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International Stances of the Algerian Revolution (1956-1962)- Via The Mudjahid Newspaper-

مواقف دولية خالدة للثورة الجزائرية بين (1956-1962) - من خلال جريدة المجاهد -

¹* LAOUEDJ Lsardine

¹ Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences; Djillali LIABES University Sidi Bel Abbes, Algeria

ملخص

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الكلمات المفتاحية:

الثورة الجزائرية،

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هيئة الأمم المتحدة،

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التعايش السلمي.

تجاوزت الأهداف الإستراتيجية للثورة الجزائرية (1954-1962) تحقيق الاستقلال على المستوى الوطني، والارتباط العضوي في إطارها الإقليمي بالاتحاد المغاربي، والوحدة العربية والإسلامية، والتضامن التحرري في الاتحاد الأفرو- آسيوي والعالم الثالث، بل تعدته للمساهمة في تغيير النظام الدولي الجائر بمساهمتها الضعيفة في محاربة ثلاثية الاستغلال وهي: "الاستعمار الحديث، والاستعمار الجديد، والإمبريالية"، وتكريس التطبيق العملي لمبدأ "حق الشعوب في تقرير مصيرها"، والمساهمة في وقف خطر الحرب الباردة ونجاح التعايش السلمي، وفرض مبدأ "الحياد الإيجابي"، وتنبهه هيئة الأمم المتحدة وفرنسا ذاتها والرأي العام العالمي عموما لمخاطر توسع التجارب النووية في الصحراء الجزائرية.

Key words:

Abstract

*The Algerian ,
Revolution,
Colonialism,
the United Nations,
the Cold War,
Peaceful coexistence.*

The strategic objectives of the Algerian Revolution (1954-1962) went beyond the achievement of independence on a national level, and the creation of an organic link within the Maghreb Union, and the Arab and Islamic unity, the liberal solidarity in the Afro-Asian Union and the Third World. But, it exceeded to the change of the unfair international order through its fight against any form of exploitation including : «Colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism» and the implementation of the principle of «the right of peoples to self-determination», and by exposing the danger of the Cold War and applying peaceful coexistence and the principle of «positive neutrality». It also made the United States and France and the world public opinion aware of the dangers of the expansion of nuclear testing in the Algerian Sahara.

1. Introduction

The Algerian Revolution (1954-1962) left its own print in the history of human civilizations. Its strategic goals did not just lead to the achievement of independence and freedom of the Algerian people on a national level, the creation of an organic link within the Maghreb Union, the Arab and Islamic national unity and the liberal solidarity in the Afro-Asian Union and the Third World only. But it also led to the change of the international system through its effective contribution to the expansion of decolonization around the world, and its protection of the international organizations from the dangers of colonialism on peace and security in the world, it also brought new political terms such as the principle of **“positive neutrality”** in international politics in order to stop the dangers of the Cold War and make the policy of peaceful coexistence successful. It even alerted the world public opinion of the dangers of the expansion of nuclear means and the French nuclear testing in the Algerian Sahara and that is what the newspaper **«The Mudjahid»** which is the voice of the National Liberation Front wrote about both in Arabic and French. So, **what are the reasons behind it?**

2. Eliminate, once and for all, the colonial system

The Algerian Revolution began with the aim of eradicating colonialism which was part of the world order due to the solidarity of the colonialist movement around the globe and the fact that they took control over the world on the basis of historical right and that the white European man is in charge of bringing civilization to the vulnerable people

(FR ANOM) 93/4420 , 1960, ^[1].

although history has proved that colonialism was a crime against humanity and an obstruction of justice, which hinders the advancement of human civilization. This is why the reasons behind the revolution were clear from the beginning in the statement of the first of November 1954 and the Soummam Conference 20/08/1956, which answered the questions about the main goal behind this revolution:

«Why do we have to fight? The historic mission of the Algerian Revolution is to eliminate, once and for

all, the colonial system that is hindering progress and peace »

(The Ministry of Culture and Information, (without date) ^[2].

