

TURKEY-AFRICAN STATES SECURITY RELATIONS AND SOME SUGGESTIONS

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INTRODUCTION

After the end of Cold War, traditional security threats, which are inter-state conflicts and nuclear threats, disappeared. Today new security issues threaten international peace and security. As new security threats, corruption, discriminatory state structure, intra-state conflicts, terrorism, poverty, epidemics, energy security and environmental problems can be indicated.

In order to fight against these security threats, only traditional diplomatic and military measures are not effective and sufficient. Along with these traditional measures, it is necessary to use the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian measures in the meantime, because the states cannot become successful when they do not implement these measures simultaneously in a comprehensive way. In this regard, former Secretary-General Ghali proposed application of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, and peace building methods in addition to the peacekeeping operations.

African continent has a very effective and important status in the post-Cold War world politics due to its geostrategic position, economic opportunities and energy facilities. But most of the African states have weak and failed state systems; therefore they expose oneself with new security threats. For the construction of positive or permanent peace in the continent, comprehensive and interdependent measures have to be used.

Due to its active and visionary foreign policy mentality, Turkey now has different perspective about the African continent as well as African people. For Turkey, African continent has a decisive status in shaping the international system of 21. century. For that reason, Turkish government has desired to improve and develop its relations with the African states in the several fields, including security one. Although Turkey has played a considerable

role in the security of African states, there are also many different fields that Turkey can undertake actively and effectively.

In this study, these fields will be defined and some suggestions will be mentioned.

NEW SECURITY THREATS IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

Since 1998 44 intra-state conflicts erupted in violent civil wars. During these wars, human tragedies and gross violations of human rights occurred in failed and/or weak states. Today poverty, disease, famine, oppression, environmental degradation, energy security and despair led to new security threats.

Concerning the reasons for intra-state conflicts, following points can be indicated:

- *Inter-group rivalries between two or more ethno cultural groups*: They can perceive themselves as underprivileged, thus they can demand recognition of their cultural rights, autonomy, political separation etc.
- *Failed and/or weak state authority*. Many states are artificial constructs. They lacked political legitimacy, politically sensible borders and political institutions. States have been weakened by internal problems.
- *Political factors*: Discriminatory political institutions, exclusionary national ideologies, inter-group politics and elite politics.
- *Economic/social factors*: Unemployment, inflation and resources competitions, discrimination on a clan basis or ethnic basis, unequal economic opportunities, unequal access to resources and vast differences in standards of living.
- *Cultural/perceptual factors*: Inequitable educational opportunities, legal and political constraints on use and teaching of minority languages, constraints on religious freedom, limitations to use of local language, exclusion of certain ethnic groups from political power or limitations to the expression of local customs or assimilation of minority groups.

THE METHODS USED TO DEAL WITH NEW SECURITY THREATS

In general terms, due to nature of the intra-state conflicts as mentioned above, traditional diplomatic and military instruments are alone not sufficient to find solution to these conflicts. Today the states have to adopt preventive/coercive diplomacy, peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peace building measures in order to find solution to them and these

measures has to include both civilian and military instruments simultaneously. In the meantime, role of civilians and non-state actors have also increased in the post-Cold War conflicts. Nowadays traditional diplomacy and military intervention have now limited success. For example, in Afghanistan and Iraq, the United States is not successful because of lack of peace-building efforts etc. In other words, the United States has not made serious attempts to find psycho-political and socio-economic needs of the Afghan people in the post-conflict phase.

Today we are talking about positive peace, meaning absence of structural and cultural factors that lead to the conflicts.

In favor of demands of new security threats, the intervention to the conflicts needs to be comprehensive, complementary and changing. It also necessitates involvement of political, social, economic, legal, psychological and spiritual instruments. There is no order of priority amongst them to prescribe. All of this must be done at once and at the same time.

Today as mentioned above, civil society can also play very active role in finding solution to the intra-state conflicts in every phases.

Prior to violent conflict, civil society can be involved in both early warning and prevention efforts by addressing the deeper structural issues and conditions.

In the midst of war, civil society actors can be engaged in reporting human rights abuses, involved in relief work and engaged in psychosocial work.

In the meantime, we can now talk about people-to-people projects. In this respect, building of integrative ties and establishment of relationships and shared interests can help create, build, stabilize and/or strengthen the relations between two peoples.

