

Instructions for authors, permissions and subscription information:

E-mail: bilgi@uidergisi.com

Web: www.uidergisi.com



Engagement with Africa: Making Sense of Turkey's Approach in the Context of Growing East-West Rivalry

Alexis HABİYAREMYE* and Tarık OĞUZLU**

* Assist. Prof. Dr., Antalya International University, Department of Economics

** Prof. Dr., Antalya International University, Department of Political Science and International Relations

To cite this article: Habiyaemye, Alexis and Tarık Oğuzlu, “Engagement with Africa: Making Sense of Turkey’s Approach in the Context of Growing East-West Rivalry”, *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Volume 11, No. 41 (Spring 2014), p. 65-85.

Copyright © International Relations Council of Turkey (UİK-IRCT). All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored, transmitted, or disseminated, in any form, or by any means, without prior written permission from UİK, to whom all requests to reproduce copyright material should be directed, in writing. References for academic and media coverages are beyond this rule.

Statements and opinions expressed in *Uluslararası İlişkiler* are the responsibility of the authors alone unless otherwise stated and do not imply the endorsement by the other authors, the Editors and the Editorial Board as well as the International Relations Council of Turkey.

Engagement with Africa: Making Sense of Turkey's Approach in the Context of Growing East-West Rivalry

Alexis HABİYAREMYE and Tarık OĞUZLU*

ABSTRACT

Africa's booming growth dynamics have drawn a renewed interest of its traditional Western trade partners, who felt their preferential relations threatened by the growing Chinese competition for access to the abundant strategic resources. The Chinese approach of combining trade in minerals with investments in large infrastructure projects to access the needed resources has transformed the traditional structure of the geopolitical rivalry on the continent. With the objectives of the geostrategic game shifting from territorial domination to political hegemony, oil and profits, the payoffs to different protagonists have become more complementary than mutually exclusive. As a result, new foreign actors seeking to use their own specific approaches to take advantage of the growing African trade and investment opportunities have emerged. In this article, we analyse the main patterns of global actors' engagement with Africa, as well as shed some light on the way how Turkey has gotten involved in the continent. We hope to make sense of Turkey's growing diplomatic and trade relationships with Africa in the context of the increasing competition for influence between Africa's traditional Western partners and the emerging Asian global players. One of our goals is to ascertain whether Turkey's engagement with Africa is something unique or bears resemblance to other actors' engagement.

Keywords: Francafrique, Africom, Geostrategic Rivalry, China, Turkey's Africa Policy.

Afrika'yla İlgilenmek: Doğu-Batı Rekabeti bağlamında Türkiye'nin Afrika Yaklaşımını Anlamlandırmak

ÖZET

Afrika'nın gelişmekte olan ticaret dinamikleri, kendilerini Çin'in kıta üzerindeki stratejik kaynaklarına erişimi konusundaki rekabeti karşısında tehdit altında hisseden Batılı müttefiklerin ilgisini çekmektedir. Çin'in ihtiyacı olan kaynaklara erişimi bağlamında benimsediği doğal kaynaklar üzerindeki ticaret ile büyük altyapı projelerini birleştirme yönündeki yaklaşımı kıta üzerindeki geleneksel jeopolitik rekabetin yapısını değiştirmiştir. Jeostratejik oyunun amacının karasal hakimiyet kurmaktan çıkıp siyasi hegemonya tesis etme odaklı olmaya başlamasıyla, petrol, kar ve farklı aktörlerin kazançları birbirlerini dışlayıcı olmak yerine birbirlerini tamamlayıcı olmaya başlamıştır. Bunun sonucunda, Afrika'nın gelişmekte olan ticaret ve yatırım fırsatlarından istifade etmek amacıyla bölgeye yönelik kendi yaklaşımlarını oluşturan yeni dış politika aktörleri ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu makalede küresel aktörlerin bölgeye yönelik politikalarının ana hatlarını ve Türkiye'nin Afrika'ya nasıl müdahil olmaya başladığını analiz ediyoruz. Umudumuz, Türkiye'nin Afrika'yla olan ticari ve diplomatik ilişkilerini, kıta üzerinde rekabet halinde olan geleneksel Batılı müttefikler ile yükselmekte olan Asyalı küresel oyuncular arasındaki mücadele bağlamında anlamlandırmaktır. Amaçlarımızdan bir diğeri Türkiye'nin Afrika açılımının kendine özgü mü olduğunu ya da diğer aktörlerin açılımlarına benzeyip beznemediğini incelemektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Francafrique, Africom, Jeostratejik Rekabet, Çin, Türkiye'nin Afrika Politikası.

* Alexis Habiyaremye, Assist. Prof. Dr., Department of Economics, Antalya International University, Antalya, Turkey. E-mail: alexis.habiyaremye@antalya.edu.tr. Tarık Oğuzlu, Prof. Dr., Department of Political Science and International Relations, Antalya International University, Antalya, Turkey. E-mail: tarik.oguzlu@antalya.edu.tr.

Introduction

After a long period of relative neglect, Turkey has recently intensified its diplomatic and trade relationships with Africa beyond its traditional neighborhood of North African countries that were once under Ottoman rule. This intensification was formally launched in 2005 and led to the opening of more than 17 new embassies in various Sub-Saharan African countries between 2009 and 2012, with plans to open even more in the future. In order to strengthen the legitimacy of its new relations with Africa, Turkey has also emerged as a new donor, providing development assistance and humanitarian relief to various African nations.¹ Like traditional OECD donors, Turkey is leveraging aid to African countries as a foreign policy instrument aimed at sending political signals both at home and to the outside world. Turkey has thus become a global player who can use politics and ideology at the services of its economic relations.

This new Turkish interest in, and opening up to Africa, came at a time when many African economies had started to enjoy relatively robust growth rates as a result of a booming trade with China. This boom in Sino-African trade, essentially buoyed by abundant African oil and minerals, has given China a growing influence in Africa, which has drawn considerable attention of both mainstream media and academic research. It has also prompted the traditional Western power brokers, mainly France and the United States, to readjust their African policies in order to face what they perceive as a threatening Chinese competition for access to African strategic resources. Being a longstanding ally of the West through its NATO membership, Turkey might be drawn to side with its Western allies in the ongoing confrontation against China and be induced to support the growing militarization of the continent for the control of its resources. The pressing questions for Turkey as a global swing state are therefore: Which position will Turkey ultimately take in the face of growing rivalry between China and the West on the African resource market and what are the potential implications of alternative choices for Turkey's own engagement in Africa?

With its growing influence in international arenas, Turkey's choices in its engagement with Africa are poised to have a significant impact on global outcomes.

Alongside the new alluring business interests, there is also a race between the world's leading powers for geostrategic positioning. At stake are the abundant African natural resources, which are indispensable for Chinese economic growth and essential for Western defense industry and energy security.² As if it were a replication of the so-called

1 Saban Kardas, *Turkey's Development Assistance Policy: How to make sense of the new guy on the block*, German Marshall Fund, Policy Brief, 4 February 2013.

