T.C.

ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

ALGERIA - FRANCE RELATIONS UNDER THE SHADOW OF COLONIAL LEGACY

MASTER THESIS

AYBÜKE RABİA HALİL

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ANKARA, 2022

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Supervisor

Assoc. Prof. Bayram Sinkaya

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The thesis study "Algeria-France Relations under the Colonial Legacy" prepared by Aybüke Rabia Halil is approved unanimously by the jury as master's thesis in Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University Social Sciences Institute Department of International Relations.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that all information in this thesis has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work; otherwise, I accept all legal responsibility. (22-12-2022)

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“I dedicate my thesis to the Algerians who fought for their dignity and freedom against French colonialism in the Algerian War of Independence.”

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ABSTRACT

Algeria - France Relations Under the Colonial Legacy.

Colonialism has changed and transformed individuals, societies and cultures over the centuries. Algeria also suffered from the history of colonialism, and although Algeria declared its independence after its struggle against French colonialism, the colonial legacy left behind by France still shows its effect in every field. Moreover, this legacy continued to affect Algeria-France relations after the independence of Algeria in different ways. At this point, although postcolonialism is not considered as one of the mainstream theories in international relations, it is helpful to understand and analyze enduring effects of colonialism on bilateral relations between former colonist and colony. While this, research adopted post-colonial approach. This research assumed that besides economic and political effects, implications of colonialism continued on Algerian identity, memory and discourses, which eventually shape the content and nature of Algeria-France relatios.

The main purpose of the research is to examine how the colonial legacy has affected bilateral relations from Algeria's declaration of independence from French colonialism in 1962 to the present, by referring to the theory of postcolonialism. The historical process of the research was determined as the period from 1962 to the first half of 2022, and this process was divided into three important milestones: from Algeria's independence in 1962 to the Algerian Civil War; from the end of the Algerian Civil War (2002) to the Algerian Hirak Movement in 2019 and from the Algerian Hirak Movement to the first half of 2022. In this whole process, the analysis of bilateral relationship has been analyzed mostly through the government’s policies and the discourses of politicians, and it provides a prediction about the future of bilateral relations.

Keywords: Algeria, Colonial Legacy, France, Postcolonialism

ÖZET
Sömürge Mirası Altında Cezayir - Fransa İlişkileri.

Sömürgecilik yüzyıllar boyunca bireyleri, toplumları ve kültürleri değiştirmiş ve dönüştürmüştür. Cezayir de sömürgecilik tarihinden acı çekmiş ve Cezayir, Fransız sömürgeciliğine karşı verdiği mücadeleden sonra bağımsızlığını ilan etmesine rağmen, Fransa'nın geride bıraktığı sömürgecilik mirası her alanda etkisini göstermektedir. Üstelik bu miras, Cezayir'in bağımsızlığını kazanmasından sonra da Cezayir-Fransa ilişkilerini farklı şekillerde etkilemeye devam etti. Bu noktada, postkolonyalizm uluslararası ilişkilerde ana akım teorilerden biri olarak görülmese de, sömürgeciliğin eski sömürgeci ile sömürge arasındaki ikili ilişkiler üzerindeki kalıcı etkilerini anlamak ve analiz etmek faydalı olacaktır. Bu yapılırken, araştırma post-kolonyal yaklaşımı benimsemiştir. Bu araştırma, sömürgeciliğin ekonomik ve siyasi etkilerinin yanı sıra Cezayir kimliği, hafızası ve söylemleri üzerindeki etkilerinin devam ettiğini ve bu etkilerin sonunda Cezayir-Fransa ilişkilerinin içeriğini ve doğasını şekillendirdiğini varsaymıştır.

Araştırmanın temel amacı Cezayir'in 1962'de Fransız sömürgeciliğinden bağımsızlığını ilan etmesinden günümüze sömürge mirasının ikili ilişkileri nasıl etkilediğini postkolonyalizm teorisine atıfta bulunarak incelemektir. Araştırmanın tarihsel süreci 1962'den 2022'nin ilk yarısına kadar olan dönem olarak belirlenmiş ve bu süreç üç önemli kilometer taşına bölünmüştür: Cezayir'in 1962'deki bağımsızlığını kazanmasından Cezayir İç Savaşı'na; Cezayir İç Savaşı'nın (2002) bitiminden 2019'da Cezayir Hirak Hareketi'ne ve Cezayir Hirak Hareketi'nden 2022'nin ilk yarısı. Tüm bu süreçte ikili ilişkilerin analizi, çoğunlukla hükümet politikaları ve siyasetçilerin söylemleri üzerinden analiz edilmiş ve ikili ilişkilerin geleceği hakkında bir öngörüde bulunulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Cezayir, Sömürge Mirası, Fransa, Postkolonyalizm

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CRIF: Conseil représentatif des institutions juives de France **(**Representatives of French Jewish Institutions)

CRUA: Comité Révolutionnaire d'Unité et d'Action (Revolutionary Committee for Unity and Action)

EEC: European Economic Community

ENA: Étoile Nord-Africaine (French for North African Star)

EU: European Union

FIS: Islamic Salvation Front

FLN: Front de libération nationale (National Liberation Front)

MAK: Mouvement pour l'autodétermination de la Kabylie (Movement for the Autonomy of Kabylia)

MNA: Mouvement national algérien (Algerian National Movement)

OAS: Organisation Armée Secrète (Secret Armed Organisation)

SFIO: Section Franc¸aise de l'Internationale Ouvrie`re (French Section of the Workers' International)

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1. INTRODUCTION

"All things must be destroyed; age, gender, gender discrimination should not be considered. Grass should not grow where the French army passes... I declare to all the soldiers I am honored to command: if they bring me an Arab alive, I will strike them with my sword. Here, my dear friend, I am telling you how to fight the Arabs… Anyone who does not stand like a dog in front of us must be destroyed."

Lucien de Montagnac[1]

The aim of this study is to try to examine today's Algeria-France relations under the colonial legacy. This study is not only about examining the relations in historical context, but also trying to explain the relations by referring to the theory of postcolonialism. First of all, it was decided that it would be more appropriate to include the conceptual framework of terms such as colony, colonialism, settler colonialism, imperialism and decolonization, which are frequently used in the thesis.

The term *colony* comes from the Latin word *colonus* and means farmer. This means that the practice of colonialism often involves the transfer of population to a new region and that those who come live as permanent settlers and maintain their political allegiance to their country of origin.

According to the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, "colonialism is a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another." [2] Colonialism is when one country takes political control of another country and dominates it by profiting from its resources and economy.[3] While the aim of the colonialist countries were to enrich themselves by exploiting the resources of the countries they had colonized, as can be seen in many examples in history, the colonizers tried to impose their religion, language, cultural and political practices on the local population.

[1] Lucien-François de Montagnac (17 May 1803-23 September 1845) was a French lieutenant colonel. Sent to Africa in 1845, he was responsible for several massacres of civilians during the French conquest of Algeria.
[2] Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Colonialism, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/colonialism/>, accessed on 29.08.2022.
[3] **Longley, Robert** ThoughtCo, What Is Colonialism? Definition and Examples, <https://www.thoughtco.com/colonialism-definition-and-examples-5112779>, accessed on 16.02.2022.

Settler colonialism is a form of colonialism that seeks to replace the native population of the colonized land with a new society of settlers. In the settler colonies, the population of the colonies initially constitute a small percentage compared to the indigenous population. As time passes, the population of the colonies increase significantly with the emergence of new generations born in the colonial country. Algeria is a good example of settler colonialism.

The term *imperialism* comes from the Latin word *imperium*, which means to command. This draws attention to the way in which one country exercises power over another country through mechanisms of settlement, sovereignty or indirect control.

Colonialism is often taken to be synonymous with imperialism, but this is not entirely true. Depending on how colonialism and imperialism are evaluated, it can be defined as two successive historical periods or as an intertwined process. Similar to colonialism, imperialism includes political and economic control over the region, but from the etymology of the two terms we can understand that they are different concepts.

Colonialism is often used interchangeably with imperialism, but they have slightly different meanings. While colonialism is the concrete act of dominating another country, imperialism is the political ideology that drives this act. In other words, colonialism can be thought of as an instrument of imperialism.[4] However, unlike colonialism, which always involves the establishment of direct physical settlements in another country, imperialism refers to the direct or indirect domination of another country without the need for a physical presence.[5] As a matter of fact, these and similar definitions will differ in many dictionaries.

Decolonization is the end of one country's political, economic and cultural control over another country. In other words, it is the end of colonialism. The process of decolonization showed itself between the two world wars. Although the colonial empires reached the greatest physical borders in this period, they could not prevent their political legitimacy from being questioned, and as a result, the colonized countries began to declare their independence one after the other.

Historically, colonialism has not followed similar processes in different parts of the world, but everywhere it has brought natives and colonialists into extremely complex and traumatic relationships. For this reason, the process of colonialists “forming a society” on

[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

these so-called-new land is to break up or reconstruct the existing and living societies there; it means the application of wide-ranging practices such as war, massacre, bargaining, enslavement, plunder, plunder, fraud, commerce, and many other similar practices.

Colonialism has changed and transformed individuals, societies and cultures over the centuries. Although its tools and methods have changed over time, colonialism emerged in world history in the 15th century and continued in the form of neo-colonialism in the 1960s. At this point, it is necessary to briefly touch on neocolonialism. Neocolonialism is the practice of using capitalism, globalization, and cultural imperialism to influence a developing country, instead of previous colonialism and direct military or indirect methods of political control.[6] Neocolonialism argues that the old imperial powers maintain economic hegemony, and in this sense, the postcolonial state maintains its loyalty to its former masters and the former masters maintain their colonialist attitudes. In the neocolonial situation, the ruling class, consisting of elites in the former colonial countries, acts as a collaborator of international capital by taking care of its own interests.[7]

During the periods when colonialism was dominant in world history, there was a fierce rivalry between Britain and France. This rivalry caused a lot of destruction behind it. Unfortunately, the African continent also witnessed this terrible destruction. The destruction caused by the colonialism greatly damaged political, economic and cultural structures of colonized societies, moreover, the colonial legacy continued to affect the colonized societies even after their independence.

The political, economic, social and cultural legacy left by colonialism to the colonized countries and this legacy had many effects on the countries trying to prove their existence after decolonization. As a result of this, although many countries achieved their independence, they faced a series of problems such as coup, civil war, dictatorships, ethnic conflicts, political and economic instability.

In addition to these, the cultural legacy left behind by the colonialists caused the newly independent countries to have problems in the construction of the nation-state and hampered their search for national identity. Moreover, this legacy has come to the forefront as a

[6] **Stanard, Matthew G.** (2018) European Overseas Empire, 1879 - 1999: A Short History, US, John Wiley & Sons, p. 5.
[7] **Sönmez, Pelin** (2014) 'Avrupa Birliği'nde Yeni Dönem Postkolonyal İlişkiler ve Göç Politikaları Diyaloğu' (Doctoral Thesis), İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.

determining factor in shaping relations between former colonies and colonialists. That is especially visible in the educational and cultural field.

One of the countries that created the greatest destruction of the period was France, and France caused Algeria to experience one of the greatest destructions in history. France tried to dominate over the natural resources of the country and in time, France saw all kinds of ways as permissible in order not to lose its colony. After the independence of Algeria won after eight-year bloody war against France, France could not completely break away from its former colony and tried to maintain its existing ties through cultural hegemony.

When we look at the picture over the last century, the relationship of the two countries based on colonialism has left deep social traumas among behind. Successive French governments/regimes were not only resolved to exploit and control material resources of the country, but aimed to convert Algeria into French. Although formal independence cut the French hands from material wealth of the country and political administration, the cultural policies of France proved to have enduring effects on both Algerian society and Algeria-France relations.

From the other point of view, colonial countries tried to legitimize their dominance over the indigenous peoples of the colonies. As a result of this, the concept of racism emerged in the colonial period. Definition of African natives as slaves was based on the hierarchy formed between races. The colonialists described themselves as civilized societies, and the colonized as wild and barbaric societies. Even the leading intellectuals of the period tried to legitimize colonialism and racism.

The sociologist Alexis de Tocqueville can be cited as one of the intellectuals who legitimizes colonialism. He supported the French colonialism in Algeria and saw the colonized people as inferior races. He believed that the French colonies in Algeria would increase France's prestige over rivals such as Britain. Moreover, he believed that settler colonialism would eliminate the problem of overpopulation that was causing disorder in France. He was keenly interested in the idea of French colonization of Algeria, and he was in favor of expanding the French presence there.[8] In fact, in his writings on Algeria, he mentioned that the French national interest was paramount and that moral considerations were clearly subordinated to political goals. He even went further, advocating controversial

[8] Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, footnote 2.

tactics such as crop destruction, land confiscation, and confiscation of unarmed civilians.[9] According to Tocqueville, the success of the French enterprise in Algeria depended entirely on encouraging large numbers of European settlers. Because given the impossibility of winning the loyalty of the indigenous population, France could not hold Algeria without creating a stable colonial community. For this, the natives would be ruled by military domination and the French people would be persuaded to settle with the promise of economic gain and social welfare.

After 132 years of colonial rule, things did not progress as expected for Algeria, which gained its independence on March 18, 1962. Even if the European settlers *(pied-noirs)* were made to leave the country *en masse*, the break with the former colonizer was not immediate. Due to the previously established trade links; the lack of experienced government officials; and the French military presence enshrined in the Evian Agreements that ended the Algerian War, France's influence on Algeria continued from the early years of 1970s.[10] In addition, thirty years after independence, the Algerian Civil War broke out and the country experienced a bitter civil war while trying to establish itself away from the French influence. From the end of the civil war until 2019, the president of Algeria did not change and relations with France progressed in a fluctuating course. On the face of it, there was a fully independent country, but the legacy of 132 years of French colonialism continues to show its effect in every field in Algeria.

Looking at post-independence Algeria, there is a nation that speaks French virtually better than its native Arabic language; that cannot be frenchified but also cannot find its own identity.[11] During the 132-year colonial period, France has made Algerians second-class citizens in their own country and has destroyed them culturally and economically. Algeria started to be frenchified with its language, culture and lifestyle. France exerted pressure to destroy identity and culture of the Algerian people and to make the French language dominant instead of Arabic and Berber. This legacy, which France handed over to Algeria from the colonial period, caused Algeria to have identity crises after independence.

As a matter of fact, on April 17, 2006, the former Algerian president Abdelaziz Bouteflika, who served between 1999 and 2019, used the following words in a speech he

[9] Ibid.
[10] **Metz, Helen Chapin** (1994) Algeria: A Country Study, Washington D.C., Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, p. 230.
[11] **Çubukçu, Mete** (1997) 'Cezayir: Kuzey Afrika'daki Kirli Savaş', Birikim, No: 99, p. 16.

made in Paris: “We no longer know whether we are Amazigh, Arabs, Europeans or French. France committed genocide on Algerian identity during the colonial era.”[12] Moreover, this legacy has deeply affected and continues to affect the relations of the two countries.

This study, which tries to analyze the post-independence relations between Algeria and France by referring to postcolonialism, consists of three parts. This study aims to provide an explanation of how the colonial legacy affected the relations between Algeria and France. Although the phenomenon of colonialism was weakened by the effects of the decolonization process after the Second World War, it remained a sensitive issue for the relations between two countries. I hope this study will be a precedent for countries that have experienced a similar fate and will contribute to the literature in this respect. This study covers a relatively wide period of time as the relationships are examined through the events that have taken place from 1962 to the present.

This study attempt to answer the question is “How does the colonial legacy affect relations between Algeria and France?” While looking for an answer to this question, first of all, answers are sought to these questions: What is the colonialism? What is the colonial legacy? How its effect still continues in Algeria? The aim here is to analyze with a multiple perspective while looking for answers to questions.

When the literature is examined, it has been noticed that the colonial legacy is mostly examined through political and economic problems in African countries. However, for North Africa, and especially for Algeria, the colonial legacy has had an impact on language, identity and memory. Its impact may also continue in the economic field, but it is not the subject of this study. When the literature is examined, it has been discovered that the research questions that constitute the subject of the thesis are mostly examined from a historical perspective. Especially the colonial period and the war of independence were examined in detail, but there are not considerable sources examining post-independence relations from the perspective of postcolonialism. For example, Muriam Haleh Davis' article "Algeria as Postcolony?"[13] published in 2011 is a good example of this. However, in this article, there is no analysis on relations, but rather Algeria. Existing studies examine the effects of colonialism on Algerian society and politics, but Algerian foreign policy and especially

[12] **Eyrice, Elem** (2008) ‘Cezayir’in Fransız Sömürgeciliğine Karşı Yürüttüğü Bağımsızlık Mücadelesi’, (Master’s Thesis) Ege Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, p. 155.
[13] **Davis, Muriam Haleh** (2011) ‘Algeria as Postcolony? Rethinking the Colonial Legacy of Post-Structuralism’, Journal of French and Francophone Philosophy, Vol: 19, No: 2, p. 136-152.

Algeria-France relations are not looked at from the postcolonial perspective. Research on the subject mostly focused on the colonial policies of France, the crimes committed in the Algerian War or the problems that are still unsolved today. So, this study will contribute to the literature as it analyzes the key events affecting the relations between two countries from 1962 until today.

Postcolonialism constitutes the theoretical framework of my thesis. In order to understand Algeria and Algeria's relations with France, it is necessary to understand the concept of postcolonialism. Within the scope of the thesis, it was tried to give examples of relations through political discourses and policies. At this point, it has been tried to prove the argument that although the political and economic exploitation, which is the main claim of postcolonialism, has ended, colonialism continues in the minds. Methodologically, this research is mostly built on qualitative analysis of secondary resources. Since the primary sources related to the subject of the thesis were written in French or Arabic, the use of primary sources was limited. For this reason, mainly English and Turkish sources were used in the literature review.

On the other hand, English and Turkish translations of the articles and interviews of the people who witnessed that period were used as the primary source. In addition, the main bone of this study was the discourses of the politicians of both sides in the period after Algeria's independence. Books, academic articles and newspaper articles were used as secondary sources. Thanks to all these documents, a comprehensive literature review was carried out. This study consists of four main chapters in addition to the introduction and conclusion.

In the first part; In order to understand the background, the discursive and theoretical development process of postcolonialism is discussed. The leading thinkers of the approach are mentioned and the concepts they focus on and the way they deal with postcolonialism are included by making use of their studies.

In the second part, the period from the French occupation of Algeria to the Algerian War of Independence was examined in order to make sense of the historical process and colonial legacy. This section mostly talks about the historical background of the thesis, namely the French occupation of Algeria, the French colonial policies in Algeria afterwards, and the events that paved the way for the war of independence.

In the third chapter, the French colonial legacy in Algeria is mentioned. In this context, the meaning of colonial legacy, national identity and nationalism has been mentioned. Thus, the reasons behind the national identity crises of the colonized society were placed on a strong ground.

The fourth chapter includes an evaluation of the ongoing relations between Algeria and France since 1962 under the colonial legacy. In doing so, I divided the third part into three time periods: from Algerian Independence (1962) to the Algerian Civil War (1992); from the end of the Algerian Civil War (2002) to the Algerian Hirak Protest Movement (2019); and from the Algerian Hirak Movement to the present (2022). In this context, the postcolonial position of Algeria in French colonialism has been tried to be revealed through political discourses and current issues. Besides all this, writing this thesis means a lot to me because this year marks the 60th anniversary of the end of the Algerian War, which has a unique place in both Algerian and French history.

2. POSTCOLONIALISM

"Postcolonialism claims the right of all people on this earth to the same material and cultural well-being. The reality, though, is that the world today is a world of inequality, and much of the difference falls across the broad division between people of the west and those of the non-west."[14]

Robert J. Young

This chapter aims to provide a general introduction to the main arguments of postcolonial theory, its main issues and the views of the main representatives of the theory, and to focus on postcolonial concepts and issues. First of all, in order to understand Algeria and Algeria's relations with France, it is necessary to understand the concept of postcolonialism. Therefore, in this chapter, the concept of postcolonialism will be discussed first. Within the scope of the chapter, the thinkers and main views of postcolonial theory will be discussed later. Last section of the chapter, it will be focus on Algeria as postcolony.

2.1. Postcolonial thinkers and their main views

In fact, postcolonial theorists, like all critical theorists, aim to change and decolonise the classical Western thought in the "not-so-international discipline of International Relations",[15] thus liberating the discipline from hegemonic conceptualizations and discourses. It is very difficult to give an exact date for the emergence of postcolonialism, but most of those who speak of the theory have witnessed the work of Fanon's Black Skin, White Masks *(Peau Noire, Masques Blancs, 1952)* and The Damned of the Earth *(Les Damnés de la la Fanon). Terre, 1961)* begins with his works. [16] Fanon, the first figure that comes to mind when postcolonialism is mentioned, is one of the most important anti-colonial writers of the twentieth century, and his works are among the most fundamental works on colonization and its psychological dimension. While considering colonialism as an element

[14] **Young, Robert J.** (2003) Postcolonialism: A Very Short Introduction, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p.2.
[15] **Waever, Ole** (1998) 'The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations', International Organization, Vol.52, No.4, p. 687-727.
[16] **Hart, Jonathan / Goldie, Terry** Post-Colonial Theory: Makaryk, Irene Rima (Editor) (1993) Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory: Approaches, Scholars, Terms, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, p. 155-158.

of violence, Fanon focuses on the manifestation of violence not only physically but also spiritually on the colonized. [17]

The psychological effects of colonialism, both colonizers and colonized, were analyzed by Albert Memmi.[18] According to Memmi, it is not possible for the colonizers not to be aware of the illegitimacy of their own position, on the contrary, the colonizers reveal through their own actions that they are aware that their own welfare is actually based on the misery of those they have colonized.[19]

Aime Césaire, who is one of the important figures who, like Fanon, is from Martinique and has deeply influenced today's postcolonial writers with his views, argues that colonialism actually had a pseudo-humanism, that it uncivilized and literally brutalized the colonizers in his book *Discours sur le Colonialisme (1955)*, which later became one of the most fundamental works of postcolonial writing.[20]

Postcolonialism bases its main criticism on mental domination. For this reason, the thought of Orientalism put forward by Edward Said has an important place in post-colonial theory. Said focuses on the knowledge production process led by the West and discusses colonialism in more depth, arguing that exploitation is not purely economic and actually begins in this knowledge production process.[21] Said, who takes the end of the eighteenth century as the period of emergence of orientalism, also defines orientalism as "dominating, rebuilding and having authority over the East".[22] Researching how European culture gained strength and identity by defining itself against the East, he evaluates Orientalism as a discourse produced by many different elements of power, including political, intellectual, cultural and moral fields.

