The role of Algeria and its diplomacy in the liberation of Africa 1962-1978.

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Introduction:

Algeria's African policy has been the subject of several writings, publications and even reports in the media. But little has been said about what has conditioned Algerian diplomacy, and in particular the link between its experience, the principles that guided it and the action on the ground. Algeria's diplomatic approach cannot be fully apprehended without a return to its past, and particularly the events that have made Algerian nationalism a struggle that has its deep roots in Africa and gives it a universalist spirit**.**

Algeria contributed significantly to the liquidation of the African continent from colonial domination. Africa served as a field for intensive diplomatic activity and a pivotal focus of Algeria and its diplomacy during and after the revolution, which earned it a leadership over Third World countries.

In this context, thanks to its liberation struggle, Algeria gained historical legitimacy which allowed it to play a prominent role in the African arena. The Algerian foreign policy, after the restoration of national sovereignty, inherited this legitimacy, which was used in the liberation of Africa from all forms of domination. However, this article attempts to analyze the role of Algeria and its diplomacy in the liberation of Africa. It also tries to assess the role of Algeria in the liberation of Africa economically. This article also casts light on the following questions: **What were the roots of the African policy of Algeria?**

And what were the foundations and principles of the African policy of Algeria? What impact did the Algerian revolution has on the awareness in Africa" during the 60s? The historical ties between Algeria and Africa have made its revolutionary leadership employ its diplomatic tools to serve the Algerian cause and to enshrine the principle of African solidarity by participating in the African conferences such as (the Accra Conference 1958,[1] the Monrovia Conference 1959, the Lagos Conference in 1960 and the Tunis Conference in 1961).[2] It could be said that the participation of the provisional government of the republic of Algeria in the African conferences cited above was the first step towards the emergence of Algeria's African policy.

The Algerian diplomacy has drawn its principles from charters leading to the outbreak of the Algerian revolution, namely the Proclamation of 1 November 1954, the platform of Soummam 1956[3] , the programme of Tripoli (1962), the charter of Algiers (1964) and the national charter of 1976."Thus, Most of charters included several dimensions, including the African dimension.

It should be noted that Following its independence ; Algeria was one of the bastions of African liberation movements. Algeria also played a historic role in ending French colonialism. Thus, Algeria before restoring its sovereignty was an example of settler colonialism , of which some African countries such Angola , Mozambique , Namibia , South Africa and Zimbabwe were suffering from Racism. Furthermore. the success of the Algerian revolution in making an end to French colonialism was viewed by Africans as a huge blow to this kind of domination.

1 – The foundations and principles of the Algeria's African policy:

The Algerian constitution of 1963 stated in its second article: "Algeria is an integral part of the Arab Maghrib, Arab world, and Africa.[4] It associated itself with the African countries and shares with them the aims of African unity, the elimination of foreign dominance from the continent, and cooperation among African states. Algeria was mentioning an intention to play a very active role both in Africa and the Third World.

It is worth mentioning that President Houari Boumedienne's loyalty to the principles of the Algerian Revolution and his commitment to the principle of "continuity of revolution" meant to some extent the adherence of Algeria to the principles of revolution. Accordingly, foreign policy under President Houari

Boumedienne needed to respond to the major objectives outlined in the Tripoli programme. These were: the fight against colonialism and imperialism and the support of movements struggling for unity, including the Maghrib Unity, within an Arab and African framework, along with movements of liberation, and the fight for international cooperation.[5]

The political orientations of President Houari Boumedienne found their roots in the colonized past of Algeria. In fact, the War of Liberation had contributed to a large extent to the shaping of post-independence Algeria, as it provided initial grounds for Algeria's ideological postures. That is to say that most of President Houari Boumedienne's national and foreign policies were inspired from ideological texts formulated during the War of Liberation. The revolutionary character of Algeria meant the commitment to the Revolutionary principles for the country's politics. Moreover, President Houari Boumedienne stated: "Our duty is to preserve the revolutionary principles which inspired our fight for liberation, for we paid for these with the blood of the best of our brothers".[6]

Furthermore, Algerian diplomacy has made great efforts to advocate the application of the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, but has considered that this principle is the fundamental basis on which international law is based in order to achieve the decolonization. On this basis, Article 86 of the National Charter states that Algeria supported the principles and objectives contained in the Charters of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, which apply the right of peoples to self-determination, in particular Articles 1 and 55 of the Charter of the United Nations and Article 2 and 3 of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. [7]

It should be noted that the Algerian diplomacy took into account the achievement of the purposes and principles, as enumerated in Article II of the OAU :

a. to promote the unity and solidarity of the African States;

b. to co-ordinate and intensify their co-operation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa;

c. to defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence;

d. to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and

e. to promote international co-operation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.[8]

As stated in the Constitution of 1976 in Articles 88 and 92, the principles of the African policy of Algeria, which focused on working towards the achievement of the objectives of the Organization of African Unity, including those related to the unity of African peoples, combating colonialism and neo-colonialism and imperialism and racial discrimination [9] and solidarity with all peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America in their struggle For political and economic liberalization.[10] Article 88 of the Constitution also states in 1976 that "the achievement of the objectives of the Organization of African Unity and the promotion of the unity of the peoples of the continent is a continuation of the policy of the Algerian revolution." On this basis, the Algerian legislator did not neglect some of the basic principles of the African policy of Algeria, which focused on adopting a policy of good neighborliness and defending the African continent from outside influences.

