



Algerian–Turkish Relations: Opportunities, Constraints, and Stakes - A Chronological, Analytical, and Prospective Study

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Abstract:

This study aims to trace Algerian–Turkish relations across various historical stages up to the present phase, which is characterised by strategic rapprochement, presenting, addressing, and analysing the opportunities available to develop these relations in the political, economic, social, and cultural fields, as well as examining the implications for the strategic balances of the two countries' relations across their geopolitical domains and what these growing relations entail in terms of strategic stakes amid rapid and highly complex domestic, regional, and international transformations.

Keywords: *Algerian–Turkish relations, Algerian foreign policy and Turkish foreign policy, strategic balances, regional and international variables.*

Relations algéro-turques : opportunités, contraintes et enjeux – Une étude chronologique, analytique et prospective

Résumé :

Cette étude vise à retracer les relations algéro-turques à travers différentes périodes historiques jusqu'à la phase actuelle, caractérisée par un rapprochement stratégique. Elle présente, examine et analyse les opportunités de développement de ces relations dans les domaines politique, économique, social et culturel, ainsi que leurs implications pour les équilibres stratégiques des relations bilatérales dans leurs sphères géopolitiques respectives. Elle analyse également les enjeux stratégiques de ce développement dans un contexte de transformations nationales, régionales et internationales rapides et complexes.

Mots-clés : *relations algéro-turques, politique étrangère algérienne et politique étrangère turque, équilibres stratégiques, variables régionales et internationales.*



Introduction:

Algerian–Turkish relations, in their stages of historical development and in their various dimensions, are among the most important topics attracting many researchers and those interested in international relations and regional studies to address and analyse their substance, given the standing of the two great countries: Algeria is an active African, Arab, Islamic, and Mediterranean power with geopolitical influence, and Turkey is a significant regional power with an ancient imperial legacy.

The pace of Algerian–Turkish relations has accelerated in various fields of cooperation. After several milestones and turning points, it has reached a level of solid relations and a comprehensive partnership.

The current state of Algerian–Turkish relations raises legitimate questions about the numerous opportunities and possibilities for cooperation, the various constraints, and the challenges and stakes in light of domestic, regional, and international transformations.

Relying on the foregoing approach, we pose the following problem:

How do the available opportunities and various constraints affect Algerian–Turkish relations in light of domestic, regional, and international transformations?

To support and unpack the problem, we pose the following questions:

1. What are the structure, pillars, and strategic foundations of the foreign policy of each of Algeria and Turkey?

2. What is the nature of Algerian–Turkish relations, and what are the contents and most important issues of current Algerian–Turkish relations?
3. What are the most important implications and stakes of Algerian–Turkish relations in light of the current domestic, regional, and international variables?

Moreover, because the importance of hypotheses is specific after their confirmation or refutation in reaching results and answers, we set out in our study the following hypotheses:

1. The nature of Algerian–Turkish relations is governed by variables such as the weight and importance of the shared historical legacy, the density of areas of interaction and cooperation, and the transformations of the domestic, regional, and international environments.
2. The perceptions and practices of Algerian and Turkish foreign policymakers lead to a push towards strengthening relations between the two countries, with repercussions that decisively affect their geopolitical domains in light of the current international geopolitics in formation.

Importance of the Topic:

The importance of the topic is evident in the increasing pace of Algerian–Turkish relations, as well as the strategic, political, economic, cultural, and civilisational aspects they encompass. These relations attract the attention of influential global and Western circles, considering that Algerian–Turkish relations under the Ottoman Caliphate led to hegemony over a vital region, such as the Mediterranean, for an extended period. Research on this topic and the



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presentation, updating, and dissemination of rigorous studies and articles enables us to approach genuine domestic, regional, and international transformations and helps us understand the dynamics and balances of important geopolitical domains such as the Middle East, the Islamic world, the Mediterranean, and Africa.

Methodology employed:

In this study, we relied on theoretical methods and approaches within the analytical model, whereby we employed the historical method by addressing the shared historical legacy between Algeria and Turkey under the banner of the Ottoman Empire, and we presented a historical chronology of relations between the two countries from before Algeria's independence until the present period. In addition, we employed a comparative method to balance Algerian-Turkish relations and compared them with the various international relations of the two countries. We also used content analysis, which enabled us to present and analyse the statements of officials in the two countries and to ascertain the perceptions of the principal actors in the domestic and foreign policies of both Algeria and Turkey. Appropriate theoretical approaches were also employed in this type of study, especially role theory, which is fundamental for analysing and understanding the foreign policies of both Algeria and Turkey, as well as for tracking the transformation of roles and perceptions. We also employed the systems approach to analyse the determinants of Algerian and Turkish external behaviour, and we briefly used the scenario technique, one of the tools utilised to analyse and foresee the future and discern its directions. We

likewise draw on the realist theoretical literature, which centers on interest and power as drivers of interaction among states.

