



Shifting Dynamics:
**The International Order in
a Post-Pandemic World**

Expert Roundtables

1st - 2nd of December | 2020

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TRT world forum 2020

Expert Roundtables

TRT World Forum 2020 “Shifting Dynamics: The International Order in a Post-Pandemic World” consists of Keynote Speeches, 8 Public Sessions and 8 Expert Roundtables, Reflections with the attendance of leading politicians, experts, regional specialists, policy makers, civil servants, journalists, and artists from various backgrounds. Due to the unprecedented situation facing the world, we have decided to host the Forum in a digital format.

As part of TRT World Forum 2020, Expert Roundtables will be held parallel to the Keynote Speeches and the Public Sessions. The purpose of the Expert Roundtables is to promote in-depth and intellectually engaging discussions based on a range of key international issues including developments in Turkey’s foreign and security policy orientation, critical issues in the Middle East in light of the 10th anniversary of the Arab Spring and Israel’s engagement with Arab states, global health threats, conflicts in Syria, Yemen, Libya, and between Azerbaijan and Armenia, as well as renewed great power competition in Balkans, east Mediterranean and Caucasus. The Expert Roundtables hope to advance a range of possible solutions and approaches to critical political and security issues facing the world today.

The format of the Expert Roundtables was previously based on Chatham House rules, however, due to the unprecedented Covid-19 situation, we have decided to host this year’s Forum digitally and with a different format. Expert Roundtables will include 3-5 speakers and 8-10 invitation only discussants who are field experts, academics, policy makers and journalists. The sessions will run for 90 minutes; each speaker will be allocated 5-8 minutes, followed by 60 minutes of discussion. While the sessions are open to the general Forum audience through a live broadcast on TRT World Forum website, only discussants will be able to ask questions and make comments.

TRT WORLD
FORUM



Day 1

Expert

Roundtables

Day1 Session 1

Expert Roundtables

The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and Israel's Engagement with Arab States

In August, US President Donald Trump announced an agreement between the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Israel to fully normalise relations in exchange for Israel's suspension of plans to annex the occupied West Bank. This "normalisation deal" expanded to include Bahrain, with many expecting other Arab and Muslim-majority countries to eventually follow suit. While it has been hailed as a "historic diplomatic breakthrough" by the signing parties, the Palestinian leadership denounced the deal, calling it a "betrayal" of the Palestinian cause.

For years, the fundamental baseline of Arab states towards any potential normalisation with Israel had been conditioned on Israel's withdrawal from the territories it occupied after the 1967 war and its acceptance of an independent Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital. However, with this agreement, this position has been effectively abandoned. Israel has been shown that ending the occupation of Palestinian territory is no longer a pre-requisite for forging relations with Arab states. This session will focus on the politics surrounding the 'Abraham Accords' and its potential impact on the region.

Discussion Themes

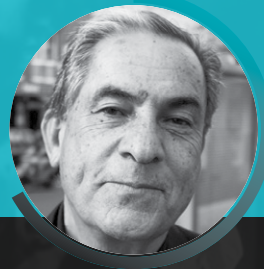
- Where does the normalisation deal leave Israel in a changing geopolitical environment? How does Israel benefit?
- If the deal with the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain demonstrates that Israel does not need to settle the conflict with Palestinians to improve relations with Arab states, where does this leave the Israeli-Palestinian peace process and the two-state solution?
- With a dysfunctional, divided leadership what are the options available to Palestinians in the face of the normalisation deal?
- Can or will any future U.S President reverse Trump-era policies with regards to the Israeli- Palestinian conflict?



Marwan Muasher
*Former Deputy Prime Minister
of Jordan*

Marwan Muasher is Vice President for studies at the Carnegie Endowment, where he oversees the Endowment's research in Washington and Beirut on the Middle East. Muasher served as Foreign Minister (2002–2004) and Deputy Prime Minister (2004–2005) of Jordan. He was also a senior fellow at Yale University as well as Senior Vice President of External Affairs at the World Bank from 2007 to 2010.

He is the author of *The Arab Center: The Promise of Moderation* and *The Second Arab Awakening and the Battle for Pluralism*. He is a member of the American University of Beirut Board of Trustees, the Global Centre for Pluralism Board of Directors, and the Asfari Foundation Board of Trustees.



Gideon Levy
Journalist, Haaretz

Gideon Levy is an Israeli journalist and author. Levy writes opinion pieces and a weekly column for the newspaper Haaretz that often focus on the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories. Levy has won prizes for his articles on human rights in the Israeli-occupied territories.



Ahmad Azem
*Head of the Strategic Affairs
Unit, the Prime Minister's
Office, State of Palestine*

Ahmad Jamil Azem is a member of the PLO's Palestinian Central Council. He is the Head of the Strategic Affairs Unit in the Palestinian Prime Minister's Office and an assistant Professor of Political Science in Birzeit University. Holds a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Edinburgh. He was also a senior fellow at the School of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Cambridge. Previously, he worked for about ten years at the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research in Abu Dhabi. Has authored and co-authored around 20 books and research papers. For 15 years, Azem was a columnist in several newspapers.

