



Annual Report 2019

Globalisation in Retreat: Risks and Opportunities



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2019



Globalisation in Retreat: Risks and Opportunities

21st - 22nd October 2019 | Istanbul

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Globalisation in Retreat: Risks and Opportunities

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This book includes summaries and highlights of 8 public sessions, 3 exclusive talks, and 15 closed sessions of the TRT World Forum 2019. The views, themes and discussion points expressed in this TRT World Forum 2019 book are strictly those of the speakers and participants present at the Forum, and do not reflect the official view of TRT World Forum.

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Preface

In October 2019, we held our third annual TRT World Forum with the theme “Globalisation in Retreat: Risks and Opportunities” where we discussed issues ranging from security to regional politics, global cooperation, human rights, far-right extremism and press freedom. The main question we pursued was related to the global nature of our problems and lack of initiatives and capabilities to address them. The timeliness of our theme surprised even us.

Approximately two months after the Forum, a deadly virus appeared in the city of Wuhan in China. It spread quickly in the country, infecting and killing thousands. Subsequently, it spread to more than a hundred countries, disrupting social and economic order and collapsing health systems, rendering borders meaningless.

The incredible speed at which the virus spread exemplified how problems in one region cannot be contained. In this sense, it is similar to the refugee phenomenon and economic distresses that tend to operate across state borders. Unfortunately, the lack of a coordinated and effective response to the pandemic was not unlike how we addressed other pressing issues. International organisations were ineffective. They mostly played an advisory role with little authority. The impulses of nation states to close the borders and to stop the trade of critical goods were all but unsurprising. The response of the European Union was underwhelming as always. Throughout the crisis, the Union lost its credibility in the eyes of its members and the rest of the world.

From the day we started TRT World in 2015, we tried to emphasize that we are all in the same boat. We have covered issues that were global either in terms of their causes or effects. We did that without ignoring the concerns of the voiceless and the disempowered. We took it upon ourselves to be the voice of the voiceless and give a platform to those who want to be heard, without excluding challenging opinions. We created TRT World Forum with the same sensitivity. The Forum is designed to be a hub for discussing global issues with significance. It aims at bringing academics, journalists, artists, activists, and leaders of all stripes to not only point out the problem but also create a meaningful force for its solution.

I believe TRT World Forum 2019 has been a success in accomplishing these tasks. We were able to bring together more than 1500 speakers and participants who discussed critical global issues for two days. They shared their profound insights and crucial angles in service of a better world. This book is a synopsis of these ideas.

The global pandemic of 2019-2020 revealed once again how the world is inseparably connected. It has motivated us to work even harder and speak even louder. It renewed our belief that we are all indeed in the same boat. In the years to come, we hope to emphasise this point further across many more TRT World Forums.

İbrahim Eren
Director General and Chairman, TRT





WELCOME THE WORLD FORUM 2019

Executive Summary

The collapse of the Soviet Union at the beginning of the 1990s marked the beginning of the end of the bipolar structure of the international system. The dissolution of the Soviet Union paved the way for a unipolar system under the auspices of the United States. During the last three decades, globalisation increasingly became the norm in the international system.

However, this era did not reflect entirely the Fukuyama-esque 'End of History' paradigm, which assumed total victory for Western-liberalism. Today, the world is once again evolving into a multipolar system with the rise of China and Russia as great powers. Moreover, emerging powers from the Global South, such as Turkey, Brazil, India, South Korea and South Africa, are increasing their share in the world economy and expanding their respective footprints in international institutions, bringing different approaches to the challenges the world faces.

Furthermore, the higher pace of global economic activity, the increasing connectivity between cultures and the rise of international organisations are being challenged by rising nationalism, which views such hyper-globalisation as a threat to national identities and the sovereignty of the nation-state. Moreover, globalisation's failure to address the needs of the world's least developed communities also impeded its potential of becoming a universally accepted norm.

This year, TRT World Forum was organised under the theme "Globalisation in Retreat: Challenges and Opportunities". More than 1500 esteemed speakers and guests, including politicians, academics, journalists and members of civil society, engaged in stimulating discussions on the challenges that lay before our world. During the two-day Forum, 8 public sessions, 3 exclusive talks, 15 closed sessions and several private meetings were held.

Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan delivered a speech titled "Globalisation in Retreat: Reflections on the World Order" as the guest of honour in the 2019 edition of the Forum. President Erdoğan observed that the discourse on globalisation has, for several decades, built the image of a mighty political, economic and technological behemoth that sways states and societies. However, today this paradigm has come under increasing scrutiny. Political, economic, and social opponents of globalisation around the world have become more vocal. A vital aspect of the emerging debate is the lack of adequate representation in the institutions that govern the world order. To illustrate this point, the United Nations was established almost 75 years ago on the bases that it would end wars and solve conflicts. However, five countries which claimed victory in the Second World War, gave themselves veto powers as part of a Permanent Security Council over the rest of the world. This step has gone on to weaken the role of this leading world organisation, as a privileged few have tended to impede equitable solutions to conflicts. In this context, President Erdoğan repeated his call to restructure international institutions such as the United Nations Security Council by employing his now-famous slogan, 'the world is bigger than five'.

The first session, "Allure of Identity Politics in a Globalised World", discussed the rise of economic and social divisions within society which leads to instability around the world. In his keynote speech, the leader of the Pakatan Harapan Coalition and President of People's Justice Party of Malaysia, Anwar Ibrahim, pointed to the ignorance and lack of appreciation of others as the greatest threat to the world. Moreover, Ibrahim critiqued Western hegemony over the concept. François Burgat, a Senior Research Fellow at the French National Centre for Scientific Research, claimed that the ongoing social breakdown around globalisation is rooted in the Western colonial past. The Council of Europe's Director of Anti-Discrimination Jeroen Schokkenbroek, highlighted the rise of populism in liberal democracies. A Member of the United Kingdom's House of Lords, Nazir Ahmed, drew attention to the system of checks and balances and the protection of human rights as a means of curtailing the negative effects of populist identity politics. Former Federal Minister of Pakistan Javed Jabbar, acknowledged the positive effects of globalisation such as global connectivity and the reduction of poverty. However, he argued that globalisation should be based on a collective sense of humanity rather than on aggressive capitalist expansion. Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister Sayed Kazem Sajjadpour pointed to the exploitation of fear in society by politicians and the media.

The second session of the day, "NATO Under the Gun: The Emergence of Security Challenges", addressed NATO's position regarding the new security challenges facing the world. Keynote speaker Turkish Defence Minister Hulusi Akar emphasised transnational terrorism, hybrid warfare, artificial intelligence and autonomous systems as constituting some of the most important new security challenges. Akar stressed the importance of a unified vision among NATO members to tackle these challenges. On the issue of Turkey's anti-terrorist operations in Northern Syria, NATO's Assistant Secretary-General Tacan İldem reasserted NATO's recognition of Turkey's legitimate security concerns. Turkish Deputy Foreign Minister Yavuz Selim Kiran criticised NATO allies for not showing enough support to Turkey's fight against terrorism. Former Deputy Prime Minister of Poland Jan Vincent-Rostovski drew a wider vision for NATO as the protector of the rules-based international order. More so, Director of Foreign Policy Studies at The Heritage Foundation Luke Coffey argued that NATO should turn back to its primary purpose of territorial defence. Aleksei K. Pushkov, Chairman of the Commission on Information and Media of Russia's Federal Assembly, said that Russia does not have conflict with any NATO member and suggested that dialogue between Russia and NATO should be re-established.

The third session, "The Future of Turkey-US Relations: Political and Security Dimensions", covered the ongoing tensions between the two countries and the future of bilateral relations. According to Çağrı Erhan, President of Altınbaş University, the US refusal to extradite Fethullah Gülen, leader of the July 15, 2016 coup attempt, is one of the primary dynamics negatively impacting relations. Michael Doran, a Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute and Kılıç Buğra Kanat, a Senior Fellow at the TRT World Research Centre, emphasised US support to PKK/YPG as a fundamental source of the tension. Former US Ambassador Matthew Bryza pointed out that there was a lack of understanding of Turkey's concerns in Washington DC. Regarding the future trajectory of relations, the speakers agreed that the two countries are too valuable for each other and that these tensions would not likely reach an unsalvageable point.

The fourth session, "New Horizons for Emerging Powers: Co-operation or Competition?", explored the relations between the developed and emerging states and their possible implications on the world order. The keynote speaker, Turkish Treasury and Finance Minister Berat Albayrak, stated that the world needs a new vision in order to tackle today's challenges and to reduce ongoing tensions. Albayrak also emphasised the importance of free trade for both the developed and emerging states and pointed to the damaging effects of protectionist policies. Rafidah Aziz, Former International Trade and Industry Minister of Malaysia, also touched upon the destructive effect of trade wars, frozen conflicts and unstable socio-economic dynamics as a risk to development. Former Chief

Executive of Hong Kong, Leung Chun-Ying, pointed out the importance of free travel and trade for the mutual growth of all countries. Former Argentinian President Eduardo Duhalde expressed his admiration of the European Union as a platform of cooperation and asserted that Latin America lacked such a platform and continued to focus on disputes rather than cooperation. On the other hand, Chairman of the Valdai Discussion Club, Andrey Bystritskiy, compared the current global atmosphere to the dissolution of the Soviet Union in the 1990s and pointed to the risks of instability in the global theatre.

The second day of the 2019 TRT World Forum opened with the session, "The Threat of Far-right Extremism: War on Terror 2.0?". This session emphasised the changing character of terrorism, the dynamics of the far-right's rise, and the role of social media and examined propositions to overcome these issues. Bosniak Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Šefik Džaferović gave a keynote speech and stressed the importance of not categorically relating any religion or ethnicity to terrorism. The President also presented Bosnia and Herzegovina as an example of coexistence, where Bosniak, Serbian and Croatian communities live together in peace. Continuing on President Džaferović's lines, a member of the United Kingdom's House of Lords Richard Balfe also expressed the importance of not relating any religion to terrorism, and pointed to the need for new regulations on communications to prevent terrorism. Professor of Computer Science Megan Squire also touched on the issue and stressed the dangers of online platforms as a source of radicalisation. In this regard, Editor Emeritus of the Toronto Star Haroon Siddiqui suggested that social media outlets should be partners in creating a solution to this problem. Professor Talip Küçükcan, a Senior Fellow at the TRT World Research Centre, pointed to the role of far-right populist parties on the rise of far-right extremism and argued that these parties should not be given legitimacy. Contrary to Küçükcan, Shadi Hamid, a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution, expressed that as long as these parties do not promote violence they should have the right to express their ideas.

The sixth session, "The Middle East at a Crossroad: Regional Responses to Shifting Challenges", focused on the challenges facing the region. Keynote speaker and co-founder of Tunisia's Ennahda Party, Rached Ghannouchi, touched upon his country's successful transition to democracy following the Arab Spring, while also pointing out continuing challenges such as the ongoing economic difficulties in his country. Former Libyan Deputy Prime Minister Mustafa Abushagur pointed to the negative effect of the involvement of international actors on the region. CEO of the Shaikh Group, Salman Shaikh, argued that the United States' diminishing role in the region would lead to the emergence of new alliances and dynamics. On this issue, Chairman of Foreign Affairs of the AK Party, Cevdet Yılmaz, emphasised Turkey's efforts to help bring stability to Syria and the wider region. General Coordinator of the SETA Foundation, Burhanettin Duran, discussed Turkey's ongoing military operations in Syria and its efforts to establish a safe zone to provide safety for civilians. Head of the Egyptian Revolutionary Council Maha Azzam stressed the Egyptian regime's inability to address people's needs. Taking a different approach, Director of News and Programmes at TRT Arabi, Resul Serdar Ataş highlighted the media's positive role in the region for the strengthening of democracy.

The seventh session, "The Assassination of Jamal Khashoggi: A Reflection of Regional Politics?" discussed the Saudi journalist's murder and its implications on the regional politics of the Middle East. According to Leader of Egypt's Ghad el-Thawrah Party, Ayman Nour, Khashoggi was murdered to browbeat a wave of reform demands. Editor-in-Chief of Middle East Eye David Hearst touched upon Khashoggi's vision to bring democracy to the region. Continuing on the same line, Yahya Ibrahim Assiri, the Director of ALQST, stressed that the Saudi state does not want any Muslim country to have democracy, since it would be seen as an alternative model of governance for the Saudi people. Advisor to the Chairman of the AK Party Yasin Aktay, stated that the Saudi journalist was murdered in Turkey to harm Turkish democracy and its reputation among Muslim societies. Khashoggi's Fiancée, Hatice Cengiz, elaborated that the murder had a negative impact on the Saudi state and the Presi-



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dent of Women Journalists without Chains, Tawakkol Karman, criticised Western governments for turning a blind eye to the murder for the sake of economic benefits.

The final session, "The EU: A Vote of No Confidence?", revolved around the EU's future in the light of recent developments such as Brexit, the refugee crisis and ongoing economic challenges. Commenting on the Brexit campaign, Former Member of the British Cabinet Sayeeda Warsi said the campaign was xenophobic and misrepresented political and economic realities. However, Warsi also criticised EU institutions, arguing that there is a democratic deficit with regards to the needs and demands of member-states. On the contrary, Member of the European Parliament Anna Maria Bildt stressed that it is the heads of the member states and the parliamentarians that take final decisions regarding policy. Agreeing on the challenges it faces, Former President of Croatia Ivo Josipovic stressed that the EU is the most suitable way forward for the future of Europe. Former Prime Minister of Finland Esko Aho, said that because of the challenges the United Kingdom is facing, there would not likely be any further exits from the EU in the near future. Talking on the EU's enlargement process, Turkey's Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Faruk Kaymakcı stated that the EU's hesitant attitude towards candidate countries creates divisions and damages the interests of the Union.

In addition to the 8 public sessions, the 2019 TRT World Forum hosted 3 exclusive talks. In the first exclusive talk titled "Demystifying Turkey's Operation Peace Spring", Turkey's Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu elaborated on Turkey's military operations against Daesh and the PKK/YPG in Northern Syria and its efforts to establish a safe zone in the region to protect civilians. Turkey's Former Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım was the host of the second exclusive talk, "Trade Wars and the Risks to Global Growth". Yıldırım focused on trade wars and the negative effects of protectionist economic policies on global growth, peace and prosperity. In the last exclusive talk titled "Managing Migration: Europe and the Refugee Crisis", the President of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent, Francesco Rocca, argued that Europe's attitude towards addressing the refugee crisis is against humanitarian values and European norms.

15 closed sessions were also held during the two-day Forum. For the past three years, these invitation-only events have become a platform for in-depth engagement with the participation of high profile politicians, academics, journalists and civil society members representing various fields of inquiry. The closed sessions were run according to Chatham House Rule, paving the way for the participants to freely engage in challenging discussions. Critical matters such as the state of multilateralism, challenges to the liberal order, the international community's failure to respond to humanitarian crises and the fight against terrorism were all discussed. Furthermore, the closed sessions elaborated on issues affecting Turkey, the United States, the European Union, Russia, China, the Middle East, Africa and Central Asia.

Building on the success of the 2017 and 2018 Forums, the 2019 edition proved that the TRT World Forum has become a global platform for constructive discussion concerning important issues facing our world. We are grateful to our distinguished speakers and guests for bringing their invaluable perspectives to the TRT World Forum in order to develop prescriptions for the well-being of humanity. Finally, it has been a great opportunity to work with a highly outstanding team to organise such a fruitful event.

Pinar Kandemir
Founder and Director, TRT World Forum



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Speech by the Guest of Honour Globalisation in Retreat: Reflections on the World Order

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan



President of the Republic of Turkey

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has served as the President of Turkey since August 10, 2014, and is the first President of Republic of Turkey elected by popular vote. He is also the founder and Chairman of the Justice and Development Party. The first major breakthrough in Mr. Erdoğan's career was his election to the office of Mayor of Metropolitan İstanbul. There, he was able to solve some of the most chronic problems facing the city such as lack of clean water, garbage collection and traffic congestion. Prior to his presidency, he served as Prime Minister from 2003 to 2014. During his tenure, he addressed many issues ranging from democratisation to the economy; expanding democratic rights of Kurds, Alevis and other minorities in the country, as well as overseeing an increase in per capita income from \$3,500 to almost \$11,000. Leading a country in one of the most volatile regions of the world, he has been a staunch supporter of various regional initiatives and reforms in international institutions. President Erdoğan was sworn in on July 9, 2018 as the first President of the new Presidential System which Turkey adopted following a constitutional amendment approved by a referendum on April 16, 2017.

Dear Participants of the TRT World Forum, I sincerely salute you. I also welcome our foreign guests to Turkey.

I wish TRT World Forum, which I regard as a fruitful platform for discussions about our world, region and country, success. TRT World Forum is taking firm steps towards becoming one of the most prestigious platforms of our region and the world for developing solutions to global questions. The Forum welcomes politicians, academics and opinion leaders from around the world who hold different ideas.

Reports will be prepared at the end of the two-day-long [Forum] on discussions [that will take place] in both public and closed sessions. The statements, solutions and recommendations in those reports will be shared with the world.

This year, the theme of the Forum is "Globalisation in Retreat: Risks and Opportunities". I believe the Forum will be a source of inspiration for political, economic and social developments on this theme.

I find it significant that we are coming together to discuss and offer solutions at a time when we face crises on a global scale. This kind of a gathering of different voices from across the world epitomizes the very basis of democracy and justice.

Those who confirmed that they were going to participate in the Forum but then cancelled their participation under the pretext of [their opposition] to Operation Peace Spring have, in fact, missed an important opportunity. I believe that those who refused to speak here as a protest against Operation Peace Spring, which was launched by Turkey to



clear the region of terrorists, have not really internalised democracy. Given the fact that many people who hold different ideas and world views are here, together, this stance [of rescinding participation] is not compatible with democratic values and ethics.

I would like to give thanks to the participants for their principled attitudes and for the assessments that they are going to offer. I would like to congratulate the TRT team for initiating and successfully maintaining this event in our country.

Dear Guests...

The world undergoes a new and radical change every century. On one side of this change, we see great ravages, pain, oppression and injustice. On the other side, we see a new frame, a new ascension and a new order of welfare. Which side they are on is of paramount importance to societies. When it comes to the rulers of countries, we evaluate them based on their choices in these junctures.

In Turkey's region, these ups and downs have been the rhythm throughout the history of humanity. The largest civilisations, cultures and works of art and thought have been generated in these lands and, subsequently, spread to the

world. Likewise, the greatest pains have been experienced here, either due to internal conflicts or as a result of external shocks.

Although the centre of gravity that influences the rest of the world seems to have changed in the last few centuries, this region still remains as a centre of struggle. This being the case, our country, unavoidably, becomes a focal point.

In fact, the presence and impact of Turks in Anatolia have a long history. If we consider the 1071 Manzikert victory as the turning point, our presence is almost one thousand years old. Our presence here is a continuous process from the Anatolian Seljukids to the Ottoman Empire and to the Turkish Republic. One of the most critical stages of this process happened approximately one hundred years ago.

In the new world order, which was to be established after the First World War, there was no room for the Turkish people and state. They, so to speak, bestowed us a state, confined to a small land within Anatolia with no political, economic or military power. We, as people, refused this abasement.

After our victory in the War of Independence, the agreement, which was reached in the Treaty of Lausanne, was the minimum of what we would accept. We reached this result through making serious concessions from the National Pact borders, which was the main aim of our War of Independence that was shaped in the line of Samsun, Erzurum, Sivas and Ankara. No doubt that these concessions have to be considered, evaluated and judged according to the circumstances of that era. This task belongs to historians.

Today, our task is that we should continue our way through establishing new goals and visions that are in line with our one-thousand-year-long presence in Anatolia and the power of our people.

Dear Guests,

When we look at what happened in this region in the last century, except for a few countries like Turkey which gained its independence and achieved development on its own [terms], everybody is despondent, troubled and weak.

Neither oil- and natural gas-generated financial power, nor territorial and population magnitude, nor the efforts for surrendering to the new order managed to change this reality. It has clearly been understood that those countries whose

We would like to build the new world order based on justice and peace, not on oppression and pain as is the case in the previous one, we should first agree on this issue and exhibit the necessary will for collective action.

borders were drawn not with blood and sweat but drawn with rulers will never become real states.

We have, once again, experienced the fact that freedom is not something bestowed by others, but rather a sacred value which is deserved, fought for, acquired by the power of hearts and bodies and preserved tenaciously. This is the difference between Turkey and other states in this region. We are a people that paid a heavy price for what we have. We are still paying that price.

I believe that the analyses on Turkey should be based on this historical perspective rather than Orientalist frameworks. Otherwise, errors will be unavoidable. These errors are rectified by our people's determination and our state's power, which is generally neglected and disregarded.

The recent developments that we face in Syria and the Eastern Mediterranean are examples that these errors are doomed to be rectified. In order to prevent misunderstandings, I would like to underline a fact once again. Turkey is not interested in any country's land. We take such an accusation as an insult.

We only defend our rights and the rights and future of our brothers, who, we consider as an inseparable part [of us]. A nation whose past does not contain any colonisation, massacres, oppression or devastation, cannot have any other goal. Others might have different interests in Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Africa or the Balkans. However, the only reason for Turkey's presence is its common fate with its brothers.

This is a great virtue that cannot be understood by those who attach more value to a drop of oil than a drop of blood. Those who expect the descendants of Yunus Emre and Mevlana [Rumi] to behave differently will fail to drag our country into their crisis.

We will continue naming the oppressors as 'oppressor,' terrorists as 'terrorist,' injustice as 'injustice' and oppression as 'oppression.' We will continue our struggle against them, considering its price as a medal of honour.

Dear Guests ...

Denying globalisation at a time when technology and communication have made unprecedented advances would be

nothing more than deceiving ourselves. Instead of neglecting globalisation, what we should do is to avail the opportunities of this process in order to construct a better future for humanity.

TRT World Forum's theme exactly matches the key points we raised. These discussions are seminal for our world, which [continues] to experience the pains of the transition to a new stage from the global order that was established a century ago.

This will be disappointing for the advocates of the old world order, who tend to develop their ideas and actions within its parameters. The reactions against Operation Peace Spring should be viewed within that frame, despite the fact that Turkey aims to secure its borders and create an opportunity for Syrian migrants to return to their country voluntarily.

It is clear that countries cannot be subordinated through using terror organisations as proxies. The time of those who rule people behind the scenes is over. Diplomacy can no longer remain a tool for the powerful to pressure others. The distorted order established using every means possible, including coups, has come to the end.

It should be noted that targeting economic relations, the weakest link within the global order, for political gain is the same as committing suicide. Our country, in the last six years, experienced this phenomenon, paid the price and exposed that this is wrong.

What is worse is that we are alone in this struggle. We would expect the international community to exhibit a strong stance against the political, diplomatic and economic vandalism that our country has faced during its struggle against terror organisations. Unfortunately, we have been deeply disappointed. Except for a few countries and institutions, nobody took this honourable stance.

As long as this principled stance is not demonstrated, any country or society will remain under threat. Instead of empathising with Turkey, they believe that the terror and migration problems will be limited to our territories forever. However, they are mistaken. Building walls is not a solution for [solving] terror and migration. Limiting ourselves to the borders in which we live in security and prosperity is not a solution either.

The problem that we face is, first of all, a question of humanity; a question of marking your position in the distinction between being human and being an oppressor. Leaving the victims and those who did their best to welcome them to shoulder the burden is nothing but injustice and selfishness. More importantly, this is not a sustainable stance.

Benefitting from the outcomes of globalisation, but at the same time ignoring its problems, which are the results of obliqueness in the process, signal an unhealthy frame of mind. The new world order is shaped under such circumstances.

Dear friends ...

Turkey is doing its best not only in its region, but in every corner of the world, to fulfil its responsibilities. That is why we are in Syria. That is why we are in every corner of our ancient geography, from the Balkans to South Asia. That is why we are working to respond to any appeal to us from Africa to South America. That is why we say, "the world is bigger than five". That is why we demand the re-structuring of the institutions of the global system, primarily the United Nations.

Our demand for us is the same as our demand for humanity. We expect this principled and just stance from other countries as well. If we would like to build the new world order based on justice and peace, not on oppression and pain as is the case in the previous one, we should first agree on this issue and exhibit the necessary will for collective action.

In such an atmosphere, the themes that will be discussed at the TRT World Forum cover the subjects that our country wishes for humanity and endeavours to actualise. The more we facilitate discussions, the more we will gain together at the end.

We have only one request for those who challenge our country's statements, concerns, wishes, proposals and actions. Do not evaluate us with the views provided by terrorist organisations. Do not evaluate us with the words of Turkey's sworn enemies. Come and see [for yourself] what is happening here. While listening to us, abandon the filters of historical and political biases. Be open, transparent and sincere. Then, you will be able to see that there are many things that we can do together.

These types of discussion platforms are important in terms of providing an opportunity to listen to each other. I would like to thank you, the valuable participants whom I regard as opinion leaders, policymakers and representatives of consciousness and common sense. I thank you for enabling discussion and openness.

I wish the best for the Forum. Once again, I congratulate the TRT team for this felicitous effort. I express my regards to you.

Take care of yourselves.

These types of discussion platforms are important in terms of providing an opportunity to listen to each other. I would like to thank you, the valuable participants whom I regard as opinion leaders, policymakers and representatives of consciousness and common sense. I thank you for enabling discussion and openness.

Public Sessions

SE IN
PULISM AND
HNO-EUROPEAN
PREMACY

IS THE MEDIA NARRATIVE
PERPETUATING
ISLAMOPHOBIA?



Exclusive Talk

Demystifying Turkey's Operation Peace Spring



- Turkey supports the political process and believes that there is no military solution to the Syrian crisis which should be resolved politically.
- Turkey wants to secure its border with Syria from terrorist elements and wants to create a safe zone in Syria so refugees can return to their country.
- The PKK/YPG terrorist organisation aims to divide Syria and create a de facto state along the Turkish border.
- The PKK/YPG continues to launch indiscriminate attacks against Turkey. Since the operation, Turkey has been hit with more than 1080 rockets and mortars in communities near Syrian border, which have led to the deaths of 20 civilians.
- The goal of 'Operation Peace Spring' is to eliminate the threat of the PKK/YPG along Turkey's border with Syria, guarantee Syria's territorial integrity and secure a safe zone for the voluntary return of refugees.
- The deal between Turkey and the US entails the US accepting the legitimacy of the operation and its objective, the withdrawal of YPG elements from the area under consideration and the collection of heavy weapons and demolitions of fortifications.

Summary of the Session

The panel 'Demystifying Turkey's Operation Peace Spring' discussed Turkey's recent military operation to eliminate the terrorist threat from the PKK/YPG in Northeast Syria.

The keynote speaker, Turkey's Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, explained Turkey's policy towards Syria and what Turkey wants in the country. Çavuşoğlu said that Turkey believes that there is no military solution to the Syrian conflict and strongly supports the political process. Çavuşoğlu also added that as one of the guarantors of the Astana peace talks, Turkey will continue its commitment to reach a political settlement in Syria.

Minister Çavuşoğlu discussed all the aspects of Operation Peace Spring, including why the operation was launched and what Turkey was trying to achieve through the operation. Çavuşoğlu stressed that the PKK/YPG terrorist organisation has been trying to establish a de facto state in Northeast

Syria. Moreover, the PKK/YPG has increased its attacks on Turkey and in Syria. It is in this context that Turkey launched 'Operation Peace Spring' to eliminate the threat of PKK/YPG, to guarantee Syria's territorial integrity and to ensure the safe return of Syrian refugees who escaped not only Daesh and the Syrian Regime, but also the PKK/YPG in Northeast Syria.

Lastly Çavuşoğlu talked about the planned safe zone agreed with the US and its importance for peace and stability in Syria. Çavuşoğlu explained that as a result of the agreement with the US, Turkey agreed to pause its operation until the PKK/YPG fully completes its withdrawal from Northeast Syria and abandons the heavy weapons supplied by the US. Çavuşoğlu explained that following the withdrawal, Turkey plans to establish a safe zone in northern Syria so the displaced Syrians can return to their country if they choose.



Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu's Highlights



Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu is the Minister of Foreign Affairs, a position he has held for the 62nd, 64th and 65th Governments of the Republic of Turkey. From December 2013 to August 2014, he served as the Minister for EU Affairs. From 2010 to 2012, he served as the President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) and following this, he became the PACE representative at the Venice Commission, a position he held from 2012 to 2014. Prior to these roles, he served as Chairman of the Turkish Delegation to the European Security and Defence Assembly from 2007 to 2010.