Axes of the Study:

Through three axes, this research seeks to follow, present, analyse, evaluate, appraise, and anticipate the prospects of Algerian-Turkish relations.

1. The Structure of Algerian-Turkish Relations

1. Historically:
2. The countries of Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria were considered part of Ottoman State. According to the Turkish strategic literature, the states of North Africa are not deemed a distant geographical area but rather part of Turkey's neighbourhood and within Turkey's strategic vital sphere, owing to the shared religious and civilisational dimension and their direct connection to Ottoman Turkish history. This has led many segments of the influential Turkish elites to feel that North Africa is part of the Turkish milieu and an extension thereof.
3. From this fundamental premise, the matter of developing relations with Algeria, the most important state in North Africa, is a point of consensus among Turkish elites across successive governments.
4. Algerian-Turkish relations can be described as historical; accordingly, studying and analysing these relations in their historical continuity, rupture, re-establishment, and activation requires us to return to the year 1516, the date of the arrival of the three brothers (‘Aruj, Khayr al-Dīn, and Ishāq) in Algeria



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and their active and decisive participation in confronting and repelling an existential threat, namely, the Spanish colonial project at the height of its power and expansion.

5. Many historians argue that the efforts of the brothers 'Aruj, operating under Ottoman authority, constitute a historical event that spared the Maghreb region and Algeria the tragic fate of the Islamic principalities in al-Andalus and weakened European influence in the Mediterranean for centuries.¹

Algerian-Turkish relations can, according to the researcher, be divided into three distinct time periods, separated by periods of interruption.

1. **The first period:**

2. By this, we mean Algerian-Ottoman relations extending from 1518--1830, where relations in this period were characterised by overlap, integration, and the highest degrees of coordination in confronting the grave challenges the Islamic region was experiencing at the time, especially threats originating from rising European powers bearing aggressive colonial projects charged with extreme Christian religious dimensions.

There was a break in Algerian-Turkish relations beyond the will of the Algerian nation due to the French colonisation of Algeria in the period between 1830 and 1962, where French colonialism did not suffice with practising systematic policies that included crimes against humanity, genocide, and war crimes affecting millions of Algerians throughout the colonial period but also adopted organised and systematic policies to destroy Algerian identity and isolate

Algeria from its natural environment and its Arab and Islamic civilisational sphere, within which Turkey is included.²

Moreover, the fall of the Ottoman sultanate in 1924 and the establishment of a secular republican system close to the Western powers under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk led to diminished interest in Arab and Islamic causes and, on many occasions, to hostility towards them, the most important of which was the Turkish government's vote against the cause of the Algerian people's revolution for independence and freedom at the United Nations in 1956.

1. **The Second Period of Algerian-Turkish Relations: 1962-2002**
2. Turkey's secular positions and policies, especially its vote against Algerian independence in the 1950s, together with Turkey's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, in which French military units belonging to the alliance participated in suppressing the Algerian revolution and Turkey's alignment with the liberal Western camp at the height of the Cold War and the division of the international political system into two poles, all of which led to a modest start for Algerian-Turkish relations following Algeria's attainment of independence in 1962.
3. Despite the two countries' attempts to establish normal diplomatic relations and develop bilateral ties, they remained limited, affected by misunderstanding and by the countries' ideological choices and political stances: Turkey was playing roles in favour of the liberal Western camp, which included colonial states such as France, whereas Algeria was within the nonaligned bloc and was



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ideologically and strategically close to the socialist camp, especially the Soviet Union, China, and Yugoslavia.

4. According to the interpretations of Professor Ahmet Davutoğlu, former foreign minister of Turkey and one of the foremost theorists of contemporary Turkish foreign policy, the reason for Turkey's hostility to national liberation movements from Western and European colonialism goes back to Turkey's domestic and foreign choices; Turkey saw that the national liberation movements, including naturally, the Algerian national liberation movement, were dominated by leftist and Marxist ideologies and that most of their leaders held leftist convictions, which, according to Davutoğlu, did not accord with Turkey's choices and alliances in that period.³
5. For the sake of fairness, there are documented and credible testimonies regarding Turkish governmental bodies providing military assistance to the Algerian revolution via Libya.⁴

The Third Period of Algerian-Turkish Relations: 2002 to the Current Period

During this period, Algerian-Turkish relations were re-established, revitalised, and strengthened. Domestic, regional, and international factors contributed to the success of this path, particularly the presence of the late Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika in power, who focused on revitalising Algerian diplomacy, repositioning Algeria on the global stage, and diversifying its partnerships.

This coincided with a new historical era in Turkey, represented by the victory of the conservative Justice and

Development Party in the November 2002 legislative elections, which enabled it to form the government on its own and implement its electoral programme; this profoundly influenced Turkey's domestic and foreign policies.

