

Global South and Emerging Powers

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Chapter 7

Turkey's Political and Economic Relations with Sub-Saharan Africa

After completing this chapter, you will be able to;

Learning Outcomes

1 Explain the historical background of the African continent and features of sub-Saharan Africa's relations with the European powers; assess pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial history

2 Evaluate the social structure, demography, economic conditions, life standards and main trends of the region

3 Discuss the contemporary political system of government, regime type, economic capability and benchmarks of sub-Saharan African countries based on solid figures

4 Demonstrate your knowledge of Turkey's foreign policy towards Africa with a focus of humanitarian aids, cultural assistance and economic support

Chapter Outline

- Introduction
- History of the Sub-Saharan Africa
- Political View of Sub-Saharan Africa
- Society in Sub-Saharan Africa
- Africa in the Global Arena: International Politics
- Turkey's Diplomatic and Economic Connections with Sub-Saharan African Countries

Key Terms

- African Union
- Slavery
- Colonialism
- Poverty
- Ethnic Conflict
- Humanitarian Aid
- Apartheid Regime
- Peacekeeping Force
- Natural Sources
- Authoritarianism
- Inequality
- Fast-growing population
- Refugee
- High Fertility



INTRODUCTION

Geographically, the term sub-Saharan Africa refers to the region of the African continent that lies south of the Sahara Desert with an area of 9,200,000 square kilometers. According to the United Nations, sub-Saharan Africa comprises all African countries and territories that are fully or partially at the south of the Sahara Desert. Like the sea or the Himalayas, the vast Sahara acts like a natural border. The region has a bitter historical background as Africans were enslaved by the Europeans since the 16th century, which eventually evolved into colonialism with the “Scramble of Africa” occurring roughly between 1870-1914. Following the World War II, the independence movements yielded solid results with the new sub-Saharan African countries joining the United Nations as sovereign states. Although the region faces serious challenges including poverty, civil conflicts, global warming, authoritarianism and oppressive regimes, there are encouraging aspects too. In the coming years, sub-Saharan Africa will

be more crowded because of its rapidly growing young population and is likely to become more urban, mobile, connected to the world, educated and internationally networked. Estimated rates of population growth for sub-Saharan Africa are high when compared globally, and would present both opportunities and challenges. Gender inequality issues and high fertility levels are key issues in the region and the dramatic rise in population is accompanied by scarcity in food and water, inadequate health services, education and infrastructure. As seen from the current trends, these conditions are likely to give rise to a flux of migration to the coastal countries where the standard of living is relatively better. All in all, a young, modern and educated population are likely to drive the political and economic dynamism, however the difficulties of the region such as corruption, high inflation rates, ongoing ethnic conflicts, high unemployment rates, and relatively poor governance population is likely to create domestic turmoil.

Countries in the Region		
Angola	Gabon	Nigeria
Benin	Gambia	Rwanda
Botswana	Ghana	Sao Tome and Principe
Burkina Faso	Guinea	Senegal
Burundi	Guinea-Bissau	Seychelles
Cameroon	Kenya	Sierra Leone
Cape Verde	Lesotho	South Africa
Central African Republic	Liberia	South Sudan
Chad	Madagascar	Swaziland
Comoros	Malawi	Tanzania
DRC	Mali	Togo
Republic of Congo	Mauritania	Uganda
Cote d'Ivoire	Mauritius	Zambia
Equatorial Guinea	Mozambique	Zimbabwe
Eritrea	Namibia	
Ethiopia	Niger	

Turkey's declaration of the year 2005 as the “Year of Africa” was an important benchmark in Turkish-African relations as it signified Turkey's re-engagement policy towards the African continent. By Turkey's effort and policies on the region since 2005, strong connections have been established within a solid framework, which produced tangible results in a very short timeframe such as enhancement in trade volume and increasing number of diplomatic missions on duty at both sides. The high-level meetings and summits targeting specific accomplishments played an important role. The first Turkey-Africa Summit organized in 2008 in Istanbul led to the convening of a second summit in 2014 in Malabo, Equatorial

Guinea. Based on statistics from Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK), commercial relations between the two have improved considerably from 2005 to the present day. Turkey's assistance in developmental issues shows an increase parallel to its growing interest in the region. Ankara consolidated its diplomatic representation in the Continent by launching 28 new embassies in sub-Saharan Africa, which increased the number of diplomatic representations to 42 in the African Horn. Furthermore, President Erdoğan's increasing number of visits to the Continent paved the way for cordial relations and deepened bilateral connection with the help of Ankara's humanitarian, educational and developmental assistance.



HISTORY OF THE SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

For many centuries, wealthy empires that had solid accomplishments in architecture, mathematics and metalworking dominated the southern region of African continent. This region, referred to as sub-Saharan Africa, was controlled by wealthy empires such as the Aksumite Kingdom (today's Ethiopia and Sudan) and the Ghana, Mali empires in West Africa. In the late 15th century, the Western world entered Africa's territory, beginning with the Portuguese. The Europeans initially focused on natural sources such as gold, rubber and copper. Besides the natural sources, the African people were an important means of supplying the work force needed in the European slave trade. The enslaved Africans were either obliged to migrate to the Caribbean and the Americas or they were executed. For many centuries, slavery was



widespread across the world, including in sub-Saharan Africa. The slave trade continued until the beginning of the 19th century, although it lasted for many more decades in the United States. Through the enslavement of Africans, the Europeans caused the death of at least 20 million Africans between the 16th and 19th centuries. From 1870 onwards, slavery was subsequently replaced by colonialism – a new concept for Europeans. That period lasted until 1914, and is usually called “the scramble of Africa,” which is marked by invasion, occupation, division and colonization of African lands by European states. As of 1914, European countries took charge of approximately 90 % of the African Horn by coercive means and engaged in violence against the local masses. In the 20th century, sub-Saharan Africa witnessed a series of independence and liberation movements that were in some cases characterized by intense conflicts with bloody struggles, and by smooth transitions in a few others. However almost all African countries experienced tough struggles against the European colonialists.

The focus of European interest on Africa is highly related to the Industrial Revolution, which was at its peak in the 19th century. In this period the need for Africa’s natural sources and commodities became apparent from European perspective. In the late 19th century, delegations from 14 countries gathered in Berlin in 1855 to reach a consensus on how to share the resources of Africa. The aim of the Berlin Conference was to prevent overlapping the interests of the European powers in Africa. They discussed various matters ranging from trade rights to control over the rivers in the Continent. Ironically, there was no representation from Africa in the Berlin Conference. The Europeans took action to benefit from the conflicts between the kingdoms of Africa and maintained an advantage by provoking the contradictions. Their gun power their gun power was the most effective instrument in gaining control. As of 1914, European elements were controlling approximately 90 % of the African continent.

The colonial period caused chaos in Africa by all means. The territorial borders, politics, regime types, religions, culture, language all underwent a radical transformation that would have long-term impacts in sub-Saharan Africa. The Europeans shared similar motivations for entering the African continent such as extracting and exploiting

raw materials, finding new markets, spreading Christianity. However, there were nuances in the approach to colonialism by European states. Some countries sent representatives to the region to take control and run the colonial governments whereas others delegated local administrators that are loyal to them to exercise power. In some cases, extreme violence occurred, as in the case of the Congo, where the Belgian King, Leopold II, gave the order to execute 10 million Africans in minimum. A common characteristic of the colonial powers was the implementation of the divide-rule policy. This is a strategy that aimed at exploiting the existing contradictions and rivalries to gain control in the region. The effects of this policy are still lasting in modern Africa as evidenced by the internal struggles, domestic turmoil and civil wars. On the other hand, Europeans faced resistance in some cases in their colonizing processes. For instance, Menelik II, the emperor of Ethiopia fought against Italian occupants and their Eritrean partners in 1896. Menelik’s successor Haile Selassie continued the struggle against the Italians by establishing a sound empire with its own armed forces. This military success brought independence to Ethiopia, which served as a strong model for other successful liberation and resistance movements in Africa in the following decades.

World War II, which took place between 1939 and 1945, transformed the status quo in European continent and their relations with their colonies. During the war, a sizable number of Africans fought with the Allies (Britain-France-Soviet Union block), and were promised to be given their independence in return. Following the war these promises materialized and anti-colonialist movements were mobilized throughout the region. Even though Britain and France completed the war as victorious powers they were considerably weak militarily and economically due to the struggle against German armies. Following the war in 1945, the United Nations was established, which fostered basic human rights and principles, self-determination principle, encouraging countries to decide their types of government on their own. These nascent ideas were supported by nationalistic tendencies and engendered anger against colonialism. As a result, the liberation movement all around sub-Saharan Africa was triggered successfully. In the year of 1960, 17 African states

gained independence and became members of the United Nations.

Pan-Africanism is a 200 years old movement of Africans living in and outside of their continent of origin. This ideology unites Africans to share a joint past and prospects for the future regardless of their geographical residence. During the course of colonization period, a group of Black intellectuals in the United States, the Caribbean, Europe and Africa promoted the need for solidarity and unity. This ideology was premised on the idea that Africans could free themselves by supporting each other globally. The various features of Pan-Africanism in religious, cultural and political realms led to the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. In the establishment process, 32 free African states joined the African Union and they all reached consensus to remove colonialism from African continent and foster international collaboration among Africans. At present, the organization continues to function and carry out its activities under the name of African Union, a Pan-African organization in real terms where each African state is a member.

