THE PRESENCE OF TURKEY IN AFRICA: RESULTS AND PERSPECTIVES

Türkiye Afrika’da: Sonuçlar ve Perspektifler

Têtê Jean-Philippe GUNN

Research Associate

Université Sorbonne Paris Nord, France

filgunn@gmail.com

Abstract: The aim of this study is to point out the different aspect of the presence of Turkey in Africa. In 2005, the government of the Republic of Turkey declared 2005 the « Year of Africa ». Since that period, the cooperation between Turkey and Africa has increased and has become more significant. Other countries such as China, India, Brazil and European Union are present in Africa in various activities. Turkey is using soft diplomacy to be present in Africa. During fifteen years, the whole Africa is more connected with Turkey as it has been never before. Many investments are made in Africa by turkish companies and african businessmen are coming to Turkey. After fifteen years of cooperation and presence in Africa, it is important to evaluate the impact of this presence in Africa. It has been established that Turkey entered in Africa very late. The goal of Turkey in Africa is different than other countries’ goals. The political cooperation between Turkey and the continent is in good health and will continue to be strong for the following years. For doing so, it is important to determine the perspectives of this relation.

Keywords: Turkey, Africa, cooperation, results, perspectives
INTRODUCTION

In 2005, Turkey turns its interests to Africa after a long period of poor cooperation. Since that period, the Turkish-African cooperation reached a peak and is very dynamic. Turkey is actually an important partner for Africa in term of development and exchanges. The presence of Turkey in Africa surprised the traditional partners of African countries which are operating in the continent for a long period. During fifteen years, Turkey is operating in Africa by using another approach in term of international cooperation. Turkey’s presence in Africa is not a spontaneous phenomenon. It is a result of some past actions started during the Ottomans period. Turkey is taking place in Africa and is about to overthrow some traditional great powers which were active in the continent. The globalization of the economy and the emergence of some African States changed the strategic approach in term of cooperation. Turkey has the ambition to be counted as one of the great partners for Africa. Unlike the traditional partners, Turkey is using new method to establish its partnerships with African States. Turkey foreign policy in Africa is not agressive. It relies on a structed programme which involves all sectors. Turkey is defining a new step in the international cooperation arena. The presence of Turkey in Africa is based on multiple aspects. Turkish authorities used liberal system by giving priority to the private sector to discover the african market. Then, political decisions determined the economic politics of Turkey in Africa. Turkish presence is not limited to these two aspects. It goes beyond through the military presence, education, aid and islamic cultural cooperation. The results are significant and need to be studied. In front of this reality, it is important to ask this question: what is the dynamism and the developement of Turkish-African cooperation from 2005 to the present days ?

The aim of this research is to analyse and evaluate the presence of Turkey in Africa since 2005 through a historical perspective. The present study is based on a selective litterature review about the question. Diplomatic and political interventions about the question were consulted. Scholars studied the relation between Turkey and Africa by pointing out the military, political and economical aspect of the question (Ozkan & Akgün, 2010 ; Kaya & Warner, 2012 ; Angey, 2014 ; Bilgic&Nasciemento, 2014; Van den Berg & Meester, 2019). Some scholars studied the historical presence of Turkey in Africa (Panetier, 2012 ; Nora, 2015) and also the social aspect of the presence of Turkey in Africa (Toguslu, 2015; Binaté, 2019). The methodology of this research consists of the analysis of the litterature by bringing out the evolution of the presence of Turkey in Africa. This research outlines three aspects which will be developed. The first point brings out the historical relation between Turkey and Africa through the Ottomans’ actions. The second aspect analyses the nature of the Turkish-African relation. The last part outlines the results from the presence of Turkey in Africa and the perspectives for the future.

1. HISTORY OF THE RELATION BETWEEN TURKEY AND AFRICA

The relation between Turks and Africans has been established during the Ottoman Empire between the 15th and 16th centuries. The Ottoman Empire was more linked to North Africa because this region was part of its administration. From Egypt to Algeria, there was a share of historical heritage related to Muslim culture and religion (Nora, 2015). The North Africa region constitutes for the Ottomans the « new abroad ». This region was familiar to Turks and relations became more powerful and were consolidated for several years (Angey, 2014, p.6 ; Kaya & Warner, 2012, p.3).

