T.C.
ISTANBUL GEDIK UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

TURKEY'S HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY IN SOMALIA (2011-2020):
A NEOCLASSICAL REALIST INTERPRETATION

MASTER'S THESIS

Ibrahim Mohamed FARAH

Business Administration Master in English Program

FEBRUARY 2021

T.C.
ISTANBUL GEDIK UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

TURKEY'S HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY IN SOMALIA (2011-2020):
A NEOCLASSICAL REALIST INTERPRETATION

MASTER'S THESIS

Ibrahim Mohamed Farah
(181285012)

Business Administration Master in English Program

Thesis Advisor: Assist. Professor Selim SEZER

FEBRUARY 2021

T.C.

İSTANBUL GEDİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ

LİSANSÜSTÜ EĞİTİM ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

Yüksek Lisans Tez Onay Belgesi

Enstitümüz, Business Administration Department İngilizce Tezli Yüksek Lisans Programı, (181281018) numaralı öğrencisi Ibrahim Mohamed Farahın ''Turkey's Humanitarian Diplomacy In Somalia (2011-2020): A Neoclassical Realist Interpretation'' adlı tez çalışması Enstitümüz Yönetim Kurulunun 18/02/2021 tarihinde oluşturulan jüri tarafından **Oy Birliği** ile Yüksek Lisans tezi olarak **Kabul** edilmiştir.

<u>Öğretim Üyesi Adı Soyadı</u>

Tez Savunma Tarihi :18/02/2021

1)Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Selim SEZER

2) Jüri Üyesi: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Zeynep ÖZKURT

3) Jüri Üyesi: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ümit BOZOKLU

DECLARATION

I, Ibrahim Mohamed FARAH, do hereby declare that this thesis titled as "Turkey's Humanitarian Diplomacy in Somalia (2011-2020): A Neoclassical Realist Interpretation" is original work done by me for the award of the masters' degree in the faculty of Business Administration. I also declare that this thesis or any part of it has not been submitted and presented for any other degree or research paper in any other university or institution. (18/06/2021)

<div align="right">Ibrahim Mohamed FARAH</div>

DEDICATION

I want to dedicate this thesis to Allah Almighty; my creator, my strong pillar, my source of inspiration, who enables the author to complete the research work successfully and to submit the thesis. He has been the source of my strength throughout this program and on His wings only have I soared.

This thesis is also dedicated to my uncle Rashid Farah as a special feeling of gratitude and also to my loving parents who have supported me all the way since the beginning of my studies and acted as a great source of motivation and inspiration.

Lastly, this thesis is dedicated to my wife Fatima Said, who has been a constant source of support and encouragement during the challenges of graduate school and life.

FOREWORD

First and foremost, to the Allah Almighty with a profound sense of appreciation, I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Assist.Professor Selim Sezer whose monumental support, patience, valuable guidance, and honest collaboration shall remain unmatched. Without his timely feedback and constructive guidance, I would never have completed this study indeed. I also like to convey my appreciation to Associate Professor Ozan Örmeci who started the thesis with me for his excellent guidance,advice and support.

I place a special record to my uncle Rashid Farah for his unwavering support during my educational endeavors. Without his sincere help and guidance, I would not have studied and I remain ever indebted to him.

I also convey my special thanks to Fatima Said, my beloved wife who has been lighting the home in Istanbul during my work and has provided me every kind of inspiration and support. Moreover, I want to share this special occasion of happiness with my family and friends and thank them for their tremendous support throughout my study.

February 2021   Ibrahim Mohamed FARAH

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

ACLU	: American Civil Liberties Union
ADL	: Anti-Defamation League
AFAD	: Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency of Turkey
AI	: Amnesty International
AJC:	: American Jewish Committee
AKP	: Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
AMA	: American Medical Association
ASO	: Address Supporting Organization
ELN	: National Liberation Army, Colombia
EU	: European Union
FARC	: Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
FCA	: Forgotten Crisis Assessment
GNA	: Global Needs Assessment
HD	: Humanitarian Diplomacy
ICRC	: The International Committee of the Red Cross
IFRC	: International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
IHL	: International Humanitarian Law
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
LAWASIA	: Law Association for Asia and the Western Pacific
LTTE	: Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MALDEF	: Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund
NAACP	: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NAM	: National Association of Manufacturers
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OIC	: Organization of the Islamic Conference
OPEC	: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
SODEPAX	: Society, Development and Peace
TFG	: Transitional Federal Government
TIKA	: Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency
ToT	: Training of Trainers
TRC	: Turkish Red Crescent
UN	: United Nations
UNITA	: National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UNOCHA	: United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
USSR	: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

TURKEY'S HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY IN SOMALIA (2011-2020): A NEOCLASSICAL REALIST INTERPRETATION

ABSTRACT

For a long time, humanitarian and financial aid have usually recognized either as the liability of the first world toward the third world or as the assistance of allies to one another and therefore disregarded as non-scholarly matter. However, as of the beginning of the 21st century, humanitarian and financial aid turned into a much more complex phenomenon involving political, economical, diplomatic, ideological, and moral aspects. Moreover, the character of humanitarian and financial aid has changed when emerging great and regional powers started to use them as a strong foreign policy tool.

This research studies the purpose and effects of Turkey's leadership position in the areas of humanitarian and financial aid in the global by inspecting Turkey's policy of Humanitarian diplomacy in Somalia which has been in place since 2011. Turkey's leading position in humanitarian aid in Somalia remains as an intriguing subject for scholars as Somalia faces external and internal power vacuum problems in state-building and peace-building processes. This thesis investigates the reasons as to why Turkey conducts humanitarian diplomacy in Somalia through the theory of Neoclassical Realism. This thesis argues that Turkey has been trying to fill up this power vacuum in Somalia by using humanitarian diplomacy. Even though Neoclassical Realism is often neglected in examining foreign policy by many scholars, findings of this study suggest that Neoclassical Realism is the most appropriate theory to analyze Turkey's activism regarding humanitarian diplomacy in Somalia.

Keywords: *Turkey's Humanitarian Diplomacy in Somalia, Turkish Foreign Policy, Somalia, Justice and Development Party, Humanitarian Diplomacy, Neoclassical Realism.*

TÜRKİYE'NİN SOMALİ'DEKİ İNSANİ DİPLOMASİSİ (2011-2020): NEO-KLASİK GERÇEKÇİ BİR YORUM DENEMESİ

ÖZET

Uzun bir süre boyunca, ekonomik ve insani yardımlar, gelişmiş ülkelerin gelişmekte olan ülkelere yönelik ya da müttefiklerin birbirlerine karşı sorumluluğu olarak algılanmış ve akademik açıdan ihmal edilmiştir. Ancak 21. yüzyılın başında, ekonomik ve insani yardımlar; siyasi, ekonomik, diplomatik, ideolojik ve ahlaki boyutları olan karmaşık bir fenomene dönüşmüştür. Üstelik oluşmakta olan büyük güçlerin ve bölgesel güçlerin insani ve ekonomik yardımı güçlü bir dış politika enstrümanı olarak kullanmaya başlamasıyla birlikte, insani ve ekonomik yardımın karakteristiği de değişmiştir.

Bu tez, Türkiye'nin insani ve ekonomik yardım politikasında öncü konumunun nedenleri ve sonuçlarını Türkiye'nin 2011'den beri Somali'de yürütmüş olduğu "insani diplomasi" politikaları kapsamında değerlendirmektedir. Türkiye'nin Somali'de insani diplomasi konusundaki lider konumu, Somali'de devlet kurma ve barış inşası konularında iç ve dış etkenlerde yaşanan boşluk da düşünüldüğünde, akademisyenler için ilgi çekici bir konu haline gelmektedir. Bu çalışma, Neo-Klasik Gerçekçi kuram doğrultusunda Türkiye'nin Somali'deki insani diplomasi faaliyetlerinin nedenlerini araştıracaktır. Bu çalışmada, Türkiye'nin insani diplomasiyi kullanarak Somali'deki güç boşluğunu doldurmaya çalıştığı iddia edilmektedir. Neo-Klasik Gerçekçilik akademisyenlerce dış politikada genelde ihmal edilse de, bu tezin bulguları, Türkiye'nin Somali'deki aktif insani diplomasi faaliyetlerini açıklamak için en uygun teorinin Neo-Klasik Gerçekçilik olduğunu iddia etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Türkiye'nin Somali'deki İnsani Diplomasisi, Türk Dış Politikası, Somali, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, İnsani Diplomasi, Neo-Klasik Gerçekçilik.*

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Topic of the Study

This study aims to analyze Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy in Somalia during the 2011-2020 period. For a long time, humanitarian and financial aid have usually recognised either liability of the first world toward the third world or as the assistance of allies to one another and therefore, is disregarded as a non-scholarly matter. However, as of the beginning of the 21st century, humanitarian and economic aids have turned into a much more complex phenomenon involving political, economic, diplomatic, ideological, and moral dimensions and reflecting power struggles as well.

The basic characteristics of humanitarian and financial aid have changed since emerging powers have begun to apply these aids as a foreign policy tool. Thus, this study will argue that humanitarian diplomacy also carries realistic political and economic aspirations in addition to some moral values. Accordingly, this research aims to study the reasons and consequences of Turkey's leading position in the areas of humanitarian and financial aid in the world by inspecting Turkey's policy of "HD" in Somalia that has been in place since 2011.

Turkey's leading position in humanitarian aid in Somalia remains as an intriguing subject for scholars as Somalia faces external and internal power vacuum problems in state-building and peace-building processes. This thesis purports to investigate the reasons as to why Turkey conducts humanitarian diplomacy in Somalia through the theory of Neoclassical Realism. This thesis will argue that Turkey has been trying to fill up this power vacuum in Somalia by using humanitarian diplomacy. Even though Neoclassical Realism is often neglected in examining foreign policy by many scholars, findings of this study suggest that Neoclassical Realism is the most appropriate theory to analyze Turkey's activism regarding humanitarian diplomacy in Somalia.

1.2 The Aim of the Study

The overarching purpose of this study is to determine the effectiveness of Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy to Somalia and its impact on Somalia-Turkey relations. Particularly, it examines the positive contribution of Turkish aid to the Somalian recovery and the effect it has on the bilateral relations of these nations. The thesis also aims to analyze the reasons why Turkey uses humanitarian diplomacy towards Somalia and many other countries from a Neoclassical Realist perspective. Other than these specified aims, this research also aims to describe and explain the role and impact of humanitarian aids in foreign policy.

1.3 Research Questions

Main questions of this thesis are to examine the effectiveness of Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy to Somalia and describe the role and impact of humanitarian aids in foreign policy also to explain the way Turkey uses humanitarian diplomacy towards Somalia and many other countries from a Neoclassical Realist perspective.

1.4 Hypotheses

The study at hand argues that Turkey's to Somalia is effective and has a positive contribution to the recovery process of the country. Turkey, as one of the important emerging powers in the region, seeks to fill the power vacuum in Somalia through offering humanitarian assistance and increasing its weight in this region. Turkey's involvement in Somalia has intensified both political and economic relations of these two countries.Neoclassical Realism is the most appropriate theory to understand Turkish behavior in Somalia in implementing humanitarian diplomacy.

1.5 Methodology

Overall being both exploratory and explanatory research, this study is a quest for disclosing the motives, practices, and perceptions on Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy in Somalia. Since the study contains both theoretical and practical sections, the research will elaborate on the foundation and historical background of Turkey's Somalia policy by analyzing the official narratives via analyzing academic

books, journals, and scholarly articles, which are most ground-breaking and well-researched works on the subject of Turkish foreign policy in Somalia.

Because of the nature of the study, this dissertation will employ qualitative research method tools. In terms of qualitative research method tools, the study will use discourse analysis of Turkish leaders' speeches in order to understand the essence of Turkey's Somalia policy. Lastly, the research will use the theoretical framework of Neoclassical Realism as a guiding theory.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The topic of this research is useful for certain important reasons. Before all else, it examines the nature and types of humanitarian and developmental assistance provided by Turkish government to Somalian people. Secondly, the study determines the effectiveness of Turkey's various aid programs in comparison to the traditional aid donors. Thirdly, the research tries to investigate the impact of humanitarian diplomacy on Turkey-Somalia relations and its effects on the international community's view on Somalia as well as Turkey's global image. Fourthly, this research highlights the current and potential problems facing Turkish engagement in Somalia and concludes with relevant recommendations.

1.7 Research Structure

After the Introduction chapter, the first chapter will discuss the concept of humanitarian diplomacy by making a literature review and putting forward some successful examples. The second chapter of this thesis is devoted to analyzing Neoclassical Realism, which would be the theoretical guideline for the researcher in understanding Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy towards Somalia. In the third chapter, Turkish foreign policy's major principles and most important events will be analyzed and Turkey's Africa policy will be discussed particularly. In the fourth chapter, Turkey's Somalia policy would be examined within the light of the concept of humanitarian diplomacy and Neoclassical Realism. Within this part, Turkey's Somalia policy will be examined for different classification such as aids, investments, educational activities, and peace-building and security measures. The research will end up with the Conclusion chapter that will have the summary of the findings as well as some recommendations.

2. HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY

2.1 Humanitarian Diplomacy (HD): What Is It?

HD is a new phenomenon that dates back to the 2000s and is described as follows; "it calls on leaders and decision-makers at all times and in all circumstances to benefit the weak and to have full respect for the principles of humanity." (De Lauri, 2018). Conventionally, it spans from negotiating the existence of organizations providing aid to providing negotiating access to the people in the community who require help. Also, it includes programs for monitoring aid, promotion of respect of international law, and participating in advocacy for the purpose of comprehensive aid. (De Lauri, 2018. 741-753.)

It also has many meanings but it should be considered separate. As "humanitarianism" has been the perception and system of political action for hundreds of years. The concept of HD appeared conspicuously during WWII. Certainly, work of the Red Cross International Committee working on concentration camps was the first example of HD. Apart from the fact that the Red Cross International Committee has not been able to do any real humanitarian work it collected information and provided assistance to the POW (Farré 2012: 1408). The Red Cross Committee realized soon that it required more than just a product of Geneva's high-class spirit of generosity and required specialists and innovators to deal with the issues of mass transportation, communications, record keeping, and so on. (Farré2012: 1386)

The conventions in Geneva and Hague recognized the need to focus on humanitarianism within the framework of international law. Due to their culture, they were a legal entity that also needed a lot of cooperation before it could take effect. Like for instance, the first task involved in implementing the 1864 Geneva Convention (under Article 8) (Yingling & Ginnane 1952: 393-427). was to ensure that governments informed their troops of their legislation. Article 47 of the 1949 Geneva Convention called on the parties to distribute as much speech as

possible in their respective countries so that their goals could be made public. Those in charge of drafting the Hague Convention of 1907 documented that although the "war law" had not yet come into force, the Contracting Parties were still tasked with completing and defining the work of the 1899 Hague Convention. Therefore, the adoption of international law has increased the greater reliance on communication and the principles of mutual benefit and war through dialogue.

Humanitarian diplomacy has long emerged. For example, in the 1960s, the famine and civil war in Biafra became Nigeria's first war in Africa, which aired on television, helping to promote public campaigns and protests in the United States, calling on the Washington administration to intervene in Biafra (2010). Crises such as Rwanda (1994), Yugoslavia (1992) and Syria (2011–) have recently observed the use of the media by a number of voluntary organizations, international organizations and aid agencies to raise awareness of political issues and problems. Given that many aid issues today are the result of spill-over in the most prosperous parts of the world (e.g., refugees from Syriato Europe), the problem of helping people and questions about humanitarian behavior like number of refugees to accept, establishment of Humanitarian corridors are important political issues that are being discussed in a number democratic communities and parliaments.

