

**ATILIM UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS MASTER'S PROGRAMME**

**TURKEY'S FOREIGN POLICY IN AFRICA WITHIN THE
CONTEXT OF GROWING EAST-WEST RIVALRY: AN
ANALYSIS OF SOFT POWER DIPLOMACY (2005-2021)**

Master's Thesis

Hüsnü MISIRLI

Ankara-2021

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Ankara-2021

ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

This is to certify that this thesis titled ‘‘Turkey’s Foreign Policy in Africa within the Context of Growing East-West Rivalry: An Analysis of Soft Power Diplomacy (2005-2021)’’ and prepared by Hüsnu Mısırlı meets with the committee’s approval unanimously as Master’s Thesis in the field of International Relations following the successful defense of the thesis conducted in 16 /12 /2021.

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ETHICS DECLARATION

This thesis study, which I prepared in accordance with the Atılım University Institute of Social Sciences Thesis Writing Directive;

- I prepared within the framework of academic and ethics rules,
- I presented all information, documents, evaluations and findings in accordance with scientific ethical and moral principles,
- I cited all sources to which I made reference in my thesis,
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16.12.2021

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ÖZ

MISIRLI, Hüsni. Büyüyen Doğu-Batı Rekabeti Bağlamında Türkiye'nin Afrika Dış Politikası: Yumuşak Güç Diplomasisinin Analizi (2005-2021), Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2021.

Sömürgeleşme süreci sona ermesine rağmen, Afrika kıtasındaki uluslararası rekabetin diğer aktörler tarafından modern yöntem ve araçlarla sürdürüldüğü görülmektedir. Üstelik, Avrupa devletlerinin kurmuş oldukları düzen, bölgeden çıktıklarında Afrika toplumunun gerçekleriyle örtüşmemiş ve uzun yıllar kalkınmasının önündeki en büyük engellerden biri olmuştur. Afrika toplumlarının sosyal yapısına uymayan zorlama sınırlar, bir yandan anlaşmazlıklara ve etnik çatışmalara neden olurken, diğer yandan da yeni kurulan ülkelerin ticaretine, ulaşımına ve ekonomilerine zarar vermiştir. Kaçınılmaz olarak, şiddet ve güvensizlik ortamı devlet kurumlarını zayıflatmış ve Afrika ülkelerinin siyasi ve ekonomik ilerlemesini engellemiştir. Ne yazık ki, kıtadaki küresel rekabeti devralan yeni aktörlerde kıta ülkeleriyle ilişkilerinde mevcut düzeni korumak için kendilerini konumlandırmanın haricinde bölgenin sosyal ve ekonomik kalkınmasına herhangi bir katkıda bulunmamışlardır.

Türk dış politika anlayışı ile ilgili olarak; Sovyetler Birliğinin 1991 yılında dağılması Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin yeni dünya düzeninin tek süper gücü olarak ortaya çıkmasına ve uluslararası sistemin tek kutuplu bir yapıya dönüşmesine neden olmuştur. Bu kapsamda, yeni dünya düzeninin değişen dinamikleri nedeniyle, soğuk savaş döneminin ardından iki kutuplu yapının son bulması Türkiye için de yeni fırsatlar ve ortaklıklar bağlamında bir manifesto niteliğinde olmuştur. Kuşkusuz Türkiye, başlangıçta Afrika'ya açılma politikası kapsamında tarihsel bağlarını ve kültürel benzerliklerini kullanarak olumlu bir atmosfer yaratma avantajına sahip olmuş ve ayrıca 2005'te Afrika'ya açılma girişiminin tezahürü, yumuşak güç diplomasisinin kıtanın bazı bölgelerinde uygulanmasına ivme kazandırmıştır. Ancak, uygulanan dış politika öncelikleri Türkiye açısından hem fırsatlar sunmuş hem de zorluklara neden olmuştur.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Afrika'da Doğu-Batı Rekabeti, Türkiye'nin Afrika'da Dış Politika Yaklaşımı, Somali girişimi, Yumuşak Güç Diplomasisi ve söylemler, Afrika'ya Açılma Girişimi.

ABSTRACT

MISIRLI, Hüsni. Turkey's Foreign Policy in Africa within the Context of Growing East-West Rivalry: An Analysis of Soft Power Diplomacy (2005-2021), M.A. Thesis, Ankara, 2021.

Despite the end of the colonization process, it appears that the international competition is being continued on the African continent by the other actors with modern methods and means. In addition, the established order by the European states would not match the realities of African society when they left the region and would be one of the biggest obstacles to its development for many years. While the enforced borders that do not match the social structure of African societies caused disagreements and ethnic conflicts, on the one hand, they damaged the trade, transportation, and economies of the newly established countries on the other. Inevitably, the atmosphere of violence and insecurity caused to weaken state institutions and hindered the political and economic progress of African countries. Unfortunately, the new actors who took over the global competition in the continent did not also contribute to the social and economic development of the region, rather than positioning themselves to preserve the current order in their relations with the continental countries.

In the case of Turkish foreign policy conception; the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 led to the emergence of the United States as a sole superpower in the new world order and the transformation of the international system into a unipolar structure. In this context, because of the changing dynamics of the new international order, the termination of the bipolarity by the end of the Cold War period was a manifestation of new opportunities and partnerships for Turkey as well. Admittedly, Turkey had the advantage to create a positive atmosphere to apply its historical ties and cultural similarities for the opening to Africa policy in the beginning, and also the manifestation of opening to Africa initiative in 2005 gave momentum for the implementation of soft power diplomacy in some parts of the region. However, the applied foreign policy priorities have provided both opportunities, and also challenges for Turkey.

Keywords: East-West Rivalry in Africa, Turkey's Foreign Policy Approach in Africa, Somalia initiative, Soft Power Diplomacy and discourses, Opening to Africa Initiative.

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INDEX OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFAD	Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency
AfCFTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
AU	African Union,
AFP	French Association of Fundraising Professionals
FDI	Chinese foreign direct investment (FDI)
IR	International Relations
GPI	Global Peace Index
JDP	Justice and Development Party
USA	United States of America
OPD	Office of Public Diplomacy
AKP	Justica and Development Party
AFRICOM	United States Africa Command,
ASF	African Standby Force
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
PRA	Presidency of Religious Affairs
UN	United Nations
USTR	United States Trade Representative
UNOSOM	Unites Nations Operation in Somalia
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MONUC	United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo

MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNMIS	United Nations Mission in Sudan,
UNAMID	United Nations African Mission in Darfur,
UNSOM	United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia,
UNITAR	United Nations Institute for Training and Research
EUPOL KINSHASA	European Union Police Mission in Kinshasa
TUIK	Turkey Statistical Institution
TİKA	Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency
TDF	Turkish Diyanet Foundation
THY	Turkish Airlines
TMF	Turkish Maarif Foundation
TMC	Sudan's Transitional Military Council
SARCS	the South African Red Cross Society
WFP	World Food Programme
WTO	World Trade Organization
YTB	Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

JICA Japan International Cooperation Agency

GIZ Germany International Agency



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INTRODUCTION

With the beginning of decolonization movements between the 1950s and 1960s, the new superpower competition took place after the traditional European powers lost their influence and left a vacuum in the African continent. First, the United States and Russia, and then China were eager to move in and fill the vacuum. The impoverished nations of Africa were again found themselves within the struggle of rivalry between the superpowers for their vast and invaluable resources. Especially once the US-Soviet competition ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the new rivalry had emerged with the eagerness of China to gain influence in the political and economic vacuum that the Soviet Union left behind. As a result, the rivalry for Africa had another dimension with the Chinese foreign policy approach and the US had another rival for African influence with the start of the two heavyweights' battle for political and economic control over the continent's resources. While the two countries compete for the resources and political influence at the same time, their way of understanding the continent had determined their foreign policy approach and fierceness of the battle to keep the continent as fuel for their growing economies. For this purpose, the US uses all of its means for controlling the strategic resources by keeping as many African nations as possible out from communist influence by providing a vast amount of foreign aid and imposing propaganda. On the other hand, China prefers to increase finance-based partnerships and win-win collaboration with African countries. Meanwhile, the growing rivalry and relentless competition between these two superpowers and the other traditional European countries provided an opportunity for the poor nations of Africa to improve new partnerships with the civilized world countries and create new momentum for their economical and cultural developments. In the meantime, even if the interests of these two superpowers resemble and any possibility can be tried for the partnership for sharing the resources, the Chinese approach differs from the thinkers' conception by creating its sphere of influence for the multipolarity in Africa. The indication of this approach is the Chinese conceptualization by seeking cooperation with Africa on non-interference in domestic affairs policy and win-win situation, while the US aims to increase democracy and human rights conditions and encourages economic policy reforms for the tribe-based African countries.

In the case of other competitor countries' political influence on the continent, Russia takes the lead to dominate the economical and diplomatic balance in the region. Given the amount of military and correspondingly economic partnerships Russia built in the region and weaponry supplies and technical assistance it provides to African countries, the partnership capacity of Russia exceeds the Soviet times' power projection policies. On the other hand, Africa's booming growth dynamics have drawn a renewed interest of its traditional Western trade partners, who felt their preferential relations threatened by both the growing Chinese and US competition for access to the abundant strategic resources and also the rivalry of the other developing regional countries and their hunger for the invaluable resources of the continent. Therefore, these developments of the last century have transformed the traditional structure of the geopolitical rivalry on the continent and evolved it into a different dimension. Of course, there are significant and beneficial improvements in some of the African countries, however, most of the regions in the continent are in real trouble and despair as a result of this turmoil that the big powers' rivalry has created in years.

In this regard, this study will try to answer the question of, where is Turkey positioning itself between the relentless East-West rivalry for the African continent? As the argument suggests that " Being a longstanding ally of the West through its NATO membership, Turkey might be drawn to side with its Western allies in the ongoing confrontation against China and be induced to support the growing militarization of the continent for the control of its resources. The pressing questions for Turkey as a global swing state are, therefore: Which position will Turkey ultimately take in the face of growing rivalry between China and the West on the African resource market, and what are the potential implications of alternative choices for Turkey's own engagement in Africa?" (Habiyaremye & Oğuzlu, 2014). This was the general expectation from different circles, but the main point for Turkey to balance itself between the rivalry of other powers and its own preferences as a regional player which is to determine its foreign policy approach according to new realities of the world order rather than within the scope of alliance doctrine. In this regard, is the determined foreign policy approach worked effectively for Turkey to keep the balance of its stance in the multidimensional position of Africa? What is the role of regional organizations to create effective partnerships with the regional countries? For this purpose, for a better understanding of the rivalry in Africa, the time period will be determined as of

the post-cold war period until today, and also for a better understanding of Turkey's positioning within the concept of opening to Africa policy the time period will be 2005 onwards.

In light of this information, as indicated above, the main period which consists of the engagement initiatives of the new rivals and also the countermeasures of the settled old big powers in the region appears as the post-cold war period. On the other hand, in the case of Turkey, 2005 and the following years are determining period for Turkey's engagement with the African continent within the context of the Somalia initiative as a starting point for Turkey's soft power diplomacy approach in Africa.

In this regard, this study will start with the historical background which extends to recent past of Africa-Turkey relations and Somalia to submit a better understanding of the historical and cultural similarities between the two countries and follow the path with different dimensions of foreign policy positioning of Turkey in Africa. Within this framework, some observers argue that Turkey's presence in Africa and discourses she used about the continent as the new Ottomanism politics, on the other hand, Turkey proclaims itself as stand by the African people and is located near the local people against the old colonial mentality that follow politics of the imperialism. This challenge with rhetoric and powerful discourses gives an upper hand to Turkey for its opening to Africa policy and fosters a bond between the peoples of Africa and Turkey. However, the applied soft power policy which is based mainly on cultural diplomacy has also shortcomings and negative reflections that Turkey has been experiencing since 2016, and is prone to be reconsidered and improved according to the new conditions and realities of the global world order. In this regard, this study will be analyzing these latest developments as well. In light of the information presented above;

The main purpose of this study is to draw attention to the soft power diplomacy Turkey adopted in Africa and submit an evaluation on the consequences of the culture-based foreign policy approach and its implications between the growing East-West rivalry in the Continent. In the beginning, the opening to Africa initiative was a challenge for Turkey in terms of balancing itself between the global powers. In this context, the Somalia initiative has enhanced Turkey's position to emerge as one of the active players in the region. Because Turkey had reliable motivational sources for her engagement with East Africa which was the key arena of contest for global power

influence in the coming decades. Besides, Turkey had the advantage to create a positive atmosphere to apply its historical ties and cultural similarities for the opening to Africa policy. But, on the other hand, foreign policy priorities in Africa provided both opportunities, and also challenges for Turkey. Accordingly;

The main argument of this thesis is that; although Turkey has significant historical background and experience of involvement in some parts of Africa, the Turkish conception was inadequate because of the fragile social structure and unbalanced clan-based social order of the continent. Given the reality that there is no homogeneity and cultural unity in the region, Turkey's attribution of its initiative to a large extent on the culture-based approach, instead of a flexible and multidimensional way of collaboration was very prone to reconsider and revise after a while later the engagement policy began in the continent. In view of the reality that most of the countries and societies in Africa are consisting of several clan-based pieces and have cultural heterogeneity, it is a necessity for Turkey as a developing country to adopt a multidimensional, visionary, and flexible foreign policy approach towards the African region. The difficulties it has endured to protect its investments in Africa since 2016, can be presented as evidence of this issue.

The Qualitative research method will be used within this current thesis, by describing the recent past of Turkey-Africa relations and international competition in the continent. For this purpose, the study will be focusing on the studies of scholars who analyze the topic from different perspectives, together with the researches and books was written on the matter of Turkey-Africa relations and Turkey's foreign policy approach in the region. And, also the relevant reports prepared by the institutions currently operating in the continent will be guiding the preparatory stage of the study as the primary sources of collecting the latest information. In the light of the information presented above, Turkey's positioning herself within the concept of opening to Africa policy and the soft power diplomacy will be analyzed on the subject of Somalia initiative as a case study and submitted an evaluation on the consequences of Turkey's culture-based foreign policy approach and implications of soft power diplomacy in the African continent. In addition to these, I will also reflect on my two years of diplomatic experience in Africa as a former Military Attache who became accredited to East African countries between 2013-2015.

Research questions of this thesis are; What are the reasons for Turkey to adopt a new foreign policy to engage with Africa after the Cold War period? For a better understanding of Turkey's engagement with Africa especially with the opening policy on the subject of Somalia initiative guides scholars to detailed analysis of the historical background of the Post-Cold War period and the flexible and multidimensional foreign policy choice of the young republic to find its way through the path of a regional player rather than a security-oriented small state. Admittedly, Turkey is a member of almost all contemporary international formations and institutions like NATO, United Nations, World Bank, and the prospective candidacy of the EU membership. In addition, she has been forcing all its resources and energy to be a regional player as well, not just in Africa, but also in the Middle East, Balkans, Asia and Transcaucasia as well. This multidimensional and flexible foreign policy approach and intensive and eager engagements on all the aforementioned regions were adopted by Turkey especially after the Cold War period. In reality, the dissolution of the Soviet Union paved the way for an opportunity for Turkey to revise its foreign policy approach and also enabled her for new cooperation fields with the new actors as in the case of Africa in different places of the world. Within this framework, how the new world order and political balance encouraged Turkey for the new foreign policy in Africa? What were the reasons motivating Turkey for the opening to Africa initiative? Last but not least, what was the importance of the Somalia initiative for the opening to Africa policy? In consideration of the reality that Africa has a huge continent and has fifty-four sovereign states on its territory, soft power diplomacy was adopted by Turkey on the subject of Somalia instead of a holistic approach for its opening to Africa policy.

To answer these questions, Chapter 1 focuses on the historical background which extends to the Ottoman Empire period and also follows the path to understanding how the multidimensional African concept seeded in Turkish politicians' minds after the cold war period. It briefly touches upon the prevailing parameters of the opening to Africa policy and the importance of the Somalia initiative for Turkey. The last section of the chapter comprises the theoretical analysis of Turkey's soft power policy through the Somalia initiative and also submits a general review regarding the theoretical elements of power.

The opening to Africa initiative was a success for Turkey in terms of balancing itself between the regional Powers by applying its historical ties and cultural

similarities with the region. Because Turkey had touched on the human factor at the beginning, and East Africa was a key arena of the contest for global power influence in the coming decades. For this purpose, soft power elements were the main recourses for Turkey to position itself between the rivalry and to be an influential actor in the continent. In light of this information, Chapter 2 elaborates all the soft power elements and their constituents that Turkey implements in Africa.

Chapter 3 analyzes the ongoing global competition on the African continent and Turkey's place in this rivalry. Concerning Africa's place in global politics, not just its own potential but also foreign policy conception and influence of competing countries can be presented as the leading factor. On the other hand, as a young republic trying to balance itself between the East-West rivalry on the black continent, Turkey's current potential to become an alternative partner for African countries, and also bilateral gains will be another subject of study in this chapter.

Finally, regional organizations in Africa will be examined in chapter 4. Integrating and developing good relations with these organizations, which are of vital importance for the policy of opening to Africa, are among the primary goals of the competing countries. In light of this information, it can be argued that virtually all competing countries have contacts and interactions with the regional institutions as well. Because they know the reality that one of the best strategies for the ideal engagement with Africa is to get involved with the influential and entitled organizations of the continent. To examine this issue, it is important to understand these regional institutions which have an increasing effect on the large-scale trade and economical cooperation as a result of the globalization and social transformation in the world. Due to this reason, the bilateral cooperation concept with these organizations is becoming an indispensable strategy for the rising powers of the world both at the state and also at the institutional level.

SECTION 1: PARAMETERS OF TURKEY'S OPENING TO AFRICA POLICY, SOMALIA INITIATIVE, AND SOFT POWER DIPLOMACY

1.1. Historical Background of Turkey-Africa Relations

In view of the fact that most parts of the continent were bound to the Ottoman state as governorates, especially North Africa and some parts of sub-Saharan Africa, we can argue that the historical ties between the African continent and Turkey start with the Ottoman Empire period. In reality, the connection with the continent started during the 16th century in the Ottoman Empire period. But there were also attempts for improving the relations after the young republic was founded. Especially some impermanent attempts have been implemented during the 1970s, but both domestic issues and also economical problems prevented Turkey to start an open policy for Africa. Even in the 16th century, Ottoman Empire had a consulate in South Africa and also had connections with Sudan, Egypt, Libya, Algeria, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Niger, and also Chad. Within this direction, there are some arguments based on historical connections as well. For example; In North Africa, the Ottomans played an important role in preventing Spanish penetration. In the northern part of sub-Saharan Africa, the Ottomans were a part of the balance of power, with friendship and an alliance with the Kanem-Bornu Empire that prevailed in modern-day northern Nigeria, Niger, and Chad. (Özkan, 2010)

Undoubtedly, as mentioned previously, the Ottoman Empire had been very active with its expansionist policies and continued to follow that path accordingly for the next decades until encountering the colonizing western powers' influence and especially with dimensional changes because of the domestic policy problems. This is why, with the consideration and the fact that Turkey builds an engagement with the continent based on its historical inheritance derives from the Ottoman Empire and also thanks to the common similarities like, historical acquaintance, cultural similarities, and also religious resemblance between the populations. As a result, it would not be fair to separate these two notions from each other because they are all some parts of the complete historical picture for the assessment of Turkish foreign policy from a historical perspective. On the other hand, Turkey-Africa relations were not developing both due to external and also internal factors. Because the domestic political and economic problems were preventing Turkey's transformation to complete its state-

building process and also social and economic transformation. And, at the same time, during and after the cold war period, because of the bipolarity of the world order, and also the external security threats forced Turkey to take part under the influence of the western camp and their organizations like NATO and adopt a non-expansionist foreign policy outside its borders. In light of these developments of the last century and also the changes of geopolitical balances around its peripheries has forced Turkey to shift its foreign policy approach and create a new partnership formation in the near and remote areas to balance itself in the changing global order after the end of the Cold War. In this sense, after the adoption of the opening to Africa plan as a state policy in 1998, Turkey has increased its initiatives with humanitarian and cultural diplomacy, and won the strategic partnership of the African Union as well. As a reflection of multi-dimensional foreign policy understanding of the AKP government, which took office in 2002, bilateral relations have also been developed with the increasing interest and capacity in Africa. In this context, Turkey has seen the results of this initiative in a short time by conducting an active foreign policy both at the state level and together with non-governmental organizations. Along with gaining the strategic partnership of the African Union, it also became the 25 th non-regional member of the African development bank. More importantly, as well as these achievements, the votes in favor of almost all African countries have moved Turkey to provisional membership of the United Nations Security Council. (MFA, 2021)

After 2005 was declared as the ‘‘Year of Africa’’, Turkey-Africa relations have reached its highest level with the declaration and framework document on cooperation which was accepted at first Turkey-Africa Cooperation summit held in Istanbul in 2008. While trying to improve its relations with African countries, Turkey attached equal importance to building institutional cooperation with the African Union and the other regional organizations as well. Although the development of Turkey-Africa relations has an impact on regional power balances, it also has the potential to offer new opportunities for Turkey in the political and economic sphere in the continent. That was why the year of Africa 2005 initiative was very important for Turkey to take part in the growing East-West rivalry in the African continent. For this purpose, the Prime Ministry's Office of Public Diplomacy (OPD) was established in 2010 to provide for the necessary coordination between the public agencies and non-governmental organizations, on the course of promoting Turkey in the international

community and enhancing her credibility in the African continent. Thus, the announced cooperation in the Istanbul declaration in 2008, has been put into practice officially from 2010 onwards. Initially, Turkey found a fitting political position for itself to start an engagement with the underdeveloped countries of Africa like virtually all the other powers did in history. In addition, considering the socio-economic and geopolitical dimensions of the African continent and the influence of both traditional old hegemons and also the growing rivalry between the new superpowers forced Turkey to adopt soft power policy on a familiar spot instead of the holistic foreign policy engagement. That is where the Somalia initiative takes its significance to understand Turkey's Africa engagement and soft power policy.

With respect to Somalia's historical background, as an important country located in the Horn of Africa region, South Somalia remained under the control of Italians and North Somalia under the protectorate of Britain until the decolonization period. After gaining its independence from colonial powers, the North and the South decided to reunite the Somalian nation again, and declared its independence as the unified Somalia Republic in 1960. But after nine years of independence, Mohamed Siad Barre overthrew the unified government and established a pro-soviet government which would last until the civil war in 1991. "After the independence of Somalia in 1960, civilian democratic governments ruled the country, and Somalia was viewed as a model of a successful democracy in Africa, as peaceful and successful elections had been held in the country. However, the military coup d'etat ended the civilian rule, and the country came under a military dictatorship from 1969 to 1991. In the 1980s, armed rebellion opposed the government, and the country plunged into a civil war that ousted the regime in January 1991." (Addow & Sheikh, 2017). During this term countless internal conflicts and frictions with its neighbors like Ethiopia took place in and around its periphery. Finally the horrendous civil war broke out in 1991, and subsequently Barre regime was replaced by another temporary successor governments respectively. In the aftermath of the internal conflicts and disorder, the country was torn apart and millions of innocent Somalians lost their homes and struggled with hunger and violent war conditions for years. As a result international community intervened in this situation and sent a peacekeeping mission formed under the name of UNOSOM (United Nations Operation in Somalia), and after UNITAR (United Nations Institute for Training and Research). But all international efforts were insufficient to prevent

hunger and migration because of the ongoing civil war and violence. Accordingly, peacekeeping activities ended in 1995, and peacekeeping mission soldiers withdrew from Somalia after three years of service in the war-torn country. By the way, because of the power vacuum, several autonomous regions emerged between 1998 and 2006, and as a result, the central government of Somalia, Puntland, Jubaland, and Somaliland was formed in separate regions of the Somalian territory and they all had separate management styles differ from each other both administrative and also in terms of border relations. But none of these developments could prevent the ongoing civil war and violence within the country. However, since 2007, Islamic uprisings and sectarian conflicts have also been included in the current troubles and as a result of these developments, the AMISOM (African Union Mission in Somalia) peacekeeping force was formed by the international community again to prevent the violence and ongoing civil war in the country. In addition to all these developments, a terrorist organization also had emerged under the pretext of opposing the presence of foreign troops in the country and started to be active in the region. The name of the terrorist group is Al-Shabab which is still actively continuing its violent actions and victimizing the people of the region. Claiming that its purpose is to eliminate the federal transitional government and carrying out war against the enemies of Islam, this terrorist organization is estimated to have around 14 000 militants and actively controls the southern regions of the country as of 2011. Because of all these internal problems and chaos, it was not easy for the Somalian people to get away from violence, disorder, and clan-based political system. From the western perspective, these are intolerable problems for most of the western countries to deal with by using their own recourses instead of reaching easy deals and trouble-free agreements with the African countries who have rich resources for exploitation. In this regard, from the scientific understanding, postcolonialism explains this dilemma as argued that "Discourses – primarily things that are written or spoken – constructed non-western states and peoples as 'other' or different to the West, usually in a way that made them appear to be inferior. In doing so, they helped European powers justify their domination over other peoples in the name of bringing civilization or progress." (Nair, 2017). The idea of 'others' and 'inferior' has been evoked by European imperialist countries to the people of Africa for decades and reflected on their mutual relations as well. Besides all these, hunger and desperation for many years prevailed in most of the African countries especially in Somalia until the visit of Turkey and its extending helping hand

reached the region as of 2011. That was the right moment for Turkey and was a proper vantage point to start with the Africa initiative. In the beginning, the humanitarian aid movements started with the intense institutional interest in the Horn of Africa, and subsequently, these initiatives were followed by the developments of economic relations throughout the continent. On the other hand, regarding the European countries' othering approach, the same approach has been adopted by the European understanding for the other cultures as well, except themselves and their peers. In this regard, Turkey also has been exposed for years in the same understanding of this othering approach on the subject of its EU membership process. One of the arguments holds as proof of this understanding that "Tellingly, even the EU bid has often been framed by alluding to an "alliance of civilization", where Turkey is able to function as a bridge between the Islamic and Western worlds. By accepting Turkey, so the argument went, the EU would indicate its willingness to tolerate other civilizations. The obvious snag in this seemingly constructive discourse is that it reiterates the idea, implied by Huntington's infamous thesis of a "clash of civilizations", that Western and Islamic civilizations are distinct, sealed, and well-defined unchanging cultural entities." (Alaranta, 2014). All these arguments and traditionalist approaches are valuable in terms of showcasing their othering ideology and that the discourse Turkey adopted for the African engagement policy was right and on the correct path to create an equal-based partnership with African nations. In this context, Turkey was moving on the right track and the motto was embarked on 'African solutions to Africa's problems.' to create equal partnerships and cooperation with suffered nations of Africa. Depending on the development of mutual relations, the initiative moving forward with a focus on geopolitical partnership and cooperation on strategic fields will give an opportunity to Turkey to enhance its influence between the countries of the black continent.

