



Abstract Book, 11 May 2022

Istanbul, Türkiye

International Conference on
Transnationalism vs Statism:
Generating and Consuming Security

Edited by Murat Aslan & Rabia Akhtar

Hasan Kalyoncu University Publications; ____
“International Conference on Transnationalism vs Statism:
Generating and Consuming Security”
11 May 2022, Hasan Kalyoncu University, GAZİANTEP,
Proceeding Book
June 2022
ISBN : 978-605-71314-2-3

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TRANSNATIONALISM VS STATISM

GENERATING AND CONSUMING SECURITY

11.00 **PANEL I**

Turkish Perspectives on Transnational Security
Threats & Challenges for the State

14.00 **PANEL II**

Pakistani Perspectives on the Evolving Security
Threat Matrix & Challenges for the State

11 May
2022
Wednesday

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ABOUT THE CONFERENCE

The International Conference on Transnationalism vs Statism: Generating and Consuming Security is a structured academic event to exchange the perspectives of Turkish and Pakistani academics. The purpose is to review the modern patterns of security. In this sense, the Secretariat informed the themes to the selected academics to present a proceeding for further debates. The Conference, with two panels, is designed to discuss the proceedings of the participants by contributions through Q&A and comments by the moderation of one Pakistani and one Turkish scholar.

Calendar

Invitation to the Scholars	31 March 2022
Submission of the Abstracts	7 April 2022
Peer Review	1 May 2022
Acceptance / Correction	27 May 2022
The Conference	11 May 2022

Conference Coordinators and Editors

Assist. Prof. Murat Aslan

He graduated from War College in the field of Management in 1991. He assumed varying tasks and appointments in the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF). He graduated with a Master's (2010) and PhD programs (2017) in the Middle Eastern Technical University International Relations Department. He scrutinized the Chinese soft power practices through cultural diffusion efforts

and African policy for Master's degrees. His Ph. D. research was about intelligence and propaganda efforts in peace-oriented undertakings based on the U.N. and NATO practices in Bosnia and Afghanistan.

His studies are primarily on security and defence studies, the conceptualization of power, intelligence and propaganda practices. He had been commissioned to Iraq, Afghanistan and Bosnia, facilitating the comparison of theory and practice when he was in Service. The primary region he has been interested in is the Middle East; he monitored wider Afghanistan, Balkans, the USA and China as his secondary academic effort. He prioritizes area studies to be integrated to portray how they interact with others and their relevance to global politics. He is currently a faculty member of Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University.

Assoc. Prof. Rabia Akhtar

Dr Rabia Akhtar is Director, Centre for Security, Strategy and Policy Research (CSSPR), University of Lahore. She is the founding Director of the School of Integrated Social Sciences, University of Lahore. She holds a PhD in Security Studies from Kansas State University. She is a Fulbright alumna (2010-2015). Dr Akhtar received her Master's in International Relations from Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad and her Master's in Political Science from Eastern Illinois University, USA. She has written extensively on South Asian nuclear security and deterrence dynamics. She is the author of a book titled 'The Blind Eye: U.S. Non-proliferation Policy Towards Pakistan from Ford to Clinton'.

TIME EVENT CHART OF THE CONFERENCE

Wednesday, May 11, 2022

Transnationalism Vs Statism: Generating and Consuming Security

11:00am	Opening Keynote Speech by SETA & HKU
11.15 am	Opening Keynote Speech by Chairman, University of Lahore
11.30 am	Panel 1: Turkish Perspectives on Transnational Security Threats & Challenges for the State Prof. Muhittin Ataman, Ankara Social Sciences University Prof. Mustafa Kibaroglu, MEF University Prof. Vişne Korkmaz, Nişantaşı University Assist. Prof. Nazmul Islam, Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University Coşkun Soysal, Gaziantep University Assoc. Prof. Filiz Katman, Aydın University Assoc. Prof. Tuba Erdem, Fenerbahçe University Ms Tanya Goudsouzian, TRT World Correspondent Assist. Prof. Murat Aslan, Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University Ms. Gloria Shkurti Özdemir, SETA Foundation Mr Mustafa CANER, SETA Foundation
12:15pm	Q&A
1:00pm	Lunch Break (by SETA Foundation)
2:00 pm	Panel 2: Pakistani Perspectives on the Evolving Security Threat Matrix & Challenges for the State Mr Awais Raoof, Chairman University of Lahore Dr Rabia Akhtar, Director CSSPR, University of Lahore H.E. Mian Imran Masood, VC South Asia University

Dr Rifaat Hussain (NUST, Islamabad)

Dr Nazir Hussain (Dean of Social Sciences and Humanities, Wah University)

Dr Salma Malik (Defence & Strategic Studies-Quaid-i-Azam University)

Mr Khalid Banuri (PAF)

