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A Critical Analysis of Turkiye's Role in AU's Peace and Security Architecture: The need for multilateral security approach

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Abstract

The Middle-East-Africa relations in socio-cultural, economic, political and diplomatic terms has been in existence for centuries. However in the last decade, there has been increased engagement between the two regions perhaps informed by geopolitical and geostrategic reasons. Turkey, one of the main actors from the Middle East has for instance heightened its security intercourse with the sub-Saharan Africa. This study thus examines the performance of Turkiye's bilateral security arrangement in Africa, discerning the strengths and weaknesses of such engagement and at the same time underscoring the need for a multilateral security cooperation. To achieve this objective, the study focuses on Turkiye's peace building initiatives, their role in agenda setting and training of security agencies in the continent. The primary data used to corroborate the secondary sources was obtained through interviews with experts. Expert opinions among security officials, diplomats and scholars who are versed with the subject were sought. The data analysis entailed triangulation of the forms of data collected, that is, for both primary and secondary sources. The findings of this study depicts that though Turkiye has played a vital role in promoting human security in Africa, it has largely done so on a bilateral basis. The complex security environment in Africa however requires a shift from bilateral to multilateral approach. Turkiye thus needs to engage Africa at a multilateral level such as APSA. Turkiye-APSA relations would be symbiotic with the middle-east country sharing its experiences, resources, skills, technology while at the same time gaining more diplomatically. This relations would be key in enhancing the effectiveness of both early warning and early response mechanisms.

Key terms: Peace, Security, Kenya, sub-Saharan Africa, Turkiye

Introduction

The end of cold war witnessed increased incidences of violent conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa. Most of these conflicts were intra-state and had been fueled by religious intolerance, governance failure, politicized ethnicity, and high levels of poverty among others.¹ The conflicts in Burundi, Somalia, Ethiopia, Mali, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Central Africa Republic, Sudan, and Rwanda among others posed serious security challenges in the continent. The ensuing complex security situation in the continent, coupled with increased discourse on 'African solutions for African problems,' and failure of UNSC to respond to these security challenges culminated in the formation of African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) in 2002.²

Since its formation, APSA has played a central role in promoting security in Africa by embracing a broad agenda for peace. This comprehensive agenda includes its role in early warning, conflict prevention, peace keeping, peacemaking, peace building, humanitarian actions and disaster management.³ It achieves this agenda through the various activities conducted by its five pillars, that is, Peace and Security Council (PSC), Panel of the Wise, Peace Fund, African Standby Force (ASF) and Continental Early Warning System (CEWS). Thus, APSA has a significant role to play in the attainment of security and development in African continent.

In order to achieve its strategic objective of promoting security in Africa, APSA has partnered with some external stakeholders such as Denmark and European Union. Although there has been no formal engagement between APSA and Turkiye on matters security, the middle-east country has bilaterally engaged several countries in Africa. After Turkiye declared 2005 the year of Africa, it has since been bilaterally involved in the continent in areas ranging from peacekeeping, conflict management to peace building. Though Turkiye has heavily invested on matters security in many countries in Africa, many of the beneficiaries remain largely insecure.

This study thus examines the performance of Turkiye's bilateral security arrangement in Africa, discerning the strengths and weaknesses of such engagement and at the same time underscoring the need for a multilateral security cooperation. The paper analyzes the role Turkiye and APSA would play in a multilateral security cooperation by focusing on Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), peace building, agenda setting and training of security officers. The study

¹ Mwagiru, M. (2008) *Human Security: Setting the Agenda for the Horn of Africa*, Africa Peace forum, Nairobi-Kenya, pp. 1-10

² Degila, D.E. and Amegan, C.K (2019). The African Peace and Security Architecture: An African Response to Regional peace and Security Challenges. In Kulnazarova, A., Popovski, V. (eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of Global Approaches to Peace*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham

³ Dersso, A.S. (2012) The Quest for Pax Africana: The Case of the African Union's Peace and Security Regime. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 12, No.1. pp. 11-47

further analyzes the impact of such engagement on both parties, and some of the deficiencies Turkiye's possible security engagement with APSA would address.