1.2. Parameters of Opening to Africa Policy

“The basic reason for Turkey's interest in Africa lies in the reorientation of Turkish foreign policy within global politics. The main architect behind such a reorientation is the current foreign minister, Ahmet Davutoğlu.” (Aras, 2014, p. 404). As the argument goes, the inclination has started with the guidance of former prime minister Ahmet Davutoğlu and his opening policies. But on the other hand, other arguments claim that the African foreign policy engagement started in 1998 after

Turkey's unsuccessful European Union membership declaration by the EU. " In October 1998, the coalition government led by Ahmet Mesut Yilmaz officially inaugurated an Opening Up Policy to Africa. The document drew those lines along which this strategy would be later promoted during the first years of Erdogan's mandate, until full institutionalization of the cooperation with the continent ten years later. The action plan suggested first of all the increase of diplomatic representations. From a political point of view, proposals included the promotion of official visits from African authorities, not to mention the creation of ministerial consultation mechanisms and the consolidation of inter-parliamentary relations." (Paolo, 2011). Accordingly, this inspiration adopted by the subsequent governments and relations with the continent improved in accordance with the predetermined state strategies. In this regard, thanks to the vision of strategic depth policy and also with the contribution of outside factors in the new world order after the cold war period, Turkey found a new momentum to create a multi-dimensional foreign policy approach towards Africa. Naturally, there are also opposite arguments with the ideas asserting that; "From a political economy perspective, while investments in hot spots such as Somalia are risky, the rewards can be great. The rules of the game in politics and business either do not exist as they would in more stable states or when they exist in an unstable environment is often ignored or fungible. As will be demonstrated, this is precisely the situation that Turkey has been able to exploit so well" (Cannon, 2016, p.104).

Inevitably, with the changing dynamics in the new world order, Turkey has decided to follow a multidimensional foreign policy approach that is different from its past stance, in comparison with before the cold war era. Although, the partnership with the European Union and NATO was necessary for Turkey to become westernized and also for security reasons, on the other hand, opening to other regions of the world would give a chance to Turkey for its transformation as an international actor. In this context, with the motivation of opening to Africa, the first results have started to improve economically and they were driving motives for Turkey's initiative. Turkey's trade volume with African countries was only US\$5.4 billion in 2003, and it increased more than twofold, exceeding US\$16 billion in 2008. Yet, considering that Turkey's total trade volume with the world is almost US\$300 billion, the current trade volume with Africa is not significant. Turkey's target is to reach a trading volume of US\$30 billion with Africa by the end of 2010 (Babacan, 2008). Of course, this trade volume

continues to improve gradually with bilateral free trade agreements and efforts of the new business initiatives. These trade agreements are very important in terms of their character as first signed bilateral agreements between Turkey and African countries. But, on the other hand, there are some arguments that see the volume as insufficient in terms of Turkey's commercial potential. As one argument holds that; Turkey's trade partners in Africa are limited in numbers. The most important trade partner in Sub Saharan Africa is South Africa and the other influential partners are North African countries. (Tepeciklioglu, 2016). These assumptions give direction and also the impetus to improve the potential by increasing the bilateral ties between Turkey and African countries both politically and also economically. In light of these improvements, Turkey has continued to intensify its ties with the continent strategically. As scholars argue that; "The Turkish opening to Africa has been an intensive attempt to revitalize relations in several ways. On the one hand, Turkey has increased its financial aid to Africa both through international agencies and its own official aid and cooperation agency -TIKA. On the other hand, Turkey announced 2005 as "the year of Africa", and hosted the first Turkey-Africa Summit at Istanbul in 2008". (Özkan, 2010)

Within this period, Turkey started its opening to Africa policy by using its soft power and also the other means that necessary for bilateral partnership. These summits were very important to understand each other culturally to build up a new collaboration by learning the required details for the possible bilateral partnership areas between the countries of the region and Turkey. In the meantime, there were criticisms from some scholars, for the remarks of Turkish politicians regarding Turkey's strong ties with the continent and actions taken by Turkey unilaterally before any other western country has. Within this direction some arguments oppose the rhetoric claiming that Turkey is taking an active role in an environment where other countries of the world remain indifferent to Somalia's problems. According to Cannon (1995), "This was a simplification, of course. The world has been involved in Somalia since long before the fall of the Siad Barre regime in 1991 and the subsequent civil war and continued armed conflict." (p.114). Admittedly, this declaration intends to refer to the fact that during colonial times, Somalia was under the hegemony of Britain and Italy. After Somalia gained its independence respectively from the aforementioned two countries,

North Somalia from Britain, South from Italy the two new independent governments ended up a declaration for the unity government of independent Somalia.

There are also some scholars who look at from the different point of views about Turkey's Africa initiative and evaluate it as a strategic advantage for the young country. Especially for the vantage point beginning from Somalia as an entrance to the continent. In this regard, Cannon states that "Turkey can point to one bright spot in its foreign policy: Somalia. It represents a cornerstone of Turkey's emerging power foreign policy, a policy whereby it attempts "to present itself as an essential power beyond its immediate neighborhood." (Cannon, 1995, p.114). In this regard, as a middle power who tries to take part in the new world order, Turkey was using all its energy for balancing itself between the rivalry with the old traditional countries and also the new actors who penetrate the region with their huge resources. It is considered as normal both by the thinkers and also by the Turkish politicians to shift its foreign policy focus from old partnership areas to new directions like Africa. Because Turkey has been influenced by the new world order seeing that multidimensional foreign policy is needed instead of following the old cold war partnership direction. As Dittmer (2012) mentioned that; " Turkey's engagement in Somalia may be viewed from the vantage point of emerging power diplomacy. Diplomacy and recognition play central roles in the conventional conferral of state legitimacy and functioning of the inter-state system. They focus on sovereignty and legitimacy; the diplomatic relationships fostered and institutions of diplomacy constructed, and the strategic position of such diplomacy vis-à-vis the conventional state-system." Within this scope, the approach Turkey adopts towards the African continent differs from most of the regional Powers policies. To understand the new dynamics of this approach the argument of Mehmet Özkan can be given as an example. He points to the fact that;" Turkey is a mid-sized country with a developing economy whose interest is trade rather than extraction of resources such as oil. Importantly, Turkey also generally eschews something many Africans resent: free-market capitalist baggage aimed at securing the best agreement, regardless of cost." (Özkan, 2010, 2011).

In this way, it is important to note that, Turkey emerges as a new partner for African countries and differs from their old traditional western partners. Like every other influential country in the region that is trying to take advantage of growing African markets, or trying to hold its old position in the markets, Turkey is also

renewing its stance by opening up to the new markets to take part in the new global rivalry in Africa. Especially the difficulty of the rivalry for Turkey has become prominent when considered the other actors in the region with their huge capacity to compete for the resources of the region. In this regard, Chinese efforts can be given as a first example, to reach mineral resources of the African countries and gigantic investments for infrastructure and also bilateral trade initiatives, of course through giving loans to underdeveloped African countries and making exchanges with their valuable natural resources. On the other hand, the other interlocutor of the global competition in Africa is the US, by means of establishing military bases in most of the African countries to protect its trade roads and interests in the region. AFRICOM is one of the good examples for this purpose. The US also making huge investments in the region with its rich and developed oil companies. Besides, Russia also has influential investments and increasing capacity in the continent by forcing the balance of rivalry towards multipolarity in the African continent. On the other hand, traditional western countries and their hegemony on the continent have also been dominating the African countries' relations with the other international actors. In this context, we can argue that Turkey's Africa interest and its intensification for the partnership with African countries coincides with the other global Powers' rivalry in the region. That is why helping the Somalian nation to build up its collapsed state structure again with nation-building initiative, and also military bases for the purpose of educating its military and security organizations would be reasonable as a starting point for Turkey to balance itself between the East-West rivalry inside the region. In addition to all, one of the most important tools for permanent existence in Africa is to have a connection and partnership with regional organizations that represent Africa internationally and having a say in the regional countries' relations with the external actors. For all these reasons Turkey needs to be a part of these influential regional organizations as well.

At this very point, the initiative of Somalia within the concept of soft power policy was a suitable strategy for Turkey. Besides, the cultural differences, chaos, and disorder within the country were making Somalia difficult for the international actors to deal with and assist the transition to democracy. In this context, Turkey has emerged as a new actor and partner country to help Somalia to complete its state-building process. This process comprises areas as military education and army building support, humanitarian aid, infrastructure projects, health and transportation projects, rural

development activities, agriculture, and water resource projects, as well. For this purpose, Turkey built one of the big military bases inside the African region in Somalian territory and actively training Somalian soldiers for the new Somalian army. The other cultural activities have also been carried out by other institutions bilaterally with the Somalia government. In this regard, considering the fact that Somalia is fighting a civil war, terrorism, and statelessness for years, the success of the state-building project appears as prominent and prevailing between the rivalry of powerful states in the Sub-Saharan Africa region. The military base both supporting the soldier training, and also providing support for enhancing security and eliminating terrorism in the Horn of Africa region. In this sense, by establishing a huge military base in Somalia and sending its troops for peacebuilding efforts to Qatar to solve the Gulf crises, Turkey has gained influence and reliability in the African region as a regional power that can provide security with its own military and its institutional capacity. In the meantime, Turkey's interest in the region is not restricted to those aforementioned activities, she also seeks to improve economic partnerships with the regional countries on an equal basis as equal partners. All these strategic initiatives are having strong implications on the problems of undeveloped countries of Africa.” A brand-new aspect was added to Ankara's involvement in Turkey in the mid-2010s: the security dimension. It has linked both with domestic and foreign affairs. Fight against terrorism, participating in international efforts on stability and its contribution to military missions in particular African states are the most crucial components of this new aspect. Ankara's contribution to anti-piracy missions in the Horn of Africa and its opening of a military training base in near future in Somalia have been outstanding actions regarding the security aspect of Turkey's involvement in Africa. Actually, this domain related with stability has the potential to surpass economic aspect of Turkey's African relations; even to redefine them.” (G. Özbilgiç, 2017). Accordingly, instead of just resorting to state-state relations, soft power instruments like NGOs, relief organizations, and other non-state actors are also taking part very actively in the bilateral relations with the interlocutors of Turkish institutions. Turkish Airlines is another big instrument to serve Turkey's soft power diplomacy by connecting Turkey and African countries directly to each other. Another soft power policy instrument was Turkish schools to increase Turkey's influence and create cultural interdependency with the African nations. “ In order to mitigate the crude reality of an expansion meant to maximize profits and prestige, Ankara is indeed resorting to a vast arsenal of soft

power instruments. Development aid, humanitarian assistance, and Islamic solidarity, essential elements of its cooptative picklock, are entwined nowadays in a thick texture with the conventional spheres of diplomacy and trade. In this context, Turkish private schools play a crucial role.” (Paolo, 2011). But in the end, Turkish schools abroad turned into an obstacle as both internal and also external problems for Turkey because of their ownership and administration by FETO terrorist organization after the 2016 coup attempt organized by this group and its disciples. This is also another big indication of the fact that the notion-based or in other words culture-based soft power policy of Turkey had some defects and prone to be reconsidered while at the same time trying to recover from the damage these defects have caused to Turkey's international image and reliability. At the initial stage of the opening to Africa engagement, this so-called religious organization was one of the tools that Turkey counted on to create a connection in business, education, and humanitarian issues with the African countries. After the unfortunate coup attempt in 2016, with the precautions has been taken by the Turkish government and replaced with the new state actors, the FETO terror organization began to disintegrate and lost its influence in the continent.

Consequently, when the African expansion policy is evaluated in terms of the prominent elements of Turkish Foreign Policy, it is seen that some parameters are integrated within the African expansion plan. In this context, parameters such as humanitarian diplomacy, multi-faceted foreign policy, new diplomatic style in the global sense, win-win strategy, historical ties, and cultural interaction, equal partnership, and a model country come to the forefront.

These parameters can be presented as indicated below:

- Differentiated from other countries by its authentic humanitarian diplomacy, Turkey stands out with elements such as humanitarian aid, development, and technical assistance and uses common historical and cultural bonds with Africa as an advantage for its engagement.
- Aiming to create a climate of positive feelings and trust in African society by establishing a cultural-based partnership in Muslim regions of Africa comes to the forefront as another dimension of humanitarian diplomacy. However, bringing humanitarian diplomacy to all countries of the continent including non-Muslims depends on developing strategies with a wider perspective.

- Turkey's foreign policy adoption of active participation in international organizations and agreements in Africa is a result of the strategies implemented to stand out as an alternative economic partner between the other actors in the region such as the United States, China, Russia, and the European Union.
- Being a model country in Africa with its soft power and smart power strategy, Turkey actively participates in peacekeeping operations undertaken by the international community and provides financial support and peacekeeping personnel as well. In this way, it tries to affirm its legitimacy and existence as an ally in the continent.
- By using its full capacity to become a regional power, Turkey has the potential to reflect this power and energy to other parts of the world if it succeeds in its African engagement policy.
- Taking an active role in state-building and conflict resolution initiatives in the continent, Turkey has shown its capacity as an actor who can take the initiative in international mediation efforts as in the cases of Somalia and Sudan.
- Activating TIKA and other non-governmental organizations within the framework of the African expansion policy and facilitating communication and transportation through flight diplomacy conducted with Turkish Airlines creates the necessary conditions for becoming an influential country in the region.
- Maintaining equal partnership-based relations with African countries and emphasizing the colonial past of traditional European countries strengthens Turkey's diplomatic stance in the continent.
- The long-term and permanent partnerships it develops across the entire continent may be an alternative to Turkey's unfavorable relations with

western countries. In addition, the long-term relations Turkey will have with 54 countries of the African continent can offer an opportunity for its problematic of being dependent on Russia and the European Union in terms of trade and energy supplies.

- Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy-weighted soft power strategy in Africa can lead to a unique soft power diplomacy concept if it is developed and implemented in a broader perspective. This approach can make Turkey an alternative partner to Western countries in the medium and long-term period. (Alan, 2017, p.3)

As a result, although the implemented soft power diplomacy and smart power strategy are successful in some parts of Africa, it provides both opportunities and also challenges for Turkey because of the social structure of the African continent. For this reason, it is necessary to read the historical and cultural codes of the continent and carry the partnership into a wider perspective in order to increase Turkey's popularity in the whole of Africa in the near future.

1.3. The Importance of Somalia Initiative for Turkey

Turkey's relations with African countries and opening to Africa action plan began to gain momentum in 1998 officially with the declared manifestation of governmental policy respectively. But the manifestation turned into a long-term action and execution plan when the Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power in 2002. Subsequently, 2005 was declared as the "Year of Africa". Since then, Turkey has been in the process of developing its relations with Africa and turned its direction to the African continent, both in search of new commercial markets, and also with the aim of strengthening its diplomatic influence in the continent. In this regard, the number of embassies of Turkey increased to 43 by 2021. (MFA, 2021). The other remarkable effort of Turkey is that 30 African countries have been visited at the prime ministry and presidency level since the beginning of the manifestation period. (Aljazeera.com., 2021). High-level delegations made multiple visits to other African countries as well, including Somalia, Algeria, Senegal, and South Africa. All these high-level visits and interaction shows Turkey's attention towards Africa. In this regard, Turkey's relations with the African continent continue at the state level, as well

as many private companies and non-state actors are also accompanying to this strategy. Many of these non-state actors are THY (Turkish Airlines), TIKA (Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency), Turkey Maarif Foundation, Turkey Red Crescent, Anadolu News Agency, and Yunus Emre Institute. These are all non-state actors who are implementing Turkey's soft power policy inside the African region, and many other regions in the world. Within this context, THY has around 60 destinations to Africa to connect the business circles bilaterally. The other effective official institution is the Maarif foundation which has taken over many Turkish schools that were previously administered by Gulen terrorist organization in Africa. Within the scope of trade relations with the African continent, according to TUIK (Turkey statistical institution) data, Turkey's bilateral trade volume with the African continent in 2002 was 3,6 billion US dollars. But the volume reached in 2021 to about 22,5 billion dollars. (TUIK, 2021).

Table-1, Turkey's Foreign Trade Volume with African Countries.

Years	Export (US Dollars)	Import (US Dollars)	Total Foreign Trade
2003	2.131.216.919	1.549.664.670	3.680.881.859
2004	2.968.147.261	2.598.417.506	5.566.564.767
2005	3.631.246.697	3.216.470.735	6.847.717.432
2006	4.565.791.789	3.910.081.662	8.475.873.451
2007	5.976.343.671	5.106.537.905	11.082.881.576
2008	9.062.603.182	5.596.475.645	14.659.078.827
2009	10.154.641.823	3.937.890.497	14.092.532.320
2010	9.283.065.729	4.824.006.944	14.107.072.673
2011	10.333.821.248	6.766.713.095	17.100.534.343
2012	13.356.851.000	5.921.790.000	19.278.641.000
2013	15.336.253.906	6.190.822.317	21.527.076.223
2014	14.507.717.917	6.174.636.357	20.682.354.274
2015	13.131.155.166	5.325.316.312	18.456.471.478

2016	11.903.388.365	5.404.555.379	17.307.943.744
2017	12.237.300.637	7.182.089.076	19.419.389.713
2018	15.088.949.024	7.137.422.399	22.226.371.423
2019	16.623.201.191	5.820.748.346	22.443.949.537
2020	15.242.686.412	7.309.862.515	22.552.548.927
2021	2.870.003.609	1.214.289.805	4.084.293.414

Source: Turkey Statistical Institution, compiled from Foreign Trade by Geographical Country Groups section on 15 March 2021.

These statistical data proves that Turkey-Africa relations have been developing steadily. The other importance of Africa engagement is the necessity of the absolute development of energy, infrastructure, and transportation for the existence of raw material resources and their delivery to all markets. In addition, despite the resource richness of many of the countries of the continent, they do not have the necessary knowledge, experience, and technology that required to turn these resources into semi-finished or finished products to the extent that developed countries make, and this is making the African continent a big market for all countries of the world not just for Turkey. At the same time, in consideration of the other actors who are competing for influence in Africa especially, the US, China, Russia, India, Brazil, Japan and traditional European colonist countries attract the attention.

For its foreign policy approach, Turkey differs from many of the other actors while keeping away from the old experiences of traditional colonial countries, and from the cold war rival powers' hegemonic discourses. In this sense, an equal-based partnership is the adopted main priority for Turkish foreign policy discourse towards the African region. For this purpose, one of the good examples for modeling was China's foreign policy approach towards Africa with its soft power diplomacy with which China differs from other traditional actors in the region. "On this new scene of geopolitical jostling, it is interesting to note that whereas Western protagonists have continued to rely on their intense intelligence networks and military accords with targeted African states, China has changed the playing field and the structure of the game by flocking an army of traders and infrastructure construction workers, who have contributed to transforming the economic dynamics of the continent after decades of

unbridled Western exploitation’’ (Oğuzoğlu & Habiyaremye, 2014). Accordingly, Turkey has also adopted a new equal-based partnership approach by using all its soft power instruments as in the Chinese model.

Within this context, Somalia was a proper starting point for Turkey to implement its soft power diplomacy as an active and intense foreign policy initiative and differs from the other traditional western countries in terms of understanding the utilization of Africa's resources. ‘’Against this backdrop of heightened competition on the African resource market, Turkey has emerged as one of the new players seeking to expand its diplomatic and commercial relations with various African countries. Since 2003, the Turkish government has unveiled a new interest in deepening its relations with Africa and has deployed a powerful diplomatic arsenal to carve a strategic niche for business exchange with this region of rising economic potential. Ankara's policies towards Africa, aimed primarily at securing profitable export and markets and investment opportunities for its small and medium-sized businesses, have therefore followed a path similar to that taken by China.’’ (Oğuzoğlu & Habiyaremye, 2014). In this regard, bilateral relations based on equal partnership come to the fore between Turkey and African countries as in the case of the Chinese foreign policy approach. For this reason, it can be argued that Turkey is modeling Chinese practices as an example to read the geopolitical rivalry differently from the practices of other traditional actors, mainly focusing on the new dynamics of the region and balancing itself with its soft power instruments in Africa. In the case of Somalia, while western countries are focusing on the preconditioned traditional financial dependency-based agreements and preoccupied with the military-based contracts, Turkey has adopted a new approach to finding the new partnership dynamics on an equal-based concept by providing assistance on infrastructure projects, educational and health investments, water projects, unconditional humanitarian aid, equal-based bilateral trade relations, and state-building support to Somalia. To this end, as submitted in the aforementioned sections all soft power instruments like non-state actors, businessmen, and other entrepreneurs have also been actively used by Turkey to succeed in the Somalia initiative and expand its influence in Africa with the inspiration of fostering new partnerships with the other African countries. ‘’ "No one can speak of peace, justice, and civilization in the world if the outcry rising from Somalia is left unheard. This is why we have launched a comprehensive aid campaign for Somalia. We are making

every effort to carry out infrastructure investments that will enable Somalia to stand on its feet. We are also working unrelentingly to help provide an environment of political stability and peace conducive to sustainable development”. (Erdoğan, 2011). Admittedly, Turkey’s Somalia initiative started with this enthusiasm with all the means of state and spread to the whole continent starting from Somalia.

The biggest challenge of the Somalia initiative at the beginning was that the lack of a functioning state structure and the division of society, which is fragmented into different groups, and that civil war was ongoing in many regions of this war-torn country. In such an environment dominated by hunger, misery, migration of millions of innocent people, and violence, the helping hand extended by Turkey. “ By examining the role of the international community in Somalia, concentrating merely on hard power as the main policy instrument to rebuild the state has been less effective and taken longer time than was expected, and in some ways has resulted in counterproductive outcomes. Instead of that Turkey’s approach has been more effective within a short period.” (Addow, 2017). As the argument suggests that the state-building process was successful, and hereby Turkey has gained a considerable reputation in the region in comparison with the other western actors. Within the framework of these developments, the relations with the other countries in the region started to increase as well. On the other hand, considering the multinational and multi-religious nature of Africa, and the fact that the main concern of the African nations is economic development, political approaches based on religious discourses have little chance to be effective for the long-term partnerships. In this sense, although the vast majority of projects carried out in Africa contribute to both Turkey and the region, a multifaceted and equal-based partnership foreign policy will be more successful rather than religious discourses in the heterogeneous African region. Such a foreign policy approach will also provide an opportunity for long-term and permanent investments in the region. In this regard, the revised flexible soft power foreign policy that Turkey adopted in Somalia like China followed in the other regions, will also increase its influence and competitiveness capacity in the other parts of Africa with the true foreign policy instruments like, trading partner, apolitical and clean state which has no colonial past and humanitarian activities.

Consequently, given the fact that Turkey needs to cooperate with all countries in the region instead of only religious groups, the success of the Somalia initiative

should serve as a proper model for its contacts with the other countries of Africa as well.

1.4. Theoretical Framework of Power

1.4.1. Hard power, soft power, and smart power concept

1.4.1.1. What is power?

Concepts such as power and domination have been inherent in human nature since the early ages. Although they change their shape in line with human history, they basically evolve by preserving their general form as basic theoretical concepts both in IR and in the interactions between the states and communities. Until the 21st century, human history has witnessed many wars and as a result, every experience of war led to new advances. Still, war technology advances day by day, and these improvements lead to high casualties in battles. Considering both its high cost and the size of human loss, today's conditions require the development of rational strategies instead of high casualty battles. As a result, there is a tendency for states to get what they want in diplomacy by using other means before classical combat weapons. They can simply be defined as tangible and intangible actors who can reach and influence other societies.

