



Turkey and Brazil: New Powers in a Transforming Global Order?

Report

A workshop co-sponsored by Fundação Getulio Vargas (FGV)
and Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies (TASAM)

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The workshop “Turkey and Brazil: New Powers in a Transforming Global Order?” organized by Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV) and the Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies (TASAM) took place on the 8th and 9th of March of 2012. The workshop was divided in 7 sessions, with specialists from both countries.

Session 1: Political landscape

In this session Professor **Carlos Pereira** argued that the change in the trend of development and the differences in incomes in Brazil can be understood by monitoring institutions. In Brazil, after the dictatorship and the re-democratization process, there is finally a balance between governability and representation. This gives the country conditions for cooperation among business companies.

Pereira pointed out that apart from political accountability Turkey and Brazil have a number of similarities. Political regimes are not a pre-condition for development, but they represent a change in the societies’ interests. There is a merging of different systems: fragmentation and strong executive. The challenge is the management of coalitions. Apart from that, institutions must be independent, because the higher the political competition, the less corruption there will be.

Talking about Turkey’s political landscape Professor **Ioannis Grigoriadis** began his analysis on emerging global issues, pointing out that there is a change in power. Soft power is becoming more and more significant, which is good for both Brazil and Turkey.

He explained that Turkey is dominated by the AKP (Party of the State), which has however abandoned the *sharia*. The “Turkish model” is represented by economic and political reforms, which are realistic to Middle Eastern societies. There is a growing fear of authoritarianism by the AKP. For this reason, the EU anchor is an important factor. Turkey still needs the West, more than the West needs Turkey. Reforms towards democratization and projection of soft power in the Middle East are being observed. This project leads to more popularity, clearly reflected in the media.

Keynote speaker: Ambassador Ersin Erçin

Following this first session, the Turkish Ambassador in Brazil, **Erçin Ersin**, gave a speech on the rising multipolarity of the world in the face of the Arab Spring, movements like “Occupy Wall Street”, the rise of the BRICS and the challenging of the previous global order and the United States’ hegemony – even if not militarily. There is a new tendency for multilateral action, guided by partnerships among emerging powers, in order to improve governance and distribute global goods.

On Turkey and Brazil, he pointed out that both countries continue to grow despite the crisis, which leads to growing influence. There is substantial trade between the countries, and the importance of this relation was seen during Dilma Rousseff’s visit to the country. Both countries are anchor states in their regions and are politically active on the global sphere - “perfect soul mates”, as he put it. The synergy between both countries was demonstrated on the Teheran Declaration: “we see international matters with a similar eye”, the Ambassador stated.

The President of TASAM, **Suleyman Sensoy**, added that multiple small countries are part of the global order today. The main actors are choosing to use soft power; therefore diplomatic tools such as universities and think tanks are becoming more and more important. This is why FGV-TASAM relations are so important.

Session 2: Foreign and Security policy overview

Chairman **Kadri Gursel** introduced the topic asking about Brazilian and Turkish foreign policy: do these countries have a strong regional profile or a more global one?

Professor **Matias Spektor** argued that Brazil is and is not a regional power. It is when it comes to demographic and economic weight in South America; it is not because Brazil has not been able to project military power just as it does not seem interested in paying the price of regional order. Although it did sponsor most of the integration efforts in the continent, it refused to foster political integration. However, in order to be a global power, one does not necessarily have to be a regional power first (as the history of Great Britain shows us). Even so it is hard for Brazil to legitimate its place in the global order; its argument is purely based on an aristocratic notion of “merit” to be one of the major players.

Ambassador **Murat Bilhan** said that according to the dependency theory, the periphery needs to embrace globalization. As the South develops, it is bound to shake the balance of power – both Brazil and Turkey should keep this in mind. Foreign policy and security policy are shaped by geographic and historical background. Unlike its neighbors, Turkey is a multidimensional country. It lies in the fringes of the Middle East, not in it; it is not only a Middle East-North Africa (MENA) country and, therefore, cannot build its foreign policy only around this. This proximity is both an asset and a liability. However, it could not keep distance in Middle East-North Africa conflicts either. Turkey is a regional power; the question now is whether it is a successful one.