Literature Review

The current Turkiye's engagement with Africa began after the country declared 2005 as the year of Africa. This paved way for Turkiye's opening up for Africa in terms of politics, economy, and security among other dimensions. Turkey has thus been engaged in various ways in many African countries. It has for instance provided humanitarian assistance to those in dire need, offered scholarships to needy students, built many infrastructural projects, aided political dialogue in war torn regions, trained security personnel and has engaged in other post-conflict reconstruction activities.⁴ Turkiye has played a significant role in terms of training and peace building in the Horn of Africa, especially in Somalia, Sudan and Libya among other countries.⁵

In 2011, Turkiye intervened in the war-torn Somalia to offer humanitarian aid. Since then, Turkiye has completed a number of successful projects in the war-torn capital of Mogadishu, including the largest military training Centre in the country. As a result, this facility has trained a significant number of Somali National Army (SNA) and other peace keeping officers under African Union Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS), currently fighting Al-shabaab. Since this military training Centre began operations in 2017, more than 15,000 Somali military forces, special commandos and G-5 Sahel force comprising of five nations fighting terrorism have been trained.⁶ Turkiye's training program for armed personnel has been extended to other African countries including Libya, Central African Republic and Mali among others.

Turkey seeks to strengthen the capacity of the Somali Federal Government (SFG) by promoting its revenue generation and enhancing the efficacy of its security organs. In 2011, Turkish government began supporting Security Sector Reform (SSR) by donating \$300,000 for SSR fund. In 2012, it began training Somali security officers in Turkey and at the same time created a trust fund for SSR amounting to \$5 million. In 2013, it gave AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) a total of \$1million and thereafter signed a military cooperation with Somalia government.⁷ This depicts not only the central role Turkiye has been playing in training of security personnel, but ultimately in setting the agenda.

Turkiye has also played a key role in addressing matters on health. One of the biggest hospital complex in the Horn of Africa has been established by Turkiye and is being managed by Turkish and Somali ministries of health. In Sudan, Turkiye has also established a regional hospital

⁴ Stearns, J and Sucuoglu, G (2017). South-South Cooperation and Peace building: Turkey's involvement in Somalia, *South African Institute of International Affairs*, Vol. 43, pp. 1-9

⁵ Orakci, S. (2022). The Rise of Turkey in Africa, *Aljazeera Centre for Studies*, pp.2-8

⁶ Ibid, pp. 4-5

⁷ Op cit, Stearns, J and Sucuoglu, pp. 6-8

complex in Darfur, and in Libya it has constructed Mitiga military hospital in Tripoli. These are some of the examples of projects Turkiye has initiated in the continent touching on health. Turkiye's peace building initiatives have also focused on education sector. Through their state-owned Maarif Foundation, Turkiye runs over 175 schools in 26 African countries.⁸

Özkan observes that Turkiye can play a significant role in addressing some of the continental problems, including insecurity. He notes that if Turkiye is unable to play such a role individually, forming partnerships could be a great asset. He argues that such partnerships must take into account Africa's expectations and Turkish policies. He for instance points out that one of the opportunities in Africa is in the area of technology. African nations could benefit significantly from the Turkish technological advancement.⁹ Thus, experience sharing, technological sharing and guidance is key in addressing the myriad of challenges facing African continent.

Asiedu argues that Turkey has immensely contributed to peace building in Somalia in various ways, including SSR, building hospitals, schools and other infrastructures. He underscores that Turkey's heightened activities in Africa has enabled Ankara to emerge as a global actor that seeks to develop policies, integration and partnerships that benefit all parties. He for instance points out that the establishment of military base in Somalia plays key strategic roles, including the worth Turkey attaches to the continent despite the various challenges in Africa.¹⁰

Turkey has produced sophisticated defense equipment in form of armored vehicles and other military hardware. Some of these equipment have been sold to several African countries including Kenya, South Africa and Senegal. Besides, Turkey has signed several bilateral agreements with some African countries on production, procurement and maintenance of these equipment. Many African countries are also interested with the Turkish drone program, which they believe is likely to play a key role in combating various security threats in the continent.¹¹

