



3. We are passing through a period in which the management of priorities and hostilities must be rethought. Western civilization has largely shaped the last 200 years in terms of the point that humanity has reached in terms of "security" and its lifestyle. Now there is a transition to the multipolar order. References are different in certain dimensions and uniform in certain dimensions. The rules of the international system are largely determined in a single centre and a single structure. For this reason, it has been emphasized that there is a need for Red Apples and doctrines on a national, international, and global scale - not as an ideological discourse. This Red Apple can be expressed differently in each culture. However, if we consider that we are experiencing a civilization crisis that is not independent of security, it is clear that there is a vital need for common values and moral revolution for humanity. It should also be noted that Turkey and friendly countries have the infrastructure to make a qualified contribution to such a revolution. When "Post-Security" or "Beyond Geopolitics" is said, it goes beyond the classical and the meanings become open to interpretation. We have entered a period in which institutional infrastructures, areas of expertise, and experience cannot respond to current risks or are insufficient. This lack of infrastructure will continue to increase for all countries. In this sense, it is extremely important to analyse the extent of the competition correctly and to carry competition into space in areas that pose a risk to humanity or to develop literature on new areas of this competition. Likewise, this historical task will be recorded as the great contribution of academics and experts to humanity.
4. It is undoubtedly essential to carry out national and global studies to restore the balance of "Earth, Water, Air, Fire" in humans and nature. While there are serious problems with the deterioration of the balance of nature, the most important of these is the climate crisis. The deterioration of this balance due to the functioning of the insisted production-consumption and growth standards has dragged humanity and the world into a great crisis. There is a production and consumption crisis and alarm bells are ringing all over the world. For example, 60% of its rivers have been poisoned due to the development policies China has followed in the last 30 years, and everyone sees that the world will enter a dead-end in a very short time if this production rate continues. This is one of the main reasons why it has become difficult and difficult to reach production and consumption after the pandemic process. Therefore, the ability of life to recapture its nature; means the safety of human health and life. Otherwise, the process of encountering ghost countries and ghost cities does not seem far away. Within this framework, we encounter the circular green economy as an economy model that has been frequently brought to the agenda especially in the last two years, and the entire financial market is structured accordingly.
5. With the Industrial Revolution, a largely linear economy has brought us to this day. With the Green Economy, there is a conversion rate of 10% today, based on the "produce, consume, transform" approach instead of "produce, consume, discard". In case this ratio rises too much higher or even 100%, an economic model transformation will occur at the ideal point. For example, China has declared to the whole world that it will not finance coal power plants. International financial markets, on the other hand, find it difficult to finance non-cyclical economic infrastructure projects or offer higher prices. Adapting to this economic model both for Turkey and for friendly and allied countries stands out as one of the most important mental thresholds.



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6. The importance of multitasking and capability-based staff security/military-centered transformation has been reaffirmed. With this doctrine, the need for strategic transformation is inevitable and it is too late for the world in this regard. There are relatively successful countries in this regard. Civilians need to be convinced that every issue needs to be securitized, and then soldiers need to understand that they need to have expertise or governance infrastructure on relevant issues that fall within the domain of civilians. Security today; It starts in the Ministries of Agriculture, Health, Economy and sectors.
7. At every point of the meritocratic infrastructure, securitization will be reflected in society as a form of government. It is also clear that there is a similar need for strategic transformation for the entire world. Because the vice continues to squeeze the throat of all humanity with each passing year. Meritocracy means not only bureaucracy but everything being in the right place and staying in the right place. To compete with all these security risks and the new world, meritocracy, including social balances, needs to be reorganized based on merit and critical thinking. It has been suggested that the basic slogan of meritocratic transformation and economic transformation should be "few resources, more people". This motto; has emerged as a very strong structural phenomenon especially in the last 20 years and is insistently emphasized by TASAM. Therefore, there is a need for a "less resource, more people" model transformation; it is the contemporary key to manageability and security.
8. It was stated that there would be no need for a new one if the subjects spent on comfort and classical infrastructure were suspended for 30 years for Turkey and a significant part of the world. Of course, this may vary from country to country. In this transformation, political, economic, and sectoral goals must be coordinated. Because when political targets, economic targets, and sectoral targets do not work in harmony with each other, 80% of the energy goes to the soil. The coordination of political, economic, and sectoral objectives is also decisive for the competitive infrastructure in security matters.
9. Topics that fill the "Post-Security Geopolitics" title the most; especially the new integration studies in the Mediterranean-Atlantic and Indo-Pacific. Some of them have become official, some of them are still in negotiations. Some of them have been declared, but no official initiative has been taken yet. However, all of these integrations aim at re-setting standards and re-division of work in different fields. In QUAD, AUKUS, BLUE DOT NETWORK, D10, T12 integrations, it is seen that there are countries from both Europe and Indo-Pacific and all of the USA. CPTPP, RCEP, etc. counter integration has also entered a new re-organization process. With the advancement of China in certain technology areas, its ability to define international standards has also developed. This has become the most important competitive element in the international system. Because whoever sets the standards largely determines the results. For example, T12 is envisaged as a structure that brings together techno democracies against techno autocracies. In this sense, all integrations will have great repercussions over time in terms of security, sociological, economic, and technological aspects. There is a great need for comparative studies on how the balance will be shaped within integrations and how each country will take its position. In terms of the present and future of the world, it is obvious that the initiatives and examples to be taken by China, Russia, India, Japan, and NATO as the main major countries - Turkey is also a member of NATO with the 2nd largest army - will be gripping and decisive. Possible scenarios also need to be analyzed very well.



