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TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY IN CONTEXT OF ALGERIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

CEZAYİR BAĞIMSIZLIK SAVAŞI BAĞLAMINDA TÜRK DIŞ POLİTİKASI

Assoc. Prof. Meral BALCI
Marmara University
Res. Asst. Hamza BİLGÜ
Turkish National Defence University

Abstract

Algeria came under the domination of the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century, and as a result of Napoleon's invasion policies in North Africa, which started in 1830, the French dominated the region in 1847. The French established a colonial regime in Algeria, which would last about 130 years, treated the owners of Algerian lands as second-class people and exploited the country's wealth. In Algeria, national awakening began, especially after the First World War, and this awakening has turned into an independence movement after the Second World War. The movement achieved definite success in 1962 and Algeria gained its independence. The painful and bloody Algerian struggle for independence between 1954 and 1962 took place when Turkey joined NATO, struggled to join the Western bloc and felt the threat of communism. Founded after a war of independence, Turkey has long ignored Algeria's struggle for independence and has not offered clear support. Turkey begins to pursue a foreign policy that supports the independence of Algeria, a country whose people are Muslim, after the Algerian War of Independence gained momentum, and the United Nations and America expressed their support for the movement. Algeria expressed its resentment with Turkey after independence and the ice was only melted after the 1980s. This study aims to evaluate the Turkish stance on Algerian War of Independence and so far. This study also addresses the following primary research questions: Why was Turkey reluctant to support Algeria during their struggle against France on her independence? What made Turkey change her foreign policy towards Algeria? How was Algerians' attitude towards changing Turkish foreign policy? To conclude, thriving Turkish-Algerian relations after half a century has been a part of good relations between Turkey and Algeria.

Keywords: Algeria, Algerian War of Independence, France, Turkish Foreign Policy

Özet

Cezayir, 16. yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun egemenliğine girmiştir. Napolyon'un 1830'da Kuzey Afrika'da başlayan işgal politikaları sonucunda bölgeye 1847'de Fransızlar hâkim olmuş ve Cezayir'de sömürge rejimi kurmuşlardır. Yaklaşık 130 yıllık bu süreçte, Cezayir topraklarının sahiplerine ikinci sınıf insan muamelesi yapmış ve ülkenin servetini sömürmüştür. Cezayir'de özellikle Birinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra ulusal uyanış başlamış ve bu İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra bağımsızlık hareketine dönüşmüştür. Bu hareket 1962'de bir başarı elde etmiş ve Cezayir bağımsızlığını kazanmıştır. 1954-1962 yılları arasındaki süreçte Cezayir'in zorlu bağımsızlık mücadelesi, Türkiye'nin NATO'ya katılması, Batı bloğuna katılmak için mücadelesi ve komünizm tehdidini hissetmesi gerçekleşmiştir. Bir bağımsızlık

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savaşıyla kurulan Türkiye, Cezayir'in bağımsızlık mücadelesini uzun süredir görmezden gelmiş ve net bir destek sunmamıştır. Türkiye, Cezayir Bağımsızlık Savaşı'nın ivme kazanmasının ardından, halkı Müslüman olan Cezayir'in bağımsızlığını destekleyen bir dış politika izlemeye başlarken, Birleşmiş Milletler ve Amerika da harekete desteklerini dile getirmiştir. Cezayir, bağımsızlıktan sonra Türkiye'ye kızgınlığını dile getirmiş ve ilişkiler ancak 1980'lerden sonra düzelmiştir. Bu çalışma Türkiye'nin Cezayir Bağımsızlık Savaşı'na yönelik duruşunu değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma aynı zamanda şu temel araştırma sorularını da ele almaktadır: Türkiye, bağımsızlığı için Fransa'ya karşı verdiği mücadelede Cezayir'i destekleme konusunda neden isteksizdi? Türkiye'nin Cezayir'e karşı dış politikasını değiştiren şey neydi? Cezayirlilerin Türk dış politikasının değiştirmesine yönelik tutumu nasıldı? Sonuç olarak, yarım asır sonra Türk-Cezayir ilişkilerinin gelişmesi, Türkiye ile Cezayir arasındaki iyi ilişkilerin bir parçası olmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Cezayir, Cezayir Bağımsızlık Savaşı, Fransa, Türk Dış Politikası

1. INTRODUCTION

Algeria is a state that had been under Turkish rule for three hundred years. In accordance with the classical domestic policy approach, the Ottoman State did not touch the social structure and territorial order of Algeria, and Algeria was able to maintain its autonomous structure under Turkish rule. This situation continued until 1830 with various revisions.

The 19th century is the period when the colonial race accelerated in the world. Britain and France, in particular, invaded from Asia to the American continent, transferred the wealth of the regions they colonized to their own treasures by establishing colonial administrations, and considered the colonial peoples as cheap labor. In the North African part of the colonialist race, Napoleon, ruler of France, invaded Algeria in 1830 and Algeria came under French rule in 1847. Since this date, France has demonstrated population policies in Algeria in accordance with colonialism, the changing of the territorial regime, and the implementation of colonial law.