It is understood here that the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination cannot be aimed at the destruction of the national unity of states. It is about giving people the right to freely choose their political status and to get rid of foreign domination. the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination in no way concerns in the Algerian vision the separatist movements within the sovereign state. concerning peoples under colonial domination, Article 92 of the constitution leads to assimilate "the right to self-determination to the right to independence" .Also, according to Article 92 "the solidarity of Algeria with coughing the peoples in their fight for liberation, their right to self-determination and independence "will lead from the Algerian point of view, significant effects on the legal status of peoples struggling for the realization of their right to self-determination.[11]

Following the evolution of international practice, Algeria granted its recognition to all national liberation movements, designated as such by the OAU and the UN. indeed, all the national liberation movements, representing the peoples still colonized, were represented in the Algerian state and gave them a quasi-diplomatic status. Thus, Algeria showed clearly its commitment to any just cause in the world in general and in Africa in particular.[12] Algeria's support for African liberation movements is an extension of the armed struggle it waged

against French imperialism. Algeria also opened its doors to freedom movements and anti-Apartheid movements.[13]

On this basis, Algerian diplomacy relied on the principle of selecting the most representative and popular movements such as the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde led by Amilcar Cabral, the FREMLO, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Angola and the African People's Union of Zimbabwe (ZAPU)[14], founded in 1961 by Joshua Nkomo, The African National Union of Zimbabwe, founded in 1963 under the leadership of Robert Mugabe ZANU, the SWAPO, founded in 1959 by Sam Nujoma, the ANC in South Africa and the Liberation Movement of Sao Tomé and Principe MLSTP[15] led by both Manuel Pinto da Costa and Miguel Trovoada. [16]

It could be said that the Algerian legislator did not neglect some of the basic principles of Algeria's African policy which focused on adopting a policy of defending the African continent from outside influences. The principle of combating colonialism in all its forms has made Algeria seek to enshrine this principle on more than one level. Its active participation in the Afro-Asian Group of the United Nations is proof of this.[17]

2 - The role of Algeria in supporting African liberation movements:

After emerging as one of the first African countries to restore its independence through armed struggle in 1962, Algeria became a sanctuary for African and Third World revolutionaries. However , all African movements and parties had permanent representation in Algeria.[18] The fighters of the liberation movements cited above benefited from military training in the Algerian territories, including Nelson Mandela and Samora Machel, as well as political and financial support. Algeria had an organ or a special section of the National Liberation Front and the Presidency of the Republic, headed by Mr. Djeloul Malaika[19] , whose principal task was the coordination with the African liberation movements, and was based in Villa Boumaaraf, where the leaders of the liberation movements hold press conferences or make political statements.[20] Thus, the leader Amilcar Cabral described Algeria as **"Mecca of revolutionaries ".** [21]

In the case of Namibia's struggle against colonialism and imperialism, it is worth noting that Sam Nujoma stated "our first weapons in preparing for armed liberation struggle, namely two PPSH sub-machine guns and two TT-pistols were obtained from the Algerian Government under the leadership of the then elected as Prime Minister of Algeria in 1963, Ahmed Ben Bella who offered them to me and also assured me of his support. That same year, I had the honour to attend the OSPAA conference in Tanzania".[22]

African revolutionary leaders were inspired by the Algerian revolutionary experience, including Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Samora Machel of Mozambique, Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo of what was then Rhodesia - Zimbabwe today- Amilcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau, and Agostinho Neto of Angola. Many of those leaders received training in Algeria and sent contingents of their fighters for training in the Algerian camps.[23]

Furthermore, President Houari Boumedienne, who governed from 1965 to 1978, believed that it was Algeria's duty to take care of the African fighters and other revolutionaries, and to send Algerian officers to Africa in order to train fighters in the camps there.[24]

The international organizations such as the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) have made it possible for Algerian diplomacy to impose its presence by supporting African liberation movements, such as the normalization of their just causes and the adoption of political resolutions condemning the Portuguese colonialism and the practice of white minorities of apartheid in Namibia, South Africa and South Rhodesia.[25]

African unity constituted an important component of Algeria's African policy. The African depth in Algerian politics was inscribed in a fight for the liberation of the Continent and in an attempt to promote economic and social revival in the Continent.

This was clearly demonstrated by the active participation in the Organization for African Unity (OAU) Decolonization Committee, of which Algeria was one of the founders and donated £ 70,000.[26]

The Committee of Nine (later renamed as the Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa), consisting of Algeria, Congo (Leopoldville), Ethiopia, Guinea, Nigeria, Senegal, Tanganyika, Uganda and United Arab Republic, was

set up to carry out this task. Dar es Salaam, the capital of Tanganyika was chosen as the headquarters of the Coordinating Committee for Liberation because of its proximity to the unliberated territories of central and southern Africa[27]. Moreover, a special liberation fund was also established to which every OAU member state had to contribute a certain per cent of its income.[28]

On this basis, Algeria has played a prominent role in activating the mechanisms of this Committee, including the material and military support for liberation movements in the continent. Among the goals of this committee the selection of African liberation movements that actually represent peoples who are struggling to recover sovereignty and conducting military operations.[29]

The Commission therefore recognized the most representative movements in African countries that were under the control of white European minorities or those still under Portuguese control.[30] In this context, the Algerian diplomacy contributed to making an effective contribution to international law recognizes the African liberation movements. Accordingly, Algeria considered that the liberation movements represented one of the most effective means for the African peoples to struggle for self-determination and liberation from colonial domination, on the one hand, and that these movements had a fundamental objective, which was reflected in the restoration of political and economic independence on the other hand.