Edward Said, who was slightly different from Memmi, Césaire and Fanon, examined how the way the East was portrayed in the political-intellectual field by the Western world, or in the words of the author, was used to legitimize colonialist wishes, especially within the framework of various texts. Michael Foucault examined how certain concepts and discourses were dominated by certain segments of society in the historical process in some of his basic works such as *The History of Madness (1961)*, *The Birth of the Clinic (1963)* and *the Birth*

[17] **Fanon, Frantz** (1963) The Wretched of the Earth, New York, Grove Press, p. 37-42.
[18] **Memmi, Albert** (2003) The Colonizer and the Colonized, UK: Earthscan Publications Ltd, p. 17-18.
[19] Ibid.
[20] **Césaire, Aime** (1972) Discourse on Colonialism, London and New York , Monthly Review Press, p. 2-7.
[21] **Said**, p. 2- 12, 94.
[22] Ibid.

of the Prison (1975), and he inspired not only Said but also the majority of postcolonial writers with his thoughts in this field.

Said's book Orientalism, first published in 1978, is one of the most important works of postcolonial literature. In his groundbreaking book, Said, inspired by the works of Michel Foucault, examines the relationship between power and knowledge, and examines the relationship between West and East as a complex relationship of power, domination, and hegemony at varying levels. For this purpose, Said, who examined the literary works written by the Western world and the depiction of the East in these works, saw Michel Foucault's concept of "discourse" as very useful in this sense.[23]

Michel Foucault, on the other hand, goes to the root of knowledge by questioning the ground where knowledge and power meet with the "genealogy method" developed by Nietzsche's critique of lineage/roots, and argues that power and knowledge constantly produce hegemony by supporting each other.[24] According to Foucault, power and knowledge are articulated. According to him, it is not possible to exercise power without knowledge, and it is impossible for knowledge not to create power.[25] Then the information needs to be analyzed. At this point, textual strategies such as deconstruction and double reading, developed by Jacques Derrida to analyze meanings by criticizing the definition of concepts and words as definite and fixed in Western metaphysics, are used in the analysis and criticism of the texts, literature and knowledge produced by the West in post-colonial theory.[26]

Roxane Lynn Doty, in her study examining the USA-Kenya and England-Philippines relations as an example, argues that the discourses that determine the norms of international relations are built by imperialist powers based on hierarchical identity definitions. Definitions such as developed/underdeveloped, first world/second world, center/periphery, modern/traditional are examples of this.[27]

At this point, Subaltern studies in post-colonial literature try to explain the post-colonial society through the identity of the exploited. The concept of subaltern was developed by Antonio Gramsci to describe the masses, such as workers and peasant women,

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[23] Ibid.

[24] **Foucault, Michel** Nietzsche, Genealogy, History: Gibbons, Michael T. (editor) (1987) Interpreting Politics, Oxford, Blackwell, p. 221-240.

[25] **Foucault, Michel** Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977 : Gordon, Colin (editor) (1980) New York, Pantheon Books, p.52.

[26] **Derrida, Jacques** (1977) Limited Inc, St. Evanston, Northwestern University Press, p. 20-21.

[27] Roxane Lynn Doty, *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North/South Relations*, (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1996): 3-50.

who are a lower group than the proletariat in the classical Marxist sense, without any representation in society, that is, without a voice. The pioneers of the field Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak used the concept not for a homogeneous lower class, but for those at the lowest and lowest levels in society in terms of class, caste, age, gender etc. Spivak carries this state of inferiority beyond economic explanations and focuses on the subaltern which emerged as a result of the culture, knowledge and identity produced by the colonizer on the exploited, and the continued domination of the capitalist powers in the new period with the policies pursued on this class.[28] Therefore, exploitation continues in this way after colonialism.

In fact, in the period of independence movements experienced by the colonies after the Second World War, basic works on postcolonial literature began to be produced, but these studies were not evaluated under a theoretical framework like postcolonial theory at that time. The boom in postcolonial studies coincides with the period in the nineties, when critical approaches began to systematically challenge the existing classical thought in International Relations.

Certain concepts preferred in describing Periphery-East-South-Third World countries have resulted in academics from these countries developing new concepts, especially by citing the reason for using these concepts.[29] These concepts, which postcolonial writing examines the legacy of colonialism to the lives of colonial peoples and to the political, social, economic and cultural fields, have been thanks to writers such as Fanon, Césaire, Memmi and Said, who inspired postcolonial writers who came after them to put forward a terminology related to postcolonialism. Because, as in every theoretical field, it will not be possible to understand the main arguments of the theory without understanding the main concepts used by postcolonialism – the majority of these concepts are also related to the concept of colonialism.

The concepts of "subaltern" and "othering" among these concepts related to postcolonial literature were developed by the famous Indian writer Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. However, an important part of the new words used in the postcolonial literature was put forward by Homi K. Bhabba, who is of Indian origin like Spivak. Concepts such as

[28] **Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty** Can The Subaltern Speak?: Nelson, Cary / Grossberg, Larry (editors) (1988) Marxism and the interpretation of Culture, London, Macmillan, p. 271-313; **Guha, Ranajit** (1982) Subaltern Studies I: Writings on South Asian History and Society, New York, Oxford University.
[29] **Eyrice** (2013), 83.

"hybridity", "mimicry", "ambivalence" and "stereotype" are some of the concepts that Bhabba added to the terminology of postcolonialism.[30]

Subaltern, which is one of the concepts frequently used in postcolonial literature, is also one of the most misinterpreted concepts in the literature. The concept, which was first used to express lower ranks in the military sense, was used by the Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci to refer to "groups in society subject to the hegemony of the ruling class," [31] and after this usage it had a different meaning. Bhabba also uses the term subaltern not in a military sense, but in a way close to Gramsci's, as "oppressed minority groups whose existence is essential for the majority to define itself".[32]

Given these two definitions, Spivak's use of the term to draw attention to how the "Third World" is represented in Western discourse becomes even more meaningful. Spivak also thinks that the subjectivity of the subaltern is constrained by the discourses in which it is constructed as subaltern. Hence, "Can the subaltern speak?" [33] Spivak asks in her article of the same name. The question draws attention to the fact that the subaltern's position cannot be rigidly isolated from the discourses and institutional practices that "sound" to it.[34] The concept of "othering", another term frequently used in postcolonial literature, was used by Spivak to describe the process by which colonial powers created their own "others" through power-based discourses. This process is also a dialectical process, since the colonial other and the colonized others are produced as subjects at the same time.[35]

The way Bhabba examines the problem of the "other" is closely related to the concept of authority, similar to Spivak. While examining this issue from the perspective of postcolonial discourse, Bhabba states that the problematic portrayal of cultural and racial differences does not examine independently of the social authority produced by analyzes of class and gender differentiation.[36] In this sense, the concept of discourse has a very important

[30] **Bhabba, Homi K.** (1994) The Location of Culture, London and New York, Routledge.
[31] **Ashcroft**, p. 215.
[32] **Bhabba, Homi K.** Unpacking my Library…Again: Chambers, Iain / Curti, Lidia (editors) (1996) The Postcolonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons, London and New York, Routledge, p. 209-210.
[33] **Spivak**, op.cit.
[34] **Ashcroft**, op.cit., 215.
[35] **Ashcroft**, op.cit., 171- 172.
[36] **Bhabba, Homi K.** (1996) The Other Question: Difference, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism: Baker, Houston / Diawara, A. Manthia / Lindeborg, Ruth H. (editors) (1996) Black British Cultural Studies: a Reader, Chicago, University of Chicago, p. 97.

place in Spivak's analyzes as it is the main tool created by the West through a subaltern, continuous process of construction and historical silencing.[37]

However, according to Spivak, even the concept of "subaltern" is a consciously created concept and "not subordinate for reasons of being postcolonial or being a member of an ethnic minority. The word subaltern is actually used within the heterogeneity of the decolonized area.[38] As Robert Young points out, what Spivak actually does is to reveal how an object is constructed in a certain way, which has no existence or reality other than the way it is represented. Especially opposing historical narratives written from a single perspective and with the colonialist's point of view and assumptions, Spivak's aim is to try to write history accurately, instead of this kind of historiography.[39]

According to Bhabba, colonial discourse is dependent on the concept of "fixity" while constructing its "other". The "ambiguity" process, which is at the center of the concept of "stereotype" used in the creation of the "other", also constitutes one of the most important strategies of the discriminatory power of the colonialist discourse.[40] The reason why the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized is ambiguous in Bhabba's analysis is that the colonized never fully opposes the colonizer. Ambiguity is, in fact, an undesirable aspect of colonial discourse for the colonist, since the states of consent and resistance are variably present in the colonial subject. Moreover, while colonial discourse seeks to raise individuals who "mimic" the colonizer, ambiguous subjects emerge that cannot go beyond being ridiculous imitations. The concept of "mimicry", which expresses the ambiguous relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, is actually one of the most effective and incomprehensible strategies of colonial power and knowledge, but the concept itself damages the certainty of colonial domination because it cannot direct the behavior of the colonized as desired.[41]

Dipesh Chakrabarty is one of the most devoted contemporary postcolonial writers on historiography. Chakrabarty, who explores the ways in which postcolonial discourse influences historiography, criticizes not only Western writers but also subaltern writers for not representing themselves well enough. Chakrabarty, who is also of Indian origin, blames Indian historians in particular, while criticizing postcolonialists for failing to write their own

[37] **Spivak**, op.cit., 271-275.
[38] **Spivak**, op.cit., 310.
[39] **Young, Robert J.** (2004) White Mythologies, London and New York, Routledge, p. 200-201.
[40] **Bhabba, Homi K.** (1994) The Location of Culture, London and New York, Routledge, p. 85.
[41] **Ashcroft**, op.cit., 12-13, 139.

history. He thinks that while there are so many studies on the history of Europe, the histories of the regions outside of Europe, including India, remain in a "subalternative" state, and that even Third World historians themselves feel obliged to make references to European history when writing their own history.[42]

According to Chakrabarty, the history of other regions is seen among the variations of "European history". According to Chakrabarty, who deals with this privileged position and theoretical superiority of European history in the history of the whole world, and the neglect of the history of the Third World in this way, in relation to the way in which historical knowledge is produced, this is true not only for the discipline of history, but for all literary studies.[43]

Because the close relationship between power and knowledge production, or rather the production of knowledge in a certain way, constituted one of the most important tools that made the spread of colonialism possible. At the same time, the belief that the colonial peoples, who learned the language and history of the colonizer instead of their own history and language, did not have a history worth examining before the start of colonialism, was an understanding that was tried to be dominated in the colonies. This is closely related to the fact that, in a hierarchical world, as Sankaran Krishna points out, some discourses dominate the discourses of others, which are destined to become "peoples left without history".[44]

Even at this point, Jean Paul Sartre gave a very appropriate example of this situation. In the foreword of the book, Sartre quite nicely presents the "self-rejecting colonizers" and "self-accepting colonizers" experienced by Memmi, who is a member of a non-Muslim family from Tunisia. Because, as Sartre pointed out, Memmi has a slightly more privileged position than most of the colonized Tunisians, due to his non-Muslim status, but still he was not fully accepted by the colonialists. Thus, to the question of who Memmi really is, Sartre replied, "neither the colonizer nor the colonized" or "both".[45]

Most of the works produced by postcolonial writers today refer to the works of writers such as Fanon, Césaire and Memmi, who lived in the colonies that started to gain

[42] **Chakrabarty, Dipesh** (1992) 'Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for 'Indian' Pasts?', Representations,Vol. 37, p. 1- 26.
[43] **Chakrabarty, Dipesh** (2000) Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference, Princeton, Princeton University Press, p. 27.
[44] **Krishna, Sankaran** (1993) 'The Importance of Being Ironic: A Postcolonial View on Critical International Relations Theory', Alternatives: Global, Local, Political, Vol. 18, No.3, p. 407.
[45] **Sartre, Jean Paul** 'Introduction': Memmi, Albert (Editor) (2003), The Colonizer and the Colonized, UK, Earthscan Publications Ltd, p. 17-25.

their independence one by one after the Second World War or were influenced by the colonial period. In this sense, these authors, who contributed significantly to the development of postcolonial theory, also revealed the basic assumptions of the theory and laid the foundations of postcolonial terminology. According to postcolonial thinkers, the way the colonial peoples are portrayed, especially in the literature, plays a decisive role in the quality of their relations with other societies.

2.2. Postcolonialist approach to International Relations

Postcolonialism was included in the discipline of international relations as a theoretical approach in the 1990s which is also the subject of study in many other social science fields. Although the starting point is literary and cultural studies, the common point of postcolonial approaches, which is also the subject of study in many other social science fields, is that they look for the problems faced by post-colonial societies in the asymmetrical relationship established with the colonial West.[46] Postcolonialism has criticized traditional International Relations discipline and theories, accusing them of being Western-centred and ignoring the world with a colonial past. [47]

Despite the paramount place of so-called traditional theories, i.e. in the IR literature, new approaches and theories that bring different perspectives to understanding the world system have begun to gain strength. Postcolonialism has become a theory that gradually proves itself in the field with the explanations it brings to the issues that the main currents such as realism and liberalism are insufficient. The effects of the theory on the discipline of international relations emerged in the post-Cold War period, at a time we can say close to the present time. As issues such as nation and nationalism, human movements between borders, cultural chauvinism, culture-imperialism are connected with world politics, postcolonialism has emerged as a different research topic.[48]

Postcolonialism focuses mainly on the transformation of identity and culture experienced by decolonised nations. The theory opposes the presupposition that the Western

[46] **Bölme, Selin M. / Çavuşoğlu, Esra** (2020) 'Yeni İngiliz Kolonyalizmi: Çekilme Sonrası İngiltere'nin Basra Körfezi'ndeki Nüfuz Politikası (1971-1991)', Uluslararası İlişkiler, Vol:17, No: 65, p. 49.
[47] **Balcı, Ali** 'Post-Kolonyalizm' : Kardaş, Şaban / Balcı, Ali (Editors) (2014) Uluslararası İlişkilere Giriş, 1st ed., İstanbul, Küre Yayınları, p. 257.
[48] **Smith, Steve / Owens, Patricia** 'Alternative Approaches to International Theory': Baylis, John / Smith, Steve (Editors) (2008) The Globalization of World Politics, Third Ed., New York, Oxford University Press, p.288.

way of perceiving the world is superior and that Western morality and law have the most advanced forms.[49] According to the theory, the West's showing itself to be so developed undoubtedly lays the groundwork for the neo-colonial actions it will undertake. For example, the Eastern (or Southern) world, which is thought to have become free and independent with the decolonization process, is still exposed to the cultural, political, military and economic interventions of the West.

Later, the term postcolonialism came to be used to describe the "Third World" [50] in the 1980s. With the emergence of some crises of the Third World and the rising anti-colonial sentiments, postcolonialism began to have a wider meaning because the Western world continued to rule with reason and cunning even though it actually withdrew from some regions.[51] The main claim of postcolonialism is that although the physical occupation has ended, the occupation of the minds of the exploited societies continues because of the colonization of minds, identities and culture.[52] Thus, colonialism continues in new forms without direct military and political control.[53]

Postcolonialism argues that there is not even a piece of land on earth that has not been colonized or subjected to the process of neocolonialism.[54] Kwame Nkrumah, the first President of independent Ghana, who used the concept of neo-colonialism for the first time in 1961 and made a significant impact, defines de-colonization as a new mask of European imperialism, especially Britain.[55] According to David Chiani Moore, all human beings were shaped, migrated, disappeared at some time in history; countries have occupied or their own countries have been occupied. There have been many causes of displacement and loss or gain of the self, so there is a postcolonial nature in all cultures.[56]

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[49] **Grovoqui, Siba N.** 'Postcolonialism': Dunne, Tim / Kurki, Milja / Smith, Steve (Editors) (2007) International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity, New York, Oxford University Press, p.231.
[50] Third World, former political designation originally used (1952) to describe those states not part of the first world—the capitalist, economically developed states led by the U.S.—or the second world—the communist states led by the Soviet Union. When the term was introduced, the Third World principally consisted of the developing world, the former colonies of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.
[51] **Xie, Shaoboo** (1997) 'Rethinking the Problem of Postcolonialism', New Literary History, Vol. 28, No.1, p.10.
[52] Ibid.
[53] **Nandy, Ashish** (1980) The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism, New Delhi, OUP, p. xi; **Chibber, Vivek** (2016) Post-Kolonyal Teori ve Kapitalizmin Hayaleti, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, p.13-18; **Loomba, Anie** (2005) Colonialism/postcolonialism, London, Routledge, p. 12-14.
[54] **Moore, David Chiani** 'Is the Post- in Pstcolonial the Past- in Post-Soviet?:Toward a Global Postcolonial Critique': Kelertas, Violeta (Editor) (2006), Baltic Postcolonialism, New York, Radopi, p.22.
[55] **Nkrumah, Kwame** (1965) Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism, London, Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd, p. ix - 31.
[56] **Moore**, op.cit.

Since the early 1980s, postcolonialism has been trying to make sense of the relationships between western and non-western people and their worlds.[57] This means that even if they live in the same time period, there is a gap, so to speak, between the ways of living and perceiving life of western and non-western people. This gap between Western and non-Western world became sharper with the spread of European colonialism.

Colonialism and imperialism have legitimated the idea that colonized peoples are inferior to Westerners and cannot govern themselves. To put it in a general way, Western culture was accepted as the basis of the idea of civilization in fields such as law, economy, science, language, music, art, literature.[58] Postcolonialism reveals and challenges this inequality and aims to perpetuate anti-colonial struggles of the past in a new form.[59] While doing this, it does not only focus on the political and economic struggle, but also opposes the cultural hegemony of the West.

According to Robert Young, postcolonialism is not essentially a theory in the scientific sense, it is a consistently detailed set of principles that can predict the outcome of a particular set of phenomena.[60] In particular, it includes issues related to the position of women, development, ecology, social justice, socialism in the broadest sense. It aims to produce a more just and egalitarian relationship between Western and non-Western societies.

As in other theoretical fields, postcolonialism is not homogeneous in its focus, although those who study the theory have many common arguments. For example, none of the subjects such as slavery, immigration, oppression, resistance, difference and discrimination that constitute the content of the concept of postcolonial are actually the subjects of the post-colonial period, but together they constitute the complex structure of the field.[61] In this sense, the concept of postcolonial means both the material effects of colonialism and the various and sometimes covert reactions to it.[62] For this reason, as in all fields, postcolonialism has come to mean many things over time.

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[57] **Young, Robert J.** (2003) Postcolonialism: A Very Short Introduction, New York, Oxford University Press, p.2.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] **Ashcroft, Bill** / **Griffiths, Gareth** / **Tiffin, Helen** (2003) The Post-Colonial Studies Reader, USA and Canada, Routledge, p. 2-7.
[62] **Eyrice, Elem** (2013) 'Postkolonyal Kuram Uluslararası İlişkiler Disiplinini Kolonize Etmek', Ege Stratejik Araştırmalar Dergisi, Vol. 4, No. 2, p.81.

The heterogeneity of postcolonialism, which has emerged more as a cultural theory, and the extensive fields of study that provide theorization of postcolonial writing are proof that the task undertaken by the theory is not an easy one.[63] The impact of the colonial period on colonial societies, which is one of the most important areas of discussion covered by postcolonial studies, the foundations of authority in this period and imperial domination have been discussed by postcolonial theorists about the unequal relationship between colonies and former colonial powers. It is considered very essential in terms of revealing its nature.

In fact, the concept of postcolonialism essentially refers to the period when the colonies gained their independence. But this usage is also quite deceptive. Because, as it is known, the concept of "post" is used to indicate the end of a phenomenon or situation in its simplest sense. This situation led to the emergence of the concept of neo-colonialism (new colonialism). According to Ania Loomba, "It is premature to say post before the inequalities and damage of colonialism are erased."[64] The concept of neo-colonialism claims that imperialism continues in new modern forms in the post-imperial period and that this is decisive in international relations.[65] For ex-colonial countries, this means that colonialism has disappeared with all its tools that the phenomenon of colonialism is just an illusion for the former colonies in Asia and Africa, and that colonialism is also called neo-colonialism without direct political control in these countries. It is thought to continue under such names.

One of the main assumptions of postcolonialism is that even after the military occupation has ended, the colonialist maintains its dominance in the political, cultural and economic spheres. Moreover, the independence gained in the political arena and international recognition did not help to solve the current problems of these states, as is supposed, on the contrary, it is a very common view in postcolonial literature that new types of dominance areas are created over these countries. [66] Therefore, the existing literature on this subject tends to take the concept of postcolonialism to encompass all the unequal and dominance-oriented policies implemented in the (former) colonies from the beginning of colonialism to the present day. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's statement that "we live in a

[63] Ibid.
[64] **Loomba, Ania** (2015) Colonialism/postcolonialism, London, Routledge, p. 12.
[65] **Young**, op.cit.
[66] **Eyrice** (2013), 81.

postcolonial recolonized world" points to this irony in the use of concepts such as "postcolonial" or "post-colonial". [67]

For this reason, postcolonialism makes its criticisms over the West and Western thought, approaches Western-centered and originated actions with suspicion, and looks for the colonial legacy left behind by the West on the basis of the problems of the states that came out of the colonization process but could not be fully sovereign and independent. The words of Gabon President Gabriel Léon M'ba in Paris in 1961, where he went on an official visit, are also revealing of this situation: "Gabon is an independent country, but nothing has changed between Gabon and France, the status quo remains." [68]

Even in the decolonization process, imperialism has an effect. The Western world instills the idea that even the nations that have won their freedom are created by imperialism, that they do not fully understand imperialism, which benefits all peoples in the world.[69] Modernization and development were identified with the West and the necessity of going through the stages drawn by the West for real development was put before the newly independent countries, where the last stage was to reach the level of the Western world.[70]

In fact, colonized peoples engaged in many active and passive resistance during the colonial rule. However, towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the resistance turned became stable political movements. The colonized peoples of many parts of the world, such as Asia, Africa, Latin America, engaged in a long struggle against colonial rule and achieved a final victory. At the end of the independence struggle, many countries embarked on the path of becoming a nation-state, but this represented a transition from "colonial rule and domination to a position not so much of independence as of being in-dependence."[71] It is noteworthy that, despite the end of colonialism, the major world powers did not change significantly throughout the 20th century.[72] Moreover, countries such as Afghanistan, Cuba, Iraq, and Iran that politically positioned themselves

[67] **Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty** (1999) A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, Harvard University Press, p.7.
[68] **Sullivan, Trey** (2022) 'The World's Newest Republic: Barbados's Journey Towards Independence | PRE x Culture', Harvard Political Review, <https://harvardpolitics.com/the-newest-republic/>, accessed on 21.08.2022.
[69] **Said, Edward W.** (1979) Orientalism, New York, Vintage Books, p. 35.
[70] **Rostow, Walt Whiteman** (1960) The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
[71] **Young**, op.cit.
[72] Ibid.

against Western control after independence were subject to Western military interventions.[73] However, their struggle against their former colonizers still remains an outstanding success.