It is based on the history of nineteenth-century humanitarian acts, and draws its attention to the hard work done by workers providing aid around the world, but also regionally, to allow regular access to victims. But, unlike old international relations and dialogue, currently there is no field of works or pamphlets devoted towards "humanitarian diplomacy". It can be defined as:

 The idea of humanitarian diplomacy also includes roles that organizations play in helping people find a place for political and military authorities to work honestly. These activities include efforts to organize aid organizations, negotiate access to those in need of assistance and protection, monitor project planners, promote respect for law and order, support indigenous peoples, and engage at various levels to support relief efforts. (Mine and H. Smith. 2007. pp. 7-35)

The above definition can be further clarified:

'*Humanitarian diplomacy is about forcing decision-makers and ideological leaders to take action, and at all times, to fully benefit the vulnerable people and fully respect our core values.*' (IFRC. 2010. 40-77)

'*Humanitarian diplomacy is the emphasis on the use of universal law and assistance as useful agreements to assist the transport of services or to improve the security of citizens in the event of a political crisis.*' (Jonathan Whitall 1, January 2009. 31-67)

An example of the definition of humanitarian diplomacy was provided by ICRC, that led to the efforts of ensuring humanitarian diplomacy, recalling the mandate: ICRC's humanitarian diplomacy is about listening to the voices of war and disaster victims and respecting the rule of law. Humanitarian diplomacy of ICRC is expressed in 4 areas: it contains relationships with a variety of contacts, including non-State actors; restrictions on social work and the promotion of peace are not its main purpose; independent through state aid negotiations; and lastly, this usually occurs with a series of presentations, which, depending on the circumstances, require a set of secret or offensive networks. (M. Harroff-Tavel. 2006. 121: 72-89.). Due to the mandate of the organization, this definition is small compared to those described above, but often its relationships need to be reliable and perform a variety of actions.

Humanitarian diplomacy is about convincing governments to give victims access. These are cases where humanitarian assistance is needed in war-torn or conflict-affected areas. The term humanitarian corridor refers to the demilitarized region that became the norm during the Cold War. The idea remains, despite the continuous conflicts and political actions to eradicate the conflict, the HD works to create safer environments for help and assistance. But, the establishment of relief corridors for people or places of safety are complex and competitive solutions to relief problems. Firstly, the establishment of humanitarian corridors is very difficult because of difficult and persistent diplomacy. Secondly, humanitarian areas do not discuss the main political aspects of humanitarian catastrophe, and they can, in time and range, eliminate territorial zones that are restricted and involved with aggressive regimes.

Humanitarian diplomacy pressures governments to develop measures in a particular crisis; it may be for promoting governments and international organizations to provide humanitarian assistance in a timely manner, peacekeeping assistance and

crisis response through political participation. Like for instance, during the 2000s the Darfur crisis in Sudan, many UN agencies called for international action against the violence. HD can also be used to specialize in vulnerable groups, governments, and international organizations, as many aid agencies are skilled, even surpassing the information they hold (IFRC 2009). But it can be seen as preventing the governments from doing certain things by humanitarian NGOs, especially when armed interference occurs. Of course, there are many ways and educational perspectives on the relationship between social workers and the military. This thinking must respond to the varying nature of humanitarian action, as military operations extend beyond conventional warfare to support relief and rehabilitation efforts and to include more relief-related activities, including human protection (Wheeler and Harmer 2006: iii).

Furthermore, it does not focus on international interests, but on areas of global public policy such as climate, ecosystem, natural disasters, changes in science, tradition and health (Régnier 2011: 1212). These are multinational areas. Nature also exists, so a significant aspect of humanitarian diplomacy is raising awareness of the structures, laws, and regulations that seek to manage such global issues. The main purpose of the aid talks is the promotion of international humanitarian law and training where necessary. The main concern of the belligerents is that the militants adhere to the rules and laws governing the war to take place. In this regard, aid activists are trying to encourage countries to follow the Geneva Convention. The Hague convention and various related agreements, especially on the protection of women and children, the use of weapons and the protection and listing of POWs.

Although the diplomacy overlaps in two areas, humanitarian diplomacy must be separated from human rights unity (Mullersson 1997: 2). As Smith remarks, humanitarian organizations focus on building non-political trust between organizations and governments rather than focusing on overt political issues (2007: 36). It should be noted that HD is an important factor in conflict situations where it is unlikely that NGOs will intervene through formal diplomacy, even if they are operating in specialized social services and / or specific areas. (Morales 1988: 43) Social relations represent not only the representation of a particular political position, but providing assistance to non-discriminators without interfering with their views on politics, philosophy or religion and the internal affairs of warring nations. (Morales 1988: 43).

The notion of "humanitarian diplomacy" and the increasing interest and value in humanitarian operations came to the fore. Apart from the medieval movement of the 19th century and apathy of the 20th century, human support is a notion that goes hand in hand with "many endless conflicts at once, including global and contextual morality" (Barnett 2011: 21). Social diplomacy aims to create and promote awareness and encourage the creation of conditions in certain critical situations, although it does so on a cosmopolitan basis. Post-Cold War hurdles accompanied with global social policy require the participation of many charitable NGOs; a number of governments depend on the work of private organizations and agencies.

2.2 Literature Review

2.2.1 The emergence of humanitarian diplomacy

Conflicts in the world have been there since the beginning of time. Because of this, human history has come with a lot of major and short-term crises these days. National borders were sharpened by the emergence of nation-states in the 19th and 20th centuries; as globalization increased in the new 21st century, they finally began to lose their influence. Consequently, in today's world, an event that happens in one country first affects the neighboring countries and then all the states are affected due to the spill-over effect. This situation dominated the Middle Eastern and the African regions for a century. A fire that started in one country eventually spread like wildfire. In such a scenario, human suffering has transformed the concept of "aid" into a major international agenda. Social assistance is a holistic concept that describes a number of areas like shelter, sanitation, food and water. The Syrian Civil War (2011-) in particular marked a change in the sense that the international community was rethinking and expanding its concept of international aid. Thus, international and provincial government agencies have produced "social dialogue/ humanitarian diplomacy", a concept that has become very popular in recent times.

In some discussions about the meaning of the notion of human diplomacy; there is a common view because of the live human drama. HD benefits of the provision of International Law and Human Rights to ensure immediate public safety in an emergency and to facilitate the delivery of assistance. Social workers have certain responsibilities in relation to aid negotiations; yet they do not consider themselves diplomats. Social diplomacy, like general diplomacy has certain meaningful

functions, like data gathering, discussion and communication (Minar, 2007: 8). HD is more than just distributing and collecting information. "The deep struggle to shape human politics or social justice. It has a part here, however, the big picture is not about the humanitarian crisis, the political crisis and the human rights crisis." ICRC is the most famous and most active international humanitarian diplomats, it has developed its own interpretation of HD. According to the ICRC, humanitarian diplomacy allows states to learn about the problems and difficulties of the people and share them with the international community (Minar, 2007: 23).

HD prevents risk and disaster administration. Not just aid agencies, but private companies also use HD term as a means to negotiate, raising consciousness and disseminating emergency services (Regnier, 2011: 1213). Therefore, HD has been utilized by different organizations; but they all use this name in a special way to respect international law and to help people.

When the IFRC planned to revise the concept used about the HD in 2010–2011, it was found that there were 89 various explanations in the related organizations and in gray and scientific texts. These explanations include convergence and diversity, which are the basis for reducing the concept of HD.

The term 'diplomacy' comes from Greek meaning wrapped and closed document to guarantee its privacy. The Latin word diplomat means official documents that give power to a person in power who acts in his or her capacity as mediator and representative. Diplomacy is as old as from 3000 BC, mainly in Asia Minor and the Far East, but didn't develop until the establishment of permanent embassies in Western Europe to facilitate Renaissance Italian city-states (in 15th and 16th centuries). It reached its zenith in the nation-building between the 18th and 20th centuries. The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961 laid down the legal basis for diplomatic relations, codified, among other things, laws governing the defense of diplomatic forces and the power of embassies, consulates and diplomats accused of maintaining relations with the state and endorsing national interests irrespective of aiding conflict. The activities of past diplomacy were 1: to signify the state and to defend or develop the interests of people; 2: gather, examine and report data; 3: promoting friendly trade and political relations and negotiation agreements.

It is sometimes muddled with foreign policy; state policy, as well as alternatives like military recruitment or financial pressure, define the objectives of negotiations. It is

basically a policy of interests; foreign policy means a global obligation. Diplomacy has many functions, like representing the nation and negotiating to agree on a contract and making rules of the global system. It is a means of contact, one of its key elements in preventing or controlling conflicts in a politically divided international system: it helps in preventing conflict and restoration of peace.

With the global distribution of data by the private sector, with the rise of new communication technologies, the limited decline in state power has increased, and communication privacy has weakened therefore the decline and global bipolar system. It can hit the centre of diplomacy and intellect (like the WikiLeaks 2010-2011 scandal) Diplomacy is becoming more and more widespread: internationally, it is no longer in many countries, it is no longer just between governments, many institutions and various functions (multi-track diplomacy), and now it is not just the right of Minister of Foreign Affairs. The acting position by other departments and many independent actors and non-governmental pressure groups. The novel language of diplomacy (international relations and the field) is spreading rapidly everywhere in the world.

International actors generate novel sorts of links and forums to involve in casual conversations: the 'diplomatic track' which includes politicians, religious leaders and community leaders, businessmen, NGO members, faculties, and members of parliament. It allows relevant members of the community to unofficially explore potential solutions with the support of third parties with a certain degree of knowledge. Politicians often exercise their authority with official authority; this is sometimes called the 'Track 1 1/2 Mission'. They act as casual intermediaries to facilitate dialogue between members of civil society organizations on different sides and between different parties. If attempts fail, such a new relationship promotes personal relationships and harmony, improving understanding in a safe environment free from the risk of losing respect.

2.2.2 Humanitarian diplomacy in practice: differences from traditional diplomacy

Social diplomacy is sometimes expressed in relation to state politics. But, these two types of diplomacy vary in many respects, it seems that the magnitude of HD isn't restricted to foreign relationships. Data collection and analysis, approaches similar to

interviews, and insecurity. Social diplomacy doesn't preclude two-sided or many-sided negotiations. In order to be effective, it is necessary to connect with traditional relations in the big cities and in the sector, so that you do not become the final winner.

Humanitarian organizations also have a sincere desire to participate in 'Track two Diplomacy', that allows them to formulate opinions on charitable issues prior to public hearings. Informal disputes add to the substitutionary forums of government, and help to facilitate communication and negotiation with aid agencies, which is not easy to establish.

Minear and Smith draw our consideration to not only the common goal of traditional and humanitarian dialogue but toward their great diversity as well. Conventional relations operate on a political level. It comprises support projects and it can be argued that they are accountable for a specific aspect of humanitarian work taking place throughout the world. Humanitarian work is being done by some traditional strategists working for the Foreign Affairs Minister, Development Assistance Agencies and Security and Defense. The functioning of embassies is governed by customs and rights and obligations defined by foreign and labor law. Disobeying this law is very occasional and leads to instant punishment and immediate repression of both countries. Diplomats do not take risks that threaten national interests. They never confess their faults and always justify sanity and secrecy. They have different ways to express dissatisfaction with their work environment. Accepting fines and enforcement marks the end of diplomacy.

Aid agencies do not have a dedicated body of HD. The RC and RCNS also don't have HD. Moreover, there are no technical or university trainers available anywhere in the world who are well-established in HD. This is how human dialogue is conducted by aid workers who aren't skilled in political discussions and who are not comfortable with enthusiastic topic of HD. Except IHL and HR and RL, they do not work under formed global law. Their insecurity is as sacred as diplomats. The purpose of HD is to get entrance victims in certain situations. Typically, a full engagement of diplomacy in their activities involves part of their work, without consulting local authorities or opposition groups.

Although HD may not be in line with the specific request of the beneficiaries, in some critical cases the victims can be heard nationally and or internationally.

Therefore, HD is sometimes improved depending on requirements. It does not mean it can open all departments, unlike government and communications. It has no political hypocrisy, but seeks help negotiations between conflicting opponents or the crisis.

Often puts itself at risk, identifying mistakes made in evaluating the circumstances or taking actions, and choosing media to utilize. Social workers at any time be denied permits, laissez-passer, cultural rights, safety in ways which traditional diplomats aren't accustomed to experiencing. Unlike their traditional rivals, social activists do not carry the nationwide political message and endorse a certain type of society. However, a few organizations (especially religious organizations) have their own values and or a complete desire for change that include the current state of international humanitarian work performed. Although neutrality laws of the RC and the RC Party do not change its political affiliation, other aid agencies are not fully aligned with it.

As a state, foreign policy on social assistance is often a tool for many to work for peace and to promote human rights. In that case, however, the state aid negotiations are different from a HD run by aid agencies, in terms of political and security objectives, that contradict basic respect for the lives and rights of victims. Apart from any provision of Geneva treaties, aids (ICRC Nairobi, December 2009) or any other neutral party, it has never committed itself to allowing social workers to perform their duties.

2.2.3 Humanitarian aid politicization

Politics is ultimately an unfamiliar term, with a variety of requests and meanings in books that are often used to help people and organizations around the world. Politics here focuses on major policy changes that divert aid from its normal functions. However, the smallest application comes in a variety of forms.

This is a political project in the political world so humanitarian aid must be political. In fact, humanitarian aid is related to the political environment. Many aids were formed because of problems in third countries in the 1970's, like the Biafran conflict. The aid workers at the time were adhering to the oppressed sections. In 1980's, access to reduction talks in places like Sudan, Angola or Ethiopia often saw a brief period of neutral aid, but in the 1990s saw the close link between aid and political

aid, and the expansion of peacekeeping missions of the UN. Concept of humanitarian intervention captured, organized and blurred the actions of aid agencies and international, provincial and military actors. But, the implementation of policy has faced major challenges like Rwanda and Kosovo. In the early 21st century, social assistance was used by nations not only to reduce poverty and to fight terrorism, but also to protect their countries by reducing migration and democratic areas.

Hence, the inclusion of political aid is not necessarily the result of a sudden political upheaval. Because of the ethical issues facing aid organizations, the term has been used extensively to define circumstances in which the values of humanitarian work are disrupted for major political reasons. Humanitarian organizations have been caught up in the criticism that aid is ineffective, after the 1994 genocide in Rwanda failed to save lives and, in the most extreme cases, exacerbated the suffering and killed people, but diplomatically speaking, humanitarianism has been accused of contributing to deaths, which led to a discussion about the feasibility and desire for relief policy.

But even in this controversy the term 'politics' is still used in many different ways. It suggests the distinction between politics, the use of weapons, the military and the development of mindfulness, the integration of these uses is possible and common.

The meaning of instrumentalization is the use of humanitarian aid for political, economic or security development. Some studies have shown that many donors move away from the basic needs process, like, by providing assistance especially in areas of interest to them. It consists of the goal of impartiality.

The war on aid means that the actions of social and military actors are hidden, it is clear that aid is part of a strategy to fight protests, such as the war to end terrorism in Afghanistan. Conflict can also be observed when members of military organizations guard the provision of assistance in an attack. It jeopardizes the principles of neutrality and independence.

Engineer thinking means that humanitarian aid expands its scope, accepts long-term and many other political activities. Many humanitarian organizations have promoted human rights or promoted democracy in their work, it diverts attention from a small focus on reducing the gap between aid and development, saving lives and reducing suffering. It jeopardizes the principles of neutrality, impartiality and independence,

because they often work closely with governments. But how do these political processes play out in the EU? How are the fundamental principles of assistance determined and defined by different stakeholders? To answer these questions, this study will eventually look at common competitive processes.

On the other hand, understanding the principles of humanitarian aid as essentially competing terms expands a vision beyond what aid agencies and governments are doing, such as promoting EU activities as a charity, policy maker and humanitarian. In the view of international relations, social construction not only emphasizes the importance of laws as ethical principles that govern practices, but also reflects their natural flexibility. Policies compete through discerning practices and interventions, so its meaning may change. The terms understood in this way are constitutional principles, worldviews and routines.

The guiding principles for humanitarian action are those of a dynamic and evolving social norm. This could be in conflict with other regulations, such as recognizing crimes committed against people or saving the lives of relief workers. As a result, their interpretation may change in the end, paving the way for the inclusion of politicians in aid operations. The general competition for social assistance involves member states, NGOs, participating groups, civil society organizations, international organizations and EU representatives, and politicians close to the ruling party. The EU is starting a competition by inviting stakeholders to participate in the negotiations for aid and by encouraging the emergence of conflicting issues in its institutions.

