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Notes on Recent Events and This Issue

This issue of the Turkish Foreign Policy Institute journal was in the process of preparation when many challenges in the international scene and more so in the region increased as well as ambiguities remained. Furthermore, forthcoming Presidential elections in the US keep on hold many important decisions needed for an alliance in which Turkey is a staunch member struggling with many threats from the South and East.

Future of EU

The future of EU-UK relations after the referendum in the UK resulting in favour of UK leaving the Union is a complex process the results of which will have ramifications not only for countries already members but also for those like Turkey seeking membership. The result will also be indicative on how far the members are prepared to compromise on their sovereign rights for a presumably value based but uncertain future, how far they are prepared to realize the European project of working together for peace and prosperity where many cultures, traditions, languages in Europe are a possible asset for the continuation of a “unified in diversity” Europe.

The Turkish Prime Minister Prof. Davutoğlu had concluded an agreement with EU in March 2016 on curbing the flow of illegal immigrants and regularizing Syrian refugees aiming to reach Europe and on receiving financial assistance to meet part of the burden on Turkey of the close to 3 million refugees Turkey had been hosting. This was regarded as a positive development in Turkey’s relations with EU. The conclusion of this agreement facilitated the opening to negotiations on June 30, 2016 of a new Chapter, Chapter 33 on financial and budgetary provisions and re-energizing the accession process in line with the outcome of the EU-Turkey Leaders’ meeting on November 29, 2015 and EU-Turkey Statement of March 18, 2016.

Change of Government in Turkey

Meanwhile, in Turkey we had a change of Government after Prof. Ahmet Davutoğlu resigned in May 2016 and Mr. Binali Yıldırım replaced him as

AKP (Justice and Development Party) leader and was assigned as the Prime Minister. However, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu remained in his office in the new government. Since the Party in power remains the same, it was more of a change of leadership. However, change of government has provided the opportunity to revise the Turkish foreign policy practices and to accommodate it to the realities of its region. As the new Prime Minister emphasizes his government will make every effort to reduce the number of enemies and increase the number of friends, it is expected that the foreign policy pursued will be based on realpolitik and Turkish interests, rather than on ideological factors.

Amelioration of Turkish-Israeli Relations

Signs of change in approach to problem issues in foreign policy were imminent. An agreement was reached with Israel to normalize diplomatic relations strained since a Turkish ship “Mavi Marmara” carrying humanitarian assistance heading to the Israeli blockaded Gaza Strip was raided by Israeli navy commandos in international waters killing 9 Turkish citizens in 2010. The memorandum of understanding signed on June 28, 2016 by the Undersecretary of the Foreign Ministry of Turkey, Ambassador Feridun Sinirlioğlu and Israeli Prime Minister’s Special Representative Joseph Ciechanover did not only aim at reviving bilateral relations but also emphasizing the importance of cooperation on regional political, economic and humanitarian crisis and fight against terrorism.

Overcoming Tension in Turkish-Russian Relations

Coinciding more or less with this development was the normalization of relations with Russia which had been strained after the downing of a Russian bomber by a Turkish Air Force fighter jet near the Turkish-Syrian border on November 24, 2015 whose nationality was unknown at the time of the violation of Turkish air space several times despite several warnings. Since the military engagement rules on that frontier had been changed and very strictly implemented after a Turkish plane was shot down by a Syrian Air Force plane earlier in 2012. The downing of the Russian plane was hoped not to negatively affect bilateral relations. However, Russia

immediately imposed economic sanctions restricting imports from Turkey, making difficulties for Turkish business active in Russia and prohibiting tour operators organizing touristic visits to Turkey.

While the Turkish Foreign Minister right after the incident had expressed regrets to the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs when they briefly met on the sidelines of an OSCE meeting in Belgrade, this was not deemed satisfactory at that time. However, 6 months later, when Turkey had suffered enough economically, a letter sent by the Turkish President Erdoğan to his Russian counterpart President Putin expressing regret and sorrow over the downing of the Russian war plane and extending condolences to the Russian pilot whose plane was shot down created the conditions for the resumption of cooperation and bringing end to tension.

Russia had immediately imposed sanctions, in particular restrictions on touristic visits to Turkey, on Turkish business active in Russia and on importation of fresh fruits and vegetables, as well as some products from Turkey. Russia must have realized that the strain in relations was disadvantageous for both countries and preferred opening of a new page in relations which Turkey was prepared to respond. Earlier, after the Second World War, when relations with the Soviets had soured, it had taken much longer to return to the initial warm days in their relations.

Warsaw Summit of NATO

NATO held a Summit meeting in Warsaw, Poland on July 8-9, 2016. The focus was still on Russia as the threat on Eastern members of the Alliance. Russian illegal annexation of Crimea and aggressive policies it pursued over the Ukraine have prioritized the Alliance to shift its strategy from small mobile reinforcements as decided at the Wales Summit in 2014 to more autonomous formal presence and deployment of four battalion sized battle groups that can operate in concert with national forces in the Baltic States and Poland in order to meet Russian military capabilities. While augmentation of Turkey's air defense capabilities was considered and it was decided to make available AWACS surveillance aircrafts to monitor also the Turkish skies to support the counter ISIL Coalition, many people in Turkey argued that the Alliance was a bit shy to sufficiently consider the many threats Turkey was facing and fighting 3 different types of terrorist organizations, ethnic, sectarian and ideologically oriented.

Two Important International Meetings

While the attention was focused more on these issues two important international meetings were held in Turkey. One was First World Humanitarian Summit held in Istanbul on May 23-24, 2016. The other was the high level mid-term review of Istanbul Program of Action for the Least Developed Countries held in Antalya on May 27-29, 2016.

Contents of This Issue

In this issue of our journal we have articles on these two important international meetings. The one on the First World Humanitarian Summit is written by Ambassador Hasan Ulusoy, Director General for Multilateral Political Affairs at the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs entitled “Embarking on a Historic Journey for the Future of Humanity”. The other one is by Ambassador Emre Yunt, Director General for Multilateral Economic Affairs at the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs entitled “UN Least Developed Countries Mid-Term Review”. We have also included in our “Documents” section Chairs’s summary of the First World Humanitarian Summit “Standing up for Humanity: Committing to Action”. As well as the Political Declaration submitted by the President of the mid-term review.

Moreover, in this issue we have an essay by Seyfi Taşhan, President of the Foreign Policy Institute on factors impacting Turkish foreign policy. He discusses how these factors, international conditions and conjuncture, as well as major power policies influence the formation and execution of Turkey’s foreign policy.

Also we have an article by Ambassador (Ret.) Numan Hazar entitled “From Clash of Civilizations to Dialogue among Nations and Cultures”. At a time when we witness tensions not only between different cultures but also within cultures, you will find it interesting to read how Ambassador Hazar foresees amelioration of relations through dialogue.

At a time when private security companies are widely utilized there has not been sufficient debate on what kind of national and international legal infrastructure is needed. In the article “Privatization of Security and Its Impact on National and International Security” Prof. Hüseyin Bağcı from the Middle East Technical University and PhD Candidate Mr. Murat Kaymakçılar focus on this important subject.

Followers of our journal know well that we have been interested in Turkey's opening to Africa and many articles have appeared in our previous issues on this subject. This time the Turkish Ambassador to Maputo, Mozambique, Ms. Aylin Taşhan has contributed an article on Turkey's emergence as a global actor in Africa with a special focus on its relations with Mozambique. This will provide an insight on how Turkey perceives its relations and what it has achieved so far.

Oktay Aksoy

Editor

Factors Impacting Turkish Foreign Policy

Seyfi Taşhan¹

There are a number of factors that impact the foreign policies of a country including that of Turkey. These factors may be summarized as history, geography, security, economy, culture, including religion, tradition, and ideologies. One should not say that these factors are determinants of a policy. They carry different weight at different times in consideration of international conditions and inclinations of major powers. In this essay, we would like to discuss how these factors, international conditions, and major power policies have influenced the formation and execution of the foreign policy of Turkey.

The Weight of History

In its history the vast Ottoman Empire was comprised of different ethnic and religious groups. People from the Balkans, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Arab world were dominated by the Turkish, Arab and Persian cultures. What we call the Ottoman language (Osmanlıca) was basically Turkish with a significant number of important words acquired from Persian and Arabic. Anatolia and Thrace, the heartland of the modern Turkish Republic founded after the First World War by Kemal Atatürk adopted a largely unified Turkish as its official language. Yet, some of the ethnic groups within the Ottoman Empire like non-Muslim Turks and Kurds continued to use their mother tongues in private. With the establishment of the Republic the non-Muslims were in a privileged position as they were conferred a minority status with the Treaty of Lausanne, 1923.

Modern Turkey being the primary inheritor of the Ottoman Empire both geographically and strategically, faced similar problems as far as its po-

* President of Foreign Policy Institute

litical geography is concerned. For example, the position of the Turkish Straits connecting the Black Sea with the Mediterranean, the position of Turkish speaking minorities left outside the present borders of Turkey, and the people who adopted Islam in the Balkans during the Ottoman era: The foreign policy-makers of Turkey had to deal with these problems as was the case in Cyprus, which led to a military intervention. Turks' nationalistic feelings, in the face of occasional oppressive treatment of Turkish minorities in the neighboring countries, had to be harnessed and Turkey always advised them to be loyal citizens of the countries where they lived. From time to time such oppressive measures by Greece and Bulgaria led to serious political disputes. In each of these case of such oppressions and Turkish attitudes towards them can fill volumes to explain.

Additionally, Turkish diplomacy faced irredentist claims from such neighbors as Armenia and Syria. All these issues are derivatives of the historical and geographical context of Turkey. In fact, some of the geographic borders of Turkey in the Aegean are still the subject of political hackling and sometimes can lead to dog-fighting of Greek and Turkish aircraft. The situation is similar in Cyprus where the Turks of the Island have established their own Republic, yet they have failed to secure recognition from Western Powers. As a result, other countries have also refused to recognize the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus despite the fact that the UN sponsored solution for a united Cyprus has been rejected by the Greek Cypriots in the referendum, while it was accepted by the Turks of the Island. As negotiations still continue between the two communities on the Island to find a lasting solution, Turkey must continue to provide security for Northern Cyprus.

International Conjuncture

The changes in international conditions continue to influence Turkish foreign policy. One major example is the end of the Cold War and the breaking down of the Soviet Union. Until then, Turkey's diplomatic activities towards the Soviet sphere, including the Middle East, which was a contested arena during the Cold War, were limited. Yet beginning with the D tente Turkey began to open its economy to the world economy by abandoning its autarchic implementations. Diplomatic and economic possibilities, and

practices, began to flourish with Eastern Europe, Russia, Caucasia and Central Asia. So successful was this opening was that Turkey not only began to expand its economic and political visions to these areas, but also to Africa, Latin America, and the Far East.

Security dynamics are also of great significance. In this respect, we can consider not only Turkey's security interests, but those of other countries as well. For example, the transforming security perspectives in Europe and US led to auspicious occasions such as Turkey's acceptance as a NATO member as well all other European institutions, including a partnership with the EU. These conditions also increased Turkish influence in the Arab World, which was albeit short lived as political Islam took over or destabilized regimes in most of the Arab countries. Among other things, this led to coups d'état in Egypt, turmoil in Libya and Syria, as well as divisions within Iraq. Arab Sheikdoms in the Gulf still firmly grasp their power. In contrast, Syria has invited Russia to help against Islamic revolution and to restore its territories, thereby inviting Russia to become an immediate neighbor of Turkey, which was pushed from its borders with the end of the Cold War, thus creating problems between Turkey and Russia.

Turkey's own understanding of what constitutes security is also very important. Ever since German troops occupied Bulgaria during the Second World War security concerns became the dominant concern of Turkish foreign policy. During this period Turkey became a neutral country, inviting the ire of the Soviet Union despite its alliance with Britain and France, even though this was a benevolent neutrality towards the West. Despite serious pressures from Allied powers Turkey was successful in postponing its entry into the war against Germany practically until the end of the War. This dampened the spirits of the Soviet regime, which had high hopes of 'liberating' (!) Turkey from a possible Fascist German occupation and attaining access to 'warm waters'; a dream of the Russian Czars since Peter the Great. Meanwhile, the Soviets also expressed demands to join the control of the Turkish Straits and territory in the East of the country for Armenia. Refusal of these demands by Turkey caused the Soviets to refuse the renewal of the non-aggression pact that was signed in 1925. For Turkey this constituted a major threat from the biggest military power in Europe and Turkey was not in a position to counter this threat with its insufficiently equipped army and First World War vintage weapons.

Therefore, Turkey needed the support of, and therefore an alliance with, Western Powers. More specifically, Turkey needed an alliance with the United States as Britain had abandoned its responsibilities for Greece and Turkey. Tremendous diplomatic effort was spent by Turkey to obtain US involvement in Turkey's defense. The Truman Doctrine in 1947 was an important step in this direction, but it was a non-committal support for Turkey in the form of military-economic assistance. This was followed by Turkey's membership in several European organizations such as the Council of Europe. NATO had refused to have Turkey as a member despite demands of membership by Turkey in 1950. Possibly this was one of the leading factors for Turkey to send a military brigade to the war in Korea to become a comrade-in-arms with the US. The US had begun to change its position towards Turkey and bore enough pressure on NATO countries to make Turkey an equal member in 1952. And this was a significant diplomatic and military achievement for Turkey. Stalin's death provided a slight change of Soviet attitude towards Turkey. Even though Cold War continued, the détente process with the Soviet Union began in early 1960's. Yet from the military point of view the Soviets continued to increase their military expenditure until the end of the Cold War. Against the Turkish attitude, Western European members of NATO began to reduce their military spending extensively after the official beginning of the détente process in 1965. In that sense, Turkey's interpretation of Détente was different from that of its West European partners. Consequently, Turkish foreign policy continued to regard security as the most important factor in the formulation and conduct of its foreign policy until the end of the Cold War.

Occasional military interventions in its political life led to increase the role of the National Security Council in the formulation of Turkey's foreign policy. It was only after the end of the Cold War that this role of the military in the guidance of the Turkish foreign policy was gradually reduced to an advisor status, as military came more under the political authority. Hence, the responsibilities of the Turkish diplomacy grew towards enlarged area of the world.

However, in recent years, security concerns were revived both because of Russian military interventions in Georgia, as well as the invasion and annexation of Crimea, and the ongoing war in Eastern Ukraine. Moreover, Russia's increasing military presence in Syria, under the pretext of being partners in the fight against Islamic terrorism, has disturbing omens for

Turkey. With the exception of five small countries, the great majority of the European Union are also members of NATO. Different conceptual attitudes of NATO and EU have reduced Turkey's dependence on West European allies in NATO and their role in NATO has also created suspicions regarding the effectiveness of the Alliance for Turkey's security and defense.

In the worst years of the Cold War the value of NATO was a strong alliance. This served as a deterrence against Soviet threats until the end of the Cold War. Since then, for Western Powers, Russia is no longer perceived as a source of military threat and NATO's deterrent value is highly reduced against aggression of Russia, the successor state of the Soviet Union.

The revival of expansionism in Russian foreign and military policies, together with the rise of China, which is developing as the biggest military power in the world, have led NATO strategists to rethink the nature of the post-Cold War climate. Added to this, the increasingly transnational nature of terrorism has forced Europe and the US to rethink the role of NATO for defense against rising new threats. The Russian attitude towards Turkey has prevented Turkey's effective participation in the alliance combating the turmoil in Syria because of a minor border incident that seriously damaged economic and political relations between the two countries. However, both countries have realized how much harm this friction has negatively impacted their economies and decided to repair relations. However, this is hardly reassuring for Turkey and the NATO alliance's concerns over Russian expansionism.

Economics

As noted above, economics is another significant contributor to Turkish foreign policy. In the 1980's Turkey engaged itself in a major economic reform process by reducing its autarkic economic practices and opening the country's economy to the world; paving the way for Turkey's full participation in the global economic system and the prevailing market economy. The developments of the end of the Cold War became a boon for Turkey as the improving economic climate and the strengthening position of Turkey led to new openings in Africa, Latin America and the Far East. For example, today Turkey has diplomatic representations in most countries in the world (more than 200 representatives in 136 countries).

The boon in the economy resulted mainly from increased foreign trade and tourism, privatization of state property, as well as the rapid growth in real-estate investments and construction industry. The lack of industrial reforms and meager investments in high-tech industries made the overall economy fragile, as we have seen during the recent friction with Russia and the crisis in the Middle East.

Conclusion

There is a tendency to assess Turkish foreign policy through the lens of domestic politics by highlighting the immanence of domestic factors such as the ideology of decision-makers and public opinion that underscore historical and cultural discourse. While mindful of the significance of these determinants, Turkey has often conducted a Realpolitik foreign policy wherein the international conjuncture, especially Turkey's security and economic priorities, have played a greater role in shaping Turkey's foreign policy. Moreover, Turkish foreign policy has been most successful when it has acted in a manner consistent with the principles of Realpolitik, and conversely unsuccessful when it pursued ideological policies.

We see the examples of such utterances from describing Turkey as a most important country influencing the affairs of the countries between the Adriatic and Pacific, and sometimes their utterances made Turkey not only a central-power in its region, justifiably, but extended its desired, but not substantiated leadership role in the world. Sometimes there is a divergence between the Realpolitik requirements and ideological utterances of leaders for political purposes. Such utterances have time again created difficulties for Turkish diplomacy, which has occasionally waived from its Realpolitik course and supporting the utterances of leaders and public opinion. These ideological, or political, utterances have caused serious damage to Turkey's Realpolitik practices, and could sometimes hardly correct it by diplomacy.

From Clash of Civilizations to Dialogue Among Nations and Cultures

Numan Hazar ¹

In the recent times, the idea of civilizations was suggested by American social scientist Samuel P.Huntington in 1990's as a factor having a particular role in international relations. As a matter of fact Huntington, in an article published in 1993 in the Foreign Affairs magazine, suggested that root-causes of conflicts in international arena were stemming from the different particularities of various civilizations existing in the world. He said that there were clashes of civilizations among various cultures and he posed the question whether conflicts between civilizations would dominate the future World politics following the end of the superpower rivalry due to the disintegration of the Soviet Union. ²

After this article, Huntington published in 1996 his book on the subject which was entitled as " The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order ". In his book Huntington underlined the following views:

" In this new World, rivalry of the superpowers is replaced by the clash of civilizations. ... The most pervasive, important, and dangerous conflicts will not be between social classes, rich and poor, or other economically defined groups, but between peoples belonging to different cultural entities. Tribal wars and ethnic conflicts will occur within civilizations. Violence between states and groups from different civilizations, however, carries with it the potential for escalation as other states and groups rally to the support of their 'kin countries' " ³

Before Huntington an internationally acclaimed scholar of Islam and Middle East Bernard Lewis mentioned the idea of clash of civilization within

1 Ambassador Hazar served as Turkey's Permanent Representative to Council of Europe and UNESCO.

2 Samuel P.Huntington,The Clash of Civilizations, Foreign Affairs, New York, Volume 7, No.3, 1993.

3 Samuel P.Huntington,The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order,Simon&Schuster UK Limited,London,1996,p.28.

the context of Middle Eastern conflict in 1957 in a paper he presented to a Conference at Johns Hopkins University ⁴ and later in his book "The Middle East and the West" published in 1964.⁵

On the other hand, Professor Lewis put into perspective, on the light of historical experiences, the existence of a clash of civilizations between Christian and Moslem Worlds in his article entitled "The Roots of Muslim rage, Why so many Muslims deeply resent the West, and why their bitterness will not easily be mollified?". The article was published in the Atlantic Monthly in the September 1990 issue.

