

The Effects of Rising Powers to Turkey-African Relations in Terms of Foreign Trade

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ABSTRACT

Throughout the history African colonization has accelerated the rise of the big powers from Phoenicians to Great Britain. However today's geoeconomic relations differ from yesterday's colonialism and relations has evolved zero-sum game to positive-sum game and Africa also has attracted the new emerging powers in this period like China, India, Brazil and Russia in order to enlarge reciprocal development. Geoeconomic policies like trade agreements, economic cooperation agreements, financial aid, investments etc. make states closer than the geopolitical policies like military and political cooperation agreements. After 1990 Turkey's Western oriented economic and trade policies has also shifted to the polycentric policies with "Neighbor and Surrounding Countries Strategy (2000)" and "Africa Strategy (2003)" which has opened new commercial and economic dimensions between the region and Turkey. The study aims to describe the Turkey-African relations in terms of foreign trade by comparing the rising powers' effect in Africa.

Key Words: Turkish-African Relations, Turkish-African Trade, Rising Powers.

Jel Classification: F10, F50, N70

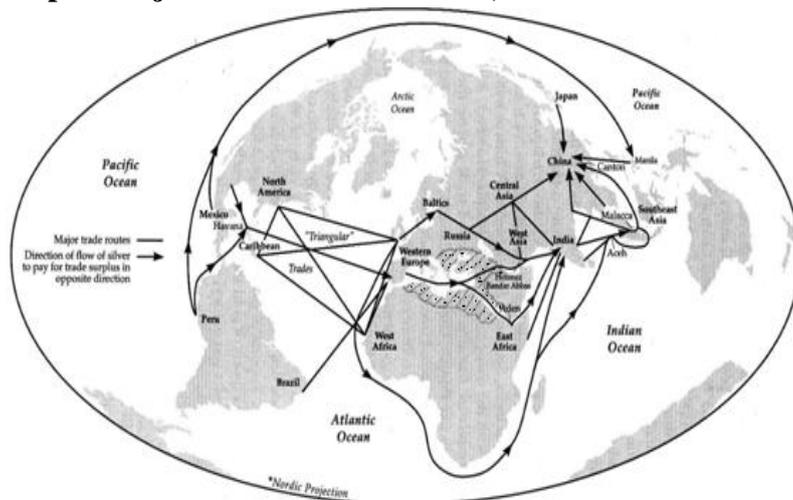
1. Introduction

Colonization of Africa has accelerated the rise of the big powers from Phoenicians to Great Britain. Throughout the history colonization of Africa can be divided into three stages which were classical antiquity, Arabian domination and European colonization. Due to economic and technological developments from B.C.1000 to 1914 Colonization of Africa has expanded from Mediterranean coasts to whole of Africa. Economic resources, trade routes and important cities mostly dominated by non-African powers in that

period. The earliest European colonists settled in North Africa in ancient times which were Phoenicians and Greeks and later followed by Roman Empire. (Irele & Jeyifo 2010: 265-266) Portugal was the first European empire to penetrate deep into Sub-Saharan Africa to establish colonies about two desires: to spread Christianity, and to establish Africa as a bastion of Christianity against the Ottoman Empire, which was making many African converts to Islam. The other goal of Portuguese was to exploit Africa for commercial purposes: to find a route to India, which would open the entire Indian Ocean region to direct trade with Portugal. And as a result of economic and commercial goal Portuguese could use African gold to finance travel along this new trade route. (Irele & Jeyifo 2010: 267) Portuguese and Ottoman struggle¹ in Africa was the early steps of “scramble for Africa”. The Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) granted Portuguese the newly discovered lands outside Europe west of the Cape Verde islands and Portuguese mariners built the earliest trading-post empire. Their goal was not to conquer territories but to control trade routes by forcing merchant vessels to call at fortified trading sites and pay duties there. By the mid–sixteenth century, Portuguese merchants had built more than fifty trading posts between West Africa and East Asia. (Bentley & Ziegler 2007: 377) Thus rivalry among Ottomans and Portuguese to control the trade routes and key points in north of Indian Ocean is concluded with the withdrawal of Ottomans and Ottomans’ attempts to control the East Trade is also concluded with the failure. The decline of the Ottomans and rise of European powers has shifted the rivalry a new form with the increasing influence of “mercantilist policies” to the other European states, such as Netherlands, France, Britain and the others with the increasing role of overseas trade. In 17.-18. centuries Africa was not the major element of the new international political economic system but become an important part of “triangular trade” which each apex of triangle produces ‘profit’ (Braudel 2004:378-379).

“The role of Atlantic trade in the Rise of Europe was primarily through the direct effect of increased international trade. This inclines us towards a view in which the Rise of Europe reflects a major social transformation induced by Atlantic trade and colonialism. In this context, the fact that not only Atlantic ports but also other areas in some of the countries engaged in Atlantic trade prospered during the critical periods of European growth and Atlantic trade expansion is relevant. These patterns are suggestive of some indirect process of social change unleashed by Atlantic trade and colonial activity. Opening of the sea routes to the New World, Africa, and Asia and the building of colonial empires, contributed to the process of West European growth between 1500 and 1850 through its direct economic effects, as well as indirectly by inducing fundamental institutional changes. Atlantic trade enriched and strengthened new groups of merchants Note that the Africa trade was largely “triangular,” i.e., involved goods to Africa, slaves to the Americas, and agricultural products to Europe on the same trip.”(Acemoglu et al 2002)