3.the maintenance of **“The right of peoples to self-determination”**

The outbreak of the Algerian Revolution was in the midst of a global call for decolonization by linking it to the fundamental universal principle **“The right of peoples to self-determination”**, which was the United Nations’ motto (Saadallah(Omar), 1984)^[3], and which France and her allies attempted to interpret in another way in order to serve their colonial and exploitative interests, thus disrupting the functions of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security and the right of peoples to self-determination (Maamri(Khalifa), 1984)^[4]. The Algerian Revolution tried to warn the United Nations that it is being used as a propaganda platform by the major powers in order to exploit vulnerable people and that its principles are being sabotaged by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and that the United Nations must take full responsibility in condemning colonialism, because its negative attitude poses a danger to Algeria and the future of peace in the world, and it reminded the organization of the Italian aggression against Ethiopia in 1937, wondering if :

«The United Nations will be the same as the League of Nations because of its silence towards colonialism? »

(**The Mudjahid**, 17/09/1958) ^[5] .

It also warned the United Nations about the colonial powers wondering if the organization is actually about serving their interests: « Is this body only a platform for Western propaganda and a tool to implement the policy of colonial countries »?

(**The Mudjahid**, November 1, 1957) ^[6] .

The Algerian Revolution showed even to France the results of colonization, which have weighed on the French government and people and led to political, economic and social crises, also moral and diplomatic crises that lowered the rest of her international reputation and prestige

(The Mudjahid, on November 1, 1957,^[7]. The French President, Charles De Gaulle admitted it:

» We were in all areas on the edge of a crisis. The 1958 budget involved a deficit of at least 1,200 billion francs, our external debt exceeds three billion dollars, and our trade balance: imports are almost 75 percent of domestic consumption, and what we have left on the first of June is only the equivalent of 630 million dollars of gold, the value of what we import within five weeks (...) We were in fact faced with two possibilities: either the emergence of a miracle or bankruptcy (...) It was obvious that the continuation of this situation will only bring to our country disappointments and tragedies, and it is time to get rid of it»

DE Gaulle (Charles), 1970)^[8]

France was dependent on other Western allies, especially the Americans and the Germans due to the aid made by the NATO and its members to save France from bankruptcy (Lebjaoui Mohamed), 2005) [9] , and the value of this aid was calculated by the German Mark from West Germany, the US dollar from the United States of America

(The Mudjahid, 15/01/1958) ^[10] .

France is experiencing a chronic crisis financially, economically, politically, socially and morally **(The Mudjahid**, 15/01/1958) ^[11] The Algerian Revolution gave France a lesson and it warned her about the Western aid, which often turns into dominance and subordination and a loss of sovereignty, saying:

«When France wants to pursue her ambitions as a great colonial power, she will only lose her military and economic balance and weaken her international weight and her role on European and global level. When France insists on standing up against Algerian independence, she is forced to give up on her sovereignty »

(The Mudjahid, 15/12/1957) ^[12]

The Algerian Revolution revealed that Europe as a whole will benefit from the end of colonialism which is only a source of disasters. Because without colonialism countries cooperate with each other, and the wealth is distributed fairly in the world

(Abbas (Farhat), 2006)^[13] .

The Revolution did not forget the principles of the American and Latin Revolutions, which revolve in its orbit with its origins, traditions and motto that reject colonialism, declaring that:

« It is important to mention that some countries of the Western bloc, (...),

such as the United States of America, Ireland and the Latin American countries,

which are former colonies and which now condemn colonialism fully »

(The Mudjahid, 15/02/1958) ^[14] .

The Algerian Revolution reminded France and her allies of the reasons behind the interaction of the free world despite their different ideologies in the statement of Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic by confirming that:

«The ones creating new ideas and the humans free from any kind of control condemn the entire colonial system »

(The Mudjahid, 10/10/1958) ^[15] .

