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SAKARYA UNIVERSITY
SOCIAL SCIENCES INSTITUTE

**THE STRATEGIC INTEREST OF TURKEY'S FOREIGN
POLICY IN SOMALIA**

MASTER'S THESIS
Omar Yusuf ABDULLE

Department : Political Science and Public Administration
Sub-field : Social and Political Science

Thesis Advisor: Associate Prof. Murat YEŞILTAŞ

APRIL - 2019

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SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

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SOMALIA


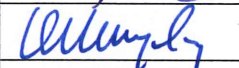

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"This thesis was adopted on 15/04/2019 by the following jury in majority vote."

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my mother, Mrs. Safi Ali Hassan, who has been a great source of inspiration throughout my life. My father Mr. Yusuf Abdulle was also a great supporter, without them this thesis would not have materialized, thank you for all the support you gave me. God bless you all.

I also dedicate this thesis to my uncle Haji Muhammed Abdulle, for his tireless work to the Ummah, he was a kind teacher and loving educator. I feel nevertheless regret that my uncle Haji Muhammed is not alive today to witness this achievement he embarked.

I heartily dedicated this thesis to all Somali mothers who suffered one way or other way during and after the civil war. May Almighty Allah abundantly bless all of you.

Omar Yusuf ABDULLE

15.04.2019

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

AKP	: Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma partisi)
AFAD	: Disaster and Emergency Management
AFREXIMBAN	: African Export and Import Bank
AU	: African Union
AMISOM	: African Union Mission in Somalia
EU	: European Union
IHH	: Humanitarian Relief Foundation
ICRC	: International Committee of the Red Cross
IFRC	: International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
IGAD	: Intergovernmental Authority on Development
MÜSİAD	: Independent Industrialist and Businessmen Associations
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NFD	: Northern Frontier District
NGOs	: Non-governmental Organizations
OIC	: Organization of Islamic Cooperation
OECD	: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
SFG	: Somalia Federal Government
SNA	: Somali National Army
TIKA	: Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency
TMFA	: Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs
TUSKON	: Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists
UN	: United Nations
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programme
UNITAF	: Unified Task Force
UNOSOM	: United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNOCHA	: United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
US	: United States
USSR	: The Soviet Union, officially the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WFP	: World Food Programme

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<p>The purpose of this study is to examine and determine the Turkish engagement in Somalia particularly, the strategic interest of Turkey's foreign policy in Somalia. Since 2011, the Turkish government has taken important steps to increase its diplomatic, and political relations with Somalia as soft power diplomacy in the direction of '1998 African Action Plan'. Since then, the Horn of Africa become a power struggle ground for the countries of the Middle East like Turkey, Iran, Israel and Gulf countries. This renewed interest is due to the regions strategic and geopolitical importance that resulted in today's scramble for influence among these countries which are driven by both geo-security and geo-economic imperatives. For that reasons, the Turkish foreign policy makers have begun to develop new strategies that shifted from a one-sided foreign policy to a multi-faceted foreign policy in Somalia. However, this study examines the strategic interest of Turkey's foreign policy in Somalia particularly, the new economic and security policy in Mogadishu.</p> <p>The first chapter of the study, covers the literature review of the study, including the key concepts, and the key arguments of Turkey's engagement in Somalia. The second chapter deals with Turkish foreign policy in Africa, particularly Somalia because Turkey's policy in Somalia is intertwined with Turkish general policy in Africa. The third chapter, discusses and analyses Turkey's strategic interest in Somalia, by providing insight into the actions of Turkey's security, economic and geopolitical interests like Turkey's military base in Mogadishu and its investment in some parts of Somalia. Both primary and secondary sources of data were used to carry out the study.</p>			
Keywords: Foreign policy, strategic interests, Turkey, Africa and Somalia.			

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<p>Bu çalışmanın amacı, Türkiye'nin Somali'yle olan ilişkisini, özellikle de Somali'deki dış politikasının stratejik çıkarlarını incelemek ve tespit etmektir. 2011'den bu yana, Türk hükümeti “1998 Afrika Eylem Planı” çerçevesinde Somali ile diplomatik ve siyasi ilişkilerini artırmak için yumuşak güç diplomasisi bağlamında önemli adımlar atmıştır. O zamandan beri Afrika Boynuzu, Türkiye, İran, İsrail ve Körfez ülkeleri gibi Orta Doğu ülkeleri için güç mücadelesi zeminine dönüşmüş durumdadır. Bu yenilenen ilgi, hem jeo-güvenlik hem de jeo-ekonomik zorunluluklar tarafından yönlendirilen bu ülkeler arasındaki etkileşim nedeniyle bölgenin -günümüzün mücadele ortamıyla sonuçlanan- stratejik ve jeopolitik öneminden kaynaklanmaktadır. Bu sebeple, Türk dış politika yapıcıları, Somali'de tek taraflı bir dış politikadan çok yönlü bir dış politikaya kayan yeni stratejiler geliştirmişlerdir. Mafih bu çalışma, Türkiye'nin dış politikasının Somali'deki stratejik çıkarlarını, özellikle Mogadişu'daki yeni ekonomik ve güvenlik politikasını incelemektedir.</p> <p>Çalışmanın ilk bölümü, anahtar kavramlar ve Türkiye'nin Somali'ye yönelik dış politikasının kilit argümanları da dahil olmak üzere çalışmanın literatür taramasını içermektedir. İkinci bölüm, Türkiye'nin Somali'deki politikası Afrika'daki Türk genel politikası ile iç içe geçtiği için Türkiye'nin Afrika'daki dış politikasını, özellikle de Somali'yi ele almaktadır. Üçüncü bölüm, Türkiye'nin Mogadişu'daki askeri üssü ve Somali'nin bazı bölgelerine yaptığı yatırım gibi Türkiye'nin güvenlik, ekonomik ve jeopolitik çıkarlarına yönelik eylemleri hakkında fikir vererek, Türkiye'nin Somali'deki stratejik çıkarlarını tartışmakta ve analiz etmektedir. Çalışmada hem birincil hem de ikincil veri kaynakları kullanılmıştır.</p>			
Anahtar Kelimeler: Dış politika, stratejik çıkarlar, Türkiye, Afrika ve Somali.			

INTRODUCTION

The end of the cold war, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the bipolar system of the world politics in 1990 has caused controversy in the international system and foreign policy analysis. To overcome this kind of chaos in foreign policy, states tried to reshape and redirect their foreign policies, because foreign policy is not something static, It can carry changes in order to achieve its objectives. For many years Turkey's foreign policy was western oriented; to join EU, NATO and to become ally to US, because the main objective of founding fathers of Turkey was to create nation-state based on western model, due to external and domestic forces Turkey's foreign policy shifted its course from monolithic western orientation during the cold war era, to multi-regional connections since 1990s (Ozkan and Akgun, 2010). After the collapse of Soviet Union, as other countries, Turkey has developed economic, strategic and political relation with its neighboring countries in the Balkans, Caucasian, and the middle East. However, Africa was the most neglected region in Turkish foreign policy history, until the adoption of the 'Africa Action Plan' in 1998 and later on 2005 'the year of Africa' policy in Turkish foreign policy. Nevertheless, Davutoglu discovered 'Afro-Eurasia' as the new geopolitical framework for Turkish foreign Policy and argued that Turkey is a central country that has multiple regional identities because its a bridge that connects east and west. for that reasons Turkey can be defined central country (Davutoglu, 2008).

Turkey's opening up foreign policy in Somalia can be understood in the context of its broader strategy to expand its relations and influence with the African continent, the AK Party government has taken important steps to increase its political and diplomatic relations with Somalia in the direction of the 1998 African Action Plan because at that time Turkish foreign policy makers have begun to develop new strategies that shifted from a one-sided foreign policy to a multi-faceted foreign policy. However, there are two main arguments of Turkey's engagement in Somalia. First, is the question of history, Many scholars argued that Turkish engagement in Somalia can be seen as the revival of history or Neo-Ottomanism, most of these authors are non Turkish, they argued that Somalis are Muslims, for that reasons Turkey's engagement in Somalia has come due to their historical relations in 15th and 19th centuries.

The second argument is that Turkish foreign policy in Somalia is humanitarian oriented, since 2011 Turkey is doing humanitarian and development projects In Somalia, organizations affiliated to the Turkish government, businessmen and civil society organizations are actively present in the country. Turkey's initiative to help Somalia, conducted at domestic and international level. food, clothing, and medicines were supplied and offered to Somalia, also the Turkish government has flown many patients to Turkey for treatment (Ozkan, 2014). This is the second argument which most of Turkish and non Turkish academicians believe that the Turkish engagement in Somalia is only for humanitarian diplomacy, nothing else.

Turkey's new engagement in Somalia started in 2011, it is true that Turkey initially acted for humanitarian purposes. However, i would like to focus on Turkey's foreign policy in Somalia in-terms of economic, security and geo-strategic perspectives, which has not been underlined by previous studies because Turkey has a broader foreign policy purpose than humanitarian. Business people do not deny their economic interests in their orientation to Somalia and their strategic expectations to jump from Somalia to other African countries. It is not very wrong to expect Turkey to have economic and strategic interests. By examining these points more in detail, Turkey's humanitarian assistance is used as the main mission, but Turkey's initiatives, invest more ground in African countries, construction projects, by developing trade and other businesses, reported that it gets to realize their strategic interests.

The first chapter explores the strategies of Turkish engagement in Somalia. Since the Cold war the use of soft power has grown in Turkish foreign policy, this has made it easy to establish a good relation with former Ottoman Empire territories to provide a humanitarian support and to make close links with them. From this part the author analysis Turkey's diversifying it's foreign towards Somalia in-terms of humanitarian, historical, economic and security perspectives. Many scholars argued that Turkey's opening up foreign policy in Somalia was derived only by humanitarian and historical interests. Their arguments is acceptable, but its not enough to understand Turkish foreign policy in Somalia because Turkey is not only following soft power diplomacy, but also has a strategic interest in Somalia which needs to be evaluated critically, for that reason I argued that Turkey's policy in Somalia is much broader than historical and humanitarian interests and I will look deeply into economic, geo-strategic and security perspectives.

The second chapter attempts to understand Turkish foreign policy in Africa, particularly Somalia because Turkey's policy in Somalia is intertwined with Turkish general policy on Africa. From the first part, the study analyses and answers this question: Why Somalia is a center for Turkey's foreign Policy towards Africa? Because Turkey's engagement in Somalia is an example of how Turkish-Africa policy will be a success.

The Third chapter, the study discusses and analyses Turkey's strategic interest in Somalia, Turkey realized the geopolitical trade importance of Somalia and adopted a strategic lever for its orientations in the region, which translated it into a strategic partnership with the Somalia government in the long run because Somalia connects Africa, Asia and Europe and it serves as a gateway for to the rest of Africa. However Turkey's engagement in Somalia should not only be seen as a religious or humanitarian, it should be considered as economic and political driven engagements (Yükleven and Zulkarnian, 2015). However, Turkey's economic vision in Somalia has been mixed with the humanitarian and cultural approach, which has been a tool for soft power diplomacy. From this part, I will go a long way in shedding light on the strategic interests of Turkey's foreign policy in Somalia while providing insight into the actions of Turkey's security, economic and geopolitical interests in the country like Turkey's military base in Mogadishu and its investment in some parts of Somalia. Both primary and secondary sources of data were used to carry out the study.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to examine and determine Turkish engagement in Somalia, particularly the strategic interest of Turkey's foreign policy in Somalia. Since 2011, the Turkish government has taken important steps to increase its diplomatic, and political relations with Somalia as soft power diplomacy in the direction of 1998 African Action Plan. Since then, the Horn of Africa has become a power struggle ground for the countries of the Middle East like Turkey, Iran, Israel and Gulf countries. This renewed interest is due to the region's strategic and geopolitical importance that resulted in today's scramble for influence among these countries which are driven by both geo-security and geo-economic imperatives. For that reasons, the Turkish foreign policy makers have begun to develop new strategies that shifted from a one-sided foreign policy to a multi-faceted foreign policy in Somalia. However, this study examines the strategic interest of Turkey's foreign policy in Somalia, particularly, the new Turkish

economic and security policy in Mogadishu.

Objectives of the study

In order to achieve main objectives and address research problem, the following points was research objectives of this study:

- 1- To determine the strategies of Turkey's engagement in Somalia.
- 2- To find out why Somalia is center for Turkey's Foreign Policy towards Africa
- 3- To explore and understand the strategic interest of Turkey's foreign policy towards Somalia.

Research Questions

The aim of this study is to answer the following questions

- 1- What are the strategies of Turkey's engagement in Somalia?
- 2- Why is Somalia the center for Turkey's Foreign Policy towards Africa?
- 3- What are the strategic interests of Turkey's Foreign Policy towards Somalia?

Arguments

There are two main scholarships of Turkey's engagement in Somalia. First, is the question of history. Many scholars argued that Turkish engagement in Somalia can be seen as the revival of history or Neo-Ottomanism, their argument is based on Somalis has being part of the Ottomans in Africa, for that reason, the new Turkish engagement in the country has come due to the revival of their historical relations in 15th and 19th centuries. The second argument is that Turkish foreign policy in Somalia is humanitarian oriented. In 2011, Somalia has witnessed the most devastating hunger crisis in the last 60 years, by answering to this tragedy, Turkish government has started humanitarian aid campaign to Somalia as part of its active diplomacy and humanitarian aid in foreign policy. The government had mobilized the Turkish people and collected significant amounts of aid. food, clothing, and medicines were supplied to Somalia and the Turkish government had brought in many patients for treatment in their country (Ozkan, 2014). This is the second argument which most of the second scholars argued, Turkey is driven by humanitarian aid, nothing else.

In contrast to this, the study argues that Turkey's engagement in Somalia is more than historical revival or humanitarian aid because each and every state makes its foreign policy in a unique way which is based on: its interests, its values and its responsibilities. In this case states are not thinking about only their short interests, Turkey's opening up Somalia policy in 2011 is one example of how states are thinking their strategic or long term interests. In this sense, the study argues that Turkey's policy towards Somalia does not only concern humanitarian, but also economic, security and long term interests.

Methodology

The overall purpose of this thesis was to demonstrate Turkish engagement in Somalia on one hand, and their strategic interest on the other. To accomplish the purpose of the research design of this study, the researcher uses both secondary as well primary data as much as they are available; experts, academicians and policy makers are consulted. Furthermore, relevant books, articles, journals, reports, policy and strategy papers, news sources and other relevant documents are used. More importantly, the study utilizes agreements and protocols between the Turkey and Somalia governments.

Significance of the Study

Based on the importance of this study, it attempted to investigate the Turkish foreign policy in Africa, particularly Somalia. The study will be significant in the understanding of Turkey's engagement in Somalia and answers why Somalia is a center for Turkish Foreign Policy towards Africa. The findings and recommendations of this study will be useful to both the Somalia and Turkish government. To outline specifically, the study will be useful to understand the strategic interest of Turkey's foreign policy in Somalia, it also contributes to the studies of Turkey's foreign policy, and more specifically, to Africa and Somalia. Also this study paves the way for scholars to add to their own contributions to the academic studies of Somalia. The researcher hopes that this study will form a base for further research in this field.

CHAPTER ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. Introduction

In today's world, the ways that countries use to protect their national interests and reach their aims have gone beyond the classical diplomacy, because classical diplomacy is no longer sufficient to establish relations with governments of other countries; Knowledge, communication, culture, and public perception have become key words in today's international relations. In this context, public diplomacy, which is expressed as the sum of activities of understanding, informing and influencing the public, has become one of the indispensable tools in the foreign policies of countries because the policies and programs aimed at the governments of other countries are also imperative. Today, many countries are actively using public diplomacy tools to create a positive perception of the world public sphere. The changes that took place in the international system brought new opportunities and new threats for Turkish foreign policy and necessitated reinterpretation and regulation of Turkish foreign policy makers' position in the world system. Turkey managed to use these methods to reach out Africa especially Somalia.

The modern relations between Turkey and Somalia started in 2011. During that time, there were severe drought in many regions of Somalia, the drought had left thousands of people dead and displaced hundreds, the Turkish government has launched numerous donations, including different types of food, medicines, and opened clinics operated by Turkish doctors. In addition, it also strengthened, renovated and restored some of the roads and government buildings in Mogadishu. simultaneously, there were investments with private Turkish companies investing in some parts of the country such as schools, technical centers, hospitals, and the administration of Turkish companies to both Aden Adde airport to Favori company, and the Mogadishu port to Albayrak. In this chapter I will look at Turkey's engagement in Somalia through an angle of humanitarian assistance, development projects, economic investment, and overall Turkey's policy towards Somalia.

1.2. Key terms and concepts

1.2.1. The concept of foreign policy

Foreign policy is a broad concept that is defined in many different ways by

academicians from various different schools, yet there is no agreed definition by experts until today. According to Hudson (2012), foreign policy is “the strategy or approach chosen by national government to achieve its goals in its relations with external entities. This includes the decisions to do nothing”. While George Modelski describes it as a system of activities developed by societies to change the behavior of other states and make their actions suitable for the international environment. Thus, foreign policy is generally understood as a whole of foreign policies imposed by a state, but sometimes it can be a single case or a strategy to achieve a single goal. At this point, the concept of foreign policy is defined as a set of trends or actions, that the decision-makers of state process to reach specific goals.