Even well before Bernard Lewis and Samuel P. Huntington, prominent British historian Arnold J. Toynbee referred to a clash of civilizations within the context of the Turkish-Greek War of 1919-1922 in his book "The Western Question in Greece and Turkey, A Study in contact of Civilisations" published in 1922. He underlined, on this subject, that "The fundamental truth was that a number of Near Eastern Christians and Middle Eastern Moslems were bearing the brunt of one particular clash in a vital interaction between civilisations".⁶

At this point, I believe, the concept of civilization needs to be clarified.

It is said that the concept of civilization (and culture) is best described by Edward Burnett Tylor, British antropologist and founder of cultural anthropology, in his most famous work two-volume "Primitive Culture" . The First Volume "The Origins of Cultures " deals with ethnography, social evolution, linguistics, and myth. The Second Volume "Religion in Primitive Culture" deals mainly with his interpretation of animism. On the first page of "Primitive Culture", the definition provided by Tylor is as follows:

"Culture or civilization, taken in its broad, ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom,

4 Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East in World Affairs, From Babel to Dragomans Interpreting the Middle East*, Phoenix, London 2004, pp.287-296.

5 Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East and the West*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1994, p.135.

6 Arnold J. Toynbee, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey, A Study in the Contact of Civilisations*, Constable and Company Ltd., London-Bombay-Sydney, 1922, pp. 107-148.

and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.”⁷

What is noteworthy in this definition is the fact that Tylor sees no distinction between civilization and culture. We will come back to this point at a later stage, since at the present time this is the widely accepted view. It means that civilization and culture is the same concept. They are used synonymously.

The civilization is a large concept. It comprises everything created by a society. It can be roughly characterized as civilization all material and intangible things and values created from the very early times by the humanity. We observe that material elements of the civilization had the purpose to ensure the survival and a better life for human beings in an effort to dominate the nature. In realizing this, there is no denying that various techniques, science and technology have played a predominant role. Airplanes, ships, automobiles, telephones buildings, ports, airports, railways and highways linking one country to another, bridges over big rivers and maritime areas, agriculture, industrial complexes, all these are developed thanks to science and technology. Technology of arms and weaponry used by armies also were developed throughout history depending of the level of advancement of a civilization.

Undoubtedly, there is also an intangible aspect of the civilization: fine arts, (painting, sculpture, architecture, musics), literature, philosophy, governance, laws, science and technology, transition from the nomadic life to sedentary life, religion, language and various social values. These intangible elements are generally called as culture.

Within this context and in the light of the foregoing details, it can be said that the view prevailing in some circles to link the idea of civilization to the religion is not supported. At present, the religion is considered by the social scientists as one of the ingredients of the civilization (or culture).

As a matter of fact, there exists the concept of Christian Civilization, Islamic Civilization, Buddhist Civilization, Hindu Civilization, Orthodox Culture and Civilization and Judeo-Christian Civilization. On the other hand it is

7 In his work which is entitled as “Primitive Culture” Tylor provides this definition on the First Page (See Encyclopedia Britannica).

customary to say German Civilization, French Civilization, American Civilization, Russian Civilization, Chinese Civilization, Arab Civilization, Persian Civilization, Turkish Civilization and Culture, Greek Civilization, Hellenic Civilization and Culture etc.

Nevertheless, in certain periods of history religion and civilization are considered synonymously.

As far as the religion in the sense of civilization is concerned, in the history, civilization incorporated various populations of different ethnic origins which adopted not only shared beliefs, practices and characteristics, but also social, economic and political organization of the society and cultural values as well. This was the case of Islamic civilization.

As a matter of fact, Abbasid Caliphate or Empire, which reigned from 750 to 1258 combined the whole Moslem World for five centuries. Abbasid Empire extended from the Atlantic coast of North Africa into the Chinese border including almost the totality of Moslem lands.

For that reason, it was traditional in the West to call everything related to this entity as Islamic: Islamic culture, civilization, science, history etc. Nevertheless, it was not a monolithic entity. Some of the Islamic countries have different historical experiences, cultures and state-building capabilities. According to Huntington Islamic civilization has also different sub-civilizations such as Arab, Malay, Persian and Turkish civilizations.

On the other hand, it is widely accepted that, there exists also a universal civilization the elements of which are shared by all civilizations. Technology, sciences, certain political institutions, economic and social systems as well as many values are of that nature. Nevertheless, some values can not be easily adopted by other civilizations or societies. British historian Eric Hobsbawm said on the subject, *inter alia*, the following:

“Democracy and Western values and human rights are not like technological importations whose benefits are immediately obvious and will be adopted in the same manner by all who can use them and afford them.”⁸

As referred to above, Huntington alleged that after the end of the Soviet Union future wars will be between civilizations. He also mentioned some

⁸ Eric Hobsbawm, *Globalisation, Democracy and Terrorism*, Abacus, London, 2011, pp. 10-11.

cases or issues as examples. Nevertheless, his views led to a large debate all around the World. A host of critics were directed against his views in consideration of the fact that major wars in the history were not between civilizations such as First World War and Second World War. It is also indicated that root causes of wars could be explained with various reasons rather than clash of civilizations.

In the history there were wars on the grounds of religious differences even inside a given religion such as War of Religions in Christian Europe from 1524 to 1648 following the onset of the Protestant Reformation.

Huntington was also accused of a deliberate effort to create a new enemy for the West to replace communism after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. This new enemy was Islam.

In the history, however, there were resentments even clashes based on religion between Christian Europe and Islamic World. Crusades consist of reminiscences of divergences and clashes based on religion. I will come back to that issue at a later stage.

Notwithstanding these divergences or clashes, it is also a fact that in the history there were many alliances between Christians and Moslems against a common enemy. The past is full of such experiences. Alliances from time to time between the Ottoman State and Byzantine Empire, a variety of alliances between Arabs and Christians, Crimean War of 1853-1855 against Russia by the multinational Alliance which included British Empire, France and Italy (Piemonte) and Ottoman Empire. In the First World War Ottoman Turkey joined Central Powers which included Germany and Austro-Hungarian Empire. Indeed there are many other examples.⁹

In the 1402 Ankara battle between Tamerlane and Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I, both rulers of Turkish descent and Moslems, there was a 10-thousand strong Serbian auxiliary squad under the command of Serbian Prince (and later Despot) Stefan Lazarević. Lazarević was fighting together with Ottoman Sultan Bayezid against Tamerlane's forces until the last moment. He was the son of the Serbian Ruler Lazarević killed in the 1389 Kosovo

⁹ Almond, Ian, *Two Faiths, One Banner: When Moslems Marched with Christians across Europe's Battlegrounds*, I.B.Tauris&Co.Ltd.London,2009.

battle against the Ottomans. Prince Lazarević, an Ottoman vassal was also commander of Serbian auxiliary forces in the Ottoman army at the 1396 Nicopolis Battle against allied Crusaders army of Hungarians, Bulgarians, Croatians, Wallachians, Burgundians, French and Germans.

Despite many alliances and friendships between Islam and Christianity that included the alliance relationship between Ottoman Emperor Suleiman the Magnificent and François-I, King of France, it seems that there was, in the history, a long and continuous war between Islam and Christianity starting with the birth of Islam as a new religion. It continues until now.¹⁰

Evident facts throughout human history relating to the interactions between Christian and Moslem World are as follows:

The expansion of Islam, defeat of Arab forces in 732 at Poitiers (France) by Frankish ruler Charles Martel, Crusades and Christian attacks against Islamic Middle East, the rule of Abbasid Empire as a dominant Islamic power until 1258, La Reconquista and the fall of the last Islamic state Granada in Iberian Peninsula (Spain) in 1492, the rise of the Ottoman Empire, Ottoman expansion in Europe, the Fall of Constantinople (Byzantium) in 1453, the sieges of Vienna (1529 and 1683), the rise of the West (after geographical discoveries, Renaissance, Reformation, Enlightenment, Industrial Revolution), decadence of the Islamic World as a result of decline in science and technology), Western colonialism and imperialism (Western and Russian imperialism), humiliation of Moslem lands under colonial rule, Palestinian question, Cyprus issue, Nagorno-Karabagh problem, Bosnia, Chechenia, Kosovo, the rise of the so-called Islamic terrorism. It could also be added to this list Armenian efforts to ensure the recognition of the so-called genocide allegedly occurred in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War by parliaments of Christian countries.

After the thesis of Huntington on clash of civilizations, there was a strong reaction against his views. As a matter of fact, efforts were spent in international forums in particular at the United Nations with the aim of promoting the idea of dialogue among civilizations or cultures and dialogue among religions.

10 Jean-Paul Roux, *Un Choc de Religions, La Longue Guerre de l'Islam et de la Chrétienté 622-2007*, Librairie Arthème Fayard, Paris, 2007. (A Clash of Religions, The Long War of Islam and Christianity 622-2007)

In international organizations the idea of dialogue was taken into consideration as early as 1980's to contribute to peace and stability in the world. In various activities of UNESCO the idea of dialogue was emphasized.

In 1998, the United Nations' General Assembly adopted a Resolution declaring 2001 as the Year of Dialogue among Civilizations referring to the fact that 1995 was also adopted as the Year of International Tolerance.¹¹

On the other hand in 2001 UNESCO adopted a Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity and in its Medium-Term Strategy of 2002-2007, agreed that one of its objectives is aimed at protecting cultural diversity and promoting dialogue among cultures and civilizations. UNESCO also indicated in its Medium-Term Strategy Report that the protection of cultural diversity and the promotion of dialogue should be conducted hand in hand.

Again the UN General Assembly adopted in 1999 and 2000 two Resolutions on United Nations' Year of the Dialogue among Civilizations¹² By virtue of these resolutions, a Personal Representative of the UN Secretary General was appointed in charge of the UN Year of the Dialogue among Civilizations. Members of the Islamic Cooperation Organization have played a leading role in the adoption of these resolutions.

In the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 in the United States, the UN Security Council strongly condemned these terrorist attacks and called for international cooperation to combat terrorism.¹³

UN General Assembly adopted on 21 November 2001 a "Global Agenda for Dialogue among Civilizations".¹⁴ The resolution contained a host of measures to promote dialogue and adopted an Action Plan. Within this context, UNESCO was entrusted by the General Assembly a key role to promote dialogue among cultures and civilizations.

11 United Nations General Assembly Resolution 53/22, 4 November 1998.

12 United Nations General Assembly Resolution 54/113, United Nations Year of the Dialogue among Civilizations, 10 December 1999 and Resolution 55/23 United Nations Year of the Dialogue among Civilizations, 13 November 2000.

13 UN Security Council Resolution 1368 (2001) 12 September 2001 and 1373(2001), 28 September 2001.

14 UN General Assembly Resolution 56/6, Global Agenda for Dialogue among Civilizations, 21 November 2001.

At this juncture, I believe, we should go back to history. As we will remember at the end of the First World War and years later after the Turkish War of Independence, Turkey and Greece were able to create, between them, a climate of mutual confidence, peace and friendship. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk who led the Turkish independent War declared that the basic tenet of Turkey's foreign policy was "Peace at Home, Peace in the World". Indeed a climate of mutual dialogue was created between the two countries, by leaving aside memories of the tragic events of the past. Prime Minister of Greece Mr Eleftherios Venizelos who was indeed behind the idea of landing Greek armed forces of occupation in the Turkish mainland, paid an official visit to Turkey in 1929 after he became again the Prime Minister of Greece. Mr Venizelos also nominated Atatürk for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1934.¹⁵

Thus, it seems that the idea of dialogue is not new in international relations. Dialogue is possible.

On the other hand, as far as the dialogue among religions is concerned, it goes back to 1964. As a matter of fact, the Vatican established that year "the Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue" aimed at a better understanding, tolerance and respect for other religions. At this point a great difficulty should be underlined that there is no single authority representing Islam as a whole in order to become the right interlocutor of the Vatican.

In addition to the United Nations several other international or regional organizations and some countries have also been involved in various events to promote the dialogue among civilizations.

The European Union, the Council of Europe, the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Islamic Cooperation Organization (OIC) have also been actively involved in various events related to the dialogue among civilizations.

Iran, Algeria and some Western European countries as well as some other regional organizations also supported the idea of dialogue and organized

¹⁵ "Nomination Database-Peace", Nobelprize.org.

various events. Personal efforts and intellectual contributions of the former President of the Islamic Republic of Iran Seyed Mohammad Khatami should be appreciated.

Turkey also has been very active to promote the dialogue among civilization, cultures and religions. As a matter of fact, Turkey has a very particular and unique position in this respect being a country with a majority of Moslem population and on the other hand a member of European institutions. She experienced a long process of modernization through Ottoman enlightenment and Turkey's republican reforms by adopting Western values in political, social and economic lives.

In 2001 in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of 11 September Turkey organized in Istanbul, at the level of Foreign Ministers, "Joint Forum between the Islamic Conference Organization and the European Union" which produced Istanbul Declaration adopting several actions for dialogue, peace, stability and understanding. The Follow-up meeting of the Joint Forum, however, could not be realized in 2004 due to the Greek and Greek Cypriot opposition regarding the participation of the Turkish Cypriot delegation.

In 2004 Spanish Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero and his Turkish counterpart Recep Tayyip Erdoğan co-sponsored the initiative of "the Alliance of Civilizations" within the context of the United Nations. The Alliance of Civilizations is very much active carrying out various projects with the participation of the UN member states.

All these efforts are very much sincere and they are aimed at contributing to the peace, stability, tolerance and understanding in the World. In spite of this state of affairs we should admit that there are several impediments for a successful and result-oriented process of dialogue.

Let us now look at existing obstacles or road blocks on the way of a dialogue among cultures and civilizations.

In the light of all past events referred to it is possible to understand the fact that a significant part of today's problems is linked to the events of the past.

Nevertheless, there are also, at the present time, some Global problems that may threaten peace and security in the World. We can enumerate these major problems concerning human community in the following manner:

- Prejudices existing in particular in the Christian World against Islam,
- Islamophobia, xenophobia and racism in industrialized countries, intolerance, all kinds of discrimination,
- Under-development and poverty,
- Demographic explosion, migratory movements and several issues related to it, illegal migration, human trafficking,
- Drug trafficking and illegal arms trade,
- International terrorism,
- Problems linked to the fact of globalization emerged particularly as a result of computer technology; despite the fact that globalization is an inevitable process, there is a necessity to focus on the benefits and positive aspects of this phenomenon which also requires pluralism and cultural diversity. Adverse social effects of the globalization have been criticized by various social scientists and philosophers. For this reason social dimension of globalization merits a significant attention.

It is also observed that among civilizations there are mutual lack of confidence and divergence of views as well. For example, there is no agreement between the West and the Moslem World on democracy and human rights' concepts that are developed and reached their supreme norms today in the West.

In view of all these there is a necessity to see the picture as a whole for a successful dialogue and mutual understanding.

As far as existing obstacles on the way of dialogue are concerned various examples could be cited. Evidently, some conflicts presently give the impression that Huntington is right or he can be justified in his view for future conflicts to be clash of civilizations between different cultures. When we refer to the Middle East conflict and the Palestinian question, the Cyprus issue, the Nagorno-Karabagh issue and illegal occupation of 20% of the national territory of Azerbaijan by Armenia and even the Kashmir problem, these specific issues have, in appearance, an inherent characteristic of a clash between civilizations.

Indeed, these are frozen conflicts since there exists unconditional support by the West to one of the parties belonging to their so-called civiliza-

tion, whether or not they are right. For the simple reason that, according to their view, they belong to the Christian World or Western and Judeo-Christian civilization. The other party involved in the conflict belongs to Moslem World. Logical conclusion of such an attitude is that the conflict should be resolved in conformity with the views and interests of the side which belongs to the Western, Judeo-Christian civilization. Obviously, we can say that as a result of such an approach, these problems will continue to become frozen, thus constituting serious threats for the regional and international peace and stability, since justice, equality and equity are not taken into account.

Nevertheless, despite their appearances, it is not easy to say that these conflicts are between civilizations. As a matter of fact, Turkish Cypriots for example are not supported in their struggle by all Moslem countries. The same thing could also be said for the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia.

The solution of these frozen conflicts will contribute to a better understanding and dialogue among peoples as well as Global peace and security.

Some statements by the former Pope Benedict XVI humiliating Islam, publication of cartoons in Danish and some other Western newspapers depicting Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam as terrorist as well as films denigrating Moslems caused strong reactions in the Moslem World. No strict measures are taken by the Western governments against perpetrators on the pretext of freedom of expression.

Reactions of Moslem extremists and their terrorist acts have been qualified as Islamic terrorism. Obviously, Moslem world has not a monolithic structure. Such a characterization is, undoubtedly, based on existing prejudices in the West against Islam and Moslem countries. This state of affairs may strengthen Islamophobia and racism as well. In fact, prejudices and intolerance are root causes of xenophobia and racism which constitute a real hurdle on the way of a healthy dialogue among civilizations. To identify Islam and terrorism is not related only to prejudices, but also to the lack of information. The West should recognize the difference between the Islam as religion based on peace on the one hand and fanaticism or extremism on the other.

Obviously, dialogue would pave the way for a better mutual understanding among the peoples.

There are some other sensitive factors for a better understanding between Moslem countries and developed democratic countries of the West. I should remind that when democracy and human rights are put on the agenda by Western countries, there is always a strong reaction by most of the developing world or Moslem countries. They consider the efforts of the West as an initiative to destabilize their countries. Certainly, the concept of human rights can not be used for political and economic interests in order to harm or divide countries on the basis of ethnic particularities.

Obviously, the lack of trust originates from the bad experiences of the colonial past as well as some double standards such as strategic alliance relationship of some western countries with non-democratic states due their energy needs.

A just World order is an undisputable ideal. Nevertheless, in the face of the present economic and social order prevailing in the World, the idea of dialogue alone proposed by international organizations is not sufficient.

Developed countries have to spend efforts in order to find solutions to actual Global problems referred to above. Otherwise threats arising from under-development and poverty will be directed against them.

On the other hand there are serious problems and injustices in international trade. The developed countries exert pressures on developing nations for the elimination of obstacles on the way of the free international trade, also suggesting privatization and liberalization. Nevertheless developed nations themselves they do not respect all these suggestions with a tendency to protect their own advantages.

In this context another important issue to be underlined is the fact that the quality education is necessary for the elimination of fanaticism. In this area UNESCO has a particular role to play.

As we said, there is no single type of Islam. Although Moslem World did not have, unlike the West, the experiences of Renaissance, Reformation, enlightenment, French and American revolutions as well as industrial revolution, many Moslem philosophers sincerely believe that Islam is compatible with democracy and human rights. A secular society is a must for a

well functioning democracy based on human rights and the rule of law. It is widely admitted that the great Moslem philosopher Averroes (Ibn Rushd) has greatly influenced through his secular ideas the enlightenment in Europe.

In the final analysis, it can be said that the dialogue is always useful. Nevertheless we should keep in mind existing political, economic and cultural difficulties and obstacles. The humanity, however, has the maturity to solve all outstanding problems.