The Algerian Revolution contributed to bring this world order down, it fought for the sake of all oppressed people against colonialism, which refused to grant them freedom. It also made sure to implement the principle of “the right of peoples to self-determination”, as an international principle and as a means of ensuring global peace and security, enabling the vulnerable people to take action in the world, and to promote individual and collective human rights. And this is how the Afro-Asian Union was created in order to bring world peace

(Shriet Abdallah), 13/07/1955)^[16], because of the power of the Algerian Revolution, its justice, its solidity, its comprehensiveness for more than seven and a half years. This constituted a clear turning point in the history of the liberation of the largest section of tormented people, especially in Africa, the victims of European racism since the Second Berlin Conference in 1884, which created a conflict between nations labeled as weak, but who defended humans' rights and values fiercely, against colonialist, exploitative

and racist instincts defended by states characterized by urbanization, progress and development

(**The Mudjahid**, (01/11/1958)^[17] .

the revolution was an example of this global movement of freedom consciousness seeking for the advancement of nations that there is no independence and peace as long as colonialism exists

(Talas and Asli Bassam, 20/05/1956)^[18] .

The Algerian Revolution was known worldwide for its objective to eliminate all kinds of colonialism and to get rid of all forms of slavery. It expanded its motto to fight the triple exploitation: modern colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism

(Shikh Suleiman), 2003)^[19] .

4.contributed strongly to the success of peaceful coexistence

The Algerian Revolution also contributed strongly to the success of the policy of peaceful coexistence between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Since the beginning in the statement of November 1st , 1954, it applied the principle of peaceful coexistence declared between the two giants since March 1953 considering it the perfect international principle to finding a peaceful solution to the Algerian issue and other international problems as it was mentioned in the statement of November:

« Peaceful coexistence can fix some minor problems, including our cause»

(Ministry of Information and Culture, (s. d.),^[20]

.But its main goal remained about independence and freedom of decision as stated in the Soummam Conference on 20/08/1956 :

«It is our duty to preserve the independence of the Algerian Revolution fully, and that we must clear the doubts of the French government and its press saying that this revolution is fake and orchestrated from abroad »

(Ministry of Information and Culture,(s. d)^[21] .

5. Stop the ideological conflict of the Cold War

The Algerian Revolution was closely related to the fate of world peace, and through its success, a new

future for humanity would be established because of France’s involvement in the Cold War and her position between the western and eastern camps

(**The Mudjahid**, 1/11/1959)^[22] .

France was part of this ideological conflict between the United States of America and the Soviet Union in the hope of maintaining her status in international relations, and in order to be the leader of Western Europe at least, and find allies on the issue of Algeria. So, France started to position herself between the two camps: the Soviet Union and the United States of America and due to the importance of France in the eyes of the two camps, they supported the policy of the French government in Algeria and their official opinion on the Algerian issue did not change until 1960 after the resistance of the Algerian people to the colonial war and the fact that the Algerian cause was supported by the Maghreb and Arab world and even worldwide

(Forgi Michel, (2008)^[23], But after the establishment of the Fifth Republic in 1958, France got caught up in the middle of the Cold War conflict between the two giants, since the American opinion within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization about The Arab Maghreb changed because of the expansion of Communism in this area and their fear that it would impact Africa as a whole (Shriet Abdallah), (06/05/1958)^[24], which would be a danger even to France and her military force, that would cost her the loss of her status and value in the eyes of the world

(**The Mudjahid**)(14/06/1959)^[25] .

So, the Algerian War of Independence was a threat to France’s status and is only going to hinder her role as a superpower and her full mission within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (**The Mudjahid**, (12/06/1959)^[26] .

The position of the Soviet Union towards the Algerian issue remained neutral, as demonstrated by the statement of the Soviet President” Nikita Khrushchev” after the recognition of “Charles De Gaulle” of the right of Algerians to determine their fate on 16/09/1959, which stated :

« The recent offers by General De Gaulle can play

a major role in solving the Algerian issue(...) There are strong ties between France and Algeria formed throughout history (...) these offers should not remain French statements, but must be accompanied by concrete measures that take into account the rights of the Algerian population to free and independent development »

(**The Mudjahid**, 15/11/1959)^[27] .

But after China was convinced of the justice of the Algerian cause and decided to support Algeria with an enormous aid (Sheikh Suleiman, 2003) ^[28] , the Soviet's position has evolved since the speech of President Nikita Khrushchev at the United Nations General Assembly on 25/09/1960 where he confirmed the necessity of granting independence to colonized countries and people (Shreit Abdullah, 25/09/1960)^[29]. He also officially recognized the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic and did not give any comments on the French colonial policy in order to avoid any confrontation with France.