The state building projects initiated by Turkey in Africa have attracted a lot of interests in many countries in the continent. Sudan and Angola have for instance accepted Turkish security initiatives including their drones.¹² In Somalia, Turkey's security agenda has been interweaved by a wider focus on rebuilding key institutions of governance. It has focused on political, economic, developmental and humanitarian aspects.¹³ Proliferation of security threats in the

⁸ Ibid, pp. 5-7

⁹ Özkan, M. (2014). A Post-2014 Vision for Turkey-Africa Relations, *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 16, No. 4 pp. 23-31

¹⁰ Asiedu, M. (2017). Turkey-Africa Relations: Spotlight on Somalia, *Global Political Trends Center*, No. 14, pp. 1-6

¹¹ Dahir, A. (2021). The Turkey-Africa Bromance, *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 27-38

¹² Ibid, p. 32

¹³ Njagi, S.M (2018) The Role of Politicized Ethnicity on Conflict in Africa: A Case Study of Kenya, 1992-2013, PhD Thesis, University of Nairobi

continent, as observed by Dahir, is likely to encourage other African countries to adopt Turkiye's state building projects.¹⁴

Berg and Meester observe that Ethiopia has been a beneficiary of investment projects and joint ventures initiated by Turkish companies. Turkiye has played a critical role in alleviating suffering in Ethiopia by opening wells, clinics, computer laboratories and schools. They further argue that since 2017, Turkey has been engaged in Djibouti where they have been constructing a dam, a mosque, and plans are underway to establish Turkish special economic zone.¹⁵ In Libya, Turkey has been supporting it militarily since 2019. Their commitment to protect the Tripoli government from being defeated by the rebels is part of Turkey's geostrategic ambitions.

Turkiye has initiated many construction and development projects in Algeria and Egypt, which play a fundamental role in peace building. In Egypt, Turkiye has established a textile industry that is at the core of its relationship with the country. Consequently, Akpinar argues that Turkish textile companies prefer Egypt as their production base in their trade with other countries mainly the US.¹⁶ Turkiye has also played a key role in providing humanitarian relief and development assistance in many African countries. Harte observes that Turkiye's work in Africa, and especially in Somalia, has made many countries in the region to consider it a genuine, generous and a true friend.¹⁷

Summary of the review

The review of relevant literature depict that Turkiye has played a significant role in promoting human security in the continent. However, the reviewed literature demonstrates that Turkiye's security engagement in the continent has been mainly bilateral. Turkiye has bilaterally engaged many African countries in areas such as humanitarian assistance, health security, security sector reform and other infrastructural development. The review demonstrates that Turkiye has invested a lot in promoting human security in countries such as Somalia, Sudan, Libya, Central Africa Republic, Mali, Senegal, Ethiopia, Djibouti and Egypt among others. However, despite the heavy investment, most of these countries remain not only fragile, but to a great extent insecure.

The review further depicts that Turkiye has a lot of experience and resources that can benefit Africa and subsequently improve security in the continent. For instance, the adoption of the Turkish drone program in Africa is likely to play a fundamental role in addressing many of the security challenges in the continent.¹⁸

¹⁴ Rossiter, A. and B. J. Cannon (2019). Re-examining the "Base" *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 21, No. 1, p. 167

¹⁵ Berg, W. and Meester, J. (2019) Turkey in the Horn of Africa: Between the Ankara Consensus and the Gulf Crisis, *Clingendael Institute*, pp. 1-11

¹⁶ Akpinar, P, et al, (2022) Turkey's Relations with North Africa: A New Formula for Collaboration, *Clingendael Institute*, pp. 13-15

¹⁷ Harte, J. (2013) Turkey Shocks Africa, *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 29, No. 4, pp. 27-38

¹⁸ Heibach, J. (2021) Yet Another Scramble: Why Middle Eastern Powers are Reaching out to Africa, *German Institute of Global and Area Studies*, pp. 1-13

Theoretical framework

This study is anchored on the theory of liberalism, which argues that national and international security can be significantly improved through international organizations. Woodrow Wilson, one of the major proponent of this theory observes that international organizations provide a platform for multilateral engagement, which he considers the panacea for insecurity and conflict in the international system. This is due to the critical role international organizations or institutions such as APSA play in shaping politics, security and economics for peaceful co-existence.

