

Dynamics of Pakistan-Turkey Relations

By

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Abstract

Pakistan and Turkey enjoy very cordial and friendly bilateral relations ever since the creation of Pakistan. The relations between the two countries are special as warm feelings of friendship between the two countries are unprecedented. Both countries also share a common worldview on different international and regional issues. Pakistan and Turkey share common religious, cultural and historical bonds. Both countries have important geostrategic locations too. Their political, economic and military capacities make both as middle powers and important countries within the Muslim world. Despite warm feelings, both countries could not convert it into strong economic and trade relations. This paper looks into the change and process in the bilateral relations, common cultural and religious identities, common security concerns and to review why strong economic relations could not be flourished between two countries. It will also study which of these aspects remained prominent in different periods. For this purpose, the relationship between the two countries is seen with a historical survey in chronological order.

Keywords: Cold war, communism, Baghdad Pact, security alliance, military coup, Islam, trilateral summit.

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Introduction

Pakistan and Turkey enjoy brotherly relations and support each other in times of need. The cordiality between the two countries makes relations special. However, the ride of friendship has not always been very smooth. There have never been hard feelings among the people of these countries against each other. This paper attempts to address two questions: 1) to do a historical survey of the relations between the two countries to find out prominent features of different time periods; 2) to understand why such friendly relations could not be converted into strong economic relations.

The relations between Pakistan and Turkey demands that its historical roots are researched. These relations started on the basis of Islamic brotherhood even before the creation of Pakistan. Before the establishment of the modern Turkish republic in 1923 and before the creation of Pakistan, the Indian Muslims had established relations with the Ottoman rulers. In 16 century, Sultan Saleem assumed the title of Caliph and thus his influence began in the subcontinent as Caliph was considered the sole leader of all the Muslims.¹ The Muslims of India supported the later Ottomans in their wars. For instance, in the Russo-Turkish war (1877-78), Turkish-Greece War (1897), and in Balkan wars (1912), the Indian Muslims supported the Ottomans because of common religious identity.²

The support of Indian Muslims for their Turkish brothers continued even during the First World War and the Turkish War of Independence. The Indian Muslims launched the Khilafat Movement to protect the Caliph against the British allies. The movement started a huge campaign against the British to the preservation of Khilafat. The assistance of Indian Muslims continued during the Turkish War of Independence and the amount that was sent to Turkey was equal to 125,000 British Pounds.³

Even after the dissolution of the Caliphate system on 3 March 1924, the Indian Muslims had an appreciation for the modern Turkish republic. Pakistan's founder, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, expressed his liking and appreciation of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey. He praised him on several occasions.⁴ When Pakistan came into being in 1947, Turkey warmly recognized it. Thus, there was a strong religious bond between the people of Turkey and Pakistan even at the start of bilateral relations. In later periods, this bond would be further strengthened.

The 1950s: Anti-Communist Cooperation

After the independence of Pakistan, it faced severe issues. It fought a war with India over Kashmir. It had yet to establish relations with other states of the world. The world was divided into two blocks: the Western block led by the United States and the Soviet block. India, being a big country, was taken as an important country where both the blocks were eyeing for influence. China was friendly with India especially with its leader Jawahir Lal Nehru. Pakistan was desperately looking

¹ Selcuk Colakoglu, "Türkiye'nin Pakistan Politikası: İkili İlişkilerdeki Temel Dinamikler," (Turkey's Policy towards Pakistan: Main Dynamics of the Bilateral Relations) *Uluslararası Hukuk ve Politika*, no. 34 (2013): 27–60.

² M. Ali Chaudhri, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, (Lahore: University of Punjab, 1988), p. 20.

³ Colakoglu, "Türkiye'nin Pakistan Politikası".