Algerian workers who migrated to France during the First World War and after, Algerian scholars, and Algerian youth who were educated in French schools were the pioneers of national awakening. After the war, many non-governmental organizations aiming independence were organized in Algeria, and the awareness of independence became widespread among the people day by day. This situation forced France to take extreme inhuman measures such as the imprisonment of leaders and the use of weapons against popular movements. The Setif massacre in 1945 is the result of this.

In 1952, supporters of independence in Algeria united around the Algerian National Liberation Movement, and both armed and diplomatic struggle for independence was shaped around this movement. As of 1954, armed struggle started. Algerians have managed to defend their rights in international institutions such as the United Nations as well as successfully organizing resistance inside.

Turkey has not developed a direct foreign policy against the independence movement in Algeria. However, Turkey's arguments were revealed in the sessions on Algeria before the United Nations and NATO. The period of the Algerian War of Independence was a period when Turkey, following its NATO membership, developed foreign policies aligned with the Western Bloc. In addition, the Cyprus issue has started to be discussed in international public opinion

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and Turkey has sought an ally country to support itself on the Cyprus issue. This study will examine the attitude of Turkish foreign policy in the face of the Algerian War of Independence under these circumstances.

2. ALGERIA- UNTIL THE FRENCH DOMINATION

Algeria is located in North Africa, adjacent to Morocco in the west, Tunisia and Libya in the east, Niger, Mali and Mauritania in the south. The beaches of Algeria are close to the part of the Mediterranean that opens to the Atlantic Ocean via Gibraltar. Algeria region is also called "Berberistan" and "Maghreb".

Algeria is home to three different ethnicities. Muslim Arab Algerian people are the majority in Algeria. In addition, there are also Muslim Berber people. It is thought that these people migrated to Algeria from Europe and later became a Muslim. In addition, there are Christian European populations, especially French, in Algeria, but they are in the minority.

Algeria is one of the Muslim Arab states of North Africa. Algeria came under Ottoman rule in the 16th century and became one of the provinces of the Ottomans in North Africa. Algeria was attached to Ottoman domination through diplomatic, not military, means. Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha asked the Ottoman State for help against Spanish expansion and Algeria came under the Ottoman umbrella. Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha, the ruler of Algeria, became the Ottoman Captain. Ottoman-Barbaros cooperation strengthened the Ottoman domination in the Mediterranean and established the superiority of the Ottoman Empire to its rivals in the Mediterranean (Bostan, 2003: 64-68).

Algeria remained under Turkish rule for about three hundred years. The Ottoman state first appointed Ottoman *Beylerbeyi* to Algeria, one of the Muslim Arab states in North Africa. Over time, the administration of Algeria was left to the pashas and then the Janissaries in Algeria took power and started to manage Algeria. Finally, *Dayılar*, who was with the local leader in Algeria, was responsible for the province's administration.

After the British victory over the French fleet after the Trafalgar Victory in the 19th century, Napoleon aimed to occupy Algeria after the convergence of Britain and Algeria. The deterioration of Ottoman-French relations at the beginning of the 19th century is also one of the reasons why the French kept their eyes on Algeria. The French invasion of Algeria in 1830 was the subject of a dispute until 1918. France's invasion of Algeria made the country part of North Africa, while the Ottoman Empire and Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and the Sahara came into constant conflict in terms of their interests due to problems. The separation of Algeria from the Ottoman domination was also without conflict. France did not face great resistance due to the failure of the Ottoman State to send its forces against France.[1] Local leaders Hacı Ahmed Bey and Emir Abdülkadir did not succeed even though they had a long and organized resistance, Hacı Ahmed Bey lost his life in Algeria, and Emir Abdulkadir[2] took refuge in the Ottoman State by accepting defeat (Nam, 2012: 156-157).

[1] In 1827, the Navy of the Ottoman State was burned down, and the Ottoman-Russian War of 1828-1829 occurred. Also, in Egypt, Mehmed Ali Pasha is in rebellion.

[2] For detailed information about Emir Abdülkadir, see: Ali Nedjmi, "Emir Abdülkadir'in Cezayir'deki Direniş Hareketi ve Osmanlı Topraklarında Yaptığı Faaliyetler." (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1992.)

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3. ALGERIA- UNDER THE FRENCH DOMINATION

France has gradually changed the Algerian local government system and law. France established French colonies in the country. There are deep social differences between these colonies and the Algerian people. French military rule dominated Algeria. After the enactment of the 32-article law in 1873 and the "Code Indegant" in 1881, that is, the Indigenous Law (Ataöv, 1975: 145), the French colonial rule began literally in Algeria. Thus, Algeria was literally connected to France. The colonial administration has confiscated 7 million hectares of land from the natives in Algeria. In addition, a wave of migration to Algeria from many European countries, especially France, was initiated and Algeria was Frenchized. The French population in Algeria has been economically prosperous and has been put into service of the French capital economically. The law and social facilities of the French in Algeria and the law and social facilities of Arabs are completely different. For example, special “Arab tax” is collected from the Arab population. In addition, missionary French people engaged in activities aimed at Christianizing the Algerian people, and the Algerian people were exposed to intense missionary propaganda (Birsel, 2013: 49-51).