2 Oil from Angola and other West African countries is very important for the United States, since the total imports of oil from Africa have now overtaken the oil supply from Saudi Arabia. With security concerns in the post September 11, 2001 context, oil from the Gulf of Guinea represents a safer and more easily accessible source of energy supply compared to imports from unstable Middle East. According to data from Energy Information Administration (the US' official source of energy statistics), the United States imported nearly 21 percent of its petroleum from Africa, which is more than the combined imports from the Persian Gulf countries.

“New Great Game” on the African scene, this geostrategic rivalry denotes the competition for influence, power, hegemony and profits involving various state and non-state actors pursuing individual as well as collective interests. However, unlike the traditional structure of the geopolitical game, where the competition emphasizes the relationships between hegemonic power, politics and domination over identified geographical areas in a kind of zero-sum game, oil contracts, mining concessions, and lucrative trade deals are the dominant features the new East-West competition for African resources.

On this new scene of geopolitical jostling, it is interesting to note that whereas Western protagonists have continued to rely on their intense intelligence networks and military accords with targeted African states, China has changed the playing field and the structure of the game by flocking an army of traders and infrastructure construction workers, who have contributed to transforming the economic dynamics of the continent after decades of unbridled Western exploitation. The resulting new economic growth dynamics have transformed the rules of the geopolitical game, rendering the payoffs to the different players complementary rather than mutually exclusive. Despite this change in the game structure, the flourishing literature of foreign involvement on the African resource market has so far continued to focus primarily on the Chinese presence and its conflicting interest with respect to the United States and European traditional partners of African states, paying little attention to the role that lesser prominent powers can play in this modified structure of geostrategic rivalry. Although some, such as Klare and Volman, have recognized the multiplicity of players in this competition for influence, the ability of regional powers such as Turkey to affect the balance of power in this face-off has not received the importance it deserves in that debate.³ Besides, the number of academic studies that primarily deal with the policies of the middle powers like Turkey on the African continent has remained extremely limited.⁴

Against this backdrop of shifting geopolitical structure, this paper analyses the intensification Turkish diplomatic and economic relations with African countries, and examines its weight in balancing the powers in this rivalry. Because of its rising status on the international scene as an emerging regional power, Turkey has been characterized, together with India, Indonesia and Brazil, as a “global swing state” in regard to its ability to affect the outcome of the global game of influence between China and the West.⁵ Given its record of distinctive and mixed views about prevailing international order, this means (by analogy to US domestic politics) that Turkey’s choices in its relations with Africa can tip the balance of power either way and have significant implications for the global order.⁶

3 Michael Klare and Daniel Volman, “America, China and the Scramble for Africa’s Oil”, *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 33, No. 108, 2006, p.297-309.

4 Gökhan Bacik, and Isa Afacan, “Turkey Discovers Sub-Saharan Africa: The Critical Role of Agents in the Construction of Turkish-Foreign Policy Discourse”, *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 2013, p.483-502.

5 Richard Fontaine and Daniel M. Kliman, “International Order and Global Swing States”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No.1, 2013, p.93-109, 101-2.

6 Daniel Kliman and Richard Fontaine, *Turkey: A Global Swing State*, German Marshall Fund, Policy Brief, 13 April 2012.

The alternative positions that Turkey can take in this setting have totally different implications for African countries as well and have the potency to affect the relationship between Africa and the world. In order to understand the dynamics of the rivalry and the force that may swing Turkey's choices, we first present the growing militarization of the continent as a situational background of the geostrategic rivalry between incumbent Western power brokers France and US and then the major new entrant, China. We then examine the Turkish diplomatic and trade relations with Africa in the light of this rivalry and examine how it may react to the changing dynamics. The final section concludes with implications of either choice for both Turkey and Africa.

Geo-strategy of Natural Resources in Post-colonial Africa

The Various Approaches to Accessing African Resources

The geopolitical rivalry, as commonly understood by political scientists, has underlying assumptions: states are the primary actors in the system, a military-economic competition exists between them for the raw materials needed for national power, states can form alliances that are able to "balance" one another either through physical occupation or by securing political influence within a geographical space, and that geography represents perhaps the greatest determinant of political relationships. Under this understanding, geographic entities must be strategically contested to have geopolitical relevance.⁷

What is at stake in the intense East-West rivalry being played out on African scene is the immense wealth of African oil and minerals, which are key to the national security of Western powers as well as to the economic growth of China. As in traditional geopolitical games, the players use hard power (to instill fear to those who control the territory) and soft power (to capture the hearts and minds of those who own the coveted resources). However, instead of competing for actual control over a geographic area, oil contracts, mining concessions, pipelines routes, petroleum consortiums, are the prizes of this form of "New Great Game".⁸ The protagonists defend cultural values to enlist the support of local population, create cultural allegiance or disrupt any likely source of affinity of the target communities with the geostrategic opponent. In that respect, the much repeated accusations about China's dealings with authoritarian regimes in Africa are undoubtedly part and parcel of this jostling for political influence on the continent as a means to legitimize their own approach to accessing African natural resources.

Each of the major players has taken a different approach to this race. While China has mainly used trade and infrastructure construction projects to create new growth dynamics, both France and the US have stepped up their military and diplomatic involve-

7 Michael Mayer, "What is 'geopolitics'? In search of conceptual clarity", *Geopolitics in the High North*, 2013, http://www.geopoliticsnorth.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=45:article2&showall=1 (Accessed on 10 March 2014).

8 Karl Meyer and Shareen Brysac, *Tournament of Shadows: The Great Game and the Race for Empire in Central Asia*, Basic Books, 2006.

ment in Africa in order to maintain their entrenched vital interests in African oil and key minerals and curb ascending Chinese influence.⁹ In order to better coordinate its new military and diplomatic engagement in Africa for an optimal protection of its priority access to resources the US has reorganized its overseas military command structure to create the US Africa Command (AFRICOM), by which it has concluded some form of military agreements with all countries except Sudan and Somalia.

As for France, it keeps military bases in oil-rich Gabon, Ivory Coast, Chad and Central African Republic, vestiges of the military agreements that regulated its relations with its former colonies during the high tide days of the *Françafrique* policy. The current French military operation in Mali as well as its recent involvements in wars in Libya and Ivory Coast (all of which have oil reserves and/or strategic minerals) suggests that Paris, like Washington, is determined to deploy its military power in order to protect its vital interests and help curb the growing Chinese influence on the continent.

La Françafrique: Foccart's Secret Networks and "Black Governors"

In post-independence Africa, the pattern of foreign influence has mainly been shaped by the inheritances of the colonial system and the legacy of the Cold War.¹⁰ The trade relationships inherited from the colonial era resulted in the perpetuation of a ruthless exploitation of African resources by Western oil and mining companies, accompanied by large-scale environment degradation.¹¹ This exploitation system that still characterizes much of the relationships between African countries and their former European colonial rulers was established in the logic of international labor division, in which colonies served as repositories for natural resources and raw materials for the industries of the metropolis. Because of the security imperatives of the cold war, Western powers have judged it indispensable to prolong it even after nominal independence was granted to African countries.