The other region of Africa, especially the Sub-Sahara region were unknown to the Ottoman Empire and after to the Republic of Turkey. During the Ottoman period, some relations but not regular were established with African Kingdoms and Empire such as the Kanem Bornu Empire and Hausa States. The Ottoman’s presence was also visible in the South of the continent when the Ottoman Honorary Consulate was established in Cape Town in 1861 and when the first ottoman Imam, Abu Bakr Effendi was sent to the Muslim community (Özkan & Akgün, 2010, p.530-531 ; Panetier, 2012, p.29). The cultural relation reached even some communities in West
Africa. In 1894, the ottoman Empire participated in the construction of a mosque in Lagos and gave the title of Bey to Mouhamed Shita, the leader of the Muslim community. But, in general, the Sub-Saharan Africa was considered as «a distant geographic land of poverty, hunger, communicable deaseses and civil wars». The Turkish presence was visible in Sudan and in the Horn of Africa. But the relation was not so closed like it was established with the North Africa region (Van den Berg and Meester, 2019).

From 1923 to the end of the cold war, the Turkish-African relation was very poor. The internal situation of Turkey was the priority of the government. Turkey interests were in the Caucase region and also in central Asia. Only few turkish international organizations and individual actions of some diplomats were visible in the African continent. However, Turkey supported the decolonization process and recognized the independence of new African States. Turkish embassies were opened in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morroco and later in Sudan, Ghana, Kenya, Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria, Senegal, and after the apartheid in South-Africa (Angey, 2014, p.7; Özkan & Akgûn, 2010, p.531). But after the cold war, the nature of the relation with Africa has changed.

2. THE NATURE OF TURKEY-AFRICA COOPERATION

In 1998, Turkey adopted a new plan called « Opening up to Africa ». This plan is the begining of the come-back to Africa of Turkey. The aim of this plan is to develop political, economic and cultural relation with Africa. Turkey joined other emerging countries in their relation with Africa. For example in 2009, turkish participation in Africa is about 6,5% (Angey, 2014, p.2-3). The goal of this relation is to build a new strategy to « deepen Turkish relation with Africa ».

The nature of the Turkish-African relation depends on some factors. Africa constitutes a boom in various domains. The continent will reach soon the billion of population and its population is young. The perspective to have a solid relation with African countries is vital for Turkey. Africa is a big market and has natural resources and raw materials wich interest a lot Turkey. The Turkish economy is growing and the demand in energy, raw materials and agricultural products has increased in the last decade. Africa is a potential market in which these products can be found. In this perspective, a solid cooperation with African countries seems to be necessary because it will reduce Turkey’s dependency on european markets and the energy depency from Russia.

Turkey has not a colonial presence in Africa. Instead of former western colonial powers such as France and Great Britain which have settled a cooperation in Africa, the nature of Turkish-Africa relation is based on « win-win » partnership and a mutual respect. This sentiment has been expressed by Abdullah Gül¹ during his visit in Kenya in 2009 by saying that:

We view the problems of the African continent as our own problems... Africa’s pain is our pain, and Africa’s success and welfare is our happiness.

The Turkish government considers Africans as « friends » and affirms that they have the same anticolonial struggle. In 2011, Ahmet Davutoğlu² explained this position at the Africa-Turkey Partnership Ministerial Review Conference in the following words:

Stretching hundreds of years back, our history tells us that the well-being of Africa and Turkey cannot be separated from each other. Within a relationship based on equality, mutual respect, cooperation and common stance against adversaries, the rise of African and Turkish civilizations were always closely linked. At times when we were able to strengthen our interactions, cultural links, trade connections and political positions, we were triumphant and prosperous. However, when our ties and defenses were weakened due to many reasons including imperialism, colonialism, conflicts, or inner strife, we were both weakened and fell back behind other nations and groupings. Economically, we have everything to gain from every closer interaction.

¹ Former President of Turkey.
² Former Prime Minister and former Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
These affirmations of Turkish politicians express the political and diplomatic relation with Africa.

2.1. Political and diplomatic aspect of the relation

The diplomatic aspect of Turkey-Africa relation varies in different ways. One of the goals of the Turkish «Opening to Africa Action Plan» is to increase Turkish diplomatic mission in Africa. This plan is to implement exchanges and then increase them for the benefit of Turkey and African countries.