In the analysis I went on like this: I first found ways in which the role of humanitarian competition competed. The disputes were explained by a close analysis of how the various actors discussed and decided on these policies by drawing details from the European Commission, Parliament and Council policy documents. Further evidence has been gathered in consultation with shareholders and NGO announcements on issues and video series of hearings by members of Parliament and various stakeholders on the role of social assistance in EU foreign action in early 2014.

2.3 Successful Examples of Humanitarian Diplomacy

2.3.1 Humanitarian diplomacy of the European Union

In the 21st century, nations have successfully integrated human action into foreign policy. Statements and explicit activities of EU member states, as well as Germany, France, UK, Sweden and the Netherlands, also aid funding on behalf of the European Commission, emphasize that assistance is the only major significant international strategy tools [Schriftliche Zusammenfassung des AA-Redebeitrags. 2007:1].

While Germany, it has spoken well of it because of the complexity of the act of unity outside its borders. Simultaneous social dialogue has replaced German foreign policy and also national safety policy. Germany's social dialogue is closely aligned with the more complex national development policy, contributing more composite international activities, that has been described as Germany's policy since 1998. The former Economic Minister, Heidemarie Wieckzorek-Zeul said: "*Including foreign policy and security advancement policy also, humanitarian assistance is at the heart of Germany's peace policy" [Wieczorek-Zeul 2000: 158].*

Table 2.1: 1999-2013 Global Humanitarian Aid

Year	Value of aid (in million USD)
1999	296
2000	2 006
2001	3 832
2002	5 150
2003	7 755
2004	4 741
2005	13 156
2006	7 656
2007	7 913
2008	11 878
2009	12 375
2010	16 227
2011	13 474
2012	12 672
2013	14 402

Some of the country's top donors and the European Union offer equal policy action to help Germany. Globally, budget allocations for disaster relief assistance have increased sevenfold in the years 2000-2013. Compared to 1999 and 2013, the actual annual cost of this assistance is 48 times higher.

There are large donor projects and the group of ten largest government donors in the country is divided into three groups to determine the extent to which they suppress government interests. The initial two sub-batches assess foreign policy goals belonging to their countries. The initial is the US (the most huge contributor in the world), Saudi Arabia and Canada. Canada introduced changes in its policies and American aid policies in 2013 that reached out to humanitarian assistance by turning this aid into a straight instrument in accomplishing foreign policy goals. This can be understood as departing from UN guidelines, which should not be included in the Code of Conduct when member countries provide assistance and assistance programs in line with their concentration. The next batch includes the EU Committee, Japan, the Netherlands and Germany. Japan, till 2011, has amended its humanitarian law as it has experience with earthquakes and tsunamis. The Netherlands and Germany have changed their humanitarian aid ideas into their own policies and declared that they are committed to the concepts and quality of humanitarian work encouraged by aid organizations. Although, neither country provides the opportunity to transfer assistance and where to assist in diverting future benefits from such activities, e.g., stabilizing foreign destinations, reducing migration waves or creating a constructive profile of the country contributor in the beneficiary states. The third group includes Sweden, Norway, Switzerland and the UK, in which the Government Assistance strategy attaches strictly to the instructions developed through the Welfare Society. Accordingly these states have contribution syllabus that can meet the needs of people who reply to the actual and significant necessities of disaster sufferers. Throughout the operation, these countries regardless of the laws and concepts affected beside humanitarian society, assist reformist reforms in service delivery governments, and at the same time participate in political and legitimate activities associated with the crisis, thereby encouraging idols, support organizations and organizations in line with expectations.

The above components can be found in each country's financial portfolio. An important point for Canada to change its humanitarian policy is more in line with US

foreign policy and aid policy. Following the policy review, Canada's expenditure on charities declined steadily to 47% of levels prior to the change in humanitarian policy between 2001 and 2011, which is characteristic of the state whose humanitarian assistance is contributory.

Focusing donor support in areas of interest is a global political influence. Most countries operate through international aid agencies, the main agency for coordinating aid distribution (UN OCHA), and NGOs. The utilization of the assurance of help for the performance of certain applications for assistance in the use of tools (e.g., complaining in Afghanistan) and the frequent increase in the allocation of certain situations (e.g., restriction of aid allocations in definite regions). Consequently, victims of armed conflict in world politics and the extremes of world finance do not get adequate help to meet their essentials. A large portion of cash moved to welfare neglects to give help to those in demand and at the same time provides aid fraud. Political action in the interests of national interests does not improve the situation of people in crisis. Funds are used for purposes such as: stabilizing the working environment of donor countries' military operations, impact on local communities to alleviate the sentiments of foreign nationals staying in the nation, and a more certain profile of the government contributor created. This high goal is most general although there is a similar marketing movement recognized by social and political organizations for their philanthropic work.

The comparison of US and Swedish aid policies between major donors is informative. The US provides humanitarian assistance in line with its foreign policy goals, Sweden places the effects of its political profit on territories and aid assistance, choosing practical measures to make the situation better for disaster victims as its primary driver. The strengths of these two aid policies include many other countries and the EU.

European Union Activities in the Humanitarian Area. The portion of the EU (the union and its members) was 11.5% of the World Humanitarian Budget in 2001-2012. During this period the EU was the second largest provider of humanitarian assistance. In 2012, it received 39.13% of global aid, including from the organization itself and the EU member states.

Table 2.2: EC Humanitarian Aid 1999-2012

Year	Value of aid (in million USD)
1999	31
2000	121
2001	346
2002	516
2003	610
2004	834
2005	1 023
2006	1 012
2007	1 154
2008	1 385
2009	1 440
2010	1 617
2011	1 641
2012	1 632
2013	1 926

The EC, European Parliament, and Council of Europe have formally adopted a document that provides support for humanitarian disasters victims. This emphasizes the significance of provision of humanitarian assistance. Following are some basic citations.

The European Agreement on Humanitarian Assistance sees support as "the major significant tool of international unity" and "moral responsibility" [European Agreement on Humanitarian Aid 2008: 1]. Helping people is the leading concept of this work. EU leaflets define humanity as an activity to end the suffering of humans and provide political impartiality and equivalent treatment for all sufferers. The foundation for European Union humanitarian aid is Article 3 of Convention on the Performance of the EU ("Partnership and Social Assistance with Third Countries"). According to Article 214 of the document, the actions of the European Union are "planned to give temporary relief and protection to third parties (...) and to protect against natural or man-made catastrophes" [Lisbon Treaty 2008: 214]. In general, European Union assistance is based on fundamental global rules that apply to

contributors. The Good Humanitarian Vessel Guidelines developed by the OECD Development Committee are an example of such principles.

Statements of assistance in the EU on the importance of "cooperation" and "solidarity" assistance to victims and the consequences of such declared prices are different from those of non-EU donors, particularly the United States. The EU has established and implemented two programs for the application of the same humanitarian approach to non-political resources for victims: Global Needs Assessment (GNA) in sensitive areas, and agendas to fund their sufferers. (Forgotten Problem Prediction - FCA). GNA system lets you to see places and especially people who need help. FCA contains real selection of sensitive parts recognized in the GNA process other than priority zones in donor countries. FCA policy reports humanitarian disasters produced by natural calamities and present conflicts, nonetheless provides humanitarian assistance in regions that are dynamic or fragmented as feeble, deteriorating or unsuccessful countries. Additionally, European Union is evolving tactics to respond to certain instability issues, e.g. drought, and to provide early warning systems that address political and political threats and anti-crisis issues. The purpose of such strategies of EU is to implement responses in crisis conditions [COM 2007], keeping in the scope of European Agreement on Growth [European Agreement on Growth 2006]. EU in 2012, among other established programs, adopted the Food Security Core Program [COM 2012]. These plans have been developed in line with the continued support of the EU for the biggest drought recently, affecting the Sahel and the African Province called Horn.

The EU Relief is the accountability of EC and the Director-General of Humanitarian Affairs (ECHO). ECHO has been tasked with coordinating the EU budget and financial assistance from the individual member states to benefit humanitarian activities. ECHO was first established in 1992 as a Humanitarian Office and was limited in the beginning. The growing European Union's contribution to international aid and ECHO's many aid activities led to it becoming Directorate-General in 2004. In 2010, areas responsible for ECHO operations increased significantly. To provide a complete solution to the crisis, ECHO's current activities include: providing humanitarian assistance; coordination of EU activities to protect civilians living in vulnerable areas; and physical safety of buildings and public installation.

2.3.2 Humanitarian diplomacy of ICRC

The humanitarian diplomacy of the ICRC reflects the organization's belief that a concept of public concern has not fully disappeared and because some governments, non-State players and men and women are still present in what they see as their responsibility to fulfill that the integrity of the human being, even in the war, is respectful at all times. This belief is an expectation that Manuel Castells communicated much improved than we could: "individuals if educated, dynamic and speak with one another, if the universe of cash bears its societal obligations, if humanity feels a connection with the world's different species, on the off chance that we figure out how to live in amiability with nature and consider the inheritance we are sending off to people in the future, on the off chance that we begin to investigate our internal identities in the wake of having reestablished harmony between us, if this can be accomplished by a mutual choice purposely taken, right now, perhaps at that point, finally, we can fall back on toleration when in doubt, cherish and be adored".

The ICRC's humanitarian mission is a strategy to influence armed struggle groups and others - say, government actors and members of the public. Its purpose is to help people only and is done via a system of ongoing relations - bilateral and international, legal and informal. The study described certain aspects of the ICRC as a problem of international law and its humanitarian diplomacy (and the way its representatives govern it) in comparison to state diplomacy it describes the challenges our altering world represents ICRC - the roles of transfer as well as behavior of different players in the international arena; the decision of some to adopt a broader political, armed forces and humanitarian approach; evolution of IT - and what this organization has in stored to tackle these hurdles.

ICRC is known for its philanthropic work: inspecting the detention of POW, distributing aid supplies, caring for the sick and wounded, and reuniting war-torn family members. This should not surprise us as the ICRC has a long custom of selection and a usual favoritism for consultations that take place behind the scenes. But wisdom is not enough - although ICRC remains and will always be a balanced statements organization. ICRC has entered the new era, which includes the use of international organizations, communications and visible communication channels.

So, the point here, the organization's diplomacy, is less well-known, though it is one of the most important in its activities. (Annual Report 2003, ICRC, June 2004, p.4).

At the beginning by describing an important situation of ICRC in the international arena, in which all provinces grant and thus have rights and responsibilities. It mentions the meaning of diplomacy to deliberate a particular form of diplomacy of ICRC, an impact plan that focuses directly on working with various actors for the benefit of humanity. The third section compares the performance of the diplomat with the performance of the representative. This looks at the hurdles that ICRC is facing now and how its HD has altered in reply. It makes use of analysis to restrict armed viciousness and suffering of humans, in fact in the middle of war, sometimes in secret, to reflect the work done by others in the central stage.

The ICRC, an international legal entity, does not refer to the ICRC itself as a separate entity, as distinct from non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which have rights and responsibilities with a functional international legal personality. Its assumptions are based on 3 observations. First, ICRC was founded in 1863 by an independent initiative; an organization owned by Articles 66FF of the Swiss Civil Code with head offices in Geneva. It has a sound relation with Switzerland, yet its activities are international. Additionally, the aid policy of ICRC is independent of Swiss policy and ensures that it does not interfere with Swiss foreign policy. To reduce that freedom and to establish a personal relation with each other, on March 19, 1993, the ICRC and the Swiss Federal Council took decisive action to sign a treaty of headquarter or an international human rights law instrument.

As an actor in the international arena, its relationships with others are preserved in international civil law. In accordance with worldwide humanitarian law, it regulates hostile behavior and provides protection to certain groups of people (wounded, sick, shipwrecked, POW and civilians) performing their duties of armed battle in all parts of the world. The ICRC is a source of HL, helping to grow and shape it, seeking to guarantee mutual agreement in disputes. At the Geneva Conventions of 1949 the State Party assigned certain functions under the Humanitarian Act to the ICRC, which was to pay a visit to the POW and create a tracking agency for military convicts and interns. They see the ICRC as a "non-partisan humanitarian body" and neutral mediator which maintains a close relationship with the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defense and Justice.

Finally, the provinces have taken over the ICRC and its humanitarian work, which not only have responsibilities but rights as well. The state does not assign responsibility for it and does not provide ways to fulfill that leadership. Consequently recognized that the parties had the proper to render their facilities in an international war effort without interfering in the affairs of the State. They conclude agreements with or in partnership with the ICRC. By signing humanitarian law, and by head office agreements, they give ICRC representatives the rights and protections necessary to carry out their work. The country frequently gives superior status to the ICRC in the state organs. E.g., UN General Assembly Resolution October 16 in 1990, funded by 138 of the 159 organ states, granting ICRC spectator position to the United Nations. This authorizes the ICRC to have access to a wide range of UN agencies, including the SC. Only the IFRC and RCS and the Order of Malta hold such an opinion (International Review of the Red Cross, No. 280, January-February 1991, pp. 37-48). In another example, the ICRC and OIC region in 1994, comprising about 50 Islamic countries, such as the ICRC Observer, National and Government Meetings, Foreign Ministerial Meetings and OIC Technical Conferences of interest.

To put simply, ICRC has a legitimate international personality with an inadequate role, as François Bagnion writes in his book based on protection of the ICRC and POW: Their work is international, but their members are secretive, all Swiss; its activities are based on international agreements, not the party itself, its presence is a hurdle in other words in the general sections of the law. (ICRC & MacMillan, 2003, p. xxviii.)

To show the international relations and HD of the ICRC and what the humanitarian diplomacy of the ICRC sets, we need to clarify what state diplomacy is, although other people from other cultural backgrounds may be able to define it differently. Diplomacy is sometimes mixed with foreign policy; in fact, it is a tool. State policy, as well as alternatives like armed forces recruitment or financial pressure, define the objectives of negotiations. It is basically a strategy of profit; in the eyes of some provinces, international strategy means a global obligation. Diplomacy has many functions, like representing the state and negotiating to reach agreements and make international system rules. It is a means of communication; its key element is in preventing or controlling conflicts in a diplomatically divided foreign system: helps stop conflict and reinstate peace.

ICRC HD also aims to create a network of close, bilateral or informal relations with key enemies of conflicts and other states, non-governmental actors or influential agents to raise awareness about the plight of victims. focus on armed struggle, support relief efforts for ICRC and respect for humanitarian law, ICRC's humanitarian mission is to listen to the voices of victims of war and armed violence, negotiate aid agreements with international or national actors and act as mediators between them and respecting humanitarian law.

The ICRC has more liberty compared to the provinces to deal with NGOs because the government is sometimes afraid to open up to unknown groups. ICRC leaders have nothing to do with UNITA, the National Liberation Army (ELN) and the Revolutionary Armed Forces in Angola talking about aid issues. Section 3 of the Geneva Conventions on non-international disputes and the ICRC and the Crescent Movement allow the ICRC to establish relations with NGOs without granting them any legal status.

ICRC is a separate organization with a limited purpose, to help people: to prevent and reduce the suffering caused by conflict, to make groups aware of their responsibilities in conflict, to provide much-needed assistance to victims, and to address shortages in troubled prisons, sanitation or other programs or conflict there are weapons (by endorsing and spreading human law). The welfare policies promoted by governments are broad and based on their international policy: maintaining or restoring peace, protecting their economic interests, protecting the environment, or promoting regard for human rights and democracy. The government must reclaim different and sometimes conflicting interests. Humanitarian assistance, the goal of foreign policy, may be an attempt to continue and encourage safety and calm, which adds a far from color to the ICRC's humanitarian act. While the government recognizes that threats to its security are not limited to the armed forces and do not arise from dictatorial countries, it sees destitution and epidemics as a threat to joint safety, undermining humanitarian action for other purposes.