Dr Jaspal (School of Politics & IR-QAU)

Dr. Farhan Siddiqi (SPIR-QAU)

Dr Hassan S. Suhrwardy (IR-Peshawar Univ)

Dr Adil Sultan (Air University, Islamabad)

Ms Sitara Noor (CASS Islamabad)

Syed Ali Zia Jaffery (CSSPR, UOL)

Ms. Shahneela Tariq (CSSPR, UOL)

Mr Muhammad Tabish (UOL SISS)

Mr. Fazal Bilal (UOL SISS)

Mr Akif (UOL SISS)

Dr. Sherjeel Rizwan, Air War College, Karachi

3:15pm Q&A

4:00 pm Over Coffee - Networking and Collaboration on Research

THE CONCEPT OF THE CONFERENCE

The University of Lahore, SETA Foundation and Hasan Kalyoncu University jointly host an international security conference entitled "Transnationalism vs Statism: Generating and Consuming Security" to discuss regional and international security dynamics on May 11, 2022, Istanbul, Turkey.

The event aims to facilitate the theoreticians and practitioners to meet each other and scrutinize a selected theme, which has been identified for this year as "Transnationalism Vs Statism: Generating and Consuming Security". A delegation of 20 I.R. scholars and academics from Pakistan participate in this Conference to engage with their counterparts from SETA Foundation and Hasan Kalyoncu University in Istanbul. This is the first Conference of its kind where Turkish and Pakistani scholars will be engaging to discuss the regional and global security landscape related to their respective countries and the region collectively.

The Conference's title is befitting and representative of the signs of our times. The transnational nature of security threats demands that states' responses should also be trans-nationalized to deal with the evolving security threat matrix. This Conference will explore if there is space for statist transnationalism that can emerge among states that share similar security challenges. In this sense, countries like Turkey and Pakistan can explore how both countries generate and consume Security through regional and global cooperation surpassing the European and American-centric perspectives, dominating the literature.

The Conference will have two panels. Following are the themes that will be discussed at the Conference.

THE THEMES OF THE CONFERENCE

Panel I. Turkish Perspectives on Transnational Security Threats & Challenges for the State

Turkish scholars reviewed the Türkiye's perception of Security mainly scrutinizing the newly emerging patterns. In this sense, the essential question discussed is how the Turkish foreign policy landscape proceeds to respond the modern – postmodern security themes. In other words, Türkiye's preparedness to new security environment is questioned. For this purpose, global patterns and regional developments are compared to the actual Turkish foreign policy to match it with the prerequisites of today and tomorrow. Pakistani scholars asked questions or contributed to the perceptions of Turkish scholars at the end of the panel.

Panel II. Pakistani Perspectives on the Evolving Security Threat Matrix & Challenges for the State

Pakistani scholars, in parallel to the Turkish scholars, presented Pakistan's security perception mainly scrutinizing the political, regional and global dynamics. The strategic balancing, per the position of Pakistan, has been the main theme in question. In this sense global actors, with competition in dominating the regional units, have been the essence of the debate. Soft concerns, mainly immigration and scarcity in varying fields, were in the agenda. The protracted conflicts, specifically Kashmir and resonation in Afghanistan, have become the concerns in the debates.

KEYNOTE SPEECH

A GENERAL ASSESSMENT OF GLOBAL POLITICS

(Mian Imran Masood)

The ongoing Ukraine-Russia conflict has shaken the modern world to its core and forced many to rethink “security” within many contexts. From economic to national to regional, the understanding of various factors affecting “security” is of critical importance.

The social, political and economic development of South Asia has been seriously hindered by internal, or intra-state conflicts. The region is one of the most ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse, as well as most populous, in the world. However, it is also hosted to deeply entrenched ethnic hostility, communal violence, and numerous wars, both inter-and intra-state. Some of these conflicts, such as those in Kashmir and Sri Lanka, are well documented, while many others receive minimal attention.

The South Asian region found its first formal expression in the shape of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in 1985. The membership of this organization, and hence the composition of the region, consists of seven states: Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Taken together these states account for over one and a quarter billion people or just under one-quarter of the world’s population. The sheer geographic and demographic size of South Asia points to intraregional diversity of continental proportions. The region is home to several ancient civilizations, scores of highly evolved linguistic, literary and cultural traditions, and ethical and spiritual movements that correspond to many of the major religions of the world.

Hence Pakistan’s perspective on regional security is one that cannot be unheard or neglected by the international forces.

According to the United Nations Institute of Disarmament Research, “The discourse on regional security in South Asia tends to be focused on the inter-state rivalry between the two largest states in the region—India and Pakistan.”

The overt introduction of a nuclear dimension into the India-Pakistan relationship has generated international interest in a South Asia preoccupied to no small extent with the threat of a nuclear confrontation and its potential effects on regional and global security.

