

The End of the French Empire and the Debut of the Francophone World: Algeria's Post-Colonial  
Views of the World

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## Introduction:

The French Empire started to decline shortly after the end of World War II. This was the same period that many other European empires started to lose their hold on their colonies. The world had fought against the evils of fascism and authoritarianism, and many peoples felt it was time to gain independence and gain the powers of self-determination. The European powers had, “aspired to direct world affairs by first writing the history of man in its own self-image.”<sup>1</sup> The European powers ruled their colonies through “warfare and unfavorable political compacts.”<sup>2</sup> European powers carved up Africa by artificial measures.<sup>3</sup> Also, European powers did not care how they impacted native populations.<sup>4</sup> The French also were known for their use of local collaborators to exercise more direct control over populations.<sup>5</sup> There is basically no mystery as to why the people who had been under the subjugation of other powers had the desire to leave those cruel forms of government which technically should not have been existent after the creation of the United Nations.

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<sup>1</sup> Siba Grovogui, “Postcolonialism”, in *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 239.

<sup>2</sup> Grovogui, 240.

<sup>3</sup> Camille Lefebvre, “We have tailored Africa: French colonialism and the ‘artificiality’ of Africa’s borders in the interwar period,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 37, (2011): 191-202. 198.

<sup>4</sup> Lefebvre, 198.

<sup>5</sup> Andreas Eckert. "Colonial European Administrations: Comparative Survey." *Encyclopedia of African History*, edited by Kevin Shillington. Routledge, 2004. [http://huaryu.kl.oakland.edu/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/ro-utafricanhistory/colonial\\_european\\_administrations\\_comparative\\_survey/0?institutionId=218](http://huaryu.kl.oakland.edu/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/ro-utafricanhistory/colonial_european_administrations_comparative_survey/0?institutionId=218) .

The United Nations created ideals of national sovereignty and the right of nations to self-determination. The UN Charter was signed by fifty-one nations on October 24, 1945.<sup>6</sup> Article 1 of the UN Charter called for the self-determination of nations.<sup>7</sup> The Algerian people and many in the international community argued that the Algerians had the right to their own nation because of the abuses by the French.<sup>8</sup> This resulted in a 7-year war between France and Algerian independence fighters 1954 and 1962.<sup>9</sup> In 1962 the Algerian people gained the right to independence from France on the third of July.<sup>10</sup> Algeria's first statement to the UN was in 1962, when President Ben Bella gave the first official speech to the UN.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> "United Nations." In *Encyclopedia of Nationalism: Leaders, Movements, and Concepts*, edited by Alexander J. Motyl. Elsevier Science & Technology, 2000.  
[http://huaryu.kl.oakland.edu/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/esnational/united\\_nations/0?institutionId=218](http://huaryu.kl.oakland.edu/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/esnational/united_nations/0?institutionId=218).

<sup>7</sup> Chadwick, Elizabeth. "Self-Determination and Sovereignty." In *Global Social Issues: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Christopher G. Bates, and James Ciment. Routledge, 2013.  
[http://huaryu.kl.oakland.edu/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/sharpsi/self\\_determination\\_and\\_sovereignty/0?institutionId=218](http://huaryu.kl.oakland.edu/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/sharpsi/self_determination_and_sovereignty/0?institutionId=218).

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> "Algerian War of Independence." In *Chambers Dictionary of World History*, edited by Bruce Lenman, and Hilary Marsden. 3rd ed. Chambers Harrap, 2005.  
[http://huaryu.kl.oakland.edu/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/chambdictwh/algerian\\_war\\_of\\_independence/0?institutionId=218](http://huaryu.kl.oakland.edu/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/chambdictwh/algerian_war_of_independence/0?institutionId=218).

<sup>11</sup> United Nations General Assembly Seventeenth Session 1147th Plenary Meeting Tuesday October 9, 1962, New York, United Nations General Assembly: Official Records, General Assembly, Dag Hammarskjöld Library, New York, New York,  
<https://ask.un.org/faq/53773>.

Newly independent nations have a huge agenda to set on the world stage. The leaders of these nations must define their new identity to the world as an independent people. They must determine their priorities and define themselves to the world. They also must identify their past and determine how this will define their future. The United Nations often serves as a platform for completing these goals, but each nation has their own way of going about this process.

In this paper, I will examine how Algeria presented these newfound goals and identities to the world at the UN in the early years of its independence. I will start by completing a review of the current literature that relates to the topic of newly independent nations and Algerian foreign policy. I will then base my central hypotheses on the current scholarship to see if Algerian leaders use the same type of rhetoric which former scholars have said newly independent nations and Algeria respond to independence. I believe, based in the literature review, that Algeria will be a voice for change in the international community, and particularly focus on ideas of equality, justice, and nonalignment. I also believe that they will argue that colonialism continued, despite political independence, in the economic dependency of former colonized nations on their former colonizers. Lastly, I believe that countries will minimize their discussion of colonialism when they focus on issues of security and stability.

I found that the first hypothesis is consistent with evidence and that Algerian leaders talked many times. The existence of the need to end colonialism and fight for equality, justice, and nonalignment was evident in these documents. I also found that Algerian leaders focused the perpetuation of colonial hierarchy in the international economic system and the need to create new economic relations while not focusing on economic dependency. I lastly found that while Algerian leaders did talk of colonialism while discussing stability and security as they saw the two ideas tied to each other.

## Literature Review:

### How leaders and countries think about their place in the world and their priorities?

Past researchers have investigated the place of colonialism in modern foreign policy. For instance, the foreign policy of Indonesia, like that of many former colonies, has been influenced by its colonial history.<sup>12</sup> Indonesian leaders have mentioned colonialism in how they have framed their role in the world, by emphasizing standing up for smaller nations and working for “justice, fairness and equality.”<sup>13</sup> The country has also become – at times – a voice for a more democratic international system after their experience with colonialism. This approach has been typical of many other former colonies since all of them have had to address their colonial past and how it affects their present.

Past authors have noted the continuation of special relations between former colonies and former colonizing nations. For example, Kenya remained close to the allies of the U.K. because it had been a former colony of Great Britain.<sup>14</sup> South Africa’s participation in the British commonwealth was related to the nation’s colonial history with the UK also.<sup>15</sup> The concept of phonism was used to describe how African nations relate to their former colonies culturally. African phonism was described by Nanjira as a way that the continent has been divided into spheres of influence based on its cultural history with European nations.<sup>16</sup> In the years of post-colonialism 1960-1994, Nanjira further explained that “special agreements and MOU’s

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<sup>12</sup> Paige Johnson Tan, “Navigating a Turbulent Ocean: Indonesia’s Worldview and Foreign Policy,” *Asian Perspective* 31, no. 3 (2007):147-181. 163.

<sup>13</sup> Tan, “Navigating”, 178.

<sup>14</sup> Daniel Don Nanjira, *African Foreign Policy and Diplomacy from Antiquity to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, (Praeger Security International, Santa Barbara, CA, 2010), 318.

<sup>15</sup> Nanjira, *African Foreign Policy*, 309.

<sup>16</sup> Nanjira, 454.

(memorandums of understanding)” between Europeans and their former African colonies gave the former colonies, “special access to resources and protection of their former colonial powers.”<sup>17</sup>

Scholars have also focused on the pattern among former colonized nations to avoid alignment with larger powers due to their colonial past. The Non-Aligned Movement was pursued by the nations that were former colonies to pursue their own nationalist agendas because they argued they had been taken advantage of by the colonizing nations.<sup>18</sup> The *New York Times* reported that leaders had rallied against “the pillage” of nations in the global south at the non-aligned movements conference in Algiers in 1973.<sup>19</sup> The non-aligned movement sought the “transformation of the international system from a bipolar to a polycentric one”.<sup>20</sup> The non-aligned system also wished to see a more equitable and fair system of international economics, and in 1973 they created diplomatic language to criticize multinational corporations at the Algiers conference.<sup>21</sup>

Another type of analysis scholars have done in foreign policy focused on the economic relationship between colonizing nations and their former colonies. Lavallé and Lochard found

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<sup>17</sup> Nanjira, 473.