- ” Before talking about ‘Operation Peace Spring’, let me tell you what we want? What does Turkey want in Syria? First of all, Turkey supports the political process very strongly, there is no military solution and we believe that the Syrian conflict can only be resolved politically.
- ” Another aim of Turkey has been to create a safe zone on the other side of our border with Syria. Why? First of all, national security is vitally important for our nation and we have to clean our borders from terrorists. Secondly, we are laying the ground for safe and voluntary returns. More than 360,000 Syrians from Turkey have been returned to two areas we cleaned from terrorist elements.
- ” Why did we start ‘Operation Peace Spring’? How did we come to that stage? The PKK/YPG became stronger each day and increased their attacks towards Turkey, establishing a de facto terror state in the north-eastern part of Syria.
- ” Despite our repeated requests, some allies, mainly the United States, continued to provide additional arms [to the YPG] even after the defeat of Daesh. The PKK/YPG oppressed local people without any discrimination, including Kurds in Syria and Arabs, Christian minorities and Turkmens as well.
- ” Trump himself requested [President] Erdoğan to work together to establish a safe zone. The creation of a safe zone was the idea of President Erdoğan for many years. We tried to work with the United States to create a safe zone with goodwill. Yet it failed. The US security establishment did not fulfil its promises, did not fulfil their president’s instructions. Can you imagine that while we were working on the ground with the US to create a safe zone, on the other side, the US continued providing weapons to the YPG?
- ” We are committed to the territorial integrity of Syria more than anybody else. This is also important for stability in our region. We have no plans to modify the demographics in the region. It is YPG that tried to change the demographic structure with the support of our allies and now are controlling almost 27 per cent of the territory of Syria.
- ” The US admitted our legitimate security concerns and the US accepted the legitimacy of the operation and its objective. The safe zone will be controlled by the Turkish army. The political process is confirmed; withdrawal of YPG elements in 120 hours. They have to withdraw according to this joint statement within 120 hours. The collection of heavy weapons and demolitions of the fortifications is also in this joint statement. And of course, the US agreed to lift all sanctions. We cannot work with sanctions. Sanctions are only counterproductive.
- ” Our priority is the elimination of the PKK/YPG on the ground. Once this is ensured, we are ready to work with all actors, small groups, Astana guarantors and the international community, of course, led by the United Nations, to reach a political settlement and peace and stability in Syria.

We are committed to the territorial integrity of Syria more than anybody else. ... We have no plans to modify the demographics in the region.

Session 1

The Allure of Identity Politics in a Globalised World



- The rise of populism is the result of the growing insecurities and the exploitation of them to spread fear in society by populist politicians.
- Democracy should not be limited to the ballot box but should consider the rights of minorities and the oppressed.
- Identity politics can be necessary if it is protecting rights and calling for positive developments in society. It can become dangerous if it is used to spread fear and to create dominance over others.
- Diversity and respect towards various ideas, nationalities, ethnic backgrounds, faith and genders is the key to achieve social stability and peace.

Summary of the Session

The panel “The Allure of Identity Politics in a Globalised World” discussed the current increase in social and political instability that has ignited economic, religious and ethnic divisions in various societies around the world.

In his keynote speech, the leader of the Pakatan Harapan Coalition and President of People’s Justice Party of Malaysia, Anwar Ibrahim, stated that one of the greatest threats the world is facing is ignorance, defined by an absence of appreciation of difference rather than the absence of knowledge. His remarks on globalisation marked the argument that defines globalisation as an experience and rejects Western dominance over the concept.

Jeroen Schokkenbroek and Lord Nazir Ahmed drew attention to the debate around the usage of identity politics and the importance of media, the checks and balance mechanisms of democracies and necessary concepts such as the protection of human rights and the separation of powers. According to Schokkenbroek, the rise of populism and politicians who exploit instability and the fears of masses has become visible not only in developing countries but also in the developed countries of the West.

A philosophical and academic debate took place among panellists on the importance of the immediate response to the negative usage of identity politics. Schokkenbroek provided remarks on the threat of the rise of the populism while discussing the dangers of increases in social inequality and its exploitation by politicians to gain votes and scapegoat minorities, refugees or migrants. For Seyed Kazem Sajjadpour, both politics and media have become the main tools in this process to exploit and spread fear in society.

Panellists also discussed the universality of human rights as a unifying doctrine, which all societies can build their political system on and stand against the rising tide of populism. Javed Jabbar stressed the positive sides of globalism such as the reduction of poverty and developments in global connectivity and argued that we should build globalisation upon our collective sense of humanity rather than on aggressive capitalist expansion. On the other hand, François Burgat criticised former colonial powers and their denial of their imperialist history -especially by France- in the context of ongoing social breakdown that has its roots in the colonial period.



Keynote Speaker

Anwar Ibrahim's Highlights
**Leader of the Pakatan Harapan Coalition and
President of People's Justice Party of Malaysia**

Anwar Ibrahim is the leader of Malaysia's ruling Pakatan Harapan coalition, President of the People's Justice Party. He served as Deputy Prime Minister from 1993- 1998 and Finance Minister from 1991-1998. For his principled stance on issues of justice and the rule of law, he has spent over ten of the past twenty years in solitary confinement as a prisoner of conscience. During this time, he has also written and lectured extensively on topics including good governance, human rights and political reform, and has held teaching positions at Oxford, John Hopkins, and Georgetown universities.

- ” Two years after 9/11, an outstanding Palestinian Christian scholar, Edward Said in his devastating critique of Huntington's “clash of civilizations” and Fukuyama's “End of History” used the term “clash of ignorance”. Our discourse today is dealing with a society completely ignorant of others as we are still talking about xenophobia and Islamophobia.
- ” There is no concern for terrorist activities. There is no concern for the safety and security of nations. It is just pure prejudice and pure rhetoric based on utter ignorance. Now, I'm using the term ignorance here, not necessarily in terms of not knowing, but no attempt to appreciate the difference.
- ” It is always a classic case that we Muslims talk about differences of religions and identities. The Quranic thesis is “li taarafu” is to appreciate and understand, not only simply tolerating one another. Therefore, it is pertinent in our case to continue this dialogue and debate that not only do we need the West to understand us, but we too [need] to understand that the West... is not homogeneous.
- ” We understand the limitations of globalisation. The mere notion of globalisation as introduced by the West is fundamentally flawed. You are here at the seat of the Ottoman Empire. And I represent the country, [which is] the seat of the Malacca Sultanate, [both] cosmopolitan, international and globalised. And of course, you have India and China and the experiences of Africa and Latin America. So globalisation is not a new invention introduced by the West. It is an experience.
- ” There's also a major flaw in terms of the deficit in democracy, poor governance, endemic corruption and grinding poverty. It is no longer an issue of unbridled capitalism in the West, but it's also an issue confronted by all societies.
- ” President Erdoğan's initiative, the Alliance of Civilisations is a commendable effort, but not really endorsed and supported by many countries in the West or even countries in the East, including Muslim countries. Because when you have poor governance, when you have an issue of legitimacy of governments in question, it is difficult for them to then articulate a vision that represents the conscience of the majority of their people.
- ” [The issue is] whether we can ensure that every single citizen is given her or his right as a citizen, whether we can provide good education, health system and whether we can ensure that we can elect a legitimate government to represent the voices of conscience and the majority of the people.

President Erdoğan's initiative, the Alliance of Civilisations, is a commendable effort, but not really endorsed and supported by many countries in the West or even countries in the east, including Muslim countries.



Seyed Kazem Sajjadpour's Highlights



Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran

Dr. Seyed Kazem Sajjadpour is the Deputy Foreign Minister for Research and Education of Iran and President of the Institute for Political and International Studies (IPIS). Prior to this, he served as Ambassador and Deputy Permanent Representative for Iran to the United Nations and Advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on Strategic Issues. He was previously a Professor of International Relations. He received his PhD from George Washington University and was a post-doctoral fellow at Harvard University.

- ” I think what we have is a deep politics of fear. The situation can be read in a type of psychological frame and the politics of fear is benefiting politicians. I think three issues are important here: fear, loss and control... I think the base of this identity politics is fear. The second point is the role of technology. Should we also take into account technology in this respect in creating identity? I sometimes think of that type of technology-based identity. And I think the result is a conflict or confusion. Everybody is angry. And I think this anger relates to the fear of the loss of control.
- ” Politics of fear is both real and manufactured. There are people who think they have lost their supremacy. America is not dominating as it was before. So there is an element of, let's say, reality. But it is also fabricated.
- ” So with globalisation, we have a definitional problem. It depends on how you define it because everybody is defining globalisation from a different angle. But I think as we generally understand it, we have to manage it. And for the management of it, you have to, first of all, have a good analytical capacity, because we fail to understand the complexity. You have to have a good analysis of where you are, what are the costs and benefits? Which area should be globalised? Which area should you read very local and so forth?
- ” Of course, some values are universally accepted, but I am proud that I am Iranian. I have my values when I am in Turkey. I am proud of Turkish culture and civilisation. So I think we have to be proud of our values, of our systems, of our culture.
- ” One thing that is very important is accepting the others as they are. I think this is one of the keys in the management of everything, including globalisation. Globalisation shouldn't be that, you know, we should be like the others or the others should be like us.
- ” What's happening right now is a negative identity. You are defining yourself as 'you are who you are against'. And I think this negation, this rejection, this exclusivity, this hatred, this fear, this animosity is a social problem.
- ” I think the West is important, it is an important portal that we have globally. But the rest matters so much and they should also be kept in mind.
- ” I think globalisation has different patterns. It is not one universal prescription for everybody. And globalisation doesn't have just one global format. There are different ways that globalisation is going to be used, manipulated, articulated and managed.
- ” We have to develop mechanisms for fear management globally, regionally, even nationally, even on a local level. Second, I think, is the management of diversity. We have to learn how to manage diversity. And finally, it is all about what this conference is about. That is the management of change. We have to learn how change should be managed in which loss is minimized and gains are maximized.



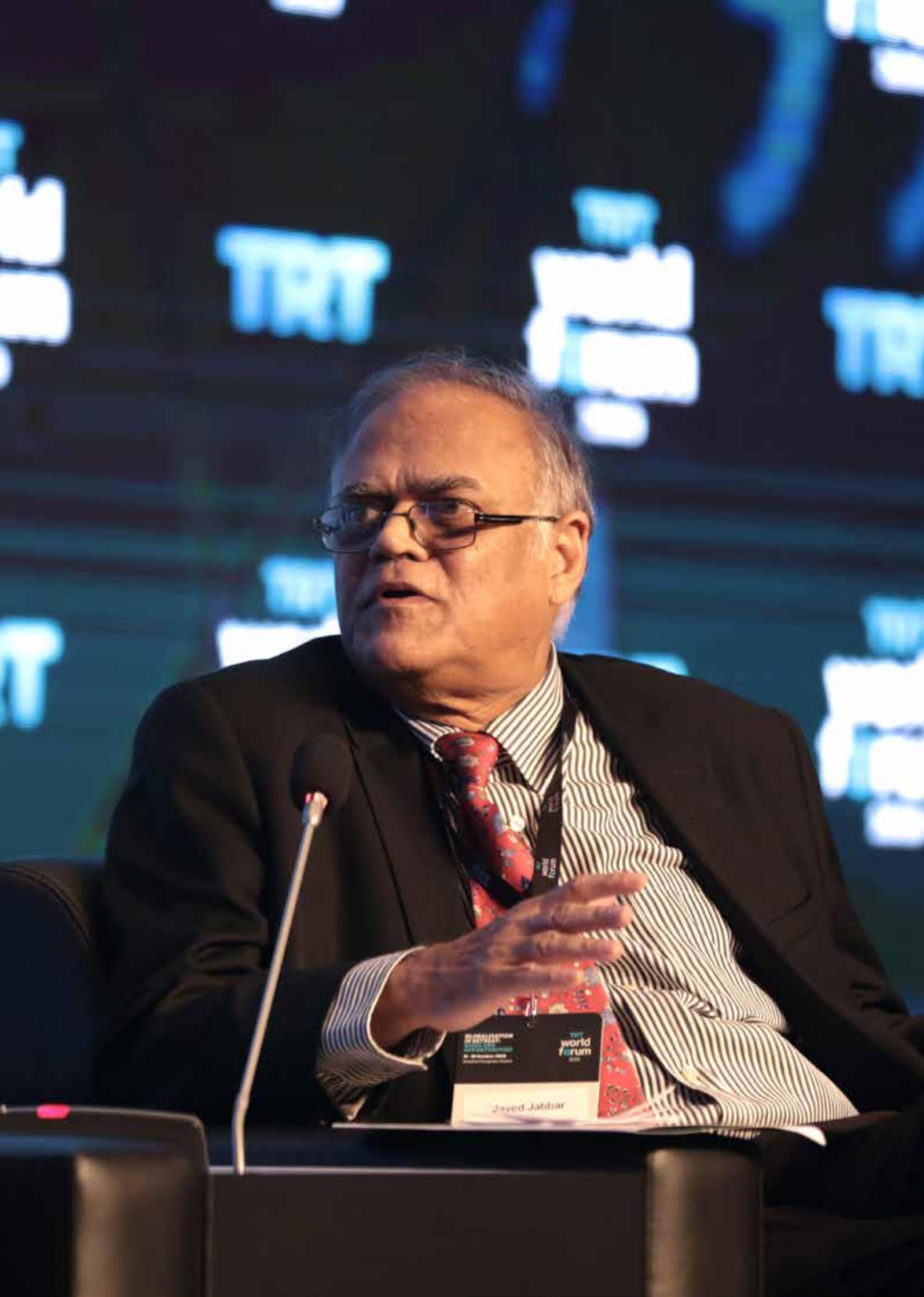
Nazir Ahmed's Highlights



Member of the House of Lords of the United Kingdom

The Rt. Hon. Lord Ahmed of Rotherham is a member of the House of Lords. Appointed by Prime Minister Tony Blair in 1998, he was the first Muslim Peer and is currently an Independent Member of the House of Lords. He led the first delegation on behalf of the British Government on the Muslim pilgrimage, the Hajj. At home, he speaks on issues of equality, and has spoken on several occasions on the topics of race, religion and gender. He has advocated legislation against religious discrimination and forced marriage and has been an opponent of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Lord Ahmed is a successful businessman in the field of property development in South Yorkshire and the Founder of the All Party Parliamentary Group on 'Entrepreneurship'.

- ” Just to remind ourselves, when I grew up, political parties and leaders used to make promises that when they get elected they would help provide opportunities, jobs, prosperity. Sadly, for a number of years now, 9/11 and afterwards, politicians [only] make promises of making you secure.
- ” Many years ago during Tony Blair's government, I was asked to go and speak at the OSCE conference in Vienna where they talked about Islamophobia and the rise of racism. Everybody was horrified in the room. Quite a few years later, I went there and I spoke about similar things. Nobody was surprised because they've seen it all over Europe. In my view, this is global now, whether it is the RSS and the Hindutva fascists in India or whether it is KKK in America.
- ” I want to remind everyone that in June, Aung San Suu Kyi [State Counsellor of Myanmar] came to Hungary. Now, here's a lady who was praised around the world for human rights... and she shared a platform with the Prime Minister of Hungary and said that the world has to fear Muslims. But it's not only what she's done, because I know what she's done to Rohingya. I know what the Burmese have done. But not enough politicians or media have condemned her and the Hungarian Prime Minister for saying that. And so for the ordinary working-class, less educated people in the West or anywhere in the world, it [causes] fear. Then that becomes a kind of real threat. And so, therefore, in most of these countries, you will see that [this fear] is exploited by politicians, and is not challenged enough by those in authority or who have the knowledge to do it.
- ” Whether it was the terrible man who committed crimes in Norway against 70-80 civilians or the one who did it in New Zealand, they all have some connection to these fascist movements. So globalisation does pose some challenges.
- ” There are some societies in the West where if you are like them, if you want to have a bacon sandwich and a glass of beer, then you are one of them and you are accepted as a Muslim. But if you want to reject all that, then you are not.
- ” So I think [using] identity politics to call for your rights, whether it is the LGBT community, whether it is women, whether it is trade unions, whether it is ethnic minorities, that's good. But if you're doing it to oppress others and to create fear of the other like most of the fascist movements have done in Europe - they've used refugee crises for their benefits and linked it with Islam and Muslims - that's where it gets a little dangerous.
- ” National identity is not a bad thing, but nationalism which is used against minorities and others is a bad thing. Therefore, tolerance, diversity, embracing others is very important.
- ” The Hindutva movement, for instance, does not want to tolerate any minorities; Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Muslims, even Dalits. Their mainstream politicians are talking about converting everyone back to Hinduism by 2025-2030, by force if need be. That's why these lynching videos [are spread], fear is being driven into people, that 'this is how you will be treated if you remain as you are.'



WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM
IN ASSOCIATION WITH
THE WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM
JAVED JATTAH
THE world forum

Javed Jabbar's Highlights



Former Senator and Former Federal Minister of Pakistan

Javed Jabbar is a retired Pakistani Senator and a former Minister in three federal cabinets, where he held ministerial portfolios ranging from Information and Broadcasting to Petroleum and Natural Resources. From 2015 to 2018 he was invited to serve as a member of the Senate Forum for Policy Research, the first parliamentary think tanks in Pakistan. He is the Chairman of the Social Policy and Development Centre, one of Asia's leading think tanks. Since 1992, he has been a member of the longest-running non-reported Pakistan-India Track 2 dialogue, the Neemrana Initiative. He is a widely respected author and documentary film producer whose films have received several international awards.

- ” I think we need to see that the process of globalisation, which on the one hand distributes power... equally diffuses power and therefore makes power unmanageable. And that is why governance structures in most countries are unable to handle this new phenomenon of power reasserting itself.
- ” I think humanity collectively has made an enormously successful effort to combat poverty, which is one of the root causes for explosive birth of identity politics. The second and last thing I want to say on this subject is that despite the segmentation and fragmentation into basic primeval identities, there is also the emergence of global solidarity.
- ” There is also a great sense of global compassion. People willing to donate money across frontiers. Look at the data on global charity and the consistently growing the desire to help someone whom you don't know, someone to whom you're not connected by race or religion or language. That's a great wellspring to draw upon and to build new global frameworks and institutions and strengthen [shared] values that do exist amongst people.
- ” We should not give up on globalism. The globalisation being promoted by the West is another form of colonialism because of aggressive capitalism. But there is much to draw upon from our collective sense of humanity.
- ” Before the word was invented in 1932, there was no concept of Pakistan. So there's no Pakistani race or no Pakistani language of course. We are evolving into a nation, therefore, dealing with multiple identities within the Pakistani nation-state is a great challenge. Maintaining them, trying to make them cohesive, respecting pluralism without allowing pluralism to go towards outright secession, which we have experienced in 1971 [independence of Bangladesh], thanks to a little help from a certain neighbour which always loves giving help in such situations. So the question of identity politics must be rooted in the specific context of each country.
- ” Each nation-state has a different category of origin. Historical states, mass migration states, post-colonial states whose borders were drawn arbitrarily by the departing colonial powers, religion-based states and states that have religion in common and yet are very, very distinct. So there is no one single broad stroke we can prescribe. How do you deal with identity politics? It has to be seen in the context of each country and regional conditions.
- ” There is something at the heart of the current system of democracy; the electoral system. For example, we have electoral democracies, but we do not have representative democracies because voting is not compulsory in most countries. And even that does not make a democracy democratic because you have then got majoritarian democracy. Look at the absurdity of the Brexit verdict on a fundamental constitutional structural change, they do not specify it, and with a 52 per cent margin of victory, you create a catastrophic crisis for Britain itself and Europe and the rest of the world. So there is a fundamental need to reassess democratic systems and tinker with them, refine them constantly to accommodate identity politics in a benevolent, positive, constructive way so that it doesn't become ugly identity politics.



Jeroen Schokkenbroek's Highlights



Director of Anti-Discrimination at the Directorate General of Democracy of the Council of Europe

Jeroen Schokkenbroek has worked as the Director of Anti-Discrimination in the Directorate General of Democracy of the Council of Europe since 2018. He began his career as a lecturer in constitutional and administrative law at the University of Leiden in the Netherlands and he has worked for the Council of Europe Secretariat in various human rights positions. He has also served as the Special Representative for Roma Issues, Special Adviser of the Secretary General for Ukraine, and Executive Secretary of the Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman Punishment

” People are facing growing social inequality in many countries. This is certainly the case also in Europe. All these situations brought together left people disoriented and lead people to feel a certain nostalgia for a past. People's fears and sense of insecurity can easily be exploited by politicians playing a nationalistic or populist card.

” We have evolved since the Second World War away from a formal procedural democracy, which means that the winner takes all and a majority decides. We have injected many substantive elements into our conceptions of democracy, which are about human rights, about equal dignity, and the rule of law.

” I think what is needed is an old fashioned concept called human rights, the universality of human rights as a basis for common discourse, for a common understanding. This sounds very old fashioned, but globalisation has brought us, after the Second World War, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that's seen a fantastic human rights revolution around the world, which is incomplete, but which still is, in my view, the only potential basis for a common understanding, not only between countries, between nations, but especially within society.

” Human rights are not a zero-sum game. It's my rights are your rights. And if I protect my neighbour's rights, I'm protecting my rights. I'm protecting society.

” Funnily enough, in the Council of Europe, which is an organisation to defend democracy, human rights and the rule of law, we don't use such qualifications like 'liberal democracy'. We speak about pluralism and we speak about genuine democracy, which is a concept that democracy is not only about winning elections and who

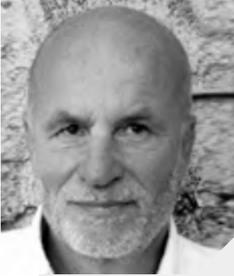
wins elections decides. It is also respect for minorities and to allow minorities to become possibly majorities in the future, not to crush opponents, but to respect people, to ensure that basic rights are protected. So when it comes to that kind of democracy, I think that is the best way of respecting diversity, because it means respecting rights, giving equal opportunities to people to participate in society, not to ride roughshod in an authoritarian way over whole categories or classes of people lists, but to be inclusive.

” One of the strategies we very much advocate and try to put in practice also is that of intercultural integration. That is, connecting people to move away from multiculturalism, the old style, which is to a large extent indifference and ignorance, people living in compartments, in parallel societies. It's about connecting people and making sure that they interact, that there is an understanding that diversity is cherished and valued. So those are concepts, I think, that are absolutely crucial to make sure that diversity has its full place.

I think what is needed is an old fashioned concept called human rights, the universality of human rights as a basis for common discourse, for a common understanding.



François Burgat's Highlights



Senior Research Fellow at the French National Centre for Scientific Research

François Burgat is a scholar and Senior Research Fellow (Emeritus) at the French National Centre for Scientific Research. He has held positions at the University of Constantine, Algeria, from 1973 to 1980, and the CEDEJ in Cairo, from 1989-1993. He was the Director of the French Centre for Archaeology and Social Sciences in Sana'a from 1997 to 2003, and at the IREMAM in Aix-en-Provence from 2003 to 2008. He was the Director of the French Institute for the Near East, first in Damascus and then in Beirut, from 2008 until 2013. François Burgat was the Project Investigator for the European Council program WAWAW from 2013 to 2017, and he is a member of the European Council on Foreign Relations. He is the author of *The Islamic Movement in North Africa* (1997); *Face to Face with Political Islam* (2002); *Islamism in the Shadow of al-Qaeda* (2008); and *Comprendre l'islam politique: Une trajectoire sur l'altérité islamiste 1973-2016* (2016) (*Understanding Political Islam: Research trajectories towards understanding the Muslim other 1973-2016*).

- ” I have the idea that the dominant in this situation have to address issues, which they have not addressed yet. Let's take the example I know the best, which is France. As long as we do not face our colonial history... we cannot move beyond it.
- ” I happen to be one of those who voted for President Macron. I did it for two reasons. The first one is not the main one, there was no alternative except the extreme right. But the second reason was probably more important. I heard Mr Macron [speak] right after the horrible massacre of November 2015 [Paris terror attacks] and say a little sentence, which was so important. He said we bear a share of responsibility. He said [there was] a glass ceiling which prevents people from moving up in society. We must open up society. This impressed me even more than what he had said about our colonial history when he said some of what we have done might be referred to as a crime against humanity. For these reasons, I voted for this person. Two weeks ago, the very same person completely lost his ability to analyse, to accept a share of responsibility of our history in the functioning of our society. He said there is one single enemy, political Islam, radical Islam, and this is it.
- ” When [identity politics] is in the hands of those who are in a situation of hegemony and who instrumentalise it to extend their hegemony, we have to get rid of it in the long run. If we had perfect institutions distributing political resources, we would not need identity politics.
- ” [It is commonly said that] identity politics in my business was something linked to the non-Western world. We do not have such a problem. We have universality. We are the owners of universality. So if we go to the root cause, it is that we have to deconstruct this dysfunction of our mind and accept the idea that diversity means also sharing political power.
- ” It's the entire society, which now if you go to the root cause, does not accept that it is losing its hegemony in producing the discourse of universality. They want to keep their monopoly.
- ” Let me tell you a little story about Facebook. I was living in Syria when the uprising started. You know that Facebook was prohibited at the time. What was the reaction of the regime? They authorised Facebook. What happened? The regime bought from two corporations, which happened to be French, the technology to control Facebook. So the government waited six months, and in November [2011], arrested almost 2000 activists. Social media is very, very important but I would not put it in a black or white situation. They are in the hands of the protesters, but they are also in the hands of the regime.
- ” The pessimist's conclusion would be that in the so-called Orient, non-Western world, people are moving slowly out of identity politics and installing some kind of democracy at a time when, I am afraid, on the other side of the West and the rest, identity politics are used as a tool to prevent minorities to access to their legal rights is rising.
- ” The specificity of what is going on now in Lebanon is that for the first time in contemporary history, social demands are being expressed out of the jail of the religious belongings. For the first time, people affiliated with Hezbollah are demonstrating with Christians. So, this is a good signal that identity politics is not everywhere on the planet nibbling or damaging democracy.

Session 2

NATO under the Gun: The Emergence of New Security Challenges



- NATO is going through difficult challenges which stem from newly emerging security challenges. However, NATO is well-positioned to overcome these developments if members come together with a strong sense of unity and cohesion.
- There is a lack of solidarity between NATO members. Unified action is vital for NATO's survival.
- Turkey is a key NATO ally. Turkey's security concerns regarding the safe-zone and the Daesh and PKK/YPG terrorist threats in Syria must be recognised and addressed collectively by the alliance.
- There has to be a level of engagement and reconstruction of dialogue between NATO and Russia.
- NATO today lacks a sense of purpose and it needs to adapt itself to post-Cold War conditions.

Summary of the Session

The panel 'NATO under the Gun: Emergence of New Security Challenges' discussed the efficacy and relevance of NATO in the face of new security challenges.

The keynote speaker, Turkish Defence Minister Hulusi Akar, underlined the importance of NATO in ensuring transatlantic security since the end of Second World War. Minister Akar then elaborated on the new security challenges as being: transnational terrorism, hybrid and cyber warfare and other emerging and disruptive technologies such as artificial intelligence, nanotechnology and autonomous systems and their impact to the traditional rules based security order. He then discussed how NATO can tackle these challenges. Lastly, Minister Akar mentioned Turkey's importance for the NATO alliance and the challenges that Turkey is facing from terrorist organisations such as Daesh and the PKK/YPG. Finally, he explained how Turkey's 'Operation Peace Spring' aims to eliminate these terrorist elements from the region.

Tacan İldem discussed Turkey-NATO cooperation in the context of 'Operation Peace Spring' and how NATO recognises the legitimate security concerns of Turkey.

Jan Vincent-Rostowski drew attention to NATO's role as being not just a mutual collective security organisation, but also the guardian of the rules-based international order. He pointed out that NATO's role as the protector of rules-based order has been compromised by President Trump and he argued that this is the central problem for NATO today.

Yavuz Selim Kiran underlined Turkey's significance for the NATO alliance and discussed the necessity of 'Operation Peace Spring' for Turkey's security. Deputy Minister Kiran highlighted the importance of unified action for NATO and its members.

Aleksei K. Pushkov spoke on the relations between NATO and Russia. Pushkov argued that while Russia has no conflict with any NATO members, there is no dialogue between NATO and Russia, arguing that this is very dangerous and suggested that dialogue needs to be re-established.

Finally, Luke Coffey criticised the Obama administration's support for the YPG and said that the region is still paying the price of this policy. On NATO, Coffey argued that NATO should get back to the basics of territorial defence. According to Coffey, the organisation does not need to be everywhere. Instead it should focus on the North Atlantic region.



Keynote Speaker

Hulusi Akar's Highlights**Minister of National Defence of the Republic of Turkey**

Hulusi Akar was born in Kayseri in 1952. He graduated from the Military Academy in 1972 and the Army Command and Staff College in 1982. During his military career of 49 years, he served in various positions in the Turkish Armed Forces and NATO, including as commander of the Turkish Task Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Following his promotion to the rank of General in 2011, he served as the Deputy Chief of Turkish General Staff (2011-2013), Land Forces Commander (2013-2015) and as Commander of the Turkish Armed Forces (2015-2018). He was appointed as Defence Minister in 2018. He has been awarded the Turkish Armed Forces Courage and Self-Sacrifice Medal, Distinguished Service Medal and Medal of Honor along with several other medals from other countries.