Until the understanding of the concept of power changed shape, realistic approach dominated international relations and central importance is attached to the concept of power in theoretical approaches. In this regard, placing the concept of power at the center of international relations discipline, E.H. Carr drew attention to the determining role of power in inter-state relations and defined it as the basic element of politics. “ Power has been an integral part of international relations since the early writings of Thucydides and Machiavelli, and its solid foundations were laid out in the realist school of thought. In the realm of international relations, power and politics are intertwined and the two cannot be separated from each other.” (Carr, 1941). Due to the lack of a central authority and an effective control mechanism in international relations in terms of legal rules and conducting relations in an anarchic environment justifies the thesis advocated by this approach. In this system where the actors have to take care of themselves; Each state also follows some strategies to maintain its existence and to ensure its own security. In this situation, the most guaranteed way to

be safe is to be strong. The same views were later adopted by the structural realists and the importance of power in international relations was reiterated. In this regard, E. Lobell comments on Kenneth Waltz's thoughts as follows:” For Waltz, international relations is anarchic and not hierarchical, populated by functionally similar units, and the structure of the international system or polarity varies based on the distribution of capabilities. The anarchic nature of the international system, and the assumptions that states “at a minimum, seek their own preservation” and are socialized to imitate each other, allows Waltz to explain recurring international patterns and outcomes such as balances of power, war proneness of different distributions of power, and recurrent alliance formation.” (Waltz, 1979, p.118 & E. Lobell, 2010).

However, after the second world war, the concept of power started to change its shape, and so the perspective on international relations turned into another dimension. As Morgenthau argued that liberal norms also started to take place within the balance of power understanding of the states. “Although states are mainly driven by power calculations, the liberal norms that emerged during the interwar period and that later gained a foothold after World War II play a critical role in determining international reputation. While there exists the need for common ideas that constitute international morality and states may use idealistic rhetoric, their motives are still based on calculations about the balance of power.” (Morgenthau, 1954). But even in defending these new norms, the balance of power concept between state relations and effects of power could not be given up by the thinkers of that period. Because both actors in international relations and scholars who conceptualized the thought saw the success as a scale of getting what they wanted in relations between states and having the power to influence the behavior of other actors. In this context, regardless of the way the power is used, the purpose is the same; “to make changes in behavior towards the desired direction”. On the other hand, while actors who were able to achieve what they wanted by using force considered to be strong, today's approaches to the definition and use of power have changed significantly. Because at the present time it has become an accepted reality that there is no absolute way to achieve what is desired, and that there are various methods which are also called as different forms of power. In this context, the most explanatory example can be given by Joseph Nye's interpretation of the final point of power perception. “In the post–Cold War age, foundations of power have been moving away from an emphasis on hard power and instead toward a reliance

on persuasion by other means and therefore the intangibles of power.” (Nye, 1990). In addition to this interpretation, he divides power into various categories and takes it to a different dimension. “ Traditionally the test of a great power was its strength in war. Today, however, the definition of power is losing its emphasis on military force and conquest that marked earlier eras. The factors of technology, education, and economic growth are becoming more significant in international power, while geography, population, and raw materials are becoming somewhat less important.” (Nye, 1990). By arguing that “ All major states will have to confront the changing nature of power in world politics.” (Nye, 1990), he brought a new understanding in IR emphasizing that the concept of power has changed with the development of societies. Because, in the new world order, new values like globalization, capitalist economic order, and interdependence of societies laid the groundwork for this conceptualization.

Accordingly, in international relations, there is a new environment in which states try to increase their effectiveness in line with the aforementioned concepts by using cultural and diplomatic elements defined as soft power as well as military and economic elements that are defined as hard power. Thus, the concept of power ceased to be only in the hands of the commanding force and began to offer advantages to other actors as well. This meant the diffusion of power between states and non-state actors. Nye predicted this situation in the 1990s by emphasizing that power is no longer in one hand and is shared between various actors.” To evaluate power in a post-Cold War world, it is necessary to recognize instruments and balance-of-power strategies necessary for a successful policy. But new elements in the modern world are diffusing power away from all the great powers. Thus, any successful strategy must incorporate both continuity and change.” (Nye, 1990). In this way, he classified power according to new conceptualization by giving names as hard power, soft power, and smart power.

Table-2 The Changing Nature of Power

	Behaviors	Primary Currencies	Government Policies
Military Power	Coercion Deterrence Protection	Threats Force	Coercive Diplomacy War Alliance
Economic Power	Inducement Coercion	Payments Sanctions	Aid Bribes Sanctions
Soft Power	Attraction Agenda Setting	Values Culture Policies Institutions	Public Diplomacy Bilateral and Multilateral Diplomacy

Source; Three Types of Power (Nye, 1990, p. 31)

As mentioned earlier, each of the thinkers who tries to understand the conditions of their age brought different interpretations to the concept of power and presented different definitions. In this regard, as the effects of the concept of power on international relations and societies changed, the definitions were also changed. While Mearsheimer (2005), put the state at the center of power relations by arguing that ‘ ‘ States, as main actors in international politics, pursue power at the expense of one another, Dahl was defining power as the ability of one actor to influence the actions of another actor (Dahl, 1957). On the other hand, Morgenthau (1954), suggests nine different elements of national power, and these include geography, natural resources, industrial capacity, military preparedness, population, national character, national

morale, the quality of diplomacy, and the quality of government. Even Carr, who was the staunchest advocate of realism and considered the state to be the main actor in international relations realized that power has changed over time, and in the end, he reformed his power conceptualization in the following years accordingly.” The three norms in international power that are military, economic, and power over opinion are essential capabilities to exert power (Carr, 1941). In the 1980s Gilpin defined the concept of prestige between states and associated it with power by arguing that” The hierarchy of prestige in an international system rests on economic and military power. Prestige is the reputation for power and military power in particular. Whereas power refers to the economic, military, and related capabilities of a state, prestige refers primarily to the perceptions of other states with respect to a state’s capacities and its ability and willingness to exercise its power.” (Gilpin,1981). Consequently, it was Nye who best defined the last point of power with changing and developing societies and gave it its final shape in accordance with today's conditions. “Power in the information age, together with the catalyzing force of liberal international order, has been equally utilized in noncoercive ways mainly in the developed North”. (Nye, 2004). For these reasons, it is necessary to examine and analyze three different dimensions of the concept of power separately.

1.4.1.2. Hard power

The hard power concept dating back to ancient times gained a scientific approach in the discipline of international relations with the recommendations of the famous thinker Niccolo Machiavelli to the princes of Italy, including the strong and ruthless management policies they should implement in order to survive while they are governing their states. In rough terms, hard power is based on military intervention, repressive diplomacy, and economic sanctions and needs the use of armed forces, economic resources, and other means to make them acceptable against the other parties. In other words, “hard power is the use of carrots and sticks approach in their policies to get what they want.” (Nye 2004). Of course, states must have sufficient tangible resources to implement this hard power policy. In this context, hard power has three stages to achieve the goal. The first is the availability of sufficient hard power resources. This stage is effective in the decision-making and plan development of the other party. The second stage is to show that these resources can be used if the desired policy is not reached. This stage is a message that hard power is not desired but can be

used when needed to change the outcomes in line with the policies of the strong party. The third and final stage is the application of hard power. In this context it can be said that ‘‘Hard power is definitely connected with realism’’. (Waltz, 1979), and the application of hard power is between persuasion and coercion. Emphasizing that in its basic sense hard power is identified with realism, Pallaver interpreted it together with power politics and violence. ‘‘ We already know that hard power is commonly associated in IR with realism: it is about power politics, force, and violence. Hard power is, to a certain extent, the oldest form of power; it is connected to the idea of an anarchic, untamed international system, where countries do not recognize any superior authority.’’ (Pallaver, 2011). In light of this information, it can be argued that Realists, who have embraced the existence of power, have also accepted the other types of power, and have seen them as a means of authority. But according to their perspective, in terms of being effective between the state relations the most useful one is the hard power. ‘‘Realists believe that power can assume different features and forms, but they do not believe that these other forms can be as effective as hard power is. The point is, hence, an issue of ‘‘power effectiveness’’, i.e. if the ‘‘power choice’’ produces the desired outcome. Hence, realists do not criticize the existence of other forms of power different from hard power, but they question that these other alleged forms of power are as effective as hard power.’’ (Kagan, 2003). As indicated above, hard power generally manifests itself through military interventions and economic sanctions, which can be identified as pressure and coercion. But, considering the fact that there are limited sources that feed every power, and every power has a scope in this direction, it can be argued that the scope of the hard power is also limited in comparison with the other sources of power in international relations. Besides, in international relations where there is no balance in power distribution, the hegemony created by powerful countries has always brought wars along in the historical process. In this regard, Britain's discomfort with the rise of Germany as one of the causes of World War I in history can be cited as an example. To give another example about recent history, there is no guarantee that when the Cold War is over, the collapse of the USSR and the stronger emergence of the United States to the international arena is not prone to new wars in the near future.

As a result, it seems that as there is no balance regarding power in the past, it will not be easy to talk about balance in the future as well. However, in today's global

system where information spreads in the fastest way and interaction is at the highest level, everything that we can describe as an element of "power" can reach large masses in a very short time and the widespread use of technology supports this reality. In a globalizing world order, knowledge is seen as the most valuable power, and the number of knowledgeable people is higher than ever before on earth. All these social developments cause power to develop and change over time. As a result, the need for new types of power in international relations is increasing. In this context, soft power begins to replace hard power in the new world order and becomes an alternative to it.

1.4.1.3. Soft power

With the end of the cold war period, the perception of power and its elements have started to change dramatically. In this regard, western countries that experienced the two world wars did not want to encounter the destructive effects of nuclear weapons and the severe consequences of the war again, and as a result, international relations took on a new understanding of the use and attainment of power. Observing that the concept of hard power has become unsustainable with the globalizing modern world conditions, based on the unsuccessful experiences of the United States of America, which is his country, Nye revised this concept and defended the necessity of soft power in international relations. The main ones of these experiences were their failure despite disproportionate use of force in the Vietnam war and subsequently, again the failure demonstrated by the hard power they exerted for invading Iraq even without the consent of the United Nations Security Council and the International Community. He was naming this new reality in his phrases expressing the need for soft power. "George W Bush decided to attack Iraq in 2003 without a second United Nations resolution and with only a small coalition of supporting countries. In doing so, he escaped the constraints of alliances and institutions that many in his administration chafed under, but he also produced doubts about the legitimacy of our actions and widespread anxieties about how the United States would use its preponderant power. The sharp drop in the attractiveness of the United States around the world made it difficult to recruit support for the occupation and reconstruction of Iraq. Winning the peace is harder than winning a war, and soft power is essential to winning the peace. Yet the way we went to war in Iraq proved to be as costly for our soft power as it was a stunning victory for our hard power." (Nye, 2004). In addition, he emphasized that power sometimes plays a role in international relations, but

traditional power tools are no longer as effective as they used to be. "Although force may sometimes play a role, traditional instruments of power are rarely sufficient to deal with the new dilemmas of world politics. New power resources, such as the capacity for effective communication and for developing and using multilateral institutions, may prove more relevant." (Nye, 1990). Considering the fact that the world has experienced a great change and transformation in the military, political, economic, and cultural fields, it is a generally accepted reality that the new concept of power makes itself felt more in technology, economy, trade, politics, social and cultural fields. In this context, with increasing globalization, states use more various communication and interaction channels to bring their image to a better position in their foreign policy implementations. For this purpose, humanitarian projects, development assistance, and bilateral cooperation come to the fore in order to create a positive image in front of national and international public opinion. Because of these benefits, the use of soft power options remains as a popular tool in today's foreign policy. Hence, each actor resorts to the use of soft power to change the behavior of other actors in line with their own interests. However, in order to achieve these goals, they need basic soft power resources such as culture and foreign policy effectiveness. Nye expresses this necessity as follows: "The three basic soft power resources culture, politics, and foreign policy can translate into the behavior of attraction that can influence others towards favorable outcomes" (Nye, 2011, p. 84).

Similarly, it can be argued that the soft power concept has embodied in the eastern culture as well and influenced the Chinese state's diplomacy by shaping its foreign policy. "China's ancient history and traditional culture are viewed by most scholars as a valuable source of soft power for attracting not only East Asian neighbors with whom China shares a Confucian heritage but also the wider international community." (Cheng Yugang, 2007). In this context, China's noninterference policy in other countries' internal affairs can be submitted as an example to soft power policy. In light of this interpretation, it can be argued that soft power is directly related to resources such as culture, ideology, institutions, and organizations and is based on mutual persuasion and attraction between the communities as well. In this manner, aware of the conceptual ambiguity regarding exactly what the sources of soft power theory should be, Nye has made a more inclusive general definition submitting that the richer these resources are, the greater the effects of soft power will be. Because it

is not as easy to identify soft power elements that can differ from culture to culture as it is in hard power concepts that can be measured with certain categories. ‘‘ To reiterate, the resources of hard power are straightforward and simple. Historically, hard power has been measured by such criteria as population size, territory, natural resources, military force, and social stability.’’ (Nye & Armitage, 2007, p. 6). ‘‘ In contrast, soft power resources are more complex, both in categorization and in nature. In behavioral terms, soft power is attractive power. In terms of resources, soft power resources are the assets that produce such attraction.’’ (Nye, 2008). Accordingly, in order to provide a broader perspective, he has defined the soft power sources as in the table below:

Table-3, Soft Power Sources, Tools and Target Receivers

Soft Power Sources	Tools	Target Receivers
Foreign Policy	Governments, Media, NGOs, International Organizations	Other governments and peoples
Internal Political Values and Policies	Media, NGOs, International Organizations	Other governments and peoples
High Culture	Governments, NGOs, International Organizations	Other governments and peoples
Popular Culture	Media, Market	Other peoples

(Nye, 2005, p. 10-50)

Eventually, it is a generally accepted reality that soft power will constitute an indispensable element for the diplomatic activities of all countries contemporarily, and in the future. In this regard, operating at regional and international levels, providing technical assistance to developing countries, and carrying out joint projects and

activities with international aid organizations have already become foreign policy instruments representing soft power. However, as the mastermind of the soft power concept, Nye advocates the idea that states need both hard power and soft power together and maintain their influence in the long term. This new form of power, which consists of the combination of hard power and soft power, is called smart power.

1.4.1.4. Smart power

The United States had become a sovereign power alone in the new world order with the end of the cold war period but had to redefine its power elements because of the new dynamics of the world order such as the technological developments, intercultural interactions, and commercial interdependencies. For this purpose, leading international relations experts such as Joseph Nye and L. Armitage within the body of the Smart Power Commission, which was established in the United States in 2006, introduced the smart power concept as a new definition of the combination of hard and soft power. According to Nye, enhancing a country's diplomatic effectiveness and expanding its sphere of influence comes from smart power, not soft or hard power alone. In this sense, he argues that a smart state can choose both kinds of power wisely, that is, hard diplomacy is meaningful when it can be supported by soft elements or vice versa. In this regard, it is a reality that today soft power alone cannot produce the best results, or hard power alone cannot be sustained for a long time. Aware of this new reality, Nye has brought a new concept to the theory of international relations through the assessment of the current situation of her own country by naming it as smart power. This new concept requires a holistic approach named as contextual intelligence strategies which contain an integrated strategy and combine soft power and hard power.” Contextual intelligence is needed to produce an integrated strategy that combines hard and soft power.” (Nye, 2009). He argued that if the military and economic power of his country is supported by soft power resources, it would be possible to adapt to global threats and the new world order, stating that this can be possible with a smart power strategy. “ By complementing its military and economic might with greater investments in its soft power, the United States can rebuild the framework it needs to tackle tough global challenges. That would be true smart power.” (Nye, 2009). In this context, the strategic concept of smart power which pushes military power to the second plan and envisages the use of soft power together with hard power has officially entered the agenda of the USA. As a conclusion smart

power concept can be briefly defined as the effective combination of hard and soft powers and it also represents the meaning of the development of an integrated strategy created with both hard and soft power to achieve the goals of the United States. This multifaceted strategy has become widespread over time as one of the foreign policy tools of all countries. In addition, public diplomacy has also gained importance as the affiliate of the smart power approach that emphasizes soft power elements. In this regard, Turkey can be given as an example as one of the countries that have been successful in the smart power strategy with its multifaceted and active public diplomacy implementation in recent years. (Pallaver, 2011, p.20) has shown European Union as another actor who successfully uses smart power by stating that ‘‘Smart power can take on different forms. What has been called smart power is, in fact a combination of diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal and cultural tools, and the European Union could be regarded as one of the best examples of this.’’, and (McClory, 2011, p. 24) argued that ‘‘Soft power alone may not be sufficient, but its relative strategic importance compared to hard power will continue to increase.’’ As can be understood from these definitions, it has been an accepted fact that the effective use of soft power and hard power together makes states more successful in achieving their foreign policy goals. For this reason, smart power, and its diplomatic applications, have been an indispensable concept in today's international relations. In this sense, from the point of view that it highlights elements of soft power, public diplomacy has been regarded as one of the most effective means of implementing smart power strategy. Because, winning the hearts and minds of the societies in this new world order which is the information age; spending knowledge and modern technology on inter-community interaction and creating a positive image, leads to the establishment of long-term relationships between both states and societies. In this sense, the smart power concept which was conceptualized with this strategy is not just a combination of hard and soft power. It predicts professionally a measured reaction on a ground prepared in advance to adapt to the actor's behavior to which the force will be applied. These changes within the nature of power have brought new developments about power itself, its resources, and its use regarding the foreign policy of the host country. In this way, the change in the perception of power has deeply affected the domestic and foreign policy methods of the governments, as well as enabling international structure and non-governmental organizations to gain presence as important actors in the global system. As a result, the transfer of hard, economic, and soft power concepts

to foreign policy in a proactive, simultaneous, and balanced implementation form, in a way that supports each other, has made the smart power concept important for the states. In this regard, the complex structure of international politics has brought forward the multifaceted perception of diplomacy for all actors, and the successful execution of these relations has profoundly changed the sources, dimensions, and methods of diplomacy.

Consequently, the concepts of hard, soft, and smart power, which have entered the literature to express the interaction and struggle between different power capacities and societies, differ in their meanings and methods of application for many countries including Turkey. While the United States attribute a meaning to the definition of smart power as more easily governing and maintaining its influence, other countries such as Turkey impose unique meanings on smart power by adopting methods used to establish long-term relationships based on equal partnership.

1.4.2. Turkey's soft power diplomacy and smart power strategy

In the globalizing world conditions, a country that wants to achieve its foreign policy goals should not only use soft and hard power elements, but also develop relationships based on mutual affection and trust between the nations. (Nye, 2004) argues that a country should be able to establish emotional ties, such as attraction, with desired foreign audiences to assure policy objectives. Therefore, understanding that imperialist approaches in their foreign policy implementation backfired especially in the African continent, western countries redefined power and have developed strategies for the use of smart power which consisting of both hard and soft power approaches. Despite this relentless competition and influence of the traditional colonial European countries who know very well the historical, cultural, and economic codes of African society, it can be argued that Turkey has managed to create a positive and promising domain for itself by using soft power diplomacy, and smart power strategy effectively. Terminologically, the soft power concept, which began to be used with the end of the Cold War period, and became widespread, also influenced Turkey's foreign policy approach and caused it to gain multidimensionality. In this respect, with the end of the bipolarity, Turkey has also updated its foreign policy dimension and adopted an active and multifaceted foreign policy implementation. Admittedly, the reduction of security threats at the periphery, and search for the new resources for its growing

economy had been effective in Turkey's foreign policy change. For this purpose, opening to Africa policy, which was launched in 1998, has been developed and turned into a strategic partnership since 2005. In this context, more serious efforts have been made to develop bilateral relations through the General Directorate for Africa which is established within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. With the purpose of developing bilateral relations with Africa, the soft power diplomacy has also come to the fore as an effective force in the region by giving priority to mediation activities, foreign aid, and State-building processes. Blending the concept of soft power with its own interpretation Turkey has achieved a more advantageous position than its competitors in geographies with which it has historical and cultural ties.

On the other hand, though it has rich historical and cultural ties between the geographies and societies it targeted in its foreign policy, Turkey understood that it must combine modern soft power elements with these advantages, and accordingly it has made serious investments in this field of diplomacy. In this regard, public diplomacy coordination office has been established to direct soft power elements in line with the state policies. " In 2010, the Prime Ministry's Office of Public Diplomacy (OPD) was established to provide for the coordination between the public agencies and organizations and non-government organizations, on the course of promoting Turkey in the international community and enhancing her credibility. The OPD carries out various activities such as public diplomacy panels, foreign policy workshops, youth programs, country meetings, wise people conferences, and journalist committee programs. On the other hand, OPD effectively uses social media platforms. OPD publishes tweets in Turkish, English, Arabic, and French (Turkish account is followed by more than 35.000 users, while English one is followed by about 7.000) and manages a Facebook page (more than 5.000 members)." (Wikia.org.,2021). And then this formation was turned into a more comprehensive and visionary capacity as the new Office of Public Diplomacy with the arrangement came into force by the presidential decree issued in 2020. (Official Journal, 2020, 31248). In this context, Turkey has adopted public diplomacy and made serious investments in order to use soft power sources effectively. For this purpose, both public institutions and non-governmental organizations have been mobilized to work in coordination with each other. "In Turkey, there are numerous government and private organizations which conduct activities related to public diplomacy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of

Tourism and Culture, and the Ministry of Economy, all work to promote Turkey through their diplomatic missions in foreign countries. Turkey also performs public diplomacy by providing developmental assistance and technical support to countries in the developing world through the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA).” (Wikia.Org.,2021). In addition, multilateral diplomacy is also carried out on defense and military issues and continued to invest in both student exchange programs related to military education and security cooperation. In this sense, bilateral security cooperation agreements with Somalia and some other countries, military student exchange programs, and military bases that were established by Turkey can be submitted as examples. Additionally, education scholarships for international student exchange programs and soft power elements in state-sponsored investments made by businessmen in other countries contribute Turkey’s image as an active actor in soft power diplomacy. On the other hand, Turkey intends to get more space in the international system and gain legitimacy for its foreign policy engagements by performing soft power policy and public diplomacy actively. For this purpose, it was important for Turkey to open up to geographies as in the case of Africa with which it has historical and cultural ties. Therefore, the large investments in various parts of Africa, such as building a large military facility in Somalia and undertaking infrastructure projects in Senegal, Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Sudan, show the economic and geopolitical importance it attaches to the continent. To support the submitted information with an example, it can be highlighted that sympathy for Turkey has grown so much in Somalia, where it actively implements both security diplomacy and all elements of soft power in harmony, that those newborn children are given the names of Turkish politicians. In this context, Turkey's active role in the state-building process in Somalia, being an important commercial partner in Ethiopia and offering other African countries an option based on equal partnership, and also its active participation in the United Nations African peacekeeping force with its military elements indicates that it is effectively using the Smart Power Strategy in Africa. In this sense, there have been activities in which the Turkish Armed Forces took part in the region in order to facilitate soft power targets and contribute to the security of the African region. Because with the globalizing world, armed forces have become globalized as well, and one of the actors supporting the soft powers of the state. As the other powerful actors do in the region, Turkey also combines hard power and soft power elements and strengthens its image between the competition. In this context, security operations

supported by the Turkish Armed Forces within the scope of peacekeeping missions in Africa can be summarized as presented below; (TAF, 2021)

- UN Somalia Humanitarian Aid and Peacekeeping Operation (UNOSOM) between 02 January 1993-22 February 1994,
- UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) from 30 July to 30 November 2006,
- UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) between 25 April 2005 and 27 July 2010,
- NATO Joint Protective Operation between 29 March-31 October 2011 after the internal turmoil in Libya,
- UN-African Union Darfur Mission (UNAMID) between June 2005 and December 2007 to provide training and transportation support to the African Union,
- EU Police Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (EUPOL KINSHASA), April 2005- July 2007
- NATO Ocean Shield Operation between October and December 2008 in Somalia offshore and in the Gulf of Aden,
- UN Somalia Relief Mission (UNSOM) since 2015,
- United Task Force 151 to combat piracy and armed robbery in African territorial waters.
- Peace support operations carried out by the Turkish Armed Forces in Somali territorial and offshore waters continue,

As a result, Africa is one of the most discussed and interested continents of the 21st century in world politics as the second largest and most populous continent in the world after Asia with its 54 countries and a population of more than one billion. For the fact that many states have different ethnic and cultural structures, being multilingual and each of them has different colonial histories makes it difficult to understand the continent, but on the other hand, it paves the way for multi-faceted perspectives in order to produce a permanent and long-lasting foreign policy approach. Within this framework, especially for the countries such as Turkey that have just engaged and been trying to understand the continent in a social, economic, and geopolitical sense, this situation is also a necessity to produce a sustainable strategy. For this reason, considering the issue of how Africa should be understood in the 21st

century is extremely important, especially for the new countries entering the continent. In this regard, it can be argued that countries generally examine their African policies from three different perspectives. Firstly, the historical approach takes into account colonialism and its effects on the African population. Secondly, the religious and social approach has an impact on cultural values and identity formation. Finally, the regional approach basically aims to avoid the generalist point of view on the continent. While determining the opening to Africa policy, Turkey has synthesized these three perspectives and developed its unique soft power diplomacy based on mutual trust and strengthening cultural and economic ties. As a result, Turkey's promising Smart Power Strategy, which shows its military presence along with soft power elements, has increased its appeal, credibility, and diplomatic prestige in the eyes of the African society. As Nye holds that ‘ ‘ the three basic soft power resources culture, politics, and foreign policy can translate into the behavior of attraction that can influence others towards favorable outcomes’ ’ (Nye, 2011, p. 84). In this context, although it has certain aspects that need to be revised, it can be argued in general sense that Turkey has been successful in using the soft power elements effectively and started to become one of the influential actors in some parts of the continent.