2. The Strategic Pillars and Foundations of the Foreign Policy of Algeria and Turkey.

Algeria and Turkey are two large regional states with foreign policies aimed at defending their values and national interests in a world witnessing rapid transformations to which the two countries must adapt.

Algeria is a country of great importance at all historical, geographical, human, economic, cultural, and military levels. It is a Maghrebi, Arab, Islamic, African, and Mediterranean country, which places it at the heart of regional and international interactions.

Algeria's foreign policy is based on solid, principled premises and strategic foundations. Among the basic principles of Algerian foreign policy are support for the right of self-determination for all colonised peoples; support for national liberation movements; championing just causes in the world, foremost among them the Palestinian cause and the Sahrawi cause; the rejection of violence; working to establish international security and peace by entrenching a policy of the peaceful settlement of international disputes; pursuing a policy of good neighbourliness and noninterference in the internal affairs of states; and respect for international law and international legitimacy.

Algeria also insists on the independence of its external decision-making and on not being mortgaged to or dependent on Western or Eastern powers. These principles



and principled premises have come to operate within a changing domestic, regional, and international reality. In 2019, Algeria witnessed an internal transformation that pushed it to adopt a proactive foreign policy characterised by geopolitical clarity, whereby steadfastness on principled premises is combined with the ability to adapt and with pragmatism in external behaviour, and by the initiative of a foreign policy whose goal is primarily the defence of Algerian values and interests, without heing to the traditional divisions that work to weaken Algeria's role in current global geopolitics, where interests intersect, alignments shift, and traditional alliances weaken.

Turkey is a central state that is actively engaged in regional and international politics. For the "new Turkey" that appeared with the assumption of power by the conservative Justice and Development Party, supported by broad segments of Turkish actors, Turkish foreign policy must be revolutionised, with a break from the policies of the governments preceding the Justice and Development Party's rule, which marketed a stereotypical image of Turkey as serving Western values and interests in the Middle East.

Turkey, immediately under the Justice and Development Party's assumption of power, began to formulate and develop a vision for its foreign policy that would meet the requirements of the international reality of the twenty-first century, employing its historical legacy, identity and cultural dimension; the traditions of the venerable Turkish state; and its geographical, economic, human, civilisational, and imperial assets, with recourse to principles devised by the author of the new vision for Turkish foreign policy, Professor Ahmet Davutoğlu, former Turkish foreign

minister and prime minister, under the direct ideological supervision and guidance of the leader of the Justice and Development Party, the Turkish president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. These strategic principles and foundations are as follows:

1. A sound balance between freedom and security, where the requirements of Turkish national security are integrated with the necessity of deepening the democratic order.
2. Zero problems with neighboring states.
3. Influence on the internal and external regions of neighboring states.
4. The principle of multidimensional foreign policy, whereby Turkey's relations are balanced with all major global powers, including the United States of America, Europe, and the Western powers, as well as Russia and China, is institutionalised, entrenched, and made a permanent policy.
5. The principle of harmonious diplomacy involves increasing the density of Turkish diplomatic activity, both bilateral and multilateral, at all levels and in all regions, as well as in international organisations.
6. Adoption of a new, creative, innovative, and effective diplomatic style, combining interest-based, ideological, and strategic dimensions through an integrated and comprehensive foreign policy.⁵

Turkey has formulated a vision for a new foreign policy in which the driving dimensions—interest-based, ideological, and strategic—are multiple, aiming to achieve the goal of a central-power Turkey undertaking decisive roles in its geopolitical domains, thereby enabling it to play a significant role in world politics.



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The new Turkey has set its vision into implementation, and Africa is among the testing grounds, as Turkey considers it in the context of its new foreign policy, which is part of its regional neighbourhood.⁶ Moreover, a genuine reflection of the contents, principles, and premises of the new Turkish foreign policy vision, wherein principled, identity, and civilisational premises; national interests; strategic action; and an active, creative, and innovative diplomatic style, prevails.⁷

Algerian–Turkish relations are shaped by the foreign policies of each country, and internal transformations in both have given impetus to and strengthened Algerian–Turkish relations, placing them on a historical course of solidarity, brotherhood, and strategic partnership.

Axis Two: Algerian–Turkish Relations, from Re-establishment and Activation to Strategic Partnership

The pace of Algerian–Turkish relations has steadily increased since the beginning of the current millennium at all political, economic, social, cultural, and defence levels.

In the researcher's estimation, Algeria and Turkey have similarities and points of convergence that drive them to strengthen bilateral relations to confront the constraints and challenges of the regional and international environment. Algeria seeks close relationships with significant regional powers, such as Turkey, especially in the economic and defense fields, to bolster its efforts to diversify its hydrocarbon-dependent economy and expand its partnerships. This is particularly important, as Turkey is closely related to Algeria in terms of civilisation and culture, and the two share a common historical and spiritual legacy.