Immanuel Kant and John Locke, other key proponents of this theory, observe that international system is not inherently conflict-ridden since states can cooperate for the common good especially in a multilateral fora.¹⁹ They observe that non-state actors such as Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs), Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) enhances greater transparency within and between states and can easily meet certain political needs that could provoke insecurity.²⁰ Their argument is based on the belief that lack of transparency within and between states breeds suspicion which culminates in insecurity.

The theory further underscores the efficacy of multilateral security arrangements by pointing out that cohesion is inhibited when governments have insufficient information about a potential security challenge and the likely effects. In such a case, international organizations play a key role in generating the needed information that would keep all actors informed, thus enabling secure environment.²¹ Additionally, multilateral organizations enjoys expertise from various fields who are not necessarily under the control of specific regimes. This allows critical analysis of issues that are likely to culminate into insecurity.

Liberalism observes that international organizations, such as multilateral security institutions compels actors to uphold certain ethics that shape behavior. This plays a key role in creating norms, values and rules that enables actors to co-exist, thus promoting security in the international system. This theory is thus the most appropriate in analyzing Turkiye-AU relations since APSA is a multilateral platform that can play key roles in shaping behavior, norms, enhancing transparency, providing needed information and subsequently promote tranquility. As underscored in this study, Liberalism does not envisage security alliance as advanced by

¹⁹ Burchill, S. et al (2005). *Theories of International Relations*, 3rd Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, pp. 55-70

²⁰ Jackson, R. and Sorensen, G. (2003). *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*, 2nd Edition, Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 105-117

²¹ Nicholson, M. (2002). *International Relations: A Concise Introduction*, 2nd Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, New York

Realism, but collaborative security arrangement where both actors benefits from each other's strengths.

Research Methods

Both primary and secondary data is utilized in enriching this study. It is qualitative in nature with a descriptive research design. This theory based design allowed an in-depth assessment of the performance of Turkiye's bilateral security arrangement in Africa, the strengths and weaknesses of such engagement and some of the deficiencies multilateral approach is likely to address. This design is also critical in analyzing the role Turkiye and APSA would play in case of cooperation and the potential impact both actors would have. This design was the most appropriate for this study as it allows detailed description of the phenomena under the study. The primary data was collected through key informant interviews, and triangulated with secondary data obtained by content analysis of published and grey literature.

The key informant interviews targeted 15 respondents among them staff working at the African Union, government officers who are conversant with subject matter, scholars in related disciplines and security experts. The sampling techniques for this study involved purposive and snowballing where respondents with the requisite knowledge were targeted and some referred by other interviewee respectively. For secondary sources, relevant published and gray literature was sampled, followed by in-depth archival review.

Qualitatively, primary and secondary data was analyzed through triangulation. The triangulation entailed narratives from the respondents interviewed and trends, patterns and themes emanating from the secondary data. The analyzed data demonstrates the performance of Turkiye's bilateral security arrangement in Africa, major weaknesses and strengths of such arrangement and the deficiencies multilateral arrangement would cure.

Results

The security landscape of many African countries has not only evolved, but remains precarious in the 21st Century. New security threats have emerged, including those that emanate from non-state actors who continually play a more prominent role in the continent. These threats continues to exacerbate despite efforts by various actors to address the situation.²² Turkiye, being one of the major actors that has played a significant role in addressing insecurity in the continent, has engaged various countries bilaterally in areas such as peace keeping, conflict management and peace building. Turkiye has initiated various projects in a number of Sub-Saharan countries, with an ultimate aim of promoting security in the continent.

