

**AFRICA IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY: EXAMPLE OF
TURKEY- SUDAN**

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Thesis Advisor: Prof. Dr. BÜLENT AÇM

ABSTRACT

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This study aims to study Turkish foreign policy towards Africa. This study aims to study Turkish foreign policy towards Africa. The study deals with historical and political relations in general. The study focuses on Chapter Four (Sudan) on economic, political relations, and aspects of cooperation between the two countries in the period from 2002 to 2019. As the Turks began entering Africa since the nineteenth century, the Ottomans established strong relations with the sultans. These relationships were based on religious, economic, and strategic foundations. the Turks ruled Africa for four centuries, despite this, the European colonization that started in the mid-nineteenth century towards Africa. Let the Ottomans leave gradually from the African continent. And when the Turkish Republic was established. Turkish foreign policy has moved towards western countries. Although Turkey had supported independence movements in Africa in the 1960s. However, Africa was not important in Turkish foreign policy either With the decline of the Cold War in the nineties and the reshaping of the international system again. let Turkey open a door toward the international community.

Turkey prepared a foreign policy plan for Africa in 1998, to develop political, economic, and cultural ties for expansion in Africa. the plan was

implemented after 2005. Turkey pursued a new strategy and used certain elements such as soft power. And to bring the African countries to its side. In this way, Turkey will take a fast and easy way to form political, economic, social, and cultural relations with African countries.

Keywords: Republic of Turkey, Africa, Ottomans, Sudan, Foreign Policy

INTRODUCTION

As an African student studying in Turkey. And in a section like international relations, which is Important to study the international community and relations between countries. It was natural for me to choose a topic that reflects the efforts and relationship between Turkey and Africa, and our country Sudan in particular. Note that I have recommended three topics to write about: Turkey and soft power in Africa, the impact of Syrian refugees on the Turkish economy and society, and finally the separation of South Sudan - challenges and solutions. After discussions with our supervisor. We found that we could write on a new topic, including Africa and Turkey, foreign policy and soft power as well. Turkey, which started its plan towards Africa after the year 2005, so we found that this study is useful and suitable for both Africa and Turkey. However, considering the presentation of the topic title thesis “Africa in Turkish Foreign Policy: example of Turkey- Sudan Relations” as we find it a suitable topic.

There is no doubt that Turkey has good relations with a number of African countries, including Ethiopia, South Africa, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Somalia, Chad, and Sudan. The reason for choosing Sudan as an example is the ruling authority in Turkey and Sudan, which is called (the Muslim Brotherhood) here, we must mention that what is meant by the Sudanese-Turkish relations from the period 2002 to 2019 is not intended by Sudan as a state in the Turkish foreign policy, but rather the Sudanese and Turkish government. Unlike other African countries, they are relations between states and interests. As for Sudan, they are political relations between two parties agreeing ideologically and intellectually, if we take into consideration some African countries are not of an Islamic orientation, but their relations with Turkey are strong. Sudan’s relationship with Turkey stems from the trend of political Islam. And this is what prompted us to write this study.

Turkey's relations with these African countries have led to an increase in the volume of Turkish investments in African countries, and

the volume of trade exchange between the two parties in 2015 reached about \$ 25 billion. These relationships helped African countries find markets and job opportunities, which helped reduce unemployment .Of course, the chronic problems in Africa have not been solved because Africa needs security and stability, which it sorely lacks. Therefore, we can say that without stability and security, African countries will not improve either with aid or agreements.

Our thesis consists of an introduction and three chapters. In the first chapter, our thesis is summarized from the beginning of the Ottoman Empire until the expansion plan in Africa 1998 and its foreign policy in that period. In the second chapter, the thesis deals with the Turkish policy strategy and analysis of its Aims and limits from 2002 to 2018. In the third chapter, the thesis briefly deals with political, economic, and social relations from 2002 to 2018 in studying the case of Sudan as an example. We want to point out that these studies are new in Turkey, so there were difficulties with the references and their analysis, In addition to the written references and articles, we have conducted personal interviews with government organizations operating in Africa and Sudan in particular to obtain information and then analyze it, write it and summarize it in this thesis. However, Of course, there are many lacks in this study, so we hope that in the future there will be a great deal of effort.

During the preparation of this study, we faced many difficulties and obstacles, especially the aspect of the Turkish language, which we had learned in only 9 months and that was not enough. There is also a lack of references and a lack of time. There was difficulty reading and understanding the sources written in the Turkish language. To analyze and evaluate these sources, we had to read them several times. for these reasons. It was difficult to prepare a study which is in our view is good, Nevertheless. These reasons did not prevent us from preparing this study because we tried to take advantage of our Turkish friends who have always been helping us to read the sources in Turkish. Apart from that, Because the current study in our hands is modern and new, it is difficult to have

many references.

I want to express my gratitude and thanks to the supervisor Prof. Dr. Bülent AÇMA, who has always supported me and given me his precious time. because he is always a lot of travel and conferences, and this did not prevent him from guiding me in finalizing this study, I also want to thank my Turkish teachers who supported me in learning the Turkish language. Likewise, all my Sudanese and Turkish friends, especially I thank Osman Alfahim who did not refuse to support me in this study. in addition to. I would like to send my greetings and thanks to my beautiful family, which I had always been of its concern and love, to all foreign students at Anadolu University, and to representatives of governmental and non-governmental organizations who shared the information with me .I also want to express my gratitude to Doç. Dr. Erhan AKDEMİR Who supported me during my studies in Master of International Relations. I also want to express my thanks to Prof. Dr. Selim İNANÇLI from Sakarya University.

My thanks go to the Turkish Embassy in Sudan, led by the Turkish Ambassador Doç.Dr. İrfan Neziroğlu who has been supporting me with information since the beginning of writing this study. Also, thanks to the Sudanese Embassy in Ankara, and through it, I thank the administrator, Mr. Abu Ubaidah Muhammad Fadlallah, and Dr. Tirab Abbkar Tirab who contributed and stood with me in writing this study.

STATEMENT

I hereby truthfully declare that this thesis is an original work prepared by me; that I have behaved following the scientific ethical principles and rules throughout the stages of preparation, data collection, analysis and presentation of my work; that I have cited the sources of all the data and information that could be obtained within the scope of this study, and included these sources in the references section; and that this study has been scanned for plagiarism with “scientific plagiarism detection program” used by Anadolu University, and that “it does not have any plagiarism” whatsoever. I also declare that, if a case contrary to my declaration is detected in my work at any time, I hereby express my consent to all the ethical and legal consequences that are involved.

Mohamed Gamal

Eskisehir 2020

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
INTRODUCTION	iv
CONTENTS	viii
PREFACE	1
PURPOSE, CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK, AND PROBLEMS.....	1
1. TURKISH-AFRICAN RELATIONS HISTORICAL BACKGROUND... 7	
2. 1.1.Turkish-African Relations in the Ottoman Period	7
1.1.1.Relations of Ottoman Empire with Local Sultans in Africa.....	7
1.1.2. Relations of Ottoman-Harar Emirate	7
1.1.3. Ottoman-Darfûr Relations	8
1.1.4. Relations between Ottoman and Zengibar Sultanate	8
1.1.5. Ottoman-Kanem-Bornu Relations.....	9
1.1.6. Civilization harmony and communication between the two empires in the protection of religion	11
1.1.7. Black Africans in the Ottoman Country	12
1.2. The Ottoman Empire Against European Colonialism in Africa	13
1.2.1 The Ottoman Struggle against the Colonialists in Tripoli.....	14
1.2.2. Abdulhamid's Islamic Union Politics Against Colonialism in Africa	14
1.3. Turkish Foreign Policy in the Republican Period and the Turkey-Africa Relations developments	16
1.3.1. Turkish Foreign Policy in the Republican Period.....	16
1.3.2. Turkish Foreign Policy during the foundation years of the Republic	16
1.4. Turkish Foreign Policy in the Cold War Period	18
1.4.1. The general situation in Turkish foreign policy after the Cold War	19
1.5. Development of Turkey-Africa Relations.....	20
1.5.2. Turkish National Struggle and Its Effects on Africa	20
1.5.3. The African continent's independence and Turkey-Africa Relations	20
1.5.4. Opening Africa in Turkey's Plan 1998	22
1.5.5. Aims	22
1.5.6. Measures Taken.....	23
3. TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY AFTER 2002: SOFT POWER	25
3.1. Soft Power and Its Elements	25
3.1.1. Power	25

3.1.2.	Soft Power	26
3.1.3.	Concept evolution	27
3.1.4.	Soft Power Elements	29
3.2.	Public Diplomacy	29
3.2.1.	Turkish Public Diplomacy	31
3.2.2.	Turkish Cultural Diplomacy	31
2.2.3.	Concepts, Actors and Practice	33
2.2.4	Turkish Foreign Aid and Human Diplomacy	34
3.3.	Purpose and limits of Turkey's Africa Policy	36
3.3.2.	Competing Powers in Africa and Turkey	36
4.	IN THE CASE OF SUDAN TURKEY-AFRICA RELATIONS (2002-2019)	33
3.1.	Political Relations.....	34
3.1.1.	Diplomatic Relations	34
3.2.	Commercial and Economic Relations	35
3.2.1.	Sudan and the polarization struggle	36
3.2.2.	Wealth and Domination.....	37
3.2.3.	The controversy over Suakin Island.....	40
3.3.	Cooperation Activities	42
3.3.1.	Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency.....	42
3.3.2.	Sudanese and Turkish Center for Vocational and Technical Education.....	45
5.	CONCLUSION	49
6.	Results and recommendations	52
6.1.	Results:	52
6.2.	Recommendations:	53
	REFERENCES	55
	Books and Articles	55
	Web Sites	59
	Curriculum Vitae	61
Hata! Yer işareti tanımlanmamış.	

PREFACE

PURPOSE, CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK, AND PROBLEMS

Africa has always played an important role in the foreign policies of the great powers because of its great geography, underground wealth, and manpower. After centuries of the slave trade in the region, despite the colonialism and independence movements in the 1960s.

Despite its civilization, natural resources, human resources, and large market, its place in world politics and economy is still sought. Moreover, Africa, today is defined as the region where conflict, poverty, and diseases are widespread. However, due to the interdependence of globalization after the Cold War, Africa has become a center of attraction for international actors.

After the Cold War and especially in the 2000s, developing countries such as China, Brazil, and India began to deal with Africa, Turkey has also aroused the interest. Turkey's interest in Africa is rooted in history. The African continent had an important place in the foreign policy of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman expeditions to the Continent, based on religious reasons along with a strategic justification, are also understood from the strategic position of the North African regions during the period and even today. Ottoman Empire has maintained close relations with the African continent with a significant Muslim population for more than four centuries and has left positive traces in the region. However, the Republic of Turkey was established upon the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, it has remained indifferent to Africa until the late 1990s. With the Action Plan for Africa (opening Africa), which was prepared in 1998, efforts were made to develop political, economic, and social relations with African countries. However, the actual implementation of the plan will begin only after the AK Party came to the power in 2002. After that time Turkey, religious, cultural and historical common points based on the history of Ottoman Empire has entered close relations with African countries with intense interest, Aiming to be a regional power and global actor, Turkey's

strategic importance to the African continent, which was denied again come to the agenda of foreign policy. Therefore, to Examination of Turkey's opening Africa "Turkish Foreign Policy in Africa: The Case of Turkey-Sudan Relations we have determined this topic.

There are both scientific and individual reasons for choosing this subject. At the beginning of scientific reasons, that in Turkey on this subject and topic Inadequacy and the lake of specialists and researchers can be demonstrated.

In this thesis, As an African student who lived in both Africa and Turkey, it is aimed to discuss Africa's place in Turkish foreign policy with its historical and political dimensions.

For studies on this subject unilateral, because of course it is discussed based in Turkey. In this topic, especially so far from the establishment of the Republic of Turkey to this day, it will examine the foreign policy and development of relations with the African countries. From the individual perspective, after 2002 the Turkey-Africa relations revival again in the recent time history, political history, history of international relations, and current issues It attracts our attention. We started with the conviction that this subject, which is highly debated in the agenda, deserves a scientific study in a different dimension.

For a better understanding of the study, it is necessary to describe the important concepts that often make up the subject.