- ” The new global strategic environment presents challenges to the traditional rules base security order in and beyond the Euro-Atlantic area. Rapid advances in technology are one of the major, perhaps the prime causes of the challenges against the established security order.
- ” War was primarily a state activity in the past. Now, with more non-state actors the distinction is becoming blurred. Hybrid and cyber warfare are significant challenges to military leaders who are trained to fight in the old school military domains, on land, sea or air.
- ” In light of the challenges to the security environment, NATO is under pressure to adapt rapidly. Contrary to the traditional understanding that a military alliance requires a common enemy, NATO has continued to adapt and grow in the face of diffuse and emerging threats. The alliance is still the bastion of the trans-Atlantic security architecture and is likely to remain so for the foreseeable future. As part of this adaptation, NATO needs a unified vision for the future instead of a unified perception of a common enemy. This vision should focus on collective benefits rather than relative gains of each member nation.
- ” Unlike the possible risks of security in some other parts of Europe, threats against Turkey are not just a theoretical possibility, they are real, direct and substantial. They are unfortunately happening right now. Turkey has unfortunately long suffered the most from terrorism and has long been fighting against it in all of its forms and manifestations.
- ” In this context, we have been warning all our friends against the dangerous consequences of arming and politically supporting the PKK-affiliated YPG terrorist organization in Syria. When some allies started to supply the YPG, which is the same as the PKK, against Daesh in Syria, we warned against the risks of trying to defeat one terrorist threat by employing another.
- ” YPG received substantial material support from our allies. Each weapon handed over to YPG ended up in the hands of the PKK ready to be turned on us, a fellow NATO member. With all the support YPG got from our allies, they increased atrocities against the local population of the region, including forced migration, confiscation of land and the conscription of people, even children, against their will. Those actions led to a change in the demography of the region and mass migration to Turkey.
- ” We were compelled to act in order to eliminate the threat posed by the PKK/YPG. Operation Peace Spring was launched in the east of the Euphrates [River] in Syria on October 9 as you all know. Our only goals are to protect our borders, prevent a terror corridor in the north of Syria, put an end to the presence of Daesh, PKK/YPG and all other terrorists in the north of Syria. And finally, to establish a safe zone to enable almost two million displaced Syrians, including Arabs, Kurds, Christians, Yazidis, Chaldeans to voluntarily and peacefully return to their lands and homes.
- ” Three days ago, Turkey and the US reached an agreement to pause Operation Peace Spring for 120 hours starting on 17 October. The pause is based on the following conditions. PKK/YPG, wherever it is, will withdraw from the safe zone, which will be around 30 km stretching from the east of the Euphrates to the Iraqi border. PKK/YPG's heavy weapons will be collected.
- ” Let me underline that we are in complete agreement with the US on the need to defeat Daesh. In the last couple of days, around 200 Daesh militants and their family members have been taken into custody or have surrendered. Moreover, we have already eliminated more than 3000 Daesh members in operation Euphrates Shield. I must underline one more time that the Turkish Armed Forces is the only coalition army that has fought against Daesh [on the ground].



Tacan Ildem's Highlights



Assistant Secretary-General for Public Diplomacy at NATO

Ambassador Tacan Ildem is the NATO Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy. He directs the Public Diplomacy Division that works to raise the Alliance's profile with audiences around the world in order to build understanding of, and support for, NATO's policies and operations. He also oversees the coordination of all strategic communications activities across NATO. Ambassador Ildem is a senior Turkish diplomat. Since the start of his career in 1978, he has held bilateral and multilateral positions including Ambassador to the Netherlands and Permanent Representative to NATO and the OSCE.

- ” There have been a number of occasions where allies had difficult discussions. We can remember the Suez Canal Crisis of 1956, and when France left the [NATO] integrated military structure in 1967. There were also some discussions in 2003 on Iraq. So what I'm trying to say is that in the alliance where we have democratic countries, there may be differences of opinion. But the strength of NATO is to use all the existing mechanisms for these differences be ironed out.
- ” I have to say that the ongoing 'Operation Peace Spring' is being discussed at NATO. There has already been a number of occasions for NATO ambassadors at council meetings to have ample opportunity to receive a briefing from the Turkish side. The operation provides a very good window of opportunity for things to calm down in northern Syria. NATO is recognising the legitimate security concerns of Turkey. In fact, as Secretary-General Stoltenberg has emphasised, during his recent visit to Istanbul when he met President Erdoğan and Ministers Çavuşoğlu and Akar, that Turkey is on the frontline of a volatile region facing many security challenges.
- ” I remember in 2002, I was personally involved in the convening of a meeting to form a NATO-Russia council in Pratica di Mare in Italy. The two pillars of this engagement were political dialogue and practical cooperation. And what happened that we had to suspend this practical cooperation? It was the watershed year of 2014 when the Russian Federation illegally and illegitimately annexed Crimea. It was against the very principles of documents like the Helsinki Final Act that the Soviet Union then was a party to. There is a historical background and NATO countries didn't come up out of the blue to enlarge towards Russia.
- ” If we all agree that, to respect territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of other nations is something which governs European security, and if there is one country challenging this very principle and it becomes a continuous pattern of behaviour to challenge rules, space, international orders, then others have to take certain measures. And that's why NATO leaders in 2014 at the level of heads of state and government, decided to strengthen its deterrence and defence. But while doing so in 2016, at the Warsaw Summit meeting, they adopted a dual-track policy towards Russia. One component is strong deterrence and defence, and the other one is meaningful dialogue. So we didn't close the doors. We still have a NATO-Russia Council meeting at ambassadorial level and since 2016, we have convened 10 meetings and they discussed a number of issues. First and foremost, the crisis in and around Ukraine. The allies in a united fashion expressed their unacceptance of the illegal, illegitimate annexation of Crimea. They also use this forum as a means of transparency and risk reduction by an exchange of briefings on upcoming military exercises, so that there is no chance for any miscalculation for incidents to occur that could escalate to a major crisis.
- ” Turkey is, as I said, a frontline country in a volatile region. It has legitimate security concerns. At a time when all parties have forces in Syria, it is quite normal that Turkey engages with Russian Federation bilaterally and other NATO allies also have a level of engagement with the Russian Federation. I don't think that it is a problem for NATO.



Jan Vincent-Rostowski's Highlights



Former Deputy Prime Minister and Former Minister of Finance of Poland

Jan Vincent-Rostowski is the former Minister of Finance of Poland (2007-2013), and was subsequently appointed as Deputy Prime Minister to then Polish Prime Minister, Donald Tusk. During his tenure as Minister of Finance, Poland achieved the fastest growth rate of any EU or OECD country. In addition to his political career, he has a distinguished career in academia as the former Head of the Economics Department at Central European University and as a lecturer at University College London. Mr. Rostowski is the author of numerous publications on European economic policy, monetary, financial and fiscal policy and the transformation of post-communist economies.

” I just wanted to continue what the [Assistant] Secretary-General said and also what your Minister of [Hulusi Akar] said, which is that NATO is not just a mutual collective security organisation, it's one that's based on the principle of defending the rules-based international order, particularly in Europe.

” Mr Pushkov's statement that Russia has no conflict with any NATO member in a sense implies we will respect the international rules-based order as far as NATO members are concerned, but we don't have to respect it as far as non-NATO members such as Ukraine and Georgia. I think that Russia should think very seriously before it goes down that path because that, of course, then becomes an additional impetus for those countries to desperately seek NATO membership.

” The fact is that NATO is committed to the international rules-based order. It cannot ignore the fact that Russia has violated it on a number of occasions, including, by the way, kidnapping a NATO intelligence officer in Estonia at a time when President Obama was in the country, which was, shall we say, interesting.

” We certainly need to maintain NATO. It's a key element of the security architecture. But the fundamental problem that NATO faces at the moment, the most important problem is the problem of the reliability of the key member state of NATO, which is the United States and under President Trump, that that reliability is no longer there.

” And therefore, in that context, it's not surprising that NATO continues to focus on what we can call euphemistically 'the Russia Problem.' Now, of course, that

doesn't mean that there haven't been problems going the other way as well. For instance, renouncing the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty is a very problematic thing and we can talk about that as well. I think that would be useful. Nevertheless, there's no point in us closing our eyes to the reason that NATO is focused to a significant extent on what's called the eastern flank, but which I was brought up to remember as the central front.

We certainly need to maintain NATO. It's a key element of the security architecture. But the fundamental problem that NATO faces at the moment, the most important problem is the problem of the reliability of the key member state of NATO, which is the United States.

Asser



Yavuz Selim Kiran's Highlights



Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

Yavuz Selim Kiran was born in 1985. He received his bachelor's degree from the Department of International Relations at Middle East Technical University. He has held various advisory roles at the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK), Ministry for EU Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Prime Ministry. He was assigned as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey on August 8, 2018.

- ” Article 5 on collective security hasn't been applied until today. That's why we started this operation in North-Eastern Syria. As our Minister of Defence underlined, unified action is vital for NATO. We saw this solidarity from the NATO administration, especially from Secretary-General. But we didn't see this solidarity from our allies in NATO.
- ” We started this Operation [Peace Spring] and we continue this operation because of an existential threat to Turkey. There have been more than 300 attacks emanating from Syrian territory on Turkey. If there is an existential threat to one NATO country, it is an existential threat to all of NATO's allies.
- ” We should first ask, what is Russia doing in Syria? What is the United States doing in Syria? What are France and Germany are doing? What are they doing there? We as Turkey have a more than 900-kilometre border with Syria, and everybody in the international community is discussing Turkey, why? If you talk about the principles rather than the rules, then things will get better done than the way they are done today. We believe in the legitimacy of international law and we are contributing it. Coming to the S-400 system, it is the same principle. That's why I am talking about the principle-based world order. Why did we take the S-400 system from Russia? When we are giving an answer to this question, then let's look at what did Turkey do before we took it from Russia? We first went to our allies in NATO and demanded air missile systems to protect ourselves, which they didn't provide.
- ” That's why we acquired this S-400 system. Of course, we believe in NATO. We are at the centre of the NATO alliance. We will continue to be so. However, we need to protect ourselves. So Russia gave this support to Turkey and they provided us with the most feasible system.
- ” We believe in the philosophy of NATO and we tried to be at the centre of all the NATO operations because we believe that NATO is stronger with Turkey and Turkey is stronger with NATO.
- ” We have new-generation threats, including mass migration, including hybrid warfare, including cyber technologies, including Islamophobia and racism. So if NATO adapts itself to this, to these conditions, then it will be stronger.
- ” We have tried to solve this issue with our ally, the United States, before. All of you can remember, the Manbij roadmap, we discussed it with the United States and we agreed on a specific plan. We agreed that all the terrorists in Manbij will be pulled out in 90 days. But it has been 16 months, and the terrorists are still there. So it didn't work. And [even] after that we again started to work with our ally, the United States, for the creation of a safe zone in North-Eastern Syria, but it still didn't work. That's why we had to start Operation [Peace Spring] in order to eliminate all the terrorist groups there.

***We believe in the philosophy of NATO.
... We believe that NATO is stronger with Turkey and Turkey is stronger with NATO.***

Assembly of the ...



Aleksei K. Pushkov's Highlights



Chairman of the Commission on Information and Media of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation

Aleksei K. Pushkov is currently the Chairman of the Commission on Information and Media, Council of Federation, Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation. He is also an author and television anchor for Postscriptum, TV Centre and Russian TV Channel 3. Aleksei K. Pushkov has published more than 400 papers and analytical articles on foreign policy, and he has served in several positions in the Russian government. He is a specialist in media and diplomatic relations and was the Speech Writer for General-Secretary Michael Gorbachev.

- ” Of course, we hear different voices from some neighbouring countries, but Russia does not have any conflict with any NATO or EU member states. We have a conflict in Ukraine, which is not a NATO member, not an EU member. It's a complicated conflict. It's, I would say, a remnant of the fall of the Soviet Union. But with NATO, Russia does not feel that we antagonise NATO to the extent that NATO antagonises us. What we see from NATO is a constant, I would say, blow-up of the so-called Russian threat. I think that maybe some people at NATO just jumped on this Ukrainian crisis as an occasion to boost NATO capacities.
- ” NATO did not play any significant role in a number of very active crises. It did not prevent the United States from going to [war in] Iraq. So when key members of NATO, like the US and Great Britain, go into an aggressive war against Iraq, NATO keeps silent. Some members of NATO disagreed like France and Germany, but others, they just passed this on in silence. So is NATO about defence or is NATO about supporting the United States or is NATO about passing on the silence, whatever the United States do? It's a question for a big debate.
- ” NATO is not just a European organization. NATO has been moving out of the area and this concept of NATO moving out of the area has become almost official, if not official. In the last 10 years, NATO has conducted an operation in Afghanistan... it is not Europe. NATO countries conducted the war against Libya with the results we know, it's a catastrophe in Libya. So when I hear about the rules-based order, my question to my Western colleagues is, why does NATO not react politically? For instance, the occupation of an independent sovereign country, which Iraq was, by the United States and Britain. Although there was no threat from Iraq to the United States and Britain, there were no weapons of mass destruction. And all this nonsense about Saddam Hussein having ties with al-Qaeda has been already rejected.
- ” I want to answer the question, what is Russia is doing in Syria? Russia's presence, unlike France or Great Britain or the United States, is absolutely legal in Syria. It's in Syria on the invitation of the Syrian government. If you can show me another Syrian government I would be interested to have a look. But for the time being, and I think for a long time to come, the government in Damascus is the only legal government represented in the United Nations. And so we are dealing with the government, which is in place, and we have military agreements with this government. So we played a key role in defending the security of Syria and also in bringing down Daesh in Syria.
- ” About the S-400's. I think that there is one very simple issue, the issue of efficiency. And the S-400's were bought not only by Turkey, but they were also bought by China. They were bought by India in spite of the fact that the United States threatened India with sanctions.
- ” Strengthening NATO is not exactly my issue. It's up to member countries to decide whether they want to strengthen or weaken it. What I would like to say is that I am deeply worried about the lack of dialogue between Russia and NATO. Our NATO colleague told you about the Russian-NATO council and it was all true until a certain moment. But for more than one year, we do not have an ambassador in NATO. He was called back to Moscow. The reason is that there is no dialogue and there is no point of keeping an ambassador in this situation when there is no dialogue. I'm afraid that Mr Stoltenberg, as General-Secretary, when he says that NATO is talking to Russia from the position of strength but conducts a dialogue is correct only in one respect, that NATO tries to talk to Russia from a position of strength, but there is no dialogue.

Director of the Allison Center
Foreign Policy Studies
Heritage Foundation



Luke Coffey's Highlights



Director of the Allison Center for Foreign Policy Studies at The Heritage Foundation

Luke Coffey is the Director of the Allison Centre for Foreign Policy Studies at The Heritage Foundation. Before joining Heritage, Luke served in the United Kingdom's Ministry of Defence as Senior Special advisor to then Secretary of State for Defence, Dr. Liam Fox MP. He was the first ever non-UK national to be appointed by the Prime Minister to this role. Prior to this, he worked in the House of Commons as an advisor on defence and security issues for the Conservative Party. His work in British politics followed his service to the United States as a commissioned officer in the US Army. In 2005 he was deployed to Afghanistan and was awarded the Bronze Star Medal.

- ” Certainly, there was a tendency by the Obama administration on these big issues in the Middle East, especially as it pertains to Syria, to act in a very knee jerk manner. I think President Obama found himself in a very difficult position politically when ISIS (Daesh) was starting to cut people's heads off live on the Internet. And he had no plan to deal with this, so he rushed into it. He decided that we're going to arm the YPG. His administration made promises to Turkey that were simply impossible to keep. For example, the YPG will stay east of the Euphrates River. Impossible to enforce that. Or at the end of the fighting, we will collect all the weapons. Well, anyone who's ever been to a combat zone knows that's an impossible promise to make. So we should have never made that. And then, of course, President Trump in his particular fashion on the campaign trail made defeating ISIS a main part of his election strategy. And frankly, I don't think he really cared how it was done. So now we are all collecting the pieces, trying to pick up the pieces of this broken policy. And we have run the serious risk of alienating or at least being seen to undermining one of the most important actors in NATO, and that's Turkey.
- ” Well, with President Trump, you have to look beyond the tweets. This is a president who on the campaign trail had a lot of things to say about NATO, a lot of things to say about Russia, which made many foreign policy practitioners in the US very nervous. But when you look at the policies coming out of this administration, you could argue that they've been some of the toughest policies on Russia and some of the best policies for European security since Ronald Reagan. This administration increased funding for the European deterrence initiative by 40 per cent over the previous Obama administration. There are more US troops now in Europe and more going to Poland than the Obama administration. This administration has provided Javelin anti-tank missiles to Ukraine and Javelin anti-tank missiles and Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to Georgia, something that the Obama administration didn't do in eight years.
- ” There is this breakdown in communication, and that is because Russia invaded Ukraine and is now occupying Crimea. I mean, it was described to me by my Russian colleague here that there is a very complex situation, but it is Ukrainian territory as recognised by the international community that is now under Russian occupation. It's very simple, Russia invaded Ukraine, not the other way around. Russia is the aggressor with Ukraine. Ukraine did not invade Russia. And now, as a consequence, Ukraine misses out on billions of dollars in its GDP because of the loss of Crimea. And then minority groups like the Tatars are persecuted on a daily basis. No one says anything about this in the Muslim world other than Turkey. Are we all supposed to sit here and pretend like it's OK?
- ” Should we expand NATO? I think we ought to be careful with the words we use. Firstly, I hate the word expansion, because if it plays into the propaganda that NATO is some sort of empire. NATO enlarges. It enlarges because democratic countries decide through a democratic process that they want to join an alliance and that alliance, through a democratic process, welcomes a democratic country in. It's not about expanding, it's about enlarging.
- ” We need to get back to basics because another point my Russian colleague made is very true from Moscow's point of view. They see NATO intervening in Libya. They see NATO intervening in Afghanistan. And they think, well, you say it's about collective defence, but look what you're doing in other places around the world. I have some sympathy for that argument. NATO needs to get back to the basics of territorial defence. It doesn't have to be everywhere in the world doing everything. But according to Article 6 of the North Atlantic Treaty, which describes where Article 5 applies, it must be in the North Atlantic region, north of the Tropic of Cancer, able to defend the territory of its members.

Session 3

The Future of Turkey-US Relations: Political and Security Dimensions



- US relations with the PKK go back to the 1990s when contact was initiated in the context of the 1991 Gulf War. This relationship ultimately facilitated the US alignment with the PKK's Syrian offshoot, the YPG.
- The narrative regarding Turkey in the US is skewed and based on a lack of understanding and a lack of information.
- The US's disregard of Turkey's security concerns damages bilateral relations and potentially affects its credibility as a reliable ally.
- The US has not had a coherent Syria strategy, which has led the framework of counter-terrorism to dominate its Syria policy.
- The normal foreign policy-making process has been broken in the US, giving way to increasing unpredictability and uncertainty.
- The US reaction to the July 15 coup attempt in 2016 and its continued refusal to extradite FETO leader Fethullah Gülen has increased the mistrust towards the US from both the Turkish people and officials.

Summary of the Session



The panel “The Future of Turkey-US Relations: Political and Security Dimensions” discussed the roots of the current tension between Turkey and the US and its future trajectory.

Regarding the alignment between the US and PKK’s Syrian offshoot, the YPG, Kılıç Buğra Kanat highlighted that a pattern characterized by US disregard of Turkey’s security concerns has been going on since the 1990s. Kanat pointed out that the US neglected Turkey’s concerns regarding the PKK presence on the Iraqi border during the First and Second Gulf Wars, which happened again in Syria when the US-allied with the YPG terror group.

Michael Doran stated the US officials were aware that they were essentially working with the PKK when they allied with the YPG in Northern Syria starting from Obama’s second term. Yet, they convinced themselves that it would be temporary, tactical, and transactional. Additionally, Doran claimed that the US failed to recognise how much

they infuriated Turkey by lending international legitimacy to the YPG by allying with them and offering mediation.

Matthew Bryza pointed out that there is a flawed perception of Turkey in the US, which is based on a lack of understanding. Bryza further claimed that President Trump does not seek alliances and multilateral mechanisms, based on the belief that the US is the stronger power and can get what it desires better through bilateral deals.

Regarding the extradition of Fethullah Gülen - the leader of the FETO (Fetullah Terrorist Organisation) - Çağrı Erhan pointed out that despite evidence presented by Turkey documenting that FETO orchestrated the coup attempt on July 15, 2016, the US has refused extradition. Erhan further claimed that the extradition decision has now become a political decision rather than a judiciary one.

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Çağrı Erhan's Highlights



President of Altınbaş University and Member of the Security and Foreign Policies Council of Presidency of Turkey

Çağrı Erhan served as a full professor in the Faculty of Political Science, Ankara University, from December 2008 until May 2015. He was also the Director of the European Research Centre between 2000 and 2015. In June of 2015, Çağrı Erhan was appointed as the President of Istanbul Kemerburgaz University, which underwent a change of name to Altınbaş University in July 2017. Çağrı Erhan is the author of 'Turkish American Relations: Past, Present and Future'; 'Turkish Israeli Relations in Historical Perspective'; 'Turk-Amerikan İlişkilerinin Tarihsel Kökenleri (Historical Roots of Turkish- American Relations)'; and 'Avrupa Birliği Politikaları (European Union Policies)'. He writes a weekly political column for the Türkiye newspaper and he is a commentator for the Turkish TRT Haber television programme.

” For 10 months, Turkey tried to persuade the Trump government to first clear the safe zone area from terrorists [PKK/YPG]. Second, take back all the arms which were provided to the terrorists. And third, patrol the safe zone together and then make it a suitable area for the resettlement of the Syrian refugees. However, although President Trump tweeted and said that they would withdraw from Syria. They didn't do anything as they did not do anything to these armed terrorists as well. But they proposed to restart negotiations with their Turkish counterparts. And then we started negotiations, rounds of negotiations, endless negotiations. President Erdoğan said finally at the United Nations General Assembly speech, if you will not help us or support us to do it together, then we will do it alone. And he did. I wish the United States would have acted more firmly in this issue and cooperated with Turkey previously, not after Turkey decided to intervene in the situation.

” Anti-Turkish sentiment did not start with the Syrian incident. Well before, there was a series of attempts to impose sanctions on Turkey. It started with the Halkbank case and then came Pastor Brunson [case]. Then came the F-35 and S-400 issue. It started from the second half of the Obama administration. Relations between the United States and Turkey are totally in a negative manner on all levels. It is not easy to decide who the government is. I mean, is it the President? Is it the Secretary of State? Is it the Pentagon when it comes to our region? Is it CENTCOM or some retired generals or someone who is taking pictures with YPG. So that's why, apart from the President's tweets, some of the announcements of US government officials also make us confused about US foreign policy in the region.

” There are a lot of reports that, unfortunately, some of the weapons which were given to YPG were already transferred to the PKK. They are not two different terrorist organisations. They just cross the border, they go and

fight inside [Syria] with the YPG. Then the same guys with their new IDs, PKK IDs and hats, they go across the border and they conduct terrorist attacks in Turkey. Unfortunately, we missed the chance to stop it because President Erdoğan repeatedly asked Mr Trump to take back all these weapons [but they are still in the hands of PKK/YPG].

” I think it is not a judicial matter anymore in the United States, it's a political issue. Each and every document, which clearly can be seen as evidence that the FETO organisation was behind the coup attempt in 2016, were given to the United States Department of Justice. There is nothing more. So everything is documented. Everything is documented that the guy in Pennsylvania (Fethullah Gülen) is behind this coup attempt, and he is the leader of a terrorist organisation.

” There are some American columnists and even some politicians and most of them are irresponsible politicians, including some senators recently talking about pushing Turkey out of NATO. First, bad news guys. This is impossible. Impossible because the Washington Treaty, which established the NATO, does not have any clauses for pushing out any member.

” I think it is not a matter for NATO. It's not a matter of damage to NATO security. Why is the United States against the Turkish S-400 purchase? Because they don't want Turkey being a bad example? Because if Turkey buys it with better technology, cheaper price, no preconditions on where to put it, and how to use it then many other countries would follow Turkey. The Saudis and Indians would follow Turkey, and many other countries would start to buy non-American arms. And this is a big threat to the American military-industrial complex.



Former
Ambassador at
Atlas

Michael Doran's Highlights



Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute

Michael Doran is a Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute in Washington, DC, where he specializes on the international politics of the Middle East. In the George W. Bush administration, Doran served in the White House as a Senior Director in the National Security Council with responsibility for the entire Middle East, except Iraq. Before joining the Hudson Institute, Doran was a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution. He has also held teaching positions at NYU, and Princeton. His latest book, 'Ike's Gamble', is a study of President Eisenhower's Middle East strategies. He received a B.A. from Stanford and a Ph.D. from Princeton.

” When the Obama administration felt compelled to fight Daesh, you know, for the longest time, Obama tried to avoid intervention in Syria. But, when he finally went in, he went in with the absolute lightest military footprint possible because he didn't want to get sucked into the civil war and he didn't want to have to fight against the Assad regime. And he didn't want to get on the wrong side of Tehran and Moscow because he was trying to negotiate the nuclear deal [with Iran]. The YPG looked beautiful in that regard because the YPG had good relations with Moscow and was at least was not fighting the regime. And so he could reassure the Russians and the Iranians and Damascus that he was not going to go after them and also find a partner to destroy Daesh.

” They [Obama administration] convinced themselves when they did this that it would be temporary, tactical, and transactional. And I think they were aware of the fact that they were aligning with the PKK, but they never really looked at that contradiction square in the face and came up with an acceptable way to get around it. And again, as time went on, it just got worse.

” It pains me to admit it, but an American has to admit when you look at Washington today that America is very uncertain of its role in the world. And, you know, it's having a deep debate inside America about what America is. We've never been so polarised. You can't have this kind of internal polarisation without having an effect on foreign policy. I don't think that tough love toward America, that Kılıç is arguing for, is going to bring America to its senses. I think that Turkey has to help America understand what its role is. I mean, what I'm trying to say is Turkey has a role in guiding America to be an effective superpower.

” I don't think American officials understood how much they were infuriating the Turks. When you look at it from

an American point of view, they had this idea that Turkey should feel comfortable with the US relationship in Syria because the US would be acting as a restraint because Turkey trusts us and knows that we are concerned about Turkish security. We are acting as a restraint on any impulses that the YPG might have to carry out operations against Turkey. So we are the buffer. And isn't it better for you that we're there to do these things than if we leave and the Russians come in or the YPG is just on its own? So they convinced themselves that this is going to mollify the Turks when really it enraged them even more. [Turkey was saying to the US] you're giving them (the YPG) international legitimacy. And all of a sudden, General Mazloum is on the same level in your mind, is an equal partner, you know, a counterpart to the president of Turkey, your greatest ally in this region. And that is a horrible affront and a threat to Turkey at the same time.

” I think very clearly that he [Donald Trump] wants good relations with Turkey. And what does Trump like? Trump likes nationalism. And he looks at Turkey and he sees a stable nationalist power that is willing to do things for itself. Right? The fact that Turkey went into northern Syria is deeply discomforting to Americans on many levels. But there is this other side where it shows that Turkey is willing to take action, which when you look around the Middle East, the number of capable allies with militaries that can act is very, very small. So these are all things that Turkey has going for it in its relationship with Donald Trump.

” If all the troops leave or if some stay and they use only Arab elements in the SDF and there's a break with the YPG, then we could get back to something like used to exist in the 1980s where the United States supported Turkey against its enemies.

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Matthew Bryza's Highlights



Former United States Ambassador and Senior Fellow at the Atlantic Council

Matthew Bryza is a Senior Fellow at the Atlantic Council and a Board Member of the Jamestown Foundation in Washington, DC. He was the director of the International Centre for Defence and Security in Tallinn, Estonia, from 2012 until 2015. During 23 years as a US diplomat, his assignments included the following: Ambassador to Azerbaijan, 2011 to 2012; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, 2005 to 2009; Director on the National Security Council Staff of the White House, 2001 to 2005; Political Officer in the US Missions to Russia, 1995 to 1997; and Political Officer in the US Missions to Poland, 1989 to 1991. Matthew Bryza currently resides in Istanbul and serves as a board member and executive in energy and environment services companies.

” No, it's not the bottom. It is likely to get worse if the pause doesn't become a cease-fire. Because Congress is then likely to pass legislation that's veto-proof that will impose sanctions in a way President Trump can't block. So that's how things would get worse. But I actually think they're going to get better because I don't see any interest that Turkey has in going beyond the goals that have been articulated. Turkey has long sought this safe zone. The depth it wanted was around 30 kilometres. I mean, for a couple of years, these discussions have been going on. They were on the verge of a breakthrough comprehensive agreement... when the fateful phone call happened on October [2019 between Erdoğan and Trump]. It was going to be a comprehensive agreement that demarcated the safe zone that called for joint patrolling, as Çağrı was saying, may have even had something to do with the return to the F-35 program. That's all very difficult to believe could happen right now but if Turkey simply establishes this 30-kilometre safe zone and confounds the critics who for some reason believe Turkey is making a territorial grab and is going to conduct ethnic cleansing against the Kurds [things may change]. I was asked that question by an Istanbul based North American journalist on Friday. Like where do you get the idea that Turkey wants to conduct ethnic cleansing?

” I think President Trump doesn't want allies. He doesn't want them. He doesn't want to be bogged down in multilateral groupings... it does better in a transaction if it's just the United States against one other entity, one other body. I think that's fatally flawed. I mean, maybe I'm biased in the way I was raised, like all of us here to believe in the transatlantic system. I think that is going

to destroy the power on which Trump is relying. But I think he would welcome a world without allies except for when he needs them.

