

**ANALYSIS OF BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN TURKEY AND GUINEA:
POLITICAL-DIPLOMATIC AND ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS**

Antoine Tamba MILLIMOUNO

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Antoine Tamba MILLIMOUNO

T.C.

Eskisehir Osmangazi University

Institute of Social Sciences

Department of International Relations

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Başkan

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Mustafa YETİM
(Danışman)

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Tamer Kaşıkçı

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Nuri Yeşiltaş

ONAY

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Prof Dr. Mesut ERŞAN

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ÖZET

GİNE VE TÜRKİYE ARASINDAKİ İKİLİ İLİŞKİLERİN ANALİZİ: SİYASİ- DİPLOMATİK VE EKONOMİK BOYUTLAR

MILLIMOUNO, Antoine Tamba

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Danışman: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Mustafa YETİM

Türkiye ile Gine Cumhuriyeti arasında son sekiz yılda önemli ölçüde gelişen çok boyutlu ilişkiler vardır. Gine Cumhuriyeti'nin “Doğuya-Bak” politikası ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin “Afrika'ya Açılım” politikası ile yönlendirilen bu ilişki, kendine has dinamiklere, gelişim yollarına ve etkilere sahiptir. Ancak, hala bu ilişkiler hakkında araştırma eksikliği vardır. Bu nedenle bu tez, iki ülke arasındaki mevcut siyasi ve ekonomik işbirliğine vurgu yaparak Türkiye-Gine ilişkilerini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Bu tezde nitel yöntem uygulanmaktadır. Araştırmacı, “Tarihsel Gelişim Yaklaşımı” üzerine odaklanmış ve konuyla ilgili mevcut literatürü değerlendirmiştir. Bu tezde ikincil veri analizi kullanılmış olup, Türkiye-Afrika ilişkileri üzerine yapılan araştırmaların betimsel analizine odaklanılmıştır. Araştırmamız, Türkiye-Gine ilişkileriyle ilgili olarak şu sonuçlara ulaşmıştır : (1) İlişkiler iki önemli döneme ayrılabilir: ilişkinin ilk adımını oluşturan her iki ülkenin hükümetleri tarafından 1997 yılında bir ekonomik anlaşmanın imzalanmasıyla başlayan ilk dönem ve 2013 yılında iki ülkenin başkentlerinde Büyükelçiliklerin açılması ile başlayan ikinci dönem; (2) İlişkiler, siyasi-diplomatik ve ekonomik sütunlar olmak üzere iki ana sütun üzerinde gelişmektedir; ve (3) Türkiye-Gine ilişkileri, Türkiye ile Sahra Altı Afrika devletleri arasındaki güney-güney işbirliğinin bir modeli olma potansiyeline sahiptir.

Bu araştırma, Türkiye'nin Gine ile ilişkilerinin neden ve nasıl geliştiğini incelemenin yanı sıra, Türkiye-Sahra Altı Afrika ilişkilerini anlamayı amaçlayan akademik çalışmalara katkıda bulunma çabasını ifade etmektedir. Son olarak bu çalışma, Türkiye ve Gine arasındaki mevcut ikili ilişkileri derinemesine ve metodolojik olarak inceleyen ilk analizlerden birisidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gine, Türkiye, İkili İlişkiler, Dış Politika, Sahra-Altı Afrika.

ABSTRACT

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MILLIMOUNO, Antoine Tamba

Master Degree-2019

Department of International Relations

Advisor: Dr. Lecturer. Mustafa YETİM

Turkey and the Republic of Guinea have significantly developed multi-dimensional relations over the past eight years. Driven by the “Look East” policy on the Guinean side and the “Opening up to Africa” policy on the Turkish side, this relationship has its own dynamic, development path, and implications. However, there is still a lack of research on these relationships and they deserve to be examined in deep to overcome this lack. Therefore, this thesis aims to analyze the Turkish-Guinean relations with a particular emphasis on the current political and economic cooperation between the two countries.

The qualitative method is applied in this thesis. The researcher's focus is centered on Historical Development Approach and assesses available literature on the topic. Secondary data analysis is used in this thesis, and it is focused on a descriptive analysis of the conducted researches on Turkey-Africa relations. The results show the following about Turkey-Guinea relationship: (1) it has crossed two important stages, namely the signing of an economic agreement in 1997 by the governments of both countries that constituted the first step of the relationship and the opening of Embassies in the capitals of two countries in 2013; (2) it is more visible on two main pillars, including the political-diplomatic and economic pillars; and (3) it has a great potential to be a model of south-south cooperation between Turkey and Sub-Saharan Africa's countries.

This research not only tells us why and how Turkey relations with Guinea have evolved but it is also an attempt to contribute to the academic efforts for understanding Turkey- Sub-Saharan Africa relations. Finally, this study is one of the first analyses which read carefully and methodically the current bilateral relationship between Turkey and Guinea.

Keywords: Guinea, Turkey, Bilateral Relations, Foreign Policy, Sub-Saharan Africa.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFDB	African Development Bank
AKP	Justice and Development Party
ANC	African National Congress
AU	African Union
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CNDD	National Council for Democracy and Development
EAC	East African Community
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Military Observer Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
ITC	International Trade Center
IHH	Humanitarian Relief Foundation
MRU	Mano River Union
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OCRS	Common Organization of the Sahara-Sahel Regions
OIC	Organization of Islamic Cooperation
OMVS	Organization for the Development of the Senegal River
PDG-RDA	Democratic Party of Guinea- African Democratic Rally
NAM	Non-aligned Movement
UN	United Nations

UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
RPG	Guinean People's Rally
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
TİKA	Turkish Development and Cooperation Agency

FOREWORD

The achievement of this study is undoubtedly the result of combined efforts. I am fully conscious. That is why I would like to begin by expressing my gratitude to all those who have assisted and supervised me throughout these years of research. My feelings of gratitude are primarily for my supervisor, Asst. Prof. MUSTAFA YETİM, for his availability and quality supervision. His valuable advice, exigency, rigor and his taste for work well done guided me throughout my research.

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INTRODUCTION

The cooperation with the countries of sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is increasingly being considered by emerging countries, particularly in light of the new structuring of the international system. Turkey is one of those countries very interested in the sub-Saharan region, which has long been reported with the typical problems of the Third World countries. In other words, SSA is infested with the deepest levels of poverty, corruption, conflicts, refugees, the lowest share of world trade, and the weakest development of human capital and infrastructure, to say the least. However, despite this continental reality, Africa has become one of the elements of balance between the orders prescribed by the current multipolar world and the real political economy. It is for this reason that cooperation with SSA is important for those countries as it will contribute to strengthening political and economic relations. In recent years, relations between Turkey and SSA have become one of the main topics of international relations, contrary to the perception that the existing historical and cultural ties between the two sides are strong and deep. Therefore, this dissertation will discuss primarily Turkey's engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa, focusing on the political and economic aspects of its relations with Guinea and the importance of these relations for both countries.

In looking at the historical context, it must be recognized that Turkey has longstanding relations with Africa and its engagement on the continent dates back to the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans began to establish diplomatic relations and religious cooperation with West Africa in the 19th century¹ and in early 1861 with southern Africa². In the republic period, many steps have been undertaken by Turkey to move closer to the African continent. Those attempts at rapprochement with the continent led to a more certain implementation later, at the bilateral level. That being said, it seems important to first present the different stages of Turkey's rapprochement with Africa and the current state of their relations in order to understand Turkey's presence in SSA. Arguably, relations between Turkey and the African continent have gone through three successive phases. The first phase ranges from the Ottoman State to the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. It was the period during which the Ottoman Empire established significant ties with the African continent. The second phase extends from 1923 to 1998 and marks the period of a virtual absence of Turkey's relations with, especially the sub-Saharan region. The last phase of Turkey-Africa relations corresponds to the period 1998-2005, which was marked at the beginning by the adoption of an Action Plan for Africa in

¹ Numan Hazar, "The Future of Turkish-African Relations", *Diş Politika-Foreign Policy*, (2000), 25, 3-4: p. 110

² Tom Wheeler. "Turkey and South Africa: development of relations 1860-2005", *SAIIA Report 47*, 2005. p. 3-4.

1998. This represents the period during which Turkey has gradually increased its interest in Africa, an interest that has reached a very significant level after the year 2005³.

In acknowledging the impact of the circumstances in the midst of the Cold War, one should recognize that Turkey's serious attempt to develop genuine relations with sub-Saharan Africa was in line with the last phase mentioned above. On the basis of the first substantial efforts made by the country, Turkey's relations with this region have begun to make some significant progress at several levels since 1998⁴. Although Turkey's serious relations with the sub-Saharan region began with the 1998 Action Plan for Africa, the concrete implementation of the later took place only after the lay-version party came to power in Turkey. This has allowed Turkey to work with many countries of the region for the conclusion of new bilateral economic and trade agreements. At the same time, mutual visits through trade delegations were encouraged by the establishment of common economic and political mechanisms. In this sense, the Under-secretariat for Foreign Trade (Ministry of Economy since 2011) prepared the "Developing Economic Relations with Africa Strategy" in 2003. In order to implement this Strategy, trade missions and fairs have been the main tools for raising the awareness of Turkish companies to Africa. In addition, new trade consulates were opened to further strengthen the strategy, which allowed to keep implementing the policy of Opening up to Africa in 2005. In this context, both sides tried to develop relations through new economic and trade agreements and mutual commercial delegation visits. Thus, the sub-Saharan African market has become very attractive for Turkey as for many other emerging powers.

In the same perspective, the needed means and methods have been identified to further improve the relations between Turkey and countries of sub-Saharan Africa, as well as their level of evaluation. It was in this context that the first Turkey-Africa Summit took place in Istanbul on August 18 and 19, 2008. The Summit brought together more than 50 officials from African countries and 11 representatives of international and regional organizations, including the African Union. The outcomes of this Summit were the adoption of "The Istanbul Declaration on Turkey-Africa Partnership: Solidarity and Partnership for a Common Future" and "Framework of Cooperation for Turkey-Africa Partnership"⁵. Then in December 2010, a Senior Level Officials Meeting was held in Istanbul between the delegates from Turkey and the

³ Mehmet Özkan & Birol Akgün, "Turkey's Opening to Africa", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, (2010), Ed. 48, No. 4, p. 530.

⁴ Numan Hazar, "Türkiye'nin Afrika'ya Açılımı" (Turkey's Africa initiative), *Stratejik Analiz (Strategic Analysis)*, (July 2008), Volume 9, No: 99.

⁵ Abdullah, Emre Akel. "How has "Turkey's Africa Strategy" been Affecting Turkey's Exports to Africa?" *GTAP-Global Trade Analysis Project*, (February 2014), JEL-Code: D22, F14, p. 5.

African Union, which resulted in the adoption of the “Joint Implementation Plan of the Turkey Africa Partnership 2010-2014”.

With regard to the health sector, Turkey also has important relations with many countries of the sub-Saharan region through technical assistance and donations, which benefit both sides. In this context, nearly 500 Turkish doctors and more than 100 health workers conducted medical screenings in this region and surgical interventions, including cataract operations between 2007 and 2010. These medical intervention operations have mainly been carried out in countries such as Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Senegal. As part of this health cooperation, Turkey has also provided about \$ 65-70 million to Darfur for the 2010-2015 period to address health, agriculture and education issues. The hospitals built by Turkey in Somalia and opened in 2015 is part of this health cooperation, whose services benefit many other countries in SSA.

Turkey is not limited to diplomatic engagement and representation activities, it is also actively involved in ensuring peace and stability in SSA. The International Conference of Donors and the Conference on Somalia, held in Istanbul by the United Nations on May 21-23, 2010, are the best examples of this. Since peacebuilding is a problem in many countries of this region, Turkey should continue to contribute to peace and stability efforts in Africa as a whole, as it is essential to maintaining strong and stable relations.

For a stronger partnership between Turkey and Africa, it was agreed by both sides to hold Turkey-Africa Summits every five years, alternately in Africa and Turkey. In accordance with this mutual commitment, the second Turkey-Africa summit was held in 2013 in a country in sub-Saharan Africa and the third in 2018 in Turkey.

Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA) has so far undertaken projects in many countries of SSA. To achieve its mission, TIKA decided to open the offices in three African capitals at first, including Addis Ababa, Khartoum, and Dakar. Today, the Agency has fifteen program coordinator offices in Africa and carries out many development projects across the continent. It is reported that the total bilateral official development assistance provided by Turkey to African countries is nearly \$182. 44 million in 2015⁶. Undoubtedly, TIKA is a major player in the Turkish-African rapprochement via its various projects for African countries. In addition, alongside TIKA, the Directorate of Religious Affairs also runs various programs in

⁶ TIKA, “Turkish Development Assistance Report 2015”, (Online), <<http://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/2017/YAYINLAR/TKYR%202015%20ENG/KALKINMA%20.pdf>>, 2015, p.19.

West Africa. Turkey's second commitment in African also includes humanitarian aid carried by civil society and humanitarian associations that are independent of the government. These include a Turkish conservative NGO IHH (Humanitarian Relief Foundation), the Turkish Red Crescent, and so on.

In terms of trade, it should be noted that the volume of bilateral trade between Turkey and Africa has tripled compared to 2003 to reach \$ 18.8 billion in 2017 with a total of exports estimated to \$11.6 billion and imports to \$7.1 billion. As for the investment of Turkish companies in Africa, they totaled more than \$ 6 billion in the same year.⁷ In order to further develop economic relations and trade cooperation between Turkey and Africa, a Turkey-Africa Chamber was created by the Union of African Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Agriculture and Professions and the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey⁸. This mutual mechanism provides a legal and economic framework conducive to economic and trade cooperation between the two parties. In the same perspective, it was decided to issue a single entry visa with a maximum residence period of 30 days at Atatürk Airport as part of the works to facilitate the obtaining of visas for African businessmen. This decision, which came into force on April 20, 2011, was a very significant step in strengthening Turkey's trade relations with Africa.

Rapprochement through the promotion of students' mobility is another important aspect of relations between Turkey and the African continent. In fact, the Turkish government awards annual scholarships to students from Africa under the "Turkey Scholarship" program to study in Turkish academic institutions. Within the scope of this program, nearly 2000 African students have benefited from Turkey's graduate scholarships since 2012. Similarly, graduate, research and language scholarship were awarded to 390 students from various African countries in the 2010-2011 academic year. It should be noted that these students are mainly from the sub-Saharan region.

This study makes it clear that it is largely qualitative research with very limited quantitative data and aims to assess whether or not Turkey's policy for opening up to Africa has revealed performances with regard to the case of Guinea. Therefore, it will try to analyze the political and economic dimensions of Turkey's relations with Guinea within the scope of Turkey's

⁷ Zuhail Demirci and Fatih Hafiz Mehmet, Turkey in Intense Cooperation with Africa, *Anadolu Agency*, (10.02.2018), (online), <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/turkey-in-intense-cooperation-with-africa-/1059565#>

⁸ Mehmet Özkan, "Turkey's 'New' Engagements in Africa and Asia: Scope, Content and Implications" *PERCEPTIONS*, (autumn 2011), Volume. XVI, No. 3, p. 122.

opening policy to Africa. Today, these figures continue to increase gradually and Turkey considers revising them upwards in the coming years.

This study assumes that Turkey and the Sub-Saharan region have entered a new era of partnership and their relations, which have grown considerably, deserve to be evaluated according to a clear methodology. In this regard, this study identifies and examines the benefits, challenges, and opportunities related to these relations in the case of Guinea.

Recognizing the growing competition in the African market, this study highlights that countries such as China, the United States, India, and France are competitive players in front of Turkey in SSA. Certainly, Turkey is less advantageous than these major players, but this study supports that it may not be an obstacle for Turkey if its diplomatic and economic policies toward Africa are adequate. In order to succeed in this competitive environment, Ankara should take into account the economic, political and ethnic differences between the countries of the region. At the same time, it should address the region with a balancing policy and prioritize relations with more important countries to Turkey in the region.

On the basis of Turkey's active engagement in Africa in recent years, this study aims to analyze Turkey's political and economic relations with sub-Saharan Africa by applying the case of the Republic of Guinea.

The objectives of this research are as follows:

- To show the place of Guinea in Turkey's developing relationships with Africa;
- To examine the evolution of the current Guinea-Turkey relationship;
- To answer the question of how these relations will be conducted for the future of Turkish-Guinean rapprochement;
- To identify from the case of Guinea what tools are needed in order to strengthen Turkey-Sub-Saharan Africa relations;
- To determine if Turkish-Guinean relationships can be win-win relationships.

In order to address the abovementioned objectives, this thesis uses a methodology that is qualitative in nature, and the starting point of this is, therefore, to examine the existing literature on this topic. Historical Development Approach is used as the scientific method in this thesis. This approach is chosen because it is useful for investigating past events for a researcher. The principal sources systematically consulted for information are newspapers, journals, statements, and communiqués from 1997 to 2018. Various African, Guinean, Turkish, English and French language news reports have been examined. The Turkish and Guinean news reports were examined during the research stay in the relevant countries. The primary sources used for the study include Turkey and Guinea's successive foreign concepts and speeches of Turkish and Guinean officials. The press releases of Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as statements and communiqués by the officials of Guinea and Turkey, have also been used. Moreover, research reports of think tanks such as the Africa Social Studies and Research Center (ASSRC), African Center for Strategic Studies (AFSAM), Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies (TASAM), The International Journal of African Studies (IJAS), the Middle East and Africa Research Association (ORDAF), Wise Men Center for Strategic Studies (BILGESAM) have also been examined for the purpose of this study. The secondary sources to collect information include scholarly books and journal articles in the field of international relations and social sciences as well as official reports and internet sources.

There is a large number of theoretical studies that have addressed relations between Turkey and the African continent. These include ones which specifically address Turkey's longstanding historical and cultural relations with Africa, but most of them focused on North Africa rather than Sub-Saharan Africa. Thus, this study is very important, as research on this topic has focused mainly on Turkey's relations with North African countries.

The main purpose of this thesis is to establish an understanding of Turkey's engagement in the sub-Saharan region. The level of analysis of the thesis is at a single level; it focuses in particular on political and economic relations between Turkey and the Republic of Guinea. Despite the fact that it covers a timeframe of 1997 to 2018, the study is not a purely historical account of the events. This topic is chosen because Turkey's relations with Guinea and their evolution are still understudied. Although some scholars have written on Turkey's relations with Africa, this study is original in a way that it is the first to methodologically examine relations between Turkey and Guinea for the 1997-2018 period.

This study is organized into two chapters. The first chapter deals with a strategic analysis of the foreign policies of Turkey and Guinea. It examines the concepts and the context of the

evolution of the foreign policies of the two countries since their independence. In the first section of this chapter, Turkish foreign policy is examined from the foundation period of the republic to the period of the ruling AK Party in Turkey. The second section discusses the foreign policy of the Republic of Guinea, namely on its origins, its characteristics, and its evolution since independence.

This will be followed by a broader historical background of relations between Turkey and the African continent in chapter two. This chapter is composed of two main sections. It begins in the first section by reviewing the historical development of Turkish-African relations and goes on to give a general overview of Turkey's relations with the Republic of Guinea. Finally, the second section of this chapter discusses in an analytic way the existing bilateral relations between Turkey and Guinea. In order to fully understand the relationship, it follows a traditional approach in presenting the potential pillars of their relations, concentrating on political-diplomatic cooperation and economic cooperation. First, Turkey's first serious attempt to develop genuine relations with Africa will be briefly discussed in this section. This will also allow to better understand in a specific way Turkey's orientation towards Guinea. This section also treats the role of the Turkish public and private actors in strengthening Turkey's relations with Guinea. These actors include TİKA, Turkish Airlines and the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB). The first two institutions are chosen to be examined in this thesis because they are based in Guinea and have been operating in the country for a few years, thus contributing to the reinforcement of Turkey-Guinea relations. Regarding the last one, its role will be discussed in the framework of the "Turkey Scholarship" program, from which many Guinean students have benefited to study in Turkish universities. Based on a comprehensive analysis of this relationship, the study assesses future opportunities and challenges, while the conclusion gives some policy suggestions for both countries in further developing the relationship.

CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW OF TURKEY AND GUINEA'S FOREIGN POLICIES

1.1 TURKEY'S FOREIGN POLICY

1.1.1 From the Foundation of the Republic until the Advent of the AK Party.

Some key features of Turkey's contemporary foreign policy must be recalled: after 1923, the founder of what still constitutes today the fundamental principles of republican Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, broke with the "Ottoman heritage" by directing resolutely Turkey towards the West. The latter, in this case, Europe at the time, was then seen as the future of Turkey, the path of emancipation and pride found in the country after the humiliation suffered at the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres on August 10, 1920. In this sense, Turkey's foreign policy created a state that conforms to and complies with the standards of the 'contemporary civilization' of Mustafa Kemal, and then with this state it has served itself to become an unchallenged one as well as to normalize and consolidate the project of creating a Western society/nation (Ali Balcı, 2013: 13). From its foundation, Turkey opted for a foreign policy based on some principles, including those of Westernization and peace. To these are added the principles of balance, status-quo, and opportunism that distinguish this period from the other ones⁹. Mustafa Kemal attached great significance and resolutely redirected its foreign policy to these valued principles to protect what was already obtained from the Lausanne Peace Treaty, which resulted in the recognition of Turkey as a sovereign and independent state¹⁰. Moreover, from 1923 to 1932, Turkey's foreign policy evolved under the influence of the Lausanne Treaty that was signed at the end of its national struggle.

However, it should be noted that westernization constituted the main principle of Turkey's foreign policy for years and was seen as an unchallengeable principle by the founder of the Turkish Republic. For Atatürk, a rapprochement towards the West was needed for Turkey

⁹ Ali Balcı, *Türkiye Dış Politikası ilkeler, Aktörler ve Uygulamalar* (Turkey's Foreign Policy Principles, Actors and Practices), Etkileşim, İstanbul, 2013, p. 29.

