

**COMPARISON OF TURKEY'S HUMANITARIAN AID TO SOMALIA AND
PALESTINE**



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COMPARISON OF TURKEY'S HUMANITARIAN AID TO SOMALIA AND
PALESTINE

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PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

Humanitarian aid has an important place in foreign policy. The purpose of this research was to understand the character of Turkey's foreign aid to Palestine and Somalia. Foreign aid began as a form of Cold War diplomacy between East and West at end of World War II. While foreign aid was provided for the national interest of the donors during the Cold War, later, at the end of the Cold War, it became an expected norm in relations between states – that is, developed states should provide assistance to the least developed states to help to improve the human conditions of poor people living there. Although its purpose has differed from country to country, aid began as a temporary means of exercising Cold War diplomacy during the 1950s and 1960s. Later, during the 1970s and 1980s, it evolved into a mostly development-oriented instrument, particularly with the end of the Cold War era. Aid subsequently acquired new purposes such as promoting political and economic transitions, dealing with global problems, supporting democracy, and post-conflict management. The question of why states provide humanitarian assistance to others has been debated by many scholars in the academic literature. The point at issue has been whether states have duties beyond their borders in which they are supposed to provide aid to help those who are suffering abroad. Many academicians have attempted to explain this question by interpreting it through the lenses of different international relations theories and approaches, which include such standard foreign policy theories as realism, liberalism, and constructivism, as well as other theories focusing on ethics. In line with these discussions, this study aimed to evaluate Turkey's humanitarian aid in Somalia and Palestine.

Keywords: Foreign Policy, Humanitarian Aid, Turkey, Somalia, Palestine

ÖZET

Bu araştırmanın amacı, Türkiye'nin Filistin ve Somali'ye yaptığı insani yardımların karakteristiğini ortaya koymaktır. İnsani yardımlar, İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın sonunda Doğu ve Batı arasında bir Soğuk Savaş diplomasisi biçimi olarak başlamıştır. Soğuk Savaş döneminde devletler kendi ulusal çıkarları için dış yardım sağlarken, daha sonra Soğuk Savaş'ın sonunda devletler arası ilişkilerde dış ve insani yardımlar alışlagelmiş bir norm haline gelmiştir. Gelişmiş devletler, az gelişmiş devletlere ve bu devletlerdeki topluma insani koşulların iyileşmesi için yardımlar getirmeye başlamıştır. Bunun amacı her devlet açısından farklılıklar gösterse de, yardım 1950'ler ve 1960'larda Soğuk Savaş diplomasisini uygulamanın geçici bir yolu olarak başlamıştır. Daha sonra, 1970'lerde ve 1980'lerde, özellikle Soğuk Savaş döneminin sona ermesiyle birlikte, çoğunlukla kalkınma odaklı bir araca dönüşmüştür. Yardım, daha sonra siyasi ve ekonomik geçişleri teşvik etmek, küresel sorunlarla ilgilenmek, demokrasiyi desteklemek ve çatışma sonrası ilgili devletlerin yönetimlerinde söz sahibi olmak gibi yeni amaçlar edinmiştir. Devletlerin neden diğer devlet ve toplumlara insani yardım sağladığı sorusu akademik literatürde birçok bilim insanı tarafından tartışılmaktadır. Söz konusu tartışma, devletlerin yurt dışında çeşitli insani sorunlarla yüzleşen toplumlara yardımlarının etikdışı amaçlarının da olup olmadığı konusundadır. Pek çok akademisyen, bu soruyu realizm, liberalizm, konstrüktivizm gibi standart dış politika teorilerinin yanı sıra etik odaklı diğer teorileri içeren farklı uluslararası ilişkiler teorileri ve yaklaşımlarının merceğinden yorumlayarak açıklamaya çalışmıştır. Bu çalışma da bu tartışmalar doğrultusunda Türkiye'nin Somali ve Filistin'deki insani yardımlarını değerlendirmeyi amaçlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dış Politika, İnsani Yardımlar, Türkiye, Somali, Filistin

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Scope of the Research

In my thesis I studied Turkish Humanitarian Foreign Policy to Palestine and Somalia. These are the two countries which would have been benefit from Turkey aspect of many types of humanitarian foreign policy tools such as: military aid humanitarian aid and student exchange. In my thesis I wanted to show that Turkey's Humanitarian Foreign Policy diplomacy to Somalia are more legally than Palestine because Somalia has recognition as a state from United Nation but Palestine is not. Palestine issue is a part of Traditional Foreign Policy. Turkey and Palestine have strong relations that comes from the history. Turkey and Palestine are sharing the same historical destiny so that Turkey can not ignore the Palestine. Somalia is in Africa and is gate of African Continent for Turkey but this country is so poor so that Turkey are giving humanitarian aid for making Somalia better wealth. These humanitarian aid for humanity not only economic and politic interests.

In my thesis the first chapter includes the identification of foreign policy in international relations theories. I wrote these chapter because first I wanted to tell what's foreign policy. The second chapter includes the humanitarian foreign policy tools such as: peacekeeping peacebuilding and peacemaking and also the identifications. Third chapter I made literature review about the humanitarian aid to Palestine and Somalia. Fourth and fifth chapter I will compare the Turkey's Humanitarian to Palestine and Somalia aspect of the main topics and the in conclusion part I summarize my study and I made recommendation to the future of the relations

In my thesis I built my hypothesis for some topics and my hypothesis based on Turkey's assistance to Somalia and Palestine made on an entirely humanitarian basis. And also Turkey's Humanitarian assistance in Somalia and Palestine is a reflection of Turkey's political and economic interests. In my study I focused on this hypothesis.

Turkey's 'opening up' foreign policy in Somalia can be understood within the context of its broader strategy to expand its relations and influence on the African continent. The AK Party government has taken important steps to increase its political and diplomatic relations with Somalia in line with the 1998 African Action Plan. This is because at that time, Turkish foreign policy makers had begun to develop new strategies that were based on moving away from a one-sided foreign policy to a more multi-faceted one. However, there are two main arguments for Turkey's engagement in Somalia. First, is the question of history. Many scholars have argued that it can be seen as the revival of history or Neo-Ottomanism. Most of these authors, who are non-Turkish, argue that given that Somalis are Muslim, Turkey's engagement in Somalia stems from the historical relations between the Ottomans and Somalis between the 15th and 19th centuries. The second argument is that Turkish foreign policy in Somalia is humanitarian oriented. Since 2011, Turkey has been undertaking humanitarian and development projects in Somalia. Organizations affiliated with the Turkish government, businessmen and civil society organizations are actively present in the country. Through Turkey's initiative to help Somalia, which has been conducted at both the domestic and international level, food, clothing, and medicines have been provided to Somalia. The Turkish government has also flown many patients to Turkey for treatment. Most academicians – Turkish and non-Turkish alike – believe that the Turkish engagement in Somalia mainly constitutes humanitarian diplomacy, and nothing else. Aid to Palestine has both similar and different motives. Turkey, which also has historical ties with Palestine, has been providing various humanitarian aid to Palestine. TIKa and the Turkish Red Crescent are the two leading Turkish aid providers there. In 2005, Turkey's official development assistance to the Palestinians began to be coordinated through TIKa, which opened a Program Coordination Office in Ramallah. TIKa provides support to small and medium-scale development and humanitarian aid projects in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem through the Ramallah Office. The Turkish Red Crescent has always supported Palestine in humanitarian crises and extended a helping hand. However, despite the necessary

precautions being taken, humanitarian crises have continued to occur. This situation has harmed the Palestinian economy and increased unemployment. Humanitarian aid provided to Palestine by the Turkish Red Crescent started in 2008 and still continues today. Within the scope of the "Palestine Humanitarian Aid Operation" of the Turkish Red Crescent, ongoing aid material shipments and various improvement period projects are being carried out. A communication office was opened in Jerusalem and a delegation head office was opened in the Gaza Strip in order to carry out the improvement period works carried out by the Turkish Red Crescent in the region and to assist in coordinating the aid being provided and activities currently being carried out in the region. In addition, the construction of mosques, in particular, to strengthen and to repair Jerusalem's Muslim identity, and the preservation of Ottoman heritage, are key to Turkish promotional activities. This close contact with Palestinians, who have been under occupation for more than 50 years in Gaza, the West Bank and Jerusalem, has made it possible to overcome major socio-economic deficiencies. Turkey has also been trying to increase the level of awareness in domestic and foreign public opinion in order to find a lasting solution to the Palestinian problem. To this end, a large number of institutional actors and NGOs, such as those mentioned above, are striving to highlight the Palestinian cause and keep it on the agenda, both in Turkey and internationally. The Turkish government is one of the key actors aiming to increase the visibility of the Palestinian people. The Religious Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEİK) has been working through various channels to improve commercial and touristic relations with Palestine. Turkey is thus striving to fortify its presence in the Holy Land, an endeavor in which politicians are actively engaged. The overriding socio-economic message is that Palestinians are not alone. This is being actively reinforced through increasing visits and cooperation. Turkey has been attempting to play a leading role in the Muslim world. Enhancing solidarity and keeping alive the question of Palestine are two key aims of this effort.

The purpose of the research done in this study is to determine the impact of Turkish aid on Palestine and Somalia. Accordingly, the study provides a theoretical overview of the purpose of foreign policy. Then, it examines the historical framework for the bilateral relations between Turkey and Somalia, including those involving aid provided by the Turkish state. This is followed by an examination of the context in

which Turkey provides humanitarian aid to Palestine. The last section includes a literature reviews of the subject.

1.2. Research Questions

This study sought to answer following questions:

- 1) How can Turkey's humanitarian aid in Palestine and Somalia be seen as part of the peacekeeping and peacemaking phenomena?
- 2) How important is Turkey's soft power in fighting terrorism?
- 3) What are the differences between the humanitarian aid provided to Palestine and Somalia?
- 4) How is Turkey's humanitarian aid model different than the assistance provided by other countries?

2. FOREIGN POLICY

Many scholars have formulated various definitions, theories and explanations of foreign policy. Despite the lack of agreement on what it entails, what is common to the many notions of foreign policy is the “state.” According to the traditional approach, foreign policy is identified with the idea of realism, which accepts the state as the central actor in international relations and analyzes the policies put forward within the context of international relations as processes of the struggle between states (Ari, 2008: 159). Ari asks the question, “What do states want?” which, he argues, should be the focus of a definition of foreign policy. He sees states as organisms that have interests that are similar to human ones, which make them like humans. In the realist approach, the state determines foreign policies by considering all factors vis-à-vis other international actors.

Kürkçüoğlu (1980) argues that foreign policy consists broadly of the complete set of policies that states implement vis-à-vis other states on the entire international stage. Hence, international politics entails a state’s comprehensive politics with another state or states on a large scale.

Not unlike Kürkçüoğlu, Sönmezoğlu (2012) defines foreign policy as the efforts of states in their relations with other states. A slightly different perspective, one espoused by McGowan and Gottwald (1975), defines foreign policy as the relationships and behaviors of states with the actors regardless of their own sovereignty. Similarly, for Holsti (1970), foreign policy is the state's connection with the other world and its attitudes toward it. White (1999) takes the view that foreign policy, analogous to domestic policy, is formulated within the state itself, incorporates its traditions, and reveals the genetics of the state. Hill (2003) characterizes foreign policy as the totality of the official relations carried out by an independent actor within the international arena. Moreover, most of the time, foreign policy is determined in an integrated manner with domestic policy and should include consistency. While incorporating this perspective, Hill (2003) formulates a different interpretation of foreign policy, using the term “intermestic policy.” While highlighting globalization, he stresses the idea that the most important factors affecting foreign policy are the instruments of domestic policy.

Emphasizing factors similar to the ones Hill highlights, Wallace (1974) argues that there are two different limitations in foreign policy. First, foreign policy is a bridge between the international environment's internal affairs of states and the system's nation-state structures. Second, foreign policy is like a dance, where the partners are the disciplines of political science and international relations, and the harmony and balance in this dance is a result of tradition. In this sense, diplomacy requires thorough knowledge of domestic politics and government behavior.

The disciplines of international relations and political science have developed a common, complex structure that helps shape the foreign policy orientations of official state actors and enables them to formulate, plan and carry out foreign policies in the real world.

Morgenthau (1970) argues that the factor impacting foreign policy is not the forms of government or the existence of states but rather their focus on power. Every state acts to maximize benefits and needs power to continue in this direction. The principle element of the realist view, of which Morgenthau is a major proponent, is the state. A state cannot alienate itself from its inner structure and traditions. Consequently, it does not matter whether a state has a capitalist or an Islamic regime, when it comes to foreign policy, its roles are determined by balance of power. The idea of the state as the focus of foreign policy is also evident in the works of Wilkenfield (1980), Frankel (1963), Rosenau (1976) and Modelski (1962). They take the position that while the state is not the only factor in foreign policy, it is the most significant one. The behaviors and attitudes of states towards actors falling outside the scope of their sovereignty are what explain foreign policy.

Another dynamic of foreign policy these authors stress concerns decision-making mechanisms. They argue that while states may not be the only actors involved in foreign policy, they are determinant actors. The characteristic of states as determinant actors within the international system remains as long as they are not analyzed as political, military, and economic entities. However, non-state actors within foreign policy decision-making units also play a determining role in the foreign policies of relatively weak states. Along with decision-making mechanisms in foreign

policy, all strategies, purposes, activities, feedback, roles, specific expectations, and goals become national interests.

Role theory and decision-making theories are crucial to understanding the foreign policy of states. In short, a state's foreign policy is determined by its decision-making mechanisms, which consist of the entire planning, strategy or behavior of a state as it engages in efforts to protect national interests, as they assume both regional and global roles, throughout the entire international sphere.

The foreign policies of states are influenced by these internal processes as well as by the conditions of the external world and universal systems. Indeed, states are defined by this means (Sönmezoğlu et al., 2015: 807).

Considering today's conditions, the nature of interdependence with globalization has increased the violence of the external world on foreign policy behavior (Sönmezoğlu et al., 2015: 807).

Accordingly, the impacts on the foreign policy of states have three dimensions:

- Systemic: The structure of the international system gives rise to long-term, repeated, consequences.
- Periodic: Impacts arising due to periodical developments in the international environment. In periodical studies, these impacts can be explained as a result of global and local analyzes made by considering the characteristics of the period. These impacts also have an effect on a state's foreign policy actions. As a result, this depends on the scale of the states and relative strength of the countries. These are short-term impacts. The system is thus seen as a continuum, and the features of the analysis of the international politics and neoclassical realistic theory match.

It is also important to examine how the limits are defined by the environment of foreign policy. The limits of this environment correspondingly vary with the actor

and the actor's position in the circumstances, what resources they possess, and the value of the place where these resources exist. However, there is the second pattern that determines the actors' line in foreign policy, which is the perpendicular axis in functional change. This means that the concept of the environment in foreign policy emerges not only with the horizontal nature of expansion. The most significant factors are cultural, economic, military, and normative separated layers, as explained earlier (Brighi and Giugni, 2016). Employing classical literature, Sönmezoğlu analyzes the outcomes of foreign policy, which are cited as "the main elements of a state's foreign policy" (Bayır and Sönmezoğlu, 2014: 23) in the course of foreign policy analysis. The outcomes mentioned are: the "foreign policy objectives" of the states, the ways that states follow to achieve their foreign policy goals, i.e., the "strategies" they choose, and the "tools/means" used by states to realize their foreign policies (Sönmezoğlu et al., 2015: 345).

These outcomes are the principal factors in foreign policy in both original foreign policy and the analysis of foreign policy. This is because decision-making units involve the threats and opportunities created by the factors identified throughout the analysis of the foreign policy environment. It defines the characteristics of the national interest. Subsequently, they shape the foreign policy objectives, strategy, and systems, which implies foreign policy outputs.

The outputs of the state's foreign policy also refer to the form of behaviors related to foreign policy. The purposes of states' foreign policy are the most complicated issues in foreign policy analysis. While determining their foreign policy goals, government officials place particular importance on their own "goals" and national interests over those of others (Viotti and Kauppi, 2017: 186). It also sheds light on the political and national interest in terms of the national and political functionality of the authority to decide and implement the goals in foreign policy. In this context, the national and political interests of the decision-making and implementation unit are the main elements in determining foreign policy objectives, formulating strategies and selecting tools.

National interest falls into three main categories: existential, strategic and "other" (Bayır and Sönmezoğlu, 2014: 24-25). Existential interests encompass

maintaining the survival and sovereignty of states. Most of the time, these involve security issues. Against the difficulties that may arise in this category of interest, regardless of their capacities and powers, states take measures to protect their interests and do not hesitate to use all required resources to do so. The interests that authorize states to attain the phenomenon/power that enables them to exist in peace and prosperity are strategic interests. These usually include political and economic concerns. They are extremely significant as they are directly linked to existential interests. Whatever necessary means available can be used on an increasing scale, depending on the significance of the interest. There are also “other” interests, which include interests in all other matters that provide “indivisible benefits for the people and citizens of a country” incorporated in the national interest definitions (Bayır and Sönmezoğlu, 2014: 25). Such interests are the kinds of the development of core values and social culture.

It is possible to determine which of these interests shape, in light of national interests, foreign policy goals. However, it is essential to first demonstrate the connection between the "characteristics of countries" and "power capacities" and their perception of threat and opportunity. Existential interests involve state survival and preservation (Bayır and Sönmezoğlu, 2014: 25), goals that are the most vital. Strategic interests entail providing/building power in the quality and quantity required for states to live in peace and prosperity. Other interests include all other interests aimed at providing indivisible benefits for the people and citizens of the nation.