One of the most important issues in the framework of foreign policy concept is the level of analysis; mainly the individual, the state and the system. The level of analysis is one of the main factors determining the main actors or the scope of foreign policy studies. When foreign policy is considered only at the national level, it will not be possible for the states with the same internal characteristics to produce different foreign policies, and only for system level analysis, it will not be possible to understand the impact of internal actors. The avoidance of individual-level scrutiny is the neglect of the roles of leaders or decision-makers in the decision-making process and of their foreign policy perceptions. Therefore it would be more beneficial to conduct policy analysis at different levels and to take a holistic approach. In a short way, foreign policy is the political practices that a state is applying against another state . For example, the policies of the state A against the state B can be considered as the foreign policy of the State A. Similarly, the policies of the state B against the state A can be considered as the foreign policy of the B state.

1.2.2. The concept of foreign aid

The word aid means help or to support someone to achieve something while Foreign aid is generally conducted or promoted by international organization or a country to another international organization or another country to promote social, economic development, improve social equality, democracy and human rights, or to give help to needy people who are under emergency situations. Sometimes donations given for specific purposes are defined as loans and payable. During this interaction, developed countries are the countries providing assistance and developing countries are the countries that receive

assistance. In this view According to Morgenthau (1962). “foreign aid is the fulfillment of an obligation of the few rich nations toward the many poor ones”.

In the discipline of international relation ; there is no agreed definition of foreign aid. According to Realism, foreign aid “it is a policy tool that originated in the Cold War to influence the political judgement of recipient countries in a bi-polar struggle (Hattori, 2001). However, According to liberal internationalism, “it is a set of programmatic measures designed to enhance the socio-economic and political development of recipient countries. and finally according to world system theory, “it is a means of constraining the development path of recipient countries, promoting the unequal accumulation of capital in the world (Hattori, 2001).

Foreign aid has many different types, According to Morgenthau (1962), there are six types of foreign aid which are: foreign aid for economic development, humanitarian foreign aid, military foreign aid, subsistence foreign aid, bribery foreign aid, and prestige foreign aid. He argued that only humanitarian foreign aid are non political, these other forms of aid are used to influence the decisions of the recipient states.

The use of technical development assistance in foreign aid as a strategic foreign policy tool has emerged during the Cold War and has continued to grow for the last 70 years because development aid were frequently used in both countries as a strategic foreign policy instrument in the USSR-US global power struggle. According to realism school of international relations; foreign aid is a foreign policy tool which originated in the power struggle of the cold war and its used to influence the political judgment of the receiving countries in a bi-polar struggle (Hattori, 2001). Although in some places French used their development aid to maintain their activities in African countries in the post-colonial period. A very well-known view based on the fact that the strategy followed in development assistance is directly related to foreign policy interests.

After the independence of the African and Asian colonies of Europe, the US and the Soviet Union were trying to connect the new states with development aid from the second half of the 20th century. In this way, two superpowers carried the Cold War to the remote corners of the world. Some countries often provide assistance to another country to gain public sympathy to the taking society in order to reach their strategic interests. Some researchers argued that foreign aid creates a dependency relationship, the problems of the underdeveloped countries can increase even after the help of the aid

In this sense, foreign aid seems to be the cause of the problem rather than the solution; but Its no doubt that, technical development aid can sometimes help an advanced or developing country to find solutions to the urgent problems of another country but the problem is; apart from disasters, there is no much help to sectors in a less developed country that directly concern people such as health, food and agriculture.

1.2.3. The concept of strategic interest

We live in a world where every state wants to gain power to a achieve specific goals of their own national interests. The concept of national interest is now recognized as a universal political philosophy for the understanding of world politics and international relations throughout the 21st century, it is the most basic concept used in the meaning of interstate relations and the underlying foundation of foreign policy decisions, because foreign policy is designed to achieve some goals and decision-makers prefer foreign policy options that will best provide the benefits that are usually defined as national interests.

Thus strategic interest is different from national interest. The ways and methods used by states to achieve their goals through the power they have are described as "strategy" in the literature. Strategy can be expressed as the path to the target and the method to follow.

Although strategic interest is a controversial concept in today's globalizing world, but According to Shashank Juyal (2015. para; x). “strategic Interest is a broad term that usually entails a relationship between two parties that is mutually beneficial to both of them.The benefits can come in the form of increased safety, better Trade relations, access to financial markets etc”. So that the interests may become long term goals and can be economic, security and resources.

1.3. Turkey’s Engagement in Somalia

Somalia has not been of the priority in international politics for the last three decades, even though it was in the darkest of humanitarian conditions. In recent years, a new international player has emerged in the world arena, Turkey which seems to have been and still strategic country for the politics of Muslim countries in its Islamic perspective has returned to Somalia in 2011, during this time Somalia has been hit by a massive drought, leading to the displacement hundreds of thousands of people including families

with children, in this sense, Turkey started humanitarian aid to Somalia as part of the active diplomacy and humanitarian aid in Turkish foreign policy. While Somalia was in isolation mood for more than one decade, Erdoğan was the first non-African leader who visited Somalia in 2011.

The issue of Turkish foreign policy towards Somalia was different to some point, because it brought together both Turkish government and its opposition, the visit of Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu to Somalia in August 2011 is an example of how the Turkish society including the opposition, supported this policy. However, the Turkish government has launched numerous donations, including different types of food, medicines, and opened clinics operated by Turkish doctors, the objective of the Prime-Ministerial visiting was to give support to Somalia in the wake of the horrors of starvation and to attract the attention of the world on the tragedy happening in the region (Özkan, 2014). In his article published in foreign policy magazine *Erdogan* (OCTOBER 10, 2011), tells the world leaders the ongoing tragedy in Somalia and said:

*“Somalia is suffering from the most severe drought and famine in the last 60 years, which has already resulted in the deaths of tens of thousands of people and endangers the lives of 750,000 more Somalis. This crisis tests the notion of civilization and our modern values. It reveals, once again, that it is a basic human obligation to pursue international cooperation and solidarity to provide salace for those suffering from natural and man-made disasters. It is not realistic to consider Somalia’s plight as caused solely by a severe natural disaster. We cannot ignore the fact that, in addition to the drought, the international community’s decision to leave Somalia to its own fate is also an underlying factor causing this drama”.*¹

There are two main arguments of Turkey’s engagement in Somalia. The first argument, is the question of history, many authors argued that Turkish engagement in Somalia can be seen as the revival of history (Shinn, 2015; Cannon 2016, see Abdullahi 2014; Ahmed kavas, 2017) or Neo-Ottomanism, (Baird, 2016; see also Uzer, 2018; Taşpınar 2010; Edwards and Colborne, 2018). Most of these authors are non Turkish, they argued that Somalis are Muslims, for that reason Turkey’s engagement in Somalia is to return their historical relations in the 15th and 19th centuries in Somali’s. The Ottoman Empire

¹ Erdogan, (OCTOBER 10, 2011). Foreign policy magazine. ‘the tears of Somalia’ Retrieved from: <https://foreignolicy.com/2011/10/10/the-tears-of-somalia/>. accessed; 7/08/2018

cooperated with Africa in terms of commercial, social, cultural and religious relations and security activities. In this case, during the Ottoman empire, Mogadishu, Kismayo, Barawe, Marka, Berbera and Zeyla are the most commercial areas of Muslims in the Horn of Africa. Turkey defended and supported Somalia from Britain and Portuguese aggression in late 15th and 19th centuries (Omar, 2001; Abdullahi 2017). for those reasons, Ottoman-Somali relations in 15th until 19th centuries paved the way for the Turkish new engagement in Somalia.

The second thesis argues that Turkey's policy towards Somalia is humanitarian oriented (Ozkan, and Orakci 2015; see also Yukleyen and Zulkarnain, 2015; Murphy & Woods, 2014). Since 2011 Turkey undertaking humanitarian and development projects In Somalia, organizations affiliated to the Turkish government, businessmen and civil society organizations are actively present in the country. Turkey's initiative to help Somalia, conducted at domestic and international level. food, clothing, and medicines were supplied and offered to Somalia, also the Turkish government has brought to their country many Somali patients for treatment (Ozkan, 2014).

Turkey's development and humanitarian aid engagement in Somalia paved the way for it's relations in Somalia and to other African countries. Turkey shows both regional and global actors and the desire to be interested in these activities. (Akpinar, 2013; Yukleyen and Zulkarnain, 2015). This is the second argument which most of Turkish and non Turkish academicians believe that the Turkish engagement in Somalia is only for humanitarian diplomacy, nothing else.

It is true that Turkey initially acted and engaged for humanitarian purposes but It's clear that there is connection between the state's foreign policy interests and its commitment to international humanitarian activities. According to El Taraboulsi-McCarthy, et al (2018). there are some important factors which are influencing states to carry humanitarian activities such as realization of regional influence or international power, economic interests, commercial interests, or national security. However, Turkey used humanitarian assistance as their main mission to engage in Somalia and its engagement are broader than humanitarian.

The two groups of scholars have dealt with Turkey's foreign policy in Somalia since its engagement in 2011, but neither of them focused deeply into Turkish security and economic interests in detailed and methodological manner. The most organized and

efficient scholarly article was written by Dr Mehmet Ozkan, his scholarly articles and books about Somalia are useful and informative but it was based on a Turkish perspective that only examines in-terms of humanitarian perspective and it seems he has no background about Somalia and it's geo-strategic location. In addition to that, most of this two group scholars are either Turkish, who are experienced in Turkish foreign policy or Westerners who want to blame the Turkish government for reviving Neo-Ottomanism in their foreign policy. In the paragraphs to follow, I will highlight both arguments in detail and also develop a new argument which is based on Turkey's engagement in Somalia due to it's strategic interest.

1.3.1. The first Argument: Revival of Historical Relation

Historically, Ottoman Empire dominated in many parts of the Muslim world, such as Africa, Asia and Europe. East Africa was been a strategic place for the Ottoman empire because of its Geo-strategic location and they were protecting the interest of the empire as well as the holy places of Islam -Mekka and Madina (Siradağ, 2016). Turkish relation to Somalia dates from 16th century, at the time of Sultan Salim 1 of 1517, when the kingdom was governed in Egypt and Aden, the Ottomans extended their administration to Suakin island (Sudan), This has made possible for the kingdom to reach the shores of the Indian Ocean and the coastal towns of both southern and northern Somalia (Abdullahi, 2014; see also, Canon, 2016; Omar, 2001) during this time there were multiple wars between Muslims and Christians in the region. However, The Portuguese planned to seize control of the Horn of Africa and in 1516, troops led by Lopez suarez Alberguiera seized Zaila and burned the town later (Omar, 2001). Furthermore, The Portuguese troops attempted to extend their administration to the rest of Somalia, but Somalis Fought against them because the Portuguese and Ethiopian Empires were struggling to control Horn of Africa. During that time, Somalis had small and dainty Empires, and the Ottoman Empire supported them both economically and militarily to defeat the Portuguese. The Governor of the Ottoman empire in Yemen Hassan Paşa sent troops to the Horn of Africa commanded by Emir AliBey, the Ottoman troops crossed the Gulf of Aden and reached the shores of the Horn Africa. The intention of the troops was to restrict the spreading of the Portuguese army. Instantly, the troops of the Ottoman arrived in Mogadishu, Malindi, Lamu and Mombasa (Omar, 2001). In Somalia the Empire arrived and extended in distinct places where the footprints can be seen in Somalia's capital Mogadishu and also the Northern part of Somalia.

The Ottomans had the hardest times in the second half of the 19th century and in the early years of the 20th century at the same time they helped Somalia against the British colonialism in the northern region; The Ottomans gave a support both military and economically to Dervish movement led by Sayid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan in 1900s (Ciise, 1976).

Turkey's attempt to provide humanitarian assistance to the Somali people and to establish more relationships with African countries, aims to recreate the old Ottoman cooperation that benefits both sides (Canon, 2016) This policy change aims at reshaping Turkish politics by changing the norms of history, culture and identity, which are the legacies of Kemal Atatürk. The transformation of the AK Party aims to recover the old Ottoman heritage, which can also be called New Ottomanism (Uzer, 2018; Taşpınar 2010; Edwards and Colborne, 2018). This group of academicians argued that Turkey's new engagement in Somalia is only to restore the historical cooperation that was established during the Ottoman Empire.

1.3.2. The Second Argument: Humanitarian Oriented

In 2011, the Horn of Africa, especially Somalia has experienced the worst famine in history which caused the death and displacement of hundreds of thousands of people. The UN declared that there is severe hunger crisis in Somalia and it was the most devastating hunger crisis in the last 60 years. Most of central and southern regions were almost entirely under Al-Shabab control except the Presidential Palace which was under the protection of AMISOM. It was very hard to reach and bring aid to Al-Shabab-controlled areas, because they accused foreign aid workers of being Western spies (Maruf & Joseph, 2018). It was almost impossible to deliver aid to some places where there should severe hunger. However, the internally displaced people were trying to reach Mogadishu to meet their basic needs, their biggest dream was to survive death and starvation and to get humanitarian aid from local or international NGO's because the hunger crisis reached its worst in 2011.

In this sense, Turkey started humanitarian aid campaign to Somalia as part of its active diplomacy and humanitarian aid in Turkish foreign policy. The government had mobilized the Turkish people and collected significant amounts of aid. In 2011, the Turkish private companies donations to Somalia had amounted to \$365 million while the Turkish government has donated \$49 million in 2011(Yükleyen and Zulkarnian,

2015).

The UN and the European Union have long been working on humanitarian aid and peace building in the country, they unfortunately have a bad reputation among local people not because they were doing nothing but because the way they were doing was not very effective because they are based outside the country, even though they provide assistance through their local partners in Somalia but it will take long time to reach into Somalia, that's why Somalis prefer Turkish model of humanitarian aid because they are directly providing aid despite the security risks; this way is more effective and accountable. In addition, humanitarian efforts by Turkish aid agencies was done in a much shorter period of time and with far less funding, this is what strengthened the belief that western international organizations have wasted much of their help favors in the eyes of local people (Ozkan, 2014).

Despite the security risks in Somalia especially Mogadishu, Prime Minister Erdoğan visited Mogadishu in August 2011, the delegation included; the Erdogan family, various Ministers, business people, journalists and artists. Somalia was in isolation mood for more than one decade, for the first time since 1992 Erdoğan was the first non-African leader who visited Somalia in 2011 (Cannon, 2016). His visit carried out in an environment where even UN agencies were operating in neighboring countries like Kenya, this has received much sympathy among the Somali people because he challenged the perception that it's too dangerous to visit Mogadishu. The objective of the Prime-Ministerial visiting was to offer support to Somalia to recover from the horrors of starvation and to bring the attention of the world to the tragedy happening in the region (Özkan 2014).

However, Erdogan has won successfully to bring the world attention to Somalia after his speech at the UN General Assembly on 22 September 2011 focused on Somalia's situation (Yükleyen, and Zulkarnian, 2015). At the moment of his visit in Mogadishu, Erdogan had opened the biggest Turkish embassy in the world in Mogadishu, thanks to Erdogan and his AK party government who are thinking strategically in their foreign policy towards Somalia. At the same time Turkish Airlines started direct flights from Istanbul to Mogadishu. Turkish airline (THY) allowed the Somali diaspora to get in and out of Somalia in a much more comfortable airline and it was once the only international airline which goes to Mogadishu.

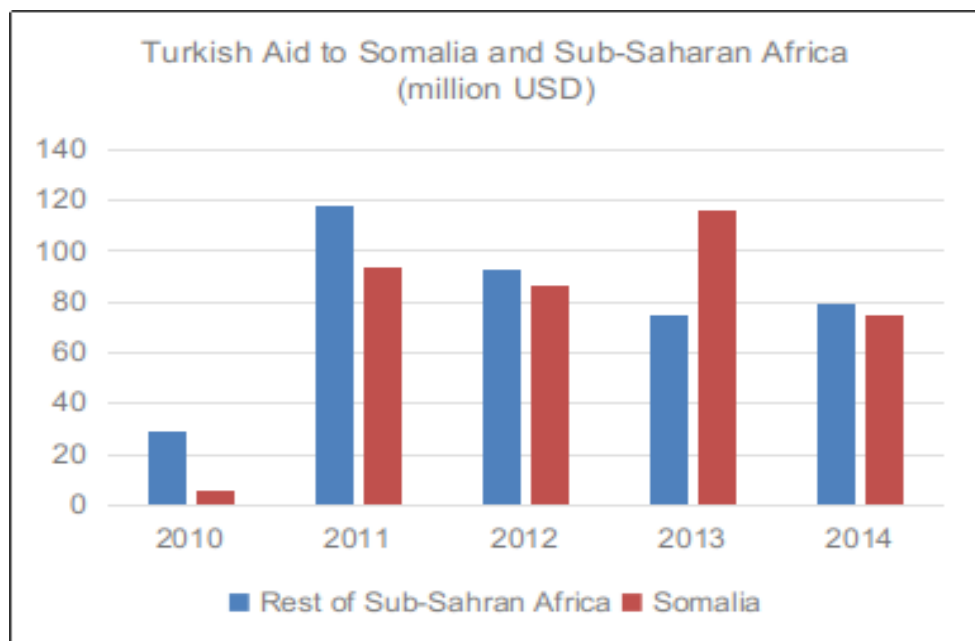
In 2013, According to TİKA report, the Turkish development and humanitarian aid to Somalia has reached \$370 million², this shows that during that time Turkish policy makers were very interested to help Somalia to overcome the serious hunger crisis in the country. In addition Somalia became the third country which received Turkish aid, TİKA has increased the ratio of aid to Somalia, which reached almost 10 percent in 2013, According to TİKA's budget, Somalia is given a special consideration. The following table and figure says it all.