The wave of independence in the Continent led to new attempts in the quest for a self-sufficient Africa. Burkina Faso's Thomas Sankara, Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta and Tanzania's Julius Nyerere led a solid effort for a self-sufficient Africa in the Organization for African Unity and in their own countries. Ghana's inspiring leader Kwame Nkrumah promoted a hard interpretation of Pan-African movement aimed at forming a United States of Africa. These quests coincided with the Cold War's highly tense periods. During the Cold War that lasted from 1946 to 1991, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union were tense, and the tension was felt all over the world including Africa. In this respect both the United States and the Soviet Union tried to increase their impacts on the Continent. Providing military and economic assistance to African states was a primary tool for both superpowers at the time. In some cases, the two superpowers were engaged with African politics. They sometimes backed the military interventions and sometimes engaged in proxy wars in newly liberal African states. The motivation behind these interventions was to win the faith of the African states and ensure that faithful governments remained in power.

Most of sub-Saharan Africa's territorial borders were established during the colonial period without any consideration for the demographic structure of the territories. Following World War II, as countries declared their independence, various conflicts occurred within these countries. Ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural division became apparent as well as struggles for territorial control. In 1964, most of the African countries reached a consensus on keeping the borders from colonial times. This was a common attempt to foster stability in Africa. However, these attempts did not give rise to a tangible result. In 1967, three years after the consensus a deadly civil war started in Nigeria. An ethnic minority group aimed to secede from Nigeria and establish a new country called the Republic of Biafra. The bloody struggle lasted 2.5 years and ended up with the Biafran elements surrendering their arms. However, Nigeria is still suffering from internal turmoil. There are successful cases in secessionist movements in other countries. In Ethiopia, separatist elements fought a 30-year war against central authority and gained independence under the name of Eritrea in 1993. In a similar way, South Sudan's division is yet another successful example. In 2011 a popular referendum led to the establishment of South Sudan, however, the peaceful atmosphere did not last long and in 2013 a civil war erupted once again. The newly founded nations and the struggles within and between the countries all indicate that the map of sub-Saharan Africa is still controversial.

In 1948, an ethnic group called the Afrikaners came to power in South Africa. This group were the descendants of Dutch settlers who arrived at South Africa's Cape Peninsula in the 17th and 18th centuries. Their rise to power was based on the concept of apartheid, which means apartness in the Afrikaans language. The apartheid regime held that every single person in the country belonged to an ethnic group. On the basis of discriminatory principles, Black South Africans were neither capable of voting nor moving freely in their territory. They had no right to choose where to reside, or even where to work. Movements against the apartheid regime came to surface in the 1970s, both in South Africa and internationally. In the late 1980s, apart from the sanctions that were imposed internationally, domestic demonstrations in South Africa became apparent. Nelson Mandela, who had been imprisoned for 27 years, personified the

resistance to the apartheid regime. Nelson Mandela led South Africa to democratic governance and became the first President in 1994.

With respect to the Continent's political history, the Rwandan Genocide that occurred in 1994 represents an important benchmark for the Continent's political history. In 1994, in only 100 days, ethnic Hutu radicals systematically killed almost one million Tutsis and 100,000 Hutus. The Hutus account for almost 85% of Rwandans, while the Tutsis are one of the country's minority groups. The French government, which at the time was an ally of the Hutu government, sent its armed forces to evacuate French citizens and established a safe zone in the country for its citizens. For that reason, France is often blamed for failing to prevent the genocide. However, the violence dates to the colonial period when the Germans and Belgians divided the country. Also, the persistent inequality

among Hutus and Tutsis contributed the conflict and eventual genocide. Following the genocide, international sensitivity to the issue became apparent. United Nations member states promoted the responsibility to protect (R2P) doctrine, which advocates that countries protect their people from violent attacks such as genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and similar criminal acts against humanity. According to R2P, where a country is incapable of safeguarding its citizens, then other countries should assume responsibility and act accordingly.



your turn 1

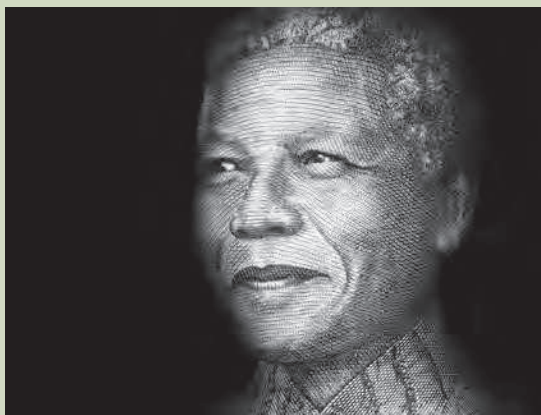
Discuss the historical background of sub-Saharan Africa as a region. What are the historical benchmarks of the region?



Further Reading

Nelson Mandela (1918-2013)

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, who died in 2013, was an influential figure for South Africa and also for the world. When he died, Mandela was 95 years old of which 27 were spent in the Robben Island Prison located near Cape Town. His primary school teacher in Qunu, who gave every student an English name at the time, gave him the name "Nelson." Mandela engaged in a serious struggle against the apartheid regime before and during his time in prison, and continued his resistance following his release from Robben Island. His remarks in his address on 10 May 1994 carry importance and the ideas are portrayed in his well-known quotation: "Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another." For the first time in history, democratic elections were organized in South Africa between 26 and 28 April 1994. The South African people were shocked as, traditionally, they were not allowed to participate in elections of any kind. Mandela was a



prominent democratic leader who used his leadership and impact to fight the remaining discrimination and promote respect for all people. The speech in Cape Town on his release from prison on 11 February 1990, speaks volumes about his ideas: "I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons will live together in harmony, with equal opportunities. It is an ideal, which I hope to live for, and to see realized. But my Lord, if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die." Mandela

was elected the first president of the country and during his term, the search for and negotiations on a new constitution occurred. The reorganization and structural reform of the civil service and the reformulation of priorities following the apartheid regime are prominent features of his time in office. In addition, the formation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to compensate for the wrong doings of the apartheid regime was a significant initiative. On Thursday, 5 December 2013, South Africa and the world received the shocking news of the passing of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, the iconic freedom fighter and founding father of the democratic Republic of South Africa. The United Nations declared an international day in his honor on his birthday on 18 July 2013.

POLITICAL VIEW OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Sub-Saharan countries face important challenges that cause unrest in their political spheres. Inequality in the distribution of social wealth, the widening gap between the rich and the poor, corruption, the abuse of power by public officials, the misuse of natural sources, high levels of youth unemployment, and the effects of the global economic crisis are apparent. Sub-Saharan countries are suffering the consequences of socioeconomic problems. When compared to countries in North Africa, sub-Saharan countries have higher rates of unemployment, poverty, and inflation. Cumulatively, displeasure and hardness of life can easily turn into political anger in these countries. Instabilities and tensions have led to civil wars, as seen in the examples of Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia. The civil war in Somalia has been ongoing for the past 20 years. Guinea-Bissau, a country located in West Africa, has a population of 2 million that comprises several ethnicities. For the most part, the country depends on its primary export products of which 93% derives from the export of cashew nuts. Guinea-Bissau, which experienced civil war from 1998 to 1999 and a coup d'état in 2012, is still facing difficulties arising from weak state institutions, corruption and illegal drug trafficking. In 2008, the United Nations Security Council officially exhorted the Guinea-Bissau's administration to halt drug trafficking and strengthen its international and regional cooperation to fight the narcotics trade and organized crime plaguing the country. The election crisis in Ivory Coast is another destabilizing element in the region. The incumbent president, Laurent Gbagbo, was accused of stealing the election held in 2010. The opposition leader, Alasanne Quattara, who was declared the winner of the election by international organizations, intervened with his armed forces and arrested Gbagbo, who was sent to the International Criminal Court. This incident has provoked civil war in the Ivory Coast. As a result of the South Sudan referendum which led to its separation from the Republic of Sudan, several problems have emerged such as border conflicts, and issues pertaining to national ownership and oil income sharing. In Ethiopia where there is an authoritarian administration in power, censorship of the press became apparent and several civilian casualties occurred during the 2005 election. With regards to political systems, the figures



are not reassuring. Only four out of 54 African states are considered "free" according to the 2019 Freedom House Report, namely South Africa, Botswana, Namibia, Ghana. When it comes to Internet freedom, the result indicates that only the people in South Africa have full freedom to access to the Internet, while Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Kenya, Uganda, Angola, Nigeria, the Gambia, Libya and Morocco have partial freedom to access the Internet.