2.3. Algeria as postcolony

Political, military and economic relations alone are insufficient to explain how France continued its dominance in the region after the withdrawal from Algeria. The most fundamental area in the transformation of French colonial ties into post-colonial forms has been culture. At this point, the concept of hegemony[74] in the critical school provides a broad conceptual framework for explaining the hegemonic positions and relations that continue in the neo-colonial period in post-colonial theory. Said treats hegemony as a part of the much wider concept of culture. According to Said, all kinds of ideas, thoughts, institutions, etc. that are dominant and effective on the other party define hegemony, that in fact, Western hegemony was formed within this cultural field, which also includes politics.[75]

According to Fanon, colonialism does not only lead to economic, political and military weakness in the colonized, it also brings about a psychological weakening at the same rate. Fanon also mentions this in arguably his most famous work, The Wretched of the World. However, the most important ones are Fanon's writings on violence and Sartre's preface to the book, Fanon's further radicalization of these thoughts. The following words of Sartre summarize the issue:

> For in the first days of the revolt you must kill: to shoot down a European is to kill two birds with one stone, to destroy an oppressor and the man he oppresses at the same time: there remain a dead man, and a free man; the survivor, for the first time, feels a national soil under his foot.[76]

[73] Ibid.
[74] Hegemony, which was originally a term referring to the dominance of a state in a region, today generally means domination by consent. The concept was coined in the 1930s by the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, who investigated why the ruling class was so successful in promoting its own interests in society. Fundamentally, hegemony is the power of the ruling class to persuade other classes that their interests are in the interests of all. For this reason, it is implemented not by domination, but by persuasion through state apparatuses such as education and media that present the interests of the ruling class as a common interest. (see for detail: **Mambrol, Nasrullah** (2017) Hegemony, Literary Theory and Criticism, <https://literariness.org/2017/10/10/hegemony/>, accessed on 17.08.2012.
[75] **Said**, p. 7-14.
[76] Taken from the foreword of Frantz Fanon's "The Wretched of the World".

These words undoubtedly aroused horror in the French public, so to speak, and made France's most famous philosopher almost "persona non grata".[77] As many observers emphasized, these words preceded Fanon's thoughts on violence and perhaps served to misunderstand him. Because in Sartre, anti-colonial violence almost seems to have turned into an end in itself; whereas in Fanon it is a tool and only a point on the way to salvation. At least in the case of Algeria, it is a necessary and surmountable moment.[78]

Fanon's analyzes of revolutionary classes are also controversial, especially among Marxists.[79] According to Fanon, it is mainly the peasants and the lumpenproletariat[80] who will join the revolution unconditionally. In the early stages of the revolution, the Algerian colonial intellectuals and labor aristocracy viewed these groups with suspicion. Yet the peasants and lumpen, who took no part in the colonial system, only exploited and dispossessed, have nothing to lose. Militants and revolutionary intellectuals receive the greatest support from peasants in the countryside, and lumpens in the city (the unemployed, pimps, prostitutes, thieves, even juvenile delinquents) who have been dispossessed and forced to migrate to the city. In particular, the lumpens can also be used by the colonialist against the revolution if they are not included in the revolution.[81]

The colonial intellectual goes through three basic stages. The first is the assimilation stage. In other words, it is the stage of trying to resemble and resemble the colonizer. Unless they resemble; rather, unless it is accepted by the person that it resembles, it reacts and, in the second stage, is caught up in cultural self-reflection movements such as négritude. Over time, Fanon began to react to the cultural essentialism of négritude. He doubted the sophistication and humanism of pre-colonial culture. In addition, the fact that Cesaire, one of the ideas of négritude, began to advocate full integration with France and welcomed the French Minister of Culture André Malraux with displays of affection in Martinique, aroused anger in Fanon. For Fanon, national culture was, or at least should have been, a dynamic, changeable culture created by action within the revolution, not an essence from the past. This

[77] **Ünlü, Barış** (2011) 'Frantz Fanon: Ezilenlerin ve Mülksüzlerin Düşünürü', Ankara Üniversitesi Afrika Çalışmaları Dergisi, Vol.1, No.1, p. 11.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid, 28.
[80] The lumpenproletariat is a class within the peasant masses that is the absolute lowest rung of the social strata. They are the criminals, the unemployed, the prostitutes, and the juvenile delinquents, and they represent a serious security threat to society. They are also "the most spontaneously and radically revolutionary forces of a colonized people," and Fanon refers to them as the "urban spearhead" of the liberation struggle. They are crucial in the fight for independence, and Fanon believes that any national liberation movement would do well to utilize them their advantage.
[81] See for details: The Wretched of the Earth, 113-115; 128; 131-132-137.

is the third stage that the intellectual goes through. He took action from reaction and started to become a real intellectual by fighting with the people.[82]

The struggle itself is the most important factor in the formation of national consciousness, or national awareness. "National consciousness without nationalism" may be an outcome of the spontaneous struggle, but intellectuals have an important task here. It is the duty of the intellectual to theorize the spontaneity, the culture that changes and transforms spontaneously in the struggle, to generate ideas and to warn so that the post-colonial society is not subject to neo-colonial and auto-colonial relations of dependency (meaning the colonization of the society by those who come out of the revolution, not outside forces) again.

Just as Fanon shook French intellectual life especially through Sartre, he also deeply influenced post-colonial studies in the Anglophone academy with the leadership of Edward Said. Said finds Fanon extraordinarily impressive for more than one reason. I think the most important of these is Fanon's way of thinking and writing. According to Said, Fanon realized his transformation by knowing himself, by reflecting on himself, by taking an inventory of the effects he had created (knowing thyself). Said seems to have drawn an important similarity between himself and Fanon. As it is known, Said also lived intensely in the Middle East and North Africa, where he spent his childhood, identity issues and dilemmas in his own life. Factors such as the British imperial education he received, the prohibition of Arabic in the schools he attended, and the insistence of students on speaking Arabic as a method of resistance were undoubtedly vital in his future emergence as the chief critic of Orientalism.[83] According to Said, "imperialism is the export of identity." Like Fanon's "negro", Said's "oriental" is a colonial structure.[84]

Pal Ahluwalia has shown that there is a critical "Algerian connection" in the biographies of thinkers who have subjected the enlightenment, humanism and modernity to a destructive criticism since the 1960s in France. Among the thinkers he dealt with are Fanon, Sartre, Derrida, Foucault, Bourdieu and Lyotard. In Algeria in particular and in the North African colonial experience in general, these thinkers were shaken by the huge gap between the French idea of enlightenment and colonial reality. There are French Algerians, such as

[82] See for details: The Wretched of the Earth, 216-217.
[83] **Said, Edward** (2007) Yersiz Yurtsuz, (translated by Aylin Ülçer), İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
[84] **Courville, Mathieu** (2007) 'Geneologies of Postcolonialism: A Slight Return from Said and Foucault back to Fanon and Sartre', Studies in Religion, Vol. 36, No. 2, p. 215-240.

Albert Camus, who argue that this gap is a contradiction and can be corrected. However, radical criticism has come from those who claim that the abyss is not a contradiction but, on the contrary, the direct and logical consequence of what is called European civilization. These interesting Algerian and Fanon connections lie behind Pal Ahluwalia's claim that movements such as post-structuralism and post-modernism, which criticize European universalism, humanism, and grand narratives, originated in North Africa.[85]

If I turn our projection to the example of Algeria, we see a country that is trying to be frenchified with its language, culture and lifestyle during the colonial period. France exerted pressure to destroy the identity and culture of the Algerian people and to make the French language dominant instead of Arabic and Berber. This situation created a big problem in the formation of Algerian national identity after independence. "Is the country's national identity Arab, Islamic, Berber or, Mediterranean as some politicians would have?" [86] Algeria may be all of these, but more than 60 years have passed since the departure of the French colonialists who imposed its own language and culture, the country is still struggling to build its national identity.

The orientation of the local bourgeoisie, which emerged from the post-colonial societies to the West in an effort to modernize, was an important advantage for the resumption of colonial relations, which the colonialist had officially ended. At this point, although the nationalist discourse of a society that has achieved to become a nation-state seems quite hot in itself, it has not been able to dissolve its dependence on the West. A good example is that Algeria's first president, Ahmed Ben Bella, in a post-independence speech, emphasized the importance of teaching Arabic in schools in order to destroy France's colonial legacy, while speaking in French while doing so. With its nation-state connection, the former colonialist continued to administer the lost lands within the framework of neo-colonial relations. "European imperialism and third world nationalisms together have universalized the nation-state as the most desirable form of political community".[87]

Despite the end of France's dominance in Algeria, one of the most important factors enabling it to maintain its influence is the cultural ties it has established with the region. When Frantz Fanon realized that it was impossible for the colonial bourgeoisie to maintain

[85] **Ahluwalia, Pal** (2010) Out of Africa: Post-Structuralism's Colonial Roots, London, Routledge.
[86] The Economist, Identity Crisis, <https://www.economist.com/international/1998/07/09/identity-crisis>, accessed on 12.02.2021.
[87] **Chakrabarty**, p. 87.

its dominance in the colonial countries, he said that he decided to continue a back-front struggle in areas such as culture, values and techniques.[88] At this point, French has a privileged place in terms of ensuring continuity. In fact, although Algeria is not a Francophone country, Algeria the second most spoken country in French.

One of the most important elements in maintaining the cultural hegemony has been education. A large number of students in Algeria are victims of language policies because after studying Arabic in primary and secondary school, all scientific specialties at the university are taught in French.[89] As if this duality in education was not enough, Algerian Minister of Higher Education Tayeb Bouzid made a controversial decision in 2019 to erase the traces of the colonial legacy. He said, "The French language gets us nowhere" and instructed university administrations in the country to use English instead of French.[90] This is a step towards replacing French as the dominant foreign language in Algeria with English but divided the experts into two. One party argues that since English is the language of international science, for Algeria's scientific activities to be more visible, the language of education should be English, like many other countries. The other party thinks that this transformation will drive the education system into a disaster. While there is currently no consensus on which of the six dialects of the Amazigh/Berber language, which was accepted as the official language in 2016, will be taught in schools, the emergence of a fourth language, after Darja (Algerian Arabic), French and Amazigh, makes things even more complicated.

When we look at the subjects examined in postcolonial studies in general; first of all, it was about the gap between the subaltern and the local elite as a result of the imperialist relationship of the new political system that emerged after colonialism with the West. The second is the examination of the identity crisis on the indigenous people as a result of the assimilation practices of the colonizer. The limitations that occurred in the native people's language and memory as a result of the benefits of assimilation pushed the native people into the transformation process that occurred in their social practices such as speaking and dressing like a Westerner. Indigenous people find the way to prove themselves by being like a Westerner. The resulting "imitation" and its interactions constitute one of the main

[88] **Fanon**, p. 50.
[89] **Chaif, Rim Hayat** Al Fanar Media, Algerian Students Are Victims of the Country's Language Confusion, <https://bit.ly/2ZU9SUX>, accessed on 27.11.2020.
[90] **Ghanmi, Lamine** The Arab Weekly, Algeria Seeks to Replace French with English at University, Sparks Language War, <https://thearabweekly.com/algeria-seeks-replace-french-english-university-sparks-language-war>, accessed on 17.11.2020.

arguments examined in postcolonial studies.[91] For Memmi, the way for the colonized to purify himself from this imitation and to discover himself passes through the "rejection of the colonizer".[92] This concept continues to be discussed in postcolonial studies due to dependency relations in both economic and cultural sense.

Besides all this, back to the past is an important feature in postcolonial studies in many ways. Under this turn made by the colonial intellectual, they needed to rediscover their own culture, since "there is little to brag about in the current barbaric situations",[93] and in this direction, the return to pre-colonialism stood at a very important place. In this way, they would be able to continue to live their lost culture and identity as they did when they did not come to their colonial lands. In this context, memory was the basic building block of postcolonial studies. Many studies on the extent to which the people, who were consciously tried to be destroyed during colonialism and started to lose their language and culture as a result of the strategies to make them forget, regain their past in the postcolonial period, and whether what they gained is really their own past constitute an important part of the postcolonial literature. When we look at postcolonial Algeria today, it represents the concrete form of many concepts in the postcolonial literature.

[91] **Erdoğan, İrfan** / **Alemdar, Korkmaz** (2010) Öteki Kuram: Kitle İletişim Kuram ve Araştırmalarının Tarihsel ve Eleştirel Bir Değerlendirmesi, İstanbul, Erk Yayınları, p. 409.
[92] **Memmi**, p. 133.
[93] **Fanon**, p. 205.

3. FRENCH COLONY IN ALGERIA

"We did not know what Africa was, Europeans despised everything about Africa, and in France people spoke of a civilised world and a barbarian world. The barbarian world was Africa, and the civilised world was Europe. Therefore the best one could do with an African was to assimilate him: the ideal was to turn him into a Frenchman with a black skin." [94]

Aime Cesaire

This chapter aims to analyze the period between the colonization of Algeria by France and the independence of Algeria from a historical perspective. While doing this, firstly, the subtext of France's motivation to colonize North Africa and Algeria in particular will be mentioned. Later, the occupation of Algeria and the local resistance movements will be mentioned. In the most important sub-title of the chapter, it will be tried to explain how the French colonial practices were applied in Algeria and what kind of results they caused. At the end of the chapter, the Algerian War of Independence will be mentioned.

3.1. French Colonization in North Africa

North Africa was originally the homeland of the Berbers. With the arrival of Islam in these lands at the end of the Arab conquests in the 7th century, Berber and Arab cultures were blended. Between the eighth and ninth centuries, a number of Muslim-Berber dynasties ruled in the Maghreb. By the mid-16th century, however, most of the Maghreb, with the exception of Morocco, fell under Ottoman rule and remained part of the Ottoman Empire until the 19th century.

The French Empire vast large territories to its empire in the 30 years after 1815, and the first clear sign of a resurgence of French colonialism came from North Africa.[95] This region was vulnerable to the invasion of colonial countries due to the weakening of the Ottoman sovereignty, and therefore France's interest in the region was not surprising. The driving force of this interest was Napoleon Bonaparte's landing in Egypt in 1798 and France's playing an important role in the Levant trade in the 18th century.[96] Morever, France, which

[94] **Cesaire, Aime** (2001) Discourse on Colonialism, New York, NYU Press, p. 88.
[95] **Roberts, John Morris** (2017) Avrupa Tarihi, (translated by Fethi Aytuna), İstanbul, İnkılap, p. 517.
[96] Ibid.

regressed against Britain, which gained dominance and superiority in the open seas at the end of the 1820s, would have a say in the Mediterranean by seizing Algeria and gain a stronger position against England in the colonial race.

French journalist Prévost-Paradol, in his book published in 1868, explained that the colonization of North Africa was an important opportunity for the French Empire:

> May that day soon come, when our fellow-citizens, crowded in our French Africa, will overflow into Morocco and Tunis, and will establish finally that Mediterranean empire that will be not only a satisfaction for our pride, but will also certainly be in the future development of the world, the last resource of our grandeur. [97]

He pointed out that as France was steadily losing power in Europe and the spread of English-speaking peoples to many parts of the world, in order to maintain France's influence and power, France must do everything in its power to colonize Algeria with French-speaking people.[98] At that time, there were many people who thought like Prévost-Paradol. On the other hand, ways to legitimize colonialism were sought by putting forward the mission of civilization. Jules Ferry, who served as the Prime Minister of France for two terms, used the following words in a speech in the parliament held on March 28, 1885:

> "It must be stated openly that, in effect, superior races have rights over inferior races. I repeat that superior races have a right, because they have a duty. They have the duty to civilize inferior races…" [99]

France began colonizing North Africa with the conquest of Algeria in 1830. France thought that they could easily invade Algeria, but faced an unexpected resistance in the country. Moreover, France faced not only Algerians but also the army of the Sultan of Morocco. However, despite all these resistance, France had seized a large part of Algeria till 1870. After the occupation of Algeria, France turned its face to Tunisia. Tunisia had agreed to come under the financial control of the Anglo-French-Italian joint administration after its government declared bankruptcy in 1869. While the Bey of Tunis continued to remain under

[97] **Prévost-Paradol, Lucien-Anatole** (1868) La France Nouvelle, Paris, Michel Levy, Freres, p. 415, as cited in **Balch, Thomas Willing** (1909) 'French Colonization in North Africa', The American Political Science Review, Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 540.
[98] **Balch, Thomas Willing** (1909) 'French Colonization in North Africa', The American Political Science Review, Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 540.
[99] **Ferry, Jules** (1884) 'Speech Before the French Chamber of Deputies' as cited in **Robiquet, Paul** (1897) Discours et Opinions de Jules Ferry, Paris, Armand Colin & Cie, p. 215.

the rule of the Ottoman sultan, the colonial countries were arguing about concessions to be made to their own citizens.

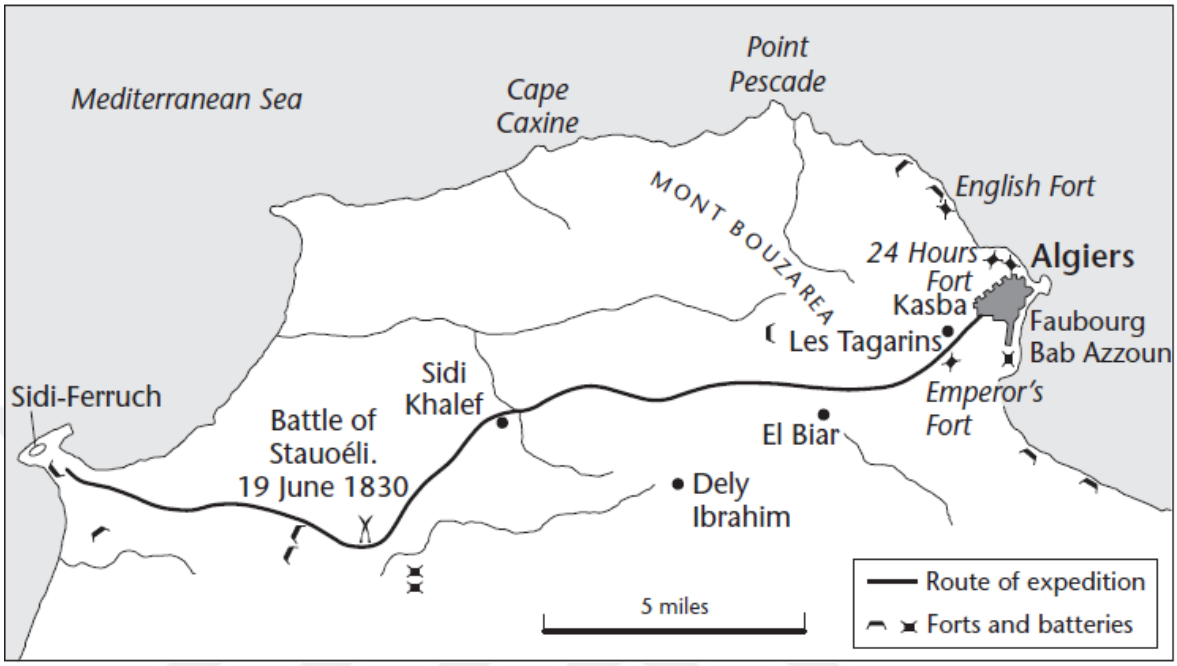


Figure 3.1. 1830: The Conquest of Algiers (Source: Evans, 2012)

While these debates were taking place, France invaded Tunisia on the pretext that the Tunisians violated the Algerian border, and the Bey[100] of Tunis accepted France's patronage in 1881. European immigrants started to flock to these two countries, which were once under Ottoman suzerainty, and a population of European residents has emerged in several cities.[101] Unlike the British colonial model of association, which pragmatically preserved pre-existing local power structures and did not interfere with the social organization of the dominated territories, the French empire was based on the assimilationist model. French colonial administration taught the "subjects that, by adopting French language and culture, they could eventually become French."[102] This complicated the colonial history of France.

[100] The Bey was leading officer who supervised the internal administration and the collection of taxes.
[101] **Roberts**, p. 517-518.
[102] Nigerian Scholars, French Colonial Assimilation, < https://nigerianscholars.com/tutorials/west-african-colonial-administration/french-colonial-assimilation/>, accessed on 10.07.2021.

3.2. French Colonization of Algeria

Having entered the Ottoman rule in the 16th century, Algeria has always been considerably autonomous in comparison to other Ottoman dominions such as Egypt and Syria due to the Ottoman Empire's lack of a strong navy after the 17th century.[103] Until the end of the 19th century, the autonomy of local rulers was enormous, not only because of the autonomy granted to the provinces by the traditional Ottoman administration, but also because direct control of the Empire's vast territories from the center was not possible.[104] Algeria was also not easily accessible from the center, so it remained under the loose control of the Porte.[105]

Looking at the political context of the 19th century, we can say that Algeria was *de facto* independent country, although it remained ostensibly subject to the Ottoman rule. Moreover, the Algeria-France relations of that period are proof of this. France had a maritime trade base and consulate in Algeria. Algerian Deys[106] affiliated with the Ottoman Empire acted as an independent government, especially in commercial agreements.

France had been receiving its wheat needs from Algeria after 1792 and the shipments were made by French ships. After a while, Algeria's Jewish merchants complained that France did not pay the money and interest for the wheat purchased for a long time. On April 29, 1827, Hussein Dey,[107] the Ottoman governor of Algiers, had a meeting with the French Consul Pierre Deval, but could not get a satisfactory answer. Thereupon, Hussein Dey hit the face of Pierre Deval with the fly whisk. France demanded an official apology from Hussein Dey for the Fly Whisk Incident, but he did not. There were many reasons for France's occupation of Algeria, but the Fly Whisk Incident was cited as the apparent cause. Citing this incident as a reason, on June 16, 1827, France launched a comprehensive siege against Algeria that would last for three years. After a three-year siege, Algeria was occupied on July 5, 1830. Thus began the period of French colonialism that would last 132 years in Algeria.

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[103] **Brockelmann, Carl** (1992) İslam Ulusları ve Devletleri Tarihi, (translated by Neşet Çağatay), Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, p. 328.
[104] **Balcı, Ali** (2020) 'Algeria in declining ottoman hierarchy: Why Algiers remained loyal to the falling patron', Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Vol. 35, No.3, p. 6.
[105] Ibid.
[106] The Dey was the title of the rulers who were appointed as the Regency of Algiers, Tripoli and Tunis from 1671 during the Ottoman period.
[107] The Regency of Algiers was governed by the rulers called "Beylerbeys (1517-1576)", "Pasha (1576-1659)", "Aghas (1659-1671)" and "Deys (1671-1830)" during the Ottoman period. He was the last Dey of Algeria.

