



Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

DIPLOMACY OF THE TURKISH-ALGERIAN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RECENT HISTORY AND THE CHALLENGES OF THE FUTURE

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Abstract

The study of soft power and its impact on the foreign policy of states has a special place in understanding the tools of management and influence, and the directions of foreign policies, where the need for interest in the unconventional manifestations of power emerged, where alternative perceptions of coercion and forcedness have emerged; It is mainly based on persuasion and intimidation, in order for the state to be able, through this option, to influence its regional and international environment. Through this study, we aim to drop this proposition on the path of Turkish-Algerian relations, and the extent to which the Turkish-Algerian political action is compatible with the real implications of soft power. And the search for the impact of geopolitical characteristics on Turkish foreign policy and its use as tools for its soft power in implementing its foreign policy, through which it followed a new strategy called soft power instead of hard power to strengthen its relationship with Algeria.

Keywords : Soft power, hard power, geopolitics, Algerian-Turkish relations.

YAKIN TARİH VE GELECEĞİN MEYDAN OKUMALARI ARASINDA TÜRKİYE-CEZAYİR İLİŞKİLERİNİN DİPLOMASİSİ

Öz

Yumuşak gücün ve bunun devletlerin dış politikası üzerindeki etkisinin incelenmesi, yönetim ve etki araçlarını ve gücün geleneksel olmayan tezahürlerine ilgi duyma ihtiyacının ortaya çıktığı, baskı ve zorlamanın alternatif algılarının ortaya çıktığı dış politikaların yönünü anlamada özel bir yere sahiptir. Esas olarak devletin bu seçenek aracılığıyla bölgesel ve uluslararası çevresini etkileyebilmesi için ikna ve korkutma üzerine kuruludur. Bu çalışma ile Türkiye-Cezayir ilişkileri yolundaki bu önermeyi ve Türk-Cezayir siyasi eyleminin yumuşak gücün gerçek çıkarımlarıyla ne ölçüde uyumlu olduğunu ve jeopolitik özelliklerin Türk dış politikasının uygulanmasında ve yumuşak gücün aracı olarak kullanılması üzerindeki etkisini araştırmayı hedefliyoruz. Ki Cezayir ile ilişkilerini güçlendirmek için sert güç yerine yumuşak güç kullanma stratejisini izledi.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yumuşak güç, sert güç, jeopolitik, Cezayir-Türk ilişkileri.

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Introduction

Turkey has enhanced its interest in the African continent in general and the Maghreb region in particular in a remarkable way during the past two decades, especially with the arrival of the Justice and Development Party to power in the country, and it is a transformation that reflects the escalating Turkish aspiration and what it wants to play from an increasingly regional and international role. Turkey has been keen for years to enhance its interest in the young African continent, and this interest has begun to crystallize within a clear and integrated vision for nearly two decades, especially with the strategy that Ankara formulated in 1998 entitled 'The policy of openness to Africa' (İnaç, 2007: 29). Although this vision stumbled its download, with the beginning of the experience of the Justice and Development Party in 2005 renewed interest in Africa, and the Turkish government considered that the year 2005 is the 'year of Africa', during which the then Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan visited both Ethiopia and South Africa, as the first president Turkish government visits the continent. Turkey embraced the first summit of Turkish-African cooperation in 2008, then the tours in Africa from Turkish leaders, especially Erdogan and former President Abdullah Gul, followed.

Through this approach, Turkey pays special attention to the Maghreb region (North Africa), especially Algeria. Algeria and Turkey have great historical relations that go back five centuries, when the Ottoman commander Khair al-Din Barbarossa arrived in North Africa in 1516 and played a key role in confronting the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and Europeans in general in the campaigns of piracy and control that they were carrying out in the Mediterranean and the control of merchant ships. In 2016, Algeria and Turkey celebrated the 500th anniversary of their relations (İnaç, 2005: 91).

Today, Turkey seems keen to further strengthen relations between it and Algeria and to value them through strategic ties within the framework of common and balanced interests, in various fields, that go beyond politics to culture, economy to security, and partnership in the completion of military industrial projects, which enhance the strength of the two countries. Algeria, by virtue of its geographical and demographic weight, and its historical and geopolitical status, is the main gateway to the Maghreb region (100 million people) and to the African continent (about one billion people). According to these data, an obvious problem can be put forward for this study:

- ✓ What is the role of Turkish diplomacy in attracting the Algerian public and improving its image as an economic, social, and political force? In diplomacy?

