

 #Bosphore2017



Institut  
du Bosphore

REPENSER  
LA RELATION  
TURQUIE  
- FRANCE  
- UNION  
EUROPÉENNE  
DANS  
UN MONDE  
EN MOUVEMENTS

TURKEY  
- FRANCE  
- EUROPEAN  
UNION:  
CHANGE  
SETTINGS?

En collaboration avec  
In Collaboration with



Conseil Supérieur de la Formation  
et de la Recherche Stratégiques

8<sup>ème</sup> Séminaire Annuel  
8<sup>th</sup> Annual Seminar

Istanbul, 18-19/10/2017

# PROGRAMME PROGRAM

Mercredi 18/10/2017 Wednesday - Séminaire Seminar  
Intercontinental Hotel, Istanbul

16:00 Séance d'ouverture Opening Session

## Mots de bienvenue Welcome Notes

### Bahadır Kaleağası

Président, Institut du Bosphore  
President, Institut du Bosphore

### Ümit Boyner

Co-Présidente du Comité Scientifique, Institut du Bosphore  
Co-President of Scientific Committee, Institut du Bosphore

### Anne Lauvergeon

Co-Présidente du Comité Scientifique, Institut du Bosphore  
Co-President of Scientific Committee, Institut du Bosphore

## Discours d'ouverture Keynote

### Selim Yenel

Ambassadeur, Sous-secrétaire, Ministère des Affaires européennes, Turquie  
Ambassador, Undersecretary at Ministry for EU Affairs, Turkey

16:30 – 18:30 **Session I: Un nouvel ordre mondial : comment rebattre les cartes?**  
**Session I: Globalization: Uploading, please wait...**

*Dans un contexte d'élargissement des innovations technologiques, parmi lesquelles on retrouve le big data ou encore les objets connectés, ces deux dernières années ont été marquées par des événements hors du commun, à la fois à l'échelle mondiale et régionale. Le monde euro-atlantique se trouve à un carrefour historique, faisant face à de nombreux et cruciaux défis géostratégiques, politiques, économiques et sociaux.*

*L'impasse du Brexit et la politique de nationalisme économique du Président Trump (« America First ») ont contribué à un nouveau désordre mondial côté anglo-saxon, autrefois pionnier de la mondialisation néolibérale.*

*Le pour et contre de la mondialisation: quels sont les éléments qui alimentent la montée des discours populistes? Les mouvements antimondialistes peuvent-ils rendre le monde ingouvernable?*

*Quels sont les instruments qui permettront de surmonter ces défis mondiaux? Le G20 arrivera-t-il à être partie prenante de la solution?*

*Against the backdrop of widening technological advancements including big data, internet of things, the past two years have been marked by extraordinary events on both a global and regional scale and the Euro - Atlantic world is at a historic crossroads and facing numerous yet very crucial geostrategic, political, economic and social challenges.*

*The impasse of Brexit and President Trump's beggar-thy-neighbor "America First" policies have contributed to the new world disorder from the Anglo-Saxon side once the pioneer of neoliberal globalization.*

*Pros and Cons of Globalization: What are the feeders of the rising of populist discourses? Would anti-globalization movements make the world ungovernable?*

*What are the instruments to overcome global challenges? Can the G20 be part of the solution?*

*Modérateur Moderator*

### Selin Nasi

Chroniqueuse, Hürriyet Daily News  
Columnist, Hürriyet Daily News

*Débat introduit par Debate Introduced by*

### Joachim Bitterlich

Ambassadeur (e.r), Professeur à l'ESCP Europe Paris,  
Membre du Comité Scientifique, Institut du Bosphore  
Ambassador (ret), Professor at ESCP Europe Paris,  
Scientific Committee Member, Institut du Bosphore

### Laurence Daziano

Economiste, maître de conférences à Sciences Po,  
Membre du Conseil d'administration, Fondation Charles de Gaulle,  
Membre du Conseil scientifique de la Fondation pour l'innovation politique (Fondapol)  
Economist, lecturer at Sciences Po,  
Member of the Board of Directors, Charles de Gaulle Foundation,  
Member of the Scientific Council, Foundation for political innovation (Fondapol)

### Hans Kundnani

Chargé de recherche transatlantique, GMF (The German Marshall Fund of the United States)  
Senior Transatlantic Fellow, GMF (The German Marshall Fund of the United States)

### Ziya Öniş

Professeur d'économie politique internationale, Université Koç  
Professor of International Political Economy, Koç University

### Michael Schwarz

Directeur exécutif, Mercator Stiftung  
Executive Director, Mercator Stiftung

### Günter Seufert

Chercheur senior, Fondation allemande pour la science et politique (SWP)  
Senior Fellow, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP)

**Jeudi 19/10/2017 Thursday - Séminaire Seminar**  
**Intercontinental Hotel, Istanbul**

**08:30 – 10:30 Session II: Une Union européenne en question : à quoi nous attendre?**  
**Session II: European Union: Update pending...**

*Quel impact ce nouvel ordre mondial aura-t-il sur l'Union européenne et ses perspectives d'avenir ? Le mépris de Donald Trump envers le fonctionnement habituel des relations internationales mettra-t-il l'UE, ses États membres et ses partenaires stratégiques en péril? Ou est-ce à l'inverse une opportunité pour l'Europe de s'affirmer sur la scène mondiale comme acteur plus autonome?*