According to Andre Raymond, France was actually not very willing to colonize Algeria, but rather intended to convert a victory in Algeria into a victory in domestic politics, but it would be seen that the victory could not save the monarchy. [108] On the other hand, if France had occupied Algeria reluctantly and had wanted to achieve a victory that could only be used in domestic politics, France would have been expected to leave Algeria by punishing Hussein Dey, as promised.[109]

3.2.1. The first resistance movements against the French occupation

From the first days of the French occupation, the resistance of the Algerians had begun. Abd al Qadir, was an Algerian religious and military leader who led a struggle against the French colonial invasion of Algiers in the early 19th century, initially led the resistance movement organized under the leadership of his father, uniting the scattered tribes and starting to rule most of Algeria in 1832. Thanks to his successful resistance against the French, he had begun to corner the French with the Treaty of Desmichels in 1834 and the Treaty of Tafna in 1837. With these agreements, he strengthened his power in the west of the country and consolidated his leadership. By 1839, Emir Abd al Qadir was ruling two-thirds of Algeria. His government had a functioning bureaucracy that collected taxes; supported education; carried out public services and was involved in activities to stimulate the economy.[110] However, after this date, France broke the agreement and increased the violence against Algerians.

Due to the financial and military power that France had accumulated in Algeria, Emir Abd al Qadir's power began to decline and eventually his state collapsed in 1843.[111] The resistance against the occupation forces continued until 1847 and France's effective and permanent domination over the whole country began after this date. As a result of the resistance encountered during the occupation of Algeria, France could not control the interior of this country for a long time, but after the surrender of Emir Abd al Qadir in 1847, it was able to dominate all of Algeria. A civilizing mission was launched to justify France's imperialist expansion.[112] However, the Algerian people, who did not have a common

[108] As cited in **Baktıaya, Adil** (2010) '1830: Fransa'nın Cezayir'i İşgali, Abdülkadir'in Yükselişi ve Amerikan Kamuoyunda "Abdülkadir" Hayranlığı', Ortadoğu Etütleri, Vol. 2, No.2, p. 147.
[109] Ibid.
[110] **Baktıaya**, p. 149.
[111] Ibid.
[112] **Benamou, Georges-Marc** (2012) Bir Fransız Yalanı (translated by Sonat Ece Kaya) İstanbul, Babıali Kültür Yayıncılığı, p. 14.

connection with the new administration, never accepted the French sovereignty, except for small communities that looked after their interests.

3.2.2. French rule in Algeria

The need to bring civilization to the backward peoples was one of the ways to justify colonialism, and Algeria got its share of this mission. Indigenous people could only reach this civilization by accepting the superiority of French culture and giving allegiance to it. In doing so, the missionaries chose to create a negative stereotype of the Muslims in Algeria, contrary to the creation of a positive image of French culture and civilization.[113]

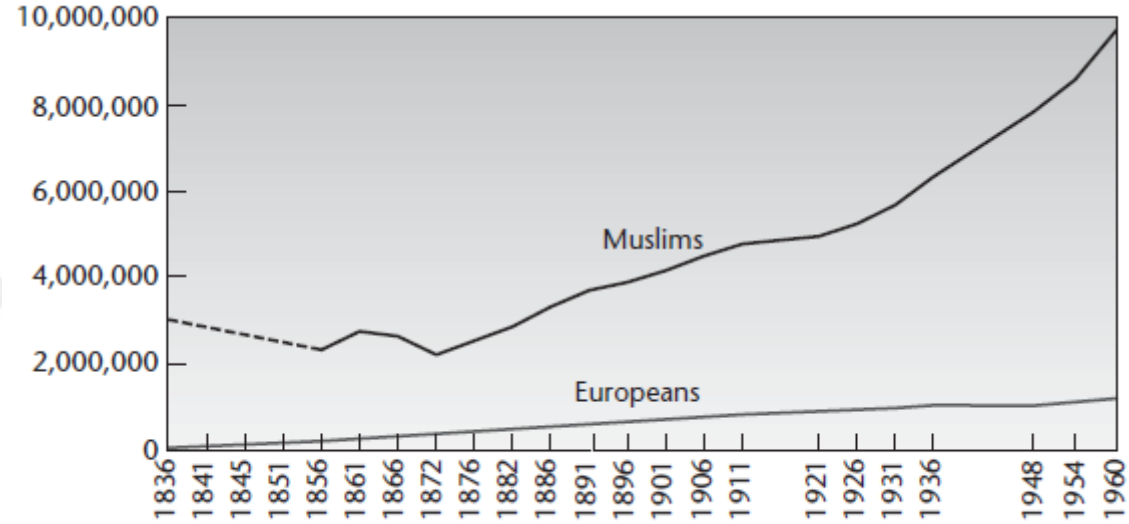
At that time, there was a belief that some intellectual and moral characteristics were passed down from generation to generation like diseases. For example, as a result of the study of Arabs since pre-Islamic times, it was concluded that modern Arabs, like their ancestors, were plunderers and thieves. These characteristics have been passed down from generation to generation over time and formed the character of the Arab race. The civilization process had to be imposed from the outside against these people whose perceptions were slow and who were also lazy to realize an ideal of reaching civilization, and even resisted civilization.[114] These generalizations about the character and morality of the indigenous population had no scientific basis, but the missionaries clung to these generalizations.

As early as the beginning of the colonization, France began to bring in significant numbers of settlers from France and other European countries as a necessity for settler colonialism, forming a population that would be later called the *pied-noirs.*[115] Trying to encourage its own citizens to immigrate to Algeria, France tried to persuade the peoples of other Mediterranean countries in this regard when too many French citizens were not willing. In 1839, of the 25 000 European settlers in the country, only 11 000 were French. The rest were mostly settlers from Spanish, Maltese and Corsica.[116] According to the data of 1847 on the European population in Algeria, 62 126 of the 109 400 European population in the

[113] **Lorcin, Patricia M. E.** (1999) 'Imperialism, Colonial Identity, and Race in Algeria, 1830-1870: The Role of the French Medical Corps', Isis, Vol. 90, No.4, p. 663.
[114] Ibid,
[115] The *pied-noirs* means "black feet" in English. It was a term used to refer to the European population living in France's North African colonies, especially Algeria. The term was originally named to refer to Europeans who wore black-sole shoes.
[116] **O'Ballance, Edgar** (1967) The Algerian Insurrection, 1954-1962, London, Faber & Faber, p. 22.

country were not French.[117] With the laws enacted later, most of the European population living in Algeria became French citizens.

Table 3.1. 1836–1960: The Demography of French Algeria (Evans, 2012)



After the occupation of Algeria, France established an institution called the Arab Bureaux *(Bureaux Arabes)* in 1844 to control the country and this institution operated until 1922. This institution acted as the regulatory branch of the French military authority, dealing with problems between tribes and judicial matters of both the French and indigenous peoples. At the same time, the institution was collecting taxes and advising on education-related matters. The Bureaux Arabes subjected Algerians to "a constant regime of both euphemised and overt violence... which endured for a century thereafter".[118] After 1844, the Algerian budget was merged with the French budget. In 1845, Algeria was divided into three civilian regions under the name of *Direction d'Affaires Civiles* and was administered by a governor-general appointed from Paris. There was even the Minister of Algerian Affairs in the French government system for a short time after 1858. [119]

[117] **Johnson, Douglas** (1964) 'Algeria: Some Problems of Modern History', The Journal of African History, Vol. 5, No.2, p. 232.
[118] **McDougall, James** (2017) A History of Algeria , Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 120.
[119] **Cowan, L. Gray** (1951) 'The New Face of Algeria: Part I', Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 66, No. 3, p. 341-343.

Napoleon III issued two important the Senatus-Consulte of 22 April 1863 and of 14 July 1865 on property rights, family status, and personal status. The Senatus-Consulte of 14 July 1865 ruled that Muslims and Jews could not become a French citizen, unless they changed their religion, they would be considered a French subject.[120] However, with the Decret Crémieux of 1870, Jews became French citizens.[121] Thus, the Senatus-Consulte of 14 July 1865 became an act that applied only to Muslims and remained in effect until the end of the Second World War.

The main point that should be emphasized here is that with the adoption of a separate law for each religious community, religion has begun to be used as the basis of political, legal and administrative discrimination.[122] Moreover, this act ascribed a lower status to Muslims, who constitute three-quarters of the Algerian population.[123] The most important reason for these discriminatory policies, based on religious grounds, implemented by France against the Algerian natives, is that Islam is seen as the biggest obstacle to the assimilation policy that France wants to implement.[124] As many historians admit, Islam in Algeria was the greatest weapon that enabled the people to resist colonialism.

By 1870, Algeria was directly subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior in Paris. The point to be emphasized here is that, compared to other French colonies, Algeria was under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Interior, not the Colonial Office. Algeria was just one of many overseas French territories, but its importance to France has always been different. It was described as an integral part of France.[125] In the mid-1950s, one million settlers lived together with nine million Algerians.[126] Lionel Babicz explains this situation in the following words: "Algeria was one of the oldest and certainly the most important French possession, had enormous strategic value, and was also a symbol of France's greatness." [127]

Besides these, France changed the existing land and education system in the country. The deterioration of the land system dragged the Algerians who had an agriculture-based economy, into disaster. The interior of Algeria is arid and unproductive. Before the colony, the people were engaged in agriculture in the coastal areas, but with the colony, European

[120] **Brett, Michael** (1988) 'Legislating for Inequality in Algeria: The Senatus-Consulte of 14 July 1865', Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. 51, No. 3, p. 441.
[121] **Brett**, p .457.
[122] **Eyrice** (2008), p. 78.
[123] **Brett**, p. 441.
[124] **Eyrice** (2008), p. 78-79.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Evans, Martin (2012) Algeria: France's Undeclared War, US, Oxford University Press, p. xi.
[127] **Babicz, Lionel** (2013) 'Japan–Korea, France–Algeria: Colonialism and Post-Colonialism', Japanese Studies, Vol. 33, No.2, p. 202.

settlers occupied the fertile lands of the people and the people had to migrate to the inner parts, that is, to the arid regions. Moreover, according to some sources, pre-colonial people made their living from agriculture and sheep meat, but the settlers thought that their income was low and concentrated on wine production. While the vineyards increased, the production of other crops decreased. Therefore, the land system has changed.

While the colons in Algeria have the most fertile lands of the country, Algerians, who used to be owners of these lands, either had to work for Europeans in their own lands or had to migrate to Europe, especially France, to earn a living. The Algerians, who were left without land in their own country as a result of colonial practices and migrated to France to provide for their families, would also have taken the first step of an independent Algeria. It is quite remarkable that the first seeds of Algerian nationalism were planted outside of Algeria.[128]

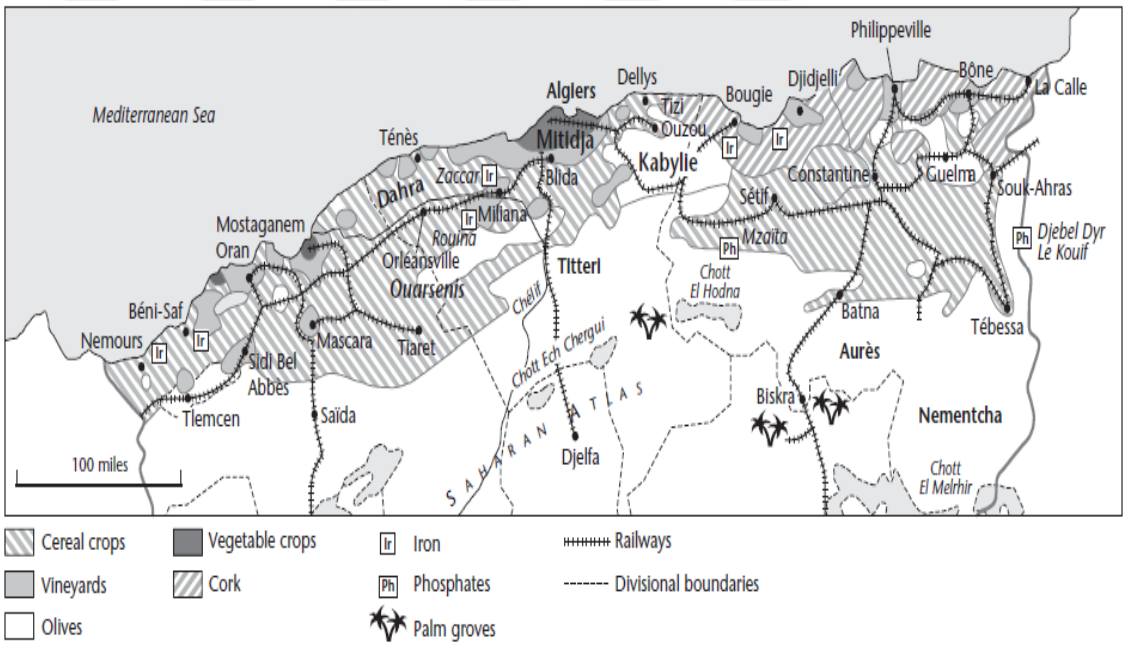


Figure 3.2. The Colonial Transformation of Algeria: Patterns of European Farming and Industry at the beginning of the Twentieth Century (Source: Evans, 2012)

[128] **Eyrice** (2008), p. 77.

Until the fall of Napoleon III in 1870 and the rise of the Third Republic in France, Algeria was largely under military administration. With the abolition of military administration in Algeria, the Mokrani revolt began on March 16, 1871 under the leadership of Mohamed El-Mokrani. It is very important in terms of being the biggest uprising before the Algerian War of Independence. The revolt, which emerged as a reaction against a series of French policies of oppression and intimidation, started with the mobilization of the masses who wanted to take advantage of the fact that France was at war with Prussia. The revolt, which was supported by more than 200 tribes and lasted for a year, was brutally suppressed by the French army units. France, which has not been able to control all of Algeria since 1830, could only achieve its goal after suppressing the Mokrani Revolt in 1871.

By 1881, the Native Code *(Code de l'indigénat)* came into force, a law that formalizes de facto discrimination by establishing special penalties for Algerians and organizing the acquisition of property. It caused Algerians to be subject an inferior legal status, leaving them at the mercy of the ruler with no right of appeal. It has subjected it to a series of repressive laws, including the interdiction to travel beyond their counties and buy livestock without a permit, the enforcement of forced labor and dress codes, the implementation of curfews.[129]

From 1881, Algeria became an official extension of France, being called a "little France".[130] The process of assimilation was implemented to consolidate French rule, and the French identity was sharply defined against the culture and religion of the indigenous population.[131] Due to these discriminatory laws, the European population maintained their privileged position in Algeria for generations. The economic hardship faced by Algerians, and especially their becoming second-class citizens in their own country, forced thousands of Algerians to leave their country. However, at the same time, the oppressive policies implemented by the colonial administration have been effective in the emergence of the Algerian national movement against the colonial administration since the end of the First World War. In other words, it was after the First World War that Algerian nationalists began to express their political demands.

In this process, many political parties were established in order to raise awareness and mobilize the public. As the first political organization, we can talk about the *Étoile Nord-*

[129] **Bechiche, Hanna** *gal-dem*, Unveiling France's hidden histories in Algeria holds the key to understanding its modern Islamophobia,<https://gal-dem.com/france-islamophobia/>, last accessed on 26.11.2021.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.

Africaine (ENA) party, which was founded in 1926 by the Algerians who were taken to France as workers, under the leadership of Messali Hadj. The party, which expressed its demands for independence for the first time, also demanded political and economic reforms. However, the activities of the party were terminated by France in 1937. Another independence movement leader is Ferhat Abbas, who founded the Algerian Popular Union Party in 1938. However, according to his contemporaries, Abbas's initial thought was not full independence, but the promotion of Algerian rights within the French system.[132] Over time, he could not remain indifferent to the brutal practices of France and began to defend the idea of an independent Algeria.[133]

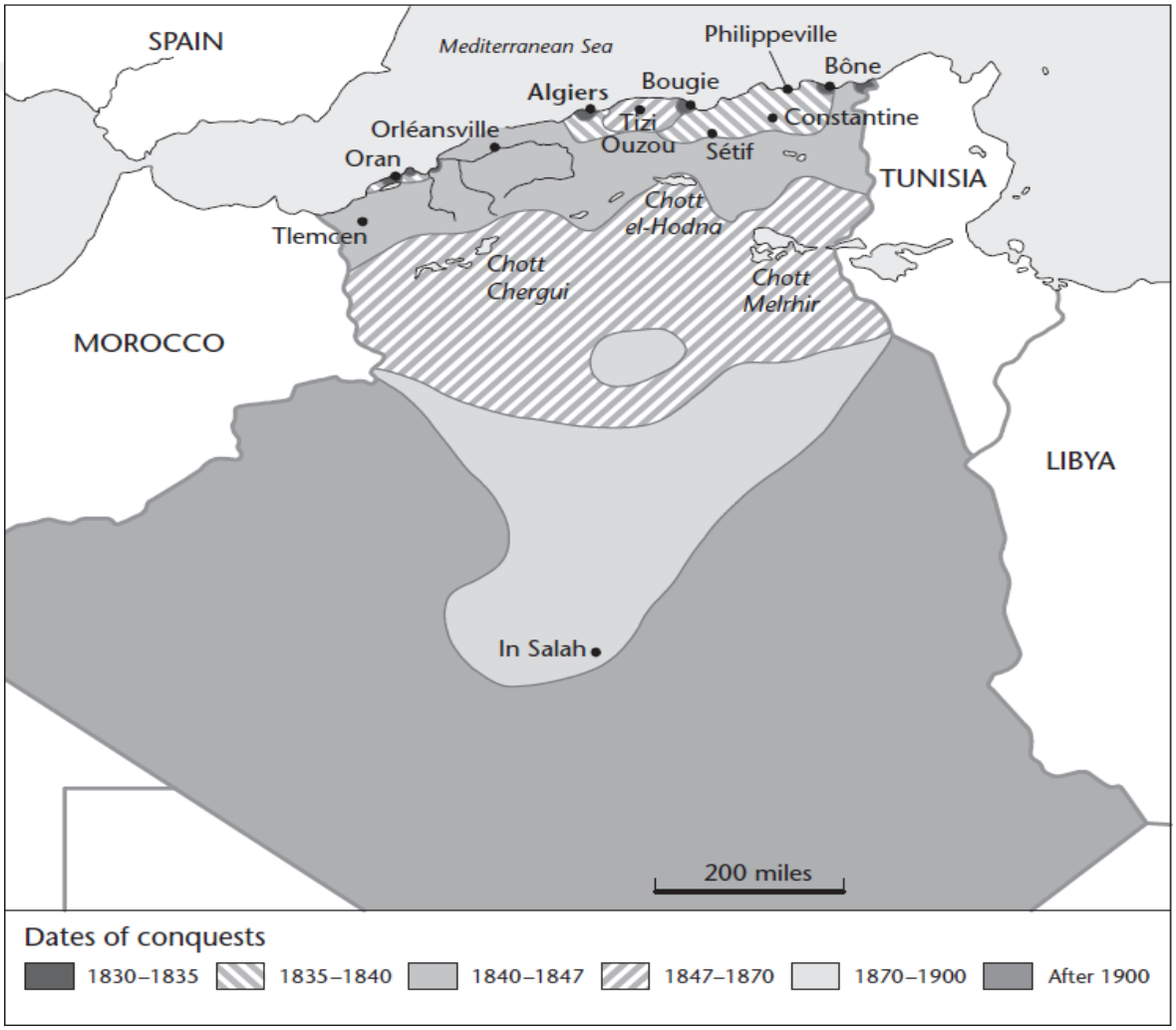


Figure 3.3. 1830–1900: The Conquest of Algeria and the Sahara (Source: Evans, 2012)

[132] **Ataöv, Türkkaya** (1957) Afrika Ulusal Kurtuluş Mücadeleleri, Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayını, p. 147.
[133] **Nam, Mehmet** (2013) 'İşgalden İstiklale Cezayir', Tarih Dergisi, Vol. 55, No.1, p. 169-170.

3.2.3. Reforms before the Algerian War of Independence

When Algerians demanded reform to improve their conditions, at first France did not agree, but was aware of the fire burning for independence in the country, and after a while, it would be too late when Algerians started to make an attempt to improve their situation. At this point, it is necessary to talk about a number of reforms made until the start of the war of independence. First, the Jonnart Law was announced on February 4, 1919. With this law, the number of Algerian Muslims who have the eligible to vote for the Muslim members of the municipal councils has been increased and the members of the departmental councils have been given the right to vote. Türkkaya Ataöv describes Jonnart Law as a typical colonial illusion that France resorted to in order to stop or delay the independence demands that would rise against it by granting some privileges to the top strata of the natives and attracting them to its side.[134] In fact, the Jonnart Law of 1919, which did not give anything to the Algerian people and was not a reform movement, worried the *pied-noirs*, who were afraid of any situation that would change their current situation in Algeria, and they opposed the law quite fiercely.[135]

In 1936, when Léon Blum took office as premier of the Popular Front in France, he appointed Maurice Violette, who had previously served as Transport and Supply Minister in 1917, and Governor-General of Algeria from 1925 to 1927. The Blum-Viollette proposal of 1936 was presented to the government and discussed the long-standing problem of French colonialism in Algeria and the granting of French citizenship to some Muslims without the obligation to convert.[136] The proposal would allow a small number of Algerian Muslims to obtain full French citizenship, while still allowing them to be subject to Muslim law in social matters.[137] However, the *pied-noirs* also strongly opposed this proposal, and the proposal was later scrapped without being submitted for approval.[138] Violette tried to warn the National Assembly of what would happen if reforms were not made for the Algerian people, with these words: "They do not even demand their religious nation. All they ask is to be admitted into yours. If you refuse this, beware lest they do not soon create one for themselves."[139] but his warnings were ignored.

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[134] **Ataöv**, p. 135.
[135] **Ataöv**, p. 185.
[136] **Horne, Alistair** (2006) A Savage War of Peace, New York, New York Review Books, p. 37.
[137] Regarding the number of Muslims to be granted French citizenship, some sources give the figure of 20 000 and some sources give the figure of 25 000.
[138] **Eyrice** (2008), p. 84.
[139] **Horne**, op.cit.