The French government, on the other hand, decided on continuing the Algerian war and control within the Arab Maghreb, which contributed to the strength of the Communist influence in the region and the weakening of the military defense of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the conversion of Algeria from a French issue into a major global crisis in the context of the crises of the Cold War, where Algeria became the center of international public negotiations between the West and the Soviet Union

(Shriet Abdullah, 1960),^[30] , which the revolution was aware of, as stated before :

«The secret of the Soviet Union's interest in the Algerian Revolution, its positive support in the United Nations, international conferences and the material aid it has been sending to the refugees and the Algerian people is that the solution to the problem in Algeria is one of the keys to peace in our time, especially after six years of sacrifice»

(**The Mudjahid**, septembre 1961)^[31].

That is why the Algerian Revolution welcomed this cooperation based on the complementarities of interests within the framework of the common

opposition to colonialism and imperialism away from all ideological affiliations ((Suleiman), Sheikh (Sheikh Suleiman, 2003),^[32]

On the other hand, the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic on 19/09/1960 formally recorded that involving Algeria in the North Atlantic Treaty was illegitimate (Bouaziz Yahia, 1980) [33] , Algeria sent a note to all members of the alliance condemning the article six of the treaty, in which France attempted to involve the alliance members in recognizing the myth of “ The Algerian French” of which Algerians did not accept (Article 6 states: “... the consideration of every armed attack against one or more of the parties to the alliance as an armed attack against Qatar from the countries of this alliance in Europe or North America or against the French provinces in Algeria,)

(**The Mudjahid**, 01/12/1957)^[34], It also condemned the transformation of NATO into a colonial tool which bombed Tunisian and Algerian children and women at the Sidi Youssef district on the Tunisian-Algerian border (Le Tourneau Roger, 1962) ^[35]. That is why, the Algerian Revolution refused to be related to France and the NATO in any way and condemned the danger of military bases in Algeria and North Africa, which threaten the security of the Maghreb as a whole

(**The Mudjahid**, 01/12/1957)^[36], and revealed to the world through the media and the different public organizations the threats of France (- The General Federation of Algerian Workers (UGTA) sent a letter to all trade union organizations within NATO on 14/09/1960 bearing responsibility, the most important of which is: »After six years of dirty war, we continue to call for labor solidarity)

(Sheikh Souleimane, 2003)^[37] , and the Arab and Maghreb media made sure to support Algeria (The General Union of Algerian Muslim Students (UGMA) at the 9th International Student Conference in Switzerland adopted a resolution on Algeria condemning all governments that support the French colonial policy, especially the NATO governments that allow)

(Sheikh Souleimane, 2003)^[38] .

Thanks to the Algerian Revolution played an important

role to expose the dangers of the Cold War between the two camps and the objectives of the policy of military alliances that threatened peace and security in the world (**The Mudjahid**, 15/04/1958) ^[39]. It also made its position clear to the world public opinion by declaring that:

«the people cannot forget their painful history with the West, which does not mind a major destructive war for the interests of some monopolistic companies threatened by the national struggle of any country (...) Colonialism is a global system that hinders the development and growth of humanity, therefore, there must be a collective confrontation of all people regardless of their different doctrines and political ideas (...) If there is a neutrality between liberalism (capitalism) and communism (socialism), there is no neutrality between nationalism and colonialism (**The Mudjahid**, 15/03/1958) ^[40]

The Algerian Revolution did not hesitate to exploit the international conflicts between the two giants to achieve the success of its revolutionary diplomacy, as the statements of its leaders confirm (**The Mudjahid**) ^[41]«The Front of Liberation, which was involved in a fundamental and decisive struggle for the future of the Algerian people would know without being hindered by ideological considerations how to find the necessary means to restore its freedom (...) The support of the democracies of the eastern camp now exists on a moral level and could extend to other areas, and perhaps the National Liberation Front would have to rely on them, if the West would not decide to change radically its policy