During the Cold War period, France enjoyed an unchallenged position of influence in many resource-rich African countries with US tacit consent. As explained by Patrick Benquet, France had been entrusted (in secret dealings with the United States with the complicit silence of other Western allies) with the mission to ideologically police the African continent in order to block any potential progression of communist ideas on the continent. This allowed France to exert considerable influence of African politics and exploit it as it wished.¹² Energy security concerns and defense technology considerations of the Cold War prompted Western colonial powers to delegate powers to France

9 Klare and Volman, "America, China and the Scramble for Africa's Oil", p. 297-309.

10 Richard Reid, "Horror, Hubris and Humanity: The International Engagement with Africa, 1914-2014", *International Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 1, 2014, p. 143-165.

11 "Oil for Nothing: Multinational Corporations, Environmental Destruction, Death and Impunity in the Niger Delta", *EAGE Report*, 25 January 2000, <http://www.essentialaction.org/shell/report/> (Accessed on 10 March 2014).

12 Patrick Benquet, "Françafrique: Raison d'Etat", Documentary film broadcast on French National Channel France2 on July 20, 2012. Available on: <http://vimeo.com/3353051>.

to prevent the Soviet Union from getting any access to African fossil energy and other strategic resources like uranium, cobalt and coltan.¹³ This was because the West was afraid of the consequences of losing control of vast energy and mineral resources of its African colonies to the leaders of the independence movements. At the onset of the Cold War, they conceived a sophisticated strategy that would enable them to keep effective long-run preferential exploitation of African oil and strategic minerals even after the unavoidable independence of various African countries. More in particular, the so-called Africa policy put in place by France's President Charles De Gaulle at the dawn of African independence played a decisive role in the merciless implementation of this neo-colonial exploitation strategy. Under President De Gaulle and all his successors, France used this position as a gendarme of the continent with the help of unscrupulous Africans political figures to assassinate independence leaders, protect dictatorships and foment civil wars in many parts of Africa in order to keep a tight hand on natural resources as a reward for its ideological policing mission.

Based on direct relationships between African heads of state and the President of France, this policy involved large scale corruption, military coups, occult financing, and secret military assistance agreements giving France a preferential access to strategic resources in exchange for the protection of autocratic regimes. The selected African rulers who helped implement it were adulated and praised by consecutive French governments of the Vth republic since De Gaulle as "preferred friends of France". Red carpets were rolled out for them and all sort of flatteries were thrown at them all across France's Western allies, who also benefitted from this system¹⁴. This neo-colonial system has come to be known under its nickname *Françafrique*¹⁵, meaning a policy that keeps (French speaking) Africa integrated with France. Those new friends of France were mockingly called the "*black governors*" in Paris by the French agents of Foccart's secret service networks to underscore that they were administering their countries on behalf of France in the same way as colonial administrators appointed by France had done before independence.

13 Cobalt is an essential mineral for the manufacture of modern weaponry. It is required for the construction of jet fighter and bomber engines, missiles (including nuclear warhead missiles), and battleships, including nuclear submarines and aircraft carriers, and virtually all modern industrially manufactured weapons of war. Cobalt is also essential for the manufacture of anything requiring high grade steel. As for coltan, it is the ore from which tantalum is extracted, a rare mineral used for the production of video-game consoles, laptop computers, and mobile phones because of its high energy capacitance. According to data from the US Mineral Commodity Summaries (US Department of the Interior), more than 50% of the world's reserves of cobalt and 80% of world's coltan deposits are situated in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

14 Despite this deceptive flattery to lure unsuspecting or corrupt African politicians, De Gaulle is mostly notorious for having said: '*Les états n'ont pas d'amis; ils n'ont que des intérêts*' (States have no friends, they have only interests).

15 The term *Françafrique*, meaning the interconnection between France and French speaking Africa, was coined by Félix Houphouët Boigny, President of Côte d'Ivoire between 1960 and 1997, one of the main black pillars of De Gaulle's Africa policy.

For this exploitation system to hold, France engineered a sophisticated strategy to eliminate any recalcitrant leaders and use the huge profits generated by the looted resources to finance repressive regimes that accepted to collaborate in this plunder. Based on a two-pronged approach consisting of political control and industrial exploitation of former colonies, this policy enabled France to continue the colonial system of quasi free extraction of African oil and minerals under the disguise of development assistance and military cooperation. To implement this strategy, De Gaulle enlisted the help of two highly skilled collaborators, who shared a staunch determination to acquire African resources for France, with a total disregard of the human toll that their ambitious actions would exact on African populations: Jacques Foccart for the political control of African leaders and Pierre Guillaumat for the industrial system to exploit African oil and gas. Foccart, who was in charge of the president's Africa policy at the Elysée Palace, immediately put in place a sophisticated network of highly devoted and pitiless agents and diplomats from the French secret service (*Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionnage-SDECE*). Secret agents, military officers and diplomat were seconded to Africa as advisers of the leaders of the newly independent states. Under the pretense of sending technical assistants and political advisers to the administration of the newly independent African states, Foccart sent a whole network of informants who controlled the chosen allied rulers to ensure that they act in line with French interests. Through their position in all sectors of the local administration, these informants provided Foccart and the French president with all the information they needed to keep African presidents and prime ministers under control. French diplomats and secret agents deployed their talents to help undermine or even eliminate Pan-African independence leaders when asked to do so by Paris. They also served for the selection and control of post-independence autocratic rulers, who fitted the required profile to serve Western interests. This secret network, operating outside any parliamentary control, was the political pillar of this strategy.

The industrial pillar of De Gaulle's strategy was the creation of a French national oil company, which would exploit oil in the former colonies to ensure France's energy independence. To that end, he had charged the military engineer Pierre Guillaumat with the creation of a research center for the development of French oil industry. Guillaumat set up the *Bureau de Recherche du Pétrole* (BRP) as early as 1945. Through a series of mergers, this BRP would later evolve to become ELF (*Essences et Lubrifiants de France*), the well-known French state-owned oil company.¹⁶ ELF's first oil fields were in Algerian Sahara, then still firmly under French colonization. However, after Algeria declared independence in 1962 following a bloody war of liberation, France was cut off from its Saharan oil fields. ELF successfully developed the newly discovered oil fields in Gabon and with the help of Foccart's networks, transformed its African operations into a very lucrative business. Libreville, the capital of Gabon, became therefore the main operation base for French intelligence services in Africa from which many Afri-

16 After a merger, ERP became ERAP (*Entreprise de recherches et d'activités pétrolières*) and subsequent mergers led to the creation of ELF.

can leaders would be destabilized, killed or protected, each case depending on France's economic and strategic interests.