” Turkey should figure out what it wants from the US because the US doesn't know what it wants because it only doesn't want Turkey to do things. Its a negative agenda. And that's because during the course of these last 16 years, since March 1st, 2003, when the U.S. requested to liberate Iraq or invade Iraq through Turkey and the Turkish Grand National Assembly said no, Turkey has begun slowly to emerge in the American strategic mind as a problem rather than an asset and rather than a partner. That deterioration of Turkey's reputation kind of took off quite dramatically with the operation in northern Syria. To me, that's the only way to understand why policymakers in the US don't differentiate carefully, why they don't see that the goals of Operation Peace Spring are strategic goals of the United States as well: stabilizing northern Syria, getting rid of a terrorist threat, pushing the YPG back. That's actually US policy to push the YPG back, even if some people in CENTCOM don't like it.

” In Washington, the normal process of foreign policy-making that Michael and I knew when we served on the National Security Council staff has largely broken. Then-National Security Adviser John Bolton actually broke the system. He didn't like to have these meetings where all the government agencies could have their say. He wanted control. And then now President Trump is making policy by tweet. And so you see every day practically, President Trump will make a statement that contradicts whatever Defence Secretary Esper may have said or Secretary Pompeo. There is no system.

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earch Centre



Kılıç Buğra Kanat's Highlights



Senior Fellow at the TRT World Research Centre

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

” What if America didn't exist? Usually, the picture they draw is chaos in the world. There is no international system. There is no international order. But I think at one point they should stop and ask, what if our allies didn't exist? What kind of world or international system we would have if the US alliance system didn't exist?

” We keep hearing accusations from Washington that Turkey is not a reliable ally and they ask should Turkey be in NATO? I think at one point they should ask the same questions [to themselves] because in many parts of the world, not only in Turkey, critical US allies are concerned. Look at the concern of Japan right now. Look at Poland. Look at all of the US allies around the world, how nervous they are. And they should ask the question that, well, maybe we are doing something that destroys the reliability of the United States, shakes the credibility of US foreign policy, and makes our foreign policy unpredictable, not certain, not decisive enough to be the superpower. So I guess at some point Washington needs to ask those questions in order to understand the value of the alliance.

” What we see in the Middle East is that there is a lack of strategy. The unpredictability and uncertainty are partly because there is no overarching strategy to shape and design US foreign policy in the region. So in the absence of that overarching strategy, what we have started to see is that there was a tactical and operational move. And whoever is responsible for that operation becomes the policymaker, runs the policy and shapes the policy-making, just like the US military in Syria right now. There is no Syria policy. So what's happening is counterterrorism has become the Syria policy of the United States. And that's the only policy of the United States.

” You have to understand that the reaction of the Turkish people to the US immediately after the coup depends on multiple things. One is, of course, the first reactions of the United States for the coup attempt when Secretary Kerry made this awkward statement saying that the United States supports continuity and stability in Turkish foreign policy. And the second statement came at 2 a.m. from the White House, a very awkward statement. It starts with Secretary Kerry and his phone call with President Obama. You don't see this in presidential statements. And the statement came without using the C-word (coup). There is no mention of the coup attempt. Think about the scepticism of the Turkish people and the fact that the United States never used the C-word in order to describe what happened in Egypt a couple of years ago. And on top of that, the Turkish people's reaction focused on [Fethullah] Gülen's presence in the United States. And I'm not sure what the United States wanted out of it as evidence from Turkey. There was another unfortunate moment immediately after the coup attempt, the Director of National Intelligence made a statement saying that, well, we don't have the evidence that will connect Gülen to the coup.

I think at one point they should [the US administration] stop and ask, what if our allies didn't exist?

Session 4

New Horizons for Emerging Powers: Co-operation or Competition?



- Despite multiple points of pressure, the Turkish economy remains promising and stable which gives hope for the future developments introduced under the new economic plan by the Turkish government.
- Free trade is an important step towards global cooperation, which can serve mutual interests between states.
- Healthy and positive cooperation and competition in the world can only be achieved with mutual respect, both multilateral and bilateral agreements, and avoidance of instability and uncertainty in global policies.
- For emerging countries, it is important to achieve diversification of the economy and foreign trade in order to avoid the consequences of becoming 'collateral damage' in a possible trade war between economic giants such as the US and China.
- Corruption and other illegal financial activities can be a devastating barrier to the economic development of a country. If left unaddressed, they can also cause damage to global trade, fiscal transparency and political cooperation.
- The youth and their demands for a fairer, more prosperous and equal world should be listened to by world leaders carefully in order to find alternative solutions to current social, economic and political problems.

Summary of the Session



The panel “New Horizons for Emerging Powers: Co-operation or Competition?” discussed the future of the world that rests on the relationship between developed and emerging states.

Minister of Treasury and Finance of Turkey, Berat Albayrak, in his keynote speech, stated that the world needs a new vision to address modern-day challenges and reduce tensions. Protectionist and economically conservative policies can be damaging for emerging markets while the promotion of free trade can be beneficial for all parties. He further stated that despite all the negativity, such as terror threats, financial manipulations and an ongoing refugee crisis, the Turkish economy is giving positive signals thanks to the economic reforms against instability and inflation, and hard work to achieve the goal of being a global economic powerhouse.

The global economy continues to steadily shift towards the East while emerging powers such as China and India await their time to shape a new world order. However, this shift is not painless as many suggest. Rafidah Aziz argued that trade wars, active and frozen conflicts and unstable socioeco-

nomics lead to an insecure environment, which puts the development of emerging states at risk. While trying to avoid the consequences of damaging clashes between the developed countries, emerging powers are also trying to solve the dilemma they often face between cooperation and competition.

A debate took place among panellists on the importance of striking a balance between cooperation and competition. All of them agreed that cooperation is a necessity of the modern world while endorsing positive competition that benefits all. Andrey Bystritskiy expressed his hope for the future while comparing today with the struggle and instability after the dissolution of the USSR. In this regard, Leung Chun-Ying mentioned the importance of free travel and free trade in the globalised world and argued that the connectivity of the people is the key to the future of cooperation. Eduardo Duhalde stated the importance of cooperation among regional states. Hence, he admired the European Union and stated that Latin American countries still focused on competition and rivalries rather than forming an EU-like platform. On the other hand, Rafidah Aziz added her support for a close working relationship between the public and private sectors for the elimination of the gap between developed and emerging countries.

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Keynote Speaker

Berat Albayrak's Highlights**Minister of Treasury and Finance of the Republic of Turkey**

Minister Albayrak was elected as a Member of Parliament for the 25th, 26th and 27th legislative sessions. He served as the Minister of Energy and Natural Resources of the 64th, 65th and 66th Governments of the Republic of Turkey, and was appointed as the Finance Minister of the 67th Government. He graduated from Istanbul University's Business Department. Following his Master's degree from New York Pace University's Lubin School of Business, he received his PhD degree in the field of Banking and Finance with a dissertation entitled "Financing Renewable Energy Resources". He joined professional business life in 1996. Following his career in the private sector, he began writing a column for the Turkish newspaper Sabah and taught Banking and Finance at Marmara University. Minister Albayrak is married with three children.

- ” Right now the world is facing challenges, unfortunately, undermining peace, security, stability and prosperity. Trade wars and those power struggles between developed countries, declines in business and consumer confidence, rising policy uncertainty and the use of economic sanctions for political gains, unfortunately, raise concerns about global economic growth. Political instability, regional conflicts and terrorism create significant social and economic costs.
- ” Recent experience has shown that neglecting the security and economic interests of others and abusing economic or political power to pursue one sided gains have proven to only amplify existing disputes. Going forward, we need to find ways to reduce regional and global conflicts and promote peace and security. We must establish a new order that is based on regional and international cooperation as well as mutual benefit and respect. For the world economy to prosper, we must put aside power competition and work together decisively to reduce tensions in international trade, abandoning protectionist policies.
- ” Reducing tariff rates, eliminating barriers to free trade and renegotiating trade agreements to address the needs of trading partners will ultimately benefit all parties. Competing from that perspective, the trade volume, decreasing regulatory uncertainty, enhancing transparency and establishing a rule-based trade system will further increase gains from trade. For better global integration, we must also cooperate on reforms related to international taxation and financial regulation, climate change and governance.
- ” Turkey is in the centre of this network and having said that, Turkey in the last 17 years, created a strong infrastructural base in transportation, telecommunication [and] energy. Turkey created the strongest ever infrastructure in this period. Time and again, the Turkish economy has shown significant resilience against internal and external shocks over the past decade. We have successfully overcome the global financial crisis.
- ” Turkey is the world's 16th largest economy, while it is the 12th largest economy in case of purchasing power parity. As a result of successful economic policies implemented during the AK Party period, our real per capita [income] increased more than three times moving our country into the middle-income group. Turkey right now is well integrated into the global supply chain and continues its journey to become an industrial powerhouse at a global scale.
- ” Based on PPP, power purchasing parity, the contribution of developed countries to the world's total income is 40 percent, while this contribution is more than 60 percent in developing countries. The gap between the two groups of countries turned in favour of developing countries since 2007.
- ” We all know Turkey hosts more than 3.6 million refugees from Syria who fled from the civil war, Daesh and PKK/YPG terror in that region. The cost Turkey has faced during the eight years has been more than 40 billion dollars. It affects the economy in that sense as well. We know Turkey hosts the largest number of refugees worldwide, which is around 5 million. Some of them from Iraq, some of them from Syria. Moreover, from other countries as well. The Republic of Turkey has managed to cope with every challenge it has faced since its inception, No matter how difficult, thanks to its unique and dynamic socio-economic structure.
- ” We act not only for our own interests, but also on a win-win principle in all of relations. We can establish peace and stability to the extent that we can coexist, produce together and most importantly, gain together. It's unlikely that anyone will win in an atmosphere where the world order is threatened with conflict and terrorism. We need an EU approach in global politics and the new economic order. Turkey is ready to contribute to a structural transformation process that puts international cooperation at its centre.



GLOBALIZATION
IN RETREAT
WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM
2014
Eduardo Duhalde
GUEST

Eduardo Duhalde's Highlights



Former President of Argentina

Eduardo Duhalde is the former President of Argentina, an office he assumed on January 1st, 2002, after being elected by the majority of the Legislative Assembly during one of the most important crises in Argentinian history. Previously, he served as Mayor of Lomas De Zamora County, Vice-president of Argentina during Carlos Saul Menem's first Presidency and Governor of Buenos Aires Province. In December 2003, Eduardo Duhalde was elected President of the Mercosur Commission of Permanent Representatives, a position he held until 2005. During this period, he founded the South American Community of Nations formed by twelve countries.

- ” I think we need to accuse our own governments on the [Latin American] continent. We managed our territories wrongly and created oligarchs behind the walls. These oligarchs have some certain relations with the armies because this is how state order is conducted [in Latin America].
- ” We took the EU as a role model. We wanted to have [a version of] it in Latin America. Look at the European countries, they learned not to fight and kill each other. They managed to live together despite language and cultural difference. However, Latin America has not learned this yet.
- ” We have the opportunity and capacity to improve ourselves but we have many problems because we have been fighting each other.
- ” You usually hear about the economy, but you never hear about the economy of happiness.
- ” Life is unfair. The gaps are huge. The rich are richer, the poor are poorer.
- ” I don't believe that we are in a better situation compared to 30 years ago. I think we're doing worse. I think we're at the end of an era. The youth suicide rates have increased all across the world. ... In the USA every six hours, a young person dies from overdosing.
- ” I mean we are not doing better. We could be better at purchasing. But I mean, the world is not doing better. Look at how few women we have among us. But unfortunately, in venues like this, we only have 10 or 20 percent of women and we actually need them. So this women's revolution is proceeding very slowly.
- ” What I'm thinking is, let's be honest, when youth look at us they look at us as museum artifacts. They don't understand us. They don't want to understand us because we are leaving this world to them. And we're saying, [no] take this world and this is better. No, it's not better. When we organize such events, usually the youngest people are 50 years of age, and I have been together with young people all across South America and we had to create these communities and they don't believe us. And the youngest ones our grandchildren, the newest generation. I mean, we are the final homo sapiens and they are something new and we don't listen to them.
- ” Fifteen days ago, the youth were demonstrating. Why? Because in Chile, ticket prices had a 5 percent increase. But this isn't the actual reason. They are actually angry for other reasons. The youth are angry. We are saying the world is better. No, it's not, because they have problems that only they are aware of and we don't understand.
- ” Youth movements in Ecuador and Chile are demands for change.

Look at the European countries, they learned not to fight and kill each other. They managed to live together despite language and cultural difference. However, Latin America has not learned this yet.



Rafidah Aziz's Highlights



Former Minister of International Trade and Industry of Malaysia

Rafidah Aziz is Malaysia's longest serving Minister of International Trade and Industry, having served for 21 years from 1987-2008. She is an authority on global trade. During her tenure as the Minister of International Trade and Industry, Rafidah Aziz contributed significantly to the development of Malaysia's economy. She worked tirelessly to position and promote Malaysia as the most favoured destination for foreign direct investment. Under her leadership, many multi-national corporations established manufacturing, research and development facilities in Malaysia. She was recently appointed as the Chairman of the rapidly growing airline, AirAsia X.

- ” Emerging powers came into being during times when there was a calmness in the global economic environment. So people competed, countries competed, to be the best and so we had emerging powers, developing economies, and some have graduated further on. And the least developed have become developing countries. But today we are in an environment of turmoil. When policies are being initiated via Twitter it doesn't give much time for people to react and respond.
- ” Trade wars are one indication that some economic powers do not follow the normal sense of governance in the world system. And for me, seeing the emergence of the so-called rising economies or emerging economies has dispensed almost with the bipolar world. We now have a third force, that new fraternity or club of emerging powers.
- ” There must be cooperation. When two giants have trade wars there will be two impacts. The first is the headwinds that will cause [problems for] economies that have links along the production value chain with either the US or China. Emerging economies must strategize their work together to, first of all, overcome these headwinds and benefit from the tailwinds that may also arise because people divert their investments from either the US or China to some extent or divert their operating and supply basis from either China, or the US to a third country.
- ” I don't think we should work by numbers. We should look at whether, on a bilateral basis, there are certain key areas that we would like to liberalise towards each other's private sector business. You know, maybe on a bilateral basis, a country would like to liberalise the services sector and some key areas of non-services or goods sector.
- ” I think we have come to the stage where each country knows what its own strengths and weaknesses are and in reality, it is collaboration that eventually will benefit them together by working on the complementarities and diversities to make for good collaboration amongst the private sector. The governments are only there to set up an infrastructure to facilitate basic private sector. [It is] the business sector that must now work together and trigger the kind of framework and systems infrastructure that can facilitate that cross-border business.
- ” Policymakers, both in the public and the private sector domain, must listen to the youth. They may not always be right, but they need to be listened to. There must be communication. Gone are the days about telling them what to do. They want a say in everything, even in bilateral negotiations. These young people don't know much about trade, but they can tell you we don't like this because of ABC, whatever it is. And so listening to them at least gives them that impression in their minds that they are not being marginalised. That's important going forward, as always, they will not [always] subscribe to what we do as policymakers.
- ” Emerging economies, countries of that medium size range, let alone the smaller ones, must factor in this new demographic profile and they will be more successful as a result. At least the policy formulation [level], whether it is domestic policy or policy such as having trade agreements, economic arrangements will at least factor in what these youngsters expect out of economic and social-economic development.



Leung Chun-ying's Highlights



Former Chief Executive of Hong Kong

Mr. Leung has advised the Chinese Government on land and housing reforms in China. Between 1984 and 1997, he held senior positions related to the return of Hong Kong to China. Between 2012 and 2017, Mr Leung served as the fourth-term Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. In March 2017, he was elected Vice Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. In 2017, he founded the Belt and Road Hong Kong Centre and the Greater Bay Area Centre.

- ” We are, of course, part of China, we're a big trading economy. The total volume of trade equals four times our GDP. The mainland of China is fast opening up in terms of trade. Hong Kong itself, well, we actually had no card to play, but when I was a chief executive of Hong Kong, we managed to convince our friends that make up the 10 nations of ASEAN to agree on a free trade agreement deal.
- ” All eleven parties realised that free trade is good for all and as soon as we announced the conclusion of those negotiations, trade between Hong Kong and nearly all the 10 member states of ASEAN sort of went up, including our trade with Malaysia. And so, if you like, as a free economy, one of the freest in the world in the view of reports prepared by some leading think tanks in the world, we are the freest economy in the world.
- ” If you look at people to people relations and connectivity, which I think are related to trade as well and if you use China's Belt and Road Initiative for international cooperation as a reference point, there are five connectivities: trade is one, finance is one, infrastructure is one, policies such as climate change policies is one. The last one is [the most] important; people to people connectivity. In the end, it is the people who make things work. People make history. We look at China now, 3.4 per cent of the Chinese population now travel every year to foreign countries. This is not counting Hong Kong and Taiwan. That's connectivity.
- ” It is important to have competition. Competition sharpens our skills and sharpens our minds. So let's compete by all means. That is positive competition, competition through opening up our borders and opening up our hearts and minds and that's [the position] China has been sort of taking in the last 40 years, ever since reform started, and that's pretty much a Hong Kong position as well. We need bilateral agreements, but preferably, we should mould multilateral agreements.
- ” When you have a multitude of bilateral agreements between countries, compliance costs could be quite hefty and that could outweigh the benefits of having these free trade agreements or whatever economic agreements they are.
- ” Four months [of protests] is too short to understand what exactly the new generation has in mind. And they are young. They're too young. One-third of the 2000 plus people were arrested in the past four months are below the age of 18. So we have a very new phenomenon. So [we need to] watch over the kids.
- ” The imagination, the process and the quality of politics in the United Kingdom have changed. There is a lot of manipulation and what I call manipulative politics around that doesn't help. It doesn't help the young generation in getting a full picture of life, society, country and the world.

It is important to have competition. Competition sharpens our skills and sharpens our minds. So let's compete by all means.



Andrey Bystritskiy's Highlights



Chairman of the Board of the Foundation for Development and Support of the Valdai Discussion Club

Andrey Bystritskiy is the Chairman of the Board of the Foundation for Development and Support of the Valdai Discussion Club and the Chairman of the Public Supervisory Council of the Russian Ministry of Communications. He is also a Professor at the National Research University–Higher School of Economics, and the Dean of the Faculty of Communications, Media and Design. He has been involved in the media industry since 1991, having held a variety of positions.

- ” Russia is looking for a sort of balance between cooperation and competition. It's two sides of the same coin. We cannot imagine cooperation without competition or competition without cooperation. Sport is a very good example of such great competition [and cooperation].
- ” We are living in a fantastic world with great opportunities for everybody, and at the same time, the level of interdependence is growing. However, our ability to regulate and organise global regulation is not growing.
- ” When we speak about cooperation and competition it means that you should [have the chance to] win against equals. It's very important that your partners, your competitors, are very far from you [in terms of capacity]. Of course, it'll be better if you win, but it's not the most important thing. You must have had the ability to participate in the race. You should participate, it is very important. It's like the Olympic Games. You must have the ability to participate in the race.
- ” Globalisation is unavoidable. But what kind of globalisation do we need and how we can we build this new globalisation? It seems to me now there are [new] networkings, the [new] unions of countries. It is just an idea of course. But maybe it could work and we can use a big Eurasia new image in countries like test in ground.
- ” Russia is thinking about building a new Eurasian macro-region along with new rules of this region. Globalisation is unavoidable. However, what kind of globalisation do we need and how we can build this new globalisation?
- ” Never before [in history] have people lived so well. Of course, there is some suffering. There are a lot of unfortunate victims, but at the same time the situation is better than, for instance, 30 years ago generally, and it seems to me this could give us some hope for the future.
- ” It seems to me, we need to collaborate to create new language for describing contemporary political and economic processes. During the last twenty minutes, we have been discussing the behaviour of young people. It's a very important point and it's serious because, this summer in Moscow we saw some youth protests, not, of course, so powerful like in Hong Kong. But it's very interesting and I can sense that the main problem is that now we can see a new generation of people who can and who are immersed, if you like, in a world communication system.
- ” In Russia, we paid attention this summer [to youth protests]. What is at the core of protests in the new generation? In 1968 in Paris, a very famous French philosopher and politician mentioned that in 1968 the first real post-Second World War generation participated in mass protests. Maybe we can think about the same process in other countries. It concerns Hong Kong, perhaps Latin America. In Russia, these people they do not know the old Soviet times because they have grown up in really an attractive, prosperous city called Moscow.
- ” The youth are looking for a new equality, new rights, and a new worldview. Maybe we should recognize that the new reality is coming. Maybe this new reality has come and we cannot recognise it.

Session 5

The Threat of Far-right Extremism: War on Terror 2.0?



- No single religion, race, culture or civilization should be associated with terrorism.
- The concept and understanding of terrorism needs to be redefined, as far-right extremism and violence related to it has been largely neglected.
- The reasons behind the rise of far-right political parties and the grievances expressed by some of their supporters need to be acknowledged in order to properly understand and address the phenomenon.
- Freedom of speech remains a contested topic, while people should be entitled to their opinions in a democratic setting, hate speech should be more adequately addressed.
- Technological developments and social media have enabled extremist propaganda to spread more quickly and efficiently.
- Social media outlets should bear responsibility for tackling online extremism, while states should also ensure legal frameworks and new policies to properly deal with these challenges.

Summary of the Session

The panel 'the Threat of Far-Right Extremism' discussed the divergent understandings of terrorism, the reasons behind the rise of far-right, the role of social media, the challenges that come with it and how to tackle these problems.

Bosniak member of the Bosnian Presidency Šefik Džaferović stated that extremism and terrorism can be overcome through solidarity and cooperation. In this regard, he pointed out that no terrorist should be related to any religion and ethnicity. He also argued that the idea that different cultures and civilizations can co-exist together in peace should be promoted as a response to extremism and focused on the Bosnian experience as an example.

Haroon Siddiqui stressed the need to hold social media platforms responsible with regards to the spread of extremist voices. According to him, while states should be passing rules and regulations, these outlets should be partners in creating a solution to this problem.

Lord Richard Balfe emphasized the importance of not associating any religion with terrorist acts. He also stated that terrorism is not a new phenomenon, but today terrorists can link with each other

easily due to changes in communication and this situation poses new threats that require new responses.

Talip Küçükcan argued that there is a selective reading concerning the issue of terrorism and incidents related to far-right extremism are not tackled adequately. Moreover, he said far-right populist parties are capitalising on people's grievances to justify and legitimise their anti-pluralist, anti-universalist, anti-Semitic, anti-Muslim actions.

On the other hand, Shadi Hamid stated that despite their very problematic views, right-wing populist parties have the right to express themselves as long as they are not inciting violence. He commented that a clear distinction between far-right parties and extremists needs to be made. He further added that, rather than focusing on problematizing right-wing populist parties, the reasons behind their rise need to be acknowledged and addressed.

Focusing on social media and violent extremism, Meghan Squire said that due to technological developments propaganda spreads faster and more effectively today. She stated that these changes in online radicalisation result in the need for finding new ways to fight these problems.



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Šefik Džaferović's Keynote Speech



Bosniak Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina

President Šefik Džaferović was elected to a four-year term as a Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina on October 7, 2018. Prior to his election to the Presidency, he served four terms as a Representative in the House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2002-2018) and was the Chairman/Vice-Chairman of the House from 2014 to 2018. He has held a number of important positions in the Party of Democratic Action and is currently its Vice-President. From 1986 to 1992, he served as a higher court judge and as a municipal court judge from 1979 to 1986. President Džaferović graduated from the Faculty of Law at the University of Sarajevo in 1979.

His Excellency, Ladies and gentlemen, my respected friends.

I would like to thank TRT World for organising this forum. It is an important opportunity to exchange ideas and experiences regarding the problems we face today. We live in a globalised world. A world which is beyond everyone's hopes and concerns. A world that transcends national borders. The questions need solutions on which the members of global society agree.

Extremism is one of the problems. It is concerning. Extremism-generated terrorist activities can only be overcome through international dialogue and cooperation. A few days ago, a story appeared in the media. It seemed irrelevant to our topic but, in fact, hits at its core.

The prestigious Nobel Prize [for literature] was given to Austrian author Peter Handke by the Nobel Committee. Such a decision created discomfort among some in the international community as well as the families of Bosnian genocide victims, because Handke had openly pledged his support to Slobodan Milošević and his aides Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić, who were convicted of war crimes. Therefore, he supported their politics of war.

Our country is still suffering from the consequences of those crimes. More than one hundred thousand people died. More than one million people were displaced. Due to the political inheritance of those war criminals, Bosnia and Herzegovina failed to advance rapidly. Our people are still concerned with their futures.

What happened to the international community? Did they forget what Milošević, Karadžić and Mladić did? Why was the Nobel Prize given to a sympathiser and supporter of their politics? This topic should be concerning the whole world, not only Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Ladies and gentlemen,

We are living in a globalised society. Sweden, the home of Nobel Committee is far away from Bosnia. But Sweden is very close to Norway where a dreadful massacre took place. That massacre was influenced by the ideology of the oppressors who were found guilty in the Bosnian genocide.

In 2011, on Norway's Utoya Island, the terrorist Anders Breivik killed 69 teenagers who were attending a summer camp. Before the massacre, he had placed explosive devices on Oslo's streets. As a result [of the explosions], eight people died. In total, he killed 77 people. The youngest victim was 14 years old.

On the day of the massacre, Breivik issued a manifesto in which he defined his extremist ideology. His enemies were Islam and feminism. He was making a call for the deportation of Muslims.

He admitted that he admired Radovan Karadžić. Like the Nobel winner Handke, Breivik also supported Milošević in his manifesto and condemned the NATO intervention which brought Milošević's war to an end. We are facing a paradox. Anders Breivik is today in jail. But Peter Handke is addressed with the highest appreciations and compliments.

There is also New Zealand, which is far from Bosnia, Norway and Sweden. Although it is located on the other side of the world, it is also so near by the standards of the global community. A few months ago [March, 2019], terrorist Brenton Tarrant, who was inspired by Breivik and Karadžić, killed 51 people in an attack on two mosques in New Zealand's Christchurch. The youngest victim was three-year-old Mucad Ibrahim.

Before the massacre, he was on social media playing a song in which Radovan Karadžić and the [Bosnian] gen-

ocide were praised. Similar to the Nobel winner Handke, Tarrant pledged support to Karadžić and condemned the NATO intervention, which stopped the genocide.

A few days ago, a far-right radical named Stephan Balliet attacked a synagogue in Germany's Halle. His example was the attack in New Zealand. He entered the synagogue and tried to kill worshippers on the holy day of Yom Kippur. After failing to enter, he killed one person randomly. He then entered into a Turkish-owned store and killed another.

His victims were neither Jewish nor Muslim. They were, like himself, German and Christian. But they became the victims of hatred. Being Christian and European was not sufficient to protect these people from this hatred and evil.

My respected friends,

We live in a world in where the notion of geographical distance has become outdated. With the emergence of new technologies and social media, communication has become faster than ever. Besides its benefits, it has brought about new risks.

As we see, a crime of hatred in Norway or Bosnia can become a source of inspiration for another crime in New Zealand or Germany. We have to be in solidarity. We are members of the same world and a global community. We have common problems. We can overcome them only by cooperation.

Any person cannot feel secure just because of his or her identity. Regardless of our religion, colour or political view. The terrorists, who claimed to be representing Islam carried out the 9/11 attacks. The same mentality targeted France. The same terrorists have killed Muslims in several parts of the world.

These Norwegian, New Zealander and German terrorists claimed that they were representing Christianity and European culture. They were motivated by their hatred of Muslims and Jews. But they killed not only Muslims and Jews but also Christians; not only blacks but also whites; not only Asians but also Europeans. They killed men, women and children.

Our identity fails to preserve us against the dangers of extremism. The only thing that can preserve us is an impressive, common response.

What is our political and institutional response to this threat? This question should be addressed to each state's security agencies. However, if a cooperative approach is not developed among states, this question will not have a proper answer.

The modern world causes social isolation and existential and identity crises. We have to see these problems as well. There are people who think their misfortune is because of other people and cultures. They adopt violence as a solution. Radicalism and extremism are more common among people who are socially isolated and have psychological problems.

Nevertheless, it is totally wrong to attribute terrorist acts to the perpetrators' psychological disorders. Every patient with psychological issues does not go out and shoot innocent people. Terrorism is inseparable from its ideology. Anybody who is promoting these ideologies should be held responsible, even if he wins a Nobel Prize.

The increase of far-right, anti-immigration and xenophobic [rhetoric] is worrying. The far-right is increasing in popularity in Europe. If we look at the results of the European Parliamentary elections, one vote out of six was given to these parties. It is very worrying.

Political leaders have been increasing their populist rhetoric. I consider populism as a gateway to radicalism. We have to fight against populism.

Let's look at how we name the subjects. We should not forget that everything begins with a word. Every person, especially those who hold political power, is responsible on this issue. We hear the terms "radical Islam," "Islamist terrorism," "Christian terrorism," etc. very frequently.