¹⁰ The Lausanne Peace Treaty was signed on April 23, 1923 at the end of Lausanne conference (a meeting scheduled for peace talks during the Mudanya Armistice talks in Bursa, whose participating states consisted of Turkey, France, the Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Japan, Romania and Yugoslavia). In order to take part in the negotiations regarding the straits issues, Georgia, Ukraine and the Soviet Union were also invited at the request of Turkey. At the Lausanne conference, participating states not only forgathered in dealing with the issues between Turkey and Greece but also consisted of preparing a peace treaty to put an end to existing disputes between Allies and Turkey during the First World War.

to exist in the international system as well as to remain as a sovereign state. Thereon, nearly all authors agree on the fact that Turkey has been following a Western-prioritized and Western-oriented foreign policy since the beginning of its foreign policy in the 1920s. Besides, when we view in terms of maintaining territorial integrity and independence, Turkey's concern about security also influenced its foreign policy. The principle of independence has always occupied a prominent place in Turkish foreign policy not only in its struggle for national liberation but also during the years of the republic. The reason for the importance attached to this principle consisted in assuring the political, military, economic, financial and cultural independence of Turkey.

With the political and economic factors that influenced international relations between 1932 and 1938, Turkey had opted to remain neutral and conducted a policy that took into account both its interests and the international political realities. Because in the 1930s, the main objective of Turkish foreign policy under Atatürk chairmanship was to ensure the satisfaction of Turkey with its new borders. Moreover, the acceptance of Atatürk's "Peace at Home, Peace in the World" motto, as the basis of Turkey's foreign policy coincided with the international conjuncture of that time. As to the achievements of Turkey's peace-oriented foreign policy, Mustafa Kemal in a speech on November 1, 1931, stated as follows:

"Turkey, which upholds the security purpose, the direction of peace that is no unfavorable to any country will always be our motto."(Free translation)¹¹

In accordance with this principle, Turkey not only strove to maintain good relationships with all countries but also cooperated closely with peaceful states against countries that posed a threat to peace with regard to security factor. In addition to those peaceful aspirations, security concerns also constituted one of the guiding factors in Turkish foreign policy during that period. In other words, Turkey was very concerned with its own security and made significant efforts in the preservation of peace through supporting joint security tools that began to shape the international community in the 1930s. As a matter of fact, in a speech issued on 1 November 1933, Turkey's efforts to preserve peace were confirmed by Atatürk with the following words:

¹¹ Mehmet Gönübol & Cem Sar, 1919-1938 Yılları arasında Türk Dış politikası (Turkish Foreign Policy between the Years 1919-1938), in Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası (1919-1973)-(Turkish Foreign Policy with Events (1919-1973), Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, Ankara, 1974, Vol: 3, No: 279, pp. 100-101.

“In order to strengthen international peace and security, the Republic of Turkey was found in auspicious activities in its own zone of influence and power, together with those who have the same desire.”(Free translation)¹²

Following the death of Atatürk in November 1938, there had been new inflictions in Turkish foreign policy. Undoubtedly, the World War II that started a few months after his death was one of the guiding factors in Turkey's foreign policy. In that context of global war, Turkey opted for a “Active Neutrality” as a principle of its foreign policy. Beyond motivation associated with carrying out a policy aiming to become a balancing country between the Big Powers, two reasons justified that neutrality maintained by Turkey. The first reason was related to the maintenance of the country's territorial integrity and independence. Secondly, Turkey opted to stay out of the war because of the imperious need for the country to protect itself from attacks. However, Turkey's proximity to the Soviet Union, ambitions to have control over the Straits and its position as a strategic country in the Middle East region also constituted other guiding factors in its foreign policy. Put differently, Turkey's strategic geographical position was taken into account by the decision-makers in determining the country's foreign policy during World War II¹³. Even more, during that period, Turkish foreign policy did not sufficiently demonstrate efforts to pursue a more proactive and multidimensional foreign policy and to enlarge Turkey's relations with non-occidental countries. Indeed, internal social, economic, and political problems that had endured Turkey and international conditions connected with the Second World War constituted reasons that prevented Turkey from extending its relations and paying special attention to non-Western societies until after the Cold War¹⁴.

In the early years of the Cold War, Western posture was reinforced by an almost unconditional alignment with the West, symbolized by Turkey's entry into North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The United States was not, however, the only ally of Turkey, which paid close attention to the first steps of the European Economic Community, and formulated the objective of integrating the circle of European States. Turkey becomes more westernized than the Western powers, while for these, at least the West European powers, Turkey is not of primary importance despite its essential geostrategic role regarding the Soviet Union. For the little story, since June 1948 when the United States and its Western allies started

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ali Balcı, Türkiye Dış Politikası ilkeler, Aktörler ve Uygulamalar, *op.cit.*,p. 5.

¹⁴ Nasuh Uslu, “Turkish Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Period”, *Nova Publishers*, New York, 2004.

to form NATO Turkey clearly manifested its intent to be part of a military alliance with the United States. That request for NATO membership was refuted by Washington's Administration owing to the fact that Turkey was limited to North Atlantic countries. (Balci, 2013: 46). However, this did not stop Turkey in its race towards NATO, as it finally became a full member of this Atlantic alliance in 1952. After the integration into NATO, as all its security matters were linked to the cooperation within this organization with the "collective defense system", it also established militarily a joint bilateral agreement with the United States¹⁵. Furthermore, Turkey has been following an USA-oriented foreign policy in the 1950s where the active Americanism replaced the foreign policy based on neutrality principle during the 1940s (Ahmad, 1996: 396; Balci, 2013: 49).

This Western posture did not, however, prevent Turkey from having its own voice heard and expressing its independence vis-à-vis its allies since the 1960s. Thus, the country developed a multidirectional approach to its foreign policy, first cautious, then assumed and theorized from the middle of the 1970s. The most significant illustration of this empowerment was the military intervention in Cyprus in 1974 to counter the *coup d'état* fomented by the junta of the colonels in power in Athens, and this, despite the strong blames from the international community, including the European Economic Community. With the end of the bipolar structuring of international relations after the Cold War, new orientation changes occurred, giving Turkey more room for maneuver to develop its own path. This was the time when it was expanding economic ties and political initiatives in newly independent states emerged in the Balkans, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Middle East. Thereby, Turkey moved from a Western-oriented foreign policy to the multi-regional one since the 1990s (Özkan & Akgün, 2010: 556). However, under the leadership of the former Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan, who came to power in the mid-1990s, the Islamic world-oriented foreign policy has been conducting by Turkey. Meaning that opening policy and the Neo-Ottoman's process started with its coming to power were returned to the second plan. Nevertheless, at the end of the 1990s, Turkey began to conduct a multifaceted foreign policy, which has brought her to a more influential position in resolving regional issues. Although those initiatives have not fully satisfied the expectations, they still laid the foundation for Turkey's opening to wider geography since the 2000s. Moreover, the increasing globalization phenomenon that started in the 1980s has further constrained all countries, including Turkey to pursue a more open, dynamic and

¹⁵ Ahmet Şükrü Esmer & Oral Sander, *İkinci Dünya Savaşında Türk Dış politikası* (Turkish Foreign Policy in the Second World War) in *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası (1919-1973)*, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, Sevinç Matbaası, Ankara, 1974, Vol.3, No. 279, pp. 248-249.

preemptive foreign policy. This new foreign policy became more assertive with the advent of the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) in Turkey in the early 2000s.

1.1.2 Turkish Foreign Policy in the Era of the AK Party

In the early 20s, the AK Party came to power and promoted a foreign policy that brought about some developments. This new foreign policy is synthesized by the formula "zero problems with neighbors"¹⁶. It is notably initiated by former Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, who exposed the particular history of Turkey as the foundation of its ambition and right to extend a multidimensional foreign policy. For him, the legacy of Turkey's history, as well as its position as a "crossroads", justify the importance of Turkey's exceptional ties with its regional environment, which constitutes its *strategic depth* and allows it to assert itself as an international power¹⁷. Ranging from Turkey's anchorage to Europe and through regional cooperation as a prerequisite of good neighborliness, the driving line of this new foreign policy of Turkey aims at making the country a factor of stability and moderation. This new foreign policy is based on six principles aiming to secure and promote a peaceful, prosperous, cooperative and stable regional environment conducive to development.

These six principles can be presented as follows: First, the balance between freedom and security: These are two essential notions and values that must always go hand in hand. By this principle, Turkey believes that it is only through democracy that external and internal security can be achieved. The solution is not therefore in the war but in a triangle of freedom, security, and prosperity. Second, the policy of zero problems with neighbors: In the spirit of this principle, the aim is to settle problems with neighbors not by resorting to force but through diplomacy and dialogue, and aiming for growing economic independence. It is, therefore, a peaceful approach favoring the search for solutions through reciprocal compromises. As Turkish former Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu said in one of its article published in 2008, Turkey's considerable cooperation with Syria over the last decade was the most striking example of the success of this policy. However, Turkey's reconciliation of a decade with Syria terminated after the Syrian government refused to put an end to the violent repression on its

¹⁶ Ahmet Davutoğlu, "Turkey's zero-problem foreign Policy", in *Foreign Policy*, (20 May 2011),

¹⁷ Ahmet Davutoğlu, "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007", *Insight Turkey*, (2008), pp.79-80.

dissidents and the open support of Ankara to the Syrian opposition from 2011. This has led to a major academic debate concerning the motives for the radical change of Ankara's position towards Damascus and the viability of the policy of zero problems with neighbors¹⁸.

Third, the action rather than reaction: This principle implies the need not to watch events come and suffer their consequences, but to be a player in pursuing proactive and preemptive diplomacy. In other words, it implies the anticipation of crises before they reach a critical level, the immediate mediation and proposition of a mediation framework in order to overcome them. The case of Israel in the past and Syria at the beginning of its crisis is a striking example of this. It is also in this perspective that the initiative of President Gül to prepare an agreement with neighboring Armenia can be evaluated. As for the Syrian case, it is important to point out that in June 2012 there have changes in Turkey's policy towards the ongoing crisis in Syria. Since the Turkish government began to focus on the threat posed both by the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) affiliation and the Democratic Union Party (PYD) in Syria to Turkey's sovereignty and security. According to Özlem Demirtas-Bagdonas, this change of direction was the consequence of three elements: The first was the destruction of the Turkish F-4 jet by the Syrian defense forces in international airspace without prior warning. The second one constituted the reports that the PYD was supported by the Syrian government and in collusion with the PKK for attacks on Turkish territory. The third and final element was the Syrian artillery strike on the Turkish border that killed five Turkish citizens¹⁹.

Fourth, instead of competition, the complementarity of action with global players such as the European Union, Germany, the United States, etc. Through this principle, Turkish leaders believe that Turkey should not be a country on standby, but a country that takes the initiative to propose mediations and stands in a permanent availability. This is exactly the context in which Turkey's attitude toward the Iranian nuclear issue is inscribed. Fifth, the effective use of international forums (United Nations, NATO, Council of Europe). This is rhetorical diplomacy that means a Turkish presence in all international fora and forums (UN, AU, G20, the League of Arab States, OIC and so on, either as a full member or observer member). The Fourth United Nations Conference on Least Developed Countries (LDC IV- in May 2011) and the International Conference on Somalia (2012), both held in Istanbul under the auspices of the UN are examples of this policy. Sixth, the creation of a new perception of Turkey through an

¹⁸ Ahmet Davutoğlu, "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision," *art.cited*, p-80.

¹⁹ Demirtas-Bagdonas Özlem, "Reading Turkey's Foreign Policy on Syria: The AKP's Construction of a Great Power Identity and the Politics of Grandeur", *Turkish Studies*, (2014), Vol:15, No:1, p.148.

increased focus on public diplomacy. Additionally, the membership to the European Union is undoubtedly a strategic priority for Turkey's foreign policy. However, it also attaches great importance to its strategic partnership relations with the United States as well as to its alliance with NATO.

From these new orientation changes in foreign policy, can also be understood the political crisis between Ankara and Washington when the Turkish Parliament refused, on March 1, 2003, the use of Turkish territory as a rear base for American troops in order to invade its neighbor Iraq. This denial by Turkey to comply with the requests of the United States has witnessed to the Ankara's will to be recognized as a full-fledged player on the international scene²⁰. To this, are added other evidence of this Turkey's desire to become a major actor at the regional level and even more at the international level. Those signs include the rising tensions with Israel whose peak was reached with the violent boarding by Israeli commandos, on May 31, 2010, of the Turkish ship Mavi Marmara off the Gaza Strip and the multiplication of diplomatic initiatives. As a result of that, Turkey's active westernization was questioned by many European diplomacies letting them think that Turkey was losing interest in the European Union²¹. The affirmation of refusal to align with the West gave to her a new credit to the Arab world and a certain atmosphere in the same Western world which, despite its fear of "losing Turkey", did not hesitate to praise the Turkish model. Indeed, based on the experience of their Islamist predecessor, the Refah Party, the founders of the AK Party are keen (Have at heart) to insert the Islam they promote, in a secular, liberal, modern and democratic society, in accordance with the legacy left by Atatürk. The debate was opened as to the relevance of this supposed model, often praised by Western democracies anxious to see Turkey become a moderate Islam State in need of an identity and likely to switch/overbalance to a radical Islam.

1.2 THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA

The Republic of Guinea is located in the western part of the African continent. In the historical itinerary of the geopolitics of free peoples, Guinea was the only country in all French-speaking Africa to reject General De Gaulle's proposal concerning the integration of

²⁰ Kesgin, Baris and Juliet Kaarbo, "When and How Parliaments Influence Foreign Policy: The Case of Turkey's Iraq Decision", *International Studies Perspectives: Oxford University Press*, (2010), Volume: 11, No: 1, p.19.

²¹ Tarık Öğüzlu, "Middle Easternization of Turkey's foreign Policy: Does Turkey Dissociate from the West?", *Turkish Studies*, (2008), Vol: 9, No: 1, pp. 5-6.

French West African colonies into a possible French Community in the referendum of September 28, 1958. Once it took its independence from France on 02 October 1958, the Republic of Guinea has led active diplomacy both at the African and international level in the development of its foreign policy. Concerning its image on the international scene, Guinea is well known for its multiple relationships with a number of regional organizations such as the Mano River Organization, the Organization for the Development of the Senegal River (OMVS), the Economic Community of West African Countries (ECOWAS/CEDEAO) and the African Union (UA), or with intergovernmental bodies within the United Nations Organization (UNO). The development of Guinea's foreign policy is marked by the attachment of special importance to the strategy of sub-region and region-oriented policy. Simultaneously, it has developed to an increasing extent its political and economic relations with emerging powers/countries such as China, EU (Supranational Union), Japan, India, Russia, and Turkey.

1.2.1 Analysis of Guinea's Foreign Policy from 1958 until Today

The Republic of Guinea came into existence from desires to freedom, the national independence of the Guinean people and its firm commitment to contribute to the reconstruction and building of a better world, alongside peoples and nations elsewhere. Since its independence gained on 02 October 1958 under the leadership of Ahmed Sékou Touré, Guinea has set itself the objective of guaranteeing the State of law in the service of a harmonious and united nation that stick up for the freedom of peoples, the African continent and of the world in general. As the first independent state among the French colonies of Africa and ninth in the continent, since 1958, it has been conducting an increasingly dynamic African and Third World foreign policy. In other words, it has always defined its foreign policy in perfect harmony with the vital interests of Africa as well as those of oppressed peoples around the world. This has greatly contributed to knowing the country outside, in the Arab world and especially in Algeria during its independence war. This policy takes into consideration the great values of the civilization of humanity and ultimate goals that have always mobilized nations beyond their differences, namely aspirations for dignity, responsibility, justice, and well-being. Based on political realism, two main principles have initially determined Guinea's relations with the outside world:

Pan-Africanism²² and Non-Alignment²³ principles. Over the past five decades, these two principles constituted the characteristic features and the main axis of Guinea's foreign policy and diplomacy. For Guinea, aforementioned principles represent the essential basics of the decisive and uncompromising struggle against all policy or system of domination, segregation or discrimination: Among others, Apartheid, colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism²⁴. From this point of view can be understood its desire to carry out a foreign policy that takes into account sovereignty, justice and development as well as the preservation of international peace and security.

Incessantly, from 1958 to the present-days, the main point of Guinea's foreign policy agenda is the construction of Africa, whose colonial borders are neither geographical nor tribal, but purely geometrical work²⁵. At the center of its vision of global politics, its actions and strategies for international cooperation and African integration, are placed prerequisites for any development and general welfare. These preconditions include collective defense of peace, security, and respect for the dignity, human or peoples' rights. Indeed, since its independence, Guinea has pursued a dynamic foreign policy and diplomacy under different regimes: the first from 1958 to 1984, the second from 1984 to present-day. In other words, Guinea has gone through different political regimes that will be considered in this section in order to ascertain whether there are common points or not in the definition and implementation of the country's foreign policy.

²² Non Alignment or Positive Neutrality is an attitude or a strategy that responds to the desire of some countries to remain outside the sphere of influence of the West-East blocs in order to maintain and strengthen the bonds of friendship and sincere cooperation with all countries for the safeguard of peace in the world. Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was created during the Cold War, largely at the initiative of the Yugoslav President, Josip Broz Tito, as a group of states that did not formally align with either the Western bloc or the Soviet Union, but sought to stay independent or neutral. Since 2012, the Movement is composed of over 100 member states and dedicated to representing the interests and aspirations of developing countries. For more details, please see André Munro's article "Non-Aligned Movement", *Encyclopedia Britannica*, (Online), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Non-Aligned-Movement> , (access date, August 2018).

²³ Pan-Africanism is a political and cultural movement that considers Africa, Africans and Afro-descendants out of Africa as a set aiming to regenerate and unify Africa as well as to foster a sense of solidarity among black peoples around the world. Created in the twentieth century by Marcus Mosiah Garvey (who was a Civil Rights Activist and champion for the Black Nationalism in the US and most importantly in Jamaica), the Pan-Africanism is kind of the boomerang effect of black slavery. From sentimental inspiration, it has rapidly become an ideology, an act that returns from the universal emancipation movement of Africa. He strives for (One Africa One Nation) in the spirit of "conviction for one purpose, our community of destiny". Despite attempts at political-ideological and even philosophical recovery/recuperation, such as the negritude of Léon Gontra Damas, Aimé Césaire and Léopold Sédar Senghor, the Nigerian Wole Soyinka or the authenticity of Mobutu Sésé Séko Koukou Bongo Wazambanga, Pan-Africanism has brought together all the trends on its way.

²⁴ Kozo Zoumanigui, *La Politique Étrangère de la République de Guinée de 1958 à nos Jours* (Foreign Policy of the Republic of Guinea from 1958 to Nowadays), Editions VERDURE, (02 October 2012), pp.10-11.

²⁵ Kozo Zoumanigui, *op.cit*, p-16.

Firstly, the regime of Ahmed Sékou Touré, who led the country to independence and international sovereignty. This regime is also known as the first republic lasted from 1958 until the death of A.S. Touré in 1984. In fact, Guinea emergence on the international arena coincided with the exacerbation of the East-West ideological conflict: the Cold War between the Western Bloc and the Eastern one. The first Republic established a one-party system²⁶ with the Democratic Party of Guinea-African Democratic Rally (PDG-RDA) and pursued the socialism-oriented policy. Under the PDG-RDA, Pan-Africanism was one of the characteristic lines of Guinea's foreign policy. With this Pan-Africanist approach of its foreign policy, it concluded association and community agreements with many African states by partially or totally giving up its sovereignty for the benefit of a larger African community. To illustrate, on February 02, 1959 was formed with Ghana a union called Ghana-Guinea Union, which Mali joined in 1961. That has led many analysts on African integration to argue that Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union formed on April 29, 1961, laid the foundations for the creation of a United Africa. Moreover, the resident ministers of the members of that union attended the Council of ministers in each of the accreditation countries²⁷. After years of antagonism, concessions on both sides led to a meeting held in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) in 1963 between the Casablanca groups (progressive)²⁸ created in December 1960 and the group of Monrovia formed in 1961 by the AMU/OCAM²⁹ member States and other English-speaking countries. The first outcome of that meeting was the creation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU- the mother of the present African Union), at the head of which the Guinean Boubacar Telli Diallo was elected first Administrative Secretary-General face to the Tunisian Mongi Slim. From regional groupings to the African Union, through the Lagos Plan of Action³⁰ and the African Common Market launched in 1962

²⁶ Like his African counterparts, President Ahmed Sékou Touré was sympathetic to the single-party political system. A.S. Touré was the first man of the State, the Republic or the PDG Party. He also held an honorary title of Supreme Leader of the Revolution. However, although A.S. Touré could have the confidence of his Party, the PDG (Democratic Party of Guinea) to stay President for life, a common phenomenon with the generation of the first presidents at the beginning of independences in the 1960s, Ahmed Sékou Touré had always refuted such a title.

²⁷ Kozo Zoumanigui, *op.cit.*, p.16.

²⁸ The Casablanca Group was composed of Egypt, the FLN-Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Libya, Mali, Morocco and Tunisia.

²⁹ AMU or the Joint African and Malagasy Organization – Organisation Commune Africaine et Malgache (OCAM) was an intergovernmental organization that was established on February 12, 1965 with the purpose of promoting cooperation ties amid newly independent States in Francophone Africa. Its Charter was adopted at a meeting at Nouakchott, Mauritania with an initial adherence of Madagascar and twelve other French-speaking African countries, including Cameroun, the Centre African Republic, Chad, the Congo(*Brazzaville*), Dahomey/Benin, Gabon, the Ivory Coast, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Togo and Upper Volta/Burkina Faso.

³⁰ The Lagos Plan of Action was a plan backed by the Organization of African Unity that aimed at increasing the self-sufficiency of the African continent as a whole. Officially, it was known as the "Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa, 1980–2000". The said plan was drafted in Lagos, Nigeria in April 1980, during a conference which included a variety of African leaders.

in Abuja-Nigeria, Guinea has always played a crucial role in the realization of all these African initiatives³¹.