Throughout the 50 years that followed African independence until its managed wind down owing to corruption scandals, ELF would play a central role in the execution of this strategy, by channeling its huge profits from African oil fields to French and African politicians. Huge oil profits also served to provide funding and weapons to be used for the removal and assassination of undesirable African leaders or for the training and military support for various rebel movements in resource-rich areas that France coveted, like the Biafra secession war in Nigeria or the Angolan civil war.¹⁷ ELF's money would also serve to finance the political campaigns of all major political parties in France and to enrich the allied African autocrats through secret accounts in European banks. This complex system designed to benefit the entire political elite in France as well as corrupt African autocrats, was crafted in such a way that no political party had any incentive to denounce it.¹⁸

Development aid was also deliberately used as part of this strategy to create the illusion that financial resources were flowing from the generous developed countries in Europe to poor underdeveloped ones in Africa. While every penny of development assistance was put in the spotlight, the far more important flows of African oil and strategic minerals under secret defense accords were kept under silence and African wealth was quietly siphoned to the West in exchange for this aid¹⁹. The political misconceptions created by this deceptive misrepresentation of the North-South relationships has continued to have a significant bearing on the failure of many African countries to use the abundant resources to improve the living conditions of their citizens.

As shown by Michael Maren, aid has been the main characteristic and vehicle of neo-colonialism in the relations between Africa and its Western partners. It has mainly been used to serve the political objectives of the donors and has enabled recipient government to evade accountability to their own citizens.²⁰ In the best hours of the *Françafrique*,

17 For example, as documented by Patrick Benquet, the assassination of Cameroones independence leader Felix Moumié, as well as efforts to overthrow presidents Sékou Touré of Guinea and Matthieu Kerekou of Benin were orchestrated by French secret services with operational bases in Libreville, Gabon. Later, other leaders who were perceived not to be sufficiently subservient of French interests, such as Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso, Pascal Lissouba of Congo or Laurent Gbagbo of Ivory Coast, were eliminated or ousted from power with French complicity and military intervention.

18 The functioning of this complex system came to light in 1994 when the political rivalry between Jacques Chirac and Edouard Balladur for the French presidential elections led to the discovery of a vast system of money laundering, corruption and illegal political campaign financing involving ELF's top executives and French political leaders, the so-called ELF scandal, which resulted in the dismantling of Elf and its integration into its much smaller private competitor, Total.

19 In De Gaulle's own declaration: *All these underdeveloped countries that yesterday still depended on us but are now our preferred friends, are requesting our help and our assistance. But why would we give this help and this assistance if it was not worth it?* Free translation from French by authors.

20 Michael Maren, *The Road to Hell: The Ravaging Effects of Foreign Aid and International Charity*,

aid and development assistance mainly served to protect befriended regimes and to finance white elephant projects for the prestige of allied autocrats. Priority access to strategic resources was usually the reward to the donor as confessed by Maurice Robert.²¹ In the framework of Western policy towards Africa, development assistance has thus been a powerful instrument for covering up this sophisticated looting strategy and as such, it has contributed to the perpetuation of poor governance practices.²² The failure of development aid to bring economic benefits to African populations, often presented in the literature as Cold War blunders or African institutional failure, should be viewed here as part and parcel of an intended outcome by Western powers seeking to keep their influence. Politically motivated aid allowed France to maintain a dominant position on the political scene of its former colonies to the extent that the nefarious consequences of French neo-colonial hegemony are still strongly felt in many parts of Africa until today²³. With the post-electoral crisis in Côte d'Ivoire and the shameful failure of the Mali's African partners to protect it from the jihadist threat, France was provided a new legitimacy to pursue these nefarious policies of the past and to present itself once again as an indispensable savior of its former colonies. It suffers no doubt that French military intervention in Mali is intimately linked to its own interest in this region of vital strategic value, rich in gold, oil and uranium on which the French nuclear energy industry is directly dependent. With a massive support not only from the US, but also from many of its European allies, including Germany, Denmark UK and Belgium, France's new military presence in Africa to ascertain Western economic and security interests further adds to an already growing militarization of the continent at a time when it needed peace to keep the growth momentum.

The US AFRICOM

With the end of the Cold War, the policing mission the West had given to France on the black continent came to an end, and with it the unchallenged monopoly over the natural resources also ended. A sort of new scramble for Africa was engaged, in which the US, European countries and later, China, saw their chance to try to seize their slice of the "African cake". Walter Kansteiner, the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, acknowledged the national security implications of African oil during a visit to Nigeria in July 2002.²⁴ Especially the US reacted to the growing importance of African resources in its national security calculations by significantly reinforcing its alliances with African rulers

New York, The Free Press, 2002.

21 Maurice Robert, *Le Ministre de l'Afrique: Mémoires d'un homme de l'ombre*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 2004.

22 Dambisa Moyo, *Dead Aid: Why Aid Is Not Working and How There Is a better Way for Africa*, New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009.

23 The current military involvement in Mali the recent crisis in Ivory Coast and the recurrent unrest in the Central African Republic are some examples of the still ongoing involvement of France in African politics.

24 Kansteiner declared: 'African oil is of strategic national interest to us,' he declared, and 'it will increase and become even more important as we go forward'; Klare and Volman, "America, China & the Scramble for Africa's Oil", p. 297-309.

and increased its military involvement on the continent to ensure an optimal protection of its direct strategic interests.²⁵

Being the incumbent, France has been trying to defend its entrenched interest by adapting its policies to the changing circumstances to limit the losses due to American jostling. In some key locations such as the Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda, it has nonetheless been overwhelmed by strong Anglo-Saxon takeover, but it has retained prominence in most of its own former colonies.

Alliance with Israel played a key role in supporting US penetration in the heart of resource-rich regions. Israeli think-tanks like the Institute of Advanced Strategic and Political Studies (IASPS) have also played a major role in shaping U.S. geo-strategy in Africa. The IASPS for example, which is also at the basis of the African Oil Policy Initiative Group (AOPIG), was one of the Israeli organizations supporting the creation of the US Africa Command (AFRICOM).²⁶ The impetus for the creation of AFRICOM was thus given by AOPIG recommendations as an instrument for the implementation of the strategy to control African oil fields in the Gulf of Guinea.²⁷

Israel is also actively involved in securing the contacts and agreements needed by the US for the extension of its interests in Africa through Israeli business links and intelligence operations in Africa. The US military, now acting under the new AFRICOM umbrella, have been conducting joint military training operations in more than 36 African nations, and the number of Special Forces active on the continent is constantly growing. In addition to the hot-spots of the fight against Al Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and Al Shabab militia in the horn of Africa, US Special Forces are constantly involved in military-to military relations in oil-rich nations such as Nigeria, Uganda, Chad and South Sudan. In parallel to this growing militarization, American oil companies are also becoming more actively involved in extractive operations, reflecting the growing importance Africa has taken in US energy policy. African oil supplies to the US have exceeded USD 85 billion in 2008 and Exxon Mobil has become the second biggest oil producer in Africa just behind French Total Elf.