Africa is the third-largest continent in the world and one-fifth of all land. It is surrounded by the Mediterranean in the north, the Atlantic Ocean in the west, the Indian Ocean in the south and east, and the Red Sea in the northeast. It is separated from Europe by the Strait of Gibraltar. Its shores are not overly recessed, and the total length is 30,500 km, and it's surface area 30,319,000 km. It is a continent with a population of over 1 billion with 54 countries.

Foreign policy can be defined as a policy involving diplomatic political, economic, and legal relations with other states and international

institutions to achieve the goals in which a state shapes its national interests. In the Turkish Dictionary of the Turkish Language Institute, *Dış Politika, bir devletin sınırları ötesindeki devletlere uyguladığı siyaset olarak tanımlanmaktadır.*¹ which means that foreign policy is defined as the policy that a state applies to states beyond its borders, in Cambridge Advanced Learner's² in Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus Foreign policy defined as *a government's policy on dealing with other countries*

Soft Power, Joseph S. Nye, who introduced this concept to literature defined as follows: *soft power means getting others to want the same outcomes you want*³. In other words, to make others achieve the result that you want without forcing them to do that. Soft power depends on influence and institutions, diplomacy, spreading ideas, economic assistance, the promotion of democracy and cultural exchange, Soft Power is a power that allows states to consent to other countries of their aims by using their political values and culture instead of using the elements of (*Hard Power*) such as military force, threatening or economic sanctions.

Our study into the geographical area of Sudan in Africa and Turkey covers a specific area. However, here in our topic Africa region is meant only as sub-Saharan. Sub-Saharan Africa refers to the region geographically south of the Sahara Desert. The area is not included in North Africa countries such as Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Libya, and Egypt. In this region where dark-skin people live, ethnic structures show quite differences. The reasons for not including North Africa, we avoid the subject of a broad study will be geographically and is not within the scope of Turkey's African Expansion Policy of the region.

Chronologically, our study focuses on the period up to the Ottoman period with emphasis on the 2002-2018 period. Our emphasis on the period 2002-2018, Turkey's Africa initiative policy Opening Africa of

¹Türk Dil Kurumu, *Türkçe sözlük*, 1932, s. 520

²<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/foreign-policy>

³Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power the means to Success in World Politics*, 2004, p111

2002, A date coinciding with the AK Party's coming to the power and 2018 was the most advanced date for this policy. However, the issues to be addressed as discussed considering the historical process of the Ottoman period in Turkish-African relations and development needs of Turkey's foreign policy is necessary.

For the preparation of this study, we applied to the works, articles, and theses written by various authors. But As it is well known in Turkey that African studies and especially Turkey-Africa relations There is an inability degree of inadequacy in the literature. at the same time, Turkey in the period after 2005 began to implement the policy of opening Africa is reflected in an increase in research and writing on the subject. Many independent researchers and academics have become interested in the subject.

When writing this study. Especially in the first chapter. We have benefited many of the leading researchers and specialists in Turkey, such as Ahmet Kavas Whereas, in his book *Ottoman-African Relations* the author has addressed the Ottoman presence in Africa in the past four centuries, and the relationship of the Ottomans with the sultans in Africa. As for the first chapter, the second part, which is related to Turkish foreign policy. We benefited a lot from Ali Balci in his book *Turkey's Foreign Policy: Principles, Actors, Practices*, In addition to this. In the second chapter, which talks about the topic of public diplomacy and Turkish foreign policy after the year 2002, as well as Turkish soft power. We benefited a lot from the author Muharrem EKŞİ from his publication *Public Diplomacy and Turkish Foreign Policy in the AK Party Period*, Besides, Joseph S. Nye's book *Soft Power*, published in 2004, shed light on a better understanding of the concept of soft power and its role in Turkish foreign policy.

In this study, during the Founding Years of The Republic of Turkey, during and after the Cold War, especially in the post-2002 period imposed by analyzing strategies of Turkey's foreign policy, the position of Africa in foreign policy is tried to be determined. That's why Sudan is an example

study in Turkey-Africa's political, economic, and social relations by considering, was investigated in a narrow dimension of the problem.

One of the purposes of this study that Turkey's foreign policy before Study the changing policies and strategies towards Africa that are not on the foreign policy agenda, The other purpose is to reveal the reasons behind this indifference from Turkey against the African continent in the previous period.

To achieve these aims, it is necessary to know the historical background of Turkish foreign policy during the history of the Republic. However, the study of relations with African countries is emerging as a necessity.

In this study, the literature researching method was adopted by referring to the information on the websites of institutions that have continuous assistance to Africa, books and articles published, scientific theses and studies in many libraries, especially the Anadolu University Library. Since the topic is up to date, the importance of electronic resources and information on websites should be mentioned while preparing the message.

Based on these sources, and experimental analysis method based on personal observation and experience was applied.

The problem of the study:

What is the nature of the new Turkish foreign policy towards Africa? This problem leads to secondary questions, perhaps the most prominent of which are:

1. What is the importance of the African continent to the new Turkish foreign policy?
2. What are the dimensions of the new Turkish foreign policy towards Africa?
3. What are the determinants facing the new Turkish foreign policy towards

Africa?

4. What are the reasons that led to the rise of Sudan as a strategic country in Turkish foreign policy?
5. What is the relationship of this rise to the nature of the Turkish presence in the African continent in general?
6. What are the possible effects of the current Sudanese situation on the future of previous Turkish / Sudanese agreements?

The study hypothesis:

- The research starts from a basic premise:
- The African continent has great importance in the new Turkish foreign policy strategy. And other helpful hypotheses, the most important of which are:
 - the historical relations left a positive impression on the Turks on the African continent, and this is an important factor that contributes to facilitating the achievement of Turkey's goals in the region.
 - Economic relations with the African continent tend to develop further.
 - The current transformations in the region and the rise of Islam contribute to the development of relations between Turkey and African countries.
 - Regional and international interests in Africa are the biggest obstacle to the new Turkish foreign policy directions.
 - Africa was not on the agenda of Turkish foreign policy after the establishment of the republic.
 - Turkish-African relations witnessed a development when the Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power.
 - Turkish foreign policy is based on soft power in Africa.
 - Turkish-Sudanese relations are developing and growing.

1. TURKISH-AFRICAN RELATIONS HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2. 1.1.Turkish-African Relations in the Ottoman Period

1.1.1.Relations of Ottoman Empire with Local Sultans in Africa

Relations between the Ottoman Empire and the African sultans date back to the sixteenth century since the Ottomans first entered Egypt in North Africa in 1517. The influence of the Ottomans and their relationship with the sultans of Africa continued until the Turks withdrew from Tripoli in 1917 after their empire disintegrated at the end of the First World War. And of course, the Ottomans were able to establish relations with the sultans of those countries, including political, economic, social, and religious. This fact is proven by large numbers of Turkish assets, which still live in North African countries. From these African sultans, we will discuss; Harar Emirate, Darfūr, Zanzibar, and Kanem-Bornu.

1.1.2. Relations of Ottoman-Harar Emirate

Harar is in eastern Ethiopia. It is considered one of the most important historical monuments in the country. It has been a source of Islamic culture in East Africa since the seventh century. Historically. The city has witnessed many migrations from most of the African, Arab, and Islamic neighbors. The city is rich in many cultural and social monuments in Turkey.

In the fifteenth century, the Europeans' ambition towards the countries of Africa and Asia was very high. To achieve their purposes by benefiting from the wealth of these countries. By controlling the traffic in seaports. To achieve this goal, The Europeans first worked through missionary associations and expanded the Christianization movement in these areas, and through humanitarian aid, Finally, they moved militarily to occupy these countries. Has already succeeded in achieving that occupy many regions in Africa and Asia. Under the direction of European colonialism in the late 15th century,

1.1.3. Ottoman-Darfûr Relations

Darfur was an independent Islamic kingdom ruled by several sultans, the most famous was the sultan Ali Dinar, The Territory was under a federal government to govern the tribal leaders and their regions, Until the fall of the system during the Ottoman rule.

The people of Darfur have resisted Turkish rule which lasted 10 years, During this period several revolutions, during this period, several revolutions took place, the most was the Aaron Revolution, which Gordon Pasha was killed in 1877, At the time of the Mahdist revolution, the princes rushed to pledge allegiance to Mahdi and his supporters until Dafur gained independence after the success of the Mahdist revolution.

The independence of the region did not last long, where it fell again under the rule of Mahdia in 1884, which found violent resistance until the fall of Mahdia in 1898 and returned the Sultan Ali Dinar to rule Darfur, At the outbreak of World War I, the Sultan of Darfur supported the Ottoman Empire, which was the center of the Islamic Caliphate, Angering the governor-general of Sudan, It fuelled hostility between the Sultanate and the central authority, which resulted in the overthrow of the Sultanate of Darfur and its annexation to Sudan in 1917.

When he assumed the throne of the Sultanate, he sought to modernize it in its economic, social, and military aspects and to strengthen the Islamic-minded Sultanate. his vision was to support the Ottoman caliphate. In the first World War (1914-1916), he reinforced his position on it, which was a major cause of the English moving against him to eliminate him and undermine his rule. The tone of speech of Ali Dinar began to change towards the management of English with the declaration of World War and the entry of Britain and France to war against Turkey and Germany ‘The British Governor-General sought to test his loyalty. ‘He sent a journey of loyalty, which was made by Messrs. Ali al-Mirghani, Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi, and Mr. al-Sharif Al-Hindi.

1.1.4. Relations between Ottoman and Zengibar Sultanate

The Sultanate of Zanzibar. It is an island about 72 km from the coast of Tanzania, although this area was full of early residents. However, it became an independent sultanate in the first half of the eighteenth century. Regarding the Ottoman Empire and the Sultanate of Zanzibar as it was talked about and its activity in a book *Kitab-ı Bahriye* That was written by Piri Reis⁴.

The relationship between Turkey and North Africa that was represented in the Sultanate of Zanzibar officially started in 1887 and 88 after the coronation of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. The relationship between these two Islamic empires developed and expanded cultural, religious, educational activities, some of which were military and economic. Sultan Zanzibar Sayyid Barghash bin Saeed was the first to initiate direct contacts as he visited Egypt that was within the Ottoman provinces in 1875, before the relationship was officially between Zanzibar and the Ottoman Empire at the time, that is, before the coronation of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. The relationship between the two countries expanded until the Ottoman embassy in Zanzibar was opened in the 1880s, and the embassy consisted of the military and diplomatic adviser.

1.1.5. Ottoman-Kanem-Bornu Relations

Bornu Sultanate, Another Islamic Sultanate that extended its authority in several regions of the African continent, This Sultanate ruled the "Central Sudan" for five centuries, and the establishment of the Bornu Empire dates back to the year 1380 AD,

This country included a large number of tribes and elements. There are the "Soo" tribes, the "Kanambu" tribes, and the "Kanuri tribes", a mixture of Arabs, Berbers, and Negroes. The "Bornu" sultans encouraged the spread of Arab-Islamic culture in their spheres of influence, so they increased the construction of mosques and pamphlets, and the Arabic language was the

⁴Piri Reis is one of the most important names name with his 1513 world map and The Book of Bahriye (Book of Navigation) in world's maritime history. He was fascinating admiral, geographer and cartographer. According to some resources he knew Greek, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese added to his his mother tongue.

language of education and the official government's language, in addition to being the language of commercial transactions and the language of international correspondence, similar to the rest of the Islamic countries.

The Kanem Bronu Empire and the Ottoman Caliphate enjoyed a unique cultural contact, and corresponded to Islamic human relations, During the period of the Ottoman Empire, Islam became a basic pillar of the state in the field of religious, social, cultural, material life, etc. As an expression of the Turks' respect for Islam, they paid tremendous interest in Arabic. As a result, the teaching of the Arabic language was distinguished in the reigns of the Seljuks and the Ottoman Empire, which made it the nature of the disciplinary curricula in which the rules of exchange and grammar are taught, to understand the Qur'anic verses as well, Sending clerics to the Arab countries during the Ottoman Empire helped to teach the Arabic language. The Ottomans showed great respect for the rituals of their true religion and its human civilizational values. They worked hard to communicate this religion and love it to people in various ways. For example, they built the great mosques in which the hearts fall and give comfort and tranquility, then they took great care of the people in charge of these mosques, from muezzins and reciters who enjoy beautiful voices, a heartwarming sympathy.