Table 1 :The Percentage Somalia Receives in Overall TİKA Annual Budget³

2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
0,16	0,19	0,26	0,94	2,28	9,57	4,24	-	4,73

Source: TİKA reports, 2008: 12, 2009: 16, 2010: 9, 2011: 24, 2012: 25, 2013: 163, 2014: 177.

Figure 1: Turkish Aid to Somalia and Sub-Sahara Africa (Million Dollar)



Source: Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2016), Turkey And Somalia: A Synopsis of Technical and Humanitarian Cooperation 2011-2015, Directorate General for Africa.

² TİKA. (2013). TİKA 2013 Annual report. Ankara: TİKA. Retrieved from: <https://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/publication/TİKA%20ANNUAL%20REPORT%202013.pdf> Accessed 10/06/2018

³ In 2017, according to TİKA report Turkey's official development assistance to Somalia is 60.6 Million dollars.

Turkey managed to take important steps against the drought and hunger crisis in Mogadishu and its surrounding areas and has launched numerous donations, including different types of food, medicines, and opened clinics operated by Turkish doctors. For example, in 2011, the Turkish Red Crescent has launched a helping campaign in Mogadishu to internally displaced people, they setup accommodation for 15,000 people daily (Abdullahi, 2014). The Ministry of Health has sent several medical teams to volunteer in Mogadishu. A significant part of the aid provided in Somalia is carried out by the Turkish Red Crescent. In addition, TIKA, Diyanet, AFAD, Kimse Yok Mu (KYM) as well as IHH, especially Turkish civil society organizations have entered into a feverish activity and launched a helping campaign in various refugee camps in Somalia, despite the negative imposition of civil and terrorism war conditions, all these institutions have realized considerable projects in areas such as education, health, water and food security.

Humanitarian assistance is one of the strategies that governments use to engage and influence to other countries. In the 21st century, the world has made more progress on traditional foreign policy. Humanitarian and development assistance is one of the most key priorities of public diplomacy that states use to reach far beyond their borders. For example, Turkey is sufficiently engaged to Somalia by using humanitarian assistance. Turkish humanitarian diplomacy in Somalia was launched two years before the United Nation non permanent security council elections, this can be seen that the Turkish government was preparing to get the votes of African countries to Turkey's candidacy to the United Nation security council. It also shows the need for Turkey to attract the attention of the international community with the potential to have the African initiative in Turkish foreign policy.

Overall, Turkey's call for international support to Somalia's crisis has strengthened its positive image in the global political arena (Ozkan, 2014). However, Turkey used humanitarian assistance as their main mission to engage in Somalia. For that reason, it should not be seen as a religious or humanitarian, it should be considered as economically and politically driven engagements (Yükleyen and Zulkarnian, 2015). It is not very wrong to expect Turkey to have economic and strategic interests

1.3.3. Developing Third Argument: Strategic Interest

Foreign policy can often be understood as a set of strategies and policies that a state

implements to achieve specific goals but sometimes strategies are applied to achieve a single situation or a single goal. It is difficult to follow and implement a fixed and consistent foreign policy because there are a lot of things which may influence it, like decision makers, interests, pressure groups, political parties and the international system. The basic policies that a state should implement to achieve its foreign policy objectives are set in accordance with its national interests; protection and defense of their own strategic interest, national prestige, maximizing their national security, ideology, strength and to gain resources. Each and every state makes its foreign policy in a unique way based on: its interests, its responsibilities and its values (Dufourcq, 2010). The true influence of a state is manifested when it is able to find the external and internal resources necessary to engage with another state, after that the state may realize and achieve its short-term and strategic interests. The geopolitical position of Turkey makes it easy to formulate and implement their foreign policy which is based on its strategic interest in some parts of the world. In this case, states are not thinking of only their short term- interests, Turkey's opening up Somalia policy in 2011 is one example of how states are thinking of their strategic or long term interests. .

Turkey's new engagement in Somalia started in 2011, the historic visit of the Turkish president to Somalia on 19 August 2011 was considered a vital and Geo-strategic turning point for Somalia. This has caused a number of countries to take the lead and decided to find a foothold in Somalia that is growing recently, despite the security and political stability being fragile. Somalia has an important geopolitical position both commercially and militarily. Throughout history, Somalia has witnessed the power struggles of global and regional hegemonic power. Because of its geo-strategic location; Somali peninsula is the center of world, he who controls Somalia can claim or control the balances of world trade in their favor.

The global power struggle of the Ottoman and Portuguese empires in the 16th century, the US-Soviet power struggle in the Horn of Africa during the cold war, the US and the UN interventions in Somalia are concrete historical indicators of the geo-strategic importance in Somalia. It is true that Turkey initially acted for humanitarian purposes. However, Turkey has a broader purpose than humanitarian. Business people do not deny their economic interests in their orientation to Somalia and their strategic expectations to jump from Somalia to other African countries. It is not very wrong to expect Turkey to have economic and strategic interests. By examining these points in more detail,

Turkey's humanitarian assistance is used as the main mission, but Turkey's initiatives, invest more ground in African countries, construction projects, by developing trade and other businesses, reported that it gets to realize their strategic interests. In this sense, Turkey's interest in Somalia are not only limited to humanitarian or to restore the historical relation between the two countries. However, Somalia is considered to be a strategic area in terms of transportation, agricultural production and trade. For that reasons, within the framework of Turkey's opening up foreign policy in Africa, Turkey's opening up policy in Somalia made it easy for Turkish investors to reach Africa thus making Somalia to become the the gateway and bridge of Turkey into the Africa continent.

Turkey's strategy in Somalia can be understood in the context of its broader strategy to expand its relations and influence within the African continent. It focuses on the diversification of economic ties and relations with those countries, especially with the fact that the Turkish economy, which is crowding out the big countries, needs external markets to sustain this growth; the expansion of Turkey outside its immediate geographical environment, particularly in the Horn of Africa basin region. From a commercial perspective, Turkey's Africa initiative was to improve economic relations with African countries by expanding economic opportunities, creating new markets and new regions so that it can receive the raw material needed for Turkish local products. The Anatolian tigers focused on the development of small and medium scale industries to compete with developed countries in Africa markets. Since 2003, the trade volume between Turkey and Africa has risen to over 17,5 billion dollars in 2015 from 5.5 billion dollars in 2013⁴. In addition to that, Turkish Airlines continued its operation in Africa by raising its routes to nearly fifty (50) destinations in thirty one countries.

The Horn of Africa has been a major beneficiary of Turkish investments particularly Ethiopia, which remains to be a major trading partner with Turkey. In 2015, the trade volume between the two countries was 420 Million USD (Dış ekonomik ilişkileri Kurulu, 2015). Since then, the number was increasing. Currently The total amount of investments by the Turkish firms in Ethiopia is around 2,5 billion USD. and Turkish firms employ the highest number of workers in private sector in Ethiopia (Mfa, nd).

⁴ Ministry of foreign affairs, (n.d).TURKEY-AFRICA RELATIONS. Retrieved from; <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-africa-relations.en.mfa>

Turkish Airlines has served mostly every capital in the Horn of Africa, and Turkey has doubled its diplomatic missions on the continent. In this context Somalia is the most important economic hub for Turkish businessmen due to its strategic trade route that connects Africa, Asia and Europe. For that reasons, the main important interest of AK party's government to Somalia is the establishment of a new market areas for Anatolian tigers. Turkey realized the geopolitical trade importance of Somalia and adopted a strategic lever for its orientations in the region, which can be translated into a strategic partnership with the Somalia government because Somalia connects Africa, Asia and Europe and it serves as a gateway for to the rest of Africa.

On the other hand According to World Bank report in Somalia's economy, titled "Rapid Growth in Mobile Money: Stability or Vulnerability", the economy of Somalia is witnessing a remarkable improvement, albeit slightly in the last few years, as a result of the relative political stability in the country. The expected growth estimated at an annual rate of 3–4 percent (Word bank, 2018). following the return of expatriates and the growing monthly income at the international airport and port of Mogadishu operated by Turkish companies. The airport and the international port of Mogadishu are the biggest source of revenue for the Somali government today, the Turkish Favori LLC won the tender for the reconstruction, management and maintenance of the Airport for twenty years (Shinn, 2015). while the Albayrak group took over the administration of one of the most important ports in Somalia- the Mogadishu port, the duration of the contract is 20 years long and the Somalia government will receive 55% while Albayrak will receive the remaining 45% (Albayrak, n,d).

After Turkish companies took-over the Mogadishu international airport and Mogadishu Port, they increased the monthly income of these two significant sectors, thanks to Turkish companies, who made significant income increases for their management and administration of both Mogadishu airport and seaport compared to previous years, which were run by local and foreign companies. Today a significant number of Somali people use Turkish textiles especially the clothing sector as well as Turkish business are able to export their products easily to Somalia. Thanks to Erdogan's humanitarian initiative who made possible the Anatolian tigers to reach into Somalia. Thus, the relationship between Turkey and Somalia is closely linked to the economic interests of Turkish companies seeking to invest, develop and manage infrastructure in Somalia.

Table 2: Summary of arguments in Turkish engagement in Somalia

Arguments	Main Assumptions
Argument 1- Historical revival	<p>-Turkey's attempt to engage and provide humanitarian assistance to the Somali people and to establish more relationship with African countries, aims to recreate the old Ottoman cooperation that benefits both sides.</p> <p>-The common Islamic identity has caused Turkey to engage with Somalia and play a humanitarian role as recommended by the Islamic teachings.</p> <p>- The aim of the AK party government is to revive the Turkish history by reshaping the norms of culture and identity of Turkish politics which are the legacies of Kemal Atatürk.</p> <p>- Neo-Ottomanism in Turkish foreign policy.</p>
Argument 2- Humanitarian oriented	<p>-Turkey's priority is to help the neglected people of Somalia and eliminate the effects of hunger and famine in the country as quickly as possible.</p> <p>-The objective of the prime-ministerial visit was to support Somalia in the wake of the horrors of starvation and to attract the attention of the world to the tragedy happening in the region</p> <p>-Humanitarian aid become a fundamental principle in Turkish foreign policy.</p> <p>-TIKA has provided a considerable assistance to Somalia. In 2011, the total amount of TIKA's aid to the African continent was around \$131 million; only the amount of aid to Somalia has been more than \$93 million.</p>
Argument 3- Strategic interest	<p>-As a matter of fact, Somalia has geopolitical importance due to its proximity to the Bab'ul Mendep Strait, which is one of the most important crossing points of world sea trade and which connects the Red Sea to the Pacific Ocean, and it is located on the south side of the Gulf of Aden. Thus it can be said that Somalia has special place for Turkey in terms of global relations, not only with Africa.</p> <p>-The historic visit of the Turkish president to Somalia on 19 August 2011 was considered a vital and Geo-strategic turning point for</p>

	<p>Somalia.</p> <p>-The visit and subsequent humanitarian and development projects carried out by the Turkish authorities led to a strong Turkish presence in Somalia, which developed into a military presence after Ankara opened it's largest military base abroad in Mogadishu.</p> <p>-Humanitarian assistance is one of the strategies that governments use to engage and influence other countries. In this context It is true to expect Turkey to have economic, strategic and security interests in Somalia.</p> <p>-Turkey's strategy in Somalia can be understood in the context of its broader strategy to expand its relations and influence within the African continent because Somalia has an important geopolitical position both commercially and militarily. In this context, Somalia is the most important economic hub for Turkish businessmen due to its strategic trade route that connects Africa, Asia and Europe.</p> <p>-The main important interest of AK party's government to Somalia is the establishment of a new market areas for the Anatolian tigers. Turkey realized the geopolitical trade importance of Somalia and adopted a strategic lever for its orientations in the region, which can be translated into a strategic partnership with the Somali government because Somalia connects Africa, Asia and Europe and it serves as a gateway for to the rest of Africa.</p> <p>-Somalia is considered to be strategic area in terms of transportation, agricultural production and trade. However, It can be argued that Turkey's interest in Somalia can be considered to be due to Somalia's geo-strategic location.</p>
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CHAPTER TWO: TURKEY'S OPENING UP FOREIGN POLICY IN AFRICA AND SOMALIA

2.1. Introduction

Historically, Turkish foreign policy was based on westernization of the country. After the birth of the Turkey's modern state, Atatürk has been elected as the First President of the state in 1923. Atatürk, has formulated a foreign policy based on westernization model in parallel with the radical revolution that Atatürk initiated in order to make Turkey a modern state, Turkey's foreign policy was also directed towards the West. Turkey has not been able to engage in an independent foreign policy behavior that will fundamentally affect the international system and regional relations outside of Cyprus. However, the new international environment that emerged with the end of the Cold war has influenced Turkey and the international system as a whole. After the end of the cold war Turkey started making new foreign policy which is based on the country's national interest. Turkey engaged with some parts of the world especially Arab and African countries. In this chapter I will outline Turkey's opening up foreign policy in Africa. Turkey's economic, political and cultural relation with Africa will be discussed, furthermore, I will try to find out Turkish-Somali policy in the context of Turkey's opening up its foreign policy in Africa, because Turkey's policy in Somalia is intertwined with Turkish general policy on Africa. From this part, the study analysis and answers this question: Why is Somalia a center for Turkey's foreign Policy towards Africa? Because Turkey's engagement in Somalia is an example of how Turkish-Africa policy was a success.

2.2. Understanding Turkish Foreign Policy in Africa

Africa and Turkey have a long historical relations because many countries on the continent were part of the late Ottoman empire which collapsed in the early years of the 20th century. Turkey's Africa relations can be divided into main three periods; first, during the Ottoman empire until its abolition in 1923, Second period is the establishment of the modern republic in 1923 until the end of the 20th century, and the final stage started when AK party came to power until today (Ozkan, 2012).

Historically, Turkey have no colonization background in Africa, but instead of that they helped some African countries during the European colonization of Africa. At such a time, the Ottomans, the strongest power in the Islamic world, were able to help the Muslims against the Spanish occupation in the northern region of Africa, and against the Portuguese invasion in the Indian Ocean; in the eastern part of the continent Ottomans helped Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan against the colonization in the region during the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century (Kavaz, 2017). While the northern part the Ottoman empire were part of the international system of power balance and even Ottomans signed an alliance and friendship pact with the Kanem-Bornu that existed in the modern day of Niger, Northern Nigeria and Chad and even during the Sultan Murad 111, Ottomans sent a military trainers and equipment to the region (Ozkan and Akgün, 2010). Furthermore, the authors outlined that the relation between the Ottoman Empire and Africa were not only based militarily, but also the Ottomans involved in the continent through economy and diplomacy; for instance, in the modern day South Africa, the Ottomans had appointed Mehmet Remzi Bey as their Ambassador to improve and strengthen their relationship in 1914.

On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire had a religious and cultural relation with Africa. In 1862 the Ottomans sent Imam Ebubekir Effendi to South Africa to teach and spread Islam (Siradag, 2017). Also these dynastic states and sultanates sent embassy delegations to Istanbul, the Ottoman State was sending its delegations to these regions until the beginning of the 20th century. Furthermore, In economic terms, the benefits of the Ottoman Empire's African provinces have always been limited.

In 1923, Turkey declared its independence and the Ottoman empire had been abolished, Turkey's relation with Africa become slowed because of various domestic problems with which the new state was facing at that time, due to this, Turkey's foreign policy makers neglected African relation. In 1935, Italy attacked Ethiopia to capture and colonize but Turkey supported Ethiopia through diplomacy and also sent military advisers to Ethiopia.

During the decolonization period, Turkey recognized instantly the newly independent African states in the late 1950-70 (Afacan, 2013) and this was the time of the Cold war; during this time Turkey's foreign policy faced a lot of obstacles from East and west ideological competition which caused it to neglect Africa and sees it as a secondary

(Ibid). Turkey neglected Africa up until the end of the Cold war because of the domestic problems which the state faced. In other words there are two other factors which delayed Turkey's relation with Africa . First, conflicting ideologies and the division of Turkey's political parties, second is the involvement of Turkish military in politics ((Siradag, 2013). Finally, in 1998 Turkey adopted it's first policy towards Africa. Turkey's geographical position in the world is what makes it significant to world politics, hence the geopolitical position of Turkey is what makes Turkey-Africa relation easy. The rejection of Turkey to join the European Union membership has led Turkish foreign policy to seek and to open new regions. Turkey doesn't have any dark history with Africa like colonization, this will help Turkey win over African countries, thus enhancing cooperation and friendly relation with the Continent (Ozkan, 2012) this also helped Turkey to open its foreign policy doors to Africa.

2.2.1. Opening up Africa Policy

The end of the cold war, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the bipolar system of the world politics in 1990 has caused controversy in the international system and foreign policy analysis. To overcome this kind of chaos in foreign policy, states tried to reshape and redirect their foreign policies, because foreign policy is not something static, It can carry changes in order to achieve its objectives. The change that took place in the international system in the 1990s has led countries to redefine their own interests in the emerging system. Turkey's response to these changes, to define foreign policy was multi-faceted and not only with its neighbors but also with other parts of the world to improve economic and political relations with the continent. Turkey's Africa initiative in this context is seen as part of the redefinition of its foreign policy.