Although the French wanted to create Arab-Berber separatism in Algeria, they failed. They kept the religious and local organizations in Algeria under constant control and wanted to raise and direct local elites themselves. The colonial administration, which entered the relative comfort period after the First World War, increased its severity after the 1929 economic crisis. The People's Front, which emerged in 1936 with the merger of the French left parties, came to power and gave 24 million Algerians the right to be elected. In addition, Muslim Algerians were subjected to the same law regime as European Algerians. In 1947, social, civil and public rights were achieved. Despite all tax improvements and social rights definitions, Muslim Algerian people were behind European non-Muslims living in Algeria in terms of financial status, social status and education (Sönmez, 2007: 15-23).

4. ALGERIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

4.1. Sources of the National Awakening in Algeria

Although the Ottoman Empire did not interfere with the traditional form of rule of Algeria for three hundred years, the French eliminated the local organization formed around the leader *Dayı* in Algeria. This situation caused the social order to be unable to be restored. The concessions granted to those from Europe and the confiscation of the land of the natives impoverished the peasant population, resulting in first migration to the cities and then the migration of workers to France. This recent migration is significant in terms of the Algerian national awakening (Sönmez, 2007: 167).

Another source of the political organization of the Algerian awakening was the Algerian youth studying at French schools and universities. From 1848 to 1916, 14 anti-France local revolts were observed. These movements, however, remained at the local level and were low-intensity riots. However, organized rebellions, which are based on politically sound foundations at the national level, especially after the Second World War, will be observed (Sönmez, 2007: 37).

In the First World War, France employed Algerians in military factories and took them under arms. 25 thousand Algerians died. In response to these efforts, Algerians have voiced the abolition of the Indigenous Law and courts, tax equality, and political claims in the French

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press. Although the French in Algeria react to these demands, the Muslim Algerian people will achieve what they want in the 1920s and 1930s. The Algerian nation-consciousness developed primarily among the few Algerians educated in French schools and the relatively economically good Algerians. The claims of the "Young Algerian Association" (*Jeune Algerien*) and the French administration of the association are the first steps of the Algerian struggle. The Association's ideological division into two later affected the movement negatively.

The Turkish War of Independence, led by Mustafa Kemal, has created excitement among Algerians, especially after the successes in the Gallipoli Battles. The leaders of the peoples of North Africa such as Abdulkerim, Ferhad Abbas and Habib Burgiba clearly stated that they were influenced by Mustafa Kemal. The principles of American President Wilson during the First World War and the Bolsheviks' liberation of the colonial peoples after the Soviet Revolution echoed in Algeria. The Algerian national movement emerged through the Algerian people who went to France as workers, who participated in the First World War, the landowned Algerian middle class, the Algerian people who studied in French schools and the Algerians who had the right to represent in local councils. Emir Halid, an ex-lieutenant of the anti-French Abdulkadir, was contacted with the Young Algerian organization in 1919 and started the political movement.

Emir Khalid went to political formation within the French Communist Party, and his friend Ahmed Messali Hadj founded an organization called "North African Star" (*Etoile Nord Africaine*). The idea of the independence of the North African countries was expressed in the Anti-Imperialist Congress held in Brussels in 1927, where German, French, and Belgian communist parties attended, as well as North African pro-independence delegates such as Emir Halid and Messali Hadj. The organization of Ahmed Messali Hadj has been closed several times and Hadj has been isolated by the French. European communist parties, especially the French Communist Party, turned against the North African Star, especially after Hadj cooperated with the Spanish king Franco. The overwhelming superiority of the Declaration Party for the Democratic Freedoms, founded by Messali Hadj, who was released from prison in 1948, accelerated the Algerian Independence Movement (Deniz, 1992: 40-50).

Ferhad Abbas, another leader of the Algerian national movement, defended the idea of the Algerian Muslim Republic united with France. He was the leader of the North African Muslim Students Association. Abbas gave up his idea of Algeria, which was with France and modeled France in 1943, and started to defend a fully independent, nationalist Algerian ideal. He cited Atatürk's Turkey as an example in his writings, joined the National Liberation Movement in Cairo in 1956, and served as prime minister of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic between 1958 and 1961 (Dursun, 1993: 490-491).

Another leader of the movement, Abdulhamid Bin Badis, followed Islamist politics that emphasized Algeria's Muslim identity. The slogan of "Islam is my religion, Algeria is my homeland, Arabic is my language" has appealed to a wide audience. The founder of the "Algerian Muslim Scholars Association" (*Association d'Ulama Musulman Algerien*) Badis died in 1940, and his followers participated in the War of Independence in 1954 (Ataöv, 1975: 147).