¹ The Ottoman–Portuguese or Turco-Portuguese conflicts refer to a series of different military encounters between the Portuguese Empire and the Ottoman Empire, or between other European powers and the Ottoman Empire. Most of these conflicts were in the Indian Ocean, in the process of the expansion of the Portuguese Empire. These conflicts were; Turkish Crusade (1481), Battle of Diu (1509), Portuguese Conquest of Goa (1510), Siege of Diu (1531), Conquest of Tunis (1535), Ottoman-Potuguese Conflicts (1538-57)/(1558-66)/(1580-89) and Battle of Alcacer Quibir (1578) (al- Aidarous, Faroqhi, Özbaran)

Map 1: Major Global Trade Routes, 1400-1800 and Ottoman Empire

Source: <http://academic.reed.edu/anthro/570/Frankmap1.jpg>

The transformation process of European economies had accelerated the new partition of world and the formation of the new world-system due to the requirements of the 'center'. As a result the sovereign states of the East such as Ottoman Empire, Persia and China had lost their weight on world economic, commercial and consequently political system. These developments led to open a new phase for Africa which was **The Scramble for Africa**; the invasion, occupation, colonization, and annexation of African territory by Western European powers during the New Imperialism period between 1881 and 1914. The Berlin or "Kongokonferenz" of 1884–85 regulated European colonization and trade in Africa during the Imperialism period, and agreed with Germany's sudden emergence as an imperial power. The conference ushered in a period of heightened colonial activity by European powers, while simultaneously eliminating most existing forms of African autonomy and self-governance. (Shillington 2005:455) Consequent to the political and economic rivalries among the European empires, in the last quarter of the 19th century, the partitioning of Africa was how the Europeans avoided warring amongst themselves over Africa. The last years of the 19th century saw the transition from "informal imperialism" hegemony by commercial, military influence and economic dominance, to the direct rule of colonies (Shillington 2005: 301). Africa fell under European colonial rule by 1914, with the exceptions of Ethiopia and Liberia. The partitioning of African territory among European states often has broke existing boundaries recognized by local Africans. (Collins & Burns 2007:266) The redrawing of the borders of independent African states also has demolished the economic and commercial organizations and structures and led to link these to the Colonial Powers' with reorganizing. These developments have prevented the economic and commercial concentration and organization of sovereign units in Africa. "The development of colonialism and the partition of Africa by the European colonial powers arrested the natural development of the African economic system." (Settles 1996:1) During the colonial time, African economy was re-arranged to serve European industrialization.

Today's geoeconomic relations differ from yesterday's colonialism and relations has evaluated zero-sum game to positive-sum game and Africa also has attracted the new emerging powers in this period especially China, India, Brazil and Russia in order to enlarge reciprocal development. Hard power politics transformed soft power politics and geoeconomics as a tool of soft power has been used more commonly by emerging powers. Turkey also one of the important regional economic and political powers with her geopolitical and geostrategic position, geoeconomic abilities and historical ties with Africa could be a dominant actor in Africa with other global powers. The growing importance of G-20 countries (excluding the G7 countries) in the world economy would affect African economies in positive terms with diminishing the dependencies of these periphery economies to the core. According to the *African Economic Outlook*

(2011: 93) "Africa's expanding partnerships after the 2008-09 crisis dramatically shifted the centre of the world's economic gravity away from the west towards the east and south. Africa is benefiting from investment, trade and aid, but also from the macroeconomic, political and strategic advantages that the rise of emerging countries has produced. China takes centre stage, but other emerging partners together make up a larger share of many of the dealings. Africa's top five emerging partners² are China, India and Brazil -- along with Korea and Turkey." Changing nature of trade relations in Africa is an important indicator of changing international political economy and the new rising powers. Table 1 shows that great change in international trade and Africa's trade partners.

Table 1: Change in International Trade and Africa

	Unit : US Dollar thousand		Percent Change	Shares in World Total Import /Export %		Percent Change of Shares
	2001	2014		2001	2014	
			2001-2014			2001-2014
World Total Import	6324502572	18898729572	198,82	-	-	-
G7 Total Imports	3125706420	6729279097	115,29	49,42	35,61	-27,95
BRIC Total Imports	391691106	2933099597	648,83	6,19	15,52	150,60
African Imports	120709974	625311325	418,03	1,91	3,31	73,36
African Imports from G7	56565607	158946010	180,99	46,86	25,42	-45,76
African Imports from BRIC	10081236	135523324	1244,31	8,35	21,67	159,51
World Total Export	6114485767	18854544370	208,36	-	-	-
G7 Total Exports	2780112246	5889051602	111,83	45,47	31,23	-31,30
BRIC Total Exports	468131688	3382819576	622,62	7,66	17,94	134,34
African Exports	114663665	562652968	390,70	1,88	2,98	59,13
African Exports to G7	71149537	150835055	112,00	62,05	26,81	-56,80
African Exports to BRIC	10439552	117226876	1022,91	9,10	20,83	128,84

Source: Trade Map, 2015

From 2001 to 2014 some major changes have emerged that on the one hand the increase of G7 countries foreign trade underperformed to the world average and the shares in African trade have dropped radically on the other hand BRIC countries' (especially PRC) trade performance has realized above the world average and the shares in African trade have raised enormously. According to the Clapham (2005) "for the first time since the era of the slave trade, African trade, arguably, is re-orienting from the "Global North" to the "Global East" " (Carmody and Owusu, 2007). As a result Turkey's competitors in the new era have shifted from the West to the East.

² According to the *African Economic Outlook* (2011, p.93) Africa's top five emerging partners are China, India and Brazil along with Korea and Turkey and the notion of "emerging partners" used here tries to capture two characteristics: they are considered "emerging" economies in the global context; and their economic relations with Africa have been marginal until the last decade but are rising fast and are expected to grow further.