SECTION 2: SOFT POWER ELEMENTS OF TURKEY IN AFRICA

2.1. Humanitarian Diplomacy and Its Elements

At present, states that want to be active in their foreign policy, use the soft power elements effectively with their military and economic forces. In this way, they try to be more advantageous in international relations by highlighting their cultures and economic partnership. In this regard, more attention has been paid to soft power elements with the changing foreign policy understanding during the Justice and Development Party (JDP) period in Turkey. For this purpose, Turkey harmonizes its relations with the African continent as a problem solver and aspires to conduct an equal-based partnership with the African countries. When the soft power elements are categorized, which is used by Turkey during this period, it is seen that they are divided into four main groups. These main groups will be presented in the ongoing sections.

2.1.1. Turkish red crescent

As one of the largest humanitarian organizations in Turkey, The Red Crescent, was established on 11 June 1868 during the Ottoman Empire period under the name of Charity for Wounded and Sick Soldiers. After the proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, its name changed several times, and finally, in 1947 it was renamed the Turkish Red Crescent Society. Turkish Red Crescent Society has been operating under the basic principles of the international Red Cross-Red Crescent movement. ‘‘ (Official Journal, 2009, 14633). As a charity organization the Red Crescent, which is engaged in humanitarian activities in many African countries, reached 29 African countries after 2000, and many campaigns were carried out in Africa accordingly. The prominent campaigns in Africa; ‘‘To be the hope of East Africa in the grip of drought campaign’’, ‘‘ Hope for the humanity in South Sudan campaign, and ‘‘Aid campaigns for Somalia’’ (KIZILAY, 2021). After the United Nations declared severe famine in Somalia in 2011, which was facing the biggest hunger crisis in the last sixty years, Turkey increased its aid to this region by activating the Turkish Red Crescent Organization as one of the first soft power elements engaged in Africa. In this context, the Red Crescent Delegation Presidency was established in Somalia to coordinate the aid campaigns sent by Turkey and other volunteer organizations. In addition, a health vocational school with a capacity of 600 students was built in Mogadishu, the capital

city of Somalia in 2016 to train health personnel and provide healthcare services. (KIZILAY, 2021).

Being successful in Somalia, the Turkish Red Crescent maintains its aid activities in other countries of Africa as well. One of them is Uganda where almost one million refugees from Somalia live in the northern parts of the country and at the same time, around 10 million people suffer from food and drinking water shortages. In this context, large-scale food aid campaigns and health care projects carried out by the Turkish Red Crescent in Uganda since 2016 can be submitted as an example. Another example of Red Crescent aid activities is the Central African Republic, where millions of people have been forced to migrate to surrounding countries due to internal conflicts and civil war that started in 2013, and suffers from food shortages, drinking water, and shelter. (Aljazeera, 2021) The aid activities carried out by the Turkish Red Crescent in Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Senegal, Ethiopia, and in various regions of East and South Africa can be listed as other examples.

As a result, the Turkish Red Crescent has become a global actor as an NGO (Nongovernmental Organization) in humanitarian aid efforts in which it increases its capacity and recognition every day with the aid works carried out in different parts of the African continent. In this regard, one of the most prominent initiatives is the bilateral MOU (Memorandum of Understanding) with the South African Red Cross Society (SARCS) in 2020 to create a strategic partnership and cooperation between the two organizations. (Anadolu Agency, 2021). In addition, there have been country offices of the Turkish Red Crescent Society in Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia, and Ethiopia in the African region.

In light of the aforementioned information highlighted above, it can be argued that Red Crescent is one of the most prominent soft power elements of Turkey in humanitarian diplomacy. In this regard, Turkey strives to provide humanitarian aid together with international organizations such as the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), and the World Food Program (WFP) as well. In this way, both humanitarian aid has been given an international dimension and also cooperation has been increased with the international organizations operating in this field. (MFA, 2021)

2.1.2. Turkish cooperation and coordination agency (TIKA)

It is a most common reality that humanitarian aid and developmental cooperation are among the most effective soft power elements used by states to influence international public opinion. At the same time, these elements that prioritize the human dimension are also the most effective image creation methods during the implementation of soft power diplomacy. In this regard, having investments with a wide range of development areas in many African countries, Turkey implements these initiatives through the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA). With the end of the Cold War in 1991 and the dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), many important changes took place in the world, especially in the Central Asia region. In this sense, TIKA was established in 1992 to coordinate foreign policy in relations with the states established in Central Asia after the collapse of the Soviet Union. (TIKA, 2021). It has been an organization that contributes to the success of Turkey's soft power diplomacy by assuming important missions in foreign policy through the activities it has carried out since its establishment. In this context, the first TIKA coordination office was opened in Ethiopia in 2005 after the declaration of the African year by the government. Following the first initiative, the second coordination office was opened in Sudan in 2006, and the third one in Senegal in 2007 in line with the opening to Africa policy of Turkey. Currently, the TIKA organization has 21 overseas coordination offices in the African continent. (TIKA, 2021). The details of the overseas offices are submitted below:

Table- 4, TIKA Overseas Offices

Sequence	Country/City	Opening Date
1	Ethiopia/Addis Ababa	2005
2	Sudan/Khartoum	2006
3	Senegal/Dakar	2007
4	Somalia/Mogadishu	2011
5	South Sudan/Juba	2011
6	Kenya/Nairobi	2012
7	Libya/Tripoli	2012
8	Cameroon/Yaounde	2012
9	Egypt/Cairo	2012
10	Senegal/Dakar	2012
11	Chad/ N'Djamena	2013
12	Niger/Niamey	2013
13	Tunisia/Tunis	2014
14	Algeria/Alger	2015
15	Guinea/Conakry	2016
16	Djibouti/City	2016
17	Uganda/Kampala	2016
18	Tanzania/ Dar Es Salaam	2017
19	Gambia/Banjul	2018
20	Namibia/Windhoek	2018
21	South Africa/Pretoria	2018

Source: Compiled from Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency official Web page, Overseas Coordination Offices Section on 23 April 2021.

As it is presented in the table, TİKA has become an active soft power element in Africa since 2005 by opening coordination offices and implementing projects as an extension of Turkey's efforts to become an important actor in the world and its periphery. In this context, it has been acting as Turkey's development assistance and cooperation mechanism between public institutions, non-governmental organizations, and the private sector in Africa. According to the yearly statistical data of TİKA institution, while the developmental aid provided in 2002 was 85 million USD, this figure increased to 8 billion 120 million USD in 2020. (TİKA, 2021). Admittedly, realizing that foreign aid is an important policy tool for their impression, countries try to be effective on this matter through the institutions and organizations they have established for this purpose. Generally, it is seen that economically effective and developed countries improve their relations mostly utilizing foreign aid initiatives with developing countries. In this regard, the TİKA organization has been a product of this foreign policy conception and has become one of the most important soft power elements in recent years. As a governmental agency, it does not have direct foreign policy-making characteristics. Instead, it undertook a mission to coordinate and implement Turkey's assistance to developing partner countries. In addition, it is also responsible for the interagency coordination of foreign aid from Turkey to abroad and for maintaining the inventory of aid made by Turkey to other countries. (Cabinet decision, 2005,11& 2007,12701). Regarding the foreign aid initiatives, humanitarian aid projects come to the fore with the technical cooperation and developmental assistance in the African countries. When TİKA's main activities in African countries are examined, the prominent ones are as follows:

- Projects to provide healthy drinking water in rural areas and providing medical training to healthcare personnel in Ethiopia,
- General health screening studies and drug Assistance Projects in Senegal,
- School restoration and library building projects in various regions in Africa,
- Field hospital construction in Sudan, sending 40 tons of supplies to refugee camps and installation of drilling machines to supply water projects,
- 150-bed Turkey-Sudan Research Hospital construction project in Darfur,
- The 200-bed Digfer hospital project, which is one of the largest hospitals in the region established in Somalia,

- Ongoing emergency humanitarian aid projects in the African countries, suffering from epidemics. (TİKA, 2021)

Consequently, with the end of the Cold War period, the emerging foreign policy approach in Turkish diplomacy has been the gradual development initiative that helps humanitarian goals and technical development of partner countries. In this sense, emerging as the product of this new type of foreign policy understanding, TİKA constitutes the institutional structure of Turkey's technical assistance instrument in soft power diplomacy. Especially when compared to its global rivals in the region, United States' USAID, Germany's GIZ, and Japan's JICA, it appears that TİKA also stands in the right position, although it is still a new organization in the African continent. In this context, it can be argued that TİKA assumes an important role in establishing good relations with African countries in line with the determined foreign policy goals of Turkey. With the new foreign policy approach of Turkey and the projects and activities of the TİKA organization, it is aimed to establish an environment of friendship, trust, and social peace between societies and realize the process of mutual identity building with African countries. (Kardaş, 2012, p. 183). As (Nye, 2008, p.94) argues that “ a Public diplomacy is an important tool in the arsenal of smart power, but smart public diplomacy requires an understanding of the roles of credibility, self-criticism, and civil society in generating soft power.” For this reason, it can be argued that TİKA has taken its place in Turkish foreign policy as one of the important elements of soft power diplomacy that increase Turkey's visibility in international relations.

2.1.3. Disaster and emergency management presidency (AFAD)

Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) is another civilian organization that transports Turkey's humanitarian aid to communities abroad. It first started its aid activities in Somalia after the drought killed millions of people in 2011. Until today, nearly 300 million TL has been provided to this country in education, health, infrastructure, and emergency humanitarian issues. The main duty of the AFAD organization, as its name suggests, is to carry out projects to eliminate urgent needs in the areas in need of assistance. In this regard, due to the drought and famine in Somalia since 2011, AFAD's activities became more prominent. Until today, humanitarian aid materials with a total weight of 22,128 tons have been delivered to the Somalia region with 16 aircraft and 8 ship cargo. In addition, 55 tons of aid materials were delivered

to the African region by AFAD to help refugees who took refuge in Chad and Cameroon because of the civil wars in Central Africa. Again, the AFAD team, which went to the region during the month of Ramadan, delivered food parcels to 11 000 families staying in refugee camps. Besides, Turkey has also extended a helping hand to Africa as part of the fight against Ebola disease. In this context, 150 tons of medicines and medical supplies were provided to Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone between 2013 and 2015. (AFAD, 2015). Working in coordination with the United Nations World Food Program (WFP), Turkey provided 1,800,000 US Dollars in food and medical assistance in 2005 to find solutions to the humanitarian problems of Africa. (MFA, Decree no, 193-21). In this context, according to the 2017 Global Humanitarian report, Turkey became the top grantor country in the world with 8 billion US Dollars in humanitarian aid in 2017. (MFA 2021). Within this framework, AFAD can be regarded as one of the effective institutions used for humanitarian aid activities in Africa.

In terms of the content of their activities, similar to the Red Crescent, Somalia is one of the countries where AFAD also operates in Africa. In this context, another outstanding aid campaign AFAD organized in Africa was the 2016 aid campaign during the civil war conditions in Chad. In this regard, Turkish Non-Governmental Organizations under the coordination of AFAD organized a large-scale campaign to help refugee families in need of assistance due to the extreme drought and civil war conditions. Within the context of this aid campaign, approximately 28 thousand Muslim and Christian refugees living in Dosseye, Doholo, Gondje, and Amboko camps established by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) were provided food aid by AFAD for a month. (AFAD, 2016).

As a result, considering their activities, it is a reality that Red Crescent, AFAD, and other Turkish civil society organizations have been contributing to Turkey's foreign policy as the effective elements of soft power diplomacy in Africa. On the other hand, although they diversify the countries to which aid is provided, it is seen that they mostly focus on the countries and regions where the Muslim majority is populated.

2.1.4. Presidency of religious affairs and turkish diyanet foundation

In addition to the aforementioned NGOs such as TIKA, AFAD, and the Red Crescent, the Presidency of Religious Affairs (PRA), and its affiliate Turkish Diyanet Foundation (TDF) also carry out aid activities in Africa. The majority of these activities consist mainly of humanitarian aid and religious-oriented campaigns such as delivering food supplies, drilling water wells, and building mosques in Muslim populated regions. In this regard, by organizing aid campaigns in Muslim areas, especially during religious months, food packages and humanitarian aid stuff are being sent to poor families by the PRA every year. As the PRA's projects in the region, 48 water wells have been drilled in 8 African countries within the scope of the "one drop of Life" project carried out in 2018. In addition, the same year "share your sacrifice, get closer to your brother" project, which was carried out in Niger, can be cited as another example of activities during religious months. (DIYANET, 2021). In addition to the aid campaigns provided to African countries by the PRA and the TDF, it is also aimed to strengthen religious ties with these countries. In this sense, within the scope of the "sister city project", more than 100 mosques, Quran courses, and madrasahs were renovated and restored in 2006. In addition to these, the new mosques, religious facilities, and worship places are being built in the Muslim regions of Africa.

In addition to its charitable activities in Africa, the PRA also hosts international organizations in Turkey. For this purpose, the first African Muslim Country Communities Religious Leaders Summit was held by the PRA in Istanbul in 2006. The main topics such as "Religious Identity in the Globalization Process" and "Opportunities in the Field of Religious Education" were discussed during the summit attended by religious leaders from 21 African countries. Apart from these, there were also other issues at the summit such as providing scholarships to students who want to study religious education in Turkey, especially at the secondary and higher education level. The second forum was held in 2011 under the same headings, and the final statement highlighted the steps to be taken towards religious education in Africa. Besides, the summit statement included the issue of providing religious education to African students in religious educational institutions in Turkey as well. The last forum with the theme of "Africa-Turkey and the World relationship" was also hosted by PRA in 2018 in Istanbul. According to the official statement of the heads of the institution, the main purpose of this activity had been the issue of bilateral consultation

about the Turkey-Africa relations. In this sense, the TDF gives credit for what they implement as an organization and predicts from the institutional perspective that these activities will bring Muslim communities closer to each other. (DIYANET, 2021). Apart from these activities, the PRA has also foreign representative offices abroad and been trying to expand its areas of activity through these elements.

As a result, it is seen that the religion-oriented soft power implementation has come to the forefront in Turkey's relations with African countries through these aforementioned activities conducted by the PRA. In this regard, as Tepeciklioğlu (2019) argues that in the aid campaigns delivered to Africa, there can be seen an emphasis on concepts such as "religious brotherhood", "Islamic values" and "Islamic responsibility". (p.100). Hereby, when evaluated within the scope of soft power policy; by definition, as the ability to adapt the ideas to others and shape their desires without using any element of force, the concept of soft power seems to have an important place in the discipline of international relations in recent years. In this context, religious diplomacy, as a means of reaching other societies without any coercion, has started to take its place as an effective soft power element in the discipline of IR. On the other hand, according to Immanuel Wallerstein (2004), who is one of the prominent representatives of dependency theory, " world history is the analysis of the single and holistic movement of the capitalist world economy that has developed since the 16th century." (p.17). Within this direction, he argues that the socio-economic structure in semi-peripheral and peripheral countries is determined by the world market opportunities, and technological production possibilities, state structure, and policies are in line with the interests of the dominant powers. In this regard, the modern world-system, which is dominant in today's world, has been established accordingly and connected all societies both culturally and economically. Considering the way how the globalized world system works and that the historical, cultural, and economic ties of underdeveloped African countries are interconnected with the western powers, it becomes imperative that religion-oriented politics contribute to soft power diplomacy from a broader perspective.

2.2. Cultural Diplomacy and Its Elements

2.2.1. Yunus emre institute

With the end of the Cold War period, which dominated the international system, the foreign policy preferences of states have changed and evolved in line with the new necessities of international relations. Besides, the understanding of international relations shaped by bloc policies has also changed, and instead, countries have begun to develop their foreign policies according to their orientation. Because the globalized new world order has forced countries to adopt different means of diplomacy to express and promote themselves to foreign public opinion. In this regard, the British Cultural Institute of England, Cervantes Institute of Spain, Russian Cultural Institute, China's Confucian Cultural Institute, and the Goethe Cultural Institute of Germany were established and started to operate to promote their culture worldwide. Adapting to the new world order, Turkey has also developed its foreign policy instruments and started to actively implement soft power diplomacy. For this purpose, Yunus Emre Institute was founded in 2009 and has become the most important institution in Turkey conducting cultural diplomacy. The Institute carries out its activities under two separate topics. The first one is to carry out educational activities and provide cultural transfer by teaching the Turkish language to foreigners. The second one is to introduce the cultural elements of Turkey to different societies through implemented activities abroad. Within this framework, the institute has three different structuring models. The first model is to carry out its activities by opening cultural centers in Turkish Embassies. The second structuring model is the opening of cultural centers with the status of non-governmental organizations, associations, or foundations. The third and final structuring model is the method of making cultural center agreements with other countries. (YEE, 2021).

The Institute opened its first office in Johannesburg, the capital of South Africa in 2017, and currently has seven cultural centers in the African continent. In this context, the number of Yunus Emre Cultural Centers in Africa and the countries where they are located are as follows:

Table-5, Yunus Emre Institute Cultural Centers in Africa (2021)

Number	Country	City	Foundation Year
1	Egypt	Cairo	2010
2	South Africa	Johannesburg	2013
3	Morocco	Rabat	2013
4	Sudan	Khartoum	2015
5	Somalia	Mogadishu	2016
6	Tunisia	Tunisia	2017
7	Senegal	Dakar	2017

Source: Compiled from Yunus Emre Institute official website, www.yee.org.tr, Corporate/Departments/Headquarters Section on 30 April 2021.

Since its establishment, the institute has been promoting the Turkish language and culture to different societies through its cultural diplomacy activities throughout the world. The main purpose of this implementation can be cited as exporting Turkey's positive image to the world. In this context, it supports Turkish language and literature departments, chairs, and courses at more than 80 universities in 50 countries thanks to its "Türkoloji Project" in cooperation with the Higher Education Council. Educational activities in 10 universities in the aforementioned African countries are supported within the scope of this project. In addition, Cultural Diplomacy Academy was established by the institute to conduct theoretical studies on cultural diplomacy, to which it contributed in practice. The academy, which was established to determine global, regional, and country-oriented cultural diplomacy in the axis of foreign policy priorities, aims to develop training programs for the implementation of cultural policies. (YEE, 2021).

As a result, while introducing the concept of soft power to international relations literature, Joseph Nye put culture first when he was suggesting the three concepts of soft power. (Nye, 2011, p. 84). Within this framework, it is a fact that the richer the values a country has and the more attractive its culture is to other societies,

the more likely its soft power diplomacy will be influential to other nations. In this regard, considering that Turkey has a cultural richness that contributes significantly to its soft power potential, the importance of Yunus Emre Institute becomes apparent to promote soft power diplomacy.

2.2.2. TRT world and anatolian agency

Seeing the impact of creating public opinion in international relations, countries have attached more importance to international broadcasting activities. In this context, Turkish media channels have become an important public diplomacy tool with their activities aimed at creating a positive image and attracting the attention of foreign societies. In this sense, TRT has become the most influential media company broadcasting internationally. It sees the peoples living in African countries as its target audience and aims to develop a common understanding with these societies. For this purpose, TRT has been restructured since 2000 within the scope of Turkey's soft power diplomacy activities, and broadcasts in English, French and Arabic languages in Africa. The first TRT broadcasting office in Africa was opened in Egypt and has still been operating since 2001. (TRT, 2021). In addition, "TRT World news portal was established in 2008 by broadcasting in 35 different languages, and thus Turkey gained the opportunity to explain its agenda to the world with its discourses." (Karagöz, 2016, p.86). In this sense, the TRT World channels operation as an international broadcaster creates an appropriate profile with Turkey's long-term foreign policy approach and soft power diplomacy in Africa. To give a tangible example of TRT's success in Africa, Turkey's humanitarian and military aid to Somalia can be mentioned within the scope of the state-building initiative which is closely followed by the whole of the region thanks to the broadcasting activities of TRT. Admittedly, the fact that the media can reach all corners of the continent has a big impact on this success.

As a newcomer to the African continent, Turkey's initiatives can be considered successful when compared to other countries that have been operating in the region for many years. On the other hand, considering the extent of institutional investments in terms of media broadcasting and regional representation, it can be said that Turkey is just at the beginning of the road to provide effective soft power diplomacy tools in Africa. Within this framework, initially the British broadcast channel BBC can be cited as a prominent example, having its second-largest center in Kenya since 2018, and

with a large army of journalists in all African countries. In addition, other large media investments in Africa such as American radio, French AFP News Agency (Association of Fundraising Professionals), Chinese State Television, and Al Jazeera Channels can be submitted as influential rivals against Turkish broadcasting investments in the region.

Another important broadcasting organization operating in Africa is the Anadolu News Agency (AA), whose history is identical to the history of the Republic of Turkey. It was established on April 6, 1920, during the years of the war of independence. Announcing the first laws passed by the Turkish Grand National Assembly, and witnessing every stage of the National Struggle, the War of Independence, and the young Republic's revolutions, it became an indispensable state institution in Turkey. The greatest service AA had done to the Turkish Nation at that time was to raise awareness and inform Anatolian people who fought inside and were unaware of the outside world. (Anatolian News Agency, 2021). As one of the most important soft power elements of Turkey, AA continues its mission with the same understanding today, and announces the activities of institutions such as TIKA, Turkish Airlines, Red Crescent, and Yunus Emre Institutes in different languages to the world. Aiming to be one of the 5 most influential news agencies in the world within the scope of its 100th-anniversary vision, AA started to broadcast in 13 different languages and opened representative offices in 29 countries. (Altınalan, 2015, p.115). In addition, it has established the Middle East and Africa Regional Directorate to ensure "accurate and direct" news flow between the Middle East and Africa and opened broadcasting offices in some African countries in line with Turkey's opening to Africa policy. (Tepeciklioğlu, 2019, p.119). In this context, the first publishing AA office was opened in Cairo/Egypt in 2012. Accordingly, the other AA broadcasting offices in Africa as presented below:

Table-6, Anadolu News Agency Broadcasting Offices in Africa

Region	Country	City
AFRICA	Nigeria	Abuja
	Ethiopia	Addis Ababa
	Sudan	Khartoum
	Tunisia	Tunisia
	Libya	Trablous

Source: Anadolu News Agency Official Webpage. Compiled from ‘‘Yurtdışı Bürolar ‘’ section on 03 May 2021.

Consequently, it is a reality that media plays a crucial role in building a country's image in international public opinion. At this point, the ability to broadcast internationally and express itself to other societies becomes important for states. In addition, supporting the activities of NGOs which are the most important actors in the globalized world system, becomes important for the implementation of soft power diplomacy. For this reason, it is estimated that the significance of TRT World and Anadolu news agency institutions will continue to increase in the next period as well.

2.2.3. Turkish airlines

As Joseph Nye defined in 1990, the concept of soft power means that one country influences other countries with its social integrity and culture, rather than military and economic power. (Nye, 2011, p. 84). Accordingly, soft power has become one of the most important elements of foreign policy in the global world order where the balance of power is changing rapidly. Realizing the importance of soft power, which was the monopoly of the west, developing countries have also updated their foreign policies and adapted to the global world order especially after the end of the cold war period. Thus, the concept of soft power, which has transformed from an academic theory to a concrete practice of diplomacy, became an indispensable part of international relations. In this regard, Turkey was one of the developing countries that updated its foreign policy approach and adopted soft power diplomacy in international relations. For this purpose, it appears that one of the most important elements of Turkey's soft power diplomacy has been flight diplomacy and Turkish Airlines by

bringing global investors from all over the world together with Turkey. Being defined as the rising value of Turkey, THY was established in 1933 under the Ministry of National Defense. After privatization in 2006, half of the shares of THY were transferred to the Turkish Wealth Fund in 2017. (Turkish Airlines, 2021).

As a national airline company, thanks to THY's flights to Africa, Turkey's visibility increases in the continent, and also mutual commercial connections strengthen with the African countries. In this sense, THY's growth strategy and activities in Africa are also developing in line with Turkey's opening to Africa policy. In particular, Turkish Airlines' presence is very effective for the rapid delivery of humanitarian aid to African countries. To give a specific example, in 2012, THY became the first airline company to provide direct flights to Somalia, which collapsed due to the civil war and struggled with drought and famine since 1991. In retrospect, while flying only to North Africa in the early 2000s, THY has added lastly Malabo, the capital of Equatorial Guinea to its flight network as of February 2020 and has currently 60 destinations in Africa. Even during the Covid-19 pandemic conditions, which has been experienced around the world since the beginning of the 2020s, THY plays a very effective role to contribute Turkey's image and credibility through transporting health equipment and humanitarian aid to African countries. (Turkish Airlines, 2021)

Consequently, from a historical perspective, it is seen that Turkey as a country that does not have a negative image in the eyes of the African countries, can use its soft power diplomacy in the continent effectively. In this context, the presence of THY is important in terms of promoting Turkey's positive perception of African public opinion.

