Power Struggle in the Rising Continent of Africa
～the role of Turkey in Chinese-Japanese competition in African investments～

（担当執筆 ゲスト・リサーチャー Semiha Karaoğlu）

Towards the end of the 20th century, when the colonial powers commenced withdrawing from Africa, China, which took an active position in the areas where the continent needed most, began to settle. Rich in raw materials and underground resources, Africa has become the shining star of the 21st century with its young population. Exploited by European countries for long periods before the turn of the 21st century, the continent is the second-fastest-growing region in the world, according to IMF data. Currently, 1.1 billion people live on the African continent. According to the reports of international institutions, the expectation is that Africa’s population will increase to 2.2 billion by 2050. Another estimation suggests the continent is on its way to becoming a $5 trillion economy, as household consumption will convincingly grow by 3.8 percent annually to $2.1 trillion by 2025. Therefore, the world’s attention is now shifting towards Africa. Experts claim that comparisons with China in the 1990s are no longer radical guesses. On the contrary, Africa will also probably outnumber China in the young workforce, population, and economic volume thanks to the FDIs in the continent over the last decades. Africa has become an investment hub home to the growing competition between nations.

The ultimate beneficiary of this rising star has so far been the People’s Republic of China. The data from the report by Swiss-African Business Circle demonstrates that “China is still the largest investor in Africa over the last ten years. The United States is the second-largest investor in Africa, followed by France in third place.”1 The same report also continues to the United Kingdom as the fifth largest investor in Africa. However, the report maintains that the UK is each day losing ground to Japan and the United Arab Emirates, “who have both given Africa more investment in the last decade.”2

---

Figure 1: Annual average of newly created jobs in Africa between 2010 and 2019, by investor country
[Source: 2021 China Africa Research Initiative at Johns Hopkins University’s School of Advanced International Studies]
by 2035.”

However, the Africa Competitiveness Report reveals that “without effective policy change, there will only be about 100 million new jobs for this growing cadre of working people.”

Therefore, creating jobs for the young population through foreign investments is significant also creates a mutually profitable and beneficial scenario in which the growing number of countries have also attempted to manifest their willingness and ambition.

Figure 2: Africa’s biggest partners [Source: The Economist, August 5, 2014].

Figure 3: Potential Partners [Source: JETRO].

Figure 4: Competing firms in Africa [Source: JETRO].

---


One of the countries challenging the Chinese monopoly in the region is Japan. However, “by 2050, Africa is expected to be home to one-quarter of the world’s population, but Japanese investment and trade there has been on a declining trend,” as one NHK story tells. This analysis will analyze the role of Turkey in the economic competition between China and Japan in Africa as Turkey’s role in the continent has been growing increasingly influential over the recent years.

**The People’s Republic of China in Africa**

China has been increasing its investments in Africa for about two decades now. For China, Africa is more than just a massive market for its goods. It is also home to vast resources, increasing China’s strategic appetite to invest in the continent. The continent has been under what might be called a Chinese monopoly over the last decades. Despite the warnings that investment projects can sometimes be overstructured and may cause a delay in implementation, China has acted quickly so far and is now the number one investor in the continent. However, China’s economic relations with the African countries do not come as a surprise. Now the biggest trade partner of Africa, China surpassed the United States more than a decade ago in 2009. Between 2003 and 2014, China’s trade with Africa increased more than ten times, reaching $200 billion. In 2017, this figure was $230 billion. The amount of loans China gave to the African governments over 15 years is around $90 billion. From a general viewpoint, on the other hand, China’s most remarkable investment projects in Africa find their place within the mining and construction sectors. China’s principal export goods are machinery, electronics, and textiles. However, China-Africa relations are not one-sided but reciprocal. China sees Africa as a great source of raw material that the country is willing to use for its industry. Therefore, the country imports crude oil, iron ore, cotton, and other natural resources from African countries. China’s presence in Africa has undoubtedly witnessed a phenomenal development, a precedent of which does not exist in contemporary global politics and international trade. Currently, China is most active in South Africa, Ethiopia, Angola, and Nigeria. These countries are China’s most consequential trade partners on the continent. The increase from $10 billion in 2000 to $170 billion in 2017 is enough to demonstrate the overarching presence of China in Africa. Other factors play a role in China’s permanence in Africa as well. It would be futile to disregard China’s economic might in the continent. However, the US abstention from the continent paved a leeway for the country to manifest its investments further. As the United States decreased its involvement in the continent, particularly after the Trump Administration, China manifested its economic and political might on the scene and came to be the dominant power in Africa. Another explanation to the appetite