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10. In the light of all these competitive parameters and within the new power and ownership ecosystem, there is a period where everything conventionally owned loses its meaning, and its value decreases. For example, the market value of a country's flag carrier airline company is 2 billion dollars. However, Uber, which is a kind of taxi application, has reached a market value of 100 billion dollars in the recent past, although it does not have any vehicles. Countless examples like this could be produced. In this sense, what kind of policy will be followed to transform the existing infrastructure and capacity into current assets/new conventional ones will also be decisive for the future and security.
11. Pandemics expected after the Covid-19 outbreak; cyber security, food scarcity, security of the production-consumption chain, and competitive governance. This cyber security area has now become the nature of life. After the pandemic, there are serious problems in reaching the consumption limit, and there is a serious inflation risk on a global scale. Behind this; Along with the reasons such as the USA and the European Central Bank printing too much money, there is also the fact that China has changed its development model. Reaching consumption evolves into the pre-Chinese era and unit prices are constantly rising. This is an issue above national inflation and economic policies. Those who are weak in this period on a country basis will undoubtedly feel the results much worse. This conjuncture; It is clear that it is pregnant with great turbulences both in terms of security and the sustainability of states and societies. Because it has been insistently emphasized that the problems caused by overconsumption should be analyzed well.
12. It has been emphasized that the world of today and the future does not promise a middle class. In countries that do not have a middle class or are melting away, the administration evolves into either autocracies or chaos. All humanity has lost its position because there is no separation of powers to balance each other in the international arena. It is seen that the average is constantly going down. In this sense, in this competitive environment, the weakening of nation-states, the transformation of the middle class, and the future of democracies should be underlined and a constant comparative study is required.
13. The international institutions and the understanding of security created after World War II for global balance and control become unable to respond to the security needs of our age. The deepening of the last wave of globalization that started in the 1980s brought with it unprecedented alignments and separations at the global level. In this context, especially in countries considered as the center of capitalism; The divergence between capital circles operating at the global level and those aiming to protect their interests and remain strong at the national level stands out. The main challenge of the 21st century is the absence of a theoretical framework compatible with the scope, scale, and nature of contemporary global security problems.
14. Although the interests of global capital and national capital sometimes overlap, they often conflict. The experience of the USA in the Trump administration has set a striking example in this regard. Similar developments will likely occur in countries such as China, India, powerful members of the EU, Russia, Japan, and Brazil. This situation; means that there has been a serious deviation from the traditional nation-state model, in which the capital segments defined themselves with their own countries. This change made it necessary to review the definitions related to the interests and security of the sovereign nation-state. This deepening and complexity in the understanding of security are defined by the concept of "post-security".