It is important to bear in mind that only a limited number of countries are regarded as democracies in the region. In terms of democracy, from a contemporary perspective, the only sub-Saharan African countries which demonstrate considerable progress are Angola and Ethiopia, which used to be closed societies led by autocratic leaders. The elected President of Angola, João Lourenço, and elected Prime Minister, Ahmed Abiy, are both from the dominant political movements in their countries. They both promised to foster structural reforms and took over closed and rigid bureaucratic structures likely to resist the reform agenda of the newly elected leaders. The attempts of these leaders' to overcome the domestic tensions and accomplish their schedule smoothly, apart from their own countries, contribute to the democratic framework of the entire continent. The Gambia is also worthy of mention. As a democracy, it has been under development for 2 years. Yahya Jammeh, its long-term oppressive, authoritarian president, was defeated by Adama Barrow in the 2016 elections. Barrow's vision was aimed at ending human rights violations and cancelling the process of withdrawing the Gambia from the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. Barrow's political agenda was affirmed by the results of the 2018 legislative elections, where seven parties and several independent candidates won seats. Barrow also made inroads into the National Intelligence Agency, which had been used for the political ends of Yahya Jammeh for years. The fostering of rule of law and order has been widely attracting the attention of the Gambia's public. However, these are just a few exceptions among many others. Many African countries are still far from being free countries and are unable and incapable to deliver basic freedoms and to protect human rights. Politically, Zimbabwe reverted to its pre-coup status quo by means of the ZANU-PF, who won highly questionable elections following the toppling of the incumbent president Robert Mugabe in 2017. Despite the promises of President Emmerson Mnangagwa on respecting political freedom and securing the benefits of the Zimbabwean public, his government's actions indicate the opposite. It is likely that political freedoms and basic rights would not be promoted but limited by the state apparatus. In parallel to the political tendencies in Zimbabwe, in Tanzania, the space for political opposition is

dwindling as time passes, as opposition figures are arrested, anti-government demonstrations are suppressed, and legislation passed to consolidate the incumbent party's power. In Uganda, long-time president Yoweri Museveni's government has been seeking to close the space for the opposition by implementing new integrated surveillance systems and enforcing a regressive tax on the use of social media. Senegal, which is known to be one of the fair examples of democracy in West Africa, is under the risk of implementing new regulatory barriers that would block the opposition from competing in the upcoming elections. Haphazard and irregular detention, the arrest and prosecution of a potential opposition figure have aroused suspicion concerning the freedom of the judiciary and the government's vision of the rule of law. Besides, there is a tendency in the authoritarian leaders of the continent to stick to the post. For example, Cameroon's President, Paul Biya, has been in power for 37 years, and following another highly questionable election, was elected for his 7th term, while Uganda's Museveni, having achieved 33 years in post, accomplished a revision in the constitution that permits him a 6th term in office in 2021. In Togo—one of two countries in West Africa where there is no term limit for the presidency—President Faure Gnassingbé, whose family has been ruling the country since 1967, defied popular pressure to impose such a limit.



Africa's foreign relations have been slow-moving and uniform in the past decades due to the lack of foreign policy objectives and goals as well as the necessary tools for implementation. In addition, Africa's foreign partners were few. Following the World War II, when African states obtained their independence, the international system was truly

polarized by the Western and Eastern blocs. Having experienced colonization and exploitation, African states were trying hard to pursue their own political and economic gains, and not revert to a similar situation. The mandatory choice between the East and West had a considerable impact on African foreign policy. Although it attracted a considerable amount of economic aid, Africa was not able to overcome poverty, unemployment, political turmoil and underdevelopment. Considering the hardships African states faced, it had limited power to determine its foreign policy objectives. Following the Cold War and the dismantling of the Soviet Union, new potential figures came to the fore that could establish partnership relations with Africa. Turkey, which had been following a multidimensional foreign policy especially in the new millennium, sought to be one of the primary partners. Ankara sought to solidify and to deepen its relations with Africa. To be more concrete and precise, Turkey specified sectors of focus for its relations with Africa. These included assisting the agricultural sector, fostering rural economic development, developing rural development projects, implementing a water management policy, supporting small-scale enterprises, transportation, and partnering in the security and medical sectors. Accordingly, the Turkey-Africa 1st Agriculture Ministers Meeting and Agribusiness Forum was convened in 27-28 April 2017 in Antalya which was attended primarily by agricultural ministers from 54 African states.

Agriculture, the mainstay of Africa's financial system, was intended to lift the standard of living and wealth of the African society. African lands are quite fertile, and account for one fourth of the world's arable lands. In addition, Africa has adequate water sources for increasing agricultural crops. The Agriculture Ministers' Forum also fostered comprehensive financial relations with African countries with a focus of agriculture. At this forum, Turkey's total trading volume with Africa increased from USD 5 billion in 2005 to 18 billion in 2016. Within the context of agriculture, the trading volume between Turkey and Africa rose from USD 418 million to 2.5 billion. This wide range of economic activity—reliant on agricultural and non-agricultural goods—symbolized Turkey's approach to trading with Africa. The forum highlighted Turkey's strategic partnership with

Africa through the choice of "Turkey-Africa Partnership on Rural Development for Achieving Food Security" as the primary theme of the forum. Besides other factors, Turkey aimed to assist the region in its struggle against drought and famine in East Africa. Turkey's assistance with the drought in Ethiopia was warmly welcomed by the society and in diplomatic circles. Via its governmental and civil society organizations, Ankara put much effort into confronting Ethiopia's problem. In the abovementioned forum, financing for agricultural activities in Africa was also covered, with special emphasis on irrigation systems, trade and investment in agricultural trade, and youth employment. The theme and emphasis demonstrated that Turkey's foreign policy focuses on comprehensive diplomatic relations on an equal basis rather than the assumption that the continent as a whole needed financial and social assistance. In Turkey's efforts, one of the biggest challenges would be ensuring that aid would be distributed fairly among the needy masses. At this point, the importance of civil society and non-state actors are vital, and their efforts and operations with their counterparts are useful in most cases in direct planning and quick solutions.

If we examine the political leadership of the sub-Saharan countries, we observe quiet, long periods and a resistance to relinquish power. Analytical research on the leadership of 16 sub-Saharan countries indicate that the leader or ruling families in these countries have a median of more than 40 years. The longest rule is 90 years, served by the King of Swaziland, and the shortest is the 22 years of rule by the President of Gambia. In four countries—Togo, Gabon, Swaziland and Djibouti—the reign was conferred by hereditary succession, while seven leaders came to power via military coup. With the death of the Zimbabwean President, Robert Mugabe, at the age of 93, there are four remaining leaders over the age of 60. The youngest president, Faure Gnassingbe, rules Togo and took over the reign from his family. Angola's President, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, is the second longest ruling head of state after Equatorial Guinea's President Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo. These details are a clear indication that sub-Saharan countries are far from having a democratic understanding of political system.



your turn 2

Considering the discussion on political regimes in the chapter, explain the main trends in sub-Saharan African politics.

SOCIETY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Over one billion people reside in 49 sub-Saharan countries. There is a great diversity in the population. In Cameroon alone, Muslims, Christians and followers of other religions speak over 200 languages and belong to almost 250 ethnic groups. On the other hand, sub-Saharan Africa occupies first place in terms of its young and fast-growing population. These figures signify huge



economic potential despite the many difficulties. The governments and administrations in these countries need to provide wealth for their growing populations. Migration is a critical problem for the region with the added pressure of conflicts and environmental conditions. The countries in the region lag behind others in the world and in other regions in Africa in terms of health and education, particularly for women and girls. Sub-Saharan Africa is among the most crowded regions in the world. The distinctive characteristic of the region is its fast-growing population. In the years between 1950 and 2010, the population in sub-Saharan Africa increased from 186 million to 856 million, with 43% of the population under 14 years old. If this trend continues, in the near future, after a couple of decades one of every four people would be African. Considering these demographic changes, the region would face difficulties as well as new opportunities.

As of 2035, sub-Saharan Africa would occupy first place in terms of active working-age population, that is between 15 – 64 years of age. Dramatically sub-Saharan African countries dominated the statistics on the top 10 fastest growing immigrant populations (i.e., those who leave their home countries to reside in another place). South Sudan is second after Syria where a bloody civil war is lasting since 2011. The Central African Republic occupies third place, followed by Sao Tome and Principe, Eritrea, Namibia, Rwanda, Botswana, Sudan and Burundi. However, the majority of the population does not leave the region entirely. They only move to neighboring countries. The reasons for the immigrant moves are various. A sizable number of Africans were forced to leave their countries due to bloody conflicts like the current civil war in South Sudan. There is a considerable number of people who had to leave their home due to economic reasons in search for better living conditions. The flow usually happens towards the coastal countries that have better standards. Sub-Saharan Africa is facing a serious refugee problem. By 2017, seven of the top 10 countries were from sub-Saharan Africa. As in the case of immigrants, most refugees remain in the same region, but neighboring countries. For instance, almost 90 % of South Sudan's refugees, totaling 2.5 million by May 2018, moved to three African countries namely Uganda, Sudan and Ethiopia. However, the host countries often lack the capacity to welcome the refugee groups due to scarce resources. Therefore, millions of refugees or displaced people face hunger, illness, sexual assault and other threats. In many cases the most vulnerable group — women and children — is victimized. By the end of 2017, South Sudan produced 2,439,848 refugees. Uganda hosted 1,037,412, Ethiopia hosted 421,373, and Sudan hosted 772,715 refugees from South Sudan. By the end of 2017, Somalia had again produced 986,382 refugees and 281,692 Somalian refugees moved to Kenya. In Yemen, 255,894 Somalian refugees were present, whereas Ethiopia hosted 253,779 refugees from Somalia. Sudan produced 691,430 refugees by the end of 2017 of which 43,892 moved to Ethiopia, 324,327 arrived in Chad, 261,983 to South Sudan, and 43,892 to Ethiopia. In addition to the refugees generated through economic reasons, in the last period, a sizable number of climate refugees had to leave their countries because of natural disasters, droughts and other calamities. The main reason is the global warming that is rapidly accelerating. The

World Bank's forecast assumes that as of 2050 there will be 85 million climate refugees in sub-Saharan Africa. For instance, almost 25 million people in four African states benefit from Lake Chad, however, in the last 60 years the Lake dried up by 90% causing a sizable number of people to leave their homes. As with other cases, the poor groups are more affected by such natural incidents. If we examine relations between Africa and the European Union (EU) countries, we see that Africans are seeking asylum in Europe. Various motivations led Africans to find a new life in Europe, including escaping from violent struggles, and seeking better living conditions. Many African migrants, mostly from Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal and Somalia aim to move to EU countries other than Switzerland and Norway. Between 2015 and 2018 almost 1 million sub-Saharan Africans applied for asylum in Europe. The flow of refugees had consequences for the culture and politics in the host countries, which led the EU to make budgetary allocations (USD 1.9 billion for 2017) to address the reasons for the refugee flow.

