Aydın</b>	Rector, Kadir Has University
<b>Gürer Aykal</b>	Conductor
<b>Ömer Pekin Baran</b>	Chairman, Denizcilik A.Ş.
<b>Nezih Barut</b>	Chairman, Abdi İbrahim A.Ş.
<b>H. Edip Başer</b>	General (Ret.); Former Deputy Chief of General Staff; Former Lecturer at Yeditepe University
<b>Aslı Başgöz</b>	Partner, White and Case Istanbul
<b>Tayfun Bayazıt</b>	Former Vice-Chairman of TÜSİAD; Chairman, Bayazıt Consulting; Former Chairman of Yapı Kredi
<b>Feyyaz Berker</b>	Former Chairman of Tekfen Holding A.Ş.
<b>A. Gülsün Bilgehan</b>	MP; 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>	Former Undersecretary of Treasury and Foreign Trade; Former President of the Istanbul Stock Exchange (IMKB)
<b>Nakiye Boyacıgiller</b>	Professor of Management, Sabancı University
<b>Dilek Boyacıoğlu</b>	Professor of Food Engineering, Istanbul Technical University (İTÜ)
<b>Hanzade Doğan Boyner</b>	Vice-Chairwoman, Doğan Holding A.Ş.
<b>Osman Boyner</b>	Chairman, BD Otomotiv A.Ş.
<b>Şule Bucak</b>	Communications Consultant
<b>Yusuf Buluç</b>	Ambassador (Ret.)
<b>Yılmaz Büyükerşen</b>	Mayor of Eskişehir; Former Rector of Anadolu 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>Eşref Cerrahoğlu</b>	Chairman, Cerrahgil A.Ş.
<b>Fadlullah Cerrahoğlu</b>	Founding Partner, Cerrahoğlu Law Firm
<b>Bülent Çelebi</b>	CEO, AirTies
<b>Hikmet Çetin</b>	Speaker of TBMM (F); Minister of Foreign Affairs (F); NATO Senior Civilian Rep. to Afghanistan (F)
<b>Gökhan Çetinsaya</b>	Chief Adv. to Prime Minister; President of the 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>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>	Board Member, Akkök Group
<b>Ali Doğramacı</b>	Chairman of the Board of Trustees and Former Rector, Bilkent University
<b>Tayyibe Gülek Domaç</b>	Former Minister of State; Honorary Chair, International Strategic Research Organization (USAK)
<b>Cem Duna</b>	Ambassador (Ret.); Chairman, AB Consulting
<b>O. Turgay Durak</b>	Former CEO of Koç Holding A.Ş.
<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 of Işık University
<b>Tarhan Erdem</b>	Chairman, Konda Research Consulting; Columnist
<b>Üstün Ergüder</b>	Director, Education Reform Initiative; Former Rector of Boğaziçi University
<b>Aydemir Erman</b>	Ambassador (Ret.); Former Special Coordinator of Turkey for Afghanistan
<b>Ahmet Kamil Erozan</b>	Ambassador (Ret.); First Deputy Secretary General of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Coop. (F)
<b>Nazif Murat Ersavcı</b>	Ambassador (Ret.); Head of the Turkish Delegation, BIE; Sen. Adv. to the Board on Int. Affairs, MetCap
<b>Hasan Ersel</b>	Member of Board of Trustees, TEPAV; Former Deputy Governor of Central Bank of Turkey
<b>Ahmet Ertürk</b>	Sen. Adv. to the President of TR (F); Former Chairman of the Savings Deposit Insurance Fund (TMSF)
<b>Selçuk Esenbel</b>	Professor of History, Boğaziçi University