⁴ Ibid.

for strong allies. It joined the Western club and also tilted towards the Muslims countries for good relations.⁵

Turkey, on the other hand, had security concerns regarding the Soviet Union. It was not part of any alliance at that time. It had entered the Second World War on behalf of the Allies but only when the war was over. Its intentions were clear to join the Western alliance to counter the Soviet threat perception. In 1949 it started efforts to become a member of NATO and come under its security umbrella.⁶

Thus Pakistan and Turkey both were concerned with its security issues, and both being Muslim majority countries, they further came close to each other. Pakistan's founder Muhammad Ali Jinnah and later on Liaqat Ali Khan stressed for better relations with the Muslim countries especially Turkey.⁷ In 1951, both the countries started defence cooperation and signed an agreement of permanent friendship. This became the first-ever formal agreement between the two countries.⁸

In 1952, Turkey became part of NATO and its foreign and security policies came within the ambit of the Western military alliance. Pakistan too came close to the United States and got its first military aid in 1954. The two countries were getting closer to the Western alliance to contain the spread of the Soviet Union.⁹ On 19 February 1954, Turkey and Pakistan signed the Friendship and Cooperation Agreement and in a joint statement, it was termed as economic and cultural agreement. Pakistan also entered Baghdad Pact with Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and England in 1955 which aimed at countering the influence of the Soviet Union.¹⁰ Thus, the two countries not only stood against communism for the sake of the Western block but also to safeguard the Muslim world from the influence of communism.

This period also saw Turkey providing diplomatic support to Pakistan and Afghanistan regarding their issues. Turkish Prime minister Adnan Menderes provided a platform to both the countries where they could resolve their problems diplomatically.¹¹ In the meanwhile, Turkey also sent its rescue and aid mission to the flood-affected areas of Pakistan. Adnan Menderes also visited Pakistan in March 1956 to improve bilateral relations between the two countries and discuss the Baghdad Pact's negative image in the Arab world.¹²

The same year in July, Pakistan's president Iskandar Mirza visited Turkey to discuss issues of Cyprus, Kashmir, Baghdad Pact and Soviet politics as well as bilateral economic relations.

⁵ R. Kaur, *Islamic Co-operation and Unity*, (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1993), p. 61.

⁶ Ali Naci Karacan, "Prime Minister Adnan Menderes's nationality very important declaration", *Milliyet*, 7 August 1950.

⁷ *Quaid-i Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Speeches and Statements 1947-1948*, (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1989), p. 161.

⁸ Colakoglu, "Türkiye'nin Pakistan Politikası."

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ "The Avalon Project : Baghdad Pact; February 4, 1955," accessed December 5, 2014, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/baghdad.asp.

¹¹ "Turkish-Afghan official communique published", *Milliyet*, July 15, 1955.

¹² Colakoglu, "Türkiye'nin Pakistan Politikası."

Pakistan was supporting the Turkish position on Cyprus but Turkey was neutral on Kashmir and President Mirza wanted a clear stance from Turkey in support of Pakistan's position on Kashmir.¹³ This, however, did not affect the warmth of relations between the two countries.

In 1957, the United States entered a customs union agreement with Baghdad pact countries.¹⁴ To counter Soviet propaganda, the US also started its radio services in these countries.¹⁵ The US Congress also suggested that there should be a road built between Istanbul and Karachi from the economic package that the US delivered to these countries.¹⁶

The change of governments in the 1950s did not affect the bilateral relations between the two countries. The military coup of General Ayub Khan packed up the civilian government. Yet Ayub Khan wanted close relations with the United States. He signed a security agreement with the US in 1959.¹⁷ The future of the Baghdad Pact came into question with the rise of the Baathist government in Iraq which was leaning towards the Soviets. The new government in Iraq backed out of the Pact. Ultimately, the member countries had to sign individual security agreements with the US. However, efforts were to refocus the Pact on the economic sphere.¹⁸ The summit meeting of Baghdad pact countries in Karachi on 16 Jan 1959 focused on telecommunication, free trade, road development, and ports modernizations.