Turkey likewise feels isolated as a result of long decades of keeping pace with and assimilating Western values and policies at the expense of its geographic and spiritual space; it is on a path of returning to its region and to its spiritual and civilisational sphere.

Each of Algeria and Turkey views the other as adding a valuable additional asset to their regional and international policies.

Algeria and Turkey agreed on an intensive roadmap to re-establish and activate their bilateral relations in all political, economic, cultural, scientific, and defence fields, culminating in strategic relations.

Practically, the first document framing Algerian–Turkish cooperation was formulated, as the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the two countries was signed in 2006; it includes the coordination of political positions at the regional and international levels, the bringing together of viewpoints on many international issues with recourse to international law and international legitimacy, and the guarantee of Algerian–Turkish coordination and consultation within the framework of common principles and interests.

This treaty gave momentum and framing, organising text to Algerian–Turkish relations. An integrated institutional structure was also established to frame relations between the two countries, including the Algerian–Turkish High Council, which oversees bilateral cooperation, and the Joint Committee for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation, which meets periodically.

Additionally, an innovative and unique mechanism was established in the form of the Algerian–Turkish Planning



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Committee, which meets periodically for consultation and coordination on issues of mutual interest.

From a survey and statistical perspective, one can speak of increasing economic, trade, and investment exchange, as the volume of trade reached approximately four billion US dollars by the end of 2020, with ambitions to reach ten billion US dollars by 2030; Turkish investments in Algeria exceeded five billion US dollars; and 1,300 Turkish companies are active in Algeria, employing approximately 30,000 people. Algeria, through its giant state hydrocarbon company Sonatrach, is also investing \$1.4 billion in the chemical industry in partnership with the Turkish company Rönesans in the city of Ceyhan, Adana Province, Turkey.⁸

The Turkish community resident in Algeria numbers approximately 25,000, and Turkish Airlines operates 35 weekly flights, indicating the intensity of commercial, human, and tourist exchanges.

There are also partnerships between the private business sectors of the two countries, as well as scientific and cultural cooperation, particularly through two agreements between universities in both countries and the encouragement of student exchanges. Turkey annually receives hundreds of Algerian students under the Turkish government's scholarship programme.⁹

In the cultural field, Algeria and Turkey have begun to value their shared cultural heritage, particularly by restoring some Ottoman historical landmarks and monuments in Algeria, including the Ketchaoua Mosque in the capital and the Bey Palace in Oran. Departments for the study of the Turkish language have also been established at the University of Algiers 2 and the University of Constantine.

Additionally, Turkey has opened branches of its official cultural and scientific institutions in Algeria. The two countries also agreed on the necessity of writing and rewriting their shared history by utilising Ottoman archives related to Algeria during the Ottoman period.

In the humanitarian and development field, assistance provided by the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) to the Algerian side may have been provided during a challenging period during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Algerian and Turkish elites have the awareness, conviction, and political will to seize the available historical opportunity and the diverse assets at hand to strengthen Algerian-Turkish relations. In this context, the current Algerian president, Abdelmadjid Tebboune, said in an interview with the French magazine *Le Point* that 'Algeria enjoys excellent relations with the Turks, who have invested about five billion dollars without any political demands, and those whom this relationship bothers only come and invest with us as they do'.¹⁰

The Turkish president, "Recep Tayyip Erdoğan," likewise described, on the eve of his visit to Algeria in January 2020, relations with Algeria as strategic and encompassing all possible fields of cooperation. Taking into account the survey of Algerian-Turkish relations and the statistical data on areas of cooperation, current Algerian-Turkish relations are promising and within a steadily ascending, irreversible dynamic.

Politically, institutionally, and procedurally, and with the presidency prevailing in decision-making in both Algeria and Turkey, it was possible to complete the process of building trust; to begin intensifying cooperation and



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coordination; to provide all the political, institutional, legal, and procedural conditions; and to address issues of disagreement and misunderstanding.

Algeria and Turkey agree on many regional and international issues, such as the situation in Libya, the Palestinian question, and efforts to reform the United Nations. They have the capacity to reach understanding and manage their differences regarding other issues and files, such as the Syrian crisis, relations with Europe, and Turkish–Israeli relations.

