



**BUILDING PEACE, SHARED DEVELOPMENT AND
MUTUAL COOPERATION**

REPORT OF THE NIPS-ORSAM WEBINAR ON

**NORMALIZATION IN THE GULF REGION: SIGNIFICANCE FOR
TURKEY AND PAKISTAN**

PREPARED BY

**NUST INSTITUTE OF POLICY STUDIES, NIPS
AND
CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES, ORSAM**

FEBRUARY 2021

Experts

Speakers

- Engineer Javed Mahmood Bukhari HI (M) (Retd) Rector, National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST); Patron NUST Institute of Policy Studies.
- Professor Dr Ahmet Uysal, President, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, ORSAM; Professor of Political Sociology, Istanbul University, Turkey.
- Ambassador Javed Hafiz (Retd), Former Ambassador of Pakistan to Saudi Arabia.
- Dr Omer Aslan, Department of International Relations, Ankara Yildirim Beyazit University.
- Dr Turan Kislakci, Journalist.

Moderator

- Ambassador Riaz Hussain Khokhar (Retd), Former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan.

Discussants

- Air Chief Marshal Kaleem Saadat (Retd), President Centre for Aerospace and Security Studies.
- Professor Dr Ashfaque Hasan Khan, Principal & Dean, NUST School of Social Sciences and Humanities; Director General, NUST Institute of Policy Studies; Member, Economic Advisory Council, Government of Pakistan.
- Lieutenant General Naeem Khalid Lodhi HI (M) (Retd), Former Caretaker Defence Minister of Pakistan.
- Vice Admiral Waseem Akram (Retd), Former Ambassador of Pakistan to Maldives.
- Ambassador Syed Hassan Javed, Director Chinese Studies Center, NUST; Former Ambassador of Pakistan to Germany.
- Dr Ismail Sari, Senior Fellow ORSAM
- Dr İ. Numan Telci, Deputy President, ORSAM.
- Dr Mustafa Yetim, Senior Fellow, ORSAM.
- Omer Faruk Korkmaz, Former Chief Advisor to the Prime Minister of Turkey.
- Mehmet Ozturk, Journalist.
- Gokhan Erel, Gulf Studies Expert, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, ORSAM.
- Umer Karim, Visiting Fellow, Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), London.
- Dr Ghulam Mujaddid, Professor of Strategic Studies, Air University, Islamabad.
- Professor Syed Hussain Shaheed Soherwordi, Chairman International Relations, University of Peshawar.
- Dr Huma Baqai, Associate Professor of Social Sciences and Liberal Arts, Institute of Business Administration, Karachi.
- Dr Tughral Yamin, Associate Dean, NUST Centre for International Peace & Stability.
- Dr Farah Naz, NUST School of Social Sciences and Humanities.
- Brigadier Amir Yaqub (Retd), Director, Operations & Collaboration, NUST Institute of Policy Studies.

Webinar Rapporteurs & Authors of the Report

- Ali Shah, Head of Research, NUST Institute of Policy Studies.
- Dr Atia Ali Kazmi, Senior Research & Policy Analyst, NUST Institute of Policy Studies.
- Dr. Ismail Sari, Senior Fellow, ORSAM.
- Burç Eryugur, Research Assistant, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, ORSAM.

Contents

Experts	2
Maps	4
Executive Summary	7
1. Introduction	10
2. Defining the Proper Context of Normalization in the Gulf Region	10
2.1. <i>Cessation of Conflict in the Gulf Region and the Middle East</i>	11
2.2. <i>Shared Development for Conflict Mitigation and Resolution</i>	13
2.3. <i>Continuous Inter-Islamic Coordination and Consultation</i>	13
3. Significance of Normalization for Turkey and Pakistan	14
4. Key Areas of Turkey-Pakistan Cooperation	16
4.1. <i>Economy and Trade</i>	16
4.2. <i>Science-based Regional Economic and Urban Development</i>	16
4.3. <i>Higher Education</i>	17
4.4. <i>Culture, Tourism and Media</i>	17
5. Recommendations	18

Turkey



Source: <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/turkey-map.htm>.