Since 1964, Algeria has hosted many fighters from the African National Congress, who received military training before returning to South Africa to execute military operations.[31] However, It was in Algeria where Mandela was trained as a soldier at FLN bases along the border with Morocco in 1962. In his book, Long Walk to Freedom Mandela says" he was very much inspired by the Algerian Revolution".[32] Moreover, President Zuma still repeats his attachment to Algeria. He never forgot that he was traveling with an Algerian passport.[33]

It is worth mentioning that the most striking fact in the Algeria-South Africa relations was perfectly summarized by Noureddine Djoudi who addressed this subject in the Algerian press. Thus. Djoudi declared" My first meeting with Mandela was the result of a happy coincidence. In February 1962, the late Commander Si Slimane (Kaïd Ahmed) received at the Western headquarters of the General Staff of the NLA a group of leaders of the CONCP (Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies). Among them were two people with whom he could not communicate because of the language barrier. It is the late Si Djamal (Cherif Belkacem) who had to take care of them.

Omar Belmehdjoub, head of the political commissariat, then appointed me as the only English-speaking officer. That's how I got to know Nelson Mandela and Robert Reisha, the future representative of the ANC in Algiers. Mandela had come to inquire about the experience of the armed struggle of the Algerian people that he considered as the only source of inspiration for the armed struggle in South Africa .After long discussions, Si Djamal informed Mandela of Algeria's firm commitment to make available to him all the assistance we could have, military but also financial and diplomatic, from the accession to National Independence we saw already be profiled in the short term. After that, I was instructed to take Mandela and Robert to the operational zone to see the reality of the fight, then to the Zenghen training camp where, with the help of the regretted future general Mohamed Lamari, I was able to give him some rudiments of training in the handling of weapons ".[34]

Moreover , Templeton Ntantala was among a number of PAC fighters who underwent training in Algeria in 1964. Patrick Duncan was the PAC representative in Algeria, and he appears to have been instrumental in arranging the training.[35] He also benefited from a salary estimated at 2500 Dinars.[36] Alfred Willie, a member of the military wing of the ANC who also received training in Algeria at the time, recalled that the Algerians "were so good in training us and we thought when we came back that… we are going to face the apartheid regime".[37]

Moreover , President Mbeki stated " Clearly, despite the physical distance imposed upon us (South Africa–Algeria) by geography, the relationship between our two countries is an intimate one, going back many decades to the struggle of the African peoples for national liberation and freedom from colonial rule. In particular, we must thank President Bouteflika, at the time as the President of the General Assembly, for the important role he played in the decision to isolate the racist government of South Africa."[38]

> It could be said that The decision was without precedent in United Nations history and meant that the delegation of the racist regime in South Africa will not be permitted to take its seat, speak, make proposals or vote. However, The seat of South Africa was vacant at the time of the vote . The delegation of the south African regime has not been participating in the session since the vote of the General Assembly on Sept 30, 1974.

In his book, Sam Nujoma said " SWAPO launched the liberation struggle on 26 August 1966 with four weapons given by President Ahmed Ben Bella of

Algeria". Even the quantity was too small , President Nujoma stated that it was not easy to carry the weapons across borders. For example, we flew with the weapons from Algeria by Air Algeria to Cairo, Egypt. Then from Cairo we flew with the United Arab Airlines (now Egypt Air) to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, via Nairobi, Kenya. From Dar es Salaam, we smuggled the weapons through Zambia across the Zambezi River into the Caprivi Strip, and then all the way to north-western Namibia where we had a secret base from where we launched the armed struggle in 1966.[39]

In this context , it is necessary to note that In 1963 a SWAPO office opened in Algiers and led by Solomon Mifima,. The first group of SWAPO fighters led by Dimo Hamaambo trained in Algeria in 1964. The Namibian President Hifikepunye Pohamba stayed in Algiers in 1971 where he remained for two years, as a representative of the movement in North Africa.[40] In 1973 Algeria strongly contributed to the UN and OAU's recognition of SWAPO as "the sole representative of the Namibian people".[41]

The Rhodesian problem has, in fact, mobilized the Algerian diplomacy in condemning the unilateral declaration of independence of November 11, 1965 by the racist regime. Thus, Algeria was among the nine African countries to sever diplomatic relations with London and was designated with Senegal and Zambia by the OAU to defend the African position on the Rhodesian problem in the UN and more specifically to the Security Council. Algeria also served on the Committee instructed by the Security Council to monitor the application of the sanctions decided against the Salisbury regime.[42]

At the 1968 OAU Summit held in Algiers, the African leaders showed their anger by condemning Great Britain, the United States, France, West Germany and Japan for their continued political and military collaboration with the Apartheid regime in South Africa which made it possible for South Africa to persist with its racial policies. West Germany, Italy and France were also condemned for selling military equipment and assisting South Africa in the production of ammunition and poisonous gas. Moreover, President Boumediene insisted on finding tough measures to isolate the Portuguese colonialism on the international scene. However , Algeria was behind the suggestion of rising the Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa's budget by 10%.[43]

As a very active within the organization of the non-aligned countries, Algerian diplomacy played a vital role in the implementation of a strategy that will lead to the fall of the dictatorial regime in Portugal. However, Algeria was a leader in the Non-Aligned Movement during the Cold War, although the government was ideologically leftist and engaged in military cooperation with the Soviet Union during that period.