Privatization of Security and its Impact on National & International Security

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Abstract

This article briefly discusses the evolution of security at the beginning and history of privatization of security in the world later.

Namely, Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs) which has been a phenomenon during especially in the last ten to twenty years are given with the examples.

It questions the main problematques of the increasing influence of private contractors and human rights violations they cause. The necessity of national and international legal infrastructure for the PMSCs is discussed.

Finally, you will find an assessment about the future of the privatized security sector and its possible impact to the nation state structure and international security as well.

Key words: *Security, PMSC, securitization, desecuritization, privatization of security, proxy war, Copenhagen School, post Cold War period, Montreux document, international code of conduct, PMC, PSC, UN Convention, ICRC, post-positivism, post-modernism.*

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What is security?

Being one of people's most important ontological needs, Security has been one of the oldest concepts in human history. Since the early centuries, people have felt the need for security in everyday life. Abraham Maslow in 1943, defines security as the second level of the human needs out of seven, right after the very basic physical requirements for human survival like breathing, food, sex, sleep.³

Security needs of primitive people were mainly from nature (heat, cold, flood, animals etc.)⁴. Gradually it changed its face and we have a quite different way of understanding about our requirement of security today. Along the ages, while the view of the security has changed, definition of security has been made in various ways. Especially starting from the age of enlightenment and later in twentieth century, we have had different approaches about the definition of security.

The etymological definition of the term "security" is explained in the etymological dictionary as; "condition of being secure" or "free from care"⁵

After the devastating Thirty Years War (1618-48), Treaty of Westphalia was a milestone about the new social structure, marking the end of rule by religious authority in Europe, but at the same time the formulation of sovereignty. Nation state came into our terminology and later in the 17th Century, Security was defined by English philosopher Thomas Hobbes from the power and state perspective, while stressing the relation between "state of nature" and Social Contract". In this simple equation, Hobbes claimed that it is rational for the people to give up some liberty to be able to gain security. This was mostly a state centric definition of security from the realist perspective, and Hobbes was putting the ontological reason of the state on security reasons. ⁶

3 Maslow, Abraham H.; *Motivation and Personality*; NY Harper, 1954; P.35-39,

4 McClelland, David C. ; *Human Motivation*; Cambridge University Press, 1987; P.41

5 ETYMOLOGY DICTIONARY, 28 MARCH 2016, 1100AM, http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=securit; Accessed 03 April 2016, 15.35

6 EMEKLER, Bilgehan; GÜVENLİK STRATEJİLERİ DERGİSİ, 2011; A Comparative Analysis of the Security Concepts in Thomas Hobbes and John Locke P.104

After First World War, search for international security and lasting peace brought different efforts all around the world. Most important one of them at the time was League of Nations. League members would implement a community of power rather than a balance of power. Statesmen were simply seeking a better alternative after a big devastating war. "Community of power" was one of the concepts brought up by Wilson and its purpose was providing "Collective security".⁷ Collective security arrangements have been conceived as being global in scope; not like regional alliances. Even if neither of them were able to operate the principle successfully, both the League of Nations and the United Nations were founded on the principle of collective security.⁸ So, this attempts were the indications of a new security approach.

After few decades, we see an interesting picture in McSweeney's mind. He felt safe, defended against the indeterminate actions of others; when the house was guarded, the street was policed and the shares were purchased.⁹

On the other hand, John Locke was explaining security concept as something that was built up the protection of individuals' rights and liberties.¹⁰ Briefly, fitting into the framework of Liberalism, Locke followed an approach that emphasizes individual in his security concept.

Adam Smith identifies "the liberty and security of individuals" as the most important prerequisites for the development of public opulence; security is understood, here, as freedom from the prospect of a sudden or violent attack on one's person or property.¹¹

7 Kissinger, Henry; *World Order, Reflections on the Character of Nations and the Course of History*, Penguin Group (USA) LLC; P.600 - 601

8 *ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA*; <http://global.britannica.com/topic/collective-security>; Accessed 26.May.2016, 21.39;

9 McSweeney, Bill; *Security, Identity and Interests, A Sociology of International Relations* 69; Cambridge University Press;2004 P.13

10 EMEKLIER, Bilgehan; *GÜVENLİK STRATEJİLERİ DERGİSİ*, 2011; *A Compherative Analysis of the Security Concepts in Thomas Hobbes and John Locke*, P.99

11 Rothschild, Emma; *What is Security?*; *International Security, Volume III, Widening Security*, Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen,2007; *SAGE Library of International Relations*, P.7

The dominance of the - realism based security- has commonly been experienced during the Cold War period. Starting from 1980's, (contrary to the realist way of understanding in security) a different approach appears in the area of security, under the influence of post-positivist and post-modernist streams. In this new period, and especially after 1990s, together with the nation state we see the new actors of the area of security like the individuals, elites, international systems, transnational networks and NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) etc.

Of course before the Cold war period and even some time after the end of that period, it was normal to put emphasis essentially on national and international security rather than security concept of the individuals. During the period of the strategic studies, national and International security concepts which are closely linked to each other have first been mentioned. But on the other hand, David Baldwin (1997) argues that, If security is specified in terms of threats to all acquired values of a state, it becomes almost synonymous with national welfare or national interest and is virtually useless for distinguishing among policy objectives.¹²

After the times of those approaches mainly on the National and International Security concepts, starting from 1990s some new actors slowly began to enter into the area of security concepts.

According to Buzan, in international relations the character of security is not identical to its everyday usage and it has its own distinctive meaning. In that context for Buzan, bottom-line for security is survival. And when something is presenting an existential threat to a designated object, most of the time it means that the extra measures which will be taken to counter the designated issue of threat and that threat will be legitimizing or justifying the extraordinary measures.¹³

After the year 2000, Barry Buzan, with Ole Waever and other so called Copenhagen School thinkers brought "securitization" and "desecuritization" concepts into the area. In this approach, threats were not necessarily objective things. The representatives of the school claimed that, some threats were constructed by some securitizing actors, they are named (se-

12 Baldwin, David A.; British International Studies Association,(1997); Review of International Studies; "The Concept of Security.P.17, 18

13 Buzan, Barry; Weaver, Ole; Wilde Jaap de; Security A New Framework for Analyses; Lynne Rienner Publishers; Chapter 2, P.21

curitized) by them and when the audience were convinced, then “that was a new threat” any more.

Actually, that is the hardest part of the issue. Because, especially in the Nation State system, when something is labeled as a threat, there is no way to overlook that issue. It must be dealt with immediately, because threat is something existential and it may adversely affect one of our essential rights or freedoms of the society. Therefore, it must immediately be taken into consideration and responded.

According to Ole Wæver, - probably thinking that the Soviet threat, invasion of Iraq and even the war on terror and some other threats may well be successfully constructed threats - in this way, - in case some relevant actors and the audience are persuaded - various things can be establishable as security issues. (which means it has been securitized).

So “which of them are the real and objective threats?” is a fair question. And this is not something happens only in the Nation States, but it is possible to happen as well, in the global scale. If we are talking about the war on terror for example, it is almost impossible for a distant Republic in the far Asea to question and know if it is real threat or not. Simply, because the information is not available and they have to rely on the ones who have that information. This is namely “Securitization.”

And when some issues are taken out from the list and labeled as not threats any more, that is desecuritization. It is the same when we see some threats suddenly disappearing from the agenda and it is namely, “desecuritization” of the threat. For example, the debate continues as to whether the Soviet threat during the Cold War was a real threat or not, considering the sudden completion of it right after 1990. So, it may easily be a successfully constructed threat. By the way, those Copenhagen School thinkers generally position themselves on the desecuritization side of the issue, since the securitization issues often need the states to be involved in anti-democratic practices. So Barry Buzan and Copenhagen School thinkers, claim that desecuritization process is better for the actors to be able to get rid of some successfully constructed threats.¹⁴

14 Bilgin, Pinar; “Making Turkey’s Transformation Possible: Claiming Security-Speak not Desecuritization!” *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 74 (2007), P.557-558

Even considering those new approaches; we can understand that, in 21st Century, the trends are much different. We can say that, as many other issues, in this new century, cooperation and evolutionary changing are essential, social force is very effective and the concept of national interest changed a lot. Increasing interdependency among the states made them more and more focus on the common threats.

The difference between the ways of understanding of yesterday and today about the definitions of security can be seen in many different definitions by different thinkers representing different eras. One of them is the Kołodziej's statement about the contemporary security content. According to Kołodziej, with the collapse of the Cold War and bipolar superpower competition, the world today appears much more complex – and decidedly more confusing.¹⁵

Yes, today, the world is much more complex while compared to “Cold War era”. And in this complex structure, the subject of the security concept is not only the military issues any more.

The Transformation of Security Culture

Before 1990, the strategy was based on a possible tension between the United States with its allies and the Soviet Union with its sympathizers. Over the past two decades or so, this generation has been the witnesses of the big transformation of security culture, and it is still going on.

The traditional security paradigm consisted of mainly from the state centric concerns and in line with the realist approach, power, national interests and absolute sovereignty of the nation state. This approach was strongly formed around the idea that, the state security is so important that, when it is provided, other kinds of security are going to come with it. So, it would be correct to say that, the state security was the pre-requisite of any type of security which may easily mean that if it is not provided, no other type of security is able to be provided.

After the Iron Curtain threat eased in 1990s, the lenses of the new era showed that, there are some other threats, which have not been consid-

15 Kołodziej, Edward A., *Security and International Relations*, P.11, 2005, Cambridge University Press

ered as real threats up to now, and those may be the real objective type of threats, which must really be frightening for the audience. After 1990, those threats appeared in society's window while the clouds of some so called constructed threats were disappearing. And barely it is not reasonable and feasible to use the traditional strategies to successfully manage the security issues In this new era. Barry Buzan points out the impossibility of making national politics and the epistemological problems of safety assessment and concept-building processes in this globalized world system.¹⁶

Buzan mentions individuals, states and the international systems as three levels of security. However, from the -levels of analyses- point of view, Buzan's arguments for the empirical proposition that security at the individual level is related to security at the level of the state and the international system, is remarkable.¹⁷

On the Barry Buzan's view, security can no more be viewed in a narrow vision with a military and nation-state approach but the following five sectors are the main sectors for the new way of understanding¹⁸;

- Political
- Military
- Economic
- Social
- Environmental

Those five sectors of security indicate the broader vision of the contemporary security approach that moves from the traditional national security to the new sectors and make up an important part of Buzan's approach to the security paradigm, additionally even these sectors are woven together in a strong web of linkages, each of them defines a focal point within the security problematique.¹⁹

16 Buzan, Barry; *The Evolution of International Security Studies*; Hansen, Lean; Cambridge University Press, 2009

17 Baldwin, David A.; *British International Studies Association*, (1997); *Review of International Studies*; "The Concept of Security. P.7

18 Aydın, Mustafa; Açıkmеше, Sinem Akgül; Ereker, Fulya; Dizdaroğlu, Cihan; T.C. Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayını No:2731;2012; *Strateji ve Güvenlik*; P.104

19 Buzan, Barry; *New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century* P.432

Buzan in his writings simply makes a comparison between the traditional approach and the broader one, and in this way he expects to find a way to the truth about what is really the security issue and what is not.

What happened in this period can be summarized by the term “extension of security concept”. According to Emma Rothschild, the security concept extension took four different forms and they actually happen in different directions. Those are;

- From Security of Nations, to Security of Groups and Individuals (downwards),
- From Security of Nations, to Security of the International System (upwards),
- From Military, to Political, Economic, Social, Environmental or Human Security, (horizontally)
- Political responsibility for ensuring security is itself extended to different directions (from Nation States to International Institutions (upwards), to Regional or Local Governments (downwards), to Nongovernmental Organization, to Public Opinion and Press and to the abstract forces of nature or of the market (sideways)²⁰

Buzan’s approach has commonly been used after staging in the international relations area. However, later on, we see that this was not the end of the story and in addition to these five sectors, some other sectors appeared with the effect of post-modern and post-positivist approaches. Therefore, the “broadened security” is the new approach in the sector and many different issues are claimed to be included in the list (like International Migration²¹, Human rights²² and Gender in International Security issues²³.)

20 Rothschild, Emma; What is Security?: International Security, Volume III, Widening Security, Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen, 2007; SAGE Library of International Relations, P.2

21 Weiner, Myron; “Security, Stability, and International Migration”, *International Security* Vol. 17, No. 3 (Winter, 1992-1993), pp. 91-126

22 Roberts, Brad; “Human Rights and International Security”, *The Washington Quarterly* 13:2, 1990, 65-75

23 Tickner, Ann, J.; “Feminist Responses to International Security Studies” ; *Peace Review*, 16:1, March 2004, 43-48

For example, trying to introduce a feminist perspective to international relations, J. Ann Tickner brought a new approach to the security issues under the critical security studies. According to her, “the judging of quite different epistemological traditions according to the scientific standards of one body of literature, in this case the dominant one, is problematic. It becomes even more so when issues of power involved. Therefore bridging this divide may prove difficult. But feminism and critical security studies -an approach that is gaining increasing influence in IR- have more in common.”²⁴

Upto this point, we tried to define the contemporary way of understanding “what security is?” It is needless to say that, in this new world of security concepts, the remedies for security are diverse as well.

Privatization of security in the light of transformation of security

Privatization has been the reality of the world in the last 30 years or so. Even the former communist countries “adopted programs of mass privatization after the end of Cold War era. It was not only an alternative to the state owned enterprises, which had been the common practices of the nation states in general, but a reflection of the competition between the public and individual as well. Today, we even speak about the space missions to be launched by the private sector companies.

Privatization of security is not a new issue indeed. In the long history of the conflicts, the mercenaries were a reality of the time in different cultures. Contracted external fighters have been used in the eras of both ancient Greek and Roman Empire.²⁵ Mercenary is the name given to the hired professional soldier who fights for any state or nation without regard to political interests or issues. From the earliest days of organized warfare until the development of political standing armies in the mid-17th century, governments frequently supplemented their military forces with merce-

24 Tickner, Ann, J.; “Feminist Responses to International Security Studies” ; Peace Review, 16:1, March 2004, 43-48

25 Mumford, Andrew; Proxy Warfare; Polity Press, 2013; P.84

naries.²⁶ According to Michael Lanning (in his "The Battle 100" book); Roman Empire-Huns Wars in 451, Byzantine-Turkish Wars in 1071 (English and Viking soldiers were hired by Byzantine Emperor) Hundred Years' War in 1346 and many others are some of the wars that the mercenaries were employed. Even, the Ottoman elite legions of janissaries in Austria-Ottoman Wars, - in 1529 - are described as mercenary slaves taken captive as children from Christians and raised as Muslim soldiers, by Lanning²⁷.

Until the 17th century, the mercenaries were entities that were traded mostly between the individuals. After 17th century, with the Nation State entrance into the international society, the mercenaries have been traded between the nation states.

a. Mercenaries and PMSCs

In the Etymology Dictionary, definition of the word "mercenary" is given as "hired, paid, serving for pay" or "hireling" "one who does anything for pay," literally "hired, paid,".

In the same source, definition of the word "soldier" is "one who serves in the army for pay," and/or "name of a Roman gold coin".²⁸ This shows that - even if it is not the same in all societies - in the Latin way of understanding the meaning of the soldier is totally related to being payed or simply money.

After the division of Africa by the colonial powers in Berlin Conference (Also known as Congo Conference) in 1884, so called "Scramble for Africa" started and, to the end of World War II., a devastating era went on. Colonial powers (mostly Britain and France) used the resources (gold, plastics, coal based petrochemicals industry products etc.) of the colonies they have. They artificially draw the borderlines, and eventually some ethnic (mostly civil) wars started.

26 Encyclopedia Britannica, Mercenary, <http://global.britannica.com/topic/mercenary>, Accessed 29 March 2016, 15.22 PM

27 Lanning, Michael; -The Battle 100-Sourcebooks, Inc. (2005); P.34

28 ETYMOLOGY DICTIONARY, http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=soldier, Accessed 30 MARCH 2016, 1332PM

But, World War II. showed that, colonial powers have some weaknesses and they are not unbeatable. After the war, decolonisation was accelerated and it lasted long. It's results were devastating for peoples of colonies. Especially the African decolonisation period was very painful with many civil wars and power struggle. During these wars, mercenaries from different roots have commonly been used.

Private military companies appeared especially in conflicts in Angola and Sierra Leone. They were providing a series of services including combat troops.²⁹ It may be seen a kind of challenge and an anomaly as well, to almost three hundred years of accepted ontology regarding the state as having the sole legitimate right to force and violence.³⁰ Though Post Cold War period is generally known as the restarting of the mass usage of mercenaries, there were some activities by the nation states during even the World War II.³¹ The pioneers of the use of mercenaries in post-war Africa were on protecting monopolies of the westerners over the gemstones around 1950s. One of the very first persons hired by De Beers was Sir Percy Stilltoe (who was former head of British Intelligence Agency -MI5- to conduct anti-smuggling operations in Sierra Leone).They were simply spying on the new discoveries and possible competitors.³²

The Cold War period is known as an overmilitarization period. And after the Cold War, when the Iron Curtain threat has disappeared, the number of Military Staff decreased dramatically and this has been one of the reasons of the PMSCs increase.

29 Oxford bibliographies, Mercenaries, Sarah Percy <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199791279/obo-9780199791279-0105.xml>; Accessed 15 April 2016, 10.16 AM

30 Small, Michelle; "Privatisation of Security and Military Functions and the Demise of the Modern Nation-State in Africa"; Occasional Paper Series: Volume 1, Number 2, 2006

31 The Flying Tigers;Eisel, Braxton; U.S. Government Printing Office; Air Force, Sixtieth Anniversary; <https://archive.org/details/TheFlyingTigers>; Accessed 12 April 2016, 16.52 PM

32 Siegel, Dina; The Mazzel Ritual: Culture, Customs and Crime in the Diamond Trade; Springer LLC 2009; P.33

In this period of time while the new security threats have emerged; the militaries of the Nation States directed their manpower to a new range of responsibilities, like peacekeeping and humanitarian relief operations.³³

In that period, mercenaries were the professionals who worked for the foreign armies. Mostly motivated by money, they have been used for manipulation for destabilizing the governments. Moreover, sometimes they have been used by the dictators for personal protection or, to overthrow the rival governments.

