



**T.C.
BURSA ULUDAĞ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI
ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER BİLİM DALI**

**TÜRKİYE-PAKİSTAN RELATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF CHANGING
INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM: REGIONAL AND GLOBAL IMPLICATIONS
DEĞİŞEN ULUSLARARASI SİSTEM BAĞLAMINDA TÜRKİYE-PAKİSTAN
İLİŞKİLERİ: BÖLGESEL VE KÜRESEL ETKİLERİ**

(MASTERS THESIS)

Maria HASSAN

BURSA, 2022



**T.C.
BURSA ULUDAĞ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI
ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER BİLİM DALI**

**TÜRKİYE-PAKİSTAN RELATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF CHANGING
INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM: REGIONAL AND GLOBAL IMPLICATIONS
DEĞİŞEN ULUSLARARASI SİSTEM BAĞLAMINDA TÜRKİYE-PAKİSTAN
İLİŞKİLERİ: BÖLGESEL VE KÜRESEL ETKİLERİ**

(MASTERS THESIS)

Maria HASSAN

Supervisor

Prof. Dr Ferhat PİRİNÇÇİ

BURSA, 2022

ABSTRACT

Name and Surname	: Maria HASSAN
University	: Bursa Uludag University
Institution	: Social Sciences Institution
Field	: International Relations
Branch	: International Political Economy
Nature of Thesis	: Master Thesis
Page Number	: XVIII + 200
Graduation Date	: 27/ 06/2022
Thesis Advisor	: Prof. Dr. Ferhat PİRRİNÇÇİ

TÜRKİYE-PAKİSTAN RELATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF CHANGING INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM: REGIONAL AND GLOBAL IMPLICATIONS

The evolutions and developments in the world have influenced the international system in different ways in the past and again today have given rise to a change in this system. The study aims to analyze the relations between Türkiye and Pakistan in the changing regional and global settings. Pakistan and Türkiye are natural allies on the basis of their common history, religion, and culture. They are important states geostrategically in world affairs for having distinct geostrategic locations, which makes them vital in regional and world geopolitics. They have always supported each other in times of need and stood with each other on the matter of the Kashmir issue and the Cyprus issue. Both are also cooperating with each other to eradicate the evil of terrorism.

The thesis examines the position of Pakistan and Türkiye in the changing international system, their relations with regional and international players, and emerging opportunities and challenges for both states. Also, the recent developments in the Middle East and how it impacts on both Pakistan and Türkiye and their stance over the Afghan-Taliban settlement have been discussed. The latest situation in Türkiye-Pakistan relations, their recent transformation, and their gradual institutionalization process has been accessed. Within this framework, the high level that has been attained in terms of bilateral cooperation has been addressed.

Key words: International System, Unipolar, Multipolar, Pakistan, Türkiye, Foreign policy, Economic Cooperation, Defence Cooperation

ÖZET

Adı ve Soyadı	: Maria HASSAN
Üniversite	: Bursa Uludağ Üniversitesi
Enstitü	: Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü
Anabilim Dalı	: Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı
Bilim Dalı	: Uluslararası İlişkiler Bilim Dalı
Tezin Niteliği	: Yüksek Lisans Tezi
Sayfa Sayısı	: XVIII+ 200
Mezuniyet Tarihi	: 27/ 06/2022
Tez Danışman	: Prof. Dr. Ferhat PİRRİNÇÇİ

DEĞİŞEN ULUSLARARASI SİSTEM BAĞLAMINDA TÜRKİYE-PAKİSTAN İLİŞKİLERİ: BÖLGESEL VE KÜRESEL ETKİLERİ

Dünyadaki evrim ve gelişmeler, geçmişte uluslararası sistemi farklı şekillerde etkilemiş ve bugün yine bu sistemde bir değişikliğe yol açmıştır. Bu çalışma, değişen bölgesel ve küresel ortamlarda Türkiye ve Pakistan arasındaki ilişkileri analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Pakistan ve Türkiye, ortak tarihleri, dinleri ve kültürleri temelinde doğal müttefiklerdir. Farklı jeostratejik konumlara sahip oldukları için dünya meselelerinde jeostratejik olarak önemli devletlerdir, bu da onları bölgesel ve dünya jeopolitiğinde hayati aktör kılmaktadır. İhtiyaç anında her zaman birbirlerine destek olmuşlar ve Keşmir meselesi ve Kıbrıs meselesi konusunda yan yana durmuşlardır. Her ikisi de terörizmin kötülüğünü ortadan kaldırmak için birbirleriyle işbirliği yapmaktadırlar.

Tez, değişen uluslararası sistemdeki Pakistan ve Türkiye'nin konumunu, bölgesel ve büyük uluslararası güçlerle ilişkilerini ve her iki devlet için ortaya çıkan fırsatları ve zorlukları incelemektedir. Ayrıca Orta Doğu'daki son gelişmeler ve bunun hem Pakistan'ı hem de Türkiye'yi nasıl etkilediği ve Afgan-Taliban çözümü konusundaki duruşları tartışıldı. Türkiye-Pakistan ilişkilerindeki son duruma, son dönemdeki dönüşümüne ve kademeli kurumsallaşma sürecine ulaşılmıştır. Bu çerçevede ikili işbirliği açısından gelinen üst düzey ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Uluslararası Sistem, Tek Kutuplu, Çok Kutuplu, Pakistan, Türkiye, Dış politika, Ekonomik İşbirliği, Savunma İşbirliği

TABLE of CONTENTS

Letter of Oath	V
Acknowledgements.....	VI
Abstract.....	VII
Özet.....	VI
Table of Content.....	X
List of Abbreviations.....	XIV
Introduction.....	01
Research Questions.....	07
Research Objectives.....	08
Hypothesis.....	08
Thesis Methodology.....	09
Organisation of Study.....	09

CHAPTER: 1

CHANGE IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

1. Defining International Order and International System.....	11
2. Historical Development of the International System.....	14
3. Transformation of the International System.....	17
4. Characteristics of the Transforming International System	19
4.1 Lack of Global Leadership	20
4.2 Problems of the new Global Economic Order	22
4.3 The Failure of European Centric Politics.....	23
4.4 Multi-layer Power Distribution.....	25
4.5 The Changing structure of International Trade: the Rise of the Rest and Decay of the West	27
4.6 The Risk of Great Power Conflict and the Return of Geopolitical Competition	29
4.7 New Rules of War and the Use of Force	32
4.8 The New Geopolitics of Energy	33
4.9 The Shaking of the American Unipolar System	35

4.10	Rising Powers: Essential Elements of the New World	38
5	A New World Order towards Multipolarity	39

CHAPTER: 2

DYNAMICS OF PAKISTAN-TÜRKIYE RELATIONS

1.	Religious Factor	46
2.	GeoPolitical Factor	48
2.1	Türkiye	48
2.2	Pakistan	52
3.	Unanimous Stand on Kashmir and Northern Cyprus	56
3.1	Kashmir Issue	56
3.2	Cyprus Dispute	62
4.	Areas of Common Interest	68
4.1	Counter Terrorism	68
4.2	Pakistan-Türkiye Nexus on Afghanistan	72

CHAPTER: 3

RE-DEFINING PAKISTAN-TÜRKIYE RELATIONS IN THE CHANGING INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

1.	Türkiye's Position in the Changing World Balances	79
2.	Türkiye's Role as a Regional and Global Player and its Power Capacity	82
3.	Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy	87
3.1	The Politics of Balance between the Great Powers	87
3.1.1	Türkiye's Growing Ties with Russia	87
3.1.2	Rising Partnership between Türkiye and China	93
3.1.3	Redefining the Türkiye-US Relationship	96

3.1.4 A New Way Forward for Türkiye-EU Ties	99
3.1.5 Türkiye's Role and Interests in Central Asia	101
3.1.6 Türkiye's Policies in the Changing political landscape of South Caucasus	104
3.1.7 Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy toward the Middle East	108
3.1.8 Türkiye's Increasing influence in Africa	114
4. The Place of Pakistan in a Changing International System	118
5. Relevance of Pakistan in the Transforming World Order	119
6. Foreign Policy of Pakistan in the Changing Regional and Global Settings	120
6.1 The Politics of Balance between the Great Powers	121
6.1.1 Lost Opportunities and Future Options in Pak-Russia Relations	121
6.1.2 The Changing Dynamics and New Developments of China–Pakistan Relations	127
6.1.3 Issues and Mistrust in Pakistan and the US Relations	130
6.1.4 Pakistan's Strategies in Central Asia	132
6.1.5 Azerbaijan, Türkiye, and Pakistan's geopolitical triangle	135
6.1.6 Current Trends in Foreign Policy of Pakistan towards the Middle East	138
6.1.7 Pakistan's Growing Engagement with Africa	143
7. Emerging World Order and Opportunities for both Pakistan and Türkiye	145
7.1 PAK-TR Relations in Economic and Trade Sector	148
7.2 Defence and Security Relations between Pakistan and Türkiye	150
7.3 Cooperation Opportunities between Pakistan and Türkiye in Other Fields	151
7.4 Emerging Muslim Blocs and Pak-Türkiye Foreign Policy Dilemma.....	152
8. Responses to Domestic and Regional Challenges	155

CONCLUSION	161
BIBLIOGRAPHY	168

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AKP	Justice and Development Party
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Countries
AU	African Union
BCN	British Commonwealth of Nations
BRI	Belt and Road initiative
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
BTC	Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Crude Oil Pipeline
BTE	Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum Natural Gas Pipeline
BTK	Baku-Tbilisi-Kars Railway
CAC	Chengdu Aircraft Corporation
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CoE	Council of Europe
CPEC	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
CSIS	Center for Strategic and International Studies
D-8	Developing Eight Organizations
ECO	Economic Cooperation Organization
ECOTA	Economic Cooperation Organization Trade Agreement
EEU	Eurasian Economic Union
EOKA	Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston
EU	European Union
FAITOR	Fight against International Terrorism and Organized Crime
FATF	Financial Action Task Force

FATF	Financial Action Task Force
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FETO	Fetullah Terrorist Organization
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
GASC	Greek Administration of Southern Cyprus
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNA	UN-recognised Government of National Accord
GNP	Gross National Product
HLSCC	High-Level Strategic Cooperation Council
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization
IED	Improvised Explosive Devices
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMO	International Maritime Organization
IPI	Iran-Pakistan-India pipeline
IR	International Relations
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
ISIS	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
ISSI	Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad
LAC	Line of Actual Control
MALE	Medium-Altitude Long-Endurance
MENA	Middle East and the North African

MERCOSUR	Common Market of the South
MOUT	Military Operations in Urban Terrain
NATO	<i>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</i>
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEF	Operation Enduring Freedom
OIC	Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
PAC	Pakistan Aeronautical Complex
PAK	Pakistan
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party
PNFT	Pakistan Navy Fleet Tanker Project
PYD	Democratic Union Party
RCD	Regional Cooperation for Development Organization
SAARC	South Asian Regional Cooperation Organization
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
TAI	Turkish Aerospace Industries
TANAP	Tarans-Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline Project
TASAM	Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies
TIKA	Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency
TR	Türkiye
TTIP	Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
TTP	Tehrik-i Taliban Pakistan
TURKSAM	Turkish Centre for International Relations & Strategic Analysis
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UAV	Reconnaissance Unmanned Aerial Vehicle

UN	United Nations
USA	<i>United States of America</i>
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO	World Trade Organization

Introduction

Relations between countries are generally evaluated according to the intensification of economic, military, social, and political relations. "Friendships" among countries also arise from the overlap of mutual interests. But the relations between the countries, such as Pakistan and Türkiye, are more derived from shared values and a sense of closeness between the people of the two countries. Since August 14, 1947, relations based on close friendship have been established in many areas such as politics, economics, education, and culture. For strengthening the cooperation between Pakistan and Türkiye in different fields, the two countries established High-Level Cooperation Council (HLCC) in 2009, which was later upgraded to the advance level as "High-Level Strategic Cooperation Council" (HLSCC).¹

Türkiye's special bond with Pakistan goes back to the Cold war era, where both states were allies of America to contain the expansion of Soviet threat. After the ruling Justice and Development Party came to power in Türkiye in 2002, its involvement in the Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia has involved a combination of conflict resolution diplomacy, soft power projection, Muslim solidarity politics, defense supplies, and economic cooperation. Ties with Pakistan appear important to Türkiye. Türkiye has always been a support to Pakistan on the Kashmir issue and lost ground in India, especially after UAE and Saudi Arabia have strengthened ties with India. Türkiye is likely to remain vulnerable to South Asia's geopolitical fault lines and eternal conflicts, for instance the end game in Afghanistan, problems of Uygur Muslims, the Kashmir issue and currently the increasing strategic rivalry between China and India.

The same foreign powers playing games in both countries already use similar methods and similar actors in both countries². The most obvious example of this is Türkiye's Cyprus issue and Pakistan's Kashmir problem. To these actors, ethnic conflict, the problem of terrorism and radical Islam can be added as other leading examples. However, Türkiye and Pakistan in the

¹ Republic of Türkiye, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Pakistan Türkiye Relations.", <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/Türkiye-pakistan-relations.en.mfa>, (accessed January 05, 2021).

² İsmail Akbaş. *Geçmişten Geleceğe Türkiye Pakistan İlişkileri* (İzmir: Zeus kitabevi, Mart 2013): pp.7-8

past have tried to provide the necessary support to each other in the international arena in terms of the problems they faced³.

In the 21st century, the possibilities of terrorist organizations to be dominated by developed countries and directed toward their own purposes carry security and securitization to different dimensions today. The phenomenon of terrorism, which has been frequently studied in the discipline of international relations after September 11, 2001, continues to be examined with many dimensions, including economic and social⁴. Türkiye and Pakistan are among the major developing nations that are facing the problem of terrorism. That problem plays a very important role in the destabilization and disruption of those countries. It is noteworthy that the United States's second invasion of Iraq and its intervention in Afghanistan, which took place on the grounds of the terrorist threat, was in perfect harmony with the Middle East and Caspian Basin policies of the US Department of Foreign Affairs. It is not difficult to observe that the effects of these interventions by great powers on the countries of the region are profound and shocking.⁵

Both Türkiye and Pakistan have been part of various defense, diplomatic, economic, and cultural agreements in the past 74 years. Strategically and economically, both Pakistan and Türkiye are crucial because of their strange geography. The geo-strategic locations of both states are unique and have similarities to a greater extent. Pakistan has three critical junctions that play a role in transportation to important parts of the world.⁶ This situation remains constant in its importance. The Central Asian Republics in the northwest of Asia, the Oil Producing Gulf countries in the west, and the states of Far East Asia with economic potential provide Pakistan with a strong and important position.⁷ The Soviet incursion of Afghanistan made Pakistan a country of eminent geostrategic importance. Pakistan became the frontline state for the U.S. in its war against terrorism after the 9/11 event, that brought the global

³ Oğuz Çelikkol, "Pakistan seçimleri ve Türkiye için önemi," *Hürriyet*, August 7, 2018, <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/oguz-celikkol/pakistan-secimleri-ve-turkiye-icin-onemi-40920596> (accessed January 5, 2021).

⁴ Ekatarina Stepanova, "Terrorism in Asymmetrical Conflict Ideological and Structural Aspects", (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 28-35

⁵ Yasemin Yılmaz, "The Impacts of Non-Statist Threats on Alliance Cohesion: Turkish-American Case," Master's Thesis, Ihsan Dogramacı Bilkent University, 2017, pp. 95

⁶ Akbaş, p.12.

⁷ Ibid., 12.

community to Afghanistan. Similarly, the geo-strategic importance of Türkiye emanates from its dominant location at the junction of the Caucasus, the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, and the Balkans. These were important regions in terms of conflict, friction, and instability since the end of the Cold War.⁸ Considering the fast-changing developments in post-September 9/11 international relations, both countries are playing a major role, especially in different conflict-stricken regions of the world.

Pakistan's relations with its neighbour India, which has been experiencing three hot wars since its establishment, the historical property and sovereignty of Kashmir, namely the Kashmir issue, the prevention of Punjab Rivers, which originated in India, and the territorial integrity protection of the country are among the major issues of Pakistan's external policy. In addition, the fight against Al-Qaeda and Taliban, terrorist organizations, international smuggling, Afghanistan border problems, disputes with Bangladesh, balanced relationship with its two important neighbors China and India, protection against the policies of the superpower USA in the region are undoubtedly difficult issues of Pakistan's foreign policy.

Pakistan has the status of a sole Muslim country that acquires nuclear power and technology. In addition to the GHAURI missiles, which reach a range of two thousand five hundred km, the TIPU missile system with a range of four thousand km continues to be developed. Tank technology and production have been realized as a result of agreements it has made with China. Defense cooperation agreements with its neighbor China are important not only for Pakistan but also for international balances.⁹

There has always been a support of Pakistan for Turkish policy in Cyprus and the PKK issue at the regional and international platforms. Other than the issue of Cyprus, the direct influence of Russia and the USA in the Middle East policies and the struggle to respond to these effects with balanced policies or to remain ineffective are among the issues that show that Türkiye is dealing with foreign policy problems similar to Pakistan.¹⁰ Thus, Cyprus and

⁸ Nezihi Çakar, "A strategic overview of Türkiye," *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.3, No. 2 (1998): 84.

⁹ Fateh Dedemen, "Türkiye-Pakistan Güvenlik ve işbirliği Semineri I.," *Harp Akademileri Komutankığı*, İstanbul, December 9, 2010, p. 44.

¹⁰ Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies, *New Era Türkiye-Pakistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges*, 2013.

the Kashmir issue, international smuggling, and terrorism portray themselves as similar problems for both states.

In the South Asian and the Middle East context, Türkiye-Pakistan relations have that much room to complement each other. The multipolar system that appeared in the 21st century has 3 basic distinguishing factors: "integration", "micro nationalism" and "unpredictability" The reflections of the existing parameters are rapidly beginning to be seen, there are predictions that in the next 10 years new member states can be added to the System and the number of members in the UN can be doubled.¹¹

It is very challenging for a large number of existing and possibly miniature states to portray themselves in global competitiveness. Different integration attempts were made that take the EU as an example in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

Among them, the most important is Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, and it is observed that the TTIP process has become strengthened in the last years.¹² It is widely believed that Europe will no longer remain militarily strong. The Investment Partnership and Transatlantic Trade procedure was accomplished in between America and the EU members for the beginning, and when this process got completed, a new coalition will come out that controls about two-thirds of the world economy, and in order to oppose this bloc; new power candidates such as Russia, India, and Brazil under the leadership of China will assimilate and the efforts of these two opposing blocs to share their spheres of influence over South Asia, Middle East, and the North Africa have been revived to remind the First World War. It is also useful to analyze the "Arab Spring" from this viewpoint.¹³

In the international arena, Pakistan considers Türkiye its closest and trustworthy ally, which shares the same religious, historical, linguistic, and geographical characteristics. However, in the development of bilateral relations, it is necessary for both Türkiye and Pakistan to have qualified and skilled manpower and use this skilled and trained manpower to generate

¹¹ Ibid.,

¹² Kemal Kırışçı, "Türkiye and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership Boosting the Model Partnership with the United States," *The Center on the United States and Europe at Brooking*, No. 2 (2013): 6-7.

¹³ Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies, *New Era Türkiye-Pakistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges*, 2013.

technology as well as wealth to receive shares from the global power structure and intensify the volume of the relationship between civil and public institutions.

There are multiple factors that have caused an increment in Pakistan's strategic importance, such as the change in the United States policy regarding Pakistan and India's matter, the withdrawal of NATO and the US forces from Afghanistan, the peace process between Iran and the Western countries, and the rapid increase in influence of China in the region and so on. The F-16 fighter jets of the two countries and the fighter jet projects carried out with Pakistan and China are also considered Türkiye-Pakistan relations to have that much space to complement each other. However, with the intention of doing so, the cooperation between both states should be increased and intensified rather than rhetoric.

Both countries share identical features in terms of cultural-harmony, geo-political position, and democratization efforts. In addition, they have faced the same problems at local, regional and the international level, and shares the similar ideas and interests regarding the issues of regional integration, geo-political positions, and democratization.¹⁴ Despite the fact that Pakistan is severely affected by the Afghan war (1979-present), and the three Gulf wars also have some impacts on the country, it hosted the mass influx of refugees and simultaneously coping with natural disasters in the form of earthquakes, storms, and floods. Pakistan is also taking significant steps to improve the system of democratization and also has an independent judiciary and media. Gradually, the global economic balance is moving from West towards East, and Pakistan and Türkiye can benefit from this situation as they are located in important points of major railways, pipelines, and roads.¹⁵

Both countries have relatively good bilateral relations at the global, regional, and local level. The two countries, that host diverse communities in ethnic / religious / sectarian terms, have common interests on regional and global problems like Afghanistan - Iraq and Syria. Although there is no physical border between the two countries, but they have to expand and

¹⁴ Ali Ünal, "Pakistan and Türkiye are two leading countries in the Islamic world," Daily Sabah, May 17, 2015, <https://www.dailysabah.com/diplomacy/2015/05/17/pakistan-and-Türkiye-are-two-leading-countries-in-the-islamic-world> (accessed January 8, 2021).

¹⁵ Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, "The Belt and Road Initiative in the global trade, investment and finance landscape", OECD Business and Finance Outlook 2018, Paris, OECD Publishing, (2018), 9.

deepen their common policies in academic, cultural, economic and energy-related fields, and abstract emotional ties between both countries should be materialized.

In civil-military relations, social advancement is largely based on a proportionate balance in internal as well as external security.¹⁶ It is observed that Türkiye is quite successful in handling this issue, and its success depends on its military, which is the most credible and honored institution in the country.¹⁷ Whereas, Pakistan's defense strategy relies heavily on its nuclear power and military forces, and these factors are at the target of foreign powers. The armies of several Islamic countries were disbanded, and therefore, the armies of Pakistan and Türkiye have crucial importance for the region and the Muslim world. In the Middle East, foreign forces are involved in propaganda and trying to divide the Muslim world into Shia and Sunni lines.¹⁸ Whereas, in the Pacific region, they have been striving to keep out China from its neighbors.¹⁹ This situation poses significant threats and challenges for emerging powers that are contesting with global powers.

Pakistan can gain help from Türkiye because it has good relations with European countries, so Pakistan can also take benefit in transporting textile products to European countries with the help of Türkiye. Türkiye has good relations with India, and therefore, it has the capability to play a facilitating role in India-Pakistan relations. Pakistan is also important for Türkiye in solving regional and global problems, and has a strategic advantage in developing relations, especially with countries such as China and Saudi Arabia, this situation once again indicates the need to take concrete steps in bilateral relations.

In the Pakistan-Türkiye relations, religious and the cultural factor has crucial importance because it plays a main part in formulating and determining the relations between these two states.²⁰ In terms of cultural relations, at present, Turkish dramas are very popular

¹⁶ Raashid W Janjua, "Civil Military Relations -The Impact of Internal and External Factors in Shaping the Balance of Civil and Military Power," *NDU Journal*, (2010): 27.

¹⁷ Müge Aknur, "Towards More Democratic Civil-Military Relations in Türkiye," *L'Europe en Formation*, No. 367 (2013): 35-38.

¹⁸ Geneive Abdo, "The Sunni-Shia Divide," Council on Foreign Relations, February 2016, <https://www.cfr.org/sunni-shia-divide/#/> (Accessed January 9, 2021)

¹⁹ Jihyun Kim, "Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea: Implications for Security in Asia and Beyond." *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 9, no. 2 (2015): 108.

²⁰ Munir Hussain, "Pak-Türkiye Relations: On the Common Ties. Alternatives," *Turkish Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 7, No.2&3 (2008): 74

and successful in Pakistan. Likewise, in India, Pakistani drama series are highly successful so, by promoting these drama series in Türkiye will bring the two countries closer and will enable the people of both states to deeply understand the cultural values of each other.

This study explores the PAK-TR relationship from the historical, strategic, political, economic, and cultural perspectives and provides insight into its past and present trends. The main focus is to discover a relationship pattern between both states in the changing global trends and simultaneously explores the existing challenges for both states that should be tackled and emerging opportunities offered by the new international system that must be grabbed.

Over recent years, Türkiye and Pakistan have strengthened their military and diplomatic ties. Under Erdoğan's leadership, Türkiye has vigorously worked to promote closer ties with the Muslim world that has been long abandoned by his progenitors. While Türkiye's achievements and problem with the Arab world have been much acknowledged and the establishing relationship with Pakistan could help Türkiye to compensate for its losses. With almost identical security concerns related to external enemies, a shared uncertainty regarding military coups and domestic revolts facilitate Türkiye and Pakistan to build closer ties in areas ranging from culture to Trade.

PAK-TR relations specifically, in the transforming international system would be the topic of the thesis. Pakistan and Türkiye have everlasting and intimate relation. So, the study will discuss the impacts of changing international order on their relationship. The changing international system is posing new threats and challenges for both states so we will discuss the nature of these threats and challenges and the position of both states in the transforming global system. Pakistan and Türkiye can also change these challenges into an opportunity through cooperation and combined efforts by strengthening their mutual ties.

Research Questions

A well-defined and understood scenario can be a good capacity for a possible scientific research. Research designs to deal with one or more research questions to answer a problematic situation and shed light on a particular conflict.²¹ The research question is very crucial for the

²¹ Edwin A. Locke, "The Case for Inductive Theory Building," *Journal of Management*, Vol. 33, No.6 (2007):

process of research, as the researcher need to design an inquiry in this way that enables him to answer the questions. Moreover, a well-designed research questions facilitates us to clear the objective of the research project and leads the researcher in the right way during the process of inquiry.²²

Taking into consideration the previous discussion, the fallowing research questions will be addressed in this study:

1. What are the factors determining the relations between Pakistan and Türkiye?
2. How Türkiye and Pakistan can collaborate in this transforming International System?
3. How the emerging International Order brings new challenges and opportunities for Pakistan and Türkiye and how it effects their position at regional and global level?

Research Objectives

The present study focuses on the following objectives:

- To examine Foreign Policies of both Pakistan and Türkiye in the transforming international system.
- To explore new avenues and potential benefits of PAK-TR relations.
- To analyze the reaction of both states towards the challenges faced by each state on local, regional and global level and its implications for both states.

Hypothesis

1. The Challenges of a transforming international system is providing opportunities for both states for further strengthening of bilateral relations.
2. Global structural transformation in the 21st Century and the emerging politics of the Middle East have greatly contributed to create a new power bloc between Pakistan and Türkiye.

²² Bob Matthews & Liz Ross, *Research Methods: A practical guide for the social sciences*, (Italy: Pearson Education Limited, 2010): 89

Thesis Methodology

This research will be conducted through qualitative research method. The study is based upon secondary data. These include debates and speeches on foreign policy related to Pakistan and Türkiye, Government of Türkiye reports, Reports of Government of Pakistan (concerned ministry such as Finance, Commerce, Tourism, Culture and Foreign Affairs), Policy Studies papers of different Research institutions and Think Tanks (both government and private). The secondary source consists of books written by well-known Scholars/intellectuals, articles published in reputed Journals, research papers, magazine and newspapers mostly circulated in U.S.A, Europe and South Asian. In addition, a significant amount of discussion is based on the analysis and opinion by think tanks and major scholars in the field of International Relations.

This study will use historical, analytical and descriptive methods to explain the theme of our study that is Pakistan-Türkiye relations in the context of changing International system and its regional and global implications. In the first chapter that explains the transition of global system, the researcher applied descriptive methods to describe the characteristics of new emerging international order. In the second Chapter, the researcher used historical methods to understand the major dynamics of Pakistan-Türkiye relations. In the third chapter, the researcher applied both historical and analytical methods to investigate the challenges faced by both states at local, regional and global level as well as their reaction towards these crises. In the last chapter, the researcher used descriptive and analytical methods to explain and analyze the cooperation between both states in political, strategic, economic, technological, social and cultural fields.

Organisation of Study

To accomplish its objectives and to answer the above-mentioned research questions, the thesis is divided into three chapters.

The first chapter highlights the notion of the International system. It focuses on the different types, nature, characteristics and structure of the system, and its transformation from the U.S. centric unipolar system to the multipolar International system, with the arrival of new global players in the global chessboard, such as China, Russia, EU and India in the 21st century.

The second chapter concentrates on the dynamics of Pakistan-Turkish relations and explores how Pakistan and Türkiye always stand side by side in times of crisis and share the

same stand on countering terrorism, smuggling, and other regional and global issues. The study deals with how Pakistan and Türkiye can benefit from the changing world order. The emerging multipolar system offers both Pakistan and Türkiye many opportunities. At the regional level, the focus of Pakistan-Türkiye cooperation is on maintaining security and stability in Afghanistan and sharing intelligence to combat and eradicate the root causes of terrorism. In this regard, the first priority of both countries will be to improve bilateral relations with regional states such as Afghanistan and Iran, to facilitate cooperation, and to promote peace and stability in the region.

The third chapter of the study attempts a discussion on the positions of both Pakistan and Türkiye in the changing regional and global settings and cooperation between them, their foreign policies towards major powers and how they become successful in maintaining a balance between them rather than getting closer to just one. The chapter will conclude on the importance and role of both states in the Middle East region, elaborates the opportunities and challenges for both the states and discusses its impacts on regional strength.

CHAPTER: 1

CHANGE IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

1. Defining “International Order” and “International System”

Order specifies a situation in which everything is in its right place. Daily activities would be normal and peaceful if order exists. In the global affairs, order brings a certain procedure in the way one country manages its affairs with other states. The procedure can be viewed in the form of a body of rules and principles, which are generally accepted and appreciated by governments²³. Thus, with the purpose of assisting countries to form and implement these rules, common institutions like the United Nations has established. These institutions are meant to assist in resolving disputes and differences between countries through diplomacy and dialogue. In the context of international politics, the word "order" may have several connotations. The "set of laws, conventions, and institutions that control interactions among the important participants in the international environment" is one definition of the "International Order." Another definition of "International Order"²⁴. Order can be defined as an organized and stable connection pattern that are present between different nations. It comprises of some combination of pieces, such as international political organizations or regimes, law making institutions, and emerging norms, among other things.

According to Ikenberry, the term "order" refers to a collection of "governing arrangements between nations, including its fundamental concepts, norms, and institutions."²⁵ Rules, Alliances and requirements, organizations, norms, and other factors can all be combined to form orders. Orders can also be built out of a combination of other factors. Therefore, there is a difference between the international system and the international order. The international system is a representation of all the many kinds of interaction that may take place between nations, including political, economic, cultural, social, ecological, and other types. The "neorealist" school of international relations theory proposes that two features of the international system—the distribution of power among states, also referred to as the "polarity" of the system, and the system's "anarchic nature"—place restrictions on the behaviors of states

²³ *Contemporary World Order*, 309.

²⁴ Miranda Priebe and Kathleen Reedy, *Measuring the Health of the Liberal International Order* (RAND Corporation, 2017): 13.

²⁵ G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*, (Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press, 2001): 23.

and propel them to interact in certain ways. Specifically, the "polarity" of the system and the "anarchic nature" of the system.²⁶ These aspects have the potential to mold behavior, but they are broad, emergent properties of the system and do not presuppose the organized pattern of an order in any way.²⁷

International order wasn't established until after the modern period, when concepts of the Westphalian system were employed to build the basis. State sovereignty and equality were safeguarded by broadening the ideas of classical balance-of-power politics. While it was usual in international politics prior to the Westphalian system for the territorial integrity standard to arise, the Westphalian system is largely responsible for its current development. As a consequence of the Westphalian system, the Westphalian system was created.²⁸

While the liberal international system that emerged after World War II has a strong chance of surviving, it is much less likely than any other possible order. Structured relationships among states are the only source of order. Even if the international system does maintain some kind of order in the future decades, it may assume a different shape from the one that exists now. The more liberal aspects of the post-Cold War system, such as the promotion human rights and democracy, have been contested by countries like China and Russia, while the traditional features, such as rules of territorial integrity and sovereignty, have been actively defended by these nations. Future global order might be built on these ideas, with the United Nations and the World Bank putting a lower priority on liberal ideals. Because order may take so many different forms, practical orders are only revealed via the confluence of ordering mechanisms at certain points in history. Many of these tactics involve talks, organizations, and trade and financial flows structured networks, as well as confidence-building measures.

In a broad sense, the term "international order" refers to established and, to some degree, institutionalized patterns of international interactions, including institutions and practices. The international system as a whole may develop societies and communities, but it is not required to do so in any significant sense. This is where order comes from. Over the

²⁶ Harknett, Richard J., and Hasan B. Yalcin. "The Struggle for Autonomy: A Realist Structural Theory of International Relations." *International Studies Review* 14, no. 4 (2012): 501.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 503.

²⁸ Michael J. Mazarr, Miranda Priebe and Andrew Radin, *Understanding the Current International Order* (California: RAND Corporation, 2016): 10.

years, modern international politics has given birth too many orders.²⁹ According to several schools of thought, the system is both an analytical level and a unit of analysis in international relations. An alternative definition of the international system is the model for interactions amongst the fundamental elements of global politics. The world's organization, the types and capabilities of the forces at work inside and between significant units, and the political cultures and levels of power of these units all influence this model.³⁰

The environment in which states interact with each other is called as “International System”. Every state is considered to be sovereign, meanwhile some states are said to be more sovereign in comparison to the others. The system has a manifold informal rule about how things have to be carried out, however these rules are not legally binding. International relations have existed since the establishment of nation-states. The international system that continues until today is only few centuries old. Four major events have influenced the shaping of the international system and its current state. These are the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

The international system has been defined in many different ways by various authors and schools. For example, *Keneth Waltz*, known as the neorealist, said that the international system consists of states, interactions and structure, while *K. J. Holsti*, who is considered as a realist, defined the international system as "any sum of independent political entities such as tribes, city-states, empires or national states."³¹ According to the liberal theorist *Richard N. Rosecrance*, the international system is a structure composed of disruptive inputs, regulatory mechanisms and environmental constraints.³² "Whereas, according to Karl Deutsch, the 'International System' is a collection of settlements clustered around major cultural centers, areas of language and dialects, divisions of the class and caste system, modes of transportation, sharp regional differences in wealth and interdependence, and barriers between markets." There are many different players in the international system, including international organizations, governments, and supranational organizations.

²⁹ Ibid., 12.

³⁰ Wolfram F. Hanrieder, "The International System: Bipolar or Multibloc?" *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 9, no.3 (1965): 299.

³¹ Tayyar Arı, *Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Dış Politika*, 154.

³² Richard N. Rosecrance, *International Relations: Peace or War?* (NY: McGrawHill, 1973): 65-70.

When it comes to international and global history, English school philosophy laid down the groundwork for looking at these issues from an international order viewpoint. When two or more governments have sufficient interaction and influence on one another's actions, they constitute an international system, according to Hedley Bull, one of the most prominent exponents of the English School.³³ For the sake of this concept, power politics are largely concerned with the behaviour of nations whose actions are constrained by the international anarchy.

International system was a prominent phrase in academia during the Cold War. Nonetheless, in the 1990s, terminology like "global governance" or "international regimes" began to take hold, reflecting the rise of international society. As Hedley Bull put it, the international system has been replaced by the international society in the realm of international affairs. The international system, despite changes in academic trends and real-world politics, is still functional because interstate ties make up a large portion of international relations.³⁴ The notions of international society and international system are thus required in Bull's understanding in order to study them.

2. Historical Development of the International System

Some academics argue that the international political system started to evolve in the 17th century with the signing of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, while studying the genesis of international politics. The International System has gone through many stages of development since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1989.³⁵ The twentieth century is the time when the international system, which was largely Euro-centric and extended to non-European countries via colonialism, was a global system in the full meaning of the term. After the Globe Conflict I (1914-1918), which was the most terrible war the world had ever experienced, the world went through the more devastating World War II (1939-1945). (1939-1945). The years 1919-1945

³³ Stephen Mcglinchey, Rosie Walters & Christian Scheinpflug, *International Relations Theory* (Bristol: E-International Relations Publishing, 2017), 28.

³⁴ Ryuhei Hatsuse, "International System," *International Journal of Sustainable Development Law* 3, no.22 (2010): 23.

³⁵ Madhusha Guruge, "Evolution of International System", *Linked in*, April 15, 2015, <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/evolution-international-system-madhusha-guruge>, (Accessed Feb 02, 2022).

and 1946-1991 indicate important turning points in the history of the international system in this century.

The era 1919-1945 is a transitional phase. It is a slightly deteriorated continuation of the former system. First of all, although Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia, which arose after the war, produced an increase in the number of members in the system, it is observed that European-centered international relations expanded to certain other areas. The rise to power of Bolsheviks in Russia, Fascists in Italy, and National Socialists in Germany produced certain changes in the views of these nations that make up the international system.³⁶

The League of Nations was responsible for a great deal of devastation during World War One. It was, however, a failure since the ultimate result was unsatisfactory and did not meet the expectations. An arms race, the formation of power blocs, secret treaties, and a series of aggressive campaigns all took place at this critical juncture, contributing to the onset of World War II and its deployment of nuclear weapons.

Perhaps there been a major shift in international relations during this age of transnationalization? In spite of the multi-polar balance of power, it was expected that academics and politicians would begin to concentrate more on international issues in order to come up with solutions for international disagreements.' While the balance of power remained multipolar, this was the situation. In addition to Woodrow Wilson, who served as president from 1917 to 1919, several others were strongly impacted by Kant, Rousseau, and Hugo Grotius. Due to a shift in global power dynamics, new nation-states might be accepted into the international system. After that, there was a schism between the two opposing ideologies, with the United States and Russia leading each side.

The League of Nations, established after World War One, laid the groundwork for what would eventually become the United Nations (UN). Following the end of World War II, the United Nations was formed. The United Nations, the second international organizing attempt of the twentieth century, was founded after a failed experience similar to that of the League of

³⁶ Sefa Yalçınkaya, "Historical Development of the International System", *Foreign Trade Institute, 2018, pp. 7-12.*

Nations and has a greater budget, more complicated constitution, and a more efficient administrative organization.

On April 25, 1945, the first United Nations Conference was convened in San Francisco. For the sake of international peace and security, establishing friendly relations based on the principles of equality and self-determination for all nations is essential, as are efforts to combat all kinds of aggression and to maintain global peace and security. One of the main purposes of the United Nations has been to promote international cooperation by resolving economic, intellectual, humanitarian, and social issues, with a focus on human rights and freedoms, and to act as a hub for nations to coordinate their efforts in accordance with these shared objectives. It was the promise of peace that led to the establishment of the United Nations (UN) during World War II, and it has since grown into the world's most significant diplomatic and diplomatic hub. After the First World War, the League of Nations was formed as a result of the conflict.³⁷

Although there was no global war in the international system based on the UN after the Second World War, but it have been quite ineffective to deal with the Vietnam War, the occupation of Iraq, the inability to improve the situation in Afghanistan, the late intervention in the massacre in Bosnia, Israel's occupation of Palestine, Russia's annexation of Crimea, refugee problems and various humanitarian crises. The UN, whose main purpose is to take measures against all kinds of attacks and to ensure international peace and security, cannot fully fulfill its function. This dysfunction of the UN allows a state with sufficient power within the anarchic structure of the international system to do what it wants in line with its interests. As a result of the Congress of Vienna, an international structure based on and dominated by the five great states England, France, Austria, Russia and Prussia emerged. At the end of the First World War, as a result of the withdrawal of the USA into its own shell within the framework of the Monroe Doctrine, a new international structure, dominated by England and France, emerged. At the end of the Second World War, an international structure based on the supremacy of the USA, Soviet Union (Russia), England, France and China emerged. In this international structure, the absolute superiority of the USA, which remained as the only great power as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union, was in question

³⁷ "Historical Development of the International System"...., 11.

After World War II, the international system underwent a major shift during the Cold War era. That time period spanned from the end of the Soviet Union to the present day. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the United States became the dominant superpower in the modern international order. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the rise of globalization triggered this shift. The 'relationships' or affairs have become increasingly global rather than international because of global economic and cultural influences. Many scientists believe we live in a uni-polar universe, while others aren't so sure. Since the early 1990s, the United States has been actively pursuing the expansion of its global dominance, power, and hegemony. After the Soviet Union's demise, there was no other major country that could threaten the United States' military and economic superiority.³⁸ However, we can notice certain modifications in the international system from the uni-polar system that have happened in recent years. After that, the response is to promote the transition to a multipolar international order.

3. Transformation of the International System

As communist governments in Eastern Europe fell and the Soviet Union disintegrated in 1991, the Bipolar Era in the world system came to an end peacefully. The Cold War-era international structure of bipolarity has dissipated. After the breakup of the USSR, Eastern Europe was no longer under the Soviet Union's jurisdiction. During the last three decades, the United States has been the only power in a new global order that evolved during the Cold War. A new unipolar system based on U.S. dominance is being studied by military strategists, political scientists, and system theorists from nations all over the globe.

Military, economic, diplomatic, industrial, and technological prowess remain strongholds for the United States. As undeniable as the United States' influence is, it is not indestructible. According to Charles Freeman, "the international system will continue to change, regardless of any nation's efforts to block it from doing so: no international order is everlasting. It is impossible for a state to be either powerful or weak indefinitely. It is possible for the international order to be thrown into a prismatic transition due to the demise of great

³⁸ Andrea E. Varisco, "Towards a Multi-Polar International System: Which Prospects for Global Peace?" *E. International Relations*, 2013, <https://www.e-ir.info/2013/06/03/towards-a-multi-polar-international-system-which-prospects-for-global-peace/>

governments, the growth of weak ones, or the reorganization of ties between erstwhile friends and adversaries³⁹.

The United Governments' hegemony and domination will progressively wane under an anarchic international order, while the relative strength of other states would rise. This means that a one-world system will eventually come to an end. With "almost all of the main regional powers progressively expressing themselves to advance their own distinct interests, which frequently conflict with the United States," Samuel Huntington concludes. A multipolar balance of power will return when the gap between the United States and the rest of the globe is reduced. "The notion of a new multipolar world is founded on a hazy theory of IR, which presumes that a world with many separate power centers would naturally reject a hegemon," says Charles Clover. It would be a step toward a New World Order that relies on alliances rather than multilateral institutions to maintain peace.

In the last several years, the multilateral system has undergone two fundamental transformations. Multi-polarity is a reflection of the increasing number of nations that are key participants in global politics. This is the first. There was a time when single or few players controlled the political regime in the world. But now it has been observed that many states are trying to become the dominant player within the global political system. Political participation and the voting behaviour of the BRICS States in the United Nation Organization and in the G20 clearly demonstrate the fact. While about the other development, which is the emergence of new actors that are altering the basics multidimensional areas of the global politics. There are several regions acquires with state attributed properties are continuously increasing their presence in the area of International Relations (IR). For instance, from the mid of 1970s, the European Union (EU) has been got the status of an Observer within the United Nations, but in 2011, the United Nations General Assembly changed its status from an Observer by giving it the speaking rights. While the same determination unlocks the door for other regional organizations to ask for the same rights and realize others about their needs. The recognition of the speaking rights is a great opportunity for regional organizations to enhance their capacity to cover the other regime areas to play positive role in the changing multilateral system.

Multilateralism specifically based upon the centrality of the states which are the major players of the decision making system and the relation between these states decided the content

³⁹ Paul R. Ehrlich & Anne H. Ehrlich, "Can a collapse of global civilization be avoided?" *Royal Society Publishing*, Stanford University, USA, 2012, pp. 2-4.

and form of “Multilateralism”. So, the International politics can be viewed as a close system because it stretch across the globe and there are greater difficulty to be enter in the system.⁴⁰

There are many scholars which have pointed to all types of debilitations such as the complication of the United Nation Organization system with its regionalized or overlying array of councils and agencies, or to the divisions among the developed and developing states. The critical essence of the global issues such as global warming, climate change, misbalance political conditions, international humanitarianism, the proliferation of atomic weapons, and terrorism which are creating a lot of contradictions in the global governance. According to the Van Langenhove and Thakur “the specific policy authority for handling the global problems still possesing by the states while states or regional government have to take mutual steps along with transnational organisations, regional or global players to control over the global problems. But unfortunately the major parts of the multilateralism (the States) are unable to tackle the global problem and contribute positively in the tackling of global challenges.⁴¹ So it can be said that Multilateralism is not working well.

4. Characteristics of the transforming Inernational System

In many theoretical and empirical studies, there has been a widespread opinion that the international system has turned into a unipolar structure after the Cold War, and the name of the new process is the 'New World Order'. Structural Realists, who see the distribution of power among the actors as the main actor of the international system, focused on concepts such as unipolarity, bipolarity and multipolarity while defining the system.⁴² The end of the Cold War has a deep impact on the International System and the problems caused by the U.S centric unipolar order after the cold war left the world order in the throes of transformation. Although it did not result in a change in the order, it did have an effect on the character of the existing order. It is possible to define the new character of the world order as a “multipolar world order”.

⁴⁰ Edited by John Tirman, Edward Newman, & Ramesh Thakur, “Multilateralism under challenge? Power, international order, and structural change”, (New York: United Nations University Press, 2006), pp. 160-167.

⁴¹ Luk Van Langenhove, “Multilateralism 2.0: The transformation of international relations”, *United Nations University*, May 31st, 2011, <https://unu.edu/publications/articles/multilateralism-2-0-the-transformation-of-international-relations.html>,

⁴² Scott Burchill, Realism and Neo-Realism, *Theories of International Relations*, (edited by), Andrew Linklater, Matthew Paterson, Jacqui True, Scott Burchill and Richard Devetak, (London, 2001), p. 93.

The emerging multipolar system has distinct features such as the problem of global leadership is one of the most distinctive or prominent features of the current global situation. In addition to the global leadership problem, another dynamic that shapes the new global system is that power distribution cannot be explained by multipolarity alone. Perhaps the most important feature of multi-layered multipolarity is the considerable increase in the number of rising powers.⁴³

Emerging powers are becoming more and more essential players in the shaping of the world order in terms of the conflict and competition processes they are involved in, their regional foreign policy activism and their effectiveness in the global economy.⁴⁴ The changing security problems and threat environment, the Rising East and the Declining West, Europe's Last decade, international terrorism, geopolitical competition and the risk of great power conflict, Middle East battle lines and the rapid departure of global politics from the norm axis are among the new trademarks of the global order.

4.1 Global Leadership

Among the characteristic features of the new style of multipolarity is the problem of global leadership. The problem of global leadership manifests itself at three levels. The first of these is experienced at the level of "leaders" themselves. Many problems are experienced on a global scale. There are serious differences between the positions of leaders on many issues from the economy to security, from climate change to extremism, violence, discrimination and racism. These differences not only delay the resolution of the crises, but also bring about the deepening of sensitive conflicts such as Syria, Libya, Yemen and the fight against terrorism.⁴⁵ In addition to different views, it is also necessary to take into account the "lack of leadership" that will take initiative and involve other actors in the processes in order to find solutions to the problems that have recently had global effects.

The second level, where the problem of global leadership is experienced, emerges in the axis of "global governance and international organizations". The UN, which is at a central

⁴³Ferhet Pirinççi & Murat Yeşiltaş, "Küresel Dönüşüm Sürecinde Türkiye'nin Büyük Stratejisi, [Türkiye's Grand Strategy in the Global Transformation Process]", (SETA, İstanbul: 2020), p. 37.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.37.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p.38.

point in terms of global governance, has turned into an organization that is weak in taking an active role in international crises as a whole. The fact that the UN has not taken any effective steps on the global epidemic, when taken together with other problems, deepens the governance crisis. The governance issue is not limited to the UN. Other global and regional organizations cannot play a leading role in the management of crises in their own fields. Another level where the problem of global leadership manifests itself is on the axis of states. Apart from playing an active role in solving global problems, the USA has both turned into an actor that causes problems and lost its previously assumed "neutrality" position in many international issues.⁴⁶

The problem that the global leadership problem is facing at the state level is not limited to the USA either. It can be said that a similar criticism is valid for the European Union as well.

The quality of leadership is very important to handle the political system or political regime situations. As the American leadership is facing issues which weakening the American decision making system as well. Same situation is done with the European system, because there system already abandoned and they are not playing any positive role in the global security. They are also impotent to play supportive role in the maintainance of peaceful situation in the conflictual regions or to avoid the formation of the terrorist groups. As the world is becoming multipolar, there is no state or country which is able to push United States of America to ensure high level of security and equality among the developing and developed states of the world.

The struggle among the former major powers and the newly emerging dominant powers is resulting in the creation of problem of global leadership. Emerging powers are blamed for not being active and responsible enough to solve the global problems and even when they take some action or responsibility, are not appreciated by the already present dominant powers in the system. Inimical behavior of the United States towards the intervention made by Türkiye and Brazil in the Nuclear Crisis of Iran clearly illustrates the fact.⁴⁷ No state is liable to take the responsibility to resolve the global issues or to play effective role in the maintainance of peaceful sustainability. In the transforming global system Major Powers are not playing their

46 Ibid.,

47 Changing Dynamics of International Relations, Brookings India, Jan 15, 2014, <https://www.brookings.edu/events/changing-dynamics-of-international-relations/>

effective role to resolve local, national, or transnational issues this is why global issues are at their place.

4.2 Problems of the new Global Economic Order

Raghuram Rajan an Indian economist stated in 2005 that world's major central bankers and financial system is facing a lot of global financial issues while the system was threatened within the crisis and at the same time, he also said that, the current financial system is also in trouble to resolve issues in well manner. Mr. Rajan also accomplishes that the reason behind the financial crisis exploded "because of the combined economic system and in an integrated world, what is best for the individual actor or institution is not always best for the system." While with respect to the geological fault lines, economic system of the world are more unlocked and closed. Several economies are specifically potentially more destructive because of the irresponsible behaviours of the financial players within the economies.⁴⁸

Mr. Rajan also highlighted that the three main fault lines: domestic political anxieties among the states, trade deficits among different countries, and the problems caused by the interaction of economic systems with very different structures. All three came together to damage the financial sector in 2008, and could meet again to cause another crisis. He also criticized the role of USA and their rising income inequality as well. The big economies of the world such as, China, Japan, India, and Germany were very much relying on the US demand for their exports that led to huge trade deficit among these states by creating another faultline.⁴⁹

The eruption of International financial crises in 2007–08, hit the entire economies and badly effected the major financial pillars. The outcomes of the American unstable economy metric is also imbalanced the other financial system and also effect the interlinked financial

⁴⁸ Raghuram Rajan, "Fault Lines: How Hidden Fractures Still Threaten the World Economy", (New Jersey, Princeton University Press: 2010): pp. 9-25, ISBN: 9781400839803, https://edisciplinas.usp.br/pluginfile.php/4356416/mod_resource/content/1/%28Full%20Book%29%20Rajan%20C%20R.%20G%20%282010%20Fault%20Lines%20%20How%20Hidden%20Fractures%20Still%20Threaten%20the%20World%20.pdf

⁴⁹ Ibid.,

regulatory bodies.⁵⁰ The Western States were immediately turned into G-20 to cope with the crisis.

UN introduces their financial International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization to streamline the financial activities which can provide ultimate benefit to the developing regions to invest in the projects which can upgrade and raise the standard of developing economies. IMF and WTO is responsible to regulate adequate money and provide beneficial help to the deserving countries to streamline the global economy and to play effective role which is the main responsibility of the UNO. The unrealistic financial imbalances resulted in the form of deregulation of the financial sector within the United States and in the other regions.

The sequence in which the real problems used to be located more broadly. "Well, there are too many deep fault lines in the global economy, and these fault lines evolved especially because within the integrated economy and in an integrated globe, critical opportunities to streamline developing economies were created." According to the scenario of Mexico crisis which was held in 1994, in the 1997 the East Asia financial catastrophe and the most relevant the crises of international financial crisis held in 2008, among others, the globally integrated economy has brought huge affluence while also introducing increasing volatility into the system.⁵¹ The last two sent shockwaves through the global economy. Increment in the prices of oil, financial uncertainty, undercapitalized groups, and financial innovation and deregulation, these all factors contributed in the deregulations, which effect the financial strengths.

4.3 The Failure of European Centric Politics

Europe has stalled politically, economically, technologically, and geopolitically in the decade since the 2008 financial crisis. It has fumbled from crisis to crisis, responding with

⁵⁰ Jacqueline Gartmann, "The Financial and Economic Crisis and Developing Countries", *International Development Policy*, Issue: 1, 2010, p. 193-195.