Furthermore, The Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, meeting in Algiers, from 5 to 9 September 1973, paid particular attention to the liberation movements. The Conference adopted a special declaration on the struggle for national liberation and vigorously proclaimed the determination of the non-aligned countries to mobilize all possible means to support the liberation of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.[44]

Fully aware of the need to assume, in all circumstances, their duty of solidarity with struggling peoples, the non-aligned countries, in the face of the coalition of the systems of domination and exploitation, - Undertake to increase their military, material, political and moral assistance to the liberation movements and to take all necessary steps to enable them successfully to pursue their fight, especially by: (1) the creation of a support and solidarity fund to increase the effectiveness of the struggles of national liberation movements. They appeal to all peace and justice-loving States, as well as to all political, social and humanitarian institutions to assist them; (2) the opening of offices in the capitals of the non-aligned countries; (3) the granting of means to facilitate travel by representatives of the liberation movements. - Undertake to pursue sustained action to mobilize public opinion in favour of the just cause of the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence and to strengthen their solidarity with them.[45]

In this context ,it is worth mentioning the adoption by the summit of the non-aligned countries in Algiers of important resolutions which will have very positive consequences for the liberation of the last bastions of Portugal , Western Sahara and the domination of white settlers in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe.[46]

with regard to the Saharawi cause, it should be pointed out that Algerian diplomacy played a decisive role in the adoption by the non-aligned countries of

a resolution which stipulated "complete solidarity of the non-aligned with the populations of the Sahara under Spanish domination , and its attachment to the principle of self-determination and its concern to see it applied under conditions that would ensure to the people of the Sahara under Spanish domination the free and authentic expression of their will, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions regarding this territory".[47]

Algeria also played an effective role in drawing up resolutions to support liberation movements in Africa. Thus , as Algeria was the host country of the summit, President Boumediene insisted on adopting a resolution on south Africa which:

1 –"Reaffirms its full support for South African people in their legitimate national liberation struggle against racial discrimination to recover their sovereignty;

2. Commends the determination of the South African people in their just struggle to achieve their national liberation;

3. Pledges itself to increase its financial, paternal and political assistance to the South African liberation movement." [48]

Moreover , The Algiers Summit of 1973 established- following a proposal of Algeria, the Coordination Office of the Non-Aligned, in New York. The body whose importance has been confirmed from year to year is entrusted with ensuring the continuity of the Movement's Action between Summits and Ministerial Conferences.

Finally , it could be said that From the early sixties to the mid-seventies, independent Algeria provides significant support to anti-colonial movements and revolutionaries around the world. Algeria enjoyed the prestige of an independence gained by arms. It stands out as a leader of the aspirations of the peoples of the third world. Moreover , and in order to reinforce and ensure the continuity of the role of Non-Aligned countries in international relations and particularly in international organizations, Entrusted president Boumediene with the task of presenting the deliberations and decisions of the present Conference to the General Assembly of the United Nations at its Twenty-Eighth Session.[49]

With a long tradition of supporting African liberation movements, Algeria was the strongest ally of the Saharawi people. Polisario Front[50] was provided with weaponry, communications and refugee facilities.

Algeria's involvement in the Western Sahara issue started on December 20, 1966, when the General Assembly adopted its first resolution on what was then called Spanish Sahara urging Spain to organize, as soon as possible, a referendum under UN supervision on the territory's right to exercise its right to self-determination.[51] The Moroccan occupation of the territory after Madrid Agreement in 1975, was a violation of International Law and a non-legal act of hostility. Moreover , the occupation and annexation of Western Sahara by Morocco in 1975 was not legal at that time. The International Court of Justice has decided that Morocco has no legal claim on the territory, and the UN Security Council has requested Morocco to withdraw from the territory.[52]

Algeria supports the role of UN to solve the conflict and emphasizes the right to self-determination of the people of Western Sahara and can support a political solution if it considers this principle as well as international law. the General Assembly acknowledged the self-determination right of Saharawis.[53] Furthermore the whole situation was considered a case of decolonization In the context of the OAU, and due to the role played by the Algerian diplomacy , the Polisario Front was accepted as a member state in 1984. This would suggest that Western Sahara is a state, with 80% of its territory under occupation from Morocco.

3 - Achievments:

1- Effective contribution to the expulsion of Portugal from the World Health Organization. Algeria played a prominent role in the General Assembly of the United Nations in urging Member States, especially the Western ones, to immediately stop sending any form of aid to the Portuguese government, which continued to follow the policy of repression against the national liberation movements in their colonies, and was able to convince Western countries not to sell or Supply of arms and military equipment to the Portuguese dictatorial regime.

2- the diversity of Algeria's role in supporting the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies, by providing fighters and leaders a military training

in Algeria, including those from Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique. One of the most prominent was Samora Machel[54], who received military training in Algeria in 1963 to return to his country and join the 250 fighters who declared the armed struggle against Portugal on 25 September 1964.[55]

3 - On the occasion of Africa Day, which took place on 17 September 1963, Algerian President Ahmed Ben Bella said that 1,000 African fighters would benefit from military training in Algeria.[56]

4 - The international organizations such as the United Nations have made it possible for Algerian diplomacy to impose its presence by supporting African liberation movements, such as fighting for their just causes and the adoption of political resolutions condemning the Portuguese colonialism and the practice of white minorities of apartheid in Namibia, South Africa and South Rhodesia.