<sup>18</sup> Kristin Tassin, ““Lift up Your Head, My Brother”: Nationalism and the Genesis of the Non-Aligned Movement,” *University Press of Florida* 23, no. 1 (Spring 2006) :147-168. 147.

<sup>19</sup> “Nonaligned, But Also Not Aligned: Third World The World,” *New York Times*, September 9, 1973, <https://www.proquest.com/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/119832286/739DB151F01145ADPQ/3?accountid=12924>.

<sup>20</sup> Jayantanuja Bandyopadhyaya, “The Nonaligned Movement and International Relations,” *India Quarterly* 33, no.2 (April-June 1977): 138, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45071355>.

<sup>21</sup> Bandyopadhyaya, 1977, 143.

that there was a decrease in trade between France and its former colonies after the formerly colonized nations gained independence.<sup>22</sup> They also found that these newly independent nations turned to other countries in the global South as trading partners after they gained independence, which they attributed to the fact there were fewer restrictions.<sup>23</sup> Their economic research showed that the aims of the non-alignment movement, which had been mentioned by Bandyopadhyaya, had come to fruition economically.

Economic researchers have continued to see connections in the trends of the stock markets of former colonized nations and former colonizing nations. Investors from former colonizing nations may be intrigued to invest in countries that were former colonies of their home nations based on the commonality that colonization forced upon the former colonized nations (Donou-Adonson).<sup>24</sup> They concluded that in the long term, the stock market of the former colonized nation was connected to their former colonizing nation, but in the short term the stock markets of the colonized nation were more closely related to the markets in their region.<sup>25</sup> In conclusion, colonialism has had many effects on the way in which these new nations relate to other countries. We can see these effects in the way that Algeria conducts foreign policy, which is the focus of this paper.

## **B. Foreign policy of Algeria**

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<sup>22</sup> Emmanuelle Lavallé and Julie Lochard, “The Comparative Effects of Independence on Trade,” *Journal of Comparative Economics* 43 (August 2015): 613-63, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jce.2014.11.001>, 614.

<sup>23</sup> Lavallé and Lochard, “The Comparative Effects,” 614.

<sup>24</sup> Ficawoyi Donou- Adonsou, “Colonialism ties and stock markets: Evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa,” *Research in International Business and Finance* 47 (2019): 327-343, 327.

<sup>25</sup> Donou-Adonsou, “Colonialism Tie,” 342.

## How have Algerian Leaders Thought About Their Place in the World and Their Priorities?

Algerian Presidents, who have been the main decision makers in foreign policy in their country, historically focused on three main factors in their foreign policy decisions.<sup>26</sup> The first is their support of independence for former colonized nations. Algerian leaders were also involved in the nonalignment movement. They also often balanced between isolationism and a more active role in areas like security (the war on terror is a recent example). Scholars have also studied Algerian connections to France as their former colonizer, but also their main investor at the time of independence.<sup>27</sup>

Since its independence, Algeria has supported independence movements and the Non-Aligned Movement, but scholars have argued that the most active period in Algerian foreign policy was in 1973-1977. President Boumediene worked to change Algerian foreign policy beginning in 1973, during what Younger called the activist period.<sup>28</sup> This included supporting the Black Panthers in the US and the independence movement of the Canary Islands from Spain. The Algerian presidents had been vocally supportive of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) until 1973, when Algeria stopped taking the same diplomatic steps in support of the PLO as other Arab nations, due to the Algerian government's desire to stay neutral in divisive global issues.<sup>29</sup> The Algerian government has also supported the Polisario Liberation Movement, which

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<sup>26</sup> Laurence Thieux, "The dilemmas of Algerian foreign policy since 2011: between normative entrapment and pragmatic responses to the new regional security challenges." *The Journal of North African Studies*, 24 no. 3 (2019), 426- 443, 428.

<sup>27</sup> Sam Younger, "Ideology and Pragmatism in Algerian Foreign Policy," *The World Today*, 34 no. 3, (March 1978), 107-114, 108.

<sup>28</sup> Younger, "Ideology and Pragmatism in Algerian Foreign policy," 108.

<sup>29</sup> Sam Younger, "Ideology and Pragmatism in Algerian Foreign Policy," *The World Today*, 34 no. 3, (March 1978), 107-114, 108.



sought the full independence of Western Sahara.<sup>30</sup> Algeria was one of the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement. Between 1973 and 1976, President Boumedienne served as the chair of the organization.<sup>31</sup> This phase of vocal support of national liberations ended by 1977, in part because scholars believe that the Conference on International Economic Cooperation, which had worked to create a better balance of resources between developing and developed nations, was weakened by developed nations.<sup>32</sup>

Algerian leaders took an isolationist approach to foreign policy during the latter 1980's and early 1990's, and instability in Algeria led to a withdrawal from the world during this period, which included a civil war.<sup>33</sup> Liame Zeroual became president in 1995, but he had difficulties establishing a new foreign policy after the civil war.<sup>34</sup> President Bouteflika came to power in 1999 and brought Algeria back to the world stage. According to Mortimer, his leadership style was reminiscent of the Algerian Foreign policy of the 1970's.<sup>35</sup> However, Thieux argued that between 2011 and 2014, President Boutfilka's worsening health caused Algeria's foreign policy to become a lesser priority once again.<sup>36</sup>

In the years since 9/11, Algeria has taken a leading role in working with the US in the war on Terror. Algerian leaders had asked for more advanced weaponry from the US to help

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<sup>30</sup> Younger, "Ideology and Pragmatism in Algerian Foreign Policy," 111.

<sup>31</sup> Younger, 113.

<sup>32</sup> Younger, 114.

<sup>33</sup> Robert Mortimer, "Algerian foreign policy: from revolution to national interest," *The Journal of North African Studies* 20, no. 3 (2015): 466-482, 474.

<sup>34</sup> Mortimer, 474.

<sup>35</sup> Mortimer, 476.

<sup>36</sup> Thieux, 2019, 428.

fight domestic terrorists after 9/11. The leaders did not get all that they had hoped for because American leaders believed that the Algerians had solved their terrorism issues due to the decrease in terrorist activity.<sup>37</sup> The US also worked with the secret police service in Algeria to bring down the Libyan leader, Muammar Gaddafi, and target al Qaeda in the years following 9/11.<sup>38</sup> The US relationship with Algeria in the War on Terror has brought a more internationalist side to Algerian foreign policy.

Researchers have suggested that there has been an increase in Algerian interference in other countries more recently due to security threats since 2013. There was a weakening of the policy of non-interference policy after terrorist attacks in 2013 according to Thieux.<sup>39</sup> In 2014, the Minister of Foreign affairs said that their diplomatic priorities were related the security issues in Libya and Mali.<sup>40</sup> Algerian leaders were also focused on internal stability between 2011 and 2014 due to the Arab Spring.<sup>41</sup> This meant that while Algeria was worried about external threats it was more focused on its internal threats due to the possibility of regime change.

Scholars have studied how Algeria and France have maintained connections through direct relations and through the European Union (EU) in the years since independence. The period immediately following independence was tenuous with France, but the two countries came to an agreement in 1965 for French firms to continue pumping oil in Algeria in exchange

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<sup>37</sup> Jeremy H. Keenan, "Foreign Policy and the Global War on Terror in the Reproduction of Algerian State Power," *State Crime Journal*, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41937907>, 200.

