



How did the content of Turkish press concerning Algeria change during the phases of the Algerian Revolution? A reading of some newspapers

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Abstract :

This study, centered on the question of how the content of Turkish press coverage of the Algerian issue changed during the phases of the Algerian Revolution, offers a critical analytical reading of the main themes addressed by Turkish newspapers during that period. The research aims to reveal the distinctions that characterized the Turkish stance—both official and unofficial as reflected in the written press—towards the Algerian Revolution. The study analyzed the main newspapers published at the time (government, opposition, Islamist, and leftist), classifying their coverage into three main orientations: support, reservation/caution, and opposition. The study revealed a set of fundamental differences in the discourse of these newspapers, which can be attributed to a number of prevailing geopolitical and ideological tensions during that crucial phase, where the influence of commitment to Western alliances emerged on the one hand, counterbalanced by the weight of the shared historical heritage between Algeria and Turkey on the other. The study adopted a critical analytical methodology through qualitative analysis of the press content to evaluate the trends of Turkish media during the Algerian Revolution.

Article info

Received

October 09.2025

Accepted

March 09.2026

Keyword:

- ✓ *Turkish Press;*
- ✓ *Algerian Revolution;*
- ✓ *Content Analysis,*
- ✓ *Ideological Orientations;*
- ✓ *Historical Legacy*

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1. Introduction:

Algerian-Turkish relations derive their inherent depth and driving force from a shared historical and religious legacy that traces its roots to the late fifteenth century and the beginning of Ottoman dominance over vast regions, particularly in North Africa. The Ottoman presence in Algeria, commencing with the Barbarossa brothers in 1516 and lasting until the French invasion in 1830, served as a foundational period for the cultural identity and affective ties between the two peoples. Ottoman landmarks and artifacts in Algerian cities remain a testament to this Turkish extension, which constituted an integral part of their mutual history (Samira, 2024). This historical accumulation was not merely a record of past events; it became a spiritual and nationalist reference that resurfaced at every political crossroads or critical challenge, lying dormant in the collective consciousness of both the Turkish and Algerian peoples.

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Despite this historical depth which naturally mandated solidarity, the relationship between Ankara and Algeria during the crucial period of the War of Liberation (1954-1962) underwent a phase of subtle tug-of-war, sharp differences, and ambiguous political turmoil. The official stance of the Turkish state at the time

wavered between the pressures of the present and the calls of the past

(Selim, 2025). On one hand, Turkey was constrained by its strategic ties as a founding member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which indirectly pitted it against the interests of its principal ally, France, the colonial power in Algeria. On the other hand, it had to respond to the religious and popular sentiment pushing for the support of the anti-colonial struggle. This created a state of diplomatic contradiction and divergence that led to conflicting positions in international forums, such as voting against Algerian independence at the United Nations in 1955.

Hence, the paramount importance of studying the Turkish position through the lens of press and media emerges, as these platforms are often bolder and more truthful in expressing popular sentiment than official diplomatic discourse. While the governmental position remained vague and unclear under the weight of the political and economic necessities of the Cold War era, it became essential to investigate how Turkish newspapers, with their diverse factions (governmental, opposition, Islamist, and leftist), absorbed the repercussions of this global revolution. The internationalization of the Algerian Question and the rising global demands for self-determination compelled the Turkish media to address this momentous event, triggering an internal conflict within Turkish press content over priorities: was it the national interest tied to the Western alliance, or the national and religious commitment to liberation movements?

The core problem of this study lies in the attempt to decipher this methodological contradiction between the official and the popular/media stances. The press content and journalistic writings in Turkey were notably divergent, ranging from absolute support based on religious or anti-imperialist ideological references to the cautious reservation imposed by diplomatic considerations. Answering how the Turkish press addressed the Algerian Revolution, what the positions of the official and non-official media were, the reasons for this divergence, and the historical backgrounds governing the newspapers' orientations, constitutes a research conundrum that necessitates a deep critical analytical reading of the Turkish press archives between 1954 and 1962.

Accordingly, this study seeks to provide a critical analytical reading of the Turkish newspapers published during that period. It aims to document the extent of the Algerian Question's presence in the Turkish consciousness and to demonstrate the role played by the cultural and media elite in supporting the War of Liberation and incrementally forcing the official position to shift. The true significance of this study is not merely in narrating the news, but in analyzing the mechanisms of journalistic discourse and classifying the intellectual references used to justify the stances (religious, socialist, nationalist). This will enrich the historical and political literature with a deeper understanding of the complex interactions between history, politics, and media within the context of global liberation movements, confirming that the relationship between Algeria and Turkey is

a complex one that cannot be reduced to a single diplomatic decision.