In order to answer this problem, it must be analyzed and decomposed into several sub-questions:

- ✓ What do we mean by diplomacy?
- ✓ What is the historical context of Turkish-Algerian relations?
- ✓ What is the reality of the Algerian-Turkish relations in the current period and what are the chances of developing them in the future?
- ✓ What is the degree of Turkish acceptance among the Algerian public?

1. The Concept of Diplomacy

Diplomacy is a word of Greek origin, derived from the name "Diploma" taken from the verb "Diplom" and it meant the document that was issued by those with authority and political heads of cities and granted its bearer certain privileges. The Romans later used it to refer to a folded or written document that was folded in a special way, and gave some privileges to those who carried it, such as a passport, or agreements that were concluded to arrange relations with communities, or other foreign groups (Al-Mousa, 2005: 64).

Later, until the end of the seventeenth century, the word diplomacy was taken to official papers and documents, how to preserve and classify them, and to translate their words and decipher their symbols from specialized writers, or the so-called archivists. He called the one who carries out this task the name of the diplomat and called the science specialized in this subject the name of diplomacy, in relation to diplomas (Özkan, 2019: 1740).

The term diplomacy or diplomat was not used to refer to the recognized meaning today, which is the management of international relations except at the end of the eighteenth century, specifically in 1796, when the word “Diplomacy” was used in English in England and the word at that time became called representatives of foreign countries who hold Accreditation books from their countries. It was also known when the French Revolution was established in the sense of negotiation, and the diplomat was known as the negotiator. The speech of diplomacy has become crystallized and acquired in a specific way its own rules, traditions, and ceremonies, following a conference in Viena in the year 1815, and in light of this development, specialized and distinguished diplomatic cadres emerged from other politicians. This difference in the history of using the word diplomacy was overtaken by the Spaniards, who were the first to use the word embassy and ambassador, after transferring it from the ecclesiastical expression (Ambactus) meaning servant and (Ambassy) meaning embassy (Özkan, 2022a: 147).

1.1. Definition of Diplomacy

Diplomacy definitions are used, and the word is used to refer to different meanings to the extent that they are all difficult to collect in one definition. The interested people differed from professors of international law and diplomatic relations in determining the meaning of diplomacy, and they went in various doctrines, and a number of opinions and definitions that the book mentioned in this field can be reviewed in this field (Callahan, 2008: 27)

One of the well-known definitions is the definition of the Oxford Dictionary adopted by Harold Nicholson, who said, “Diplomacy is the management of international relations through negotiations and the method used by ambassadors and envoys to manage and settle these relations, which is the function or art of a diplomat.” (İnaç, 2014: 41). Ernest Satow defines it as “the application of resourcefulness and intelligence in the management of official relations between governments and independent states.” (Al -Mousa, 2005: 64)

Charles Calvo gives a definition of diplomacy as “the science of existing relations between different countries, as they arise from their mutual interests, and from the principles of international law and the texts of treaties and agreements that arise, and they are necessary to lead public affairs and pursue negotiations”. Thus, it can be said that diplomacy: “the science and the art of managing relations between international persons, through diplomatic representatives, within the field of foreign relations of international persons within the framework of what is approved by international law and custom” (İnaç & Erdoğan, 2006: 13).

It is clear from the previous different definitions of the word diplomacy, and if the angle on which the researchers rely differs from their point of view, it shows some basic elements of diplomacy as a necessary need in the relations of international units due to circumstances; the tremendous economic, social and scientific and technological development witnessed by the international community, which led to the intertwining and development of relations and interests (Özkan, 2022b: 244).

As for the functions of diplomacy, they are three that can be summarized as (gathering information, presenting a positive image, and implementing policy). The embassy collects information about the thinking of the local political leadership, the state of the local economy, and the nature of the political opposition. All of these matters are important because they help predict internal problems and

anticipate changes in foreign policy. Diplomatic representatives are considered the eyes and ears of the state abroad, as their messages and reports are part of the primary resources on which foreign policy is built. Diplomacy also aims to provide an updated picture of the state and its day. Modern communications make it possible to form ideas and take positions around the world, and countries enjoy extensive public relations systems aimed at making their actions and policies the focus of international support. Foreign embassies provide official explanations to local media and try to avoid or eliminate negative publicity (Callahan, 2008: 81).