The Republic of Guinea's engagement and relations have even gone beyond the African context. The important agreements it signed with the Soviet Union, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia after France departure was proof of its international engagement at that time. Furthermore, this departure of French administration was a great opportunity for communist countries to win Guinea to their cause and to have some influence in West Africa as well. To ensure their presence in this part of Africa, they deemed necessary to provide Guinea with economic assistance and military materials. For instance, the Soviet leaders did not hesitate to grant Guinea a loan of 140 million rubles in that period. Moreover, in December 1959, President A.S. Touré received a formal invitation from the Soviet Union for a state visit during which the Kremlin reiterated the commitment regarding its support to all countries opposed to Western imperialism. Despite this, during the Cold War period, A.S. Touré carried out a policy of "Positive Neutrality" even though a large part of his assistance was provided by the communist countries, from which he was repeatedly treated as a communist by the French government. However, unlike what French rulers believed, Guinea was cautious about the maneuvers of the Eastern Bloc. While benefiting from the aid of Communist countries, A.S. Touré cautiously equaled them in power and value with Western countries. By way of illustration, before traveling to Moscow he paid a state visit to Bonn, London, and Washington, during which he sought to convince his American counterpart, Eisenhower, to develop cooperation ties between Guinea and the United States in economic and trade areas³².

As already mentioned, it was in this context of East-West antagonism that Guinea integrated the concert of sovereign nations. Confronted with this, it clearly showed that its interests were not in both antagonistic blocs but rather in its determination of defending African and its own interests by and for itself. The support that it offered to the African countries struggling against the forces of domination, oppression, and exploitation are evidence of that³³. In addition, Guinea had strongly condemned by the voice of its president, all acts of protracted

³¹ Kozo Zoumanigui, *op.cit.*, p-17.

³² Guia Migani, "Sékou Touré et la Contestation de l'Ordre Colonial en Afrique Sub-saharienne, 1958-1963" (Sékou Touré and the Contestation of the Colonial Order in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1958-1963), *Monde(s)*, 2012, No :2, p. 266.

³³ The African countries such as Morocco: Western Sahara; Nigeria: Biafra; Chad: Aouzou Strip; Mali: OCRS-Common Organization of the Sahara-Sahel Regions that lost their stability and were half invaded or about to divide benefited support from Guinea and had been treated equally. At the same time, it reiterated its unwavering commitment to accompany without any condition, the peoples of Namibia and South Africa as well as their liberation movements (SWAPO, ANC, and PAC).

unjust treatment perpetrated by the supporters of Apartheid system against the sovereign peoples of southern Africa, particularly South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, and Lesotho. From financial, technical and cultural support to military involvement, it has always remained faithful to its determination for the sake of Africa. Diplomatically, its assistance could not be ignored as it granted diplomatic passports to the leaders of liberation movements such as Robert Holden, Cabral, Miriam Makeba, Palestinian diplomats, and many others. In terms of financial assistance, it offered 1% of its national budget to said liberation movements until the end of Apartheid in 1991³⁴. Militarily, it participated in the liberation of territories such as Guinea-Bissau, Benin, Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mozambique, and Sierra Leone that were under foreign occupation³⁵. Beyond the African context, the first regime had also proved its mark of sympathy through its unshakeable struggle for the cause of oppressed, peace and justice-loving peoples in the world, especially in Cambodia, China, Cuba, Vietnam³⁶.

Since its admission to the UN, Guinea has belonged to the Non-Aligned Movement. This Non Alignment, for Guinea, was not synonymous with apathy even less a refusal to assume its responsibility vis-à-vis the distress and injustice in the world. Indeed, its relations with the Western and Soviet bloc were located within the framework of this movement. This neutral position made possible its successful admission to the UN General Assembly, as on 11 December 1958 it was voted with the agreement of all delegates present, except French representative who abstained from voting. It was with this international recognition crowned with great success that Guinea clearly defined its position at the international scale. In that context, the country deemed necessary not to attach importance to the possibility of resolving the crisis with France throughout the year 1959. That attitude of Guinea coupled with its recognition of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic in the same year; vote at the UN against France indicted for the Algerian war and the nuclear tests in the Sahara, and especially its exit from the franc zone impeded any alternative of talks with Paris³⁷.

Although it was concerned with international balance, Guinea's position during the Cold War period appeared adjacent to the Soviet bloc than to the Western one. The main reasons for this were the delay with which the regime of A.S. Touré was recognized by Western powers and France's attitude after the declaration of the country's independence. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union that took a great interest in Africa since 1956, seized the circumstance to start settling

³⁴ Kozo Zoumanigui, *op.cit.*, p-18.

³⁵ Kozo Zoumanigui, *ibid.*, p-19.

³⁶ Kozo Zoumanigui, *ibid.*, p-23.

³⁷ Guia Migani, *op.cit.* p-267.

solidly in Guinea. The latter being of strategic interest to the Soviet Union due to its geographical location on the West African coasts. This led the Soviets to strengthen relations with Guinea in the 1960s by increasing support to President A.S. Touré. Nevertheless, despite its sympathy for Moscow, Guinea has always maintained its independence vis-à-vis the two antagonist blocs. To illustrate, while the missile crisis happened between Washington and Moscow in October 1962, it did not prevent itself from refusing Moscow the use of its aerodrome for flights to Cuba³⁸. Even prior to that, it declared without hesitation the ambassador of the Soviet Union to Conakry '*persona non grata*' in 1961, accused of being involved in agitations against the Guinean government.

Following the death of A. S. Touré in 1984, a military junta under the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel Lansana Conté took power in a bloodless *coup d'état*. The junta dissolved all political parties as well as the constitution and launched an economic liberalization program. This marked the outset of the second regime under the Party for Unity and Progress (PUP) that lasted until the death of its leader General Conté in 2008. In the early days, the new authorities decided to pave away from a centralized revolutionary system for a liberal one, in order to carry out a more ambitious domestic and foreign policy open to all countries of the world. Therefore, under the impetus of the second regime, the principle of freedom of international cooperation constituted one of the guiding factors of Guinea's foreign policy. In this context of diversifying its relations at the international level, the ruling military regime wanted to draw attention to its disagreement with and detachment from the ideology and doctrine of the first regime³⁹.

Therefore, the country opted for a multidirectional foreign policy and offensive diplomacy called the "Diplomacy of Development", economic diplomacy relying on three notions, including sovereignty, equality, and solidarity. The idea of said diplomacy for development emerged from a workshop organized in Conakry in 1991, which accepted the principle that development is a dynamic phenomenon that requires a thorough and uninterrupted evaluation of the situation. In other words, instead of ideological propaganda during the first regime period, Guinea has moved towards a foreign policy based on consistency, efficiency, and pragmatism. On the one hand, this new policy aimed at developing considerable economic ties through a genuine opening policy. On the other hand, the purpose was to meet the sub-

³⁸ Global Security, "Guinea-Foreign Relations", (online), <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/africa/gn-forrel.htm>, (date of access: 02 July 2018).

³⁹ Mohamed Lamine Cissé, *La politique Extérieure de la Guinée: Les Fondements* (Guinea's Foreign Policy: The Foundations), Editions Publibook, Rue des Volontaire 75015 PARIS-France, 2012, No: 24, pp. 13-14.

regional and regional integration imperatives in a context of democratic changes⁴⁰. Undoubtedly, General Conté's regime managed to exert influence in sub-regional affairs and gain the respect and support of development partners. However, unlike his predecessor, Conté had trouble pursuing a foreign policy at the same pace as the latter. In fact, very regrettably, it was the beginning of bad governance, and the diplomatic approximation full of inaccuracies, subtleties and other blockages. At the same time, the country retreated and deserted most international forums compared to the first regime's period.

After the announcement of Conté's death on 23 December 2008, a group of junior army officers known as the National Council for Democracy and Development (CNDD) announced that they had seized power in a bloodless coup. In the first days that followed, Captain Moussa Dadis Camara was appointed the president of the CNDD, for which he previously served as spokesperson. A few months later, there was a transitional period after a bloody crackdown on peaceful protesters for their political views in September 2009 that further isolated the military junta. Guinea's image with the international community was further tarnished by these violent events and the AU and ECOWAS both condemned the coup and suspended the country's participation in all the summits of the two organizations. Moreover, many of Guinea's partnering countries also condemned the coup individually and bilateral assistance programs were suspended. As a result of that, military officers in power were forced to restore together with living forces and political parties the constitutional order and to ensure the transfer of the power to civilians as required by the Guineans. To this end, a Provisional Government and consensual national assembly called the National Transitional Council were formed with the aim of conducting the transition and organizing free and credible elections⁴¹. In 2010, under the leadership of the acting President Sékouba Konaté, were held two-round presidential elections that led to the inauguration of long-standing opposition leader Alpha Condé as president in December of the same year. Although this brought some changes in the country domestic and external policy, it must be noted that foreign policy in Alpha Condé's era is only a logical continuation of that of the previous regimes with some improvements. Undoubtedly, the greatest success of his foreign policy is the return of Guinea to the international scene after years of relative absence due to political crises that the country has undergone. The election of

⁴⁰ Global Security, "Guinea-Foreign Relations", *op.cit.*

⁴¹ Mohamed Lamine Cissé, *La politique Extérieure de la Guinée: Les Fondements* (Guinea's Foreign Policy: The Foundations). *Atricle cited*, pp. 10-11.

President Alpha Condé as Head of State and his policy of opening up Guinea internationally have made it possible to resume with these organizations and the partner countries of Guinea.

1.2.2 Guinea's Multilateral Relations with Inter-governmental Organizations

Since the advent of globalization coupled with the contraction of the international arena, intergovernmental organizations have become key players on the international scene. In this context, the Republic of Guinea attaches great importance to the implementation of its foreign policy based on multilateral relations with intergovernmental organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and its specialized institutions, regional organizations such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union (UA). Thus, in friendship and solidarity, it maintains diplomatic and economic relations, both with member states and non-members of the UN family. Put differently, since acquiring international legal status by being admitted to the United Nations, Guinea is a member actively involved in all major global, regional and sub-regional organizations. Among others, the African Development Bank (AFDB), Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), Niger River Basin (NRB), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the Nonaligned Movement (NAM), Gambia River Basin Organization (OMVG), and the Mano River Union (MRU) on which I will dwell at a later stage. It is also bound to the main international conventions such as the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 12 January 1968 and the Convention on Consular Relations of 30 June 1988⁴². That being said, we will now turn to an analytical examination of the relations that the Republic of Guinea has with some of the aforementioned regional and intergovernmental organizations.

1.2.2 Relations with the United Nations and African Union

One year after obtaining its independence, the Republic of Guinea was admitted to the United Nations on 12 November 1959, with the co-sponsorship of the following countries:

⁴² Mohamed Lamine Cissé, *La politique Extérieure de la Guinée: Les Fondements* (Guinea's Foreign Policy: The Foundations), *op.cit.*, p.25.

Ethiopia, Ghana, Japan, Iraq, Liberia, and Yugoslavia. Since joining the organization, it has pledged to fulfill its obligations under the UN Charter to get involved in the establishment and maintenance of international peace. Along with other peace and justice loving countries, it strived for the right to self-determination of peoples. To this end, it was jointly at the forefront with the USSR and particularly the socialist camp, of the 14/15 resolution of 12 December 1960, on the self-determination of the peoples. Prior to that, Guinea participated actively in the creation of the committee against apartheid which was presided in 1962 by the Guinean Aoubacar Telli Diallo, its Permanent Representative to the UN at that time.

In terms of cooperation with the UN, Guinea concluded agreements in December 1959, at first with the UN Technical Assistance Office and in the second time with the UN Special Fund. Initially, sectors such as Agriculture, Technical Training, Planning and Accounting, Mines and Industry, Health and Transportation were the main areas in which the UN provided assistance and expertise to Guinea. At that period, a group composed of 25 experts with different nationalities was sent to Guinea to represent certain specialized UN agencies namely the ILO, FAO, UNESCO, WHO, UNIDO, and the IMF. It is important to note that the relations between Guinea and the UN have not always been without problem. Indeed, after the Portuguese aggression of November 22, 1970, the Guinean government decided to close down the office of the UN system and this concerned only the following institutions: UNDP WHO, UNICEF UNIDO, and FAO). The office remained closed for a few years and did not resume operations until 1973⁴³.

Relations with the UN have also become increasingly apparent with Guinea's participation in UN peacekeeping operations. In the expression of its strategy towards the UN, Guinea committed to constantly make the provision and preservation of peace one of the major axes of its foreign policy. In this regard, Guinea is one of the few African countries to regularly get involved in UN peacekeeping operations. To date, it is the 24th largest contributor of troops and police personnel to UN peacekeeping operations. More than 900 Guinean soldiers and policemen are currently deployed in UN missions in Abyei (UNISFA), the Central African Republic (MINUSCA), the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUCO), Haiti (MINUSTAH), South Sudan (UNMISS), and Western Sahara (MINURSO). Since 2013, Guinea is participating in the UN Multidimensional Integrated Mission to the UN stabilization in Mali (MINUSMA), a neighboring country facing an unprecedented terrorist threat for years. It has sent three

⁴³ Kozo Zoumanigui, *op.cit.*, pp.35-36.

battalions composed of more than 1500 Guinean soldiers with a relative number of women. In recognition of their commitment to world peace, UN Secretary-General António Guterres posthumously awarded in New York the Dag Hammarskjöld Medal to 127 peacekeepers, policemen and civilians, who died in a peacekeeping operation in June 2017. Eight Guinean soldiers were among the fallen 127 UN peacekeepers. In addition to military personnel, many Guineans are working for the United Nations as civil servants of the organization

In view of all the foregoing, we can conclude that the Republic of Guinea works with intergovernmental organizations and as part of its multifaceted foreign policy, it takes a great interest in cooperating with various UN agencies in all prospective fields. This can be evidenced by its multilateral and bilateral agreements with these agencies, as well as its active and continuous contribution to the work of the UN to stabilize international peace and security. Being the 82nd state of the UN, Guinea belongs to most of the Organization's programs, specialized and related agencies. As the first country of French-speaking Africa to be admitted to the Organization, Guinea's independence and accession to the UN have brought about an acceleration of the same process in other African countries, as their leaders wanted to have the same status as that of Guinea.

Since its creation on 25 May 1963 in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), the Organization of African Unity (OAU - the African Union since 2001) is a leading partner in the implementation of Guinea's African policy. In its relations with the African Union (AU), Guinea quickly engaged in the dynamism of African Union projects, such as the fight against all forms of oppression and colonialism of States. It has always played an important role in the realization of all African initiatives. Concerning African integration, it is often argued that Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union formed in the 1960s constituted the foundations for the creation of the OAU, at the head of which the Guinean Boubacar Telli Diallo served as the first Administrative Secretary-General. The Republic of Guinea was a member of the OAU Former Liberation Committee, from its creation to its voluntary demise in 1992. It also sat on the Peace and Security Council (CSP) of the AU, in place of the Conflict Resolution Committee during the OAU Summit in 1996 in Yaoundé, Cameroon⁴⁴. Since its independence, Guinea has immediately become involved in defending the cause of the peoples of the world and especially those of the African continent. In 1967, at the call of the OAU, the Guinean government broke off all relations with Israel as a result of its aggression against Palestine and the Arab world. Similarly, due to its sponsorship

⁴⁴ Kozo Zoumanigui, *op.cit.*, p.22.

of the unilateral declaration of the independence of Southern Rhodesia from Ian Smith, it suspended relations with the Great Britain in 1965. Moreover, ties between them did not recover until the advent of Zimbabwe under Robert Mugabe in 1980. Another, following the Portuguese aggression of Guinea on 22 November 1970, the UN Security Council adopted resolution No: R / 292/70 demanding Portugal's reparations to Guinea. That being so, the Guinean government asked for the liberation of all territories still under Portuguese occupation in Africa, as well as the end of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa as reparation⁴⁵. That was also the Pan-African feeling of Guinea, one of the centerlines of its diplomacy and foreign policy. This centerline of Guinea's foreign policy abides by all the AU orientations. For instance, in the formation of its policy towards Africa, it attaches great importance to the development of Africa's solidarity and unity. This shows the level of partnership and cooperation existing between both sides.

Also, Guinea is one of the important actors in the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), an African Union's major economic programs. As an action plan and vision for the development of Africa, this program is in perfect harmony with the demands of Guinea's foreign policy concerning the African continent. Recently, very committed to the institution after a few years of relative absence, Guinea held senior positions in the decision-making bodies of the African Union. The presidency at the AU in 2017 of the current Guinean President Alpha Condé, is the most recent example of this. President Alpha Condé was nominated in 2017 by his peers to preside the African Union, at its 28th Summit of Heads of State in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. He, therefore, had the difficult task of presiding over the destinies of the pan-African organization for a year. When taking over, he clearly stated that as the President-in-Office of the Union, he would be ready to follow the footsteps of his predecessors by privileging Africa and the interests of its peoples throughout his one-year term. Moreover, it is important to point out that this nomination was the re-emergence of Guinean diplomacy after a few decades of relative absence on the continental scene. President Condé did everything with the means that were yours to promote both Africa and his country throughout 2017. Internally and externally, his record at the head of the organization was variously appreciated in terms of the result.

⁴⁵ Kozo Zoumanigui, *op.cit.*, pp.46-47

1.2.3 Guinea in African Regional and Sub-regional Organizations: Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Mano River Union (MRU)

In the framework of its multilateral relationships, the Republic of Guinea is simultaneously developing interactions with both intergovernmental organizations and the regional ones. The new order/efficiency of geopolitics makes states accept the existence of non-state actors that interact in the international arena. Like other countries, Guinea also gives a certain degree of importance to its active relations with these non-state actors. In the regional and sub-regional policy trends, it actively belongs to two sub-regional organizations, including the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Mano River Union (MRU). Including Guinea, these two organizations strengthen the capacity of Member States to integrate their economies and coordinate development programs in many areas of cooperation.

A short historical background about ECOWAS, it is a West African intergovernmental organization composed of fifteen of West Africa States. As a regional economic union, ECOWAS was established by the Lagos Treaty of May 28, 1975, with the main purpose of fostering economic integration by promoting the creation of an intra-regional market. However, due to the rise of regional conflicts, it has equipped itself in April 1990 with an interposition force called ECOMOG (Economic Community of West African States Military Observer Group). As an ECOWAS Monitoring Group, ECOMOG intervened during periods of civil wars and political instabilities in three West African countries, including Liberia, Guinea Bissau, and Sierra Leone. Under President Conté, Guinea has participated in ECOMOG peacekeeping operations in these three countries of the West African region. The Guinean soldiers and their ECOWAS counterparts distinguished themselves in the mission of restoring peace during civil wars in Liberia, especially under the command of Kerfala Camara, a Guinean General. Similarly, in 1999, Guinean and Nigerian soldiers together with "*Tommies*" (British soldiers) grouped under UNAMSIL (the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone), ended the atrocities of Fodé Sankhon and his rebels gang in Sierra Leone. Concerning Guinea-Bissau, the country waged a long heroic liberation war against the colonial power (Portugal), with the assistance of neighboring countries, especially Guinea⁴⁶. During President Conté's term, Guinea has also

⁴⁶ Kozo Zoumanigui, *op.cit.*, p.20

joined Senegal in supporting former President João Bernardo Vieira militarily in Guinea-Bissau.

The Republic of Guinea's involvement in ECOWAS is not only limited to the level of military participation, but it has also illustrated itself in the resolution of regional crises through diplomatic means. Thus, as part of its strategy for Africa and on behalf of ECOWAS, Conakry has led and shaped mediations in some countries in crisis at both regional and sub-regional levels. To illustrate, in June 2016, in Dakar, at the request of Bissau, the Conference of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS seized the crisis in Guinea-Bissau and appointed Guinean President Alpha Condé to ensure mediation for a way out of the crisis. To that end, Guinea's Secretary General of the Presidency Mr. Kiridi Bangoura was designated by President Condé to be his emissary at the talks. M. Bangoura went to Bissau together with former Foreign Ministers of Liberia, Marjon Bangura, assuming the chairmanship of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of ECOWAS, and Sierra Leone Samura Kamara as well as former President of the ECOWAS Commission, Marcel A. De Souza. After a few days of negotiations and direct discussions with actors involved in the crisis, Prof. Alpha Condé's special envoy reached a formal commitment of the parties, through the Bissau Roadmap signed on 10 September 2016 in the presence of the Guinean, Liberian and Sierra Leonean Presidents. The highlight of the document was to hold consultations between the parties in Conakry that led to the Conakry Agreements signed on October 14, 2016. In accordance with this Agreement, a consensus Primer Minister, known as Aristide Gomes was appointed on 15 April 2018, putting an end to the crisis. Thus, the mission entrusted by ECOWAS to Guinea has achieved the goal and this was a new success for the Guinean diplomacy in resolving regional political crises in the region⁴⁷. The most recent example of this was the mediation led by President Condé along with its Mauritanian counterpart Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz, while former Gambian President Yahya Jammeh refused to move from the power after losing presidential election of 2017 in Gambia. Both presidents managed to convince Mr. Jammeh, who finally accepted to give way to his successor Adama Barrow. This great success of the Guinean and Mauritanian diplomacies allowed the withdrawal of the military operation of the ECOWAS in the Gambia and avoided a protracted crisis in the country which could affect the whole region.