Middle East including the Persian Gulf



Source: <https://descargarmaptools.com/map-europe-middle-east/>.

Executive Summary

NUST Institute of Policy Studies (NIPS) and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies – ORSAM, leading Ankara-based Turkish think tank, co-organized the webinar on the significance of normalization in the Gulf region for Turkey and Pakistan on Tuesday, February 09, 2021. The webinar brought together a distinguished panel of veteran diplomats, senior security analysts, IR and security studies academics, and think tank experts from Turkey and Pakistan to discuss and explore the challenges of peace, stability, and shared development in the Gulf region, and the significance of normalization in the region for Turkey and Pakistan. The report has been compiled by NIPS and ORSAM on the basis of analysing and interpreting the collective views of experts presented during the webinar.

The webinar focused on the types, forms, and ramifications of conflict in the Gulf region as well as the Middle East or West Asia as a whole. The deliberations explored why shared development was important for the region to develop smoothly. The webinar identified inter-Islamic coordination, cooperation, and consultation as a mechanism for building trust and confidence as the minimum requirement for peace. It discussed in detailed why normalization in the Gulf region, and by extension in Middle East or West Asia, was important for Turkey and Pakistan. It concluded with exploring the possibility of the development of a comprehensive bilateral partnership between Turkey and Pakistan in key areas like economy, trade, S&T, higher education, and tourism.

Following recommendations emerged from the expert deliberations during the webinar:

1. Pakistan and Turkey should highlight the importance of peace, cessation of conflict and shared development in the Gulf region in a manner that best reflects the collective interests of the region in terms of peace, stability, and progress. In this regard, the need for the regional states to move from individual development to shared development should be highlighted.
2. Pakistan and Turkey should be mindful of each other's strategic compulsions and sensitivities with regard to the region. A spirit of understanding and mutual accommodation tempered with strategic realism should govern their response to each other's position towards the region.
3. Different types and forms of conflict as well as the multiple intersections of actors and forces in these conflicts should be deeply studied to understand the challenges of peace in the region. In this regard, the dynamics of great-power competition should be kept in mind, and the changing dynamics of great power involvement should be monitored to track the impact of this change on Pakistan's relationship with the states in the region. Turkey should do the same. The role played

by hybrid warfare in the constant turmoil in the Middle East should be considered in all its ramifications. Key vulnerabilities of the regional states should be observed which are being exploited by powers bent on distorting the potential of the region for peace.

4. Pakistan and Turkey should promote the need for continuous inter-Islamic coordination, consultation, and cooperation for conflict mitigation and resolution in the region till the critical threshold for peace is visible. Moreover, the focus of this form of coordination should be to take the lead in addressing and resolving all conflicts in the Muslim world, including conflicts with other countries such as Kashmir dispute, Cyprus issue, Israeli-Palestinian conflict, etc.

5. Both Pakistan and Turkey should consider how best to harmonize bilateral and regional development initiatives like CPEC and Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO). Pakistan, Turkey, China, and Iran can consider infrastructure cooperation that facilitates the development of regional transport infrastructure network and connectivity. Energy cooperation among these countries can also be considered, keeping in mind the regional geopolitical compulsions and challenges. In this regard, the resolve of Biden Administration to rejoin JCPOA should be considered and suitable opportunities for future cooperation explored.

6. Pakistan should consider the multiple requirements of maintaining economic, trade, and security complementarities with major Gulf States. It should then act to safeguard these complementarities in the face of the fast changing geopolitical situation in the region without abandoning its principled stance with respect to regional issues. Pakistan should continue to adhere to its policy of balance in the region.