The 1960s: Unanimous Stand on Kashmir and Cyprus

On 27th May 1960, Turkey witnessed a military coup. A couple of years back Pakistan had the same experience. This change of guards did not affect the relations between the two countries. The off and on military interference in politics is witnessed in two countries after this period. Pakistan president Ayub Khan had even sent Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to stop the death penalty of the then Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes at the hands of military rulers. He even offered that Menderes be tried in Pakistan.¹⁹

In 1959, Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, and England entered into Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) after the collapse of Baghdad Pact.²⁰ The three neighbour countries Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan agreed to cooperate on eradicating drug trafficking, improving technology, and custom union. In 1962, telephone lines were set up between the three counties and civil aviation was streamlined. On international issues, both countries supported each other. But the relations also got strained over Turkish military support to India during the 1962 Indo-China war.²¹ Pakistan showed a strong

¹³ "Iskander Mirza in Ankara today", Milliyet, July 15, 1956.

¹⁴ "Baghdad Pact: Customs Union will be established", Milliyet, May 22, 1957.

¹⁵ "Baghdad Pact Countries are Establishing Radio Stations", Milliyet, 5 July 1957.

¹⁶ "Karachi-Istanbul Road", Milliyet, January 27, 1957.

¹⁷ Muhammad Ayub Khan, "The Pakistan-American Alliance," *Foreign Affairs*, accessed April 12, 2015, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/asia/1964-01-01/pakistan-american-alliance?cid=rss-asia-the_pakistan_american_alliance-000000.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ "Pakistani President Sends a Message to Gursel", Milliyet, September 17, 1984.

²⁰ Muhammad Ayub Khan, "The Pakistan-American Alliance."

²¹ Colakoglu, "Türkiye'nin Pakistan Politikası."

reaction to Turkey. Pakistan also showed a strong reaction towards CENTO countries for their support of India against communist China.²²

In 1965, Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey agreed to form an organization Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD), which was not driven by the Western security perspective. RCD aimed to further the economic development of these three countries. Turkey and Pakistan both saw a dip in their relations with the West at this point. Turkey did not take well Western support for Greek Cyprus during the Cyprus crisis of 1964.²³ Pakistan too saw a change in its West-centric policies during the 1965 war between India and Pakistan in which the US put an arms embargo on both the countries. Subsequently, Pakistan shifted its policy towards the Muslim world and found an alternative to the West in the shape of China for its defence cooperation.²⁴

But during the Indo-Pak war, Turkey avoided supporting Pakistan. It rather asked for a ceasefire. However, it provided Pakistan arms worth 5 million dollars for which the agreement had already been made before the war. Pakistan too did not put pressure on Ankara to do more.²⁵ But as the crisis deepened in Cyprus, Pakistan offered to Ankara that it was ready to offer its troops to Turkey in case of war between Greece and Turkey.²⁶ The clear signifier of this offer was based on religious-cultural identity with its Turkish brothers in case the Greeks attacked Turkey. These RCD countries had almost the same position on Cyprus, Kashmir, Vietnam, Persian Gulf, and the Middle East.²⁷

The 1970s: Pakistan's Disintegration and Cyprus War

The 1970s saw Turkey and Pakistan both fought their wars. Pakistan fought its third war with India over its support of East Pakistan's separation from West Pakistan which ultimately became Bangladesh in 1971. Turkey militarily intervened in Cyprus after the military coup of Nikos Sampson. During the war, Turkey supplied Pakistan with weapons and put diplomatic pressure on India to cease fire and return the prisoners of war.²⁸ Pakistan promised huge support to Turkey during the Cyprus war. Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto even promised to send Pakistani troops to Turkey. Pakistan also supported the Turkish stance as legal at the UN General Assembly. In May 1975, Pakistan's Foreign Minister Aziz Ahmed criticized the US arms embargo on Turkey.²⁹ He offered joint defence production with Turkey.

During this time Turkey and Pakistan realized the importance of improving economic relations further. Turkish President Fahri Koruturk visited Pakistan in 1975 where he called for a common bank under the auspices of RCD. Pakistan also sought Turkish clandestine support for mediation

²² Ibid.

²³ Kamuran Gürün, *Dış İlişkiler ve Türk Politikası: 1939'dan Günümüze*, (tr. Foreign Affairs and Turkish Policy: From 1939 to the Present), (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1983), pp. 432-434.

