

## II. TURKEY-IRAN-RUSSIA: DYNAMICS OLD AND NEW

**ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI** is a CSIS counselor and trustee and cochairs the CSIS Advisory Board. He is also the Robert E. Osgood Professor of American Foreign Policy at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, in Washington, D.C. He is cochair of the American Committee for Peace in the Caucasus and a member of the International Advisory Board of the Atlantic Council. He is a former chairman of the American-Ukrainian Advisory Committee. He was a member of the Policy Planning Council of the Department of State from 1966 to 1968; chairman of the Humphrey Foreign Policy Task Force in the 1968 presidential campaign; director of the Trilateral Commission from 1973 to 1976; and principal foreign policy adviser to Jimmy Carter in the 1976 presidential campaign. From 1977 to 1981, Dr. Brzezinski was national security adviser to President Jimmy Carter. In 1981, he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his role in the normalization of U.S.-China relations and for his contributions to the human rights and national security policies of the United States. He was also a member of the President's Chemical Warfare Commission (1985), the National Security Council-Defense Department Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy (1987-1988), and the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (1987-1989). In 1988, he was cochairman of the Bush National Security Advisory Task Force, and in 2004, he was cochairman of a Council on Foreign Relations task force that issued the report *Iran: Time for a New Approach*. Dr. Brzezinski received a B.A. and M.A. from McGill University (1949, 1950) and Ph.D. from Harvard University (1953). He was a member of the faculties of Columbia University (1960-1989) and Harvard University (1953-1960). Dr. Brzezinski holds honorary degrees from Georgetown University, Williams College, Fordham University, College of the Holy Cross, Alliance College, the Catholic University of Lublin, Warsaw University, and Vilnius University. He is the recipient of numerous honors and awards. His many books include *Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power* (Basic Books, 2012); *America and the World: Conversations on the Future of American Foreign Policy* (Basic Books, 2008), coauthored with Brent Scowcroft and David Ignatius; *Second Chance: Three Presidents and the Crisis of American Superpower* (Basic Books, 2007); and *The Choice: Global Domination or Global Leadership* (Basic Books, 2004).

**LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT (USAF RET.)** is a counselor and trustee at CSIS and is president of the Scowcroft Group, an international business consulting firm. General Scowcroft serves as co-chair of CSIS's Commission on Nuclear Energy Policy in the U.S. He is also the founder, president, and resident trustee of the Forum for International Policy, a nonprofit organization providing independent perspectives and opinions on major foreign policy issues. General Scowcroft served as the national security adviser to Presidents Gerald R. Ford and George H.W. Bush. He also served as military assistant to President Richard Nixon and as deputy assistant to the president for national security affairs to Presidents Ford and Nixon. Prior to joining the Bush administration, General Scowcroft was vice chairman of Kissinger Associates, Inc. from 1982-1989. In that capacity, he advised and assisted a wide range of U.S. and foreign corporate leaders on global joint venture opportunities, strategic planning, and risk assessment. In the course of his twenty-nine year military career, General Scowcroft has held positions in the Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Headquarters of the U.S. Air Force, and the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. In other assignments, he served in faculty positions at the U.S. Air Force Academy and the U.S. Military Academy at West Point and as assistant air attaché in the U.S. embassy in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. General Scowcroft had an aeronautical rating as a pilot and has numerous military decorations and awards. In addition, in 1991, President Bush presented him

with the Medal of Freedom Award. In 1993, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth presented him with the insignia of an Honorary Knight of the British Empire (K.B.E.) at Buckingham Palace. General Scowcroft was born in Ogden, Utah. He received his undergraduate degree and commission into the Army Air Forces from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. Out of uniform, he continued in a public policy capacity by serving on the President's Advisory Committee on Arms Control, the Commission on Strategic Forces, and the President's Special Review Board, also known as the Tower Commission. He currently serves on numerous corporate and nonprofit boards. He holds an M.A. and Ph.D. from Columbia University. He is the coauthor, with President George H.W. Bush, of *A World Transformed* (Knopf, 1998). General Scowcroft is also the coauthor, with Zbigniew Brzezinski and David Ignatius, of *America and the World: Conversations on the Future of American Foreign Policy* (Basic Books, 2008).

**JON B. ALTERMAN (MODERATOR)** holds the Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair in Global Security and Geostrategy and is director of the Middle East Program at CSIS. Prior to joining CSIS in 2002, he served as a member of the Policy Planning Staff at the U.S. Department of State and as a special assistant to the assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs. He is a member of the Chief of Naval Operations Executive Panel and served as an expert adviser to the Iraq Study Group (also known as the Baker-Hamilton Commission). In addition to his policy work, he teaches Middle Eastern studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and the George Washington University. Before entering government, he was a scholar at the U.S. Institute of Peace and at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. From 1993 to 1997, Alterman was an award-winning teacher at Harvard University, where he received his Ph.D. in history. He also worked as a legislative aide to Senator Daniel P. Moynihan (D-NY), responsible for foreign policy and defense.

Alterman has lectured in more than 30 countries on subjects related to the Middle East and U.S. policy toward the region. He is the author or coauthor of four books on the Middle East and the editor of two more. In addition to his academic work, he is sought out as a consultant to business and government and is a frequent commentator in print, on radio, and on television. His opinion pieces have appeared in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Financial Times*, and other major publications. He is on the Board of Advisory Editors of the *Middle East Journal*, is a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of *Arab Media and Society*, and is a former international affairs fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, where he is now a life member. He received his A.B. from Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

---

### III. UNCONVENTIONAL OIL AND GAS: RESHAPING ENERGY MARKETS

**DEPUTY SECRETARY DANIEL B. PONEMAN** was nominated by President Obama to be Deputy Secretary of Energy on April 20, 2009, and was confirmed by the United States Senate on May 18, 2009. Under the leadership of Secretary of Energy Steven Chu, Mr. Poneman also serves as Chief Operating Officer of the Department. Mr. Poneman first joined the Department of Energy in 1989 as a White House Fellow. The next year he joined the National Security Council staff as Director of Defense Policy and Arms Control.

From 1993 through 1996, Mr. Poneman served as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Nonproliferation and Export Controls at the National Security Council. His responsibilities included the development and implementation of U.S. policy in such areas as peaceful nuclear cooperation, missile