---

of the Chinese countries is the following: China’s loans are more affordable and come with fewer strings attached. “In 2017, Chinese banks lent USD 11 billion to African infrastructure projects, which decreased to USD 4.5 billion in 2018, USD 2.8 billion in 2019, and USD 3.3 billion in 2020.”\(^6\)

A recent report by Economist Corporate Network, supported by Baker McKenzie and Silk Road Associates, BRI Beyond 2020 (Economist report), showed how these strengthening trade links are, in part, a result of favorable financial incentives offered to African jurisdictions by China. According to the Economist report, 33 of the poorest jurisdictions in Africa export 97% of their exports to China with no tariffs and no customs duties.\(^7\)

Figure 5: China-Africa Trade [Source: 2021 China Africa Research Initiative at Johns Hopkins University’s School of Advanced International Studies]

Africa is not the only continent where China has woven its magic in infrastructure investments. The significance of Southeast Asia has also manifested itself in the strategic ambitions of the Chinese Government as Southeast Asia is overarchingly critical for the multi-


\(^7\) Virusha Subban, “Africa: China’s trade with the continent grows to record highs,” Global Compliance News, September 26, 2021.
A billion-dollar Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). However, China keeps receiving severe criticism from the West for monopolizing the region, resulting in neo-colonialism arguments. The Chinese Government and prominent international relations scholars, on the other hand, insist on the idea that Chinese investments in Africa, indeed, help Cambodia to “grow and modernize.” The role of international security is also an insightful aspect of Western criticism of Chinese monopoly in certain regions. For instance, the United States is exceptionally cautious in the Cambodian case since Southeast Asia and the ASEAN region are significant for the United States to securitize its military interests in the region. Digby Wren, a visiting international relations scholar from Deakin University Australia at Sichuan Normal University in China, gave a briefing on the current status of the US-China tension regarding Cambodia and the ASEAN region. Wren told Anadolu Agency of Turkey that “The US, as an extra-regional power, sees Cambodia and other ASEAN nations as ‘strategic assets in its desire to maintain military influence in the region and to contain China.’” Hence, it is more enlightening to understand Chinese monopoly not only in one continent or region but as a more global phenomenon, against which it is plausible to see other countries hard at work at accelerating their effort to counter China since the nation has turned into widespread coercion due to the assertive advancement it has through its investment projects. Likewise, Africa constitutes the second most pivotal region after Southeast Asia for Chinese investments. Africa is the continent where Chinese investments flow most intensively outside of Asia. In a similar vein, Chinese investments are at the top of the global agenda. The China-Africa Cooperation Forum was held in Beijing on September 3-4, 2018, to improve the existing relations between China and African countries. The $60 billion aid planned to be made to Africa by Xi Jinping left its mark on the forum. The aid included countries such as Nigeria and Ethiopia. Due to such developments, Africa turned to itself and strived for intraregional economic cooperation.

Founded in 2018, the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) came into effect on May 30, 2019. This free trade area aimed to foster economic relations between African countries to prevent overreliance on foreign jurisdictions. A final note on China’s presence in Africa is a political discussion. Arguments revolve around the US’ reluctance to grant Chinese companies loans or invest in the country due to the human rights issues in the continent. Hence, the US, and World Bank, for instance, take into account China’s riskiness more than China, who, on the other hand, strategically, do not worry if human rights issues persist within the country or not as much as its Western rivals do, analysts underline.