1.1. Research Problem:

Following the rapid and significant internationalization of the Algerian Question in various global forums, the spread of liberation movements worldwide, and the increasing international and UN demands for the realization of peoples' right to self-determination and the elimination of colonial phenomena, the War of Liberation's echo quickly resonated across the globe. International opinions and stances varied regarding the Algerian Question, especially in the Western world, which led to a superposition and divergence in the press content, writings, and media orientations concerning the Algerian Revolution at the time. The Turkish media and press were not exempt from this, given the long and deeply rooted history between Algeria and Turkey. Therefore, it is essential to focus on Turkey as one of the most important countries sharing a long history with Algeria. The questions posed in this context are: How did the Turkish press address the Algerian Revolution? What were the stances of the official and non-official media towards the Algerian Revolution at the time? What were the reasons for the support, reservation, and neutrality? What were the historical backgrounds of the Turkish journalistic writings concerning the Algerian Revolution?

1.2. Research Questions:

- How did the language and terminology of the Turkish press (governmental and opposition) differ in describing the Algerian resistance fighters,

and what is the significance of this disparity?

- What role did Turkey's NATO membership and its relations with France play in determining the scope and nature of the Turkish governmental newspapers' media coverage of the Algerian Revolution?

- What were the most prominent ideological or reference backgrounds adopted by both the Islamist and leftist press in justifying and supporting the Algerian Revolution?

- To what extent did the media coverage of the Algerian Revolution in Turkish newspapers constitute a source of pressure on the official government position, and what were the manifestations of this pressure on subsequent Turkish diplomatic behavior?

- What were the key pivotal issues that the Turkish press focused on during the 1954-1962 period, and how did these focuses vary according to the newspaper's affiliation?

1.3. Research Objectives:

- To analyze and classify the Turkish media's stance towards the Algerian Revolution during the period (1954-1962) into three main categories (supportive, reserved, neutral), while identifying the political, diplomatic, internal, and external factors that governed each position.

- To monitor the implications of the disparity between the discourse of the governmental newspapers (*Zafer*) and the discourse of the opposition newspapers (*Ulus*, *Akis* magazine, *Kim*) regarding the description of the Revolution and the demands for independence, and to explain

the link between this disparity and the internal party conflict in Turkey at the time.

- To uncover the reference background in the coverage by studying how the Islamist press utilized the religious issue (the struggle of Muslims) and the leftist press utilized the ideological issue (the struggle against imperialism) to support the Algerian Revolution.

- To evaluate the degree of independence of the Turkish press and its capacity to transcend the official state position stemming from international commitments (NATO) in reporting and criticizing events related to the Algerian Question.

- To document the most important journalistic terminology and content used by the Turkish media outlets to cover the stages of the Algerian Revolution, and to identify the turning points in the Turkish media coverage in conjunction with major events (internationalization of the issue, the Évian Accords, independence).

1.4. Significance of the Study:

This study derives its importance from several aspects. It fills a gap in the historical and political literature concerning the history of Algerian-Turkish relations, particularly during a pivotal and sensitive period like the War of Liberation. It sheds light on the nature of interactions between the two peoples away from the official view of the two states, thereby enriching our understanding of the depth of shared historical and religious ties. Furthermore, it offers a critical and analytical reading of the media content that reveals the operational mechanisms of the Turkish press during the Cold War era and the ideological conflict, demonstrating how geopolitical balances (such as Turkey's

NATO membership) affected freedom of expression and the coverage of national liberation issues. Additionally, the study is a contribution to the field of history of international media and press, by providing a model for analyzing the disparity in journalistic discourses (governmental, opposition, Islamist, leftist) towards an external liberation issue. This allows for the drawing of lessons about the role of non-official media in supporting liberation movements and shaping international and local public opinion, which enhances its significance as a reference for researchers in political and media history alike.

1.5. Research Methodology and Tools:

The study primarily relies on the Critical Analytical Method, which aims to deconstruct, analyze, and interpret the media content and journalistic discourses addressed by Turkish newspapers during the study period (1954-1962). This method focuses on going beyond a superficial description of the published news to reach the underlying motives behind the coverage, whether these motives were political (the conflict between the ruling party and the opposition), ideological (the background of the Islamist and leftist press), or diplomatic (the influence of Turkey's relations with NATO and France). This method is applied to compare the coverage across different newspaper categories to identify points of agreement and disagreement in the use of specific terminology (such as "terrorism" or "resistance"), and to interpret the changes in the media position in parallel with the field and political developments of the Algerian Revolution, ensuring a depth of

understanding of the Turkish media phenomenon towards the issue.

The main tool to be used in this study is Qualitative Content Analysis. This tool is essential for processing the large journalistic material collected from various Turkish newspapers. Content analysis will be applied to categorize headlines, editorials, and viewpoints reflected by the newspapers based on pre-defined categories, such as: type of stance (support/reservation/neutrality), terminology used to describe the revolution, source of the news (Western news agencies, government statements, etc.), and key covered issues. In addition to content analysis, the Documentary Historical Tool will be used by collecting and documenting press texts as primary evidence, and comparing them with Turkish historical and political documents (such as officials' statements and UN resolutions) to understand the political context that generated this media coverage and determine the degree of divergence or convergence between the media and the state's official position.