For many years Turkey's foreign policy was western oriented; to join EU, NATO and to become allies with the US. However, the rejection of Turkey to join or European Union membership IN 1997 has led Turkish foreign policy to seek and open new regions. Ismail Cem who was Turkey's foreign ministry of the coalition government in 1997 undertook the task of planning Turkey-Africa relations, he assumed that the time has come to improve the vision to cross the Mediterranean into Africa. Turkey is not a reactionary movement of the expansion to Africa , it should be seen as a rather visionary approach. In this context Turkish foreign policy makers have begun to develop new

strategies to shift from one-sided foreign policy to a multi-faced foreign policy. In 1998 Turkey adopted its first foreign policy towards African countries entitled “African opening action plan of 1998” to open and establish good relations with African countries. Economically, there are two important things which need to be addressed: First, the global economic recession and Turkey's export-oriented economic strategy in the Western market, finding alternative markets for exporters in Turkey has revealed the need.

Secondly, the emergence of small and medium-sized companies in the Anatolian bourgeoisie, the AK Party's economic and political base is concerned. The AK Party government had to link these businesses to new markets in order to survive, and Africa was an ideal area for that. According to (Siradag, 2013) The most important aims of the Action plan was;

1- Political relation (realization of high-level visits between African countries and Turkey, Increasing the number of diplomatic missions in Africa and Increasing contact with continental states within various international organizations).

2- Economic relations (tax reduction, Signing of economic, technical, scientific and commercial cooperation agreements, Becoming a member of the African Import-Export Bank, to become a donor country to the African Development Bank,).

3- To improve social relations between two sides (Scientific and technical cooperation, cultural trips, exchange of academic programs both students and academicians, scholarship grants, establishing African studies institute in Turkey)

4- To increase and reinforce in military and defense relations (giving training to commanders and African soldiers in Turkey, Contributing financially to UN peace operations in Africa)

5- To create institutional relations between Africa and Turkey (membership to some African institutions such as; the common market for Eastern and Southern Africa {COMESA}, Southern Africa development community {SADC}, the African union, the Economic community of west Africa states {ECOWAS}, and the African Development Bank {ADB}.

The new era of Turkey and Africa started at this initiative, it was a historical forward

step for Turkey and Africa relations, but unfortunately, due to domestic problems the initiative has not implemented until 2005 (Afacan, 2013; p, 48. Sirdag, 2013, p- 20;).

2.2.3. '2005 the Year of Africa' in Turkish Foreign Policy

Turkey-Africa reviving of relationships that developed in 1998 under “African opening action plan of 1998” suffered neglect again under the the circumstance of domestic problems until the Justice and Development (AK Party) came to power in 2002 , The most important turning point of the Turkey-Africa relations was 2005. Because this year was declared the 'Africa Year' in Turkish foreign policy, the aim of this initiative was to implement the African opening up of Turkish foreign policy that was setup in 1998.

The AK party government has three important goals in African policy: First, to increase cooperation with the countries that were part of the Ottoman Empire, this relates to the question of common history- this is the Northern and Eastern (Horn of Africa) of the continent. The second and the most important objective is to improve Turkey’s diplomatic presence in Africa. In this context, Turkey will strengthen its diplomatic ties to the continent. The third objective is to establish a strategic partnership with countries and regional organizations on the continent. However, the relationship was developing as a result of continued expansion policy over the past decade. Success in this regard has played an important role in mutual visits. Turkey and the African countries as a result of visits carried out both political and economic relationship which has evolved considerably. In this context, high-level mutual visits had been started by both sides; since the establishment of Turkish Republic in 1923, Prime-minister Erdogan was the first PM of Turkish republic who paid a visit to sub-Saharan Africa. In 2005 Erdogan visited South Africa and Ethiopia (Ozkan and Akgun, 2010) in the same year Turkey officially obtained observer statues in the African Union which is based in Addis Ababa (Kaya &Warner, 2012).

In order to further develop Turkey’s economic ties with Africa, Turkey requested to join African Development Bank and the African Development Fund and was accepted in May 2008. Turkey's membership in the Abidjan-based African Development Bank and the Cairo-based African Import-Export Bank (Afreximbank), is a priority for some African countries to purchase mostly export and the development of air and sea transportation in Africa.

The African opening up policy was very important to Turkish enterprises because both small and medium sized enterprise companies like the Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association(MÜSAID) and the Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists (TUSKON) took significant steps particularly in exporting to Africa (Afacan, 2013). The following table clearly indicates that the Turkish export in Africa increased after Turkish opening up Africa policy in Africa.

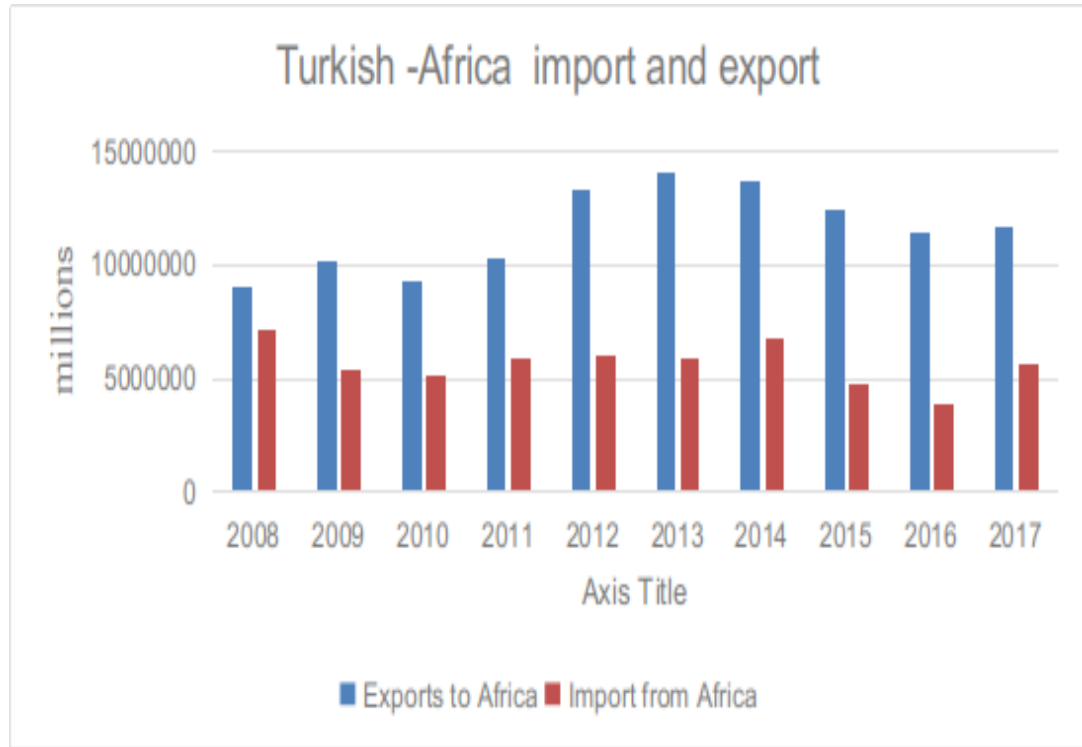
Table 3. Turkish export/import in Africa.

Year	Export (Dollar)	Import (Dollar)
2003	2,131,216,919	1,549,664,670
2004	2,968,147,261	2,598,417,506
2005	3,631,246,697	3,216,470,735
2006	4,565,791,789	3,910,081,662
2007	5,976,343,671	5,106,537,905
2008	9,062,603,182	5,596,475,645
2009	10,154,641,823	3,937,890,497
2010	9,283,065,729	4,824,006,944
2011	10,333,821,248	6,766,713,095

Source- Afacacan. The African opening in Turkish foreign policy. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/3176704/The African Opening in Turkish Foreign Policy](https://www.academia.edu/3176704/The_African_Opening_in_Turkish_Foreign_Policy).

TUSKON was particularly active in attempts to expand commercial and trade activities in Africa. It organized the foreign bridge of Turkey-Africa trade which was held in 2006 (Shinn, 2015). As the following table shows, the African opening up policy of Turkey increased the export figures and created employment opportunities both in Turkey and Africa.

Figure 2: Turkish-Africa import and export



Source:Turkish statistical institute. <http://web.turkstat.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=temelist>

According to Akgün and Özkan (2010) the trade volume of Turkey to Africa was \$5.4 billion in 2003, but in 2008 it increased more than three-fold and reached \$16 billion. Year after year, Turkey was increasing its investment in African countries through bilateral trade agreements. Turkey’s engagement in Africa as illustrated in the last table and figure was increasing due to Turkish private companies who are very active in the continent. For example, in 2015 the trade volume between Turkey and Africa has reached 17 billion dollars, it has increased three-fold compared to 2003 (Mfa, n,d).

In addition to the political and economic measures, it is envisaged that the contribution to the UN peacekeeping operations in Africa, including the military related measures, this will include the acceptance of African students to military training institutions in Turkey and the training of Turkish military experts in African countries. In MAY 2010, Turkey hosted one of the most important UN Somali summit in Istanbul, and Turkish government promised the development aid and military assistance to Somalia in the form of training Somali soldiers in Turkey (Kaya & Warner, 2012). At the same time, Turkey provided \$8.84 Million for reshaping and restructuring the Somali national army; Police, Military and giving training in Turkish military academies (Shinn, 2015). Finally,

some precautions in the field of education and culture were given. For the first time, Turkey invited some of the religious leaders in Africa for cooperation and consultation (Akgun & Ozkan, 2010). However, I argue that without religious connection the Turkish opening up African policy would be incomplete that's why Turkey in November 2006 held religious leaders meeting in Istanbul where 21 Muslim countries and societies from Africa participated (Ibid).

In 2009, the number of Turkish embassies in the African continent was very low compared today, 2009 there were only 12 Turkish embassies to Africa (5 of them in Northern Africa) but today there are 39 Turkish embassies in Africa and even Turkey is planning to open a new embassy in Equatorial Guinea. On the other hand , before 5 years the number of African embassies in Ankara was very low; it was around 10 embassies, but now it reached 32 embassies (Ministry of foreign affairs, n.d). This is the a clear evidence that the relationship between the both parties is based on mutual interest and gradually developing year by year. This table shows that in 2009 Turkey’s relation to Africa was very weak compared to today.

Table 4. Turkey’s newly opened embassies in sub-Saharan Africa in between 2009-2012

Year	Country	Year	Country
2009	Tanzania	2009	Ivory coast
2010	Madagascar	2010	Cameroon
2010	Angola	2010	Ghana
2010	Mali	2010	Uganda
2011	Somalia	2011	Niger
2011	Gambia	2011	Zambia
2011	Mozambique	2011	Mauritania
2011	Zimbabwe	2011	South Sudan
2012	Namibia	2012	Burkina faso
2012	Gabon	2012	Chad

Data from Siradag, Abdurahim. The making of the new Turkish foreign and security policy towards Africa. Retrieved from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/321951584_The_Making_of_the_New_Turkish_Foreign_and_Security_Policy_towards_Africa

The opening of new embassies and new trade consultancy, economic and trade agreements and the signing of activities such as Turkish civil society organizations started working and proving support to some of African countries to strength the

relations of both parties. Turkey also provides scholarships to thousands of African students who are studying in different universities in Turkey. In 2008, Turkey was one of the three candidates that were competing for non permanent seat of the UN Security Council, and Turkey needed the support of African countries to win that seat. Finally African countries supported Turkey's candidacy, thus it become a non permanent member of the United Nations security council (Ozkan and Akgun, 2012).

2.3. Somalia in the Context of Turkish Foreign Policy in Africa

The modern day of Turkey-Africa relations dates back to the time when AK party came to power in November 2002. The AK party government has emphasized the development of relations with different actors and regions. According to the new Turkish foreign policy discourse, Turkey should be defined as African-Eurasian country because Davutoglu discovered 'Afro-Eurasia' as a new geopolitical framework for Turkish foreign Policy and argued that Turkey can be defined as a central country with having multiple regional identities that cannot be reduced to one unified character (Ozkan and Akgun, 2012).). which means Turkey's geographical boundaries not only the West but also the Middle Eastern, Asia and extends to Africa continent.

Turkey's recent African initiative began in 2005. During that year AK party assigned to be the year of Africa in Turkish foreign policy and Turkish foreign policy makers started to strengthen their African counterparts. However, Since AK party came to power in 2002, Turkey adopted a multi-dimensional foreign policy approach that has led to improved relations with the region that has been neglected earlier. As a result of new expansions, new territories in Turkish foreign policy have started to open deeply. The African continent is undoubtedly the most successful of these initiatives because it is supported both political and economic policy. Turkey's evolving relation with Somalia for the realization of practical application of the AK Party's new foreign policy discourse can be shown as prime-example.

The AK party government has taken important steps to increase its political and diplomatic relations with Somalia in the direction of the 1998 African Action Plan because at that time Turkish foreign policy makers have begun to develop new strategies that shifted from a one-sided foreign policy to a multi-faceted foreign policy. Somalia become a country where new forces enter into competition in the globalizing world. For this reason, Somalia has become the focus and the strategy of Turkey's

foreign policy towards Africa (Shinn, 2015). In response to this reality, the international community is trying to develop relations with Somalia; the US and former colonial powers of Somalia are faced with new competitive countries like Turkey and China, but what makes Turkey unique is that; it doesn't have any bad background in Somalia like colonization, this helped Turkey win over the hearts of the Somali people thus made them cooperate with and have a good relation with the Country. There are four main important factors which caused Turkey's preference in Somalia. First, the question of history, what makes Turkey-Somalia relations unique is the question of history. Several studies outlined that Ottoman had been a natural ally of Somalia and had special political, economic and military relations with Somalis. Somalia was part of the Ottoman territory, in 1517 the Kingdom reached both southern and northern Somalia (Abdullahi, 2014; see also, Cannon, 2016; Omar, 2001). During that time there was Muslim/christian tug of war in Horn of Africa (Abdullahi, 2014). The Portuguese empire tried to seize and control Somalia but with the support of the Ottoman empire, Somali's fought against Portugal. The second important factor which makes Turkish policy makers favorable and came forward their engagement in Somalia is the geo-strategic place that Somalia occupies, Turkey's interest in Somalia is not only based for a short term.

One of the most important aims of Turkish opening up African policy has been strengthen economic and security relations with African countries, in this context the location of Somalia is favourable to Turkey for both economic and security relations. Somalia is recovering state and Somalis have the talent and resilience and the natural resources that has not been exploited yet, that will shape the country into a better future. According to (Canon, 2016) to invest in a hot spot country like Somalia is very risky but the outcome can be great. As we can see now, Turkey got a military base in Mogadishu and it's one of the largest military bases Turkish government had abroad after Qatar. Somalia has Africa's longest coastline and Somalia's natural resources has not been produced yet. for those reasons, Turkey started their friendship with Somalia. The third factor is the question of religion, for the past years, religion was main actor in Turkish foreign policy, without the common Muslim identity Turkish foreign policy in Somalia would be incomplete. The last and the important factor which caused Turkey to enter into relations with Somalia is humanitarian factor, Turkey's modern day engagement in Somalia started in 2011, during that time Somalia was in a terrible situation caused by

severe drought and terrorism. Turkish foreign policy makers started doing active foreign and humanitarian aid policy to deal with drought and launched an intensive campaign to help Somalia and their active foreign and humanitarian policy become successful in Somalia.

2.4. Beyond Africa: Turkey's humanitarian and development policy towards Somalia

Development and foreign aid are among the most frequently tools that governments used to maintain their global power today and those who want to develop regional powers. Any kind of assistance to the development of another country is very suitable ground for political, economic, social and cultural relations with that country in both short term and long term. Although this kind of relationship is great benefit in terms of countries providing technical assistance in the long run. Some of the third world countries get direct budget support from external country. Turkey's modern age engagement in Somalia started in 2011, during that time Somalia was in a bad situation caused by severe drought and terrorism. Turkish foreign policy makers started doing active foreign and humanitarian aid policy to deal with drought and launched an intensive campaign to help Somalia. For the first time in Turkish Africa history, both government agencies and non-governmental organizations have collaborated and shared their experiences in Somalia. To understand what humanitarian diplomacy is; next paragraphs i will highlight the exact meaning of humanitarian diplomacy and the role of humanitarian diplomacy in Turkish foreign policy.

2.4.1. The concept of humanitarian diplomacy

In recent years, the concept of humanitarian diplomacy has been used extensively, both government and non governmental organization have defined this term differently, because the term has been used not only by humanitarian aid organizations, but also by government official and civil institutions working to respond to national and international emergencies. However, an internationally accepted common definition of human diplomacy has not been made. Because each of the three actors; states, international organizations and non-governmental organizations involved in humanitarian aid defined humanitarian aid diplomacy differently from other actors in line with their role and objectives. According to a research finding conducted by International Federation of red cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) in 2011, there

are eighty nine different definitions of humanitarian diplomacy (Regnier, 2011).

Lamb (2008) explains “Humanitarian diplomacy is action aimed at maximizing support for operations and programs, and building the partnerships necessary if humanitarian objectives are to be achieved”. In this sense, humanitarian diplomacy has become directly related to both risk prevention and crisis management.

