

THE PROSPECT FOR TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY IN AFRICA UNDER AK PARTY GOVERNMENTS

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AK Parti Hükümetleri Döneminde Türk Dış Politikasının Afrika Yönelimi

ÖZ

İkibinli yılların başında iktidara gelen Akparti hükümetleri Türk dış politikasının ana yöneliminin önemli dönüşümlerin yaşanmasına neden olmuştur. Soğuk savaş dönemi ve hemen akabinde Batı ittifakına bağlı bir dış politika izleyen Türkiye, bu dönemde Osmanlı coğrafyasıyla yakında ilgilenmeye başladı. Bu dinamik ve iddialı politika, Batı literatüründe Neo-Osmanlılık olarak adlandırıldı. Türkiye'nin kültürel, tarihi ve dini bakımdan pek çok ortak noktaya sahip olduğu coğrafyalardan birisi de Afrika kıtasıydı. Bölge insanına diğer sömürgeci ülkelerin aksine eşitlik temelinde yaklaşan ve karşılıklı kazanmaya yönelik politikalar üreten Türkiye'nin Afrika'daki varlığı, statükoyu temelden sarstı. Bu bağlamda bu çalışma son yirmi yılda Türkiye-Afrika ilişkilerini sosyo-politik ve kültürel anlamda ele alarak değişen dış politika dinamiklerine odaklanmayı hedeflemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk Dış Politikası, Akparti, Afrika, Neo-Osmanlılık, Batı Emperyalizmi .

The Prospect for Turkish Foreign Policy in Africa Under AK Party Governments

ABSTRACT

The AK party government coming to the power at the beginning of 2000s has drastically changed the main orientation of Turkish foreign policy. Immediately after the Cold War Turkey followed a foreign policy within the trajectory Western Alliance, but Turkey developed a private concern Ottoman-remnant territory excluding this traditional foreign policy. This assertive and ambitious policy has been called as Neo-Ottomanism by academic circle influenced from the Western literature. As a part of this territory Africa continent has commonly shared culture, history and religion with Turkey. From this perspective, Turkey's existence in Africa was perceived different form the colonialist and imperialist West in consequence of Turkish people establishing relations on the equal basis and mutual gain (win-win) principles. In this respect, this different stance of Turkey in Africa threaten the Western imperialism in continent. In this context, this study aims to concentrate on the changing foreign policy dynamics of Turkey together with the Turkey-Africa relations in recent two decades.

Keywords: Turkish Foreign Policy, Justice and Development Party (Akperty), Africa, Neo-Ottomanism, Western Imperialism.

Introduction

Turkey's relationship with Africa is problematic to a large extent, as it is almost schizophrenic, rejected and required at the same time. Rejected through the biography of the Republic and perhaps the Ottomans in its last era and it is required through many cultural and symbolic ties. Moreover, considering Turkey's lack of previous colonial involvement with African countries, But she often looked at him with Western eyes. But the situation has changed relatively in the last two decades of the twentieth century, as Turkey began to view the continent as an important area for its international and regional interactions. Since the end of the 1990s, its relations with the continent have been gradually improving, and they reached their peak after 2005, Especially after the (AKP) obtain power in 2002, when the Turkish government adopted what is known as cross-regional policies. (Bilgik & Nascimento, september 2014, p. 1)

The subject of Turkish policy towards Africa is of great importance for several considerations, including that this topic has not received sufficient studies, especially from an analytical point of view. In addition to knowing the political orientations of the Justice and Development Party towards Africans countries, similar to its adoption of a new policy, "Neo-Ottomanism", driven by many factors that will be addressed in the body of the research. The research also aims to clarify the political and intellectual changes in the new Turkish policy, which led to a complex pragmatic political behavior towards the African continent.

The Turkish-African relations are of historical depth, as The Ottoman Empire played a crucial part in opposing the Portuguese and Spanish invasions in North Africa by supplying military help, as the Ottoman Empire had a presence inside the boundaries of the territories of North Africa., as some areas were considered directly or indirectly affiliated with it "Algeria/ Tunisia/Libya". (inaç H. , 2021, s. 44-47) The Ottomans also had a kind of presence in the sub-Saharan regions, including Nigeria, Chad and Somalia the Ottomans contacted the African continent through the Battle of Marj Dabiq (The Battle of Marj Dabiq: It is the battle that took place between the Ottoman Empire led by Sultan Selim I (1520-1512) and the Mamluk state led by Qanswa Al-Ghourî on August 1516. The battle ended with the victory of the Ottoman Empire over the Mamluks and the submission of the (al-Sham) under Ottoman control. This battle was named after the plain of Marj) in "1516" by Sultan "Selim I" 1520-1512. After that, the Ottoman Empire attempted to develop its policies towards East Africa through its control of Africa and the Red Sea , By giving Egypt an important role in managing the southern desert and marine areas, as Egypt had an important place in the administrative structure of the Ottoman states. (Hüssamettîn inaç, 2021, s. 77)