Any religion in the world is not radical per se. There is nothing like radical Islam or [radical] Christianity. There are individuals and movements, which exploit religion, nationality and other concepts in order to reach to their particular goals.

We should not use the terms of Christian or White terrorism while talking about the massacres in New Zealand and Norway because, Christianity or the white race is not guilty. I am a European and a white person. If my cultural identity and race are exploited by terrorists, it does not make me responsible. We have to refrain from using the term of "Islamic terrorism" as well. As a Muslim, if terrorists are exploiting my religion, I cannot be held responsible.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We should not treat the terrorists' ideas, religions or races equally with the cultures to which other people belong. Whenever we use the terms like "white terrorism" or "radical Islam" and we equalize violence with the members of a religion or ethnicity, we fail and harm.

When we do so, in fact, terrorists are winning. Their goal is to create sharp distinctions among civilisations, religions and cultures. Look at their manifestos and think about why they issue them. They are addressing millions of people. They would like to create fear and conflict among members of different religions and ethnicities. They don't believe in the fact that different religions, cultures, ethnicities and civilizations can co-exist. They believe in the war.

We have to protect the victims. We have to be in solidarity with them. We have to protect those who are subjected to attacks because of their identities. Political leaders in particular must protect them so that the victims do not feel alone and so that those who are planning similar attacks are discouraged.

People are victimised because of their identities. We have to protect the rights of people to choose their identities. This is the key to a democratic and pluralist society. New Zealand, under the prime ministry of Jacinda Ardern, gave an appropriate response to the terror attack. They underlined the fact that people were free to choose and practice their religions.

As a political response, we have spread the idea that different religions, cultures, ethnicities and civilisations can co-exist in peace. The extremists, who did not believe in this co-existence, tried to destroy my country between the years of 1992 and 1995. For four years in Bosnia we witnessed what happened in Norway or New Zealand every day.

In Srebrenica the forces of Karadžić and Mladić killed more than 8,000 people in a few days. In Sarajevo, during the four-year-long siege, 11,541 civilians were killed. The perpetrators aimed to drive a wedge between people who lived together for centuries. They supported the idea of ethnic cleansing. To this end, they committed genocide, mass executions, organised exiles, established detention camps and raped people.

These war criminals constantly repeated the refrain that Bosnia was a country of hatred and that different peoples could not live together. However, the fact that these peoples have been living together for a thousand years undermined their claim. If the extremists were right, Islam, Orthodox [Christianity] and Catholicism would not co-exist even for a month.

In Sarajevo, four temples are situated a few hundred meters away from each other. There is a synagogue, a mosque, a Catholic cathedral and an Orthodox church. That is why Sarajevo is called Europe's Jerusalem. Moreover, it is the western point of Orthodoxy and Islam and at the same time the eastern point of Catholicism.

Before globalisation, co-existence was very natural. Sephardic Jews know this very well because they became a part of the mosaic in Sarajevo after they were exiled from Spain in 1492.

As a result of globalisation and migration, most of the [world's] societies have become multi-cultural. We have to manage the differences. In Bosnia, the centuries-long multiculturalism continues. In today's world, having a knowledge of your own culture is not enough because it will not be sufficient for success in a multi-cultural environment. As the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is one of the foundational principles that we know each other.

My respected friends,

Bosnia-Herzegovina is a small country in terms of its territory and population. However, the idea that it accommodates is big and important for the world. Global society, which has met multiculturalism more recently, can take lessons from Bosnia.

Bosnia's centuries-old tradition proves that co-existence is possible, and that difference contributes to its cultural wealth. Bosnia is against extremism. Extremism is considered as an essential threat. Therefore, we have no other choice than to continue struggling for a democratic society, which accommodates co-existence and difference.

Bosnia's war experience is a clear example of what extremism leads to. It should be underlined that the ideas promoting ethnic division were not generated within Bosnia. They were imported from abroad. They were promoted by ill-intentioned political powers.

Any type of extremism is against pluralism, democracy and co-existence. Extremism refuses the other. But we need integration and pluralism.

I would like to end my speech with a verse from the Quran. In the surah (chapter) of Hujurat, Allah says: "O mankind, indeed We have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. Indeed, Allah is Knowing and Acquainted".

If Allah had wished, he would have created all of us as members of the same ethnicity and culture. The plurality of people is His will. The meaning behind this will is divine: we are created to meet and respect each other. We are not created to kill each other because of our identity. We have to respect these verses and each other.

Thank you.



Richard Balfe's Highlights



Member of the House of Lords of the United Kingdom

Richard Balfe is a Member of the British House of Lords, the UK's upper chamber of Parliament. From 1979 to 2004, he served as a Member of the European Parliament. During his tenure, Lord Balfe was responsible for the report that led to the formal re-establishment of relations between the European and Turkish Parliaments in 1985. Additionally, he served as a member of the Joint EU-Turkey Parliamentary Committee from 1985 to 2004. Lord Balfe is currently a Member of the Council of Europe.

” I'm always very reluctant to attach a religious denomination to a terrorist act. No more than I talk about terrorist Christians do I talk about terrorism and Muslims in the same breath because what we have to remember is that the huge, vast, overwhelming majority of Muslims lead good and peaceful lives contributing to society.

” Terrorism isn't new. What is new is the ability to communicate between different parts of the world. And all the time we've had to adjust how we react to the threats that we have. What is different now is that the internet has made it much easier for someone like Anders Breivik in Norway to be cited by someone in New Zealand as being part of the cause. Incidentally, neither of those were Muslims. What we need to do is look for strategies to combat terrorism, not start looking for strategies to combat the Muslim faith.

” We have a problem in the UK. There is a right movement that has fed on itself. It has fed on fantasies about migration and immigration, but it has to be combated. On occasion, you have to limit the freedoms of the individual in order to secure the wider freedom of the safety of the individual in this state. And one of the faults of the liberal intelligentsia has been an unwillingness to come to terms with the occasional need to limit personal freedom in the interests of communal freedom.

” It's not just terrorism. It's also the rise of the authoritarian politics, which has often been driven forward by a sort of right-wing, but, well, fairest approach. If you look at the approach, for instance, of the Polish government, it's got some of the social-democratic policies of classical social democracy in giving money to the poor. But overlaying that is a right-wing ideology of intolerance of foreigners, intolerance of difference.

” I think the danger from the far-right is that it tries to limit the scope of where you can exist in society. There is also a factor in the background here, which I discern, which is that the collapse of the former Soviet Union shifted the goalpost far too much in favour of capitalism, and the failure of the lower the bottom 50 per cent to see an increase in their standard of living. In the last 20 years, there's been a great price that's been paid and I can well understand the resentment and the bitterness of the people who've lost out. Suddenly you get this mass media where they can fight back.

” Two points: we have to be muscular in the face of threats to the sort of society we want, and secondly, on occasion, we do have to curtail free speech because when free speech deteriorates into hate speech, a line has to be drawn and it has to be drawn by the state.

” So to an extent, there is actually a need for a certain amount of elitism in democracy. We should never have had a referendum. You should never put complex questions in simple terms to people. If you had a referendum in Britain on the death penalty, it would be brought back. So I say quite firmly that the middle class have a function in society, and part of that function is to control the excesses of those who don't understand the sort of society we want.

I think danger from the far-right is that it tries to limit the scope of where you can exist in society.



Haroon Siddiqui's Highlights



Editorial Page Editor Emeritus of the Toronto Star

Haroon Siddiqui is an Editorial Page Editor Emeritus from Canada's largest newspaper, the Toronto Star. He is also a Senior Fellow at Massey College, University of Toronto. He has reported upon or supervised coverage of Canada for 50 years and has written from nearly 50 countries. Haroon Siddiqui is the author of *Being Muslim*, among other publications. He is the recipient of several awards: The Order of Canada, the nation's highest civilian honour; the Order of Ontario; The National Press Club's UNESCO Award; and four citations of the National Newspaper Awards. Haroon Siddiqui has served as a member of the Canadian Newspaper Association, Advertising Standard Canada, the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, and the Ontario Press Council.

- ” Post 9/11, you know, there were understandable over-reactions in the United States having been attacked and nearly 3000 innocent people losing their lives. But then, immediately after that, there was a conflation of all Muslims with Muslim terrorists. There is a conflation of observant Muslims, conservative Muslims with radical Muslims. And these conflations continued. And what we ended up having is that all Muslims or most Muslims were deemed to be terrorists. And this narrative that took hold in the United States then spread to Europe.
- ” When Mr Obama became President, this backlash from the American white nationalists to a black man becoming president, it sort of fused all of these forces and then eventually merged into white nationalism. It merged into racism, into xenophobia and the words multiculturalism, pluralism, and diversity became trojan horses for attacking Muslims. The anti-immigrant sentiment that we had was also a code word for Muslims because most of the immigrants have been Muslim. So, what we have had is a radicalisation of public discourse.
- ” What we end up getting [with social media] is not only radicals, but we get extreme radicals. We get people who take a gun and go and kill. This is the sad state of affairs that we have fallen into.
- ” Social media is one of the biggest culprits at this point. All you have to do is look at the numbers. Facebook and Messenger, have 5 billion users a month. These are numbers that humanity has never known before. [In the past] if there was a radical voice somewhere, it remained contained in the village, in the region, in the nation. Now, this is being broadcast around the world.
- ” Each of these terrorists, white nationalist terrorists who have gone about killing people, they echo each other, and they are radicalised on these social networks. The social networks have been irresponsible to the point of criminality because they maintain [that the problem] has nothing to do with them. [They say], “we are only content providers. We are not content makers”. That is free speech. We are not in the censorship business.’ These are all plain excuses because these are the people who have been in the censorship business. They have been cooperating with security agencies, have been cooperating with authorities. So, they are lying, plain and simple. What they did not want to do is to spend the money that is required as newspapers do or responsible television stations do. You need editors. You need fact-checkers. You make sure that you are not crossing the line into violence and so on. They have been irresponsible citizens and they need to be controlled and regulated.
- ” Where do you draw the line is a big debate in liberal democracies. What is a free idea? Of course, we want to hear free ideas and so on. But that theory works only in the abstract. They [far-right groups] have made better use of social media than any leftist liberal organisation in the world, and if you look at the entire picture, there is no argument [being presented] that we need to draw the line.
- ” The mistake we make is that we absolve Facebook and the social media behemoths from any responsibility. They create the problem. The state should fix it. If corporations are behaving irresponsibly, we have an option as a state to make them responsible for their content.



Talip Küçükcan's Highlights



Professor of Sociology at Marmara University and Senior Fellow at the TRT World Research Centre

Talip Küçükcan is a Professor of Sociology at Marmara University in Istanbul and a former member of the Turkish Parliament (2015-2018). Küçükcan is the former Head of the Turkish Delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe and a Member of Foreign Relations Committee. He was among the founding team of the Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (SETA) and its former Director of Foreign Policy Research. Küçükcan specialises in in foreign relations with a focus on Middle Eastern affairs, Turkey-EU relations, transnational migration, freedom of religion, and Muslim minorities in Europe. He is a regular commentator on national and international media.

” When we look at the literature that has developed so far and published until now, there is a focus on religiously motivated violence and terrorism. There has been very little research on far-right extremism or white supremacy and the terror activities that they have been engaged in. We need to have a new understanding, and maybe a new definition of terrorism because until now there have been very few discussions and debates on white supremacy, right-wing extremism, far-right extremism and violence. They don't fall under the rubric of conventional terrorism that we have been discussing so far. We need to look at these concepts now, maybe in a more enlightened way to see that, especially in the United States and in some of the European countries, most of these violent acts are perpetrated by far-right movements rather than any religiously motivated people.

” There is a monolithic perception of religion, which is very much associated with violence. And from this perspective, 9/11 was a turning point. After 9/11, when you look at political discourse, publications, research and reports, most of them were related to religion in general, and with Muslims in particular. And you can see how it legitimised the invasion of Afghanistan and the invasion of Iraq. The war on terrorism became almost identical to a war on Islam and Muslims. Some people tried to disassociate the war on terrorism from the war on Islam, but when you look at the overall picture, there has been a selective reading of the issue of terrorism. Islam and Muslims are very frequently associated with such things despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of Muslims condemn any kind of terrorism, any kind of violence carried out in the name of Islam and Muslims.

” When we look at the ideology of far-right extremism and the views of populist parties, there are a lot of overlapping issues. When you look at the other issues that far-right groups are using in order to justify and legitimise their actions, we have several overlapping issues. First

of all, the worldview. They are all anti-pluralist, anti-universalist, anti-Semitic, and anti-Muslim. If you look at the populist parties in Europe, immigrants are seen as a threat to European identity and therefore they are seen as invaders. They are [seen as] colonising the West, colonising those enlightened civilizations. The far-right thinks that what we need to do is to prevent immigration by erecting walls, maybe a psychological, political, legal and now physical walls to protect our borders, to protect our identity and civilizations from Muslims, from blacks.

” Regarding the far-right populist parties. We should have some room for all kinds of views. But one step further is extremism. And what is one step after extremism? Violence? When you look at Muslims and many other minorities in the West, we see that physical attacks are becoming an almost daily occurrence in many places. Many mosques are being attacked and ransacked and anti-Semitism is on the rise again. And I think populist parties should have some responsibility on these issues.

” We are not trying to limit freedom of speech or freedom of expression when we talk about populism and far-right extremism. What we are trying to do is to protect our democracy's rule of law and the constitutional organisations and institutions from the attacks of such people. More importantly, we would like to save people's lives on the streets because if we turn a blind eye to extreme terrorism and if we do not create new kinds of mechanisms to contradict to counter such activities, we will see more people dying because of such things.



Shadi Hamid's Highlights



Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution

Dr Shadi Hamid is a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution and a contributing writer at The Atlantic. He is the author of 'Islamic Exceptionalism: How the Struggle Over Islam is Reshaping the World', and co-editor of 'Rethinking Political Islam'. His first book, 'Temptations of Power: Islamists and Illiberal Democracy in a New Middle East', was named a Foreign Affairs Best Book of 2014. Hamid was named one of the world's top 50 thinkers of 2019 by Prospect magazine. He received his B.S. and M.A. from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and his Ph.D. in political science from Oxford University.

” We have to be careful not to repeat certain mistakes that we made in the previous War on Terror, or whatever we want to call it, where we lumped in a lot of groups together and we said all Islamists are the problem or it's political Islam overall without drawing distinctions between, say, ISIS, the Muslim Brotherhood and Al-Nahda, the PJD and so on. So, I worry sometimes that when we talk about far-right extremism, I think we can all agree in this room that anyone who incites violence against Muslims, that that is a bridge too far.

” If we're looking at the rise of right-wing populism more generally, most of the parties that we're talking about are participating in politics. They participate in parliament, they have representation, and they're not necessarily inciting violence. They have very problematic views. They have anti-immigrant views, anti-Muslim views. But we have to be careful not to, demonize ideas, however bad or reprehensible certain ideas are. People have a right to express them as long as they're not inciting violence. So I think to make distinctions between, say, Anders Breivik and people who use violence, such as in the Christchurch shootings on one hand and parties like the AFD in Germany or the National Front in France or the League in Italy, is important. I think sometimes the kind of lumping together can get us in some potentially problematic territory.

” I think it gets it at a bigger issue when we look at the rise of Trump or other right-wing populists. Are they the problem or are they a symptom of something deeper? And I think sometimes, you know, in the West, we have this tendency to say Trump is bad, he is an exception and we'll go back to normal when he's gone and we can pretend like this never happened. But that's missing the point because the rise of Trump is part of a universal phenomenon. We see the rise of right-wing populists all over the world. We should see this as a signal to all of us that there are deep structural problems that we have to address seriously. The old politics of centrist technocracy, of tinkering around the margins is not enough

to address the very deep grievances that people have. People are angry for a reason. Many of these grievances are racist, but some of these grievances are legitimate and we have to pay attention to them.

” I get nervous when I hear that term 'draw the line' because if there is a line, someone has to draw it. So, then you have to give some group or some party or some state authority the power to decide what is acceptable speech and what is not acceptable speech. Now, if we agree with whomever that authority is, it's great, but if there is an authority making those distinctions who we don't agree with then we get into some problems.

” We no longer have consensus in Western democracies and I'm sceptical as to whether we can create a consensus. In America, we disagree on fundamental issues and there is no way for one side to persuade the other about which way is the right way. So in some sense, we have to live with each other with deep differences that can't necessarily be resolved. That is the big question of democracy going forward. If we have legitimate foundational differences over big issues, we can't pretend that there's going to be some illusion of agreement. We have to see how we live with those differences.

I get nervous when I hear that term 'draw the line' because if there is a line, someone has to draw it. So, then you have to give some group or some party or some state authority the power to decide what is acceptable speech and what is not acceptable speech.



Megan Squire's Highlights



Professor of Computing Sciences at Elon University

Dr Megan Squire is a professor of Computer Science at Elon University (North Carolina, USA). Her main research area is applying data science techniques to understand niche and extremist online communities, particularly network, image, and text analysis of radical right-wing groups on social media. Dr. Squire is the author of two books on data cleaning and data mining, and over thirty five peer-reviewed articles and book chapters, including several Best Paper awards. In 2017, she was named the Elon University Distinguished Scholar, and in 2018 she was named a Senior Fellow at the Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right.

” One of the big questions that I’m trying to understand is the flow of propaganda through different social media spaces. So when a manifesto is written or when a video is live-streamed of a killing, how does that media spread around the world using social media? How does that change the behaviour in the groups where the propaganda is seen? We can learn about how the groups are growing or shrinking or spreading and who is influencing them by watching how these kinds of artefacts move through that global social media space. This is very different than what we might have done years ago before widespread social media, when manifestos would spread on paper, or you’d have to physically meet face to face. Now we see that propaganda can spread much faster, much more effectively. The challenge becomes what to do about that media spread, how to track it and then watching as the players leave one system and go to another system. So one of the challenges is with encryption and another challenge would be with uncensorable and unremovable content moving on to the dark web or a distributed peer to peer file system. These are computer science challenges. And so we need to team up with the people who are working on social issues so that we can work together to understand a socio-technical phenomenon at this point. This is sort of the baby stages of a problem that will not be just a political phenomenon but will be a technical one as well.

” There was a pretty broad response to that incident [Christchurch attack], from the social media companies trying to remove the video and the manifesto, largely at the request of the New Zealand government. Subsequently, some policies were put into place by some of the social media companies. However, the shooter

[in Germany] did not use the same platforms to spread the propaganda as the first shooter. So we’re presented with a game of what I call whack a mole. An animal comes up, you hit it, and it comes up over here again. So you’re constantly chasing this threat.

” I think that is going to inform what some of the earlier speakers said about where to draw the line. I think technology may take away our power to draw the line. Technology is moving to a point where it will not be able to be censored. We have the technology already, like blockchain, DLive for streaming, for example, Entropy for remonetising demonetised content on YouTube. These are all technologies that are in their baby stages now, but extremist groups are already using them to spread propaganda and to stay alive, to stay active even when they’ve been removed from [mainstream] platforms. So the battle is moving. It’s moving already. That’s something that technologists are keenly aware of and we’re just kind of sending out the warning signs now.

” Online radicalisation is real and technology is changing to the point where we are going to need new ways to keep up with how to fight this challenge. Legal frameworks may not be enough. Traditional policy frameworks probably won’t be able to address the way technology is decentralising and making things uncensorable at this point. There will be no authorities to appeal to remove content. So with that in mind, we need to invest in research and a real understanding of how this technology works and the impact that it will have on the continuing rise of extremism.

Session 6

The Middle East at a Crossroad: Regional Responses to Shifting Challenges



- Protests within the region will persist as long as people's socioeconomic grievances are not addressed.
- Regional actors are involved both diplomatically and militarily in countries that are marred by war such as Libya and Syria, in a bid to shape political developments in their favour.
- The lack of cooperation between international actors is contributing to the chaos and conflict in the region.
- The international community should support the establishment of democratic regimes in the region to ensure stability and security.
- The Syrian civil war has created multidimensional challenges from security to migration. It is in the interest of regional states to preserve Syria's territorial integrity and stability.

Summary of the Session

The panel 'The Middle East at a Crossroad: Regional Responses to Shifting Challenges' focused on a variety of issues ranging from domestic issues facing countries in the region, to the implications of the shifting rivalries among different actors in the region.

Elaborating on the situation in Tunisia, Rached Ghannouchi pointed to achievements in the country from holding successful elections to the establishment of coalition governments following the revolution. While acknowledging the challenges, he emphasized the need for improvement in Tunisia's economic situation.

Mustafa Abushagur stated that as long as regional and international actors with conflicting interests continue to meddle in Libya, the prospects of finding any permanent solution to the ongoing war is going to be difficult. He also added that the transitional period in the country must be handled differently, particularly by re-establishing the existing institutions.

Cevdet Yilmaz stressed that Turkey is one of the main countries that has been affected by the ongoing war in Syria, emphasizing that Turkey's interests are best protected via a stable and united Syria. He stated that Turkey works with regional and international partners to ensure this.

Maha Azzam emphasized the crisis that the Egyptian military regime is facing. Addressing the dire economic situation, she said while people no longer believe that the military serves their interest, they are also breaking the barrier of fear and standing up against the regime.

Professor Burhanettin Duran also focused on Turkey's role in Syria. He stated that the war in the neighbouring country has created multiple challenges for Turkey especially in terms of security. He added that Turkey's military operations against terrorist groups such as Daesh and PKK/YPG are not only to secure its territorial borders but are also an effort to establish a safe zone to create a solution to the refugee problem.

Resul Serdar Ataş discussed the role of media in the Middle East. Highlighting the problems in this regard, he pointed out two issues being the lack of accountability and absence of in-depth knowledge about the region. He further said media can be a constructive force in creating inclusive democratic governments, as many countries in the region are going through detrimental changes.

Finally, Salman Shaikh dwelled on the role of the United States in the Middle East. While he suggested that America's role in the region is coming to an end, he stated that this situation is going to lead to a reorganization of the alliances between different countries.



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Keynote Speaker

Rached Ghannouchi's Keynote Speech

**Co-Founder of the Ennahdha Party of Tunisia**

Rached Ghannouchi is the co-founder and President of the Ennahdha Party, the largest political party in Tunisia. Following the Tunisian government's rejection of Ennahdha's application for parliamentary elections in 1988, Ghannouchi sought exile in London. He returned to Tunisia within days of the January 2011 Revolution and led the party campaign for the October 2011 elections in which Ennahdha won forty-one per cent of available seats, forming a coalition government with two secular parties. His perseverance and understanding of other parties' viewpoints in Tunisia has guided his party to adopt a modern, forward-looking constitution that has contributed to the establishment of a durable democracy in Tunisia.

- ” The mother of the Arab Spring, the dignity revolution started on the 17th of December 2011 in Tunisia and created a victory in January 2012.
- ” So, what's happened with that revolution of Tunisia after about nine years? We started with a peaceful revolution. We did not want the police to control everything and we created a democratic system. Hence, we created a very good constitution, a brilliant constitution that gained support of more than 90 per cent of the establishing council. And we decided on the equality between women and men, gave the woman the right to represent us in all the governmental entities.
- ” After nine years, the model of Tunisia was able to stand still in front of all the counter-revolution movements who tried to change this Arab Spring into bloodshed in Libya, Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Yemen. Nevertheless, this counter-revolution was not able to enter Tunisia. Our model stood still, and our party had a very good role in creating this spark. In keeping the spark of freedom, it kept it safe in front of all these storms.
- ” So, we had the 6th elections recently [in Tunisia] which was done very successfully. And Ennahda party, our party became the first party. But it's not the only party [in the Parliament]. We now have a multi-party council where we're going to create a government with multiple parties, a national coalition, which we will be working on. The results of the election were surprising, but it was good. We have a president outside the parties. He had more than 70 per cent of the votes. He's a president who has very good values. His hands are clean [un-corrupted], he obeys the rule of law and he is humble. These are very important values and essentials in the heart of the Arab Spring.
- ” Today in the Arab world, we have ambitions of the youth. There are movements by the youth everywhere. They are all requesting the same. They want to have their dignity, their freedom, and they want to eliminate this corrupted political facade. And for this reason, we are sure that this movement, this current, this youth movement that we can see everywhere in the Arab world will be able to reach its goal not only in creating and establishing democracy, but in establishing the social justice.
- ” Tunisian youth are also very stressed about the results of the revolution, because it's only it only about politics and what we saw as a result of the revolution. We have the freedom of election, of expression, of creating the political arena in general. But up until now, we were not able to offer job opportunities. And we still have an economic crisis in the country with a high level of unemployment. Those services are still limited and not developed. The health services, educational services and thus the Tunisians are not very satisfied with their rulers.
- ” The revolution wasn't and isn't only about the political aspect, but they also are requesting social justice. So, we think that the nation who were able to create this political revolution will be able to reach this point too.
- ” The revolution brings values of being correct and clean and humbleness and being with your nation and respecting the willingness of the people of the nation. This is [also] what is being brought by Islam and this is the core of this cell of the Arab Spring. So, we are calling upon all of you to come and visit Tunisia and regard Tunisia as your country. It's a very beautiful country, its especially more beautiful now with the absence of dictatorship.

High Ambassadors
Party

Head of
Revolution



Mustafa A.G. Abushagur's Highlights



Former Deputy Prime Minister of Libya

Dr Mustafa A.G. Abushagur has been a member of the Libyan House of Representatives since 2014. He served as the First Deputy Prime Minister of Libya from November 2011 to November 2012. He is the founder and Chairman of the Libyan Policy Institute, a think tank based in Tripoli, Libya. Over the last thirty years, Dr Abushagur has held academic positions ranging from Professor to President of RIT Dubai University. Dr Abushagur holds a B.Sc. degree from the University of Tripoli and M.Sc. and Ph.D. degrees from California Institute of Technology in the field of electrical engineering. He has published more than one hundred papers and holds several patents.

” Libya continues to face very serious issues as we continue to deal with the legacy of a dictatorship that lasted for more than 40 years. Today, we are faced with a legacy inherited from the intervention by countries that have conflicting interests. We have an ongoing war in the country because those interfering in Libyan affairs would prefer to see a dictatorship in country.

” There have been many attempts to resolve [Libya's] issues politically, but every time, they seem to collapse. If we look at the current situation, is there a way out from where we are?

” What allows this war to continue is the ongoing support of Khalifa Haftar by the French, by the Emirates, by the Egyptians and so on. If that support stops, this war would stop right away because he doesn't have the means to be able to continue this war. That's the irony of the situation that we are in.

” I think one of the major factors is the determination of the Libyan people themselves. The determination that they are not going to go back to the rule of one man. This is something that they have clearly committed themselves to.

” It is always going to fall on the Libyans themselves to find a solution for their problems. Of course, the influence of regional countries, which is messing up the whole situation, will affect it. The other part is that the United Nations mission to Libya has been so ineffective throughout the years because we end up every time that the representative of the Secretary General, he has some ties with the countries that are interfering in the situation in Libya. And so, we have a United Nations mission that is not really impartial. The United Nations is

failing even to stop the flow of arms in the country, especially from those who are supporting Khalifa Haftar.

” I think the battle of Tripoli will end with the defeat of Khalifa Haftar. And I think the Libyan people will realise that this issue is theirs. And they have to resolve this. They have to come together. And I think the international community is also shifting in that direction to be able to support a far more peaceful solution in Libya than it is. And I believe that the Arab Spring, which did not end, by the way, I mean, because we've seen it, will resurge again. People have realised that they have the power in their hands and they are not going to go back.

I think one of the major factors is the determination of the Libyan people themselves. The determination that they are not going to go back to the rule of one man. This is something that they have clearly committed themselves to.

of the Egyptian
Constitutional Council

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Cevdet Yılmaz's Highlights



Chairman of Foreign Affairs of the AK Party

Cevdet Yılmaz is currently a Member of Parliament representing Bingöl and a former Minister of Development. Dr Yılmaz graduated from Middle East Technical University and completed his Master of International Relations at the University of Denver, USA. He completed his Ph.D. at Bilkent University in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration and began his duty as a development planning expert in the Undersecretariat of the Prime Ministry State Planning Organization. Dr Yılmaz, who was a member of MKYK in the 2nd Extraordinary Congress held on May 22, 2016, was then appointed as the Chairman of Publicity and Media for the AK Party. He was again elected to the MKYK in the 3rd Extraordinary Congress held on 21 May, 2017.

” We have seen great instability in our region, especially in Syria, for years. For eight years or more, we have seen catastrophic actions by the [Syrian] regime, by many other foreign powers coming from far away to this part of the world and with proxy elements on the ground. And most of the cost has been borne by regional countries and foremost by Turkey. Currently, we are hosting around 5 million refugees in Turkey and more than 3.6 million are from Syria. We didn't look at their ethnicity or their sex or their ideologies. We just helped to save their lives from this brutal situation. Turkey has done a lot in this regard.

” Our Western friends, the Europeans and the US, they have paid lip service to this situation. They thanked Turkey, but they didn't do anything concrete on the ground. On the contrary, this situation has deteriorated with Daesh, with other terrorist organizations like PKK, and the YPG. The US has directly financed and provided weapons to this terrorist organization to fight another terrorist organization, Daesh. Turkey has argued that you cannot use one terrorist organization against another. You just complicate the situation. We have to fight together against all terrorist organizations without making any differentiation. Daesh does not represent Muslims and the PKK/YPG does not represent Kurds. They are terrorist organizations.