This confirms the interest of the Ottoman Empire in the Islamic religion since the establishment of the Ottoman Caliphate and all the books prescribed in the Ottoman schools are Arabic books. Therefore, all scientific and intellectual activities and products were carried out in this language. Therefore, all scientific and intellectual activities and products were carried out in this language, Since the Islamic religion is the religion of the Ottoman Empire, the importance of the Arabic language has increased day after day, in the commercial, tourism and international relations aspects, which leads us to relations and civilized communication between the two empires.

1.1.6. Civilization harmony and communication between the two empires in the protection of religion

The two empires share an interest in the Islamic religion and the Arabic language, education, and noble values and virtuous morals, and religious rituals, and continue through trade and knowledge and cultural exchange. Since the Kanem Brno Empire recognized Islam in the first century AH, Islam has prepared for the African regions that it entered to relate to Islamic civilization at an early date. This new religion has brought about cultural activity, social mobility, and great economic activity, and it has provided different regions with links to marriage, neighborhood, and the exchange of goods and benefits between them. The Ottoman Empire had a presence in the North African region and the Arab Maghreb since the year 1551 AD. As for Egypt, the Ottoman presence in it was earlier than that date, as it dates to the year 1516 AD, and the Ottoman army occupied parts of Fezzan that were subject to the rule and Sultanate of the Kanem Brno Empire. This aroused the ire of the Kanem Brno Empire, from the Ottoman intentions, but the civilizational, social, cultural and commercial communication between the African peoples and their neighboring countries broke all the political barriers and tendencies in the region, which made the door open for the two empires to cooperate. This resulted in an evolution in civilized communication, and the trade exchange between the two empires flourished, expanded to the degree of cooperation and understanding, and looking at the exchanged documents between them realizes the extent of its expansion in protecting trade and the peoples' contiguity adjacent to the Sahara and the African African states in the Ottoman Empire. This civilizational communication between the Ottoman Empire and the Kanem Brno Empire confirms the extent of establishing the foundations of friendship. Rather, this communication resulted in strong political relations and contributed to solving problems by peaceful means, as well as brought benefits, economic interests, and knowledge treasures between the two nations.

1.1.7. Black Africans in the Ottoman Country

Many people believe that black Africans came to Turkey in the first decade of the twentieth century, that is since the beginning of the emergence of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey. The situation is that the presence of black Africans in Turkey is not new. As their history goes back to the Ottoman period. The continuous wars

of the Ottoman Empire were the first source of the slave trade that flourished with the Ottoman conquests movement, it relied mainly on prisoners of war from the Balkans, the Caucasus, and eastern and western Europe. Where several markets for this trade appeared and became famous in various Anadolu cities such as Bursa, Kayseri, Sivas, and Samsun on the shore of the Black Sea. But the most important one that was established in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul, from which the Escudar market became famous.

By the 16th century, the slave trade in the Ottoman Empire started importing African slaves from different countries and regions to work on the expanding nation's farms and palaces And developed several trade lines coming from the African continent, passing through regions such as Egypt and Libya to Greece, Cyprus, Aegean beaches and Istanbul markets. By the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire began a series of administrative and political reforms in the country known as the "organizations", in which Sultan Abdul Majid issued a decision in 1847 to officially lift and prevent slavery. Destroying the places designated for this trade in Istanbul and closing its markets in different regions. But this did not prevent the continuation of the slave trade within the Ottoman Empire or did prevent the sultans from owning slaves. This situation would last until 1908 when slavery in the Sultanate was completely prohibited.

With the establishment of the Turkish Republic, some Africans chose to move from Anadolu to their countries of origin, while a large part of them, especially Muslims, did not leave.

Today. Turkish Africans are concentrated in the Aegean region,

specifically in the city of Izmir, western Turkey where their ancestors settled a land they obtained from the Turkish government. There are no official statistics on the number of Turkish Africans in Turkey, but some sources estimate their number residing in the Aegean region at 1,000 citizens. Turkish Africans have achieved advanced levels of integration into Turkish society, so they cannot be distinguished from the general Turks except by the color of their skin, as they imitated the traditions and customs of the regions they inhabited in addition to their mastery of the Turkish language in its various dialects.

Turkish Africans also made progress at the local political level, and several mayors and candidates for the House of Representatives appeared, in addition to working with and through civil society organizations. Despite these successes, many African Turks still have a lot at the level of economic advancement and access to advanced levels of education and professional advancement, and the challenge of communicating with Turkish society, in general, is still present. Racism, which imposes on the African community more theory, organization, and communication with Turkish society.

After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, along with the spread of black Africans, however, the first period since the establishment of the Turkish Republic there was tension for the black majority in some regions. Some of them maintained their customs and traditions since the Ottoman Empire. Of course, if we talk about black Africans, we must mention the Sudanese black hero Musa, the hero who fought in the ranks of the Ottoman army during the First World War. He was one of the heroic African volunteers who participated in the war against the Italians in Tripoli and then the Bulgarian War and the First World War.⁵

1.2. The Ottoman Empire Against European Colonialism in Africa

One of the great services provided by the Ottoman Empire to Africa is that it preserved Islam in East African countries from the European

⁵<http://www.biyografi.net/kisiyrinti.asp?kisiid=3622;>

colonial crusade Led by Portugal and Spain.

Ottoman Empire, After Algeria in 1830, Tunisia was invaded by France in 1881 and Egypt by the British in 1882, the province of Tripoli and its hinterland, which was not occupied yet, tried to hold the sub-Saharan regions in Africa. It has concentrated in those areas. It was stated by European travelers that those regions, which have both strategic and economic and commercial importance, consisted of approximately eight million Muslim people and their sermons were read on behalf of the Ottoman Sultan. The Ottoman Empire, which faced difficulties inside and outside at that time, could not prevent these occupations due to its military power and lack of financial means. Therefore, the Ottomans, while defending their legal rights against the European colonists, were contented with protesting the invasions by following a passive policy. On the other hand, at that time, Sultan II. Abdulhamid implemented an Islamic Union policy by trying to establish contact with all Muslim peoples in the world to prevent this fragmentation and to strengthen the Ottoman Empire again.

1.2.1 The Ottoman Struggle against the Colonialists in Tripoli

On August 4, 1895, an agreement was concluded between Britain and France, in which Britain recognized the region from the Mediterranean Sea to the western coast of Lake Chad, to be affiliated to the colonies of France. When the Ottoman Empire became aware of this agreement, it sent a note to the relevant states on 30 October 1890 to protect its rights over Tripoli and its hinterland. In the note sent by the Ottoman State, it stated the border of the Tripoligar hinterland, which covers the regions extending to Central Africa.

1.2.2. Abdulhamid's Islamic Union Politics Against Colonialism in Africa

The period since Sultan Abdul Hamid II came to power in 1876 and the period that followed was one of the most important periods in the Ottoman Empire. Where Sultan Abdul Hamid faced many challenges inside, there were internal rebellions and national movements. Abroad,

there were the policies of European colonial and imperialist countries, in addition to the Russian threats. To get back this situation and restore the state to its previous strength and to protect the Ottoman lands from invasions, Sultan Abdul Hamid resorted to the caliphate policy or Islamic policy to confront these issues. On the one hand, Sultan Abdul Hamid worked to provide material and moral effort within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, Sultan Abdul Hamid created an identity and social solidarity in the Islamic world. Since the Sultan did not distance the Muslims of the world, and by religion, he wanted to establish a strong and stable administration by supporting and gathering them around him. In this way, the Sultan was aiming to resist the conquests of the colonists in Islamic countries. Despite the increasing colonial activities in the regions and Islamic countries, Sultan Abdul Hamid made a great effort in forming a general opinion of solidarity and unity in order not to lose his authority and the relationship of Islamic countries with the Ottoman Empire. With this policy, the Sultan was aiming to gather Muslims around the world. He sent a representative of this policy to Turkmenistan, Africa, India, Japan, and even China.

In North Africa, Algeria and Tunisia, then Tripoli. Sultan Abdul Hamid encouraged these countries to fight for their independence by supporting the Sufi leaders in these areas. To preserve the last state in North Africa, Tripoli, Sultan Abdul Hamid attempted to establish a good relationship with Sufi such as the Shadhly and Senusi that had a great influence on the people. There was a great affinity with the Senussi sect, they had strict religious principles and had long opposed foreign and Christian influence, The Ottomans used their sheikhs against the invaders by granting salaries and orders to their sheikhs and exempting them from taxes through local administrators. Sultan Abdul Hamid appointed his brothers, Sheikh Zafir Effendi, Syed Hamza, and Syed Bashir, to pay the salaries of about 100,000 Tunisian refugees after the invasion of Tunisia on behalf of the caliph. After the attacks in Tunisia in 1888, 10,000 guns purchased from the Ottoman Empire were sent to Sheikh Sanusi to protect

the borders of Tripoli.

The policy of the "Islamic Union", which opposes imperialism, has been called by the Europeans as Panislamism. This term was used to emphasize expansionism and to conduct black propaganda against Sultan Abdul Hamid. The French were very uncomfortable with the activities of the Islamic Union in North Africa, took various measures, and kept in constant contact with the consul in Tripoli. Sultan Abdulhamid, who did not have the power to enter the war directly, carried out the struggle against invasions indirectly.

On the other hand, Sultan Abdulhamid has shown great interest in the Muslim population living in Cape of Good Hope ⁶ to keep Islam alive in South Africa through his "Islamic Union" policy.

1.3. Turkish Foreign Policy in the Republican Period and the Turkey-Africa Relations developments

1.3.1. Turkish Foreign Policy in the Republican Period

1.3.2. Turkish Foreign Policy during the foundation years of the Republic

Since the foundation of the Republic of Turkey and until today, it can be said that Turkey's foreign policy was an extension of the foreign policy of the late Ottoman period. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire and appearance of the Republic of Turkey together, After the end of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey has long moved away from the Islamic, Arab, African and other countries. Turkey 's orientation was only to the west, especially towards Europe. But from the fifties especially after the seventies and eighties, after the seventies with Erbakan, and the eighties with Turgut Ozul, there has been a strong trend towards the natural geography of Turkey, but the real trend became after the AKP came to power in 2002. This trend was very normal because Turkey is not new to the region, its relationship was great, especially in the period of the Ottoman Empire after the thirteenth century. The Ottoman Turkish presence was in the Mediterranean. For Africa, the presence was

particularly strong in East and North Africa. But the conditions of colonialism in the center and the retreat of Turkey in the face of these attacks after the First World War and then they were under colonialism and did not have a chance to normal relations with Turkey.

After the liberation of these countries, and after the liberation of Turkey from the complex relationship with the West and return to its natural geography. There are many areas for Turkey and Africa to establish relations at various levels. After the liberation of Turkey and after seeing things differently Turkey went to Africa and even became a strategic partner of the African Union since 2008, Turkey has become a new strategy in Africa. When Turkey returned to its strategic depth, Turkey had priorities. It was in a period of political closure, Economic bankruptcy, External debt, Subordination to the West, and Weakness. Therefore, Turkey's priority was inside.

In foreign policy, the priority was into Turkey's closest geographical environment. Like Syria. Iraq and Iran. However, there was a strategy or plan to have excellent relations with Africa, Especially the African continent has a lot of resources and human resources, economic, energy, and even precious metals such as gold, silver, and copper. Africa has been oppressed so much, so this century is the Horn of Africa in one way or another. It can be said that Turkey combines with the African continent or most African countries in other words, especially North Africa, considering that the north has historical and geographical links with the Ottoman Empire, which is an extension of the Turkish Republic.

The mutual relations between the two parties were not as thriving as they should be, it was one of the lowest levels of mutual relations between the two parties, this is due to a variety of factors related to the Turkish and African sides. The provisions of the Turkish is that Turkish foreign policy during that phase was based on relations with Western countries until the end of the Cold War, So that the international conditions for World War II and the Cold War on the one hand, and problems of political, economic, social, domestic turkey, on the other hand, Turkey's capacity to strengthen

its relations with non-Western societies, including the African States, has been impaired.⁶ As to Turkey's membership in the UN in 1946, its joining of NATO in 1952 influenced the Turkish foreign policy, and that is not only in terms of Turkey's relationship with the Soviet Union but also in terms of its relationship with the countries of Africa and Asia.