²⁴ "Pakistan Air Force History," accessed May 1, 2015, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/pakistan/air-force-history.htm>.

²⁵ Abdi İpekci "Attack on Pakistan and Turkey's Stance", *Milliyet*, September 9, 1965.

²⁶ "Pakistan Army Ordered to be sent to Turkey", *Milliyet*, November 28, 1967.

²⁷ Colakoglu, "Türkiye'nin Pakistan Politikası."

²⁸ "We will Send Ammunitions to Pakistan", *Milliyet*, 14 December 1971.

²⁹ Colakoglu, "Türkiye'nin Pakistan Politikası."

with Afghanistan over its Baluchistan crisis.³⁰ In 1979, Iran and Pakistan left CENTO, nevertheless, they remained close on the platform of RCD.

In 1977, General Zia-ul-Haq seized power in a military coup but it did not affect Pakistan-Turkey relations. Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit asked the general to pardon Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and annul his death sentence but failed to achieve this.³¹ Bhutto was the same person who had asked the military dictator of Turkey in the past to pardon Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes.

The 1980s: Increasing Strategic Cooperation

Two major events took place in 1979: the Islamic revolution in Iran and the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, which changed dramatically the world of politics as well as Turkey and Pakistan's place in international politics. Pakistan, thus, moved from being an ordinary country to a strategically important state both for Western as well as the Islamic world. This increased Pakistan's weight in international politics far above its real political and economic power.³² Afghanistan and Iran lost the US, which was rediscovered in Pakistan.

Afghanistan became a theatre for bipolar rivalry. The US with Pakistan's help wanted to undermine the Soviets. Pakistan also got the support of Muslim countries. President Zia received huge support from oil-rich Muslim countries. In the extraordinary meetings in January 1980 of Foreign Ministers' of Organization for Islamic Conference (OIC) in Islamabad and in January 1981 OIC Heads of State Summit, Muslim countries pledged full political support to Pakistan.

On September 12, 1980, in a military coup in Turkey, Kenan Evren got the reins of government. Pakistan was already under the rule of the military. Again, this did not affect the bilateral relations between the two countries. In order to counter the perceived negative consequences of the developments in Iran, Turkey and Pakistan came to closer cooperation under the auspices of the US. The Islamic revolution greatly hampered the progress of RCD.³³

In addition, during the Iran-Iraq War (1980-88) Turkey and Pakistan remained neutral. However, both the countries mediated several times in attempts to stop the conflict.³⁴ The conflict occurred in an area that was situated between Turkey and Pakistan and thus began to hamper bilateral political, cultural and especially economic relations. However, there was an effort to revive regional cooperation and the three countries set up the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) in Tehran in January 1985 in place of RCD. The purpose and function of ECO were similar to RCD.³⁵

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Colakoglu, "Türkiye'nin Pakistan Politikası."

³² Selçuk Çolakoğlu, "Dış Politika Yapım Sürecinde Din Faktörünün Etkisi: Pakistan Örneği", (The Impact of Religious Factors in Foreign Policy-Making Process: The Case of Pakistan), İstanbul Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi, No. 36, Mart 2007, pp. 61-84.

³³ Colakoglu, "Türkiye'nin Pakistan Politikası."

³⁴ "Pakistani President in Ankara today", Milliyet, August 29, 1983.

³⁵ "The Brief History of ECO," accessed May 1, 2015, <http://www.ecosecretariat.org/MainMenu/briefhistory.htm>.