The US has based its Africa engagement strategy on forging alliances with African strong men and increasing its military involvement on the continent. Under Clinton admin-

25 In a report titled "African Oil: A Priority for U.S. National Security and African Development", the African Oil Policy Initiative Group (AOPIG) identified African oil and key minerals as being of vital interest for US national security and recommended the Bush administration to undertake strategic actions aimed at ensuring unimpeded access to these resources. According to data from the US Department of Energy, Africa now supplies the US with roughly the same quantity of oil as the Middle East. Cobalt from the Democratic Republic of Congo is equally strategically important for the advanced defence industry.

26 "African Oil: A Priority for US National Security and African Development", *Institute of Advanced Strategic & Political Studies*, Seminar Report, 25 January 2002, Washington, D.C.

27 According to the African Oil Policy Initiative Group (2002), the major reason for the Bush administration to seek the increase of U.S. access to African oil was an attempt to reduce U.S. vulnerability to supply disruptions caused by Middle Eastern instability as much as possible by diversifying the supply sources.

istration the US initiated a policy publicly promoting what president Clinton called 'a new breed of African leaders' during his visit in Africa in March 1998, including Museveni of Uganda, Kagame of Rwanda, Zenawi of Ethiopia and Afewerki of Eritrea, who turned out to be violent autocrats not hesitating to go at one another's throat in bloody wars²⁸. This approach aimed to ensure the protection of its direct post-Cold War strategic interests by sheer projection of military might and low-intensity warfare has enabled it to deter potential rivals²⁹.

Especially since the deployment of AFRICOM in 2008, the renewed US interest in African strategic resources has reshaped the way the US interacts with African countries. The US has forged military alliances all across Africa, where it has established military-to-military cooperation and from where it conducts surveillance and counterinsurgency operations. Currently, AFRICOM is still headquartered in Stuttgart, Germany, but has military facilities in Mauritania and Burkina Faso, where PC-6 and PC-12 surveillance planes track the movements of AQIM, bases in Seyshelles and Arba-Minch, Ethiopia where Predator drones are stationed and additional bases in Nzara (South Sudan), Camp Lemonnier (Djibouti), Manda-Bay (Kenya) and Kisangani (Democratic Republic of Congo), from where American special forces can intervene in various parts of this region if needed. The number of such alliances and the corresponding operations, especially in oil-rich areas of Nigeria, Uganda, Chad and South Sudan, is rapidly growing.

The new alliances between the United States and the new "breed of African leaders" has supplanted the Cold War's *Françafrique* policy but have retained many of its pernicious features: violence, orchestrated civil wars, assassinations and protection of allied autocrats in exchange for access to strategic minerals.³⁰ This approach to the relations with Africa has been arranged in a way that military and political influence allows Western multinational oil and mining companies to exploit African resources in a non-transparent way, often causing violent conflicts and large-scale environmental degradation in all impunity as documented by Essential Action for Global Exchange.³¹

28 Barely six months after President Clinton returned to the US from his African trip to praise this "new breed of leaders", Zenawi and Afewerki were at war over a small piece of land at Badme. Later, between 1999 and 2000, Museveni's and Kagame's troops clashed three times in fierce battles in Kisangani (DRC) that they had both invaded for the looting of Congolese resources (the role of Museveni and Kagame in the illegal plundering of Congolese mineral wealth has been documented in a UN expert panel report (<http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N03/567/36/IMG/N0356736.pdf?OpenElement>)).

29 The projection military power in Africa in the context of rivalry with China is increasingly perceived as being a form of low-intensity warfare, a strategic method developed back in the years of the Reagan administration. For U.S. policy-makers and war planners, low-intensity represents a strategic reorientation of the U.S. military establishment, and a renewed commitment to employ force in overt or covert operations against strategic opponents.

30 As a prominent example of this, the recurrent eruption of violence in the Great lakes region is a direct result of the US support of its military allies Rwanda and Uganda, who play a key role in ensuring that American and other Western mining interest in neighbouring DRC are well protected.

31 "Oil for Nothing: Multinational Corporations, Environmental Destruction, Death and Impunity in the Niger Delta", 25 January 2000.

Although AFRICOM itself defines its mission as having “the administrative responsibility for US military support to US government policy in Africa, to include military-to-military relationships with 53 African nations”, many observers have consistently contended that its primary objective is to disrupt the momentum of Chinese influence in Africa, because preferential access to African resources remains a crucial component of US national security.³² Some Western analysts and government officials point out that both the US and other major powers in the European Union consider China’s advance in Africa as a common threat that needs to be confronted together.³³ This perception of a common adversary has compelled US and its European allies to end their rivalries in Africa and work together in order to articulate a coherent attitude towards China and other emerging global players that may challenge their hegemony over African resources.

Such a need to end internal rivalry explains the close collaboration between US, France and Great Britain in the War in Libya, the current smooth collaboration in “*Opération Serval*” in Mali as well as information sharing between Africom and French army in important operations of shared importance such as the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Initiative in Western Africa or counterinsurgency operations in the Horn of Africa. This collaboration was accelerated by the election of Nicolas Sarkozy as president of France when he restored the full military integration of France in the NATO command structure for the first time since its suspension by De Gaulle in 1966. It is important to note that this momentum also received Israeli encouragement, because of its mining and business interests in Africa.

As part of this strategy, the US has also applied bilateral and multilateral aid policy instruments to maintain resource-rich African countries in financial dependence.³⁴ Bilateral aid has helped authoritarian US allies to impose their domination on their national political scene, while its withholding has served to punish leaders who were perceived as not being docile enough to US policy objectives. The intervention of Western government-sponsored human rights organizations with connection to the U.S. intelligence and defense have also helped to pave the way for the US projection of military power in many corners of the continent³⁵. Finally, as a multilateral instrument, the International

32 US State Department adviser Peter Pham stated in unequivocal terms in 2007, while justifying Africom’s creation before Congress, saying its purpose was to protect “access to hydrocarbons and other strategic resources which Africa has in abundance, a task which includes ensuring against the vulnerability of those natural riches and ensuring that no other interested third parties, such as India, China, Japan or Russia obtain monopolies or preferential treatment.”

33 See for example Petry, Drew. “Using AFRICOM to Counter China’s Aggressive African Policies” *Airman Scholar*, Fall 2011. See also Bowie, Nile. “AFRICOM Report: Combating China’s Economic Encroachment”, NSNBC, 16 August 2012/ <http://nnsbc.wordpress.com/2012/08/16/africom-report-combating-chinas-economic-encroachment-related-press-release/> (Accessed on 13 December 2013).

34 The disastrous consequences of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) imposed upon African and Latin American countries in the 1980s are a case in point.

35 Keith Harmon Snow, “US Agents of Covert Wars in Africa”, Conscious Being Alliance, 2012 <http://www.consciousbeingalliance.com/2012/08/us-agents-of-covert-war-in-africa/> (Accessed on 15 February 2013).