The most important phenomenon that triggered the emergence of the Algerian national movement is the reflex shown to the assimilation movement of France. Algerians, who did not want to lose their religion, their language, their culture, have been mobilized. The main

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disagreement in the Algerian national movement is whether the movement will be made against France or by reconciling with France. Over time, the first view gained advantage over the other.[3]

4.2. Process Leading Up to the War of Independence

The colonial peoples began to gain their freedom before and after the Second World War, and France left the war with a huge loss of power. Still, Algeria was with France in the Second World War. German occupation in Algeria has not been long-term.[4] However, the attitudes of the pro-German fascist Vichy government established in France during the Second World War cooled the relations between Algeria and France. During the Second World War, the declarations of the allies to give independence to the colonies also created an expectation of independence in Algerian public opinion. In 1943, along with the signatures of 28 members of the Algerian Assembly, the Algerian People's Party declared the expectations of independence by conveying the Ulema Association's "Manifesto of the Algerian People" (Connely, 2002: 23) statement on the American side. After the end of the war, Algerian nationalists and political organizations, which had five hundred thousand supporters in 1945, declared the "Friends of Freedom Declaration".

The rise of nationalism in Algeria forced France to take drastic measures. The leaders were arrested and the European people in Algeria were armed. In 1945, during celebrations for liberation from German occupation, demonstrators were fired upon for chanting independence slogans and the French killed thousands of Algerians. Since then, a rebellion started in many cities of Algeria, especially Setif city. After the start of the nationalist demonstrations, the French Air Force bombed the villages and the Europeans armed in Algeria terrorized the streets (Benrabah, 2013: 47). This movement, referred to as "Setif Massacre" in the literature, has been described as genocide and has further strengthened the idea of nationalism in Algeria. During this period, Messali Hadj, leader of the "Declaration Party for the Democratic Freedoms" established a special armed organization within the party, but the organization was disbanded by the French police.

In 1949, Messali Hadj's party was divided into two as Centrists and Messalists. While centrists strongly defended the armed struggle, with the support of Nasser in Egypt, supporters of the independence of Algeria found a spreading area. Algeria Congress was convened in Cairo in 1954 and the National Liberation Front (FLN) was established. The armed wing of the front is the National Liberation Army. Algeria is divided into six regions, and a leader is appointed to each region. After this date, the armed independence struggle would start in Algeria (Connely, 2002: 82).

4.3. War of Independence (1954-1962)

The strategy of the National Liberation Front in the Algerian War of Independence, which started in November 1954 (Nam, 2012: 173), was influenced by Mao. All mobilizable villages (Keegan, 1993: 55) joined the war, and an informal war was carried out throughout Algeria. In addition, especially since 1958, Communist China has actively supported the FLN politically and financially (Chau, 2008: 177). The Algerian government announced that a million Muslims

[3] For detailed information, see: Hasan Selim, *Cezayir Bağımsızlık Savaşı*, (İstanbul: Acar Matbaacılık, 1984.)
[4] For battles in Algeria during World War II, see: Norman Stone, *İkinci Dünya Savaşı*, trans. İbrahim Kapaklıkaya, (İstanbul: Ketebe Yayınları, 2019), 148-150.

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were killed in this eight-year war.

The fact that France created the Europeans-Muslims duality in Algeria and treated the local Muslim people as second class made the nationalism movement a must. The Algerian people have managed to overcome some of their divisions, such as the tribal structure and the Berber-Arab duality, with the unity of religion, in spite of France's policies (Willis, 2014: 203-208).

During the period of armed struggle in Algeria, the movement's dignitaries took military responsibility for the regions. Some people who led the movement, such as Ahmet Ben Bella from 1954 to 1962, were arrested by France, while others lost their lives in the fighting. In the armed resistance and raids against the French army, the names of the regional commanders became known as heroes. The commanders of the National Liberation Army were members of the National Liberation Front to which they were affiliated. Therefore, those responsible for the armed struggle and the political struggle consisted of almost the same people. Having completed the union, the party attacked military garrisons and police zones in many parts of Algeria during the midnight Toussaint feast, which connected the sunday night to monday. The attack was made with 1200 mujahids and 400 pieces of weapons. Thirty attacks took place all over the country same night. The National Liberation Front issued a declaration the same night. They declared that their aim was to establish a social, democratic, sovereign Algerian state within Islamic foundations, and to establish a national independent state that respects all core values, regardless of sectarian and racial discrimination.

They stated that they would follow two ways inside and outside to reach this goal. Inside, they proclaimed the gathering of their energies together to stabilize the country through the national movement and clean the colonial system. On the other hand, they conveyed the Algerian problem to the international arena and declared their justification in the United Nations and declared that they aim to win the support of all nations, and that they will fight until they achieve these goals (Connely, 2002: 59-60).