Session 3: Relations with the EU and the US

Professor **Miriam Saraiva** was the first panelist in this session. According to her, being an ally of Brazil is perceived as difficult. In Brazil, American unilateralism is hardly accepted. In order to block and delay the conclusion of negotiations on the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and to build up autonomous behavior to neighboring countries, partnership with the EU played an important role. But when the EU-Mercosur agreement was suspended and China became more important, WTO divergences appeared. Diplomacy, however, continued with close ties to EU countries because of the shared values of multilateralism and democracy.

Brazil increased its sections in WTO and in the UN, and adopted a new profile in South-South cooperation, mainly in Africa and South America. The absence of US policy directed to Latin America since 9/11 left room to Brazil’s evolution as a regional leader.

On the same issue, Professor **Mensur Akgün** said US-Turkey relations are almost perfect: they see eye to eye on Middle Eastern issues. Meanwhile, the Iran-Turkey relationship is changing drastically. However, this might provide basis for cooperation with Iran, not friction.

Between Turkey and the Western World, there are two main causes of disagreement. The first one is the refusal to assume responsibility on the Armenian genocide. The second one is the dispute in Cyprus, which even poses a threat to Turkey's EU candidacy.

Ian Lesser went on to discuss US-Turkey relationship, saying it is based on security issues; they are not natural allies. Is Turkey ever going to become a EU member? If so, it would be a very long and difficult road - it is not likely to happen. But it would be important to US' interests. Economically, Turkey is not an important partner. For the US, Brazil and Turkey are in different planets: Brazil is not about security for the US and the EU; the focus of the debate on Brazil is food, environment and trade. But at the moment Brazil is fashionable and Turkey is not. There is an anxiety about Turkey, but not about Brazil. Brazil is a key pole in reinventing Atlanticism. Multipolarity is the context within which Brazil and Turkey place their relation.

There is a common feature in great powers: anxiety. They want to figure out what will be their position in this multilateral world. He continued saying he thinks that someday the US will support Brazil's bid to UNSC. "Maybe they'll both end up as strategic partners". The US administration admits to have mismanaged the Teheran Declaration situation. The US understood that Brazil had a different perspective, but in the end the Brazil-Turkey "Teheran affair" did not achieve a positive outcome for anyone.

Brazil and Turkey as emerging powers: Ümit Pamir and Luiz Augusto de Castro Neves.

According to Ambassador **Ümit Pamir** the dynamics of the international environment have changed: now there is an indivisibility of peace, security and development. Turkey is in the epicenter of a region of dramatic changes. The Middle East is living an emergence of stable democracies (Arab Spring).

Both Brazil and Turkey went a long way themselves in achieving high standards in democracy. Turkey is cooperating with Brazil at the UNSC and G20, and at the Alliance of Civilizations. Also, there is a partnership between Mercosur and Turkey. These are examples of the reshaping of international power. It is increasingly important to have close relationships with emerging countries.

Ambassador **Luiz Augusto de Castro Neves** talked about the emergence of Brazil. The end of the Cold War transformed International Relations because of the economic emergence of new nations, which hold a growing share of the world's GDP. The UNSC does not reflect power nowadays. China changed the rules of the game; global power is shifting towards Asia. The Teheran deals are a clear manifestation of Brazil's will to participate in international affairs. The argument for interfering is that the prohibition of military nuclear aspirations is not the same as a prohibition of peaceful nuclear aspirations. There is growing concern that the international community wants to dictate who can have access to nuclear technology and who cannot.

Session 4: Energy policy

Georges Landau talked about the next economic cycle, which will be built around petroleum. Brazil has a unique energy matrix, with 26% being of renewable sources. Foreign oil companies have not shown enthusiasm in participating in the institutional framework of the Pre-Salt. The prevision of production is of 5 million barrels a day in 2015. Next year, Brazil will be the 5th largest economy in the world. Its Achilles' heel is a weak legal institutional framework for the management of resources (there are too many legal barriers).

On Turkey, **Oguzhan Kose** explained that energy dependency on Russia is still a big issue. Turkey is a key energy distributor; it is an oil and gas route, but it does not produce enough energy to cover its own needs. Its energy policy is based on making up for this lack of own resources.