⁴⁷ Cheick Dialla, "*Sortie de crise en Guinée-Bissau : Nouveau succès diplomatique pour la Guinée*" (Guinée-Bissau crisis exit: New diplomatic success for Guinea), *Guinée7.com*, (17 April 2018), (On-line), <https://guinee7.com/sortie-de-crise-en-guinee-bissau-nouveau-succes-diplomatique-pour-la-guinee/>

Unquestionably, Guinea is an important member of ECOWAS and the series of political unrests that occurred in the Mano River region over ten years have given it the opportunity to play a key role in regional security. This can be justified by the fact that it joined in ECOWAS efforts to find a solution to both the Liberian and Sierra Leonean conflicts by taking part in ECOMOG missions. Bilaterally, it also brought its support to armed groups involved in the conflict in Liberia. In terms of managing the humanitarian consequences, Guinea has shown its determining role in hosting a significant number of Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugees. Despite the fact that President Lansana Conté opted for action, direct bilateral talks and the personal relationship from the head of state to head of state in the diplomacy of summits, he complied with ECOWAS policy towards both conflicts. Moreover, Guinea had held the position of executive secretary of the ECOWAS from 1993 to 2002⁴⁸, a critical period in regional and international efforts in Liberia and Sierra Leone crises.

Nevertheless, relations between Guinea and ECOWAS have experienced a period of rupture in 2007. As is known, in January 2007, the regime of Lansana Conté faced a deep political crisis triggered by the general strike and a series of demonstrations. In this context of political crisis, ECOWAS was heavily concerned about the development of events in Guinea as well as the uncertainty over the succession of President Conté. As a result, it intervened openly in Guinea in accordance with the prescriptions of its mechanism of prevention, management, and resolution of conflicts. To this end, the ECOWAS Summit held on 19 January 2007 in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso decided to appoint former Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal to visit Guinea to help resolve the crisis. However, because of the worsening of the crisis from the demonstration on 22 January and President Conté's traditional hostility to any outside interference in internal affairs, the visit was postponed indefinitely. Despite this, former president of Burkina Faso, Blaise Compaore, who was elected president of ECOWAS at that time, engaged in consultation with all actors involved in the crisis. At the same time, his Nigerian counterpart Obasanjo proposed to entrust to his fellow citizen and former president, General Ibrahim Babangida, the charge of lead a good offices mission to Guinea on behalf of ECOWAS. The negotiations held in Conakry between all the actors involved resulted in the signing of an agreement on 27 January 2007 which led to the suspension of the slogan of strike. The first outcome of this agreement provided for the appointment of a Prime Minister who would be head of government by a partial delegation of

⁴⁸ The Guinean diplomats Edouard Benjamin (1993-1997) and Lansana Kouyaté (1997-2002) successively served as Executive Secretary of ECOWAS. Then, Lansana Kouyaté was appointed prime minister in Guinea in the aftermath of the January 2007 crisis and remained in office until May 2008.

President Conté's powers⁴⁹. However, the non-compliance with the terms of the agreement on the side of Conté prevented the desired resolution of the crisis.

As the situation remained critical, ECOWAS continued to intervene in Guinea to avoid the degeneration of the crisis, which was causing more loss of life and repercussions in neighboring countries newly emerging from civil wars. To achieve this, a mission under the leadership of former President of Nigeria General Babangida was sent to Guinea on 17 February 2007 by ECOWAS. The said mission consisted also of the President of the ECOWAS Commission, Ibn Chambas and the Commissioner of ECOWAS for Political Affairs, Peace, and Security, Colonel Mahamane Toure. This good offices mission, which was carried out in Conakry, obtained from President Conté that he agrees to reconsider his choice concerning the heavily controversial appointment of Eugène Camara to the position of Prime Minister and to name a new one according to the proposal of the trade union centers and the National Council of Civil Society Organizations. Thus, on 26 February 2007, was appointed Prime Minister, Mr. Lansana Kouyaté, a Guinean diplomat who was formerly Executive Secretary of ECOWAS from 1997 to 2002⁵⁰. This appointment of Mr. Kouyaté at the head of the government was a great relief for many Guineans. In the same perspective, ECOWAS found it necessary to open its office in Conakry to be headed by a special representative of the president of its Commission. The reason for that was to ensure the maintenance of peace and security in the country and the holding of parliamentary elections in a reasonable time aiming to renew the members of the National Assembly, whose term ended since June 2007.

However, with the death of President Conté in December 2008, Guinea has had difficult relationships with the ECOWAS. In fact, the death of Conté led to the seizure of power by a group of young officers on December 23, called the National Council for Democracy and Development (CNDD). At the Summit of Heads of State and Government held on 10 January 2009, ECOWAS took a decision regarding this seizure of power by the CNDD. The Summit dismissed any idea of transition in Guinea and, under the provisions of the 2001 Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance, it opted for a temporary suspension of Guinea at meetings of all decision-making bodies of ECOWAS. It then recalled that this protocol provided for a zero tolerance for any taking or maintaining of power by unconstitutional means and considered legitimate only the advent to power through free, fair and transparent elections. Furthermore,

⁴⁹ Gilles Olakounlé Yabi, "Le Rôle de la CEDEAO dans la Gestion des Crises Politiques et des Conflits : Cas de la Guinée et de la Guinée Bissau" (The Role of ECOWAS in Managing Political Crisis and Conflicts: The Case of Guinea and Guinea Bissau), *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung*, Abuja-Nigeria, (September 2012), p.42.

⁵⁰ Gilles Olakounlé Yabi, *op.cit.*; p. 43.

ECOWAS pledged to closely monitor the situation in Guinea in order to ensure the immediate return to the constitutional order and offered a nine-point program that included the establishment of a National Transitional Council by the military junta. This deliberative body would be consisted of civilians and military and would allow the restoration of democracy through the holding of free, fair and transparent elections in 2009 and which prohibited members of the CNDD and the government appointed by the junta to stand for elections to be organized before the end of the same year. Despite the suspension of Guinea, ECOWAS also maintained a permanent and constructive dialogue with the CNDD, Guinean stakeholders and partners aiming to quickly accomplish the steps taken to this end. It was only after the political transition leading to the election of President Alpha Condé that ECOWAS reviewed sanctions against Guinea at its Ordinary Summit held on 23-24 March 2011 in Abuja, Nigeria⁵¹.

As a sub-regional organization, the Mano River Union (MRU) was born of the desire for strategic integration, cooperation, and development of Liberia and Sierra Leone. The Malema Declaration that established it, was signed on 3 June 1973 in Melama (south of Sierra Leone) by Liberian President William Tolbert Junior and its Sierra Leonean counterpart Dr. Siaka Stevens. In the beginning, MRU was established with the purpose of creating a customs union to facilitate trade between the two Anglophone countries located among the French-speaking countries. The Republic of Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire joined the Union in October 1980 and May 2008, respectively. Before pushing our analysis on the role that Guinea plays in this organization, it is of great importance to remind that the name Mano River stems from the River setting natural and official boundaries for two countries of the organization, including Liberia and Sierra Leone. More importantly, it was the area of the former Kingdom of Kailahun Luwa, to which both countries belonged. In connection with the point on which I previously dwelled, it can be concluded that since May 2008, MRU became an intergovernmental and sub-regional organization of four countries, including Guinea, Ivory Coast, Liberia and Sierra Leone that share a river (Mano) in common. Unlike at the beginning when its objective was limited to the trade facilitation between the founding states, it now aims at enhancing the capacity of its Members in terms of economic integration and coordinating development programs. To this

⁵¹ Panapress, “*La CEDEAO va passer en revue les sanctions imposées à la Guinée et au Niger*” (ECOWAS will review the sanctions imposed on Guinea and Niger), (14 March 2011, (online), <http://www.panapress.com/pana-2-lang1-POL-summit-index.html>), (Access date : 02 July 2018).

end, MRU strives to consolidate and build peace, as a precondition for any aspect of economic and social progress in the Mano space where civil wars were once sprinkled/prevalent⁵².

The Republic of Guinea has long-standing relationships with the MRU dating back to 1980. It collaborates with the Union in ambitious development programs, including the construction of roads, hydroelectric/hydropower dams, as well as the strengthening of educational systems. During the last decade, it worked together with other members of the Union for the stabilization of the Mano space, which was unstable due to borders' porosity. During the first republic period, MRU served as a security measure for Guinea in the face of attempts to suppress or contain the first regime. Today, MRU emphasizes most of its actions on preventing unrests, preserving peace and tranquility, and encouraging economic, social and cultural development for the welfare of its member states. It should be noted, nevertheless, that ties between Guinea and other MRU Members have gone through a few difficulties that have jeopardized Guinea's relations with the Union as well. In fact, three members of the MRU have experienced periods of civil war, the consequences of which have had a direct or indirect impact on Guinea. Indeed, Guinea suffered civil wars of which it was not responsible. During that period, relations with its neighbors, particularly Liberia and Sierra Leone, were at their lowest. However, despite these dark and difficult moments in their relationships, Guinea hosted more than one million Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugees in its territory for 15 years. Moreover, these civil wars were costly for the Guinean government from the human, ecological, social and educational point of view. On the financial side, the cost paid by Guinea to finance troops for the restoration of peace in those countries was also a high cost.

With regard to Guinea's position within the sub-regional organization, the Mano River Union, she has headed the Union's main bodies for many years, including the General Secretariat. Dr. Hadja Saran Dalaba Kaba is the most recent Guinean to serve as General-Secretary of the MRU until June 2017 after 6 years in office. In addition, Guinea's former Minister for Planning and International Cooperation, Ms. Mama Kanny Diallo, was the Chairperson of the MRU Council of Ministers in 2017. Today, despite differences in linguistic and legal systems, the country maintains good relations with neighboring countries within the framework of this Union.

⁵² For more information on MRU please see Wathi, "*Presentation of the Mano River Union (MRU)*", (online), https://www.wathi.org/debat_id/organisations-regionales/wathinote-organisations-regionales/wathinote-presentation-of-the-mano-river-union/ , 10 April 2017.

Having gained independence in a Cold War context between the East bloc and the West, Guinea was in favor of a balanced foreign policy between these two antagonistic blocs. In its early days, the country committed to pursuing a foreign policy based on pan-Africanism and non-alignment until the 1980s. This policy was followed by a foreign policy focused on development diplomacy under the second regime, which failed to achieve major progress in the country's foreign policy as planned. In any cases, from independence to the present day, Pan-Africanism is one of the guiding principles of the foreign policy of successive regimes in Guinea. With the new structuring of international relations and a new look in the international arena, Guinea has adopted new orientations of its foreign policy. From this perspective, we observed that a change in policy direction is increasingly directed towards the development of political and economic cooperation with the rising powers such as Brazil, China, India, Turkey, etc. This policy change was aimed at enabling the country to begin its socio-economic development by drawing on the development experience of those countries. Likewise, it has developed a sub-regional policy strategy with the attachment of great importance to the economic and security aspects of its policy. At the same time, Guinean diplomacy is now increasingly present among intergovernmental and regional organizations, after a relative absence under the second regime. While further efforts remain to be made, this can be credited to the current regime under the leadership of President Alpha Condé.

CHAPTER II

GUINEA IN TURKEY'S DEVELOPING RELATIONS WITH SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

2.1 TURKEY'S APPROACH TO THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

2.2.1 Geographical Apprehension about Africa in Turkish Society

The relations between Turkey and the African continent have a long history. For a better understanding of the historical dimension of these relations, it is important to look at the geographical aspect or outlook. From the geographical point of view, Turkey often considers Africa as a continent consisted of two parts, including North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa. Indeed, this apprehension of Africa on the Turkish side stems from historical developments, notably the Ottoman heritage. In terms of foreign policy, the Ottoman heritage has also been a determining factor in Turkey's current policy towards the African mainland. The Ottoman State had considerable relations with the Northern part of Africa and some African countries were part of or completely included in the Ottoman Empire in the 15th and 16th centuries. Countries in contemporary Africa such as Algeria, Chad, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Libya, Niger, Somalia, Sudan, and even Tunisia were part of the Ottoman State. Thus, geographically speaking the African continent and more precisely North Africa is not an isolated region from Turkey. This can be justified both by the Ottomans' historical proximity to the countries of North Africa and by the Muslim population living in this part of Africa. The above-mentioned factors have led Ankara to consider North Africa as part of its immediate environment. Moreover, Turkey does not consider the Maghreb as belonging to Africa, but as part of the Middle East and Turkish society has always felt close to this region. In short, there has never been any doubt about Turkey's ties with North Africa and Turkey has always been interested in this region⁵³.

Unlike North Africa, the Sub-Saharan region has often been described as a region geographically isolated from Turkey and as the part of Africa where poverty, food, and water

⁵³ Mehmet Özkan, "Turkey's 'New' Engagements in Africa and Asia: Scope, Content and Implications", *PERCEPTIONS*, (autumn 2011), Vol. XVI, No. 3, p. 118.

scarcity, epidemics and civil wars are in full swing. Despite the changing situation in some countries of this region, the unfavorable depiction regarding Sub-Saharan Africa still remains in a part of Turkish society. This is partly owing to the lack of political attention or academic works dealing with Africa and addressing the few relations that the Ottoman State established in the past with the African continent. However, it should be mentioned that studies on the overlooked areas regarding the Ottoman Empire's history began to be carried out by researchers since the 2000s. Thanks to these academic works coupled with the efforts of the AKP government and the Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs), Turkish society has begun to break away from this approach to describing Sub-Saharan Africa⁵⁴. Today, despite the difficulties the region faces, SSA is no longer perceived as a few years ago in Turkish society. As African societies are changing rapidly, whether, in economic, social, environmental, demographic or political terms, SSA is now seen in Turkey as a region undergoing profound change. To Turkish intellectuals, businessmen and academicians, SSA is a region with many opportunities for Turkey in terms of economic cooperation, trade, and import-export market, etc. This has had repercussions on the apprehension of the region in Turkey since an important part of Turkish society knows now a lot about SSA compared to previous years. Moreover, the Turkish authorities disapproved this perception of Africa both domestically and globally. To illustrate, in an article published by Al-Jazeera in 2016, President Erdogan stated: "Many people in the world associate the African continent with extreme poverty, violent conflicts and a general state of hopelessness. We believe that Africa deserves better."

2.1.2 Turkey's General Opening to Africa

When all is regarded, there was a virtual absence of Turkish-African relations from 1923 to 1998. This stemmed from diverse reasons, including the fight against colonial domination and internal problems respectively faced by both sides. It was only after the Cold War period Turkey progressively started to retake an interest in Africa, but this mainly concerned North Africa. In other words, Sub-Saharan Africa has not been taken into account in Turkey's multi-faceted foreign policy that began in the 1970s. Despite this, Turkey recognized all the newly independent African states that began to emerge on the international arena from the 1950s

⁵⁴ Ibid.

onwards⁵⁵. At the same time, it established diplomatic relations with some of them, including Ghana and Nigeria⁵⁶. This shows that Turkey attempted to develop political, economic and cultural ties with sub-Saharan African countries between the 1950s and the 1960s, albeit those were limited relations. It is therefore important to mention that there was no global strategy towards Africa during that period and the few relations developed with the continent were not aimed at the long term. Similarly, while developing limited political and economic relations with North Africa during its multi-dimensional foreign policy of the 1970s, Turkey failed to give special importance to the Sub-Saharan region. This came from several reasons, such as domestic problems, misunderstandings with its Western Allies regarding the Cyprus issue and Turkey's failure to take an interest in Africa with a comprehensive and global strategy⁵⁷. It was only in the late 1990s that a real policy for an opening up to Africa came into existence with the adoption of an Action Plan for this purpose. Before turning to the following paragraph, it is important to indicate that from the adoption of aforementioned Action Plan until the beginning of its real implementation in the 2000s, Turkey's relations with Africa remained at a lower level, especially with SSA.

About two decades ago, Turkey launched its "Opening up to Africa" policy aiming at increasing relations with Africa as a whole. Thus, Turkey seemed to be breaking with its traditional foreign policy that was rather passive at the international level to turn to a more active internationalist policy. It is generally argued, this Action Plan is in part a response to the European Union after the refusal of Turkey's membership candidature to the EEC at its 1997 Summit in Luxembourg. These initiatives towards Africa with first serious efforts began under former President Turgut Özal. Indeed, after several meetings in 1998, Turkey has prepared an action plan for Africa to develop, in all prospective areas, Turkey's relations with Africa as a whole. This Action Plan was developed in collaboration with many stakeholders, including representatives of ministries, private organizations, and diverse agencies. In addition, Turkish Ambassadors and companies operating in Africa, as well as honorary consuls of African countries in Turkey, participated in these meetings⁵⁸.

The document adopted as a result of these consultations was an Action Plan that can be repeated in a few words at three levels. First, it handles the diplomatic fields by promoting high-

⁵⁵ Meliha Benli, Altunışık. "Worldviews and Turkish Foreign Policy in the Middle East", (01 March 2009), Volume: 40, No: 2, p. 174.

⁵⁶ Salih Zeki, Karaca. "*Turkish foreign policy in the year 2000 and beyond: her opening up policy to Africa*", Dis Politika-Foreign Policy, (2000), 25, 3-4: p.116.

⁵⁷ Salih Zeki, Karaca, *op.cit*, p. 115.

⁵⁸ Mehmet Özkan & Birol Akgün, *op.cit*; p.532.

level visits and anticipating the opening of embassies or accreditations in Africa in order to develop bilateral cooperation. Secondly, it offers economic measures by promoting economic exchanges and technical cooperation with African countries. Thirdly, the Action Plan approaches cultural cooperation and interactions in educational fields while encouraging the creation of an Institute of African Studies in Turkey for a better understanding of Africa. The plan put forward other recommendations regarding military co-operation through training programs and Turkey's assistance to UN peacekeeping missions in Africa⁵⁹. In short, the Action Plan for Opening up to Africa has been seen as a roadmap for increasing Turkey's relations with Africa in all possible domains. Nevertheless, this Action Plan did not work in its early days due to domestic problems that Turkey has faced and on which it needed to be more concentrated. In fact, political instabilities of 1998, the earthquake of 1999 but also the economic crisis of 2001 in Turkey constituted the main factors that prevented the implementation of this Action Plan⁶⁰. Despite this, it is also important to mention that its implementation in over a year yielded good results and laid the foundations for the government of the AK Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi)⁶¹ which came to power in 2002 in Turkey.

Since the advent of the AK Party in power coupled with the economic stability that started in Turkey in 2003, further measures have been taken by the new Turkish authorities to re-launch the said Action Plan and extend the scopes of Turkey's foreign policy. In order to ensure its effective and continuous implementation, the joint participation of Turkish public and private actors appeared necessary for the AK Party government. Thus, in 2003, there was what is called the "Strategy of Developing Economic Relations with Africa" prepared by the Turkish Under-secretariat for Foreign Trade, in which exhibition and trade missions were used as main tools for the implementation of the 1998 Plan's economic component.⁶² The AKP government's first years have meanwhile coincided with a number of serious issues such as the war in Iraq, the Cypriot issue as well as Turkey's relations with the European Union. Since these issues required urgent attention, Turkey's opening up to Africa become concrete only in 2005. Thereby, mutual diplomatic visits increased, notably that of Former Prime Minister Erdogan in Ethiopia and South Africa in March 2005, his first official visit to sub-Saharan Africa. In addition, President Abdullah Gül visited Africa twice: at first, in January 2009 Kenya

⁵⁹ Numan Hazar, "The Future of Turkish-African Relations", *Diş Politika-Foreign Policy*, (2000), 25, 3-4: pp. 112-113.

⁶⁰ Abdullah, Emre Akel. "How has "Turkey's Africa Strategy" been Affecting Turkey's Exports to Africa?" GTAPGlobal Trade Analysis Project, (February 2014), JEL-Code: D22, F14, p. 4.

⁶¹ The Justice and Development Party – AKP.

⁶² Abdullah Emre, Akel. *op.cit.* p. 4

and Tanzania, then in March 2010 Congo and Cameroon. It proved enough that Turkey and Africa were in the process of consolidating strong relationships. Moreover, the year 2005 was declared as “the Year of Africa” in Turkey, thus giving a sign to African countries, Turkey’s desire to pursue the relations previously initiated with the continent⁶³. In the same year, the status of Observer State to the African Union was granted to Turkey as part of these efforts, the first step in bringing Turkey closer to Africa. Consequently, the Turkish Embassy in Addis Ababa was accredited to the AU on 05 May 2005. Likewise, in return for the declaration of the year 2005 as “the Year of Africa” in Turkey, former Prime Minister Erdogan was invited as a guest of honor at the 2007 African Union Summit by former President of the AU Commission, Alpha Oumar Konaré. These were further confirmed in January 2008, when Turkey was declared as a “strategic partner” for Africa by the AU at its 10th Summit. Furthermore, the African Development Bank admitted Turkey as a member in May 2008, thus becoming the 26th non-regional member of the Bank⁶⁴. Then, the final approval by the Board of Governors in January 2013 allowed Turkey to subscribe to the Bank's capital.

On the economic side, alongside this diplomatic and institutional success, Turkey has also considerably developed its economic relations with African countries, including those of SSA. In 2000, Turkey’s trade volume with Africa was estimated at only 742 Million Dollars, which reached US\$3 Billion and US\$5.7 Billion respectively in 2005 and 2008. However, this record was reduced to USD 4.88 billion in 2009 due to the negative impact of the recent global economic crisis⁶⁵. A table in the works of Özkan & Akgün (2010) also shows that in 2003 the trade volume between Turkey and African countries was estimated at only US\$5.4 billion. Based on this volume, Özkan and Akgün pointed out that Turkey’s trade records with African countries were relatively small compared to its total trade volume with the rest of the world, estimated at about \$300 billion at the time. Therefore, Turkey’s ambition was to increase bilateral commercial exchanges with African countries so that its trade volume with Africa can reach US\$30 billion by the end of 2010⁶⁶. However, due to the decrease in global trade, Turkey’s trade volume with Africa did not reach US\$30 billion in 2010 as it was expected and

⁶³ Turkey’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (online), <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-afrika-iliskileri.tr.mfa> , (Date of access, May 2018).