Turkey started its foreign policy with Africa by declaring the year 2005 the ‘Year of Africa’ in Turkey. In the same year, Turkey obtained the observer status at the African Union (AU). In 2008, the Turkish-African cooperation got a high level stage. The Turkey-Africa cooperation summit was the take off of this relation. Still in 2008, Turkey became a strategic partner for the African Union and also as a non-regular member of the African Development Bank (Angey, 2014, p.12).

In the same manner, Turkey opened 53 diplomatic representations in African countries. In return, more than 30 African States opened diplomatic representations in Ankara. The establishment of embassies is a proper gateway to a solid paternship. African countries support Turkey in the international arena by giving their vote in favor of Turkey. In 2008, Turkey is admitted as a nonpermanent member at the United Nation Security Council with the vote of African countries. In the diplomatic arena, African countries are sure to have the support of Turkey on all issues. Turkey is assured for the 53 votes from African countries in the UN and became the spokesman for Africans at the international arena (Kaya & Warner, 2012, p.9).

The Turkish-Africa relation is a soft diplomacy. The entrance of Turkey in Africa is an offensive option but not aggressive. Even though Turkey is in need of African products, its foreign policy is based on a pragmatic cooperation and a tranfert of competencies. This kind of diplomacy is different and African leaders are willing to deal with Turkey with assurance. The political and diplomatic expansion of Turkey in Africa is naturally followed by economic and trade perspectives.

2.2. Economic partnership

Turkey economy reached a boom after the arrival on power of the liberal and conservative political party, Justice and Development Party, AKP. The domestic growth increased from 200 billion USD in 2001 to 950 billion USD in 2013 (Van den Berg and Meester, 2019, p.3). This domestic growth was the results of the private sector represented by the « Anatolian Tigers », a group of private businessmen who invest in several sectors in Turkey. After the internal market and central Asia market, these «Tigers» turned their attention to the African market with the benediction of the AKP government. The participation of the Turkish private sector in the expansion of Turkey in Africa was explained by Recep Tayyip Erdogan, during the first Turkish-African congress in 2008 as follows:

In a liberal economy, it is the private actors who are the first actors of Turkey. We are therefore counting on businessmen and Turkish associations to turn to the African continent.

The « Tigers » constitutes a middle class group who emerged by investing in the private sector. This new elite composed by Turkish entrepreneurs integrated the international market (Toguslu, 2015, p.75-76). In 2005, this group created the Turkish businessmen and industrials confederation TUSKON (Türk Sanayici ve İş Adamları Konfederasyonu). This organization constitutes a bridge between Turkish businessmen and Africans. In 2007, during the TUSKON conference, an agreement about 3 million USD was signed between Turkish and Africans and the following years, economic cooperation was established in Nigeria, Ghana and South Africa (Özkan & Akgün, 2010; Toguslu, 2015, p.78). Even, the government of Turkey knows the economic power
of this group and Recep Tayyip Erdogan affirms in 2012 that « Turkey grows on shoulders of ‘Patriotic Anatolian tigers’ ».

The Turkish international trade activity in Africa constitutes the major aspect of the economic cooperation. Significant progress have been realized in term of trade and business with Sub-Saharan African countries. In 2000, trade activities were about 742 million USD and increased in 2008 to 5.7 billion USD (Bilgiç & Nascimento, 2014, p.2). Products like white steel, iron, textiles, medical equipment, jewellery, hygienic products, food industry, construction articles, machinery are the most exported from Turkey to Africa (Panetier, 2012, p.31). The amount of the exportation is about 1 billion USD in 2012. In return, Turkey imports from Africa raw materials, pearls, valuable stones and jewellery up to 813 million USD in 2013. To facilitate more the mobility between Turkey and African countries, Turkish airlines (THY) operates in 52 African cities and makes the link between Turkish and African businessmen and investors (Habyiaremye & Oguzlu, 2014, p.80). Actually, turkish companies like Summa-Limack, Tosyanli, Yapı Merkezi are present in Africa and contribute to the development of Turkey and Africa. They are present in Senegal, Ghana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Tanzania, Nigeria, Kenya, Sudan, Ethiopia etc. Ruhsar Pekcan, turkish minister of trade affirmed that during the past 15 years, turkish companies realized in Africa 1150 projets which represent 65 billion USD. For the trade with Africa, the profit has been multiplied by 7 and reached 20.6 billion USD. Turkish companies are investing in energy especially in electricity in Ghana. They are operating in Nigeria by exporting natural gaz and petrol. The « win-win » cooperation between Turkey and Africa continue and in 2022, Turkey wants to increase commercial exchanges to 100 billion USD.