Based on population size, the sub-Saharan region is home to two of the biggest cities on the planet. These cities are Lagos in Nigeria and Kinshasa in the Democratic Republic of Congo. There tends to



be a flow of people from rural areas to the city centers. This flow resulted in wealth and prosperity to some extent. The people, leaving their homes in rural regions, started to work in the cities for higher wages. However, there were not enough jobs for all the people coming to the cities which led crowded cities to emerge with difficult living conditions. Nevertheless, as of 2030, half of the entire sub-Saharan African population is forecasted to live in cities.

Today there are 7000 languages used all over the world. Almost 2000 of these languages are spoken in sub-Saharan

Africa, which is characterized by great diversity. For instance, in South Africa alone, 11 languages are used officially and 34 languages are spoken in total, including the unofficial ones. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, the number of languages is 214. Likewise, there are 87 in the Ivory Coast, 81 in Ghana, 47 in Angola, 46 in Zambia, 27 in Namibia, 43 in Mozambique, 31 in Botswana, 128 in Tanzania, 70 in Kenya, 92 in Ethiopia, 13 in Somalia, 134 in Chad, 69 in Mali, 55 in Benin, 44 in Togo, and 24 in Sierra Leone. In Nigeria, almost 520 languages are used by approximately 200 million people. Naturally these high numbers have political and economic consequences due to communication problems. When people in the same region cannot communicate with each other, problems occur. To overcome such difficulty, the countries tend to accept more than one official language in governmental offices. Similar to the case with languages, there are several ethnic diversities in sub-Saharan Africa. For instance, there are 15 million citizens in Chad from almost 100 different ethnic groups. In some examples, these ethnic distinctions may lead to a struggle among various groups, and sometimes to violent conflicts. On the other hand, religion has an important place in sub-Saharan Africa's social life. A number of religious figures are quite influential both locally and nationally. A sizable number of populations still follow the local African religions, while Christianity and Islam also play a dominant role in the region. Christianity's share of the population is more than one-quarter. As of 2015, almost 27% of the entire Christian population and 15% of the Muslim population in the world were living in the region. In 2060, it is expected that 40% of the world's Christian population and 27% of Muslim population would be from sub-Saharan Africa. In every country, a specific religion comes to the forefront. For example, Muslims are dominant in Chad, Niger, Sudan, Nigeria, Senegal, Mali, Liberia whereas in Angola, Namibia, Equatorial Guinea, Zambia, Christians are dominant. When we look at gender equality in the sub-Saharan countries, we see different levels in terms of development of women's rights. In some places, girls living in the region are victims of child marriage and genital mutilation. However, in some countries women have considerable rights. In the case of Rwanda, female deputies account for 61% of the parliament, which is quite high. Following the genocide

in Rwanda, due to the mass killings of men, the ratio of women dramatically rose. Consequently, Rwanda is ranked 6th in the world in equality among men and women.



your turn 3

What are the determinants of social structure in sub-Saharan Africa?

AFRICA IN THE GLOBAL ARENA: INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Sub-Saharan African countries occupy almost one quarter of the seats in the United Nations General Assembly. This powerful number makes the countries in the region an influential block when they act jointly. In addition, the young and growing population and sizable volume of natural sources cause sub-Saharan African countries to be taken into consideration in international platforms. However, the countries also have solid difficulties that affect their influence, such as low economic growth rates, domestic-violence struggles, climate-related problems, and refugee and migration issues. These difficulties negatively impact the regional countries' influence in the global arena. Should the African Union produce solutions to these problems, then the countries will have a stronger place in the international community. The African Union is the umbrella organization that brings the sub-Saharan African countries together. The organization is trying to lower poverty and promote economic activities to increase wealth. Each country in Africa is a member of African Union, which makes it a highly important arena for collaboration and diplomatic activities. The Union has made significant gains in the areas of basic human rights and economic integration but there is much to do with respect to accountability to prevent corruption and violent conflicts. On the other hand, there are minor regional organizations that combat violent conflicts and promote collaboration. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which consists of 15 West African states has had considerable success and has become influential. The citizens of the 15 member states of ECOWAS can freely enter and reside in any member state and

benefit from common communication platforms. It also exercises the military, political and economic power to impact local politics, such as terminating third termism. Third termism is where leaders refuse to step down from power although they are limited to two terms and insist on continuing with a third term.



The arid Sahel region consists of 14 African states in the north of sub-Saharan Africa. From the 2000's onward, violent terrorist organizations like al-Qaeda, DAESH increased their influence in the Sahel region. These terrorist organizations established relations with local people and provided their urgent basic needs. In other words, they exploited the poverty of the people. In Nigeria, Boko Haram benefits from the unstable atmosphere and commits terrorist activities. To prevent these activities, the United Nations increased its peacekeeping, armed elements in sub-Saharan Africa, more than in other regions in the world. To combat ethnic struggles, political contradiction and government weaknesses, the UN sent forces to protect the civilians and eliminate terrorism in the region. The UN has almost 1000 peacekeeping personnel in the region. The African countries also contribute to the personnel, which makes Africa the top donor for peacekeeping forces all around the world. Ethiopia is the leading contributor in terms of the number of personnel. The UN has six ongoing peacekeeping operations in the region. The UNISFA operation (United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei) comprises Africans entirely. UNAMID (United Nations African Union Mission in Darfur) consists of 70% Africans. The ratios are as follows: 64% in MINUSCA (United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization

Mission in the Central African Republic), 72% in MINUSM (United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission), 39% in UNMISS (United Nations Mission in South Sudan) and 31% in MONUSCAT (United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo). In 2009, China became the top-trading partner of sub-Saharan Africa, which was previously the United States. China, the top energy-consuming country globally, is prioritizing the hydrocarbon reserves in sub-Saharan Africa. As of 2016, Angola became the 2nd biggest oil supplier of China following Russia. The trading volume among China and sub-Saharan Africa rose from USD 10 billion in 2000 to 220 billion in 2014. Besides that, the Chinese invests and gives financial assistance to the region. All in all, China is accessing the natural sources it requires and is increasing its influence in the regions through trade deals. Moreover, China is contributing to Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the region's construction, mining, manufacturing, finance, computer services and software sectors. Besides that, the United States and France give weight to their military operations to combat extremism in the Sahel region. Djibouti, a strategic coastal country in sub-Saharan Africa, comes to the forefront due to his hosting of foreign armies. The United States, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Saudi Arabia and Spain have already deployed a limited number of their armed forces to the region. These countries have all military bases in the region. The last country to establish a military base in Djibouti was China in 2017. It was China's first military base, which, ironically, is located close to the United States' Camp Lemonnier again in Djibouti. Geographically, Djibouti is very strategic due to its Red Sea coast and its access to the Mediterranean Sea through the Suez Canal. Moreover, it provides access to North Africa and the Middle East. The foreign countries rent their bases in the country. For instance, Washington pays USD 63 million annually for its base.



your turn 4

How would you evaluate the international connections of the sub-Saharan region?

TURKEY'S DIPLOMATIC AND ECONOMIC CONNECTIONS WITH SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Historical Background

From a wider perspective, beyond the sub-Saharan region, relations between Turkey and African date back to the Ottoman period when Yavuz Sultan Selim conquered Egypt in 1517. Following the conquest, the Ottomans ruled North Africa and East Africa as dependent provinces of Istanbul. The Ottoman Navy led by Zaydi Ali Reis struggled with Western warships at the time. The Ottoman and Kanam Bornu Empires signed a defense treaty and Istanbul sent some war materials to Kanam Bornu. The relations were not evident until the early 20th century. The period around the fall and disintegration of Ottoman State—the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, World War II and the Cold War do not indicate liveliness in the relations. After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, particularly following World War II, Ankara followed a more Western-oriented foreign policy by reducing its relations with Islamic nations to a minimum. During the Cold War, the African countries tended to stay in the non-aligned movement, and Turkey remained unresponsive most of the time. When the Ottomans lost their superiority after World War I, Turkey-Africa relations fell dramatically. As of 1926, Turkey's only diplomatic representation in Africa was in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. At the Bandung Conference, Turkey argued that the Asian and African countries might not be able to survive in peace, and therefore had to be members

of a Western-oriented international organization such as NATO. In a similar manner, during the same period, Turkey abstained from a vote on Mauritania's independence and the conduct of free and fair elections in Rwanda and Burundi under the UN's observation. Although Turkey condemned South Africa's apartheid regime's racist policies with the international community, Turkey's permanent representative in UN suggested that South Africa's gaining independence and conducting elections in the country were extreme ideas. Besides that, Turkey refrained from signing the letter, which was presented to the Secretary-General of the United Nations defending Nelson Mandela's release from prison and signed the UN declaration later in 1967, in which South Africa's racist policies were condemned. Turkey abstained from another vote in the UN General Assembly which gave Rhodesians basic political rights and refrained from condemning colonialist Portugal which was resisting conferring the right of self-determination to its colonies. Moreover, Ankara attempted to abstain from a vote to impose sanctions on Portugal. However, Turkey suffered from its foreign policy in the Cyprus Crisis when Africans failed to support Ankara in the UN and sided with the Greeks. When Ankara needed international support to defend its right in the Cyprus issue, the African policy started to change. In 1965, an African opening was made by the Turkish government and three different delegations from Turkey were sent to Africa. One group paid a visit to Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania, Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Senegal, while another group visited Cameroon, Gabon, Congo, Central African Republic and Chad. The last group toured Abyssinia, Kenya, Somali, Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, Malawi, Madagascar, Sudan, Libya and Tunisia. The aim was to obtain support and explain Turkey's arguments in the Cyprus issue. Although the Foreign Minister at the time, Hasan Esat Işık, claimed that they had good impressions from their visit to Africa, support was given to Makarios, the Greek President of Cyprus at the time (1960-1974) in the international arena.