After the commonly used Private Military Companies in African civil wars, the Private Security sector made another surge after 1990 with the end of Cold War period. This surge was defined by some authors as a new stream or a new version of mercenaries.³⁴ A.J. Venter describes the issue in his book as "*Fighting Other People's Wars*"³⁵

During this period, all over the world, many problems and human rights violations resulting from the mercenaries were experienced;

- In **Sierra Leone** one PMC's close ties with the diamond industry contributed to political instability and continued armed conflict.³⁶
- The **Angolan** war lasted long with the contribution of PMCs, and it cost hundreds of thousands of lives. They were ineffective operating and often caused more problems than they solved.³⁷
- In Democratic Republic of **Congo** as well, the recruitment of PMSCs has prolonged the conflict unnecessarily. (In 1960s and 1970s, mercenary

33 Adams, Gordon & Ben-Ari, Guy; Routledge, 2006; Transforming European Militaries P.2

34 Gaston, E. L.; Mercenarism 2.0? The Rise of the Modern Private Security Industry and Its Implications for International Humanitarian Law Enforcement; Harvard International Law Journal; VOLUME 49, ISSUE 1

35 Venter, A.J.; Casemate, 2006; War Dogs:*Fighting Other People's Wars. The Modern Mercenary in Combat*

36 Selber, Jesse, MPH; Jobarteh, Kebba MPH; From Enemy to Peacemaker, The Role of Private Military, Companies in Sub-Saharan Africa; <http://www.ipnw.org/pdf/mgs/7-2-selber.pdf> Accessed 15 April 2016, 10.20 AM

37 Bissonnette, Brian The Angolan Proxy War: A Study of Foreign Intervention and its Impact on War Fighting ,P.53

units directly challenged a number of new state regimes in Africa, and even fought against the UN in the course of its operation in Congo (ONUC) from 1960 to 1964.)³⁸

- Terrible and long lasting civil wars were waged by the rival parties in **Somalia** and the **former Yugoslavia**.

In all these wars, private contractors were on the job. Leading companies in that manner listed below. (Some of them already seized their operations.)

- **Blackwater** (USA- Later named as Academi), (founded in 1997) In 2007 in Baghdad, employees of the US-based firm Blackwater were involved in a shooting incident in Nisoor Square in which 17 civilians were killed and more than 20 other persons were wounded including women and children.³⁹
- **Triple Canopy** (founded in 2003) (In June 2014, It merged with the firm, Academi, formally Blackwater, thus forming the new company **Constellis Group**. (worked mainly for the US government in Iraq)
- **Executive Outcomes** (founded in South Africa in 1989.) (Initially trained and later fought on behalf of the Angolan government against UNITA in 1992, and in Sierra Leone in 1995.) It is notorious for targeting the client country's mineral-rich (like gold, oil, diamond etc.) regions.
- **Sandline International** (Established in early 1990s. - London based) (It was involved in conflicts in Papua New Guinea in 1997, in Sierra Leone in 1998, in Liberia in 2003. Ceased operations in 2004.)
- **G4S** (UK) (Runs prisons in Israel, South Africa as well)
- **Military Professional Resources Inc.** (MPRI) and Defence Systems Ltd.

38 Schreier, Fred, and Caparini, Marina; Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) Occasional Paper - 6; Geneva, March 2005; Privatizing Security: Law, Practice and Governance of Private Military and Security Companies

39 Global Research, The Privatization of War: Mercenaries, Private Military and Security Companies (PMSC), Beyond the WikiLeaks Files, <http://www.globalresearch.ca/the-privatization-of-war-mercenaries-private-military-and-security-companies-pmsc/21826>, Accessed 30 March 2016, 1406PM

(Founded in 1987) (In 1995-96 before Operation Storm, MPRI is said to be prepared and trained the Croatian Army for its offensive to re-take the Krajina region. And later Army of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina)⁴⁰

- **Defion Internacional** (Lima, Peru based PMC which has offices in Dubai, Philippines, Sri Lanka and Iraq. Their main contracts have been with Triple Canopy, Inc. and the U.S. Department of State involving the war in Iraq.) (employs generally discount South American soldiers)
- **Aegis Defence Services** (Founded in 2002) (British PMSC with overseas offices in Afghanistan, The UAE, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Somalia and Mozambique.)

b. UN look on the mercenaries

The UN has always been following the bad record of mercenaries. UN has a mercenary convention dated 2001(entry into force). The convention prohibits the recruitment, financing, training and use of mercenaries. However, this convention remained unenforceable since it was not ratified by any of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council⁴¹ most of whom with a huge background of PMSCs employed worldwide.

On the other hand, the Private Companies have the team experience, competency and they offer quicker and cheaper service than the classical UN forces.

c. PMCs and PSCs

Even if they are sometimes used together as Private Military and Security Companies (PMSC), Private Military Companies (PMCs) and Private Security Companies (PSCs) are different forms. Most of the time the differences originate from the services they provide. We can say that, PMCs offer more military type and larger scale tasks, services and expertise like the ones provided by the governmental security, military or police forces. So, PMCs

40 Srebrenica: a 'safe' area Appendix II; Intelligence and the war in Bosnia 1992-1995: The role of the intelligence and security services; Nederlands instituut voor oorlogsdocumentatie;P.60, 75, 151, 176, 190, 367

41 Mumford, Andrew; Proxy Warfare; Polity Press, 2013; P.124

can provide specialized services and expertise related to military and similar activities.

On the other side, Private Security Companies (PSCs) provide armed and unarmed security services of different scales. U.S. Government and the governments commonly use those companies; define PSCs as companies primarily engaged in providing guarding and patrolling services, those may include body guarding, guard dog services, parking security and security guard services. General practice in Turkey tends to be the practice of latter companies (PSCs).

d.UN Demand for PMSCs services

Like most of the academics, South African academic Sabelo Gumedze remarks about how these companies have within a short space of time made the transition from operators in the 'market for force' to operators in the 'market for peace'.⁴² It is really a big question, how these PMSCs expanded so much. Another question may be how could these bad recorded companies play a big role in UN's efforts about restoring peace and stability?

Some of the reasons UN may probably have needed the PMSCs services are as follows;

- The PMSCs are preferred by the governments which are reluctant to use their governmental military troops.
- Especially protecting civilians out of their own country, probably be better handled by private companies; since non-regular military casualties (mercenaries in this case) are more acceptable to the public when compared to regular troops.
- UN has always had some difficulties with the current structure which is originated from "being an international body". The difficulties were mostly managerial and coordination problems among the multinational UN personnel from different cultures, different way of understanding

42 Gumedze, Sabelo; From market for force to market for peace, Private military and security companies in peacekeeping operations, ISS Monograph Number 183 http://psm.du.edu/media/documents/reports_and_stats/think_tanks/iss_gumedze_from_market_for_force_to_market_for_peace.pdf ; Accessed 15 April 2016, 10.23 AM

and different equipment and training levels and lack of a healthy chain of command as well. Those -mostly coordination- problems have been taking too much time for the reaction.

- In the post cold war period, when the PMSCs returned back –as the contemporary mercenaries- they presented a new picture. Pioneer of this action was “Executive Outcomes”. That was one of the leading PMSCs from South Africa and its origin was an ex South African Special Operations Unit. That contractor was famous for its successful operations in Angola (1993 - 95) against rebels, and in Sierra Leone (1995 - 97) against the forces of the Revolutionary United Front.) At the beginning it was a big success for a company from African continent. International society was happy, because the company was showing success and all the things were going well. UN and other international society didn’t really care about the rumors of humanitarian problems, abuses and problems like that.

Actual use of private security services by the UN started in 1990. It was just after the cold war and employment was needed for the ex military staff of the shrinking national armies. At the beginning it was an independent way of usage by the UN agencies and country-level managers. It was not an activity fully coordinated by the central mechanisms of UN. After these initiatives, in 2011 the UN Department of Safety and Security (DSS) initiated the development of internal policies and procedures for security contracting that would apply to the entire UN system. ⁴³

From the beginning, PMSCs have been used to support UN peacekeeping activities in the areas like;

- Security and policing,
- Logistic support,
- Military support,
- Combat duties.

43 University of Denver, Private Security Monitor, International Regulation, Internal Controls, http://psm.du.edu/international_regulation/un_initiatives/ Accessed 15 April 2016, 10.25 AM

(For example, mine action is a very good example for the UN use of PMSCs. It is a very important job for the UN departments and officials. Totally fourteen UN department agencies, programs and funds play a role in mine action programs in thirty countries according to United Nations Mine Action Service (UNMAS) which is located in the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. UNMAS, directly supports the UN peacekeeping missions.)

PMSCs' are new forms of transnational structures, (It is possible for a Private Military Company to emerge in any Country in America, collect its crew from Asia, and be operational in one of the Middle Eastern countries.) and in those new forms, it is not easy to enforce laws as it is enforced to the national militaries. It is no difference, if it is national or international legal infrastructure.

The past experiences indicated that, none of those three destinations were effective enough to enforce laws of the related states correctly for the Human Rights violations of the PMSCs personnel, from one reason or another. On the other side, even if there seems to be enough legal infrastructures in different conventions of UN about these violations, it could not be used effectively so far. UN Human Right Commission Working Group On The Use of Mercenaries is working on a detailed legal infrastructure only for the PMSCs.⁴⁴ There are also some volunteer attempts to regulate the sector. *Montreux Convention and International Code of Conduct are two of them.*

Montreux Document

In the UN International Convention Against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries with the date of 4 December 1989; the definition of mercenary was given in detail and the precautions by the international society was defined as;

“Being aware of “the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries” for activities which violate principles of international law such as those

44 Working Group on the use of mercenaries, UNHR; <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Mercenaries/WGMercenaries/Pages/WGMercenariesIndex.aspx/> Accessed 30 May 2016, 10.24 AM

of sovereign equality, political independence, territorial integrity of States and self-determination of peoples; the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries should be considered as offences of grave concern to all States and that any person committing any of these offences should either be prosecuted or extradited” and also the observance of those precautions are told to be contributed to the observance of the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.⁴⁵

The convention entered into force in 20 October 2001 and it had been ratified by a list of 34 states in which, many big countries with huge military powers was not included.

Seven years after the UN resolution; the Montreux Document dated 17 September 2008 was prepared and issued as another document targeting the mercenary type structures. The Montreux Document was originally the result of a joint initiative by Switzerland and the International Committee of the Red Cross. This initiative is the result of a group of intergovernmental meetings held between January 2006 and September 2009. It was prepared with the purpose of defining the international law as an effective source which can be used for the activities of private military and security companies (PMSCs) during their operations in armed conflict zones. Main purpose of the Montreux Document is to assist the states to know about the international obligations under international law and to provide them to take necessary measures in order to fulfill their obligations. This document is not a legally binding instrument.⁴⁶

In the Montreux Document, the obligations of the three parties (Contracting States (states contracting with PMSCs), Territorial States (states on whose territory PMSCs operate) and Home States (the states of the PMSCs’ nationality) involved in the operation are given relative to their own positions.

45 International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries; UN Convention A/RES/44/34; 72nd plenary meeting; 4 December 1989

46 Switzerland Federal Department of Foreign Affairs web site; <https://www.eda.admin.ch/eda/en/edfa/foreign-policy/international-law/international-humanitarian-law/private-military-security-companies/montreux-document.html>; Accessed 11 April 2016, 22.50 PM

In this document, the perspective of the preparing authority approaches to the PMSCs as new type of products of the liberal system, rather than the “old-fashioned” mercenaries.

The International Code of Conduct (ICOC)

The International Code of Conduct (ICOC) is another attempt launched by Switzerland for the volunteer participation of the PMSCs about their behaviours and practices; especially while operating in complex environments.

This initiative started with some meetings in which private security companies, academics, states (especially the ones, which have the PMCs all around the world) and civil society organizations participated. Main aim was to be able to form a consensus on a code of conduct for the private security industry, on the basis of international human rights and humanitarian law standards.⁴⁷

In 2013, the number of the applicants, which signed for ICOC procedures and listed in volunteer initiative, were already 708 companies.

Lately ICOC started for another new initiative to be able to form an independent mechanism for oversight and governance as well. A new structure is formed and the terms of membership and the certification issues are prepared in the new structure. This initiative goes as volunteer activity rather than a law enforcement structure and it does not have any sanctions other than suspension or termination of membership of the association. It mainly relies on good faith of the member companies, which are expected to co-operate with the association, on the basis of applicable contractual and legal requirements.

Private Security Sector in Turkey

In the last two decades, safety and security issues have gained major importance in Turkey, as it has been all around the world. Today, Private Security Sector is one of the fastest growing industry sectors.

⁴⁷ The ICoC Association web page; <http://www.icoca.ch/en/history>; Accessed 12 April 2016, 0935AM

According to the Turkey's 2014 Private Security Services Sector Council Report; 300,000 security guards employed in 1,500 security companies in Turkey.⁴⁸ Those figures outnumber armies of many nations. In addition, this is the second if not the largest in Europe.

Today in Turkey, all active working security sector companies are Private Security Companies (PSCs). And Turkey does not seem to be in the Private Military Sector when we compare it with the western security sector representative countries like USA and UK. There are some sporadic attempts of the PMCs which can provide broader security and military services in and out of the country, but that does not seem to be possible at least for the short-term future, since the legal infrastructure for the privatization and implementation of those services is not available.

What is next about the privatization of security?

After the Cold War, demand and existence of PMSCs has increased so much that today we can talk about a huge PMSC industry offering wide variety of services. Especially PMCs has increasingly been present in armed conflicts so that, in some cases during the last decade they have been in the very heart of the military operations. Today, even some of those companies employ more than 10,000 staff.⁴⁹

In the last 20 or more years, a bad perception emerged among most of the researchers and authors about the newly emerging PMSCs. Some authors describe this new phenomena as "One of the new threats of instability in the form of various new types of warfare actors."⁵⁰

Efforts about forming an international legal framework under the umbrella of the UN Human Rights Commission (HRC) has often been blocked by the countries which have the largest number of PMSCs operating worldwide.

48 Türkiye Odalar Borsalar Birliği Başkanlığı; 2014 yılı özel_guvenlik_meclisi raporu; P.VII

49 Montreux Document explanations; International Committee of the Red Cross; August 2009

50 O'Brien, K.A.; "The Privatization of Security in Sub-Saharan Africa" Africa South of The Sahara 2003; Europa Publications, 32nd Edition; P.22

Especially in particular countries hosting the PMSCs of hegemon powers, the frequent and pervasive violations of victims' rights all around the world, in particular in situations of foreign occupation, are of serious concern globally.

The future of the PMSCs will probably depend on the future of the Liberal World Order. For today, we do not have the accurate statistics, which openly explain the nature of the PMC market.⁵¹ However, most dangerous part of the issue is the cases in which those companies are employed and operate in secrecy. It must be transparent and accountable.

Dirty jobs always abide, in this kind of structures. Economy and security are the main legs of this structure. With respect to the contemporary human rights approach, in addition to transparency and accountability; other necessary precautions about the Private Military Security Companies should be taken beforehand nationally and internationally. All the personnel must be subject to Human Rights education and the vetting procedures must be implemented seriously. If the strict accountability and transparency with the international legal infrastructure can be implemented for those companies globally; they may be used effectively. But otherwise, there is a very strong possibility that they themselves may be a big threat for the international security.

In summary, as Peter W. Singer mentions, using the privatized military may cause new capabilities in the wars; but the profit with the war is a new concept which arises problematic questions about the ethics, human rights and democracy in the states and the world.

Assessment about Turkey's Private Security Sector

After 1990, Turkey has been under the effect of the global tendency about the privatization of security. As it has been in other parts of the world, security comes first for Turkey too. Today, in the help of the police and gendarmerie forces, private security companies, are to perform a very important task for the security of the Turkish people.

⁵¹ Kinsey, Christopher; Routledge, 2006; *Corporate Soldiers and International Security: The Rise of Private Military Companies* P.2

The boom in private security sector in Turkey, has been welcomed by business and industry representatives since not only it contributes to Turkey's overall employment, but also supports some other sectors related to security, tourism, textile and so on.

Even if Turkey has not have PMCs in the sense of US and UK Private Military Firms, we cannot deny that with her huge economic and demographic capacity and good relations with some countries in conflict zones, she is attracting the interest of this global sector. The proof of that can easily be seen in the global Private Security Sector Companies investing in Turkey. This is a very promising sector for the national and international investors. In addition, if the regulations about the Private Military Companies can become a Turkish Law, - with the huge military potential and special relations with the countries with conflicts in Africa and far east - probably Turkey could become an important center for companies of the Turkish and foreign origin.

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Turkey's Emergence as a Global Actor in Africa: A Special Focus on Mozambique

Aylin Taşhan¹

Turkey's relations with Africa have gained new impetus recently as a result of Turkey's multi-faceted foreign policy and the Continent's growing importance in the 21st century. As the successor to an Afro-Eurasian state, Turkey has always retained close political, economic, and cultural ties with the Northern part of the Continent. Gradually, increasing and deepening its relations with the Sub-Saharan Africa became one of the main targets of Turkey's foreign policy objectives.

By adopting the Action Plan for Africa in 1998, Turkey's interest toward Africa has increased immensely. During the period following the declaration 2005 as the Year of Africa, Turkey opened a new page in its relations with the Continent and put more emphasis on economic, cultural and human dimensions as a part of its foreign policy orientation. Turkey has been given the observer status in the African Union in 2005. In 2008 African Union has accepted Turkey as a strategic partner of the Continent, which paved the way for more substantial relations. In the same year Turkey was accepted as one of the non-regional partners of African Development Bank.

One of the hallmarks of Turkey's strategy towards Africa consists of organizing, hosting, and participating in bilateral or multilateral meetings, conferences and summits. Some notable conferences Turkey hosted or co-organized in Istanbul include the Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit in 2008, the High-Level Officials Meeting in 2010, the Ministerial Level Reviewing Conference in 2011. The Second Turkey-Africa Partnership Summit was held in Malabo in 2014.

In terms of multilateral gatherings, Turkey hosted the Fourth United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, in Istanbul on 9-13

1 Ambassador of Turkey in Maputo, Mozambique

May 2011 and organized the Mid-Term Review Conference of the Istanbul Programme of Action on 27-29 May 2016. In addition, Turkey co-chaired with Egypt “International Donor’s Conference for the Reconstruction and Development of Darfur” in Cairo, on 21 March 2010 and hosted twice the Istanbul Somalia Conferences organized within the UN framework on 21-23 May 2010 and 31 May-1 June 2012 consequently. In the framework of its G20 Presidency, Turkey organized the High Level Conference on Access to Energy in Sub-Saharan Africa on 1 October 2015. Turkey was also the host country to the sixth High Level Partnership Forum for Somalia on 23-24 February 2016.

Enlarging its level of representation constitutes another important pillar of Turkey’s new strategy towards Africa. In 2009 Turkey had only 12 Embassies on the Continent, 7 of which were in the Sub-Sahara region. Today, the total number of the Turkish Embassies in Africa has reached 39. The number of trade offices also reached 26 in the Continent.

During that period, Turkey’s soft power instruments such as the Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TİKA) as well as the Turkish Airlines (THY) have enhanced Turkey’s existence in the Continent. TİKA has opened new offices in Africa and currently has 15 coordination offices in Africa, including the one in Hargeisa, Somaliland. It has also intensified and increased its humanitarian, technical, and developmental assistance to Africa in fields such as education, health, agriculture, infrastructure and capacity-building. In addition to TİKA and other Turkish institutions, Turkey provides assistance to the Continent through international organizations.

Turkish airlines, being one of the most preferred leading European air carriers with a global network coverage is currently flying to 48 destinations in Africa.

The number of African students studying in various Turkish Universities, through scholarships provided by the Turkish Government is increasing every year.

In this process, to develop its relations with African countries on a more concrete basis, Turkey gives utmost importance to concluding bilateral agreements, establishing business councils and joint Economic Commission mechanisms. Every day, the number of Turkish investors and businessmen in Africa is increasing. Turkish brands are growing in popularity

on the Continent. Turkish companies are actively taking part in African markets and they offer high-quality Turkish goods that are among the most coveted on the Continent.