²² See, International Crisis Group (2018) *Seven Priorities for the African Union*

Most actors promoting peace and security in the continent have invested heavily in the fight against terrorism and other sources of insecurity.²³ This is in consonant with the AU's agenda that sought to silence the gun in the continent by 2020, and the 2030 UN Sustainable Development Goals. The AU's peace and security agenda is reflected in APSA's vision which seeks to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts in the continent.²⁴ This section analyzes the performance of Turkiye's bilateral security engagement in the continent, with a major focus on the strengths and weaknesses of such arrangement and subsequently demonstrates the need for a multilateral security cooperation.

Turkiye-Africa relations

Turkiye has distinguished itself as a major actor in many African countries, especially on matters security. After the middle-east country declared 2005 the year of Africa, it has continually played a more cardinal role in addressing continental security challenges. The country has for instance trained security personnel in Somalia, Sudan, Libya, Mali and Central African Republic among others. It has further initiated various projects in countries such as Kenya, South Africa, Senegal, Djibouti, and Ethiopia among others that seek to improve human security. Additionally, Turkiye has participated in the promotion of security in the continent within the UN framework. For instance in 2009, Turkish Naval Task Force was sent to Somalia to fight piracy in the Gulf of Aden under the UN Security Council resolution.²⁵

Turkiye has engaged many African countries using both track one and track two diplomacy, where it has deployed its state agencies and its non-governmental organizations in addressing security challenges in Africa. The use of non-governmental organizations has been essential in providing guidelines for collective action by different actors. This has proved to be more productive in enhancing security as underscored by one interviewee who observed that Turkish-Africa security relations could be enhanced if it was institutionalized and symbiotic. APSA could provide such opportunity for the institutionalization of Turkiye-Africa security cooperation.²⁶

Turkiye's multi-track security policy for the continent seeks to promote peace through a holistic approach involving peace building, post-conflict reconstruction, mediation and humanitarian aid. This policy has been applied in Somalia since 2011 and has made fundamental contributions to the reconstruction process in the country over the last decade. These initiatives have been majorly applied on a bilateral basis, with Turkiye underscoring the need for equal partnership and mutual benefits.²⁷ Despite Turkiye's efforts to stabilize Somalia, this Sub-Saharan country

²³ Abdurrahim, S. (2012). The EU's Security Policy towards Africa: Causes, Rationales, and Dynamics, *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 14, No. 4, pp. 175-188

²⁴ Murat, Y. (2020). Deciphering Turkey's Assertive Military and Defense Strategy, *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp.89-114

²⁵ Köse, M. (2021), A Decade Transformed: Revival of Turkey and Somalia's Multi-layer Relations, *Afrika Vakfı Yayinlari*, pp. 7-9

²⁶ Interview with a member of staff, AU October, 2022

²⁷ Habiyaemye, A and Oguzlu, T. (2014) Engagement with Africa: Making Sense of Turkey's Approach

remains one of the most fragile country in Africa, perhaps due to the multiplicity of actors seeking to stabilize this country. The diverse actors operating in Somalia, including Turkiye, could have more impact if their efforts were coordinated through APSA that best understands the environment.

Turkiye-Africa security relations involves both military and non-military aspects. On the military front, Turkiye has signed a number of security, defense and military agreements with close to 30 African countries. Further, it has established special security partnerships with some Africa states, such as Sudan, and at the same time maintains military bases in Djibouti, Sudan and Somalia. Turkiye's use of non-military power has largely focused on the area of human security, which is key in promoting sustainable security and development.²⁸ Though Turkiye has focused on security from a holistic perspective, many beneficiaries remains unstable majorly due to local security dynamics. These local dynamics that heightens insecurity in Africa requires regional response that not only understands these dynamics, but one perceived by antagonists to be African.