By the 1970's Turkey maintained limited interest in Africa and some developments occurred. Turkey's Embassy in Mogadishu was established in

1979, which was closed following the 1980 military coup in Turkey. A Directorate General for Africa was established in 1978 under Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Turkish government led by Bülent Ecevit, which served between January 1978 and November 1979 followed a foreign policy aimed at establishing relations with the African world. On 31 August 1978, Turkey's state minister at the time, Orhan Eyüboğlu, attended the funeral of Kenya's anti-colonial activist and politician, Jomo Kenyatta, who was Kenya's Prime Minister from 1963 to 1964 and subsequently served as its first President from 1964 to his death in 1978. The Turkish government was sensitive to African policy. During the tenure of the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, Gündüz Ökçün in 1978-1979, Turkey gave considerable financial support to Namibia and Rhodesian guerilla forces (ZANU and ZAPU) who were fighting against Zimbabwe's racist administration. A Turkish delegation was established and comprised representatives from public such as Ministry of Trade, Ministry of Industry and Technology, State Planning Organization and from private sector, such as Koç, Sabancı Holdings, companies like Şişecam, Çukurova and Enka. This delegation visited Nigeria and Kenya between 11-18 February 1979. Turkey supported Mozambique against Portugal in Eritrea's struggle. However, Turkey's financial assistance to the region was not systematic and Ankara was unable to establish deep relations with African countries following their independence.



In the 1990s, Turkey's diplomatic missions in sub-Saharan Africa were rather ineffective. The missions were launched symbolically, and the very limited number of diplomats were not influential in establishing solid diplomatic, economic and cultural relations. In the 1990s, Turkey realized its geopolitical role and internalized flexibility to think-act beyond the limits of the Cold War period. Turkish foreign policy was mostly dominated by a one-sided perspective during most of the Cold War, sticking to the Western world. Following the fall of Berlin, Ankara discovered its new potential to pursue a more independent foreign policy by developing its relations with its neighbors. The immediate effects of this understanding were seen in Turkey's relations with Turkic countries from the fractured Soviet Union, and Balkan countries. The Turkic and Balkan countries had deep historical, religious, cultural and some ethnic and linguistic connections with Turkey. Turkey's enthusiasm towards Africa, alongside its interest in central Asia and the Balkans, began in the late 1990s when Ankara decided to develop and deepen its relations with the sub-Saharan states. Considering the low course of relations between Turkey and sub-Saharan Africa, Ankara developed a comprehensive policy in 1998 and adopted the "Africa Action Plan." The aim was to take reciprocal steps with African countries in political, cultural, economic and military relations. In 1998, Turkey's only Embassy in the African continent operated out of South Africa. The opening to Africa was developed during the term of Foreign Minister İsmail Cem, who argued that Turkey had to establish close relations with its geopolitical neighbors and form economic and political connections. To accomplish this policy, Turkey had to bypass the Mediterranean and focus its vision towards Africa. The African Action Plan was the result of this policy.

The plan involved enhancing the number of Embassies in African Peninsula, more careful and sensitive selection of diplomats that would serve in the sub-Saharan African Embassies, triggering top level invitations from African states to the Turkey's counterparts at the level of the president, prime minister and minister, promoting political awareness and international discussion in multinational organizations such as the United Nations and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, fostering humanitarian assistance to Africa, signing bilateral

agreements to accelerate trading and commercial activities, delegating Turkish experts and developing technical support programs, encouraging Turkish banks to launch branches in African countries, offering credit and providing loans from the Eximbank for Turkish business circles to operate in Africa, increasing the exportation to the region, and organizing bilateral trips for business people. The detailed and comprehensive "Africa Action Plan" was Turkey's primary guide for developing relations with African states. However, two major unexpected forces made it difficult to put the Africa Action plan into practice—the 1999 earthquake, and the 2000-2001 economic crisis.

Contemporary Relations

All in all, we see that the Turkish governments were unable to take concrete steps and get tangible results up until the early 2000s. With the AK Party coming to power in 2002, Turkey had started to be ruled by a single-party government, and the first program was enacted in 2003 with the title "Strategy for Enhancing the Economic and Commercial Relations with Africa." This was prepared by the Undersecretariat for Foreign Trade back in 2003. Two years later, in 2005, the Turkish government declared its "Open to Africa Policy" that included the former strategy. The Turkish government declared 2005 as the "Year of Africa." Again in 2005, Turkey maintained its observer status at the African Union and the first Turkish-African Summit in Istanbul was organized by a Turkish think tank organization. Participants from 49 African countries attended the first Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit in Istanbul between 18-21 August 2008, ensuring a sustainable cooperation process. "The Istanbul Declaration on Turkey-Africa Partnership: Cooperation and Solidarity for a Common Future" and "Cooperation Framework for Turkey-Africa Partnership," adopted at the 1st Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit of 2008, formed a follow-up mechanism to observe the development of the relations. 2008 has a considerable importance in the development of the Turkish – African relations. In the same year, Turkey was declared as a strategic partner at the 10th Summit of African Union that took place in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Furthermore, Turkey's application to the African Development Bank was considered and welcomed, and Turkey eventually became a

member at 29th of October 2013. Besides that, Turkey also accepted Intergovernmental Authority membership on the Development Partners Forum. Relations were warm and developed rapidly in a very short period. Turkey's sincere effort in the region was not left unreciprocated, but was rewarded. Turkey became a candidate in the 2008 elections for a non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council. The voting procedure in the General Assembly of United Nations involved 192 members at the time (as South Sudan became a member in 2011), of which 53 were African states. Turkey achieved a major success, as it obtained 50 of the 53 African votes, as the Africans themselves affirmed Ankara's policies towards Africa.

On 15 December 2010, Istanbul hosted the Turkey-Africa Cooperation High Level Official Meeting where a new strategy was adopted to consolidate the Turkish-African connections. Following the meeting, the "Joint Implementation Plan of Africa-Turkey Partnership for the period 2010-2014" was approved by the parties. The Ministerial Level Reviewing Conference took place on 16th of December 2011 in Istanbul. The impact of the developing relations was evident in a short period of time. In 2002, the value of the projects undertaken by Turkey's contractor companies was 9.6 billion, and climbed to 46.4 billion USD in 2012. In 2013, Turkey, as a wise, economically powerful member of the African Development Bank secured participation in the organization's meeting. In the meantime, the 2nd Turkey – Africa Cooperation High Level Official Meeting was convened in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Within the context of the follow-up mechanism established at the 1st summit, the 2nd Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit was organized in Malabo, Equatorial Guinea in November 2014. Following the meeting, a Declaration and "2015-2019 Joint Implementation Plan" were adopted. Within the context of the Istanbul Declaration, parties agreed to develop cooperation in the following nine areas:

1. Inter-governmental Cooperation;
2. Trade and Investment;
3. Agriculture, Agribusiness, Rural Development, Water Resources Management and Small and Medium Scale Enterprises (SMEs);
4. Health;
5. Peace and Security;
6. Infrastructure, Energy and Transport;
7. Culture, Tourism and Education;
8. Media and Information and Communication Technology.
9. Environment.

Furthermore, with Egypt, Turkey co-chaired the "International Donor's Conference for the Reconstruction and Development of Darfur" in Cairo on 21 March 2010 and on two occasions hosted the Istanbul-Somalia Conferences organized within the UN framework between 21-23 May 2010 and between 31 May-1 June 2012. Turkey also hosted the Fourth United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, in Istanbul on 9-13 May 2011 and offered to host the Mid-Term Review Conference of the Istanbul Programme of Action in 2015. Turkey, under its G20 Presidency in 2015, also organized events in line with the Africa's "Agenda 2063." In this regard, the High-Level Conference on Access to Energy in Sub-Saharan Africa was convened for the first time on 1 October 2015 under the G20 framework. Finally, Turkey hosted the High Level Partnership Forum for Somalia between 23-24 February 2016 in Istanbul.

The first Turkey-Africa Summit was organized in 2008 in Istanbul with 50 African states. This Summit was held to search for new development opportunities and form a sound economic relationship. Following the first Turkish-African Summit in 2008, based on the provisions adopted at the Istanbul Declaration, a set of principles were accepted. Accordingly, the Turkey-Africa Summits would be organized every five years in Africa or in Turkey on a rotational basis, with the summits co-chaired by the Chairperson of the African Union and the President of Turkey. The Second Turkey-Africa Summit was held in 2014 in Equatorial Guinea, where President Erdoğan declared that the next summit would be held in Turkey in 2019. However, Turkey postponed the third Summit from 2019 to 2020. The reason for the postponement were the tense relations with Egypt, which occupied the chairmanship of the African Union in 2019. Abdulfettah el-Sisi, the President of Egypt, had been elected as the current chairman of the Union. He came to rule following a military coup, after which Turkey

refrained from recognizing the new government. It was likely that Sisi would impose barriers to the convening of the Summit. Unfortunately, the 3rd Turkey-Africa Summit which was postponed to 2020 by Ankara, could not be held in 2020 as the Covid-19 pandemic escalated. These summits have been useful in Turkey's efforts towards its Africa partnership policy. The summits constitute follow-up mechanisms and provide the opportunity to assess the consequences of reciprocal policies between Turkey and Africa. Besides the summits, there are plans for ministerial review conference to be convened every three years, between Summits, with the aim of evaluating the roll out of the Joint Implementation Plan. Turkey's move to foster such summits can be regarded as reparation, or efforts to rebuild the relations given that Ankara has been absent from the African Horn for almost a century.