*La défiance récente des tendances eurosceptiques, à la fois aux Pays-Bas et en France, à la suite d'élections très attendues dans ces deux pays, permet d'envisager les perspectives de l'UE avec optimisme. Les tendances pro-européennes d'Emmanuel Macron conduiront-elles au renforcement de l'axe franco-allemand que beaucoup attendaient? Quel scénario pour l'avenir de l'UE l'emportera? Quels sont les défis à relever en termes de politique étrangère et de sécurité communes ? Quelles sont les implications institutionnelles, politiques et économiques du Brexit? Comment l'UE va-t-elle gérer le processus du Brexit suite à son déclenchement officiel en mars dernier? Quelles sont les perspectives d'institutionnalisation d'une Europe à plusieurs vitesses et quelles répercussions cela pourrait-il avoir sur l'avenir de la relation bilatérale entre la Turquie et l'UE? Comment l'UE pourrait-elle de nouveau transmettre sa force transformatrice —conduite par la «conditionnalité» — à la Turquie?*

*How will this new global order impact the European Union and its future perspectives? Will Trump's disregard for the usual functioning of international relations jeopardize the EU, its member states and strategic partners or is this an opportunity for Europe to affirm itself on the global stage as a more autonomous player?*

*The unexpected defiance of euro-skeptic trends both in the Netherlands and France following highly anticipated elections in both countries shine a positive light on the EU's future perspectives. Will Emmanuel Macron's pro-European tendencies lead to the strengthening of the Franco-German axis many have been awaiting? Which scenario for the future of the EU will prevail? What are the challenges ahead for common foreign and security policy? What are the prospects for the institutionalization of a multi-speed Europe and what repercussions could this have on the future of the Turkey-EU bilateral relationship? How could the EU re-engage its transformative power driven from "conditionality", to Turkey?*

*Modérateur Moderator*

**Özgür Ünlühisarcıklı**

Directeur du bureau Ankara, GMF (The German Marshall Fund of the United States)  
Director, Ankara Office, GMF (The German Marshall Fund of the United States)

*Débat introduit par Debate Introduced by*

**Yves Bertoinci**

Président, Mouvement Européen – France  
President, European Movement – France

**Şevket Pamuk**

Professeur d'économie et d'histoire économique, Université Boğaziçi  
Professor of Economics and Economic History, Bogaziçi University

**Dilek Aydın**

Représentante auprès de l'UE et de BusinessEurope à Bruxelles, TÜSIAD  
Representative to the EU and BusinessEurope - Brussels, TÜSIAD

**Gabriel Munuera Vinals**

Chef adjoint de la Délégation de l'Union européenne en Turquie  
Deputy Head of Delegation of the European Union to Turkey

**Gül Günver Turan**

Présidente, TURABDER (Association Turquie UE); Présidente, Mouvement Européen-Turquie  
President, TURABDER (Turkey EU Association), President, European Movement – Turkey

**Sebastian Groth**

Directeur adjoint de l'Unité de planification, Ministère des affaires étrangères, Allemagne  
Deputy Director for Policy Planning, German Ministry for Foreign Affairs

**Ünal Çeviköz**

Ambassadeur (e.r); Chroniqueur, Hurriyet.com.tr et Hürriyet Daily News  
Ambassador(R); Columnist Hurriyet.com.tr and Hürriyet Daily News

**10:30 – 11:00 Pause-café Coffee Break**

**Session III: Une relation Europe - France - Turquie à repenser: quels objectifs se fixer au prisme de la lucidité?**

**11.00 – 12.30 Session III: France - European Union - Turkey: New Settings in prism of lucidity**

*Dans un contexte d'incertitudes politiques, la présidence de Macron amènera-t-elle un vent de renouveau aux relations entre la Turquie et la France ? Quelles sont les opportunités de coopération bilatérale ? Quel rôle la société civile doit-elle jouer dans le développement de ces relations ? Comment la France peut-elle contribuer au renforcement de l'ancrage européen en Turquie ? L'Institut du Bosphore est à la recherche des réponses à ces questions. Dans ce cadre, Alain Delcamp, Secrétaire général honoraire du Sénat français, Vice-président de l'Association française des constitutionnalistes et Didier Billion, Directeur adjoint de l'IRIS (Institut de Relations Internationales et Stratégiques), suite à des rencontres réalisées à Istanbul, à Ankara, à Bruxelles et à Paris au cours du mois dernier, se sont chargés de partager leurs points de vue dans un rapport intitulé « Les relations franco-turques au prisme de la lucidité : Comment être plus efficace ? ». Le document de travail présenté lors de ce Séminaire vise également à contribuer aux réflexions sur la stratégie de l'Institut du Bosphore dans le contexte à venir.*

*Alors que les négociations d'adhésion UE-Turquie sont actuellement en suspens, il n'a jamais été aussi important de maintenir et renforcer des liens solides entre l'Union européenne et la Turquie. Les perspectives de modernisation de l'union douanière devraient insuffler un nouvel élan à la relation bilatérale UE-Turquie. Quelles sont les attentes économiques et politiques qui découlent de ce processus ? Quels obstacles devront être surmontés ? Comment cette nouvelle union douanière pourrait-elle être envisagée de manière à renforcer les liens entre l'Union européenne et la Turquie au-delà d'une simple relation transactionnelle ? Quel rôle la France pourrait-elle jouer dans ce processus ? Quel rôle pour l'Institut du Bosphore dans ce nouveau contexte ?*