2. Theoretical Framework of the Study: A Quick Historical Background on Turkish-Algerian Relations: Past and Present:

Historically, the relationship between Algeria and Turkey is not a recent development; it is deeply rooted, extending back centuries, specifically since the beginning of Ottoman rule in Algeria. Whenever the phrase "Algerian-Turkish relations" is mentioned, it brings to mind past eras concerning the formation of ties between Algeria and Turkey, ties governed by numerous shared bonds—such as

national identity, religious identity, economic (Youcef, 2022), historical, cultural, and social factors—and mutual positions that have evolved with changing circumstances over more than five centuries. Specifically, the Ottoman presence in Algeria began with the Barbarossa brothers in 1516 and continued until 1830 and the beginning of the French occupation of Algeria. Nevertheless, Turkey was never completely detached from the events in Algeria over successive periods, adopting different stances depending on the political circumstances and strategic interests marked by considerable tensions, particularly during the Algerian War of Liberation.

Although Algerian-Turkish ties had been strengthened, the relationship between the two countries experienced fractures across various time stages, specifically since 1955 following Turkey's vote against Algeria's independence in the United Nations General Assembly, and its abstention from voting in 1957 and 1958 due to Turkey's position stemming from its membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Subsequently, Turkey changed its stance by supporting the National Liberation Front (FLN) and officially backing Algeria's independence, despite the existence of unofficial and popular support for the Algerian Revolution at the time. Turkey later offered an apology for the Turkish state's position at the United Nations in 1985 by former Prime Minister Turgut Özal during his visit to Algeria, where he stated: "It is regrettable that during the period of voting on Algeria's independence at the United Nations, the government did not comply with these wishes... Today we admit that it was a

mistake." Turkey then presented a written apology to the late Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid in 1986 (Abdenmour, 2020).

Tension between Algeria and Turkey persisted during the Cold War due to differing political orientations between the two countries, notably Turkey's policy of isolation towards Arab nations, on one hand, and the divergence in alignment, on the other. Turkey chose to join the Western Bloc led by the United States, while Algeria gravitated toward the Soviet Union. Relations between the two countries remained strained and disconnected during this period until after the end of the Cold War.

Subsequently, Algerian-Turkish relations gradually began to revive and strengthen since the turn of the new millennium, with the emergence of globalization's outcomes and the evolution of the global balance of power, specifically since 2002. This period has been regarded as a phase of reassessment and restoration of relations between the two countries aimed at reviving their shared history through many mutual determinants and issues across various domains (Imad, 2020), and through convergence on many international and regional positions and common challenges that are always underpinned by the shared cultural and historical identity.

3. Analytical Study

Table 1. Comparative Analysis of Newspaper Stances by Affiliation (1954-1962)

Newspaper (Representative Entity)	General Stance towards the Revolution	Primary Motivation for the Stance	Key Terminology Used
Zafer (Government/Democratic Party)	Reservation and inclination towards the French position.	Turkey's NATO membership and relations with France.	"Bloody clashes," "internal problem for France," "terror movement."
Ulus (Opposition/Republican People's Party)	Critical support and demand for independence.	Criticism of governmental foreign policy and national sentiment.	"Resistance fighters," "Massacre of Algeria."
Sebilürreşad (Islamist)	Absolute support (religious/nationalist).	Shared Islamic dimension between the two peoples and the duty of solidarity.	"Struggle of Muslims," "Algerian heroes."
Yön (Leftist)	Ideological support.	The revolution as part of the world's struggle against imperialism.	"Socialist Algeria," "just struggle against imperialism."
Hürriyet (Independent/General)	Comprehensive coverage with a call for a solution.	Professional interest and reporting events from the source (sending correspondents).	"Attempt to settle accounts," "start of talks."

Source: Prepared by researchers

According to many studies on the subject of the Algerian Revolution, the Algerian Question occupied a prominent place in the Turkish media and press of various segments. As the media echo of the Revolution widened globally and its issue was included in the United Nations agenda, the Turkish press's stance toward the aspirations of the Algerian people quickly underwent rapid changes. While the Algerian Question received open support from Eastern Bloc countries, the rulers of NATO member states, such as Turkey, deferred the initiative to France. Conversely, Turkey faced difficulties stemming from its inability to adopt a clear position on Algeria vis-à-vis Middle Eastern and Islamic countries with which it maintained close relations. While the Turkish press was informing public opinion from the beginning of the Algerian

Revolution, in the later stages of the struggle, contrary to the silence of the official stance, it openly sided with the Algerian people. Regardless of the opinions published, newspapers and magazines, while covering the Algerian Revolution, generally agreed that the Algerians were fighting for independence and subsequently reflected their views in their publications and journalistic content.