---

Japan in Africa

Perhaps the most concrete diplomatic example of Japan’s economic presence in Africa manifests itself in the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), which the Government of Japan has been leading since 1993. Regarding the African continent as a venue for a plethora of developing economies, the conference is co-hosted by United Nations, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), World Bank, and African Union Commission (AUC). It is a robust example of Japan’s endeavors of convincing Africa for bilateral economic cooperation and investment. By cooperating with the United Nations and United Nations Development Programme, Japan also believes that Japanese investments in Africa will pave the way to realize Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) set up in 2015 by the United Nations General Assembly. For Japan, Africa initiatives constitute a cordial part of realizing the SDGs by 2030. The history of Japan’s investments in Africa demonstrates a different trajectory from China’s unquestionable partnership. Seeking to strengthen its economic diplomacy in the continent, former Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe expressed a high-level interest in economic cooperation with Africa during the 2013 and 2016 Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) summits. Abe pledged the country $60 billion in financial support. Growing into a more advantageous position through the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) Strategy, Abe firmly expressed that investments in Africa would be a cordial agenda in Japan’s economic policy. The diplomatic role of Japan in Africa also attempted to revitalize the Japanese economy, suffering from stagnation for the last decades. For Japan, the Japanese investments and economic diplomacy would be assertive as the country—along with the global media—perceives Chinese endeavors in the continent as aggressive. Japan’s systemic political and economic rivalry with China was also an influential factor in Japan’s reconstructing its economy as a responsible member of the global society and international community. Sino-Japanese tensions upsurged in 2012, and being the principal trade partner of Africa since 2009, China’s economic might in the region further challenged Japan’s influence with the launch of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in 2013. Abe’s emphases during the TICAD summits were also a sign of this downturn trajectory Japan was undergoing in its relations with Africa. In 2013, Japan accounted for 3% of Africa’s trade, whereas China accounted for 10%. Therefore, the growth strategy adopted by Abe would also result in increasing investments in Africa.

9 The Seventh Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD7) (Yokohama, 28th - 30th August 2019), on the website of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (MOFA).
Japanese investments in Africa still fall short of expectations. In 2020, when Abe stepped down as the Prime Minister of Japan, one of the criticisms he received among the issues he had not succeeded in was Japan’s prospect as a robust investor in Africa. Céline Pajon, Head of Japan Research at Ifri’s Center for Asian Studies, summarizes the situation of Japan in Africa,

\[
\text{Figure 6: Japanese investment stock in sub-Saharan Africa (in millions of US dollars) [Source: JETRO]}\]

Despite some progress and success, continent-wide Japanese investments have been declining since 2013 ($6 billion in 2019 compared to $12 billion in 2013), just like the value of trade ($14 billion in 2018 compared to $25 billion in 2013), which remains unbalanced.\(^{10}\)

Again, there are several underlying reasons why Japan could not achieve the trade rate it initially aimed in Africa. The first reason is insularity. As an insular, remote, and distant country, Japan perceives Africa as a risky country and feels more comfortable in its already-robust trade relations with the United States, Europe, Russia, and the Middle East. Another reason is tying the subject to its initial argument: Chinese presence and influence in Africa. As China has been prevailing in investments and business hubs in the continent, the room for Japanese investments decreases and minimizes in size and volume. In addition to that, human rights issues, geographical, financial, and legal risks involved in doing business with Africa further aggravate the situation. Finally, the investment climate is still challenging and changing. For instance, the governmental change in Japan with the former Prime Minister Yoshihide Suga’s resignation only

\(^{10}\) Céline Pajon, “Japan’s Economic Diplomacy in Africa: Between Strategic Priorities and Local Realities,” December 2020.
after one year he took office following Abe’s resignation means changes, shifts, and fluctuations in Japan’s economic policies. Pajon analyzes the situation nearing 2020,

*At TICAD VII in August 2019, Prime Minister Abe was obliged to give up setting a specific amount for investment for the next three years, simply stating that the Japanese government “will make every effort” to ensure private investment exceeds $20 billion. The total pledged for the 2016-2019 period seems far from being reached. However, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs claims the opposite, estimating that the amount of private investment may have reached $25.6 billion, exceeding the set target of $20 billion.*