Monetary Fund (IMF) has equally often been used to impose specific disastrous recommendations to targeted countries in line with US strategic objectives.³⁶

China's Rise in Africa

The most significant challenge to Western hegemony in Africa has come from China, which sought to secure an indispensable access to African raw materials for its insatiable manufacturing industry. Trade volumes in oil and mineral ores have soared since 2002, especially driven by trade deals based on swapping large infrastructure projects for access to natural resources. China has mainly used soft power and aid packages with no strings attached to build confidence among African leaders and the public at large. In terms of access to resources, China seems to have been very successful in connecting with oil and mineral-rich African countries. Chinese oil firms such as China National Petroleum Corporation, (CNPC), China Petrochemical Corporation (Sinopec) and China National Offshore Oil Corporation, (CNOOC) have massively invested in the African oil and gas industries alongside Western firms and other East Asian firms. With investments worth more than USD 10 billion in 2008 and an additional USD 23 billion contract with Nigeria in 2010, Chinese oil firms are on an impressive growth path in Africa.

Chinese mining companies are also active in various African countries, especially in places like DRC, Zambia and Ethiopia where the so-called “Angola-mode” trade deals have been concluded, whereby China finances the construction of infrastructure projects in exchange for its mining companies getting mining concessions. As a result, trade between China and African countries has grown exponentially to become one of the primary engines of African growth over the past decade. China's trade with Africa reached \$166 billion in 2011, whereby African exports to China consisting primarily in natural resources rose from \$5.6 billion a decade ago to \$93 billion according to Chinese statistics. The inflow of Chinese foreign direct investments (FDI) has also started to swell and is expected to reach USD 50 billion for the year 2015, while bilateral trade are predicted to reach USD 3000 billion, according to Standard Bank projections.

Thanks to its considerable financial resources, it has positioned itself as a reliable source of funding for large development projects. In July 2012, China offered African countries USD 20 billion in loans over the next three years, doubling the amounts pledged in the previous three-year period. Through the no-strings-attached approach to aid, it has also provided an alternative source of funding, challenging the monopoly previously held by the IMF on development policies in Africa. Thanks to the thousands of Chinese trad-

36 For example, in 2006 when Congolese president Joseph Kabila negotiated a USD 9 billion trade deal with China involving the rights to exploit copper and cobalt mines in exchange for providing \$6 billion worth of infrastructure, the US was openly upset and threatened to block Congo's financing through IMF if it did not roll back the contract. A few months later, in October 2006, Rwanda-backed well-armed rebel troops commanded by Nkunda surrounded Goma in North Kivu and demanded that Congo's President Joseph Kabila negotiate with him. Not surprisingly, among Nkunda's demands was that Kabila cancel the USD 9 billion deal with China.

ers and workers who moved to Africa, China has successfully established a bridgehead in the heart of resource-rich regions and its influence is growing rapidly in spite of US pressure to discourage African leaders from doing business with China.³⁷

Despite the silent confrontation with Africom for the access to African resources, the Chinese have been far more ingenious by most informed accounts.³⁸ Their development packages have enabled many African governments to emancipate themselves, at least partly, from the stifling constraints of the IMF. Instead of offering savage IMF-dictated austerity and economic chaos as the West has, China has proposed large credits, soft loans to build roads and schools in order to create good will.

Although China has been repeatedly accused by its Western rivals of bringing new form of imperialism and turning a blind eye on gross human rights violations in the countries where it has trade interests, its role in African growth dynamics is still viewed positively by African public and even by some influential African and Western economists, such as Dambisa Moyo and Deborah Brautigam. Accusations of unfair business practices and poor labor conditions in Chinese managed enterprises in Africa have also been a recurrent phenomenon but the existence of such incidents does not seem to significantly affect the more positive view of Chinese investments in Africa as compared to their US or European counterparts.³⁹ Despite pressure by the US on African leaders to be wary of the dangers of Chinese investments and refrain from lucrative trade deals with Chinese firms, Sino-African trade and investment relations are poised to continue to flourish, as long as the complementarities between African natural resources and Chinese infrastructure construction create mutually beneficial growth dynamics.⁴⁰

Turkish Engagement in Africa

Against this backdrop of heightened competition on the African resource market, Turkey has emerged as one of the new players seeking to expand its diplomatic and commercial relations with various African countries. Since 2003, the Turkish government has unveiled a new interest in deepening its relations with Africa and has deployed a powerful diplo-

37 During her first visit in Africa as US Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton made a speech in Dakar, Senegal, in which she warned African leaders against the 'perils of Chinese investments, which many developmental experts say enrich China at Africa's expense'.

38 Dambisa Moyo, *Winner Take All: China's Race for Resources and What it Means for the World*, New York, Basic Books, 2012.

39 See Dambisa Moyo, "Beijing, a boon for Africa", *New York Times*, 28 June 2012. See also Deborah Brautigam, "The Chinese in Africa: The Economist Gets Some Things Right, Some Wrong", *China in Africa: The Real Story*, 2011, <http://www.chinaafricarealstory.com/2011/05/chinese-in-africa-economist-gets-some.html> (Accessed on 24 February 2013).

40 Richly endowed with natural resources, Africa has a huge unmet demand for infrastructure financing and construction, whereas China has developed one of the world's largest and most competitive construction industries, with particular expertise in the civil works critical for infrastructure development. Given the Chinese need for raw materials to fuel its growth, these complementarities play a key role in the trade between the two parties.

matic arsenal to carve a strategic niche for business exchange with this region of rising economic potential. Ankara's policies towards Africa, aimed primarily at securing profitable export and markets and investment opportunities for its small and medium sized businesses, have therefore followed a path similar to that taken by China. By using the soft power approach Turkey has managed to project an image of partnership of equals with African countries. This approach has so far been successful in expanding Turkey's own influence in Africa as evidenced by exponentially growing trade volumes. Turkey's opening to Africa is explained by some analysts as being the result of both Turkey's domestic transformation and change in the global political economy. The former acted in fostering the relations with Africa by challenging traditional Turkish partners in the economy and striving for trade diversification while the latter prompted the Turkish government to redefine its interests in a newly emerging economic system and drew the attention to the benefits of reorienting foreign policy towards Africa in a multifocal configuration.⁴¹

The main objective of this opening up to Africa was to reshape Turkey's political role and influence in its region and on the global scene. Following a first "African Action Plan" outlined back in 1998 by then Foreign Affairs minister Ismail Cem, the new AKP-led government launched the "Strategy Development of Economic Relationships with Africa" project in 2003 to boost economic relations with various African countries. Since 2005, the year that was declared "The Year of Africa" in the framework of Turkish new multi-axis foreign policy, Turkey has been spending almost as much efforts on the reinforcement of its ties with African countries as on the relations with the EU.⁴² Opening to Africa has never been considered as an attempt at compensating Turkey's uneasy relationship with the European Union. Rather, Turkish decision makers seem to have calculated that the deeper Turkey gets into the African continent, akin to Turkish engagement in Middle East, Caucasus and Central Asia, the more leverage Ankara would have vis-a-vis European capitals, and vice versa. Under this framework, the "Africa Policy" encompasses multiple dimensions, including developing new diplomatic relations and fostering cooperation in the political, economic and cultural domains.