<sup>38</sup> Keenan, 211.

<sup>39</sup> Thieux, 2019, 440.

<sup>40</sup> Thieux, 2019, 434.

<sup>41</sup> Thieux, "The dilemmas of Algerian," 428-429.

for an increase in royalties (for example, Algerian ownership of one of the largest companies, SN Repal, was increased to fifty percent Algerian ownership).<sup>42</sup>

In the 1970's, tensions between Algeria and France arose as France continued to maintain a large trade surplus with Algeria. In response, the Algerian government restricted trade with France.<sup>43</sup> The economic relationship between France and Algeria also shrunk between the two nations by the 1990's.<sup>44</sup> Since 2013, the conflicts in Libya and Mali led Algeria to allow France to use Algerian airspace in attacks on terrorist groups and other missions in Libya and Mali.<sup>45</sup> Algeria has continued to work with the EU in combatting terrorism. They have worked with the EU to regulate migration from North Africa to Europe.<sup>46</sup> Despite tensions, therefore, the two states have maintained significant ties.

Scholars have also studied the foreign policy of Algeria through its oil-based economy, and the nations it has worked with economically. In an analysis of Algerian trade between 1970 and 2014, Brika and Mekarassi argued that the Algerian economy has changed due to alterations in the oil market.<sup>47</sup> In the 1960's and early 1970's, Ben Bella, the first president of Algeria, had kept Algeria's economic reliance on France.<sup>48</sup> Then the Algerian economy moved away from

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<sup>42</sup> Robert Mortimer, "Foreign Policy and its Role in Nation building in Algeria," (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1968), 179-180.

<sup>43</sup> Younger, 111.

<sup>44</sup> Pierre and Quandt, 139.

<sup>45</sup> Thieux, 2019, 433.

<sup>46</sup> Federica Zardo & Chiara Loschi, "EU-Algeria (non)cooperation on migration: A tale of two fortresses," *Mediterranean Politics*, DOI: 10.1080/13629395.2020.1758453, 5.

<sup>47</sup> Said Brika and Lemya Makarssi, "Analysis of Algerian Trade performances from 1970 to 2014," *Journal of Behavioral Economics, Finance, Entrepreneurship, Accounting and Transport*, DOI: 10.12691/jbe-4-1-3, 16.

<sup>48</sup> Younger, (1978), 107.

the French and trading increased with the US in the later 1970's.<sup>49</sup> The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was a driving factor for the foreign policy of Algeria in the 1980's, according to Mortimer's examination of Algerian foreign policy.<sup>50</sup>

In the more recent times, Algeria has economically started to work with the US after a period of economic downturn. In the late 1980's and early 1990's, Algeria faced large economic problems, according to Pierre and Quandt.<sup>51</sup> In the early 1990's the government began to go into debt, in the late 1980's there was increasing unemployment, and oil prices had fallen.<sup>52</sup> Algeria then faced a civil war which created a low point in economic activity. In 1999, the US created the "US-North African economic partnership," which brought US investment to Algeria.<sup>53</sup> The primary research that was written about the two decades since this connection has been primarily based on the Global War on Terror and security in North Africa, with little attention paid to the material factors in Algeria.

In summary, Algerian foreign policy was very active at first as leaders tried to establish the country as an anti-colonial voice in the world. Algerian leaders have led periods of increased and decreased activity in foreign policy. Algeria also increased its ties to the US since the late 1990's. Algerian foreign policy has also been guided by economic ties in certain periods.

### **Methodology:**

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<sup>49</sup> Younger, "Ideology and Pragmatism," 107.

<sup>50</sup> Robert Mortimer, "Algerian Foreign Policy," 467.

<sup>51</sup> Andrew J. Pierre and William B. Quandt, "Algeria's War on Itself," *Foreign Policy*, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1149010>, 133.

<sup>52</sup> Pierre and Quandt, "Algeria's War on Itself," 132-134.

<sup>53</sup> Yahia H. Zoubir, "Algeria and U.S. Interests: Containing Radical Islam and Promoting Democracy," *Middle East Policy*, 75.

The scholarship in my literature review about foreign policy in Algeria in the two decades following their independence from France (1962-1982) suggests three hypotheses about what Algerian leaders will articulate as foreign policy priorities:

**Hypothesis 1: Algeria will criticize colonialism and will emphasize the importance of nonalignment and the former colonizers' obligation to enact global justice, fairness, and equality.**

**Hypothesis 2: Algeria will criticize colonialism as economic dependence and will emphasize the need to diversify one's economy.**

**Hypothesis 3: Algeria will make little reference to colonialism when it discusses priorities like security and stability.**

This research will conduct a content analysis of the UN speeches and statements given by Algerian leaders between 1962 and 1972, to identify Algeria's publicly stated foreign policy priorities during this period. The analysis will focus specifically on the speeches and statements given to the UN General Assembly. This period was selected because the first decade of independence tends to be crucial for how countries define their relationship with the rest of the world. As I will note in the conclusion, a more thorough analysis could examine these speeches for all the decades after Algerian independence, up to current day. This timeline, however, goes beyond the scope and the limitations of this thesis.

### **What is Foreign Policy Analysis?**

Foreign policy is often defined as the interactions that a country has outside of its borders. Foreign policy scholars focus on three primary factors in these interactions: national attributes, public institutions, and culture and decision making by individual leaders and small groups. Breuning defines foreign policy as "the totality of a country's policies toward and

interactions with the environment beyond its borders.”<sup>54</sup> The analysis of Algerian foreign policy will prioritize the “individual level of analysis,” which, “focuses on leaders and decision makers in an effort to explain foreign policy.”<sup>55</sup> Breuning described the importance of understanding leader decisions stating that, “the better we understand why leaders react as they do the better the odds that we can figure out how to help decision makers transcend their own biases.”<sup>56</sup> This analysis will focus on the President as the previous scholars have suggested that the President is the central actor in the foreign policy decisions.

### **How do we define content analysis?**

This thesis will use content analysis, which is a common method of research in foreign policy and political science. Jared Wesley noted that students studying rhetoric in political documents, “must investigate what the author of a text is trying to achieve, and the strategies employed to that end.”<sup>57</sup> Hsieh and Shannon defined content analysis as, “a research method for a subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns.”<sup>58</sup> This study will be analyzing how Algerian

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<sup>54</sup> Marijke Breuning, *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction*, United States (Macmillan:2007) 5.

<sup>55</sup> Breuning, 11.

<sup>56</sup> Breuning, 9.

<sup>57</sup> Jared Wesley, “The Qualitative Analysis of Political Documents”, in *From Texts to Political Positions: Text Analysis Across Disciplines*, ed. Bertie Kaal and Isa Maks and Annemarie van Elfrinkhof (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2014), 136.

<sup>58</sup> Hsiu-Fang Hsieh and Sarah E. Shannon, “Three Approaches to Qualitative content analysis” *Qualitative Health Research* 15 no. 9 (November 2005): 1277-1288, 1279, DOI: 10.1177/1049732305276687.

leaders spoke about their country and will place content into themes and patterns, with an eye towards determining if the hypotheses are confirmed.

This study will be a combination of “Conventional Content Analysis” and “Directed Content Analysis”.<sup>59</sup> Hsieh and Shannon defined the process of conventional content analysis in several steps. The first is to highlight the texts and identify the key thoughts and concepts. The next is to make notes and impressions and a basic analysis. The next is to label and establish “codes” or themes in these texts. The last is to separate these “codes” or themes into categories and analyze how they are “related and linked”.<sup>60</sup> Hsieh and Shannon defined the goal of “Directed Content Analysis” as being “to validate or extend conceptually a theoretical framework or theory.”<sup>61</sup> This study will be a combination of these two approaches because it is using hypotheses based on previous research (the directed approach), while also leaving open the possibility of discovering new themes that have not been examined in the literature (the conventional approach).