During his visit to the region in March 2000, then-President Bill Clinton declared Kashmir to be “the most dangerous place on earth”. His assessment was based not on an evaluation of day-to-day security threats faced by civilians in Kashmir, but on the concern that the territory might become the cause of a nuclear exchange that would have far-reaching effects.

This brings me to the importance of highlighting the five major elements of a threat matrix: military, nuclear, terrorism, cyber and economic.

Now Pakistan is a nuclear state, threatened by terrorism, and in a politically fragile state that has made its economy extremely unstable. This means from a Pakistani Perspective; the threat matrix represents a very volatile state of affairs.

To counter the challenges presented by the weak elements of the threat matrix, What we need is to design a comprehensive anti-terrorism infrastructure comprising an early warning capacity, a communications intercept capability, mass surveillance, pre-emptive neutralization ability and financing tracking mechanism.

And then there are currently several critical issues, including political, socio-economic, energy crises, security, drone strikes, suicide bombings, and various other challenges. Also often neglected and overlooked is the fact that Pakistan inherited a weak, backward, and traditional financial infrastructure from its colonial masters. Therefore, it will be accurate to say that “Security in the Third World countries (that includes Pakistan as well) is state centered in character in terms of both its territory and institutions and to the security of those who profess to represent the state territorially and institutionally”

Pakistan is a country that faces unique and multifaceted security challenges, from the disagreement on the Durand Line, to the delayed unexplored potential of the CPEC projects, to unexplored regional alliances with neighboring countries, especially in the Asian region to the mistrust between the many international political factions, to the education of 22.8 million out of school children and the economic engagement and employment of the youth in its economic fabric – unfortunately, we have truly lacked a consolidated effort towards a true understanding and resolution of these security threats. And now we are faced with one of the most imminent threats from the Climate change that coupled with the exploding population is brewing the food and water scarcity challenge further adding to the threats to regional security.

economic security is the organic dimension of national security. To be certain, the economic dimension continues to be the most neglected dimension of our national security. We face USD20 billion in external debt repayments in FY23. This is unsustainable, and a real threat to our economy, our nation and our future generations. What is needed is fiscal responsibility on the part of the government and a solid economic plan.

Another solution I see to face all of these threats to security is through regional collaboration in technology, information, and a united front. It is almost universally acknowledged that the modern concept of national security encompasses not only the protection of a nation from internal and external threats, but also the provision of a hospitable environment in which aspirations of human security, national progress, and development may be realised.

Our national security is dependent on our economy, which is built on the energy sector. The energy sector will make or break Pakistan's economy, and circular debt will make or break Pakistan's energy sector. By 2025, the Rs2.5 trillion in circular debt is expected to reach Rs4 trillion.

Despite all our understanding of the security threat matrix, its rapid evolution is adding to the existential threat.

According to Chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation Gen Valery Vasilyevich Gerasimov, "War is now conducted by a roughly 4:1 ratio of non-military and military measures

This statement should point to the fact that a state's security fabric is much more complex and intricate than it was before. According to the report by World Institute for Nuclear Security (WINS),

"In the second decade of the 21st century, we are astonished almost weekly by the announcement of new technological breakthroughs that only a few decades ago seemed the stuff of science fiction."

For a developing country like Pakistan, to engage in an arms war is at the cost of its economic security.

Thus, from Pakistan's perspective to create that conducive environment is an absolute necessity. Economic integration plays a critical role in promoting peace and security as the opportunity cost of interdependence reduces the likelihood of war. A study by Cali and Oliver

of the World Bank shows when trade leads to higher incomes, states are less likely to forgo them to engage in conflict. Another study by Lee and Ju, based on a large panel data set of 243,225 country-pair observations from 1950 to 2000, confirms that increased bilateral trade interdependence is significant in promoting peace. Increased bilateral interdependence and global trade openness are key elements in promoting peace.

One of the most interesting examples of promoting regional security and peace through economic integration is of The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), which is also a test case. From a geopolitical standpoint, RCEP is an ASEAN initiative that was proposed when Indonesia assumed the ASEAN chair in 2011. RCEP is relatively neutral in terms of preserving the region's geopolitical balance and 'politically acceptable' to the United States and is not a China initiative.

RCEP is also the first economic partnership to include China, South Korea and Japan in a single agreement. Through a coordinated effort to build trust and confidence among its members, RCEP's success has the potential to lead not only to opportunities for regional economic cooperation and integration, but also to a more peaceful and stable region.

I believe as an academician and an observer of regional dynamics – creative solutions like RCEP could be the game-changer in harnessing and strengthening regional security.