2. Turkey's Historical Ties with Africa

Republic of Turkey inherited the historical role of Anatolia from Hittites to Ottoman Empire in 20th century. Anatolia the intersection point of the three continents has ability to affect and to be affected the near abroad from Balkans to Caucasus and from Black Sea coasts to Mediterranean. That geoeconomic location grants her to apply 'soft power instruments' efficiently in contrast to other power centres. Ottoman Empire was situated between Europe and India and that two sea routes provided the most convenient passage not only to Europe but also to Asia, particularly in the 18th century which was through the Arab/Persian Gulf to Basra, and the second route was through the Red Sea. (Panzac 1992: 189-190) Besides East-West trade the Ottoman Empire had also strategic position between Europe and Africa by controlling Southern coasts of Mediterranean and Aegean Sea. The Turkish (Ottoman) expansion in 15th and 16th centuries as a result of territorialism aimed to control trade with conquest of as much as territories. After the Conquest of Istanbul (1453) Anatolia and Rumelia (Balkans) had unified and by controlling the Straits the Black Sea trade were brought under control and unsupported Black Sea cities and states entered the domination of Ottomans. Besides the eastern trade routes "all roads eastbound from Anatolia" had also controlled with the conquest of Syria and Egypt (1514-1517) the state gained 'economic strategic integrity'. (Pitcher 2001: 153)

However despite of the rise of 'mercantilism' in Europe, Ottoman economy was based on the idea of 'affluent economy/bolluk ekonomisi' (İnalçık 2000: 86-91) which denies the trade sur-plus. As a result the main source of wealth was military expansion and fiscalism with agriculture seen as more important than manufacture and commerce for Ottomans view to meet the needs of population.³ However Western mercantilists gave more emphasis to manufacture and industry in the wealth-power-wealth equation, moving towards capitalist economics comprising expanding industries and markets whereas the Ottomans continued along the trajectory of territorial expansion, traditional monopolies, conservative land holding and agriculture.⁴ That Ottoman political economy had helped the penetration of western traders to the East without difficulty.

"The case of Alexandria permits us to refine the place of European transporters in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 18th century. At Alexandria, the Europeans had a monopoly on trade with Europe and practically that with the Maghreb (Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli), with 29 out of 31 ships. They controlled 78 percent of the trade between Alexandria and Smyrna, 53 percent of that with Salonika, the majority with the Peloponnesus and Syria, and practically half of that with Istanbul. The Ottomans maintained their domination only over the trade with Karamania, an important trade that occupied 52 percent of the total number of ships in Alexandria and Crete. Based on the average value of cargo in 1782 (the figures for 1785 are not available), the Europeans dominated the important trade routes where the most valuable cargos were represented-Europe, Tunis, Salonika, Smyrna, and Istanbul. They were in the minority in the enormous trade with Karamania, but it was of less value. In 1785, European ships represented an estimated 47 percent of the total and controlled more than three-fourths, in value, of the Ottoman trade. The Ottoman

³ Berkes described the Ottoman economy as a "war economy" where its primary revenue comprised booty from expansion. This idea has been supported by Ottomanists Halil Inalçık, 1994, op cit, and Suraiya Faroqhi - Faroqhi, S, The Ottoman Empire and the World Around it, The Library of Ottoman Studies 7, I B Tauris, London, 2004

⁴ In economic terms, neither the Marxian Asiatic mode of production, nor the feudal mode found in mediaeval Europe reflect the Ottoman economy accurately, as it falls somewhere in between the two - excess peasant production was taxed by the state as opposed to it being paid in rent to feudal lords - Faroqhi, S, 1999, pp. 189-91.

merchants preferred European ships... The cargos transported in European ships were subject to lower duties and were granted protection guaranteed by treaties drawn up between the Ottoman Empire and the European states."(Panzac 1992: 197-198)

The empire did not take an active interest in sea trade preferring a free-market system from which they could draw tax revenue. However such laissez-faire policies were not always followed. For example, Under Hadım Suleyman Pasha's tenure as Grand Vizier till 1544, the Ottoman administration was directly involved in the spice trade with the aim of increasing revenue. However such policies were often repealed by their successors. The main arenas of maritime activity were: the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean (main trade: wheat); the Red Sea and Persian Gulf (main trade: spices); the Black Sea (main trade: wheat and lumber); and the Western Mediterranean. (Casale, 2006)

Turkish African relations can be divided into four historic periods. The first period; 16-19 centuries, the second period; 1923-1998, the third period; 1998-2012, and the fourth period, After 2012 .(Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2015) The first period between 16th and 19th centuries implies the Ottoman rule on the continent. Turkish attention to Africa begins with the aim to control Mediterranean coasts of Africa and the Red Sea in 16th century.

By the end of the 16 th century most of the territories of North-Africa partially or totally had been controlled by the Ottoman Empire. In 1517 Oruç took control over Algeria. In the same year the troops of the Sultan managed to take control over Egyptian territories. Conquest of Egypt also had granted Ottomans Caliphate of Muslims and that religious-political power helped the presence of Ottomans mainly in Northern Africa. Tripoli became part of the empire in 1551, while in 1574 finally Tunisia became part of the Caliph's state. However, the inner territories of the continent never belonged to the empire in the way the northern ones did. Nigeria, Chad, Sudan and Somalia more than once have been partially controlled and occupied by the Ottomans for a shorter period of time but this condition never lasted long enough to consider them as part of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman power only managed to be presented indirectly. For instance in 1575 Murat III. was only able to become the ally of the Kanem-Bornu Empire against the Portuguese colonization aspiration. In the year of 1863 the Muslim citizens of Capetown requested an imam from the Ottoman Empire. The arrival of Ebubekir Efendi to the South-African city helped to amend the bilateral relations. Although the financial help that came from the South-African Muslims while building a new railway line in the Hejaz region indicates that the connections were not only limited to religion. By the end of the 19th century, by the general decadence of the Ottoman Empire the dependence of the mentioned African territories are already not as strict as they were before. Egypt was finally colonized by Great Britain. However namely Egypt belonged to the Ottoman Empire until 1914, from 1882 the government was in British hands. (Besenyo & Oláh 2012: 136-137)