Turkey has largely used soft power in form of peace building, training, post-conflict reconstruction initiatives among others in a bilateral nature. Mutisi underscores this argument by pointing out that Turkiye, through Turkish International Cooperation Agency (TIKA), has played a major role in spearheading civil and administrative infrastructure in many African countries.²⁹ He points out that TIKA has partnered with Kenya, Niger and Senegal in agriculture, education, water, health social infrastructure and communication.³⁰ Overall, TIKA operates in more than 20 African states and it serves as a link between Turkish actions and the continent. Despite this, the human security situation in these countries remains fragile due to local security threats that manifest in form of politicized ethnicity, inter-clan tensions, and covert issues touching on governance. This deficiency could be mediated by a multilateral security institution such as APSA. As observed by liberalism, APSA could provide requisite information to Turkiye, thus enabling it take actions with the greatest impact. This was underscored by most respondents who noted that APSA can guide Turkiye in its security engagement in the continent.³¹

Turkiye has also contributed in strengthening institutions of governance in Africa through the UN system. Ngwa for instance points to the Turkiye's contribution to UN mission in Burundi

in the Context of Growing East-West Rivalry, *International Relations*, Vol. 11, No. 41, pp. 65-85

²⁸ Abdurrahim, S. (2018) Turkey-Africa Alliance: Evolving Patterns in Security Relations, *African Security Review*, pp. 1-18

²⁹ Mutisi, M. (2016) Recalibrating South Africa's Role in Post-Conflict Reconstruction Processes in Africa, *Stimson center*, pp. 1-15

³⁰ Ngwa, N.R. (2020) Turkish-African Relations: An Institutional Approach of Turkish Foreign Policy Towards Africa, *Research Gate*, pp. 23-41

³¹ Interview with security officials, diplomats, scholars, staff working with AU & RECs, 2022

and Sudan between 2004-2006 and 2005-2011 respectively.³² Though these contributions earned the middle-east country the AU observer status and later a strategic partner of the African continent in 2005 and 2008 respectively, the beneficiaries of these missions remained unstable. The security situation in the continent remains precarious despite Turkiye's contribution due to the worsening levels of home grown terrorism, organized crimes, identity based politics/conflicts, governance issues, and inadequate security sector reform.³³

Several African countries have engaged Turkiye in arms trade. This is because Turkiye's weapons come with little political baggage unlike the West. Thus, Turkiye's trading volume with Africa has tremendously increased. By 2019, the volume was at \$7.6 billion, a figure that is expected to exceed \$10 billion by the end of 2023. A UN report on weapons sale in Africa also depicts that Turkiye has exported wheeled armored personnel carriers to several countries in Africa, including Burkina Faso, Chad, Ghana, Senegal, and Mauritania among others. Additionally, Turkiye has been exporting handguns and semi-automatic small and light pistols to Cameroon, Ghana, and Burkina Faso. Though the increasing trade in arms is critical, it is definitely not the panacea for the challenges bedeviling the continent.

The use of soft and hard power is fundamental in addressing the current security challenges in Africa. This is because the complex nature of the security situation in the continent requires a multi-faceted response. APSA could provide such a platform where diverse aspects of security are addressed in a multi-track approach. In such a platform, the impact of Turkiye's heavy investment in Africa in matters security could be felt more. This is because a regional institution such as APSA has several strengths such as high flexibility and ability to use track two mediation techniques among others, which are quite deficient among state actors.

A third party intervening in any fragile environment needs to be familiar with the security situation, including the challenges hindering stabilization, key players, allies, interests at play among others. This is fundamental in developing context-relevant solutions. The geographical proximity of regional and sub-regional institutions such as APSA have this advantage, thus allows efficient and less expensive responses in addressing security challenges in their regions. Their cultural proximity also gives them the advantage of better understanding these challenges. These are some of the benefits APSA would bring in a Turkiye-APSA cooperation in terms of security.

Without external support, APSA is unable to effectively address insecurity due to its institutional, operational and funding related challenges.³⁴ Cilliers underscores this argument by noting that peacekeeping capacity, inadequate early warning and poor funding are key challenges

³² Ibid, pp.30-36

³³ Kammersgaard, N. (2018). *The African Peace and Security Architecture in the African Union*, Aalborg University Press, pp. 5-26

³⁴ Interview with Member of Staff, Continental Early Warning & Response Mechanism, 2022

facing this institution. He argues that in terms of funding, African member states do not provide the necessary funds to APSA. He further points out that though REC's approach to conflict has several advantages, such as geographical proximity and cultural awareness, their early warning systems are largely ineffective due to lack of modern technology. Turkiye's technological transfer to Africa through APSA would not only address this deficiency, but significantly benefit more countries as compared to the current bilateral arrangement.