A positive impact of this process can also be seen on the trade volume figures between Turkey and the Continent as a whole. In this respect, while Turkey's trade volume with Africa was only 5.47 billion Dollars in 2003, in 2015 Turkey's total trade volume with the Continent has exceeded the amount of 17.5 billion Dollars, representing a threefold increase in this period.

Today, Turkey's policy of opening to Africa has been completed and transformed into a partnership relation.

Mozambique: A case study

As an element of Turkey's policy of opening up to Africa, I was tasked with the duty of opening the first ever Turkish Embassy in Mozambique. Without mentioning the physical difficulties of opening an Embassy in an African country, in this article I will try to share my experiences as the first Turkish Ambassador in Maputo, as a person who observed, and experienced the transformation period of Turkey's opening up policy towards Africa to a partnership that gradually deepened, by taking Mozambique as a sample case.

In what follows, I provide a brief overview of Mozambique, before sharing my observations about the country.

A brief history of Mozambique

During the eighth century Arab merchants reached the south eastern costs of Africa. In 1498, the Portuguese sailor and an explorer Vasco da Gama's fleet reached the Eastern coast of Africa, which was at the time dominated by Muslim traders, and later colonized by Portugal in 1505. By 1510, the Portuguese had control of all of the former Arab sultanates on the east African coast.

By the end of the First World War, colonial control is established over the whole of Portuguese East Africa. Portugal designated Mozambique an overseas territory in 1951.

During the years following the Second World War, thousands of Portuguese settlers immigrated into Mozambique to take advantage of opportunities of the colonial economy. During that period, the Salazar regime was ruling Portugal.

While these developments were taking place, a team in exile headed by Eduardo Mondlane formed a group in 1962 in Dar es Salaam, and adopted their name as the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique/Frelimo). Frelimo began its campaign in northern Mozambique in 1964, launching a ten year bitter struggle and fought for the independence of the Portuguese Overseas Province of Mozambique. One year after the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane, Samora Machel, a pragmatic military commander, became head of Frelimo. The fight for independence lasted eleven years.

Meanwhile in Portugal, the junior army officers swept away a four-decade dictatorship, which at the same time signaled the end of Portuguese colonial rule in Africa. Almost one year after the Carnation Revolution in Lisbon, negotiations with the Portuguese administration resulted in an agreement and the Lusaka Accord was signed on September 7, 1974, which provided for a complete hand-over of power to the Frelimo party. Mozambique succeeded in achieving independence on June 25, 1975 and Samora Machel became the first President.

Two years later, at the Frelimo's 3rd Congress, the party declared itself as a Marxist-Leninist political party and Mozambique a one-party state.

Mozambique Resistance Movement (Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana/Renamo) on the other hand, was formed in 1976, as an anti-Communist rebel group backed by neighboring white minority regimes. Renamo opposed the central Government and the Mozambican Civil War began in 1977, two years after the end of the war of independence, affecting the lives of millions. The fighting ended in 1992 with the signing of the Rome General Peace Accord.

Mozambique abandoned its Marxist stance after the end of the civil war. Burdens of maintaining the war and the damage wrought on Mozambique's economy and infrastructure were severe. As a result of these difficulties and the discrediting of Communism following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Frelimo Government decided to enact political and eco-

conomic liberalization. This was achieved through a new constitution that signaled a shift to a multi-party system.

The first elections were held in 1994. Frelimo won all the elections in the history of Mozambique and Renamo remained as the main opposition party. After adopting the market economy the Frelimo Government has begun intensive work for improving the investment environment and rebuilding Mozambique's economic infrastructure.

Mozambique in transition

The Republic of Mozambique is situated on the southeast coast of Africa and enjoys a privileged strategic location with its 2750 km long coastline. Its harbors constitute natural gateways for its landlocked neighbors Zambia, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Malawi, and the Northern part of the Republic of South Africa, thereby connecting these countries to the sea. Mozambique facilitates easy access to the markets of SADC member countries. The country has three main harbors namely, Maputo in the south, Beira at the center and Nacala in the north, as well as five international airports.

In addition to civil war, Mozambique has long suffered from famine and diseases. More than half of the population lives in rural areas; a large majority of its citizens do not have access to clean water, and cannot benefit from the education and health services. Mozambique, with its damaged infrastructure as a result of the civil war, a fragile economy that suffers from devastating floods as well as drought, as a country most vulnerable to climate change, and struggling with infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS and malaria, is among the least developed countries in the world.

However, against all these negativities, Mozambique has started to grow rapidly after its civil war. The Government embarked on a series of macroeconomic reforms designed to stabilize the economy and encouraged foreign investments. Its average annual economic growth rate reached 7-8 percent. Mozambique has become the fastest growing economy in the Sub-Saharan Africa region, without depending on oil. Mozambique is seen by donors as a success story of post civil war reconstruction and economic reform. The country has benefited from debt relief initiatives and its development partners have substantially contributed to the budget of Mozambique.

The country has abundant natural and hydro-resources as well as large mineral deposits such as iron ore, gold, bauxite, graphite, marble, limestone, and tantalite. However the discovery and exploitation of these resources have been constrained by the civil war, poor infrastructure, and economic difficulties.

Until recently aluminum was one of the main sources of income for the country. The Mozal aluminum smelter that was opened in 2000, in Matola near the capital Maputo, became the country's only mega foreign investment project as aluminum became the most valuable export item. Nevertheless, due to low global prices, aluminum exports did not provide sufficient benefit to the economy.

However, with the recent discovery of large natural gas fields in the Rovuma basin and coal in the Tete region, Mozambique has become one of the most promising countries in Africa in terms of natural gas and coal resources.

Africa's second largest hydropower plant Cahora Bassa is located in Mozambique. Coal deposits at the central part of the country and natural gas explorations at Rovuma basin in the northern part give hope for brighter days to the citizens of Mozambique. The amount of high-quality coal discovered in Benga and Moatize situated near the city of Tete reaches 28 billion tons.

The quantity of natural gas explored so far in the northern Rovuma sedimentary basin of the country reaches around 7.5 trillion cubic meters. Some reports mention that Mozambique has the world's one of the richest natural gas reserves and predicts that if Mozambique starts producing liquefied natural gas (LNG) in 2020 and begins selling it by 2022 as projected, Mozambique will become the third largest LNG exporters in the world.

As a result of these developments, Mozambique has quickly become a center of attraction for foreigners and foreign direct investment started to flow in the country. Major companies of many countries have emerged in Mozambican markets and have increasingly started to invest, especially in mining ventures.

Although Mozambique has vast areas of arable land, only 10-15 percent of its cultivable land is being used for agriculture. So, the country needs investment in agricultural field and agricultural modernization.

Besides, having a long coastline and fresh water of 13.000 km. square, 1200 different species of fish inhabit Mozambique's exclusive economic zone and rivers of 586 thousand square kilometers size. The climate of the country is well-suited for fishery. Moreover, with its long coastline, sandy beaches, and tropical islands Mozambique has a great tourism potential. The Island of Mozambique (Ilha de Moçambique) one of the fastest growing tourist destinations of the country is registered on the UNESCO World Heritage site.

Turkey is opening up to Mozambique

Turkey was one of the first countries that recognized Mozambique just after its independence and has been maintaining good relations with Mozambique. However, the extent of the cooperation between the two countries remained much below its real potential.

The opening of the Turkish Embassy in Maputo has coincided with the beginning of the period of great progress in Mozambique. In March 2011, when I arrived in Maputo for the purpose of launching a new Embassy, the deleterious effects of the civil war were still visible on the streets of Maputo. However, day-by-day, we noticed an incredible economic transformation, first on the roads, then the quality of construction, goods sold in the markets, and a rise in internet service providers etc.

Concomitant to these developments, by the opening of the new Turkish Embassy, relations between the two countries gained such pace that Turkey became one of the main foreign actors in the country, where it had once been relatively unknown to Mozambicans.

Just to give few examples, the two countries have been diligently working on concluding more than 20 agreements in various fields; some have already been signed and many others are ready to be concluded soon.

In May 2014, three military ships of the Turkish navy visited the Port of Maputo, which was an indication that Turkey attaches great importance to the development of its military relations with Mozambique.

The Turkish Deputy Minister of Economy has visited Mozambique twice in 2015. In the same year the first Business Forum on the Construction Sector

was organized in Maputo with the participation of 15 prominent Turkish construction companies. During the Forum, an agreement was signed for the establishment of the Turkish-Mozambican Business Council.

In August 2015, 20 Turkish companies from various sectors such as energy, food, and electrical appliances have participated at the national level in the Maputo International Fair/ FACIM.

In February 2016, a delegation from the Ankara Chamber of Industry has visited Mozambique. In this framework, 8 Turkish companies met their 42 Mozambican counterparts. In March, a delegation from the Istanbul Mineral and Metals Exporters' Association visited Maputo. During this visit, 11 Turkish companies met more than 90 of their Mozambican counterparts. In April, 30 member companies of the Turkish Exporters Assembly met 120 Mozambican firms in Maputo.

All these meetings have provided great opportunities for Turkish and Mozambican companies to share their views and experiences, and to take firsthand information, which paved the way for more enhanced cooperation and new partnerships. Some of the companies participating in the meetings have already taken concrete steps for establishing partnerships. Moreover, prominent Turkish companies from the energy and construction sectors, well known with their high quality of labor, trustworthiness, and punctuality, have opened their offices in Mozambique. Every day new Turkish companies arrive in Mozambique for the purposes of starting businesses or investment.

While in 2003 trade volume between Turkey and Mozambique was only 5 million Dollars, in 2015 this figure reached 120 million Dollars. Turkish companies have taken their place among top ten countries in Mozambique according to investment applications received.

The Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency/TİKA, extends assistance at different levels to Mozambican institutions and NGOs.

On October 28, 2015 the Turkish Airlines has started scheduled flights between Istanbul and Maputo. This has significantly contributed to increasing the number of tourists and businessmen. Furthermore, with the organization of cultural events, remarkable progress has taken place in the cultural field as well. Last year, Ankara and Maputo became sister cities.

Each year Turkey awards around 15 Government scholarships to Mozambique. Currently more than 80 Mozambican students are studying in various Turkish universities.

Conclusion

With its policy of partnership, Turkey is entering even remote destinations in Sub-Saharan Africa as rather new, but strong and durable partner. It is for sure that Turkey's new strategy of partnership policy towards Africa highly contributes to the development of the Continent.

Those are some concrete examples of how Turkey's opening up policy have evolved in Mozambique and gradually resulted in a partnership. Similar steps by Turkey were taken in other African countries as well. Depending on the local and international conditions, Turkey's new partnership strategy yielded more effective results in some African countries, while less in others; but has always been progressive.

Mozambique today is facing some major challenges like continuous clashes inside the country, severe economic problems such as enormous amount of public debts, as well as undisclosed debts, depreciation of its currency, the Metical, against the Dollar, and high inflation rates. However, with its rich natural resources, great economic potential, and political will, Mozambique will soon be on the right track. During its journey of transition, Turkey, with its Government, NGO's, and the private sector will accompany Mozambique as a strong and a reliable development partner. Indeed, the same applies for the whole Continent!

The First-Ever World Humanitarian Summit : Embarking on a Historic Journey for the Future of Humanity

Dr. Hasan Ulusoy ¹

The first-ever World Humanitarian Summit (WHS) was hosted by Turkey, on 23-24 May 2016 in Istanbul, upon the initiative of Secretary General of the United Nations (UN) Ban Ki-moon, amid the current challenges facing the global humanitarian system.

The Istanbul Summit, in line with its inclusive structure, brought together for the first time in history all stakeholders of the world humanitarian community, including representatives of affected populations.

The participation at the summit exceeded earlier estimations, by reaching a record level with 9.000 participants from all stakeholders . 173 Member States, including 55 Heads of State and Government, more than 60 Ministers, as well as some 40 Secretaries/Directors General from different international and regional organizations were present therein. According to the UN figures, it was the highest number of the United Nations members who have ever come together at this scale in one single time outside its headquarters in New York.

The aim of this article is to provide insights on the whole WHS process, from its inception to the present and beyond, with particular emphasis on the role and position of Turkey, as a leading country in the humanitarian field, in this historic process.

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The WHS Preparation Process

It is true that the global humanitarian system has made considerable progress throughout history, to the common benefit of peoples in need. The omnibus UN resolution on humanitarian assistance of 1991¹ had laid the foundation, through which the present system was set to function.

Yet, given the scales of humanitarian crises today, it has become undeniable that the international community face tremendous challenges in the humanitarian field. In addition, the current humanitarian system can no longer adequately address today's humanitarian crises. In fact, contemporary humanitarian crises worsen in number and complexity. Moreover, such crises are transcending borders as the recent tragic exodus of refugees and effects of pandemics like Ebola and Zika have bitterly reminded the international community once again. What is more distressing is the ever-growing dichotomy between increasing needs at unprecedented levels and limited available resources in financing which marks the underlying problematic facing the present humanitarian system.

Today, 80 percent of humanitarian crises are caused by conflicts, with most being recurrent or protracted ones lasting years long. The number of people forcibly displaced worldwide is likely to have surpassed a record 60 million, half of which are children, mainly driven by protracted conflicts.

Natural disasters also cause loss of lives of millions and leave severe economic damages as a consequence. Natural disasters have affected 218 million people on average and caused over an economic damage of some 300 billion USD per year for the last 20 years. In brief, as the UN Secretary General stressed once, there is a record number of people, 130 million, who need aid to survive.²

As a whole, the foregoing realities form altogether the pressing background that led to the World Humanitarian Summit process initiated by the UN Secretary General in 2013.

The process was led by the UN, notably the WHS secretariat, the establishment of which was supported by Turkey. It was of a multi-stakeholder nature where all interested stakeholders of the world humanitarian community were able to participate in the spirit of consultation, in contrast to the customary intergovernmental process requiring negotiations. The

stakeholders included civil society, international and national aid organizations, private sector, academia, youth, faith groups, along with member states, UN specialized bodies and persons affected by crises. Through three years of consultations which brought together 23,000 people in more than 150 countries, the WHS Secretariat organized eight regional consultations, along with technical, sectorial ones and online discussions and submissions, as well as a thematic consultation which took place in Berlin, September 2015 as a follow-up to the former ones. The consultative process was finally completed with the global consultations in Geneva on 14-16 October 2015 concluding on a synthesis report as the outcome of the process.³

Following this consultation process, the UN Secretary-General articulated his vision and recommendations for the future of the global humanitarian system in his report, entitled “One Humanity: Shared Responsibility” which was issued on February 9, 2016.⁴ In this report, he identified five core responsibilities : Securing global leadership to prevent conflicts, respecting international humanitarian norms, reaching the most vulnerable and furthest behind, changing people’s lives and ending the need, and investing in humanity. The annex to this report, Agenda for Humanity, included concrete areas of action and provided the framework under which all stake holders including Member States could announce their commitments at the Summit.

Turkey’s Role and Position in The WHS Process

When the above-mentioned process was initiated by UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon in 2013, he declared Istanbul as the host of the first-ever World Humanitarian Summit, during the 68th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on 26 September 2013. In his statement, the Secretary General drew attention to Turkey’s position as one of the world’s leading humanitarian donors, as well as to Turkey’s own experience in directly responding to humanitarian emergencies.

The designation of Turkey by the UN Secretary General, as the host of the World Humanitarian Summit in the face of two other candidate cities, New York and Geneva, can be seen as the sign of international community’s acknowledgement for the role and position of Turkey in the humanitar-

ian system. It also indicates the evolving realities in the humanitarian field, to seek new balances between not only the traditional donors and emerging actors, but also the donors and affected ones.

In fact, Turkey has a strong tradition of responding to those in need. Situated in a disaster-prone geography, Turkey's land has historically been moulded with humanitarian efforts. As early as in the late 15th century, the Turkish rulers provided sanctuary to several hundreds of thousands of exiled populations fleeing persecution in their homelands. Since then Turks have embraced countless peoples in dire needs, regardless of their religious, ethnic or linguistic backgrounds, throughout history. Based on such heritage, modern Turkey has continued to provide humanitarian assistance to such peoples in need, by either hosting them in its territory or helping them in their own or third countries, to the extent of its resources and capacities.

Built on its own experiences, in recent times, this humanitarianism has been vividly reflected in Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy. This diplomacy has a broader meaning than mere humanitarian assistance which is yet an important tool of it. Humanitarian diplomacy as Turkey applies is a human-centered and conscience-driven policy having particular attention, in its efforts, on human dignity and development, in countries where humanitarian crises of all sorts occur.

Today, Turkey is long considered as the world's "most generous" humanitarian donor as the ratio of official humanitarian assistance to national income is taken into consideration.⁵ Beside the humanitarian assistance directed to the Syrians sheltered in Turkey, the amount allotted for overseas humanitarian assistance by Turkey has also been in steady increase. As the figures show, almost 70 percent of Turkish development aid has been used for humanitarian assistance purposes.⁶

While extending its humanitarian assistance globally, Turkey also hosts millions of affected people who fled in despair from their homelands, notably Syria and Iraq. This is a unique but rather bitter experience, through which Turkey can be better positioned to see the current issues prevailing in both sides of the system, as a donor and a refugee hosting country.

Turkey's humanitarian response is directed today to all types of crises ranging from conflict situations to natural disasters and pandemics, such

as Ebola. It is conducted through different formats via either emergency relief operations or more comprehensive ones, while always observing all related law, such as international humanitarian and refugee norms and regulations.

The system has institutionally three major pillars operating under the general coordination of the Turkish Foreign Ministry, namely, the Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (AFAD), the Turkish Red Crescent and the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA), the latter focusing on social and economic development through technical cooperation projects, whereas the former two focus more on humanitarian relief. They all operate also in close coordination with civil society organizations as appropriate. Naturally, specialized Ministries, such as the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, as well as the Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs, substantially contribute to the programmes in their areas of expertise.

All these institutions play roles in distribution of humanitarian aids in kind, fulfilment of development aids and evacuation of injured people. Moreover, Turkey has relatively a flexible humanitarian assistance system as regards to regulations, budget and decision-making process. These characteristics facilitate making humanitarian assistance promptly.

Currently, the main components of the Turkish humanitarian policy can be summarized as follows:

As manifested in today's cases around the globe, humanitarian crises appear in fact to be symptoms of bigger maladies. It is thus of great importance to address the root causes in order to treat the malady, rather than relieving only the symptoms. This is the main approach that drives Turkey's policies vis-à-vis humanitarian crises of the present era.

It is an undeniable fact that humanitarian crises can be alleviated by humanitarian aids but never eliminated without a sustainable and holistic approach. This requires a series of different tools to be deployed in tackling humanitarian crises through a more comprehensive and encompassing approach which complements crisis response policies with preventive ones.

Humanitarian crises caused or triggered by conflicts lead to serious impacts not only in the country of origin, but also in its neighbors. Turkey in its humanitarian policy has certainly had experience in both cases.

The major case in respect of the latter is hosting millions of Syrians fleeing the conflict in Syria. This is the biggest humanitarian crisis of a protracted nature in the present era which severely affects also the neighboring countries both financially and security-wise.

In line with its humanitarian responsibilities and its humanitarian diplomacy, Turkey has developed a multi-fold strategy, from the very beginning of the humanitarian crisis, to help the Syrians fleeing in exodus from their country.