One of the most recent articles to use this type of analysis in the political science field is research Canada’s internal divide on how to brand itself to international students by Hannah Moscovitz. The author used content analysis of statements from Canadian politicians to analyze the key paradiplomatic themes of Quebec vs. the other provinces of Canada. Her analysis proved

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<sup>59</sup> Hsieh and Shannon, 1279-1281.

<sup>60</sup> Hsiu-Fang Hsieh and Sarah E. Shannon, 1279.

<sup>61</sup> Hsieh and Shannon, 1281.

successful in identifying the differences between Quebec and other provinces when it comes to branding to international students.<sup>62</sup>

The first step in my research was to develop a set of guiding questions based on the three hypotheses. The next step was to read all the speeches of representatives from the Algerian Government given to the United Nations between 1962 and 1972. The UN speeches were selected because this organization is a major, if not the only major, site in which countries present their opinions and self-images. Speeches in this forum would, therefore, be the ones to produce material for me to confirm or reject the hypotheses. The first step in the analysis was to start looking for the key aspects of the speeches they made during this time, and then highlight them. The next step was to look specifically for the themes that were expected based on the hypotheses. The last step in the initial analysis was to answer the following guiding questions.

- 1. Did the Algerian UN Representative mention colonialism? If so, in what context?**
- 2. Did he representative mention nonalignment, global justice, fairness, or equality? If so, in what context?**
- 3. Did the representative mention the economic impact of colonialism? Did they speak of the need to diversify their economy?**
- 4. Did the representative mention security or stability? If so, was this accompanied by any talk of colonialism?**
- 5. Did the representative mention France? If so, in what context?**
- 6. Were there any surprising foreign policy priorities that the representative mentioned?**

**Results:**

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<sup>62</sup> Hannah Moscovitz, "Projecting the Nation(s) in Multinatioanl Federal Systems: International Education and Nation Branding in Canada/ Quebec," *Pubilus the Journal of Federalism*, 1-25, DOI: 10.1093/publius/pjab005.



**See Appendix A for list of Documents Used****Analysis:****Question 1: Did the Algerian UN Representative mention colonialism? If so in what context?**

The Algerian representatives mentioned the idea of colonialism in many different contexts, and they expressed their desire for the immediate end of colonialism. Algeria said that nations were prevented from pursuing their independence due to both possible conflicts and lack of support. In the 1960s, representatives started by mentioning that they wanted to see an end to colonialism by October 24, 1962, in all nations. Algerian representative, Mr. Khemisti, mentioned that this was the eighteenth anniversary of the United Nations and therefore it would be the right time to speed up the process (Document 2, 467). The Algerian representatives also stated that nations could not get out of colonialism without the support of others. Mr. Bouttura said, the “classic formula” no longer existed for the possibility of “implementation of the principle of self-determination” (Document 7, 7). Algeria also saw new “conflicts” being brought to the countries which had “scarcely broken the chains of colonial domination” (Document 9, 7). Algeria argued that colonialism as needed to end, and it was leading to new challenges for nations.

The Algerian representatives mentioned the need for the freedom of Palestinian people from the colonialism which they faced from Israel in Documents 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. For example, the fight of the Palestinians was called, “the liberation of their national territory” (Document 13, 29). The Palestinians were seen as fighting, “within the framework of the wide liberation movement” (Document 12, 17). In this context, the Israeli government was called Zionist stating that they were, “the Zionist aggressor and occupier” (Document 11, 4). The

Palestinians were seen as part of a greater liberation movement with the Israelis were seen as their colonizer.

The Europeans were viewed as having installed their own state through Israel to keep control over their former colonies. Israel was referred to as a “European Colony” and “rallying point for colonialism at bay” which was used to “occupy a strategic position in the Mediterranean basin at the crossroads of three continents” (Document 10, 22). Israel was defined as “colonist” because of its “territorial annexations and behavior towards international institutions” (Document 9, 9). The Algerian Representative argued that the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) would have support from, “all the anti-colonialist forces in the world” (Document 5, 7). Algeria viewed Israel as an extension of the European style colonialism that they had fought against in their colonial struggle.

The United States’ military activities in Vietnam were seen as a continuation of colonial activities and Algeria argued against the continuation. The issue of US involvement in Vietnam was mentioned in Documents 5, 6, 10, 11. The United States, “demonstrates that the imperialists have not given up their policy of aggression against peoples” (Document 11, 4). In Vietnam, there was the existence the “brazen law of colonialism exploiting its natural wealth and fruits of its labor” (Document 10, 21). Algeria also directly compared the fight of the Vietnamese people to their own anti-colonialist fight (Document 6, 16). Algerian leaders saw the US involvement as another way of holding colonial systems in power.

Colonialism was discussed in the context of the lasting Portuguese colonial claims to parts of Africa with astonishment from the Algerian representatives. The representatives referred to these issues in Documents 1, 5, 6, 10, 12. The situation in Angola for example was called “intolerable subjugation” (Document 1, 409). Portugal and its allies were called “ultra-

colonialist” in their desires to cling to power in their colonies (Document 5, 8). Mr. Boutflika called this area part of the “last bastion” of colonization (Document 6,17). Speaking about Portugal among other colonizers, Mr. Boutflika said, “in South-east Asia, the Middle East and in Africa colonialism and imperialism have redoubled in aggressiveness” in 1969 (Document, 10, 21). Portugal’s colonial domination of Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique were described as possible because of its continued support from other nations (Document 12, 18). The rhetoric used for Portugal’s involvement in Southwest Africa focused on critiquing their actions and calling out their supporters.

The governments of South Rhodesia and the apartheid regime in South Africa were also specifically called out for their colonial and racist nature. This issue was mentioned in Documents 1, 3, 5, 6, 9, 11, 13. President Ben Bella called for “the liquidation of colonialism in its classic or its distinguished form . . . whether it be Angola, Rhodesia, or South Africa and Southwest Africa” (Document 1, 408). The governments were defined as having policies of “racialism” in these two countries (Document 3, 2). The issues in South Africa and Rhodesia were also defined as a struggle that needed “a united front of peoples against all forms of hegemony, against domination” and “against exploitation of any kind.” (Document 11, 3). They also specifically cited South Africa and Rhodesia as examples of white minority rule (Document 12, 18). The leaders defined the larger issue as “the problems of Africa remain what they have been for years: the fight against colonial domination, the fight against racial segregation and the fight against underdevelopment” (Document 12, 18). Algeria said that “colonial domination, racial segregation and *apartheid*” were connected to “trouble and violence.” They were also astonished that “apartheid” was a “governmental policy openly applied.” The regime in Rhodesia was argued to have also “strengthened the regime of South Africa and extended . . . practices of

apartheid and of racial discrimination” (Document 13, 29). The Algerian leaders saw these two cases as being directly connected to each other and continuations of colonialism and racial segregation.

Leaders also spoke directly on the topic of international support for the government of South Africa and Rhodesia. The regime in Rhodesia was called “racist” and of “foreign domination” (Document 5, 8). Algeria also called out the United Kingdom for creating “artificial states governed by white minorities,” and it specifically cited Rhodesia as an example (Document 6, 17). In 1969, Africa was called “still a bleeding prey locked in the dying throes of colonialism” (Document 7, 23). The UN was called the voice for colonial people but also cited the examples of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia as examples for reasons why it was not living up to these goals (Document 9, 8). They saw these two struggles as a further continuation of colonialism and racial discrimination which were supported by actors outside of the countries.