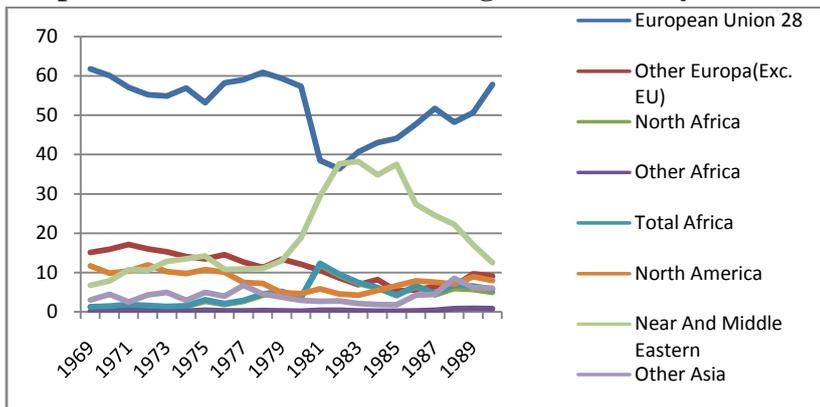
The second period begins with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 to implementation of "Opening up to Africa" plan in 1998. In the first decades of the period The Republic's domestic economic and political difficulties, 1929 Crisis and the forthcoming war had prevented an active foreign policy. After the II. World War, Turkey's security concern mostly determined the economic and political relations and Turkey's African policy performed in accordance with the West.

Between the period of 1923 and 1945 Republic of Turkey did not have the capacity to be a involved in the politics and economy of Africa. After 1945, when the bipolar world order has occurred, the roles of the African countries started to change quickly. Not just the USA, but the other superpower, USSR also paid special attention to the regions of third world. In the 1960's and 70's

Turkey tried to build a stable relationship with all the new, independent countries (Besenyo & Oláh 2012: 136-137).

The formal relations between Turkey and the African countries are established at diplomatic level and Turkey recognized the new independent countries in the 1960s. However either Turkey's or African countries' social, economic and political situation restrained firm relations. The relations gained momentum after 1980 with Turkey's export-led growth model and trade expansion.

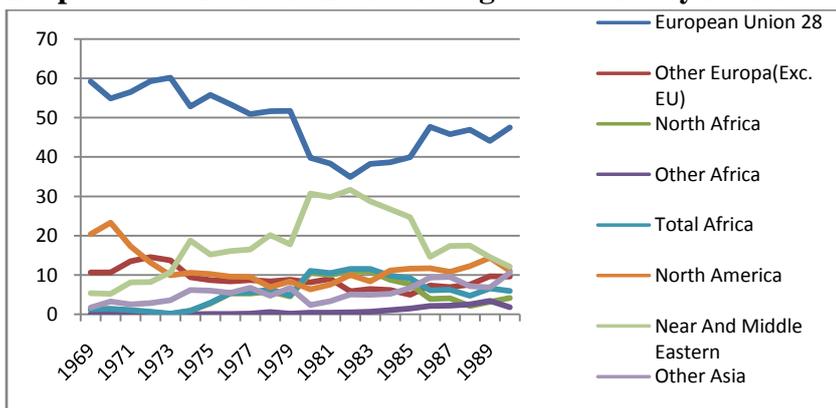
Graph 1: The Share of Selected Regions in Turkey's Total Export 1969-1990



Source: TURKSTAT, 2015

In 1980 Turkey's export to North Africa was 103.6 million US dollars and to Other Africa was only 5.2 million US dollars. In 1981 Turkey's export to North Africa increased to 561.1 million US dollars and to Other Africa 21.3 million US dollars. In that period Turkey-African relations gained momentum because of Turkey's comparative advantages to Industrialized Western countries, geographical proximity, cultural affinity and the absence of today's big exporting powers which were in transition from import-substitution planned economies to market economies.

Graph 2: The Share of Selected Regions in Turkey's Total Import 1969-1990



Source: TURKSTAT, 2015

The share of total Africa's share in Turkey's exports reached to 12.3% in 1981 which was 3.7% in 1980. The share of Africa in Turkey's imports showed a remarkable change between 1979 and 1980. In 1979 Turkey's imports from North Africa was 233.3 million US dollars with 4.6% share reached to 838.7 million US dollars with 10.0% share in 1980. Other Africa which was only 0.2% share with 9.6 million US dollars export to Turkey in 1979 reached 0.4% share with 34.3 million US dollars export to Turkey. The liberalization process of international trade in 1980s granted both Turkey and Africa new opportunities to

deepen reciprocal relations but structural problems of both parties and the emergence of new commercial rivals prevented further relations.