The two generals Kenan Evren and Ziaul Haq developed personal friendships and high-level contacts in bilateral relations. Pakistani Information Minister Raja Muhammad Zafarul Haq in 1983 denied the Armenian genocide allegations. Ziaul Haq also stated that Pakistan would be the first country to recognize Turkish Cyprus in case it declared independence.³⁶ But later on, Pakistan's Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo said that the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) should be recognized from the OIC platform. However, President Zia in his visit to Turkey in October 1987 agreed to open a representative office of TRNC in Islamabad.³⁷ During this period, President Zia also thought of making Turkey a model for transition to democracy. He examined the function of the Turkish National Security Advisory Council to be set up in Pakistan as well.³⁸

During this period bilateral strategic cooperation was enhanced. Ankara and Islamabad held joint military exercise, Aegean Sea of Friendship-87, in August 1987. The same year, sought strategic cooperation regarding the purchase of F-16 aircraft and a frigate. The elections in November 1988 brought the daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto, into power. Benazir's father was deposed by Zia-ul-Haq in 1977. But, the relations were hit by global developments like the breakup of the USSR and the end of bipolarity as well as domestic factors.

1990: Stagnation of Relations

Unlike the past, the 1990s saw a stagnation in bilateral relations. In 1991, Turkey was focused on the disintegration of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. It intensified its involvement in the Balkans, the Caucasus, and Central Asia. On the other hand, Pakistan was involved in the post-Soviet stability in Afghanistan. Also, there was political instability in both countries. They went through a political and economic crisis. The end of bipolarity posed great challenges to the bilateral relations between the two countries.

However, one important development during this time was Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel's visit to Pakistan in 1992, where he stressed the economic dimension of relations. Turkey invested \$ 600 million in Pakistan's motorway project and a Turkish company won the tender for building 165 km Peshawar-Islamabad motorway. Besides, Turkey, Pakistan, and Iran considered expanding the ECO to include the six newly independent Central Asia Republics. However, all three countries along with Saudi Arabia also competed for influence in the region.

In 1993, for the first time in history, prime ministers in Turkey and Pakistan were women at the same time. Benazir Bhutto's first official visit to Turkey did not go well as her Turkish counterpart Tansu Ciller did not receive her at Istanbul and the Istanbul leg of her tour had to be cut short. This was not taken well by Pakistan. The agreement reached during Demirel's time on the motorway was cancelled immediately after Bhutto visited Turkey which caused a diplomatic rift between

³⁶ "Zia-ul-Haq: Pakistan would be the first country to recognize the independence of Cyprus", *Milliyet*, August 29, 1983.

³⁷ "Pakistan Supports TRNC", *Milliyet*, August 15, 1987.

³⁸ Zafar Nawaz Jaspal, "National Security Council," accessed May 13, 2015, <http://www.defencejournal.com/2002/march/political.htm>.

Islamabad and Ankara. In retaliation, Turkey imposed a quota on the import of cotton from Pakistan.

However, in 1994 both Islamabad and Ankara took a common stand on the Bosnian War which softened the strained relations between the two countries. Bhutto and Ciller made a joint visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina and invited the world's attention to the sufferings of Bosnians. In addition, President Demirel went to Pakistan for a summit of ECO in March 1995 for talks on development and cooperation.

The second half of the 1990s witnessed internal political turmoil in both countries as a result bilateral relationship remained relatively stagnant. On 28 February 1997, tension mounted between the army and civilian government in Turkey and later on unstable coalition governments put the country in crisis. Pakistan too braced for its fourth military coup when General Musharraf ousted the government of democratically elected Nawaz Sharif.

Post 9/11, 2001: Revival of Relations

After the 11 September 2001 terror attacks in the US, Pakistan became a frontline state against the terrorists in the US launched the war on terror. Since that time, Pakistan has experienced continuous instability. In this period, Pak-Turkey relations were driven by NATO intervention in Afghanistan and the future of Afghanistan.

Yet natural disasters in Pakistan, internal conflicts and problems, drew Turkey to be the foremost country in providing both material and political support. With the rise of the Justice and Development Party (AKP-Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi) to power in Turkey, bilateral relations between the two countries saw tremendous growth and dynamism. Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan in his first visit to Pakistan in June 2003, along with his counterpart, reiterated their support for Cyprus and Kashmir issues. The cooperation was extended towards fighting terrorism and organized crime in President Musharraf's visit to Turkey in 2004.