Ottoman relations with East Africa in general are based mostly on ideological foundations through which the Sultanate defended Islam and Muslims. (Saeed & Ahmad, 2015) In the period extending between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, the African continent occupied an important place within the borders of the Ottoman Empire extending between three continents, and with the annexation of the Ottoman Empire to Egypt in 1517 AD, the Ottomans entered into a struggle for influence in the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea, where the entry of Algeria and Western Tripoli under the control of the Ottoman Empire an end point for the Portuguese domination of the Red Sea and the coasts of Abyssinia and the islands of the western Indian Ocean In the sixteenth century, the Ottoman fleet led by Sidi Ali Rais defended the island of Zanzibar against the Western colonizers, and thus the Ottoman Empire ran almost a quarter of the area of Africa by controlling all of Algeria between The years 1516-1882 AD, Tunisia between 1574-1881 AD, Western Tripoli between 1551-1912 AD, Egypt between 1617-1882 AD and Abyssinia Between 1555-1916 AD, by appointing governors, she would send them from Istanbul. (Saeed & Ahmad, 2015)

We believe that the Ottoman presence in Africa is not, as is rumored, that the goal of the Ottomans was to spread Islam, but the Ottoman expansion was motivated by deeper motives. Including the economic, strategic, and political motives, as well as the competition between the colonial powers at the time, such as the Portuguese and the Safavids. It is a struggle for influence and domination, and the use of the religious factor in Ottoman politics may be for the African acceptance of the Ottomans in African lands.

In terms of the Turkish Republic (1923-1998), which spans the years from Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 until 1998, this period witnessed a decline in Turkish-African relations not just because of the weakness of Turkey's political and economic capabilities during that period, but also due to the policies that emerged from the Cold War (1945-1991), as well as the fact that Turkish foreign policy adopted Western orientations. Turkey's accession to NATO in 1952 had a huge effect on Turkey's African and Asian foreign policy, as it led to a kind of confrontation between it and the African countries that participated in the Non-Aligned Movement (The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is a group of 120 countries in the developing world that are not explicitly aligned with or against any major power bloc. It is the world's second-largest grouping of states after the United Nations. The movement began in the 1950s as an attempt by certain countries to avoid the polarized world of the Cold War, which placed pro-Soviet communist Warsaw Pact countries against pro-American capitalist NATO countries), as well as the Turkish failure to support in the United Nations General Assembly in 1956 the cause of Algeria's independence, Turkey voted against Algeria's independence, which left a negative aspect in Turkish-African relations (İnaç H. v., 2018, pp. 319-321)

In general, the Turkish political weight in Africa declined a lot during the republican era (1923-1998) for several reasons, including what we mentioned earlier, but the most important of them, I think, is Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's exaggeration in his orientation towards the West only, adopting all European aspects and severing the connection with the eastern roots of the state. Therefore, the relationship with Africa has become useless and does not serve Turkey, according to the belief of Turkish politicians at that period, because they have one goal and one destination, which is complete integration into the European system with all its political, economic and cultural aspects. Rather, Turkey's policy has become against African countries Perhaps Turkey's standing against Algeria's independence project in 1956 is a good example of this. (Al-Suwaidani & Ahmed, December 2019) In addition to another important factor at the time, as the Turkish policy was originally directed against the Soviet Union and to contain the infiltration of communist ideas into Turkey and the region with the help of the United States of America. As well as Turkey's preoccupation with many internal problems, such as the Kurdish problem, the economy and the partisan conflict that dragged the country into a state of instability and drained the Turkish economy. (Al-Suwaidani & Ahmed, December 2019)

1. Turkish-African Relations in the Justice and Development Party's Rule (AKP)

Those who follow the complex web of international relations during the Cold War and attempt to map that network will find that Turkey was a frontier state or (peripheral state), only as part of the Western bloc. But with the end of the Cold War in 1991, a new perception of Turkey emerged as a bridge state, and with the emergence of new problems, including the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 and the crisis in the Balkans, Turkey's main goal became to protect its stability. (İnaç H. , 2003, s. 344-345)

Today, there is an urgent need to redefine Turkey's position in the new era that followed the events of September 11, 2001. Turkey's new position from the point of view of Turkey's Foreign Minister, Ahmed Davutoğlu (2009-2014) who is a member of the Justice and Development Party. has two foundations, an ideological basis, and a geographical basis. Geographical, we find that Turkey occupies a unique position as a sprawling country in the middle of a vast land between Africa and

Eurasia. It is a vital country with various identities that cannot be reduced to a single personality. (İnaç H. , 2004, s. 36)

Several analyzes issued by some Turkish officials indicated that these changes are mainly related to the AKP government's possession of a new vision that directs the new Turkish policy in general and in the Middle east in specific. Names were given to describe this vision along the lines of the strategic depth theory. (İnaç H. , February- April 2007,, s. 27-28)

Thus, we see that Turkish politicians have focused their foreign policy on heading towards Africa since the Justice and Development Party gain power in 2002 in order to regain the regional and international position which lost since the Ottoman Empire's downfall. After the fall of that Empire and the establishment of the modern Turkish Republic, there was no significant Turkish role in Africa except the opening of the Ankara embassy in Addis Ababa in 1926. But after the European Union refused to join Turkey in 1998, Turkey began to move towards a policy of openness towards Africa, and this openness escalated with the arrival of the Justice Party And the development of power due to the ideology that the party follows, as it seeks to restore the Ottoman heritage under the name of neo-Ottomanism, and then worked to restore Turkey's regional and international role and to make it one of the world's most powerful economies, and then the Turkish foreign policy is based on a central and active state It is an international country and it is a multi-continental basin, which gives it a strategic depth in the African continent.