Discussants

Ayşe Sözen Usluer - Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to the Sultanate of Oman & Former Head of International Relations Turkey's Presidency

Berdal Aral - Professor, Istanbul Medeniyet University

Diana Buttu - Palestinian Human Rights Lawyer

Azzam Tamimi - British-Palestinian Academic and Political Activist

Mouin Rabbani - Co-Editor, *Jadaliyya*

Neri Zilber - Journalist & Adjunct Fellow of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy

Ian Black - Visiting Senior Fellow, LSE

Alaa Tartir - Program Advisor, Al-Shabaka: The Palestinian Policy Network

Hugh Lovatt - Policy Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations

Mustafa Fatih Yavuz - Jerusalem Correspondent, TRT World

Day 1 Session 2

Expert Roundtables

War and Peace: The Fate of the Azerbaijan-Armenia Conflict

The recent military clashes in the occupied region of Nagorno-Karabakh have increased regional tensions and raised the possibility of a full-scale war. The ceasefire agreement signed almost three decades ago and the mediation process led by the OSCE Minsk Group has failed to deliver sustainable peace. The Armenian attack against Azerbaijan's Tovuz province in mid-July 2020 and the Azerbaijani response that came at the end of September have broken the status quo.

The conflict has not only drawn in regional powers such as Turkey, Russia, and Iran, but also international players including the United States, France, and Israel.

However, Ankara and Moscow remain the main players and most-likely mediators of the conflict. The ongoing occupation of Nagorno-Karabakh has put regional peace and European energy security under threat. The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict will remain a regional powder keg so long as the stalemate continues, and the international community lacks the will to advance a viable solution. In this context, this session will focus on the roots of the conflict and whether or not a peaceful and viable solution to the conflict is possible.

Discussion Themes

- What are the main obstacles today standing in front of a sustainable peace agreement?
- How did we end up here? What are the possible motives behind the 27 September attack?
- What have been the results of Turkish-Azerbaijani military cooperation? Can we consider joint military exercises as a preparation for a full-scale war in Karabakh?
- How did the ceasefire affect the Nagorno-Karabakh fate in the last three decades?
- How should the international community deal with the occupation and the Armenian aggression?
- What is the role of international military organisations such as CSTO and NATO in the conflict?
- Why did the UN and the OSCE fail to implement resolutions that could solve the conflict?
- Will Russia's influence over Armenia end if Yerevan agrees on withdrawal from the occupied region and develop better relations with Baku?



Hikmet Hajiyev

Head of Foreign Policy Affairs, Department of the Presidential Administration & Assistant of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan

Since November 2019, Hikmet Hajiyev has been Assistant to the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan and Head of the Department of Foreign Policy Affairs of the Presidential Administration of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Since 2000, he has been working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 2003 he was posted to the Azerbaijani mission to NATO. Between 2008 and 2009 he served at the UN and with the International Security Department of the Foreign Ministry. In 2009 he was posted to the Embassy of Azerbaijan in Kuwait and in 2010 was transferred to the Embassy of Azerbaijan in Egypt.

Hikmet Hajiyev graduated from Baku State University's international relations and international law department with a bachelor's and master's degree. He continued his education at the NATO Defence College and Université Libre de Bruxelles.



Sergei Markedonov

Leading Researcher, MGIMO University; Editor-in-Chief of the Journal of International Analytics, Russia

Sergey Markedonov is a researcher at the Institute of International Studies at MGIMO-University and an expert at the Russian International Affairs Council and Gorchakov Public Diplomacy Fund. Prior to these roles, Markedonov was an associate professor at the Russian State University for the Humanities, a visiting fellow in the Center for Strategic and International Studies' Russia and Eurasia Program, Head of the Interethnic Relations Group, and Deputy Director at the Institute for Political and Military Analysis in Moscow. In 2015, Markedonov worked as a visiting fellow in the Russia and Central Asia Program at Fudan University, Shanghai, China. In 2016, he was a visiting lecturer in both the Center of Central Eurasian Studies at the University of Mumbai, India and the German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin. He is also the author of several books and reports.



Laurence Broers

Director of the Caucasus Programme, Conciliation Resources & Associate Fellow, Russia and Eurasia Programme, Chatham House

Laurence Broers is the Caucasus programme director at London-based peacebuilding organisation Conciliation Resources. He has more than 20 years of experience as a researcher of conflicts in the South Caucasus and practitioner of peacebuilding initiatives in the region. He also serves as an associate fellow at the Russia and Eurasia Programme at Chatham House and is the author of *Armenia and Azerbaijan: Anatomy of a Rivalry* (Edinburgh University Press, 2019).



Farid Shafiyev

Chairman of the Center of Analysis of International Relations & Adjunct Lecturer at ADA University, Azerbaijan

Dr. Shafiyev is the Chairman of the Baku-based Center for Analysis of International Relations. His career began at the Azerbaijani National Academy of Sciences in the Institute of Ethnography and Archaeology. In 1996, Dr. Shafiyev joined the Foreign Service where he worked in the Political-Military Issues and the United Nations Affairs Divisions. Dr. Shafiyev has also served in the Permanent Mission of Azerbaijan to the UN. He was appointed Ambassador to Canada in 2009 and then Ambassador to the Czech Republic in 2014.

Dr. Shafiyev is the author of numerous publications, including *Resettling the Borderlands: State Relocations and Ethnic Conflict in the South Caucasus*. Dr. Shafiyev was educated at Baku State University. He has a Master's in Public Administration from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and a PhD in History from Carleton University.