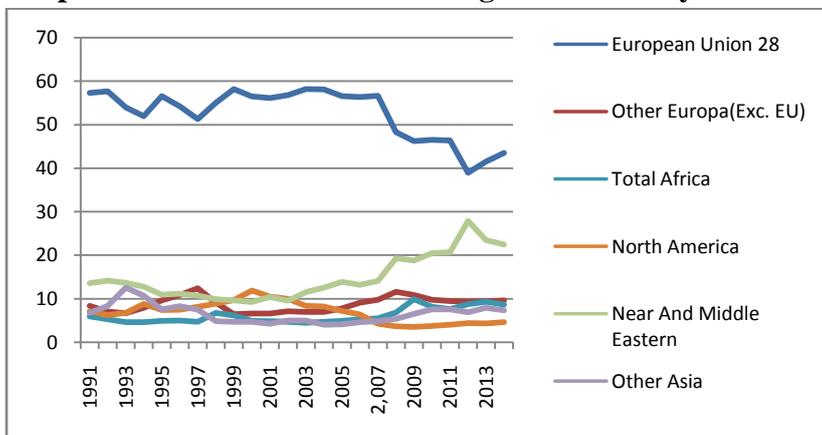
3. Turkish Geoeconomic Policies Towards Africa

The political and economic transformations beginning in the 1980s within both Developed West and Socialist East result the rise of geoeconomics and the decline of geopolitics. These changes not only effected the two world but also the whole world. The static character of geopolitical era transformed into more dynamic character and rivalry between Two Blocs which was mainly militarily, political and ideological also transformed into "bellum omnium contra omnes" in terms of economic means. The national security and national power issues which were mainly depended to the alliance systems like NATO, Warsaw Treaty Organization or Non-Aligned Movement and concentrated on the capacity of armed forces also redefined in the geoeconomic era. In the new era states have began to seek more trade partners and establish regional economic integrations and trading agreements in order to increase national wealth.

Turkey is one of the most potential states that could benefit from the changing international political economy. Firstly Turkey's import substitution industrialization policy has shifted to export-led growth policy and growth policies have shifted from the realm of public policy to a market-driven domain in the 1980s. And with the end of the Cold War, the "Iron Curtain" around Turkey has absented. These two transformations have granted Turkey a great chance with her historical, cultural and economic ties to form a geoeconomic space and to become a regional power. The "locked" and "unidirectional" status of Turkey in terms of trade, politics, and economy in the geopolitical era has shifted to a "open" and "multidirectional" status. Turkey's first attempt to create a geoeconomic space was "Neighbor and Surrounding Countries Strategy" which aims to encourage close economic relations with the Middle Eastern, Caucasus, Balkan, Black Sea and Central Asian Countries was implemented in 2000. In 2003 many African countries (Algeria, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Libya, Somali, Sudan, and Tunisia) included to the strategy. Secondly "Africa Strategy" has accepted in 2003 and opened a new trade and economic dimensions between African countries and Turkey. In 2005 "Strategy for Enhancing Trade and Economic Relations with Asia Pacific Countries" and in 2006 "Strategy for Enhancing Trade and Economic Relations with the USA" were implemented.

The new strategies in order to increase economic and commercial relations with the new regions for Turkey and changing gravity center of world trade and production both have affected the Turkey's trade structure.

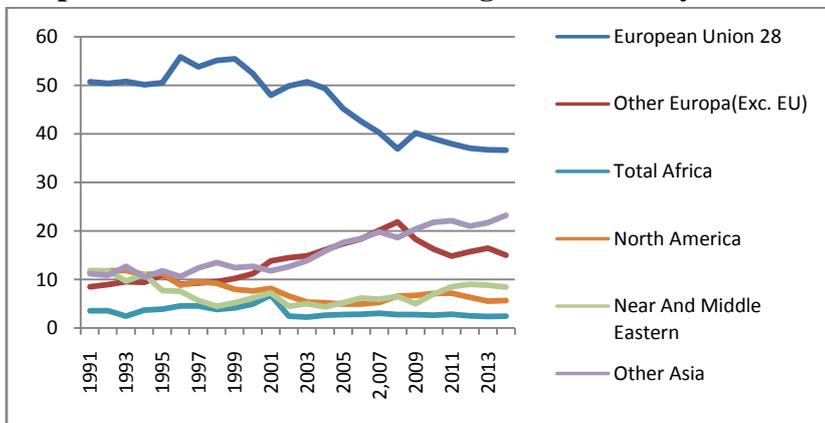
Graph 3: The Share of Selected Regions in Turkey's Total Exports 1991-2014



Source: TURKSTAT, 2015

Traditionally European Union and North America have had an important share in Turkey's both total export and import despite the North America's geographical distance. Near and Middle Eastern countries with cultural similarities, geographical proximity and economic structure has had an important potential for Turkey's foreign trade but because of mostly political instabilities in the region the export and import share has fluctuated. These fluctuations mostly effects the EU's share in Turkey's exports; when the Near and Middle Eastern Countries' share in Turkey's exports rises the EU's share declines. And also the EU's share in Turkey's imports declines due to the Other Asia's rising exports to Turkey. However since 2003 EU's and North America's share has gradually diminished and especially the Middle East, Africa and Other Asia have increased their shares in Turkey's total exports. Africa's share rose to maximum level in 2013 with 9.32% and decreased to 8.72% in 2014. However Africa's share in Turkey's total imports has not increased adequately by comparison with Turkey's exports to African countries. In 2014 the share of Turkish imports from Africa was only 2.45%.

Graph 4: The Share of Selected Regions in Turkey's Total Imports 1991-2014



Source: TURKSTAT, 2015

Towards the end of the 1980s, commercial contacts between private business firms in Turkey and Africa were established. (Uchegara 2008: 50-51) Turkey's historical and cultural ties with North Africa have been instrumental in establishing close relations with the continent. In the context of Turkish policy of opening up to Africa initiated in 1998, determined to improve and develop political, economic, commercial, and cultural interaction with the African countries. "Strategy for Enhancing Trade and Economic Relations with African Countries" was put into effect and has been implementing by the Ministry of Economy since 2003. Also 2005 was declared as "the Year of Africa" by the Turkish Government and Turkey was accorded observer status by the Africa Union in the same year.