In this context, we will discuss the Turkish press through:

2.1. The Turkish Governmental Press (*Zafer Newspaper as a Model*)

3.1.1. *Zafer Newspaper:*

This newspaper represented the media apparatus of the ruling Democratic Party at the time, and it often published news about the Algerian Revolution. Its news sources did not differ from those of other newspapers and magazines of that period, being generally news transmitted by international news agencies, the French press, and contemporary publications. Although the newspaper did not criticize the Turkish government's foreign policy and participated in debates with the opposition and its media apparatus through the newspaper *Ulus* regarding domestic and foreign policy, such confrontations did not occur over issues concerning Algeria and the Revolution. Mücahit Topalak, a politician, journalist, and representative of foreign policy (Gatouch, 2017), wrote articles in the newspaper about the Algerian problem in his "Foreign Policy" column, considering the Algerian problem an internal issue belonging to France. He also covered the government crises that occurred in France at that time and the solution proposals put forward by the governments (Maya, 2025), addressing the problem from the perspective of the damage inflicted on France, a powerful member of the Western Alliance. He did not refer to the Algerian political leaders struggling for independence, nor did he comment on the form or nature of the solution to be reached.

Most news headlines in the governmental newspaper *Zafer* were ignoring the

Algerian Revolution, considering it a problem belonging to France. Among the headlines published in this newspaper were:

- January 5, 1955: "Bloody clashes occurred again in Algeria yesterday."
- January 24, 1955: "There are fierce clashes in Algeria" (1955, Jan. 24).
- September 16, 1955: "Many assassinations occurred yesterday in Algeria".
- July 5, 1955: "New murders were committed yesterday in Algeria."
- July 9, 1955: "Horrific crimes are being committed in Algeria" and the resistance movement is expanding in Algeria.
- May 26, 1955: "A French governor was killed in Algeria."
- December 3, 1955: "The movement that started all over Algeria is growing," and "Resistance members are being chased by plane," "The terror movement is growing in Algeria" (Şinasi, 2010).
- July 3, 1957: The speech delivered by Kennedy, the future President of the United States of America, about Algeria in the American Senate, was also published in the *Zafer* newspaper.

In evaluating the writings and publications of the governmental newspaper *Zafer* as a whole, we conclude that the Algerian Revolution was viewed as an internal problem for France, and that France's delay in finding a solution to this problem was due to it leaving its Western allies in a difficult position, and the difficulties this situation created in the Western bloc at the time, including Turkey, and the

intensification of the conflict between East and West during the Cold War period.

2.2. Secondly: The Anti-Government Opposition Press (Ulus, Akis, Kim Newspapers and magazine as Models)

Table 2. Focus of Opposition Newspapers on Criticism of NATO and the Government

Newspaper	Writer/ Journalist	Subject of Criticism	Critical Position
Ulus	Bülent Ecevit	France's use of NATO weapons in Algeria.	Turkey is an indirect accomplice in the crime for not objecting as a NATO member.
Akis – magazine-	Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu	Turkey's policy at the United Nations.	Criticism of the Turkish turning a blind eye to the right of oppressed peoples to self-determination.
Kim	Aydemir Balkan	Turkish policy towards "Our Arab Brothers."	Criticism of the double standards in Turkish foreign relations and the Middle East.

Source: Prepared by researchers

3.2.1. Ulus Newspaper:

Ulus was considered the media organ of the Republican People's Party, the opposition to the Turkish government at that time. While covering Algerian events as news from the beginning, the newspaper's chief writer, Ahmet Şükrü Esmer, constantly evaluated the foreign policy developments of that period through his "Foreign Policy" column on the front page. In these evaluations, this journalist and writer often wrote articles about Algeria. Furthermore, other journalists such as Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, Bülent Ecevit, and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu addressed the Algerian Question in their articles covering Turkish foreign policy. These writers discussed the Algerian issue from the perspective of France and Algerian nationalists, while critically addressing the government's foreign policy since 1957, also criticizing its silence on the Algerian Question in the same manner. For example, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (Mehmet, 2013), in his article on the independence struggles of

that period in 1957, wrote that with the struggle for independence and the raising of the "Flag of Independence" for oppressed nations, the Turkish Nation stood with humanity, criticizing the major European powers that turned a blind eye to the right of all oppressed states to self-determination. The journalist also criticized the Turkish policy pursued during that period and accused the government of remaining an observer of the struggle for independence in Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria.

Journalist Bülent Ecevit also criticized France for using NATO soldiers and weapons against the Algerians, pointing out that Turkey was also a member of NATO and one of the countries that gave France permission to use them. He criticized the use of these weapons against the innocent Algerian people and Turkey's indirect participation in this crime; this was published in the same newspaper in its May 15, 1957, issue.

In the issue dated July 6, 1956, the newspaper's chief writer, Ahmet Şükrü Esmer, stated that France would never abandon its interests in North Africa. He claimed that France granted independence to Morocco and Tunisia in 1956, but that it would not evacuate its military bases in these countries, and that this was mandatory to ensure security in Algeria.