5 - Due to Algeria's prominent role in the UNO , The GA recognized the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to participate in the work of its main organs and subsidiary bodies and requested the Secretary-General to arrange "for their effective participation, including the requisite financial provisions" necessary . [57] Most crucially was that the GA recognized liberation movements by granting their representatives official status as observers and by compensating them from UN funds to attend international conferences and, in some cases, invited them on the same basis as sovereign states.[58]

6 - The effective role of Algerian diplomacy in the recognition by the United Nations of the independence of Guinea-Bissau at the end of 1973. In view of Algeria's role in supporting the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, its leaders chose to hold the second round of negotiations with Portugal in Algeria, which ended with the restoration of sovereignty in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

7 - Algerian diplomacy sought to find the necessary political mechanisms to impose sanctions on South Africa's apartheid regime and isolate it on the international political scene. However, Algeria, represented by its Foreign Minister Bouteflika, who presided over the 29th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, in November 1974 was able to present his initiative to vote a resolution to expulse the Apartheid regime which won the majority by 91 votes in favour, 22 against, and 19 abstentions.[59] Thus, it could

be said that Algeria won a magnificent victory against the apartheid regime. Although remaining a member of the UN, South Africa was not represented at subsequent sessions of the General Assembly. Following South Africa's successful democratic elections of May 1994, the General Assembly unanimously welcomed South Africa back to full participation in the United Nations on 23 June 1994.

8 - Algeria insisted on The diplomatic and consular boycott of apartheid South Africa as it continues its occupation of South West Africa (Namibia today) and the application of the policy of racial discrimination in South Africa.

9 - Algeria contributed actively to the expulsion of the racist South African regime from the International Labour Organization and its suspension from the International Olympic Committee, the World Food Organization, the World Health Organization and the Economic Commission for Africa (CEA).[60]

10 - Due to Algeria's role in supporting the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, its leaders chose to hold the second round of negotiations with Portugal in Algeria, which ended with the restoration of sovereignty in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

11 - In recognition of the great role of Algeria in supporting the Sao Tomé and Principe issue militarily and diplomatically, the negotiations on the restoration of the sovereignty of this part of the African continent took place on 26 November 1974, which culminated in the declaration of the restoration of sovereignty on 12 July 1975. Thus, Pinto da Costa became president and Trovoada was first minister.[61]

12 - The 1976-1980 period was characterized by both diplomatic and military strategies to dismantle the Smith regime and force South Africa out of Namibia. In 1978, for instance, Algerian diplomacy was behind the enactment of several resolutions by the UN Security Council to address the Namibian question, including Resolution 435. This demanded the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and stated that the UN would assume the responsibility of supervising the transition to majority rule in Namibia.[62] The intensification of armed struggles in Zimbabwe by the ZANU and ZAPU PF forced the Smith regime to the negotiation table for majority rule in 1979. In February 1980, free and fair elections were held in Zimbabwe and ZANU came to power, leading to the independence of Zimbabwe in April 1980.[63]

13 - It is worth mentioning the adoption by the summit of the non-aligned countries of Algiers of important resolutions which will have very positive consequences for the liberation of the last bastions of colonial Portuguese colonialism and the domination of the colons in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

14 - Due to the role of the Algerian diplomacy within the OAU , the Polisario Front was accepted as a member state in 1984. This would suggest that Western Sahara is a state, with the majority of its territory under occupation from Morocco.

Finally , It could be said that The decolonization process of Western Sahara was interrupted drastically owing to Morocco's military invasion and illegal occupation of the territory on 31 October 1975. The occupation was in violation of numerous UN and OAU resolutions and the historic ruling of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) issued on 16 October 1975.

Conclusion:

After reviewing and analyzing the role of Algeria's African policy in the liberation of Africa , we have reached the following conclusions;

1 - From the early sixties to 1978 which was the year when president Boumediene died , Algeria provided significant support to anti-colonial movements and revolutionaries around the world in general and Africa in particular. Algeria also enjoyed the prestige of an independence gained by arms. It stands out as a leader of the aspirations of the peoples of the third world.

2 - Presidents Ahmed Ben Bella (1962-1965) and Houari Boumediene (1965-1978), made Algiers a home for activists fighting against colonial rule or racial discrimination. From the African National Congress (ANC) of Nelson Mandela to the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) of Amilcar Cabral, all African liberation movements were financially and militarily assisted by Algeria.

3 - within the OAU and UNO was the fight against imperialism and colonialism. President Houari Boumedienne's strategy was based on eradicating all residues of colonialism and all forms of imperialism. He called for Europe and the United

States of America to stop supporting colonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination.

4 – It appears useful to note that by supporting armed national liberation movements and struggles in Africa, Algeria has only done its duty of solidarity with the peoples at war for the reconquest of their natural rights to freedom, justice and human dignity.

5 - Algeria was the first country Mandela visited after his widely celebrated release from prison in Feb 1990 as a symbolic gesture showing appreciation for Algeria's support to the people of South Africa during its struggle against the Apartheid.

6 – It is natural that Algeria assumed the role of African leadership to the point where its capital was named "mecca of revolutionaries" by Amilcar Cabral, hero of the independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

7 - Regarding the question of Western Sahara, the position of Algeria has never changed and it will not change. The only possible and legal solution is the respect of the peace plan of the United Nations Organization with the holding of a referendum on the self-determination of the Saharawi people. This is not a problem between Algeria and Morocco, it is in fact between the Polisario and Morocco.

8 - The Algerian Government's position on the status of Western Sahara is very clear because Western Sahara is not a part of Morocco and Morocco has no legal title or claim to Western Sahara. The people of Western Sahara have a right to self-determination.