Some observers and specialists in Turkish affairs believe that the interest of Turkish decision-makers in Africa came late, and that it was not the result of the few years, Since 2002, when the Justice and Development Party took power, but the truth is that this interest is not new; the new is that the high involvement in African issues began with the "AKP"'s election to power and deepened with Ahmet Davutoglu's appointment as Turkish Foreign Minister. (Ünal, June 2013, s. 227) As a result, before the "AKP" adopted its policy toward Africa in 2002, In 1998, Turkey published a statement describing its future intentions in Africa, entitled (The Africa action plan), which signifies the strengthening of diplomatic, economic, political, and cultural ties with African countries as a strategic depth for the pivotal (central) Turkey. (Birol Akgün, 2010, s. 542-543).

Following the formal announcement of the "Opening to Africa Action Plan," which intended to improve Turkey's economic, and political development, and cultural links with African nations. their goal was Reach a large number of Turkish diplomatic missions in Africa and high-level diplomatic exchanges with the continent and increase humanitarian and development aid (including Turkey's potential membership in the Africa Exim Bank), encourage business trips, and become a donor to the African Development Bank were among the goals too. All of these objectives were mostly met in the years following, as seen by the inauguration of additional embassies in various African nations (2009 in Tanzania and Côte d'Ivoire; in 2010 in Cameroon, Mali, Uganda, Angola and Madagascar; in 2011 in Zambia, Mauritania, Mozambique and Zimbabwe; in 2012 in Somalia; and in 2013 in Ghana). Consequently, This African strategy has shown itself in a variety of ways, With Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's announcement that his government has selected 2005 as Africa's Year, to advance cooperation between Turkey and Africa and enhance Ankara's openness to Africa, And definitely Erdogan's travel to the Republic of South Africa and Ethiopia was one of the manifestations of this openness during the month of March same year 2005, then visited Tunisia at the end of the same month. (Republic of turkey's ministry of foreign affairs official website , 2022).

2. Motives For Turkey Return To Africa Interest.

2.1. Political Motive:

Turkey is a unique country seeing as it's a huge country in the midst of the Afro-Eurasia region, an unified country with many regional identities irreducible to one identity or state, as Davutoglu describes it , and with this multiple regional configuration Turkey will be able to maneuver and move

in more directions From a region simultaneously, which increases the scope of its influence, and this ideal geographical advantage results in confirming Turkey's position as a central country. (Yaman, 2015, p. 19) The geopolitical and historical characteristics of Turkey provide it with the elements of a state with strategic depth, and in order to activate Turkey's position as a world player and employ it for this profundity, Turkey must develop an active, non-isolationist (different and dynamic) foreign policy that is not restricted to the Western sphere., and that Its interests go beyond its direct borders in order to influence the surrounding environment in a way that benefits Turkey. (Yaman, 2015, p. 21)

Perhaps the traditional motivation to any country for moving toward other nations is mostly political, and it is linked to the development of diplomacy., intensifying official and civil visits, and opening embassies and consulates to promote the state's higher interests and objectives. In terms of Turkey, the process of reconsidering Africa in Turkish foreign policy starting in the late 1990s., Turkey's immediate instinct after setting its eyes on improving its connection with Africa - particularly after the Turkish-African summit in 2008 - was to broaden the scope of diplomatic relations, and the multiplication From the visits of senior Turkish officials to the Africa. (Biol Akgün, 2010, p. 534)

In an interview with the Turkish newspaper (Daily Sabah), Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan referred to Turkey's political motive towards African countries, saying: "...The history of Turkish-African relations goes back to the ninth century AD, when the Turks viewed Africans as their brothers and built bridges of communication with them on the basis of respect and appreciation. In contrast to the colonial powers, Turkey has an honorable history in Africa that does not have black chapters. We may speak different languages and come from diverse ethnic origins and our appearance is different, but the African people have always been our partner and ally...". (İnaç H. , Türkiye'nin Kimlik Problemleri, 2016, p. 143)

In fact, the two years following the summit (Turkish-African 2008) 2009-2010, 15 new Turkish embassies were opened in Africa, bringing the total number of Turkish embassies to 27, up from 12 before the summit This was done as part of Turkey's expansion strategy in the diplomatic, political, and economic realms. (Biol Akgün, 2010, p. 526) The African Union's approval of Turkey's accession as an observer member in 2003, as well as the recognition of Turkey as a strategic partner in 2008, the same year as the Turkish-African Summit , Nearly 50 African countries attended the event, indicating that Turkey is adopting a new approach toward the continent , aimed at strengthening relations in a variety of fields. (Wheeler., 2011, pp. 43-51)

Many researchers believe that translating Ankara's political ties with Africa in general is part of an effort to establish new interactions with organizations other than the European Union, and that its return can be seen in the prominent role played by African voices during the UN Security Council vote for the seat of the non-permanent member in October 2008, where 51 countries voted in favor of Turkey, out of 53 African countries , which signifies Turkey has tried and will continue to strive to benefit from Africa's veto power in the United Nations General Assembly in order to further Turkish interests. African nations, from the other side, did not vote in support of Turkey attaining seat in the UN Security Council by coincidence either via conventional means. Instead, Turkey's authorities, through its previous minister of foreign affairs, Ali Baba Jan, requested African nations to aid it in this matter by voting in favor of Turkey against Austria and Iceland, its European competitors. In exchange, Turkey guaranteed African countries that it would be a great proponent of African matters before the UN Security Council if it obtains a non-permanent seat on the Security Council. (Ali Babacan"s speech to the group of African countries, New York,, 2008)

2.2. Investment and Economic Motives:

The economic incentive is at the head of the most fundamental and crucial reasons for Turkey's transition toward Africa, which has extremely diverse resources, favorable offerings, and limitless investment possibilities, so that emerging Asian economies such as China, India, Japan, South Korea,

and Iran, as well as European and American powers, are competing fiercely. (Wheeler., 2011, pp. 43-51)