2.3. Educational Diplomacy and Its Elements

2.3.1. Presidency for turks abroad and related communities

Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) was established in 2010 to coordinate educational and cultural activities for Turkish citizens abroad, related communities, and international scholarship students studying in Turkey. (YTB, 2021). For this purpose, YTB develops cooperation with institutions and individuals operating in similar fields to create social, cultural, and academic relations between different communities and Turkey. These activities are mainly carried out through

cultural exchange programs, it is aimed to strengthen the interaction of guest students with Turkish cultural values. In this regard, YTB's initiative for Africa is mainly implemented with the educational support provided within the scope of "Turkey scholarship programs", as well as cultural activities for African countries. Within the framework of Turkey's opening to Africa policy, efforts are made to increase the number of students coming from Africa for education through promotional activities. One of them can be cited as the ‘‘Evliya Çelebi Youth Bridges Program’’ which aims to bring young people belonging to cognate and related communities together with the history and culture of Turkey. The other one is the ‘‘Turkish Graduate Students Program’’ which carries out gatherings with the graduates under the coordination of Turkish embassies abroad. Through all these aforementioned programs, it is aimed to maintain contact with graduate students and to utilize their contribution to the establishment of positive contacts between Turkey and their countries in the future. The distribution of African students studying in Turkey within the scope of education scholarships and student exchange programs is as follows:

Table-7, Number of African students studied in Turkey in 2019-2020 (By Country)

Name of Country	Number of Students	Name of Country	Number of Students
Angola	27	Congo	172
Benin	117	D.R. of Congo	178
Botswana	4	Lesotho	7
Burkina Faso	209	Liberia	92
Burundi	195	Madagascar	89
Algeria	779	Libya	1708
Djibouti	836	Malawi	98
Chad	1470	Mali	464
Eritrea	112	Egypt	4110
Ethiopia	600	Mauritania	374

Morocco	1758	Mozambique	77
Ivory Coast	221	Namibia	5
Gabon	47	Niger	226
The Gambia	229	Nigeria	2208
Ghana	425	Central Africa	93
Guinea	526	Rwanda	223
Guinea-Bissau	131	Senegal	174
South Africa	309	Somalia	6104
South Sudan	100	Sudan	1027
Cameroon	729	Tanzania	379
Kenya	455	Togo Republic	82
Tunisia	506	Uganda	307
Zaire	1	Zambia	187
Zimbabwe	114	TOTAL	30.090

Source: (<https://istatistik.yok.gov.tr/>). Higher Education Board (YÖK) official webpage, compiled from the information management system, student statistics section on 08 May 2021.

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs data, at the beginning of the 2000s, only 204 students from Sub-Saharan Africa were given scholarships. (MFA, 2021). As can be seen from the table, there is a significant increase in the number of students receiving scholarships by 2020. In addition, YTB has been making a positive contribution to Turkey's soft power diplomacy, by developing social and cultural ties between African countries and Turkey through the "Mevlana Cultural Interaction Program". The 'African Think Tanks' meeting held in Turkey in 2015, which was attended by the representatives of more than 50 NGOs from African countries can be cited as an example of YTB activities.

As a result, the new global world order, which has been dominating international relations since the Second World War, forces the states to try to increase their influence over societies by using elements of soft power diplomacy, rather than

dominating certain geographies through classical warfare methods. As (Gallarotti & Al Filali, 2011, 2014) indicate that, unlike the realist approach that prioritizes the material capacity dimension of power especially the use of military force, the concept of soft power has adopted a constructivist /neoliberal approach in international relations. (p. 2). In this context, (Keohane & Joseph Nye, 1987) argue that particularly the heavy costs brought about by the use of military and economic power are the main factor for the increase in the importance of soft power. (p.733). Wishing to use soft power diplomacy effectively and adapting to the new world order, Turkey has also developed various soft power elements. Accordingly, it can be argued that YTB was designed as one of the soft power components envisioned in this context.

2.3.2. Turkish maarif foundation

The Turkish Maarif Foundation (TMF), which was established to carry out Turkey's educational activities in Africa, has started to serve since 2016. (Official Gazette, 6721, 29756). Considering that the schools of the FETO terrorist organization pose a threat not only to Turkey but also to the countries where they are located, the Turkish state aimed to control these schools and to inform the relevant countries about the danger accordingly. (Kılıçoğlu & Yılmaz, 2018, p.480). In this regard, the main purpose of the establishment of TMF is to take the control of the Turkish schools back from the FETO and to carry out all educational activities abroad on behalf of the Turkish state. By opening its first school in Senegal in 1997, the FETO continued its activities in Africa by developing school projects in Tanzania, Sudan, Ethiopia, South Africa, Nigeria, Mali, and Kenya the following years. Although the exact number is not known, it is estimated that before 2016 there were about more than 100 schools in Africa belonging to the FETO terrorist organization. In this context, it can be said that the struggle to prevent the organization in the field of education is carried out mainly by the Turkish Maarif Foundation. For this purpose, the TMF has opened representative offices in 30 countries of Africa and has still been continuing its activities on behalf of the Turkish Ministry of Education. In this sense, as an institution that is being active in 67 countries around the world, TMF actively carries out educational activities in 23 countries in Africa as well. (Maarif Vakfi, 2021).

Admittedly, with the end of the cold war period, the transformation of international relations has affected the foreign policy implementation of states in line

with the new requirements. In this regard, the conceptualization of power has also reshaped itself from realism to soft power, identifying international reality according to the new dynamics of the globalized world order. In the case of Turkey, there had been a substantial paradigm change in the perception of the Turkish foreign policy approach as well. Within this framework, it can be argued that Turkey depicted its foreign policy approach as bound to geopolitical vision rather than a security-oriented small state in the Middle East. For this purpose, it became important for Turkey to use soft power elements effectively and pursue a proactive foreign policy around its periphery and in the other regions of the world. At this point as Özkan and Akgün, (2015, p.529) argued that civil society influence become effective on foreign policymaking especially during the AKP period, and accordingly civil society organizations and their discourses were utilized especially in Africa. In the final analysis, although it may be necessary for the states to have a geopolitical vision to be a regional player, it is an indispensable reality in terms of foreign policy analysis that geopolitics and social relations need to be analyzed together. For this reason, as Yalvaç (2012, p.169) highlights that it is not possible to understand foreign policy unless state interaction is located in the dynamics of social relations in which they are grounded. Within this direction, TMF's initiatives are becoming important in terms of the effectiveness and long-term nature of Turkey's soft power diplomacy in Africa.

2.4. Military Cooperation and Security Diplomacy

As Joseph Nye and L. Armitage (2007, p. 7-8) envisaged the extent of the smart power, it does not only consist of a combination of hard and soft power but also predicts a measured reaction on a ground prepared in advance to adapt to the behavior of the actor to which the force will be applied. Based on this conceptualization, it can be argued that in today's understanding of international relations, a fact emerges that the military power representing only the hard power cannot be sufficient alone to protect the interests of a country, but it will be a guarantee and complementary element of soft power diplomacy. In this sense, it is often effective when a state demonstrates credibly that it will not hesitate to resort to force when protection of national security and interests is necessary. Therefore, it has become important for countries to have strong and ready-to-use armed forces and to position them in a way that supports their soft power diplomacy. In other words, based on the criteria set by Morgenthau, military power should also be supported with the rapidly developing technology and included

in diplomacy to be used as a smart power element. (Morgenthau, 1954). However, it is a fact that only the states, whose technology, diplomacy, economy, and media are effective and of high quality, can transform their military power into a smart power, as long as they can reflect these structures on their security diplomacy. In this regard, the importance of security diplomacy has increased recently, and it is also becoming important to support and protect international partnerships and investments with the presence of military cooperation and security diplomacy. When examined specifically in Africa, it is possible to observe that the lack of security is the main problem in many African countries. For this reason, it is important to use military diplomacy as a smart power element to be able to preserve the partnerships which are on the sensitive ground and very prone to change because of the external factors in the African continent.

The competition of states aiming to be an effective power in the continent generally focuses on some countries in the Sahel region where there are unmanageable areas due to the lack of effective governance structures, and on the "Horn of Africa" region, which is important for its geostrategic location. In this sense, the existence of military bases in Africa is tried to be legitimized by western countries on the grounds such as ensuring the security of the African countries, fighting against terrorism, and protecting commercial activities of the partner countries. In this context, it can be argued that the presence of extremist groups and terrorist organizations such as Boko Haram and Al-Shabab provides a legal basis for these claims in the African region. Admittedly, it appears that the military base competition in the continent is carried out to share the abundant resources of the continent and ensure the security of the oil transportation through the Red Sea region. Due to this reason, examining the strategic regions which are subject to international competition, and how the countries are positioned within the context of military bases will contribute to the understanding of Turkey's security diplomacy efforts in the African continent.

2.4.1. North africa

Today, when the international competition areas and formations applied on the African continent are examined, it is seen that especially the north Africa region is being tried to be redesigned by the competing countries. Strikingly, north Africa and the eastern Mediterranean area are at the forefront of this competition. In this context, it can be argued that the multinational efforts for controlling the Red Sea region, the

Eastern Mediterranean hydrocarbon deposits, and Libya are the cornerstones of this relentless rivalry. Disintegrating in the aftermath of the civil war in 2011, Libya continues to attract international attention due to its strategic location and rich natural resource capacity such as oil and natural gas reserves which comprise 40% of the total reserves in Africa. In addition, regional countries and international actors who aspire to take advantage of Libya's vague situation have been trying to be influential in the region by way of waging proxy wars against each other. Italian writer Manlio Dinucci (2016) describes the picture of Libya's latest position in his article called "The Hounds of Libya" which refers to a Libyan union of three states that have formed a partnership on oil and gas, supported by the European powers. The content of this article is providing a clue in terms of reflecting the dreams of the actors competing in the region. According to him, those who think in Washington, Paris, London, and Rome, are the very same people as those who will collect the ruins through the "international aid mission to Libya" after destabilizing the Libyan state through war and dividing it into pieces. (Dinucci, 2016)

On the other hand, a new phase has begun in Libya, where the balance of power has changed with Turkey's interference in 2020. Sending military support and weaponry to the region within the framework of the military assistance and cooperation agreement with the National Consensus Government, which is recognized by the United Nations, Turkey has become an important factor in the region. Within the framework of this bilateral agreement between the two countries, Turkey has initiated projects comprising of opening an airbase in Vatiyye town, and a naval base in Misrata port in Libya. With this move, it has taken an important step both to preserve its soft power initiatives and to protect its investments in the region. As (Seuferd, 2020) highlighted that Turkey's engagement in Libya and North Africa is a sign of the shift in the focus of its foreign policy that will create new challenges and consequences for the EU and other competing countries in the region. As a result, with its decisive military engagement in Libya, Turkey has gained legitimacy not only to protect its long-term interests in north Africa but also to be a regional power at the expense of Western players.

2.4.2. Sahel region

The Sahel region covers the South of Africa's Sahara Belt, starting from Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Chad, Sudan, and even some parts of Nigeria, Burkina Faso, and Eritrea as well. It includes a transitional line between South Africa and North Africa, usually composed of mostly Muslim states. Currently, it is known that one of the most important tools of international rivalry on the African continent is the establishment of military bases by states from outside of the continent. In this regard, it is expressed as the reason why Western countries focus on the Sahel region is, it is in a position to control migration routes, and another reason is the necessity of fighting against terrorism due to the extremist elements situated in the region. However, considering that the Sahel region is one of the most untouched areas in the world in terms of its great resource potential both in the sea and land areas, it can be better understood why the international competition is mostly concentrated in this region. In addition, especially the presence of zinc reserves in Burkina Faso, gold in Mali, uranium in Niger, oil in Nigeria, Sudan, and Chad, iron, and silver reserves in Mauritania intensify the ongoing competition in the region. For better apprehension, the regional map is presented below:



MAP-1, Sahel Region

Source: www.researchgate.net. The Orange-Colored line represents the Sahel region, (17 December 2021)

When evaluated in terms of both military bases and infrastructure investments, the USA, France, UK, and China stand out as the main actors competing in the region. Admittedly, as one of the main actors of the international relations system and having military elements in 50 countries of the African continent, it is seen that behind the anti-terrorism discourses of the USA, there is a motivation to preserve its regional dominance against China and create a new ground for the armed elements it has established with the train and equip system, after Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria. Thus, it aspires to maintain its dominance, especially in the Sahel region for many years. The other traditional western countries such as France and England have been trying to open more military bases and maintain existing ones to protect their currently settled interests in the region. At the same time, while having strong ties to its former colonies, and military bases in Mali, Niger, Chad, Senegal, Mauritania, and Eritrea, France appears as another influential country in the Sahel region. In this regard, the military operations that France initiated in 2013 under the pretext of the fight against al-Qaeda in Mali have still been continuing with the support of the USA and the other European countries, and that it has spread to almost all the countries in the Sahel region since that period. It shows that the military presence and security diplomacy in the region is becoming indispensable to preserve the long-term interests of these countries. The fact that the places, where military operations are carried out under the name of the fight against terrorism, have rich resources, and that all these resources are operated by US and European companies, contributes to the legitimacy of this argument. As Alpar, (2016, p.638) highlighted that the military presence and operations of the US and European states in the African continent are aimed at maintaining the old order and protecting their interests other than contributing to the security of the African countries.

As for Turkey's military presence in the Sahel region; Turkey has been contributing to the international peacekeeping operations carried out by the United Nations in the Central African Republic and Mali. In this context, a certain number of military elements are included in the multinational task force in the designated areas. Apart from that, following the Presidential level visit to Sudan in 2017, the Suakin Island was allocated to Turkey for 99 years, but after the military coup which took

place in Sudan in 2019, the bilateral agreement was canceled by the new administration unilaterally and declared as invalid. Aware of the geostrategic importance of Sudan in terms of security and control of the Red Sea region, the diplomacy of the regional countries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates is considered to be effective in this regard. From this aspect, it can be argued that the Sahel region, including Sudan, which is seen as the gateway to sub-Saharan countries, is one of the competition areas in Africa with its growing economic trend and resource potential. From the theoretical perspective, it seems that the thesis of the constructivist approach, which argues that the concept of legitimacy is as important as the concept of power in international relations, is becoming invalid due to military coups and the fragile social structure of the African continent. For this reason, due to the weak state structures and lack of institutional characteristics of the African countries, the realist approach that evaluates international relations from a security perspective emerges as the determining factor of this rivalry. Considering the generally accepted international dynamics in the region, it can be argued that the success of soft power diplomacy and long-term investments in Africa depends on smart power diplomacy supported by the presence of hard power which is represented by military power.

2.4.3. The horn of africa

Located in the northeast of the African continent, where Somalia, Eritrea, Djibouti, and Ethiopia are situated, the Horn of Africa region stands out as one of the most politically dynamic and contentious regions of the world. And the region has also a rare characteristic because of its strategic ports overlooking crucial waterways connecting Europe, Asia, and Africa. In addition, the valuable natural resources, rich minerals, and underground water resources increase the interests of the international powers in the Horn of Africa region. Last but not least, the presence of the Bab al-Mandab Strait, which connects the Red Sea, and the Gulf of Aden has also given geostrategic importance to the region and turned it into an area of relentless competition. Admittedly, the region is very fragile and unstable due to famine, humanitarian crises, terrorism, piracy, and weak state structures. In this respect, it can be argued that the internal problems and border disputes of the Horn of Africa countries negatively affect the stability of the region. In addition, it is seen that the civil war in neighboring Yemen since 2015 has also created serious risks in terms of continuity of the global trade conducted over the gulf region. Considering that

approximately 10% of the global oil supply is transported through this strait, it is becoming important for investing countries to keep the region stable and energy resources are protected. For this reason, the race to establish military bases in the Horn of Africa region has increased in recent years. In this regard, Djibouti is of great importance for global actors due to its location to monitor the passages to the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, and the Indian Ocean. Therefore, the vast majority of the military bases in the region located in Djibouti because of its strategic position. Accordingly, France, the USA, Italy, Germany, Spain, Japan, and China, which opened its first military base in Africa can be submitted as the countries having military bases in Djibouti. To provide a better perception of the geographical position of the Horn of Africa region, the map is presented below:



Map-2, Horn of Africa Region

Source: www.mapsofworld.com., (17 December 2021)

Considering Turkey's foreign diplomacy in the military field in the Horn of Africa, it is possible to refer to the engagements such as establishing a military base in Somalia, the recent efforts to establish a new base in Djibouti, and various peace support operations within the context of international initiatives in territorial and offshore waters of the region. In the general sense, while carrying out its foreign policy in Africa with more human-oriented diplomacy, Turkey also needs to establish military

bases to protect its investments in the region. In this sense, within the framework of Turkey's strategic plan, the Somalia military base has been recorded as the largest military base Turkey built abroad in 2017. As highlighted in the (Middle East Monitor, 2017), ‘‘The construction of this base can be considered as the first step in efforts to rebuild Somalia's military that collapsed during the protracted civil war.’’ In addition, it is considered that the military training provided by the military base contributes positively to Somalia's fight against terrorism and internal security. Eventually, the contributions of non-governmental organizations carrying out their activities in this secure environment accelerate the state-building process of the disintegrated and fragmented Somalia society.

As a result, all competing countries in the Horn of Africa region have a great variety of investments within the scope of both commercial and soft power diplomacy that they implement through their NGOs. On the other hand, because of the fragile social structure and lack of security in the region, the necessity, and importance of defense diplomacy emerges to contribute to soft power initiatives of the investing countries. In this context, considering the regional conjuncture and the international balance of power in the Horn of Africa, it does not seem possible for the soft power initiatives to be long-lasting if they are implemented without military cooperation and security diplomacy.

SECTION 3: EAST-WEST RIVALRY ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT AND TURKEY'S PLACE IN THIS RIVALRY

3.1. The Place and Importance of Africa in Global Politics

The African continent has been a center of attraction where different states have fought for power almost in every period. Accordingly, there had been a power struggle between European countries before the Cold War period and its effects dominated the African continent for years. And then the USA-USSR power struggle took the stage by pushing the traditional European influence aside and establishing a new balance of power conception throughout the Cold War period. Subsequently, with the end of the cold war period in 1991, the USA and China rivalry has started to make a name for themselves in the black continent and continues to increase in the present day as well. Within this framework, attracting the attention of European states through geographical discoveries, the African continent, affected the international competition with its strategic ports and coastlines opening to maritime trade routes for many years. Especially in historical periods, the African continent was tried to be shaped by the powerful states and accordingly has completely lost its freedom with the negative influence of ensuing colonial activities. In addition, both the regional policies of competing powers and the presence of radical groups in the region have led to the emergence of an unstable structure that has survived until today. Based on these developments, it is necessary to reveal the strategic, economic, and political importance of this continent, which is functionalized as the struggle area of powerful states in international relations. For this purpose, the geopolitical place and importance of the African continent in world politics are analyzed in three different periods between the pre-Cold War and post-Cold War periods.

3.1.1. Pre-cold war period and africa

The commercial relations that they developed especially with China and India in the 15th and 16th centuries were of great importance for the European states. However, located on important trade routes, the Ottoman Empire, appeared as a threat to their sphere of influence, and also commercial activities. (Akalin & Çelik, 2012). As a result, the search for new trade routes was started and extended to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, which quickly increased the geopolitical importance of the African continent. Accordingly, the ports and coastal colonies on the African continent

became prominent as the most important strategic points for the international rivalry. Especially after the discoveries made in the mentioned periods, and the established trade routes between the east and the west became an indispensable issue for the European countries that wanted to have power in global politics at that time. From this point of view, the African continent was in a valuable position in terms of controlling all these strategic routes.

In the following period, the colonialism ideology started to spread rapidly as a result of the industrial revolution and dragged the European states into the inner regions of the continent for the intense search of raw materials and cheap labor. However, the continental lands that were invaded as a result of colonial activities, especially towards the end of the 19th century, caused conflicts between European states and became both politically and demographically unstable. As a result, the imperialist European countries divided Africa in fierce competition. However, by the 1900s, none of the European states were willing to accept their share. In this context, the Boer Wars which was also called the South African War of 1899-1902 was the first conflict of the repartition of the continent. Within this direction, relentless colonial rivalry and struggle for spheres of influence dragged the imperialist states into larger conflicts like the First World War, which changed both the geography and the fate of the nations including Africa. Nevertheless, during the First World War, which resulted in the redistribution of the African continent, the imperialist states went so far as to use the continent's raw materials and even manpower. To give an example, "In this war, 845,000 Africans were recruited into the French army alone and driven into the line of fire." (Ataöv, 1977, p.23).

Consequently, at the turn of the twentieth century, the partition of the African continent was almost completed. In the light of this information, history shows that African peoples could not unite against foreigners and protect their country and independence. The biggest factor in this failure was undoubtedly their lack of military power and weak socio-cultural developmental level. On the other side, two major world wars, one after the other, caused the European states to weaken overseas and lose their superiority in the African continent as well. Hence, with the desire to become a global power, the USA and the USSR took action to fill the power vacuum created by the European states and brought a new era with their policies on the African continent.

3.1.2. Cold war period and africa

The new world order that was shaped after the two great world wars and especially the establishment of the United Nations made it necessary for the states to make changes in their policies towards the African continent. Likewise, the effects of this emerging global system gradually increased its influence on the African continent and caused the beginning of the independence movements throughout the continent. In addition to these developments, after the Second World War, the USA and the USSR, who wanted to have power in global politics, revealed the understanding of the bipolar world order and started a new era in global competition. In this period, the policies of the two leading actors who affect global politics and international relations were highly reflected in the relations of other states and supranational institutions as well. Admittedly, the geopolitical structure of the African continent was also adversely affected by the new dynamics brought about by the emerging cold war order. In this regard, one of the biggest reasons for this negative influence was that the policy of attributing African dominance to power conception, which was adopted by the European states in the pre-Cold War period, was also implemented in different ways by the two major actors of the Cold War period. As a result, the African continent did not lose its feature of being a strategic field of struggle in this period, but at the same time, it took its place in global politics as the spreading area of ideological conflicts and competition. To put it differently, the continent continued to exist as a region where the strategies of rivals were used to gain a space against each other and form alliances rather than being a direct conflicting area. Within this framework, when the ideological-based foreign policy carried out by the Soviet Union in the African continent is analyzed, it is seen that the independence struggles of Ghana, Guinea, South Africa, and Algeria come to the fore as tangible examples of these alliances. Along with the Russian support given to the communist parties and liberation struggles in Africa, another prominent example can be presented as Soviet-Egypt rapprochement during the Suez Canal crisis in terms of reflecting the effects of Soviet ideology and politics, although Russians abstained in order not to spoil their relations with the western countries. (Gürseler, 2020, p.53). On the other hand, the beginning of the Cold War period marked a new and quite different stage in US-African relations as well. In this manner, the multi-faceted ideological struggle against the USSR had a profound effect on the US's approach to the African continent as well as the rest of the world.

As (Aydm, 2018, p. 45) emphasized in his study that especially during the Cold War period, the US side has approached African countries within the framework of the selective engagement policy and tried to balance the Soviet influence in this way. For this purpose, it is seen that the anti-communist countries and organizations were supported by the United States, and the Soviet sphere of influence was tried to be surrounded in the African continent. According to (Sarı, 2012, p.98) political support of the United States to countries such as Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo) and Ethiopia, and the economic and military aid to organizations such as UNITA (total independence of Angola) and FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) to overthrow the Soviet-backed government in Angola can be presented as the examples of the US policy during the Cold War period in Africa.

3.1.3. Post-cold war period and africa

The disintegration of the Soviet Union after 1991 paved the way for different opportunities for the new world order and international relations. In the new world order, many states abandoned their old security-oriented policies and started to develop multi-faceted foreign policies that could integrate with the rest of the world. The other effect caused by the collapse of the USSR was not only the end of the cold war but also the expectancy of a possibility of the new unipolar order dominated by the United States. On the other hand, As Kissinger (1994, p.809) argued in his famous book ‘‘Diplomacy’’ that, even though the new world order had turned into a unipolar, or in other words, a single superpower order, the USA was not in the position to dominate the world alone as it was before the cold war years. Because the power had become more diffused and America’s capacity to shape the rest of the world had long since declined.

As for the African continent, it has started to gain value again and become an area of struggle between the west and the east due to the abundance of its energy resources, mainly for the interests of China, which needs to access cheap raw materials for its growing economy. On the other hand, the voting potential of 54 independent states in the United Nations can be presented as another fundamental factor for the value of the African continent. The fact that it has both cheap raw materials and the status of a large market potential, where processed products would be sold has once

again brought Africa to an important place in world politics, and this time it has become the arena of a new power struggle between the USA and China.

Consequently, the African continent appears again in global politics as an area where the same understanding rose again during the Cold War period since the geographical discoveries of the European states. Within this framework, due to its underground resources and geopolitical importance, it has been doomed to instability and has become a place of insecurity and numerous humanitarian crises. These negativities, on the other hand, brought about the formation of many terrorist organizations and civil wars throughout the continent and constitute the biggest obstacle to security, stability, and prosperity in the region. Undoubtedly, the presence of terrorist activities and increase in humanitarian disasters such as hunger and famine provides legitimacy in global politics as the strongest justification for the existence of competing states in the region. On the other hand, its cheap raw materials, market capacity, and being at the stopping point of the seas and important water and trade routes has made the African continent a valuable region for China as well. In this regard, China's loans to African countries and its large-scale infrastructure investments have been the reflection of its efforts to be influential with its soft power policy, which is the opposite of the hard power strategy applied in this region until the last period. These new foreign policy approaches and competitive environment have also set an example for other international initiatives to be developed in the continent. As a result, considering both its geopolitical position, current resources, and the capacity of voice in the international public opinion, the African continent continues to be an indispensable strategic target for the states that desire to become a global power in world politics. In addition, considering the policies developed by international actors, it seems likely that it will have an important place in global politics in the near future as well. For this purpose, by emphasizing the place and importance of the African continent in global politics and establishing a connection between past and present, it is aimed to provide a suitable perspective for the activities and purposes of international actors currently competing in the continent.