To understand this important context, we must return to the beginnings of the process of re-establishing Algerian–Turkish relations, when Algeria closely followed developments in Turkey and the policies adopted by Turkey at the beginning of the Justice and Development Party’s rule in 2002, especially those related to Turkey’s declared policies toward the Arab and Islamic regions. Algeria had reservations about Turkish calls for political reform, including the call by “Abdullah Gül,” former deputy leader of the Justice and Development Party, prime minister, and president of the Republic of Turkey, who, in a multilateral Islamic forum in Tehran, the Iranian capital, called on the countries of the Arab and Islamic worlds to implement political reforms and to expand the scope of democracy and freedoms.¹¹

Turkey’s former foreign minister, Ahmet Davutoğlu, likewise expressed Turkey’s policies by saying: “What we are seeking is for the Middle East to emerge from its crises and to transform into a region that leads globalisation politically and economically.”¹² He continued: “This is possible, and for that the region needs strong political

leadership that has confidence in itself, proposes new reformist ideas, and rests on a sound economic base.”¹³

Algeria had reservations about some Turkish policies in the Arab and Islamic regions, especially Turkish interventions in the internal affairs of the Arab and Islamic states, which became evident after the events known as the Arab Spring beginning in 2011, when an active Turkish role appeared in adopting this event and in intervening in the internal affairs of sovereign Arab states, especially Syria, Libya, Tunisia, Iraq, and Egypt. Turkey sought to exploit and benefit from these events to achieve regional influence at the expense of the security and stability of Arab states.

Algeria and Turkey, in a joint effort, have been working with utmost seriousness, conviction, and commitment since the signing of the Treaty of Cooperation and Friendship in 2006 to build bridges of trust; to focus on economic priorities and the bilateral dimension of relations; to intensify consultation and coordination on strategic, political, security, and defence issues; and to address matters of disagreement and misunderstanding.

Profound domestic transformations in both Algeria and Turkey also helped to solidify the path of trust. The failed coup attempt in Turkey in the summer of 2016 allowed President Erdoğan to initiate constitutional and political reforms and to transform the political system into a presidential system, enabling him to put all his visions and perceptions into effect. Algeria, for its part, witnessed a historic popular movement that led to a profound transformation in the political system. The Algerian movement did not meet the basic demand concerning the departure of the symbols of the ruling system and domestic political reforms. Instead, and this is what matters most to



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us, it demanded a re-examination of external affairs, especially a rupture with French influence in Algeria and the enabling of the country to play roles befitting Algeria's endowments, its revolutionary legacy, and its geographical position.¹⁴

The movement yielded political results, as the presidential elections of December 12, 2019, resulted in the victory of President Abdelmadjid Tebboune, who pledged in his electoral programme to realise the objectives of the Algerian movement domestically and externally and who initiated political, constitutional, and institutional reforms and, in the external sphere, the formulation and implementation of a foreign policy consistent with Algeria's values and interests. Turkey's response was swift: President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was the first foreign leader to visit Algeria in January 2020, to congratulate President Tebboune and to express, in practical terms, Turkey's readiness to effect a historic qualitative leap in Algerian-Turkish relations. Likewise, the historic visit of the Algerian president, Abdelmadjid Tebboune, to Turkey in May 2022 witnessed the announcement of comprehensive agreements covering all strategic, political, economic, and cultural fields; it was an opportunity and a symbolic occasion for the beginnings of the crystallisation of a new geopolitical alliance between Algeria and Turkey, the core of which is the two countries' shared values and national interests, the service of the issues of their regional environment, and influence over the affairs of their vital domains.

It is an alliance that can be described as reflecting a new geopolitical reality, which will have real repercussions on

the regional and international environments of the two countries.

Axis Three: Current Algerian-Turkish Relations: An Evaluative, Corrective, and Prospective Vision.

The current pace of Algerian-Turkish relations, which, after historical phases filled with events and obstacles, has reached the stage of re-establishment and activation, has matured and deepened to the degree of the crystallisation of a strategic alliance axis with political, economic, and developmental contents, diplomatic coordination approaches in security, and defence cooperation covering principally the Mediterranean region and its extensions, as the axis of Algerian-Turkish interactions where Algeria is considered a power in the western Mediterranean and Turkey a power in its eastern part; the latter views Algeria as a key ally in the Mediterranean owing to historical and civilisational considerations, for economic reasons, especially Algeria's being a gas, oil, and mining power, and as a vast market approaching fifty million for Turkish products, in addition to relying on Algeria as a gateway and platform for entering African markets.

As we have clarified and explained above, both Turkey and Algeria, owing to their vast historical, geographical, human, economic, and military endowments, aspire to play influential roles in the Mediterranean, Arab and Islamic regions, and Africa.

In the researcher's estimation, the challenge of regional crises in the Arab, Islamic, and Mediterranean regions, especially Africa's Sahel and Sahara, can be met and positively influenced in their interactions according to an Algerian-Turkish consensual approach built on helping to entrench peace, development, and prosperity and reducing



external intervention by regional and international powers. Joint action can be undertaken to rebuild the state in Syria, Libya, and Sudan; to preserve stability in Tunisia; to reconstruct Gaza; and to support the cause of the Palestinian people in accordance with international law and international legitimacy. It can also address complex regional threats and crises and limit their negative impact on regional peace and stability, given the geopolitical and geostrategic effects on the Middle East, North Africa, and the Sahel and Sahara, as these geopolitical domains are among the most fragile, sensitive, and affected by the transformations under way internationally, and arenas of intense international competition and conflict and of external intervention in light of world geopolitics in the process of formation.