ABSTRACTS

Turkey in the New European Security Architecture

(Tuba Eldem¹)

The Russian invasion of Ukraine triggering the greatest security crisis in Europe since the end of Cold War makes European strategic sovereignty a more significant goal for the E.U. Although the war has underlined the importance of U.S. security commitments for Europe and the latter's strategic dependence on the U.S., America's long-term commitment to Europe is under question as its priorities are shifting away from Europe to Asia-Pacific. Under these conditions, Europe will be likely to work to enhance Europe's collective defense capability in close cooperation with the E.U. and the NATO as well as with close partners and third countries. Dealing with Russia as well as with the economic, political and Security costs of the Ukrainian war will be at the center of European foreign and Security policy even after the end of war. For Europeans, this means that they have to re-evaluate their partnerships and their goals, frameworks and priorities in creating a new European security order.

Within this context, Turkey -a NATO-member and an official candidate for E.U. membership-, emerges as a key pivotal swing state in shaping the contours of a stronger European security architecture. The new geostrategic environment aiming to contain Russian expansion enhances Turkey's importance for European defense, trade logistics and energy networks and offers Ankara and Brussels a window of opportunity to rebuild their ties on the basis of mutual-trust and equal partnership. Turkey can play important roles both in ending the war and the aftermath of the war. A desirable goal after a cease-fire in Ukraine would be to strengthen regional cooperation, finding greater common ground between the littoral states and making new cooperation and trust-building initiatives among littorals. Ankara's previous initiatives such as the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (1992), the Black Sea Naval Cooperation Task Group (BLACKSEAFOR) (2001) and Black Sea Harmony (2004) could be revitalized to facilitate regional cooperation.

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In terms of trade logistics, as Western sanctions may weaken the role of Russia and Belarus as a transit route, Turkey may become the main transport route for the East-West trade through Turkey's Middle Corridor Project. The sanctions on Russia may also enable Turkey to become a regional energy connector from Central Asia, the Middle East, and the East Med to the European market. The construction of Turkey-Israel gas pipeline and the revitalization of the Trans-Caspian Pipeline may enable Turkey's rise of energy corridor. Untapped energy sources in the Black Sea region, including a gas reserve discovered last year by Ankara could be utilized to reduce Moscow's leverage over Turkey. Turkey and Europe can also cooperate in energy transition and decarbonization process as well as in hydrogen and renewable forms of power generation since both Turkey and Europe have prioritized energy diversification in the face of over-dependence on Russia. Under these conditions it is in the strategic interest of both Europe and Turkey to embrace areas of cooperation, while better managing divergences.

Turkey – Pakistan Relations: Paving the Way towards a Defense Cooperation

(Gloria Shkurti Özdemir²)

In the last decade Turkey has undertaken very important steps in terms of its defense industry. From an industry highly dependent on foreign assistance, now Turkey's defense industry is becoming a leading one in the world. Specifically, according to the data from Stockholm International Peace Research Institute in 2002 Turkey was ranked as the third country with the largest arms import, however, in 2021, Turkey was ranked in the 21st place. While there have been ups and downs in the imports, seen from a broader perspective, during the period between 2002 and 2021 Turkey's arms imports decreased by 70%. The decline in imports has been followed with a significant increase of arms exports. While in 2002 Turkey was ranked roughly in the 30th place, in 2021 Turkey has become the 11th state with the biggest arms exports. It is important to state here that this change is directly associated with the rise of Turkey's defense industry and the importance that the current government places on the development of the domestic defense industry which would lead to more independence from the external actors, especially the U.S. Indeed, the main reasons behind the above mentioned Turkey's policies are threefold: (i) a constant threat close to its border (PKK/YPG); (ii) failure of the West, especially the U.S., to understand and accept Turkey's security concerns, and therefore undertake policies that would threaten Turkey's Security (i.e. support for YPG, refusal to give Predator drone and Patriot missile systems to Turkey); (iii) Turkey's intention to follow a more autonomous foreign policy.

At this point, Turkey can serve as a model to be followed by those states who intend to have a more independent foreign policy and at the same time would like to strengthen their defense sector. In this regard, a cooperation between Turkey and Pakistan may serve to the interests of both states. While there is a well-established cultural and political relation between both states, a cooperation in defense would add new nuances to the bilateral relations. Indeed, there have been several undertakings between both states in this respect. For the period from 2011 to 2021, Pakistan was Turkey's 5th biggest receiver of arms sales

² Ph.D. Candidate Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi, ORCID: 0000-0001-8626-9761

and accounted for approximately 9 percent of the exports. Concurrently, both states have agreed on the development and production of a new fifth-generation fighter aircraft, the Turkish Fighter Experimental (TF-X)/National Combat Aircraft (MMU). At the same time Turkey and Pakistan have had several military drills in the last years. Most importantly, Pakistan has purchased TB2 and Akıncı drones from Turkey. From this perspective, it can be said that the foundations for an effective and successful defense cooperation are there, and it would be possible to increase the cooperation in the short run which would be translated positively both in term of bilateral relations and regional stability as well.