1.4. Turkish Foreign Policy in the Cold War Period

After the end of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the modern Turkish state in the year 1924, led by Kemal Ataturk, Turkey's ties with the African continent retreated as a result of the concern of the Turkish internal house in order and attention to building the institutions of the new State. After the Second World War during the period called the "cold war" between the two camps of the contradictory, Turkey has sought rapprochement with the countries of North Africa, But its vote in the United Nations against the independence of Algeria in 1956 was a "major disaster" for the Algerian revolution the Algerian people, which provided a torrent of blood sacrifice for independence from the French COLONIST. The format of the shock of the total disregard for Arab and Islamic, The Turkish position was a real obstacle to the establishment of normal relations with the countries of North Africa.

As of the nineteenth century, with the dominant position of the West continuing, however, Turkish foreign policy took shape in its most prominent form in that period. The leader and founder of the new Turkish republic, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, presented new standards for contemporary civilization. Therefore Mustafa Kemal was seen as an undeniable principle of the West. Just as the West also believed that Turkey's survival as a sovereign state in the international system is linked only to Turkey's accession with the West. This is in addition to concerns about Turkey's security in terms of preserving its territorial integrity and the independence of its foreign policy influence.

⁶Volkan Ipek, "The 2011 landing of turkey on Somalia: a successful attempt of a successful plan", **European Scientific Journal** (May 2014), p.435

Political, economic, financial, military and cultural independence should give importance to the Turkish national struggle, as Mustafa Kemal said in Turkey's foreign policy during the Republican "independence" policy. Here it must be said that the leader, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, laid down the important principles and were applied in that period, which are "the principles of peace and the status quo." From the Tripoli War to the Balkan Wars, from the First World War to the Independence War, more than ten years of fighting in front of the leader Mustafa Kemal, then the Treaty of Lausanne for Peace was established in the Republic of Turkey by directing the foreign policy principle of peace and preserving the status quo. As these principles laid down by the leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk were considered a source of inspiration for the colonial countries.

1.4.1. The general situation in Turkish foreign policy after the Cold War

As we said before, Africa-Turkish relations are relations with an extended historical depth, the connection between the two sides dates to the Ottoman Empire. And that is the fifth and sixteenth centuries.

It chronicles contemporary African-Turkish relations since the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s. Especially with the adoption of the plan of action (openness to Africa) in 1998.

After the Cold War Turkish foreign policy was based on a set of key components, perhaps among them the political and diplomatic components, which are the basis of contemporary African-Turkish political relations. This dimension of relations has witnessed a gradual improvement, especially since the middle of the first decade of the new millennium. Specifically, with Turkey's declaration of the "Year of Africa" in 2005, Two cooperation summits between Turkey and Africa were held in 2008 and 2014. This reveals a common real desire to develop interrelations in the political sphere, as well as a kind of positive mutual understanding between the two sides.

The political dimension of Africa-Turkey relations is the general

framework for establishing all kinds of cooperation between the two sides. However, it cannot be established without stable diplomatic and political relations, which is governed by a system of political goals and interests maintained by each side in the face of the other. For Turkey to pass its political interests at the international level, especially the United Nations, it needs its relations with African countries. For Africa in general. It needs the support of Turkey to solve African issues and problems in the international community. This is because Turkey has its place at the international and regional levels. Turkey is one of the major regional powers in the Middle East. Especially since the AKP came to power in 2002. In addition to Turkey's desire and aspiration to find alternative political relations to the European Union, which has not accepted Turkey's accession since 1997.

After the end of the Cold War since the early 1990s. Turkey began to look at Africa from a different perspective. So, all African countries must be non-discriminatory as before. The focus was on the North and the South. Turkey has begun to realize the importance of establishing strategic relations with all African countries following the rule of mutual interests, this made Africa one of the main stations in Turkish Foreign Policy After the end of the Cold War.

1.5. Development of Turkey-Africa Relations

1.5.2. Turkish National Struggle and Its Effects on Africa

With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the beginning of the emergence of the Turkish Republic, all African countries became colonized, except for Ethiopia and Liberia.

1.5.3. The African continent's independence and Turkey-Africa Relations

In the previous period from the establishment of the Turkish Republic until 1960, there were no direct international relations with African countries. Because those countries were under colonialism, it was difficult to establish international relations. However, Ethiopia was the only

independent country, and Turkey established its first embassy in the capital Addis Ababa in 1926.⁷

After World War II until the early 1960s, the independence movement continued in Africa, and finally, Africa became completely independent. During this period, Turkey was facing a cold war with Western countries, and therefore the movements in Africa could not find support from Turkey. For example, we find that the country of Algeria, which was one of the countries with the bloodiest struggle for its independence, did not find support from Turkey. Instead of Turkey supporting Algeria with weapons and ammunition. It also used the right to vote on the United Nations Resolution on the independence of Algeria. despite that. When Algeria gained independence in 1962, Turkey established its embassy in 1963 to establish diplomatic relations with Algeria. Likewise, Turkey has opened its embassies in sub-Saharan capitals, such as Ghana. Nigeria. Senegal and Kenya as well as Egypt and Morocco. And to establish bilateral relations with those countries. However. As for the political, economic, and other reasons caused Turkey to close some of its embassies in Africa, especially the sub-Saharan region, these embassies were reopened at the end of the 2000s.

At the beginning of the Cold War. The emerging countries that emerged as a result of the independence of Africa and Asia formed a new third bloc on the international community. in another meaning. Two blocs appeared in the international system under the conditions of the Cold War and they are the eastern and western worlds. The third bloc appeared in African and Asian countries, namely the Non-Aligned Group or the Third World. The policy pursued by this bloc was not to stand by any of the eastern or western blocs or even to enter conflict or competition. Turkey played an important role in rapprochement with third world countries, especially African countries, to obtain their support in Turkey's case with Cyprus in the 1960s, as Turkey was waiting for support from Western

⁷Dişişleri Bakanlığı Türkiye-Etiyopya İlişkileri <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-etiyopya-siyasi-iliskileri.tr>.)

countries and its weapons, but it did not happen. African countries that survived colonialism participated in international organizations such as the United Nations, which gave these countries strategic importance in voting and negotiations.

The Cyprus issue, which has not been resolved for years at the United Nations, let turkey pursue a multi-pronged policy to obtain support. In 1965, Turkey decided to go to the non-aligned countries and open the African countries that were the majority in the United Nations.

1.5.4. Opening Africa in Turkey's Plan 1998

Africa Action Plan for expansion where there was a series of meetings in June 1998 with the participation of public and private sector representatives. This happened as a result of Turkey's delay and claiming membership in the European Union. Africa Expansion Action Plan, in general. It can be said that it was a turning point in relations between Turkey and Africa, As Africa was not on the Turkish foreign policy schedule in terms of economic, social, and cultural relations. Over time, this plan is expected to achieve these goals, whether they are short, medium, or long periods.

1.5.5. Aims

The aims of Turkey's openness to Africa are three aims in Turkish foreign policy. It is primarily strategic, commercial, and economic. Turkey aims to be a regional and effective country in the regional and even international arena. Turkey is a strategic partner with African countries which population exceeds one billion people, As the

The African continent includes 54 countries. Turkey, which has a clean history in Africa, aims to make a strong base for the efficiency of these countries. Therefore, Turkey aimed to gain the confidence of African countries in the international arena and to be the spokesperson for those weak African countries. Considering protecting their interests. Moreover, Turkey is an issue of international concern, and the United Nations Security Council will act to find and provide support to Turkey. On the

other hand, strengthening the Turkish economy with Africa includes raw materials, creating new markets, and more importantly, establishing strong trade relations with Africa. From this point. Increasing the trade volume with African countries is considered one of the most important aims of Turkey in this plan. Turkish different products, inexpensive, and high-quality features will be completely consumed faster than expensive western products or poor-quality Chinese products. Turkey has not only planned to increase the volume of trade exchange but also at the same time it has planned to contribute to the peace process and resolve security issues and disputes in the African continent. Consequently, the relationship between the two parties - Africa and Turkey - is based on the principle of equality and mutual benefit. Noting that only the economic side will come out of China, Brazil, and India.

1.5.6. Measures Taken

Several measures, such as political, economic, social, and military, have been taken to implement the Africa Expansion Action Plan, which was prepared in a series of meetings held in June 1998. Below are some of these measures briefly.

Regarding the political measures taken. A decision was reached to increase diplomatic representation in Africa, which was insufficient in the past, and to reopen embassies that were closed in the past for various reasons in the first place. in addition to. It was agreed that it is very important to organize high-level mutual visits with African countries, as well as to increase communication with international organizations. Regardless of this, the creation of a mechanism for political consultation with these countries was expressed. In the action plan to expand into Africa. Turkey has started organizing visits for high-level military commanders from Africa, and even African students to study in Turkey. Turkey also agreed to send Turkish military experts to Africa to exchange experiences. Turkey about the same time the UN's conflict prevention and resolution of these conflicts in Africa will take place in the promotion of peace operations.

The decisions taken for the development of economic relations are the signing of trade, technical, and scientific cooperation agreements. especially African trade ministers to investigate the possibilities of cooperation between industry and education ministers were asked to be invited to Turkey. On the other hand, it is sent to Africa was also agreed that the short-term expertise in various areas of training and study tours for African experts to be invited to Turkey and Turkish experts.

3. TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY AFTER 2002: SOFT POWER

3.1. Soft Power and Its Elements

3.1.1. Power

The concept of power is one of the basic concepts in political science, Researchers and those interested in international relations do not disagree that power is the primary ruler of inter-state relations. The definition of Power differs among researchers due to the complex nature of the concept. Power can be defined as the ability to influence the the behavior of others to obtain desired results, Or the ability to control others. However, the essence of the concept as mentioned by Carl Friedrich Gauss is the establishment of a dependency relationship between two parties. Through it, the first party can get a second party to do what it wants. In other words, to act in a way that adds to the interests of the power owner. Austin Riben also define power It is the relationship of dependency and obedience on the one side, and the relationship of power and control on the other side by persuasion and reward or violence and coercion, If persuasion fails, we use reward and if that does not work, we often use violent power.

The strength of the state is one of the factors to which it attaches importance in the field of international relations, this is given that this force determines the dimensions of the role played by the state in the international community. It defines the framework of its relations with external power in the international environment, and that the possession of elements of power is not enough for the state to be effective, it has to be Adopt effective policies to use power.

And when studying power in international relations in the traditional meaning, we take into consideration the role that power, or threat played Using power in the international system. That is the ability of some political units to use or threaten to use armed power to impose their will on other units, whether to force them to do some things or prevent others from doing. But this concept developed after the First World War,

given the severe damage the world was exposed as a result of this war. The role of the military power or the threat to use it, in inter-state relations has become insignificant. Compared to economic power, which has become the primary criterion for relations between countries, this is considering the struggle between capitalism and socialism. And each side's bid to win several countries to it using economic power. However, the transformation of the world and the spread of globalization showed another kind of force to influence international relations, which is soft power. That means being able to shape others' preferences. If we assume that there is a relationship between two parties, then the first party can influence the second party by directing its behavior, and this is done by being drawn to the culture and values of the other party, and not through bribery, threats, or coercion.

3.1.2. Soft Power

The concept of (Soft Power) was first introduced in 1990 by Joseph S. Nye. Nye was hoping to establish a new theory in international politics, He wanted to destroy the theory now prevailing in international relations, He wanted to take a new, unusual route.

it was used by Joseph S. Nye in his publications *Soft Power the Means to Success in World Politics*⁸ and *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*⁹. Nye defines soft power as follows:

*getting others to want the outcomes that you want co-opts people rather than coerces them*¹⁰

We can say that soft power is a policy vehicle in foreign relations, Soft power is different from hard power if hard Power depends on the military machine, economic power, population, geographic capabilities of the state, etc. The soft power depends on intangible things like the power of culture, art, literature, poetry, story, theater, cinema, movies, and even morality.

⁸Soft power: the means to success in world politics / Nye, Jr., Joseph S.-1st ed.

⁹Bound To Lead: The Changing Nature Of American Power By Joseph S. Nye, Jr. Basic Books, 1990, 307 pp

¹⁰Soft power: the means to success in world politics / Nye, Jr., Joseph S.-1st ed. P.5

These are the sources and stations of soft power.

This concept has evolved to include smart power, which is considered a mixture of the use of both hard and soft power together in relations between countries, From this standpoint, we can clarify the three dimensions of power as defined by Joseph Nye in his book *Soft Power* as a means of success in international politics It is similar to a chessboard, the upper board has traditional military issues, the middle board is for economic issues between countries, while the ancestral board was for transitional issues such as terrorism, international crimes, climate change and the spread of diseases.