7. Excellency Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Presidency and Excellency Imran Khan's Premiership should provide the impetus for deepening bilateral relations. Pakistan and Turkey should translate their mutual trust and deep friendship into a realistic, concrete, and comprehensive partnership program based on maximizing mutual strengths and optimizing comparative advantage along with the mutual development of competitive advantage. This program should initially consist of the following areas:

i. Economy and Trade

Mutual efforts should be made to enhance bilateral trade with a view to Turkey becoming one of the top three trading partners of Pakistan. Bilateral trade should grow in a balanced manner. Key sectors of mutual cooperation should be IT & ITeS, Manufacturing (high-tech and medium-tech), Creative Industries, Engineering Design, Chemicals, Electronics, Robotics, Artificial Intelligence,

Mobile Payments, Edu-Tech, Biotech, UAVs, Sustainable Energy, Transport Infrastructure and Electric Vehicles.

ii. Science-based regional economic and urban development

Turkey and Pakistan should collaborate on developing new industrial clusters in chosen urban centres in Pakistan. Since Turkey is ahead of Pakistan in this area of development, Turkish expertise should be gainfully employed in mutually beneficial ways in Pakistan. This development should focus on the establishment and operationalization of special economic zones, high-tech development zones, science and technology parks, innovation districts, and areas of innovations. Government-to-government mechanism and the role of private sectors of both countries should be explored in this regard.

iii. Science Diplomacy

Pakistan and Turkey should promote an intense long-term engagement in science diplomacy focused on building and utilizing their respective S&T strengths. Joint efforts should be promoted to build large national research infrastructures so that long-term knowledge-intensive large-scale frontier research in the leading fields of science and technology can be jointly conducted for S&T development.

iv. Higher Education

Higher education cooperation should form the focus of bilateral cooperation. It should promote joint R&D, joint degrees, joint policy research, think tank collaboration, scientific and academic mobility, and the joint development of university campuses of leading Turkish universities in Pakistan and vice versa. The number of scholarships offered by Turkey to Pakistani students and vice versa should also be substantially increased.

v. Tourism

Bilateral tourism cooperation should be promoted, especially by Pakistan, to learn from Turkey's successful experience in the development of global tourism destinations and global tourism industry.

vi. Culture and Media

Joint cultural production aimed at the creation of cultural products that can be consumed both in Pakistan and Turkey should be promoted. Cultural industries focused on such collaborative production should be promoted by both Pakistan and Turkey. These products should include performing arts, visual arts, films, joint TV productions, literary works, arts festivals, cultural expos, broadcasting, print and electronic media, etc. Pakistan and Turkey should promote active cultural diplomacy and commercial diplomacy.

Normalization in the Gulf Region: Significance for Turkey and Pakistan

1. Introduction

Middle East, especially the Gulf region, is witnessing massive shifts leading to the transformation of its traditional geopolitics. The first key trend is the gathering trend of peace with Israel without the conclusive resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which so far has been understood, by and large, to have consisted in the creation of a viable Palestinian state deemed acceptable by the Palestinian people. The second key trend consists in the increasing economic role of India in the region, and possibly defence and security involvement.

The third key trend, associated with the increased Indian regional economic profile, is the possibility of reduced strategic alignment of the key Gulf States with Pakistan which has been one of the cornerstones of the traditional strategic policy of these states. The fourth key trend consists in the emergence of differences of policy and outlook among the Gulf States themselves as was witnessed in recent years in the diplomatic isolation and economic blockade of Qatar by the coalition of Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Egypt.

The fifth key trend is the increased role played by Turkey in the Middle East and the sharp divergence between Turkey and the leading Arab States like Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates. The sixth key trend is the increasing economic relationship of the Gulf States with China focused on its energy imports from the major oil-producing states. This oil-based relationship cuts across the traditional Arab-Iranian regional geopolitical fault line in the context of the development of China-led Belt and Road Initiative. The seventh key trend is the reduced energy reliance of the United States (U.S.) on the major regional producers, which makes the relationship of regional states with the U.S. predominantly strategic security and geopolitics based.