” Turkey has an interest in the stability of Syria more than any other party to this debate. Syria, a stable Syria, a united Syria, a Syria in which different ethnic groups, sectarian groups live together is in our interest. So, we are working for this. We are not trying to create humanitarian deterioration, on the contrary. We believe that

this operation (Operation Peace Spring) will also help to the political solution in Syria. We believe that Turkey's actions will accelerate the political process rather than hinder it.

” We have to be working on the ground with regional actors and we have to be very realistic. We should not look for theoretical and romantic solutions. We have to be very practical, very realistic to resolve problems, otherwise we cannot progress. We have seen this in Idlib, for example, Turkey worked with Iran and Russia and generated a concrete result. We call it humanitarian diplomacy. I believe this is also a model for other problems in our region.

” There should be more dialogue in localities, in nations and also region-wide. We have to look for solutions for ourselves. Real solutions will come from the local level, from the national and regional level. And we have to engage with each other. We shouldn't prefer to talk to faraway countries and neglect our neighbours. That is how we are approaching the situation.

Daesh does not represent Muslims and the PKK/YPG does not represent Kurds. They are terrorist organizations.



Maha Azzam's Highlights



Head of the Egyptian Revolutionary Council

Maha Azzam is the Head of the Egyptian Revolutionary Council and co-founder of Egyptians for Democracy. She was Head of Programme on Security and Development in Muslim States at the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) and has been an Associate Fellow of the Middle East Programme at Chatham House since 2000. She was one of fifteen specialists at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies Trans-National Threats Project, analysing the impact of extremism in Europe. She was previously a Caabu board member from 2002 to 2006 and re-joined in 2010.

” Egypt’s struggle like that of others in the region is a long-term one. Egypt has suffered from decades of dictatorship. It has suffered from dictatorship since 1952 and the people rose at different times through these decades. The greatest manifestation of that was in 2011 and the free and fair elections that brought to power the first democratically elected president of Egypt, the late Dr Mohamed Morsi.

” The real dilemma of Egyptians is that a coup happened against their will. A military coup that has seen one of the most radical regimes in Egypt’s modern history. The regime ensures that it is so tyrannical that it creates a republic of fear so that people don’t dare move. But the economic situation is so dire. The failure of the regime is so great in terms of delivering to the people. And the issue of corruption is fundamental.

” The cracks are beginning to show. There is a limit to how long a military regime can keep its tanks on the streets. It has to deliver. It has to feed the hungry mouths of millions of people. The vast majority of Egyptians today live below the poverty line. This is according to the World Bank. And even according to Egyptian statistics themselves, the vast majority of Egyptians, about 60 per cent, live below the poverty line. Egypt, the regime with its corruption, cannot deliver because it’s a structural issue.

” We have over 60 thousand political prisoners. People are rounded up whatever their political orientation. Journalists are rounded up if they visit other countries. It is truly a regime that is tyrannical, one of the most despotic in the region. And yet, it still has to provide.

Economically, it can’t do that if it wants to maintain the support of an elite that is used to corruption.

” I think there’s been a real change and that the military in Egypt, as other regimes in the region, faces a real crisis. There have been some profound movements not necessarily reflected on the ground, but rather in the mentality of people in terms of how they view the military in Egypt. [The belief] that the military served the interests of the people was sacrosanct. I think there’s a very different perception today that has gradually increased not only from 2011, but particularly after the coup in 2013. The stature of the military has diminished enormously.

” Across the region, regimes are trying to hold on. What we’re seeing is still the old battle for the independence of the region. We haven’t used the word independence today, but we talk about the right for social justice but it is also about the right of the nations of the region to make their own decisions without interference, without the interference of the elephant in the room, Israel. And that interference is continuously there. The peoples of the region want social justice, they want independence. What we are suffering from today is neo-colonialism in one form or another.

” The West should not be helping these regimes to survive any longer. [However] we know they will, we know they will support them to the last minute.

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Burhanettin Duran's Highlights



Professor at Ibn Haldun University and General Coordinator of SETA Foundation

Burhanettin Duran is currently a professor at Ibn Haldun University and General Coordinator of the SETA Foundation. He received his BA in Political Science and International Relations from Bogazici University in 1993, and his Ph.D. in Political Science from Bilkent University in 2001. From 1993-2009, he worked at Bilkent and Sakarya Universities as a Research Assistant and Assistant Professor, followed by Visiting Scholar appointment at George Mason University from 2010-2011. Duran's research focuses on the transformation of Islamism, Turkish political thought, Turkish domestic politics and foreign policy. In October 2018, Prof. Duran was appointed as a member of the Turkish Presidency Security and Foreign Policy Council.

- ” I want to underline the reality that this Syrian civil war, which has not been solved by a comprehensive solution in the last eight years, is a great challenge not only to Turkey but to all of the regional powers. But of course, for Turkey, the war in Syria has constituted multidimensional challenges ranging from: foreign fighters, terrorist threats like the PKK/YPG and Daesh and the issue of refugees.
- ” The PKK/YPG threat is detrimental to Turkey's territorial integrity. Having said this, for all of these challenges coming from the Syrian civil war, of course, Turkey is trying to do her best.
- ” Since 2016, Turkey has conducted three incursions into Syria. The latest one is Operation Peace Spring. Recently, President Erdoğan proposed a safe zone as a solution to this Syrian refugee problem and, at the same time, to secure Turkey's borders from YPG terrorism. We know that this plan is the only plan on the table. Turkey is trying to work with Russia and Iran through the Astana process to make it a part of the Geneva process. This is not an easy process because we are witnessing the repercussions of the so-called collapse of the liberal world order in the Middle East. There is an interaction between these shifting realities at the global level with the regional turmoil. There is polarization between Iran and Saudi Arabia and all of the negative effects of the post Arab Spring period are there.
- ” The Syrian civil war has been detrimental to Turkish interests. Turkey is trying to secure its interests and to face the challenges coming from the shifts in the geopolitical arena. Unfortunately, NATO allies are not helping enough. The Europeans are not doing enough, for example, with regards to refugees or foreign fighters.
- ” Who are the positive contributors to the Syrian civil war? Just look at the refugee issue. Just look at the fight against terrorism. Turkey is the first among those contributing to a solution.
- ” All these debates on NATO's suspension of Turkey's membership, these are just fluctuations of power relations designed to establish a new equilibrium in the Middle East and new relations with Turkey, and I believe that all of them will be ineffective.
- ” We have to be realistic because of the facts on the ground. Well, we have seen Washington's change of heart about its own global war. And we are witnessing the era of the end of liberal hegemony. And of course, this phenomenon has two sides in the region. One is that regional powers are trying to compete with each other and trying to consolidate their interests. This is bringing chaos, competition and sometimes proxy wars. But at the same time, we need cooperation.

Turkey is trying to secure its interests and to face the challenges coming from the shifts in the geopolitical arena. Unfortunately, NATO allies are not helping enough. The Europeans are not doing enough.



Resul Serdar Ataş's Highlights



Director of News and Programmes at TRT Arabi

Resul Serdar Ataş is the Director of News and Programmes at TRT Arabi. He is a member of the Euronews Editorial Board where he represents the TRT Network, the fourth biggest shareholder in Euronews. Previously, he worked for Al Jazeera Network where he served as Planning Producer, Senior Producer and Head of the Middle East Desk. He currently presents a weekly show on TVnet which covers regional affairs.

- ” Conventional media has only two advantages over social media. One of them is accuracy and the other one is the depth. In terms of the breaking news, for conventional media, it's almost impossible to conduct or be a part of fair competition. The problem with social media is the lack of a confirmation process. But unfortunately, the traditional media now is trying to act as social media. Now, members of the traditional media are acting as activists and our traditional newsrooms are becoming more and more like the social media settings, social media centres.
- ” The lack of accountability is one of the chronic problems that we are facing every day. You will see that many journalists in many of newsrooms that will sometimes justify their lack of in-depth knowledge regarding a certain conflict by saying that we need a fresh look. Whenever I hear that fresh look, it scares me a little bit because fresh looks often mean a lack of in-depth knowledge.
- ” Newsrooms today are unfortunately often uninformed as the flow of information is coming from unconfirmed sources on social media. I think one of the key questions for social media is going to be how to settle the proper confirmation process.
- ” In the aftermath of the Arab Spring, there has been [a number of] humanitarian disasters in the region. Overall, media has not been a constructive force, but rather, I will say, a destructive one.
- ” On the other hand, we need to see that social media could be a kind of driving force when it comes to humanitarian issues. Social media as a facilitator and as an initiator, but not as a healthy, fertile ground for any social transformation.
- ” I think journalists are supposed to go back to the field. That is especially important. And journalism still requires in-depth knowledge...in-depth knowledge and experience are going to be crucial because the media now is acting as a destructive force amidst all of this violence and conflict that's going on around.
- ” Are we really going towards true a post-American Middle East? Or it is going to be a new era of a multipolar Middle East, like Russia, Turkey, Iran, and the rise of other regional powers and even to a certain extent, maybe [involvement of] some of the European countries. How is the media going to deal with this kind of the new era? How is it going to decouple the conflict zones with the Gulf and how is the media is going to respond to the post Arab Spring? Non-state actors, some of them are going to be the part of the central governments. So how are newsrooms going to respond to that?
- ” We are heading into the post-Arab Spring era in the region, and while states are reconstructing themselves and while we are preparing for a post-conflict region, what is the role of the media going to be? I think media as a pressure and as a driving force for the middle class could be very much constructive in terms of restructuring these state apparatuses. How are we going to create inclusive, democratic central governments without leading the region into a second deep wave of conflict? How are we going to help the central governments to build a new model that is very much inclusive and include all the segments of society without leading to a second wave of conflicts?



Salman Shaikh's Highlights



CEO of the Shaikh Group and Former Director of the Brookings Doha

Salman Shaikh is the Founder and CEO of The Shaikh Group (TSG). Before establishing TSG, he was the director of the Brookings Institution's Doha Center, where his research focused on conflict resolution, domestic policy, and the geopolitics of the Middle East. Shaikh has extensive experience working with the United Nations as a Special Assistant and Political Adviser in various offices. Shaikh also served as Director for Policy and Research in the private office of Her Highness Sheikha Moza bin Nasser al-Missned, the Consort of the former Emir of the State of Qatar. He has been featured in key publications and media broadcasts, including CNN, BBC, Sky New, Al Jazeera, and NBC, and he has published commentaries with Foreign Policy, The New York Times, The Daily Beast, The Christian Science Monitor, and others.

” We have to start with the broader picture. And what is clear here is that the American era in the Middle East region more broadly is coming to an end. This is not just the unpredictability of President Trump, but rather it is a trend which we have seen. You can take a starting point, namely the mistake of invading Iraq in 2003 by Bush. You can take Obama's precipitous withdrawal from Iraq in 2011. You could take the red line when it came to the use of chemical weapons by the Assad regime. Or you could take north-east Syria today.

” The question is, as has been said in a more multipolar world, do we have chaos, competition or can we find cooperation? And that is very much something which is a challenge for regional states. And it is a challenge, of course, for global powers. It's clear that there is a real danger that geopolitical rivalries will further exacerbate the regional challenges that we have. And here, Syria is a cautionary tale. It was the inability of the international community to support what were peaceful protests, like we are seeing in Lebanon today, or we saw in Sudan, or we've seen elsewhere. It was its inability to do its job in trying to enforce international law and international standards which set this off.

” The United States currently is not an honest broker when it comes to the Middle East peace process. Many would say, in fact, structurally the United States, with its domestic politics, could never have been an honest broker when it came to the Middle East peace process. I was working for one of the UN Middle East peace envoys at the time of Yasser Arafat on the Middle East road map. That was still seen as the heady days of trying. The responsibility does lie with Palestinian and Israeli leaders first and foremost, especially if they are to make this the number one issue again in the region. My

personal view is that we need a change of leadership in both camps in order to forge those kinds of compromises. I am a great advocate of the two-state solution, but it may be that we have moved beyond that in this respect.

” It's quite clear that the region has realized that that security umbrella, which the Americans were providing together with Western allies, is not to be taken for granted anymore. That is why, of course, we have been building relationships with Russia and with China, with India and with other global powers. But that is why also Abu Dhabi is now speaking to Tehran. Even Saudi Arabia probably has got some level of informal discussions. So it is for the region to try to find this way. It is for the global powers not to make things more complicated. We have to find a regional and international compact which will take us forward when it comes to Iran. And here, in my view, it is the phrase of mutual security, mutual respect, which has to be built upon. If we are able to start on that path, then maybe the region will start to play the kind of role it needs to in peace making.

” The world was not made in one season, and certainly, the new Arab world will be made over many seasons. That's why we are seeing wave after wave of protests. And it will keep coming as long as people don't get their dignity and opportunity. The crushing inequality that they have to live through, that's not alleviated, it will keep coming back. In Lebanon, 3,000 individuals earn as much as the bottom 50 per cent of that country. That's not acceptable anymore. The transition from conflict to peace will require a much more inclusive approach, structural changes, and in the case of Syria, it will require some ingenuity.

Session 7

The Assassination of Jamal Khashoggi: A Reflection of Regional Politics?



- Jamal Khashoggi was a moderate, pro-reform figure, who wanted to peacefully push Saudi authorities to be more open towards human rights and democracy.
- Jamal Khashoggi represents a powerful symbol of democracy in the Middle East and will remain a very important inspiration for the Arab youth for years to come.
- By choosing to kill Khashoggi in Turkey the perpetrators were seeking to harm the image of Turkey and its economy.
- The Khashoggi incident has left a great scar on the reputation of Saudi Arabia and its Crown Prince, Mohammed bin Salman. One year since that tragic event, MBS' image as a 'reformer' has been dismantled.
- The Crown Prince has to answer his own citizens and to the world on why Jamal was killed. Western governments have largely turned a blind eye to the Khashoggi crime in exchange for securing economic benefits from the Saudi government.

Summary of the Session

The panel “The Assassination of Jamal Khashoggi: A Reflection of Regional Politics?” discussed the murder of the prominent Saudi journalist and Washington Post contributor Jamal Khashoggi, which provoked an international outcry and continues to have strategic, political and legal ramifications.

The speakers unanimously stated that Jamal was a moderate citizen who wanted to make Saudi Arabia a free society by peacefully pushing the Saudi authorities to be more open towards human rights. David Hearst mentioned that Jamal’s ideal vision for the Middle East was to bring democracy through moderate venues, such as giving the Arab world access to quality news in Arabic.

According to Ayman Nour, who knew Jamal for over 30 years, “Jamal was pro-reform in the Arab world. But they (the Saudi leadership) did not understand his position...and saw him as an enemy”. Therefore, they targeted him “to kill the wave of reform”. Tawakkul Karman argued there might be similar Saudi people who have had a similar fate, but Khashoggi’s famous nature revealed the crime by drawing international attention.

Regarding the political dimension of the Khashoggi murder, Yasin Aktay contended that the Saudi authorities wanted to harm the Turkish economy

by targeting the tourism industry and the Turkish democratic model, which acts as a reconciliation between democratic and Islamic values. According to Yahya Ibrahim Assiri, the Saudi state does not want any Muslim country to have democracy because of the potential that it could represent a model that the Saudi people could seek to emulate. Additionally, Hatice Cengiz, Jamal Khashoggi’s fiancée, elaborated that Khashoggi’s murder had a negative impact on Saudi reputation, especially Crown Prince Muhammad Bin Salman’s PR campaign to portray himself a reformer and champion of women’s rights.

On the West’s stance regarding the Khashoggi killing, Tawakkul Karman said that Western governments have turned a blind eye to the crime in exchange for securing economic benefits from the Saudi government. Finally, the panellists and participants arrived at the conclusion that Jamal Khashoggi has come to represent a powerful symbol of democracy for the region and a rejection of the counter-revolutionary efforts-led by Saudi Arabia and the UAE in the Middle East. According to Hatice Cengiz, Jamal Khashoggi will remain a very important source of inspiration for the Arab youth in the years to come. Her views were echoed by Yasin Aktay who stressed that “Jamal was a moderate, but in death he has become a radical democrat. He has become much more influential now”.



Ayman Nour's Highlights



Leader of the Ghad el-Thawrah Party and Former Presidential Candidate of Egypt

Dr Ayman Nour is an Egyptian politician, a former member of the Egyptian Parliament and founder and chairman of the Ghad el-Thawrah Party. In 2005, hours after announcing his intention to run for the Egyptian Presidency, he was arrested and removed from the Parliament building. In the 2005 Egyptian presidential election, he came in second among ten candidates. He was again subsequently arrested and spent four and a half years in prison. He was a leader of the January 25th protest movement that led to the removal of long time Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak.

” I knew Jamal for longer than anyone; 31 years of friendship. And he was my colleague in a work during the last year. There was no day that I did not hear his voice, feel his presence and see his face in one way or the other. Jamal wasn't a normal person, journalist, writer or an opposition of one of the events in the Middle East. He was someone who wanted change.

” It is a duty of the world to look for his whereabouts or what happened to him. Standing beside Jamal is standing beside the Yemenis and the Egyptians who are yearning for their freedom. That soul should be kept alive as long as we're here.

” Jamal was a journalist and he did not have a specific vision until he visited Algeria during the 1990 election period. That was a turning point in his life professionally, politically and intellectually. He witnessed the elections, where a group was elected and then that elected group was overthrown. Then the administration was given to the army. The second turning point of his life was at the beginning of the Arab Spring. I was with Jamal in Tahir Square and he was really excited about what was happening in Egypt. He would always advise those who he knew in the administration, saying that you need to be with the pro-Arab spring. He was pro-reform in the Arab world. Unfortunately, the Gulf administrations [i.e. Saudi Arabia, UAE] were all against the Arab Spring and did not understand Jamal's position. Jamal wasn't an opposition figure, rather, he was very moderate in terms of trying to call for reform. For that reason, they saw Jamal as an enemy, and decided to eliminate him to kill this wave of reform.

” He was a person who was is a victim of change in the Arab world and the Arab Spring for this reason. We will see justice served for Jamal after Yemen takes back

its freedom, after Algeria takes back its freedom, after Egypt gets back its revolution, after the completion of the change that we are seeking. Standing beside what's happened, what's happened to him is standing beside the Yemenis and the Egyptians who are looking for their freedom. And that's why Jamal will always be there and we cannot finish this case until we free people detained in Saudi Arabia, those detained in Egypt and those detained in UAE and Yemen, etc. Jamal became a symbol of human rights and we need to deal with his case in this aspect. Therefore, putting Jamal's case into justice or putting those who killed Jamal under the lens will have to come one way or the other.

” A lot of cases similar to the Khashoggi killing were actually done before. As a lawyer, I think Jamal Khashoggi will not find justice immediately in the courts of Saudi Arabia. Justice in Saudi Arabia will not be met under this regime. The real justice will be found if we document this crime and when the whole world tries to find the answer to what happened to Jamal. As a person who knows what legality is and as a friend of Jamal, I don't think that justice for Khashoggi will be served this year or the next few months. But I'm sure that his blood will not be in vain. The justice will not be about only those who killed him, but should also be about those who actually ordered this crime to take place.

” Khashoggi's killing is a case of humanity. It is a shame actually on those who stood without doing anything [i.e. the Western countries]. So I think that these countries should review themselves. The US should review the Khashoggi case regardless of the upcoming presidential elections and whether Trump stays in power or not. Jamal did not die. He is alive and is in the consciousness of humanity.

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Tawakkol Karman's Highlights



President of Women Journalists without Chains

Tawakkol Karman is a human rights activist, journalist, politician and President of the Women Journalists without Chains organisation. Known as the "mother of the revolution" and "the lady of the Arab Spring", she serves as the General Coordinator of the Peaceful Youth Revolution Council and is a member of the several international human rights NGOs. Tawakkol Karman was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011 in recognition of her work in non-violent struggle for women's rights, to full participation in peace-building work in Yemen. On receiving the prize, Tawakkol became the first Yemeni, the first Arab woman, and the second Muslim woman to win a Nobel Peace Prize, as well as the youngest Nobel Peace Laureate to date.

- ” Killing inside their Consulate means they committed a heinous crime inside their house, but also they are committing the same crime in my country. The same regime who killed Jamal Khashoggi and dismembered his body is the same regime that is killing my people in Yemen every day and destroying Yemen.
- ” Expression of rights are the greatest enemy to dictators. So what did Jamal Khashoggi do? He practiced his right of expression. He used press freedom. He used his writing in the Washington Post to highlight some shortcomings in the Saudi system. I believe that when they took this decision, they were very assured that they would not be accountable and will not be questioned by anyone, especially the international community. Always they lectured us about human rights and values and when the Saudi regime put the most famous activist, woman activist [Samar Badawi] in the prison, they didn't say anything. The only country that has a very big voice was Canada and they paid the price.
- ” Turkey did very well with dealing with this crime. When the Saudis decided to kill Jamal Khashoggi, they thought that they will kill every ambition, every hope, and they will target every Saudi dissident abroad. But what happened is the opposite. They created stronger opponents against Saudi around the world, from the Saudi people and from all around the world.
- ” Because Jamal Khashoggi was very famous and he wrote in Washington Post, this crime was revealed. The last thing, the murder of Jamal Khashoggi, also revealed was how the Western governments are far away from their values. How can their conscience be bought by dirty oil money? They prefer to make allies with these dictators.
- ” It's one year since the killing of Jamal Khashoggi and the dismemberment of his body. And the question now is where is justice for Jamal? This is the most important question that we all should raise. Where is justice for Jamal? This is this is the most heinous crime in the world with them, a writer in the most important newspaper in the world [was killed]. Why are they silent [the West]? They deal with Jamal Khashoggi murder with the same way that they deal with the killing of hundreds, thousands of Syrian people in Syria. With the killing of tens of thousands of Yemenis in Yemen under the airstrikes of Saudi and Emirates. And the same thing with the brutality of Sisi. And with Haftar in Libya. So, we should point our fingers to the governments of the West, they are allying with the dictators inside our region.
- ” Dictators are [also] a big threat to the Western governments. They are the source of terrorism. They are the source of chaos. And if you [the West] continue supporting these leaders, you will lead to destroying global peace, and millions of refugees to your countries. If you want to stop this kind of flood of refugees and terrorism, you should stop Mohammad bin Salman. You should stop Mohammed bin Zayed. You should stop Bashar al Assad. Otherwise all the world will pay a high price with those dictators who support terrorism and who support instability in the region.
- ” You should know that we decided to revolt against tyranny, against corruption, against injustice and create new countries full of democracy, full of human rights, full of rule of law, full of equality, full of coexistence and tolerance and peace. And we will not allow these dictators to continue their rule in destroying our countries.

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David Hearst's Highlights



Editor-in-Chief of Middle East Eye

David Hearst is Editor in Chief of Middle East Eye, an independent website based in London covering the Middle East in English and French. He appears as a foreign affairs commentator on the BBC, Channel Four, Voice of America, National Public Radio, Al Jazeera English and Arabic, TRT World and Al Araby TV. Before launching Middle East Eye, Hearst was Chief Foreign Leader writer for The Guardian, in addition to serving as the organisation's Associate Foreign Editor, Moscow Bureau Chief, Europe Correspondent, and Belfast Correspondent.

- ” Jamal was an extremely reluctant dissident. He did write for Middle East Eye, however, under a pseudonym, because he always maintained hope that he could somehow get back to Saudi Arabia even six months before his murder. As we know, there's no such thing in Saudi Arabia as an unlicensed writer. You either write what you're told to write or what you're told to tweet or you're in prison or you're in exile or you're dead.
- ” There are two things that have happened in the year since Jamal has been murdered. Firstly, bin Salman's image has been destroyed in London and in Washington. The image of a reformer, the image in Saudi Arabia, which Saudi Arabia so desperately wanted to nurture in Washington, has been destroyed. Secondly, the dictatorship has continued as brutally as it was before. Nothing has changed in Saudi Arabia. I also think that the real importance of Jamal's death is not just the details of it. It very nearly wasn't recorded, but it became the most recorded murder in modern history. He also had extensive contacts with Western journalists so he was treated by the Western media as one of us. They (Saudis) tried to bribe Turkey and that didn't work either.
- ” It [the murder] came at a time when the counter-revolution is now running out of steam. The purpose of the counter-revolution, the purpose of getting rid of Egypt's first freely elected president had very little to do with the Brotherhood or political Islam. It was a project to crush the Arab Spring and replace it with a series of modern dictatorships. The impossibility of this project is now being realised on the streets of Beirut and on the streets of Algiers. We're no longer seeing Islamists per se or secular per se coming out on the streets, we're seeing the citizens of Lebanon, we're seeing the citizens of Algeria saying things like we should not let the ruling class reproduce itself.
- ” Jamal Khashoggi's murder is a symbol of the impossibility of that project. It leaves me with huge hope that actually something will change in the Middle East because that symbol is so powerful. Jamal had very specific projects. He wanted to set up an institute. He wanted to translate The New York Times into Arabic. He wanted to set up a television station. And there were discussions with Doha and also here in Istanbul. That never worked out. The theme behind all of these projects was to give the Arab world quality of information.
- ” While in Germany, Jamal said “possibly Trump is not a good idea for Saudi Arabia. He won't be that reliable”. Jamal had warned that a transactional president doesn't actually care for Saudi Arabia or even the Middle East, and he can change his mind and he can change sides all the time. And it was that comment specifically that got him shut down.
- ” They [Saudis] are highly dependent on Trump and the White House, not the Pentagon, not the State Department, but specifically Trump. One of the main purposes of keeping personal relationships, not institutional but personal relationship between the Trump family and Mohammed bin Salman personally, is because he is at the forefront of attempts to normalise Arab relations with Israel. That's what the deal of the century is about.
- ” I'd like to make one last point, and that is that we should not cut off relations with Saudi Arabia, but we should make sure that this 32 year old prince never becomes king. Jamal was a loyal Saudi from Medina, and he was much more loyal to Saudi Arabia than Crown Prince Mohammed is. And it is against Crown Prince Mohammed that we should be directing our fire, not against the whole of Saudi Arabia.



Yasin Aktay's Highlights



Advisor to the Chairman of the AK Party

Yasin Aktay is a prolific writer, translator, academic, and political advisor. Originally serving as an academic at Selçuk University, Konya, he is currently affiliated with Yıldırım Bayazıt University in Ankara. He is the editor of the Tezkire Journal of Social Science, Thought and Politics and the Sivil Toplum Tezkire. Yasin Aktay has served in several positions within the AK Party, most recently as Deputy Chairman in charge of Human Rights and the Official Spokesman of the AK Party. He has presented many television programmes on several Turkish channels. He is currently a Chief Advisor to the President of the AK Party.

” The moment that I learned that Jamal was killed, I felt that this is a very heavy responsibility, to raise his case and to understand why he was killed. The case was very simple. He said that he is asking for the minimum in Saudi Arabia, not the maximum. He was not a maximalist in his hopes or in his vision about Saudi Arabia. He just wanted to make people free and achieve freedom of expression in the moderate way, not even in a radical way. But his vision for the Middle East in general was to achieve democracy.

” Saudi Arabia or the Emirates are killing people in prisons, massacring people in the streets, for example, in Egypt or Yemen. They are imprisoning people such as Ali Amer or Salman al-Ouda not because they are radical, they are in prison because they are moderate”. democratic Islam in the region. And now Mohammed bin Salman is trying to paint his own picture as if he is the champion of democracy, the leader of the opening of Saudi Arabia. But the tragedy is that the opening is not in freedom of expression, the opening of Saudi Arabia now is only towards hedonism. It is not toward democracy, it is towards more dictatorship with hedonism.

” Killing Khashoggi is not about the fear of radicalism, it's the fear of democracy. It is the fear of the moderate Islam. Democracy is the worst threat for them. They feel the threats or the challenge with democracy.

” Jamal Khashoggi now has more influence in the world than any opponents or any democratic activist who is now alive. All recent developments in the Middle East, which is giving clues that there is a new age, a new wave of democracy, a new wave of Arab Spring, are all inspired by the Jamal Khashoggi's ideas, by Jamal Khashoggi himself, because Jamal Khashoggi now is representing democratisation throughout the Middle East.

” Turkey is a symbol of human rights and democratisation. They wanted to target tourism, which Turkey's economy is relying mostly on. Also, they targeted Turkey to destroy the Turkish image in the world. One month before his murder, Jamal was talking about the impossibility of anything happening to any Saudi Arabian citizen on the soil of Turkey. He was saying it is possible that they can do something in Britain, in Germany, in Kuwait, in Beirut and in Egypt. But, Istanbul, impossible. When I retrospectively went back to this conversation with Jamal Khashoggi, I was shocked as if he was expecting something. But the most secure place for him was Turkey, not anywhere else.

All the recent developments in the Middle East, which is giving clues that there is a new age, a new wave of democracy, a new wave of Arab Spring, are all inspired by Jamal Khashoggi's ideas...