3.1.3. Concept evolution

Joseph Nye is considered the first to formulate the concept of soft power in the form of a convincing and well-constructed theory. However, before Joseph Nye announced his theory, soft power appeared throughout human history in the ancient era, Through the writings of philosophers such as Confucius and Socrates, or by attracting people to religions such as the call of the Prophet Muhammad, much entered the Islamic religion through the power of persuasion and influence exercised on them by

However, the first appearance of the theory was in the twentieth century by the Italian philosopher and thinker Antonio Gramsci In his theory, cultural hegemony in his important book *Prison Messages*. He explained that capitalist domination is through institutions such as the school, the church, and newspapers, which create a good image among the public about the capitalist elite to control these minds, Ensure that they do not deviate from the context of capitalist society. France was the first to use this concept through the cultural influence on the peoples of its colonies through education, which aimed to create a good image of French society in those colonies and spread its language in those colonies, Britain and America have also promoted principles consistent with the nature of their economic system to serve their interests. Liberalism and democracy are largely in keeping with capitalism and freedom of trade, President

Woodrow Wilson¹¹ has transformed the use of soft power in its peace-based principles and rebuilding Europe again after World War I, but this has not prevented World War II.

The real attempt after World War II was to use soft power through the Fulbright Program for student exchange around the world in 1946 to influence cultures and dominate the minds of other societies. Soft power was used extensively during the ideological struggle between the socialist and capitalist camps and the tendency of all those to influence the minds and tendencies of the other. Joseph Nye indicates that it was penetrated by American films and serials before they were penetrated by hammers and bulldozers, which indicates the use of soft power significantly in the ideological struggle between the two parties.

After the fall of the Soviet Union, the theory of soft power emerged by Joseph Nye and was used by America a lot after the fall of the Soviet Union to emphasize the unipolar system and spread the values of freedom, democracy, human rights and the disposal of fascist regimes to the US war on Iraq in 2003 that brought back the concept of soft power to use abundantly in international relations. This use came within the Greater Middle East document that the United States presented to the G8 in 2004¹². The apparent aim was to empower women and transform into the Western-style and be dismantled, In this context, the Arab Spring revolutions express one of the uses of soft power through which a group within a society managed to control the people and direct them through persuading the corruption of these regimes and the use of media and technology in exerting pressure that led to the fall of these systems without direct military intervention.

The concept of force has evolved in recent times to include smart power, which Ernest Henry Wilson¹³ defines as the ability of the international actor

¹¹an American politician, lawyer, and academic who served as the 28th president of the United States from 1913 to 1921.

¹²G8 (group of eight industrialized countries), was meant to signal a new US plan for reform of the Middle East and some other Muslim-majority countries such as Pakistan, Iran and Turkey.

¹³Ernest Henry "Chinese" Wilson (15 February 1876 – 15 October 1930), better known as E. H. Wilson,

to mix the elements of hard and soft power in a way that ensures the achievement of the goals of this actor efficiently and effectively.

When we shed light on the most important thinkers who have known soft power, we find the definition of Michel Foucault, who considers that soft power is an indirect compulsion and obligation. A mental and valuable debate aims to influence public opinion inside and outside the country. According to this definition, soft power is directed inward and

outward, not just outside. From the above definitions, we can say that soft power affects, but with non-violent means of controlling and dominating minds.

3.1.4. Soft Power Elements

Soft power depends on three elements: culture, political values, and foreign policy. A state can achieve its desired results by using soft power sources over other states. Countries pursue diplomacy in the process of achieving the desired results. Diplomacy has many definitions. In the Cambridge English dictionary, Diplomacy means *the management of relationships between countries*¹⁴. According to Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy is the art of restraining power*¹⁵. Diplomacy is the content or practical form of foreign policy.

Before evaluating the African-Turkish relations in the period from 2002 to 2018 in terms of the general framework by the Turkish foreign policy towards Africa. In terms of sources of soft power in Turkish foreign policy of humanitarian aid, humanitarian and cultural diplomacy. We must first get to know some concepts.

3.2. Public Diplomacy

There is no universally accepted definition of popular diplomacy, but it is closer to what is shown in the soft power paradigm. Which is an

was a notable British plant collector and explorer who introduced a large range of about 2000 of Asian plant species to the West; some sixty bear his name.

¹⁴<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/diplomacy>

¹⁵<https://www.e-ir.info/2017/02/22/diplomacy-is-the-art-of-enhancing-power/>

idea in foreign affairs based on the ability to get what you want through gravity, not coercion or exchange, spending, and financial reward. This is when you make others want what you want, without the need to push toward the carrot and stick policy to move others in the direction you want and achieve the interests of your country. It is thus a two-way communication "sending and receiving" to build the relationship with the people in other countries to push towards adopting it - with conviction - for the sake of achieving the nation's interest and political goals.

In terms of content, "public diplomacy" represents activities that are directed abroad in the fields of information, education, culture, heritage, history, ideology, and religion. Public diplomacy aims to address peoples and public opinion in other countries through parties and informal formations found in the fabric of society that express vital sectors in it.

It differs from - official diplomacy - concerned only with governments, and also includes the aspects and activities in which the Foreign Ministry is involved to nurture national interests at the formal and informal levels, including aspects of media, art, development support, scientific exchange, culture, and dialogue seminars, public diplomacy focuses on the way's countries (or international organizations such as the United Nations) use to communicate with citizens in other societies.

Effective public diplomacy stems from the fact that dialogue is the central means of achieving foreign policy goals. Where public diplomacy must be viewed as a dual way "going, come" or "send and receive", It is thus a dynamic, interactive process, open to accepting the other opinion, And in it, there is flexibility, which may reach the possibility of change and replacement to achieve peace, development, and prosperity, in the interest of all parties.

It is important here to point out that public diplomacy not only attempts to formulate the messages that a country would like to send abroad but also analyzes how these messages are interpreted in different societies «that is, it tries to answer the question of how these societies

received the message? How did they explain it?" It provides listening means in addition to the various persuasive methods that create it.

China organizes a major event every two years and less important events every year to increase its media presence and improve its image abroad. For example, the Summer Olympics were organized in 2008, the Expo in 2010, the Miss World contest in 2012, and the Youth Olympics in 2014. It also annually hosts the Formula 1 race.

Of course, the success or failure of public diplomacy efforts depends on several variables, including strategies, means of implementation, content, and audience, and evaluation of public diplomacy efforts and the context in which they operate. public diplomacy is a strategic tool for planning and implementing international policies. International conflicts are no longer just a power struggle, but rather a struggle for the "meaning" without which power becomes worthless. However, the success of public diplomacy efforts depends on their nature and the context in which they are moving.

3.2.1. Turkish Public Diplomacy

Although Turkish public diplomacy began to be used in the Ottoman period, it became a neglected area in the Republican period. Although Turkey attempted to develop close relations with the countries with which it had a soft-power religion, history and culture partnership after the fall of the USSR, it wasted all its important opportunities due to the political and economic instability experienced in the late 1990s

Turkish public diplomacy became involved in Turkish foreign policy when the AK Party came to power in 2002.

3.2.2. Turkish Cultural Diplomacy

In light of the globalization era that the world is experiencing, countries are racing to spread their cultural heritage at the highest levels, to spread their cultural values and attract people around the world to their culture, thus obtaining flexible ease in promoting their economic products

and their political and military plans "at times".

Turkey today possesses an important cultural and civilizational heritage and a tradition dating back to ancient history, and this allows Turkey to practice its cultural diplomacy smoothly because its cultural heritage is full of many historical-cultural aspects that connect more than one neighboring people with it. The history of Turkish political, cultural diplomacy dates back to the eighteenth century, as historical covenants convey that the Ottoman Empire began during the reign of Sultan Selim III "1761-1808", specifically in 1793 to open its first embassy in Paris, and then the Ottoman embassies branched out to include a large number of Western capitals. As shown by historical charters, the Ottoman political ambassador was accompanied by a cultural, religious, and military cadre.

What made the diplomatic cadres sent abroad few in number was the great difficulty facing the Ottoman Empire in finding people qualified to practice diplomatic work and spreading Ottoman political thought in Europe and to face this dilemma, a school for teaching foreign languages and qualifying diplomatic persons was established in 1821. Out of the keenness of the Ottoman Empire to start diplomatic work by relying on qualified and well-informed people, in 1821 it suspended diplomatic, political, economic, cultural and military missions abroad, and re-sent them after the formation of cadres of equivalent capacity able to conduct diplomatic work with expertise and proficiency.

Cultural, economic, political and military diplomacy that started in the Ottoman era continued after the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, but its activity and vitality were limited to European countries because the founders of the republic believed the possibility of making Turkey a western country by activating vital diplomatic relations with European countries, Turkish political and cultural diplomatic activity remained limited to European countries until 1983, when that year, Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, who took on the diversification of relations as a principle of Turkish relations with all other countries, and not only European countries as before.

The Turkish Prime Minister and former Turkish President "Turgut Ozal" is the one who lit the torch of diversity in diplomatic, political and cultural relations with all countries around the world without exception, and today the Justice and Development Party government is following the same path that Ozal has followed, to visualize its leaders that the diversification of diplomatic relations opens the way to reach To achieve many other goals.

Today the Justice and Development Party government carries out many activities that are evaluated as supporting cultural diplomacy. Some of these activities can be summarized as follows:

1. Offering scholarships to large numbers of students around the world.
2. Organizing bilateral or comprehensive cultural festivals and exhibitions in several countries.
3. Publishing Turkish films and series on a global level.
4. Spreading Turkish music.
5. Providing diplomatic missions with professional staff in the field of cultural relations exchange.
6. Supporting scientific research through the Tobitac Foundation

And many other activities that are in the field of cultural diplomacy, and making them at a good level, raising the level of popular and governmental acceptance in some cases of Turkish policies and plans, and many concrete research results confirm the increasing scope of Turkey's cultural policies on some peoples and governments of the region and the world.

2.2.3. Concepts, Actors and Practice

The use of foreign aid as an element of foreign policy is not A new phenomenon, in recent years, foreign aid has been redefined as new tools through Expanding the concept of power, Hence, it was considered within the concept of power, and in this sense, foreign aid can be dealt with within

the framework defined by (soft power), then (smart power). Whereas Joseph Nye analyzes American power in the context of a new perspective in his work on power and new tools, Therefore, achieving power and influence can only be restricted by conventional military methods and means, In the new era, there are allegations that in addition to the state, there are non-state actors and an alliance Non-governmental actors that can be created through transnational networks, and multi-faceted interactions that can achieve impact.

2.2.4 Turkish Foreign Aid and Human Diplomacy

On the human level, Turkey has worked to expand its support base for the poor and needy and for development projects on the continent, Where it contributed in 2013 to 781.2 million dollars in official relief projects, This amount constitutes a quarter of the size of the Turkish foreign aid budget for that year. The Presidency of the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Department opened offices in Addis Ababa in 2005, Khartoum in 2006, and Dakar in 2007, and this administration has so far implemented projects covering 37 African countries. As for Turkish development aid to African countries, it has increased tenfold, with a third of Turkish development aid going to the countries of the continent, In the events in Central Africa, the Turkish authorities sent humanitarian aid through the Humanitarian Relief Platform, which includes the Turkish Disaster and Emergency Management and the Humanitarian Relief Commission to their needy refugees who have sought refuge in Chad and Cameroon after the events in the Central African Republic, To ensure that this aid reaches the best possible way for the needy of the people of the region, a special protocol has been signed between Ahmed Kawas, the Turkish ambassador to Chad, Dr. Guerrera Rimagita, Minister of Health and Chadian Social Activities, and officials from the Humanitarian Relief Platform in Turkey.

Turkish aid plays an important role in supporting political relations with African countries, and this assistance is not limited to the government side alone, as the efforts of Turkish civil society organizations contributed to developing cooperation with Africa.

Turkey is one of the most important players in the theater of humanitarian diplomacy, Due to the great efforts exerted in the field of providing humanitarian aid, and for its repeated calls for the necessity of establishing international justice to establish stability around the world, In addition to its uniqueness in providing aid, Ankara sends humanitarian aid to the needy in all parts of the world, through the United Nations and relevant international institutions, based on its belief in the necessity of establishing an aid system that takes human development as a lofty goal for it.

