

TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA: MOTIVATIONS AND INTERESTS 2001-2010

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ABSTRACT

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TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA: MOTIVATIONS AND INTERESTS 2001-2010

African orientation of Turkey started in 1998 with an official Turkish activism document entitled ‘Turkey’s Opening up to Africa’. Although the process was decelerated with Turkey’s economic crisis in 1999, 2000, and 2001, it was accelerated again by the Improvement Strategy on Trade and Economic Relations with African States document in 2003 and announcement of the ‘Year of Africa’ in 2005. The First Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit was held in Istanbul in 2008. Turkey had been elected as a non permanent member of the UN Security Council for 2009 and 2010 with African states’ support. Because of its intensified relations with Africa, African Union classified it as country to continent relation in which Turkey is recognized a country which one of the seven non-African partners of the African Union. Turkey was shown as one of the new “important players” along with China, India, and Brazil in the continent of Africa by the “African Economic Outlook 2011” prepared by the Africa Development Bank and OECD.

This work plans to provide an overview of Turkey’s recently improving relations with African countries. The paper aims to examine Turkey’s foreign policy toward Africa and to analyze the driving force behind this foreign policy between 2001 and 2010. The initiatives of Turkish Foreign Policy towards African countries have been analyzed under the title of official initiatives whereas the activities of Turkish NGO’s have been evaluated under the new approach of Turkish Foreign Policy. The evidences show that Turkish foreign policy has been managed consistently; and as a result of this, improvements on relations are clearly recorded. If the policy is ensured to be sustainable and institutionalized in a comprehensive framework, it might be shown one of the successful case studies of Turkish foreign policy. The work also will present future perspectives that may contribute to improve Turkey-Africa relations.

Key words: Turkey-Africa relations, Turkey's foreign policy towards Africa, Turkey's Africa orientation, motives of Turkish foreign policy towards Africa

KISA ÖZET

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Haziran 2012

2001-2010 YILLARI ARASI TÜRK DIŞ POLİTİKASI'NIN AFRİKA'YA YÖNELİK İLĞİ VE MOTİVASYONU

Türkiye'nin Afrika ülkelerine resmi olarak yönelimi 1998 yılında Dışişleri Bakanlığı tarafından hazırlanan "Afrika Eylem Planı" ile başlamıştır. Bu tarihten sonra Türkiye'nin yaşamış olduğu 1999, 2000 ve 2001 ekonomik krizlerinin etkisiyle bu girişim hayat bulamamasına rağmen, Türk dış politikası'nın Afrika ülkelerine karşı ilgisi 2003 yılında Hazine Müşteşarlığı tarafından hazırlanan "Afrika Ülkeleri ile Ticari ve Ekonomik İlişkilerin Geliştirilmesi Stratejisi" belgesi ve Türkiye Hükümeti'nin 2005 yılını "Afrika Yılı" ilan etmesi çerçevesinde ivmelenmiştir. Birinci Türkiye-Afrika İşbirliği Zirvesi 2008 yılında İstanbul'da yapılmıştır. Türkiye, Afrika ülkelerinin destekleriyle, 2009-2010 dönemi Birleşmiş Milletler Güvenlik Konseyi Daimi Olmayan Üye'si olarak seçilmiştir. Afrika ülkeleri ile yoğun ilişkileri neticesinde Türkiye, Afrika Birliği ile ülke-kıta ilişkisi içerisinde olan yedi ülkeden birisi olarak tanınmış ve; OECD ve Afrika Kalkınma Bankası tarafından hazırlanan "2011 Afrika'nın Ekonomik Görünümü" adlı raporda Çin, Hindistan ve Brezilya'nın yanında kıtadaki "önemli oyuncular"dan biri olarak gösterilmiştir.

Bu çalışma Türkiye'nin Afrika ülkeleri ile gelişen ilişkilerini yakın zaman içerisinde gerçekleşen gelişmeler ışığında sunmaya çalışmıştır. 2001-2011 yılları arasında Türk dış politikası'nın Afrika'ya yönelik ilgi ve motivasyonları ortaya konularak analiz edilmiştir. Türk dış politikası'nın Afrika ülkelerine yönelik girişimleri, resmi girişimler başlığı altında incelendiği gibi; Türk sivil toplum kuruluşları'nın faaliyetleri de yeni Türk dış politikası'nın yaklaşımları çerçevesinde değerlendirilmiştir. Türk dış politikası'nın Afrika açılımının isabetli yönetildiği ve ilerleme kaydedildiği bulgulardan gözlemlenmektedir. Bu açılım, sürdürülebilir ve kurumsal bir dış politika anlayışı çerçevesinde, önümüzdeki yıllarda Türk dış politikası'nın başarılı örneklerinden biri

olarak gösterilmeye aday bir örnek olmayı hak edebilir. Türkiye'nin Afrika ülkeleri'ne yönelik dış politikası için bazı öneriler de sunulmuştur.

Anahtar kelimeler: Türkiye-Afrika ilişkileri, Türkiye'nin Afrika'ya yönelik dış politikası, Türk dış politikası'nın Afrika yöneliminin nedenleri

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

1.1.Introduction

African Studies in Turkey is an area of interest in which hardly any researches exists. Initially the purpose of this thesis was to focus on specific issues between Africa and Turkey. However after finding little significant data concerning Turkey-Africa relations at a macro level, the target of the thesis turned out to develop a picture of these relations and thus establish a new database for African Studies in Turkey.

The study will determine the success of Turkey's foreign policy toward Africa between 2001 and 2010 by attempting to answer the following questions: Is Turkey's foreign policy toward Africa successful? Why did Turkey launch an opening to Africa in the late 1990s? What motives have determined Turkey's foreign policy towards Africa? Did Turkey integrate official, business and non-governmental activities for its policy making process after 2000s?

The thesis argues that "Turkey's opening up to Africa" policy continues to enhance the relationship between Africa and Turkey. Turkey's Africa policy is not a conjectural decision as Turkey expects to be a regional actor for the long-term in Africa. While China and the United States has been established in Africa for mostly strategic reasons in global world politics, Turkey's Africa orientation has been based on trade and economic motives rather than strategic.

In the second chapter, this thesis the short will offer a short historical review of Turkey-Africa relations since the Ottoman Empire's first contact with the continent, in the sixteenth century when Ottoman Sultan Yavuz Sultan Selim defeated Memluks in 1517. Ottomans had ruled totally or partially all-Muslim territories until 1918, especially in Northern Africa. The last Ottoman province was Trablusgarb, which was lost in 1918. Ottomans had always tried to keep the Africa continent secure from European colonialists as long as they had the power to do it. The scramble of Africa was completed

in 1920 by European powers and the continent remained unconnected to other parts of the world until the decolonization period. The period coincided with the Cold War period bipolarity in which Turkey's foreign policy has always been aligned with the Western power.

After the Cold War, mainstream of Turkey's foreign policy focused on newborn Turkic states in Central Asia. However Turkey's domestic political structure, multi-party coalition governments, economic crises, and military intervention led it to lose its attraction and interest in Central Asian states. Turkey has had stability in consequence of a single party government since 2002, which caused domestic transformation and Turkey's domestic transformation, which in turn caused Turkey's foreign policy transformation as well. After this transformation, Africa became one of the important spots for Turkish foreign policy.

In the third chapter, I discuss Turkey's stand vis-à-vis African states during the decolonization period. African members of the Third World have seen Turkey as a representative of the Western powers during the Cold War. Turkey's opening to Africa policy was started in 1998, but Turkey's domestic political problems stalled its efforts. Turkey's domestic transformation and global dynamics altogether have given rise to a more assertive foreign policy since the start of the twenty-first century. Turkish officials announced the "Year of Africa" in 2005 and organized a "Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit" in 2008. It might be argued that there is a correlation between the end of the IMF Standby Program in Turkey in 2008 as well as a change in the structure of Turkey's domestic politics and a sharp increase in Turkey-Africa relations. The graphs and tables in this chapter support this argument. The fundamental motives that pushed Turkey to make new foreign policy for Africa are also discussed. Turkey's Africa orientation is seen as a pragmatic approach in which Turkish officials combine the effects of official, trade, NGOs, and international organizations in making foreign policy. Turkey's Africa opening shows that increase in trade, bilateral official visits, and humanitarian aids, educational activities and visibility in international organizations support Turkey's

foreign policy in terms of an “all in one” perspective. The results indicate that Turkey has been able to capitalize on its African opening in its foreign policy making. This also demonstrates how the dynamism of Turkish entrepreneurship and NGOs accelerate Turkish foreign policy in the continent positively.

I discussed motives of Turkish foreign policy towards Africa. The AK Party’s philosophy, stressed relations with the EU, Hizmet movement and economic factor are determined as motivating elements.

Turkey’s opening to Africa began with an official document “Opening Up to Africa Policy” in 1998 and the period of stability after 2002 provided pave the way for a long-term foreign policy for the continent. Then, Turkey’s opening to Africa truly came into existence in 2005 when Turkey announced “The Year of Africa” and Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan visited Ethiopia and South Africa in March 2005, becoming the first Turkish prime minister to officially visit a country under the equator line.

Turkey enhanced its relations with regional organizations in Africa as well. Turkey obtained “observer status” in the African Union (2005) and was accepted as a non-regional member of the African Development Bank (2008). The Turkish Embassy in Abuja is accredited to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) (2005) and Turkey also became a member of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development Partners Forum (IGAD) (2008). The last African Union Summit held in Addis Ababa in January 2008 declared Turkey as a “strategic partner.” The Turkey-Africa Cooperation summit was concluded with “The Istanbul Declaration” and the “Turkey-Africa Partnership Framework Document” which emphasizes the critical role of trade and investment for African development (2008). In addition, the Turkish Embassy in Dar-es-Salaam is accredited to the East African Community (EAC) (2010).

Turkey's foreign policy toward Africa includes economic, political, educational and cultural contexts and Turkey's Africa orientation is expected to deepen relationships with African countries through official ventures, economic and trade ventures, as well as humanitarian aid and educational engagements.

Turkish officials promised African states that if Turkey was supported for its non-permanent UN Security Council membership, Turkey would underline and highlight the continent's problems in the international arena. Taking advantage of the UN General Assembly's equal vote power of African states with super powers, Turkey won support as a non-permanent member of UN Security Council by African countries' during the elections for 2009 and 2010. Turkish officials recently announced Turkey's candidacy for non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for 2015 and 2016 years and expects full support of African countries.

Turkish leaders have given priority to and been the voice of Africans for African issues in the international organizations and Turkey's contribution to the African continent with cooperation in international organizations has been heightened. Because Turkey tried to bring the least developed countries' interests and expectations to the forefront, Turkey undertook the Fourth United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries (LDC-IV), which was hold in May 2011 in Istanbul.

In order to support the mentioned cooperation agreements and close relations, Turkey increased the number of its embassies functioning in Africa and bilateral official visits with African states increased. In this context, Turkey currently has 32 embassies in Africa, of which 27 were in sub-Saharan Africa as of January 31, 2012.

Turkish Airlines also has increased its flight destinations to 14 African countries to promote Turkish and African businesspersons' easy access to marketplace. Turkish Airlines increased the number of passengers from/to Africa by one million in ten years, and the country also has adopted new visa conveniences for sub-Saharan Africa businesspersons as an integral part of the business trips.

Turkey has been contributing to African continent by cooperating with UN peace-building and peacekeeping missions. Turkey works to ensure peace and stability in Africa and contributes to the United Nations missions deployed in the continent. Turkey is currently providing personnel and contributing financially to five of the existing eight UN missions in Africa.

The trade volume of Turkey with African states has been progressing significantly since the 2000s. While Turkey's trade volume with African countries was only \$4.3 billion in 2001, it has increased to \$19.1 billion in 2011. Turkey has quadrupled its trade volume in 11 years. Although trade volume with Africa accounts for only 5% of Turkey's total trade volume, Turkish officials already have set very challenging targets for Turkish-African trade.

The Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey (DEIK) is the main business coordination board for Turkish companies which already trade with foreign companies or plan to do business and it has organized bilateral forums with "counterpart organizations" in order to provide a platform for the business community. While there were only five business councils in the early 2000s, DEIK has established 15 business councils as of 2011. The councils and private entrepreneurs' initiatives caused an increase in trade volume with Africa.

The Cooperation and Development Administration of Turkey (TIKA) supports projects related to health, education, agriculture, environment, infrastructure and capacity-building. TIKA was established in 1992 in order to support former Soviet Union Turkic states, the Caucasus and the Balkans through technical support and emergency humanitarian aid. After 2002, TIKA enlarged its working region towards Africa by opening offices in Ethiopia (2005), Sudan (2006), and Senegal (2007). From almost nothing at the beginning of the 2000s, African states began to receive allocations from Turkey's official development aid after 2005. TIKA is the sole agency responsible for distribution of Turkey's official development aid. Turkey's humanitarian aid programs in

the region also are important parts of Turkey's Africa opening. Turkey's African aid programs in the last decade so almost 5% of Turkey's Official Development Aid is granted to African countries.

The Turkish government started to provide scholarship for African students in 2005 and the number of students reached 1,089 by the end of 2011.

TUSKON, the Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists of Turkey, is an umbrella organization for seven regional federations, 162 business associations with more than 30,000 business people members in Turkey. The first foreign trade bridge program organized by TUSKON, "Turkey - Africa Foreign Trade Bridge -1," took place in Istanbul, on May 8-9, 2006, with a total of 500 business people from 35 different countries, and 1,000 businesspeople from Turkey; also, 40,000 bilateral business meetings were held between Turkish and African participants. TUSKON continued its Africa trade bridges in 2007 with 800 people, in 2008 with 1.000, in 2009 and 2010 with 800 business people from Africa. TUSKON also organizes trade and investment delegations to potentially viable countries as a follow-up to the trade bridge programs. The president of Turkey or relevant Turkish cabinet members led some TUSKON delegations. In addition to TUSKON delegations, member federations and their associations sent hundreds of trade and investment delegations to Africa in the last five years.

In the educational field, Turkish schools have been serving in the continent for more than one decade by graduating potential African leaders. Turkish Schools have actively continued to educate in 32 states in Africa.

Turkish humanitarian aid NGOs; IHH, Deniz Feneri and Kimse Yok Mu are most popular; have actively been providing food, clothing, hygiene items, fuel, rent, shelter, health services and clean water.

In the last chapter, the thesis concludes with discussion of findings and some policy advice that may contribute to enhance Turkey-Africa relations.

1.2.Method

Because the work is preferred as a descriptive study, I don't pretend to include Turkish foreign policy in a theoretical framework. Therefore theoretical discussion on Turkey's African strategy is left out of scope of the study. Instead of taking up with theoretical discussions, I intensified my work on discovering new data that simplifies understanding of Turkish orientation towards Africa.

There are only a few academic works related to Africa in Turkey; therefore, sufficient publications and papers were difficult to find. Therefore, the author created a special data set for this thesis by contacting Turkish Airlines, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Education, and Turkish Humanitarian NGOs in order to show Turkey's interest toward Africa. In this sense, this work will provide very comprehensive figures.

I used several methods to pursue my thesis empirical methods, personal interviews, institutional inquiries, and statistical analyze. I utilized many tables and graphs to show Turkey's Africa opening. Because the time span for the thesis is very recent and as there are very limited sources available before 2005, there is little necessary data for between 2001 and 2005. While the scope of the work is limited between 2001 and 2010, the most recent information in the tables and graphs were included as long as sufficient data were found.

I asked many questions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to get concrete data concerning my work and to design tables. They sent me dates of opening Turkish embassies in Africa and, dates of African states opening embassies in Turkey. The Ministry also e-mailed me reports of developments since the Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit (August 2008) up to the second Ministerial Review Conference in December 2011. I analyzed the report and I tried to show bilateral visits in tables rather than express only number of visits. I contacted the Ministry of Economy to learn how many trade consultants Turkey has in Turkish embassies in Africa and asked for the original

official paper of “Improvement Strategy on Trade and Economic Relations with African States.” I contacted the Ministry of Education to find out the number of African students studying in Turkey with scholarship from the Government of the Turkish Republic. I tried to find Turkey’s official development aid numbers to Africa. First I examined all yearly reports of the Cooperation and Development Administration of Turkey and couldn’t find Turkey’s development aid amount in the reports. Then I sent a written request and followed it with phone calls, and at the end I was able to get Turkey’s official development aid figures and Africa’s share of the total. I preferred to show my findings in time series and cross-sectional tables so readers can easily compare acceleration or deceleration of results.

I showed with a table the interest of the President of Turkey to African states. In order to compare difference between the current President and the former President Ahmet Necdet Sezer’s performance on visiting African states, I received a summary of all visits of A. N. Sezer from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of all visits of Abdullah Gül from the website of the President of the Republic of Turkey. I did this to show that the current President is intensively interested in dealing with African issues as head of state.

When Africa is mentioned, humanitarian aid, educational and technical supports are occupying some part of the agenda. Therefore, I also tested non-profit organization’s activities in the continent of Africa to see if their activities are used as part of the soft power of Turkey’s foreign policy toward Africa. Turkish schools are almost alone in representing Turkey’s educational activities in the region. Hence, I sought to find out how many Turkish schools serve the continent, the number of students being educated, the number of African teachers and Turkish staff are being employed at these schools. In order to obtain the mentioned numbers, I joined as an observer to a two day conference on “Meetings for Overseas Turkish Schools Representatives-III” by the Ministry of Education in March 2011 in Ankara. I noted statements and information of communications of heads of the schools. At the end of 2011, I contacted directors

general of the schools to update the numbers. During the process, a few new schools had been opened and contacted those schools to complete my findings. I took advantage of country information of the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where Turkish schools' information is given. I believe this data set is unique as the first in its scope in the continent of Africa.

In Turkey, when humanitarian aid is examined, three Turkish nonprofit organizations come to minds: "Deniz Feneri", "İHH", and "Kimse Yok Mu". They are most active Turkish humanitarian aid institutions in the continent of Africa. I decided to survey yearly performance of the humanitarian aid institutions in Africa, hoping that what I found would show Turkish people's interest in African countries. I don't argue that the institution's humanitarian aid comprised all of the humanitarian aid done by Turkish NGOs; instead I argue that the findings of the survey are worth considering regarding Turkey's official development aid to Africa. I thank officers of the institutions who are recklessly shared with me.

Overall, reflections of relations with Africa can be seen in the Turkish press. For this purpose I contacted Media Monitoring Center (Medya Takip Merkezi), the biggest media tracking company in Turkey, which follows, analyzes, and reports on the Turkish press. I asked how to analyze visibility of "Africa" in the Turkish printed press. They send me a report of their findings of the "Africa" term in the press, so I could show that official, private and nonprofit organizations' relations have been taken place in the press. Moreover, news related to Africa has accelerated sharply since 2005.

I also took advantage of the Turkish-Africa Trade Bridge-7 organization by TUSKON held in December 2011. I interviewed Turkish and African businesspeople to find out why they participated in the event, how they learned about the program, how long ago they joined the Bridge, what they were expecting, and what kind of difficulties they faced during business and investment. It was an amazing experience to see the enthusiasm and motivation of the Turkish businesspeople. I tried to sum up the findings

at the end of the work in the conclusion chapter as perspectives and prospects in the relationship. TUSKON organized a gala dinner at the event, which the Turkish Foreign Minister attended. I joined the dinner with more than 600 Turkish and African businesspeople and enjoyed listening to the Minister.

I received information about number of passengers of Turkish Airlines to/from Africa since 2001. I am proud to release these findings as the very first time that the results are shown as a table with percentages. My aim was to show that Turkish people, especially businesspeople, see the country's increasing relevance to the continent. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Davutoğlu, often thanked the chairman of the board of Turkish Airlines for opening new destinations for Turkish businesses and facilitating their access to the African market.

Most of the findings in my tables are obtained from primary sources, so this is the most powerful sides of the work. Unfortunately, despite my request, I couldn't obtain the original paper of "Turkey's Opening Up to Africa" prepared in 1998. I found some part of the report in a book of a retired ambassador who was one of the contributors of the document, but I preferred to put forth my findings as tables that aim to support my abstract argument with concrete evidences.

I don't argue that I put forth all official and NGOs initiatives into the work; instead I tried to find out important engagements which clearly much more effect on Turkey's foreign policy towards Africa.

CHAPTER II. AFRICA IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

2.1. A historical review of Turkey-Africa relations

Africa is divided geographically as North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa. Turkish society is familiar with North Africa because of the Muslim population and Ottoman legacy in the region. While sub-Saharan Africa has been seen as full of problems-hunger, diseases, and civil wars-in the mind of the society, North Africa is considered an extension of the Middle East, which caused warm feelings. Turkey and North African relations are always seen as an essential part of Turkish foreign policy.

Özkan divides Turkey-Africa relations into three periods: The first period covers the Ottoman state's relations with Africa until the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, during which Ottomans had considerable relations with Africa. Ottomans ruled totally or partially Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and Algeria in North Africa. In sub-Saharan Africa, Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, and even Niger and Chad were partially subjected to the Ottoman state. Ottomans sent religious leaders to the region as well as diplomats.¹

Turks fight for their existence in Africa began in the ninth century and carried on until the first years of the twentieth century. The first time Turkish soldiers arrived on African Continent was as Muslim troops which were moving from Iraq and Syria to Egypt. Then, Turks seized the administration of Egypt and established the Tolunoğulları State (868-905). The second Turkish dynasty was established again in Egypt, which was İhşidiler (935-969). During the Fatimiler era (909-1171), Turks has remained a military power in the Fatimi army and continued their existence. Turks supported the Selahaddin Eyyubi dynasty (1171-1250). The Eyyubi State enlarged its control from many region of North Africa to Yemen. In the course of time, soldiers, who were brought from Caucasian and Transoxiana and were called "Memlük," took power in the Eyyubi State and established the Memlüklüler State (1250-1517). Memluks prevailed for almost three

¹ Mehmet Özkan, "Turkey's Rising Role in Africa," *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (2010).

centuries in the Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, Yemen, and up to the Transjordan border. By Ottoman Sultan Yavuz Sultan Selim's defeat of the Mamluks, in a short time, North Africa, Yemen and East Africa has been captured by the Ottoman Empire. Egypt (1517), Algeria (1520), Tunisia (1534), and Tripoli (1551) were respectively annexed by the Ottoman Empire. Although Morocco was taken by Ottomans in 1554, they did not remain in the region and never passed eastern Algeria. Ottoman interest in Northern Africa started for two reasons: the fall of the Andalus Empire, which ruled for seven centuries in Spain, causing migration of Muslims from Spain to North Africa that their wail was reaching to Istanbul, and second was that the Crusaders commenced to occupy southern coasts of the Mediterranean.²

The Ottoman Empire expanded from Morocco to Somalia between the sixteenth and twentieth century's, where there are 13 states today. Because the region is very broad, it was impossible to manage directly from Istanbul. Therefore Turkish nobles, who were given the Sultan's mandates, established powerful provincial governmental systems and ruled as semi-independent states. Especially, the Karamanli era in Tripoli, Hüseyiniler era in Tunisia, and Kavalalı and Hidivs era in Egypt can be classified as more privileged position in terms of semi-independent governments. In the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was divided into 32 provinces, and four provinces-Egypt, Tripoli, Tunisia and Algeria- in which Arab populations were living, were located in Africa. In the same century, the Abyssinia province (Ethiopia region) of the Ottoman Empire was established in East Africa. Again in the same century, almost all of the Muslim population living in Africa was under the Ottoman Empire's power or like Biladu's Sudan- Ghana, Mali, Kanim Bornu, Songay, Timbuktu, Cano, Darphur, Vaday, Hara, and Zengibar sultanates, which remain in the south regions of the Great Sahara Desert where Ottoman Sultan has been accepted as Caliphate and the sermons in mosques began to read on behalf of the Caliphate. The Zengibar sultanate, which was holding the administration of Chad, Niger, Nigeria, Mali, Senegal, and eastern Africa

² Ahmet Kavas, *Osmanlı-Afrika İlişkileri* (İstanbul: TASAM Yayınları, 2006).

coasts, such as Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique, Uganda, Ruanda, Burundi, Congo, Malawi, and Madagascar, together with Muslims living in South Africa, carried out their commitments to the Ottoman Caliph. This situation had continued almost four centuries until the beginning of twentieth century. Ottoman governors in Africa developed their region with their own resources without any allowances from capital.³

The Ottoman geographers accepted Abyssinia as the lands between Sevvakin and Babul Mendeb. In fact, it was lying from Egypt to Mombasa. The Ottoman fleet took these shores into its dominance by destroying the Portuguese bases in 1525, and reached to the Indian Ocean for the first time by passing through Babul Mendeb. Due to having shores both in the Red Sea and in the Indian Ocean, Abyssinia was an important land for the eastern trade. The Ottoman Empire's interest in East Africa was based on two reasons: one was to acquire trade-ways in the land and the shore of East Africa, as well as slave trade, precious metal and gold trade were attractive to Portuguese sailors. Secondly, Ottomans wanted to secure the Red Sea from Portuguese in order to prevent the Kaabe from reaching there. The attempts of the Portuguese in establishing trade centers throughout the Red Sea failed because of the Ottoman resistance. The Abyssinia Province of the Ottoman Empire was established in 1555 and lasted until 1560.⁴

The Ottoman Empire left the North African provinces-Garp Ocakları-independent on relations with European powers because it thought that it had enough power to protect itself. Unfortunately, the invasion of Algeria caused a change of policy toward Garp Ocakları by Ottomans.⁵ The provinces of Ottoman Empire in Africa started to be lost one by one since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Algeria (1830) and Tunisia (1881) were invaded by France; Egypt (1882) and Sudan (1882) were invaded by England. England, France, Belgium, Spain, Germany and Italy colonized the whole

³ Ibid.

⁴ Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Güney Siyaseti Habeş Eyaleti* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1996).

⁵ Abdurrahman Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Münasebetleri (1858-1911)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1995). 3.

continent including Biladu's Sudan and Abyssinia province at the beginning of the twentieth century.