Another outstanding feature of the aid negotiations at the ICRC is its individuality. ICRC doesn't connect its aid talks with provinces or actors outside the State, for any reason. First, it is not intended to be used by a team in combat. The ICRC's motive for supporting war victims is to protect the dignity of the poor. While its action by eradicating the reason of conflict at the resident level furthers that objective, it does

not regard it as a means of restoring peace. It is also known that peace has always been a prominent political issue. Another reason for the ICRC to hold independent negotiations for aid is the terror that national exertions to address aid issues will flop and align with the ICRC's relief work. ICRC will stay to seek the repatriation of critically ill and dying prisoners of war, especially for charitable purposes, to help achieve the ICRC, even though the violence groups are discussing the transfer of prisoners under their control by the UN. Finally, the individuality of the ICRC's social diplomacy is not a condition of its functioning as an impartial mediator. Not a part of ICRC actions would act as an impartial mediator if the ICRC traveled to the political discipline.

The fourth aspect of ICRC's HD is that the company is ready to operate on the network, without compromising on its myth and ambiguity. Initially, the ICRC's favorite allies were the province and armed opposition groups, with which it had secret ties. It remains the same: appeal for popular ICRC action, and we want to refuse only in exceptional circumstances. For the authorities, in private negotiations, it prefers to protect violators and groups from persecution. In other words, there is another medium between request and rejection, namely motivation. Here, the goal is to intelligently share concerns with a carefully selected group that is in a position to influence opposing parties to respect human dignity. ICRC, by law, does not recommend that the party take any action; it allows them to choose routes. For example, it limits the secret reminder of many third-party states that Article 1 of the Geneva Conventions for Respecting International Humanitarian Law states that the time has come for the Geneva Conferences to give a clear definition of their responsibilities. A decision that helps in advocacy is not without its risks, and it is usually a last resort before it is publicized, but has the advantage of bridging the gap between one approach and another. Whichever mode it chooses, the ICRC does not want to expose the parties to conflict, only to let them know the value of its privacy: their true willingness to face the mitigation challenges that lie ahead.

ICRC networks operate in common areas where privacy is not an issue: guarding of women victims of war; to promote the mourning of the dead; public and private actors are reminded that they created biological weaponries for their errands and health effects. In this kind of work describing innocent practices, the goal of the ICRC is to share its problems and act swiftly. She takes every opportunity to visit

great places and shares not only her worries, but also its feelings, anger and insistence. Emotional intelligence is an extraordinary tool of communication for those who own it.

Simply to put, HD is a practical strategy used to prevent and solve problems to assist in negotiation and policy making. The plan consists of a series of "representations" over time, with options at each stage depending on how the other party reacts. This representation requires communication strategies. Social dialogue, which is considered to be the poorest second cousin in committing an act affecting the sector, has become increasingly important because it embraces the field action in it.

To understand the unique nature of aid negotiations let us take into consideration what differentiate strategists from ICRC representatives and what are their similarities. Both do the same framework. In an event of diplomats, including agreements, levies, "soft law" (UN resolutions) and local laws; in envoys' case, the rules are found in human rule, movement decisions and basic principles. The two meet together at the conference venue: Every four years, the Geneva conferences are convened by the International Conference of States, ICRC, RC and Red Crescent Societies and the International Federation, which is joined by many spectators. The session is first of its kind, consisting of strategists, who represent the benefits of their countries, and people of countries that represent the RC and Red Crescent and having official positions. Everyone participates in the discussions and also votes equally. In addition, negotiations should respect the neutrality of the organization. Burning statements on political issues are reduced, the purpose of the conference is to help the people, and politics is sent to the corridors. The conference is noteworthy because at a time when the society is living in a rising area of globalization, it sometimes creates a real bargain between conflicting interests. In the framework of this process, in addition to international humanitarian law, it also provides the basis for a meeting of participating ambassadors as ICRC experts.

While the strategists and representatives of the ICRC have great opportunity to communicate, they are very dissimilar companies. First, the strategists represent their state benefits, passing on the interests of the slain. In some cases, this may be true, but ICRC representatives may act like they are protecting the interests of the association. Not only humans, but everyone is trying their best to stop it.

The strategists, working within foreign policy, promote a social model influenced by history, ideology, religion, or who is in charge. Representatives of the ICRC do not recommend any special model of civilization, which is very caring. They give equivalent attention to those who believe in Western religion and democracy, to help the poor, not to express approval or criticism. Delegates embrace differences of other people and therefore are open to respect others. On the other side of the front line is a father's joy of reading son's message that deliberately softens the loss of a representative, one step he takes better in seeing the other person's spirit, than being its part, and taking his grief lightly. Regarding this, the ICRC varies from other aid agencies in protecting the values system beyond humanity and adopts a radical method to attack the causes of suffering.

Strategies love the characteristics (related) and supremacy of their nation. They are able to use carrots and sticks, keep promises of economic benefits and lurk authorizations or military retaliation if they represent a great country. ICRC representatives do not have the same power - and they do not want to! There is a lot of power in their toolbox, which requires third parties to put political pressure on them and they are less likely to face the broadcasting. The circumstance that they don't have much "negotiation", however, they do not weigh. Human law gives weight to what they say. Once they express, they are talking about what they recognize,things which they see and not what they hear. Their presence in the "field" strengthens what they are speaking.In addition, few of the ICRC's actions have a significant influence on the economy of war-torn countries, through purchases, assistance provided or created jobs. Delegates do not say this, but your contacts know, knowing that the presence of the ICRC enhances the positive image of the officials working with it.

2.3.3 Other major actors

The world's largest human rights organization is Amnesty International. It is an international propaganda organization working for the promotion of all human rights, sensibly upheld in the Universal Declaration of human rights and also many other levels around the world. This organization is a human rights organization and a global identity.

The Amnesty International has more than 2.2 million members, followers and parties covering more than 150 countries and regions in all parts of the world and international NGOs, which is non-partisan, independent and free of non-government, political persuasion, financial or religious interest. Amnesty International is a self-governing association, largely sponsored by membership funds, voluntary donations and contributions from international affiliation.

In 1961 Amnesty International was founded in London, England by Peter Benson who began to address abuses of human rights and crusaded for their protection. He was awarded with the Nobel prize (Amnesty International- Nobel Peace Prize, 1977,). In 1977 against violence and received an award from the United Nations for Human Right in 1978.

The political interest groups tested by international NGOs are not straight disturbed with the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights or other organizations of human rights, although those bodies can function as political parties in governments and local governments. Human right is a broad, ever changing concept which we take to include the following definitions: (1) bodily protection which is the right to live; (2) religious liberty; (3) Political rights to assemble, communicate and many more processes for the transfer of peaceful ideas to human leaders. Administrations which are tangled in recent domestic human rights disputes: WMC, ICJ, International Movement for Fraternal Union at Races and People, United Auto Workers (United States-Canada), International Committee of the RC, Law Association for the Organization (Lavasia), International League for Man Rights, United World Federalists, National Civil Liberties Union (UK), Committee on Society, Development and Peace (Sodepox), Christian Care, Confederation Mondiel and Amnesty International (AI).

In this long list, which is a portion of HR administrations, we have selected AI for further scrutiny. All parole companies and the many organizations that can be properly listed are first classified as NGOs, global and lasting. NGOs do not have sufficient power to govern their associates - in cases that include taxation, unlawful justice, and state military service – that splits all spheres of government. However, the term non-government has many denotations – i.e a communal and secluded dichotomy that is completely inferior. Non-governmental organizations, including: (1) formed by an administration program - for instance, the US Department of

Commerce established the Chamber of Commerce of the US (2), proposed by the government e.g., through tax exemptions for religious, educational, and voluntary organizations. (3) Government is permissible - that is, private and legal (4) private, confidential and unlawful - for instance, Minutemen, post 1968 the Black Liberation Army. Apparently AI is entering another phase.

Lab Global welcomes many sensible opportunities; this is because, an organization located in two or more countries may be international in terms of its membership; its strategies, operating on one or more national borders; its chosen objectives, dual or multilateral or political structures or persons of two or more countries; or a combination of some of these. Internationally it should not be regarded as an automatic internal or domestic conflict, it makes sense to view foreign and domestic surveillance policy in the 1970s as a strong dichotomy. Using the above international definition, it is clear that Amnesty is eligible for all 3 amounts.

The variety of strategies accessible in such scenarios is often reduced, and shared act often needs additional negotiation and exchange dealings, consisting of record-keeping for legitimate decision-makers, rather than permanent firms with long-term interests.

But, dividing the interest of unity in an organization is only one part of the issue; this is because the organizations mentioned earlier that if they are more focused on people and political rights or if this attention is not there, it is usually second, they should also be divided. As the name implies, there are many organizations on the list especially religious organizations, but also trade unions - who are drawn to politics because their members or their employees are in trouble with government officials.

On the contrary, Amnesty is unique: the only thing on the list is their intentions and their deliberate actions that erode or greatly reduce the conflict with governments established by other organizations and individuals. Here are some of the domestic similarities: (ADL) Anti-Defamation League and the (AJC) works to defend and promote Jewish benefits in America and Mexican Defense and Education Lawful Fund (MALDEF) contributes for 6 Mexican Americans; (AMA), physician; National Association aimed at Negroes for the Development of People Colors (NAACP); and so on. However, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is the only national party working to preserve the US political system exposed to every such political party. In this sense, AI should be considered an international ACLU.

As long as it is non-governmental, international and permanent, it is affiliated with many other parties; however, in addition to focusing primarily on human rights, we begin to look at the different AI when we realize that labels with corporate details need to be categorized by consumers, protesters, and elites.

First, the situation indicates that the consumer is the only group of competing financial producers. However, this is a powerful question, which should not be predicted by Fiat: other teams could be both. Those who do things of their own free will, a financial producer, also serve the interests of the consumer; the media reported the case in the United States. In such logic, AI is involved in the use of freedom and the product of political oppression both. But, unlike remote area purchasers, Amnesty is not a direct buyer of private sector services or public sector goods; instead, it seeks to expose customers to negative, cold and oppressive government services. Exemptions as a group of international buyers may conflict with traditional economic groups such as the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) or the OPEC and old-style associations e.g.,Catholic and Roman Catholic Church International Typographers' Union and New Democratic Party of Canada. Previous partisan influence was based on the liquid control or rare materials; the latter is based on the absolute number that can be taken by the views in the electoral process and in the non-partisan political context. Debt relief and an estimated $ 500,000 in the annual budget politically by 32,000 debtors in sixty countries less or less than these two major resources; however, AI has been very effective in locating and influencing government officials.

Second, the term strike refers not only to the large number of people who are destined for political action or to create a direct act of creative disruption or public disobedience to the authority's strategies related to the civil rights movement and the trade union movement. The United States and the suffrage movement before. The idea of protest refers to the moral outrage that is felt in response to the actions of certain government officials; and the protest is important and symbolic, but it really is not an election because the electoral process does not exist or does not mean anything. Organizations related to rights of humans in general, and Amnesty in specific, strongly protect other nominees, but not themselves. When the government tries to suppress it, it creates protests that seek to undermine the authoritarian regime's disgraceful rule, soliciting internal laws or tarnishing their image in the eyes

of other role models, insiders, political and military associates, trade associates, the international community of business or the World Bank.

At last, human rights organizations like Amnesty aren't much big groups that want to protect the interests of the lesser or perhaps more neglected people. Of course, they are superior in many important ways. Their executives and co-operatives are mainly middle-class specialists with communication and an optional income skills for global political commitment, their majority base being the few taken from the richest in the world with racist ideologies and political rights. They often act as regulatory functions, avoiding line functions, but instead encouraging other organizations to work with characters. Their main tactics are often officials, who go straight to the tree with government officials or indirectly work with other elites who control the extreme media and quality that control psychic elites, persuade them to retaliate against their subordinates or themselves, restore humanity, return to morality or another oppressive government for the elite that is, to adopt a moral and ethical attitude. In this case, the broader role of global human rights companies is to protect the very existence of real opponents and operate within a specified political system.

AI is also sole and interested in the concept of unity because many political parties represent the elites in authority, capital, revenue or other important gains in their social and economic spheres. While Amnesty goes hand in hand with its moderate membership with other interest groups such as relying on strategic approaches, it differs from almost all other organizations in protecting the underprivileged, minority and vulnerable people around the world.

3. NEOCLASSICAL REALISM

3.1 Classical Realism

This theory strongly emphasizes the part of the human condition within foreign politics (Korab-Karpovich, 2006, p. 233). The laws governing politics are man-made and that power is in human nature by emphasizing foreign policy is a fight for power from human nature (Morgentau 1948; 25). The concept is that individuals are selfish, self-doubting and violent, also they are competing for rare resources that make them attack each other for profit. Desire, which is the power and self-interest of people, is considered to be the cause or basis for battles that arise between people (Brown, 2009, p. 260). Moreover, Hobbes identified three fundamental contradictions in human nature; Rivalry, distinction and fame (Hobbs, 1651, pp. Part I, chap. 13, xiv).

Classical realism is a state-of-the-art concept that every state seeks power, running with the desire to achieve national interests. It states that in order for power to be a key concept and true survival, nations must upsurge their supremacy through inside development, like economics, technology, communications and armed force systems (Nayef, 2007, p. 21). The concept is nations try to raise their supremacy and reduce the power of their opponents, and all they do is to amass power (Jervis, 1994, p. 856). Provinces with this view see others as powerful enemies because power threatens when they are not in your hands. The Peloponnesian War is thought to have been caused by an increase in Athenian power, which increased fear among them.

Sparta first had to attack the Athenians because they had too much power and therefore a change in power balance, which put Sparta in danger. This posed a threat to Sparta and they began to attack the Athenians in defense. Just as the Athenian invasion threatened the Macedonians and forced them to go to war, so the power of one empire threatened another and led to war (Ford, 1992, p. 374).

Peace may be present, but it must depend on the balance of the lubricating power through the co-operative alliance systems to last longer (Williams, 2004, p. 650). The concept is to have a stable system, countries with equivalent power and others must

31

be at the lowermost position of the system. The US and USSR are examples of a balanced system after World War II, both of which were large and equal in power, with the NAM under the so-called non-aligned system. legally or in opposition to any major powers (Smith, 1979, p. 349).

Realistic people claim that foreign system is chaotic because no dominant government will lead the operation of conditions in this system of the world (Jervis, 1978, p. 167). It said the battle was un avoidable as countries were interested in advancing their interests and strengthening their security. To achieve self-defense, provinces build their own forces to defend themselves and thereby lead other provinces into an arms race that leads to 'security conflicts' that lead to insecurity and war (Nayef, 2007, p. 20).

EH Car said "There are very serious wars going on to make your own country militarily strong or to prevent another from becoming militarily strong" (Carr, 1964, p. 111). Same thing happened with the Spartans and the Athenians. Sparta had to attack Athens, which grew stronger (Ford, 1992, p. 374). One other example of the security issues that led to the war was that at the beginning of World War I Europeans had to go to war because they did not like the war but did not trust their neighbors' agreements. Germany is a prime example of an arms race that challenged Britain in the 20th century. The Germans wanted to rule by force, and this led to a bitter rivalry between the two. It ended when Germany could no longer continue to compete because of domestic hardships in increasing taxes, thus creating hurdles in buying weapons.

Classical realists claim that the fundamental structure of foreign politics is confusing as every independent state considers itself its highest authority and does not respect the supreme power over it (Ford, 1992, p. 498). Foreign relations are more about survival than 'good health' (Nayef, 2007, p. 22). Countries try to increase their interests and therefore ignore others because there are no laws and policies governing them. When nations gain power, they seek more power, leading to war (Korab-Karpovich, 2006, p. 234). An illustration of how nations seek greater power when they gain power is Germany, which became part of the German Empire when Czechoslovakia invaded the world dissatisfied with the Germans, it invaded Britain, France, and Russia at the same time, defeating them. (Churchill, 1941, p. 820).