It is important to note that these changes now taking place quite rapidly have been long in the making, and the regional geopolitical shifts that these trends are generating have crossed the critical threshold. As a result, their effects are being keenly observed across the region and beyond. In this fluid regional geopolitical context, it is important to analyse the prospects of normalization in the Gulf region and the significance of this regional normalization for Turkey and Pakistan. This consideration can be smoothly complemented with the estimation of avenues and areas of Turkey-Pakistan cooperation so as to broaden the scope of the development of a comprehensive bilateralism between these two partners that have enjoyed undiminished close and trust-based relations.

2. Defining the Proper Context of Normalization in the Gulf Region

The context of normalization in the Gulf region is bound to vary as the stakeholders involved in the interpretation of this context also vary. This is but natural whenever a

complex problem involving many dimensions, many aspects, and multiple actors is considered. In such situations, it is important to search for that minimum requirement, assumption, or value which allows different stakeholders to build initial consensus from a common ground of mutual understanding. In the context of the normalization in the Gulf region, that minimum requirement is the real, as distinct from professed, willingness of all the stakeholders for regional peace based on the recognition of the need for the cessation of conflict in all forms and the promotion of shared development. This minimum requirement includes the creation of a viable, sustainable, stable, and secure independent state of Palestine acceptable to Palestinian people and enjoying political and economic sovereignty.

2.1. Cessation of Conflict in the Gulf Region and the Middle East

Cessation of conflict in all forms and varieties is the fundamental requirement of peace in the region. This in turn presupposes a close study of the nature of conflicts. Any conflict management and conflict resolution approach would, therefore, do well to consider the general anatomy of regional conflict as well as the specific features of particular conflicts going in the region. In this regard, it is important to note that there are five broad types of conflict in the Middle East.

The first type of conflict is the Arab-Iranian conflict. Its major manifestation is the Saudi-Iranian conflict. This type has traditionally blocked inter-Islamic coordination and cooperation for peace in the region. This conflict has also been driving the key mechanics of other types of conflict.

The second type of conflict is the Arab-Israeli conflict, and its longest running manifestation has been the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Together, these two types of conflicts have defined the geopolitics of Middle East and the Gulf region.

Until recently, the resolution of Arab-Israeli conflict was considered to lie in the mutually satisfactory resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Following the Abraham Accords between the United States, Israel, United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain, however, this simple equation may now be in the process of undergoing revision. It remains to be seen if the general Arab normalization with Israel ahead of the Israeli-Palestinian peace will create the required Arab leverage with Israel leading to Israeli-Palestinian peace settlement or if such an agreement will be to the detriment of a just peaceful settlement for the Palestinians.

The third type of regional conflict is the inter-Arab conflict which is both violent and non-violent. One of the key forms of this conflict currently is the Saudi-Yemeni War. Another form is the non-violent Saudi-led boycott of Qatar for its supposedly autonomous regional policy that is not subordinated to the overarching strategic considerations as subscribed to by the Saudi-led regional bloc. Incidentally, Saudi-Iranian rivalry cuts across both these forms of inter-Arab conflict.

The fourth type of conflict in the region is the intra-state civil conflict that also involves other states in addition to non-state actors. Syrian Civil War and the conflict in Iraq are key forms of this type of intra-state conflict. Saudi-Yemeni conflict also shares important features with this type of conflict. This type is marked by the presence of different types of regional state and non-state players as well as the involvement of great powers like the U.S. and Russia and witness the confluence of conventional and sub-conventional modes of force application termed appropriately as hybrid warfare.

The fifth type of conflict is Iranian-Israeli conflict which is inflected by both Israeli-Palestinian and Saudi-Iranian conflicts but can be reduced to competing Israeli and Iranian aspirations for the regional influence.