According to a study conducted by Harroff-Tavel (2006). humanitarian diplomacy is “developing a network of close bilateral or multilateral, official or informal relations with the protagonists of armed conflicts and disturbances, and with any other State, non-State actor or influential agent, in order to foster heightened awareness of the plight of victims of armed conflicts, support for the ICRC’s humanitarian action and respect for humanitarian law”. However, humanitarian actions, is not really limited to emergency situations like clashes, conflicts or disasters. Yet additionally, it demonstrates developmental dimension.

Moreover, Ahmet davutoglu (2013) defined humanitarian diplomacy “to something more than humanitarian aid. Yet any diplomacy that does not touch human beings, does not have a humanitarian essence and does not speak to human conscience will not last for long.”. To the best of my knowledge, humanitarian diplomacy is the strategy of preventing and solving human problems through dialogue, negotiation and international rules. The realization of this strategy requires consideration of the interaction between the parties. Humanitarian diplomacy is therefore a communication strategy. Humanitarian diplomacy will also become a crucial area of diplomacy in the coming periods, as the importance given to human rights is increasing in the legitimacy of national and international activities.

2.4.2. Humanitarian aid in Turkish foreign policy

Humanitarian aid, which started in the form of food aid to some countries since the mid-1980s, has gained considerable momentum in recent years and has spread to many parts of the world. After the cold war, Turkey shifted from one-sided foreign policy to multi-faceted foreign policy; due to its strategic location, Turkey started to take steps to strengthen its strategic relations with different regions in the world. Furthermore, it has been identified as an important goal that the AK party’s development of security, political, economic and social relations as whole in the new foreign policy discourse and

to do more active in humanitarian aid diplomacy.

It's clear that there is connection between states foreign policy interests and its commitment to international humanitarian activities. According to El Taraboulsi-McCarthy, et al (2018). there are some important factors which are influencing states to carry humanitarian activities such as realization of regional influence or international power, economic interests, commercial interests, or national security. Realist school of international relation argues that states should construct its foreign policy to maximize their security. Barnett (2008) addressed the question of; if states have “duties beyond borders” and says that the national interest of the state is to protect the citizens and the nation as whole. According to normative discourse framework humanitarian diplomacy may perform as an instrument for regulating strategic state interests in areas beyond their borders.

Turkey's humanitarian aid has been initiated in 1980s (Mfa, n.d). Since the AK party came to power in 2002, Turkey's humanitarian aid policy has undergone a big change, it has gained remarkable momentum in the last decade and it has emerged as a generous donor of humanitarian aid and peace-building in the world especially Muslim countries. According to Ahmet Davutoglu (2013). Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy has three dimensions. The first dimension is the citizens of Turkey, to improve citizens' lives at home to use their potential in the future. Second, adopting human oriented pro-active policy which focuses on crisis zones, no matter where is she/he from the one who need help- Turkey's Somalia and Syria policy is one example. Third, Turkey's understanding of humanitarian diplomacy is multi-channeled and multi-faceted, for this reasons Turkey is actively contributing and encouraging humanitarian attitude globally.

Humanitarian aid is usually carried out in the world by the Red Cross or Red Crescent organizations of the countries. A significant part of the aid provided in Somalia is carried out by the Turkish Red Crescent, the Turkish Red Crescent, which continues to carry out its aid efforts throughout the African continent, has decided to launch a helping campaign. In addition to state institutions, a non-governmental organizations also conduct humanitarian aid work in sub-Saharan Africa. The most prominent of these organizations is the Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH), The Foundation's support and assistance campaigns reach needy people in many countries of the world, making a positive impact on oppressed and victims. TIKA has become one of the most important

tools in the implementation of Turkish humanitarian foreign policy. Currently, the organization is active in 135 countries of the world (IHH, n.d). The countries where the foundation is active are mostly concentrated in Africa. Turkey is also cooperating with a number of UN humanitarian organizations such as UNOCHA, WFP and others.

In recent years, due to the Syrian conflict, Turkey's became one of the most recipient of refugees in the world, for this reason, it has increased the amount of humanitarian aid. For example, in 2013 the OECD reported that Turkey has increased more than 10% of its humanitarian aid compared to previous year (Öztürk, 2016). 2014, Turkey become a member of UNOCHA donor support group. In 2015, According to a report conducted by Global humanitarian assistance; Turkey become the second biggest donor country after United states, with a humanitarian aid amounted in \$3.2 billion. while 2016 Turkey's humanitarian assistance reached out \$5.7 billion(mfa, n.d).

Within the framework of the obligations of international humanitarian law, Turkey used open-door policy to Syrians who fled the violence in their country and provided protection to the 3.5 million Syrians without discrimination in accordance with international humanitarian law (Sabah, 2018). this is what Davutoglu ranked the second dimension of Turkish humanitarian aid diplomacy; this is a human oriented policy, no matter of race, religion or background . Within the framework of Turkey's foreign policy dichotomy to Africa "African solutions to African problems" Turkey reached the African continent through humanitarian aid diplomacy, from the North, south, middle and the horn of Africa region of the continent.

2.4.3.Foreign development aid in Turkish foreign policy

Turkey's foreign policy was a western oriented from the time of its establishment until the AK party came to power in 2002. During that time one of the most important principles of Turkish foreign policy is the principle of Western-ism. This principle is mostly used especially at the end of second world war. Initially, Turkey's place in the Western camp were mostly due to the security concerns and also foreign aid. Turkey was a part of the Western security system and were receiving ongoing assistance as a result of that. The realization of the world by foreign aid began in the aftermath of the Second World War when the United States (US) launched an external aid program against the Soviet Union, which it regarded as a threat. With Truman's decision and later with Marshall's proposals, various countries in Europe have started to receive US

military and economic aid. However, Turkey has been one of the first countries benefiting from this assistance. According to Küçükbayrak (2010), Turkey's exports during 1960-69 was 4.3 billion dollars. At the same time, US aid reached \$ 1.6 billion, almost half of exports. If you put it in another way, the mentioned period, the American aid to Turkey's export rate has increased to 37%. When the American aid began in the Cold War years, it was seen that it increased to 7.8 billion dollars in the period of 1949-69.

Because of the international dynamics of the Cold War posed by Turkey's relations with the US, Turkey's social and economic development was supported by the USAID program. However, Turkey has been receiving assistance from the other western bloc during that period. After the Cold War, Turkey's amount of aid received compared to the benefits received during the Cold War appears quite low due to some reasons. First, after the collapse of the soviet union, western countries completely revised and reshaped their foreign policies and adopted a new principles of foreign aid due to uni-polarity of international system and the domination of western liberal ideology. The second reason is Turkey tried to overcome the economic problems and seems that it can stand by itself. It can be claimed that Turkish Foreign Policy has changed in the post-Cold War period with its rough lines in accordance with the expectations above.

The quest for autonomy has always been a fundamental goal for Turkish foreign policy makers, but the trend towards achieving this ultimate goal and the behavior of these tendencies have evolved from the moment of the Soviet threat disappeared, and has peaked with pro-active foreign policy discourse, especially in the AKP era. Turkey prepared to not only become aid receiver but also Turkey become a donor country.

Turkey has emerged as an important state in international affairs due to its geographic location, for the past decade Turkey has made economic growth and become the seventeenth largest economy in the world (Murphy and Woods, 2014). for the growth of its economic and to influence other countries, Turkey started to give development aid to some developing countries because development assistance, is considered as one of the most important instruments in the development of inter-state cooperation in today's world in order to support the development processes of developing countries and to find solutions to their urgent problems. Turkey understands that economic development aid is the simplest road that states can reach from the other side of the world. Since the

collapse of the soviet union, Turkish civil society organizations were growing daily, when the AK party came to power in 2002, Turkey started to follow a foreign policy towards becoming a donor country.

Initially, Turkey's humanitarian and development assistance program were targeted at its neighboring countries mostly to Balkan states because of its cultural and historical ties. The commitment of Turkish government to its pro-active foreign development aid initiatives and its cooperation to international organizations can be understood by its participation to the UNDP South-South cooperation programme and its initiatives to least developed countries (Murphy and Woods, 2014). In 2013, Turkey's external assistance to other countries exceeded \$4.3 billion. In the year of 2012, the World Food Program characterized Turkey as "emerging donor". In this context, foreign aid for countries experiencing capital accumulation is seen as an important source of economic growth (ARSLAN and KİPER, 2015).

2.4.4. Turkey's development aid engagements in Somalia

According to Hans Mogentahau (1962), a representative of the realist school, considers technical development aid as "a true innovation that the modern era has added to foreign policy implementations." because foreign aid will continue to be an instrument of political power in the near future as it is today. Today technical development assistance is the most important means of foreign policy and public diplomacy. Technical development aid to underdeveloped countries has been one of the main problems of world politics and international relations since the 1940s. However, the issue of development aid continues to exist today as a method of state building to countries that are recovering from civil wars and fighting poverty.

Turkey which helped Somalia during the hunger crisis in 2011 realized that humanitarian aid is not only sufficient to Somalia and they decided to support Somalia in-terms of development, state building, health sector, education investment and other sectors because Somalia was in a civil war for more than 20 years and become failed state due to the collapse of its institution, the country was in desperate need of new infrastructure to allow citizens rebuild their lives. The reconstruction of Somalia undoubtedly requires a very long time and huge investments by both Somalis and the international community, it is also necessary to create appropriate political and social environments.

Unlike other countries, Turkey's development aid plays an important role and contribute to Somalia's state building and recovering to the peace and prosperity of the country by producing development based solutions in the problematic geographies of Somalia. Turkey argued that development in Somalia can not be achieved before stability. Therefore, Turkey's efforts are not only limited to urgent humanitarian and development aid assistance but also enhancing the capacity of state institutions. Nevertheless, the main condition for the improvement of the human condition in the country is the rapid functioning of the state institutions and the beginning of the necessary improvements. The strengthening of the state structure in Somalia is important not only for security, but also for the establishment of humanitarian conditions. In addition, Erdogan's leadership feature has opened the way for more active foreign policy in Somalia, under the ministry of foreign affairs, Turkey organized Turkey-Somalia conference held 2010 in Istanbul, during the conference, UN Secretary General and other senior representative of international organizations attended the meeting. The two day conference envisages that the strategies of developing Somalia's economy by enhancing state institutions, the declaration addresses strategic plan for the political, economic and social transformation of Somalia while emphasizing that international actors should contribute more actively to a common strategy for resolving the problems of Somalia.

Following its engagement in the mid-year of 2011, Turkey carried out humanitarian and development work in Somalia by rebuilding state institution. In 2012, Turkey organized and hosted the second UN conference on the Somalia issue in Istanbul, the theme of the conference was 'preparing Somalia's future: goals for 2015'. the current problems of Somalia and the future opportunities were discussed, more than 57 countries and 11 regional and international organizations attended. Moreover the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-mo-on was present at the summit.

At the same year of 2012, Turkey hosted Somali civil society organization and invited more than 300 members of Somalia's civil society organizations, the future of Somalia were discussed. In addition Turkey hosted reconciliation conference between Somalia and the self-declared region of Somaliland. After the summit, The cooperation between the two countries entered new face; Turkey developed multifaceted relation with Somalia by cooperating non-governmental organizations as well as the UN. Nonetheless Turkey become Somalia's partner in both the local and international arena.

Turkey development policy towards Somalia is not only limited to humanitarian but it also supports Somalia in many different areas ranging from direct budget support, agriculture, health, security, reconciliation and many other sectors. In addition, both Turkish governmental and non-governmental organizations are playing pioneering role in the re-construction and development of Somalia, among them are: Turkey's cooperation and and Development Agency (TIKA), Red cross, Disaster and Emergency Management (AFET), Directorate of Religious Affairs, Ministry of health, Istanbul Municipality and so on.

These institutions are working to meet the needs of Somali people in areas such as education, health infrastructure, security and agriculture. Although the Turkish development aid to Somalia goes to many areas but i will try to highlight the most efficient areas in the following table.

Table 5 : Turkish Development Engagement in Somalia

Areas	Examples
Public service support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Transportation ● Judiciary Institution's Support
Peace building support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Mediation between Somalia and Somaliland
Enhancing the capacity of state institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Direct Budget Support ● IT support to key government institutions ● Government Personnel Training ● Enhancing the capacity of local governments ● Agricultural sector
Educational development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Opening high quality local institutions ● Opening Vocational Schools ● Scholarships ● Enhancing local educational institutions
Health sector development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Opening hospitals ● Opening nursing schools and medical personnel training
Building security institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Police and Intelligence Services Support ● Somalia National Army Support ● Opening military academy in Mogadishu
Other sectors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● enhancing civil society organizations in Somalia ● enhancing agricultural sector

Source: Compiled by the author.

Somalia is among the first three countries which receive Turkey's official development assistance. since 2011-2012 period. The scope of work for the assistance in Somalia

carried out by the state amounting to \$370 million from \$ 130 million to help Turkey took place in the hands of civil society. Private sector investments in Somalia have reached more than \$140 million.

TIKA has opened hundreds of water wells in different parts of Somalia, to make the people meet the needs of getting clean water. Throughout history, TIKA's presence in Somalia started after Erdogan's visit in Mogadishu and they opened offices to conduct projects in many different areas throughout Somalia primarily in Mogadishu. Institutions such as religious foundations gave education opportunity to hundreds of students from Somalia in Turkey, some of them graduated and returned to Somalia, they are now taking part of the reconstruction of the Somalia's state building. Turkish NGO's are actively engaged in humanitarian and development aid activities across Somalia. In 2013, the IHH built the Anatolian orphanage education complex in Mogadishu where hundreds of orphans get free education. In addition to that, IHH has provided free eye surgery to those who lost their sights. Turkey also sent about 300 medical staff and 90 physicians in Mogadishu to serve the Turkish hospitals that was built in Mogadishu. Most of the hospitals were free of charge. Turkey also opened a consulate in the Somaliland region by considering the needs of the Somali people in Somaliland; humanitarian and development activities proving both governmental and non-governmental organizations are going in Somaliland mostly education and health sector.

Due to the limited capacity of state institutions, health service in Somalia is one of the lowest in the world because public hospitals are not working properly, for that reasons Turkey started developing Somalia's health sector by building new hospitals, renovating others, sending Turkish doctors in the country or bringing junior doctors in Turkey by improving their professional capacity and giving medical training.

During his visit in 2015, President Erdogan and Somalia president Hassan Sh. Mohamud attended the official opening ceremony of one of the best modern hospitals in the horn of Africa that will perform surgeries that had never done before in Somalia after its collapse. The hospital was once called Digfeer but it renamed Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Training and Research Hospital as an honor of President Erdogan. The two governments have signed a protocol agreement which allowed Turkish ministry of health to manage and operate jointly with Somalia's ministry of health, after five years

Somalia's health ministry will run the hospital (Anadolu Agency, 2015). The five years estimation budget of the hospital is about \$135.7 million, the Turkish government will contribute \$85.6 million during that period. According to the protocol agreement the Somalia government will pay the rest (Anadolu Agency, 2015).

According to Addow (2015), More than four hospitals were built and others renovated by Turkish governmental and non governmental hospitals in Somalia while others are being planned to be built or renovated soon. TIKA has participated in construction projects in Somalia particularly Mogadishu, TIKA has renovated the most important roads in Mogadishu. In Addition to that TIKA has also taken part the construction of schools, hospitals, parliament building, ministerial buildings and the Turkey's military academy in Mogadishu.

CHAPTER THREE: TURKEY'S STRATEGIC INTEREST IN SOMALIA

3.1. Introduction

Due to the civil war which erupted Somalia in 1991, the country lost its strategic importance for a decade, for that reason; some governments did not see Somalia as being on a strategic location. but today, it looks like all the problems that has taken place have been solved, and the world powers have competitively started engaging with Somalia. Geographically, where Somalia is located and the future of its Geo-economy has led Turkey to engage in Somalia.

The AK Party government has taken important steps to increase its political and diplomatic relations with Somalia in the direction of the 1998 African Action Plan because at that time Turkish foreign policy makers have begun to develop new strategies that shifted from a one-sided foreign policy to a multi-faceted foreign policy. Somalia become a country where new forces enter into competition in the globalizing world. For this reason, Somalia has become the focus of the international community. In response to this reality, the international community is trying to develop relations with Somalia; the US and former colonial powers of Somalia are faced with new competitive countries like Turkey and China, but what makes Turkey unique is that; it doesn't have any bad background in Somalia like colonization, this helped Turkey gain the good intention of Somali people to cooperate with and have a good relation with the Country. This chapter will outline Turkey's strategic interest in Somalia by focusing deeply on Turkey's economic, geo-strategic and security interests in Somalia.

3.2. Geo-strategic location of Somalia and its impact

Somalia (Somali; Somaaliya), formerly known as the Somali Republic (Jamhuuriyadda Soomaaliya), is a strategic country located in the Horn of Africa. It is bordered to the northwest by Djibouti, Southwest by Kenya , the Gulf of Aden and Yemen to the north, Ethiopia to the west and the Indian Ocean to the east.

In the past, Somalia was one of the most important centers of world trade among the countries of the ancient world. It is of a strategic trade route importance, Somalia connects the continents of the world; Africa Asia and Europe and its the nexus of the world economy. The Somali sailors and traders were the main suppliers of frankincense, bitter herbs and spices with the ancient Egyptians, Phoenicians, Macedonians and Babylonians (Abdullahi, 2017). However, these commodities where considered to be the most valuable products of that time.