In the context of these genuine challenges and stakes facing the Arab region, the Mediterranean, the Maghreb, and the Sahel and Sahara, the researcher holds that the escalating pace of Algerian-Turkish relations is propelling the completion of the course of strategic alliance, supported by concrete indicators that have begun to appear and take shape and can be observed. There is convergence and alignment of Algerian and Turkish visions and interests regarding the conflict in the Mediterranean, where geographical considerations have compelled both countries to adopt legally identical positions on the basis of nonrecognition of an exclusive economic zone for islands. This stance serves the national interest of both countries. This is especially true for Turkey, which is working towards the necessity of annulling any exclusive economic zone for the island of Cyprus and the Greek island of Crete. It also

serves Algerian interests in the Mediterranean by nonrecognition of any exclusive economic zone for the Italian island of Sardinia and the Spanish Balearic Islands.¹⁵

Although Algeria, in its declared policies, focuses on negotiations with Spain and Italy, it nevertheless takes into account international variables. It continues to develop its naval capabilities, which, according to international reports, are ranked fourteenth globally and first in the Arab world and Africa. It likewise continues to strengthen its strategic submarine arm and to acquire advanced naval military technologies to protect its interests in the Mediterranean.¹⁶ Turkey, which possesses a strong navy comprising 182 naval units and the unmanned aerial vehicle carrier TCG Anadolu, has an ambitious aircraft carrier project scheduled to enter service in 2030, capable of carrying stealth fighters and drones. This carrier will be the first designed and built in Turkey and will surpass, in its capabilities, the famed French aircraft carrier Charles de Gaulle.¹⁷

These Turkish naval preparations enable the country to implement its Blue Homeland strategy, protecting its maritime interests in the Mediterranean.

In view of these indicators, it is possible to influence, safeguard, and militarily defend the strategic interests of Algeria and Turkey in the Mediterranean, especially given the decline in the power of Mediterranean European states and the United States' focus on the Asia-Pacific region, where the geopolitical challenge that constitutes a priority for American policy lies.

The international system is experiencing rapid and complex changes and transformations, with a notable rise in China and a decline in traditional international powers, especially Mediterranean European states such as France.



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This emerging geopolitical situation presents a genuine opportunity for the Algerian–Turkish alliance to shape regional and international strategic balances.

The retreat of French influence in the Western proxy in the African region, especially North Africa and the Sahel and Sahara, provides a historic opportunity for the Algeria–Turkey alliance to fill the strategic vacuum, particularly since the Turkish role is welcomed in the states of the southern Mediterranean and in the states of North Africa for historical, civilisational, cultural, and economic considerations. Reliance can likewise be placed on the new Algeria under the current presidential administration, led by Abdelmadjid Tebboune, mainly as its perceptions and policies are governed by the conviction that potential security threats are coming from the northwestern flank of the Mediterranean, where the former French coloniser whose far right, hostile to Algeria, is on the verge of taking power resides, and where some reckonings and conflicts include issues of historical memory, migration, political and economic disputes, and geopolitical and strategic challenges.

France's structural and historical influence in the Mediterranean, Maghreb, and Sahel and Sahara is witnessing a decline, weakening France's geopolitical and geostrategic ambitions. Although France still resists and plays roles similar to its traditional colonial role, especially by encouraging states, regimes, and parties that adopt policies and theses hostile to Algerian and Turkish values and interests, such as its support for Greece, Morocco, the Algerian terrorist MAK organisation, and the Kurds, these transformations offer an opportunity for a Turkish role in a geography and region considered part of its regional

neighbourhood according to the facts of history and the requirements of the present and future. Through Algerian-Turkish coordination and alliances in the Mediterranean, the Maghreb, and the Sahel and Sahara, it is possible to influence the strategic balances in these areas in favour of Algerian and Turkish values and interests and to limit the negative impact of Western and Eastern external interventions in the interest of the region's states and peoples and their right to security, stability, and prosperity.

The current Algerian-Turkish relations, described as strategic and indicative of the birth of a strategic alliance capable of realising a geopolitical and geostrategic reality enabling the two countries to confront the schemes of competing international powers vying for influence and the region's resources at the expense of the countries' values, interests, and stability, are relied upon to enable the two countries to adapt to international strategic projects such as China's Belt and Road Initiative and the new strategic Indian economic corridor supported by Western powers and Israel projects of grave import with strategic dimensions and repercussions for strategic balances in the Islamic world, the Middle East, the Mediterranean, and Africa.