France was occupied by Nazi Germany on 14 June 1940, approximately four years after the Blum-Viollette. France, whose territory was occupied during the war, forcibly suspended the reform plans in Algeria during this period. While the World War II brought these negative consequences for France, it increased the hopes of independence in colonies such as Algeria. Until 1940, Algerian Muslims were represented only in the local Assembly of the Financial Delegations.[140] They had neither votes nor representatives in the French Parliament.[141] However, in 1944, France had to step back from the policies it had followed up to that time due to the pressures of Algerian Muslims. The ordinances of 1944 was proclaimed that allowed Muslims to hold two-fifths of the seats on local councils, repealed the Code de l'indigénat, and granted French citizenship to Muslims without the need to convert on March 7, 1944.[142] Granted as a favor, these reforms did not reduce the preponderance of the *pied-noirs.*[143] Moreover, the *pied-noirs* opposed these reforms, fearing that they would one day find themselves in the minority among the electorate.[144]

Finally, the statute of 1947 was adopted. According to the statute of 1947, Algerians were now considered French citizens and were subject to the French Penal Code. However, the slightest voice said about the rights of Algerians was included in the scope of destroying the territorial integrity of France and a ten-year prison sentence was applied.[145] The ordinances of 1944 and the statute of 1947 finally gave Algerians the right to vote, but only within the framework of a "dual electoral college": one European's vote was equivalent to eight Algerians. [146] The principle of equality “one man, one vote”, which formed the basis of the Republic, was not followed.[147]

After 1945, France tried to create an atmosphere of reconciliation by making some reforms in Algeria, but these inadequate reforms only angered Algerian Muslims in the country and caused the *pied-noirs* to concern about their position.[148]

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[140] **Montagne, Robert** (1947) ‘Evolution in Algeria’, International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), Vol. 23, No. 1, p. 44-45.
[141] Ibid.
[142] **Harbi, Mohammed** Le Monde Diplomatique, The World at War: Massacre in Algeria, translated by Barbara Wilson, <https://mondediplo.com/2005/05/14algeria>, last accessed on 11.07.2021.
[143] Ibid.
[144] **Montagne**, p. 46.
[145] **Ataöv**, p. 139-140.
[146] **Stora, Benjamin** (1993) ‘Algeria: The war without a name’, The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, Vol. 21, No.3, p. 212.
[147] Ibid.
[148] **Eyrice** (2008), p. 87.

3.2.4. The Sétif Massacre

When France surrendered to Nazi Germany in World War II, the Nazis entered Algeria and they murdered many Algerians by arresting them and taking them to concentration camps.[149] After the Nazi occupation ended in 1942, a group led by Ferhat Abbas, was a leader of the national independence movement who served as the first president of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, published a manifesto of the "Manifesto of the Algerian People" (*manifeste du peuple algérien*) in 1943, announcing their demands such as the end of colonialism in Algeria, the right to self-determination for the indigenous people, the release of political prisoners, the holding of elections by preparing a democratic constitution, and the equal rights of Muslims and Europeans were expressed.[150] France, which did not take this manifesto very seriously, was naturally unable to predict its consequences.

After World War II, Algerian nationalists were organized under the umbrella of the Friends of the Manifesto and Liberty *(Amis du Manifest et de la Liberté)* in 1944. It was impossible not to see that France was losing power, and this situation increased the efforts and aspirations of the Algerians for independence. The fact that France began to lose its power in Algeria increased the Algerians' motivation for independence. However, France started to be disturbed by the events and arrested first Ferhat Abbas and then Messali Hadj in order to prevent the awakening for independence.

On May 8, 1945, the Algerian people wanted to demonstrate in many cities, especially in Setif, with permission to celebrate the end of the World War II. The Algerian flag would not be unfurled in the demonstrations, nor would any party's flag or banner be used. However, after a while, people in the demonstration unfurled the Algerian flag and started to march with banners such as "Freedom to Messali Hadj", "Long Live Independent Algeria", "We Want Equality and Justice", "Freedom". [151] With the intervention of the French police, an irreversible chaos ensued. The events spread to other cities such as Constantin, Blida, Oran and Guelma. The French army took action and practically committed massacre against the demonstrating masses. This situation caused wide reactions in France, and the French intellectuals did not remain silent in the face of the events reaching

[149] **Benamou,** p. 16.
[150] **Ataöv**, p. 147.
[151] **Nam**, p. 171.

this stage and the killing of so many people.[152] The number of deaths in the events is highly controversial and there is a large gap between the figures given on this issue. According to Algerian official figures, at least 45 000 people have been killed,[153] but French historians put the number between 15 000 and 20 000.[154] After the Sétif Massacre, the anger against French colonialism increased, and the Algerian people began to feel more and more desire for independence.[155] We can say that it was considered as the starting point of the independence movement. The Sétif Massacre of 1945 was the starting point of the independence movement. Also, participation in the National Liberation Front (FLN) for the independence movement among Algerians reached its highest level.

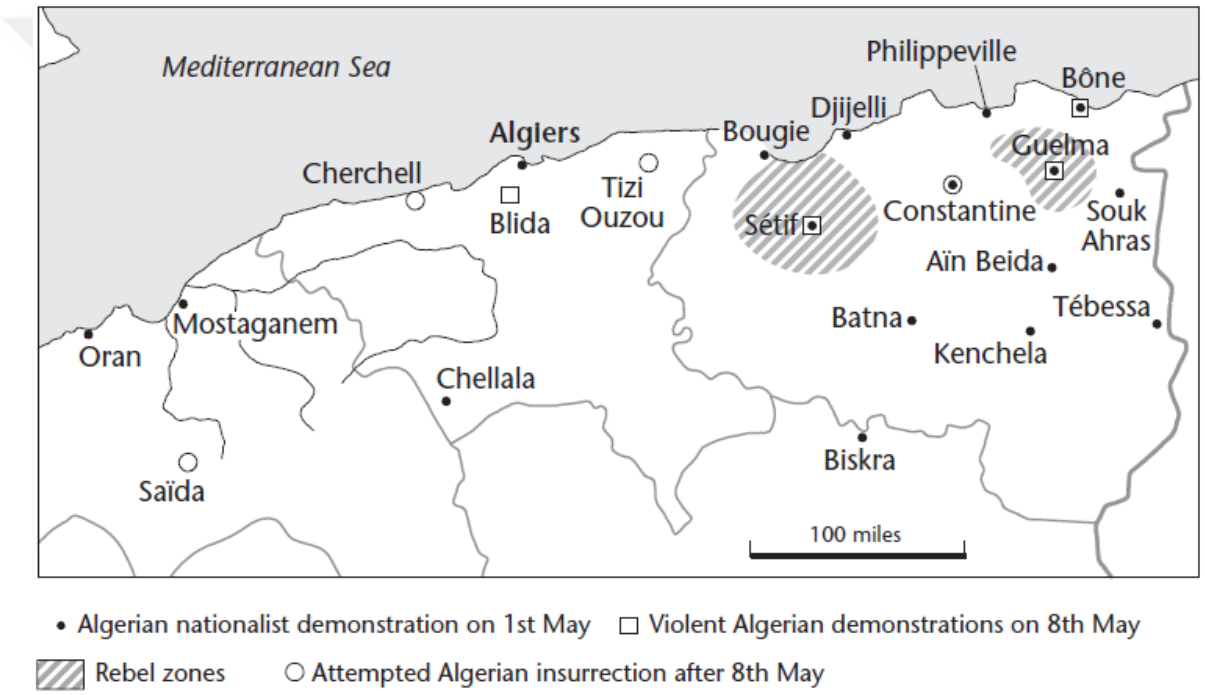


Figure 3.4. May 1945: Algerian demonstrations and insurrection (Evans, 2012)

[152] **Çeviker, Avni** (1958) Hür Cezayir, Ankara, Kültür Matbaası, p. 44.
[153] **Benamou**, p. 16,
[154] **Schofield, Hugh** BBC News, Colonial Abuses Haunt France, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4552473.stm>, accessed on 16.05.2021.
[155] **Eyrice** (2008), p. 89.

3.3. The Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962)

The Algerian War of Independence was one of the most brutal of all colonial struggles. The human cost of the Algerian War is unknown, but French sources suggest Algerian casualties were between 300 000 and 500 000 while Algerian sources claim as many as 1 500 000. It also represented a moral decadence due to the systematic use of torture during the war. [156] For Algerians, the Algerian War of Independence was a revolution that marked the end of 132 years of colonial oppression and led to the liberation of the whole people.[157] Due to the differences in the definition of revolution in the literature, it is still discussed in some ways whether what happened in Algeria is a revolution or not. However, one thing is certain that what happened in Algeria is an unprecedented anti-colonial movement in world history.

John Talbott describes the Algerian War as "a war which dared not speak its name".[158] The Algerian War of Independence that started by the FLN on November 1, 1954 was described by different names on the French side. Sometimes it was called "events", sometimes "police operations", sometimes "actions to maintain order", sometimes "operations to restore civil peace", sometimes as "peacekeeping operations."[159] The war was never covered in the media, only the "drama in Algeria" could be mentioned.[160] Pierre Albin Michel wrote in the newspaper *Le Monde* of November 2, 1954.

> Everything is happening as though an invisible hand were trying to ruin the invisible links between France and North Africa, at the very moment when it seems we could make them stronger. We must fight against the driving force behind these destructive acts, the perpetrators must be caught, brought to justice and punished.[161]

The main reason of *Le Monde*'s persistent refusal to call the war by name is that war has not been declared.At the end of November 1954, the Minister of the Interior, Francois Mitterrand, expressed his determination not to declare war as follows:

> It does seem that throughout Algeria, and specifically in these areas, around Biskra, Khenchela and Batna, there are those who want the people to rise up against those known as foreigners,

[156] **Cohen, William B.** (2003) 'The Algerian War and the Revision of France's Overseas Mission', French Colonial History, Vol. 4, p. 228.
[157] **Aissaoui, Rabah / Eldridge, Claire** (2017) Algeria Revisited: History, Culture and Identity, Bloomsbury Academic, p. 2.
[158] **Talbott, John** (1980) The War Without a Name: France in Algeria, 1954-1962, London, Alfred a Knopf Inc.
[159] **Stora** (1993), p. 208.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid.

> as occupiers, that is to say, the French. But the people cannot understand this appeal as they are French. Without the people's support, nothing is entirely possible. I am sure of this. But if they do not support us, they will be the first victims. And as it is our duty to warn them of this, we will take every opportunity to do so. We will not strike collectively. We will avoid anything which might appear to be a state of war; we do not want this. But our punishment shall be severe, our sole concern will be for justice, and, given the present circumstances, justice demands stringency and the arrest of those responsible.[162]

The lack of a serious improvement in the situation of Algerians after the World War II, the current economic problems and the violent suppression of the independence tendencies of the people during the war years caused the struggle for independence to come to light gradually. Thereupon, the armed organizations resisting colonialism decided to act together and dissolved their organizations and formed a militant group called Revolutionary Committee for Unity and Action (CRUA). CRUA later evolved into the National Liberation Front (FLN). A short time later, in October 1954, the establishment of the FLN was proclaimed in Cairo. On November 1, 1954, the armed struggle against colonialism began and spread to the whole country in a short time.

France took unprecedented military measures to suppress the uprising of the Algerians, who had taken up arms to regain their independence. On April 3, 1955, the National Assembly declared a state of emergency in Aures and Greater Kabylia, and this decision was extended to cover the whole of Algeria in November 1955. At that time, it was not possible to talk about order in Algeria and the French navy, air and ground forces were mobilized to restore order. Moreover, European private militia caused many murders and suspicious executions. Torture, rape and massacre had become the routine of war. There were 1 273 deaths, according to official figures, but FLN claimed 12 000 died, and France has never disproved this claim.[163] As a result of all these sufferings, the Algerian people held tightly to the idea of independence and they would be successful at any cost.

According to Benjamin Stora, “for France calling it a war would be tantamount to accepting the possibility of a legal separation, the break-up of the One and Indivisible Republic.” [164] Moreover, declaring war and explaining the reasons of the war meant telling the world the painful story of the French and Algerians who lived together for 130 years. France would have to be accountable to the international community and could not afford it. Hundreds of news, books and movies that witnessed the details of the war were censored for

[162] Ibid, 209.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.

many years. However, no matter how much France did not want to see the truth, it was approaching the inevitable end step by step.

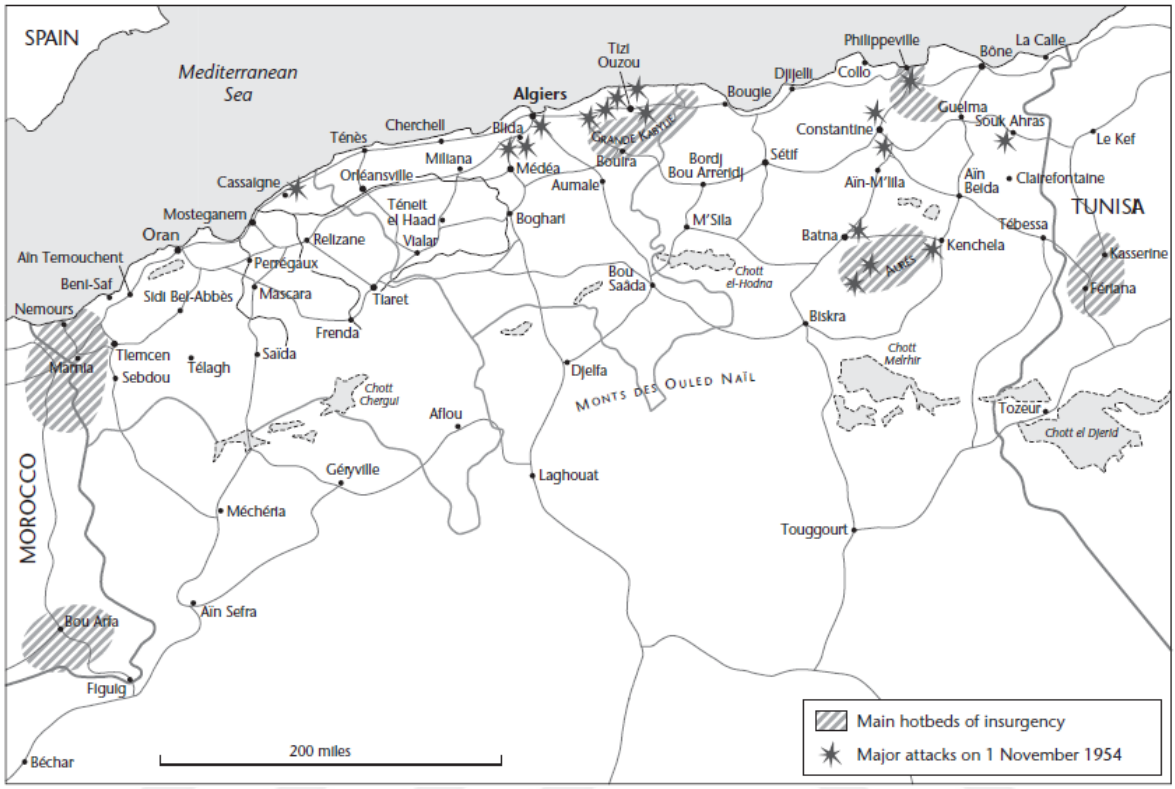


Figure 3.5. 1 November 1954: The FLN insurrection (Evans, 2012)

Compared to other colonies, everything that happened in Algeria was always seen as an internal matter for France. There would be no declaration of war because naming events would mean recognizing Algeria's existence, but that would contradict the story that France has been telling for years. Leaving a region that had been directly linked to France for 130 years was out of the question. What would happen to the almost one million European population who had lived there for generations? On the other side were Algerians who could not become French citizens unless they denied their Muslim identity.

Years of discriminatory laws complicated groups that had to live together, and the Algerians' demands for independence further complicated the situation for France. It meant the cracking of the Republic, defined as "one and indivisible."[165] That's why the Governor-

[165] See pages 208-212.

General Jacques Soustelle, who took office on February 15, 1955, announced that the solution was integration. However, it would become clear that this would not be a solution. Because Algerians had been systematically persecuted by France for 130 years, and they knew that the problem could no longer be resolved without gaining their independence.

The dynamics of the war of independence were very complex. The war was not only against the French army, there was rivalry among the Algerians themselves, and two rival nationalist groups sought to take the lead of the movement: the FLN and the Algerian National Movement (MNA).[166] Some Algerians, called *Harkis*, chose to fight for France and fought with their fellows, but were left alone by France after independence.[167] On the other hand, since the beginning of the war, the *pied-noirs* expressed their dissatisfaction with the French government and accused the government of being tolerant of the FLN.[168]

What happened in Algeria significantly affected the domestic policy of France. Due to the events that took place in the oldest and most valuable colony of France, many government changes took place in the country and this war caused the collapse of the Fourth Republic of France. After 1958, when armed clashes expanded and intensified, demands for government change were heard and Charles De Gaulle[169] came back to power. But as the violence continued between the parties, independence seemed more and more inevitable, and De Gaulle began to realize that he had no choice.

On September 19, 1958, the National Liberation Front (FLN) established the Provisional Government of Algerian Republic in Cairo, the capital of Egypt, under the leadership of Ferhat Abbas. It was headquartered in Tunisia and carried out its activities from there. There was also international pressure for France to meet Algeria's demands for independence.[170] Under the influence of international pressure, De Gaulle spoke about Algeria's right to self-determination in a speech he delivered at the UN on September 16,

[166] The MNA was founded as a competitor to the FLN by Messali Haj, who was excluded when the FLN was formed. It is rumored that the MNA was partially financed by France. During the war, both organizations inflicted losses on each other. However, after independence, while the FLN gathered all the power on its own, the MNA was lost in the dusty shelves of history.
[167] **Stora** (1993), p. 215.
[168] Ibid.
[169] He was a French army officer and statesman who led Free France against Nazi Germany in World War II and chaired the Provisional Government of the French Republic from 1944 to 1946 in order to reestablish democracy in France.
[170] **Benamou**, p. 21.

1959. The supporters of "French Algeria"[171] began to think that they had been betrayed after De Gaulle's speech, because it was they who brought De Gaulle to power in 1958.[172]

On the other hand, some of the French people and intellectuals supported the struggle of Algeria. On September 6, 1960, the "Manifesto of the 121" (Full title: *Déclaration sur le droit à l'insoumission dans la guerre d'Algérie* or Declaration on the right of insubordination in the Algerian War) was published in the magazine *Vérité-Liberté,* an open letter in which French intellectuals fiercely criticized France's policy and war in Algeria.[173] The manifesto, named after the number of first signatories, was signed by 247 French intellectuals, including Simon de Beauvoir and Jean-Paul Sartre, and had a great impact at the time of its publication. The Manifesto calls on the French public and the government, especially Prime Minister Michel Debré, to recognize the Algerian War of Independence as a legitimate war of independence.

> For the Algerians the struggle, carried out either by military or diplomatic means, is not in the least ambiguous. It is a war of national independence. But what is its nature for the French? It's not a foreign war. The territory of France has never been threatened. But there's even more; it is carried out against men who do not consider themselves French, and who fight to cease being so. It isn't enough to say that this is a war of conquest, an imperialist war, accompanied by an added amount of racism. There is something of this in every war, and the ambiguous nature of it remains.[174]

In 1960, most of the colonies in Africa had gained their independence, but most of the colons living in Algeria did not give up their desire for French Algeria even during this period when colonialism began to end.[175] The OAS (Secret Armed Organisation) was a paramilitary organization founded by supporters of French Algeria in response to the January 1961 referendum on self-determination for Algeria. Revolts against the French government took place by the supporters of French Algeria in 1960-1961, whereupon De Gaulle threw them aside.[176] Negotiations with the French government and the Provisional Government of Algeria were started in May 1961, and the Evian Accords were signed on March 18, 1962 to put an end to French colonialism in Algeria.[177] On July 3, 1962, the French government

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[171] *French Algeria* refers to the period of French colonization in Algeria.
[172] **Eyrice** (2008), p. 131.
[173] For the English version of the manifesto: Marxist, Declaration on the Right to Insubordination in the War in Algeria (The Manifesto of the 121), <https://www.marxists.org/history/france/algerian-war/1960/manifesto-121.htm>, accessed on 1.06.2021.
[174] Ibid.
[175] **Eyrice** (2008), p. *132.*
[176] **Benamou**, p. 21.
[177] **Hamidani, Salim** (2020) 'Colonial Legacy in Algerian–French Relations', Contemporary Arab Affairs, Vol. 13, No.1, p. 74-75.

recognized the independence of Algeria, and on July 5, 1962, Algeria's independence was officially declared.[178] Thus, one of the bloodiest anti-colonial wars in history, which lasted about eight years, came to an end and Algeria finally took its place on the stage of history as an independent country.

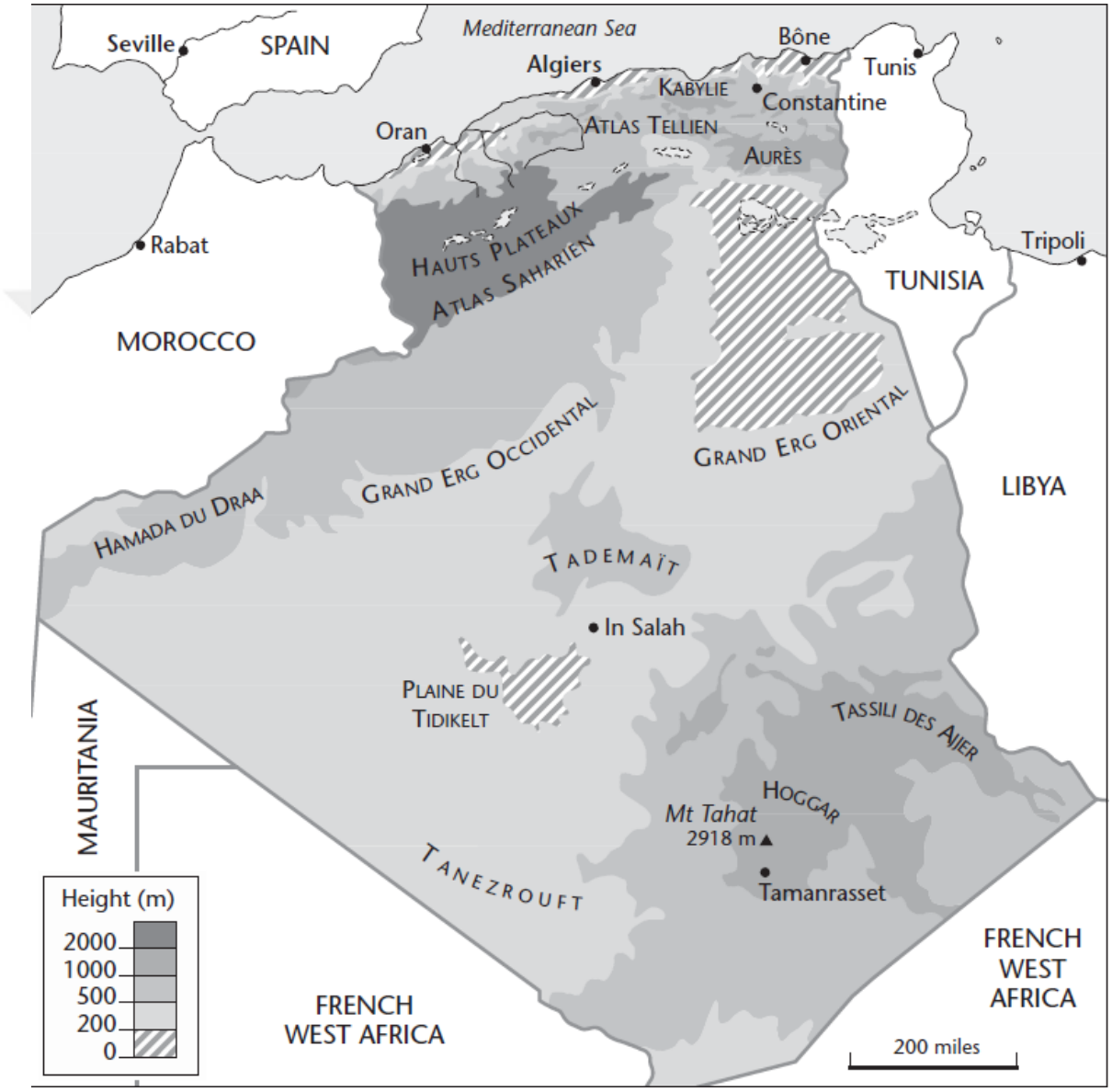


Figure 3.7. 1954: French Algeria (Evans, 2012)

[178] The 5th of July is of symbolic value because it marks the 132nd anniversary of the French invasion of Algeria.