As the Ottoman state, which remained in the continent for four centuries, had not imposed its own culture directly in an imperialist manner and by force on the public, there are few societies speaking Turkish in the old provinces, such as primarily Algeria, Tunisia and Tripoli, including Kuloğlu branch, which is a descendant of the Ottomans. However, today in Africa, while the official language of 25 countries is French and much of other countries is English, in a couple of old colonies of Portugal and Spain, their languages are used as the official languages. All local languages are given national language status in only that country and it is forbidden to educate and use these languages. While even the smallest tribe had been protecting its own culture in the lands dominated by the Ottoman's, African societies have been deprived of the most natural right of writing and reading in their own mother language.⁶

2.2. Turkish foreign policy towards Africa during the Cold War period

The years from 1923 to 1998 can be seen as the second period where Turkish-African relations were at the lowest level, if existing at all. Kemalist tradition, with a clear emphasis on “nonintervention, a Western orientation, and vigilance with regard to national sovereignty,” shaped the foreign policy attitudes of the young Republic. Turkish foreign policy, until the emergence of the early signs of the Second World War, was conducted in search of main goals as, preservation of neutrality by means of avoiding the conflicts, becoming a part of Europe and the West, and the protection of its territorial integrity. During the Cold War years, Turkey started to attach greater importance to Africa, developing relations with North African states economically and politically. However, these relations were shaped by the conditions of the Cold War bipolarity, and thus at times were at odds with the historical public sentiment toward the continent.

⁶ Kavas, *Osmanlı-Afrika İlişkileri*.

Turkey has recognized all African countries one by one but it has not had enough knowledge and strategy about what to do there.⁷

As well as economic and trade relations, African states at the UN General Assembly hold a key position during ratification process. The Non-Alignment Movement was founded to promote South-South cooperation and stand out the bloc politics of the Cold War. Today whole African states are members of the Non-Alignment Movement. In 1945, South African Union, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Liberia were the only African states to join the San Francisco Conference in which they obtained founding member status of the United Nations. The number of member African states reached 20 in 1960 and 35 in 1964 at the United Nations. Independent African states used the United Nations General Assembly as a platform to struggle for apartheid regime and independence issues.⁸

Five organizer states⁹ of the Colombo Conference invited 25 African and Asian states for a conference including some Asia and Africa states. Preliminary preparations for the conference were passed successfully that they decided to hold it on 18 April 1955 at Bandung. The first encounter of Turkey with the non-alignment movement was realized at the Bandung Conference in 1955. Turkey's foreign minister, Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, joined the conference and he advised to the participant states moving and standing with the Western pacts. Moreover Zorlu clearly and strongly criticized non-alignment policy that his move was not delighted and perceived Turkey was there as a representative and mouthpiece of the West. Decisions taken at the end of the conference showed that anti-Western non-alignment camp¹⁰ succeeded in imposing its ideas. The conference laid the foundation of the next conference, held in Berlin 1961. The Berlin Conference paved the way of the Non-Alignment Movement. Archbishop Makarios

⁷ Özkan, "Turkey's Rising Role in Africa."

⁸ Faruk Sönmezoğlu, *İi. Dünya Savaşı'ndan Günümüze Türk Dış Politikası* (İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 2006). 192-193

⁹ At the Colombo Conference on 28 April 1954; India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon decided to look for ground to organize an "Asia-Africa Conference".

¹⁰ India, the People's Republic of China and Egypt took the lead of anti-Western non-alignment camp.

attended the conference as an observer of “Cyprus representative” and lobbied for getting support for their insurgency against British. Cyprus was accepted as a member of the Berlin Conference and this membership was provided an advantage of reinforce the Cypriot Greeks within the Non-Alignment Movement as well as UN General Assembly ratification concerning Cyprus issues. The second Non-Alignment Movement Conference was held in Kahire in 1964 along with 47 attendant states. Turkey initiated to send two Turkish diplomats as observer to the Conference because she anticipated that Cyprus issue would come on the agenda soon at the UN General Assembly. While Turkey’s demand was rejected by organizers, Makarios convinced the attendant states on thesis of the Cypriot Greeks and succeed in a paragraph at the declaration of the Conference concerning Cyprus issue favored Makarios’ thesis. Almost half of members of the Non-Alignment members were African states. The third Conference was held in Lusaka in 1970 and a subsequent one was held in Algeria in 1973. Although Makarios insisted on a statement at closing declarations of the Conferences, he did need to struggle for support at the Colombo Conference in 1976 because they already recognized the Cypriot Greeks government as a legitimate representative of Cyprus in 1974. Turkey couldn’t prevent the adverse statements in Cyprus issues at the closing declaration of the Colombo Conference in 1976 and Havana Conference in 1979.¹¹

In 1964, the number of Non-Alignment Movement members reached 60 states, which was half of the independent states in the world, at the third Non-Alignment Conference. When their number reached 101 states in 1986, they were 60% of the world’s independent states. While the movement was no longer accelerating by the end of the Cold War, “non-alignment” and “neutrality” had been diplomatic philosophy of whole Asian and African world.¹²

In order to convince African states to support it on Cyprus issue in the UN General Assembly, Ankara sent three goodwill committees consisting of politicians,

¹¹ Sönmezoğlu, *İi. Dünya Savaşı'ndan Günümüze Türk Dış Politikası*. 174-176

¹² Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih 1918-1994*, 8 vols., vol. 8 (Ankara: İmge Yayınevi, 2000). 388-389.

diplomats, journalists and academicians to various African states in 1965. The first committee visited Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania, Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Senegal; the second committee visited Cameroon, Gabon, Congo, Central African Republic, and Chad; the third committee visited Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, Malawi, Malagasy, Sudan, Libya and Tunisia. Although the Foreign Minister of the time Hasan Esat Işık declared that this was not only an attempt for Cyprus problem but also an imitative to construct the sincere and close relations with Africa, it was obvious that Turkey neither achieved to be supported by African states in UN General Assembly nor Turkey realized African expansion.¹³

2.3. Change on Turkish Foreign Policy

Status quo and westernization are two fundamental that explain traditional Turkish foreign policy. Traditionally, Turkey's foreign policy was formulated to rely on two principles; first, "maintaining the established order within the existing borders and balances"; second, "realization of a Western oriented foreign policy formation."¹⁴

Turkish governing elites generally have managed Turkey in the principle of state-centered understanding not only at domestic but also foreign policy as well. Turkey's foreign policy is shaped understanding of a holy state (devlet-i Ali, kutsal devlet) which comes from partially a result of historical experiences and in some sense an ideology for creating a nation-state. Therefore keeping and existing of Turkish Republic have been seen not only a responsibility but also a sacred duty for the governing elites. Protection of national unity and integrity have been realized a vital importance on the purposes of domestic and foreign politics. Turkish people's mission is described as defend the integrity and unity of the nation all the time by using all kind of methods. One of the important ways to do this can be set with a powerful and wide range of military power. Turkey has held a very big military force since foundation of the Republic. This

¹³ Melek Fırat, *Türkiye Afrika İlişkilerinin Tarihsel Arka Planı Ve Afrika Açılımında Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarının Rolü*, ed. Ufuk Tepebaş, vol. 1, Türkiye-Afrika İlişkilerinin Gelişiminde Sivil Toplum Ve Düşünce Kuruluşlarının Rolü (İstanbul: Tasam Yayınları, 2010). 170-175.

¹⁴ Baskın Oran, *Türk Dış Politikası; Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, 12 ed., vol. 1 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006), 3-4.

approach overlaps with Realistic approach that emphasis military power is the one determine state's power in international relations. Unstable and undemocratic neighbors and historical memories later on were described as "Sevres Syndrome" which expressed Turkish philosophy on foreign policy.¹⁵

In the National Independence War and interwar period, Turkish governing elites determined Turkish foreign policy according to realist perspective and security concerns. Cold War period, bipolar world, proved Turkey's standing always with West. After Cold War, While NATO was reinterpreting its objectives as 'The New Strategic Concepts', EU adopted new political criteria's for new candidates. Changing in the international system caused repositioning of the international institutions and states. Turkey has been adopting a new foreign policy vision through new approaches in the period of AKP government.

It can be said that AK Party's foreign policy applications carry on a little bit different from classical Realistic vision of the Republic in view of international structure and conditions were changed after Sept. 11, 2001. First of all, the main purpose of foreign policy is human not territory. This means that main goal of foreign policy is to advance living conditions and standards of citizens economically, politically, legally and culturally. Turkey's EU membership, Cyprus problem and good relations with Greece have been contended main axis of Turkish foreign policy. Moreover empowerment and enlargement of civil society in Turkey can be evaluated as one reflection of this understanding.

Secondly, foreign policy problems intended to solve by using diplomacy and soft power rather than military power. Turkish officials have often referred to "international laws and regulations, legitimacy of UN Security Council decisions" that shows Turkish governing elites don't involve unilateral actions in international relations without a

¹⁵ Ramazan Gözen, *İmparatorluktan Küresel Aktörlüğe Türkiye'nin Dış Politikası*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Palme Yayıncılık, 2009). 101-121.

legitimate UN Security Council decision.¹⁶ Turkey started to see its soft power effect in her foreign policy. The states, by means of soft power, provide another state to want “what its own wants” power gains its legitimacy through soft power which stems from diplomacy, economy, culture and identity in eyes of the others. Soft-power involves ‘consent’ rather than coercion.¹⁷ Turkey has increased its attractiveness in Middle East, Africa, and Central Asia through values, culture, policies and instruments. As part of significant representative of civil society; TUSIAD, TUSKON, DEIK, MUSIAD, TIM, and Turkish Schools abroad have actively involved in bilateral relations in Turkish Foreign Policy since 2002. Soft power of Turkey has considerably improved by discovering multiplier effect of NGOs in foreign affairs.

The AK Party has augmented participation of Turkey in the globalization process by actively taking steps within international organizations. The Turkish Government realized many reform packages during EU integration process and complied with IMF Standby agreements. These regulations facilitated participation of Turkey to globalization process. Privatization, foreign capital entrance to Turkey, Turkey’s increased trade deficits, fore-front position of Turkey in OIC and Turkey’s chosen to non-permanent member of UN Security Council might be shown examples of integration to globalization process. Announcement of Turkey as a strategic partner of African Union in 2008 would be treated in this sense.

Davutoğlu formulate this approach as developing relations with neighbors and beyond offer a global perspective in foreign policy making. This principle suggests “no geographical frontier” to limit foreign policy activities. From this point of view, Turkey tends to develop intensive relations beyond its neighboring countries. Compatible global relations policy aims at a foreign policy vision perceiving international relations as whole with no borders. “Turkey’s engagements from Chile to Indonesia, from Africa to

¹⁶ Ibid.113.

¹⁷ Fuat E. Keyman, "Türk Dış Politikasında Eksen Tartışmaları: Küresel Kargaşa Çağında Realist Proaktivizm," *Seta Analiz* 15(2010): 5.

Central Asia, and from EU to OIC will be part of a holistic approach to foreign policy.”¹⁸

2.4. Africa in Speeches of Turkish Governing Elites

Foreign Minister Abdullah Gül addressed in a speech in 2004 that Turkish foreign policy agenda is not to neglect any geography that Turkey initiated on the frame of “the Plan of Action” for Africa which diversifies relations in the areas of economic, trade, cultural and political.¹⁹ At the end of 2004, the Minister declared that “because Turkey is a big country, she doesn’t ignore any other place of the world. African states have been kept their place always in our agenda. The year of 2005 will be the ‘Year of Africa’ in Turkey and we will intensify our relations.”²⁰ Gül also remarked in a speech at OIC that OIC should actively involve and support Africa in order to solve African problems.²¹

The AK Party government thinks that foreign policy goals cannot be reached without economical depth. As fundamental foreign policy goals of Turkey: security, stability and prosperity cannot be achieved only political dimensions. Therefore economic interests of the country must be accompanied to political relations.²² As reflection of this philosophy the AK Party officials have seen economic and trade relations with African countries an important ground of Turkish foreign policy.

2.5. Leadership factor in foreign relations with Africa

Implementing an effective diplomacy needed leader cadres and consistency within the cadres. Turkish foreign policy is coordinated by leading actors: the government, the President, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Security Institutions

¹⁸ Ahmet Davutoğlu, "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007," *Insight Turkey* 10, no. 1 (2008):96.

¹⁹ Abdullah Gül, *Yeni Yüzyılda Türk Dış Politikasının Ufukları*, İstanbul Sanayi Odası'nın Olağan Meclis Toplantısında Yapılan Konuşma (24 Temmuz 2004) (Ankara: T.C. Dışışleri Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2007).99.

²⁰ ———, *Yeni Yüzyılda Türk Dış Politikasının Ufukları*, İslam Konferansı Teşkilatı Dışışleri Bakanları Toplantısı'nda Yapılan Konuşma (19 Haziran 2006) (Ankara: T.C. Dışışleri Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2007).115.

²¹ Ibid. 484.(İslam Konferansı Teşkilatı Dışışleri Bakanları Toplantısı'nda Yapılan Konuşma, 19 Haziran 2006)

²² Ibid.184.(DEİK İş Konseyleri Toplantısı'nda Yapılan Konuşma, 12 Ocak 2007)

(Turkish Military and MİT). If these primary actors act in accordance with a harmony, implementations of foreign policies are solid and unrisky. Because of coalition governments, the prime Minister and the foreign Minister of the Republic of Turkey have changed six times and more than ten times respectively between 1991 and 2000. Although there have seen some similar foreign policy approach between coalition government members, searching benefits of political interest of members of political parties of coalition governments, political instability, weak political parties were frustrated consistent implementation of foreign policies between 1994 and 2002.²³ When it is looked high ranked officials' consistency and political philosophy, it is clearly seen that Turkey's foreign relations with African states were incredibly improved after 2008. It is not argued that Turkish Government did not realize the Action Plan for Africa because inconsistency and different political view of high ranked officials between 2002 and 2007, instead, implementation of the Action Plan was accelerated positively by election of Abdullah Gül's as President April 24, 2007. After that date, Abdullah Gül supported Turkey's Action Plan for Africa. Moreover Turkey's high ranked officials started to be represented with compliance and same political philosophy that Abdullah Gül as President, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan as Prime Minister and Ahmet Davutoğlu as Foreign Minister. Abdullah Gül has been involving actively foreign policy making of Turkey and showing high performance at visits to African states. (see pages 36 and 37) Ahmet Davutoğlu is known as the intellectual architect of Turkish foreign policy under AKP government. He was appointed as Chief Adviser to the Prime Minister and Ambassador after the November 2002 elections. Effectiveness of Turkish foreign policy is not only depending on vision of Davutoğlu but also a consequence of powerful leader cadres at the administration since 2007. As a result, Turkey is become more visible actor in international relations by engaging regional politics, international organizations and dispute resolutions in world politics.

²³ Philip Robins, *Takım Elbiseliler Ve Üniformalılar*, trans. Şirin Yener (Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınları, 2009).50-89.

Table 1. Term of Office of Turkey's High Officials

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
President ²⁴	A. Necdet Sezer							Abdullah Gül				
Prime Minister ²⁵	Bülent Ecevit			A. Gül	R. Tayyip Erdoğan							
Foreign Minister ²⁶	İsmail Cem	Ş. Sina Gürel	Y. Yakış	Abdullah Gül				Ali Babacan	Ahmet Davutoğlu			

Source: Websites of the Presidency, the Prime Ministry and the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Turkey

The view of High Officials of the current government' to Africa can be understood from a speech of the Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu during Turkey-Africa Trade Bridge-7 in 2011 in Istanbul. He pointed out that 21.Century will be Century of Africa. Strategic alliance between Turkey and Africa is one of the strategic steps of Turkey in the twenty-first century. He uses often "brothers" and "friends" terms to show feelings to the African people. Integration of dynamic economic geography of Africa and agile businesspeople of Turkey would be cause to come out of African richness.²⁷

²⁴ T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey), "Cumhurbaşkanlarımız," T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Kurumsal İnternet Sitesi,

<http://www.tccb.gov.tr/sayfa/cumhurbaskanlarimiz/>.(Accessed on February 11, 2012)

²⁵ T.C. Başbakanlık (The Prime Ministry of the Republic of Turkey), "Başbakanlarımız," T.C. Başbakanlık, <http://www.basbakanlik.gov.tr/Forms/pPm.aspx>.(Accessed on February 11, 2012)

²⁶ T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı (The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Turkey), "Dışişleri Bakanları Listesi," Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dışişleri Bakanlığı, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/_disisleri-bakanlari-listesi.tr.mfa.(Accessed on February 11, 2012)

²⁷ Ahmet Davutoğlu, "Sayın Bakanımızın Türkiye Afrika Ticaret Köprüsü-7 Etkinliği Gala Yemeğinde Yaptığı Konuşma, 16 Aralık 2011," The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sayin-bakanimizin-turkiye-afrika-ticaret-koprusu-7-etkinligi-gala-yemegi_nde-yaptigi-konusma.tr.mfa.(Accessed on April 29, 2012)

CHAPTER III. TURKEY'S MOTIVATIONS AND INTERESTS TOWARDS AFRICA 2001-2010

3.1. Motives of Turkish foreign policy toward Africa

In the context of Turkey's policy of opening up to Africa initiated in 1998, Turkey determined to improve and develop political, economic, commercial, and cultural interaction with the African countries.²⁸ In 1998, Turkey adopted a new policy document called the "Opening up to Africa Policy." Within its framework, Turkey hoped to further develop its political, economic and cultural ties with African countries in the forthcoming period. The so-called 'Africa Policy' comprises several areas, such as developing diplomatic relations, and fostering political, economic and cultural cooperation. However, Turkey's opening to Africa truly came into existence only in 2005 when Turkey announced the "Year of Africa." Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan visited Ethiopia and South Africa in March 2005, becoming the first Turkish prime minister to officially visit a country under the equator line. During this same year, Turkey enhanced its relations with Africa on an institutional level. Turkey obtained "observer status" in the African Union on 12 April 2005, and accredited its embassy in Addis Ababa to the African Union on 5 May 2005. The last African Union Summit held in Addis Ababa in January 2008 declared Turkey as a "strategic partner."²⁹

Davutoğlu states in his book "*Strategic Depth: Turkey's International Position*" that Africa is the most serious neglected connection in Turkey's foreign policy. He pointed out that Marxist nature and effect of most independent movements in Africa have been seen incompatible with Turkey's stand next the West. Therefore Turkey's image has been incepted as last office of West in the East by African states while Turkey had experienced national independence struggle against the Western powers. He also

²⁸ "Turkey-Africa Relations," Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-africa-relations.en.mfa>. (Accessed on January 11, 2012)

²⁹ Mehmet Özkan, "Turkey Discovers Africa: Implications and Prospects," *SETA Policy Brief*, no. 22 (2008).

states that Turkey's aloneness stem from low degree relations and unfortunate image on African states at the UN General Assembly.³⁰ Laçiner tries to explain Turkey's delay to Africa as a problem of Turkish foreign policy which ignored geographical and functional dimension. Economic, ideological and periodic factors are imprisoned Turkish foreign policy in a confined space. Therefore Africa is one of the neglected and one of the most important regions in Turkish foreign policy.³¹ Aydınli emphasis that without externalize Europe and the United States, incumbent Turkish government has been looking to be an important state especially in African geography. To become more valuable and gain confidence in the West passes through becomes valuable in peripheral regions. This reflection paves the way a realistic approach to Turkish foreign policy³² towards Africa.

This section discusses why Turkey intensified its agenda on Africa after 2005. It is argued in this work that there are four fundamental motives lying Turkish foreign policy towards Africa. I categorized these motives as the AK Party, EU factor, Hizmet Movement and economical reasons.

3.1.1. The Justice and Development Party (AK Party) factor: Although both 1995 and 1999 parliamentary elections were held on the central issues which was focused how best to protect the secular and unitary foundations of the Republic against perceived threats coming from Kurdish nationalism and political Islam, economic populism, clientalism and corruption during the coalition governments were caused to born of The Justice and Development Party (AKP) in November 2002. The distinctive themes of the 2002 election were society and prosperity rather than the state and its security. The AKP has contributed to Turkey's economic recovery through strong

³⁰ Ahmet Davutoğlu, *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu*, vol. 33 (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2009). 206.

³¹ Sedat Laçiner, *Yeni Dönemde Türk Dış Politikasının Felsefesi, Fikri Altyapısı Ve Hedefleri*, ed. Habibe Özdal Osman Bahadır Dinçer, Hacı Necefoğlu, vol. 36, *Yeni Dönemde Türk Dış Politikası Uluslararası Iv. Türk Dış Politikası Sempozyumu Tebliğleri* (Ankara: USAK Yayınları, 2010). 38.

³² Ersel Aydınli, *Türkiye'nin Nato'nun Dönüşümünde Katkıda Bulunması Gerekir*, ed. Osman Bahadır Dinçer Habibe Özdal, Mehmet Yegin, vol. 2, *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası-1* (Ankara: USAK Yayınları, 2010).147.

commitment to IMF program and its proactive approach to Turkey's relations with the EU.³³ Economic stability has been one of the important elements of the AKP's 2007 and 2011 general election triumph. The 2002 Election Declaration and the governmental program address that some serious positive changes have been followed in the foreign policy mentality of AKP. Anticipating a multi-alternative foreign policy that was allowed after the end the Cold War, AKP underlines the fact that Turkey should rearrange and reconstitute its power centers and relations to make them have more alternative, be more flexible and multiaxial in this new conjuncture in which military alliances and blocks have lost most of their effect to be a determinative element in international relations. AKP, which has pointed out the fact that the foreign policy priorities have to be redefined compared to changing regional and global realities and national benefits, envisages a foreign policy process that is more participatory. In the 2002 election and government program, there was no mentioning of Africa but the aim of making Turkey a power that's more effective is an important approach in terms of basic understanding of the government. In the 2007 government program, there is a claim to be a regional power-global actor; to become a central country that is actionry and effective. As distinct from the program of 2002, this program of 2007 involves African proceedings. "The expansion policies towards regions such as Africa, Far East and Latin America, which has been kept outside the foreign policy scope of the country until this period, will be maintained at an increasing speed. We will closely follow the projects that were started in 2005 'Year of Africa' and 2006 'Year of Latin America', and we will strengthen the infrastructure in the regions until 2013 and become an active country in these regions. Our lack of presence in these regions will disappear by opening new embassies and representation offices, expanding activity field of TIKA and by increasing our foreign trade, culture and promotion activities there" says at the 2007

³³ E. Fuat Keyman and Ziya Öniş, *Turkish Politics in a Changing World*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi University Press, 2007). 181-200.

program.³⁴ AKP consolidated its power by triumph of 2007 National Elections that reflected its foreign policy attitudes as well especially in Africa. In 2008, Turkish officials organized the first Turkish-African Summit with the theme “Solidarity and Partnership for a Common Future.” As it can be seen the summary of bilateral visits and agreements signed between 2008 and 2011 (see page 86), the AKP government has enhanced cooperation with African states not only official level but also promoted NGOs working in the continent.

Turkey considers the African market as a virgin region for trade. Ziya Öniş evaluated AKP’s initiative in Africa from a different perspective, he argued that AK Party tried to overcome global crisis in 2009 by building new connections.

*“The one element of pro-active response by the AKP government to the crisis involved its assertive foreign policy. A key element underlying these foreign policy initiatives was a search for new markets and economic opportunities in Turkey’s immediate neighborhood, notably in the Middle East and North Africa. Key private sector associations such as TOBB and TUSKON were actively involved in this process.”*³⁵

Minister of State Zafer Çağlayan, responsible for the Under secretariat of the Prime Ministry for Treasury and Foreign Trade, emphasized that exportation figures targeted 500 billion dollars therefore Turkey must be in African market. Çağlayan also added Turkey would like to reach 50 billion dollars trade volume with African countries. Turkey officials see trade as a key for attaining political means in international relations as well.³⁶

³⁴ Fırat, *Türkiye Afrika İlişkilerinin Tarihsel Arka Planı Ve Afrika Açılımında Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarının Rolü*.174-175.

³⁵ Ziya Onis, "Turkey's Political Economy," *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (2010): 58.

³⁶ "Devlet Bakanı Zafer Çağlayan Afrika Gezisini Değerlendirdi ", Undersecretariat of the Prime Ministry for Treasury and Foreign Trade, <http://www.dtm.gov.tr/dtmweb/bakanHaberDetay.cfm?haberNo=1275>. (Accessed on December 10, 2011)

3.1.2. Stressed relations with the EU: Turkey's the official opening to Africa has been in 1998 just before EU's rejection of Turkey's candidacy paved the way reshaping Turkey's foreign policy alternatives.³⁷ The EU clearly announced that Turkey could be an EU member if it complied with the Copenhagen criteria at Helsinki Summit in 1999. The EU Council allowed the Commission to start accession negotiations with Turkey in 2005. The governing elites of Turkey responded positively to the EU's requirements between 1999 and 2007 and substantial legal amendments were carried out during the time. Turkey has confronted with some serious disappointments on the path to EU membership. The effectiveness of EU conditionality in Turkey has been significantly diminished for a number of reasons. Blurred reward of conditionality, open-ended type of negotiations which means it never guarantees automatic membership even if Turkey satisfied all EU conditionalities, EU's "absorption capacity" provision, and EU's open reservation concerning freedom of person and capital rights for Turkey and feeling of discrimination among Turkish people among the Turkish people about Turkish candidacy, has led to an increase in Euro-skeptic feelings within Turkish society.³⁸ Because EU membership will grant to Turkey a primary role within the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament in terms of voting rights and representation, France and Germany won't maintain their position in the EU institutions as the founding members. Therefore Turkey's membership will not show the same effect of the new small size member of EU. Turkey's membership will directly have capacity to lead all internal and foreign relations in EU.³⁹ The lasting debate in Europe on the European identity of Turkey and the blockage of key chapters during the accession negotiation process due to deep-seated differences between Turkey and the EU in

³⁷ Mehmet Özkan, "Turkey's Developing Role in Africa: Interview with Mehmet Ozkan and Birol Akgun," *Balkananalysis.com*, <http://www.balkananalysis.com/turkey/2011/01/01/turkey%E2%80%99s-developing-role-in-africa-interview-with-mehmet-ozkan-and-birol-akgun/>. (Accessed on December 10, 2011)

³⁸ Ali Resul Usul, *Democracy in Turkey: The Impact of Eu Political Conditionality*, vol. 1 (Oxon: Routledge, 2011). 150-178.