It is premature to speak of forecasting the international geopolitical situation in terms of its poles, powers, interactions, and strategic balances, especially given the Russian-Ukrainian-Western War and the American-Chinese conflict, which remain primarily in the economic and commercial fields. However, in the researcher's estimation, it is possible to exploit and employ these geopolitical events by strengthening the Algerian-Turkish alliance at all levels, providing room for manoeuvring and bargaining internationally, and defending Algerian-Turkish



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values and interests. This is possible, and it is a project that should be formulated with respect to the independence of Algerian strategic decision-making from the influence of competing international powers, as well as the convergence of Algerian and Turkish values and interests.

Turkey has sought to pursue policies of regional influence in domains vital to its national security, which can be employed to realise Turkish national interests. This constitutes a point of convergence with an Algerian approach that is taking shape and focuses on peace, development, and sovereignty in the region and on contributing to the resolution of regional conflicts, especially confronting the effects of the international geopolitical struggle in the region, its vital domains, and Algeria's vital geopolitical domains, an enduring preoccupation for Algeria.

Within the framework of prospective conclusions regarding Algerian–Turkish relations amid current regional and international transformations and on the basis of the preceding survey, mapping, monitoring, analysis, evaluation, and appraisal of these relations, it may be said that the prospects of Turkish–Algerian relations rest on three scenarios, according to the available data and the researcher's analysis, as follows:

1- Scenario of relations stagnating at the current level: as a result of the domestic variables and regional transformations of Algerian and Turkish, as well as the Turkish side's excess of immediate pragmatism focused on the purely commercial aspect and the neglect of economic and investment aspects and strategic domains.

2- Scenario of a decline in the pace of Algerian–Turkish relations due to political, strategic, and economic factors, especially the two countries' inability to understand regional and international issues and as a result of transformations affecting domestic politics in both countries, particularly if the current Algerian president, Abdelmadjid Tebboune, does not remain in power after the end of his current presidential term in 2029 since the current Algerian constitution allows only two terms and likewise the current Turkish president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, whose last presidential term ends in 2028.

3- The third scenario is the scenario favoured by the researcher, whereby Algerian–Turkish relations escalate to the degree of the crystallisation of a strategic alliance as a result of civilisational and spiritual affinity and political concord, the networking of economic interests, and the strengthening of social and cultural ties, especially by relying on organising texts and strong and entrenched institutional aspects that preserve the upwards dynamism of relations towards a strategic alliance, with the ability to confront, adapt to, and influence domestic, regional, and international transformations and challenges.

Algerian–Turkish relations, their rapprochement, and the completion of their course towards a strategic alliance hold promising prospects for cooperation and integration in all fields, and more importantly, they carry genuine strategic stakes in the two countries' geopolitical regions and globally.



Conclusion:

Current Algerian–Turkish relations are characterised by the highest levels of cooperation, coordination, and concord, encompassing strategic, political, economic, cultural, and civilisational aspects. This characterisation of the relationship extends to bear effects on strategic balances in geopolitical domains in the Middle East, the Arab and Islamic worlds, the Mediterranean sphere, and Africa, especially North Africa, the Sahel, and the Sahara. Given that these regions are of utmost importance in world politics, the effect of strategic Algerian–Turkish relations extends internationally to support axes of balance in international relations, particularly those aimed at a multipolar world that affords countries such as Algeria and Turkey room for action, manoeuvring, bargaining, and the defence of values and interests.

Relying on the foregoing results, we arrive at the following conclusions, findings, and recommendations:

First, Algerian–Turkish relations have a solid foundation in their shared history, particularly in their affiliation with the Ottoman Caliphate. This renders the relationship highly distinctive due to the shared political, religious, and civilisational legacy, which confers a special advantage and adds valuable capital to the relationship.

Second, the process of re-establishing and activating Algerian–Turkish relations has made significant strides, resulting in a relationship that can be described as strategic.

Third, current Algerian–Turkish relations have historical and civilisational dimensions, stemming from a shared historical and religious legacy, as well as economic,

commercial, political, diplomatic, and strategic priorities. These dimensions are multiple and complementary to realise the national interests of both countries within a distinguished bilateral framework.

Fourth, the scenarios anticipated for the course of Algerian–Turkish relations, namely, the scenario of relations stagnating at the current level; the scenario of a decline in the pace of relations due to political, economic, and strategic factors; and the scenario favoured by the researcher, following analysis of the available data and current domestic, regional, and international contexts, of relations developing towards a strategic alliance are all plausible in light of rapid and complex domestic, regional, and international transformations that influence which scenario is more likely than the others.

Fifth, current Algerian–Turkish relations, which are in the process of crystallising a geopolitical axis, constitute the ideal entry point for influencing strategic balances of utmost importance in the Middle East, the Mediterranean, North Africa, and the Sahel and Sahara. These regions are, in fact, the heart of global interactions, allowing this geopolitical and geostrategic influence to encompass international orientations that support objectives related to structuring the distribution of power in the current international political order towards a multipolar world that enables the two countries and their vital domains to access global interactions and to defend their vital domains, values, and national interests.