<b>Nüket Küçükkel Ezberci</b>	Chairperson, Güven Hospital
<b>Metin Fadıllıoğlu</b>	Chairman, Group 29
<b>Melih Fereli</b>	Board Member, IKSİV; Culture and Arts Advisor, Vehbi Koç Foundation
<b>Ayla Göksel</b>	Vice-Chairwoman, Mother Child Education Foundation (ACEV)
<b>Nilüfer Göle</b>	Professor of Sociology, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales
<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 (İTÜ)
<b>Bülent Gültekin</b>	Associate Professor of Finance, University of Pennsylvania; Former Governor of the Central Bank of Turkey
<b>Orhan Güvenen</b>	Former Undersecretary of the State Planning Organization (DPT); Professor of Econometrics, 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>Rifat Hisarcıklıoğlu</b>	President, Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges (TOBB)
<b>Ayşegül İldeniz</b>	Vice President and General Manager for Business Development and Strategy, New Devices Group, Intel
<b>Canan Pak İmregün</b>	Board Member, Pak Holding A.Ş.; Board Member, Kartonsan A.Ş.
<b>Umrhan İnan</b>	Rector, Koç University
<b>M. Cemal Kafadar</b>	Professor of History, Harvard University
<b>Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı</b>	Professor of Psychology, Koç University
<b>Ersin Kalaycıoğlu</b>	Professor of Political Science, Sabancı University
<b>Münci Kalaycıoğlu</b>	Transplant Surgeon; Head of the Organ Transplantation Department, Şişli Memorial Hospital
<b>Jak Kamhi*</b>	Founding Chairman, Profilo Holding
<b>Kerim Kamhi</b>	Chairman, Profilo Telekom
<b>Memduh Karakullukçu</b>	Founding Partner, Kanunum.com; Chairman, Kroton; Founding Managing Director of İTÜ-ARI Science Park
<b>Mehmet Fatih Karamancı</b>	Chairman, Karamancı Holding
<b>Ali Karaosmanoğlu</b>	Professor of International Relations; Director, Center for Foreign Policy and Peace Research
<b>Celalettin Kart</b>	Ambassador (Ret.)
<b>Hüsamettin Kavi</b>	Former Chairman of Istanbul Chamber of Industry (İSO); Chairman, GTE Endüstri Sistemleri A.Ş.
<b>Muharrem Kayhan</b>	Chairman, Söktaş A.Ş.; Board Member, Koç Holding A.Ş.
<b>Muhtar Kent</b>	Chairman and CEO, Coca Cola
<b>Alev Kılıç</b>	Ambassador (Ret.)
<b>Ceyda Çarmıklı Kılıçaslan</b>	Business Development Coordinator, Nurol Holding; Board Member, Nurol Investment Bank
<b>Mustafa Kılıçaslan</b>	Former Director of Public & Private Alliances, Microsoft Corporation
<b>Üner Kırdar</b>	Ambassador (Ret.); Former Senior Official of United Nations
<b>Yasemin Biro Kırtman</b>	Senior Environmental Specialist, Global Environment Facility (GEF)
<b>Mustafa Kibaroglu</b>	Professor of International Relations; Chair of Department of Political Science & IR, MEF Uni.
<b>Mustafa V. Koç</b>	Chairman, Koç Holding A.Ş.
<b>Rahmi M. Koç</b>	Honorary Chairman, Koç Holding A.Ş.
<b>Hüsamettin Koçan</b>	Painter; Professor of Fine Arts, Okan University; Former Dean of the Faculty of Fine Arts, Marmara University