The Algerian National Liberation Organization found the right to represent itself for the first time at an international conference held in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955. In 1955, the public's participation in the armed struggle increased, the movement spread throughout Algeria, and liaison with the Algerians in France was provided. Thousands of Algerians lost their lives this year, but the UN General Assembly put the Algerian issue on its agenda (Connely, 2002: 9). The Algerian Muslim Students' Association has operated in France and Algeria, has provided the military power to the Front as well as assumed political responsibilities. In 1955 and 1956, Muslim political groups, associations and parties in Algeria dissolved themselves and became part of the National Liberation Front. Thus, the movement was managed from a single center. A new action plan was determined at the congress that was held in Soummam region on August 20, 1956. Accordingly, armed and diplomatic struggle would continue until full independence is achieved. The National Council of the Algerian Revolution was also established at the Congress (Connely, 2002: 109-111).

The Algerian Workers Union, the largest workers' union in Algeria, launched the "Eight Day Strikes" in 1957 and supported the movement against the pressures of France. This strike, in which people from all layers of society participated, is the declaration that the Algerian people are behind the National Liberation Organization. By 19 September 1958, this time, the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria was established in Cairo, and it was

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announced to the international public that the government of the Algerian State was established. The head of government was Ferhat Abbas (Dursun, 1993: 490).

Two more governments were established (1960-61 and 1961-62) until Algeria's independence was established. The armed movement to Algeria never took on the appearance of a regular army and continued in the form of guerrilla warfare. It had gained the support of the public at large. Hundreds of thousands of French soldiers served in the Algerian War of Independence. For France, the financial burden of the war was too great. During the war, nearly five hundred thousand Mujahideen and civilian Algerians were killed, wounded, forced to emigrate and became refugees. France has committed crimes against humanity in Algeria by resorting to means such as slaughter, torture, displacement and incarceration.

The fact that the French government started to negotiate independence with the Algerian Provisional government in 1961 has caused dissatisfaction between the Algerian French and the French army, and the French army's intervention was brought to the agenda, but this situation was prevented. Nevertheless, European immigrants in Algeria entered into an alliance with the army and carried out terrorist attacks against the government in Paris. Since 1961, the National Liberation Front has been operating effectively in France.[5]

With the French police killing hundreds of people and putting thousands of people in jail during the protests held in Paris in 1961, the issue moved to the United Nations and the movement gained momentum. Since then, the hand of France has weakened in Algeria and the international public has put France under pressure. Peace talks have started between France and Algeria. After the parties could not agree in the Evian talks in Switzerland in 1961, the parties were contacted again in 1962, and on March 19, 1962, France recognized the independence of Algeria and the text of the agreement was signed. In addition, a popular vote was made in Algeria for independence, and the “yes” option achieved an overwhelming advantage (Fanon, 1983: 22-50).

5. TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY AGAINST THE ALGERIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Turkey was founded under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal after the Turkish War of Independence. The anti-imperialist line of the War of Independence is one of the determining factors of Turkish foreign policy. Mustafa Kemal's words are proof of this situation: “Turkey's struggle today does not belong to Turkey alone. It is the case of all oppressed nations, the whole East." Despite this, warm relations between Turkey and Algeria could not be established until the 1980s (Ersoy, 2012: 685).

The Turkish-Arab alienation has a large share in the Turkish-Algerian alienation. The attitude of the Arabs in the First World War, the cold view of the Arabs in Kemalist reforms and the crisis with Syria in the Hatay issue are the reasons for this alienation. Turkey's vision of secularization and westernization is another factor in this disengagement. Turkey's recognition of Israel in 1949 and its membership of the Baghdad Pact in 1955 have pushed Turkey away from Arab countries (Bostancı, 2013: 177-180).

Turkish foreign policy was undergoing a transformation during the Algerian War of

[5]For more detailed information, see: Rachid Tlemcani, *State and Revolution in Algeria*, (Colorado: Westview Press, 1986)

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Independence. NATO was at the core of this transformation. Turkey, on the one hand, has a mission to support the anti-imperialist movements of oppressed nations, while on the other hand, it has failed to openly confront its NATO ally France. This brought about some contradictions in foreign policy at the time. Turkey's reflexes on this issue have been more aimed at France's attitude than at the struggle for independence (Sönmez, 2007: 87).

After the Second World War, Turkey, feeling alone in the face of Soviet pressures, quickly took steps to join NATO. In order to be compatible with NATO, Turkey has demonstrated attitudes that could be against the peoples of the region's countries in the Middle East who struggle for independence. Upon Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal, Britain and France attacked Egypt; in the struggle for independence of Morocco and Tunisia, Turkey took the side of France with its votes in the United Nations. At the United Nations Political Commission on 13 December 1952, when the Arabs wanted France to be condemned for the Tunisian events, Turkey voted in favor of France for the rejection of the proposal (Sönmez, 2007: 103).