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15. During periods of intense inter-bloc wars, work against terrorism decreases asymmetrically. The parties, who use all force transfer to wear down the opposing bloc, cannot pay due attention to the reflection of terrorist organizations under the influence of threat. This situation increases the asymmetric threat.
16. Lebanese writer Amin Maalouf criticizes the policies that have been theorized and legalized under the name of "The Clash of Civilizations" and that will lead to disasters for all cultures and peoples in the world, and invites them to hear the cry for tolerance, which he sees as indispensable for the continuity of life. Maalouf emphasizes that China, which increased its investments with the disintegration of the USSR, and India, which went into restructuring in economic development, took their place in the capitalist competition and developed on a large scale, and that the Arab-Islamic world was buried in a historical well as if it could not come out again, and that they opposed the whole world, the Westerners, the Russians, the Chinese, Indians, Jews, etc. he also states that they are angry with him first of all, and sees sectarian conflicts as the biggest reason why an Arab union could not be established. Malouf; The fact that the choices made by the US citizens, who make up 5% of the world's population, play a decisive role on the remaining 95% of the world, is the basis of the problems, that peoples and individuals accept the authority of an institution created by people and seen as the bearer of common values, without undue coercion. He states that what provides legitimacy is what provides legitimacy and that there is a problem of legitimacy in most governments in the world. He says that the development in science and technology provides a lot of free time for people and that we should spare this gap not by increasing consumption, but for acquiring knowledge and improving inner life. Malouf; that people are losing their ties with the society they live in, belief in the future and political institutions is lost, people who lose their will over their lives tend to prefer to believe in someone like themselves, that the state is seen as the representative of exploitation and arbitrary use of force rather than a force that will bring about change, apart from authority and obedience. states that there is nothing left to bind citizens to the state, and that radicalization is on the rise due to disappointing expectations. According to the results; While the proportion of Americans who wanted to live in a democratic regime was 72% for those born before World War II, this rate was higher for those born after 1980.
17. The rivalry between Russia and the West will show a tougher outlook; that Russia - as outlined in the 2021 National Security Strategy - is making more areas unsafe; it will try to strengthen its internal security by focusing on its internal problems and sensitivities in the upcoming period; In this strategy, which positions Russia as a great power, it is evaluated that it has been determined that Russia is limited by the existing national power elements and that it will continue to resort to indirect and asymmetrical methods to balance its capabilities and objectives in the current situation.





18. The United Kingdom wants to redefine its place in the world, to be positioned globally in terms of security, defence, development, and foreign policy; Considering all "power factors (security, defence, diplomacy, foreign policy, development assistance, trade, information, economic incentives, deterrence, etc.)" from international competition to actual conflict, the country's "grand strategy" is paving the way for the development of the country until 2030; In national security and international relations, four overarching areas were identified under the headings of "geopolitical and geoeconomics changes", "systemic competition", "rapid technological change", "international challenges", and he described leaving the EU as "an opportunity to bring a different approach to foreign policy". is being evaluated.
19. Power as ability; It is separated as "relational power" and "structural power", primary and secondary power sources come to the fore when transitioning from relational power to structural power, "defence, information, production and finance" elements are among the primary power sources, and "transport, welfare, trade, and energy".
20. Now, the possibility of providing security at every national or international level with the understanding and institutions of the past has weakened; state, family, capitalism, university, social welfare, freedom, and liberation, that is, the era of modernity has passed, and the economic and social transformations caused by rapidly developing technologies and the international order dictate the transition to a new framework, that is, a stateless (post-modern) system without borders. ; that the new world order models can be a stronger United Nations World Confederation/Federalism, the World Government (City of God), an English-speaking Air Dictatorship, the New World Order of the global elite, the only world order that can be established in 2045; states and borders will be abolished; a large number of people will die in a nuclear and biological war that may break out; a comprehensive population control awaits us; the physical institutions of the modern era (education, production, bureaucracy, etc.) will be replaced by new digital and remote models; It is predicted that people will lose their ability to think freely, that they will be controlled over the internet with chips, and that they can even be connected.
21. Security, as a global issue, will be provided "fluently" with global solutions within the framework of rules to be managed from a single-center, post-modern security will provide standard solutions to problems within a unique global organization and job definition, within the framework of crisis management principles that have been prepared in advance, and within the classical understanding of security, in a fluent security understanding. It is envisaged that instead of "huge armed forces with a deterrent function" based on the threat of a wide-ranging military operation, "structures with gendarmerie/police duties" will be needed more, and a system will be created in which elements selected from the force and capability pool will be used for security missions.
22. The post-security structure originating from the capital, the geopolitics formed with the strategic moves of this structure and gaining importance again; It is lived between the East and the West or between the USA and China, which are their prominent actors. The West, which sees that the source of the power gained by rising China is the result of globalization, acts with the traditional protectionist approach, as the first step; It wants to bring international institutions to the forefront regarding the institutionalization it has revealed as a result of its values. In this way, a global struggle architecture is criticized instead of a direct struggle. In this context, a strategy for China is being formed with NATO, which is brought to the fore. With the NATO 2030 concept, a broad security concept has been created to monitor all its steps, including cyber security. Ensuring political unity for disjointed voices within NATO has been defined as a necessity.