\*Honorary member

<b>Sami Kohen</b>	Journalist, Writer
<b>Sezer Komsuoğlu</b>	Former Rector, Kocaeli University; Professor of Neurology
<b>Osman Korutürk</b>	Former MP; Ambassador (Ret.)
<b>Cem Kozlu</b>	Management Consultant, Former Chairman of Turkish Airlines
<b>Sönmez Köksal</b>	Amb. (Ret.); Former Undersecretary of State in Charge of the Turkish National Intelligence Org.(MİT)
<b>Murat Köprülü</b>	Head of the Emerging Markets Group, Mariner Investment; Chairman, American Turkish Society
<b>Tuğrul Kudatgobilik</b>	Former President, Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations Organization (TİSK)
<b>Ayşe Kulin</b>	Writer
<b>Korhan Kurdoğlu</b>	Chairman, ATA Holding
<b>Emre Kurttepe</b>	Founding Chairman, Mynet Group
<b>Gün Kut</b>	Associate Professor of Political Science and International Relations, Boğaziçi University
<b>C. Tanıl Küçük</b>	Former Chairman, Istanbul Chamber of Industry
<b>Zülfü Livaneli</b>	Writer; Composer; UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador
<b>Hasan Mandal</b>	Former Vice President, Sabancı University; Board Member, Council of Higher Education
<b>Livio Manzini</b>	Chairman, Bell Holding
<b>Erol Memioğlu</b>	President of the Energy Group, Koç Holding A.Ş.
<b>Muhsin Mengütürk</b>	Board Member, Doğuş Holding A.Ş.; Former Chairman of Capital Markets Board of Turkey
<b>Celal Metin</b>	Chairman, Met Group of Companies; Former CEO, Sabancı Holding
<b>Emine Gürsoy Naskali</b>	Professor of Turkish Language and Literature, Marmara University
<b>A. Gülru Necipoğlu</b>	Professor of Islamic Art and Architecture, Harvard University
<b>Bertil Emrah Oder</b>	Dean of Law School, Koç University; Professor of Law
<b>Osman Okyay</b>	Technical Division Group Head, Kale Group of Companies
<b>Zeynep Bodur Okyay</b>	CEO- President, Kale Group of Companies
<b>Mehmet Şahin Onaner</b>	Deputy Per. Rep. of TR to the UN (F); Dir-General of Foreign Econ. Relations, Undersecretariat of Treasury (F)
<b>Gülsin Onay</b>	Pianist
<b>İlhan Or</b>	Professor of Industrial Engineering, Boğaziçi University
<b>İlber Ortaylı</b>	Professor of History, Galatasaray University; Former Director of Topkapı Palace Museum
<b>Altan Öymen</b>	Journalist; Writer
<b>Mustafa Özbey</b>	Admiral (Ret.); Board Member, Erciyas Steel Pipe Co.
<b>Murat Özçelik</b>	Ambassador (Ret.); Former Undersecretary of Public Order and Security
<b>Tomruk Özden</b>	CEO, Meptur A.Ş.
<b>Ersin Özince</b>	Chairman, İş Bankası
<b>Murat Özyeğin</b>	Board Member, Fiba Group
<b>Necmettin Pamir</b>	Professor of Neurology and Former Rector, Acıbadem University
<b>Ümit Pamir</b>	Ambassador (Ret.); Former Permanent Representative of TR to the UN
<b>Süher Pekinel</b>	Pianist
<b>Günsel Renda</b>	Professor of History of Art, Koç University
<b>Vuslat Doğan Sabancı</b>	Chairwoman, Hürriyet
<b>Gülsün Sağlam</b>	Professor of Architecture and Former Rector, İTÜ; Former Board Member, European University Association
<b>Güven Sak</b>	Director, Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV); Professor of Economics
<b>S. Özdem Sanberk</b>	Ambassador (Ret.), Former Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
<b>Rüşdü Saraçoğlu</b>	Former Minister of State; Former Governor of the Central Bank of Turkey
<b>Çiğdem Selşik</b>	Theatre Director; Actress; Lecturer, Koç University
<b>Süreyya Serdengeçti</b>	Former Governor of the Central Bank of Turkey; Director, TEPAV Stability Institute
<b>Robert Sonman</b>	Board Member, Arçelik A.Ş.
<b>Leyla Tara Suyabatmaz</b>	Founder and Senior Director, RAMPA Istanbul; Board Member, ENKA Foundation
<b>Ferit Şahenk</b>	Chairman, Doğuş Holding A.Ş.
<b>İpek Nur Cem Taha</b>	Director, Columbia Global Center in Turkey
<b>Namık Tan</b>	Ambassador (Ret.)
<b>Sabih Tansal</b>	Former Rector, Boğaziçi University; Professor of Electrical and Electronics Engineering
<b>Agah Mehmet Tara</b>	Chairman of THE Executive Committee and General Manager, ENKA
<b>Turgut Tarhanlı</b>	Dean, Bilgi University Faculty of Law; Professor of Public International Law and Human Rights Law
<b>Ertan Tezgör</b>	Ambassador (Ret.); Head of Delegation of Turkey to International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA)
<b>Ali Tigrel</b>	Former Undersecretary of the State Planning Org. (DPT); Chairman of the EU Coordination Council (F)
<b>Sübidey Togan</b>	Professor of Economics and Director of Center for International Economics, Bilkent University
<b>Canan Çelebioğlu Tokgöz</b>	Vice Chairwoman, Çelebi Holding A.Ş.
<b>Gül Günver Turan</b>	President of Turkey-EU Association; Professor of Economics (Ret.)