It shows that if he does not control the power through the system of judgment, he will bring an uncontrollable want for great power, as in the situation of Athens who are already prevailing and all they want is fame and fortune. They were powerful, but they sought to lead above them, so they went to conflict and defeated the Melians (Korab-Karpovich, 2013, p. 45).

Another was that the powerful Athenians had to invade the weakened island of Melos, not for security reasons, but to promote its own interests. The Athenian group urged the Millions not to give chance, destruction or surrender and appeal not for justice, but only to think about their survival. The Athenians told the Millions that they both knew that fair decisions could only be made in public speeches when both parties were in jurisdiction and under joint law, but a strong party had to accept the weak when it was possible" (Korab-Karpovich, 2006, p. 234). The Athenians argued that in the face of international turmoil, the right to rule over the weak was the only one, because nations did not have the upper hand. They clearly balance right and power and do not have a perspective of justice in foreign affairs (Barkun, 1980, p. 414).

In the international system, there is no such thing as 'justice' because of self-interest, control, terror and wicked reasons between human nature and human businesses, instead the more powerful always exploit the weak and call them to exploit them, law and justice for what they have set for themselves. Policies are therefore designed based on what countries can achieve in order to achieve their interests.

3.2 Neoclassical Realism: What's New?

For more than 50 years, the culture of realists has been a well-known phenomenon in the foreign political arena, dating back to the Athenian age. Since that time, the fact has shown that it not only prevents attacks from other models, but also tends to isolate (Snyder, 2002). Foreign relations theorists have tried to create different realities, each using new words or adjectives to refer to these different branches, and some scholars (Brooks, 1997, Rose 1998, Snyder, 2002) have created the true style. In other words, the truth has grown and produced many new elements. The first of these was neo -realism or architectural authenticity, founded in the Waltz (1979) Seminal Work Theory of International Politics, which cut the thread on true or ancient religion. From this work, 'system decision making', in a sense, won over the

theoretical work in the IR (Sterling-Folker, 1997: 1). Therefore, home-level variables are often overlooked or given a less important descriptive position in these IR publications.

Emerging scholars (Schweller, 2004; Zakaria, 1998; Wolforth, 1993) emphasized the importance of flexible integration of system and unit level, although they do not completely reject system definitions. Fareed Zakaria (1992: 198) noted, "a decent foreign policy should have an impact on the system, domestic and so on, and what factors can define any policy". Gideon Rose referred to the work of these scholars as "neoclassical realism" in his 1998 review paper about neoclassical truth and foreign policy ideas to show its intellectual relationship with ancient truth. Most of the books are usually devoted to reality, so the purpose of this study is not the last word, but a "new" exploration of neoclassical truth.

A major concern of traditional reality is usage of national state power in a turbulent international system. Realists like Morgenthau believe that talented politicians can maintain a stability of supremacy. The emphasis of the scholars is still the spread of power between the elements, the role of the state and its relations with the public. Since the work of Waltz Conference (1979), the flow of mind has changed. Waltz combined reality with system level theory, Robert Cox called it 'neorealism' just to express its rational resemblance to old-style reality and its differences (Keohen, 1986: 15-16). Waltz has discovered repeated behavior to follow the same procedures to ensure their safety. In Waltz (1979: 80), the international system structure is not the driving force and the internal symbols of the provinces. Neorealism, therefore, uses its important dynamics, and defines the behavior and consequences of the state system. In other words, it rejects the interpretation made by the Waltz wing of neorealism or state level analysis, implying that system-based explanations are sufficient for major global political events. In describing state behavior, Waltz (2000: 74) states that "international structure stems from international connections and prevents others from taking certain steps while moving forward". Neorealism, in fact, transformed the empire into a 'black box'.

Waltz (1979) made a significant contribution to IR research after the creation of a great perspective on the systemic level of neorealism. For a time, most important models in international politics were systemic theories. In some ways, this situation has led many scholars (Schweller, 2004; Zakaria, 1998; Wolforth, 1993) to argue for

a disconnect between the system or structure and government. These scholars are looking for a savings account for neorealism, so to achieve higher precision, neoclassical realists have added local level variables into the interpretation of foreign politics. Hence, neoclassical realists have opened the state's black box (Baylis et al., 2008: 99).

The goal of neoclassical realists is not to create a common view of international politics. Instead, their interest explains the international policy behavior of a particular country. From the view of neoclassical truth, Baylis et al (2008: 99), international policy is the outcome of a complex relationship between foreign structure, local influences, and these two. While the country's position in the national and international arenas is a decisive factor in foreign policy selection, domestic dynamics can also create international policy. Rose (1996: 145) categorizes neoclassical reality as foreign policy theory. He argued that neorealism as an international political ideology was primarily about the effects of "unit" cooperation and that "the day-to-day affairs of international relations should be measured by foreign policy observations."

For Rose (1996), foriegn policy has been ignored by realists. Therefore, neoclassical realists provide a framework by which one can get an accurate picture of the foreign policy of any country. Neoclassical reality is based on "a strong and theoretic understanding of Neorealism of Waltz, Gilpin, and others without providing a applied understanding of international policy and the difficulty of the state discovered in the classical realism of Kissinger, Wolfers, Morgenthau and others" (Taliaferro, et alas200we': 4 June, 2010: 4 June, 2010:5). In fact, neoclassical, repeating what was said at the beginning of this section, the nation's national policy is mainly driven by its place in the foreign structure and its related powers. But they look at the system as a conventional, dynamic, reliant on system, unlike the neoclassical realists who see it as a self-determining variant. Neoclassical realists say the scheme cannot be affected directly. Results shown must come from a distraction (Taliafero, 2000; Wolforth, 1993). Simply put, 'units' or provinces cannot work with the system. As Rose (1998: 145) states, "they argue that the influence of such forces on foreign policy is vague and complex, because systemic stress must be understood as disturbing levels at the unit level, and therefore not neoclassical ".

According to Schweller (2004:164) from domestic-based variables, the pressures from the system are quickly translated into 'unit' actions and contradict the neoclassical facts that provide a clearer and more connected chain between the respective national forces in the anarchic system, and Manage the effects of pressure and its external mechanism policy.

Local level variation is an important part of the chain. One of these variables is the politician or the higher understanding of power distribution. According to Zakaria (1998: 42), Neoclassical realists say that politicians are the main characters and that their understanding is important. This argument can be reduced to the old reality. Wolforth (1993) shows the importance of understanding the example of the US and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Contrary to the neorealist prediction that these major forces would interpret their different capabilities, which could lead to the two forces reacting differently, units with equal positions in the system would respond equally to systemic pressures in the same manner (Waltz, 2000: 13). This study does not take into account national interests and motives, which are important variables. Another domestic variable is the restriction of governmental power (Schweller, 2004). This flexibility, in a way, explains how community perceptions and pressure groups affect their capability to deliver high-quality resources to the community (Zakaria, 1998).

Domestic diversity has formed a great deal of controversy between researchers such as Legro and Moravcsik (1999), accusing neoclassical realists of refusing the radical thinking of neorealism. According to them, research programs are moving forward with the refinement of previous ideas that are creating uncertainties. Real ideas play a vital role in the concept of external or foreign relations (Legro and Moravsic, 1999: 5). They claimed that neoclassical realists also have free will to keep the truth. This is not well-studied in neoclassical factual research. Sterling Folker (1997: 1), in his study RE, LP, and Domestic-Level Variables, states: The reality of the System creates endless conflict, but the theory of system freedom has a small underlying cause.

Realism has long been a popular political ideology. Many new threads emerged and produced. One of them is the neoclassical truth, examined in this research. This text settles that neoclassical reality is probably the true difference. Neoclassical Reality is focused on creating a detailed account of foreign policy. Neoclassical facts, while

acknowledging the significance of equal authority in shaping the purpose of the nation, must have a domestic level to complete a series of causes to obtain a clearer picture of the country's international policy. To simply put, open the black box of the state. The goal of neoclassical realists is not to form a radical view of global politics. They are interested in describing the conduct of international policy, under any circumstances.

The central notions of the neoclassical truth are that foreign policy is the result of complex relations between international structure, domestic influences, and the like. While national position in the national and international spheres is a determining factor in the choice of international policy, domestic dynamics can create foreign policy as well. For this reason, neoclassical realists seek to resolve the issues in the study of foreign relations by creating a bridge among the foreign system and the nation. Building different theories is very difficult, however, neoclassical reality has the power to control these problems.

In order to examine international politics, neo-classical realism theories are based through key neorealist assumptions, involving chaos, institutions' consequences, power's impact in behavior, national interests, survival and security. Neo-classical realists such as Waltz thus offer structural and institutional clarifications on international relations on the one hand and emphasize classic realism on the other. Still an inexperienced idea and few scripts; often with general description and without specifics. There are many weaknesses. However, its application to the study of international policy of nation is the power of this theory. Neo-classical realism's most significant strength is its parallel focus towards structural and unitary causes and historical clarification. The theory is more applicable to this intensity than other realist variants. It is important to keep in mind, however, that neoclassical realism also contains criticism of other realist theorists such as constructivists, postmodernists and advocates of political theory.

4. TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA (2011-2020)

4.1 Basic Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy

Traditional Turkish foreign policy from the beginning of the Republic of Turkey or the late 20th or early 21st century has certain features or policies. Terms used to describe the basic principles of Turkish foreign policy are Continuity, conservatism, caution and status quo are some of the terminologies that have been used to describe the fundamental principles of the traditional Turkish foreign policy. From the founding of the Republic of Turkey until World War II, Turkey's foreign policy pursued a deliberate policy to avoid to risk the concentration of its territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Turkey both in and out. Currently, Turkey has been involved in implementing the local policies of Westernization and the regularization of the foreign relations with major countries based on active neutrality to protect Turkey out of war.Generally, Turkey succeeded to stay away from World War II and only declared war on Germany in February 1945.During World War II, the Cold War was a new world order in which Turkey no longer pursued a neutral foreign policy. In other words, Turkey has not played a role in some European powers fighting each other through temporary agreements that were not as clear as the Ottoman Empire did.Compared to the republican era, Turkey's options were very limited. If Turkey believes in the balance of neutral policy - a form of strategic balance of power al la Ottomana - between the United States and the Soviet Union, it threatens to violate Soviet or Soviet political rule. As a result, Turkey had choose to opt for full adjustment and incorporation with the West. Turkey interaction along with the West is characterised by Turkey as founding member of the OECD (1948), a member of NATO (1952), the Council of Europe (1949), and the EEC (1963). Turkey's alliance with the European Union continued during the Cold War and was strengthened by the making of the Customs Union (1996) and the opening of full membership discussion (October 3, 2005).

The ideal change in the system level arised from the end of the Cold War which gave Turkey new chances along with many uncertainties with threats.Turkey's foreign

policy expanded in the post-Cold War era. According to geography, the number of issues and equipment has greatly expanded the strategic playground of Turkish foreign policy.Although slightly delayed due to internal constraints.

This study argues that Turkey's international policy in the new millennium began to answer to ideal change in the system at the Cold War by filling a new field expanded strategic theories or amended several issues that did not exist in the prior of the Republic.Thus, from the start of the new millennium objective spectators have proofed new forms on Turkey's foreign policy making. Such areas had to emerge by implementing new policy-making principles.

In accordance to Prime Minister Erdoğan's chief foreign policy adviser, Prof. Ahmet Davutoglu (2003-2009), foreign politics is a power full procedure that requires "visionary-based" approaches in the formulation of international policy instead of "line-based" or "crisis-based" policy that only produces reaction policies (or defense).

Davutoğlu declared that, unlike previous stationery and mono-dimensional strategies, Turkey is now pursuing a "vision-based" tactic for creating Turkish international policy. Davutoğlu said, present implementation of Turkey's international policy is based on the 5 basic principles of foreign policy:

1. Balance between liberty and security.

2. No issues with the neighbors.

3. Multi-case policies and multi-pronged methods.

4. New diplomatic speech based on flexibility of organization

5. Rhythmic Diplomacy.

The above-mentioned are the new principles compared to those principles as caution, status quo and so further of the traditional Turkish international policy formulation. In this study, according to the five basic principles of foreign policy are examined considering the latest developments in Turkey's international policy to see if they have been regularly used or actually merged with policy-making and to be carried out..The changes in Turkey's foreign policy would be well explained in the latter case.

4.2 Turkey's Africa Policy during AK Party Era (2002-2020)

Countries' regional policies are founded on many familiar pillars, like international alliances, geographical position and economic and potential of humans. Also, past relations play a part in making national policies along with the problem of identity. It refers to the nation's insight of itself in context of the geographical situation, one of the vital features in shaping the local policy of nations. Though Africa isn't at the center of the strategic cycle aimed by Turkish local policies, often it entices Turkish attention in a number of situations, especially as novel trends in Turkish international policy came to power in early 2002 in AKP, in the framework, trans-regional policies accepted by the government of Turkey. (Ali Bilgic and Daniela Nascimento September 2014, p. 1.).

Although the AKP came to power in Ankara in 2002 as a result of the past few years, it is not new, but some observers of the Turkish affair believe that the interest of Turkish decision-makers in Africa has come late and urgently. The new thing is that the AKP came to power on the African issue and before the Arab issue and intensified when Ahmet Davutoğlu took over the Turkish Foreign Ministry. In this context, Davutoglu says of the growing influence of Turkey in Africa and the French fear of it: "Whenever Sarkozy raises his head in Africa, I direct the Turkish Foreign Ministry to look at the Turkish embassy with the Turkish flag, and I want our embassies to be among the best in African nations." (Belent Aras and Eileen Gerner, 2010, pp. 79-81.).

This will be explained slowly in the study, interest of Turkey in Africa is not innovative and not crucial, but the focus is new, as reflected in the first meeting of the Turkish - African Summit in Istanbul in August 2008 (Mehmet Ozkan, 2010, pp. 93-105). Regarding the origins of Turkey's diplomatic relations with Africa, the first attempt to open a Turkish embassy in sub-Saharan Africa was made in 1926, two years after the establishment of the Turkish Ottoman Caliphate in 1924, the same year Turkey was transformed into a secular European-style republic. And severed the country's cultural bonds with the Arab-African-rooted past. Though, after the inaugural of the Turkish embassy until the early 1960s, there were significant Turkish operations in Africa, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. Therefore, according to Arsen Calaycioglu, a professor of international relations at Boger Bosphorus University since the mid-1960s, Turkey has decided to re-examine its part in the

world and to grow as diverse relationships with as many nations as possible in the Middle East. It was found that the country was under pressure from its Atlantic allies, including relations with Eastern, Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia, Oceania and the United States, and that close ties with NATO members led to the country becoming isolated. In the 1980s, Turkey (recalling its Ottoman historical, religious and cultural past, when the Ottoman Empire had close ties with many parts of Africa) announced that it would adopt a more lively and optimistic approach to Africa based on economic investment. And cultural complexity, peacekeeping and non-interference in the African conflict have given their complication. In 1998, Turkey released a paper on its future orientation in Africa called the "African Action Plan", which was required to toughen political, financial and traditional bonds with Africa. (Birol Aügun, and Mehmet Özkan, 2010, pp. 542–543).

This African policy has been manifested in many events and activities, with Turkish PM Recep Tayyip Erdogan announcing that his administration has decided to turn 2005 into the Year of Africa, to promote association between Turkey and Africa and to endorse the Ankara inauguration to the continent. A manifestation of this revelation is that Recep Tayyip Erdogan announced in March 2005 that he would visit South Africa and the Republic of Ethiopia and Tunisia and visit Morocco soon after his Tunisia visit. Turkey has previously specified in February of the same year (to indorse the Turkish Opening Plan for Africa) which Recep Tayyip Erdogan will visit Africa first time from Nigeria, including Egypt and many other African nations, an objective that is in line with the new orientation of the Turkish government, which focuses on Africa politically and economically. (website: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

Turkey is uniquely placed as a large country in the territory of Afro-Eurasia, becoming a central state with indefinite and unrestricted multiple regional identities in a single identity or region such as Russia, Germany, Iran and Egypt. This diverse regional structure provides Turkey with the ability to provide maneuverability and dynamism in more than one territory and increase its level of influence and influence (Ibid, p. 534). Turkey has a wide and global focus due to its ideal location, while at the same time it has become an Asian and European country due to its closeness with Africa across the Eastern Mediterranean. This excellent geographical location acknowledges Turkey's status as a central country, so we have to assess some of the

mistakes of the Turkish situation; it is not only a bridge state connecting the two parties, it is not a prominent state that disagrees with all parties, it is certainly not a common state, it is not an external state on the borders of the Islamic world and the West. (Ali Bilgic and Daniela, September 2014, page 1.). Geopolitical and historical features deepen Turkey strategically, and in order to activate its status as a world actor and to use this complexity it is necessary for Western countries to adopt a non-active isolation foreign policy (varied and multidimensional). The extent to which the external environment creates its perceived interests and its concerns transcend Turkey's direct borders.