⁶⁴ See Turkish Foreign Ministry Official Website, "Cooperation Framework for Turkey-Africa Partnership", Malabo, 2014, (Online) http://africa.mfa.gov.tr/framework-of-cooperation-for-africa-_turkey-partnership.tr.mfa, 10 May 2018

⁶⁵ Ali Engin Oba, “Türkiye-Afrika İlişkilerinde Yeni Bir Dönem Başlarken” (Getting a New Era in Turkey-Africa Relations), *Stratejik Analiz* (Strategic Analysis), (October 2008), Volume 9, No: 102, p.45.

⁶⁶ For more information about these statistics please see, Mehmet Özkan & Birol Akgün, “Turkey’s Opening to Africa”, *op.cit*, p. 534.

even in 2015, the total volume of bilateral trade between them was estimated at 17.5 billion USD⁶⁷ and \$ 18.8 billion in 2017⁶⁸. Yet, the 2015 trade record remains promising for the future of Turkey's bilateral trade with Africa and Turkey intends to go up to the 2015 estimations by 2023. As Sedat Aybar, an economist at Istanbul's Aydın University in an interview with Anadolu Agency said, Turkey aim is to reach 50 billion USD in trade volume with the African continent by 2023 in its centenary goals⁶⁹.

In short, through this "opening up to Africa" policy and the will of Turkish new rulers, it is clear that relations between Turkey and sub-Saharan Africa have been considerably strengthened, in many areas: diplomatically, economically but also culturally. In addition, the different Turkey-Africa summits and official visits allowed Turkey both to further reinforce its ties with many SSA countries and to start new relations with others. Although being described as global, these summits were also a place conducive to creating bilateral relations between diverse delegations present. Today, thanks to the collaboration and joint efforts of the Turkish public and private actors, Turkey's relations with the sub-Saharan region have developed considerably and produced very appreciable results. Equally important, the follows is Turkey's orientations towards Guinea in this general picture.

It is well known that contemporary relations between Guinea and Turkey are very recent, which trace back to the late 1990s. As is known, on 30 January 1997, the governments of both countries signed for the first time an agreement called "Agreement on Trade, Economic, and Technical Cooperation" in order to develop cooperation in these specific areas⁷⁰. This can be regarded as the starting point of Turkey-Guinea relations that laid the foundations for the current intensified cooperation between the two countries. However, despite the signing of that agreement, Turkey relations with Guinea were very limited from 1997 until 2010. It was the regime change in Guinea and the coming to power of the Guinean People's Rally (*Rassemblement du Peuple de Guinée - RPG*) in 2010 that gave new impetus to Turkey-Guinea relations. With the announcement of the policy for an international opening of Guinea by the new Guinean leaders in the same year, relations between the two countries have progressively

⁶⁷ Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (online), <http://afrika.mfa.gov.tr/data/turkey-africa-bilateral-data.pdf> , May 2018.

⁶⁸ Zuhail Demirci and Fatih Hafiz Mehmet , Turkey in Intense Cooperation with Africa, Anadolu Agency, (10.02.2018), (online), <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/turkey-in-intense-cooperation-with-africa-/1059565#>

⁶⁹ Furkan Naci Top, "No going back' for Turkey-Africa trade", *Anadolu Agency*, Istanbul, (20 January 2015), (Online), <https://aa.com.tr/en/world/no-going-back-for-turkey-africa-trade/82559#>.

⁷⁰ For detailed information, please visit, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-guinea.en.mfa> , (access date, April 2018).

advanced in different areas, reaching a significant level after the opening of embassies in their respective capitals in 2013. The following are different stages of relations between Turkey and the Republic of Guinea.

a. Period of a relationship at the lowest Level, 1997-2010

The agreement signed on 30 January 1997 laid the basis for the current Turkey-Guinea bilateral relationship. This agreement already provides for cooperation between the two countries in areas such as the economy, trade, and technical assistance⁷¹. Although being the first serious attempt to create cooperation links between Turkey and the Republic of Guinea, the agreement was not followed by concrete actions. As was the case with almost all African countries, this was due in particular to internal political instabilities and financial crisis faced by Turkey respectively in 1998 and 2001. In 1998, one year after the signature of the said agreement, an Action Plan for “Opening-up to Africa” was prepared by the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the aim of improving and enhancing Turkey’s relations with Africa in all prospective fields. However, this policy was relegated to the second plan due to the aforementioned political instabilities and financial crisis occurred in Turkey (Akel, 2014: 4).

Since the coming to power of the Justice and Development Party in 2002 coupled with the beginning of the Turkish economics’ stabilization, a high priority has been given to the Action Plan for opening-up to Africa. To this end, a “Developing Economic Relations with Africa Strategy” was prepared by the former Under-secretariat for Trade in the same year. In accordance with this new strategy, Turkish companies have been encouraged to take an interest in Africa, notably by organizing fairs in and sending trade missions to Africa⁷². During this period, Turkey’s relations with the Republic of Guinea were limited at all levels. Moreover, these existing limited relations between the two countries were visible in the trade area, with a trade balance of \$ 6 million in 2002 that reached \$ 21 million in 2008. From 2002 to 2008, the total volume of bilateral trade between Turkey and Guinea in the US dollar was estimated as follows: \$ 6 million (2002), \$ 8 million respective in (2003 and 2004), \$ 12 million (2005), \$ 17 million (2006), \$ 19 million (2007), and \$ 33 million (in 2008)⁷³. At this point, it is important

⁷¹ Aydın Özkan, “*Tarihsel Bir Perspektifle Gine’ye Bakış ve Modern Gine*”, AFAM Association of Researches on Africa, (online), <https://www.afam.org.tr/tarihsel-bir-perspektifle-gineye-bakis-modern-gine/>, 16 August 2017.

⁷² Under-secretariat of Foreign Trade (DTM, 2008), “*2009-2013 Stratejik Planı*”, (Online), <http://iklim.cob.gov.tr/iklim/Files/Stratejiler/DisTicaretMustesarligiSP0913.pdf>, 17 October 2013.

⁷³ Embassy of Turkey in Conakry, *Turkish-Guinean Trade Statistics : (January-December 2014)*, (Online), <http://konakri.be.mfa.gov.tr/Mission/ShowAnnouncement/226919>, 04 February 2015.

to point out that before the businessmen there were already Turkish schools in Guinea, which were opened in 2003 and known as “*Le Groupe Scolaire La Citadelle*” (The School Group Citadel). They were formally turned into the “Şehit Ömer Halisdemir Lisesi” in October 2017 (Pannetier, 2012: 74). Thus, to a certain extent, the founders of this educational institution appear to be the pioneers of the Turkish presence in Guinea.

The participation of Guinea in the first Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit, held in Istanbul in 2008, is another step in the history of Turkish-Guinean relations. In the margins of this summit, the Guinean delegation led by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Amadou Lamrana Bah was received by the Turkish President Abdullah Gül for a bilateral meeting in order to consider the future of their relations. This Guinean participation represented a major milestone in the history of relations between Turkey and Guinea. Moreover, at that summit, the Turkish government announced the opening of embassies in 10 African countries initially, among others Mali and Ivory Coast, all neighbors of Guinea. The Republic of Guinea and the other five countries, including Burkina Faso, Mauritania, Uganda, and Zambia were concerned about the opening of the said embassies in the second stage⁷⁴. Prior to 2013, Guinea was under the jurisdiction of the Turkish Embassy in Bamako (Mali) since 2010. Similarly, the Honorary Consulate of Guinea in Turkey reported to the Embassy of Guinea in Egypt until 2013⁷⁵. From this point of view, it can be said that despite Turkey’s policy of opening up to Africa, its diplomatic relations with Guinea were limited to the opening of honorary consulates prior to 2013. The few relations initiated at that time had no long-term goal, unlike what will be started in 2013 under the chairmanship of President Alpha Condé in office since 2010.

b. The Beginning of a Special Relationship since 2013

After many years of relative inattentiveness, Turkey has now shifted its attention back to Africa, not only to develop a genuine partnership with the continent based on equality and mutual benefits but for the considerable economic opportunities, natural resources, and market potential in Africa as well. Therefore, at the 2008 Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit, Turkey adopted a Declaration on Turkey-Africa Partnership: Solidarity and Partnership for a Common Future” and its annex “Framework of Cooperation for Turkey-Africa Partnership” to enhance

⁷⁴ Marie Pannetier, “La Turquie en Afrique, Une Stratégie Globale”(Turkey in Africa, A Global Strategy), French Institute of Anatolian Studies, (Report Presented as part of an Erasmus Mobility Program), Istanbul, 2012, p.16.

⁷⁵ Interview Nana Kilavogui, former Guinean student at Ege University in İzmir.

and expand its relations with Africa⁷⁶. Through these mechanisms, Turkey has institutionalized its symbolic and proactive diplomacy with African countries. In the case of Guinea, after the change that occurred in 2010 in the country, Turkey-Guinea relations began to make progress thanks to their unique two-way dynamic. The convergence of the Guinean authorities 'Look East' policy and the '*International Opening of Guinea*' with Turkey's policy of '*Opening up to Africa*' had a knock-on effect on the emerging special relationship.

For a few years, Guinea has faced some political difficulties and social-economic challenges that have compromised the lives and livelihoods of its people. After the first regime resulting from independence in 1958, its political history was marked by the succession of authoritarian military regimes and political crises that impeded its integration into the concert of democratic and developed nations. The holding of the country's first democratic elections in 2010 and several steps taken by the new Guinean authorities towards opening up its political system, as well as reform policy in different sectors resulted in the deacidifying of relations with the international community⁷⁷. This has led foreign investors to take an interest in the country, whose mineral potential is very huge. With this new vision, the Guinean government has placed at the center of its preoccupations both the opening up of Guinea at the international level and its reintegration into the concert of nations. Bearing this pragmatic approach, Guinea participated in the Fourth Least Developed Countries Summit, held in May 2011 in Istanbul. At this Summit, the Guinean President Alpha Condé was accompanied by an important delegation. Without a doubt, this was a great opportunity to give impetus to the bilateral relations between Turkey and Guinea, since the Guinean President was received by his Turkish counterpart President Abdullah Gül for a bilateral meeting on this occasion. In this regard, the Presidents of both countries have confirmed their mutual willingness to effectively advance relations between Turkey and Guinea in all possible areas⁷⁸.

In response to their mutual commitments, the two countries agreed to open embassies in their respective capitals. Thus, as part of its policy of opening up to Africa, Turkey opened its 33rd embassy on the African continent in Conakry on March 8, 2013. A month later in the same year, the Republic of Guinea did the same by opening, in turn, its embassy in Ankara on April

⁷⁶ J. Peter Pham, "Turkey's Return to Africa", *World Defense Review*, 27 May 2010, (online) <https://ifestos.edu.gr/turkeys-return-to-africa/>, (Date of access, May 2018).

⁷⁷ Freedom House, *Guinea Freedom in the world 2011: Status Changes Explanation*, (Online) <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2011/guinea>

⁷⁸ For detailed information, please visit <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-guinea.en.mfa>, 28 May 2018.

10, 2013⁷⁹. On this occasion, H.E. Vehbi Esgel Etensel was accredited as Turkish first Ambassador to Guinea, who served until August 31, 2015, before being replaced by H.E Ms. Hatice Nur Sağman in September 2015. Similarly, H.E. Daouda Bangoura was accredited as Guinean first Ambassador to the Republic of Turkey, who is in office since April 2013.

In a nutshell, the year 1997 marked the first attempt at the contact between Turkey and Guinea, but the beginning of a special relationship between the two countries dates from 2013. The year 2013 constitutes a milestone in the history of Turkish-Guinean relations, not only at the level of strategic and diplomatic co-operation (which can be explained by the opening of embassies in the capitals of the two countries) but also at the economic level (reflected by the level of their bilateral trade, whose volume reached \$ 139.768.644 million in 2013 compared to previous years)⁸⁰. More recently, both countries have intensified their contacts in order to bring their relations to a higher level. Over the past five years, senior level visits have been held between the two countries aiming at improving and considering a bright future for their bilateral relations in all prospective fields. The major pillars of these bilateral relations will be reviewed in more detail in the last section of this chapter.

2.2 INTENSIFIED TURKEY-GUINEA BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS

In Chapter I, we proceeded with a thorough analysis of the foreign policy of both countries. In the first section of the said chapter, we have systematically discussed Turkish foreign policy from the foundation period of the republic to the period of the ruling AK Party in Turkey. In the second section, it was an analysis of the foreign policy of the Republic of Guinea, namely on its origins, its characteristics and its evolution since independence. This second sub-part of chapter II will, therefore, be an opportunity to analytically review the existing bilateral relationships between Guinea and Turkey. In order to fully understand the relationship, we will try to focus on the potential pillars of their cooperation ties, which made significant progress in recent years.

Before getting into the heart of the section, we will make sure to let readers know the factors that make Guinea attractive to both the major powers and emerging countries, including Turkey, which is now actively participating in the competition of the markets. Located in West

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Embassy of Turkey in Conakry, *"Turkish-Guinean Trade Statistic"*, Op.Cit. , 2014.

Africa, the Republic of Guinea is of great interest in terms of partnership for both the major powers and the emerging ones such as Brazil, China, India, and Turkey. This interest is particularly due to its mining potential and strategic location between the French-speaking and English-speaking countries. It also offers political stability and a sustained macroeconomic framework. In a regional environment marked by decades of major political instability, Guinea has remained one of the few countries not to experience conflict. Finally, with its geographical location in the West Africa region, and its enormous economic potential, it is a strategic gateway to a market of more than 300 million people. The country is bordered by several hundred kilometers of maritime borders and shares six land borders with the countries of West African.

Considered as the world's seventeenth economy and the new competitor in the sub-Saharan region, Turkey is seen as a model for economic development by Guinea, which believes that the African continent can benefit greatly from cooperation with Turkey. Moreover, addressing a joint press conference with his Turkish counterpart Erdogan in Conakry on 3 March 2016, the Guinean President Alpha Condé said that in terms of development, Guinea can learn a lot from Turkey⁸¹. Similarly, Turkey which has not made Sub-Saharan Africa a priority in its foreign policy for years tries to position itself on the political and economic scene in the region alongside powerful countries like France and other emerging powers like China, which is the main competitor in SSA as well as in Guinea. This is also in line with its interest in Guinea, but as previously mentioned, Turkey has a very recent relationship with Guinea, which traces back to the signing by the governments of both countries in 1997 of an Agreement on Economic, Commercial and Technical Cooperation⁸². This was the beginning of Turkey's orientation towards Guinea. Initially, the conclusion of this agreement did not lead to the real development of relations, as expected, since they remained low for more than a decade. It was not until President Alpha Condé came to power in 2010 that relations between Turkey and Guinea took on new momentum. Since then, relations between the two countries have gradually progressed in different areas, reaching a significant level in 2013 after the establishment of diplomatic relations.

In recent years, bilateral relations between Conakry and Ankara have intensified and trade between the two countries manifests itself in an increasingly strong economic dimension. As part of its foreign policy initiative for Africa and particularly for SSA, Turkey is largely reliant on trade by seeking new markets to sell its products and new partners in Africa to share

⁸¹ Tutku Şenen, "Turkey, Guinea sign nine bilateral agreements", *Anadolu Agency*, 03/03/2016. (Online), <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/todays-headlines/turkey-guinea-sign-nine-bilateral-agreements/531236#>

⁸² For detailed information, please visit, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-guinea.en.mfa> , 18 May, 2018.

the experience of its economic development model. As for Guinea, it pays particular attention to this Ankara's policy towards the African countries. Moreover, the realities of the new structuring of geo-economics have led the Guinean leaders to take an interest in developing relations with emerging powers, mainly with China. The Republic of Guinea is also aware of the presence on its territory of other emerging powers and newly industrialized countries such as Brazil, India, Russia, South Korea, and most recently, that of Turkey. As mentioned above, the country's mineral potential and strategic location make Guinea one of the strategic allies of these emerging powers in the sub-region. Although their relationship is quite recent, Turkey's specific strategy for business on the African continent is highly appreciated by the Guinean leaders, as highlighted by the Guinean President in his speech during an official visit paid to Turkey in December 2016⁸³. In addition to the result of the political will of the leaders of both countries and actors of the Turkish civil society working in the economic, political and cultural sectors, this Turkey's strategy can partly explain the rapprochement between Ankara and Conakry. This rapprochement can be seen as a dynamism of Ankara's strategy to redefine Turkey's position in the sub-Saharan region.

Although there had been previous connections between Guinea and Turkey since 1997, these were not aimed at a long-term goal. However, with the arrival of President Condé to power in Guinea in 2010, Turkish-Guinean relationship has gained new momentum, reaching a peak in 2013 after the opening of embassies in the capital cities of both countries. Today, thanks to a mutual will, the two countries maintain strong bilateral cooperation, which deserves to be analytically examined in this section for future progress. In fact, this bilateral cooperation is mainly based on at least three pillars: political-diplomatic co-operation; economic co-operation and cultural co-operation. The difference between this relationship and Turkey's other bilateral relations lies in the rapid development of these pillars, which have grown considerably in less than ten years. It is important to note that there are now some social and cultural exchanges between Turkey and Guinea that this study does not examine due to space constraints. That being said, the following is a review of these major pillars of Guinea-Turkey bilateral relations.

⁸³ Information retrieved from the speech held by the Guinean President Prof Alpha Condé on the occasion of his State visit to Turkey in Ankara on 26-30 December 2016. Available on the TV of the Guinean Government at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-IuYeaKVajY>

2.2.1 Political-diplomatic Cooperation

Politically, the end of the 1990s marked the beginning of Turkey-Guinea relations, when the governments of both countries concluded an economic agreement. However, although the first business meeting was held in Conakry in June 2002 in the framework of this agreement, the beginning of a special relationship between the two countries dates from 2013. Turkey firstly announced at the Summit of 2008, the opening of embassies in about fifteen Sub-Saharan African countries, including Guinea⁸⁴. Meaning that there was already a clear willingness of Ankara to establish diplomatic relations with Guinea even before the arrival in power of President Alpha Condé in Guinea, who later confirmed this decision of Ankara government. Two years later, Turkish Embassy in Bamako (Mali) was opened in 2010 in accordance with this Ankara's decision, under whose jurisdiction Guinea was until the opening of a Turkish Embassy in Conakry in February 2013. Similarly, the Honorary Consulate of Guinea in Turkey reported to the Embassy of Guinea in Egypt until 2013. Nonetheless, the year 2013 constituted a milestone in the history of Turkish-Guinean relations, both at the level of strategic and diplomatic co-operation and at the economic level. More recently, Ankara and Conakry have intensified contacts in order to bring their relations to a higher level. At the same time, senior-level visits have been held between the two countries aiming to improve and consider a bright future for their bilateral relations in all prospective fields.

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 2013, Guinea and Turkey have maintained stable and friendly ties. As François Lounceny Fall, the former Foreign Minister of Guinea, said in a speech during his official visit to Turkey in April 2013, the opening of a new Turkish embassy in Conakry was a great gesture for enhancing Turkey-Guinea relationships that could lead to the creation of new areas of cooperation, notably in the trade and mining sectors⁸⁵. The year 2018 marked the fifth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations; bilateral relations have grown steadily and progressed positively. Both countries enjoyed frequent senior-level meetings (see Annex 1). According to a briefing note of 17 July 2013 from Turkey's diplomatic mission in Guinea, during the first four months following the

⁸⁴ Marie Pannetier, "La Turquie en Afrique, Une Stratégie Globale," (Turkey in Africa, A Global Strategy), *French Institute of Anatolian Studies*, (Report Presented as part of an Erasmus Mobility Program), Istanbul, 2012, p.16.

⁸⁵ See Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Foreign Minister of Guinea pays an official visit to Turkey", Ankara, April 2013, (online) <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/foreign-minister-of-guinea-pays-an-official-visit-to-turkey.en.mfa>

opening of the Turkish Embassy in Conakry, five Guinean ministers paid an official visit to Turkey. Those included firstly, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Guineans Abroad Lounceny Fall, who visited Istanbul and İzmir on 4-9 April 2013. Second, the former Minister of Telecommunications and ICT Oyé Guilavogui, who attended the 16th Economic Summit of Eurasia held in Istanbul on 10-11 April 2013. Third, the visit of the former Minister of International Cooperation of Guinea Moustapha Koutoubu Sanoh during the meeting of the Turkey-Guinea Joint Economic Committee held in Ankara on 16-18 April 2013. Then, the visit paid by former Trade Minister Dorval Dounbouya to İzmir on the occasion of the Turkish language Olympiad organized on 25-29 April 2013. Finally, the former Minister of Industry and SMEs of Guinea Ms. Ramatoulaye Bah, who visited Ankara on 17-18 June of the same year⁸⁶.

At a higher level still, in addition to its participation to the UN 4th Least Developed Countries (LDC) Conference held in Istanbul in 2011, the Guinean President Alpha Condé has paid six official visits to Turkey between 2016 and 2017 (see Annex 1). As for his Turkish counterpart Erdogan, he visited the Republic of Guinea on March 3, 2016, before the six aforementioned visits by President Alpha Condé to Turkey. This was the first official visit paid by a Turkish President to the Republic of Guinea in the history of Turkish-Guinean relations. Moreover, it was during this visit that both countries have signed nine agreements/memoranda of understanding, marking thus a historic advancement of bilateral relations between Ankara and Conakry⁸⁷. Guinea was the last stop in Erdogan's four-nation tour of West Africa. He visited the Ivory Coast, Ghana, and Nigeria before arriving in Guinea.

As shown in table 1, alongside limited meetings prior to the year 2013, there has been a series of high-level meetings between the authorities of both countries from 2013 to 2018. Most of these took place either on the occasion of the different summits organized by Turkey as part of the improvement and reinforcement of its relations with the African continent or on the sidelines of the summits of the inter-governmental organizations such as the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) to which both countries belong. Some, however, have been planned bilaterally at the initiative of the governments of both countries to raise the level of

⁸⁶ Turkish Embassy in Conakry, "*Cinq Ministres Guinéens ont visités la Turquie au Cours de ces 4 Derniers Mois*" (Five Guinean Ministers have visited Turkey in last four Months), Conakry, 14 July 2013, (online), <http://konakri.be.mfa.gov.tr/Mission/ShowInfoNote/191302> (date of access, 25 April 2018).