Diplomats also run the state program abroad, as they negotiate the issue of military rights and facilitate foreign investment and trade and supervise the distribution of economic aid and provide the necessary information and assistance, but with the passage of time the importance of official ambassadors decreased as it was in the past when travel and communication were primitive, The ambassadors enjoyed the lacon and the eligibility to implement the full foreign policy, but today the heads of political pyramid and high -level policies are continuing through the phone "the diplomacy of the summit", or it is possible to send specialists for "shuttle diplomacy", and the shuttle diplomacy is considered one of the most important diplomatic methods in particular After Henry Kissinger, the American foreign policy minister, and engineer made it a sophisticated art in restricting power and achieving interests through peaceful diplomacy (Yiğit, İnaç & Güner, 2007: 89).

2. The Historical Context of Turkish-Algerian Relations

2.1. Ottoman Presence in Algeria

The Algerians called on the Turkish brothers, Arouge and Khair al-Din, due to their common religious ties, and the two siblings were skilled, and they filled piracy against the Christians and gained great experience in this field, so the Al -Hafsi governor of Bejaia called them to expel the Spaniards, and Arouj and his brother answered. Khair al-Din al -Nidaa and joining Bejaia in 1512 AD, and as soon as the two brothers arrived in accordance with the expulsion of the Spaniards, and in 1516 AD, the residents of the capital were founded in them, including its ruler, Salem Al -Toumi Al -Thaalabi, and at that time Arouge was present in Jijel, who was sold as a prince in 1513 AD, So he went to Algiers, but he was unable to expel the Spaniards from it, and killed its ruler, Salem Al -Toumi Al -Thaalabi, to announce himself as an authority over it, and the brothers later seized the cities of Medea, Miliana, Tennis, and Dils (Bouhosh, 1997: 12).

After the victory of the two brothers over the Spaniards in Algeria (Novir 1516), Arouge went to Tlemcen in 1517 AD and entered it without resistance, but the Spanish forces returned the attack on Tlemcen and then managed to kill Arouge and his soldiers in 1518 AD). Let Khair al-Din then use the Ottoman Empire officially, and the Sultanate's assistance arrived before the Spanish forces arrived on the Algerian coasts), and the Sultanate's support came in response to the request of Khair al-Din and the residents of Algeria who sent a distress message to Sultan Selim I in 1519, to confront the Spanish invasion after the seizure of Sultan Selim On Egypt, in exchange for the inclusion of Algeria to the Ottoman Empire and the approval of the sovereignty of the Sultan (Tutar, İnaç ve Güner, 2006: 285).

Thus, Algeria became officially under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, and the Sultan supported this decision with executive decisions, so he sent to Algeria a force of artillery, and about 2000 Janissary soldiers to eliminate the Spaniards. This support was necessary to eliminate the Spaniards and achieve internal and external security and stability in the region, and thus Algeria was The first province in North Africa to come under Ottoman suzerainty (Yaghi, 1997: 44).

2.2. Algerian Economic, Social, and Cultural Life Under Ottoman Rule

Regarding the economic aspect, the situation was okay in Algeria during this stage, although the industry was not sophisticated compared to the neighboring European countries, it knew most of the industries that Europe knew such as the textile industry, shoes, tanning, squatter, ship materials, weapons, and gunpowder. This is in addition to fishing, and most of these industries were to meet the needs of the population in addition to exporting the surplus, while commercial exchanges with the outside were conducted with both Tunisia and Morocco in addition to some European countries, and the local industry was an accurate organization so that the craftsmen were involved in Unions according to specialization, and Andalusian immigration also played an important role in moving economic growth by introducing many advanced crafts in various urban, agricultural and industrial field. (Osmanlı Belgelerinde Cezayir, Ankara, 2010).