⁵¹ Thomas Wright, Bruce Jones, Robert Keane & Jeremy Shapiro, "The State of the International Order", *Foreign Policy at Brookings*, No: 33, Feb 2014, p. 14.

confused half-measures again and again. The European Union's survival is an evidence of its strength, but it has emerged scarred and bruised from the past decade.⁵²

Europe, not surprisingly, has been mired in a conservative era. This perspective has dominated Europe's economic policy, restructuring the European Union, European integration, and its global position. In this conservative era, Europe has lost its ambition when it comes to the European Union. Europe has been working on a big effort to construct a union since World War II, integrating politically, economically, and socially. The nation-state has a leading position in the more conservative perspective of Europe and it has left Europe impotent to cope with the economic crisis ascribed to the migration crisis of 2015, and the great depression.⁵³ Both of which exposed the imperfections and weaknesses in the institution of EU.

Europe continues to strike well below its combined weight in geopolitics. Despite possessing the world's greatest economy and a population of 500 million, Europe's global standing has remained unchanged. Europe did little in response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the election of an anti-NATO president in the United States. There was much debate about the necessity for a bigger EU participation in international issues, but little action was taken. Surprisingly, Europe's military reliance on the US is now higher than it was in 2010.⁵⁴ Europe's shift towards harsh rhetoric did not happen abruptly. Especially the developments in the Middle East are the main factor in the political discourse in Europe today. Because the civil war in Syria and the subsequent refugee wave had a great impact in Europe.⁵⁵

Peer Steinbrück, the former finance minister of Germany, said in the initial phase of international financial crisis that the crisis was essentially an "American problem" and that "the United States will lose its superpower standing in the world financial system. The financial system of the world is becoming multi-polar. Soon after Wolfgang Schäuble, the current finance minister of Germany, notified that integration would bring to an end in view of the fact

⁵² Kalin A Janse, "How Europe beat the financial crisis – and the risks it still faces", *World Economic Forum*, 2018, <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/04/how-europe-beat-the-financial-crisis-and-the-risks-it-still-faces/>

⁵³ Alberto Alesina, Daron Acemoglu, & Christopher J. Bickerton, "*The Search for Europe: Contrasting Approaches*," (Spain: BBVA, 2015), P. 87-92.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁵⁵ Çagtay Özdemir, "Değişen Uluslararası Sistemde Türkiye'nin Konumu, [Türkiye's Position in the Changing International System]", *SETA*, 2018, <https://www.setav.org/degisen-uluslararasi-sistemde-turkiyenin-konumu/>

that Europe faced a big revolution, and the level of unemployment and inflation is very high in periphery states of Europe.⁵⁶

The euro crisis was exacerbated in part by the European Union's incompleteness. The euro has been on the verge of collapse for nearly four years, but has managed to avoid Catastrophe due to a strong political commitment to keep the Union together and because no one can figure out how to leave without causing a catastrophic economic disaster and many bank failures.⁵⁷

The Eurozone is the most important part of the European Union, which is the world's largest economic unit. The US and the global economy are not and will not be immune to Europe's woes. Economists estimate that if the euro were to collapse, it would result in an economic crash costing some of its member states as much as 40% of their GDP. Economists believe that if the euro were to collapse, it would trigger an economic disaster that would cost some of the Eurozone's member states 40% of their GDP and result in a 10% reduction in global GDP.⁵⁸ In the United States, many banks would be unlikely to survive. A drop in European demand would be devastating for China. China, India, and Brazil are three of the most populous countries on the planet.

4.4 Multi-layer Power Distribution

Another distinguishing feature of the current world order is that it has a multi-layered distribution of power. One of the first elements of this fragmented and more fragile multipolar structure is the new form of power distribution. This new model largely incorporates some differences from previous power distribution models. The classical multipolar structure that

⁵⁶ Thomas Wright, Bruce Jones, Robert Keane & Jeremy Shapiro, "The State of the International Order", *Foreign Policy at Brookings*, No: 33, Feb 2014, p. 15.

⁵⁷ Peter A.Hall, *The Euro Crisis and the Future of European Integration*, *Open Mind: BBVA*, 2016, p.5, <https://www.bbvaopenmind.com/en/articles/the-euro-crisis-and-the-future-of-european-integration/>

⁵⁸ Habermas Jürgen, *"The Crisis of the European Union"* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012); M. Matthijs and M. Blyth, eds., *"The Future of the Euro"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

prevailed in the 19th century served to maintain a perfect balance between the five players in the system.⁵⁹

Likewise, bipolarity, which was the dominant model during the Cold War, had divisive features to reflect the balance of power between the US and the Soviet Union. In the bipolar system, the actors were on the side of the balancing actors as a necessity. In such a system, alliance relations were more rigid and had an extremely stagnant appearance with transitivity.⁶⁰ On the other hand, in the unipolar structure of the post-Cold War period, while the system had a hierarchical appearance in terms of absolute power distribution, the actors were generally able to gain a foothold in the context of their relationship with the superpower directly or indirectly. The unipolar system, in which counterbalancing was costly, did not last long, and this process, which shaped the post-Cold War world order largely under the leadership of the USA, began to erode with the 21st century. However, the rivalry relations, security and power rivalries between the poles, which form separate power forms in the global economic and military power axes of the newly shaped 21st century, present a more fragmented appearance unlike the others.⁶¹

Despite the elements of inequality between the parties, the absolute and relative power capacities of many actors cause the new era to appear as a hybrid and multi-layered polarity. Therefore, the deadlocks and crises in the current order have been reshaped under a new form in a multipolar world order.

From this point of view, the nascent multipolarity differs in some respects from the multipolarity that preceded it. Firstly, the previous multipolarity was basically the world of empires and the colonies that fed them, in which the main actors were the great powers. Although there were states that did not stand out much, such as the USA and Japan, the main

⁵⁹ Andrea E. Varisco, "Towards a Multi-Polar International System: Which Prospects for Global Peace"? *E. International Relations*, 2013, <https://www.e-ir.info/2013/06/03/towards-a-multi-polar-international-system-which-prospects-for-global-peace/>

⁶⁰ Marshal Zeringue & Raymond Taras, *Grand Strategy in a Post-Bipolar World: Interpreting the Final Soviet Response*, Cambridge University Press, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Oct., 1992), p. 357. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20097311>.

⁶¹ Ferhet Pirinççi & Murat Yeşiltaş, "Küresel Dönüşüm Sürecinde Türkiye'nin Büyük Stratejisi, [Türkiye's Grand Strategy in the Global Transformation Process]", (Istanbul: SETA, 2020), p. 37.

players were in the European geography. On the other hand, the main actors of the new multipolarity are neither only great powers nor only states. Instead, the actors of the new multi-layered multipolarity are regional organizations, transnational structures, social movements, non-state armed groups and terrorist organizations. Secondly, unlike the 19th century, the economy has become one of the distinguishing features of the international order, both in terms of its scope and intensely in terms of content. Thirdly, the interaction created by economic interdependence is not limited to a certain geography today. Fourth, the multipolar structure was basically based on the harmony between European powers, and it was built on European diplomacy and then on European international institutions, which concern the European power balance. Fifth, the main factor threatening classical multipolarity was the territorial and conventional conflicts between states that would disrupt European harmony.⁶² While conflicts between states have decreased over time, conflicts in the new multi-layered polarity seem to have diversified and ceased to be conventional.

4.5 The Changing structure of International Trade: the Rise of the Rest and Decay of the West

Since World War II, the US was leading the global economy which had mixed accomplishment in advancement of technology rather than other developed states in the world. Significant sections of Asia have accelerated and, in some circumstances, surpassed advanced economies. Sub-Saharan Africa, on the contrary, has only recently concealed about its 1970s per capita GDP peak; Latin America's trajectory has similarly been modest. Until the 2000s, it experienced two decades of low growth, with the exception from the Baltic States and a few former Soviet bloc countries in Eastern Europe.⁶³

Emerging markets have grown in importance over the last few decades. As a result, emerging markets' fortunes have diverged more from those of Western economies in recent decades. Furthermore, the product rotation that propelled emerging markets since around 2000 has ended.⁶⁴

⁶² Ibid.,

⁶³ “*World Economic Situation and Prospects*” (New York: United Nations, 2020), p.5.

⁶⁴ Anne Sraders, “What Are Emerging Markets? Characteristics and List,” The Street, 2020, <https://www.thestreet.com/markets/emerging-markets/what-are-emerging-markets-14819803>

Nonetheless, there are some reasons to be optimistic about emerging markets:

- Over a longer period, there are almost 22 non-Western nations which had observed their GDP per capita rise at a rate more than double that of the United States, while the rest of the 53 non-Western countries have grown faster than the United States. Only nine Asian countries were included in the 'rapid' group, despite many of them are minor economies.
- Emerging markets are slowly catching up to mature economies in terms of non-GDP metrics like life expectancy, education, and health treatments.
- China, India, and other developing states of the Asia, there are majority of people around the world are communicable up and willingly, rather than falling behind the West, resulting in the emergence of an "emerging global middle class."
- Latest technology and their unique concepts that help future growth and ensure ultimate success will proliferate, be assimilated, bought, backward-engineered, and learned online, despite efforts to keep them out. For the global economy, China has become a new economic centre of gravity, the specific shifting of the global economic geography in the direction of the developing world was posing critical challenges to Pax Americana specially, while Pax Americana has already foot backed the development of non-cost market necessities and global integration at that time. This major change in the economic and financial control effected the benefited emerging markets greatly, but it also carries substantial risks if rising inter-state rivalry leads to increased global instability.⁶⁵

Rich countries have gotten wealthy over time, whereas the rest of countries have remained impoverished. A significant exception is the East Asian countries' catch-up since 1950. From the 1960s onwards, the 'Asian Tigers' (Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan) followed Japan's rise in the post-World War II period until 1990. India, China, and a second tier of the Asian countries such as Vietnam, Malaysia and Thailand and the Indonesia, which are already in the race is still moving on.⁶⁶ Since 2000, the poorest countries in South Asia have begun to show signs of significant economic growth. As a result, a growing number

⁶⁵ "World Economic Situation and....., p.121- 132

⁶⁶ Bhanoji Rao, "East Asian Economies: Trends in Poverty and Income Inequality", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 34, No. 18 (May 1-7, 1999), pp. 1029-1030, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4407905>,

of people around the world — more than at any other time in history – are catching up with the West. Inequality within countries, on the other hand, is at unsustainable levels, and this qualifies the assumption that effected the social lives badly.

Most of the developing and upgrading economies (including the 32 Caribbean and Latin American States, and 29 developing Asian states of the world) are growing their contribution of international trade and have emerged as a key force in global financial markets and within the financial institutes that was contributing to the global economy's "de-Westernization." From the standpoint of the United States, there are two distinct trends: a reduction in trade with Japan and an increase in trade with both developing Asia (particularly China), and Latin America (generally Mexico). In comparison to industrialized economies. As we all know that the United States is engages in the higher percentage of imports which is rather more from the developing and arising economies. Developing markets account for around 45 percent of US exports, up from almost 33 percent in 2000.⁶⁷

While on the other hand a similar trend can be seen in Europe: the developed economies remained clearly the largest trading partners of Europe in 2000, But now Europe trades more with emerging and developing economies (including China) compared to other advanced and developed economies. Even more apparent is the fact that trade between developing and emerging economies accounts for more growth than trade with the West. Though adjacency and regional expansion, as well as the gradual removal of trade barriers, may account for the rise in Latin America, as well as the growing importance of developing Asia, particularly China, is a global trend across the developed states. Over 80% of China's exports went to developed economies in 2000. Today, that percentage is 68 percent, and the share of trade with Latin America, and Asia is rising as these countries consume more Chinese goods.

4.6 The Risk of Great Power Conflict and the Return of Geopolitical Competition

The world has been in a state of stable, ultimate power and peace since 1991. While the unbended war between the major states was not impossible, it was highly unlikely. There were a couple of tense moments between the US and China over Hainan Islands and Taiwan but

⁶⁷ "The State of the International Order", p. 17.

were quickly resolved.⁶⁸ The United States and Russia both countries never developed political relationship. They stopped competing for influence because of Russia's significant disadvantage, as some had hoped. Whichever the possible explanation, major power relations had been more peaceful and less prone to security competition since the Concert of Europe until 2008. This golden age of relative serenity appears to be coming to an end. There has been an increase in security competition between major powers recently. Great power conflict is more likely than it has been since the Cold War in some cases.⁶⁹ China and Japan, the world's second and third largest economies, are the most dramatic examples of the new era of major power security competition. Relationship between the two nations have deteriorated to the point where a military confrontation, possibly a restricted war, over the truly impressive Senkaku islands is a genuine possibility.

Unfluctuating the situation that were true and not at all the one can accurately forecast the course of a war, when it begins. While the consequences would most probable that vaccinate the undigested poison into the emotion of Asian geopolitics. The groundwork for much more trouble in the future. Security competition between major powers is not limited to China and Japan. In Southeast Asia, the United States and China are already opposing for so called an influence. Military-wise, the US is attempting to ensure that it can project power into the region quickly and effectively, while China is already endeavouring to develop their own capabilities to repudiate the US access that undermining its associations and various strategic commitments with other states of the world.⁷⁰ Meanwhile, both China and India are building up their naval forces in response to longstanding conflicts about opposing for uncommon resources.

The situation become more complicated by land disputes along with their mountainous border region. Outside of Asia, geopolitical tensions are rising, albeit at a lower level of security than in previous eras. Since the end of the Cold War, Russia has become more authoritarian

⁶⁸ Chris Buckley & Steven Lee Myers, "Starting a Fire: U.S. and China Enter Dangerous Territory Over Taiwan", *The New York Times*, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/09/world/asia/united-states-china-taiwan.html>

⁶⁹ "A Twenty-First Century Concert of Powers – Promoting Great Power Multilateralism for the Post-Transatlantic Era", The 21st Century Concert Study Group, *Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF)*, 2014, p. 4, ISBN: 978-3-942532-70-9, https://www.hsfk.de/fileadmin/HSFK/hsfk_downloads/PolicyPaper_ATwentyFirstCenturyConcertofPowers.pdf

⁷⁰ "U.S.-China Strategic Competition in South and East China Seas: Background and Issues for Congress", *Congressional Research Service Report*, 2022, pp. 1-7, <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/row/R42784.pdf>

and confrontational with the West. Russia actively supports the Syrian regime that has worked hard in order to prevent the outside intervention and to facilitate Assad's departure. While in the European region and within the states of Russia is attempting to sabotage EU efforts to reach the financial agreements with Armenia, Ukraine, and Moldova, with notable success in Ukraine recently.⁷¹ On the other hand, there is significant cooperation between the US and Russia, which would have been unthinkable during the Cold War.

Even democracies have been affected by geopolitical tensions. In 2010, South Korea and Japan made significant progress toward improving their relationship, including and increased security cooperation. Whatever progress had been made in previous years was undone in the start of 2012. Disputes over historical matters, such as supposed of the "comfort women," slave labour again brink both the states into the arctic frost. Both countries are now barely speaking to each other. There is no threats of war between both countries but unfortunately the disagreement has strained relations between two of America's closest allies and cast doubt on Japan's commitment to South Korea's security. It's possible, however, that China's moves with its air defence zone have helped to alleviate some of the tension, reminding Korea of the US strategic alliance's benefits.⁷²

Why is geopolitical competition resurfacing, and why is Asia the epicentre of it? To begin with, unresolved historical tensions prevent the affected states from deepening their cooperation. Disagreements within the East Asia over Japan's treatment during the World War II past have powered anti-Japanese sentiment in China and South Korea, as well as a backlash in Japan.⁷³ In addition, territorial disputes, which have a zero-sum nature, a setting for a crisis

⁷¹ Robert E. Berls, "Strengthening Russia's Influence in International Affairs, Part II: Russia and Its Neighbors: A Sphere of Influence or a Declining Relationship"? *Nuclear Security Index*, 2021, pp. 5-7, <https://www.nti.org/analysis/articles/strengthening-russias-influence-in-international-affairs-part-ii-russia-and-its-neighbors-a-sphere-of-influence-or-a-declining-relationship/>,

⁷² Adam P. Liff & John Ikenberry, Racing toward Tragedy? "China's Rise, Military Competition in the Asia Pacific, and the Security Dilemma", *The MIT Press*, International Security, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2014), pp. 52-56, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24480583>.

⁷³ Richard McGregor, "Asia's Reckoning: China, Japan, And the Fate of U.S. Power in the Pacific Century", *Penguin Books*, 2020.

that could spiral out of control inadvertently. Such conflicts abound in East Asia, particularly at sea. There are fewer elsewhere, thankfully.

The Asian economies have become more conditional on far-flung vigour foundations, particularly in the Middle East, they have a strong incentive to develop naval capabilities to protect these resources. Finally, the power shift, with rising China at the expense of its neighbours. This dynamic empowers both Chinese nationalists who want to claim what they believe is rightfully theirs and Asian nationalists who want to confront.

Above all, geopolitical competition exposes major powers to the risk of real regional security crises. It fixes not, however, usher in a global Cold War-style struggle for supremacy. All Asian countries want strong economic ties with China, and the US and China are highly dependent on each other. These are formidable opponents for close combat. However, this should not lead to complacency.

4.7 New Rules of War and the Use of Force

There are number of technological advancements have reshaped the ways of working, learning, and in order to communicate exactly what we want, over the last decade. However, some advancements are redefining how states go to war. There are few developing countries can now field sophisticated, semiautonomous weapons of war, thanks to advances in robotics. Scheduled the software lateral, state-created viruses and malware are now capable of attacking dangerous substructure. The US military now has over almost about the 8,000 unmanned aircraft that conduct 500 attack annually, and the US Air Force now has 1,300 drone pilots, accounting for nearly 10%.⁷⁴

United States of America presented their role in the technological and weapon development sector. Development and modernization of weapons introduced by the United States of America which somehow caused several issues and problem for the developing countries to bear the cost of expensive weapon rather than spending budget on their social issues. Introduction of cyber and drone's warfare firstly done by the America but after then misuse of that drones experienced by the Iran in the occurrence of attacked done on the uranium zones of Iran. Still today, CIA disclosed that Obama administration officials declared that drone

⁷⁴ "The State of the International Order", pp. 24-25.

attacks on Yemen, Pakistan and Syria are the results of Stuxnet virus.⁷⁵ USA transformed the parameters of war and attacking techniques, the modernization came into the form of a lot of human deaths and misleading the concept of humanity in the world. There is no reasonable control on the drones and doctrines but still America used to consider that drones and other modernized equipment's are best in use during the war because anyone can control that equipment's from distance places.

United States of America is trying to introducing the so called norms to ensure the transparency. While they need to formularize the rules which can implement to ensure the transparency. The encouragement of other countries and allies are just for the United Kingdom and for the Israel. There are many speeches on drones and cyber weapon held but no positive result observed but the concept of arranging speeches is just for the sake of convincing China, Russia and Iran to indulge into the western track so America can save their technological development. China, Russia and Iran are developing their technological sector and USA felt that these countries can compete with them this is why USA is offering them to sign into the western track of technology.

4.8 The New Geopolitics of Energy

Some aspects of the international lifestyle have changed dramatically in recent years, like energy production, import, and transportation. The worldwide energy markets are shifting due to three major tendencies. The revolution of energy in the United States has shown to be the most significant of these shifts. The image of American energy production has been transformed by a mix of market dynamism, regulatory changes, and technological innovation. The focus has mostly been on "fracking"—technically, hydraulic fracturing, utilization of tremendous amounts of chemicals and water in high pressure for breaking through the rock formation, plus releasing the reserves of natural gas. There has been an increase of 25 percent of natural gas output in the last five years in the United States. Drilling for "tight oil," or oil trapped in minuscule amounts in the rock formations, has also become possible thanks to new technology (though in a number of various sites). With new discoveries, new "elephant" fields, or fields with 1,000,000 plus barrels, have been brought online. As a consequence of these advances, the International Energy Agency estimates that by 2015, there is a chance of the

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 25.

United States to outstand Russia and Saudi Arabia for becoming the largest producer of oil. When coal, gas, and oil are combined, the US is poised for becoming the world's largest energy market participant.⁷⁶

The second development is China's and, to a lesser extent, India's continuous growth in energy consumption and imports. China will exceed the United States in terms of oil import volume over the next year or two. Much of this oil, as well as a rising amount of gas, is imported via the sea, with most of it passing through the Straits of Hormuz while it all passes via the Straits of Malacca. The President of China Hu Jintao acknowledged the "Malacca dilemma" of China and how it is basically dependent upon the energy imported via maritime straits under foreign navies control —as early as 2004, after the US war of Iraq the previously contributed to soaring the prices of oil. Despite massive investments in its navy, China is still at least two decades back to guarantee oil supplies by its naval. However, importation has been steadily rising. Moreover, China's reliance on gas and oil produced in unpredictable markets such as Venezuela, Iraq, and Angola is growing. During the same time span, China achieved significant advances in renewable energy, but its growing energy requirements have outpaced that achievement.⁷⁷

In addition to the oil that comes from Brazil onstream and new gas that comes from the Persian Gulf, Iraq's instability and growing oil sanctions against it have all contributed to the turbulence in global energy markets, which are now in turmoil. However, there isn't a single explanation of these events that doesn't imply a significant US position strengthening. This has ramifications for US import security and production (Areas which low energy costs are providing a significant boost: For example, the US spends even less than the half amount paid by Europe for natural gas and less than the fourth paid by the main Asian countries for the natural gas). In Asia, where South Korea, Japan, India are all fighting for licences for US exports of natural gas to assist meet demands of their energy, increasing US energy security

⁷⁶ Thomas Wright, Bruce Jones, Robert Keane & Jeremy Shapiro, "The State of the International Order", *Foreign Policy at Brookings*, No: 33, Feb 2014, p. 29.

⁷⁷ Sergei Trough, "China's Changing Oil Strategy and its Foreign Policy Implications", *Brookings*, 1999, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/chinas-changing-oil-strategy-and-its-foreign-policy-implications/>,

has strengthened US clout with allies and non-allies equally.⁷⁸ There are also ramifications in China. In contrast to the more chaotic American model, the financial crisis around the globe resulted in Chinese triumphalism over their model of state capitalism. However, China's economic leaders are becoming more conscious that their model has failed to create anything like the revolution of American energy, which is based not just on regulation and technology, but on highly dynamic and decentralized market capitalism as well.⁷⁹

Such variations have, however, subjected the main flaw in international energy governance: the truth that the “International Energy Agency (IEA)”, the main international body tasked with stabilizing the flow and price of oil, has only had western consumers, members of the “Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)”.

4.9 The Shaking of the American Unipolar System

The September 11 attacks appear to be the first and most serious incident that the USA has been subjected to. Two situations arose after the September 11 incidents. One of these, is that the US has started policies that do not comply with the rules of the new world order, and that the leading position of the unipolar system has started to shaken.

The USA, which felt its power at the highest level in the unipolar system that emerged after the dissolution of the USSR and faced the threat of global terrorism since the second half of the 1990s, was first shaken by the bombing of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998. The USA, which was exposed to such a large-scale attack on its own soil on September 11, 2001, has now started to consider global terrorism as a threat.⁸⁰

The most terrible terrorist attack in history occurred On September 11, 2001, when 4 aircrafts were hijacked by al-Qaeda militants in coordination. Two of the four hijacked aircraft crashed into the North and South Tower of the World Trade Center in New York, a third plane

⁷⁸ Manjeet S. Pardesi, Premarani Somasundram, Amitav Acharya, Young Ho Chang, Tang Shiping, Hiro Katsumata, Joey Long Shi Ruey & Vladimir I. Ivanov, “The Geopolitics of Energy in the Asia-Pacific”, *Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies*, Nanyang Technological University, 2006.

⁷⁹ Chenggang Xu, “The Fundamental Institutions of China's Reforms and Development”, *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (2011), p.1078. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23071664>.

⁸⁰ Albert J. Bergesen & Omar Lizardo, “International Terrorism and the World System,” *Sociological theory* 22, no. 1 (2004): 40-51.

hit the Pentagon and the fourth plane crashed in Pennsylvania. Both towers collapsed in a short time and approximately 3000 people died. No organization claimed responsibility for the attack; However, in his speech on September 20, 2001, US President Bush stated that they had sufficient evidence that the Al Qaeda Organization, which was previously held responsible for terrorist attacks against US targets in Tanzania and Kenya, was also the perpetrator of the 9/11 attacks.⁸¹

In addition, the September 11 attacks caused the New Conservative thinking to take an active role in directing the US foreign policy towards the Middle East. After September 11, the USA abandoned its traditional foreign policy strategy, namely containment and deterrence. Instead, it has started to implement a preventive intervention strategy. The Bush Doctrine, which constitutes the basic philosophy of the new American foreign policy after 9/11, again subjects the world to a dual distinction as it was in the Cold War years. In the new American policy, the term "terrorist threat" has replaced the concept of "Soviet threat".⁸²

For the USA, the Middle East is a swamp that feeds Al-Qaeda and holds a ground for terrorism, and this swamp needs to be drained as soon as possible. The way to drain this quagmire is to place a liberal thought system such as democratic ideals, political, economic and individual freedoms, women's rights and an egalitarian legal order in the Middle East. In this way, the changing ideological and political structure in the Middle East and the conditions that prepared the ground for terrorism in the region will be eliminated.⁸³

After the September 11 attacks, the agenda of the United States is the end of Taliban rule in Afghanistan, which allegedly supported Al-Qaeda, the establishment of a stable and legitimate Afghan government, although there is no evidence of its connection with the September 11 attacks, changing the current administration in Iraq and retaliating against Iran

⁸¹ "Selected Speeches of President George W. Bush 2001-2008," 66. https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/infocus/bushrecord/documents/Selected_Speeches_George_W_Bush.pdf. (Accessed February 19, 2021).

⁸² Erhan Akdemir, "11 Eylül Sonrası Amerika'nin Ortadoğu Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları", (Ankara: USAK publications, 2011): 316.

⁸³ Amir Taheri, "The United States and the Reshaping of the Greater Middle East", American Foreign Policy Interests, vol.27, no.4, (2005): 295-300.

and Syria if they do not completely cut their aid to Hezbollah in line with the demands of the US.⁸⁴

In October 2001, Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) against Afghanistan was initiated by the USA and the UK. Questions have been raised regarding the legal dimension of the Afghanistan Intervention. Because the UN Treaty explicitly prohibits the use of force.⁸⁵ Here, it appears that the attitude of the USA with international law and therefore, the principles he defended (rule of law, human rights, democracy) do not match. The occurrence of such a situation damaged the image and credibility of the USA on the world countries and even caused it to be criticized by its allies.

The Iraq war appears as a development in which the leadership throne has been shaken by the criticisms that the USA, the leader of the unipolar system, was subjected to before and after the intervention in Iraq in order to eliminate Saddam Hussein's regime on grounds that are proved wrong. The main reasons for the US invasion of Iraq are the thoughts that Iraq has developed long-range missiles along with its chemical, biological and nuclear weapons program and supports terrorism. Despite this, various opinions have been raised against the launching of a war against Iraq both in the USA and worldwide. First of all, the existence of weapons of mass destruction, which is cited as the most important reason for such a war, has not been proven yet. It is still a matter of debate whether there are weapons of mass destruction in Iraq or whether there are weapons of mass destruction left from those destroyed.

Although Britain fully supports the US that weapons of mass destruction exist in Iraq, Germany and France do not believe that Iraq is as dangerous as the US is trying to portray. It has also been argued that the unilateral actions of the United States, and especially the preemptive intervention attempt, would harm international law and the UN system and set a dangerous example, since there was no common international determination to carry out military operations in Iraq.⁸⁶ Because of the weakness, absence and lack of credibility of the reasons it put forward to invade Iraq, the USA has eroded its reputation with the multilateral cooperation initiatives and regional cooperation models that it started to work after the end of the Cold War, and created a global crisis of trust. This situation weakened both, the reputation

⁸⁴ Jim Lobe, "The Bush Team Reloaded," *Middle East Report*, 234, (2005): 10.

⁸⁵ Paul Rogers, *A War on Terror: Afghanistan and After*, (London: Pluto Press, 2004): 116-125.

⁸⁶ Jorge A. Ramirez, "IRAQ WAR: ANTICIPATORY SELF-DEFENSE OR UNLAWFUL UNILATERALISM?" *California Western International Law Journal*, vol.34, No.1, (2003): 6-14.

of the views and political orientations represented by the USA in the region, and also shaken the foundations of the system it was trying to establish at the global level. Transatlantic relations have suffered, and serious differences of opinion have arisen between the United States and its traditional allies. This process, which started almost all over the world on the basis of opposition to American policies, has turned into global anti-Americanism at this point.

Since the end of the Cold War the U.S. has been the sole superpower, but after the 2008 world economic crisis, its hegemony has been crippled. The power gap between the US and China is shrinking. In the Meantime, the economic gap between China and the US and the other major powers will continue to increase in the coming decades. Consequently, the international system would not be unipolar.

4.10 Rising Powers: Essential Elements of the New World

It is no longer possible to think of the only dynamic that determines the distribution of power in the multi-layered international order as the economic and military capacities of global actors. Instead of a short-lived American unipolarity, it has left a largely fragmented distribution of power. One of the most visible signs that something has changed in this context is the growing diplomatic and economic activism of major developing countries.⁸⁷ The most basic features of these powers are their active strategies to increase their strategic autonomy. However, in the transition from unipolar to multi-polarity, it is seen that the search for strategic autonomy of all rising powers has increased.

This new diplomatic activism and the search for a greater say in the global economy tended to expand in the 2000s due to the overlapping strategic agendas of developing countries. For example, IBSA, consisting of India, Brazil and South Africa, has brought up the development of cooperation in a wide global spectrum and cooperation not only in the economic but also in the political field. This expansion was followed by BASIC in 2009, when Brazil, South Africa, India and China came together. Later, with the establishment of the BRICS consisting of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, when the five largest non-

⁸⁷ Andrew Hurrell, “5. Rising powers and the emerging global order”, *Oxford Politics Trove*, 2019, p.85, <https://www.oxfordpoliticstrove.com/view/10.1093/hepl/9780198825548.001.0001/hepl-9780198825548-chapter-5>

OECD economies came together, it was revealed that there was a much deeper structural change in the global economy and the dynamics of global capitalism.⁸⁸ The five countries in question, while holding about 50 percent of the global foreign exchange reserves, eliminated their dependence on foreign aid, and they themselves began to lead the way in global economic aid.⁸⁹ This economic and political activism was followed by MIKTA, which was established in 2013. Countries consisting of Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Türkiye and Australia, while consolidating their positions as effective actors in their regions, have made significant contributions to regional and global peace and stability, and have often followed a similar approach in the face of international problems.⁹⁰

It will not only transform world politics into a multipolar character, but also transform it into a multi-layered structure due to the differentiations in the political, economic and geopolitical agendas of the rising powers. While this new geopolitical orientation moves the global negotiation processes to a more pluralistic ground, it has also begun to affect the international competition for power and security.⁹¹ As a result, while the unipolarity shaped around the axis of American hegemony rapidly lost ground, the new position of the rising powers led to some geopolitical consequences.

5. A New World Order towards Multipolarity

The international system can be described as a complicated system of scientific, political, technological, military and social systems. This vigorous structure is incredibly difficult to evaluate and it is even more difficult to predict its future.

The distribution of power in the international system determines the number of great powers and accordingly the polarity of international system. The system would be unipolar with just one great power; if they are two it would be bipolar and if the great powers are more than two then it would be multi-polar international system.

⁸⁸ Ferhet Pirinççi & Murat Yeşiltaş, “Küresel Dönüşüm Sürecinde Türkiye’Nin Büyük Stratejisi, [Türkiye’s Grand Strategy in the Global Transformation Process]”, (Istanbul: SETA, 2020), p. 37.

⁸⁹ “5. Rising powers and the emerging global order”.....,

⁹⁰ “Küresel Dönüşüm Sürecinde Türkiye’Nin Büyük Stratejisi.....,

⁹¹ Ibid.,

It can be said that in the future multipolar world, the global economy does not satisfy with a few dominant nations but instead of with multiple nations of different abilities. Every nation with its distinct capabilities will have significant say, in the limited arena of affairs related to their country. With the exception of US; the EU, China, Japan, and India are also economically proficient due to their increasing economy, large population and advancements in technology. Saudi Arabia, Iran, African Union countries, Brazil, and Venezuela will have an influence because of their large energy reserves. Countries such as Pakistan, Türkiye, and Central Asia will also have some regional influence because of their geo-strategic location. They are situated on the energy routes from where energy resources would be transferred to other parts of the world. New power centers such as China, Russia, Türkiye and India are extremely engaged to find a place for them in changing international order. Most significantly, with Russia and China's increasing proximity, balance of power is now shifting from west to east.

There is a noticeable shift in the platform for discussing the crucial global issues. The G20 has taken a leading position and provided an important platform for discussing the contemporary issues. The world is experiencing a geographical distribution of power so, the emerging powers have committed themselves in improving their political and economic powers along with the hard power capabilities. It clearly shows that economic and social revolution in the inter-regional groupings of the emerging powers like the BRICS, the G20, the IBSA and Brazil-South Africa-India-China (BASIC), along with their political and diplomatic rise, as well as their large populations, indicates the ever more visible shift in the global balance of power.⁹²

The Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa (BRICS) cross regional organization is viewed as one of the most aspiring effort of the emerging powers and by using this platform these powers are trying to play more proactive role in international politics. The BRICS idea was first used by Jim O'Neil, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Goldman Sachs which is one of the influential companies in the world and economist in 2001.⁹³ It was established in 2006 and constitutes five member states which are Brazil, Russia, India, China and South

⁹² Andrew F. Cooper & Agata Antkiewicz, *Emerging Powers in Global Governance: Lessons from the Heiligendamm Process* (Toronto: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2010): 300.

⁹³ Shraddha Naik, "The Rise of BRICS- A Multipolar World?" Asia-Pacific ISA Conference Hong Kong, (2016): 3.

Africa. Although each BRICS country has its own characteristics, the common points are their economies and populations. These countries are the forces that shape the global economy and international politics. BRICS countries, which grow much faster than other countries in the world, are changing the structure of international consumption and trade, Capital flows and natural resource consumption patterns.⁹⁴

Recently, China, which has become the global center of the manufacturing industry and the export platform of transnational production networks, is perceived as the de facto economic leader of the BRICS group. China's rise has undoubtedly been one of the greatest events of the 21st century. The idea that the American age has come to an end and that the world order towards the West will be replaced by a world order in which the East is superior has recently increased. As China grows stronger, the weakening of the US position may have two consequences. First of all, China can reshape the rules and institutions in the international system according to its own interests with its increasing influence. The other is that the US may see China as a growing security threat. As a result of these developments, tension, insecurity and conflict, which are typical features of the power transformation, will emerge and the system will transform.⁹⁵ Since Jiang Zemin's leadership, China's foreign policy has been that a fair and peaceful world can only be possible with multipolarity, and that a single and uncontrollable superpower can be very dangerous. An example of this is the US invasion of Iraq without the approval of the UN. In addition, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, led by China with Russia, is another indication that they want to create multipolarity.⁹⁶

According to the World Bank's 2013 report, Russia seems to be on the edge of an economic slump, with a growth rate of 0.8% in the first half of 2014 and 0.9% in 2013.⁹⁷ The

⁹⁴ Liviu Bogdan Vlad, Gheorghe Hurduzeu, Andrei Josan, Gheorghe Vlasceanu, “ The Rise of BRIC, The 21st Century Geopolitics and the Future of the Consumer Society,” *Revista Romana de Geografie Politica*, 8, (2011): 49-60.

⁹⁵ G. John Ikenberry, “The Rise of China and the Future of the West,” *Foreign Affairs*, 2008.

⁹⁶ Dorothy- Grace Guerrero, “The Rise of China and BRICS: A Multipolar World In the Making?” *Focus on the Global South*, (2014), <https://focusweb.org/the-rise-of-china-and-brics-a-multipolar-world-in-the-making/>, (Accessed February 23, 2021).

⁹⁷ “Russian Economic Report 30: Structural Challenges to Growth Become Binding”, The World Bank, September 25, 2013, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2013/09/25/russian-economic-report-30>, (Accessed February 24, 2021).

reason for this is the reflection of the increasing geographical risks and the uncertainties in the new environmental policy and sanctions on the economy after the Ukraine crises in the first half of 2014 by adding to the existing problems. In response to these sanctions, Russia has started working to establish its own credit system independent of Western countries. It has made a 400-billion-dollar natural gas agreement with China. According to the agreement, the Russian Oil Company Gazprom will provide 38 billion cubic meters of natural gas to China for 30 years from 2018. This agreement is interpreted as an economic and political support from China to Russia at a time when the West imposed economic sanctions.⁹⁸ Putin also did not find the unipolar world order and the US-led Western policies appropriate and a single-centered world is not right in terms of democracy. He also stated that the preventive intervention approach and application of USA was not correct and that it increased the conflict areas even more.

Brazil and South Africa, which have rich natural resources, are countries that has managed to become one of the developed economies of the world by achieving more economic growth compared to previous years with its stable and predictable macroeconomic policies. On the other hand, India is a country that has developed rapidly in the last decade and has increased living standards and achieved significant growth in important sectors such as Information and Communication Technology.

The transformation in global trends is on such a huge scale that it is nearly impossible to recognize the full impact of the changes as they happen. In the next chapter the study is going to deal with how Pakistan and Türkiye can benefit from the changing world order. The emerging multipolar order offers both Pakistan and Türkiye many opportunities. As the world becomes multipolar, there are emerging power centers; for instance, China's rise is a huge bonus for Pakistan and maintaining good relation with Russia is also in favor of both states. In order to define the strength and depth of PAK-TR relations, it is necessary to understand the major dynamics of PAK-TR relations in detail.

⁹⁸ Elena Servettaz, "A Sanctions Primer," World Affairs Institute, (2014): 85.

CHAPTER: 2

DYNAMICS OF PAKISTAN-TÜRKİYE RELATIONS

Pakistan gained independence on August 14, 1947 and emerged as the largest Muslim country on the map of the world. Soon after its independence after İran, Türkiye was the next country to recognize Pakistan, and formal diplomatic relations were established between both the States. Türkiye also supported Pakistan to join the United Nations (UN) as its new member. After few months of independence, Pakistan used British India Currency the “Indian Rupee” and it takes few months to issue its own new currency named “Rupee”, and it was Türkiye that helped Pakistan in printing its currency for initial few months.⁹⁹

The two nations that have had the same beliefs for centuries, confronted similar difficulties, and most importantly, struggled with the same enemies, declare brother countries to each other and express the bond between them with the words “two states one nation”.¹⁰⁰ Although formal Diplomatic relations were established soon after Pakistan’s formation as an independent state in 1947, but the roots of these modern relations have its origin in the 19th century Turkish War of Independence. Indian Muslims had a deep history with the Turks; they sympathized with the Turks. Indeed, the years 1919-1923 was a critical period in the history of the Turkish nation. They were struggling for their existence. The Muslims of the Indian subcontinent always expressed their allegiances, support, and faithfulness to the Caliph of the Ottoman Empire as they viewed him as their spiritual and religious leader because they considered the caliph a symbol of unity¹⁰¹. In 1919 the Great Britain, with the help of her other European allies, had started devising various conspiracies with the aim of destroying the unity of Indian Muslims, and that was the leading cause that motivated the Muslims of the Indian

⁹⁹ Munir Hussain, “Pak-Türkiye Relations: On the Common Ties. Alternatives,” *Turkish Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 7, No.2&3 (2008): 67

¹⁰⁰ Ismail Akbaş. *Geçmişten Geleceğe Türkiye Pakistan İlişkileri* (İzmir: Zeus kitabevi, Mart 2013): 5

¹⁰¹ Khuram Malik, "Kardeş: The origins of Pakistan-Turkiye brotherhood," *Business Recorder*, May 19, 2020, <https://www.brecorder.com/news/595826>, (Accessed January 02, 2021).

subcontinent to start the Caliphate Movement in India. Therefore, the relationship between the people of both countries is deeply rooted in history.

Maulana Muhammad Ali was among one of the leading leaders of Indian Muslims who always supported the Ottoman state and built an aid committee to grant financial assistance to the people of Anatolia. The committee opened under the names of Ankara and Izmir Fund and collected the aids. The Ankara aid fund established for purchases of weapons and ammunition for the military, whereas the Izmir fund was established to provide medicine, food and clothing aid to the public.¹⁰²

The troubles faced by the Ottomans deeply affected Indian Muslims. For this reason, to preserve the Ottoman Caliphate, the Indian Khilafat Movement was launched in India, and it provided material as well as moral aid to the National Struggle on its narrowest days.¹⁰³ The Muslims of the world had tied their hopes to the Ottomans, the last independent state of Islam. The Caliphate institution, which the Ottoman sultan embodied, was seen as a source of inspiration for Indian Muslims living under colonial rule. The money collected by the Indian Muslims to provide the necessary needs for victory in the Turkish War of Independence had played a major role in winning the war and was also used to lay the foundation of İş bank in 1924.

For over half a century, sincere feelings and the ties between the two nations, Pakistan and Türkiye, are extremely strong and occur continuously throughout the history of humanity. During the course of gaining independence from Britain, its separation from India on the basis of Islam and claiming to be the state of Muslims in the Indian subcontinent provoked Pakistan to formulate its external policy close to the Islamic world. On this basis, the positive outlook of Indian Muslims to Türkiye and Muhammad Ali Jinnah's admiration for Atatürk has led to the foundation of stable and firm relations between Türkiye and Pakistan until today.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Aysun Gültekin, "Milli Mücadele Döneminde Hindistan Müslümanları ile Ankara Hükümetleri Arasındaki Münasebetler (1918–1924), [Relationships Between Indian Muslims and Ankara Governments During the National Struggle (1918-1924)]," Master's Thesis, Balıkesir University, 2009, pp.23

¹⁰³ Ibid., 25.

¹⁰⁴ İsmail Akbaş, Tarihin İçinde bir Gönül Köprüsü 'Pakistan Postası,' *A blog of Pakistan-Türkiye Relations*, 2012,

<http://pakTürkiye.blogspot.com/2012/11/tarihin-icinde-bir-gonul-koprusu.html> (accessed Jan, 04, 2021),

Türkiye and Pakistan have had very friendly and amicable bilateral relations since Pakistan's independence. The relationship between them are unique as there are friendly feelings between the two countries. Pakistan and Türkiye also share a similar view on various regional and international problems. There has never been any resentments between the people of the two countries against each other. Pakistan and Türkiye have common cultural, historical, and religious ties. The sincerity between the two countries makes the relations special. The two nations have a deep bond anchored in the mobilization and support provided by the Indian Muslims to the Ottoman Empire during World War 1 and to the Turkish Republic during the Turkish War of Independence. As Pakistan eventually emerged from the Indian Muslims vs British Raj struggle, it has also inherited these historical ties with Türkiye.

After the rise of Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the traditionally European oriented and secular orientation of Türkiye's foreign policy changed, bringing Ankara increasingly closer to Islamabad. Today, as Türkiye seeks greater independence from the West without having its hands tied by any power, Turkish leaders are constantly trying to diversify their relations, making Pakistan an increasingly important partner for Türkiye. In this context, the state institutions of both sides have developed a great deal of trust over time, which neither side shares with too many other partners. Since both Pakistan and Türkiye are in sensitive regions that have witnessed high levels of violence and unrest, both sides have always welcomed each other's contributions in the field of counter terrorism. In terms of foreign policy positioning, both countries have worked together to avoid global isolation. Pakistan has traditionally *supported Türkiye's* official position *on* Northern Cyprus. Türkiye has openly backed Pakistan's stance on Kashmir. It has also challenged the Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, after the Indian government revoked Article 370, which gives autonomy to the Jammu and Kashmir region, which triggered a catastrophe in the Kashmir Valley.

In the aftermath of the 2005 Kashmir earthquake, Türkiye came forward in its efforts to help the earthquake-affected Pakistani people. The Prime Minister of Türkiye, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, officially visited Pakistan on Oct 20, 2005, and announced a \$150 million relief package for Pakistan. The Turkish Red Crescent society has also sent body bags and food items and built a mosque in the Pakistan- administered region of Kashmir. The mosque has been

designed in the Ottoman Style and has a capacity for 300 people. It also has a guest house, accommodation facility, and a teaching area for 250 students.¹⁰⁵

This Chapter explores how Pakistan and Türkiye always stand side by side in times of crises and shares the same stand on countering terrorism and smuggling. At the regional level, the focus of Pakistan-Türkiye cooperation is on maintaining security and stability in Afghanistan and sharing intelligence to combat terrorism. In this regard, the priority of both countries will be to improve bilateral relations with regional states, such as Afghanistan, Iran to facilitate cooperation to advance peace, stability and prosperity in the region.

1. Religious Factor

From time immemorial there have been friendships between the countries of the world. While some of these friendships are long lasting, others are doomed to deteriorate. But the friendship between Türkiye and Pakistan is not one of them. The connection and link among Türkiye and Pakistan is not limited to the republican era. There is talk of the accumulation of a friendship from the Ghaznavid state to the present day. For this reason, the number of countries with such a friendship and brotherhood relationship is very small. Moreover, although the governments in both countries have changed dozens of times, this history of brotherhood has not ended. This also shows that, the bond of brotherhood between Türkiye and Pakistan exists from person to person and does not change with the change of government.¹⁰⁶

Sincere feelings and the ties between the two nations, between Türkiye and Pakistan as strong as very rare and occurs continuously in the history of mankind. These strong feelings and ties derive their strength from the very distant past of relations and religion. When we delve into the depths of history, we see that our relations date back to 1400 years ago. Relations between Türkiye and the Muslim people living in Pakistan today begin in the eighth century. In that century, almost all the Islamic armies that came to the region Indo-Pakistani were Turks, with the exception of the Arabs who came to Multan in 711 by conquering Sind Valley.¹⁰⁷

The mass spread of Islam in South Asia did not begin until the establishment of the Ghaznavid state. During the time of Mahmud Ghazni, who brought Islam to the subcontinent

¹⁰⁵ Burke, Farkhunda, Syed Nawaz Ul Huda, Salma Hamza, and Muhammad Azam. "8 October 2005 Earthquake: Analysis of Foreign Aid." *Pakistan Horizon* 59, no. 4 (2006): 55-67.

¹⁰⁶ Devrim Aktürk, "Bir Millet, İki Devlet Pakistan-Türkiye", *Künye Edebiyat Magazine*, May. 2019, 23-24.

¹⁰⁷ İsmail Akbaş. *Geçmişten Geleceğe Türkiye Pakistan İlişkileri* (İzmir: Zeus kitabevi, Mart 2013): 277.

with his raids into the Punjab between the years 1000-1026, Islamic scholars, especially those who adhered to the idea of Sufism, were influential in the spread of Islam in the region. Babur Shah, the founder of the Mughal Empire in the subcontinent, ended the Delhi Sultanate in 1526 by defeating Ibrahim Lodhi, the last ruler of the Delhi Sultanate in Penipat, near Delhi. So the origin of the connection between the Turkic and Pakistani peoples goes back centuries. There is also a common culture that revert to the time of the Turkic-born Ghaznavid along with Mughal dynasties in the subcontinent.¹⁰⁸ The peoples of the two countries have interacted closely throughout history and have influenced each other socially and culturally.

These two countries have also shown very close friendships in terms of religion. Religion plays a crucial part in the link between PAK and TR. Infact, Pakistan was under the patronage of India before its creation. The Muslims of India stood in solidarity with the Ottomans against the British, and by proclaiming the political Islamist movement, tried to prevent the British Government efforts to divide the Ottoman Empire.

Brotherhood of the peoples living in the two countries dates back to before the countries were established. In the 1920s, the Pakistani Muslims living on India's borders helped the Anatolian people both financially and morally in the Turkish war of liberation. The occupation of Ottoman Empire by the Entente states worried the Muslims of the subcontinent. To save the Caliphate and the Muslims from this occupation, Indian Muslims organized relief operations in the Muslim regions of India. In the course of Turkish battle of independence, Muslims of India transit relief funds fifteen times to help their Muslim Brothers. The Indian Caliphate Committee sent a total of 678,494 Turkish Liras and 156,000 British pounds from 26 December 1921 to 1922. These coins were kept in the Ottoman Bank. Under the presidency of Emir Ali, the money collected from Khilafat Committee was sent to Türkiye for the liberation of the Caliphate.¹⁰⁹

Türkiye's alliance with Pakistan was founded on close friendship and brotherhood since the formation of Pakistan as a self-standing state on August 14, 1947, under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. It would be a superficial thought to link friendship between the two countries with religious brotherhood. While there are many Muslim countries in the world, Türkiye's relations with none of them have reached the level of friendship as with Pakistan.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁰⁹ Orhan Koloğlu, "Religious Ties for Peace: India's Support in the Turkish war of Independence," 986-997.

Religion provides this brotherhood, but the main purpose of this brotherhood is the similarity of events and happenings lived from the past to the present.

Moreover, their friendship was further strengthened when these two countries agreed to vote for East Jerusalem and Aqsa Mosque to remain in Palestine at the last referendum in the UN.

2. GeoPolitical Factor

Islamic countries are located at the crossing points of the world, in a geography where important sea routes, underground riches, and water resources are abundant. Roads connecting land, sea and air transport pass through the lands of these countries. For this reason, as Islamic states are in a strategic region with their geographical location, various world states cause confusion by creating conflicts on these lands to be effective for their own interests.

Islamic geography is called the crescent or inner arc region according to Mackinder's land domination theory and Spykman's rimland theory. According to both views, the way to world domination is through the conquest of the crescent. Therefore, the strategic region which is the lifeline of world domination is in the hands of Muslims.¹¹⁰

2.1 Türkiye

Some parts of the world have a special position in various aspects. Geopolitical position allows a country to shape and evaluate its foreign policy; it is the strategic, military, and economic power it has acquired because of its geographical location. Geopolitical location is important because countries in critical positions naturally gain some power in the international arena by gaining value. Of course, this location also brings some problems such as terrorism, power and intelligence wars. Türkiye should also be reminded of the importance of the geopolitical location of some of its regions.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Ramazan Özey, *İslam Dünyası* (Istanbul: Erkam Yayınları, 1996), 21.

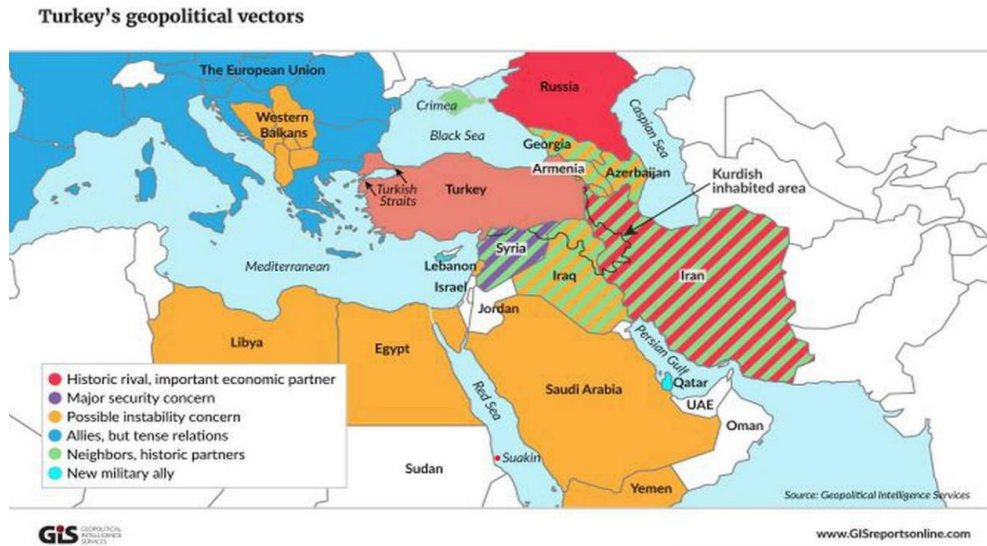
¹¹¹ Huseyin Bagci & Aslihan Anlar, "Changing geopolitics and Turkish foreign policy," *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska Sectio K, Politologia*, Vol. 16 (2009); p. 98-102.

Geographically, the great sea around the Turkish Bosphorus and Dardanelles Straits, the Black Sea countries and Russia's cold and vast plains, is the only way out of the maze opened the door to the south of the warm and vast oceans. The ability of the Romans and the Ottoman Empire, holding the Turkish Straits region, to spread East and West, and establishing long-standing states symbolizes this strategic superiority. Napoleon Bonaparte, who was aware of the importance of the Strait, became an ally of Russia on July 7, 1807, by endorsing the Tilsit Treaty with Tsarist Russia. Despite Russia's wishes for the Strait, he could not reach an agreement. The answer was, "He who rules the Strait will rule the world."¹¹²

Historically, only certain countries have succeeded at exploiting their geographical position as Türkiye. The heart of the most influential civilizations of eternity, the Ottoman Empire and the Byzantine, Türkiye served as a bridge between East and West, a vibrant core of commerce, politically, economically and a strategic nexus between regions of the world. According to Mackinder, the "world island" consisting of Eurasia-Africa continents is the richest combination of continents in every respect and Türkiye lies in the middle of this region. If we consider it as a piece of land connecting the Mediterranean Sea with the Black Sea, we can say that it is a bridge connecting Balkans, Caucasus in addition to Middle East. Although Türkiye, the cradle as for different civilizations about centuries, is a region that synthesizes Eastern and Western culture, it is also the centre of the entire Turkic world.