It would not be wrong to say that Turkey and Algeria were at different poles in the bipolar world in the post-Cold War period. France's involvement in the Western bloc pushed Algeria into the Soviet bloc. The interest of the French Communist Party and the European communist parties in Algeria is one of the reasons for this rapprochement. In addition, FLN, which ran the Algerian War of Independence, received open support from the Communist China, where the Turkish Brigade fought in Korea a few years ago under the United Nations (Chau, 2008: 111-122). At the same time, the attitude of the Soviets also pushed Turkey into the Western bloc.

Turkey has remained silent on the French massacre of thousands of Algerians at the Setif event in 1945 in Algeria for the release of Ahmed Messali Hadj, who was arrested by France. In 1952, Egypt and its leader, Nasser, were perceived as a threat by Turkey, and the Algerian movement supported by Egypt was met with caution by Turkey (Sönmez, 2009: 498).

1952 was also the first year of Turkey's accession to NATO, and it was not politically appropriate for Turkey to take a stand against its NATO ally France. On the contrary, the Turkey-France rapprochement in the 1950s stands out. In 1953 Adnan Menderes travelled to France and was awarded the Legion d'Honneur and the rank of Grant Cordon (Milliyet Newspaper, 1953: 1). Meanwhile, it should not be forgotten that countries such as Tunisia and Morocco are struggling for independence in the meantime. The alliance of these movements with the European communist parties in North African countries during the period when the threat of communism was frequently emphasized was one of the reasons why Turkey was cautious about these movements. Turkish foreign policy, which pursued harmonious behaviour with Western countries, was affected negatively by Algerian War of War Independence, when FLN ebtablished good relationship with many socialist countries (like China, North Vietnam, North Korea etc.) at the middle of the Independence War (Ersoy, 2012: 689).

At the Bandung Conference, Algeria was recognized with a representative among the peoples struggling for independence; Turkey was the spokesperson for NATO. While participating in the decisions taken to recommend the colonial administrations; in his speech, Turkey's representative Fatin Rüştü Zorlu saw the danger of communism as the colonial administration and stated that communism was the real colonizer. In the conference, the representatives of Yemen and Iraq addressed the North African problem and called for the independence of Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria in North Africa (Milliyet Newspaper, 1955: 1).

When the uprising began for independence in Algeria on November 1, 1954, the Turkish

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Government remained silent. In 1955, Turkey voted against the motion to put the Algerian issue on the UN agenda, but the motion was passed by one vote. Since 1956, Turkey's attitude has tended to change due to France's disproportionate use of force and the attitude of the international community in support of the Algerian independence movement. Yet there has never been a clear front against France (Sönmez, 2009: 498).

According to the *Ulus* newspaper, the representatives of the Algerian National Liberation Front arrived in Turkey in October 1956 and reported that they had held talks, that the talks were not reflected in the press, and that they had left a message to the Prime Minister and the President of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. The aim of the representatives was to inform the Turkish authorities of the distressing events taking place in Algeria and to inform the members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly of the messages that they had left important documents to prove the unfair practices implemented by France to the authorities (Sönmez, 2007: 143).

In October 1957, the president of the Algerian National Foundation Committee, Ahmet Françis, told reporters during a visit to Ankara that the traces of Turkey's independence war, which were admired all over the world, had not been erased, and that they had taken Turkey as an example in their struggle, and criticized the Turkish government's silence against their struggles. In his statement, the representative emphasized the support of the Turkish press and the Turkish public in their struggle, but did not mention the support of the Turkish government of the period. The government's silence also has its share in the failure of the representative to find an interlocutor with whom the he can openly negotiate (Kürkçüoğlu, 1972: 52-96).

During a meeting of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes with French Prime Minister Felix Gaillard on 20 December 1957, the French Prime Minister thanked his Turkish counterpart for Turkey's position on the Algerian issue (Milliyet Newspaper, 1957: 3). On the other hand, the FLN, in a message to the Turkish Embassy in Cairo, for the first time asked the Turks for help in gaining independence and demanded that Turkey, as a member of the Baghdad Pact, exercise its influence over France. However, this expectation of the Algerian Liberation Movement was not met. In his press release in 1957, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes also touched upon the Algerian problem and said, “The events going on in Algeria are hurting our hearts. Due to our loyalty to the Arabs and our current sympathy for the struggle for independence, we wish and hope that the Algerian issue will be settled as soon as possible. If Turkey has a role in this issue, we are ready to do so” (Milliyet Newspaper, 1957: 2).

In 1957, Turkey began to sympathize with the Algerian independence movement after US President Kennedy's statements that Algeria was not just a French issue and that the US would support Algerian independence. During this year, it is known that Turkey secretly provided weapons to the Algerian Mujahideen (Dursun, 1993: 492; Hürriyet, 1999). It is known that this arms assistance lasted until the end of the Algerian War of Independence under a secret agreement between Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and Libyan Prime Minister Mustafa bin Halim (Koç, 2009: 76). However, the Algerian people were not openly supported. Since then, at the international level, Turkey has stopped acting together with France and voted to abstain along with the United States. For example, in December 1958, the UN voted abstain on the proposal of Asian-African countries to recognise Algeria's independence. At the Baghdad Pact meetings at the time, representatives of Iran and Pakistan drew attention to the Algerian problem, while Turkey remained silent. At other international meetings, Turkey has expressed

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its wish for a peaceful end to the situation in Algeria, but has voted in favor of France at UN meetings, as has been said before.