The British colonial holdings of Aden and Oman were also targeted as forms of lasting colonialism. For example, they treated this as other forms of colonialism in calling for the “freedom of our brothers, the Arab people of Oman” (Document 2, 468). These peoples were cited as “waging a fierce struggle against British Rule” (Document 3, 3). They called the Oman situation “confused” and said the imperialists were leading Aden to independence while keeping their “economic and strategic” interests (Document 6, 17). Aden was called a “colonization of settlement” which they thought would force the UN to intervene (Document 7, 10). Algerian leaders made these calls for the end of colonialism in addition to other places in the Middle East just as they had with Palestine.

The exclusion of China from the United Nations and the United Nations Security Council was also viewed as a continuing example of colonial sentiments. The PRC’s participation in the

UN as “an essential contribution in the struggle of peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism” (Document 11, 4). Algeria saw China as a needed counterbalance to those nations which held colonial sentiments and desired to keep similar polices in their former colonies.

Imperialism and the separation of peoples based on how the rest of the world saw them were also discussed while focusing on the general theme of colonial inequality. For Example, trusteeship created a notion of “under-age” and “adult people” which was another form or colonialism and was a denial of “self-determination” (Document 6, 13). In a quote the Algerian representative used from the deceased, former, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Nasser mentioned that imperialism was retreating (Document 11, 2). In another quote from Nasser, Algeria also argued that the issues of the Suez were an “end of unmasked imperialism” (Document 11, 1). Colonialism was seen as ending, but there were still “colonial and imperialist manifestations” in exploitations of natural resources (Document, 12, 19). Algeria argued the similar types of outside control which it saw continuing in the international system.

There is evidence based on these continuous calls that Algerian representatives were continuously critical of colonialism, which means the first part of Hypothesis 1 was correct. This section was specifically interesting because of the fervent way that Algerians spoke out on many cases that they felt were tied to colonialism. Another interesting part is the Algerian government’s examples of colonialism. The Algerian representatives had an extensive knowledge of Western countries actions in the global South. Algerian leaders did not fear to calling out the perpetrators of what they considered to be colonial action.

**Question 2: Did the representative mention nonalignment, global justice, fairness, or equality? If so, in what context?**

The Non-Aligned Movement was also mentioned in terms of historical importance. Its necessity in the international system with specific examples in Documents 2, 3, 5, 10. The Non-Aligned Movement was seen as the way to get, “full and genuine expression” of all nations (Document 2, 468). Non-alignment was the “most positive contribution it [Algeria] can make to world peace” (Document 2, 468). Algerian leaders also thought countries should get credit for adhering to non-alignment policies because it would be easier not to adhere to these policies (Document 2, 468). The Non-Aligned Movement was viewed as something that was not always in line with countries interests, but they saw it as a way for expression and peace to be realized.

The Non-Aligned Movement was also addressed in Algeria’s previously mentioned examples of colonial aggression and as being better suited to handle post-colonial issues. One example of this was a statement which was from the Non-Aligned conference in Belgrade in 1961 in which the nations agreed that the Palestinian peoples needed to be given “full restoration of all the rights ... in conformity with the charter and resolutions of the United Nations” (Document 2, 468). The United Nations was argued as not suited to handle the “principles of non-alignment” in addition to the increasing tensions of the Cold War and post-colonialism. The Algerian representative mentioned non-alignment in the context of being necessary because of “neo-colonialism” (Document 5, 9). The Non-Aligned Movement was seen as better suited to handle colonial issues than other previously created bodies.

The Non-Aligned movement was seen to increase international cooperation. The Algerian representative mentioned that nonalignment was “the reorientation of economic relations towards progress” and a policy which “cannot be synonymous with negative neutralism as expressed by manifesting a wish to remain a mere international onlooker” (Document 3, 1).

Non-alignment was seen as a path for increased African nations' ties and co-operation (Document 4, 2). Non-aligned countries had stood for respect of other nations' borders in both the UN and in the charter of the Organization of African Unity (Document 4, 3). Non-Alignment was viewed as a way for nations to work together while also being active in international politics.

Non-Alignment was seen to increase the chances for balance and peace. The movement was making an "important contribution to the establishment of genuine peaceful coexistence and a fruitful and lasting peace" (Document 3, 1). Non-alignment was "essential" for "maintenance of the international balance" (Document 10, 22). The threat of increased violence by "imperialism" created more aggression, which led to the "birth and strengthening of non-alignment" (Document 11, 3). Non-alignment was essential to "international equilibrium" (Document 12, 19). It had a potential for "dynamism and effectiveness" and "must enjoy participation in the creation of any stable and lasting world balance" (Document 13, 30). Algerian leaders saw non-alignment as a way forward towards balance and equilibrium.

The theme of equality was mentioned as something the Algerian leadership wanted to increase in the international system, and they saw non-alignment as a way to obtain this goal. The theme of equality was first mentioned by the President. He said there was a need for "relationships of equality" to end of colonialism (Document 1, 408). Algeria thought that it was possible for the world to "regain its equilibrium" (Document 1, 408). Algeria was part of non-alignment and said to not be "accomplices in imperialistic operations" and they noted that non-alignment would help in "attaining universal cooperation based on equality" (Document 3, 1). They also mentioned that "human relations must be built on the principle of equality" (Document 3, 2). Equality was seen as obtainable using non-alignment.

The UN was seen as needing reform to gain more equality. The UN was seen as contradictory “between the equality of states and the rules and usages which distort it (Document 3, 5). The UN needed to be reorganized to respect the “equality among states” (Document 5, 6). The General Assembly was defined a “foundling principle of equality” meaning they thought it was a start, but more work was needed (Document 9, 10). The UN was viewed by Algeria as not having enough equality.

US negotiations with Cuba were seen as one of the ways in which there needed to be an increase of equality. The “measures taken against Cuba” were a violation of the idea that people could choose their government, and a better approach would be negotiations in the “spirit of respect for the sovereignty and equality of states” (Document 3, 3). The Algerian view on the relations between the US and Cuba was that there needed to be more respect for sovereignty and equality of nations.

The concept of fairness only appeared in two statements. Algeria stated that it was only “fair” to mention that ties that Africa and Asia were needed to fix the international system (Document 5, 8). Also, it was “imperative and fair” for the “justification of existence itself” for the Palestinians (Document 13, 28). Fairness was mentioned in remote circumstances, but it was mentioned in the documents.

Justice was employed most often in the context of decolonization. “Peoples cherishing peace and justice” should work in “destroying the forces of imperialism and oppression and serving mankind” (Document 2, 470). Justice was mentioned also in a quote from Simon Bolivar - the “struggle for justice is never in vain” - and speaking in his own voice Mr. Khemisti mentioned that Algeria would work “with all the peoples cherishing freedom, justice and progress” (Document 2, 471). “An oppressed people cannot wait indefinitely for justice to be



done” was stated in the context of the people of Zimbabwe who had been fighting the Rhodesians for freedom (Document 5, 8). Justice was spoken about in terms of specific examples of colonialism and general statements on the topic.

International organizations were also discussed for their role in justice. The UN was said to make “concepts of independence, justice, and peace” practical (Document 5, 9). In 1966, the Algerian Representative expressed discontent with the International Court of Justice which they said had been using policies from the nineteenth century in its recent judgement on Southwest Africa (Document 6, 14-15). In 1967, they also argued that the US involvement in Vietnam was a “compound of injustice” (Document 7, 9). In 1968, the theme of Justice was mentioned in the fear that UN members had for “justice and peace” in the future (Document 9, 7). Algeria also said that the International Court of Justice was taking too long in deciding the issues facing South Africa (Document 11, 5). It was added that this “injustice” must be remedied (Document 12, 19). It was added that they may be too “impatient” for justice, but they desperately want an international system based on justice (Document 12, 20). International justice was argued to be needing increased action from international organizations.