At the beginning of its presence in Africa, Turkey focused on North African countries due to its geographical, cultural, historical, and religious proximity. Turkish exports with North African countries increased to \$13 billion in 2015. Then it headed to Sub-Saharan countries, where the volume of Turkish exports reached \$4 billion in 2015 after it was \$750 million in 2004. Turkey is currently aiming to raise up the volume of trade exchange with sub-Saharan countries has reached 50 billion dollars. As for East African countries, Turkey is trying to focus on it because of its economic and political importance, as it is an international competition arena, and a major trade corridor, where it suffers from terrorism and conflicts. For example, President Erdogan was the first to draw international attention to the humanitarian tragedy in Somalia in 2011, at a time when the world was preoccupied with the Arab Spring revolutions, so Turkey established an embassy in Mogadishu and provided many humanitarian aids. And since Turkey's continuous economic growth, which is at least 6% annually, needs markets to dispose of various commodities and find multiple outlets beyond the Asian, European and Arab scope, For Turkey's exports, Africa represented a prospective and fresh marketf. and after the total trade exchange between Turkey and the African continent in 2003 was about 4.5 billion dollars, Turkish exports rose to 13 billion dollars in 2009. (Republic of turkey's ministry of foreign affairs official website , 2022) (Look at picture No 1 Turkish exports and imports from all African countries). (Al-Suwaidani & Ahmed, December 2019, p. 158)

The Turkish-African relations have increased on the economic side in 2016, when the first African-Turkish Business Forum, attended by 3,000 individuals, was held in Ankara, including 2,000 representing the African economic community for 45 African countries, and many agreements were signed with South Africa and Nigeria and Kenya, Ghana, Zambia, Tanzania, and others. This came after the attempted coup against Erdogan, and this indicates to us that Africa is at the top of Turkish policy priorities. The multifaceted interest in the governmental and non-governmental sectors prompted academic interest, which culminated in mounting scientific work in Africa. In the same year 2016, three Turkish universities offered master's degree programs in economic studies, including Gazy University, Ankara University, Istanbul University, as well as research centers Which works inside and outside universities, and all these efforts aim to increase the level of awareness and knowledge of African affairs. Similarly, there are seven universities that contain research centers in African studies, as well as there is the Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, which works on behalf of the International Strategic Research Organization (USAK) as well as the Center for International Relations and Analytics "TURK SAK" Strategy The aim of such centers is to contribute to the development of knowledge in Africa by carrying out political and economic scientific research specialized in African affairs. (Tepecikliogu, 2017, p. 07)

Picture number 1

Country Group	Imports	% Share
North Africa	3.006.952	1.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	2.092386	1.0
Country Group	Export	% Share
North Africa	8.528.402	5.9
Sub-Saharan Africa	3.922.011	2.7

* Source: Data abstracted from Turkish Statistical Institute/ <http://www.turkstat.gov.tr>

The Turkish involvement in government sectors and humanitarian economic aid, as Turkey aspires to be a key player in global politics made it adopt humanitarian diplomacy and for this it has increased the level of its involvement in various regions, including Africa, through government agencies and civil society organizations, for example in the year In 2013, Turkey distributed \$6.1 billion in humanitarian aid, making it the third largest donor after the United States and Britain. In 2014, Turkey provided \$383 million in development aid to sub-Saharan African countries, which amounted to a third of the total Turkish development aid. (İnaç H. , Faşizmin ve Sosyalizmin Sosyo-politik Kökenleri, 2017, pp. 111-113)

And between the years 2000-2010, Turkey was involved with other countries in 239 infrastructure projects in Africa, of which Turkey had 9.5%, in addition to being one of the twenty most important trading partners of Africa, and since the last decade 2010 has shown a steady increase in Turkish-African relations. (Al-Suwaidani & Ahmed, December 2019, p. 159)

The Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TKA) is the principal avenue through which government aid is transferred to Africa in terms of development. While official development aid (ODA) declined in 16 OECD Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC) countries in 2011, Turkey's net ODA surged by nearly 38 percent. Turkey has launched various development initiatives in recent years, such as hosting the United Nations Istanbul Somalia Conference on May 21st-23rd, 2010, to promote the Djibouti Peace Process. The Istanbul Declaration, which was approved during the summit, is viewed as a road map for resolving the Somali issue. Turkey has surpassed the OECD-DAC nations as the top donor to Somalia. (Bilgik & Nascimento, september 2014) Turkey also co-chaired the International Donors' Conference for Darfur Reconstruction and Development in Cairo in 2010. During the summit, Turkey pledged \$65-70 million in humanitarian aid, mostly in the areas of health, agriculture, and education. Furthermore, during the last few years, Turkish foreign aid and development initiatives in Africa have progressively risen thanks to TiKA organization. (the Guardian. , 2013)

2.3. Military and Security Motive:

After that “AKP” gained power in Turkey in 2002 and felt that Turkey had reached the stage of economic prosperity and political stability and a sense of relative military strength at the internal level, it realized that it urgently needed all the information about what was going on around it in the external environment, and among this ocean is Africa, especially that Turkey found itself Unable to arrest the Kurdish leader Abdullah Ocalan, who sought refuge in Kenya after his exit from Syria in 1999, and then carried out the operation on behalf of Turkey, Kenya's intelligence arrested Ocalan and handed him over to Turkey. Erdogan realized the importance of information and the need to use it for the benefit of Turkish national security, hence the interest in Africa It appeared on the surface when Erdogan stressed that the main task of the Turkish intelligence service is to collect information outside the country. (İnaç, 2018, p. 318)