One defining feature of all these types of conflicts is that all of them are enmeshed together in the sense that any one type of conflict feeds into the other types. In some cases, conflicts that existed earlier spawned conflicts that emerged later. The major reason of this region-wide conflict aggravation has been the traditional failure to address Saudi-Iranian conflict and Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Hypothetically speaking, even if the Israeli-Palestinian settlement were to be reached, there are no guarantees that it would have a positive effect in terms of addressing Israeli-Iranian or Saudi-Iranian conflicts. But one can assume that the subtraction of one factor from the calculus of regional scenario may have an overall positive impact.

The fact that there is a general regional condition of conflict entanglement means that it may be difficult to resolve any type of conflict in isolation without also considering and treating other types or forms of conflict. The traditional involvement of great powers and the irreconcilable interests of and differences among regional states are general features of these major types of regional conflicts. The involvement of great powers has been usually a negative driver leading to prolongation of conflict. The great-powers involvement in the absence of regional consensus will always be highly likely.

The fundamental quality of these conflicts in so far as regional states and non-state players are concerned is the fear of the restoration of the status quo ante as defined by these regional states. This is true of almost all major regional players. As a result of this mutual entanglement and the fear of reversion to status quo ante, it may not be possible to resolve these conflicts on a case-by-case basis nor is there a collective peace-making approach to be seen. This Catch-22 is a major barrier to any prospect for normalization in the region.

Any credible peace initiative may not be delivered as long as the regional states continue to believe that they can endure and sustain the multiple costs and destruction of conflict. Timely recognition of the possibility of mutual assured attrition and the degradation of capabilities may lead to improvement in the prospects of peace, but this mutual assurance has so far failed to materialize as a result of the different forms

of partnership strategies of regional states that have crystallized around the different types of conflicts.

2.2. Shared Development for Conflict Mitigation and Resolution

The second condition for normalization in the Gulf region in particular and Middle East in general is the establishment of a multilateral and broad-based regional development partnership forum or platform. The presence of conflicts in no way invalidates the desirability or the correctness of the multilateral approach. Therefore, it is important to refer to the broad features of such a prospective regional development partnership. This partnership should be multi-dimensional in nature and should aim for cooperation on common areas. In a nutshell, the main agenda for such cooperation should be based on mutually agreeable patterns, as witnessed in the post-World War II Europe, the trade integration of Southeast Asia and that of the economies of China, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan which took place amidst difficult conditions influenced by histories of conflicts.

The creation of a common regional multimodal infrastructure development network can be the starting point of this proposed regional development partnership. This partnership can begin among groups of countries that have a tradition of working together. With time countries in one group can consider or see the profitability of cooperating with countries in other groups of the region. Initial discussions on energy cooperation instead of energy competition can enable the states in the region to turn energy into a major driver of peace and stability. Trade in goods and services can also be a good starting point. The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) model can be considered for promoting broader cooperation in the region.

Unless the regional states move from individual development to shared development, multiple conflicts will stand no chance for a comprehensive solution and also be the likely targets of exploitation by extra regional forces. Individual development should provide the resources for collective strategies and the pooling of development assets. Shared development can then systematically address regional problems like conflict management, utilization of regional youth bulge, extremism and terrorism, peak oil and oil price volatility, and climate change which no country can manage and tackle on its own. It is better to build this cooperation before mutual attrition has seriously or irreversibly degraded state capacity to a point where even cooperation will not be able to prevent paralysis of key functions of regional states.

2.3. Continuous Inter-Islamic Coordination and Consultation

Inter-Islamic coordination and consultation should form a key part of the conflict management and mitigation strategies. In order to be more effective in future, it has to be recognized frankly that inter-Islamic coordination, consultation, and cooperation have not been particularly successful so far. This has been mainly due to the narrow definition of interest. A broader definition of interest would rationalize regional peace and stability as a key dimension of national interest. It is pertinent to note that

exclusive dimensions of national interest like sovereign survival of states depends increasingly on cooperation with other states.