Sixth, to bolster the Algeria–Turkey axis and ensure the durability of its positive impact on both countries and on regional geopolitics and its extensions and, by logical



entailment, to influence world politics, the following recommendations should be adopted:

1. The necessity of continuing the process of activating Algerian-Turkish relations and reinforcing their strategic, political, economic, cultural, and scientific gains and fruits.
2. Networking economic, trade, and investment interests and intensifying exchanges, human flows, and social and human relations can insulate relationships from circumstantial differences and external influences.
3. The elite of both countries, especially the active elite, are included in the process of re-establishing and activating strategic relations, particularly the categories of civil society comprising businesspeople, academics, the press, and think tanks and research centres, as well as the military, security, and diplomatic elites, through intensifying spaces of communication and interaction, building trust, and participation.
4. Seizing the historical opportunity presented by leadership is convinced of the importance and vitality of Algerian-Turkish relations, namely, the current Algerian president, Abdelmadjid Tebboune, and the Turkish president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, to realise historic gains for the relationship in terms of organising and regulating texts and documents; institutional structures; political, economic, and cultural projects; and the crystallisation of strategic projects.

5. Exploiting current regional and international circumstances, which are ideal and conducive to strengthening relations and building the Algeria-Turkey alliance, and involving other actors and states that are in harmony with the choices, priorities, values, and interests of the two countries.

Algerian-Turkish relations and their attainment of their strategic objectives are a necessity and an interest for both Algeria and Turkey; they are an asset for the peoples and states of the Arab, Islamic, Middle Eastern, Mediterranean, and African regions. This is a realistic, interest-based, and value-laden choice that enables them to achieve peace and development, preserve their values and national interests, and make an active contribution to regional and international interactions.

Endnotes:

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- ² For greater precision and detail on the subject, see: University of Biskra, Faculty of Human and Social Sciences, "Algerian-Turkish Relations in the Balance of History, Politics, Culture, and Economy," accessed January 18 2025, <https://www.univ-biskra.dz/sites/fshs/index.php/ar/accueil-2/2014-06-08-14-01-4/17-2014-06-15-09-13-59>.
- ³ Ahmet Davutoğlu, *Strategic Depth: Turkey's Position and Role in the International Arena*, trans. Muhammad Jaber Thalji and Tariq 'Abd al-Jalil (Beirut: al-Dar al-'Arabiyya



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- Nashirun; Al Jazeera Center for Studies, 3rd ed., 2014), 233.
- 4 Watch the video of Alparslan Türkeş, the founder and leader of the Turkish Nationalist Movement Party, in which he discusses delivering a shipment of weapons to the Algerian revolution via the Libyan authorities at the direct instruction of the late Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, accessed January 20, 2025, <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1493122144038705>.
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 - 6 Mehmet Özkan, "From Discourse to Practice: Turkish-African Relations and Their Analysis, 1998–2015," *Insight Turkey*, no. 4 (Winter 2015): 7–23.
 - 7 Mustafa Shafiq 'Allam, "Soft Penetration: Africa in Turkish Strategy – Determinants, Contexts, and Challenges," *African Readings Journal*, no. 29 (July–September 2016), 50.
 - 8 Abdelhakim Hadhāqa, "The Flourishing of Relations with Turkey: Is It Algeria's Opportunity to Get Rid of French Influence?," *Al Jazeera*, accessed February 2 2025, <https://www.aljazeera.net/ebusiness/2021/10/14/>
 - 9 Ibid.
 - 10 Ibid.
 - 11 Abd al-Rahmān Ḥussām Abū Bakr al-Şiddīq, "Political Renewal and Democratic Transformation: A Comparative Study of the Structure of Political Opportunity between the Experience of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey and the Experience of the Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria," in *Culture and Middle East Studies*, proceedings

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¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Lamia Harrouche, "Algerian Mediterranean Policy: Turkey as a Model," Egyptian Institute for Studies, accessed February 15 2025, <https://eipss-eg.org>.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Chris Lange, "Algeria Owns the Most Powerful Navy in Africa," *24/7 Wall St.*, accessed February 12 2025, <https://247wallst.com/military/2024/08/21/algeria-owns-the-most-powerful-navy-in-africa/>.

¹⁷ İbrahim Sünnetci, "TCG Anadolu LHD: A Naval Platform that Will Multiply the Power Projection Capability of [the] Turkish Navy!," *Defence Turkey*, accessed March 23 2025, <https://www.defenceturkey.com/en/content/tcg-anadolu-lhd-a-naval-platform-that-will-multiply-the-power-projection-capability-of-turkish-navy-3335>