Table 2: Turkey's Main Steps Towards Africa

1998 "Opening up to Africa"
2003 "Strategy for Enhancing Trade and Economic Relations with African Countries"
2005 "the Year of Africa" ; "Observer status of Turkey in Africa Union"
2008 "First Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit"
2014 "Second Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit"

The most important turning point of the relations between Turkey and Africa realized in 2003 with the “Strategy for Enhancing the Economic and Commercial Relations with Africa”. The main objectives of that strategy are as follows: (Kızıllarslan 2009: 20-21)

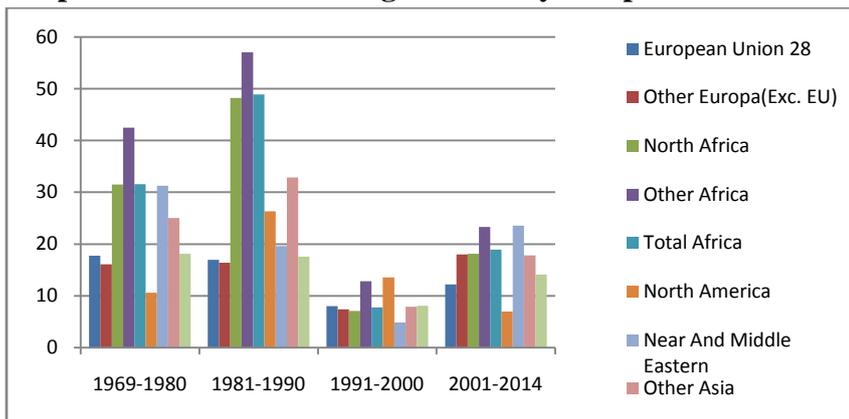
- *To increase the share of Turkey in the total trade volume of African countries up to 3% in three years(In 2003 Turkey's share in African exports was 1.54% and in African imports was 1.06%.In 2014 Turkey's share was dropped to 0.98% in African total exports and increased to 2.35% in African total imports.)*
- *To open way for our small and medium sized enterprises so that they can penetrate into the region countries,*
- *To make either joint investments or direct Turkish investments with the relevant countries in Africa in order to increase the competitive power of Turkey in certain sectors,*
- *To transfer technology from Turkey to the region countries,*
- *To raise the share of Turkish construction, consultancy and engineering firms in the African markets,*
- *To diminish the poverty by investing in African countries through increasing the economic activities and creating more value added in those domestic economies.*

The key instruments of the Strategy are:

- *To initiate the regular dialogue by creating Joint Economic Commission (JEC) or high level economic negotiation and decision-making mechanisms,*
- *To conclude rapidly the basic agreements that will constitute the legal framework of our relations with the African countries,*
- *To make preferential trade arrangements and Free Trade Agreements with the African countries in line with Turkey's obligations towards the EU and other international liabilities,*
- *To provide the African countries with the technical assistance in the preparation and implementation of the laws regarding the trade policy instruments in parallel to the international practices,*
- *To support the membership efforts of the African countries with regard to the WTO,*
- *To create the comfortable conditions for holding introductory activities such as the fairs, exhibitions, buyers' missions and trade missions more often,*
- *To establish the new offices of Commercial Counselor in the African countries,*
- *To help Turkish technical consultancy firms structure themselves in the target countries and to promote the creation of new projects in the African countries by these firms via donations and credits offered under agreeable terms,*
- *To strengthen the activities of Turkish banks in the African countries,*
- *To provide the African countries with the technical assistance and educational support in the fields in which Turkey is experienced.*

As a result of the strategy, in 2014, Turkey's exports to Africa were realized as 13.7 billion USD with an increase of 654% compared to 1998 (1.8 billion USD) and Turkey' imports from Africa were realized as 5.9 billion USD with an increase of 237 % compared to 1998 (1.7 billion USD). Although Africa has not an important volume in Turkey's total exports and imports, has an important rate of change in Turkey's total foreign trade.

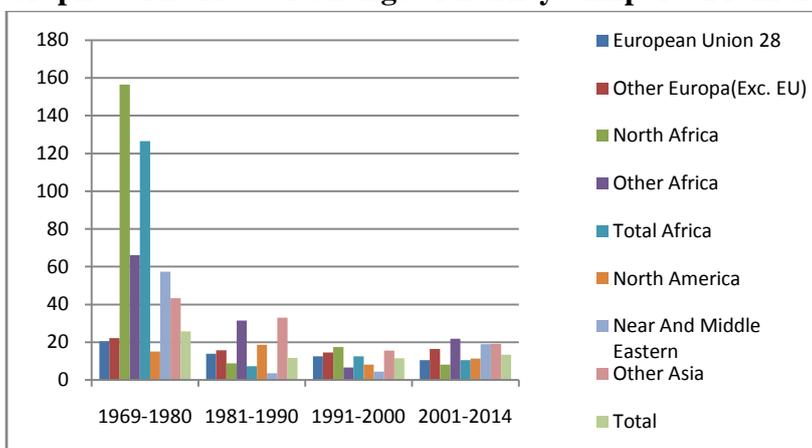
Graph 5: The Rate of Change of Turkey's Exports To Africa