Historically, the geo-strategic features of Somalia have been a magnet for different conflicting forces in the pursuit of both strategic and military objectives for their country. Somalia has a unique geopolitical location, bordering both the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. It is located at the point of encounter of two continents of Africa to the east and Asia to the west. It overlooks the Red Sea, which links the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean with the Mediterranean Sea by the Bab AL-Mandab Strait (Maxamed, 2003)

The Geo-strategic importance of Somalia has led the the competition of foreign powers from past to the present day. This has brought both negative and positive impacts to the country. One example of the negative impact is the division and partition of Somalis into five parts. Due to the strategic importance of this sensitive region, Somalia has become a focal point, the focus and attention of many international and regional powers fighting for economic, power and geo-strategic military importance. For that reason, Somalis suffered this conflicting global forces in their territory. For the following paragraphs I will highlight this issue in detail.

3.2.1. Precolonial geopolitical competition in Somali peninsula

The Horn of Africa was generally the scene of the European colonial attack from an early period dating back to the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 20th century, especially when the Portuguese established control centers in many African coastal areas including Somalia, they succeeded in imposing their military control over the coasts of East Africa bordering the Indian Ocean. The failure of the Mameluke state to fulfill its duty to protect the Islamic world prompted the Ottoman state to map its conquests to the south and to play a role as a defender of the Islamic world after the weakness of the Mameluke state and opened them to Sham, Egypt and Yemen and bringing them under the Ottoman empire. The struggle of the Ottoman Empire against

the Portuguese was part of Sultan Selim I project, which aims unifying the Eastern and Western parts of the Muslim world under the leadership of the Ottoman Empire (Abdullahi, 2017). While Portuguese come to the region for two reasons: the first was economic reasons and the second was religious reasons (Muxamed Liiq-liiqato, 2000).

The Portuguese found their wealth in the Christian Abyssinian Kingdom, and they allied themselves with it to achieve their religious and economic goals in the region. The Portuguese were the first to arrive from the Europe to the coast of Somalia to provide assistance to the Ethiopians who were attacked by Imam Ahmed Bin Ibrahim (Gurey), one of the Somali historical leaders - in 1515. Imam Ahmed Gurey of Somalia contacted the Ottomans in Eritrea and requested them to support his war against the Ethiopians, the Ottomans immediately supplied him with money and firearms in his struggle against the Christian Ethiopians, and finally they arrived in Somali peninsula by deploying 700 Turkish troops (Maxamed, 2003; see also Abdullahi, 2017. Omar, 2001). With his Ottoman allies the Somali Imam Ahmed ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi launched a military campaign against Abyssinia in a military confrontation which led to the extension of his sultanate, at the first the Imam won the war and controlled over three quarters of the Ethiopian empire (Muxamed Liiq-liiqato, 2000).

The Imam's forces consisted mainly of Somalis, Arab and their Ottoman allies, almost eliminated the ancient Ethiopian kingdom. However, the Abyssinian were able to secure assistance from the Portuguese forces of Christopher de Gama, who could maintain the autonomy of their territory⁵. Troops led by Lopez suarez Alberguiera seized Zaila and burned the town later (Omar, 2001). Furthermore, The Portuguese troops attempted to extend their administration to the rest of Somalia, they planned to conquer the southern coastal cities of Somalia like Mogadishu, Barawe and Marka. During that time, the Ajuran kingdom was ruling Southern Somalia, and the Ottoman Empire supported them both economically and military equipment to defeat the Portuguese (Abdullahi, 2017). The Governor of the Ottoman empire in Yemen Hassan Paşa sent troops to the Horn of Africa commanded by Emir AliBey, the Empires Troops crossed the Gulf of Aden and reached the shores of the Horn Africa. The intention of the troops was to restrict the spreading of the Portuguese army. The Ottoman empire troops finally arrived in

⁵ Muxamed Liiq-liiqato, Muxamed Ibrahim.(2000). ‘ Taariikhda Soomaaliya (Dalkii filka weynaa ee Punt)’. unknown publisher. Mogadishu-Somalia.

Mogadishu, Malindi, Lamu and Mombasa. The Portuguese seek to find a way out of the course of this conflict in the eastern seas. because the Ottoman state, which was keen to defend the entity of the Islamic world, was against the interests of the Portuguese who aimed to control the Eastern trade. Although the Ottomans were unable to completely eliminate the Portuguese from the Eastern seas, but they froze their activity in the region, and destroyed most of their ships, and limited their danger. This geopolitical rivalry between the two global super powers of that time was another factor determining geo-strategic importance of Somalia in precolonial history.

3.2.2. Colonial era

In the early nineteenth century, Britain became the European power that had begun to be involved in the Aden region which shaped the region's political and commercial structure of today. The interest of European colonialists in Somali peninsula was not the same, Britain is the first European colonial power to set foot in Somalia. It occupied Aden in 1839 and then proceeded to control the Somali coast opposite Aden across the Bab al-Mandab Strait. The main motive was to achieve two goals.

The first objective was to get meat and food from the northern regions of Somalia which are famous for their wealth of cattle and goats, to obtain the needs of the British forces in Aden and the surrounding areas, Britain planned to capture the Northern regions of Somalia. The second objective is to secure the British base in Aden and deprive any hostile forces from controlling it (Maxamed, 2003. see also Drysdale, 1964. Muxamed Liiq-liiqato, 2000). it's no doubt that he who controlled the Somali peninsula can control the Bab-elmandab straight and most of the Red Sea strategic areas.

The need for the establishment of ports for European countries and their commercial companies has come, the Somali peninsula become suitable for this project because it connects Africa and far Asia. The European countries were forced to move from the indirect control system to official control policy because of two reasons: The first factor is the influx of expansionist tendencies by a number of colonial powers, notably Belgium, Portugal and France. The second is the decisions of the Berlin Conference 1884-1885. Which brought forward the occupation of African territories.

Due to its geo-strategic location, Somalia witnessed in the 19th century the emergence of more than one European force which led to the fragmentation and division of the country

among these forces, a division that has affected the future dream of Somalis to unite under one nation-state. The colonizers divided Somalia into five administrative parts; Britain occupied and established a British mandate in Northern Somalia in 1887 (Maxamed, 2003; Abdullahi, 2017). It was followed by France, which occupied Djibouti in 1884. Italy, which occupied the southern Somalia. The colonization of Somalia was not limited to these three regions. While Ethiopia occupied the Ogaden region or Western Somali and finally, the Britain gave the NFD region to Kenya, present day, North Eastern region in Kenya. This has caused the rise of Somali nationalism throughout 19th and 20th centuries. The five regions struggled to unite under one major Somali state but couldn't happen.

The Somalis resisted all the occupation forces, and the resistance culminated in the declaration of Muhammad Abdulle Hassan, the jihad against the colonists started in late 1890th, and continued until 1920. Again the Ottomans gave a support both military and economically to Dervish movement led by Sayid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan in 1900th (Ciise, 1976). After the death of Sayid Mohamed, the resistance continued as non violence through political parties until late June 1960 where British Somaliland gained their independence and three days later in July/01/1960 Italian Somaliland gained their independence and the two regions became united under the name of Somali republic.

3.2.3. Cold-war Era

The Horn of Africa acquires its strategic importance from the fact that its countries overlook the Indian Ocean on one hand and the southern entrance of the Red Sea and Bab al-Mandab Strait on the other; hence its countries control the global trade route, especially the oil trade coming from the Gulf countries to the United States and Europe. Oil is the largest commodity in the West-East trade. The region is an important route for any military movements coming from Europe or the United States towards the Gulf region. To control the Horn of Africa means to control the vital waterways, the crossing point for ships and aircraft passing from east to west and from north to south, as well as a fuel point. The importance of the Horn of Africa depends not only its strategic importance, but also its natural resources, its proximity to the Arabian Peninsula with all its cultural characteristics and economic components, as well as its many islands of strategic importance in terms of military and security. The region also includes the majority of the Nile Basin countries that controls the sources of the Nile River.

The Horn of Africa gained additional importance after the Second World War, when the world divided into two groups - the capitalist camp led by US and the Eastern Soviet Socialist camp. During this time, the Horn of Africa was one of the most volatile regions in the world, where the proxy wars against great powers took place, during that time Somali peninsula become one of the most bloody areas of conflict in African nationalism, the primary causes of these conflicts are the super powers rivalry for hegemony in this strategic region (Kendie, 2007).

After Somalia was tired of the hypocrisy Western countries, Mogadishu turned to the Eastern bloc by asking both economic and military assistance, finally the Russians landed their way in Somalia during the reign of Siad Barre, the Eastern bloc supported Somalia militarily and economically, this has eventually enabled it to build one of the most equipped and largest army on the entire continent (Kendie, 2007). However, Somalia used that support through their greater Somalia project, the aim of the greater Somalia project was to unite the Somalis in Eastern Ethiopia, North Eastern Kenya, Djibouti and those in Somalia under a large independent Nation-state.

This led to the break out of Ogaden War in July 1977 between Somalia and Ethiopia, during the first weeks of the conflict, the Somali armed forces took over the southern and central parts of the Ogaden region. Thanks to Soviets who made possible the superiority of Somalia over Ethiopia in their armored personnel carriers, tanks and combat aircraft. Somalia gained continuous victories over the Ethiopian army (Kendie, 2007. see also Laitin, 1979; Ibrahim, 2016). by September 1977, Somalia had taken over 90 percent of the Ogaden and seized strategic cities like Jijiga and tightened its siege on the city of Dire Dawa.

At the beginning of the war, Somalia was on the Soviet socialist side, the Soviet relations with Somalia were as good as they got a military base in the coastal town of Berbera- a strategic city located in the Red Sea which is close to Gulf of Aden and the Strait of Bab al-Mandeb. In 1974 two years before the war, there was revolution in Ethiopia, the revolutionary government announced that it's a socialist government and decided to side with the Eastern camp-Soviet union (Chege, 1979) The Soviet Union hesitated to be aligned with one of the two parties, they allied with both governments and they failed to bring the two sides to negotiate before the conflict (Ibrahim, 2016). After the outbreak of the war in 1977, due to misunderstanding of Somalia and Soviet, the USSR sided with

Ethiopia, a Soviet alliance of about 20,000 Cuban fighters and several Russian experts were involved in helping the communist Derg regime after Harar's siege. However, the Somali government cut off ties with the Soviet Union and closed its military base in Berbera (Laitin, 1979). Finally, the Somali forces withdrew from the Ogaden in 1978 and the Somalia government decided to side again with the capitalist West Camp and their allies in the Middle East, it is natural that the Arab oil producing countries to support Somalia in-terms of economic and investment contributions, unfortunately they did not support as expected. Due to this conflict both Somalia and Ethiopian governments collapsed after the collapse of the soviet union in 1990th.

3.3. Turkey's strategic interest in Somalia

Ankara has placed Somalia at the top of its Africa foreign policy priorities since 2011, by strengthening its diplomatic, commercial and security presence in the country, as well as increasing the volume of investments and assistance, Turkey's deep involvement in the state of Somalia has contributed to fundamental changes in the country's war-ravaged infrastructure. Turkey has stepped up its investment in Somalia, through the construction and management of both Mogadishu port and airport. in addition to the construction of an international airport. However, Somalia has become one of the most lucrative destinations for Turkish Airlines worldwide. the volume of trade exchange between the two countries is over 100 million dollars.

The Turkish role in Somalia has placed it in the center of international and regional attention. Within the context of global and regional power struggle, Mogadishu became a new arena for the geopolitical scramble in the Middle East, especially in the atmosphere and repercussions of the Arab Spring. In this context, Turkey opened its largest military base in Somalia to strengthen its presence on the continent and expand its strategic presence in the world. However, Ankara's military base in Mogadishu is indeed close to the entry point of Gulf of Aden (Cannon and Rossiter, 2018). In this part i will look deeply Turkey's strategic interest in Somalia through three perspectives; Economic, geo-strategic and Security.

3.3.1. Economic interests

Somalia is one of the most important countries in the Horn of Africa economically, it connects Africa, Asia and Europe. Unfortunately, the country has been in a desperate

situation caused by civil war which erupted in 1991 after the removal of Siad Barre's regime from the Presidency. During the civil war, Somalia has lost its commercial centers; the ports of Mogadishu, Kismayo, Bosaso and Berbera, which are the most important commercial centers of East Africa. One of the most important aims of Turkey's opening up foreign policy to Somalia has been the strengthening of economic relations with Somalia and its neighbouring countries. It focused on the diversification of economic ties and relations with those countries, especially when the Turkish economy, which is crowding out the big countries, needs external markets to sustain this growth; the expansion of Turkey outside its immediate geographical environment, particularly in the Horn of Africa basin region. However, Since 2003 the trade volume between Turkey and Africa has risen to over 17,5 billion dollars in 2015 from 5.5 billion dollars in 2013 (Mfa, n,d). In Addition, Turkish Airlines continued its operation in Africa by raising its routes to nearly fifty 50 destinations in thirty one countries. In this case, Turkey has opened a way to facilitate the work of selling African businessmen in Africa, but also Turkish businessmen increased their export levels to Africa, this situation has resulted in added value and economic growth (Ozkan , 2014).

Turkey has succeeded to some extent in its economic strategies with the African Continent. It has expanded its trade with Africa since its opening up foreign policy in 1998. The Horn of Africa has been a major beneficiary of Turkish investors particularly Ethiopia, which remains a major trading partner with Turkey, the trade volume between the two countries is over 420 Million USD (Dış ekonomik ilişkileri Kurulu, 2015). Turkish Airlines has served mostly every capital in the Horn of Africa, and Turkey has doubled its diplomatic missions on the continent. In this context Somalia is the most important economic hub for Turkish businessmen due to its strategic trade route that connects Africa, Asia and Europe. However, the main important interest of AK party's government in Somalia is the establishment of a new market areas for Anatolian tigers. Turkey realized the geopolitical trade importance of Somalia and adopted a strategic lever for its orientations in the region, which translated into a strategic partnership with the Somali government because Somalia connects Africa, Asia and Europe and it serves as a gateway for to the rest of Africa.

Due to the lack of industrialization and production facilities, the economy of Somalia depends on imports to cover almost all its essentials needs. However, the country's economy is recovering as a result of the relatively stabilizing political atmosphere of the

country. According to World Bank report in Somalia's economy, titled "Rapid Growth in Mobile Money: Stability or Vulnerability", the economy of Somalia is witnessing a remarkable improvement, albeit slightly in the last few years, as a result of the relative political stability in the country. The expected growth estimated at an annual rate of 3–4 percent (World Bank, 2018). Following the return of expatriates and the growing monthly income at the international airport and port of Mogadishu operated by Turkish companies. There are many countries who are willing to invest in Somalia, including China, India and Turkey, in this case Turkey is different from those countries because Turkey and Somalia share religion and culture commonly. For this reason the country has attracted Turkish investors as foreign direct investment and Turkish investors took this opportunity.

During the Somali civil war, the relations between the two countries was very low, we can say there was no formal relations between the two countries. Although there was informal economic ties between the two sides. For example, In 2003, According to Turkey's deputy prime-minister Recep Akdağ Turkey's investment in Somalia was \$2 million (Milliyet, 2018). The following table says it all.

Table 6: Turkey-Somalia import and export in between 2007-2017 (million dollars)

Year	Export	Import
2007	2,3	1,8
2008	8,4	1,4
2009	3,5	0,1
2010	4,8	1,3
2011	39,5	2,4
2012	43,7	1,1
2013	58,3	1
2014	62,1	1,5
2015	71	1,3
2016	115,8	2,1
2017	142,9	1

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr (22.February .2019)

However, as the table shows, after president Recep Tayyip Erdogan paid a visit to

Somalia in 2011, Ankara has experienced a leap in economic relations with Somalia, the bilateral trade volume between the two countries has reached over \$140 Million. in just six years Turkey became the 5th biggest source of imports in Somalia (TRT World, 2018). According to experts these numbers will increase in the shortest time, but the two countries should establish a safe and appropriate investment environment for their businessmen. Today a significant number of Somali people use Turkish textiles especially the clothing sector as well as Turkish business are able to export their products easily to Somalia. Thanks to Erdogan's humanitarian initiative who made it possible for the Anatolian tigers to reach Somalia.

To promote the two countries trade relations, Somalia and Turkey launched the first business forum in Istanbul, the conference took five days, the business opportunities between the two countries has been discussed, ways and areas of cooperation was discussed by the two parties (Addow, 2015). After two years, Turkish businessmen visited Mogadishu and met with their Somali counterpart- the chamber of commerce in Somalia, during this visit the second business forum was held in Mogadishu, organized by the Turkish embassy. This shows that Turkey's interest in Somalia is not only driven by humanitarian aid.