Session 5: Society

Nilufer Narli discusses the emergence of the AKPAKP party emerged as the strongest party in almost all of the different constituencies. It is a new era for Turkish politics because of globalization. The emerging elite is holding leading positions and therefore is able to promote its economic liberal ideas and challenge the old military ones.

The political demands of the new center are more democracy and a larger inclusion of civil actors in the national security policy in order to diminish the military political autonomy.

The biggest changes of this new era are in the civil-military relations, in the political culture, in the Turkish foreign policy concepts and in parliamentary representation. The challenge now is to draft a new constitution reconciling the ethnic issue, giving Kurds more political voice. On foreign policy, the pressing issues involve the Middle East, Israel, the EU and the Arab Spring.

Marcelo Neri focused on the changes in the Brazilian society in the last decades. The 1960's and 1970's were marked by inequality and economic boom, while the 1980's are known as a period of re-democratization and instability. The change began with the stabilization of the 1990's, when every child was put in school, but the notorious shift came in the 2000's, with the staggering fall of inequality and the creation of formal jobs. Inequality is falling in Brazil and rising everywhere else. In 8 years, 40 million people joined the middle class and now, 50,5% of the population belongs to this group. The question now is whether this trend is sustainable.

Session 6: Urban Development

Bianca Freire Medeiros presented a specific perspective: the transformation of poor areas into tourist destinations. Favela tours in Rio, Cape Town and Bombay, for instance, are becoming a tourist commodity with important market value. In the international imagination, favelas have become a typical image of Brazil. Through mobile technologies (physical and virtual travels), it is possible to control the risks of visits and to have an opportunity to act helping those in need on these areas.

Hasan Duruer said that, in Turkey, there was significant migration from villages to urban centers. Among reasons for migration are opportunities to receive better education, jobs and a higher quality of life. Shantytowns and even societies that weren't organized and still remain with villages' traditions start to form around the urban cities. The city has difficulty absorbing these populations. New arrivers are farmers with no profession and no tradable skills. Furthermore, Turkey has significant migration from its neighbors, especially from Azerbaijan, Iran and Georgia.

Session 7: Cooperation Among Emerging Economies: Views from Brazil and Turkey

Oliver Stuenkel began by saying that Brazil and Turkey are important allies to structure a new global governance. Their relations have strengthened both politically and economically under Lula. There is cooperation in the energy oil sector and there is cooperation to challenge existing geopolitical paradigms, involving new players to address global challenges more effectively. Ties between Turkey and Brazil were insignificant due to geographical distance, but now trade is four times bigger than in 2000. Their attempt to deal with Iran's nuclear program did not have a positive repercussion on the international community, however it showed that there are other countries willing to assume international leadership. In a context where China is an example for national leaders, it is necessary to show that economic growth can also be achieved while having political freedom.

Sema Kalaycioglu said relationships between countries in Turkey's region are of utter importance. As economic and trade diversification occurs, some of the economies of the Middle East have become producers and exporters of intermediary consumer goods. This trend is slowly transforming these economies into emerging economies. In order to really integrate Turkey and the countries in its region, it is necessary for them to catch up with global trends, restructure public and private institutions, open more to the region and incentivize more private initiatives in and outside the region.

Final Remarks

Aydin Nezir Dogan began his final statement by saying that public diplomacy is not only for diplomats. There is a strong need for cooperation of nongovernmental organizations from Turkey and Brazil. This is the most recent subject that needs to be discussed these days. He hopes this relationship will be a long one and that the issues discussed will be detailed for a long period. People agree better when they share the same emotions, not when they speak the same language.

Mustafa Kabakçi concluded by saying that after the end of the Cold War we have been observing a new world order. We all know Turkey is not very strong in financial capitalism, but there are people in the world who differentiate two types of capitalism: financial and social. Social capitalism is composed of strong democracy and strong rule of law. We have to first empower social capital in our countries by strengthening democracy and the rule of law.