Turkey has started to provide massive humanitarian assistance in recent years, by sending large quantities of relief materials to the victims of the earthquake that struck the southeast of the Asian continent in 2004, and then to those affected by the earthquake in Pakistan in 2005. In 2006, Turkey extended a helping hand to Lebanon because of the humanitarian crisis in it, and rushed to the people of Gaza at the end of 2008, and in 2010 stood beside the victims of the earthquake that struck Haiti and Chile, and rushed in the same year to Pakistan, which was severely affected by the floods that flooded it. In 2011, Ankara provided humanitarian aid to those affected by the earthquake that struck Japan, while large shipments were sent in 2013 to the Philippines due to the hurricane, and hastened to heal the wounds of Libyans and Somalis due to the humanitarian crises in them. The humanitarian crises in neighboring countries in recent years have demonstrated the humanitarian aspects of Turkish foreign policy. A good example of this is the huge amount of humanitarian aid that Turkey provided to those affected by the war in Syria nearly 10 years ago.

3.3. Purpose and limits of Turkey's Africa Policy

3.3.1. Purpose and Limits of Policy

Turkey since 2005. As shown in the preceding paragraphs of text below the soft power policy applied to Africa, medium- and long-term political, strategic, and commercial or economic objectives. Turkey tries to support its goal of becoming a global actor by closely communicating with African society with its public, cultural, and humanitarian diplomacy, by better promoting itself, its values, and policies. Development and humanitarian aid transferred to Africa, as gratitude towards Turkey increases both dependencies of African countries.

3.3.2. Competing Powers in Africa and Turkey

Due to its human and natural resources, the African continent has been geography where great powers have shown interest, and conflicts of interest have been experienced for centuries. France laid a strong foundation in its relations with Africa by exploiting the continent centuries ago. Despite the independence of the continent, France managed to maintain its influence on the continent by initiating north-south cooperation with the newly established states, using soft power strategy and hard power when necessary. Today, France, to preserve some of its privileges in Africa and to impose its political views, is carrying out cultural activities to gain development and humanitarian aid to African countries and the African people. The development aid realized by France, which sees aid and support for Africa as a duty as a former colonialist, consists of budget support, debt removal, infrastructure establishment, education aids in agriculture and medicine. The aid made by France to Africa is increasing and it reached from 4.2 billion dollars in 2001 to 12.9 billion dollars in 2010.¹²¹ However, France has made it do whatever it wants by making the aid states dependent and maintaining their influence.

On the other hand, France has been carrying out cultural activities for a long time to enable African countries to act in their favor with their soft power. The most important factor that culturally connects some

African countries to France is French. There are about 20 African countries among all French-speaking countries, which are gathered under the Organization Internationale de la Francophonie. Since language is the most effective element of culture, an inseparable bond has been formed between French-speaking African countries and France. Center Culturel Français and Campus France, French culture media organs in many countries, made French universities attractive to African students. Besides, French television channels and radios are broadcasting in different languages across Africa. Common organizations such as France 24, TV5, TF1, Canal +, RTL, RFI broadcast news, movies, and series in line with their interests. France is doing its best to maintain its leadership in Africa. When it comes to its interests, it does not hesitate to cut support and aid to African countries, impose economic sanctions, and make military intervention when necessary.

The relations between the People's Republic of China and Africa continue in a historical process exceeding half a century. China is one of the most interested global actors in the region. China as the main reason for Turkey's interest in Africa, to consume in world politics quickly becomes a rising power and Africa's natural resources, particularly oil to sustain the improvement in accordingly the economy and their products is no need for new markets. China, such as Turkey to consolidate its relations with African countries, as well as the effective development assistance is followed by soft power politics or culture. As the amount of aid made by China was not known, in 2006 China-Africa had promised 20 billion dollars worth of aid to Africa at the Shanghai summit. In this framework, divided roads, railways, schools, and many infrastructures have been established. Rather than being grateful for this enormous aid, African countries make China use its underground resources in Africa and increase its commercial opportunities.

Finally, if France and Turkey's Africa policy will be compared with China's African policy, Turkey is eyeing a highly active politics and realize significant economic strides in accordingly. Although these states

resort to soft power elements, they have a special approach towards Africa. France causes inequality in earnings, based on the superiority of bilateral relations, as some African countries are former colonies. Having a monopoly in many African countries, France never allows competition by interfering with the internal affairs of those countries if necessary. China, on the other hand, looks at African countries only through trade and economic eyes. But Turkey, along with overseeing political and economic interests of solving the problems of the African continent, one-sided development and the need for development efforts in the international arena as well as to consumables, which makes it different from its approach to Africa. Despite these moves as a result of Turkey's relations with France and Africa is that there is less efficient than China.

4. IN THE CASE OF SUDAN TURKEY-AFRICA RELATIONS (2002- 2019)

The second half of the past decade witnessed an escalation of the Turkish interest in Sudan, which was evident through the conclusion of many bilateral agreements between the two countries, which included political, economic, and social dimensions, in addition to the regional strategic dimensions in its contemporary and complex concept.

It may seem at first glance, the recentness of this rapprochement and that Turkish interest, but some historical scrutiny confirms that the relations between the two countries have ancient historical roots,¹⁷¹⁶ which can be considered a solid base. It was based on it during the past few years, to revive many common interests and directions, which was already done, and reached its climax before the fall of the Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir's regime a few months ago, This was when the Turkish President (Recep Tayyip Erdogan) visited - a historical description - to Sudan, specifically on the twenty-fourth of December 2017; Where a bilateral agreement was signed between the two countries titled (fighting terrorism in Africa), which gives the Turkish side a military presence on the Red Sea in the depth of Sudanese territorial waters, to combat terrorism and protect military ships, especially in the East and Horn of Africa regions.¹⁷

Of course, this agreement referred to was not free of intentions to revive the memories and glories of the ancient Ottoman Empire over Sudanese lands, as its provisions included the Sudanese government at that time renting (Suakin Island) on the Red Sea, to the Turkish side, with the aim of investment and tourism, the island that witnesses its buildings And its old styles, with the effects of Othman Empire, When Sudan was one of the Turkish colonies in the eighteenth century, on the other hand, the

¹⁶The information circulated regarding the first beginnings of Turkish / Sudanese relations differs, as some attribute it to the beginnings of the nineteenth century, specifically to the period from 1821 to 1898, which is the period of Turkish / Egyptian rule in Sudan, specifically the period of Muhammad Ali Pasha's invasion of Sudan

¹⁷Muhammad Amin, Turkey and Sudan sign an agreement to fight terrorism, (Daily Nation), Kenya, on December 26, 2017. <https://www.nation.co.ke/news/africa/Turkey-Sudan-sign-deal-fight-terror-Recep-Tayyip-Erdogan-visit-/1066-4242190-i3c44kz/index.html>

agreement included other economic, investment and commercial aspects, and in various fields, the most important of which are mining, agriculture, oil and health.¹⁸

By tracing the course of the bilateral relations between the two countries, within its modern and contemporary framework, specifically from the 1980s until before the recent removal of al-Bashir, we see the escalation of signs of rapprochement and harmony between the two sides, In such a way that it can be asserted that there are common and comprehensive interests that push towards promoting the adoption of bilateral views on both sides in all political, economic and strategic issues.

3.1. Political Relations

3.1.1. Diplomatic Relations

Since the establishment of the first diplomatic representation of Sudan in the Turkish Republic by the late Sudanese President (Jaafar Nimeiri) in 1981, Sudan seemed to emerge as an important ally and a duty of embrace and care by the Turks, and this began its features strongly after the Justice and Development Party came to power in Turkey in 2002, Then Recep Tayyip Erdogan reached the position of Prime Minister in 2003. As the following years witnessed an escalation of political harmony and strategic support between the two sides, For its part, Turkey continued to support the trend that preserves the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sudan, alongside the international community's call to adopt diplomacy as a priority in resolving all Sudanese problems, including the issue of Al-Bashir with the International Criminal Court, While Sudan supported Turkey's victory in the non-permanent membership of the Security Council during the period 2009-2010, in addition to strengthening the Turkish position on many regional, international and minority issues.

To other aspects of mutual political support in international forums

¹⁸The same previous source

between the two countries, From the end of the eighties and the beginning of the nineties until recently,²⁰¹⁹ comprehensive and qualitative bilateral agreements between Turkey and Sudan were very popular with both sides. Nearly twelve agreements were concluded between the two countries. Among these agreements are the Technical Cooperation Agreement 1989, the Cultural Cooperation Protocol 1992, Sudan Debt Scheduling Agreement 1999, a series of credit facilities agreements to support the Sudanese infrastructure 2002, Health Cooperation Agreement 2007, Diplomatic / Academic Agreement 2010, Technical / Military Cooperation Agreement 2015, and many other agreements and memoranda of understanding, signed between the two countries.

3.2. Commercial and Economic Relations

The movement of trade and economic exchange between the two countries has witnessed during the past few years - despite its modesty - a remarkable growth in terms of positive indicators and their escalation from year to year. The volume of trade exchange between the two countries jumped from 291 million dollars in 2013 to 320 million dollars in 2015, to reach recently, specifically during Erdogan's last visit in 2017, according to some statistics, to “500 million dollars annually, Turkey was, according to what is reported from its president’s statements, intending to raise the volume of trade exchange between the two countries, to one billion dollars as a first stage, then to 10 billion dollars during the coming years, after it paid two hundred million dollars in credit facilities to encourage the Turkish private sector to invest and work in Sudan, In addition to another hundred million dollars, it was provided by the (Turkish Export Development Bank) to boost infrastructure in the state of Khartoum and others.

In light of the foregoing, and given the total variables currently occurring on the Sudanese scene, several questions are renewed, the most important of them: What is the secret of the rise of Sudan as a strategic

¹⁹Sudanese-Turkish relations. an integrated file, the report of the Nile News website, on December 23, 2017, Available at: <https://www.alnilin.com/12908725.htm>

country in the Turkish imagination recently ?, What is the relationship of this rise with the nature of the Turkish presence in the African continent in general ?, And what are the possible repercussions of the situation The current Sudanese about the future of the previous Turkish / Sudanese agreements? And finally: to what extent will the general scene in the Middle East and the Gulf region affect these mentioned agreements? This is what we will try to clarify and elaborate on in the next lines.

3.2.1. Sudan and the polarization struggle

There is no doubt that the struggle of regional and international polarization in the direction of the desire to gain influence and domination at the expense of the African continent does not exclude anyone from among the conflicting powers in this context, including the Turkish state. Therefore, the search for a satisfactory answer to the question about the secrets of the rise of Sudan as a strategic country within the Turkish imagination recently, should not go far from evoking the repercussions of this feverish polarization conflict over the African continent and the Turks' dealings with it. Especially if we take into consideration what the Turkish / African relations, in general, went through, from the ebb and flow stages through historical experiences that spanned from before the establishment of the republic in 1923 to 2005, Year of the Turkish radical transformations in its positive framework towards the African continent, which gave the Turks soft and practical experiences to achieve strategies and goals between the countries of this continent²⁰.

The nature of the Turkish transformation towards Sudan is clear recently, from the reality of the fundamental transformations of Turkish policy towards the African continent, as “according to the new Turkish view, Africa and Asia are no longer remote areas and a source of problems. Rather, countries that must establish and develop political and economic relations with them, as the political basis for the Turkish openness toward Africa is Ankara's desire to increase its relations and impacts in the region

²⁰<http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=540545&r=0> 7/12/2016

and the world. And the size of the Turkish openness to the countries of the African continent, and referred to here, reveals that the interest of Ankara in Sudan comes within a systematic framework by the Turkish leadership, to achieve a general and comprehensive Turkish influence throughout the African continent and the region. And to compensate for the European downturn towards Turkey in recent years, which confirms that Turkish / African relations "are an alternative to relations with Europe, which closed its doors to Ankara. This prompted Turkey to increase the Turkish embassies in Africa to reach forty- one embassy, While the number of African diplomatic missions in Ankara increased from sixteen to thirty, Meanwhile, the volume of Turkish-African trade increased from 5.5 billion dollars to 20 billion dollars until 2015 only, The volume of Turkish investments in Africa has reached 6 billion dollars, and Turkish Airlines is currently organizing direct flights to 46 different cities in 28 African countries.