Examining Turkey's approach to Africa it becomes clear that Turkey does not suffer from a colonial past, as well as any negativities seen in its decades-long relationship with western actors. Neither the issues of human rights and the level of democracy nor such political problems as the Cyprus dispute or the so-called 'Armenian genocide' haunt Turkey's engagement with African countries. That is to say that Turkey, unlike western actors, seems to act on a clean plate in Africa. Turkey's relations with African countries are unlikely to impact its relations with western actors either positively or negatively. Africa has never been a playing ground of Turkish foreign policy in the sense that the way how Turkey engages the continent affects its accession process with the European Union or its presence within NATO. Instead, similar to many other non-western rising powers,

41 Mehmet Özkan, "Turkey's Rising Role in Africa", *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No.4, 2010, p. 93-205.

42 Sema Kalaycioglu, "Between Mission and Business: Turkey's New Approach to Africa", *Journal of US-China Public Administration*. Vol.8, No.11, 2001, p. 1288-1297.

Turkey's engagement in Africa can easily be explained or justified in the context of the emergent dynamics of post-western global politics.

Africa has warmed up for this new partnership and welcomed Turkish initiatives to intensify business and diplomatic ties. In that "Year of Africa", Turkey gained the status of African Union (AU) observer country and was declared a "strategic partner"⁴³ during the AU summit held in Addis Ababa in 2008. In a move similar to that undertaken by the Chinese authorities, Turkey organized the first Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit in Istanbul on August 18-21, 2008, in which the heads of states and governments from most African countries took part. This summit resulted in the adoption of: "The Istanbul Declaration on Africa-Turkey Partnership: Solidarity and Partnership for a Common Future" and the "Framework of Cooperation for Africa-Turkey Partnership", two documents which set out a framework for partnership and identified the priority areas of cooperation. The number of Turkish embassies in Africa has reached to more than 30 over the last decade and the total volume of bilateral trade is now around USD 17 billion.

In tandem with the political charm offensive, the business sector has also undertaken important initiatives to stimulate contacts between Turkish and African entrepreneurs and investors. Turkish Airlines (THY) has taken the lead by expanding its route networks to include many new destinations in Sub-Saharan Africa. Private sector initiatives are led by the Turkish Federation of Businessmen and Industrialists (TUSKON) which has held "Turkey-Africa Trade Bridge" summits every year since 2005 to encourage matchmaking of businesspeople from the 54 African countries. Aid and development assistance have also been part of Turkey engagement in Africa. The Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA) and some non-governmental organization have been increasingly active across the continent.⁴⁴ As an important aspect of Turkish African relations, funding education has received a strong emphasis in key African nations. Numerous Turkish schools, funded mainly through private business associations, have been opened in various parts of the continent to sow the seeds of goodwill and educate potential future business partners who will be familiar with Turkish language and culture. Similarly, Turkish universities, both state-funded and private, have turned out to become a popular destination of African students.

It is also worthwhile to note that these tandem initiatives by both Turkish policy makers and private sector seem to work well as a result of a tacit alliance between the networks of business associations and the ruling AK Party. Turkish-African trade relations have opened growing African export markets and investment opportunities, which have already proved to generate important sources of growth for Turkish business networks called "Anatolian Tigers". These networks that are poised to benefit most from the opening up to Africa are also known to be part of a strong political support base for the ruling party.

43 See <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-afrika-iliskileri.tr.mfa>.

44 Güner Özkan and Mustafa Turgut Demirtepe, "Transformation of a development aid agency: TIKA in a changing domestic and international setting", *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 4, 2012, p. 647-664.

Implications of Turkish Engagement for the East-West Rivalry

Turkey's engagement in Africa has followed an independent path, so far unconstrained by its Western NATO alliance membership. Turkey's relations with Africa are primarily driven by the pragmatic recognition of its own interest and its new status as a political player with global reach. Although diplomatic pressure can be expected to eventually try to pull Turkey into the Western approach to the relations with Africa, Turkey has a number of distinctive characteristics that would render such a move detrimental to its own interests.

The first point to underline in the context of Turkey's engagement with Africa is that compared to other global actors, Turkey does not suffer from a colonial past. Being the inheritor of the Ottoman Empire, which ruled much of the northern Africa for ages, Turkey also benefit from its Muslim identity. That Turkey gained its territorial independence against the same colonial powers also strikes a sympathetic chord with the African people. Turkish diplomatic approach towards Africa seems to pay a great amount of attention to the fact that its engagement with the continent should be equally owned by the African counterparts and Turkey's policies should not be seen as colonialist. Turkey has therefore a comparative advantage in building sound trade relations with Africa without resorting to military power as in the approach taken by France and the US.

Secondly, Turkey's entry to Africa is a 21st century phenomenon. During the Cold War years, Africa did not appear on Turkey's radar screens. Turkey has therefore limited experience in Africa's political dynamics in comparison to France and the US. The more assertive approach towards Africa is intimately linked to AKP government foreign policy vision of a diplomacy based on "equal partnership" attitude in a global order undergoing significant mutations. The emergence of new global players, of which Turkey is a prime example, brings with it more options to choose from, and lowers the potential of pressure to support the policy of the status quo.

Thirdly, as a medium-sized actor in international politics, Turkey's African opening is a well-orchestrated attempt at globalizing Turkey's international outlook with all the responsibilities such a role conceptualization would bring with itself. Turkish leaders see their engagement with Africa as part of Turkey's historical and moral responsibility to help Africans get out of their current unfavorable situation of underdevelopment, corruption, hunger, drought, famine and mal-governance. Turkish activism in Somalia is a case in point. It is mainly through the agency of Turkish rulers that the dire humanitarian conditions in Somalia have recently come to the global agenda. Turkish diplomats incessantly underline this role and support for the growing militarization would be greatly at odds with the policy objectives and the image the country has of itself.

Given the many similarities between the Turkish approach and the Chinese engagement in Africa, increasing trade relations with Africa under the current vision can be seen as a reinforcement of the Chinese position. In terms of trade and investment flows, however, Turkish engagement in Africa is still heavily dwarfed by China and even India and Korea. Cumulative amount of Turkish investments made in various parts of Africa

since 2003 was 16 billion at the end of 2008.⁴⁵ Comparable numbers for Chinese investments are estimated at more than USD 50 billion and they are expected to grow very rapidly according to Standard Bank's estimates.

Conclusion

Africa's sizeable reserves of strategically important resources have been one of the primary factors in its relations with the rest of the world. During the colonial period, European colonial powers exploited oil and precious minerals freely for their own economic benefits but with the dawn of independence in the Cold-War context, African oil and minerals that were crucial for the defense industry became the object of a strategic rivalry between the incumbent colonial powers and the Soviet Union. Even after nominal independence was granted to African countries, secret agreements in the Western alliance allowed France to keep an influential position beyond its former colonies and to enjoy a preferential access to those key resources. After the end of the Cold War, the security considerations that had given France a quasi-monopoly position over African resources disappeared and Africa became the object of geostrategic rivalry between France and the US, whereby the latter significantly increased its ties to resource-rich countries, often at the expense of its incumbent rival.