The cooperation between Turkey and Senegal is a suitable example for this research. Senegal marks the achievement of the presence of Turkey in Africa. In January 2020, president Erdogan visited Senegal. This visit reflects the kind of cooperation between Turkey and Africa. In Senegal, turkish companies are effective in all sectors. President Macky Sall affirms that turkish companies are vital for Senegal. For the following years, turkish companies will invest 400 million USD in Senegal. In case of infrastructure, Summa-Limack constructed the new Blaise Diagne airport of Dakar and is about the construct a sport complex. In 2018, Alper agricultural machinery, Kolin construction and Force group obtained from Senegal an agreement for 474 million €. Kolin construction has an agreement for road construction for 400 million €. Alper agricultural machinery will provide this sector in new engines for 60 million €. This group has the ambition to participate to the development and the modernization of agriculture in Africa. Senegal will be the first example and then the succes will be generalized to the whole continent.

The economic partnership is very important for cooperation between Turkey and Africa. But another aspect of this cooperation such as education, aid and culture needs to be developed.

2.3. Education, humanitarian aid and cultural cooperation

Turkey established its cooperation with Africa through education. Since 2010, turkish schools have been constructed in some African countries. The aim of this action is to bring turkish culture to Africans but also to create cultural bridge between Turkish and Africans. Most of these private schools was created by the Gülen movement also known as Hizmet (service). Most of the Anatolian Tigers contributed financially to the construction of turkish schools in Africa. One of the important school operating in Africa is the internation turkish school Şafak. The goal of these

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3 Today’s Zaman, 1st April 2012.
5 https://www.aa.com.tr/fr/afrique/macky-sall-les-entreprises-turques-jouent-un-role-vital-au-s%C3%A9n%C3%A9gal/1717134
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.

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schools is to create a new african elite group who will reflect turkish values and culture. Students come from the african middle class or poor families. The languages of the education are english, french, arabic and turkish.

After the military coup of July 2016 in Turkey, the relation between the Gülen mouvement and the Turkish authorities collapsed. Turkish government took control of the Hizmet schools in Africa. They are under the administration of the Turkish Maarif Foundation. This agency in collaboration with the Ministry of Education « is the sole entity authorized to provide educational services abroad ». The establishment of these schools is to highlight the turkish Muslim Heritage but also to create an « Afro-Turkish elite » (Kaya & Warner, 2012, p.2). Turkish government goes beyond by creating research centers exclusively to topics related to Africa. For example, Africa Foundation and the Institute of African Studies located in Akara are publishing scientific researches and organizing conferences and seminars related to Africa. The education cooperation is more suitable through scholarship programs for international students. In this manner, Turkey scholarships under the administration of the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) and the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBITAK) brought international students from Africa to Turkey to pursue their education in turkish universities. These African students constitute the link between Turkey and their countries because they are the most visible aspect of the strength of the relation. After their education in Turkey, they become volunteer ambassadors for turkish culture in their respective countries. In the other hand, turkish universities are emerging in Africa. Nile University located in Abuja in Nigeria is the best example in the field of the international cooperation through education.

Humanitarian aid is another aspect of the presence of Turkey in Africa. The aid program was estlished in Africa by turkish associations and NGOs such as Kimse Yok Mu ?, Timetohelp, Bosphore all related to the Hizmet group (Toguslu, 2015, p.83; Binaté, 2019, p.216 ; 221). In 2010, They operated in fifteen countries in Africa. Their intervention in Africa is to fight against hunger, poverty, deseases. In Côte d’Ivoire, Kimse Yok Mu helped the islamic NGO Orphan Smile by giving food and assistance to children in difficulty (Binaté, 2019, p.222). The turkish aid continued in Africa in medical domain. Turkish medical doctors are present in Africa by fighting against malaria and other deseases. They helped by building hospitals in Kenya, Somalia, Ethiopia.