As mentioned above, the year 2011 was a turning point in Turkey's relation with Somalia, while Turkey's humanitarian approach has taken an instrumental role in the opening of new channels of commercial space in the later period. Turkish airline once was the only international airline that goes to Mogadishu daily, Turkish Albayrak and Favori companies are operating and managing the Mogadishu port and Aden Adde international airport in Mogadishu. As Somalia stabilizes, trade relations between the two countries have a great potential for expansion and it offers many opportunities, primarily construction, transportation and communication. Similarly, there are other opportunities in agriculture, livestock and fishery sectors. Its true that Turkey's current potential economic capabilities are much greater than its current size in Somalia, which it needs to reconsider, experts understands that the economic approach is the most important tool for achieving political reconciliation in Somalia's return to international arena, after its absence of more than three decades. this will help Turkish government in the long run because the two countries can be strategic partner in economic and security.

3.3.1.1. Airports and Ports

Turkey realized that humanitarian aid is not only sufficient to Somalia and decided to support Somalia in-terms of development, state building, health sector, education and investment. However, Somalia needs a huge international investment, by considering this opportunity and increasing Ankara's attempts to their business activities with Africa, Turkey moved to Somalia for investment purposes. After Erdogan's visit to Somalia in 2011, Turkey's investment went full speed (TRT World, 2018). However, Somalia is providing a new market for Anatolian businessmen, Ankara has enjoyed due to their first move-advantage in Somalia. Thus, many Turkish companies have started increasing their commercial activities in different areas in Somalia.

Turkey's development projects are visible in Somalia especially Mogadishu, the Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency renovated and constructed the most important roads in Mogadishu, these streets were completely destroyed by the civil war in the country. While Turkish private companies are carrying out commercial projects in Mogadishu, for example; since 2013, Favori LLC company are managing Mogadishu Aden Adde international airport, Turkey renovated and repaired the terminal. The Favori LLC took over the administration of the airport from South African company known as SKA on September 15th. The ceremony was attended by the Prime Minister of Somalia, the Minister of Internal Affairs, the duration of the contract is 15 years (Dunya, 2013). The aim of Favori LLC is to bring Mogadishu Airport to international standards as soon as possible and to make the Mogadishu airport open to international flights from all over the world. On the other hand, the Albayrak group took over the administration of one of the most important ports in Somalia- the Mogadishu port, the duration of the contract is 20 years long and the Somalia government will receive 55% while Albayrak will receive the remaining 45% (Albayrak, n,d).

After Turkish companies took-over Mogadishu international airport and Mogadishu Port, they increased the monthly income of Somalia's federal government, now Mogadishu Port is the largest source of income for the Somalia government. It's no doubt that, with the absence of strong government in Somalia, Turkish companies are making a good profit from these two sources. This is due to Turkish companies making major expansions to increase their revenues compared to the previous years. In previous years, the airport and port were managed by local and foreign companies.

3.3.1.2. Agriculture, Fish and banana industries

Agriculture, fisheries and livestock are the most important economic resources of the country. The arable land of Somalia is more suitable for agriculture than Turkey because Soil is very fertile for agriculture, it's possible to harvest 3-4 times in a year. Nevertheless, the country's agricultural production is not enough to feed almost 15 million people. The lack of agricultural staff in the country is the main problem. According to the report of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, in Somalia, about 1 million people are in need of food aid (Yeni safak, 2015). However, the agricultural knowledge of the people is very low. for that reason, With the cooperation of the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) and the IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH), the Somali Agricultural School Project was launched in December 2012 which continues as a Farmer Training Course, has been transformed into the first agricultural university in the country called Zamzam University, The faculty completed its 1st year with 50 students.

To improve the economic relations between the two countries, the two sides have signed a protocol agreement for investing Somalia's arable land. Turkey's deputy Prime Minister Recep Akdağ and Somalia deputy Prime Minister Mahdi Mohammed Gulaid signed the Protocol on the 1st Meeting of the Joint Economic Commission. Speaking at the protocol signing ceremony held by the Ministry of Economy. Akdag told the media that the trade volume between Somalia and Turkey has reached \$ 120 million in 2016 from \$ 2 million in 2003, and the main aim of this agriculture protocol agreement is improve the trade volume between the two parties, he said the expected trade volume between two parties will reach \$200 million in 2018 (Milliyet, 2018).

Somalia has the longest coastline in Africa and it's rich in fishing, but fishing is done under very difficult conditions, due to the capacity of the fisheries, and the limit knowledge, most Somalis prefer meat instead of fish because they are expensive and not suitable for their taste. In the capital Mogadishu, the fishery boats is approximately 7-8-meter old boats, the fishermen sail to the sea early in the morning, the iron fishermen are traveling with small boats and the ocean waves. The fishermen who stay in the sea for about 5 hours then come to shore and sell the fish they catch. The other problem is the storage conditions are not suitable, the fish caught in a short time due to the effect of hot air. However, the illegal fishing of foreigners is very high in the

Somalia sea due to the lack of marine forces in Somalia. The country has a potential in the field of fisheries, Turkey is attempting to turn this potential into an investment in the interests of the two countries. For that reasons, The government of Turkey is attempting to invest in this sector. In January 2018, the two governments signed a protocol agreement towards this sector. The Memorandum of Understanding was signed by Turkey's Food, Agriculture and Livestock Minister Ahmet Esref Fakibaba and Somalia's Fisheries and Marine Resources Minister Abdirahman Mohamed Abdi Hashi. Under the agreement, Turkish fishermen are able to fish in Somalia's territorial waters (Anadolu, 2018). Fakibaba stated that the agreement signed in the fishing area would be beneficial for both countries, and also believed that the agreements would be made in different areas. This is the first of its kind, Minister Abdi hashi voiced that Turkey can be a market to Somalia's fish and said that Turkey can sell and market the Somali fish in Europe and central Asia, he also stated that this agreement will be the beginning of the cooperation that will follow in many areas (Sputnik, 2018).

3.3.2. Geo-strategic Interests

Despite the various problems that Somalia has suffered in the last three decades, it has received great attention from various actors in international system, and in a different way than in the Cold War. This may be due to several considerations, The historic visit of the Turkish president to Somalia on 19 August 2011 was considered a vital and geo-strategic turning point for Somalia. This has caused a number of countries take the lead and decided to find a foothold in Somalia that is growing recently, although the security and political stability is fragile. Somalia has an important geopolitical position both commercially and militarily. Throughout history, Somalia has witnessed the power struggles of global and regional hegemonic power. Because of its geo-strategic location; Somali peninsula is the center of world, he who controls Somalia can claim or tilt the balance of world trade in their favor. The global power struggle of the Ottoman and Portuguese empires in the 16th century, the US-Soviet power struggle in the Horn of Africa during the cold war, the US and the UN interventions in Somalia are concrete historical indicators of the geo-strategic importance in Somalia.

The Turkish presence in Mogadishu has resulted the attention of global and regional powers, particularly middle eastern countries. The Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, which overlooks parts of Somalia, are the means of international trade and ways of transporting

oil from the Arabian Gulf to Western Europe and the United States and its one of the most important routes for the trade of Arab countries particularly, the gulf oil producing countries. Therefore, the Turkish presence in Somalia was a wake up call for Gulf countries and they finally started engaging with Somalia to compete with Turkey.

Somalia is considered to be strategic area in terms of transportation, agricultural production and trade. However, Within the framework of Turkey's opening up foreign policy in Africa, Turkey's opening up policy in Somalia made easy for Turkish investors to reach out Africa hence Somalia become the gate and bridge of Turkey into the African continent. Throughout history, Somalia has provided political and cultural interactions in Africa, Asia and Europe especially for mutual trade between these regions. It can be argued that Turkey's interest in Somalia can be considered due to Somalia's geo-strategic location (Yalcin, 2017).

Somalia is an important country in terms of world trade and security and the great powers are directly or indirectly involved in the political and military developments in the country. Instability in Somalia in the recent years has led the great powers to increase their military presence in the region to combat pirates. In this way, great powers try to protect the interests of the Gulf of Aden and Babul-mendab strait which is one of the most important maritime passages of the earth, the security and commercial strategic importance of the Babū'l Mendep Strait that connects the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea is one of the reasons that every state particularly Turkey is interested in Somalia because they can easily maintain the balance of power against each other.

3.3.3. Security Interests

Turkey's engagement in Somalia dates back to 2011 when the famine crisis hit the horn of Africa region particularly Somalia, then visited by Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who was then prime minister, and becoming the first non-African leader to visit Somalia for more than two decades. The visit and subsequent humanitarian and development projects carried out by the Turkish authorities led to a strong Turkish presence in Somalia, which developed into a military presence after Ankara opened it's largest military base abroad in Mogadishu.

In recent years, the Horn of Africa has witnessed international competition and strong territorial control over sea ports and military bases. The military presence of the United

States, China, France and other western countries in Djibouti, the presence of UAE in Asap port of Eritrea and Somalia has led the attention of Turkey into this strategic region. However, beside the Somalia base, Turkey has also signed a military base agreement with Sudan government that allows Ankara to re-operate Sudan's port of Suakin, which is very close to Saudi Arabia through sea route (Sıradağ, 2018). Turkey knows that the development of its military capabilities in Africa will lead to competition with other countries, such as the United Arab Emirates which has embarked on a similar course. It was clear that Ankara began to worry about its strategic assets in Somalia and the Horn of Africa as whole with the rapid military and economic expansion of Allied Gulf Arab countries after the Arab spring in 2011. its clear that Saudi-UAE are not very friendly to Ankara and they are very active in Somalia and Yemen as well.

The growing military intervention of both Saudi Arabia and UAE in Yemen has led United Arab Emirates military presence in the Horn of Africa particularly Somalia and Eritrea. Initially, the UAE expanded its military partnership with Somalia by expanding the training program of Counter-terrorism unit under the Somali national intelligence and security agency, while after Turkish opened its military base in Mogadishu. Abu Dhabi started establishing a special training center for Somali national army forces in Mogadishu, then it has significantly expanded the arming of the Somalia federal member states, for example by arming Jubbaland and South-west states of Somalia with mine-resistant vehicles, armored personnel carriers and motorcycles for its local police and by arming naval police in Puntland state of Somalia with helicopters to combat piracy, as well as its pledge to pay the salaries of the Somali security forces for four years.

The main two reasons why United Arab Emirates doing these efforts was; first, to get air and sea spaces in the strategic coastal towns of Somalia for the Arab coalition forces in Yemen. The United Arab Emirates pressured Somalia federal government to get an air and sea space to the Arab coalition forces in Yemen and allow it to have military bases in strategic coastal areas of Berbera and Zila, near the city of Aden, and the city of Bosaso- which is very close to Mukalla in-order to support the Yemen government and attack the Shia militia backed by Iran. Without informing the Somalia federal government, the UAE have signed an agreement with Somaliland- a self-declared region which is legally part of Somalia, under the agreement the UAE have the right to build a military base in Berbera coast, also the DP world will manage the port, the aim of the UAE is to use that military base to attack the Houthis in Yemen and to challenge the Turkish base in Mogadishu.

Thanks to Somalia president Mohamed Abdullah Faramajo who eventually won the presidency against the will of foreigners, the president seemed more sensitive than his predecessor to some foreign powers seeking to weaken the federal government through special agreements with regional governments. Although the new Somali president chose Riyadh as the first stop for his foreign visit after his election, he asked Riyadh to pressure Abu Dhabi to stop building its military base in Somaliland. The second reason of why UAE doing these is the De-Turkification of Somalia. its clear that Somalia is witnessing a competition between the UAE and Turkey to extend their influence in the Horn of Africa. The UAE is trying to dissuade the Somali government from cooperating closely with the Turks and restricting its role in Somalia, while Turkey is seeking to strengthen its relations with Somalia because of its strategic location and being a gateway to Africa through which Turkey can enter African markets easily.

Historically, Turkey military interference in Somalia started during the civil war In 1992, when the United Nations decided to intervene in Somalia and protect people from hunger and malnutrition. The UN deployed troops gathered from various countries and finally landed in Mogadishu and extended to Southern regions of Somalia. Turkey belonged to the United Nation peace-keeping troops called UNSOM, Turkey brought 320 soldiers in Mogadishu, also the UNSOM commander was a Turkish General named Gen Cevik Bir, and worked 1993 until 1994 (Abdullahi, 2014) However, due to the failure of that mission Turkey's troops left Somalia as other countries did. Today, Turkey revived its security agenda in Somalia as part of its foreign security policy in Africa as well as in the world (Akpinar, 2017). Turkey's military presence outside of the country reaches more than 50,000 soldiers. According to (Cannon and Rossiter, 2019) Kurdish region in Iraq witnessed the presence of 2,500, while in Afghanistan nearly 2,300 stationed, even the mini Kosovo maintains 400 Turkish soldiers, in addition to that Cyprus is the home of more than 40,000 Turkish soldiers. Adding to the Turkish bases in Qatar and Somalia more than 50,000 Turkish troops are actively working outside Turkey.

On Saturday, september 30, 2017 Ankara has opened its first military facility/base in Africa, located two kilometers south of the Somali capital, Mogadishu, the base or the facility whatever, has an area of about 400 hectares that includes three different training facilities, as well as arms and ammunition stores, The construction of the base has costed Turkey about \$50 million, while it will give a training to about 10,000 soldiers. The

Turkish military base was established in Mogadishu under a military agreement signed between the two countries in December 2012. The inauguration of Turkey's military base held in Mogadishu at the presence of then Turkish Army Chief of Staff and now, Minister of Defense Hulusi Akar, Somali Prime Minister Hassan Ali Kheyre and other officials from both sides, the base will grant Turkey significant concessions over the Gulf and will serve as a platform for the expansion of Turkish influence on the African continent after Turkey put its feet on the Arabian Gulf by establishing a military base in Qatar. The current plans do not include the deployment of a Turkish contingent capable of carrying out military operations. Instead, about 200 Turkish soldiers will train up to 10,000 troops from the Somali National Army. According to former Turkish ambassador in Somalia Olgan Bakar, the objectives of the base is only to train the Somali National Army personnel (VOA, 2017). On the other-hand, Cannon and Rossiter (2018), outlined the aim of Turkey's military presence in Somalia, In their article titled "Re-examining the "Base": The Political and Security Dimensions of Turkey's Military Presence in Somalia' They questioned Turkey military presence in Somalia, they called the 'base that is not a base' and argued that the objective of the Turkish military presence in Somalia is beyond the stated objectives and comes as part of Turkey's quest to strengthen its military influence on the continent throughout the Somalia gate.

Turkey's military base in Somalia has three main objectives. First- to protect Turkey's commercial interest in the region. The military base in Somalia has a strategic location as it oversees the traffic commercial vessels in the Bab al-Mandab Strait of Gulf of Aden. In this context, the Gulf of Aden and the indispensable importance of Babul- Mendep Strait in terms of world trade and security implies that the great/regional powers are directly or indirectly involved in the political and military developments in the region. Security fragility in Somalia in recent years has led the great powers to increase their military presence in the region. In this way, Turkey is trying to protect it's interests in the Gulf of Aden, one of the most important maritime passages of the Earth, and to maintain the balance of power against its rivalries in the region.

Second- Defense industry. In the geopolitical assessment of any country, the most important element is the ability of the state to produce the elements of the self-armed force, and to create markets for these industries. In this context, Ankara's military presence in Somalia, can be translated in raising its capabilities in the defense industries, the construction of Mogadishu base is not only to strengthen cooperation, but to test the

new light and medium Turkish weapons in various geographical and air conditions and to open up new markets for these weapons. While participating in Turkish 'international Defense Industry fair- IDEF 2015' president Erdogan stated that "When we came to power in 2002, Turkey's reliance on imported military equipment was 80 per cent, and now we produce 54 per cent of them, but by 2023 our goal is to completely eliminate the import of military industries," he also stated that "The productive capacity of the Turkish defense industry has exceeded \$5 billion, and each year we allocate \$1 billion of budget for technical scientific research. Turkish defense industries have become one of the priority areas of our economy" (Subasi94, 2015).

The third and the most important objective of Turkey's military base or facility whatever, in Somalia is to combat Terrorism and support Somali National Army. After the collapse of Somalia central government in 1991, Somalia become home for terrorism. However, more than a decade Al-Shabab which is Al-qaeda's most powerful ally are operating in Somalia and the horn region as well, the group has posed a global threat. Now ISIS which is direct threat to Turkey has been recreated and spread in Somalia, its true that there is a needed international support in the fight against terrorism because activities of these organizations are not only affecting Turkey, it poses a global challenge that concerns international security. To defeat these terrorist organizations, Turkey is trying to support the building of Somali national army, the Turkish military base in Mogadishu will train 10'000 Somali soldiers in the next few years.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Introduction

Until the 1990s, Turkish foreign policy was generally carried out within the "global" politics of the Cold War. Despite Turkey's efforts to exhibit a multi-faceted initiative in the mid-1960s, Turkey has not been able to engage in an independent foreign policy behavior that will fundamentally affect the international system and regional relations outside of Cyprus. However, the new international environment that emerged with the end of the Cold War have influenced Turkey and the international system as a whole. After the end of the cold war Turkey started making new foreign policy which based on the country's national interest. Turkey engaged with some parts of the world especially Arab and African countries. Beginning with the main components of this thesis, this chapter outlines the conclusion and the research findings of the study, the first section will briefly discuss Turkey's foreign policy in Africa particularly Somalia because Turkey's foreign policy in Somalia is somehow intertwined with Turkish general policy towards Africa. The second sections sheds light on Turkey's engagement in Somalia from economic and security perspectives.