Discussants

Asaf Hajiyev - Secretary General, Parliamentary Assembly of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation

Nigar Arpadarai - Member of Parliament of the Republic of Azerbaijan

Stanislav Pritchkin - Expert, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences

Fuad Chiragov - Center of Analysis of International Relations, Azerbaijan

Luke Coffey - Director of the Foreign Policy Center, The Heritage Foundation

Alex Vatanka - Director of the Iran Programme, Middle East Institute

Cavid Veliyev - Head of Department of Center for Analysis of International Relations, Baku

Yaşar Sarı - Professor, Abant İzzet Baysal University

Emre Erşen - Associate Professor, Marmara University

Murat Yeşiltaş - Associate Professor, Ankara Social Sciences University & Director of Security Studies, SETA Foundation

Day 1 Session 3

Expert Roundtables

War and Disease: Living with Covid-19 in Syria and Yemen

In war-ravaged Syria, already grappling with an economy in tatters, persistent instability and a conflict that, as of yet, has shown no signs at moving towards a viable solution, the Covid-19 pandemic has pushed what remains of the country's healthcare infrastructure to the brink. After nearly a decade of war, Syria's healthcare infrastructure has been largely destroyed and the facilities that have remained operational lack equipment, staff and medicine.

Yemen, already the world's worst humanitarian crisis according to the UN with approximately 80 per cent of the population requiring humanitarian aid and half on the brink of starvation is at a high risk of devastation from the Covid-19 pandemic. Under the worst-case scenario, according to the UN, the potential

death toll from Covid-19 is could exceed the total number of people killed as a result of war, disease and hunger over the last five years of conflict.

Although the true scale of the Covid-19 crisis in these countries remains unknown, both require significant international assistance to manage the pandemic. If left to fend for themselves, the number of cases could grow exponentially, resulting in both Syria's and Yemen's remaining healthcare facilities being overwhelmed. Adding to the difficulties, ongoing conflicts in both countries mean that pandemic mitigation strategies, such as lockdowns, are difficult to enforce and could result in the snuffing out what little economic opportunity remains for people already living in a fragile humanitarian situation.

Discussion Themes

- How do conflict dynamics/ warring parties play into the efforts to tackle the challenges brought by the pandemic?
- With the coronavirus exacerbating an already difficult situation, what are the prospects for putting an end to the conflicts in both countries?
- How might the global ramifications of the pandemic affect the flow of international aid to Syria and Yemen?
- What are the likely long-term socioeconomic effects of the pandemic in these conflict zones? How can the most negative consequences be mitigated or even prevented?



Nasr Al-Hariri

President of the National Coalition of Syrian Revolution and Opposition Forces

Dr. Nasr Al-Hariri is the President of the Syrian National Coalition of the Syrian Revolution and Opposition Forces. He has a degree in medicine from the University of Damascus, a MA in internal and cardiac diseases, and an Arabic BOARD degree in internal diseases. Dr. Al-Hariri's was previously head physician at Assad University Hospital and Dara'a National Hospital; Medical Director of Saudi clinics in Al-Zaatari refugee camp; and Director of the Regional Office of the Syrian Medical Commission.

Dr. Al-Hariri has also worked in a political capacity. He was head of the Syrian Negotiations Commission; head of the consultative delegation of the Syrian Negotiations Commission; and the SOC's Secretary-General. Dr. Al-Hariri is the Co-founder of the National Forum for Democratic Dialogue in Jordan, the Syrian Medical Committee in Jordan, and the Local Committees in Dara'a city. He was also the Head of the Free Association of Doctors and Pharmacists and Founder of the Free Doctors Syndicate.



Abdulghani Al-Iryani

Senior Researcher, Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies Justice

Abdul-Ghani Al-Iryani, Senior Researcher at the Sanaa Center for Strategic Studies, is a political and development consultant. He has done research on constitutional reform, anti-corruption, governance, government capacity, state building and conflict management and resolution, as well as social and economic development. He consulted a number of international organisations, including UN Agencies, the World Bank, DFID, GIZ, USAID and AUSAID. His most recent work was consulting for the UNDP, OSESGY and the World Bank on issues related to the conflict in Yemen. His volunteer work includes the co-founding of TAWQ, a democracy advocacy group for which he also serves as president. He also serves on the Advisory Board of Human Rights Watch for the MENA Region.



Nadwa Dawsari

Non-Resident Fellow, Middle East Institute

Nadwa Al-Dawsari is a non-resident fellow at the Middle East Institute. She was the Yemen Country Director for the Center for Civilians in Conflict, a Senior Non-resident Fellow at the Project on Middle East Democracy, and a founding Director of Partners Yemen. Earlier in her career, she worked as a senior program manager at the National Democratic Institute in Yemen. She has 20 years of field experience in Yemen where she worked with tribes, civil society, security actors, and non-state armed groups. She has conducted extensive research providing deeper insights into the internal dynamics of the conflict in the country.

Discussants

Salman Shaikh - CEO, The Shaikh Group

Özden Zeynep Oktav - Professor, Istanbul Medeniyet University

Baraa Shiban - Yemeni Human Rights Activist, Researcher, Reprieve Organization, UK

Richard Brennan - Regional Emergency Director, World Health Organization

Kristian Brakel - Henrich Böll Stiftung, Country Director Turkey

Ibrahim Olabi - Barrister, Guernica 37 International Justice Chambers, UK

Obaida Hitto - Correspondent, TRT World

Ömer Özkızılıçık - Researcher, SETA Foundation

Day 1 Session 4

Expert Roundtables

The Disillusion of the American Dream: Covid-19 and the Politics of Healthcare

The Covid-19 pandemic has exposed the fragilities of health care systems across the world. This has particularly been the case in a number of wealthy Western countries including France, Italy Spain, and the United States, one of the hardest hit countries in the world. While many of these countries were believed to have some of the best healthcare infrastructure in the world, scenes of overflowing Intensive Care Units (ICUs), lack of vital equipment and morbid images of refrigeration trucks being used as temporary morgues have cast doubt on the capabilities of the healthcare systems in some of the world's wealthiest countries. In the US, although the healthcare system is funded by a mixture of public and private resources, it is much more reliant on for-profit private enterprise than other industrialised countries. In 2018, it was estimated that 30.4

million Americans were uninsured, and a December 2019 Gallup poll found that 25% of Americans say they or a family member have delayed medical treatment due to high costs.