⁸⁷ Ministry of Foreign of the Republic of Turkey, "*Relations between Turkey and Guinea*", (Online), <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-guinea.en.mfa>, 18 May 2018.

their bilateral cooperation ties. Indeed, the first outcome of these series of meetings and high-level visits has been the signing of a number of bilateral agreements by the Ankara and Conakry administrations in various sectors. Mainly, they were respectively concluded during the official visit paid by the Turkish President Erdogan to Conakry in March 2016, and that of the Guinean President Alpha Condé to Turkey from December 26 to 30, 2016. While the first resulted in the signing of nine agreements/memorandums of understanding (see Annex 2), the second allowed for the conclusion of seven co-operation agreements/memoranda of understanding. In addition to these, other cooperation agreements have also been concluded between the Government of the Republic of Guinea and the Government of the Republic of Turkey (see Annex 3).

These six Cooperation Agreements and three Memorandums of Understanding listed separately in Annex 2 were signed during an official visit by Turkish President Erdogan to the Republic of Guinea. As is known, on 3 March 2016, at the invitation of his counterpart Guinean, President Erdogan paid to Guinea a friendly and working visit accompanied by an important delegation of government members and Turkish businessmen. This visit was part of the consolidation and diversification of ties of solidarity, friendship, and cooperation between Guinea and Turkey. On that occasion, the Heads of State of the two countries recalled the history of relations between Conakry and Ankara. This visit took place when the Republic of Guinea was trying to overcome the Ebola epidemic that has considerably undermined the country's development initiatives. The Guinean President Alpha Condé seized this opportunity to convey its thanks and gratefulness to his Turkish counterpart for the noble contribution of the Turkish government to the response against Ebola. In addition, he appealed to the Turkish government for support to the Ebola Post Recovery Program. From the economic standpoint, the two Heads of State reaffirmed their desire to strengthen their relations by inviting public and private companies in Guinea and Turkey to become more involved in the construction of a partnership to become a South-South cooperation model⁸⁸.

During the visit, an exchange of views took place between the Heads of State of the two countries on their bilateral relations as well as on regional and international issues. At the bilateral level, they welcomed the excellent ties of friendship and cooperation existing between the two countries and reiterated their desire and determination to enhance and raise them to a

⁸⁸ For more information please watch the video on the presentation of the Joint Final Communiqué of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's working and friendship visit to Guinea on March 3, 2016. The report is available on YouTube at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XNFtbOCzPXM&t=43s>

higher level through the conclusion of agreements on various areas, and the regular holding of sessions of the Main Joint Committee on Cooperation.

At the regional level, President Alpha Condé and his Turkish counterpart Erdogan discussed the security situation of concern in the Sahel region, particularly in Mali, Niger, Nigeria, and Cameroon, and made the case that it does not have any repercussions on the security situation of other countries in the sub-region. The two Heads of State, therefore, expressed their support for the efforts of the international community for the restoration of peace in this region and their solidarity with the people of these brother countries. At the international level, they denounced the chaotic situation that prevails and cracks down in some parts of Iraq and Syria because of the war that is putting in pieces these countries apart. For this purpose, they also stressed the need for more comprehensive initiatives to be taken in order to end instability in these countries. Finally, the two Heads of State highlighted the importance of the role of the *Umma* Islamic for economic integration, international peace, and global stability⁸⁹.

As can be seen in annexes 2 and 3, several cooperation agreements and memoranda prepared by the Republic of Guinea and the Republic of Turkey have been signed between the governments of the two countries. These cover a variety of areas, including diplomacy, the military and civil aviation, tourism, air services, health, education and training, the electricity and mining, the fauna, forestry, and environmental protection, etc. Moreover, it should be noted that during the 2nd Session of Turkey-Guinea Joint Committee on Trade, Economic and Technical Cooperation, held in Ankara on 16-19 April 2013, Guinea had shown interest in cooperation between the Government of Republic of Guinea and the Government of the Republic of Turkey in the area of banking. This is an ample indication that there is a real willingness on both sides to establish new areas of cooperation between Turkey and the Republic of Guinea. However, the question is: what impact did the signing of these cooperation agreements and memoranda of understanding have on the strengthening of Turkish-Guinean relations? Since we will move on to the next part, which concerns Turkey's diplomatic expertise to Guinea, the answer to this question will allow us to exclusively understand and assess the outcome of the Agreement between the government of the Republic of Turkey and the government of the Republic of Guinea on cooperation between the Diplomacy Academy of Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Center for Training and Perfection in Diplomacy of Guinea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

2.2.1.1 Diplomatic Expertise from Turkey to Guinea

The perspective of this paragraph is not the history of the Diplomacy Academy of Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, however, a brief reminder as a background will help to understand what will be discussed here. Indeed, the Academy of Diplomacy was created on 22 January 1968, as the Academy of Foreign Affairs. In 1994, it was renamed "Training Center for Foreign Affairs" in accordance with the law of 24 June 1994 and numbered 4009 on the Organization and Attributions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Finally, the institution has been reorganized to take the name of "Ministry of Foreign Affairs Diplomacy Academy" under the Act 6004 on Organization and Attributions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Since then, the Diplomacy Academy serves with a range of tasks as one of the service components that complete the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey. As a training institution, the mission of the Academy is to plan and organize basic, preparatory and continuing educations and internship programs for Ministry members in charge of performing Turkey's international relations, its foreign policy, and consular services. Likewise, the Academy proposes training programs to the attention of the career diplomats of foreign countries with which it is in partnership as well. In addition, the institution is in charge of organizing and ensuring the attendance of Ministry officials in the training programs, language courses and professional seminars abroad. At the same time, it provides training for officials assigned to foreign missions of other government institutions and bodies⁹⁰

As part of its active foreign policy, Turkey has shown great interest in the exchange of diplomats with foreign countries since the establishment of the Diplomacy Academy of its Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In this context, 91 memoranda of understanding (MuO) for cooperation between diplomatic academies and 15 diplomatic exchange protocols have been signed by this Diplomacy Academy with other countries, which provide the legal framework for bilateral training programs. Indeed, the "Memoranda of Understanding for Co-operation between Diplomatic Academies" is the legal basis for co-operation between diplomatic academies in terms of exchange of experience, lecturers, instructors, and publications. Additionally, it provides the legal framework for holding joint conferences, seminars, and

⁹⁰ For detailed information about the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Diplomacy Academy, please see the following link, http://diab.mfa.gov.tr/about_the_academy.en.mfa

training programs. While taking into account the needs of the partner countries, these bilateral training programs for a period of three months to a year are mainly related to diplomacy and protocol subjects⁹¹.

Concerning the case of the Republic of Guinea, it was in 2016 that the Diplomacy Academy of Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) for diplomatic cooperation with the Center for Training and Perfection in Diplomacy of Guinea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. With the signing of this Memorandum of Understanding, Guinea, through the Center for Training and Perfection in Diplomacy of its Ministry of Foreign Affairs, became one of the 91 countries with which the Diplomacy Academy of Turkey has concluded memoranda of understanding for cooperation between diplomatic academies. This Memorandum of Understanding provides a legal framework for cooperation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of both countries, through the supporting institutions of the two ministries, mainly for the exchange of experience as well as the organization of seminars and training programs. Since 2016, the Diplomacy Academy has organized three training programs for Guinean diplomats and one to the attention of Guinean officials within the framework of this bilateral institutional cooperation. In order to fully assess the outcomes of this cooperation, these training programs deserve to be discussed in more detail in the following paragraphs, which will be supported by Table 4.

The first training program named the "Training Program for Guinean Diplomats" was organized in Ankara and Istanbul from 24 September to 01 October 2016, with the participation of ten Senior Guinean Diplomats. The program that initially began by the presentation of the bilateral relations between Guinea and Turkey and Turkey's Foreign Policy toward the African continent, dealt with a number of diplomatic and international topics. The courses delivered by Turkish lecturers included Public Diplomacy, the Management of Diplomatic Missions, IT Technics and Operations of Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Organizations and Operation of Turkish MFA, Management of Diplomatic Archive and Archive Automation Project, Diplomacy and International Relations in Global World, Protocol Practices of Turkish MFA, and the simulation activities in negotiation and mediation. The conference was also marked by the presentation of attendees on the organizational structure, duties, and activities of Turkish Cooperation and Co-ordination Agency (TIKA) and its activities in Guinea, in which both TIKA and the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities participated. On the

⁹¹ For more information please see, <http://diab.mfa.gov.tr/collaboration.en.mfa>

sidelines of the training, participants had the privilege to visit some historic hot-spots of Istanbul, including the Blue Mosque, Dolmabahçe Palace, and Hagia Sophia Museum. In addition to these different visits, the delegation also took a ride of Bosphorus, the 32 km (20-mile)-long north-south strait that joins the Sea of Marmara with the Black Sea in Istanbul, and separates the continents of Europe and Asia⁹².

In a framework of cooperation with the Guinean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a vocational training program for Guinean diplomats was organized by the Diplomacy Academy in Guinea from January 31 to February 1, 2017. This vocational training included seminars conducted by three eminent Turkey ambassadors in Conakry, the capital city of the Republic of Guinea. Ambassador Artemiz Sümer lectured on “ Relations between Turkey and Africa ” and “ Relations between Turkey and Guinea”, while Ambassador Süleyman İnan Özyıldız lectured on “ Diplomacy and International Relations within the Context of International Organizations and Security. As for Ambassador (R) Naman Hazar, an expert in Turkey-Africa Relations, delivered courses on “Diplomacy, Diplomatic Correspondance and Negotiation Techniques” as well as on “Protocol Rules”. As important as it was, this second training had brought together fifty Guinean diplomats with different rank and titles⁹³.

Subsequently, on 17-26 February 2017, the Academy organized the third training program for 10 Guinean diplomats that took place in Ankara and Istanbul and lasted a week. The program was carried out in two stages. The first comprised conferences held in Ankara, at first on Turkey’s Bilateral Relations with Guinea lectured by Ministry officials, retired ambassadors and academicians. In addition, the participants also benefited from the courses on Regional and Global Framework of Turkish Foreign Policy, Communication Technologies and Diplomacy, Multilateral Negotiation and Conflict Resolution, Multilateral Economic Cooperation, the General Rules of Protocol, as well as Turkey’s Economy and Economic Diplomacy and Foreign Economic Relations. During this first stage, the attendees visited some Turkish institutions, including Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), Presidency of Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) and Yunus Emre Institute, as well the Ataturk’s Mausoleum. On that occasion, presentations were made by the said institutions for the delegation concerning their organizational structures and operations. The second stage of the program took place in

⁹² Diplomacy Academy of Turkish MFA, “*Training Program for Guinean Diplomats (2016)*”. Ankara, October 2016, (online), <http://diab.mfa.gov.tr/training-programme-for-the-guinean-diplomats-2016.en.mfa> (Date of access: 25 August 2018).

⁹³ Diplomacy Academy of Turkish MFA, “*Training Program for Guinean Diplomats (Conakry)*”, Ankara, February 2017, (online), <http://diab.mfa.gov.tr/training-program-for-guinean-diplomats-conakry.en.mfa> , (Date of access: 25 August 2018).

Istanbul and was dedicated to the visits that the participants paid to some historic places of the city, including the Blue Mosque, Dolmabahçe Palace, Grand Bazaar, and Hagia Sophia⁹⁴.

Finally, a four-day training program for Guinean Ministry of Foreign Affairs staff was organized in Conakry from 31 October to 3 November 2017. This second training program organized in Conakry recorded the highest number of participants, estimated at more than 120 personnel of the ministry compared to the first one which gathered 50 participants. Throughout the program, conferences were delivered on the following topics: “Diplomatic Language and Diplomatic Correspondence” lectured by Retired Ambassador Artemis Sümer and the “General Rules of Protocol” and Turkey-Africa Partnership Policy” lectured by Retired Ambassador Numan Hazar⁹⁵.

Table 1: List of Guinean Diplomats Participating in the Training Programs of Turkish Foreign Ministry Diplomatic Academy, 2016 & 2017.

Attendees in the First Training Program on September 31- October 1, 2016, in Ankara and Istanbul		
<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Full Names of Attendees</u>	<u>Ranks</u>
1	H.E. Aboubacar Demba TOURE	Ambassador
2	H.E. Aboubacar Sidiki KONATE	Ambassador
3	H.E. Aminata KOITA	Ambassador
4	H.E. Cheick Ahmed Tidiane CAMARA	Ambassador
5	Ms. Koumantcho BAH	*
6	H.E. Mama Aissata BANGOURA	Ambassador
7	H.E. Marie Agnès TOURE	Ambassador
8	Mr. Mohamed CAMARA	Ambassador
9	Mr. Morgane CAMARA	*
10	H.E. Omar CISSE	Ambassador
Participants in the Second Training Program on 17-26 February 2017 in Ankara and Istanbul		
<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Full Names of Participants</u>	<u>Ranks</u>

⁹⁴ See Diplomacy Academy of Turkish MFA, “*Training Program for the Guinean Officials (2017)*”, Ankara, February 2017, (online), <http://diab.mfa.gov.tr/training-program-for-the-guinean-diplomats-2017.en.mfa> . (Access date: 25 August 2018).

⁹⁵ Please see Diplomacy Academy of Turkish MFA, “*Training Program for Guinean Diplomat (31 October -3 November, 2017 Conakry, Guinea)*”. Conakry, November 2017, (online): <http://diab.mfa.gov.tr/training-program-for-the-guinean-officials.en.mfa> . (Access date: 25 August 2018).

1	Ms. Aissata Oumou DALLO	*
2	Mr. Aly Badara BERETE	*
3	Mr. Daouda Adama CAMARA	*
4	Mr. Lainé-Cé DORE	*
5	Mr. Mamadou Bhoie BAH	*
6	Ms. Mariama DIAKITE	*
7	Mr. Mohamed Bourama KEITA	*
8	Ms. Oumou KEITA	*
9	Ms. Saran OULARE	*
10	Mr. Sékou CONDE	*

Source: Diplomacy Academy of Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Available at the following links (<http://diab.mfa.gov.tr/training-programme-for-the-guinean-diplomats-2016.en.mfa>) & (<http://diab.mfa.gov.tr/training-program-for-the-guinean-diplomats-2017.en.mfa>). *: Un-provided Ranks.

Based on the above information, it can be concluded that the diplomatic cooperation between Guinea and Turkey is in a better state, after the various visits of Guinean president Alpha Condé in Turkey coupled with the visit of his Turkish counterpart President Erdogan in Guinea on March 3, 2016. Since these visits have led to the signing of bilateral agreements between the two countries in various areas including diplomacy. On the one hand, the agreement signed by the governments of the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Guinea on cooperation between the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey and the Center for Training and Perfection in Diplomacy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Guinea. On the other hand, the agreement signed by the governments of the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Guinea on cooperation between the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Guinea. In addition to the reciprocal opening of embassies in both countries in 2013, bilateral cooperation under these government agreements has significantly contributed to improving relations between the two countries both politically and diplomatically.

2.2.2 The Potential Existing Economic Cooperation

Since 2013, the economic dimension/pillar of Turkish-Guinean relations has made significant progress compared to previous years and that thanks to the combination of Turkey's

policy for Opening up to Africa and Guinea's "Look East" policy. However, it is important to note that economic cooperation between Turkey and Guinea constitutes only a small part of the Turkey-SSA economic partnership, which represents successively a small part of the overall foreign economic commitment of Turkey.

2.2.2.1 Trade Relationships

Turkey's establishment strategy in Guinea and in SSA, in general, is motivated by economic considerations, as it represents an attractive market for Turkish businessmen. Without a doubt, Africa is a continent with high potential for raw materials and has always attracted the attention of developed countries because of its resources. However, the interest of Turkey for the Republic of Guinea is not mainly related to raw materials. Indeed, the Republic of Turkey considers another important economic perspective, namely access to the market. Thus, Turkey's economic relations with Guinea, which have increased significantly in recent years have focused on trade-related purchases.

The existing economic cooperation between Turkey and Guinea is governed by the economic agreement of 1997. The signing of this agreement was aimed primarily at developing cooperation ties between the two countries in the fields of economy and trade. The Agreement provides in Article 7 for the creation of a "Joint Economic Commission" (JEC), the first and second meetings of which took place on 12 and 14 June 2002 in Conakry (Guinea) and 16 and 18 April 2013 in Ankara (Turkey), respectively. Moreover, the current economic and trade relations between the two countries are carrying out under this Agreement⁹⁶.

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 2013, Guinea and Turkey have sought to increase their trade relationship. Trade relations between the two countries have been boosted through senior level visits by government officials, sharing experiences in different sectors. Reportedly, Turkey's appetite for new markets, mineral resources and raw material in Africa also constitute the main driver of the recent trade relations between the two countries. With the holding of the second meeting of the Joint Economic Commission in 2013 in Ankara, Turkey's trade relations with the Republic of Guinea have intensified further. To date, Turkey is the tenth largest trading partner of the Republic of Guinea behind China, Holland, India, Belgium,

⁹⁶ Ibid.

France, South Korea, Germany, Senegal, and the U.S.⁹⁷ In terms of markets of exports, it is the eighteenth largest exporter of the Republic of Guinea after China, India, Switzerland, Spain, and Ireland, Jordan, France, Germany, South Korea, Lebanon⁹⁸, etc.

According to data from the Turkish Ministry of Trade, bilateral trade between Guinea and Turkey has recorded some increases since 2013. It is reported that the total volume of Turkey's bilateral trade with Guinea went slightly from \$1.673 million in 2005 to \$3.539 million in 2011, with an increase of \$4.249 million in 2014. This trend continued under the second term of the ruling party in Guinea (Guinean People's Rally/RPG Rainbow) in the years that followed, witnessing further growth in bilateral trade with the figure reaching \$8.238 million 2017. (Table 3 shows that the increases occurred mainly from 2011–2013 and 2016–2017).

Table 2: Turkey-Guinea Trade Volume, 2005-2017 Period, \$ million

Year	Total Trade Volume	Exported Value	Imported Value
2005	1.673	853	820
2006	1.989	1.033	956
2007	2.421	1.203	1.218
2008	2.708	1.342	1.366
2009	2.110	1.050	1.060
2010	2.876	1.471	1.405
2011	3.539	1.433	2.106
2012	4.182	1.928	2.254
2013	3.931	1.701	2.230
2014	4.249	2.007	2.242
2015	3.636	1.437	2.199
2016	6.843	2.414	4.429
2017	8.238	3.258	4.980
2017 Inter-regional Share (%)		2017 World Share (%)	
0.9		0.0	

⁹⁷Yasin Şahin, “*Gine Cumhuriyeti Ülke Profili*” (Republic of Guinea Country Profile), Turkish Ministry of Trade: Directorate of Exports, 2018, p.18.

⁹⁸ Yasin Şahin, *ibid*, p.16.

Source: Turkish Ministry of Trade, 29 August 2018 (<https://www.ticaret.gov.tr/istatistikler/dis-ticaret-istatistikleri-son/ulkelere-gore-dunya-ticareti-2005-2017>).

As with other African countries, Turkey's bilateral trade with Guinea has been characterized by the export of raw materials in exchange for manufactured goods (including articles of iron and steel), Electrical machinery and parts thereof (sound recorders and reproducers, Television...) and other equipment. Exports from Guinea to Turkey have been dominated by (oil seeds and oleaginous fruits; miscellaneous grains, seeds, and fruit; industrial or medicinal), cash crops (Cacao, and Cacao preparations); Fish and crustaceans, mollusks and other aquatic invertebrates. The natural or cultured pearls, precious or semi-precious stones, precious metals and metals clad are Guinea's main export product to Turkey⁹⁹. Although it's still very small, there has been a gradual increase in Turkish export to Guinea as a result of the willingness of Conakry and Ankara to enhance their bilateral trade relations.

Table 3: Turkey-Guinea Trade Volume in \$ million, 2010-2017 (ITC Data)

Year	Total Trade Volume	Exported Value	Imported Value	Trade Balance in Value
2010	12.306	232	12.074	-11.842
2011	22.921	450	22.471	-22.021
2012	30.114	2.424	27.690	-25.266
2013	45.058	4.133	40.925	-36.792
2014	36.925	767	36.158	-35.391
2015	38.972	2.318	36.654	-34.344
2016*	68.690	6.367	62.323	-
2017	50.215	15.776	34.439	-18.663

Source: ITC Trade Map, May 2017; Turkish Ministry of Trade: Directorate of Exports (works of Yasin Şahin), "Gine Cumhuriyeti Ülke Profili" (Republic of Guinea Country Profile), 2018, p.16-18. *Mirror data. – Value not provided.

2.2.2.2 Investments

⁹⁹ ITC Trade Map, "Bilateral trade between Turkey and Guinea Product: TOTAL All products", (online)

https://www.trademap.org/countrysmap/Bilateral_TS.aspx?nvpm=1|792||324||TOTAL||2|1|1|2|2|1|1|1|1 May 2017.

The investments by Turkish companies in Guinea are very recent, mainly oriented towards the construction sector and real estate programs. However, the process is relatively slow up until today compared to the investments of the companies of other countries such as China in the construction sector in Guinea. Reportedly, Turkish companies began investing in Guinea in 2010 when a young Turkish entrepreneur, construction engineer came for the first time to Conakry to build a building of Turkish architectural style in the peninsula of Kaloum. As the Guinean capital still lacks residential buildings of this standard, the trend was confirmed with the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ankara and Conakry in 2013. Moreover, on 18 June of the same year, the governments of Turkey and Guinea signed an agreement in Ankara for the reciprocal promotion and protection of investments. The document was signed by the Guinean Minister of Industry and Small and Medium Enterprises Rahamatoulaye Bah, and her Turkish counterpart of the Economy, Zafer Çağlayan. The path toward this historic agreement was opened by the visits of the Guinean President Alpha Condé, to Ankara, then by two sessions of the Grand Joint Guinean-Turkish Cooperation Commission. However, it is important to point out that this bilateral investment agreement by the governments of both countries is not in force yet. Nevertheless, the agreement is supposed to boost capital flows and technology transfers between Guinea and Turkey and contribute to the economic development of both countries through the efficient use of economic sources and high standard of living.