4. COLONIAL LEGACY IN ALGERIA

"The settler makes history and is conscious of making it. And because he constantly refers to the history of his mother country, he clearly indicates that he himself is the extension of that mother-country. Thus the history which he writes is not the history of the country which he plunders but the history of his own nation in regard to all that she skims off, all that she violates and starves." [179]

Frantz Fanon

This chapter aims to analyze the place of colonial legacy in post-independence Algeria. This chapter focuses on what is meant by colonial legacy and then examine its effects on Algerian identity and culture. First of all, an analysis will be made on the Algerian identity. What is national identity? How do colonial practices affect the identity of colonial societies? Later, the colonial legacy in Algerian will be mentioned.

Before analyzing how the colonial heritage affects Algerian identity, the concept of identity needs to be clarified. There are many definitions of identity and national identity. The definition of these concepts is complex, but we can simply define it as identity is what makes one person different from others. The concept of the "other" is a mainstay in determining identity and identity cannot be created without the "other." While identity tells what is happening to the individual or society, it also tells what to believe and what to ask for.

Colonial legacy is a term used to express that the contemporary economic, political and social structures of the colonized countries continue to be shaped by the practices left over from the colonial period, even if it implies that the effects of colonialism have actually come to an end. In the literature, the concept is generally used in the negative sense.

4.1. Nationalism and national identity

National identity is a sense of belonging to one nation and it is as a collective phenomenon. The collective elements of national identity may include language, religion, customs and traditions, national memories, blood ties, and national symbols. Although

[179] **Fanon** (2004), p. 15.

Algeria has some shortcomings due to its long colonial rule, it has other common features of national identity and fits this collective definition.

On the other hand, while national identity constitutes social unity, it defines the members of the society according to the memories of a common past and their characteristics such as culture, language and ethnicity and the boundaries of the geography on which they live. In the nation-states, it is important to have a common understanding of identity and to speak the same language, to have common beliefs, to have the same traditions and customs. Their presence provides people in society to perceive themselves as "us".

According to modernist thinkers, nationalism and national identity are not natural or primordial but socially constructed by states, elites or intellectuals. To better understand national identity and nationalism, it is necessary to consider the work of modernist thinkers. As revealed by the work of modernist thinkers, national identities, like nations, have not come or been given since existence, but have been constructed socially under the influence of various economic, political or social factors. In connection with the concept of nation, identity is reconstructed according to changing conditions in time.

Moreover, because identities gain meaning within certain social conditions and environments, they cannot exist before social relations are established. In other words, national identity depends on the relations established between the individual and the society or between the individual and the state. In addition, national identity can be seen as a mutual interaction between the subject and the structure, where the functioning of the institutions is extremely important. Identity, belonging and common values can become permanent by being supported by active public institutions. Therefore, in order for the state to be successful in the construction of national identity, it must actually call for less ethnically based nationalism and pursue a policy of equality among its citizens.[180] In this direction, Anthony D. Smith underlines that equal citizenship rights and obligations and the common economic interests of society contribute greatly to the formation of national identity.[181]

In addition, the existence of state-owned symbols is important in the construction of national identity. Political symbols of states are highly important in terms of reflecting common values and showing the common heritage shared by the people living in that

[180] **Oktay, Emel G.** / **Rrapaj Jonilda** (2016) 'Sosyal İnşacılık Açısından Kosova'nın Kimliği: Bağımsızlık Sonrasında Ortak Bir "Kosovalı" Kimliği Oluşturmak Mümkün mü?', Uluslararası İlişkiler, Vol. 13, No.49, p. 52.
[181] **Smith, Anthony D.** (1991) National Identity London, Penguin, p. 75.

country. Even if there are no shared values or a common heritage shared by people living in the country, the feeling of these symbols can lead to the adoption of common values over time. Sonntag mentions that the most important function of political symbols is their promises for the future. In a sense, they reveal hope and a vision of the future.[182]

On the other hand, Umut Özkırımlı states that these symbols used by the states provide a continuous background for political discourses and cultural reproductions.[183] As he emphasizes with reference to Michael Billig's[184] accepted work, one of the most influential works in this field, these symbols affect us inadvertently throughout our daily lives and remind us of the place of people living in that country among other nations in the world, even without us realizing it. We can only notice this when we move away from our natural habitat. [185] For example, nation states use banknotes, coins, and postage stamps as monopoly tools of daily nationalism and through banal nationalism, it contributes to the daily reproduction of the sense of national identity. Thus, through visual symbols such as banknotes, coins, and postage stamps, the state tried to make the identity that it created visible in society. [186]

4.2. Algerian national identity

In Algeria, as in many other countries with a colonial past, the construction of national identity developed on the axis of resistance against the colonialist. When we look at the colonial race of European states that started in the middle of the 18th century and the colonial era that turned into an imperial struggle in the 19th century, the African continent has been one of the geographies most affected by this struggle. The struggle in Africa, and especially in North and Northwest Africa, on the axis of territorial division, developed in the form of changing their religions and languages by subjecting the indigenous peoples of these geographies to cultural assimilation and embellishing them with the culture of the imperial power. One of the places where the assimilation phase was experienced most intensely was Tunisia and Algeria, which is the expansion area of France. In this context, Algeria has come

[182] **Oktay**, p. 53.
[183] **Özkırımlı, Umut** (2005) Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 175.
[184] **Billig, Michel** (1995) Banal Nationalism, London, Sage.
[185] **Özkırımlı**, op.cit.
[186] **Elhan, Nail** (2016) 'Banal Nationalism in Iran: Daily Re-Production of National and Religious Identity', The Journal of Humanity and Society, Vol. 6, No.1, p. 119.

to the forefront as a country that is more affected by the French cultural assimilation practices compared to the others, especially with its location that controls the Mediterranean very well.

In the process that started with the colonization of Algeria, many French were brought to the colonies in North Africa with the projects supported by the French government, in coordination with the Papacy, in order to spread the French language, culture and Catholic Christianity in the region. In 1866, 187 colonies were created, with 273 priests serving in Algeria.[187] In this period, the expansionist colonization activities in France, Algeria received great support from the Papacy. The Catholic leader of the period, Pope XIII. Léon gave his support by saying, "Algeria is the gateway to Africa where 200 million souls live" and after the "Vice-Archbishopric" created in Algeria, vice-bishops were established in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Ethiopia, Congo, Guinea and Zambazi in a short time.[188]

In this context, France chose the path of Christianization and Frenchization of these lands by cultural assimilation in order to establish full dominance in the colonial lands and especially in Algeria. Thus, the missionaries turned to the goal of influencing the tribes living in the Sahara and Savannahs from the main centers, but the harsh resistance of the tribes and then the prohibition of the Christian propaganda and the work of the missionaries in the centers were encountered. Very detailed researches were made and ideas were put forward on the measures to be taken for the Frenchization and Christianization of Algeria, both by the French administration in the region and by the missionaries.

One of the most important missionaries is Charles De Faucould, who served a missionary in Algeria and Algerian tribes, was declared a saint by the Pope XIII. Benua in a ceremony held by the Vatican in 2005.[189] Faucould, who worked as a missionary in the Middle East, North Africa and especially in Algeria for many years, in his famous letter to the Pope, he stated that the Algerian people are very devoted to Islam and these peoples must be frenchified and christianized if France wants to stay in these lands. Moreover, the letter

[187] **Brockhaus, Hannah** Catholic News Agency, Charles de Foucauld, Catholic 'revert' turned saint, < https://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/44647/charles-de-foucauld-a-saint-who-was-he>, last accessed on 11.10.2022.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Charles De Foucauld was a French monk who lived from 1865 to 1916. Until 1888, he served in the French Army as a soldier in various parts of the empire. During this period, he was assigned with geographical discoveries and made a name for himself by making geographical evaluations of France's North African lands and especially Morocco. He started to live with the Berber/Tuareg tribes here and prepared the Tuareg-French dictionary after living in the tribes for seven years. Since 1927, efforts have been started to declare Foucauld a saint in France, and in the 2000s, he was declared a "Saint" by the Pope. (see detail for: https://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/44647/charles-de-foucauld-a-saint-who-was-he)

told what needs to be done, who the target audience is and what kind of method should be applied.

After the First World War, until the Second World War began, it carried out the efforts to Frenchize and Christianize the indigenous peoples of these lands, by supporting them with both coercive measures and educational activities aimed at cultural change. Although France emerged victorious from the war after the Second World War, it faced severe economic and political depression and could not strengthen its power in its colonies. In addition, after the war, France declared that Algeria, like the other colonies, was France's own territory in 1948, and there was a long-term and bloody struggle until independence was achieved.

Modern Algerian nationalism emerged from the 1920s.[190] Algerian nationalism consisted of four branches: assimilationists, a religious clerical movement, communists and radical nationalists. To briefly talk about these four branches, the supporters of assimilation drew on French republican models and language to expose the inequalities in French Algeria; religious clergy embraced ideas of a pan-Muslim renaissance spreading from the Middle East; communists took the Russian Revolution of 1917 as an example; and radical nationalists, on the other hand, were inspired by the ideas of the French Communist Party as well as the ideology of pan Arab nationalism.[191]

Contrary to popular belief, Algerian nationalism did not begin with the FLN (*Front de Libe´ration Nationale*) uprising in November 1954.[192] In fact, the relationship between Algerian nationalism and the French left in 1918 and 1954 was a crucial determining factor for the eight-year conflict with France that followed. Moreover, the failure to meet Algeria's demands has made the relationship of Algerian nationalism with the French Socialist Party (S*ection Franc¸aise de l'Internationale Ouvrie`re* — SFIO) an important source of conflict.[193] This conflict has shaped the FLN's political culture and has led the FLN to oppose any proposal for reform or free elections. At the end of the day, the armed struggle of the FLN against colonialism began in 1954.

After the independence treaty was signed in 1962, more than a million colonists and Algerians left the country and went to France. This struggle actually continued until 1962 and while France left Algeria on this date, Algeria joined the international community as an

[190] **Evans**, p. xii.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid.

independent state. Although Algeria is an independent state, it still suffers from not having a national identity in the process until today.

4.3. Colonial legacy in Algeria

During the colonial period, Algeria was tried to be frenchified with language, culture and lifestyle. France exerted pressure to destroy the identity and culture of the Muslim people and to make the French language dominant instead of Arabic and Berber. This situation created a big problem in the formation of Algerian national identity after independence. Is the country's national identity Arab, Islamic, Berber or Mediterranean?[194] Algeria may be all of these, but more than sixty years have passed since the departure of the French colonialists who imposed its own language and culture, the country is still struggling to build its national identity.

Algerians state that whenever they have the opportunity to make their voices heard, they expect an apology from France for the pain that France has inflicted on Algerians in the colonial rule, but the official apology never came. Moreover, Nicolas Sarkozy, the then president of France, responded as follows: "You can't ask sons to say sorry for their fathers' mistakes."[195] Due to the fact that the politicians of both countries maintained these discourses for many years, the relations between the two countries continued by a cotton thread.

Political, military and economic relations alone are insufficient to explain how France maintains its dominance in Algeria. The most fundamental area in the transformation of French colonial ties into post-colonial forms has been culture. At this point, the concept of hegemony in the critical theory provides a broad conceptual framework for explaining the hegemonic positions and relations that continue in the neo-colonial period in post-colonial theory. Edward Said treats hegemony as a part of the much wider concept of culture. According to Said, all kinds of ideas, thoughts, institutions, etc. that are dominant and effective on the other party. Frantz Fanon defines hegemony, that in fact, Western hegemony was formed within this cultural field, which also includes politics.[196]

[194] **The Economist,** footnote 86.
[195] The Economist, It's So Hard to Say Sorry, <https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2006/11/16/its-so-hard-to-say-sorry>, accessed on 10.01.2021.
[196] **Fanon** (1993), p. 50.

Language is the most important element of national identity, and the colonists, who are aware of this, made their own languages compulsory in administration and education during their domination in Africa and left it as a legacy while leaving. It suffered a similar fate in Algeria to other colonial countries. During the colonial period, the colonial administration prevented Algerian Muslims who preferred to go to religious schools to learn to read and write and to receive religious education from getting an education. In 1843, the state confiscated habus lands[197] and blocked the funding of religious schools.[198] Since there were few trained Muslim teachers, French teachers were often employed in Muslim schools. Moreover, attempts to establish bilingual, bicultural schools aimed at bringing together Muslim Algerian and European settlers were blatantly unsuccessful and were phased out after 1870.[199] At that time, the rate of education among Algerians was very low. In schools affiliated with the French education system, the curriculum was in French and Arabic was not used.

Cultural ties with the region emerge as one of the most important factors enabling France to maintain its influence despite the end of its dominance in the region. When Fanon realized that it was impossible for the colonial bourgeoisie to maintain its dominance in the colonial countries, he stated that colonial countries continue their struggle behind the front in areas such as culture, values and techniques in their former colonies.[200] At this point, French has a privileged place in terms of ensuring continuity. The issue of language has long been a sensitive one in post-colonial Algeria as the predictable outcome of the colonial legacy. The official language of the state is Arabic, but few Algerians grow up speaking this language.[201]

After independence in 1962, the adoption of Arabic as the national language represented a break with France and was necessary for a newly independent country to establish a national identity. Education reform has been high on the Algerian government's agenda and the state sought to free its people from French assimilation by reviving Islamic cultural values and designating Arabic as the national language. Indeed, Ahmed Ben Bella, the first president of Algeria, was emphasizing the importance of teaching Arabic in schools

[197] These are religious foundations, which are the main source of income for religious institutions, including schools.
[198] **Metz**, p. 93.
[199] Ibid.
[200] Ibid, p.95.
[201] The Economist, A battle over language is hampering Algeria's development, <https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2017/08/17/a-battle-over-language-is-hampering-algerias-development>, accessed on 12.02.2021.

in order to destroy France's colonial legacy, but his use of French created a great contradiction when he said this.

The influence of French could not be eliminated because elites who came to power after independence went to French schools and expressed themselves in French. Indeed, Ahmed Ben Bella, the first president of Algeria, emphasized the importance of teaching Arabic in schools in order to destroy the colonial legacy of France, but while doing so, speaking in French created a contradiction. Moreover, Malika Rebai Maamri, who is a Senior Lecturer at the National Postgraduate School of Political Science in Algeria, asks a crucial question at this point: "Is it possible for Algerians to rebuild their own culture as long as they continue to express themselves in the language of their former masters?"[202] For Algerians, French became not only the language of the colonizer but also a language of resistance that could be used as the language of national liberation in their struggle against colonialism.[203] A striking example of this can be seen in the following words of the Algerian novelist Malek Haddad: "It is in French that I first uttered the word independence."[204] This reveals the dilemma that Algerians are in even today.

In a statement to Le Monde in 2021, French President Macron claimed that before the French colony, there was no nation called Algeria. His main claim was that the Algerian national identity emerged at the end of colonialism. Looking at the literature of nationalism, it cannot be said that Macron's claim is completely wrong. In the literature, the 19th century is defined as the century of colonialism. From that period to the decolonization period, there was almost no piece of land that the Western states did not colonize on earth.[205]

On the other hand, colonial nationalism, based on the supremacy of the Western white race, had created a boomerang effect, as Andrew Heywood put it. After World War II, the number of countries fighting for independence against their colonialists increased gradually. The main motivating factor is the struggle against colonialism, which is why it is defined in the literature as anti-colonial nationalism. Judging by the statements of Macron in this

[202] **Maamri, Malika Rebai** (2009) 'The Syndrome of the French Language in Algeria', International Journal of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 82.
[203] **Rabah**, p. 7.
[204] **Zaghlami, Laeed** University World News, Students as victims of a national language malaise, <https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=2017121313330943>, accessed on 17.11.2020.
[205] **Birsel, Haktan** (2013) 'Emperyal Fransa'nın Osmanlı-Cezayir Stratejik Düzleminde Bir Kültür ve Kimlik Asimilasyonu Örneği, (Aziz Charles de Faucauld'un Mektubu)', SDU Faculty of Arts and Sciences Journal of Social Sciences, No:29, p. 46.

context, it is a correct expression for the nation building process with the Algerian independence struggle against French colonialism after World War II.

In this context, Algeria's struggle against the French colonialism can be considered as the main factor in the formation of Algerian national consciousness. As the French thinker Ernest Renan said, one of the factors that affect the emergence of a nation is the great suffering in the past. The loss of so many people's lives by exposure to French colonial practices were reveal who the "other" is behind the idea of nationality that motivated the creation of the Algerian nation.

In fact, we can say that the thought expressed by Macron over Algeria is based on Rudyard Kipling's 1899 poem *The White Man's Burden*.[206] This expresses an understanding based on the assumption that the West has even modernized its colonies. He reminds us of the 'white man's heavy burden'. This heavy burden develops and modernizes colonies and even gives rise to modern nations. The claim that the Algerian nation was built by France, on the one hand, hides exploitation and legitimizes it, on the other hand, claims to bring modernism, democracy and human rights to the region.

However, it is worth reminding once again that the primary target of colonialism and imperialism has been the local people, and the efforts to first deteriorate the local cultural fabric and then retexture it with the cultures of the imperial target country have become the most important application area of power struggle.[207] At this point, it is necessary to mention the phenomenon of culture. While culture generally constitutes the whole ethnic structure of societies, it contains many social and sociological qualities in a wide range from language to religion, from clothing to art, which allows both to define the society and to distinguish one from the other, and at the same time, it has historical generation layers and relates the society to its past. It can be thought that it is a phenomenon that adds time depth to society.[208]

Ernest Gellner, on the other hand, stated that the history of humanity is based on cultural differences and continues; “Cultural boundaries sometimes have definite and sometimes indefinite lines. Cultural formations, on the other hand, are sometimes

[206] The Kipling Society, The White Man’s Burden 1899, https://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/poem/poems_burden.htm, accessed on 21.10.2022.
[207] **Birsel**, p. 46.
[208] **Smith, Anthony D.** Kültürel Olarak Yeniden Temellenme Mantığı: Milliyetçilik Kuramları, Roger, Antoine (editor) (translated by Aziz Ufuk Kılıç) (2001), İstanbul, Versus Yayınları, p. 115.

determined in bold letters and plainly, and sometimes they are crooked and complex", emphasizing that the cultural structures of societies are in an unbalanced order.[209]

In addition, Gellner points out that the level of social development is parallel to the fact that the cultures of the society have definite lines by making the disorder his starting point, and points out that the search for a regular culture in the agricultural world is futile, but because order and simplicity come to the fore in the industrial world, order has a linear connection with culture.[210] From this point of view, it is possible to say that development, as a general rule, has a positive effect on social cultures and makes it a social power. Therefore, as the level of development increases, it affects the national identity and nationalization process among the members of the society and channels the whole society in this direction.[211]

Addressing the issue of ethnic building blocks in this field, Anthony D. Smith, while defining the ethnic community by shaping it with six features, expressed the "common culture" phenomenon, which includes language, religion, art and other descriptive and distinctive elements, as one of the principles.[212] In addition, drawing attention to the unifying feature of culture for the society even before the modern nation periods, Smith said that the cultural structure is a principle that preserves its validity in all periods of history, especially for all societies that preserve their territorial structures, and that the basic building blocks of nationization in the era of modern nation states are actually territorial society. indicates that it is based on their culture.[213] The difference between it and the modern period is that the forces that connect people of the same ethnicity and unite the society vary according to each society.

In parallel with this approach, Hobsbawm points to the point that upper cultural structures that want to control territorial societies will cause a conflict and mentions that cultures at all levels can act protective.[214] As Kymlicka states, in the past and today, people still feel a deep commitment to the culture that knits their society, regardless of which building block it takes its power from.[215] In some societies, religious culture, in others

[209] **Gellner, Ernest** (2009) Uluslar ve Ulusçuluk, İstanbul, Hil Yayınları, p. 67.
[210] Ibid.
[211] **Birsel**, op.cit.
[212] **Smith, Anthony D.** (2009) Milli Kimlik, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, p. 107.
[213] Ibid, p. 76.
[214] **Hobsbawm, Eric** Bir Kimlik Yeniden Kullanım Mantığı: Milliyetçilik Kuramları, Roger, Antoıne (editor) (translated by Aziz Ufuk Kılıç) (2001), İstanbul, Versus Yayınları, p. 71.
[215] **Kymlicka, Will** (1998) Çokkültürlü Yurttaşlık, (translated by Abdullah Yılmaz), İstanbul, Ayrıntı Yayınları, p. 171.

language, and in some societies, the aggressive-based fear culture, which is formed by the spirit of expansionism, has been used as a glue for the society. For this reason, it has always been the primary goal for the dominant powers to penetrate the established culture of the society and to destroy this culture, which is nourished by the identity of the community, by dissolving it in the dominant power culture.

The issue of language has long been a sensitive one in post-colonial Algeria as the predictable outcome of the colonial legacy. Today, with a population of over 40 million, Algeria has two official languages, Arabic and Berber, which gained official language status in 2016. Although French is not the official language of the country, it is widely used both among the people and in public institutions. Even today, Algerian elites prefer French as the language of communication. According to unofficial statistics, more than 10 million Algerians use this language in the fields of economy, culture, arts, tourism, and service and their daily work. Although France left these lands, the effects of the cultural assimilation it left behind are still felt intensely. This situation causes a serious paradox in the triangle of perception of nation, identity and culture.