³⁹ Nathalie Tocci, *Turkey's European Future: Behind the Scene of America's Influence on Eu-Turkey Relations* (New York: New York University Press, 2011). 124-147.

relation to the Cyprus dispute raised major question marks concerning the feasibility of Turkish membership. Merkel from Germany and Sarkozy from France have frequently signaled on their discourse negatively concerning the obstacles to Turkish membership on the grounds of culture and identity has led to accelerate a serious nationalistic reaction both at the elite level and at the level of the public at large. The AK Party government started to rethinking Turkey's foreign policy priorities and to search for serious geo-political alternatives.⁴⁰ Alessandri also adds that the encountered problems with EU, understandably, were precipitated by Turkish government the need to 'diversify' its portfolio, exploring other relations at the side of EU.⁴¹ Africa has been seen a virgin market by Turkish entrepreneurs as well as an important political arena by Turkish governing elites.

3.1.3. The Hizmet Movement: Sedat Laçiner emphasize that Turkish entrepreneurship dynamism is the biggest unseen strength of Turkey's foreign policy. Entrepreneurs' dynamism transcends borders of Turkey and open new horizons for Turkish diplomacy. He explains that sometimes nation comes to the fore of state. Turkish entrepreneurs sometimes move and trend faster without state support toward very risky regions of the world and this leads to state's entrance to new foreign policy fields afterwards.⁴² As a significant sample of the entrepreneurship, the Hizmet Movement has come into prominence in Africa. Before the official opening to Africa in 1998, the Hizmet Movement was already settled with their institutions, which composed of schools, business associations, and humanitarian aid foundations, in the continent. Reaching mature period of institutionalism of the Movement in Africa was provided concrete ground to establish official institutions like new TİKA offices and new embassies in the continent.

⁴⁰ Ziya Öniş, "Multiple Faces of The "New" Turkish Foreign Policy: Underlying Dynamics and a Critique," (2010). 10-11.

⁴¹ Emiliano Alessandri, "The New Turkish Foreign Policy and the Future of Turkey-Eu Relations," (Rome: Istituto Affari Internazionali, 2010). 12.

⁴² Laçiner, *Yeni Dönemde Türk Dış Politikasının Felsefesi, Fikri Altyapısı Ve Hedefleri*. 4.

Turkish businesspeople are especially supported by Turkish Schools that their number much more than number of the Turkish Embassies in Africa. While Turkish teachers educate future African elites in the schools, they don't neglect to guide and help Turkish investors in their business with African partners. The teachers have been guarantor for the Turkish businesspeople as well as they have shown them trusted investing opportunity and counterpart.⁴³ At that point they minimize the risk of being deceived in the business at the instable African states. Turkish schools also cooperate and contribute TUSKON's trade bridges programs and invite businesspeople parents of students who are studying at the schools.⁴⁴

3.1.4. Economic factors: Turkey has sustained a great economic and social development with the help of its incredibly high growth rates of 6-7% per year since 2002 which is one of the highest OECD. These high growth rates, together with a similar increase in foreign investment led the rise of the small and medium sized entrepreneurs of Anatolia (so called as Anatolian Tigers) and provided the leverage for economic and social transformation of Turkey. This also led the new arisen prosperity in Anatolia and changed the income distribution channels and made its mark on various sectors.⁴⁵ Because EU, as the biggest trade partner of Turkey, has been deeply affected at the crisis in 2009, the Anatolian Tigers strengthened efforts in the search for new markets in the Middle East and Africa.⁴⁶ Trade and investments link turned out to be more attractive at the rising "East" or the "South" instead the West, especially the European Union. TOBB, TUSKON and MÜSİAD, 3 key civil societies which represent almost all Small and Medium Seize Entrepreneurs of Turkey, has been the central actors for Anatolian Tigers as well as leading organizations in Turkey's foreign policy

⁴³ Zeliha Alagöz Temiz, "Afrika'nın Uç Beyleri," *Forbes* 2012. 94.

⁴⁴ Personnel interview at TUSKON Turkish-Africa Trade Bridge-7. (December 11, 2011).

⁴⁵ Ian O. Lesser, "Turkey and the Global Economic Crisis," *On Turkey, German Marshall Fund of the United States* (1 Dec. 2008).14.

⁴⁶ Evren Tok, "Anatolian Cities and the New Spirit of Turkish Capitalism," *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (2009). 87.

initiatives during the term.⁴⁷ The new business lobby has been an important new voice making demands for the government to open up new space for them to operate internationally. It is becoming clear that Turkish diplomats, with the help of subtle but effective pressure from Turkey's new business elite and international investors, are deploying ambitious foreign policy of regional and international appeasement designed to serve Turkey's economic advancement rather than its traditional political influence.⁴⁸ In order to do this, Ministry of Foreign Affairs are widening the mission definitions of Turkish diplomats abroad which began to include economic objectives such as opening up new markets, facilitating the flow of investment credits, preparing the groundwork for trade agreements and promoting the flow of investment from Turkey to their respective country of operation.⁴⁹ Turkish Ambassadors have been guided to intensify their priorities towards economic and trade relations. They are led to follow Turkish business people's investments in foreign countries and to treat their investments as investment of Turkish state. They are not only acting as diplomats but also as general directors of Turkish companies.⁵⁰

Given the dominance of economic factors in shaping the post-Cold War parameters of global competition, Turkey's national aim is projected to become one of the top ten economies of the world by 2023. Turkey would like to reach 500 billion dollars export by 2023. Ignorance on markets of Africa, Asia and Latin America may result in unsuccessful of Turkey's target for 2023.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Öniş, "Multiple Faces of The "New" Turkish Foreign Policy: Underlying Dynamics and a Critique." 12-13.

⁴⁸ Şahin Vallee, "Turkey's Economic and Financial Diplomacy," *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 9, no. 4 (2010).44-46.

⁴⁹ Mustafa Aydın, *Twenty Years before, Twenty Years After: Turkish Foreign Policy at the Threshold of 21st Century*, ed. Tareq Y. Ismail and Mustafa Aydın, vol. 1, *Turkey's Foreign Policy in the 21st Century: A Changing Role in World Politics* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003).3-12.

⁵⁰ Gül, *Yeni Yüzyılda Türk Dış Politikasının Ufukları*.(Türk Dış Politikasında Ekonomik Boyut, DEİK İş Konseyleri Başkanları Toplantısında Yapılan Konuşma, 12 Ocak 2007) 183-184)

⁵¹ Ibid.186.

Economic factor is particularly explained at the section: “3.4.Economic and trade relation.”

3.2. Official Initiatives

Official initiatives of Turkey started with “Action Plan” for Africa in 1998. The plan had drawn road map not only official activities for relations but also trade and economic relations as well. When it is looked to what was happened during last decade with Africa, it is already aimed at the plan. Therefore I summarized the plan and then I tried to show official initiatives at the sub-sections.

3.2.1. Africa Plan of Action

Turkey continued to paid attention to advance relationship with the continent of Africa, however, Africa has relatively been less significance in Turkey’s economic and trade relations comparing with Central Asia and Balkans. Moreover Africa’s untapped resources started to pull Turkey’s attention intensively. Turkish official inspired this fact and started to think that Turkey, has a significant population, some relatively advanced industry and long historical connections with the continent, must improve economic, trade and cultural relations in order to hold an important role in the continent of Africa. As a result of these perspectives, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey conducted several meetings for this purposes in June 1998. Related to Africa, representatives from different Ministries, private sector representatives, Consul Generals of African countries in Turkey, Turkish Ambassadors in Africa, businesspeople who work with African companies, delegates from roof institutions of public and private sectors have come together to discuss find ways for advancing relations with the continent. All participants agreed that Turkey must improve relationship with Africa in all areas. Problems were determined and solutions were offered during the meetings. In the light of the meetings, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs prepared to apply a “Plan of Action.”⁵²

⁵² Numan Hazar, *Küreselleşme Sürecinde Africa Ve Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri* (Ankara: Usak Yayınları, 2011). 201-214.

Some headlines from the Plan of Action

- ✓ Increase of numbers of Embassies in Africa
- ✓ Improve official representing cadres of some sub-Saharan African Embassies
- ✓ Appointment of Consular-from local business people- at the capital cities where there are no Turkish Embassies

Political measures

- ✓ High level invitations from Africa's states (President, Prime Minister and Minister),
- ✓ Establishment of political consultation mechanism between the Ministry Foreign Affairs and some important African countries.
- ✓ Assure often come to Turkey of Accredited sub-Saharan African Ambassadors to Ankara but resident out of Turkey.
- ✓ Increase political consultations and communications in International organizations (UN, OIC),
- ✓ Organization of inter parliamentary visits,
- ✓ Sending officials missions to Africa
- ✓ Promoting humanitarian aid to Africa
- ✓ Providing economic and technical support of UN's program.

Economic measures

- ✓ Signing official agreements to facilitate trade and economic relations,
- ✓ Inviting some key Ministers from African states to Turkey,
- ✓ Inviting African Trade Ministers for International Izmir Fair,

- ✓ Inviting African experts (agriculture, mine, pharmaceutical, watering) for short-term training courses,
- ✓ Sending Turkish experts, organizing technical support programs,
- ✓ Realization of bilateral business people's visits,
- ✓ Establishment of new business councils or opening new Chamber of Commers with African states,
- ✓ Promoting Turkish companies to join African trade and industry fairs,
- ✓ Improvement of air and naval transportation,
- ✓ Promoting construction companies for sub-Saharan Africa market,
- ✓ Publicity of Turkish defense industry in the continent,
- ✓ Providing credit from Eximbank for export to Africa,
- ✓ Encouraging Turkish banks to open branches at selected African countries,
- ✓ Becoming a non-regional partner of African Development Bank,
- ✓ Ensuring private and public participation to events in Africa that is organized by international organization

Educational cultural measures

- ✓ Ensure African participation to International Turkish Festivals(International 23 April Children's Festival),
- ✓ Establishment of "African Studies Institution"
- ✓ Arranging symposium and seminars related to Africa and inviting African specialists,
- ✓ Inviting member of press and academicians to Turkey
- ✓ Support UN missions in Africa with personnel.

- ✓ Scholarship for African students and training African students at Turkish Military Schools
- ✓ Realization of bilateral high ranked military officials' visits,
- ✓ Organizing research trips for African military officers,
- ✓ Inviting observer from African states to Military Maneuver held in Turkey,

This comprehensive the Plan of Action was drawn Turkey's road map for improvement relationship with African states. Unfortunately, Turkish Governments has not realized many of them up until mid of 2000s.

The year, 2005, was an important year in Turkey's relations with Africa. Turkey obtained observer status in the African Union in 2005, which declared Turkey a strategic partner in January 2008. In May 2008, Turkey joined the African Development Bank and has strengthened relations with the Intergovernmental Authority on Development in East Africa and the Economic Community of West African States.⁵³

Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit was held under the theme "Solidarity and Partnership for a Common Future" from 18 August- 21 August 2008, in Istanbul. The summit is considered as an important step for Turkey-Africa relations. The summit concluded by adopting two documents: "The Istanbul Declaration" and the "Turkey-Africa Partnership Framework Document," which were prepared by senior experts and ministers. The framework document reads: "Acknowledging the critical role that Trade and Investment should play within the framework of this partnership as agents of development...and we pledge to create a favorable legal and stimulating business environment for economic cooperation as a central pillar of the Africa-Turkey Partnership."

Turkey wanted to convince African leaders that Turkey is serious to improve ties and trade volume with African countries. At the end of the summit; a joint decision was

⁵³ Özkan, "Turkey's Rising Role in Africa."

announced at the end of the summit that the Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges (TOBB) and the Union of African Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Agriculture and Professions (UACCIAP) would cooperate to establish the Turkish-African Chamber for furthering commercial relations. Secondly Turkey aimed to get African leaders' support at the elections is a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in 2009-2010. Turkey has reached both purposes with the summit.⁵⁴

3.2.2. Africa in the President's Agenda

Süleyman Demirel served as President's of Republic of Turkey between 1993 and 2000. He realized 7 foreign visits to Africa over total 124 foreign visits in his tenure. The subsequent president Ahmet Necdet Sezer, on the other hand, realized 5 foreign visits to Africa over total 66 foreign visits in his tenure between 2000 and 2007.⁵⁵

The current president of Republic of Turkey Abdullah Gül served as the Deputy Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister between 2003 and 2007. He was elected by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey as the eleventh President of the Republic of Turkey on August 28, 2007. As the President, Gül has visited 81 countries, 13 of those visits have been done to African countries between 2008 and 2011.⁵⁶ Egypt was the most favorite country where the President visited 5 times in 4 years. Even we exclude Egypt from the calculation, the President's visit percentage continue to keep linear increase during the years. When it is compared between the Presidents, Süleyman Demirel 5.6%, Ahmet Necdet Sezer 7.6%, and Abdullah Gül 16.7% performance in Africa visits.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ T.C. Dışişleri Başkanlığı, 2012.(See Appendix A)

⁵⁶ T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı (The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey), "Yurt Dışı," T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Kurumsal İnternet Sitesi, <http://www.tccb.gov.tr/sayfa/ziyaretler/yurtdisi/>. (Accessed on January 11, 2012)

Table 2. Africa in the President's Agenda

Year	Number of Visits to African countries	Total visits	Percentage
2000	0	16	0.00
2001	1	8	12.50
2002	2	23	8.70
2003	1	7	14.29
2004	0	3	0.00
2005	1	6	16.67
2006	0	8	0.00
2007	0	4	0.00
2008	2	20	10.00
2009	4	27	14.81
2010	4	21	19.05
2011	3	13	23.08

Source: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

Table 3. The current President's visits to African states

Year	Number of Visits to African countries	Total visits	Percentage
2008	2	20	10,00
2009	4	27	14,81
2010	4	21	19,05
2011	3	13	23,08
	13	81	16,05

Source: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

3.2.3. Summary of Bilateral Official Visits and Agreements

According to the follow-up mechanism established by the “The Istanbul Declaration on Turkey-Africa Partnership: Cooperation and Solidarity for a Common Future” and “Cooperation Framework for Turkey-Africa Partnership” adopted in the First Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit in 2008, the meetings envisaged to be organized in the first five year cycle are a High-Level Officials Meeting at the end of 2010, a Ministerial Level Reviewing Conference in 2011, a second High-Level Officials

Meeting in 2012 and the Second Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit in 2013.⁵⁷ “Turkish-Africa Partnership Ministerial Review Conference” has been held 15-16 December in 2011 in Istanbul. Turkey-Africa Partnership document, which was presented at the Conference a summary of all activities between Turkey and Africa, is summed up in form of tables. At the below, the tables which shows bilateral visits as well as signed and pending agreements Turkey vis à vis African states at high official levels and Ministerial level. The time span for the tables restricted from August 2008 to December 2011⁵⁸.

Please note that table 4, table 5, table 6, table 7, table 8, table 9 and table 10 are illustrated according to information gathered from footnote 58 by the author.

Table 4. Bilateral High Official Visits

Turkey to Africa	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total
President	0	2	4	3	9
Head of Parliament	0	2	2	0	4
Prime Minister	0	2	1	5	8
Deputy Minister and Other Ministers	1	1	2	2	6
Minister of Foreign Affairs	0	2	2	12	16
	1	9	11	22	43

Africa to Turkey	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total
President	1	7	5	4	17
Vice President	0	2	1	3	6
Head of Parliament	0	4	4	8	16
Prime Minister	0	4	0	1	5
Deputy Minister and Other Ministers	0	0	0	2	2
Minister of Foreign Affairs	4	6	12	8	30
	5	23	22	26	76

Inter parliamentary visits	2009	2010	2011	Total
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⁵⁷ "Turkey-Africa Relations."

⁵⁸ T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı (The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Turkey), "Developments since the Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit (18-21 August 2008)," in *Turkey Africa Partnership Ministerial Review Conference* (Istanbul: T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı, 2011).

Turkey to Africa	1	3	1	5
Africa to Turkey	1	2	1	4
	2	5	2	9

Source: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

Turkey's top officials have visited African states 43 times while African states' top officials have visited Turkey 76 times. Turkish officials have seen very dynamic visits to their counterparts with Turkey's Foreign Minister's going to visits in Africa 12 times in 2011. It is also worth mentioning that visits of Turkey's parliamentarians passed their counterparts during the term considering that there are 53 African states. There were 72 bilateral contacts in the margins of international meetings and 12 political consultations at the top executive official level. The Turkish government participated in five African Union summits at the ambassador level; 34 African ambassadors participated in the Meeting of African Ambassadors accredited to Turkey on 21-23 January 2009 in Ankara; 33 agreements were signed or concluded; and 29 agreements proposed and pending signature at high level.⁵⁹

Table 5. Bilateral Visits on Trade and Investment at Minister Level

Visits for Trade and Investment at Minister level	2009	2010	2011	Total
Turkey to Africa	7	13	5	25
Africa to Turkey	36	30	27	93
	43	43	32	118

Source: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

Trade and investment-field Turkish ministers visited African states 25 times while African counterparts visited 93 times during 39 months between 2008 and 2011. While Turkey signed only 13 trades and investment agreement with 12 African states between 2002 and 2008, 33 agreements were signed or concluded, 81 proposed, and 17 joint economic commission meetings have been held between 2008 and 2011. Turkey

⁵⁹ Ibid.

organized 10 fairs in the field of export products, construction and fashion in Africa, and participated in five African fairs, and 15 business forums were held in total.⁶⁰

Table 6. Bilateral Visits for Agriculture, Agribusiness, rural development, water resources management and small and medium scale enterprises at Minister Level

Visits for Agriculture, Agribusiness, rural development, water resources management and small and medium scale enterprises at Minister level	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total
Turkey to Africa	0	1	2	0	3
Africa to Turkey	1	20	5	1	27
	1	21	7	1	30

Source: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

Turkey signed or concluded nine agreements with seven African states during the term and proposed 11 agreements pending signature.⁶¹

Table 7. Bilateral Visits on Health at Minister Level

Visits on Health at Minister level	2009	2010	2011	Total
Turkey to Africa	0	0	0	0
Africa to Turkey	1	1	4	6
	1	1	4	6

Source: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

Three agreements were signed or concluded with three African states and four agreements are pending signature. It is clear that Turkish Health Officials have plans to visit Africa and look forward to cooperation on health, as most African states suffer from education and material in this area. Poor relations in the health area are reflected in number of visits as well as number of signed agreements.⁶²

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

Table 8. Bilateral Visits for Peace and Security at Minister Level

Visits for Peace and Security at Minister level	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total
Turkey to Africa	0	0	1	2	3
Africa to Turkey	1	14	7	11	33
	1	14	8	13	36

Source: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

It can be said according to number of visits in terms of security and peace that African states have searched for cooperation in this field with Turkey. Although Turkish officials visited African states 3 times, African officials visited eleven times more than Turkish counterparts; nine agreements have been signed or concluded, and 24 agreements have been proposed in the area during the term. More than 200 personnel coming from various countries of Africa have received training in the military schools of Turkey. As of June 2011, 29 students from African countries are participating in the Turkish military schools.⁶³

Table 9. Bilateral Visits for Infrastructure, Energy and Transport at Minister Level

Visits for Infrastructure, Energy and Transport at Minister level	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total
Turkey to Africa	0	2	0	3	5
Africa to Turkey	1	2	1	8	12
	1	4	1	11	17

Source: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

Turkey signed or concluded 25 agreements with 16 African states, and 37 agreements have been waiting for signature.⁶⁴

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

Table 10. Bilateral Visits for Culture, Tourism and Education at Minister Level

Visits for Culture, Tourism and Education at Minister level	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total
Turkey to Africa(Ministry of Tourism and Culture)	0	0	0	1	1
Africa to Turkey	2	2	2	1	7
	2	2	2	2	8

Source: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

It is obvious that Turkey needs to enhance dialogues with African states in the fields of culture, tourism and education. Turkey signed or concluded 18 agreements with 12 African states and proposed 25 agreements. Additionally, three agreements were signed or concluded and three agreements proposed in the field of media and Information and Communication Technology, and two agreements were signed in the field of environment.⁶⁵

3.2.4. The Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey

The Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey (DEİK) has established 15 Business Councils as part of Ankara's attempts to increase business activities with Africa. Six of the new councils were established in 2011.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ DEİK (The Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey), "Afrika İş Konseyleri," Dış Ekonomik İlişkiler Kurulu, <http://www.deik.org.tr/#>. (Accessed on January 11, 2012)

Table 11. Business Councils with African Counterparts

	Countries	2001	2007	2008	2010	2011
1	Algeria	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2	South Africa	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3	Egypt	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4	Tunisia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
5	Morocco	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
6	Libya		✓	✓	✓	✓
7	Ethiopia			✓	✓	✓
8	Sudan			✓	✓	✓
9	Kenya				✓	✓
10	Nigeria					✓
11	Tanzania					✓
12	Ghana					✓
13	Uganda					✓
14	Angola					✓
15	Mauritania					✓

Source: The Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey

3.2.5. Turkish Embassies in Africa

In his speech at Turkey-Africa Trade Bridge -7 Gala Dinner in December 2011, the Foreign Minister Davutoğlu remarked that Turkish businesspeople are very dynamic and going to everywhere, unlike European businesspeople. He said “If there is a businessperson in any country, my duty is to open up an Embassy or Consulate General there.”⁶⁷ It is clear from the table below that after taking the post of the Foreign Minister; Davutoğlu has been trying to realize his promises. Turkey has accelerated opening new embassies in African countries. While Turkey had 12 embassies in the continent in 2001, the number was increased to 14 in 2009, 21 in 2010, 28 in 2011 and

⁶⁷ Davutoğlu, "Sayın Bakanımızın Türkiye Afrika Ticaret Köprüsü-7 Etkinliği Gala Yemeğinde Yaptığı Konuşma, 16 Aralık 2011."

32 in 2012 (January). As of January 31, 2012 Turkey has 27 embassies in sub-Saharan Africa.⁶⁸

Table 12. Turkish Embassies in Africa

Countries	Before 2001	2009	2010	2011	Jan. 2012
Algeria	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ethiopia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Morocco	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
South Africa	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Kenya	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Dem. Rep. Of Congo	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Libya	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Egypt	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Nigeria	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Senegal	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sudan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Tunisia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ivory Coast		✓	✓	✓	✓
Tanzania		✓	✓	✓	✓
Angola			✓	✓	✓
Madagascar			✓	✓	✓
Mali			✓	✓	✓
Uganda			✓	✓	✓
Cameroon			✓	✓	✓
Ghana			✓	✓	✓
Benin			✓	✓	✓
Mauritania				✓	✓
Mozambique				✓	✓
Zambia				✓	✓
Zimbabwe				✓	✓
South Sudan				✓	✓
Gambia				✓	✓
Somalia				✓	✓
Gabon					✓
Niger					✓
Burkina Faso					✓
Namibia					✓
Total	12	14	21	28	32

Source: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

⁶⁸ T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı (The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Turkey), E-mail, February 1, 2012 2012. (See Appendix A)

3.2.6. Embassies of African states in Turkey

African counterparts' responses to Turkey's new embassies have been reciprocated. While African states had eight embassies in Turkey in 2001, the number increased to 16 as of January 2012. Most African embassies have been activated in 2009 and 2010.⁶⁹

Table 13. Embassies of African states in Turkey

Countries	Before 2001	2006	2008	2010	2011	Jan. 2012
Morocco	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Algeria	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Tunisia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Egypt	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Libya	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
South Africa	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sudan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Nigeria	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Senegal		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ethiopia		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Somalia			✓	✓	✓	✓
Gambia				✓	✓	✓
Mauritania				✓	✓	✓
Uganda					✓	✓
Dem. Rep. of Congo					✓	✓
Angola						✓
Total	8	10	11	13	15	16

Source: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

3.2.7. Turkish Airlines on the way of Africa

Within the framework of the African Expansion Program, Turkish Airlines also has increased travel destinations to 14 African countries. These destinations provide

⁶⁹ Ibid.

Turkish and African businesspeople easy access to markets bilaterally.⁷⁰ The number of international destinations of Turkish Airlines has reached 149 international destinations and has also contributed to attract international companies because the geopolitical location of Turkey provides easy access to the Middle East and Africa. Nova Nordisk, a Danish drug giant, transferred its Middle Eastern Head Office to Istanbul in 2010; GlaxoSmithKline, a British medical company, announced that it will operate its Middle East and Africa branches from Istanbul.⁷¹ While Turkish Airlines had five countries and six destinations in the continent of Africa in 2001, that number grew to 14 countries and 18 destinations in 2010, so it is clear that the increase accelerated after 2005.

Table 14. Africa Destinations of Turkish Airlines⁷²

	COUNTRIES	2001	2005	2006	2009	2010
1	ALGERIA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2	SOUTH AFRICA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3	LIBYA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4	EGYPT	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
5	TUNISIA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
6	MOROCCO		✓	✓	✓	✓
7	ETHIOPIA			✓	✓	✓
8	NIGERIA			✓	✓	✓
9	SUDAN			✓	✓	✓
10	KENYA				✓	✓
11	SENEGAL				✓	✓
12	TANZANIA					✓
13	GHANA					✓
14	UGANDA					✓

5 **6** **9** **11** **14**
Country **Country** **Country** **Country** **Country**
6 Dest. **7 Dest.** **10 Dest.** **13 Dest.** **18 Dest.**

Source: Turkish Airlines

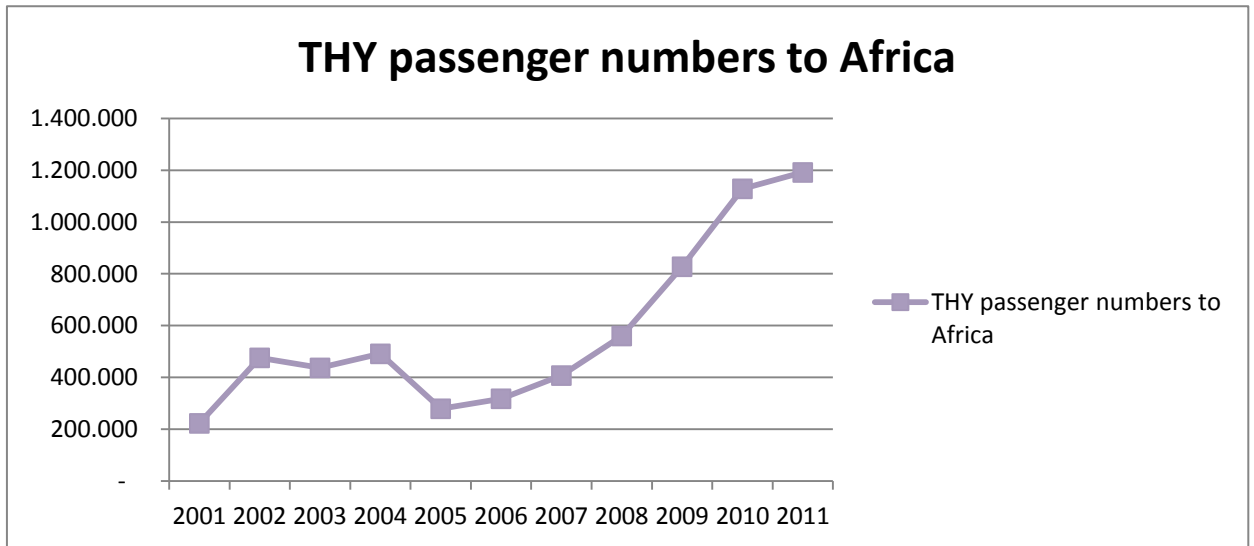
⁷⁰ "Thy, Uganda Üzeriden Tanzania'ya Uçacak...", Sivil Havacılık Genel Müdürlüğü, http://web.shgm.gov.tr/kurumsal.php?page=haberler&id=1&haber_id=1186. (Accessed on November22, 2011)

⁷¹ Çağlar Avcı, "İlaç Devi, 30 Ülkeyi İstanbul'dan Yönetecek," *Zaman*, 16 January 2012 2012.