9 - Algeria's role in contributing to Africa's liberation is something that future generations of Africans should be made aware of in the hope of keeping the spirit of African solidarity alive. Without the support of countries like Algeria, it could have taken that much longer to achieve.

10 - in order to understand Algeria's role in the liberation of Africa, a broader study needs to be done in future with an emphasis on the period of president Boumediene as well as a detailed study of his role in the Non-aligned Movement and Algeria's activities in the United Nations.

11 - In conclusion, History will certainly remember that Algerian diplomacy has played an important role in the emancipation of peoples in Africa and the social and economic development of our continent.

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2 - CM/St.2(XII) declaration by the council of ministers on decolonization and Apartheid from 17- 22 February 1969/

3 - AHG/Res. 7 (1) (AOU resolution)

E - South African Embassy in Algeria:

1 - South Africa – Algeria – Western Sahara Relations. Publication issued by the South African Embassy in Algeria on the 15The freedom Day Celebrations, 2009 .

E - Communications:

1- Congratulatory message by H.E. Dr. Sam Nujoma, founding president of the Republic of Namibia and father of the Namibian nation, on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the organisation of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL) Havana , January 2011.

2 - Speech made by Mbeki at the state banquet for President Bouteflika , Pretoria, 16 October 2001.

3 - Alfred Willie', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds), The Road to Democracy: South Africans telling their stories, Volume 1, 1950-1970, Mutloatse Heritage Trust, Houghton, 2008,

F - Books and Journal articles:

1 - Azevedo Mario. and Emmanuel Nnadozie and Tome Mbuia. Historical dictionary of Mozambique, 2nd edition, Scarecrow Press, Oxford, 2003.

2 - Bakail Moncef . Le rôle de l'Algérie post-independance dans la libération de l'Afrique et les fondements de sa diplomatie Africaine. Dar El Oumma , Alger , 2017.

3 - Bakail Moncef « Le rôle de l'Algérie en matière de décolonisation de l'Afrique » –in English- in colloque international « Algeria's contribution to the decolonization of Africa » ; El Aurassi , Alger , 29 -30 Novembre 2016.

4 - Brocheux, P. (dir). Les décolonisations au XXème Siècle. Armand Colin, Paris. 2012.

5 - Cadoux, Charles. « L'organisation des Nations Unis et le problème de l'Afrique Australe » in A.F.D.J. 1977.

6 - Chikh , S. L'Algérie porte de l'Afrique . Casbah Editions , Alger, 1999 .

7 - Cornevin , M. La République sud-africaine. 1ére édition, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris , 1982.
Driver , C.J. Patrick Duncan. Heineman Educational Books. 2000.

8 - Hanhimaki Jussie. M and Bernhard Blumenau. An international history of terrorism . Western and non-western experiences. Routledge , New York, 2013.

9 - Ghozali , N et Benouanich , M. « Politique Extérieure de l'Algérie à travers la charte Nationale et la constitution «, Revue Algérienne Scientifique, Juridique, Economique et Politique XV, n°3(1978), 453-78.

10 -Grimaud N. La politique extérieure de l'Algérie. Editions Karthala, paris, 1984.

11 - Hanhimaki Jussie. M and Bernhard Blumenau. An international history of terrorism . Western and non-western experiences. Routledge , New York, 2013.

12 - Karis, Thomas, and Gail M. Gerhart. From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1964– 1979, vol. 3: Challenge and Violence. Indiana University, Indiana, 1977.
13 - Masotsha Minguni. "From Bandung to Oujda: The foundations of South Africa Algeria Historical relations "in the Diplomat, vol 2. Department of International Relations and cooperation, Republic of South Africa, 2012.

14 - Sampson , A. 1999. Mandela: The Authorized Biography. Harper Collins , London , 1999. pp 160-164.

15 - Singham, AW and Shirley Hune. 1986. Namibian independence: A global responsibility. Westport: Lawrence Hill & Co , Westport , 1986.

16 - Scot Thomas. The diplomacy of liberation: The foreign relations of the ANC since 1960. Tairis academic studies, London, 1996.
17 - Alfred Willie', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds), The Road to Democracy: South Africans telling their stories, Volume 1, 1950-1970, Mutloatse Heritage Trust, Houghton, 2008,

G - Newspapers:

1 - Le Monde diplomatique, février 1965.p 12

2 - CI. Deffarge et G. Troeller. « Alger capitale des révolutionnaires en exile» in Monde Diplomatique. Aout 1972.

3 - Revolution Africaine. No 696 du 22 – 28 Juin 1977.
4 - El Watan, May 11, 2010.

5 - El Watan, 11/06/2010,
6 - Liberté , 07/12/2013.

7 - Sunday News Online | Sunday, Dec 11, 2016.

[1] The Algerian liberation front participated in the first African conference held in Accra in 1958 , when the Algerian representatives Ahmed Boumendjel, Franz Fanon and Chawki Mostefai put the Algerian case as an African one. However , the conference recognized the FLN as the sole representative of the Algerian people. For more details , see **Moncef Bakail**. Le rôle de l'Algérie post-independance dans la libération de l'Afrique et les fondements de sa diplomatie Africaine. Dar El Oumma , Alger , 2017.p 37.