The above statement shows that understanding the geopolitical interests of Turkey allows it to play different roles at the level of the many geopolitical circles that the African Chamber has, as the Turkish government seeks to form its vision for an effective and multidimensional international role. Turkey seeks to leverage its multifaceted geographical, cultural and political associations to support its powerful international role in every circle and to realize its benefits. (Mehmet Ozkan and Birol Akgun, 2010, pp. 526-528).

The conventional enthusiasm for any nation to move towards other nations is mostly political, and is relevant to the development of dual relations, the intensification of official and public visits, and the inaugural of embassies and consulates in order to aid the interest of the nation and its goals. As for Turkey in the late 1990s, the course of rehabilitating Africa in Turkish policy came after keeping in mind the development of relations with Africa. The primary subject to think about after the Turkish-African summit in 2008 was the expansion of the structure of diplomatic relationships and the regular visits of senior Turkish officials to the African continent. (Ibid, p. 534).

In fact, 15 new Turkish embassies were opened in Africa two years after the 2009-2010 summit, with Turkey planning to increase the number of its embassies to 27 after the summit became 12 embassies, achieved in the framework of Turkish diplomatic, political and economic growth policy throughout the world (Mehmet Ozkan and Birol Akgun, Op cit, p. 526).

5. TURKEY'S HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY IN SOMALIA

5.1 Background of Turkey-Somalia Relations

Historically, the relationship between Somalia and Turkey goes back to the Ottoman Sultanate. Although there were no official relations between Somalians and Ottomans, historians argue that Ottomans supported Somalians and local people against the Ethiopians and Portuguese during the colonization process of Somalia. Indeed, there was a growing struggle between Ottomans and Portuguese in the Horn of Africa at that time, and it is not surprising to see that Ottoman's influence in the land of Somalia due to its geopolitical significance and the large Muslim population (Özbaran 2009).

The relationship between Somalia and Turkey in modern times was introduced in 1979 and embassies were opened in the same year in Somalia and Turkey. It is interesting that Somalia was also the first state which took development assistance from Turkey in 1985. After the collapse of the government which was followed by a bloody civil war, Somalia was placed on the agenda of the international society and Turkey joined in the peace-keeping operations of the UN. Turkey was also one of the members of the peace-keeping operations of the UN at the beginning of 1990s. General Çevik Bir was selected as the force leader of the UN operation in 1991. However, the failure of the peace-keeping operations and ongoing civil unrest influenced the relationship between Somalia and Turkey. Turkey had stood away from Somalia for a long time until 2011.

The then-PM Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the President of TFG of Somalia Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed came together in the Adiba Summit of African Union in 2007. In that summit, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was invited by the Somalian President to Somalia to discuss the current situation in Somalia. However, this meeting never happened. In the following period, the two leaders also met in the UN General Assembly in 2009 to discuss the general situation in Somalia.

At the beginning of 2011, even though Somalia was kind of a failed state since 1991, the humanitarian crises peaked as a result of the extreme drought. The country faced a terrible famine between 2010 and 2012. As a consequence of the famine, 226.000 people lost their lives and more than 4 million Somalian had to migrate to the neighbouring countries. In July 2011, the UN declared the famine in the southern part of Somalia and called on the international society to prevent the humanitarian crises in the country. Since then, Somalia has been on the agenda of the international society with its humanitarian crises. At the same time, many countries withdrew their delegations from Somalia and warned their citizens not to travel to Somalia due to the security problems in the country.

On the other hand, despite the western nations warning their people about the dangerous situation in Somalia and particularly in Mogadishu, Turkey was preparing to make one of the historic visits to Somalia. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan made this significant visit with the large number of statesmen, business person, civil society groups, and well-known figures such as the Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmet Davutoğlu, Deputy Prime Minister Bekir Bozdağ, Minister of Family and Social Policy Fatma Şahin, Minister of Health Recep Akdağ, and Minister of Food, Agriculture and Livestock Mehdi Eker. Alongside the politicians, the entertainment artists such as Sertab Erener, Nihat Dogan, Ajda Pekkan, Muazzez Ersoy, and the prominent business people like the President of TÜSIAD, Ümit Boyner, and the President of ASO, Nurettin Özdebir were among the participators of the visit. In this framework, the visit of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan might be seen as a turning point in the relationship between Turkey and Somalia in 2011 (BBC 2011). Since then, the relationship between Turkey and Somalia has started to improve not only in the field of humanitarian assistance, but also, Turkey has begun to influence the field of the security, diplomacy, and economy in the Horn of Africa as the next section will examine these in greater detail.

5.2 Turkey's Humanitarian Diplomacy in Somalia (2011-2020)

As an evolving power, Turkey 's humanitarian diplomacy distinguishes itself in many respects from conventional players. First of all, the Turkish model requires direct communication with common citizens in Somalia. "Turkey is McDonalds of Mogadishu," one Somalian explains. Its flags are just as common in town as

McDonald's golden arches in fast-food restaurants in the US "(Harper 2013 quoted, p.64). The Turkish model is described by Somalian President Hassan Sheik Mahmud as:

"The Turkish model in Somalia is very clear ... they said we want to do this in Somalia, and they will do it. They do not have the limitations that most people in the Western world have. They were there. They get there, from their top leadership, the Prime Minister with his family .... they are really building or implementing clear projects (Mahamud, 2013, cited in Tank, 2015, p.4)."

Turkey used diplomatic ties for the provision of assistance, as did several other developing powers. But there are more specific behaviors towards the progressive failure of the State in Somalia in the Somalia situation. In other words, at the outset of Turkish humanitarian involvement there is no state structure in Somalia to develop diplomatic ties. While Somalia creates a fundamental state structure, the implementation of those structures still has a great vacuum. So Turkey uses their own personnel consisting of militaries and statesmen to fill the void in Somalia. So, Turkey uses its own staff to supply the vacuum in Somalia, such as soldiers and statesmen. TIKA is the most effective state institution of Turkey founded in 1992 by the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency in Somalia. But, prior to the AKP government coming to control in 2002, TIKA was regarded as inactive. TIKA has since been the most effective Turkish international policy tool in the Balkans, Arab World, Caucasus and in Africa (Tank 2015, p.3). In just the same time span, apart from humanitarian assistance, TIKA also expanded its capacities. The Agency has begun designing education and cultural programs, including the preservation of Ottoman heritage, for developing countries. TIKA is not Turkey's only effective institution in Somalia. The major State agencies used to assist various parts of the globe are the Emergency Response Agency (AFAD), the Prime Ministry 's religious director general and the Turkish Red Crescent.

As a result, TIKA and other government agencies in Somalia have become main players. Further developments including such education, health and agriculture, infrastructure and water resources (Foreign Affairs) took place in the activisms of TIKA, that started with humanitarian aid. In addition to the TIKA, the NGOs were as previously stated very engaged in Somalia. Those state institutions and NGO activisms form the "Turkish Model" in Somalia (Haşimi 2014, p.133-138). Almost

all assistance in Somalia is supplied by the way the foreign bodies and agencies are bypassed. In other ways, Turkish state agencies and NGOs have formed direct relationships in Somalia with local partners.

The situation of Somalia shows the novel Turkish international policy that, by developing a Turkish model, is able to directly connect local citizens. Thus, Turkey went from bilateral ties as far as state relations are concerned to countries other than the other emerging powers. The Turkish model can be seen as the principal aspect of Somalia's evident and concrete relations with the Somali people (Wasuge 2016, p. 23). Even so, such a policy in Somalia has also contributed to questions about the way foreign organizations and institutions challenge Turkey to provide Somalia with economic and humanitarian assistance. On the other hand, Turkey's Humanitarian Diplomacy can be observed in different implementations with state and non-governmental organizations as it will be mentioned in the following sections.

5.2.1 Turkish aids in Somalia

A serious precipitation in East Africa triggered a major food crisis in Somalia between 2010 and 2012, which took the lives of over 260,000 people while displacing millions more (UN news center, 2013). The suffering in Somalia, on the one hand, has drawn Turkey 's attention mainly as the humanitarian outcome of the famine has been devastating. This enhanced, conversely, the goals of Ankara's international policy of developing and reforming diplomatic relations with Africa, particularly with sub-Saharan nations, also Turkey's advance approach of providing Turkish assistance to conflict-ridden regions and areas of instabilities (UNOCHA, 2011). This would have taken Turkey closer to the Somali crisis, since other foreign players in the country were either reluctant or being unable to counter the danger from hunger. Furthermore, Turkish officials recognized that emergency and humanitarian aid alone could not eliminate famine and hunger and bring permanent stability back to the country or even meet the requirements of the nearly 3.5 million people who needed humanitarian assistance before the crisis began. (Warsame, 2012).

Turkish aid to Somalia contains both humanitarians as well development assistance, in which it provides the Federal Government of Somalia and federal member states. For the first two years, almost all Turkish activities in Somalia focused on

humanitarian needs until the UN announced the end of Somalia's drought crisis (VOA, 2012a). Since the end of Somalia's 2011 humanitarian crisis, some Turkish aid to Somalia has been diverted to development aid such as education, health, transportation, agriculture, infrastructure and security, which will greatly contribute to Somalia's reconstruction process.

According to Mehmet Şimşek, Turkish Deputy Prime Minister in 2017, Turkey has delivered approximately 1 billion USD to Somalia since 2011. Speaking after the G20 finance ministers and central bank chiefs' conference in western German town of Baden-Baden on 19 March 2017, Şimşek unlined that Turkey has provided approximately 1 billion USD worth of relief to Somalia since 2011 as part of the Ankara's Africa initiative (Daily Sabah, 2017). He also added that Africa, as one of agenda items of the meeting was cooperation with African countries, has colossal potential to be the engine of world economy and the following 100 years will be the century of Africa.

Turkey has launched its largest humanitarian campaign abroad, following the visit of then-Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan to Somalia. Turkish state agencies, Tika and the Turkish Red Crescent, as well as other NGOs and civil society organizations such as the IHH, took part in the campaign. For the first two years, almost all Turkish activities in Somalia focused on humanitarian needs until the United Nations announced the end of Somalia's drought crisis (VOA, 2012). During this period, Turkish support for Somalia reached $ 350 million (ekpek, 2014, p. 412). According to the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a national campaign after Recep Tayyip Erdogan's 2011 visit raised nearly 500 million Turkish lira (approximately $ 300 million) in donations. In 2011, the first year of the crisis, Turkey provided a total of US $ 93.390.664 in humanitarian aid to Somalia (Turkish Development and Coordinating Agency, 2011a, p. 87) and in 2012 Turkey sent $ 47.54 million in public assistance.(Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, 2012D, p. 57).
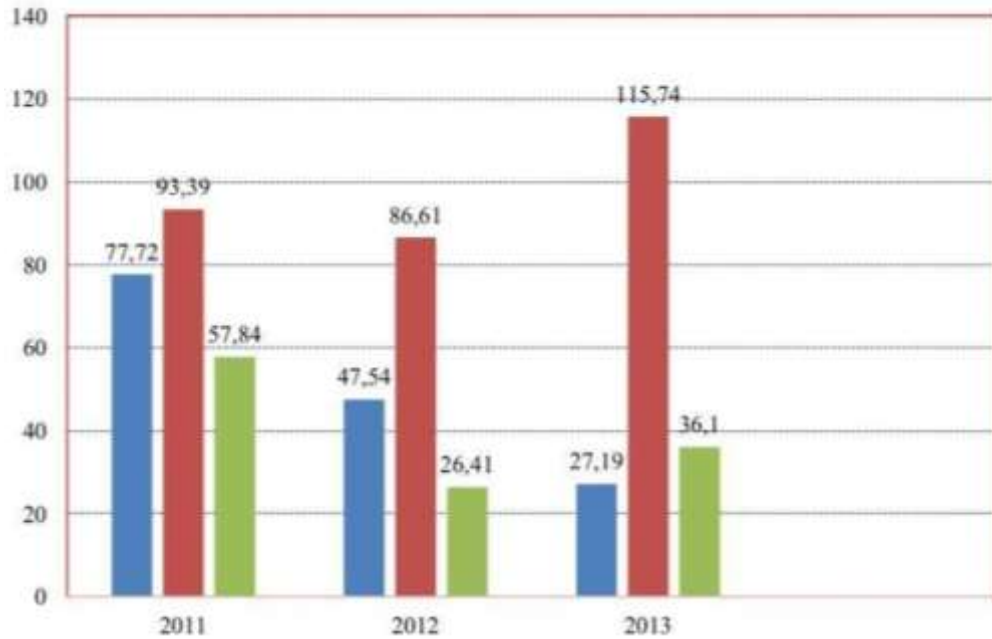
Figure 5.1: Turkish Assistance to Somalia and Sub-Sahara Africa

5.2.2 Turkish investments in Somalia

Years without an effective government, the Somalia businessmen, who are known for their exceptional entrepreneurship skills managed to create intra and international business despite the security challenge to revive the country's economy. However, as the part of the nation in the economy has been limited, the key economic infrastructures have been devoid of development for a long time. To support this, Turkey sent at least 50 construction machines and trucks to Somalia, (Anadolu Ajansi, 2012), to be used for infrastructure development. In collaboration with Mogadishu city administration, the Turkish Red Crescent and Istanbul municipality have constructed a concrete plant; a cobblestone production facility and stone crusher unit, to meet the material need for the road construction (Turkish Red Crescent, 2015). In the following sections the study presents the infrastructure development projects undertaken by the Turks in Somalia.

While Somalia is recovering from devastating civil war, the Somalia government is seeking for foreign investment in the country for economic recovery. By creating jobs and opportunities for the Somalia youth, the economic investment is also critical to sustain the relative peace and security of the country. However, many potential foreign investors are yet skeptical about the vulnerability of security and the risk that Al Shabab could pose. Unlike other countries, Turkey is investing millions of dollars

in infrastructure development and showed the willingness to take the risk despite the security challenges. To promote Turkish business investment in the country, the Somali president attended the Turkey-Somalia Trade and Investment Forum held in Istanbul on 6th December, 2012. Arranged by the Confederation of Turkish businessmen and industrialists, the forum also participated by the Turkish Ministry of Economy, and the leading Turkish industries (TUSKON, n.d). Speaking at the event, the Somali president invited the Turkish businessmen to invest in business opportunities that exist in Somalia such as fishing and fish processing industry, energy, construction and building materials and furniture industries.

In May 2013, the first Turkish-Somali Business Forum was launched in Istanbul organized by Somali and Turkish government ministries, to exchange business opportunities in both Somalia and Turkey and the ways of cooperation. The five-day long trip of Somalia Businessmen in Turkey included meetings with their counterparts, roundtable discussions on potential commercial ventures and business to business relations. In February 2015, organized by the Turkish embassy in Mogadishu, Turkish businessmen visited Mogadishu to meet with the Somalia chamber of commerce and industry and the Somali businessmen. As the business relation between both countries strengthened for the last three years, the meeting, which took place in Mogadishu hotel, Somalia Chamber of Commerce presented the idea of joint venture business relation with the Turkish business.