¹¹² Ilknur Semsek, "Türkiye'nin Jeopolitik Önemi; Köprü mü, Kanat mı, Merkez mi? [Türkiye's Geopolitical Importance; Bridge, Wing or Center?]", TASAM, Mar 10, 2014, https://tasam.org/Files/Icerik/File/turkiye_kopru_mu_kanat_mi_merkez_mi_b4156f55-1433-4a8b-b420-0ec349a42fef.pdf, (Accessed April 8, 2021).

Map-1: The geopolitical Context of Türkiye



Source: <https://www.gisreportsonline.com/Türkiye-has-the-right-to-protect-its-national-interests,politics,2472.html>

Türkiye is considered one of the countries with the most political possibilities at the worldwide and regional levels, along with the features provided by its geographical location and the opportunities provided by today's geopolitical conditions.¹¹³ Geography gives Türkiye a beneficial economic and geostrategic location. It is located on the natural axis of the Mediterranean Sea, where millennial sea and land trade paths cross and converge. This valuable place exposes Türkiye to various geopolitical challenges, which could be a smuggling target used by Türkiye for a specific terrorist group, organized crime, immigration or to move from one area to another. Some of these challenges pose a considerable danger to its harmony and safety and challenge its foreign policy.

After World War I, the Ottoman Empire was dissolved, and in 1920 the Sevres Treaty was retained between the Ottoman Empire and the Allies of World War I. The Ottoman Empire was broken, and the other regions of Türkiye were occupied by Great Britain, France, Italy and Greece. However, in the governance of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk the Ottomans succeeded in

¹¹³ Ilknur Semsek, "Türkiye'nin Jeopolitik Önemi; Köprü mü, Kanat mı, Merkez mi? [Türkiye's Geopolitical Importance; Bridge, Wing or Center?]", TASAM, March 10, 2014, p. 7.

repelling the occupying forces. They later recognized Turkish sovereignty as a national state in the 1923 “Lausanne Treaty.”¹¹⁴Türkiye successfully reformed a modern nation-state and shifted its capital from Istanbul to Ankara. Its state ideology was to avoid tensions and focus on Türkiye’s integrity and international status.

In a bipolar world during the Cold War (1947-1989), Türkiye was considered one of the greatest and loyal allies of the West in its brutal war against the Soviet Union. In present, Türkiye owns the second largest military after the United States in NATO

Türkiye is playing a progressively larger role in the new multipolar world and is enforced to take its role as a regional power. Its spatial integrity and security are what it seeks. President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his Justice and Development Party (AKP) government face these significant concerns regarding the state. They want to accelerate Türkiye’s status as a regional power politically and economically. Economically the country is taking advantage of itself as a bridge between Europe, Asia, and Africa. The extensive network of Turkish Airlines, with its headquarters in Istanbul, is just one example.

The chief foreign policy advisor of Türkiye, Ahmed Davutoglu, has called for a more proactive foreign policy approach. According to him, after the Cold War, Türkiye has appeared as a bridge country and with its unique geopolitical location, it could perform operations in many areas simultaneously and control the scope of influence in its immediate surroundings.¹¹⁵ Middle Eastern countries consider Türkiye an important transportation country to the Western world. Türkiye is already playing the role of a natural energy bridge between the Middle East and Europe. If the Middle East becomes a major energy producer, and Türkiye becomes a major energy transport corridor for the EU, the Union will increase the variation of its energy suppliers and projects that will help turn Türkiye into a relatively significant source of energy. That contributes Shippers to western countries. Türkiye is also important for energy producers because it is considered as a reliable and easy-going export route for them.¹¹⁶ Türkiye is partly

¹¹⁴ Prince Michael, “Türkiye has the right to protect its national interests,” Geopolitical Intelligence Services, February 16, 2018, <https://www.gisreportsonline.com/Türkiye-has-the-right-to-protect-its-national-interests,politics,2472.html> (Accessed April 8, 2021).

¹¹⁵ Ahmet Davutoglu, “Türkiye’s Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007”, *Insight Türkiye*, vol. 10, no. 1, (2008): p. 77.

¹¹⁶ Ali Tekin & Iva Walterova, “Türkiye’s Geopolitical Role: The Energy Angle,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (2007); p. 84-91.

an energy transport corridor that includes hydrocarbons with recent features such as the current pipeline. From the Middle East, Russia, and the Caspian region, and carries them to the European market via the Mediterranean Sea.

2.2 Pakistan

Each country has a unique geopolitical positioning and geography, but it is not always possible for all states to use their geopolitical position in a significant way, either because they lack the political will to do so or because general global or regional geopolitics constrain such a will. Nonetheless, understanding one's own geopolitical positioning is the first step in strengthening one's position in global, regional, and bilateral relations.¹¹⁷

Geopolitics can be defined as the influence that a country develops on other neighbouring countries due to its geopolitical position. This also has implications for the politics of the region. Pakistan is in a position of great importance economically, strategically, and politically. It has been the centre of attention of the great powers from the very beginning and has viewed the intervention of three great powers such as the USA, USSR, and the UK. Pakistan is situated in the South Asian region and shares border with four countries including China, India, Iran, and Afghanistan, all of which are of great importance and perform a vital role in global politics.

In the earliest history of the Indian subcontinent, the region now inhabited by Pakistan was home to the ancient human settlements, the site of one of the long-forgotten civilizations, and the place where the world's two major religions, Buddhism and Hinduism, practiced.¹¹⁸ The modern state of Pakistan came from the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947. The newly formed state faced state conflicts and civil strife and fought its initial war in less than one year of liberation. It originally consisted of two sections, East Wing or East Pakistan, and West Wing or West Pakistan. The East Wing (now Bangladesh) is in the Bay of Bengal and shares a border with India and Burma. The West Wing (modern-day Pakistan), on the other

¹¹⁷ Aneela shahzad, "Geopolitics and Pakistan," *The Express Tribune*, October 1, 2020, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2266547/geopolitics-and-pakistan> (accessed April 13, 2021).

¹¹⁸ Farhat Ullah, Noor U. Khan, & Muhammad I. Mahsud, "Pakistan's Geo-Political and Strategic Compulsions," *The Dialogue*, vol.14, no. 4 (October-December 2019), p. 80.

hand, extends from the Himalayas to the Arabian Sea. After a bloody war between East and West Pakistan, it split in two in 1971. The war was the result of India's uprising, which eventually ended with the Indian occupation. In addition, the disputed territory of Kashmir was the cause of two major wars between Pakistan and India in 1948 and 1965. Another war was fought between them under nuclear overhang in 1990s.

Because of its location in the middle of the Spykman Rim, it is in a critical position for the control of the heartland and because of its dominant position in the land and sea routes for the cause of conveyance of Central Asia and Middle East energy possessions Pakistan's geography with its outstanding geopolitical value in the vast area stretching from the northeast to the southwest, it creates a defensive weakness against its powerful neighbour India, with which it is in constant enmity. In addition, the fact that India has water resources in the region and their control points increases the sensitivity of Pakistan as an agricultural country.¹¹⁹

Map-2: The geopolitical Context of Pakistan



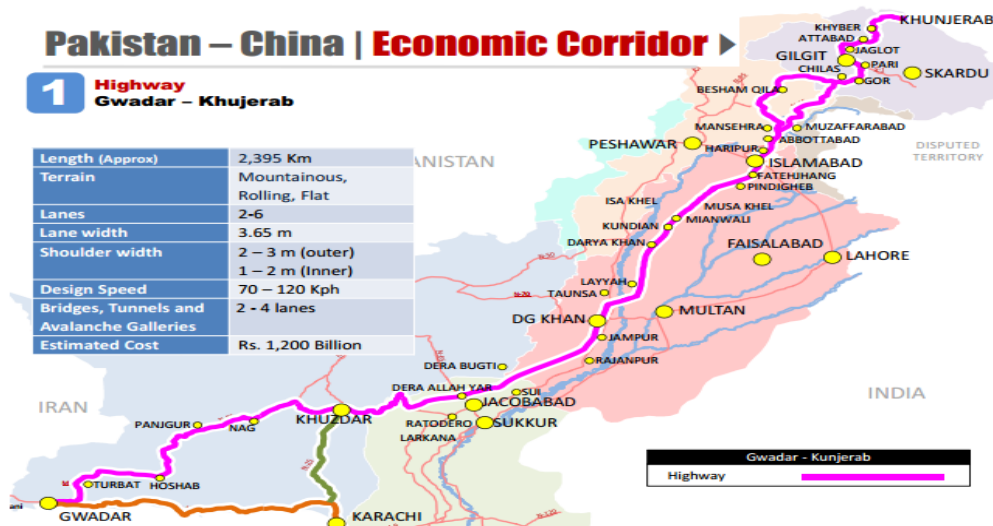
Source: <https://www.commonwealthgovernance.org/countries/asia/pakistan/geography/>

The geographical area limits its starring role in global politics. It clearly shows how one country can help or not benefit others in terms of politics, economics, and social impacts.

¹¹⁹ Muharrem Hilmi Özev, “Küresel ve Bölgesel Güçlükler Karsısında Pakistan’ın Demokratikleşme Çabaları”, Güvenlik Stratejileri, vol.8, No. 6, p.148- 176.

Pakistan is situated at a vitally significant geo-strategic place on the sphere. It is situated at cross-roads of power efficient to the power inadequate countries. Pakistan shares its borders with developing economic powers China and India, as well as Iran, which is rich in natural resources, Iran, and Afghanistan, thus demonstrating the geopolitical importance of the country.¹²⁰ Gwadar Port in Pakistan is located on the Arabian Sea 320 km from Cape al-Hadd in Oman, about 400 Km away from the Strait of Hormuz and 72 Km away from Iran and overlooking the Persian Gulf. Gwadar as an important transport hub will be able to play a leading role in ensuring energy security in China, as it provides a faster route compared to the current route approximately 12,900 kilometres from the Persian Gulf via the Malacca Strait to the east coast of China.

Map-3: Gwadar Port



Source: <https://pakvoices.pk/kashgar-gwadar-route-a-slippery-road/>

Pakistan's geographical position also creates some risks and uncertainties. It is located at Russia's simplest approach to these warm water ports which agree to the Soviet armada to

¹²⁰ Fakhar Hussein & Dr. Mezhar Hussein, "CHINA-PAK ECONOMIC CORRIDOR (CPEC) AND ITS GEOPOLITICAL PARADIGMS", International Journal of Social Sciences, Humanities and Education, vol. 1, no. 2, (2017); p. 3-9.

overshadow the Persian Gulf, Arabian Sea, and Indian Ocean. As the oil crisis are raising world-wide, no western power can ignore the reality of this threat.

Pakistan plays a role of association between Central Asia, South Asia, and Southwest Asia. CARs and Iran are rich in energy resources while India and China are thirsting for energy and power; so, to meet their growing energy needs they want an approach to these states, and Pakistan directly offers a ground route to the CARs and Iran via Afghanistan. Pakistan also proposes a less expensive route to India for IPI pipeline project (Iran-Pakistan-India). However, India also exchanges with Iran across other routes, but these are costly. India also intends to trade with Afghanistan adjacent to the border from Chaman to Wagha through Pakistan, which performs as a bridge among India and Afghanistan.¹²¹ Pakistan's geographical location has sometimes caused problems, for example during the Cold War when USSR was conquered Afghanistan to reach warm water ports through Pakistan's strategic location. USA also utilized Pakistan's position as a battle ground in its proxy war in opposition to USSR in Afghanistan and is still using Pakistan to suffer as front line state against global war on terrorism. Pakistan wages a heavy price because of its border with Afghanistan. U.S. Keen concerns in the region to stop Iran's nuclear determination, to contain China's growing power, develop India as a rivalry with China and benefit from India's largest consumer market and fight terrorism in Afghanistan. Business and political security benefits are the two main US interests in the region. While Pakistan plays a leading role in the fight against terrorism and exploits the ideal location of Pakistan, the US is achieving its political security objectives to maintain a state of supremacy by embracing growing power in China. In order to achieve economic interests, the USA is trying to dominate Central Asia and the Middle East, as this is full of gas and oil resources and also with the intention of the US using the best of Pakistan. Saudi Arabia is important to an oil-rich Islamic country in the Middle East. It has both, geopolitical and geostrategic interest in Pakistan. Saudi Arabia sees Pakistan as well balanced with Iran and relies heavily on any military action against Iran.

Pakistan is very close to the rich powers of Central Asia Republics. Pakistan is also very important to China. As the tactical location of Pakistan offers its own oil pipeline from the CAR and Gulf countries, the West Asia trade route, and maritime rests on the coast of Arabian Sea to protect its supply route of energy from the Middle East. China along with

¹²¹ Baqir Sajjad Syed, "Afghan exports to India via Wagah resume tomorrow", *Dawn News*, July 14, 2020, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1568805>, (Accessed April 16, 2021).

Pakistan work together in economic zones such as the Saindak project and the Gwadar Port project even though after intense pressure on Pakistan from the USA for China's presence in Pakistan.¹²² Pakistan also provides a transit trade route for trade and commerce to Afghanistan and the CAR which are restricted and require a channel for the transfer of their energy resources.

3. Unanimous Stand on Kashmir and Northern Cyprus

3.1 Kashmir Issue

Today, there are many regional and global problems waiting to be solved in the Islamic geography. One of them is the Kashmir crisis, which has led to numerous disputes over many years. As one of the world's most valuable regions having its own environmental resources, South Asia gathers numbers of compelling states face-to-face, mainly in the regions where the power lines meet and because of the geographical location. Due to these causes several numbers of regional troubles have arisen from this geography. Some of this occurred in Kashmir. Jammu Kashmir, in northern Pakistan, covers an area of 138,000 km². Kashmir borders Afghanistan and China in the North, Pakistan in the South and West, and India in the East.¹²³ Its capital is Srinagar. Therefore, Kashmir is in a region that shares borders with India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and China.

Kashmir is home to many natural beauties, including K2 Goodwin Austin, the second highest mountain withing world, and Baltoro which is the world's longest glaciers. Similarly due to its strategic region among excessive mountains, Kashmir has attracted the eye of many countries because of its minerals inclusive of gold, emerald and ruby. Because of this geographical and strategic location, many analogies are made about Kashmir. It is called as "the crown of the Indian subcontinent" due to its location in the north of India and in the middle of Asia, the "Jerusalem of South Asia" with its religious features and the

¹²² Farhat Ullah, Noor U. Khan, & Muhammad I. Mahsud, "Pakistan's Geo-Political and Strategic Compulsions," *The Dialogue*, vol.14, no. 4 (October-December 2019), p. 75-82.

¹²³ Saifuddin Ahmed & Anurug Chakma, "Kashmir Conflict: A Critical Analysis", *Society & Change*, Vol. 6, No. 3, (2012): pp. 21-28.

"Paradise Valley" due to its wide valleys. Kashmir deserves these definitions ascribed to itself with its geographical features, natural beauty, and the productivity of its agricultural lands.¹²⁴

The Kashmir problem, which has been under discussion since 1947, as soon as India and Pakistan secured their independence from the British colony, is centred on religious and ethnic boundaries. The connection of Kashmir to India against the desire of the individuals triggered the "Kashmir Problem" to arise.¹²⁵ Because after the British occupation, the management included Hindus and they think of themselves as independent instead of choosing one from Pakistan or India. Most of the Muslim people were in preference of union with Pakistan. The Sikh-Hindu assaults on the Muslim rural community in Jammu and the management's failed to reply positively to the Muslims' expectations to integrate with Pakistan, mobilized the Muslim humans. A revolt was carried out by Muslims inhabited in the cities of Poonch and Mirpur against Hindu rules. Some of the groups of Pakistanis also succeeded to help the Muslims of Kashmir. Because of the revolution, "Azad Kashmir Islamic Republic" was founded on 24 October 1947. Due to these advancements, the ruler of Hindus in Kashmir requested help from India. The aid offer was accepted by India on the condition that Kashmir joins India. The administration Of Hindus acknowledged this offer and met at the settlement table with India and endorsed the agreement on the annexation of Kashmir to India on October 26, 1947. In the agreement, Indian administrators proclaimed that the contract was short-term and that the future of Kashmir would be decided by the Kashmiris.¹²⁶

After the successful settlement, the troops of India arrived Srinagar and joined the war in Kashmir. India gained control over most of Kashmir by seizing the capital Srinagar, Kashmir Valley and Jammu. Pakistan, on the other hand, was able to capture a small region north of Kashmir.¹²⁷

To identify the dilemma of Kashmir deeply, we must examine the cultural and sacred structure of the territory. Jammu and Kashmir sub-regions, which formed the Kashmir region for a long time, lived in isolation from each other. This situation prevented the formation of a

¹²⁴ Pranav Asoori, "A Look into the Conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir", *E. International Relations*, (2020), p.2. ISSN 2053-8626.

¹²⁵ Nagma Mangrio, "A Historical and Political Perspective of Kashmir Issue", *The Dialogue*, Vol.7, No.3, (2019), pp. 256-259.

¹²⁶ Alastair Lamb, "Kashmir: A disputed legacy, 1846-1990", (*London: Roxford Books, 1991*), p.193-216.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

cultural and linguistic unity between Hindus and Muslims in the Kashmir region. As a matter of fact, 4 percent of those living in the Kashmir region speak Kashmiri, 15 percent Dogri, 30 percent Punjabi and various languages. According to the 1941 census conducted in India, the population of the entire Kashmir region was 4,021,616, and 77% of which was Muslim.¹²⁸ Therefore, most of the people of Kashmir are Muslim. However, India tries to change this structure through the policies it implements. Despite the conclusion of the United Nations, India does no longer lean towards the referendum proposal, seeing most of the Muslim inhabitants in the Jammu-Kashmir region, which is under the occupation of India, it is very much clear that which side the people of Kashmir will encourage in a referendum.

Map-4: The Kashmir Conflict



Source: <https://thekashmirconflict.weebly.com/borders.html>

As a result of all what happened, Kashmir was distributed into three regions. 45% of Kashmir is occupied by India named as "Jammu Kashmir". 35% of it is under the command of Pakistan in the name of "Azad Kashmir" and "Gilgit-Baltistan". The rest of 20% is operated by

¹²⁸ Arzu Guler, "Absence of a Common Kashmiri Identity and Future Claims in the Region of Kashmir: Paradox of Distinct Nationalism," *Journal of Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences*, vol.10, no.3 (2017), p.1-9.

China under the name "Aksai Chin".¹²⁹ Kashmir is significant for Pakistan, India, and China for numerous reasons. Two major wars were held between Pakistan and India over the Kashmir crisis. Though, after the United Kingdom, which left its key position in the USA with the end of World War II, stopped its military power in the Indian subcontinent in 1947, the region was divided into two based on the Islamic Hindu individualities and India along with Pakistan was founded. a million of people laid down their lives in the wars that ensued. Two more wars broke out among India and Pakistan in 1965 and 1971. The 1971 war erupted when India encouraged the protestors in East Pakistan (Bangladesh) and ended with the separation of Bangladesh and Pakistan. In the following period, disagreements continued mainly on the Kashmir issue.

After the events of September 11, 2001, the Kashmir issue, and the ongoing struggle for independence in Kashmir rose to the top of the world agenda again. Although Pakistan and India came to the brink of war by sending thousands of soldiers to their borders mutually, the tension was eased with the mediation of other states. However, the statements of both sides that they will not make concessions in their attitude show that an uncertain, tense, and anxious future awaits the region, which has already warmed after the Afghanistan incident.¹³⁰ India and Pakistan fought four wars in 73 years, in 1947, 1965, 1971 and 1999 over the Kashmir problem. Tension also escalated between both the states over several occasions. The recent action was on August 5th, 2019, when India revoked Article 370 of the constitution granting privileges to Jammu Kashmir and abolished the special status of the region. Pakistan has since accused India of imposing a curfew in the region and turning it into an open prison. India, on the other hand, does not accept the accusations. Azad Kashmir's President Serdar Khan said, "The situation has worsened after 5 August. There is no communication in Kashmir, which is under Indian occupation. People are imprisoned in their homes, there is no access to medicine, hospitals are not working, and water and food are not taken. "Before August, there were 700 thousand soldiers in the area. Afterwards, 180 thousand soldiers were reinforced. Now there are around

¹²⁹ Jammu and Kashmir: An Introductory Profile, https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/stateplan/sdr_jandk/sdr_jkch1.pdf (Accessed April 18, 2021).

¹³⁰ Ismail Akbaş. Geçmişten Geleceğe Türkiye Pakistan İlişkileri (İzmir: Zeus kitabevi, Mart 2013), p. 202.

900 thousand Indian soldiers in that area. This is more than the number of armies of many countries.¹³¹

Today, the population of Muslims in India is around 209 million. India is the third country in the world with the largest Muslim population. In this context, he was concerned that the dense Muslim population would make similar demands if he gave up on Kashmir. On the contrary, Pakistan sees Kashmir as an integral part of it and therefore considers Kashmir issue as its own internal affair. For this reason, it demands that a popular vote be held to ensure that India withdraws from Kashmir and that the administration is transferred to it. Pakistan opposes the establishment of domination by India in Kashmir, especially in order that most of the occupancy in Kashmir is comprised of Muslim community and not to block the Punjab (Five Waters) rivers, which originate in India. However, Pakistan declares that the solution of the Kashmir dispute is achievable through discussion to be established in conjunction with India.

Different polarizations have emerged on Kashmir in the bipolar world order. The issue of India and Pakistan has thus turned into an area of power struggle. As the Soviet government stands with India's policy on the Kashmir dispute, Pakistan acts in accordance to the pro-American foreign approach. China was one of the countries engaged in the problem by occupying east of Kashmir in 1956. An immediate alliance was formed by China with Pakistan by opposing India. While Türkiye has decided to support Pakistan together with Iran in this problem between Pakistan and India.

The profound and deep-rooted friendship ties between the peoples of Pakistan and the Turks remained stable and continued to grow. Pakistan supported the Turkish Cypriot cause. Likewise, the Turks have always backed Pakistan on the Kashmir issue.¹³² Türkiye, from 1965 show sensitivity to the Kashmir issue and it supports Pakistan's stance over Kashmir. Türkiye, however, sees Pakistan as friendly and brotherly country, but it also pursues a policy of developing good relations with India. Therefore, Türkiye's approach to the Kashmir issue between South Asia's two major powers Pakistan and India can be assessed as "balanced politics". In the Pakistan-Indian War in 1965, Türkiye has announced that it will support

¹³¹ Deniz K. oğlu, "72 yıldır bitmeyen kriz: Keşmir [Unending crisis for 72 years: Kaşmir]," *NTV News*, September 28, 2019, <https://www.ntv.com.tr/yazarlar/deniz-kilislioglu/72-yildir-bitmeyen-kriz-kesmir,8eMVe5YePEiWM7-bb89wGg> (Accessed April 18, 2021).

¹³² Akbaş..., p. 191.

Pakistan and Türkiye sent a variety of military equipment and weapons worth \$ 5 million to Pakistan.¹³³

The Human Rights Inquiry Commission, established within the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1994, prepared a report on Kashmir. Within the extent of the report, Azad-Kashmir region, which is under the control of Pakistan, was visited and various meetings were held with the necessary authorities. In the report, attention was drawn to the human rights violations committed by India and it was stated that necessary actions should be taken.¹³⁴

In the recent period, Türkiye has maintained its interest in the Kashmir issue. Ahmet Davutoğlu, who was appointed as the Foreign Affairs Minister in 2012, also made an appearance in the meeting of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) Jammu Kashmir Contact Group in New York, where he was inside the extent of the 67th term meetings of the UN General Assembly. Drawing attention to the humanitarian situation in Kashmir, Davutoğlu emphasized the importance of protecting fundamental rights and freedom of Kashmiri people. Davutoğlu expressed that he supports the discussion between India and Pakistan and the efforts of OIC in this regard.¹³⁵

When Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu visited Pakistan in August 2016, he fully supported Pakistan's position on the Kashmir issue, he believed that the problem should be solved through dialogue and requested the UN Secretary-General to send an investigation group to India to investigate human rights violations in Kashmir.¹³⁶

Turkish President Erdoğan bring in the Kashmir dispute to the agenda at a session held for the 75th anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations. India's Constant Spokesperson to the UN, Tirumurti, who was disturbed by Erdogan's statements said, these statements are completely unacceptable. Addressing many issues in his speech, President Erdogan's remarks

¹³³ Strateji Düşünce ve Analiz Merkezi, "Dünden Bugüne "Keşmir Sorunu", 2016, p.11.

¹³⁴ Akbaş....., p. 203.

¹³⁵ Dünden Bugüne Keşmir Sorunu.... p.12.

¹³⁶ "Türkiye backs Pakistan's stance on sending team to probe human rights violation in Kashmir," *The Indian EXPRESS*, August 2, 2016, <https://indianexpress.com/article/world/world-news/Türkiye-backs-pakistans-stance-on-sending-team-to-probe-human-rights-violation-in-kashmir-2949887/> (Accessed April 20, 2021).

about the Jammu-Kashmir tension between India, Pakistan, and China.¹³⁷ The Kashmir issue, which is essential for the peace as well as stability of South Asia, is still waiting for solution. The steps taken after the abolition of Jammu-Kashmir's special status also compounded the problem. President Erdoğan supports resolving this issue through negotiations, within the framework of UN resolutions and in line with the expectations of the people of Kashmir.

Kashmir dispute is the centre of attention for the states due to the geographical location of Kashmir and the characteristics they have. Kashmir, one of the places of great tragedies in history, continues to be one of the most important problems waiting to be solved in the world, especially Islamic societies.

3.2 Cyprus Dispute

Both the north-south and east-west axes of motion cross through Cyprus. At the crossroads of Asia, Europe, and Africa, it's a unique location. As a result, the region's major nations have long sought to colonize and conquer the island. Throughout history, Cyprus has played a significant role because of its strategic position and significance, but it has also been a victim of other countries' power goals and actions.¹³⁸ Undoubtedly, the main reason for discussing the Cyprus problem is the geopolitical importance of the island of Cyprus. Despite its limited geographical size (9,251 km²)¹³⁹ and small population of about 1.1 million, the political and geographical importance of Cyprus in the region has always been disproportionate. The reason for this was the strategic location of the island in the eastern Mediterranean.

¹³⁷ “Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan'ın gündeme getirdiği 'Keşmir' sorunu Hindistan'ı rahatsız etti,” *YeniŞafak*, September 23, 2020, <https://www.yenisafak.com/dunya/cumhurbaskani-erdoganin-gundeme-getirdigi-kesmir-sorunu-hindistani-rahatsiz-etti-3568328> (Accessed April 20, 2021).

¹³⁸ Antonis Klapsis, “The Strategic Importance of Cyprus and the Prospect of Union with Greece, 1919–1931: The Greek Perspective,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol.41, No.5 (2013): p. 765-771.

¹³⁹ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17217956>, (Accessed April 23, 2021).

Map-5: Geography of Cyprus



Source: <https://cute766.info/geography-of-cyprus/>

The island of Cyprus is like an aircraft carrier controlling the Suez Canal in southern Türkiye and the Persian Gulf, which has 60% of the world's oil reserves. In addition, the fact that it has a Mediterranean climate, which is extremely suitable for humanitarian and agricultural activities, increases interest in the island with its fertile soil. Again, the uniquely beautiful beaches make the island a tourist paradise. All these beauties cause everyone to have their eyes on Cyprus.¹⁴⁰

Looking at the historical background of Cyprus, there is an island that has not been divided for centuries and the party's claiming sovereignty on this island. Many different nations ruled Cyprus, whose history dates to 3000 B.C., until 1571. With Ottoman Empire's conquest of Cyprus, starting in 1571 Turkish sovereignty is legally established on the island. Cyprus was under Turkish rule intended for 307 years, the extensive continuous time in all of history. A lot of Turkish families entered on the island from Anatolia and the Turkish population on the island subsequently increased through the concept of exile after 1571. The Turkish forces between the conquests of Cyprus were not hostile to the local population, so they welcomed the Turks as their saviours. With the Ottoman occupation of the island, Cyprus was ruled by a monarchy

¹⁴⁰ Konuk Yazar, "Kıbrıs Neden Sorun Oldu?" İlim ve Medeniyet," April 13, 2019, <https://www.ilmvemedeniye.com/kibris-neden-sorun-oldu.html>, (accessed April 23, 2021).

based on fairness and equivalence. With the elimination of the outdated order established by the Venetians on the island, the people gained access to have land. The land was allotted to landless people and the heavy taxation of the Venetian period was ended. In addition, the Greek Orthodox Church was granted amnesty. The Turkish settlement in Cyprus brought Greeks the climate of peace that they had longed for centuries.

In line with the general decline and weak system of the Ottoman Empire the order established in Cyprus began to move. The first attack by the Turkish authorities in Cyprus, in connection with the Greek uprising of 1821, began when the Cypriot Orthodox Church triggered the Greek Cypriots on the island in contradiction of the empire with the aim of establishing the Greek Empire consisting of numerous institutions such as Istanbul, Greece, Cyprus and Anatolia. "Megala Idea". The uprising was interrupted by the arrests of archbishops and other church leaders.¹⁴¹ This revolt was a turning point in the history of the Ottoman Empire in Cyprus.

Nationalists of Greek, who accepted the Byzantine Empire as a Hellenic Empire, wanted to regain all the lands that belonged to Byzantium in the past with their great ideal they called the Megala Idea. This great idea, which included the independence of Greece, covered the Aegean islands, Western Anatolia, the Black Sea region, and Istanbul as the capital of the great Hellenic Empire, they dream of rebuilding their empire. In short, the Megala idea is the Greek ideology of bringing Byzantium back to its heyday. They were supported by states such as England, France, and Russia, and started their first rebellious movement in 1820 and launched the Greek Revolt in 1821. With the Edirne Agreement signed in 1829, the Greeks, the first minority in the Ottoman Empire, never achieved their Megala Idea ideals.¹⁴²

The Ottoman state entered a period of decline after the troubled period it went through, and the state, not wanting to add Cyprus to the military losses during this period, temporarily handed over the management of the island to the Britain with the Cyprus Treaty as a safety-measure. With another agreement signed later, the island was leased to England. According to the agreement, the island was to be returned to the Ottoman Empire if the Russians, who were a major threat to the Ottoman Empire at the time, withdrew from Arad, Batumi and Kars.

¹⁴¹ Muge Vatansever, "Kıbrıs Sorununun Tarihi Gelişimi, (Historical Development of the Cyprus Issue)", Dokuz Eylül University Faculty of Law Journal, Vol. 12, No.0 (2010): p. 1490-1494.

¹⁴² Dr. Oğuz Kalelioğlu, "Türk-Yunan İlişkileri ve Megala İdea,(Turkish-Greek Relations and Megala Idea)", *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, Vol.41,(2008), p. 106-109.

As a matter of fact, Russians retreated from these provinces when World War 1 came to an end, but the island was not returned by Britain's. As for the purpose that the British got a successful victory and wanted to get hold of the route from the Mediterranean to their settlements in Asia. By agreeing to the treaty of Lausanne Türkiye was forced to acknowledge the British livelihood of Cyprus. From that point on, things remained to go in opposition to Turks living on the island.¹⁴³

In the following years, the Greeks, defending that Cyprus was part of Greece, petitioned the United Nations in 1954 to resolve the issue, more specifically to annex Cyprus to Greece. The Greeks got furious, as they did not get the answer they wanted and the terrorist organization Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston (EOKA) started its activities and campaigned for the end of British rule in Cyprus and for an eventual union with Greece. Türkiye along with the mutual aggravation of tensions, Greece, Britain and the US began to look for solutions. The treaties that were concluded in 1960 created an environment of harmony for a while, then shortly mixed and anti-Turkish environment was restored. Greek Cypriot's terrorist organization (EOKA) turned the island of Cyprus into a murderous eyesore in the years 1955 to 1960 through its terrorist activities and life for the Turkish community as well as for the British communities and the Greek Cypriots on the island became miserable.¹⁴⁴ The Greeks who were always infuriated against the Turks, began the assault to make the island uninhabitable and the Bloody Christmas Massacre in 1963 was one of the ruthless examples of humanity. After Greece overthrew Makarios in a coup d'état in Cyprus on July 15, 1974, the infamous EOKA-B leader Nicos Simpson invaded Greece and declared the Greek Republic on the island. Türkiye's vain efforts in the international arena have shown that events cannot be resolved without weapons. This situation led to the involvement of the Turkish Army in Cyprus on July 20, 1974. The UN declared the Turkish Army an invader. This process goes back to the establishment of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 1983. The newly formed state became the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and was known by Türkiye. Established under the name of the new state of Northern Cyprus it is known only to Türkiye. In fact, other countries like Pakistan did not recognize Cyprus, but they had to take a step back because of international pressure.¹⁴⁵ Pakistan seems to support Türkiye. As the first day of the Turkish

¹⁴³ Müge Vatansever..., 1495-1497.

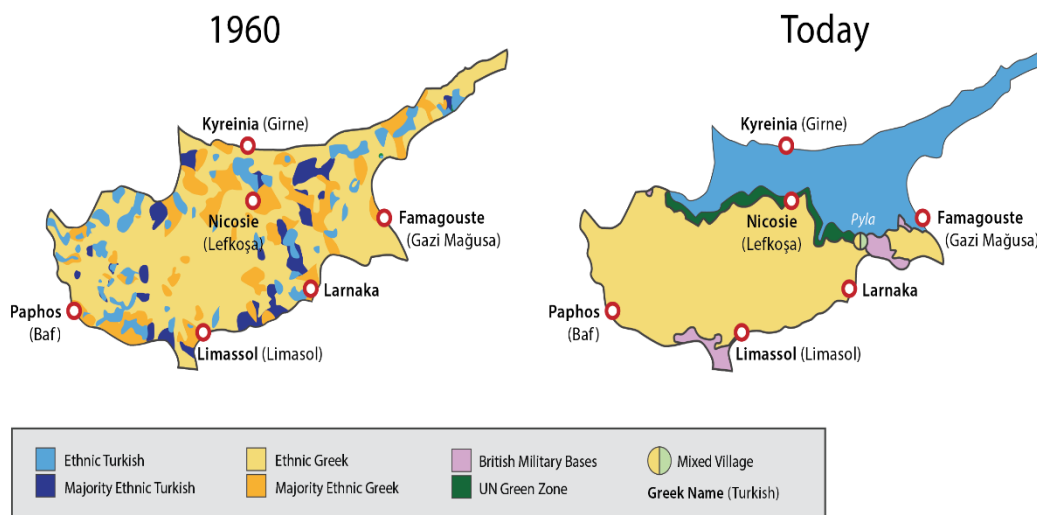
¹⁴⁴ Ulvi Keser,"BLOODY CHRISTMAS OF 1963 IN CYPRUS IN THE LIGHT OF AMERICAN DOCUMENTS," *Journal of Modern Turkish History Studies*, Vol.13, No.26 (2013): p.251.

¹⁴⁵ Müge Vatansever., 1515-1519.

invasion, Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said in a message to his Turkish counterpart Bülent Ecevit about the operation, it shows that the Pakistani government and the Pakistani people are always showing brotherly feelings towards the Turks and that they are with Türkiye in this hard time.

Bhutto also stated, “I am ready to go to war and fight shoulder to shoulder with the Turkish soldiers and we will not stand with folded arms in the problems Türkiye is facing.” A group of Pakistanis living in Ankara also organized a demonstration to support their Turkish brother’s operation in Cyprus. Meanwhile, the foreign press widely covered the invasion. Shortly after the warship sank on July 21, 1974, a military field clinic was sent to Türkiye by Pakistan as did Iran, which also sent a shipment of medical aid.¹⁴⁶

Map-6: The Cyprus Dispute



Source:<https://www.turkheritage.org/en/publications/factsheets/issue-briefs/the-cyprus-dispute-at-a-glance-3300>

The number of individuals to the Cyprus dispute grew in 1990. Because of the Greek Cypriot Government of the Southern Cyprus application for a complete association to the

¹⁴⁶ Savvas Kalenteridis, “The History of Pakistan Antagonizing Cyprus On Behalf Of Türkiye,” Greek City Times, Nov 2, 2020, <https://greekcitytimes.com/2020/11/02/cyprus-pakistan-Türkiye/>, (accessed, April 24, 2021).

European Union, which represented the whole island in 1990, the Cyprus crisis became more complex. The Greek side made a claim to the EU to indirectly recognize its principles. The EU acknowledged the unilateral application of the Greek Cypriots and granted Cyprus a candidate status in 1995.¹⁴⁷

The Greeks, who do not accept proposals that are closed to Enosis, are constantly causing difficulties, and especially the Turkish side does not trust Greek society because of what happened in the past, and the Turkish side does not accept even the slightest compromise, considering the past abuses of the other side, resulting in the ongoing talks between the communities being fruitless. Although the United Nations initiated the mediation initiatives in 1992, it too ended without fruitful results.

In 2004, both Greeks and Turkish Cypriots voted in a referendum to adopt the UN plan negotiated by the Secretary General of UN Kofi Annan. The plan proposed a joint state government and a single international personality with “two politically equal constituent states that would assume much of the day-to-day governmental responsibilities in their respective communities.” The referendum passed in the north side with 65% of the votes but was rejected in the south by Greek Cypriots with 76% of the vote.¹⁴⁸ The Annan plan, which promised the establishment of a federal system in 2004 to solve the endless problem, was accepted by the Turks, but the Greeks chose the option of continuing the deadlock. Cyprus is accepted in today’s world as "Republic of Cyprus" and only the Greek Cypriot side as the addressee is recognized due to its international identity. As Cyprus became a full member of the European Union in 2004, the legal status of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus came back on the agenda and caused controversy.

Rejecting Annan's plan, Türkiye has taken new steps on the Cyprus subject. Similarly, some suggestions to the solution were made by EU Presidents,¹⁴⁹ but they could not get results. Cyprus, which is in front of Türkiye, seeking to continue the EU regime, is still one of the oldest problems. The situation in EU countries is very difficult, especially regarding the use of ports and airspace. This is because the Greek Administration of Southern Cyprus (GASC) has

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 1519.

¹⁴⁸ “The Cyprus Dispute at a Glance,” *Turkish Heritage Organization*, Issue Brief No.1, May 22, 2017, <https://www.turkheritage.org/en/publications/factsheets/issue-briefs/the-cyprus-dispute-at-a-glance-3300>, (Accessed April 23, 2021).

¹⁴⁹ Müge Vatansever., 1523.

been a member of the EU since 2004. During the presidency of the Greek Cypriot side and Türkiye's relations with the EU it is known to have stalled. It should be added that the Greeks always felt the support of the West behind them.¹⁵⁰ In 2013, the EU and IMF provided €1 billion in financial support to Southern Cyprus.¹⁵¹

The Cyprus issue is waiting for the day of solution under the leadership of the guarantor powers, Türkiye, Greece, and the UK. However, since the share of land demanded by the Greek side is much higher than the share given by Türkiye, an agreement cannot be reached. This issue is seen as the basis of today's problem. The parties met again in 2017, but again the land issue was seen as the biggest problem,¹⁵² and the negotiations were decided to be terminated.

4. Areas of Common Interest

4.1 Counter Terrorism

After the September 11 Terrorist Events in United States of America which was termed as the largest terrorist assault in the world's history. America's intervention in Afghanistan had a negative impact on the Asia-Pacific region and indirectly on stability in the Middle East. This amplification created a ripple effect in the Middle East and seriously threatened the region. While terrorist attacks in Iran were mainly observed in Shiraz, Sarayan, Kermansah and Zehadan, in Iraq they occur intensively in Diyala, Ninava and Tuz Khumatu regions.¹⁵³ The intense activity of separatist terrorist groups in the mentioned region threatens the territorial integrity of the countries in the region.

When terrorist activities in Pakistan are mentioned, Taliban first comes to mind. Tehrik-i Taliban Pakistan (TTP), is one of the Radical Islamic groups consisting of majority Pashtuns.

¹⁵⁰ Fuat Aksu, "Türkiye and Greece Relations and the Cyprus Question: Quo Vadis?" *UNISCI Discussion Papers*, no. 23, (2010), p. 214-219.

¹⁵¹ Press Release: "IMF Executive Board Approves €1 Billion Arrangement under Extended Fund Facility for Cyprus," May 15, 2013, <https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2015/09/14/01/49/pr13175>, (Accessed, April 23, 2021).

¹⁵² Cyprus, <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-cyprus-issue-overview.en.mfa>, (Accessed, April 23, 2021).

¹⁵³ Seçkin Çetin, "Türkiye ve Pakistan Özelinde Bölgesel Güvenliği Tehdit Eden Unsurlar Olarak Kaçakçılık ve Terörizm, [Smuggling and Terrorism as Elements Threatening Regional Security in Türkiye and Pakistan]," Security and Cooperation Seminar-1 (Türkiye-Pakistan), 2009, p. 65.

Its formation dates back to Pashtun refugees who were educated in Pakistani madrasas. Most of its members are Taliban fighters who fought in Afghanistan.

Pakistan was working on a major policy area and that was to fight against terrorism after what happened on 11th September 2001. The invasion of Afghanistan by the US-led international coalition and the fall of the Taliban have created serious instability in the region for both Afghanistan and Pakistan. This is because the newly established administration of Hamid Karzai and international forces in Afghanistan have not achieved any significant results in their fight against Taliban and al Qaeda militants hiding in the mountainous regions bordering Pakistan. As Pakistan was unable to effectively control its nearly 2,500 km border with Afghanistan, militant groups in both countries created significant security problems along the border.¹⁵⁴

Pakistan Military initiated an operation in opposition to the Taliban in South Waziristan In October 2009 after which the number of suicide attacks in the country increased. The Pakistani Taliban also has links to Al-Qaeda. It is estimated that Al-Qaeda's core personnel, Osama bin Laden, and Ayman al-Zawahiri, reside on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border and in Pakistan's tribal areas. It was believed that Al-Qaeda is involved in several attacks in Pakistan. A retired Pakistani official stated that Al-Qaeda may be trying to give the Taliban time to reorganize through such attacks.

Türkiye is also threatened by regional terrorism due to its permanent and geopolitical position in the international security environment. The ongoing activities that started with the armed raids by PKK militants in Erurh and Şemdinli districts in 1984 continue to this day. The arrest of terrorist ringleader Abdullah Ocalan on February 16, 1999 did not put an end to the terrorist attacks. As is well known, Türkiye's struggle against the PKK is closely linked to that of other states in the region. At this point, eliminating terrorist organizations and minimizing their influence is of regional importance. In Türkiye, in addition to the PKK, international terrorist organizations also carry out actions. Al-Qaeda, which is described as the most established terrorist organization in the world, carried out suicide attacks on the Sisli Beth Israel Synagogue at 09:30 on November 15, 2003, and on the the Beyoğlu Neve Salom Synagogue in Istanbul at 09:34. Both attacks killed 26 people, including two activists, and injured 303

¹⁵⁴ Ismail Akbaş..., p.204.

people. The martyr Abu Hafiz al-Misri Brigade, who is known to be affiliated with Al-Qaeda, claimed responsibility for the attacks.¹⁵⁵

Terrorism is providing to be a factor affecting the internal and regional stability of both Türkiye and Pakistan. The current terrorist activities differ in terms of the purpose and function of the organizations. While Türkiye is fighting the separatist terrorist organization PKK, Pakistan is fighting the radical Islamic terrorist organization Taliban. Although the aforementioned terrorist organizations differ from each other, they have many areas in common. First of all, both terrorist organizations finance themselves through drug and human trafficking. If we look at the world in general, it is possible to see that 90% of the opium and heroin produced and trafficked comes from Afghanistan. On a significant note, 93 % of this production occurs in the Himalayan region and this region is under the control of the Taliban. Moreover, the army is the main player in the fight against terrorism in both countries. In addition, the PKK and Taliban Terrorist Organizations are functionally based on ideological foundations. While the Taliban is ideologically based on the fundamentalist ideology, the PKK has adopted the separatist ideology.¹⁵⁶ In addition to all these, both countries are affected by the activities of Al-Qaida, the world's largest terrorist organization. The Taliban's connection with Al-Qaeda and the terrorist attacks carried out by the same terrorist organization in Türkiye bring Türkiye and Pakistan back to the same plane. In this sense, cooperation, and exchange of information against international terrorist organizations are of great importance.

Both countries have expressed the importance of cooperation on terrorism at every opportunity from the very beginning. In this context, Kenan Evren made his first foreign visit as President to Pakistan in November 1981, a dinner was held in honour of him by President Ziya-ul Haq where he emphasized the heavy expenditure incurred by both countries on the military and the fight against terrorism.¹⁵⁷

The first item on the agenda of Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf's visit to Türkiye in January 2004 was to take up arms against terrorism. In this context, Türkiye has demonstrated its support for Pakistan, especially President Musharraf. As a result of

¹⁵⁵ Seçkin Çetin., p.67.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid..., p. 68.

¹⁵⁷ Cumhuriyet Arşivi, November 24, 1981, p. 1, https://www.cumhuriyetarsivi.com/sign/buy_page.xhtml?page=5198696.

negotiations between the delegates, they signed an agreement on “Fighting International Terrorism and Organized Crime” (FAITOR)¹⁵⁸ on 20 January 2004 in Ankara on cooperation and communication in the fight against terrorism. President Caesar said the agreement, signed on cooperation in combating international terrorism and organized crime, reflects the joint decision of the two countries against terrorism.¹⁵⁹

During Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's visit to Pakistan in October 2009, they exchanged talks and discussed the importance of counterterrorism and working together to fight against terrorism and reiterated that they support each other on terrorism. During this visit, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said in his speech at the joint session of the Pakistan Senate and the National Assembly, that he believes Pakistan will surely make its fight against terrorism a success, and he also said, "*You are not alone in the fight against terrorism and extremism.*"¹⁶⁰

President Recep Tayyip Erdogan visited Pakistan in December 2013, and along with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif stressed the need for enhanced counterterrorism and security cooperation. In this context, they signed a protocol providing the framework for counterterrorism and security cooperation.¹⁶¹ Also, in a meeting held in Islamabad in August 2015, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif agreed to strengthen counter-terrorism cooperation by incorporating the realistic threats posed by militant groups such as, the Islamic State (ISIS) and other such terrorist organizations. Consequently, officials from both sides met in Ankara in June 2019 and discussed the threats posed by international terrorism at the global and regional levels¹⁶² and presented their determination to jointly fight terrorism in all its forms.

¹⁵⁸ “Compendium of Bilateral and Regional Instruments for South Asia: International Cooperation in Criminal Matters,” *UNODC Regional Office*, (2015), https://www.unodc.org/documents/terrorism/Publications/SAARC%20compendium/SA_Compndium_Volume-1.pdf.

¹⁵⁹ Ismail Akbaş., p.209.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p.210.

¹⁶¹ Mateen Haider, “Pakistan, Türkiye Agree to Enhance Counter-Terrorism Cooperation,” Dawn, August 1, 2020. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1197821>, (Accessed May 01, 2021).

¹⁶² Ali Murat Alhas, “Türkiye, Pakistan Discuss Counter Terrorism Efforts,” Anadolu Agency, June 2, 2019, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/Turkiyepakistan-discuss-counter-terrorism-efforts/1495200>, (Accessed, May 01, 2021).

It was stated that combating extremism and terrorism needs an extensive approach at the regional and global levels, while addressing root causes was considered essential to countering terrorism. Both Pakistan and Türkiye also focused on the threats and challenges posed by terrorist groups such as Islamic State (ISIS) in Middle East and rest of the world to take necessary measures to combat this evil. Moreover, both Pakistan and Türkiye have strongly condemned the gruesome terrorist attacks in New Zealand and Sri Lanka.

Türkiye and Pakistan have constantly been supportive towards one another on every platform. The importance of friendly affairs and supportiveness between the two countries was made clear at the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) forum when Türkiye along with China, and Malaysia, refused to blacklist Pakistan through the action took by US and UK for failing to prevent the financing of terrorism from its soil. Despite this Pakistan was placed on the grey list in June 2018 by the Financial Action Task Force (FATF). The only state that favoured Pakistan and opposed the move was Türkiye. President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, in his June 2020 speech to the Pakistani parliament, stated that Türkiye will support Pakistan against any political pressure from intergovernmental FATF. Türkiye praised the dedication of Pakistan in the fight against terrorism. In addition, Pakistan has supported Türkiye as a true friend in times of crisis. The administrative control of FETO-sponsored schools¹⁶³ was given to the Government of Türkiye by Pakistan. Pakistan also started a campaign in help of the Turkish lira by purchasing Turkish currency after sanctions were put on Türkiye by USA, about Imprisonment of an American pastor in Türkiye.

4.2 Pakistan-Türkiye Nexus on Afghanistan

The Afghan record is riddled with perpetual instability, external involvement, and war. Afghanistan's geostrategic region, which is subject to monetary dependence on various international countries, is at risk of foreign intervention and influence in many ancient times. Afghanistan paints a picture of the basic risks of the 21st century that infuriates the whole world community.

¹⁶³ "Türkiye takes over FETO-linked Schools in Pakistan," Anadolu, January 03, 2019, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/todays-headlines/Türkiye-takes-over-feto-linked-schools-inpakistan/1354576>, (Accessed May 02, 2021).

The relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan have never been easier and had the element of mutual suspicion. In fact, not a single country wishes for a conflict free and peaceful Afghanistan other than Pakistan, as it undergoes more from war and instability in Afghanistan in comparison to others. Deep historical, religious, racial, and sectarian hyperlinks with the Pashtuns in Afghanistan and the presence of Afghan refugees, especially in Pakistan, have immediate implications for Pakistan and the current instability within the country.

Afghanistan is a landlocked country and is positioned at the junction of three strategic regions which is also known as a region situated at the crossroads of history because it has been getting use for a trade route which links the south and west of central Asia together. Pakistan is important because it directly dealt and eased the progression and advancement of trade via land with Central Asia.¹⁶⁴ The collapse of the USSR and the availability of mineral resources in Central Asia significantly changed the country's landscape. This provided an opportunity for Afghanistan, and it gained great importance as a global bridge for natural gas pipelines and an oil trade route. Therefore, Central Asian countries have come to impress while it is believed that they have the potential for security in the 21st century.

The superpowers remain of special interest in the South Asian region because of its geostrategic significance. The interests of the various regional and international players have received much attention. Afghanistan shares a border with Pakistan and therefore, being a close neighbour, the interests of international players in Afghanistan directly affect Pakistan's concerns and stability.

Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan from 1979-1989 developed unease and fears between numerous Pakistanis and they thought that Pakistan would be the next target after Afghanistan. They believed that once strengthening its position in Afghanistan, USA will try and enlarge its effect on past the Afghan borders to destabilize Pakistan to gain clean get entry to a warm port at the Indian Ocean. Pakistan had only been left with one choice to help the resistance movement to prevent the Soviet Union. So, general Zia-ul Haqq determined to offer aid for the

¹⁶⁴ Barnett R. Rubin, "The Search for Peace on Afghanistan: From Buffer State to a Failed State", (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995): p.136-139.

Afghan Mujahidin in 1979, and the Pakistani military-trained guerrillas began the guerrilla battle in opposition to soviet army.

Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, nearly 3 million Afghans fled to Pakistan and took shelter because of ongoing conflict and disturbance in their country. As tensions continue in Afghanistan approximately 70% of the total number of Afghan refugees live on Pakistani soil.