As seen through the course of the Covid-19 pandemic in the US, in addition to the issues around healthcare accessibility and availability, public health officials have had to contend with a highly politicised and polarised environment surrounding the country's pandemic management. As the US continues to be one of the worst-hit countries in the world, the failings and vulnerabilities of the healthcare system have been exposed, leading to an increased questioning of the prevailing wisdom around healthcare in the US.

Discussion Themes

- With approximately one-quarter of Americans either uninsured or underinsured, how has the relative lack of health insurance coverage in the US contributed to the Covid-19 situation in the country?
- How has supply and demand logic impacted national health care strategy in the US and the availability of health care professionals and acute care beds?
- Why does the US not have a universal healthcare system in place? Has the potential for the development of universal health coverage increased because of Covid-19?
- How will the global economic downturn affect the ability of governments to manage the public health impact of the virus, particularly in the US?
- The socio-economic consequences of the pandemic are likely to increase the continuum of vulnerability across the world, how might this play out in the US?

Chair Taha Meli Arvas *Vice Chairman, Capital Market Boards of Turkey*



Richard Falk

Professor Emeritus of International Law, Princeton University

Richard Falk is Albert G. Milbank Professor Emeritus of International Law at Princeton University and Chair of Global Law at Queen Mary University London. Falk is the former UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights in Occupied Palestine (2008-2014). His book, (Re) Imagining Humane Global Governance (2014), proposes a value-oriented assessment of the world order and future trends. His most recent books include Power Shift (2016); Revisiting the Vietnam War (2017); On Nuclear Weapons: Denuclearization, Demilitarization and Disarmament (2019). Since 2009, Falk has been nominated annually for the Nobel Peace Prize.



Blair Sheppard

Global Leader, Strategy and Leadership for the PwC network

Blair Sheppard joined PwC in 2012 as Global Leader for Strategy and Leadership. He is also Professor Emeritus and Dean Emeritus of Duke University's Fuqua School of Business.

Blair spent the majority of his career as a Professor at the Fuqua School of Business. He has served as Associate Dean for Executive Education, Senior Associate Dean, and Dean. He is also the founding CEO and Chairman of Duke Corporate Education.

Blair has advised more than 100 companies and governments and has published more than 50 books and articles. His most recent publications include "Adapting to a New World" and "The Urgent Need for Sophisticated Leadership". His latest book Ten Years to Midnight was also published this year.



Halit Yerebakan

Associate Professor, Yeditepe University Speciality Hospital, Cardiovascular Surgery

Dr. Yerebakan is Associate Professor and Medical Director of Cardiac Surgery at Yeditepe University Hospital. He has authored over 100 publications and writes a nationally distributed newspaper column for the Turkish daily Sabah. Currently, Dr. Yerebakan hosts the "Rhythm Of Life" health show, which has over 250 published episodes. Dr. Yerebakan received his medical degree from Istanbul Science University and obtained a joint cardiovascular surgery specialist degree from the Yeditepe University and Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons School of Medicine. In addition to belonging to most major professional societies for heart surgeons, Dr. Yerebakan has been a board member on the Turkish Green Crescent Society and Health Politics Council of the Ministry of Health. He also works as a quality improvement director and ethical board member for Yeditepe University Hospitals.



Kılıç Buğra Kanat

Assistant Professor, University of Pennsylvania & Research Director, SETA Washington DC

Kılıç Buğra Kanat is the Research Director at the SETA Foundation, Washington, DC. He is also a Professor of Political Science at Penn State University, Erie, Pennsylvania. Kılıç Buğra Kanat was awarded the Outstanding Research Award and Council of Fellows Faculty Research Award at Penn State. He is the author of 'A Tale of Four Augusts: Obama's Syria Policy' (2015). He is co-editor of the edited volumes 'History, Politics and Foreign Policy in Turkey' (2011) and is a columnist.

Discussants

Derya Unutmaz - Immunologist Professor, Jackson Laboratory, USA

Bill Rodgers

(William M. Rodgers III) - Professor & Chief Economist, the Heldrich Center

Richard Sakwa - Professor, University of Kent

Rajesh Sampath - Associate Professor, Brandeis University

Gürol Baba - Associate Professor, Ankara Social Sciences University

Şirin Duygulu Elcim - Assistant Professor, Medipol University

Kaan Kutlu Ataç - Assistant Professor, Mersin University

Talha Köse - Associate Professor, Ibn Haldun University

David Alexander Walcott - Medical Doctor, World Economic Forum

Sermet Can - Director, Oxford Biomedical Research

WELCOME



TRT WORLD
FORUM



Day 2

Expert

Roundtables

Day 2 Session 1

Expert Roundtables

Energy and Security in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Libyan Conflict