Interests are far-ranging and lead to specific goals and objectives. Politics establishes many other goals beyond defensive concerns. In determining these goals, under the national interests, the threats and opportunities afforded by the global system are the main determining factors.

When evaluating unnecessary effort threats, the priority of importance is observed. The more serious threats are blocked.

The main issue in threat assessment is "how much danger does a threat pose for national security?" In this context, some researchers when evaluating threats, which is a highly subjective endeavor, prefer to elaborate only the abilities of enemies

and others, without evaluating their intentions. Others, on the other hand, assert that these intentions should be taken into account, maintaining that merely focusing on capabilities exaggerates the threat posed by other states. Instead, based on the best available intelligence, they propose that a general threat assessment be conducted by combining both the intentions and the capabilities of the enemies. Thus, the principal concern of national security policies is both a state of capacity for the adversary and conditions in which he may harm. It is essential to emphasize though that a completely threat-oriented national security strategy cannot be sustained in the long term.

The global system provides politics not only with factors that endanger national interests, but also opportunities to influence the determination of foreign policy goals. Determining what constitutes an opportunity is also highly subjective. Moreover, what the officials of a state consider as an opportunity can be seen as a threat by others. In short, understanding whether something is a threat or an opportunity is entirely subjective (Viotti and Kauppi, 2017: 193-195).

Rosenau's foreign policy thoughts are perceived as a trend of his foreign policy. According to Rosenau, the goal of foreign policy is its achievement.

Based on this result, it manifests itself as an "orientation" in foreign policy goals and objectives, and in thoughts and statements about how the outside is seen and in what position it should be. This also organizes the main approaches to foreign policy, which appear mostly in the election manifestos of political parties or in the promises they make in other media. The examination and analysis of documents provides sound results in foreign policy analysis, especially regarding the aims as foreign policy outputs (Ozcan, 2016: 328). Strategies help foreign policy goals. Most importantly, a strategy not only entails reacting to threats but also taking advantage of opportunities. "States have their own planned foreign policy aims, including some reactive purposes" (Viotti and Kauppi, 2017: 185; Sönmezoğlu, 2014: 391). These strategies can be classified as (Sönmezoğlu et al., 2015: 391-440): impartiality, isolationism and disconnection, and alliance-building.

Foreign policy approaches that emphasize strategies are closer to ones that define foreign policy as a "design/obligations set-action plan" than the foreign policy that emerged in Rosenau's foreign policy definition. As a result of this, foreign policy is a design that is the concrete result of a state's relationship with the outside world. We can find these results in the program of the government or in their statements on important issues. For the reasons explained above, it is possible to have sound results if foreign policy analysis is made protecting foreign policy strategies created by government programs and statements (Ozcan, 2016: 328).

States develop the strategies to achieve their foreign policy purposes. States do this by using foreign policy tools (Sönmezoğlu et al., 2015: 44). In the classical view, foreign policy tools fall into four types: political, economic, military, and mixed (Sönmezoğlu et al., 2015: 441). However, in more recent studies, basic foreign policy tools have changed. For example, foreign policy is now seen in terms of resources, capabilities, and "tools." These tools combine diplomacy (discussion, negotiation), positive economic measures (aid, trade agreements), negative economic measures (boycott, embargo), political intervention (propaganda, subversive activities), and military actions (punitive, occupier) (Brighi and Giugni, 2016: 161-165). The fundamental idea put forth by Brighi and Hill's in their discussion of foreign policy instruments is that "the differences in the capacity of states will affect their foreign policy behavior and foreign policy instruments will differ between states depending on the capacity." Hence, there are two main factors having an impact on the problem of states' choice of foreign policy instruments (Brighi and Giugni, 2016: 163).

- First, tools are based on capacities that are a function of society's resources.
- Second, "the nature of available instruments" tends to form the foreign policy preferences of decision-makers.

The factors that shape the formulation of the foreign policy behavior of states are the products of the foreign policy environment in which foreign policy is formed. However, it consists of other factors that are not directly products of the foreign policy environment. Analyzing foreign policy requires properly identifying the

foreign policy environment to understand whether foreign policy is understood as an orientation or a set of obligations/action plan or behavior (Sönmezoğlu et al., 2015: 257). The foreign policy environment also indirectly gives rise to other factors that are related to, but not directly the products of, the foreign policy environment, and foreign policy outputs at the other end of the foreign policy process. Therefore, determining the factors influencing foreign policy behavior is possible through a detailed analysis of the foreign policy environment in order to understand the extent to which it is a product thereof. This analysis includes the observable elements of foreign policy, that is, specific actions and words used to influence other states in the foreign policy environment, where the foreign policy of the states and their foreign policy behaviors may not exactly coincide with each other. It is well-known that foreign policy responses, in addition to these, also include "random or unpredictable behaviors by governments." All elements of the foreign policy process can be included in the analysis. In addition to the factors created by the foreign policy-making processes that include the planned and foreseen behavior of the states, it is also necessary to include in the analysis the factors that occur with the limitations and possibilities that are not under the control of the states in the international system, as well as random and unpredictable situations and events. In this context, the principles of foreign policy analysis and "neoclassical realist theory" can be used to reach sound conclusions. In the analysis of foreign policy environment and foreign policy outcomes, both are factors affecting foreign policy behavior. The factors affecting foreign policy behaviors may be determined by using studies of foreign policy analysis existing in the literature. Within this context, Kenneth Thompson and Roy Macridis conducted a study where they categorize the important factors in foreign policy analysis into two groups: "foreign policy elements" and "foreign policy making process." During the foreign policy formulation process, they divide them into two main categories: "state-owned units" (executive, legislative) and "non-state units" (political parties, interest groups, communication media, and public opinion) (Thompson and Macridis, 1976: 6).

In this context "foreign policymaking, implementation, and feedback should include all levels of philosophical, theoretical, and practical analysis." The features of foreign policy analysis should be relevant to neoclassical realist theory and power in foreign policy analysis. Approaching the system with a combination of the

dimensions of structure and process is critical. This can facilitate understanding the order of relations between actors. It should include environmental factors, decision-making units and all other qualities of actors that influence foreign policy behavior, especially capacity, power, and opportunities. Finally, it should take into account factors affecting foreign policy behaviors' interaction with their importance and priorities.

A systematic approach is crucial to conducting a rigorous foreign policy analysis. It must ensure conformity and compatibility of the elements of the foreign policy process, and cover the structure and process dimensions. It should be based on previous analyses and its results should be useable as a source for subsequent analyses."It is also necessary to address the foreign policy process as a whole, thus reflecting the effects and priorities of all elements of the process to foreign policy analysis.

A sound foreign policy analysis methodology will conform to these principles and requirements. This methodology, which is referred to as "Compliance and Compliance Analysis in Foreign Policy," involves:

- Conducting a rationality analysis of the decision unit,
- Making an accurate determination of national capacity, power/influence, and opportunities,
- Carrying out an analysis of Turkey's foreign policy environment that identifies the factors that influence the behavior of foreign policy and coherence between determining priorities and effects,
- Evaluating the compatibility of Turkey's foreign policy behavior factors affecting the foreign policy field conditions,
- Gaging the compatibility of the field conditions, national capacity, power/influence, opportunities and mutual interaction of decision units,

and the opportunities and threats posed by the decision and implementation unit,

- Considering the compatibility of opportunities and threats and the correct determination of the national interest,
- Judging the compatibility of national interests and foreign policy objectives,
- Determining the internal compatibility of foreign policy producing based on foreign policy objectives,
- Identifying foreign policy objectives and foreign policy strategies,
- Ascertaining foreign policy objectives and foreign policy instruments,
- Assessing the compatibility of foreign policy strategies and foreign policy instruments, and
- Establishing the compatibility of foreign policy outputs and foreign policy behaviors

These are organized under topics having to do with the appropriateness of the feedback process.

3. WHAT IS HUMANITARIAN FOREIGN POLICY?

3.1. What is Humanitarian Foreign Policy?

Two questions need to be answered in order to conceptualize humanitarian foreign policy, to outline its theoretical framework, to reflect on its tools, actors and applications, to evaluate whether foreign policy can be a real and functional tool, and, briefly, to defend the propositions that constitute the main subject of this study.

- Is the concept of humanitarian foreign policy understood and used in the same way by all actors in the field?
- Can humanitarian foreign policy be an effective, important and real tool of foreign policy?

The basis of these questions lies in the fact that the concept of humanitarian foreign policy and its applications in this field contain some features that can be considered new compared to traditional processes and approaches generally accepted within the framework of international politics and the international relations discipline. Throughout this study, humanitarian foreign policy will be conceptualized as a whole, by evaluating these three questions at the end of each chapter or sub-headings/topics within the chapter, according to its context, and putting forward results that support each other (Thieren, 2007). The definitions, analyses and explanations to be made in order to conceptualize humanitarian foreign policy and determine its theoretical infrastructure will not only reflect and explain what is, i.e., the current situation, but also reveal what should be by considering the strengths and weaknesses of approaches and practices that can be evaluated within this framework. At this point, it is necessary to explain in detail some concepts related to the concept of humanitarian foreign policy and to determine the differences - and also the relations - between them. The three questions in question are actually: Are some practices related to foreign policy, which are called humanitarian foreign policy, periodic and temporary activities or consistent and sustainable political processes? (Hansel and Moller, 2015: 79-83) This needs to be understood. By combining these questions, which seem to be related to the meaning of humanitarian foreign policy, we

can get an idea about how it is perceived by the actors in the field, whether it is a real foreign policy tool and the extent to which it is applicable within in Turkish foreign policy. To do this, it would be appropriate to ask again what humanitarian foreign policy.

3.1.1. What is Humanitarian Foreign Policy?

Humanitarian foreign policy has become increasing popular within foreign policy discourse and has been frequently used in recent years by decision makers and practitioners in the process of launching new foreign policy initiatives. However, it is difficult to say that everyone understands and employs the concept of humanitarian foreign policy in the same way. Such new and popular concepts are generally perceived differently and have different meanings depending on the interests/interests as well as status and experiences of official or civil actors in the field. For example, when used by the foreign affairs bureaucracy, the focus of humanitarian foreign policy is on diplomacy. Facts such as humanitarian values, human rights, and human security are taken into account in the implementation processes of diplomatic contacts and foreign policy, and are suitable to be evaluated from a technical perspective. Moreover, due to its emphasis on human rights and humanitarian aid, the concept of humanitarian foreign policy is applied by aid organizations or NGOs engaged in international activities that have a humanitarian component. It may be feasible to approach it through indirect diplomacy or cooperation with official actors in humanitarian aid. In addition, it is possible to see that humanitarian foreign policy is frequently utilized in the same or very close sense as humanitarian aid activities. Therefore "Is the concept of humanitarian foreign policy understood and used in the same way by all actors in the field?" It seems difficult to give an affirmative answer to the question at this stage. However, it would not be wrong to say that humanitarian foreign policy practices and results should be monitored at least for the next few years in order for the concept to be generally accepted and understood correctly (Latif, 2005).

There is another issue that needs to be explained while laying out the theoretical framework of humanitarian foreign policy. As in the case of other types of diplomacy, several questions need to be asked: Is it a consistent and sustainable

foreign policy tool that can be applied in the field. Can it lead to changes in the policies and attitudes of the parties? What are its consequences, both negative and positive? While humanitarian foreign policy appears as a new interaction model and application area in international politics and foreign policy, and is acceptable within the idealist paradigm, it is difficult to say that it can easily coincide with realistic approaches, such as the priority of national interests and national security and the use of hard power. However, while outlining the conceptual and theoretical framework as well as making explanations about implementation processes, tools and actors, it is possible to reveal whether the positive or negative results expected from any diplomatic activity can be achieved by humanitarian foreign policy practices. To show that humanitarian foreign policy is a feasible and functional process in international politics as a new foreign policy tool is also one of the main objectives of this study. Therefore, it is important to establish the theoretical basis by creating the most appropriate framework for humanitarian foreign policy. It should be noted that although humanitarian foreign policy has specific aspects in the implementation phase, it is extremely important to follow the principles and goals of traditional diplomacy in the processes of interaction with international actors, especially in terms of the legitimacy and adoption of the parties before the domestic public (Thieren, 2007; Hansel and Moller, 2015).

Humanitarian foreign policy practices are compatible with the basic values and goals of recently engaged in foreign policy. The socio-cultural structure of the society and its spiritual values and beliefs also have a great impact on this. Humanitarian foreign policy is a new concept in the international relations literature (Ozkan, 2012). However, regarding its implementation, it is not a concept alien to foreign policy culture since it is shaped by some activities based on cooperation and humanitarian sensitivity that can be easily adopted by policy makers and the society in general.

3.1.2. The Conceptual and Theoretical Plane of Humanitarian Foreign Policy

The concept of humanitarian foreign policy, which differs from traditional diplomacy by focusing on human and basic human values instead of power and national interest in international relations, has to be included on the new diplomacy

side when a distinction is made between old/traditional and new diplomacy. Humanitarian foreign policy, different from diplomacy carried out by classical diplomats, includes activities carried out by humanitarian organizations and individuals to support humanitarian activities (Minear and Smith, 2007: 1). While official diplomats pursue the multifaceted national interests determined by their states, humanitarian officials, as humanitarian foreign policy actors, target international/global interests with a more narrowly focused, specific mission (Smith, 2007: 50). The functions of traditional diplomacy and the duties of official diplomats are carried out by the foreign policy makers of the states in political, military, economic, and cultural arenas. It is determined in line with national interests and goals. On the other hand, humanitarian foreign policy is essentially based on universal human values and involves not only national or regional but also global activity. Humanitarian foreign policy encompasses basic human values such as the right to live, personal security, freedom of belief / religion, the right to family life, both the right to establish and maintain it, the right to adequate nutrition and housing, the principle of opposing discrimination, inhuman degrading behavior and the prohibition of maltreatment and torture regardless of cultural differences. It is possible to say that by leaving and making it universal (Veuthey, 2012: 203), it has made significant contributions to the functioning of the international system and global peace in life and human-centered issues.

In today's rapidly globalizing world, besides classical diplomacy, there is concern for issues related to, for example, health, environment, culture, climate change, and access to adequate, clean and healthy food and water. Global diplomacy activities related to problems in various fields have come to the fore (Regnier, 2011: 1212). Problems that have international dimensions directly or indirectly affect human life, and sometimes lead to negative situations giving rise to humanitarian crises that are very difficult to solve. Solving these global problems also requires global efforts and collaboration. In this context, humanitarian foreign policy is also a new and developing concept that includes processes distinct from traditional diplomacy. These processes include the management of inter-state relations through negotiations or the execution of certain rules through official channels. Humanitarian foreign policy involves activities that support efforts to achieve humanitarian goals at the highest level. This entails establishing cooperation and partnerships when necessary. It also

operates by convincing policy makers, decision-makers, opinion leaders and all stakeholders in the field to engage in various initiatives at local, regional and / or international level. This includes conducting various meetings or supporting activities in this regard. This type of foreign policy seeks to respect the interests of vulnerable and vulnerable people in full respect of fundamental human values expresses the processes. The most important aspect of humanitarian foreign policy is its effort to convince policy makers, decision-makers and opinion leaders to contribute directly or indirectly to the solution of problems.

The concept of humanitarian foreign policy appeared in the international politics literature in the early 1900s in a context quite different from the meaning it has acquired today. However, laying the foundations of the concept and shaping its content goes back to the 1860s, when the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, one of the fundamental institutions of International Humanitarian Law, was established, although no definition was made at that time. The movement, which started with the simple and humane purpose of providing medical aid to those injured in wars, soon inspired humanitarian organizations at the global level. The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, which prioritizes principles based on ethical values such as protecting human life, health and dignity, preventing people from suffering and relieving their suffering, regardless of religion, belief, language, race, social class or political opinion. It was founded on the principles of humanity, people orientation, non-discrimination, impartiality, independence, volunteering, unity and universality. Since then, the movement has grown and become institutionalized. The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) was established in Paris in 1919 to ensure the coordination and coordination of individual national organizations (Karacaoğlu, 1994: 61-62).

Humanitarian foreign policy entails getting involved in solutions to natural or man-made disasters that require urgent intervention, such as conflicts, wars, civil wars, and drought, hunger, and disease epidemics. The most effective response to such situations can only be achieved through national and international initiatives that can be addressed through a wide range of humanitarian activities. For this reason, it is not impossible to confuse the concept of humanitarian foreign policy with some different concepts such as humanitarian aid or humanitarian intervention, which are

actually related to each other in terms of their meaning within the scope of international relations discipline. Moreover, because the concept of humanitarian foreign policy is relatively new and does not take part in studies related to the field. The concept of humanitarian aid refers to activities aimed at saving the lives of people who are exposed to adverse situations, including emergencies. It seeks to safeguard their wellbeing, alleviate their suffering, and protect their dignity. Humanitarian aid is distinguished from other types of aid such as foreign aid and development aid. It is more people-oriented and is based on the principles of neutrality and independence. Its objective is also short term, seeking to address post-disaster situations. The concept of humanitarian intervention is used by other states or states within the borders of a state in order to prevent or stop serious, wide-ranging human rights violations. They cannot use force without the permission of the intervening state (Buchanan, 2003: 130). Humanitarian intervention refers to a process that is related to both concepts, both within the context of helping people who are in a difficult situation and who need external help and of being a coercive military initiative.

The concept of humanitarian aid is essential in cases of, for example, disaster, poverty, drought, hunger, and war. Its provision is crucial in instances where people face various difficulties, especially life-threatening ones, and need assistance because their own initiatives and means are insufficient to get them through the immediate crisis and thereafter. It provides systematic support that meets basic physiological needs such as food supply, health care and shelter in the short term. It can also be carried out within a wide range of education, health, agriculture, infrastructure services and sustainable development support in the medium and long term.