Justice was also discussed in regard to Israel. The messages by “Arab countries” against Israel were founded on “justice an international law” (Document 9, 9). In 1969, They said that international actors called for “peace and justice” but continued to “arm the Zionist aggressor” (Document 10, 21). Israel was mentioned a second time after stating that Israel had occupied areas for 20 years, but the Palestinian people did not have justice (Document 10, 22). Israel was additionally seen as an aggressor against justice as well as being a colonizer.

Justice was also discussed in relation to international peace. While using quotes from the deceased, former, president of Egypt, Gamel Abdel Nassar, the Algerian representative

mentioned justice as expressed by Nassar through “peace. . . based on justice” (Document 11, 2). Nassar was quoted again as stating that they want “law and justice over the dreams of conquest and domination” and “the spirit of peace based on justice” (Document 11, 3). Also, Algeria hoped to work for “peace, justice and international security” (Document 11, 3). The “third world” was argued to possibly be “a fund of healthy energy” for the “service of justice and peace” (Document 9, 8). They said that they are concerned about everything dealing with “justice and peace” (Document 13, 27). Justice was articulated as being tied to peace in many circumstances.

Representatives also mentioned justice in terms of security and the need to change international systems. They also mentioned that they do not want a future of “two extremes” since they live on the Mediterranean Sea, in reference to the Cold War. In the same document they hoped to end terrorism through “balance” that is “based on justice among men” (Document 13, 28). Violence they argued could not be condemned when “placed at the service of Justice” (Document 13, 28). They argued that violence was tied to justice in many circumstances, but also it could alleviate security issues if handled differently.

Justice was discussed in relation to the international economic system. In 1971, the Algerian representative said that there was an “injustice” in the international economic system (Document 12,19). Algeria added that this “injustice” in the economic system must be remedied (Document 12, 19). The Algerian representatives called the international economic system full of injustices and needing to be changed to help those newly independent nations.

Question 2 helped to decide whether the first hypothesis was correct or not. Given the overwhelming evidence that Algerian representatives spoke on non-alignment, justice, fairness, and equality and in relation to colonization, the first hypothesis was proven to be correct. Justice

was discussed in relation to decolonization, the international economic system, peace, security, Israel and Palestine, and the role of organizations in fostering justice. Equality was discussed in terms of the US relations with Cuba, the need to have more equality in the international system, and the possibility of non-alignment to help gain more equality. Fairness was mentioned in relation to the Palestinian issue and the relations of nations in the global south. The Non-Aligned movement was mentioned to get greater expression and peace in the international system, handle colonial issues, a way to bring balance and equilibrium, and a way for nations to work together and be active in the international system. These examples show significant mention of these ideas which was related to colonialism overwhelmingly.

**Question 3: Did the representative mention the economic impact of colonialism? Did they speak of the need to diversify their economy?**

There were many examples of the economic impact of colonialism. The economic impact of colonialism was mentioned as a means of imbalance. In 1962, President Bella said, there had been “economic and social imbalance” because of “colonial exploitation which led to a “state of under-development” (Document 1, 408). The economic imbalance favors the more developed states and can lead to “neo-colonialism”. Algeria continued by stating “former colonies have more often than not inherited an economic infrastructure which is inefficient and ill-suited” (Document 3, 2). The imbalance of the economic system was cited as one of the effects of colonialism.

Algerian representatives also talked about the economic effects of colonialism in specific examples. The creation of “Federation of South Arabia” in Aden was seen to “keep intact its economic and strategic interests” in reference to “imperialism” (Document 6, 17). The colonial activities of the times which were cited in the colonialism section of this paper could not be

solved in the interest of the nations they called “great powers”, and the aggression of Israel which was colonial against the Palestinians had hurt many because of the closure of the Suez Canal (Document 10, 22). These examples focused on the economic activities in the Middle East specifically.

There was also a discussion of possibly increasing economic ties with other nations which specifically mentioned Europe and former colonizers. They wished to create better relations with “former colonial powers,” and added that non-alignment is “the best instrument for the economic, social and political advancement of immense areas” which “lag behind” (Document 2, 468). Algeria desired to work through “heritage of the colonial system” when working through “the economic and social situation.” They wanted to create “international co-operation” for “economic development” to solve this issue (Document 2, 469). New economic relations between Europe and Algeria would serve as an example between Europe and North Africa (Document 13, 28). Algeria wanted to create new ties to help the out of economic issues, and work more with Europe and former colonizers.

Leaders also mentioned the need to change the economic order stacked against the newly independent nations. They stated, “formerly colonized nations” needed to join “an international economic order designed to benefit the most favored privileged nations” (Document 9, 9). One of the quotes used by Algeria from President Nassar mentioned the need for “economic independence and development” (Document 11, 2). The “economic development” of independent people challenged “imperialist, colonialist, and neo-colonialist” (Document 11, 3). Africa was argued to “enormous economic potential” and therefore was a “target for imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism” (Document 11, 4). The Algerian representative also mentioned how they need to call out any economic interference which was “neo-colonialist”

(Document 13, 30). It was argued that there was a new form of economic interference from which was neo-colonialist in nature which needed to be changed.

Algerian leaders mentioned the need to diversify and work with their neighbors more. The “establishment of an African and Arab community” which “will make it easier for us to diversify our foreign trade” was desired by Algeria (Document 2, 469). Leaders called for increased co-operation between all nations (Document 3, 2). Africa had been colonized longer than the rest of the world in their eyes, so they expressed support for working with the organization of African Unity (Document 3, 2). They also called for the African Union to continue to fight colonialism and create economic growth (Document 3, 3-4). The Organization of African Unity was viewed as working for economic emancipation, and increased relations between African nations (Document 13, 30). Leaders expressed their excitement in working with other nations in Africa for future development.

Algeria argued that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development needed to take more action against economic imbalance. They also continued that “the fight against hunger, disease and ignorance concerns the international community as a whole” and “United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) recognized the danger” and therefore there was a need for better “international economic policy” (Document 3, 2). The UN needed to stop the “last bastions of direct colonization” and help in the “problems posed by economic and social development, “and they pointed to UNCTAD and other UN organizations as needing to help in the solution (Document 6, 17). Algerian leaders wanted to see more aggressive action from the UN on issues they saw as important to economic development and issues in general.

They also addressed the UN's need as a whole and its need to solve more issues. The issue of Aden would soon be free in the "economic and administrative" sense, but the UN needed to re-consider its system in dealing with the situations like this (Document 7, 10). There was also a long excerpt in document 7 on how African nations, once free, would face "consequences in the social and economic fields as well" (Document 7, 10). Leaders saw the UN as needing to take more action on the impacts of colonialism.

The International Monetary Fund and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade were also targeted in needing reform. They went on to criticize "the Kennedy Round", the "General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade" and the "International Monetary Fund" as not going far enough to help nations (Document 7, 10). They argued that economic integration could be an option if "international financial mechanisms" were not involved (Document 9, 10). They argued that the international trade organizations were not suited to handle the economic issues presented by colonialism.

This data suggests that while there were periods which Algeria called for increased cooperation between the developing nations, there were also actions by the wealthier nations which Algerian leaders called out. Algerian representatives also called for fixing international organizations to help the developing nations. While the hypothesis held true that there were calls for diversification of the developing economies there were also calls to the developed world to fix their systems to support them better. There were also many examples of representatives calling for changes to international systems which they saw as continuing colonialism in some ways. While the original hypothesis is that there would be issues with the lasting impacts of colonialism, there is also realization that the economic systems were in some ways keeping the

colonial systems alive. There were many examples of both calls to fix the international systems, while also calling for diversification.