Turkey's foreign policy in Africa and Somalia

After the establishment of the Turkey's modern new republic in 1923, the Turkish relations with Africa became very weak due to the internal problems of the new state and secular identity building process in Turkey that led to direct its foreign policy to west, at this time Turkey neglected Africa until its Africa opening up policy in 1998. Turkey's contemporary strategic relation with Africa stems from a purely pragmatic political vision, which was necessitated by the rise of the AKP on the Turkish political scene and the increasing control of its charismatic power in the political and economic spheres, which strengthened Turkey's role in the diplomatic arena. The depth of the Turkish-African relations and its remarkable developments in a very short period of time are proof of the success of the Turkish vision. In 1998, Turkey announced its new African opening up foreign policy followed by '2005' which was marked the year of Africa in Turkish foreign policy. From the viewpoint of this new foreign policy initiative, Turkey does not see Africa as a distant continent and can be named geopolitically an Afro-Eurasian country with its direct relationship with Africa. However, when looking at the new shifts in the international political economy and the

distribution of geo-economic materials by geographic region, the twenty-first century is an African century in Turkish foreign policy.

In 2005, during the year of Africa in Turkish foreign policy, Erdogan then Prime-minister and the current president of Turkey visited Ethiopia and South Africa, these visits quickly yielded positive results at international level of the country's foreign policy, On April of that year, Turkey become an observer at the African Union, the Union announced that Turkey is a strategic partner of the AU. In December 2007, Erdogan participated in the AU-EU summit was which held in Madrid and Turkey became active in the AU-EU relations.

In 2008, Istanbul hosted the first summit of Turkey and Africa, which took place from 18-21 August under the name Solidarity and Partnership for our Future. In the framework of this summit, Erdogan held bilateral meetings at the highest level with the participants from 49 African countries⁶. The results of the openings up policy in Turkish foreign policy appeared in a short time because Turkey secured to get full support from all African countries during the October 2008 elections for the seat of the United Nations non-permanent member of the Security Council. The Turkish Foundation for Cooperation and Development (TIKA) has also made a qualitative leap forward in Turkey's opening up foreign policy towards Africa. Through its offices in African countries, mainly Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan and Senegal, it has directly contributed to several development projects in 37 African countries, it also made direct contributions in the humanitarian crises witnessed by some countries of the African continent through international institutions.

For the first time in Turkish modern foreign policy history, Turkey has moved in the sub-Saharan region to establish strategic partnership and economic cooperation with them, especially with Ethiopia, which will become the international investment front in the next few years. According to Bilal Derso, (2018) the volume of economic cooperation between Ankara and Addis Ababa is at its highest level. Ethiopia confirms that it takes the largest share of Turkish investments in Africa, which is over 2.5 billion dollars out of the total 6 billion dollars invested by Turkey in the continent. There are

⁶ Ministry of foreign affairs 'Turkey-Africa Relations' Retrieved from <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-africa-relations.en.mfa>. Accessed; 25/June/2018

350 Turkish companies, of which 120 companies entered in 2014, and employs more than 500 thousand Ethiopians.⁷

The historic visit of the Turkish president to Somalia on 19 August 2011 was considered a vital and geo-strategic turning point for Africa. The plane carried then prime minister Erdogan, and his family landed at Mogadishu airport with a large delegation composed of many different factions in the Turkish Republic. This visit has turned Somalia into a strategic country, after his visit Turkey formed a new partnership in the Horn of Africa.

The development of Turkey's modern foreign policy towards the African continent can be divided into three stages. First, from 1998, when Turkey adopted the so called Africa opening up plan, which continued until 2005, which was declared the year of Africa. The second phase, between 2005 and 2011; Turkey worked to strengthen its relations with Africa at all levels. It gained observer status in the African Union in 2005. It became a strategic ally in January 2008 and joined the African Development Bank. Strengthening its relations with the Intergovernmental Authority on Development in East Africa and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which contributed to institutionalization of this relationship. The 2008 African-Turkish Conference was also held hence the trade between the two sides increased during this period.

The third phase began in 2011, when president Erdogan visited Somalia to spot on the light the attention of world leaders to the situation in Somalia. The timing of the campaign carried out by Turkey on the African continent was very important, especially that it came at a time when the Arab influence on the continent, because of the crises experienced by many Arab countries, especially Egypt, and thus Turkey became a new ally for the continent.

Turkey's engagement in Somalia

In 1991 the Somali government collapsed and civil war broke out in the country, all government institutions collapsed as well as the relations between Somalia and Turkey. In 1992 the United Nations decided to intervene in Somalia and protect people from

⁷ Bilal Derso, (31, January, 2018). 'Africa: Ethiopia Tops Turkish Investment Destinations of Africa - EIC'. Retrieved from: <https://allafrica.com/stories/201801310663.html>

hunger and malnutrition. The UN deployed troops gathered from various countries and finally landed to Mogadishu. Turkey was part of the United Nation peace-keeping troops called UNSOM in Somalia and brought 320 soldiers to Mogadishu, also the UNSOM commander was a Turkish General named Gen Cevik Bir, and worked 1993 until 1994 (Abdullahi, 2014). However, due to the failure of that mission Turkey's troops left Somalia as other countries did. After 1994 the relationship between the two countries was very poor and there was no any formal relation between them, it was reported in 2007 that Prime Minister Erdogan met President Abdullahi Yusuf of Somalia in Addis-Ababa and invited him to visit Ankara but Abdullahi did not visit Ankara.⁸

Turkey arrived in Somalia at a time when the entire world was neglected it, during this time there was famine and humanitarian crisis the country, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan was the first non-African leader to visit Somalia in August 2011, opened the door to humanitarian, economic and development assistance to Somalia, the prime-ministerial visit of Turkey turned back Somalia to its strategic place in the world, the aim of Erdogan's visit was not only for humanitarian, but there was also geopolitical motives of Turkey, during the visit the two sides signed an agreement on economic and trade cooperation between the two countries. The relationship between Turkey and Somalia is closely linked to the economic interests of Turkish companies seeking to develop and manage infrastructure in Somalia. Turkish companies have also provided quite a few services to Mogadishu port, finally Turkish companies won contracts to manage the most two revenue sources of Somalia which is Mogadishu port and Aden Adde international airport. Likewise, Turkish airline become the only international airplane which goes to Mogadishu daily by connecting Mogadishu and Istanbul. Unfortunately, there is trade imbalances between the two countries, the trade volume between Turkey and Somalia is over 140 Million dollars,⁹ mostly Anatolian tigers are profiting in Mogadishu. However, the relationship between Turkey and Somalia is closely linked to the economic interests of Turkish companies seeking to develop and

⁸ Abdurahman, Abdullahi, (2014). 'Prospects for Somalia-Turkey Strategic Partnership' unpublished paper. Retrieved from: https://www.academia.edu/30293995/prospects_for_Somali-Turkish_Strategic_Partnership.docx

⁹ Abdirahman Abdullahi (Jan 15, 2018). 'Somalia and Turkey Sign Trade Agreements and Form Joint Economic Commission' (SONNA). Retrieved from: <https://sonna.so/en/?p=11918>

manage infrastructure in Somalia but there is a long way to go, for Turkey to invest properly in Somalia, it needs to finish a legal framework and full security, Mogadishu's security is still fragile.

However, the relations between the two countries did not stop at this point. The visit and subsequent humanitarian and development and investment projects carried out by the Turkish authorities, led to a strong Turkish presence in Somalia, have developed into a military presence in the opening of the large Turkish base or facility whatsoever in abroad, Turkish officials said the aim of the base is only to train the Somali national army because Turkish government has trained and rehabilitated hundreds of Somali army and police forces. But according Cannon and Rossiter (2018), the objective of the Turkish military presence in Somalia is beyond the stated objectives and comes as part of Turkey's quest to strengthen its military influence on the continent through the Somali gate. Turkey is trying to deepen its partnership with Africa and compete with the international powers in this vital area. It started an attempt to search for its role in Africa as a major player.

Turkey has adopted in its moves a number of African countries of strategic importance, notably Ethiopia, Somalia Djibouti and Sudan; Ankara has signed security agreements with Addis Ababa, Djibouti and Mogadishu in the recent period. In addition, Ankara established a military bases in the Horn of Africa particularly Somalia and Sudan, The Turkish movement in Africa helped establish a Turkish military base in Suakin/Sudan, revealing the important geopolitical dimensions of Turkey's policy towards the African continent.

Turkey is well aware of the importance of Somalia in view of its geographical location, which links to Africa, Europe and Asia and is an important conduit for energy in the world, in addition to that Somalia's is vast wealth and oil reserve area. Thus, Somalia is part of Turkey's policy to influence both regional and international levels. The Turkish government denied their Mogadishu military base, According to former Turkish ambassador to Mogadishu, Turkey doesn't have a military base in Mogadishu he also stated that its only for military academy or facility which aims training Somali soldiers,¹⁰ whatsoever, a base or facility, observers believe the objective of the military facility is beyond the stated objective, this goes beyond that to a kind of strategic

¹⁰ Olgan Baker, (November 05, 2016). Wareysi gaar ah: Danjiraha Turkiga ee Soomaaliya.(Nur Bukhar), Retrieved from: <https://www.voasomali.com/a/3581783.html>

expansion in this geographically important region, which will enable Ankara to Strengthen in both Africa and Arabian peninsula (Cannon and Rossiter, 2018). According to my knowledge there are four perceptions of Turkey's military base in Mogadishu which are:

First, To strengthen the Turkish presence in the Horn of Africa because of its strategic importance, especially in Somalia, as it is located in the heart of Africa which connects Africa, Asia and Europe, which makes the strategic depth of the Arab national security and its geographical proximity to the Gulf region and the Middle East. On the Red Sea, and the Bab al-Mandab Strait, which Turkey seems to be trying to prove its presence and influence in these waterways in order to counter the growing influence of some regional and international powers, such as Iran, Israel and China, and to try to encircle the movements of other powers such as the UAE and Egypt in the context of regional and international competition for influence in the region. Second: To protect the economic interests of Turkey on the African continent, and look for more investments in East Africa and the Horn of Africa; where the presence in this region gives Turkey many advantages at all levels of political, economic, security and military. While the volume of direct Turkish investment in Africa is about \$17 billion, East Africa accounts for about half of it, with Somalia accounting for about \$141 million. Third: The Turkish base in Somalia is part of the policy of opening up new markets for Turkish weapons and looking for new markets for the sale of weapons produced by Ankara. Turkey is starting its work by strengthening its presence in the Middle East and Africa, Its choice for Qatar and Somalia comes from the strategic importance of these two countries, among other reasons. Turkey is well aware of the importance of Somalia in view of its geographical location, which links continents and is an important conduit for energy in the world, in addition to Somalia's vast wealth and oil reserves. Thus, Somalia is part of Turkey's policy to influence both regional and international levels. Finally, to train and give support to Somali national army in order to take the responsibility of Somali security after the exit of AMISOM forces in 2021.

The Turkish base or facility whatever, is likely to be much better than the military bases in Djibouti if it invests well, especially since this base overlooks the Gulf of Aden, which is of strategic importance. It opens the way for new horizons between Ankara and Mogadishu and is a foothold for Ankara in the Horn of Africa, which has long been marginalized globally despite its geopolitical importance.

Conclusion

This study was set out to investigate and outline Turkish foreign policy in Africa particularly Somalia, by taking into account the motives behind Turkish engagement in Mogadishu, the study has sought to know Turkey's strategic interest in Somalia through economic, security and geopolitical perspectives. Due to the nature of the study, the researcher investigated Turkish engagement in Somalia from 2011 until 2018; humanitarian, development aid, economic and security. The study sought to answer these questions: What are the strategies of Turkey's engagement in Somalia?, by looking at this ,does Turkey have only humanitarian interest in Somalia?. Due to the finding of this suitable question and the literature of Turkey's foreign policy in Somalia, the study asks to answer, the motives behind this engagement, particularly the strategic interest of Turkey's engagement with Somalia

For that reason, the study recognized that Turkey's new engagement in Somalia in 2011, was both humanitarian, economic and security, its true that Turkey initially acted for humanitarian purposes and helped to improve the domestic life of the Somalia people. However, the study found out that Turkey's humanitarian aid to Somalia was the main mission of Turkey's both economic and security interests in the strategic country of the Horn of Africa region- Somalia. In the view of the findings, the researcher argues that

After Turkey succeeded its foreign policy in Somalia, the Anatolian businessmen jumped from Somalia to other African countries by their experience in Somalia, its reported that Turkey's Africa initiative, invest more ground in African countries, construction projects, developing trade and other businesses, reported that it gets to realize the strategic interests of Turkey into the continent.

In this context, it can be concluded that the interests of Turkey in Somalia is not only humanitarian, Turkey has economic and security interest in Somalia. Due to the findings of the study, its no doubt that, with the absence of strong government in Somalia, Turkey benefited from Mogadishu, the known trade volume between the two countries is over 140 million dollars, according to the study there is trade imbalances between the two countries, mostly Anatolian tigers are benefiting. Although its arguable that Turkey's current and potential economic capabilities are much greater than its current size in Somalia, which it needs to reconsider, because the economic approach is the most important in achieving political reconciliation in Somalia and return to the

international community after the absence of decades, and it will certainly help the two countries to become full partners in both economic and security fields in the long term.

In the view of the findings, Turkey's support and presence in the country expanded and spread from humanitarian to economic and security sectors, to some extent, the civil society activities carried out in the country has managed to keep Turkish interest in Somalia, but it seems the Turkish government has changed this view and started a security engagement to keep Turkish economic and geopolitical interests in the continent particularly Somalia, the Turkish government planned to build a military base in Sudan and Somalia.

However, there are factors which affect the new Turkish security engagement in Mogadishu, Turkey's non-coordination with the African peace keeping forces called AMISOM which are funded by westerners, the African countries have taken huge money from international community especially the Westerners, as one officer from Burundi told a local newspaper in his country, he stated that he takes huge salary from Somalia, and after they withdraw, he will not get that money in his country, and would like to not see peaceful Somalia. For that reasons, Turkey needs to plan a new strategy in their military base in Somalia and to collaborate AMISOM with a planned strategy. In Addition to that Turkey's less engagement with Federal member states may pose a potential challenge to its new security engagement. Apart from the training of Somali national army (SNA), Turkey is not operational on the ground as former Turkish ambassador Olgan Baker told VOA Somali section¹¹. However, ISIS and Al-Shabab terror groups may pose a challenge to the new Turkish security engagement in Mogadishu. These terror groups determined that they will not accept foreign military presence in the country (Yalçın, 2017) and any military training center in Mogadishu is a potential attack for them.

Moreover, the study discovered that, Turkey lacks deep knowledge of Somalis and Somalia as a whole, which might bother priorities concerning Somalia's state building and Ankara's interest in the country, because Turkish presence in the country is very short compared with Westerners and the Arabs. Therefore, Turkey in order to achieve its strategic mission it should obtain detailed findings by researching both Somalia and

¹¹ Olgan Baker, (November 05, 2016). Wareysi gaar ah: Danjiraha Turkiga ee Soomaaliya.(Nur Bukhar), Retrieved from: <https://www.voasomali.com/a/3581783.html>

Africa in general. by increasing the number of positive results, its true that Turkey enjoyed a greater level of trust with the components of the Somali people, something that other foreign partners like the Gulf states have missed. But for the coming periods this will change, because Turkey has given high priority to its relations with the federal government, focusing its efforts on the capital Mogadishu and its people only, rather than expanding its development projects in regional states. for example Turkey is going to mediate between Somalia and Somaliland, but the Somaliland administration see Turkey, as a country that can not be neutral between Mogadishu and Hargaysa. Politically, the Somali government can not extend its sovereignty over most of the Somali territory, and its officials and ministers can not set foot in an important strategic areas such as Somaliland, The international community still considers the Somalia government as unfit, preferring to deal directly with Somaliland with regard to humanitarian aid, international financial aid and others. The Turkish side is politically dealing with the central government without other Somalia regions. The Turkish side does not have the experience and deep understanding of the root causes of the Somali problem, its complications and its extensions, which might cause the failure to manage the talks between the federal government and Somaliland. In order to be effective the Turkish interest in Somalia and to strengthen its partnership with the Somali government, the Turkish strategy requires real and continuous assessment and re-formulation of strategic positioning in Somalia, in order to achieve a strategic output commensurate with the size of its efforts in the region, so that the two parties gain and reduce the losses in their horizontal and vertical relations.

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Omar Yusuf Abdulle has completed his Masters degree in Social and Political Science from Sakarya University, Turkey. His research areas include foreign policy, the geopolitics of the Middle East and the Horn of Africa, Security and non state actors in the Horn of Africa, Turkey in Africa and Somali studies. Now, his Master's thesis investigates "The Strategic Interest of Turkey's Foreign Policy Somalia". Previously, Mr Abdulle holds a Bachelor of Public Administration from SIMAD University in Mogadishu. Besides these academic degrees, Mr. Abdulle has certificates on a number of courses such as, Project planning and management from Somali Institute of Professional Studies, Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Comparing theory and practice from Leiden University and International Human Rights Law: Prospects and Challenges from Duke University. He has written a number of articles in both English and Somali languages and presented papers in international academic conferences and journals.

Omar has three years of experience from both private and nonprofit sectors. He has worked with Horyaal Construction and Water Engineering Company as human resource assistant. He was responsible for assisting the development of the employee by giving training, evaluating employee performance and assisting recruitment and hiring new employees.

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