As for the rural population, they represent the majority of the population and work in agriculture, such as raising livestock and cultivating fertile lands with various products, especially wheat, and barley. As for social life, Algerian society during the Ottoman era was divided according to its origins and the parties to which it belongs. Where there were several classes and sects, all the Turks represented the ruling class that was assigned the most important responsibilities and enjoyed all the powers and privileges to exercise power, and the Karaghla (a Turkish father and an Algerian mother), and there are the sad people from the allied tribes who own fertile lands, and there are those coming from the gutter valley in addition to the liberated blacks Who were professional music and building arts (Sönmez, 2007: 67).

This stage was characterized by the supremacy of the thought of the nation, which was a solid and tight link between the different classes of the population, and it was working to assimilate the population to make them feel belonging to one nation. As for the cultural context of this period, many Frenchmen testified during the occupation period that illiteracy was almost non-existent in Algeria. All the population knew how to read and write, and considering the Turks did not take care of culture like war, this indicates that this sophistication and prosperity stems from the Algerians themselves). However, Algeria's status declined later, to fall under the brunt of colonialism, and the Ottoman presence ended with that (İnaç & Erdoğan, 2006:14).

2.2.1. Turkish-Algerian Relations During The Republic Period: 1924-1962

Due to some internal and external factors, the Republic of Turkey did not support Algeria in its struggle for Algerian independence in the twentieth century during the republican period as it was during the Ottoman era. In the Algerian struggle for independence in the thirties of the twentieth century within three periods. Turkey's only campaign was to order the foreign missions not to participate in the activities of the foreign missions of France that were held on the occasion of the centenary of France's occupation of Algeria. I have many places, especially Setif. Blunt. Oran and Guelma, especially during the so-called events of the Massacre1945 (Sétif-Guelma-Kharrata massacre). Despite the killing of one thousand five hundred people according to French sources and forty-five thousand according to Algerian sources, the Turkish government, which was composed of one party, did not show any reaction to the heinous massacre (İnaç & Yaman, 2015: 19).

In 1952, Turkey joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, of which France forms the backbone. Developments took place in the Turkish-French relations against Algeria, in the conferences that were held for the independence of Algeria: and in the votes that took place at the United Nations, Turkey abstained from voting or voted alongside France against Algeria, and according to the information available from the newspapers of that period, there are letters to John in Kennedy who will take over

The presidency of the United States later includes his position on the independence of Algeria in July 1957, which was reflected in the position of the Turkish government, and since then, Turkey began coordinating with America to abstain from voting in favor of France (Özkan, 2022a: 211).

In this context, the Turkish government abstained from voting for the proposal of the Asian-African group towards the immediate recognition of Algeria's independence in December 1958 AD at the United Nations, and Turkey also did not recognize the provisional government of the Republic of Algeria that was established in Cairo on September 19, 1958. At the end of 1959 AD, the member states of the Arab Union proposed to the Political Committee of the United Nations to form a committee to investigate the news related that France had killed Algerian prisoners in detention camps. The draft resolution contains the phrase ‘the desire of the Member States that the solution to this problem is in the hands of Algeria, which has the right to self-determination’ (İnaç & Ünal, 2013: 225).

That bill was accepted by 35 votes against 26 votes, and 17 countries abstained, including Turkey. It seems that the Turkish Republic did not stand with Algeria in its struggle for independence because of the circumstances of that period. (In the future) The then Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes, explained in a meeting with the former Libyan Prime Minister, Mustafa Ben Halim, why Turkey took this position with Algeria and the Islamic world as follows: “We are a member of the United Nations, and we have strong relations with America, not because we love the United States, but rather we fear Russia.” And that prompts us to cooperate with America. We recognized Israel with the pleasure of America and the United Nations together, we recognized Israel out of necessity, and despite our recognition of Israel, the relations between us are at the level of Chargé d'Affairs (Delanty, 2013: 67-69): I sympathize with all the Islamic peoples, especially the peoples of North Africa, with all their institutions, as Muslims, and I am fully aware of the suffering of the people of Algeria during the war of liberation. In all our meetings with the French government, we recommended that the Algerian problem cannot be solved through brute force and that the solution be political through negotiation with the representatives of the Algerian people. And I am ready to harm these efforts in NATO member states, such as America, Britain, and Italy, by exerting friendly pressure (İnaç & Sada, 2021: 91-93).