According to some research statistics, the volume of Turkish trade with Africa is much greater than mentioned. The volume of Ankara's exports to North African countries, for example, exceeded the \$ 12 billion barriers during 2015, While these exports to sub- Saharan countries increased from 750 million dollars in 2004 to 4 billion dollars in 2015, Meanwhile, East African countries have captured the majority of economic interest in Turkey, given the economic and political importance these countries represent, and perhaps Turkish interest in setting up the first African / Turkish business forum in 2016 with the participation of representatives and experts from 45 African countries such as South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, Zambia, Tanzania, and others, confirms that the brown continent "is a top priority of Turkish politics.

3.2.2. Wealth and Domination

When analyzing the regional conditions that drive the growing interest of the Turkish leadership in Sudan, and by invoking the polarization fever mentioned earlier, we will find that the motives of interest do not stop only at the limits of the Turkish desire for diplomatic

and strategic expansion, but there are motives for benefiting from the wealth inherent in the African continent, including the wealth of Sudan, of course, and these motives, although some accuse Turkey of plundering the wealth of Sudan, the reality of the situation confirms that Turkey, like many countries in the world, suffers from many economic and logistical needs, and is looking for compensation through partnerships here and others there, Regardless of all these accusations, Sudan, in relation to Turkey, represents a comprehensive strategic treasure on almost all levels, as evidenced by the following:

- The Turks found that Sudan enjoys increasing and growing indicators of production of the yellow metal (gold), and that this production has increased its rates to exceed the 100-ton barrier recently, and in a way that Sudan has ranked second in Africa, and the ninth in the world in terms of gold production in recent years, Turkey also found that Sudan, in addition to the above, has a strategic stock of gold lurking in its territory, and is subject to exploration and extraction, and then the Turkish government has given the green light to Turkish companies operating in the field of energy and natural resources as companies (MTA Company Limited), (Umac) , (Denizli), to complete precious mineral exploration and mining partnerships with relevant Sudanese companies , This came through the signing of an agreement, the first of its kind, for Turkish companies outside their territories, It is an agreement that allows these companies to carry out large- scale exploration operations across an area of 1325 km inside Sudanese territory, Some excavations have already succeeded in discovering two areas rich in yellow metal, which are close to the coasts of the Red Sea, in addition to what was announced by MUSAID²¹ What can be called (promising opportunities for exploration and extraction) in vital Sudanese regions, the most important of which are “the mountains of the Red Sea, the southern coast of the Blue Nile, the east of the country, Kordofan and South Darfur,²³²² Attached to the opportunities to extract and

²¹The Turkish Businessmen Association in Sudan

²²<http://osmn.ly/ucElB> 06.03.2019

prospect for gold are other opportunities that Turkey has not neglected in its interest through its comprehensive partnership with Sudan, which are opportunities to extract and prospect for copper, Where Turkish companies succeeded in concluding contracts with their Sudanese counterparts, to establish a copper mining plant in the Ariab region, which has a strategic stock of copper, which exceeds the barrier of five billion tons.

- In addition to gold and copper, Turkey found in its partnership with Sudan ideal opportunities to take advantage of the oil wealth in this country, and even though the separation of South Sudan from its north caused the oil partnership between Turkey and Sudan to strike painfully, the Sudanese government lost its main resources from oil revenues by a large percentage. However, Turkey has not lost its broad economic hopes in Sudan, As it pushed its companies to explore new areas to extract oil, especially in the twenty-third square in the state of South Kordofan, along with two other sites in the Abi region in the same state, In addition to future directions for developing extraction and exploration operations in other blocks, including (2B and 25 / Al-Rawat / and 17), it should be noted here that Turkey compensated its losses from South Sudan oil by developing logistical operations and partnerships related to infrastructure, ports and roads in Sudan, In addition to maximizing its investments in the field of crude oil, where the Turks exploit the passage of southern oil through four main lines for transporting crude oil owned by Sudan in the north, in order to compensate for these losses, through participation and investment in developing the operations of exporting refineries and ports and scientific research centers owned by the northern Sudan, This comes in the context of Turkey's endeavor to develop the capabilities of its companies working in the field of exploration, extraction and logistical partnership, in pursuit of a greater strategic goal, which is to "turn Ankara into a major center for the transportation and refining of gas and oil between East and West; As oil coming from Sudan to Turkey via Port Sudan will be refined and then sold, as part of a comprehensive Turkish plan to acquire the transport of East Mediterranean gas coming from Lebanon, Syria and Israel, in

addition to the Azeri gas directly to Europe via the Tanab line, so that Turkey becomes a strong competitor to the Egyptian axis Greek Cypriot.

- The security dimension stands present and present in the Turkish imagination when evoking the necessity of being in Sudan and the African continent; Ankara is keen to make lasting progress in the levels of its security and intelligence presence on the African continent, along with political and economic progress, through its partnerships and allies, especially in light of the complex and large security relations that the continent is witnessing with the major world powers, led by the United States of America, France, and Iran, Added to that. Turkey's desire to encircle the growing activity of the "Fatah Allah Gulen" group in the countries of the African continent, which prompted the Turkish side to conclude many security agreements in the mentioned continent, especially with Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Somalia, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and others²³.

3.2.3. The controversy over Suakin Island.

Of course, political and strategic purposes cannot be excluded or separated from economic and trade plans and partnerships in today's world, This certainly applies to the bilateral relationship between Ankara and Khartoum, as the economy has become in the contemporary concept of international relations, representing soft power and a smooth tool in the hands of major powers to penetrate into the folds of regional and international issues at all levels, simple and complex, Therefore, it is recognized that the contemporary Turkish strategy pushes partial economic partnerships to play its role in preparing for the achievement of major and macro-political strategies. Perhaps what has been raised and raised now is a great clamor regarding the renewed Turkish presence in the Sudanese (Suakin Island), which gives an example and role model for what we are talking about. Economic interests with political and strategic

²³The Turkish Role in Consolidating Relations between the Countries of the Western Red Sea, International University of Africa Publications, Center for African Research and Studies, African-Turkish Relations Conference Papers: A Future Vision, Khartoum 28/28 October 2015, pp. 227, 228.

interests.

The aforementioned Suakin Island has great strategic importance for the Gulf region and the Middle East, especially as it relates to the regional and economic security of many parties and countries in the Red Sea region; therefore, the concern is growing about it, especially if it comes to the Turkish presence and influence on its soil, which is problematic. Large economic and security for these parties, the features of which can be seen from the following:²⁴

- Turkey's development and control of the island revive its marine role as a seaport and coast that can threaten the navigational and marine value of many of the surrounding regional ports, Suffice it to note here that the restoration of the logistical and shipping role of the island will affect the adaptation and guidance of the global oil movement across the Red Sea, which exceeds three million barrels per day, in addition to the inevitable impact on trade between East Asian countries, especially concerning the movement of trade between all From China, India, and Japan on the one hand, and Europe on the other hand.
- The island of limited size (20 km) represents the oldest Sudanese port on the Red Sea coast from the historical point of view, and it is the closest port to the strategic Saudi port of Jeddah, alongside, with its historical acquisition of most of the exchanges with all Egyptian and Saudi ports, which makes it Turkish control of this port is a real threat to the Gulf and Egyptian interests in the Red Sea, especially in light of the dispute between the last parties on the one hand, and Turkey on the other hand, on many issues and thorny ideologies at present.
- The problems raised about the Turkish position on this small and strategic Sudanese island are related at the same time to the nature of the crisis relations between Turkey and Qatar on the one hand, and Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the Emirates on the other hand, against the background of

²⁴The report of the Emirates Center for Studies and Media (EMASC), on 12/27/2017, at the link: <http://www.emasc-uae.com/news/view/10510>

many opposing positions, especially concerning the Gulf crisis and the repercussions of the escalating tension between All these parties at all levels. For example, the United Arab Emirates believes that Turkish control of the island through its navigation development will have dire economic, trade and maritime impacts on the Emirati (Jebel Ali / Dubai) ports, especially in light of the two possible possibilities, The first is that the Suakin port becomes the largest port on the Red Sea, due to the expected African support from Sudan, Ethiopia and South Africa, The second is that the new port will swallow all the naval roles in its regional surroundings, due to the Turkish / Qatari alliance, Besides Turkey's acquisition of Suakin, Qatar, for its part, has entered into an agreement with Khartoum to establish a port in northeastern Sudan, specifically in the city of Port Sudan, as the largest container port in the Red Sea, which is what the UAE sees as complete (Turkish / Qatari) control over “ Most of Sudan's exports and African depth countries, besides controlling the most pivotal passage in the Red Sea region from the Egyptian border to Bab Al-Mandab.²⁵

3.3. Cooperation Activities

3.3.1. Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency

The Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) is considered one of the most effective executive tools for Turkish foreign policy, it is considered the most powerful hand for Turkey in Africa and the region through which Turkish aid passes to Africa. This agency is also carrying out Turkey's strategic plans to expand Turkey's influence in the region.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, several countries declared their independence from this union, including Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan. Turkey directly recognized these countries with which it had ties, such as language, history, culture, and even memory. Turkey considered that its people and the peoples of these

²⁵The same previous source

countries are one nation distributed in several countries and that developing the relationship with these countries is one of the main constants in its foreign policy. To achieve this goal, Turkey established the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency in 1992, TIKA. Which initially sought to recognize the international community of modern countries, and then provided financial and in-kind assistance to help these young countries to build themselves, then the agency began to establish long-term development projects in these countries.

Thus, over time, "TIKA" has become one of the most important tools for translating the foreign policies of the Turkish state not only with the countries with which Turkey shares language, values, and geography, but the agency's activity has expanded to include about 140 countries around the world and at the heart of them are the African Union countries.

The Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency contributed to building the Sudanese Nyala Hospital in Darfur, which provided health services to 65,897 people in 2014. In 2010 TIKA started establishing a hospital according to the modern conditions in the city of Darfur in Sudan to provide medical services to the fullest. In 2012 the construction and equipping of the hospital were completed, and in 2013 600 types of treatment and 238 types of preliminary supplies were delivered. In 2014, the Nyala Sudanese Turkish Hospital provided health services to 65,897 people. The hospital was established on an area of 50 thousand square meters and the closed section on an area of 11 thousand square meters. There are 150 beds in the hospital, including 46 beds in intensive care, 3 operating rooms, two obstetric rooms, a fully equipped radiology department, and an analytical laboratory. 65,897 people received treatment in the hospital, and 703 operations were performed, in addition to treating 2794 inpatients.

The agency has implemented several projects in the educational sector in Sudan. TIKA has supported the telecommunications and electricity infrastructure in the new university presidency building,

conference hall, medical school, and information technology college in North Darfur State in Sudan, It was also interested in providing the community's needs for education, rehabilitation and capacity building through its various units such as the Center for Peace Studies - the Center for Advocacy and Guidance and the College of Community Development, where it distinguished and initiated the university institutions concerned with organizing workshops, training courses, seminars and academic studies providing the most successful solutions to social problems.

TIKA continues to carry out its activities in Sudan and adds new projects to its business list. TIKA implemented several projects in the field of agriculture and livestock, and in this way and provided support for grains and agricultural materials to farmers in Darfur State. In the first week of August 2016, Sudan witnessed heavy rains in different parts of the country, causing the death of many citizens and the collapse of hundreds of homes. This led to an increase in the water level in the Nile and raised fears of increasing the losses. The rain caused losses in 13 of the 18 states of the country and led to the death of many people and the collapse of many houses. A delegation from the agency's coordinating office, TIKA, in Khartoum visited the state of Sinnar in the south of the country to get acquainted and study the situation in the region. After the visit, TIKA provided 1,000 food parcels with 1,000 anti-mosquito and anti-insect kits and 75 heat and water-resistant tents to families affected by torrential floods and floods in cooperation with Al-Jazeera State in the Republic of Sudan, assumed the establishment of the Sudanese Turkish Center for Genetic Resources and Sperm Production for Animals in 2013, and started taking the first generation of the process of transferring genetics from frozen sperm to animals. A third of the gross national product is based on agricultural wealth and about half of the agricultural wealth constituted by livestock in countries where more than one hundred million large and small animals are present. Despite the abundance of animals, the level of meat and milk production is very low due to techniques of traditionally weak livestock management, diseases, and animal reproduction. In recent days, agricultural and animal wealth has

developed in Turkey, and this is why TIKA aims to transfer the Turkish experience through the Sudanese Turkish Center for Genetic Resources and Semen Production of Animals to the Sudanese Republic in cooperation with the Turkish Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock.