3.2. U.S.-China rivalry and Africa

3.2.1. Economical rivalry

With the end of the cold war, the United States has declared its hegemony in the African continent as well. The new world order was the motto for its new foreign policy approach and accordingly, one of the target regions for the big industries of the American economy was the vast African resources. For this purpose, the United States adopted a new foreign policy to secure its investments in the region. In this regard, the other version of the Marshall Plan was active again and the international trade framework implementation under the auspices of the Bretton Woods institution had been working for the impoverished nations of Africa. In this way, with the moral high ground and superpower influence, the United States improved the relationship with the underdeveloped African countries easily and made huge investments during the years until the 2000s. The US economic engagement with Africa is mostly based on private sector investments and for this purpose it employed different strategies and tactics in the region. The reason for this strategy is to increase the US exports to the African region and to ensure continuing access to oil and specialized products that will feed the huge American economy. Since 2000, US-African business relations are based on non-reciprocal trade agreements that grant duty-free access to about 40 African countries for nearly 6000 products to America especially, by ensuring a significant amount of non-oil exports to the American markets. At the same time, China's surge in trade and commercial loans have left the U.S. side in need of a new commercial strategy. This is why the Obama administration held the first-ever summit with African leaders in 2014 and from then on, the US has adopted the heads-of-state dialogue and summits with Africa to determine the priorities regarding trade and investment targets. Still, the US is the largest investor in the African region with around 600 American companies and business initiatives, and also in some ways, the US business model is welcomed by the African countries to hire and promote locally. The examples for these investments can be cited as health, education, infrastructure, and other sectors to promote economic growth and increase economic integration between the US and Africa. As Shinn (2016 p.35-55) states that the assistance of the United States comprised mostly of financial support, humanitarian aid, and investments in the sectors such as human capacity building to combat the epidemics in the African countries. Accordingly, in recent years, the amount of aid granted by the United States

to Africa has reached 8 billion dollars annually. The Sub-Saharan African countries for this purpose is one of the biggest investment areas for US business companies. On the other hand, the foreign policy approach on security-based understanding is being a challenge and obstacle for the future of US investments in Africa. Additionally, the preconditions for their investments like human rights issues and democracy promotion is giving trouble to US-African partnership projects. "For a long time, the US has viewed Africa as a battlefield where it can confront its enemies, whether the Soviets during the Cold War, terrorists after 9/11, or now the Chinese. Washington has never really made a concerted effort to develop its economic relations with the continent. As a result, trade between the US and Africa has decreased from \$120bn in 2012 to just over \$50bn today. US FDI flows have also slumped from \$9.4bn in 2009 to around \$330m in 2017." (Maru, 2019) As the argument asserts that the security-based approach has not yielded expected results for the US interests against the other rising powers inside the region.

Chinese foreign policy approach, however, is based on a trade-oriented and non-alignment conception which gives both China and African countries a range of free movement with their partnership. In this context, it is important to note that although China makes bilateral trade agreements with both the single state and, also with organizational level, the main difference for Chinese positioning is that China is not a member of any specific trade bloc and carefully implies the policy of not to be a primary ally of any organization. The main reason for this foreign policy approach is the non-alliance policy of China. Most simply, the current situation for the bilateral partnership understanding is a win-win approach, and accordingly, no preconditions are submitted to African countries for their partnership. In this way, since the first commercial forum held in November 2000, in Beijing, the Chinese investments in Africa have increased tremendously and continued with the new investment agreements. "As a result, Chinese trade with Africa has increased 40-fold over the past two decades; in 2017, it stood at \$140bn. Between 2003 and 2017, Chinese foreign direct investment (FDI) flows have also jumped more closer to 60-fold to \$4bn a year; FDI stocks stand at \$43bn, a significant part of which has gone to infrastructure and energy projects." (Maru, 2019) As argued that even after the Chinese 60 bn Dollars support declaration for Africa in 2018 Trade Summit boosted the trade volume with the region. In this context, China's main investments can be submitted as railroad

projects, infrastructure, roads, hydropower plants, and other energy projects. These are all making China as one of the most influential and indispensable powers in Africa. In this regard, the main concern of the African countries, however, is the indebtedness issue for the vast loans they got from the Chinese side and to get under the influence of China if they become unable to honor their debt obligations. Of course, there seems to be no pressure from China to any of the African countries to use this situation as leverage for their interests but, time will show in what way this economical relation takes both sides. As stated above, there seems to be no problem for now, and the bilateral partnership strategy works as China expected. As Shinn (2016, p.35) stated that the International Department of the Communist Party of China (CPC) tries to ensure the policy of the communist party by keeping continuous and close contacts with its African partners especially in the areas such as commercial and diplomatic cooperation and bilateral visit exchanges from both sides. In this way, without any problem vis a vis the region, Chinese partnership continues to grow steadily, and it still aspires to consolidate its markets to ensure reliable resources in support of its growing economy. Therefore, resource diplomacy is the dominant feature of China's modernization conception and in this way, one belt one road policy works flawlessly by encompassing the African region as well. Apart from these, China has created different target zones for its economic expansion in the region. 'China is setting up seven special economic zones in Africa that offer Chinese companies' favorable incentives, tax breaks, and reliable electric power. They have been established or are under construction in Zambia (two), Nigeria (two), Egypt, Ethiopia, and Mauritius, though it is still too early to judge their success. The United States, in contrast, has no comparable program.' (Shinn, 2016). In this regard, one of the good examples for the partnership initiatives is the Sudan-China economic partnership as the relations between the two countries developed on the principles of non-interference, equality, respect to sovereignty, and mutual win-win partnership policy. In return, the US has put the Chinese rivalry in its militarily strategic containment plans of the AFRICOM Command which is based in five different regions in Africa.

3.2.2. Military rivalry

China has been expanding its military presence in Africa. This initiative is highlighted by the deployment of combat-ready troops in multinational peace-keeping operation units in South Sudan. The number of these troops is around 700 soldiers and

medical teams actively on duty in the Sudan-South Sudan border and, also helping to create a favorable condition for the implementation of the revitalized peace agreement between Sudan and South Sudan parties. (Cheng, 2009, p.87). Besides this, the Chinese medical units are providing basic healthcare services, treating common and infectious diseases, performing operations, and vaccinations on the rural sides of the Sudan-South Sudan region. At the same time, the Chinese Navy and Army currently have an estimated 2,700 sailors and staff already deployed in different parts of the African continent. (Cheng, 2009, p.87). In comparison with its vast army, the number of deployed troops in Africa seems insignificant for China. But, on the other hand, in the broader context, a real intention is becoming apparent as the Chinese engagement in Africa expands and spreads all over the continent. The other example of this notion is the post-conflict stabilization efforts in Mali that represent the increasing Chinese willingness to send troops into conflict zones and seek an opportunity for strategic partnership for its investments. In this regard, especially taking part in the UN peacekeeping missions serves to Chinese aspirations shifting its conception towards the cross-regional policy. The other example is the medical humanitarian assistance to Liberia. The Chinese peacekeeping police force served in Liberia for 14 years during conflict times and ended its mission in 2018. But this mission also left a lot of occasions for cooperation opportunities between China and Liberia. This proves another challenge for the US interests in this part of the region. Subsequently, the ongoing conflict stabilization mission in Sudan and South Sudan represents another dimension of the Chinese approach and initiatives by taking advantage of being part of the UN peacekeeping units in this part of the region. Admittedly, China has been the main weapon supplier for Sudan since 1995. These supplies include ammunition, tanks, helicopters, and even fighter aircraft. On the other hand, China makes this arms trade intentionally economic and cheap for the purchasing party and also provides easy financing for some of these arms purchases. This strategy works for the forthcoming investments and strengthens China's hand for its trade implementations. Apart from these, also piracy prevention operations in Somalia are another influential example of Chinese engagement in Africa. In the light of this information, by comparison with the other powers like the US and the European Union, the Chinese military and its staff are involved in 7 out of 9 UN peacekeeping operations on the African continent. Furthermore, China built a naval base in Djibouti in 2017, which is the first overseas military base for China and keeping around ten thousand soldiers to ensure its power

projection capabilities, and to secure the trade routes over and around the Indian Ocean that works for ensuring the conception of one belt one road foreign policy. But all these Chinese initiatives provokes American thinking and force the US side to create a new foreign policy approach towards the continent. In fact, Monyae (2018, p.351) argued that America's containment strategy of stopping China's advance and preventing the Russia-China alliance dates back to the 1970s, during the time of President Richard Nixon's period. According to him, President Nixon tried to draw China closer into the western world to keep it away from Soviet influence, and in this context, he let it into the United Nations Security Council in 1971 and was even willing to ease US foreign policy of recognizing Taiwan as a part of China. In other respects, whether the American global containment strategy had been successful to keep China on track of the global order or not, is questionable today given the Chinese progress and influence in Africa.

As for the United States and its military engagement with Africa, it is mostly based on the notion of counterterrorism activities and partnerships. In reality, the military engagement with Africa has little to do with counterterrorism, instead of ensuring the flow of the American interests from the region. For this purpose, AFRICOM (Africa Command) is one of the concrete symbols of American engagement in Africa. The containment policy of the United States from the Military perspective is another topic to question but, the global leadership notion and ensuring the networks with the partner countries and regions compelling the United States to adopt a military strategy in Africa, putting the force and influence on the ground, instead of risking the current networks by leaving the initiative to the hands of flimsy and impoverished African countries. In the last decades, the American military presence in Africa has increased reflecting African partners that the United States is a strong and sound ally to depend on. Within this context, the AFRICOM leaders travel the continent regularly and create interactions with the partner countries' leaders. These diplomatic visits and connections give the United States a reliable position for its engagements. The concept of the AFRICOM engagement in practice is to assist in natural disasters, food, and other humanitarian support, counterterrorism activities for the militaries of the partner countries. Especially, against the coronavirus strike, the US military presence in Africa was the savior for the African nations, providing mobile hospitals and medical support to most of the African countries like Ghana, Benin,

Senegal, Uganda, and the others. As for the counterterrorism engagement, the United States' position is indispensable for the underdeveloped countries of the region. In this regard, in most of the countries like Somalia, Nigeria, Mali, Burkina Faso militaries are spending joint efforts with the US military support to prevent extremism in their countries. Fighting with the Boko Haram Islamist group in Nigeria, Al-Shabaab terrorist groups in Somalia, and Al-Qaeda in Mali is one the examples of the counterterrorism joint engagements of the United States in Africa. " the US Africa Command has run some 36 different military operations in 13 African countries, including Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Somalia, South Sudan, and Tunisia. It has more than 7,000 troops deployed on the continent. It has a large base in Djibouti - the biggest and only permanent US military base in Africa - but it also runs at least 34 other military outposts scattered across the west, east, and north of the continent where US troops are deployed and military operations (including drone attacks) are launched from." (Maru, 2019). The military base status changed with the establishment of the Chinese base in Djibouti, in 2017. However, the attention-grabbing fact is that the United States is increasing its military presence tremendously to contain the Chinese initiatives and influence on the continent. But, on the other side of the medallion, there has been increasing Chinese military expansion as well under the name of peacekeeping missions and other diplomatic excuses in the region. Given this reality, even if there is no possibility at least in the short run for any military confrontation between these superpowers, but, under any circumstances, this new situation is prone to another possibility of different conflict and social unrest hotspots bringing the US and China to the front of the collision sooner or later. In this regard, the Red Sea deployment efforts can be considered as one of the possible hotspots of unrest especially after the Chinese military base was built in Djibouti, right in the same area with the US military base Camp Lemonnier. (Washington Post, 2019).

3.2.3. Political rivalry

“New Africa Strategy” This announcement was made by the Trump administration in 2019 after the 12th US-Africa business summit held in Africa. This declaration document reflects that the United States has renewed its Africa policy in compliance with the rivalry against China, Russia, and the other rising powers in the African continent. (The Heritage Foundation, 2019, 1306). Accordingly, the United

States has increased all its investments and influence areas to balance the rivals and ensure its competitive position in the partner countries. All it means is that Africa is becoming another theater of war between China and the United States. This war can be mentioned as the relentless trade war between these two heavyweights. But, of course, this trade competition provides leverage and political influence for the next moves of the two countries inside the African continent. In this regard, one of the first and very important points of contentions is Djibouti military base issue which brings the China-US diplomatic tensions to the center for the first time in Africa. Because this move was unbalancing for the United States and traumatized the new world order conception for the first time because of the emerging threat of China in the region. This getting a flap situation came after the Djibouti government terminated its contract with DP World United Arab Emirates (UAE) company in 2018, and took the control of the Terminal, the US administration, a close ally of the UAE become very anxious that it will lose a strategic point which is very important to control the Horn of Africa. (Aljazeera, 2018). Of course, one of the biggest reasons for the US concern was China. If the Djibouti government made a deal with China to give control of the terminal that would be a big loss for the American interests. Because, losing the balance of the Horn of Africa means for the US to lose control of the major trade routes between Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and also South Asia. That is why the American government has gone into action and prompted its regional allies Saudi Arabia and UAE to change their foreign policies towards some of the small African countries like Eritrea. And also it pushed the UN to lift sanctions on the Eritrea government. That was meaning for Eritrea to get rid of its isolation in the continent, and at the same time, it means for the United States to keep Eritrea away from Chinese influence by encouraging regional ally countries affiliating for the new agreements and partnerships. In this regard, the Ethiopia-Eritrea peace agreement materialized and with the new political peace environment between the two African countries, Eritrea has become a balancing point in favor of the US interests again.

The other issue for becoming a theater of rivalry between China and the US is the Sudan affair and deadlock because of the competition of superpowers for the last two decades. Why Sudan was important for China and the US interests? The answer is crossing again on the oil and energy resources and greedy policies of the competing countries. In this regard, China was the big supporter of former president Omar al-

Bashir, and during the years of his presidency, the Chinese firms dominated the oil industry of Sudan. Accordingly, the financial means that the Sudanese government needed and the weaponry to wage war against the rebel groups had been provided by the Chinese government. In this regard, China had not hesitated to break the international laws by selling weapons to the Sudanese government and also the arms embargo implied by the UN. In this context, the current ruling government was a guarantee for Chinese oil investments and influence. Afterward, with the independence of South Sudan in 2011, things had started to change for China but in any way, it continued to support its ally, the Northern part of the Sudan al-Bashir government. Admittedly, with the regional influence and impact of their power, American allies Saudi Arabia and UAE were in charge again for organizing the big street demonstrations and finally, throwing the Chinese ally al-Bashir government in 2019. At this point, the Chinese influence in Sudan was at risk again as being sidelined by Sudan's Transitional Military Council (TMC) which was a close ally of the UAE and Saudi Arabia which means the US government indirectly. (POMEPS, 2021). In this regard, it can be argued that the partnership between the Gulf countries and the United States ensures to retain American interests in the region and also serves to containment policy. But, in reality, whether this policy works or not, it is still questionable because of the certain dynamics of the geopolitical features of the region. Because, with the independence of South Sudan by the separation of Sudan into two parts in 2011, the oil refineries remained on the south side, but the pipeline to carry the oil remained on the northern side. All it means, all parties and their benefactors need each other to share the resources. Taking into account all of these developments, African countries have no option other than to pursue the smart decision-making efforts to balance their alliances, and foreign policy approach within the competition and relentless power projection efforts of the superpowers. In this regard, they need to find a secure and beneficial response for their sake. Otherwise, it seems that the second social and economical destruction seems probable for the underdeveloped countries of Africa after the cold war. Shinn (2016, p.33) states that some of the African countries that are trying to find their way in this relentless competition feel closer to China rather than the United States. In this regard, it is effective in their decision that China does not touch upon issues such as governance and human rights, as the United States does, and establishes good relations with autocratic governments.

Under these circumstances, with the changing dynamics of the African region, the created partnerships are also prone to the new changes with the engagement of the new powers within the theater of rivalry. Surely, there are also arguments asserting that the African countries should pick up the opportunity to improve their underdeveloped nations with smart decision-making strategies by not positioning any of the parties' sides, instead of equal partnership. Emphasizing that the African continent, like China and Russia, has its own interests and therefore should desire African-centered cooperation areas, Monyae (2018, p.351) argues that otherwise the missed opportunities of the Cold War period may be lost again for the African countries. According to him, Africa does not have to take a side as it did during the cold war period. Instead, developing partnerships that take into account the new world order and prioritize the interests of Africa in investments will prevent the old vicious circle from being repeated again.

As a result, with the new emerging powers and their influence in the theater, like China and Russia, and their vast investments consisting of nearly all the continent, the multipolarity possibility for the African rivalry seems to be determined in the near future. In this context, the survival of the African countries and prevention of the new cold war and its side effects on the region would be depending on their Africa-centered and prospective decisions and partnerships with the present-day superpowers. But, first of all, they need to figure out the dynamics of the superpowers' foreign policy conception before determining their decision-making strategies for their countries' prosperity in the future.

3.3. Traditional European Countries and Africa

As Zartman (1976, p.325) drew attention to the fact that although it has been 15 years since Africa gained its independence, that European states are still influential in the continent and this situation continues indirectly, if not directly. In this context, he supported these views with examples and stated that even though African states gained their independence physically, the political, economic, and cultural influence of Europe was still effective in the continent. According to him, even though the military occupations and sovereignty rights in the African lands have actually ended, the effects of European hegemony, especially of England and France, continues on the continent in various ways by maintaining investments, reasonable amounts of

aid, and technical supports with the flow of businessman and diplomats on the ground. He stated that symbolically the most important of the abovementioned examples is the Lome Convention, which is a mutual trade and cooperation agreement that gathered 37 independent African countries and 9 European countries on February 28, 1975. As asserted in the argument, the traditional European colonizing countries left the African continent on paper, for the sake of procedure, but they still dominate the continent by keeping the cultural, economical, and political ties as bound to their sphere of influence in Africa. In line with this information, the Lome Convention can be cited as the cornerstone for the continuation of the Europeans in the continent. Despite the decolonization movements has been sparked and spread after World War II because of the weakness of the war-torn European countries, and the other players like the US, Russia, and China took the lead to fill the vacuum in Africa, the political, economical, and mainly cultural ties of the traditional European countries still alive in the black continent. As indicated abovementioned argument that the first initiative to ensure their presence in the black continent was the Lome Convention signed between the European economic community and African countries in 1975. The main aim of the agreement was to create a new framework for the cooperation between Africa and traditional European countries mainly French, Britain, Belgium, and Dutch who were the previous influential colonizing powers in the continent. (Aei.pitt.edu, 1977). It was focusing on mainly agricultural products like beef, sugar, and also minerals regarding the quotas and exporting procedures between the parties. When we return to today's conditions, it can be easily seen that these agreements continue in various ways, formations, and under different names between the underdeveloped nations of Africa and the old traditional colonizing countries. In other words, the Lome Convention is so influential and deep-rooted in the continent that even the US petitioned to WTO (World Trade Organization) in 1995, claiming that the Lome convention regulations do not comply with the WTO in the continent. Finally, with the agreement between the US and the European Union countries, the dispute has been resolved between parties about sharing the invaluable natural resources of the black continent. By giving this specific example, this study aims to draw attention and submit a prevailing reality that the prosperity and development of the African countries are already overshadowed by the rivalry of the competing powers in the continent. On the other hand, it can be argued that Germany and Britain become distinct from other traditional countries in terms of influence especially in Sub-Saharan African countries by reflecting

multidimensional foreign policy approaches and making huge investments in the bilateral cooperation areas of economic, cultural, diplomatic, and educational programs. In this sense, mainly trade and cultural investments become a specific focus for their engagement policies in the African continent. In this context, the subconscious cause of their engagement policies towards Africa lies under the idea of their consideration of Africa as their sacred place for their international foreign policy understanding.

3.4. Russia and Africa

Although Russia has lost its previous influence in Africa with the collapse of the Soviet Union after 1991, the new influential Russian approach has been covering the continent and trying to compensate for the former losses of the Soviet Union. In this case, the foreign policy of the new, “independent” Russian Federation changed completely with President Putin’s enthusiasm as a new state focused on solving the economical and social problems at home, and struggling to find a place for itself again in the new post-Cold War period. In this context, the relations between Russia and Africa started to flourish in the early 2000s by the determination of the Russian side to re-establish a presence in the region. The main concern of Russia for engagement with Africa was that the other competitive powers were intensifying their involvement in Africa to secure access to natural resources and valuable energy reserves of the continent. In this endeavor, Vladimir Putin’s visit to the Republic of South Africa in 2006 was the first-ever presidential visit by a Russian leader to Africa, and a sign of starting point for bilateral relations with African countries like South Africa, Angola, Ethiopia, Sudan, Central African Republic, Mali, and the others.

In recent years, the Russian Federation has increased its presence in Africa, both bilaterally and in its multilateral dimension. In this context, the Russian economic expansion into Africa has involved primarily in the fields of extraction of metals, diamonds, and the energy sector. Because Russia needs energy resources more than anything for its still growing industry and economy. Regarding this issue, Kiles (2013, p.11) pointed out that Russia needs energy for its developing economy and most importantly, for the modernization of the defense industry, therefore the African continent is very important for Russia. For this purpose, cooperation agreements with African countries generally cover the energy sector and defense industry products as

the high-cost Russian state projects in the African continent. Accordingly, Russia gives more importance to energy-based agreements on the African continent and tries to flourish bilateral cooperation accordingly. In addition to this, As Stilo (2019, p.41) stated that Russia's interest in Africa includes not only exports of weapon systems and strategic consultancy in the field of defense, but also nuclear energy as well. In this context, the energy company Rosatom, which represents Russia in energy investments and is the world leader in providing nuclear reactors, takes the lead and becomes the implementer of the Russian strategy in Africa. In this context, in terms of nuclear energy building projects carried out by Russia, the most influential one is the El Dabaa nuclear power plant located in Egypt. In this regard, the scope of the project is that Russia will provide nuclear fuel components, including uranium and aluminum for the next 10 years. And also the financing of the project loaned by Russia with the terms of 22 years. (Power Magazine, 2021). Accordingly, the other famous one is the Nigeria power plant project that Russia has built on the continent. Moreover, Russia signed bilateral agreements to build a nuclear power plant in Sudan, and also similar agreements are underway for the development of civil atomic energy programs with the other African countries. As a result, it can be argued that if there is competition in terms of providing nuclear reactors and building energy-driven projects, the Russian influence dominates the continent because of its flexible partnership understanding. As Stilo (2019 p.41-47) stated that similar agreements for the development of civil atomic energy programs have been stipulated (or are about to be stipulated, after signing the Memorandum of Understanding) by Rosatom with Kenya, Ethiopia, Zambia, South Africa, Uganda, Namibia, Ghana, Tanzania, Rwanda, Republic of the Congo. In just four years, Rosatom has essentially replaced the former French multinational Areva (the current Orano) as the first supplier of civil nuclear power of the Black Continent.

The further element for Russian engagement is military investments and it is one of the main pillars of Russian-African business relationships. In this regard, Russia is the second weapon supplier country to Africa and this military assistance gives Russia access to the energy and mining sectors of African countries. And by doing this, the Russian preferred method can be cited as giving weaponry supplies first employing loans for years and in flexible ways, and then set the business deals and concessions accordingly in other areas. There is even a Russian motto regarding this

business conception, saying that ‘‘Arms first and then business together.’’ (Dw.com, 2021). In this way, Russia utilizes this foreign policy approach almost at every partnership level including nuclear power plant establishment and also at the other large and small Russian initiatives.

As a result, today, Russia benefits from some of the relations established by the Soviet Union with various African states during the Cold War period. However, today’s Russia does not have its own military base and military assets of the USSR times and trying to find a ground in terms of building a military base in one of the strategic parts of the continent. In this regard, the latest efforts of the Russian sideshow that its inclination to realize this dream will continue in the foreseeable future. Because, for the effective influence in the region, a military base is one of the necessities for the competing powers to ensure their interests and trade routes on the African continent.

3.5. Brasil and Africa

Before analyzing the Brazil-Africa relations, we first learn about the IBSA Dialogue Forum and the seeds of bilateral relations between Brazil and Africa. IBSA Dialogue Forum was established between India, Brazil, South Africa as an international tripartite grouping for promoting international cooperation among these countries in 2003. This forum provides these three countries an opportunity to develop partnerships in the fields of agriculture, trade, culture, education, energy, social development, and bilateral defense mechanisms. This forum aims to promote South-South cooperation and bilateral support on international issues. In this regard, Brazil's engagement with Africa started with the first-ever presidential visit to South Africa in 1994. It was the time of the first South African non-racial elections and since then Brazil-South Africa relations improving steadily with the contribution of the IBSA, especially on trade and social development projects. However, even if Brazil has the opportunities for bilateral partnerships in the region, it has a big disadvantage not to have an active nongovernmental organizations capacity and bulky bureaucratic structure which cannot fit the foreign policy aspirations of the Brazilian government. Alves (2013, p.37-44) argued that Brazil has started a proactive soft power initiative for development-related areas in Africa and that these initiatives are mainly based on financial support and logistical infrastructure projects in underdeveloped countries of

the continent. Besides, the Brazilian government supports these initiatives with the proactive diplomacy it implements in its foreign policy engagements. However, despite all these attempts, it is seen that due to the weakness of its institutional harmony domestically and deficiencies such as flexibility in the bureaucracy, it cannot achieve its foreign policy goals and remains inefficient in international competition in the African continent. Accordingly, these aforementioned disruptions create considerable challenges for the sustainability of the engagement.