This reveals the dilemma that Algerians are in even today. After independence in 1962, the adoption of Arabic as the national language represented a break with France and was necessary for a newly independent country to establish a national identity. Education reform has been high on the Algerian government's agenda and the state sought to free its people from French assimilation by reviving Islamic cultural values and designating Arabic as the national language. However, the number of those who see Arabization policies as the cause of the chaos in Algerian education today is quite high. At the same time, students who study in Arabic are unlikely to have a good job unless they have proficiency in French.[216] On the other hand, thousands of Algerians take French language exams each year to get scholarships from universities in France. About 23,000 Algerians are enrolled in French universities in 2019, making up 8% of France's foreign students.[217]

According to a report published by Campus France in June 2022, North African and Middle Eastern students represent France's largest international student body, an increase of

[216] **Roux, Cheryl S. Le** (2017) 'Language in Education in Algeria: A Historical Vignette of a "Most Severe" Sociolinguistic Problem', Language&History, Vol. 60, No. 2, p. 118.
[217] **Ghanmi,** footnote 90.

32 percent over the past five years.[218] (see figure 4.1.) In terms of all international students in France, their percentage is 29.

A large number of students in Algeria are victims of language policies because after studying Arabic in primary and secondary school, all scientific specialties at the university are taught in French.[219] As if this duality in education was not enough, Algerian Minister of Higher Education Tayeb Bouzid made a controversial decision in 2019 to erase the traces of the colonial legacy. He said, "The French language gets us nowhere" and instructed university administrations in the country to use English instead of French.[220]

This is a step towards replacing French as the dominant foreign language in Algeria with English but divided the experts into two. One party argues that since English is the language of international science, for Algeria's scientific activities to be more visible, the language of education should be English, like many other countries. The other party thinks that this transformation will drive the education system into a disaster. While there is currently no consensus on which of the six dialects of the Amazigh/Berber language, which was accepted as the official language in 2016, will be taught in schools, the emergence of a fourth language, after Darja (Algerian Arabic), French and Amazigh, makes things even more complicated.

Moreover, after the Algerian President Abdelmadjid Tebboune's announcement that the government was established, the use of French by the ministry staff in the press statements caused a wide-ranging campaign of criticism in the streets of the country. The situation in question brought to mind the period of former President Bouteflika, who spoke in French to the Algerian media and at official meetings.

The Algerian national identity has been shaped directly by the colonial legacy of France and it seems that the French language will continue to exist in Algeria. Undoubtedly, Arabic as the official language provides Algeria with a sense of national identity, but the fact that French still has the status of mother tongue in society raises questions about the current Algerian identity.

[218] **El-Galil, Tarek Abd** Al Fanar Media, Arab Students Tell Al-Fanar Media Why Their Numbers Are Increasing in France, <https://al-fanarmedia.org/2022/09/arab-students-tell-al-fanar-media-why-their-numbers-are-increasing-in-france/>, accessed on 16.09.2022,
[219] **Chaif**, footnote 89.
[220] **Ghanmi**, footnote 90.

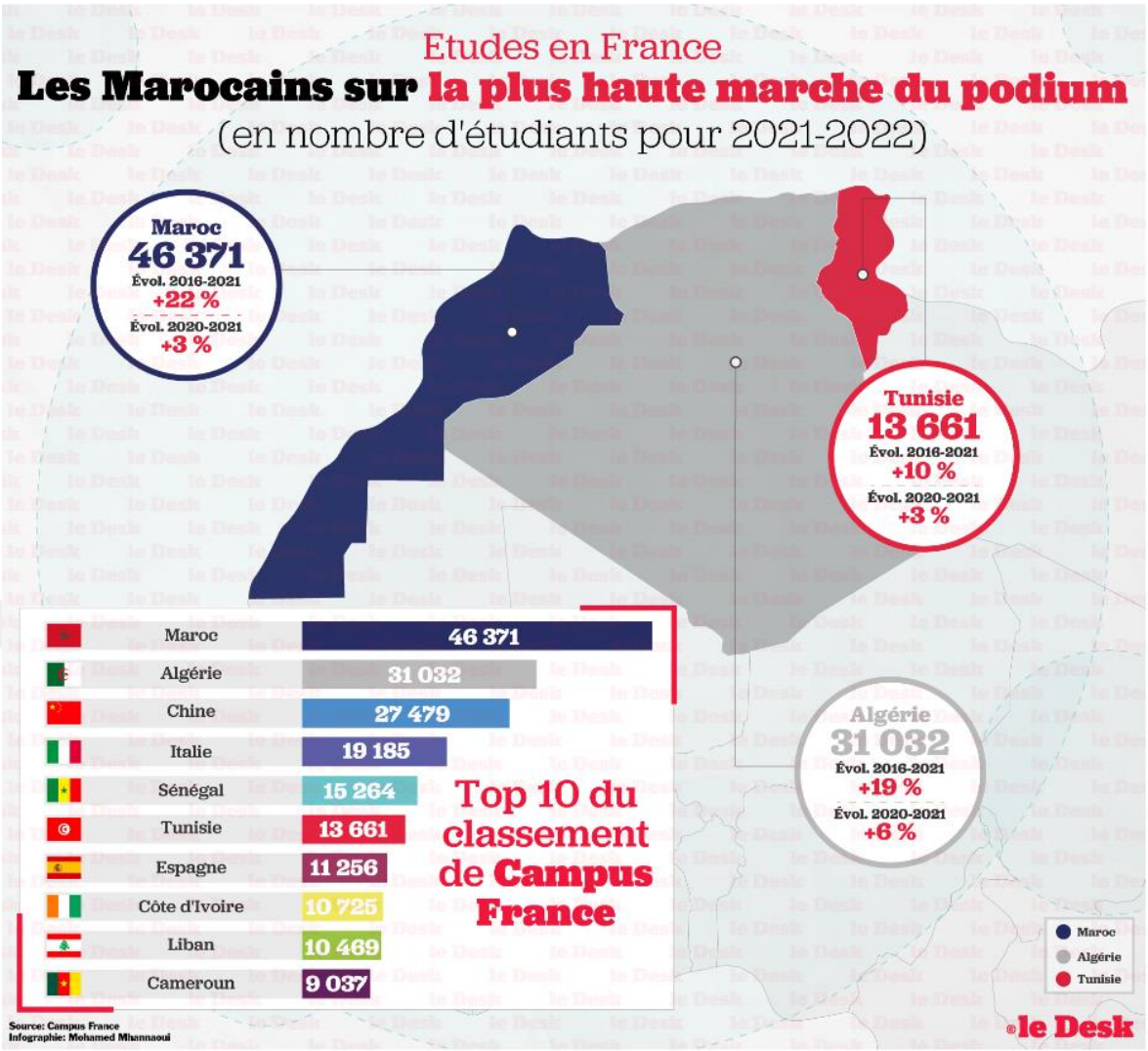


Figure 4.1. Number of international students in France between 2021 – 2022

(Source: Campus France, June 2022)

5. ALGERIA AND FRANCE RELATIONS UNDER THE COLONIAL LEGACY

"What we have here is a relation without a relationship, a speech made inaudible through brutality and injustice, an unavowable memory, silted up with misunderstanding, in which violence has been the chief link between the two countries concerned. All these rifts, denials, and wounds have produced a neurosis beyond the power of psychoanalysis. To be aware of this is to recognize and define the real problem. We live in an age of confusion, muddle, and unthinking politics---the politics not of action but of reaction." [221]

Tahar Ben Jelloun

Within the scope of the chapter, it will be tried to shed light the effects of colonial legacy on Algeria-France relations. While doing this, bilateral relations were analyzed by dividing them into three periods. First of all, relations from Algeria gained its independence in 1962 to the Algerian Civil War were analyzed. Then, the relations from the end of the Algerian Civil War (2002) to the Algerian Hirak Movement in 2019 were analyzed. Finally, the relations from the Algerian Hirak Movement to the first half of 2022 were analyzed.

This is the reason why I divided the historical process into these three periods. After Algeria gained its independence in 1962, Algeria struggled with a 10-year civil war that started in December 1991 and ended in 2002. During this time, Algeria, as a newly established country trying to become a nation-state, experienced a coup in 1992 and then a civil war that would last for 10 years. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, who participated in the elections held in 1999, won the elections with the support of the army and became president and continued his duty until 2019. I thought it would be more appropriate to divide the period in this way, since the same name served at the head of the country for 20 years.

In 2019, Bouteflika stated that he gave up participating in the elections due to the popular protest called Hirak in the country, which at some points showed similarities with the Arab Spring, and resigned from his post one day after this statement. Later, Abdelmadjid Tebboune became president with the 2019 Algerian presidential election, and he is still in office. The reason why I chose the period from 2019 to present is that the name at the head of the country changed after 20 years.

[221] **Jelloun, Tahar Ben** (1999) French Hospitality: Racism and North African Immigrants (translated by Barbara Bray), Newyork, Columbia University Press, p.6.

5.1. Algeria-France relations from Algerian Independence to the Civil War (1962 – 1991)

The Evian agreements in March 1962 brought the end of the eight-year war. For De Gaulle, it was an agreement that had to be ratified by the French and Algerian peoples through a referendum; for the Provisional Government, it was an agreement between two sovereign governments.[222] The first element of the Evian Agreement was the implementation of the process of self-determination. At this point, the transition period carried out by a Franco-Algerian Provisional Executive empowered to organize the referendum, uphold the freedom and security of Europeans and Algerians, maintain the ceasefire, and oversee the release of political prisoners.[223]

The second element of the Evian Agreement was a statement of principles that would form the basis of future relations between the two countries. These principles, framed by the rights and freedoms contained in the United Nations Declaration, concerned the status of the French people in independent Algeria, the Sahara, future economic cooperation and military bases. In addition, three years were given to Europeans living in Algeria to choose between Algerian and French citizenship. In addition, their rights regarding the protection of their property, participation in public affairs and freedom of religion and culture would be protected.

The Sahara, on the other hand, would be used for common interests, although the French had privileged drilling and exploration rights compared to international rivals.[224] In addition, there was a plan for economic and financial cooperation, including a commitment to maintain the same level of development spending for three years from the signing of the agreement.

On the military front, French troops were to be reduced to 80,000 within one year, and would leave completely within the next two years; the naval and air bases in *Mers-el-Ke'bir* and *Bou Sfer* were leased to France for fifteen years; and the Sahara site for nuclear testing was kept for five years.[225] Therefore, these clauses actually supported the military interests of France.

[222] **Evans,** p. 311.
[223] Ibid.
[224] Ibid.
[225] Ibid.

In the period after independence, Algeria has firmly stated that any interference by France in its internal affairs is unacceptable, despite maintaining relations with its former colonizer. In fact, the two sides initially had surprisingly good relations but began to deteriorate around the time of the Algerian Civil War. According to Luis Martinez, a Maghreb researcher at Sciences Po University in Paris, relations have been stable and balanced to date despite appearances and criticism.[226] For example, France was allowed to continue its nuclear tests in the Algerian Sahara until 1967, and de Gaulle managed to negotiate a secret deal with the newly independent Algerian state to allow chemical weapons tests until 1978, however, Algeria suspended the negotiations, citing the 1992 elections.[227]

One initiative of France before the independence of Algeria caused the relations to take a different turn in the period after independence. To maintain its dominance in North Africa, France ensured that Algeria was included in the European Economic Community (EEC), the precursor of the European Union.[228] In doing so, the French authorities insisted that as Algeria was seen as part of France, naturally it was also part of Europe. After World War II, they tried to persuade the European Economic Community to do so. French leaders at the time had concerns about their imperial authority. Because in a large part of the global south, the colonial subjects threatened the European rule, and in 1954, after the loss of Indochina and the beginning of the Algerian War of Independence in the same year, the French authorities began to see European integration as a way to maintain their existence as an imperial power.[229] France believed that integration would ensure France's legitimacy on Algerian territory in the international public opinion.[230] However, at this point, the process did not proceed as they expected.

We can briefly summarize the process as follows. Shortly after the United Nations General Assembly first discussed what became known as “the Question of Algeria"[231] in

[226] Africanews, Algeria - France relations 60 years after independence, <https://www.africanews.com/2022/02/26/algeria-france-relations-60-years-after-independence/>, accessed on 26.02.2022.
[227] Ibid.
[228] **Brown, Megan** Foreign Policy, France Can’t Erase Algeria From Its History, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/04/08/france-presidential-election-algeria-history-colonialism-europe-eec-africa/>, accessed on 8.04.2022.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Ibid.
[231] It is the product of the permanent conflict between French colonialism and a people which, unanimously, demands its legitimate right to sovereignty and its dependence. (see for details: Wilson Center, The Internationalization of the Algerian Problem and Its Inscription on the Agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations from 1957-1959, <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/121601.pdf?v=61f42a455d8d6ed82b162e27a720b2b0>, accessed on 13.07.2022.)

1957, French officials demanded that Algeria be included in the EEC agreement. France saw this as a response to the Algerian liberation fighters and their international supporters. The founding members of the EEC, who thought that any movement towards European integration would not be successful without French support, accepted to include Algeria as part of France. France secured a semantic victory by consolidating Algeria's inclusion in the EEC agreement as part of France, while promising European funds for its colony.[232]

However, France's efforts were not enough to hold Algeria and Algeria gained its independence in 1962. Although Algeria, an independent state, is no longer part of France, it was still mentioned in the EEC Treaty. This situation made the de facto status of Algeria uncertain. The first president of Algeria, Ahmed Ben Bella, sent a representative to Brussels to clarify the future of the relationship between Algeria and the EEC, but for many years, no results were achieved. Instead of solving the question of how post-independence Algeria adapted to Europe, they preferred to remain the status quo. They did this not because they agreed that Algeria was European, but because the status quo enabled Algerian migrant workers to work in European countries as a cheap labor force. For example, European countries, particularly West Germany, continued to receive guest workers from North Africa. Moreover, more than half a million Algerians have migrated to France, either temporarily or permanently, due to the state of the Algerian economy.

But over the years, the win-win relationship between Algeria and the EEC has become increasingly problematic for all parties. After independence, Algeria began to establish close relations with the Arab states and nonaligned countries. The new relations established by Algeria began to disturb the EEC member states and, using the 1973 oil crisis as an excuse, suspended the immigration procedure of some countries, including Algerians. This situation has finalized the separation on the two sides of the Mediterranean. Finally, Algeria and the EEC formally ended their relations in 1976.[233]

Following Algeria's independence, the bulk of its important economic and trade relations were with France. Although relations between Algeria and France have progressed in a strained manner since the declaration of independence, the fact that the economic relations have progressed highly constitutes a contrast to the communication between the two countries. Although there is a visible anti-French sentiment in the society, the economic cooperation of the two countries has been seen by some groups as a necessity created by

[232] **Brown**, footnote 226.
[233] Wilson Center, footnote 231.

international economic conditions. With the end of the colony, the rapid economic gains promised by the ruling class of the new state generally failed to materialize, and economic development slowed after a short time. Due to pre-established trade links, the lack of experienced government officials, and the French military presence envisaged in the Evian Accords that ended the Algerian War, France continued to influence Algeria.[234] Moreover, France provided massive economic aid to Algeria after independence under the name of "cooperation."[235] By providing such support, France would maintain its ties with Algeria and use the newly independent state as a "strategic doorway to the third world."[236]

The first serious crisis in Algeria-France relations was caused by President Houari Boumedienne's nationalization of hydrocarbons in February 1971. This was an important step forward by an ex-colonial country towards becoming an independent country. As a result of the nationalization of hydrocarbons, Algerian wine imports were banned, and the Algerian rhetoric against France emerged as France did not respond to the wave of killings and racist violence suffered by immigrants.[237] This caused a long crisis and continued until the election of François Mitterrand in 1981. President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing made a historic visit to Algeria in 1975, for the first time since independence in 1962, but this did not improve relations.

Shortly after independence, Algeria went through a bloody civil war (1991-2002) and this dragged its relations with France to another dimension. Algeria's first real democratization attempt took place between 1989 and 1992. The democratization process, which started with the decision of the transition of the reformist wing within the regime from one-party to multi-party life, was the scene of the first free and fair elections in the region at the end of 1991. However, after the first round of the election, which resulted in the far-reaching victory of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), the army ended the process of democratization with a coup, despite the opposition of some leftist groups and reformist regime actors.

After this coup, a civil war broke out between the army and the radical groups that came out of the control of the FIS, affecting the whole country. This process called "Black Decade" has cost the lives of approximately two hundred thousand people. Reports of non-

[234] **Metz**, p. 230.
[235] **Babicz**, p. 208.
[236] **Ruedy, John** Historical Influences on Intra-Regional Relations in the Maghrib: Barakat, Halim (editor) (1985) Contemporary North Africa: Issues of Development and Integration, London, Croom Helm, p. 89.
[237] Africanews, footnote 224.

governmental organizations state that there were more than six hundred massacres, bombings, assassinations, in which an important part was carried out by the regime. At the end of the years of civil war, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, one of the old faces of the regime, became president in 1999. He came as a kind of savior and ended this civil war and brought stability to the country. After the trauma of the 90s, the stability and economic development of Bouteflika increased its legitimacy.

France, which was initially unresponsive to the Algerian Civil War, began to show its influence in Algerian politics by clearly expressing the necessity of the intervention of the Algerian army in the elections through the French press after the prospective victory of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS). The main reason why France changed its stance in this way is that the Muslims from the Maghreb region living in France is anxious to be influenced by the rising Islamic movement in Algeria. The coming to power of an Islamic party completely contradicted the interests of France. For this reason, France, which wanted to turn the process in its favor, transferred approximately 40 million dollars to Algeria through the European Union between 1990-1994.[238] With this assistance, France aimed to keep the Algerian government close to it.

In 1995, President Liamine Zeroual canceled a long-scheduled meeting with President Jacques Chirac during the UN's 50th anniversary celebrations in New York. He cited "an attack on the dignity and sovereignty of the Algerian people" as the reason behind the cancellation decision.[239] The reason for President Zeroual's remarks was that his counterpart President Jacques Chirac committed to “rapid organisation of a free and democratic legislative election” for the restoration of peace in Algeria due to the civil war that claimed tens of thousands of lives following the annulment of the 1991 Algerian elections.[240]

5.2. Algeria-France relations after the Algerian Civil War (2002-2019)

While the relations between the two countries were expected to be strained at the end of the civil war, President Bouteflika gave importance to cooperation but did not position France as Algeria's only foreign policy alternative. The most important indicator of this is the close relationship Algeria has established with the European Union. In previous years, France acted as a borderline between Algeria and the EU, but France is no longer allowed to

[238] **Schulfoer-Wohl, Jonah** Civil War in Algeria, 1992-Present : DeRouen, Karl / Heo, Uk (editors) (2007), Civil Wars of the World: Major Conflicts since World War II, Santa Barbara, ABC-CLIO, p.117.
[239] **Belkaïd, Akram** Le Monde diplomatique, **F**rance and Algeria, a long history of distrust, <https://mondediplo.com/2021/11/10algeria>, accessed on 17.11.2021.
[240] Ibid.

position itself in this way. In brief, he neither completely turned his back on France nor established very close relations with France as in the past. In fact, he made a clear message to France by making an official visit first to the USA and then to France during the first term of his presidency.

Relations between Algiers and Paris went through their worst period after independence, with the enactment of the law in 2005, which asserted "the positive role of the French presence overseas" by the National Assembly in France. Paragraph 2 of article 4 of the controversial law is as follows:

> School curricula specifically acknowledge the positive role of the French overseas, especially in North Africa, and the history and sacrifices of the French soldiers from these territories shall be given their rightful prominence.[241]

This law argued that French colonialism provided the colonies with large investments in education, health, and infrastructure that facilitated their development. The law caused serious controversy in both France and Algeria. French historians reacted quickly to the 2005 law and signed a petition demanding that the law be repealed. At the end of January 2006, then French President Jacques Chirac ordered the Constitutional Council to repeal article 4 of the law. However, it was a belated move, and the extremely negative image of France in the international community has worsened. France's ignoring and denial of what happened in Algeria caused serious criticism in its own country's public opinion.

It led to a review of France's colonial history and school curriculum in the light of the controversy. France's colonial past has been in the school curriculum since the 1980s, but France, which officially accepted the Algerian War in 1999, could not be expected to reflect its colonial history as it is. Shortly after their debate, the French government began updating the school curriculum to put more emphasis on colonial history. With the publication of a new school book in France in 2011 focusing on the Algerian War and the slave trade, a major step was taken towards France's confrontation with its colonial history. [242] Moreover, there is even a compulsory module on "Memory of the Algerian War" in the program of the final

[241] National Assembly of France (2005), 'La loi n° 2005-158 du 23 février 2005, portant reconnaissance de la Nation et contribution nationale en faveur des Français rapatriés', Journal officiel de la République française 0046,
<https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/download/pdf?id=y07S1hSr5STProtS5YLc2tc_Fh71x9KoG_z3damffY=>, accessed on 24.02.2020.

[242] **Lotem, Itay** The Conversation, A decade after the riots, France has rewritten its colonial history, <https://theconversation.com/a-decade-after-the-riots-france-has-rewritten-its-colonial-history-50499>, accessed on 18.12.2020.

year of high school.[243] This module is about the memories of the Algerian War that was constructed differently on both sides of the Mediterranean.[244]

However, none of these attempts were enough for Algeria. Since then, Algeria has requested a formal apology from France for crimes committed during colonization as a precondition for the sustainability of bilateral relations.[245] This apology never came. During his official visit to Algeria in 2012, former French President François Hollande declared that his country's occupation was "unjust and brutal", but did not mention any apology.[246]

Relations between the two countries were tested again in 2013. Algeria opened its airspace to France, which wanted to support Mali's government in the clashes between the groups in northern Mali and Mali's army, and supported France's Mali intervention in various fields, including intelligence. This decision disturbed the opposition in Algeria, but the government chose to be closer to France. While it was thought that Algeria would not support France in any way, Algeria acted oppositely. However, it should be noted that Algeria's driving force behind this decision is not only its desire to establish close ties with its former colonizer, but also its effort to become an effective actor in the region.

At that time relations were progressing well, but in 2014 François Hollande gave a speech to the Representatives of French Jewish Institutions (Crif) and relations became strained again. In his speech, Hollande stated that Interior Minister Manuel Valls returned "safe and sound" from his official trip to Algeria and said "that's no mean feat." [247] Of course, these words were unacceptable to Algerians. Foreign Minister Ramtane Lamamra described the incident as "a regrettable incident" but the Algerians were enraged.[248] President Hollande eventually had to apologize to restore the peace.

In 2017, Emmanuel Macron, the French independent presidential candidate at the time, called colonization a "crime against humanity" during his visit to Algeria. In 2019, President Macron did more and acknowledged that France had a systemic chain of command that

[243] Ibid.
[244] Ministère de l'éducation nationale (2014), Ressources pour le lycée général et technologique, <https://cache.media.eduscol.education.fr/file/lycee/12/3/01_RESS_LYC_HIST_TermS_th1_309123.pdf>, accessed on 17.12.2020.
[245] **Lefèvre, Raphaël** (2015) 'A new chapter in relations between Algeria and France?', The Journal of North African Studies, Vol. 20, No. 3, p. 316.
[246] **Toumi, Abdennour** Daily Sabah, Franco-Algerian ties: A conflict of memory or love-hate relationship?, <https://www.dailysabah.com/op-ed/2020/02/17/franco-algerian-ties-a-conflict-of-memory-or-love-hate-relationship>, accessed on 22.12.2020.