The *Ulus* newspaper also reported the events of the Algerian Revolution to its readers, describing the nationalists as "resistance fighters" and noting that it took the news from French news sources. Among the headlines written were:

- The headline "Massacre of Algeria," where the newspaper described the killing of 81 Algerian revolutionaries across Algeria in a single day as a massacre (June 15, 1957). To draw the attention of international public opinion to this country, the FLN published a telegram it sent to various heads of state, giving the headline "The Algerian People Ask for Help." The information via telegram was as follows: "The French are killing prisoners in Algeria, executing Algerians en masse, and seeking to explain away all the murders they have committed by claiming that the Algerians, along with the National Liberation Front (Gatouch, 2017), are responsible for them in foreign countries. The French aim to destroy the Algerian people. France, with all these actions, aims to destroy the Algerian people through massacres and atrocities. The Algerian people, determined to restore their independence, call on the peoples of the world to help prevent these crimes against humanity." This text was published in the *Ulus* newspaper on July 8, 1957.

3.2.2. *Akis magazine*

This newspaper began publication in November 1954, coinciding with the outbreak of the War of Liberation in Algeria.

It was a news magazine that continued publication, with the exception of a few periods, until July 1962, when Algeria gained independence. This magazine followed a publishing policy supportive of the Republican People's Party and generally included the events of the Algerian Revolution in its "What is happening in the world" section. In this section, global developments and Turkish foreign policy were interpreted and explained, and the War of Liberation took the lion's share of the journalistic writings in this section of the magazine.

The *Akis magazine* addressed November 1, 1954, the date of the outbreak of the War of Liberation, and in the issue dated November 13, 1954, the subtitle of the main headline "North Africa" was "The Revolution in Algeria." It mentioned everything France did, and that it became entangled in Algeria after Morocco and Tunisia, and that what was happening in Algeria would not stop until Algeria achieved its independence and victory (Gatouch, 2017).

In addition to these writings, the *Akis* magazine kept pace with the various developments occurring in Algeria during the Revolution and wrote about all the details indicating that what was happening in Algeria was the reaction of a people demanding independence and rejecting the French presence (Halil & Mehmet, 2020).

In the final stages of the Algerian War of Liberation, the newspaper also mentioned

the horror of French annihilation and abuse with a picture on the newspaper's front page: a French soldier, barefoot, half-naked, with his hands bound and a rope around his neck, pointing his rifle at a young Algerian man in the army. The magazine commented on the photo: "Shame on the naked man," referring to the French soldier. In the article titled "North Africa," the subtitle was "The last strongholds of imperialism." In the same article, the magazine leaked information about what French Prime Minister Mendès wrote, stating that France had asked US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to use NATO forces in Algeria and to warn Egypt and Spain against providing aid to the Algerian Revolution; this was in the issue dated February 2, 1957 (1957, Feb. 2).

In the context of the Turkish newspaper's discussion of the then-current stage of the Algerian Revolution, journalist Aydemir Balkan, one of the newspaper's writers, pointed out that the Algerians were fighting for a just cause, stating in his article:

"The Algerian nationalists have been fighting a new war of death and religion for 14 months. There are countless uprisings against the French in Algeria's history. They were brutally suppressed, and France did not implement the reforms it promised to the Algerian knights, archers, and warriors who fought alongside it after the two world wars, nor did it keep its promise. Algerians shed blood for France in both wars. From Flanders to the Ardennes, from the Rhine River to Italy, countless Algerians fell, and crescent-shaped tombstones fill the battlefields. Today, Algerians have realized that 'Freedom cannot be given, it can only be taken.' That

is why they started a relentless battle. They have no weapons, no allies, their geographical location does not allow for assistance, and their cause was rejected in the Security Council and the United Nations, where France used its veto against it. The voice of the Algerians is unheard by the world, remaining unknown to the ungrateful nations for whom they shed their blood for the same cause. '9 million people in Algeria are fighting for their land' (Balkan: 1956, March 9)."

The writer mentioned that no one among the French people any longer believed in the Algerian myth, and consequently, young people were unwilling to join the army to fight in Algeria. While he indicated that Algerians also believed they were fighting a war for independence and described it as a "dirty war," he wrote that there was a small, influential minority that wanted the war to continue, suggesting that such an article could even be written from France. In another article, Balkan wrote that Turkey defended contradictory policies at the Bandung Conference, opposed some Arab countries for the sake of the Balkan Pact, and supported France at the United Nations regarding Algeria. In contrast, Britain and France stood against Turkey on international issues, attributing this to Turkey's mistaken policies (1956, March 9).

In summary, the *Akis* magazine was among the most important newspapers that wrote extensively about the War of Liberation and was, one way or another, on the side of the Algerians' right to gain independence.

3.2.3. *Kim* Newspaper

This newspaper began publication in May 1958 and was among the anti-government Turkish newspapers at the time. It adopted a publishing policy that criticized the Democratic Party government and was closer to the opposition Republican People's Party (CHP). It occasionally accused the CHP opposition of being passive, especially regarding foreign policy (Hamza & Deniz, 2017). Foreign policy was evaluated in the "Foreign Events" section according to the developments of that period. Articles were written by interpreting external developments and the evaluations of both the government and the opposition in Turkey, while reflecting the magazine publishing policy.