Türkiye has a deep cultural, religious, and historical, ties with Afghanistan. Afghanistan put forward a cooperative relationship with Türkiye right after gaining independence. It was the 2nd country to acknowledge the Turkish National Assembly (TGNA). This warm relationship between the two countries has continued to this day. As a result, Türkiye expects its presence in Afghanistan as a fraternal mission to help Afghani people re-establish peace and stability, not just as part of a NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). There is no denying that Türkiye's existence and interference in Afghanistan is also centred on its strategic interests: if Afghanistan is weak and unstable, the whole of the territory will be volatile, a threat to security in Türkiye. A secure and stable Afghanistan can bring greater peace and stability to the region by presenting new economic advantages to the region as a whole and to Türkiye in particular.¹⁶⁵

There were major political and economic interests of Türkiye in Central Asia because of the energy resources that are essential to worldwide security of energy and are a main cause of oil and gas pipelines and important trade routes. Therefore, Türkiye didn't support the increasing influence of the Taliban in Afghanistan, as it could lead to an outbreak of Islamic extremism in the Central Asian region. Central Asian countries also see the Taliban as a major threat to the stability of their domain. Türkiye has backed Central Asian countries against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan Türkiye wants an extensive agreement, which should include all ethnic factions in Afghanistan to resolve the problem. The former Foreign Minister of Türkiye, Ismail Cem visited Islamabad in April 1998 and stated that "We want all sides to get

¹⁶⁵ Ayhan Şimşek, "Türkiye Pledges to Support Afghanistan beyond 2014," *SES Türkiye*, July 12, 2011.

together and form a transitional government consisting of all ethnic groups in order to create conditions which are conducive for a broad-based settlement of the issue.”¹⁶⁶

In the book named as ‘A Sense of Siege’ *The Geopolitics of Islam and the West*, Ian Lesser and Graham Fuller observed that all the operations that took place after the end of the Cold War to maintain peace were in Islamic lands or countries where Islamic interests were directly involved, thus increasing the need for peacekeepers which were Muslims. They point to Türkiye, Pakistan, and Egypt as one of the most successful in terms of leadership of these missions in the world.¹⁶⁷ As such, usual religious and cultural links have made it easier for Türkiye to take an active part in Afghanistan. Turkish troops instead of participating in combat operations are only involved in providing material assistance to international troops, ensuring security in the area where they work, which contributes to capacity building and training of Afghan security personnel.

Türkiye shares close relations with the government of Pakistan and Afghanistan. It has established a trilateral process named as the Türkiye-Pakistan-Afghanistan Trilateral Summit. The primary reason to take this initiative is to develop and enhance the relationships between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The relations between both the states are tensed due to Afghanistan's belief that Pakistan supports Taliban militants which seek to overthrow the government of Afghanistan and that North and West Pakistan regions are being used as a base for Taliban operations.¹⁶⁸ The first trilateral conference was held in 2007, which brought together Afghan and Pakistani leaders in Türkiye. Following this initiative, seven such conferences took place (2007, 2008, and 2009, twice in 2010, 2011, and 2012) at the presidential level.

The point of interest and objectives of these discussions differed from year to year but in general it contain talk on cooperation in the fight towards terrorism, financial assistance, and cooperation in the political, military and intelligence fields, in addition

¹⁶⁶ Munir Hussain, “PAK-TÜRKIYE RELATIONS: On the Common Ties”, *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations*, vol. 7, no. 2 & 3, 2008, p. 74-75.

¹⁶⁷ Graham E. Fuller & Ian Lesser, *A Sense of Siege: The Geopolitics of Islam and the West* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1995): p. 2-11.

¹⁶⁸ “Pakistani, Afghan, Turkish Presidents Pledge Cooperation in Terrorism Fight,” VOA News, October 27, 2009, <https://www.voanews.com/archive/pakistani-afghan-turkish-presidents-pledge-cooperation-terrorism-fight>, (accessed May 12, 2021).

to security and training. It was the first time that the intelligence and military chiefs of Pakistan and Afghanistan had come together, in the 2009 trilateral summit.

In the fifth trilateral summit in December 2010, Türkiye, Afghanistan, and Pakistan come to an agreement to carry out joint military exercises. The exercises were conducted in Türkiye in March 2011, with the aim of establishing close military ties among the countries and comprised of demonstrations by the Turkish army and joint exercises in military operations in urban terrain (MOUT) against terrorists, basic and battle order training, combating improvised explosive devices (IEDs), training control and combat order. Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari in the sixth trilateral summit, held in 2011, said that Türkiye is an important country in fixing and sorting out troubles among Afghanistan and Pakistan as it is familiar with the region and culture¹⁶⁹ very well, somewhat than far-away countries to take the run.

The Afghan President Hamid Karzai visited Türkiye in December 2011 expressed his preference for Türkiye to act as a mediator among the Taliban's and the Government of Afghanistan to facilitate reconciliation and ultimately Qatar became chosen as the venue for a representative workplace for Taliban's.¹⁷⁰

Pakistan welcomes the communications efforts made by Türkiye and considers it very important because of Türkiye's membership in NATO. Türkiye supports Pakistan in the Chicago summit, because Pakistan was not invited to the NATO-2012 summit in Chicago until the last minute because of tense relations with the United States.¹⁷¹ It all happened after U.S. planes accidentally crashed a Pakistani post office near the Afghan border in November 2011, killing 24 soldiers, leading some Pakistani officials to suspect it was deliberate. Pakistan seeks US apology from the US over border deaths before considering reopening the route and said it would demand more taxes and extra money for each NATO truck crossing its border to Afghanistan. Pakistan eventually agreed to reopen the routes of passage, paving the way for

¹⁶⁹ "Afghanistan, Pakistan Hope Tuesday's Summit Eases Tensions," *Today's Zaman*, Nov 02, 2011.

¹⁷⁰ Matthew Rosenberg, "Taliban Opening Qatar Office and Maybe Door to Talks," *New York Times*, Jan 3, 2012, <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/04/world/asia/taliban-to-open-qatar-office-in-step-toward-peace-talks.html>, (accessed May 12, 2021).

¹⁷¹ Chris Brummitt & Slobodan Lekic, "NATO invites Pakistan to summit in Chicago", *Taiwannews*, May 16, 2012, <https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/1921572>, (accessed May 14, 2021).

the invitation to the Chicago summit. Turkish sources say Türkiye was the one that forced the invitation to be sent to Pakistan.

Türkiye launched the Istanbul summit of Afghanistan in November 2011, among other diplomatic initiatives.¹⁷² This brings together all countries with the aim of obtaining workable solutions to the problems of stability and security in Afghanistan. The presidents of Türkiye, Pakistan and Afghanistan, the foreign minister of Tajikistan, the first deputy president of Iran, and the special envoy of the president and Chinese foreign minister met in Istanbul at the invitation of Türkiye. While representatives of United States, United Kingdom, Russia, UAE, Saudi Arabia, Kyrgyzstan, Islamic Conference, Italy, Germany, France, Japan, NATO, the UN and the EU joined the Summit as observers.

Türkiye has experienced a very low casualties in Afghanistan because it has good relations with Pakistan that stopped the Turkish troops from being assaulted by Taliban's of Afghanistan which are backed by Pakistan. These casualties have been due to accidents and crashes and not to Taliban attacks.

Pakistan and Türkiye have very close and cordial relations that play a significant part in strengthening the position of Türkiye being an ideal peace mediator in the Afghanistan conflict. It is evident that Pakistan has supported the Taliban in Afghanistan. This situation created mistrust between Kabul and Islamabad over the past couple of decades. Türkiye appears to be the only country having the capability of bridging the mistrust between the two countries in practice and signing a peace treaty with the Taliban is a defining factor for the future of peace in Afghanistan. Türkiye's former Special Coordinator for Afghanistan, Aydemir Erman states that, Türkiye has a deep understanding of cultures and local values and has a strong historical linkage in the region. Therefore, Türkiye might be the one state that can bring about peace and friendly relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan in spite of their differences of opinion.¹⁷³

¹⁷² "Afghanistan için İstanbul Konferansı Önemli (Istanbul Conference is Important for Afghanistan)", Haber Turk, Nov 01, 2011, <https://www.haberturk.com/dunya/haber/684477-afghanistan-icin-istanbul-konferansi-onemli>, (Accessed May 16, 2021).

¹⁷³ Erman Aydemir, "How Türkiye's Soft Power can Aid NATO in Afghanistan", *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 2, (2010): p. 39-41.

Türkiye also has no territorial disputes with Afghanistan unlike its neighbours, which strengthens its neutrality as a peace mediator.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore Türkiye has good relations with all the local, provincial and global players in the Afghan Dispute, including the Pakistan, central government of Afghanistan, Iran, Qatar, the United States, the European Union, and Russia.

The Afghan Taliban were invited by Pakistan, Türkiye, and Afghanistan to participate in the peace conference on April 2021 in Istanbul to achieve a negotiated settlement for permanent peace in Afghanistan. They also emphasized the crucial need for hostilities to end violence and to ensure a peaceful environment for peace talks. Afghanistan's Peace Summit in Istanbul, on April 24, 2021, sponsored by the United States and hosted by Türkiye, the United Nations, and Qatar, was delayed due to Taliban not being involved. Following the US announcement that all American troops would leave Afghanistan on September 11, 2021, the foreign ministers of Türkiye, Pakistan and Afghanistan reviewed a planned conference aimed at promoting an agreement between the Taliban and the Afghan government to end conflict and lasting peace in Afghanistan.¹⁷⁵

Transformation has taken place on the world stage, and Pakistan, and Türkiye, like other countries, have had to adapt to changing times and challenges in the context of both national, regional, and international contexts. The post-Cold War era threw new challenges and opportunities and urged both countries to seek greener pastures elsewhere and to reap the benefits of their bilateral relations. Meanwhile Pakistan and Türkiye are increasingly aware of the need to address the emerging domestic challenges of improved security, prosperity, and stability by building better relations with countries, peoples, and economies both near and far. Such developments have had a profound effect on Pakistan's relations with Türkiye during the post-war Cold War. The next chapter will discuss what is happening and how it will affect relations between the two countries.

¹⁷⁴ HAMOON KHELGHAT-DOOST, Road to Afghan peace is through Turkish mediation, Daily Sabah, April 21, 2021, <https://www.dailysabah.com/opinion/op-ed/road-to-afghan-peace-is-through-turkish-mediation>, (accessed May 19, 2021).

¹⁷⁵ "Türkiye, Pakistan, Afghanistan urge Taliban to commit to Afghan peace talks", Reuters, April 23, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/Türkiye-pakistan-afghanistan-call-taliban-commit-afghan-peace-talks-statement-2021-04-23/>, (accessed May 19, 2021).

CHAPTER: 3

RE-DEFINING PAKISTAN-TÜRKİYE RELATIONS IN THE CHANGING INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Sovereignty, non-intervention, democracy, human rights, and territoriality are all being eroded as the new global order is being recreated, and entities like non-governmental organizations, civil society, and multinational corporations are playing an increasingly important role.¹⁷⁶ The unipolar and bipolar structure of international affairs has been transformed by the rise of various and conflicting sources of power throughout the globe.

The following chapter will explore the places of both Pakistan and Türkiye in the changing regional and global settings, their foreign policies towards major Powers and how they become successful in maintaining balance among them rather than getting closer to just one, the importance and role of both states for the Middle East region, the emerging opportunities and challenges for both the States and their capabilities to handle them.

1. Türkiye's Position in the Changing World Balances

There has been a significant shift in the global balance of power, and the capacity of smaller countries like Türkiye to adapt to this shift is becoming more essential. Practices of gathering outcomes over physical power potential are progressively coming to the fore in today's globe, where a multi-polar international system is becoming more apparent. Nationalism and geopolitical and geoeconomic power conflicts are on the rise as globalization loses its footing. As a result, people become even more reclusive and xenophobic.¹⁷⁹ There is little question that in today's international order, when governments are distrustful of one other, the battles between the major powers may not be waged directly by military means but rather via technology, culture, information, and commerce.

While Türkiye favored the Western Bloc under the bipolar global order that persisted until the 1990s, it was not always so. It was impossible for everyone to pick roles based on

¹⁷⁶ Parlar Dal and Oğuz Gök, "Locating Türkiye as a 'Rising Power' in the Changing International Order: An Introduction", *Perceptions Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 109, No. 4 (2014): p.3.

what the best actors could perform, since the best actors had a very narrow range of abilities. After the fall of the Soviet Union in the 1990s, the United States started to be seen as the only superpower, but this was quickly realized after September 11, 2001. New power balances, such as those between China, India, and Russia, outside of the United States and the European Union, were exposed as a result of September 11th's terrorist attacks. Regional powers such as Brazil, Türkiye and Mexico are also beginning to make their presence known on the world stage. To cope with this multipolarity, the world's leaders have been compelled by the need for multi-dimensional policies.

As one of the few nations with a long and distinguished history, Türkiye has a significant place in the world's geography, both strategically and culturally. Since it has lived in the West for over two centuries and has strong links to the Balkans, Caucasus, and the Middle East, Türkiye is one of the few countries that can claim to have developed its own unique network of relationships across continents such as Africa, Asia, and Europe.¹⁷⁷

Multi-polarity has lately emerged, and Türkiye has been seeking to adapt its foreign policy to this new reality. Some Asian-African and Middle Eastern nations are seeing a resurgence of interest in the region, according to this background. Competition has skyrocketed in the post-sophisticated era that precedes multipolarity. Over the last 10 years, Türkiye has seen a shift in the global balance of power. This century will be defined by the decisions Türkiye makes in the next years, including investments and gains in human resources. There are several "mental thresholds" in Türkiye that need to be crossed because of the country's long history of isolation. Human resources with advanced training and a shared goal and vision are the only way to overcome these mental frontiers, both institutionally and socially.¹⁷⁸

A nation that has grown boring in itself and pursues continual balancing policies forced by the constraints of the Cold War has built its own development in accordance with the needs of multifaceted foreign policy in Africa, Middle East, and Caucasus. Central Asia, other areas of Latin America, Asia, and the Caribbean regions present outside the Western Europe and the

¹⁷⁷ Süleyman Şensoy, "Değişen Dünya Dengelerinde Türkiye'Nin Konumu" [Türkiye's Position in Changing World Balances], *TASAM Türk Asya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi*, Istanbul, 2010.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*,

United States must progressively become stronger. As a result, Türkiye has to know its own constraints and deploy its resources to the fullest extent possible in this context.

A country must meet seven criteria in order to solidify its position and rise to worldwide prominence. Firstly, it does not have a trade deficit, secondly, it has no budget deficit, thirdly, it has a high-tech product range, and fourthly, it has nuclear technology for peaceful reasons. Finally, it has a self-sufficient military sector. The seventh reason is that the country's per capita national income is comparable to that of developed economies, and it has the ability to fairly divide that revenue amongst its own citizens.¹⁷⁹ This may be used to assess Türkiye as well as other nations. Since these characteristics are critical for the country's long-term success, Türkiye must work hard to acquire them. There are seven areas of strength that may help Türkiye become a significant regional power that is also heard in global issues if it can improve in these areas and establish a multidimensional foreign policy knowledge. As Türkiye's multifaceted power structure takes shape, it's critical to keep track of the country's interests in relation to the rest of the globe.

Türkiye's foreign policy priorities must be clearly defined, and a solid foundation for their execution must be laid. Since then, Türkiye has made great strides in this regard. This aim can only be achieved by eradicating institutional infrastructure flaws as well as working efficiently across all channels, civil and official.¹⁸⁰ For Türkiye to thrive in the 21st century, it must help its politicians, businesses and academics open up to the rest of the world, letting go of their preconceptions about the country's history. An inward attraction force from outside is a must, as is the need to open externally. After all this transition and change management, Türkiye must defend the "state consciousness" and enhance the nation-bounds state's both physically and psychologically.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ Andrew Hurrell, Andrew F. Cooper, Guadalupe González González, Ricardo Ubiraci Sennes & Srinivasan Sitaraman, "Paths to Power: Foreign Policy Strategies of Intermediate States", *Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*, No. 244, (2000): 4-12.

¹⁸⁰ Mehtap Kara, "Turkish Foreign Policy I", (Eskişehir: Anadolu University Publications, 2019): p.147.

¹⁸¹ Ibid..., p.177-179.

2. Türkiye's Role as a Regional and Global Player and its Power Capacity

The Justice and Development Party's government has been responsible for a significant shift in the direction that Türkiye's foreign policy has taken. The AKP's policymakers put radical concepts of international relations into practice. However, these fundamentals of the country's foreign policy were called into question as a result of events both at home and abroad. The Arab revolutions of 2011, and in particular the civil war in Syria, have developed into the most major danger to Turkish foreign policy. Türkiye's connection with the nations in its immediate neighborhood as well as its ties with the global powers have been redefined since the beginning of the recent regional shift in the Middle East and North African (MENA) area.

In 2002, Ahmet Davutoglu, who has served as Chief Advisor to Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan since that year, devised a set of guiding principles for Türkiye's foreign policy in order to capitalize on the country's geopolitical and historical strategic depth. He emphasized that Türkiye's historical legacy and geographical diversity will make it a major player on the international stage in this century. Even before he became the Foreign Minister for the AKP in 2009, he had already defined the new foreign policy ideas that the AKP would follow. His policies had already begun to be implemented by the people in charge of foreign policy during the early years of AKP power. Under the leadership of the AKP, the new Turkish government's approach to international relations is guided by three primary methodological principles: vision-orientedness, a systematic framework, and soft power. In addition to these methodological ideas, Davutoglu has established five operational principles, which are as follows: a balance between freedom and security; zero problems with neighbors; diplomatic discourse; multidimensional and multitrack strategies; and rhythmic diplomacy.¹⁸²

The Justice and Development Party's governance of Türkiye for the last twenty years has been an important contributor to the country's rise to global prominence. Türkiye has established a powerful position both in the region and on the global stage as a result of its remarkable transformation process, which has been facilitated by an active foreign policy since 2002, continued democratization, an economic restoration that is in tune with the economy of the global stage, and improvements in freedoms. The normalization of civil-military relations and the democratization of the political sphere are just two examples of the game-changing shifts that have taken place in recent years in Turkish domestic politics. These shifts have also

¹⁸² Mehtap Kara, "Turkish Foreign Policy I", (Eskişehir: Anadolu University Publications, 2019): p.148.

had an effect on Türkiye's national security doctrine and its foreign policy. Türkiye orchestrated the formation of a powerful alliance of actors hailing from various domains within political parties, governing institutions, civil society, and the private sector. These actors came together with the common goal of propelling the country towards a visibly higher level of economic development and democracy.

In his speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN), Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan criticized the five permanent members of the Security Council's decision-making structure by stating that "the world is more than five." This exemplifies the very fact that the existing world order is undergoing fast transformation, and the existing international system need to adapt itself to the realities of the modern day, which are radically different from those of 70 years ago.¹⁸³ Because of this, Türkiye's foreign policy agenda was developed in an autonomous and confident policy posture that has helped Türkiye's economic, regional, and geopolitical standing. With the establishment of regional organizations and efforts to promote democracy in the Arab world, Türkiye has invested in its geocultural and geopolitical positions. Türkiye has also opened numerous consulates around the world and aims to become a hub for energy pipelines in the region. Türkiye also aims to be a cultural role model in the region and improve its ties with the rest of the world.¹⁸⁴

As seen by its participation in several regional and international organizations, Türkiye has always adhered to efficient multilateral cooperation. This country is a member of a number of international organizations, including the United Nations Organization, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, the Organization for Islamic Co-operation, and the Council of Europe. Also contributing to global peace and security is Türkiye's multifaceted foreign policy, which is based on Türkiye's hard power but also on Türkiye's expanding soft power and developing economy, notably in the previous fifteen years. Multifaceted foreign policy has helped Türkiye contribute significantly to peace and security across the world, notably via NATO-led operations. This has helped Türkiye become a more prominent regional and global political player. NATO's second-largest army is stationed in Türkiye. On top of that, according to the Global Firepower Index 2021, Türkiye ranks 11th in terms of military strength

¹⁸³ Ömer Çelik, "Türkiye's Great Transformation: An Influence-Multiplier for the Future of Europe and Beyond", *Rising Powers in Global Governance*, Vol.1, Issue.2, (2016): p. 35-53.

¹⁸⁴ Abdullah Yuvacı & Salih Dogan, "Geopolitics, Geo-culture and Turkish Foreign Policy", *Geopolitics in the 21st Century*, December 2012, p. 10.

among the 140 nations surveyed. Among the EU aspirant nations, only Türkiye participates actively in NATO. Turkish engagement in EU civil and military operations in Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Congo and the Palestinian Territories is an example of Türkiye's involvement in the EU's Defense and Security Policy.

To have an influence on global governance, a multifaceted foreign policy must be implemented, and military force alone is not sufficient. It should be combined with Joseph Nye's definition of "soft power," which he described as "the capacity to influence others' choices." Due to its historical ties, geographical location, expanding economy, and proactive and multifaceted foreign policy, Türkiye has enjoyed a substantial amount of soft power in its area, which includes Central Asia, the Caucasus, the Balkans, and the Middle East.

A new territory, known as the "Turkish world," appeared in front of Türkiye with the dissolution of the USSR. This circumstance was seen as a significant variety and direction in terms of Turkish foreign policy. First to recognize and support Central Asian countries as independent states with economic and political stability, cooperating with one another and their neighbors, integrated into the international community, and adopting democratic values, Türkiye is the country that made this recognition and support official.

Türkiye has a particular relationship with Central Asia. It has strong historical, ethnic, cultural, and linguistic links to Türkiye and hosts Turkish populations. It is also important to note that the region's abundant natural resources, which are critical to global energy security, and its role as an important hub for oil and gas pipelines and trade routes makes it a target for regional entities. The Euro-Atlantic area's security and stability are also dependent on this region. It has been determined that Türkiye may benefit economically, culturally, and politically from this area. Turkish foreign policy has taken an interest in the Central Asian nations, where the bulk of the population speaks Turkish. It is also important that the region hosts Turkish communities, that Türkiye is not alone in the international arena¹⁸⁵, and that there are countries that support it. The commonalities among these states played a significant role in the establishment of the "Turkic Council" in 2009 by Türkiye, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Azerbaijan. Türkiye realized the fact that a secure, market-economy oriented, and democratic Central Asia will better serve the interests of the region and the world.¹⁸⁶ The Turkish

¹⁸⁵ Ramazan Özdamar, "Türkiye'nin Orta Asya Politikası Eksiklikler ve Öneriler (Türkiye's Central Asian Policy Gaps and Recommendations)", *International Relations Studies Journal*, 2010.

¹⁸⁶ Naci Kuru, "A General Look at Asia and Türkiye's Priorities, Center for EuroAsian Studies, 2013.

Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), which is the primary agency in providing development assistance to the nations of the area, is continuing to play an active role in the region via the implementation of training programs, projects, and technical support. As a result, Türkiye has emerged as a significant partner for the nations that are located in the area.

Additionally, Türkiye has strong historical and cultural links with the Caucasus area. These connections go back a long time. To protect the political and economic stability of the region, to support regional cooperation, and to support the integration of the countries of the region into Euro-Atlantic institutions are the primary tenets of Turkish policy toward the South Caucasus. Other important goals of Turkish policy include the consolidation of the independence and sovereignty of the countries in the region as well as the protection of the political and economic stability of the region. The South Caucasus region functions as a land bridge that connects Türkiye with Central Asia. Türkiye is playing a very active role by cooperating with the countries in the region through major transport and energy projects such as the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Crude Oil Pipeline, the Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum Natural Gas Pipeline, the Baku-Kars Railway, and the Tarans-Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline Project. These projects include the Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum Natural Gas Pipeline (TANAP). Regular trilateral talks between Türkiye, Azerbaijan, and Georgia are conducted in order to further regional cooperation and are held on a regular basis.

Because of Türkiye's unique status as a democratic, secular state with a majority Muslim population, it serves as a model for other nations in the Middle East. These nations look to Türkiye as a source of innovation. The societies of the Middle East have been profoundly impacted by Türkiye's political and cultural presence. In the past, Türkiye adhered to policies that were hostile against Islamists and supportive of Israel; but, as Recep Tayyip Erdogan has risen to prominence in the country, Türkiye's policies have progressively become pro-Islamist and hostile toward Israel. Türkiye is one of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation's (OIC) 25 founding members and plays an active role within the organization.

The events that are taking place in the Middle East are of significant importance to Türkiye for a number of reasons, including its shared history, culture, and society with the people in the area, as well as the repercussions that these events may have, either directly or indirectly, on Türkiye. Türkiye, which pursues a foreign policy that is multi-faceted, proactive, constructive, and focused on the future, hopes that peace, stability, and prosperity will prevail in the Middle East, strongly supports the efforts that are carried out for this purpose, and takes

initiatives to overcome crises and solve problems in every field where it is necessary to do so.¹⁸⁷ Türkiye contributes actively to the solution processes and sees the stability, security and peace of the Arab countries directly related to its own stability, security and peace. In this context, Türkiye strives to stand by these countries and provide all possible support, solidarity, and contribution in all social, economic, and political challenges faced by Arab countries.

The reach of Türkiye's soft power extends well beyond the borders of its own country. Türkiye's multifaceted foreign policy makes it simple to forge beneficial alliances that go beyond its immediate surroundings. For instance, in the framework of the Türkiye-Afghanistan-Pakistan Trilateral Summit, several trilateral mechanisms of collaboration developed by Türkiye, mostly with nations in the Caucasus and Central Asia, expanded to South Asia. There are 235 Turkish diplomatic missions abroad, which is the most apparent result of Türkiye's multifaceted foreign policy and multi-regional involvement in Africa, Asia-Pacific and the Caribbean. Since Türkiye opened its doors to Africa in 2002, the number of Turkish embassies in Africa has grown from 12 to 42 by the end of 2019. In 2005, the African Union gave Türkiye observer status. A year later in 2012, Türkiye became a dialogue member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

Economics plays a crucial role in the rising power of Türkiye. Economic strength was always critical because it can enable vastly improved living standards, but its importance has increased rapidly in an age of globalization.¹⁸⁸ Large and increasing domestic market; high-quality workforce; vibrant private sector; structured economy; well-developed infrastructure are only some of Türkiye's advantages. As a result, Türkiye's strategy of producing and distributing prosperity has aligned with economic cooperation and integration. IMF's World Economic Outlook 2021 research says that in 2020, Türkiye's GDP will rank 11th internationally, and it is no longer considered to be an unstable country in the Middle East, but rather as a global economic powerhouse in its own right.

¹⁸⁷ Orta Doğu ve Kuzey Afrika Ülkeleri ile İlişkiler (Relations with Middle East and North African Countries), Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dışişleri Bakanlığı, https://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye_nin-ortadogu-ile-iliskileri.tr.mfa, (Accessed June 06, 2021).

¹⁸⁸ Mehmet Arda, "Türkiye – the evolving interface of international relations and domestic politics", *South African Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 22, No. 2, (2015), p. 203.

3. Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy

Türkiye's foreign strategy has always been based on maintaining a delicate balance between the world's major powers. The Turkish government collaborated with other nations when its own resources were insufficient to protect its national interests and eliminate threats to its security. For Türkiye, the need of a balanced approach is clear, given its location and the interests of global players. As with the Ottoman Empire, this approach has been carried over to the Republic and is likely to continue in the years ahead. At the time the Western imperialism over the Soviet Union, British, and Greeks was balanced by France and Italy during the War of Independence, which was one of the most fundamental reasons for the foundation of the Republic.¹⁸⁹

The multipolar international order, which is becoming more apparent by the day, does not need Türkiye to be a member of any one bloc. Now, it seems that national interest-oriented and utilitarian connections with all global and regional powers are far more likely to be established.

3.1 The Politics of Balance between the Great Powers

It is important for policymakers to keep a few things in mind when trying to strike the right balance while implementing such regulations. To begin, it would be wrong to favor one global power over another. Russia, China, and the United States should not be approached in a fashion that prioritizes one over the other. As these three major world powers see it, Türkiye is useful in the context of weakening the other side of the competition amongst them.

3.1.1 Türkiye's Growing Ties with Russia

The emergence of tension within the Western Bloc in general and NATO in particular, and the bad course of Turkish-American relations are quite important for Russia. The more strained the relations between Washington and Ankara, and between European capitals, and Ankara the better it is for Russia. Meanwhile, what is important for the USA is that Türkiye

¹⁸⁹ Tarik oguzlu, Yeni Dünya Düzeni ve Türkiye: Nasıl Bir Dış Politika? [The New World Order and Türkiye: What Kind of Foreign Policy?], Panorama, Jan 18, 2020, <https://www.uikpanorama.com/blog/2020/01/18/yeni-dunya-duzeni-ve-turkiye-nasil-bir-dis-politika/>, (Accessed May 26, 2021).

should act in line with US policies and continue to play the loyal alliance role expected of it. Both countries do not lean towards the idea that Türkiye should be an autonomous security actor acting on its own.¹⁹⁰ In this environment, what Türkiye should do should be to approach both actors at a distance and try to benefit from the conflicts between them as much as possible. The scenario in which Russia and the USA agree and play the role of "good cop-bad cop" is the worst for Türkiye. Excessive leaning on one side makes Türkiye dependent on the side it rests on.¹⁹¹

Turkish fighter aircraft shot a Russian Su-24 warplane near the Syrian-Turkish border in the year 2015, and ties between the two countries were on the verge of collapsing. Most of the restrictions Russia had placed on Türkiye have subsequently been removed by Russia. Türkiye has made a decision to buy Russian S-400 missiles after the two nations coordinated in Syria, resumed energy projects, and coordinated in Syria.¹⁹² The Russian Su-24 warplane that fighter planes of Türkiye on the Syria and Türkiye border in late 2015 almost shattered ties between Russia and Türkiye. Most of Russia's sanctions on Türkiye have been removed. Both nations are working together in Syria, resuming energy projects and agreeing to buy Russian S-400 weapons from Türkiye. Russia and Türkiye's rivalry is still obvious in the South Caucasus and Black Sea areas, which are located between the two nations. Even while ties between Ankara and Western countries are deteriorating, military build-up of Moscow in Crimea and force projection over the Black Sea has enhanced Ankara's dependence on NATO in that area. Hostility between Armenia and Azerbaijan is heightened by Russia-Türkiye struggle in the Caucasus.¹⁹³ Thus, it looks doubtful that Russia and Türkiye would work

¹⁹⁰ Stephen J. Flanagan, F. Stephen Larrabee, Anika Binnendijk, Katherine Costello, Shira Efron, James Hoobler, Magdalena Kirchner, Jeffrey Martini, Alireza Nader, Peter A. Wilson, "Türkiye's Nationalist Course: Implications for the U.S.-Turkish Strategic Partnership and the U.S. Army", RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, (2020): p. 116-118.

¹⁹¹ Russia: Rival or Partner, or Both? *Council on Foreign Relations*, Feb 27, 2017, <https://www.cfr.org/event/russia-rival-or-partner-or-both>, (Accessed April 16, 2022).

¹⁹² "Russia and Türkiye in the Black Sea and the South Caucasus", *International Crisis Group*, June 28, 2018, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/western-europemediterranean/Türkiye/250-russia-and-Türkiye-black-sea-and-south-caucasus>, (Accessed, April 14, 2022).

¹⁹³ Ibid.,

together to tackle regional problems. They may not have resolved all differences, but their recent reconciliation might help to soothe hot spots and prevent future conflagrations.

These anxieties are not irrational at all. Nonetheless, they fail to take into account Moscow's and Ankara's ongoing competition for influence in the South Caucasus and Black Sea regions. To put it another way: With 2014 Russia's annexation of Crimea, Russia has been able to strengthen its naval capabilities as well as project power to the south and tilt the geopolitical balance to its advantage. In addition, Ankara is concerned about the fate of the Crimean Tatars, who have had a long-standing relationship with Türkiye. As a result, Türkiye has increased the size of its armed forces. A decades-long strategy of keeping NATO out of the Black Sea has been reversed as a result. Despite Türkiye's troubled relations with Western capitals, NATO remains vital to the country's strategic calculations at least in the Black Sea.¹⁹⁴

Russian and Turkish interests' conflict in the South Caucasus as well. Ankara has a strategic cooperation and mutual assistance agreement with Baku whereas Moscow has a defense treaty with Yerevan. While Moscow and Ankara had a tense exchange of words during that conflict's resurgence in April 2016, all sides opted not to escalate and a truce was ultimately agreed to by Moscow.¹⁹⁵

There is a danger that any escalation over Nagorno-Karabakh may draw in the two most powerful countries in the area, Russia and Armenia. There is a militarization of the area because of their competitiveness. Russian military expansion in Armenia, Syria, and Georgia's breakaway territories of South Ossetian, and Abkhazia and on the Crimean peninsula exacerbates Turkish concerns about encirclement.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ Emil Avdaliani, "Türkiye Seeks to Counter Russia in the Black Sea-Caucasus Region", *The Türkiye Analyst*, 2020, <https://Türkiyeanalyst.org/publications/Türkiye-analyst-articles/item/652-Türkiye%E2%80%99s-commitment-to-azerbaijan%E2%80%99s-defense-shows-the-limits-of-ankara%E2%80%99s-tilt-to-moscow.htm>

¹⁹⁵ Turhan Dilmac, "Türkiye and Russia: From Shared History to Today's Cooperation", *Center for Strategic Research*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (2018): p. 04.

¹⁹⁶ Nesrin Sarıahmetoğlu, "Karabağ Sorununun Çözüm Sürecinde Türkiye ve Rusya [Türkiye in the Resolution Process of the Karabakh Problem and Russia]", *Marmara Journal of Turkic Studies*, Vol.3, No.2, (2016): pp. 94-112.

Relations between Türkiye and Russia have been on an upswing and downswing lately. Turkish fighter jets downed a Russian Su-24 ground attack plane in November 2015, escalating an already heated proxy war in Syria into a full-scale showdown. As a result, Ankara was subjected to harsh sanctions by the Russians.¹⁹⁷ Moreover, Türkiye's president, Recep Erdogan, made a public apology and sought for reconciliation in June of this year. An improvement in ties between Russia and Türkiye was put in motion by the support of Putin for Erdogan during the coup attempt of July 2016.

Since then, the two leaders have met numerous more times. "The period of restoration in Russian-Turkish relations is now gone; we are back to normal partnership," Putin stated following a May 2017 summit in Sochi, the Russian resort town on the Black Sea coast. A multibillion-dollar energy agreement between Türkiye and Russia includes the acquisition of Russian S-400 air defense weapons (SAMs). In August of that year, Turkish Economy Minister Nihat Zeybekçi proposed a trade deal with the Moscow-led Eurasian Economic Union.¹⁹⁸

Because of Russia and Türkiye's rapprochement, both nations' strategic priorities have shifted away from South Caucasus and the Black Sea. Ankara can only constrain the YPG, a Syrian military group having close relations to the Turkish Kurdish separatist rebellion, with the support of Moscow. Because of their increasing engagement in Syria's civil war, both Moscow and Ankara have changed their perspectives on one another.¹⁹⁹ The economic ties between the two nations have also contributed to the healing process. In Vladimir Putin's view, Türkiye is an important transit country for Russian natural gas heading to Europe (EU). There will be no longer be a transit agreement between Ukraine and Russian state-controlled gas supplier Gazprom after 2019. Additionally, during Vladimir visit of Putin to Istanbul in September 2016, a pipeline under the Black Sea linking Russia with Türkiye and the European Union was reopened.

¹⁹⁷ Emre Erşen, "Evaluating the Fighter Jet Crisis in Turkish-Russian Relations", *Insight Türkiye*, Vol. 19, No. 4, (2017), pp. 86-94.

¹⁹⁸ "Russia and Türkiye in the Black Sea and the South Caucasus", *International Crisis Group*, June 28, 2018, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/western-europemediterranean/Türkiye/250-russia-and-Türkiye-black-sea-and-south-caucasus>, (Accessed, April 14, 2022).

¹⁹⁹ Cemil D İpek & Mehmet Ç Güler, Türkiye and Russia in Syrian war: Hostile friendship, *Security and Defence Quarterly*, Vol.35, No.3 (2021):pp. 79-81.

The Ukraine crisis started with the invasion of Russia on February 24. It is seen that the process developed in a very dynamic framework after the occupation. The positions of the parties at the end of the first month of the conflict are neither like at the beginning of the occupation nor at the beginning of the crisis. The European Union (EU), and especially the USA and England, did not make a great effort to prevent the Russian attack before the invasion, in a sense, they expected Moscow to take a wrong step. In fact, while the EU reacted and displayed a cautious attitude in the first days of the occupation, with the encouragement of the USA and England, quick action was taken against Russia. Thus, on the one hand, much more military support was given to Ukraine than before the invasion, on the other hand, effective and selected economic sanctions decisions were started to be taken against Russia. Türkiye, on the other hand, differed from all parties with its unique policy that it has followed since the beginning of the crisis and the occupation.²⁰⁰

There are four factors that affect Türkiye's view of the Ukraine crisis. The first of these is that it is a riparian to the Black Sea, the second is its bilateral relations with Ukraine and Russia, the third is that it has the Straits that are the key to the Black Sea, and the fourth is that it is a NATO member.²⁰¹ There is a major strain on Türkiye's economy, regional security, and ties with the West because of the ongoing conflict in the Middle East. Active diplomacy is a strategy used by Türkiye to draw the international community's attention to Russia's actions, while also attempting to defuse the situation that has evolved into a confrontation.²⁰²

Between Russia and Ukraine, a middleman has been set up. On March 10, Russia and Ukraine conducted their first ministerial-level meeting since the invasion began in late February. Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu met with Russian colleagues in Antalya, together with Ukrainian and Russian officials.²⁰³ A 1936 convention mandated that Türkiye

²⁰⁰ Ferhat Pirinci, "Türkiye'nin Ukrayna Politikası: Dengeli Aktivizm, [Türkiye's Ukraine Policy: Balanced Activism]", *Kriter*, Vol: 6, No: 67, (2022).

²⁰¹ Ibid.,

²⁰² Dr. Muhammet Koçak, "Rusya-Ukrayna savaşının Türkiye'ye etkileri [The effects of the Russia-Ukraine war on Türkiye]", *Anadolu Agency*, 2022, <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/analiz/gorus-rusya-ukrayna-savasinin-turkiyeye-etkileri/2519470>, (Accessed, April 15, 2022).

²⁰³ "Why Türkiye is vital for Ukraine, as it balances both sides in Russia conflict", *Atlantic Council*, 2022, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/Turkiyesource/why-Turkiye-is-vital-for-ukraine-as-it-balances-both-sides-in-russia-conflict/>, (Accessed, April 14, 2022).

restrict the Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits to most ships when Ukraine requested it. Despite Western sanctions on Russia, Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlut Cavusoglu reiterated that Russian billionaires are "of course" welcome in Türkiye and are permitted to do business there in accordance with international law. Türkiye's "economic catastrophe" is "the most critical component in its calculations" due to the currency losing 47% of its value in the previous year and prices rising by approximately 54%. With this 20-year inflation high, Türkiye's currency crisis has hit a new level. It was mentioned by Eissenstat that Türkiye is "vulnerable" and does not want to "antagonise Russia." ²⁰⁴

The conflict situation has the potential to have a negative impact on Türkiye's import-export balance. In recent months, the Turkish lira has experienced a serious depreciation as a result of the pressure exerted on developing countries by the global inflationary wave. Russian and Ukrainian tourists make up a significant portion of Türkiye's tourism revenues. Therefore, the tension may cause foreign exchange loss on Türkiye's tourism revenues. This situation is already reflected in oil and natural gas prices. The increase in the resources allocated to imported energy by Türkiye, which imports a significant part of its energy resources, will also create a negative result in the import-export balance.²⁰⁵ Since Russia provides 45 % of the natural gas of Türkiye and 70 % of the country's wheat, the country counts Russia as an important trading partner. Türkiye is a high-priority import in this category because increasing bread prices are a big source of frustration in Türkiye. A whopping 19% of Türkiye's 2021 tourism revenue will come from Russia's 4.7 million tourists, according to the UN's World Tourism Organization.

In recent years, Türkiye has maintained a policy of non-alignment in its foreign policy. Foreign policy decisions of Türkiye have at times conflicted with those of NATO and the United States because of Türkiye's prominence in the Mediterranean, Middle East, and Caucasus. Türkiye, for example, purchased S-400 combat aircraft in 2017. All of these events happened at the same time that Ankara and Moscow were having a more open dialogue, which

²⁰⁴ Tom Wheeldon, "Türkiye juggles relationships with Russia, Ukraine amid economic crisis", *France 24*, 2022, <https://www.france24.com/en/middle-east/20220331-Türkiye-juggles-relationships-with-russia-ukraine-amid-economic-crisis>, (Accessed, April 14, 2022).

²⁰⁵ Muhammet Koçak, "The effects of the Russia-Ukraine war on Türkiye", *Anadolu Agency*, 2022, <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/analiz/gorus-rusya-ukrayna-savasinin-turkiyeye-etkileri/2519470>, (Accessed, April 17, 2022).

included discussions about deepening economic connections as well as strengthening diplomatic and even military collaboration.

3.1.2 Rising Partnership between Türkiye and China

China and Türkiye's relationship is essential in today's rapidly shifting international order since they are both Asia-Pacific superpowers and European and Middle Eastern middle powers.

To address a complex topic, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi visited Ankara in March 2021. He talked with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu.²⁰⁶ A Muslim-majority autonomous province in the northwest of China known as Xinjiang is the subject of Wang's hopes. For him, proving Beijing's claims about Xinjiang's posture were unfounded would show that many Western countries, like the United Kingdom, United States, Canada, and Australia were wrong about Beijing's stance. Chinese-Turkish ties have been strained since 2010, when the two countries agreed to a "Common Declaration on the Establishment and Development of Strategic Relations." In 2015, China accused Türkiye of providing passports to some of the hundreds of Uyghur jihadists who flew to Syria to join the Al-Nusra Front and the Islamic State to fight against President Bashar al-Assad. To prevent Türkiye from diverting and supporting the rebels, China clearly feels that strengthening the Turkish economy is in its own self-interest. China invested \$1.3 billion in Türkiye the year before, and that amount grew to \$2.8 billion by the end of the following year, after President Recep Tayyip Erdogan promised the Chinese leadership that Türkiye would "view China's security as its own security and will clamp down on any domestic activities that endanger China."²⁰⁷ China made that promise to the Chinese leadership while visiting Beijing in 2017. Although the Xinjiang issue resurfaced in that year, Beijing agreed to contribute up to

²⁰⁶ Serife Cetin, "Turkish, Chinese foreign ministers meet in Ankara", *Anadolu Agency*, 2021, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/politics/turkish-chinese-foreign-ministers-meet-in-ankara/2187929>, (Accessed April 16, 2022).

²⁰⁷ Mher Sahakyan, "Balancing Act: China and Türkiye in a Changing World Order", *HAL Open Science, University of Hong Kong*, 2021.

US\$5 billion in financing to Türkiye to boost bilateral economic, trade, and investment ties by 2020, despite the short exchange of words that year.²⁰⁸

For China, the Covid-19 epidemic has presented yet another chance to provide financial incentives to Türkiye, which has lagged behind other countries in Western Asia and the Middle East in getting proper immunizations to tackle the illness. According to the Chinese government, a major portion of the Sinovac vaccine has already arrived in Türkiye as part of China's Health Silk Road strategy.²⁰⁹ The vaccination has already been administered to over 7 million Turkish people, with a further 2.1 million receiving both doses. Among those honored was President Erdoğan. When he met with Wang on March 26, he informed him that he had publicly received China's Covid-19 vaccination in order to showcase the safety and efficiency of Chinese vaccines to Turkish people and others across the globe. According to him, "I personally have publicly received China's Covid-19 vaccine in order to show the safety and efficacy of Chinese vaccinations to Turkish residents and others throughout the globe."²¹⁰

Silk Road Economic Belt of China and Middle Corridor of Türkiye, both play a significant role in international commerce. Unless China provides financial and technical aid, Turkish authorities claim that their Trans-Caspian East-West Middle Corridor project, a connectivity scheme akin to Beijing's Belt and Road Initiative, would not succeed. China depends on Türkiye to develop the China-Central Asia-Western Asia Economic Corridor (CCAEC), which connects Europe and Asia (CCAWEAC). The CCAWEAC would provide an alternative route from China to Europe, bypassing Russian territory as part of the Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB). There would be a China-to-Türkiye route from Xinjiang to Central Asia to Türkiye via Iran and Türkiye, and a multimodal route from Baku in Azerbaijan via Georgia and Türkiye to the Mediterranean Sea, Black Sea, and Aegean Sea ports. In November

²⁰⁸ Valeria Talbot, *Türkiye: Towards a Eurasian Shift?* (Itlay: Ledizioni LediPublishing, 2018); pp. 91-108.

²⁰⁹ Emre Demir, "China's wavering COVID-19 vaccine diplomacy in Türkiye", *Global Voices*, <https://globalvoices.org/2021/08/13/chinas-wavering-covid-19-vaccine-diplomacy-in-turkiye/>, (Accessed, April 16, 2022).

²¹⁰ "Turkish strongman Recep Erdoğan receives the Chinese coronavirus vaccine as he kick starts his country's immunisation drive", *Mail Online*, 2021, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-9148413/Turkish-strongman-Recep-Erdogan-receives-Chinese-coronavirus-vaccine.html>, (Accessed, April 16, 2022).

2015, China and Türkiye achieved an agreement on the harmonization of the BRI with the Middle Corridor.²¹¹

For the first time, China's Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) has extended its reach to the western edge of Asia, welcoming Türkiye as a founding regional member in 2015. Because of this, the AIIB has made loans to Türkiye. AIIB lent Ankara \$600 million in 2018 for the first time in the bank's existence. A \$500 million loan from the AIIB will be made available to Türkiye in 2020 to help the country cope with the economic implications of the Covid-19 nuclear disaster. With 83 million people, Türkiye is one of China's most important markets. To put it another way, General Administration of Customs of China expects bilateral commerce between the United States and China to reach \$24 billion by 2020, up from \$20 billion in 2009. There was a \$16.3 billion gap between the amount of money Türkiye imported from the Chinese and the amount it sent to the Chinese.²¹²

China and Türkiye have made it a point to avoid masking the advantages of cooperation with their occasional conflicts as the world's political environment shifts. In healthcare, technology, infrastructure development, business investment, and other sectors, integration or blending of the BRI and the Middle Corridor plans has obvious benefits. China's participation in the Middle East will benefit both China and Türkiye economically and strategically.

Turkish relations with the Europe and United States may lead it to seek greater ties with China and Russia. President Trump's administration responded to the decision of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan for purchasing the S-400 anti-aircraft missile system from Russia by imposing sanctions on Turkish military leaders. The United States' recognition of the Armenian genocide, announced by Vice President Joe Biden on April 24th, has heightened tensions between the United States and Türkiye. While Beijing and Moscow aim to expand their relations with Ankara, they also hope that Türkiye will begin to look east and join a Eurasian political-economic union in the hopes that this would encourage Türkiye to do the

²¹¹ Zekeriya Akdag, "Türkiye-Çin ilişkilerinde kuşak-yol Girişiminin önemi, [The importance of belt and road initiative in Türkiye-China relations]", *Dergipark*, Vol: 9, No: 17, (2019); pp. 65-87.

²¹² Seckin Kostem, "Türkiye and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: Economic Pragmatism meets Geopolitics", *Global Policy*, Vol: 10, No: 4, (2019), pp. 646-650.

same.²¹³ Türkiye will strive to stay neutral in the growing rivalry between the China and the United States, but it may be forced to do so if tensions rise.

Experts predict that Türkiye will never leave the transatlantic alliance, despite its tense relations with almost all of its neighbours and the fact that it benefits from the alliance's nuclear umbrella, military technological superiority, and security. Instead of pursuing a single diplomatic strategy with the world's major powers, Erdoan intends to pursue a dual approach.²¹⁴

3.1.3 Redefining the Türkiye-US Relationship

As things are right now, the relation between the United States and Türkiye is in serious trouble. It isn't the first time that the two nations have had a rough moment. The letter sent by President Lyndon B. Johnson to Turkish Prime Minister Ismet İnönü in 1964, in which he warned Türkiye not to participate in the domestic dispute on the island of Cyprus between the island's Greek and Turkish populations, may bring back memories. In a similar way, the United States' weapons embargo against Türkiye in 1974, after the Turkish military operation in Cyprus in support of the besieged Turkish Cypriots, greatly damaged the bilateral relationship at a time of high tension in the area. Yet another point of dispute was Türkiye's unwillingness to allow the United States to create a northern front in anticipation of the war to depose Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, which occurred in 2003.²¹⁵ However, the relationship has rebounded after each crisis point, largely as a result of the underlying forces that have called for more Türkiye-U.S. collaboration in the first place.

Vice President Joe Biden spoke with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoan on the margins of the NATO summit in Brussels, which fueled optimism that the U.S.-Türkiye relationship may be repaired. Even if the present crisis can be avoided, it's impossible to predict how long it will take to recover from its roots.

As the Cold War came to an end and the world became a more multipolar place, the relationship between the United States, and Türkiye changed dramatically. Foreign policy

²¹³ Altay Atlı, "Türkiye's Foreign Policy towards China, Analysis and Recommendations for Improvement", *Global Relations Forum*, Young Academics Program, *Policy Paper Series* No.3, 2016, p. 8-14.

²¹⁴ Tarik oguzlu, "Yeni Dünya Düzeni ve Türkiye: Nasıl Bir Dış Politika? [The New World Order and Türkiye: What Foreign Policy?]", *Panorama*, 2020.

²¹⁵ Steven A. Cook, "Neither Friend nor Foe: the Future of U.S.-Türkiye Relations", *Council on Foreign Relations*, 2018, pp. 3-6.

insiders in Washington say that the current prevailing paradigm for US foreign policy is competition amongst global powers. As for Ankara, it has a very different view of the world.²¹⁶ Many people throughout the globe see the rise of China and the expansion of Asia as opportunities rather than threats. Ankara interprets Russia's growing regional involvement and these trends as proof that a multipolar global system is taking shape over time. It is this awareness that is now influencing the strategic calculus of Turkish decision-makers. In the long term, Turkish political leaders are certain that a successful repositioning of their country in this multipolar environment would be beneficial to the whole nation.

As a result of the widening disparity in perspectives between Ankara and Washington on the globe, it is becoming more difficult to engage in productive dialogue on the wide range of bilateral conflicts that have arisen. There are many major areas of dispute between the two nations, and this article examines how the two countries may work together to address these disparities. The procurement by Türkiye of the S-400 air and missile defense system from Russia, as well as the United States' continued backing for Syria's Kurdish military and political forces, are at the top of the list of current issues between the two countries. Other factors that have an influence include the deterioration of democratic standards in Türkiye, the US stance on Fethullah Gülen, and the prospective impact of Halkbank vs. Iran sanctions, as well as the Biden administration's choice to refer to the deaths and deportations of Armenians as "genocide," which is a term that has been used in the past by the Obama administration, but never by the Trump administration.²¹⁷ As a result of these developments, it is abundantly obvious that the Türkiye-United States relationship need redefining.

The relationship between Türkiye and the United States has traditionally been regarded as a strategic partnership sponsored by NATO. Today, this definition is no longer applicable and does not accurately reflect the current state of this connection. It is certain that Türkiye will remain an important NATO member, but it will no longer have its relationship with the United States dictated by the power disparity that now exists inside this military alliance. Ankara-Washington divergences have widened in the past decade, and Türkiye's role as the principal

²¹⁶ Sinan Ulgen, "Redefining the U.S.-Türkiye Relationship", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, 2021, pp. 3-4.

²¹⁷ Galip Dalay, "US-Türkiye relations will remain crisis-ridden for a long time to come", *Brookings*, 2021, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2021/01/29/us-türkiye-relations-will-remain-crisis-ridden-for-a-long-time-to-come/>, (Accessed April 18, 2022).

security supplier will not be enough to stop the centrifugal tendencies that have molded the alliance since its breakup and that have gathered speed in recent years.²¹⁸

Regional and country-based policies have been re-evaluated as a result of the international system's shifts. As a result, political leaders from the west to the east started to reassess their positions and formulate new strategies. All players stepped up and moved key power centers. The country at the top of this list is Türkiye. Türkiye's prominence in the Middle East has a favorable effect. The US-Türkiye relationship is strained as a result of these circumstances. Because Türkiye is seen by the world community as a country capable of working with the United States to find answers both at the negotiating table and on the ground.²¹⁹

However, it should be noted that there are severe issue areas in the ties between Türkiye and the United States. The struggle against terrorism is at the top of the list of these issue areas. With its assistance for the FETO and PKK / PYD terrorists, whom Türkiye is fighting against, the United States has been rejecting the expectations of its friend for a long time. If there is no agreement between Türkiye and the United States on how to deal with this situation, which poses a danger to the country's national security, it might become a significant factor in the country's shifting position in the global system.²²⁰ To put it another way, if Türkiye continues to get no backing from the United States in its war against terrorism, it may be able to choose its own destiny by working with a variety of other players. Türkiye's relationship with the United States is influenced greatly by how the United States contributes to the global system's evolution.

Türkiye's ambitions to carve out a new place for itself and its development as a regional force have caused significant consternation on the parts of the United States and the European Union. The consequence of Türkiye's self-repositioning endeavor is the root cause of the

²¹⁸ “Redefining the U.S.-Türkiye Relationship”..... 19-23.

²¹⁹ Değişen uluslararası sistemde Türkiye'nin konumu [Türkiye's position in the changing international system], in Daily Sabah, July 5, 2018, <https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2018/07/05/degisen-uluslararasi-sistemde-turkiyenin-konumu>, (accessed May 27, 2021).