During the first decade of this century, Pakistan experience two natural disasters: the October 2005 earthquake, and the 2010 floods. Turkey extended great assistance to Pakistan in these two major natural disasters. It sent rescue teams, health, and food supplies along with aid. The floods had smashed Pakistan's agriculture and infrastructure almost entirely. Turkey mobilized its public and private aid organizations to support Pakistan.

Turkey also provided diplomatic support to both Pakistan and Afghanistan regarding their deep mistrust and disagreement over Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan. It brought together leaders of both the countries in Ankara for a trilateral summit on April 29, 2007. At the end of talks with Karzai and Pakistani President Musharraf, the Ankara Declaration was issued to improve cooperation between the three countries. 116 The trilateral summit continued in the following years. Further cooperation was sought in the relaxation of visas for businessmen; Turkey also started modernization of Pakistan's F-16 fighter aircraft. This period also saw frequent high-level leadership visits of both the countries.

Turkish President Recep Erdogan has made 10 official visits to Pakistan ever since he became prime minister in 2002. Seven trips as premier while three visits as president. Likewise, Pakistan's

premiers and presidents have also paid several visits to Turkey. These high-level official meetings also translated into a greater understanding of each other and support for each other, especially in the international arena. There is now much deeper cooperation between the two countries than there was in the past.

Challenges:

Pakistan and Turkey both lie in such strategic locations where the regions have a complex security environment. Both countries have been the victims of the Cold War and Post-Cold war era turmoil in their respective regions. Both countries have warm and friendly relations ever since the creations of Pakistan. Yet the spirit of friendship and brotherhood remains mostly in rhetoric. There has been little effort to convert the existing goodwill into concrete relations to benefit from it.

The first and foremost challenge between the two countries is economic and trade relations. Despite the repeated reiteration from both the countries on improving the economic relations, there have been little concrete steps in this direction. Actually, the trade between the two countries is still below one billion dollars and it saw a dip in the last two years by 40 per cent.³⁹ There are several contributing factors: Turkey has imposed safeguard duties on Pakistan textile products since 2011 which has led to the declining exports from Pakistan.⁴⁰ It also has imposed additional duties recently on carpets and rugs which are likely to have a more adverse effect on Pakistani exports.⁴¹ Pakistan has not been included in Turkey's list of countries accorded GSP Plus status by EU. Interestingly, Pakistan was left out along with Armenia.

On the other hand, the trade between India and Turkey is over five billion dollars. India has surpassed Pakistan as a trading country with Turkey. Turkey saw an economic boom in the last ten years due to political stability and better economic policies. On the other hand, Pakistan faced lots of crisis and its economy could not keep pace with the region. Pakistan could well benefit from the booming economy of Turkey.

The other important area where Turkey Pakistan could improve its relation is the people to people contact. The public in both countries has warm feelings for each other yet, they barely know each other. The youth of Turkey hardly know the location of Pakistan. Whatever knowledge they have about Pakistan, comes mostly from the Western sources, which is hardly anything close to positive. The same is the case with the Pakistani public. Pakistanis have rare to none interaction with the people of Turkey. The lack of knowledge and information about each other is a hurdle in better understanding each other. There are hardly any area experts or academicians in Turkey in Pakistan. They have to rely on Western sources. The same is true for Pakistan. It does not have any research institute or academicians working on Turkey. There are no cultural centres as well in respective countries.

Recommendations

³⁹ Shahbaz Rana, "Bilateral ties: Pakistan, Turkey to boost trade to \$10 billion," the Express Tribune, February 18, 2015

⁴⁰ Shahbaz Rana, "Pakistan wants cut in customs duty on 35% of tariff lines," The Express Tribute, August 6, 2016

⁴¹ Salman Abduhu, "Turkey imposes 50pc custom duty on Pak handmade carpets," The Nation, March 10, 2015