Participants' Biographies

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Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal (Ph.D., Economics, Princeton University) is the President of Fundação Getúlio Vargas since the year 2000. Prof. Simonsen Leal holds a degree in Civil Engineering from the School of Engineering of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), and has a Master's degree in Mathematical Economics from the National Institute of Pure and Applied Maths (IMPA) of the Brazilian National Council for Research. He has a Ph.D. from the School of Graduate Economics of the Fundação Getúlio Vargas (EPGE/FGV), and a Ph.D in Economics from Princeton University, USA. In FGV, he was a professor in EPGE/FGV from 1986 to 1997, Director of FGV-Business from 1992 to 1997, General Director of EPGE from 1994 to 1997, and FGV's Vice-President from September 1997 to August 2000, when he became President. He is also a member of several corporate boards.



Elena Lazarou (Ph.D., International Relations, University of Cambridge) Assistant Professor of International Relations at the Getulio Vargas Foundation University, Rio de Janeiro. She received her PhD in International Studies from the University of Cambridge. She has worked as a post-doctoral researcher at the European Institute, LSE and at the University of Cambridge. Previously, she has been Research Associate at the University of Sheffield and a Visiting Scholar at NYU and at Carleton University. Her interests include the European Union, EU-Brazil Relations, Mass media and Regionalism.



Matias Spektor (Ph.D. in International Relations, University of Oxford) is the Coordinator of the Centre of International Relations – CPDOC/GFV and Professor of International Relations. He is currently a Visiting Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations (Washington DC) and has written extensively on Brazilian Foreign Policy. He is the author of the book “Kissinger and Brazil”. His main interests are in the relationship between international relations theory and history, US-Brazil relations since the end of the Cold War and the history of the emerging powers.



João Marcelo Maia (Ph.D. in Sociology, IUPERJ) is assistant professor at CPDOC/FGV. He currently develops a research funded by CNPQ (National Council of Technological and Scientific Development) regarding "Eastern Luitenants: João Alberto, Brasil Central Foundation and Brazilian spatial imagination", which reflects his interest in the relations between the Brazilian thought, intellectuals and geographic

representations of Brazil. He is also involved on the creation of the Brazilian Studies Laboratory.



Ambassador Luiz Augusto de Castro Neves is Chairman of the Board of Trustees at the Brazilian Center for International Relations (CEBRI). He graduated in Economics from Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) and holds a Master degree in Economics from the University of London. Mr. Castro Neves is a career diplomat since 1968, he served in Embassies in Buenos Aires, London, Ottawa and at the Organization of American States (OAS) in Washington D.C. He was Ambassador of Brazil in Paraguay, China and Japan. He was Professor at the Rio Branco Institute, the University of Brasília and at

the School of Post-Graduate Studies in Economics of Fundação Getulio Vargas. He has also served as Deputy Chief of Economic Affairs from the National Security Council, Executive Secretary for Strategic Affairs of the Presidency and Secretary General of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was the Brazilian National Coordinator of the Rio Group and joined the Itaipu Board of Directors.



Miriam Gomes Saraiva (Ph.D in political science, *Universidad Complutense de Madrid*; post-doctorate, European University Institute) is a professor and researcher for the Rio de Janeiro State University (UERJ) and her main areas of research are Brazilian foreign policy, Mercosur and regional integration, European foreign policy and Brazil – Argentina relations. She is also a professor for the Institute of Social Sciences on the Lisbon University, and collaborator

for the University of Bologna, Buenos Aires representation.



Oliver Stuenkel (Ph.D. in political science, University of Duisburg-Essen) is an Assistant Professor of International Relations at the Getulio Vargas Foundation in São Paulo. His research focuses on rising powers; specifically on Brazil's and India's foreign policy and on their impact on global governance. Dr. Stuenkel's work experience includes teaching assistantships at Harvard University, projects with the United Nations in Brazil, the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) in Fiji, and the Mercosur Secretariat in Uruguay. He was a Visiting

Professor at the University of São Paulo, at the School of International Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) in New Delhi, and a school teacher in rural Rajasthan in India.