Speaking about the Algerian Revolution in this newspaper, *Kim* continuously published updates on all developments of the War of Liberation in Algeria. The first article it published about Algeria was on June 25, 1958, following the appointment of General De Gaulle by President René Coty to form the government. While General De Gaulle's visit to Algeria after forming the government and its repercussions in France were assessed, the newspaper emphasized whether he could reach a solution, noting that the General's historical persona in France had a significant impact on global public opinion as well as on the French people.

Kim newspaper also dedicated space in every issue to developments in France, providing detailed information, especially about the administrators appointed by De Gaulle in Algeria. Furthermore, through an article by the journalist Aydemir Balkan, the newspaper criticized Turkish foreign

policy based on the phrase "Our Arab Brothers," which he quoted from a speech by the then-President Celâl Bayar. Balkan criticized the policies pursued in Turkey's relations with Middle Eastern countries during that period, citing examples. The article's title was "The Tale of Our Arab Brothers" in the issue dated November 14, 1958 (Çeviker, 1958).

The newspaper, reporting the overwhelming "Yes" vote for independence in the Algerian referendum and the people's approval of statehood under the title "A State is Born," announced that the Algerian government-in-exile would return to the country. The newspaper also discussed the ongoing power struggle after Algeria's independence, calling the War of Liberation the "Eight-Year War."

The newspaper described this power struggle using terms such as:

- "A Quarrel Among Siblings,"
- "A Dangerous Duality,"
- "The Child Born Paralysed." The newspaper conveyed the process of restoring calm in Algeria to its readers after Ahmed Ben Bella assumed power (Kuran, 1957).

2.3. The Turkish Islamist Press (Sebilürreşad – Büyük Doğu)

Table 3. Ideological References in Covering the Revolution

Newspaper	Ideological Reference	Key Manifestations in Coverage	Goal of Coverage
Sebilürreşad (Islamist)	Religious/ Islamic Identity	Described the struggle as the "Struggle of Muslims" and recounted stories like that of Ibn Badis to defend identity.	To mobilize Turkish popular support based on religious fraternal ties.
Yön (Leftist)	Socialism/ Anti-Imperialism	Described Algerian leaders as "Socialist Heroes" and praised Gamal Abdel Nasser.	To link the Algerian Revolution with leftist liberation movements in the Third World.

Source: Prepared by researchers

Sebilürreşad Newspaper:

This newspaper described the Algerian struggle for independence as the Struggle of Muslims.

In its description, it proceeded from the premise that since Turks are also Muslims, it was natural for the Turks to support the revolution. Cevat Rifat Atilhan, one of the writers and journalists of this newspaper, stated in an article titled "The Algerian Heroes and the Turkish Nation" that the Turkish Nation could not assist Algeria for different political reasons, but that the hearts of the Turks were with Algeria. He put forth the view that hundreds of Turkish children would be ready to fight alongside the Algerians if circumstances permitted, that a way should be found to help the Algerians, and that this was a duty.

The newspaper incorporated Algeria based on an article quotation and criticized Foreign Minister Fatin Rüştü Zorlu's statement to the press that they had not mentioned the Algerian problem in his meeting with French Foreign Minister Pineau. The article pointed out that despite the Turks being closer to the Algerians,

even England and the United States had criticized France at every opportunity regarding Algeria, making the Minister's statement that they had not even mentioned it meaningless (Sönmez, 2007).

In an article published by the newspaper without identifying the author, the newspaper discussed France's policy of identity effacement and Francization implemented in Algeria. It mentioned that France pursued a futile policy to make the Algerian people forget the Arabic language. Against this policy, the newspaper recounted the life story of Abdelhamid Ben Badis, the founder of the Association of Muslim Ulema. In another article, the journalist Atilhan, after describing the heroism and loss of life of a mute Algerian man while charging French soldiers, stated that the Turks had fought against imperialists in the War of Independence and succeeded, which served as a lesson for all Muslims in the world, and that Algeria would soon win this difficult war.

2.4. The Turkish Public Press (*Toprak Newspaper*)

Mahmut Ünal, one of its journalists, praised Algeria's struggle for independence in an article titled "How long will the massacre continue?" He wrote that France, in response to this struggle, was brutally killing the Algerian people, including children and women, and that their actions were against the Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Charter, which they themselves had proclaimed to the entire world in 1789. He stated that neither the United Nations organization nor any other country had publicly spoken out against the course of action taken by France, describing it as a pitiful situation, and that the desperate Algerian people were appealing to everyone to be rid of French oppression.

While Turkish journalist and political critic Mehmet Çavuşoğlu shared the pain of the Algerians with a poem titled "The Algerian March" in the same issue, he critically highlighted the world's silence in the face of the killing of Algerians (1957: 12-13).