Though APSA's early warning system is not fully developed, the institutions for early response have been the weakest link. This weakness has been occasioned by various reasons such as failure by member states to meet their financial obligations, institutional and structural weakness for both continental early warning and response mechanisms, external interference, poor governance and political instability in many member states, and undeclared veto power by some African states such as South Africa, Nigeria, Egypt and Algeria that hinders effective decision making.³⁵ Turkiye's experience, skills, technological advancement, funding and other resources would play a significant role in addressing most of these deficiencies in APSA.

Inadequate connectivity between APSA and regional economic communities is a major weakness negatively affecting sharing of information and the performance of the early warning system at the continental level.³⁶ Thus, there is a need to improve the current infrastructure on information technology. APSA assessment report also highlights the need to enhance its collaboration with external actors, including civil society and intergovernmental organizations among others. Turkish technological transfer especially on the use of artificial intelligence in cloud computing/ cloud storage could highly benefit APSA especially in strengthening its early warning and response mechanism under APSA-Turkiye cooperation. Turkiye's experience in training security personnel would have a bigger impact if channeled through APSA.³⁷

Another APSA deficiency that Turkiye could mitigate is collection, analysis and dissemination of intelligence.³⁸ Turkiye could play a significant role by strengthening APSA's intelligence collection abilities through skills and technology transfer, sharing of their experiences and resources and provision of modern equipment such as drones.³⁹ For CEWS to be effective, enough analysts with the right training is key.⁴⁰ Partnering with external actors such as Turkiye should be prioritized in order to develop specialized trainings for the staff working at the

³⁵ Interview with security analyst, IGAD, 2022

³⁶ Interview with Director, Continental Early Warning and Response Mechanisms, 2022

³⁷ Interview with a scholar, University of Nairobi, 2022

³⁸ Williams, P. D (2011) The African Union's Conflict Management Capabilities, *Council on Foreign Relations*, pp. 1-26

³⁹ Interview with a security analyst, Kenya 2022

⁴⁰ Schaefer, K (2012). The Africa-EU Peace and Security Partnership and African Regional Organizations, *Istituto Affari Internazionali*, pp. 23-27

observation and the control center, which is responsible for the collection and analysis of information.⁴¹

Full operationalization of APSA remain a key strategic and operational priority for Africa to attain sustainable peace and development. Such a move would include improved collaboration, harmonization and coordination among the regional economic communities and AU in addressing security threats in the continent.⁴² Turkiye can play a significant role in improving its relations with Africa through promoting the comprehensive security agenda which addresses both direct and structural sources of conflict. With the support of Turkiye, APSA could promote good governance in the continent through security sector reforms, fighting terrorism and other organized crimes in its vision of addressing strategic security issues in the continent.⁴³

Turkiye, in a security cooperation with APSA, would expand its military-industrial complex by gaining new markets and investment opportunities.⁴⁴ Turkiye would also increase their allies, thus having more influence at international level. With cordial multilateral relations at APSA, Turkiye would not only have a better image, but would get support from African countries in fora such as United Nations General Assembly meetings.⁴⁵ On the other hand, Africa would immensely benefit from Turkiye's experiences, skills and resources in combating insecurities in the continent.⁴⁶

Key Findings

This study demonstrates that though Turkiye has played a fundamental role in enhancing security in Africa, its engagement has largely been bilateral in nature. Turkiye has built hospitals, schools, military camps, given humanitarian aid, and trained security personnel, participated in multilateral missions such as UN, among other security related activities in various countries on a bilateral basis. This study however demonstrates that despite heavy investment on matters security by the middle-east country, the security situation in Africa remains precarious. This is due to some of the Turkiye's deficiencies in Africa, such as lack of cultural proximity, inadequate knowledge on local security dynamics and lack of geographical proximity. In addition, state actors such as Turkiye are weak in track two diplomacy which is fundamental in addressing Africa's security.