Another diplomatic initiative launched by Japan is the Japan-Africa Business Forum (JABF), organized by the Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO), co-organized by Japan Business Council for Africa, and supported by the Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry of Japan (METI) and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (MOFA) in 2018. The Japan-Africa Business Forum can be seen as a concrete endeavor to boost the economic relations with Africa to obtain the desired statistical outcomes for Japanese companies in Africa as China’s trade and investment volume keeps increasing in the continent. In this view, the Japan-Africa Business Forum is a crucial economic diplomacy forum. For instance, the meeting created a venue for a multinational environment for companies from other countries to participate and demonstrate their willingness to support Japan and do business with Africa. As an example, The Japan-Africa Business Forum is a crucial economic diplomacy forum. For instance, the meeting created a venue for a multinational environment for companies from other countries to participate and demonstrate their willingness to support Japan and do business with Africa. The Business Development Director of Doğuş Construction, Tolga Bayav, participated as a panelist in the “High-Level Private Sector Dialogue” session held within the scope of the forum held with the participation of African and Japanese Ministers and private sector CEOs of both countries. The theme was how the partnerships between Japanese companies and local or third-country companies lead to joint investment projects, supporting Africa’s economic development.

**Turkey’s Role in creating a New Hope for Japan in Africa**

As shown in Figure 1, Turkey constitutes the fourth biggest country in newly created jobs in Africa between 2010 and 2019. Turkey has also become one of the most strong trade partners of Africa. President Erdoğan of the Republic of Turkey, on October 17, 2021, firmly stated that “We’re

---

becoming Africa’s leading trade partner,”¹² during his four-day diplomatic tour to Angola, Nigeria, and Togo. Turkey’s embarking on Africa was more humanitarian than profit-based in nature. Both Africa and Turkey’s relations advanced tremendously with Turkey’s development aid packages to various African countries. The number of embassies and consulates increased each year to establish more robust economic connections with the continent. The year 2005 was the year of the “Year of Africa,” which also witnessed rapid and extensive economic growth in the bilateral relations of both countries. This process bore its fruits. In 2008, Turkey was a ‘Strategic Partner of the Continent’ for Africa based on the decision by the African Union. The same year, the “Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit” was held. Ninety-four countries attended the summit held in Istanbul. The global vision, as he claims, that Erdoğan has been pursuing in its diplomatic relations takes Africa at its center. Evaluating that Africa has been a region that other countries turn their backs on, Erdoğan is a strong advocate of investing in developing economies disregarded, ignored, or found too risky to invest in by other countries. In this view, the bilateral trade volume of the Turkey-Africa trade amounts to $25 billion, which can be regarded as a concrete result of Turkey’s leaning on the region. In addition, the current trade volume with the new investment projects ahead signifies that Turkey-Africa cooperation has also meant new possibilities for establishing future partnerships. Such partnerships can result in future joint projects and economic alliances. Japan, in this sense, constitutes an example of such a permanent partner.

Another vital forum for Turkey-African relations is the Turkey-Africa Economic and Business Forum organized by the Foreign Economic Relations Council (DEIK) of Turkey and sponsored by Çalık Holding, held in Istanbul from 21-22 October. During the forum, Erdoğan underlined his vision for Africa, stating that the upcoming years will be years of Turkey-Africa economic relations, also agreed by Nail Olpak, the chairman of the Foreign Economic expressed his vision for Africa in the following words,

*Raising the Turkish-African trade volume to $50 billion must be our main goal. Signing free trade agreements, agreements to reciprocally strengthen and protect investments, besides cooperation and knowledge-sharing in the fields of industrialization, agriculture, construction, textiles and health, are our priorities.*¹³

Turkey and Japan have demonstrated their amicable attitude and approach towards Africa concerning the private sector collaboration. Like in several other topics, including cultural relations, history, and bilateral trade, Japanese-Turkish cooperation has manifested its strength in African investments. One anecdote of the deeply-rooted Japanese-Turkish economic alliance occurred during the International Africa Conference VII (TICAD7) held in Tokyo. Tosyalı Holding, one of the leading iron and steel producers of Turkey, was among the companies that attracted the most attention throughout the conference. The reason is that Tosyalı Holding holds in partnership with the Japanese Toyo-Kohan for ten years as for its investments in Africa. Fuat Tosyalı, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Tosyalı Holding, met with Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, the leaders of many African countries attending the conference, and representatives of Japanese companies. Tosyalı Holding received an official invitation, in particular, from African leaders to visit their countries and make investments. Tosyalı also signed a strategic cooperation agreement with Japanese Mitsui OSK Lines (MOL), one of the world’s largest maritime transport companies, as part of the conference. With this agreement, Tosyalı Holding evaluated the opportunities to act together with MOL to transport raw
materials and steel products in production networks in Turkey and abroad. While Many Japanese businesspeople attended the signing ceremony at the Turkish Embassy in Tokyo, along with MOL Chairman Junichiro Ikeda. During the signing ceremony, Tosyalı Holding President Fuat Tosyalı stated the following that would mark the future of Japanese-Turkish collaboration in Africa,