Journalist Ağa Oktay Güner also described France's stance in Algeria as barbaric and praised the Algerians' struggle. Referring to the state-aligned press that covered Algerian events from foreign agencies during the independence struggle, he stated that this was unsuitable for the Turkish press (Stora, 1987). He criticized the fact that newspapers that sent correspondents worldwide for magazine and sports news, did not send correspondents to Algeria, which was fighting for independence, saying that they had no right to deprive Turkish readers of this service (1957: 1-16).

2.5. The Independent Press (*Hürriyet Newspaper*)

Table 4. Shift in News Sources in the Turkish Press

Newspaper	Main Coverage Period	Primary News Source (1954-1959)	Shift or Reliance on Own Sources (1960-1962)
Zafer / Ulus	1954-1962	International news agencies and French press.	Reporting news and articles from Turkish political leaders.
Hürriyet	1954-1962	Reported news and news agencies.	Sending journalists and correspondents to Algeria (since 1960).
Akis- magazine	1954-1962	French sources with critical analysis.	Publishing critical photos and articles that leak special information.

Source: Prepared by researchers

Hürriyet Newspaper:

The newspaper *Hürriyet* frequently covered the events that occurred during Algeria's years of struggle for independence on its pages. While reporting news about events in both France and Algeria, comments reflecting the newspaper's opinion were made by columnists and in the column called "Between the Events" without identifying the author. Especially since 1960, *Hürriyet* sent its journalists and correspondents to the region and published interviews and a series of articles about Algeria, affording the newspaper the opportunity to convey events to its readers through its own means and from the first source (Ataöv, 1962).

One of its journalists, Şükrü Kaya, made an assessment in his opinion column, suggesting that France is the party that will solve the problems in Algeria. He determined that there were two viewpoints in France regarding the solution to the problem: the first view was that a violent movement was being committed by Muslims in Algeria and that this violence should be suppressed through police action; the second was that the problem should be resolved through negotiation

with Muslim leaders and granting some political and economic rights to the Algerians. He wrote that both groups stated that Algeria was a part of France and that they definitely did not want independence. He claimed that the policy pursued by France was not solution-oriented, and consequently (Gatouch, 2017), when the Algerian Question reached the UN General Assembly, its allies were in a difficult position and could not openly support France (ğaoğlu, 1959). As a result, he put forth the opinion that it would be beneficial for France and its allies for France to find the same solution for Algeria as it did for Morocco and Tunisia (1957, Jan. 14).

In 1961, the newspaper wrote: Algeria continued its military and political struggle, supported by global public opinion. While France found itself confronted by Arab countries, its allies increased pressure for a solution. Decisions were also made to fully support Algeria in Arab League meetings, and the provision of arms assistance was now explicitly announced. *Hürriyet* claimed that Egypt's attempt to settle scores with France over the Suez Canal through the Algerian issue made the solution more difficult, not easier. *Hürriyet* described the

French government's initiation of peace talks with the Algerians despite all these difficulties as a hopeful step and advocated the view that starting the talks would end the bloody events that had lasted eight years, and that this outcome would be a positive step (Between the Events: 1962, March 13).

2.6. The Leftist Press in Turkey (Yön Newspaper)

The newspaper *Yön* began its publishing life with the partial freedoms granted to the press in the new constitution prepared after the military intervention on May 27 in Turkey. It started publishing weekly by Doğan Avcıoğlu and his friends on December 20, 1961. It assessed the independence struggles of colonized countries and those that had gained independence as a just struggle against imperialism. Since its first issue, it wrote a series of articles about the reforms carried out by Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser and the governmental policies he pursued in agriculture, assessing them as socialist reforms implemented in underdeveloped countries (Atılhan C. R., 1959).

Beginning with the tenth issue, the publication started addressing the Algerian

struggle for independence, discussing developments within the framework of the French-Algerian negotiations, with opinions written in favor of Algeria gaining independence. The newspaper also stated that the events in Algeria would end thanks to a ceasefire.

While extensively covering the power struggle among the leaders of the National Liberation Front (FLN) after independence, it adopted the view that Algeria should be under the leadership of Ahmed Ben Bella (Atılhan C. R., 1961).

Doğan Avcıoğlu praised the Algerian leaders and the FLN's struggle in his article titled "Socialist Algeria" on the one hand, and on the other, he criticized the government officials of that period by comparing Turkish foreign policy in the Atatürk era with the foreign policy at that time. He described the Algerian leaders as heroes drawn from the people themselves during the years of the War of Liberation, claiming that their political views were socialist and that they would pursue a socialist economic policy after independence, describing the future Algeria as the ideal country with the socialist policies it implemented.