Conceptualizing the Cooperation of Turkey, Pakistan, and Iran

(Mustafa Caner³)

We used to see the dualism of transnationalism and statism as an antagonistic one. However, it is not the only way to think about these concepts. One side of this dilemma is overwhelming, and the other part is complimentary. Although there are many challenges, there is no alternative to the state. That is why all the new proposals about an international system should accept the state as the main determinant.

In the face of the crisis of multilateralism or the end of the world order as we know it, we need a non-western paradigm for imagining a new international system. This new system does not necessarily be anti-western because the new system should not be an outcome of a reactionary attitude.

This imagination should start from the regional level. Turkey and Pakistan are brotherly countries. Their historical ties and institutional relations are solid. Both countries' people have positive attitudes towards each other. Nevertheless, political and societal relations between these two countries should be strengthened. In order to answer new challenges coming from the crisis of the international system, bilateral relations should be fortified.

Other regional powers, i.e., Iran, should be included as well. Iran and Pakistan share common objectives such as boosting trading ties, securing borders against terrorism (especially in the Balochistan region), and the drug trade. Turkey and Iran were the first countries to recognize Pakistan after its independence in 1947. The people of Pakistan view Iran and Turkey positively. These three actors inked the Baghdad Pact in 1955. After the coup d'etat in Iraq, the Baghdad Pact transformed into Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan established Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) in 1964 as part of CENTO. After the Islamic Revolution of Iran, CENTO was dissolved. However, these three countries continued their cooperation under Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) which was built in 1985. This picture depicts that historically strong bonds and geopolitical interests of these

³ Ph.D. Candidate, Sakarya University, ORCID: 0000-0001-7257-2321

three countries are immune to political/governmental changes inside of these very countries. The trilateral structure of cooperation has lasted a long time and still goes on. Last year, the Istanbul-Tehran-Islamabad railway was launched after ten years break.

State mentality and defined state interests do not change with governmental or systemic changes. Of course, shared culture, historical ties, and other spiritual commonalities help. Still, in the end, the main determinant is state interest, and it is very immune to time and changes in all senses.

In conclusion, although the Baghdad pact, CENTO, and RCD were products of the larger international positioning, ECO was slightly different. ECO was an outcome of a regional initiative. On the regional level, there should be a sustainable, strong, persistent, and resilient cooperation mechanism in the face of growing international challenges.

Turkish Foreign Policy and South Asia

(Murat Aslan⁴)

Turkish foreign policy leans on the inherited principles of Atatürk on foreign policy with an updated and upgraded structure. In this sense, the well-known phrases such as “Peace at Home, Peace in the World” and “Not running after Utopian Dreams” have become the center pieces of Turkish diplomacy. The first phrase reflects an idealist form of understanding per the mood of the post-World War I era while the second one is realistic per what had been experienced before, during and immediately after the same war. Other than these two references, three additional pillars shape the course of the Turkish foreign policy: legitimacy and international law, preserving the national interests, and contributing to the development of the country. Taken the five parameters identified to portray the Turkish foreign policy, Turkish south Asia policy focuses on three pillars of which are positioning in the global politics, interaction with the communities of cultural proximity, and building the rocks of economic exchange within a ‘win-win’ strategy.

Given the pillars, Turkish foreign policy engaged each state with a separate approach due to their sui generis characteristics and experienced political environment. Afghanistan has been handled by a philosophy of humanitarian and responsible state posture. The essential motivation is not to realize interest but provide humanitarian support due to shared culture. In other words, the development pillar of Turkish foreign policy has not been a priority or reference for Turkish diplomacy. But global structure and patterns are still the frame and limit of this engagement although Türkiye perceives itself as a gate for resonating with Afghans.

Compared to the Afghan case, Türkiye takes Pakistan as the country to promote relations due to cultural proximity and development opportunity because of the potentials of both. But global political structure and patterns are not points of reference points in clarifying the Pakistani policy of Türkiye. Disregarding how the super or great powers act, Türkiye is prioritizing the sole Turkish – Pakistan relations. All in all, Türkiye pursues a foreign policy which is based on the prerequisites of situations though; in case the relation is based on

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historical and emotional resonation, Türkiye disregards the global patterns and pursues an autonomous policy. Türkiye's clear commitment to Kashmir question is a clear case for this attitude.

The Nuclear Non-proliferation

(Mustafa Kibaroglu⁵)

It must be acknowledged that the future and the success of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT, 1968) rests on close cooperation and active collaboration among the member states, where the contributions of the United States and Russia, in particular, are indispensable. Under the current circumstances, however, due to the exacerbating tension between Russia and the United States recently, it would be difficult to expect a successful NPT Review Conference in August this year.