Humanitarian foreign policy is much more than humanitarian aid (Davutoğlu, 2013: 865-866) and, depending on the situation, it includes a strategy based on humanitarian negotiation in the most effective and correct way to prevent humanitarian problems or at least solve the problem if the emergence of the problem could not be prevented. However, the humanitarian negotiation strategy is only one of many tools used to influence actors in humanitarian crises (Pfanner, 2007: 174) and it is difficult to say that it can be sufficient in any case. In this context, humanitarian foreign policy is a strategic communication process aimed at preventing and resolving chronic problems involving humanitarian crisis situations or insolvency within the

framework of dialogue, negotiation and international law / rules, and supports other solution methods in humanitarian crisis situations. In order to understand humanitarian foreign policy, it is crucial to outline the framework for humanitarian foreign policy by comparing it with the concepts of humanitarian aid and humanitarian intervention as well as classical diplomacy methods.

Humanitarian foreign policy refers to a wide-impacting political-strategic process that includes humanitarian aid, humanitarian intervention and/or the activation of other foreign policy tools when appropriate.

Humanitarian foreign policy does not encompass just the extraordinary efforts of volunteer humanitarian organizations or well-meaning philanthropists. On the contrary, it involves conducting humanitarian foreign policy activities, providing urgent humanitarian aid in the first place in situations such as humanitarian crisis and war/conflict, establishing mediation and dialogue between the conflicting parties, and protecting human life and dignity at the national and international level together with the responsibility of the international community. It contains an obligation. Humanitarian foreign policy basically focuses on weak, vulnerable and vulnerable human populations, and includes activities aimed at rescuing, protecting, rehabilitating and ensuring permanent recovery of those adversely affected by humanitarian crises. The tools it uses for this include assuming the role of representation, attracting attention, raising awareness, persuading national and/or international decision makers, influencing community leaders, policies and strategies, and engaging in mediation, advocacy, and conciliation, for example, to activate potential support elements. Humanitarian foreign policy activities are carried out in three successive steps according to the level of priority and importance level. They depend on the methods available, size of the problem, the makeup of stakeholders, and timing. Implementation of humanitarian foreign policy requires that these considerations be made when determining what needs to be done in the immediate instance, when the situation is the most acute, in the second, follow-up stage, where support and improvement activities are provided, and in the third, and final stage, where international ownership and cooperation are secured.

3.1.2.1. Activities to Increase International Ownership and Cooperation

The third phase of humanitarian foreign policy involves activities such as inviting the international community to work within the framework of "burden sharing" in order to ensure that the relations established as a result of the efforts made in the acute and rehabilitation periods and the improvements achieved as a result of the work done are permanent and sustainable. The purpose of these activities is to draw the attention of the international community to the problems and problematic areas that have the risk of growing globally and affecting humanity as a whole, both directly and indirectly, if the necessary measures are not taken. At this stage, the aim is to raise awareness and mobilize international resources through large-scale negotiations. In order to eliminate the current crisis and indirect negative consequences completely, it is important to engage in activities that strive to include a much wider environment at the international level. This will only be possible by drawing the attention of the international community and active international organizations to the humanitarian crisis and directing their attention and resources to the understanding and solving the problems it creates. There are some effective methods that governments or NGOs can use in order for such a referral to be successful. Periodic organizations and meetings with broad participation, especially held by international organizations, should be evaluated for this purpose. In these organizations, significant and effective results can be obtained if the issue is voiced and suggestions about what to do and calls for cooperation are obtained. For example, the UN General Assembly, World Economic Forum, and G20 Summit Meetings held before the United Nations (UN) where all member states are represented at the highest level, are crucial platforms where this can be done. Another such example is the creation of specific organizations - directly or indirectly related to the humanitarian crisis in question, by the state conducting humanitarian foreign policy process - by hosting when necessary. Still another method that can be used to attract the attention and attention of the international community is the creation of international public opinion through campaigns to be organized by taking advantage of the influence of internationally renowned individuals or groups who are successful in various sports and/or arts or politics. Likewise, it is possible to consider leading well-known brands and/or companies as important tools that can be used to attract the attention of very

large masses to certain humanitarian crisis regions through sponsorships or advertisements.

During the acute period, rehabilitation period, and international ownership and burden-sharing periods, the most effective strategy will be to utilize smart power by using soft power elements and, if needed, hard power methods and tools at an optimum level and scale. The concept of cooperation, whose necessity and importance is emphasized in the definitions and explanations made so far, necessitates the use of soft and hard power together, that is, the preference of smart power. Because if only hard power is used, the interaction will be seen as forceful and it will make it impossible to achieve the long-term positive goals of humanitarian foreign policy. The use of hard power can precipitate the formation of opposing poles or blocks that will be reactive and give rise to counter moves. However, using only soft power alone is not sufficient in solving multidimensional and large-scale problems, due to the perception of weakness largely based on excessive optimism.

In the humanitarian foreign policy process, the basis of the desired interaction between the parties is actually a relationship of trust in the broadest sense. Thanks to this relationship of trust, the grounds are laid for meeting mutual expectations and developing economic, political, and commercial support, and opportunities in a wide range of areas. However, it seems impossible for a structure that does not have the military and economic capacity (hard power elements) that it can use when necessary, to obtain a reliable position in the international system. Likewise, it is difficult to say that structures that have military and economic power and tend to use only hard power in their relations are also unproblematically reassuring. The perception that this power can be used against everyone, if the national interests of the party with power require it, is disturbing and prevents the establishment of a strong trust relationship. However, the use of intelligent power, which can be defined as the combination of hard power and soft power elements at an optimum intensity, will improve the framework of diplomatic relations and make it possible to create a perception of mutual trust. The change experienced in the characteristics and functions of the concept of power in international relations brings about the change and diversification of the way of use and actors in the same direction. The tools and actors of soft power and smart power are different from the tools and actors of hard power, and are more civil and

constructive. This difference in tools and actors is also present in traditional diplomacy and new diplomacy practices. When humanitarian foreign policy, which is one of the new diplomacy models, is accepted as a process that works with the use of smart power, it is possible to say that its actors and tools will be shaped by a balanced combination of hard and soft power elements.

3.1.3. Humanitarian Foreign Policy Tools

Humanitarian foreign policy, which is different from traditional diplomacy in terms of its definition, actors, ways and methods, also expresses a new and different process with the tools/instruments used in its implementation. The most basic tools available to traditional diplomacy are negotiations, agreements, representations, sanctions within the framework of international law, for instance, giving annotation, giving an ultimatum, direct moves like adjusting, suspending or terminating diplomatic relations in certain political or military extraordinary situations and indirect processes such as mediation attempts. The tools of humanitarian foreign policy aim at providing urgent solutions to many different problems. These include a range of disasters, famines, conflicts, wars and related deaths, diseases, migration movements - the result of both natural phenomena and human actions - that are detrimental to people's wellbeing, and that may assume the form of international humanitarian crises. The actors involved in conducting humanitarian foreign policy may be both official and civil.

3.1.3.1. Peacebuilding

Because of the way in which the international system and inter-state relations function, wars, conflicts and power struggles have been perceived as the determining subjects of political history and the discipline of international relations. Whenever any peace agreement or initiative is mentioned, it comes to mind that there was always a conflict or war phase. In other words, the establishment and preservation of peace is not essential, but is understood as a secondary process that can occur depending on the end of the war situation. Studies conducted within the framework of the discipline

of international relations generally focus on the theoretical evaluations of the effects of wars and war-related developments on the international order, rather than directly on the concept of peace, and the concept of peace is only addressed indirectly (Sandıklı and Kaya, 2012: 133).

The realist paradigm maintains that the main obstacle to the prevalence of peace is human nature and that the reason behind the tendency of states to fight in order to have more power and influence is the tendency to suppress and use violence on the other side in human relations. The evaluation of the functioning and order of the international system only on the axis of traditional security and national interest brings about the unidirectional formation of perceptions about war and peace. This results in studies on war and conflict situations to come to the fore without directly focusing on the phenomenon of peace in studies on international politics. Wars, conflicts and the resulting use of violence are accepted as the natural state of human and interstate interaction. Consequently, the factors that encourage states to use armed force, rather than to employ peace-seeking approaches stand out as the main field of study (Richmond, 2008: 1-4).

The realist approach argues that permanent peace on earth will never be possible, peace can only be achieved temporarily in certain periods, human beings are confrontational by nature, states are in a power struggle in the anarchic international system and the conflicts and wars required by this situation are inevitable. It asserts that even if all states in the international system had democratic regimes, the anarchic character of international relations would remain constant and wars would always exist due to the nature of international relations (Waltz, 2000: 7-10). It puts forth that international organizations cannot change the anarchic structure of the international system, and that these organizations, which facilitate inter-state cooperation, are structures that reflect the distribution of power in the world, exist in the interests of great powers, and therefore cannot serve world peace (Mearsheimer, 1994/95: 7). In contrast, the idealist paradigm maintains that it is not impossible for the international system to attain a definite and permanent peace environment. Only if a federal structure consisting of independent states and a smoothly functioning international legal system is established can wars be completely eliminated and a global peace permanently established (Kant, 2005: 16) 3. A sustainable world peace can be

achieved through the joint effort of the community of states (Wilson, 1996: 39). While the realist paradigm of global peace draws a completely pessimistic picture, idealist approaches make predictions that are far from reality, and are perhaps even utopian. The realist approach emphasizes the individualistic components of the human element and considers only its negative aspects; it argues that these features constitute an obstacle to the realization of global peace. Idealists, however, maintain that human nature is prone to peace – and that this is not only related to individual behavior, but also to the order of social life, the functioning of states and relations with other states, and that "eternal peace" is possible within this framework.

Both the realist approach, which argues that global and lasting peace is not possible, and the idealist approach, which is extremely optimistic about essential peacefulness of human nature, are open to criticism. It is indisputable that the international system is anarchic (Waltz, 1979) and that power is the basis of inter-state relations. The historical process is dynamic and change is inevitable. The critical approach disputes realist claims about the nature of the international system and its argument that the forms of social relations originating from its anarchic structure, and human nature, cannot be changed. It insists that institutions should not be evaluated according to the current state of society and power relations. It contends that it is the conscious behavior of human communities that determines and directs the historical process in international relations, the system is not unchangeable, and people can remove the structural barriers to peace by acting collectively (Linklater, 1996: 282). As a result of the brief overview of the realist, idealist and critical paradigms, it can be argued that peace does not exist as an essential element in the international system. Theoretically, it is not impossible to achieve a lasting peace by ending wars; sustainable global peace can be achieved as a result of the cooperation of states, states and individuals acting together in a free and democratic environment. However, the actual situation of the international system, including states and non-state groups, is based on the competition between the main interests of the power centers and those of other states or groups within a certain framework. This competition is fueled by the desire to increase power and wealth resources, and inevitably often results in conflict between the parties involved. In this case, an environment of peace may be achieved not only by knowing the negativities of wars and conflicts or the beauty of peace, but

also by deterring parties to a potential conflict from actually engaging in conflict by creating the perception that they will use hard force when necessary.

Although the existence of a lasting global peace as an essential element in the anarchic structure of the international system is not accepted, it is understood that it can be established/achieved relatively under certain conditions, in different ways and with different methods. The establishment of peace can be based on legitimacy, consensus and treaty, and sometimes it can be based on power and coercion. In order to ensure a good and successful peace, these should be constructed carefully and in a balanced manner (Asal, 2013: 4-5). The combination of hard power and soft power, that is, the use of smart power, is extremely important in terms of effective and positive results in the peace building/building process. It is possible to say that the parties to be persuaded for peace, in addition to respecting them and their roles, as well as being afraid of their power to a certain extent, may affect the process positively, and this situation may indirectly contribute to the sustainable quality of peace.

It is possible to characterize peacebuilding as a process that works to end a conflict or war situation (such as one brought about due to political, economic, religious or sectarian factors) that has arisen and continues for any reason through external intervention, making the conflicting parties inactive, and maintaining the continuity of this new situation by protecting it with hard power element. Peacebuilding, and peace in the broadest sense, must be handled within a more comprehensive framework than the provision of an agreement that ends a conflict. Peacebuilding, in one way, is a comprehensive concept that includes the steps, approaches, stages necessary for transforming conflict situations that can be experienced in the form of conflict or war into sustainable peaceful relations and the processes that ensure their realization and continuity (Lederach, 1997: 20). Beyond stopping war and preventing violence, it is possible to evaluate many issues such as humanitarian aid, development aid, establishment of functioning political and civil structures, and reconciliation efforts to eliminate the root causes of conflicts (Öner, 2013: 4), within the framework of peacebuilding. The concept of peace as a basic concept has a different structure than providing a temporary peace by ending a conflict or maintaining the peace established, even above them. The concept of peace

is related to the elimination of the situations that cause war and the production of alternatives in possible conflict situations. While peacebuilding after conflict is reactive, it signifies a proactive process.

Beyond post-conflict peacemaking, peacebuilding, which can be formulated as accepting peace as a permanent value and getting a peace culture to become structurally prevalent in societies, represents a process that can be realized through the use of soft power. In order for peace to be internalized by all societies and for a culture of peace to become the determinant of the course of relations in the international system, softer, peaceful, constructive, human-oriented, in short, more humanitarian means and actors should step in. In the process of building peace and a culture of peace, a number of concrete efforts and initiatives at the local, regional and international levels play an important role in the formation of a peaceful environment (Aweiss, 2001: 45). Peacebuilding requires mutual communication and contact of the parties, more precisely the stakeholders, above all. Establishing a permanent and sustainable peace between societies that have experienced the negativities of the environment of violence and conflict is only possible thanks to the legitimate, institutional and democratic structures that will be formed by activating the internal dynamics of the societies. Beyond negative peace, which can be defined as the absence of wars and violence, it is possible to say that each of the humanitarian foreign policy actors plays an important role in the construction of a positive peace, which can be made possible by the existence of an established and regular social balance where conflicts do not turn into violence and war (Galtung, 1996: 1-3).

3.1.3.2. Humanitarian Aid

In the functioning of the international system, states mutually engaging in humanitarian aid by providing foreign aid transfers or resource transfers having different purposes, contents, and dimensions has become a routine foreign policy instrument. Examples include military, technical, and educational and health, and other types of financial aid. This aid takes the form of grants, development loans and humanitarian aid that are generally realized within the framework of mutual cooperation agreements or protocols made at the state level. While the beneficiary directly benefits from external aid, the donor often has certain expectations that it, too,

will benefit in some way. In other words, it should be noted that although it is called aid, foreign aid is not always provided in the form of unrequited resource transfer. However, the donor may not be expecting direct economic return. Foreign aid can take the form of investments designed to obtain certain strategic and political goals in the international arena or to have a say in certain areas. In one respect, the most important purpose of foreign aid is to increase national prestige and power and to provide diplomatic and political gain accordingly (Ari, 1997: 325).

It is generally agreed that humanitarian aid is significantly different from other forms of foreign aid in terms of purposes, actors and content. Other types of foreign aid generally have to be provided by states and official bodies. Humanitarian aid, on the other hand, can be organized and carried out by civil actors such as NGOs, private sector organizations and individuals, as well as governments and other official actors. Civil actors have become more effective in providing humanitarian aid and their provision of such aid internationally has been growing in scale, prevalence and inclusiveness. A clear indication of this is the number of NGOs actively involved in providing humanitarian aid at both the national and international levels. Much of the aid provision activities in which they are engaged can be seen within the framework of the exercise of global social responsibility. Every actor in the international system has to meet this responsibility to a certain extent within its own sphere of influence. Humanitarian aid differs from other types of aid because it has a conscientious and ethical dimension that extends beyond social responsibility due to its being directly human-oriented.

Humanitarian aid is a positive and important activity that directly touches human life and aims to ensure the continuity and protection of life. However, continuing this at the same level and intensity in the medium and long term may lead to some negative consequences. On the one hand, the parties providing the aid lose motivation due to constantly repetitive activities and, in a sense, unchanging results, and on the other hand, the people who receive help start to perceive this as a continuous solution and become dependent on help are examples of such negativities.

In order not to harm the process, the roles and targets should be revised, and the activity framework should be transformed from immediate humanitarian aid to development projects and development aid for permanent improvement.

3.1.3.3. Development/Official Development Assistance

The third humanitarian foreign policy tool after peacebuilding and humanitarian aid is development aid. The need for foreign aid is generally inevitable in order for societies that are disadvantaged due to humanitarian problems to which they are subjected for any reason and in many different ways, to permanently escape from the situation they are in and to enter a political and economic recovery process without any problems. In the continuation of the process requiring urgent humanitarian aid, the normalization of the society or the state in the situation of receiving aid depends on the operation of the development assistance process. Development assistance refers to a specific area within activities that can be broadly regarded as international or foreign aid. Generally defined, the concept of foreign aid is the transfer of resources by a country or international organization to another state or community in need. Most often, donors are economically developed countries or international organizations, while recipients are underdeveloped or developing countries or societies.