In the military field as well, Sudan and Turkey agreed to establish a wider political security committee headed by both presidents of the two countries. The committee meets annually in Khartoum and Ankara, respectively. Where the military cooperation between Sudan and Turkey began in March 2013 during the reign of former Turkish President Abdullah Gul, through a framework agreement with Sudan on military training and technical and scientific cooperation for the military forces. Then joint exercises of the Turkish and Sudanese naval forces were held in 2014. In addition to the signing of a number of cooperation agreements in the fields of military training and defense industries in 2017. This cooperation expanded by agreeing to establish a Turkish military base in Suakin after Erdogan's recent visit to Sudan in 2017. The Turkish president praised Sudan's opposition to Turkey's unsuccessful military coup. on July 15, 2016, and Sudan's closure of religious schools, which was managed by the Fethullah Gulen Organization and to help the arrest of Turkish individuals accused of being involved in the failed coup attempt. Erdogan addressed the Sudanese parliament, where he

announced his full cooperation with Sudan in all security, military, intelligence, and other field. (Ahmad, Turkey-Sudan Strategic Relations and its Implications in Horn of Africa. Conference, 2018)

Military base in Suakin

It was agreed to allocate the Suakin Peninsula, located in the north-east of Sudan on the Red Sea coast, to Turkey for its administration and for the rehabilitation of Ottoman monuments there. With this deal, Turkey wants to enhance its presence in the Red Sea due to its importance as a major passage for trade between East Asian countries with Europe and for being a vital passage for the transit of about 3.3 million barrels of oil per day. The Suakin port is also one of the closest ports to the Saudi city of Jeddah, which we believe will affect Saudi national security. As well as on the Sudanese relations with Saudi Arabia, Sudan's rapprochement with Turkey negatively affects its relationship with the axis of Saudi Arabia, the Emirates and Egypt.

Concerning the security and military partnership with African countries, for example, Turkey provided air support for the NATO mission in Darfur in 2005 and signed a joint military and security memorandum of understanding with Sudan in 2006. Turkey also worked on the African continent to help modernize African airfields. The existence of this policy can be seen through Turkey's involvement in issues of conflict resolution around the world, in regions such as Somalia and Sudan. (Al-Suwaidani & Ahmed, December 2019, p. 160)

2.4. Cultural and Civilizational Motives:

The Turkish-African cultural dimension is highly essential to Turkish-African relations, as it worries both for Africa and Turkey, by working to establish a Turkish-African dialogue with the goal of narrowing the cultural gap and ensuring a unified stance on the so-called clash of civilizations through the founding of cultural centers on both sides and the expansion of Turkish language education programs in African countries. (Biltekin, September 2013, p. 145)

Country	School Name	# schools	# Student
Nigeria	Nigerian Turkish International College	15	3728
South Africa	Sema school,star school,Horizon school	10	1936
Morocco	Muhammed al Fatih College	10	1471
Cameron	Akma Friendsh	6	922
Senegal	Yavuz Selim school	5	1400
Mali	Horizon school	5	1248
Kenya	Light Academy	5	1400
Tanzania	Feza Schools	4	1443
Mauritania	Burç school	3	1026
Malawi	Bedir School	2	1001
Uganda	Turkish light Academy	2	688
Ethiopia	Nejashi Ethiopia-Turkish International School	2	613
Egypt	Salah International School	2	660
Madagascar	The Light School	2	190
Mozambique	Söğüt School	2	200
Niger	Bedir School	2	650
Angola	Umit International School	1	230
Benin	Ufuk college	1	245
Burkina Faso	College Horizon	1	313
Chad	Chad-Turkish High School	1	368
Equatorial Guinea	Equatorial Guinea Turkish School	1	150
Ivory Coast	Şafak Groupe Scolaire	1	138
Gambia	Yavuz Selim High School	1	20
Ghana	Galaxy International School	1	465
Guinea	Kale School	1	840
The Central Africa	The Central Africa-Turkish School	1	600
Sudan	Sudan-Turk School	1	1250
Togo	Zodiac High School	1	180
Zambia	Horizon School	1	200

160

Kongo Dem. Rep.	Şafak International School	1	532
		91	24107

* Omar Ahmad Saeed, The Educational Relation Between Turkey and Africa.

Parallel to these dual tracks, Turkey has embarked on a new collective road in which it is attempting to shape its connections with several African nations while also activating the civil society approach. The Turkish government has established a forum for joint action between African civil society institutions, as Turkey considers it an essential partner in deepening bilateral cultural ties for Africa's growth in all spheres, as it was decided, during the work of this convention, to organize partnerships on matters such as humanitarian and development aid, poverty reduction, infrastructure, education, culture, youth, women, human rights, health, environment, food safety, water, family activities, science and technology, good governance, peace and security. All documents confirm the early and long-term contribution of Turkey to the development of religious education in Africa, specifically Sudan, and the development of its relations with Al-Azhar Mosque in Egypt and other sources of books and scholars. (Dodo, 2016, pp. 612-615)

We can see the perceptible results of the Turkish-African relations that began in the nineties of the last century and continued in the third millennium through the exchange of high-level visits between the two parties, the opening of new diplomatic representations, and also through the activities and events of TIKA. In Africa, TIKA is the institution responsible for organizing and coordinating Turkish foreign aid and is affiliated with the Turkish Prime Ministry. It plays a major function in cooperating with African states in the economic, social, and cultural fields. Through the expansion of its activities and projects outside Turkey, TIKA aims to increase the volume of its urgent humanitarian aid in times of crisis, in addition to long-term development aid in the economic and cultural fields. It also aims to play an effective role in solving the problems faced by some countries. In this regard, TIKA started since 2003 to expand its activities in Africa, establishing 50 coordination offices worldwide, and working on various development projects through about 20 coordination offices in Senegal, Algeria, Somalia, and Namibia. The value of the aid has reached the official Turkish development project that it provided to Africa through the TIKA Foundation is \$730 million.