²²⁰ William Hale, “Türkiye, the U.S., Russia, and the Syrian Civil War”, *Insight Türkiye*, Vol. 21, No. 4, (2019), pp. 27-36.

internal and foreign crises and issues that it has faced from 2011 and beyond. As a result, the well-documented internal and external problems that Türkiye is now experiencing are the result of global players' desire to have this regional actor on their side. With little question, Türkiye will offer considerable value to its position, and the alliance and relationship with this regional actor is considered as strategically crucial by global players.

3.1.4 A New Way Forward for Türkiye-EU Ties

For European Union and Türkiye, the most essential component of their long-standing partnership is the ups and downs of the relationship from the beginning, and their desire to keep it going even in the face of periodic crises. Turkish membership in the European Union is still one of Türkiye's most significant strategic ambitions, notwithstanding the challenges in the negotiating process

It is clear that developments in the international order and European integration have had an impact on Türkiye-EU ties throughout the time. Relations between EU and Türkiye were shaped in the past by the Cold War and its aftermath. The change in the International system, certain regional developments, and EU problems all have an impact on Türkiye-EU ties today.

In 2015, During the Syrian civil war, the EU was faced with a refugee crisis unprecedented in its history. Because of the EU-Türkiye partnership, and the 18 March Statement, the EU was able to resolve the refugee crisis.²²¹ Up until 2015, relations between Türkiye and the EU were at a standstill. Different summits were held in 2015 and 2016 included the negotiations regarding restarting the accession talks; strengthening high-level dialogues in critical areas such as political and economic discussions; enhancing cooperation on terrorism; sharing the burden of migration management and accelerating Visa Liberalization Dialogue; and upgrading Custom Union²²².

²²¹ “The EU Response to the Refugee Crisis in Türkiye”, *Delagation of European Union to Türkiye*, 2022, <https://www.avrupa.info.tr/en/eu-response-refugee-crisis-Türkiye-710>, (Accessed April 18, 2022).

²²² “Türkiye-European Union Relations”, *Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 2019, https://www.ab.gov.tr/Türkiye-eu-relations_4_en.html, (Accessed April 18, 2022).

After the Summits, Chapter 17-Economic and Monetary Policy and Chapter 33-Financial and Budgetary Provisions, that were previously banned, were opened. In addition, the efforts of Türkiye to seal the Aegean passage have avoided the loss of life and reduced the migrant flow into the EU via the one-for-one accord outlined in the Türkiye-EU Statement of 18 March.

A confidence crisis ensued following the EU's skepticism and skepticism in response to the 15 July coup attempt. The EU's misunderstanding of the magnitude of the FETO terrorist group and its criticism of Türkiye's essential steps led to a period of weakened communication.²²³

The Varna Summit was the most significant step in overcoming this era and re-establishing regular ties. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, President of European Council Donald Tusk, President of European Commission Jean-Claude Juncker, and Prime Minister of Bulgarian Boyko Borisov attended the Türkiye-EU Summit on March 26, 2018. In order to restore trust in Türkiye-EU ties, the Varna Summit was an important step forward. Leaders reaffirmed the importance of Türkiye and the EU working together, and the candidate status of Türkiye was emphasized at the highest level. At the summit, Türkiye also reminded the EU of its commitments from the 18 March Statement and expressed its expectations regarding full membership prospects, the fight against terrorism, liberalisation of visa, the upgradation of the Customs Union, humanitarian schemes, as well as the Cypriot problem.²²⁴

The EU's relationship with Türkiye is at a stalemate, with no way out. Policymakers in the EU are no longer able to conduct effective diplomacy or devise a more comprehensive geopolitical strategy based on accession of Türkiye to the EU. In recent years, there has been a great deal of discussion about the escalating tensions between the EU and Türkiye. The majority of Europeans blame Ankara's difficult state of affairs to the country's democratic

²²³ Erhen Icener, "Türkiye – EU Relations after the Failed July 15 Coup Attempt", *Bilig*, No.79, (2016), PP. 70-82.

²²⁴ "EU-Türkiye leaders' meeting in Varna (Bulgaria)", *Council of the European Union*, 2018, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-summit/2018/03/26/>, (Accessed April 18, 2022).

regress and more hostile foreign policy, according to the European Union.²²⁵ Despite these concerns, Türkiye is nevertheless considered a contender for membership in the European Union. Some analysts continue to believe that the EU's membership route with Türkiye is the only means by which it can impose democratic conditions on its relations with the country.

3.1.5 Türkiye's Role and Interests in Central Asia

Türkiye has the potential to become a second-tier emerging power. In spite of its lack of global reach and its lack of economic might, Türkiye is growing more and more important in conflict-torn regions of the globe. Examples of this presence include business connections, official as well as non-governmental backing, security cooperation, and diplomatic attempts to arbitrate between warring parties. Türkiye have a special interest in Central Asia, despite Ankara's waning interest in the area since the early 1990s, because of the region's Turkic-speaking population.

The Balkans, the Caucasus, and Central Asia all saw new republics form when the Soviet Union fell apart in 1991. Turkish ties with Central Asian and Caspian states began a new era with the independence of Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan. In addition, the major powers of the world were interested in these territories.²²⁶ The United States' worldwide economic and political influence has grown steadily during the 1990s. Consequently, NATO's attention is drawn to Central Asia and the Caucasus, which are known for their vast energy resources, particularly the United States, NATO's most major member. According to several academics, Türkiye has been working since 1991 to create relations with the newly independent Central Asian governments on a historical, cultural, linguistic, and religious level.²²⁷The current Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

²²⁵ Ilke Toygur, "A New Way Forward for EU-Türkiye Relations", *Carnegie Europe*, 2022, <https://carnegieeurope.eu/2022/01/26/new-way-forward-for-eu-türkiye-relations-pub-86264>, (Accessed April 18, 2022).

²²⁶ Muhittin Ataman, Leadership Change: Özal Leadership and Restructuring in Turkish Foreign Policy, *Alternatives Journal*, And Vol. 1, No. 1 (2002): 127-133.

²²⁷ Ertan Efeğil, Rationality Question of Türkiye's Central Asia Policy, *Bilgi Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol.2, No.19, (2009), pp. 73-80.

(MFA) and the previous Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) are in accord on foreign policy in this area (MFA). Russia's foreign policy in Central Asia has always been dictated by the aim for a stable, sovereign, and affluent region since 1991, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.²²⁸ In light of its historical, linguistic and cultural links to the area, Türkiye has worked hard to enhance its involvement in a wide variety of topics. A firm foundation for expanding bilateral ties has been laid by the High-Level Strategic Cooperation Council's work with Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan as well as the Cooperation Council's work with Tajikistan."

229

When Justice and Development Party of Türkiye came into power in 2002, it was clear that the country's role in regional and global affairs was a top priority. As far as foreign policy is concerned, Ankara's attention is mostly drawn to the countries in its close vicinity, particularly those in Central Asia. It is because of Türkiye's strong linkages to the Middle East, the Caucasus and North Africa that Turkish officials consider their country as a "central force," a powerful and influential player in the area. Türkiye's 'central' position (or "strategic depth") is seen as suggesting that it can play a leading strategic part in this sometimes volatile terrain when dealing with international challenges.²³⁰

When all of Central Asia's nations declared their independence, Türkiye was the first to acknowledge them. On the basis of this, Ankara ramped up diplomatic relations, proposed potential commercial partnerships, and guaranteed unrestricted money flows in an attempt to boost bilateral monetary cooperation. A Turkish satellite television service and more frequent flights were also made accessible to the region. When the International Development and Cooperation Agency of Türkiye was founded, a large portion of its total foreign assistance was allocated to the newly constituted republics.²³¹

²²⁸ Efe Çaman, & Ali Akyurt, "Caucasus and Central Asia in Turkish Foreign Policy: The Time has come for a New Regional Policy", *Alternatives Turkish Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 10, No. 2-3, (2011), pp. 48-51.

²²⁹ Hakan Fidan, Turkish foreign policy towards Central Asia, *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, Vol.12, No.1, (2010):pp. 117-120.

²³⁰ Murat Yeşiltaş & Ali Balci, "AK Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası Sözlüğü: Kavramsal Bir Harita, [The AK Party Era Turkish Foreign Policy Dictionary: A Conceptual Map]", *Bilgi Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol.2, No. 2, (2011), pp. 13-14.

²³¹ Bulent Aras, Türkiye's Policy in the Former Soviet South: Assets and Options, *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (2000): pp. 36-39.

The Turkish government's current policy in Central Asia consists of five primary components. In the areas of energy, commerce, and other aspects of the economy/society, fostering bilateral, and multilateral collaboration help diplomatically de-escalate tensions in the area. Regional governments' attempts to grow their countries and states, and maintain good relations with other countries.²³² Mevlut Çavuşoğlu replaced the term "bridge" with "central power," shifting Türkiye's involvement in the region away from Western interests and toward its own perception of itself as a global power.

Additionally, it is apparent that the Turkish government is planning to participate in conflict and security while simultaneously calling for open politics in order to achieve some of the stated aims above, since some of them are highlighted. "We have adopted a more functional strategy toward these countries," Türkiye's Foreign Minister says, stressing the aid of these countries in building their independence while remaining neutral during conflicts between or among Central Asia's states. When it comes to economic and energy cooperation, Türkiye has grown less ideological in its intervention in Central Asian countries (and Russia) internal affairs, such as those involving conflict. With more centralized regimes, the government is far more aware of its limitations when it comes to facilitating democratic politics.²³³ Despite several instances of security collaboration, Turkish engagement in regional conflict management is still a mystery. The fact that Turkish soldiers and reconstruction teams have been stationed as part of ISAF in Afghanistan means that Turkish diplomats have sought to arbitrate issues between Pakistan and Afghanistan as well as Turkish funding utilized to help rebuild Afghanistan after the war. For Türkiye, Afghanistan and NATO's planned exit from the nation might have a crucial influence in its future ties with the country's northern Central Asian neighbors. The strength of its bilateral relations with important regional countries such as Russia, China, the United States, and the European Union will have a great impact on its position in the area.²³⁴ Central Asia's interstate and intrastate issues are likely to be affected by Türkiye's involvement in conflicts between major powers.

²³² Philip Robin, "Between Sentiment and Self-Interest: Türkiye's Policy toward Azerbaijan and the Central Asian States", *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 47, No. 4, (1993): 596-604.

²³³ Zeeshan Fida. "Central Asia's Place in Türkiye's Foreign Policy." *Policy Perspectives*, Vol.15, No. 1, (2018): pp.114– 121.

²³⁴ Thomas Wheeler, "Türkiye's role and interests in Central Asia", *SaferWorld*, 2013, pp. 2-7.

Trade, infrastructural, energy, and communication links between Türkiye and Central Asia have been strengthened. FDI from Türkiye in 2010 was more than \$4.7 billion, while Turkish contractor projects totaled \$50 billion, with more than 2,000 Turkish enterprises operating in the field. A total of \$6.5 billion was exchanged between Türkiye and the region in 2010.²³⁵ Central Asian nations are drawn to Türkiye because of its closeness to EU markets. Middle East and North Africa are seeing an increase in the activity of organizations like the Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists (TUSKON).²³⁶

Reports from Türkiye and the Central Asian republics indicate that Turkish concerns about "destabilizing factors such as extremist groups, drugs and weapons trafficking, and terrorist activities" are shared. As a consequence, the government provides financial assistance and military training to these countries in addition to its assistance in enhancing capabilities. Only since the early 2000s have military exchanges taken place between Türkiye and Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan "to aid in the preparedness of their forces to confront insurgencies."²³⁷ The Special Soldiers of both countries worked together with Turkish forces to train. The NATO Partnerships for Peace Training Center in Ankara, Türkiye, has been training Central Asian military personnel since 1999.²³⁸

3.1.6 Türkiye's Policies in the Changing political landscape of South Caucasus

Southern Caucasus is one of the world's most volatile post-Soviet regions. Violence and armed conflict in Armenia and Azerbaijan, military training and firing exercises, a high level of military spending in national budgets as well as close military, political, and defense technology cooperation among the region's states are all factors that have contributed to today's

²³⁵ Ibid., pp. 7-8

²³⁶ Mehmet Ozkan, "Türkiye's 'New' Engagements in Africa and Asia: Scope, Content and Implications", *Perceptions*, Vol. 16, No.3, (2011), pp. 115-134.

²³⁷ William D. O'Malley, "CENTRAL ASIA AND SOUTH CAUCASUS AS AN AREA OF OPERATIONS: CHALLENGES AND CONSTRAINTS", *RAND Corporation*, (2003), pp. 249- 268.

²³⁸ Thomas Wheeler, "Türkiye's role and interests in Central Asia", *SaferWorld*, 2013, p. 10, file:///C:/Users/isa/Downloads/Türkiyes-role-and-interests-in-central-asia.pdf

events, as are the current events.²³⁹ With the support of the United States, Türkiye has the ability to reshape regional order, especially as an ally with "soft power." For hundreds of years, Türkiye has occupied the territory of significant countries. In the ever-complicated realm of international relations, the Republic of Türkiye was able to participate in a wide range of regional and international activities in 2009-2010 with its non-permanent status on the United Nations Security Council. A major reason for the Supranational Integration Association of Turkic Speak States' rise to prominence is the post-Soviet republics in the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Russia's²⁴⁰ involvement in the organization.

Multiple reasons impact Türkiye's strategic relevance in the Caucasus, including political and economic (especially energy security problems), cultural and historical considerations, and ethnic factors. Turkish foreign policy has not been overshadowed by Türkiye's active participation in Middle East processes, particularly in the "Syrian issue," as demonstrated by the activities of government agencies and numerous non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that have traditionally accorded a primary status to the Caucasian vector in Ankara's political and diplomatic agenda.²⁴¹ When it was first founded, the Justice and Development Party focused heavily on the "No Difficulties with Neighbors Foreign Strategy," or "zero problems with neighbors."²⁴² In 1991, many Turks were delighted when Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia declared their independence from the Soviet Union. The widely held belief was that the three nations will quickly reconcile and form a close relationship. Azerbaijan and Georgia were recognized by Türkiye initially and established diplomatic ties with both nations right away because to Türkiye's protectionist interests.²⁴³ This helped both nations by

²³⁹ Andrei Areshev, "Türkiye's Policies in the Southern Caucasus and Regional Security Mechanisms (Türkiye'nin Güney Kafkasya'daki Politiakları ve Bölgesel Güvenlik Mekanizmaları)", *Review of Armenian Studies*, No. 32, (2015), p. 172.

²⁴⁰ Avatkov. "Foreign Policy Line of the Republic of Türkiye in Relation to Transcaucasian Countries within the Context of Türkiye's Foreign Policy Ideology". *Annual Publication of the Institute of International Studies*. Vol. 2, No.8, (2014).

²⁴¹ Efe Çaman, & Ali Akyurt, "Caucasus and Central Asia in Turkish Foreign Policy: The Time has come for a New Regional Policy", *Alternatives Turkish Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 10, No. 2-3, (2011), pp. 46-53.

²⁴² Ziya Öniş, "Multiple Faces of the "New" Turkish Foreign Policy: Underlying Dynamics and a Critique", *Insight Türkiye*, Vol. 13, No. 1, (2011), pp. 48-51.

²⁴³ Arzu Y. Aslanturk, Ayça Eminoglu & Sertif Demir, *The Evolution of Türkiye's Foreign Policy toward Turkish Republics, [post-1990s 1990 Sonrası Türkiye'nin Türk Cumhuriyetlerine yönelik Dış Politikasının Gelişimi]*, *Trakya University Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 20, No.2, (2018), pp. 388-396.

supplying them with food and other requirements, and as a result, the countries' economic relationships were quickly established. The Turkish government provided a lot of aid to companies who wanted to enter new markets.

A member of Euro-Atlantic framework, Türkiye has a responsibility to support South Caucasus nations as they seek to join the European Union, while encouraging regional cooperation and economic stability in the region. A geographical bridge between Türkiye and Central Asia, the Southern Caucasus²⁴⁴ has profound historical and cultural links to both nations.

Over the following several years, Türkiye's ties to Azerbaijan and Georgia have strengthened. Although ties between the two countries had previously been strong, the occupation by Armenia of Nagorno Karabakh has dampened their progress. The border between Armenia and Azerbaijan was closed in 1993 when Armenia occupied the Kalbajar area of Azerbaijan.²⁴⁵

Türkiye-Azerbaijan and Türkiye-Georgia ties have greatly improved since their independence from the Soviet Union 27 years ago. Members of the High Level Strategic Cooperation Council (HLSC) include both Azerbaijan and Georgia, underscoring Türkiye's strong ties with both nations. As a result, Azerbaijan joined forces with other nations in the area to create frameworks for trilateral and quadrilateral cooperation.²⁴⁶

After the end of World War II, Turkish authorities have shown an ambition in becoming a major factor in the South Caucasus. Drones made in Türkiye helped Azerbaijan win the battle, and Türkiye's backing for Azerbaijan is well-known in the area. In the postwar era, the Turkish government aspires to enhance its regional dominance and provide a secure route to Central Asia through Azerbaijan. Previously witnessed in Syria and Libya, the Russian-Turkish competition has taken on a new dimension. Turkish influence in regional and global issues would grow if it played a significant role in post-conflict area. Economic ties with neighboring nations would also benefit. Anatolia is making an all-out push for prominence in this vast area,

²⁴⁴ "Türkiye's Relations with Southern Caucasus Countries", *Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 2018, https://www.mfa.gov.tr/Türkiye_s-relations-with-southern-caucasus.en.mfa, (Accessed April 20, 2022).

²⁴⁵ Kevork Oskanian, "Türkiye's global strategy: Türkiye and the Caucasus", *IDEAS Report*, (2011), pp. 23-26, <http://www2.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/Home.aspx>

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-27.

with an eye on extending its influence into Central Asia in the near future.²⁴⁷ Turkish nations may rise in the ranks of global players if they were brought together on an economic and reasonable basis. This is far from an idealistic dream.

Türkiye prioritizes regional cooperation and development programs, known as "regional development initiatives," to achieve its goal of creating a prosperous South Caucasus region. They were constructed and placed into service with this goal in mind: The World Bank reports that these pipelines were all completed and put into operation for this reason, including the Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum natural gas pipeline, the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Crude Oil Pipeline, and, Baku-Tbilisi-Kars (BTK) Railway and Trans-Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline (TANAP).²⁴⁸

There must be an end to the hostilities in the South Caucasus area inside the boundaries of Azerbaijan and Georgia in order to preserve their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Furthermore, Türkiye is committed to re-establishing diplomatic ties with Armenia. Once suspended in 2013, then withdrawn from the Armenian Parliament in February 2015, and finally declared invalid in March 2018, Armenia's government declared the Zurich Protocols null and void.²⁴⁹

Despite the fact that this is true, new chances for regional economic integration are emerging. Russia and Türkiye are both in favor of establishing transportation corridors to facilitate economic integration in the area. As a vital transit route, Zangezur should not be overlooked. Everyone who participates in the initiative will benefit from it, regardless of their role. Azerbaijan and other Turkic-speaking nations in Central Asia will profit from Türkiye's construction of the Zangezur corridor in the Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic. To go to Iran and Russia, Armenia will have to travel via Nakhchivan in Azerbaijan's north and northwest. It's possible that a new regional platform suggested by Azerbaijan and Türkiye that includes

²⁴⁷ Bayram Alyev, "Changing political landscape in South Caucasus", *Daily Sabah*, 2021, <https://www.dailysabah.com/opinion/op-ed/changing-political-landscape-in-south-caucasus>, (Accessed April 20, 2022).

²⁴⁸ Pinar Akpınar & Bulent Aras, the Relations between Türkiye and the Caucasus, *Perceptions*, Vol.16, No.3, (2011), pp. 54-61.

²⁴⁹ Mustafa Deveci, Behlül Cetinkaya and Iclal Turan, "Road to normalization of Türkiye-Armenia relations", *Anadolu Agency*, 2022, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/politics/road-to-normalization-of-turkiye-armenia-relations/2467211>, (Accessed April 21, 2022).

Russia, Iran, Georgia, and Armenia might help restore the region's peace and prosperity in the long term.²⁵⁰

It will be difficult for the area to solve its problems in a short period of time because of the issues outlined above. The Middle East's governments and countries alike must recognise the need of a rationalist and constructivist approach in order to bring stability and progress to the area.

3.1.7 Türkiye's Emerging Role in the Middle East

Türkiye is close to the Middle East region on the one hand, and a distant country on the other. Geographical, historical, socio-cultural influences and religious ties have made Türkiye a part of the region in the historical process dating back to centuries. While this perception serves to show Türkiye as a country close to the region; On the other hand, Türkiye's priority policy of convergence to the West, which covers long years, has created a line that has resulted in its distancing from the Middle East region. Especially since the date of the Republic, Türkiye has continued to follow a distant policy towards the Middle East.²⁵¹ Within this conceptual dilemma of proximity-distance towards the region, two factors that make up Türkiye's Middle East policy are of great importance. The first of these; It is based on the inability of Türkiye to implement a foreign policy disconnected from the lands where it is located, due to the fact that it is a country from the region. Türkiye's own security, stability and prosperity in the Middle East seems to be closely tied to the developments in these regions. In a sense, many developments that we can gather under the conjuncture headline in the region directly affect Türkiye and exist as a determining factor in policies for developments. The second factor is; Türkiye's ideological priorities. Since the Republic's primary goal is based on a phenomenon that can be summarized as modernization, Türkiye has reflected a set of goals and practices based on many dynamics in its policies. The state ideology, which consists of a system of

²⁵⁰ Cavid Veliyev, "Building the Zangezur corridor, normalization in South Caucasus", *Daily Sabah*, 2021, <https://www.dailysabah.com/opinion/op-ed/building-the-zangezur-corridor-normalization-in-south-caucasus>, (Accessed April 21, 2022).

²⁵¹ Duran Bolat, "Türkiye'nin Ortadoğu Politikasının Genel Çizgisi ve Bu Politikada Etkili Olan Faktörler (The General Line of Türkiye's Middle East Policy and the Factors Influencing This Policy)", *Akademik Makalem*, (2012), <http://akademikmakalem.com/2012/01/27/turkiyenin-orta-dogu-politikasiningenel-cizgisi-ve-bu-politikada-etkili-olan-faktorler/> (accessed May 31, 2021).

thought on the nation, nationalism, religion, culture, Westernization, modernization, and many more, has led Türkiye to stay away from the region.²⁵²

The mobility that started in the post-1980 period, especially 1980-1988, which can consider as the recent period in Türkiye's Middle East policy, has brought Turkish foreign policy towards the region into the equation of Türkiye, Iraq and America. Indeed, the Gulf crisis and the post-1990 developments in Türkiye's foreign policy seriously affected the policies. Events such as the Gulf War and the Middle East peace process, which determined the political agenda of the Middle East, made foreign actors more effective in the region. However, while Türkiye was developing policies against these developments, it remained under the influence of domestic political conditions and was determined to react to the changes occurring in the nearby geography while adapting to the variables of the new era.²⁵³ Having gained the opportunity to expand its foreign policy horizon in the post-Cold War period, Türkiye has started to turn towards an activist policy, in contrast to its passive role during the Cold War.

With the invasion of Iraq in 2003, new balances started to form in the Middle East. After the September 11 attacks, the discourse and action of the USA in the Middle East policy caused concern in Türkiye as well as in most countries in the region. After 2001, Türkiye realized that it would not be able to get rid of the problems with its traditional regional policy of keeping away from the Middle East problems. More importantly, opposition to the war has become a common belief both in the public and at the elite level, and the perception of the imperialist West trying to divide and rule the Middle East for its own colonial aims has been revived. After that, Türkiye started to think that it would reduce the risk by not getting involved in regional problems, but by offering solutions to problems and pro-peace policies.²⁵⁴ As a result, Türkiye engrossed all opportunities in the region rather than threats and involved in the Middle East through economic interdependence, soft balancing, use of soft power, and third party roles.

²⁵² Hasan Duran & Çağatay Özdemir, “Türk Dış Politikasına Yansımalarıyla Arap Baharı (Arab Spring with Its Reflections in Turkish Foreign Policy)”, *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi (Journal of Academic Inquiries)* Volume: 7, Number: 2, 2012, p. 181-188.

²⁵³ Ibid., p. 192.

²⁵⁴ Gülden Ayman, “Türk Dış Politika Seçkinlerinin Ortadoğu Algılamaları ve Irak Savaşı [The Middle East Perceptions of Turkish Foreign Policy Elite and the Iraq War]”, *Akademik Middle East*, Vol: 1, No: 1, 2006, p. 9.

The Arab upheavals of 2010–2011 were a watershed moment in the history of the Middle East as a whole. Complex and multi-layered conflicts, intensification of violence, regional and international military operations, as well as civil wars in which governments and non-state actors engage in a multiplicity of changing alliances are common in Türkiye's area. Relations between Türkiye and the United States and the European Union deteriorated during this time period. While on the other side, the AKP's Middle East strategy has been hampered by the breakdown of the Kurdish peace process (2014–2015) and growing worries about regime security after the failed coup attempt in July 2016. This strategic context has resulted in an increased tendency for Türkiye to use military means to deal with these issues; risk-taking and a tendency to stand alone have become the constitutive elements of Türkiye's new foreign policy and have become the preferred means of protecting Türkiye's Middle Eastern interests. Since Türkiye's geo-strategic neighborhood is shifting as well as the country's internal dynamics, AKP's new foreign policy philosophy is a result of both. Turkish foreign policy has undergone a dramatic shift in recent decades, and the current Middle East strategy may be understood as a new dimension and acceleration of this shift.

As a result of the Arab revolutions, there were expectations that Türkiye's influence in the area may grow. During the Arab Spring, Türkiye's Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the Justice and Development Party (AKP) were popular in many post-Arab revolt nations because of their strong ties and sympathy with the Muslim Brotherhood, which was well-organized in the opposition. There had been a belief that more engagement in the Arab world and more democratic administration would allow for the rise of regimes that would create stronger connections with Türkiye.²⁵⁵

This new process has brought about changes in both the structure and the discourse of Türkiye's policy towards the region. Structurally, Türkiye is present in the region by adopting a solution-oriented approach, not by staying away from regional problems. In addition, there has been a change in the diplomatic language of Türkiye's Middle East policy. Concepts such as cooperation, integration, development and partnership have gained importance. Türkiye has displayed a very active foreign policy in its region in recent years and has invested in the

²⁵⁵ Anthony Shadid, “Türkiye Predicts Alliance with Egypt as Regional Anchors”, in *The New York Times*, September 18, 2011, <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/19/world/middleeast/Türkiye-predictspartnership-with-egypt-as-regional-anchors.html>, (accessed May 31, 2021).

Middle East both politically and economically. This means that Türkiye has invested in the status quo in a way. Establishing close relations with the region largely means establishing close relations with the regimes.

Türkiye is concerned that instability in the region will put its interests at risk. The ongoing civil war in various parts of Syria and the reaction of the regime to these events have been a test for Türkiye. It is clear that Türkiye is concerned about the course of Syria, due to the influx of refugees, economic losses and strategic implications, especially regarding the Kurdish issue. Since May 2019, Türkiye has carried out four military operations in Syria and two in northern Iraq. A marine delimitation and military cooperation agreement was also inked between Türkiye and the UN-recognized Libyan Government of National Accord. Türkiye relies heavily on Libya as a crude oil supplier and as the site of building contracts worth about \$20 million signed by Turkish firms²⁵⁶. While the current situation in Libya puts the future of these investments at risk, it also means that Türkiye faces a serious economic loss. Its engagement in a balancing game between its traditional ally Russia and the US in Syria, and in intense competition with both the Saudi-UAE bloc and the Iran-led axis points to a significant shift in Türkiye's foreign policy in the Middle East.

Along with the introduction of Türkiye's new policy toward the Middle East, a religious transformation also took place. Because of the shifts that are taking place in both the regional and global context, Türkiye is finding itself in a situation in which it is confronted with a mix of possibilities and limitations. Because of the demise of the old international order and the formation of the new one, Türkiye is no longer able to depend only on conventional alliances to further its own national interests. This is because the old international system has been replaced by a new one. "The globe is wider than the United States and Europe," said Ibrahim Kaln, one of the most prominent aides to Erdoğan and the official spokesman for the office of the Turkish president. Therefore, we need to stay away of the concept that we should work toward being only a component of the global system that is focused on Europe. This is a notion that we should endeavor to maintain.²⁵⁷ After all, Türkiye's membership in NATO did not result in Ankara receiving the Patriot missiles it asked, nor did it persuade the United States or France

²⁵⁶ Meliha Benli Altunışık, "The New Turn in Türkiye's Foreign Policy in the Middle East: Regional and Domestic Insecurities", IAI Papers 20, July 17, 2020, p. 2-12.

²⁵⁷ Zeynep Rakipoğlu, "Cumhurbaşkanlığı Sözcüsü Kalın: Dünya, Avrupa'dan ve ABD'den daha büyüktür" [Presidential Spokesperson Kalın: The World Is Bigger than Europe and the USA], in Anadolu Agency, 3 March 2019, <http://v.aa.com.tr/1407898>, (accessed June 2, 2021).

to refrain from working together with the PYD or YPG in Syria.²⁵⁸ Except for the notable exception of Türkiye's refusal to support the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, Türkiye should not aim to align its Middle East policies with those adopted by the United States or the European Union. As a result of these factors, Türkiye should not pursue this goal.

Türkiye's response to structural shifts on a global and regional scale was the primary impetus for its shift in Middle East policy. All of the major regional and international parties in the Middle East have faced significant challenges as a result of the Arab Spring's political upheaval. In the wake of recent geopolitical upheavals in the region, Türkiye's governing Justice and Development Party (AKP) political elites have been aware of the possibilities and difficulties presented by new geopolitical events. All along, this has been the case to a significant degree. When it comes to Egypt, Türkiye's involvement in Qatar, and its support for Muslim Brotherhood movements in countries where they're weak, these choices have been made clear. After the 2013 coup in Egypt, relations with that country remained tense. When it came to the Qatar crisis, Türkiye was once again at the center of things. They made a lot of these decisions in the third case. From this perspective, the new Turkish policy toward the Middle East reflects some continuity in terms of the AKP government's worldview, but it also includes changes in how this is implemented as Türkiye's neighborhood shifts. The new Turkish policy toward the Middle East reflects some continuity in terms of the AKP government's worldview when seen from this angle.

Turkish relations with the Gulf have also undergone significant changes in the last few years as a result of a shift in its overall Middle East strategy. During the first decade of the 2000s, Türkiye forged close economic, political, and strategic ties with Gulf States and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) as a whole as part of its Middle East activism. Türkiye's participation in the Arab Spring uprisings coincided with the timing of this move. At the same time, Türkiye was attempting to strengthen its position in the region. Turkish-Saudi ties did not instantly deteriorate during the Arab Spring demonstrations of 2011 despite the two countries' differing positions on a number of topics. In 2011, the Arab Spring ignited a wave of demonstrations throughout the region.²⁵⁹ A few days after the first launch of the Saudi-led

²⁵⁸ Burhanettin Duran, "The Sole Axis of Türkiye's Foreign Policy", in Daily Sabah, 11 February 2020, <https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/duran-burhanettin/2020/02/11/the-sole-axis-of-Türkiyesforeign-policy>, (accessed June, 2, 2021).

²⁵⁹ Gonul Tol & David Dumke, *Aspiring Powers, Regional Rivals: Türkiye, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the New Middle East*, (New York: The Middle East Institute, 2019), p. 17-39.

campaign in Yemen in 2015, Türkiye announced that it would be extending its support for the Saudi-led intervention. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the President of Türkiye, also gave the appearance of overtly taking a side in the conflict between Saudi Arabia and Iran. He attacked what he characterized as Iran's growing position in the area. For example, in March of 2015, President Erdoğan made the statement that "Iran is seeking to control the region." n. Is it possible for this to be allowed? This has started to irritate not just Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf countries, but also us. Iran has to understand that this cannot continue in its current form. ". In particular over the course of 2016, interactions between Türkiye and Saudi Arabia intensified.

In addition to exchanges of visits between senior officials from both countries, the two nations created a Strategic Collaboration Council and placed a priority on cooperation and coordination in regards to Syria, notably in opposition to Iran and ISI. S. Nevertheless, as soon as the issue in Qatar broke out in June of 2018, ties between Türkiye and Saudi Arabia started to deteriorate at a fast pace. 7. Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates sent Qatar a list of 13 demands, one of which was to close the Turkish military installation and stop all collaborative military activities inside Qatar. r. In response to the crisis, Türkiye increased the scope of its military and commercial ties with Qatar. As a result, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates have begun to depict Türkiye as a disruptive influence in the region and openly denounce the Turkish government's relations with the Muslim Brotherhood.

The relations between the two countries became even more strained after the brutal murder of Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi in the Saudi consulate in Istanbul. Türkiye asserted that the murder had been planned at the highest levels in Saudi Arabia, which further strained relations between the two countries. a. Because of this, the Gulf region has become a component of the geostrategic conflict taking place between Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates on the one hand, and Türkiye and Qatar on the other hand, in the current context. t. A new component in Türkiye's Middle East strategy is a never-ending game of balancing between the United States and Russia. The Turkish government plays this game in order to expand the amount of freedom it has for maneuvering inside the region. e. Despite the fact that Türkiye's relations with France have worsened as a result of the latter country's growing strategic partnership with the UAE, Türkiye has found opportunities to work with Germany in the context of Syria and the refugee crisis as well as in Libya or with Italy in the case of Libya. In general, Türkiye has emerged as a more forceful actor in the Middle East and has developed a more skeptical attitude toward various regional cooperation schemes.

The global landscape has undergone a dramatic transformation as a result of the rise of new powers. A more active and respected Türkiye in the multilateral fora is the result of Türkiye's growing economic power, large population, active diplomacy, geostrategic position at a critical juncture, increasing aid flows to developing countries, rising commercial links coupled with a determined government, as well as considerable military might. Türkiye has become a significant regional power that is capable of taking the initiative and advancing a proactive foreign policy as a direct result of all of these elements, which have together contributed to a rise in the country's visibility to a considerable degree.

3.1.8 Türkiye's Increasing influence in Africa

The "Opening to Africa Action Plan" was announced by the Turkish government in 1998 with the explicit goal of strengthening political, economic, development, and cultural connections between Türkiye and African states. More high-level diplomatic exchanges with Africa, more humanitarian aid (including possible membership in the African Export Import Bank), and more business trips were some of the goals of the African Development Bank (AfDB) Initiative, which was launched by Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan in 2013. All of these goals were achieved to varying degrees in the years that followed, as seen, for example, by the opening of additional embassies in various African countries.²⁶⁰

The establishment of strong links and partnership with Africa is one of the essential cornerstones of Türkiye's multifaceted foreign policy.

By the second half of this century, African nations are expected to become more active players in the international system and assume a more significant role in global affairs. Various countries and investors have recently begun to focus on Africa because of the continent's

²⁶⁰Ali Bilgic & Daniela Nascimento, "Türkiye's new focus on Africa: causes and challenges", *Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre*, 2014, pp. 1-2.

expanding commercial and economic potential, as well as its rising geopolitical importance in numerous fields.²⁶¹

The principle of “African solutions for African problems” refers to Türkiye's historical experience, as well as its socio-political and cultural accumulations, as well as its opportunities and resources²⁶², which it shares with African countries on the basis of mutual benefit.

Türkiye's ties to SSA countries, particularly commerce and investment, have improved significantly in the last several years as a result of these efforts. Having joined the African Union in 2005 as an observer member, Türkiye's African Initiative Policy (AIP), which started in 1998, accelerated after becoming a strategic partner of the African Union in 2008. Significant progress has been made since then in a number of fields, including commercial and investment activities as well as a wide range of other areas. Following the successful completion of the African Initiative Policy in 2012, the Africa Partnership Policy was put into force.²⁶³

To express their appreciation for Türkiye's dedication to the continent, African countries increased their representation in Ankara from 10 at the beginning of 2008 to 37, a significant increase over the previous tally of 10.

Institutions such as, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD), the Yunus Emre Institute, the Turkish Maarif Foundation, and Anadolu Agency that have increased their activities in the last few years (THY).

The expansion of business ties between Türkiye and the Sub-Saharan African states, as well as the rapid rise in trade figures, is one of the most concrete indicators of improved relations. It is estimated that Türkiye's exports to Africa would rise from \$5 billion in 2003 to \$25.3 billion by 2020, while exports to Sub-Saharan Africa will rise from \$1.35 billion in 2003

²⁶¹ Serhat Orakçi, “the Rise of Türkiye in Africa”, *Aljazeera Centre for Studies*, 2022, pp. 2-3. <https://studies.aljazeera.net/sites/default/files/articles/documents/2022-01/The%20Rise%20of%20Türkiye%20in%20Africa.pdf>

²⁶² “Türkiye-Africa Relations”, *Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/Türkiye-africa-relations.en.mfa>, (Accessed April 23, 2022).

²⁶³ Mehmet Özkan, Türkiye’s ‘New’ Engagements in Africa and Asia: Scope, Content and Implications, *Perceptions*, Vol.16, No.3, (2011), PP. 115- 135.

to \$10 billion in 2020. Türkiye has managed to maintain stable trade volumes despite the pandemic conditions of 2020²⁶⁴, which is an important success.

Projects conducted by Turkish contracting enterprises in Sub-Saharan Africa and the African continent developed quickly, reaching 19.5 billion dollars for Sub-Saharan Africa and 71.1 billion for the continent. A joint business council has been formed by 45 African countries and 40 sub-Saharan African countries, according to Türkiye.²⁶⁵

With the aim to increase the number of Turkish Airlines flights to Africa and to make it easier for Africans to connect with the rest of the world, in accordance with Türkiye's national development policy, by creating a bridge between the continents. As restrictions on travel are eased, Turkish Airlines, which had previously serviced 60 destinations in 39 countries before the pandemic, is gradually increasing the number of flights it flies.²⁶⁶

As in nearly every corner of African Continent, Türkiye continues its humanitarian and development assistance activities with the help of non-governmental organizations as well as the Turkish Red Crescent, its General Directorate, the Turkish Cooperation Agency (TIKA), and the Turkish Health Ministry. Over the last several years, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) established 22 Program Coordination Offices in Africa²⁶⁷, most of which are headquartered in Türkiye.

As a consequence of Türkiye's scholarship program for African university students, country's African policy is reinforced and Turkish universities have awarded more than 14,000 scholarships to African students to study in Turkish Universities²⁶⁸.

²⁶⁴ "Türkiye-Africa Relations", *Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/Türkiye-africa-relations.en.mfa>, (Accessed April 23, 2022).

²⁶⁵ Ibid.,

²⁶⁶ Abdinor Dahir, "The Türkiye-Africa Bromance: Key Drivers, Agency, and Prospects", *Insight Türkiye*, Vol. 23, No. 4, (2021), pp. 27-32.

²⁶⁷ Hassan Isilow, "Türkiye winning hearts, minds in Africa: Experts", *Anadolu Agency*, 2021, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/Türkiye-winning-hearts-minds-in-africa-experts/2446516>, (Accessed April 24, 2022).

²⁶⁸ "Merhaba, Africa: How Türkiye's soft power attracts African international students", *Study International*, 2022, <https://www.studyinternational.com/news/study-in-Türkiye-for-africans/>, (Accessed April 23, 2022).

In addition to bilateral relations with African countries, Türkiye's ties with the African Union (AU) are steadily strengthening. In 2005, Türkiye became an observer member of the African Union and in 2008 was recognized as a strategic partner of the continent at the African Union Summit. This long-term framework for the development of connections between Türkiye and Africa was established during the First Türkiye-Africa Partnership Summit, which took place in Istanbul from August 18-21, 2008.²⁶⁹

Consider Türkiye's African policies from three perspectives: bilateral, regional, and global. In addition, each of these three aspects has cultural, economic, political, and humanitarian grounds that must be taken into account. In terms of bilateral relations, Türkiye's growing diplomatic presence in continental countries is the most important indicator of the country's political pillar. Since 2002, the number of embassies in Türkiye has more than doubled, rising from 12 to 43 by 2021, a nearly fourfold increase over the previous year. African countries and Türkiye have shown a desire to strengthen their connections by establishing embassies in each other's countries. When there is political and economic stability in the country, Türkiye wants to increase its cooperation with it. Türkiye does not engage in the internal affairs of the other country in the scope of existing bilateral relations.²⁷⁰

However, as a consequence of improved cooperation in the economy, the country's political atmosphere has become more stable and the level of national welfare has grown. In the event of an increase in economic well-being and political stability, terrorists will no longer be able to rely on the resources of the countries they are targeting. Turkish-African military cooperation will be on the rise over the next several years as a result of this relationship's long-standing importance to both countries. Consider the economic aspects of the relationship between the two countries. In the years that the relationships, which have lasted close to two decades, have grown jointly and positively, they have been conducted within the framework of mutual benefit. For this reason, Türkiye is treated differently than other Western countries

²⁶⁹ "Türkiye and the African Union", *Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 2022, <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/Türkiye-and-the-african-union.en.mfa>, (Accessed April 23, 2022).

²⁷⁰ Tunç Demirtaş, "Türkiye'nin Afrika Politikası, [Türkiye's African Policy]", *Kriter*, **Vol.6, No. 62, 2021**, <https://kriterdergi.com/dis-politika/turkiyenin-afrika-politikasi>.

when it comes to Africa. As a former colony of the West, Africa has had to deal with the legacy of colonial control in its post-colonial era, and now it is forging ties with Türkiye's policies.²⁷¹

4. The Place of Pakistan in a Changing International System

One of the key causes of change in the global system is the emergence and fall of great powers. During the twentieth century, the world order underwent a significant metamorphosis, shifting from multipolar to bipolar, and finally to unipolar construction. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, the US-led dominated global system has been continually challenged by emerging countries unsatisfied with the current system and aiming for a multipolar international system's transition. In the midst of this combative environment, a growing country like Pakistan, with its extremely important geostrategic location and quickly forming new dynamics of international politics, may undoubtedly have enormous repercussions in the future multipolar international order.

With the entrance of new players in the power game, the period of unilateral US dominance is ended, and the global structure has shifted from unipolar to multipolar. This is the buzz among Pakistan's policymakers and bureaucrats. In reality, the shift in the global center of gravity away from the United States is undeniable. For some years, China's economy has been growing and its military has been modernizing, and China has begun to display a strong desire for diplomatic participation and aggressiveness in global disputes. China has made significant investments in a number of developing nations, and its propensity to invest in fragile regimes is unstoppable. While Russia, via its interventionist actions, poses a threat to the United States in Central Asia and Eastern Europe.

Pakistan, on the other hand, has to reconsider its policy in light of the changing global order. The bipolar world during the Cold War era was all about alliance politics, but the emerging global order is distinct in two key ways. First, the unipolar system is weakening but not fully gone. Emerging powers are keeping up with the United States and may provide nations with appealing possibilities to elicit their assistance on critical problems in certain parts of the globe. Second, rather than settling into a single pro- or anti-American camp as in the Cold War – as certain sectors of Pakistan's administrative system believe – alliance

²⁷¹ Ibid....,

arrangements are likely to remain in flux in the foreseeable future.²⁷² For the foreseeable future, the most successful weak and intermediate nations will be those that can make themselves suitable for many big powers at the same time rather than attaching themselves to one side or the other. With a long-standing cooperation with Russia, a thriving relationship with the United States, and a roughly \$100 billion trade surplus with China, India has already shown its worth.

5. Relevance of Pakistan in the Transforming World Order

Rising countries, particularly China and Russia, have been seeking for ways to maximize their might and ultimately challenge American hegemony since the beginning of the twenty-first century. Some of the middle-rank nations' geostrategic relevance may provide them with increased prominence in the future global order. Despite the fact that Pakistan is neither a candidate for nor aspires to great power status, the major countries have long recognized Pakistan's geostrategic significance. As a direct consequence of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, millions of Afghan refugees were forced to seek asylum in Pakistan. As a result, Pakistan became the staging ground for American munitions and instruments of proxy war directed against the Soviet Union. As mujahedeen, thousands of guerrilla troops recruited from all over the world were trained and deployed into Afghanistan. At the same time, Pakistan was the recipient of more than 80 percent of coalition supplies.²⁷³ Following the departure of Russian soldiers, the United States discontinued its economic and military aid to Islamabad. Following the 9/11 attacks, Pakistan was once again designated as a frontline state in the US-led "War on Terror" operation in Afghanistan. As a consequence, Pakistan's economic and military support was not only restored, but also multiplied.²⁷⁴

Pakistan's geostrategic location in the heartland of South-West Asia, a region that links the world's population and energy centres to the west and east, gives the nation increased relevance. Recent events in the region, such as the United States' withdrawal from Afghanistan and talks with the Taliban, Sino-Indian border clashes at the Line of Actual Control (LAC),

²⁷² Moeed Yusuf, Pakistan's Place in a Changing World, Pakistan Politico, May 4, 2018, <https://pakistanpolitico.com/pakistans-place-in-a-changing-world/>, (Accessed June 23, 2021).

²⁷³ Bruce Riedel, "Pakistan's Role in the Afghanistan War's Outcome," *The Economist*, (2010).

²⁷⁴ Lubna Sunawar, "Pakistan as a Frontline State in War against Terrorism: Cost & Benefit Analysis," *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol. 22, Issue 1, (2015): 43.

rising Middle East tensions, and China's drive to expand its transnational influence, have placed Pakistan at the center of regional dynamics among major powers. The United States has understood and has said that Pakistani help is unavoidable in advancing American goals in the area, particularly in the Afghan peace process. China, as a growing power, recognizes that its strategic connections with Pakistan may be critical in projecting China's future aspirations in the region and beyond the globe.

The Sino-US global trade war, the Sino-Russian nexus, and other important events in the area would boost Pakistan's prominence, given the shifting international order and escalating conflicts of interests among the United States, China, and Russia. As a result, Pakistan must proceed with caution as it navigates the intricacies of transitioning from American hegemony to a world with several power centers.²⁷⁵

6. Foreign Policy of Pakistan in the Changing Regional and Global Settings

In the emerging international system where numerous global powers are struggling for power and prominence, Pakistan has gone through various storms and misty waters in the past seven decades of its existence with the ambitions put forward by its founding forefathers. It was like a rollercoaster jerky ride for the country over the years, trying to adjust itself with changing political and strategic environment. Even being one of the largest population of Muslims in the world, bordered by India, China, Afghanistan, and Iran, Pakistan has projected itself as a major player in the Middle East and Asia. Despite having consequential national assets that include complex historical past, strategic and geographical location, nature and size of the population, and abundance of national wealth, Pakistan has remained heavily dependent upon internal and external actors and factors.

Through robust and tumultuous choices, Pakistan has managed to adapt to the shifting political and geostrategic environment of the evolving international system throughout the years. Pakistan's foreign policy has faced various obstacles, trials, and opportunities throughout

²⁷⁵ David Calleo, "Hegemony and Decline: Reflections on Recent American Experience," Sens public, (2005).

the last seven decades, ranging from compromise to collaboration, decline to ascension, isolation to integration.²⁷⁶

6.1 The Politics of Balance between the Great Powers

After Pakistan attained its independence in 1947, Quide-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the country's founding father, laid the groundwork for productive engagement by basing it on the fundamental principles that were codified in the Constitution of 1973. Article 20 of the Constitution of 1973 states that "the State should attempt to protect and strengthen brotherly relations among Muslim countries based on Islamic unity," as well as promote international peace and security, support the common interests of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, encourage the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and promote goodwill and friendly relations among all nations.²⁷⁷ This clause gives Pakistan's foreign policy a major thrust in the direction of fostering friendly ties with the other Muslim nations, as well as near and extended neighboring countries of the area. Nonetheless, it was not said regarding dealing with the main powers; however, Pakistan's diversion towards the United States and the West has stemmed from its liberalism-driven policies and western tilt ever since the country's establishment. This was not highlighted.

6.1.1 Lost Opportunities and Future Options in Pak-Russia Relations

As a direct consequence of Pakistan's ideological leanings toward the west, the Soviet Union did not consent to the exchange of diplomatic missions with Pakistan until 1948. During this time, Pakistan was still leaning toward the west. It was because of this that Pakistan waited until the very end of 1949 in the Soviet capital to dispatch the ambassador. As a result, the process of appointing ambassadors was slowed down. In June of 1950, Pakistan's first Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, made his first official visit to the United States. As a result of Pakistan's growing proximity to the western bloc, and with this growing proximity, Pakistan moved away from the other major powers, which caused the misunderstanding that still exists

²⁷⁶ Farhat Asif, "Pakistan's foreign policy: Transition, prospects and perspectives", The News, August 14, 2018, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/355063-pakistan-s-foreign-policy-transition-prospects-and-perspectives>

²⁷⁷ Karamat Hussain Niazi, "The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan", National Assembly of Pakistan, February 28, 2012, p. 12.

today.²⁷⁸ To be able to keep its place in the ever-changing structure of the international community, Pakistan will need to pursue a well-rounded foreign policy that involves cultivating cordial relationships with each of the world's major powers on an equal footing.

In the realm of international diplomacy, it is not conceivable to have a constant ally or foe on either side of a dispute. In the course of shifts occurring in global dynamics and regional geopolitical realities, long-standing grudges are gradually eradicated. One such instance is the warming of relations between Pakistan and Russia, which has repercussions for the general state of affairs in the area, most notably for the state of Pakistan's relationship with India.²⁷⁹

In order to provide support for India's nuclear ambitions, the government in Islamabad has distanced itself from the United States, expanded Pakistan's connections with China, and sought deeper ties with Russia. All of these actions were taken. Pakistan has maintained a strategic partnership with China for almost half a century, while Islamabad, the country's capital, has only lately established a connection with Moscow. When it comes to finding a solution to the problem that exists between India and Pakistan, Russia has consistently taken India's side rather than Pakistan's. Russia's position on Pakistan's future and the direction it would take its strategic orientation has remained ambiguous. There is a balance between Russia's goals in South Asia and the strategic importance and economic benefit that each nation brings. This balance is reflected in Russia's engagement in South Asia. Pakistan is a very large nation with a very little population, and it has a lot of internal and economic problems. In contrast to India, it does not have the same scope of impact in its relations with larger countries in terms of the political, strategic, and economic issues that concern them. Despite this, Pakistan continues to be an important piece on the constantly shifting geopolitical chessboard of Eurasia. Although Pakistan is hampered by its geophysical location, a strong military with an advancing nuclear capability, and considerable influence in the international relations of the Islamic world as a result of its perpetual asymmetry with India, Pakistan uses these factors to its advantage in international relations. These factors include Pakistan's considerable influence in the international relations of the Islamic world.

²⁷⁸ Nazir Hussain, "Pak-Russia Relations: Lost Opportunities and Future Options", *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol. 19, No.1, (2012), pp. 79-80.

²⁷⁹ Prof. Dr. Tasneem Sultana, Dr. Zobi Fatima & Sahar Afshan, "Pak-Russia Relations in the Emerging Geo-Strategic Environment", *Journal of European Studies*, Vol. 35, No.1 (2019): p. 09.

As a direct consequence of this, Pakistan and Russia have always been unable to develop close ties with one another. Both countries are making efforts to get over their lingering mistrust of one another in order to further their common goal of strengthening their relations. Worried about the nature of Pakistan's expanding strategic relationships with China, which have been built since the early stages of the Cold War, Russia is concerned about the state of Pakistan's relations with the West due to the strained state of those relations. Concerns have also been raised in Islamabad over Russia's strategic connections with India. Both countries now have a Machiavellian reason to reevaluate the manner in which they have conducted their bilateral relations over the course of the previous decade. This is due to the resurgence of Russia under the leadership of President Vladimir Putin, as well as the deterioration of US relations with Russia and Pakistan. Russia is looking at fresh chances in South Asia to enhance its influence as the United States mulls over the possibility of removing its forces from Afghanistan while simultaneously dealing with Iran.²⁸⁰ Islamabad is actively looking for new friends to compensate for the deteriorating relationship it has with the United States. In the meantime, tensions have increased with Pakistan's archrival India, which is led by a resurgent right-wing Hindu nationalist government under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi. This rise in tensions is a direct result of the deterioration of relations with the United States government in Washington. Pakistan is trying to impact its geo-economic relevance by using the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor, which is quickly developing and has been lauded as a cornerstone of China's Belt Road Initiative.²⁸¹ The evolution of Russia and Pakistan's ties is taking place against the background of changing geopolitical events in South Asia. This is the context in which these events are taking place.

At the beginning of 2010, contacts between Pakistan and Russia began to expand substantially, as shown by high-level visits, the sale of weapons, and improved cooperation. Simultaneously, relations between the United States and Pakistan grew tenser. At the beginning of 2010, for example, Russia hosted a conference on Afghanistan in Moscow that was attended by representatives from Pakistan, Tajikistan, and Afghanistan, among other countries. This

²⁸⁰ “Pak-Russia Relations: Lost Opportunities and.....”, pp. 82-85.