Civil society also involves in social, economic, environmental, public wealth and education issues. Due to the changing nature of new security threats, former UN Secretary-General Ghali mentioned four different peace instruments, which are coercive diplomacy, peacekeeping, peacemaking and peace-building.

Coercive Diplomacy (pre-conflict) → Peacekeeping (conflict) → Peacemaking (just post-conflict, short-term) → Peace building (post-conflict, long-term)

Coercive diplomacy employs threats or limited force to persuade the opponent to call off or undo an encroachment.

Peacekeeping involves third party intervention to keep apart warring groups and maintain absence of direct violence. It engages in preventive deployment, election monitoring and protection of delivery humanitarian assistance. It involves now a combination of military and civilian personnel.

Peacemaking refers to negotiation process between the conflicting parties. It also includes creation of political institutions, distribution of emergency relief, demobilization of former combatants, and reintegration of them into society, cleaning landmines, organizing and conducting elections and promoting sustainable development practices.

Peace building focuses on social, psychological and economic environment at the grassroots level. Its intention is to create a structure of peace that is based on justice, equity and cooperation thereby addressing underlying causes of violent conflict.

The Measures that Are Used in Each Phase

Conflict Prevention ⇒ Escalation Phase ⇒ Conflict and Crisis Phase ⇒ Resolution Phase ⇒ Post-Conflict Phase

Conflict prevention is defined as actions undertaken over the short-term to reduce manifest tensions and/or to prevent outbreak, escalation or recurrence of conflict.

In the conflict prevention (pre-conflict) phase, a wide range of civilian instruments, not the military ones, have been applied/used. In the meantime, political/psychological impact of possible use of military force (such as preventive military deployments like in Macedonia, sending message of risk or escalation like Syria and Iran) can reinforce diplomacy. In this phase, the civilian instruments include forms of political co-ordination, financial assistance, legal and financial instruments, police, legal specialists, mediators, election and human rights monitors, engineers, economic and political development of area in crisis and experts in civil administration among others.

Thus these preventive measures are expected to contribute to the prevention of outbreak of a violent by normalizing the conditions and/or creating mutual cooperative understanding between the fighting groups.

In details, following civilian measures are also employed in the pre-conflict phase: Humanitarian assistance, development programs, protecting civil, social, economic, cultural and political rights, supporting minorities, ethnic and indigenous people, promoting rule of law, avoiding environmental degradation, political dialogue, political and cultural exchanges, intercultural dialogue, informal consultation, rule of law, civilian administration, civil protection and monitoring missions, judicial cooperation, customs and police cooperation, cooperation for preventing terrorist attacks, drugs, people and arms trafficking, control of external borders, cooperation against international crime and illegal immigration.

In the escalation phase,

There is sporadic violence and parties' demands. Also there is more emphasis on civilian and military instruments. The measures in this phase are mainly civilian, even if those work better when backed with military means.

Active diplomacy is the most needed instrument in order to promote dialogue between conflicting parties. Tools such as good offices, formal consultations, and application of diplomatic sanctions, withdrawal of diplomatic recognition, coercive diplomacy, arbitration, and support for political dialogue, initiation of peace conference, sending special envoys and supporting peace commissions are used in order to localize, stop or end the fighting.

In the economic sphere, there are some measures, such as freezing of trade or cooperation agreements, economic sanctions, withdrawal of economic assistance, used by third parties.

Use of military instruments should be limited in any case. Force must be only to stop violence and it should not be used before the conflict has blown up.

Military instruments will range from promotion of arms control agreements to limited military intervention, going through other measures, such as arms embargoes and blockades, enforcing arms control agreements and proliferation control, threat of force and limited and preventive deployments.

In the conflict and crisis phase,

Measures will be mainly military as the highest level of violence will be reached. In this phase, civilian tools have a role to play, such as in the distribution of humanitarian aid to the civilian population or helping refugees or displaced people.

External players can also prevent violence or its escalation by promoting negotiations between the conflicting parties.

In the resolution and post-conflict phase;

Mostly civilian instruments are now needed for restoring infrastructures damaged by war, for developing a new political system, new academic programs for schools or law enforcement. All these are civilian tasks; they will settle the foundations on which a new society will be built. It is obvious that reconstruction is impossible without security.