It is clear from the foregoing that the Turkish trends in this regard are to consolidate control and reach the greatest goal in defense and restore Turkish domination in the region. By establishing cultural centers and institutions in African countries to strengthen cultural, social, and scientific collaboration between Turkey and African states. It seems that the Turkish government, led by the Justice and Development Party, is trying to impose its cultural and spiritual authority in African countries through soft diplomacy and to attract African peoples towards Turkey and then to penetrate culturally, politically, militarily and economically in the region and this is what is happening now, Turkey has succeeded in imposing a policy of neo-Ottomanism and the creation of an international Islamic axis (as a civilized entry point) headed and led by Turkey, in addition to its role in spreading the Turkish culture and language in this country.

3. Turkish Penetration Tools In Africa

3.1. Involvement in Regional And International Organization:

In the context of Turkey's endeavor to regain its former influence in its regional surroundings and in the world; Turkey is using tools for this, includes the Organization of the Islamic Conference, in which Turkey aims to maximize its function and serve as a coordinating body for collective action among the 57 Islamic countries, including several African states, Uganda, Senegal, Benin, Togo, Chad, Djibouti, Somalia, Burkina Faso, Gabon, Guinea and Guinea Bissau, Comoros, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria. Turkey has ensured that the organization's leader is Turkish, which has been "Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu" since 2004. (The OIC And Turkey, 2006)

Turkey is likewise attempting to increase its clout in regional organizations. In addition to the other institutions mentioned, it has been able to obtain the position of "strategic partner" with the Organization of African Unity. Thus, Turkey is trying to link several important arteries between it and Africa, to increase its soft power and its commercial interchange with the black continent, which would rediscover that Turkey is a Muslim country to Africa again after Muslims had ignored it since

the collapse of the Ottoman Caliphate since World War I, and would also restore some of the Muslims' strength in Confronting Christianization projects and the West's monopolization of the continent's wealth, in which the proportion of Muslims is 47%, with a total of 462 million Muslims. (Atalay, 2013, pp. 533-536)

It is worth mentioning that Turkey was granted observer status in the African Union "AU". on 12 April 2005, and its embassy in Addis Ababa was assigned on 5 May 2005 to be the Turkish embassy accredited to the African Union. The "AU" proclaimed Turkey as a strategic partner on December 10, 2008, and a Cooperation Summit was held Between Turkey and Africa in the same year in Istanbul, 49 African countries were represented, as well as representatives from 11 regional and international organizations, including the AU. The summit witnessed the unanimous adoption of several documents, including: "The Istanbul Declaration on Turkish-African Cooperation" and "The Cooperation Framework for the Turkish-African Partnership." In addition, Turkey, It become a member of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development's International Partners Forum (IGAD) in June 2008, approved its embassy In DaresSalaam to the East African Community (EAC) During the donors' meeting held on 14-15 May 2008, Turkey's application submitted in February 2008 for membership in the African Development Bank (ADB) and the African Development Fund (ADF) was approved, and thus Turkey became a member The 25 in the African Development Bank from outside Africa. (Dodo, 2016, p. 617)

3.2. The Attractiveness of The Political And Economic Model:

Turkey's popular and elitist appeal stems in large part from the model it presents in terms of openness to the West, peaceful power transitions between political parties, and economic progress under the leadership of the (AKP), which has risen to become the world's 18th biggest economy. In terms of the size of the gross domestic product, with greater chances for expansion in the next decades, all are considerations and factors that Turkey would not have had without a profound connection with the West. (Özkan, 2012, pp. 113-114)

The following marks represent the aspects and policies that control Turkey's strategic engagement with Africa, which have been missing in Foreigner-African ties:

1. Working with the principle of linking interests strategically to an important entrance to achieve and secure these interests.
2. Supporting mutual trust and political and cultural communication.
3. Strike a balance between Turkey's and Africa's strategic interests.
4. Adoption of the mutual benefit method.
5. Assisting efforts to develop excellent governance and disseminate the state's philosophy, culture, and behavior.
6. In light of the openness that governs Turkish business in Africa, supporting political growth and the acceptance of transactions that respect state sovereignty and interests.
7. Providing aid free of any political conditions to Africa, especially in the field of infrastructure.
8. Adopting guiding values, principles, and foundations for the Turkish strategy in Africa based on respect for culture African. (Dodo, 2016, pp. 632-634).
 - Respecting the security of the African human being and striving to achieve it.
 - Preserving the environment in Africa.
 - Adherence to the concept of non-interference in the affairs of others.
9. Adopting a policy of achieving added value for the benefit of Africa, including the transfer of advanced technologies.
10. Work to create central systems in order to kick-start Turkish-African collaboration.
11. Deepening the presence in African markets through partnership, development, and development of mutual benefits. (the Guardian. , 2013)
12. The launch of Turkish industries from Africa, where there are abundant resources, under appropriate economic policies and securing modern technology as experience, and in light of