Source: TURKSTAT, 2015

The average rate of change in exports from 1969 to 2014 in four periods shows that EU countries and North America's rate are under the total average rate and North Africa and especially Other Africa's performance is notable. During the 1969-1980 period political tensions between USA and Turkey on Cyprus issue and the embargo on Turkey brought Turkey and Libya closer and the enormous change of Turkey's foreign trade with Africa depends on the increase of imports from Libya. In 1974 total export of Turkey to Africa was 24 million \$ and to Libya was 9.7 million \$ with 40% and import from Africa was 36 million \$ and from Libya was 5.7 million \$ with 15%. In 1976 Turkey's exports to Africa raised to 42 million \$ and Libya was the second partner after Egypt in Africa with 23% share and Turkey's import raised to 280 million \$ that 233 million \$ was realized with Libya. During the 1981-1990 period with the Turkey's trade liberalization and export-led industry policy Turkey diversified trade partner countries and the Other African countries gradually became trade partners with low trade volume but high change rate in terms of both export and import. However in that period although a regular increase in the total trade volume between Turkey and Africa, on the country level there was fluctuations with the Other African countries but trade with South Africa was more stable. During the 1991-2000 period the rate of change in exports and imports to Africa slowed down relatively with the total rate and Other Africa preserved its high status in exports and North Africa in imports. During the 2001-2014 period Other Africa's rate was over the total change rate of Turkey's both exports and imports.

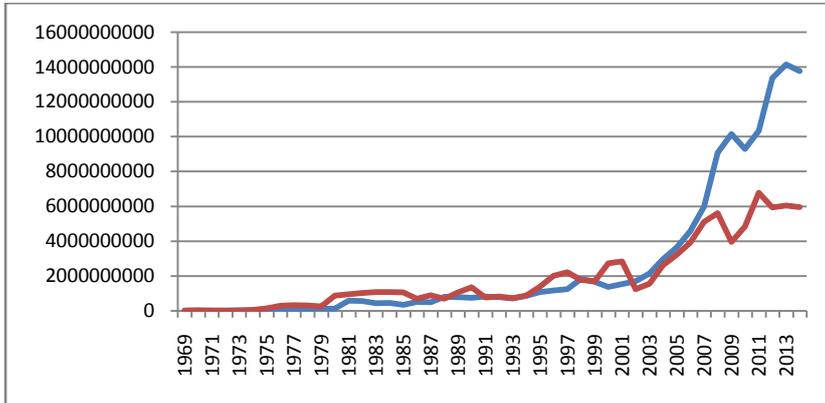
Graph 6: The Rate of Change of Turkey's Imports From Africa



Source: TURKSTAT, 2015

African trade is important for Turkey in comparison with the BRIC countries that Turkey has foreign trade deficit that in 2014 Turkey's balance of foreign trade was -84.5 billion USD and current deficit problem that was -45.8 billion USD in 2014. And since 2002 Turkey's exports to Africa has begun to overcome imports from Africa and Turkey's trade surplus with Africa has increased continuously. In 2014 trade balance with total Africa reached approximately 8 billion USD surplus.

Graph 7: Turkey's Export to Africa and Import from Africa (US Dollars)



Source: TURKSTAT, 2015

Turkey in order to develop relations with African countries has used diplomatic, economic, commercial, political means and aids. Turkey's strategy towards Africa mainly consists of two complementary approaches. On the geographical level African continent evaluated as North Africa which was traditionally and historically trade partner of Turkey and the Other Africa (Sub-Saharan Africa). On the other hand relations with Africa have performed on two bases which are bilateral and regional. In 2009 Turkey had 12 Embassies in Africa and in five years number of embassies reached to 39 in Africa of which 33 are in Sub-Saharan Africa. Chad, Guinea, Eritrea and Djibouti are started to function in 2013 and Congo, Ruanda, Botswana and Benin in 2014. And also 27 African countries have Embassies in Turkey and 10 African countries have declared their decisions to open Embassies in Ankara. On the regional level Turkey has observer status in the African Union (2005), and has been accepted as a non-regional member of the African Development Bank (2008). Turkish Embassy in Addis Ababa is accredited to the Intergovernmental Authority on Development Partners Forum (IGAD) (2012) and Turkish Embassy in Abuja is accredited to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) (2005). Furthermore, Turkish Embassy in Dar-es-Salaam is accredited to the East African Community (EAC) (2010); Turkish Embassy in Lusaka is accredited to Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) (2012); Turkish Embassy in Libreville is accredited to Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) (2013). (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2015)

The Turkish foreign policy towards Africa is not only based on mutually beneficial economic and trade objectives but also incorporates a comprehensive approach which includes development of Africa through technical and project assistance in the fields such as fight against diseases, agricultural development, irrigation, energy and education and regular flow of humanitarian aid. Turkish International Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) Program Coordinator Office in Africa was first opened in Addis Ababa in 2005 and later in Khartoum and Dakar in the years of 2006 and 2007 respectively. TİKA which has 40 offices worldwide, currently operates 11 Program Coordination Offices in Africa and these offices support development projects in their respective regions. TİKA conducts projects in African countries in cooperation with other state departments and Turkish NGOs which focuses on building resilience by improving agricultural production and by training local communities in farming techniques, mainly in the Sahel

countries. Turkey became the fourth-largest donor in 2012. Including the contribution of the Turkish NGOs in the fields of health, education, and capacity building Turkey's total humanitarian assistance reaches 2 billion US dollars per year. Turkey's engagement in Somalia is an exemplary case (Turkey has allocated 300 million USD so far). Africa had a share of %31 from Turkey's ODA in 2012 which represents an amount of 772 million USD. Somalia came first among the countries who received Turkey's ODA in 2012 with an amount of 86 million USD (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2015).