²⁸¹ Brig Feroz Hassan Khan, “Russia–Pakistan Strategic Relations: An Emerging Entente Cordiale”, *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs, Air University Press*, Jan 15, 2021, p. 47, <https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/JIPA/Display/Article/2473361/russiapakistan-strategic-relations-an-emerging-entente-cordiale/>.

meeting served as the first signal of Russia's revived interest in Afghanistan, and it was especially significant for Pakistan because it did not include delegates from India, which was a major source of concern for the country. This meeting was also the first signal of Russia's renewed interest in Central Asia.²⁸² During this time period, tensions between the United States and Pakistan towards Afghanistan reached their highest point ever recorded. In addition, several events, such as the US operation that killed Osama bin Laden and an accidental cross-border gunshot between Pakistani and US forces at an Afghan border checkpoint in November 2011, contributed to the rapid deterioration of cooperation between the United States and Pakistan over the course of the subsequent year.²⁸³

During Pakistan Chief of Army Staff Kiyani's visit to Moscow in 2011, at a time when relations with the United States were at their lowest point in decades, Russian authorities were convinced of Pakistan's new attitude and military requirements. This occurred at a time when relations with the United States were at their worst they had been in decades. As a direct consequence of Kayani's efforts in this area, Russia has been requested to reconsider its attitude on the prohibition of armament supplies to Pakistan.²⁸⁴

Pakistani Air Commander Marshal Tahir Rafiq Butt and Russian Air Chief Viktor Bondarev undertook reciprocal visits to Islamabad in August 2012 and April 2013, respectively, after the visit of the army head. These excursions took place after the visit of the army head. In the end, Moscow was forced to wait two years before relaxing the arms embargo on Pakistan, which was something that New Delhi did not take kindly to. Discussions about the delivery of military equipment to Pakistan have been postponed until then by Russia, with the justification being that India is concerned about its own national security. The removal of the embargo conveyed a signal to Pakistan and India that Moscow was redefining its strategic interests in the dynamic geopolitical environment of South Asia. This was a consequence of the fact that the embargo had been lifted.

During his trip to Moscow in February of 2018, Pakistan's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Shah Mahmood Qureshi, inked a number of agreements with the Russian government. During

²⁸² Feroz H. Khan, "Russia-Pak Strategic Relations: An Emerging Entente Cordiale", *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs*, Special Issue (Jan 2021): pp. 47-50.

²⁸³ Pakistan stopped all ground lines of communications through its territory for eight months before it was restored. "Pakistan Reopens NATO Supply Routes to Afghanistan," CNN, 3 July 2019, <https://www.cnn.com/>, (Accessed April 25, 2022).

²⁸⁴ Brig Feroz Hassan Khan, "Russia-Pakistan Strategic Relations: An Emerging Entente Cordiale", *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs*, Air University Press, 2021, pp. 48- 49

his trip to Russia in April 2018, the head of Pakistan's armed forces, General Qamar Bajwa, participated in the establishment of a joint military commission between Pakistan and Russia.²⁸⁵ During the same month, Moscow hosted high-level security consultations with the national security advisers of both nations. These sessions were attended by both Russia and the United States. At a time when ties between Pakistan and Russia were improving, President Trump of the United States made the statement that Pakistan will no longer be participating in the United States of America's International Military Education Program (IMEP). The exposure of these details resulted in the signing of a "Security Instruction Agreement" between Pakistan and Russia. This agreement made it possible for Pakistani military officials to get training at Russian military institutions for the very first time. Pakistan and Russia are not sharing the terms of their work in the same manner that Islamabad would. This can be observed by looking at the agreements that both countries have made with China. On the other hand, the course that their union is going to take is crystal clear from the very beginning. As a result of the decision made by the Trump administration to end the provision of military aid to Pakistan, it would seem that the Pakistani government is exploring its options with both Russia and China.²⁸⁶

The strength of Russia's diplomatic connections with Pakistan has greatly increased while Putin has been in charge. Because of Pakistan's importance to the security of the countries that were once part of the Soviet Union in Central Asia, the Kremlin and Islamabad need to collaborate in order to guarantee peace in the area.²⁸⁷ As a consequence of this, Moscow and Islamabad need to cooperate in order to strengthen their relations.

During a visit to Pakistan in 2015, Russia's military chief and spy chief met to discuss combined intelligence and anti-terrorism operations. In addition, they inked a technical cooperation agreement for the supply of weaponry and the development of weapons. In

²⁸⁵ "Gen Bajwa Meets Counterpart during Official Visit to Russia," *Dawn*, 24 April 2018, <https://www.dawn.com/>; and Khan, "Pakistan-Russia Relations Redux," 57-61.

²⁸⁶ Brig Feroz Hassan Khan, "Russia-Pakistan Strategic Relations: An Emerging Entente Cordiale", *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs, Air University Press*, Jan 15, 2021, p. 19, <https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/JIPA/Display/Article/2473361/russiapakistan-strategic-relations-an-emerging-entente-cordiale/>.

²⁸⁷Petr Topychkanov & Vladimire Moskalenko, "Russia and Pakistan: Shared Challenges and Common Opportunities", (Moscow: Carnegie Moscow Centre, 2014), p. 3.

addition, Russian Special Forces forces visited Pakistan in September 2016 for military drills. 19 A cooperative naval drill between Pakistan and Russia has take place in February 2017.²⁸⁸

There is a little amount of trade volume between Russia and Pakistan, but it's still a small percentage of Russia's overall international trade with Pakistan. As far as Pakistan imports go, Russia is ranked 33rd and 28th, respectively. There has been an uptick in recent years, albeit.²⁸⁹

Imran Khan's visited Russia in Feb 2022, and this visit is a sign of growing cooperation between the two countries in a geopolitical climate that is rapidly shifting. It's the first time in more than two decades that a Pakistani leader has visited Moscow. The timing of the visit is critical, given the recent convergence of regional forces. The president of Russia, Vladimir Putin, has extended the offer.²⁹⁰

In addition to these geopolitical objectives, Russia hopes to benefit economically from Pakistan's development by becoming a partner in the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and by finally reaching the warm seas of the Arabian Sea, which it has long desired. This is a wonderful chance for Central Asian nations who are landlocked.²⁹¹ There was also another viewpoint in this respect, which was the expanding Indo-American friendship and collaboration in many different industries. Because Russia and India have a long history of friendship and collaboration, Russia might also use Pakistan to address this problem and prevent the United States and India from becoming closer.

Pakistan and Russia's ties have been growing recently, but the two countries are still on track to develop strong economic and political ties; however, a diverse and effective foreign policy based on the principle of having close and cordial relations with all major powers and some confidence-building measures are still needed to boost defense and commercial ties. Agreements struck between Pakistan and Russia also included the installation of an additional pipeline for the transit of natural gas from an LNG facility near Karachi, Pakistan, to Kasur,

²⁸⁸ Muhammad T.Khan, "Renaissance of Pakistan-Russia Relations", (Islamabad: Institute of Strategic Studies, 2016), pp. 2-3.

²⁸⁹ file:///C:/Users/isa/Downloads/PAK-RUSSIARELATIONS.pdf

²⁹⁰ Samprity Biswas, "Russia–China– Pakistan Engagement in the Changing Global Context: Scrutinizing the Realist Logic of a Trilateral 'Axis'", *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations*, Vol.25, No. 1,(2021), pp. 9-14, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0973598421998899>

²⁹¹ Tim Craig, "As the US moves closer to India, Pakistan looks to Russia", *The Guardian*, January 28, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/03/pakistan-russia-us-obama-india>, (Accessed April 25, 2022).

Punjab province. In the vicinity of Karachi, the terminal will be built. It is expected that this \$2 billion project will be completed in 2025.²⁹²

6.1.2 The Changing Dynamics and New Developments of China–Pakistan Relations

Foreign policy experts made a significant contribution during the early years of Pakistan's inception towards declaring China as Pakistan's close friend. This long-term friendship is growing from that day and it is considered to have stood the test of time because of this. During the conflicts between India and Pakistan, China supplied Pakistan with complete military and economic aid. Additionally, China compensated Pakistan for its war losses by giving Pakistan with military equipment, such as aircrafts and tanks. The close ties that have existed between the two nations for such a long time and run deep have been to everyone's advantage.

Despite recent developments such as the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, the Belt and Road Initiative, and Pakistan's recent induction into the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, China has maintained a consistent level of economic cooperation with Pakistan over the course of the past several decades. The growth of China will be the single most significant factor in the shift that will take place in the global economic, political, and military balance during the course of the next century. As a result of the ongoing change in the economic center of gravity from the west to the east, Pakistan has the potential to seize new possibilities, if it does so with insight and foresight, and to create a successful future for its people by strengthening connections with China. It is quickly becoming the world's most important economic power. It is essential for Pakistan to gain knowledge from China's experience in the fight against corruption, particularly with regard to their program for the relief of poor.

Throughout Asia's geopolitical landscape, the China-Pakistan axis plays an important role, from India's ascent to the possibility of a post-American Afghanistan, to the continent's new map of pipelines, ports, and mines. Pakistan's greatest economic and military hope is China. When it comes to China's geostrategic objectives, Pakistan is a key component. From China's

²⁹² Muzzafer Rizvi, "Pakistan, Russia on track to develop strong relations", *Khaleej Times*, June 5, 2021, <https://www.khaleejtimes.com/world/rest-of-asia/pakistan-russia-on-track-to-develop-strong-relations>, (accessed April 25, 2022).

rise as a global naval power to its lofty plans for a new silk route, Pakistan is at the core of China's geopolitical ambitions. As a result of China's growth, Pakistan has become a battlefield for China's interactions with Islamic militancy more than any other nation²⁹³.

In terms of major world powers, China is the only one to fully back Pakistan's attempts to maintain its independence and sovereignty. After experiencing a roller coaster of events in its relationship with the US, it is eager to engage in a strategic cooperation with Pakistan. For Beijing, participation in the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), inclusion in the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), and sanctions against Pakistan are important issues.²⁹⁴ It is China's position that Kashmir is a conflict between India and Pakistan and that a peaceful settlement is in accordance with the UN Charter, UNSC decisions, and bilateral agreements between the two countries. This group was opposed to India's unilateral decision to revoke Jammu and Kashmir's special status in August of this year.²⁹⁵ Not only did India's action contravene UN Security Council resolutions on Kashmir, but also breached the bilateral Simla Agreement between India and Pakistan.

It is not simply geopolitical factors that motivate Pakistan and China's cooperation, but also a common commitment to respect the UN values of non-interference, peaceful cohabitation, multilateralism, equity and justice in inter-governmental relationships. In international politics, both are opposed to the rule of hegemony, unilateralism, and a zero-sum attitude, and support the cause of developing nations.

Economic cooperation between Pakistan and China has been a major focus in recent years. Pakistan joined the Belt and Road Initiative as one of the first nations to do so (BRI). The CPEC, as a BRI trial project, has already produced measurable results after just six years of operation. First and foremost, it has helped Pakistan overcome its long-standing energy shortages. Preceding the CPEC, Pakistan was losing \$5.38 billion in revenue because to this

²⁹³ Andrew Small, *the China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics*, (UK: Oxford University Press, 2015): PP. 11-18.

²⁹⁴ Masood Khalid, "Pakistan-China Relations in a Changing Geopolitical Environment", *Institute of South Asian Studies*, No. 357, (2021), pp. 4-8.

²⁹⁵ Sutirtho Patranobis, "China reiterates support for Pakistan on Kashmir issue", *Hindustan Times*, Beijing, 2021, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/world-news/china-reiterates-support-to-pakistan-on-kashmir-101627148536956.html>, (Accessed April 26, 2022).

gap. According to Pakistan's plan to diversify its energy supply, a number of large-scale energy projects have been built in record speed. Coal-fired power facilities in China have been equipped with cutting-edge equipment to reduce emissions²⁹⁶.

Due to a growing US-China competition, BRI has recently become a casualty of the conflict. The White House warned Congress in May 2020 that China will gain "undue political influence and military access" as a result of the BRI.²⁹⁷ Since containing China is a stated goal of US foreign policy, the BRI and, as a result, the CPEC have been affected.

Several prominent experts believe that although China is attempting to restore its lost magnificence, it has no obvious ambition in either dominating the globe or building a new world in its image. It only wants a fair share of the post-World War II global political and economic infrastructure. With this view of a global system that guarantees fair participation for small and large nations, Pakistan is in agreement.²⁹⁸

Pakistan does not want to be caught in the middle of this conflict, therefore it is working to build positive relationships with both the United States and China. As with Pakistan's alliance with China, the CPEC represents a once-in-a-generation potential for economic growth for the country. An American strategy of regional connectivity and economic cooperation opposes any pressure on Pakistan to quit the CPEC. For America, CPEC and the C5+1 and Quadrilateral mechanisms are apparently meant to achieve the same goals as the C5+1 and Quadrilateral mechanisms. Pakistan's economic strength serves as a barrier against terrorism and extremism in the area. In Pakistan, any resistance to the CPEC is seen as a bad development.²⁹⁹

For China, Pakistan is a vital link to the Muslim world. In the growth of China's influence mostly in the Muslim regions, it is considered as a crucial ally and a counterweight to India's influence. Pakistan, on the other hand, serves as an important bridge between China

²⁹⁶ "China-Pakistan Economic Corridor and Its Geostrategic Importance"....., pp. 55-62.

²⁹⁷ "United States strategic approach to the People's Republic of China", *White House, May 2020*, p. 4, <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/U.S.-Strategic-Approach-to-The-Peoples-Republic-of-China-Report-5.24v1.pdf>, (Accessed April 26, 2022).

²⁹⁸ Joshua Shiffrin, "Should United States fear China's rise", *The Washington Quarterly*, 2019; Fareed Zakaria, "The new China scare", *Foreign Affairs*, Jan-Feb 2020; Lauren Foster, "Why China will not dominate the 21st century", CFA Institute, posted in *Economics*, 18 March 2014; and Joseph Nye, who reportedly stated that while China may have the hard power to dominate the world, it lacks soft power to do so.

²⁹⁹ <https://www.isas.nus.edu.sg/papers/pakistan-china-relations-in-a-changing-geopolitical-environment/>

and the West. For example, Pakistan's actions in 1972 helped bring the United States and Communist China closer together. As a consequence of Pakistan's diplomatic efforts, Henry Kissinger, the U.S. national security adviser, was able to make a historic trip to China in 1971. This set the stage for Nixon's historic trip to China. It was the first time an American leader had taken such a journey.³⁰⁰

Food and agriculture are among the two nations' most important cooperation projects. The Chinese are worried about feeding their enormous population, and this is an issue they consider as critical. The CPEC agreement lays forth a plan that covers the whole supply chain for agriculture. China provides seeds, fertilizer, and insecticides as part of this agreement. Farms and grain processing plants owned and operated by Chinese companies will be established in Pakistan. A massive storage and transit network for agricultural products will be operated by Chinese logistics businesses.³⁰¹

China's assumption of responsibility for preserving regional stability in Afghanistan and Pakistan has the support of regional powers such as the United States, Arab nations, and Iran in addition to the former. Consequently, China's "One Belt and One Road" plan will continue to expand China's influence in Central and South Asia for the foreseeable future, progressively displacing the US-dominated status quo. Since it is no longer willing to play a passive role, China has pursued great power status compatible with its own strength that can impact the global balance of power.³⁰² At this time, China has the ability to fill the power vacuum that exists in Afghanistan while also being acceptable to all parties concerned. However, it will not become possible unless Pakistani assistance is obtained.

6.1.3 Issues and Mistrust in Pakistan and the US Relations

Indo-Pacific nations must strengthen and build new relationships in order to compete in a geopolitical environment marked by increasing tensions between the United States and

³⁰⁰ "Kissinger recognises Pakistan's role in establishing China-US ties", *Dawn News*, 2021, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1613819>, (Accessed April 26, 2022).

³⁰¹ "10 Reasons as to Why China Likes Pakistan", *CPIC Global*, 2019, <https://www.cpicglobal.com/10-reasons-as-to-why-china-likes-pakistan/>, (Accessed April 27, 2022).

³⁰² *Ibid.*,

China.³⁰³ For the US, it is imperative to work hard to resuscitate its international relations. Pakistan is one of these countries. According to the Center for a New American Security (CNAS), "the outcome of this war between the US and China will likely be determined by the strength and scope of their alliances in the region" when looking at the United States' response towards the rise of China.³⁰⁴ To deal with the geopolitical problem that the United States confronts, the Washington Post argues that, "it will require both cooperation within the community of Free states and, wherever feasible, cooperating with not-yet free countries that confront the same challenge"³⁰⁵. As a consequence, the Indo-Pacific region must retain an adaptable and responsive posture. When it comes to making an effect throughout the globe, the United States will need to put greater emphasis on soft power. A crucial part of America's interests in the Indo-Pacific region is Pakistan's collaboration with China, which China regards as an "element of its strategic struggle with the United States and India." As a result of the current state of US-Pakistan relations, the United States' interests are at risk. While Pakistan was formerly regarded as an "important US partner in the region," but now it is an advantage and opportunity for China's worldwide economic, political and military expansion.³⁰⁶

Over the last four decades, Pakistan continued its involvement in Afghan war and collaborated with the US before supporting the Taliban, who ruled most of Afghanistan from 1996 until October 2001. Pakistan-Afghan relations also remained troubled as a result of this western notion of Pakistan's foreign policy dimension. Although Pakistan is an ally of the US, also has become a victim of the war on terrorism.³⁰⁷ The decision of joining the US-led alliance after the 9/11 incident, has long impacted on Pakistan's economic, political, social, democratic, and strategic landscape. The losses to its economy, sovereignty, and peace are considerably more than the \$10 billion cheque that it got from the US, as a result, of its help and assistance

³⁰³ Weixing Hu & Weizhan Meng, "The US Indo-Pacific Strategy and China's Response", *The China Review*, Vol. 20, No. 3, (2020): p. 143.

³⁰⁴ Ely Ratner... & Ainikki Riikonen, "Rising to the China Challenge Renewing American Competitiveness in the Indo-Pacific", *Center for a New American Security*, 2019, pp. 2-4.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

³⁰⁶ Saira Yamin, "Strategic Competition: Why Pakistan Matters", *Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies*, 2020, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep25702>.

³⁰⁷ Carol C. Fair, "U.S. Pakistan Relations: Ten Years after 9/11", *Routledge*, 2013, pp. 221-228.

in the war on terror.³⁰⁸ The US-Pakistan relationship is in serious trouble for long and had tensed relations for the past three decades or so. Despite that, the US has been actively involved with Pakistan in all aspects, as the United States is the second largest supplier of military equipment to Pakistan after China. Pakistan has suffered from the effects of terrorism, more than any other country in the alliance against the war on terror, and paid the heavy cost of deaths of about 70 thousand civilians and soldiers and uncountable material losses.

The US and West always underestimated the sacrifices, help and support made by Pakistan in the war against terrorism and asked Pakistan to do much more. The US accused Pakistan of deceiving the United States, and providing safe havens to terrorists are putting Pakistan into difficult situations. Pakistan has continuously denied these accusations. Following the 37-nation bloc's decision, Pakistan has been put on a global terror financing watchlist by the Financial Action Task Force (FATF). This move is likely to hurt Pakistan's economy, which is giddy from an acute energy crisis, unemployment, rising poverty, and a violent Islamist insurgency. Only Türkiye and China opposed the decision to put Pakistan in the FATF "gray list," but that was not enough to block the move. Now it is time for Pakistan to have a productive and balanced correspondence with the US and west on strong, reliable, and equal basis.

6.1.4 Pakistan's Strategies in Central Asia

Despite the Central Asian Republics' (CARs) energy wealth, Pakistan's foreign policy has put a high importance on these landlocked countries since the disintegration of the Soviet Union. To become a gateway to Central Asia, as well as its near vicinity to Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan³⁰⁹, the five former Soviet republics, has pushed Islamabad to pursue greater political and economic connections with the area.

Pakistan has been unable to interact with Central Asia in the same way that other major countries in the region, such as Russia, China, India, Iran, Türkiye, and the United States, have

³⁰⁸ Syed M.S. Zaidi & Azhar Ahmed, "From friend to foe: Post-9/11 Pakistan-US relations; a realist perspective", *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, 2021.

³⁰⁹ Farhat Asif, "Pakistan's ties with Central Asian States Irritants and Challenges", *Conflict and Peace Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1, (2011), p.1.

done so because of political and economic instability. As a consequence of the unrest in Afghanistan, Pakistan's ties with the Central African Republic (CAR) have been tense. When it comes to the economic projects that Pakistan wants to pursue through the construction of proposed pipelines carrying oil and gas from Central Asia, the terrible law and order situation in Balochistan and FATA, particularly near the border with Afghanistan, is a major stumbling block for the country.³¹⁰

Taking precautions to safeguard its interests in the post-Cold War security paradigm, Pakistan recognized the strategic importance of Central Asian nations. In spite of Pakistan's initial failure to gain a foothold in Central Asia, the nation continues to play an important role in the region despite its unclear foreign policy objectives. Central Asian authorities just cannot ignore Pakistan due of its strategic location.³¹¹ Pakistan's relations with the Central Asian Republics have significantly improved in recent years (CARs). In light of the ongoing geopolitical turmoil, current Central Asian administrations are striving to forge new ties with Islamabad.

A multitude of economic and geostrategic concerns have influenced Pakistan's policy toward Central Asia, but the fear of Indian domination in the region continues to be the most significant issue. Because of the India factor and the aim to attain strategic parity with India, Pakistan has had two overwhelming effects on its foreign policy since its establishment: the India factor and the ambition to achieve strategic parity with India.³¹² Its self-professed strict commitment to Islamic theology has also played a significant influence in the country's international relations.

The emergence of regional security risks after the United States' departure from Afghanistan has prompted Pakistan and Central Asian countries to engage in active dialogue (CARs). The withdrawal of US and NATO soldiers from Afghanistan was originally intended to take place on September 11, 2021; however, the military operation will conclude on August 31, 2021, two months sooner than originally planned.³¹³ Afghanistan's future is once again in jeopardy due to the fact that the intra-Afghan negotiations are nowhere close to a mutually

³¹⁰ Imtiaz Gul, *The Unholy Nexus*, (Pakistan: Vanguard Books, 2002), pp. 43-46.

³¹¹ Meena S. Roy, "Pakistan's Strategies in Central Asia", *Strategic Affairs*, Vol. 30, No. 4, (2006), pp. 4-14.

³¹² Samina Yasmeeen, "Pakistan's Cautious Foreign Policy", *Survival*, Vol.36, No.2, (1994), pp. 117- 123.

³¹³ Dauren Aben, Regional Security in Central Asia: Addressing Existing and Potential Threats and Challenges, *Eurasian Research Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (2019): pp. 52-60.

acceptable conclusion and the Taliban's assault against Afghan civilians and security personnel continues. Tadjikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan all have a direct border with Afghanistan, making them vulnerable to the spread of violence from Afghanistan into their nations. Pakistan has worries that are comparable to ours.³¹⁴

Trade between Pakistan and Central Asian nations is less than one billion dollars. Pakistan anticipates a peaceful Afghanistan after the United States' exit, as well as a rise in trade and economic ties with Afghanistan and Central Asia.³¹⁵ Central Asian nations have a plentiful supply of energy resources. As a result, the area is critical for Pakistan, which is in desperate need of affordable energy. Pakistani markets for high-quality cotton and agricultural goods would be opened up to Central Asian nations in exchange for access to Pakistani markets.

Two energy projects involving Pakistan and Central Asia are now in the planning stages. The CASA-1000 (Central Asia-South Asia power project) project, which was launched in 2016, is anticipated to transport excess hydroelectricity from Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan to Afghanistan and Pakistan. The project was launched in 2016. It is anticipated that this project will be completed by 2024. Despite this, development has been sluggish, and the project's sustainability is dependent on the situation in Afghanistan. In the wake of the unrest in Afghanistan and Pakistan, the TAPI gas pipeline (which runs through Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India) is experiencing difficulties.³¹⁶

Consider the greater context of pipeline politics in the region when analyzing Pakistan's relevance for Central Asian countries. Pakistan is a key player in the region's pipeline politics. The transit country of Pakistan provides these nations with a market for the energy resources they generate via the transportation of goods. Given the instability that now prevails in Afghanistan and Balochistan, the viability of these pipelines from Central Asia remains a huge question mark at this time. However, in the face of these uncertainties, Pakistan desires to

³¹⁴ "Afghan Crisis: What Role Can Central Asian States Play?" *Central Asian Bureau for Analytical Reporting*, 2021, <https://cabar.asia/en/afghan-crisis-what-role-can-central-asian-states-play>, (Accessed April 29, 2022).

³¹⁵ Pravesh K. Gupta, "Why are Central Asian Republics wooing Pakistan?" *Vivekananda International Organization*, 2021, pp. 4-7, <https://www.vifindia.org/article/2021/july/15/why-are-central-asian-republics-wooing-pakistan>, (Accessed April 29, 2022).

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-11.

preserve connections with the governments of Central Asia in the hope of developing a future transit route for their energy resources.

Pakistan and Uzbekistan are also prepared to enter into a Transit Trade Agreement, which would be beneficial to both nations if it were to be established. As a gateway to several important Central Asian nations, such as Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan are all accessible via Uzbekistan's international airport. More importantly, Uzbekistan acts as a crossroads between Russia and Central Asia, which is critical. A high-level conference on 'Central and South Asia: Regional Challenges, Opportunities, and Connectivity,' which will be sponsored by the Republic of Uzbekistan on July 15, 2021, would bring Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan to Tashkent.³¹⁷ A delegation of more than 100 entrepreneurs from Pakistan will also come in Tashkent to meet with their colleagues in Uzbekistan in order to assess the potential market for their products there.

6.3 Azerbaijan, Türkiye, and Pakistan's Geopolitical Triangle

The contemporary world is split into many blocs; there is no way out, since states must become members of one or more blocs in order to survive. So that the bloc can be there for each other when things go tough.³¹⁸ Ever since its liberation from British rule, Pakistan has been a member of a number of different political coalitions. It has been a member of the blocs in order to meet its security and financial needs. The Islamic Brotherhood is Pakistan's most effective diplomatic tool. These friendly nations stick with Pakistan in times of crisis because of Pakistan's diplomatic strategy.³¹⁹ Pakistan has cordial ties with a number of Islamic nations, including Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan has always been there for Pakistan at times of need, whether it an earthquake or a flood.³²⁰

³¹⁷ "Pakistan, Uzbekistan set to sign TTA on 15th", *The News*, July 8, 2021. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/861201-pakistan-uzbekistan-set-to-sign-tta-on-15th>, (Accessed April 29, 2022).

³¹⁸ Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest*, No. 16, (1989), p. 4.

³¹⁹ Pakistan: A Political History, Center for Global Studies, <https://asiasociety.org/education/pakistan-political-history>, (Accessed April 30, 2022).

³²⁰ Dr. Imran Khan & Dr. Karim Haider Syed, "Pakistan Relations with Azerbaijan in 21st Century", *Pakistan Social Sciences Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1, (March 2021), pp. 667-679.

During a meeting with Imran Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, Ilham Aliyev, President of Azerbaijan, reviewed the situation in Nagorno Karabakh and expressed gratitude for Pakistan's assistance.³²¹ Without a doubt, Pakistan, with the exception of the United States, has been one of the few countries that have explicitly supported Azerbaijan in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. As a consequence, even Pakistan has been unable to establish diplomatic relations with Armenia as a result of this. It is certain that Azerbaijan benefits significantly from such a circumstance.

Both militarily and politically, the level of cooperation between the two countries has reached an all-time high. The government of Azerbaijan wants to diversify its military suppliers, and it has recently been reported that Baku seeks to acquire JF-17 Thunder fighter aircraft from Pakistan, which would be the first time this country has done so.³²² It goes without saying how important it is to preserve and cultivate a connection with such a valuable partner and true friend. As a result of the trilateral partnership between Pakistan, Türkiye, and Azerbaijan, Armenia faces a significant security threat in 2020. Earlier last month, Foreign Minister of Pakistan delivered a statement on Armenia's provocation towards Azerbaijan. This declaration expresses complete support for the actions and attitude of Azerbaijan in this matter.³²³ Pakistan's remark was met with gratitude by Azerbaijan, which expressed gratitude to the country for its firm stand on matters concerning Azerbaijan's territorial integrity in response to the Pakistani statement. Pakistan does not recognize Armenia as a sovereign state since Armenia has occupied Azerbaijani territory.³²⁴ This is a genuine expression of

³²¹ Islamuddin Sajid, "Pakistan reaffirms support for Azerbaijan on U.Karabakh", *Anadolu Agency*, Jan 22, 2020, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/pakistan-reaffirms-support-for-azerbaijan-on-ukarabakh/1709829>, (Accessed May 01, 2022).

³²² Fuad Shahbazov, "Azerbaijan's Growing Military Cooperation with Pakistan", *The Diplomat*, January 13, 2017, <https://thediplomat.com/2017/01/azerbaijans-growing-military-cooperation-with-pakistan/>, (Accessed May 1, 2022).

³²³ Dr. Imran Khan & Dr. Karim Haider Syed, "Pakistan Relations with Azerbaijan in 21st Century", *Pakistan Social Sciences Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1, (March 2021), pp. 672-675.

³²⁴ Adeel M. Mirza, "Pakistan and Azerbaijan: Common interests and mutual respect". *Daily times*, 2020, <https://dailytimes.com.pk/569880/pakistan-and-azerbaijan-common-interests-and-mutual-respect/>, (Accessed April 30, 2022).

brotherhood, and this is a lot better attitude on Kashmir than the one taken by Azerbaijan on the issue.³²⁵

There is a strong trilateral connection between Azerbaijan, Pakistan, and Türkiye. This relationship is becoming more important to national security, diplomatic and economic interests of all three nations. Since Türkiye and Pakistan's participation in the 2020 Nagorno-Karabakh War on Azerbaijan's side, this cooperation has only been more visible. The strong triangle connection between Türkiye, Azerbaijan, and Pakistan has continued to grow under the leadership of President Ilham Aliyev, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, and Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan.³²⁶ All three Muslim nations have maintained their support for one another in situations of national interest.

When a nation fights a war to defend its territorial integrity, it relies on any and all forms of assistance it can acquire - particularly military and diplomatic assistance. The war in the South Caucasus between Armenia and Azerbaijan last year brought Baku's close ties with Pakistan and Türkiye to the forefront of international attention. Armed with drones manufactured in Türkiye, Azerbaijan was able to drive Armenian soldiers out of the Nagorno-Karabakh territory, which was at the heart of the military escalation.³²⁷ At the same time, Pakistan publicly supported Azerbaijan's right to defend an area that is globally recognized as being part of its territory. "To provide a voice of support in the midst a regional crisis during regular times is one thing. The question of who stands with a nation while it is at war becomes far more important, even if it is just for diplomatic reasons," said Khalid Rahman, the director of the Institute of Policy Studies, an Islamabad-based think tank.

³²⁵ Azerbaijan supports Pakistan's stance ON Kashmir dispute, *The Nation*, October 29, 2020, <https://nation.com.pk/amp/2020/10/29/azerbaijan-supports-pakistan-s-stance-on-kashmir-dispute/>, (Accessed May 01, 2022).

³²⁶ Giorgio Cafiero & Emily Milliken, Azerbaijan, Türkiye, and Pakistan's geopolitical triangle, *Analysis*, Dec 23, 2021, <https://english.alaraby.co.uk/analysis/azerbaijan-Türkiye-and-pakistans-geopolitical-triangle>, (Accessed May 2, 2022).

³²⁷ "What's behind the growing Azerbaijan-Pakistan-Türkiye friendship?" *TRT World*, Jan 14, 2021, <https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/what-s-behind-the-growing-azerbaijan-pakistan-Türkiye-friendship-43259>, (Accessed May 2, 2022).

Azerbaijan, Pakistan, and Türkiye have consistently supported each other in international forums on issues of national importance, such as Kashmir, Cyprus, and Nagorno-Karabakh. Because of its Shia Muslim majority and Turkic language, Azerbaijan has maintained strong connections with Pakistan and Türkiye since its independence from the Soviet Union in 1991.³²⁸ In the early 1990s, Pakistan was the second nation, after Türkiye, to recognize Azerbaijan as a sovereign state on its own. Likewise, Pakistan is the sole nation that does not recognize Armenia, a decision that it made in sympathy with the Armenian government.

Armenia, on the other hand, has taken a strong stance against Pakistan in the past. In 2016, it vetoed Islamabad's bid to become an observer at the Collective Security Treaty Organization, a post-Soviet military bloc commanded by Russian President Vladimir Putin.

In May of last year, President Ilham Aliyev of Azerbaijan voiced his displeasure with India's human rights breaches in the Kashmir's disputed territory. When India speaks in international forums, it attempts to portray Kashmir as if it were not a problem." "However, Azerbaijan has stood with Pakistan over the years," Rahman remarked. In 2019, New Delhi unilaterally revoked the national autonomy of Kashmir, which is the only state in the nation with a Muslim majority population. Pakistan too has a portion of Kashmir under its control. "Even if Azerbaijan does not have a significant influence in global affairs, the country's position on Kashmir is a source of worry for New Delhi,"³²⁹

6.4 Current Trends in Foreign Policy of Pakistan towards the Middle East

The Middle East region has considerable significance due to its vast energy reserves, geographical proximity, geopolitical and strategic importance. It has always been the center of attention of major powers, who tried to dominate the region for achieving their national

³²⁸ "Pakistan, Azerbaijan count on Türkiye's rise to further foreign interests: analysis", *Yeni Şafak*, Dec 29, 2021, <https://www.yenisafak.com/en/world/pakistan-azerbaijan-count-on-türkiyes-rise-to-further-foreign-interests-analysis-3586877>, (Accessed May 2, 2022).

³²⁹ "What's behind the growing Azerbaijan-Pakistan-Türkiye friendship?" TRT World, Jan 14, 2021, <https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/what-s-behind-the-growing-azerbaijan-pakistan-türkiye-friendship-43259>, (Accessed May 2, 2022).

interests. This gave rise to never-ending intra-regional conflicts and rivalries from extra-regional powers. The large deposits of oil reserves of the region attracted global attention over the past several decades. The desire of regional influence by intra and extra-regional powers led to the major conflicts. As a result of strong and close relations of Pakistan with the Middle Eastern countries, the country is difficult to maintain a neutral stance in the current political climate. As a result, Pakistan serves as a mediator between the Middle Eastern countries. Pakistan's strong ties to these nations, as well as the issues it faces as a consequence of the Middle East crisis, make it eager to play a role in conflict management.

The Middle East region holds significant importance for Pakistan for various religious, economic, and political reasons. Relations between Pakistan and the Muslim nations of the Middle East did not evolve by accident; they are the result of several treaties and accords, as well as financial help, mutual support, and the supply of assistance when required. Pakistan entered international politics after a few years of independence and the resolution of the newly constituted state's internal issues.³³⁰ Every time a Muslim country has needed help, it has always been there for them.

Between the years of the 1950s until the end of the 1970s, Iran was Pakistan's most reliable ally, and during that time, the Shah of Iran served as a kind of regional peacekeeper. This condition persisted for some time until slowly shifting as a consequence of the oil crisis that occurred in 1973 and the substantial economic growth that occurred in the nations of the Gulf. In order to address the shortage of labor in the Gulf States, Pakistan was granted permission to send thousands of employees, technicians, and military specialists to those countries. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Prime Minister of Pakistan at the time, took advantage of the situation for Pakistan's interests and brought Saudi Arabia and Iran relatively close to each other in order to make Pakistan strong enough to face both internal and external challenges. He did this by bringing Pakistan closer to Saudi Arabia and Iran.³³¹ Pakistan gained political, military and economic advantages from both sides. Saudi Arabia and Iran have been at odds since 1979, when the Iranian revolution occurred, and Pakistan has played both sides of the conflict on several occasions.

³³⁰ Zikriya, Naushad Khan and Asif Salim, "Middle East Dilemma: Pakistan's Role as Mediator for Conflict Resolution", *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 1, (January-June) 2019, p. 9-18.

³³¹ Karim Haider Syed & Imran Khan, "Recent Trends In Pakistan's Foreign Policy Towards The Middle East", *Palarch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/ Egyptology*, Vol.18, No.4 (2021): p. 5797.

Pakistan always has an effective participation in the Middle East region. But in the contemporary period, it found itself in a delicate situation because Pakistan's importance for Saudi Arabia has become inadequate due to Saudi loans and economic grants. The personal relation between Saudi Arabia and Pakistan has weakened after the criticism of Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Shah Mahmood Qureshi, for not helping Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir with India. As a result, Saudi Arabia retreated most of the financial assistance it had offered to Pakistan in 2018. Pakistan was insisted on the repayment of its \$3 billion loan and was forced to access China for emergency financial assistance to repay the loan. The \$3.2 billion oil credit facility that Saudi Arabia had offered to Pakistan in November 2018 was also not renewed. In addition, Saudi Arabia, in reaction to Qatar's cordial relations with Iran and alleged links to terrorist organizations, had tried to isolate Qatar from the Gulf States, and along with the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Bahrain and Egypt cut diplomatic relations with Qatar in 2017, and imposed a land, sea and air restrictions.³³² This situation has become another austere challenge for Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistan has made its stance clear over Qatar Crises and stated that it had no intentions to cut diplomatic relations with Qatar.

The establishment of strong ties with each and every Muslim nation is a fundamental component of Pakistan's foreign strategy. In this regard, Pakistan has always maintained a position of neutrality with regard to crises that have arisen between Muslim nations. Pakistan's foreign office spokesperson, Tasneem Aslam, stated that "We do not interfere and we do not take sides,"³³³ and reiterated the country's policy towards disputes between Muslim states. It maintains neutrality vis-a-vis the crisis in the Middle East. However, it is also proving very challenging for Pakistan.

The present situation in Yemen is a primary problem for Pakistan, which is situated in a region where a proxy struggle is being fought between two of the most prominent powers in the Middle East, Saudi Arabia and Iran. It is also known as the Cold War in the Middle East from time to time. Both sides are funding political and armed opposition organizations in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Bahrain. These groups are in conflict with one another. In September 2014,

³³² Qatar crisis: What you need to know, BBC News, July 19, 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-40173757>, (accessed, July 10, 2021).

³³³ "Pakistan not to take sides in disputes between Muslim countries, says FO," Dawn News, March 21, 2014, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1094588>, (accessed July 9, 2021).

a group of Houthi militants rose up against the Sunni government that was sponsored by Saudi Arabia and seized control of a big portion of the nation. This included both the capital city of Sanaa and the largest metropolis in the country. This was the beginning of the Yemen conflict. It is thought that Iran has been providing backing for these Shiite rebels, who adhere to the Zaidi school of Shia Islam.

The Gulf States began to experience rising levels of anxiety as a direct result of the expanding Iranian influence in the area. On March 26, 2015, member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), including the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Saudi Arabia (SA), Qatar, Egypt (Egypt), Kuwait, Jordan (Jordan), Morocco (Morocco), and Bahrain, launched a military operation against the Houthis under the name Operation Decisive Storm. This was done to counter the influence of Iran. Pakistan was invited to provide warships, military aircraft, and military soldiers to the coalition fighting in Yemen against Houthi rebels by Saudi Arabia, which is a regional ally of Pakistan's. The alliance is battling Houthi rebels. Pakistan was placed in an awkward position as a result of the request from Saudi Arabia. The deliberations have begun in the Pakistani parliament, which has also voted in support of a resolution stating that Pakistan need to maintain its neutral position on the situation in Yemen and make use of diplomatic ways to resolve the problem.

As, if Pakistan accepted Saudi Arabia's request, its relations with Iran would become complicated. Iran was strongly against Pakistan's military involvement in the Yemen civil war. Iran's Foreign Minister, Jawad Zarif, during his visit to Pakistan in April 2015, asked Pakistan to refuse the Saudi request for military assistance in Yemen. In case Pakistan will get involved in Yemen, its consequences proved to be worse as sectarian tensions could have aggravated within Pakistan. The ongoing Yemen proxy war was being viewed also as a sectarian war³³⁴ between Sunni Saudi Arabia and Shia Iran. If Pakistan supported either side, it would definitely affect its relations with the other ally and also give rise to sectarian conflicts in the country. Hence, to maintain the peace and stability of the region and not to flicker any kind of conflict, Pakistan's Parliament in 2015 unanimously agreed not to send forces to Yemen because such a decision might lead to further challenges for Pakistan's military, which was already dealing with its tensions with India, and counterterrorism efforts against the Pakistani Taliban.

³³⁴ Kashif Mumtaz, "The Middle East in Flux: How Should Pakistan Respond"? *Institute of the Strategic Studies*, Vol. 35, No.2 (2015): p, 139-141.

Millions of Pakistani workers are working in the Middle Eastern countries and running their own businesses there. Thus, Pakistan wanted to make sure the peaceful settlements of conflicts without the use of aggressive means. According to the estimates, around 2.7 million Pakistanis lives in Saudi Arabia, and approximately 1.5 million in the UAE, in the year 2020. The money sent by overseas Pakistanis contributes to most of the total foreign remittances. Overseas Pakistanis living in the UAE remitted approximately \$2.96 billion and \$3.96 billion from Saudi Arabia during the last 6 months of the year 2020 and contributed 60.14% of the total inflows.³³⁵ In addition, Pakistan is importing large quantity of petroleum products from the Gulf Arab countries, which are abundant in energy resources, including the UAE, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Kuwait. So, these countries have vital importance for Pakistan in terms of financial and geostrategic factors. For that reason, it cannot ignore the impartial changes occurring in this region. Despite having differences on some issues, Pakistan has always enjoyed friendly relations with Iran. It has economic, security, political, and strategic interests in the region. In the contemporary period, both Pakistan and Iran are making sincere efforts to overcome the constant aggravations for strengthening their bilateral relations. Both countries are determined to explore areas of mutual financial interests including, gas pipeline projects and trade.³³⁶ The energy rich country is providing multiple opportunities to Pakistan for the fulfillment of its energy requirements. Pakistan is also playing a role of a mediator between Saudi Arabia and Iran to end the war in Yemen and to stabilize relations between them.

Apart from the Saudi-Iran rivalry, Pakistan is also actively involved in the region to maintain peace and stability in many other conflict-ridden Middle Eastern countries. From the very beginning, Pakistan has opposed any attempts of the foreign governments to topple down the government of Bashar-Al-Asad to destabilize the Syrian state. The foreign secretary of Pakistan, Aizaz Chaudhary, also expressed his views by saying that Pakistan is completely against the foreign military intervention in Syria and supports its territorial integrity. It is

³³⁵ Muzzafer Rizvi, "Pakistan: Remittances set to cross record \$28 billion this year", *Khaleej Times*, January 16, 2021, <https://www.khaleejtimes.com/business/pakistan-remittances-set-to-cross-record-28-billion-this-year>, (accessed July 10, 2021).

³³⁶ Amber Imtiaz, "Pakistan-Iran Relations: Economic and Political Dimensions", *Center for Iranian Studies in Ankara (İRAM)*, 2019, p. 4-11.

looking for a peaceful settlement of disputes through a comprehensive political dialogue rather than any sort of military action.

6.5 Pakistan's Growing Engagement with Africa

Africa conjures images of disease, poverty, and calamity when one thinks about the continent. This isn't the case anymore. The capacity of the African people to rise above adversity has made them a positive influence on the globe. Bravery in Africa, despite the continent's numerous challenges, inspires us all. Currently, seven of the ten fastest-growing economies on the planet are in Africa, earning it the moniker "Continent of the Future." It is estimated that 60% of people are less than 25 years old.³³⁷ On this foundation, Pakistan's future ties to Africa will be forged.

The ties that bind Pakistan and Africa are strong, even in today's fast-paced world. Non-industrialized nations like the free African republics and Pakistan are pursuing economic growth and self-sufficiency. Since then, the government of Pakistan has been striving to strengthen its financial and social relations with African nations. Libya, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Senegal, Niger, South Africa and Mauritius are among the 15 African nations where it maintains a permanent presence. In the same manner, a single certification procedure covers 39 African nations. Pakistan's current government, as stated in its Look Africa Policy, is committed to enhancing Pakistan's diplomatic presence in Africa by opening commercial sections in Algeria, Ethiopia, Senegal, Nigeria, and Kenya, as well as diplomatic missions in Djibouti, Angola, Rwanda, Uganda and Ghana³³⁸. These countries are among those where Pakistan's diplomatic presence is urgently needed.

Pakistan has launched the "Engage Africa" Initiative, which has an aim to develop, revitalize, and enhance Pakistan's ties to African countries. With the help of this Initiative, Pakistan is hoping to enhance its decades-long diplomatic relations with Africa as well as expand its business interests there. There was an increase in commerce between the two countries from 2018 to 2019. As the source of the Nile River, the southern entryway to the Red

³³⁷ Areeba A. Khan, "Expanding Diplomatic Footprint: Pakistan and East Africa", *Centre For Strategic and Contemporary Rerearch*, December 23, 2020, <https://cscr.pk/explore/themes/trade-economics/expanding-diplomatic-footprint-pakistan-and-east-africa/>, (Accessed May 4, 2022).

³³⁸ Ibid.,

Sea, and the Gulf of Aden, East Africa has a unique geostrategic location on the African continent. Africa's east includes countries like Ethiopia and Eritrea as well as the Horn of Africa, Somalia and Djibouti.³³⁹ It is also a crossroads for important sea lanes and land routes for commercial shipping. Its importance is further enhanced by its proximity to the Arabian Peninsula. Pakistan enjoys cordial relations with East African states, thus Pakistan's long-term attempts to improve political and economic ties with them would be successful.

As part of Pakistan's new initiative, the nation hopes to build on its existing relationships with African countries while also creating new pathways for productive collaboration. Pak-Africa Trade Development Conference 2020 in Nairobi and a meeting of African envoys with Pakistan Foreign Minister Qureshi in Islamabad in 2021 have been set for the latter city, respectively, in this regard Regular trips to Africa by Foreign Minister of Pakistan are an effort to improve economic links, business linkages, and diplomatic ties with Africa. Pakistan has created the Pak-Africa Special Engagement Fund, which has a capital of Pakistani Rupees 100 million and is attempting to strengthen ties with the African Union and other economic organizations as a part of this endeavor.³⁴⁰

No one profits from Pakistan's increasing involvement with Africa, and in the end it is China that will benefit the most. Due to its great dependence on China and the Chinese-funded Pakistan-China Economic Corridor (CPEC), the Pakistani government has consistently aligned its policies with those of Beijing (CPEC). So, the "Engage Africa" program of the Pakistani government is meant to collaborate closely with China in order to protect Pakistan's regional interests in Africa. This alliance, according to a regional expert, will aid China in countering the Quad and the India-Japan Asia-Africa Growth Corridor Initiative, with Pakistan attempting to become "militarily auxiliary" of China in Africa through Djibouti's Djibouti Naval Base and the AAGC Initiative, which will pass through the Horn of Africa. In addition to the project's geostrategic ramifications, China stands to gain economically from the CPEC project, which would provide access to the African market of the Chinese product more conveniently. PEACE, as per the sources, is also being placed in the Indian Ocean and Mediterranean. Reports claim

³³⁹ Rukhsana A. Siddiqui, "Pakistan-Africa Relations: Appraisal and Future Prospects", *Pakistan Politico*, February 7, 2019, <https://pakistanpolitico.com/pakistan-africa-relations-appraisal-and-future-prospects/>, (Accessed May 4, 2022).

³⁴⁰ Asma Rashid & Anjum Ghouri, "Pakistan's Trade with Africa: Peculiarities and Road ahead", *Margalla Papers*, No.1, (2020), pp. 124-127.

China will oversee and monitor this cable, that will offer a more safe and rapid way to Europe for internet data.³⁴¹

China's Belt and Road Initiative digital initiatives are becoming increasingly prominent, attempting to control the globe through global communications, digital technology, and transfer; Africa has a significant role to play in this broad range of ties. China's BRI digital initiatives are increasingly prominent. It is for this reason that the new and growing position of Pakistan inside Africa will be in line with Beijing's strategic goals across Africa.

7. Emerging World Order and Opportunities for both Pakistan and Türkiye

Following the conclusion of the Global War on Terrorism in 2001, the globe entered a new multipolar system of power distribution with the rise of new actors. Within this system, Pakistan's position is very important and is at the center of a tremendous power rivalry. Numerous aspects, including relations between Pakistan and Russia and China and Pakistan and China and Pakistan, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, the overarching framework of the Belt and Road Initiative, Pakistan-U.S. relations, Pakistan's nuclear capability, the Kashmir issue, the peace process in Afghanistan, and Pakistan's tumultuous relations with India, all contribute to the country's relative significance in the shifting global context. As a result, Pakistan can no longer afford to exist in seclusion.

There is less of an emphasis on states as the primary unit of political power in today's globe than there was in the Westphalian sense. Our everyday lives are being revolutionized by the proliferation of new technologies and media, and a developing global citizenship is having an impact on decision-making processes at the national and even the local level.

The mentality that prevailed throughout the Cold War and continued to exert its influence on the global order after 1945 has held Pakistan hostage.³⁴² Now, with the emergence of a new international system, the winds of change are blowing, CPEC is emerging, and the

³⁴¹ Dipanjan R. Chaudhury, "Pakistan's growing engagement with Africa: Proxy for China?" *The Economic Times*, Sep 21, 2021, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/international/world-news/pakistans-growing-engagement-with-africa-proxy-for-china/articleshow/86389066.cms?from=mdr>, (Accessed May 5, 2022).

³⁴² Dr Riffat Hussain, "Pakistan in Changing World Order", Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS), January 2019, p. 14.

US is withdrawing from Afghanistan. This provides an opportunity for Pakistan to play a significant role in the global and regional affairs.

New possibilities for Pakistan-US relations are opening up as part of the Afghan peace and reconciliation process as the global system changes. We know that Pakistan can be an useful partner in getting the Taliban to negotiate with us and encouraging them to help us reach our objectives in resolving this conflict, and we are grateful for their support." If the negotiations are successful, both countries will be in a position to expand their collaboration and re-establish strong connections. A peace process in Afghanistan must be Afghan-led and Afghan-owned, according to Pakistan. Pakistan wants to see an end to the 30 years of military conflict in Afghanistan. In Pakistan's view, peace in Afghanistan will never return unless this war is resolved. Pakistan is terrified that the Afghan civil war might erupt when the United States pulls out of Afghanistan on September 11, 2021, forcing the vast majority of Afghan refugees to migrate to Pakistan once again. If that occurs, Afghanistan's hopes of becoming a member of CPEC would also be hampered. For such grounds, peace in Afghanistan is Pakistan's top priority.

The shifting of the global order has been beneficial to Pakistan. As nations such as China, Russia, Türkiye, and India continue to develop economically and politically, the unipolar order is on its way out. Quite a few abilities of a more moderate scale are showing signs of improvement. There are strong diplomatic ties between Pakistan and other growing nations such as China, Russia, and Türkiye. It suggests that as the globe continues to become more multi-polar, Pakistan will be in a better position to prosper as a result of the alliances it forms with the various growing nations.³⁴³ Pakistan maintains connections with the outside world, which are formed within the context of a more comprehensive sense of national identity. The China-Pakistan economic corridor (CPEC) is currently the cornerstone of China and Pakistan's relationship. Pakistan has been successful in its efforts to enhance its connections with China, which is a staunch friend of Pakistan. Pakistan has strong ties with Türkiye as well as the countries of Central Asia and Saudi Arabia. Additionally, Pakistan is investigating potential new avenues of collaboration with Russia. As a result, Pakistan now has access to a

³⁴³ Ibid., 10.

more expansive stage on which to act out its role. It also indicates that Pakistan cannot be completely confined in terms of the physical boundaries of South Asia.³⁴⁴

On December 22, 2018, when Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan claimed, “We are putting together an epic story in Turkish foreign policy, unprecedented in modern history,”³⁴⁵ he was referring to the formulation of a more assertive, visible, autonomous presence in the international system.³⁴⁶

Türkiye has increasingly maintained a proactive foreign policy. This approach has been marked by reconciliation with Iran, favorable ties with Russia, and involvement with less-developed nations in Africa and Asia.³⁴⁷ Simultaneously time, it is involved in a tug of war in the Middle East with other regional powers, and it is stuck between the United States and Russia in the competition for the future of the area. In other words, it is in a position where it cannot win either way.³⁴⁸ The historic pro-Western and pro-European posture of Türkiye's foreign policy has shifted significantly over the last several decades, giving rise to uncertainty over the country's overall approach to international affairs as a result of these shifts.³⁴⁹ There has been a significant shift that can be seen in Türkiye's decisions about its foreign policy, and this shift may include a departure from the Euro-Atlantic worldview. However, despite such a shift, Türkiye continues to play an essential part in the dynamics of the global community as a result of its involvement in the region immediately around it.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁴ Dr Riffat Hussain, “Pakistan in Changing World Order” , Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS), January 2019, p. 11-15.