⁴¹ Interview with a lecturer, United States International University (USIU), 2022

⁴² Bassou, A. (2017) African Architecture for Peace and Security: Design Relevance and Achievement Challenges, *OCP Policy Brief*, pp. 1-10

⁴³ Collins, A. (2019) Contemporary Security Studies, 5th Edition, Oxford University Press, pp. 30-38

⁴⁴ Interview with a staff Member working at United Nations Mine Action Service (UNMAS), 2022

⁴⁵ Interview with a Lecturer, National Defence University-Kenya, 2022

⁴⁶ Interview with Member of Staff at EAC Secretariat, 2022

The study depicts that Turkiye-APSA security cooperation can address most of these deficiencies. This is because APSA's strengths complements Turkiye's deficiencies and the vice versa. For instance, APSA's cultural proximity with the continent has enabled the multi-lateral institution to better understand Africa's security dynamics such as home grown terrorism, organized crimes, identity-based politics/conflicts, and other governance issues. APSA's understanding of security dynamics in the continent would inform context-relevant solutions. Thus, Turkiye's objective of alleviating insecurity in the continent can best be achieved through APSA.

A multi-lateral institution such as APSA would play a significant role in coordinating the efforts of various actors, including Turkiye, who have been seeking to stabilize the continent. APSA would succeed in such an endeavor since African countries consider the institution their own, thus enjoys political good will. Therefore, APSA presents an opportunity for the institutionalization of Turkiye-Africa security cooperation. Further, APSA is a platform where diverse aspects of security could be addressed in a multi-track approach. APSA's flexibility and its ability to use track two mediation techniques would complement Turkiye's strengths.

The paper reveals that APSA's geographical proximity is another strength that would benefit Turkiye if there was a security cooperation. Geographical proximity allows efficient and less expensive responses. This is because geographical proximity not only allows better understanding of security environment hence most efficient responses, but it gives actors involved appropriate tools for addressing the security situation. The dynamic security environment in the continent need actors who can closely monitor the situation and recommend diverse strategies for dealing with it since there is no one size fits all solution to the current insecurity.

Conversely, the study identifies significant deficiencies in APSA that Turkiye would complement. In its current structure, APSA is unable to adequately address the myriad of security challenges facing Africa due to the following: First, CEWS lacks enough analyst with the requisite expertise necessary for prompt collection, analysis and dissemination of intelligence for early warning. Second, the poor connectivity between CEWS and regional economic communities makes it difficult to share information and early warning of a deteriorating security situation in the continent. Third, CEWS lacks the requisite IT infrastructure and funding for effective operation. These and other institutional deficiencies facing APSA could be mediated by external actors such as Turkiye.

In line with this study's objective, Turkiye, as an international actor could enhance coordination and cooperation in terms of conflict prevention and peace building initiatives within APSA. It can play a fundamental role in promoting effectiveness of early warning and response mechanisms, thus enabling the middle-east country to play a key role in terms of agenda setting.

The vast experience and enormous resources Turkiye has channeled bilaterally to various African countries could have more impact if spent in a multilateral institution like APSA. Furthermore, Turkiye's highly developed artificial intelligence in form of drones and cloud computing/cloud storage and their role in training of security personnel can significantly enhance APSA's effectiveness and efficiency. APSA's deficiencies present opportunities for Turkiye to share its experiences and technology, which is key in collection, analysis and dissemination of intelligence.

Conclusion & Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, this article concludes that though Turkiye has been a key ally of many African countries, its engagement has been largely bilateral. Turkiye could better achieve its objective of addressing insecurity in Africa by collaborating with multilateral institutions such as APSA. Thus, this study argues that there is a need for Turkiye to consider engaging APSA on matters security in Africa. This is because APSA has key advantages such as its cultural proximity, ability to employ track two mediation techniques, geographical proximity and others that would benefit Turkiye in its quest of addressing insecurity in the continent.

APSA would also immensely benefit from Turkiye's advantages such as modern technological transfer and its experiences, knowledge and skills in combating insecurity. This study recommends the need for Turkiye to sponsor a forum that brings various experts and leaders from African Union, with an aim of examining how to formalize engagement with African Peace and Security Architecture.

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