In retrospect, considering the course of relations between Turkey and Africa, it should be noted that from the start of the "Open to Africa Policy," the trade volume with the entire African peninsula rose dramatically from USD 750 million in 2000 to 23.4 billion in 2013. In assessing this economic accomplishment, the efforts of Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey as a catalyst in the trading activities should be taken into consideration. The Board's establishment of 19 new Business Councils with African states and forming 24 Bilateral Business Councils played a significant role in the economic framework. If examined from a humanitarian perspective, TIKA has 11 Program Coordination Offices in Africa in a wide range of areas such as education, agriculture, medical, transportation projects, and building schools and hospitals. Besides the increasing influence in economic, cultural and humanitarian realms, the number of Turkish diplomatic missions amounted to 40 across the African continent with the last Turkish embassy opened in Equatorial Guinea in 2018. Turkey's relations with Equatorial Guinea were initially established in 1980. The trade volume between the two total USD 23 million of which Turkey's exports account for 20 million. This African country is mostly dependent on its petroleum resources that were discovered in 1996. Of Equatorial Guinea's total income, 91% comes from petroleum exports, but it has other natural resources such as titanium, manganese, uranium, ironstone that have not yet been discovered and

extracted. Besides that, Turkey is giving scholarships to two students from Equatorial Guinea to study in Turkey. It is important to note that there were seven Turkish Embassies in Africa in 1996 and 12 in 2009. In terms of diplomatic centers, from the African perspective, this connotes reciprocity. In 2006, there were 10 African embassies in Ankara and there are now 34 diplomatic missions serving the Turkish capital. In 2018, the Cameroonian Embassy and the Embassy of Equatorial Guinea in Ankara were established. Besides the diplomatic activities and the abovementioned councils, launched by the DEİK, Turkey has opened commercial consulates in 26 African countries. Turkey has also signed Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreements with 38 African states to establish a solid base for mutual economic activities.

Turkey's Support and Assistance to the Region

Turkey's bilateral trade volume with African countries totaled USD 17,5 billion in the year of 2015, which represents a three-fold increase when compared to the figures of 2003. In 2015, the trading volume with Sub-Saharan Africa was calculated as USD 6 billion. While this meant a downfall in Turkey's trade with the continent parallel to the fall in global trade, Turkey's share in Africa's total trade remained at the same level. Turkey's contractor companies are foremost in the African Horn. The share of projects in African states in the entire international trading volume of Turkey's contractors is almost 21%, with most of the projects (19%) coming from North Africa. Turkey-based companies have to date undertaken more than 1,150 projects valued at USD 55 billion. Besides the projects undertaken, the volume of Turkish investments is upstream in the African countries that create jobs in Africa and use African labor force, utilize African-produced resources and export end products to third countries. Within this context the total Turkish investment in Africa is calculated as almost USD 6.2 billion. As of 2014, Turkish investments were the largest job creator in Africa, amounting 16593, when compared to other foreign direct investments in the Horn. As a solid economy and a consolidated parliamentary democracy which transformed to a multiparty system in 1946, and became a member of NATO in 1952, Turkey is eager to share its development

know-how with African countries, which require its support. Turkey's policies towards Africa can be regarded as a result of balanced coordinated humanitarian and development support. With this understanding, Turkey is assisting with institutional and capacity building in all fields in the Horn, as Turkey wants to contribute to the African countries' social and political environments, given their past and ongoing challenges. Therefore, through shared experiences, Turkey and Africa end up with more solid partnership and dialogue. Furthermore, Turkey has become the leading country in Africa in terms of humanitarian activities. Turkey became the 3rd largest humanitarian donor in 2013 and 2014. Turkey's grants to humanitarian assistance in the fields of health, education, and capacity building totaled USD 3.3 billion in 2014. According to the 2020 Global Humanitarian Assistance Report, Turkey is the world's leading humanitarian donor spending USD 7.6 billion including contributions to Syrian refugees in its territories. Turkey is followed by the U.S. with 7 billion, Germany with 3.3 billion, the UK with 3.1 billion, the EU institutions with 2.3 billion, Saudi Arabia with 1.4 billion and Sweden with 1.0 billion. Turkey donated 456 million to the less developed countries in 2015, where the total donation between 2011-2015 amounted to USD 1.5 billion.

When we examine Turkey's position in the humanitarian aid index, according to the Global Humanitarian Assistance Report 2017, which covers aid in 2016, we observe that Turkey occupied 2nd place, following the USA, with a total of USD 6 billion. The amount of aid allocated by the USA totaled USD 6.3 billion, the United Kingdom - 2.7 billion, Germany - 2.6 billion and the EU - 2.3 billion. If we analyze the ratio of humanitarian aid to national income, Turkey is ranked in 1st place with the ratio of 0.69%. Turkey contributes to the United Nations missions that are deployed in the Horn. As of 2016, of the nine missions, Turkey was contributing to MONUSCO/DRC, MINUSMA/Mali, MINUSCA/CAR, UNAMID/Darfur, UNMUSS/South Sudan, UNOCI/Cote d'Ivoire and UNMIL/Liberia. Apart from the UN missions, Turkey remains committed to support the African Union and other regional organizations that would help Africans to successfully manage their own affairs. Turkey obtained observer status

in the African Union in 2005, and strategic partnership status in 2008 and since 2009, Turkey has provided the African Union with USD 1 million annually. Turkey was also welcomed as a non-regional member of the African Development Bank in 2008 and, in January 2013, became the 26th non-regional member of the Bank. Moreover, there are several important accreditations that should be highlighted. Turkey's Embassy in Addis Ababa was accredited to the Intergovernmental Authority on Development Partners Forum in 2012, while its Embassy in Abuja was accredited to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 2005. Turkey's Embassy in Dar-es-Salaam was accredited to the East African Community (EAC) in 2010, the Turkish Embassy in Lusaka was accredited to the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) in 2012, and the Turkish Embassy in Libreville was accredited to Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) in 2013.

Turkey's Connections with Sudan

In December 2017, Erdoğan and Sudan's President at the time, Omar Bashir, reached a consensus on Turkey's rebuilding its historical but inactive Ottoman port city and shipyard on Suakin Island in the Red Sea, which is located at the crossroads between Saudi Arabia and Port Sudan, which is located in the north of the island. In the Ottoman period, the Turks built a mosque on the island for the Hanafi and Shafii Islamic schools of thought where Erdoğan and al Bashir paid a visit together. When Ottomans took charge of Suakin Island in the early 16th century, it was mostly used by Portuguese and British merchants. Erdoğan, in his speech at Khartoum University, openly requested al Bashir to permit Turkey to restore the island. This was the first visit to Sudan by a Turkish president. The two leaders signed agreements worth billions of dollars, which is compatible with Turkey's Africa policy. Erdoğan also stressed that imperialists have ruined Africa and implemented a one-sided economic strategy, whereas Turkey is aiming for a win-win situation. Besides that, the defense industry was determined to be another area where the two countries could partner to ensure that the two deepened their relations in a critical field, namely security co-operation. Despite the security partnership, Turkey has no military goals

in the Horn which would or should not pose discomfort in the region. Turkey's main focus is economic, and as far as the military is concerned, Turkey's only sensibility could be against terrorist organizations like Al Shabab and the Somali pirates. Turkey has 120 soldiers stationed in Qatar and 200 soldiers in Somali, who are training Somalia's government forces. Contrary to allegations Turkey does not seem to have any plan for military deployments on Suakin. However, the agreement also includes a presence for Turkish armed forces at Port Sudan in order to train Sudanese forces in counterterrorism operations. The temporary allocation of Suakin Island is perhaps an economic project. Around USD4 billion worth of goods are exported from Port Sudan, which is the only international port of the country. Annual imports reaching the Port are worth USD7.5 billion, which makes this center very strategic in terms of integration with the global economy. With Turkey's restoration, Port Sudan would no longer be the only port, as the Port on Suakin Island would be operationalized and the country would no longer be dependent on a single port. Turkey's rebuilding would ease Port Sudan's burden and would generate new employment, working areas and business spaces for the country thereby helping Sudan to confront its economic challenges. In this way, the quantities of goods imported and exported from the country would increase, which would integrate the Sudanese economy into the global economy and help Sudan to increase its share in the international economic system. Besides that, Turkey, with the help of Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TİKA) is helping to renovate historical structures on the island dating back to the Ottoman Empire. The restoration started in January 2018 with the aim of turning the island into a tourism hub, particularly for Hajj-bound pilgrims. In parallel to mentioned economic motivations in Suakin island, in 2014 Turkey rented an agricultural area for the cultivation of 780,000 square kilometers for 99 years. This step was taken mainly to foster the economy of Sudan, with a particular focus on agriculture. In 2017, the trading volume between two countries stood at USD 500 million. The target set by the two countries was to raise the bilateral trade volume to USD 10 billion. It is no secret that the restoration of Suakin Island caused dissatisfaction among Turkey's rivals in the region.