⁷² Turkish Airlines Press Room, E-mail, January 23, 2012 2012.

Turkish Airlines augmented the number of passengers who travelled to/from African countries 222,000 in 2001 to 1,191,000 in 2011. Although the number decreased sharply in 2005, it has always increased since then.⁷³

Table 15. Turkish Airlines passenger numbers to/from African states



Source: Turkish Airlines

Turkish Airlines increased the number of international passenger from 5 million in 2001 to 18 million in 2011. While African countries comprised 4,41% of Turkish Airlines' international passenger in 2001, the percentage reached 7,29% in 2010.

⁷³——, E-mail, February 13, 2012 2012.

Table 16. African countries percentage in Turkish Airlines passenger numbers

Years	Number of total international passengers	Number of passengers to/from Africa	African countries percentage
2001	5,051,108	222,950	4.41
2002	10,287,254	475,848	4.63
2003	10,179,679	437,136	4.29
2004	11,736,977	491,345	4.19
2005	6,936,860	279,311	4.03
2006	8,040,580	317,910	3.95
2007	9,652,154	407,451	4.22
2008	11,533,950	560,182	4.86
2009	13,381,039	827,576	6.18
2010	15,467,921	1,128,232	7.29
2011	18,159,103	1,191,517	6.56

Source: Turkish Airlines

3.2.8. Turkish Cultural Diplomacy

The end of the Cold War provided an opening for Turkey's foreign policy. Turkey was seeking different approaches to newly independent Central Asian states, and one of them was cultural diplomacy. After resolving issues with the Soviet Union, The Government of Republic of Turkey started to grant scholarships, called the Grand Student Project, for students from Turkic Republics and Relative Communities. The project commenced with five Turkic states, then enlarged to 57 states. Turkey had assigned 37,817 scholarships and 27,063 of them were used between 1992 and 2008 as part of the project. Announcement of "Year of Africa" in Turkey was starting period for African students, who were granted scholarships of the Government of the Republic of Turkey since 2005. While 70 students were granted scholarships in 2005, the number of students rose to 257 in 2010 and 393 in 2011. Turkey granted 1089 undergraduate and graduate level scholarships between 2005 and 2011 for African students. The outstanding increase in scholarships for African students shows that Turkey has been consolidating relationships with African states in cultural and educational platforms as

well. The five states that benefitted most in scholarships between 2005 and 2011 were Morocco with 85, Guinea-Bissau with 73, Nigeria with 65, Ethiopia with 62, and Egypt with 54. Angola, Botswana, Cape Verde, Eritrea, Malawi, Rwanda and São Tomé and Príncipe have never benefited from scholarships until at the end of 2011.

Table 17. Number of African students studying in Turkey granted scholarship by Republic of Turkey between 2005-2011⁷⁴

	African Countries	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	TOTAL
1	Algeria				6		3	22	31
2	Angola	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	Benin							5	5
4	Botswana								0
5	Burkina Faso			1		2		5	8
6	Burundi		4		5	10	1	3	23
7	Cameroon			4			4	5	13
8	Cape Verde								0
9	Central African Rep.		1		1	2	7	15	26
10	Chad	3				5	10		18
11	Comoros				3	10	10	4	27
12	Congo		4		2	1	3	6	16
13	Dem. Rep. Of Congo	1	7		5	7	14	5	39
14	Djibuti	10				24		13	47
15	Egypt		2	6	4	6	10	26	54
16	Equatorial Guinea			2			1		3
17	Eritrea								0
18	Ethiopia	4	2	3	4	10	9	30	62
19	Gabon	1	2		1		3		7
20	Gambia	1	4	2		7	7		21
21	Ghana	4			1	2	9	20	36
22	Guinea	2	6	2		10	6	1	27
23	Guinea-Bissau		2	1	3	18	31	18	73
24	Ivory Coast	1				3	5	6	15

⁷⁴ Department of Scholarship Underdirectorates of European Union and Foreign Relations Directorate General of Ministry of National Education of Republic of Turkey, E-mail, January 17, 2012 2012.

25	Kenya	4		2	1	8	13	13	41
26	Lesotho					4		2	6
27	Liberia				1		2	1	4
28	Libya							1	1
29	Madagascar	1				5	2	5	13
30	Malawi								0
31	Mali	1			1		2	3	7
32	Mauritania	1	3					8	12
33	Mauritius	2		1	1	4		2	10
34	Morocco		3			9	18	55	85
35	Mozambique	1	1	7	1	3	1	2	16
36	Namibia		2				1		3
37	Niger	1		2		6	6	8	23
38	Nigeria	7	12	1		14	14	17	65
39	Rwanda								0
40	São Tomé and Príncipe								0
41	Senegal	2	2		1	5	8	10	28
42	Seychelles	1				2			3
43	Sierra Leone	2	1			5			8
44	Somalia		1	3	9		12	13	38
45	South Africa	2	1				11		14
46	Sudan	8		2	8	1	4	22	45
47	Swaziland							2	2
48	Tanzania	3	1	2			8	5	19
49	Togo	1					1	5	7
50	Tunisia	3	1	2	4		7	17	34
51	Uganda	1		3	3	9	12	12	40
52	Zambia	1			1		2	6	10
53	Zimbabwe	1		3					4

70 62 49 66 192 257 393 1089

Source: The Ministry of National Education of the Republic of Turkey

3.2.9. Meetings of Muslim Religious Leaders in the Continent of Africa

Because Africa is the most Muslim inhabits continent after Asia, Turkey's African Opening has been taken into consideration at a religious level as well by the Turkish government as a component of Turkish Foreign Policy. As a member of the Organization of Islamic Conference, Turkey, intends to raise cooperation opportunities and religious relationship between Muslim communities in Africa and Turkey. The Presidency of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Turkey organized the first Meeting of Muslim Religious Leaders in the Continent of Africa in 2006, with participation of 34 religious representatives from 22 different African countries. The second Meeting of Muslim Religious Leaders in the Continent of Africa was held under the auspices of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey in November 2011 with participation of 122 religious representatives from 44 different African countries. The increase in participants and countries can be evaluated an important indicator not only of intimate relationships at an official level but also Muslim convergence at a community level between Turkey and African countries. While there were superficial and intangible announcements at the final declaration of the first meeting, the final declaration of the second meeting drew very concrete framework steps to be taken. The Directorate of Religious Affairs of Turkey declared that it would provide scholarships for mid-level and high level religious education in Turkey for African students, open religious agencies in Africa, provide quotas for African students at the Koran Courses offered by the Directorate of Religious Affairs of Turkey, guide African countries to establish Religious Vocational High Schools and high level Religious Education, and most importantly set a permanent secretary within the Directorate of Religious Affairs of Turkey for follow-up mechanism.⁷⁵ Turkey's attempts likely will lead enlargement of Sunni-Muslim understanding in African Muslim communities. Turkey's religious initiative needs

⁷⁵ "Ii. Meeting of Muslim Religious Leaders in the Continent of Africa," Directorate of Religious Affairs of Turkey, <http://africa.diyagnet.gov.tr>. (12.12.2011)

official and NGO support for implementations while there are few other important actors propagating their beliefs in Africa.

Table 18.Meetings of Muslim Religious Leaders Participation

	Number of attendant African states	Number of representative from African states
2006	22	34
2011	44	122

Source: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

3.2.10. Turkish Staff in the UN Missions

The UN approved a total of 22 peace missions worldwide, of which six were in Africa between 1945 and 1991. Five of the six were approved only toward the end of the Cold War. The UN did just undertake one peacekeeping operation for almost 30 years between 1960 and the end of 1980s. The UN approved 18 peace missions in Africa from 1992 to 2007. While the missions the UN approved in Africa comprised about one in four during the Cold War, the number increased to one in two after the Cold War. The convergence of systemic, continental, and individual level variables since the latter half of the 1990s has provided the conditions necessary for the UN to be more dynamic in its peace missions.⁷⁶

As of the end of January 21, 2011, the UN has been operating 16 peacekeeping operations worldwide, with eight 8 of them in Africa. A total of 86,655 UN personnel out of 119,348 total UN personnel have been employed in the missions in Africa.⁷⁷ Turkey has contributed troops, individual polices, and experts to UN missions totaling 505 personnel, with 103 of them 505 charged with five of eight missions in Africa.⁷⁸ Turkey has not been ranked among the top 20 personnel contributors or the top 20

⁷⁶Assefaw Bariagaber, "United Nations Peace Missions in Africa: Transformations and Determinants," *Journal of Black Studies* 38, no. 6 (2008). 830-849.

⁷⁷The Peace and Security Section of the United Nations Department of Public Information, "Fact Sheet: Un Peacekeeping Operations," in *The Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support and Department of Management*, ed. United Nations (New York: United Nations, 2012).

⁷⁸The United Nations Department of Public Information, "Contributors to United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Pamphlet," in *The Department of Peacekeeping Operations* (New York: United Nations, 2012).

financial suppliers for the whole UN missions.⁷⁹ Turkey`s greatest contribution is UNMIL with 30 staff. Turkey has not placed any staff in MINURSO, UNMIS and UNISFA.

Table 19. UN Peacekeeping missions in Africa (as of December 2011)

	Mission	Country	Since	Total personnel	Turkish staff
1	MINURSO	Western Sahara	1991	228	-
2	UNMIL	Liberia	2003	9206	30
3	UNOCI	Ivory Cost	2004	10999	16
4	UNMIS	Sudan	2005	-	-
5	UNAMID	Sudan-Darfur	2007	22990	22
6	MONUSCO	Dem. Rep. of Congo	2010	18928	10
7	UNISFA	Sudan-Abyei	2011	3798	-
8	UNMISS	South Sudan	2011	5478	25
				71627	103

Source: UN web site

Note: Total personnel at the table shows only number of troops, experts and police. UN volunteers, local and international civilians are not included in the table.

3.2.11. The Fourth United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries (LDC-IV)

After the decolonization period, African countries started raise their voices against being the least developed. As a result, since 1971, the United Nations has recognized the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) as the “poorest and weakest segment” of the international community. The Least Developed Countries is a category of countries distinguished not only by widespread poverty, but also by the structural weakness of those countries’ economic, institutional and human resources, often compounded by geographical handicaps. In terms of low-income eligibility, a country has to have an average income less than \$745 for the last three years. In order to focus on the need for special measures for the countries, the first and second United Nations

⁷⁹ ———, "Background Note United Nations Peacekeeping," (New York: United Nations, 2011).

Conferences on the Least Developed Countries were held in Paris in 1981 and 1990 respectively. The third conference in 2001 brought implementation of an Action Plan for LDCs and their partners in Brussels. Because of Turkey's activism in African countries, Turkey undertook the Fourth United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries (LDC-IV) which was held in 2011 in Istanbul.⁸⁰

The Istanbul Action Plan was agreed to at LDC-IV despite difficult debates over aid in which poor countries and Turkey asked for more direct aid but rich countries insisted on the current regime. Turkey tried to bring the least developed countries' interests and expectations to forefront.⁸¹ The Turkish Government see to host international conferences a part of its foreign policy application. It is also worth mentioning that 33 of the LDCs are African states.

3.2.12. Visa Convenience for sub-Saharan African Countries

Davutoğlu's "zero problems with neighbors and developing relations with neighbors and beyond" offer a global perspective in foreign policy making that AKP government has been promoting visa abolition policy with neighborhood and trade partners as well as African countries. Turkey abolished visa requirements bilaterally with Syria in 2009, Russia in 2011. While Greece was officially seen a threat since 1960s, the decision of National Security resolution in 2004 is changed the perception of threat. Turkey and Greece abolished visa requirements for daily visits to Aegean islands bilaterally in 2010. Turkish governing elites announced a new application regarding the implementation of a new procedure for the issuance of a single entry visa for sub-Saharan African countries' businesspeople. According to new regulation; a businessperson from a sub-Saharan African country can be issued a single entrance visa at the arrival to Turkey at the airport if a businessperson has already travelled to U.K.,

⁸⁰ The United Nations, "The Fourth United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries," UN Web Services Section, <http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/ldc/home>. (Accessed January 10, 2012)

⁸¹ "Davutoğlu Says Countries Agree on İstanbul Action Plan Despite Hard Bargain," *Todays Zaman*, 13.05.2011 2011.

US or Shengen countries at least once. Thereby, Turkey would like to attract African businesspeople from 46 different sub-Saharan African countries. While Turkey has had long-lasting visa dispute with EU for Turkish businesspeople who want to visit Shengen countries for business purposes, Turkish officials discovered economic cooperation and integration can be achieved easy access to market place.⁸²

3.3.13. Official Development Aid to Africa

The Cooperation and Development Administration of Turkey (TIKA) is one of the prominent official institutions as a foreign policy instrument. TIKa is organized to coordinate development aids and apply projects. TIKa support projects related to health, education, agriculture, environment, infrastructure and capacity-building. TIKa was established in 1992 in order to support former Soviet Union Turkic states, the Caucasus and the Balkans through technical support and emergency humanitarian aid. After 2002, TIKa enlarged its working region towards Africa by opening three offices in Sudan, Ethiopia and Senegal. While Turkey's development aid was average \$40-80 million up to 2002, it was increased to an average \$700 million between 2006 and 2009. According to TIKa 2009 report, allocation to the Middle East and Africa has reached a quarter of all Turkey's allocation share. The highest share of Turkey's allocation is given to Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, and Kenya, respectively in Africa. Turkey's total aid figure to Africa reached \$38 million in 2010. Although Turkey's interest has increased to Africa, Turkey's donations are not a big deal compare to other donors. Turkey is not on the 10 most generous donor's lists of any African countries, according to OECD reports.⁸³

⁸² "Announcement Regarding the Implementation of a New Procedure for the Issuance of a Single Entry Visa for Sub-Saharan African Countries' Businessmen ", Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/no_-13_-19-april-2011_-announcement-regarding-the-new-procedure-for-the-issuance-of-a-single-entry-visa-for-sub-saharan-african-countries_-businessmen.en.mfa.(Accessed on May 24, 2012)

⁸³ Keyman, "Türk Dış Politikasında Eksen Tartışmaları: Küresel Kargaşa Çağında Realist Proaktivizm."

Table 20. Turkey's Official Development Aid⁸⁴ (Million Dollars)

	Official Development Aid	Official Development Aid to Africa	Percentage of Africa in Turkey's ODA
2005	601	11,76	1,96
2006	712	24,79	3,48
2007	602	30,97	5,14
2008	780	51,73	6,63
2009	707	46,96	6,64
2010	967	38,08	3,94

Source: The Cooperation and Development Administration of Turkey

3.3. Economic and Trade Relations

Africa started to be seen the center of attention in the international community. This attention came about partly because of the existing instability in the oil-producing areas of the Middle East and the growing recognition of Africa as an alternative source of this commodity and partly because of Africa's strategic importance in the war in terror.

According to BP Statistical World energy review African share in the proven oil reserves have slightly increased to 5.9 % by 1990, 8.5% by 2000, and 9.5% by 2010. Nigeria, Angola, Libya and Algeria have contended most of the reserved share in Africa. In terms of natural gas reserves African share in the world reserves have increased from 6.8% by 1990 to 8.1% by 2000, and 7.9% by 2010. Algeria and Egypt have had the biggest natural gas reserves in the continent. South Africa has rich coal reserves in the continent where she alone holds 3.5% of the world's coal reserves. Again South Africa

⁸⁴ The Department of Statistics of The Cooperation and Development Administration of Turkey, E-mail, January 12, 2012 2012.

is the only country in the continent that has nuclear energy capabilities.⁸⁵ Africa is the world's leading producer of precious stones (diamonds) and precious metals such as gold and platinum. Africa accounts for 51% of the world's diamond production with the Democratic Republic of Congo, Botswana, Angola, and South Africa important diamond producers in Africa. Africa holds 20% of the world's gold production, and South Africa is the fifth largest gold producer with 8% of the world's production. Ghana, Mali, Tanzania, and Guinea have significant production in the continent as well. South Africa also produces 80% of the world's platinum, and Zimbabwe follows with 4% in Africa. Democratic Republic of Congo produces 41% of the world's cobalt solely and contains more than half of the world's reserves.⁸⁶ Therefore, there are huge energy and mine resources in the continent and developed countries have been investing to the region for their industry. An important sign of this is that African share in foreign direct investment increased from 3.86% in 2005 to 4.42% in 2010.⁸⁷

Six of the 10 fastest growing economies in the world were in sub-Saharan Africa over the period 2001 -2010. Moreover, seven of the 10 fastest growing economies over the period 2011 -2015 will be in sub-Saharan Africa according to growth forecast indicators. Africa's population grew at an average annual rate of 2.6%, well above the world average of 1.5%. While it is expected to decline by 0.3% in Europe, increase by 0.9% in Asia and by 0.7% by North America; Africa will grow by 2.7% over the period 2009 -2050.⁸⁸

Population increase combined with high income growth in Africa, will make it an important source of export demand in the medium to long term. On the basis of the projection, African share of population will increase from 15% by 2009 to 27% by 2050.

⁸⁵ BP, "Bp Statistical Review of World Energy " BP, http://www.bp.com/assets/bp_internet/globalbp/globalbp_uk_english/reports_and_publications/statistical_energy_review_2011/STAGING/local_assets/pdf/statistical_review_of_world_energy_full_report_2011.pdf. (Accessed on January 10, 2012)

⁸⁶ British Geological Survey, "World Mineral Production 2005-2009 " (Nottingham: Natural Environment Research Council, 2012). 1-118

⁸⁷The United Nations, "The World Investment Report 2011," (New York: United Nations, 2011).

⁸⁸ UNCTAD, "Economic Development in Africa Report 2011," (New York 2011). 81.

Therefore Africa will increasingly be a significant source of consumer demand in the world economy. Parallel to increase on population, Africa's middle-class purchasing power will raise up and consumer spending will rise from \$860 billion in 2008 to \$1.4 trillion in 2020 if the region maintains an average growth rate of 5%.⁸⁹

Africa has been augmenting trade portion within world trade volume. In 2001, Africa accounted for \$273 billion trade volume over \$12,674 billion world trade volume. In 2010, African trade volume increased by \$977 billion over \$30,6 trillion world trade volume. While Africa accounted for 2.15% of world trade volume in 2001, the share increased to 3.19% in 2010.⁹⁰ From 2003 to 2010, Gross National Product of Africa increased from \$830 billion to \$1,7 trillion. South Africa has been seen the most powerful economic country during the term. Five North African countries and three sub-Saharan African countries, Nigeria, Angola, and South Africa, account for more than 70% of total trade volume of the continent of Africa. Turkey is not one of top ten trade partners of Africa. China, the United States, France, Italy, and Germany comprise the top five trade partner of Africa.

A relatively stable Africa presents new opportunities for countries and this stable ground leads to increased economic demands. Sustainable enlargement is expected in the next decade that stems from urbanization in African states, increase in a population that consumes more, enlargement of agricultural fields, industrialization, and increase in natural resources revenue. Urbanization and population increase in middle class segment in African states will increase demand in the near future.

Turkey sees the continent of Africa as an important market for especially billions of dollars infrastructure and pavement projects in contractorship and technical consultancy sector which are financed by revenues come from natural resources and energy. African continent needs to realize large-scale projects such as hospitals, dams and watering, housing,

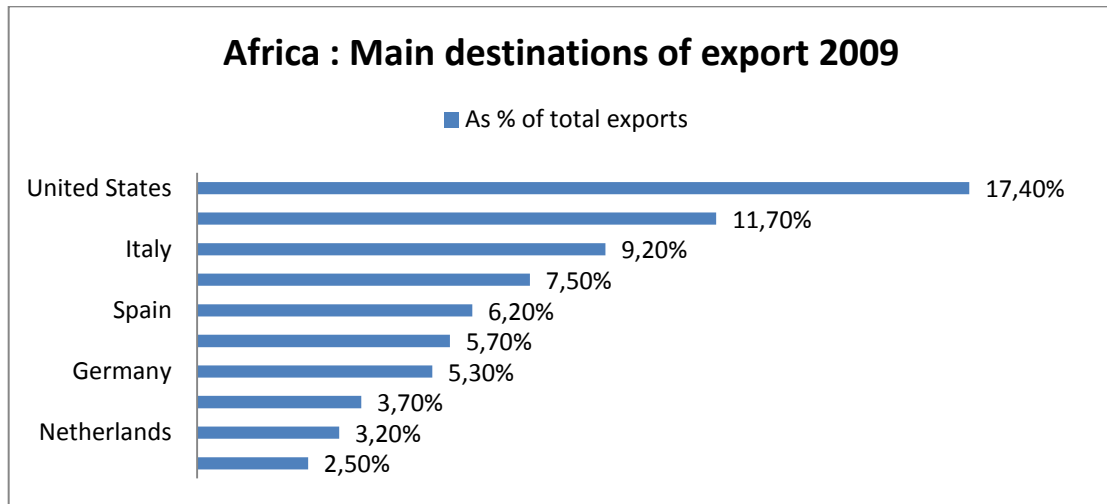
⁸⁹ Ibid. 82-84.

⁹⁰ T.C. Ekonomi Bakanlığı (The Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Turkey), "Ülkelere Göre Dünya Ticareti," T.C. Ekonomi Bakanlığı, <http://www.ekonomi.gov.tr/index.cfm?sayfa=727D894A-D8D3-8566-45203C65F7D00E2C>. (Accessed on March 11, 2012)

energy transfer lines, pipelines, transportation infrastructure that Turkish companies have already had considerable experience domestic and international in those fields.

The Under secretariat of Treasury of the Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry prepared a document “Afrika ile Ticari ve Ekonomik İlişkilerin Geliştirilmesi Stratejisi(ATES)-Improvement Strategy on Trade and Economic Relations with African States” in 2003 in order to advance relations with Africa and the document was overviewed and reshaped in 2010. “Strategy of Africa” is renewed not only because of increased trade and economic relations since 2003 but also enhancement in investment fields paves the way for contractors and technical consultancy companies of Turkey to undertake projects, especially in sub-Saharan Africa.

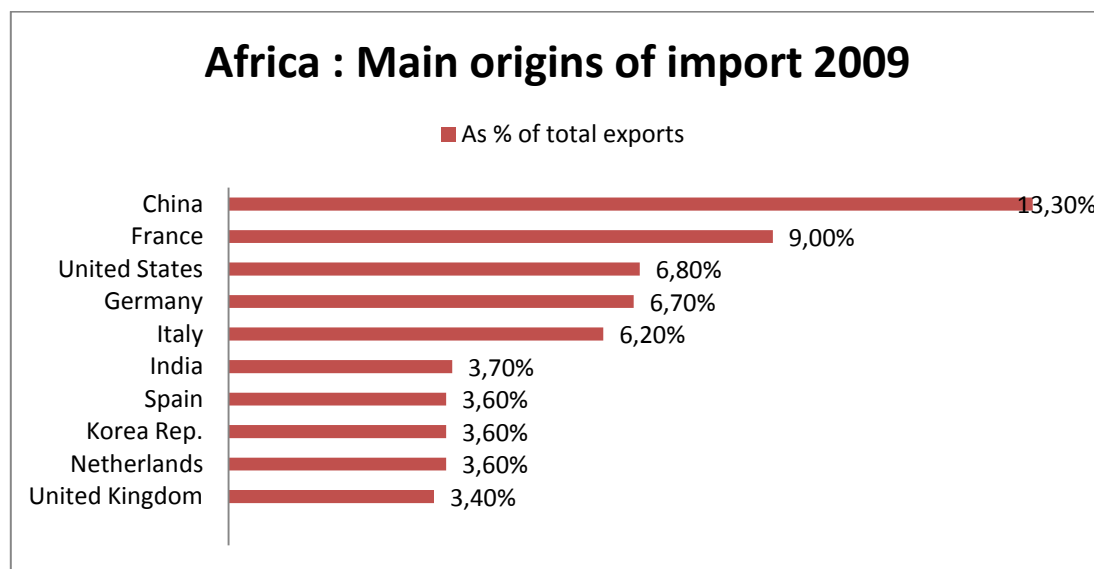
Table 21. Top ten export destination from African states (2009)⁹¹



Source: African Statistical Yearbook-2011

⁹¹ African Union and Economic Commission for Africa African Development Bank Group, "African Statistical Yearbook," (Addis Ababa: African Union, 2011).