*Against the backdrop of political uncertainties, will Macron's presidency provide fresh air for Turkey – France relations? What is the role played by civil society in the development of bilateral relations? What are the opportunities for bilateral economic and civil society cooperation? What role can France play in reinforcing the EU anchor in Turkey and how? Institut du Bosphore is searching for answers to these questions. Within this context, following meetings in Istanbul, Ankara, Brussels and Paris in the past month, Alain Delcamp, Honorary Secretary General of French Senate and Deputy chairman of the French association of Constitutionnalists (AFDC) and Didier Billion, Deputy Director*

of IRIS (Institute for International and Strategic Relations) were asked to share their assessments in a report entitled: "French-Turkish relations in prism of lucidity: How to be more effective?". The working paper presented at this Seminar also aims to contribute to reflections on Institut du Bosphore's strategy in the future.

While accession negotiations are currently at a stalemate, it has never been as important to maintain and strengthen solid ties between the EU and Turkey. The deepening of Customs Union could inject further momentum into the EU-Turkey bilateral relationship. What are the economic and political expectations from this process and what hurdles are to be overcome? How could this new customs union be envisaged with a view to strengthen ties between the EU and Turkey beyond a mere transactional relationship? What role could France play in this process? Which role for Institut du Bosphore in this context?

*Modérateur Moderator*

**Didier Billion**

Directeur adjoint, IRIS (Institut de Relations Internationales et Stratégiques), Membre du Conseil d'administration et Coordinateur des études, Rapporteur, Institut du Bosphore  
Deputy Director, IRIS (Institute for International and Strategic Relations), Member of the Board and Publications Coordinator, Rapporteur, Institut du Bosphore

*Débat introduit par Debate Introduced by*

**Alain Delcamp**

Secrétaire général honoraire, Sénat français ; Vice-président, Association française des constitutionnalistes, Membre du Comité Scientifique, Rapporteur, Institut du Bosphore  
Honorary Secretary General, French Senate; Deputy chairman of the French association of Constitutionnalists (AFDC), Scientific Committee Member, Rapporteur, Institut du Bosphore

**Jacques Maire**

Député La République En Marche, Vice-président de la Commission des Affaires Etrangères, Assemblée Nationale française  
Deputy (La République En Marche), Vice-Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee, French National Assembly

**Xavier Guilmineau**

Président de CCEF (Conseillers du Commerce extérieur français)  
President of the CCE (French Foreign Trade Advisors)

**Çiğdem Nas**

Secrétaire Général, IKV (Fondation pour le Développement Economique)  
Secretary General, IKV (Economic Development Foundation)

**Sani Şener**

Membre du Conseil d'Administration, Président Directeur Général, Tav Airports Holding, Co-président du Conseil France-Turquie du « DEIK », Membre du Comité Scientifique, Institut du Bosphore  
Board Member and President & CEO, Tav Airports Holding; Co-President, Turkey – France Business Council DEIK; Scientific Committee Member, Institut du Bosphore

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**12.30 – 12.35 Session de Clôture Closing Session**

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**Olivier Caron**

Directeur Général, CSFRS  
Director General, CSFRS

**Bahadır Kaleağası**

Président, Institut du Bosphore  
President, Institut du Bosphore

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**12.40 – 14.00 Déjeuner Lunch**

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# BIOGRAPHIES

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## A. DİLEK AYDIN

Representative to the EU - Brussels, TÜSİAD -Turkish Industry & Business Association

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Dilek Aydin is the TÜSİAD (Turkish Industry & Business Association) Representative to the European Union, a member of BusinessEurope (Confederation of European Business), in Brussels.

Following early experience in the private sector, she joined TÜSİAD-Brussels in 2013 managing projects and conducting research on the digital economy, Transatlantic relations and Turkey's EU process. In 2014, she was appointed as the EU-UEAPME Representative of TÜRKONFED, a member of the European SME organization UEAPME.

Ms. Aydin obtained the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) scholarship in 2011 and served as a teaching assistant on media technologies, development policies, democratization and transformation of the public sphere in the University of Bonn. She published several articles on the current European affairs and took part in various EU projects on the digital transformation and Turkey.

Dilek Aydin holds an MA degree from Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, and is a graduate of İstanbul Bilgi University, Faculty of Communication and German High School Istanbul (Deutsche Schule Istanbul).

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## YVES BERTONCINI

President, the European Movement – France

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Yves Bertoncini was the Director of the Jacques Delors Institute from April 2011 to September 2017.

He is currently the President of the Mouvement Européen - France since December 2016.

He was an Administrator at the European Commission, where he has worked at the "Education, Training, Youth" and "Regional Policy" Directorates-General. Previously, he also worked in the office of the French Prime Minister with responsibility for research on Europe at the Centre d'Analyse Stratégique (2006-09), and as an adviser to the Secretary-General of European Affairs (2010-2011).

He worked for the French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs on the organisation of the "National Dialogue for Europe" (1995-1997), and at the French embassy in Algiers (1992-93). He was also the Head of international affairs at the French Insurance Association (2002-05).