The Egyptian government asked Sudan to suspend the Suakin agreement signed with Ankara. The signing of this deal came to the attention of official circles in Egypt and Saudi Arabia who expressed concerns about the possible consequences of the deal, such as Turkey's increasing impact on their borders. Meanwhile Turkey rejected allegations of neo-Ottomanism, and the Sudanese regime denied that it aligned with the Turkey/Qatar axis in the 2017 Gulf crisis. Although Suakin Island could be the center for Turkish armed forces, considering the capacity of the island, the deployed power would be relatively limited. Moreover, following the fall of Bashir, Egypt, UAE and Saudi Arabia took prompt action to transform Sudan's political priorities and prevent Turkey and Qatar from enhancing their impact. In April 2019, Sudan's regime collapsed and the 30-year ruler, al Bashir, was overthrown by a military coup. The coup was the consequence of long-lasting civilian protests due to the fact that the Sudanese were suffering from hyperinflation and cash shortages. It is also important to note that UAE, Saudi Arabia and Egypt have established warm relations with the new government. Egypt favored Sudan, and did not allow the country to be suspended from the African Union. Furthermore, the UAE and the Saudis have provided USD 3 billion to the armed forces who took charge. Despite that fact that there is no proof as yet, some circles believe that UAE, Saudi Arabia and Egypt had a role and impact on the coup. The allegations are aimed at curbing the activities of Turkey and Qatar in the region. Despite the change in government, the cooperation agreements have not been suspended so far. Turkey's efforts in Suakin Island are ongoing. Turkey has invested almost USD 600 billion in the Island so far, which makes Sudan the fifth country that mostly benefits from TİKA's economic, humanitarian and cultural support.



Turkey's Policies Towards Somalia



present for training activities. In the meantime, a Turkish company, the Albayrak Group, maintained control of the operational rights at the Port of Mogadishu in 2014 and another Turkish enterprise, Favori LLC (Kozuva Group), operates the city's airport. The UAE's DP World company has also shown interest in the Port of Mogadishu, which the Turkish company operates. When we look at the shareholder structure of the Port of Mogadishu, we see the Somali government taking 55% of the shares while the Albayrak Group holds 45%. The cooperation terms comprise a 20-year lease starting from 2014. The operations led by Turkish initiatives in Mogadishu's air and seaport go hand-in-hand with the humanitarian, political and aid investments in Somalia since 2011. Turkish manufactured products can be easily found in Somalia's markets, and Turkish Airways offers direct flights to Somalia and is the first international airline to start such service. Although Ankara's goals are clear regarding its presence in Somalia, its rivals tend to regard Turkey's policies as part of its expansion in Africa. Turkey's efforts are widely supported by Somalis, due to failed Western interventions past. In 2018 Turkey appointed a special envoy for Somalia which was a first in Turkish political history. The envoy was delegated to revive efforts to prevent a breakaway from Somaliland. Dr. Olgan Bekar, a former ambassador to Somalia, was appointed as a special envoy to the Somalia and Somaliland talks. The negotiations between Somaliland and Somalia commenced in 2012 at London Conference between Somalia and the Somaliland. Bekar's appointment was a contribution from Turkey which was warmly welcomed by the Somali government. Turkey also has warm relations with Somaliland where the Turkish International Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) is operating in Hargeisa, the so-called capital city of Somaliland. Somalia was critical for Turkey as it was the first case where Ankara could test the impact of its foreign policy in Africa. Rather than a calculated long-term

In 2011, Erdoğan, as prime minister at the time, paid a visit to Mogadishu during a tough famine. He was the first non-African leader to visit the city in 20 years. Turkey's relations with Somalia started with a humanitarian focus and, in time, assumed a more comprehensive set of connections. Turkey took steps to assist Somalia with aid, fostered development projects, launched schools, and played a significant role in its state-building process. The building of a considerably vast military facility was one of the Turkey's key projects. Turkey launched a 1.5 square miles military training facility in Somali's capital, Mogadishu, by September 2017 to train Somalian armed forces. The military training facility was constructed at a cost of USD 50 million. The training camp in Mogadishu is Turkey's largest overseas investment. There are no Turkish military assets located in the military camp but 200 Turkish soldiers are

strategic plan, Turkey's approach towards Somalia involves soft power elements that would respond to the immediate needs of the country. Turkey's solid policies in Somalia are regarded as the concrete extension of Ankara's "Open to Africa" policy that was declared in 2005 that enhanced Turkey's diplomatic and economic impact across the Horn of Africa.



Turkey's Struggle with Fethullah Terrorist Organization (FETÖ) in Africa

On 15 July 2016, a faction of the Turkish Armed Forces affiliated to the Fethullah Terrorist Organization (FETÖ) attempted to stage a coup in various cities in Turkey, especially in Ankara and Istanbul. The terrorists opened fire on Turkish civilians who resisted the overthrow of the democratically elected government by violence. Moreover the Turkish Grand National Assembly and Office of the President were bombed. In the attempted coup, 246 of Turkish citizens were killed and more than 2000 people were wounded. However Turkey's struggle with FETÖ including Africa did not start following the failed coup attempt. As of 2014, Turkey's policies in Africa started to change due to the struggle with FETÖ. Besides other regions in the world, FETÖ was quite active in Africa with its humanitarian and educational assistance activities. Moreover, the trade and private sector dynamics between Turkey and Africa were mostly dependent on FETÖ. By 2014, Turkey began to eliminate the terrorist elements from Africa and to be more active. Within this context, Turkey used the Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEİK) under the Ministry of Economy to remove the FETÖ-affiliated groups, and took charge of trading activities with Africa. The government began to take control of the private schools opened and operated by FETÖ in Africa. The Turkish Maarif Foundation, founded by the government, is utilized to control the Gülenist schools.

FETÖ operates crypto educational schools and institutions worldwide to promote its secret agenda. It started its operations in Africa in 1996 and, as of 2016, there were 110 educational institutions consisting of primary, secondary schools and a university. Education service was usually provided in the native language of the country in which they are operating. In this way, the schools can easily find students and FETÖ proceeds with its propaganda activities. Within the context of Turkey's active foreign policy towards Africa, FETÖ was involved and utilized Turkey's policy for its own ends. FETÖ increased its presence in Africa and developed its relations by expanding to a sizable number of countries. It mainly operated

in the educational sector, conducted business and trading activities, and established foundations and associations for social responsibility. Before Turkey's full-fledged struggle with FETÖ started in Africa after the coup attempt, FETÖ had operations in Algeria, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Guinea-Bissau, Mauritania, Morocco, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo and Uganda on the African continent. After July 15th, Turkey took measures against FETÖ in Africa and other continents. FETÖ's presence in Africa is not only a threat for Turkey, but also for the African countries. As a consequence of Turkey's diplomatic and civilian attempts, African countries started to curb FETÖ's activities in their territories. With this understanding, Angola, Gambia and Morocco have already stopped FETÖ's operations. Through the Turkish Maarif Foundation, the transfer of FETÖ-affiliated educational institutions have been completed in Chad, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Guinea, Cameroon, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Somalia, Congo and Sudan. Turkey is still using diplomatic efforts in Africa to address the issue of the remaining schools under the control of Maarif Foundation. Meanwhile, FETÖ's criminal network in the African continent is still under investigation by Turkish intelligence. Within this context, FETÖ's organization in Gabon was detected and the leading figures taken to Turkey in 2018. So far, Maarif has taken over 214 FETÖ schools in 19 countries all over the world, including in Africa.

Geographically, Sub-Saharan Africa is a region located far from Turkey, and usually linked with negative factors such as low economic standards, diseases, civil conflicts and hunger. Following the Ottoman period, Turkey's relations with Africa in the early Republican era have been quiet and limited. During the course of the Cold War, Turkey was aligned with the Western Block and put the African countries at a distance, including the sub-Saharan countries, by not giving support to their national movements leading to independence. When Turkey was left alone in the international platform on the Cyprus issue, Ankara started to develop policies towards Africa, which did not yield tangible results. The Sub-Saharan countries kept supporting Greek arguments in Cyprus. In the late 1970s, Turkey attempted to develop relations with the region by forming delegations and sending them to the region. In 1998 Turkey adopted a comprehensive Opening up to Africa Plan, which could not be operationalized due to the 1999 economic crisis and the 2001 general elections. In the 2000s, the relations gained serious momentum where Turkey fostered relations with the region both via state channels and non-governmental organizations. The year 2005 was declared "the Year of Africa" by Turkey, followed by 2008 and 2013 in which two Turkish African Summits were convened.

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your turn 5

What are the key features of Turkey's approach in the region and how could its foreign policy towards sub-Saharan African countries be analyzed?

LO 1

Explain the historical background of sub-Saharan Africa

Throughout history, empires with sound economies have dominated the sub-Saharan region which is active in architecture, mathematics and metalworking. In the 1400's, Westerners reached the region for their economic ends to extract natural resources such as gold, rubber and copper. Besides that, slavery became an important phenomena in the region where almost 20 million Africans were enslaved between the 16th and 19th centuries. By the 19th century, the colonialist movements were started by the Western countries and spread throughout the world due to the growing need for raw materials and new markets for end products. By 1914 Europeans were taking charge of almost 90% of the African continent by gun force. The Berlin Conference was an important benchmark for the African continent where 14 countries came to a conclusion on how to share the natural resources of the region. The Europeans, particularly Allies, did not realize the promises made to African people during the World War II, when they promised independence and self-determination. Thereby Africans started to give their own national struggles, which made the countries win successive independencies. In 1963, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was founded based on the Pan-Africanist perspective which led to one-voice for all African interests and the immediate end to colonialism.

LO 2

Evaluate the social structure, demography, economic conditions, life standards and main trends of the region

Although there has been minor progress in a limited number of countries, over 70% of sub-Saharan African people still lack basic civil rights and liberties. Furthermore, the region faces serious humanitarian crises including drought, civil wars and economic decline. There are millions of people who suffer from poverty and lack basic necessities.

LO 3

Discuss the contemporary system of government, political regime, economic capacity and important benchmarks of sub-Saharan African countries based on solid figures

In terms of democratic governance, a very limited number of examples indicate progress in the region while in most countries, sub-Saharan Africans are governed by authoritarian regimes whose terms in office are extremely lengthy. The rulers or ruling families tend not to relinquish their posts in a peaceful manner but rather stick the seats. In the meantime, in most cases, one can hardly speak of freedom of press, freedom of speech, and voice of the opposition is quiet and limited.