Table 22. Top ten import destination of African states (2009)⁹²



Source: African Statistical Yearbook-2011

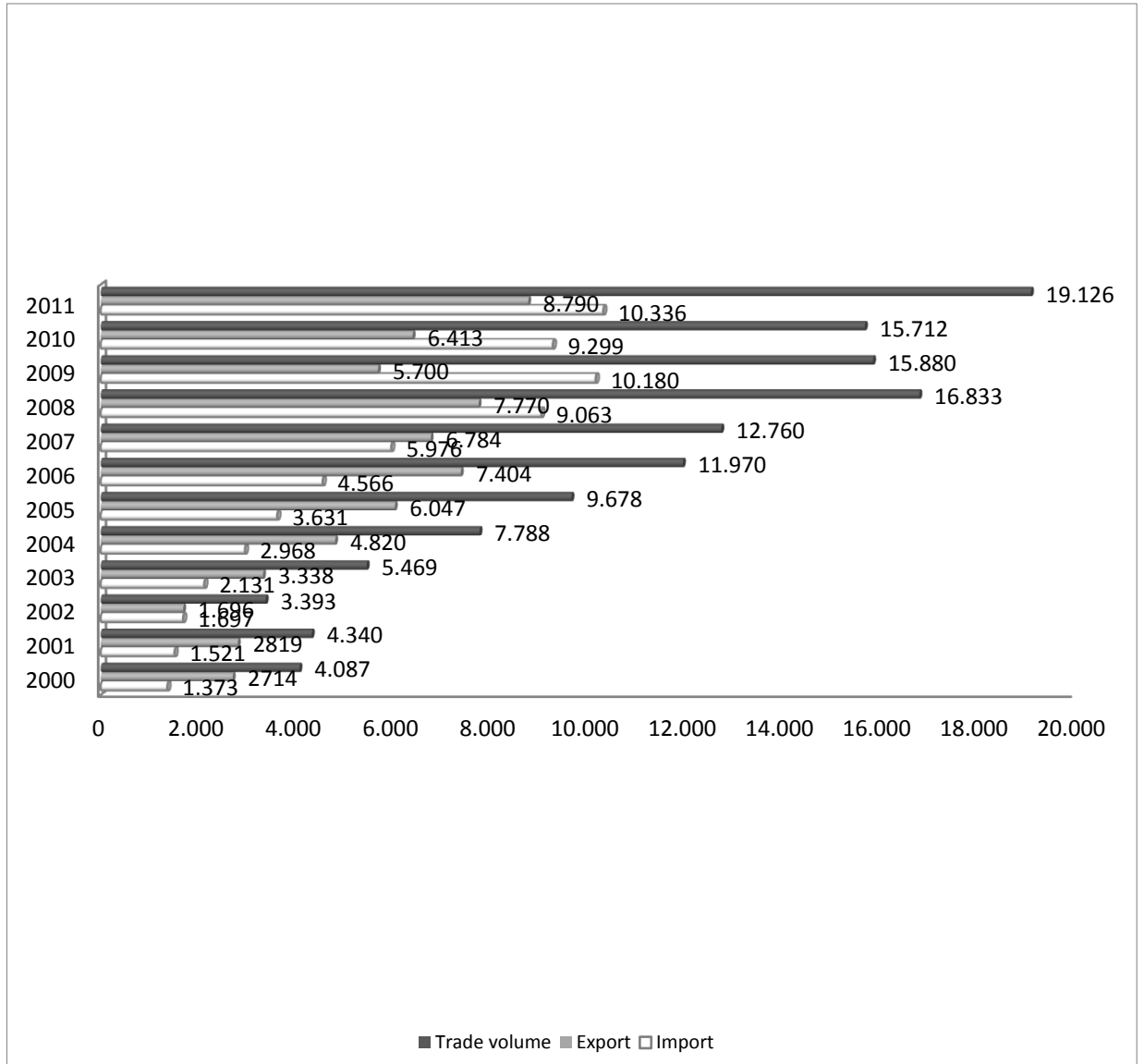
Turkey has been increasing trade volume significantly since 2001. Turkey's total trade volume increased from \$87 billion in 2002 to \$298 billion in 2010, thus tripling between 2002 and 2010. While Turkey's trade volume with African countries was only \$4.3 billion in 2002, it was up to \$15.7 billion in 2010, so Turkey has tripled trade volume in eight years.⁹³ Compared with Turkey's 2010 trade volume with African countries, African countries have a 5% portion of Turkey's total volume. Though Turkey has targeted \$30 billion trade volume with African countries, it has realized half of the expectation. The largest part of Turkey's trade volume comes from North African countries. Turkish contractors have billion dollar agreements with Libya, but recent public movements in Libya are likely to have a negative impact in terms of trading in the

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ "Foreign Trade According to Country Groups," Ministry of Economy, <http://www.ekonomi.gov.tr/index.cfm?sayfa=7145D543-D8D3-8566-4520DFB6CC4A86BA>. (12.12.2011)

future. While Turkey's African initiatives are evaluated as business purposes, it is unlikely the figures will be satisfactory.

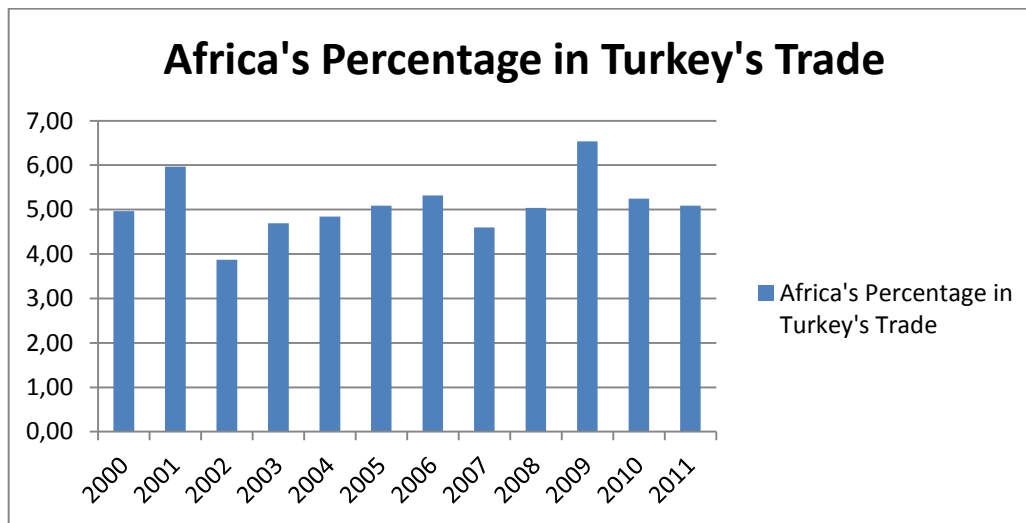
Table 23. Turkey's Trade Volume with African Countries (Million Dollars)⁹⁴



Source: the Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Turkey

⁹⁴ T.C. Ekonomi Bakanlığı (The Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Turkey), "Ülke Gruplarına Göre Dış Ticaret," T.C. Ekonomi Bakanlığı, <http://www.ekonomi.gov.tr/index.cfm?sayfa=7145D543-D8D3-8566-4520DFB6CC4A86BA>. (March 25, 2012)

Table 24. Africa's Percentage in Turkey's Trade⁹⁵



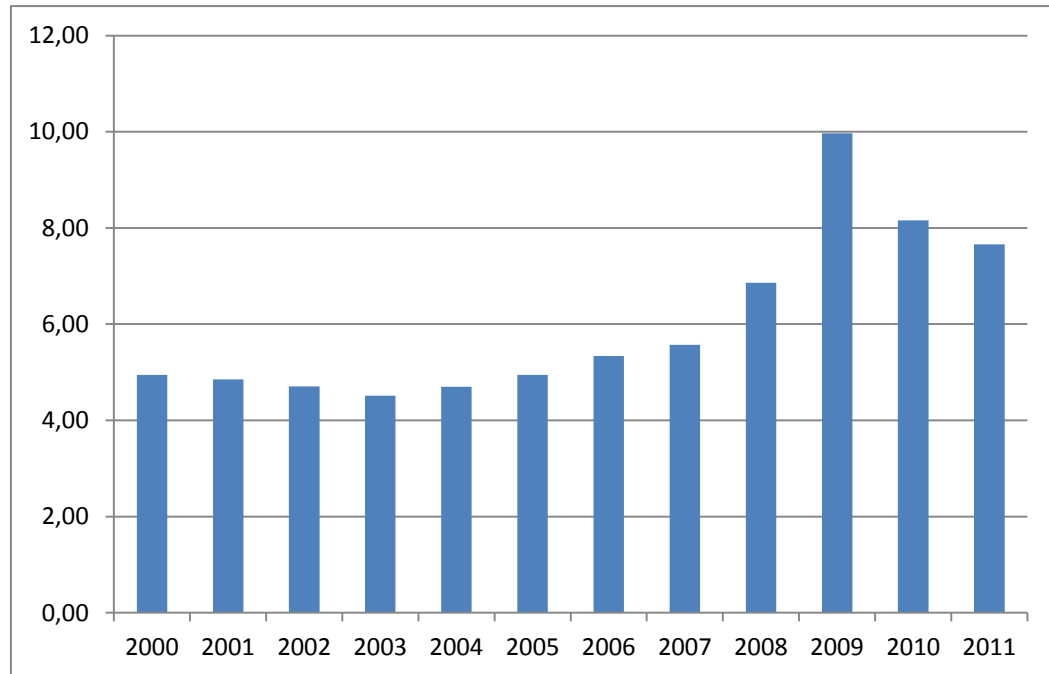
Source: The Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Turkey

In the framework of “Strategy of Africa,” Turkey realized \$10.3 billion export, \$8.7 billion import, \$19.1 billion trade volume with Africa in 2011. Moreover, ongoing events in North Africa especially in Libya damaged Turkey’s export significantly. Turkey’s export to Libya has been gradually enhanced by 40% enlargement average between 2005 and 2010. Export to Libya was expected to reach \$2.7 billion in 2011; unfortunately, it realized only \$747 million. As a result, Turkey lost almost \$2 billion in export to this country in 2011. Share of African states in Turkey’s export account for 4% in 2003, 7% in 2008, 10% in 2009, 7.6% in 2010 and 8.1% in 2011. In 2009, the continent of Africa has been the only location that Turkey’s export figure increased. More importantly Turkey set export records at 37 over 54 African countries in 2011. As of 2011, cumulative worth of contracts that Turkish companies completed in the continent reached to 40 billion dollars in construction field. Turkish investments have jumped over \$5 billion in Africa at the end of 2011.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ ———, E-mail, March 30, 2012 2012.

Table 25. Africa's Share in Turkey's Export⁹⁷



Source: The Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Turkey

I will analyze trade volume in four categories. Top trade partners of Turkey: these countries have at least \$850 million trade volume with Turkey. Second category: Turkey's trade volume accounts for \$101-300 million. Third category: Turkey's trade volume is \$11-100 million dollars. Forth category: Turkey's trade volume accounts for \$1-10 million.

North African countries and two sub-Saharan African countries, South Africa and Nigeria, account for 85% of Turkey's trade volume in Africa. While Turkey has given trade deficit toward these countries up to 2007, then Turkey has succeeded in trade surplus between 2007 and 2010. Even in 2010, Turkey reached to \$1.84 billion trade surplus. While Turkey had a \$3.98 billion trade volume with these countries in 2001,

⁹⁷ Ibid.

Turkey slightly increased trade volume \$13.44 billion in 2010. Only five North African countries account for 70% of Turkey's trade volume in Africa.

Table 26. Top Trade Partners of Turkey in Africa (billion dollars)

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Countries	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V
Algeria	1.486	1.640	1.655	2.062	2.502	2.885	3.340	4.876	3.808	3.781
Morocco	136	207	258	436	514	725	920	1.318	835	1.021
Libya	915	919	1.327	1.851	2.373	2.787	1.043	1.411	2.202	2.358
Egypt	513	445	535	728	955	1.102	1.583	2.369	3.260	3.177
Tunisia	214	193	318	357	412	475	760	1.143	882	994
S.Africa	423	299	457	1.197	1.576	2.392	2.826	2.741	1.970	1.259
Nigeria	297	244	290	275	333	463	627	802	862	853
	3.984	3.946	4.840	6.905	8.665	10.829	11.099	14.661	13.819	13.443

Source: The Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Turkey

At the second level Ghana, Sudan, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Benin, Angola and Tanzania account for 7% of Turkey's trade volume in Africa. Turkey has succeeded in trade surplus between 2001 and 2010. Even in 2010, Turkey reached to \$507 million trade surplus. While Turkey had a \$192 million trade volume with these countries in 2001, Turkey slightly increased trade volume to \$1.11 billion in 2010.

Table 27. Trade volume of Turkey with African states that trade volume is between 101-850 million dollars

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Countries	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V
Ghana	53	62	132	112	105	90	125	147	175	291
Sudan	56	72	71	101	153	225	188	243	255	233
Ethiopia	33	40	71	96	140	116	189	203	264	216
Ivory Coast	26	48	58	76	60	74	118	158	151	145
Benin	16	10	5	5	7	9	39	26	29	120
Angola	8	11	14	23	36	71	49	198	152	109
Tanzania	4	8	11	18	33	43	42	67	66	104
	192	242	351	412	501	585	708	976	1.025	1.114

Source: The Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Turkey

At the third group countries are composed of 23 African countries. The 23 countries are account for 6% of Turkey's trade volume in Africa. Turkey has always succeeded in trade surplus between 2001 and 2010. While Turkey achieved a \$45 million trade surplus with this group of countries in 2001, the surplus reached \$480 million in 2011. While Turkey had a \$116 million trade volume with these countries in 2001, Turkey slightly increased trade volume to \$965 million in 2010.

Table 28. Trade Volume of Turkey with African States that trade volume is between 11-100 million dollars

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Kenya	13	10	15	19	52	89	110	246	76	100
Cameroon	15	28	40	56	52	41	77	58	71	89
Mozambique	1	2	5	11	19	23	33	29	91	89
Senegal	14	19	27	26	35	41	67	92	97	85
Liberia	16	21	26	71	59	12	101	163	172	75
Congo	5	9	12	21	30	30	34	46	48	57
Burkina Faso	2	3	4	4	4	6	12	11	11	55
Mauritania	4	12	6	10	11	9	19	23	24	39
Togo	4	11	7	11	8	11	14	23	32	38
Sierra Leone	2	1	5	7	5	8	12	18	18	35
Equatorial Guinea	0	1	3	5	11	45	56	16	20	33
Djibouti	7	4	5	9	7	11	46	41	44	31
Guinea	5	6	8	8	12	17	19	33	14	30
Mauritius	2	3	5	13	16	14	31	42	25	29
Madagascar	3	4	6	13	9	10	12	24	22	29
Gabon	9	12	11	22	27	21	47	40	26	24
Malawi	4	2	10	23	19	16	29	33	32	24
Gambia	3	6	10	14	11	11	18	17	21	21
Uganda	1	1	2	6	16	13	15	19	22	25
D. Rep.of Congo	1	1	1	2	2	5	5	10	21	17
Niger	1	1	2	3	4	5	12	18	11	15
Zambia	1	0	0	2	2	7	23	13	5	14
Mali	3	3	5	7	13	9	14	10	10	11
	116	160	215	363	424	454	806	1025	913	965

Source: The Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Turkey

At the last group countries are composed of 16 African countries. The 16 countries account for less than 1% of Turkey's trade volume in Africa. Turkey has always succeeded in trade surplus between 2001 and 2010. Turkey showed \$13 million trade deficit in 2001 but a \$35 million trade surplus in 2011. While Turkey had a \$43

million trade volume with these countries in 2001, Turkey slightly increased trade volume to \$69 million in 2010.

Table 29. Trade Volume of Turkey with African States that trade volume is between 0-10 million dollars

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Countries	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V	Tr. V
Zimbabwe	26	5	17	41	12	7	24	29	4	9
Rwanda	1	0	1	1	0	1	3	4	8	8
Eritrea	5	10	15	19	12	15	20	11	3	7
Comoros	0	0	0	4	2	3	15	10	11	6
C. African Rep.	1	1	3	4	6	7	7	9	4	6
Cape Verde	3	7	6	5	3	5	8	11	5	6
Somalia	1	1	2	2	3	5	4	10	4	6
Seychelles	2	2	2	3	6	7	6	2	3	5
Namibia	1	1	0	4	1	3	7	4	2	4
Burundi	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	2	2	4
Guinea-Bissau	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	3
Chad	1	4	2	1	1	2	3	9	5	3
Lesotho	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
Botswana	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1
S. Tome and Pr.	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
Swaziland	0	0	1	3	2	1	1	0	0	0
	43	31	49	88	53	58	103	103	53	69

Source: The Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Turkey

3.3.1. Improvement Strategy on Trade and Economic Relations with African States

Turkey sees itself as the most suitable country to improve any kind of economic and trade with Africa. Moreover Turkey offers “fair trade by means of free trade” vision that facilitates avoiding a vicious circle of poverty of African states. Because geographical proximity, competitive advantage of Turkey in sectors that African states need, and

historical relations with some African states are constituted fundamentals of improvements of economic and trade relations. Besides, Turkish Industry and foreign trade infrastructure carry relation which shows complimentary features with African economies. In this respect, African market is targeted not only Small and Medium-sized Enterprises but also all Turkish companies. On one hand Africa is an important market for Turkey's export and on the other, rich natural resources in the continent offer cheap raw material sources for Turkish industry.⁹⁸

Fundamental aims of Improvement Strategy on Trade and Economic Relations with African States (revised form in 2010) can be summarized as:

- Increase Turkey's portion in total trade volume of African states to 3% in three years, (Turkey carries only 1.5% of trade volume of African states as of 2010.)
- Increase portion of African states in share of foreign trade of Turkey to 10% in three years. (The share of African states in Turkey's foreign trade is 5% as of 2011.)
- Support for opening up to the region of Small and Medium-sized Enterprises
- In order to empower competitiveness of Turkey in some sectors, common investments with African states will be supported.
- Technology transfer from Turkey to the continent
- Increase of market share of Turkish companies which deals with contractorship, consultancy and engineering in Africa
- Establishment of Industry Regions in Africa by Turkish Entrepreneurs to facilitate investment (Egypt and Ethiopia)

⁹⁸ Ibid.

- In the framework of Turkey's demand on energy and natural resources, African states can be evaluated as strategic source and cooperated in these fields to enhance trade and investment.
- Investment to mining sector of private sector in Africa is promoted
- Support pervasiveness of shopping mall investment of Turkey's companies to facilitate consumer's goods and food sectors in African market. (Morocco)

At the renewed Strategy of Africa, African states are separated two groups as North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa. Because North African countries are apart from sub-Saharan countries in political, economic, social and cultural characteristics and Turkey's historical background also necessitates a separate perspective in analyzing relations with North African states.

In this respect, under the title of "ATES-North Africa" as North African states have been determined as targeted states, whilst under the title of "ATES-Sub Saharan Africa," Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia, Angola, Nigeria, Equatorial Guinea, Mali, Senegal, South Africa, Cameroon and Ghana targeted.

Table 30. Target African States according to ATES

ATES-North Africa	ATES-Sub Saharan Africa
Egypt	Kenya
Libya	Tanzania
Morocco	Uganda
Algeria	Sudan
Tunisia	Ethiopia
	Angola
	Nigeria
	Equatorial Guinea
	Mali
	Senegal
	South Africa
	Cameroon
	Ghana

Source: The Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Turkey

ATES-Applications and Significant Conclusions

Free Trade Agreements: In order to overcome obstacles for entering into North African market of Turkish companies, Ministry of Economy started to work on Free Trade Agreements (FTA) to facilitate exchange of merchandise, goods and capital. In this respect, Turkey signed FTA with Morocco and Tunisia in 2004 and Egypt in 2005. These agreements have been the first agreements in this field in Africa. An FTA with

Mauritius also was signed in 2011. There are also negotiations on new FTAs with many African states and economic association in the continent.

Legal basis: Agreement on the Avoidance of Double Taxation was signed between Turkey and Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Ethiopia, Sudan and South Africa. Moreover Agreement on the Mutual Promotion and Protection of Investments was signed between Turkey and Egypt, Algeria, South Africa, Tunisia, Morocco, Sudan, Ethiopia, Libya, Tanzania, Nigeria and Senegal.

As part of Strategy of Africa to constitute concrete ground for economic and trade relations, Turkey signed Agreement on Trade, Economic and Technical Cooperation with 13 African states: Kenya, Tanzania, South Africa, Mauritania, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Burkina Faso, Malawi, Comoros, Botswana, Angola, Equatorial Guinea, and Zambia. Turkey initiated at high level contact to prepare those countries Mozambique, Namibia, Liberia, Mauritius, Central African Republic, Sierra Leone, Madagascar (again), Guinea – Bissau, Rwanda, Benin, and Burundi to sign trade and economic agreements. Additionally, Turkey organized Joint Economic Commissions with 17 different countries to bring out tangible projects within the scope of the strategy.

3.3.2. Trade Consultants and commercial attaches in Africa

The Turkish government has sent trade consultants and commercial attaches to the new embassies in order to contribute commercial relationship with African countries and to guide business people. The number of Turkish trade representatives in Turkish embassies and consulates was 115 in 2009 within 93 representations. The Council of Ministers decided to raise the number of trade representatives from 115 to 250 in 2010.⁹⁹ While Turkey held only four trade consultants in four embassies in 2001 in Turkish embassies in Africa, the number has been increased to 11 in 2006 and 24 in 2010. Almost 10% of trade consultants and commercial attaches of Turkey have been appointed to 13 Turkish embassies in Africa.

⁹⁹———, E-mail, February 2, 2012 2012.

Table 31. Trade Consultants and commercial attaches in Africa

Countries	2001	2004	2006	2008	2009	2010
Algeria	1	1	1	1	1	2
South Africa	1	1	1	1	1	2
Tunisia	1	1	1	1	1	2
Egypt	1	1	1	1	2	5
Ethiopia		1	1	1	1	1
Morocco		1	1	1	1	2
Nigeria		1	1	1	1	1
Senegal		1	1	1	1	1
Sudan		1	1	1	1	1
Libya		1	1	1	1	4
Kenya			1	1	1	1
Tanzania						1
Ghana						1
<i>Total</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>24</i>

Source: The Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Turkey

3.4. NGOs in Africa

Davutoğlu argued total performance in foreign policy, which means considering NGOs, business communities and other civil organizations as part of the new foreign policy vision and mobilizing their support behind the new dynamic foreign policy line.¹⁰⁰ As a result of the facilitating impact of the new foreign policy understanding, various social groups increased their role in the making of foreign policy. Business organizations, civil society, intellectuals, think-tanks, and other actors now provide input into the foreign policymaking process.¹⁰¹ Davutoğlu has been supported by Turkish NGOs in Africa and governmental initiatives would support NGOs in order to emerge total performance in trade and foreign relations.

In Africa, in terms of nonprofit organizations: Tuskon, Turkish Schools and Turkish humanitarian aid associations are worth considering. They are not serving for African people but also are being part of Turkey's "soft power" in the continent.

¹⁰⁰ Ahmet Davutoglu, *Stratejik Derinlik*, 38 ed. (Istanbul: Kure Yayinlari, 2001), 83.

¹⁰¹ Bulent Aras, "Davutoglu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy," *SETA Policy Brief* 32(2009).

3.4.1. Tuskon

In order to enhance regional and bilateral diplomatic and economic relations under the light of strategic engagement, Turkey applies set of policies and instruments for consolidate its geo-strategic position. Lobbying with EU has been undertaken Turkey's oldest business group TUSIAD. While MUSIAD is looking for new cooperation opportunities with the Gulf countries; TUSKON, which is largely composed of exporters, has been actively dealing with East Asian and African markets.¹⁰² TUSKON, Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists of Turkey, is one of the most significant NGO which cooperates with Turkish schools in the region in order to strengthen the relations economically and politically with Turkey and Africa. TUSKON is an umbrella organization for 7 regional federations, 162 business associations with more than 30.000 business people members in Turkey. The first foreign trade bridge program organized by TUSKON, "Turkey - Africa Foreign Trade Bridge -1", was organized in Istanbul, on May 8-9, 2006 with a total of 500 business people from 35 different countries, and 1,000 businesspeople from Turkey. 40,000 bilateral business meetings were held between Turkish and African participants. TUSKON continued Africa trade bridges at 2007 with 800, at 2008 with 1.000, at 2009 and 2010 with 800 business people from Africa. TUSKON also organizes trade and investment delegations to potentially viable countries as a follow up to Trade Bridge Programs. Most of TUSKON delegations were led by the President of Turkey or relevant Turkish Cabinet Members. In addition to TUSKON delegations, member federations and their associations organized thousands of trade and investment delegations in the last 5 years towards to Africa.¹⁰³ TUSKON plays a critical role in Turkey's trade and economic investment in the continent that it can be argued that TUSKON members are account for grand share of Turkey's trade volume with Africa. After each trade bridge organization, it is announced that hundreds of millions of dollars worth trade agreements concluded.

¹⁰² Mehmet Babacan, "Whither Axis Shift: A Perspective from Turkey's Foreign Trade," in *Seta Policy Report* (Ankara: SETA, 2010). 11.

¹⁰³ Mustafa Günay, "Turkey-Africa Relations" (London, 14.04.2011 2011).

Turkish officials also advice African officials should join TUSKON's organizations with African business people. Moreover Turkish Foreign Ministry, time to time, canalizes TUSKON to arrange "Turkish Africa Trade Bridge Program's right after official programs of Turkey and African states. These shows Turkish officials take trade and economic relations as a complementary part of foreign relations. TUSKON and its member associations represent economic and trade attractiveness of Turkey in terms of economic and trade "soft power" of Turkey.

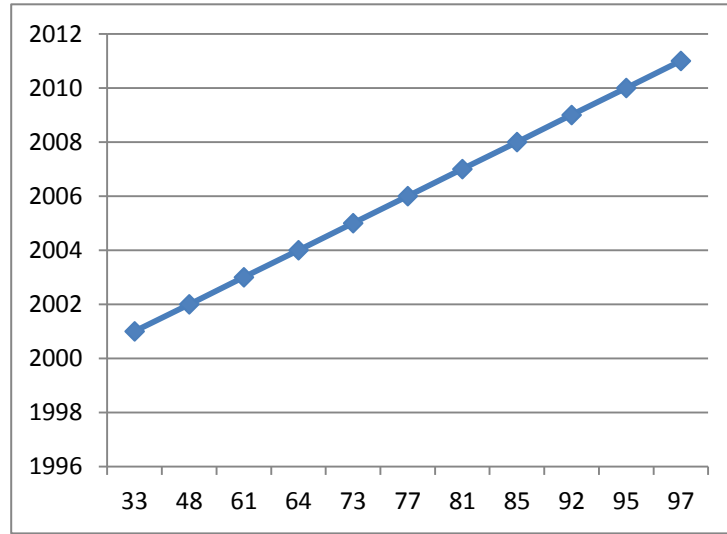
3.4.2. Turkish Schools

Turkish schools are also key elements for Turkish business peoples. There are almost hundred Turkish schools in different regions of Africa operated by Turkish NGOs. Turkish schools are mostly educating bright African brains and children of African elites that trade in Africa depends on the schools' references. Therefore the schools and TUSKON has been working together to constitute common ground in trade between African countries and Turkey. Most of the African countries have limited legal framework for international business so that direct personal reference to power in persons are vital important. At this point, Turkish schools enter to step in. Turkish schools and TUSKON cooperation lead to many success stories in trade between Turkey and African countries.