Turkey has maintained an open border policy since the outset of the Syria crisis which is regarded as the worst human tragedy since the Second World War. More than 50 percent of the displaced Syrians found shelter in Turkey. "Turkey has become the biggest refugee-hosting nation in the world", to quote the UN High Commissioner for Refugees when launching the annual Global Trends Report on 18 June 2015.

As it is widely recognized, this policy has been conducted in the absence of a meaningful international support. While Turkey has spent more than 10 billion USD, the financial support coming from the international partners remains rather symbolic to this date, corresponding to only 5 percent of this amount⁷.

In this process, Turkey has tried to provide best possible living conditions for the Syrians and mobilized all institutions of the state, first and foremost, the Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (AFAD) and the Turkish Red Crescent.

Affected persons fleeing the conflict in Syria have been able to recreate in a user-oriented atmosphere, to the maximum extent possible, the previous lives and livelihoods they had to leave behind. In this regard, the innovative use of cash based assistance model in Turkey, the "e-voucher" programme, needs to be mentioned. This has been implemented in temporary protections centers (TPCs) housing Syrians since October 2012. The e-voucher program, as a human-oriented method, has not only enabled Syrian beneficiaries to do their shopping with these magnetic cards profiting the right to choose and to prepare their meals based on their traditional taste and preferences, but has also helped increase interaction and socialization through the provision of a marketplace. By eliminating the need for public aid institutions to provide three daily meals, the e-voucher program also proves cost-effective.

As to the humanitarian assistance policies directed to countries of origin stricken by humanitarian crises in conflict, Turkey's policy to assist Somalia can be regarded as an exemplary case.

Somalia is in fact the most striking example of countries affected by protracted crises which are triggered by both conflicts and natural disasters. The country was hit by a severe famine in 2011. Following the visit of the then Prime Minister of Turkey, all segments of the Turkish society from public institutions to NGOs and private sector were mobilized to assist the people of Somalia. This process has gradually resulted into a comprehensive policy, comprising humanitarian, development as well as stabilization efforts in an integrated strategy. In a relatively short span of time, several projects were put into action which consisted of human and institutional capacity building, construction of essential infrastructure, providing services such as education, sanitation and health etc. while humanitarian aids such as delivering food and medicine continued.

In this multi-stakeholder process, in addition to TİKA, AFAD and the Turkish Red Crescent, the Turkish business sector, civil society as well as municipalities have also been heavily engaged with fund raising and undertaking humanitarian and development assistance projects. While the projects on humanitarian aid and development assistance are carried out in a concerted way, political efforts of Turkey contributing to stabilization efforts have also been put into action through bilateral and multilateral channels. Naturally, all these have become possible with a holistic and integrated approach under a strong political leadership.

As can be seen from the foregoing, the development-oriented humanitarian assistance constitutes the core of Turkey's policies in its humanitarian response. Given the complexity of the present crises, the humanitarian-development nexus needs to be strengthened to increase the resilience and capacity of recipient actors to respond to humanitarian crises themselves.

This is crucially important to address the humanitarian crises of recurrent and protracted nature. Both have one underlying fact in common: severe negative impacts of a destructive nature on the country in question, including refugee plights.

In such cases, humanitarian crises are triggered as the negative impact of insufficient development, environmental issues, conflicts, poverty and lack

of infrastructure. For example, in many cases in sub-Saharan Africa, there exists a vicious circle entangling the countries. Food crises mostly resulting in famine repeat themselves in circles, due to either drought or flooding which are aggravated by climatic degradation such as deforestation or desertification. Limited agricultural capacities are ruined by either droughts or floods every season due to the limited basic infrastructure (water storage or drainage systems etc.) or lack of human or institutional capacity to tackle such disasters.

This vicious circle is hard to break. Why? Because there is a huge problem on the development side. Such vicious circles might risk even causing or triggering conflicts leading to refugee crises as well.

In such cases, humanitarian crises cannot be remedied fully without developmental tools. This makes also the SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals of the UN) crucial both to tackle humanitarian emergencies and to enhance peace and security. In fact, to ensure peace and security lasting and enduring, the humanitarian action needs to be supplemented with sustainable development along with democratic structures.

In order to break such vicious circles it is needed to intervene with various tools. At the first stage, Turkey intervenes with humanitarian aids for emergency humanitarian relief and continues with development projects to support resilience, in tandem or simultaneously as appropriate.

This is the main philosophy behind the Turkish policy in such cases, which is marked with the combined use of humanitarian and development financing along with various tools in a concerted way.

This is not an easy task but the result is rewarding for all.

The combined use of humanitarian and development tools turns to be cost effective for donors in the longer run as affected countries become more resilient increasing their level of development, thanks to development aids on basic infrastructure, human and institutional capacity-building. This development assistance enables affected countries to resist to such humanitarian shocks, which in turn would reduce their need of humanitarian aids in future. Thus, it is a win-win approach.

This model is also applied to conflict-driven protracted crises. In these cases Turkey's humanitarian and developmental efforts are complemented

with political and stabilization efforts. This approach is also applicable to neighboring countries hosting refugees in a protracted case because of the severe impacts on such countries.

Today, such an approach is increasingly recognized as an effective way to overcome humanitarian-development divide. In the related literature, there is a classic analogy to describe development-oriented humanitarian policies: Give the needy fishes to eat, but teach them also how to fish. Yet, Turkey's policy in this regard goes far beyond this as it aims to assist the country in need to manufacture fishing tools and help for the creation of its fishing industry. This naturally requires a holistic approach.

These policies are always carried out in cooperation with the authorities of the host country in need, taking into account its demands. In this process, TIKA, Turkey's hand abroad along with all agencies and institutions such as AFAD and Turkish Red Crescent, as well as NGOs, act together in coordination with respective Ministries towards this end.

Naturally, there are certain conditions for the success of such combined use of different instruments and financing. Making different bureaucracies work together is not an easy task. For the success, the main key words are : case-specific but holistic approach, joint and integrated strategy and planning based on shared analyses, context-based and tailor-made programmes, concerted actions through better coordination avoiding duplication, overlapping and flexible budgeting. All these need an enhanced culture of collective labor which definitely requires a mentality change. There comes the important role of strong political backing and leadership.

Another area in responding to humanitarian crises where Turkey has developed its own policies is related to emergency responses to disasters, be they natural or man-made. Turkey is in fact a disaster-prone country subject to the destructive impact of such disasters. During the last century, around 50 big earthquakes, numerous floods and landslides, forest fires, mining accidents and more hit Turkey. Not only common sufferings but also common experiences along with them are embedded in the memory of Turkey. Thus, Turkey has enhanced its capacity for disaster response with its NGOs and public institutions, notably AFAD, Turkish Red Crescent and TIKA, and has taken an active role in humanitarian field.

Just like in its other activities, Turkey considers humanitarian assistance in response to disasters as a moral obligation and an international responsi-

bility, too. With this understanding, Turkey extends a helping hand to all disaster regions in its neighborhood and beyond, which essentially contributes to the stability of international community as well.

These abovementioned views, practices and experiences of Turkey, in particular on the joint use of humanitarian and development assistance in areas affected by protracted and recurrent crises and financial support to refugee hosting countries on a basis of effective, genuine and fair burden sharing, were extensively shared with the international community during the WHS preparation process to which Turkish stakeholders actively contributed in substance. In this process, they were also submitted by Turkey in a compact manner as the National Position Paper⁸ to the Summit Secretariat as early as in June 2015. In addition to the aforementioned policies, Turkey also underlined in its position paper,

- Need for stronger coordination not only among the relevant UN bodies operating in the field, but also between them for better field effectiveness,
- Need for new financing mechanisms and new global pooled funds in order to ensure the predictability, sustainability and reliability of humanitarian financing,
- Need for effective and genuine burden-sharing in financial terms to neighboring countries that host displaced populations.
- Need for close consultation and cooperation with local authorities and affected populations in needs assessment and delivery of in kind and cash assistance.

Istanbul Summit and the Way Forward

As stated earlier, the WHS process reached its culmination in Istanbul on 23-24 May 2016 with the summit. In accordance with its format the Istanbul Summit evolved into a high level global platform where all interested stakeholders of the world humanitarian community announced their commitments to the future of the humanitarian system, while sharing their experiences and views, in view of the UN Secretary General's report and its Agenda for Humanity which was released in February 2016. In this context, likeminded countries and stakeholders also made joint commitment, statements, or launched initiatives as well.

As formally stated by the UN, the Summit had three main goals⁹:

To re-inspire and reinvigorate a commitment to humanity and to the universality of humanitarian principles.

To initiate a set of concrete actions and commitments aimed at enabling countries and communities to better prepare for and respond to crises, and be resilient to shocks.

To share best practices which can help save lives around the world, put affected people at the center of humanitarian action, and alleviate suffering.

The summit comprised of the following events: Leaders' Segment, Announcement Plenary, 7 high level roundtable meetings, 15 special sessions and more than 130 side events, not to mention the exhibition fair and innovation market place which brought hundreds of stands and exhibitors. In two consecutive days, these events took place simultaneously in a rather busy environment where stakeholders practically rushed from one to other meetings, cognizant of their common ownership for the future of humanity.¹⁰

During the countdown process started a year ago by the UN Secretary General, around 2-3 thousand people were envisaged to attend the Summit. Later, the expectations were updated to 5-6 thousand people in view of increased engagement of the stakeholders in the preparations in the lead up to the Summit. However, as mentioned in the introduction, the summit ultimately ended up in 9,000 participants who were physically present.

As regards the donors world, Chancellor of Germany was the only Prime Minister who participated in the summit from the G7 countries at that level and Japan was represented by the former prime minister as the special envoy of the Japanese PM. Other G7 countries participated at ministerial level or below.¹¹ Nevertheless, donor countries other than G7 countries participated at the level of Minister and above. Likewise, all the EU countries attended the Summit at high levels ranging from the heads of state or government to the ministers.

It was also welcoming that the members of the G77 and LDC's, who represent in general the recipient side in the humanitarian system, were mostly present at ministerial level or above. It would not be wrong to argue that hosting of the Summit, which was not assumed by a traditional

donor country but by Turkey as a leading donor and an affected country which conducts an active humanitarian diplomacy, had an impact on this active engagement.

The record level of participation from the UN member states was attained despite the reluctance shown by these member states in general towards the non-intergovernmental structure of the WHS process. This can be attributed to the growing interest of the world humanitarian community in the alarming challenges transcending borders such as refugee flows. It is with no doubt that the selection of Turkey as the host country as well as the active role Turkey has assumed in the humanitarian domain in recent years has also contributed to the increasing level of engagement of the stakeholders to be present in Istanbul.

During the Summit, Turkey's views and positions, which are summarized above, were extensively voiced by the President of Turkey, H.E. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and several members of the Governments, including the Minister of Foreign Affairs, H.E. Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, as well as by other high level national bodies such as AFAD at several meetings¹². President Erdoğan *inter alia* co-chaired with the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon, the Leaders' Segment where all heads of state and government attended sharing their ideas about the future of the system in support for the Agenda for Humanity.

Turkey also announced its support to the commitments in the five responsibility areas of the "Agenda for Humanity" document and made numerous national commitments. The commitments Turkey made during the Summit mark in fact both Turkey's achievements in the humanitarian domain and its commitment to improve the collective response to humanity in line with the spirit of shared responsibility and common ownership.

The Turkish public stakeholders and NGOs also marked the priorities of Turkish humanitarian policy through 21 side events¹³ and several exhibitions they held during the Summit.

Furthermore, Turkey as the host country organized an international academic forum on 21 May 2016 in Istanbul, in contribution to the Summit where members of academia from various parts of the world gathered to discuss good practices in responding to most pressing types of humanitarian crises.¹⁴

The formal conclusion of the Istanbul Summit was marked by the Chair's Summary of the UN Secretary General, which in brief reflected announcements and commitments declared at the Summit as well as his initial views about the way forward. As can be seen in the document, the pressing issues of the humanitarian system, such as the importance of political leadership to prevent and end conflicts, the need for avoiding development-humanitarian divide and better handling forced displacement as a consequence of humanitarian crises, as well as the needs for more engagement in humanitarian financing and upholding humanitarian principles and law were all discussed at length during the summit and several ideas and commitments were presented with a view to their improvements. In the Chair's Summary, Secretary General's proposal for a possible review process in the post-summit era was also noteworthy. He stated "We should collectively assess progress made in taking forward the Agenda for Humanity and the commitments we have made at this Summit by 2020. We owe it to all people affected by crises, and we owe it to ourselves in the name of our common humanity and our shared responsibility. Let us now turn the Agenda for Humanity into an instrument of global transformation."¹⁵

As the UN Secretary General mentioned in his Chair's Summary, the way forward in the aftermath of the Istanbul Summit is of crucial importance for the future of the humanitarian system. According to the agreed timeline, all the commitments which were made at the summit will be compiled in a document entitled "Commitments to Action". Announcements of commitments were gathered online through an online Commitments Platform at the summit. The platform allowed Member States and other stakeholders to register commitments to action or to join existing initiatives. Based on these commitments and views announced at the Summit, the UN Secretary General will report to the UN General Assembly in September 2016 which will likely be setting possible directions and orientations for the post-summit process. As the UN Secretary General comes to the end of his tenure in the end of 2016, whatever the post-summit process would be, will be the responsibility of his successor. The two basic questions will be pending in the period ahead: what would be the eventual channels for furthering the process for the betterment of the humanitarian system and how would all these commitments materialize to translate them into concrete actions in the post-summit process?

The WHS has served as a unique and historic platform to address the alarming challenges of the humanitarian system and express commitments for sustainable solutions in order to improve the lives of millions of crisis-affected people. The initiative to organize the first-ever World Humanitarian Summit, and also the growing interest of the global community in the preparations of the Summit were testimony to the urgent need acknowledged to address the alarming challenges in the humanitarian system.

The global humanitarian community should assume the responsibility to follow up the Summit outcomes and take the commitments forward through various channels, including intergovernmental and inter-agency platforms together with all the stakeholders. It is hoped that the Istanbul Summit has set the seeds for a transformative change in the system encompassing a mentality, if not a paradigm, shift as well. The Istanbul Summit was not a destination, but departure point of a historic journey for the future of the humanitarian system. With this understanding, President Erdoğan called indeed on all the stakeholders at the opening session of the Istanbul Summit, stating “we should never forget our responsibilities vis-à-vis the people who locked their eyes and hearts to the messages and commitments that will arise from Istanbul”¹⁶.

From its inception Turkey has vocally advocated that the summit should not be a one-time event but entail a process with a clearly defined follow-up. Now, it is of crucial importance to build on the global momentum which the Istanbul Summit has generated and to work in close and genuine partnership with all stakeholders to improve our collective response to humanity in line with our shared responsibility. This should be the common responsibility of each and every member of the world humanitarian community, at least to alleviate the suffering of those in need, if not to end it, so that the future of our common humanity could be secured in a sustained manner.

Endnotes

- 1 UN General Assembly Resolution 46/182/19 December 1991 on Strengthening of the coordination of Humanitarian emergency assistance of the United Nations.
- 2 Secretary-General’s opening remarks at World Humanitarian Summit, <http://www.un.org/sg/statements/index.asp?nid=9723>.
- 3 See for details <http://worldhumanitariansummit.org/consultation-reports>

- 4 The report is available at [https:// www.worldhumanitariansummit.org](https://www.worldhumanitariansummit.org). Prior to his report, the High Level Panel on Humanitarian Financing which was commissioned by him earlier, submitted its report on the proposed ways and means on how to better finance the humanitarian system. Its recommendations were instrumental to shape the preparations of the Istanbul Summit, which mostly correspond to the views of Turkey, such as on the importance of joint use of humanitarian and development assistance (the report is also available at https://consultations2.worldhumanitarian-summit.org/whs_finance/hlphumanitarianfinancing.)
- 5 See the global humanitarian assistance reports at [http:// www.globalhumanitarian-assistance.org](http://www.globalhumanitarian-assistance.org)
- 6 The overseas humanitarian assistance of Turkey reached 2, 4 billion USD in 2014 . See for details http://www.tika.gov.tr/tr/yayin/liste/trky_raporlari-24
- 7 See the web page of AFAD, www.afad.gov.tr
- 8 The paper is available at <http://whsturkey.org/turkey-and-the-summit/key-documents-for-turkey>
- 9 See <https://www.worldhumanitariansummit.org/faq>
- 10 For detailed information, see www.worldhumanitariansummit.org.
- 11 The G7 Summit was held in Japan on May 26-27, just after the Istanbul Summit, which seems to have affected the participation level from these countries. This was criticized at the Istanbul Summit. To show their support to WHS, the G7 leaders expressed their welcome for the organization of the WHS summit in their final communique of the G7 Summit, see G7 Ise-Shima Leaders' Declaration at <http://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000160266.pdf>.
- 12 The texts of the speeches made by the President of Turkey and the Minister of Foreign Affairs are available on the official web site of Turkey for the WHS , see <http://whsturkey.org>
- 13 For detailed information, see <http://whsturkey.org/side-events>
- 14 For detailed information, see <http://sam.gov.tr/world-humanitarian-summit-academic-forum>
- 15 The Chair's Summary is available at <https://consultations2.worldhumanitariansummit.org/bitcache/5171492e71696bcf9d4c571c93dfc6dcd7f361ee?vid=581078&disposition=inline&op=view>
- 16 see <http://whsturkey.org/turkey-and-the-summit/statements>

UN Least Developed Countries Mid Term Review

Emre Yunt¹

Turkey has successfully hosted the Comprehensive High Level Mid-Term Review of the Istanbul Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries, held in Antalya on 27-29 May 2016.

Held under the Presidency of H.E. Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, and co-organized by the Turkish Government and the United Nations Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States, the meeting reviewed the progress Least Developed Countries (LDCs) are making on the path to sustainable development.

Around 2000 participants including high-level officials and representatives from governments, parliaments, international and regional organizations, civil society, private sector, think-tanks, foundations and the media participated in this three-day meeting, featuring an inter-governmental plenary, high-level roundtables, a private sector forum, a civil society forum, a pre-conference event and a series of side-events organized by different stakeholders including parliamentarians, private sector and civil society.

The Mid Term Review primarily aimed at following up the progress regarding the implementation of the Istanbul Programme of Action (IPoA) adopted at the 4th United Nations Conference on the LDCs, also hosted by Turkey in Istanbul in May 2011.

The IPoA is a forward-looking document that reflects the international community's strong political will to support the LDCs. It provides a comprehensive roadmap for the 2011-2020 period to solve the developmental problems of the LDCs.

1 Ambassador Emre Yunt is presently Director General for Multilateral Economic Affairs at the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was responsible in the organization of the high level meeting.

LDCs, according to the UN classification, comprise the 48 poorest countries of the world which struggle with structural problems in terms of economy, development, institutionalization and human resources. LDCs account for one eighth of the world population with approximately 900 million people, while representing only one percent of the global economy.

The Mid Term Review of the IPoA for the LDCs took stock of the progress made over the last five years since the adoption of the IPoA and discussed the steps to be taken in the next five years in the light of the 2030 Agenda, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda, the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction and the Paris Agreement on Climate Change.

Following fruitful discussions throughout the plenary sessions and thematic roundtable events, the Mid Term Review adopted a Political Declaration. The Political Declaration featured the challenges as well as the opportunities facing the LDCs. It took note of the progress achieved by the LDCs in terms of reductions in child and maternal mortality, gender equality in education, access to Internet, and economic growth.