The Eastern Mediterranean's hydrocarbon reserves could transform the region into one of the world's most important sources of natural gas over the coming decades. These vast deposits of natural gas have the potential to see billions of dollars deposited into the treasuries of regional states. As a result, tensions are rising in the Eastern Mediterranean and the potential for conflict has increased as new alliances and partnerships are forged. As it stands today, stability in the Eastern Mediterranean is being undermined by states who have chosen to adopt an aggressive foreign policy stance in the region. Greece, the Greek Cypriot administration, Egypt and Israel have sought to isolate Turkey. To avert such a scenario, in November 2019, Turkey and Libya's UN-backed Government of

National Accord (GNA) signed an agreement on maritime boundaries, enabling both Turkey and Libya to preserve their rights and interests in the Eastern Mediterranean. Over the past few months, there has been significant change on the ground in Libya. The GNA, with considerable help from Turkey, has broken the siege of Tripoli by warlord Khalifa Haftar and his self-declared Libyan National Army (LNA), backed by the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, Russia and France. Recently, the UN-backed government and the rival Tobruk based parliament (HoR) in eastern Libya agreed on a ceasefire to create a space for a return to the political process. The Ceasefire call is a significant step; however, significant obstacles remain.

Discussion Themes

- What is behind rising tensions in Eastern Mediterranean?
- Is it possible to avoid armed conflict in the region?
- How credible is the EU with regard to the Eastern Mediterranean dispute?
- Is the Turkish and Libyan Maritime deal a game changer in the Eastern Mediterranean?
- What are the prospects for a political solution in the Eastern Mediterranean?
- Will the latest call for a truce bring political settlement to Libya?



Egemen Bağış

*Turkish Ambassador to Prague,
Former Minister of EU Affairs and
Chief Negotiator*

Egemen Bağış was elected to Parliament for his third term and served as founder and Turkey's very first Minister of European Union Affairs and the Chief Negotiator in the new government established following the general elections in June 2011. In this period, he was responsible of executing Turkey's full membership negotiations with the European Union. He currently serves as Chairman of Occidental Studies Centre & Western Platform at the Istanbul Aydın University where he teaches courses to graduate students. He is also a founding member of the Board of Trustees at the International Cyprus Aydın University which is in establishment process in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.



Mustafa Abushagur

Former Deputy Prime Minister of Libya

Dr. Mustafa A.G. Abushagur has been a member of the Libyan House of Representatives since 2014. He served as the First Deputy Prime Minister of Libya from November 2011 to November 2012. He is the founder and Chairman of the Libyan Policy Institute, a think tank based in Tripoli, Libya. Over the last thirty years, Dr. Abushagur has held academic positions ranging from professor to university president of RIT Dubai University and was a co-founder of two startups. He is currently a professor at the Rochester Institute of Taphonomy.

Dr. Abushagur holds a B.Sc. degree from the University of Tripoli and M.Sc. and Ph.D. degrees from the California Institute of Technology all in the field of electrical engineering. He has published more than hundred papers and holds several patents.



Peter Millett

*Former High Commissioner of UK to
Cyprus and Ambassador to Libya and
Jordan*

Peter Millett is a retired British diplomat who served as British Ambassador to Libya from June of 2015 to January of 2018. During that time, he played a key role in supporting the UN's efforts to negotiate and implement the Libya Political Agreement. Mr Millett built relationships with key political, security, and economic players in both Libya and throughout the international community. He also managed the return of the British Embassy from Tunis to Tripoli.

Before Libya, Mr Millett was British Ambassador to Jordan from 2011 to 2015 and High Commissioner to Cyprus from 2015 to 2010. He has also served diplomatic postings in Venezuela, Qatar, Brussels, and Athens.



Nikolaus Meyer-Landrut

*Delegation of the European Union to
Turkey*

Nikolaus Meyer-Landrut (Germany, 1960) is the EU Ambassador and Head of the European Union Delegation to Turkey. From 2015 to 2020, Ambassador Meyer-Landrut served as the German Ambassador to France and Monaco. Prior he was Director General for European Affairs at the Federal Chancellery, Head of the EU Policy Division at the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany and Spokesperson of the President of the European Convention. Ambassador Meyer-Landrut studied History and German philology and joined the German foreign office in 1987.

Discussants

Emadeddin Badi - Advisor for Libya, the Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance (DCAF) & Non-resident Senior Fellow, the Middle East Program, the Atlantic Council

Valeria Talbot - Senior Research Fellow and Co-Head of the Middle East and North Africa Centre, ISPI

Sami Hamdi - Editor in Chief, International Interest

Neil Quilliam - Director, Azure Strategy & Associate Fellow, Middle East and North Africa Programme, Chatham House

George N. Tzogopoulos - Senior Research Fellow, CIFE France & Visiting Lecturer, the European Institute

Tarek Megerisi - Policy Fellow, ECFR

Gürkan Kumbaroğlu - Professor, Boğaziçi University & President of Turkish Association of Energy Economics, TRAE

Hakan Berument - Director of Energy Research, the Center for Middle Eastern Studies & Professor of Economics, Bilkent University

Erol Kaymak - Professor, Political Science and International Relations, EMU

Day 2 Session 2

Expert Roundtables

Great Power Competition in the Balkans

The world is once again entering into a strategic environment defined by multipolarity. China and Russia's rise as global actors and the growing rift between the United States and Europe indicate that the future of international politics will be marked, once again, by competition between great powers. With its strategic geopolitical location, the Balkans has become one of the key sites of this growing competition. Although the contest for influence in the Balkans has been traditionally pursued by Europe and Russia, the United States and China are also raising their visibility in the region.