First Turkish school was opened in 1994 in Morocco. Then number of Turkish schools reached to thirty three in 2001 and ninety five in 2010. The number was almost tripled in ten years. As of March 11, 2011, Turkish schools have been serving in 32 countries to 24,868 African students with 2422 African teachers and personnel and 698 Turkish staff. One of the important side of Turkish schools is to provide job opportunity for Africans along with educate African students. Nigeria, the most of Turkish schools

active in the country, hosts 15 Turkish schools and a Turkish University which was opened in 2010.¹⁰⁴

Table 32. Turkish Schools in Africa



Source: Personal notes taken from “Meetings for Overseas Turkish Schools Representatives-III” by the Ministry of National Education of the Republic of Turkey in March 2011

Turkish Schools in Africa provide education in English along with local African languages and Turkish. As part of “soft power” of Turkish foreign policy, Turkish Schools generate an important link with African elites and Turkish culture. Turkish Schools organizes Turkey trips not only for students but also their parents as well. The schools serve establishment of cultural proximity between Turkish and African people.

3.4.3. Humanitarian Aid Associations

In Turkey, three key nonprofit organizations are constituted most of humanitarian aid projects out of the country. These organizations are: Deniz Feneri Derneği, Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH) and Kimse Yok Mu Derneği. The organizations

¹⁰⁴ Oğuzhan Tekin, Joining to the conference titled "Yurt Dışında Türk Girişimciler Tarafından Açılan Öğretim Kurumları Temsilcileri III. Toplantısı", March 10, 2011 2011.

have been actively involving humanitarian aid projects in Africa. Those activities also can be included Turkey's "soft power" in the region in terms of foreign policy.

IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation, a nonprofit organization, was established in 1995. Humanitarian Relief Foundation attains poor regions to heal by aid which includes health, education and cultural scopes. IHH plays role to attract public attention for the regions by organizing panels, symposiums and international conferences, books, press releases; reports are prepared in relation to existing humanitarian situations and problems. IHH is one of the most active and powerful NGO in Turkey with a 52 million dollars budget in 2009. IHH has been cooperating with more than 30 sister organizations in different African countries to reach poor and needy people. Especially, IHH focus on to heal African people who need surgery for cataract which is a loss of sight that can be treated. Because 1,2% of African people have cataract problem without sufficient health care, the cataract surgeries are vital important for them. According to 2009 IHH report, IHH volunteers have done more than 10 000 cataract surgeries in 2009 compare to total completed 50 000 surgeries and have examined more than 45 000 people in African countries.¹⁰⁵

Kimse Yok Mu, is anybody there? in English, was established in 2004 in order to assist national and international humanitarian aids for following issues: food, clothing, hygiene items, fuel, rent, shelter, health care, education, employment assistance to those who are in need of it, be it under ordinary or extraordinary conditions, such as wars, earthquakes, flood, fire or any other situation. Kimse Yok Mu is accepted to ECOSOC, an organization under the United Nations which aims to bring together all humanitarian aid groups under one roof. Kimse Yok Mu is also very active especially Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Chad in Africa. Kimse Yok Mu organizes its events cooperation with

¹⁰⁵ iHH İnsan Hak ve Hürriyetleri İnsani Yardım Vakfı, "Hakkımızda," IHH, <http://www.ihh.org.tr/>. (Accessed on December 12, 2011)

Turkish Schools in the region. Kimse Yok Mu can be evaluated as a second largest Turkish NGO in Africa.¹⁰⁶

Deniz Feneri Association, registered in 1998 and corporate in 2002, is a Welfare and Solidarity Association. Deniz Feneri has delivered food, shelter, and health and cash aid to more than 500.000 families in Turkey and across World since its establishment. As a matter of fact, it is asserted that the rising popularity of Deniz Feneri Association is highly related with the organized performance of this institution in Marmara Earthquake on August 17th, 1999. Specifically, the association set up nearly 500 prefabricated houses in Bolu-Gölcük region and helped the earthquake disasters. Deniz Feneri Association was entitled to win The Turkish National Assembly Award of Eminent Services and it is in the Leader in Social Responsibility position in Turkey by year 2005.¹⁰⁷

Turkish NGOs has increased African aid programs last decade that almost one third of Turkish international aid is realized in African countries. One of the important sides of Turkey's Africa opening is supported by Turkey's humanitarian aid programs in the region. Although Turkey's aid figures are not satisfied, reflection of Turkey's soft power in the region is sorely improved.

I completed a survey with IHH, Deniz Feneri and Kimse Yok Mu to determine their activities in Africa. Unfortunately, Deniz Feneri didn't complete the survey form on time, so its information will be added when completed. The findings are illustrated with tables below. NA represents no data available.

Survey questions,

¹⁰⁶ Kimse Yok Mu, "Afrika Yardım Kategorileri," Kimse Yok Mu, <http://yeni.kimseyokmu.org.tr/>. (Accessed on December 12, 2011)

¹⁰⁷ Deniz Feneri Derneği, "Kurumsal," Deniz Feneri Derneği, <http://www.denizfeneri.org.tr/bagisci.aspx>. (Accessed on December 12, 2011)

1-Determine your institution's scholarship numbers for African students who are studying in Turkey at undergraduate and graduate level between 2005 and 2011. (Except Scholarship of Government of Turkey receivers)

Institution	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
IHH	NA	31	51	71	52	96	128
Kimse Yok Mu	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	250

2-Determine your institution's humanitarian aid priorities by aid varieties (from high priorities to low, from 1 to 5)

	IHH	Kimse Yok Mu
1	Food	Food
2	Health	Health
3	Water/Water well	Education
4	Orphan	Water/Water well
5	Education	Clothing

3-If your institution's all kind of aid (orphanage scholarship, water wells, food, construction materials, medical materials, aid el adha campaigns) is expressed by monetary mean (USD million dollars), what would your institution's aid amount to Africa between 2005 and 2011? (Except scholarship amount provided by your institution to African students in Turkey)

Institution	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
IHH	NA	2.5	3.1	2.7	3.5	4	18,2
Kimse Yok Mu	NA	0,04	1	0.48	1	2	23

4-Could you put in order countries according to aid receive from your institution? (From much receiver to little, from 1 to 5)

	IHH	Kimse Yok Mu
1	Somalia	Somalia
2	Kenya	Sudan
3	Ethiopia	Uganda
4	Chad	Kenya
5	Cameroon	Ethiopia

5-What is the number of cataract surgery done by organization of your institution between 2005 and 2011?

Institution	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
IHH	NA	NA	2,070	11,365	17,653	15,692	8,909
Kimse Yok Mu	NA	NA	NA	234	1,890	2,047	4,970

6-How many medical doctors have been brought to Africa in order to medical exam, cataract surgeries and other kind of medical control by your institutions between 2005 and 2011?

Institution	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
IHH	NA	NA	9	25	12	13	20
Kimse Yok Mu	NA	NA	NA	4	24	22	131

7-What is the number of scholarship/dormitory provided by your institution for orphans in Africa between 2005 and 2011?

Institution	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
IHH	NA	NA	2,500	5,375	15,392	15,890	23,226
Kimse Yok Mu	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	750	1,462

8-Could you put in order counties according to aid receive for orphans from your institution? (From high number of orphanage aid receiver to low, from 1 to 5)

	IHH	Kimse Yok Mu
1	Somalia	Sudan
2	Ethiopia	Somalia
3	Sudan	Kenya
4	Tanzania	Uganda
5	Mauritania	Ethiopia

3.4.4. International Turkish-African Congress of TASAM

Established in 2004, Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies (TASAM) is a scientific research center in which specialists and scientists prepare documents and reports in order to guide Turkish executives. TASAM organizes round table discussion forums, platforms, panels and congress in Turkey as well as overseas. In Turkey, TASAM is the first and unique think tank organization that has had an African Institution operating since 2004. The Institute has been organized seven International Turkish-African Congress and the recent congress was held in Sudan in 2012. TASAM also publishes reports, Congress proceedings and books relating to Turkey and Africa issues.¹⁰⁸ Turkish Foreign Minister participated to the first International Turkish-African Congress along with Alpha Oumar Konare, the President of Commission of African Union, was first visitor of African Union since its establishment at this cadre.¹⁰⁹

Table 33. International Turkish-African Congresses

Year	Title of Congress
2005	Rising Africa and Turkey
2006	Sub-Saharan Africa
2007	Turkey-African Union
2008	The Role of Civil Society and Think Tank Organizations in Development of Turkish - African Relations
2009	Regional Organizations in Africa /Institutionalization and Cooperation

¹⁰⁸ TASAM, "Tasam Activity Report 2004-2012," (2012).

¹⁰⁹ Gül, *Yeni Yüzyılda Türk Dış Politikasının Ufukları*. (Birinci Uluslararası Türk-Afrika Kongresi'nde Yapılan Konuşma, 2 Kasım 2005, p. 648)

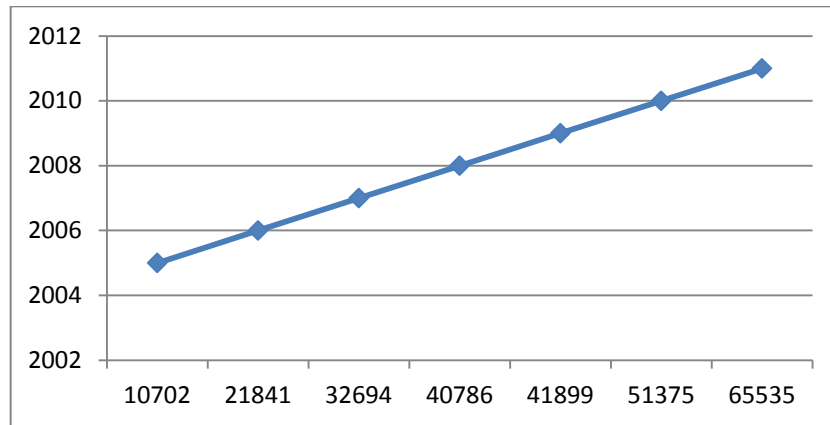
2010	The Role of Civil Society in Africa’s Development and Global Cooperation
2012	Multi-Dimensional Struggle for Africa: The future of Turkish Africa Relations

Source: TASAM Activity Report 2004-2012

3.4.5. Africa in Turkish Printed Press

In Turkey, Africa and African issues started to be seen in published press often. Turkey’s official initiatives, improvement on trade and economic relations with Africa, and activities of NGOs in the continent were reflected the Turkish printed press that visibility of African issues started to seen in the news more frequently. According to Medya Takip Merkezi report, the word of “Africa” was found more than ten thousands of news in published press of Turkey and its number folded six times in seven years. These numbers also show that Africa has been an important agenda for Turkey.¹¹⁰

Table 34. Visibility of “Africa” in the published press in Turkey



Source: Media Monitoring Center (Medya Takip Merkezi)

¹¹⁰ Medya Takip Merkezi (Media Monitoring Center), E-mail received from Medya Takip Merkezi, February 20, 2012 2012.

CHAPTER IV. CONCLUSION AND PERSPECTIVES

4.1. Conclusions and discussions

Unfortunate confrontation with prospective leaders of African states at the Bandung Conference in 1955 was to be remembered of Turkey as a spokesperson of colonial powers and Turkish foreign policy towards Africa remained along with the Cold War bipolarity. It was clear that the newborn Central Asian states occupied Ankara's agenda after the Cold War period. It can also be argued that Turkey engaged not only domestic problems but also terror attacks within and out of its borders and witnessed regional conflicts which related in a way with Turkish kinship. Therefore Turkey couldn't find a convenient domestic and regional stable period to advance relationship with African states.

The AK Party's foreign policy understanding overlapped with reflections of globalization. Turkey's active involvement in international organizations is a significant indicator of integration of Turkey to globalization process. Speediness in EU process, democratization reforms, establishing good relations with neighbors, seeking fearless solution for Cyprus issue, empowerment and enlargement of civil society in Turkey are united with utilization of "soft power" tools in Turkish foreign policy. Moreover the AK Party government would like to reach foreign policy goals with advanced economic relations.

The AK Party and its philosophy of making Turkey a regional power and global player and the stressed relations with EU paved the way for diversifying Turkey's market portfolio, activities of the Hizmet Movement in the continent and global economic crisis were caused to reevaluate Turkey's economic dynamics can be account for motives pushed Turkey to enhance relationship with African states. Davutoğlu expressed the AK Party's aspect at TUSKON Gala Dinner on December 2011 as "If there is a Turkish entrepreneur, my job is to be with him along with Turkish embassy and its staff to facilitate his business". The idea he mentioned is providing starter motivator not only entrepreneurs but also active NGOs in the region.

Turkish foreign policy towards Africa has been drawn very clearly with “the Action Plan” document prepared by the Foreign Ministry in 1998. Turkey, yet, was started to moved forward with “Improvement Strategy on Trade and Economic Relation with African States” paper staged in 2003 by the Under secretariat of Treasury and “Year of Africa” announcement for 2005 by the Government of Turkey in 2004. Turkey’s African strategy, then, commenced to materialize with the First Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit in 2008 in Istanbul.

Turkish, via its foreign policy towards Africa, aimed to be an important player in the continent of Africa. It is believed that Turkey with its growing economic power, dynamic entrepreneurs, relatively advanced industry and stable domestic administration; is not only provided her being a regional power in its region but also sufficient dynamics to advance relations with African states as an important player. Turkey is entitled as one of the “important players” in the continent of Africa by African Economic Outlook 2011 report that Turkey is taken seriously by African states.

Foreign policy is constituted by state officials and Turkish officials’ involvement into African agenda shows the Government follows a comprehensive approach towards African states. The President, Abdullah Gül, former Foreign Minister and Prime Minister of Turkey, has solely showed enormous performance as taking increase relations with African states one of the important duties. Visits of African states are account for 16% of his overseas visits between 2008 and 2011. Hundreds of bilateral ministerial level visits have been held and more than three hundred agreements have been concluded during the same time period.

Number of Turkish Embassies in Africa is increased from 12 to 32 and embassies of African states in Turkey are increased from 8 to 16 since 2001. Most of the new embassies were opened between 2009 and 2011. The number of the Business Councils was tripled during the decade. The number of Turkish Airlines flights to/from Africa was five folded and the share of the African continent in the overall flights was increased from 4% at the beginning of the decade to 6% at the end of the decade.

African students started to be granted scholarship since 2005 by the Government of Turkey reached to 1089 at the end of 2011. Ankara tries to any tools to improve relations with African states that sending personnel to UN missions in Africa, opening new TIKA offices in the continent and including African countries to Turkey's Official Development Aid programs, bringing to front African issues and problems agenda of international organizations, visa conveniences for sub-Saharan countries, and organizing conferences for cooperation in Muslim religious leaders in the continent of Africa can be counted as materialized official ventures.

Because Turkish industry is relatively advanced when compared to African states, cheaper than European products and more qualified than Chinese commodity with reasonable prices; Turkish products have gained competitive advantage in African market. Turkey has realized trade surplus with Africa and share of Africa in Turkey's export has been realized average eight per cent since 2008. Turkey broke export record at 37 of 54 African countries in 2011. Turkey folded its trade volume for four times with the continent during the last decade. Advance and sustainable economic and trade relations with Africa will provide concrete ground for establishment and application of comprehensive Turkish foreign policy.

Representing the "soft power" of Turkish foreign policy; Turkish NGOs, TUSKON as provider of platform for business people, Turkish Schools as ensuring high quality education, Humanitarian Aid Organizations as representing merciful attributes of Anatolia and think-tanks as opening new horizons for further cooperation alternatives, have been contributing not only application of Turkish foreign policy but also making it real in the region.

Turkish foreign policy towards Africa is analyzed with many figures, tables, graphs, surveys and interviews that it is clearly seen Turkey's opening to Africa may be one of the successful region in the foreign policy. Especially multiple developments have been commenced to occur in 2008. Although Turkey's "the Plan of Action" was conducted in 1998, I argued that realization of the plan clearly to be materialized just

after 2008. Turkish foreign policy towards Africa should be sustainably managed to enhance relationship with coordination of officials, institutions, NGOs and business people.

At the next section, I would put forward some problems and future perspectives to ensure sustainable relations with the continent.

4.2. Problems and future perspectives

1. Institutional Level

- i) It is a necessity for Turkey to constitute an institution in order to enhance relationship with African countries in a comprehensive approach. The institution may be responsibility of under Ministry of Foreign Affairs, however, might also include staff from different Ministries. The institution will provide fast-track cooperation solutions and coordination center. A significant amount of budget shall be allocated to finance bilateral social, educational and cultural projects as well as fixed costs of the institution. The institution is also given a name that follow measurement and evaluation of action plans which is approved at the very last Ministerial meetings.

2. Educational Activities

- i) Turkey should determine a university to establish an African Studies in Turkey. While there are very limited number of professors to teach in the area, cooperation with African universities could support Turkey's professor demand. Moreover Ministry of National Education can include of scholarship for research programs such as African history, African anthropology and African politics. Turkey needs a long term plan for African Studies whilst taking steps in a short term.
- ii) Turkey has International Student Exchange Program at high school level with some countries. Turkey can expand this high school student exchange program to the extent for the selected African countries at the beginning and then enlarge the program all the continent.

iii) Turkish government has provided scholarship for African students since 2005. The scholarship covers tuition fees, accommodation expenses as well as some allowances for studying materials and transportation. At that point the government may review old experiences that mostly Central Asian students have been taking advantage of the scholarship since 1993. A recent research showed that as a part of “Büyük Öğrenci Projesi (Great Student Project)”, the government of Turkey have provided scholarship for 21,000 students between 1992 and 2008, 7,100 of them (34%) have graduated successfully while 13,900 of them (66%) have returned to their country. Attendance problem, integration problem, indiscipline and unsuccessful triggered dismiss from universities. Poor technical infrastructure of the universities, slow bureaucratic mechanism and lack of guidance cadres for students can also be added as failure reasons. Providing scholarship is a favor as long as the scholarship is used to effectively and efficiently.¹¹¹ Therefore infrastructure of universities must be regularly controlled and at least sixty percent of scholarship receivers must be ensured graduation. Follow up, inspection and guidance mechanism must be established for those students.

3. Humanitarian

i) Turkey may encourage Turkish public to adopt African children who have lost their family or have been abandoned by their family. Some countries have “Foster Parent” programs which are supported by governmental level. Foster Parenting is a program which aims to reintegration of children who suffered from different kind of abuses. If it is realized that there are millions of children suffer from abuses, the program is appreciated by African countries. Official regulation may encourage Turkish public involving the program.

¹¹¹ Hüseyin Tutar, *Bir Kültürel Diplomasi Örneği Olarak Büyük Öğrenci Projesi*, ed. Habibe Özdal Osman Bahadır Dinçer, Hacı Necefoğlu, vol. 36, Yeni Dönemde Türk Dış Politikası Uluslararası Iv. Türk Dış Politikası Sempozyumu Tebliğleri (Ankara: USAK Yayınları, 2010). 428.

4. Cultural

ii) Turkey had announced the year 2005 as the “Year of Africa” in Turkey. The announcement can be defined as an important step for Turkey’s political orientation. Political and economic orientation has remained ignorant in terms of cultural angle. In cultural concept, Turkey may organize “African Cultural Year” in order to introduce African culture to Turkish people. While Turkish public has a positive opinion about African people, it is obvious that they are mostly ignorant about African culture. China and Turkey agreed to celebrate Chinese Cultural Year in Turkey for 2012. Turkey can do same initiative to enhance cultural relationship with African countries. Turkey announced its candidacy for UN Security Council non-permanent membership for 2015 and 2016 years that year of 2014 may be announced “African Cultural Year” in 2013 along with the Presidential Summit Turkey and Africa. This move may contribute Turkey’s attract attention and gaining prestige in African states.

iii) Turkey may organize “Turkish-African Youth Festival” to promote cultural exchange.

5. Tourism

iv) Africa shelters within the continent amazing beauty and untouchable natural life. Africa’s financial situation does not let to promote African touristic places overseas. Turkish public is unfamiliar with African destinations. Therefore Turkey may announce a guide “Promoted Destinations for Vacations” in Africa. The guide leads the way Turkish tourists who are interested in African countries but have some concerns. Turkish Airlines cooperate with Ministry of Tourism to encourage Turkish people with low ticket prices for their African journeys.

6. Banking and Insurance regulations

- i) Turkish companies in construction sector are very active in Africa. From Mozambique to Libya there is significant number of construction companies working for making room in the market place. The construction companies are needed to deposit “Provisional Letter of Indemnity” in order to apply for a public procurement. Unfortunately banking regulations in Turkey are not satisfied to get directly the letter easily and un-costly. Sometimes it can take more than six months to get a letter from a bank for procurement in Africa. Moreover cost of a letter sometimes can be expensive more ten times when compared to Turkey. The cost of the letter and waste of time for the letter decrease chance to win in public procurements of Turkish construction firms. Therefore Turkey needs to new banking regulation to facilitate and speed up of Turkish companies who involve public procurement overseas. One of the public banks of Turkey may be organized and specialized merely for the mentioned purposes.¹¹²
- ii) Turkish construction companies have a second trouble when they start to construction either private or public investment in Africa, which is insurance. Depend on job’ size Turkish construction companies carry their construction machines from Turkey to destined African countries where they plan to start to construction. Although sometimes value of the carried machines excess 50 million dollars, the companies cannot find a Turkish insurance company to cover their possible losses. On the one hand it is understandable for insurance companies which see high risk to insurance on the other hand Turkish investors remain vulnerable to cover their loss in case of a possible civil war or coup. European and American insurance companies provide insurance for Turkish investors on condition that sometimes ten times expensive than they charge to a European or American firm. This problem leads Turkish companies taking risks in African market. Therefore Turkish government

¹¹² Oğuzhan Tekin, An interview with a Turkish business person at Turkish-Africa Trade Bridge-7 program, December 2011 2011.

needs to take necessary steps in terms of insurance regulations to guarantee Turkish firms which work in Africa. The regulation likely brings about to an augmentation of Turkish investments in Africa.¹¹³

¹¹³ Ibid.

APPENDIX-A

THE ANSWER OF THE QUESTION DATED 01.01.2012 AND NUMBERED 464 TO THE
PRESIDENCY COMMUNICATION CENTER

OPENING DATES OF TURKISH EMBASSIES IN AFRICA

OPENING DATES OF EMBASSIES OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES IN TURKEY

LIST OF TURKISH TRADE CONSULTANTS AND COMMERCIAL ATTECHES IN
AFRICA



Oguzhan Tekin <oguzhantekin@gmail.com>

01.01.2012 tarih ve 464 sayılı BİMER başvurunuz.

1 message

Dışişleri Bakanlığı Bimer <db_bimer04@mfa.gov.tr>
To: "oguzhantekin@gmail.com" <oguzhantekin@gmail.com>

Wed, Feb 1, 2012 at 7:05 PM

İlgi : 01.01.2012 tarih ve 464 sayılı BİMER başvurunuz.

Sayın Oğuzhan,

Afrika ile Ülkemiz arasında karşılıklı temsil durumuna ilişkin bilgiler ekte takdim kılınmaktadır.

Öte yandan, Afrika'da faaliyet göstermekte olan Ticari Müşavirliklerimize ilişkin bilgi talebiniz

Ekonomi Bakanlığımıza zamanında iletilmiştir.

Söz konusu bilgiler Bakanlığımıza ulaştığında ayrı bir mail ile e-postanıza gönderilecektir.

Saygılarımızla.