- Both countries should work on to improve the volume of trade between the two countries. Any barriers to trade like custom duties should be abolished to expand the trade.
- As Turkey is soon becoming an industrial economy and is a member of G-20, it can consider relocating its industries to Pakistan, especially the textile industry and home appliances.
- Moreover, it appears that the construction boom in Turkey is over and construction giants could be lured to focus on Pakistan, especially the low-cost housing units.
- Similarly, Turkish agro-based industries could help Pakistan such as milk processing. They can add value and export to Turkey. Pakistan is the 4th largest milk producer but for high-end consumers, we still import cheese from the EU. It could be done in Pakistan and could be exported.
- Turkey is already giving scholarships to students from Pakistan. There is still great room for exploiting educational and professional training opportunities in Turkey. Pakistan too should offer a scholarship to Turkish students on a reciprocal basis. It can give scholarships to those students who are doing their research on Pakistan.
- Turkey may also think of opening up of universities in Pakistan. Some of its leading universities can consider setting up their campuses in Pakistan. Pakistan still lags behind other countries in terms of universities imparting higher education. On the other hand, there is a great demand for English language education in Turkey. This is where Pakistan can invest. Pakistan's leading universities can open up their campuses in Turkey to provide education in English.
- Both the governments can start an exchange program of academicians to start area studies. They should encourage academics to research to better understand each other and build scholarship. They can also consider setting up research centres in their respective countries. The learning of Urdu in Turkey and Turkish in Pakistan should also be encouraged.
- The public in both countries receives news and information about each other through third sources. This gap can be filled if the media outlets either syndicate their news services with each other or set up their own journalists in respective countries.
- Moreover, there is also great scope for joint projects in the defence sector. For example, Turkey has been pitching the ATAK129 helicopter at all occasions. Pakistan can join the project, Turkey is also planning next-generation fighter jet and Pakistan, with its experience of co-production of JF-17, can join it.

Conclusion

In 1947, immediately after the independence of Pakistan bilateral relations quickly established between the two countries. The major identifiers of the relations were culture and religion.

However, during the 1950s security policies were the driving forces behind the improved bilateral relations. Turkey and Pakistan both became the members of the Western block against the threat of Soviet Russia. To stop the growth of communism in the Muslim world, the relationship was institutionalized in the Baghdad Pact.

Both the countries pursued security policy of the Western bloc in the early 1960s but after the mid-1960s, they began to establish independent bilateral relations within the framework of the RCD. Pakistan also sought close cooperation with China after the US left it alone in the 1965 war. Turkey too witnessed a deterioration of relations with the US for its policy over Cyprus. In the 1970s, both countries were involved in military operations. Pakistan lost its eastern wing which became Bangladesh while Turkey intervened militarily in Cyprus. Pakistan provided full support to the Turkish stance on Cyprus. This brought the two countries closer further in terms of national security.

Turkey-Pakistan relations in the 1980s, just as in the 1950s, again were forged in the backdrop of its security policy within the framework of the Western alliance. Two important events affected it: the Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and the Islamic revolution in Iran the same year. These events jeopardized the interests of the Western alliance in the region. Both countries were wary of the spread of communism and political Islamist ideology of Iran. Moreover, both the countries had military coups and Zia-ul-Haq and Kenan Evren both wanted close ties with the US.

In the 1990s, the relations between the two countries stagnated once the Cold War ended. Ankara got engaged in the Balkans, and Central Asia Republics after the breakup of the Soviet Union, while Pakistan focused on stabilizing Afghanistan after the Soviet withdrawal.

In the 2000s, the main agenda of NATO's main agenda of Turkey-Pakistan was the NATO intervention in Afghanistan. Turkey being the part of NATO took great interest in stabilizing Afghanistan and worked closely with Pakistan. Besides, the rise of AKP gave an impetus and revival of the relations. On the political and security level, tremendous steps have taken place. Turkey holds a trilateral summit meeting of Pakistan and Afghanistan and gives diplomatic support to resolve the issues between the two countries.

Despite the warm relations, there is little improvement in economic and trade relations. However, there is consensus in both the countries that bilateral relations should be solidified based on economic relations. There is a need to convert the feelings of friendship and brotherhood into concrete steps.