**Question 4: Did the representative mention security or stability? If so, was this accompanied by any talk of colonialism?**

The idea of stability was brought up just a few times in these documents in terms of specific examples of the need for more in the international system. President Ben Bella, mentioned the Palestinian issue was an issue of “international peace and stability” (Document 1, 408). Algeria argued that a new “conference on European security” would strengthen the stability of the world (Document 12, 16). The Palestinian issue was also viewed as one of stability of the whole region (Document 13, 29). These were made in reference to specific events that the representatives saw as both positive and negative to stability.

The issue of security was also highlighted in specific examples of events in that Israeli-Palestinian disputes. The Palestinian crisis was cited as one of “international security” (Document 3, 4). They argued that insecurity that the entire Middle East felt was because of Israel (Document 7, 9). The Algerian leaders cited the Palestinian issue as being related to security for the region and world.

The idea of security was brought up in response to the principles which the UN was argued to have been created. In Document 3, the Algerian Representative mentioned that the UN had decided to take on the issue of “international Peace and Security” (Document 3, 1). Algeria pointed to this as a reason for the UN to take more of a stance on these issues.

The actions Algeria desired in the future were also discussed. Algeria argued that the UN needed reform as it had been created in a different world which had just defeated Hitler and its ideas of security came out of that period (Document 6, 14). It was argued that the UN needed to

handle the new issues of “international peace and security” and there needed to be a destruction of the large surplus of nuclear weapons and the issue of conventional weapons (Document 6, 15). These two statements drew on the need for the UN to take more action on in terms of defending international security.

They also mentioned that refusal to accept decolonization policy threatened security. International security was threatened when “imperialists . . . refuse to accept the logical consequences of decolonization” (Document 5, 6). They also stated that African security was threatened by “the development of events in South Rhodesia” (Document 5, 8). There could be true security unless they fought “against all forms of hegemony, against domination, against exploitation of any kind” according to Algeria (Document 11, 3). Algeria saw the need for increased action against colonization.

Disarmament was mentioned to increase security. Disarmament was necessary to be “freed from fear and insecurity” (Document 3, 2). The Algerian representative finished his speech with the idea that for “the security of the world” “large armaments” cannot “evolve outside an appropriate framework” (Document 6, 17). Insecurity in the system was seen as relating to the security of nuclear powers (Document 7, 7). The arms race between great powers was seen as a waste of resources which could have been used for “peace” (Document 10, 21). The use and possibility of use of large and nuclear weapons was seen as a challenge to security that Algerian leaders worried about.

The UN Security Council specifically pointed out as an issue in security. International security was threatened because of the ability of the permanent members to dictate issues at the Security Council (Document 5, 6). Taiwan’s veto at the security council was a problem for Algeria due to the large population of the People’s Republic of China, which had nuclear



weapons yet remained unrepresented (Document 6, 15). The Security Councils' calls for Portugal to leave Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) had done little to change the events there (Document 9, 8). The Security Council was viewed as not consider intervention into South Rhodesia because of the UK (Document 9, 8). The lack of change in the situation in Southern Rhodesia was blamed on the Security Council (Document 10, 23). They argued that the world powers settling issues of "peace and security" at the Security Council alone were the "the source of the crisis of authority in our organization" (Document 12, 19). There was a positive tone given to the prospect People's Republic of China working towards getting its seat in the organization (Document 12, 19). They mentioned that the Security Council would not take up the issue of Palestine (Document 13, 29). The Security Council had meetings in Africa with hopes of further movement of Portugal relinquishing its colonies which was also seen as a positive note (Document 13, 29). Algeria viewed the Security council as not doing enough while also taking some steps in the right direction for security.

New nations were also mentioned in relation to security. While welcoming Guyana, Lesotho and Botswana to the UN, the representative mentioned that "political and military escalation threatens the security of young states" (Document 6, 14). Algeria saw the need for support in security for new nations as they had faced issues after their independence.

Security was mentioned in a very specific case that occurred at the time. They also made a complaint about a very specific issue regarding the "security of air transport" because two Algerians had been kidnaped in Tel Aviv (Document 11, 5). This was possibly related to the many issues that Algeria had with Israel at the time. It was interesting to note that they specifically called out an issue regarding their citizens and their security.

European Security policy was also mentioned. The increasing dialogue between “the two Germanys” was viewed as leading to better European and world security (Document 12, 16). The conference on “European security and co-operation” was a good looked at as an example of changing attitudes (Document 13, 27). They supported the increased security talks that were happening with Europe.

Algeria also spoke to their preference for international agreements which held national sovereignty. Algeria was said to like agreements with the guarantee of “security and safeguard their independence” (Document, 13, 28). Algeria wanted to both show its support for security agreements, but also support their sovereignty.

The third hypothesis was proven not to be true as the representatives’ mentioned topics that were related to colonialism. In terms of colonization, the idea was brought up in relation to Israel and the remaining colonies in Africa. Therefore, the Algerian government saw these as clear security issues. They defined Israel as a clear colonizer which was discussed in the section on question 1. While Algeria was focused more on other topics like the role of the UN in security, the documents showed that there were still ties to colonialism.

**Question 5: Did the representative mention France? If so, in what context?**

France was mentioned in a few different circumstances. Algeria’s experience with France served as an example for the use of an intermediary in negotiation, in which, France was mentioned that Switzerland had brought Algeria and closer together and that they will follow the treaty which was struck (Document 1, 409). Algeria used this example to support the use of negotiation in the US military actions in Vietnam.

Algerian leaders spoke their new relations with France in a positive light in their desire for friendly relations. They said they wanted a “friendly, fruitful, and loyal relations” with

France, and they also thanked all the French people that helped them in their struggle (Document 2, 467). France quickly turned to holding up their new relationship as an example for other nations to follow. They also explained that these positive relations were possible because of the French acceptance of their new system (Document 2, 468). French Algerian relations were seen as an example of a good relationship after colonization (Document 3, 3). They spoke of France as a good partner in negotiations for cordially working with Algeria.

They also used France to mention their planned changes to government. Algeria said it had plans for a socialist revolution to replace the role of France (Document 2, 467). They said they would not go into the details of their governmental changes to spare France (Document 2, 468). The cordiality of the nations was important to Algeria as they did not want to mention how they would change everything in their country to not insult France.

They also mentioned that France had successfully made an agreement to leave Vietnam earlier with respect to the conflicts at the time due to US military action there. France had been faithful in its implementation of the Geneva accords which it had made to leave Vietnam in 1954 (Document 5, 7). The Algerian representative mentioned that their agreement with France should serve as an example for the future of Vietnam (Document 6, 16). The two nations were also compared in that the position of “Provisional Revolutionary Government” was in a similar place of themselves 10 years earlier and which led to the French agreement “in Evian” (Document 13, 28). The example of France was used specifically when talking about Vietnam in order to inspire the US to follow how the US had left the nations.

The development of the use of France in the Algerian statements is probably one of the most interesting parts of this research. The first few documents mentioned France in a traditional sense as the former colonizer of Algeria. Then in the middle of this period there is a deletion of

France from the narrative. Then towards the end of the period the Algerian representatives mentioned the example of their experience with France as a way for other conflicts to be solved. This was especially true when referring to the American War effort in Vietnam. They thought that the end of their conflict with France could serve as an example of a proper way to end a post-colonial conflict.