Turkish and Japanese companies are not rivals in Africa, they complement each other, and such a cooperation increases the interest in Turkish companies. Africa has turned into a situation that whets the appetite of the world. The Japanese are eager to invest in Africa but are hesitant to enter alone. On the other hand, Turkish companies have experience in the region. Therefore, Turkish companies can become the key to Japanese entry into Africa. We also had the opportunity to have a remarkable meeting with Abe at the reception. He paid close attention to us and asked us to convey his greetings to our President (Erdoğan).

Figure 8: Picture at Signing Event (From left: Tosyalı Chairman Fuat Tosyalı, MOL President & CEO, Junichiro Ikeda)

Emphasizing that all African countries, especially Algeria, are a vital market for them, MOL Chairman Ikeda said,

*Turkish companies are complementary to Japanese companies when entering the African market. With this agreement we made with Tosyali Holding, we will further evaluate cooperation in third countries besides Turkey and Japan.*

Turkey’s former Ambassador to Tokyo, Murat Mercan, reminded Turkey and Japan’s determination to develop business together,

*Increasing the cooperation between the two countries came to the fore again during the meetings where the leaders of the two countries came together at the G20 summit held in Japan. He said that Turkish and Japanese businesspeople keep evaluating business opportunities in third countries and especially in Africa, which will accelerate their investments.*

Another major meeting defining Turkey’s side in Chinese-Japanese competition in Africa is the “Turkey-Japan Partnership For Africa Panel & B2B Meetings” on 18 June 2019, Istanbul hosted by DEIK in Istanbul. Hisao Nishimaki, Consul General of Japan in Istanbul, and Masayuki Tanimoto, JBIC Regional Manager for the Middle East and Africa, attended the panel. The main discussion point of the panel was the current business potential of Turkey and Japan in Africa, opportunities, prominent sectors, and possible new business partnerships. In the panel report, the following statement by the DEIK/Turkey-Japan Business Council Chairman Şerif Tosyalı makes it clear that Turkey is willing to side with Japan in terms of the African investments,

*As DEIK/Turkey-Japan Business Council, we focus on developing our bilateral economic relations with Japan, while trying to establish strong partnerships in Africa. We are highly motivated to continue. Turkey and Japan currently have significant investments in Africa. Turkey’s total investment in Africa is approximately 6.5 billion dollars, while Japan has an investment of 10 billion dollars. Japan, showing its willingness to forge new partnerships with the Asia-Africa Growth Corridor as well. With our valuable partners, we attract bilateral investments, especially in sectors such as energy, infrastructure, construction, information technologies, and the automotive industry. We believe that the potential in Africa now goes beyond numbers for us. We believe that we will make joint investments and new collaborations in Africa in the coming period.*

---

Following the Turkey-Japan Partnership for Africa Panel & B2B Meetings, Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) opened its representative office this year in Istanbul. The Chief Representative, Ryuta Suzuki, during the Turkey-Africa III. Economic and Business Forum, stated that “We will make additional efforts to realize the cooperation between Turkish and Japanese companies in Africa, where Turkish companies have a strong presence.” Finally, one of the most robust Turkish partners of Japan is Çalık Holding, a business conglomerate active in seven sectors. Çalık Holding is the first company in Turkey that became a member of Keidanren. In 2019, the Founder and Chairman of Çalık Holding, Ahmet Çalık was honored with the ‘Order of the Rising Sun, Gold Rays with Neck Ribbon’ by the Emperor of Japan. Çalık Holding was the main sponsor of the Turkey-Africa III. Economic and Business Forum. Since 1990s, has been in partnership with Mitsubishi Corporation and Secom. Japan Times, reporting on the TICAD7, emphasized the role of Çalık Holding in playing a key role in Japan’s investments in Africa.