He is also an experienced educator on European issues, with past and current teaching positions at the Corps des Mines (Mines ParisTech, since 2007), the College of Europe in Bruges (since 2016), the Paris Institute of Political Studies (2001-11) and the École Nationale d'Administration (2007-09). He is the author of numerous books, articles and policy papers on European issues. Mr. Bertoncini holds degrees from Sciences Po Grenoble and the College of Europe in Bruges. He also studied at the IEP Paris and at the University of California -Berkeley.

He was born on the 30th March 1970 in Chambéry (Savoie, France) and is married with three children.

## DIDIER BILLION

Deputy Director of IRIS (Institute for International and Strategic Relations)  
Board Member and Publication Director, Institut du Bosphore

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Certified in History and Geography, Doctor in Political Sciences, Didier Billion is a Professor for the National Education. He joined IRIS in 1991, as research fellow for Middle East issues and more particularly contemporary Turkey. From 1998 to 2002, he was Director of studies, and is Deputy Director of IRIS since 2002.

Author of numerous articles and of a book on Turkish foreign policy *La politique extérieure de la Turquie* (L'Harmattan), then *L'enjeu turc* (Armand Colin), Didier Billion has directed publications like "The New Faces of an enlarged Europe" (PUF/IRIS), " Le rôle géostratégique de la Turquie " (IRIS Presse) and " Actualités de l'Etat palestinien " (Complexe).

Didier Billion is the Institut du Bosphore Board Member and Publication Coordinator.

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## JOACHIM BITTERLICH

Ambassador (ret), Professor ESCP Europe Paris, CBE

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Chairman Franco-German Business Cercle Berlin; Independent Historical Commission to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture Berlin.

Senior Advisor (Cranemere Frankfurt/New York, Eutop Brussels/Munich, Berlin Global Advisors; CogitoPraxis, Paris).

Boards Ecole Nationale d'Administration ENA Paris, Institut Jacques Delors Paris, Friends of Europe Brussels, Bosphorus Institute Paris/Istanbul;

Previous: European, International and Security Policy Advisor to German Chancellor Helmut Kohl; German Permanent Representative to NATO, Ambassador to Spain; Executive Vice-President International Affairs and Chairman Germany Veolia Paris; boards in different areas (environment, EnBW - energy, transport; DEKRA - certification).

Education: Law, Economics and Politics ; University of Saarland/Germany; ENA graduate Paris.

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## NAZLI ÜMİT BOYNER

Co-President of Scientific Committee, Institut du Bosphore

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Nazlı Ümit Boyner was born in 1963 in Istanbul. After graduating from the University of Rochester (USA), Department of Economics, Ümit Boyner completed programs in Financial Management and Management Training at Columbia University.

She went on to work as Credit Marketing Manager at Chemical Mitsui Bank, Finance Manager at Türk Petrol Holding A.Ş. and Finance and Treasury Manager at Turcas Petrolcülük A.Ş. From 1996 until 2002, she served as Finance Director at Boyner Holding, overseeing the restructuring of the financial departments of Group companies, and the establishment of a central treasury system. Since 2002, as a Board Member at Boyner Group, she has focused on the Group's new investment and finance related projects. Since 2013, she serves a Member of the Board of Directors of Euler Hermes and The International Advisory Board of CHUBB Inc. She is also the Chairperson of Boyner Foundation.

Nazlı Ümit Boyner has acted as a TÜSİAD Board Member between 2005 and 2010 and held the position of chairwoman of TÜSİAD from 2010 until 2013. She is currently Vice President of TÜSİAD High Advisory Council.

She is a co-founder of the women entrepreneurs' association KAGİDER and held the position of Vice President between 2002 and 2005. Acted as ÖSGD (Turkish Corporate Volunteers) Chairperson, she was a Member of the Board of Trustees of the Tohum Otizm Vakfı.

She was presented the order of “Légion d'Honneur” in 2013 for her contributions to the development of socio-economic relations between France and Turkey.

She is married with two children. She is fluent in English and French.

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## OLIVIER CARON

Director General, Conseil Supérieur de la Formation et de la Recherche Stratégiques (CSFRS)

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Olivier Caron is a career officer in the French Foreign Service. He presently serves as Director General of the High Council for Strategic research and Training. He was previously Permanent representative of France to Council of ICAO, in Montréal, and Ambassador to Singapore. Prior to that, he was Governor for France to the Board of the International Atomic Energy Agency and Director for International Relations at the French Atomic Energy Commission. He also served Prime Minister Jean-Pierre Raffarin as advisor for strategic affairs, after having headed the Department of Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament at the Foreign Ministry. His postings abroad include Washington, the Hague, and Addis Ababa, after graduating from the Ecole Nationale d'Administration in 1986.