Should the upcoming Review Conference also fail to produce a Final Document, as has been the case in 2015, universal trust in the effectiveness of the nuclear non-proliferation regime may be challenged seriously that may eventually pave the way toward its collapse, which has, however, managed to keep the number of proliferators at relatively low levels thus far. Such an unwanted development would certainly be a serious blow to international peace, Security, and stability.

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Turkish – Pakistan Relations: Exceeding Narratives

(Muhittin Ataman⁶)

Türkiye and Pakistan, from the very beginning, have a positive agenda in their relations. The delineation of brotherhood, by each of them, goes back to the Turkish Independence War prior to the establishment of Pakistan by the heartfelt pledge of current Pakistan community. Hence the friendship and brotherhood are above the governments of these countries. In other words, there continues a welcomed relation of two countries disregarding who is leading the governments. Nevertheless, this narrative-based wishful relations do not completely reflect itself to the actual engagement of both. The status of cooperation in Security and defence, unfortunately, is not the same as economy, education, technology, agriculture, infrastructure, and tourism. As a result, narratives on cooperation should diffuse to the varying sectors. The concrete cooperation processes in education, trade, tourism, and health should be commenced. Both state institutions and non-state actors can develop collaboration and narrow the gap between promises and potential. In this context, universities and think tanks may exchange their perspectives and promote the narratives of cooperation in the acts.

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Türkiye's Strategic Approach toward Asia:
A Middle Ground Policy Needs for "Common Partner"
(Nazmul Islam⁷)

By providing a credible leadership, Türkiye has reliable acceptance in Asia, where it is now trying to make its own middle ground. Since 2002, Türkiye's "multi-dimensional foreign policy", including the recent "Asia Anew Initiative" shows a forwarding look at how and why Ankara want to increase its initiative in the 'multipolar world', particularly in Asia. The coordinated and holistic approach of Türkiye, explore the new collaboration with the 'non-Western world' where the cooperation with Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia, South Korea, Thailand, China, India, Japan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan played a vital role to develop its effective policy-oriented strategy in the region.

Strategically, for the last 10 years, Asia is a playground where great powers employed their most sophisticated political, economic, diplomatic and defence strategies to achieve their long-term foreign policy interest. In one way, by focusing on the Indo-Pacific region via QUAD, AUKUS etc., the USA, UK, French, Germany, Australia, Japan and India have shifted their foreign policy as called "Indo-Pacific Strategy" while on the other hand, China is busy to build-up and enhance its strong "Asia-Pacific" policy through the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). However, since the inception of great power competition in the Asia Pacific or Indo-Pacific region, Türkiye was quite successful to hold out from any alignment. Even, by following the regional situation, Türkiye is behaving very mature to find its own "middle ground" in Asia. However, for reaching that sustainable point, Türkiye needs a "common partner". In there, Türkiye's further cooperation with Pakistan, especially in the trade and defence sector will be used as a robust option for Türkiye-Pakistan relations.

This assessment, therefore, mainly focuses on Türkiye's strategic engagement and 'middle ground' option in Asia, especially in the "geopolitical and geo-economic" context of the region. However, by doing so, in the context of the shifting international order, this study looks at how Pakistan can be a 'common partner' in Türkiye's short, mid and long-term Asia & global strategy.

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The New Global Fault Line: Liberal Internationalism vs. Nationalism and the Rise of
Geopolitics
(Coşkun Soysal⁸)

As a new fault line around a growing tension between liberal internationalists, on the one hand, and nationalist forces, on the other, has been at the forefront from the end of the Cold War onwards but especially since the early 2000s, debates over a supposed “transnationalism” and its discontents, foremost among them being the so-called “statists”, have also predominated analyses on international Security. Much of the liberal and social constructivist approaches to international Security and some poststructuralists have welcomed the growing trend toward the internationalization of production relations under the sweeping influence of neoliberal globalization, and some have preferred to label this wider process as a “transnationalisation” within which new phenomena pertinent to Security emerge from sources that are far beyond individual nation-states. States and any other agencies that could adapt themselves to these new conditions mostly through increasing their competitiveness as well as their capacities are argued to have been heralded as the main “generators” of Security, whereas other agencies that could not, or did not prefer to, adapt to these same conditions are considered detrimental and argued to have been “security consumers”. This paper argues that such an approach to international Security is quite biased and has pitfalls and vicious cycles that lead to eulogies for neoliberal globalization and cosmopolitan identities but a return to geopolitical analyses when it comes to face with challenges to the neoliberal hegemony led by Euro-Atlantic imperialism.