Georges Landau (M.P.A and LL.M. in Harvard) has been an adviser to several Brazilian cabinet ministers including the minister for foreign relations. Mr. Landau spent 27 years as an international civil servant, mostly in Washington, D.C., with the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Development Bank, serving as European representative for the latter, based in Paris. Subsequently, he served as a consultant to the United Nations and the World Bank, with assignments in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. He has his own firm, Prismax Consulting, specializing in government relations for foreign companies operating in Brazil. He is a board member of the Foundation for Foreign Trade Studies and the U.S.-Brazil Business Council.



Bianca Freire Medeiros (Ph.D., History and Theory of Art and Architecture, Binghamton University/Suny) is associate professor at CPDOC/FGV. She currently develops projects related to tourism in poor areas, such as the Brazilian favelas. She has also published a book on the construction of the favela as a touristic destination. She teaches sociology theory at CPDOC, and her main areas of research are sociology of tourism, urban sociology and media culture.



Mariana Cavalcanti (Ph.D., Anthropology, University of Chicago) is assistant professor at CPDOC/FGV. Her work is focused on three main areas: urban space, and in particular Rio de Janeiro's *favelas*, the question of memory and ethnography. Her PhD dissertation (2007) was awarded the Illinois Distinguished Dissertation Award. Recently she was awarded the Irmgard Coninx Research Grant by the Eighth Berlin Roundtables on Transnationality - Urban Planet: identities, governance and empowerment in Megacities.



Marcelo Neri (Ph. D in Economics, Princeton University) is the head economist of the Centre for Social Policies/FGV and a professor for the FGV Graduate School of economics (EPGE/FGV). He also worked as a researcher for the IPEA (Institute of Applied Economic Research), and has evaluated public policies of more than 20 countries. Dr. Neri is also a member of the Council for Social and Economic Development, indicated by the Presidency of Brasil. His main areas of expertise are social welfare policies, education, microfinance and micro-econometrics. Currently he works with the emergence of a new middle class in Brazil, and the economy of the social welfare programs. His main areas of research are social welfare, education and micro-econometrics.



Carlos Pereira (Ph.D. in Political Science, New School University – New York) is a professor for the FGV Business School (EBAPE/FGV) and Visiting Fellow in the Foreign Policy and Global Economy and Development programs do Brookings Institution, Washington-DC. He has been a professor at the Department of Political Science of the Michigan State University, and assistant researcher at the Department of Social Sciences at Oswaldo Cruz Foundation. His main areas of research are public policies and governments in comparative perspective, political economy, regulatory policies and political institutions in Latin America.



Ian Lesser is executive director of the German Marshall Fund's Transatlantic Center in Brussels, where he leads GMF's work on the Mediterranean, Turkish, and wider-Atlantic security issues. Prior to joining GMF, Dr. Lesser was a public policy scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and vice president and director of Studies at the Pacific Council on International Policy (the western partner of the Council on Foreign Relations). He was a senior analyst at RAND for over a decade. He was also a member of the Secretary's Policy Planning Staff at the U.S. Department of State, responsible for Turkey, Southern Europe, North Africa, and the multilateral track of the Middle East peace process.

Turkish Participants' Biographies



Süleyman Şensoy Suleyman Sensoy is the President of TASAM. He is also the founder of the "Asya Group", which operates in fields such as publishing, advertising, production and PR, and founder of several national and international networks such as USTKIP (International Development and Cooperation Platform of Nongovernmental Organizations), ISTTP (Platform of Think Tanks of the Member Countries of the OIC), TOD-TURKEY (Think-Tank Organizations' Dialogue of Turkey) and TRNTP (Nuclear Technology Platform of Turkey). Through the years he has coordinated many important projects with The Presidency of The Republic of Turkey and several Turkish ministries.



Dr. Ioannis Grigoriadis Ioannis Grigoriadis is an assistant professor at the Department of Political Science of Bilkent University, and researcher for the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP). He got his masters degree in International Relations and an Advanced Certificate of Middle East Studies from the School of International and Public Affairs, at the Columbia University. He finished his Ph.D in Political Science at the University of London, in Oriental and African Studies. He has worked as associate professor at the Universities of Columbia and Oxford. Dr. Grigoriadis main areas of research are Europe, Middle East and Energy policies, nationalism and democratization. Recently he has published the book *Trials of Europeanization: Turkish Political Culture and the European Union*, (London & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).