4 attachments

 **1.3.docx**
14K

 **2.3.docx**
14K

 **3.3.docx**
12K

 **TR.docx**
13K

TÜRKİYE'NİN AFRIKA'DA AÇTIĞI BÜYÜKELÇİLİKLER (1/3)

	Ülke	Başkent	Faaliyete geçiş tarihi/Yılı
1	ETYOPYA FEDERAL DEMOKRATİK CUMHURİYETİ	ADDİS ABABA	1926
2	MADAGASKAR CUMHURİYETİ	ANTANANARIVO	21 Nisan 2010
3	TANZANYA BİRLEŞİK CUMHURİYETİ	DARÜSSELAM *	18 Mayıs 2009
4	GÜNEY SUDAN CUMHURİYETİ	JUBA	Kasım 2011
5	UGANDA CUMHURİYETİ	KAMPALA	1 Mart 2010
6	KENYA CUMHURİYETİ	NAİROBİ	1968
7	ZAMBİYA CUMHURİYETİ	LUSAKA	15 Şubat 2011
8	MOZAMBİK CUMHURİYETİ	MAPUTO	15 Mart 2011
9	ZİMBABVE CUMHURİYETİ	HARARE	30 Nisan 2011
10	SOMALİ CUMHURİYETİ	MOGADİŞU	1 Kasım 2011
11	SUDAN CUMHURİYETİ	HARTUM	30 Mart 1958

TÜRKİYE'NİN AFRİKA'DA AÇTIĞI BÜYÜKELÇİLİKLER (2/3)

	Ülke	Başkent	Faaliyete geçiş tarihi/Yılı
1	ANGOLA CUMHURİYETİ	LUANDA	1 Nisan 2010
2	GÜNEY AFRİKA CUMHURİYETİ	PRETORIA	1994
3	KAMERUN CUMHURİYETİ	YAOUNDE	15 Ocak 2010
4	BENİN CUMHURİYETİ	COTONOU	1 Şubat 2010
5	GABON CUMHURİYETİ	LİBREVİLLE	14 Ocak 2012
6	KONGO DEMOKRATİK CUMHURİYETİ	KİNŞASA	1974
7	NAMİBYA CUMHURİYETİ	WİNHOEK	4 Ocak 2012
8	NİJERYA FEDERAL CUMHURİYETİ	ABUJA	1962
9	GAMBİYA CUMHURİYETİ	BANJUL	1 Aralık 2011
10	GANA CUMHURİYETİ	AKRA	1 Şubat 2010
11	BURKİNA FASO CUMHURİYETİ	OUAGADOUGOU	15 Ocak 2012
12	FİLDİŞİ SAHİLİ CUMHURİYETİ	ABİDJAN	15 Kasım 2009
13	MALİ CUMHURİYETİ	BAMAKO	1 Şubat 2010
14	MORİTANYA İSLAM CUMHURİYETİ	NUAKŞOT	15 Nisan 2011
16	NİJER CUMHURİYETİ	NİAMEY	3 Ocak 2012
17	SENEGAL FEDERAL CUMHURİYETİ	DAKAR	1962

TÜRKİYE'NİN AFRIKA'DA AÇTIĞI BÜYÜKELÇİLİKLER (3/3)

	Ülke	Başkent	Faaliyete geçiş tarihi/Yılı
1	FAS KRALLIĞI	RABAT	1957
2	TUNUS CUMHURİYETİ	TUNUS	1957
3	CEZAYİR DEMOKRATİK HALK CUMHURİYETİ	CEZAYİR	1962
4	MISIR ARAP CUMHURİYETİ	KAHİRE	
5	LİBYA	TRABLUS	1952

AFRİKA ÜLKELERİ'NİN ÜLKEMİZDE AÇTIKLARI BÜYÜKELÇİLİKLER

	Ülke	Faaliyete geçiş tarihi/Yılı
1	ETYOPYA FEDERAL DEMOKRATİK CUMHURİYETİ	1933-1984/ 21 Nisan 2006
2	GAMBİYA CUMHURİYETİ	2010
3	GÜNEY AFRİKA CUMHURİYETİ	1993
4	SOMALİ CUMHURİYETİ	Ocak 2008
5	SUDAN CUMHURİYETİ	1987
6	UGANDA CUMHURİYETİ	2011
7	MORİTANYA İSLAM CUMHURİYETİ	Aralık 2010
8	NİJERYA FEDERAL CUMHURİYETİ	2001
9	SENEGAL FEDERAL CUMHURİYETİ	2006
10	KONGO DEMOKRATİK CUMHURİYETİ	2011
11	ANGOLA CUMHURİYETİ	2012
12	FAS KRALLIĞI	1958
13	TUNUS CUMHURİYETİ	
14	CEZAYİR DEMOKRATİK HALK CUMHURİYETİ	
15	MISIR ARAP CUMHURİYETİ	
16	LİBYA	1954



Oguzhan Tekin <oguzhantekin@gmail.com>

01.01.2012 tarih ve 464 sayılı BİMER başvurunuz.

1 message

Dışişleri Bakanlığı Bimer <db_bimer04@mfa.gov.tr>
To: "oguzhantekin@gmail.com" <oguzhantekin@gmail.com>

Thu, Feb 2, 2012 at 4:09 PM

İlgi : 01.01.2012 tarih ve 464 sayılı BİMER başvurunuz.

01.02.2012 tarihli cevabi e-postamız.

Sayın Oğuzhan,

Afrika'da faaliyette bulunan Ekonomi Müşavirliklerimize ilişkin talep edilen bilgiler
Ekonomi Bakanlığımızdan alınarak ekte takdim kılınmaktadır.

Saygılarımızla.

 **afrika müşavirlikler tablo.xls**
61K

YURT DIŐI KADRO SAYILARININ KRONOLOJİSİ

YIL	KARAR	DÖNEMİ	KADRO SAYISI	ÜNVANLARA GÖRE DAĞILIMI	TEMSİLCİLİK SAYISI
1971		Ticaret Bakanlığı Toplam	27 10 37	Ticaret Müşaviri Ticaret Ataşesi	
1983		Ticaret Bakanlığı Toplam	52 37 9 51 149	Ticaret Müşaviri Ticaret Müşavir Yardımcısı Sekreter-Daktilo Sözleşmeli Mahalli Sekreter	51
1983	14/12/1983 tarihli ve 188 sayılı KHK	Hazine ve Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı Toplam	52 37 9 51 149	Ticaret Müşaviri Ticaret Müşavir Yardımcısı Sekreter-Daktilo Sözleşmeli Mahalli Sekreter	51
1984	18/04/1984 tarihli ve 84/8360 sayılı BKK	Hazine ve Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı	4 35 91 86 12 19 247	Daimi Temsilci Yardımcısı Ekonomi ve Ticaret Başmüşaviri Ekonomi ve Ticaret Müşaviri Ekonomi ve Ticaret Müşavir Yardımcısı İdari Ataşe Sekreter-Daktilo	71
1993	22/04/1993 tarihli ve 93/4338 sayılı BKK	Hazine ve Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı Toplam	4 35 91 86 12 19 247	Daimi Temsilci Yardımcısı Ekonomi ve Ticaret Başmüşaviri Ekonomi ve Ticaret Müşaviri Ekonomi ve Ticaret Müşavir Yardımcısı İdari Ataşe Sekreter-Daktilo	85
1994	09/12/1994 tarihli ve 4059 sayılı Kanun	Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı Toplam	2 23 49 25 16 115	Daimi Temsilci Yardımcısı Ticaret Başmüşaviri Ticaret Müşaviri Ticaret Müşavir Yardımcısı Ticaret Ataşesi	74

YIL	KARAR	DÖNEMİ	KADRO SAYISI	ÜNVANLARA GÖRE DAĞILIMI	TEMSİLCİLİK SAYISI
1995	28/03/1995 tarihli ve 95/6755 sayılı BKK (Yurt dışı teşkilatının kurulması kararı)	Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı Toplam	2 23 49 25 16 115	Daimi Temsilci Yardımcısı Ticaret Başmüşaviri Ticaret Müşaviri Ticaret Müşavir Yardımcısı Ticaret Ataşesi	74
1999	12/01/1999 tarihli ve 23581 sayılı Resmî Gazetede yayımlanan Maliye Bakanlığının Tebliği (32 kadro iptal edilmiştir)	Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı Toplam	2 16 38 17 10 83	Daimi Temsilci Yardımcısı Ticaret Başmüşaviri Ticaret Müşaviri Ticaret Müşavir Yardımcısı Ticaret Ataşesi	74
1999	13/04/1999 tarihli ve 99/12770 sayılı BKK (Kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarının yurtdışı teşkilatının yeniden düzenlenmesi hk BKK)	Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı Toplam	2 16 38 18 10 84	Daimi Temsilci Yardımcısı Ticaret Başmüşaviri Ticaret Müşaviri Ticaret Müşavir Yardımcısı Ticaret Ataşesi	62
2006	31/07/2006 tarihli ve 2006/10824 sayılı BKK (25 yeni merkez kurulmuştur)	Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı Toplam	2 18 49 22 18 109	Daimi Temsilci Yardımcısı Ticaret Başmüşaviri Ticaret Müşaviri Ticaret Müşavir Yardımcısı Ticaret Ataşesi	87
2009	08/07/2009 tarihli ve 2009/15246 sayılı BKK (6 yeni merkez kurulmuştur)	Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı Toplam	2 18 51 22 22 115	Daimi Temsilci Yardımcısı Ticaret Başmüşaviri Ticaret Müşaviri Ticaret Müşavir Yardımcısı Ticaret Ataşesi	93
2009	(TBMM Genel Kurulunda kabul edilen 09/06/2010 tarihli ve 5994 sayılı Kanun ile	Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı	2 18	Daimi Temsilci Yardımcısı Ticaret Başmüşaviri	

YIL	KARAR	DÖNEMİ	KADRO SAYISI	ÜNVANLARA GÖRE DAĞILIMI	TEMSİLCİLİK SAYISI
	kadro sayısı 115'den 250 çikartılmıştır)		51 22 22 115	Ticaret Müşaviri Ticaret Müşavir Yardımcısı Ticaret Ataşesi	93
		Toplam			

APPENDIX-B

THE ANSWER OF THE QUESTION DATED 30.03.2012 AND NUMBERED 23630 TO THE
PRESIDENCY COMMUNICATION CENTER

IMPROVEMENT STRATEGY ON TRADE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH
AFRICA

YEAR OF 2011 EVALUATION OF AFRICA STRATEGY

T.C.
EKONOMİ BAKANLIĞI
Basın ve Halkla İlişkiler Müşavirliği

Sayı : B.19.0.BHİ.0-622.03/ 23630 30/03/2012

E-POSTA

Konu : Başbakanlık İletişim Merkezi
(BİMER)-Doğrudan Başbakanlık

Sayın Oğuzhan TEKİN

İlgi: 23/03/2012 tarihli başvurunuz.

“Başbakanlık İletişim Merkezi-BİMER- Doğrudan Başbakanlık” olarak isimlendirilen 20 Ocak 2006 tarih ve 2006/3 sayılı Başbakanlık Genelgesi'ne istinaden yöneltmiş olduğunuz talebiniz çerçevesinde, Anlaşmalar Genel Müdürlüğünce hazırlanan cevap, yazımız ekindedir.

Bilgilerini rica ederim.

Nurgüzar YALÇIN
Bakan a.
Basın ve Halkla İlişkiler Müşaviri v.

EK:
Cevap metni (1 sayfa)

AFRİKA İLE TİCARİ VE EKONOMİK İLİŞKİLERİN GELİŞTİRİLMESİ STRATEJİSİ (ATES)

GİRİŞ

Afrika ülkeleri uzun yıllar yaşanan siyasi istikrarsızlıklar, bölgesel sorunlar ve bunun beraberinde gelen fakirlik, beşeri ve fiziki altyapı ve üstyapıdaki zayıflıklar ile mücadele etmiştir. Son yıllarda, görece olarak **istikrarlı bir kıta** karşımıza çıkmakta ve uzun yıllardır ötelenen iktisadi faaliyetler ve talepler yeniden canlanmakta, önümüzdeki yıllarda bu faaliyetlerin hızla artması beklenmektedir.

2003 yılında 830 milyar dolar olan Afrika'nın **GSYİH'sı 2010 yılı itibariyle 1,7 trilyon** dolara yaklaşmış bulunmaktadır. Kıtanın 2010 yılı toplam ihracatı yaklaşık 500 milyar dolar, toplam ithalat ise 550 milyar dolar olarak gerçekleşmiştir. Her ne kadar bu miktarlar içinde Cezayir, Libya, Güney Afrika Cumhuriyeti, Nijerya, Mısır ve Angola'nın ağırlığı yüksek olsa da, kıtanın genelinde yaşanan ekonomik canlanma aşikârdır.

Gelecek 10 yıllık ve daha uzun dönemde Afrika ülkelerinde şehirleşen, tüketim yapan nüfusun artması, tarım yapılan alanların çoğalması, endüstrileşme, doğal kaynaklardan sağlanan gelirin artması ve bunların sonucu olarak büyümenin sürmesi kaçınılmazdır.

2020 yılında kıta GSYİH'sının 2,5 trilyon doları, kıtanın toplam dış ticaret hacminin de 1,5 trilyon doları aşması beklenmektedir.* Yakın gelecekte Afrika'nın Orta Tüketici Segmenti'nin toplam tüketim içindeki payının artması ve şehirlerde yaşayan Afrikalı sayısının artması, Afrika ülkelerine yönelik ihracatta yaşanan en büyük sıkıntı olan talep eksikliğinin ortadan kalkmasını mümkün kılacaktır.

Afrika kıtası yukarıda belirtilen özellikleri, zengin yer altı ve yer üstü kaynakları, enerji kaynaklarından elde edilen gelirlerin alt ve üst yapı projelerine harcanması sonucu ortaya çıkan milyarlarca dolarlık müteahhlik ve teknik müşavirlik sektörü ile ülkemiz için önemli bir pazar niteliği taşımaktadır.

Gelişmekte olan bölge ülkelerinde özellikle konut, hastane, baraj ve sulama, enerji iletim ve boru hatları ve ulaşım altyapıları gibi büyük ölçekli projelere ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Afrika'da bu tür kalkınma projelerinde özellikle Afrika Kalkınma Bankası, Avrupa Yatırım Bankası, Dünya Bankası, İslam Kalkınma Bankası ve Arap Fonlarından da yararlanılmaktadır.

* Kaynak: Afrika Kalkınma Bankası

Türkiye'nin, kıtanın her türlü ekonomik ve ticari ilişkileri geliştirme yolunda en uygun ülke olduğuna ve **“adil ticaret vasıtasıyla serbest ticaret”** vizyonunun Afrika ülkelerinin fakirlik kısır döngüsünü kırmasına yardım edeceğine inanmaktayız. **Zira, Afrika'ya coğrafi yakınlığımız, Afrika'nın ihtiyacı olan sektörlerdeki rekabet üstünlüğümüz ve bazı Afrika ülkeleri ile tarihsel ilişkilerimiz ekonomik ve ticari ilişkilerimizin geliştirilmesinde önemli bir etkidir.**

Ayrıca, Türk sanayi ve dış ticaret altyapısı, Afrika ekonomileri ile tamamlayıcılık ilişkisine sahiptir. **Bu çerçevede, Afrika pazarı ülkemizdeki özellikle Küçük ve Orta Ölçekli İşletmeler (KOBİ'ler) olmak üzere, bütün firmalarımız için hedef pazardır. Afrika ülkeleri bir taraftan ihracatımız için pazar niteliği taşıırken, diğer taraftan zengin doğal kaynakları nedeniyle sanayimiz için ucuz hammadde sağlama imkânı sunmaktadır.**

2003 yılında Afrika kıtası ile 5,4 milyar dolar olan ticaret hacmimiz üç kat artarak 2008 yılında 17 milyar dolara ulaşmış; ancak küresel kriz sebebiyle 2009 yılı sonunda 16 milyar dolara düşmüştür. Aynı dönemde Afrika kıtasına yönelik ihracatımız 2,1 milyar dolardan, 10 milyar dolara yükselmiş; Afrika kıtasından ithalatımız ise 3,3 milyar dolardan 6 milyar dolara çıkmıştır. Türkiye'nin Afrika'ya ihracatı, 2010 yılı verileri göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, bir önceki yıla göre %8 azalarak 9,3 milyar dolar, Afrika'dan ithalatı ise %12 artarak 6,4 milyar dolar olarak gerçekleşmiştir. 2010 yılında ticaret hacmimiz %1'lik bir düşüş ile 15,7 milyar dolar olarak gerçekleşmiştir. 2003 yılında ülkemiz aleyhine olan ticaret dengesi 2010 yılına gelindiğinde ülkemiz lehine dönüşmüştür.

2011 yılında ihracatımız 2010'a göre %11,3 artışla 10,3 milyar dolar, ithalatımız ise %37,0 artışla 8,7 milyar dolar olarak gerçekleşmiştir. 2011 yılında Afrika ile ticaret hacmimiz bir önceki yıla göre %21,9 artışla 19,1 milyar dolar olmuştur.

Afrika ülkelerinin ihracatımız içindeki payı 2003 yılında % 4 iken, 2008 yılında % 7'ye ve 2009 yılının sonunda küresel krizin tüm olumsuz etkilerine rağmen % 10'a ulaşmış, 2009 yılında ihracatımızın artış gösterdiği tek kıta Afrika olmuştur. 2010 yılında Afrika ülkelerinin ihracatımız içindeki payı %8,1, 2011 yılında ise % 7,6'dır. 2011 yılında Afrika'daki 54 ülkenin 37'sinde ihracat rekoru kırılmıştır.

2011 yılında Afrika'ya yapılan ihracatta ilk beş sırayı Mısır, Cezayir, Fas, Tunus, ve Libya almıştır. Söz konusu dönemde Afrika'dan yaptığımız ithalatta ise Cezayir, Güney Afrika Cumhuriyeti, Mısır, Nijerya ve Fas ilk sıralarda yer almıştır.

2011 yılı sonu itibarıyla Afrika ülkelerinde üstlenilen müteahhitlik projelerinin değeri kümülatif olarak 40 milyar doları bulmuştur.

2003 yılından itibaren Afrika'daki Türk yatırımları gözle görülür ölçüde artış göstermiş ve 2011 yılı sonunda 5 milyar doları aşmış bulunmaktadır.

Bahse konu gelişmeler çerçevesinde, mülga Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığınca 2003 yılında başlatılan **"Afrika Stratejisi"** aradan geçen 7 yılın muhasebesi yapılarak 2010 yılından itibaren yeni bir vizyonla geliştirilmiş ve yeni hedefler eklenerek uygulanmaya başlamıştır.

Projenin yeniden ele alınmasının önemli bir nedeni de Afrika ile ticari ve ekonomik ilişkilerimizde kaydedilen artış yanında, yatırım alanında da ilerleme sağlamak ve müteahhitlik ve teknik müşavirlik firmalarımızın özellikle Sahra-altı Afrika ülkelerinde projeler üstlenmelerini sağlamaktır.

AMAÇLAR

2010 yılından itibaren yenilenen Afrika ile Ticari ve Ekonomik İlişkilerin Geliştirilmesi Stratejisinin (ATES) temel amaçları:

- Türkiye'nin, Afrika ülkelerinin toplam ticareti içindeki payının üç yıllık bir dönem sonunda % 3'e çıkarılması, (2010 yılı itibariyle Türkiye'nin, Afrika ülkelerinin toplam dış ticareti içindeki payı % 1,5'tir)
- Türkiye'nin dış ticareti içinde Afrika ülkelerinin payının üç yıllık bir dönem sonunda % 10'a çıkarılması, (2011 yılı itibariyle Afrika ülkelerinin, Türkiye'nin toplam dış ticareti içindeki payı % 5'tir.)
- KOBİ'lerin bölge ülkelerine açılımlarının sağlanması,
- Türkiye'nin bazı sektörlerdeki rekabet gücünü artırmak amacıyla kıtada ilgili ülkelerle birlikte ortak yatırımlar yapılması,
- Bölge ülkelerine Türkiye'den teknoloji transferinin gerçekleştirilmesi,
- Müteahhitlik, müşavirlik ve mühendislik firmalarımızın Afrika ülkelerindeki pazar paylarının artırılması
- Yatırımların kolaylaştırılması amacıyla Türk müteşebbisleri tarafından sanayi bölgeleri kurulmasının sağlanması (Mısır ve Etiyopya)
- Ülkemiz enerji ve doğal kaynakları talebi çerçevesinde Afrika ülkelerinin de önemli stratejik kaynak olarak değerlendirilerek bu alanda işbirliği, ticaret ve yatırımların artırılması,
- Özel sektörün Afrika'da özellikle madencilik sektörüne yatırım yapmasının özendirilmesi,
- Tüketim malları ve gıda gibi sektörlerin Afrika pazarlarına girişini kolaylaştırmak amacıyla Türk AVM yatırımlarının bölgede yaygınlaştırılması (Fas)

olarak tespit edilmiştir.

“ATES-KUZEY AFRIKA” ve “ATES-SAHRA-ALTI AFRIKA”

Yenilen Strateji ile Afrika Ülkeleri, Kuzey Afrika Ülkeleri ve Sahra-altı Afrika Ülkeleri olmak üzere iki ayrı grupta incelenmektedir. Kuzey Afrika ülkelerinin Sahra-altı Afrika ülkelerinden siyasi, ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel olarak farklı özelliklere sahip olması ve ülkemiz ile sahip olduğu güçlü tarihi bağlar, söz konusu ülkelerin ayrı bir perspektif içinde analiz edilmesini gerekli kılmaktadır.

Bu kapsamda Kuzey Afrika ülkeleri, “**ATES-Kuzey Afrika**” başlığı altında tüm Kuzey Afrika ülkelerinin hedef ülke olarak belirlendiği bir sistem içinde değerlendirilmektedir.

Yenilenen Stratejinin ikinci ayağını oluşturan “**ATES-Sahra-altı Afrika**”sında Kenya, Tanzanya, Uganda, Sudan, Etiyopya, Angola, Nijerya, Ekvator Ginesi, Mali, Senegal, Güney Afrika Cumhuriyeti, Kamerun ve Gana hedef ülkeler olarak belirlenmiştir.

ATES'in UYGULANMASIYLA ELDE EDİLEN ÖNEMLİ SONUÇLAR

Serbest Ticaret Anlaşmaları

- ♦ Kuzey Afrika ülkelerinde uzunca bir süredir firmalarımızın yaşadığı pazara giriş sorunlarının çözümlenmesini, mal, hizmet ve sermayenin serbestçe dolaşabileceği bir ortamın yaratılmasını teminen, Bakanlığımız tarafından Afrika Ülkeleri ile Serbest Ticaret Anlaşması (STA) imzalanmasına yönelik çalışmalar başlatılmıştır. Bu çerçevede, Fas ve Tunus ile 2004 yılında, Mısır ile 2005 yılında Serbest Ticaret Anlaşmaları imzalanmıştır. Bu anlaşmalar Afrika'da imzalanan ilk Anlaşmalar olmuştur. Morityus STA'sı ise 2011 yılı Eylül ayında imzalanmıştır. Seyşeller, Kongo Demokratik Cumhuriyeti, Kamerun ve Libya ile STA müzakereleri devam etmektedir. Güney Afrika Cumhuriyeti, Cezayir, Sudan, Etiyopya, Cibuti, Madagaskar, Doğu Afrika Topluluğu (EAC) ve Batı Afrika Ekonomik ve Parasal Birliği (WAEMU) ile STA görüşmelerinin başlatılmasına yönelik Bakanlığımız çalışmaları devam etmektedir.

Hukuki Altyapı

- ♦ Ülkemiz ile Mısır, Cezayir, Tunus, Fas, Etiyopya, Sudan ve Güney Afrika Cumhuriyeti arasında Çifte Vergilendirmeyi Önleme (ÇVÖ) Anlaşması, Mısır, Cezayir, Güney Afrika Cumhuriyeti, Tunus, Fas, Sudan, Etiyopya, Libya, Tanzanya, Nijerya ve Senegal arasında da Yatırımların Karşılıklı Teşviki ve Korunması Anlaşmaları imzalanmıştır.
- ♦ Afrika Stratejisi'nin uygulamaya konulmasından bu yana, Afrika ülkeleri ile ekonomik ve ticari ilişkilerimizin sağlıklı bir şekilde gelişmesini sağlamak amacıyla ülkemiz ve Afrika ülkeleri arasında hukuki altyapının tamamlanmasına yönelik olarak 13 ülke (Kenya, Tanzanya, Güney Afrika Cumhuriyeti, Moritanya, Fildişi Sahili, Madagaskar, Burkina Faso, Malavi,

Komorlar, Botsvana, Angola, Ekvator Ginesi ve Zambiya) ile Ticaret ve Ekonomik İşbirliği Anlaşmaları imzalanmıştır. Bu anlaşmaların akabinde diğer anlaşmaların akdedilmesi için çalışmalar devam etmektedir.

- ♦ Mozambik, Namibya, Liberya, Mauritius, Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti, Sierra Leone, Madagaskar (yeniden), Gine – Bisau, Raunda, Benin ve Burundi ile ülkemiz arasında ekonomik ve ticari hukuksal altyapı anlaşmalarının tamamlamak amacıyla üst düzey temaslar kurulmuş, taslak teatilerine başlanmıştır.
- ♦ Ülkemiz ile Afrika ülkeleri arasındaki ikili ilişkilerimizin daha da detaylı bir şekilde geliştirilmesini teminen anılan strateji kapsamında toplam 17 ülke (Senegal, Cibuti, Kamerun, Fas, Libya, Cezayir, Güney Afrika Cumhuriyeti, Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, Etiyopya, Tunus, Burkina Faso, Nijerya, Mali, Gana ve Kongo Demokratik Cumhuriyeti) ile Karma Ekonomik Komisyon Toplantıları gerçekleştirilmiş ve bu toplantılarda somut projeler geliştirilmeye başlanmıştır.

Diplomatik Temsil

- ♦ 2004 yılına kadar Afrika'da yalnızca 4 ülkede 4 merkezde bulunan Ticaret Müşavirliklerimizde toplam 4 ticaret müşaviri görev yapmakta iken 2010 yılında 13 ülkede 15 merkezde 21 ticaret müşaviri, müşavir yardımcısı ve ticaret ataşesi görev yapmaktadır. (Mısır-5, Libya-2, Fas-2, Cezayir-2, Tunus-2, Senegal, Gana, Güney Afrika Cumhuriyeti, Nijerya, Tanzanya, Kenya, Etiyopya ve Sudan) 2012 yılında 10 yeni Afrika ülkesinde Ticaret Müşavirliği açılması (Madagaskar, Mali, Güney Sudan, Uganda, KDC, Angola, Zambiya, Mozambik, Moritanya, Kamerun), böylece yıl sonuna kadar toplam 23 ülkede, 25 merkezde toplam 31 kişiyle hizmet verilmesi öngörülmektedir.

Teknik Yardım

- ♦ ATEŞ'in en önemli enstrümanlarından birisini, Afrika'nın kalkınmasına katkıda bulunacak, bu ülkelere yönelik olarak sağlanacak teknik yardım/eğitim programları oluşturmaktadır. Bu kapsamda, Bakanlığımızca tüm kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarımızca sağlanabilecek teknik yardım/eğitim programlarının tek elden koordineli bir şekilde ve hedeflerimize uygun olarak kullanılabilmesini teminen, TİKA ile toplantılar yapılmış ve TİKA'nın Afrika'yı da kapsamına alması sağlanmıştır. Bu kapsamda Etiyopya'nın başkenti Addis Ababa, Sudan'ın başkenti Hartum ve Senegal'in başkenti Dakar'da TİKA temsilcilikleri kurulmuş, 2011 yılında bunlara Libya – Trablus temsilciliği eklenmiştir. Afrika kıtasında hali hazırda 4 olan TİKA ofis sayısı önümüzdeki yıllar içinde artırılabilecektir. İlk aşamada Doğu Afrika'da merkezi konumda olan Kenya'nın başkenti Nairobi'de de bir TİKA Koordinasyon Ofisi açılması planlanmaktadır.