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23. Europe defines the Indo-Pacific region as "of increasing geopolitical and economic importance, as it contains more than one regional power with weight and influence, both individually and jointly", to which Europe attaches importance to its security and emphasizes that its European neighbors and allies are "vital partners". China is considered the most important geopolitical factor in the world and is seen as the biggest risk to economic security. Although Russia is accepted as a direct threat, a unified strategy has not been put forward against the threats it poses. No new approach is foreseen outside of NATO, and it is expected that terrorism will continue to be a major threat in the next 10 years. Terrorism and extremist groups in Africa and the Middle East will increase their field of activity. By 2030, a CBRN (Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear) terrorist attack is considered possible.
24. Although China currently does not pose a direct military threat to NATO, unlike Russia or terrorist groups; Beijing's growing economic influence and diplomatic prowess in Europe, combined with its growing military relationship with Russia, will spark new debates for transatlantic economy and security. The multifaceted security challenges posed by China are also taken into account in the process leading up to an updated strategic concept known as NATO 2030. Although it is stated that there is no direct military threat to NATO, its importance will increase in 2030. It was emphasized that more time and resources should be devoted to the security concerns caused by China.
25. NATO and China have commonalities where they can act together rather than compete. However, in the West, it is seen that competition is emphasized and accusations are made in this direction rather than the processing of these partnerships. In the West, the concept for establishing and maintaining political cohesion with NATO 2030 has been determined. In the East, China; By never accepting any foreign intervention in domestic political issues (Taiwan, East Turkestan, etc.), Formed its foreign political associations (SCO, etc.) with the structures. In this sense, it is taking firm steps forward with both domestic and foreign political unity.
26. New balances are emerging in the Eurasian Security Area as well, it is seen that blocks have emerged, the position of China and Russia against the USA and England is becoming more evident. While the USA, which is trying to shape the operational environment, the candidate regions of the weight center will be the Three Seas Line (Baltic Sea, Black Sea, Mediterranean) against Russia in Eastern Europe, India against China will be the key country and the weight center will be the South China Sea.
27. Attention should be paid to the accelerated arms race after the cancellation of the INF (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces) Treaty. the basis of 21st-century conflicts; It is likely that the search for economic, political, and military power and the desire to expand its sphere of influence at the global level. One of the most basic tools affecting international relations is economic transformation and distribution. The Belt and Road Initiative also demonstrates that in this redistribution, where the economy-status quo foundations can help protect; The East is on the rise again, and the solutions are likely to emerge as desired by the new power centres, both security and geopolitical. For this reason, it becomes clear that the essential value of the century will be the coordination between the rising powers.





28. Global capital will play an active role in security issues in geopolitics resulting from projects that refer to strategic alliances. Actors who have made technological progress and/or those who stand by these actors will come to the fore. Instead of a static situation, there is a dynamic structure, and for this reason, the parties that will emerge may be "surprising". As for fiction; Due to the adaptation problem to this new global order, unsuccessful nation-states may proliferate, and even if new conflict areas arise as a result of this proliferation, they will be resolved on the axis of the project with an emphasis on unity and even nation-state structures may begin to transform.
29. There are difficulties in finding the direction of the new security architecture of the EU with the "Strategic Compass", which is a military strategy document. Member states have problems reaching a consensus on what the main threats to Europe are and how to counter them. It may take time to answer what tasks the EU should focus on and what military capabilities it needs, based on what has already been defined in NATO's defence planning process. Uncertainties about how the mutual aid clause, which is expected to come into play in the event of an attack, can be fulfilled, should also be eliminated.
30. The operational pillar of the "security-climate" relationship, which has become a discursive priority, needs to be strengthened. CSDP's (Common Security and Defence Policy) mission and operations will strengthen the operational pillar of climate security. It is important that anyone thinking about peacebuilding or civic crisis management by standing out as the main institutional actor has accepted or will accept the thesis that climate change will reshape the world – just like previous historical trends such as population growth, rural-urban migration.
31. When the "Green Agreement" is examined in-depth, it is understood that the seemingly environmental theme has aspects that go beyond environmentalism, reaching to economic, energy, political, and security. In this context, the necessity for Turkey and many other countries to develop their "transformation strategies" becomes evident. Failure to develop appropriate and effective transformation strategies will create a risk factor for many countries, international organizations, and sectors. In this process, in which some factors can be experienced in case of insufficient and/or backwardness in transformation strategies, especially energy-political and economic issues, which can be reflected in national and international security, the USA started to bring the "New Green Deal" initiatives to the agenda, acting in a common axis with the EU. It is understood that it can wage a cold trade war.
32. It is seen that Turkey can take place alongside China, Russia, India, and Japan, which are shown as the countries that will be most affected by the "Green Agreement" issue, which has started to change in the axis of the EU and the USA. For Turkey to continue its cooperation with the EU; In sectors such as agriculture, electronics, packaging, plastics, textiles, and construction (as well as manufacturing branches that provide input to construction), which are expected to undergo the most change and transformation within the scope of the agreement, it is necessary to examine the regulations well, to follow the developments and to develop the ability to take quick steps in adapting to the standards to be established. It is known that the EU's "Green Deal" and the USA's "New Green Deal" initiatives will be the most influential power on the chessboard in the economic, energy-political, and security context of the coming years.