Although currently the airport is under the administration of a Turkish company, which completed the construction of a new terminal, however, the airport had missed some necessary equipment to work as an international airport ahead of the Turkish involvement in Somalia in 2011. In collaboration with the Turkish General Directorate of State Airports Authority, TIKA has repaired and renovated the buildings of the airport terminals, especially the VIP salon, installed VOR devices, trained airport personnel and fenced with the 9 km wire with walls (TIKA, 2012b, p. 274). Thanks to these renovations and Turkish Airlines flights from Istanbul to Mogadishu, ICAO eradicated the airport from 'Zone 5' list of airports believed to pose a security jeopardy to airplane, team and travelers (Ssebuyira & Ariong, 2013). On the other hand, TIKA is currently carrying out the reconstruction of the Somali civil aviation school, (TIKA, 2015f, p. 34), which is significant to enhancing the capacity of the personnel and the smooth running of the Somalia airports. When it is

finished, the school will basically offer up to 12 civil aviation courses, consisting aeronautical, aviation security, and air traffic controller, etc.

Another key infrastructure development undertaken by the Turks in Somalia is the Mogadishu port. The port, which is the biggest in the country, and the main source of income for the government, is managed by a Turkish company known as Al Bayrak; to modernize the facilities of the port. According to the agreement signed by both parties, Al Bayrak will manage the port in a period of 20 years, however, it's stipulated to improve the infrastructure of the port by building four novel berths and amend others, bringing the number of working berths to 10 (Omar & Sheikh, 2014), installing all the necessary equipment for international standards and increasing the revenues of the port to the government.

Due to the civil war and the limited capacity of the government, the transportation of Somalia is devoid of development, like any other infrastructures of the country. As promised by then PM Recep Tayyip Erdogan in his first visit to Mogadishu in 2011, TIKA has constructed a 23km long road with 20-30m in width. The dual way road connects the airport, the presidential palace and down to the city center, as one of the most chief roads in the city. Beside the construction of the road, TIKA installed 736 new lighting posts in the newly constructed road (Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, 2013e, p. 45). The friendship road has lighted the beauty of the city as it increased the businesses around the road.

5.2.3 Turkey's educational activities in Somalia

Owing to the twenty years gap of ineffective governments, the educational institutions in Somalia are run mainly by private institutions with minor government guidance. Although these private institutions attempted to fill up the gap to provide educational services throughout the country, however, many of the poor families' children could not afford to attend these private schools and universities. Turkish NGOs and state institutions worked closely with the Somali ministry of education to improve the country's educational systems. The Turks also provided scholarships to many Somali children to study both in Somalia and Turkey. In 2011, the ministry of education signed an agreement with the Nile Foundation of Turkey to enhance the educational system of the country. The foundation will assist in rebuilding the educational infrastructure in primary and secondary schools throughout the country,

and also will provide training to the Somali teachers. In 2015 with Recep Tayyip Erdogan's visit to Mogadishu, Turkey also signed cooperation agreements in the fields of youth and sports with Somalia, which is another step of enhancing the cooperation in social services.

Beside the scholarships provided, and the schools built in the country, Turkish government organizations and NGOs realized the need for enhancing the capacity of local educational institutions. Many new schools have been constructed; others have been repaired, and the necessary technological equipment has been provided to the higher educational institutions. The first Turkish high school was opened in Somalia by Nile foundation in 2012, which currently has at least 200 students. In the same year, "Kimse Yok Mu" constructed a high school merely for girls with dormitory in Mogadishu (Anadolu Ajansi, 2012), in Mogadishu. According to a protocol agreement with the Somali Ministry of Education, the Diyanet will manage the boarding school in a period of 10 years, starting from 2012 to carry out the reconstruction and maintenance of the school and support the necessary financial and equipment required to run the school. As it was renamed to Sheikh Sufi Imam Hatip Secondary school, 90% of the students are orphans while the other 10% are students from poor families.

In 2013, the Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH) sponsored the construction of a new modern school named Anatolia Education Center in Mogadishu, which was intended for the orphans and the children of the poor families. The 10,000 square-meters field has an administrative building, a dormitory, a sports hall, a health clinic and the school building. With the capacity of 1,500 students to study in, the school is one of the biggest educational schools of the country. 400 of the students live in the school dormitories, while the rest just come for studying (IHH, 2013). In Zeyla city of northern Somalia, TIKA supported the maintenance and repair of Saadadin School and a dormitory, (Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, 2012d), for the local students to study and stay in.

Beside the construction of the schools, the Turkish state institution also supported the higher education institutions. To improve the size of the higher education institutions in Somalia, TIKA has supported the universities and schools working in higher education with educational equipment and facilities. In 2012, TIKA provided 400 computers, 100 printers, overhead projects and generators to Somalia universities

and mainly Mogadishu University (TIKA, 2012b, p. 269). The number has increased in 2013, as the total of computers donated to priority regions of Somalia reached to 600 (Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, 2013e, p. 108). In northern Somalia, TIKA has supported the physical capacity of Hargeisa regional education administration with office furniture, overhead projector, televisions, desktop computers, and renovating 2 offices and boardroom (TIKA, 2012b, p. 269).

Another type that Turkish institutions assisted the educational service of the country is building vocational schools to train those youth who have no formal education to enter the job market, and here are the following. First: In Galkayo, a city in south central Somalia, TIKA built a vocational training center to provide training to the trainers (TOT). TIKA has also provided the necessary equipment to run the center including: carpentry materials, desktop computers, printers and office furniture. According 2012 TIKA's annual report, 200 young people benefited from the training program given by the trainers in the school (TIKA, 2012b, p. 269). Second: In close collaboration with the ministry of Education and Banaadir regional administration, TRC is constructing a vocational high school in Mogadishu. After finishing this project, the school will have the capacity to train at least 288 students in the field of machinery, electrical, construction and IT (Turkish Red Crescent, 2015, p. 15).

Third: In cooperation with the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock, TIKA and IHH collaborated to construct an Agricultural School in Mogadishu, which started its educational activities in the year of 2013 in Mogadishu. Somalia has two major rivers, arable land and suitable climate to cultivate throughout the year. For this reason, students were brought from the regions, that the two Somali Rivers pass over, including Hiran, Lower Shabelle, Middle Shabelle, Bay, and Lower Juba regions, to educate and train them in the modern agricultural skills. In four weeks, long training sessions are made (TIKA, 2013c, p. 165). During The four weeks theoretical and practical training, students are taught the skills such as irrigation techniques, land tilling, seedling growing, seedling replanting, hoeing, seed generation, storage, apiculture, livestock husbandry, and efficient use of water As they finish the training the students were sent back to their regions with the required tools and seeds for agriculture given by TIKA (TIKA, 2013c, p. 165).

Fourth: fishing school. Somalia has the longest seaside in the African continent, running along the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, the country endowed with huge

maritime resources. However, due to the civil war, lack of fishing industries and knowledge of maritime education, the fishing in Somalia has been untouched industry, the Germany based, Turkish NGO; Hasene Berlin foundation constructed Maritime and fishing school in Mogadishu. The Indian Ocean side Maritime and Fishing Institute was opened in 2014 with collaboration with the City University's Faculty of maritime in curriculum and teaching. The school currently has 50 students, who receive both theoretical and practical training in maritime resource.

Many Turkish state institutions and NGOs have provided a huge number of scholarships to the Somalis students to study both in Somalia and Turkey. In the first two years of Turkey's involvement in Somalia, nearly $70 million has been allocated for 1,200 Somali students, (Harte, 2012) to study in Turkey with full scholarship, and the numbers have been increasing for the last years. This study has not ascertained the exact number of Somalis studying with scholarships in Turkey as that because many of the small NGOs and charities that bring the students in different periods, lack a recorded data which makes hard to identify the number of the students and the level of their studies. However, the most prominent institutions are the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB), TUBITAK, Diyanet, KIMSE YOK MU and NILE Organization. These institutions have provided a great number of scholarships, and according to the recorded data, a total of 1979 Somali students are studying in Turkey with full scholarship, some of these students are University level students while many more are high school students. Beside the full scholarships provided to study in Turkey, there are semiannual and annual scholarship programs granted, for instance, in 2012, 400 lower secondary and secondary Somalis students were hosted in Turkey for 1 year of education (Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, 2012d, p. 25).

5.2.4 Peace-building and security measures

Turkey has been playing a significant part in the capacity building process of Somalia in recent times. Mostly, the lack of human resource has been one of the reasons which led to the failure of the nation in the near past. Turkey and Somalia have been engaging in close cooperation in terms of human resource. Two states have signed several agreements between institutions of Somalia and Turkey to increase the human resource capacity of Somalia.

In this framework, Turkish Foreign Ministry has been organizing training programs for the young candidate Somalian diplomats since the 2014. A total of 22 diplomat candidates who came from both Somalia and Somaliland participated in the joint program so far. Besides, Turkey supports the development of communication systems of some diplomatic missions of Somalia in terms of the data center.

As an outcome of the civil war and the competition between tribes, the local administrations of Somalia were almost collapsed. Even today, many local administrations are governed or operated by the lack of sufficient human resources. Many cities are lack of the basic and fundamental needs such as discharging of waste. In order to re-establish the local state institutions and supporting the former local administration are vital for the ordinary Somalian. Therefore, TIKA and Istanbul municipality have organized training programs to support urbanization process of Somalia in the following period of the destructive civil war. In this regard, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in coordination with Union of Turkish World Municipalities (TDBB) was organized these trainings for the Somalian people.

Turkey and Somalia are also in cooperation regarding to rehabilitate the judiciary system of the country which is important to gain the trust of the local people against the system and maintain the peace-building process of the state. In this context, 15 senior judiciary members of Somalia joined in exercise and seminar programs on "Turkish Judicial System" at the Justice Academy of Turkey in January and November 2015. More importantly, Turkey has been playing significant role the in the revision of the constitution in recent times.

In cooperation of TİKA and TRT, Somalia is being prepared to build a new radio station in the near future. Also, The Headquarters of Somali Congress of Trade Unions is being renovated by TIKA and HAK-İŞ (TİKA 2016). As such, Turkey has been playing a important part in terms of the capacity building process of Somalia. Nowadays, most of the institutions and members of these institutions have been developed with the guidance of Turkey. Such cooperation is also important to assume the sustainability of the relations in the near future. As an emerging power, Turkey has tried to gain influence in the future elites of the country.

It is widely accepted that safety and instability are the main challenges of Somalia since the beginning of the 1990s. Moreover, rising of the Al-Shabab in recent times have added to the security problems of Somalia. Nowadays, Mogadishu is seen as

one of the most dangerous cities in the world and many nations warn their citizens not to travel to this city.

For a long time, Somalia has suffered from lack of official security institutions and their members. The private security sector is still very popular throughout the country. In this regard, Turkey has started to support development in the field of the security in recent times. Two states have organised several visits to increase the capabilities of Somalia. In 2016, Mr. Mohamed Sheikh Hasan who is the Director General of Somalia Force visited Turkey. In this visit, Departments of Special Operations, Counter-Terrorism, and Intelligence of Turkish National Police gave briefings to the Somalian delegation. Also, a total of 144 members of the Somalia Police Force trained in the Turkey between 2012 and 2015 in the name of the "Heegan Plan."

Turkish Army and Somalia Army also have been going to cooperation to increase technical and human resource capability of the Somalian Army. In this framework, the Turkish General Staff plans to open training centers and military academies in Mogadishu in the name of "Anatolia-Somalia Joint Military Training Centre", where a Turkish Military Task Force will be providing training by the needs of the Somali Armed Forces (TİKA 2016).

Regarding training of the Somalian, a total of 60 officers and 50 noncommissioned Somali officers were trained in Turkey, who returned to Somalia in July 2014 to resume their duties. Besides, totally 85 officers and 38 non-commissioned officers were received in Turkey in November 2014 for a year-long training. Currently, 56 cadets are being received in the long-term training at military schools. For the years of 2016 and 2017, 278 cadets will be training in Turkey. Also, 18 students foreseen to become teachers in Somali War Academies, are now studying in the Turkish universities. 3 Generals and 7 Colonels of the Somali Armed Forces had training as well in November 2013.

As a result of the Military and Financial Cooperation and Assistance Protocol between Turkey and Somalia, and aid-in-kind, approximately 2 million 650 thousand US Dollars was given for the purchase of technical needs of Somalian National Army. For the 2014 and 2015 financial years, the Turkish General Staff also supported to 20.7 million Turkish Liras (7 million USD) in total to Somalia in the field of security.

5.3 Assessment of Turkey's Humanitarian Diplomacy Towards Somalia from Neoclassical Realism Perspective

Neoclassical realism is one of the most important concepts of international relationships to be used in explaining international policy behavior of nations. However, neoclassical realism hasn't been considered sufficiently by international relations researchers as much as does the classical realism and neo-realism.

Neoclassical realism helps a lot to understand Turkey's involvement in Somalia in the context of humanitarian diplomacy. This theory was predicted by Gideon Rose (1998) in contrast to scientific reality. Unlike classical realism, Rose views a state's foreign policy as a combination of external and internal factors, with the capabilities of the system, structure and domestic politics, material and ideological (Kitchen 2010, p. 139). For this reason, the theory goes past its proponents by taking into account domestic factors (Kitchen 2010). Rose described neoclassical theory as follows:

Updating and streamlining some insights taken from scientific factual thinking, both external and internal variables are clearly included. Its followers argue that the scope and ambition of a country's foreign policy is driven primarily by its position in the international system and especially by its relative physical capabilities. That is why they are realists. However, they further argue that the impact of such power capabilities on foreign policy is indirect and complex because systemic stress must be translated by variables that interfere at the unit level. Hence, they are neoclassical (cited in Rose 1998, Kitchen 2012, p.117).

Hence, international strategy of states is firmly identified with their material capacities. This is additionally like one of the looking like presumptions of standard pragmatist draws near (Mearsheimer 2007, p.72). Considering the activism of developing forces in worldwide governmental issues, for example, the commitment of Turkey in Somalia could show that Turkey as a monetarily developing nation become increasingly more autonomous both in its international strategy and global legislative issues. Along these lines, neoclassical authenticity considers the conduct of states in international strategy as opposed to associations between nations (Rose 1998). Rose (1998) says "as opposed to expecting that states look for security, neoclassical pragmatists believe that nations react to the vulnerabilities of global

insurgency by trying to regulate and form their outside climate" (p.152). The clarification of Rose is entirely viable with Turkey's humanitarian contribution in Somalia. Turkey has no worries about its public security. All things considered, Turkey attempts to control or pick-up profits by the vulnerabilities emerging from the global disorder. All in all, Turkey tries to fill the force void in Somali as a developing power.

Also, a distinctive feature of neoclassical realism in mainstream realism is that neoclassical realism emphasizes the significance of "second-tier" analysis, i.e., variables arising from domestic politics such as government interests and the ruling elite. As the potential of a country is examined at the national level by politicians or researchers, it can also be applied to foreign policy. Whether the capabilities are low or high, it is closely related to the understanding and interpretation of policy makers in this sense. In other words, the power of a state is defined as "the ability to mobilize or mobilize resources as determined by nationalism and ideology along with its institutions" (Üçbaş 2014, p.2). This is the most important aspect of the theory of neoclassical realism rather than the scientific understanding of reality in the field of international relations.

6. RESULT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was initially planned to investigate the role of humanitarian diplomacy on foreign policy by taking into account the Turkish humanitarian assistance to Somalia as a case. However, due to the nature of Turkey's comprehensive humanitarian and development aid to Somalia, the researcher sought to investigate the whole Turkish engagement, here both humanitarian and development aid, and its role on Somalia's recovery process, as well as its effectiveness. The study also investigated Somalia's impact on Turkey's image as an emerging global player during the last 10 years. Particularly, the study investigated how Somalia shaped Turkish relations with the rest of Africa.

For this reason, the study noted that Turkish aid to Somalia includes both humanitarian and development assistance, which includes the FGS and the Confederate member states. During the first two years of the engagement, almost all Turkish activities in Somalia were found to be focused on humanitarian needs until the United Nations declared Somalia's famine crisis over. In this regard, Turkey, along with all public and private organizations, as well as its official and voluntary staff, has launched its largest international humanitarian campaign. Since the end of Somalia's 2011 humanitarian emergency, some Turkish aid to Somalia has been directed to improve assistance, for example, in the areas of education, health, transportation, agriculture, infrastructure and security, which contribute extensively to Somalia's revising cycle.