NATO enlargement in the region, President Trump's latest attempt to solve the Serbia-Kosovo dispute and Beijing's assertive economic programmes as part of the much-disputed Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) show the extent of these relatively new actor's interest in the region. This session aims to present an assessment of the current state of great power competition in the Balkans and its implications for regional states.

Discussion Themes

- Do the United States and the European Union have the same agenda in the Balkans?
- How does Russia shape and enact its foreign policy towards the Balkans? What tools does it use?
- How can China translate its growing economic influence in the Balkans to political influence? Where is the region situated vis-à-vis China's competition with the West?
- Has recent NATO enlargement in the Balkans contributed to peace and stability in the region?
- What are the barriers to Balkan countries' membership in the European Union? Does the issue lay in Brussels or is it to be found in systematic issues in the Balkan countries themselves?
- How do the NATO and EU membership processes of Balkan countries affect the domestic and foreign policies of regional states?
- Can renewed great power competition be translated into an advantage for Balkan states?
- How might great power competition impact the often-volatile peace within and between Balkan societies?



Ivo Josipović

Former President of Croatia

Ivo Josipović served as the President of Croatia from 2010 to 2015. As a politician, he promoted reconciliation in SE Europe, human rights and the fight against corruption. Before and after his presidential mandate, he has worked as a university law professor and composer. He has published several books and 85 academic papers dealing with international criminal law, criminal procedure and human rights. As a composer, Josipovic has composed some 60 compositions performed and recorded by prominent artists. He has received prestigious domestic and international awards such as the European Medal of Tolerance from the European Union and Premio Galileo 2000 Award for art.



Vesko Garčević

Former Ambassador of Montenegro to NATO and OSCE & Professor, Boston University

Ambassador Vesko Garčević is a Professor of the Practice of Diplomacy and International Relations at the Frederick S. Pardee School of Global Studies at Boston University. Mr Garčević worked as both General Director for NATO and Security Policy in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Montenegro and National Coordinator for NATO. He also served as Ambassador to NATO, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. Mr Garčević was also the first Montenegrin Ambassador to Austria and the OSCE. Mr Garčević has published op-eds in numerous European and American publications and co-authored several policy reports about the Balkans and Montenegro. He has also testified before the US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the European Parliament on Russia's interference in Balkan affairs.



Márton Ugródsy

Director of the Institute for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Hungary

Márton Ugródsy is the Director of the Institute for Foreign Affairs and Trade in Budapest. His research interests cover transatlantic issues, energy security, and US foreign policy in Central and Eastern Europe. He has served as the director of IFAT since 2018. Before joining the Institute, Márton worked as the Editor-in-Chief and head of the American column of Kitekintő.hu. Márton is a graduate of Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, where he received the prestigious Republican Scholarship for academic excellence twice during his studies. Márton is a part-time assistant lecturer at Corvinus University of Budapest. He is also an alumnus of the Hungarian-American Enterprise Scholarship Fund, through which he was able to work for the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC.



Emir Suljagić

Academic, International University of Sarajevo & Director of the Srebrenica Memorial Centre

Dr. Emir Suljagić is the director of the Srebrenica Memorial Centre. He survived the Srebrenica genocide in July, 1995 while working as a United Nations interpreter. He defended his doctoral dissertation "Ethnic Cleansing: Politics, Policy, Violence – Serb Ethnic Cleansing Campaign in former Yugoslavia" at the International University of Hamburg. Dr. Suljagić currently teaches international relations at the International University of Sarajevo. He is also the author of two books: "Ethnic Cleansing: Politics, Policy, Violence – Serb Ethnic Cleansing Campaign in former Yugoslavia" and "Postcards from the Grave".

Discussants

Yue Xiaoyong - Former Ambassador of Qatar, Jordan and Ireland of China

Leon Malazogu - Former Executive Director of the Democracy for Development Institute & Former Ambassador of the Republic of Kosovo to Japan

Ekaterina Entina - Professor & Deputy Vice Rector, HSE University, Russia

Hamza Karcic - Professor, University of Sarajevo

Birgül Demirtaş - Professor, Turkish-German University

Vsevolod Samokhvalov - Adjunct Professor, Vesailus College, Brussels

Zuhail Mert Uzuner - Associate Professor, Marmara University

Mehmet Uğur Ekinci - Researcher, SETA Foundation

Day 2 Session 3

Expert Roundtables

The Future of the Arab World: 10 years after the Arab Spring

As the Middle East approaches 10 years since the uprisings that marked the start of the Arab Spring, the tumultuous decade has left many unanswered questions as to the future of Arab states and societies. Beyond the headline-grabbing uprisings of 2011 which saw protests spread across the region in what many observers and political actors alike interpreted as a broad outcry for political change across Arab societies, the complexities of the grievances and struggles of today's citizens of Arab states, although largely unchanged from a decade ago, are better seen for their connection with day-to-day life.

With the exception of Tunisia, none of the countries that experienced sustained uprisings against authoritarianism were able to establish electoral democracies while keeping their countries intact. Moreover, increasing pauperisation, lack of

opportunity for Arab youth, the perennial issue of corruption, social mobility and change, and the issue of political legitimacy all have great potential to negatively impact the region's future if not properly dealt with. Given all of this, the foundation needed to build a better future appears to be increasingly shaky.

Although the situation varies from state to state and while hope for a more prosperous and inclusive decade to come remains, many observers and experts have increasingly come to consensus on one key point: that given the balance of power, the objectives of the Arab Spring were bound to encounter significant and perhaps insurmountable obstacles. This session will discuss the future of the Arab world in the context of the legacy the uprisings that shook the region almost a decade ago.