38. The USA, which emerged as a hegemonic power after the Cold War period, established its power dominance in the Middle East region until the beginning of the 2000s, and then reduced its dominance in the region. Because of its importance in the fields of energy and security, the USA, which directs its attention to Eurasia, is confronted by two important powers such as China and Russia in this region. Uncomfortable with these two powers, the USA brought the issue to NATO's agenda. Then, NATO declared at the 2021 summit that it perceived China as a threat and that the measures to be taken against China and Russia were among its targets until 2030. This paper emphasizes the importance of Russia and China in the Eurasian region.
39. Looking at the 2021 US Interim Strategic Security Document, Russia and China were shown as rivals and Eastern Europe and Indo-Pacific regions were determined as the center of gravity with alliances to be made with the allies. The blocking activities, which started to become evident as a result of the power struggle in the Eurasian region, are meticulously carried out by the USA. It seeks alliances with Western countries such as England, Poland, Romania, Ukraine, Bulgaria, and Greece against Russia, and with countries such as England, India, Japan, South Korea, and Australia against China. The USA needs to ally with India, especially against China, due to its strategic position.
40. Global climate change is a very important issue that states should take into account in the future. In particular, the problems caused by climate change have the potential to cause a national security problem by weakening the national power in nation-states or contributing to the failure of states through violent conflicts.
41. For the first time, the European Security Strategy defined climate change as a security issue. In the context of climate and security; It is possible to divide the effects of climate change on the security of states into two as direct or indirect. For example, if a state's military base is damaged, this situation can be considered as the direct effect of climate on security, and if it causes the country to face migration and ethnic conflict, this can be considered as the indirect effect of climate on state security. Climate change affects not only states but also individuals. From a human perspective, problems such as food safety, human health, and poverty emerge.
42. In the Paris Climate Agreement (COP21), which Turkey declared to have joined on 7 October 2021, the targets that the parties to the agreement must comply with are; to reduce greenhouse gases, increase renewable energy production, reduce or even limit global warming, and help poor countries in their fight against climate change. Climate change has begun to be perceived as a new security threat not only in the public sector but also in the private sector. When we look at the struggle of the private sectors with climate change, we come across important companies such as Shell, Global Climate Coalition, BUSINESSEUROPE, TUSIAD, Sabancı Holding, and Koç Holding.



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43. Factors such as environmental pollution, global warming, health (Covid-19), and economic interdependence limit the ability of countries to make and implement decisions on their own. So much so that even developed and powerful countries cannot solve such problems with national means or regional cooperation policies. In other words, the good functioning of the global system in all aspects and being in harmony with a well-functioning system has become one of the prerequisites for national and regional survival. These new problems emerging at the global level force even the "rising powers" with hostile relations, such as China and India, to cooperate for a solution, no matter how severe the hostility is.
44. CSDP (Common Security and Defence Policy) has an important position on climate change. As the regions (Africa and the Middle East) where CSDP missions and operations take place are the areas most affected by climate change, CSDP may require introducing new types of missions. In particular, OGSP missions and organizations come to the fore as the main institutional actors that will strengthen the operational pillar of climate security.
45. It is necessary to pay attention to the arms race that accelerated after the cancellation of the INF (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces | Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces) Treaty. The basis of 21st-century conflicts may be the search for economic, political, and military power and the desire to expand their sphere of influence at the global level. One of the most fundamental tools affecting international relations can be economic transformation and distribution, and it can help protect the foundations of the economy-status quo, in this redistribution, as the Belt and Road Initiative shows, the "East" is on the rise again, it is foreseen that both security and geopolitics seem to be formed as the new power centres want, therefore the main value of the century will be coordination between the rising powers.
46. The 2nd Taliban Era, which started with the withdrawal of the USA in 2021, brought about the flight of people who remember the oppressive dictatorship in Afghanistan 20 years ago. Refugees coming to Turkey via Iran through illegal immigration violate border security. The presence of the Taliban in Afghanistan, which is bordered by many countries, has not only worried its neighbours with land borders, but also all countries in the world against terrorist attacks. The Taliban, which made statements to the world public opinion in the direction of drawing a more participatory and moderate profile, contrary to the management style it implemented between 1996 and 2001, quickly started negotiations in the context of bilateral relations. The form of government adopted by the Taliban government in Afghanistan will determine the continuity of its dominance and success.

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