As a result, despite all these negativities, Brazil-Africa partnership initiatives have been strongly growing and expanding in the region because of its huge trade potential and vast oil resources capacity.

3.6. Israel and Africa

Relations between Israel and Africa are based on an interesting destiny of the two countries forcing themselves to find a common ground on a partnership with the notion of struggle for independence. These two countries are South Africa and Israel. Mitchell claims in his study that the English rules are still valid as part of the legal code in Israel and South Africa even today and that the two communities have common aspects in terms of their sacred belief system as well. According to him, the settlers in Israel, South Africa, and Ulster are covenanting peoples who run their societies on the basis of a code inherited from ancient Israel and the Tora hor Pentateuch portion of the old testament. (Mitchell, 2000, p.233-237). Or in other saying, the abovementioned argument reflects that this was the strategy for Israel to find a religious common ground with a Christian African country to start an engagement with the continent. If that was the case, South Africa was a perfect playground for Israel to find similarities both religiously and also socially. In this regard, in the 1940s, both South Africa and Israelite states were seeking independence and partner countries that can recognize their presence officially. In this sense, the first African country that voted at the UN partition plan in favor of Israel was South Africa in 1947. Especially after the declaration of independence, the first state from Africa to recognize Israel's independence and grant de jure recognition was South Africa again. Accordingly, the relations between these two countries improved during the years. Even after the 1967 Six-Day War and the West Bank occupation by Israel did not change the relations between South Africa and Israel although the other African states saw Israel as a

colonial state and broke off ties with it. On the other hand, despite its international loneliness, Israel has continued to support South Africa especially at the UN assembly against the commonwealth nations. As a result, because of the bilateral solidarity of these two countries, the collaboration improved gradually in favor of the Israel state. After 1973 the partnership between the two countries started to flourish economically and militarily as well. And also the South African Airways started to fly between Johannesburg and Tel Aviv. But, the interesting point to mention in this particular subject is that even though this flight route was banned from using the airspace of most of the other African countries, the flight took the route as a detour around West Africa. The other significant element to mention is that the determination of these two countries to continue their bilateral partnership despite all the obstacles they faced with the other nations of the African continent.

Until the 2000s there is no specific partnership initiative with the other African countries because of the fact that the Israeli government couldn't find strong cooperation fields except the South African case. And the other big opportunity for Israel can be cited as the Kenyan hostage rescue mission that took place in 2013 in the aftermath of the Al-Shabab terror attack to a shopping mall in Kenya. I was in Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya in 2013 as a Military Attache to Kenya and had a chance to witness this dramatic event that took place in the Kenyan capital city. A famous shopping mall named Westgate Mall was raided down by the militias of the al-Shabaab terrorist group and hundreds of people were held as hostages inside the mall for four days, and also the other hundreds were killed both by the attack of the militants and the bombs that they had detonated inside and around the mall. As for the Kenyan security forces, they were helpless to contain these crises which attracted the attention of the world in an instant. Because, there were hundreds of people inside the shopping mall, including the citizens of the other countries as well. Interestingly, Israel took the opportunity and sent its troops to provide assistance to Kenyan security forces in the hostage rescue mission and contained the terrorists from widening their attacks and threaten Kenyan internal security. After the mission was completed, of course, the Kenyan government appreciated this gesture and extended a friendly hand to Israel. This was the turning point for Israel to improve its relations with Kenya, and follow the conception of any possibility for engagement with Africa. Emphasizing the importance of this rapprochement, Butime (2014, p.81-89) underlined that the

Westgate hostage rescue operation in 2013, in which Israel was actively involved, was an important opportunity for Israel to engage with the other parts of the African continent. In this context, he stated that Africa has presented both difficulties and opportunities for Israel to exist successfully in the world system since the first day the Jewish state was founded.

Within this framework, it can be argued that Israel considers all opportunities as vital and very important to grab because it gives tremendous importance to ensure the security of the Horn of Africa to contain both Iranian influence and also the militant flows of terrorist organizations through the Gulf of Aden. That is why all the partnership initiatives especially with Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan, and other coastal countries are indispensable and important for Israel.

3.7. Iran-Saudi Rivalry and Africa

Although the Saudi-Iranian rivalry in Africa goes parallel with the dynamics and balances of the ideological competition in the Middle East region, the rivalry between these two countries is mainly based on their regime survival purposes. By means of using the ideological causes as an excuse for their schism, the ideological competition spread over the African continent as well since it has started after the Iranian revolution in 1979. But on the other hand, this rivalry for the sphere of influence in Africa is not the same as in the Middle East region and is mainly overshadowed by the influence and power of the western countries and their modern way of partnership initiatives. Especially because of the conception that Iranians and Saudis are supporting the radicalism in the continent by providing assistance to the charity organizations, and the lack of engagement capacity in a contemporary way of cooperation is making the region impenetrable for these two countries. (Zoppi, 2013) states that although the political developments in the Middle East were largely determined in the Camp David agreement in 1978, the recent events such as the Iranian Islamic Revolution, the Iran-Iraq war, and the invasion of Kuwait in 1991 discouraged Saudis and their effectiveness in the Horn of Africa. The biggest reason for this policy was nothing but the survival of its own regime against its arch-rivals, Iranians, and their expansionist policies in the region. Although Saudi-supported organizations and institutions continue their activities in the region, the latest terrorist attacks on the US embassy in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 not only weakened the Saudi activities but

also caused its decline politically. In this regard, he also argued that due to the international pressure they were exposed to, especially after the September 11 attacks, the Saudis had to close most of the charitable organizations that were in close links with terrorist organizations. In reality, it is an established fact that Al-Qaida linked militants and the other jihadist radical terrorist organizations like Al-Shabab and Boko-Haram are backed by the Saudis and also Iranians just because of the rivalry based on their ideological understanding. Admittedly, there are countries who use this fact as an opportunity for their own influence by using these countries as proxies for their penetration in some areas or their presence in any specific region. For example the reflection of the US-Saudi alliance to contain Iranian and Chinese influence and to keep the populations of the controlled countries as allies to the US for the next foreseeable future. On the other hand, the same endeavor has also been improved by the Chinese-Iranian partnership against the rivals. The big issue between Saudis and Iranians is the control of the Horn of Africa region for the purpose of containing their sphere of influence and protecting their interests on the waterways of the Gulf of Aden and also the Persian Gulf. Because of this rivalry, Yemen was subjected to these countries' ideological warfare, with the aim of keeping the strategic areas under their control. (Taylor, 2016) argued that the deadly civil war and turmoil in Yemen can be given as one of the most prominent examples in this regard. Accordingly, due to its strategic location at the entrance of the Red Sea region, Yemen, has become a battleground of different groups which both Saudi Arabia and Iran are supporting and trying to control for their ideological rivalry.

The other competition areas for Saudi-Iranian rivalry in the Horn of Africa region can be presented as Eritrea, Djibouti, Sudan, and Somalia. In this regard, both countries see the Horn of Africa as strategic for their interests and that is why they relentlessly competing for controlling these underdeveloped small countries of Africa. On this subject, with the ideological approaches, the monetary supports and the alliance with the hegemon powers are also stand out for the outcome of this rivalry. For instance, while the US-Saudi alliance competes in Sudan against the China-Iran alliance by toppling Omar al-Bashir regime and cutting the Chinese-Iranian ties from the current government, the same contest continues again between these two groups to gain access to Djibouti and Eritrea ports to build a naval base to control the read sea waterways for their interests. As Lefebvre (2012, p.117-131) states that the Horn of

Africa takes its geostrategic importance both from its proximity to the Indian Ocean and that it controls the entrance of the Red Sea and global trade routes in the region. Especially the trade routes used by the merchant ships transporting the crude oil extracted in the gulf and destined to Europe and America providing a dominant position for the Horn of Africa. All these factors not only attracted the attention of the countries of the region but also pushed them into fierce competition to control these strategic positions. The other reason for Saudi anxiety about the Persian Gulf, they consider that the Iranian regime uses this canal to provide assistance to Yemen's Hutsi rebels to change the current authority in the country. Naturally, any possibility of the change of balance inside any of the regions which are under the influence of the Saudi regime means directly a threat to the presence and spread of the Wahhabi expansion in the Islamic world. Or in the opposite, to Iranian religious conception. In the final analysis, the main reason for the Iran-Saudi rivalry in Africa first and foremost is based on the struggle for the existence of the regimes instead of a multidimensional and contemporary way of political and economic collaborations with the African countries.

3.8. Turkey-Africa Relations

Colonization activities of European countries gained momentum after the developments such as reform and the industrial revolution and have caused significant changes in the political, economic, and military understanding of the European countries. This new type of political understanding has affected both European states themselves, and the other non-European states like Ottoman Empire. In this sense, the first political and military struggles were fought by the Ottoman state to protect northern Africa against Portuguese expansionism. For this purpose, various alliances were established within the scope of bilateral cooperation against Portugal with regional countries such as Kanem-Bornu (Nigeria), Kingdom of Abyssinia (Ethiopia), and Kingdom of Zanzibar (Tanzania). However, the Ottoman state could not adapt to the latest technological, political and military developments of its era and had to change its foreign policy regarding Africa due to the threat of Catholic alliance from the west and tsarist Russia's threat from the north. Another loser of the international system, which was dominated and operated by the European states, was Africa in terms of both relentless colonization and complete loss of its sovereignty during this period. As a result of all these developments, "colonialism meant the loss of sovereignty,

mercantilism meant the establishment of the colonial order and navy meant occupation forces for Africans.” (Toprak & Tatar, 2017, p.836).

On the other hand, the main reason for the slow progress of modern Turkey-Africa relations had been its priorities such as giving importance to its own economic development and political and military cooperation in its immediate surroundings following its foundation years. In this regard, between the two world wars period, Turkey followed a cautious foreign policy towards Africa in line with its own power capacity and security-oriented concerns in its immediate surroundings. In addition, during these years, when political and ideological polarization was at its peak, Turkey's foreign policy approach was to stand by the western bloc and adopt a western-centered stance towards its periphery. Likewise, Turkey's approach to becoming in the western bloc and develop similar policies have continued during the decolonization period as well. However, due to this western-oriented foreign policy understanding, there had been a crisis of trust in the eyes of African countries towards Turkey, and as a result, bilateral relations had been interrupted between Turkey and Africa throughout the decolonization period. Within this framework, the most tangible examples of this situation were seen first with Turkey's political stance towards the non-aligned movement at the Bandung conference in 1955, and subsequent developments that took place as a result of its abstention in the vote of the recognition of Algeria's independence in the UN General Assembly in 1958. As (Toprak & Tatar, 2017, p.839) pointed out that at that time, Turkey was trying to justify its foreign policy approach with the assumption that it coincided with the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and respecting the integrity of other countries. However, Turkey's foreign policy attitude in the face of these two specific events brought about a crisis of confidence in the eyes of the African countries, and the identification of Turkey with the traditional colonial countries.

With the end of the cold war period, Turkey's foreign policy understanding has also changed in accordance with the developments in the international system, and a more effective and proactive foreign policy strategy has been adopted, unlike the cold war period. In this context, sending soldiers to the international peacekeeping force (UNOSOM) in Somalia between 1993-1994 can be considered as one of the first steps taken within the scope of this new foreign policy understanding. (TSK, 2021). In addition to this conception, Turkey has also been involved in regional integration

processes, and in this context, the Africa Action Plan was put into practice in 1998. Following the Africa Action Plan, there have been many positive developments in bilateral economic and political relations and subsequently, it became a strategic partner of the African Union in 2008. At the same time, Turkey did not remain indifferent to the political developments that took place in the African continent and updated its foreign policy accordingly. Within this framework, Arab Spring and subsequent developments can be submitted as the most prominent events in terms of showing that Turkey has adopted a divergent stance from the western countries. These developments are of significance in terms of reflecting that a more unique foreign policy has been adopted towards the African continent by comparison with the previous policies of pre-Cold War and Cold War periods. By giving priority to the Sub-Saharan countries, which is the poorest and most problematic region of the African continent, Turkey has given importance to infrastructure investments along with the basic needs of the region as well, and in this way, it has increased its visibility in the international arena. Along with the success of investments in Africa and the increasing bilateral relations with the continental countries, it gained the right to become a member of the African Development Bank in 2013. (AfDB, 2021). In this context, unlike other actors in the continent; Being an ideal country for Africans with its dynamic structure, combining many cultural and ethnic elements, and modern and democratic form, Turkey is becoming one step ahead with its adoption of the principle of equality in bilateral relations, its religious structure, and the absence of a colonial past as a clean state in the Africans' understanding. Within this framework, considering the dynamics of international competition in the region, it primarily differs from China with its central, and autonomous aid organizations that it can easily implement and coordinate its foreign aid initiatives. In addition, contrary to the United States and traditional European countries, which offer preconditions such as human rights, democratization and bilateral military agreements in their foreign policy practices, Turkey's adoption of a flexible and equal partnership-based policy approach makes Turkey more visible to African peoples. Simultaneously with the developmental needs of the region, security issues are also within the scope of interest to Turkey, and in this context, various investments were also made in the field of military cooperation and the defense sector. In this context, TURKSOM military training base, which was opened in Somalia in 2017, cadet exchange programs between Turkey-Somalia, military pilot training agreements with Kenya, and military

presence in Libya since 2020 can be cited as performed examples to these abovementioned investments.

Consequently, new economic processes emerge in the modern world system which includes the rivalry between the Euro-Atlantic old center countries and Asia-Pacific new center powers. The African continent is also affected by this transformation and is subject to significant changes accordingly. Within this framework, it is necessary to evaluate Turkey's differentiation with the former central powers such as the EU and the USA, regarding its diplomacy in the African continent, through the systemic impact of the new central powers such as Russia and China, which are also influential in the African continent. In this manner, it is seen that Turkey has not been able to fully demonstrate the targeted development in its political and economic relations with African states which are positioned around the world economy. Following the military coup in Sudan in 2019, the unilateral termination of the settled agreement by the new administration regarding the establishment of a military base on the Suakin island can be cited as a tangible example of this issue. In other words, it is seen that Turkey has recently given importance to military diplomacy in order to preserve its investments as long-term partnerships, which aspired to develop through soft power diplomacy in the continent. On the other hand, it is a generally accepted fact that the abolition of colonialism and acquisition of independence could not save the African continent from being the center of conflicts of interest, civil wars, and competition of international actors. For these reasons, African countries have not been able to complete their socio-economic development and state system which operates in a contemporary way. Emphasizing the weakness of the state structure in Africa, Wallerstein (2020, p.86-89) argued that one of the biggest problems of Africa is the weakness of state structures and that if Africans claim to be included in the world system, they will be fighting against windmills. Accordingly, he underlined the formations of the state systems in his renowned world system theory by using divergent units of analysis regarding the formation processes of states from a long historical perspective. In this approach, three groups of formations which are called states or regions have been distinguished and identified. "The core states, the semi-periphery states and lastly the periphery." (Pal, 2017, p.44). With this description, the purpose was to describe how the modern state system come into existence since the 16th century, in harmony with each other and in such a way that each group depends

on the existence of the other. Accordingly, this interdependency has developed and shaped over time depending upon the economies and industries of states and has become a supra-state world system organization. In other words, the theory argues that this dependency relationship between the units should be understood from a broader perspective, which comprises of the interconnected world system, instead of states or their groupings. Admittedly, since the international political system is not bipolar in today's world, and has no hierarchical structure, inherently, more attention is paid to the vulnerable African continent by the ambitious states which have an aspiration to become a regional power.

However, as indicated in the previous sentences, the structure of the world economic system, the influence of the old institutions of the traditional states that came to the region within the scope of colonial activities, and their economic and cultural connections, and, last but not least, the fragile social structure of the continent must also be taken into account before considering long term investments in Africa. When considered from this perspective, for longer-term gains, it seems inevitable that the upcoming period will constitute a new stage for Turkey, where it will comprise of alliances with the central powers of the world system and find a multinational diplomatic approach rather than acting alone in Africa.

Concerning this aforementioned information, in the new world order, to develop long-term partnerships and institutionalize the relations with Africa, it has become a necessity to be integrated with the international and regional organizations in the region as well as the states and carry out diplomacy in cooperation with them. In this regard, it should not be denied that the effects of regional organizations have increased rapidly in the globalized world order and form an important place for both regional development and cooperation within the continent, and also for the integration into the world system. Within this direction, Turkey should also take more consistent, holistic, and multidimensional initiatives to acquire partnerships and provide support for the activities of the regional organizations in the continent, including the African Union. In this context, the influence and importance of regional organizations in the African continent, and Turkey's cooperation process with these organizations will be analyzed in detail in the following chapter.

SECTION 4: THE INFLUENCE AND IMPORTANCE OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND TURKEY'S ENGAGEMENT PROCESS

4.1. The Importance of Regional Organizations for the African Continent

Regional organizations in the African continent make great efforts to change the direction of the continent towards prosperity with their partnerships and initiatives at the international level. In this regard, at present where the rapid changes are witnessed in international relations, the African countries have both been trying to create solidarity and also assisting with regional initiatives to transform them into effective international institutions. On the one hand, in connection with the spread of the independence movements that started with Ghana in 1957 and spread to the whole continent, it is seen that the idea of unity prevails all over Africa and the need for local organizations whose names and rules are determined with the same purpose has increased accordingly. Within this framework, with the increase of the independence movements in the following years, African countries felt obliged to act jointly and supported the establishment of regional organizations, both because of the continuity of certain problems in the continent, and to integrate into the international system more easily. Accordingly, as underlined by social constructivists; unlike realism and liberalism theories, the interests and identities of states are shaped in a certain historical process through the convergence of identities and conception of socialization between themselves. Thus, the structure and agent relations are built together and mutually influence each other. (Tandoğan, 2015, p.640). In this manner, when the transformation process in Africa is examined within the same framework of this basic view, it is seen that by uniting under the same roof of the regional organizations and subjecting to common practices carried out in their representation ensures the socialization and bilateral partnerships of the African countries.

As a result, it can be argued that Alexander Wendth's structuralist approach offers a new opportunity for identity building of African society by assuming that identity and international social structures are mutually constructed and affect the foreign policy of the nations. With this feature, it differs from other theories such as neorealism as well, which advocates the anarchic feature of the international structure where there is no central authority keeping the social structure in order. (Wenth, 1987, p.337). In this regard, understanding what are the main pillars of diplomatic behaviors

between the regional organizations and competing powers at the state and institutional level is becoming a very important issue for understanding the dimension of the rivalry in the African region. In light of the abovementioned information, this chapter will focus on the fact that the competing powers have contacts and interactions with the regional institutions as well, and this fact has been becoming a part of the international relations in Africa. Because the competing parties know the reality that one of the best strategies for the ideal engagement with Africa is to get involved with the influential and internationally entitled organizations of the continent. To examine this issue, it is important to understand these regional institutions which have an increasing influence on the large-scale trade and economic cooperation as a result of the globalization and social transformation in the modern world system. Due to these reasons, the bilateral cooperation conception has been becoming an indispensable strategy for the rising powers of the world both at the state and also at the institutional level in Africa. In this context, regional organizations that are influential in the African continent and Turkey's engagement with these institutions will be analyzed in the following sections.

4.2. Southern African Customs Union (SACU)

The Southern African Customs Union (SACU) is a regional integration and arrangement movement that combines its structure and trade activities with the Free Trade Area (FTA). Although its history dates back to the 1889 Customs Union Convention between the British Colony of Cape of Good Hope and the Orange Free State Boer Republic, the new and updated version of the SACU organization was established in Namibia by the participation of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland (BLS) Namibia and South Africa. (SACU, 2021). According to the foundational principles, it is seen that the main object of this organization is to take measures to guarantee a regional market for the member states. In this regard, China has signed trade agreements with the SACU countries by using its influence of the BRICS grouping partnership with South Africa. (China Briefing, 2019). Given the Chinese trade volume with the African countries, the amenities provided in the trade tariffs, and also the political influence that China gains in this regional organization, SACU engagement is becoming indispensable for Chinese foreign policy. As for the United States, it also signed an agreement with the SACU countries in 2008 and created a formal mechanism for its trade activities in the SACU region. (USTR News, 2008). Although the SACU region is not rich in natural resources like oil and gas, however, the United

States' foreign policy strategy needs to keep both the trade balance and also the political influence under control in the Horn of Africa and South Africa region. On the other hand, the potential of the SACU trade organization allows US companies for trading a wide range of goods such as minerals, metals, agricultural products, and chemicals with the regional countries.

Regarding the relations between Turkey and SACU countries, it had not been at the expected level since the Nelson Mandela period until the 1990s. After the first visit of the Turkish delegation to South Africa and then the Business Summit held by Turkey in 2008, the relations between Turkey and SACU countries especially South Africa started to improve and gave momentum to the IGAD partnership as well. Accordingly, the Turkish Embassy in Addis Ababa is accredited to (IGAD) in 2012 to provide suitable diplomacy for bilateral cooperation in the region. (TASAM, 2008).

4.3. African Union (AU)

The Organization of African Union (AU) was established in 1963 to ensure political, social, and economic integration, as well as maintaining peace and stability in the African continent. (AU, 2021). Headquartered in Addis Ababa, the organization has other offices in Geneva, Vienna, and Nairobi as well. Bringing African countries together on common ground, the AU tries to find solutions to both local and international problems in the Continent under the claim of being the representative of all Africa. Essentially, with the start of the independence movements after World War II, their common historical backgrounds have made it necessary to develop cooperation and solidarity among young African states against both local and international problems, and ultimately, this led to the establishment of the AU as an umbrella organization. Within this framework, it can be argued that the foundational purpose of the AU is to strengthen solidarity and cooperation among Africans, defend the independence and territorial integrity of African countries, destroy all forms of colonialism, fight against racism, increase the welfare of the people, and finally to develop international cooperation in accordance with the foundational principles of the United Nations. When the mediation activities undertaken by the AU since its establishment are examined, it is seen that it has been institutionally successful in limiting the conflicts between the states of the region. In this context, the important role it has played in resolving border disputes between Morocco and Algeria and

putting down the border conflicts between Kenya-Somalia and Somalia-Ethiopia can be cited as visible examples of its success as a regional organization. Additionally, it was emphasized in the founding principles of the AU that the self-determination of the peoples is indispensable right and that putting an end to all kinds of colonialism is a necessity in Africa. (Karaosmanoğlu, 1981 p.71). The union's political encouragement of independence movements against the apartheid rule in 1994 and support of the democratic initiatives can be presented as an example within this purpose. In this regard, the basic principles of the African Union can be listed as follows: (Ateş, 2021, p. 277)

- Accelerating the process of political and socio-economic integration on the continent,
- Defending the common interests of African countries and peoples,
- To promote sustainable development in member countries,
- Contributing to peace and security in Africa,
- To promote the establishment of human rights, good governance, and democratic institutions on the continent and raise the standard of living for the indigenous people,
- To promote unity and solidarity among African countries,
- To protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of member states,
- To cooperate with all other international organizations to maintain these principles.

As can be seen from the abovementioned information, the African Union aims to keep African countries together and is the largest and most effective organization in the continent. It is seen that this responsibility and authorization generally covers all areas from the social development to security problems of the continent and has a direct influence on the international relations of the regional countries as well.

Another important issue regarding the African continent is the security problems that have spread almost all over the region. In this direction, as (Akçay & Dinçer, 2015, p.61-78) indicated that sustainable and effective security policies of the African Union stand as a necessity in overcoming the presuppositions that the continent is insecure and unstable. Due to these reasons, the African Union, which is considered as a common platform where Africa's security problems and solutions can

be negotiated, is important both for the future of the continent and for the security policies of international actors as well.

In the case of Turkey's position in the fifty-four member African Union community, it can be argued that Turkey-AU relations gained momentum first with the Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit held in Istanbul on 18-21 August 2008 and continues to increase within the framework of bilateral cooperation since that period. Although Turkey's relations with the AU were limited until the 2000s, it has developed gradually after 2005 with the Opening to Africa initiative. As a result of these positive developments, Turkey was first given the status of an observer country and then was declared as a strategic partner of the AU in 2008. (Kanlı & Yazıcıoğlu, 2008, p.11-15). All these improvements meant that Turkey established a strong institutional partnership with the AU by gaining strategic ties which have remarkable implications for the new Turkish foreign policy. Some of these implications can be cited as having a right to play a more active role in the regional organizations, developing multidimensional engagements with different regions, having a chance to increase its geopolitical influence on the African continent, and lastly, taking responsibility to contribute to international peace and security efforts in Africa. As a result, it can be argued that having institutional ties with the AU is an important opportunity for Turkey in terms of developing economic and social relations with the countries of the region. In other words, the African Union partnership has strategic importance for Turkish foreign policy to develop multidimensional relations with all African countries.