LO 4

Demonstrate your knowledge on Turkey's foreign policy towards Africa with a focus on humanitarian aids, cultural assistance and economic support

Considering the Ottoman empire's past and beyond, Turkey in the early republican era and during the Cold War did not do much to develop relations with sub-Saharan African countries. Ankara was an ally of the Western bloc throughout the Cold War, and did not develop policies that supported the sub-Saharan African countries' struggle for their independence in most of the cases. Although the Cyprus issue in 1964 led Turkey to make a move towards the region, the attempts were not effective. In parallel, at the end of 1970s, Turkey had developed policies aimed at establishing economic relations in the region. However the most concrete plan was in 1998 where a concrete Opening to Africa Plan was designed but failed to attain the objective economically and politically due to the 1999 economic crisis and the 2001 general elections and the subsequent change in government. In the 2000s, Turkey, under the AK Party's government, refreshed its approach towards the region and declared 2005 as the "Year of Africa." Prime Minister Erdoğan was invited to the 2007 African Union Summit and a year after, Turkey was declared as a strategic partner by the African Union and also became a member of the African Development Bank. In the meantime, Turkey organized two comprehensive summits with Africa where detailed cooperation objectives were determined and follow-up mechanisms established. While the humanitarian, financial and technical assistance of Turkey in particular fields rapidly rose with Turkey's African policies since 2005, the trading volume between the two also showed a remarkable development.

1 Which of the following is **not** one of the exploited elements of sub-Saharan Africa that Europeans sought on their arrival in the region in the late 15th century?

- A. Gold
- B. Silver
- C. Copper
- D. People
- E. Rubber

2 Between which centuries did the period of enslavement in sub-Saharan Africa begin and end?

- A. 16th – 19th centuries
- B. 12th – 15th centuries
- C. 8th-11th centuries
- D. 4th-7th centuries
- E. 1st-3rd centuries

3 The approximate number of Africans enslaved by Europeans is ----- million.

Which of the following completes the blank above?

- A. 10
- B. 20
- C. 30
- D. 40
- E. 50

4 As of 1914, the European colonists were controlling ----- % of the continent.

Which of the following completes the blank above?

- A. 50
- B. 60
- C. 70
- D. 80
- E. 90

5 Which of the following organizations was founded in 1963 based on Pan-African ideology?

- A. Organization of African Unity
- B. African Development Bank
- C. African Export-Import Bank
- D. Africa Finance Corporation
- E. Africa AHEAD

6 Which of the following sub-Saharan African countries is **not** regarded as “free” by the 2019 Freedom House Report?

- A. South Africa
- B. Botswana
- C. Namibia
- D. Ghana
- E. Somalia

7 According to the statistics on Internet Freedom Status in the 2019 Freedom House Report, in which one of the following sub-Saharan African countries do citizens have full access to free internet?

- A. Gambia
- B. Morocco
- C. South Africa
- D. Libya
- E. Nigeria

8 Which one of Turkey's institutions started to take over Fethullah Terrorist Organization (FETÖ)-affiliated schools in sub-Saharan Africa and in other parts of the world?

- A. Turkish Maarif Foundation
- B. Turkish Higher Educational Council
- C. The Presidency of Republic of Turkey
- D. Turkey's State Planning Organization
- E. Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs

9 Turkey declared ----- as the “Year of Africa,” which was a starting point for refreshing the reciprocal relations with sub-Saharan African countries.

Which of the following completes the blank above?

- A. 2002
- B. 2004
- C. 2005
- D. 2010
- E. 2015

10 What is the current number of embassies operated by Turkey in sub-Saharan African countries? (the number rose dramatically following Turkey's African opening in the 2000s)

- A. 39
- B. 42
- C. 44
- D. 52
- E. 60

- | | | | |
|--------------------|--|---------------------|--|
| <p>1. E</p> | <p>If your answer is wrong, please review the “History of sub-Saharan Africa” section.</p> | <p>6. E</p> | <p>If your answer is wrong, please review the “Political View of sub-Saharan Africa” section.</p> |
| <p>2. A</p> | <p>If your answer is wrong, please review the “History of sub-Saharan Africa” section.</p> | <p>7. C</p> | <p>If your answer is wrong, please review the “Political View of sub-Saharan Africa” section.</p> |
| <p>3. B</p> | <p>If your answer is wrong, please review the “History of sub-Saharan Africa” section.</p> | <p>8. A</p> | <p>If your answer is wrong, please review the “Turkey’s struggle with FETÖ in Africa” section.</p> |
| <p>4. E</p> | <p>If your answer is wrong, please review the “History of sub-Saharan Africa” section.</p> | <p>9. C</p> | <p>If your answer is wrong, please review the “Turkey’s relations with sub-Saharan African countries” section.</p> |
| <p>5. B</p> | <p>If your answer is wrong, please review the “History of sub-Saharan Africa” section.</p> | <p>10. B</p> | <p>If your answer is wrong, please review the “Introduction” section.</p> |

Discuss the historical background of sub-Saharan Africa as a region. What are the historical benchmarks of the region?



your turn 1

The Westerners’ coming to the continent in the 15th century is definitely an important benchmark for Africa and the sub-Saharan region. The newcomers were after the natural resources such as gold, rubber and copper besides their aim at enslaving Africans. The 19th century is another important turning point when Westerners transformed their enslavement and exploitation policies to colonialism. The period following World War II, holds importance for Africa due to the fact that 17 African states declared their independence and joined the United Nations as members. The formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 was a major step towards defending the common interests of Africans. The genocide in Rwanda was a dramatic point where the world was shaken by the death of almost 1 million people.

Considering the discussion on political regimes in the chapter, explain the main trends in sub-Saharan African politics.



your turn 2

Factors such as the inequality in the distribution of social wealth, widening gap between the rich and the poor, corruption, public official abuse of power, misuse of natural sources, high unemployment rates among young populations, the effects of the global economic crisis have had considerable impacts on political view of sub-Saharan Africa. In terms of democracy, there are positive trends in Angola, Ethiopia and Ghana only. One cannot speak of peaceful transitions of power in the region particularly in the political leadership of sub-Saharan countries, the periods in office are extremely lengthy and there is serious resistance to relinquishing power. Research covering the subject indicates that the leadership (leader or family) of 16 sub-Saharan countries has an average span of more than 40 years.

What are the determinants of social structure in sub-Saharan Africa?

your turn 3

Sub-Saharan Africa is considerably crowded with almost 1 billion people. There is also great diversity in the population. Cameroon, for example, is home to 250 ethnic groups, who speak over 200 languages. These astronomical figures pose serious threats as well as opportunities. However, the regional countries mostly suffer from the consequences of such diversity, which often give rise to civil wars and ethnic conflicts. It has a fast-growing demographic structure where between 1950 and 2010, the population in sub-Saharan Africa rose from 186 million to 856 million. Besides that, sub-Saharan African countries dominated the statistics of top 10 fastest growing immigrant populations that bring burden to hosting countries mostly again in the same region. There are 7000 languages spoken across the world today and almost 2000 of these languages are spoken in sub-Saharan Africa. A sizeable number of populations are still following the local African religions, but Christianity and Islam have also a dominant role in the region. Christianity's share of the population is more than one-quarter. As of 2015, almost 27% of the entire Christian population and 15% of the Muslim population in the world resided in the region. The differences between particular groups often lead to struggles and violent conflicts.

How would you evaluate the international connections of the sub-Saharan region?

your turn 4

Sub-Saharan African countries control approximately one-quarter of the seats in the United Nations General Assembly. This powerful number makes the countries in the region an influential bloc in common moves. On the other hand the young and growing population, sizeable volume of natural resources cause sub-Saharan African countries to be taken into consideration in international fora. Each country in Africa is a member of African Union, which makes it a highly important arena for collaboration and diplomatic activities. The Union has made considerable inroads in the areas of basic human rights and economic integration but there is still much to do in the areas of accountability to prevent corruption and violent conflicts. The UN has six ongoing peacekeeping operations in the region. Apart from that, the Chinese have investments and give financial assistance to the region. All in all, China is getting the natural resources it needs and has increased its influence in the regions with trade deals. Moreover China is contributing the region through Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the fields of construction, mining, manufacturing, finance, computer services and software. It also has important relations with the EU. In the years between 2015 and 2018, almost 1 million sub-Saharan Africans applied for asylum in Europe. The flow of refugees had consequences for the host countries with respect to culture and politics, which led the EU to allocate USD 1.9 billion in 2017 to help address issues pertaining to the refugee flow.

What are the key features of Turkey's approach in the region and how could its foreign policy towards sub-Saharan African countries be analyzed?

your turn 5

Starting from the early 2000s, Turkey's interest in Sub-Saharan Africa has increased. Turkish foreign policy towards the region includes features such as trade, development, state-building, assistance with humanitarian aids and human development. This is also related with Turkey's foreign policy that aims at being a more influential and effective actor in the international arena. On the other hand Turkey represents a model for economic and political development for Africa. Since Turkey does not have colonial past in the region, its stress on setting up relations with equal basis and its refraining from establishing dependent relationship model makes African feel comfortable and make them positive towards Ankara. On the other hand FETO possess an important challenge that may undermine Turkey's connections in the region. The terrorist organization still makes anti-propaganda on the Turkish state in Africa where it still has influence with many affiliated schools and business partners. However Turkey has taken important measures to avoid them. Turkish Maarif Foundation has taken over many FETO-affiliated schools and started run them. Besides that Turkish Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEİK) formed Business Councils in 43 African countries that promote Turkish – African relations.

Suggested Answers for "Your Turn"

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