Foreign aid mainly contributes to economic growth, as well as improved financial welfare by providing public infrastructure and basic social services, promoting good governance in institutions with effective, honest and democratic responsibility to manage the economy and legal order by raising the quality of governance. It is carried out on the basis of basic objectives such as improving political rights and reversing negative environmental developments (Sogge, 2002: 8). Foreign aid, which is one of the de facto applications of international relations for various reasons in the historical process. After World War II, it was conceptualized depending on the economic and political conjuncture, and its systematic foundations were laid and subsequently turned into an important diplomacy tool of the Cold War period (Üçkuş and Kendirci, 2012: 59). Since the 1990s, with the end of the Cold

War, foreign aid has become an important tool in the functioning of the international system. It is seen as contributing to economic progress, political transformation, the strengthening of democracy and managing conflicts (Lancaster, 2007: 48). Foreign aid, or more appropriately, international aid, having become one of the most important tools of international policy, is regarded as a real innovation in the foreign policy practices of the modern age. Development assistance as a part of international aid has specific goals and needs to be considered in a narrower framework. Not all foreign aid is in the form of development aid. Likewise, not all development assistance qualifies as official development assistance. Within the framework of the definition made by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), official development assistance to developing countries must be:

- Publicly sourced,
- Transferred in order to improve the economic development of the recipient

Moreover, resource transfers should be privileged and at least 25% of them being donations.

It is possible to say that foreign aid is official development aid in cases where the criteria listed above are met together. Hence, the following do not constitute official development assistance:

- Emergency humanitarian aid that is not aimed at improving the economic development of the recipient
- Any weapons of war or military aid given to the recipient, even in need
- Loans that do not include a certain percentage (25%) as grants, which are provided in a way that is fully repaid, but whose repayment is facilitated
- Foreign aid that is not publicly sourced, such as private sector resource transfers and aid activities of NGOs

3.2. Peacekeeping and Peacemaking

3.2.1. Peacekeeping

The UN has made use of traditional approaches to solving international conflicts, such as peacekeeping, mediation and negotiation, since its establishment in 1945. Although mediation and negotiation can be used to resolve various kinds of conflicts, peacekeeping can only be used in conflicts occurring between or within states. The major emphasis in this study is on peacekeeping, which has been used to settle conflicts between countries within the concept of ICR since 1956. Negotiation and mediation, on the other hand, have been employed to find solutions to conflicts between countries for hundreds of years. While peacekeeping has a protective function, negotiation and mediation have a curative objective. Bercovitch et al. (2009) emphasize the curative function of peacekeeping operations by saying that they prevent the recurrence of a conflict.

The evolution of peacekeeping is of vital importance as it sheds light on the extent to which UN Peacekeeping operations have been effective. The first peacekeeping operation launched by the UNSC (United Nations Security Council) involved the deployment of UN military observers to the Middle East in 1948. The reason for this operation was to observe the ceasefire period between Israel and its Arab neighboring countries. This operation was called the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) (BWC, 1948).

Peacekeeping is a traditional approach that has been applied in several operations to deal with conflicts by the UN since its founding. The first two peacekeeping operations were the UNTSO and the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP). The UNTSO, which was set up in May 1948, was the first peacekeeping operation carried out by the UN. Since then, the UN has maintained UNTSO military observers in the Middle East to help with the monitoring of ceasefires, the supervision of armistice agreements and the provision of assistance to other peacekeeping operations in order to bring stability in the region. On the other hand, the UNMOGIP, which was responsible for the supervision of the

ceasefire between India and Pakistan in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, arrived in the relevant region on 24 January of 1949 (The United Nations Peacekeeping, 1948).

Stephan Ryan describes the framework for conflict resolution in a simple way. He claims that when the problem is violent behavior, the strategy to be implemented is peacekeeping (military activity), targeting armed groups (warriors). When the problem is perceived incompatibility of interests, the strategy to be used is peacemaking, targeting decision-makers (leaders). On the other hand, when the problem is negative attitudes and socio-economic structures, the strategy to be employed is peacebuilding, targeting ordinary people (followers) (Ryan, 1995: 104).

As Taras and Ganguly (2016) put forward, the end of the Cold War triggered an increase in the number peacekeeping operations, which can be divided into three categories. The first category consists of peacekeeping operations attempting to control unresolved conflicts between states, such as the ceasefire between Iran and Iraq (1988-1991). The second category comprises peacekeeping operations aiming at the implementation of already negotiated settlements of long-lasting conflicts, such as those in Cambodia, Mozambique and Angola. The third category includes the peacekeeping operations targeting the management of hot ethnic conflicts, such as those in Somalia, Rwanda and Congo (Taras and Ganguly, 2016: 93).

Although UN peacekeeping seems to be the most effective means by which to deal with conflicts in the international arena, it still has many drawbacks. Stephen Ryan points out that as UN peacekeeping forces are not enforcement forces and only have small unarmed units, they depend on the cooperation of the conflicting parties in order to be effective (Ryan, 1995: 188). That is, if one or more parties causes the current situation to deteriorate by escalating the violence, there is almost nothing that UN Peacekeeping forces can do to prevent them. For example, the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) could do little to prevent the invasion of Lebanon by Israel in 1982 (Associated Press, 2018, <https://www.voanews.com/a/un-lebanon-israel-at-risk-of-renewed-conflict/4551901.html>).

According to Stephen Ryan, there are three problems that can prevent the UN peacekeeping forces from being effective, the most crucial being observed in the area

of preparation (Ryan, 1995: 187-188). In several missions, the UN forces were not deployed soon enough to implement a ceasefire agreement. Ryan claims that the second problem is caused by lack of an adequate financial system to support the UN peacekeeping missions. He emphasizes that several well-funded peacekeeping operations still appeared to be deficient in UN documents. Ryan argues that the third factor leading to ineffective UN peacekeeping operations is the lack of formal training for military staff in UN Peacekeeping missions, with the training of military staff in UN peacekeeping operations being left up to the contributing governments. However, while some contributing governments provide training for soldiers, others refuse to do so (Ryan, 1995: 187-189).

Peacekeeping is employed as an improvised mode of CR. The initial version of peacekeeping is referred to as traditional peacekeeping, which was used in missions between 1948 and 1988. Taras and Ganguly (2016) highlight that despite temporary advantages, such as short phases of relief from the ongoing conflicts in some missions, most UN peacekeeping operations failed to provide long-lasting peace. The authors mention the UN peacekeeping mission in the Congo in 1960, when the crumbling state authority led to the outbreak of conflict. They say that the fighting in the country continued for the next three years in spite of the presence of the UN peacekeepers (Taras and Ganguly, 2016: 92-93).

UN peacekeeping originated during the period when Cold War rivalries made the UNSC powerless. The motivation behind the early peacekeeping operations was only to maintain the armistice period and provide a peaceful atmosphere in which to resolve the relevant conflict in the field. Generally speaking, the peacekeeping operations conducted in the early years of UN peacekeeping history are called first-generation or traditional peacekeeping missions. They mainly have a limited motivation and consist primarily of unarmed military observers and lightly armed troops whose aim is to monitor and report on operations so as to build a peaceful atmosphere in the conflict areas (Ramsbotham et al., 2016: 175). Despite all the drawbacks encountered in peacekeeping operations deployed by the UN, the UN restored its positive reputation by the end of the Cold War period (The United Nations, 2001, <https://www.un.org/en/sections/nobel-peace-prize/united-nations-and-nobel-peace-prize/>). The UN peacekeepers were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in

1988, which was a significant indicator of the common trust in peacekeeping forces (The Nobel Prize, 1988, <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1988/summary/>).

By the time the Cold War ended, traditional UN peacekeeping operations consisting of monitoring tasks requiring unarmed or lightly military personnel had turned into complex multidimensional missions involving several actors, such as administrators, economists, police officers, legal experts, de-miners, electoral observers, human rights monitors, civil affairs and governance specialists, humanitarian workers and communications and public information experts. As the nature of conflicts had altered over time, UN peacekeeping that basically targeted inter-state conflicts had to deal with intra-State conflicts and civil wars as well. As a result, the post-Cold War peacekeeping missions had to perform several complex tasks, such as assisting in building institutions of governance and security sector reforms, observing human rights and the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants. The major aim of these missions was to implement long-lasting peace agreements so as to provide sustainable peace (The United Nations Peacekeeping, 1948, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>).

The second generation or phase of peacekeeping practiced between 1989 and 1994 is called humanitarian intervention. It mainly involved humanitarian and security issues with political targets (Ramsbotham et al., 2016: 176). There was a sharp increase both in the number of peacekeeping operations and peacekeepers during relevant period. While the number of missions in this period rose to 20, the number of peacekeepers climbed from 11,000 to 75,000. Some of the operations conducted during that period were the Cambodia-UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), Angola-UN Angola Verification Mission I (UNAVEM I) and UN Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II) and Mozambique-UN Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ). The operations held in that period basically had the following aims (The United Nations Peacekeeping, 1948, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>):

- Assisting in implementing peace agreements;
- Balancing the security situation;

- Providing the reorganization of military and police;
- Electing new governments and helping the institutionalization of democracy.

The turn of the 21st century refers to the period when the UN had to undergo a number of reforms in order to compensate for the setbacks of the operations in the 1990s (Einsiedel et al., 2015: 2). The motivation behind the reforms was to regain the favorable reputation of UN peacekeeping operations in light of the challenges experienced during the period in question. These reforms basically involved re-enforcing the capacity of the UN so as to be able to fulfil the demand for more complex missions (Einsiedel et al., 2015: 2-5). This period was initiated in 1999 when the UN had the role of administrator for both Kosovo in the Former Yugoslavia-UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) (The United Nations Peacekeeping, 1999, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/mission/unmik>) and in East Timor (now Timor-Leste)-UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), the process of obtaining independence from Indonesia (The United Nations Peacekeeping, 1999, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/mission/past/etimor/etimor.htm>). The UN Security Council conducted complex peacekeeping operations in several African countries, such as Burundi-UN Operation in Burundi (ONUB) ((The United Nations Peacekeeping, 2004, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/mission/past/onub/>), Chad and the Central African Republic-UN Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT) and Eritrea/Ethiopia-UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE) in the following years. Most of the operations, including the ones mentioned above, have now been concluded. The first decade of the 21st century was when the UN Security Council had to manage more complex operations in faraway geographies with unstable political structures (The United Nations Peacekeeping, 1948, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>).

Third-generation operations, on the other hand, are often referred to as peace support, which emphasizes their distinction from traditional peacekeeping operations (Ramsbotham et al., 2016: 174). The key difference between second and third-generation peacekeeping is that the basis of humanitarian intervention is gradually consolidated in the latter. Peacekeeping and humanitarian intervention provide operations to other international actors such as regional organizations and coalitions

of willing states. Although the functioning of peacekeeping encompasses both traditional peacekeeping and humanitarian intervention, the ideal version of peacekeeping used to cope with interstate conflicts remains the traditional form. Traditional peacekeeping relies on the three principles of consent, impartiality, and the non-use of force, which must be preserved at all costs (Ramsbotham et al., 2016: 114). These principles make the UN an outstanding actor and traditional peacekeeping an efficient method in dealing with conflicts between states.

The UN is currently in charge of 14 peacekeeping operations involving a total of 110,000 military, police and civilian personnel in continuing missions aiming at securing areas stricken by conflict by at least stopping violence and oppression via negative peace (The United Nations Peacekeeping, 1948, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/where-we-operate>). The current peacekeeping operations of the UN are as follows: Five operations in Asia and Middle East, seven operations in Africa, one operation in Balkans and Europe and one operation in North America. The significant decrease in the number of both operations and the personnel involved in these operations reveals the fact that the challenges threatening the UN are decreasing. On the other hand, the occurrence of new conflicts threatening boundaries domestically or universally confirms the essential need for the UN to continue with its peacekeeping operations. The concept of peacekeeping has so far changed in such a way that peacekeeping operations today, referring to third-generation peacekeeping, serve a multidimensional task aiming at several duties such as the protection of civilians, the provision of assistance in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, the enhancement of human rights and reestablishment of rule of law (The United Nations Peacekeeping, 1948, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>).

Peacekeepers act as mediators trying to maintain peace by mediating conflicts. On the other hand, the focus in this thesis is on the UN as a peacekeeper. Articles 41 and 42 of Chapter VII in the UN Charter gives the UN the right to intervene in a conflict to contribute to world peace and security. Chapter VII of the UN allows the UNSC to take action based on the principle of collective security when needed (The United Nations, 1945). The basic condition for peacekeepers working within the body of the UN to be deployed in conflict areas is that they must be invited and guaranteed

full cooperation by conflicting parties. When peacekeepers begin to work in the field, they should become impartial observers and allow the conflicting parties a high level of control in the settlement process as peacekeeping operations respect state sovereignty and power.

Peacekeeping has a long history dating back to the Second World War. As a matter of fact, peacekeeping was also practiced in the pre-Second World War period by the League of Nations to resolve international conflicts. For example, the League of Nations exercised peacekeeping in several operations throughout the world, such as the Upper Silesia region between Poland and Germany, the Vilna Province between Lithuania and Poland and the Saar Region in Germany (The United Nations, 1942).

As observed in the number of current Peacekeeping operations, we may conclude that Asia and Africa are the continents suffering from ethnic conflicts more. As the focal point in this study is the UN peacekeeping operations in Africa, it would be appropriate to examine the reasons why Africa suffers from intra-state conflicts. According to Cilliers and Bello-Schünemann, the following factors mainly lead to intrastate conflicts experienced in most African countries (Cilliers and Bello-Schünemann, 2013). To begin with, poverty causes instability and thus poor regions seem to be suffering from conflicts more often. Secondly, the transitions from autocracy to democracy in most African countries has proved to be unsuccessful. Unfortunately, many African countries today are considered to have gotten stuck between autocracy and democracy. Thirdly, the absence of democracy accompanied by the lack of education and income seems to be fueling instability in relevant regions suffering from intrastate conflicts (Cilliers and Bello-Schünemann, 2013). Another reason is the correlation between violence and the large number of young people in the population seeking employment opportunities in urban areas. As the economies in most African countries are not developed enough, such young people are not able to find job opportunities and thus have the potential to cause problems. Having neighbors suffering from conflicts is another factor triggering conflicts in African countries. When all these factors are accompanied by weak governments, inadequate political settlements, high levels of corruption and citizens deprived of basic social rights such as being kept safe by the government, most African countries become more vulnerable to intrastate conflicts (Cilliers and Bello-Schünemann, 2013).

As indicated on the UN Peacekeeping website, the six basic purposes of peacekeeping operations are as follows (The United Nations Peacekeeping, 1948, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/what-we-do>):

- Protecting civilians,
- Preventing conflicts,
- Building Rule of Law and Security Institutions,
- Promoting human rights,
- Promoting women, peace and security,
- Delivering field support.

The fifth purpose of peacekeeping operations clarifies the economic and social necessity of women participating more in the economy. It also emphasizes economic independence from men and their employment and participation in production processes and their rights to equal salaries with male employees and their political representation in governing bodies, thus increasing the number of female political leaders. In other words, the fifth purpose contributes to the social advancement regarding the perception and place of women in their societies. The sixth purpose, on the other hand, is directly associated with the principle that the UN follows military, political and social processes in problematic areas within a particular period by providing people in such areas with financial and tangible support.

3.2.2. Peacemaking

One of the critical aspects of the new type peacekeeping is related to the peacemaking process, which has come to be much more intertwined with peacekeeping operations. While dealing with problem-solving strategies in the 1990s, the UN more often coped with “a conceptual and a practical confusion between

peacekeeping and peacemaking,” mostly when there was no peace to be kept (Bertrand, 1995).

In the Cold War years, it is well-known that peacemaking and peacekeeping were like two sides of the same coin; while peacekeeping was covering the deployment of troops not to fight and stabilize a situation following a cease-fire agreement, peacemaking referred to the use of diplomatic means in order to persuade warring parties to cease hostilities and negotiate a peaceful settlement of their dispute. As a classical peacekeeping example, UNEF I was deployed for the purpose of observing and monitoring cease-fire. On the other hand, as for a peacemaking illustration, in 1988, in Afghanistan, mediation by the Secretary General and his personal envoy, who led a number of agreement and diplomatic initiatives, resulted in the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the country (Halstead, 1997: 67). Afterwards, UNGOMAP was deployed in order to verify the departure of Soviet troops. In short, with the exception of the Congo crisis, traditional peacekeeping was tasked to securing the status quo after a conflict had been stabilized; UNEF, UNTSO, UNMOGIP, UNFICYP, UNDOF and UNIFIL are the major illustrations for implementation of traditional peacekeeping. The goal of peacekeeping was not to find a peaceful solution at all. In the Cypriot case, while UNFICYP has been implemented as a peacekeeping mission for three decades, the Secretary General has exercised the peacemaking mechanism by using its good offices to seek a peaceful solution so as to solve problems between the Greek and Turkish communities on the island (Boutros Boutros-Ghali, 1995: 26).

Overall, since the end of the Cold War, in peacemaking, “peace” can be perceived as being much broader in scope than “peace” in peacekeeping. It means that peacemaking strengthens its scope, covering the whole scale of a dispute while having as its ultimate goal ending the conflict (Ryan, 1995: 34). Such a “complementary peacemaking package” was well-defined in one of the reports of the Secretary General on the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia (ICFY) to the Security Council as “ICF combines active preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping, and also has a potential peace enforcement component.” (Ryan, 1995: 36)

Considering these explanations, peace-making, which is often conducted by an international third party, is regarded as a political-diplomatic activity. According to Taras and Ganguly (2016), the objective of peace-making is to convince the leaders of the conflicting parties to participate in a conflict resolution process via negotiations (Taras and Ganguly, 2016: 86).

The writers add that peacemaking aims at convincing the leaders of conflicting parties to sign a peace agreement by either inducing or coercing them. In the peacemaking process, an international third-party has the role of an intermediary making use of arbitration, mediation and facilitation. Arbitration refers to conflict resolution process involving the participation of a third party in order to convince the conflicting parties to reach an agreement when they cannot do this by themselves (Moore, 2014: 10).