The main aim of the agreement is to increase economic cooperation between the two countries. In particular, it aims to maintain a stable framework for the investments from one country in the territory of the other. To this end, the agreement strictly defines the legal framework for investments with the view to ensuring their mutual promotion and protection, in accordance with the laws and regulations in force in the host country and with international law as well. The agreement provides for the treatment of investments, general exceptions, expropriation, and compensation for losses (incurred in the host country as a result of war, insurrection, disturbance of public order or other similar events), repatriation and transfers, subrogation and dispute settlement. It also offers Turkish investors all guarantees of contractual stability in Guinea. In support, the Guinean investment code, previously opaque and therefore unattractive, now promotes the development of the country's economic potential. Without a doubt, the economic cooperation agreement signed in Ankara will be of benefit to both countries, if and only if it will come into force.

Guinea's huge economic potential is opening up to Turkish companies, with a stable investment framework. Turkey, a major emerging country, has fast-growing companies in all fields. They are looking for new markets in Africa that can increase their competitiveness and accelerate the economic emergence of Turkey. As for Guinea, it will benefit from the strong and sustained growth that this country has known over the last two decades. The influx of private Turkish capital in the country will soon translate into job creation, significant industrial development, and increased trade.

Nearly one year after the signing of the aforementioned investment agreement, other Turkish construction companies such as Turquoise Group Ltd followed the suit. The Turquoise Group, which settled in Conakry in 2014 has its head office visible in Conakry. Although its breakthrough is still timid, the company tries to compete with Chinese companies on major projects and was entrusted with the civil engineering works of the Kipé and Tombo power plants in Conakry. Additionally, in 2016, another Turkish company called STC İnşaat won the international tender for the construction of the city of Waqf in Kaloum: a high-tech real estate complex. The complex will include a shopping center, three towers (offices, apartments, and restaurants), and an underground car park with a capacity of more than 300 cars, etc. The studies of this project, financed by the Islamic Development Bank and the Guinean State, for 45 million dollars, were carried out by a Turkish architecture firm, EDS Mimarlik, also responsible for the supervision of the construction site.

The political will of the governments of Guinea and Turkey to strengthen their relations at all levels, coupled with the opening of two weekly flights between Istanbul and Conakry by Turkish Airlines at the end of January 2017, also favored the settlement of Turkish operators in the country. These operators are now tasting the market share of West African builders, particularly Senegalese, Beninese and Togolese, who historically controlled the construction sector in Guinea. In the same perspective, different Turkey-Guinea Business Forums were held in both countries that gathered many Guinean and Turkish investors from fishery to technology. On that occasion, Turkish businessmen were asked to discover investment opportunities in Guinea, especially in agriculture, energy, mining, infrastructure, and telecommunication sectors. Undoubtedly, although this investments agreement is not still in force, its signature and these business forums are gradually attracting Turkish companies to invest in various sectors in Guinea. However, due to the lack of reliable information on the activities of these companies from both the Guinean and Turkish side, this thesis is not, unfortunately, able to determine Turkey's contracting project and the total number of its companies invested in Guinea.

Therefore, it suggests this gap be a subject for future studies concerning Turkey's economic relations with Guinea, including trade and investments.

2.2.2.3 Turkey's Aids to Guinea

As a new rising contributor to SSA, Turkey is increasing its donations to the region in recent years. As is known, access to outside markets and resources represents an important part of the economic growth of emerging powers. Thus, the trade relations of emerging powers with developing countries, including those affected by conflicts are now visible under high growth. The case of Turkey is a good example of that. In recent years, the Turkish authorities have shown a real desire to develop their relations with many African countries in the economic, technical and trade fields. Turkey's support in various sectors to some of those countries since its economic reforms is a striking illustration of that. The Republic of Guinea is one of the beneficiary countries of this support provided by Turkey. Indeed, increasing investments in Africa by improving its competitiveness in various sectors, while providing technical assistance to African countries where Turkey is experienced, are important aspects of the development of these trade relations.

As Turkish President Erdogan said during his state visit to Conakry in March 2016, the Turkish government is committed to supporting the Guinean government by providing moderate aid, subsidies, export credits, and concessional loans, as well as technical and economic assistance. In this case, the subsidies to be granted by Turkey to Guinea's development are described as non-refundable financial resources based on cooperation between the governments of the two countries in the economic and technical fields.

Although its recent commitments in Africa were mainly aimed at concluding strategic agreements to promote its own interests in terms of economic growth, Ankara also participated in some humanitarian interventions. In 2015, Turkey was ranked as the second largest contributor to humanitarian efforts in the world with a total amount of 3.2 billion USD for aid. As a result, it awarded the title of "The Most Generous Donor" country given its gross national income (GNI) ratio of 0.37% dedicated to humanitarian aid¹⁰⁰. The official emergency and humanitarian aid provided by Turkey is explained in Turkish Development Assistance Report

¹⁰⁰ Turkish Development Assistance Report 2015, << <http://www.tika.gov.tr> >, p.72.

2015. The Report showed that Turkey's official emergency and humanitarian aid amounted to only US\$178, 9 million in 2005 and almost doubled to \$264, 4 million in 2010, reaching \$2.738 in 2015¹⁰¹.

The country's bilateral development assistance to the governments of African countries constitutes an important part of this commitment. According to the same Report, only in 2015, Turkey has contributed 456 million US dollars to the Least Developed Countries (hereinafter referred to as LDCs)¹⁰². In accordance with Ankara's commitment to providing not less than \$200 million per year to LDCs, Turkey's contribution to these countries has exceeded expectations, reaching a total of \$2.45 billion between 2008 and 2015¹⁰³. Moreover, the Fourth UN Conference on the Least Developed Countries was held from 9 to 13 May 2011 in Istanbul as part of this commitment by Turkey. The first outcome of the Conference was the Istanbul Declaration, which describes elements to take into account in addressing the special needs of LDCs (worldbulletin.net 2011).

In the case of Guinea, the reality is that Turkey's development aid to the country is considered to be relatively limited, despite the absence of comprehensive statistics on this subject. It should be noted, however, that Turkish bilateral official development assistance is shown in Figure 18 of the above-mentioned 2015 Report. The Report revealed that the total amount of Turkey's bilateral official development assistance to the world was \$3.84, billion in 2015¹⁰⁴, while the one with Guinea was estimated at US\$0, 54 million¹⁰⁵. Yet, considering that the total bilateral official development assistance provided by Turkey to African countries is nearly \$182, 44 million,¹⁰⁶ the total amount granted to the Republic of Guinea remains relatively low.

2.2.2.4 Turkish Technical Assistance to Guinea's Health Sector

¹⁰¹Turkish Development Assistance Report 2015, (online) <<http://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/2017/YAYINLAR/TKYR%202015%20ENG/KALKINMA%20.pdf> >, p.29.

¹⁰² Turkish Development Assistance Report 2015, p.27.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Turkish Development Assistance Report 2015, p:19.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

Another dimension of relations between Turkey and Guinea which is less known in general accounts is Turkey's medical assistance to Guinea through the training of medical staff. To illustrate, in March 2018, a Turkish delegation of health experts provided training for 86 Guinean doctors, nurses, and midwives as part of health cooperation between the Governments of the Republic of Guinea and the Republic of Turkey¹⁰⁷. This in-service training program known as "Training Program for the Promotion of Maternal and Child Health" was organized by the Office of Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) in Conakry in collaboration with the Prosmi Foundation of the First Lady of the Republic of Guinea, which operates in health, education, humanitarian and environmental fields¹⁰⁸. Undoubtedly, such a medical team from Turkey not only contributes to the capacity building of recipients and the health promotion of the Guinean population but also to the strengthening of Turkish-Guinean relations.

2.2.3 Role of Institutions in Turkey-Guinea Relationship

For years, civil society organizations did not have enough to say in Turkish foreign policy and their role was limited to complementing state policy. However, since the 2000s, government institutions and civil society organizations have increasingly contributed to the implementation of Turkish foreign policy by promoting state-backed policies. This is the case in Turkey's relations with African countries, where Turkish public and private actors are taking collective action in the implementation of Turkey's foreign policy. In addition to political-economic and commercial aspects, Turkey's action in Africa also includes two-level assistance. The first concerns fully State grants for developmental aid provided by the government and carried out by the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (hereinafter referred to as TIKA). The second is strictly humanitarian aid carried by civil society and accomplished by humanitarian associations that are not attached to the government, including a Turkish conservative NGO IHH (the Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief), the Turkish Red Crescent, and so on.

¹⁰⁷ Information retrieved from the instagram account of H.E. Nur Sağman, Turkish Ambassador to Guinea. Please go to <https://www.instagram.com/nursagman/>

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

This section deals with the role played by the Turkish public and private actors in strengthening relations between Turkey and the Republic of Guinea. To this end, special emphasis is placed on actors such as TİKA, Turkish Airlines and the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB). The first two institutions are chosen to be examined in this thesis because they are based in Guinea and have been operating in the country for a few years, thus contributing to the strengthening of Turkish-Guinean relations. As for the last, its role is to be discussed in the context of the Turkish government scholarship awarded to many Guinean students to enable them to continue their university studies in Turkish higher education institutions.

2.2.3.1 The Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency-TİKA

A Short Reminder about TİKA's History

Historically, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) came into existence in 1992, just after the collapse of the Soviet Union as a new instrument of Turkish foreign policy under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The agency's initial mission was to focus on Turkey's social, economic, political and cultural relations with the newly independent Turkic republics, stemming from the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, by contributing to their socio-economic development. As a governmental agency, TİKA was then attached to the Prime Ministry in 1999 with a presidential decree. In accordance with the new TİKA law promulgated on May 2, 2001, it became formally an aid agency of the Prime Ministry responsible for coordinating Turkish external aid to developing countries, in particular to Turkish-speaking countries¹⁰⁹.

In fact, TİKA emerged in an international context that has contributed to the promotion of Turkey's experience and efforts in democratization, the free market economy, and Westernization as a model for the newly independent Turkic Republics in the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Balkans. The promotion of the "Turkish model" as well as Western support to those states had two main objectives: to prevent Iranian influence and to largely reduce the Soviet /

¹⁰⁹ Hakan Fidan & Rahman Nurdun, "Turkey's role in the global development assistance community: the case of TİKA (Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency)", *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, (2008), Volume: 10, No: 1, p.107.

Russian domination in the region¹¹⁰. It was in this context that TİKA has been used as an important actor in soft power to back and achieve the objectives of Turkey's foreign policy in these new Turkic Republics. As result, TİKA was able to increase the influence of its social and cultural projects and activities in those regions, thanks to the impact of a more balanced social and cultural discourse, especially in foreign policy¹¹¹.

However, Turkey's political and economic instability in the 1990s, combined with several international factors, prevented it from functioning effectively to some extent. It was only in the 2000s that changes were made to its operation, allowing it to become a modern and highly effective development agency. Today, TİKA's missions and geographic scope have expanded due to its restructuring and profound transformation¹¹².

Unlike Turkish humanitarian organizations that concentrate on crises, TİKA's activities are focused on sustainable development projects. It is a government agency through which Turkey provides LDCs and developing countries with economic development and technical assistance. Turkey has spent large sums of money on development projects in African countries in recent years. It also contributed \$ 7.5 million to UN agencies, including the Food and Agriculture Organizations (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO) and the World Food Program (WFP) to respond to urgent situations caused by drought and other natural disasters in some African countries. Although Turkey contributes to humanitarian aid through these international organizations, TİKA is the main agency through which it undertakes economic development projects to be carried out in LDCs and developing countries.

There is no doubt that this agency is a major player in the Turkish-African rapprochement since it has now opened fifteen offices¹¹³ across the continent, through which it is piloting numerous projects in sub-Saharan Africa. The Republic of Guinea is currently one of 57 Operating Program Coordination Offices of TİKA. Like in other African countries, it is also an important player in improving the Turkish-Guinean relationship, particularly in the areas of economic development and technical assistance. What follows is a review of TİKA's role in the rapprochement between Turkey and the Republic of Guinea.

¹¹⁰ For more information about "Turkish model" please see, Idris Bal., "Turkey's Relations with the West and the Turkic Republics: The Rise and fall of the Turkish Model", *Aldershot: Ashgate*, (2000), pp. 5–41.

¹¹¹ Tuncay Kardaş & Ramazan Erdağ, "Bir Dış Politika Aracı Olarak TİKA" (TİKA as a Foreign Policy Tool), *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi* (Journal of Academic Inquiries), (2012), Volume: 7, No: 1.

¹¹² Güner Özkan & Mustafa Turgut Demirtepe, "Transformation of a Development Aid Agency: TİKA in a Changing Domestic and International Setting", *Turkish Studies*, (2012), Volume: 13, No: 4, p.648.

¹¹³ For more details on TİKA's overseas offices see the following link, <http://www.tika.gov.tr/en/overseasoffices>, 25 August 2018.

TIKA's Development Projects in Guinea

Since 2016, TİKA has been operating in Guinea within the framework of international cooperation and development aid of Turkey, in coordination with the appropriate organizations for the realization of its mission. The Agency's mission is to carry out activities and long-term projects aim at supporting socio-economic development in Guinea and improving Turkish-Guinean cooperation as well. In other words, as a public aid agency, it is responsible for implementing Ankara's development cooperation policies in Guinea.

The office of the agency was opened in June 2016 at the request of the Guinean authorities following the visit to Conakry by President Erdogan. Its status is governed by the Agreement on Development Cooperation between the Government of the Republic of Guinea and the Government of the Republic of Turkey signed on January 30, 2017¹¹⁴. However, it is important to note that, before opening its office in Conakry, TİKA has undertaken a series of activities in favor of the Republic of Guinea. To illustrate this point, in 2008 after the Turkey-Africa Summit, it launched an African Agriculture Development Program aimed at supporting the development of agriculture in Africa. The project was designed to be implemented in thirteen African countries for the term 2008-2010. The Republic of Guinea has benefited from the project with other African countries, including Burkina Faso, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Senegal, Comoros, Madagascar, Tanzania, Kenya, Rwanda, and Uganda.¹¹⁵ Similarly, as part of the fight against the Ebola epidemic in West Africa in 2015, which caused a serious humanitarian crisis, the Turkish government, via TİKA, sent to Conakry preventive medical and hygiene supplies following the request for assistance by the governments of three countries heavily affected by the Ebola outbreak, including Guinea and Liberia, and Sierra Leone.

As soon as it opened its office in Conakry, TİKA organized a training program in Turkey on various topics for Guinean specialists working in the tourism sector in 2016. Furthermore, program beneficiaries participated in several related conferences in the same year. Similarly, as part of tourism training in Guinea, another training program was offered in June 2017 to seven Guinean specialists on new trends and innovations in the tourism sector in the city of Antalya, thanks to the cooperation between TİKA and the Ministry of National Education. In line with

¹¹⁴ TİKA, "TİKA 2017 Yılı Faaliyet Raporu" (TİKA Annual Report 2017), <http://www.tika.gov.tr>, p.21.

¹¹⁵ Mehmet Ozkan, "What drives Turkey's involvement in Africa?" ; *Review of African Political Economy*, (2010), Volume: 37, No:126, p.537.

the global commitment to accessible and clean energy, Turkey attaches great significance to capacity building to respond to the energy needs of LDCs and developing countries. In this context, Ankara carries out projects and offers these countries annual training programs in the field of energy. These efforts are supported by assessment meetings and workshops organized by the Turkish Board for Foreign Economic Relations in various countries to promote energy cooperation. In this regard, senior detailed meetings have been held on issues such as investments in renewable energy, oil and natural gas industries in some African countries, including the Republic of Guinea.

In the framework of the protocol signed between TİKA and the General Directorate of Istanbul Electric Tramway and Tunnels (İETT), 50 İETT buses and their spare parts were granted to Guinea. In 2016, all the said buses were shipped to Guinea by TİKA, at the behest of Turkish President Erdogan.¹¹⁶ In addition, in February 2018, Guinean experts in metrology participated in a five-day training in aviation and satellite meteorology lectured by Turkish and Singaporean experts, thanks to the collaboration between TİKA and the Singapore Cooperation Program (SCP). The program brought together metrology experts from fifteen African countries who received training in quality management, use of satellite systems, aviation integration, and metrology.¹¹⁷ Likewise, Training was given to Guinean police officers through cooperation between TİKA and the Turkish National Police Directorate and even today TİKA continues to develop such projects.

In general, TİKA's development strategy in Guinea is to provide technical assistance and share its experience in areas such as agriculture and technology transfer. These efforts are seconded by other ambitious projects, particularly in the health, education and infrastructure sectors. TİKA's project to build a children hospital in Guinea is a striking example of that. The request for the construction of this hospital was made by the first lady of Guinea, Hadja Djene Kaba Condé with whom TİKA has close contacts. The application is under study and meetings are in progress regarding the re-equipment of a neonatal unit and the embellishment works. Another project to finalize the construction of butchery through the coaction of the Guinean Livestock Ministry and TİKA is being assessed, the financing of which will be partially

¹¹⁶ TİKA 2017 Yılı Faaliyet Raporu (TİKA Annual Report 2017) , <http://www.tika.gov.tr>, p.65.

¹¹⁷ TİKA, "Meteorology Training for 15 African Countries with the Collaboration between TİKA and Singapore", (online), http://www.tika.gov.tr/en/news/meteorology_training_for_15_african_countries_with_the_collaboration_between_tika_and_singapore-41519

provided by the Turkish private sector. The agency also expects to lead further projects designed to help women in Guinea, one of the most vulnerable social groups in the country.

Undoubtedly, all these above-mentioned TİKA's activities and projects in Guinea show that the agency plays a crucial role in Turkey's rapprochement with the Republic of Guinea. This, of course, was also possible thanks to the political will of the governments of two countries to raise their relationship to a higher level, which has a positive impact on the agency activities in the country as well. Moreover, this last point perfectly matches with the statement of TİKA's program Coordinator Mehmet Yazan, who said in 2017 that "the good relations between Turkey and Guinea have an influence on TİKA's activities"¹¹⁸. In the long run, with this good climate of existing relations between the two countries, one can expect an increase in the number of TİKA projects and activities in Guinea.

2.2.3.2 Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities

Turkey's relations with the Republic of Guinea exist in another direction, which concerns the rapprochement between the two countries through the promotion of academic mobility. In fact, the Turkish government awards annual scholarships to Guinean students wishing to pursue their studies in Turkish academic institutions via "Turkey Scholarship" program. The program is implemented by the Presidency for Turks and Related Communities (hereinafter referred to as YTB) since its establishment in 2012. The scholarship includes full tuition fee award, accommodation, living expenses, insurance operations and flights to and from Turkey.

Once accepted the offer, all scholarship holders that are supported but do not speak the Turkish language must complete a one-year preparatory program in Turkish. In addition to that, academic Turkish courses are provided in order to enable them to adapt to the departments and their study programs. At the same time, students starting their academic training can participate in various other seminars lectured by intellectuals with the collaboration of civil society organizations on topics such Turkey's history, literature, sociology, foreign policy and so on.

¹¹⁸ Fatma Esma, Fatma and Ayvaz Çolaköğlu, "L'Afrique en ascension - Des projets de la TİKA pour soutenir les femmes en Guinée-Conakry" (Africa in ascension - TİKA projects to support women in Guinea-Conakry), *Anadolu Agency*, 05 May 2017, (online), <https://www.aa.com.tr/fr/afrique/lafrique-en-ascension-des-projets-de-la-tika-pour-soutenir-les-femmes-en-guin%C3%A9-conakry/834795>

It was impossible to find exact figures on the website of the Ministry of Education, nor on the website of the Turkish Embassy in Guinea, but according to the data from the official website of Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey has offered 171 scholarships to Guinean students since 1992. It is also reported on the same website that, only for the 2016-2018 academic year, 20 scholarships were awarded to students from the Republic of Guinea under the "Turkey Scholarship" program¹¹⁹. The data are certainly insufficient, but it can already be noted that it was not until in 2013 that many young Guineans began to take a great interest in "Turkey Scholarships" program, that it is to say after the opening of the Turkish embassy in Conakry. Turkish government's purpose of awarding these scholarships is to bring Guinean students closer to Turkey.

Another element shows us that the number of Guinean students in Turkey has relatively increased in recent years: a group of students at the origin of the Guinean Students Association in Turkey. The association is officially known by the acronym ASSEGTUR (*Association des Etudiants Guinéens de Turquie*), which was created in 2010 to foster friendly relations and create an atmosphere of solidarity among its members¹²⁰. The existence of this association reveals to us two main things. First of all, the fact that it exists is proof that Guinean students have wanted to organize themselves, to get together, and therefore to form a certain community that has enough members to structure an official group for a joint purpose. Secondly, it shows that the number of Guinean students in Turkey has increased significantly in recent years. This association is a kind of gathering of the Guinean student's associations in the different cities of Turkey, including Kayseri, Konya, Muğla, etc.

To this point, an important clarification must be made concerning the status of the Guinean students in Turkey. Indeed, some are scholarship grantees of the Guinean State while others receive scholarships from the Turkish government. On the other hand, some of them are financially supported by their parents or manage in another way to cope with both tuition fees and living expenses.

Today, these students along with the Guinean pupils from Turkish schools in Guinea (Maarif Okulları) constitute an intermediate point for cultural ties between Turkey and Guinea. In other words, they are the future pillars for the strengthening of Turkey's relations with the

¹¹⁹Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Relations between Turkey and Guinea", (online), <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-guinea.en.mfa>, 18 May 2018.