If not collective, security can at least be coordinated. This is important on grounds of pragmatism, since security cooperation is cost-effective and provides good example for cooperation in other areas. The five types of conflict, as mentioned above, should form the key focus of inter-Islamic coordination and consultation. Key irritants of these major conflict types that are localized in Muslim states should be addressed before those irritants that are located outside the Muslim world. It should be seen if primary conflicts are easier to mediate than secondary conflicts or if the better approach is to address the cluster of causes common across different conflict types.

Addressing conflict management and mitigation through inter-Islamic coordination would also provide the confidence and the opportunity to broach shared development as a cooperative strategy. Inter-Islamic coordination and consultation should, therefore, consider the challenges of shared development in parallel. As indicated earlier, cooperative groups and dyads of regional states should be utilized for building a broad-based multilateral partnership forum or platform around common challenges.

3. Significance of Normalization for Turkey and Pakistan

Normalization in the Gulf region consisting of the cessation of conflict, peace, and shared development will be extremely critical for both Turkey and Pakistan. As regional states experience a boom of development due to this normalization, new and greater growth opportunities will become available to Turkey and Pakistan. These development opportunities will translate into greater trade, security cost-sharing, diversification and improvement in the national economic structure, new destinations for export of goods, services, and manpower, and the diversification of sources of energy imports besides also mitigating own security concerns to a great extent.

For Turkey, some of its major security concerns in Syria and Iraq may be addressed as normalization takes place in the region. For Pakistan, the normalization would mean that the diplomatic pressure of balancing relations with states that are friendly to Pakistan but may not be friendly with each other will be considerably eased. This would allow Pakistan a much-needed respite to deal with the challenges of peace in South Asia. In fact, normalization in the Gulf region would provide a successful example for South Asia to normalize its geopolitics in general and for peace to prevail in the region in particular.

Normalization in the Gulf region may lead to regional states providing support in unison to Pakistan on Kashmir dispute so that it can be settled and resolved in line with UN Security Council resolutions. Secondly, Pakistan may not indefinitely be able to balance its relations between different states in the region locked into rivalry with each other. Therefore, true dividends of economic cooperation may not be fully realized.

In so far as Turkey is concerned, normalization in the Gulf region, no matter how remote it may seem at the moment, will allow Turkey to concentrate on problems in the Aegean. Successful normalization may even allow the beginning of win-win cooperation of regional states amongst each other and with Turkey as it has been more centrally located with respect to the Middle East and the Gulf region and has had greater historical strategic involvement in the region. To steer clear of the regional politics as Pakistan has managed to do may not be an option for Turkey. This means that Turkey's relations with major states in the region are more competitive than those of Pakistan. This has historically consumed sizeable diplomatic and security resources of Turkey as is evident from the conflicts in Iraq, Syria, and even Libya.

Normalization in the Gulf region would perhaps make the geopolitical context less charged so that great-power dynamics would not exert as powerful a pull on the region as they do now. This is especially true in the context of the increased role of Israel and India in the region. These two countries have thrived on how their greater involvement has been encouraged by one of the leading global powers.

China's increased economic and trade relationship with major Gulf States has introduced a new dynamic in the region. The recent China-Iran deal worth around USD 400 billion which will lead to massive Chinese investments in energy, infrastructure, and communications in Iran will unleash a string of fresh impacts on the region. One positive aspect for Pakistan would be the reduced influence of India in Iran. For Turkey, increased Iranian capability may create a new situation as well. Therefore, it is of the essence to seek normalization in the region so that increased capability of any state may be utilized properly in a peaceful environment. A conflict-laden environment would only lead to the foregone utilization of enhanced capability for success in geopolitical competition.

It remains to be seen how the simultaneous engagement of traditional rival states in the region with China changes the regional propensity for conflict. Pakistan and Turkey need to assess separately how this will influence their relations with countries in the region. Envisioning normalization in the context of the greater participation of major regional states in the China-led Belt and Road Initiative will open up new vistas which may help redesign their priorities in the long term. If this integration can be timed to occur concomitantly with a peace initiative in which major regional states have important stakes, it means that great-power participation for once will underpin regional normalization, which has not been the regional experience so far. Collective recognition of legitimate interests of all stakeholders will facilitate the process of normalization. Both Turkey and Pakistan would have to be on guard against the risk of regional security spillovers. Terrorism has been a roving threat for the states in the region as much as it has been for Pakistan and Turkey; lateralization of security threats can easily scuttle the peace process in Afghanistan as well as efforts to end the conflict in Syria.