Mediation by an international third party, on the other hand, enables the adversaries to begin political dialogue in order to evaluate the current situation from each (Taras and Ganguly, 2016: 87-90). In other words, international mediators can make a difference in the way conflicting parties perceive each other. Facilitation, on the other hand, is the process when the international third party facilitates the interaction between the parties by encouraging creative thinking. In other words, facilitation, which is a cooperative and non-coercive method, helps the adversaries to find a self-sustaining settlement (Taras and Ganguly, 2016: 87-90).

According to Stephen Ryan, a conflict resolution strategy without peacemaking would not be efficient as the perceived conflicts of interest leading to the disputes would not be settled down then (Ryan, 1995: 98-123).

Ryan (1995) points out that peace-making, which is often used in the resolution of ethnic conflicts, focuses on political elites and that has a tendency to neglect grassroots action. Ryan adds that any settlement of violence without peacemaking would be short lived. Ryan (1995), therefore, concludes that ineffective peacemaking is likely to undermine both peacekeeping and peacebuilding processes as when elites are not ready to negotiate over the disputes with other parties, they may be suspicious of ordinary people and avoid having contacts with them. Hence, elites

may even either block any interaction attempts or show reaction against those intermediaries of international communities.

The UN makes use of arbitration, mediation and facilitation as conflict resolution tools during a peace-making process in international diplomacy.



4. LITERATURE REVIEWS OF TURKEY'S HUMANITARIAN AID FOR SOMALIA AND PALESTINE

4.1. Literature Reviews of Turkey's Humanitarian Aid for Somalia

Considering Turkey's humanitarian aid for Somalia, it appears that Turkey is no longer a reluctant actor in international relations and is strengthening its global presence. The famine in Somalia and the humanitarian problems that subsequently arose due to it attracted the attention of world public opinion. However, the longstanding economic, social and political problems of Somalia are directly related to the present-day humanitarian crisis. Unfortunately, it seems that the country is not strong enough to overcome these problems by itself. Therefore, Somalia requires aid to overcome its continuing humanitarian problems.

The most recent of Somalia's problems is famine and the humanitarian crisis that has emerged as a result. While drought may have sparked the famine, other problems faced by the country after the independence mostly likely contributed to it. The UN officially declared a famine in Somalia on July 20, 2011, when the people of the region, especially Somalia, faced a great humanitarian crisis due to famine, hunger and thirst. This catastrophe has affected millions of people and caused epidemics and deaths. Due to the famine, the people of the region are struggling to survive (Sheikh, 2019).

Many countries are reluctant to provide aid to Somalia because of security concerns. Turkey is one of the few countries to do so on its own. The then prime minister R. T. Erdogan paid a visit to Somalia on August 19, 2011, accompanied by a large delegation, to show their solidarity with Somalia, boost the morale of the Somali people and draw the attention of world public opinion to this region (Ozerdem, 2019).

The humanitarian crisis worsened as the famine peaked in the summer of 2011. Mobilizing significant aid to Somalia, Turkey succeeded where many Western governments and institutions failed. Turkey had to take major steps to remedy the problems in Somalia as it provided its humanitarian aid.

According to Akpınar (2013), while Turkey is working to develop its relations with African countries in the field of trade, education, and culture, it attaches significant importance to Somalia. Turkey stresses that the purpose behind the interest in both Somalia and other African countries is not their natural resources. In this respect, Turkey suggests using the equal partnership principle as it provides aid to Somalia. Regarding the challenges of peacebuilding in war-affected Somalia, Turkey needs to develop unique strategies to help.

Yalcin (2017) has analyzed the relationship between al-Shabaab and Turkey's humanitarian assistance in Somalia. Turkey is using humanitarian diplomacy to help Somalia build national unity, despite the presence of al-Shabaab. Its aim is promote the creation of a new political system and a comprehensive economic restructuring. In addition, it seeks to contribute to the reconfiguration and strengthening of Somali national forces so that the country can overcome the challenges of the ongoing humanitarian crisis. Despite all the obstacles confronted, aid and investments have continued without interruption.

According to Hasimi (2014), Turkey is a new actor on the global stage in the areas of humanitarian aid, peacebuilding, and post-conflict reconstruction. However, Turkey's growing experience in Somalia demonstrates that Turkey can perform a more active role in the future. According to Hasimi (2014), although the scale of financing seems modest compared to other countries, it has been proved that Turkish aid is more valuable in gaining the respect of local people in the region. It is because Turkey is working directly together with and providing aid to communities directed affected by the humanitarian crisis. Turkey has focused on the basic needs of the most severely impacted people in Somalia. In return for this aid, meets their basic needs, Somali society respects and loves Turkey. Through this aid, the diplomatic, cultural, and commercial relations between Somalia and Turkey have also begun to strengthen.

The ICG (International Crisis Group) (2012) characterizes Turkey's aid efforts in Somalia as political opportunism. It sees TIKA as a tool of Turkish foreign policy and criticizes Turkey, claiming that geopolitical interests lay behind its provision of aid to Somalia.

Turkey is engaging in major investments in Africa as it attempts to become an active actor on the continent. There are several reasons for this. As with other rising powers like India, China, and Brazil, Turkey is fully aware that Africa is a continent that offers new opportunities for trade, investment, and political influence. Rising powers want to increase their influence in Somalia and the rest of Africa so as to satisfy natural resource needs and political goals (e.g., UN Security Council voting). Obviously, considering that this has been done by traditional charity donors in the West for years, it shouldn't be surprising that emerging powers such as Turkey would want to follow a similar policy.

Moreover, Sheikh (2019) states that Turkey wants to increase its regional geopolitical interests through the aid it gives to Somalia. This situation should be examined in conjunction with the similar interests of other key actors. For example, it is not different from the US's security agenda regarding al-Shabaab or the UK's interest in using offshore oil and gas reserves. In this context, there are strong similarities in humanitarian policies between global donors and rising powers like Turkey. But one of the notable differences is that Turkey places less emphasis on issues of good governance and human rights as a condition of humanitarian aid.

Ozkan and Orakci (2015) have evaluated Turkey's humanitarian aid to Somalia and discussed Turkey's role in the region. They show that Turkey has become a major player in Africa due to the humanitarian aid it provides to the region.

According to Harding (2012), for many African countries, receiving aid from rising powers like Turkey is becoming an attractive alternative since there are few political strings attached. Rising powers like Turkey do not have a colonial past with African countries. They are able to gain advantages in the formulation and implementation of humanitarian aid policies because they can develop relationships based on building more equal partnerships.

According to Cevik and Seib (2015), it seems that the Turkish experience in Somalia since 2011 has surprised both sides. Traditional providers of aid would not have expected such a positive performance by a country like Turkey in providing humanitarian aid. They probably assumed that Turkey's engagement in Somalia aid

would be short-term after Erdogan's visit. What they did not expect was the extent to which the Somalis themselves accepted Turkish presence among them. Turkey's strategy in providing aid to Somalia has been different from other countries. What makes it stand out the most is that Turkish aid workers live and work together with local people in Somalia. Other countries providing humanitarian aid to Somalia do so mostly through remote administration. The intimacy with which Turkey provides aid is one of the main reasons for the harmonious relations Somali has with Turkey.

According to Cannon (2016), global actors also did not expect Turkey's high resistance to attacks on Turkish humanitarian and diplomatic personnel. However, while Turks come under such attack less compared to other international staff, it should not be forgotten that al-Shabaab did directly attack the Turkish Embassy in 2013 and 2014. But neither of these attacks nor any of the others have changed Turkish aid organizations' strategy, which is living and working with Somalis. Considering Turkey's resources and features in countries such as Afghanistan, Bosnia, and Kosovo, this is not extraordinary. Accordingly, Turkish aids in Somalia is a unique example not only for the local population but also for international actors.

According to Thiessen and Ozerdem (2019), Turkey has gained notable experience with providing humanitarian assistance in Somalia. Through this experience, it is crucial that Turkey's humanitarian policy become more effective and Turkey become one of the key actors in other regions. Turkey has sufficient knowledge and experience in humanitarian aid, peacebuilding, and reconstruction in Somalia. In addition, Turkish aid workers understand their humanitarian mission and make great sacrifices serving the Somali people. In addition to providing humanitarian aid, Turkey has the potential to contribute to the educating and equipping of human resources in the country.

4.2. Literature Reviews of Turkey's Humanitarian Aid for Palestine

Senocak (2016) examined Turkish humanitarian aid to Palestine within the framework of the political balance in the region. The historical importance of the Palestinian region is also an important factor in this aid. Turkey has been active in resolving the Palestinian conflict. It highlights how effective domestic mobilization

that pressures the government to resolve the conflict can be. Turkey has been directly involved in the issue particularly since the end of the 1980. Turkey has played an accommodating and mediating role, and has become one of the countries trying to achieve permanent peace between Israel and Palestine. But by the 2000s, Turkey began taking an even more active role in the Palestinian problem. It has been particularly active since AK Party has been in power. The Israeli attack of the Mavi Mamara, a Turkish ship taking humanitarian aid to Palestine, resulted in the eruption of major political conflict between Turkey and Israel.

According to Filiu (2014), the aid Turkey provides to Palestine, which while humanitarian, is greatly the result of the conflicts taking place there; thus, it is more political than it is in the case of Somalia. Nevertheless, the official development assistance of Turkey is carried out mainly through the Presidency of TIKA which opened a Program Coordination Office in Ramallah in 2005. Within this framework, the presence of TIKA in Palestine is of vital importance.

Ertosun (2017) evaluated TIKA and AFAD aid to Palestine and found that since 2010, AFAD has provided aid to the region in many ways. For example, since May 2010, 22.5 million TL in cash assistance and 11 million TL worth of humanitarian aid was sent by five aircrafts and 106 trucks. In addition, on different dates, 28,500 tons of flour were shipped by sea. As part of the aid campaign launched in 2009, 105 million TL in donations were collected. These donations were spent on water rehabilitation projects, generator grants, water wells and sewage pump construction, medicine and medical equipment purchase, hospital progress payment, university equipment and book grants, and the maintenance and repair of damaged mosques. In addition, after the Mavi Marmara incident, 470 volunteers and the bodies of nine persons killed were brought to Turkey and the wounded were treated. In 2011, 6,000 tons of flour, worth 3,861,132 USD, were sent. In 2012, this rose to 12,500 tons, worth 6,610,174 USD. In 2013, 10,000 tons of flour, worth 6,610,000 USD, were sent to the region. In 2014, due to the air and naval attacks launched on the Gaza Strip on July 8, 2014, 1.5 million dollars of medical aid were sent to the World Health Organization. In addition, 10,000 food parcels, valued at 445,300 USD, were supplied and 1,000 food parcels from the TOBB (Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges) were sent to Israel, in cooperation with the UNRWA, to be distributed in

Gaza. Furthermore, 15,000 tons of flour were purchased and sent, again in cooperation with UNRWA, to be distributed in Gaza. Within this framework, the total cash value of the aid sent via the presidency has reached 9.57 million USD.

It is crucial to look at the aid provided by TIKA and Turkish Red Crescent in coordination with AFAD. TIKA provided food supplies for 15,000 households on 30 trucks, as well as pharmaceutical, fuel generators and basic aids. In addition, it provided a total of 341,600 people with three meals a day for 20 days. The Turkish Red Crescent delivered 20 tons of medicines and medical supplies delivered to the needy and gave food packages to 2,610 displaced families. It also provided cash aid to the Palestine Red Crescent to help feed 500 families. 7 m³ of water was distributed daily at ten UN schools. In addition, 119 injured and their 106 companions from Gaza were brought to Turkey for treatment, 45 recovering wounded and their companions were returned to their country. This aid made up the first part of the aid provided in 2014. It was continued with another 15,000 tons of flour, which made up the second part (AFAD, 2016 cited by Ertosun, 2017).

The most important aspect of the research Ciftci (2020) conducted on Turkish humanitarian aid to Palestine Turkey has created an uproar in Israel, which views aid to Palestine as support for terrorism. These allegations were strongly rejected by the Turkish government, which continued to provide aid. The humanitarian character of the aid was constantly supported in documents shared with the public. However, as previously mentioned, the political aspects of the policy pursued by Turkey outweigh humanitarian ones in this situation. Davutoglu explains this situation in a speech he made in Bursa in 2013 as follows (Saracoglu, 2013: 13):

Other countries recommend that we do not follow an active policy and not embark on a foreign policy adventure. And we reply that Turkey is and has always been in history the subject itself, and cannot be turned into an object. For example, now in the Middle East, can any issue, especially the Palestine issue, be handled without Turkey? We have to deserve our history, we have to stay as the subject as we have always been.

Kanat and Hannon (2017) found that despite Turkey's humanitarian aid and discourses surrounding it, the country has been developing trade relations with Israel. Contrary to Israel's rhetoric, Turkey's humanitarian aid has been provided within a framework of neutrality. Nevertheless, relations between Israel and Turkey have had its ups and downs with respect to the question of Palestine, particularly since the latter half of the 2000s. For instance, in February 2006, when the Turkish government tried to award contracts for minesweeping operations in the Southeast of Turkey to an Israeli firm, it was prevented by a Council of State decree. Three years later, at the World Economic Forum (WEF) held in Davos, Switzerland, on January 29, 2009, Recep Tayyip Erdogan - as the representative of Turkey- was invited to the panel called "Gaza: Peace Model in the Middle East" along with Israeli President Simon Peres and the then UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Mun. Erdoğan wanted to reply to Peres, who was blaming the Palestinians, but when he was interrupted by the moderator, he shouted, "One minute! You are the one who knows killing best, I know how you shot and kill the children on the beach." Then he left the meeting, saying "Davos is over for me now then." After this, he was called as "Davos Fatihi/Conquerer of Davos." Nevertheless, despite the strained political relations between Israel and Turkey resulting from the incident, Turkey-Israel trade volume has continued to increase. Valued at 2,603,186 USD in 2009, it rose to 5,608,454 USD in 2018 (T.R. Ministry of Commerce, 2019). This is evidence that concrete policies are not always constructed on discourses.

Gunay (2017) argues that Turkey humanitarian aid to Palestine should be provided entirely by the state. Otherwise, as in the Mavi Marmara incident, the initiatives of NGOs can end up being uncontrollable. Just one year after Davos, a ship called Mavi Marmara, which had left Turkey carrying humanitarian aid to Gaza, was attacked by the Israeli soldiers; ten Turkish citizens on the ship were killed (IHH, 2018, <https://www.ihh.org.tr/mavi-marmara>). Subsequently, Erdogan gave a speech on Al Jazeera television in which he said "Israeli state committed a form of state terrorism... This Mavi Marmara incident is indeed a cause of war" (<http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/gorus/mavi-marmarayi-batirmak>). However, in 2016, the Turkish president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, asked the officials of the NGO that had organized the shipment of humanitarian aid by the Mavi Marmara – the IHH, "Did

you as the then prime minister when organizing such an aid operation? The Turkish state already organizes such aid”

(<https://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/1260738-cumhurbaskani-erdogandan-ihhya-mavi-marmara-yaniti>). These differences of political stance are always possible from the viewpoint of realism, as the interests of the country are taken into consideration. Here, the matter is indeed different: the stress is on the necessity of making the provision of humanitarian aid the monopoly of the government. When compared to German case, where humanitarian aid is provided by NGOs, under tight coordination with the state, it is evident that humanitarian aid provision urgently needs to be systematized in Turkey.

4.3. The Differences between Turkey's Humanitarian Aid to Palestine and Somalia

Turkey shares a history going back centuries and close cultural and social relations with the Palestinian people. It advocates engaging in efforts to bring about a fair, comprehensive and lasting two-state solution to the Palestine-Israel conflict that are based on negotiations and established UN parameters. Within this framework, it stands for an independent and sovereign Palestinian state having geographical integrity and a capital in East Jerusalem. Turkey's humanitarian aid to Palestine is provided within the context of geopolitical demands as well. Turkey's humanitarian aid to Somalia is occurs independently of global powers. The absence of former imperial relations with Somalia in the historical process makes Turkey's aid even more valuable.

Therefore, while largely humanitarian in nature, the aid Turkey provides Palestine is bound up with political considerations, given the nature of the conflicts there. This is contrary to the Somalia policy, where humanitarian concerns exceed political ones.

Comparison of Turkey's Humanitarian Aid to Somalia and Palestine (2010–2021)

	Palestine	Somalia
Student Exchange	510	3764
Water Well	15	20
Hospital	1	1
School	6	2
Humanitarian Aid (Amount Money)	726 Million USD	1 Billion USD

(Source: TIKa and COHE)

5. EVALUATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF TURKEY AND SOMALIA

5.1. The Ottoman Empire and Somalia Relations

Relations between Somalia and Turkey date back to the Middle Ages, when the Ajuran Empire and Adal Sultanate began to have commercial and military relations with the Ottoman Empire. The Ajuran Empire, in particular, maintained close military ties with the Ottoman Empire. In the wars between the Ajuran Empire and the Portuguese Empire, the Ottoman Empire sided with the Ajuran Empire. The wars between the Ajuran Empire and the Portuguese Empire began in the early 16th century and continued throughout the century. Thanks to Ajuran-Ottoman cooperation, Portugal's attack was stopped, and the famous Portuguese sailor Joao de Sepuvela was killed (Black, 1996: 9). Relations peaked in the 1580s, when with the Turkish seaman Ali Bey cooperated with the Somali fleet. Ali Bey participated in the attacks on the lands ruled by the Portuguese Empire in Southeast Africa along with the Somali fleet (Welch, 1950: 25). As a result of these attacks, significant regions such as Mombasa, Kilwa Kisiwani, and Pate separated from the Portuguese Empire. The Ajuran Empire, which existed in the 16th and 17th centuries, challenged the economic power of the Portuguese Empire in the Indian Ocean by using a coin model similar to one used by the Ottoman Empire. The Ajuran Empire went on to assert its economic independence from the Portuguese Empire (Erdemol, 2016). The Ottoman Empire also advanced quite close relations with the Adal Sultanate and helped the Adal Sultanate during the Abyssinia-Adal War.