In 2016, the Turkish government took control of the international aid program. Turkey humanitarian aid is conducted now by the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA). This agency is located in 150 countries and its goal is to bring development through aid and social actions. From 85 millions USD in 2005, the aid amount reached 8.120 billion USD in 2017. In Africa, TIKA is located in 20 countries and represents a serious link between Turkish actions and Africans. Tika increased the turkish international aid. Development projects were implemented in Burkina Faso, Mauritania, Democratic Republic of Congo and the Gambia.

The Directorate for Religious Affairs of Turkey is involved in humanitarian affairs in Africa. Turkey used this directorate to implement its soft diplomacy through Muslim religion and culture. The goal of this action is to develop a solid bond between Turkish religious leaders and African Muslims. In this perspective, mosques with ottoman styles were built in many countries in Africa (Ozkam & Akgun, 2010, p.538). In Ghana, Turkish government built the greatest mosque in West Africa in the Ottoman style. This construction is the visible aspect of the cultural cooperation between Turkey and Africa. In 2009, the Directorate of Religious Affairs elaborate an educational programme which permitted to 300 Muslim students to come to Turkey through a religious scholarship programme.

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2.4. The Turkish-African military cooperation

The presence of Turkey in Africa is also visible in military aspect. Turkey takes part to peace and security missions of the UNO in Africa. The stability in the Horn of Africa has been taken into account by Turkish government. For doing so, Turkey implements military bases in Somalia, Sudan, Djibouti and actually is present in Libya. The military presence in Africa constitutes a geopolitical perspective. This perspective will permit to Turkey to deal with western great powers but also to secure the growth of its economy.

As a strategic partner for Africa, Turkey is playing an important role in defense and security in Africa. The Turkish military assistance towards some African States can be identified in two ways. The first one is qualified as an equitable military partnership with some African great powers such as South Africa, Nigeria, Ethiopia. The second aspect is a protectionism like the military presence in Somalia, Djibouti and Libya.

The military cooperation with African great powers constitutes of the acquisition of military infrastructures such as guns, helicopters from countries like South Africa. With Nigeria, Turkey made an agreement for the procurement of naval ships and training. In this perspectives, Nigerian Forces will participate to the training of the Turkish Navy. In Ethiopia, Turkey signed a cooperation agreement in 2006 in which, the Ethiopian Armed Forces will be trained by Turkey. Apart this aspect, Turkey exports to South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, Ethiopia, Cameroon, electronic military equipments, armored vehicles, defense equipments etc. (Kaya & Warner, 2012, p.5 ; Angey, 2014, p.16).

The military cooperation in some African States is based on protectionism. In Somalia, Turkey uses its military force to protect this State against instability and terrorist attacks from the Shebab groups. At the back stage, the military presence in Somalia is of course to safe the country and bring peace and security but also to control the Horn of Africa. The region is a strategic zone for worldwide trade and its stability is vital for the international economy. (Van den Berg & Meester, 2019, p.4). In this perspective, after the UN Somalia summit in May 2010, Turkey implements the « capacity building » program by taking in charge the training of Somali troops, the implementation of a military base in Mugadishio and also the construction of a State’s administration.

Turkey shows its military presence in Africa by taking part to peacebuilding missions. In 2012 for example, Turkey participated in different UN missions. In Côte d’Ivoire, Turkey participeted in ONUCI missions, in Liberia (UNMIL), in Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC), in Sudan (UNMIS), in Darfur (UNAMID) (Panetier, 2012, p.12).

3. THE RESULTS OF THIS RELATION

The last section of this research is to analyse the impact of the presence of Turkey in Africa. During fifteen years, Turkey presence in Africa was in crescendo. The relation became more and more serious and powerful. Turkey presence is considered as a positive cooperation by African States. In the international arena, Turkey and African States are sharing the same position concerning the reform of the United Nations Organization. Like Eylem Erice mentioned it, there is a « common vision and common interest between Turkey and Africa »11. Turkey has an important credibility in Africa due to the quality of turkish products and the expertise of Turkish experts in the continent. The Turkish government respects Africans in general not like former colonial powers who still show a form of paternalism towards African governments.