¹²⁰ The group's Facebook page shows that the association has 226 members to date, but it is absolutely not indicative of the real number of Guinean students in Turkey. Furthermore, these members include both Turkish government scholarship grantees and Guinean students studying privately.

Republic of Guinea. They are aware of the potential they have and the link they can establish between Conakry and Ankara. Moreover, some are already doing so by being contacted by the diplomatic and consular representatives of Guinea to Turkey, or by businessmen to make translations for bilateral meetings, or Turkey-Africa summits. On the one hand, these students are welcomed in Turkey for technical difficulties related to the problem of language in bilateral relations, which can be a real obstacle to dialogue or negotiations. On the other hand, a psychological dimension can be conferred on this because the presence of Guineans speaking Turkish in bilateral summits or business meetings between the two countries reassure the Guinean entrepreneurs.

As for the Turkish government, it makes these scholarship holders and alumni "somehow the volunteer ambassadors of Turkey when they return to Guinea" hoping they say good things about Turkey. It is also the choice of students aware of Turkey's rapprochement with the Republic of Guinea. Moreover, the creation of a new NGO called "*Guinée Turquie Fraternité*" (Guinea Turkey Fraternity) by these Guinean students graduated from Turkish universities is a good example of this. It can, therefore, be concluded from the foregoing that Turkey's cooperation with Guinea in the field of education through YTB and the Turkish schools in Guinea have produced positive results. As Turkey's business grows in Guinea, this cooperation deserves constant encouragement for the future development of relations between the two countries in all potential areas.

2.2.3.3 Turkish Airlines Company

Commonly known as THY, Turkish Airlines is one of the most influential actors in Turkey's relations with the African continent, particularly in terms of transportation. The first flight point of the company was established in 1978 in Tripoli, Libya. According to the investor, Turkish Airlines has made trips to 48 cities in 31 African countries since 2016. (investor.turkishairlines.com, 2016). In addition to its commercial objectives, it develops social responsibility projects focused on human development. For example, Turkish Airlines carries out package distributions in various African countries through its employees, including foodstuff and supplies. Within the scope of these projects, 610 goats were distributed to families in 2014 in Niamey, Niger, with the participation of the volunteers of the company. Similarly, its volunteer employees have brought to 500 children thousands of candies, soaps, medicines,

toys and especially mosquito nets insecticides to keep them away from malaria. Including but not limited to Tanzania, Iftar meals was also organized by volunteer employees for many people in various African countries such as Niger.¹²¹ In terms of infrastructure works, the company has also restored two orphanages in Burkina Faso and water wells have been constructed in areas requiring clean water by its employees in some African countries where it offers flights. Turkish Airlines has helped an association leading an aid to Uganda, through the agency of its Düsseldorf Management¹²².

As for Guinea, Turkish Airlines launched its new connection between Istanbul and Conakry since January 30, 2017. Thus, the Republic of Guinea became the 102nd country served by Turkish Airlines and its 51st destination in Africa. The announcement of this inauguration was made by the Turkish President Erdogan in March 2017 during his State visit to Guinea at the request of the Guinean authorities. The company offers two flights per week between its base in Istanbul-Atatürk and Conakry-Gbessia airport, operated by Boeing 737-900ER that can accommodate 16 passengers in Business class and 135 in Economy. Departures are scheduled Monday and Thursday at 18:00 to arrive in Ouagadougou at 22:00, leave 55 minutes later and land in Guinea the next day at 1:05. The return flights leave Conakry on Tuesday and Friday at 2:00 to arrive in Burkina Faso at 4:10, leave at 5:05 and land at 2:10 pm in Istanbul. As a company providing connectivity between Turkey and the rest of the world, Turkish Airlines is increasing Turkey's connectivity with Guinea, which has a wider economic and commercial impact on relations between both countries.

¹²¹ TIKA, "Turkish Airlines Sustainability Report 2014", Ankara, 2014, (online), http://investor.turkishairlines.com/documents/ThyInvestorRelations/download/icerikler/THY_2014_Sustainability_Report_WEB_vF.pdf, p. 117.

¹²² TIKA, *ibid*, p.118.

CONCLUSION

Turkey's presence in Africa is not recent and its cultural and religious links with the continent go back to the Ottoman period. However, this Turkish presence was more visible in North Africa rather than in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). In other words, its commitment to the continent was limited in North Africa, which remained far more important than SSA to Turkey's foreign policy and economy. It was not until in 1998 that there was a global initiative for Turkey's engagement in Africa, which became official with the adoption of the "Opening up to Africa" policy by the Turkish authorities. The policy clearly showed Ankara's desire to reach the African continent as a whole. This study argues that internal transformation and shifts in the global political economy are key determinants of Turkey's opening to Africa as a whole. These internal shifts in Turkey have launched a challenge to the country's long-established economic partners and abled the diversification of its commercial alternatives in response to the changing structure of the global political economy. The new configuration of the international system has forced countries to put themselves on the right track in defining their interests in an emerging system. Turkey has responded to these changes by adopting a multidimensional foreign policy and developing its economic and political relations, with both its immediate neighbors and other regions of the world, including Sub-Saharan region. The opening of Turkey to Africa as a whole is an integral part of this new redefinition of Turkish foreign policy. As part of this policy, Turkey's engagement in Africa has expanded considerably since 2005 in various areas, including diplomacy, trade, investment, aid, religion, culture, security, and crisis management. This growing involvement of Turkey in Africa can be explained by the broader goal of positioning itself as a global player with a coherent strategy based on political and economic orientations. Furthermore, the dynamic commercial sector and booming civil society organizations in Turkey have also prompted successive Turkish governments to build strong relations with Africa, both for business interests and humanitarian concerns.

Concerning Sub-Saharan Africa, Turkey has been slow to take a particular interest in this region. Most writers on Turkish-African issues have agreed that, until recently, SSA was not a priority for modern Turkey and that the apprehension of this region in Turkish society was limited to television images with negative elements such as hunger, poverty, civil wars or AIDS. The lack of credible information about SSA both in academia and in government circles was to a certain extent due to this Turkey's disinterest in the region. Apart from teachings on SSA issues in the wider context of world political history, researchers and studies on the region

almost did not exist. Over the last two decades, however, Turkish policymakers have attached importance to SSA in Turkey's foreign policy, with a growing interest in various areas of cooperation, including trade, transportation, health, humanitarian aid, and so on.

Today it is well known that Turkey has been involved in many activities in the region with a vast and multifaceted approach. Indeed, the rapprochement with SSA in recent years has been motivated by the growing economic importance of the region for Ankara; its interest in diversifying away from the Middle East; and the apparent desire for influence amid the predominantly Muslim population in sub-Saharan Africa. This Ankara's rapprochement with the region is the result of a particular strategy. Turkey seeks to position itself as an indispensable player in the international arena, both politically and economically, by further improving its economic situation. The search for market and economic opportunities through trade as well as raw materials constitute important factors in Turkey's recent focus on the region.

In this overall picture of engagement in SSA, Turkey has also gradually developed bilateral relations with Guinea in recent years. The steps taken to this end have indicated that the two parties will get closer and the current intensified relations between Turkey and Guinea is proof of this. To sum up, the emergence on the international scene as a key new player and the growing economic opportunities in the region are quite important variables in Turkey's recent engagement in sub-Saharan Africa and in Guinea in particular.

How have relations between Turkey and Guinea evolved over the past the decade and a half and in which areas have they had the greatest impact? This was the main research question of this study. At first, historical development approach to policy analysis that consists of telling a story from credible sources was used to clarify the question.

This thesis looked at the existing intensified bilateral relations between Turkey and the Republic of Guinea. To this end, it focused on the potential pillars of current relations between the two countries, including political-diplomatic cooperation and the economic one. It has been shown that Turkey's serious relations with Guinea are very recent, but they go back to the end of the 1990s, especially with the signing of an agreement on economic, commercial and technical cooperation by the governments of both countries on 30 January 1997. However, the study has argued that although this agreement was not followed by concrete actions for more than a decade, it is perceived as the first attempt at the contact between Ankara and Conakry and laid the foundations for their current intensified bilateral relations.

After the regime change that took place in 2010 and brought the *RPG Arc-en-Ciel* to power in Guinea, Turkish-Guinean relations took a new impetus. As such, this study has revealed that

Turkey's relations with Guinea began to intensify seriously with the mutual opening of embassies in 2013. Therefore, it acknowledges that the current progress in these relations is the consequence of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. However, these signs of progress are more visible in the political-diplomatic and economic areas through trade cooperation. Although still limited, efforts have been made in other sectors such as the investment sector, technical and medical assistance, air transport, among others.

The study also showed that both countries have played their role at each level (governmental, institutional and economic) in order to put into perspective the evolution of this relationship from the political, economic and cultural point of view. Therefore, it supports the analysis that Turkish private actors and state institutions have helped to strengthen Turkey's relations with Guinea. These include TİKA, Diplomacy Academy of Turkish Foreign Ministry, Turkish Airlines and the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB). This study points out that although all these institutions play an important role, TİKA remains the central actor in strengthening Turkish-Guinean relations. This is justified by the fact that TİKA has undertaken numerous socio-economic development projects and organized training programs for Guineans since the opening of its office in Conakry in 2016.

Then, the research has found that many cooperation agreements and memoranda of understanding have been signed by the governments of the two countries on various sectors, but that many of them still need to be put into effect. Therefore, it strongly recommends encouraging the full implementation of these agreements, as this would contribute to the diversification and further development of relations between the two countries.

The most interesting aspect of the current Turkish-Guinean relations is the imbrication between Turkey's recommitment in Africa, with the collective action of the Turkish public and private actors at the heart of this commitment, and Guinea's 'Look East' policy for its socio-economic development. The 'Look East' policy means to cooperate with rising powers or newly industrialized Countries (NICs). To that is added the imbrication of "Guinea's international reopening" policy announced in 2010 with Turkey's "opening up to Africa Policy" that aims at upgrading Turkey-Africa relations. These imbricating initiatives also underline the two-way dynamics of this relationship, as both countries have strong incentives to further strengthen this bilateral relationship in a win-win situation.

This thesis finally stressed that, although Turkey is an umpteenth power interested by the Republic of Guinea, she managed to be between the French influence and the presence of other emerging powers such as China and India. This can be perceived as the first success of Turkey's

presence in Guinea. However, it may be particularly important to look at the success of the Guinean people, who would apparently be satisfied with the Turkish presence in Guinea, which would give rise to competition among the powers.

In order to place the current intensified relations between Turkey and Guinea at the forefront of all Turkish-SSA relations, both sides should deal with them with caution. Turkey has no colonial past in Guinea and this can be seen as a great asset for Turkey. However, a consistent and reliable opening-up strategy on the part of Turkey, as well as a receptive response from Guinea, should take into account the following aspects, which may define the nature and speed of future relations between both countries. Five strategies could be carried out:

First, given the poor knowledge on both sides, Turkey and Guinea have much to learn about each other. Like most African countries, Guinea remains a great enigma both to the Turkish public and intellectuals. The current state of knowledge and of perspectives on Guinea is very limited and this obstacle could hinder the future of Turkish-Guinean relationship. Turkey is trying to remedy this on the whole, but the situation has not improved significantly. Although efforts have been done in this sense, further mutual efforts to overcome the lack of knowledge on both sides is needed. In this respect, the following point is relevant: the establishment of a Turkish-Guinean cultural center of public character and which will be endowed with financial autonomy. Subsidies from Turkish and Guinean States supported by financial and institutional partners would be required for its operation. As this center could be a symbol of cultural diversity in Guinea through a varied program taking into account the cultures of Turkey and Guinea. To this end, the cultural center may be subdivided into two large bodies: (1) the artistic section which will take care of the artistic programming and the cultural animation of the center. To ensure its better animation the accent will have to be put on the organization in co-execution of events like the plays of theater, concerts and exhibitions on both countries; (2) the documentary section which will deal with the management of the media library, relations with schools in the context of the promotion of books and reading.

Second, strengthening the student exchanges for the study could help to bridge this societal and informational gap and to establish a genuine rapprochement. Academic exchanges between universities could also contribute to overcoming the lack of expertise on Turkey in Guinea, and the same is true for Turkey with regard to Guinea. In the same perspective, a collaboration between Guinean and Turkish think tanks through conferences and joint publications on Turkish-Guinean relations is also essential in order to sensitize both parties to the issue.

Third, the two countries should develop a national strategy for the other, moving from limited relationship to a country-to-country and people-to-people relationship. Despite the fact that Turkey's foreign policy does not give much priority to Guinea, it is important to consider this relationship in terms of building Turkey's global strategic partnerships network and enhancing its strategy for Africa. Turkey should emphasize Guinea's strategic importance in its foreign policy in particular and its African strategy in general. As for Guinea, it should define both a long-term strategy and a comprehensive one that is neither pragmatic nor instrumental. The majority of the Guinean people and observers think that relations between Turkey and Guinea are only relations between parties. These should be transformed into a true country-to-country relationship covering all aspects of a normal bilateral relationship.

Fourth, Turkey and Guinea should make additional efforts together to diversify the current relationship. Currently, both countries view this relationship primarily in diplomatic and economic terms; it is important that both sides take into account other aspects that are still of low priority. For Turkey, this would mean contributing more to the sustainable development of the Guinean economy, including investing more in infrastructure, manufacturing, mining, energy and related sectors. This means that Guinea could be an interesting market for Turkish businessmen, as well as for the export of manufactured goods, etc. In addition, Guinea's mineral potential, as well as the construction of social housing, which is growing in demand in the country, are sectors in which Turkish businessmen could invest. With regard to Guinea, this requires for considering Turkey as a true friend and reliable country with which to work for its socio-economic progress. For Guinea, maintaining strong and stable relations with Turkey should be at the center of its policy of cooperating with emerging countries. Since the latter has great experience in infrastructure, social and economic development and so on, Guinea could win much if it is inspired by the Turkish model of development. This is important for the country for a number of reasons, including the development of basic infrastructure, technical assistance and technology transfer, concessional loans for the realization of its major development projects, the improvement of its transportation system as a whole, for the qualified training of its human resources in various fields in which Turkey has experienced expertise, and so on.

Finally, it is important for Turkey and Guinea to insist on the respect for the principles and rules regarding the signing of agreements, be they between the two States or between one State and companies of the other. Indeed, on 10 August 2018, the Guinean authorities signed a concession with the Turkish group Albayrak for the management of part of the port of Conakry

for 25 years. While the Guinean government has justified the use of a convention by mutual agreement in the urgency of improving the operation of the port, the Longshoremen's Union denounced the opacity in the signing of this contract and initiated a strike. This has prompted reactions from the national public opinion. On the one hand, many Guineans and domestic observers think that there are gray areas around this agreement and that it should be passed to the National Assembly so that the public can be well informed. On the other hand, some believe that the port of Conakry will be more competitive with this agreement, as the Turkish company has committed to invest \$ 200 million (€ 173 million) over two years and \$ 500 million in the term. However, in the absence of a call for tenders and sufficient information on the agreement, the majority of political actors, civil society and the public were indignant at the way the agreement was signed.

In connection with the above, Turkey and Guinea should emphasize on ethical matters related to contracts, such as freedom of competition (opening of a call for tenders), the principle of transparency at the applications level, the principle of equality between the different candidates, etc. This is important for both countries to avoid the previous dispute between Bolloré Africa Logistics, Getma International and the Guinean government over another part of the same port. Because if things do not go as they should be in such a concession and that successive governments come to power tomorrow the same scenario can happen. The authorities that will take power can invoke the argument that the rules of the public procurement code have not been respected to terminate the agreement. Moreover, it was exactly what the current regime did in 2011 with Getma Guinea. Considering the future regime changes in Guinea, Turkey should consider ways to avoid the risks resulting from those potential changes.

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APPENDICES

ANNEX 1: Senior-Level Visits between Guinea and Turkey, 1997-2018

Date	Delegation Leader	The object of the Visit	Venue
Guinean Delegation to Turkey			
18-21 August 2008	Minister of Foreign Affairs Lamrana Bah	The First Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit	Istanbul
9-13 May 2011	President Alpha Condé	The 4 th United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries (LDCs)	Istanbul
4-9 April 2013	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Guineans Abroad François Lounceny Fall	Official Visit	Istanbul and İzmir
10-11 April 2013	Minister of Telecommunications and ICTs Oyé Guilavogui	The 16 th Economic Summit of Eurasia	Istanbul
16-18 April 2013	Minister of International Cooperation Moustapha Koutoubou Sanoh	The Second Meeting of Turkey-Guinea Joint Economic Committee (JEC)	Ankara
25-29 May 2013	Minister of Trade Dorval Dounbouya	The Olympiad of the Turkish language	İzmir
17-19 June 2013	Minister of Industry and SMEs	Official Visit	Ankara
14-15 April 2016	President Alpha Condé	The 13 th Islamic Summit of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC)	Istanbul

26-30 December 2016	President Alpha Condé	State Visit	Ankara
27-28 April 2017	President Alpha Condé	Turkey-Africa First Agriculture Ministers Conference and Agriculture Business Forum	Istanbul
On October 26, 2017	President Alpha Condé	The 9 th Summit Meeting of the D-8 Organization for Economic Cooperation/Developing-8	Istanbul
13 December 2017	President Alpha Condé	The Extraordinary Session of the OIC Islamic Summit Conference	Istanbul
11-12 February 2018	Foreign Minister Mamadi Touré	The Turkey-Africa Second Ministerial Review Conference	Istanbul
18 August 2018	President Alpha Condé	The Sixth Regular Congress of the Justice and Development Party (AKP)	Ankara
Turkish Delegation to Guinea			
On March 3, 2016	Turkish Representatives	The First Meeting of Turkey-Guinea Joint Economic Committee (JEC)	Conakry
On March 3, 2016	President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	Friendship and Work Visit	Conakry

Sources: Turkish Foreign Ministry Website (<http://www.mfa.gov.tr>), Turkish Embassy in Conakry Official Website (<http://konakri.be.mfa.gov.tr>) and other news reports, including TRT Haber (<https://www.trthaber.com>), Hürriyet New (<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/>), Anadolu Agency (<https://www.aa.com.tr/>), etc.

ANNEX 2: The 2016's Agreements / Memorandums of Understanding between Guinea and Turkey

The Agreements and Memoranda of Understanding of March 3, 2016		
A- Cooperation Agreements		
Numbers and Titles of Agreements		
Signatory from the Guinean Side	Signatory from the Turkish Side	City/Country
<i>1- Cooperation Agreement in the Field of Tourism between the Government of the Republic of Guinea and the Government of the Republic of Turkey</i>		
Thierno Ousmane Diallo: Minister of Hostelry and Tourism	Mehmet Çavuşoğlu: Minister of Foreign Affairs	Conakry / Guinea
<i>2- Air Services Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Guinea and the Government of the Republic of Turkey</i>		
Oyé Guilavogui: Minister of Transportation	Mustafa Elitaş: Economy Minister	Conakry / Guinea
<i>3- Cooperation Agreement in the field of Health and Medical Sciences between the Government of the Republic of Guinea and the Government of the Republic of Turkey</i>		
Abdourahamane Diallo: Minister of Health	Mrs. Fatma Güldemet Sarı: Minister of the Environment and Urban Planning.	Conakry / Guinea
<i>4- The Framework Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Guinea and the Government of the Republic of Turkey on Military Cooperation, Technical Training, and Science</i>		
<i>5- Cooperation Agreement in the Field of Military Training between the Government of the Republic of Guinea and the Government of the Republic of Turkey</i>		
Dr. Mohamed Diané: Minister of State at the Presidency of the Republic in charge of the National Defense	İsmet Yılmaz: Minister of National Defence	Conakry / Guinea
<i>6- Agreement on the Establishment of the Turkey-Guinea Business Council – Private Sector</i>		

	Mrs. Hadja Aissatou Gnouma Traoré: Chairperson of the National Confederation of CEOs of Guinea companies (CPEG)	Ömer Cihad Vardan: President Office of the Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey	Conakry / Guinea
B- Memorandums of Understanding			
<i>1- Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Republic of Guinea and the Government of the Republic of Turkey in the Electricity Field</i>			
	Dr. Cheick Taliby Sylla: Minister of Energy and Hydraulics	Mrs. Fatma Güldemet Sarı: Minister of the Environment and Urban Planning	Conakry / Guinea
<i>2- Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Republic of Guinea and the Government of the Republic of Turkey on Cooperation in Hydrochloric Acids and Mining</i>			
	Abdoulaye Dounbouya: Minister of Geology and Mines	Mehmet Çavuşoğlu: Minister of Foreign Affairs	Conakry / Guinea
<i>3- Memorandum of Understanding on the Protection of the Environment between the Government of the Republic of Guinea and the Government of the Republic of Turkey</i>			
	Mrs. Christine Sagno: Minister of the Environment	Mrs. Fatma Güldemet Sarı: Minister of the Environment and Urban Planning	Conakry / Guinea

Sources: Archives of the Embassy of Guinea in Ankara and the TV of the Guinean Government, for more information please see at the following link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3NjVrhIAZng&t=746s>

ANNEX 3: Other Important Agreements concluded between Guinea and Turkey

No	The Title of the Agreements:	Year
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1	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the Republic of Guinea on the Abolition of Visas for Diplomatic Passport Holders;	2016
2	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the Republic of Guinea on Cooperation between the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey and the Center for Training and Improvement in Diplomacy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guinea;	2016
3	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the Republic of Guinea on Cooperation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guinea.;	2016
4	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the Republic of Guinea on the Promotion and Reciprocal Protection of Investments (APRPI/APPRI);	2016
5	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the Republic of Guinea on the Commercial and Economic Partnership (ACEP/APCE);	2016
6	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the Republic of Guinea in Security Area;	2016
7	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the Republic of Guinea on the Protection of Fauna and Forestry;	2016
8	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the Republic of Guinea in the area of Civil Aviation;	2016

Source: Data collected from the archives of the Embassy of Guinea in Ankara.