In the resolution phase, civil-military cooperation will be cardinal again, but different from escalation phase where the military backed civilian measures, in this phase civilians will back military measures.

Violence still exists, creating serious problems of security for the civilian population.

Third parties can help promote confidence in attained peace agreement by overseeing verification on ceasefires, disarmament, demobilization, demilitarized zones, and arms control agreements and by helping with resettlement of former combatants. While military tasks are to maintain security, civilian tasks are to rebuild social, political and economic frameworks, which might facilitate a society's normalization.

Promoting fair and free elections, supporting neutral and impartial media and international broadcasting, developing civil society and political parties, helping to rebuild rule of law, training civil servants and journalists, promoting truth and reconciliation commissions, monitoring elections or supporting public schools and education can be indicated as the civilian instruments applied in this phase.

In post-conflict state building phase, the peace building process is a complex one with political, military, security, humanitarian and socio-economic dimensions; because it has to ensure that violent will never reoccur. It has to identify and support structure, which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace. Training new police forces in security and crime management, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programs are now vital issues.

International involvement is also necessary after the signature of peace deal, because the parties do not trust each other. International partners can/shall provide a neutral guarantee,

because formation of transitional institutions is necessary in this phase. External actors can provide guidance and support to the transitional government, to arbitrate between parties and to coordinate political, humanitarian, military and development aspects. An interim government should be created. Political positions should be divided, institutions such as parliament and courts needed to become operational and former belligerents should try to find a place in new political role.

Recreating national army, merging paramilitaries and guerilla militias with a new national army, providing them and their families with longer-term jobs or career training, thus disarming warring factions, restoring law and order, decommissioning and destroying weapons, repatriating refugees, reintegrating internally displaced persons into their communities, providing advisory and training support for security personnel, improving police and judicial systems, monitoring elections, providing technical assistance, reforming and strengthening institutions of governance, promoting formal and informal participation in the political process and facilitating social and economic development can be indicated as the civilian instruments in this phase.

SECURITY QUESTIONS IN AFRICA

States in Africa are weak and failed in terms of institutional capacity and some of its governments lack popular legitimacy. For that reason, many African states struggle with several serious questions, including internal wars, political disputes, poverty, migration, smuggling, fundamentalism, terrorism, environmental degradation, poor water resources, piracy etc. However, in order to deal with these questions, they have to take serious, comprehensive and interdependent attempts.

First of all, by taking note of their existing social structures, the African states have to adopt political liberalism, democracy, rule of law, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in order to address their political conflicts in peaceful ways.

In the meantime, economic integration among African states has to be promoted. But African states' economies are not integrated and they have not been able to harness their common identities.

In order to solve the region's existing problems and to deal with new security threats, which are interdependent, the African Union was created. Its objectives are strengthening solidarity and cooperation among African peoples, promoting peace, security, stability and

democratic principles and institutions, promoting popular participation, good governance and human rights.

New Economic Partnership for Development was created in 2002 to ensure democracy, economic development and good governance.

In the security field, African Union's Peace and Security Council was formed. Its tasks are to promote peace, security, stability in Africa; to anticipate and prevent conflicts; to promote and implement peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction activities to consolidate peace and to prevent resurgence of violence, to coordinate and harmonize continental efforts in combating of international terrorism, and to promote and encourage democratic practices, good governance and rule of law, lastly to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms etc.

It includes also preventive diplomacy, fact-finding missions, shuttle diplomacy, and mediation etc. instruments.

The Africa Union plans to form an African Standby Force, comprises a military, police and civilian components.

The African Union has launched several peacekeeping operations in which they have performed following functions:

- Protecting VIPs and training a local, multiethnic VIP protection force,
- Monitoring ceasefire, supervise cantonment of fighters,
- Overseeing implementation of ceasefire agreements, supporting disarmament and demobilization initiatives, advising on reintegration of ex-combatants, creating conditions for political and economic stability, securing delivery of humanitarian relief, return of refugees and displaced persons to their homes and supporting electoral process.

But the African peacekeeping missions were handicapped by being undermanned, underequipped and underfunded.

TURKEY'S AFRICA POLICY AND SECURITY ISSUES

According to existing AK Party government, bilateral and multilateral relations shall be based upon the following principles, which are respect for international law, democracy, human rights, disarmament, fighting against terrorism, social justice, eradication of poverty etc. These principles are also in conformity with those of the African Union.