[2] Ibid. pp 28-31.
[3] The Soummam conference was the founding act of the modern Algerian state, and a crucial element of success of the Algerian war for independence. It took place on 20 August 1956 when the FLN's leadership within Algeria met secretly in the Soummam valley at Ouzellaguen) to compose a common platform and create a new organizational structure.
[4] The National Liberation Front, The Algerian Constitution of 1963. Algiers: Ministry of information and culture, 1963.

[5] The Tripoli Programme.
[6] Quoted in Discours du Président Boumediene: 19 Juin 1965-19 Juin 1970 Tome· I , Ministère de l'Information et de la Culture, Direction de la Documentation et des Publication , Alger, 1970.
[7] National charter 1976 and Algerian constitution 1976.
[8] N. Ghozali et M.Benouanich. « Politique Extérieure de l'Algérie à travers la charte Nationale et la constitution «, Revue Algérienne Scientifique, Juridique, Economique et Politique XV, n°3(1978), 453-78.
[9] Ibid.p 460.
[10] Moncef Bakail. Le rôle de l'Algérie post-independance dans la libération de l'Afrique et les fondements de sa diplomatie Africaine. Dar El Oumma , Alger , 2017.p 37.
[11] Moncef Bakail « Le rôle de l'Algérie en matière de décolonisation de l'Afrique » –in English- in colloque international « Algeria's contribution to the decolonization of Africa » ; El Aurassi , Alger , 29 -30 Novembre 2016.
[12] Such as Polisario Front representing the Sahraoui People.
[13] Algeria has opened an information bureau for the ANC in a large apartment on rue Larbi Ben M'hidi in Algiers not far from the place of Emir Abdelkader. This office was represented by leading anti-apartheid figures such as Robert Reisha or ANC's external relations officer, Johnny Makatini, among others. For more details, see El Watan, May 11, 2010.

[14] The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) is the oldest liberation war party formed in 1961 to oust the Ian Smith regime. Led by Joshua Nkomo, the movement announced guerilla

war in 1966 after the party had sent some militants abroad for military training in Algeria, Ghana, Czechoslovakia, and China. In 1987, the party merged with the Zimbabwe African National Union to form Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) . See Moncef Bakail « Le rôle de l'Algérie en matière de décolonisation de l'Afrique » op.cit.

[15] By the late 1950s, when other emerging nations across the African Continent were demanding independence, a small group of São Toméans had formed the Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé and Príncipe (MLSTP), which eventually established its base in nearby Gabon.

[16] Moncef Bakail « Le rôle de l'Algérie en matière de décolonisation de l'Afrique » –in English- in colloque international « Algeria's contribution to the decolonization of Africa » ; El Aurassi , Alger , 29 -30 Novembre 2016.

[17] Hyppolite – Manigat. « Le groupe de l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine à l'ONU « in RFEPA (104) Aout 1974. pp 60-91.

[18] For example The ANC had its diplomatic representation in Algiers headed by Robert Recha till 1966 and was succeeded by Johny Makatini. See El Watan, 11/06/2010, Scot Thomas. The diplomacy of liberation: The foreign relations of the ANC since 1960. Tairis academic studies, London, 1996. P 42, South Africa – Algeria – Western Sahara Relations. Publication issued by the South African Embassy in Algeria on the 15The freedom Day Celebrations, 2009 .4 – 6, Scot Thomas. Op.cit .P 42.

[19] Djelloul Malaïka is the former head of the FLN accredited liberation movements in Algeria in the 1960s and 1970s. he was known by his "secret missions" of to provide weapons to Latin America and Africa, in June 2009,the Grand Officer medal of the Order of Freedom of the Republic of Portugal for his support and solidarity with the Portuguese Liberation Movement. He was elected as vice-president of the Algerian Parliament between 1977 and 1992, to that position?see El Watan, May 11, 2010

[20] S .Chikh .L'Algérie porte de l'Afrique . Casbah Editions , Alger, 1999 , p 185.

[21] CI. Deffarge et G. Troeller. « Alger capitale des révolutionnaires en exile» in Monde Diplomatique. Aout 1972.

[22] Congratulatory message by H.E. DR. Sam Nujoma, founding president of the Republic of Namibia and father of the Namibian nation, on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the organization of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL) Havana , January 2011.

[23] According to Cde Moffat Linda Hadebe "some Zimbabwean undertook a military training and were the last diplomatic representative of the Patriotic Front – ZAPU to Algeria, myself, Cde Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu, and Cde Moffat Linda Hadebe, an Algerian militarily trained cadre who later became commander of the ZAPU– ANC (Umkhonto Wesizwe) detachment in Sipolilo in 1968." Quoted in **Sunday News Online** | Sunday, Dec 11, 2016

[24] Such as Colonel Mokhtar Kerkeb: Born in El bayadh on June 14, 1943. He graduated from the staff school of Frunze Military Academy in Moscow. Chief of staff in different military regions in Algeria.- 1968- 1972: Adviser in the international department at the presidency of the republic of Algeria as well as chairman of the military committee of evaluation of the MPLA in Angola till 1972. - Member of the committee of African

liberation created in 1963 by the AOU in 1963.Medal of the National Order of Merit in 1986 , received from president Chadli Bendjedid.

[25] CM/St.2(XII) Declaration by the council of ministers on decolonization and Apartheid from 17 to 22 February 1969.

[26] Nicole Grimaud. La politique extérieure de l'Algérie. Editions Karthala, paris, 1984. p 272.

[27] Doc. OUA. CM/223, p 9.

[28] AHG/Res. 7 (1) (AOU Resolution)

[29] Le Monde diplomatique, février 1965.p 12.