- Bakanlıđımızca bařta Afrika lkeleri olmak zere Asya, Ortadođu ve Balkan lkelerinden Ticaret Mřavirlerine 2011 yılı Haziran ayında eđitim programı dzenlenmiřtir.
- zellikle KOBİ niteliđinde olan firmalarımızın Afrika lkelerinde yatırım yapmaları ve bu kıtada yaratılacak olan katma deđerden pay almalarını amaçlayan Bakanlıđımız stratejinin uygulamaya bařlamasından bu yana birok firmamız bařta Kuzey Afrika lkeleri olmak zere Afrika lkelerinde yatırım yapmaya bařlamıř olup bu yatırımların nmzdeki dnemde ivmelenerek srmesi beklenmektedir.

BİLGİ NOTU

KONU	AFRİKA STRATEJİSİ 2011 YILI DEĞERLENDİRMESİ
HAZIRLAYAN	ANLAŞMALAR GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ AFRİKA DAİRESİ

2003 yılından bu yana uygulanmakta olan olduğu "Afrika Ülkeleri ile Ticari ve Ekonomik İlişkilerin Geliştirilmesi Stratejisi"nin 2011 yılı sonuçlarına ilişkin değerlendirmeler aşağıda özetlenmektedir.

Afrika Kalkınma Bankası ve OECD tarafından hazırlanan "African Economic Outlook 2011" adlı yayında Türkiye, Çin, Hindistan ve Brezilya ile birlikte Afrika kıtasındaki yeni "önemli oyuncular" arasında belirtilmektedir.

2011 yılı verilerine göre Afrika kıtası ile ticaretimize ilişkin veriler aşağıda sunulmaktadır.

Dönem	İhracat	İthalat	Hacim	Denge
2010	9.283.023.799	6.413.591.622	15.696.615.421	2.869.432.177
2011	10.336.260.715	8.790.353.266	19.126.613.981	1.545.907.449
Değişim 2010/11	11,34	37,05	21,85	

Bu çerçevede **2011 yılında Afrika'ya ihracatımız 10,3 milyar dolar, Afrika'dan ithalatımız 8,7 milyar dolar, toplam ticaret hacmimiz ise 19,1 milyar dolar olarak gerçekleşmiştir.** Ülkemizin Afrika ile ticaretine ilişkin hazırlanmış olan tablolar ekte sunulmaktadır.

Diğer taraftan, Kuzey Afrika ülkelerinde yaşanan gelişmeler özellikle Libya'ya olan ihracatı olumsuz etkilemiştir. 2011 yılında Libya'ya olan ihracatımız bir önceki yıla göre %61 azalarak 747,7 milyon dolar olarak gerçekleşmiştir. Libya'ya ihracatımızda son beş yılda elde edilen %40 büyüme ortalaması göz önüne alındığında (2005-2010 yılları arası), 2011 yılı itibariyle ulaşılması beklenen ihracat tutarı 2,7 milyar dolar idi. Bu bağlamda toplam ihracat kaybımızın 2 milyar dolar civarında olduğu değerlendirilmektedir.

Bakanlığımızın uygulamakta olduğu "Afrika Ülkeleri ile Ticari ve Ekonomik İlişkilerin Geliştirilmesi Stratejisi"nin hedefleri kapsamında 2011 yılında Gana ve Tanzanya'da Ticaret Müşavirlikleri açılmıştır. Ayrıca ülkemizde görev yapmakta olan Afrika ülkelerinin ticaret müşavirleri için Bakanlığımız koordinatörlüğünde "Ticaret Müşavirleri Eğitim Programı" düzenlenmiştir.

2011 yılında Afrika kıtasına yönelik olarak Sayın Bakanımız başkanlığında Etiyopya-Tanzanya (8-11 Mart 2011), Mısır ve Tunus (12-16 Eylül 2011, Sayın Başbakanımızın ziyareti ile eşzamanlı olarak), Güney Afrika Cumhuriyeti (3-5 Ekim 2011, Sayın Başbakanımızın ziyareti ile eşzamanlı olarak), Libya (2 Kasım 2011) Ticaret ve Müteahhitlik Heyeti Programları gerçekleştirilmiştir. 2012 yılı Ocak ayında ise Sayın Bakanımız başkanlığında Tunus-Libya Ticaret ve Müteahhitlik Heyeti programı gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Ayrıca Gana ve Fas ile Karma Ekonomik Komisyon (KEK) toplantıları, Mali ve Burkina Faso ile ise KEK İzleme ve KEK Teknik Heyetler toplantıları gerçekleştirilmiştir. Afrika ülkeleri ile yasal altyapının tamamlanmasına yönelik çalışmalar kapsamında ise Türkiye-Morityus Serbest Ticaret Anlaşması, Türkiye-Zambiya Ticari, Ekonomik ve Teknik İşbirliği Anlaşması ve Türkiye-Tanzanya Yatırımların Karşılıklı Teşviki ve Korunması Anlaşması imzalanmıştır.

Arz olunur.

APPENDIX-C

THE ANSWER OF THE QUESTION DATED 30.03.2012 AND NUMBERED 155790
TO THE PRESIDENCY COMMUNICATION CENTER

INTERNATIONAL VISITS OF TURKISH PRESIDENTS MR. SULEYMAN
DEMIREL AND MR. AHMET NECDET SEZER

SAYIN CUMHURBAŞKANIMIZIN YURTDIŞI ZİYARETLERİ

Polonya	2-4 Kasım 1993
<u>1994</u>	
Davos (İsviçre)	27-31 Ocak 1994 (Dünya Ekonomik Forumu Toplantısı)
Romanya	23-25 Mart 1994
Mısır	7 Mayıs 1994 (Çalışma Ziyareti)
Ukrayna-Moldova	30 Mayıs -3 Haziran 1994
Bosna Hersek-Hırvatistan	15-17 Temmuz 1994
İran	25-27 Temmuz 1994
Ürdün	28 Ağustos 1994 (Çalışma Ziyareti)
Macaristan	5-7 Eylül 1994
Türkmenistan	25-27 Ekim 1994
Gürcistan	15 Kasım 1994
Kazablanka/Fas	12-14 Aralık 1994 (İslam Konferansı Örgütü 7. Zirve Toplantısı)
Portekiz	15-17 Aralık 1994
<u>1995</u>	
Hindistan	30 Ocak – 2 Şubat 1995
Bosna-Hersek/Hırvatistan	27-28 Şubat 1995
Romanya	7 Mart 1995 (Çalışma Ziyareti)
Danimarka	10-12 Mart 1995
Pakistan /ECO	13-18 Mart 1995 (Resmi Ziyaret+ ECO Zirvesi)
Arjantin, Şili ve Brezilya	1-14 Nisan 1995
ÇHC, Endonezya, Hongkong	22-31 Mayıs 1995
Kazakistan	12-14 Haziran 1995
Romanya	30 Haziran - 1 Temmuz 1995 (Karadeniz Ekonomik İşbirliği Zirvesi)
Bulgaristan	4-6 Temmuz 1995
Arnavutluk/Makedonya	12-14 Temmuz 1995
Bosna-Hersek-Hırvatistan	21-22 Temmuz 1995
Kırgızistan	27-29 Ağustos 1995
Tacikistan ve Moğolistan	10-13 Eylül 1995
ABD	21-24 Ekim 1995 (BM Zirvesi)
Azerbaycan Ziyareti	7-9 Aralık 1995

1996

Fransa

10-11 Ocak 1996 (Mitterand'ın
Cenaze Töreni)

Portekiz

8-9 Mart 1996 (Cumhurbaşkanı Seçimi
Töreni)

İsrail-Mısır

11-14 Mart 1996

Mısır (Çalışma Ziyareti)

19 Mart 1996

ABD

27-31 Mart 1996

Romanya (Çalışma Ziyareti)

18 Nisan 1996

Özbekistan

7-9 Mayıs 1996

İran/Türkmenistan

12-14 Mayıs 1996

(Meflhed Tejan-Seraks Demiryolu

açılışı/ (Türkmenistan) ECO Zirvesi

17-18 Haziran 1996

Bosna-Hersek

7-9 Ekim 1996

İtalya

20-22 Ekim 1996 (Türk Zirvesi)

Özbekistan

24-25 Ekim 1996

Rusya Federasyonu

(Karadeniz Ekonomik İşbirliği
Zirvesi)

Almanya

4-7 Kasım 1996

Portekiz

1-3 Aralık 1996

(AGİT Zirvesi)

Kazakistan

15-17 Aralık 1996

(Milli Gün)

1997

Pakistan-Bangladeş	22-27 Mart 1997
Slovenya	3-4 Nisan 1997
Polonya	7-9 Mayıs 1997
Türkmenistan	12-14 Mayıs 1997 (ECO Zirvesi)
Fransa-Hollanda	26-28 Mayıs 1997 (NATO-MARSHAL)
Litvanya, Estonya, Letonya	2-5 Haziran 1997
İspanya	7-9 Temmuz 1997 (NATO Zirvesi)
Gürcistan	14-15 Temmuz 1997
Kırgızistan (ISSIK KUL Forumu)	17-18 Temmuz 1997
Macaristan	3-4 Eylül 1997
Mısır (Çalışma Ziyareti)	16 Eylül 1997
Hırvatistan	22-24 Eylül 1997
Bulgaristan (Varna)	3 Ekim 1997
Kuveyt	6-7 Ekim 1997
Romanya (Çalışma Ziyareti)	24 Kasım 1997
Oman/BAE	1-4 Aralık 1997
Iran (İKÖ)	8-11 Aralık 1997
Pakistan	18-19 Aralık 1997

1998

Fransa	19-20 Şubat 1998
İspanya	3-5 Mart 1998
Tunus	4-5 Mayıs 1998
Kazakistan	10-12 Mayıs 1998 (ECO Zirvesi)
Ukrayna	21-23 Mayıs 1998
Ukrayna/Yalta	4-5 Haziran 1998 (KEİ Zirvesi)
Kazakistan/Akmola	8-10 Haziran 1998 (Türkçe Konuşan Ülkeler Zirvesi)
Moldova	25-26 Haziran 1998
Arnavutluk	14-15 Temmuz 1998
KKTC	25 Temmuz 1998
Azerbaycan (Ulaştırma Zirvesi)	7-8 Eylül 1998
Makedonya	3-4 Ekim 1998
Türkmenistan-Kırgızistan	11-13 Kasım 1998
Avusturya	17-19 Kasım 1998
Romanya	3-4 Aralık 1998

1999

Cezayir	25-26 Ocak 1999
Ürdün	8 Şubat 1999 (Cenaze töreni)
Filipinler	20-23 Şubat 1999
Bangladeş (D-8 Zirvesi)	28 Şubat-3 Mart 1999
Romanya (3'lü zirve)	11-12 Mart 1999
Özbekistan	15-16 Mart 1999
Bulgaristan	22-23 Mart 1999
Katar	2-3 Nisan 1999
Bahreyn (Baflsa€l›€›)	3 Nisan 1999
Arnavutluk-Makedonya	11 Nisan 1999
ABD (NATO)	20-28 Nisan 1999
Fransa	3-4 Mayıs 1999
Moldova (Su Şebekesi açılışı)	17 Haziran 1999
İsrail/Filistin/Ürdün (Çalışma Ziyareti)	14-15 Temmuz 1999
Fas (Fas Kralı II. Hasan'ın Cenaze Töreni)	25-26 Temmuz 1999
Mısır (Çalışma ziyareti)	26 Temmuz 1999
Bosna-Hersek (İstikrar Paketi Zirvesi)	29-30 Temmuz 1999
Kosova	16 Ekim 1999
Azerbaycan	18 Ekim 1999
Bosna-Hersek	6-7 Aralık 1999
Ukrayna	30 Kasım 1999
Hırvatistan (Tuđman'ın Cenaze Töreni)	13 Aralık 1999

2000

Gürcistan	14-15 Ocak 2000
Hırvatistan (Yeni CB. Yemin Töreni)	18 Şubat 2000
Türkmenistan	28-29 Mart 2000
Azerbaycan (Türk Zirvesi/Dede Korkut Törenleri)	8-9 Nisan 2000
Arnavutluk (Çalışma ziyareti)	10 Nisan 2000
KKTC (Çalışma Ziyareti)	6 Mayıs 2000

**SAYIN CUMHURBAŞKANIMIZIN
YURT DIŞI ZİYARETLERİ**

2000

<u>Ülke</u>	<u>Tarih</u>		<u>Şehir</u>
Suriye	13.6.2000	Cenaze Töreni Şam (Devlet Başkanı Hafız ESAD)	
KKTC	22-23.6.2000	Resmi/Çalışma ziyareti	Lefkoşa/Magosa
Azerbaycan	11-12.7.2000	Resmi ziyaret	Bakü
ABD	04-10.9.2000	BM Binyıl Zirvesi	New York
Özbekistan	16-17.10.2000	Resmi Ziyaret	Taşkent
Türkmenistan	17-18.10.2000	Resmi Ziyaret	Aşabat
Kırgızistan	18-19.10.2000	Resmi Ziyaret	Bişkek
Kazakistan	19-20.10.2000	Resmi Ziyaret	Astana/Çimkent/Türkistan
Katar	11-14.11.20009.	İKÖ Doruk Toplantısı	Doha
Ürdün	14-16.11.2000	Resmi ziyaret	Amman/Petra

2001

Bulgaristan	15-16.2.2001	Üçlü Doruk Toplantısı (Türkiye-Bulgaristan-Romanya)	Filibe
Mısır	24-25.2.2001	D-8 Doruk Toplantısı	Kahire
Almanya	17.3.2001	Truva Sergisi	Stuttgart
Hollanda	3-5.4.2001	Resmi ziyaret	Amsterdam/Lahey
Romanya	21-22.6.2001	Resmi ziyaret	Bükreş/Köstence
Pakistan	25-26.10.2001	Resmi ziyaret	İslamabad/Lahor
Tacikistan	7-8.11.2001	Resmi ziyaret	Duşanbe
Gürcistan	8-9.11.2001	Resmi ziyaret	Tiflis

2002

Slovakya	5-6.3.2002	Resmi ziyaret	Bratislava/Piestany
Çek Cum.	6-8.3.2002	Resmi ziyaret	Prag/Karlovy
Letonya	15-16.4.2002	Resmi ziyaret	Riga
Litvanya	16-18.4.2002	Resmi ziyaret	Vilnius/Cesis
Estonya	18-19.4.2002	Resmi ziyaret	Tallin
Arnavutluk	23-24.5.2002	Resmi ziyaret	Tiran
İtalya	27-28.5.2002	NATO Zirvesi	Roma
Moğolistan	31/5-3/6.2002	Resmi ziyaret	Ulanbator/Karakurum
Kazakistan	03-04.6.2002	Güven Arttırıcı Önlemler Konferansı	Almatı
İran	17-18.6.2002	Resmi ziyaret	Tahran/Tebriz
İspanya	21-22.6.2002	AB Zirvesi	Sevilla
Güney Afrika Cum.	01-05.9.2002	Dünya Sürdürülebilir Kalkınma Doruk Toplantısı	Pretoria/Johannesburg
Azerbaycan	17-18.9.2002	Bakü-Ceyhan Petrol Boru Hatı Temel Atma	Bakü
Danimarka	27-28.10.2002	AB'ne Aday Ülkeler Toplantısı	Kopenhag
Çek Cumhuriyeti	20-22.11.2002	NATO Devlet/Hükümet Başkanları Doruk Toplantısı	Prag
Almanya	26-27.11.2002	Resmi ziyaret	Berlin

2003

Tunus	15-16.5.2003	Resmi ziyaret	Tunus
Ukrayna	18-20.5.2003	Resmi ziyaret	Kiev/Simferopol/
Romanya	3-4.6.2003	Üçlü Doruk Toplantısı (Türkiye-Bulgaristan-Romanya)	Kırım/Köstence
Makedonya	1-3.7.2003	Resmi ziyaret	Üsküp/Ohri/Manastır
Hırvatistan	3-4.7.2003	Resmi ziyaret	Zagreb/Dubrovnik
Malezya	14-18.9.2003	İslam Kalkınma Örgütü (İKÖ) Doruk Toplantısı	Kuala Lumpur/Putrayaja
Azerbaycan	15.12.2003	Cenaze Töreni (Cumhurbaşkanı Haydar ALİYEV)	Bakü

2004

İran	17-18.2.2004	D-8 Doruk Toplantısı	Tahran
Polonya	31/5 - 2/6.2004	Resmi ziyaret	Varşova
Romanya	8-9.7.2004	Resmi ziyaret	Bükreş

2005

Suriye	13-14.4.2005	Resmi ziyaret	Şam
Portekiz	9-12.5.2005	Resmi ziyaret	Lizbon/Porto
Bulgaristan	20-21.5.2005	Güneydoğu Avrupa'da Kültürel Koridorlar Bölgesel Forumu Toplantısı	Varna
Azerbaycan	24-25.5.2005	Bakü-Tiflis-Ceyhan Petrol Boru Hattı'na İlk Petrol'ün Birakılması Töreni	Bakü
Gürcistan	12.10.2005	Bakü-Tiflis-Ceyhan Petrol Boru Hattı'na İlk Petrol'ün Birakılması Töreni	Tiflis
Mısır	26-27.12.2005	Çalışma ziyareti	Kahire

2006

Bulgaristan	22-23.02.2006	Resmi ziyaret	Sofya
Gürcistan	14-15.03.2006	Resmi ziyaret	Tiflis
Azerbaycan	04-05.04.2006	Resmi ziyaret	Bakü
Bosna-Hersek	10-11.04.2006	Resmi ziyaret	Saraybosna/Zenica
İsrail-Filistin	06-08.06.2006	Resmi ziyaret	Kudüs/Ramallah
Rusya Federasyonu	28-30.06.2006	Resmi ziyaret	Moskova/St.Petersburg
Macaristan	25-26.07.2006	Resmi ziyaret	Budapeşte

2007

İtalya	08-10.01.2007	Resmi ziyaret	Roma
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APPENDIX-D

SURVEY ANSWERS FROM KİMSE YOK MU AND İHH

NGO-Afrika Anketi

Kurum adı: IHH

Kurum Yetkilisi: Yunus Satılmış

Kurumdaki pozisyonu: Afrika Masası

1 Aşağıdaki tarihlerde Afrika'dan Türkiye'de eğitim görmesi için kurumunuz tarafından burs verdiğiniz lisan, yüksek lisans ve doktora öğrencileri varsa sayısal olarak ifade der misiniz? Devlet bursu ile gelenler hariç.

2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
	31	51	71	52	96	128

2 Afrika'da yaptığınız insani yardım faaliyetlerini sizin önceliklerinize göre sıralar mısınız.

- 1 _____ GIDA
- 2 _____ SAĞLIK
- 3 _____ SU KUYUSU
- 4 _____ YETİM
- 5 _____ EĞİTİM

3 Afrika'ya yaptığınız bütün projeleri (yetimlere burs, su kuyusu açımı, kurban yardımı, erzak dağıtımı, inşaat, okul malzemesi, sağlık malzemesi, insani yardımvs.-burslar hariç) parasal olarak ifade etmek isteseniz, bu rakam yıllara göre ne kadar olur? (Milyon dolar)

2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
	1,9 milyon euro	2,3 milyon euro	2 milyon euro	2,6 milyon euro	3 milyon euro	13,5 milyon euro

4 2011. yılı için faaliyetlerinizin en yoğun gerçekleştiği 5 ülkeyi yazar mısınız.

- 1 _____ SOMALİ
- 2 _____ KENYA
- 3 _____ ETİYOPYA
- 4 _____ ÇAD
- 5 _____ KAMERUN

5 Afrika'da yaptığınız katarakt ameliyatı sayısını yazar mısınız?

2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
		2,070	11,365	17,653	15,692	8,909

6 Afrika'da sağladığınız sağlık taraması, katarakt ameliyatları ve diğer tıbbi konularla alakalı Türkiye'den kaç tane gönüllü doktor götürdünüz?

2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
		9	25	12	13	20

7 Afrika'da kaç yetim çocuğa burs sağlamaktasınız.

2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
		2,500	5,375	15,392	15,890	23,226

8 Burs verdiğiniz yetim çocukları ülkelerine göre en fazladan aşağıya doğru yazarsak, ilk beş sırada hangi ülke yetimleri gelmektedir?

- 1 _____ SOMALİ
- 2 _____ ETİYOPYA
- 3 _____ SUDAN
- 4 _____ TANZANYA
- 5 _____ MORİTANYA

NGO-Afrika Anketi

Kurum adı: Kimse Yok Mu Dayanisma ve Yardimlasma Dernegi

Kurum Yetkilisi: Ramazan Korkut

Kurumdaki pozisyonu:Yurtdisi Yardimlar

1 Aşağıdaki tarihlerde Afrika'dan Türkiye'de eğitim görmesi için kurumunuz tarafından burs verdiğiniz lisan, yüksek lisans ve doktora öğrencileri varsa sayısal olarak ifade der misiniz? Devlet bursu ile gelenler hariç.

2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
						250 (641 lise dahil)

2 Afrika'da yaptığınız insani yardım faaliyetlerini sizin önceliklerinize göre sıralar mısınız.

- 1 _____ Gıda
- 2 _____ Sağlık
- 3 _____ Eğitim
- 4 _____ Su ve sanitasyon
- 5 _____ giyim

3 Afrika'ya yaptığınız bütün projeleri (yetimlere burs, su kuyusu açımı, kurban yardımı, erzak dağıtımı, inşaat, okul malzemesi, sağlık malzemesi, insani yardımvs.-burslar hariç) parasal olarak ifade etmek isterseniz, bu rakam yıllara göre ne kadar olur? (Milyon dolar)

2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
	44 bin	1m	480 bin	1m	2m	23m

4 2011 yılı için faaliyetlerinizin en yoğun gerçekleştiği 5 ülkeyi yazar mısınız.

- 1 _____ Somali
- 2 _____ Sudan
- 3 _____ Uganda
- 4 _____ Kenya
- 5 _____ Etiyopya

5 Afrika'da yaptığınız katarakt ameliyatı sayısını yazar mısınız?

2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
			234	1890	2047	4970

6 Afrika'da sağladığınız sağlık taraması, katarakt ameliyatları ve diğer tıbbi konularla alakalı Türkiye'den kaç tane gönüllü doktor götürdünüz?

2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
			4	24	22	131

7 Afrika'da kaç yetim çocuğa burs sağlamaktasınız.

2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
					750	1462

8 Burs verdiğiniz yetim çocukları ülkelerine göre en fazladan aşağıya doğru yazarsak, ilk beş sırada hangi ülke yetimleri gelmektedir?

- 1 Sudan
- 2 Somali
- 3 Kenya
- 4 Uganda
- 5 Etiyopya

APPENDIX-E

VISIBILITY OF "AFRICA" IN TURKISH PRINTED PRESS WORK DONE BY
MEDIA MONITORING CENTER (MEDYA TAKİP MERKEZİ)



Oguzhan Tekin <oguzhantekin@gmail.com>

Afrika hakkında bir çalışma

7 messages

Oguzhan Tekin <oguzhantekin@gmail.com>

Sat, Feb 11, 2012 at 1:58 PM

To: m.seckin@medyatakkip.com

Lütfen ekteki dilekçemi değerlendiriniz.

--

Oguzhan TEKIN

**Medya Takip-Dilekçe.doc**

37K

Merve SEÇKİN <m.seckin@medyatakkip.com>

Mon, Feb 13, 2012 at 3:24 PM

To: Oguzhan Tekin <oguzhantekin@gmail.com>

Oğuzhan Bey merhabalar,

Mailinizi aldık.

Dijital ortamda sakladığımız veriler ne yazık ki 2005 yılından itibaren mevcut.

Daha önceki yıllar ile ilgili yardımcı olamayacağız size.

Ama 2005-2011 yılları arasında yazılı basında Afrika sözcüğünün geçtiği haber adetlerini mail yoluyla size yollayabiliriz.

Bu hafta içerisinde, veriler elinizde olacaktır.

Saygılarımla,

Merve SEÇKİN**MTM Medya Takip Merkezi**

Kurumsal İletişim

m.seckin@medyatakkip.com

0212 442 30 00

www.medyatakkip.com



P Daha yeşil bir dünya için lütfen gerekmedikçe çıktı almayınız. / Think green! Please consider the environment before printing this email.

From: Oguzhan Tekin [mailto:oguzhantekin@gmail.com]
Sent: Saturday, February 11, 2012 1:58 PM
To: m.seckin@medyatakkip.com
Subject: Afrika hakkında bir çalışma

Lütfen ekteki dilekçemi değerlendiriniz.

--
Oguzhan TEKIN

_____ ESET Smart Security Akıllı Güvenlik tarafından sağlanan bilgiler, virüs imza veritabanı sürümü: 6879
(20120213) _____

İleti ESET Smart Security Akıllı Güvenlik tarafından denetlendi.

<http://www.nod32.com.tr>

Oguzhan Tekin <oguzhantekin@gmail.com>
To: Merve SEÇKİN <m.seckin@medyatakkip.com>

Mon, Feb 13, 2012 at 4:05 PM

Merve hanım,

İlginiz ve desteğiniz için çok teşekkür ediyorum. Emin olun 2005-2011 yılları da çok iş görecektir.

Bu hafta haberlerinizi bekleyeceğim.

Selamlar.

Oğuzhan Tekin.
[Quoted text hidden]

--
Oguzhan TEKIN

Merve SEÇKİN <m.seckin@medyatakkip.com>
To: Oguzhan Tekin <oguzhantekin@gmail.com>

Oğuzhan Bey merhabalar,

Hafta başında sizinle görüşmemize istinaden, istediğiniz verileri hazırladık.

Aşağıdaki tabloda yıllara göre "Afrika" sözcüğünün basında yansıma adetlerini bulabilirsiniz.

Yıllara Göre Afrika Sözcüğünün Medyadaki Görünümü		
Yıllar	Sözcük	Haber Adedi
2005	AFRİKA	10.702
2006	AFRİKA	21.841
2007	AFRİKA	32.694
2008	AFRİKA	40.786
2009	AFRİKA	41.899
2010	AFRİKA	51.375
2011	AFRİKA	65.535

MTM Medya Takip Merkezi'nin, 2005-2006-2007-2008-2009-2010-2011 yıllarını kapsayan basın takip sonuçlarından elde edilmiştir.

Umarız, çalışmanıza katkımız olmuştur.

Saygılar,

Merve SEÇKİN

MTM Medya Takip Merkezi

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