Dr. Mensur Akgün Mensur Akgün is director of the *Global Political Trends Center (GPoT)* and former director of the Department for International Relations in the University of Kültür, in Istanbul, where he is still a professor. He got his first degree in International Relations at the Middle East Technical University, in Ankara. Later he graduated in social anthropology, at the Oslo University, in Norway, where he also got his masters degree in political science. He finished his doctoral studies at the Bosphorus University, in Istanbul. In addition to working at the GPoT, between 2002 and 2009 he served as director of the Foreign Policy Program at the *Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV)*, where he is currently a councilor.



Ambassador Murat Bilhan Amb. Murat Bilhan studied Political Science at Ankara University, was Department Manager of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Department of UN and International Organizations, President of the Department of Eastern Europe and Asia, Department Head of the General Directorate of Information. Among other placements, he has served as First Secretary of the Turkish Embassy in Teheran, Consul in Stuttgart, Undersecretary of the Embassies in Moscow and East Berlin and Consul-General in Benghazi. He has also served as Advisor to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Turkish Parliament and Chairman of the Centre for Strategic Research, MFA. He is currently the Vice- President of TASAM, lecturer at Istanbul Culture University and director of the Foreign Policy Platform.



Dr. Nilüfer Narlı Nilufer Narli holds a PhD in Social Sciences with a major in Political Sociology from the School of Comparative Social Sciences, University Sains Malaysia. She is a Full professor of Political Sociology at the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Bahcesehir University. She was Vice Rector of the University until September 2006 and currently chairs the Sociology Department. She was the Founding Dean of the Faculty of Communication at Kadir Has University, and founding chair of the Sociology Department at Marmara University, where she also chaired the Sociology and Anthropology Department of the Middle East Studies Institute. Prof. Narli was granted the Eisenhower Fellowship in 1993. She has taken part in numerous research projects, including “Governance and the Military: Perspectives for Change in Turkey” (coordinated and funded by the Center for European Security Studies (CESS) in Holland) and “Political Islam in Turkey” (funded by the Ford Foundation) which she directed. Her current research topics include “Turkish Cinema and Urbanization,” “Illegal Human Mobility in the Balkans,” and “The EU Harmonization Reforms, Military and Good Governance in Turkey” and Women’s Rights.



Kadri Gürsel (Journalist) Kadri Gürsel's is a journalist who worked on several institutions, including The Sun newspaper, Point magazine and the French news agency France Presse. He has worked as a reporter, editor and as editorial director. In 1995 he was kidnapped by the PKK, the Kurdistan Workers Party. He is currently editorial director of the Turkish newspaper Milliyet and works with international news. He is also a columnist in the same newspaper. Gürsel is working as Vice president of the International Press Institute (IPI)/Turkey.



Ambassador Ahmet Süha Umar Suha Umar studied political science at the Ankara University, and was the Turkish ambassador for Argentina and Austria, and General Consul at Bulgaria. He was also permanent representative of Turkey in NATO and at the OSCE. In 2004 he became General Director for Africa and East Asia Bilateral Political Affairs, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and after that Ambassador for Serbia. He retired in 2010, and now is Board Member and Vice-President of TASAM.



Hasan Selçuk Hasan Selçuk holds a Ph.D. in Social Sciences, Istanbul University. He is currently a professor at the Marmara University, and previously he has been visiting professor in England, Azerbaijan, United States and Georgia. Some of his main publications concern Azerbaijan's Socio-Economic Structure of the New Century - 2005, Turkey - Russia Economic Relations - 2005.



Sema Kalaycıoğlu PH.D in Economics, Istanbul University. Currently is Chair of the department of Economics and Chair of Middle East Studies at Isik University. Her main research areas are international economics, economic development, regional cooperation and integration, political economy of the Middle East and Turkey and sustainable development. She has authored numerous books and articles on regional cooperation and the economy of the Middle East and Turkey. Some of her main publications are: "Protectionism in Foreign Trade and Liberation", "Is EU's Iranian Sanctions "Smart"?", "Sanctions and Iran - Temporary Friendships, Permanent Interests", "Sword Swinging Above Our Heads: Bill relating to genocide and" "What happens if EU loses its effect on Turkey?"