In addition, Turkey's Somalia's engagement policy reflects a comprehensive and coordinated approach, which i) re-integrate Somalia into the global network, ii) add to compassionate pioneering efforts, iii) provide far-reaching political progress for reproduction of the framework, iv) And assist in improving the security area v) by assisting the Somali security authorities. With this approach, Turkey added to the recuperation cycle of Somalia through assuming vital function in modifying the Somalia public establishments. The investigation contends that Turkish commitment in Somalia during the most recent 10 years are positive and successful because of the

qualities that they are i) reestablishing trust, ii) contain long haul venture ventures, iii) conveyed on convenient way with minimal formality, iv) have no contingency concerning who will get the help, and v) Turkish authorities treat the Federal Government of Somalia as an equivalent accomplice by tolerating its data sources and needs concerning the direct of the help. With these characteristics, the Turkish aid has added to the improvement of regular day to day existences of numerous Somalis; gave them with better odds of wellbeing, business and instruction; impressively drew world consideration on Somalia; and upheld quality state just as nearby organizations.

RESOURCES

Aras, Bülent and Görener, Aylin, (2010). "National Role Conceptions and Foreign Policy Orientation: The Ideational Bases of the Justice and Development Party's Foreign Policy -Activism in the Middle East", Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies, Vol. 12, No. 1.

Barkun, Michael. (n.d). "Political Theory and International Relations." (1980): 414-417.

Barnett, M. (2011) Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism. Ithaca, NY, and London:Cornell University Press.

Başaran, E. (2017). Frontline Turkey. 1st ed. London: I.B. Tauris.

Baylis, J. Smith, S. and Owens, P. (Eds) (2008) The Globalization of world politics. New York, Oxford University Press Inc.

Bilgic, Ali and Nascimento,Daniela, (2014). "Turkey's new focus on Africa: causes and challenges," Policy Brief, Loughborough University Institutional Repository, September.

Brooks, G, S. (1997). Dueling Realisms. International Organizations, 51(3), pp. 445-477.

Brown, Chris, (2009). Understanding International Relations, firs addition, New York: Palgrave.

Bugnion, François, (2003). The International Committee of the Red Cross and the Protection of War Victims, Geneva,ICRC & MacMillan, p. xxviii.

Carr. E. H. (ll)64) What is History!, Pelican Books. London.

Churchill, Winston, (1967b) [first published 1948]. The Twilight War: 3 September 1939 – 10 May 1940. The Gathering Storm. The Second World War. II (9th ed.). London: Cassell & Co. Ltd.

COM, (2012). Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council. The EU's approach to the issue of immunity: lessons learned from the crisis of food security, 3 October 2012, COM (2012) 586 final.

COM, (2012a). Report from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council. Annual report on European Union policy in the field of humanitarian aid and civil protection and the implementation of this policy in 2011, 6 September 2012, COM (2012) 489 final.

COM. (2007). Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. Towards an EU response to situations of fragility – engaging in difficult environments for sustainable development, stability and peace. COM (2007) 643, 25 October 2007.

De Lauri, A. (2018). Humanitarian Diplomacy: A New Research Agenda. CMI Brief, 2018(4).

Farré, S. (2012) "The ICRC and the Detainees in Nazi Concentration Camps (1942–1945)." International Review of the Red Cross 94 (888): 1381–408.

Forde, Steven. 1992. "Classical realism." In Traditions of International Ethics edited by Terry Nardin, 62-84. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gourevitch, P. (2010) "Alms Dealers." The NewYorker, October 11.

Hans J. Morgenthau, (1948). Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf).

Harper, M, (2013), "Somalia: Whose Country Is It, Anyway" Fletcher F. World Affairs.,vol 37, pp. 161-166.

Harroff-Tavel, M. (2005) "The Humanitarian Diplomacy of the International Committee of the Red Cross." Relations internationales 121:72–89.

Harte, J. (2012). Turkey Shocks Africa.World Policy Journal, 29,(4).

Haşimi, C (2014), "Turkey's Humanitarian Diplomacy and Development Cooperation",Insight Turkey, vol. 16, no.1, pp.127-145.

Hobbes, T. (1651/1983), Leviathan, London: J. M. Dent and Sons. (1640/1969), Elements of Law Natural and Politic, ed. by Ferdinand Tönnies, second edition, London:

ICRC, (2003). The ICRC had a worldwide network of more than 80 delegations and missions. (Annual Report 2003, ICRC, June 2004, p.4). In 2003,

IFRC, (2011). World Disasters Report 2010: Focus on Urban Risk, Imprimerie Chirat, Lyon, France, 2010. Human Security Report Project, The Human Security Report 2009/2010: The Causes of Peace and the Shrinking Costs of War, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011, p. 159.United Nations University and the Institute for Environment and Human Security, World Risk Report, 2011, Bonn.

IFRC, (2011). World Disasters Report 2010: Focus on Urban Risk, Imprimerie Chirat, Lyon, France, 2010. Human Security Report Project, The Human Security Report 2009/2010: The Causes of Peace and the Shrinking Costs of War, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011, p. 159.United Nations University and the Institute for Environment and Human Security, World Risk Report, 2011, Bonn.

IFRC, (2011). World Disasters Report, 2010: Focus on Urban Risk, Imprimerie Chirat, Lyon, France, 2010. Human Security Report Project, The Human Security Report 2009/2010: The Causes of Peace and the Shrinking Costs of War, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011, p. 159. United Nations University and the Institute for Environment and Human Security, World Risk Report, 2011, Bonn.

İpek, V. (2014). The 2011 Landing Of Turkey on Somalia: The "State to People" Aspect of Turkish Foreign Policy Towards Sub-Saharan Africa. European Scientific Journal, 412-428.

Jervis, R (1976) Perception and Misperception in International Politics. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Jonathan, Whitall, (2009). "It's like talking to a brick wall": humanitarian diplomacy in the occupied Palestinian territory', in Progress in Development Studies, Vol. 9, No. 1, January, p. 38.

Keohane, O, R. (1986) Neorealism and its critics. New York, Columbia University Press.

Kitchen, N (2010),"Systemic pressures and domestic ideas: a neoclassical realist model of grand strategy formation"Review of international studies,vol. 36, no.01, pp. 117-143.

Koenig, Christian, (n.d.) "Observer status for the ICRC at the United Nations: a legal viewpoint", International

Korab-Karpowicz, W. Julian, (2006). "How International Relations Theorists Can Benefit by Reading Thucydides," The Monist, 89(2): 231–43.

Legro, W, J. and Moravcsik, A. (1999) Is anybody still a realist? International Security, 24(2), pp. 5-55.

Lisbon Treaty, (2008). Dz. U. UE C115, 9 May 2008.

Minear, L. (2007). "The Craft of Humanitarian Diplomacy." In L. Minear and H. Smith (Eds.), Humanitarian Diplomacy: Practitioners and Their Craft, 7–35. Tokyo, New York, and Paris:UnitedNationsUniversityPress.

Moreels, R. (1988). "Humanitarian Diplomacy:The Essence of Humanitarian Assistance." In F.Kalshoven (Ed.), Assisting the Victims of Armed Conflict and Other Disasters, 43–54. Dordrecht,Boston, and London: Martinus Nijhoff Publish-ers.

Müllerson, R. (1997) Human Rights Diplomacy. Abingdon, UK, and New York: Routledge.

Nayef, (2007). Symbiotic Realism: A Theory of International Relations in an Instant and an Interdependent World. Berlin: LIT.

Newson-Smith, J. G. B., and S. R. Hirsch, (1979). "Psychiatric symptoms in self-poisoning patients."Psychological Medicine 9, no. 3: 493-500.

Özbaran, S. (2009). Ottoman Expansion towards the Indian Ocean in the 16th Century, İstanbul Bilgi University Press.

Özkan, Mehmet and Akgun, Birol, (2010). "Turkey's Opening to Africa," The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 48, No. 4.

Régnier, P. (2011). "The Emerging Concept of Humanitarian Diplomacy: Identification of a Community of Practice and Prospects for Inter-national Recognition." International Review of the Red Cross 93 (884): 1211–37.

Review of the Red Cross, (1991). No. 280, January-February, pp. 37-48.

Rose, G (1998). "Neoclassical realism and theories of foreign policy" World politics, vol. 51, no.01, pp.144-172.

Rose, G. (1998) Review: Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy. World Politics, 51(1), pp. 144-172.

Schweller, R, L. (2004) Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing. International Security, 29(2), pp. 159-201.

Snyder, H, G. (2002) Mearsheimer's World-Offensive Realism and the Struggle for Security: A Review Essay. International Security, 27(1), pp. 149-179.

Sterling-Folker, J. (1997). Realist Environment, Liberal Process, and Domestic-Level Variables. International Security, 41(1), pp. 1-25.

Taliaferro, W, J. (2000). Security Seeking under Anarchy: Defensive Realism Revisited. International Security, 25(3), pp. 128-161.

The European Consensus on Humanitarian Aid, (2008). Joint statement by the Council and the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States meeting within the Council, the European Parliament and the European Commission Acts. OJ EU No 2008/C 25/01, 30 January 2008, Brussels;

TIKA, (2012). TIKA 2012 annual report. Ankara: TIKA.

TIKA, (2015). Somali: proje ve faaliyetler 2011-2015. Ankara: TIKA.

Turkish Cooperation & Coordination Agency, (2013).Turkish Development Assistance 2013. Ankara: TIKA.

Turkish Cooperation & Coordination Agency, (2013).Turkish Development Assistance 2013. Ankara: TIKA.

UNOCHA (United Nations Office for Humanitarian Affairs). (2011, June 3). Eastern Africa Drought Humanitarian Report. No.3.

Waltz, K. (1979) Theory of International Politics. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.

Warsame, HA. (2012). Role of international aid and open trade policies in rebuilding the Somali state. Bildhaan: An International Journal of Somali Studies, 11, 10.

Wasuge, M (2016), "Turkey's Asisstance Model in Somalia: Achieving Much With Little"The Heritage Institute for Policy Studies, pp. 1-30.

Wheeler, V., and A. Harmer (Eds.) (2006) "Reset-ting the Rules of Engagement: Trends and Issuesin Military-Humanitarian Relations." Humani- tarian Policy Group, Report 21 (March).

Wieczorek-Zeul, H. (2000). Entwicklungspolitik ist Friedenspolitik. Neue Herausforderungen für Frieden und Entwicklung auf dem Weg ins 21. Jahrhundert, [in:] Entwicklung und Frieden im 21. Jahrhundert. Zur Wirkungsgeschichte des Brandt-Bericht, F. Nuscheler (ed.), Bonn, p. 158.

Williams, Michael C. (2003). Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics. International Studies Quarterly 47 (4):511-31.

Winston Churchill, (1941). The Gathering Storm (Boston: Houghton Miffin, 1941), pp. 320–21.

Wohlforth, M, W. (1993) The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions During the Cold War. New York, Cornell University Press.

Yingling, Raymund T., and Robert W. (1952). Ginnane. "The Geneva Conventions of 1949." American Journal of International Law 46, 3: 393-427.

Zakaria, F. (1998) From Wealth to Power. The unusual origins of America's world role. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Internet

BBC, (2011), "Somalia famine: Turkish PM Erdogan visits Mogadishu" 19 August 2011 available from http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14588960 (May 23 2016).

IHH (2012), available from https://www.ihh.org.tr/en/news/somalia-healthcare-centerfights-epidemics-1530 (September 11 2016).

Mearsheimer, JJ, (2007). "Structural realism. International relations theories: Discipline and diversity" pp. 83 available from http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/ StructuralRealism.pdf(May 23 2016) .

Schriftliche Zusammenfassung des AA-Redebeitrags. (2007). Öffentliche Anhörung zum Vierjahresbericht Humanitäre Hilfe der Bundesregierung (2002-2005). Discussion in Bundestag's Commission on Human Rights and Humanitarian Aid, 28 February 2007, http://www.bundestag.de/ausschuesse/a17/anhoerungen/hilfe/ stellungn/index.html.

Tank, P (2015). "Turkey as a humanitarian actor: the critical cases of Somalia and Syria", The Norwegian Peace-building Resource Centre, pp.1-5 available from http://www.peacebuilding.no/var/ezflow_site/storage/original/application / e322a62c1a18b503d37ca6dca4b2188b.pdf (May 22 2016).

TİKA, (2016). Somalia Report. available from http://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/2016/ Prestij%20Eserler/SOMAL%C4%B0%20YEN%C4%B0.pdf (September 1 2016).

Saferworld and Istanbul Policy Center, (2015). Turkey and Somalia: Making Aid Work for Peace 2015, March Report. available from http://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/892-turkey-and-somalia-making-aid-work-for-peace.

Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, (2012d). Turkish Development Assistance 2012. Ankara: TIKA. Retrieved January 21, 2017, from tika.gov.tr: http://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/oldpublication/TurkishDevelopmentAssist ance2012. pdf.

Turkish Red Crescent (Turk Kizilay), (2015). Somalia: You Are Not Alone. Accessed June 15, 2017 from riga.emb.mfa.gov.tr: http://riga.emb.mfa.gov.tr/images/localCache/1/3211cb2a-2d50-4984-b0c07a2d47437867.pdf.

Turkish Development and Coordination Agency, (2011a). Turkish Development Assistance 2011. Ankara: TIKA. Retrieved January 21, 2017, from tika.gov.tr: http://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/oldpublication/kyr_ing.pdf.

Üçbaş, Ü, (2014). "Neoclassical Realism in Analysing the CrisisManagement" The Comparative Analysis of Foreign PolicyECPR General Conference 2014, Glasgow, pp. 1-12 available from https://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/f914c830- a88f-4b77-84d0-d84ca31b0725.pdf (May 23 2016).

Yeldan, E. (2002). Behind The 2000/2001 Turkish Crisis: Stability, Credibility, and Governance, for Whom? [online] Yeldane.bilkent.edu.tr. Available at: http://yeldane.bilkent.edu.tr/Chennai_Yeldan2002.pdf [Accessed 22 Jan. 2018].

VOA. (2012, February 2). News Africa: UN Declares End of Somalia Famine. Retrieved June 20, 2016 from voanews.com: http://www.voanews.com/content/undeclaresend-of-somalia-famine-138634414/151505.html.

Anadolu Agency. (2012, February 08). Somali scholars call on Turkey to mediate talks between Somali government and Al-Shabaab. Accessed, May 2017 from aa.com: http://aa.com.tr/en/turkey/somali-scholars-call-on-turkey-to-mediate-talks-betweensomali-government-and-al-shabaab/276614.

UN News Centre. (2013, May 03). Somalia famine killed nearly 260 000 people, half of them children. Accessed 25 March, 2017 from un.org: http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=44811#.WWDu_YSGPIU.

Ssebuyira, M., & Ariong, S. (2013, July 10). Business: Flight time from Entebbe to Mogadishu reduced. Retrieved April 5, 2015, from monitor.co.ug: http://www.monitor.co.ug/Business/Flight-timefrom-Entebbe-to-Mogadishu-reduced/-/688322/1910316/- /w0xl8pz/-/index.html.

Omar, F., & Sheikh, A. (2014, Oct 23). article: Somali port poised for facelift with Turkish help. Retrieved April 04, 2015, from reuters.com: http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/23/us-somalia-portsidUSKCN0IC1DW20141023.

Daily Sabah. (2017, March 19). Almost $1 billion worth of Turkish aid sent to Somalia. Retrieved 14 June, 2017 from dailysabah.com: https://www.dailysabah.com/africa/2017/03/19/almost-1-billion-worth-of-turkishaid-sent-to-somalia.

IHH. (2013), Sept. 16). yetim.ihh.org.t: School bell rings in Somalia. Retrieved April 07, 2015, from ihh.org.tr: http://yetim.ihh.org.tr/en/main/news/0/school-bell-rings-insomalia/1874