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## ÜNAL ÇEVİKÖZ

Former Ambassador, Columnist for Hürriyet & Hürriyet Daily News

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Ünal Çeviköz was born in İstanbul in 1952. He graduated from Boğaziçi University (former Robert College) with a BA degree in English Language and Literature in 1974 and in Political Science in 1978. The same year, Çeviköz started to serve at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; following his service in Ankara, he worked at the Turkish Embassy in Moscow as Second Secretary and at the Turkish Consulate General in Bregenz as Consul. After completing his duties as the Chief of Section at the East European Department of the Foreign Ministry in Ankara, he was assigned to Turkish Embassy in Sofia as the counselor of Embassy. In 1989, he was detached from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs starting a job at NATO's International Secretariat, first at the Economics Directorate, then at the Political Directorate. He received his master's degree in International Relations in 1993 from Brussels University. In 1994, he was commissioned with launching the NATO Information Office in Moscow. Following this, he prepared the NATO-Russia Founding Act and in 1997 he returned to his duty at Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ankara, Turkey. After completing his duty as Head of Balkan Department and then as the Deputy Director General for Caucasus and Central Asia at the Foreign Ministry in Ankara, he served as Turkey's Ambassador between 2001-2004 to Azerbaijan and between 2004-2006 to Iraq. From 2007 to 2010, he was back in Ankara as Deputy Undersecretary for bilateral Political Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Meanwhile, in 2009, he prepared the protocols signed between Turkey and Armenia. In 2010, he was appointed as Ambassador to London. After completing his duty in the summer of 2014, he returned to Turkey and asked for retirement from the government service. He has been elected as the President of the 28th General Assembly (2013-2015) of International Maritime Organization in 2013.

Currently he is a member of several think-tanks and a columnist at Hurriyet.com.tr and Hürriyet Daily News. Ünal Çeviköz speaks English, French, Russian, German and Italian.

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## LAURENCE DAZIANO

Economist, lecturer at Sciences Po, member of the Board of Directors, Charles de Gaulle Foundation, member of the Scientific Council, Foundation for political innovation (Fondapol)

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Diplômée de la Sorbonne, de Sciences Po, de l'École Supérieure des Sciences Economiques et Commerciales (ESSEC) et de la Freie Universität Berlin, Laurence Daziano est économiste, maître de conférences à Sciences Po, membre du Conseil d'administration de la Fondation Charles de Gaulle et membre du Conseil scientifique de la Fondation pour l'innovation politique (Fondapol).

Elle est l'auteur de « Les pays émergents. Une approche géo-économique » (Armand Colin, 2014), « La nouvelle vague des émergents : Bangladesh, Ethiopie, Nigeria, Indonésie, Vietnam et Mexique (BENIVM) » (Fondapol, 2013), « L'urbanisation du monde. Une chance pour la France » (Fondapol, 2014) et « Repenser notre politique commerciale » (Fondapol, 2017). Elle est également éditorialiste à l'Opinion.

Laurence Daziano is a graduate of the Sorbonne, Sciences Po, the Ecole Supérieure des Sciences Economiques et Commerciales (ESSEC) and the Freie Universität Berlin.

Laurence Daziano is an economist, a lecturer at Sciences Po, a member of the Board of Directors of the Charles de Gaulle Foundation and a member of the Scientific Council of the Foundation for political innovation (Fondapol).

She is the author of "Emerging Countries. A geo-economic approach" (Armand Colin, 2014), "The new wave of emerging countries: Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Indonesia, Vietnam and Mexico (BENIVM)", "World urbanization. An opportunity for France" (Fondapol, 2014) and "Rethinking our trade policy" (Fondapol, 2017). She is also a columnist for l'Opinion.

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## ALAIN DELCAMP

**Deputy chairman of the French association of Constitutionnalists (AFDC)**

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Born in 1946 in France is graduated in Law, Political science, Economics and Philosophy.

He acted mainly as civil servant in the French Senate Administration from 1971 to 2013, he became secretary general in 2005, after various posts and experiences (law committee, head of committees administration, communication and new technologies, international and European relations,...). He has been an active member, as secretary general, in Interparliamentary Union and pay tribute to the organization of interparliamentary cooperation inside European Union.

Associate professor in constitutional law and political science in different universities: today research center on comparative constitutional jurisprudence (GERJC) university Aix Marseille. Deputy chairman of the French association of Constitutionnalists (AFDC).

Member (2014-2015) of the French High authority on Public Life Transparency (HATVP),

Honorary founding chairman of the group of experts to the Council of Europe' Congress of local and regional authorities, expert to the Venice Commission, French ministry of foreign affairs, Committee on Constitutional reforms in Ukraine.

Publications and articles in Constitutional law, parliamentary law, local and regional comparative law, European institutions.

Commandeur in France Legion d'Honneur order.

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## SEBASTIAN GROTH

**Deputy Director for Policy Planning, German Ministry for Foreign Affairs**

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Sebastian Groth was appointed Deputy Director for Policy Planning at the German Ministry for Foreign Affairs in September 2016. Previously he served as Head of the State Secretaries' Office (2014 – 2016). From 2010 – 2014, he worked as Adviser for Foreign Policy and French-German relations in the Cabinet of the French Prime Ministers François Fillon, Jean-Marc Ayrault et Manuel Valls. From 2004 – 2010 he was member of the Policy Planning Staff, working on energy and climate policy and on global economic affairs. In 2001, he started his diplomatic career as First Secretary at the German Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, working on Somalia, South Sudan and Burundi and as Press and Cultural Attaché. Sebastian Groth studied economics and sociology in Cologne and in Montpellier/ France.

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## XAVIER GUILMINEAU

**President of CCEF (French Foreign Trade Advisors) for Turkey, Member of the Board, TEB**

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Xavier Guilmineau, 50 , graduated from top French University AgroParis Tech (meng Food Science and Engineering) and IAE Paris (MBA).

He Joined BNP in 1994 to develop the agribusiness within the northern region of France.

In 1998, he moved to the General Inspection of the Group to manage international assignments in retail banking, wealth management and corporate banking.

In 2002, Xavier was appointed as VP Retail Development for Bank of the West, the BNP Paribas' retail banking franchise in the US headquarters in San Francisco.