Ambassador Ümit Pamir Ambassador Umit Pamir served in various positions in Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the United Nations, and is currently a member of a Special Group of Experts, selected by the Secretary General of NATO for drafting NATO's New Strategic Concept. He was the Permanent Representative of Turkish Delegation to NATO between 2004 and 2007 and part of the Turkish Mission to the United Nations in New York between 2000 and 2004. He was also Turkey's Ambassador for Greece (1995-1997) and Algeria (1991-1995), and served at the embassies of London and Rome. Between 1997 and 2000, he was Senior Diplomatic Advisor to the Prime Minister. He was the Counselor to Turkish Embassy in Budapest (1983-1985), Turkish Embassy in London (1979), Turkish Permanent Delegation in NATO in Brussels (1978-1978 and 1979-1981), and Turkish Embassy in Rome (1977-1978). He has also served as Chief of Cabinet for the President of the Republic of Turkey in 1977.

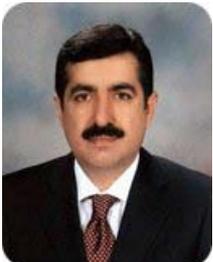


Hasan Duruer Hasan Duruer, who was born in Yozgat in 1959, completed primary and secondary education in Yozgat and graduated from Law Faculty of Istanbul University in 1981. He worked in SSK as attorney after his graduation. Since 1984, he has worked respectively as deputy kaimakam of Balıkesir-Burhaniye, kaimakam of Sivas-Kangal and Diyarbakır-Çelmik, assistant governor of Şanlıurfa, kaimakam of Bursa-Karacabey, Sapanca ve Avcılar, and finally appointed as Governor of Mardin on 19 December 2008. Right now he is Governor deployed at the Ministry of Interior Affairs of Republic of Turkey.



Oğuzhan Köse Oguzhan Kose holds a Master's degree in International Relations and Contemporary Political Theory (University of Westminster). He has been a member of Chatham House. His main area of research is European Studies. He was the editor of the TASAM Strategic Reports of the Workshops on "Economic relations between Turkey and African Countries" and "Cultural Relations between Turkey and African Countries and Communication". Currently he is an assistant specialist in TASAM and vice coordinator for the Office of International Relations, at Yalova University.

Aydin Nezih Doğan Aydin Nezih Dogan has worked as district governor of Akören, Hilvan, Çekerek, was Civil Inspector, Vice Chairman of the Board of Civil Service Inspection, and worked at the General Secretariat of the Ministry of Interior. He has also been a member of the Executive Committee in the General Directorate of PTT(Post, Telegraph & Telephone). He was appointed Governor of Tekirdag in 2005, and governor of Konya in 2009.





Mustafa Kabakçi Mustafa Kabakçi has taught in Turkey and in the Federal Republic of Germany. He holds a degree from the Open Education Faculty, Anadolu University. He is the President of the Konya Chamber of Commerce and Vice-President of the TOBB (Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey). He is the Deputy Chairman of the Board of the Istanbul World Trade Center. Mustafa Kabakçi is also a member of the Turkish Authors Guild and MUSIAD (the Independent Industrialists and Businessmen's Association). Currently, he is also Head of the Tajikistan-Turkey Interparliamentary Friendship Group.



Ambassador Ersin Erçin Ersin Erçin is the Ambassador of Turkey in Brazil since 2009. During his career, he has served in a range of positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ankara, and in diplomatic missions in Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America, such as the Turkish Embassy in Khartoum, Sudan, with the rank of Second Secretary, and in Damascus, Syria, as Counselor. He has also earned multiple assignments to represent Turkey at multilateral and security organizations such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), and the United Nations in New York. Erçin has lectured at universities as well as civilian and military groups on the topics of early warning, crisis management, conflict prevention and resolution, and post-conflict rehabilitation. In 2004, he was selected as Turkey's Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York and later as Minister Counselor for the Ministry's Department of North and South America. Ambassador Erçin is a graduate of the Faculty of Political Science, University of Ankara, with a specialization in international relations and organizations.