Table 5. Coverage of Major Events of the Revolution

Historical Event	Newspaper	Title or Description	Significance of Description
Outbreak of the Revolution November 1954	Akis-magazine	Subtitle "The Revolution in Algeria."	Early realization of the event's nature as a "revolution" rather than mere "clashes."
Algerians Voting for Independence	Kim	"A State is Born."	Implicit recognition of the referendum results and the Algerians' right to establish their state.
French Repression (1957)	Ulus	"Massacre of Algeria."	Focus on the brutality of the repression and the internationalization of the humanitarian aspect.
Post-Independence Power Struggle	Kim	"A Quarrel Among Siblings," "The Child Born Paralyzed."	The newspaper's concern about internal divisions and their repercussions for the nascent state.

Source: Prepared by researchers

4. Study Results

Based on the critical analytical reading of the Turkish press's position towards the Algerian Revolution (1954–1962), key findings emerge that highlight the complexity of the Turkish state, popular, and media stances:

- The most significant finding is the existence of a dynamic duality in Turkish foreign policy discourse:
- In the early period (1954–1960), the governmental press (e.g., *Zafer*), reflecting the policy of the ruling Democratic Party, expressed a highly biased and reserved position that aligned with Turkey's strategic commitments to NATO and France. This coverage consistently framed the Revolution as an "internal problem for France" or "terror movement."
- Following the May 27, 1960, coup d'état, the official government stance gradually evolved toward a more balanced and pragmatic neutrality. This shift reflected a growing internal realization that continued allegiance to the French colonial position was detrimental to Turkey's standing in the Arab and Islamic world.
- In sharp contrast to the early official ambiguity and later neutrality, the Turkish press demonstrated consistent pluralism:
- The overwhelming majority of non-governmental newspapers (opposition, Islamist, leftist) maintained a stance of unequivocal support for the Algerians' right to self-determination throughout the entire period. This media support was always varied in its motivation but consistently pro-Algerian in its outcome.
- The opposition press (*Ulus*, *Kim*) skillfully exploited the Algerian Question as a leverage point in the internal political conflict, using it to criticize the ruling government's foreign policy and its passive role in NATO. They accused Turkey of indirect complicity by failing to object to the use of NATO resources against the Algerian people.
- Ideological background was the primary driver of media support: The Islamist press (*Sebilürreşad*) framed the Revolution as a "Struggle of Muslims" and a religious duty, while the leftist press (*Yön*) viewed it as an integral part of the "just struggle against imperialism," illustrating how disparate ideological references converged on a shared nationalist and anti-colonial commitment.
- Media reliance on French and Western news sources, which was heavy in the early years and dictated the cautious language of governmental papers, gradually diminished. This was evident as outlets like *Hürriyet* began sending correspondents to Algeria (post-1960), demonstrating an increasing professional independence and maturity in Turkish journalism.
- The press, unlike the early diplomatic position, showed an early and explicit recognition of the events as a "revolution" rather than mere disturbances. They utilized emotionally charged terminology, such as "Massacre of Algeria," to internationalize the humanitarian aspect and reflect the certainty of Algerian victory.
- The intense focus by supportive newspapers on French repression and human rights abuses served a dual purpose: it mobilized support for the Algerians and

simultaneously criticized the perceived moral silence of world bodies and international allies.

- The shared historical and cultural legacy was the bedrock motivation for popular and intellectual support, recalling the joint Ottoman history and Turkey's own War of Independence against foreign hegemony, thus positioning the Revolution as an extension of the Turkish anti-imperialist identity.
- The collective pressure from the supportive press coverage and the vocal criticisms of the political opposition were crucial factors that incrementally forced a change in the official Turkish diplomatic position over time, culminating in the later recognition of independence and the official apology by Prime Minister Turgut Özal in 1985—a confirmation of the long-term impact of media public opinion on diplomacy..

5. Conclusion:

The Turkish media was not a passive conduit of news; it was a vibrant arena reflecting internal ideological and political struggles and a mirror to the profound contrast between the Turkish Republic's official diplomatic constraints (NATO membership) and its deep historical and human affinity with the Algerian people.

Governmental media, such as Zafer, maintained a position of clear bias and cautious reservation in line with Western alliance priorities, initially framing the issue as an "internal problem for France." However, the opposition, Islamist, and leftist press decisively broke this deadlock, adopting an actively supportive stance. They utilized the Algerian Question not only to critique the government's silence

but also to reaffirm Turkey's anti-imperialist identity, whether fueled by the bond of Islamic brotherhood or the principle of socialist liberation.

This inherent media pluralism proves the latent power of Turkish public opinion and intellectuals to challenge and eventually influence the boundaries set by official foreign policy. While the Turkish state initially exhibited a clear bias toward its Western allies (especially between 1954 and 1960), critical columnists and analysts successfully tapped into popular sentiment and historical memory. This media pressure laid a strong foundation for future bilateral relations and contributed to the gradual shift in state policy towards a more balanced and ultimately supportive position. The subsequent official apology decades later confirms that the critical media coverage of the Algerian Revolution was not in vain, but rather a vital force in shaping the long-term trajectory of Turkish-Algerian relations.

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