*We have maintained a very strong business relationship with the Japanese companies for over three decades. Our relationships are built upon mutual respect and understanding. TICAD7 was a great event for the company to envision new opportunities in Africa as we develop new projects that are currently in the pipeline as part of our expansion strategy. We are currently considering new projects where we will offer integrated solutions in Africa together with the Japanese companies in the upcoming period. Our top priority has always been to offer added value for people’s lives and to ease their lives.*

When it comes to China, however, tables turn and Nikkei Asia’s Sinan Tavşan firmly states that growing Japan-Turkey cooperation in Africa has China looking over its shoulder. Furthermore, Turkey’s increasing robust political standing in the region results in expanding Ankara’s sphere of influence. Among the factors accelerating the Turkish growth in Africa is thanks to the direct flights and 43 embassies found all around the continent. Hence, it is not plausible to talk about a Chinese-Turkish cooperation in the African continent. On the contrary, China perceives the two economic allies as a threat although neither Japan’s nor Turkey’s investments in the continent match China’s level yet. In this view, it is not surprising to see China hard at work to discourage Turkey, the country it has less political tensions with than Japan. For instance, Turkey has been strongly protesting China’s violation of human rights stemming from

18 From the author’s conference notes.
20 Sinan Tavşan, “Turkey’s push into Africa has China looking over its shoulder,” Nikkei Asia, September 15, 2021
the Uyghur issue, which, to date, remains the most insurmountable conflict in Sino-Turkish relations. Secondly, the cultural genocide the Communist Party of China currently commits keeps receiving severe backlash and criticism from Ankara. It was only four days ago that China retaliated with bringing up the issue of Kurds and blaming Turkey for a similar violation of human rights and cultural atrocity.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, a possible Sino-Turkish cooperation does not seem likely to occur in the near future, especially when Japan-Turkey economic cooperation targeting is climbing to its peak. Although Japan and Turkey do not reach the trade and investment volume that China harbors at the moment, the statements elaborated by the businesspeople signify that we will keep witnessing a Japan-Turkey cooperation in Africa and its developing economies. It is also important to notice that both countries have a humanitarian and “soft” side to their initiatives. Turkey’s First Lady Emine Erdoğan has rolled out her book titled *My Travels to Africa* and Japan strives to increase its soft power in the region in terms of diplomatic and cultural strategies such as “We are Tomodachi” initiative to counter China’s strategy to generate a cultural influence in the region. For CCP, cultural investments are equally important strategies to obtain a true influence in the continent. Similar strategies, in this sense, will likely remain on both Japan’s and Turkey’s political and diplomatic agenda. Finally, it is equally significant to understand the political backgrounds to comprehend the alliance structure that is taking place among the three countries whose eyes are on Africa. In cultural and political terms, too, while Sino-Japanese relations have maintained a fluctuating trajectory full of ups and downs, Japan-Turkey relations have remained amicable, though not always as fruitful as it is today. In this view, it is not enough to analyze Chinese-Japanese competition in African investments only within the framework of quantitative analysis. In conclusion, Japan and Turkey seem to continue their partnership in boosting their alliance in Africa to counter China’s permanence in the region. However, it does not seem to happen in to future that the foothold Japan-Turkey economic alliance will result in a concrete bypass in China’s African dream that the country is currently living.
References

Kedem, Shoshana, “Erdogan pledges to double bilateral trade at Turkey-Africa business forum,”
Khaliq, Riyaz ul, “Chinese investments modernizing Cambodia, says scholar,” Anadolu Agency,
August 19, 2021.
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (MOFA), The Seventh Tokyo International Conference on
African Development (TICAD7) (Yokohama, 28th - 30th August 2019).
Natsuki, Shinozaki, “Japan and China in Africa: from competition to collaboration,” in NHK World,
September 6, 2019.
Oluwole, Victor, Report: “Here are the top 15 investors in Africa in the last decade,” Business
Pajon, Céline. “Japan’s Economic Diplomacy in Africa: Between Strategic Priorities and Local
Subban, Virusha, “Africa: China’s trade with the continent grows to record highs,” Global
Synergy Media Specialists, “Çalık Holding: Working together with Japan on the road to success,”
Tavşan, Sinan, “Turkey’s push into Africa has China looking over its shoulder,” Nikkei Asia,
September 15, 2021.
December 8, 2021.