<b>İlter Turan</b>	Professor of Political Science and Former Rector, Bilgi University
<b>Füsun Türkmen</b>	Professor of International Relations, Galatasaray University
<b>İlter Türkmen</b>	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Ambassador (Ret.); Former Commissioner General, UNRWA
<b>Rıza M. Türmen</b>	Former MP; Former ECHR Judge; Ambassador (Ret.)
<b>Tomris Türmen</b>	Professor of Neonatology, Ankara University; Former Representative of Director-General at WHO
<b>Akın Umur</b>	Chairman, Türk Tütün A.Ş.
<b>Derin Ural</b>	Professor of Civil Engineering; Former Vice-Rector of Istanbul Technical University (İTÜ)
<b>Emine Uşaklıgil</b>	Journalist; Writer
<b>Ercan Uygur</b>	President, Turkish Economic Association (TEK); Professor (Ret.) of Economics, Ankara University
<b>Füsun Ülengin</b>	Dean of Management School, Sabancı University; Professor of Industrial Engineering
<b>Ali Ülker</b>	Vice-Chairman, Yıldız Holding
<b>Murat Ülker</b>	Chairman, Yıldız Holding
<b>Volkan Vural</b>	Ambassador (Ret.); Advisor to Chairman, Doğan Holding
<b>Yaşar Yakış</b>	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Ambassador (Ret.); President, STRATİM
<b>Nur Yalman</b>	Professor of Social Anthropology and Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University
<b>Tezcan Yaramancı</b>	Chairman, Investa Consulting; Chairman, TURMEPA
<b>Zekeriya Yıldırım</b>	Chairman, Yıldırım Consulting; Board Member, Sabancı Holding; Dep. Governor of the Central Bank of TR (F)
<b>Durmuş Yılmaz</b>	Former MP; Sen. Adv. to the President of TR (F); Governor of the Central Bank (F); Directors' Council Member, TEPAV
<b>Rona Yırcalı</b>	Chairman, Yırcalı Group; Honorary Chair, ICC WCF; Chairman of Board of Trustees, TEV
<b>İdil Yiğitbaşı</b>	Chairwoman, Yaşar Holding
<b>Erkut Yücaoglu</b>	Former President of TÜSİAD High Advisory Council; Chairman, Map-Turkuaz Group of Companies
<b>Gamze Dinçkök Yücaoglu</b>	Financial Audit & Risk Management Director, AKENERJİ



## CORPORATE MEMBERS

Allianz  
Borusan Holding  
Chadbourne & Parke Consulting and Legal Services  
Citibank  
Coca Cola  
Denizbank  
Deloitte  
ING Bank  
Intel  
Microsoft  
Natixis  
Postacıoğlu Law Firm  
Siemens  
Türkiye İş Bankası  
Türkiye Sınai Kalkınma Bankası  
Vodafone

## IN MEMORIAM

In fond memory of Prof. Talat Sait Halman, a profoundly respected member whom we lost in December 2014. We would like to extend our sincere condolences to his relatives, loved ones, and the GRF family.



# Global Relations Forum Annual Report

2014&2015

Global Relations Forum  
Yapı Kredi Plaza D Blok  
Levent 34330 İstanbul, Turkey  
T: +90 212 339 71 51  
F: +90 212 339 61 04  
[www.gif.org.tr](http://www.gif.org.tr)

**GIFGRF**  
GLOBAL İLİŞKİLER FORUMU GLOBAL RELATIONS FORUM