3.3.2. Sudanese and Turkish Center for Vocational and Technical Education

The Sudanese and Turkish Center for Vocational and Technical Education was established in Sudan by the Presidency of the Turkish Agency for Cooperation and Coordination (TIKA), and the center is one of the most modern professional and technical centers in terms of equipment and quality. In this scope, the center is of great importance to universities in the field of cooperation. The Sudanese and Turkish Center for Vocational and Technical Education and Cooperation with the University of Medical and Technical Sciences organized training workshops for the spring season of 2016, and 290 Sudanese students benefit from these workshops. It was given to students in training programs, the profession of welding, furniture making and decoration, air conditioning and refrigeration, and electrical cutting exercises.

3.3.3. The future of the Sudanese-Turkish relations and agreements after 2019

Turkish-Sudanese relations entered a new turn with the assumption of power by the Transitional Council in 2019 .Especially the agreements signed between the Turkish government and the isolated Sudanese government.

The Sudanese foreign relations during the transitional period aim to achieve the interests of the Sudanese. This is achieved by reviewing the agreements signed by the previous Sudanese government within the framework of the unequal partnership to preserve its survival in power. Among these agreements is the agreement for the status of Suakin Island, which is currently being reviewed within a group of agreements from which Sudan has not benefited to the same degree as the Turkish party,

which has obtained many privileges, that the agreement is expected to be completely canceled. The reason for the rapprochement in the relations between the Sudanese government and the Turkish government is the Turkish sponsorship of the Muslim Brotherhood and its affiliated regimes. This is what the Sudanese cannot accept after the revolution, that the current regime seeks to achieve the goals of the revolution, which contradicts the Turkish goals of controlling the Sudanese state.

Concerning the future of Turkish / Sudanese relations and agreements, on top of which: the last and most important agreement on developing strategic, regional and international cooperation between the two sides through what was called the (Supreme Council for Strategic Cooperation), which provides the two countries with a comprehensive bilateral program in terms of support and integration in many areas “such as politics and defense. Military, security, home affairs, economy, trade, customs, energy and mining, transportation, agriculture, tourism, health, education, culture, science, humanitarian and development aid, and regional cooperation. Because all these aspects of cooperation are threatened with cancellation and freezing, in light of the repercussions of the current Sudanese revolution, which is still pregnant with hot changes and events, after it achieved its first fateful repercussions, by excluding (President) Omar Al-Bashir from the political scene as a whole, which means that the Turkish strategy In Sudan, it is subject to fading and melting, or at least to amendment according to what the variables of the situation in Sudan will stabilize. Here, attention should be drawn to several matters and considerations, which are:

- The proximity or after the new leadership in Sudan - whatever it may be - to Turkey, will have the greatest impact in adapting the upcoming relations between Ankara and Khartoum, including the agreements concluded between the two parties, foremost of which is the Suakin Island Agreement, and accordingly, the requirements of the current stage, The Turkish strategy is unfavorable, especially in light of the appointment of Abd al-Fattah al-Burhan as head of the military council, who is close to

the anti-Turkish bloc in the region, and who did not initiate, as did his predecessor (Awad bin Auf), former head of the military council, to announce a Sudanese commitment to all Regional and international agreements concluded before al-Bashir's ouster.

- The economic and strategic damage that is expected to occur on the Gulf arena, if Turkey is fully in control of the aforementioned island, will inevitably push towards the exertion of comprehensive qualitative pressure on the Sudanese leadership coming to power, by the most affected Gulf states, led by the United Arab Emirates, in order to cancel The Suakin agreement with Turkey, and most of the time these pressures will be wrapped in soft economic power that supports the Sudanese economy, to compensate Sudan economically and commercially, and then exclude Turkey from the Suakin file and replace it with the UAE, by restoring the momentum of the latter's old interest in the island's reconstruction file; Whereas, “The UAE was among those who were offered a project to reconstruct the island. Indeed, the Emirate of Sharjah has conducted research and feasibility studies on this project.
- There are current arguments between the Turkish leadership on the one hand, and some Gulf counter-leadership on the other hand, each according to his orientations and objectives, to influence the Sudanese side; The Turkish embassy in Khartoum, for its part, is making desperate efforts to persuade Sudan to preserve the aforementioned agreement, despite the absence of direct communication between Ankara and the Transitional Council, while some sources confirm that Gulf parties “asked the Transitional Military Council to cancel the agreement with Turkey on Suakin Island, what It means the possibility that the coming days will be more negative towards Turkey, and perhaps the rush to escalate further against Ankara. Indeed, assurances are circulating on a large Gulf scale, that “the decision to cancel the agreement, and if it has not already been issued, the Sudanese Military Council is on its way to officially announce the decision.
- The crisis situation in the Middle East and the Gulf region will, for the

most part, result in a collective approach led by Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the UAE, to limit Turkish influence in the region, by employing the repercussions of the current Sudanese scene, side by side, with the repercussions of the burning Libyan scene. The language of political and economic interests and threats to water and maritime security have the largest role in promoting this trend; Egypt will not allow Turkish influence in Sudan to threaten its water security through a Turkish / Sudanese / Ethiopian alliance, just as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia will not allow similar influence that threatens its navigational, maritime and security interests through a Turkish base in Suakin, as is the case with the Emirates that have adopted from the beginning a conservative approach to Turkish expansion in The Red Sea and the region, which means as a whole: The current Sudanese transformations, and with them the overall transformations of the region, have potential capabilities to besiege Turkish influence in the African continent.

5.CONCLUSION

The African continent in which we tried to define and understand its place in Turkish foreign policy, whether in the period of the Ottoman Empire or the new republic, is an area that is important in Turkish foreign policy cannot be denied. The Ottoman Empire in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. First, the policy of spreading southward followed it to control the desert trade routes after it seized Algeria, which was founded by the brothers Barbaros, then Egypt, Tunisia, Tripoli, and North Africa. The Ottoman Empire has managed to keep these strategically important regions under its control for centuries. In the middle of the nineteenth century, during the period when colonial activities began to increase in the hands of Europeans in Africa, the Ottoman Empire attempted to protect these areas by developing foreign policy strategies even though it was a turbulent period. In particular, the Ottoman Empire fought earnestly against the French to put its hand on the desert trade routes with the Libyan interior.

In the period of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the founding years of the Turkish Republic, African countries were completely colonized except for Ethiopia and Liberia. In such an environment, Turkey did not have to place Africa in its policy, but rather its policy of establishing the new sovereign state and its peaceful principles dominating the current situation. Of course, as the historical and cultural proximity for centuries in this process, Turkey and Africa have led to a move away from each other. Although African countries gained their independence in the 1960s, instead of Turkey recognizing them, Turkey did not even have bilateral relations with them. However, the problems experienced in those years brought Cyprus to the UN agenda, recognizing the strategic importance of Turkey's support of African countries that need to be resolved to embark on an initiative that attempted continent.

After the end of the cold war in the nineties and the restructuring of the new international order, Turkey had lost its strategic position between the two poles, but it tried hard to regain its position again. Therefore, after

becoming a new republic, Turkey had to first open to Islamic countries and later Africa in 1998. Turkey quickly tried to develop close relations with these countries in terms of history and culture. Within the framework of these mandatory initiatives, an Opening Action Plan has been prepared to develop close relations with the African continent in all areas. The AKP, which took over the power in 2002 due to the political and economic crises it experienced at the beginning, had an imperfect implementation and quickly and effectively implemented the plan by developing new strategies. Turkey, which aims to make regional power and global player and used a policy towards Africa which effective methods of soft power elements. Soft power has become the most used method in the foreign policies of the big states in the 19th century. Its effect and success in international relations have been proved by its method based on political values, history, and culture.

The impact of Turkey's soft power in Africa to implement policies that are felt after thirteen years. In the political field, the organization of mutual high-level visits and the opening of mutual permanent diplomatic representatives are some of them. In the economic field, the trade volume between the two parties increased in 2017 compared to 2002. At the same time, Turkish investments in Africa, and Turkey's development and humanitarian aid also seems to be rising. Turkey's increased visibility in Africa and has signed bilateral agreements with many countries in different fields. Today, Turkey and Africa are connected. Because of African markets and natural resources, the emerging situation has become indispensable for Turkey.

The agreements concluded between Turkey and Sudan during the era of Omar al-Bashir's regime are threatened with cancellation and freezing in the short and medium terms, with a preference for the short term, following decisive and expected decisions that may be issued by the Transitional Military Council in Sudan during the coming days and weeks.

The strategic importance of Sudan in the Turkish political imagination will remain strongly present in the coming years, even in the

case of freezing the current agreements, due to what Khartoum represents for Ankara as a wide and rich transit gateway in the direction of the acquisition and domination of the geostrategic of many African countries located in the Sudanese regional environment. In addition to the wealth of Sudan that stimulates rapprochement.

The complete elimination of Turkish influence in the African continent is not an easy matter, especially in light of the Turkish-African relations being linked to the economic file that ranks first among the interests of most of the African continent's interests, in addition to what the Turkish presence historically represents in terms of practical, effective and pragmatic influence among Africans, compared to Modern Arab presence and the fragility of its presence over the past several decades, and until now.

The positions of the Arab and African parties in conflict within the regional and international polarization state related to the domination and acquisition of the African continent, predicts complex disparities, and scenarios closer to violence and clash, than to companionship and peace, and the water security crises and the burning Gulf clash, and the repercussions of the American / Iranian position on the continent are not Good news.

Soft economic power is the preferred means for many regional and international parties to penetrate the countries of the African continent, and the political role that political money plays, in changing the features of the internal conditions of many African countries that suffer from poverty and need, especially what can be called (the war of ports and military bases) It will have the greatest impact on the occurrence of radical transformations at the political, economic, social and strategic level in the coming years in the continent, the Middle East and the Gulf region as a whole.

6. Results and recommendations

6.1. Results:

The new Turkish foreign policy towards Africa is one of the most successful foreign policy files in recent years due to the diplomatic and economic development in a record period on the one hand, and because of the positive impression of Turkey on the African peoples on the other hand.

As the Turkish approach to the African continent, although it aims to achieve Turkish interests, it realizes that these interests cannot be realized or continue to be realized without taking into account the interests of the other parties interacting with it. So it was if it presented a picture of the nature of its orientations, with which it tried to send reassuring messages to the countries of the continent that their approach differs from the approach of others seeking to seize opportunities, exploit peoples, and benefit from the resources and wealth of their countries without this being beneficial to them, similar to what was prevalent in the old colonial-era Which countries of the continent suffered from. As the new Turkish foreign policy orientations on the African continent are based largely on development and humanitarian aid, in addition to a great interest in revitalizing trade relations that benefit all parties, and the most influential role that Turkey has begun to employ, which is the religious dimension. The recent visits of the Turkish leadership to the African continent reveal that Turkey is continuing to strengthen its relations with it for political, security and economic dimensions.

Turkey adopts a policy that combines short and long-term goals, and it seems that the factors of its success are greater than the obstacles that challenge it, and if greater efforts are made, the achievement of Turkey's goals seems the closest.

Relations between the Turkish government and the Sudanese government have been characterized by a remarkable development in the recent period, but after the recent revolution in Sudan, the situation may

change, especially since the current transitional government calls for a review of the agreements signed between the previous Sudanese government signed with Turkey.

6.2. Recommendations:

Perhaps the following points express the dimensions that should govern Turkish foreign policy in Africa, which remained missing in others' policies towards Africa:

1. The balance between the strategic interests of Turkey and African interests.
2. Promote mutual trust and political and cultural communication between Sudan and Turkey as a state and not as governments.
3. Encouraging the Turkish private sector to invest in Sudan according to conditions that guarantee its ability to produce according to internationally competitive specifications and costs.
4. Encouraging transparent Turkish charitable work in Africa and establishing a partnership between the Turkish government and volunteer work organizations in Turkey, helping African countries in the fields of economic and social development.
5. Expanding the Humanitarian Aid Commission program to train the Sudanese in cooperation with the Turkish Red Crescent, and its support by the international community and the Sudanese government.
6. Increasing the share of Sudanese scholarship to Turkey from university professors, doctors, engineers, and researchers in international relations to ensure that they benefit from them in the advancement and development of Sudan.
7. Facilitating the operations of humanitarian programs and aid provided by the Turkish organizations and the government to reduce the time it takes to reach the target destinations.

8. Review the agreements signed by the previous government to ensure the benefit of Sudanese citizens and their impact on their lives, including the agreement on Suakin Island.

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