4. Key Areas of Turkey-Pakistan Cooperation

Based on the deliberations of the experts, following areas of cooperation were identified, which should be initially considered for formulating a comprehensive phase-wise bilateral shared development program for the next 10 to 20 years.

4.1. Economy and Trade

There is an immense potential for mutually beneficial cooperation between Pakistan and Turkey in the domains of economy and trade. The current Pakistan-Turkey bilateral trade is between USD 600 and 800 million, which can be vastly improved. Enhancement of bilateral trade is the need of the hour for both countries. Considering the geopolitically charged regions in which both the countries are located, there is a need for both countries to deepen their relationship with a strong economic foundation so that mutual trust can translate directly into trade complementarities in such a manner that Pakistan increasingly comes to supply Turkey with goods and services that are currently being imported by Turkey from other countries in South Asia. Similarly, Turkey should increasingly cover more items on Pakistan's import list.

Both countries have entered the critical period of their development. Turkey as a newly industrialized economy needs to achieve the nominal GDP of USD 1 trillion in the next 5 to 10 years. Similarly, Pakistan needs to double its GDP in roughly the same period. During this critical period of development, Turkey needs to consistently upgrade the infrastructure for production and growth so as to avoid getting stuck in the middle income trap. On the other hand, Pakistan needs to overcome the low growth trap. The development of a comprehensive strategic economic partnership can help both countries to achieve these goals. Key sectors of mutual cooperation between Turkey and Pakistan should be IT and ITeS, Manufacturing (high-tech and medium-tech), Creative Industries, Engineering Design, Chemicals, Electronics, Robotics, Artificial Intelligence, Mobile Payments, Edu-Tech, Biotech, UAVs, Sustainable Energy, transport infrastructure and Electric Vehicles.

4.2. Science-based Regional Economic and Urban Development

Science-based regional development offers a promising field for mutual cooperation. New industrial clusters such as special economic zones, high-tech development zones, science and technology parks, innovation districts, and areas of innovation have played a massive role in the development of high-quality growth in advanced, newly industrialized, and emerging economies. Turkey has vast experience in this mode of development with a relatively large number of successfully functioning science and technology parks. To give an initial idea of the immense potential of benefiting from Turkey in this special domain of urban development, a simple comparison would suffice; the GDP of the city of Istanbul alone was USD 257 billion in 2019, while the total GDP of Pakistan was projected to be around USD 270 billion in 2020. Mutual

cooperation based on the sharing of resources and experience for the development of different types of these industrial clusters is therefore a natural fit.

Pakistan and Turkey should commit to engage in intense science diplomacy for the purpose of utilizing their mutual S&T strengths and building large research national infrastructures. In connection with science-based regional economic and urban development, smart multimodal infrastructure development also offers a promising field of cooperation between Turkey and Pakistan. Turkey has world-class experience in transport infrastructure development. In this regard, Pakistan-Turkish cooperation can complement CPEC development.

4.3. *Higher Education*

There is an immense potential for higher education cooperation. This should take the form of joint degrees, collaborative university-led R&D, university-affiliated science park cooperation, mutual technology incubation, two-way scientific and academic mobility, scholarly exchange, and campus development of leading Turkish universities in Pakistan and vice versa. For starters, Istanbul University and Middle Eastern Technical University (METU) should consider appropriate and viable forms of collaboration with leading Pakistani universities like NUST, National University of Technology (NUTECH), Pakistan Institute of Engineering & Applied Sciences, (PIEAS), Quaid-i-Azam University (QAU), Ghulam Ishaq Khan Institute of Engineering Sciences & Technology (GIKI), etc. Pakistani and Turkish universities can also consider the consortium approach for higher education infrastructure development.