The Political Declaration also highlighted the prerequisites of sustainable development across LDCs vis-à-vis current challenges: building infrastructure and productive capacity, ensuring access to energy, eradicating poverty, and improving resilience.

It was emphasized that access to duty-free and quota-free markets and mechanisms to facilitate preferential treatment against LDCs in trade and efforts to attract higher volumes of foreign direct investment to LDCs could bolster development efforts of LDCs.

Furthermore, measures to increase resilience across LDCs were discussed and to carry out a research to study the impacts of natural disasters, pandemics and economic vulnerabilities on LDCs was agreed. The Mid Term Review has reaffirmed the strong commitment of the international community to support the development efforts of LDCs.

In terms of concrete actions to overcome eminent development challenges, the Mid Term Review produced significant outcomes. Technology Bank for the LDCs which Turkey will host in Gebze was chief among these. The Political Declaration called upon developed and developing country partners, as well as international organizations, foundations and the private sector to provide voluntary financial and technical assistance to the

Technology Bank to ensure its effective operation. The Technology Bank is expected to become operational in 2017 and provide significant contributions to the scientific and technological capacity of the LDCs.

Another important message which came out of this meeting was the continuing importance of Official Development Assistance (ODA) which catalyzes private sector involvement, facilitates capacity building and technology development.

Turkey pioneered the efforts of increasing contributions and support of the G-20 platform towards global development agenda during its Presidency in 2015, and recorded important achievements. Turkey has raised its ODA to 3.9 billion Dollars which accounts for 0.54% of its gross national income in 2015. As an emerging donor, Turkey will continue to increase its ODA and meet its commitments to LDCs, reinforcing its position as a reliable development partner.

As a clear indication of this, Turkey has met and surpassed its commitment to provide development support of 200 million US Dollars annually for the LDCs, providing a total support of more than 1.5 billion US Dollars in the last five years.

Having successfully hosted the Comprehensive High Level Mid-Term Review of the Istanbul Programme of Action for the LDCs, Turkey will continue to give strong financial and technical support to the development efforts of LDCs.

Documents

Standing Up for Humanity: Committing to Action Chair's Summary

The first World Humanitarian Summit on 23-24 May 2016 in Istanbul convened 9000 participants from 173 Member States, including 55 Heads of State and Government, hundreds of private sector representatives, and thousands of people from civil society and non-governmental organizations. The United Nations in its 70 years has never come together at this scale, with this many different stakeholders, to discuss the pressing challenges that are resulting in so much suffering today. The generosity and substantive contribution of the Government and people of Turkey have been invaluable in facilitating and enabling this historic gathering.

Civil strife and conflicts are driving suffering and humanitarian need to unprecedented levels and serious violations of international humanitarian law and abuses of international human rights law continue on an alarming scale with entire populations left without essential supplies they desperately need. Natural disasters, exacerbated by the effects of climate change, are affecting greater numbers of women, men and children than ever before, eroding development gains and jeopardizing the stability of entire countries. At the same time we have been unable to generate the resources to cope with these alarming trends, and there is a need for more direct predictable humanitarian financing.

The Summit has brought to the forefront of global attention the scale of the changes required if we are to address the magnitude of challenges before us. The participants have made it emphatically clear that humanitarian assistance alone can neither adequately address nor sustainably reduce the needs of over 130 million of the world's most vulnerable people. A new and coherent approach is required based on addressing root causes, increasing political diplomacy for prevention and conflict resolution, and bringing humanitarian, development and peace-building efforts together.

The inclusive, open, comprehensive, multi-stakeholder nature of the Summit has been essential to harness the skills, experience and resources required to respond to the magnitude of the challenges that confront us. Over the past three years, the Summit has consulted world leaders, civil society,

international, national and regional organizations, NGOs, the private sector, academia, technical experts and most importantly people affected by crises. The Summit brought together the thousands of participants who responded to my Call to Action by making commitments and launching initiatives in the leaders' segment, seven high-level roundtables, 15 special sessions, 132 side events, and two days of plenary; as well as the exhibition fair and innovation market place. Commitments made at the Summit will also have a critical role in achieving commitments made in the 202 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda, and the Paris (COP 21) Agreement on Climate Change, on the needs and the interest of the most vulnerable.

Over the past two days, I have been moved by the stories I have heard, and the resilience, compassion and dedication I have witnessed. I am deeply grateful to those humanitarian workers who have travelled to Istanbul to share their experience and even more so for those who have remained to continue working on the frontlines. This Summit has truly been a unique opportunity for the global community to take responsibility to place people first: to secure their safety, to uphold their dignity, and to provide opportunities for a better future. Together we have taken steps to awaken the global conscience. We have given a glimmer of hope to millions of people suffering that they are not alone, that we stand in solidarity with them. Now our task is to transform that solidarity into action.

I am humbled and heartened by the support that has been generated toward the vision I laid out in my report One Humanity: Shared Responsibility and its Annex, the Agenda for Humanity. I am encouraged by how many participants have embraced the five core responsibilities and committed to use them as a framework to improve our collective response to humanity. As we leave Istanbul, we know that the World Humanitarian Summit is only the beginning and not the end of a journey.

I. Political Leadership to Prevent and End Conflict

Global leaders recognized the centrality of political will to effectively prevent and end conflicts, to address root causes and to reduce fragility and

strengthen good governance. Preventing and resolving conflicts would be the biggest difference leaders could make to reduce overwhelming humanitarian needs. Humanitarian action cannot be a substitute for political action. Leaders recognized this could only happen if words and good intentions were now replaced with united leadership, collective and decisive action, and a genuine commitment to comply with the international frameworks countries had agreed on. A complementary approach to conflict prevention would be necessary, bringing together, preventive diplomacy, sustainable development, addressing climate change, upholding human rights, and building inclusive societies.

- Leaders pledged to **increase the number, skills-base and funding for people working on conflict prevention and resolution** within national administrations and international and regional organizations.
- Countries affirmed their responsibility to prevent and end conflicts through greater efforts at prevention, including by a number of States making commitments to **take early action** to prevent potential crises from deteriorating into violent conflict by collecting, analysing, sharing and acting on early warning information.
- The Summit affirmed more political leadership was required for **mediation, peaceful resolution and conflict prevention and to working collaboratively** at the regional and international levels. Commitments were made to strengthen the UN's mediation efforts, and some participants called for the Security Council to take a more proactive role by re-instating situational awareness briefings, including through the more active use of Articles 34 and 99 of the UN Charter.
- The Summit overwhelmingly affirmed that there must be greater attention to **address root causes of conflict**, and to **reduce fragility** by greater investment in inclusive and peaceful societies. Participants called for an approach that **truly engaged communities, civil society and youth**, and for the **equal participation of women** in leadership roles and peacebuilding processes.
- States and regional organizations that had successfully resolved conflicts committed to work with others in **sharing best practices**. Proposals were made to host preparations for the World Prevention Forum focused on capturing and consolidating lessons learned.

II. Uphold the Norms that Safeguard Humanity

Enhancing the protection of civilians in armed conflict was at the very heart of the Summit, recognizing that the fundamental norms embodied in international humanitarian and human rights law provide a universal safeguard to ensure the protection of civilians in armed conflict. State, civil society and humanitarian leaders repeatedly stated that international humanitarian and human rights law is more relevant than ever: it is the last protection against barbarity. We therefore must not take the easy way out and declare all civilians collateral damage.

- Global leaders announced significant commitments to enhance **compliance with international humanitarian and human rights law** through a spectrum of concrete measures, including by training State armed forces and non-State armed groups, adopting national legislation, ratifying core international treaties, advocating their universalization, as well as education and awareness-raising. A number of participants pledged national measures to enhance the **protection of women and girls against sexual violence**. Some leaders expressed support for improved monitoring and reporting of violations, and for the Swiss-ICRC initiative towards strengthening compliance with international humanitarian law. Various participants pledged to continue to train non-State armed groups to adhere to international humanitarian and human rights law and to monitor their implementation.
- Participants recognized the urgent need for **concrete measures to reduce civilian casualties in the conduct of hostilities**. A number of leaders pledged to continue to support the collection of data on the harm to civilians caused by the use of explosive weapons in populated areas and on good practices and lessons learned in minimizing impacts on civilians when using such weapons in populated areas. Leaders also pledged to promote the Guidelines for Protecting Schools and Universities from Military Use During Armed Conflict, as well as the Safe Schools Declaration. A number of participants expressed support for the UN Plan of Action for the Protection of Journalists and called for the creation of national mechanisms to monitor threats against them.
- Participants underscored denial of humanitarian access deprives people of human dignity. **Unfettered humanitarian access is imperative**

and humanitarian principles must be upheld and promoted with the utmost urgency. More systematic approaches to monitoring and responding to access constraints were essential. Civil society shared practical examples on how to overcome impediments to principled humanitarian relief operations.

- Leaders, civil society and humanitarian organization expressed outrage by attacks committed against hospitals, patients, and medical and humanitarian workers who risk their lives to bring relief and care to those in need. Participants pledged to **raise awareness and build trust for health care personnel.** In addition, it was the need to adopt a similar declaration to the Safe Schools Declaration to spare medical facilities from military use was proposed.
- National legislation to implement the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court; mutual legal assistance to hold perpetrators accountable for most serious crimes, and increased access to justice for victims of sexual violence were among the commitments announced as important practical steps being taken at the national level to **strengthen accountability and bring an end to impunity.** A number of participants expressed support for the Code of Conduct regarding Security Council action against genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes, and for restraint in exercising Security Council veto power where a mass atrocity has been ascertained. There was wide agreement that unless we hold perpetrators to account, there will be no stopping this downward spiral.

III. Leave No One Behind

The Summit demonstrated the international community's resolve to live up to the pledge to leave no one behind in the quest for sustainable development for all. World leaders and people from all segments of society affirmed that those who are most at risk of being left behind, including the more than 60 million displaced, and women, children and other groups in crisis situations, will receive the global attention and support they deserve to live in safety and dignity and with opportunities to thrive.

- Participants praised the leadership and generosity of countries and communities hosting large numbers of refugees, but recognized global

displacement is our shared responsibility. Many agreed on the need to better share responsibilities to **address large movements of refugees**.

- Participants resolved to pursue **a new approach to address the needs of internally displaced persons and refugees** that would meet immediate humanitarian needs and longer-term development outcomes to enhance the self-reliance of refugees, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and host communities. To bring this vision into action, a number of participants pledged to create livelihood and education opportunities for organization committed to develop financial services tailored to the needs of displaced people and to waive transaction fees for people in crisis.
- Participants reaffirmed their **commitment to uphold and respect international protection standards**. Participants provided details on commitments to strengthen national legislation and policies to protect IDPs, as well as to foster the implementation of the Kampala Convention. Together these efforts will be a first step towards meeting the ambitious target of reducing internal displacement by 50 per cent, put forward in the Agenda for Humanity. A number of countries also committed to support a comprehensive framework for refugees.
- There were widespread calls at the Summit for **gender equality, women's empowerment and women's rights to become pillars of humanitarian action**. Participants committed to increased programming to enable women and girls to take on roles as leaders and decision-makers. New methods and new financial support for creating accountability to gender equality programming were announced. Plans to end tolerance of gender-based violence against women and girls were launched, and commitments were made to ensure the right to sexual and reproductive health care is fulfilled for all women and adolescent girls in crisis settings.
- **Education Cannot Wait - a Fund for Education in Emergencies** was launched at the Summit to support the delivery of quality education to all children in emergencies and protracted crises by 2030. Education Cannot Wait galvanized an initial commitment of \$90 million from

donors and the private sector, with greater commitments expected in the lead up to the 72nd session of the UN General Assembly. The Global Business Coalition for Education announced its intentions to mobilize \$100 million for this Fund in financial and in-kind contributions.

- Multi-stakeholder groups launched the first-ever **Charter on Inclusion of Persons with Disabilities in Humanitarian Action**, and a **Compact for Young People in Humanitarian Action**. Participants stressed the specific vulnerabilities of migrants must be considered in humanitarian response and their particular protection, human rights and assistance needs addressed. Hundreds of other commitments were made to focus efforts on those at risk of being left behind, including older persons and other groups who can be among the most vulnerable in crises.

IV. Change People's Lives: From Delivering Aid to Ending Need

The Summit reinforced support from all stakeholders to go beyond meeting humanitarian needs, by changing people's lives through ending needs. Global leaders recognized that humanitarian emergencies can no longer be viewed in isolation from broader sustainable development efforts, while also ensuring that humanitarian action in remains principled where context. Summit commitments give impetus to the new way of working put forward in the Agenda for Humanity. Based on their comparative advantage, all actors must work together towards collective outcomes to reduce need, vulnerability and risk, and support national and local efforts, while ensuring respect for humanitarian principles.

- Participants at the Summit recognized the need to ensure **people affected by crises are not only informed and consulted, but put at the centre of the decision-making processes**. People affected by crisis should be treated as partners, not beneficiaries. Numerous commitments were made towards addressing this shift by donors, UN agencies and NGOs including the adoption of the Core Humanitarian Standard.
- There was widespread commitment to reinforce the **coping strategies** of the affected communities themselves and to recognize and prioritised the **development of national and local capacity** to lead and respond to crises.

- The Summit also launched the Regional Organisations Humanitarian Action Network, set up to strengthen capacities and collaboration within and between **regional organisations** - that have been increasing their capacity to complement both national and international response and preparedness efforts.
- Participants were clear about reinforcing the importance of humanitarian actors to be able to **deliver predictable and flexible life-saving assistance** according to humanitarian principles.
- The **Global Preparedness Partnership** was launched by the Vulnerable 20 Group of Finance Ministers, the UN and the World Bank to help an initial set of 20 of the most at-risk countries achieve a minimum level of readiness to future shocks by 2020. The **One Billion Coalition for Resilience** will be driven forward to strengthen the safety, health and well-being of vulnerable populations everywhere by mobilizing 1 billion people to better support community resilience over the next ten years. Additionally, Summit participants pledged to give more **funds directly to local actors** where possible.
- Member States committed to improve practices around **data collection, analysis and early warning** including the establishment of a global risk platform. It was also announced that the United Nations committed to making all its plans and programmes risk informed. These efforts would not only greatly assist in responding better to crises, but also lead to more predictable finance to allow early action, such as through risk finance and insurance. Linked to this are commitments to scale up social protection, including through greater cash transfer programming, in more fragile contexts.
- Two alliances were launched to forge partnerships with a wider array of actors: The **Global Alliance for Urban Crises** will strengthen prevention, preparedness and response in increasingly precarious urban settings, particularly with local municipal actors; while the **Global Alliance for Humanitarian Innovation (GAHI)** seeks to accelerate transformative improvements in humanitarian action by creating a shared space for the development of innovative tools, approaches, and processes. The Summit also called for a transformational change in the approach to protecting and promoting the health of the millions of people that are

affected by crises and endorsed a new global undertaking for **health action in crises**.

- The **Connecting Business Initiative (CBI)** was launched committing to better link private sector skills and resources before, during and after emergencies - bringing together 11 national private sector networks representing hundreds of companies worldwide – with wide multi-stakeholder support. Satellite and mobile industries have launched charters that will dramatically increase connectivity for affected populations.
- The Summit achieved significant commitments to **transcend the humanitarian-development divide** whilst reinforcing the importance of respecting humanitarian principles and space. In recognizing the need to change, the UN Secretary-General, eight United Nations agencies and endorsed by the World Bank – signed a breakthrough ‘Commitment to Action’ on collaborating in a New Way of Working that will lead to strengthening the United Nations to meet needs, reducing vulnerabilities and managing risk better by working together towards collective outcomes, over multi-year timeframes and based on comparative advantage in each context.

V. Core Responsibility Five – Invest in Humanity

The Summit reinforced the crucial role of financing as the key enabling and catalytic factor towards both meeting and reducing needs. Building upon the High-Level Panel for Humanitarian Financing, as well as in the Agenda for Humanity, participants made commitments that will help ensure that over 130 million people in need worldwide have increased access to life-saving humanitarian assistance and protection, and to make existing funds go further. More specifically, there was recognition that financing needs to be able to support the new way of working. At the same time, it was clear that there remained a need to increase direct, timely and predictable humanitarian financing.

- Participants emphasized that **humanitarian needs must be met by adequate and predictable financing**. Commitments were made to increase resources and widen the donor base, including through expanding financing streams and mechanisms, ramping up risk insurance,

greater support to pooled financing mechanisms, and mobilization of Islamic Social Finance. There was broad support from Member States to increase the Central Emergency Response Fund to \$1 billion. This included a 25 per cent increase by one country, a pledge to provide \$149 million over 5 years, as well as an initiative to use risk financing (backed by a fund to help pay the premium) to establish an innovative financing mechanism linked to risk insurance.

- Donors and humanitarian partners announced agreement on a **Grand Bargain** that will help get more means into the hands of people in need by saving incrementally up to a billion dollars in efficiency savings to humanitarian action over the next five years. Included was a commitment to channel 25 per cent of **financing to national and local responders as directly as possible** by 2020. This was embodied by an ambitious set of commitments signed by 27 international and 37 international NGOs in the Charter4Change as well as others coming from the newly-established Network for Empowered Aid Response, and existing NGO networks such as ICVA, InterAction, and ACT Alliance.
- **New innovative partnerships** were announced between humanitarians and private sector financial and technology companies, who will lend their expertise in digital payments, mobile money and other areas to help meet people's needs more quickly and efficiently.
- On behalf of seven **multilateral development banks**, the World Bank and the European Investment Bank committed to close collaboration among the group in order to generate more evidence and data to guide solutions in fragile states with an objective of promoting economic resilience. In particular the World Bank announced the establishment of a **Global Financing Response Platform** which would provide long-term, extremely low-interest development projects to address fragility. The Summit also saw several concrete commitments for scaling up the use of **cash transfers** in conjunction with national social protection schemes.

VI. Way Forward

The World Humanitarian Summit has been a wake-up call for action for humanity. It has generated global momentum and political will to move

forward on the Agenda for Humanity and the five core responsibilities to deliver better for people across the globe. The strong commitments made against this Agenda are a first important step towards achieving this. Now is the time to act. We must honour our commitments and champion them, pursuing this Agenda collectively and with resolve and urgency over the coming months and years.

All individual and joint commitments made will be reflected in a Commitments to Action platform. This platform will be publicly accessible and allow us to hold ourselves to account for commitments made. I am committed to building on the global momentum this first World Humanitarian Summit has generated and to working in partnership with all stakeholders to make the vision of the Agenda for Humanity a transformational reality to deliver on its five core responsibilities. In September, I will report to the United Nations General Assembly on the achievements of this Summit. I will propose ways on how to take commitments forward, including through intergovernmental and inter-agency avenues and the many initiatives, platforms and partnerships launched at the Summit. An annual update will review progress made in taking forward and implementing all that has been achieved and committed at this Summit.

The Summit is a point of departure to act, but there must also be a destination - a point where our action will have helped to transform the lives of millions of people around the world. We should collectively assess progress made in taking forward the Agenda for Humanity and the commitments we have made at this Summit by 2020. We owe it to all people affected by crises and owe it to ourselves, in the name of our common humanity and our shared responsibility. Let us now turn the Agenda for Humanity into an instrument of global transformation.