Discussion Themes

- What are the major issues facing Arab states and societies today? Have these issues and concerns changed since 2011? How does the near-term legacy of the Arab Spring factor into the main issues we see today?
- Was the emergence of a notion of popular rule in several Arab states following the 2011 protests merely a "mirage" or a "false dawn" as some observers have argued? Was the popular anger on display truly a transformative moment for the idea of political self-determination? Furthermore, given the counter-revolutionary push, what is the future of political opposition movements in the region?
- Why did Arab Spring produce so few democracies? Were external or internal factors more responsible for this failure?
- What lessons from 2011 have popular movements in Lebanon, Algeria and Sudan incorporated into their respective approaches? Can these be considered as a 'second-wave' of the Arab Spring or are they independent of the drivers of the uprisings in 2011?
- What are the international ramifications of the Arab Spring's failure? Has this process strengthened or weakened the position of the United States, France, Russia, Iran, Turkey, and the United Kingdom in the Arab world?



Mokhtar Lamani

Former Ambassador of OIC to UN

Mr. Mokhtar Lamani is a member of the Immigration and Refugees Board, a Senior Fellow at the Bill Graham Center, and a distinguished fellow of the Canadian International Council. He was the Head of the Office of the UN League of Arab States and Joint Special Representative for Syria in Damascus from 2012 to 2014.

Prior to that, Mr. Lamani worked as a senior visiting fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation in Canada and as Ambassador Special Representative of the Arab League in Iraq. He also served as Ambassador of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation to the UN from 1998 to 2004.

Mr. Lamani has held a number of positions within the General Secretariat of the Arab League, including Deputy Permanent Observer to the UN, Officer in Charge of the Iraq-Kuwait dispute, Coordinator of Secretariat Reform, and Coordinator of the Euro-Arab Dialogue and Afro-Arab Cooperation.



Said Ferjani

MP, Tunisia & Senior Official of Ennahda Party

Said Ferjani is a member of Ennahda's political executive and has played a significant role in the party since his return to Tunisia in 2011. As a political activist and early member of Ennahda, Mr. Ferjani was arrested, imprisoned and tortured by the Ben Ali regime. After his release, he succeeded in making his way to London where he received political asylum and remained until the 2011 revolution. More recently, he served as an adviser to the Ministry of Justice under the troika government and member of the Ennahda Shura council. He is currently a member of the Tunisian Parliament, where he serves on the foreign relations committee.



Shadi Hamid

Senior Fellow, Brookings Institute

Dr. Shadi Hamid is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, contributing writer at The Atlantic, and co-host of the Wisdom of Crowds podcast. He is the author of *Islamic Exceptionalism: How the Struggle Over Islam is Reshaping the World*, which was shortlisted for the 2017 Lionel Gelber Prize for best book on foreign affairs, and co-editor of *Rethinking Political Islam*. His first book *Temptations of Power: Islamists and Illiberal Democracy in a New Middle East* was named a Foreign Affairs Best Book of 2014. Hamid was named one of the world's top 50 thinkers by Prospect magazine in 2019. He received his B.S. and M.A. from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and his Ph.D. in political science from Oxford University.



Jamal Elshayyal

Senior Correspondent, Al Jazeera

Jamal Elshayyal is an international award winning senior correspondent for Al Jazeera English, he joined the channel in 2006 as part of its launch team and served as its first Middle East Editor. He covered a number of major stories including the 2011 uprisings in Egypt, Libya, Syria and Yemen. Some of his exclusive reports include uncovering secret documents from inside Gaddafi's intelligence HQ and uncovering torture and human rights abuses inside Egyptian prisons. Jamal was Al Jazeera's main reporter during the 2013 coup in Egypt, the 2014 coup in Yemen and the 2016 failed coup attempt in Turkey. He has interviewed several world leaders including Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Maathir Muhammad, Fayed al-Sarraj, Anwar Ibrahim, Khaled Meshaal, Joyce Banda, Salva Kir, Jeremy Corbyn and many others. Jamal has extensive access to major power players in the GCC and the MENA region.

Discussants

Madawi Al-Rasheed - Visiting Professor, LSE Middle East Centre

Maha Azzam - Head of the Egyptian Revolutionary Council

Ammar Kahf - Executive Director of Omran for Strategic Studies & Board Member of the Syrian Forum

Yasin Aktay - Advisor to the Chairman of the AK Party & Professor, Yildirim Beyazit University

Ahmet Uysal - Director of Middle Eastern Studies Center (ORSAM) & Professor, Istanbul University

Iyad El Baghdadi - President of Kawaakibi Foundation

Radwan Masmoudi, PhD - President of the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy, Washington D.C.

Elizabeth Nugent - Assistant Professor, Yale University

Courtney Freer - Assistant Professorial Research Fellow, LSE

Day 2 Session 4

Expert Roundtables

Turkish Foreign Policy: Tradition, Geopolitics and Ideology in a Changing World Order

The international system is in the process of a profound transformation as the US-led world order continues to be challenged by emerging powers. The unipolar moment captured by the US after the Cold War has been steadily eroding as the distribution of power across the globe has started tilting in favour of multipolarity. The epicentre of international politics has begun shifting away from the West towards the East and China and Russia in particular, who, with their growing economic and military capabilities, are contesting the core principles of the liberal world order.