³⁴⁵ “Başkan Erdoğan’dan Dış Politika Mesajı: Destan Yazıyoruz, [Foreign Policy Message from President Erdogan: We Are Writing an Epic]” *Takvim*, Dec 22, 2018, <https://www.takvim.com.tr/guncel/2018/12/22/baskan-erdogandan-dis-politika-mesajidestan-yaziyoruz> (Accessed April 21, 2022).

³⁴⁶ Mustafa Aydın, “Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Changing Patterns and Conjunctures during the Cold War,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (2000), pp. 104-116.

³⁴⁷ Fuat Keyman, “A New Turkish Foreign Policy: Towards Proactive ‘Moral Realism,’” *Insight Türkiye*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (2017), pp. 52-69.

³⁴⁸ Aylin Aydın Çakır & Gül Arıkan Akdağ, “An Empirical Analysis of the Change in Turkish Foreign Policy under the AKP Government,” *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (2017), pp. 335-348.

³⁴⁹ Kirişçi, “The Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy,” pp. 34-41; Keyman, “A New Turkish Foreign Policy,” pp. 60-64.

³⁵⁰ Meliha Benli Altunışık, “World Views and Turkish Foreign Policy in the Middle East,” *New Perspectives on Türkiye*, No. 40 (2009), pp. 170-176; Altunışık, “Türkiye as an ‘Emerging Donor,’” pp. 340-351; Ziya Öniş,

In 2016, President Erdogan stated that "it was time for Türkiye to openly think about alternatives," suggesting, for example, joining the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). He also suggested developing new ties with Russia, both of which are obviously radical steps that do not sit comfortably with the traditional orientations of Turkish foreign policy. In addition to bolstering its national security and preserving its territorial integrity, Türkiye is working toward gaining recognition as a vital actor on both the regional and international stages. Its primary goals seem to be centered on gaining recognition as a significant participant on the world stage, namely the aim to achieve a better level of exposure while still preserving long-term economic development and defending itself from external dangers.³⁵¹

7.1 PAK-TR Relations in Economic and Trade Sector

There have long had close and cordial relations between Pakistan and Türkiye that have been strengthened by each passing year. There is increased economic and trade cooperation between both states in the sectors such as infrastructure, agriculture, textiles, energy, transport, industry, automobiles, dairy products, and information technology.

Pakistan and Türkiye have a significant potential, especially in hydroelectricity production, as both countries depend on imported hydrocarbon deposits to a great extent to satisfy their energy needs. Pakistan specifically invited Turkish investors to invest in coal-based electricity generation. Türkiye outstrips Pakistan in renewable energy resources. There are nearly 186 operational wind energy power plants all across the country, and for residential usage, Türkiye is also utilizing solar energy. Türkiye has a vision to supply 30% of their power demands from modern renewable energy resources by the year 2023.³⁵² Thus, Türkiye can support and assist Pakistan, especially in the development of the field of energy.

"Türkiye and the Arab Revolutions: Boundaries of Regional Power Influence in a Turbulent Middle East," *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (2014), pp. 205-207.

³⁵¹ Meltem M. Baç, "Türkiye's Grand Strategy in the Context of Global and Regional Challenges," *Perceptions*, Vol. 25, Num. 2, (2020): 179-182.

³⁵² Riaz Uddin, Hashim Khan, & Abdurrahman Sheikh, "Renewable Energy Perspectives of Pakistan and Türkiye: Current Analysis and Policy Recommendations", *Journal of Sustainability*, vol.13, no.6, (2021), p. 2-8.

The trade volume between both countries is far from reflecting the historical friendship and closeness between the two countries. In other words, the potential between the two countries is above the existing one.

Türkiye will be one of the largest exporters of agricultural products and processed food in the future. President of Pakistan National Assembly Asad Kaiser stated that they want Türkiye to participate in the CPEC project and said that Pakistan attaches special importance to its relations with Türkiye, and the present government of Pakistan wants to strengthen these relations further. The CPEC will be economically beneficial to Türkiye and Pakistan and will benefit all the countries of the region. Türkiye acts as a bridge between South Asia and Europe due to its geographical location. Moreover, Türkiye is currently showing an active interest in China's "*Belt and Road initiative*" and wanted to upgrade its economic and trade relations with Pakistan. Thus, by taking into consideration the importance of the CPEC project, Turkish Ambassador to Pakistan, Ihsan Mustafa Yurdakul, has asked about the detail of all projects that lies under the CPEC, especially the "Special Economic Zones (SEZs)" to evaluate the future investment opportunities. Aside from this, Türkiye wants a durable "*Free Trade Agreement*" (FTA) with Pakistan to achieve productive results for both countries, and it is expecting that it will boost bilateral trade volume eventually to \$5 billion from the current volume of \$800 million.³⁵³ Economic power is shifting toward the East. Pakistan is a gateway for Asia and emerges as a trade hub in the region. Thus, Türkiye can easily access the Central Asian, South Asian, and other global markets by investing in the CPEC and other different sectors of Pakistan's economy.

In terms of Pakistan's "blue economy" initiative, Federal Ministry and cabinet representatives are working on projects and incentives to develop the maritime sector. It is possible to say that this sector has a great significance for Pakistan. There is a need for investments in the maritime sector in Pakistan.³⁵⁴ In this context, Turkish companies with significant experience in the maritime sector and shipbuilding can come to Pakistan and evaluate the opportunities in this field.

³⁵³ "Türkiye is willing to explore SEZs under CPEC", China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, Mar 13, 2020, <http://cpecinfo.com/Türkiye-is-willing-to-explore-sezs-under-cpec/>, (accessed July 26, 2021).

³⁵⁴ Ahmet Cengiz Özdemir," Interconnected Business Series: Türkiye-Pakistan", *Zoom Online Konferans Sistemi*, October 14, 2020, p. 09.

Turkish companies have invested about 1.5 billion dollars in Pakistan, while some other Private companies are also willing to invest in different sectors. Pakistan is willing and has a high potential for Foreign Direct Investment. Turkish firms wanted to do business in Pakistan and be the first movers to Pakistan, and to make it possible, Pakistan should further advance the ease of doing business.

7.2 Defence and Security Relations between Pakistan and Türkiye

It has significant importance that the armed forces of countries such as Pakistan and Türkiye, which are located in geopolitically very fragile regions of the world, are strong and their continuity and independence are ensured, especially in their weapon systems and their supply. Just as Western countries do not allow the development of nuclear technology in Muslim countries, they also oppose the sale of advanced weapon systems to these Muslim countries, such as Türkiye and Pakistan.³⁵⁵ While the necessity of overcoming the obstacles faced by these two brotherly countries, which have serious purchasing power and difficulties in renewing their weapon inventories, is emerging day by day, and joint works on resolving this issue are also increasing.

The two brotherly countries, which have helped each other in the embargoes imposed on them at various stages of history, are gradually taking important steps regarding defense cooperation. Cooperation in the defence sector is playing a crucial role in their relations, from which they are intending to reach a win-win situation.

It is worth mentioning that Türkiye makes serious developments in electronic systems related to air and naval platforms, and Pakistan's developments in Al-Khalid tank, JF-17 warplanes, and sophisticated ballistic missile systems. While Pakistan's high-level relations with China, especially in the field of defense industry, enable Pakistan to become a bridge between Türkiye and China, and Türkiye's relationship with Western technology can also provide technological support to Pakistan.

Pakistan is thinking of installing Turkish-made avionic systems on its *JF-17 Thunder* fighter aircrafts. This is a translucent, lightweight, single engine, fourth-generation versatile fighter aircraft manufactured together with the help of China's *Chengdu Aircraft Corporation*

³⁵⁵ Ismail Akbaş., 173.

and the *Pakistan Aeronautical Complex*.³⁵⁶ In March 2021, Defence and government counterparts from both countries met with each other to discuss the possibilities of producing the military hardware together. Türkiye is considering co-manufacturing warplanes and missiles with the collaboration of Pakistan, and in addition, this will provide an opportunity for Türkiye to acquire Chinese military technology.³⁵⁷

Pakistan is advancing its defence industry in order to access the international market, and at the same time, it is striving to make new alliances to satisfy the requirements of its military forces. Pakistan's military hardware, for-instance the “Al-Khalid tank”, "JF-17 Thunder Aircraft,” and “small armaments” that are produced at the Pakistan Ordnance Factories Wah and Heavy Industries Taxila, by using foreign technologies and local expertise, are the perfect combination that can respond to the requests of global and regional defence forces. Pakistan Ammunitions industries are selling small weapons to Türkiye.

7.3 Cooperation Opportunities between Pakistan and Türkiye in Other Fields

The multiplicity of relations, cooperation and partnerships between the two countries increase the ability of the administrators and people to understand each other's cultures and mentality, to bring nations closer to each other and to solve their problems and to act together against the problems that arise in their environment.

The development of existing communication, sharing, and consultation channels, the opening of new ones, and the institutionalization of these channels will be of great benefit in order to develop these relations between Türkiye and Pakistan and increase the number of new projects that are hoped to be revealed, especially in the economic field. Institutionalization will be an important step so that the goodwill and will of cooperation shown by the politicians of both countries can be embodied in the field of security as well as in the economic, social, and cultural fields.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁶ "Pakistan Aeronautical Complex Kamra - JF-17 Thunder Aircraft". *www.pac.org.pk*.

³⁵⁷ “Türkiye wants to produce fighter jets and missiles with Pakistan: report”, *Geo News*, March 2, 2021, <https://www.geo.tv/latest/337667-Türkiye-wants-to-produce-fighter-jets-and-missiles-with-pakistan-report>, (accessed, August 2, 2021).

³⁵⁸ Kutluhan Çelik, “Bölgesel ve Küresel Alanda Dayanışma, Bilgi ve Tecrübelerin Paylaşımı: [Regional and Global Solidarity, Sharing Knowledge and Experience]”, Istanbul: Harp Akademileri Basımevi (2010), 122-126.

To survive in the contemporary world, states need to adjust themselves according to the rapidly changing international environment and should be aware of how to boost their relations in compliance with their national interest. Like all previous governments, the present government of Pakistan also values its relations with Türkiye and sets the agenda of strengthening and promoting its relations with other regional and global states. It was predicted that the signing of a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) would increase the trade volume to \$5billion between both states by 2022, and to reach this level, the leadership of both countries are continuously engaged in discussing the under-negotiating agreement and preparing a final draft to sign it. In addition, they can also use the military forum to fulfil their mutual objective of self-defence and regional peace and stability.

7.4 Emerging Muslim Blocs and Pak-Türkiye Foreign Policy Dilemma

For a long time, Gulf countries such as the UAE and Saudi Arabia had established a significant impact over the Islamic world and were dominating it through the genesis of the “Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC).” This platform intended to resolve the conflicts infiltrating towards the Islamic countries, and economic and financial assistance was provided to underdeveloped Muslim states like Yemen, Niger, Palestine, Uganda, Nigeria, and Afghanistan. However, in the recent period, the Arab countries leading the organization have changed their preferences to advance their economic and political interests, which can be accomplished through friendly alliance and political relations with India, the U.S., and Israel.³⁵⁹ As a result, a new bloc of non-Arab states: Iran, Pakistan, Malaysia, and Türkiye have come up to fill the void, as they have common interests and concerns regarding the UAE and Saudi Arabia's led Muslim bloc, because they are losing interest in settling the long-running disputes affecting the peace and security of the Muslim world, such as the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan and the Palestinian conflict. Consequently, this new alliance is determined to revive the peace, prosperity, unity, and stability in the Islamic world, which is declining because of the self-oriented foreign policy of the UAE and Saudi Arabia.

On one hand the U.A.E. and Saudi Arabia offer economic incentives, such as loans, job opportunities to millions of unemployed Pakistani workers, and deferred oil payments. On the

³⁵⁹ Tamseel Aqdas, “Emerging Muslim Blocs and Pakistan’s Foreign Policy Dilemma”, *Modern Diplomacy*, September 20, 2020, <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2020/09/20/emerging-muslim-blocs-and-pakistans-foreign-policy-dilemma/>, (accessed July 2, 2021).

other hand, they are putting the Kashmir cause on the back burner because of having good relations with India, and the recent recognition of Israel by the UAE challenges the ideological existence of Pakistan. Pakistan strongly criticized India for the violation of human rights in the state of Jammu and Kashmir and regards its forceful annexation in India as illegal and Pakistan also has a clear stance over the issue of Palestine and has made it clear to the UAE that Israel cannot be accepted as a legitimate state unless Palestinians are provided with an equal opportunity for the creation of their own independent state. Meanwhile, the Türkiye-led bloc has always supported Pakistan on its stance over Kashmir, and the President of Türkiye Recep Tayyip Erdoğan showed his support by saying that “the issue of Kashmir is as important to Türkiye as it is to Pakistan.” Furthermore, they also raise their voice against Israel’s war crimes in Palestine. Iran being a part of this new Türkiye- led bloc, is competent to supply Pakistan with a huge quantity of energy and power. This will help to improve the economic conditions of Pakistan and benefit the industrial growth as well. Hence, Pakistan has a “compatible foreign policy ideology” with Iran, Türkiye, and Malaysia.

The UAE and Saudi Arabia, view Türkiye as a major threat and seeking to resist against the expansion of Turkish influence in the wider Islamic world. They also feel anxious about Pakistan’s close relationship with Türkiye.

Saudi Arabia, along with the UAE trying to counter the Turkish and Iranian quest for dominance in the Muslim world. They are putting pressure on Pakistan to avoid aligning closer with the Turkish-Iranian-Qatari bloc. It was obvious in relation to the mini-Islamic summit held in Kuala Lumpur in December 2019. Türkiye, Pakistan, Iran, and Qatar were the main invitees to the summit to discuss issues confronting the Muslims globally. The summit offered a great opportunity for Pakistan when it comes to discussing the Kashmir conflict. Despite being invited, Pakistan’s Prime Minister, Imran Khan, has canceled his plan to attend the Summit following his visit to Saudi Arabia. The Summit highlighted increased division in the Muslim world. According to multiple sources, including the Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Saudi Arabia is not happy with Malaysia's effort to create a platform that could potentially challenge the legitimacy of the Saudi-led “Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC).”

It's clear that the U.A.E and Saudi Arabia do not want Pakistan to closely align the Türkiye-Qatar axis, and creating complications for Pakistan's strategy of maintaining friendly relations with all major actors in the region.

Türkiye is supporting the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, which antagonised the leadership of the U.A.E., Bahrain, and Saudi Arabia, as well as its differences with the Saudis over policies in Libya, and Qatar have assuredly led to a striking noticeable decline in Türkiye-Saudi Arabia relations. Pakistan has enjoyed a cordial relationship with Saudi Arabia, but the growing tension between Saudi Arabia and Türkiye has started to impact Pakistan's strategic alignment. Pakistan relations with Saudi Arabia have also been badly affected by Saudi's softening attitude towards Indian policies in Kashmir.

The Iranian envoy to Pakistan, Syed Mohammad Ali Hosseini, has suggested a new coalition of five countries; Pakistan, Türkiye, Iran, China, and Russia to increase collaboration and resolve the regional disputes.³⁶⁰ These countries have the strong capability to form a new alliance for better future of the region. Pakistan, Türkiye, and Iran agreed to revive the Istanbul-Tehran-Islamabad (ITI) railway line project, which connects the three countries by rail. This project of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), of which three countries are members, aims to strengthen commercial and regional cooperation. The first launch of this project, which connects the three countries with a 6,500 km railway line, was made in 2009.³⁶¹ Experts point out that ITI will strengthen transportation and bonds between countries and make traveling easier. Türkiye, Pakistan, Malaysia, and Iran are the leading Muslim countries to counter the Quartet of Saudi Arabia, UAE, Bahrain, and Egypt and its influence in the OIC. The alliance of these non-Arab Muslim majority countries is also sponsored by China and Russia. Since Russia has commercial and security interests in the Gulf region that have grown notably over the last few years. While, on the other hand, China has featured Pakistan, Türkiye,

³⁶⁰ Islamuddin Sajid, "Iranian envoy proposes new alliance of 5 countries", *World Middle East*, February 5, 2021, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/iranian-envoy-proposes-new-alliance-of-5-countries/1724935>, (accessed, July 2, 2021).

³⁶¹ Dipanjan R. Chaudhury, "Türkiye-Pakistan widens strategic ties by launching cross-country rail link via Iran", *The Economic Times News*, March 02, 2021, economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/international/world-news/, (accessed, July 04, 2021).

and Iran as the primary corridor joining the new land and sea routes that are critical to realise China's ambitions.

8. Responses to Domestic and Regional Challenges

Since the invasion of Afghanistan by the erstwhile Soviet Union in the 1980s, Pakistan has been confronted with a number of difficult problems. Pakistan is one of the most resilient nations in the world, and despite the fact that its past is fraught with difficulties, the country has met many of these problems head-on and emerged victorious. However, there are a few challenges that are significantly too difficult for Pakistan to overcome in the near future. Some of the problems are local or internal, and they may be easily overcome if they are identified. However, some of them are connected to geopolitics and are largely beyond of Pakistan's ability to influence them.³⁶² It is necessary to pay more attention to such issues, as well as to become more intelligent and to approach them in a prudent manner.

The vast amounts of corruption that occurred in Pakistan's history are primarily to blame for the country's current economic woes. At the same time, the nation, particularly after the events of September 11, 2001, has been turning toward the sources of relief and assistance located outside the country. The United States provided Pakistan with funding from the Coalition Support Fund so that it could cover the costs of fighting terrorism. The assistance was terminated only lately. In the modern era, there has been widespread corruption, an unstable security environment, high unemployment rates, and a dearth of available sources of energy, all of which have contributed to economic challenges. All of them are structural obstacles that, if they are not addressed, will distort Pakistan's capacity to play its part. If they are not addressed, Pakistan will not be able to play its role.³⁶³ These are enormous obstacles, but Pakistan's problem lies more inside its own borders than it does with its neighbors or with the rest of the world. There is little question that Pakistan's competition with India places a significant constraint on its behavior; even its ties with Afghanistan continue to be somewhat

³⁶² Zamir A. Awan, "Major Challenges for Pakistan in 2022", *Modern Diplomacy*, Jan 13, 2022, <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2022/01/13/major-challenges-for-pakistan-in-2022/>, (Accessed May 8, 2022).

³⁶³ Sakib Sherani, "Defining Challenges", *Dawn News*, Jan 29, 2021, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1604242>, (Accessed May 7, 2022).

ambiguous. The cost of guarding both its eastern and western borders is beginning to weigh heavily on Pakistan's economy.³⁶⁴ In order for Pakistan to overcome these obstacles, it has to develop and put into action policies that are successful. Recent years have seen Pakistan make significant strides forward by successfully lowering the risk of terrorist attacks and extremist activity. The graph showing the number of large-scale assaults is rapidly approaching zero.

Islamabad, which spent the better part of 2021 preoccupied with events taking place in Afghanistan, will be preoccupied with several facets of Pakistan's ties with that country. While Pakistan is committed to assisting Afghanistan in preventing a humanitarian and economic collapse, the country must be careful not to underestimate the difficulties that may occur when dealing with a former partner. First and foremost, the TTP maintains its presence in Afghanistan and continues to launch assaults from that country. Another source of tension that has not been resolved is the question of fence along the border. It will be necessary to carefully calibrate connections, which means providing assistance to Afghanistan while avoiding overstretch and recognizing that the values of the Taliban and Pakistan are in no way similar to one another. In addition, Islamabad must be careful not to use up all of Pakistan's diplomatic capital in its attempts to rally international support for Afghanistan. This is because Pakistan has other important foreign policy objectives to work toward.³⁶⁵ Managing relations with India will be a challenging task, particularly in light of the fact that the Modi government is maintaining its repressive policy in occupied Kashmir and pushing ahead with demographic changes there, despite protests from Pakistan. Controlling relations with India will be a challenging task. The expectation that last year's backchannel between the two countries would result in a thaw or even a rapprochement was dashed when no progress was made on any front beyond the recommitment by both neighbors to observe a ceasefire on the Line of Control. This led to disappointment in the establishment circles that had hoped for a thaw or even a rapprochement.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁴ H.E. General Pervez Musharraf, *President Of The Islamic Republic Of Pakistan*, "Pakistan – Challenges, Response And Opportunities", *Asia Society*, June 16, 2015, <https://asiasociety.org/pakistan-%E2%80%93-challenges-response-and-opportunities>, (Accessed, May 7, 2022).

³⁶⁵ "Pakistan's Hard Policy Choices in Afghanistan", *International Crisis Group*, Feb 4 2022, pp. 2-20.

³⁶⁶ Maleeha Lodhi, Foreign policy challenges ahead, *Dawn News*, May 25, 2022, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1668572>, (Accessed May 10, 2022).

India is the only nation in South Asia that has a land border with each of the other nations in the region, making it the most connected. India has a distinct advantage over every other nation as a result of its geographical location. However, because of the competition between India and Pakistan, India has not been effective in integrating the area and undermining Pakistan's attempts to position itself as an inclusive example of regional connectivity. Rather, Pakistan has been successful.³⁶⁷ At the same time, Pakistan's border with Afghanistan remains contested, and the conflict in Kashmir has not been settled. If Pakistan is unable to overcome the border concerns on both its eastern and western boundaries, then its capacity to act as an independent actor will continue to be somewhat hampered. Both Pakistan and India are the most significant nations in South Asia; hence, they are required to manage and settle their problems with one another. Not only will this be advantageous for both countries, but it will also pave the way for regional stability and prosperity.

Since the state of international relations is never static, it is necessary to do periodic analyses of this dynamic field. The realities of geoeconomics and geopolitics are always shifting, and nation-states are required to adapt to these shifts. In order to achieve its diplomatic objectives, Pakistan must operate in a global and regional context that is distinguished by a number of important characteristics. They include an increase in tensions between the East and the West, an increasing preoccupation on the part of major powers with issues within their own countries, ongoing trade and technology wars that are superimposed on the strategic competition between China and the United States, a deteriorating rules-based international order, and attempts by regional and other powers to reshape the rules of the game in their respective regions.³⁶⁸

Although Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates have historically been Pakistan's economic backers, it is clear that neither country is particularly interested in investing in the country in order to assist it in climbing out of the economic crisis it is now experiencing. There are a lot of players on the global board, and Pakistan has the potential to play a part in a variety of contexts and settings because to the fact that there are so many diverse actors. In the Middle East, there is competition between a variety of regional and global forces. Türkiye is gaining

³⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 13.

³⁶⁸ Zamir A. Awan, "Major Challenges for Pakistan in 2022", *Modern Diplomacy*, Jan 13, 2022, <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2022/01/13/major-challenges-for-pakistan-in-2022/>, (Accessed May 8, 2022).

an advantage in South Syria as a result of the recent announcement by the United States that it would be withdrawing its forces from Syria. This advantage will help Türkiye to battle against Daesh and Kurdish troops. This impacts nations outside of the United States as well. The potential export of terrorist ideas by organisations like Daish, which promotes an ideology that calls for the establishment of an Islamic State, is one of Pakistan's primary sources of worry. Their messages appeal to hopeless young people from all over the globe who do not have employment and do not have any prospects. Pakistan need to adopt a shrewd strategy toward the nations of the Gulf and the Middle East, and it should also make an effort to examine and balance the periodic tilts it takes toward regional powers.

In spite of repeated attempts, Pakistan has not been successful in adopting a foreign policy that strikes a balance between the pursuit of its economic, political, security, and strategic interests. The recently elected democratic administration, on the other hand, is ready and eager to take the oath of office with the motto "revolution and change" as an attractive selling point. It is anticipated that Pakistan, once it has achieved domestic stability and development, will be in a position to chart the way forward for evolving regional and global politics in the direction of integration and cooperation, with the goal of achieving economic prosperity alongside peace and stability. This fresh viewpoint will assist Pakistan in overcoming the myriad of obstacles that stand in the way of it playing a constructive role on the national, regional, and global levels.

However, there are too many global challenges as well as regional crises for Türkiye to overcome at this time. Türkiye is a regional actor that wants to play a global role, similar to other global actors. Over the past two decades, foreign policy initiatives have been undertaken by Türkiye under the AK Party Government. One such case is when Türkiye was compelled to rethink its connections with the western friends it had previously maintained. What's even more essential is that the United States has made the decision to rethink its connections with all of its allies, including Türkiye. Therefore, one of the first challenges for Türkiye is to get over the opposition to the American authorisation. This will be one of the initial challenges. On the other hand, there are a number of crises in the area, such as the conflict between Palestinians

and Israelis, the crisis in Syria, and the state failures in the Middle East, all of which have substantial consequences for the internal and foreign policy of Türkiye.³⁶⁹

Türkiye is now confronted with a myriad of issues on a variety of fronts, including the political, geopolitical, economic, and social. The Turkish economy has been hit hard recently, which has caused the lira to weaken. This has repercussions for the stability of the nation's financial system, as well as for inflation, real estate development, and the country's general economic future. Following the implementation of constitutional amendments, Türkiye has also experienced some of the challenges that accompany political transitions. The geopolitical situation in Syria, as well as Türkiye's connections with other governments such as Russia, Iran, and the United States, are causing it to be difficult for Türkiye.³⁷⁰ It is very important to see Türkiye in the perspective of the rest of the world since the country has always been an integral element of the global economic system. The state of the global economy has a significant bearing on the state of the Turkish economy. As a result of lowering tensions in Türkiye's ties with other countries, the pace of currency depreciation has undergone a substantial shift recently.

When it came to the state of ties between Türkiye and the United States, a new framework was never established between the two nations following the conclusion of the cold war. Because of this, there was a growing feeling of injustice and an impending crisis. In addition, the United States and Türkiye have different interpretations of the dangers that are present in this area, which inhibits their capacity to work together more efficiently. This has had a negative impact not only on the status of Türkiye's participation in NATO but also on the significance of that membership. When it comes to Russian-Turkish ties, pragmatism is the name of the game. Both nations are recognized to have interests that are diametrically opposed to one another. The United States of America and Türkiye were involved in a conflict during the twentieth century, and it is still ongoing to this day. However, despite the fact that the future of Russian-Turkish relations is a very personal concern for both countries, this relationship is

³⁶⁹ Muhittin Ataman, "Türkiye in a Changing World: Responses to Domestic and Regional Dynamics," *Insight Türkiye*, Vol. 21, No. 3, 2019, pp. 5-8.

³⁷⁰ "Türkiye in a new period: Challenges and opportunities", *Brookings*, Oct 21, 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/events/Türkiye-in-a-new-period-challenges-and-opportunities/>, (Accessed May 9, 2022).

still largely undefined. There is no unified strategy or framework to dictate how Türkiye and Russia will behave in the future. Concerning Iran, Türkiye will never stop harboring a deep-seated mistrust of whatever geopolitical expansionist aspirations Iran may have. Iran is opposed to the Turkish government's foreign policies as well as Türkiye's role in Syria. However, it seems that both nations are eager to get beyond their enmity against one another and cooperate with one another on subjects such as commerce and attempts to combat terrorism in Iraq.

Conclusion

Pakistan-Türkiye relationship has a special character where distances do not matter. Although the two countries are geographically distant from each other, they maintain close relations and cooperation in many fields such as economy, defense, and politics due to their historical ties based on common religion and cultural heritage. The relations became deeper and stronger through mutual visits after the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, and the two countries supported each other in the most difficult times, such as natural disasters.

Increasing cooperation between Pakistan, which is at the crossroads of Central Asia, the Middle East, and the Far East with its geostrategic location, and Türkiye, which is at the intersection of Europe, the Middle East, the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and the Caucasus, is deemed necessary for the solution of global problems such as international peace and security. The Asian region is increasing its weight and significance in the global economy, boasting three of the ten largest economies (China, India, and Japan) and accounting for more than 35 percent of world GDP. The shift of the world's geopolitics and geostrategic axis to Asia increases the importance of cooperation and solidarity between Türkiye and Pakistan.

The international system will transform into a unipolar, bipolar or multipolar system depending on economic, political, military, and technological developments in many countries and regions of the world. The major powers of the international system such as China, Russia, Japan, the EU and India have the potential to change the system. The long-prevailing bipolar balance that dominated the Cold War period turned into a unipolar international system with the disintegration of the USSR. The U.S. appeared as the sole hegemon. While it was predicted that the bipolar balance would turn into a more stable and peaceful new international system but it is seen that the new emerging multipolar system in the 21st Century is more unstable and more dangerous with the emergence of new challenges and as there is no consensus between Europe and America on how to tackle these challenges and which policy to follow regarding trade, immigration, rising China, Russia, South Africa, India, Brazil, and Türkiye. The absence of a common consensus also reduces their power. The world order, which is thought to have turned into a clumsy structure, has questioned global institutions such as NATO, the United Nations, the European Union, and the Islamic Cooperation Organization. It clearly demonstrates the need for new formations in line with the emerging multipolar system.

Rising powers do not deny existing rules and institutions and try to establish a parallel world order in which they are dominant. The main purpose of these countries is to act according

to their own interests in regional and global issues within their own organizations. They are also aware of the fact that, Regardless of their military power, they have to make their plans according to the rules accepted in today's world in order to gain political influence. While the international power structure is changing, the great powers are aware of the need to bargain with the rest of the world, and these bargains give hope for the future of both world order and global rules. Both Pakistan and Türkiye are included in these parallel new institutions rising both in the West and in Asia is extremely important for the well-being of the Islamic world and the emerging international system.

Other countries, like Pakistan and Türkiye, have had to make modifications to their bilateral, regional, and global ties in response to the altering circumstances and new problems that have emerged as a consequence of the global shift. Because of new challenges and opportunities that arose as a consequence of the post-Cold War era's heightened bilateral links, both countries sought for new destinations for their national growth and development. By strengthening relationships with nations, people, and economies both near and distant, Pakistan and Türkiye grew more cognizant of the need of addressing new home concerns in order to improve security, prosperity, and stability. At the same time, both nations were becoming more cognizant of the necessity to deal with their own internal problems. However, despite the removal of Prime Minister Imran Khan in a vote of no confidence on April 10, Pakistan's political situation remains unstable. During the current upheaval in Pakistan, Prime Minister Imran Khan was ousted from power due to his support for the Taliban. Within this framework, several experts from Türkiye and Pakistan have briefly analyzed the events and their implications, not only for Pakistan but for the region and the world as well. Because Pakistan and Türkiye have maintained a strong connection over the course of many decades, a change in either country's administration is unable to disrupt the status quo of their bilateral ties. In addition to the political and economic ties between the two countries, a large number of Turkish humanitarian organizations, such as the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), are engaged in the country and provide support to individuals who are in need. During Erdoan's visit to Pakistan in February of 2020, the two nations signed a number of memorandums of understanding (MoU) with the intention of bolstering their existing During Erdoan's visit to Pakistan in February of 2020, the two nations signed a number of memorandums of understanding (MoU) with the intention of bolstering their existing bilateral trade, communication, economic engagement, and cultural connections.

Pakistan and Türkiye are facing similar problems in terms of internal and external security. Both countries are actively fighting against extremism and terrorism and cooperating in the field of defense and security. To ensure peace and security is very important for the active flow of capital and the development of the economy. Therefore, the two countries should enhance and continue their cooperation.

Everything that we perceive as an internal issue actually spreads to both Türkiye and Pakistan as a reflection of the socio-economic struggles in the world to create balance of power and global political turmoil. It seems that the new economic and political balances in the world will be shaped in the near future. International actors seem to be more willing to seek new trade routes and political solutions. New trade routes lead to the emergence of new global leaders. At the same time, regions that have escaped the attention of global powers and states until now are gaining in value. Revisionists envision a model of global change that covers the entire Middle East and North Africa, extending to the Caucasus and Far Asia, and they also emphasize that a free market is not possible in an environment without stability and security. China is investing in infrastructure projects and also carries out technology transfers in countries where railways pass. For this reason, the “One Belt One Road” project is seen as a win-win project for the participants. The plans, which were previously locked with the issues of economy and trade, now turn to issues such as energy and the resolution of geopolitical conflicts. This situation turns into a great opportunity for countries such as Pakistan and Türkiye. Because Pakistan and Türkiye's goals of being a regional power and multidimensional foreign policy cannot be realized by ignoring the developing geographies of the world. Multidimensional political relations can offer a supporting role as both countries will increase their importance as solution partners to a certain extent. Therefore, both countries need to extend their horizons to Africa and Latin America and should not limit themselves to their immediate surroundings.

In the recent crisis between Pakistan and India regarding the removal of Jammu and Kashmir's special status, Türkiye did not hesitate to do its part. Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan called Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and asked him to play a role in reducing the tension. President Erdogan called Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and called for a de-escalation of tensions. Prime Minister Imran Khan's party, Pakistan Justice Movement, thanked President Erdogan and the Turkish people for their support to Pakistan in this difficult time, in a message shared in Turkish on social media. Pakistan and Türkiye have similar destinies, but when they make a breakthrough, they are exposed to internal and external

supported blows. Therefore, it is essential for them to cooperate in the fields of economy, military, technology, and defense industry against similar risks and threats. Alternative collaborations should be taken into account in addition to the already signed agreements and protocols. Working together in the 21st century, which is called the "Information Age", required the multidimensional security understanding, which is the dominant paradigm.

Türkiye and Pakistan, with their experience from the past, their educated and equipped young population, and their potential, can make a leap in the future and become one of the countries that steer the world. The population is a very effective tool, as the Chinese economy was 1 trillion dollars in the 2000s, today it exceeds 12 trillion dollars with smart investment moves by using population power. So, they should take advantage of these opportunities. Pakistan and Türkiye should realize their potential as soon as possible and implement cooperation activities with sincerity and courage. It will lead to the formation of political unity by making the right moves in this global chess game where maps are reshaped and borders are redrawn.

Both of these countries have populations that are mostly Muslim, and their ties are warm and friendly. Because Türkiye's economy is one of the top 20 in the world and because it has emerged as a regional power in the Middle East, it is fair to say that there is a significant potential for the formation of future alliances that will lead to the establishment of an Economic Union in South Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East. In order to accomplish this goal, both Pakistan and Türkiye need to adhere to the policy of unification, and there is a requirement for massive investments in the areas of economics, industry, and infrastructure. Both nations need to come closer to one another and begin working toward the formation of an economic union as soon as possible.

Trade between Pakistan and Türkiye has more than quadrupled over the previous 10 years, despite the fact that both countries are considered to be developing market economies. Several Turkish corporations have put their money into Pakistan's private sector in order to finance a variety of different projects around the nation. Although recent economic interaction and economic cooperation between Pakistan and Türkiye are insufficient, economic ties have seen spectacular growth since huge investments have been made in trade and infrastructure projects. Although recent economic interaction and economic cooperation between Pakistan and Türkiye are insufficient. Both nations are working together to improve defense and security on a greater scale, and they have also formed an ongoing strategic cooperation with the goal of

creating a scenario in which both nations are in a position to benefit from the relationship. Because of the mounting dangers posed by the expansion of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in the Middle East and South Asia, coordination in the area of defense has been expanded to include the exchange of information on how to combat terrorism.

Pakistan and Türkiye are the two most powerful Muslim nations. Pakistan has the sixth biggest navy in the world, and it is the only Muslim country that possesses nuclear weapons. Türkiye is the third most powerful Muslim country. On the other hand, as a result of the Arab Spring, Türkiye is beginning to assert itself as a regional player in the Middle East due to the expansion of its influence and strength. As a result, they are in a position to take the initiative in bringing together the Muslim nations in order to address their concerns on the international scene. They have always shown support for one another about matters concerning Cyprus and Kashmir, and in order to ensure the continued peace and security of the world community, they collaborate closely with both regional and international organizations. Both nations have the same point of view on certain regional and international problems, such as the conflict with Afghanistan, and they work together to find a solution to the issue.

Both nations have obviously kept close ties with one another over the course of many centuries; this fact does not need any more explanation. They are currently on the forefront as a result of the expanding cooperation in economic, cultural, and defense-related sectors, and Türkiye has assisted Pakistan in a variety of initiatives, including those involving roads, hospitals, and Metro Bus projects. In addition to this, both nations are working together to rid the world of the evil that is terrorism, as they have been dealing with this issue for a considerable amount of time. Türkiye, which is a member of NATO, is playing a significant role in this regard and is providing Pakistan with as much assistance as they can. It would seem that there is a shared goal and motivation in working toward the elimination of terrorism and improving ties with the western world.

Pakistan and Türkiye's part in making peace in the Middle East It can be said that economic growth, defence advancement, political stability, diplomatic leadership, use of increased soft power, and the leading role in the regional and global problems can be features of regional power definition. Türkiye is possessing all these features and playing a very effective role at the regional and the global level and especially in the Middle East. After the

victory of the Turkish Justice and Development Party in the 2002 elections and the Turkish parliament's decision to block access to American forces destined for Iraq in 2003, Türkiye has built close relations with its Arab neighbors that were not keen on building friendly relations with Türkiye since it was an ally of the US and a friend of Israel.

There are considerable opportunities for Pakistan and Türkiye working together for fulfilling the economic and commercial potential of an enlarged Euro-Asian market for mutual benefit. Türkiye and Pakistan have significant possibilities as a result of these openings. Türkiye connects Central Asia and Europe while Pakistan is ideally positioned to serve as a transit point for that area. Because of their strategic locations, the two countries may be able to take the lead in the creation of a vast market, which may be extended to encompass Southern China and North Africa if they so want. It may be conceivable in the future to expand this area to cover the remaining regions of South Asia and the Far East. As a result, a big market may be constructed between Seoul and Casablanca for providing benefit to many different nations, the bulk of which are now in a condition of underdevelopment since they do not belong to any successful economic or commercial grouping, with a few noteworthy exceptions. A vast number of nations would benefit as a result of this.

It would be beneficial for both Pakistan and Türkiye to collaborate in order to turn the concept of a wider Euro-Asian market into a functioning reality. The future of these bilateral connections depends heavily on the improvement of economic ties between the two countries. It is recommended that Pakistan look into the prospect of Türkiye acting as a door to Europe while Pakistan acts as a doorway to the China, Indian Ocean, and other far eastern countries. They are able to look out for one another's best interests, especially within the economic sectors of Europe and Asia.

Pakistan has a lot to gain by looking to Türkiye for guidance on the expansion of its tourism industry. Türkiye is consistently ranked among the developed world's top 10 most popular tourist destinations. There is a considerable opportunity that the tourism industry will play a role in growing the economy of Pakistan. Within the confines of this discussion, it is also possible to look at the feasibility of collaborative projects. They have reached an agreement on working together in the tourism industry and in other areas of cooperation, but these plans have yet to be put into action. Professionals and technical experts from Pakistan, such as doctors, architects, and software engineers, could be able to find job in their fields.

Additional opportunities for commercial exchange between the two countries include the exchange of cotton and textiles, copper, minerals, coal, steel, and ceramics.

Collaboration is essential in several fields, including banking, medical, construction, transportation, housing, financial services, and education. In addition to this, Pakistan and Türkiye also need to establish display halls for the other country's products. In order for Türkiye to become a force in Asia as well as Europe, it is necessary for Türkiye to take action and increase its level of activity. Establishing ties with many types of institutions, whether they be political, economic, or cultural. To strengthen bilateral defense relations, improved military connections may be necessary. This may comprise not just the training of troops but the performance of joint military exercises and the collaborative fabrication of weapons as well.

As Pakistan and Türkiye have same vision for Muslim community and have the ability to bring the Muslim and Western people together, Pakistan is aware of the need of keeping close ties with Türkiye. Both countries would receive assistance in resolving their economic challenges in the future if they engaged in economic interactions with one another, and they might be able to leverage these connections to assume leadership roles in international organizations such as the Organization for Islamic Cooperation, the Economic Cooperation Organization and the United Nations.

Pakistan's concerns with its neighbors, clearly show that Türkiye plays a unifying, conciliatory, constructive, and institutionalizing part in Türkiye and Pakistan relations with. This is especially the case when it comes to issues involving Pakistan's neighbors. In this regard, the religion and belief of the nations of the area in Türkiye has had a tremendous influence from the past all the way up till the current day. Türkiye, which does not keep the peace, stability, and prosperity of Pakistan separate from its own, is the key to the democracy of this nation with which it has unique links, according to the Turkish government. "Türkiye, which does not preserve the peace, stability, and prosperity of Pakistan separate from its own," According to official agencies, he also reportedly said that he would never leave his side in the efforts that he does to construct and establish his stability. Keeping these goals in mind, Türkiye will first work to improve communication between Pakistan and Afghanistan, then extend an offer of economic, social, and cultural cooperation, and last try to combine its military and security efforts.

Bibliography

- A Twenty-First Century Concert of Powers – Promoting Great Power Multilateralism for the Post-Transatlantic Era, The 21st Century Concert Study Group, *Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF)*, 2014, p. 4, ISBN: 978-3-942532-70-9, https://www.hsfk.de/fileadmin/HSFK/hsfk_downloads/PolicyPaper_ATwentyFirstCenturyConcertofPowers.pdf,
- ABDINOR Dahir, “The Türkiye-Africa Bromance: Key Drivers, Agency, and Prospects”, *Insight Türkiye*, Vol. 23, No. 4, (2021), pp. 27-32.
- ABDULLAH Yuvacı & Salih Dogan, “Geopolitics, Geo-culture and Turkish Foreign Policy”, *Geopolitics in the 21st Century*, December 2012, p. 10.
- ADAM P. Liff & JOHN Ikenberry, Racing toward Tragedy? “China's Rise, Military Competition in the Asia Pacific, and the Security Dilemma”, *The MIT Press, International Security*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2014), pp. 52-56, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24480583>.
- ADEEL M. Mirza, “Pakistan and Azerbaijan: Common interests and mutual respect”. *Daily times*, 2020, <https://dailytimes.com.pk/569880/pakistan-and-azerbaijan-common-interests-and-mutual-respect/>, (Accessed April 30, 2022).
- Afganistan için İstanbul Konferansı Önemli (Istanbul Conference is Important for Afghanistan), Haber Turk, Nov 01, 2011, <https://www.haberturk.com/dunya/haber/684477-afganistan-icin-istanbul-konferansi-onemli>, (Accessed May 16, 2021).
- Afghan Crisis: What Role Can Central Asian States Play? *Central Asian Bureau for Analytical Reporting*, 2021, <https://cabar.asia/en/afghan-crisis-what-role-can-central-asian-states-play>, (Accessed April 29, 2022).
- Afganistan, Pakistan Hope Tuesday’s Summit Eases Tensions, *Today’s Zaman*, Nov 02, 2011.
- AHMET C. Özdemir,” Interconnected Business Series: Türkiye-Pakistan”, *Zoom Online Konferans Sistemi*, October 14, 2020, p. 09.

- AHMET Davutoglu, "Türkiye's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007", *Insight Türkiye*, vol. 10, no. 1, (2008): p. 77.
- ALASTAIR Lamb, "Kashmir: A disputed legacy, 1846-1990", (London: *Roxford Books*, 1991), p.193-216.
- ALBERT J. Bergesen & OMAR Lizardo, "International Terrorism and the World System," *Sociological theory* 22, no. 1 (2004): 40-51.
- ALBERTO Alesina, DARON Acemoglu, & CHRISTOPHER J. Bickerton, "*The Search for Europe: Contrasting Approaches*," (Spain: BBVA, 2015), P. 87-92
- ALI Bilgic & DANIELA Nascimento, "Türkiye's new focus on Africa: causes and challenges", *Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre*, 2014, pp. 1-2.
- ALI M. Alhas, "Türkiye, Pakistan Discuss Counter Terrorism Efforts," Anadolu Agency, June 2, 2019, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/Turkiyepakistan-discuss-counter-terrorism-efforts/1495200>, (Accessed, May 01, 2021).
- ALI Tekin & IVA Walterova, "Türkiye's Geopolitical Role: The Energy Angle," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (2007); p. 84-91.
- ALI Ünal, "Pakistan and Türkiye are two leading countries in the Islamic world," *Daily Sabah*, May 17, 2015, <https://www.dailysabah.com/diplomacy/2015/05/17/pakistan-and-Turkiye-are-two-leading-countries-in-the-islamic-world> (accessed January 8, 2021).
- ALTAY Atlı, "Türkiye's Foreign Policy towards China, Analysis and Recommendations for Improvement", *Global Relations Forum*, Young Academics Program, *Policy Paper Series* No.3, 2016, p. 8-14.
- AMBER Imtiaz, "Pakistan-Iran Relations: Economic and Political Dimensions", *Center for Iranian Studies in Ankara (İRAM)*, 2019, p. 4-11.
- AMIR Taheri, "The United States and the Reshaping of the Greater Middle East", *American Foreign Policy Interests*, vol.27, no.4, (2005): 295-300.

ANDREA E. Varisco, "Towards a Multi-Polar International System: Which Prospects for Global Peace?" *E. International Relations*, 2013, <https://www.e-ir.info/2013/06/03/towards-a-multi-polar-international-system-which-prospects-for-global-peace/>, (Accessed April 27, 2022).

ANDREI Areshev, "TÜRKİYE'S POLICIES IN THE SOUTHERN CAUCASUS AND REGIONAL SECURITY MECHANISMS (TÜRKİYE'NİN GÜNEY KAFKASYA'DAKİ POLİTİAKLARI VE BÖLGESEL GÜVENLİK MEKANİZMALARI)", *Review of Armenian Studies*, No. 32, (2015), p. 172.

ANDREW F. Cooper & AGATA Antkiewicz, *Emerging Powers in Global Governance: Lessons from the Heiligendamm Process* (Toronto: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2010): 300.

ANDREW Hurrell, "5. Rising powers and the emerging global order", *Oxford Politics Trove*, 2019, p.85, <https://www.oxfordpoliticstrove.com/view/10.1093/hepl/9780198825548.001.0001/hepl-9780198825548-chapter-5>.

ANDREW Hurrell, ANDREW F. Cooper, GUADALUPE G. González, RICARDO U. Sennes & SRINI Sitaraman, "Paths to Power: Foreign Policy Strategies of Intermediate States", *Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*, No. 244, (2000): 4-12.

ANEELA shahzad, "Geopolitics and Pakistan," *The Express Tribune*, October 1, 2020, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2266547/geopolitics-and-pakistan> (accessed April 13, 2021).

ANDREW E. Varisco, "Towards a Multi-Polar International System: Which Prospects for Global Peace?" *E. International Relations*, 2013, <https://www.e-ir.info/2013/06/03/towards-a-multi-polar-international-system-which-prospects-for-global-peace/>.

ANNE Sraders, "What Are Emerging Markets? Characteristics and List," *The Street*, 2020, <https://www.thestreet.com/markets/emerging-markets/what-are-emerging-markets-14819803>.

ANTHONY Shadid, "Türkiye Predicts Alliance with Egypt as Regional Anchors", in *The New York Times*, September 18, 2011, <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/19/world/middleeast/Türkiye-predictspartnership-with-egypt-as-regional-anchors.html>, (accessed May 31, 2021).

ANTONIS Klapsis, "The Strategic Importance of Cyprus and the Prospect of Union with Greece, 1919–1931: The Greek Perspective," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol.41, No.5 (2013): p. 765-771.

Anwar Iqbal, "U.S. Cuts Military Training Program for Pakistan," *Dawn*, 11 August 2018, <https://www.dawn.com/>, (Accessed April 25, 2022).

AREEBA A. Khan, "Expanding Diplomatic Footprint: Pakistan and East Africa", *Centre For Strategic and Contemporary Rerearch*, December 23, 2020, <https://cscr.pk/explore/themes/trade-economics/expanding-diplomatic-footprint-pakistan-and-east-africa/>, (Accessed May 4, 2022).

ARZU Guler, "Absence of a Common Kashmiri Identity and Future Claims in the Region of Kaşmir: Paradox of Distinct Nationalism," *Journal of Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences*, vol.10, no.3 (2017), p.1-

ARZU Y. Aslanturk, AYÇA Eminoglu & SERTIF Demir, THE EVOLUTION OF TÜRKİYE'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD TURKISH REPUBLICS, [POST-1990s 1990 SONRASI TÜRKİYE'NİN TÜRK CUMHURİYETLERİNE YÖNELİK DIŞ POLİTİKASININ GELİŞİMİ], *Trakya University Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 20, No.2, (2018), pp. 388-396.

- ASMA Rashid & ANJUM Ghouri, “Pakistan’s Trade with Africa: Peculiarities and Road ahead”, *Margalla Papers*, No.1, (2020), pp. 124-127.
- AVATKOV, “Foreign Policy Line of the Republic of Türkiye in Relation to Transcaucasian Countries within the Context of Türkiye’s Foreign Policy Ideology”. *Annual Publication of the Institute of International Studies*. Vol. 2, No.8, (2014).
- AYHAN Şimşek, “Türkiye Pledges to Support Afghanistan beyond 2014,” *Ses Türkiye*, July 12, 2011.
- AYLIN Aydın Çakır & Gül Arıkan Akdağ, “An Empirical Analysis of the Change in Turkish Foreign Policy under the AKP Government,” *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (2017), pp. 335-348.
- AYSUN Gültekin, “Milli Mücadele Döneminde Hindistan Müslümanları ile Ankara Hükümetleri Arasındaki Münasebetler (1918–1924), [Relationships between Indian Muslims and Ankara Governments during the National Struggle (1918-1924)],” Master’s Thesis, Balıkesir University, 2009, pp.23.
- Azerbaijan supports Pakistan's stance ON Kashmir dispute, *The Nation*, October 29, 2020, <https://nation.com.pk/amp/2020/10/29/azerbaijan-supports-pakistan-s-stance-on-kashmir-dispute/>, (Accessed May 01, 2022).
- BAQIR S. Syed, “Afghan exports to India via Wagah resume tomorrow”, *Dawn News*, July 14, 2020, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1568805>, (Accessed April 16, 2021).
- BARNETT R. Rubin, “The Search for Peace on Afghanistan: From Buffer State to a Failed State”, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995): p.136-139.
- Başkan Erdoğan’dan Dış Politika Mesajı: Destan Yazıyoruz, [Foreign Policy Message from President Erdogan: We Are Writing an Epic] *Takvim*, Dec 22, 2018, <https://www.takvim.com.tr/guncel/2018/12/22/baskan-erdogandan-dis-politika-mesajidestan-yaziyoruz> (Accessed April 21, 2022).

BAYRAM Aliyev, "Changing political landscape in South Caucasus", *Daily Sabah*, 2021, <https://www.dailysabah.com/opinion/op-ed/changing-political-landscape-in-south-caucasus>, (Accessed April 20, 2022).

BHANOJI Rao, "East Asian Economies: Trends in Poverty and Income Inequality", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 34, No. 18 (May 1-7, 1999), pp. 1029-1030, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4407905>,

BOB Matthews & LIZ Ross, *Research Methods: A practical guide for the social sciences*, (Italy: Pearson Education Limited, 2010): 89.

BRIG FERROZ H. Khan, "Russia–Pakistan Strategic Relations: An Emerging Entente Cordiale", *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs*, Air University Press, Jan 15, 2021, p. 47-50, <https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/JIPA/Display/Article/2473361/russiapakistan-strategic-relations-an-emerging-entente-cordiale/>.

BRUCE Riedel, Pakistan's Role in the Afghanistan War's Outcome, *The Economist*, (2010).

BULENT Aras, Türkiye's Policy in the Former Soviet South: Assets and Options, *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (2000): pp. 36-39.

BURHANETTIN Duran, "The Sole Axis of Türkiye's Foreign Policy", in *Daily Sabah*, 11 February 2020, <https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/duran-burhanettin/2020/02/11/the-sole-axis-of-Turkiyesforeign-policy>, (accessed June, 2, 2021).

BURKE FARKHUNDA, SYED Nawaz Ul Huda, SALMA Hamza, and MUHAMMAD Azam. "8 October 2005 Earthquake: Analysis of Foreign Aid." *Pakistan Horizon* 59, no. 4 (2006): 55-67.

ÇAĞTAY Özdemir, "Değişen Uluslararası Sistemde Türkiye'nin Konumu, [Türkiye's Position in the Changing International System]", *SETA*, 2018, <https://www.setav.org/degisen-uluslararasi-sistemde-turkiyenin-konumu/>, (Accessed April 24, 2022).

CAROL C. Fair, U.S. Pakistan Relations: Ten Years after 9/11, *Routledge*, 2013, pp. 221-228.

CAVID Veliyev, “Building the Zangezur corridor, normalization in South Caucasus”, *Daily Sabah*, 2021, <https://www.dailysabah.com/opinion/op-ed/building-the-zangezur-corridor-normalization-in-south-caucasus>, (Accessed April 21, 2022).