**Question 6: Were there any surprising foreign policy priorities that the representative mentioned?**

In some of the documents, there were some surprising examples of foreign policy by the Algerian Government. One of the first things was in the first Document, the President focused on how excited he was to be a new member. One example of this was his statement, “Our victory- that of our just cause- is also a victory for the United Nations.” (Document 1, 407). It was interesting that Algeria then went on to criticize the UN so often given their excitement to be at the table in the beginning.

Their perspective on the Cold War was also interesting. President Bella brought up that, “the world will prove able to overcome ideological differences and to regain its equilibrium” (Document 1, 408). This is interesting because it showed that President Bella saw the East-West situation as not creating equilibrium, but inequality. This example is interesting because it shows the birth of their opinions regarding the non-aligned movement. It was also interesting that Algeria wanted its revolution to be seen as socialist, yet they were at the same time pushing to not take part in the Cold War. The use of socialism at the UN would have most likely been seen as a connection to the Soviet Union, especially by the West. The representative mentioned that Algeria sought a “socialist course” (Document 2, 469). They tried to stay away from these polarizing issues and work on what could be changed.

They also showed an extremely negative opinion of Israel. Israel was said to have created, “its own notorious theory of *lebensraum*.” This statement was basically connecting Israel to the same policies as Nazi Germany. This extreme example of their disliking of Israel would certainly cross lines today, and it would most likely been considered anti-Semitic at the time. This project is limited in scope, but it would be interesting to see how Israel responded to these attacks.

It was also surprising as to their historical opinions at the time which would change in the years that followed. It was also surprising that in 1971, Algeria considered the Cold War to be cooling down. The representative mentioned that the “Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin” had eliminated “one of the last sequels of the Cold War” (Document 12, 16). It seems that they thought this would lead to continuing cooler tensions between the US and the USSR. Historical hindsight would prove this example to be not true in the years that followed.

It was also interesting that the Algerian representative mentioned terrorism. The representative also mentioned that powers had been labeling groups as terrorist. They continued stating that “terrorism is not an evil in itself” adding that it was “a symptom of the diseases afflicting the world today” (Document 13, 28). In this statement the Algerian representative was blaming the international community for the acts of terrorism. This statement is interesting also because of Algerian action after the war on terrorism. The Algerian government supported the US war on terror in the later period, and therefore it is interesting that the representative was in a sense considering the world to be at fault in acts of terrorism.

Algeria’s statements here are interesting in their nature for many reasons. Their very early mention of terrorism, and perspectives show a sort of righteousness in their causes. I was also surprised in the way they commented on Israel. It seems that this is a line which nation

would not want to cross in terms of diplomatic language. Their excitement at the beginning while also continuous critiques of the UN and its bodies show a sort of counter intuitive approach. In general, it seems that they want reform, and they are not afraid to target peoples they think go against their beliefs.

**Conclusion:**

This research started by researching the different ways in which colonialism had been analyzed by former scholars. I then described the ways in which scholars have analyzed Algerian foreign policy. Then the hypotheses were created based on the previous scholars' research. Then using the methodology set out by Hsieh and Shannon, I preformed content analysis in the form of conventional and directed analysis was pursued using the first decade of UN speeches Algerian representatives gave to the general assembly. The speeches were then analyzed using the guiding questions, which were based on the hypotheses. I first read for a broad understanding of the themes present. I then went back to each document to find the specific examples of these themes in use. I then grouped by the responding question and summarized at the end of each section.

The first hypothesis was confirmed because Algeria clearly criticized colonialism and their leaders often spoke of justice, fairness, and equality. The main example of this was the constant reminder to the UN General Assembly of all the activities which Algeria saw as going against the norms the UN wished to uphold, and the presence of continued colonialism. The second hypothesis was mostly correct because of the many mentions of the need for newly freed nations to work together and economic relations were seen in the context of colonialism. Algerian officials talked often of the need to diversify the economies of formerly colonized nations. They did not, however, emphasize the idea of economic dependence as much as the need

to diversify and fix the international system which Algerian leaders saw as perpetuating colonialism. The third hypothesis was proven incorrect because of the way Algerian representatives discussed security and stability. They spoke of security at times through the need for the UN Security Council to take action to end colonialism. This meant that they saw the ideas of security and stability as being tied to colonialism in some circumstances. They also spoke about the Israel-Palestine conflict as one based on colonialism, and then continued to state that this was a security issue for the US. This meant that there were clear ties in the rhetoric of Algerian leaders between security and stability and the issues of colonialism.

### **Further Discussion**

Most of these documents are over 50 years old at this point, so it may be tempting to say that they are not that important to today's world, but these issues and inequalities have yet to become obsolete. There are still many issues that Algerian leaders presented that are prevalent in the international system today. Many nations are still tied more than they would like to be to their former colonizers. Nations often face discrimination and lack the infrastructure to completely leave systems that force them to be reliant on other nations. Algeria focused on the themes of decolonization and equality around the world after it gained its freedom, and while France was mentioned in a few times, it was not the center of attention as one might think.

Some paths of future research include the possibility of repeating this process with the full history of Algeria since its independence. Research could continue to see how these ideas shifted based on Algeria's ideas. Also, there could be further research into the responses that these speeches may have induced from other members of the UN. Also, this process would be very repeatable with other nations. It would be very interesting to see how nations comparatively saw the world after their independence from colonialism. At this point the ideas researched in

this paper are only applicable to Algeria, but with the repetition of this process for other nations researchers could see what ideas nations brought to the UN after their independence.



## Appendix A:

### List of Documents Used:

Document 1. United Nations General Assembly Seventeenth Session 1147th Plenary Meeting Tuesday October 9, 1962, New York, Official Records, Mr. Ben Bella.

Document 2. United Nations General Assembly Seventeenth Session 1151st Plenary Meeting Friday October 12, 1962, New York, Official Records, Mr. Khemisti.

Document 3. United Nations General Assembly Nineteenth Session 1322nd Plenary Meeting Tuesday January 26, 1965, New York, Official Records, Mr. Boutflika.

Document 4. United Nations General Assembly Nineteenth Session 1325th Plenary Meeting Tuesday January 27, 1965, New York, Official Records, Mr. Boutflika.

Document 5. United Nations General Assembly Twentieth Session 1363rd Plenary Meeting Friday October 15, 1965, New York, Official Records, Mr. Boutflika.

Document 6. United Nations General Assembly Twenty-First Session 1447th Plenary Meeting Tuesday October 18, 1966, New York, Official Records, Mr. Boutflika.

Document 7. United Nations General Assembly Twenty-Second Session 1586th Plenary Meeting Wednesday October 11, 1967, New York, Official Records, Mr. Bouattoura.

Document 8. United Nations General Assembly Twenty-Third Session 1697th Plenary Meeting Wednesday October 16, 1968, New York, Official Records, Mr. Azzout.

Document 9. United Nations General Assembly Twenty- Third Session 1707th Plenary Meeting Friday October 25, 1968, New York, Official Records, Mr. Boutflika.

Document 10. United Nations General Assembly Twenty- Fourth Session 1784th Plenary Meeting Wednesday October 8, 1969, New York, Official Records, Mr. Boutflika.

Document 11. United Nations General Assembly Twenty-Fifth Session 1859th Plenary Meeting  
Friday October 2, 1970, New York, Official Records, Mr. Yazid.

Document 12. United Nations General Assembly Twenty-Sixth Session 1965th Plenary Meeting  
Wednesday October 13, 1971, New York, Official Records, Mr. Bouteflika.

Document 13. United Nations General Assembly Twenty-Seventh Session 2063rd Plenary  
Meeting Wednesday October 11, 1972 New York, Official Records, Mr. Bouteflika.

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