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Transnationalism and interdependencies in the Post-Ukrainian War

(Vişne KORKMAZ⁹)

Ukrainian War of 2022 has been conceptualized in the framework of a New Cold War- to indicate that it is just a phase of the revival of the great power competition in the 21st century. The adjective, “new”, points out that the competition between the West -mainly the USA-, Russia, and China is realized through different instruments than the same actors used during the Cold War years. The actors built Cold War stability during the period between 1947-1991 on the constructed and recognized positive and negative interdependencies that were both extension and insurance of ramification of complex interdependencies in the I.R. Today’s cold war became visible by the 2022 war in Ukraine, which is a new and not totally institutionalized phenomenon, changing the logic of interdependencies by stimulating arm-race and armament, even nuclearization of the war scene. The model of interdependency based on energy trade between Russia and Europe did not prevent actors from using force or threat of force against each other or from the weaponization of reciprocal economic relations. Today’s global economy, as well as international politics, is still flourishing with transnational interdependencies but no one can deny that the stress created by the controlled rivalry among the great powers- till now- will affect the political zone that tries to manage these transnational interdependencies – whether they are networks or linkages-. The maneuvering area of actors for cooperation and dialogue will be narrowed and this will most probably affect the position of middle or regional powers who get used to instrumentalizing flexible cooperative schemes and networks of dialogue to maximize their strategic gain vis a vis their rivals as well as great powers. As a result, we have still difficulty observing a new wave of great power overlay on the other levels of international politics because regional players are reluctant to leave their hedging space and limited autonomy.

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Turkey: Security Generator, not Security Consumer

(Filiz Katman¹⁰)

This paper is focused on the discussion about changing dynamics of Security specifically on security generator versus security consumer countries. Security architecture is in great transformation in terms of threat perception as well counter-policies. The main question here is whether the response can be national since they enforced transnationalism. The key concepts are resilience and sustainability in counter-policies against ambiguity and asymmetry characteristics of actors and factors in the security architecture. Systematic change are in occurrence in terms of threats primarily focused on survival like housing, food, clean water, clean air as well as block, responses and institutions. Artificial characteristics are also present in this security architecture. Around these concepts, there is a “Great Power Politics” among Great Powers. It is indirect, proxy and hybrid in its essence. Such “Great Power Politics” is due to shift of center from West to East based on the projections on demography, economic growth, energy demand, patents, university rankings and technological innovation reflecting such change. In this “Great Power Politics”, states are enforced to choose aside in “Brave New World” depicted by Medvedev in his speech in February 2022 right before Russian army entering Ukrainian territory. It is reflected in G7 and NATO Summit in June 2021 that ongoing negotiations failed over the items of so called “Yalta II” between NATO and Russia in “Great Power Politics”. Then, it is officially declared that NATO-Russia Council is suspended and all of a sudden West withdrew their forces from Afghanistan leading to a significant security concern for Eurasian countries primarily Russia and China through leaving country to Taliban with several security risks to the regional countries. As a respond, Russia and China accelerated their relations and in Fall 2021, the office of NATO-Russia Council was officially closed followed by rapid deployment of Russian forces to the Ukrainian border resulted in crossing border in 24 February 2022. In between, Russia and China published “Joint Statement of Russia and People’s Republic of China in International Relations Entering a New Era and Global Sustainable Development” on 4 February 2022 during Russian President Vladimir Putin’s official visit to Beijing Olympics 2022. In this joint declaration, two countries officially

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announced their goals and means in changing current international order argued to be not working properly and failed already. Interestingly, Russian army crossed Ukrainian border on 24 February 2022 when Russia was heading the meeting of Security Council which is the guarantor of post-Second World War international order. It is an open challenge reflecting what is officially declared in the Joint Declaration of Russia and China on 24 February 2022. Ukrainian issue is just one territory that such "Great Power Politics" is played like South Caucasus, Middle East, Central Asia, South China Sea, Eastern Mediterranean, Balkans using ongoing conflicts and proxies. In such environment, Turkey places herself as security generator actor through mediating between actors in conflict, significant contribution to energy security and economic Security firstly for the region then to the broader area especially the shock in energy sector and supply chain after Covid-19 pandemic, to countering international terrorism with domestic and cross-border operations, to Security in the conflict regions via rapid development in defense industry specifically in UAVs, to strengthening peace and Security through active neutrality in foreign policy. In such a hectic, complex, and ambiguous international security architecture, such characteristics of role Turkey plays is invaluable.

The State's Monopoly

(Nazir Hussain¹¹)

The threats states are facing in a globalized world, Dr. Nazir Hussain shed light on the role of non-state actors. He argued they are the biggest challengers to a state's monopoly on violence, adding that states must take steps to wrest it back. Further, he discussed the transnational nature of the phenomenon of terrorism, dubbing it one of the biggest impediments to regional connectivity. Terrorism, especially state-sponsored, he stressed, should also be seen in the context of states' proclivities to embrace a divisive force that is ultra-nationalism. He said notions and phenomena like America First, Hindutva, and European populism are manifestations of growing ultra-nationalism across regions. While appreciating the warmth between Turkey and Pakistan, Dr. Hussain contended that both countries must expand cooperation across the entire gamut of relations, to make them more strategic in nature.