CEMIL D. İpek & Mehmet Ç. Güler, Türkiye and Russia in Syrian war: Hostile friendship, *Security and Defence Quarterly*, Vol.35, No.3 (2021):pp. 79-81.

Changing Dynamics of International Relations, *Brookings India*, Jan 15, 2014, <https://www.brookings.edu/events/changing-dynamics-of-international-relations/>, (Accessed April 22, 2022).

CHARLES Clover, “Old Era Intrudes on New Thinking,” *Financial Times*, 30 April 1999, p. 1.

CHARLES W. Freeman Jr., *Arts of Power: Statecraft and Diplomacy* (Washington D.C.: United States Institute for Peace, 1997), 74.

CHENGGANG Xu, “The Fundamental Institutions of China's Reforms and Development”, *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (2011), p.1078. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23071664>.

CHRIS Brummitt & Slobodan Lekic, “NATO invites Pakistan to summit in Chicago”, *Taiwannews*, May 16, 2012, <https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/1921572>, (accessed May 14, 2021).

CHRIS Buckley & Steven Lee Myers, “Starting a Fire: U.S. and China Enter Dangerous Territory Over Taiwan”, *The New York Times*, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/09/world/asia/united-states-china-taiwan.html>, (Accessed April 27, 2022).

Compendium of Bilateral and Regional Instruments for South Asia: International Cooperation in Criminal Matters, *UNODC Regional Office*, (2015), https://www.unodc.org/documents/terrorism/Publications/SAARC%20compendium/SA_Compendium_Volume-1.pdf

Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan'ın gündeme getirdiği 'Keşmir' sorunu Hindistan'ı rahatsız etti, *YeniŞafak*, September 23, 2020, <https://www.yenisafak.com/dunya/cumhurbaskani-erdoganin-gundeme-getirdigi-kesmir-sorunu-hindistani-rahatsiz-etti-3568328> (Accessed April 20, 2021).

Cumhuriyet Arşivi, November 24, 1981, p. 1, https://www.cumhuriyetarsivi.com/sign/buy_page.xhtml?page=5198696.

Cyprus, <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-cyprus-issue-overview.en.mfa>, (Accessed, April 23, 2021).

DAUREN Aben, REGIONAL SECURITY IN CENTRAL ASIA: ADDRESSING EXISTING AND POTENTIAL THREATS AND CHALLENGES, *Eurasian Research Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (2019): pp. 52-60.

DAVID Calleo, "Hegemony and Decline: Reflections on Recent American Experience," *Sens public*, (2005).

Değişen uluslararası sistemde Türkiye'nin konumu [Türkiye's position in the changing international system], in *Daily Sabah*, July 5, 2018, <https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2018/07/05/degisen-uluslararasi-sistemde-turkiyenin-konumu>, (accessed May 27, 2021).

DENİZ Kilisli oğlu, "72 yıldır bitmeyen kriz: Keşmir," *NTV News*, September 28, 2019, <https://www.ntv.com.tr/yazarlar/deniz-kilislioglu/72-yildir-bitmeyen-kriz-kesmir,8eMVe5YePEiWM7-bb89wGg> (Accessed April 18, 2021).

DEVİRİM Aktürk, "Bir Millet, İki Devlet Pakistan-Türkiye", *Künye Edebiyat Magazine*, May. 2019, 23-24.

DIPANJAN R. Chaudhury, "Pakistan's growing engagement with Africa: Proxy for China?" *The Economic Times*, Sep 21, 2021, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/international/world-news/pakistans-growing-engagement-with-africa-proxy-for-china/articleshow/86389066.cms?from=mdr>, (Accessed May 5, 2022).

DIPANJAN R. Chaudhury, “Türkiye-Pakistan widens strategic ties by launching cross-country rail link via Iran”, *The Economic Times News*, March 02, 2021, economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/international/world-news/, (accessed, July 04, 2021).

DOROTHY- Grace Guerrero, “The Rise of China and BRICS: A Multipolar World In the Making?” Focus on the Global South, (2014), <https://focusweb.org/the-rise-of-china-and-brics-a-multipolar-world-in-the-making/>, (Accessed February 23, 2021).

Dr RIFFAT Hussain, “Pakistan in Changing World Order”, Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS), January 2019, p. 14.

Dr. Imran Khan & Dr. Karim Haider Syed, “Pakistan Relations with Azerbaijan in 21st Century”, *Pakistan Social Sciences Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1, (March 2021), pp. 667-679.

Dr. Imran Khan & Dr. Karim Haider Syed, “Pakistan Relations with Azerbaijan in 21st Century”, *Pakistan Social Sciences Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1, (March 2021), pp. 672-675.

Dr. Muhammet Koçak,
“Rusya-Ukrayna savaşının Türkiye'ye etkileri [The effects of the Russia-Ukraine war on Türkiye]”, *Anadolu Agency*, 2022, <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/analiz/gorus-rusya-ukrayna-savasinin-turkiyeye-etkileri/2519470>, (Accessed, April 15, 2022).

Dr. Oğuz Kalelioğlu, “Türk-Yunan İlişkileri ve Megali İdea,(Turkish-Greek Relations and Megali İdea)”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, Vol.41,(2008), p. 106-109.

DURAN Bolat, “Türkiye'nin Ortadoğu Politikasının Genel Çizgisi ve Bu Politikada Etkili Olan Faktörler (The General Line of Türkiye's Middle East Policy and the Factors Influencing This Policy)”, *Akademik Makalem*, (2012), <http://akademikmakalem.com/2012/01/27/turkiyenin-orta-dogu-politikasiningenel-cizgisi-ve-bu-politikada-etkili-olan-faktorler/> (accessed May 31, 2021).

- EDWIN A. Locke, "The Case for Inductive Theory Building," *Journal of Management*, Vol. 33, No.6 (2007): 86.
- EFE Çaman, & Ali Akyurt, "Caucasus and Central Asia in Turkish Foreign Policy: The Time has come for a New Regional Policy", *Alternatives Turkish Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 10, No. 2-3, (2011), pp. 48-51.
- EFE Çaman, & Ali Akyurt, "Caucasus and Central Asia in Turkish Foreign Policy: The Time has come for a New Regional Policy", *Alternatives Turkish Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 10, No. 2-3, (2011), pp. 46-53.
- EKATARINA Stepanova, "Terrorism in Asymmetrical Conflict Ideological and Structural Aspects", (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 28-35.
- ELENA Servettaz, "A Sanctions Primer," World Affairs Institute, (2014): 85.
- ELY Ratner.... & AINIKKI Riikonen, "Rising to the China Challenge Renewing American Competitiveness in the Indo-Pacific", *Center for a New American Security*, 2019, pp. 2-4.
- EMIL Avdaliani, "Türkiye Seeks to Counter Russia in the Black Sea-Caucasus Region", *The Türkiye Analyst*, 2020, <https://Türkiyeanalyst.org/publications/Türkiye-analyst-articles/item/652-Türkiye%E2%80%99s-commitment-to-azerbaijan%E2%80%99s-defense-shows-the-limits-of-ankara%E2%80%99s-tilt-to-moscow.htm>
- EMRE Demir, "China's wavering COVID-19 vaccine diplomacy in Türkiye", *Global Voices*, <https://globalvoices.org/2021/08/13/chinas-wavering-covid-19-vaccine-diplomacy-in-Türkiye/>, (Accessed, April 16, 2022).
- EMRE Erşen, "Evaluating the Fighter Jet Crisis in Turkish-Russian Relations", *Insight Türkiye*, Vol. 19, No. 4, (2017), pp. 86-94.
- ERHAN Akdemir, "11 Eylül Sonrası Amerika'nın Ortadoğu Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları ", (Ankara: USAK publications, 2011): 316.

Erhen Icener, “Türkiye – EU Relations after the Failed July 15 Coup Attempt”, *Bilig*, No.79, (2016), PP. 70-82.

ERMAN Aydemir, “How Türkiye’s Soft Power can Aid NATO in Afghanistan”, *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 2, (2010): p, 39-41.

ERTAN Efeğil, Rationality Question of Türkiye’s Central Asia Policy, *Bilgi Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol.2, No.19, (2009), pp. 73-80.

EU-Türkiye leaders' meeting in Varna (Bulgaria), *Council of the European Union*, 2018, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-summit/2018/03/26/>, (Accessed April 18, 2022).

FAKHAR Hussein & Dr. Mezhar Hussein, “CHINA-PAK ECONOMIC CORRIDOR (CPEC) AND ITS GEOPOLITICAL PARADIGMS”, *International Journal of Social Sciences, Humanities and Education*, vol. 1, no. 2, (2017); p. 3-9.

FARHAT Asif, “Pakistan’s foreign policy: Transition, prospects and perspectives”, *The News*, August 14, 2018, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/355063-pakistan-s-foreign-policy-transition-prospects-and-perspectives>.

FARHAT Asif, Pakistan’s ties with Central Asian States Irritants and Challenges, *Conflict and Peace Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1, (2011), p.1.

FARHAT Ullah, NOOR U. Khan, & MUHAMMADI I. Mahsud, “Pakistan’s Geo-Political and Strategic Compulsions,” *The Dialogue*, vol.14, no. 4 (October-December 2019), p. 75-82.

FATEH Dedemen,, “Türkiye-Pakistan Güvenlik ve işbirliği Semineri I.”, *Harp Akademileri Komutankığı*, İstanbul, December 9, 2010, p. 44.

FERHAT Pirinççi & Murat Yeşiltaş, “Küresel Dönüşüm Sürecinde Türkiye’nin Büyük Stratejisi, [Türkiye's Grand Strategy in the Global Transformation Projesi]”, (SETA, İstanbul: 2020), p. 37.

- FERHAT Pirinci, “Türkiye’nin Ukrayna Politikası: Dengeli Aktivizm, [Türkiye's Ukraine Policy: Balanced Activism]”, *Kriter*, Vol: 6, No: 67, (2022).
- FRANCIS Fukuyama, “The End of History?” *The National Interest*, No. 16, (1989), p. 4.
- FUAD Shahbazov, “Azerbaijan’s Growing Military Cooperation with Pakistan”, *The Diplomat*, January 13, 2017, <https://thediplomat.com/2017/01/azerbaijans-growing-military-cooperation-with-pakistan/>, (Accessed May 1, 2022).
- FUAT Aksu, “Türkiye and Greece Relations and the Cyprus Question: Quo Vadis?” *UNISCI Discussion Papers*, no. 23, (2010), p. 214-219.
- FUAT Keyman, “A New Turkish Foreign Policy: Towards Proactive ‘Moral Realism,” *Insight Türkiye*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (2017), pp. 52-69.
- G. John Ikenberry, “The Rise of China and The Future of The West,” *Foreign Affairs*, 2008.
- GALIP Dalay, “US-Türkiye relations will remain crisis-ridden for a long time to come”, *Brookings*, 2021, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2021/01/29/us-türkiye-relations-will-remain-crisis-ridden-for-a-long-time-to-come/>, (Accessed April 18, 2022).
- Gen Bajwa Meets Counterpart during Official Visit to Russia, *Dawn*, 24 April 2018, <https://www.dawn.com/>; and Khan, “Pakistan-Russia Relations Redux,” 57-61.
- GENEIVE Abdo, “The Sunni-Shia Divide,” Council on Foreign Relations, February 2016, <https://www.cfr.org/sunni-shia-divide/#/> (Accessed January 9, 2021).
- GIORGIO Cafiero & Emily Milliken, Azerbaijan, Türkiye, and Pakistan's geopolitical triangle, Analysis, Dec 23, 2021, <https://english.alaraby.co.uk/analysis/azerbaijan-türkiye-and-pakistans-geopolitical-triangle>, (Accessed May 2, 2022).
- GONUL Tol & DAVID Dumke, *Aspiring Powers, Regional Rivals: Türkiye, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the New Middle East*, (New York: The Middle East Institute, 2019), p. 17-39.
- GRAHAM E. Fuller & IAN Lesser, *A Sense of Siege: The Geopolitics of Islam and the West* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1995): p. 2-11.

GÜLDEN Ayman, “Türk Dış Politika Seçkinlerinin Ortadoğu Algılamaları ve Irak Savaşı [The Middle East Perceptions of Turkish Foreign Policy Elite and the Iraq War]”, *Akademic Middle East*, Vol: 1, No: 1, 2006, p. 9.

H.E. General Pervez Musharraf, *President Of The Islamic Republic Of Pakistan*, “Pakistan – Challenges, Response And Opportunities”, *Asia Society*, June 16, 2015, <https://asiasociety.org/pakistan-%E2%80%93-challenges-response-and-opportunities>, (Accessed, May 7, 2022).

HABERMAS Jürgen, “*The Crisis of the European Union*” (Cambridge: Polity, 2012); M. Matthijs and M. Blyth, eds., “*The Future of the Euro*” (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

HAITHAM Naseer, “Pakistan in Changing World Order”, *Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS)*, January 2019, p. 31.

HAKAN Fidan, Turkish foreign policy towards Central Asia, *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, Vol.12, No.1, (2010):pp. 117-120.

HAMOON K. DOOST, Road to Afghan peace is through Turkish mediation, *Daily Sabah*, April 21, 2021, <https://www.dailysabah.com/opinion/op-ed/road-to-afghan-peace-is-through-turkish-mediation>, (accessed May 19, 2021).

HASAN Duran & ÇAĞTAY Özdemir, “Türk Dış Politikasına Yansımalarıyla Arap Baharı (Arab Spring with Its Reflections in Turkish Foreign Policy)”, *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi (Journal of Academic Inquiries)* Volume: 7, Number: 2, 2012, p. 181-188.

HASSAN Isilow, “Türkiye winning hearts, minds in Africa: Experts”, *Anadolu Agency*, 2021, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/Türkiye-winning-hearts-minds-in-africa-experts/2446516>, (Accessed April 24, 2022).

<http://pakTürkiye.blogspot.com/2012/11/tarihin-icinde-bir-gonul-koprusu.html> (accessed Jan, 04, 2021),

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17217956>, (Accessed April 23, 2021).

HUMEYRA Pamuk, “Türkiye’s Erdogan Says Can’t Tolerate Iran Bid to Dominate Middle East”, in Reuters, 26 March 2015, <http://reut.rs/1HMytJJ>, (accessed, June 2, 2021).

HUSEYIN Bagci & ASLIHAN Anlar, “Changing geopolitics and Turkish foreign policy,” *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska Sectio K, Politologia*, Vol. 16 (2009); p. 98-102.

HUSEYIN Emre Ceyhun, “Türkiye in the Middle East: Findings from the Arab Barometer”, *Working Paper*, 2018, p. 2.

ILKE Toygur, “A New Way Forward for EU-Türkiye Relations”, *Carnegie Europe*, 2022, <https://carnegieeurope.eu/2022/01/26/new-way-forward-for-eu-türkiye-relations-pub-86264>, (Accessed April 18, 2022).

ILKNUR Semsek, “Türkiye’nin Jeopolitik Önemi; Köprü mü, Kanat mı, Merkez mi? [Türkiye’s Geopolitical Importance; Bridge, Wing or Center?]”, *TASAM*, Mar 10, 2014, https://tasam.org/Files/Icerik/File/turkiye_kopru_mu_kanat_mi_merkez_mi_b4156f55-1433-4a8b-b420-0ec349a42fef.pdf, (Accessed April 8, 2021).

IMTIAZ Gul, *the Unholy Nexus* (Pakistan: Vanguard Books, 2002), pp. 43-46.

ISLAMUDDIN Sajid, “Iranian envoy proposes new alliance of 5 countries”, *World Middle East*, February 5, 2021, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/iranian-envoy-proposes-new-alliance-of-5-countries/1724935>, (accessed, July 2, 2021).

ISLAMUDDIN Sajid, “Pakistan reaffirms support for Azerbaijan on U.Karabakh”, *Anadolu Agency*, Jan 22, 2020, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/pakistan-reaffirms-support-for-azerbaijan-on-ukarabakh/1709829>, (Accessed May 01, 2022).

ISMAIL Akbaş, Tarihın İçinde bir Gönül Köprüsü ‘‘ Pakistan Postası,’’ *A blog of Pakistan-Türkiye Relations*, 2012,

ISMAIL Akbaş. *Geçmişten Geleceğe Türkiye Pakistan İlişkileri* (İzmir: Zeus kitabevi, Mart 2013): 5.

JACQUELINE Gartmann, ‘‘The Financial and Economic Crisis and Developing Countries’’, *International Development Policy*, Issue: 1, 2010, p. 193-195.

Jammu and Kashmir: An Introductory Profile,
https://niti.gov.in/planningcommission.gov.in/docs/plans/stateplan/sdr_jandk/sdr_jkch1.pdf (Accessed April 18, 2021).

JIHYUN Kim, ‘‘Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea: Implications for Security in Asia and Beyond.’’ *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 9, no. 2 (2015): 108.

JIM Lobe, ‘‘The Bush Team Reloaded,’’ *Middle East Report*, 234,(2005): 10.

JOHN Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*, (Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press, 2001): 23.

JOHN Tirman, EDWARD Newman, and RAMESH Thakur, ‘‘Multilateralism under challenge? Power, international order, and structural change’’, (New York: United Nations University Press, 2006), 160-167

JORGE A. Ramirez, ‘‘IRAQ WAR: ANTICIPATORY SELF-DEFENSE OR UNLAWFUL UNILATERALISM?’’ *California Western International Law Journal*, vol.34, No.1, (2003): 6-14.

JOSHUA Shiffrinson, ‘‘Should United States fear China’s rise’’, *The Washington Quarterly*, 2019;
FAREED Zakaria, ‘‘The new China scare’’, *Foreign Affairs*, Jan-Feb 2020;
Lauren Foster, ‘‘Why China will not dominate the 21st century’’, CFA Institute, posted in *Economics*, 18 March 2014; and Joseph Nye, who reportedly stated that while China may have the hard power to dominate the world, it lacks soft power to do so.

- KALIN A Janse, “How Europe beat the financial crisis – and the risks it still faces”, *World Economic Forum*, 2018, <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/04/how-europe-beat-the-financial-crisis-and-the-risks-it-still-faces/>, (Accessed April 24, 2022).
- KARAMAT H. Niazi, “The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan”, National Assembly of Pakistan, February 28, 2012, p. 12.
- KARIM H. Syed & IMRAN Khan, “Recent Trends In Pakistan's Foreign Policy Towards The Middle East”, *Palarch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/ Egyptology*, Vol.18, No.4 (2021): p. 5797.
- KASHIF Mumtaz, “The Middle East in Flux: How Should Pakistan Respond”? *Institute of the Strategic Studies*, Vol. 35, No.2 (2015): p, 139-141.
- KEMAL Kırıřçı, “Türkiye and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership Boosting the Model Partnership with the United States,” *The Center on the United States and Europe at Brookings*, No. 2 (2013): 6-7.
- Kevork Oskanian, “Türkiye's global strategy: Türkiye and the Caucasus”, *IDEAS Report*, (2011), pp. 23-26, <http://www2.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/Home.aspx>.
- KHURAM Malik, "Kardeř: The origins of Pakistan-Türkiye brotherhood," *Business Recorder*, May 19, 2020, <https://www.brecorder.com/news/595826>, (Accessed January 02, 2021).
- KIRIŐCI, “The Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy,” pp. 34-41; Keyman, “A New Turkish Foreign Policy,” pp. 60-64.
- Kissinger recognises Pakistan’s role in establishing China-US ties, *Dawn News*, 2021, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1613819>, (Accessed April 26, 2022).
- KONUK Yazar, “Kıbrıs Neden Sorun Oldu?” *İlim ve Medeniyet*,” April 13, 2019, <https://www.ilimvemedeniyet.com/kibris-neden-sorun-oldu.html>, (accessed April 23, 2021).

- KÜRŞAD Turan, Türk Dış Politikasında Değişimler: Bir Değişim mi, Geçici Bir İlgi mi? [Changes in Turkish Foreign Policy: A Shift or a Passing Interest?], *Akademik Bakış*, Vol. 6, No. 11, (2012), p.66.
- KUTLUHAN Çelik, “Bölgesel ve Küresel Alanda Dayanışma, Bilgi ve Tecrübelerin Paylaşımı: [Regional and Global Solidarity, Sharing Knowledge and Experience]”, *Istanbul: Harp Akademileri Basımevi* (2010), 122-126.
- LIVIU B. Vlad, GHEORGHE Hurduzeu, ANDREI Josan, GHEORGHE Vlasceanu, “ The Rise of BRIC, The 21st Century Geopolitics and the Future of the Consumer Society,” *Revista Romana de Geografie Politica*, 8, (2011): 49-60.
- LUBNA Sunawar, Pakistan as a Frontline State in War against Terrorism: Cost & Benefit Analysis, *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 1, (2015): 43.
- LUK Van Langenhove, “Multilateralism 2.0: The transformation of international relations”, *United Nations University*, May 31st, 2011, <https://unu.edu/publications/articles/multilateralism-2-0-the-transformation-of-international-relations.html>,
- MADHUSHA Guruge, “Evolution of International System”, *Linked in*, April 15, 2015, <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/evolution-international-system-madhusha-guruge>, (Accessed Feb 02, 2022).
- MALEEHA Lodhi, Foreign policy challenges ahead, *Dawn News*, May 25, 2022, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1668572>, (Accessed May 10, 2022).
- MANJEET S. Pardesi, PREMARANI Somasundram, AMITAV Acharya, YOUNG Ho Chang, TANG Shiping, HIRO Katsumata, JOEY Long Shi Ruey & VLADIMIR I. Ivanov, “The Geopolitics of Energy in the Asia-Pacific”, *Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies*, Nanyang Technological University, 2006.

- MARSHAL Zeringue & Raymond Taras, *Grand Strategy in a Post-Bipolar World: Interpreting the Final Soviet Response*, Cambridge University Press, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Oct., 1992), p. 357.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/20097311>.
- MASOOD Khalid, *Pakistan-China Relations in a Changing Geopolitical Environment*, Institute of South Asian Studies, Nov 30, 2021,
<https://www.isas.nus.edu.sg/papers/pakistan-china-relations-in-a-changing-geopolitical-environment/>, (Accessed April 26, 2022).
- MATEEN Haider, "Pakistan, Türkiye Agree to Enhance Counter-Terrorism Cooperation," *Dawn*, August 1, 2020. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1197821>, (Accessed May 01, 2021).
- MATTHEW Rosenberg, "Taliban Opening Qatar Office and Maybe Door to Talks," *New York Times*, Jan 3, 2012, <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/04/world/asia/taliban-to-open-qatar-office-in-step-toward-peace-talks.html>, (accessed May 12, 2021).
- MEENA S. Roy, *Pakistan's Strategies in Central Asia*, *Strategic Affairs*, Vol. 30, No. 4, (2006), pp. 4-14.
- MEHMET Arda, "Türkiye – the evolving interface of international relations and domestic politics", *South African Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 22, No. 2, (2015), p. 203.
- MEHMET Ozkan, "Türkiye's 'New' Engagements in Africa and Asia: Scope, Content and Implications", *Perceptions*, Vol. 16, No.3, (2011), pp. 115-134.
- MEHMET Özkan, *Türkiye's 'New' Engagements in Africa and Asia: Scope, Content and Implications*, *Perceptions*, Vol.16, No.3, (2011), PP. 115- 135.
- MEHTAP Kara, "Turkish Foreign Policy I", (Eskişehir: Anadolu University Publications, 2019): p.147.
- MELIHA B. Altunışık, "World Views and Turkish Foreign Policy in the Middle East," *New Perspectives on Türkiye*, No. 40 (2009), pp. 170-176; Altunışık, "Türkiye as an 'Emerging Donor'," pp. 340-351.

- MELIHA Benli Altunışık, “The New Turn in Türkiye’s Foreign Policy in the Middle East: Regional and Domestic Insecurities”, IAI Papers 20, July 17, 2020, p. 2-12.
- MELTEM M. Baç, “Türkiye’s Grand Strategy in the Context of Global and Regional Challenges,” *Perceptions*, Vol. 25, Num. 2, (2020): 179-182.
- Merhaba, Africa: How Türkiye’s soft power attracts African international students, *Study International*, 2022, <https://www.studyinternational.com/news/study-in-Türkiye-for-africans/>, (Accessed April 23, 2022).
- MHER Sahakyan, “Balancing Act: China and Türkiye in a Changing World Order”, *HAL Open Science, University of Hong Kong*, 2021.
- MICHAEL J. Mazarr, MIRANDA Priebe and ANDREW Radin, *Understanding the Current International Order* (California: RAND Corporation, 2016): 10.
- MICHARL Kugelman, “Pakistan in Changing World Order”, Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS), January 2019, p. 9-11.
- MIRANDA Priebe and KATHLEEN Reedy, *Measuring the Health of the Liberal International Order* (RAND Corporation, 2017): 13.
- Moeed Yusuf**, Pakistan’s Place in a Changing World, Pakistan Politico, May 4, 2018, <https://pakistanpolitico.com/pakistans-place-in-a-changing-world/>, (Accessed June 23, 2021).
- MÜGE Aknur, “Towards More Democratic Civil-Military Relations in Türkiye,” *L’Europe en Formation*, No. 367 (2013): 35-38.
- MUGE Vatansever, “Kıbrıs Sorununun Tarihi Gelişimi,(Historical Development of the Cyprus Issue)”, Dokuz Eylül University Faculty of Law Journal, Vol. 12, No.0 (2010): p. 1490-1494.
- MUHAMMAD T.Khan, “Renaissance of Pakistan-Russia Relations”, (Islamabad: Institute of Strategic Studies, 2016), pp. 2-3.

- MUHAMMET Koçak, “The effects of the Russia-Ukraine war on Türkiye”, *Anadolu Agency*, 2022, <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/analiz/gorus-rusya-ukrayna-savasinin-turkiyeye-etkileri/2519470>, (Accessed, April 17, 2022).
- MUHARREM H. Özev, “Küresel ve Bölgesel Güçlükler Karsısında Pakistan’ın Demokratikleşme Çabaları”, *Güvenlik Stratejileri*, vol.8, No. 6, p.148- 176.
- MUHİTTİN Ataman, “Türkiye in a Changing World: Responses to Domestic and Regional Dynamics,” *Insight Türkiye*, Vol. 21, No. 3, 2019, pp. 5-8.
- MUHİTTİN Ataman, Leadership Change: Özal Leadership and Restructuring in Turkish Foreign Policy, *Alternatives Journal, And Vol. 1, No. 1* (2002): 127-133.
- MUNİR Hussain, “Pak-Türkiye Relations: On the Common Ties. Alternatives,” *Turkish Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 7, No.2&3 (2008): 74.
- MUNİR Hussain, “PAK-TÜRKIYE RELATIONS: On the Common Ties”, *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations*, vol. 7, no. 2 & 3, 2008, p. 74-75.
- MURAT Yeşiltaş & Ali Balci, “AK Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası Sözlüğü: Kavramsal Bir Harita, [The AK Party Era Turkish Foreign Policy Dictionary: A Conceptual Map]”, *Bilgi Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol.2, No. 2, (2011), pp. 13-14.
- MUSTAFA Aydın, “Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Changing Patterns and Conjunctures during the Cold War,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (2000), pp. 104-116.
- MUSTAFA Deveci, Behlül Cetinkaya and Iclal Turan, “Road to normalization of Türkiye-Armenia relations”, *Anadolu Agency*, 2022, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/politics/road-to-normalization-of-turkiye-armenia-relations/2467211>, (Accessed April 21, 2022).
- MUZZAFER Rizvi, “Pakistan, Russia on track to develop strong relations”, *Khaleej Times*, June 5, 2021, <https://www.khaleejtimes.com/world/rest-of-asia/pakistan-russia-on-track-to-develop-strong-relations>,(accessed April 25, 2022).

- MUZZAFER Rizvi, "Pakistan: Remittances set to cross record \$28 billion this year", *Khaleej Times*, January 16, 2021, <https://www.khaleejtimes.com/business/pakistan-remittances-set-to-cross-record-28-billion-this-year>, (accessed July 10, 2021).
- NACI Koru, "A General Look at Asia and Türkiye's Priorities, Center for EuroAsian Studies, 2013.
- NAGHMA Mangrio, "A Historical and Political Perspective of Kashmir Issue", *The Dialogue*, Vol.7, No.3, (2019), pp. 256-259.
- NAZIR Hussain, "Pak-Russia Relations: Lost Opportunities and Future Options", *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol. 19, No.1, (2012), pp. 79-80.
- NESRIN Sarıahmetođlu, "Karabađ Sorununun Çözüm Sürecinde Türkiye ve Rusya [Türkiye in the Resolution Process of the Karabakh Problem and Russia]", *Marmara Journal of Turkic Studies*, Vol.3, No.2, (2016): pp. 94-112.
- New Era Türkiye-Pakistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges, *Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies*, 2013.
- NEZİHI Çakar, "A strategic overview of Türkiye," *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.3, No. 2 (1998): 84.
- NURMYRAT Nurmammedov, "China-Pakistan Economic Corridor and Its Geostrategic Importance In Terms of Belt And Road Initiative", *from Eurasian Studies Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 1&2, (2017), pp.36-46.
- OĐUZ Çelikkol, "Pakistan seçimleri ve Türkiye için önemi," *Hürriyet*, August 7, 2018, <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/oguz-celikkol/pakistan-secimleri-ve-turkiye-icin-onemi-40920596> (accessed January 5, 2021).
- ÖMER Çelik, "Türkiye's Great Transformation: An Influence-Multiplier for the Future of Europe and Beyond", *Rising Powers in Global Governance*, Vol.1, Issue.2, (2016): p. 35-53.
- Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, "The Belt and Road Initiative in the global trade, investment and finance landscape", *OECD Business and Finance Outlook 2018*, Paris, OECD Publishing, (2018), p. 9.

ORHAN Kolođlu, “Religious Ties for Peace: India’s Support in the Turkish war of Independence,” 986-997.

Orta Dođu ve Kuzey Afrika Ülkeleri ile İlişkiler (Relations with Middle East and North African Countries), Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dışışleri Bakanlığı, https://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye_nin-ortadogu-ile-iliskileri.tr.mfa, (Accessed June 06, 2021).

Pakistan Aeronautical Complex Kamra - JF-17 Thunder Aircraft. www.pac.org.pk.

Pakistan not to take sides in disputes between Muslim countries, says FO,” Dawn News, March 21, 2014, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1094588>, (accessed July 9, 2021).

Pakistan stopped all ground lines of communications through its territory for eight months before it was restored. “Pakistan Reopens NATO Supply Routes to Afghanistan,” CNN, 3 July 2019, <https://www.cnn.com/>, (Accessed April 25, 2022).

Pakistan, Azerbaijan count on Türkiye’s rise to further foreign interests: analysis, *Yeni Şafak*, Dec 29, 2021, <https://www.yenisafak.com/en/world/pakistan-azerbaijan-count-on-Turkiyes-rise-to-further-foreign-interests-analysis-3586877>, (Accessed May 2, 2022).

Pakistan, Uzbekistan set to sign TTA on 15th, *The News*, July 8, 2021. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/861201-pakistan-uzbekistan-set-to-sign-tta-on-15th>, (Accessed April 29, 2022).

Pakistan: A Political History, Center for Global Studies, <https://asiasociety.org/education/pakistan-political-history>, (Accessed April 30, 2022).

Pakistan’s Hard Policy Choices in Afghanistan, *International Crisis Group*, Feb 4 2022, pp. 2-20.

Pakistani, Afghan, Turkish Presidents Pledge Cooperation in Terrorism Fight, VOA News, October 27, 2009, <https://www.voanews.com/archive/pakistani-afghan-turkish-presidents-pledge-cooperation-terrorism-fight>, (accessed May 12, 2021).

PARLAR Dal and OĞUZ Gök, “Locating Türkiye as a ‘Rising Power’ in the Changing International Order: An Introduction”, *Perceptions Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 109, No. 4 (2014): p.3.

PARLAR Dal, “Conceptualising and testing the ‘emerging regional power’ of Türkiye in the shifting international order”, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 8, (2016), pp. 1425-1

PAUL R. Ehrlich & ANNE H. Ehrlich, “Can a collapse of global civilization be avoided?” *Royal Society Publishing*, Stanford University, USA, 2012, pp. 2-4.

PAUL Rogers, *A War on Terror: Afghanistan and After*, (London: Pluto Press, 2004): 116-125.

PETER A.Hall, “The Euro Crisis and the Future of European Integration”, *Open Mind: BBVA*, 2016, p.5, <https://www.bbvaopenmind.com/en/articles/the-euro-crisis-and-the-future-of-european-integration/>,

PETR Topychkanov & VLADIMIRE Moskalenko, “Russia and Pakistan: Shared Challenges and Common Opportunities”, (Moscow: Carnegie Moscow Centre, 2014), p. 3.

PHILIP Robin, “Between Sentiment and Self-Interest: Türkiye's Policy toward Azerbaijan and the Central Asian States”, *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 47, No. 4, (1993): 596-604.

PINAR Akpınar & Bulent Aras, *the Relations between Türkiye and the Caucasus*, *Perceptions*, Vol.16, No.3, (2011), pp. 54-61.

PRANAV Asoori, “A Look into the Conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir”, *E. International Relations*, (2020), p.2. ISSN 2053-8626.

PRAVESH K. Gupta, “Why are Central Asian Republics wooing Pakistan?” *Vivekananda International Organization*, 2021, pp. 4-7, <https://www.vifindia.org/article/2021/july/15/why-are-central-asian-republics-wooing-pakistan>, (Accessed April 29, 2022).

Press Release: “IMF Executive Board Approves €1 Billion Arrangement under Extended Fund Facility for Cyprus,” May 15, 2013,

<https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2015/09/14/01/49/pr13175>, (Accessed, April 23, 2021).

PRINCE Michael, "Türkiye has the right to protect its national interests," Geopolitical Intelligence Services, February 16, 2018, <https://www.gisreportsonline.com/Türkiye-has-the-right-to-protect-its-national-interests,politics,2472.html> (Accessed April 8, 2021).

Prof. Dr. Tasneem Sultana, Dr. Zobi Fatima & Sahar Afshan, "PAK-RUSSIA RELATIONS IN THE EMERGING GEO-STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT", *Journal of European Studies*, Vol. 35, No.1 (2019): 09.

Qatar crisis: What you need to know, BBC News, July 19, 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-40173757>, (accessed, July 10, 2021).

RAASHID W Janjua, "Civil Military Relations -The Impact of Internal and External Factors in Shaping the Balance of Civil and Military Power," *NDU Journal*, (2010): 27.

RAGHURAM Rajan, "Fault Lines: How Hidden Fractures Still Threaten the World Economy", (New Jersey, Princeton University Press: 2010): pp. 9-25, ISBN: 9781400839803, https://edisciplinas.usp.br/pluginfile.php/4356416/mod_resource/content/1/28Full%20Book%29%20Rajan%2C%20R.%20G%20%282010%20Fault%20Lines%20%20How%20Hidden%20Fractures%20Still%20Threaten%20the%20World%20.pdf.

RAMAZAN Özdamar, "Türkiye'Nin Orta Asya Politikası Eksiklikler ve Öneriler (Türkiye's Central Asian Policy Gaps and Recommendations)", *International Relations Studies Journal*, 2010.

RAMAZAN Özey, *İslam Dünyası* (İstanbul: Erkam Yayınları, 1996), 21.

Republic of Türkiye, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Pakistan Türkiye Relations.”, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/Türkiye-pakistan-relations.en.mfa>, (accessed January 05, 2021).

RIAZ Uddin, Hashim Khan, & Abdurrahman Sheikh, “Renewable Energy Perspectives of Pakistan and Türkiye: Current Analysis and Policy Recommendations”, *Journal of Sustainability*, vol.13, no.6, (2021), p. 2-8.

RICHARD Harknett & HASSAN B. Yalcin. "The Struggle for Autonomy: A Realist Structural Theory of International Relations." *International Studies Review* 14, no. 4 (2012): 501.

RICHARD McGregor, “*Asia’s Reckoning: China, Japan, And the Fate of U.S. Power in the Pacific Century*”, Penguin Books, 2020.

RICHARD N. Rosecrance, *International Relations: Peace or War?* (NY: McGrawHill, 1973): 65-70.

ROBERT E. Berls, “Strengthening Russia’s Influence in International Affairs, Part II: Russia and Its Neighbors: A Sphere of Influence or a Declining Relationship”? *Nuclear Security Index*, 2021, pp. 5-7, <https://www.nti.org/analysis/articles/strengthening-russias-influence-in-international-affairs-part-ii-russia-and-its-neighbors-a-sphere-of-influence-or-a-declining-relationship/>,

RUKHSANA A. Siddiqui, “Pakistan-Africa Relations: Appraisal and Future Prospects”, *Pakistan Politico*, February 7, 2019, <https://pakistanpolitico.com/pakistan-africa-relations-appraisal-and-future-prospects/>, (Accessed May 4, 2022).

Russia and Türkiye in the Black Sea and the South Caucasus, *International Crisis Group*, June 28, 2018, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/western-europemediterranean/Türkiye/250-russia-and-Türkiye-black-sea-and-south-caucasus>, (Accessed, April 14, 2022).

Russia and Türkiye in the Black Sea and the South Caucasus, *International Crisis Group*, June 28, 2018, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/western-europemediterranean/Türkiye/250-russia-and-Türkiye-black-sea-and-south-caucasus>,

europemediterranean/Türkiye/250-russia-and-Türkiye-black-sea-and-south-caucasus, (Accessed, April 14, 2022).

Russia: Rival or Partner, or Both? *Council on Foreign Relations*, Feb 27, 2017, <https://www.cfr.org/event/russia-rival-or-partner-or-both>, (Accessed April 16, 2022).

Russian Economic Report 30: Structural Challenges to Growth Become Binding, The World Bank, September 25, 2013, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2013/09/25/russian-economic-report-30>, (Accessed February 24, 2021).

RYUHEI Hatsuse, "International System," *International Journal of Sustainable Development Law* 3, no.22 (2010): 23.

SAHAR Afshan, Tasneem Sultana, & Zobi Fatima, PAK-RUSSIA RELATIONS IN THE EMERGING GEO-STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT, *Journal of European Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1, (2019): pp. 37-49.

SAIFUDDIN Ahmed & Anurug Chakma, "Kashmir Conflict: A Critical Analysis", *Society & Change*, Vol. 6, No. 3, (2012): pp. 21-28.

SAIRA Yamin, "Strategic Competition: Why Pakistan Matters", Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 2020, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep25702>.

SAKIB Sherani, "Defining Challenges", *Dawn News*, Jan 29, 2021, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1604242>, (Accessed May 7, 2022).

SAMINA Yasmeen, Pakistan's Cautious Foreign Policy, *Survival*, Vol.36, No.2, (1994), pp. 117- 123.

SAMPRIITY Biswas, "Russia–China– Pakistan Engagement in the Changing Global Context: Scrutinizing the Realist Logic of a Trilateral 'Axis'", *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations*, Vol.25, No. 1,(2021), pp. 9-14, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0973598421998899>

SAMUEL P. Huntington, "The Lonely Superpower," *Foreign Affairs* 78 (Mar/Apr 1999), p. 37.

SAVVAS Kalenteridis, “The History of Pakistan Antagonizing Cyprus On Behalf Of Türkiye,” *Greek City Times*, Nov 2, 2020, <https://greekcitytimes.com/2020/11/02/cyprus-pakistan-Türkiye/>, (accessed, April 24, 2021).

SCOTT Burchill, Realism and Neo-Realism, *Theories of International Relations*, (edited by), ANDREW Linklater, Matthew Paterson, Jacqui True, Scott Burchill and Richard Devetak, (London, 2001), p. 93.

SEÇKİN Çetin, “Türkiye ve Pakistan Özelinde Bölgesel Güvenliği Tehdit Eden Unsurlar Olarak Kaçakçılık ve Terörizm,[Smuggling and Terrorism as Elements Threatening Regional Security in Türkiye and Pakistan],” *Security and Cooperation Seminar-1 (Türkiye-Pakistan)*, 2009, p. 65.

SEÇKİN Kostem, “Türkiye and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: Economic Pragmatism meets Geopolitics”, *Global Policy*, Vol: 10, No: 4, (2019), pp. 646-650.

SEFA Yalçinkaya, “Historical Development of the International System”, *Foreign Trade Institute*, 2018, pp. 7-12.

Selected Speeches of President George W. Bush 2001-2008, 66. https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/infocus/bushrecord/documents/Selected_Speeches_George_W_Bush.pdf. (Accessed February 19, 2021).

SERGEI Trough, “China’s Changing Oil Strategy and its Foreign Policy Implications”, *Brookings*, 1999, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/chinas-changing-oil-strategy-and-its-foreign-policy-implications/>.

SERHAT Orakçi, “the Rise of Türkiye in Africa”, *Aljazeera Centre for Studies*, 2022, pp. 2-3. <https://studies.aljazeera.net/sites/default/files/articles/documents/2022-01/The%20Rise%20of%20Türkiye%20in%20Africa.pdf>

ŞERİFE Cetin, “Turkish, Chinese foreign ministers meet in Ankara”, *Anadolu Agency*, 2021, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/politics/turkish-chinese-foreign-ministers-meet-in-ankara/2187929>, (Accessed April 16, 2022).

SHRADDHA Naik, “The Rise of BRICS- A Multipolar World?” Asia-Pacific ISA Conference Hong Kong, (2016): 3.

SINAN Ulgen, “Redefining the U.S.-Türkiye Relationship”, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, 2021, pp. 3-4.

STEPHEN J. Flanagan, STEPHEN Larrabee, ANIKA Binnendijk, KATHERINE Costello, SHIRA Efron, JAMES Hoobler, MAGDALENA Kirchner, JEFFARY Martini, ALIREZA Nader, PETER A. Wilson,”Türkiye’s Nationalist Course: Implications for the U.S.-Turkish Strategic Partnership and the U.S. Army”, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, (2020): p. 116-118.

STEPHEN Mcglinchey, Rosie Walters & Christian Scheinpflug, *International Relations Theory* (Bristol: E- International Relations Publishing, 2017), 28.

STEVEN A. Cook, “Neither Friend nor Foe: the Future of U.S.-Türkiye Relations”, *Council on Foreign Relations*, 2018, pp. 3-6.

Strateji Düşünce ve Analiz Merkezi, “Dünden Bugüne “Keşmir Sorunu”,” 2016, p.11.

SÜLEYMAN Şensoy, “Değişen Dünya Dengelerinde Türkiye’Nin Konumu” [Türkiye's Position in Changing World Balances], *TASAM Türk Asya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi*, Istanbul, 2010.

SUTIRTHO Patranobis, “China reiterates support for Pakistan on Kashmir issue”, *Hindustan Times, Beijing*, 2021, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/world-news/china-reiterates-support-to-pakistan-on-kashmir-101627148536956.html>, (Accessed April 26, 2022). “10 Reasons as to Why China Likes Pakistan”, *CPIC Global*, 2019, <https://www.cpicglobal.com/10-reasons-as-to-why-china-likes-pakistan/>, (Accessed April 27, 2022).

- TAMSEEL Aqdas, “Emerging Muslim Blocs and Pakistan’s Foreign Policy Dilemma”, *Modern Diplomacy*, September 20, 2020, <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2020/09/20/emerging-muslim-blocs-and-pakistans-foreign-policy-dilemma/>, (accessed July 2, 2021).
- TARIK oguzlu, Yeni Dünya Düzeni ve Türkiye: Nasıl Bir Dış Politika? [New World Order and Türkiye: What Kind of Foreign Policy?], *Panorama*, Jan 18, 2020, <https://www.uikpanorama.com/blog/2020/01/18/yeni-dunya-duzeni-ve-turkiye-nasil-bir-dis-politika/>, (Accessed May 26, 2021).
- TAYYAR Arı, *Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Dış Politika*, 154.
- The Cyprus Dispute At a Glance, *Turkish Heritage Organization*, Issue Brief No.1, May 22, 2017, <https://www.turkheritage.org/en/publications/factsheets/issue-briefs/the-cyprus-dispute-at-a-glance-3300>, (Accessed April 23, 2021).
- The EU Response to the Refugee Crisis in Türkiye, *Delagation of European Union to Türkiye*, 2022, <https://www.avrupa.info.tr/en/eu-response-refugee-crisis-Türkiye-710>, (Accessed April 18, 2022).
- THOMAS Wheeler, “Türkiye’s role and interests in Central Asia”, *SaferWorld*, 2013, pp. 2-7.
- THOMAS Wheeler, “Türkiye’s role and interests in Central Asia”, *SaferWorld*, 2013, p. 10, <file:///C:/Users/isa/Downloads/Türkiyes-role-and-interests-in-central-asia.pdf>
- THOMAS Wright, BRUCE Jones, ROBERT Keane & JEREMY Shapiro, “The State of the International Order”, *Foreign Policy at Brookings*, No: 33, Feb 2014, p. 14.
- TIM Craig, “As the US moves closer to India, Pakistan looks to Russia”, *The Guardian*, January 28, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/03/pakistan-russia-us-obama-india>, (Accessed April 25, 2022).
- TOM Wheeldon, “Türkiye juggles relationships with Russia, Ukraine amid economic crisis”, *France 24*, 2022, <https://www.france24.com/en/middle-east/20220331-Türkiye-juggles-relationships-with-russia-ukraine-amid-economic-crisis>, (Accessed, April 14, 2022).

TUNÇ Demirtaş, Türkiye’Nin Afrika Politikası, [Türkiye’s African Policy], *Kriter*, Vol.6, No. 62, 2021, <https://kriterdergi.com/dis-politika/turkiyenin-afrika-politikasi>.

TURHAN Dilmac, “Türkiye and Russia: From Shared History to Today's Cooperation”, *Center for Strategic Research*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (2018): p. 04.

Türkiye and the African Union, Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2022, <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/Türkiye-and-the-african-union.en.mfa>, **(Accessed April 23, 2022).**

Türkiye backs Pakistan’s stance on sending team to probe human rights violation in Kashmir, *The Indian EXPRESS*, August 2, 2016, <https://indianexpress.com/article/world/world-news/Türkiye-backs-pakistans-stance-on-sending-team-to-probe-human-rights-violation-in-kashmir-2949887/> (Accessed April 20, 2021).

Türkiye in a new period: Challenges and opportunities, Brookings, Oct 21, 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/events/Türkiye-in-a-new-period-challenges-and-opportunities/>, (Accessed May 9, 2022).

Türkiye is willing to explore SEZs under CPEC, China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, Mar 13, 2020, <http://cpecinfo.com/Türkiye-is-willing-to-explore-sezs-under-cpec/>, (accessed July 26, 2021).

Türkiye takes over FETO-linked Schools in Pakistan, Anadolu, January 03, 2019, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/todays-headlines/Türkiye-takes-over-feto-linked-schools-inpakistan/1354576>, (Accessed May 02, 2021).

Türkiye wants to produce fighter jets and missiles with Pakistan: report, *Geo News*, March 2, 2021, <https://www.geo.tv/latest/337667-Türkiye-wants-to-produce-fighter-jets-and-missiles-with-pakistan-report>, (accessed, August 2, 2021).

Türkiye, Pakistan, Afghanistan urge Taliban to commit to Afghan peace talks, Reuters, April 23, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/Türkiye-pakistan-afghanistan-call-taliban-commit-afghan-peace-talks-statement-2021-04-23/>, (accessed May 19, 2021).

Türkiye's Relations with Southern Caucasus Countries, Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Foreign Affairs, https://www.mfa.gov.tr/Türkiye_s-relations-with-southern-caucasus.en.mfa#, (accessed June 06, 2021).

Türkiye's Relations with Southern Caucasus Countries, *Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 2018, https://www.mfa.gov.tr/Türkiye_s-relations-with-southern-caucasus.en.mfa, **(Accessed April 20, 2022).**

Türkiye-Africa Relations, *Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/Türkiye-africa-relations.en.mfa>, (Accessed April 23, 2022).

Türkiye-Africa Relations, *Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/Türkiye-africa-relations.en.mfa>, (Accessed April 23, 2022).

Türkiye-European Union Relations, *Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 2019, https://www.ab.gov.tr/Türkiye-eu-relations_4_en.html, **(Accessed April 18, 2022).**

Turkish strongman Recep Erdogan receives the Chinese coronavirus vaccine as he kick starts his country's immunisation drive, *Mail Online*, 2021, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-9148413/Turkish-strongman-Recep-Erdogan-receives-Chinese-coronavirus-vaccine.html>, (Accessed, April 16, 2022).

U.S.-China Strategic Competition in South and East China Seas: Background and Issues for Congress, *Congressional Research Service Report*, 2022, pp. 1-7, <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/row/R42784.pdf>.

ULVI Keser, "BLOODY CHRISTMAS OF 1963 IN CYPRUS IN THE LIGHT OF AMERICAN DOCUMENTS," *Journal Of Modern Turkish History Studies*, Vol.13, No.26 (2013): p.251.

United States strategic approach to the People's Republic of China, *White House, May 2020*, p. 4, <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/U.S.-Strategic-Approach-to-The-Peoples-Republic-of-China-Report-5.24v1.pdf>, (Accessed April 26, 2022).

VALERIA Talbot, *Türkiye: Towards a Eurasian Shift?* (Ithaca: Ledizioni LediPublishing, 2018); pp. 91-108.

Weixing Hu & Weizhan Meng, "The US Indo-Pacific Strategy and China's Response", *The China Review*, Vol. 20, No. 3, (2020): p. 143.

What's behind the growing Azerbaijan-Pakistan-Türkiye friendship? *TRT World*, Jan 14, 2021, <https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/what-s-behind-the-growing-azerbaijan-pakistan-türkiye-friendship-43259>, (Accessed May 2, 2022).

Why Türkiye is vital for Ukraine, as it balances both sides in Russia conflict, *Atlantic Council*, 2022, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/Türkiyesource/why-Türkiye-is-vital-for-ukraine-as-it-balances-both-sides-in-russia-conflict/>, (Accessed, April 14, 2022).

WILLIAM D. O'Malley, "CENTRAL ASIA AND SOUTH CAUCASUS AS AN AREA OF OPERATIONS: CHALLENGES AND CONSTRAINTS", RAND Corporation, (2003), pp. 249- 268.

WILLIAM Hale, "Türkiye, the U.S., Russia, and the Syrian Civil War", *Insight Türkiye*, Vol. 21, No. 4, (2019), pp. 27-36.

WOLFRAN F. Hanrieder, "The International System: Bipolar or Multibloc?" *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 9, no.3 (1965): 299.

World Economic Situation and Prospects (New York: United Nations, 2020), p.5.

- YASEMIN Yılmaz, “The Impacts of Non-Statist Threats on Alliance Cohesion: Turkish-American Case,” Master’s Thesis, Ihsan Dogramacı Bilkent University, 2017, p. 95.
- ZAMIR A. Awan, “Major Challenges for Pakistan in 2022”, *Modern Diplomacy*, Jan 13, 2022, <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2022/01/13/major-challenges-for-pakistan-in-2022/>, (Accessed May 8, 2022).
- ZAMIR A. Awan, “Major Challenges for Pakistan in 2022”, *Modern Diplomacy*, Jan 13, 2022, <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2022/01/13/major-challenges-for-pakistan-in-2022/>, (Accessed May 8, 2022).
- ZEESHAN Fida. “Central Asia’s Place in Türkiye’s Foreign Policy.” *Policy Perspectives*, Vol.15, No. 1, (2018): pp.114– 121.
- ZEKERIYA Akdag, “Türkiye-Çin ilişkilerinde kuşak-yol Girişiminin önemi, [The importance of belt and road initiative in Türkiye-China relations]”, *Dergipark*, Vol: 9, No: 17, (2019); pp. 65-87.
- ZEYNEP Rakipoğlu, “Cumhurbaşkanlığı Sözcüsü Kalın: Dünya, Avrupa’dan ve ABD’den daha büyüktür” [Presidential Spokesperson Kalin: The World Is Bigger than Europe and the USA], in Anadolu Agency, 3 March 2019, <http://v.aa.com.tr/1407898>, (accessed June 2, 2021).
- ZIKRIYA ,NAUSHAD Khan and ASIF Salim, “Middle East Dilemma: Pakistan’s Role as Mediator for Conflict Resolution”, *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 1, (January-June) 2019, p, 9-18. ANDREW Small, the China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics, (UK: Oxford University Press, 2015): PP. 11-18.
- ZIYA Öniş, “Multiple Faces of the “New” Turkish Foreign Policy: Underlying Dynamics and a Critique”, *Insight Türkiye*, Vol. 13, No. 1, (2011), pp. 48-51.
- ZIYA Öniş, “Türkiye and the Arab Revolutions: Boundaries of Regional Power Influence in a Turbulent Middle East,” *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (2014), pp. 205-207.