5.2. Turkey and Somali Relations after 1923

Turkey and East Africa had had very strong political, economic, and security relations dating from the 16th century. However, after the establishment of the republic of Turkey in 1923, these relations declined. Internal problems and a new secular identity process in Turkey contributed to this weakening of relations with the East African region. In 1976, Somalia set up its diplomatic mission in Turkey (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017). Turkey subsequently opened

its own diplomatic mission in Mogadishu in 1979. However, with the fall of the central government in Somalia in 1991, and the ensuing civil war in the country, Turkey terminated its diplomatic mission there. Turkey donated \$10 million to the countries in East Africa to combat drought as part of the Islamic Cooperation Organization in 1984 (IIT) (Erol and Altin, 2015). Moreover, Turkey led its mission for the UN Peacekeeping Force in Somalia between 1993-1994 (Somali Government Official Website, 2015). Turkey and maintained a rather restrained political and diplomatic relationship with the East African region until the 1990s.

The geopolitical position of Turkey began to change after the end of the Cold War. Its traditional foreign policy paradigms underwent a transformation beginning in the 1990s. Turkish foreign policymakers have formulated new strategies to make the transition from a one-sided foreign policy to a multi-faceted one. Turkey has started to take various steps to strengthen strategic relations with various regions and geographies. For example, Turkey accepted the "Africa Action Plan" in 1998. According to this plan, Turkey aimed to quickly develop a versatile strategy to improve its neglected relations in Africa. However, the Africa Action Plan could not immediately be implemented by the Turkish government primarily due to Turkey's political and economic problems and challenges at the time (Ozkan, 2014). Therefore, it should be stated that Turkish foreign policy can be actively included in global politics even though its practice is quite closely related to Turkey's political and economic stability. Political and economic instability in Turkey has a direct adverse impact on the progress of Turkish foreign policy. The fact that Turkey had 15 foreign ministers between 1990 and 2002 is a reflection of the impact of this instability on Turkish foreign policy, itself becoming unstable as a result (Siradag, 2013). Thus, Turkey followed a western-oriented foreign policy during the Cold War and took steps towards the development of its relations with the West. Domestic problems in Turkey and the Western-oriented foreign policy of Turkey in that period prevented its development with regions such as East Africa where Turkey has strong historical relations.

Turkey's relationship with Africa has strengthened since AK Party came to power in November 2002. Since 2005, Turkey has been one of the countries with the greatest number of diplomatic representations in Africa (Global Diplomacy Index,

2018). AK Party governments have attached importance to the development of relations with different actors and regions and have developed a multi-faceted strategy in foreign policy. Turkey's improving relations with Somalia can be cited as an important example of the implementation of the AK Party's new foreign policy. Despite the continuing civil war there, Turkey made a number of pioneering diplomatic moves. On August 19, 2011, the visit made by the then Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan to Somalia, accompanied by a large delegation from both the political and business world, was the turning point in improving relations with Somalia. Erdoğan was the first statesman from a European or Asian countries to have visited the country since 1990. Similarly, Turkey set up its diplomatic mission in Somalia, on November 1, 2011, the first European or Asian country to do so since 1990 (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016). Both represent steps taken along the path of Turkey's implementation of a multifaceted foreign policy with Somalia. President Erdogan's inauguration of Turkey's largest embassy in the world in Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia, on his third visit to Somalia, on June 3, 2016 represents a further step in this direction. On this visit, Somalia and Turkey signed nine agreements involving various fields, ranging from education to defense.

The following questions will be addressed in this thesis: What is the strategic significance of Turkey for Somalia? Why does Turkey want to improve its relations with a country that has been experiencing lengthy civil war? Are Turkey's relations in Somalia based on a short-term plan or a long-term strategic plan? What are the difficulties in Turkey's relations with Somalia?

AK Party views Turkey's traditional foreign policy as passive, one-dimensional, and western-originated. There are two essential components in the AK Party's new foreign policy discourse: history and geography. Accordingly, the first proposition is the idea that "countries that are not at peace with their history cannot have a voice in the future." Traditional foreign policy rejected the Ottoman legacy, in particular, and kept relations at the lowest level with different actors and regions (Donelli, 2014). However, maximizing relations with the Western world and ensuring the Westernization of society was the most significant aim of the new republic and the Kemalist elite class. Moreover, the traditional, or Kemalist, foreign policy that arose after the founding of the republic had viewed the Ottoman past as a constant threat to

the future of the new secular state (Bozdaglioglu, 2008). It espoused the idea that Turkey was a country that extends to the West geographically. The AK Party's new foreign policy discourse, however, rejects this traditional perspective. Turkey's overall lasting relations, which are at the highest level with the East Africa region and in particular with Somalia, can be explained by the AK Party governments' Ottoman legacy. The Ottoman Empire had considerably political, economic, and cultural relations with the East African region. In the 16th century, the Ottoman Empire played a balancing role in preventing Portuguese exploitation power in the region. It also increased multi-faceted strategic relations with the significant Muslim sultanates there. Commensurate with the conservative identity of the AK Party, TİKA (Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency) has been restoring artifacts from the Ottoman period in Somalia.

5.3. Evaluation of the Relationship between Turkey and Somalia

5.3.1. Humanitarian Aid

Even though Turkey helped Somalia in 2011 because of the drought and famine it was experiencing, Turkey had been helping Somalia since 1995. Depending on the circumstances of the country, Turkey has helped Somalia many times. After 2011 and visits to the country made by Recep Tayyip Erdogan and diplomats representing a range of interests, Turkish aid grew. Turkey's initial intention was to draw the attention of the world to the drama being played out in this region and to help Somalia overcome the devastating effects of famine. Also, Somalia was in need of immediate aid. Subsequently, however, government agencies and some NGOs from Turkey have pioneered aid activities in Somalia designed to contribute to the formation of 'self-sufficient Somalia' and to help the country out of chaos. In this context, Turkey ranks 4th, after the USA, the EU, and the UK, among the countries helping Somalia the most. Emergency and development assistance has constituted most of this aid. In addition, with Somalia facing destruction due to civil war, much effort was made to build domestic peace in the country.

Lastly, Turkey has particularly helped to ensure the safety of the Somalian people's life and property. Through the aid it has provided and the humanitarian diplomacy in which it has engaged, Turkey has tried to create new avenues for the reforms needed to bring about domestic stability. Hence, one of the key aims of providing aid has been to solve the problem of security and to ensure internal peace. Turkey has built needed units, portable kitchens, and prefabricated homes for women, children, elderly people, and orphans. It has also ensured that equipment for surgeries and healthcare is provided. Turkey has played a major role in distributing food, clothing, and other essentials in Somalia, a country that struggles with famine and hunger. Among the organizations delivering emergency aid has been TIKA, Red Crescent, the Religious Foundation and Directorate of Religious Affairs, the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, the State Hydraulic Works, State Airports, the Ministry of Health, the Presidency of Turks Abroad and Related Communities, Anadolu Agency, Yardımeli, the IGMG Hasane Association the Beşir Association, the Cansuyu, Deniz Feneri İhlas Foundation, the African Brotherhood and Solidarity Association,, the Isra Association, IHH Turkey, IHH Europe, the Nile Organization, the charity Move, Doctors, Aegean Health Association Federation (ESAFED), AID (International Doctors Association), and the Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi Foundation (TIKA, 2019).

Turkey's humanitarian aid for Somalia helped the country satisfy its urgent needs after the drought and famine in 2011. This aid, which included asphaltting the road between Mogadishu and the airport as well as other projects designed to eliminate deficiencies in the infrastructure, has made it easier for Somalia to open up to the world. With the subsequent inauguration of Turkish Airlines' direct flight from Istanbul to Mogadishu, Somalia's communication with the world became even more comfortable. 40 kilometers of asphalt were laid within the scope of asphaltting the main city arteries to Somalia. Furthermore, field hospitals built by Turkey and the doctors working there have provided medical care to an average of 200,000 patients a day.

Water drilling projects carried out in cooperation with TIKA and the State Hydraulic Works (DSI) in the country have met the water needs of approximately 126,000 people. To ensure that measures could be taken to alleviate and prevent

drought, and to improve land wealth, the Somalia Agriculture School and Fisheries Training School were opened (TIKA, 2016: 143).

Turkey is in the process of state-building in a sort of "passive" way, highlighting and empowering the country's local actors and supporting many other projects, ranging from emergency aid to development assistance. Although the discourse of state-building is not officially used by any Turkish official, the aim of Turkey has been to help Somalia establish the mechanisms through which Somali actors can make their own decisions and can stand on their own feet (Eser, 2016).

5.3.2. Student Exchange

The new foreign policy discourse Turkey has followed since 2005 places great importance on developing relations with African countries. This is exemplified by Turkey declaring 2005 as the "Year of Africa." Turkey has attempted to strengthen relations with the region in many ways, particularly by providing support to the work being done by African organizations. These efforts have included conducting mutual high-level visits, opening new embassies, engaging in new business consultancy, signing new economic and trade agreements, and encouraging the participation of Turkish civil society. One of the most valuable areas in which Turkey has provided assistance is education. Turkey has given scholarships to thousands of African students to study in Turkey. Somalia has received special attention in this regard. As part of the student exchange program between Turkey and Somalia, Somali students receive scholarships to attend university in Turkey.

Since the launching of the "Mevlana Exchange Program," an agreement in the area of education signed by Somalia and Turkey in 2011, students from Somalia have been studying at Turkish universities in a number of fields, including science and engineering, social sciences and the humanities, and the health sciences. While these students may not be able to contribute to the development of their own society in the short term, they are expected to play a serious role in the economic, social, and political structuring of Somalia in the medium and long term. Somalia, with its 494 students, is the African country that has sent the most students to Turkey (Ergan, 2016). There have been many meetings held at multiple levels with the Somali

diaspora in different countries, all of which having the common aim of working together with the assistance provided. For example, a widely supported Somali Diaspora Meeting was held Istanbul in the summer of 2014. At this meeting, workshops were conducted to discuss both the definition of the problems and possible cooperation opportunities available. This effort has led to Somali students receiving full scholarships to study at private universities in Turkey. The first step was taken in 2011, with 235 Somali students being brought by Turkish Airlines to study during the 2011-2012 school year. Turkey financed the living and educational expenses of these students. The non-profit private (foundation) Turkish universities opening their doors to these students include Atılım University, Bahçeşehir University, Beykent University, and Bilgi University.

According to Council of Higher Education (CoHE) (2019), Somalis lead in the number of foreign students studying in Turkey. The following table shows the number, according to data released by the CoHE, according to less developed countries of foreign students coming to Turkey is given.

Table 1. Number of foreign students in Turkey (CoHE, 2019)

Less developed countries	Number of Students in Turkey
Somalia	3,764
Afghanistan	6,894
Yemen	3,076
Jordan	2,643

517 of the 3,764 Somali students in Turkey are studying at private universities. The rest study at public universities. These data demonstrate that Turkey is working to support Somalia by helping to train and educate students (CoHE, 2019).

5.3.3. Turkey and Fighting Terrorism (al-Shabaab)

Currently, the greatest obstacle to security in Somalia is the al-Shabaab terrorist organization, which is attempting to expand its hold on the country by feeding on instability and chaos. Its aims are, broadly, to eliminate Western influence in the country by engaging in jihad against Islamophobia and establishing the Somali caliphate. However, their actions actually serve to contradict their purpose. They make life difficult for the Somali people and cause increasing bloodshed in the country. The 2013 report prepared by the United Nations highlighted that al-Shabaab's attacks on civilians have increased considerably recently. Referring to the report, Ban Ki Moon stated that 63% of the human rights violations in Somalia were committed by al-Shabaab militants (Artokça, 2018). The targets of their attacks are any elements that will strengthen the current government, and al-Shabaab is troubled by the relationships established between Turkey and the Somali government since 2011. Ban Ki Moon also believes that as a Muslim country, Turkey's aid to Somalia and its stabilization there narrows its field (Barnes and Hassan, 2007: 157).

Turkey has provided aid with great humility and speed. This aid is greatly appreciated by the Somali people, who view Turkey differently than they do western countries. At the same time, however, this aid aggravates Al Shaabab, primarily because al-Shaabab is fueled by instability in the country (AFB, 2016).

Al Shaabab has engaged in suicide attacks, the first one having taken place in Mogadishu in October 2011. "Among those killed were 70 students waiting for word on whether they had received a scholarship from Turkey" Turkey quickly sent an ambulance plane for those injured in this attack (AFB, 2016).

In another attack by al-Shabaab, on May 25, 2012 in Mogadishu, a Turkish businessman died. In another attack, on April 15, 2013, the Red Crescent aid convoy was shot at by al-Shabaab. While 16 Somalis were killed in this attack, four Turkish officers were injured (Erdemol, 2016). On 27 July of the following year, al-Shabaab conducted attack on the Turkish Embassy in Somalia, describing the Turks as infidels. While one Turkish special operations police were killed in the attack, three police

officers were injured. This was a direct attack on Turkey, which made it more critical (AFB, 2016).

Since 2014, al-Shabaab threats to Turkish embassies and Turkish presence in the entire East African region have risen. A vehicle containing Turkish Airlines employees was attacked in Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia. In the attack, Turkish Airlines Security Chief Saadettin Dogan died in the hospital where he was taken after being shot in the head. Again in the same year, in Mogadishu, retired SAT commando Ergin Geldikaya, who was a close friend of retired SAT Commando Saadettin Dogan (42), died in an armed attack. Turkey is intensifying its state-building efforts through the aid it provides. The organization continues to carry out systematic attacks as it sees its field of operation shrinking as a result of this aid (Erdemol, 2016: 3).

Among the more recent of these assaults is one conducted on January 18, 2020, where a Turkish construction company operating 30 kilometers outside of Mogadishu was attacked, 6 Turks and 9 Somali were injured (<https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2020/dunya/son-dakika-somalide-turklere-yonelik-bombali-saldiri-5575299/>). In the last attack, on January 2, 2021, where Turkish citizens working in Mogadishu-Afgoye road construction were targeted on January 2, 2021, two people were killed and 14 people were injured (<https://www.dw.com/tr/somalide-bombali-saldiri/a-56115115>).

Since Al-Shabaab sees the humanitarian aid activities being carried out in the region by the United Nations, the International Red Cross, and other aid organizations as a threat, these organizations are subject to its attacks from time to time. Al-Shabaab aims to make the people dependent on them by preventing the entry of international aid into the country or forcing them to pay a price for the aid that it lets in. Intelligence obtained indicates that attacks on Turkey continue to be planned by the organization, which operates not only within Somalia but also on the border and in Turkey, where it has sympathizers (Africa Briefing 2018: 5).

Al-Shabaab seeks to generate internal instability through bomb attacks on the civilian population. Since leaving the ICU (Islamic Courts Union), the organization has trained terrorists who have conducted approximately 550 terrorist attacks, killing

more than 1,600 people and injuring more than 2,100. The organization, which carried out only ten attacks in 2007, was responsible for 200 attacks in 2012. The organization has masterminded many attacks in Kenya, Nigeria, and Djibouti in recent years. It is believed that 65% of the attacks in Kenya between 2008-2012 are linked to Al-Shabaab. Sheikh Abu Zubayir, identified as the best-known leader of al-Shabaab, declared his allegiance to the leader of the al-Qaida Terrorist Organization, to which he was ideologically affiliated from the very beginning, and with which he officially united on February 10, 2012 (Sıradag, 2015).

Besides attacking humanitarian aid agencies like the UN and the International Red Cross, al-Shabaab also frequently targets soldiers belonging to the AMISOM (African Union Mission to Somalia), which is deployed for the purpose of keeping the peace in the country (Kambere, 2012).

While al-Shabaab's attacks on Turkey have risen, particularly in 2012 and in 2013, Turkey has increased its aid since 2012. As stated above, the latest attacks were carried out in January 2021. Despite this, in 2014, Somalia ranked 4th after Syria, Tunisia, and Kyrgyzstan among the countries receiving the most aid from Turkey. However, since 2014, aid to Somalia has gradually dropped. There are many reasons for this decline. As a result of Turkey's attempt to cope with the burgeoning refugee crisis, in 2014, most of its humanitarian aid went to Syria. Another reason has to do with growing government stability in Somalia. While the government there is not fully effective, it has been relatively successful in organizing the distribution of aid, using the country's own resources, and building functional institutions. All of these factors have shaped the nature of aid. The government has managed to create the economic dynamics necessary for a self-sufficient Somalia. Therefore, aid has decreased compared to previous years. Despite the ongoing al-Shabaab's attacks, Turkey has been stood with Somalia.

5.3.4. Al-Shabaab and Turkish Aid

Turkey desires a united powerful Somali for the purposes of regional stability. Its attempt to bring Somaliland President Ahmed Mohamed Silanyo and the President of the Federal Republic of Somalia, Sheikh Mahmud, to the negotiating table in

Ankara drew opposition from groups that did not want dialogue, especially al-Shabaab.

Al-Shabaab voiced opposition to the opening by Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan of the Turkish embassy complex in June 2016 and to the building of the first Turkish military base in Somalia, with the aim of training 10,500 Somalian soldiers within the framework of the “Defense Industry Cooperation Agreement” (Kaya and Warner, 2018: 3).