Through the presence of Turkey in Africa, the mobility between the two spaces has increased. More and more Africans are now going to Turkey for several purposes. In Africa, there is an

important interest to turkish products. African businessmen are now willing to collaborate with Turkish. Actually, Turkish people know more about Africa than fifteen years ago. African products such as agricultural ones are present in Turkey during the agricultural trade fairs organized in many cities in Turkey. The soft and underground diplomacy used by Turkey in Africa opened a new era for a solid relation.

The perspectives of Turkey and Africa cooperation is qualified as positive. From the beginning of the relation to the present days, there is not a complain from both side. Turkey and African States are taking benefit from this kind of cooperation. All African countries established a strong relation with Turkey. For the future, the relation will be more consolidated. For a better future, Moustapha A. Idriss stated that Africa:

\[ \text{must be able to choose its partners according to its priorities and to be inspired by the development models of emerging economic powers} \, 12. \]

Turkey has a long experience in security affairs and its location in a trouble region constitute an advantage that African States, especially in the Sahel region, must take into account. For the next years, terrorism and arm groups constitute another challenge in the Turkish-African partnerness. The presence of Turkey in Lybia actually is the significant aspect of the new stage of the presence of Turkey in Africa.

But, the Turkish-African relation is more political, diplomatic and economic than other aspect. The type of relation established is oriented to the political, economical and humanitarian level. The Turkish-African cooperation has a limit. The social aspect is few even though turkish NGOs and associations are present in Africa. The african civil society is not implicated in this new relation. For the next years, the Turkish-African cooperation must integrate the african civil society in the partnerness. It looks like just some Islamic organizations in Africa have a certain relation with the Turkish civil society. There is a few presence of turkish civil society in Africa. It seems that African civil society is not concerned by the cooperation with Turkey. Since 1990, the civil society and NGOs are figthing against corruption, promoting good governance, democracy and human rights in Africa. The cooperation in this sector must reach all the civil society so that this relation will benefit to everybody. The Turkish government must promote the cooperation between the turkish civil society and the African civil society. Because it will help to understand the real problem faced by the local population. The civil society is able to determine the exactly needs of the population. The civil society is close to the population and knows the needs than the government. By taking this action, the relation between Turkey and Africa will increase more and will be positive in the future.

It is a fact that Turkey-Africa relationship will continue. In this perspective, it urges Turkey and African countries to seek for the future by taking into account the next generation. As it has been said, Africa has a young population and the youth will be the leaders in the future. African young leaders want to cut off the colonial link with the former colonial powers. They want to deal equal to equal with anybody in mutual respect. Most of the African population is connected to the world and the cooperation in the future must be also in the advantage of the next generation.

CONCLUSION

The relation between Turkey and Africa started during the Ottoman period. The Ottomans through their expansions are connected to some African regions, especially the North, the East and established a few connection with the South of Africa. The creation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 didn’t established a normal connection with African countries even though Turkey recognized the independence process in Africa. After the cold war, Turkey and Africa established new type of partnerships. It is a multidimensional cooperation based on « win-win » partnership.

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Since 2005, all sectors of cooperation has been established between Turkey and African countries. On the political hand, Turkey used soft diplomacy to establish a cooperation with Africa. Turkey didn’t intervene in african States internal affairs. Turkish authorities respect the sovreignty of African States. The nature of this relation is oriented to economy. Turkish investments in Africa are significant. Trade activities are also important due to the presence of turkish companies in various african countries. The cooperation reached also education through the presence of turkish schools and universities but also the massive presence of African students in turkish universities. The Turkish presence is also effective in the humanirarian domain and religious affairs. The results of this partnership is in majority very positive due to the intensification of exchanges through political, economic and cultural activities. Turkey and Africa are well known by the population living in both spaces. Turkish and Africans are showing intrests to opportunities which can bring development to each countries. The positive aspect of this presence in Africa must not avoid some negative aspects. Turkey must cooperate more with the civil society and helps to avoid corruption and promote more human rights in some African countries. The integration of the young African leaders will make strong the cooperation in the future.

Fifteen years after the begining of the presence of Turkey in Africa, the results are good. But lot of things suppose to be done. Turkey-Africa partnership will not stop. In contrary, it will progress for the future and will involved new challenges faced in the contemporary world. Things will move forward and it will be another history.

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