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Yahya Ibrahim Assiri's Highlights



Founder and Director of ALQST

Yahya Ibrahim Assiri is a Saudi Arabian human rights defender. Yahya is the founder and Director of ALQST, a UK-based Saudi human rights organisation. He has assisted with, and is on the board of, several other human rights organisations and has participated in a number of courses and seminars relating to human rights. He has a master's degree in Human Rights and Political Communications from Kingston University, London and has a bachelor's degree in Administration.

” There are mass arrests for all reformers, all human rights defenders, every single person who's able to say no to the regime or to criticise the regime or tweet any single tweet against the regime. We hear about torture happening inside Saudi prisons.

” They are afraid of freedom of expression. Mohamed Bin Salman, before the murder of Jamal Khashoggi, did a huge PR campaign and he succeeded with this. The murder of Jamal Khashoggi destroyed everything. After the murder for Jamal Khashoggi, there was a fatwa from a religious figure who is the closest person to MBS saying that the ruler is allowed to kill the half of the population if he wants to bring stability for the second half. So what's the difference between ISIS and Saudi regime? ISIS do that in front of cameras.

” But even the Western allies [of Saudi Arabia], are worried about democracy in Saudi Arabia. Because if there is a democratic system in Saudi Arabia, do you believe that society and the people in Saudi Arabia will allow the corruption in this mass trade and arms trade with Western governments?

” The Turkish model is a very dangerous model for Saudi Arabia because they don't want any Muslim country to have democracy because that will be a model for Saudi society.

” Before killing Khashoggi, they ordered him to write a message for his son to say something like “I feel sorry about what I did against my country and I will come back to my country” and he refused. After the message, he would disappear. Then Saudi Arabia would claim, “our citizen disappeared in Istanbul”. Then they will start to investigate and search for Jamal. Then someone will find him somewhere in Istanbul killed and they will put blood on Turkish hands. It was clear they planned for that from the voice recording. Second thing, when Jamal disappeared, they keep repeating in the Saudi me-

dia saying ‘Jamal Khashoggi planned to come back to his country, Jamal Khashoggi is not a dissident and he is a nice person. He made a mistake, but he went to ask for forgiveness’. Later on, they changed their narrative.

” I would like to comment on the responsibility of Mohammed bin Salman. He said that he will take responsibility. Mohammed bin Salman said he is taking responsibility about the murder of Jamal Khashoggi. This word is a very important word in countries that have constitutional [order], that respect human rights and democracy. But in Saudi Arabia, it completely means nothing. Why? Because we can't take him to independent trial and try him and there is no parliament to investigate him. So, what does that mean? If someone in an institutional country or democratic country said he is taking responsibility for a crime like this, that means he'll resign immediately. Otherwise, the parliament will investigate him. Otherwise, they will take him to court. That's not available in Saudi Arabia. So it means nothing completely.

” But what we can do? We can promise Jamal Khashoggi, we will not forget this crime and that Mohammed bin Salman, will [eventually] take responsibility and he will pay the price.

Mohammed bin Salman, will [eventually] take responsibility and he will pay the price...



Hatice Cengiz's Highlights



Fiancée of Jamal Khashoggi

Hatice Cengiz is the fiancée of Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi, who was murdered inside the Saudi consulate in Istanbul in October, 2018. Hatice is a Turkish anthropology doctoral student focused on the Gulf countries. She has previously lived and studied in Oman, Egypt and Jordan. Since Khashoggi's assassination, she has led a campaign for justice, calling on the international community to hold those responsible for Jamal's murder to account. She has published opinion pieces in the New York Times and the Washington Post, testified before a congressional subcommittee, and given numerous interviews on the topic.

- ” When I heard the Crown Prince Muhammad bin Salman said he wasn't responsible for such a killing but he accepts responsibility, I didn't really know what to make of it. It seems the Crown Prince is saying that he is responsible for the country, but he is avoiding the responsibility of the killing. If he is responsible for the country, we would automatically address the question, why was Jamal killed in such a violent fashion?
- ” According to our belief, Jamal's corpse was to be given to his family and close relatives. It's been over a year and the corpse is still nowhere to be found. Even if the administration changes or takes different steps, it still won't clean the scar from the history of Saudi Arabia.
- ” The Crown Prince has to answer to his conscience and to the people. Jamal is one of his own citizens who was killed and he hasn't explained the reasons for this.
- ” The way Jamal was killed had an impact on the image of Saudi Arabia in the world, and I think if he could come back to be with us, he would have been upset by the image of Saudi Arabia. The image of the country suffered greatly from this [murder].
- ” Jamal never said 'I hate my country'. I sometimes asked him this question. He always said that his relations with his country continued and that people in high positions continued to call him and comment on his articles.
- ” There are many good people and nice people who also represent Saudi Arabia. But the current system does not allow them to represent their country. That's why Jamal was not happy.
- ” The fact that it [the murder] has taken place in Turkey shows there is a political dimension to it.
- ” In the international arena, his killing was a huge embarrassment in terms of democracy and human rights. Jamal was working at a very prominent newspaper in the US and he was working to support these values in the Middle East. I think from now on, the struggle for Jamal's values needs to be in the conscience of all individuals.
- ” The things that Jamal wanted to do was to insistently voice the wrongdoings in Saudi Arabia. On TV programmes he was talking about the mismanagement of this reform process and that's what made him a victim. I believe that Jamal will be a very important inspiration for the youth.
- ” Jamal was a journalist and was a very unique journalist and had special relationship with many journalists. So, I don't think this will ever be forgotten. However, we should continue asking answers and explanations for Jamal's brutal murder. Why did they kill Jamal in such a violent fashion?

Even if the administration changes or takes different steps, it still won't clean the scar from the history of Saudi Arabia.

Exclusive Talk

Trade Wars and the Risks to Global Growth



- After the end of Cold War, the world entered into a new era in which globalisation spread beyond the Western Hemisphere.
- Protectionist economic policies, trade wars, tariffs and sanctions are a threat to global peace, prosperity and economic development.
- Terror and violence create enormous damage to global economy. \$14.3 billion is spent annually on counter-terrorism worldwide instead of being spent on people's well-being.
- The current United Nations system is outdated and the Security Council is often a source of injustice and unfairness in today's world.
- Refugees and migrants represent one of the greatest challenges for humanity today and require a collective response.

Summary of the Session

The panel 'Trade Wars and the Risks to Global Growth' discussed how trade wars, protectionist economic policies, sanctions and tariffs are harmful to global economic growth, peace and prosperity.

Former Prime Minister of Turkey Binali Yildirim, stressed the fast-changing dynamics in the world economy and politics. He emphasised the rise of China and other emerging economies in light of globalisation and the digital revolution of the 2000s. He further discussed how trade wars are destructive and harmful to global economic growth by not only impacting the parties to the conflict, but also the rest of the world as a result of the high degree of interconnectedness that characterises today's global economy.

Yildirim also emphasised how terror and violence are economically destructive given that billions of dollars are spent on counter-terrorism efforts that could be spent on more productive sectors. Yildirim highlighted that \$14.3 trillion was being spent annually on counter-terrorism around the world, accounting for 13.5 per cent of global GDP. Yildirim added that if this money were allocated for the assistance to the people in need in the devel-

oping world, there would be no drought, no hunger, no unemployment, and no homelessness.

Turkey is one of the countries that has suffered the most from terrorism for in the past 35 years. According to the former Prime Minister, the cost of terrorism to Turkey's economy has been \$1.5 trillion. Emphasising the amount of money spent on counter-terrorism efforts, he pointed out that if there was no terror threat, Turkey could have used that money for the wellbeing of its people.

The structure of the United Nations Security Council was also discussed. He argued that the current system, which privileges the five permanent members of the Council, namely the United States, Russia, United Kingdom, France and China is a source of crises rather than solutions.

Yildirim discussed the refugee and migrant crisis, arguing that it is a global problem and therefore requires international cooperation. Yildirim said that Turkey has taken on an outsized burden as the largest refugee hosting country. He criticised other countries, namely Europe and other wealthy countries for not pulling their weight in tackling the refugee problem.

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Binali Yıldırım's Highlights



Former Speaker of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and Former Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey

Binali Yıldırım is the former Prime Minister of Turkey (2016-2018) and a founding member of Turkey's AK Party. He was elected as Speaker of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on June 12th 2018, a position he served in until March 2019 when he was nominated as the AK Party's candidate for Istanbul Mayor. Binali Yıldırım served more than 11 years as a Cabinet Minister and is the longest-serving Minister of Transport, Maritime Affairs, and Communications in Turkey's history. He is currently a Member of Parliament for the ruling AK Party.

- ” The new system [after the Cold War] focused on strengthening and removing barriers to global trade as well as widening the impact area of the economy.
- ” The new economic system was supported by the digital revolution and introduction of the internet, which increased the power of globalisation. Rapid developments were seen in almost all domains which brought with it social and cultural changes.
- ” The new emerging powers have created competition with developed states. The US is not happy with China's rapid growth. It sees it as a threat. The leading advocate of globalisation and free trade has historically been the US. However, since this new administration came to power, they have started to erect walls.
- ” Since 2008, the world has not been growing. This is our most serious problem. After the 2008 crisis, growth rates have been around 1.2 per cent to 1.5 per cent, below the rates of inflation.
- ” Because of protectionism, global trade is going through difficult times. The quotas, sanctions, exchange rate practices, customs, tariffs and erecting walls will not contribute in any way to global peace. Global peace and prosperity will suffer in the end. According to World Trade Organization figures, global trade may decrease by 17 per cent as a result of trade wars.
- ” The risk to global trade is not just from protectionism, sanctions and embargoes, but also regional terror, global terror, and violence. They are damaging for the global economy. \$14.3 billion is spent annually dealing with the issues of terror, violence and refugees. 13.5 per cent of global GDP is being spent on managing these issues, with no benefit to the people. All these resources, unfortunately, are wasted on protecting ourselves against terror. And terrorism's damages aren't limited to this. It also inhibits international investment.
- ” In 35 years [fighting against terrorism], Turkey has had access to \$400 billion less than it should have [because this money was spent to fight against terrorism]. If we were a state in the midst of Europe and if we hadn't had to use our resources to battle against terror today, our income per capita would be at least \$20,000.
- ” The United Nations today does not reflect the global balance of power. The privilege that was given to the UN Security Council has become one of the main reasons for injustice and unfairness. Because of the double standards of the Security Council members, we see the continuation of the tragedy in Palestine.
- ” President Erdoğan has been saying that the world is greater than the five in every platform that he has been to. He is merely expressing how the [current United Nations Security Council] system is not fair. Five members decide 196 countries' fates. It's now time to question this order and change the structure.
- ” Refugees and migrants have become the greatest challenge of the world today. Less developed countries have people flowing out into more developed countries so they can live a better life. That is more than the population of many countries around the world. This is a vast global problem. But in terms of seeking solutions towards this problem, what is the world doing? Nothing.
- ” Our expectation from the international arena, from the UN, from other institutions, from other parts of the world, is not just to hear them say “well done” to us, but we also want them to shoulder this responsibility [of refugees] with us.
- ” We need to oppose injustice all together and we need to tackle global problems with humanitarian values based on our conscience. We need to make sure that our approaches to the issues are just.

Exclusive Talk

Managing Migration: Europe and the Refugee Crisis



- No one benefits when humanitarian aid is politicised and saving lives at sea is criminalised. Moral duty should drive the world to restore humanity in politics.
- The support of politicians and local community leadership is key to finding solutions for migrants in Europe and countering the fear associated with them.
- A solution to the migrant crisis is only possible when European countries develop a collective policy to deal with the problem and act together, using their economic, cultural and intellectual ability.
- The media should disseminate information on refugees properly so that hosting communities can better understand the situation, deal with refugee complexities and achieve inclusion.
- The criminalisation of humanitarian aid in the Mediterranean goes against humanitarian values. Migrants should not be sent back to unsafe detention camps in Libya.
- The international community should support migrants by developing policies and approaches to effectively address the factors that force them to leave their countries in the first place.
- Turkey has played a crucial role in mitigating the refugee crisis by hosting around four million Syrian refugees. The EU and Turkey should work together to prevent a new migrant crisis in Northern Syria, ensure respect for human dignity and protect civilians.

Summary of the Session

The panel “Managing Migration: Europe and the Refugee Crisis”, discussed the future of refugees in Europe.

The keynote speaker Francesco Rocca, President of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, argued that the situation of migrant boats in the Mediterranean Sea is a huge threat to humanitarian action. He spoke about what he called the “criminalisation of humanitarian aid”—a policy adopted by some European countries, such as Italy, to refuse migrant boats harbour—and deemed it wrong because it goes against humanitarian values and European norms. Furthermore, he argued the rejection of migrants in Europe is fuelled by a narrative of invasion and fear created by political leaders and the media.

Regarding the migrant detention facilities in Libya, Rocca expressed that the EU has abandoned all of its Mediterranean patrolling operations, and decided to send migrants to unsafe ‘torture camps’ in Libya. He called the situation in those camps an outrage to the conscience of humanity. Rocca

argued that European countries have collectively failed to develop policies to effectively deal with the causes of migration or to work jointly in persuading their communities about the acceptance of the migrants and the humanitarian actors helping those at risk.

President Francesco Rocca elaborated on Turkey’s crucial role in mitigating the extent of the migrant crisis by hosting around four million Syrian refugees. He highlighted his view that the EU-Turkey migrant deal was not fair because Turkey was left with the burden of millions of refugees with inadequate support from the EU.

On finding a solution, Rocca recommended developing a new way of burden-sharing among European countries, to support migrants in their own countries by addressing factors that force them to leave in the first place. Rocca emphasised that world leaders should rediscover their missing moral duties to restore humanity in politics.



Francesco Rocca's Highlights



President of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies

Francesco Rocca joined the Italian Red Cross in 2008 when he was asked to lead the change process of the Italian Red Cross and transform the structure from a public-sector organisation to a private volunteer-based organisation. Mr Rocca was elected president of this new structure in 2013. In 2009, when the Italian Red Cross was elected member of the IFRC Governing Board Mr. Rocca was the appointed representative. In 2013 he was elected Vice President and in 2017 he was elected President of the IFRC.

- ” The refugee phenomenon is something that has always existed. But if you look at the recent history it shows that something is not working. So you have to deal with causes and you have to be prepared.
- ” The rejection of refugees is about the toxic narrative that has accompanied the phenomenon since the beginning. For migrant inclusion and job opportunities, you need local politics to work with you. The local level can make a difference in creating inclusion.
- ” According to our history, our tradition, our cultural background, saving a life at sea is never considered a crime. This criminalisation of humanitarian aid in the Mediterranean [by Italy] is something that I think will maybe be the worst legacy of this era for the future generation. Italy is a country that has signed the Geneva Convention. It's not only a moral obligation, but it's also a legal obligation for a country that has signed the Geneva Convention to protect refugees and to process the request and to verify if they meet the condition or not to be eligible as refugees or in need of humanitarian protection.
- ” Look what's happened even in the US, there are people now on trial because they provided food and water to those [refugees] who have reached the US and they were providing basic support [to them] to survive. We're talking about empathy, about having a heart, not about smuggling. They're forgetting where we come from, what we have passed through our history, our tradition. Maybe I'm lucky because of having the opportunity to travel a lot more to see with my own eyes their living conditions. I fully understand why they are escaping and why they are leaving.
- ” Migration is not an easy issue and unfortunately, what Europe and the EU, in particular, have shown in the recent era is the failure to work as a whole. There are different sensibilities. Different policies. And so far, after so many years, only a lot of words, but no concrete facts to work on. The nationalists and populists would say this is what my country is asking for. Forgetting that they are often the ones feeding this fear and anger.
- ” Nowadays, Europe is being brought back to talks about money because of their wanting to externalise the [EU's] border. They thought at that time that it would be the perfect solution. But now this is turning back because president Erdoğan said that if you don't support me, I will reopen the border. This showed once again the lack of vision instead of dealing with the Turkish government about how to better distribute and work together. You left one country with the burden of more or less four millions of refugees. They did a great job. And the miracle here is that they (the refugees) have not changed the political dynamic. Look what maybe 900 000 or 1 million [refugees] in Germany did, how they changed the political dynamic in Germany, in Italy.
- ” There are signs of improvement, about the dialogue, not about facts, but about the shared burden. I think that more than that of course, it is extremely important for all to work to fix the causes of migration. We have to support them in their own countries. Many African countries are exploited and there does not to appear to be a discussion about how to fix this. We Western countries, we look at Africa as a place where we can exploit as much as possible in terms of opportunities and natural resources. In Libya, it is about gas and oil.
- ” Political leaders should rediscover the real meaning of human dignity. When it comes to basic human rights, you cannot make any distinction of any sort. This is a moral duty for any political leader. We are losing any achievement that we had in the humanitarian sector in the last 160 years, the way our political leaders are behaving. This is something real and we are losing our humanity.

Session 8

The EU: A Vote of No Confidence?



- Brexit may lead other members to follow suit if the UK manages to leave smoothly. However, they may also be discouraged as a result of the difficulties faced by the UK.
- The EU's inability to effectively address the concerns of individual member states related to economic, political and social issues and its inaction in the face of growing demands for reform, is serving to deepen a crisis of legitimacy.
- The EU project will be incomplete without the inclusion of the countries of South-East Europe, namely Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, North Macedonia and Turkey.
- The EU's failure to show solidarity with Turkey during the July 15 coup attempt and Operation Peace Spring in Northern Syria, as well as its perceived double-standards towards Turkey has reduced the Turkish public's confidence in the EU.
- Despite a number of ongoing issues, consensus for the European Union has been increasing in all twenty-eight member states with the exception of Italy.

Summary of the Session

The panel “The EU: A Vote of No Confidence?” discussed the future trajectory of the EU regarding the latest developments including Brexit, economic challenges, the refugee crisis, the enlargement process, Turkey’s accession process and EU values.

Commenting on the Brexit, Sayeeda Warsi stated that the Brexit campaign was xenophobic and grounded on misrepresented political and economic challenges. Warsi added that the biggest challenge for the EU is the democratic deficit when it comes to representing the demands of member states in EU institutions. This is in addition to the failure to respond to changing demands of member states, and lack of robust financial accountability.

In reaction to the claims regarding a democratic deficit in the EU’s decision-making process, Anna Maria Bildt pointed out that there has been a fundamental misconception that the commission takes decisions, which, in reality, are taken by heads of state or elected parliamentarians. Bildt added that despite the media representation, consensus for the European Union has been increasing in all twenty-eight member states with the exception of Italy.

Regarding the implications of Brexit, Esko Aho stated that Brexit will mark the end of the beginning of exists because of difficulties and unintended consequences that the UK is facing. Aho also added that democracy and the market economy have failed because of a failure to find new methods and policies to address emerging problems.

Faruk Kaymakcı stated that EU leaders’ hesitant attitudes during the July 15, 2016 coup attempt in Turkey created trauma for both the Turkish public and administration and led to a loss of confidence. Kaymakcı also noted that the way that EU is acting towards new members, as well as the candidate countries, is creating further division and therefore not serving the interests of Europe.

Describing the EU as the advanced version of the idea of Europe, Ivo Josipovic stated that despite challenges and doubts about its future, European nations are going to understand that the EU is the most suitable frame for development and security and the only way to be competitive in the global market. The current crisis of the EU is in part the result of the politicians’ selfish policies.



EDUCATION IN TRANSIT
INNOVATION IN LEARNING
IN THE 21ST CENTURY
IN THE 21ST CENTURY

THE world forum
2018



IVO JAKSIC

THE world forum
2018

SPEAKER

Ivo Josipović's Highlights



Former President of Croatia

Ivo Josipović served as the President of Croatia from 2010 until 2015. As a politician, he promoted reconciliation in South-Eastern Europe, human rights, and the fight against corruption. Before and after his presidential mandate, Ivo Josipović served as a university law professor and composer. He has published several books and 85 scholarly papers dealing with international criminal law, criminal procedure and human rights. As a composer, Ivo Josipović has written roughly 60 compositions which have been performed and recorded by prominent artists.

” The European Union is firstly a peace project, and we forget that from time to time. So, despite some crises, despite some doubts about the European Union, I'm convinced that finally, probably after Brexit, that European nations are going to understand that the European Union is the most suitable frame for development and security and the only way to be capable on the global market to compete with the United States, with China, with Russia, and other important economies.

” That is also one of the tasks of the European Union, to increase democratic standards. Secondly, regarding the migrants coming in great quantities from African and Asian countries, can we ask ourselves why are they going to the European Union, to European countries? Because Europe reached some standards of democracy, a standard of social security that you cannot find in other countries.

” It's true that populism is declining in a way because there were enough brave politicians to be against it. I think, that the system, if we change it somehow, should have a possibility to be in favour of strong European institutions that can oppose populism, not only in Europe generally, but also in member countries as well.

” I think that the European Union has reached the level where European countries should make a decision about whether we are going to have more Europe or less Europe. I think circumstances push us to have more Europe, but it's not somehow politically articulated and most countries' leaderships are against it. Do you know why? There is a wording in my country that says it's better to be first in the village than second in the big city. So I think that the selfishness of politicians in particular countries is stopping further development of the European Union. I believe that in the future there will be enough conscience and enough strong forces in all or most countries to understand that the European project could develop more.

” I'm completely convinced that my grandkids will live in federal Europe because I think it's the future natural development. Not today, but I am convinced that the final development of the European Union project will finish with federation. What's also very important, and I consider it one of the most important tasks by European officials is to build a European identity. I will forever be a Croat. Someone will be Hungarian, Finn, a Brit, but we have to have a feeling of belonging to Europe.

I'm convinced that finally, probably after the Brexit, that European nations are going to understand that the European Union is the most suitable frame for development and security and the only way to be capable on the global market to compete with the United States, with China, with Russia, and other important economies.



Esko Aho's Highlights



Former Prime Minister of Finland and Chairman of the Board of Cinia Oy and Adven Group

Esko Aho is Chairman of the Board of Cinia Oy and Adven Group, and, since 2016, he has served on the Supervisory Board of Sberbank. In February, 2019 he was appointed to the JP Morgan Advisory Council for Europe, the Middle East and Africa. Esko Aho is the Former Prime Minister of Finland and was a member of the Finnish Parliament for 20 years. Under his leadership, Finland joined the European Union. In addition, Esko Aho was President of the Finnish Innovation Fund, Sitra, and a member of the Executive Board at the International Chamber of Commerce.

” Americans are using the phrase ‘the law of unintended consequences’, which means that we want to do something and something completely unexpected is going to happen. And if somebody expected that this is the beginning of the end of the European Union so that first the UK will get out there and others will follow. I think the consequence of this story is that this is the end of the beginning of exits.

” I think the European Union has a tendency to promise too much. Quite often it's giving promises that are completely unrealistic in order to do what citizens expect that the European Union should do. I don't believe that the European Union's agenda is coming from the sky. It's coming from the facts and realities in Europe. And most of their issues can be handled on the national or even regional, local level. But there are a few things which are relevant to the future of Europe. And they are: environmental protection, climate change, security, trade wars and immigration issues, for example, issues which are completely impossible to solve on the national level.

” I don't like the idea of a democratic deficit because the European Union is not the second level of national decision making, it is something above that. And we have a lot of problems which we cannot address without having European cooperation. And I think we should concentrate on these. I like the idea that the European Union has not been efficient enough to make reforms or it has tried to make artificial reforms like we had this constitutional exercise almost 20 years ago. It was a terrible mistake to start speaking about constitutional issues when we had pressing issues coming from ordinary life. What I think that the European Union should do now is to fully concentrate on the basic questions necessary for the future of Europe. And I already repeated or said some of them. I'd like to add one aspect in addition to

environmental security matters and those like that. I think the world is full of deal-making now. Everyone believes that making deals with others is going to be the right solution. I'm coming from a small country like a few of us and I think we are not able to survive in the world of deals. We want to live in a world of rules and the European Union can play a big role in the global arena.

” When we are looking at these rule of law requirements, human rights requirements, different requirements, we are setting a very high bar in the European Union. If you look at the world outside Europe, sometimes I think that we are criticising Europe because of many things which are much worse in almost everywhere in the world. Quite often they are saying that Europe has populist movements because there are so many people who are frustrated because of wealth and income gaps. To be honest, equality [in Europe] is at the highest level in the world. We have in Finland the same discussion in spite of the fact that inside Europe, income gaps are smallest in Finland, but it's the number one issue in the discussion. So I think that the standards of European discussion are different and I think that the day when the European Union doesn't exist will be the day when we recognise that it's urgent.

” I don't believe in a federalist Europe. It's not a realistic target and this constitutional exercise twenty years ago was a disaster for Europe. But I believe that we can create a much stronger union, a much more integrated union in those specific areas. And secondly, I mentioned this single market as an achievement. This enlargement in Central and Eastern Europe was another major achievement.



Sayeeda Warsi's Highlights



Former Cabinet Minister of the United Kingdom

Baroness Sayeeda Warsi was the first Muslim to serve as a cabinet minister in the British government. At age 36, she was elevated to House of Lords, making her the youngest member of the upper house at the time. In August, 2014 she resigned from Government citing the Government's "morally indefensible" policy on Gaza. Sayeeda is Chair of the Baroness Warsi Foundation, a Trustee of the Savayra Foundation, Pro Vice Chancellor at the University of Bolton, an Advisor to Georgetown University Washington DC and Visiting Professor at St Mary's – the oldest Catholic university in the UK. Baroness Warsi's first book, 'The Enemy Within: A Tale of Muslim Britain', has been billed as "a vital book at a critical time...a seminal text on British Muslims"

” I suppose for me, particularly, what has been the issue and the reason why I, despite being sceptical about many aspects of the European project, voted to remain was because we voted on the basis of lies. We voted for a Brexit based upon a campaign which was deeply xenophobic, both in terms of the way it portrayed the European Union, our fellow European citizens and, I think, sitting here in Istanbul, the way in which we painted this picture of the Syria conflict, the refugee crisis, some cases of violence by people fleeing across Europe from places like Syria and Iraq. Then we combined that into a big narrative of 'the Turks are coming' and we need to, therefore, batten down the hatches and make sure we don't allow them to come to these shores. And there was no way, despite my scepticism about the European project, that I was going to vote for something which was based upon such xenophobia and had the support of the likes of Donald Trump and Marine Le Pen.

” There is a definite democratic deficit between those that vote for the European Union, our representatives there and what the European Union is seen to be doing. It is inflexible. It has not responded to change within nation-states. And when countries like the United Kingdom have been at the table asking for reform, that reform has been too slow coming, which is why we eventually ended up in the situation that we have with the Brexit referendum. There is a deficit in relation to its financial accountability. There is no doubt about the amount of money that is unaccounted for within the European Union. It demanded increased budgets at a time when many nation-states were tightening their belts and reducing their budgets at home. And yet that didn't seem to be reflected adequately within the European Union. It has failed to adequately respond to a new growing Europe. It has failed, I would say fundamentally as far as Bosnia and Herzegovina is concerned, and I think it's ongoing, kind of crazy and carrot and stick, relationship with Turkey is appalling.

” The challenge was that the European Union didn't listen to its fellow political leaders. And I watched at very close quarters as David Cameron tried over a number of years to try and bring forward reform. At almost every opportunity, he was rebuffed and then we suddenly find that our friends eventually get sick of what they're having to put up with the lack of reform within the European Union. And then this populism takes hold. And I genuinely believe that had the European Union been more flexible, had it been more accommodating, had it accepted the fact that each country is on its own journey and had to work with those individual countries, rather saying, well, this is it, one size fits all, take it or leave it, [it would have been more successful]. In the end, Britain has tragically turned on its head. We'll leave it and I think if the European Union as a project wants to survive, it has to start to understand those individual journeys within those individual countries.

” One of the things I hear a lot is that while Brexit and the Brexit experience will teach other member states that this is not a route to go down, and that almost kind of suggests that although I'm not convinced that it was, the European Union has made life difficult during Brexit. I think in Britain we've managed to make our own life very difficult on our own. But I think that when we hear that the fact that it's almost as if Britain has now been taught a lesson through what it did through Brexit, I think that will encourage other member states to feel quite sceptical rather than feel like that this is an institution which will respond to that, to their concerns and their needs.

” I think what Turkey is saying very clearly is that "if your terrorists are our terrorists and your problems are our problems, then our problems are your problems and our terrorists are your terrorists. And all we want is a little bit of support and understanding [at a time] when we're fighting these incredibly tough battles on our borders".



Faruk Kaymakçı's Highlights



Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Director for EU Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

Ambassador Faruk Kaymakçı currently serves as the Turkish Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Director for EU Affairs. He is the former Turkish Ambassador to Iraq (2013-2017) and Permanent Representative of Turkey to the European Union (2017-2018) as well as the former Chief Foreign Policy Advisor to Turkey's EU Minister and Chief Negotiator and Director for EU Communication (2008-2011). In addition to having previously served in a number of diplomatic posts in Tripoli (Libya), Kabul, Brussels and Basra, Ambassador Kaymakçı is a holder of the NATO Medal for his distinguished service in Afghanistan.