[30] In 1969, the Algerian diplomat Mohamed Sahnoun who was the deputy general secretary of the organization of African Unity declared that "As SWANU was not serious in fighting the racist regime in Namibia, and nearly all members of this movement lived in Europe , it is of our duty to support SWAPO whose fighters were receiving military training in Algeria". See Jussie M.Hanhimaki and Bernhard Blumenau. An international history of terrorism. Western and non-western experiences. Routledge, New York, 2013. P 173.

[31] A. Sampson,. 1999. Mandela: The Authorized Biography. Harper Collins , London , 1999. pp 160-164. See also Karis, Thomas, and Gail M. Gerhart. From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1964– 1979, vol. 3: Challenge and Violence. Indiana University, Indiana, 1977. P 666.

[32] South Africa – Algeria – Western Sahara Relations. Publication issued by the South African Embassy in Algeria on the 15The freedom Day Celebrations, 2009 .4 – 6; see also Moncef Bakail. Le rôle de l'Algérie post-independance dans la libération de l'Afrique et les fondements de sa diplomatie Africaine. op.cit , 2017.pp 161-162/

[33] El Watan, May 11, 2010

[34] Cited in Liberté , 07/12/2013.

[35] Duncan who was Fluent in French succeeded in obtaining Algerian training facilities for 100 aspirant PAC guerrillas . Moreover, Duncan produced a PAC Newsletter in French Patrick Duncan only held his post (as PAC representative) in Algiers for a year. See [35] Masotsha Minguni. "From Bandung to Oujda: The foundations of South Africa Algeria Historical relations "in the Diplomat, vol 2. Department of International Relations and cooperation, Republic of South Africa, 2012. P15.

[36] C.J. Driver. Patrick Duncan. Heineman Educational Books. 2000, p 24.

[37] 'Alfred Willie', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds), The Road to Democracy: South Africans telling their stories, Volume 1, 1950-1970, Mutloatse Heritage Trust, Houghton, 2008, p. 476.

[38] Cited in the speech made by president Mbeki at the state banquet for President Bouteflika , Pretoria, 16 October 2001.

[39] Moncef Bakail « Le rôle de l'Algérie en matière de décolonisation de l'Afrique » –in English- in colloque international « Algeria's contribution to the decolonization of Africa » ; El Aurassi , Alger , 29 -30 Novembre 2016.

[40] Moncef Bakail « Le rôle de l'Algérie en matière de décolonisation de l'Afrique ». op.cit.

[41] Ibid.

[42] S/RES. 221 (1966) , see also Cadoux, Charles. « L'organisation des Nations Unis et le problème de l'Afrique Australe » in A.F.D.J. 1977. pp 127- 174.

[43] S .Chikh. op.cit. p 70.
[44] Declaration on the struggle for national liberation The Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-al Countries, meeting in Algiers, from 5 to 9 September 1973.
[45] Ibid.
[46] For instance , NAM recognized SWAPO as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people and SWAPO became a full member of NAM in 1978. For more details , see Singham, AW and Shirley Hune. 1986. Namibian independence: A global responsibility. Westport: Lawrence Hill & Co. P 22.
[47] Resolution on Spanish Sahara. NAC/ALG/CONF/4/P/Res.6 of 9 September 1973.
[48] Resolution on South Africa. NAC/ALG/CONF/1/P/Res.1 of 9 September 1973.
[49] Declaration on the struggle for national liberation The Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-al Countries, meeting in Algiers, from 5 to 9 September 1973.
[50] The Polisario is an independence movement and political organization of Sahrawis who have advocated for the independence of Western Sahara since the Spanish occupation of the territory and whom the United Nations recognized as the representative of the people of Western Sahara in 1979.
[51] Resolution 2229 (XXI) question on Ifni and Spanish Sahara. 20 December 1966.

[52] In 1975, the International Court of Justice issued an advisory opinion favorable to the self-determination of the Saharawi people.

[53] G.A. Res. 2354 (XXII), 1 (Dec. 19, 1967); G.A. Res. 2428 (XXIII), (Dec. 18, 1968); G.A. Res. 2983 (XXVII), 1 (Dec. 14, 1972); G.A. Res. 3458A (XXX), (Dec. 10, 1975).
[54] Samora Machel was born on September 29, 1933. Studied At a Catholic missionary school and received his military training in Tanzania and Algeria. In 1964, Machel led Frelimo's first guerilla attack against the Portuguese. Machel became independent Mozambique's first president in 1975. Moncef Bakail « Le rôle de l'Algérie en matière de décolonisation de l'Afrique ». op.cit.
[55] El Watan, 11-06- 2010 , Mario Azevedo and Emmanuel Nnadozie and Tome Mbuia. Historical dictionary of Mozambique, 2nd edition, Scarecrow Press, Oxford, 2003. P 12.
[56] Nicole Grimaud. Op.cit. p 272.
[57] (A/RES/3280 (XXIX). 10 December , 1974.
[58] Ibid.
[59] S. Chikh. L'Algérie porte de l'Afrique. Casbah Editions, Alger 1999. Pp 302-308.

[60] S.Chikh. op.cit. p 184.
[61] - Brocheux, P. (dir). Les décolonisations au XXème Siècle. Armand Colin, Paris. 2012.P 263.
[62] Resolution 435 , 29 September 1978.

[63] Revolution Africaine. No 696 du 22 – 28 Juin 1977. Et M. Cornevin. La République sud-africaine. 1ére Édition, Presses Universitaires de France, 1982. p 110.