Turkey also aspires to contribute to domestic peace by providing aid. Because Turkey and Somalia are both Islamic countries, Turkey has been able to establish a unique and warm relationship with the Somali people. Disturbed by this relationship, al-Shabaab constantly formulates negative anti-Turkey narratives in order to foment anti-Turkish public opinion. The organization asserts that Turkey is an agent of Western governments and that the principal purpose of Turkish aid in Somalia is to secularize the country and transform Somalia into a country of nonbelievers (HaberTurk, 2016).

After Ahmed Abdi Godane was killed in a US airstrike in September 2014, Ahmed Dirie took over command of the organization. On July 14, 2016, he declared Turkey to be the "enemy of the Somali people." In another statement he made, he described Turkish investment as a form of Western colonialism, arguing that humanitarian aid belongs to the wealth of the central government. He threatened to burn the people who import Turkish merchandise, claiming that it affects domestic trade, especially in the regions where it is active (James, 2016, <http://buzzkenya.com/al-shabab-bans-turkish-goods-in-somalia/>). The organization repeatedly states on its radio and social media channels that Turkey supports the Federal Government and works to prevent the establishment of sharia order. (HaberTurk, 2016, <https://www.haberturk.com/dunya/haber/1266435-es-sebabdan-kustah-aciklama>).

The organization feeds upon instability and ongoing war, and hence strives to fuel the destabilization of the country.

5.3.5. Turkey's Military Training of Somalia in Anti-Terrorism

Somalia's Turkish Task Force Command operates to support education and improve the organization, training, military infrastructure, and logistics systems of the Somali Armed Forces. It was established on September 30, 2017 with the participation of Somali President Mohammed Abdullah Fermacu and Turkish Chief of General Staff Gen Hulusi Akar, who visited the country. Besides civil war and famine, restoring security is the most essential step of the initiatives in a country brought to the edge of disaster by terrorism. The Somali Military Academy and Petty Officer School are working on developing their capacities. Officers and non-commissioned officers, who will form the basis of the Somali army, are being trained by the distinguished personnel of the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) in a command stationed on the coast of the Indian Ocean. Somali soldiers, who are trained according to Turkish army traditions, are provided with leadership training right along with other military subjects (<https://www.defenceturk.net/somalideki-turk-askeri-egitim-ussu-159-mezun-verdi>).

The facility, which has the architecturally most modern campus in Mogadishu, also includes a language laboratory, library, cinema, and conference hall. The garden was landscaped by the soldiers (https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/TURKSOM_Askerî_Eğitim_Üssü).

At the military Academy, Somali soldiers are provided with Turkish language and are given the chance to improve their reading, writing, and speaking skills. Soldiers are trained in combat, weapon knowledge, mines, and hand-made explosives, basic maritime, anti-tank, heavy machine gun, and mechanical marksmanship and shooting. They are trained on the pentathlon track, which consists of challenging sections such as hurdles, the Italian pit, and the Irish table. Agility, endurance, flexibility, balance, and coordination are analyzed in the courses (<https://www.defenceturk.net/somalideki-turk-askeri-egitim-ussu-159-mezun-verdi>).

Somalia soldiers are trained by Turkish commandos to take a position, change position, and jump in the field within the scope of combat training. At the same time, Somali soldiers practice the locally produced national infantry rifle (MPT-76) during

shooting training (<https://www.amerikaninsesi.com/a/turkiye-somali-ordusunu-silahlandiriyor/4193977.html>).

Turkey's military training in Somalia principally aims to build a solid Somali army against terrorism. In this regard, Turkey supports international efforts to resist piracy and armed robbery.



6. EVALUATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TURKEY AND PALESTINE

6.1. The Ottoman Empire and Palestine Relations

Turkey has had a common history and close cultural and social relations with the Palestinian people for centuries. Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire and this great empire was associated with Palestine in many respects, the most important being the religious factor in terms of the religious and spiritual status of Palestine. Throughout its existence, the Ottoman Empire had been able to preserve the Palestinian identity and heritage (Saleh, 2010: 7). The Palestinian question has long been central to Muslim concerns due to the challenges posed by the Zionists with respect to Al Aqsa Mosque and Jerusalem. Turkey has played a role in shaping developments historically (Al-Ajrami, 2015: 87).

After Ottoman Sultan Selim I's victory over the Mamluks, Palestine remained under Ottoman control until 1917. During that time, Christians and Jews living there were allowed to freely practice their religions. Some have said that all those who lived during that period remember the Ottoman period as one of harmony between Muslims, Christians and Jews in Palestine and that this balance was destroyed by the British. When the British High Commissioner for Palestine, Herbert Samuel, arrived in Palestine in 1920, he managed to write that he found "one whole Palestine." It was the British who reinforced divisions among the religious communities, divided Palestine and eventually paved the way for the Israeli occupation of all of Palestine today (Polley, 2017).

It did not take long for the Ottoman Empire to realize the gravity of the situation and the conferences surrounding Palestine. This was particularly evident after the convening of the first Zionist conference in Switzerland in 1897, which prompted the Ottoman state to take several measures to establish the city of Jerusalem and separate it from the rest of the states so that it could block the arrival of illegal Jewish immigrants through the port of Beirut. The Ottoman authorities strongly resisted Jewish attempts to immigrate to Jerusalem, in particular, but the difficult economic and social conditions prompted some people in Palestine to sell part of their

land and property to the Jews (Saleh, 2010: 7). The refusal of Sultan Abdulhamid II to settle the Jewish immigrants in Palestine resulted in European opposition to him. However, the Palestinians still have not forgotten the role he played in repelling Jewish attempts to enter Palestine. When the Turkish Society of Turkey took control of the Ottoman Empire in 1908, it allowed the immigration of Jews to Palestine, the purchase of land and the establishment of settlements (Salhiye, 2009: 25).

The Turkish military establishment proved to be the strongest player in political life after the Turkish republic was declared in 1923 (Saleh, 2010: 10). Turkey was the first Muslim-majority state to recognize Israel in 1949, even though it had voted against the 1947 United Nations (UN) partition resolution. Turkey began to consolidate its relations with the West. The Turkish government legally recognized the establishment of the State of Israel in 1950. Ambassadors were exchanged between the two countries in 1952 (Qudah, 2004).

Turkey's relationship with Arab and Muslim countries began to change in 1996, when it called for the formation of the Islamic Group of Eight (G8), after the Islamic Welfare Party took power under the leadership of Necmettin Erbakan. From then on, relations with Palestine and the Palestinian issue began to gradually return to what they had been in the past.

6.2. Turkey and Palestine Relations after 1923

Turkish-Israeli political, economic and military relations before and after this period were good but the Turkish policy after the February 28, 2000, Al-Aqsa Intifada, added a new strategic dimension to cooperation under the supervision of the main ministry such as Necmettin Erbakan. Turkey's interest in the Palestine issue was not one-sided. Likewise, Palestinian president Yasser Arafat was pleased with Turkey's interest in this issue (Aras, 2002: 56).

Turkey reached a point where it could not prevent the Turkish public from maintaining an interest in the Palestinian issue. The Turkish media drew attention to the inclusion of the former president Suleyman Demirel in the Special Commission to investigate the escalation of violence in the occupied territories. The Turkish

contribution to solving the Palestinian problem was presented as the only possible contribution to the Palestinian cause (Aras, 2002: 59).

During this period, Turkey assumed a prominent role in the Middle East and acquired a strong presence in the region, with the Palestinian cause becoming an important part of Turkish policy. This became even more evident with the rise to power of the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) in 2002, after which Turkish-Palestinian relations became even more pronounced. AK Party's foreign policy concept was based on a deep understanding of Turkey's history, cultural geography and the accumulation of successful policy (Al- Zaatari, 2016:40:51).

Despite the Islamist leanings of AK Party and its leaders' efforts to deepen ties with the Palestinian side, it was unable to deviate from the policy of close relations between Ankara and Tel Aviv. Although the relationship has had its ups and downs, it has continued to be active in all areas (The Strategic Report for Palestine 2005). However, Turkish-Israeli relations reached a low point in October 2010 after the Israeli attack on the Mavi Marmara vessel, without having given sufficient time for any political maneuvers between the two parties. Several projects between the two sides were subsequently canceled (Al-Ajrami, 2015: 87).

Turkish-Israeli relations have become strained since the sharp statements and harsh criticism made against the backdrop of the Israeli escalation in Jerusalem and the announcement by President Trump that the US would recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and transfer its embassy there. Erdogan's remarks came across as those of a president that did not fear Israel. The Palestinians considered them to be stronger than the timid remarks made by some Arab heads of state.

In an earlier period, Turkey was involved in internal Palestinian relations in its role as an intermediary for the reconciliation efforts between Fatah and Hamas designed to end the state of Palestinian division. This was in addition to the role played by its offices in the Palestinian territories, as well as that of the media in highlighting the Palestinian issue and exposing the practices of the occupation. The great efforts Turkey has made in the areas of relief and development in Gaza and the West Bank, as well as its supportive attitude towards the Palestinians in the recent Al-

Aqsa Mosque crisis, has led to Palestinians welcoming its role in the reconciliation process.

One of the turning points in the Turkish-Palestine-Israeli relationship was the incident involving the Mavi Marmara (a flotilla organized by a Turkish NGO, the Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief: IHH, whose aim was to reach Gaza with the humanitarian aid). While in international waters, Israeli commandos attacked the Mavi Marmara, resulting in the deaths of ten Turkish activists. The attack led to the Turkish government threatening to suspend relations with Israel if the latter did not formally apologize, agree to pay compensation to the victims' families and lift the Gaza blockade. The Mavi Marmara incident severely strained the relationship between Turkey and Israel, causing it to drop to its lowest point. The recalling of ambassadors and the cancelling of military agreements followed it. Turkey called for an emergency meeting of the UN Security Council and then Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan characterized the attack as a "bloody massacre and state terrorism." In the following months, the relations between Turkey and Israel remained tense and unstable. Turkey warned that unless Israel officially apologized, lifted the blockade of Gaza and paid compensation to the families of deaths there was no way ties and relations between the two countries could normalize.

Since 2007, the city of Gaza and the strip have been under the blockade of the Israeli state. Israel keeps all the inflows and outflows from land and sea under control of HAMAS terror acts in Gazze. This affects the living conditions of the Palestinian people in a very negative way. The Palestinian people living in Gazzc are struggling to survive under these difficult conditions. Under the leadership of the IHH, which is seeking to attract the attention of the world to this region by piercing the blockade of Israel and not wanting to be silent on this humanity drama, the fleet consisting of 6 ships within the scope of the "Our Rotamiz Palestinian Humanitarian Aid" campaign was set to take humanitarian aid to Gaza on 28 May 2010 .(GRIGORIADIS, 2012 p:9)

May 31, 2009 The Israeli army intervened on the Blue Marmara ship, approaching Gaza, about 70 miles from the international waters, and nine Turkish citizens lost their lives and wounded many, resulting in the most serious crisis of Turkish - Israeli relations history. Turkey's foreign ministry has declared to the world that this massacre could be an irreparable consequence: Turkey, behind its support in the international public game, described Israel's action as "state terrorism" and "piracy" and Ambassador Celikkol was immediately called to the center Relations have been reduced to the level of maslahatgüzar. (JACOBY, 2013: 33)

It is observed that the last two of Turkey's demands were fulfilled by Israel after the meeting of Foreign Affairs Minister Davutoglu and the Minister of Industry and Trade and Labor Ben-Eliezer on 31 June 2010 in Bruxelles. In this context, the seized vessels were returned to Turkey in August 2010 and an investigation panel was established by the UN Secretary General. (TUYSUZOGLU, 2014: 81)

Some commentators who try to interpret the point of Turkey-Israel relations stress that it is not necessary to exaggerate the point that Turkey has reduced diplomatic relations with Israel to the second level in the past, taking into account the decisions taken by Turkey. But what should be noted here is that the tensions that have been experienced in Turkey-Israel relations have come to the fore as a result of the Arab-Israeli relations. But this incident is different. Until today, Turkey and Israel did not directly face each other, even for the first time in the history of the Republic, civilians of Turkish citizens were killed by a regular army. Because of this process, Turkey-Israel relations have a potential to affect Turkey, especially Israel, the Middle East which is rooted in change, and every part of the region, especially USA, to influence more or less.

The Mavi Marmara incident has created an important trauma in Turkish memory. Because the Mavi Marmara raid has been a barrier to these hopes and expectations for the Turkish society, which I think I have started to develop a successful society sensation. The Turkish society has been overwhelmed by the Israeli government because of this attitude of Israel. On the other hand, Turkey has faced the re-axising debate after the Mavi Marmara incident. But in society as a whole this situation is not axis shift but axis expansion.(UZER, 2011: 42)

The face of Turkey turns to the West but the back is never turned to the East ". Apology expresses that Turkey does not break from the West but its relations with the East must continue. Many groups, both inside and outside Turkey, have supported this leadership under the leadership of Turkey. Turkish society is a thoughtful judge that Israel uses disproportionate force in the case of the Blue Marmara and that the blockade in Gaza must end. Contrary to what is known about the attack on the Mavi Marmara, it can be said that Prime Minister Erdogan and Turkey strengthened the new image in the Middle East and this incident also triggered the domestic politics of Turkey. (TÜR, 2012: 60)

Turkey insists that two issues be discussed before its relationship with Israel can be stabilized: an agreement must be reached over the Mavi Marmara incident and Israeli attacks on Palestine must end. Neither side is likely to soften its line in the near future on either front. However, there is still hope because of the common interests of the two countries in the Middle East in the areas of energy, military agreements, economic agreements and political goals. Ricciardone, former ambassador of the US, indicates that it is impossible to see a stabilized and peaceful Middle East without Turkish-Israeli cooperation (Al-Ajrami, 2015: 89).

While Turkish-Israeli ties were strong, particularly military and military industrial ones, the three-week war between Israel and Hamas soured Israeli-Turkish relations in 2008-2009. Ahmet Davutoglu, then Foreign Minister of Turkey, declared the suspension of relations with Israel after the Mavi Marmara incident, but public

statements from Israeli officials questioned this. As Isabel Kershner indicated in the New York Times, the Israeli government cancelled a \$141 million contract for the supply of advanced aerial intelligence systems. Kershner (2010) quotes several Israeli officials who claim that the reason for this cancellation was that Turkey was shifting alliances in the turbulent region, causing Israel to worry that its delicate technology would be shared with hostile governments, such as Iran.

While the Mavi Marmara incident was important, and significantly harmed Turkey-Israel relations, it mainly affected Turkish interests. Turkish recognizes that Palestinians need help to overcome the challenges stemming from other events affect them. This explains, in part, Turkey's interest in what is occurring in Palestine.

6.3. Evaluation of the Relationship between Turkey and Palestine

6.3.1. Humanitarian Aid

The people of Palestine experience a range of problems under Israeli occupation. These include living under poor health conditions, requiring food assistance and first aid support, and high unemployment. Suffering wars and conflicts for 60 years, Palestine has been seen as the "bleeding wound" of the Middle East. Turkey continues to provide a variety of humanitarian aid to Palestine. Leading the aid effort are the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) and the Turkish Red Crescent. Turkey's official development assistance to the Palestinians is conducted through TIKA, which opened a Program Coordination Office in Ramallah in 2005. TIKA provides support to small and medium-scale development and humanitarian aid projects in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem through the Ramallah Office.

The Turkish Red Crescent has always extended a helping hand to Palestine during humanitarian crises, which, despite the vast measures taken, are never-ending. They harm the Palestinian economy and produce growing unemployment. The majority of the people in Palestine struggle to survive on an income of less than \$2 a day. Nevertheless, difficulties in the transportation of international aid remain.

The tensions between Gaza and Israel rose with the killing of military leader Ahmad al-Jaabar by Israel on November 14, 2012. As a result of Israeli air strikes launched after retaliatory missiles fired against Israel by Gaza, 103 Palestinians lost their lives, 13,991 were injured, 15,000 were left homeless, and 8,000 houses were damaged.

Humanitarian aid to Palestine by the Turkish Red Crescent commenced in 2008 and is continuing. The ongoing material aid shipments and various improvement period projects are carried out under the "Palestine Humanitarian Aid Operation" of the Turkish Red Crescent. A communication office was opened in Jerusalem and a delegation head office was opened in the Gaza Strip in order to receive and distribute aid to the region.

A total of two Turkish Red Crescent officers and four local personnel work in the Gaza Delegation Directorate. Two jeeps and one minibus are used by the delegation (TKDGM, 2015: 2-22).

This is the situation of TIKA and the Turkish Red Crescent in Palestine. However, other organizations are providing humanitarian aid in Palestine, too. They include official institutions such as the Yunus Emre Institute (YEE) and the Directorate of Religious Affairs, as well as NGOs such as the IHH (Humanitarian Relief Foundation). Turkish hospitals have been built through aid to Palestine. Other, direct aid, has been provided to families living in the Gaza strip to meet their needs for first aid and food.

AFAD (Disaster and Emergency Agency) also has an important place in Turkish aid to Palestine. Since 2010, AFAD has provided aid to the region in many ways (AFAD, 2019). This aid has gone towards, for example, water rehabilitation projects, generator grants, water well and sewage pump construction, medicine and medical equipment purchase, hospital progress payment, university equipment and book grant, maintenance and repair of demolished mosques. AFAD has also worked in coordination with TIKA and the Turkish Red Crescent to provide aid (AFAD, 2019; TIKA, 2019).

Palestine is ranked 3rd among the countries Turkey has done the most to help (TIKA, 2019). The amount of aid going from Palestine to Turkey exceeded 40 million dollars in 2019. Turkey is working to ensure a positive contribution to Palestine with the following assistance:

- Food and medicine supply,
- School and hospital constructions,
- Student scholarships,
- Various cash benefits.