He shifted to the BNP Paribas bancassurance arm "Cardiff" in 2005 as CEO for Central Europe then CEO for Asia in Hong Kong in 2008.

He has returned to banking since 2015, as TEB Bank Board Member based in Istanbul to foster the development of that key BNP Paribas franchise.

Since 2017, Xavier is the president of the think tank "CCEF" for Turkey. Those 30 executives appointed by the French government act as advisors to spur the exports and attractiveness of France.

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## BAHADIR KALEAĞASI

**CEO and Member of Directors, TÜSİAD -Turkish Industry & Business Association**

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Dr Bahadir Kaleagasi is the CEO of TÜSİAD (Turkish Industry & Business Association) in Istanbul and President of the Paris Bosphorus Institute. He is also Honorary Chairman of the Brussels Energy Club, member of BusinessEurope's Executive Bureau (The Confederation of European Business) in Brussels, board member in several institutions and scientific member of the Brussels University's Institute of European Studies. Graduate of Brussels and Istanbul Universities, he was a researcher and lecturer in the Center for International & Strategic Studies and the Institute for European Studies of the University of Brussels, rapporteur for projects of the European Commission's Forward Studies Unit and the intergovernmental conferences which prepared the Maastricht Treaty and was visiting researcher to Harvard, Georgetown and Jerusalem Universities. His academic work covered the areas of the EU's decision-making system, EU-US relations and the international economic relations. He also served as counselor for various public and private institutions before joining TÜSİAD in 1995 as EU Representative in Brussels and International Coordinator. He regularly contributes as speaker to international conferences, executive and academic seminars, television and radio programmes and is a regular commentator for the Bloomberg HT and Anadolu Ajansı-Finans. Bahadir Kaleagasi is the author of several articles and books on the international relations and European affairs. His latest books are "Turkish Star in the European Galaxy", "Youth's Questions on Europe", "The Planet G20" and "Changing World and Turkey".

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## HANS KUNDNANI

Senior Transatlantic Fellow, German Marshall Fund (GMF)

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Hans Kundnani is a Senior Transatlantic Fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) in Washington, D.C. Before joining GMF in 2015, he was the research director at the European Council on Foreign Relations. He is also an associate fellow at the Institute for German Studies at Birmingham University. In 2016 he was a Bosch Public Policy Fellow at the Transatlantic Academy in Washington, D.C.

Hans is the author of *Utopia or Auschwitz. Germany's 1968 Generation and the Holocaust* (London/New York: Hurst/Columbia University Press, 2009) and *The Paradox of German Power* (London/New York: Hurst/Oxford University Press, 2014), which has been translated into German, Italian, Korean and Spanish. He studied German and philosophy at Oxford University and journalism at Columbia University in New York, where he was a Fulbright Scholar. He tweets @hanskundnani.

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## ANNE LAUVERGEON

Co-President of Scientific Committee, Institut du Bosphore

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Anne Lauvergeon is Founder and CEO of A.L.P an advisory and investments company, she is Chairman of Innovation 2030 National Committee and Chairman of the Board of Sigfox and she serves as an Independent Board Member of Koç Holding, American Express and Suez.

From July 2001 to June 2011, she was Chief Executive Officer of AREVA and Chairman and CEO of AREVA NC from June 1999 to June 2011.

In 1997, she joined Alcatel Telecom as Senior Executive Vice President, Member of the Executive Committee, in charge of international business and industrial holdings.

From 1995 to 1997 she was Partner of Lazard Frères & Cie.

From 1990 to 1995 she worked for the French President's office, in charge of international economy and foreign trade missions in 1990, then Deputy Chief of Staff and Personal Representative to the French President, in charge of the G7/G8 Summits' from 1991.

Anne Lauvergeon began her career in 1983 in the steel industry, at Usinor, before working on nuclear & chemical safety issues in Europe at the French Atomic Energy Commission.

Anne Lauvergeon is a graduate of the Ecole Normale Supérieure and the French National School of Mining Engineer. She holds an advanced degree in Physics & Chemistry.

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## JACQUES MAIRE

Deputy, La République en Marche & Vice-president of the Foreign Affairs Committee, French National Assembly

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Jacques Maire, 55, is a husband and a father of two, a professional diplomat who has worked in both the private and the public sector, and now deputy for La République en Marche.

He first served as a Counsellor in the French Embassy at Algier, before working with Jacques Delors and Pierre Berégovoy on the construction of the European Political Union, and the Economic and Monetary Union. He made the choice to leave the public sector for the private sector where he worked in AXA from 2002 to 2012, first as a human resource director, then at the head of the Mediterranean Region, and finally as head of banking, insurance and investment business units.

On demand of Mr. Laurent Fabius, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, he took the lead on the strategy of the economic diplomacy, and had to mobilize the diplomatic network for the French companies. In 2015, he went back to the private sector as a Strategy and Development Director for Vigeo, global actor of the extra-financial evaluation. Once more, he returned to the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs, where he practiced as a thematic Ambassador.

Committed politically as a student, He kept believing in his convictions and stayed committed accordingly, either by being President of the association "Clisthène des clubs des collaborateurs" of Jacques Delors, or as an administrator in "Action contre la Faim", and through the exercise of local mandates in Brittany.

In 2016, a while after Emmanuel Macron launched his movement En Marche!, he rapidly decided to join with the movement and to participate to the creation and development of En Marche ! on the field.