In 1958, FLN's first official assistance appeal arrived to Turkish Embassy in Cairo. FLN asked Turkey if Turkey could use influence on France for achieving independence (Ersoy, 2012: 688). However Turkey did not recognize the Algerian Provisional Government, which was established on September 19, 1958 and operated until independence. In December 1958, Turkey also abstained on the proposal to have the parties to the UN table in Algeria for a solution (Nam, 2012: 181). The French torture of Algerians is learned from the book "Interrogation", written by a Frenchman, Henri Allegg.[6] This book was translated into Turkish in 1959. The book resonated in Turkish politics, and the Algerian War of Independence increased its sympathy in the Turkish public.

Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, in his speech on foreign policy at the beginning of January 1959, stated that Turkey had always desired the independence of their Arab brothers in North Africa and that the Algerian question was complicated and that they wanted to be resolved through friendly negotiations between France and their brother Algerians. This statement also reveals the uncertainties of the government's policy for Algeria. International public opinion has increased its pressure on France in order for Algeria to become independent. The Turkish Government continued its abstaining attitude.

The harshest opposition to the Democratic Party's Algerian policy came from the Hürriyet Party. Party spokesperson Ziyad Ebuzziya stated that the people of the countries participating in the Bandung Conference had expectations from Turkey since they were Muslim, whereas Turkey's representative Fatin Rüştü Zorlu created a draft against her by defending the obscene and imperialist states. On the other hand, although the CHP supports the Democratic Party's harmonious attitude with NATO, the writers of *Ulus* newspaper, which can be called the publication of the CHP, wrote articles criticizing the government's indifference against the Algerian War of Independence, which they regard as "anti-imperialist struggle" (Doğan, 2015: 23-29).

Although Turkey changed its perspective on Algeria in the 1960s, Turkey officially changed its policy on Algeria after the May 27, 1960 coup. Cemal Gürsel, chairman of the National Unity Committee, said: "I have been following the noble and heroic struggles of the Algerians with a close interest". Foreign Minister Selim Sarper also delivered a message in his speech at the UN General Assembly on 23 September 1960 that he would support the Algerian independence movement. The head of state and government, Cemal Gursel, invited the ambassadors of the seven Arab countries represented in Turkey and informed them that Turkey would support the initiatives to achieve the independence of Algeria. During this period, although Algeria was not officially recognized by Turkey, Turkey allowed Algeria to have representative offices in the country. In addition, the new Turkish government offered to mediate on the "Algerian problem"; this offer was rejected by the French government. Meanwhile, Turkish President Cemal Gursel declared in an interview in Cairo that he would support the principle of self-determination for Algeria (Sönmez, 2007: 157).

In line with the policy change, Turkey voted in favor of UN General Assembly resolution

[6] See: Henri Alleg, *Sorgu*, trans. Alaattin Bilgi, (İstanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın, 1998)

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1573 on the Algerian question on 19 December 1960 recognizing the right of self-determination and independence of the Algerian people and recognizing "the necessity of effective and adequate guarantees to ensure the successful and fair implementation of the right of self-determination based on respect for the unity and territorial integrity of Algeria". Again, it is known that Prime Minister Counselor Alparslan Türkeş provided weapons and money to Algerian mujahideen by submarine in 1960 (Nam, 2012: 181).

In the late 1960s, it is seen that interviews were made with the leaders of the Algerian movement in the Turkish press. Representatives of the Algerian Provisional Government who visited Ankara in April 1961 read the statement of the Algerian Liberation Front with a press conference. They assessed the coup attempt by the French army, saying that the French government was incapable of controlling its own army, and that the struggle for the liberation of Algeria would last until they won their independence (Milliyet Newspaper, 1960: 1).

In the 1960s, France increased the dose of violence it had perpetrated in Algeria. The actual balance sheet of this period is still unknown, but according to an official report released in the French parliament in 1982, 157 thousand ANL soldiers and 187 to 227 thousand civilians died between 1954-1960. According to Algerian sources, the number of casualties approached 1.5 million. Independent sources said that 500 thousand Algerians were killed. More than 1 million Algerians went to prison; almost 2.5 million Algerians became refugees. Even on the lowest figure, there was a terrible massacre. On April 21, 1961, four important generals of the French army attempted a coup against De Gaulle (Milliyet Newspaper, 1961: 1). The coup was prevented and two generals were arrested. The two Generals, which could not be seized, were organized under the name of OAS and launched terrorist acts in Algeria and France (Milliyet Newspaper, 1961: 1). In August 1961, the Algerian National Liberation Front started protests in France, and France killed hundreds of Algerians and put thousands in jail. The issue was once again moved to the UN (Connely, 2002: 220).