After his interview with Adnan Menderes, Mustafa Ben Halim stated that Turkey had decided to supply Algeria with weapons, and Menderes expressed this by saying: ‘We will give you weapons, God willing. I hope that God will help us to deliver the weapons that you will need to defend your religion. We say in Turkey that we have given weapons to our Libyan brothers only. And as soon as Menderes returned after these talks to Turkey, he stated that a ship full of weapons had been sent to Algeria after a few weeks’ (Sönmez, 2007: 16).

3. The Reality of Algerian-Turkish Relations in The Current Period and Opportunities for Their Development in The Future

Turkish -Algerian relations in the current period, in cooperation in various fields, especially the economic field, as Turkey seeks to retrieve its role in the African continent as it was in the past, after a long secession from the Arab and Islamic world during the colonial period that swept this region, and even after independence, This is because of the Turkish foreign policy in that period hostile to Arab and Islamic issues, as it considered itself a European country as an endeavor to accept the European Union for its membership, but by rejecting the latter of this requirement, as well as the occurrence of many transformations in the Arab and Islamic region, allowing Turkey to play a strategic role, Therefore, Turkey has worked to retrieve its historical link with this region, as the

Turkish interest requires it to go towards Africa in general and Algeria in particular as the Africa Gate, and thus the two parties are working to enhance their economic and political relationship to achieve common interests, as Algeria is looking through enhancing its relationship with Turkey to enhance its economic position. In the international arena, as for Turkey, it seeks to control the market in North Africa and retrieve its position in the region, as Turkey aims primarily from this relationship to benefit from the wealth that Algeria enjoys, which oil comes at the forefront (Bouhosh, 1997: 98).

The Algerian-Turkish relations are governed by ties and economic interests only, in light of the decline of the political bond, which most European countries, especially France, seek to prevent in order to guarantee their interests in the region. Therefore, the two countries are working to strengthen their political relationship, which was confirmed by the visit of Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan in June 2013 to Algeria, which was a visit of an economic nature and political dimensions. Turkey is working to intensify inter-cooperation and create common markets that stimulate production forces. It is also working to solve security problems that impede the prosperity of the region. It is looking for peace in the region for trade expansion, as well as to play the role of a regional actor in the region (İnaç, 2021a: 7). Where it invests generously, and then comes the importance of successive visits between the leaders of the two countries, including the visit of the Turkish Prime Minister, as previously mentioned). Economically, Turkey is Algeria's third largest trading partner outside Europe, while Algeria is Turkey's first African partner, as the volume of trade exchange between Algeria and Turkey currently stands at \$5 billion, and the volume of Turkish investments in Algeria amounts to \$7 billion or more. Of the 200 companies active in Algeria, especially in the trade, construction, and, industry; sectors, Turkey's exports to Algeria amounted to \$2 billion in 2013 and 2014. Turkey is seeking, in this context, to establish an exchange zone with Algeria in order to advance bilateral trade relations between the two parties. While Algerian exports to Turkey are estimated at 3 billion dollars and consist in particular of hydrocarbons (Turkey imported about 4 million cubic meters of liquefied gas annually from Algeria since 1988), chemicals, and raw materials for the textile sector (Boddorbun, 2021).

In the political aspect, the relations between the two countries are linked by geostrategic balances based on common interests, as they are relations that feed the economy and link the arteries of the agreements. Turkey looks at Algeria as a new gate for Africa for two considerations, the first is the growing role of Algerian diplomacy that is almost ending the crisis in Mali and is working to bring the opponents to be rounded in Libya, as it is aware that Algeria is always adhering to its principles based on non-interference in the internal affairs of countries, while Turkey is trying to look forward to an iron political performance dictated by the post-movement wave in the Arab world. World trade and benefit from economic science in Turkey. The two parties realize the importance of strengthening political and economic relations in the future from historical ties, especially in light of the challenges facing the field according to a common vision (İnaç, 2021: 12).