- the proposed philosophy, which means high quality production and competitive cost, which paves the way for entering the global market with satisfaction, as well as securing an internal base in Africa of satisfaction that establishes sustainable success. (Delanty, 2013, pp. 57-61)
13. the food industry, and the agricultural sector, as well as energy, minerals, and services, are all must be areas of interest.
 14. Supporting African efforts to develop development methods that suit their national peculiarities.
 15. Interest in building African information systems, including the production of mineral maps.
 16. Supporting scientific research, especially about the development of Africa, and the ideal utilization and development of its resources.
 17. Paying attention to African market studies to accurately identify its needs. (Berting, Kimlik Siyaseti, 2018, pp. 77-79)

3.3. Using The Healthy Diplomacy:

The health domain constitutes as another essential factor of Turkish humanitarian aid to African nations. Turkey has signed agreements with 17 African nations on health cooperation. Between 2007 and 2010, about 500 Turkish doctors and over 100 health workers functioned in Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Niger, Benin, Ghana, Chad, Togo, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Mali, Uganda, Mauritania, Senegal, Tanzania and Cameroon, providing health services. In this context, the Turkish doctors handled over than 280,000 African citizens and performed surgeries on more than 53,000 people. As an example, within the framework of the "African Project to Combat Cataract Disease" implemented in 4 countries (Niger, Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan), in cooperation with Turkish NGOs, a total of 21,600 patients were operated on during the year 2017 only. (IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation, 2017)

3.4. Cultural Centers and Student Scholarship:

In our opinion perhaps the most important difference between the policy of Western countries and Turkey in Africa is the direct impact of the latter's policy on people's lives. Turkey does not neglect within the framework of its development projects in Somalia, for example, the establishment of social projects that would restructure the social structure of Somalis again. This shows the importance that Turkey attaches to education. And in the context of combating the drought that afflicted Somalia in 2011, the TIKA organization was able to deliver water to 126,000 people, through a project to lay pipes in cooperation with the Ministry of Water Resources, and TIKA opened the Somali Agricultural School, to draw the attention of Somalis to their agricultural wealth and the need to combat drought, during which a phase Establishment of a fishing school, but unfortunately the civil war did not allow Somalia, which has the most beautiful and longest coastline in africa, to benefit from its resources over the past 25 years. With the arrival of Turkish aid, TIKA has taken care of teaching the residents of the coastal strip fishing methods, which will provide vacant jobs awaiting laborers, and will contribute to reviving the country's economy in the coming years.

Between the years 1991-2014, Turkey allocated scholarships to more than 4,380 African students. In the 2015-2016 academic year, scholarships were allocated to 1239 students in degree magazines Undergraduate and postgraduate studies, research and languages. There are currently in Turkish universities about 5,437 students in higher education and 116 university professors and researchers from African countries. Since 1992, over 200 African diplomats have participated in the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey's "International Educational Program for Young Diplomats." (Berting, Siyasi Kriz Çağında Yaşamak, 2014, pp. 71-72)

4. The Future of Turkish-African Relations:

Turkey's adoption of a strategic direction that enhances the chances of achieving just African interests would allow Turkey to have the opportunity to play a pivotal role in the economic field, as linking according to strategic foundations with Africa allows Turkey to distinguish the geostrategic

advantages of Africa and to own one of the keys to the strategic conflict represented in the production of strategic minerals. Through the premise of connecting interests, its cooperation with Africa has strategic agreements with other nations, and the geopolitical situation of Turkey in Europe may allow the completion of arrangements with some European countries, especially since the European Union countries did not hide their desire to end China's control over the rare elements that are used in the manufacture of high-tech products. And its drive for new options, as well as the potential for future control over the extraction of crucial minerals. (Inaç, 2018, p. 327)

Turkey's openness to Africa is an integral part of the new redefinition of Turkey's foreign policy, and on a broader perspective, the global economic crisis that occurred in 2009 stressed the the necessity of variation Turkish markets, and proved that building a relations with Africa mediated by the Arabs which was a good step, and that it benefited Turkey so Much, because African markets are far from the vibrations of major global financial markets, investment in Africa was safer than other countries around the world, so it is expected that the Turkish-African partnership will rise in the coming years in order to achieve Turkish political and economic interests, and the goals of its new foreign policy. (Rudincová, 2014, pp. 204-206) Despite the successes that Turkey has achieved in developing its relations with African countries, its presence compared to the rest of the Western countries, China and Iran is still weak, which makes these African-Turkish relations go through challenges, the most important of which is the global competition on the African continent, especially between France, China, the United States, Iran, Japan, Russia and Italy and Israel, who succeeded greatly in dominating the sources of natural resources in Africa, which strengthened their presence strategically according to the base of whoever owns the economy controls the geostrategic map. (Rudincová, 2014, pp. 204-206)

The strength of any country in this century - as the interrelationships between states are increasing - will be measured on the basis of its specific gravity in the international arenas of influence; Therefore, the true value of the state will be shown not only in its actual power within its surroundings, but also in its economic, cultural and diplomatic influence in various regions as well. If Turkey does not want to remain behind in this difficult competition, it must develop its view on the regions that it neglected so much in the last century, especially Africa. Just as the countries of East Asia (China, Japan and India in particular) have worked to achieve success in obtaining an important share in the African markets, through their economic influence, despite not having direct contact with Africa, in our view, Turkey, which shows an interest in strengthening its international influence, must To work with double effort in view of the international economic and political competition on the continent of Africa; The spirit of foreign policy must also be renewed and focus more on the cultural and economic fields in its early stages, given that Turkey has the advantage of participating in history, culture and religion with more than 45% of the population of this continent, who are distributed over half the area of the African continent. This important precedence should be seriously exploited. In our opinion, this begins with moving forward with a policy of reducing the problems that we have begun to see since 2020 by re-examining some of Turkey's alliances with some of the political spectrum that is rejected in North African countries, for example. Then turn to pay more attention to exploiting the vacuum that will be left by France, which has started to lose its influence in the West African countries.