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The Effects Of Conflict On Women

(Salma Malik¹²)

Focusing on the effects of conflict on women, Dr. Salma Malik said devastations in combat zones like Afghanistan and Kashmir have taken a big toll on women. She lamented that, despite suffering a lot, women and their rights remain on the fringes of the security debates in these areas. She added that there is a lot more to the discourse on women in Afghanistan than burka(veil) and chauvinism. Dr. Malik stressed the need for addressing the plight of women in conflict-ridden areas, adding that they can be empowered through education and job security. Not doing so, she warned, would have negative connotations for the overall security landscape in the region. She emphasized how Turkey could broach the human rights' issues in Kashmir with India.

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Transnationalism in Question

(Khalid Banuri¹³)

Arguing that statism is a mindset and interdependence a reality, Khalid Banuri said the world is in transition. He stressed that globalization is a part of transnationalism, adding that disturbing trends like great power rivalries are increasing the costs of conflicts. He shed light on Pakistan's focus on geoeconomics, as evidenced by its economic cooperation with China. However, while acknowledging the forces of economic connectivity, he made a mention of how regional states like India have made economic coercion a part of its aggressive, ultra-nationalistic foreign policy. He also delved into the changing character of war, as typified by the deployment of emerging technologies. Citing the effects of COVID-19 as an example, he highlighted the growing salience of non-traditional security threats. According to him, these complex threats can only be dealt with by coming up with sustainable solutions. To him, while these factors could increase the prospect of conflict, they could also open conduits of cooperation between states.

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Nuclear Capacity of Pakistan

(Adil Sultan¹⁴)

Recapping Pakistan's nuclear history, Dr. Adil Sultan said the country acquired nuclear weapons to deter its arch-rival India. Pakistan's nuclear weapons, he stressed, have no other purpose than to deter Indian aggression. He added that Pakistan has ensured that it maintains strategic stability in the region, something which is now becoming difficult due to the advent of disruptive technologies and India's growing brazenness. Commenting on the global nuclear order, Dr. Sultan said unless great powers take NPT's Article 6 seriously and stop providing exceptions to their allies and partners, its future will be replete with risks and suspicions. Apropos of Pak-Turk relations, he said collaborations, to share drone technology and nuclear safety and security best-practices are possible and, hence, must be explored.

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The Effects Of Globalization on Security

(Syed Ali Zia Jaffery¹⁵)

Shedding light on the effects of globalization on Security, Syed Ali Zia Jaffery argued that threats have morphed and become difficult to thwart. He said a state is now forced to counter the ramifications of events that take place outside of its borders. This phenomenon, according to Ali, has challenged a state's writ more than ever. However, he stressed that, with a view to combating a plethora of non-traditional security threats, states have started to reassert themselves. He opined that transnational threats can be better dealt with through cooperation between states, adding that conflict would make this task all the more arduous. Talking about the future of the nuclear non-proliferation regime, he said if nuclear states party to the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty(NPT) continue making exceptions for non-NPT nuclear states, the credibility of the regime will be questioned.

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The Efficacy and Role of Nuclear Weapons

(Sitara Noor¹⁶)

Sharing her thoughts on the efficacy and role of nuclear weapons, Sitara Noor said they have not only generated but also consumed Security. Further, she argued that the induction of disruptive technology, the adoption of dangerous doctrines, and a rising tendency to use force have increased challenges for both the non-proliferation and arms control regimes. She also assessed the destabilizing effects of growing great power competition on regional and inter-regional connectivity. She said conflicts between states will give rise to a host of security issues across domains, adding that energy security will become a major irritant for all stakeholders.

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The Reasons for Strategic Autonomy of Türkiye

(Murat Yeşiltaş¹⁷)

Türkiye has long been transitioning to being autonomous and ridding of the Western-led order of international politics. The developments in Türkiye's security sector, primarily fighting against terrorism and ensuring the country's survival, have led the strategy makers to keep up with the risks and threats. Observing the global patterns and regional developments in the proximate geography of Türkiye, the escalations pushed the decision-makers to assess the internal security concerns per the regional and global ones due to their intertwined nature. Furthermore, emerging threat types, which have both soft and rigid varieties, expanded the capacities of these hybrid threats as a proxy of a state-actor. Hence the inclusion of the other competing state actors in the calculus of regional and bilateral resonance made Türkiye more autonomous in strategy and decision-making processes while enhancing the solid capacity of the country to repel threats with complex natures.

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