With the rise of China and other emerging powers, the rivalry seems to have shifted again, with France and other European powers willing to cooperate with the US in order to face what they see as a common threat from the growing Chinese influence on the African resource market. Ongoing discoveries of new oil reserves in various part of Africa and the arrival of new emerging players challenging the Western hegemony have propelled the US to step up the continent's militarization. Clashes with its Asian competitors can only be expected to increase in the future. Being the main challenger of the Western hegemony on the African resource market, China has now become the principal target of the new rivalry. The US has reinforced its military presence on the continent and urged African leaders to be wary of Chinese investments, warning them in hardly veiled terms against the dangers of doing business with China. According to William Engdahl, AFRICOM's military operations as directed to promote a stable and secure African environment in support of US foreign policy, today, are clearly aimed squarely at blocking China's growing economic presence in the region⁴⁶. As a result, *many analysts expect that African countries rich in oil and minerals will increasingly become a theatre for strategic competition between the United States and China, as both countries seek to expand their influence and secure access to resources.*

45 Kalaycioglu, "Between Mission and Business: Turkey's New Approach to Africa", p.1288-1297.

46 William Engdahl, "China and the Congo Wars: AFRICOM. America's New Military Command" *Centre for Research on Globalization*, 2008, <http://www.globalresearch.ca/china-and-the-congo-wars-africom-america-s-new-military-command/11173> (Accessed on 15 February 2013).

Turkish involvement in Africa is a new phenomenon, but it has largely followed an approach similar to that taken by China with a growing success. In the face of the recent escalation of African militarization against the backdrop of US-China rivalry, Turkey's engagement in Africa has the potency to influence the balance of power outcome. Given the mounting pressure from the US on most allies to deflect the momentum of Chinese rising power, Turkey may be pushed in a dilemma position with strategic option leading to contradictory implications for its strive for more Westernization and its direct business interests in Africa. Based on its own capacity and political and economic objectives, Turkey's success in its dealings with Africa depends heavily on the prosperity of African economies, which forms the main engine of the demand for Turkish export products. For Africa to prosper however, a flourishing trade with China is more indispensable than a growing militarisation. In determining its choices as a global swing state, Turkey may thus come to realise that rather than being an undesirable competition, a booming trade between Africa and China may hold the key to Turkey's own successes in its African engagement.

Bibliography

- “African Oil: A Priority for US National Security and African Development”, *Institute of Advanced Strategic & Political Studies*, Seminar Report, 25 January 2002, Washington, D.C.
- Bacik, Gökhan and Isa Afacan. “Turkey Discovers Sub-Saharan Africa: The Critical Role of Agents in the Construction of Turkish-Foreign Policy Discourse”, *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 2013, pp. 483-502.
- Benquet, Patrick. “Françafrique: Raison d’Etat”, Documentary film broadcast on French National Channel France2, 20 July 2012, <http://vimeo.com/3353051>.
- Bowie, Nile. “AFRICOM Report: Combating China’s Economic Encroachment”, NSNBC, 16 August 2012, <http://nsnbc.wordpress.com/2012/08/16/africom-report-combating-chinas-economic-encroachment-related-press-release/> (Accessed on 13 December 2013).
- Brautigam, Deborah. “The Chinese in Africa: The Economist Gets Some Things Right, Some Wrong”, *China in Africa: The Real Story*, 2011, <http://www.chinaafricarealstory.com/2011/05/chinese-in-africa-economist-gets-some.html> (Accessed on 24 February 2013).
- Engdahl, William “China and the Congo Wars: AFRICOM. America’s New Military Command” *Centre for Research on Globalization*, 2008, <http://www.globalresearch.ca/china-and-the-congo-wars-africom-america-s-new-military-command/11173> (Accessed on 15 February 2013).
- Fontaine, Richard and Daniel M. Kliman, “International Order and Global Swing States”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 2013, pp. 93-109, 101-2.
- Kalaycioglu, Sema. “Between Mission and Business: Turkey’s New Approach to Africa”, *Journal of US-China Public Administration*, Vol.8, No11, 2001, pp. 1288-1297.
- Kardas, Saban. *Turkey’s Development Assistance Policy: How to make sense of the new guy on the block*, German Marshall Fund, Policy Brief, 4 February 2013.
- Klare Michael and Daniel Volman. “America, China and the Scramble for Africa’s Oil”, *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 33, No. 108, 2006, pp. 297-309.
- Kliman, Daniel and Richard Fontaine. *Turkey: A Global Swing State*, German Marshall Fund, Policy Brief, 13 April 2012.
- Maren, Michael. *The Road to Hell: The Ravaging Effects of Foreign Aid and International Charity*, New York, The Free Press, 2002.
- Mayer, Michael. “What is ‘geopolitics’? In search of conceptual clarity”, *Geopolitics in the High North*, 2013, http://www.geopoliticsnorth.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=45:article2&showall=1 (Accessed on 10 March 2014).
- Meyer, Karl and Shareen Brysac, *Tournament of Shadows: The Great Game and the Race for Empire in Central Asia*, Basic Books, 2006.
- Moyo, Dambisa. *Winner Take All: China’s Race for Resources and What it Means for the World*, New York, Basic Books, 2012.
- Moyo, Dambisa. “Beijing, a boon for Africa”, *New York Times*, 28 June 2012.
- Moyo, Dambisa. *Dead Aid: Why Aid Is Not Working and How There Is a better Way for Africa*, New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009.

- Özkan, Güner and Mustafa Turgut Demirtepe. "Transformation of a development aid agency: TİKA in a changing domestic and international setting", *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 4, 2012, pp. 647-664.
- Özkan, Mehmet. "Turkey's Rising Role in Africa", *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No 4, 2010, pp. 93-205.
- "Oil for Nothing: Multinational Corporations, Environmental Destruction, Death and Impunity in the Niger Delta", *EAGE Report*, 25 January 2000, <http://www.essentialaction.org/shell/report/> (Accessed on 10 March 2014).
- Petry, Drew. "Using AFRICOM to Counter China's Aggressive African Policies" *Airman Scholar*, Fall 2011.
- Reid, Richard. "Horror, Hubris and Humanity: The International Engagement with Africa, 1914-2014", *International Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 1, 2014, pp. 143-165.
- Robert, Maurice. *Le Ministre de l'Afrique: Mémoires d'un homme de l'ombre*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 2004.
- Snow, Keith Harmon. "US Agents of Covert Wars in Africa", Conscious Being Alliance, 2012 <http://www.consciousbeingalliance.com/2012/08/us-agents-of-covert-war-in-africa/> (Accessed on 15 February 2013).
- Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri, MFA Website, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-afrika-iliskileri.tr.mfa>.