His taste for commitment led him to run for office as a Deputy and was elected in 2017. Since then, he's been exercising his mandate of deputy as vice-president of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

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## ÇİĞDEM NAS

Director, Economic Development Foundation (IKV)

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Çiğdem Nas is the Secretary General of the Economic Development Foundation (IKV) which is a non-governmental research institution specialized in the field of European Affairs and based in Istanbul. She is also an Associate Professor of International Relations and lecturer at Yıldız Technical University. Her fields of research are EU politics, Turkey-EU relations, democratization, identity and foreign policy.

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## SELİN NASİ

Columnist, Hürriyet Daily News & Şalom

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Selin Nasi is a columnist for Hürriyet Daily News and Şalom, which is a Jewish weekly newspaper published in Turkey. Ms. Nasi's analysis on foreign policy is covered by international media. She is a voluntary member of the Women in Foreign Policy – a civic initiative aiming at promoting women's participation in foreign policy. Currently a PhD candidate at Boğaziçi University, Ms. Nasi's research focuses on Turkey's Israel policy after the Cold War. She holds a Masters Degree in international relations from Bilgi University with a dissertation titled "Turkish American Relations under the Shadow of the March 1 Resolution" and a bachelor degree in political science and international relations from the Marmara University.

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## ZİYA ÖNİŞ

Professor of International Political Economy, Koç University

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Öniş is Professor of International Political Economy at Koç University in Istanbul. He is the former Director of both the Center for Research on Globalization, Peace and Democratic Governance (GLODEM) (2010-2013) and the Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities (2006-2009) at Koç University. Prior to his appointment at Koç University, he was a faculty member in the Economics Department at Boğaziçi University. His recent research focuses on the global financial crisis and its implications for future patterns of globalization, southern varieties of capitalism,



democratization dilemmas in emerging powers, the political economy of Turkey during the AKP era, new directions in Turkish foreign policy and domestic politics-foreign policy interactions. His most recent publications include “The Age of Anxiety: The Crisis of Liberal Democracy in a Post-Hegemonic Global Order”. The International Spectator, Vol. 52, No. 3 (2017); (with M. Kutlay) “Global Shifts and the Limits of the EU’s Transformative Power in the European Periphery: Comparative Perspectives from Hungary and Turkey”. Government and Opposition, Ifirst Version (2017); (with Ş. Yilmaz) “Turkey and Russia in a Shifting Global Order: Co-operation, Conflict and Asymmetric Interdependence in a Turbulent Region”. Third World Quarterly, Vol. 37, No. 1 (2016); “Democracy in Uncertain Times: Inequality and Democratic Development in the Global North and Global South”. METU Studies in Development, Vol. 43, No. 1 (2016); “Turkey’s Two Elections: The AKP Comes Back”. Journal of Democracy, Vol. 27, No. 2 (2016). He was elected as a Fellow of the Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA) and received the prestigious TÜBİTAK Science Award in Social Sciences in 2012. He also received the Outstanding Faculty Award of Koç University in 2012.

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## ŞEVKET PAMUK

**Professor of Economics and Economic History, Bogaziçi University**

Şevket Pamuk is Professor of Economics and Economic History at Bogaziçi University, Istanbul. He is a leading economic historian and the author of many books and articles on Ottoman, Middle East and European economic history, most recently of Uneven Centuries: Economic History of Turkey since 1820 which will be published by Princeton University Press in 2018. Pamuk was Professor and Chair in Contemporary Turkish Studies at the London School of Economics from 2008 through 2013. He was the President of European Historical Economics Society (2003-2005), the President of Asian Historical Economics Society (2012-2014), Editor of European Economic History Review (2012-2014) and a member of Academia Europea and Science Academy, Istanbul.

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## MICHAEL SCHWARZ

**Executive Director, Stiftung Mercator**

Micheal Schwarz was appointed as Executive Director of Stiftung Mercator in 2014 and heads the International Affairs Division. Since 2010 he has been responsible for International Affairs. He also serves as the Co-President of the Turkey: Culture of Change Initiative.

He has worked in the foundations sector since 2005 when, after working for a time as a consultant at CNC, an international strategic communications consultancy, he took up a position at Robert Bosch Stiftung, initially as a project manager in the area of science, then as a management assistant, and most recently as director of communication. He studied public policy and political science in Germany and the US.

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## GÜNTER SEUFERT

**Senior Fellow, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP)**

Seufert is a senior fellow with the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Berlin, where he focuses primarily on political developments in Turkey and the region as well as the Cyprus conflict. For several years he was based in Istanbul working as

a correspondent for German, Swiss and Austrian newspapers. He also taught as Visiting Associate Professor in the Department for Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Cyprus in Nicosia. Prior to this he was researcher and managing director of the Istanbul branch of the Beirut based Institute of the German Oriental Society (DMG). In February 2017 he published “Even further from the West: Why Ankara looks to Moscow”. SWP-Comments 2/2017.

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## MUSTAFA SANİ ŞENER

**Board Member and President & CEO, Tav Airports**

Mustafa Sani Sener was appointed member of Board of Directors, President and CEO of TAV Airport in 1997. Prior to his career at TAV Airports Holding, Mr. Sener served in various positions, from project manager to general manager, in many national and international projects. He got an executive education on the management of complex systems at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT.) He gave a lecture in Harvard Business School MBA Programme on TAV Airport Case Study made by HBS.