(**The Mudjahid**,16/11/1960)^[42]”

In this regard, Farhat Abbas wrote in the newspaper “**The Mudjahid**” clarifying the ideological side of the Algerian Revolution, saying :

«We are not the ones who chose between East and West, but East and West chose their position based on our liberation war, One chose to support our enemies, the other chose to support us against the enemies of our freedom. How can we in this case prefer to die under the weapons of the West rather than defend ourselves with weapons of the East? Our first lesson does not come from the Communist world, but from

the British colonizer, “Winston Churchill” who in the Second World War was ready to cooperate with the devil (**The Mudjahid**, November 1960) ^[43] .

In fact, the developments of the strategic positions of the Algerian Revolution confirm their desire for peaceful coexistence based on reducing the tension between the two giants, and believing in the spirit of cooperation and competition in peaceful ways between both of them, by saying:

“The rapprochement between East and West weakens the imperialist and colonialist grip on the Afro-Asian countries, and while the Cold War has to stop, it will allow for a broad peaceful competition among the more developed people which would be beneficial for the less fortunate ones”

(**The Mudjahid**, 16 November 1960)^[44].

The revolution saw from the position of the two giants on the triple aggression on Egypt in 1956 a tempting model that Algeria hoped to live in with its conflict with France, saying:

« it is necessary to emphasize that what happened between the two giants and

the cradle of their organized meetings is a classic colonial-style conflict, the attack

on Port Said in October 1956, and for the first time since the end of the Second

World War we found the Russians and the Americans working together to prevent

that adventure ? ».

(**The Mudjahid**, March 1960)^[45].

6. the dangers of the arms race and the French nuclear projects

The Algerian Revolution has also contributed greatly to warning world public opinion of the dangers of the arms race and the French nuclear projects, which paved the way for the attention of the world to the Fifth French Republic’s nuclear race, since the first statement of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria on 19/09/1958:

« The Government will also accept with satisfaction all endeavors aimed at

consolidating world peace, stopping the arms race and preventing nuclear testing in the world that France now wants to extend to the Algerian territory».

(The Mudjahid, 30, 10/10/1958)^[46]

The National Liberation Front participated in the World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs held in Japan between 15 and 20/08/1958 in which they discussed in detail about the abuses committed by the French army and the use of prohibited weapons in Algeria which were accepted by the international community

(Kiouane Abderrahmane, 2000)^[47] and they talked about the dangers of these harmful weapons on the environment and on people's lives in Africa where there was no empty area as claimed by France, but there were people living in the areas considered empty, where France tested her nuclear weapons

(Abbas Farhat 19/09/1960)^[48], and they mobilized all Africans to reject the threats of nuclear means on Africa. So, they exposed the dangers of nuclear weapons in the eyes of national and international public opinion [49] which led to a successful vote inviting France to abandon the project of atomic tests in the Algerian Sahara at The General Assembly of the United Nations on its list of 26/11/1958 where the Afro-Asian communities were on Algeria's side

(Shriet (Abdallah, 26/11/1959)^[50]

The world public opinion expressed great hopes for the success of international negotiations at the Conference of Poles in Geneva, to prevent France from making nuclear bombs (Shriet Abdallah), 12/06/1959^[51], but France was an obstacle to the success of this conference, and was working on the emergence of a third camp to be on her side. (Shriet Abdallah, 1959)^[52].

7. Conclusion

The Algerian Revolution gave birth to a new modern Algeria in all its dimensions, concepts, values and eternal heroic glory, which made sure to follow the laws of the international system based on the principle of "The right of peoples to self-determination" with a long-term strategic vision to serve humanity by eradicating colonialism in all its forms and developing

peaceful coexistence in order to eliminate possession of means of terror and destruction, and even save the French government from collapse and contributing to the establishment of peace and security within an open dialogue between civilizations, The Algerian Revolution gave birth to a new modern Algeria in all .

List of annexes

- A model for the Algerian denunciation of nuclear weapons,

source: FR Archive National d'Outre Mer N°: 93/4500 Aix- En-Provence,

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Conflict of Interest

The authors declare that they have no conflict of

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