Perhaps the second and most important challenge is the internal wars on the continent, that threatens the security and stability of Africa, especially the Libyan issue, which makes it imperative for Turkey to work seriously to contribute and put forward a real initiative to end the conflict and civil war in Libya, which is the first country that owns very large oil wealth, as well as copper and gold and uranium, in addition to a coastline of 2000 km on the Mediterranean, opposite Turkey.

The decision-makers in Turkey are aware of the seriousness of this challenge, in order to succeed in entering the African arena to compete with the rest of the major powers that dominate this rich continent. Turkey prefers to deal with the African peoples with a humanitarian approach with pragmatic dimensions completely different from the colonial approaches that accumulated the

highest cultural value for its benefit from the brown continent. For example, the volume of relief activities that Turkey offers now in several African countries, led by the Turkish Humanitarian Relief Organization (IHH), far exceeds the volume of relief work undertaken by all these competing Western countries, and this in fact creates a good reputation among the leaders of the brown continent and its peoples and facilitates Turkey entry strongly in the African arena at all levels and fields.” (Davutoğlu, 2018)

The third biggest challenge is the migration process that the African continent is witnessing from its sons towards the northern side, and this may weaken the continent in terms of its most important wealth, which is human energy, especially the youth, who is considered the most important “factor in the process of stability and development of the continent.” (İnaç H. , What Does Turkey Promise For The Middle East And North Africa?, 2021, pp. 11-12) Here, it requires Turkey to strive with the rest of the African countries To reduce the phenomenon of migration and work together to create economic and development projects that help achieve social and security stability and qualify African youth to engage in building and defending their continent. (İnaç H. , Identity Problems of Turkey during the European Union Integration Process, 2004, p. 57)

Conclusion

After reviewing the research of the Turkish policy at this important stage of its contemporary history towards African countries, we found that it is part of the Turkish multi-dimensional policy based on the Turkish strategic depth policy advocated by the leaders of the Justice and Development Party and tried to apply it in accordance with its political, economic, military and cultural motives.

We also note that the Turkish presence in Africa is organized and tidy, as it seeks specific goals, which were predominantly economic, due to its need for energy sources and to expand its economy through investment in African countries. It is also clear that it initiated the humanitarian aspect through the humanitarian aid it provides to the countries of the continent. But from a political point of view, Turkey is trying to play an effective regional role in the continent, especially in light of the decline in the role of the former major colonial powers and the emergence of the roles of regional powers trying to place themselves on the circle of global influence.

Therefore, the Turkish approach to the African continent, although it aims to achieve Turkish interests, is in compliance with the logic that manages international relations so that the interest is the main motive for the orientations of countries, but it realizes that these objectives cannot be maintained without taking into account the interests of The other partner interacting with it, since the (AKP) arrive to power in Turkey, it presented a picture of the nature of its orientations in the region. During the era of the Justice and Development Party, Turkey tried to send a message of reassurance to the countries of the continent that its approach differs from the approach of others who seek to seize opportunities and exploit peoples, And to benefit from the resources and wealth of their country without benefiting them, similar to what was prevalent in the old colonial era, from which the countries of the continent suffered. Whereas Turkish orientations in the brown continent are largely based on development and humanitarian aid, as is the case in Somalia, in addition to great interest in revitalizing trade relations that benefit all parties. Turkey's increasing use of diplomatic strategies is leading to a great desire to link Turkey's economy and Africa more closely. From the above, the content of Turkey's diplomacy includes professional and cultural exchange, agriculture and humanitarian aid. Turkey's openness to Africa has become increasingly important, particularly in terms of expanding new markets and reducing its reliance on old European and Russian trading partners.

Turkey's strategy towards East Africa is one of its most successful foreign policy files over the past years because of the diplomatic and economic development in a record period, and because of Turkey's positive impression on African peoples. The recent visits of the Turkish leadership reveal that, despite the existence of security and political problems in East Africa, Turkey continues to

strengthen its relations with the Africa, specifically with the East of the continent, for political, security and economic reasons.

The focus on the economic dimension is evident in a gradual Turkish plan parallel to the diplomatic work that has been implemented in a clear and practical manner since 2008, specifically in the east of the continent. Turkey focuses on its relations with Africa on soft power tools such as humanitarian aid, education, building hospitals and supporting women, and benefiting from religious relations in Countries such as Somalia and Djibouti.

Turkey adopts a policy that combines short and long-term goals, and its success factors seem to be greater than the obstacles it challenges. If greater efforts are made, the achievement of Turkey's goals seems the closest, but a major obstacle, which is the possibility of chaos resulting from the deterioration of the security situation or from acts of terrorism and violence, would frustrate Turkish hopes, and this is what makes stability an important element for Turkey's success, and it seems that this It has been a major obstacle in recent years to Turkish foreign policy in all areas it deals with.

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