4.4. African Development Bank (AfDB)

The African Development Bank was established in 1964 and it has currently 54 African, and 26 non-African member countries. This organization aims to promote economic and social development on the African continent in principle. Structurally, it is divided into three branches, the African Development Bank (AfDB), the African Development Fund (ADF), and Nigeria Trust Fund (NTF). (AfDb, 2021). Therefore, by the nature of the organization, there is a precondition for the non-regional countries who aspires a membership from AfDB; they need to attain membership status of the African Development Fund (ADF) at the beginning, and then develop their partnership policies in accordance with the regional countries. (Tepebaş & Manneh, 2009, p.81-85).

In this context, China became a member of the African Development Fund (ADF) and the African Development Bank in 1985 respectively. Accordingly, it expands partnership on the economic growth and infrastructural development of the member countries. (Schiere, 2011, p.5-22). Considering the amount of support that China pledged to provide at the China-Africa summit in 2018, worth US 60 billion packages, the size of the rivalry appears gradually between the superpowers. On the other hand, the partnership history of the United States with the African Development Fund goes back to 1976 and the membership with the African Development Bank in 1983. In this context, for the establishment of the partnership with the regional organizations in Africa, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) is authorized and actively working to ensure up-to-date partnership agreements and implementations with the small and medium-sized enterprises and partnering banks of the member countries. (AfDb, 2021).

As for Turkey's position in the organization; as mentioned in the previous section, Turkey gained first the observer status in the African Union in 2005 and then three years later, the first Turkey-Africa Summit hosted by Turkey in Istanbul in 2008. Finally, with the improving and concentrated interactions, Turkey and African Development Bank signed a partnership agreement in 2013, giving Turkey the 78th member state status in the ADF (African Development Fund) organization. (AfDb, 2021). Accordingly, Turkey makes annual financial support to AU around 1 million US dollars and maintains its membership status to improve its ties with the regional countries. (MFA, 2021).

4.5. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

The Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is founded in 1975 with the participation of 15 member states and to promote economic integration between the member countries. The member countries of ECOWAS are Benin, Burkina Faso, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Senegal, and Togo. (ECOWAS, 2021). This organization is another main pillar for the influence of the Africa rivalry of the superpowers to gain an advantage in the western part of the continent as well. Within this context, China signed an implementation agreement to rebuild the headquarters of the organization in 2019. (ECOWAS, 2019). Admittedly, it would be a starting point for the Chinese foreign

policy approach to promote the bilateral partnership with the ECOWAS member countries.

In the case of Turkey and ECOWAS relations, the interactions with the organization started in 2003 and have been moving in the expected direction gradually since that period. In practice, a milestone marked by the bilateral trade and investment cooperation agreement in the economic and business forum hosted by Turkey in Istanbul in 2018. Within this framework, it can be indicated that Turkey's trade and economic enhancement strategy towards Africa lies behind the gradual boom of Turkey's bilateral relations with the African countries since 2005. In response to changing conditions and needs of the continent, the strategy has been updated during the Turkey-Africa Partnership Summit in Malabo-Equatorial Guinea in 2014 and its vision and objectives have been modified aiming to increase the direct investments to Africa, which include job opportunities for indigenous people and creating an environment conducive to the economic development of African countries. In this regard, Turkey has also signed Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreements with 38 African countries, in line with the efforts to establish a sound contractual basis for mutual economic relations. Accordingly, it can be cited that Turkish contractors are amongst the major undertakers in the continent. In terms of numerical data, the share of African countries in the overall international business volume of Turkish contractors comprises around 21 percent of the market. (Share of North Africa is 19%). In this way, Turkish contractors so far have undertaken over 1.150 projects worth 55 billion USD in Africa. (MFA, 2021).

4.6. Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)

The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) is another influential regional economic organization established in the Lusaka-Zambia first in 1981 with the name of Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA). At first, the organization took shape within the framework of the Organization of African Unity's (OAU) and then transformed into COMESA with the participation of 21 African member states in 1994. (COMESA, 2021). The aim of this organization can be cited as the social and economic cooperation between partner countries, by promoting regional integration with trade partners and enhancing the prosperity of the regional countries. With the knowledge of the importance of these regional

organizations, China became the third member of the international community to appoint a special representative to COMESA, following France, and the US in 2003, and became one of the major development partners of Comesa member states, particularly in transport, telecommunication and agricultural sectors. (Assefa, 2014, p. 1-21). On the other hand, the US has also an active place in the COMESA organization since 2001, following the agreement between the US government and the COMESA organization comprising of bilateral development of trade and investment relations. (Investment Policy Hub, 2021)

In the case of Turkey-COMESA relations; it has gained momentum following the opening of the Turkish Embassy in Lusaka in 2011 by gaining accreditation to Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) based in Lusaka, Zambia. Subsequently, Turkey acquired special representation from COMESA in 2021 as the 5th country in the number of diplomatic missions in the African continent. (COMESA, 2021).

4.7. East African Community (EAC)

The East African Community (EAC) is a regional intergovernmental organization with 6 partnering states comprising Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda, with its headquarters in Arusha/Tanzania. (EAC, 2021). Essentially, the partnership initiative of the EAC was started in 1993 with the participation of East African countries and completed with the integration of South Sudan following its full membership in 2016. The EAC member countries hold annual meetings regularly with the participation of the member states to discuss key priorities regarding the regional investments and developmental necessities. In this regard, China has appointed an envoy to the organization in 2017 and since then managed to sign bilateral financing agreements with the organization in the amount of an estimated USD 200 billion. (Ihirve P., 2018 p.24-31). On the other hand, the United States also gives importance to EAC as one of the leading economic regional organizations and in this regard, it has established a free trade area and a customs union between the US and EAC member countries. For this purpose, the United States and EAC organization signed a Free Trade Agreement (TIFA) in 2008 to fulfill the full-fledged partnership between the parties. (ustr.gov., 2021)

Turkey participated in the EAC Partnership Fund as part of the observer status with the accreditation of the Turkish Embassy in Darussalam in 2015. (MFA, 2021). All these positive developments contribute to the bilateral relations between Turkey and EAC organization and also accelerate Turkey's integration process with the EAC countries.

4.8. The Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD)

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) is another influential and leading organization in Africa and was founded in 1996 to deal with drought desertification and promote cooperation among its member states. (IGAD, 2021). The other determining issues in the IGAD agenda can be mentioned as, food security, environmental protection, and peace and security in the African continent. Because even if there are vast natural resources potential on the fertile African soil, however, issues like illegal charcoal trade, ivory smuggling, and other problems have been destroying Africa's natural environment. The member states of IGAD can be mentioned as Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, and Uganda respectively. In this context, China signed a memorandum of understanding with the IGAD administration in 2011 right after the USD 100.000 goodwill check that the Chinese ambassador had submitted and afterward, gained the opportunity to have a say in the organization. (Xinhuanet, 2018). One of the big advantages for the Chinese side is to engage with almost all the organizations in Africa, and it allows them to get involved actively with the current policies of the region. In this regard, it should be noted that although there is a perception regarding Chinese foreign policy that China follows non-interference policy with the partnering countries, on the contrary of this conception, Sudan and South Sudan conflicts have proved that when the Chinese interests are at stake, China would be abandoning this policy and taking an active role to protect its interests in the region. Referring to this issue in his study, (Hodzi, 2019, p.169-207) openly expressed the threatening diplomacy that China carries out with local actors to protect its investments and interests in the region. To this end, he indicates that China's persistent mediation efforts both with state officials and rebel forces at the same time to ensure the protection of its investments in Sudan and South Sudan territories. In reality, this was where the mask fell for the Chinese non-interference foreign policy approach in the African continent when its oil investments endangered in Sudan and South Sudan conflict in 2014. On the other hand,

The United States is also one of the influential and supporter countries in the IGAD organization and continues its assistance for the current issues of the IGAD member states. In this regard, the US Ambassador to Djibouti is at the same time accredited to IGAD as well and has a representative status in the organization. (IGAD, 2021). For a better understanding of the US influence and engagement with the IGAD organization, the AMISOM mission settlement can be given as an example. In 2006, the IGAD organization proposed to deploy an international Peace Support Mission in Somalia, and one year later in 2007, the United Nations Security Council approved and authorized the deployment of the AMISOM (African Union Mission in Somalia) troops to prevent Al-Shabab terror organization's activities in the East African region. (UN, Resolution 1772, 2007). On the other hand, the approval of the UN Security Council to deploy a peacekeeping force in Somalia to ensure security in East Africa is also important in terms of demonstrating the international integration of regional organizations such as IGAD and the African Union.

Turkey maintains its relations with IGAD at the ambassadorial level and for that purpose, the Turkish Embassy in Addis Ababa is accredited to IGAD since 2012. (MFA, 2021).

4.9. The Influence of Regional Organizations in Solving Security Problems of Africa

Admittedly, the most common and oldest mechanism to deal with security problems in the international arena is to form alliances between states or organizations. States with insufficient resources or unsuitable geographies especially need alliances to overcome the security problems that they face around their immediate surroundings. In this regard, Davutoğlu listed the conditions of the state and security relations in his work called "Strategic Depth" and mentioned the acquisition offered to states by geography, which is one of the most important of these conditions. Within this framework, as he emphasized that the division of geographical areas between states has revealed the modern border concept in today's world system. (Davutoğlu, 2002, p.18). Hence, it can be argued that geographically determined borders form the basis of the security policies of states as an object of their sovereignty in today's world. However, it is also a reality that the current borders, which have been determined mostly as a result of wars throughout history, do not always coincide with the physical,

cultural and economical geographies of the countries, and eventually, new areas of geopolitical disputes and conflicts have emerged in the international relations. In this manner, to overcome these challenges and prevent potential conflict areas, countries need alliances as a solution and create their security policies in harmony with these alliances. Accordingly, it is an indisputable fact that the regional organizations in Africa have also been established and integrated with the international community within the same framework as it is accepted generally. As submitted in the aforementioned sections previously, many African countries have been struggling with not only hunger and poverty but also security problems such as border issues and civil wars due to unresolved problems inherited from colonial times that do not fit the real situation of their societies. On the other hand, as the definition of failing and weak states was made by the 2008 USA Congressional Research Service Report (CRS), in which it has been emphasized that the fragility of failed states will cause negativities such as authority vacuum, mismanagement, corruption, insufficient security, fragmented social structures, civil wars, and terrorism. (CRS Report, 2008 p.5). In this context, Somalia, Rwanda, Liberia, Sudan, Niger, and Mali were cited in the report as examples of failing and weak states from the African continent. In addition, it is also seen that most of the African states cannot provide welfare and security within their societies and are incapable of maintaining internal order by using public power due to lack of properly functioning institutions and political systems which is vital for the public order in any country. According to the Global Peace Index, twenty-four countries were recorded as backward with an overall deterioration rate in Sub-Saharan Africa. (GPI, 2020, p.16-19). In this sense, demands for political change, disputes over election results, civil unrest, and political instability with violent protests in many African countries can be cited as the primary factors which affected the results of the GPI index. In terms of the reflection of the above-mentioned factors on African society, it is seen that instability can easily turn into violence in the continent and thereupon power conflicts within the regional countries bring about the engagement of neighboring countries and international actors to the process one way or the other. In this regard, it can be argued that the current social structure and chronic problems that have not been resolved for years also have a significant impact on this situation.

Considering the present condition of African countries, regional organizations are seen as a way of salvation that brings them together, preserves their state

characteristics, ensures their security, and integrates them into the international system. However, the difficulty that the regional organizations, especially the African Union, are facing today is not only internal security problems but also the fact that the international competition finding ground and exacerbating existing problems of the African continent. For this reason, it can be argued that the current conflicts and related security problems stand out as the biggest obstacle against the development of the continent collectively. Within this framework, when the security-oriented structures of regional organizations, especially the African Union as a main institution in the continent are examined, it is seen that the military intervention capability and soft power capacity are synthesized to settle the disputes through negotiations principally. (Report, AU, 2010, p.32-59). This approach shows that the regional organizations aspire to have a qualification that attaches importance to both local and national concerns and can also develop a continental perspective for the existing problems of the African continent. Nevertheless, it is observed that the implemented security policies in the region have not yet achieved the desired outcome and effectiveness in practice even if their theoretical framework has been drawn quite successfully. Within this scope, (Dinçer & Akçay, 2015, p. 68) described the African continent as geography of frozen problems and provided some tangible examples to support their argument. In this context, considering these examples, border disputes between Somalia-Ethiopia and Ethiopia-Eritrea, the problem of the Azu region between Libya and Chad, water resources disagreement between Egypt and Ethiopia, 1991 Algerian civil war, 1994 Rwandan genocide, civil wars in Sudan, Somalia, and Libya, ongoing security problems in West Africa that threaten almost the entire continent, the traumatic environment created by terrorist organizations such as Al Shabab and Boko Haram, and lastly, extensive hunger, drought and irregular migrations in different places of the continent can be listed as the specific examples to picture the effectiveness of the regional organizations in solving security problems of Africa. Within this direction, it is a generally accepted reality that maintaining peace and stability in Africa requires effective security forces to operate within the framework of collective, national, and regional initiatives. Therefore, the role of a collective security formation such as the African Union is becoming extremely important for the African continent. In this context, the "Peace and Security Council" was established by the African countries in 2004 to pursue a more effective policy on security issues. In addition, within the scope of peace support missions, it is also planned to establish an

African Rapid Reaction Force of 15,000 people, consisting of civilians and soldiers. However, when the operational capacity and effectiveness of ASF is evaluated, it is seen that the formation is not at the desired level in terms of being a solution to the acute security problems of the African region.

On the other hand, as it derives from the social structure of the continent, the regional organizations aspire to be a regional cooperation ground for member states and pursue a more constructive policy before military intervention. In this regard, it is seen that their motivation is to allow first mutual negotiation of the problems between member states. Accordingly, bilateral cooperation they have developed with international organizations such as the UN, NATO, and EU in this field can be considered as an indicator of these efforts to increase their institutional problem-solving capacity. The best examples in this regard are the peacekeeping missions they carried out in coordination with the UN in the 2004 Darfur, 2011 Sudan and Somalia crises, and the assignment of military units to protect displaced people, humanitarian aid convoys, and corridors in the related regions. African Union Sudanese military mission AMIS and Somalia military mission AMISOM can be cited among these peacekeeping missions. These missions have special importance in terms of being the first crises in which regional organizations assigned military missions in cooperation with the international community. (G. O'Neil & Cassis, 2005, p.1-72). In addition to this, other methods that regional organizations resort to in search of a solution can be listed as creating political initiatives, suspending membership, imposing sanctions, travel bans, and freezing of assets of member countries and their politicians. However, as it was seen in the example of the military coup in Mali in 2020, the membership suspension application remains a temporary practice and could not provide effectiveness to restore the legal framework and settle the political crisis in the member country. These developments show that the effectiveness of regional organizations also depends on the capacity and coordination and cooperation capabilities of their member states. This situation both limits the efficiency of regional organizations and makes them more dependent on external resources to maintain their institutional characteristics.

Consequently, as generally accepted in the literature, the security concept has evolved from national security to collective security understanding with the increase of interdependencies and uncertainties in the globalized world order. In this context,

as (McGrew & Held, 1998, p.13) argued that this new concept offers states the opportunity to deal with security problems as regional or international organizations and pursue a more effective security policy in their vicinity. Within this framework, it is not possible to exclude the regional organizations of Africa and their institutional structures from this conceptualization. However, while the borders of Africa were drawn by the dominant powers of the period, the most important determining factor was geographical factors, instead of the historical and ethnic characteristics of the region. (Erenel & Caymaz, 2014, p. 131). Therefore, the conflicts arising mostly from ethnic differences have intensified and continued until today. In addition to this, although organizational structures are established to ensure the integrity and security of the continent, ethnic-based conflicts, terrorism, famine, and irregular migrations present unfavorable projections about whether regional institutions will be successful in the near future. In the final analysis, since they are in a very important position for the integration of the continent with the rest of the world, it is important to note that regional organizations should develop their problem-solving capacities, strengthen the necessary institutional structure in conflict resolution, and gather power centers of the international system in their own structure. Within this scope, as organizations that carry the future of Africa on their shoulders, the biggest obstacle in front of them seems to be the issue of ensuring security and a peaceful environment in the region. If the current understanding and inadequate institutional structure continue, it does not seem possible for the political and social turmoil to end over the short term in the African continent. For this reason, security problems have become one of the most important topics that the international actors including Turkey should consider for their engagement with the African countries.

CONCLUSION

There have been many developments since Hegel's biased views regarding the African continent, in which he claims that Africa has no history and that the black people living there are not suitable for development and change. (Hegel, 1902, p.206). But, contrary to his views, especially with the social, political, and cultural developments during the last century, the black continent has shown the whole world that it is the cradle of humanity on the one hand and the grave of colonialism and racism on the other. In addition, especially with the independence movements that started after the Second world war, the African continent has become one of the most important subjects of the historical scene and international relations by gaining its independence from colonial powers.

On the other hand, though African states have gained their independence and the legitimacy for self-determination against the colonial powers, they found themselves in a troubled political environment due to their social and economic deficiencies and the unique structure of the new globalized international system. In addition, as Akkaya, (2015, p.109) states that with the end of the Cold War period, the ontological change in international relations and the increasing inter-state interdependence with globalization have become new phenomena that have settled in international politics. Accordingly, these recent developments and the transformation in the international political economy can be cited as the main constituents that make Africa one of the centers of intense global competition again. In this regard, considering the places where the international competition in the region intensified, it is seen that especially the areas with natural resources come to the fore and that the desire to reach raw materials and natural resources continues with different actors and new methods today. In other words, the competing world powers make initiatives in line with their own economic and political interests by imitating the new foreign policy practices and economic models provided for the African continent. According to Kavas and Tandoğan, (2018, p. 404), under the existing circumstances, it does not seem possible that the ongoing global competition makes a positive contribution to the geography of Africa in short, medium, and the long-term period. The fact that the countries of Africa obtain most of their income from vast energy resources, rich mineral deposits, and large agricultural areas, but cannot reflect the desired social, economic, and political success, instead of being in turmoil and instability, can be

presented as tangible examples in terms of depicting the current situation of the African continent.

In the light of the information presented above, Turkey stands out as one of the most ambitious countries to extend the friendly hand that Africa needs, with its historical experience and humanitarian aid-oriented foreign policy approach towards the continent in the last two decades. In this regard, primarily based on the developments of the continental countries on the one hand, and equal partnership engagements on the other, Turkey's foreign policy approach differs from most of the existing policies applied on the continent in terms of taking a stance against the dominance of the global system and standing by the African peoples in their difficult times as in the case of medical support that Turkey provided to many African countries during the Covid-19 pandemic. (indyturk.com, 2021). In addition, Turkey has not broken its diplomatic ties with Africa despite the social and political introversion and economic difficulties experienced all over the world because of the pandemic conditions. Instead, the Turkish Foreign Ministry hosted the Turkey-Africa Business and Economic Forum on 21-22 October 2021 in İstanbul with the motto of "Turkey-Africa: Stronger Together". According to the DEIK international (2021), more than 3,000 businesspersons participated in the forum to negotiate the latest developments and investment opportunities between Turkey and African countries. As another important event, the third Turkey-Africa Summit that will take place in December 2021 in İstanbul, is also planned and announced by the MFA to carry out between Turkey and African countries' representatives. Within the scope of the latest developments, ahead of these two major events, the Turkish president has kicked off another round of diplomatic tours on 17 October 2021 that covers Angola, Nigeria, and Togo respectively. (Aljazeera.com., 2021). In this regard, it can be argued that these latest diplomatic initiatives of Turkey, which defines itself as the Afro-Eurasian State in the new international system, have considerable importance in terms of reflecting the position it will take in the African continent after the Covid-19 pandemic conditions. Admittedly, this diplomatic challenge with powerful discourses gave an upper hand to Turkey for its opening to Africa policy and fostered a bond between the peoples of Africa and Turkey. However, the applied soft power policy which is based mainly on cultural diplomacy has also shortcomings and negative reflections that

Turkey has been experiencing since 2016, and is prone to be reconsidered according to the new conditions and realities of the global world order.

Concerning these new conditions and Africa's place in global politics; not just its potential but also foreign policy conception and influence of competing countries can be presented as the leading factors which pave the way for different power projections in the African continent. When the latest developments in the region are examined, the African continent appears again in global politics as an area where the same understanding rose again as in the case of geographical discoveries of the European states and subsequent Cold War period, which staged between the superpowers of the bipolar political order. As indicated previously, due to its underground resources and geopolitical importance, the continent has been doomed to instability and become a place of insecurity and numerous humanitarian crises again. These negativities, on the other hand, brought about the formation of many terrorist organizations and civil wars throughout the continent and constitute the biggest obstacle to security, stability, and prosperity in the region. Undoubtedly, the presence of terrorist activities and increase in humanitarian disasters such as hunger and famine provide legitimacy in global politics as the strongest justification for the existence of competing states in the region. Accordingly, its cheap raw materials, promising market capacity, and being at the stopping point of the seas and important water and trade routes has also made the African continent a valuable region for global powers' interests. In addition to these developments, new economic processes emerge in the modern world system that put this abovementioned rivalry together with the Euro-Atlantic old center countries and Asia-Pacific new central powers. In this sense, the African continent is also affected by this transformation and is subject to significant changes accordingly. Within this framework, regarding its diplomacy in the African continent, it is also necessary to evaluate Turkey's differentiation with the former central powers such as the EU and the USA, through the systemic impact of the new central powers such as Russia and China, which are also influential in the continent. As indicated previously in the study, this dependency relationship between the units needs to be understood from a broader perspective, which comprises the interconnected world system instead of the states or their groupings single-handedly. When considered from this perspective, for longer-term gains, it seems inevitable that the upcoming period will constitute a new stage for Turkey, where it will comprise of

alliances with the central powers of the world system and find a multidimensional diplomatic approach rather than acting alone in Africa.

Another defining feature of Africa is that; Admittedly, Africa is one of the most discussed and attractive continents of the 21st century in world politics as the second largest and most populous region in the world with its 54 countries and a population of more than one billion. Besides, for the fact that many African states have different ethnic and cultural structures, being multilingual and each of them has different colonial histories make it difficult to understand the continent, but on the other hand, it paves the way for multi-faceted perspectives to produce a permanent and long-lasting foreign policy approach in the region. Within this framework, especially for the countries such as Turkey that have just engaged and been trying to understand the continent in a social, economic, and geopolitical sense, this situation is also a necessity to produce a sustainable strategy in the region. In this regard, it can be argued that Turkey has developed its unique soft power diplomacy based on mutual trust and strengthening cultural and economic ties at the beginning. Likewise, Turkey's promising Smart Power Strategy, which shows its military presence along with the soft power elements, has increased its appeal, credibility, and diplomatic prestige in the eyes of African society. On the other hand, although the implemented soft power diplomacy and smart power strategy are successful in some regions, it provided both opportunities, and also challenges for Turkey due to the social and geopolitical position of the African continent. In the general sense, while carrying out its foreign policy in Africa with more human-oriented diplomacy, Turkey also needed to establish military bases to protect its investments against the ongoing international competition in the region. In this regard, the Somalia military base (Camp TURKSOM) has been recorded as the largest military base Turkey built abroad in 2017. Viewed from a broader perspective, because of the fragile social structure and lack of security in the region, the necessity, and importance of defense diplomacy emerges to contribute Turkey's soft power initiatives as in the case of other investing countries in the continent. Within this direction, considering the regional conjuncture and the dimension of the international balance of power in Africa, it does not seem possible for the soft power initiatives to be long-lasting if they are implemented without military cooperation and security diplomacy. For this reason, the continuity of the

smart power strategy is of vital importance for the success and permanence of Turkish foreign policy in Africa.

The other significant point to be emphasized is that; given the fact that Turkey needs to cooperate with all countries of Africa instead of only religious groups in some particular regions, the success of the Somalia initiative should serve as a proper model for Turkey's prospective engagements with the other countries of Africa as well. In this manner, the necessity of spreading the Turkey-Africa cooperation on a broader basis among state-centered non-governmental organizations reciprocally on the scale of soft power diplomacy rather than the interaction between some particular Islamic organizations of Africa and Turkish civil society stands out as the authenticity for establishing sustainable partnerships with Africa. To that end, it is evaluated that promoting a foreign policy approach that integrates and prioritizes the African civil society at the cooperation level will put Turkey-Africa relations on a more overarching, permanent, and solid ground in the future. The difficulties Turkey has endured to protect its investments in Africa after FETO terrorist organizations' coup attempt since 2016, can be presented as tangible evidence of this requirement. In other words, in the globalized new world order, it became a necessity to be integrated with the international and regional organizations on the basis of reciprocity as well as the states of the region. In this regard, Turkey should also take more consistent, holistic, and multidimensional initiatives to acquire partnerships of the regional organizations in the African continent.

In the final analysis, even Turkey has significant historical background and experience of involvement in some parts of Africa, the implemented foreign policy conception was inadequate because of the fragile social structure and unbalanced clan-based order of the continent. Given the reality that there is no homogeneity and cultural unity in the region, Turkey's attribution of its initiative to a large extent on the culture-based approach was very prone to reconsider and revise after a while the engagement policy began in the continent. Within this framework, it is a necessity for Turkey as a developing country to adopt a multidimensional, visionary, and sustainable foreign policy approach towards the African region. In this way, it will be possible for Turkey to get more space in the international rivalry and gain legitimacy for its foreign policy engagements in Africa.

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Kapat

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