[247] **Belkaïd**, footnote 237.
[248] **Belkaïd**, footnote 237.

initiated the torture of the French army, paratroopers, and special forces during the Algerian War of Independence.[249] However, France has been avoiding a formal apology for years and this puts the relationship between Algeria and France in a vicious circle.

5.3. Algeria-France relations after the Algerian Hirak Movement (2019)

In 2019, the Middle East and North Africa witnessed great demonstrations that have not been witnessed since the Arab Spring. Although this movement differed significantly from the Arab Spring in terms of both its structure and its consequences, it caused serious changes in the political leadership of the country.[250] In the period following the first years of the Arab Spring, it was not possible to see the demonstration movements that spread to Algeria, except for a few small examples.

On February 22, 2019, a serious social movement has emerged in Algeria called *Hirak.*[251] Algeria, the country where these shows began, has been a relatively neglected country by the international community since 2000, despite its historical and political importance especially in North Africa.[252] The protests started with the announcement of Bouteflika's candidacy for the fifth presidential term, who has been serving as president for Algeria since 1999. The people showed a serious reaction, but in fact, the motivation behind the protests has been the rage of ongoing corruption, mismanagement, and social injustice in the current regime. Although this movement differed significantly from the Arab Spring in terms of both its structure and its consequences, it caused serious changes in the political leadership of the country. Abdelmadjid Tebboune, who previously held several official positions under the administration of Bouteflika, became the new president of Algeria in the elections held on December 12, 2019.

Initially, France made only general public statements for demonstrations in the former colonial country and put no pressure on the regime in the direction of reforms. However, after broadcasting documentaries about the Hirak movement on French public television in May 2020, the Algerian Foreign Ministry immediately recalled the Paris Ambassador to

[249] **Toumi**, footnote 244.
[250] **Kılavuz, M.Tahir** Perspektif, Cezayir'de Gösteriler Yılı ve Orta Doğu'da Yeni Protesto Hareketleri, <https://www.perspektif.online/tr/jeopolitik/cezayirde-gosteriler-yili-ve-orta-doguda-yeni-protesto-hareketleri.html>, accessed on 21.05.2020.
[251] *Hirak* means movement. It, also known as the "Revolution of Smiles," is a peaceful democracy movement in Algiers, then expanded to encompass all of the 48 districts in Algeria.
[252] **Kılavuz**, footnote 248.

country for consultation. The Algerian Ministry of Internal Affairs stated in a statement that the relevant documentaries are attacks against the Algerian people and its institutions under the name of freedom of expression.

Two controversial documentaries about the Hirak movement were shown. The first of these was "Algeria, my love", aired by France 5, and the second film, "Algeria: the Promises of the Dawn" was broadcast on France's Parliamentary Channel.[253] Directed by French journalist of Algerian origin Mustapha Kessous, the documentary “Algeria, my love” narrated the Hirak movement from the perspective of five Algerians in their 20s. The reason why the documentary to get so much reaction is that it is mentioned about taboos in Algeria, especially sex.[254] The majority of criticism of the documentary is directed towards the "reductive" portrayal and the "lack of knowledge" about Algeria.[255] Upon this, the Algerian ministry said in a statement that "malicious and lasting intentions on the part of certain circles, which do not wish to see peaceful relations between Algeria and France after 58 years of independence".[256]

On the other hand, Abdelmajid Tebboune, when he becomes the new president of Algeria, called for "mutual respect" in Franco-Algerian relations, saying his country "will not accept any interference or tutelage" from abroad.[257] Tebboune made such a statement because he wanted to state that he sees French President Emmanuel Macron's call for "a transition of reasonable duration" at the beginning of the Hirak protest movement as an "interference" in the domestic affairs of Algeria. Moreover, after the Algerian President Abdelmadjid Tebboune's announcement that the government was established, the use of French by the ministry staff in the press statements caused a wide-ranging campaign of criticism in the streets of the country. The situation in question brought to mind the period of former President Bouteflika, who spoke in French to the Algerian media and at official meetings.

In July 2020, France handed over to Algeria the skulls of 24 resistance fighters who were beheaded during the colonial occupation in Algeria and kept in a Paris museum for

[253] Middle East Online, Films on Hirak spark Algeria-France crisis, <https://middle-east-online.com/en/films-hirak-spark-algeria-france-crisis>, accessed on 17.02.2021.
[254] The Jakarta Post, French film on Algeria sparks diplomatic spat, angers protesters, <https://www.thejakartapost.com/life/2020/05/29/french-film-on-algeria-sparks-diplomatic-spat-angers-protesters.html>, accessed on 12.01.2021.
[255] Ibid.
[256] Middle East Online, footnote 251.
[257] Middle East Online, footnote 251.

decades. Although it is a late step, the French side is aware of how important Algeria's friendship is to them and they cannot risk losing it. The process of returning the skulls shows that France wants to face its past and gain Algeria's trust.

Besides, steps taken between the two countries to address historical issues awaiting resolution have accelerated. It was expected that the memory file prepared by the initiative of Algerian President Tebboune and French President Macron would lead to the solution of the problems between the two countries. The 160-page report containing 22 recommendations on the memory of colonization and the Algerian war, supervised by Benjamin Stora, was presented to President Macron on 20 January 2021.[258] The report presented a series of recommendations: [259]

- set up in France a "Memory and Truth" commission responsible for promoting joint initiatives between France and Algeria on memory issues;
- commemorate the various symbolic dates of the conflict (Evian agreement on March 19, 1962, homage to the harkis on September 25, and repression of Algerian workers in France on October 17, 1961);
- return to Algeria the sword of Emir Abdelkader, hero of the resistance to French colonization in the 19th century;
- recognize the assassination of lawyer and political activist Ali Boumendjel during the Battle of Algiers in 1957;
- set up a mixed commission of French and Algerian historians to shed light on the kidnappings and assassinations of Europeans in Oran in July 1962;
- continue work on French nuclear tests in the Sahara and their consequences, as well as those of the laying of anti-personnel mines during the war;
- facilitate the movement of harkis and their children between France and Algeria;
- encourage the preservation of European cemeteries in Algeria, as well as Jewish cemeteries and the graves of Muslim Algerian soldiers who died for France during the Algerian war;
- advance on the issue of archives, with the objective of transferring certain archives from France to Algeria, and on the other hand to allow researchers from both countries access to French and Algerian archives;
- reactivate the Museum of the History of France and Algeria project, planned for Montpellier and abandoned in 2014;
- bring lawyer Gisèle Halimi, a figure of opposition to the Algerian war, into the Pantheon;
- create a Franco-Algerian commission on the future of the cannon "Baba Merzoug", also called “La Consulaire”;
- erect "places of memory" on four internment camps for Algerians in France.

[258] Le Monde, France-Algérie: les 22 recommandations du rapport Stora, <https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2021/01/20/france-algerie-les-22-recommandations-du-rapport-stora_6066931_3212.html>, accessed on 22.01.2021.

[259] **Stora, Benjamin** Vie publique, Les questions mémorielles portant sur la colonisation et la guerre d'Algérie, <https://www.vie-publique.fr/rapport/278186-rapport-stora-memoire-sur-la-colonisation-et-la-guerre-dalgerie>, accessed on 21.01.2021.

The report deals with sensitive topics on behalf of the two countries but ignores the problem of apology Algerian authorities have long demanded from France for the colonial period and Harkis.[260] Moreover, the report did not address the systemic torture used by French forces in the Algerian War of Independence. But in his 2019 speech, President Macron acknowledged the systemic torture that France inflicted on Algerians during the Algerian War of Independence. The statement made by the Elysee Palace included the following: "hoped these initiatives would allow our country to take a lucid look at the wounds of the past, to build, over time, a reconciliation of memories and to be turned towards the youth in France and Algeria, in an education and transmission process."[261] Although there was no official reaction to the report in Algeria after the statement, Algerians are unhappy about the lack of an official apology.[262] It seems that President Macron will take symbolic actions to reconcile the two countries.

While unresolved issues continue, tensions have arisen between the two countries since France decided to cut the number of visas issued to Algerians, Tunisians and Moroccans in September 2021. France accuses the governments of North African countries of refusing to take back irregular migrants deported from France. According to French media, orders were issued to deport 7 731 Algerians between January and July this year but Algerian authorities provided consular documents required for the repatriation for just 31 people. However, Algeria flatly denied these figures.

While the tension between the two countries has not decreased, French President Emmanuel Macron's remarks about Algeria in the newspaper *Le Monde* on October 2, 2021 started a new crisis between the two countries, after he met with the Harkis who fought on France's side during Algeria's war of independence [1954-62] at the Elysee Palace. So what did Macron say? "To the combattants, I want to express our recognition; we will not forget. I ask forgiveness, we will not forget," Macron said during the reception. France "neglected

[260] They are Algerian Muslims. After Algeria gained its independence, some of the Harkis settled in France, and most of those who remained in Algeria were either massacred or abandoned to dishonorable living conditions. In France, since 2003, September 25 is celebrated every year as the day of remembrance of the Harkis who fought alongside France during the Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962).

[261] **Desai, Shweta** AA, France to form commission for reconciling with Algeria, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/france-to-form-commission-for-reconciling-with-algeria/2117868>, accessed on 23.01.2021.

[262] AfricaNews, Algerians unhappy about France's lack of apology for war role, <https://www.africanews.com/2021/01/21/will-french-president-apologize-for-france-s-role-in-algerian-war/>, accessed on 12.02.2021.

its duties towards the Harkis, their wives, their children," the French president said as he pledged a bill of law "of recognition and reparation" for the Harkis. "The president believes that the work accomplished over the past 60 years is important but that a new step is necessary in terms of recognising the failures towards the Harkis, but also the failure of the French republic to live up to its own standards," Macron's office said.

His words, especially targeting Algeria, had wide repercussions in the Algeria public. Macron said that:

> The building of Algeria as a nation is a phenomenon worth watching. Was there an Algerian nation before French colonization? That is the question. There were previous colonizations. I am fascinated to see Turkey's ability to make people totally forget the role it played in Algeria and the domination it has exercised, and to explain that we are the only colonizers. It's great. Algerians believe it.

Moreover, he argues that "the official history of Algeria has been rewritten, not based on truths, but on hatred against France." According to him, after Algeria gained independence from France in 1962, it was built on "a memorial rent" maintained by "the politico-military system," adding the whole problem is presented as France.

The Algerian press asks which Macron they should believe: "The presidential candidate who in 2017 declared colonialism a crime against humanity, or the 2021 Macron who doubts Algeria existed before 1830?" [263] Moreover, Elysée's selection of Le Monde journalist Mustapha Kessous to cover Macron's meeting with the youth on September has fueled speculation in Algeria.[264] There is a strong belief that his name was not just a coincidence, but was chosen specifically, because in 2020, news channel France 5 aired his documentary about Algerian youth and Hirak, causing strong criticism and the recall of the Algerian ambassador.

According to Megan Brown, "these are deliberate attempts to erase or excise Algerians and others from France's past and present—a revisionist history that's far removed from reality." [265] Such rhetorics ignore French imperialism and its legacy, and more importantly, it ignores how much effort France once made to maintain ties with its colonies, especially Algeria.[266]

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[263] **Belkaïd**, footnote 237.
[264] Ibid.
[265] **Brown**, footnote 226.
[266] Ibid.

Upon this, a written statement from the Algerian Presidency said, “Macron’s remarks are an unacceptable insult to the memory of over 5.63 million martyrs who sacrificed themselves with a valiant resistance against French colonialism between 1830-1962,” it included. It was stated that the numerous colonial crimes committed by France were a genocide against the Algerian people and that Algeria's Ambassador to France, Mohamed Antar-Daoud, was recalled for consultations. In addition, Algeria announced that it has closed its airspace to the French air force, which is engaged in Mali on Operation Barkhane.[267] This shows that Algeria can act as a fully independent country to protect its national interests and diversify its relations with other countries in order to get rid of the French tutelage and hegemony in the Maghreb and Sahel region.

Algeria has been trying to break France’s influence for long years. Especially Algerian President Tebboune has been working to reduce the economic dominance of France in Algeria since the day he took office. Many French companies operating in Algeria for many years had some privileges in their investments and projects in the country for many years, but this started to change. For example, the French company responsible for the operation of the Algiers Metro ceased operations last year after the Algerian government wanted to work with the Algerian company. Moreover, it has been reported that the local group of companies in Algeria has started an attempt to cut trade relations with 500 French companies based on imports and exports. Macron does not want French companies to lose the Algerian market, but Tebboune's policies towards France weaken Macron's hand.

As tensions continued between the two countries, Macron, who is the first French president to attend a memorial for those killed that day, joined the commemoration of “1961 massacre of Algerians in Paris”[268] on October 17, 2021. He condemned the massacre, stating that it was “unforgivable.” However, despite these volatile statements by Macron, the Algerian side remains determined. In fact, in a recent decision, two Algerian ministries[269] ended the use of French in official correspondence.

[267] Operation Barkhane is a French military-led operation against Islamist groups that began on August 1, 2014 and includes the countries of Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, and Chad in the African Sahel region. It is France’s largest overseas operation, with a budget of nearly €600m per year. However, President Macron announced in June 2021 that he would end the operation.
[268] On 17 October 1961, French police turned on Algerian demonstrators. The exact number of victims is unknown, but around 12,000 Algerians are said to have been arrested, with several hundred killed.
[269] “The Algerian Ministry of Vocational Training” and “The Algerian Minister of Youth and Sports”. With the exception of the Defense Ministry, all Algerian ministries use French in their correspondences and statements, though the official languages of the country are Arabic and Amazigh/Berber.

Later, the French side made warmer statements in order to improve relations before the Paris International Libya Conference in November 2021 in order to support the regional efforts, but while the Algerian authorities considered them acceptable, Algerian President Tebboune refused to attend the meeting.[270] Moreover, the meeting of the French-Algerian Ministerial Committee, which was planned to be held on March 24, 2022, aimed at restoring relations and cooperation between the two countries, was canceled for the second time this year. It was originally intended as an annual event but has not yet been held for five years.

When we look at today, there are more current problems for both sides. On the one hand, Algeria asked France to extradite many opposition figures, including Ferhat Mehenni, the head of the Movement for the Autonomy of Kabylia (MAK), which Algeria considers a terrorist group, but did not receive the support it expected.[271] In addition, Algeria feels that France is willing to fight for historical memory and is reluctant to meet the requirements of the Évian Accords and the bilateral agreement of 1968 that gave Algerian immigrants preferential resettlement rights to France.[272] On the other hand, France complains that Algeria does not cooperate enough on illegal immigration. The ongoing discussions on issues such as immigrants and integration in France hinder the progress of bilateral relations.[273] Also, France is uncomfortable with Algeria's reluctance to take back Algerians who went to fight in Syria and Iraq, who are involved in terrorism.[274] In addition, it should be noted that the Algerian community in France has a serious lobby. The Algerian diaspora in France plays a fundamental role in the relations between the two countries.[275]

Although bilateral relations have been fluctuating for years, the economic and security fields have not been affected much by the negatives of the relations. While France is Algeria's second largest export market, the gas and automobile industries form the backbone of the economic relations between the two countries. As for the relations in the field of security and military cooperation, a former Algerian army officer describes it in the following words: “The security services and militaries never stop talking to each other, even

[270] **Alkinani, Zeidon** Arab Center Washington DC, Maghreb-France Relations as Macron Begins Second Term, <https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/maghreb-france-relations-as-macron-begins-second-term/>, accessed on 27.08.2022.
[271] **Belkaïd**, footnote 237.
[272] Ibid.
[273] Ibid.
[274] Ibid.
[275] **Toumi, Abdennour** Daily Sabah, Is there a hope for French-Algerian relations?,” July 7, 2021, <https://www.dailysabah.com/opinion/op-ed/is-there-a-hope-for-french-algerian-relations>, accessed on 07.07.2021.

when both capitals are exchanging insults."[276] At this point, we can say that the relations between France and Algeria have two different aspects. While the military, intelligence and business world maintain their bilateral relations without any problems, temporary discussions and reconciliations of politicians in the media take place in the media and occupy the agenda of the public.[277]

If we consider the period from 1962, when Algeria gained its independence, to the present day, the relationship between France and Algeria will remain arguably one of the most complex files in history. France has had great difficulty in facing the dark pages of its history. In this context, the two most mentioned periods are the periods of Vichy France and the Algerian War. French historians refer to these two periods as "simply an impenetrable past", implying that their consequences are still felt in today's politics.[278] Therefore, when it comes to France's relations with Algeria, Macron initially tried to open a new page on the Algerian War of Independence by saying that colonization was a crime against humanity. Macron has been harshly criticized by the right-wing French for his comments. However, realizing that he has no partner in Algeria and that the Algerian regime is still reluctant to initiate the democratic transition process, Macron started to use harsher words against the Algerian regime, causing the deterioration of bilateral relations as seen today. [279]

On the one hand, Algerian politicians such as the late president Abdelaziz Bouteflika and his successors allegedly used anti-French rhetoric to maintain their positions, but still maintained good relations with France secretly.[280] Confirming this, Naoufel Brahimi El Mili, who wrote a book on 60 years of relations between the two countries, said that "French-Algerian relations are good when they're in secret. They're more hostile when they're in public."[281]

On the other hand, the memory question continues to prevent both Algeria and France from turning a new leaf and establishing ordinary relations. In the light of the contradictory statements made by Macron in recent years, we can understand the fluctuating nature of the relations between the two countries. On the other hand, Algeria seems determined to get rid

[276] **Belkaïd**, footnote 237.
[277] Ibid.
[278] **Toumi, Abdennour** (2021) Ortadoğu Analiz, 'Fransa, Tarihinin Karanlık Sayfalarıyla Yüzleşmekte Büyük Zorluk Yaşamıştır', <https://orsam.org.tr//d_hbanaliz/13_ABDENNOURTOUMI_108.pdf>, accessed on 21.07.2022.
[279] Ibid.
[280] **Alkinani**, footnote 268.
[281] Africanews, footnote 224.

of the French influence completely. Considering the latest developments, the two countries will undoubtedly continue to have close relations, but it is unlikely that the problems will be resolved in the coming period.

6. CONCLUSION

Algeria was forcibly separated from the Ottoman administration with the occupation of France in 1830 and thus the colonial period began. In this process, Algeria was exposed to the brutal colonial policies of France. After independence, Algeria came under the influence of the colonial legacy left behind by France. Every country that has a colonial past and is exposed to neocolonial activities today can be evaluated in the context of postcolonialism. Since Algeria is one of the countries exposed to colonialism and imperialism, it is an example worth examining from a postcolonial perspective.

This research has tried to examine the effect of the 132-year colonial legacy on the post-independence Algeria-France relations in the axis of postcolonialism. First of all, it should be emphasized that France is slowly losing its power in Algeria, as it was in the former colonial countries. Algeria and France try to maintain a more friendly relationship, but the traumas from the past do not allow them to open a clean slate and run their relations smoothly. At this stage, the question of how the colonial legacy, which is the starting point of the thesis, affects the bilateral relations after independence gains importance.

After independence, the relations between the two countries progressed on a highly sensitive line. Although economic and military cooperation were strong, the influence of the colonial legacy on political and cultural relations caused tensions between the two countries from time to time. While the general distrust of the Algerian side towards France continues, any step in terms of relations raises suspicion on the side of Algerians.

The obvious difference of opinion between the two countries on the solution of the problems arises at this point. While Algeria calls on France to acknowledge the crimes in question and pay compensation for the victims, France argues that it is necessary to close the old notebooks and look into the future. It seems France will not make an official apology in the near future for the crimes it committed in Algeria during the colonial period.[282] According to journalist Yassin Mohammadi, there can be talk about France's recognition of its crimes and paying compensation when the relationship between the two countries is equal

[282] France 24, No Repentance nor Apologies' for Colonial Abuses in Algeria, Says Macron, <https://www.france24.com/en/france/20210120-no-repentance-nor-apologies-for-colonial-abuses-in-algeria-says-macron>, accessed on 21.01.2021.

and Algerian authorities activate the mechanisms of repression on Paris.[283] However, France will not apologize for not taking on the responsibilities of a formal apology.

Although 60 years have passed since Algeria won its independence struggle against France, the French colonial legacy continues to be an element of tension in Algeria-France relations. The reluctance of France to confront its colonial past and admit the crimes committed in this period stands out as one of the most important reasons for this situation. In addition, we can say that the source of many problems in the country in the post-independence period is based on the colonial period.

French colonialism was based on policies of cultural, economic and political assimilation. The obligation to learn the language of the colonizer made it difficult to maintain national identity and traditions in the colonies. Because speaking French was a prerequisite for getting a good education, being able to work at high levels and gaining status. As a result of the importance given to French education, the fact that many Algerians speak this language as their mother tongue, sometimes even better than their mother tongue, emerged as an important problem in the path of nationhood in the post-independence period.

The widespread use of French by the masses shows its influence in the Algerian language even today. Algerian President Abdulmecid Tebboune, in an article he wrote for the *Al-Jaysh* magazine published by the Ministry of National Defense, "We should not forget the situation our country faced after independence in every field, especially in education."[284] In addition, Tebbun, who stated in his article that Algerians were deprived of literacy during the colonial period, also emphasized that approximately 90 percent of the people at that time were illiterate. According to data released by the International Organization of Francophonie this year, approximately 15 million of Algeria's 45 million population speak French in daily life.[285]

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[285] Ibid.

On the other hand, the effects of French colonialism extending to the present continued to show itself in Algeria's economic life. Until last year, France maintained its position as Algeria's largest trading partner and the dependency relationship in this area continued.

In addition, while the Algerian authorities were waiting for an apology from France for the crimes committed during the colonial period for a long time, these demands were tried to be glossed over by the French government with some symbolic attempts. The report on memory problems commissioned by the French President Macron to the Algerian historian Benjamin Stora, was far from meeting the expectations of both sides. The report, which was prepared to reconcile the bad memories of the French and Algerians from the colonial period, was criticized on the grounds that it did not fully reflect the colonial history of the country and even tried to cover up some facts, and unfortunately it could not serve its purpose.

We can say that French President Macron's accusation of countries such as Türkiye, China and Russia of following neo-colonial policies in the African continent and being hostile to France wants to direct the arrows of criticism to other countries due to the increasing anti-French sentiment in their former colonies. However, Macron's questioning of whether there was a pre-colonial Algerian nation is proof that France is still trying to legitimize French colonialism by hiding behind words.

On the other hand, normalization of relations between the two countries is unlikely if France continues to ignore this problem. For this reason, it seems that the crimes committed by France in Algeria during the colonial period will continue to be one of the most important issues affecting the relations between the two countries in the near future.

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