Mustafa Sani Sener is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Airports Council International (ACI) World and was elected the President of Foreign Economic Relations Board’s Turkish- French Business Council in 2012. Mr. Sener was honored with the “Legion d’honneur” of the Chevalier order by France thanks to his contributions to the bilateral relations between Turkey and France. In the voting carried out by Thomson Extel among national and international finance corporations, he was chosen first in the category of “The Best CEO” in Turkey in 2010, 2011, 2014, 2015 and 2016, and third in the European Transport Sector in 2014.

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## GÜL GÜNVER TURAN

**President, TURABDER (Association Turquie UE)**

**President, the European Movement - Turkey**

Gül Günver Turan is a retired professor of Economics from Istanbul University. Her research and writing have been in the fields of international economics, banking and financial institutions and economic policies of Turkey. From her year of retirement in 2000 till 2009 she taught first at Bilgi University, then at Koç University. Between 2010 and 2012 she was the Director of the School of Applied Studies at Okan University. She has held visiting appointments at the University of Paris X, Nanterre, at the University of Iowa, and at the Thunderbird School of Management in Phoenix, Arizona.

Dr. Turan is now serving as the president of the Turkey-EU Association (TURABDER) and is also the President of the Turkish Council of the European Movement int. in Brussels(EMint.). She is a founding member of TESEV, the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation, a founding member of the Fondation du Dialogue Sud\_Nord Mediterranee (Brussels) and on the board of editors of a Turkish finance journal “Finans Dünyası”. She had a column in the French published newspaper Aujourd’hui la Turquie (2010 -2012).

Dr. Turan received her BA from the American University of Cairo (1967) and her Ph.D. from Istanbul University (1974). She is fluent in English and French.

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## ÖZGÜR ÜNLÜHISARCIKLİ

Director, German Marshall Fund (GMF) Office in Ankara

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Özgür Ünlühisarçıklı is the director of GMF's office in Ankara, Turkey. Prior to joining GMF, he was the manager of the Resource Development Department of the Educational Volunteers Foundation of Turkey. Previously, Ünlühisarçıklı worked as the director of the ARI Movement, a Turkish NGO promoting participatory democracy, and as a consultant at AB Consulting and Investment Services.

After graduating from the Robert College (Istanbul), Ünlühisarçıklı received his bachelor's degree in business administration from Marmara University and his master's degree from Koç University. He speaks fluent English in addition to his native Turkish.

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## GABRIEL MUNUERA VINALS

Deputy Head, Delegation of the European Union to Turkey

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Gabriel Munuera Viñals holds the position of the Deputy Head of Delegation of the European Union to Turkey since September 2016. Mr. Munuera Viñals previously served as head of the Political Section of the European Union Delegation in Egypt from 2012 to 2016, and prior to this held posts in the European External Action Service and in EU/EC Delegations in the Philippines and the Eastern Caribbean. He started his career as Research Fellow in the Western European Union Institute of Security Studies, then as Political Officer in the UN Secretariat (Department of Political Affairs).

He has published several articles on conflict prevention and EU peace-making. A contemporary historian by training, Mr Munuera Viñals holds a graduate degrees from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, the College of Europe and the Instituto Universitario Ortega y Gasset.

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## SELİM YENEL

Ambassador, Undersecretary at Ministry for EU Affairs, Turkey

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Selim Yenel was born in 1956 in Istanbul. He entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) in 1979. His first posting was the Turkish Delegation to the OECD in Paris between 1981 – 84. From there he went to the Turkish Embassy in Kabul, Afghanistan (1984 – 86). After coming back to the MFA he was posted to the Turkish Delegation to the UN in New York (1988 – 92). From 1994 till 1999 he was at the Turkish Delegation to the European Union in Brussels. He returned to Ankara and dealt with EU matters up to the opening of accession negotiations (1999 - 2005). Subsequently in December 2005 he was posted as Ambassador to Vienna until October 2009 when he returned to Ankara as Deputy Under-Secretary for Bilateral Political Affairs and Public Diplomacy.

From December 2011 till January 2017 he was posted as Ambassador and Permanent Delegate of Turkey to the European Union. Upon his return to Ankara he became Undersecretary at the Ministry for EU Affairs.

He is married and has a son and a daughter.

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## INFORMATIONS PRATIQUES USEFUL INFORMATIONS

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### Hôtel et lieu du séminaire Hotel details

Intercontinental Hotel

A: Gümüşsuyu Mahallesi, Asker Ocağı Cd. No:1, 34437 Beyoğlu/İstanbul

T: + 90 0212 368 44 44

### Lieu du dîner de gala Gala Dinner

Palais de France

A: Tomtom Mahallesi, Muammer Karaca Tiyatro Çk. No:271,

34433 Beyoğlu/İstanbul

### Taux de change Exchange rate

1 Euro = 4,21 TL

### Indicateur téléphonique de la Turquie

International Dialing Code for Turkey

+90

### Consulat de France French Consulate

İstiklal Caddesi 4, Taksim İstanbul

T: +90 212 334 87 30

### Guide touristique City Tour & Guide

Ali Kibar: +90 532 517 24 17

### Equipe Team

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### Institut du Bosphore Director

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### HAVAS Paris Consultant

Victoria Etter +33158479716

# NOTES

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