4.4. *Culture, Tourism and Media*

Turkey is a global leader in tourism development. Leading Turkish cities like Ankara and Istanbul have been ranked among top 20 global city destinations and among top 10 European city destinations. Turkey's tourism revenues in 2019 were USD 34.5 billion, and it attracted 51.9 million international tourists. Despite the pandemic, Turkey's tourism revenues amounted to USD 12.06 billion in 2020, and it attracted 12.03 million visitors. Pakistan can learn a lot from Turkey in this field which can help in developing and deploying a comprehensive national tourism development strategy based on leveraging its potential for promoting different types of tourism.

Pakistan and Turkey can also promote consumption of each other's cultural products. An encouraging trend based on the immense popularity of Turkish dramas and serials has gathered force in Pakistan, but the process has to be two-way and not limited to the simple consumption of Turkey's cultural and entertainment products in Pakistan. It should rather promote joint production of such products. Turkish language learning courses should be initiated in Pakistan and Urdu language learning courses should be arranged and sponsored in Turkey. In this regard, the role of cultural and commercial diplomacy should be crafted in tandem for mutual benefit.

5. Recommendations

Following recommendations were derived from the webinar deliberations:

- i. Pakistan and Turkey should highlight the importance of peace, cessation of conflict and shared development in the Gulf region in a manner that best reflects the collective interests of the region in terms of peace, stability, and progress. In this regard, the need for the regional states to move from individual development to shared development should be highlighted.
- ii. Pakistan and Turkey should be mindful of each other's strategic compulsions and sensitivities with regard to the region. A spirit of understanding and mutual accommodation tempered with strategic realism should govern their response to each other's position.
- iii. Different types and forms of conflict as well as the multiple intersections of actors and forces in these conflicts should be deeply studied to understand the challenges of peace in the region. In this regard, the dynamics of great-power competition should be kept in mind, and the changing dynamics of great power involvement should be monitored to track the impact of this change on Pakistan's relationship with the states in the region. Turkey should do the same. The role played by hybrid warfare in the constant turmoil in the Middle East should be considered in all its ramifications. Key vulnerabilities of the regional states should be observed which are being exploited by powers bent on distorting the potential of the region for peace.
- iv. Pakistan and Turkey should promote the need for continuous inter-Islamic coordination, consultation, and cooperation for conflict mitigation and resolution in the region till the critical threshold for peace is visible in the region. Moreover, the focus of this form of coordination should be to take the lead in addressing and resolving all conflicts in the Muslim world, including conflicts with other countries such as Kashmir dispute, Cyprus issue, Israeli-Palestinian conflict, etc.
- v. Both Pakistan and Turkey should consider how best to harmonize bilateral and regional development initiatives like CPEC and Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO). In this regard, Pakistan, Turkey, China, and Iran can consider infrastructure cooperation that facilitates the development of regional transport infrastructure network and connectivity. Energy cooperation among these countries can also be considered, keeping in mind the regional geopolitical compulsions and challenges. In this regard, the resolve of Biden Administration to rejoin JCPOA should be considered and suitable opportunities for future cooperation explored.
- vi. Pakistan should consider the multiple requirements of maintaining economic, trade, and security complementarities with major Gulf States. It should then act to safeguard these complementarities in the face of the fast changing geopolitical situation in the region without abandoning its principled stance

with respect to regional issues. Pakistan should continue to adhere to its policy of balance in the region.

- vii. Excellency Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Presidency and Excellency Imran Khan's Premiership should provide the impetus for deepening bilateral relations. Pakistan and Turkey should translate their mutual trust and deep friendship into a realistic, concrete, and comprehensive partnership program based on maximizing mutual strengths and optimizing comparative advantage along with the mutual development of competitive advantage. Theirs and the efforts of subsequent leaderships be focused on all the areas as highlighted in the foregoing paras.