Excerpts from the political declaration submitted by the President

Comprehensive High-level Midterm Review of the Implementation of the Istanbul Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries for the Decade 2011-2020 Antalya, Turkey, 27-29 May 2016

1. We, the Heads of State and Government and High Representatives participating in the Comprehensive High-level Midterm Review of the implementation of the Istanbul Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries for the Decade 2011-2020, are gathered here in Antalya, Turkey, from 27 to 29 May 2016 to undertake a comprehensive review of the implementation of the Istanbul Programme of Action, to share best practices and lessons learned and identify obstacles and constraints encountered and actions and initiatives needed to overcome them, as well as new challenges and emerging issues, to reaffirm the global commitment to address the special needs of the least developed countries made in Istanbul, Turkey, and to further strengthen the global partnership for development for the least developed countries in all priority areas of the Istanbul Programme of Action in order to ensure the timely, effective and full implementation of the Programme of Action during the remainder of the decade, in the context of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda of the Third International Conference on Financing for Development, which is an integral part of the 2030 Agenda, supports and complements it and helps to contextualize its means of implementation targets with concrete policies and actions, the Paris Agreement adopted by parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, and the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030.

2. We recognize the Comprehensive High-level Midterm Review as an opportunity to highlight the concrete measures, initiatives, partnerships and actions that various stakeholders have undertaken to date to support the

implementation of the Istanbul Programme of Action and to launch other concrete measures, initiatives and partnerships, individually or collectively, that have the potential to further progress the implementation of the Programme of Action, building on the momentum of recent and relevant United Nations meetings, agendas and conferences and the decisions adopted therein.

3. We recognize that over the past few decades the world has witnessed remarkable socioeconomic progress, with most of the Millennium Development Goals and targets achieved globally. However, not all countries have fully shared in this global progress. Performances among the least developed countries were mixed. The majority of the least developed countries, which constitute the poorest and most vulnerable group of countries, were not able to achieve most of the Millennium Development Goals. Nevertheless, many of the least developed countries have adopted stronger policies, strengthened governance and achieved substantial gains in reducing the prevalence of extreme poverty and improved health and education outcomes. Progress towards the Millennium Development Goals and other internationally agreed development goals was slowest in the least developed countries in conflict and post-conflict situations; those countries require context-specific approaches, including targeted national policies and international support.

4. We recognize that, despite the many challenges and constraints, the least developed countries represent an enormous human and natural resource potential for world economic growth, welfare, prosperity and food and energy security. Therefore, a strengthened global partnership that effectively addresses the special needs of the least developed countries, including children, young people and women, will contribute to the cause of peace, prosperity, poverty eradication and sustainable development for all.

5. We reaffirm our commitment to the full, effective and timely implementation of the Istanbul Programme of Action. We also reaffirm our commitment to the full and timely implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and our support for mainstreaming it into the national development policies and programmes of the least developed countries. We also reaffirm our determination to mobilize the means required to implement this Agenda through a revitalized global partnership

for sustainable development, in a spirit of global solidarity, focused in particular on the eradication of poverty and promotion of inclusive growth and the implementation of social protection systems, particularly for the poorest and most vulnerable.

I. State of progress and lessons learned in the implementation of the Istanbul Programme of Action

6. We note that many of the least developed countries have made considerable progress in achieving positive and sustainable development outcomes, in spite of significant challenges and constraints. For many of them, growth performance and prospects have been good on a sustained basis. Most of the least developed countries have significantly increased domestic resource mobilization and use for sustainable development. National ownership and leadership at the country level is essential for sustained progress in all priority areas of the Istanbul Programme of Action.

7. We are concerned that, in the context of the overall slowdown in the international economy, the least developed countries as a group are experiencing a slowdown of their economies, with growth rates falling from 5.1 per cent in 2014 to an estimated 4.5 per cent in 2015,¹ which is significantly lower than the growth rate achieved during 2001-2010 and falls far short of the Sustainable Development Goal target of at least 7 per cent gross domestic product (GDP) growth per annum in the near term, and those that are highly dependent on commodity exports have seen a pronounced decline in their export earnings and GDP growth.

8. We recognize that many of the least developed countries continue to face multiple structural challenges and constraints, including, inter alia, narrow production and export bases, stagnant trade and investment flows, diminishing productivity growth, weak land and natural resource governance, and widespread poverty, hunger and malnutrition. These long-standing challenges are compounded by new and emerging challenges, such as climate change, increased incidences of natural disasters and public health emergencies, conflicts, declining commodity prices and rising capital outflows. Without a structural transformation that tackles institutional and capacity constraints, the least developed countries will remain vulnerable to various economic, social and environmental shocks.

9. Continued robust external support, including through official development assistance (ODA), is necessary to complement domestic resources and national policies and programmes to effectively assist each of the least developed countries in addressing these important issues. We recognize the important contribution of the existing preferences extended to the least developed countries.

10. We recognize that swift action in areas related to productive capacity, infrastructure and energy, agriculture, food security and nutrition and rural development, economy, trade and investment, good governance at all levels, human development, gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls, financing for development, science, technology and innovation, migration and remittances, and resilience building are necessary to realize the Istanbul Programme of Action and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development promise of leaving no one behind.

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II. Looking forward and recommendations

General recommendations

39. Planning at both the national and international levels is necessary to realize the concrete objectives contained in the Istanbul Programme of Action. We encourage the least developed countries to continue to integrate the Programme of Action into their national and sectorial development plans and their development partners to continue to integrate the Programme of Action into their national cooperation policy frameworks, programmes and activities, as appropriate.

40. We reiterate the principles that guide the implementation of the Istanbul Programme of Action: country ownership and leadership; an integrated approach; genuine partnerships; result orientation; peace and security, development and human rights; equity; voice and representation; and the balanced role of the State and market considerations.

41. We welcome the fact that the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda, the Paris Agreement under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030 underscore that

the most vulnerable countries, including the least developed countries, deserve special attention and reflect the concerns and aspirations of the least developed countries and we recall the decision contained in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development that effective linkages will be made with the follow-up and review arrangements of all relevant United Nations conferences and processes, including on the least developed countries. We underline the importance of strong synergy in the implementation of the recently adopted agendas and the Istanbul Programme of Action at the national and subnational levels and encourage coordination and coherence in the follow-up of their implementation.

42. We also recognize that genuine, effective and durable multi-stakeholder partnerships can play an important role in advancing sustainable development. We will encourage knowledge-sharing and the promotion of cooperation and partnerships between stakeholders, including between Governments, firms, academia and civil society, in sectors contributing to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals and in support of country-driven priorities and strategies. At the same time, we commit to pursue an enabling environment for sustainable development at all levels and by all actors to make the global partnership for sustainable development more effective.

43. We encourage national statistical capacities in the least developed countries to be strengthened, with the support and cooperation of the international community in order to increase significantly the use and availability of high-quality, timely and reliable data disaggregated by sex, age, geography, income, race, ethnicity, migratory status, disability and other characteristics relevant in national contexts, which are necessary for efficient policymaking and an effective follow-up and review. We encourage the least developed countries to carry out a stocktaking exercise to assess current statistics and data availability for implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals and the Istanbul Programme of Action at the national and local levels, identify data gaps and build statistical capacity to ensure that data for statistics and monitoring of the Sustainable Development Goals are available and reliable. Development partners and relevant international organizations should, and the partnerships are encouraged to, provide international cooperation, including through technical and financial support to the least developed countries in this endeavour.

Productive capacity-building

44. We recognize the importance of building productive capacity as a critical enabler for the development and graduation of the least developed countries and call upon those countries and their development partners to ensure enhanced focus on policies and means to address productive capacity-building. We further recognize that private capital flows, in particular FDI, play a complementary and catalytic role in building and strengthening productive capacity in the least developed countries. We call upon the least developed countries to continue to strengthen the underlying investment climate and upon development partners to continue to provide enhanced financial and technical support to those countries to develop productive capacities, including for enhancing the management capacity of the least developed countries. We note that international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank provide capacity development to the least developed countries through direct technical assistance and training for country authorities and we invite them to further strengthen such support, responding to the demands and needs of those countries, within the framework of existing commitments, in accordance with their national development policies and strategies.

Graduation

45. We recall General Assembly resolutions 59/209 of 20 December 2004 and 67/221 of 21 December 2012 on a smooth transition for countries graduating from the list of least developed countries. We underscore that the efforts of the least developed countries towards graduation are underpinned by their ownership and leadership, as the primary responsibility for development lies with the countries themselves, but they need to be supported by concrete and substantial international partnership measures in a spirit of mutual accountability for development results.

46. We urge both the least developed countries and their development partners to undertake more concerted and ambitious efforts to achieve the aim of the Istanbul Programme of Action of enabling half the of the least developed countries to meet the criteria for graduation by 2020. It is also important that graduation be seen not as a cut-off point, but as a resolute move towards better and sustained economic development and virtuous and inclusive structural transformation. We emphasize that a successful transition needs to be based on a national smooth transition strategy,

elaborated by each graduated country. We encourage development and trading partners and the United Nations system to continue their support for the implementation of transition strategies for the least developed countries, as well as for smooth transition for graduated countries and to avoid any abrupt reductions in either ODA or technical assistance provided to the graduated countries.

47. We invite development and trading partners to consider extending to the graduated country trade preferences previously made available as a result of least developed country status, or reducing them in a phased manner in order to avoid their abrupt reduction, on a bilateral basis.

48. We recognize the importance of the reviews by the Committee for Development Policy of the graduation criteria for the least developed countries. We recommend the reviews be comprehensive, taking into account all aspects of the evolving international development context, including relevant agendas.

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Trade and investment

59. We reaffirm the pre-eminence of the World Trade Organization as the global forum for the setting and governance of trade rules. We acknowledge the contribution that the rules-based multilateral trading system has made to the strength and stability of the global economy. We reaffirm the value of the World Trade Organization's consistent practice of taking decisions through a transparent, inclusive, consensus-based, member-driven process.

60. We take note of the pledge by the members of the World Trade Organization to strengthen the multilateral trading system so that it provides a strong impetus to inclusive prosperity and welfare for all members and responds to the specific development needs of developing country members, in particular the least developed country members.

61. We reaffirm our commitment to significantly increase the share of least developed countries' trade in global trade with the aim of doubling the share of least developed countries' exports in global exports by 2020, including by broadening least developed countries' export base.

62. In that regard, we urge the least developed countries and their development partners to make use of existing initiatives and programmes, such as the relevant ministerial decisions of the World Trade Organization on duty-free and quota-free market access for the least developed countries and on preferential rules of origin for those countries, as well as aid for trade. We will increase aid for trade support, in particular for the least developed countries; and we will strive to allocate an increasing proportion of aid for trade to the least developed countries, provided according to development cooperation effectiveness principles. We also welcome additional cooperation among developing countries to this end. We encourage the least developed countries to mainstream trade in their national development plans. With this in mind, we welcome the extension of the Enhanced Integrated Framework for Trade-related Technical Assistance to Least Developed Countries into phase two and, as the Enhanced Integrated Framework implements the reforms, agreed as necessary for its continuation, we urge members to contribute to the timely replenishment of the Enhanced Integrated Framework Trust Fund, for the effective implementation, without any disruption, of the Framework between 2016 and 2023.

63. We urge World Trade Organization members to continue their efforts to accelerate the accession of all the least developed countries engaged in negotiations for World Trade Organization membership and welcome the 2012 guidelines for the accession of the least developed countries to the Organization.

64. We call upon all partners who are World Trade Organization members to implement all of the ministerial decisions, especially those that are of benefit to the least developed countries. We also call upon development partners to continue to provide concrete support to the least developed countries for the diversification of their export base, including into dynamic sectors of world trade, and in meeting the requirements of the Agreement on Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures and the Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade to assist them in increasing their share in world trade and enhancing domestic value added for exports.

65. We reaffirm our joint commitment to promote strategic and regulatory frameworks for FDI and other resource flows to the least developed countries that include vital policy areas such as infrastructure development, trade and trade facilitation, research and development and the transfer of technology on mutually agreed terms.

66. To further investment promotion, we also recommend establishing national regulatory and policy frameworks that allow businesses to innovate, invest and transform technology into employment and inclusive economic growth. We also call for greater commitment from the least developed countries and scaled-up international support for regional integration in order to expand markets, to promote trade facilitation by implementing the Agreement on Trade Facilitation of the World Trade Organization, cross-border infrastructure development, regional value chains and regional cooperation, all of which will contribute to regional stability and progress. Effective partnerships between and among Governments, the private sector and civil society are particularly useful in addressing complex and inter-related challenges.

67. We recall the decision contained in the Istanbul Programme of Action and reaffirmed in General Assembly resolution 67/220 of 21 December 2012 to adopt, expand and implement investment promotion regimes for the least developed countries. We welcome the decision contained in the Addis Ababa Action Agenda to adopt and implement investment promotion regimes for the least developed countries and the offer to provide financial and technical support for project preparation and contract negotiation, advisory support in investment-related dispute resolution, access to information on investment facilities and risk insurance and guarantees such as through the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency.

68. We recognize that stronger and more focused policies, activities and strategies by the least developed countries, the home countries of FDI, international organizations and other stakeholders, as appropriate, can help substantially increase FDI flows to the least developed countries. We encourage the least developed countries to continue to strengthen the underlying investment climate and to establish and maintain national investment promotion facilities, and we encourage development partners to continue to support capacity-building in the least developed countries aimed at improving their abilities to attract FDI.

69. In that regard, we invite the Secretary-General, in his capacity as the Chair of the United Nations System Chief Executives Board for Coordination, to include the issue of investment promotion regimes for the least developed countries in the agenda of the Board, with a view to enhancing the overall effectiveness of United Nations system support that can con-

tribute to enhancing the flow of FDI to the least developed countries and the ability of those countries to attract such investment. We further invite the Economic and Social Council, at its next annual forum on financing for development follow-up, to discuss adopting and implementing investment promotion regimes for the least developed countries, pursuant to the relevant resolutions on the matter, including General Assembly resolution 69/313 of 27 July 2015 on the Addis Ababa Action Agenda of the Third International Conference on Financing for Development and the mandate of the annual forum on financing for development follow-up set out therein. We recall that the forum's intergovernmentally agreed conclusions and recommendations will be fed into the overall follow-up and review of the implementation of the 2030 Agenda in the high-level political forum on sustainable development.

70. We call upon the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to continue to help the least developed countries attract and benefit from FDI, including through its Investment Policy Framework for Sustainable Development, its investment policy reviews, investment guides and other investment promotion activities. We encourage the least developed countries to make more use of those programmes and call upon development partners to continue funding them on a voluntary basis. We also invite other relevant United Nations entities and international organizations to continue their support to the least developed countries in the area of investment promotion, as appropriate and in line with their respective mandates.

71. The least developed countries are also encouraged to utilize existing trade and investment support mechanisms. The World Bank, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development offer several such programmes that address risk insurance and guarantees as well as technical and advisory support for investment-related negotiations and dispute resolution.

Good governance at all levels

72. We recall the objective of Istanbul Programme of Action of enhancing good governance at all levels, by strengthening democratic processes, institutions and the rule of law; increasing efficiency, coherence, transparency and participation; protecting and promoting human rights; and reducing corruption, and strengthening least developed country Governments' ca-

capacity to play an effective role in their economic and social development. Furthering participation, empowering civil society, youth and women, and strengthening collective action will contribute to the eradication of poverty and achieving sustainable development. In that context, we encourage broad participation by the least developed countries in partnerships and other international conventions and initiatives, as appropriate, such as the United Nations Convention against Corruption and the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative. We also take note of the work of the Open Government Partnership. We further call upon the least developed countries that have not yet done so to make domestic legislation consistent with their particular obligations as members of or States parties to all relevant international agreements.

73. We recognize that sustainable development cannot be realized without peace and security, and that peace and security will be at risk without sustainable development. In this regard, we acknowledge that the development challenges posed by conflict not only impede, but can reverse decades of development gains. We thus call upon the least developed countries, with the support of development partners, as appropriate, to build the resilience necessary to address the root causes of conflict in their countries and regions. We call upon the international community to support least developed countries in conflict and post-conflict situations and in particular those suffering from internal and cross-border violence, especially the threat of violent extremism and international terrorism, with the view of achieving the realization of peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development. We will also take measures to ensure that women have a role in peacebuilding and State-building.

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United Nations system support

114. We reiterate that the Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States should continue to fulfil its functions to assist the Secretary-General in the effective follow-up and monitoring of the implementation of the Istanbul Programme of Action and the full mobilization and coordination of all parts of the United Nations system, with a view to facili-

tating the coordinated implementation of and coherence in the follow-up and monitoring of the Programme of Action at the country, regional and global levels, and should continue to assist in mobilizing international support and resources for the implementation of the Programme of Action. To this end, it should continue its awareness-raising and advocacy work in favour of the least developed countries, in partnership with the relevant parts of the United Nations system, as well as with parliaments, civil society, the media, academia and foundations, and should continue to provide appropriate support to group consultations of least developed countries.

115. We reiterate our request to the Secretary-General to ensure the full mobilization and coordination of all parts of the United Nations system to facilitate coordinated implementation and coherence in the follow-up and monitoring of the Istanbul Programme of Action at the national, subregional, regional and global levels. The coordination mechanisms available, such as the United Nations System Chief Executives Board for Coordination and the United Nations Development Group, should be broadly utilized and the inter-agency consultative group should be kept active in this regard.

116. We reiterate the importance of effective linkages in the follow-up and review arrangements of all relevant United Nations conferences and processes, including on the least developed countries, small island developing States and landlocked developing countries.

117. We reiterate our invitation to the governing bodies of the United Nations funds and programmes and other multilateral organizations and international financial institutions to contribute to implementing the Istanbul Programme of Action and to integrate it into their work programmes, as appropriate and in accordance with their respective mandates. These organizations are invited to participate fully in reviews of the Programme of Action at the national, subregional, regional and global levels. We are concerned that the share of expenditure for the operational activities for development of the United Nations system in the least developed countries is declining. We invite the governing bodies of the organizations of the United Nations development system and other multilateral organizations to prioritize allocations to the least developed countries, as appropriate and in accordance with their respective mandates.

118. We reiterate that treating the least developed countries as a group on the basis of their low per capita income, human asset development and economic vulnerability remains the fundamental premise for special measures in their favour, and that wider recognition of least developed country status could stimulate and facilitate better integration of the Istanbul Programme of Action into development policies. We invite the Committee for Development Policy to look into the reasons and consequences of the non-application of the least developed country category by some United Nations development system organizations and to include its findings on this matter in its annual report to the Economic and Social Council.

119. We recommit to the broadening and strengthening of the voice and participation of developing countries in international economic decision-making and norm-setting and in global economic governance. We invite the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision and the other main international regulatory standard-setting bodies to continue efforts to increase the voice of developing countries in norm-setting processes to ensure that their concerns are taken into consideration. We reiterate that more effective representation of the least developed countries in decision-making at the global level could improve the international environment for the development of the least developed countries. We also reiterate that the international economic system and architecture should be inclusive and responsive to the special development needs of the least developed countries, ensuring their effective participation, voice and representation at all levels.

Fifth United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries

120. We encourage the General Assembly to consider holding the Fifth United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries in 2021.