Turkey, due to its geostrategic importance, historical, cultural links, has desired to develop its political, military, cultural and economic relations with the African states. In this respect, Turkey declared 2005 as “African Year”. In August 2008, Turkish-African Cooperation Summit was organized and the participating states adopted an action plan aimed at improving mutual cooperation.

Turkey plans to open new embassies in 33 countries totally. It concerns to increase level of mutual foreign trade to 30 billion dollars. Turkey has also attended to six UN peacekeeping operations in Africa. Turkey has also distributed nearly 650-700 million dollars humanitarian assistance to the African states. With the assistance of TICA, Turkey has obtained technical, social and development projects/assistances to the states.

Turkey perceives that Africa goes forward toward a developing continent. For Turkey African states have to produce their security and stability themselves and they shall not accredit any proposals that are imposed by the external powers. On the matter of the questions, Turkey proposes following principles that have to be respected by the African states: finding solution to the questions through peaceful methods, more transparent and democratic mentality has to be envisaged by the regimes, diversifying income items, decreasing dependency upon external aids and increasing competition power.

According to 2008 cooperation agreement, both parties accepted to take following steps in order to improve cooperation fields: Intergovernmental cooperation and contacts, improving the commercial and economic relations, development projects, transferring the technology, technical assistance, improving legal and commercial infrastructures, increasing production capacity, cooperation between financial institutions, cooperation in the fields of agriculture, rural progress, water resources, assisting to the Medium and Small sized companies, training programs, cooperation in the fields of health, malnutrition, epidemic diseases, attending to the peacekeeping operations, making contribution to the African Union Peace and Security Council, African Union Standby Force, fighting against terrorism, developing energy resources and supporting education system.

Alongside the official relations between two parties, some Turkish civil society organizations have provided humanitarian assistances to some African states.

SOME SUGGESTIONS

Concerning existing Turkish-African relations, Turkish government, together with the civil society, has made and/or will make serious contributions in the security field:

Humanitarian assistance, development projects, rule of law, cooperation for preventing terrorist attacks, economic and political development, supporting education, career training programs and providing technical assistance.

On the other hand concerning other measures, Turkey can also make additional contributions. Before mentioning these measures, it has to be claimed that Turkey is strictly against using force against civilians. In this respect, Turkey does not prefer to take a role in peace-enforcement forces and/or military operations. However, while putting aside this option, Turkey can make following contributions to these additional measures at the bilateral and multilateral levels.

- Political dialogue; improving administrative structures, customs and police department; monitoring elections; mediation, good offices; providing diplomatic support to peace initiatives; obtaining assistance to the refugees; more contribution to the peacekeeping operations; helping them to develop civil society, political parties and media; creation of national armies and construction of democratic institutions.

Due to its soft power, democratic institutions, more developed economy and its active role in the regional organizations, Turkey has enough capability to support and implement these measures mentioned above. These measures can be realized through both the bilateral and multilateral levels, such as NATO, UN, and Organization of Islamic Cooperation.

However first of all in order to have more healthy cooperation at the bilateral level, both sides have to take into consideration the specific characteristics of each case and demands of each African state, because bilateral cooperation has to be primarily based upon the demands of African states and African people. Due to their unique features, the states have to find specific solution to each case. There is no any general solution(s), which can be applied to all cases. By the coordination of Turkish embassies, with the assistance of TICA, non-state institutions and civil society, Turkey and African states have to prepare cooperation agreements, containing certain provisions about concrete steps that will be implemented by the parties.

For example, nearly 300 students get scholarship from the Turkish government. Depending upon the needs of African states, the students can encourage graduating from the related departments. Like NATO Partnership for Peace program, Turkey can train their military staff and obtain technical, training and know-now assistances to these countries.

Turkey can encourage local authorities to cooperate with the African counterparts. Turkey can attend more peacekeeping operations. Within the framework of finding peaceful solution to the questions, on the basis of consent of conflicting parties, Turkey can undertake mediation, good offices functions.

Development of cooperation between media organs and civil society can be encouraged. Thanks to this, Turkey can make contribution to the security questions at every level. But still the African countries have to produce their own proposals that take into account the local conditions. The third countries have to only provide support to these proposals, initiatives. They should not impose their solution upon the African states.