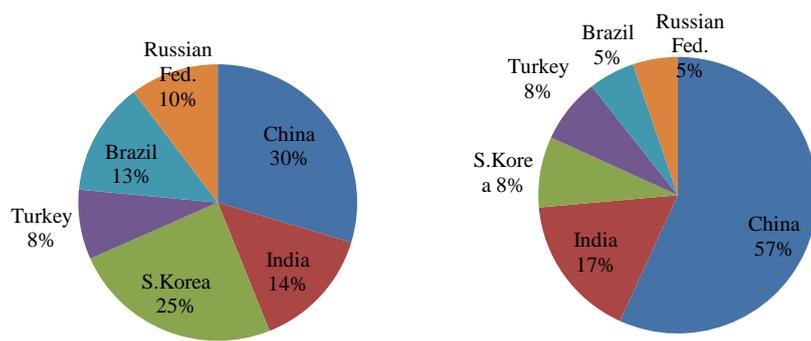
The total value of projects undertaken by Turkish contractors in African countries exceeded 47 billion USD. Turkey has completed Free Trade Agreements with Egypt (2006), Tunisia (2005) Morocco (2006) and signed an FTA with Mauritius in September 2011. Turkish Airlines commenced flights in Sub-Saharan Africa, bringing the total number of THY flights in the Continent to 38 destinations. Within the period between 1972 and 2012, the shares of African countries in the overall international business volume of Turkish contractors were 19.4%. Also Turkey has provided 561 scholarships for students from Sub-Saharan Africa for the education year of 2012-2013. Around 200 junior diplomats have attended training programs organized by the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2015)

4. Review and Conclusion

Throughout the history Africa has served as a catalyst on the rise of the great powers as a raw material and human resource supplier and as a market for manufactured products. However today's geoeconomic relations differ from yesterday's colonialism and relations has evaluated zero-sum game to positive-sum game and Africa also has attracted the new emerging powers in this period especially China, India, Brazil and Russia and South Korea in order to enlarge reciprocal development. Turkey which has a long history with Africa in the Ottoman era, like the other emerging economies has retry to develop reciprocal relations. After 1990s Turkey's attempts to transform her foreign policy and political economy in relation with her new geoeconomic location and position accelerated the economic and commercial relations with especially the Near Abroad and Africa. However either the regional problems or the structural relations from the past and rapid changes in international political economy have prevented the formation of desired level and regional actor status of Turkey.

Turkey's "Africa Strategy" has played an important role on the development and expansion of Turkish economy and trade by raw material procurement from Africa and diversification of export materials to Africa. In that context Africa has become an important trade partner for Turkey with Western Asia which provide positive merchandise trade balance. However as it used to be in the Ottoman era that by the conquest of Egypt and Northern Africa Ottomans controlled the main trade routes and gained important revenues had resulted the competition with emerging European powers and the decline of Ottoman power in the region once again has been realizing with the emerging economies. Especially with the rise of China and India in the world economic and commercial system Turkey is affected negatively and commercial efficiency in Africa decreases. In 2001 the share China in Africa's total imports was 3.3% and India's was 1.6%, in 2014 China's share increased to 19.1% and India's to 5.6%. When we compare the shares of Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Korea and Turkey in the share of total imports of Africa between 2001 and 2014, Brazil, Russia, and South Korea's shares decreased for the benefit of China and India, Turkey's share remained constant though to Turkey's special attention to Africa and Turkey's share rise from 0.9% to 2.5%.

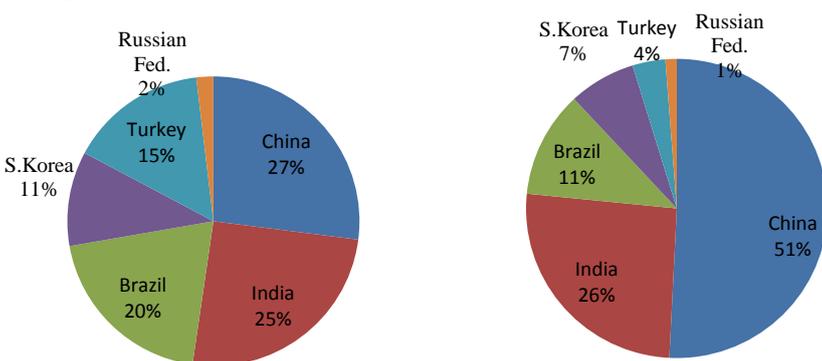
Graph 8: Shares of BRIC, S. Korea and Turkey's Exports to Africa in 2001 and 2014



Source: Trade Map 2015

Similarly except China and India, the other countries' shares in imports from Africa diminished. In 2001 the share China in Africa's total exports was 2.8% and India's was 2.6%, in 2014 China's share increased to 14.1% and India's to 7.2% however Turkey's share dropped from 1.6% to 1.0%.

Graph 9: Shares of BRIC, S. Korea and Turkey's Imports from Africa in 2001 and 2014



Source: Trade Map 2015

Although Turkey's attempt to improve relations with Sub-Saharan Africa, trade and bilateral relations are more concentrated to the Northern African states because of historical and cultural ties and geographical proximity. Egypt, Libya, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco held 70 percent of Turkish total exports to African countries with 9.7 million USD in 2014. However the relations between Turkey and Northern Africa countries after "Arab Spring" has negatively affected. Especially the worsening relations with Egypt and Libya would diminish the commercial and economic influence of Turkey in the region. Besides foreign developments Turkey's domestic problems also prevent to use soft power instruments in order to develop reciprocal commercial and economic relations with Africa and these problems constitute an impediment for Turkey's stable and sustained Africa strategy.

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