- ” I think Brexit seems to be the outcome of populism. But it's also the outcome of party politics and it does not really reflect the realities. I don't think that many of the people in Britain voted for Brexit, but they probably voted, you know, because of the fear of migration, insecurity, unemployment and other issues. But again, if the EU had been a little bit more flexible, you know, in terms of accommodating the British concerns, I think today the situation would have been different.
- ” I have surveys with Turkish society, asking what do you want from Turkish membership in the EU. First comes the rule of law, democracy and human rights. Second comes trade, business and visa. The third is living standards. This is why Turkey wants to join. But also, as we are a member of the NATO and a founding member of the Council of Europe, we do not feel that our Europeanness is complete without EU membership and the EU is not complete without Turkey. We know that this is a win-win situation. Of course, Turkish accession is the most complicated, most difficult, most challenging one, because Turkey is too big and Muslim.
- ” The [attempted coup of] the July 15 was some sort of fault line in Turkey-EU relations. Unfortunately, some European leaders didn't mind waiting until morning to decide whom they should call, whether President Erdoğan or Fethullah Gülen, the coup plotter. So this created trauma in the minds of Turkey and the Turkish administration. You know, you may not like the government in Turkey, you might not like the politicians in Turkey, but that night, Turkish democracy was under attack and we expected categorical support from the EU which did not come. I think we are going to get the same response with what is happening on the border with Syria at the moment. Today, we are fighting against terrorism, we are fighting against terrorist organisations which are recognised by the US, by the EU. We are not only defending our borders, which are also borders of NATO and Europe, but also through this operation, we want to help Syrians to go back to their country.
- ” Europe is a set of values. Of course, we have to agree on the very basic values which create Europe. But sometimes the way that EU treats some of its member states as well as the candidate countries, is not serving the interests of Europe. It is creating dividing lines.
- ” Turkey feels that the rules are not implemented on a fair basis. In terms of civil society, of course, civil society dialogue is there. I am meeting regularly with civil society organizations from different sectors in Turkey. Eighty per cent of the Turkish population is in favour of membership. When I asked them, do you think the EU will accept Turkey as a member of the EU, it goes down to 30 per cent. There is less trust in the EU, but Turkish society wants Turkey to be a member of the EU. By increasing civil society dialogue between Turkish and other European organisations, I think we can fill the gap. And again, for Turkey, meeting the membership criteria wouldn't take more than 3-4 years. We have opened 16 chapters, by the way. We can open another 10 chapters easily and close them very quickly because we have the capacity, we have the experience. The issue is politicisation, and actually, I would say over-politicisation and nationalisation of the EU's enlargement policy when it comes to Turkey.
- ” I think the European Parliament is quite democratic. Member states are appointing people and they are being approved by the Parliament [and] by the Council. So, I think this is sufficiently democratic. There might be some democratic deficit that we see in all the institutions. [However] there is no hundred per cent full-fledged democracy that we dream of. But I think, nevertheless, it is working.



Anna Maria Corazza Bildt's Highlights



Member of the European Parliament

Anna Maria Corazza Bildt has been a Member of the European Parliament since 2009. An Italian national, she was elected by the Swedish people for the centre-right "Moderate" Party EPP group. She was first Vice-Chair of the Internal Market and Consumer Protection Committee and member of the Home Affairs and Migration Committee and the Committee on Terrorism. She is also Deputy Speaker for the EPP Women Rights Committee and has been an active member of the EU-Turkey Joint Commission and co-Chair of the European Parliament Turkish Forum. Anna Maria is also an entrepreneur and spends her time living between Italy and Sweden.

” The people will think with Brexit, it is going to be over. [However] this negotiation is only about the exit. Then there's going to be two years, I think much more than two years, of transition to negotiate a new free trade agreement or whatever partnership, security arrangement and trade arrangement with the United Kingdom. Brexit is going to continue to suck our blood unless there is a vote on remain.

” We have European institutions, the commission, and the parliament. But we have also the member states, and we are not a federation. Each member state has the right to say, no, I don't want. And we had this problem with countries like Hungary, with countries like... I don't want to do more than that naming and shaming but there is a final say from the member states. But we do have the highest standards in the world to go with that. Working with the United Nations, UNHCR and so on. The whole reform for refugees is blocked in the Council by a few members.

” There is a fundamental misconception that decisions are taken by the commission. They are not. Decisions are taken by the same members that you like in your capital, but you don't like when they travel to Brussels and by heads of states and government and elected parliamentarians. Where is the democratic gap [deficit]? Of course, the European Union is work in progress, it's not a static thing. We have a huge debate going on in all member states.

” There are ways for everyone to be represented based on population, based on criteria that we decided. You can like it or not, but that's the way it is. The second point I wanted to make, I think it's a wrong image of where the European Union is now. If you look at the opinion, you know, not your opinion polls, but the Eurobarometer, consensus for the European Union has been increasing in all 28 member states except Italy. In Hungary, despite the amazing fake news, anti-EU prop-

aganda, it [support for the EU] has increased. The reality is that there is more consensus, not less consensus. And since we are a democracy, consensus by the people of Europe is important for us. The last point I want to make is that populism is either in decline or in stagnation. After the big wave of refugees in 2015, there was a rise in populist, extreme right, anti-immigrant and euro-sceptic movements throughout Europe. The European elections in May showed that it's not moving forward. They do not have majorities to influence decision making. They [just] make a lot of noise, they scream a lot, but they don't influence legislation.

After the big wave of refugees in 2015, there was a rise in populism and extreme right anti-migrant Eurosceptic movements throughout Europe. The European elections in May showed that it's not moving forward. They do not have majorities to influence decision making. They [just] make a lot of noise...

Closed Sessions

As part of the TRT World Forum 2019, 15 closed sessions were held parallel to the public sessions and the exclusive talks.

The purpose of the closed sessions was to promote in-depth and intellectually engaging discussions based on TRT World Forum 2019's theme "Globalisation in Retreat: Risks and Opportunities". Through an in-depth examination of a range of key international issues - including developments in Turkey's foreign and security policy orientation, critical issues in the Middle East such as the Gulf Crisis, the prospect of conflict with Iran and the issue of political legitimacy, developments in Central Asia and the Eastern Mediterranean as well as issues related to the nature and future direction of the international order itself - the closed sessions hopes to advance a range of possible solutions and approaches to critical political and security issues facing the world.

The closed sessions were based on Chatham House Rule and were held as private round-table discussions, conducted off the record, allowing speakers and participants to freely use the information received. Attendance was by invitation only, and the sessions involved 2-3 speakers and 20-25 distinguished participants. The sessions were run for 90 minutes; each speaker was allocated 10 minutes followed by 60 minutes of discussion with fellow participants. Members of our research team took notes to prepare and publish a conference report based on the speeches and discussions that took place. The titles of the closed sessions are as follows:

- ” The New Great Game: China, Russia and the US in Central Asia
- ” **Counter-Terrorism in the Post-Daesh Era**
- ” Turkish Foreign Policy: Facing Regional and Global Shifts
- ” **North Africa's Political Unrest: The Cases of Algeria and Libya**
- ” Geopolitical Dimensions of Energy Resources in the Eastern Mediterranean
- ” **Environmental Security: Tragedy of the Commons**
- ” The Predicament of Political Legitimacy in the MENA Region
- ” **The Decline of Collective Action in International Politics: The End of Multilateralism?**
- ” The Future of EU - Turkey Relations
- ” **Responding to the Humanitarian Crisis in the 21st Century: A Failure of the International System?**
- ” The Future of the Global Liberal Order: Challenges and Prospects
- ” **The Gulf Crisis Two Years On: What Does the Future Hold?**
- ” The United States and Iran: Beating the Drums of War?
- ” **The New Fault Lines in Turkey's Security Strategy**
- ” India and Pakistan: A Case Study in Crisis Management?

The New Great Game: China, Russia and the US in Central Asia



Summary

Central Asia started to receive increased international attention following the dissolution of the Soviet Union and has become a field of political and economic competition for various powers. For the United States and its allies, the region is a valuable logistical hub for the NATO mission in Afghanistan and counter-terrorism operations. Besides historic links to Russia, it is also an arena for Moscow to exert political influence and balance Western powers. China sees Central Asian countries as valuable partners in energy security, transportation and investment, which can further stabilize the region. According to some analysts, Washington, Moscow, and Beijing's renewed activity in the region can be interpreted as a modern iteration of the 'Great Game'. China's focus on Central Asia as a keystone of the Silk Road Economic Belt of the ambitious Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), is taking place right in Russia's traditional sphere of influence. The US and China are two of the dominant economies in the world today, which brings the rivalry beyond just trade to a global security issue. With the rapid rise of China's power, global financial rivalry has brought this relationship under the spotlight of international attention. Both China and Russia have economic and security interests in the region which might challenge US interests, especially in terms of a US-centric world order. The ongoing political process playing out in the states of the region is also another issue to debate. Is Central Asia finally leaving its post-Soviet transition period behind, or is it protecting its regimes by simply changing the faces?

Discussion Themes of the Session:

- How can the Belt and Road Initiative increase Chinese dominance and conflict with US and Russian foreign policies?
- What are the factors that have shaped the geostrategic constraints of the mostly landlocked Central Asian states?
- How have political corruption, social instability, and economic weakness in the region created and sustained an open space for a new 'Great Game' played by external powers?
- What are some of the future opportunities and barriers for developing close and equitable China-Central Asia relations?
- Will China take on a more political and security-oriented role in the region?

Counter-Terrorism in the Post-Daesh Era



Summary

Since its establishment in 2013, Daesh – otherwise known as ISIS or ISIL – has become the primary target for international counter-terrorism efforts. The Global Coalition against Daesh was formed in September 2014. Since then, the international community has focused primarily on fighting Daesh and has downplayed the activities of other terror groups around the world, particularly in the Middle East. US President Donald Trump has declared that US military troops will withdraw from Syria as the victory against Daesh had been achieved.

However, it now seems that the international community is suffering from a lack of concrete counter-terrorism strategy in the post-Daesh era in the Middle East. There are still various types of terror groups operating in the region, however, there is no common consensus regarding how to effectively address the remaining terror threats. The US has been siding with the YPG in northern Syria since 2015, a group which Turkey considers the Syrian branch of the PKK, recognised as a terrorist group by the US, the EU, and Turkey. There are still Al-Qaida linked groups operating in Syria. Apart from individual efforts by some states, the international community has yet to cooperate on fighting against them.

Discussion Themes of the Session:

- What is the US counter-terrorism strategy in the post-Daesh era?
- What are the consequences of US military withdrawal from Syria in terms of the fight against terrorism in the region?
- How should the international community deal with the YPG issue?
- How will the remaining Al-Qaida linked groups in Syria be eliminated?

Turkish Foreign Policy: Facing Regional and Global Shifts



Summary

Shifting patterns in world politics provide both opportunities and challenges for Turkey as the foundation of the existing global order continues to be challenged by emerging powers. As part of this challenge, Turkey continues to call for a more just order and reform of the UN system. There has also been a decline in trust for international institutions as they fall short in providing solutions to the crises facing the world. Under these circumstances, Turkey is presented with an opportunity to take an active role in global affairs. Domestically, Turkey has left a long period of successive elections behind. In this global and domestic context, Turkey's foreign policy decisions and priorities have become momentous in terms of their impact on regional and global issues.

Turkey has proven on many occasions that it has the will and capability to be actively involved in the resolution of ongoing political and humanitarian crises. This can be observed in the various episodes of the Syrian War, the refugee crisis in Europe and in humanitarian disasters around the world. Furthermore, regional and global challenges such as the repercussions of conflict in the Middle East and the trade wars between the US and China stand as some of the important challenges with which Turkey has been involved. In particular, internal and external threats to national security, deteriorating relations with the US about S-400 missiles, and rising competition for resources in the Mediterranean Sea are some of the greatest priorities on Turkey's foreign policy agenda.

Discussion Themes of the Session:

- What are the main structural challenges and opportunities of our time and how do they affect Turkish foreign policy in this era?
- What can Turkey offer for the resolution of ongoing crises?
- What are Turkey's primary foreign policy objectives and tools?
- Can Turkey contribute to the re-establishment of the principle of multilateralism?

North Africa's Political Unrest: The Cases of Algeria and Libya



Summary

Since the uprising in 2011 that ousted longtime leader Muammar Gaddafi, Libya has been in the throes of lawlessness and a lack of governance. Rival governments - the UN-backed Fayed al-Sarraj, head of the Presidential Council, and military strong man based in the east, Khalifa Haftar who leads the Libyan National Army - have failed to agree on any reconciliation agreement, such as the Libyan Political Agreement, allowing for militia groups based on tribal alliances to wreak havoc in the country, whilst proxy actors continue to back each of the rival powers.

Algeria was able to avoid the mass protests that swept the Arab world in 2011 by introducing emergency economic packages and lifting the 19 year state of emergency, which has, in reality, remained in place through the ban of protests. Today, however, the state's strategy of buying social peace through its billion-dollar revenues from oil and gas exports are no longer sustainable due to the decrease in global crude oil and natural gas prices that have resulted in the halving of its national budget and foreign currency reserves since 2014. Rising inflation, high unemployment, a tepid economy, and an ailing, wheelchair-bound 82 year old president, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, who presided over the country since 1999, have provoked mass protests across the country that resulted in his resignation, which continue to call for the overhaul of the ruling system.

Traditionally suspicious of external involvement in their affairs, Libya and Algeria, both major oil and gas producers who have faced issues related to terrorism and smuggling associated with mass migration to Europe, will continue to have their current woes exacerbated by unrest and political divisions, which will prove consequential for the region and beyond.

Discussion Themes of the Session:

- To what extent has the unrest in Libya and impending unrest in Algeria proven consequential for the region and for nearby Europe and state interests of France and the US?
- What are the future prospects for Algeria and Libya's political systems and actors?
- How has the socio-political systems of Algeria and Libya differed to the extent that the latter avoided unrest during the Arab Spring and the former has become a failed state as a result of it?

Geopolitical Dimensions of Energy Resources in the Eastern Mediterranean



Summary

The ongoing dispute over energy resources in the Eastern Mediterranean has engendered an alarming rise in political tensions on a regional and international level. The anticipated strategic and economic gains associated with the potential of significant energy reserves in the region has not only drawn in regional players such as Turkey, Egypt, Israel, Greece, Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots and Lebanon, but also international powers including the United States, the European Union, China and Russia.

As exploration tenders are acquired by large multi-national energy giants, stakeholder countries continue to engage in efforts to ensure a fair distribution of the region's resource potential. The potential wealth located in such a strategic geography raises a number of issues for both regional and international players, including issues of energy security – particularly for Europe – as it seeks to shift its energy dependency from Russia, regional political stability and the prospects for economic growth. The Eastern Mediterranean will continue to pose a geopolitical puzzle and remain a source of potential tension in the foreseeable future until a suitable solution is found.

Discussion Themes of the Session:

- How will the Cyprus issue be impacted by ongoing discovery of energy reserves?
- How does the Russian presence in Syria and the implications it has for Syria's exploitation energy resources in the Eastern Mediterranean impact the US-Russia rivalry in the region?
- How will Israel's strategic alliance with the US impact the unfolding of events in the Eastern Mediterranean as it relates to energy exploration and the geopolitics of the region?
- What will be the impact of negative Turkish-Egyptian relations on the prospect for cooperation in the Eastern Mediterranean?
- Beyond energy security concerns, what are the EU's main concerns in the region?

Environmental Security: Tragedy of the Commons



Summary

Environmental security is arguably one of the most important elements of our collective security, and, given its global character, it can only be effectively treated through a transnational framework. Although there is near-unanimous agreement on the ticking time bomb of climate change, there has been little understanding or policy action related to its security dimensions. Our environment suffers the fate of a global commons: diffusion of responsibility in protection of collectively shared resources and free riding. Unilateral action might be a solution for many security issues; however, climate change is not one of them. Mitigating the effects of global warming requires international, national, local and even individual adherence to rules and agreements. In recent years, some steps have been taken but they are largely considered to be too little, too late. This session aims to present an assessment of the current situation in environmental security and to search for strategies of cooperation. The distinguished panel will discuss ways of incorporating environmental security into national security paradigms.

Discussion Themes of the Session:

- How do environmental concerns challenge our traditional understanding of national security?
- What are the prospects for any substantive international cooperation in the future?
- Which structural mechanisms should be established to ensure cooperation in environmental security?
- What is the potential for environment-related conflict? How should the world prepare for it?

The Predicament of Political Legitimacy in the MENA Region



Summary

In 1977, Michael C. Hudson claimed that the central problem of government in the Arab World was political illegitimacy. 40 years later, and compounded by the Arab Spring, this problem remains central to the Arab World. Beyond the idiosyncrasies which arise regarding questions of political legitimacy between the East and West, many leaders across the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) face a crisis in legitimising their rule after having been responsible for the violence, terror and refugee crisis which has engulfed the region. The irony that the Arab Spring arose in part to protest the illegitimacy of their rule appears to be lost to many of the regional leaders. With the return of seeming calm across many countries, there has also been a return to autocratic methods and procedures employed by many rulers in order to sustain their own power, despite a lack of popular or political legitimacy. MENA remains one of the most unstable regions on earth. Failing states, war, terrorism, migration flow and the refugee crisis are all threats that destabilise the region. Managing power and governance in many MENA countries remains highly problematic in terms of democracy, religion and social dimensions. Therefore, political legitimacy remains very fragile, even in seemingly stable countries.

Discussion Themes of the Session:

- What is the status of the legitimacy of Arab governments following the Arab Spring and its aftermath?
- How is political legitimacy understood in a region comprising states and societies as divergent as Lebanon and Saudi Arabia?
- Can a single model of political legitimacy be applied to the region?
- What methods are being deployed by the Arab regimes in order to solidify their rule?
- How is religion being used by Arab governments to foster legitimacy and extend their political reach?

The Decline of Collective Action in International Politics: The End of Multilateralism?



Summary

One of the most vital questions in international relations is how do states act; unilaterally or multilaterally? Apart from the quantitative meaning of these terms, they have qualitative meanings as well. Multilateralism requires states to follow international norms and pay respect to international institutions, whereas unilateralism suggests that states can act on themselves and shape the international order. In such a globalized world, issues require collective action. Climate change, worldwide refugee crisis, transnational terrorism, human security and development, are just a few examples that shows states should cooperate. Yet, today's trend is unilateralism. US President Donald Trump's policies towards multilateral agreements and established international institutions raises questions about whether we have reached the "end of multilateralism" in international relations. An eminent example of the US undermining multilateralism under Trump administration is the withdrawal from the Paris Climate Accord, an issue which inherently requires multilateral action for a solution. As such, this creates a dilemma for others whether to follow US's path or keep up multilateralism and maintain international institutions.

Discussion Themes of the Session:

- Are we heading towards the end of multilateralism?
- Is Trump a unilateralist?
- What could be the consequences of the continued unilateral policies in today's world?
- How do we reinforce the international institutions in the Trump era?
- How to address the shared interest of the international society so that collective action can be upheld?
- Can unilateral action ensures harmony of interest?

The Future of EU - Turkey Relations

Summary

Turkey's application for an association with the European Economic Community (EEC) began in 1959. The Association Agreement was signed in 1963 and the Customs Union entered into force on 1 January 1996. Although the 60-year accession process has brought about an interdependent relationship in the social, political, economic and security fields between the EU and Turkey, the current rhetoric of right-wing political parties in the EU is damaging to EU-Turkey relations. The European Parliament accepted the report recommending the suspension of negotiations with Turkey, a significant setback to Turkey-EU relations. In addition, since 20 years have passed since the Turkey-EU Customs Union Agreement came into force, updates are needed. In addition, the EU-Turkey refugee agreement signed in 2016, visa liberalisation for Turkish citizens and the Cyprus Problem continue to be on the agenda of EU-Turkey relations. This session will also explore potential future political outcomes and their consequences, not only concerning Turkey's accession to the EU, but also related to interdependency in social, political, economic and security fields.

Discussion Themes of the Session:

- Could the modernization of the Customs Union agreement lead to progress in the integration of EU-Turkey relations?
- Turkey-EU Refugee Cooperation and Visa Liberalisation Dialogue: What's next?
- What is the significance of Turkey toward EU security?
- What are alternative models for future cooperation between Turkey and the EU?
- What are the effects of domestic politics in Turkey and the EU on EU-Turkey relations?
- What is the impact of increasing nationalism and the far-right on EU-Turkey relations?

Responding to the Humanitarian Crisis in the 21st Century: A Failure of the International System?



Summary

The world continues to experience the worst humanitarian and refugee crisis since the Second World War. According to the United Nations, war, civil strife and natural disasters have displaced 70.8 million people from their homes. Out of these nearly 71 million people, 41.3 million are internally displaced (IDPs), 25.9 million are refugees and 3.5 million have sought asylum. According to the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), the top five refugee hosting countries are Turkey (3.7 million), Pakistan (1.4 million), Uganda (1.2 million), Sudan (1.1 million) and Germany (1.1 million). When Palestinian refugees are taken into consideration, the burden being carried by Lebanon and Jordan also becomes apparent with 1.4 million and 2.9 million refugees respectively.

As these numbers indicate, the international response to the refugee issue has been largely ineffective with particular countries continuing to disproportionately bear the burden of hosting refugee populations. On the one hand, the inability of the international community to stabilize countries affected by conflict has meant a continued flow of refugees to neighbouring regions. On the other hand, the situation has been made more complex by rising anti-refugee sentiment around the world, particularly in Europe and the United States, even as their refugee numbers remain relatively low. As populism continues to rise in Europe and the US and refugee numbers remain concentrated in countries neighbouring refugee-source regions, there is concern that increasing anti-migrant sentiments will result in a declining political will among decision makers to effectively deal with the crisis.

Discussion Themes of the Session:

- What are the main socio-economic pressures being faced by host countries and how can the international community help alleviate them?
- How can protracted conflicts be effectively managed and their humanitarian impacts mitigated?
- Can past experiences in managing large-scale humanitarian crises inform current approaches to the ongoing crisis? If so, how?
- What lessons can be drawn from the Turkish experience in developing effective approaches for dealing with humanitarian crises?

The Future of the Global Liberal Order: Challenges and Prospects

Summary

In recent years, the international liberal order has come under attack from different political forces around the world. Ultra-nationalists are increasingly calling for more restrictions on the flow of ideas, goods, and people. Obstacles are being erected at international borders as well as in cyberspace. Distortions of the world trading system, including tariffs, quantitative restrictions or prohibitions on imports are also being imposed. To top it all off, the detractors of the international order consider globalism, multiculturalism and immigration as the nemesis of traditional identities.

Moreover, traditionally global liberal institutions have struggled to articulate a common cultural, economic and political vision, while at the same time continuing to articulate a universalist worldview so as to denigrate those who may seek to resist. While the global liberal order has its problems and shortcomings, such as its failure to establish a fair and legitimate distribution of power between its members, the system has managed to establish a certain level of cooperation that has so far prevented war, famine and disease on a global scale.

So far, the challengers of the global order have done so primarily on a national scale. Little has been said about their plans, or any plans for that matter, concerning the supra-national level. If the liberal order is collapsing, what new kind of global order might replace it?

Discussion Themes of the Session:

- What implications do the rise of populism and identity politics have for the future of the liberal global order?
- Can criticism and dissatisfaction of the current order be reduced to nativist and xenophobic sentiments, or are there other factors at work?
- What are possible alternatives to the current international trade networks?
- Are we heading towards true multi-polarity? If so, what will it look like?
- What kind of order might replace the existing one?

The Gulf Crisis Two Years On: What Does the Future Hold?



Summary

In June 2017, a Saudi-led coalition that included the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Bahrain and Egypt cut their diplomatic relations with Qatar and imposed a land, air and sea blockade on the small Gulf state. The blockading countries accused Qatar of supporting 'terrorism' and released a list of 13 demands: the demands included severing ties with Iran, the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, and terrorist organisations such as Daesh and al-Qaida. The group also wanted Qatar to hand over figures who were wanted by Saudi Arabia, the UAE and Bahrain. Despite international calls to end the siege, the crisis remained unresolved. For its part, Qatar has sought cooperation with Turkey, Iran and Russia as means of counter-acting the effects of the blockade. Additionally, in December 2018, Qatar first announced its decision to quit the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and a few days later Qatar's Emir was absent from the 39th Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Summit in Saudi Arabia. Recently, the tension between Qatar and the UAE was witnessed during the 2019 Asian Cup semifinal match between the two countries. Regional tensions therefore persist, and they have been affecting these countries' stand in the international arena. This session aims to identify the results of the Gulf Crisis by focusing on regional tensions and the new alliances that have emerged in the region.

Discussion Themes of the Session:

- What are the new political alliances which have emerged in the post-Gulf Crisis period?
- Is the GCC still relevant?
- How does the Gulf Crisis impact the GCC countries' relations with Iran?
- What was Turkey's impact on regional conflicts during the post-Gulf Crisis period?

The United States and Iran: Beating the Drums of War?

Summary

On May 8 2018, Donald Trump announced that the United States would unilaterally withdraw from the JCPOA, an agreement he labelled as “defective”. Along with accusing Tehran of failing to live up to its part of the deal, the US re-imposed economic sanctions that had previously been lifted as part of the agreement. As a result, Iran’s economic situation continues to deteriorate and the risk of conflict in the region has increased. Attacks against oil tankers in the Persian Gulf, blamed on Iran by the US, the downing of an American surveillance drone over the Strait of Hormuz in June, 2019, and Tehran’s decision to restart the uranium enrichment process has only served to increase the likelihood of conflict.

In an effort to reduce rising tensions, Iran’s trading partners, including Turkey, China, Japan, South Korea and India, are seeking to find a constructive way out of the impasse. Moreover, the EU has sought to establish alternative mechanisms meant to bypass sanction imposed by the US. All of these efforts, however, have so far failed to relieve the economic pressure on Tehran, nor have they reduced tensions in the region. So long as tensions remain unresolved, the possibility of confrontation between the US and Iran will continue to have ramifications beyond the Middle East.

Discussion Themes of the Session:

- What is the likelihood of war between the US and Iran and what are the issues and mechanisms that could lead to direct confrontation?
- How would a confrontation between Iran and US play out on the ground? Who would gain and who would lose?
- How would regional and international geopolitical alignments be affected by a direct confrontation between Iran and the US?
- Can China, along with Europe play a constructive role in resolving the crisis?
- What is the global economic impact resulting from the isolation of Iran and what are the potential effects on energy and trade in particular?

The New Fault Lines in Turkey's Security Strategy



Summary

Turkey views itself as increasingly compelled to generate new strategies in foreign and security in light of the political dynamics produced by a post-Arab spring regional environment and a disputed perception towards global security. In order to protect its political and economic relations in light of regional instability and the resultant threats, Turkey began to search for other mechanisms and approaches, combining both soft- and hard-policy instruments. As part of this strategy, Turkey opened military bases in Qatar and Somalia and participating in military interventions in Syria, Iraq and Libya. Turkey's new approach maintains that NATO should be part of this strategy in order to ensure the pact's solidarity and contribute to fostering security and stability. However, Turkey's NATO partners, specifically the US, have not prioritised Turkey's security concerns, especially in Syria where the US relations with the YPG have caused disputes. Following inconclusive negotiations with the US for the Patriot air-defence system, Turkey has purchased the alternative Russian-made S400 to solve its air-defence needs. Turkey seeks to find a balance between its regional security requirements and its security engagements with NATO members.

Discussion Themes of the Session:

- How does regional instability influence Turkey's foreign policy?
- What can we expect from Turkey's cross-border operations in Northern Syria?
- Can Turkey succeed in playing a balancing act between the different players and agendas in Syria?
- Can the Russo-Turkish relationship retain its momentum in light of these operations?
- What implications do Turkey-Russia relation, regarding the S400 deal, have for Turkey-NATO relations?

India and Pakistan: A Case Study in Crisis Management?

Summary

South Asia has become one of the fastest growing regions in the world, with its dynamic economies shaping growth and development globally. India and Pakistan, the two largest economies and nuclear powers of the subcontinent, have had a contentious relationship since their independence from Britain and subsequent partition in 1947. Tensions between the two countries originate from major issues including allegations of state sponsored terrorism in Kashmir and Baluchistan, disputes over resources and diverging priorities pertaining to regional engagements with countries including Afghanistan and Iran. The Kashmir dispute, in particular, has been singled as the most divisive issue by many experts, considering that Pakistan and India have fought three wars over it. Turning the scenic Kashmir valley into potentially the most dangerous place on earth, India and Pakistan are constantly in danger of being pushed to the brink of a nuclear war, as witnessed after the Pulwama attack in February 2019.

The international community recognizes the need for peaceful India-Pakistan relations for regional prosperity and world peace. However, that cannot be possible without the resolution of the key issues mentioned above. As global alignments shift, Pakistan and India also find themselves in a changing world with new power brokers and their priorities. This session will attempt to understand and connect historical context and present complexities that contribute to the inability to arrive at a negotiated peace between India and Pakistan. It will also explore the potential future political outcomes and their consequences for not just Pakistan and India, but for the world.

Discussion Themes of the Session:

- What are the potential roadblocks for an enduring peace between India and Pakistan?
- Is nuclear war between India and Pakistan a real possibility? How would it play out on the ground?
- What is the role of the international community and multilateral institutions in furthering peace in the region?
- How can India and Pakistan play a constructive role in the Afghan reconciliation process?
- What are the global repercussions of conflict in South Asia?

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Globalisation in Retreat: Risks and Opportunities



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