On 16 November 1961, the UN General Assembly passed a bill inviting France to recognize Algeria's independence. Turkey also abstained in this vote. On July October 1, 1962, an Algerian independence referendum (Milliyet Newspaper, 1962: 1) was held, Algeria declared its independence (Milliyet Newspaper, 1962: 1), and on October 8, 1962, the country became a member of the United Nations. In July 1963, Semih Günver became the first Turkish Ambassador.

After France and Algeria reached an agreement on independence and a referendum on independence in Algeria, Turkish Foreign Minister Selim Sarper and the Foreign Minister's spokesman expressed their satisfaction with this situation and pointed out that the process had been confirmed by Turkey (Sönmez, 2007: 159).

In 1963, Algerian parliament speaker Ferhat Abbas stated that they were "resentful of Turkey". One of the first statements by Bumedyen, who seized power in 1965 by overthrowing Algeria's first president Ben Bella in a bloodless coup (Milliyet Newspaper, 1965: 1), was that they were "angry and resentful with Turkey." Indeed, during the Bumedian period (which lasted until 1977), Algeria did not open an embassy in Turkey. Turkey-Algeria relations began to normalize after the then Prime Minister Turgut Özal, who visited Algeria in 1985, apologized to Algeria for Turkey's stance in the UN vote in the 1950s. To normalize relations between Algeria and Turkey, Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Özal visited Algeria on February 4-6, 1985. During his visit to Algeria, Turgut Özal publicly criticized the decision of Menderes's

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government to abstain in the UN General Assembly vote, especially in the 1958 vote: "There can be no excuse for behavior that does not coincide with the will of our people. I also believe it is a virtue for us to admit our mistake in the matter. It is my hope that this eternal friendship will be re-established between our governments (Milliyet Newspaper, 1985: 1)."[7]

6. CONCLUSION

Turkey is a country that gained independence by winning the war of independence under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. This characteristic of Turkey imposes a historical mission on the country. This mission is to be with the states whose independence was taken away by the imperialist powers and to support their struggles. However, Turkey was unable to fully fulfill this mission during the Algerian War of Independence. The main reason for this is that Turkey has not been able to pursue an independent foreign policy after thirty years of its foundation.

Exposed to France's colonial policies for more than 100 years, Algeria has succeeded in gaining its independence, even at the cost of paying heavy prices. Although it has a great share of the rightful struggle that Algeria has achieved with great success in gaining its independence, it is also important that it can accurately explain its justice to the international public, bring the issue to the agenda of the United Nations and represent it on international platforms. The intersection between the Turkish foreign policy and the Algerian War of Independence were international conferences and the United Nations General Assembly. At these points, Turkey has long produced a policy contrary to its historical mission, ignoring the rightful demands of Algeria and taking a pro-France stance. Turkey's attitude changed as a result of the change of power in Turkey after the 1960 coup, the United States and the United Nations took a stance in favour of Algerian independence, France applied the method of genocide in Algeria, and the Algerian independence movement was believed to be successful. After 1960, Turkey took positive steps in both discourse and action regarding the independence of Algeria, and after Algeria gained its independence in 1962, it recognized this state and appointed a consul.

There are many reasons why Turkey has failed to take a stand in favour of Algeria's independence in international diplomacy. One of these is the Turkish Arab alienation experienced after the First World War. Another reason is that Turkey remained under Soviet threat during the Cold War period after the Second World War and that it entered NATO as a precaution against this threat and approached the Western bloc. In this case, Turkey has been reluctant to take a stand against France, one of NATO's key allies. It was also thought that developing anti-imperialist foreign policy rhetoric would lead to the reaction of NATO member states. Furthermore, the Algerian National Liberation Movement, the FLN, had good relations with the European communist parties and Arab Socialist leaders. Communism was perceived as a threat by Turkey at the time. Turkey cautiously approached the communist tendencies of the FLN. Another reason Turkey did not offer Algeria clear support in the field of international diplomacy was to prevent France, in particular, from antagonizing Turkey in the ongoing negotiations on the Cyprus situation at the time.

[7] Also see: Omar Bouacha, *2002 Sonrası Türkiye Cezayir İlişkileri*, (Master's Thesis, İstanbul Medeniyet Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2018), 7-33.

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In addition, current studies have brought up Turkey's secret arms aid to Algeria in the period 1957-1961. During Süleyman Demirel's visit to Algeria in 1999, when it was announced that Turkey had provided arms to Algeria in the Algerian War of Independence, it was understood that Turkey had not pursued a policy of total disregard in the face of the Algerian War of Independence.

After the war of independence, the Algerian authorities expressed resentment for Turkey's attitude during the war of independence, and Turkey had to wait until the 1980s to establish warm relations with Algeria. Turgut Özal's apology on behalf of Turkey by taking the initiative and the steps he took have also enabled the establishment of warm relations between Turkey and Algeria.

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