Transition periods where a hegemonic power is challenged by an emerging power provide middle and regional powers with new opportunities in their foreign policy orientation as emerging regional and global power vacuums increase their manoeuvring capabilities. On the other hand, these periods also come

with new challenges as aspiring regional states might become more assertive and ambitious given the reduced constraints on the international security environment.

Turkey, as a regional power, faces related challenges and opportunities. This period of change provides Turkey with advantages to diversify its diplomatic, economic and security relations and establish new partnerships. Yet, Turkey also faces security challenges in its region thanks to the increasing assertiveness of both state and non-state actors as witnessed in Syria, Libya and the East Mediterranean. Against this backdrop, this session will discuss the future of Turkish foreign policy with a specific focus on Turkey's unique geopolitical and cultural position.

Discussion Themes

- What are the challenges and opportunities provided by this transformative period and how is Turkish foreign policy adapting to an evolving global system?
- What should be Turkey's grand strategic priorities and interests in this period?
- How can Turkey contribute to the formation of a new global order that reflects its interests and values?
- How can Turkey expand and diversify its economic, security and political relations with other rising powers?
- How can Turkey translate its domestic material and ideational resources into effective foreign policy tools?

Chair Talip Küçükcan *Professor, Marmara University & Senior Fellow, TRT World Research Centre*



Faruk Kaymakçi

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Director for EU Affairs

Ambassador Faruk Kaymakçi assumed office as Deputy Foreign Minister of Foreign Affairs and Director for EU Affairs in August 2018. He is holder of Bachelor's degree from Ankara University and two Master's degrees from the London School of Economics and the College of Europe.

In 1994, he joined the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs where he worked on multilateral economic organisations, the Balkans and the EU. He also served as the Chief Foreign Policy Advisor at the EU Ministry.

His previous missions abroad include Tripoli, Kabul (NATO Office) and Brussels (Turkish Perm. Del. to the EU). He also served as the Consul General of Turkey in Basra, the Ambassador of Turkey to Iraq and Permanent Representative of Turkey to the EU.

Ambassador Kaymakçi is holder of the NATO Medal for his service in Afghanistan and was selected as one of the three Alumnus of the Year 2007 from the College of Europe.



Francis Joseph Ricciardone Jr.

President, American University of Cairo & Former U.S. Ambassador to Egypt and Turkey

Francis J. Ricciardone was appointed the 12th President of the American University in Cairo and began his term on July 1, 2016. He previously served as a US Foreign Service Officer from 1978-2014, including appointments as US Ambassador to Egypt, Turkey, and the Philippines, and Chargé d' Affaires and Deputy Ambassador to Afghanistan. After graduating from Dartmouth College Summa Cum Laude in 1973, he received a Fulbright Scholarship and taught in American international schools in Trieste, Italy, and Tehran, Iran. From 2014-2016 he was Vice President of the Atlantic Council and Director of the Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East. He was a distinguished scholar at the US Institute of Peace in 2008-2009. He speaks Arabic, Turkish, Italian, and French. He is married to Dr. Marie Ricciardone, a molecular biologist.



Burhanettin Duran

Professor, Ibn Haldun University & General Coordinator, SETA Foundation

Burhanettin Duran received his BA in Political Science and International Relations from Bogaziçi University in 1993, and his Ph.D. in Political Science from Bilkent University in 2001. He was a visiting scholar at George Mason University in 2010-2011. He worked for Bilkent University and Sakarya University as a research assistant and assistant professor between 1993 and 2009. Prof. Duran has been focusing on the transformation of Islamism, Turkish political thought, Turkish domestic politics, Turkish foreign policy and Middle Eastern politics. Currently Prof. Duran is a professor at Ibn Haldun University and General Coordinator of the SETA Foundation. On October 9th, 2018, Prof. Duran was appointed as member of Turkish Presidency Security and Foreign Policies Council.



Joachim Bitterlich

Member of the Board of Directors of the Jacques Delors Institute

Joachim Bitterlich is a diplomat who has been a consultant since 2013. He is also a Professor at the École Supérieure de Commerce de Paris and Vice-President of the Jacques Delors Institute. Throughout Mr Bitterlich's diplomatic career, he served as Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Germany on the North Atlantic Council; and Ambassador to Spain and Andorra. He is a former advisor to the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, head of the European Policy Department at the Federal Chancellor's Office, and Foreign and Security Policy Advisor to the Chancellor. His current roles include but are not limited to senior advisor at Berlin Global Advisors and the Austrian Home Ministry; founding member of CogitoPraxis; member of the Historical Commission of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture; and board member of the École Nationale d'Administration. Mr Bitterlich studied law, economics, and politics at the University of Saarbrücken and the French National School of Administration in Paris.

Discussants

Michael Reynolds - Associate Professor of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University

Mustafa Fişne - Professor & Head of the Political Science and Public Administration Department, Afyon Kocatepe University

Dorothee Schmid - Senior Research Fellow, Head of Turkey and Middle East Program, IFRI

Kadir Üstün - Executive Director, SETA Foundation Washington D.C.

Andreas Krieg - Lecturer, School of Security Studies, King's College London

Sukhrob Khojimatov - Deputy Resident Representative, UNDP

Kristian Brakel - Country Director Turkey, Heinrich Böll Stiftung

Ali Bakır - Assistant Professor, Ibn Khaldon Center for Humanities and Social Sciences, Qatar University

Guo Changgang - Member of the 13th Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference & Director of Center for Turkish Studies and Dean of Graduate School, Shanghai University



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