4. The Attractiveness of the Turkish Model to the Algerians.

Both Algeria and Turkey are increasingly keen to build a relationship that benefits both parties, as the instability witnessed in the Middle East, especially that Libya is witnessing, in addition to a mutual desire to expand the scope of political, economic, and cultural ties, led to the rapprochement of Algeria and Turkey. In this context, the friendship and cooperation agreement signed by the two sides in 2006 in Algeria, under the current government of the Justice and Development Party, is one of the first attempts by Ankara to reset its relations with North African countries (Boddorbun, 2021). Where the Turkish researcher and political analyst indicated. The Messenger of Tossen, in an interview with 'Ultra Algeria', to the reasons for the success of the Turkish expansion on the African scene, and said

that the African acceptance of this country is mainly due to the fact that Turkey was not a colonial state in the popular African imagination, adding that the intentions of Ankara aim to win the two parties according to the principle 'Airbag Ark', and it deals under mutual respect and common interests between countries. This soft position is reflected in African countries positively. As for Turkey's relationship with Algeria, Turkey attaches to double importance, and the value of strengthening relations with it, due to the existence of religious, cultural, and historical ties (Gabriel, 2021: 11).

It is worth noting the possibilities of developing the field of trade and industry, as Algeria occupies the location for the first time for Turkey in Africa, and the goal of the Turkish side, is to raise the volume of trade exchange from 1.5 billion dollars, to 5 billion dollars as a first stage, then to 10 billion dollars in the horizons of 2030, Where Algeria occupies the fourth ranks in the ranking of Turkey - funded countries with natural gas after Iran. Russia and Azerbaijan and Turkey are working to diversify the sources of financing with a natural cave from the most stable countries. In 2014, it was agreed to provide Ankara with natural gas for a period of ten years, an increase of 50 percent, and the volume of imports from natural gas to Turkey in 2018, was 14 billion cubic meters The volume of Turkish consumption of Algerian natural gas was 8 in Al -Muna. For its part, Algeria seeks to bring more direct forms and Turkish capital, with the intention of the commercial deficit in favor of Ankara before going to sign the commercial agreement between the two countries, where the six investment states and the raising of customs duties on basket and services (Lachmoth, s.d.).

Tourism is a good indication of measuring this gravity (Haviland, 2002, s. 97). In 2017, Turkey visited tourist purposes about 200,000 Algerians in 2018, the number jumped to 300,000 visitors. In addition, the scholarship programs for students in Turkey received growth and increasing demand from the Algerians. In 2017, the Algerian Student Union in Turkey estimated the number of these 400 students. This number is not lean, because it is the same number of students of German nationality and the raising of American students exceeds it (about 250 students). This number is also considered because Turkey did not exist within the map of the interest of Algerian students at the beginning of the new millennium except for language students who are on the fingers (Al -Warghi, s.d.).

5. Conclusion

Turkish foreign policy has moved from the use of traditional tools to the use of soft tools for Turkish foreign policy. This is what made it tend to establish relations with Algeria. Where it was able through the use of soft power in its foreign policy in order to achieve the goals it seeks in the region, and relied on the cultural dimension and the common denominators between the Turks and Algeria, and Turkey exploited the tools of soft power to attract the Algerian public, whose country is linked to a long history of the Ottoman relationship.

The growing economic and military power of Turkey over the past two decades has also contributed to adjusting Algeria's political calculations with regard to its vision of relations between the two countries, which made Algeria aspire to diversify its international relations, and this has increasingly crystallized in the cultural and economic relations between the two countries. Towards building its relationship with Algeria. On civilization, common history, religious dimension, Western democratic values, soft power tools such as cultural diplomacy, interest in foreign students, cinema, arts, and Ottoman historical monuments. The relationship between the Ottoman state and the Algerian state was not the relationship between the master and the slave, i.e. a colonial relationship based on control and hegemony, and this is due to the circumstances that created the Ottoman state in Algeria to a large extent. Which was considered an important area of influence for it, so it fought wars with these

countries to annex it, as happened with Syria, Iraq, and Egypt, while the matter differed with Algeria, which was for the Ottoman state a strategic ally more than a colony or a province belonging to it.

The thinker and prominent politician Adnan Menderes, the Prime Minister, was able to prevent Russia's pressure with his political skill as much as possible. He also acted against France's interests on the issue of France and Algeria, although he was in a difficult situation on the international scene, so this did not prevent him from sending weapons to the Mujahideen of Algeria secretly. Despite the incompetence of the Turkish government in addressing the problem of Algeria, the people of Turkey and their press were in full support of the Algerian people.

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