Some aid goes towards the construction and repair of mosques, designed to strengthen and restore Jerusalem's Muslim identity. Promoting Turkey and preserving Ottoman heritage are also major aims of this kind of aid. Thanks to this close contact with Palestinian, who have lived under occupation for more than 50 years in Gaza, the West Bank and Jerusalem, it is possible to overcome major socio-economic deficiencies. Turkey is also striving to raise awareness in Turkish and foreign public opinion in order to find a lasting solution to the Palestinian problem. Thus, many institutional actors and NGOs are publicizing the Palestinian effort in order to make it more visible in Turkey and keep it on the world agenda. In addition to the Turkish government itself, DEIK (the Religious Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations Board) works to maintain the visibility of the Palestinian plight. Trade and tourism are among the means through which this is done. The common message of these various actors and institutions is that Turkey is committed to a presence in this holy land and to standing alongside the Palestinian people both politically and economically. Turkey aims at providing leadership within the Muslim world and seeks to enhance solidarity and to resolve the question of Palestine peacefully.

6.3.2. Student Exchange

A student exchange program, called the Mevlana Exchange Program, is being carried out between Palestine and Turkey, whereby Palestinian students are provided with opportunities to study in Turkey. The aims of this program are:

- To provide Palestinian students with a better educational opportunities
- To make Turkey a center of attraction in the area of higher education
- To increase the academic capacity of Turkish higher education institutions
- To contribute to the globalization process of higher education
- To share the historical and cultural heritage of Turkey on a global scale
- To enrich the culture of respect and tolerance to differences by increasing intercultural interaction

There are many Palestinian students studying in Turkey as a result of this program. Better educated Palestinians are needed to tackle the challenges facing Palestine. This exchange program enables Palestinian students to get to know the region and the world better, to become more open to change, to be better equipped and to acquire greater self-confidence.

Various scholarships are provided to Palestinian students participating in the Mevlana Exchange program to study in Turkey. Scholarships are given to students within the scope of Law No. 5102 on "Granting Scholarships and Loans to Higher Education Students."

However, relatively fewer Palestinian students are studying in Turkey compared to students from other less developed countries. The number of Palestinian students studying in private universities in Turkey is 510 (CoHE, 2019).

Table 2. The Number of Palestinian Students Studying in Turkey compared to students coming from other less developed countries

Less developed countries	Number of Students in Turkey
Palestine	510
Cameroon	294
Kazakhstan	280
Turkmenistan	466
Nigeria	836

Source: CoHE, 2019

6.3.3. Fatah, Hamas and Turkish Aid

6.3.3.1. Turkey and Hamas

Hamas is an Islamic resistance movement that is part of the Islamic Renaissance Movement. It believes that this renaissance is the main way to achieving its goal of liberating Palestine from the river to the sea. It made up the largest Palestinian faction in the latest elections (Aljazeera, 2007). Its roots are Islamic and its founders are ideologically linked to the Muslim Brotherhood. Moreover, Hamas and the Turkish Justice and Development Party (AK Party) are linked to the same movement. "There also appears to be ideological familiarity between the two," (Lindenstrauss and Kivim, 2014: 10). Turkey regards Hamas as a legitimate political actor, not as a political body or a terrorist organization (Lindenstrauss and Kivim, 2014: 10). In 2004, Erdogan described Israel as a "terrorist state" following the assassination of Hamas leaders. The Israelis were profoundly alarmed by this statement (SDE, 2011: 13).

Since the founding of Hamas in 1987, Israel has considered it to be a terrorist organization. It is an armed movement against Israel and, since 2007, the United States and the European Union have recognized this organization as a terrorist

organization because of the attacks it has carried out against Israel at different times. However, after the electoral victory of Hamas in 2007, there was a rapprochement with Turkey. The Hamas's relationship with Turkey has been linked to the rise of the Islamist AK Party, which has a special relationship with Hamas. Hamas and Turkey share both political and religious concerns over the Palestinian cause and the status of the Al-Aqsa Mosque. AK Party treats Hamas as a legitimate political party elected by the Palestinian people and as part of the Palestinian political scene, not a resistance movement, and takes its political positions accordingly (Alhaj, 2015). Relations between Turkey and Hamas began to deteriorate sharply, starting in 2006, after the organization received just 44% of the Palestinian general elections. Since then, Turkey has been trying to broker a mediation between Hamas and the West. Relations reached their peak after the "Freedom Flotilla of Gaza" (Mavi Marmara), which sailed from Turkey in May 2010. Much of the leadership of Hamas moved to Turkey after the Syrian revolution. This move occurred with the knowledge and satisfaction of the Turkish state, which provided them with all kinds of support, political and otherwise.

Hamas welcomes Turkey's assistance to Palestine. Turkey publishes the thanks it receives from Hamas for the humanitarian and medical aid it sends to Gaza (<https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/hamastan-turkiyenin-gazzedeki-katliama-verdigi-tepkiye-ovgu/1147755>). Gaza humanitarian aid to families living in the strip and issues such as the treatment Palestinians receive in Turkish hospitals have emerged as important issues in Turkey's relations with Hamas.

6.3.3.2. Turkey and Fatah

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was founded in 1964 with the aim of establishing an independent Palestinian state. It was announced at the meeting of the Arab League in Cairo. The main objective of the organization was to "liberate Palestine" through armed struggle. However, in 1988, the organization recognized Israel and declared its condemnation of terrorism (Interactive Aljazeera, 2015).

In the 1970s, relations between Turkey and Israel began to cool. One of the most important reasons was PLO and Turkey relations (SDE, 2011: 9). In 1984, President Evren met PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat as a sort of rebalancing of relations

between Israel and Palestine (Yılmaz, 2010: 14). In 1988, the second Palestinian independence document, which stipulated the independence of the State of Palestine on the land of Palestine with Jerusalem as its eternal capital, was declared in the Algerian capital. 82 countries have recognized this independence and Palestinian ambassadors have been sent to a number of these countries. The League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference were the first organizations to recognize and grant full membership to Palestine. Turkey was one of the most prominent non-Arab countries to ratify this resolution. Moreover, Turkey recognized the Palestine's Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1975 as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and then allowed the organization to open an office in Turkey in 1979 (Al-Saied, 2014).

While Turkey and the Palestinian Authority share the same strategy: peace with Israel, the Turkish government's rapprochement with the Fatah movement is somewhat a remote possibility as secular thought that does not fit the Islamic-oriented ideology of AK Party. The establishment of the Justice and Development Party Movement and Hamas as part of the Muslim Brotherhood, which both regard as illegitimate, was evident through cautious political dealings with the organization. This is the point of disagreement in the study. Turkey has always committed itself to standing by the Palestinians by providing material and political support to the Palestinian people. Turkish diplomacy has worked on more than one internal Palestinian file. For example, it has made an important effort in the context of Palestinian reconciliation. Humanitarian aid had an important place in these efforts.

6.3.4. Turkish Anti-Terrorism Military Training of Palestine

Turkey has provided training to Palestinian soldiers and police since 2009. Through it, basic military skills are developed. The Palestinian police are also trained by Turkish officials and receive basic security training. A total of 650 Palestinian soldiers and police have successfully completed the training since 2009 (<https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/turk-komutanlardan-filistinli-asker-ve-polislere-egitim-/1088814>). This training is very important for the suppression of both the Israeli threat and terrorist acts.

The aim of military training, one of the forms of aid provided by Turkey for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, is to ensure more effective Palestinian security forces.



CONCLUSION

The purpose of this research was to understand the character of Turkey's foreign aid to Palestine and Somalia. Foreign aid began as a form of Cold War diplomacy between East and West at end of World War II. While foreign aid was provided for the national interest of the donors during the Cold War, later, at the end of the Cold War, it became an expected norm in relations between states – that is, developed states should provide assistance to the least developed states to help to improve the human conditions of poor people living there. Although its purpose has differed from country to country, aid began as a temporary means of exercising Cold War diplomacy during the 1950s and 1960s. Later, during the 1970s and 1980s, it evolved into a mostly development-oriented instrument, particularly with the end of the Cold War era. Aid subsequently acquired new purposes such as promoting political and economic transitions, dealing with global problems, supporting democracy, and post-conflict management. The question of why states provide humanitarian assistance to others has been debated by many scholars in the academic literature. The point at issue has been whether states have duties beyond their borders in which they are supposed to provide aid to help those who are suffering abroad. Many academicians have attempted to explain this question by interpreting it through the lenses of different international relations theories and approaches, which include such standard foreign policy theories as realism, liberalism, and constructivism, as well as other theories focusing on ethics. There are also a number of special theories and approaches that try to explain why states provide foreign aid to people living in other countries. Scholars interpreting the provision of foreign aid through the realist perspective argue that states are self-interest oriented and that they are only responsible for the security and the well-being of their own citizens. However, states may sometimes help others who live beyond their borders, but only if they expect to get something in return. In other words, only if such assistance benefits them at the same time. Realism maintains that whenever states provide foreign aid to other states, while their actions may seem to be humanitarian, they are always motivated by some other political and economic objectives to justify their own foreign policy goals. In contrast, scholars who interpret foreign aid from liberalist perspective argue that states do and should have responsibilities beyond their borders to help others. This view considers foreign aid as an instrument which is used by states to strengthen

interdependence and globalization. Foreign aid that is channeled through international institutions such as World Bank, for instance, is used to control or reduce global problems such as poverty in conflict-affected countries, worldwide infectious diseases, and environmental degradations.

While humanitarian concerns, and the desire to facilitate development and to encourage solidarity, may be key motivations behind the provision of foreign aid, as most donors claim, such aid, especially from the largest bilateral donors, is usually based on the particular national interests of the donors. Having reviewed what the academic literature says about the purpose for which aid is provided as well as how the states actually allocate their foreign aid-giving, this study suggests that foreign aid is an instrument that the policymakers use to pursue their foreign policy aims of dominating, strengthening, pacifying, or changing certain countries.

This is how Turkey's official development assistance to Palestine should be considered. This aid is being carried out in coordination with TIKA, which opened a Program Coordination Office in Ramallah in 2005. TIKA provides support to small and medium-scale development and humanitarian aid projects in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem through the Ramallah Office. The Turkish Red Crescent, which opened a Delegation Office in Jerusalem and Gaza in 2009, also carries out successful development and humanitarian aid projects for the Gaza Strip with its own resources, funds provided by Turkey, as well as foreign donor contributions. The work done by TIKA and the Turkish Red Crescent has mostly focused on areas such as health, agriculture, technical assistance, the protection of cultural heritage, water supply, construction of schools and hospitals, and police training. AFAD continues its food aid activities through the UN Palestinian Refugee Assistance Office (UNRWA). The objective of this aid is to keep Palestine alive, which has been a component of Turkey's foreign policy for years. Ankara sees Palestinians as belonging to one of the most abused communities in the world, and has become their voice on international stage. As part of its foreign policy, it has working to build good relations with Hamas as well as with Fatah. In addition, even though Turkey's relations with Israel have reached the worst level in their political history after Davos and the Mavi Marmara crisis, the rapidly changing international conjuncture and increasing threats to security spawned by the Arab Revolts and the Syrian civil war have softened Ankara's

perspective on the Palestinian issue, resulting in a reduction of tension between Ankara and Israel. Turkey is conscious of the necessity of having a good relationship with Israel in order to be able to help the Palestinians and maintain regional and global power balances. Ultimately, as a mid-ranged regional power, Turkey has both capacities and weaknesses. Since Turkey still needs an international balance of power and military equipment from the United States, the most appropriate approach it can take under current conditions is to use soft powers as effectively as possible to support the Palestinians in the conflict.

On the other hand, a downward trend is observed in foreign investments made by Turkey apart from its aid in Palestine. According to the data of the Turkish Ministry of Commerce, the investment of 94 million dollars in 2016 decreased to 66 million dollars in 2020.

Considering the current situation of the Palestinian issue, the elections to be held come to the fore. The last presidential elections in Palestine were held in 2005. The parliamentary elections were held in 2006. The Hamas Organization did not participate in the presidential elections. In the parliamentary elections, he won the majority in the parliament. Mahmud Abbas had won the 2005 elections. Despite the election results in 2006, most international institutions, including the US and EU, refused to cooperate with Hamas. The reason for this was that Hamas was labeled as a terrorist organization in the international arena. As a result of this situation, clashes broke out between Hamas and the Fatah Movement in Palestine. The Fatah Movement led by Mahmoud Abbas ruled the West Bank, while Hamas formed a second government in Gaza. Despite the intervening 15 years, this paradox has not been concluded and the search for elections has not yielded results. However, Turkey intervened and acted as a mediator in reconciling both sides on the election. Hamas and Fatah met in Istanbul on September 22, 2020 and decided to choose an election. At the meeting in Istanbul, Hamas abandoned its insistence on holding the parliamentary and presidential elections on the same date. The Conquest Movement gave up its desire to hold presidential and parliamentary elections one year apart. Thus, both parties agreed to hold an election on a reasonable date. At this point, elections have not yet been held in June 2021. Elections are planned for the near future.

The elections to be held in Palestine are carefully followed by Turkey. The possibility of Hamas winning the elections could cause a new crisis in the international arena. According to what was spoken backstage, Turkey, Qatar, Russia and Egypt assured the Palestinian parties that they will make an effort to ensure that the international community respects the election results. If Hamas wins the elections, it is considered certain that the EU and the US will cut financial aid and implement a political boycott. It is estimated that Turkey will not cut its aid in such a case and will try to persuade the international community to recognize Hamas.

Turkey has the same motivation when it comes to its aid to Somalia. In order to understand Turkey's aid policies in Somalia, an overview of Turkey's overall official foreign aid, in general, and Africa, in particular, should be examined. Turkey's aid policy vis-à-vis Somalia parallels its general policy towards Africa. Turkey's involvement in Somalia began as a purely humanitarian initiative but later became part of its long-term strategy towards Somalia and East Africa. Turkey's presence in Somalia and its operations in the country have been welcomed and much appreciated by the Somali people. However, this begs the question of 'what are Turkey's ambitions in Somalia? This study suggests that Turkey's humanitarian involvement in Somalia is a reflection of its political and economic interest in the future of Somalia, in particular, and in Africa, in general. Although it is possible to interpret Turkey's actions in Somalia as being based on good intentions and humanitarian concerns, they are primarily motivated by the desire to receive international recognition as an emerging power. Because of Turkey's recent involvement there, Somalia has once again gotten the attention of the international community, and increasingly other donors are now interested in helping Somalia, too. More importantly, this study demonstrates that humanitarian diplomacy and soft power are among the most important tools that Turkey is using as a foreign policy tool to achieve its agendas in Somalia. Implementing humanitarian diplomacy through the provision of aid has enabled Turkey to make a unique and relatively exceptional impact on the ground in Somalia. This study also showcases how Turkey's foreign aid efforts have been different and unprecedented when compared with the other aid donors in Somalia. The amount of aid Turkey provides to Somalia are relatively small when compared with the other traditional donors of Somalia such as the US and the UK. However, the Turkish model of assistance in Somalia has shown that just pouring

money into a country is not enough. The way in which assistance is provided is also an important factor in determining its effectiveness. Even with small amounts of aid, a donor country can make a big difference on the ground. While some of Turkey's actions in Somalia have been criticized both inside and outside Somalia, it is obvious that Turkey had won the hearts of the Somali people. However, there may be some significant issues that have not been discussed yet. Somalia has been in a civil war for more than 25 years. During all these years, conflict and insecurity have persistently destabilized the major parts of the country. Internal conflicts and power struggles influenced by clan issues have fragmented the country into sub-political and territorial entities. This protracted violence and disruption caused by the conflict in Somalia have been generating an urgent need for aid, especially of the humanitarian kind. While aid normally does not cause conflict, it is argued that aid and conflict are interrelated as aid may somehow feed and prolong conflicts. All other aid actors including Turkey, for instance, operate within the political economy of conflict in Somalia. Therefore, there may be several ways in which Turkey's humanitarian aid can impact negatively on Somalia's conflict dynamics. Moreover, Turkey's activities in Somalia have already been accused of limited knowledge of conflict dynamics, diversion, manipulation, and unbalanced geographical concentration of the aid. On the other hand, it could be asked whether it would be successful if the other donors in Somalia used the same model of assistance which Turkey has been using in Somalia.

Considering the current situation in Somalia, the elections to be held come to the fore. Disagreements over the selection process cause conflicts. The leaders of the federal government and regional administration met on September 17, 2020 and agreed to hold elections. This environment of dialogue has deteriorated again today and an environment of conflict has emerged. Opposition presidential candidates in Somalia protested that Muhammed Fermacu continued his duty despite the end of his term on February 8, 2021, and called the people to the streets. While the opposition was preparing for mass demonstrations, all meetings and events were banned by the government on 17 February 2021, citing the increase in Covid-19 cases. On the morning of February 19, in the vicinity of the Nasaha Blood Hotel, where the presidential candidates, Şerif Şeyh Ahmed and Hasan Şeyh Mahmud were staying, a clash broke out between the forces affiliated to the Presidential Candidates Council and the security forces, 1 soldier lost his life and 4 others were injured. In the ongoing

conflict environment, many attacks were carried out and the environment of trust was broken again. In the country where the election crisis has been going on for months, President Abdullah Farmacu signed the bill on April 14, 2021, covering the extension of his and the government's mandate for 2 years. On April 28, 2021, Muhammed Farmacu announced that the works will be started to organize the elections as soon as possible. The African Union called for elections to be held in Somalia. In the developments experienced, Turkey has been making efforts to establish an environment of trust and to hold elections in Somalia.



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